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Parerga to the Stadiasmus Patarensis (13):  
The road system in the mountainous area of Alacadağ in central Lycia  
and the roads indicated in the Vita of Nicholas of Sion

*Abstract:* This contribution introduces the Roman road connecting Myra to inner Lycia via the mountainous area of Alacadağ. The road called “Gâvuryolu” by the native population is already known, but has not been surveyed in its entirety and has not been fully published before. Therefore one of the main aims of the Stadiasmus Patarensis Project was to re-examine the route in connection with other Roman roads discovered around Alacadağ in 2010-2011. In addition, the secondary ways known in the mountainous area through which the main road passes are introduced, along with some newly discovered pathways. The authors discuss, finally, how these ways should be located in relation to the narrations regarding the routes recorded in the Vita of Saint Nicholas of Holy Sion, and some unsolved localizations in relation to these events.

*Keywords:* Stadiasmus Patarensis; Roman roads; ancient ways; Central Lycia; Vita of Nicholas of Sion; Alacadağ; Myra.

## Introduction

In the Stadiasmus Patarensis three routes are recorded relating to Myra: the first is the 57th route from Kyaneai to Myra (ἀπὸ Κυανέων εἰς Μύρα στάδια ..)<sup>1</sup>, the second is the 58th route<sup>2</sup>, the start of which was Myra but whose destination is uncertain because of damage to the inscription, and the third is the 59th route from Myra to Limyra via Masikytos (ἀπὸ Μύρων εἰς Λίμυρα δ[ι]ὰ το[ῦ] Μασικύτου στάδια ..)<sup>3</sup>. The first and the third routes are the segments of the coastal road of Lycia which is also recorded in the Tabula Peutingeriana. The 58th route must therefore be a road from Myra in a northerly direction, either to Dereağzı along the Demre (Myros) valley or to Arneai via the mountainous region of Alacadağ. Şahin proposed that this route was from Myra to Dereağzı in the valley, and the line may be restored as ἀπὸ Μύρων εἰς (De)ἰ[reağzı] δ[ι]ὰ στ[ε]νῶν στάδια . .<sup>4</sup>. There are two ways on either side of the Demre valley. One of them, most probably dating to before the provincialisation of the region, must have been beside the ancient water-channel<sup>5</sup> constructed along the west bank of the

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<sup>1</sup> On this road see the study of Onur and Oktan above, p. 94–105.

<sup>2</sup> Şahin, in: Şahin – Adak, SP 259–261; Şahin, SP 370–379.

<sup>3</sup> For the route see Marksteiner – Wörrle 2002, 546 and 550–553 (for more detailed information about the ancient road system on Bonda Tepesi); Takmer 2002, 110–112; 107–110 nos. 1–2 (for two milestones on this route); Şahin, in: Şahin – Adak, SP 263–265; Şahin, SP 379–387.

<sup>4</sup> See above fn. 2.

<sup>5</sup> Borchhardt, Myra 47–48.

Demre Çayı (Myros Potamos). But very little of this way<sup>6</sup> is preserved due to the construction of the modern road and the marble quarries in the valley. The other road, the beginning of which at Dereağzı was already known<sup>7</sup>, extends along the left side of the Demre valley and was newly discovered during the course of our survey<sup>8</sup> in 2011. There is an uninscribed *tabula ansata*<sup>9</sup> in the gorge of Demre Çayı but it is not certain whether it is related to the road. D. French thinks “that the Roman road was constructed soon after the formation of the province” of Lycia in AD. 43. It is not possible to say which one of these two roads in the Demre valley was the 58th route in the Stadiasmus Patarensis. “Gâvuryolu” (described below) may also be considered in this context, but there is no evidence to relate this mountain road with the road system that is recorded on the Stadiasmus Patarensis monument. According to the editors of the SP, five routes, which connect the *poleis* of central Lycia, might originally have been painted in color on three uninscribed blocks (4C, 5C, 6C) on the top of its side C.<sup>10</sup> Şahin suggests that these five routes lie between 01- Limyra and Arneai, 02- Arneai and Myra, 03- Arneai and Dereağzı, 04- Dereağzı and Kandyba, 05- Dereağzı and Kyaneai.<sup>11</sup> If their suggestions are correct, the road described below can be understood as being route 02, from Arneai to Myra.<sup>12</sup>

#### The main road in the mountainous area of Alacadağ north of Myra

This road, known today as “Gâvuryolu”, climbs from Myra passing the modern villages of Gödeme and Muskar and extends northwest from Muskar in the direction of Çağman village, ultimately reaching the cities of Arneai, Podalia and Arykanda. Although this road is already known<sup>13</sup>, it has not been surveyed and published in its entirety to date. The remains of the road begin in the Dere mahallesi of the modern village of Köşkerler, lying 4 km north of Myra. The traces of the part of the road extending between Myra and Dere mahallesi are missing, because of the establishment of the modern settlements and roads. The road is well preserved as it climbs from Dere mahallesi up to a low hill of 170 m altitude, 500 m southwest of Gödeme village (see fig. 1). On the hill stand the foundation remains of a tower, a cistern cut into the stone and a press belonging to a workshop. On another hill, locally as Kutlucakale, about 1.5 km east-southeast of this point, another tower with a square plan is situated, the walls of which are well preserved up to the top of the doorframe (fig. 2). Both of these towers were presumably constructed to control this road. The modern name of Gödeme is probably derived from the ancient name of Kendema mentioned in the Vita of St. Nicholas of Sion.<sup>14</sup> An inscribed sarcophagus<sup>15</sup> is known from the village of Gödeme.

The Roman road (Gâvuryolu) is well preserved on the western slope of the valley northwest of Gödeme, and reaches the village of Muskar/Belören located on a plateau with an altitude of 650 m in the Alacadağ Mountain north of Myra (fig. 3). This plateau was the junction point of six ancient roads. These routes lead 1) to Turant Asarı at the top of Turant Dağ, 1.5 km east of Muskar, 2) to Alakilise, about 4 km northeast of Muskar, 3) to Devekiyusu, about 2 km northwest of Muskar, 4) to Karabel, on the main road (Gâvuryolu) to Arneai, 5) to Asarbelen Castle, 500 m southwest of Muskar, and

<sup>6</sup> For pictures of the road see Hellenkemper – Hild, *Lykien und Pamphylien*, Teil III Taf. 261–264.

<sup>7</sup> French 1993, 87–89 ve Plate 15,2.

<sup>8</sup> For a detailed description of the road see Şahin, SP 374–376.

<sup>9</sup> French 1993, Plate 15, 3.

<sup>10</sup> Şahin, in: Şahin – Adak, SP 208–211; Şahin, SP 274–281.

<sup>11</sup> Şahin, in: Şahin – Adak, SP 211. For the other alternative routes in the uninscribed block see Şahin, SP 279.

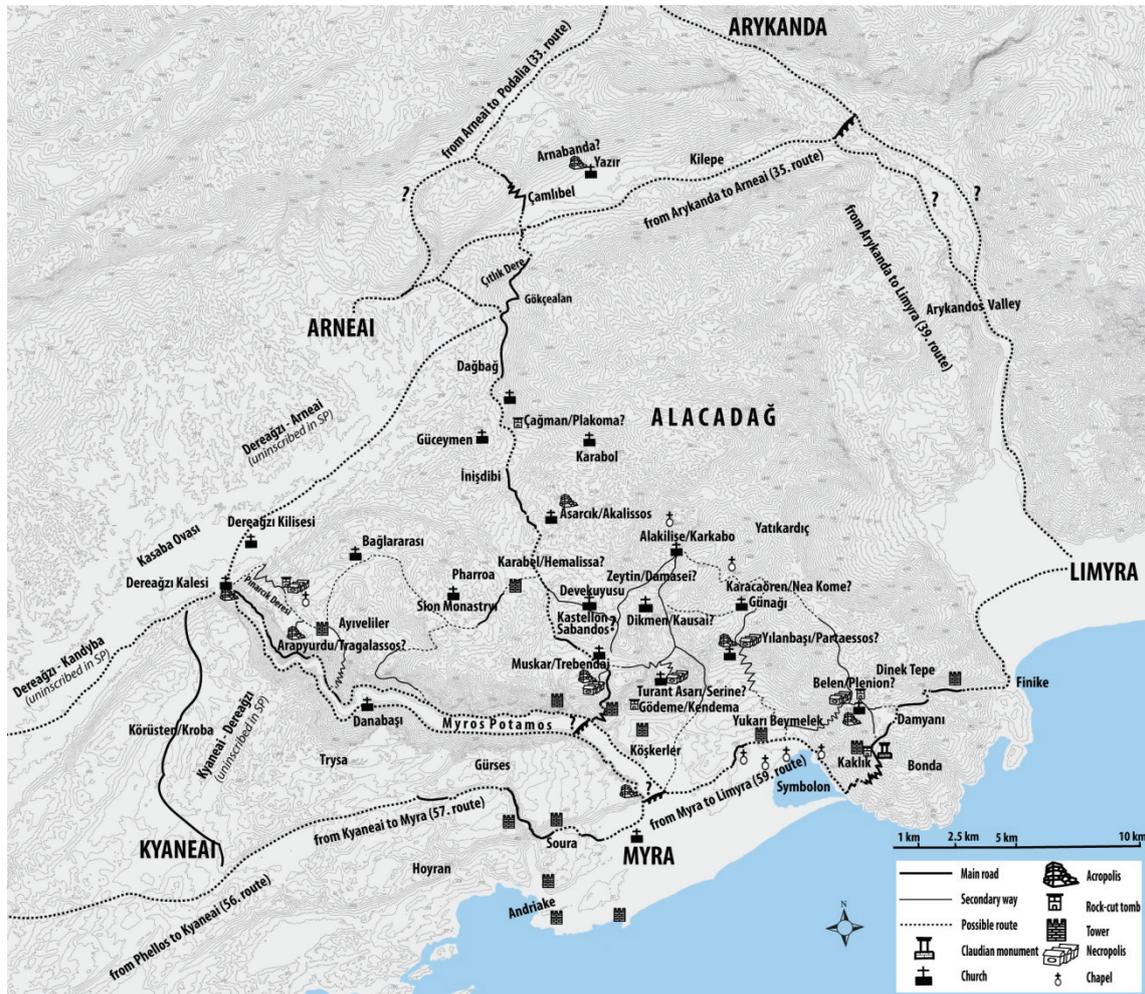
<sup>12</sup> Şahin, SP 277–278.

<sup>13</sup> The road was discovered by Harrison during his investigations of the churches lying in this mountainous area, see Harrison 1963, 131 and note 96; Harrison, *Mountain and Plain* 11 (cf. Takmer 2004, 114 fn. 41); Şahin, SP 277.

<sup>14</sup> VNS 73; Kalinka 1900, 67; Anrich, *Nikolaos I* 51, II 535; Robert 1955, 203 fn. 2; Zgusta, *Ortsnamen* 246; Foss 1991, 327; Hellenkemper – Hild, *Lykien und Pamphylien* 625 s. v. Kendema.

<sup>15</sup> Petersen – Luschan, *Reisen* II no. 77; for the Lycian tombs in Gödeme see Kjeldsen – Zahle 1975, 317.

lastly 6) to Myra.<sup>16</sup>



*The road system in the territory and vicinity of Myra in Roman and Byzantine times*

There is a Classical fortress on top of Asarbelen Tepesi, lying 500 m southwest of the modern village of Muskar; and a Roman settlement and necropolis with a large number of sarcophagi are spread over the southern and eastern slopes of the citadel at Asarbelen Tepesi.<sup>17</sup> There is an incomplete Lycian rock-cut tomb with a relief depicting a scene of bear-hunting on an adjacent rock outcrop.<sup>18</sup> Two of the sarcophagi on the eastern side, both dating from the third century AD, carry inscriptions; both owners bear the Aurelian gentilicium and the ethnic of Myra. An inscription recording a Hellenistic decree passed by a *demos* was found near the fortress at Asarbelen Tepesi during our survey in 2010.<sup>19</sup> The name of the *demos* cannot be read on the inscription. From the context of the document, however, one can say that it was probably that of Trebendai<sup>20</sup>, which was founded during the Hellenistic period and enjoyed a *sympoliteia* with Myra during the Roman Period, as we know from a funerary inscription<sup>21</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Harrison, Mountain and Plain 11.

<sup>17</sup> Harrison, Mountain and Plain 10–12; Hellenkemper – Hild, Lykien und Pamphylien 890–892 s. v. Tragalassos.

<sup>18</sup> Zahle 1979, 306–309 pic. 35; Bruns-Özgan, Grabreliefs 270–271; Borchhardt 1996/97, 6 fn. 5.

<sup>19</sup> Alkan 2011b. This weathered inscription is published in the paper concerning the journeys of St. Nicholas of Holy Sion. Trebendai was probably a member of the Lycian League with the right of minting coinage (Troxell, Coinage 39, 55–57; Jameson 1980, 842) and enjoyed a *sympoliteia* with Myra during the Roman Period (see infra fn. 20).

<sup>20</sup> Alkan 2011b, 111–113.

<sup>21</sup> Petersen – Luschan, Reisen II 58.114 (= SIG III 1234).

from Teimiussa/Tristomon (Üçağız Limanı).

In the centre of the modern village of Muskar no remains of the Roman road can be seen. About 1300 m northwest of the village of Muskar another visible section can be followed for approximately 1 km after a few meters of the modern asphalt. From this point onwards no remains of the road are traceable owing to the destruction caused by the construction of the modern road, until it reaches the village of Karabel, situated between Muskar and Arneai, about 5 km northwest of Muskar. A three-storied Hellenistic farmstead tower stands near the unsurfaced road leading from Karabel to Alacahisar church on the hill of Çam Dağ. In the area of land called Kızılleğen<sup>22</sup> within the area of the village of Karabel<sup>23</sup>, some ruins of the Byzantine settlement survive, including an Early Byzantine basilica<sup>24</sup> in the centre of the village, a small church with three naves, some house foundations and a cylindrical press stone. A most important ancient settlement of the area, Asarcık, is located on the foothill of Alacadağ, 1200 m north-northwest of Karabel. There is an acropolis settlement on a small hill, and a large basilica with three-naves<sup>25</sup> (fig. 10) lies 200 m southwest of the settlement.

About 1 km northwest of Karabel and 200 m southwest of the basilica at Asarcık the Roman road (our Gāvuryolu) reappears again some meters above the modern road. After 250 m the road disappears due to the construction of the modern road but it rises to the surface again from under the asphalt and then descends continually to the village of İnişdibi situated between Karabel and Çağman. The flagstones of the Roman road are preserved in part between Karabel and İnişdibi. A short rock-cut part of the road can be seen in the centre of İnişdibi (fig. 9). There must have been an ancient hamlet or a farmstead in the present village of İnişdibi, but now only three ancient cisterns near to the modern houses remain. Between İnişdibi and Çağman, a large modern village, the road is missing due to a landslide which occurred here. A small basilica with three naves is situated by the modern road to Arneai/Ernez, 1 km north of Çağman.<sup>26</sup> At the top of Güceymen Tepesi, 1.5 km west of Çağman, stand the remains of an Early Byzantine basilica with three naves and a detached triconch apse, and an outbuilding in front of the basilica.<sup>27</sup>

The road is missing between İnişdibi and the modern village of Dağbağ about 5 km north of Çağman. The road reappears east of the centre of Dağbağ village and continues in a northerly direction on the mountain slope parallel to the modern road. At the locality called Gökçealan lying 1 km north of Dağbağ the road goes northeast towards the modern village of Çamlıbel, away from the direction of Arneai. There should be a secondary road leading to the city of Arneai in the vicinity of Gökçealan, but we could not find any remains of it. Most of the road between Gökçealan and Çıtlık Dere 1 km south of the village of Çamlıbel is well preserved, and well preserved flagstones can be seen in the locality called Yapma Dibi between Gökçealan and Çıtlık Dere. On the western slope of the Çıtlık Dere valley the

<sup>22</sup> Grossmann – Severin, Bauten 57–58; Hellenkemper – Hild, Lykien und Pamphylien 798 s. v. Pharroa.

<sup>23</sup> Şahin localizes the Hellenistic city of Tragalassos, which is well known through an inscription from Arykanda and from the VNS, at the village of Karabel (IArykanda 1). Karabel is also identified with Pharroa, mentioned as a *chorion* in the VNS (1 and 4), by Hellenkemper – Hild, Lykien und Pamphylien 798 s. v. Pharroa. Alkan suggests, however, that Tragalassos should rather be located at Arapyurdu, about 16 km northwest of Myra, and that Karabel might be identified with Hemalissoi, the last place visited during the 25-days journey of St. Nicholas of Sion (VNS, 56–57); he also identifies Pharroa with the new discovered small settlement lying 1 km northeast of Alacahisar church on Çam Dağı (Alkan 2011b, 101–105 and 116).

<sup>24</sup> Harrison 1963, 131; Hellenkemper – Hild, Lykien und Pamphylien 798 s. v. Pharroa.

<sup>25</sup> The church is identified with the monastery of St. Nicholas of Holy Sion by Harrison 1963, 131–135, 150. But the monastery of Sion should be identified with the monolithic Alacahisar church on Çam Dağı: see Chronz, Nikolaos Sionites 73–77; Hellenkemper – Hild, Lykien und Pamphylien 852–856 s. v. H. Sion; Alkan 2011b, 104–105.

<sup>26</sup> Harrison 1963, 137 no. 14; Hellenkemper – Hild, Lykien und Pamphylien 492 s. v. Çağman.

<sup>27</sup> Harrison 1963, 137 no. 14; Grossmann – Severin, Bauten 111–113 and Abb. 35; Foss 1991, 328; Hellenkemper – Hild, Lykien und Pamphylien 550–551 s. v. Güceymen Tepesi.

road was strengthened with supporting walls 2 m high, and for 40 meters it is carved into the rock with a width of 3 m. After Çıtlık Dere the road disappears. It is, however, likely that in the village of Çamlıbel/Yazırbeli it joins the two Roman roads, one extending from Arykanda and the other from Podalia.<sup>28</sup>

### Secondary roads in the mountainous region of Alacadağ

The secondary road system connecting the settlements in the mountainous region of Alacadağ to the main city of Myra were also involved in our survey in the area. These secondary roads link about 20 settlements, 15 of which have churches. These church settlements cluster around the Alakilise valley south of Alacadağ, northeast of Myra and in the vicinity of the villages of Karabel and Çağman on the western mountainside of Alacadağ.

As mentioned above, Muskar, the primary and the most central settlement in this mountainous area, was the meeting point of these secondary ways. A way, from which a branch leads to Devekuysu northwest of Muskar, passes through the valley to the north of Muskar and reaches Alakilise via the village of Zeytin. This ridgeway must have extended to the settlement of Karacaören and the Günağı church<sup>29</sup> in the valley to the east of Alakilise. An ancient path extending from Karacaören goes down to Yılanbaşı passing near the Günağı church, ca. 1 km north of the settlement of Yılanbaşı<sup>30</sup>, and then descends in zigzags towards Yukarı Beymelek, located to the north of the lagoon lying 4 km to the east of Myra. This and another path coming from the settlement of Belen<sup>31</sup> must have joined each other in the village of Yukarı Beymelek. Another pathway coming from the mountainous area of Alacadağ leads to the settlement at Belen.<sup>32</sup> This path and the other way coming from Beymelek and leading to Belen join each other at the necropolis of the settlement at Belen. From this point the way extends in an easterly direction and reaches the Claudian road<sup>33</sup> from Myra to Limyra, near the field called Damyani on Bonda Tepesi.

There is a known way<sup>34</sup> connecting the village of Alakilise/Karkabo<sup>35</sup> to Myra. This way extended through the Alakilise valley and continues down towards Myra, passing on the east side of Turant Dağı. This way cut in the rock is partly missing north of Köşkerler village, where the Alakilise valley ends. The way forks northeast of Turant Dağı to the village of Muskar via the settlement at Turant Asarı<sup>36</sup>, located on top of Turant Dağı.

<sup>28</sup> For the roads in detail see Uzunoğlu – Taşdelen, below p. 124–125.

<sup>29</sup> For the newly discovered settlement at Karacaören and the Günağı church 7.5 km northeast of Myra see Alkan 2011b, 108–109 and Fig. 15–25.

<sup>30</sup> Wurster 1975, 87–89; Hellenkemper – Hild, *Lykien und Pamphylien* 921–922 s. v. Yukarı Beymelek.

<sup>31</sup> Borchhardt 1975, 46 Fig. 1. For the settlement at Belen see *ibid.* 87–89 (by W. Wurster).

<sup>32</sup> Harrison 1963, 137 no. 16; Foss 1991, 328 and 330. A part of this way between Belen and Yatıkardıç was investigated by the research team of the *Stadiasmus Patavensis* project.

<sup>33</sup> This road is recorded on the SP monuments as the 59<sup>th</sup> route: see in detail Şahin, in: Şahin – Adak, SP 263–265; Şahin, SP 379–387. At the place called Kaklık on Bonda Tepesi a monument honoring Emperor Claudius for building the roads was erected by the side of the road, see Marksteiner – Wörrle 2002.

<sup>34</sup> Harrison 1963, 131 fn. 96; Foss 1991, 312.

<sup>35</sup> Karkabo is the first place visited during the 25-days journey of sacrifice of St. Nicholas of Sion. The shrine of the Archangel Gabriel at Karkabo mentioned in the Vita of Nicholas of Sion has been identified as the three-naved basilica at Alakilise (Harrison, *Mountain and Plain* 15–27; Grossmann – Severin, *Bauten* 33–49; Hellenkemper – Hild, *Lykien und Pamphylien* 607–610 s. v. Karkabo) through an inscription (Petersen – Luschan, *Reisen II* 41.77) found in Alakilise and dating from 812; cf. Foss 1991, 310–311; Blum 1995, 55; Hellenkemper – Hild, *Lykien und Pamphylien* 607–610 s. v. Karkabo.

<sup>36</sup> Harrison 1979, 205; Harrison, *Mountain and Plain* 27–28; Schweyer 2002, 58. An inscribed sarcophagus is known from the settlement, see Harrison 1979, 205; Schweyer 1993, 41–42; and for the dating and new readings of this inscription see Alkan 2011a.

Another secondary route connecting Karabel and some settlements in its vicinity to Dereağzı was discovered during our survey in 2010, together with some archaeological ruins and settlements in the places which the road passes through.<sup>37</sup> The road climbs from Dereağzı towards Arapyurdu, along the valley called Pınarcık Deresi opposite the church at Dereağzı. The best preserved remains of the way, the traces of which begin 500 m southeast of the church at Dereağzı, can be seen in the valley between Dereağzı and Arapyurdu. The road was strengthened with retaining walls of 2–3 m high at some points along the steep slopes. The width of the well-preserved parts of the road ranges between 1 and 3 m. It continues as far as a large field, 1.5 km from the initial traces of the way. At the end of these traces, in the northwest corner of the field, there is a necropolis including two chamasorions, a tomb lid, a rock-cut tomb and a sarcophagus with a stepped podium. 300–350 m east of the necropolis, at the northern edge of the field, are the foundations of a rectangular building positioned slightly higher and with rock-cut steps in front of it. Lying 500 m east of the necropolis there is a small chapel (5 x 6 m) on a lower hill in the east of the field. There is a small settlement consisting of some buildings (including a large cistern in a building of which the door and walls are partly preserved), three further cisterns (one has a ring carved from a cubic block the front face of which is carved with a Maltase cross) and a workshop lying 500 m south-southeast of the necropolis, at the south edge of the field. There is also a Muslim cemetery in the area of the settlement. The structures of the tombs in the necropolis, the remains of the buildings, the chapel and the Muslim cemetery clearly suggest that settlement here was continuous from the Classical period into the late Ottoman period.

The road disappears after reaching the necropolis of the settlement in this field. There is a modern marble quarry ca. 900 m southeast of this place. A modern unimproved road goes up from this field to the village of Ayıveliler, passing the marble quarry and on the north side of Arapyurdu. The ancient way coming from Dereağzı probably lies beneath this modern road. An ancient way extending from the settlement<sup>38</sup> of Arapyurdu/Tragalassos(?)<sup>39</sup> joins this modern road 300 m east of Arapyurdu. In the modern village of Ayıveliler, ca. 1 km east of Arapyurdu, there is a Hellenistic tower<sup>40</sup>, in which there is a large deep cistern.<sup>41</sup> The tower stands on a lower hill just to the north of the modern road, west of Ayıveliler. This tower is also an indication that the ancient way passed nearby. There is a small settlement including some houses and two chamasoria within the area of the village of Ayıveliler.<sup>42</sup> An unpublished Byzantine settlement is situated on a lower hill at the southwest of a place named Aladibek between the villages of Ayıveliler and Palamutçukuru, 100 m to the west of the modern road. A large Byzantine castle constructed in rectangular plan (ca. 30 x 15) with a masonry of quality stands on the top of the hill. The castle was probably two-storey and its walls are well-preserved up to the top of doorframe. A cross symbol is engraved on the lintel of the entrance door in the western long façade of the building. The fundaments of a large, three-apsed church remain at 30–40 m north of the castle. Among the ruins of the church there are some decorated architectural materials. There is a church<sup>43</sup> (fig. 5) on a slope on the west side of the modern road, which runs up to this point from Karadağ village<sup>44</sup> in the northeast of the Kasaba Plain, at a place called Bağlararası, ca. 4 km northeast of Ayıveliler.

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<sup>37</sup> The finds are mentioned by Alkan 2011b, 103–104.

<sup>38</sup> Morganstern – Wurster 1993, 167–168, 172. For some new archaeological finds from around the settlement of Arapyurdu see Alkan 2011b 103.

<sup>39</sup> Alkan 2011b, 101–105.

<sup>40</sup> Alkan 2011b 103, 122 fig. 9.

<sup>41</sup> Alkan 2011b, 103 and fig. 9.

<sup>42</sup> Alkan 2011b, 103.

<sup>43</sup> Alkan 2011b, 117 and note 104. There are some architectural remains, which must have been brought from the church of Bağlararası, situated in the garden of a derelict school building within the modern village of Palamutçukuru, 1 km southwest of Bağlararası.

<sup>44</sup> In the area of this village the ancient finds were as follows: a fragmentary funerary inscription dating from the

In a large field in front of this church there is a large ancient cistern (fig. 6). There is also a small ancient settlement in the vicinity of the modern houses in Bağlararası.

After Ayıveliler, the path coming from Arapyurdu passes through a small newly discovered Byzantine settlement located on the hilltop of Palamuttepe between Ayıveliler and Ahmetler, and goes down to Ahmetler. In the settlement of Palamuttepe there are six two-storey houses built adjacent to each other. The walls constructed from the rubblestone and mortar are well preserved up to the first floor. Five cross symbols are engraved on the exterior of the lintel of one of the houses. The path disappears in the village of Ahmetler, and then it appears again by Kumlukaklık Dere ca. 2 km to the east of Ahmetler and ca. at 500 m northwest of Çambaşı Tepe. At 100 m to the northeast a hovel above the modern road, which connects Ahmetler to Muskar, between Çambaşı Tepe and Kumlukaklık Dere, on the ancient way, there are the remains of an unpublished three-naves church built from the fine ashlar. After this point, the well-preserved road going up to Çam Dağı via the Kumlukaklık Dere is traceable till ca. 500 m southeast of the Alacahisar church.

In this area there are also two ancient paths connected with the road extending from Dereağzı towards Myra on the left side of the Myros Potamos (Demre Çayı). The first path goes down from the village of Ayıveliler to the riverside of the Demre Çayı crossing the ridge to the northwest of the Danabaşı church<sup>45</sup>, which stands above the modern road on the right side of Demre Çayı. The other way begins from the locality called Petrol, 1 km east of the Danabaşı church, and extends in a north-westerly direction, passing along the east side of the valley opposite Danabaşı to reach the village of Ahmetler 2 km north of the Demre valley. This way may extend to the Alacahisar church on Çam Dağı, ca. 2.5 km northeast of Ahmetler.

The Alacahisar church (fig. 4), as indicated above, was probably the monastery of Holy Sion. A newly discovered settlement (probably Pharroa)<sup>46</sup> which includes some twenty houses, seven cisterns, two workshops, a large farmstead house and many terraced walls in the surroundings, is situated ca. 1 km northeast of the church, on the northeast mountainside of Çam Dağı. Both were connected with the ancient settlement (Hemalissoi ?)<sup>47</sup> within the modern village of Karabel, lying on the main road from Myra to Arneai. An un-metalled road from Karabel goes to the hilltop of Çam Dağı passing to the south of this settlement (Pharroa). Probably this road was built following the broadening of the ancient path connecting the Alacahisar church with Karabel. A ca. 500 m length of the ancient way remains visible on the east side of the modern road, extending from the southeast of the settlement towards Alacahisar church.

This road system within the context of some of the events recorded in the VNS

St. Nicholas of Sion undertook several overseas journeys during the course of his life, and he performed some journeys of sacrifice, visiting the settlements and the churches within this area, characterized as a “region of churches”. Nicholas used the road system in this mountainous area during these journeys and trips.

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Roman period, two Byzantine coins, a Corinthian capital, and part of panel from a church. From these finds it could be understood that there was a Roman-Byzantine settlement in Karadağ. However these finds are all transportable, and no remains of any ancient wall, nor of any ancient building, has been documented to date in this village.

<sup>45</sup> Harrison 1963, 138 no. 21; Grossmann – Severin, Bauten 17–20; Foss 1991, 328; Hellenkemper – Hild, Lykien und Pamphylien 512–513 s. v. Danabaşı.

<sup>46</sup> Alkan 2011b, 105.

<sup>47</sup> The shrine of Melissa in Hemalissoi was the last place visited in the 25-days journey of sacrifice of St. Nicholas of Sion on his return to his monastery, see VNS 57. It is possible to localize Hemalissoi at Karabel, see Alkan 2011b, 116 and also 101–105.

The last part of the narration provided in the Vita<sup>48</sup> concerning Nicholas' second journey to Jerusalem and Egypt is very important for its account of the road system in this area. Nicholas insisted on disembarking at the port of Phoinix or at Andriake on his return from this journey, but the captain, experiencing a fair wind, wanted to sail past to his destination, Rhodes. At the end of the debate between the captain and Nicholas, the captain had to come into the harbour of Tristomon/Üçağız in fear of what might happen if he disobeyed the Saint. Either of the two interlinked ways coming from the mountainous area of Alacadağ and connecting this area to the port of Phoinix via the Claudian road on Bonda Tepesi might have been the route which Nicholas of Sion wished to use in order to reach his own monastery, located in the hamlet of Pharroa in the *chora* of Tragalassos at the end of his journey. This narration in the Vita shows clearly that to reach the monastery of Sion in the mountainous area of Alacadağ by walking from Phoinix takes less time than walking from Andriake.<sup>49</sup> This proximity does not require thinking that the monastery of Holy Sion and Tragalassos should be located nearer to Phoinix than Andriake. This is because the longest route from Phoinix to Nicholas' home via the mountain is about 30 km, whereas the seaway between Phoinix and Andriake is about 25 km, and the length of the land route from Andriake to the monastery of Holy Sion is about 20 km.

The arrest of Saint Nicholas in the Vita<sup>50</sup> can be seen as a significant narration in respect to the road system and for the location of Tragalassos. When the plague emerged in the metropolis of Myra, the neighboring farmers did not bring their agricultural products to sell in the city from the fear of catching the plague, and so the people in the city experienced a food shortage. Nicholas was held responsible for the fact that the farmers did not come into the city and two clerics were sent by the archbishop and governor of the city of Myra to the monastery of Sion to arrest the Saint. It was only after the clerics arrived at the monastery that the Tragalassians heard of the incident of the arrest of the Saint, and they all joined together to rescue him. In this event the clerics might have used the main road, the "Gävuryolu", to arrive the monastery of Sion (the Alacahisar church on top of Çam Dağı), because the shortest way is via the Gävuryolu from Myra. Therefore, this narrative of the arrest of Saint Nicholas in the Vita shows clearly that Tragalassos was not located on the direct route between Myra and the monastery; rather it indicates that Tragalassos was located in a place lying beyond the monastery. If Tragalassos had been located on the road between the monastery and Myra, the Tragalassians would have been informed of the clerics sent to arrest Nicholas before they arrived at the monastery.<sup>51</sup>

After the plague in the metropolis of Myra, Nicholas undertook two journeys of sacrifice in the vicinity of his monastery. He began the journeys from Tragalassos (Arapyurdu?), the inhabitants of which had rescued him, and then via Akalissos (probably Asarcik near to Karabel), Plenion (Belen?) and 16 churches unnamed in the text. Two years after these visits Nicholas performed a 25-day journey of sacrifice,<sup>52</sup> including 10 places, and visited 11 shrines near the monastery of Sion.<sup>53</sup> Nicholas began his journey from the monastery of Holy Sion (the monolithic Alahisar church on Çam Dağı), and made his first stop at Karkabo/Alakilise, 7 km to the northeast of Myra. Nicholas' route was one of three possibilities. The first possibility takes him from Çam Dağı to Karabel, and from there to Muskar along the main road, and then to Alakilise via the village of Zeytin. The second is Çam Dağı – Karabel – Muskar, passing on the north side of Turant Asarı and down the Alakilise valley to Alakilise. The third, which is the shortest route, is from Çam Dağı to Karabel and from there to Devekuysu, an

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<sup>48</sup> VNS 27–38.

<sup>49</sup> See also Takmer 2004, 114.

<sup>50</sup> VNS 53.

<sup>51</sup> For discussion of the localization problem of Tragalassos and for the latest suggestion for the localization of this settlement in Arapyurdu, see Alkan 2011b 101–105.

<sup>52</sup> VNS 56–57.

<sup>53</sup> For the details and for some suggestions as to the localization of these places, see Alkan 2011b.

hour east of Karabel<sup>54</sup>, without using the main road, and then to Alakilise via Zeytin. After Karakabo/Alakilise the route followed by Nicholas on this journey is unclear. But, according to our proposal he must have descended in a southerly direction, following a possible sequence of Dikmen (Kausai?), Karacaören-Günağı (Nea Kome?), Yılanbaşı (Partaessos?), lagoon (Symbolon), Nautes (near to the lagoon?). From this last place Nautes, Nicholas turned in a northward direction to visit the remaining four stations (Serine/Turant Asarı?, Trebendai/Muskar-Asarbelen, Kastellon/Devekuyusu – or a place near to it – and Hemalissoi/Karabel?). This route is possible on the assumption that Nicholas went up Turant Asarı by the way climbing up Alakilise past the valley to the east of Turant Dağı or by the road, which was previously unknown, going up from Köşkerler to Turant Asarı in the southern slope of Turant Dağı, and that he then walked to Muskar and continued to Devekuyusu along the way in the valley north of Muskar, whence Nicholas proceeded to Karabel, the last station before the monastery of Sion.

Soon after this 25-day journey Nicholas went to Kastellon to pray at the Daniel sanctuary at Sabandos, which was in danger of collapse while he was on the way to Myra.<sup>55</sup> Nicholas' turning off the road to Myra (ἔκαμψεν ἐν τῷ Καστέλλῳ) is indicated by the verb κάμπτω meaning “to curve, to bend; to turn or guide a horse or chariot round the turning-post”<sup>56</sup>. This verb implies here an arch-shaped secondary way leading away from the main road. It is possible that this secondary way leading to Kastellon was the westward branch of the road from Muskar to Alakilise via Zeytin. But the localization of Kastellon to Devekuyusu or in its vicinity is only a suggestion to be further discussed.<sup>57</sup>

In a passage<sup>58</sup> of the Vita it is narrated that a childless women from Edrasa and her husband came to the monastery of Sion to have a child through the intercession of St. Nicholas. After three days waiting for the Saint, who was in the city of Myra at that time, the couple began to go down to Myra, and at a place called Stratiotes they met Nicholas on his way back to the monastery. Three questions arise from this episode: the location of the place named Edrasa, the road used by both the couple and by the Saint, and lastly the location of Stratiotes on this road. Edrasa must be a place far from the monastery of Sion, as the couple waited for three days for the return of Nicholas to the monastery. Based upon the similarity of names it is possible to suggest the identification of Edrasa with Adrasan (Çavuşköy), a bay with a modern settlement in southeast Lycia, ca. 25 km east of Limyra. Based upon two statements (the couple) ἠναγκάσθησαν κατελθεῖν ἐν Μύροις and συνήντησεν αὐτοῖς ὁ δοῦλος τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν τῷ ἀνάβῳ<sup>59</sup>, ἐρχόμενος εἰς τὸν καλούμενον Στρατιώτην in this passage it can be proposed that this way was probably the main road, the “Gâvuryolu”<sup>60</sup>, and this mountain route was used by the Saint when he went to Myra and returned to his monastery. As for the location of Stratiotes, it is clear that this place

<sup>54</sup> Harrison 1963, 137; Foss 1991, 328.

<sup>55</sup> VNS 58.

<sup>56</sup> LSJ.

<sup>57</sup> The places Kastellon, Sabandos and Damasei were near to each other according to this passage (VNS 58) in the Vita. Foss 1991, 312–313 and 331 proposes Asarbelen citadel, Muskar and a place with a chapel between Muskar and Asarbelen for the locations of these three places. But the Asarbelen fortress and its surroundings should be considered as a single settlement, probably Trebendai (based upon a Hellenistic decree from Asarbelen). Kastellon was the ninth station on the 25-days journey of Nicholas, and according to the route taken by the Saint on this journey Kastellon should be located near Devekuyusu: see Alkan 2011b, 115–116; for the Hellenistic inscription and for the localisation of Trebendai, 111–113.

<sup>58</sup> VNS 75.

<sup>59</sup> This word *anabos/anabon* appears also in the episode of the sacred tree in the village Plakoma (VNS 18). *Anabos* is thought as a mountainous name and deciphered as ἐν τῷ Ἄναβῳ by Anrich, Nikolaos II 533 and Blum, Vita 103 Kapitel 18. According to Ševčenko, Nicholas of Sion 75.106 (see esp. 151), the word *anabos* means “slope, ascent” rather than a place name. For *Anabos* also see Şahin, in: Şahin – Adak, SP 107 and 264; Şahin, SP 110 and 387.

<sup>60</sup> Hellenkemper – Hild, Lykien und Pamphylien 864 s.v. Stratiotes; Takmer 2004, 114.

should be searched for on the route between the monastery of Sion and the city of Myra. In the Vita, Stratiotes, which seems to be a place name with military implications, is mentioned as a place name only, not a *kome* or *chorion*.<sup>61</sup> According to Şahin<sup>62</sup> there was probably a statue of Emperor Claudius in military uniform on the inscribed monument<sup>63</sup> erected in his honor at the place called Kaklık on Bonda Tepesi, and therefore this place might have been called Stratiotes; this mountain might have been named Mount Kaiser, which is mentioned in the Vita<sup>64</sup>, due to this Claudian monument. However, these two suggestions do not seem very plausible, as the road by which the Claudian monument was erected was not on Nicholas' route from Myra to his monastery. And also, if Mount Kaiser is in the area of Bonda Tepesi, the village of Arnabanda should be located somewhere on the slope of the mountainous Bonda, because Nicholas found spring water in Mount Kaiser for the villagers of Arnabanda. According to the narration given in the Vita, Arnabanda should be sought in the area above the monastery of Sion, because when the Arnabandians came to the monastery to request for help from St. Nicholas he said to them "I will go up with you" indicating a climb up to Arnabanda. The best place for the location of Arnabanda is probably a newly discovered ancient settlement<sup>65</sup>, including the ruins of about 15 buildings walled with large blocks located on a lower hill at the foot of the mountain on the west side of the modern village of Yazır<sup>66</sup>, ca. 10 km east of the city of Arneai and ca. 4 km west of Kilepe/Yeşilköy<sup>67</sup> in the territory of the city of Arykanda. Arnabanda (or Arnawanda) is an epichoric place name<sup>68</sup>, and it certainly possessed a structure like a castle because it is mentioned as *castellum Arnavendense*<sup>69</sup> in the Latin version of the Vita. Therefore Arnabanda should be at least a Classical or an early Hellenistic settlement. The stone-work of the buildings in the fortified settlement at Yazır village<sup>70</sup> indicates it should be dated to this period. If the place, Kaklık or its vicinity, was called by an ancient name linked to the Claudian monument and was mentioned in the life of Nicholas of Sion, then it is possible that this name was Andronikos, meaning the "victorious man", mentioned as a district (chora) in the Vita<sup>71</sup>. If this suggestion is accepted as correct then it can be suggested that Presbaion<sup>72</sup> in the district of Andronikos should be looked for in the area near to the Claudian monument on Bonda Tepesi.

After all of these suggestions as to the location of Stratiotes the most likely one that comes to mind is the tower lying on the hill (see above) on the main road, 500 m west of the village of Gödeme/Kendema.

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<sup>61</sup> Foss 1991, 333 says of Stratiotes that it is "a place of uncertain nature, a curious name like Nautes, perhaps derived from an ancient monument".

<sup>62</sup> Şahin, in: Şahin – Adak, SP 264–265; Cf. Şahin, SP 383–387.

<sup>63</sup> Marksteiner – Wörrle 2002.

<sup>64</sup> VNS, 23, 24.

<sup>65</sup> See the contribution of Uzunoğlu and Taşdelen in this issue, p. 124.

<sup>66</sup> There are also the ruins of an early Byzantine church and some architectural pieces and a cistern in Yazır, see Hellenkemper – Hild, Lykien und Pamphylien 919 s. v. Yazır (1).

<sup>67</sup> A certain man Hieron, who obtained the citizenship of Arykanda and become priest of Zeus, is known from an inscription found in this village, see Wörrle 1996.

<sup>68</sup> Zgusta, Ortsnamen § 97-4.

<sup>69</sup> Anrich, Nikolaos I 62.

<sup>70</sup> Uzunoğlu – Taşdelen (2013) suggest that the settlement near to the village of Yazır might have been one of the *συνπολιτευόμενοι δήμοι* with the city of Arneai documented in TAM II 3, 765–767.

<sup>71</sup> VNS, 26.

<sup>72</sup> VNS, 26. This place-name seems in close resemblance with the words *πρέσβα* "august, honored" and *πρεσβεῖον* "gift of honour, privilege".

Finally, another place which might be considered in connection with the road is the village of Plakoma mentioned with the sacred cypress tree in the Vita<sup>73</sup>. Plakoma is a place name derived from the verb *πλακώω* meaning pavement<sup>74</sup>, in Turkish “döşeme”. Foss thinks the place name *Plakoma* “should refer to some feature in the village, perhaps the paving of an ancient road (though the roads of this district were more like tracks than more formal Roman roads) or a paved square”. As a place name the Turkish word *döşeme* is given to some places where the pavements of Roman roads are well preserved (for example Döşemealtı and Döşeme Boğazı in Antalya). According to the narration in the Vita the village of Plakoma<sup>75</sup> was perhaps near to the territorial boundary of Myra and Arneai.<sup>76</sup> The Vita of Nicholas of Sion gives information on the population of only three settlements. There were two hundred place settings at Plenion and about two hundred inhabitants at Tragalassos.<sup>77</sup> Plakoma was the heavily populated place with nearly three hundred inhabitants (VNS 16). Foss suggests for the location of Plakoma the modern village of Çağman, which is also wetland and, so has land suitable for the growth of a cypress tree, on the main road towards Arneai. This suggestion seems reasonable, but there is at present no satisfactory evidence to confirm this localization of Plakoma to Çağman. But, although there are no remarkable archaeological remains in situ in the modern village, some epigraphic finds<sup>78</sup> from Çağman and Güceymen Tepesi, 500 m to the west of Çağman, show that this village was inhabited in the Classical period and was the most important settlement between Karabel and Arneai. It is unclear whether Çağman was one of the sympolity partners of Arneai.<sup>79</sup>

#### Abbreviated Literature

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| Alkan 2011b              | M. Alkan, Parerga to the Stadiasmus Patarensis (8): On the named places in the journeys of sacrifice recorded in the Vita of Saint Nicholas of Holy Sion, <i>Gephyra</i> 8, 2011, 99–124. |
| Anrich, Nikolaos II      | G. Anrich, Hagios Nikolaos. Der Heilige Nikolaos in der griechischen Kirche. Bd. I: Texte; Bd. II: Prologemena, Untersuchungen. Leipzig – Berlin 1913–1917.                               |
| Bean 1962                | G. E. Bean, Report on a Journey in Lycia 1960, <i>Anzeiger Wien</i> 1962, 4–9.  |
| Blum, Vita               | H. Blum, <i>Die Vita Nicolai Sionitae</i> . Griechischer Text. Übersetzt und kommentiert. Bonn 1997.  |
| Borchhardt, Myra         | J. Borchhardt (ed.), <i>Myra. Eine lykische Metropole in antiker und byzantinischer Zeit</i> , Berlin 1975 ( <i>Istanbuler Forschungen</i> 30), 81–86.                                    |
| Borchhardt 1996/97       | J. Borchhardt, Zur Politik der Dynasten Trbbênimi und Perikle von Zêmuri, <i>Lykia</i> 3, 1996/97[2000], 1–23.  |
| Bruns-Özgan, Grabreliefs | C. Bruns-Özgan, <i>Lykische Grabreliefs des 5. und 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.</i> , Tübingen 1987 ( <i>Istanbuler Mitteilungen</i> , Beiheft 33).  |

<sup>73</sup> VNS, 15–16.

<sup>74</sup> Foss 1991, 315 note 36, 333.

<sup>75</sup> The other place called as Plakoma mentioned in the “Praxis de Stratelatis” was probably a paved market place in Andriake, near to the horrea: see Foss 1991, 315 with note 36.

<sup>76</sup> Foss 1991, 332–333. For other discussions about the location of the village of Plakoma see Anrich, Nikolaos II 530f. and Blum, Vita 101.

<sup>77</sup> See Blum 1995, 58–59 and Blum, Vita 13.

<sup>78</sup> Two rock-cut tombs are known in the village of Çağman, one of which is inscribed in Lycian (Bean 1962, 9 = N 306). Bean 1962, 8–9 records two inscriptions without giving texts; the first, a fragment of an honorific decree issued by a *demos*, was found as reused material in a late wall on Güceymen Tepesi, while the other is an epitaph of an Arneian in the village of Çağman.

<sup>79</sup> Bean 1962, 9; Hellenkemper – Hild, *Lykien und Pamphylien* 492 s. v. Çağman.

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### Özet

#### Stadiasmus Patarensis için Parerga (13): Orta Lykia'da Alacadağ üzerindeki yol ağı ve Sion'lu Nikolaos'un Vita'sında belirtilen yollar

Bu makalede daha önce bilinen fakat detaylı bir yayını yapılmamış olan, Myra'nın dağ üzerinden iç Lykia'ya bağlantısını sağlayan ve halk arasında Gâvuryolu olarak adlandırılan Roma Dönemi yolu ele alınmaktadır. Yüzey araştırmalarımız sırasında başından sonuna kadar araştırılan bu yol güzergâhı tespit edilen yeni buluntularla ve Orta Lykia'daki diğer Roma Dönemi yolları ile olan bağlantılarıyla birlikte incelenmektedir. Bunların yanısıra Gâvuryolu'nun geçtiği dağlık alanda yer alan, daha önceden bilinenlerle birlikte yeni keşfedilen tali yollar tanıtılmaktadır. Son olarak Sionlu Nikolaos'un biyografisinde anlatılan bazı olaylar kapsamında bu yolların nasıl yer almış olabileceği ve bazı lokalizasyon sorunları tartışılmaktadır.

*Anahtar Sözcükler.* Stadiasmus Patarensis; Roma yolları; antik yollar; Orta Lykia; Sionlu Nikolaos; Alacadağ; Myra.



Fig. 1: A part of Gâvuryolu upper side of Dere Mahallesi



Fig. 2: The tower building of a square plan at Kutluçakale



Fig. 3: An Aerial photograph of the settlement of Asarbelen, Muskar/Belören



Fig. 4: Alacahisar Church



Fig. 5: Remains of the apse of Bağlararası Church



Fig. 6: The cistern in Bağlararası



Fig. 7: Aerial photo of Arapyurdu



Fig. 8: Acropolis of Arapyurdu



Fig. 9: A part of the paved road at İnişdibi village



Fig. 10: The Basilica at Asarcık