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# ADALYA



SUNA-İNAN KIRAÇ AKDENİZ MEDENİYETLERİ ARAŞTIRMA ENSTİTÜSÜ  
SUNA & İNAN KIRAÇ RESEARCH INSTITUTE ON MEDITERRANEAN CIVILIZATIONS

# ADALYA



SUNA-İNAN KIRAÇ AKDENİZ MEDENİYETLERİ ARAŞTIRMA ENSTİTÜSÜ YILLIĞI  
THE ANNUAL OF THE SUNA & İNAN KIRAÇ RESEARCH INSTITUTE ON MEDITERRANEAN CIVILIZATIONS

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## Inscriptions of Southern Lycia

David FRENCH\*

During the 1993 season on Roman Roads and Milestones of Asia Minor I visited the municipality of Mavikent (c. 9 km SE of Kumluca) where a milestone had been recorded in (?)1895 by Heberdey and Kalinka<sup>1</sup>. The stone has seemingly disappeared and despite extensive searches and the enthusiastic help of the Municipal authorities no trace was found. Nevertheless my visit to Mavikent was not entirely without reward.

The map reference (on the Turkish 1:200,000 map) for Mavikent, formerly Yenice or Yenikent, is 38-IIg. Mavikent lies in the administrative district of Kumluca (province of Antalya).

### 1) Gravestone of Trokondas

**Location:** At the house of Durmuş Küçükyavuz; brought from his field below Aktaş Harabesi (the site of the ancient city of Gagae).

**Copy:** DHF 10.12.1993; DHF squeeze (Fig. 1) in BIAA; photos (Pl. 1)

**Description:** Gravestone, in the form of a round altar. Mouldings at the top and bottom of the shaft and at c. 0.20 below the top, which is flat. On the shaft of the altar: a continuous motif of vine-leaves and grapes. On the front face and apparently cut through the band of vine-leaves and grapes: a sunken niche in which are shown two figures, a seated male in a short tunic, and on his left, a standing female in a long dress. The surface, particularly of the two figures, is chipped and broken but the inscription is well preserved. Hard, pale limestone.

**Dimensions:** ht. 0.655; (base) diam. 0.52; (niche) ht. 0.225, wi. 0.145. Letters: (line 1) A of ΑΡΣ 0.02, (line 5) Ω of ΠΤΩ 0.012; generally c. 0.015

#### **Text:**

Ἀρσασις ἡ καὶ Παῦα Μύρις  
καὶ Γάγατις Τροκονδα τῷ ἀν-  
δρὶ Μηνόδοτος δὲ καὶ Τροκον-  
δας καὶ Τοαλις καὶ Δημοσθένης καὶ  
Πτωμαίς καὶ Τονιαλίς τῷ πατρὶ μνή-  
(on the base moulding)  
μης ἕνεκα ἥροει

line 6: ἥροει φορ ἥρωι

---

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<sup>1</sup> CIL 3. 14184; RRMAM 2.197.



**Translation:** Arsasis, also named Paua, of Myra and of Gagae (set this up) for Trokondas, her husband, also Menodotos and Trokondas and Toalis and Demosthenes and Ptomais and Tonialis to their father, in memory, a hero.

**Date:** 1<sup>st</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD

**Comment:** Arsasis, the prime dedicator of the stone, wrote that she was a citizen both of Myra and of Gagae. Interestingly she set down Myra in front of Gagae. Was there a reason for this sequence? Because she was first a citizen of Myra before she married Trokondas who, it may be assumed from the location of the stone, was a citizen of Gagae?

The children's names are a mixture of Greek and Anatolian (Trokondas may as well be Pisidian as Lycian). Of the eight persons in the family, five have regional, Anatolian names: Arsasis/Paua, Ptomais, Toalis, Tonialis and Trokondas; only two have Greek: Demosthenes and Menodotos; cf. the ratio (regional names : Greek names) in inscription 2, below<sup>2</sup>.

Aktaş Harabesi is the modern location of Gagae. The ruins lie on a ridge, overlooking the plain, c. 1.5 km S of the Municipality building (Belediye) in the centre of Mavikent. Myra lay c. 34 km W of Gagae.

## 2) Dedication to the Emperor Claudius by the Councillors of Gagae

**Location:** At the house of Kadir Demir; brought from Sürüncek mevkii near the town.

**Copy:** DHF 10.12.1993; DHF squeeze (Fig. 2) in BIAA; no photo.

**Description:** Dedication, in the form of a round altar. The top is flat. Curved mouldings at top and bottom. Broken below and chipped all round, both at the top and at the bottom. Hard, white marble. The surface and letters are excessively worn. The bottom left area of the text is now lost. The inscription begins immediately below the upper moulding. Letters: Α, Ο, Ε, Σ, Ω

**Dimensions:** ht. (existing) c. 0.60; diam. (shaft) 0.73. Letters: c. 0.02

### **Text:**

Τιβέριον Κλαύδιον Καίσαρα Σεβαστὸν τὸν ἐπιφανέστατον  
 [σ]ωτήρα θεὸν οἱ ΙΟ[ . . ]ΟΙ βουλευταὶ κατὰ τὴν θείαν αὐτοῦ Π .  
 [ . . . 8-9 . . . ] τοῦ πρεσβευτοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀντιστρατηγοῦ Κοίντου  
 [Οὐ]ρανίου Ι[ . . ]ΑΕΛ[ . . ]ΔΕΝΟΥ· Ἀρπαλος Συνμάχου Βοηθὸς Ἑρμαίου  
 5 [ . . . . ]ο[ς . . . ]αδάτου Πολέμων Νέωνος Ἰάσων Νεάρχου  
 [ . . 7-8 . . ]οδώρου Λύσανδρο[ς] Ὀρπλάτου Περίλαος Ὀνασιδώρου  
 [ . . . 10-11 . . ]του Νεάρχος Πλειστάρχου Ἀθήναιος Ἰάσον[ος - - ]  
 [ . . . . 13-14 . . . ]ΟΥ[ . . . . . ]Ν[ . . ]ωνος Κενδεας Βίτου ΑΥΤΟΥ . ΤΟΥΔΥΛ  
 [ . . . . . 15-17 . . . . . ]ΤΟΚΛ. [ . . . . . ]λου Τειμώδικος Σεραπίων[ος]  
 10 [ - - - - - ]ατου Ἀπολλώνιος Ἰορι[ . . . ]ιος Ὀρπλάτου  
 [ - - - - - ]σων Γνώτωνος Αρ[ . . . . ]λις Εὐκλέους  
 [ - - - - - ]ιστάρχου Β[ . . . . ] Νεάρχου  
 [ - - - - - ]τιμου Φιλ[ . . . . . ]ριου

<sup>2</sup> For Arsasis and Toal(os) at Olympos and Paua at Kormi and Olympos, see the index of TAM 2, 3.

*line 2:* IO[ . . ]OI perhaps to be restored AP[ΙΣΤ]OI, i.e. οἱ ἄριστοι, in imitation of the meaning, though not the exact phraseology, of the Patara Stadiasmus text; ΘΕΡΑΝ for ΘΕΙΑΝ

*lines 2-3:* The length of line 2 is uncertain; at the end there is room for ΕΠ[Ι], i.e. ΕΠ[Ι]ΣΤΟΛΗΝ but better would be Π[ΡΟ]<sup>3</sup>, i.e. Π[ΡΟ]ΝΟΙΑΝ. Thereby it would be possible again to follow, as in line 2, the phraseology of the Patara Stadiasmus text<sup>4</sup>: κατὰ τὴν θεϊάν αὐτοῦ π[ρ]ο[νο]ίαν διὰ τοῦ . . . ; for the use of the words ἐπιφανής and σωτήρ in imperial titulature, see below, Appendix nos 1, 2 and 4 and in combination, no. 3.

*line 3:* Either [ἐπὶ] τοῦ etc., cp. Sidyma<sup>5</sup> or [διὰ] τοῦ etc., cp. Boubon<sup>6</sup> and the Patara Stadiasmus text<sup>7</sup>.

*line 4:* The letters after [Οὐ]ρανίου could be interpreted as a name, although a cognomen for Q. Veranius is not attested, or alternatively the name and patronymic of a Gagaeian councillor. Better still would be ἐ[πι]λελ[ε]γ[μέν]οι<sup>8</sup>, a word taken from the phraseology of the Patara Stadiasmus.

*line 12:* (?) [ - - - - Πλε]ιστάρχου Β[ίτος] Νεάρχου

**Translation:** The excellent councillors chosen in accordance with his divine forethought [through the agency] of his legatus and propraetor, Quintus Veranius, (honoured with this statue) Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus, the most manifest saviour god: Harpalos, (son) of Synmakhos, Boethos, (son) of Hermaios, [ - ], (son) of [ . . ]adates, Polemon, (son) of Neon, Iason, (son) of Nearkhos, [ - ] (son) of [ - ]odoros, Lysandros, (son) of Orplates, Perilaos, (son) of Onasidoros, [ - ], (son) of [ - ]tes, Nearkhos, (son) of Pleistarkhos, Athenaios, (son) of Iason, [ - ], (son) of - , - , (son) of - ],os, [ - ], (son) of - ],on, Kendeas, (son) of Bitos, . . . , (son) of [ - ], - , (son) of - , - (son) of - ],los, Teimodikos, (son) of Serapion, [ - ], (son) of - , - , (son) of - ]ates, Apollonios, (son) of [ - ], [ - ]ios, (son) of Orplates, [ - ], (son) of - , [ - ]son, (son) of Gnoton, Ar[ - ]lis, (son) of Eukles, [ - ], (son) of - , - , (son) of Ple[?]istarkhos, B[ίτος?], (son) of Nearkhos, [ - ], (son) of - , - , (son) of - ]timos, Phil[ - ], (son) of - ]rios

**Date:** AD 43<sup>9</sup>.

**Comment:** At least 21 individual names (excluding those of the Emperor and the governor) are given in this text. In contrast with text (1) above, most are Greek (19 ex 21): Apollonios, Athenaios, Bitos (1 ex., possibly 2 exx.), Boethos, Eukles, Gnoton, Harpalos, Hermaios, Iason (2 exx.), Lysandros, Nearkhos (2 exx., possibly 3 exx.), Neon, Onasidoros,

<sup>3</sup> As S. Şahin has suggested to me.

<sup>4</sup> S. Şahin, "Ein Vorbericht über den Stadiasmus Provinciae Lyciae in Patara", *Lykia* 1, 1994, 132.

<sup>5</sup> See below, Appendix no. 2 (Claudius).

<sup>6</sup> J. İnan, "Neue Forschungen zum Sabasteion von Bubon und seinem Statuen", in: J. Borchhardt-G. Dobdesch (eds.), *Akten des II Internationalen Lykien Symposiums*. Wien 6-12 Mai 1990 (1993) 218 no. 5 (Nero).

<sup>7</sup> Şahin, loc.cit.

<sup>8</sup> As suggested to me by S. Şahin.

<sup>9</sup> Şahin op. cit. (supra n.4) 130; for the governorship of Q. Veranius, (?) AD 43-48 see B. Thomasson, *Laterculi Praesidum* 1 (1984) 276 30.1; B. Remy, "L'activité des fonctionnaires sénatoriaux dans la province de Lycie-Pamphylie au Haut-Empire, d'après les inscriptions", *Anatolica Antiqua* 1, 1991, 170 n.120; N.P. Milner, "A Roman Bridge at Oenoanda", 1998, 120, 121 no. 1.



Perilaos, Pleistarkhos (2 exx.), Polemon, Serapion, Synmakhos, Teimodikos. One name is certainly regional: Kendeas; another probably so: Orplates (2 exx.), cp. Erblates<sup>10</sup>. Bitos, according to Zgusta<sup>11</sup>, is not Anatolian but Greek. Four fragmentary names are Greek in origin: Φιλ[ - ], [ - ]σων, [ - ]τιμος, ἀνδ[ - ]οδωρος. Two are uncertain: (?)Ιορ.[ - ] and [ . . . ]αδατης (ορ[ . . . ]αλατης) (?Persian). Four names at least are those of Alexander the Great's companions: Harpalos, Nearkhos<sup>12</sup>, Perilaos and Polemon.

This small corpus of personal names, valuable because it can be dated precisely to the first half (more accurately to the first quarter) of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD, offers a parallel illustration of the "Hellenisation" which has been emphasised for the southwestern regions of Anatolia, specifically Pisidia<sup>13</sup> with particular reference to monumental, public structures and the institutions which those structures represented in the civic life of the regional centres, i.e. the Pisidian cities, in the late-Hellenistic and pre-Roman period, the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC down to the creation of the province in AD 43. The degree to which cultural mannerisms, in this instance the adoption of Greek names, had been accepted at the Lycian city of Gagae can be observed in the inscription published here. It is against this background, the role of "Hellenisation" in Anatolian Lycia, that the interplay between the regional cities and the Roman authorities took place in the decades before, during and after the annexation of the region in AD 43.

In the context of Lycia the Gagae document (dated here to the year of annexation, AD 43) provides the most conclusive (and perhaps the earliest) evidence for the beginnings of the imperial cult in the province. Elsewhere in Lycia (and in Pisidia) under Claudius there was an acceptance of the living Emperor as god; the epigraphic evidence has been assembled by Frézouls and Morant<sup>14</sup>.

The inscription at Sidyma recording the dedication of the temple "voisin de l'agora" to θεοῖς σωτήρσι Σεβαστοῖς (Appendix no. 2) is a clear indication that the cult of the deified Augusti/Sebastoi in Lycia was probably created under Claudius himself, cp. the inscription (unknown provenance) in the Denizli Museum<sup>15</sup>: ὑπὲρ Σεβαστῶν καὶ Αὐτοκράτορος Κλαυδίου Γερμανικοῦ Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ. From the evidence of the Gagae text and now from the bridge inscription at Oenoanda<sup>16</sup> it is evident that the titles of the Emperor included the word *deus* and that the imperial cult embraced the living, reigning Emperor<sup>17</sup>.

<sup>10</sup> L. Zgusta, *Kleinasiatische Personennamen* (1964) § 349.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.* § 173 "gute griech. Name".

<sup>12</sup> For Nearkhos in Lycia see N.V. Sekunda, "Nearchus the Cretan and the Foundation of Cretepolis", *AnatSt* 47, 1997, 219.

<sup>13</sup> S. Mitchell, "The Hellenization of Pisidia", *MedA* 4, 1991, 119-145; S. Mitchell, "Hellenismus in Pisidien", in: E. Schwertheim (ed.) *Forschungen in Pisidien*, *AsiaMS* 6, 1992, 1-27.

<sup>14</sup> Éd. Frézouls-M.J. Morant, "Inscriptions de Sidyma et de Kadyanda", *Ktema* 10, 1985, 234.

<sup>15</sup> H. Malay, "New Inscriptions in the Denizli Museum", *Arkeoloji Dergisi* 2, 1994, 183 no. 26 Pl. 47, 48. Figs. 24 A-E

<sup>16</sup> Milner op. cit. (supra n.9).

<sup>17</sup> For the subject of Greek attitudes to their Roman rulers in Asia see the intensive study by S. Price, *Rituals and Power: The Roman Imperial Cult in Asia Minor*, 1984. For the Emperor Tiberius' reaction to Imperial worship, cp. his refusal, *Tacitus Ann.* 4.37 (AD 25 in Father Spain); and his later acceptance, *Tacitus Ann.* 4.56 (AD 26 at Smyrna). For the creation of the cult Roma et Augustus in Galatia, see Mellor R. Mellor, "ΘΕΑ ΡΩΜΑ. The Worship of the Goddess Roma in the Greek World", *Hypomnemata* 42, 1968. For the summary on the development of the temples to Roma et Augustus at Ancyra and Antiochia ad Pisidiam in the years following the formation of the province, see A.S. Hall, "R.E.C.A.M. Notes and Studies no. 9. The Milyadeis and Their Territory", *AnatSt* 36, 1986, 155-157. For the doubts, which have been expressed on the dedication of the temple at Antiochia, see Price op. cit. 270.



The significance of the Gagae inscription in the early history of the province of Lycia has been emphasised by Şahin<sup>18</sup>. His explanation of the text is followed here. Şahin indicates that the introductory lines may be restored on the basis of the Patara Stadiasmus text. From the evident parallelism one may conclude, he suggests, that the councillors named in the Gagae text were the men who had been selected by imperial forethought at the time of the disturbances which took place during the transition of Lycia into a province. These events -the troubles and the role played by a group of selected men- are recorded in the Patara Stadiasmus text.

It may be concluded, therefore, that in effect the men were leaders of the pro-Roman party from whom the Roman authorities received support for the policy of annexation. The Gagae stone, furthermore, may be interpreted as an open statement, publicly displayed by this group, of their role in the events of annexation and of their allegiance to the new order, in particular to the Emperor. By so doing, they were initiating, directly or indirectly, the cult of Rome and the Augustus in their own city<sup>19</sup>.

#### Appendix: Deus in Claudian Texts of Lycia and Pisidia

##### (1) Sidyma

θεὸν Σεβαστὸν Ἀν[τοκράτορα] | καὶ σωτήρα

Frézouls-Morant op. cit. (supra n.14) 233 no. 1

##### (2) Sidyma, "le temple voisin de l'agora"

θεοῖς σωτήρσι Σεβαστοῖς ἐπὶ Κο[ίντου Οὐρηαν]ίου πρεσβευτοῦ | τοῦ Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου  
Καίσαρ[ος Σεβαστο]ῦ ἀντιστρατήγου

IGRR 3.577 = TAM 2, 1.177; Price op. cit. (supra n.16) 263 with earlier references.

The restoration of the governor's name, Q. Veranius, is now assured by the Gagae text.

##### (3) Arneae

θεὸν ἐπιφανῆ σωτήρα

TAM 2, 3.760; Frézouls-Morant op. cit. (supra n.14) 234 no. 6

##### (4) Bayat, ancient Seleucia Sidera

θεὸν ἐπιφανῆ

J.R.S. Sterrett, "The Wolfe Expedition to Asia Minor", *Pap.Am.Sch.Cl. St.* 3, 1883-84, 334 no. 466 = IGRR 3.328

##### (5) Tlos

Καίσα[ρα] | θεὸν Σεβαστὸν τὸν κτίστην | π(α)ντὸς [τοῦ] κόσμου

TAM 2, 2.556

<sup>18</sup> pers. comm.

<sup>19</sup> The squeezes have been scrutinized in company with E. Varinlioglu with particular reference to Line 2 of Text 2. N. Milner has made valuable suggestions, and his comments, particularly on the subject of the Imperial cult, have been used in extenso. C. Roueché read and commented on the text of this article. To S. Şahin I am deeply indebted, in particular for his interpretation of the introductory lines and their relevance of the Patara Stadiasmus text.

## Özet

### Güney Likya Yazıtları

Makalede, yazarın 1993 yılında Antalya'nın Kumluca İlçesi'nin 9 km. güneydoğusunda yer alan Mavikent'e yaptığı ziyaret sırasında gördüğü iki yazıt anlatılmaktadır.

Bunlardan birisi M.S. 1.-2. yüzyıla tarihlendirilen Trokondas'ın mezar taşıdır. Gagae antik kenti yakınlarında bulunmuş olan mezar taşı yuvarlak altar formundadır ve Trokondas'ın eşi Arsasis/Paua tarafından yaptırılmıştır. Yazıtta geçen sekiz isimden altısı Anadolu kökenli, sadece ikisi Grekçe'dir.

Diğer yazıt, Mavikent-Bürüncek mevkiinde bulunmuştur. Gagae konsüllerinin İmparator Claudius'a adanmış olan bu yazıt da yuvarlak altar formundadır. Bahsedilen 21 isimden 19'u Grekçe'dir. Bu küçük, şahıs isimleri corpusu, kesin şekilde M.S. 1. yüzyılın ilk yarısına tarihlendirilebildiğinden önem taşır. Ayrıca Güneybatı Anadolu'da, özellikle Pisidya'da yaşanan Hellenizasyon ile paralel bir görüntü sergilemektedir. Pisidya'da, M.Ö. 2.-1. yüzyıldan itibaren eyaletin oluştuğu, M.S. 43 yılına kadar devam eden etkinin kültürel açıdan ulaştığı seviye, makalenin ilgilendiği isimler bağlamında açıkça gözlemlenebilir.

Anadolulu Likya'nın, yerel şehirler ve Roma yönetimi arasındaki rolü hem Roma egemenliğine alınıştan önce, hem bu gerçekleştiği sırada hem de M.S. 43 yılından sonra yaşanmıştır.

Makalede, yazar tarafından Roma egemenliğinin ilan edildiği MS. 43'e tarihlendirilen yazıt, Likya konteksinde imparatorluk kültürünün eyaletteki başlangıcı için en kesin ve belki de en erken delili oluşturmaktadır.

Patara Stadiasmos (Yol Klavuz) Anıtı ışığında anlaşıldığına göre, Gagae yazıtında adı geçen konsüller, Likya'nın bir eyalet haline getirilmesinden önce yaşanan karışıklık sırasında Roma yönetimi tarafından seçilmiş kişilerdi. Bunun yanı sıra yazıt, konsüllerin, özellikle imparatora ilhaktaki rollerini ve yeni düzene bağlılıklarını deklare edişleriydi. Böylelikle kendi şehirlerinde Roma ve Augustus kültürünü direk ya da dolaylı yoldan başlatmış oluyorlardı.





Figure 1 Gravestone of Trokondas



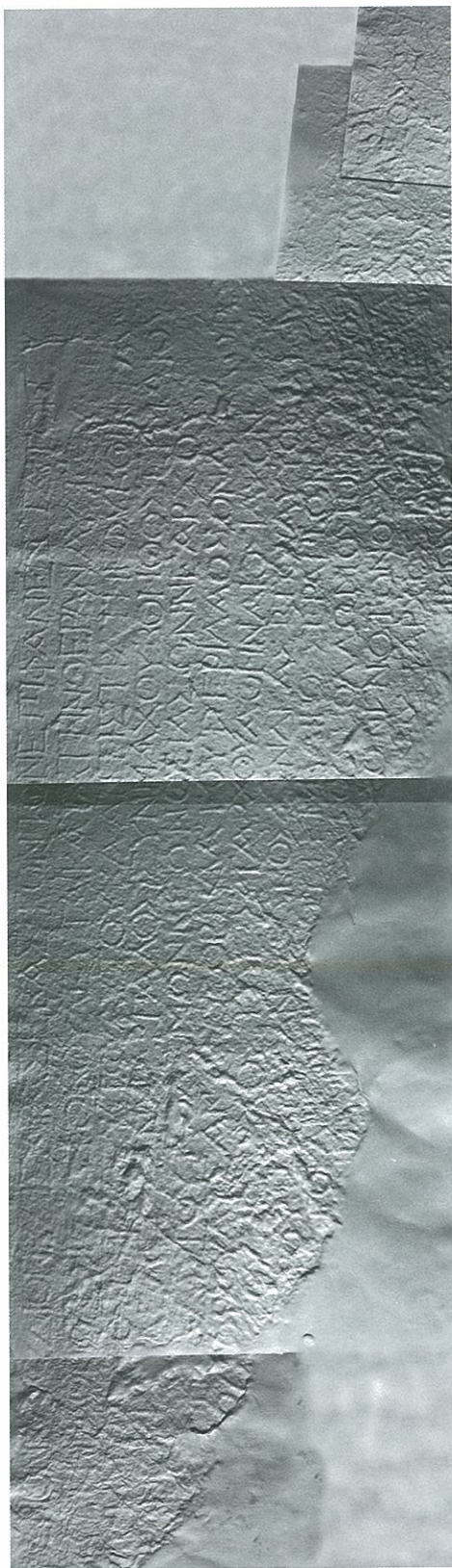


Figure 2 Dedication to the Emperor Claudius by the Councillors of Gage