

An Investigation around Kragos in Lycia: The Question of Sidyma and Kalabatia

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“for Prof. A. Vedat Çelgin”

Abstract

The block recording the destination of the road from Sidyma on the Patara monument of roads is today lost. The destination was restored as Kalaba(n)tia, which was identified with the port of Sancaklı. This restoration seems deficient or incorrect, since the distance given from Sidyma to the lost destination is ca. 4,5 km, while the actual distance between Sidyma and Sancaklı Port is ca. 7–8 km. And Kalabatia can fill only half of the lacuna. It is emphasized that the theory concerning a siege of Sidyma, which is deduced from this restoration, cannot be justified. The evidence concerning Kalabatia's political status might indicate an independence during the early empire or even earlier. The author suggests that the ruins in Bel, located ca. 4,5 km south of Sidyma, were probably the destination. The author also questions if Kalabatia could be localized in Bel. At the end is an appendix on Kragos.

Keywords: Sidyma, Kalabatia, Sancaklı, Bel, Apollo, oracle

Öz

Patara Yol Anıtı'nda verilen Sidyma çıkışlı yolun varış hedefinin yazıldığı blok kayıp olup hedef Sancaklı Limanı ile özdeşleştirilen Kalaba(n)tia olarak tamamlanmıştı. Bu tamamlama eksik ya da yanlış görünmektedir. Anıtta Sidyma ve kayıp hedef için verilen uzunluk yak. 4,5 km iken, Sidyma ve Sancaklı Limanı arasındaki gerçek uzunluk ise 7–8 km'dir. Ayrıca bu tamamlama boşluğun sadece yarısını doldurmaktadır. Bu tamamlamaya göre savlanan “Sidyma Kuşatması” teorisi de mümkün gözükmemektedir. Ayrıca Kalabatia'nın Erken Roma İmparatorluk ya da daha erken dönemlerdeki politik statüsüne yönelik veriler değerlendirilmiş ve bağımsız olabileceği vurgulanmıştır. Bel'de bulunan kalıntılar Sidyma'ya yak. 4,5 km'lik mesafededir. Bu nedenle yazar burasının kayıp hedef olabileceği ve belki de Kalabatia'nın hem Bel'deki kalıntıları hem de hemen güneyindeki antik liman Gavur Kalesi'ni kapsayan bir yerleşim olabileceğini önermektedir. Kayıp bloktaki kalan boşlukta neler olabileceği tartışılmış, bu bağlamda yazıya hem idari bir birim hem de dağ adı olarak görünen Kragos hakkında bir bölüm eklenmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Sidyma, Kalabatia, Sancaklı, Bel, Apollon, kehanet

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This contribution results from the field surveys on the ancient roads of Lycia directed by the late Prof. S. Şahin until 2014 and then by Prof. N.E. Akyürek Şahin until 2017, and thereafter by the author, with permission from the Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism. These field surveys have been supported by the Akdeniz University Scientific Research Projects Coordination Unit (project nos.: SBA-2015-937 and SBA-2016-1675) and Koç University – Suna & İnan Kırac Research Center for Mediterranean Civilisations from 2015 onwards. I am deeply grateful to F. Avcu, Y. Doğan, C. Demirton, Y.E.K. Yılmaz and S. Yavaş for their company in the very difficult walk from Bel

The *Monumentum Patavense* (MP), also known as *Stadiasmus Patavensis*, which dates from AD 46 and lists all the roads renovated during the reign of Claudius throughout Lycia has created a totally new context for answering several questions concerning the administrative and geographical history of Lycia.¹ Based upon the inscription on this monument, field surveys of the Lycian road network were initiated by the late professor S. Şahin in 2004. The aims of this survey are to determine ancient roads and routes in Lycia and Pamphylia, to evaluate any sort of data from the field indicating the presence of these roads and routes and all epigraphical material, and to publish any new data found in the course of the surveys. Consequently, this research investigates settlement distribution and network connections and aims to produce conclusions concerning the administrative and political history of the region together with deeper understanding of its historical geography to the fullest extent. The result of these field surveys, especially those of the past four years along with the improvements made concerning the implications of the text itself, have produced substantial changes to the understanding of the list of roads recorded on the monument. These changes in particular concern its geographical-territorial implications and the mid-1st century AD status of the settlements that are mentioned in the list, even though some are still simply assumptions.²

Some parts of the field surveys we conducted in 2017 and 2018 were dedicated to Sidyma and its surroundings. Our focus was to determine the course of the roads from Xanthos to Sidyma and from Sidyma to a destination whose name has not survived on the MP. The section relating to this part recorded in lines 10–11 of Face B is as follows, based upon the edition by Şahin:

- | | |
|--|---|
| l. 10 (R2): ἀπὸ Ξάν[θου] εἰς Σίδυμα ἄ σταδία ἄ ρδ' | From Xanthos to Sidyma 104
stades (=ca. 19, 25 km) |
| l. 11 (R3) ἀπὸ Σιδύμων εἰς? Καλαβαντίαν ἄ στάδια ἄ κδ' | From Sidyma [to Kalabantia?] 24
stades (=ca. 4,5 km) |

down to Gavur Kalesi, I also thank S. Mımaroğlu, who investigated the ruins in this bay together with C. Demirton. I would also like to thank Prof. C. Schuler, Prof. M. Wörrle, Prof. J. Nollé, Prof. A. Chaniotis, Prof. P. Arnaud, Dr. N. Milner and H. Lotz for their valuable remarks on the discussions in this contribution. This article forms a part of my project entitled “The spatial conceptualization of power in the Roman empire: Lycia and Rome in the 1st c. AD”, the funding of which has been provided by the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation, and the first part of which has been conducted in the Kommission für Alte Geschichte und Epigraphik (of DAI) at Munich.

¹ For the basic editions see Işık, Işkan and Çevik 2001; Şahin and Adak 2004; Şahin and Adak 2007; Şahin 2014.

² One of these assumptions – the political status of the settlements recorded in the MP – is also one of the discussions in this article. It has been one of the most crucial questions concerning the geographical aspect of the road list on the monument. The answers of scholars to this question vary, together with discussions on the reasons for the presence of some towns and the absence of others from this list. Tietz 2003, 276, n. 207 and 292 concludes that all the settlements with no affiliation in the MP were independent, considering that the start and end points of routes were *poleis*. The towns not mentioned in the SP, such as Daidala and Telandros, though they were on the route from Telmessos to Kaunos, were at that time not independent poleis. Schuler 2007, 77 reported that the settlements listed in the MP were poleis and used the ethnicon Κόδοπηνη mentioned in an inscription from Arykanda to show the independence of Kodopa. Schuler 2010, 81 n. 79 elsewhere remarked that the monument offers a selection of roads and of poleis, and that the cities remaining on side roads are not included (like Antiphellos or Apollonia). However, if a settlement is not mentioned, though it was located on the roads given in the monument, then it had no polis status in that time. Şahin 2014, 25 thinks that not all the settlements in the SP were poleis, but some were already in the territory of other settlements. He gives the examples of Kalabatia within Sidyma, Kosara within Mnara, and Onobara within Trebenna, though none of these examples is useful in this discussion. I am also of the opinion that the settlements recorded in the MP were independent – though not all had polis status but at least an independence in terms of finance, legislation and territorial ownership in their own structure – and this concerns mainly the Julio-Claudian period. The current evidence conforms with this approach, and there is no evidence from that period conflicting with such a theory. I believe it is vital to approach this discussion with the evidence that is contemporary with the MP. For a detailed analysis of the question see Onur 2016.

In a former article, I had already discussed some of the problems concerning Kalabatia.³ For the purpose of the present study, this matter is further investigated employing new evidence obtained from our field research in 2017. The road from Xanthos to Sidyma and new inscriptions from the vicinity of Sidyma form the subject of another article by F. Avcu and H. Uzunoğlu in this volume. Therefore, this article relates only to R3, since it required particular research into the history and historical geography of the region around Sidyma.

A. Problems in Restoring the Lacuna of Face B l.11 (R3 - the road from Sidyma) in the MP

The block recording the destination of the road starting at Sidyma in l.11 was between two existing blocks (fig. 1). The middle block could not be found during the excavations and remains lost. This line is inscribed with almost half-sized letters, hence remarkably longer than the other lines. Block 13b refers to the origins (Patara, Xanthos and Sidyma) of five roads and block 15b gives the lengths of these roads. The lost middle block should contain the destinations. Except for the lacuna in l.11, all other lost information can be restored securely.

Şahin's restorations of the section are as follows in Şahin 2014, 124 (GZR = R/Road/Route; Str = line; Bl = Block; S = Block line-up):

	Str	Bl 13B	Bl 14B	Bl 15B
S III	GZR 1	9	ΑΠΟΠΑΤΑΡΩΝΕΙΣΞΑΝΘΟΝ	↔ ΣΤΑΔΙΑ ↔ ΝϞ
	GZR 2	10	ΑΠΟΞΑΝΘΟΥΒΙΣΣΙΔΥΜΑ	↔ ΣΤΑΔΙΑ ↔ ΡΔ
	GZR 3	11	ΑΠΟΣΙΔΥΜΩΝΕΙΣΚΑΛΑΒΑΝΤΙΑΝ	↔ ΣΤΑΔΙΑ ↔ ΚΔ
	GZR 4	12	ΑΠΟΞΑΝΘΟΥΒΙΣΠΙΝΑΡΑ	↔ ΣΤΑΔΙΑ ↔ Ϟ
	GZR 5	13	ΑΠΟΞΑΝΘΟΥΒΙΣΤΛΩ	↔ ΣΤΑΔΙΑ ↔ ΡΝΒ
	GZR 1		ἀπό Πατάρ[ων εις Ξάνθον ↔ στάδι]α ↔ νζ'	
	GZR 2	10	ἀπό Ξάν[θου εις Σίδυμα ↔ στ]άδια ↔ ρδ'	
	GZR 3		ἀπό Σιδύμων ε[ις ? Καλαβαντί]αν ↔ στάδια ↔ κδ'	
	GZR 4	12	ἀπό Ξάν[θου εις Πίναρα ↔ στá]δια ↔ [ρλ]ζ'	
	GZR 5		ἀπό Ξάν[θου εις Τλώ ↔ στάδ]ια ↔ ρνβ'	

The secure restorations of destinations are Xanthos (from Patara, l.9), Sidyma (from Xanthos, l.10), Pinara (from Xanthos, l. 12) and Tlos (from Xanthos, l.13). However, the restoration in “ἀπό Σιδύμων ε[ις? Καλαβαντί]αν ↔ στάδια ↔ κδ'⁴” seems deficient or incorrect, because this lacuna needs ca. 20-22 letters according to the measurements of the blocks and the letters (see figs. 1-2). Thus, not only that the destination of the road from Sidyma in l.11 cannot be known, but also it is impossible to fill in the blank with just a name of any single settlement. Even though Şahin is aware of this gap, inasmuch as he also provided the possible restoration

³ Onur 2016, 108–9 reports in brief: The restoration of Kalabatia is not secure and the distance between Sidyma and Sancaklı Limani, which is proposed to have been ancient Kalabatia, is much longer than the distance between Sidyma and [Kalabatia?] recorded on the monument (see fig. 4). There is no direct evidence to localize Kalabatia at the harbour of Sancaklı, which was the port of Sidyma from the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD, if not earlier, as its tombs record that Sidyma was responsible for collecting the fines (see n. 21 below).

⁴ Şahin 2014, 47, 124.

of “... ε[ις Καλαβατίαν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν]αν ...” in one of his earlier works,⁵ he notwithstanding restores it with 12-13 letters (see above).

It can be seen in fig. 2 that l.11 requires ca. 10–13 additional letters for its lacuna, even if the destination was Kalabatia, since restoration fills only half of the gap. The remains of the letter after ΣΙΔΥΜΩΝ, a vertical hasta (see figs. 1–3) can only belong to E, H, M, N, Π, P or I. There seems to be no horizontal bar in the middle of this hasta. But the horizontal bars of the epsilons and etas in the inscriptions do not join the vertical hastas in some examples in the inscription. Since H, I, M, N, Π or P do not provide a sensible restoration, it was most probably E (see more in p. 17 on the possible options). As a matter of fact, there is probably a tiny remnant of this vertical bar (see fig. 3) not joining the hasta; also an upper bar joining the hasta at the top can also be traced. On Bl 15B, the last two letters before the first ivy-leaf in the l.11 are certainly AN.

B. Sancaklı Port, Kalabatia and a “Siege of Sidyma”

Şahin, after restoring the destination as Kalabatia, furthermore, established a theory of a “Siege of Sidyma”. According to this theory, Quintus Veranius, who began his campaign from the port of Kalabatia (identified with Sancaklı Limanı) with a contested landing, ended the rebellion in Lycia by besieging the acropolis of Sidyma and overcoming the rebels. Then he was able to organize the region as a Roman province.⁶ It has even been assumed that some collapsed parts of the walls on the acropolis of Sidyma might have been demolished by Quintus Veranius,⁷ whose funerary inscription⁸ offered a starting point to some scholars for developing such ideas. In this inscription, of which the left and the upper part are lost, we read the career of Veranius in ascending order. The first line of the surviving part reads “he governed for five years”, referring to his governorship in Lycia between AD 43 and 47. The deeds mentioned in lines 1–6 are commonly associated with his achievements in Lycia during this period. Amongst these achievements are mentioned a victorious campaign against a community ([...]acheotarum expugnatum delevit) and some restorations of certain defensive walls of a place ([...]lutionem moenium remissam et interceptam). The partial word in the third line, [...]acheotarum) raises the largest challenge for the discussion. Gordon proposed tracheotae as the only possible reading to be considered and asserted that they might have been the Cietae in Cilicia Tracheia. He consequently proposed the restoration as [castellum Cietarum Tr]acheotarum.⁹ This has widely been adopted by subsequent scholars.¹⁰ M. Adak recently claimed that these *tracheotae* were not in Cilicia but in Lycia, since Veranius should have gained this victory during his service in Lycia and therefore was not authorized to leave his province. Furthermore, he proposed that such a military operation should have taken place in northern Lycia, Kibyrtis, emphasizing that he had no time for campaigning in a different and far province, and that there is no known uprising at that time in Cilicia.¹¹

⁵ Şahin 2009, 103.

⁶ Şahin 2009; Şahin 2014, 140–1.

⁷ Takmer 2010, 107.

⁸ Gordon 1952, 231–352 = AE 1953, no. 251 = CIL VI 41075; Birley 2005, 37.

⁹ Gordon 1952, 246–9; Gordon 1955, 944–45.

¹⁰ Syme 1995, 272; Behrwald 2000, 137; Kolb 2002, 217; Brélaz 2005, 292–93; Feld (2005, 80, n. 145) proposes the restoration of “[Cilicum Tr]acheotarum” instead of “[Cietum Tr]acheotarum” on the grounds that the Cietae lived only in the plain.

¹¹ Adak 2003; Şahin and Adak 2007, 63–8; Şahin 2014, 65–70.

Şahin considered that this “castellum” of *tracheotae* was probably the acropolis of Sidyma (see n. 6), where the rebels might have taken refuge and were finally overwhelmed by Quintus Veranius after a siege. Şahin’s main points for a “siege of Sidyma” are the following: 1) The lost destination of the road starting at Sidyma (R3) in the MP is most probably Kalabatia, and this is the only example of a connection between an inland city and its port. Thus, he concludes that this road might have been built for special purposes (i. e. military); 2) The first three roads of the list, i.e. Patara – Xanthos – Sidyma – [Kalabatia], were probably related to Veranius’ task of military operations against the rebels, supposing that these roads were built first; 3) There is a good old road from Sancaklı Port climbing up the valley in zigzags (see p. 264 below), which made him think that this road was built by the soldiers of Veranius and consequently that the purpose of such a road could be associated with a military assault on Sidyma. The grounds for this theory contain several inconsistencies, and more importantly, there is no direct evidence for the theory presented, not only in terms of epigraphical methodology and geography, but also in terms of historical accounts concerning Lycia. But this article will only deal with epigraphic and geographic aspects of the question.

First of all, the current evidence does not support that the destination was Sancaklı Port, which has been accepted as ancient Kalabatia (see p. 264 below). We have one known option around Sidyma for the destination of this road – Pinara – to where the MP does not give a road from Sidyma anywhere else in the list. However, the surviving letters AN, which should be the accusative ending of the name of the destination, which is feminine, make it almost impossible to assume that the lost destination might have been Pinara, due to its neuter plural form. Further the distance from Sidyma to Pinara is much longer than the distance given on the MP, i.e. 24 stades (ca. 4,5 km). It is also difficult to assume a restoration which purports: “The road from Sidyma to Pinara through Kalabatia (has been constructed) up to 24 stadia” (cf. the partial road between Idebessos and Kitanaura in the lines 3–4 of Face C¹², since in such a case the ending of Kalabatia should have been given in the genitive case, i.e. –ΑΣ or, much less likely –ΩΝ, if it was a name in neut. pl.) In this case, Pinara should have been in the accusative case as Πίναρα (neut. pl.). None of these endings is suitable for restoring the lacuna. Further, an ἐπί would most probably have been expected before στάδια; also the phrasing would not have fit into the space.¹³ The proposal of the word θάλασσα for restoration also seems unsuitable¹⁴, because the shore closest to Sidyma, as the crow flies, is a distance of 5.5 km (cf. fig. 4 below). Even if we could accept that Kalabatia was a suitable option for the destination of this road, two problems remain: the distance given in the monument (if it is accepted that Sancaklı Limanı was ancient Kalabatia) and the lacuna that accommodates more letters than those of the proposed restoration. One probable solution could have been a partial construction of a road from Sidyma to Kalabatia, of which only 24 stadia were built. At least we know that there is a road from Sidyma to Sancaklı, which is especially well-preserved in the section from

¹² MP C 3–4: ἀπὸ Ἰδεβησοῦ ἢ εἰς Κιτάν[αυρ]α τῶν Τερμησέων φέρουσα κατεσκευάσται ἐπὶ σ]τάδια λβ’.

¹³ A construction of an abridged phrase could have been “*ἀπὸ Σιδύμων εἰς Πίναρα διὰ Καλαβατίας ἐπὶ στάδια κδ” or “*ἀπὸ Σιδύμων διὰ Καλαβατίας εἰς Πίναρα ἐπὶ στάδια κδ”, while a longer version could have been constructed as “*ἀπὸ Σιδύμων ἢ εἰς Πίναρα φέρουσα κατεσκευάσται ἐπὶ στάδια κδ” based upon the phrase employed for the road between Idebessos and Kitanaura in lines 3–4 of Face C (see n. 12). Further, if a partial road construction between Sidyma and Kalabatia that did not enter into the territory of a settlement would have been the case, perhaps phrases like “ἀπὸ Σιδύμων ἐπεσκευασμένη εἰς Καλαβατί]αν ρ στάδια ρ κδ”, “ἀπὸ Σιδύμων ἐπὶ τοῦ μέρους ἢ εἰς Καλαβατί]αν ρ στάδια ρ κδ” or “ἀπὸ Σιδύμων ἢ [ἐπὶ τοῦ μέρους εἰς Καλαβατί]αν ρ στάδια ρ κδ” could have been proposed. But none of these fits the line in question.

¹⁴ Şahin 2009, 103; cf. Onur 2016, 108.

Sancaklı Port up to the Boğaziçi plain.¹⁵ However, it cannot be known if it was constructed in the Claudian period, nor if it has anything to do with the roads that are recorded on the MP. Furthermore, this section of the road remains out of the range of 4,5 km from Sidyma. If this part of road were understood as the partial construction, it would most probably have been phrased as “from Kalabatia to Sidyma”, not “from Sidyma to Kalabatia”. In this respect it is also wrong to conjecture that the construction of the road from Sidyma to Kalabatia should have started from Sancaklı at the seaside, as some scholars assumed.¹⁶ So, not only Sancaklı Port itself (which is at a distance of ca. 8 km to Sidyma), but also even this surviving road stays out of the 4,5 km in the periphery of Sidyma. Further, this proposal is not plausible in respect of the epigraphic construction of the line in terms of phrasing, as has been discussed above (see also n. 13 above). Consequently, Kalabatia, though dubious, might be only a part of the restoration, the rest of which should contain some other geographic, conditional or causal elements. Thus, it becomes obvious that either the destination is not Kalabatia, but some other settlement at a distance of 4,5 km from Sidyma. Or Kalabatia should not be located in Sancaklı Port, but in another place at a distance of 4,5 km from Sidyma.

The localization of Kalabatia in Sancaklı Port was made only through the *Stadiasmus Maris Magni* (SMM), which listed the sea-stops or landmarks from east to west. In this portolan, Kalabatia (written as *Καλαβαντία*, see p. 273 below) is given between Hieria Akra and Perdikiiai, being 30 stadia (ca. 5,5–6 km) from the former, and 50 stadia (ca. 9–9,5 km) from the latter. Beaufort in 1811 marked on his map an old zigzag road climbing up from Sancaklı Port to the western end of Boğaziçi Valley. In December 29th 1841, Schönborn, having visited Sidyma, walked to this point from where he could see the ruins of buildings and sarcophagi by the seashore. But he decided not to walk down because of the strong winds. And Ritter, who published Schönborn’s accounts in his book in 1859, noted that this port might have been ancient Kalabatia.¹⁷ Before Ritter, Leake had already proposed in his remarks of 1842 on Hoskyn’s paper that Kalabatia might be localized in Sancaklı Port.¹⁸ His localization was based upon the possible identification of Hieria Akra in the SMM with today’s Seven Capes (Turk. *Yedi Burunlar*), from where Sancaklı Port is ca. 6 km to the north. He also noted that Peridikiiai, the next port after Kalabatia, should then have been in the creek 5–6 miles to the north, namely in modern Faralya, Uzunyurt. In 1842, Spratt and Forbes were curious about the zigzag road marked by Beaufort and walked on this road down to the port, where they saw the ruins mentioned above. They concluded that the port belonged to Sidyma, since one of the funerary inscriptions records Sidyma as the responsible authority for receiving the fines for tomb-violation.¹⁹ In the direction of this information, Niemann and von Luschan, who obviously already accepted the proposal that Sancaklı Port was ancient Kalabatia, visited the place in 1881 and described the remains.²⁰ Later in 1908 Kalinka visited the ruins prior to his publication of volume II/2 of the *Tituli Asiae Minoris* in 1930.²¹ Diamantaras also visited this port and published his accounts and a few inscriptions in 1909, suggesting no ancient name for the port.²² This lo-

¹⁵ Şahin 2009, 110, Abb. 4–6.

¹⁶ Takmer 2010, 107.

¹⁷ Ritter 1859, 974; cf. Robert 1966, 16–7.

¹⁸ Leake 1842, 163. Hoskyn’s paper is the one before Leake’s remarks in the same journal.

¹⁹ Spratt and Forbes 1847, I, 19–20.

²⁰ Benndorf and Niemann 1884, 82.

²¹ TAM II 249–53.

²² Diamantaras 1909, 31–4.

calization has not been objected to by later scholars.²³ The reason for this is basically the lack of evidence in addition to the information contained in SMM. The distances between Hiera Akra, Kalabatia and Perdikiai on this portolan have been presumed acceptable (see p. 273 below). However, the information recorded in the SMM should be carefully scrutinized, in our case in particular, the section from Patara to Telmessos (see p. 273 below).

Kalabatia is also known through the ethnicon “Kalabatianos” found on inscriptions from Sidyma. One of them is related to an oracle of ca. mid-1st century AD (n. 31 below) and mentions two Kalabatians ([Κα]λαβατιανοί) who received the oracle and delivered it to the Sidymeans. The other is in a funerary inscription dating most probably from the (early?) 1st century AD, which refers to a certain Hoplon from Kalabatia (Καλαβαττιανός).²⁴ The political status of Kalabatia cannot be clearly determined from the surviving evidence. However, most of the ethnica in funerary inscriptions indicate citizenship of an independent settlement.²⁵ It is possible to assume that Hoplon in the funerary inscription, referred as Καλαβαττιανός in n. 24, was a citizen of Kalabatia when he died. Eupolemos and Ptolemaios, who are described as Καλαβατιανοί in TAM II 174 (see below), were also citizens of Kalabatia. If this were the case, then an independent Kalabatia might have existed in the early Imperial period at the latest, in accordance with the dates of the inscriptions mentioned above. Howbeit, though it cannot be proved, this theoretical approach fits well with the geographical situation and the date, and with the basic assumption that the roads on the MP were the connections between independent settlements in the (early) mid-1st century AD (cf. n. 2 above).²⁶

C. TAM II 174 and Kalabatia

This inscription, which was found at Sidyma during the late 19th century, contains a mythological oration or treatise concerning the legends and genealogical connections between some cities in the Xanthos Valley. It was provided by a sophist, presumably a certain Hieron, a citizen

²³ Ruge 1919, 1529; Robert 1966, 16–7; Ruggieri 1999; Hellenkemper and Hild 2004, II, 584 s.v. Kalabatia; Şahin 2009, 103; Arnaud 2009, 181; Takmer 2010, 113; Cavalier and Courtils 2011, 462–3; Şahin 2014, 139–40; Arnaud 2011, 425; cf. Arnaud 2016, 141.

²⁴ Takmer 2010, 120, no. 3. The inscription should be earlier than the editor’s suggestion of the second half of the 2nd century AD; see Onur 2016, 108.

²⁵ There are also a few examples, which do not seem to have followed this. For instance, two funerary inscriptions from Bonda Hill between Myra and Limyra reveal a settlement called Persourion remaining in the territory of Limyra (Wörrle 2012, 440–44, nos. 66 and 68). In no. 66 it appears as a toponym (οικῶν [ἐν Περσ]ουρίῳ), while in no. 68 as ethnicon (Θρονικός ? Ἡρακλείδου Περσουριώτης). On these inscriptions Wörrle (2012, 442) notes the following: “Auch Pigres gibt für sich weder limyräisches noch anscheinend sonstiges Bürgerrecht an, aber Wohnsitz in einem Ort, von dessen Namen mit –ουρίῳ das Ende erhalten ist. Nr. 68 erlaubt, ihn ganz wiederherzustellen: der antike Name Karakuyus dürfte Περσουρίον gewesen sein. Formal entspricht Pigres’ Wohnsitzangabe der der Anthis, doch nennt diese die Polis, Pigres dagegen mit der Kome von Persurion eine ihrer administrativen Untergliederungen. Ob sich darin ein statusrechtlicher Unterschied oder nur ein persönliches Präzisionsbedürfnis spiegelt, läßt sich wohl (noch) nicht entscheiden.”

²⁶ If this were the case, then a question arises like that of Kastabara and Tlos, since the settlements given on the monument were probably independent, at least by the early empire (see n. 2 above). The funerary inscriptions from Deliktaş, which is accepted as Kastabara, represent a dependency on Tlos in the imperial period: TAM II 720 (the fine is to be paid to Tlos) and 722 (the owners are from Tlos). The puzzling issues for Kastabara, as was discussed by Rousset (2010, 142–43), are: 1) if the settlement were already a dependency of Tlos, even by the time of Claudius, 2) if there might have been a change of status later, since the inscriptions are not earlier than 2nd or 3rd centuries, or 3) if there were an entirely different situation pertaining to some particular places, such as sacred places or imperial estates, which had autonomy to some extent. But it should not be ignored that it is probable that some small cities were reduced to districts of a larger city adjacent to them in a later period. After all, we do not have any precise evidence from Deliktaş indicating that this settlement was ancient Kastabara, as is the case for Kalabatia in relation to the ruins both in Sancaklı and in Bel.

of Tlos and Xanthos.²⁷ The orator seems to be following the traditions of second sophistic school²⁸ and employed in his speech some contemporary incidents including the stone images of Artemis and Apollon that appeared in Pinara and Sidyma respectively. When he mentions the one in Sidyma, he associates it with a grotto of Apollon located in Lopta, the location of which remains unknown.²⁹ But it was probably associated with the cave cults around the Kragos mentioned by Eustathios.³⁰ The text is followed by a 129 year-old oracle delivered by two Kalabatians, Eupolemos and Ptolemaios, to the Sidymians. The inscription is usually dated to the mid-2nd century AD because of its literary style and the typeface of the letters employed. Further, because of the eponymous dating of the oracle, given as ἐπὶ ἱερέων τοῦ μὲν κοινοῦ, the oracle should be somewhat earlier than the provincialization of Lycia in AD 43.³¹ The translation by Papanikolaou (2012, 151-153) of the relevant part is as follows:

In Sidyma, a town built by Sidymos, son of Tloos and Chelidon, daughter of Cragos, (the land gave) Apollo, in a place close to the sea, in Lopta, a hidden cave difficult to enter, which has a small opening at its peak that absorbs the light; in it, a woman who wanted, without being seen (Col. Da:) and without noise, to see the God Apollo fell down. So, there is a fallen body in the form of a stone, a specimen frightening to all observers. For that reason, dapping our hands and greeting the god, we enter shouting 'Hail to you, Apollon from Lopta' ... the oracle that was given to the Sidymians 129 years ago, that only a virgin neokoros (priestess, temple warden) should be consecrated to Artemis, an oracle which was written down by them as cited here: When Artemeus was priest of the koinon (of Lycia) and Telesios was the priest of the city (Sidyma), on the 26th of month Loos, we, Eupolemos son of Aristonymos, and Ptolemaios son of Aristonymos, prytaneis³² from Calabatia, notify to you according to the decree the oracle given to us, whose copy is cited here...³³

The following oracle is about the necessity that the priestesses of Artemis should be virgins. The first verse of the oracle reads [ἐ]σθλὰ δέχου Φοίβου πόλι συνγενὶ θέσφατα τρανώς ("receive clearly the good oracles of Phoibos for the kindred city"). Here Sidyma is described as πόλις συγγενής ("kindred city") to the place from where the oracle was delivered. Apart from its primary meaning as "kindred; relative; cognate", συγγενής might also indicate that the source of the oracle was equal in status to the recipient city, considering its meaning of "homogenous;

²⁷ Benndorf and Niemann 1884, 75–7, no. 53; SEG VI 755 (= XXVIII 1222 = XXXV 1821; XXXVIII 1970 = XXXIX 1413 = L 1356 = LII 1451); FGrHist. 770 F 5 (p. 764–5); Chaniotis 1988, 75–85; Curtz 1995, 195–200 no. 79; Merkelbach 2000, 115–25; Merkelbach and Stauber 2002, 31–3, no. 17/08/01; Papanikolaou 2012, 126–9; Graf 2015, 214–7.

²⁸ Parke 1985, 190; Papanikolaou 2012, 150–51.

²⁹ Cf. Ruge 1927; Schweyer 1996, 28; Hellenkemper and Hild 2004, II, 692, s.v. Lopta; Takmer 2010, 114.

³⁰ Eustathios Com. Dion. Per. 847.15–19: Τὸν δὲ ἐνταῦθα Ταῦρον τὸ ὄρος καὶ Κράγον φησὶ φημίζεσθαι, ἀπὸ Κράγου τινὸς ἐπιφανοῦς ἀνδρὸς, ὃς αὐτόθι θανὼν τιμᾶται. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ φασιν οἱ παλαιοὶ τῷ Κράγῳ θεῶν ἀγρίων ἄντρα εἶναι; Benndorf and Niemann 1884, 76 with n. 4; Cook 1925, 971, n. 2.

³¹ For the dating of the inscription see Frei 1990, 1745; Parke 1985, 192; Merkelbach 2000, 121–25; Merkelbach and Stauber 2002, 32–3; Reitzenstein 2011, 76–7 n. 8; Schuler 2010, 77–9; Wörrle 1988, 123; Takmer 2010, 113 with n. 159.

³² Here Papanikolaou follows the proposition in Benndorf and Niemann 1884, 77 (πρυτάνε[ις]), on the basis of syntax and content, although the word ΠΡΥΤΑΝΕΣΙΝ is quite clearly legible in the inscription (see fig. 7).

³³ Based upon the edition by Merkelbach 2000, 115–22, l. 10–112: ... ἐν δὲ Σιδύμοις κτίσματος Σιδύμου | υἱοῦ Τλώου καὶ Χελειδόνος τῆς | Κράγου Ἀπόλλωνα τόπων πρὸς | θαλάσση Λόπτοις σπηλαίῳ | ἀποκρύφῳ δυσεισόδῳ ἐκ κορυφῆς δὲ φωτοῦλλον ἀνοιγμα | μικρὸν ἔχοντι, μέσον εἰς ὃ καθοπεῦσαι θελήσασά τις ἄφρων | ἀνοφρητὶ ^{vac} τὸν θεὸν κατη|νέχθη, καὶ λίθος κεῖται πτόμα | φόβου δεῖγμα κατασκόπων, | διὸ καὶ κροτεῖν ἀσπάσματος | «χαῖρε Ἀπολλων {ὁ} ἐγ Λόπτων», | {ὁ} εἰσερχόμενοι φωνοῦμεν. | τὸν ἐκπεσόντα | πρὸ ἐτῶν ρκθ' Σιδυμεῦσιν χρησμών | περὶ νεωκόρου παρθένου τῆ Ἀρτέμιδι ἀναγεγραμμένο(ν) παρ' αὐτοῖς, κ[α]θὼς ὑπογράφεται. | ἐπὶ ἱερέων τοῦ | μὲν κοινοῦ Ἀρτεμέου τῆς δὲ πόλεως Τελεσίου μνηὸς Λόφου κς'· | [E]ὑπό[λ]ιμος Ἀριστωνόμου καὶ [P]τολεμαῖος Ἀριστωνόμου | [Καλ]αβατιανοὶ πρυτάνεσιν ἀναφέρομεν πρὸς ὑμᾶς [κατ]ὰ τὸ ψήφισμα | [τὸ]ν ἐκπεπτωκότα χρησμὸν οὐ καὶ ἔστιν ἀντίγραφον τὸ ὑπογεγραμμένον.

congener”.³⁴ The source of this oracle is not specified, though Patara has been suggested as the most probable option due to the prominence of the famous Patarean oracle, as well as the proximity of Patara to Sidyma.³⁵ Parke states that the source could have been a local shrine. Thus, he points to the official prophethood of Artemis and Apollon in Sidyma (see n. 42 below), but notwithstanding, opted for Patara, since the phrase “kindred city” and use of “your land” in second verse (σύνφορον ὡς χθονὶ σῆι ναέταισί τε πᾶσιν ὃ πεύθη ἔσσειται) indicate an external source.³⁶ Parke did not write that the source of the oracle might have been Kalabatia, the hometown of the deliverers Eupolemos and Ptolemaios, and that the status of Kalabatia might have been independent at the time when the oracle was given, as this can make it an external source. Merkelbach also accepts that the source was Patara, as was also followed by some later scholars.³⁷ However, in such a situation, it becomes difficult to understand the role and purpose of these two Kalabatians in delivering this “Patarean oracle” to Sidyma. Since the Kalabatians were responsible for delivering this oracle, which should have been pronounced directly to them (ἀναφέρομεν πρὸς ὑμᾶς [κατ]ὰ τὸ ψήφισμα | [τὸ]ν ἐκπεπωκότα χρησμόν), it should be expected that the source of the oracle was in fact a sanctuary in Kalabatia. Therefore, according to the text, not only the grotto of Apollon in Lopta was near the seaside and close to Kalabatia – or rather, within the borders of Kalabatia – but also the oracle might well have been received from Apollon of Lopta, about whom an account was already given in the text just before the oracle. However, there is no direct evidence whether oracles were consulted in this cave or the source of this oracle was this cave.³⁸ However, the dateless story of the woman stoned in this cave might indicate that the cave was already functioning. It was known that Apollo was residing there, as was the case at the time when Hieron delivered his speech in the mid-2nd century. Furthermore, it is also quite probable that Sidyma was this “kindred city” for Kalabatia, though the term πόλις συγγενής, apparently a generic term, can of course be employed for any city to make the oracle usable for other cities as well. It is also clear that the oracle was delivered by these two Kalabatians in compliance to a decree (κατὰ τὸ ψήφισμα). There is no precise answer as to where (Sidyma or Kalabatia) this decree was issued. Perhaps this depends on the location where the temple was, since on one hand the initiator of the process might have been Sidyma to solve related problems occurred in the temple or in the

³⁴ See LSJ s.v. συγγενής, –ές; The word indicates a relationship between the cities involved in the situation. The term was also used to reflect the kinship ties between them, see Demetriou 2013, 194–96.

³⁵ Parke 1985, 190; Merkelbach 2000, 119–20; Petrovic and Petrovic 2006, 162–63, no. 24; Marek and Frei 2010, 589 (= 2016, 477); However, Graf (2015, 217 and fn. 27) – in addition to local shrines in Lycia – suggests that it might be an oracle received from Didyma or more likely from Klaros, since the oracles of Klaros were inscribed on stone in the recipient cities, while Didymean oracles were recorded in Didyma. However this is highly unlikely since Sidyma, as the recipient city, is addressed as πόλις συγγενής (“kindred city”) to the source of the oracle, referring to a context and geography in close relationship to Sidyma.

³⁶ Parke 1985, 191–193.

³⁷ Merkelbach 2000, 120; Marek and Frei 2016, 477.

³⁸ Cf. Graf 2015, 216; On the cave oracles, esp. those of Apollo see Ustinova 2009a, esp. 275–79 and 2009b, 109–21, also Friese 2013, esp. 231–32. For oracular purposes, it was most usual to make use of those caves located on seismic faults with fissures that leaked toxic gases, as was the case for Delphi, Hierapolis etc. see Stewart and Piccardi 2017, 715–8. It is possible that a seismic fault below the cave of Apollon in Lopta released CO₂ gas, the area is richly faulted, seismic active and has experienced many earthquakes, as was expressed in published statements such as following the 28th February 1851 event, “*Springs of potable water have been dried up, and boiling sulphurous springs have appeared in several places. The soil around Makri (Fethiye) has cracked in every direction and the crevices exhale fumes of bituminous vapour*” in the Illustrated London News, April 5th, 1851, 277 = Liverpool Albion Newspaper, April 7th, 1851, see also Duggan 2019, 258. Further, it seems reasonable to suggest that the woman mentioned in the dateless story in the inscription, who fell into the Lopta cave and died, might well have inhaled the gases emanating from the cave, which may have caused her to hyperventilate, lose consciousness, fall, and die when she hit the stone floor of the cave.

city. On the other hand it might have been an oracle issued by the source itself and sent to Sidyma, as being one of the cities, which provided priestess for the temple. If the temple of Artemis (together with Apollon) was in Kalabatia, its lands might well have become a part of Sidymeian territory in later centuries. So there is no compulsory reason to assume that the source of the oracle was Patara. Besides, it is known from ancient sources that the Patarean oracle was active for only a part of the year, probably 6 months in the winter season.³⁹ There was an uncertain period of silence, probably lasting until it was revived with the assistance of Opramoas perhaps in the early 2nd century AD.⁴⁰ So it is also natural that any other nearby oracle center was used when the Patarean oracle was inactive. Further, it is unknown if the oracular seat in Patara was always preferred for such matters.⁴¹ Consequently, it seems plausible to consider Lopta with a cave-cult of Apollon as a sanctuary in the territory of Kalabatia. In our field surveys, we searched for caves around Sidyma, especially around the Bel district for the reasons given below. There are, of course, many caves in several places, as was mentioned by Eustathios (see n. 30 above). Some of them, which we visited, showed indications of ancient use, while many of them were simply natural formations (figs. 8, 13). But this region should be investigated in detail within a wider context. Furthermore, some of the caves used in antiquity may have collapsed, slipped or been in-filled through geological deformations caused by earthquakes, landslips and eroded material.

It is also known that this cult of Apollon was accompanied by that of Artemis, as some of the inscriptions in and around Sidyma inform us, being a usual practice in antiquity. M. Aur. Eukarpos was a Sidymeian priest and prophet of Artemis and Apollon.⁴² It is not known when the priesthood and prophethood of Apollon and Artemis at Sidyma was instituted. But the inscriptions mentioning these officials are not earlier than the early 2nd or 3rd centuries AD. Artemis was called Sidymike, and the tomb violation fines would have been paid to her, as stated in one of the inscriptions from Bel (intact), a village ca. 5 km to the south of Sidyma, and in an inscription from Sidyma (which is however restored).⁴³ She was venerated, together

³⁹ Hdt I.182: καὶ κατάπερ ἐν Πατάροισι τῆς Λυκίης ἡ πρόμαντις τοῦ θεοῦ, ἐπεὶν γένηται: οὐ γὰρ ὄν αἰεὶ ἐστὶ χρηστήριον αὐτόθι: ἐπεὶν δὲ γένηται τότε ὄν συγκатаκλήσειται τὰς νύκτας ἔσω ἐν τῷ νηῶ; Verg. Aen. IV 143–144: Qualis ubi hibernam Lyciam Xanthique fluenta deserit ac Delum maternam invisit Apollo...; Servius' notes on these verses of the Aeneid: nam constat Apollinem sex mensibus hiemalibus apud Pataram, Lyciae civitatem, dare responsa: unde Patareus Apollo dicitur: et sex mensibus aestivis apud Delum. ergo 'hibernam' utrum quod ibi hiemare soleat; an frigidam; an hieme temperatam; an quam hiberno tempore deserere soleat?

⁴⁰ It is not known precisely when this period of this silence occurred. Mela, who wrote his chronicon around AD 43, mentions the decline (or perhaps even the cessation) of the oracle of Patara in *Chr.* 1.15.82: ... Pataram non inlustria. Illam nobilem facit delubrum Apollinis quondam oribus et oraculi fide Delphico simile; Opramoas of Rhodiapolis aided the revival of the oracle, which had apparently been silent for some time, Kokkinia 2000, 67, XVII E 10–13 (=TAM II 905 col. XVIII 65–68): Παταρεῦ[σιν] εἰς μὲν λόγον θεοῦ | πατρῶου Ἀπόλλ[λ]ωνος, ἐπεὶ χρόνῳ σ[ι]γήσαν τὸ μαντεῖ[ϊον] αὐτοῦ [πάλλιν ἢρ]ξ[α]το θεσπί[ζειν]; cf. Parke 1985, 190–93 and Bryce 1986, 196. See also Lepke, Schuler and Zimmermann 2015, 345–52 and 370–71, who rediscuss the period of this silence due to an inscription recently found in Patara, which records Quintus Vilius Titianus as the archiprophet of Apollo and which they date to 126 AD at the latest.

⁴¹ It may even have been possible that the cave of Apollon of Lopta was intended for humbler visitors, or was just a local centre. A possible parallel might be the Corycian cave located ca. 18 km to the north of the oracle centre at Delphi. The Corycian cave was mainly for lot oracles, though it is also known that the revelations were received, see Ustinova 2009b, 65–8.

⁴² TAM II 188: ... Μάρκον Αὐρηλίον Εὐκάρπον | Ἰεροκλέους τοῦ καὶ Εὐκάρπου Σιδυμῆα τὸν ἀξιολογώτατον ἱερέα καὶ | προφήτην διὰ βίου | τῶν προηγετῶν θεῶν | Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος ...; ... TAM II 189: Μ(άρκον) Αὐρηλίον Εὐκάρπον | Ἰεροκλέους | ἄνδρα μεγαλόφρονα σώφρον[α] | δίκαιον ἱκανὸν εὐεργέτην, | συγγενῆ ἀρχιφυλάκ[ω]ν | Λυκιαρχῶν, γεγο[νό] | τα ἱερέα | [καὶ προφήτην διὰ βίου τῶν προηγετῶν] | [θεῶν Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος] ...

⁴³ TAM II 244 (Bel, see n. 54 below) and the restored one in TAM II 214 (Sidyma: ...ὄφειλέσει ἱερά | Ἀρτέ[μι]δι Σιδ[υ]μικῆ)X [α]φ', ὄν ὁ ἐλέ[ν]ξας ἔξει τὸ τρίτον.)

with Apollon (see n. 42 above) who may perhaps be identical with the Apollon from Lopta in the territory of Kalabatia. Here oracles may perhaps have been consulted and which was probably integrated into the territory of Sidyma in a later period. The oracle given at the end of the inscription in TAM II 174 also emphasized that Artemis was worshipped together with Apollon at the time when the oracle was delivered, as “These things the king himself, the far-darter, reveals are blessed and his sister the huntress, the nourisher of hounds, whom together with Phoebus [you should worship...]”.⁴⁴

At this point it might be thought that the ending part, ὀφειλήσι ἱεράς Ἀρτέμιδι Σιδυμικῆ δραχμᾶς τρι[ι]σχειλίας in the funerary inscription from Bel mentioned above, might indicate a dependency of the settlement in Bel on Sidyma in the earlier period, due to both employing drachme as the payment currency instead of denarius and Artemis Sidymike, to whom the penalty was to be paid. But many examples from Lycia point that this might not have been the case. The use of drachme survived into the Roman Imperial Period –occasionally meaning “denarius”– at least into the 2nd century AD.⁴⁵ The deities attributed with a locality can be found in different localities. For instance, in a funerary inscription from Rhodiapolis the fine for a tomb violation was to be paid to Athena, Leto Korydallike and Eleuthera Myrike at the same time (TAM II 924: ...ὀφειλέτω ἱεράς Ἀθηνᾶ δραχμᾶς τρις χειλίας καὶ Λητῶ Κορυδαλλικῆ καὶ Ἐλευθέρᾳ Μυρικῆ τὸ ἴσον πλῆθος...). Also, in the same manner can be found dedications to such deities as Artemis Kombike, who was venerated in many different places. However, there is no attestation for her in Komba or Artemis Kitaneurissa (“of Kitanaura”) in Olympos.⁴⁶

D. The Probable Destination of the Road from Sidyma in the MP

In order to approach the problem concerning the name of the missing destination, it seems more productive to look at the settlements located within ca. a 4,5 km range around Sidyma (see fig. 4) and to try connecting them with the toponyms known from the area around Sidyma. Apart from Kalabatia and/or Lopta, there are two more place names known from sources. The first is Ispada, a χωρίον mentioned in an inscription from Sidyma. It reads that M. Aur. Eukarpos bequeathed his estates in Ispada to the ἱερὸν σύστημα τῶν τριάκοντα (“the sacred college of thirty”) of Sidyma.⁴⁷ Ispada was a village or a hamlet within the borders of Sidyma at least in the 3rd century AD. It is also known through another inscription from Sidyma that this same person bequeathed his estates around Kragos to the polis of Sidyma.⁴⁸ It is considered that the estates mentioned in both inscriptions may refer to the same place.⁴⁹ However, it is not known where Ispada was,⁵⁰ though the most fertile lands around Sidyma are situated to

⁴⁴ Translation is by Parke 1985, 191. The original text is “ταῦτά σοι αὐτὸς ἄναξ ἑκατηβόλος ὄλβια φαίνει | ἀγροτέρα τε θεὰ σκυλακοτρόφος, ἦν ἅμα Φοῖβῳ | ...” from Merkelbach 2000, 122 l. 111–112.

⁴⁵ Some examples are: FdXanthos VII 67 (Xanthos, 2nd half of 2nd cent. AD); FdXanthos VII 69 (Xanthos, 1st–2nd cent. AD); TAM II 774 (Arneai, Imperial Period); TAM II 213 (Sidyma, Imperial Period). It is also known from the Neronian customs inscription from Andriake that some payments concerning taxes could be paid with the money of older currency (ἐν δὲ καὶ ἡμέραις τριάκοντα [τ]ὸ ἡμισυ μέρο[ς] τῆς τεμῆς (l. 81) ἀποδότω ἐν ᾧ ἂν βούληται νομίσματι τῶν ἐν Λυκίᾳ [πρ]οχωρούντων...) instead of denarius; see Takmer 2006, 60–1; Takmer 2007, 174; Takmer 2012, 215.

⁴⁶ Heberdey and Kalinka 1897, 17, no. 52 (Simena); TAM II 407 (Patara); FdXanthos VII 2–3 (Letoon); IARYkanda 85; Tüner-Önen in Varkivanç 2017, 55 (three votives from Xanthos). Cf. Frei 1990, 1773; Adak and Tüner 2004, 53–5, no. 1 (Artemis Kitaneurissa in Olympos).

⁴⁷ TAM II 188, l. 20–2: ... κατέλιπεν τῷ ἱερῷ συστήματι τῶν τριάκοντα χωρίῳ | Ισπαδοῖς ...

⁴⁸ TAM II 190: ... καταλιπόντα τῇ πόλει (Sidyma) πάντα τὰ περὶ τὸν Κράγον γεγονότα αὐτοῦ χωρία ...

⁴⁹ Takmer 2010, 114. If these were the same lands or at least in the same vicinity – as perhaps TAM II 190 indicates – the location of the central Kragos should have been the mountain range in which Sidyma is located.

⁵⁰ Schweyer 1996, 28; Hellenkemper and Hild 2004, II, 573, s.v. Ispada; Takmer 2010, 114.

the north of the city in today's Boğaziçi Valley. There are also other areas of suitable farmland lying to the south and southwest, perhaps the plateaus to the south of Dodurga and some fields in the Karadere Valley.

The second place that is recorded could perhaps be [I]era mentioned in the records of the Athenian Assessment Lists of 425/4 BC as [I]ερά παρὰ [Σι]δυμέας, paying tribute as an independent town adjacent to Sidyma.⁵¹ Since the inscription was inscribed in the stoichedon style, the number of missing letters are clear, but the first letter of Ἰερά and the first two letters of Σιδυμέας are restored (see the related lacuna in fig. 5). It is not Ἰερά because *spiritus asper* (Heta) was a separate sign in the Athenian Tribute Lists, as one of the prevalent features of the archaic and classical inscriptions. And there is only one letter space which could only accommodate a single letter. However, the restoration is done based upon some geographical grounds. The editors note that Iera must be sought to the west of Sidyma, where a promontory (probably near Sancaklı Limanı) extends to the sea. Therefore, there is similarity in name with the landmark "Hiera Akra" located between Pydnai and Kalabatia (see p. 273 below) in the SMM and accepted as modern Seven Capes (Yedi Burunlar). On the other hand, they question if it can be identified with the ruins in the Bel district, approximately 5 km to the south of Sidyma.⁵² However, in any case, the restorations do not seem secure.

Hence the ruins in the Bel district –which seems to be the only place to consider as a "settlement", though small in the close vicinity of Sidyma– draws our attention. It seems to be the most suitable candidate for the name of the missing destination of the road in the MP, due to its distance from Sidyma. Ormerod and Robinson recorded these ruins including remnants of buildings and tombs with inscriptions, and reported "a small village site here in antiquity within the territory of Sidyma".⁵³ We have visited the ruins in our field surveys of 2017 and 2018. The modern road from Sidyma to the centre of the Bel district is ca. 5,5-6 km long before reaching the ruins. But the path of the old road takes a shorter route and reaches the ruins in 4,5 km (figs. 4, 6). Traces of the old road have not survived, except for some very small parts near Sidyma (fig. 14).

The remains around the Kızılıçık plain are located on the midpoint of the road from Sidyma to Bel, especially the large foundation of a building consisting of many rooms situated on Asartepe in the locality of Sakızlı (figs. 15, 17). The remains of farmsteads, mill basins and cisterns to its east in the Kızılıçık plain indicate the ancient path (figs. 18–20). The locals also informed us that they formerly used this road 50–60 years ago, and still when they need to walk in the direction of Sidyma, they take this route. The main part of the ancient remains in the district are ca. 1,3 km south of Bel in the sites of Çevlik and Geriş. Here are many ruins of tombs, some of which date from the Classical period; there are also cisterns, niches in the bedrock and other building remains (figs. 21–28). But the remains at the site have largely been destroyed, and thousands of fragments, indicative of the presence of a small settlement in antiquity, are scattered all around. As we have learned from the locals, most of this destruction has occurred in the past few years.

⁵¹ ATL I, no. A9 str. 153–4 (p. 157) = IG 13 71 col. II l. 153–4; ATL III, 23, 210, dn. 71.

⁵² ATL I, 492 s.v. Ἰερά παρὰ Σιδυμέας; Keen 1998, 121, n. 77; Takmer 2010, 104, 114.

⁵³ Ormerod and Robinson 1914, 4–8; see also Diamanatara 1909, 37; Schweyer 1996, 28; Hellenkemper and Hild 2004, II, 482, s.v. Bel.

The funerary inscriptions from this place present us with a strong connection to Sidyma. An inscription on a tomb reads that the owners were from Sidyma, and the fine was to be paid to Artemis Sidymike. The editors noted that the inscription is much later than tomb itself (fig. 21).⁵⁴ In another funerary inscription, the fine is to be paid to the demos of Sidyma.⁵⁵ Another funerary inscription from Bel, which is lost today, reads that a certain Epagathos built a πύργος (“tower”) in this place (χωρίον) on his hereditary land. The editors restore the last section of this inscription as ... [τῷ Σιδύμῳ]ἑ[ὼν δ]ή[μῳ].⁵⁶ Further, by this ancient site there is a foundation, probably belonging to a church, of which only the apsidal part is visible. There are also several remains of ancient material around the foundation of this building (figs. 29–32).

The village of Bel fits well with the lost destination of R3 in its distance to Sidyma, even perhaps, if the proposition for the localisation of [I]era made here is correct. This name also fits through its ending of –AN, as a feminine accusative with εἰς or ἐπί, namely providing a possible partial restoration as ἀπὸ Σιδύμων ἐ[ἰς/ -πί?] ... (εἰς/ ἐπί?) Ἱερ]άν ρ σταδία ρ κδ´. However, this seems a weak proposition because of the insecurity of the restoration (see above). On the other hand, it might be possible that both these names, i.e. [I]era (?) and Kalabatia, as for Lopta mentioned above, might have referred to the same place or to the toponyms within the same vicinity.

E. The Section Between Patara and Telmessos in the SMM

Consequently, the Bel district is almost certainly the destination of R3 from Sidyma, while Kalabatia remains a strong option for the restoration of the destination in this lost section as well. At this point, it should be questioned if the ruins in the Bel district might have belonged to ancient Kalabatia. But if so, a geographical puzzle arises concerning the SMM, which records Kalabatia as a destination by the sea after Pydnaï and Hieria Akra but before Perdikiia. Firstly, in order to understand if Bel might have had a port, we investigated the bays around the district to observe if there are any remains by the sea which might have had a connection with the ruins in Bel. South of Bel are two bays –the W-SW one is at a distance of 2.20 km, the one to the S is 3.20 km distant– both measured in a straight line. During our surveys, we visited them and concluded that the former does not have any traces of a port, while the latter, called by the locals the “Bay of Kale” or “Bay of Gavur Kalesi”, has the remains

⁵⁴ Ormerod and Robinson 1914, 4–5, no. 9 (= TAM II 244): Μάμιον Λάβου και Ἀριστοτέλης Δαιδάλου Σιδυμεῖς κατασκεύασαν | τὸ μνημεῖον Λα[βα] τῷ πατρὶ και πενθερῷ και Νάννη τῇ Μαιμίου | μητρυῖα και το[ῦ]ς ἐξ ἡμῶν γεγενημένοις· ἄλλω δὲ μηδενὶ | ἐξ[εῖν]αι τεθ[ῆ]ναι· εἰ δὲ μὴ ὀφειλήσει ἱεράς Ἀρτέμιδι Σιδυμικῇ || δραχμάς τρι[ῶ]σχιλίας.

⁵⁵ Ormerod and Robinson 1914, 7 no. 11 (= TAM II 246): [Δεῖος — — — — — — — — — —] | [κατεσκεύασε τὸ μνημεῖον] | εἰς <δ> κατέθετο υἱὸν Δεῖον και θυγατέρα Κοσμίαν. | ἐξουσίαν δὲ ἔξουσιν | εἰ βουληθῶσιν ἐν αὐτῷ τεθῆναι τὰ γλυκῦτα τέκνα | μου Διόδωρος μετὰ τῆς | γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ Τληπολέμ[ι]ος Λέοντος και ὁ ἐκγονός | μου Λέων | Διοδώρου, και Πάππος μετὰ τῆς γυναικὸς Ἀρσάσιδος Λέοντος και ὁ ἐκγονός μου Λέων Πάππου, και | Ἐ[πά]γα[θ]ος μετὰ τῆς γυναικὸς | Νάννης Πολυκάρπου και | ὁ ἐκγονός μου Ἐπάγαθος | ὁ και Δεῖος, και ἡ θυγάτηρ | μου Μελομένη, και τὰ | τέκνα τοῦ προμο<ιρ>εστ[ά]του υἱοῦ Δεῖος τρι[ς] | και Μελομένη. ἐτέρω | [δὲ] οὐδενὶ ἐξὸν ἔσται θάψαι τινά, ἢ ἀποτεῖσαι τῷ | Σιδυμέων δήμῳ X [. ´ και] ὑ[πο]||κ[ε]ίμενος [ἔστω] τῷ τῆς ἀ[σε]||βείας νόμῳ. ὁ δὲ ἐ[κδική?]||σας λήμψεται τὸ τρίτον μέρος].

⁵⁶ Ormerod and Robinson 1914, 5 no. 10 (= TAM II 245): Ἐπάγαθος β´ ὁ τὸν πύργον | ἐκ θεμελίων κατασκευάσας, | λαβὼν τὸ χωρίον διὰ γένους, | ἑαυτῷ και γυναικὶ αὐτοῦ Ἀρσάσει τῇ και Μιῶ Καλλ[ι]μήδου και τῷ | γενομένῳ υἱῷ Ἐπαγάθῳ και θυγατρὶ | Ἀγαθῇ Τύχη, βούλομαι καθ´ ἔτος θύεσθαι ἡμῖν ἀλέκτορα και ὄρνειθα τελέα[ν] | και καλή[ν] ἅμα τῷ μέλλειν συναρῆν | τὰ γενήματα, ὁμοίως πάλιν ἅμα τῷ | μέλλειν τρυγᾶν τὰ αὐτὰ θύματα. | και ἔσται τῷ θύοντι ἐπίδηλα και ἐπικερδῆ. ἐὰν δὲ τις παρενθυμηθεῖς | μὴ θύσῃ, ἔσται αὐτῷ ἐπιβλαβῆ και [. . .]. | ἐὰν δὲ τις [ἐτ]έ[ρω]ς(?), ὀφ[ειλῆ]σ<ε>[ν] | [τῷ Σιδύμῳ]ἑ[ὼν δ]ή[μῳ] X [. ´].

of a relatively large New Roman compound including a chapel. This was earlier noted by Diamantaras and Ruggieri (figs. 33–44).⁵⁷ This bay is located between two capes, Kalabaklık to the west and Kalkamak to the east. Between them is also a small cape termed Körfez (fig. 6, 33). There also seems to have been a road connection between Bel and this compound. A road runs down to south from the Bel ruins, passing by a cave with water (figs. 12–13); the road disappears after some 600 meters (figs. 47–48). Elderly locals told us that there was a path down to the bay of Gavur Kalesi and that they had collected salt and carried it in sacks up to Bel, either on pack animals or by themselves, some 60–70 years earlier. Apparently, the road was destroyed in heavy rains and floods, as the gully to its east indicates. So it has not been maintained for a long time. In any case it is probable that the settlement in Bel also included this port. However, if we try to localize Kalabatia at the ruins of Bel and Gavur Kalesi, then other problems appear: the localization of the other names recorded on the SMM and the great inconsistencies in the measurements recorded between the names and their locations.

This section containing the seven capes has always been the most difficult part of the sail from Patara to Fethiye. This was also noted in the 16th century by Piri Reis who reported that there were no anchorages in this part,⁵⁸ while the SMM gives ports and land marks here that existed in antiquity. However, as Arnaud highlights, the SMM is a problematic source, since it is a compilation from many older sources and full of interpolations and pseudo-toponyms, even sometimes recording different names of the same place one after another. It sometimes presents inland settlements as ports, and contains serious mistakes, mostly in terms of measurements. Further it is reported to be a very corrupt text, and the manuscript is heavily worn.⁵⁹ So the information carried in the SMM should be assessed carefully. Apart from earlier partial quotations in several works, there are three complete editions of the text to date. The first was edited by Hoffmann in 1841; the second –the edition most often referred to– appeared in 1855 by Müller, who amended it remarkably. The third edition was made by Helm in 1929 and had fewer amendments.⁶⁰ Its date cannot be known precisely, and proposals vary from the 3rd century BC to the Augustan Period.⁶¹ It is in any case a compilation of several works and contains additions and interpolations that were made up to the 5th century AD.

⁵⁷ Diamantaras 1909, 37 (Καστρέλλι); Ruggieri 1999, 306 and figs. 40–1.

⁵⁸ Piri Reis, 250: “The sea before Göksu (Ancient name: Xanthos) is all fine, shallow-water anchorages but this is nevertheless an exposed place. One lies there only in summer and not in winter. Ships calling here do so to take on water after which they continue on their way. West of this is Yedi Burun, which they also call Siti Kavı. There are lofty mountains above these capes. These mountains extend down to the sea and become Yedi Burun. There are no anchorages here and it is inaccessible but after rounding the northeastern side of this Yedi Burun for about five or six miles, there is a harbor that they call Çökertme. Infidel seamen call this harbor Simbule. It is a fine harbor. In the mouth of the harbor is a rock that is visible. Let it be known as such and so much for that.”

⁵⁹ Arnaud 2009, 167; Arnaud 2011, 415, 418–19.

⁶⁰ These three editions slightly differ from each other: 1) G. Hoffman (ed.), *Marciani Periplus. Menippi Periplus fragmentum quod Artemidori nomine ferebatur. Periplus qui stadiasmus Magni Maris inscribi solet fragmentum*, Leipzig 1841; 2) K. Müller (ed.), *Anonymi Stadiasmus Maris Magni*, in: *Geographi Graeci Minores*, Cambridge 1855, 427–514; 3) R. Helm, *Hippolytus Werke. IV: Die Chronik*, Leipzig 1929, 95–139.

⁶¹ For the accounts on dating the SMM, see Uggieri 1996 and 2002, 90; Arnaud 2009, 166–70; Arnaud 2011, 412–14.

The section from Patara to Telmessos in the SMM reads as follows:

Helm	Text	Translation
501	Ἀπὸ Πατάρων ἐπὶ ποταμὸν πλωτὸν (Ξάνθου) – ὑπέρεκειται πόλις Ξάνθος – στάδιοι ζ΄.	From Patara up to the navigable Xanthos River (above it lies the polis Xanthos): 60 stades (= ca. 11 km)
502	Ἀπὸ ποταμοῦ Ξάνθου εἰς Πύδνας ἐπ’ εὐθείας στάδιοι ζ΄. *	From the Xanthos River to Pydnai in a straight line: 60 stades (= ca. 11 km)
503	Ἀπὸ Πυδνῶν ἕως τῆς Ἱερᾶς ἄκρας στάδιοι π΄.	From Pydnai up to Hieria Akra: 80 stades (= ca. 15 km)
504	Ἀπὸ Ἱερᾶς ἄκρας εἰς Καλαβαντίαν στάδιοι λ΄.	From Hieria Akra to Kalabantia: 30 stades (= ca. 5,5 km)
505	Ἀπὸ Καλαβαντιῶν εἰς Περδικίας στάδιοι ν΄.	From Kalabantia to Perdikia: 50 stades (= ca. 9,2 km)
506	Ἀπὸ Περδικιῶν εἰς Κισσίδας στάδιοι ν΄.	From Perdikia to Kissidai: 50 stades (= ca. 9,2 km)
507	Ἀπὸ Κισσίδων ἐπὶ νῆσον Λάγουσαν στάδιοι π΄.	From Kissidai up to Lagousa Island: 80 stades (= ca. 15 km)
508	Ἀπὸ Λαγουσῶν εἰς Τελεμεσσὸν στάδιοι ε΄. **	From Lagousa to Telmessos: 5 stades (=ca. 0,9 km)
		Total: 415 stades (ca. 76,7 km)

* Müller: Ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ Ξάνθου....

** Müller: Ἀπὸ Λαγούσης ἐπὶ Τελεμησσὸν στάδιοι ιε΄.

The total distance from Patara to Telmessos conforms well with the real distance of today. But there are inconsistencies in its division of the measures between the individual points. The common acceptance of localizations are as follow: The distance given from *Patara* to the Xanthos River (60 st. = ca. 11 km) is incorrect, since it is almost twice today's distance, which is ca. 5 km. Further, the mouth of the *Xanthos River* (Eşen) was further to the north since the alluvial fill formed the present coastline over centuries and was closer to Patara in antiquity.⁶² The distance should probably be around 20 stades, ca. 3,7 km. From the mouth of the Xanthos River to *Pydnai* the distance is given as 60 st. (= ca. 11 km). Pydnai is accepted as Gavur Ağı, where there is a large Hellenistic fortress near Özlen in Karadere.⁶³ The distance given is again almost twice the actual distance, if Pydnai's localization is correct. The distance should not be more than 30 stades (ca. 5,5 km). That the distance given is not from the mouth of the Xanthos River, but from the city of Xanthos is quite improbable from the principles employed in the SMM.⁶⁴ Then comes *Hiera Akra* after 80 st. (ca. 15,5 km), which cannot be precisely identified, though it has been accepted as the western end of the Seven Capes.⁶⁵ This is the

⁶² Öner and Akbulut 2015, 95, figs. 15, 101 and 24.

⁶³ Bean 1976, 745 s.v. Pydnai; Adam 1977, 53 with n. 2; Adam 1982, 116–65; Ruggieri 1999, 283; Hellenkemper and Hild 2004, II, 822–3; Arnaud 2009, 180; Cavalier and Courtils 2011, 458–60; Arnaud 2011, 425; Şahin 2014, 97; For the identification of Pydnai with Kydna mentioned by Ptolemaios amongst the cities around Kragos (Ptol. Geog. 5.3.5: Κύδνα), see Kalinka in TAM II/1 p. 91; Robert 1963, 161–2; cf. Zgusta 1984, 309. On the other hand, Jones (1971, 406 nr. 19) believes that Kydna of Ptolemaios is an incorrect entry for Kadyanda or Kyaneai.

⁶⁴ Arnaud 2009, 180; 2011, 425.

⁶⁵ Ruge 1913; Hellenkemper and Hild 2004, II, 559 s.v. Hieria Akra; Arnaud 2009, 180; 2011, 425; Şahin 2014, 139, however, in the map shows Hieria Akra as İnce Burun near Özlen-Karadere and near Pydnai. A similar confusion seems to exist in Takmer 2010, wherein he presents Hieria Akra to the east of the Bel district at one time (p. 104),

key place to fix the location of Kalabatia since the distance fits from Gavur Ađlı (Pydnai?) to the westernmost point of the cape. The next station is *Kalabantia*, given with a distance of 30 st. (ca. 5,5 km), which brings one from the western end of the cape to Sancaklı port. This is hence considered to be Kalabatia (see pp. 264-5 above). After 50 st. (ca. 9,2 km) from Kalabantia, the SMM next mentions *Perdikiai*, which is identified with the port of K d r ms  in Faralya, Uzunyurt,⁶⁶ which fits this distance. After *Perdikiai* *Kissidai* is located at a distance of 50 st. (ca. 9,2 km), so the port of Beřtař is proposed since it was at that distance.⁶⁷ Situated 80 st. (ca. 15,5 km) north from *Kissidai* is *Lagousa Island* identified with Kızıl Ada.⁶⁸ But the distance does not fit, since from the port of Beřtařlar to Kızılada, the distance is ca. 22 km. If Kızıl Ada was *Lagousa*, it should then be around 120 stades. Then comes *Telmessos* within 5 st. (ca. 0,9 km), which is considerably short. M ller amends the distance to 15 st. (ca. 2,7 km). But still this cannot suffice, since from Kızıl Ada to Fethiye, the distance is about 7,1 km (ca. 38-40 st.).

The general picture of the SMM concerning this section of Lycia fits in terms of distances, though these distances cannot be entirely relied upon. It should also not be forgotten that, apart from Patara, *Telmessos* and the *Xanthos River*, all the localizations for these names are not secured through any epigraphic or literary evidence, except perhaps for *Perdikiai*. This is because of its mention on medieval portolans in various forms (see n. 66). In such a case, it becomes more difficult to securely locate Kalabatia, the nature of which is not known because there are no specific description such as λιμ ν (“harbour”), a place for καταγωγ  (“landing”), σ λος (“roadstead”),  φορμος (“anchorage”),  ρμος (“mooring”) etc. None of these were used for any names in the Lycian section of the SMM. In these terms, it needs to be reconsidered if Gavur Kalesi might have been the port of ancient Kalabatia. Such a suggestion would also mean that *Hiera Akra* might have been  nce Burun, the first promontory right after the long Patara beach to the west. This means that the distance in the SMM might be incorrect and should perhaps be corrected as 15 stades. The distance of 30 stades (ca. 5,5-6 km) from  nce Burun to Gavur Kalesi fits well with the distance between *Hiera Akra* and *Kalabantia* on the SMM. Another point about Gavur Kalesi by the promontory of today’s Kalabaklık is that it does not contain any remains dating before the 5th century AD. Both the ceramics and the buildings seem to date in the 7th century at the latest. Locating Kalabatia at Bel and its port at Gavur Kalesi does not solve the problems or make the localizations better, even in some cases. It becomes more complicated, especially with *Perdikiai*, *Kissidai* and *Lagousa Island*, since the eastern group of stations to *Telmessos* given in the SMM should then be reviewed. Anything that can be said about the location of Kalabatia, or even perhaps of some other places, in relation to the SMM seems to be uncertain. Nevertheless, it seems there is no secure basis apparently to object to a possible suggestion that the *Kalabantia* of the SMM may have been Bel together with its port Gavur Kalesi.

while to the west of the Seven Capes in another (p. 112). He also uses the same map as řahin, which shows *Hiera Akra* as  nce Burun (K t  Burun) near Pydnai,  zlen-Karadere (there p. 98, map 1).

⁶⁶ For the medieval sources concerning *Perdikiai*, see Hellenkemper and Hild 2004, II, 793-4 s.v. *Perdikiai*; Arnaud 2009, 181 and 2011, 425.

⁶⁷ Cf. Arnaud 2009, 181; 2011, 425-26; for further references to *Kissidai*, see Hellenkemper and Hild 2004, II, 637.

⁶⁸ Cf. Arnaud 2009, 181-82; 2011, 426; for further references to *Lagousa Island*, see Hellenkemper and Hild 2004, II, 680-1.

F. On the Intermediary/Informative Element Between Sidyma and the Bel District

No matter how the destination of the road from Sidyma in the MP is restored with any name of an ancient town, there remains a gap to be filled. While already difficult to determine the destination, it is more difficult to suggest what might have been in the remaining section of this lacuna. The proposals, I believe, should constitutively be in accord with the examples of such cases given on the MP. Some options were already discussed above (pp. 261-2 and n. 13 above). It seems rather improbable to consider a territory belonging to another town lying between Sidyma and the destination, which could have been indicated through *διά* + town name in the genitive case, due to the remarkably short distance of the road (ca. 4,5 km). Likewise, we cannot think of two roads, one of which was listed, since in such a case two roads would probably have been listed together. This was given for the roads between Oinoanda and Balboursa, one being through the upland while the other was across the plain.⁶⁹ This information might have been a regional name, such as Oktapolis, Mylias or Mnarike, as mentioned in the MP. These are used in the genitive form attached to the settlement name that preceded.⁷⁰ But in any case, the remains of the letter do not suggest a restoration starting with the letters Δ or T namely so neither *διά* nor *τήσ/τοῦ* is likely. There might also be other possibilities to be considered, such as *μεταξύ*, *ἐπί* and *ἐν* used in the MP. *Μεταξύ* (“between”), which survives in only one occurrence in the MP,⁷¹ needs more room in the lacuna, since it requires at least two subjects. Geographically it is almost impossible to find two localities. Therefore, *ἐπί* or rather *ἐν* is more probable, if it were a preposition.

Considering the geography of the region, the names Kragos and Antikragos – the mountain ranges of western Lycia – should be considered for the restoration as possible options. The example of the road from Myra to Limyra leading through Masikytos (*διά τοῦ Μασικύτου*)⁷² might be a parallel example. However, *διά* cannot be the possible restoration by employing as *διά τοῦ* (*Ἀντι*?)*κράγου*, due to the letter remains, as stated above. But perhaps *ἐν/ἐπί τῶν/τοῦ* (*Ἀντι*)*κράγων/ου* is possible since the use of *ἐν* with article and regional names already exists on the MP (see n. 71). But in fact, *Ἀντικράγωι* is somewhat longer than the lacuna, if we think of it together with the restoration of Kalabatia. But if Kalabatia was the destination and if Kragos/Antikragos was the lost information, then the restoration that best fits the lacuna in terms of the letter remains and numbers seems to be *ἐ[ν/πί τῶν/τοῦ Κράγων/-ου εἰς Καλαβατί]αν*. This employs the dative with *iota adscriptum*, as is a feature of the inscription. If Antikragos was in the lacuna, then we probably need another name for the destination still in feminine -a declension, but shorter than Kalabatia. In such a situation, one of the possible (though weak) restorations of the settlement might be [I]era (see p. 270 above). Another restoration for this destination could perhaps have been Dias, which is known only from Stephanos of Byzantium.⁷³ Dias is a short name which can fit together with Antikragos in the lacuna, but the accusative form of *Διάς* was most probably *Διάδα*, which has a dental root, as can be seen in its ethnicon

⁶⁹ Şahin 2014, 196 and 199–202 (R 23–24, B l. 29–30: *ἀπό Οἰνοάνδων εἰς Βάλβουρα διά τοῦ π[εδί]ου στάδια ρξ' | διά δὲ τῆς ὄρεινῆς στάδια ρκη'*); see also Onur 2015, 91.

⁷⁰ Şahin 2014, 290 and 296–306 (Mnarike): Face C, l. 5 (R43) and l. 14 (R52); *ibid.* 168 and 171–175 (Oktapolis): Face B, l. 22 (R13); *ibid.* 210 and 229–230 (Mylias): Face B, l. 37 (R29).

⁷¹ Şahin 2014, 422–28 (Face C, l. 28–29: *...καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἀσία[ι]· μεταξύ Κ[ιβ]ύρας | κ[αί] Λαοδικίας, ἐν τῷ Ἐπικαμ[...]*).

⁷² Şahin 2014, 370 and 379–87: Face B, l. 21 (R59).

⁷³ Stephanos of Byzantium 229.17–18: *Διάς, πόλις Λυκίας, ἦν Διάδης ἔκτισε. τὸ ἔθνικὸν Διαδεύς*. Some Hellenistic coins with the legend ΔΙ minted in the Kragos district are ascribed to this city. Though not certain, it is considered a city in the Kragos district in western Lycia, but the coins with ΔΙ disappear after the federal coinage, see Troxell 1982, 189–90 and 238. However, Robinson reported that ΔΙ is not necessarily an abbreviation of a city, but of magistrates; see Robinson 1914, 42.

(Διαδεύς). In any case, these are just some of the possible options. Certainty will only come when the lost block is found at Patara in the original findspot, a swamp that is quite difficult to excavate due to the high level of the groundwater and mud. If it still remains there, the possibility exists that it may be brought to light most fortunately by the experienced excavation team headed by Prof. Dr. H. Işık.

Appendix: Literary and Epigraphical Sources on Kragos

The possible insertion of Kragos (or less likely Antikragos) in the conclusion of the epigraphic methods can never be entirely secure and needs to be tested if it can be confirmed by means of the historical, geographical and perhaps mythological and numismatic evidence. The names of Lycian mountains have been one of the most discussed matters concerning Lycian geography.⁷⁴ Most of the latest opinions accept that Kragos was the main mountain range of western Lycia, centred on Akdağ. However, it still seems reasonable to review briefly the basic evidence.

One of the earliest occurrences of Kragos to have survived is in the quotation of Stephanos of Byzantium from Menekrates in the 4th century BC:

Artymnesos, city of Lycia, a colony of Xanthians. Its ethnicon is Artymneseus. Menekrates in his first book of Lykiaka reports that the seniors (of Xanthos) divided overpopulated Xanthus into three parts: one of them arrived in Kragos and dwelled on the mountain occupying a round ridge, then they named the city as “Pinara”, which means “round” in translation. Hence, Lycians call all round things “pinara”.⁷⁵

Another early occurrence of Kragos might have been in the periplus of Pseudo-Scylax, the origins of which dates from the mid-4th century BC. However, it was amended by Müller to Kryassos⁷⁶, though many of the editions confirm⁷⁷ that the original text recording the name Kragos is as follows:

Καῦνος Καρικὴ πόλις καὶ λιμὴν κλειστὸς, Κράγος ἀκρωτήριον ... Καὶ ὁ παράπλους Καρίας, ἀπὸ Μαιάνδρου ποταμοῦ ἐπὶ τὸν Κράγον, ὃ ἐστὶ Καρίας ἀκρωτήριον, δύο ἡμερῶν.

⁷⁴ For the latest accounts and earlier discussions on Kragos and Antikragos, see Takmer 2002, 35–8; Hellenkemper and Hild 2004, 1.82–6; Şahin 2014, 96–103.

⁷⁵ Stephanos of Byzantium 1291.–7: Ἀρτύμησος, πόλις Λυκίας, ἄποικος Ξανθίων. τὸ ἔθνικόν Ἀρτυμνησεύς. Μενεκράτης ἐν πρώτῃ τῶν Λυκιακῶν φησὶν ὅτι πολυανθρωπήσασαν τὴν Ξάνθον τοὺς πρεσβύτας εἰς τρία μέρη διελεῖν· τούτων δὲ τὴν μὲν ἐπὶ τὸν Κράγον ἐλθεῖν καὶ οἰκίσαι ἐν τῷ ὄρει λόφον στρόγγυλον [κατοικίσαι] καὶ καλεῖσαι τὴν πόλιν Πινάραν, ἢ μεθερμηνεῦσθαι στρογγύλην. Τὰ γὰρ στρογγύλα πάντα Λύκιοι πίναρα καλοῦσιν.

⁷⁶ The edition by Müller in GGM I: (Prip. Scyl. 90) Καῦνος Καρικὴ πόλις καὶ λιμὴν κλειστὸς, Κρυασσὸς ἀκρωτήριον ... Καὶ ὁ παράπλους Καρίας, ἀπὸ Μαιάνδρου ποταμοῦ ἐπὶ τὸν Κρυασσόν, ὃ ἐστὶ Καρίας ἀκρωτήριον, δύο ἡμερῶν.... See there pp. 73–4 for his reasons for this amendment, as it follows: “|| – Κρυασσόν] sic scripsi pro Κράσον, quod codex præbet. Vulgo legitur Κράγον. At *Cragum promontorium* (i. e. Cragi montis extremitas in mare procurens), quod eo nomine dicit Plinius V, 28, Stadiasmi vero auctor § 222 τὴν ἱερὰν ἄκραν (etiamnum *Hiria* vel *Macri* vel *Efta Kavi*) vocat, quum inter Telmissum et Patara situm ist, a nostro loco abhorret. Dedi Κρυασσόν collato Stephano: Κρυασσὸς, πόλις Καρίας. Plutarch. Moral. P. 246, D: τῶν Καρῶν οἱ Κρύασσαν (sic) οἰκοῦντες. Polyæn. VIII, 64: οἱ Κρυασσεῖς. BoeckhC. I. II, p. 397. Aliis urbs locatur Κρύα (De Caricis urbium nominibus in *ασσος* juxta alias formas, v. Movers II, p. 20); v. Mela I, 16; Plin. V, 28; Ptolemaeus (ubi Καρῶα), Stadiasm. mar. m. § 231, Artemidor. ap. St. Byz. s. v. A Telmisso urbs distat stadia 160, et stad. 110 a Dædalis, ad quæ confinia Carizæ Lyciæque collocat Strabo. Alii terminos Carizæ orientem versus minus longe protulerunt; sic Crya ab Artemidoro jam accensetur Lyciæ; secundum Scylacem in confiniis Carizæ Lyciæque sita erat.”

⁷⁷ For instances of Kragos in other editions of the same text, see Gronovio (ed.), *Geographica antiqua: hoc est, Scylacis Periplus Mariae Mediterraneæ. Anonymi Periplus Maeotidis Paludis & Ponti Euxini. Agathemeris Hypotyposis geographiæ, omnia Graeco-Latina. Anonymi Expositio totius mundi Latina*, Leiden 1697, 92–3; R. H. Klausen (ed.), *Hecataei Milesii fragmenta. Scylacis Caryandensis Periplus*, Berlin 1831, 222–23; B. Fabricius (ed.), *Anonymi vulgo Scylacis Caryandensis periplum maris interni cum appendice iterum*, Leipzig 1878, 28.

Kaunos, a Karian city and a closed harbour; (then) the promontory of Kragos ... (here are Rhodes and the islands).... The coasting voyage along Karia, from the Maiandros River up to Kragos, the promontory of Karia, (takes) two days.

Then the text continues with Lycia, whose starting point is given as Telmessos. If the original word was Kragos, the promontory mentioned was the border district against Lycia, that is, the region including the peninsula, the islands and the shore on the western side of Fethiye Bay (Glaukos Kolpos), to the east and south of Şeferler/Kozpınar (ancient Kalynda), down to Kurtoğlu Cape. A few centuries later, in the mid-1st century AD, Pliny the Elder also mentions a *promunturium Cragus* in his sentences describing the region from east to west:

Then Patara, earlier Pataros, and Sidyma on a mountain, ^(then) the promontory of Kragos, and beyond it a gulf, equal to the prior ^(before the promontory); here are Pinara, and Telmessus, the frontier town of Lycia.⁷⁸

Pliny's description is rather fitting with the promontory – whose western part is between Fethiye and Ölüdeniz on which Kayaköy is located and which also reaches to Pinara in the east – being a part of Babadağ. On the other hand, earlier than Pliny, approximately at the end of the 1st century BC, Strabo narrates from west to east and locates Kragos to the east/south of Telmessos and Antikragos:

After Daedala, then, I mean the mountain in Lycia, one comes to a Lycian town near it, Telmessus, and to Telmessis, a promontory with a harbour.... Then, next, one comes to Anticragus, a steep mountain, where is Carmylessus, an inhabited place situated in a ravine; and, after this, to Cragus, which has eight promontories and a city of the same name. The scene of the myth of Chimaera is laid in the neighborhood of these mountains. Chimaera, a ravine extending up from the shore, is not far from them. At the foot of Cragus, in the interior, lies Pinara, one of the largest cities in Lycia.... Then one comes to the Xanthus River, which the people of earlier times called the Sirbis. Sailing up this river by rowboat for ten stadia one comes to the Letoon.⁷⁹

The Daidala mentioned here seems to correspond geographically to the arguable reading of Kragos in Scylax, who had put Kragos on the western side of Glaukos Kolpos. After the harbour and promontory of Telmessos Strabo placed Antikragos as an ὄρθιον ὄρος, which seems to correspond with Babadağ, the loftiest mountain in the vicinity. He then mentioned Kragos, which in that case was the southern part of the mountain range till the Seven Capes to the south. Eustathius in the 12th century AD gives a description on how to spot Antikragos in his account on the Chimera in reference to Homer (Il 6.179-184), then refers to the same passage from Strabo:

If one might wish to see on which land the mentioned Antikragos lies, he can learn it by paying attention on the same words of the Geographer, where he says that upon Kragos lies Pinara, the great city of Lycia, and on what comes next ^(in Strabo's description), narrating it as a Lycian mountain bringing forth a spontaneous fire.⁸⁰

⁷⁸ Pliny the Elder NH, 5.100.8–101.2: item Xanthus, a mari XV, flumen que eodem nomine. deinde Patara, quae prius Pataros, et in monte Sidyma, promunturium Cragus. ultra par sinus priori; ibi Pinara et quae Lyciam finit Telmessus.

⁷⁹ Strabo 14.3.4–6: μετὰ δ' οὖν τὰ Δαίδαλα τὸ τῶν Λυκίων ὄρος πλησίον ἐστὶ Τελεμησσὸς πολίχνη Λυκίων, καὶ Τελεμησις ἄκρα λιμένα ἔχουσα ... εἰθ' ἐξῆς ὁ Ἀντίκραγος, ὄρθιον ὄρος, ἐφ' ᾧ Καρμυλησσὸς χωρίον ἐν φάραγγι ὀκημένον, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον ὁ Κράγος, ἔχων ἄκρας ὀκτὼ καὶ πόλιν ὁμώνυμον. περὶ ταῦτα μυθεύεται τὰ ὄρη τὰ περὶ τῆς Χιμαίρας· ἐστὶ δ' οὐκ ἄπωθεν καὶ ἡ Χίμαιρα φάραγξ τις ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ ἀνατείνουσα. ὑπόκειται δὲ τῷ Κράγῳ Πίναρα ἐν μεσογαίᾳ, τῶν μεγίστων οὐσα πόλεων ἐν τῇ Λυκίᾳ ... εἰθ' ὁ Ξάνθος ποταμὸς, ὃν Σίρβιν ἐκάλουν τὸ πρότερον· ἀναπλεύσαντι δ' ὑπηρετικοῖς δέκα σταδίους τὸ Λητῶν ἐστιν; trans. H.L. Jones, The Geography of Strabo, 1924.

⁸⁰ Eustathius Comm. Il. 2.284.11–14: Εἰ δέ τις βούλοιο εἰδέναι, ποῦ γῆς ὁ ῥηθεὶς Ἀντίκραγος κεῖται, μάθοι ἂν αὐτὸ ἐκεῖνοις τοῖς τοῦ Γεωγράφου προσεσηκῶς, ἔνθα φησὶν, ὅτι ὑπόκειται τῷ Κράγῳ Πίνναρα, μεγίστη πόλις Λυκίας καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς,

Eustathios simply implies that the mountain at whose foot Pinara is situated (i.e., the eastern slopes of Babadağ), was not Antikragos. Ovid, also of the Augustan age, does not seem to have followed a strict order of geography when he mentioned Kragos:

... she wandered through the land of Caria, by the well-armed Leleges and the country of the Lycians. And now she had passed by Cragus and Limyre and Xanthus' stream and the ridge where dwelt Chimaera, that fire-breathing monster with lion's head and neck and serpent's tail.⁸¹

But it is clear that he located Kragos in the western districts of Lycia right after Karia, and before Limyra and the Xanthos River. Pomponius Mela, who wrote around the mid-1st century AD, most probably contemporary with the MP, described the land from east to west and also mentioned Kragos. He places it between Xanthos and Telmessos:

After the Taurus promontory comes the Limyra River and the city that is its namesake. Except for Patara, the towns are as unresplendent as they are numerous. The temple of Apollo, once similar to Delphi in wealth and in oracular credibility, makes Patara well known. Farther on are the Xanthos River, the town of Xanthos, Mt. Cragus, and the city that bounds Lycia, Telmesos.⁸²

Since he described the geography looking from the sea, as usual for many geographers, Mela considered Kragos as the mountain range between the Xanthos Valley and the sea, perhaps reaching to the southern end (i. e., the Seven Capes). In the first half of the 2nd century AD, Dionysios Periegetes of Alexandria mentions Kragos, as the lofty mountain range by the Xanthos River:

By the sea the Lycians inhabit a land on the waters of the Xanthus, the fair-flowing river. Here the mountains of the high-cliffed Taurus appear, as far as Pamphylia. They call it Cragus.⁸³

Ptolemy located Kydna (taken as Pydna), Symbra, Oktapolis, Komba, Sidyma, Pinara, Araxa, Tlos and Xanthos around Kragos⁸⁴ and suggested that Akdağlar and all the rest of the mountain ranges to the west up to the borders of Karia were collectively called Kragos.

Apart from these geographical descriptions, there are also other references in ancient literature. But they will not be taken into discussion here, as they are not very useful in geographical terms,⁸⁵ except for the Sibylline Oracles, which provide a somewhat unclear but, in any case, important information concerning Kragos:

ἰστορῶν καὶ ὄρος Λύκιον πῦρ τίκτον αὐτόματον. Eustathios also employed Strabo's descriptions in his commentary on Dionysios Periegetes as well; see Comm. Dionys. 847.19–25 and 859.12.13.

⁸¹ Ovid Met. 9.641–648: ... Quibus illa relictis | Caras et armiferos Lelegas Lyciamque pererrat. | Iam Cragon et Limyren Xanthique reliquerat undas, | quoque Chimaera iugo mediis in partibus ignem, | pectus et ora leae, caudam serpentis habebat; trans. F.J. Miller, Ovid Metamorphoses, Vol. II, 1958.

⁸² Mela 1.73: Post eius promunturium flumen est Limyra et eodem nomine civitas, atque ut multa oppida sic praeter Pataram non inlustria. Illam nobilem facit delubrum Apollinis quondam opibus et oraculi fide Delphico simile. Ultra est Xanthus flumen et Xanthos oppidum, mons Cragus et quae Lyciam finit urbs Telmesos; trans. F. E. Romer, Pomponius Mela's Description of the World, 1998.

⁸³ Dionysios Perieg. 847–50: πρὸς δ' ἄλλα κεκλιμένοι Λύκιοι χθόνα vaiετῶουσι Ξάνθου ἐπὶ προχοῆσιν, εὐρραῖτου ποταμοῦ-ἐνθα βαθυκρήμνοιο φαίνεται οὐρεα Ταύρου Παμφύλων καὶ μέγχι· Κράγον δὲ ἐκυκλήσκουσιν; trans. Khan 2002, 248.

⁸⁴ Ptolemy Geogr. 5.3.3: πόλεις δὲ εἰσιν ἐν τῇ Λυκίᾳ μεσόγειοι περὶ μὲν τὸν Κράγον τὸ ὄρος· Κύδνα (= Πύδνα) ..., Σύμβρα ..., Ὀκτάπολις ..., Κόμβρα ..., Σίδυμα ..., Πίναρα ..., Ἀραξα ..., Τλώς ..., Ξάνθος ...

⁸⁵ E.g. Horace Od. 1.21: Dianam tenerae dicite virgines, | intonsum pueri dicite Cynthium | Latonamque supremo | dilectam penitus Iovi. | vos laetam fluvii et nemorum coma | quaecumque aut gelido prominet Algido | nigris aut Erymanthi | silvis aut viridis Cragi; | vos Tempe totidem tollite laudibus | natalemque, mares, Delon Apollinis | insignemque pharetra | fraternaue umerum lyra ("Tell of Diana, gentle maids; tell of the shaggy Delian, boys, and Latóna, deeply loved by Jove on high. Maidens, sing of her joy in streams in groves where Algídidus shivers, and woods that shadow verdant Cragus or Erymanthus. You males, respond with equal praise of Tempe and Delos that bore Apollo, whose shoulder a quiver and Mercury's lyre distinguish"; trans. D. Mulroy, Horace's Odes and Epodes, 1994. For other references see Takmer 2002, 35 n. 12; also, see "Kragos Mt. (Lycia) 16 Avdancık/Sandak Dağ – Κράγος" in ToposText of the Aikaterini Laskaridis Foundation at: <https://topostext.org/place/364292LKra>.

And Kragos, lofty mount of Lycia, a water shall gush out from your peaks when the rock opens yawning chasms, until oracular signs of Patara shall cease.⁸⁶

This oracle has played a big role in recent discussions in the endeavours to locate Kragos and other mountains in Lycia, as well as in the attempt to determine the location of Apollo's oracular centre in Patara. Even though the ideas originate from S. Şahin, the first written account and discussion of the matter were made by B. Takmer in 2002.⁸⁷ However, the main lengthy account was later given by Şahin.⁸⁸ The basic conclusion of these investigations was that the rock and waters in this oracle pointed to today's Canyon of Saklıkent at the western foot of Akdağlar and is in fact quite similar to the description. Hence Akdağlar was actually the centre of the Kragos range, which also contained all mountain ranges to the west of the Xanthos Valley. Şahin also employed another Sibylline oracle mentioning Myra and Patara to support this opinion:

O beautiful Myra of Lycia, the shaking earth shall never set you fast; falling with the face downwards on earth you will pray to flee away into another land, like a foreigner, at a time when a dark water shall disperse the din of ungodly Patara together with thunders and earthquakes.⁸⁹

Şahin understands the μέλαν ὕδωρ ("dark water") in the passage as indicating the floodwater coming from the peaks of Akdağlar, the stream called Karaçay ("Black Stream") or Deliçay ("Mad Stream") which leads through Yuvacık into the Saklıkent Canyon. And he concludes that a great flood of this water and the waves from the sea sunk the oracular shrine of Apollon whose location, as he suggests, was perchance close to the northern entrance into the Kısık Pass. This stream indeed turns into a great flood of water during the rainy winter and spring snow-melt seasons. But such a flood, which would reach Patara with gigantic strength, would have devastated the area around the lower Xanthos River including most of the Xanthian territory and the Letoon. However, we do not know about such a natural disaster either from literary sources or from archaeological and epigraphical attestations or from geological investigations. Further, a recent geological research around the Kısık Pass concluded that no sediment from the large watery plain around Ova-Gelemiş and Fırnaz (Yeşilköy) poured through the Kısık pass in the direction of Patara at any time in the past. On the contrary, the evidence suggests that the sediments passed from the south to the north of the Kısık Pass.⁹⁰ Further it was determined that no alluvial soil has actually ever poured into the large swampy lagoons of Patara through any source around the gully of Patara since there was no large streams in the vicinity. It was surrounded by hills composed of carbonate rocks, but all sediments in the form

⁸⁶ Orac. Sibyl. 3, 439–41. Trans. M.S. Terry, *The Sibylline Oracles translated from the Greek into English Blank Verse*, 1899; Trans by J.J. Collins: "Cragos, also, lofty mountain of Lycia, water will rush / From your peaks when the rock has been opened in a chasm, / Until it stops even the prophetic signs of Patara."; Gaugier's edition (pp. 90–1): σοῦ καὶ Κράγος ὑψηλὸν Λυκίης ὄρος, ἐκ κορυφῶν | χάσματ' ἀνοιγομένης πέτρης κελαρύζεται ὕδωρ, | μέχρι κε καὶ Πατάρων μαντήα σήματα παύσει ("Aus deinen Gipfeln, o Kragos, du hoher Berg Lykiens, wird sich, wenn sich der Felsschlund öffnet, das rauschende Wasser ergießen, bis es beendet dereinst Pataras wahrsagende Zeichen.")

⁸⁷ Takmer 2002, 37; see also Onur 2002, 57

⁸⁸ Şahin 2009, esp. 340 ff.

⁸⁹ Orac. Sibyl. 4.109–13. Trans. author. Trans. by J.J. Collins: "Beautiful Myra of Lycia, the shuddering earth will no longer support you, but falling down headlong on the earth, you will pray to flee to another land as an exile when the Lord spreads out the dark water of the sea with thunderings and earthquakes because of the impieties of Patara."; Gaugier's edition (pp. 118–9): ὁ Λυκίης Μύρα καλά, σὲ δ' οὔποτε βρασσομένη χθών | στηρίζει: πρηνῆς δὲ κάτω πίπτουσ' ἐπὶ γαίης | εἰς ἐτέρην εὐξῆ προφυγεῖν χθόνα, οἶα μέτοικος, | ἦνίκα δὴ Πατάρων ὄμαδόν ποτε δυσσεβόντων | βρονταῖς καὶ σεισμοῖσιν ἀποσκεδάσει μέλαν ὕδωρ. ("Schönes Myra in Lykien, dich läßt die erschütterte Erde nicht feststehen, du fällst vornüber zur Erde, begehrend, in ein anderes Land als Mitbewohner zu fliehen, wenn Überschwemmung einst das Orakelgetöse des bösen Patara unter Beben das schwarze Wasser beseitigt.")

⁹⁰ Öner and Akbulut 2015, 81–2.

of sand and dunes came from the seaside.⁹¹ Even if the description in the first oracle might have referred to Saklıkent Canyon, it does not necessarily mean that a flood from this canyon filled the plain to the north of the Kısık Pass in one incident. Such an alluvial deposit in this plain must have accumulated over centuries (see n. 90). Further the description “άνοιγομένης πέτρης” refers to a contemporary incident since the participle is used in the present tense, so that all the translations are given as a series of incidents that happened at the same time, and the related section is understood as “when the rock opens” or “wenn sich der Felsschlund öffnet” (see n. 86 above). In any event, Saklıkent Gorge is not that young, and it is certain that its formation process must have been completed long before human existence began. The account in the second oracle (see n. 89 above) was most likely a description of a calamity coming from the sea,⁹² as was given in all the earlier editions of the same text recording that this “dark water” was actually a marine disaster (“... δυσσεβίησιν | βρονταῖς καὶ σειμοῖσιν **ἀλλὸς πετάσει** μέλαν ὕδωρ” instead of “... δυσσεβεόντων | βρονταῖς καὶ σειμοῖσιν **ἀποσκεδάσει** μέλαν ὕδωρ” in Gaugier’s edition). As a matter of fact, βρονταῖ (“thunders”, in fact probably roaring sounds arising out of the earthquakes) καὶ σειμοί (“earthquakes”) would not cause a μέλαν ὕδωρ from the peaks of the mountains, but most probably they caused the natural disaster of tsunami waves that hit Lycia in AD 68 during the reign of Nero,⁹³ which could well have destroyed the oracular seat of Apollo. This passage than might even mean that the oracular house of Apollo was perhaps closer to the sea or that it was in a place, which was easily exposed to the impact of tsunami waves.

Finally, Stephanos Byzantios gave two accounts on Kragos. The first refers to *Lykiaka* of Alexander Polyhistor in 1st c. BC:

Kragos: A mountain of Lycia. Alexander (mentions it) in his second book of *Lykiaka*. Called after Kragos, son of Tremiles, and of Praxidice the nymph his mother. (it is said) that there are caves named as “of the stormy gods”. For they say that those around Kragos were deified. Its ethnicon is Kragios. There is another mountain called Antikragos.⁹⁴

And the second is associated with Pinara:

Pinara: a big city lying on the mount Kragos of Lycia, its ethnicon: Pinareis, like Megareis.⁹⁵

The district of Kragos is also recorded in Hellenistic regional coinage, which shows that coins carrying the legend Kragos were minted in western Lycia including: Telmessos, Xanthos, Sidyma, Pinara, Kadyanda, Tlos and Patara, while those with Masikytyos were in the east.⁹⁶ Troxell further thinks that these two monetary regions were established by the Romans during the time of Sulla. The centres of these districts were Patara and Myra respectively, where the regional silver coins were minted.⁹⁷ On the other hand, it is possible to trace this regional separation of Lycia back to the 5th century BC, with coins minted to different weight standards,

⁹¹ Akbulut and Öner 2016, 55; Öner and Vardar 2018, 292.

⁹² Terry’s translation is: “O Lycian Myra beautiful, thee never shall the agitated earth set fast; but falling headlong down on earth shalt thou, in manner like an alien, pray to flee away into another land, when sometime the dark water of the sea with thunders and earthquakes shall stop the din of Patara for its impieties.”

⁹³ Cass. Dio 63.26.5; Şahin 2009, 341–42; Şahin 2014, 127–28.

⁹⁴ Steph. Byz. 380.16–20: Κράγος, ὄρος Λυκίας. Ἀλέξανδρος δευτέρῳ Λυκιακῶν. ἀπὸ Κράγου τοῦ Τρεμίλητος υἱοῦ, μητρὸς δὲ Πραξιδικῆς νύμφης. ἐνταῦθα δ’ εἶναι καὶ τὰ ἐπονομαζόμενα θεῶν ἀγρίων ἄντρα. ἀπαθανατισθῆναι γάρ φασι τοὺς περὶ τὸν Κράγον. τὸ ἐθνικὸν Κράγιος. ἔστι καὶ ὄρος Ἀντίκραγος ἕτερον.

⁹⁵ Steph. Byz. 523.19–20 Πίναρα, πόλις μεγίστη, ὑπερκειμένη τῷ Κράγῳ ὄρει τῆς Λυκίας. τὸ ἐθνικὸν Πίναρεῖς ὡς Μεγαρεῖς.

⁹⁶ See Troxell 1982, esp. 111–7 and 227–34.

⁹⁷ Troxell 1982, 230–31.

i.e. light Attic featured coinage in the west and heavy Persian featured coinage in the east.⁹⁸ Consequently, there are two denominations, one for the mountain range, while the other was for the district named after the mountain.

As for Antikragos, it was mentioned by Strabo (n. 81), Eustathius (n. 82) and Appian, who gives the name within the context of the campaigns of Pompey against the pirates.⁹⁹ Stephanos of Byzantium just gives its name without a description under the entry for Kragos (see below fn. 96).

Epigraphic evidence concerning this discussion is very scarce. While there are none for Antikragos, three inscriptions are known mentioning Kragos. One is a 3rd century AD inscription from Oinoanda reading that M. Aur. Apollonius was the *archibphylax* ἐν τῇ πρὸς τῷ Κράγῳ συντελ[εῖα], after his priesthood of Apollon Patroos of the league.¹⁰⁰ Another is from Sidyma, also of the 3rd century AD, recording M. Aur. Eukarpos καταλιπόντα τῇ πόλει ^(Sidyma) πάντα τὰ περὶ τὸν Κράγον γεγονότα αὐτοῦ χωρία.¹⁰¹ The third is a Latin funerary inscription from Patara which records an Ingenuus, whom *contexit Lycii terra beata Cragi*, showing that Kragos covered the lands of Patara as well.¹⁰² Kragos in the Oinoanda inscription was accepted as one of the formal sub-regions in Lycia by Troxell, who thinks that Apollonius was the *archibphylax* charged with the collection of imperial tribute ἐν τῇ πρὸς τῷ Κράγῳ συντελ[εῖα], citing Jones.¹⁰³ In fact, the last one may well indicate the mountain range, while the first two inscriptions seemingly referred to a certain denomination belonging to a district or to one of the administrative units of Lycia, since the uses of πρὸς τῷ Κράγῳ and περὶ τὸν Κράγον should define a circumscribed area. Contemporary readers of the inscriptions would certainly have understood where exactly it referred to, so it was probably not a whole range of a mountain. It might be plausible to consider that the estates of Sidymean Eukarpos in the second inscription were within the territory of Sidyma instead of in the other territories (such as those of Tlos, Xanthos, Oinoanda etc.) on the eastern side of Xanthos River. It is still possible though that these estates of Eukarpos were in the territory of other cities, such as the example of two Patareans who had estates in the territory of Phellos.¹⁰⁴

⁹⁸ For a detailed account on regional separation and the coinage of early Lycia, see Childs 1981, 56–62.

⁹⁹ Appian Mithr. 442.1–3: πρῶτοι μὲν, οἱ Κράγον καὶ Ἀντίκραγον εἶχον, φρούρια μέγιστα, μετὰ δ' ἐκείνους οἱ ὄρειοι Κίλικες...

¹⁰⁰ OGIS 565 = IGR III 488 = BCH 10: 1886, 224, No. 7.

¹⁰¹ TAM II 190.

¹⁰² Merkelbach and Stauber 2002, 42, no. 17/09/07 = Petzl 2005, 35–6 = Uzunoğlu 2013, 220–21, no. 7: Hic situs est Graiis de|flendus saepe Camenis | servos fortuna, mo|ribus Ingenuus. | set cito Romanum ver|tit fecitque tribu|lem indulgens Pla|cidi dextera mollis eri. | pascua vitiferi geni|tum prope Lydia Tmoli | contexit Lycii terra | beata Cragi.

¹⁰³ Troxell 1982, 114–15; Jones 1971, 404, n. 16.

¹⁰⁴ Uzunoğlu and Taşdelen 2011, 86–7, no. 1.

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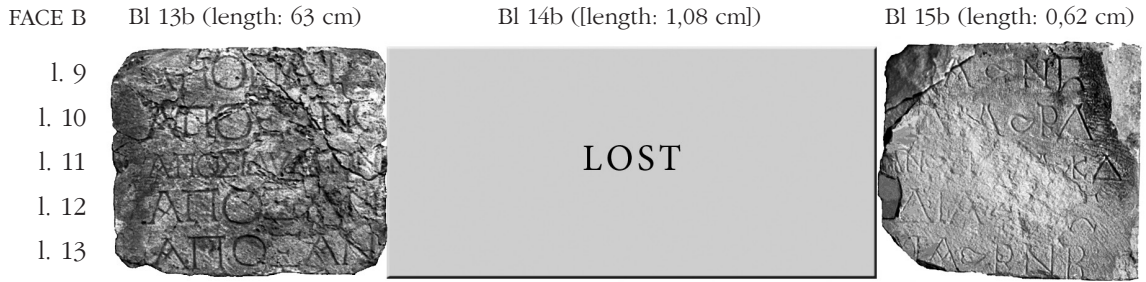


Fig. 1 First five roads on Face B of the monument

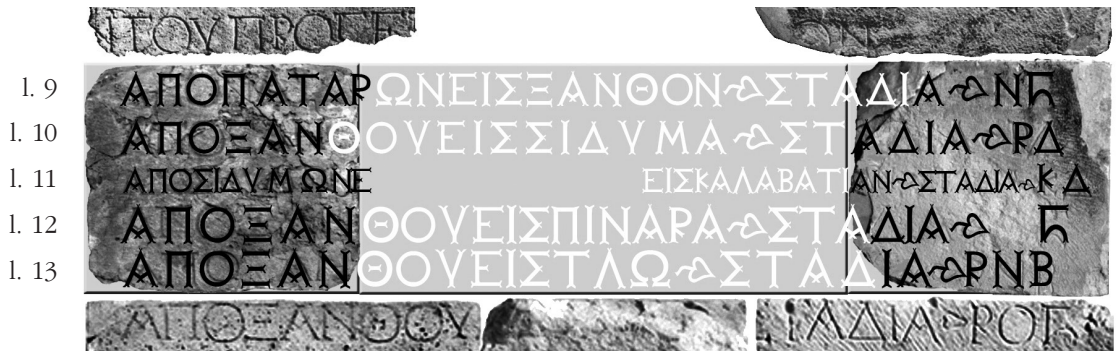


Fig. 2 Reconstruction of lines 9–13 of Face B employing Kalabatia

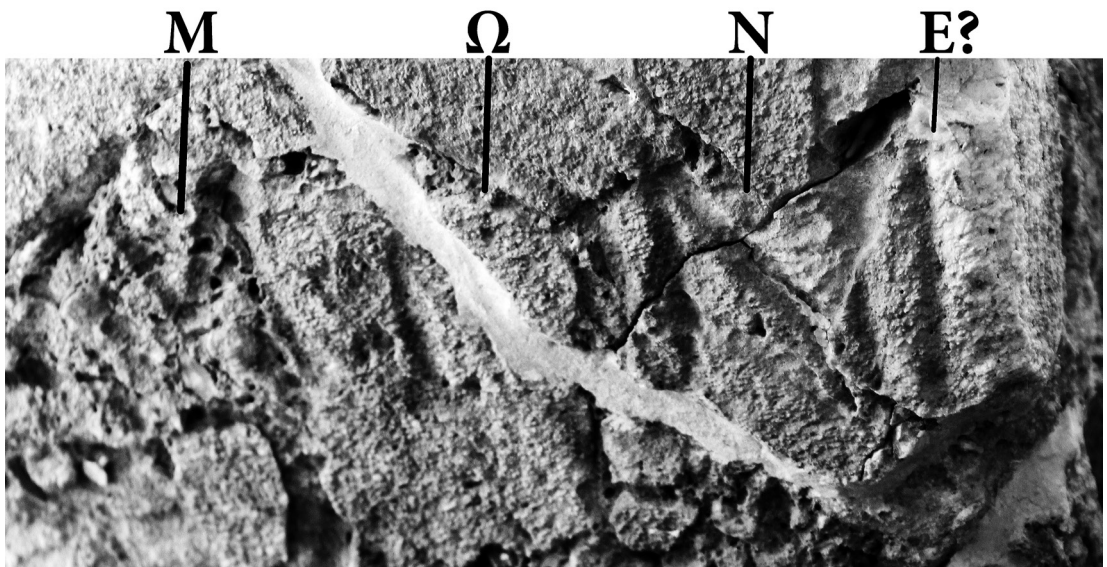


Fig. 3 Section concerning the last letter after ΑΠΟΣΙΔΥΜΩΝ in l.11 on Bl. 13B

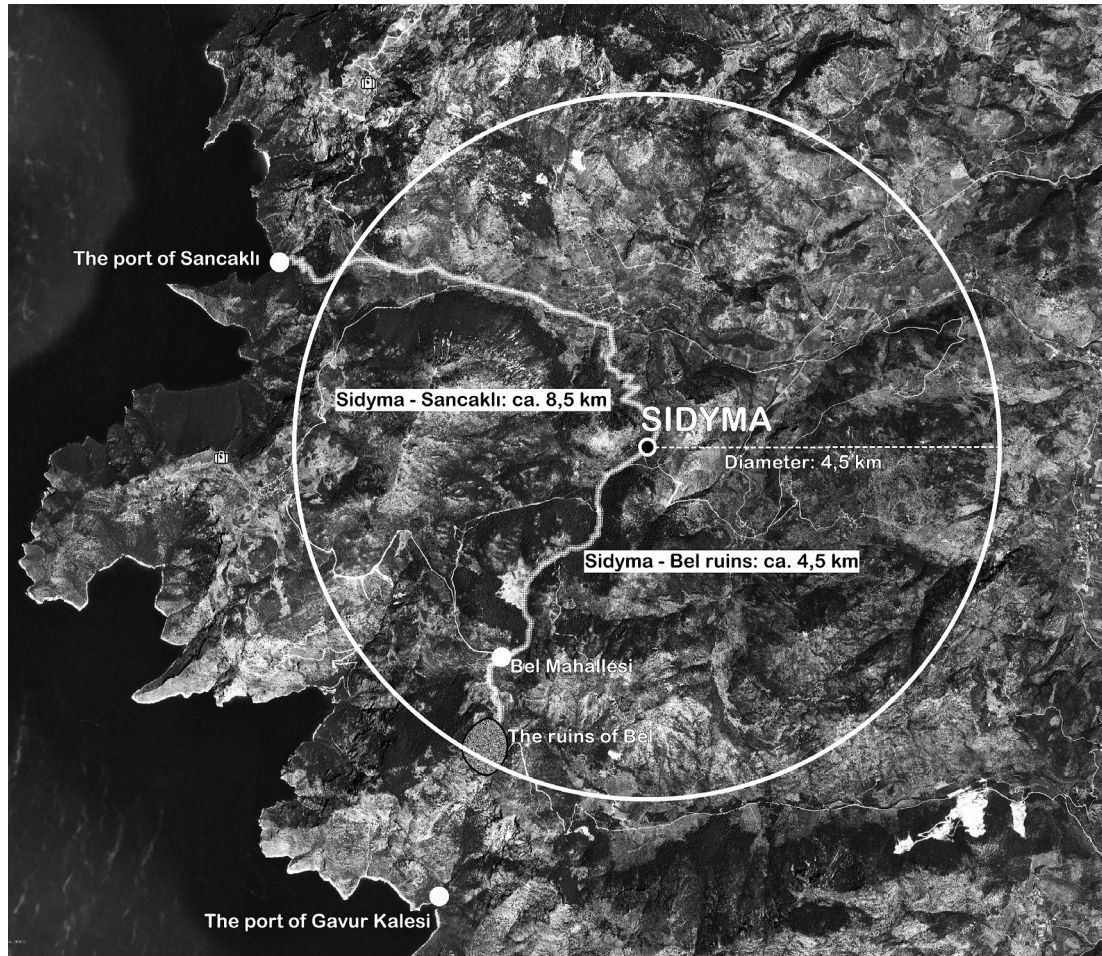


Fig. 4 Circle of 4,5 km distance as the crow flies around Sidyma (Google Earth)

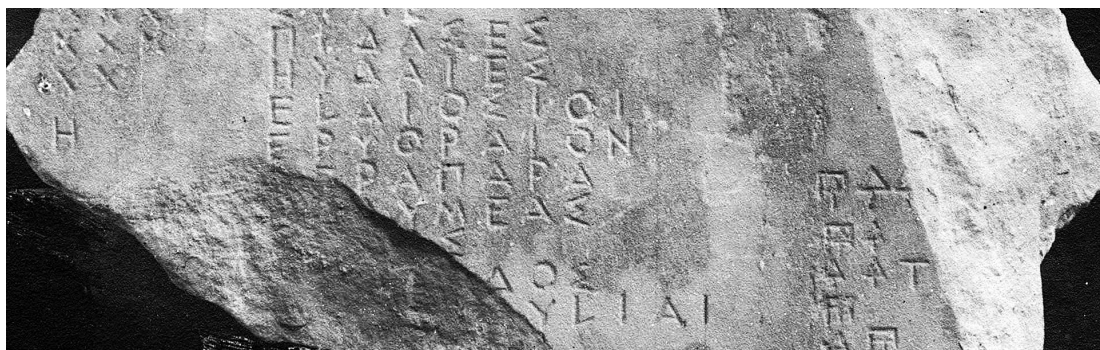


Fig. 5 [Ι]ερά παρὰ [Σι]δυμέας: ATL I, no. A9 str. 153–154 = IG I3 71 col. II l. 153–154
Source: <http://aleshire.berkeley.edu/holdings/photos/21416>

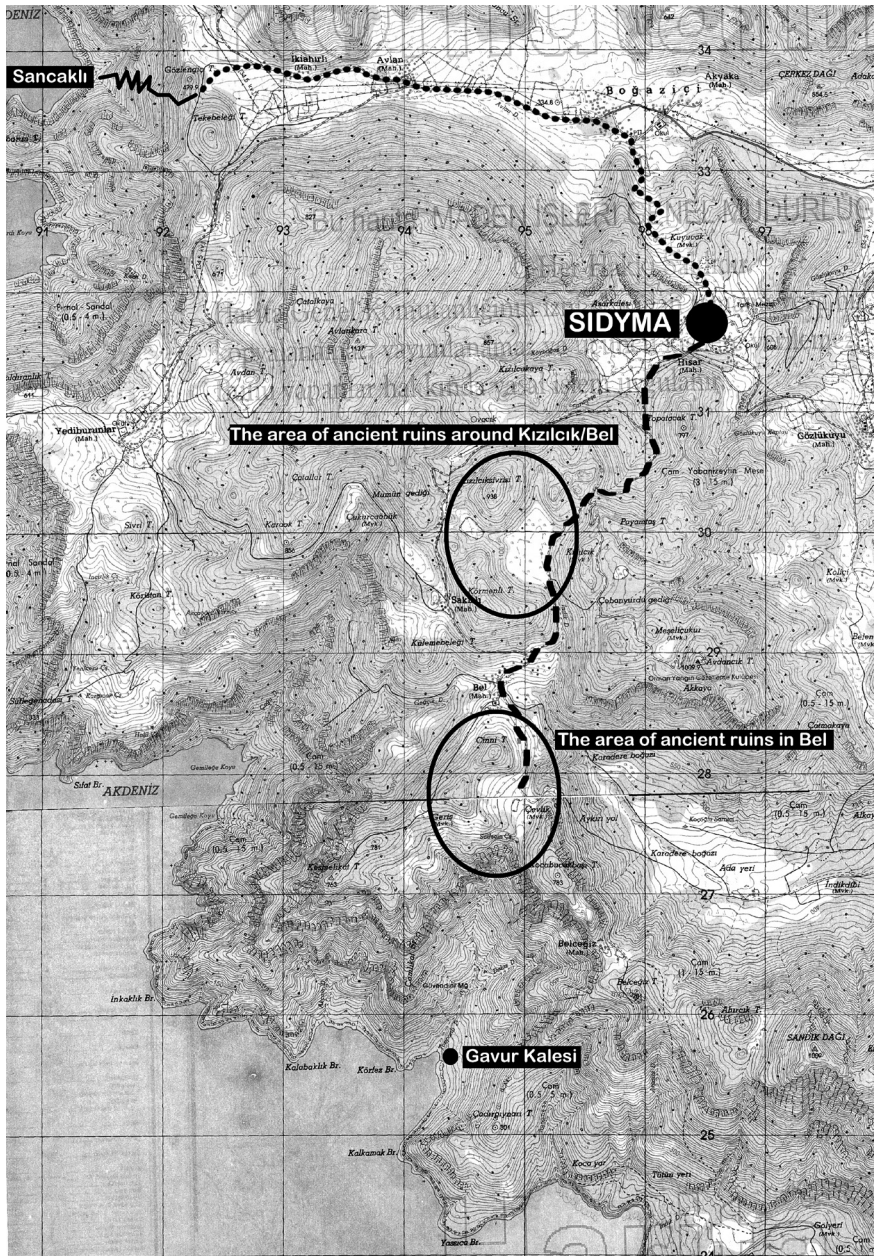


Fig. 6 District around Bel and the port of Gavar Kalesi



Fig. 7 Detail of TAM II 174 (IPYTANEZIN)



Fig. 8 Entrance of one of the caves around Bel above the northwestern end of Karadere Valley



Fig. 9 Inside the cave given in fig. 8



Fig. 10 Cave with ancient construction amongst the ruins of Bel



Fig. 11 Cave amongst the ruins of Bel



Fig. 12 Entrance of collapsed cave with water in Südecin below the ruins of Bel, facing south towards the sea



Fig. 13 Inside the cave given in fig. 12



Fig. 14 Remains of some retaining walls of the old road from Bel near Sidyma

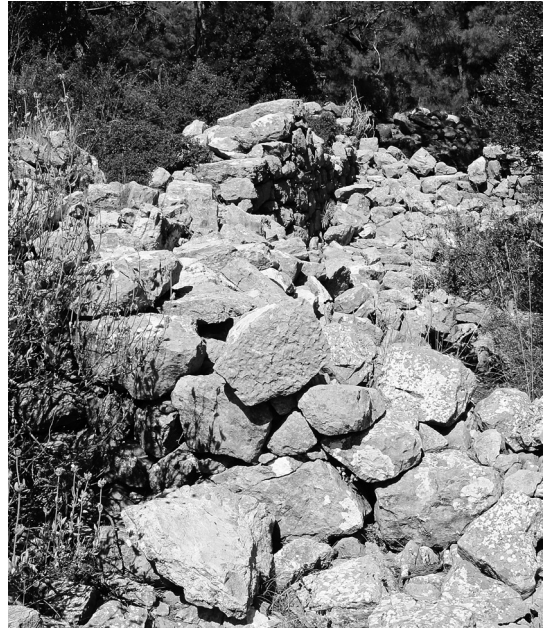


Fig. 15 Large foundation of an earlier building on Asartepe in Sakızlı locality

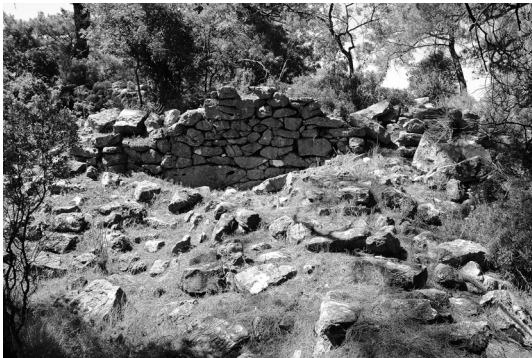


Fig. 16 Large foundation of an earlier building on Asartepe in Sakızlı locality



Fig. 17 Large foundation of an earlier building on Asartepe in Sakızlı locality



Fig. 18 Remains of an ancient building in Kızılcık plain



Fig. 19 Cistern in old tradition and ancient basin



Fig. 20 Cistern in old tradition near Kızılcık plain

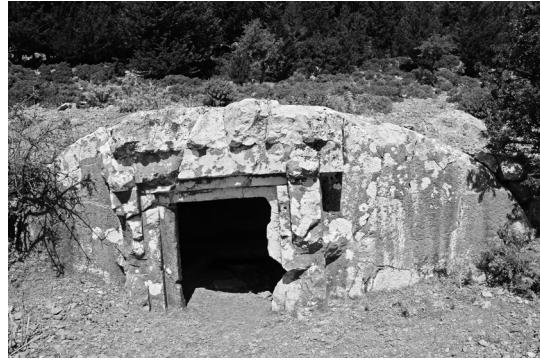


Fig. 21 Bel – Çevlik. Rock-cut tomb with the inscription in TAM II 244 (see n. 54)



Fig. 22 Bel – Çevlik. Tomb with the inscription in TAM II 246 (see n. 55), broken into many pieces because of a dynamite explosion



Fig. 23 Bel – Çevlik. Relief depicting a horseman (outlined by locals), exploded and rolled down south of the settlement

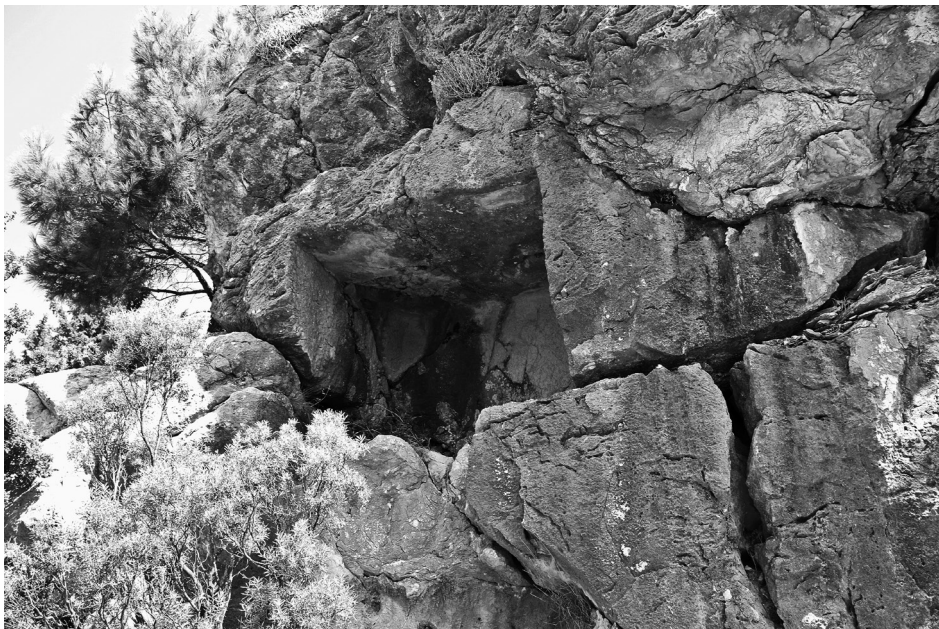


Fig. 24 Bel – Çevlik. Large niche on bedrock



Fig. 25 Bel – Geriş. Tomb



Fig. 26 Bel – Geriş. Chamosorion-type tomb



Fig. 27 Bel – Geriş. Cistern



Fig. 28 Bel – Geriş. Cistern



Fig. 29 Apsidal part of a building, probably a church east of Bel ruins



Fig. 30 Press basin near the apsidal foundation



Fig. 31 Profiled altar-shaped stone near the apsidal foundation



Fig. 32 Mill basin near the apsidal foundation

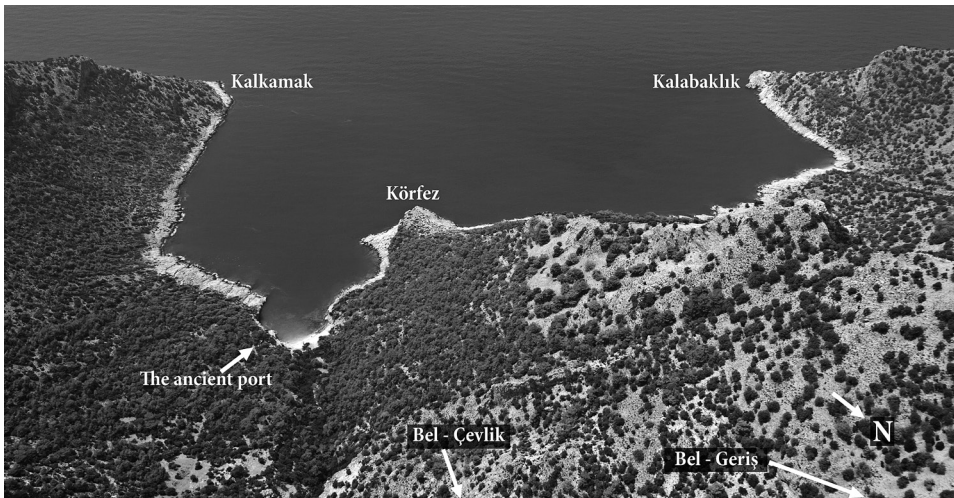


Fig. 33 Bay between Capes Kalkamak and Kalabaklık south of Bel (cf. the map in fig. 6).
Aerial photo taken above the ruins in Bel



Fig. 34 Gavur Kalesi. Late Antique/Early Byzantine building compound in the port



Fig. 35 Gavur Kalesi. Entrance to the west



Fig. 36 Gavur Kalesi. Western wall



Fig. 37 Gavur Kalesi. Entrance to compound from the seaside



Fig. 38 Gavur Kalesi. Detail of the masonry



Fig. 39 Gavur Kalesi. Detail of the masonry



Fig. 40 Gavur Kalesi. Detail of the passages



Fig. 41 Gavur Kalesi. Well



Fig. 42 Gavur Kalesi. Cistern by the chapel



Fig. 43 Gavur Kalesi. Chapel



Fig. 44 Gavur Kalesi. Chapel



Fig. 45 Gavur Kalesi. Fragments of mosaics and ceramics from the chapel



Fig. 46 Gavur Kalesi. Inscription on the plaster of the chapel wall



Fig. 47 Road descending in the direction of bay of Gavur Kalesi



Fig. 48 Road descending in the direction of bay of Gavur Kalesi