

ADALYA



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

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THE ANNUAL OF THE SUNA & İNAN KIRAÇ RESEARCH INSTITUTE ON MEDITERRANEAN CIVILIZATIONS

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Suna - İnan KIRAÇ Akdeniz Medeniyetleri

Araştırma Enstitüsü Yıllık Dergisi

Yönetim Yeri: Barbaros Mh. Kocatepe Sk. No. 25

Kaleiçi 07100 Antalya Tel: +90 242 243 42 74

Faks: +90 242 243 80 13 e-posta: akmed@akmed.org.tr

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Arslan Yatağı Sk. Sedef Palas No. 19/2

Cihangir 34433 İstanbul

Tel: +90 212 244 75 21 Faks: +90 212 244 32 09

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Yüzyıl Mh. Matbaacılar Sit. 1. Cadde 139 Bağcılar - İstanbul

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Yazışma Adresi / Mailing Address

Barbaros Mah. Kocatepe Sk. No. 25

Kaleiçi 07100 ANTALYA-TURKEY

Tel: +90 242 243 42 74 • Fax: +90 242 243 80 13

akmed@akmed.org.tr

www.akmed.org.tr

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Northeast Lycia. The New Evidence – Results from the past ten years from the Bey Mountains Surface Surveys

Nevzat ÇEVİK*

Extending along the west horizon of Antalya, the Bey Mountains host rich remains from ancient times forming a visual feast (Fig. 1). Today we are in the 3rd millennium after Christ and it has been a long time since the first archaeological excavations were conducted in Anatolia, consequently, even in Anatolia known for her archaeological richness the fact that we still discover new remains in the Bey Mountains is indeed surprising. Our research over the past 10 years has shown that the cultural and historical wealth of this region is far greater than had previously been known or what this area had been thought to contain. Most of the archaeological remains upon which our work has focussed have been discovered and published by us for the first time. After numerous researchers had earlier visited the region and all the time that has since elapsed, because the surveying of the remains just to the west of Antalya city has been so much delayed, science has been late to arrive and much material has been lost and time has been wasted. The process of conservation, beginning with the identification and registration of the sites and finds has been late to arrive in this region.

To the east of the Bey Mountain region the Pamphylian plain begins, the Pisidian Mountains extend to the north, while the south and the west parts of the region are within Lycia. The number of settlements and individual finds in the region has been multiplied manifold compared to what was known prior to the onset of our surveys. Extrapolating

* Prof. Dr. Nevzat Çevik, Akdeniz Üniversitesi, Fen-Edebiyat Fakültesi, Arkeoloji Bölümü, Kampüs 07058 Antalya.
E-mail: ncevik@akdeniz.edu.tr.

Our surveys have been conducted with a team of usually more than 25 experts. These surveys have been conducted on behalf of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism and Akdeniz University from their inception and have been financially supported by the Ministry of Culture and Akdeniz University's Scientific Research Projects Unit, as well as by AKMED. Reaching its tenth year under the direction of Nevzat Çevik, Surveys in the Bey Mountains project and its continuation the Excavations at Rhodiapolis and Surveys in its Environs project have the following core team members: Asst. Prof. Dr. İ. Kızıgut, Reader S. Bulut, Research Assistants E. Akalın, B. Özdilek and O. Tıbikoğlu of Akdeniz University; Assoc. Prof. Dr. E. Akyürek and Research Asst. A. Kızılkayak of Istanbul University; Prof. Dr. I. P. Pedarros and Dr. O. Henry of Bordeaux University; Prof. Dr. M. Kunze and Dr. S. Bruer of Mannheim University. We also collaborated with the team of Prof. Dr. B. İplikçioğlu from Marmara University, who has been leading epigraphic surveys in the region, and our new finds of epigraphic materials have been shared with them. I would like in particular to record my thanks to Asst. Prof. Dr. İ. Kızıgut and Reader S. Bulut, my key collaborators in this survey work, my thanks go also to the other members of my team, my students and to all the supporting people and institutions, the people who have together made this project a successful one, and to T. M. P. Duggan for editing this article for language.

All the images including photographs, drawings and maps employed in this article are from the archives of Bey Mountains Surface Surveys project, Akdeniz University.

from this region will lead to an appreciation of the quantity and quality of unknowns that remain in other parts of Lycia and Pisidia.

The first large site to be studied within the Bey Mountains project was Trebenna, which had been mentioned a few times in earlier publications. Like some of the other sites, its name was known however its remains were not. The name Trebenna was first read on archaeological remains in 1846. In 1885 Ramsay added a short note concerning the name of the city and its location within the region¹. The name of the city was first documented and its location was verified by an inscription discovered by K. G. Lanckoronski's team²; it was later read again in other inscriptions and especially upon the coins. R. Paribeni and P. Romanelli, who came to the region before the First World War, copied and published 13 inscriptions, some of which had previously been published by Lanckoronski, most of which came from the tombs at Trebenna³. After the war, Italian researchers again visited the region. C. Anti visited Gedeller, the Çandır valley and Gökdere valley in a superficial manner given the circumstances of the day and published his research in 1923⁴ and he also compiled the inscriptions from Onobara. Another Italian, V. Viale also surveyed in the Gökdere and Çandır valleys and around Doyran (1922)⁵. He prepared a sketch plan of the farmstead at Gedeller. The most important find from this visit was a cave on Mount Hurma containing baked clay votive offerings. 50 years after the last Italian visitor, a Turkish scholar, S. Eyice visited Trebenna on a day excursion, together with the director of the Antalya Museum, and evaluated the medieval church there. The first comprehensive epigraphic surveys in the region were initiated by B. İplikçioğlu at Termessos in 1991⁶. His epigraphic surveys still continue today in east and northeast Lycia compiling the inscriptions in this region.

The first program of detailed scientific surveys⁷ of these remains, dating mainly from the Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine periods, have been conducted by our survey team over the past ten years. Our surveys began as Surveys in and around Trebenna⁸ in 1997 and in 2001 were transformed into Surveys in the Bey Mountains⁹ (Fig. 1). The Bey Mountains became the target for our surveys from 1997 onwards for a variety of reasons

¹ W. M. Ramsay, "Notes and Inscriptions from Asia Minor, V. Trebenna at Pamphylia", AM 10, 1885, 343 ff.

² K. G. von Lanckoroński, Städte Pamphylens und Pisidiens I, Pisidiens (1892) 13, 1892, 13, 223 ff No. 183–187.

³ R. Paribeni – P. Romanelli, "Studii e ricerche archeologiche nell' Anatolia meridionale", MonAnt XXIII, 1914, 6–274.

⁴ C. Anti, "Secondo Itinerario. Esplorazioni archeologiche nella Licia e nella Pamfilia", MonAnt XXIX, 1923, 657–786.

⁵ V. Viale, "Relazione sull'attività della Missione Archeologica di Adalia nell'anno 1922", ASAtene VIII–IX (1929) 381 ff.

⁶ B. İplikçioğlu, "Zum Territorium von Termessos in Pisidien", P. Scherrer – H. Taeuber – H. Thür (eds), Steine und Wege, Festschrift für D. Knibbe (1999) 309–313.

⁷ S. Şahin, M. Adak and their assistants have conducted surveys within our officially permitted region without obtaining any permission and their publications will not be cited or referred to here.

⁸ N. Çevik – İ. Kızgut – Ş. Aktaş, "1997 Yılı Trebenna ve Çevresi Yüzey Araştırmaları", AST XVI–2, 1999, 401–423; N. Çevik – İ. Kızgut – Ş. Aktaş, "Trebenna ve Çevresi Yüzey Araştırmaları 1998", AST XVII–2, 2000, 321–329.

⁹ N. Çevik – B. Varkıvanç – İ. Kızgut, "Trebenna ve Çevresi Yüzey Araştırmaları 2001", AST XX–2, 2003, 97–112; N. Çevik et al., "Trebenna ve Çevresi Yüzey Araştırmaları 2002", AST XXI–1, 2004, 265–278; N. Çevik et al., "Bey Dağları Yüzey Araştırmaları 2003: Neapolis–Kelbessos ve Çevreleri", AST XXII–1, 2005, 101–114; N. Çevik et al., "Surveys in the Bey Mountains in 2003. Neapolis–Kelbessos", ANMED 2, 2004, 68–73; N. Çevik et al., "Bey Dağları 2004 Yılı Yüzey Araştırmaları", AST XXIII–1, 2006, 141–154; N. Çevik, "Surveys in the Bey Mountains in 2004", ANMED 3, 2005, 109–115; N. Çevik et al., "Bey Dağları Yüzey Araştırmaları 2005", AST XXIV, 2007; N. Çevik, "Surveys in the Bey Mountains in 2005", ANMED 4, 2006, 85–92; N. Çevik et al., "Bey Dağları Yüzey Araştırmaları 2006: İn Önü", AST XXV, 2008; N. Çevik – İ. Kızgut – S. Bulut, "Surveys in the Bey Mountains in 2006", ANMED 5, 2007, 102–106.

– first of all the earlier research was mainly concerned with epigraphic material, thus the region was still untouched in terms of its archaeological material; the custom of and natural tendency for researching the larger cities and monuments has resulted in the study of small towns and settlements as well as small structures in the rural areas being neglected, thus, this region, rich in data regarding the life of the common people of antiquity formed the focus of our research; as the region contained numerous farmsteads, villages, garrisons and towers providing information on agricultural production and defence as well as an uninterrupted Byzantine presence¹⁰. At the end of ten years, the results that have been obtained verify the correctness of this choice of survey area.

In the first step we used high definition satellite images and 1:25,000 scale maps while conducting preliminary surveys to determine the presence and density of the remains. Then, in a series of organised surveys we employed GPS and GIS geographic information systems to determine accurate global parameters and plotted them onto 1:25,000 scale maps. Then we continued preparing detailed maps of the sites, employing the total station system. Preparing the relevé plans, photographing on land and from the air, writing detailed descriptions on site; after all this was completed, work moved to the office where everything was organised, filed and archived. The work continued with research on the bibliography and on publishing the finds from these surveys. The overall results obtained in the period from 1997 to 2007 can be summarised as follows:

1. A lengthy and extensive archaeological survey project possessing official permission has been conducted for the first time on behalf of the Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism and Akdeniz University. The archaeological inventory of the region has been prepared in respect to the requirements of modern science.
2. The rapid disappearance of historical and archaeological heritage has been in part stopped and the completion of registration of structures and sites has been facilitated. At least, these settlements, structures and finds were documented with drawings and photographs before their total disappearance, thus enabling the preservation and the use of this documentation into the future.
3. Due to the variety of settlements with their different characteristics, unparalleled examples were attained in respect to settlement archaeology and urbanisation, while the connections with the surrounding villages, farmsteads and garrisons were identified. In particular we managed to obtain data that will contribute to clarifying the existing scientific queries concerning the Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine periods in the region.
4. Our work comprised “modern archaeological surveying”, identifying the settlements and recording all of their visible remains – not the customary and superficial–fast “survey”. Thus, the settlements surveyed were given their full identity for the first time with all their visible remains and so, for the first time their chronological stories have in part at least, been recorded.
5. Many remains have been identified for the first time, especially pertaining to aspects of the provincial dimension to Roman art and architecture of the region.

¹⁰ The Byzantine section of the Surveys in the Bey Mountains is under the direction of E. Akyürek who evaluates the finds: E. Akyürek, “12. yy’da Batı Pamphylia’da Bizans Varlığı: Arkeolojik Buluntular Işığında Bir Değerlendirme”, *Sevgi Gönül Byzantine Studies Symposium* (in press).

6. The hypothesis that East Lycia was less densely inhabited, due to its steep and extremely rough terrain, has been comprehensively disproved, a consequence of the numerous settlements of various sizes that we have discovered. It has also become apparent that settlement during the Classical period in this region was weak, the Hellenistic period presented more evidence than was expected and indeed in the Roman period the quality and number of settlements increased and continued into the Byzantine period.
7. In the settlements in mountainous areas important examples of town planning – urbanism have been identified and have been studied in this respect. It has been determined that the basic success of settlements established in steep terrain was due to the terracing employed and settlement planning to take account of the nature of the terrain. We covered a large area in these surveys, in particular regarding the local dimensions of the Roman period, settlements in rough terrain and rural urbanism. The Roman period cities of Anatolia are metropolises which, due to their size are unable to fully reflect local characteristics and it was found that it was the rural settlements that provide the only opportunity to understand these local characteristics.
8. Scholars of various disciplines, including fauna and flora experts, have been brought together, compiling multi-faceted information on the past and present in the area surveyed and the work on mycology has focused on the damage to ancient remains caused by micro-colonial bacteria.
9. The evidence obtained from these surveys has clearly indicated that Antalya not only comprised the marble cities of the coastline, but that the basic resources that supplied and fed them were located in the mountains and valleys. The basic economic export items were lumber, olive oil and vine products. In addition to identifying the sources of economic power and the support for the military power of Termessos, it was also seen that central settlements such as Trebenna, Phaselis and Attaleia had quite unexpected territories.
10. In the first stage of these surveys in this region we have completed detailed work at medium size settlements like Trebenna, Neapolis and Kelbessos; at small size settlements like Typallia, Onobara and İn Önü; at garrisons such as Hurma, Badırık, Belen and Nesos Lyrnateia (Sıçan island); at villages like Hisar Çandır and Kessener; at few defended-towered and at numerous undefended farmsteads and their buildings; at numerous olive oil presses, wineries and numerous agricultural terraces were also surveyed and recorded. The majority of settlements with farmsteads or villages have been identified for the first time, while the larger settlements whose existence has been known for some considerable time have been surveyed and recorded in all their archaeological detail for the first time. We discovered İn Önü; we identified the archaeological remains at Kelbessos, Neapolis and Typallia, only the presence of archaeological remains was noted in the early literature; the names of these settlements were determined and the discovered and recorded inscriptions were examined by epigraphs, namely B. İplikçioğlu and his team, with whom we collaborate.
11. The mountainous area from Doyran-Keldağ down to the south of Kemer has been surveyed and its entire inventory has been prepared. Our work during the second stage of the surveys covered Kitanaura, Lykai, Kosara, Mnara and small units in the environs and this work is about to be completed.

12. The region's archaeological identity, with its prehistoric caves, Termessian territory during the Hellenistic period, the extensiveness of the Roman settlements and their rural characters, Byzantine settlements together with their churches and monasteries, has for the first time been clarified. The territorial boundaries of cities such as Termessos, Trebenna, Attaleia and Phaselis have been determined and their interconnections and interrelations have been understood.
13. The data obtained from these surveys led to numerous scientific results concerning: chronology, settlement density, the settlement typology, town planning, the road network, art, architecture, the religious beliefs, burial architecture and traditions, the social structure, the economic structure and the cultural/social relations of the region.
14. The links between the large settlements such as, Termessos, Trebenna and Phaselis and the lesser units have now been more completely understood and evaluations concerning the territorial borders were mainly based upon epigraphic finds. As this region is located at the junction of Lycia, Pamphylia and Pisidia, many examples carrying traces of the art of all three of these regions were found next to each other. Although the region was officially part of Lycia, it was found that the art in east and northeast Lycia had no great connection with Lycian art, but rather, was more influenced by Termessos and Pisidia and this influence is particularly apparent from the extensive use of the Pisidian type sarcophagi which was found in most of these settlements.
15. Some physical sections of the roads recorded on the *Miliarium Lyciae* of Patara have been identified.
16. Much new information has been collected regarding the art, life and sustenance of the common people due to the large number of provincial settlements and rural units that were surveyed¹¹. Inscriptions and reliefs displaying information concerning the life and beliefs of the region found on hundreds of sarcophagi, almost none of which have ever been included in any published sarcophagus corpus, provide a picture of the rural life of the people of this region. Roman sarcophagi carrying depictions of scenes of daily life are unique and have not been found elsewhere in Lycia. These scenes mainly include farming, the ox-drawn plough, blacksmithing, domestic animals, wild goat, deer, the bear hunt, and wild beast combats and, in particular, depictions of combat between the mountain lion and the wild goat.
17. The rural life in the region finding its physical expressions in work-areas, rural settlements of various forms and agricultural areas has been recorded.
18. In architecture and forms of settlement, original types and kinds were identified and some unparalleled examples, such as the Belen tower with its secret tunnel, the Kelbessian Principia¹², Neapolis work-area, houses and round shaped rock ostotheks with conical lids at Trebenna¹³, all of which are unique discoveries from these surveys, have now been recorded in the archaeological literature.

¹¹ N. Çevik, "The Social Structure as Reflected through the Necropolii of Trebenna", Symposium on Lycia 2006, I, 175-207; B. Özdilek – N. Çevik, "Scenes of daily life on Roman rural sarcophagi, newly discovered in North East Lycia", X. Symposium on Mediterranean Archaeology (SOMA) 2007 (in press).

¹² N. Çevik – I. P. Pedarros, "Recherches archeologiques dans le Beydağ. Troisième rapport préliminaire sur le site de Kelbessos", *Anatolia Antiqua* XIV, 2006, 262 ff. Figs. 3–4.

¹³ N. Çevik, "Yuvarlak Kaya Ostothepleri: Trebenna'da Bulunan Yeni Bir Mezar Tipi ve Onun Işığında Benzeri Çukurların Yeniden İrdelenmesi", *Adalya* II, 1998, 127–150.

19. Examples like the Belen garrison provide information concerning the security in rural areas during the Roman period. It was understood that the problems caused by the considerable banditry experienced in this region were solved through the establishment of garrisons and the erection and manning of watchtowers for observation, patrolling and guarding the region as well as farmsteads with towers and similar farms, known from many examples dating from the Hellenistic period¹⁴. Security was enforced with the assistance of the private forces employed by the owners of farms and villages as well as through mobile gendarmerie issuing from the main city centre to which the site was connected. This issue was formerly known from some inscriptions¹⁵, but it has now been identified with forms of architecture, reflecting the defensive measures that were taken, as well as their links and connections with the settlements.
20. Very special and well-preserved examples of common people's houses and rustic houses, hitherto very little known, have been discovered. We have noted that secure villages, comprising groups of houses closely connected to each other, as well as rural houses with several rooms around a courtyard containing cisterns and work-areas, and thus organised as buildings they were also employed for production and storage as well as habitation. House plans are similar both in cities like Neapolis and on the farms, with the differences, sometimes reflected in the number and the quality of rooms, dependent upon the production function in the rural areas. These buildings were erected with rubble and mortar walls and had timber and tile roofs.
21. The rich necropolii that have been discovered contained all types of tombs and necropolis organizations, reflecting the social structure of the settlement and the relations between those of differing status were identified¹⁶. The majority of these tombs are sarcophagi, followed by chamber tombs and rock tombs and most of these tombs belong to the Roman period. The sarcophagi are usually of the Pisidian type. The monumental built-tombs, consisting of up to three-storey examples¹⁷ all date from the Roman period.
22. Terrace complexes, the work-areas and farms all show there existed in this region a satisfactory agricultural production, based around the main products, olives and vines¹⁸. This production provided a surplus that supplied local demand and it was understood that these products were important commercial items. Press beam sockets, trapeta, basins and weight-press stones were the most common finds pertaining to the work-areas surveyed.

¹⁴ N. Çevik – S. Bulut, "The Belen and Kelbessos farmsteads with towers on the border of Pisidia–Lycia and some thoughts on security in the countryside", *Adalya X*, 2007, 105–130.

¹⁵ The most comprehensive study on this topic is: H. Öztürk, *MÖ. II – MS. IV. Yüzyıllarda Likya–Pamfilya Bölgesi'nin Kırsal Alan Güvenlik Problemleri* (Marmara University, Unpublished PhD thesis, 2006).

¹⁶ N. Çevik, "The Social Structure as Reflected through the Necropolii of Trebenna", *Symposium on Lycia 2006*, I, 175–207.

¹⁷ *Trebenna 2005*, 55 ff., 187 ff.

¹⁸ S. Bulut, "Likya–Pamfilya–Pisidia Sınır Bölgesinden Sıra dışı İki Zeytinyağı İşliğı", *Adalya VIII*, 2005, 191–210; S. Bulut, "Bey Dağları Çiftlik Yerleşimleri ve İşlikler", *Silifke Müzesi Konferansları 2005–2006* (in press).

Selected important examples from the newly discovered settlements and remains and from those newly studied in this region

Along the valleys on the slopes of Sivridağ (Hurma¹⁹, Gökdere, Çandır and Asar valleys) and especially around Trebenna there are numerous remains²⁰. Although these are mainly from the Byzantine period, there are also remains dating from earlier and even later periods. Some of the sites around Trebenna that are noteworthy for their remains are the following: the Çağlarca watchtower, the Geyikbayırı settlement (rock tombs, buildings, work-areas), the Elmin farm, the Asar Tarlası farms, the prehistoric settlements-caves along the Asar valley; the Hisarçandır farms, the Kalebaşı medieval fortress, the Gedeller farms, the Onobara settlements comprising defensive buildings, houses, sarcophagi and work-areas, the Dipsiz settlement of, houses, work-areas, necropolis and church, Sıçan island with its defensive buildings (Fig. 5), the Hacisekililer farms, at Gasetin İni a farm and work-area (Fig. 2), Gökdere Ören comprising a farm, bridge, work-area and traditional monumental bee-hives building, Kızılcapınar, Kocaköy with work-areas – (Fig. 6) – sarcophagi and farms, Yalnız Mezar with its farm, work-areas and sarcophagus, Hurma with its farms, work-areas, terraces and garrison fort – (Fig. 3) Yarbaş Çandır – Typallia (settlement), Doyran Özü (Fig. 4), Gökseki, Şehitbeleni, Moryer, Sinan Değirmeni, Çarıklıpınar, Badırık hill garrison, Kessener kome. In addition, ethnographic research was conducted at the medieval fortress and at the house of the Böcek family in Çağlarca. These small settlements usually contain farm elements and military buildings. The farms contain the remains of work-areas, agricultural terraces, farmsteads and tombs, while those that served a military function contain elements constructed for observation and defence-serving a guarding function. Such military buildings are organised as a single tower or as an extensive garrison. Although it was understood that the remains were connected to each other via roads, all of these connections could not be identified. However, the route Typallia – Trebenna – Attaleia/Onobara – Thalasa, that is mentioned in the *Miliarium Lyciae*²¹, has been followed as there remains sufficient *insitu* evidence.

Trebenna: The survey work here has been published as the first volume of Bey Mountains series²². Trebenna is one of the most important settlements to have been documented with its extensive visible remains, during the course of the Surveys in the Bey Mountains project²³. Its pre-Roman name does not have any connection with ancient Greek or Latin – being a local name. In the valley just below the city are traces of prehistoric settlements and it seems reasonable to suggest that there was almost certainly a settlement of some unknown size established in this place long before the Roman period. The site was divided into the acropolis, the city centre, necropolis and the extramural areas. The remains extend over a wide area, bounded by the Elmin region on the north slopes of Sivridağ to the south, to the east the last terrace structures and a few tombs in the valley lying to the east of the acropolis, to the west, the west end of the İrimli necropolis, and to the north, the north end of the acropolis²⁴.

¹⁹ N. Çevik, "Antalya Hurma Köyü'nde Bir Çiftlik Yerleşimi", *Lykia* II, 1995, 40–62.

²⁰ N. Çevik – S. Bulut – İ. Kızılgut – E. Akyürek, *Trebenna Çevresinde Bulunan Kalıntılar / Archaeological Ruins in the Vicinity of Trebenna* (in preparation).

²¹ H. İşkan, "Yapı ve İçerik", in: F. Işık – H. İşkan – N. Çevik (eds.), *Miliarium Lyciae*, *Lykia* IV, 2001, 41.

²² Trebenna 2005.

²³ N. Çevik, *Taşların İzinde Likya* (2002) 132 ff.

²⁴ N. Çevik – B. Varkıvanç – S. Bulut – İ. Kızılgut, "Trebenna: Eine fast vergessene Stadt am lykisch-pamphylich-pisidischen Grenzgebiet", *Antike Welt* 2004–1, 41–49.

The Roman and Byzantine buildings are clustered in the area between the side of the Elmin necropolis and the fortified acropolis that is accessed via a monumental gate. The acropolis would have been the site of the original settlement, probably of Hellenistic origin. In the Roman period the acropolis was rearranged and was occupied by houses and some public structures (Fig. 7). These houses mostly are of a hybrid character, partially rock-cut, and most of them continued in use during the Byzantine period, with some changes and renovations. Even the chapel on the slope of the acropolis was rebuilt upon the rock-hewn parts of a former hybrid structure. Most of the Byzantine fortifications were erected upon the remains of earlier fortifications and the traces of the monumental gateway to the former fortifications are clearly discernible on the rocks. However, it is not possible to entirely follow the course of the city walls.

In the valley and ridge descending down from the slope of the acropolis there are wide terraces creating a square with Roman period public structures (Fig. 7). As these structures were located successfully in respect to the topography, their organic connections were established, and the land was used with the greatest efficiency. Along the west side of the city square are the Ecclesiasterion, the Imperial Hall (Sebasteion) and the Stoa, side by side facing southeast. Opposite them is the agora. To the south is the baths, the only public structure erected on the slope of the Elmin necropolis²⁵. The agora extending eastward from the meeting hall and other related buildings fills the first terrace. The flat area forming its extension is full of numerous architectural pieces; however, in later periods it was arranged as a round square changing the positions of everything. It is not possible to understand what kind of buildings these pieces formerly belonged to, but it can be understood they were buildings of a high quality. This terrace terminates in a semicircular building. Other terraces descending into the valley reach to the large magazine building cutting the valley across in a north-south direction. Beyond this structure there are only a few tombs. The wide hillside between here and the acropolis is entirely filled with buildings and was a residential area. The Roman city centre was built in the golden age, i.e. 2nd-3rd centuries A.D.

To the south and west of the acropolis there are three main necropolii spread around the settlement: I. Acropolis, II. İrimli, III. Elmin. Apart from these main necropolii there are also tombs at Dereözü that descends from the southeast of the acropolis. On the rock of the acropolis are all rock-cut tombs; at İrimli are the tombs mainly of the nobility; and at Elmin there are sarcophagi, rock-cut sarcophagi and ostotheks belonging to the middle and lower classes. Dereözü, too, contains tombs of the middle and lower classes, but they are fewer in number. About 200 sarcophagi were identified in the necropolii of Trebenna. The most original tombs found at Trebenna were the "circular rock-cut ostotheks". These tombs that are peculiar to Trebenna are cylindrical basins cut into the rock, covered by carved bell-shaped stone lids; they were first documented here and they were added to the typology of Anatolian tombs²⁶. The other surprise was a tomb type not even found at Termessos, the two and three-story Roman monumental tombs. The necropolii clearly show the settlement quality and the importance of Trebenna, which became rich through the income flowing in

²⁵ N. Çevik – B. Varkıvaç, "An evaluation of the Roman rural baths of Lycia in the light of two new examples from Trebenna and Typallia", *Adalya* VII, 2004, 223–249.

²⁶ N. Çevik, "Yuvarlak Kaya Ostothepleri: Trebenna'da Bulunan Yeni Bir Mezar Tipi ve Onun Işığında Benzeri Çukurların Yeniden İrdelenmesi", *Adalya* II, 1998, 127–150; N. Çevik – B. İplikçioğlu, "Neues zu den Felsostotheken in Trebenna", *Epigraphica Anatolica* 35, 2003, 147–156; N. Çevik, "The Social Structure as Reflected through the Necropolii of Trebenna", *Symposium on Lycia 2006*, I, 175–207.

from the surrounding numerous farms and agricultural land. Almost all of the surrounding towns were subordinate to Termessos but Trebenna was a member of the Lycian League; however its art is predominantly Pisidian art and it seems a smaller replica of Termessos.

Onobara: The settlement's name was first determined by Heberdey and Kallinka on their visit²⁷; later it was visited by Anti²⁸ and Viale²⁹ who identified new inscriptions; by İplikçioğlu – Çelgin whose team's discoveries increased the number of known epigraphic material³⁰; and this site was also mentioned in modern studies conducted without legal permission³¹. This site was surveyed in all its detail for the first time by our team³², during which evidence regarding the southern border of the territory of Trebenna was found and İplikçioğlu has determined that this small settlement was a *katoikia* under Trebenna. Its name possibly comes from *ono* (donkey) and *baris* (farm). The sarcophagi in the farms scattered around in the vicinity of Onobara clearly indicate that Onobara was not only a town centre, but that these nearby farms were within the territory of Onobara, which was in its turn within the territory of Trebenna. The largest is the settlement at Deveboynu and the farms at Gedeller are also within the territory of Onobara (Fig. 10). Onobara was the name of not only of the settlement but also of the farms around. The difference in opinion lies in which was the central settlement, as Viale proposed that the entire Gökdere valley was Onobara and the centre was the farm at Gedeller³³, while İplikçioğlu, agreed the entire Gökdere valley was Onobara but considers Deveboynu was the centre³⁴. The rich remains discovered in our surveys as well as the numerous inscribed blocks discovered by İplikçioğlu and us, have clearly shown that Onobara was the farms in the Gökdere valley³⁵ and that the central settlement is at Deveboynu. To the south of the hill upon which the settlement is located, the İplikçioğlu team found a border inscription which clarified the border between Phaselis and Trebenna. The evidence and our archaeological and topographic observations point to the borders as follows: South of Tünektepe was the southern border; the deep valley (Sinan Değirmeni) to the north of Belen and Badırıktepe formed the north border; and the Hurma remains establish the border on the Antalya plain, from where eastwards extended the territory of Attaleia³⁶. According to the *Miliarium Lyciae*, Onobara is the last point having connection with the sea as it connects to *thalasa* (sea).

²⁷ It was already known that Onobara was subordinate to Trebenna: "We visited a site on the skirt of Mount Hurma, four hours southwest of Adalya. Two inscriptions on sarcophagi, which we read in a hurry, indicated that the site was called Onobara and it was in the territory of Trebenna", R. Heberdey - E. Kalinka, "Bericht über zwei Reisen im südwestlichen Kleinasien", *Denkschriften der Akademie der Wissenschaften Wien* 45, 1897, 36 ff, No. 47; L. Zgusta, *Kleinasatische Ortsnamen* (1984) 439.

²⁸ C. Anti, "Esplorazioni archeologiche nella Licia e nella Pamfilia", *Mont.Ant.* XXIX, 1923, 743 No. 5.

²⁹ V. Viale, "Relazione sull'attività della missione archeologica di Adalia nell'anno 1922", *ASAtene* 8–9, 1925–26, 382, No. 32.

³⁰ B. İplikçioğlu et al., "Doğu ve Kuzeydoğu Lykia – Güneybatı Pisidia Epigrafik – Tarihi Coğrafi Yüzey Araştırmaları (1991–1998 Çalışmaları)", *AST* 17–1, 2000, 205.

³¹ H. Hellenkemper – F. Hild, *Lykien und Pamphylien*, *TIB* 8 (2004) 764 ff.

³² N. Çevik, *Taşların İzinde Likya* (2002) 135 ff.

³³ Viale, *op.cit.* 381 ff.

³⁴ B. İplikçioğlu et al., "Doğu ve Kuzeydoğu Lykia – Güneybatı Pisidia Epigrafik – Tarihi Coğrafi Yüzey Araştırmaları (1991–1998 Çalışmaları)", *AST* 17–1, 2000, 205.

³⁵ W. Ruge, *RE* XVIII, 1 (1939) 485.

³⁶ N. Çevik, "Antalya Hurma Köyü'nde Bir Çiftlik Yerleşimi", *Lykia* II, 1995, 40 ff. Çevik was mistaken in his suggestion that the ruins at Hurma were actually within Onobara. İplikçioğlu et al. underline that it should be kept in mind that these remains may belong to Olbia: İplikçioğlu et al., *op.cit.* 206.

Therefore, it must have been one of the routes through which products coming from the mountains behind were shipped via the sea for sale.

The settlement is located in the eastern part of the Gökdere valley and at the south end of the Deveboynu hill, extending in a north-south direction. It is accessed via the forest road connecting the Gedeller village to its Gökdere quarter, extending in a north-south direction. At the south end of the Deveboynu hill, turning east from the forest road and moving toward the hillside, the first path leads to Onobara. The ancient road from Onobara leads to *thalasa* (sea) as is mentioned in the *Miliarium Lyciae*³⁷ and it passes through the settlement at Dipsiz before reaching the sea. The ridge of the hill is entirely rocky and the northern and western sides are very steep; therefore, the settlement was located on the south end of the east slope, which is suitable for settlement. Fortification walls of 2.00-2.50 m. in thickness can be traced at the west end and are reinforced by two towers fifty meters apart as it turns toward the town centre.

The visible remains in the town centre belong to the Roman and Byzantine periods. Almost all of the building material is Roman but the buildings' last phases indicate Byzantine use and the Byzantine building with three rooms built from Roman spolia is noteworthy. There are three more rooms placed in the east-west direction, just below this Byzantine building. To the east of these buildings there is a row of rooms extending parallel to the slope. This area was suitable for the Roman settlement's square, i.e. the agora, understood to have been heavily rebuilt from Roman spolia during the Byzantine period. Our surveys found 18 inscribed blocks. In the centre are four sarcophagus podiums with lion paws, one ostothek piece, a small altar with a lightning motif in relief and half of a sundial. Furthermore, some profiled blocks with slight curvature indicate the former presence of an exedra. Other architectural blocks reveal information regarding the buildings of the Roman period town. It is thought that some of the honorary inscriptions were originally placed on a monumental gateway. Because all of the buildings underwent significant modifications during the Byzantine period with their material re-used elsewhere, it is very difficult to determine the plans and precise functions of these buildings. The most important building dating from the Byzantine period is a well-preserved small church.

A rock-cut inscription was discovered by İplikçioğlu 1 km. east of Sivridağ, at Gavurbeleni. This rock-cut inscription comprises the initials of the names of two cities and marks the border between Onobara and Trebenna, or between Typallia and Onobara. The inscription reads OTO and here O is certainly to be identified with Onobara but we are not sure whether T stands for Trebenna or Typallia. According to İplikçioğlu, it is more probable that T stands for Trebenna given the location and direction of the inscription³⁸.

Typallia: Past the Çakırlar quarter, turning toward Çandır at the junction in the Körler Cemetery area; at the 14th km. take the forest road and another 3,100 m. will bring you to these ruins. The ancient settlement is located on a hill called Asarlık Tepe on maps and by forestry officials, and is at Karabel behind and to the north of Çitdibi village (Fig. 8).

This is a small settlement on a rocky hill. The remains were first noted by Spratt and Forbes who suggested it was to be identified with Marmara³⁹. It is the road connection

³⁷ H. İşkan, "Yapı ve İçerik", in: F. Işık – H. İşkan – N. Çevik (eds.), *Miliarium Lyciae*, Lykia IV, 2001, 41.

³⁸ B. İplikçioğlu, "Batı Pamphylia ve Doğu Likya'da Epigrafya Araştırmaları", AST 20.2, 2003, 74 (Env. No. 308).

³⁹ T. A. B. Spratt – E. Forbes, *Travels in Lycia, Milyas and the Cibyratis I* (1847) 205 ff.

point between Trebenna and Kitanaura as is clearly recorded on the Pataran Miliarium Lyciae⁴⁰. The inscriptions on the sarcophagi record the name of the settlement which was localised for the first time by İplikçioğlu and his team⁴¹. İplikçioğlu determined also that the settlement formed a *sympoliteia*, together with Termessos. S. Mitchell had found an inscription in Bayat, which stated that Typallia formed a joint force with Termessos against the Sandaliotes; and based on that inscription, he first suggested that “the ruins on the skirts of Mount Davraz could be Typallia, although a small probability”⁴². The ruins of the settlement have been for the first time studied in detail by our team⁴³. There is a row of 15 sarcophagi along the forest road and on the flat area on top – all these sarcophagi are of Pisidian type bearing shields, reliefs and inscriptions. On top of the rocky hill rising on the right is the acropolis and on its south slopes there is the settlement. Apart from a few buildings such as the entrance to the acropolis, cut in the bedrock and some terrace walls, there are very few buildings that can today be clearly defined. Ruins extend all over the area and indicate a small size settlement. From the entrance to the east end of the hill there are building remains and rocky areas. Descending down, there are terrace walls and building remains upon these terraces.

The only reasonably well-preserved building in the settlement is a Roman bathhouse whose entire layout and function could be identified⁴⁴. Located on the southeast slope of the acropolis, the building is still standing to the level of the upper walls. It comprises three rooms side by side and the easternmost and the smallest room (4.40 x 3.70 m.) is the vestibule. The outer doorway with profiles measures 0.73 m. wide and 1.86 m. h. and still stands. The hinges are found both on the exterior and interior; indicating doubled doors⁴⁵ were employed, a typical implementation frequently encountered in small provincial bathhouses, to retain the heat indoors. The western side wall of the vestibule leads into the main bathing hall of 4.90 x 3.40 m. The third room measures 3.80 x 3.40 m. The corners and doorways are of stone blocks while the walls between were constructed from rubble. The walls are 0.50 m. thick. At the level where the vault springs there is a row of stone blocks encircling the entire building and forming a console projection. Along the back of the building facing the acropolis extends an independent strong wall, forming a corridor 3.30 m. wide with the bathhouse wall. In addition to its architecture and layout, other features such as the walls being plastered both on the interior and exterior, the round and square bricks of the pilae, the white marble plaques and marble plate fragments establish beyond doubt the function of this building. The most important point is that this is a very good example of Roman period provincial baths as, although the large city baths are well known in the region, this example has shows the design of the small size baths constructed in the smaller settlements.

As the forest road ends, the ancient road flanked by sarcophagi begins. When one looks around, only a very small fraction of the visible remains are to be found on the flat

⁴⁰ H. İşkan, “Yapı ve İçerik”, in: F. Işık – H. İşkan – N. Çevik (eds.), *Miliarium Lyciae*, Lykia IV, 2001, 40 ff.

⁴¹ B. İplikçioğlu – V. Çelgin – G. Çelgin, *Epigraphische Forschungen in Termessos und seinem Territorium IV* (in print); B. İplikçioğlu, “Doğu Likya’da Epigrafik Araştırmalar”, *Symposium on Lycia 2006*, I, 328.

⁴² S. Mitchell, “Amyntas in Pisidien – Der letzte Krieg der Galater”, *Forschungen in Galatien*, AMS 12, 1994, 97 ff.

⁴³ N. Çevik, *Taşların İzinde Likya* (2002) 135.

⁴⁴ N. Çevik – B. Varkıvaç, “An evaluation of the Roman rural baths of Lycia in the light of two new examples from Trebenna and Typallia”, *Adalya VII*, 2004, 223–249.

⁴⁵ Çevik–Varkıvaç, *op.cit.* 223 ff.

area, all the rest are found on the terraces due to the topography. The only flat area within the city was used for the necropolis and most of the 15 sarcophagi were placed here. Only one chamosorion was found in the settlement.

Three rock tombs were cut in the west side of the acropolis rock⁴⁶. These three tombs are alike and have a common character, comprising a single chamber accessed via a small doorway and a very narrow antechamber on the rock surface. Kline for the deceased are found inside along the two side walls. In front of the rear wall, in the area between the two benches, there is a rock-cut block serving as a stand for gifts and burial goods. The area in the middle is a deep pit facilitating movement. The bedrock was cut imitating the form of a pointed vault and the main beam on top was also carved completing the imitation. The beam's end is also rendered in the antechamber area, as is the case with houses constructed from timber. Thus, this tomb type distinguishes itself from the rock tomb tradition of Lycia as, for example, in the Lycian tombs there is no imitation of timber construction within the burial chamber rather this imitation is found on the exterior. At Typallia, the reverse is the case, the timber imitation is found inside the burial chamber not on the exterior.

Ekizce – Ares Sanctuary: Located in the area called Tahtacı Mezarlığı at Ekizce, in the Havuzönüdamı area of Hisarçandır village, the sanctuary was first noted with an inscription to Ares⁴⁷. A total of 14 votive stelae were discovered and evaluated by İplikçioğlu and his team⁴⁸, as well as other votive stelae with inscriptions and reliefs and the architectural remains discovered and evaluated by our team⁴⁹ which indicate that local people came here to worship. The fact that some people came from, for example, Kitanaura (“*votive offering of Osallas of Kitanaura*”)⁵⁰ and even from far away cities like Myra (“*votive offering of Mosch... of Myra*”)⁵¹ to present their votive offerings to Ares, with the epithet of *Epekoos* meaning “all-hearing”, show that we have here an important cult centre of Ares worship and it is clear that the god of war was welcomed in this region. In the centre of these remains on a slope there are slight traces indicating the former presence of a building, but not revealing much about this cult building. This is the second example known of an outside-settlement cult area in the region, after that dedicated to the God Meizoares at Ovacık, the Ares of the River.

Kitanaura: The ruins at Saraycık were first discovered in 1842 by Spratt and Forbes who suggested their identification as Apollonia or as Marmara⁵². Later the same year, A. J. Schönborn examined the ruins and proposed their identification as Marmara based on the statement by Diodoros⁵³. E. Krickl wrote down the following notes for Saraycık, visited on

⁴⁶ N. Çevik, “The rock-cut tombs of Etenna and the rock-cut tomb tradition in southern Anatolia”, *AnatSt* 53, 2003, 97–116.

⁴⁷ E. Petersen – F. von Luschan, *Reisen in Lykien, Milyas und Kibyrtis. Reisen im südwestlichen Kleinasien II* (1889) 150 ff. No: 181.

⁴⁸ B. İplikçioğlu, “Doğu ve Kuzeydoğu Lykia – Güneybatı Pisidia Epigrafik – Tarihi Coğrafi Yüzey Araştırmaları Projesi 2000 Yılı Çalışmaları”, *AST* 19–2, 2001, 129; B. İplikçioğlu, “Doğu Likya’da Epigrafik Araştırmalar”, *Symposium on Lycia* 2006, I, 326; idem, *AST* 19–2, 2002, 129.

⁴⁹ N. Çevik et al., “Bey Dağları 2004 Yılı Yüzey Araştırmaları”, *AST* 23–1, 2006, 143 ff.

⁵⁰ B. İplikçioğlu, “Batı Pamphylia ve Doğu Likya’da Epigrafya Araştırmaları”, *AST* 20–2, 2003, 73 (Inv. No. 310).

⁵¹ İplikçioğlu, *op.cit.*, Inv. No. 315.

⁵² T. A. B. Spratt – E. Forbes, *Travels in Lycia, Milyas, and the Cibyratis I* (1847) 174 ff.

⁵³ C. Ritter, *Vergleichende Erdkunde des halbinsellandes Klein-Asien II* (1859) 766.

June 18th, 1892: "... We climbed up to 1100 m. We settled in an empty house at Saraycık. We were surrounded on all sides with a magnificent view. The remains of cities with unknown names nearby do not give anything worthwhile to me and my inscription-craving friends."⁵⁴ It is mentioned with its modern name Saraycık by Petersen and von Luschan⁵⁵. O. Benndorf describes his Kitanaura-connected route he took in 1882 as follows: "*Saraycık must have been the junction of an important route coming from Limyra and reaching Adalya via the Alakır and Çandır valleys. Taking into consideration the dangers for the sea route the eastern storms create at Cape Gelidonya and around Phaselis, this route gains in importance.*"⁵⁶ In fact, the roads coming from the east and meeting at Idebessos, continued to Attaleia via Kitanaura, Kossara, Typallia and Trebenna. In addition to confirmation in the Miliarium Lyciae, it seems impossible to find a route other than the Çandır valley in this very steep mountainous region. As O. Benndorf states, the east coast of the Teke peninsula does not allow of travelling and, probably this is why the route turns from Cape Gelidonya (Gagai), passes through Olympos and terminates at Phaselis, no other settlements are mentioned thereafter. This coastal road must connect to the Kitanaura – Kossara route via the only pass the Kemer/Kesme pass, Gedelma and Lykai. The Kemer pass seems to be the only pass. It is very curious that the settlement at the Kemer Citadel (Mount Çalış) is not mentioned, even though the road passes through Kemer.

This settlement gained in importance with the spread of Christianity in Late Antiquity as can be inferred from the five churches that have been identified. The settlement is listed as Kanaura by Hierokles⁵⁷ while it is termed differently in the bishop lists⁵⁸ that state it was located between Trebenna and Termessos⁵⁹. During the Byzantine period it was a rich Bishopric in the See of Perge.

The site's correct name was first identified as Kitanaura by M. Aslan, C. Lightfoot and C. Tibet in their study of the coins at the Antalya Museum⁶⁰. Later this was verified by J. Nollé from the city coins of unknown provenance and combining this with the route recorded on the Miliarium Lyciae, which provided the clearest solution. The Miliarium Lyciae providing us with invaluable information pertaining to the settlement geography of the region during the 1st century A.D. records Saraycık as "Kitanaura of Termessos". The route there mentions a settlement called Kitanaura located about 17-18 km. to Idebessos. As additional information, this monument notes that the 32 stadia long part of the road between Idebessos and Kitanaura was rebuilt/repaid⁶¹. This localisation overlapping with the ruins at Saraycık was verified by Nollé in 1996 by coins, nine of which were struck with the legend of KITA⁶². B. İplikçioğlu was doubtful about this localisation when he evaluated

⁵⁴ E. Krickl, 1892 Lykia Günlüğü (2005) 164.

⁵⁵ Petersen – von Luschan, op.cit. 151–155 ff. Figs. 67, 69–72.

⁵⁶ Petersen – von Luschan, op.cit. 151.

⁵⁷ Hierokles 679.8.

⁵⁸ J. Darrouzès, Notitiae Episcopatum Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae (1981) 403.

⁵⁹ L. Zgusta, Kleinasiatische Ortsnamen (1984) 222, 425.

⁶⁰ M. Aslan – C. Lightfoot – C. Tibet, "A Group of Unknown Coins in Antalya Museum", Numismatic Circular CVI/1, 1998, 7 ff.

⁶¹ H. İşkan, "Yapı ve İçerik", in: Işık – İşkan – Çevik (eds.), Miliarium Lyciae, Lykia IV, 2001, 39.

⁶² J. Nollé, Kitanaura. Münzen und Geschichte einer kleinen Stadt in den ostlykischen Bergen, JNG 46, 1996, 7–29.

the territory of Termessos⁶³. Our surveys in the town have to date not brought to light any inscription bearing the name of the settlement. The town has road connections with Kossara and Lykai and the route is listed as Idebessos – Kithanaura – Kossara. The distance between Idebessos and Kitanaura is 101 stadia (19 km.) and that between Lykai and Kitanaura is 60 stadia (11 km.). Thus, the town connects to Kemer area via Lykai and connects via Kossara to the route passing through Typallia and Trebenna and terminating at Attaleia. In this region Kitanaura is like a crossroads. Despite the abovementioned localisation efforts and the mainly literature-based work by F. Hild and H. Hellenkemper⁶⁴ mentioning the town, the first detailed study of the site was conducted by the author through a series of extensive surveys. In the 2006 season all of the monuments had been recorded⁶⁵ and in 2007 the mapping of the site was completed.

Taking the road from Antalya to Söğütçü (Eski Kemer), on the 44th km. after Kemer is the Dörtçam area with a junction of three roads. Taking the road to the right, northwest, will lead you after 6 km. to Saraycık village. The acropolis is on a double-hump-like hill extending in an east-west direction and is surrounded by remains on the southern and western slopes. Although their presence has been known for a long time, these remains were first studied in detail during our Surveys in the Bey Mountains project⁶⁶. The remains of the settlement flank the forest road, which follows the course of the ancient road, and past the bathhouse it cuts through the necropolis.

The west and north sides of the acropolis are in sheer rocky cliffs (Fig. 11). The south side is a slighter rocky slope. The fortifications begin with the entrance at the southwest where there are indeed two walls. The fortifications are understood to have existed from the Hellenistic period onwards and been revised and added to in later periods. They extend toward the southern corner of the acropolis and have been preserved in places to a height of 5 to 6 meters. Between these two fortification walls there are the rock-cut sections of hybrid buildings. At the south corner of the acropolis, just to the east of the Inscribed Building, are the remains of possibly a Hellenistic tower with bossed strong walls, preserved to a good height. East of the tower the fortification makes a corner for the east gate preserved with its jambs and lintel. After the gate, the walls turn to the north and follow the natural course of the rocks forming a curve. The fortification walls are 1.30 m. thick and were built mainly from large rubble and mortar. The spolia material should be related to Byzantine period repairs. The workmanship employed does not resemble that of the tower inside. The walls are not seen any more at the northwest, where the very sheer slopes begin; however, the existing rock beds may indicate the presence of some walls there too and it seems inevitable that there were walls erected here too in order to complete the fortifications and for security. No walls were found on the steep north side. At the northwest corner there are some cut stone blocks belonging to the northwest gate of the fortress and the threshold block is preserved and some rock-cut steps lead down-

⁶³ B. İplikçioğlu, "Zum Territorium von Termessos in Pisidien", *Festschrift für D. Knibbe* (1999) 310; B. İplikçioğlu et al., "Doğu ve Kuzeydoğu Lykia – Güneybatı Pisidia Epigrafik – Tarihi Coğrafi Yüzey Araştırmaları (1991–1998 Çalışmaları)", AST 17–1, 2000, 202.

⁶⁴ H. Hellenkemper – F. Hild, *Lykien und Pamphylien*, TIB 8 (204) 518 ff. ("Dikitanaura").

⁶⁵ N. Çevik, "Kitanaura: Doğu Likya'da Bir Kent", *Festschrift für Haluk Abbasoğlu* (forthcoming in 2008).

⁶⁶ N. Çevik et al., "Bey Dağları 2004 Yılı Yüzey Araştırmaları", AST 23–I, 144 ff. Fig. 4; N. Çevik – İ. Kızılgut – S. Bulut, "Bey Dağları Yüzey Araştırmaları 2005", AST 24 (in press).

wards. Reaching the fortress via this gate, 100 m. later one reaches the main square of the acropolis.

Three entrances to the acropolis were identified: at the northwest, at the east and another at the southwest, this being the main monumental entrance, entirely carved from the bedrock and completed with quality stone blocks. The stepped path climbing up in zigzags, coming from the palaestra side of the bathhouse, can be followed, its steps *in situ* in places. The rocks flanking the gate have a niche on either side to place the stelae of the founders, related to the cult of the ancestors.

There are the remains of a basilica at the southwest end of the acropolis with two rows of columns and an apse with the column bases and pieces *in situ*. To the east of the apse extends the central square of the acropolis, to the east the important public buildings begin. There is a street between the buildings on the north facing the square and leading to the Large Basilica. To the right of this street, in front of a building facing the acropolis square is a portico, possibly of four columns. Past this building, turning right is another street extending in an east-west direction bordered by a building having an unclear function. There is a wall with four steps here. The area extending by it has large pedestals indicating this was a street furnished with statues and perhaps the building with steps was the Sebasteion. Past these buildings, in the middle of the acropolis is the Large Basilica, whose narthex, three doorways, three aisles separated with two rows of columns and the apse remain visible today. It was understood the bases remain *in situ* and the columns fell next to them. The doorways have decoration on their exterior; the jambs remain standing decorated with palmettes and pearl-strings. This large building with high quality workmanship is a Roman basilica and there is a rectangular cistern extending along its north side.

The eastern half of the acropolis is full of houses to the point where the eastern rock starts. Amidst the houses there are the remains of work-areas. The houses close to the eastern rocks have their back and ground floor carved from the rock.

The Phallos Cult Building is noteworthy for its phallos relief rather than for its form, with the closest known parallel from Kelbessos. This rectangular structure has strong walls and the bases and column fragments toppled down in front are also noteworthy.

The highest quality building in this settlement is the Bath-Gymnasium⁶⁷ (Fig. 12). Almost all its seven sections can be seen and the building extends in a north-south direction. The first section is the rectangular palaestra, beginning on the right of the road leading to the acropolis. The east and west sides of the palaestra are entirely in ruins, its limits inferred from the bedrock and the general layout of the complex. It was accessed from the north facade with *in situ* door jambs. The available evidence does not permit a full restitution. A doorway in the west of its south wall leads into the rectangular service section, which facilitated entrance into the baths and which extends up to the second section.

The service section leads into the largest section of the baths. The entranceway is entirely in ruins. This is the frigidarium/apodyterium, the first section of the baths. It has four monumental arches on either side, forming niches, 1.65 m. in depth. The arches have profiles on four sides and rest upon profiled bases. The floor is not discernible but the arches were built with cut stones. On the north long wall three of the arches remain intact,

⁶⁷ O. Tibikoğlu – E. Akalın, “An unknown bath-gymnasium at Kitanaura”, SOMA 2007 (in press).

the upper part of the fourth has collapsed, while on the south long wall one arch remains intact, the rest have collapsed. However, the *in situ* bases of all the arches are visible. The wall rising above the arches is bordered by a row of stone blocks projecting out, to locate the roof. Although a barrel vault would be expected, we found no indication in the visible debris indicating the former presence of one, and so, it was probably covered by a timber and tile roof. Before the short east wall of the frigidarium there is a statue pedestal, possibly *in situ* as inferred from the adjacent pedestals. On the front side of the pedestal is carved a wreath and an inscription, ANTONINA APIPHANEI⁶⁸ and the foot prints to secure the statue to the plinth are visible. This statue stood in the most prominent place in the frigidarium, that would also have served as the apodyterium.

To the south of the frigidarium is a semicircular part which would have housed the pool, as at the Side Baths. In the south wall of the curvature of the pool there is a quite large water canal, which probably fed the pool and from here steps would have led down into the pool. The south linear wall leads into the tepidarium, while another door leads into another room, which in turn leads into the caldarium.

There are traces of work-areas in various places in the town, for example, an incomplete trapetum is in the wall of the waterway in the west. A full work-area with its beam socket, pressing place with a groove and collecting pit is cut in the main rock of the north-west necropolis. On the north face of the rock where this work-area is located there is a cult niche.

By the road, to the south of the fortress, there are the remains of a monumental tomb. Pieces scattered around suggest it was a tomb of an important person and that it had an arched superstructure with an open front and architectural elements with dentils. One block carries a cross motif on it. Around this monumental tomb and on the other side of the road are other tombs. The forest road extending along the west side of the acropolis and then turning north is flanked by necropolii on either side. The bath is the last building on the slope of the acropolis in this direction. Past the bath, on the north – right – side of the road are tombs with aediculae and sarcophagi. Across the road are also sarcophagi, some isolated, others in groups. On the hillock opposite the baths are the traces of another monumental tomb. Almost all of the sarcophagi are of the Pisidian type, with shield and spear motifs and a *tabula ansata* in the middle. The tombs on the right side of the road extend up to the famous Saraycık heroon which is surrounded by sarcophagi. To the east of the heroon there is a row of four rooms with individual doorways. These structures seem to have been in the temenos of the heroon. The strong wall on the west of the heroon and descending northwards encircles the entire building.

Most of the tombs are found on the left hand hill side of the forest road to the north-west of the acropolis, and especially around the fortification wall, extending down to its north. Where the sarcophagi end, the chamosoria and ostotheks carved into the rock begin and, as at Trebenna, some rocks have circular rock-cut ostotheks next to the tombs. Next to these ostotheks are some rock-cut stele sockets and depressions. To the left side above the road and at the end of the necropolis there is a mass of rock with a circular rock-cut ostotheke and stele sockets. There are 14 sarcophagi in the area below the forest

⁶⁸ B. İplikçioğlu, Epigraphic Surveys in West Pamphylia and East Lycia in 2007. Preliminary report submitted to the Austrian Archaeological Institute (ÖAW) but not as yet published.

road on the northwest of the acropolis. One of the most curious tombs in this settlement is the underground tomb chamber carved into the bedrock of the acropolis. It is shaped like a basin, covered by a vault and was accessed through its top.

Ovacık Tumulus: On the road to Altınyaka, past the junction for Kemer, 4.2 km. later a turn takes you to Mount Bölücek. 3.5 km. later, in the Yiğilitaş area are some surprising remains – stones piled up to form a circular area 17 m. in diameter surrounded by a dry stone wall of rubble bordering the tumulus hillock. This tumulus was entirely dug by treasure hunters and was destroyed. In this mound of stones is a longish dromos leading to the burial chamber –9 m. in total length. Both the dromos and the burial chamber were built with masonry and the entrance faces east. The circular burial chamber has a diameter of *ca.* 2.5 m. The preserved wall height is 1.80 m. This tumulus is very important as it is the only known example in this region. The unique examples of tumuli excavated at Elmalı-Bayındır⁶⁹ resemble the Phrygian tumuli, while on the coastline there are only few examples in central Lycia⁷⁰ and there are no other tumuli. Therefore, the Ovacık tumulus provides us with new information concerning the presence and distribution of tumuli in Lycia; moreover, this example exhibits no features that are reminiscent of Phrygian tumuli. There is nothing to indicate the presence of a nearby settlement.

Five votive inscriptions were discovered by İplikçioğlu at Mizir-Ovacık (Potamos Meizoares) in the territory of Mnara⁷¹ indicating the presence of a cult centre dedicated to the River God Meizoares.

Lykai / Bölüektepe: Located 1.8 km. west of Gedelma, it can be reached via the fire watch tower road and is located on a hill of 1276 m. From the Miliarium Lyciae⁷², S. Şahin localised Lykai here. According to the Miliarium Lyciae, a road branches off the route Idebessos – Kithanaura – Kossara – Trebenna toward the coastline from Kitanaura then on to Lykai – Kadrama. The Miliarium Lyciae records Kitanaura – Kossara – Lykai – Pygale on this route.

There are remains on the southeast and northeast slopes of the fire watch tower (Fig. 14). On the northeast slope are two tomb exedrae, four sarcophagi, one ostotheke, one tropaion within an exedra and other unidentified remains. Unfortunately numerous illegal excavations have carried out around this watch tower. Amidst the debris left from these illegal excavations were numerous metal finds such as arrow and spearheads, lock mechanisms and spatulae, five baked clay loom weights, one lykion fragment, a knife blade and a very small lead object. The lead object is like a bulla and has an elliptical shape with, on one side a Greek word meaning “to Apollonios” and on the other a spear motif in relief. It was probably a seal indicating the ownership of a shipment sent to Lykai.

Mnara: Located to the east of Kossara and Lykai, Mnara extends over the top and slopes of Mount Kavak of 1350 m., behind Kemer. It was surveyed for the first time in detail in

⁶⁹ K. Dörtlük, “Bayındır”, *Archeo* 65, 1990, 41ff; idem “Elmalı Bayındır Tümülüsleri Kurtarma Kazısı”, *KST* 10.1, 1993, 171ff.

⁷⁰ O. Hüllden, *Graber und Grabtypen im Bergland von Yavu (Zentrallykien)*. Studien zur antiken Grabkultur in Lykien (2006) 109 ff.; N. Çevik, “Yeni Bulgular Işığında Elmalı Yaylası”, *Adalya* I, 1996, 61 ff.

⁷¹ B. İplikçioğlu, “Doğu ve Kuzeydoğu Lykia – Güneybatı Pisidia Epigrafiği – Tarihi Coğrafi Yüzey Araştırmaları Projesi 2000 Yılı Çalışmaları”, *AST* 19–2, 2001, 130.

⁷² H. İşkan, “Yapı ve İçerik”, in: Işık – İşkan – Çevik (eds.), *Miliarium Lyciae, Lykia IV*, 2001, 42.

2004⁷³ and this work continues. Despite different localisations⁷⁴ in earlier publications⁷⁵, the Miliarium Lyciae confirms its identification as Mnara. The ancient road leading from Kossara down to Kemer would be expected to pass through Mnara after Dörtçam and, in this area, a road along the Göynük stream valley seems to have been the only possible route to reach the coast of Göynük.

Its topographic features resemble the meaning of the word, *marmara*: a mass of rocks. At the time of the invasion by Alexander the Great's troops, its name must have been corrupted to Marmara from Mnara. Diodoros states that Marmara/Mnara's mountain warriors were very skilled and its fortresses were situated in impregnable positions; the site became part of the territory of Phaselis after this invasion and Marmara established a sympoliteia with Phaselis. It was an independent polis during the Hellenistic period⁷⁶.

It was the centre of the Mnarike region that is mentioned on the Miliarium Lyciae⁷⁷, and is located on an extremely sheer and inaccessible rock acropolis and the building remains are on its slopes. No fortifications have been found, probably because they served no purpose given the sites natural inaccessibility. Only remains of something approximating to a tower were noted at a point at the lowest level of the hill overlooking both the sea and the valley.

There are the remains of a destroyed temple including reliefs and statue fragments and these fragments indicate there were statues of animals with paws and/or with hooves and unidentified male/deity figures. This temple was first identified by Anti as the temple of Apollon Lykios⁷⁸. Having found an honorary inscription bearing the phrase "to Zeus and other deities", İplikçioğlu suggests it was dedicated to Zeus⁷⁹. The real item of importance is a house altar uncovered at Rhodiapolis in 2007 as its inscription states that it was dedicated to Artemis of Mnara. The facts that Artemis was the prevalent deity in the region; that the statue fragments found at Mnara include many animal hooves; that her name was recorded at distant sites such as Rhodiapolis; and that the plan of this temple is reminiscent of those dedicated to Artemis at Neapolis and Kelbessos, all strongly indicate this temple was in fact dedicated to Artemis.

At the very top of the settlement there is a small and very different building that overlooks Kemer and the entire Pamphylian sea (Fig. 13). This building for assemblies is rectangular and has eleven steps but no superstructure. The rows of seats extend linearly. In front is a platform rising on a strong terrace wall that dominates the entire panorama

⁷³ Çevik et al., "Bey Dağları 2004 Yılı Yüzey Araştırmaları", AST 23-1, 2006, 144, Fig. 3.

⁷⁴ For example, C. Ritter, *Vergleichende Erdkunde des halbinsellandes Klein-Asien II*, 1859, 631 suggested that Marmara was the settlement at Saraycık, which is now identified as Kitanaura. For another example, İplikçioğlu stated that Mnara was located at Yarbaşı Çandır village: AST 18-1, 2001, 245.

⁷⁵ C. Bayburtluoğlu mentions it as Kavaklıdağ: "Siedlungen in Lykien", *Akten Lykien II-2*, 43 ff. He also adds that there are many settlements like this and that the names of most of them are not even known: C. Bayburtluoğlu, "Historio-topographische Aspekte der Lykienforschung", in: *Götter – Heroen – Herrscher in Lykien*, Exhibition Catalogue. Vienna (1990) 21.

⁷⁶ This political interpretation comes up from the tomb inscription of Aurelia Myrmla of Phaselis, from Mnara, who was the priestess of the God Ouaratos found at Yarbaşı Çandır: B. İplikçioğlu, "Doğu Likya'da Epigrafik Araştırmalar", *Symposium on Lycia* 2006, I, 327.

⁷⁷ J. Nollé, *Kitanaura. Münzen und Geschichte einer kleinen Stadt in den ostlykischen Bergen*, JNG 46, 1996, 16.

⁷⁸ C. Anti, *Esplorazioni archeologiche nelle Licia e nelle Pamfilia*, *Mon.Ant.* XXIX, 1923, 668 ff.

⁷⁹ B. İplikçioğlu, "Doğu Likya'da Epigrafik Araştırmalar", *Symposium on Lycia* 2006, I, 327.

and a sheer cliff drops in front of it. This would have been the open-air place where the religious rites and the meetings were held. At the back is a slight rocky slope with the remains of some building groups. An agora-like formation is clearly visible.

Descending from here one meets an important structure of large dimensions, built from horizontal rectangular stone blocks. Its strong front and side walls have survived. These large blocks rise from an infrastructure composed of smaller blocks and this stonework is Hellenistic. The building has a large doorway and three windows, with a large cistern next to it. Next to the mouth of this cistern there is a gargoyle-like stone which was used to return the excess water into the cistern, in order not to waste it – and this was the place where the water containers were filled.

Descending further down the slope, are the remains of other buildings. Here and on the side of the hill opposite, facing the town, there are thirteen sarcophagi, none carrying an inscription. This number is very small in comparison with the size of the settlement; thus one can suggest the natural and man-made damage here has been far greater than the usual level. These buildings, their masonry and type of urbanism indicate a settlement having the status of a polis from the Hellenistic period.

Kadrama /Gedelma: Located 1.8 km. from the forest watch tower at Lykai/ Bölücektepe and 12 km. west of Kemer, the Güneşli-Gedelma settlement contains a well-preserved medieval Byzantine fortress with a total of five towers (Fig. 15). It was dated to the 9th century by R. Jacobek⁸⁰. Although Roman period remains were expected from this fortress, to control the Roman road passing through here and other strategic areas, no traces from the Roman period have been found and in fact, this topography is not suitable for early settlement either. The name means, according to the *Ethnika*, the 6th century geographical dictionary by Stephanos of Byzantium, “*phrygmos for grains*”, or “*grain drying, grain holding*”. G. Neumann ascribes the meaning “grains pit” to it. R. Jacobek stated that this place served as a storage-fortress not only for Gedelma but also for this region. The magazine-like sections inside the fortress are storehouses for other purposes; and there are also residential units, thus, this name should mean the “fortress for protecting the grain”.

Kemer – Çalış Tepe: The remains already known to us were explored in detail in 2004 for the first time⁸¹. The site is accessed via the forest road leading to the Çalışdağ Transmitter and is mainly surrounded by inaccessible cliffs on the west, north and east slopes. The rocky hill is fortified with a wall on the south and southeast, the areas where it is accessible (Figs. 16-17). The promontory descending in this direction down to the sea is called Kocaburun (Cape Ağva). The fortress occupies the entire top of this rocky hill and is surrounded by fortification walls 2.20 to 2.40 m. thick and in most places these walls are preserved to a height of 2 to 3 m. Although the main layout seems to have based upon the topography, in the fortified areas the topography does not seem to have affected the shape of the fortress. The walls extend straight ahead along the south side and turn north at the east, forming an almost rectangular layout. There are three gates leading into this fortress and the main gate in the south is different from the other two, of a higher quality. This gate leads to the top of the rock-cut stairs descending down the rocky side to the

⁸⁰ R. Jacobek, “Das mittelalterliche Kastell bei Gedelma”, J. Borchhardt – G. Dobesch (eds.), *Akten des II. Internationalen Lykien-Symposiums*. Wien, 6.-12. Mai 1990 (1993) Band II, 68–70.

⁸¹ N. Çevik et al., “Bey Dağları 2004 Yılı Yüzey Araştırmaları”, *AST* 23–1, 2006, 146 Fig. 5.

southwest. The rock-cut stairs display highly skilled workmanship and turning, reach the bottom of the gorge. Just to the right of the main gate on the south side there is a second opening. The second gate opens into the semicircular tower in the northeast corner. The last visible gate opens into the tower in the northwest, that overlooking Kemer. Three towers have been noted – two rectangular and one semicircular. The semicircular one forming the northeast corner is connected to the curtain walls on either side. The other two connect to the precipice on one side. There is no wall connection between the first and the third towers – there is a very deep and inaccessible precipice between them. There are no building remains inside this fortress and its masonry has Hellenistic features and such masonry and fortifications are frequently encountered in Lycia. However, the fortress covers an area of approximately 5,000 sq. m. which is too large for known Classical period Lycian settlements and even the most important cities in Lycia do not have such a large acropolis. The biggest question mark is the ancient name of this fortress. Formerly T. Özoral had identified it as Idyros, later S. Şahin claimed it was Olbia, but for this site to be Olbia, the Idyros claim has to be removed entirely, which is not possible because there is no evidence suggesting Idyros disappeared in the Roman period, and there is no inscription identifying this place as Olbia either. Further, the walls on the peak date from the Classical period and there is no evidence that indicates Olbia existed in the Classical period. Moreover, N. Çevik has localised Olbia to the northwest corner of the gulf⁸².

The church⁸³ on the way to Kocaburun⁸⁴ was excavated by T. Özoral and named as Idyros. Here, the necropolis within the French holiday village was also excavated by Özoral, who linked it to the ruins at Çalışdağı. Pottery dating to the 5th and 4th centuries B.C. was found during these necropolis excavations⁸⁵.

Kelbessos: It is located in the Ağırtaş area of the Çağlarca-Doyran basin of the Bey Mountains facing Antalya (Figs. 19-22). It forms the west point of a triangle formed by Kelbessos, Trebenna and Neapolis. It is within the territory of Termessos and was an important border fortress for Termessos from the Hellenistic and through the Roman period. It was settled as a military site and retained this character through the Roman period. The south side of Termessian territory was bounded by the Bey Mountains in antiquity which probably also influenced the formation of the administrative borders. This mountainous region also formed a natural cultural border between Lycia and Pamphylia and was settled with numerous villages and secondary settlements in its fertile valleys and secure hills during the Hellenistic and Roman periods. Some of these settlements have been certainly identified through finds of *insitu* inscriptions. 21 inscriptions were examined within the epigraphic surveys in the region that clearly record this site was called Kelbessos, hav-

⁸² It is only Strabo who writes that Olbia was 367 stadia away from Hiera Akra. Strabo adds further that Olbia came after Phaselis, then Attaleia, and that Olbia was a big fortress in Pamphylia. In case Olbia is this site, then the borders of Pamphylia will again be opened to discussion and emendation. For these discussions see N. Çevik, "Localization of Olbia at the Gulf of Pamphylia", *Lykia* I, 1994, 89–103.

⁸³ The inscription in the narthex mosaic of the church is also in the TIB archive was re-evaluated by S. Şahin. The inscriptions reads, "Head priest Plistarkhianos gave 55 drachmae, monk Zosimos gave 51 drachmae, preacher Heraklios gave 51 drachmae, weaver Kanon gave 56 drachmae, chamberlain Trekondas gave 51 drachmae".

⁸⁴ Heberdey and Kalinka mention that they saw some rooms in this area: R. Heberdey – E. Kalinka, Bericht über zwei Reisen im südwestlichen Kleinasien (1897, Öst. Akad. der Wiss. 45) 36.

⁸⁵ T. Özoral, "İdyros Kazısı", *Actes du Colloque sur la Lycie antique* (1980) 101–107.

ing the status of a *peripolion* within the territory of Pisidian Termessos⁸⁶. The link with Termessos was established through a coin find (Fig. 24).

The archaeological remains at this site have been explored for the first time as part of the Surveys in the Bey Mountains project⁸⁷. These remains date from the Hellenistic period and extend into the Late Roman period⁸⁸. The settlement contains numerous rock-cut cisterns as well as architectural elements. In addition to the fortification wall, there are buildings and groups of buildings scattered on the north slope of the hill, including military buildings, houses, public buildings, tombs and work-areas. Only the visible remains of a small chapel can be related to the Byzantine period. The name of Artemis mentioned in the inscriptions⁸⁹ and the bunches of lightning depicted on the altars as well as the temple ruins, all indicate that the deities worshiped here are the same as those worshipped elsewhere in the region⁹⁰. Other evidence regarding religious beliefs at Kelbessos include phallos reliefs and niches. The large number of phallos and shield motifs carved in relief was due to the military character of this settlement.

The two necropolii – one in the northeast and the other in the southwest – mainly contain sarcophagi. The main necropolis is a typical Roman period necropolis arranged on both sides of the road leading to the city. These sarcophagi, which constitute the majority of the tombs, are of the Pisidian type with shield and spear motifs with a *tabula ansata* between. Many sarcophagi, some of which are of high quality, are decorated in relief. In addition to the scenes related to the tomb owners, carvings of Erotes and garlands are also common (Fig. 22). While this necropolis has only sarcophagi, the southwest necropolis also contains monumental built tombs and chamosoria. Only one circular rock-cut osthon has been found at Kelbessos.

When the remains were explored, it was seen that the settlement developed very slowly and did not experience major changes for centuries. Evaluating the clustering and the distribution of the architectural remains, the Roman period settlement outside the fortifications was well developed, however, it is possible to say that Kelbessos never participated in the real process of urbanisation but rather stayed as a second degree military provincial settlement throughout its history.

The ramps were built during the Hellenistic period, probably between the 3rd and 2nd centuries B.C. The dimensions, forms and interior arrangements of the towers suggest the use of projectile type weapons, and indicate a date after the end of the 4th century B.C. and the vertically carved tied block connections also indicate this date. The absence of large sized public buildings within the walls indicates a settlement lacking the

⁸⁶ B. İplikçiöğlu, *Epigraphische Forschungen in Termessos und seinem Territorium IV*, 2007, 234–256. For the territory of Termessos and the place of Kelbessos within it see V. Çelgin, *Termessos Tarihi* (Unpublished book, 1997) 27 ff.

⁸⁷ N. Çevik – İ. Kızılgut – Ş. Aktaş, “1997 Yılı Trebenna ve Çevresi Yüzey Araştırmaları”, *AST XVI-2*, 1999, 410 ff.

⁸⁸ N. Çevik – I. P. Pedarros, “The Fortified Site of Kelbessos I”, *Anatolia Antiqua XII* 2004, 283–291; N. Çevik – I. P. Pedarros, “Kelbessos dans le Beydağ. Un peripolion sur le territoire de Termessos de Pisidie: Resultats preliminaires”, *Anatolia Antiqua XIII* 2005, 439–447; N. Çevik – I. P. Pedarros, “Recherches archeologiques dans le Beydağ. Troisième rapport preliminaire sur le site de Kelbessos”, *Anatolia Antiqua XIV*, 2006, 261–273.

⁸⁹ V. Çelgin, “Termessos Egemenlik Alanında Artemis Tapınımı I: Ahırtaş-Örentepe (Kelbessos) Antik Yerleşmesindeki ‘Artemis Kelbessis’ Kültü”, *Adalya VI*, 2003, 119–140.

⁹⁰ B. Özdelek, “The Objects of Cult from Kelbessos”, *Symposium on Cults and Sanctuary through the Ages*, 15–20 April 2007, Bratislava (in press).

characteristic features of a city and from the large number of cisterns and tombs, as well as prevalence of military motifs, it can be said that a large number of soldiers were settled here during the Roman period. However, the military presence here began during the Hellenistic period when the fortifications were constructed.

The most important building at Kelbessos is an administrative one, which can be termed, a Roman *principia* (Fig. 21). Ginouvès describes a *principia* as follows: “with a monumental entrance, a courtyard, ... meeting halls, a courthouse and, above all, a sacred place where the military tokens were kept”. Apart from the monumental entrance, we can match the courtyard with E, the meeting hall with B, courthouse and auxiliary room with A and C and the sacred place with F. This building type had emerged through evolution from the tent of the general at a military camp and overlaps within the framework of a *peripolion*. There was a small military garrison at Kelbessos in the beginning, which then developed into a large settlement; however, the administrative type did not change and the Peripolion was always governed by soldiers. This building precisely reflects the political and urban status and structure of Kelbessos and it defines itself not only as a public structure but also the city of Kelbessos.

The strategic value of the area arises from its physical location at the intersection of north-south and east-west lines of communication, at the border of many regional communities (Lycia, Pisidia and Pamphylia). The settlement's topographic features can also be inferred from the detailed map indicating its location value. It is located just by a mountainous pass, on the slope of a pointed mass of rock that allows visual control of the Pamphylian plain and, both inland and out towards the sea, possessing a privileged position in respect to defence and observation.

We are of the opinion that the peripolion of Kelbessos was a permanent garrison in the territory of Termessos from the Hellenistic period onwards and that it served both as a branch of urban defence and a fortress where the locals living in the adjacent rural areas could take refuge. In the beginning it was perhaps employed like a forward pawn, that is, it was the first move taken in order to capture and control new land. This military and rural formation became a secondary settlement during the Roman period, with the increase in variety of social and demographic structures but retained its function as an outpost of Termessos. From these preliminary results, the next question follows: Could the peripolia within the territory of Termessos indicate a multi-centred administration of the land? The answer to this question will also bring with it much important information respecting the rural landscape, settlements, land arrangement and certainly defensive concerns.

İn Önü: Another settlement discovered by our team, İn Önü, is formed of three main sections: the centre (Fig. 18), east and west sections⁹¹. The central buildings were meant for the public and were surrounded by houses and tombs. The remains from the Roman and Byzantine periods are all mixed together. In the east section there are buildings for manufacturing, while upon a high hill in the west section there are the remains of religious buildings. The meeting hall indicates the partial administrative power of this small settlement⁹². Tombs were identified in three areas of the settlement – the sarcophagi and

⁹¹ For the first work see N. Çevik et al., “Bey Dağları Yüzey Araştırmaları 2003: Neapolis, Kelbessos ve Çevreleri”, AST 22-1, 2005, 107; N. Çevik – İ. Kızılgut – S. Bulut, “Surveys in the Bey Dağları in 2006”, ANMED 5, 2007, 102 ff.

⁹² İ. Kızılgut – M. Kunze, “Bemerkungen zu İn Önü – eine unbekannte Stadt im lykisch-pamphyliischen und pisi-dischen Grenzgebiet”, Symposium on Lycia 2006, I, 345-354.

a chamosorion in the centre form the majority, while in the west section there is a sarcophagus carrying a long inscription and in the east section one built tomb and three chamosoria were found. The built tomb was constructed from large cut blocks. Two of the chamosoria were hewn entirely into the bedrock and have lids with triangular pediments. The third is connected to the bedrock only at its base and it carries a shield/spear and a *tabula ansata* on the front side.

Works that are part of or independent from the rock and carrying inscriptions and decoration in carved relief were found in this settlement. These include four votive stelae carrying a depiction of *kakasbos* and a rock-relief also depicting this rider god. On the stela fragments is an inscription, “Hermais, son of Perikles, [dedicated] to Herakles”. In the town centre there is a cult relief with an inscription on the rock surface recording its dedication to the Dioskuroi. Kakasbos and the Dioskuroi were amongst the most popular cults in the region. Preliminary studies of the potshards indicate Roman, Late Roman and Byzantine periods. Its topographic location and its road connection to Kelbessos all indicate it was a small settlement living with Kelbessos within the territory of Termessos. It provides an interesting example of settlement plan.

Belen: We discovered Belen in 2001 and published it in a separate article, together with the related buildings in its environs, as some of its architectural remains are unparalleled in the region⁹³. Lying 26 km. from Antalya, on the asphalt road connecting the Geyikbayırı district to the Feslikan pastureland, the forest road to the north takes you to Belen which lies 1.3 km. distant. Belen is located on a forested hill extending in an east-west direction on the southern side of the Doyran valley. From it all of the neighbouring towns: Neapolis to the east, Sivridağ/Trebenna to the south, Kelbessos to the northwest and İn Önü to the north, can be seen.

Large agricultural flat lands on the slopes and around the hill where Belen is located remain in cultivation today. The north side of the hill is inaccessible due to the sheer rocky cliffs. On the south, the hill descends in three terraces formed by the topography towards the agricultural land and it was upon these terraces that the buildings related or connected to each other were erected. At the centre of the hill there is a well-preserved tower. On the east side towards which the tower faces there are hybrid buildings all of which have their facades facing to east or southeast. The wide flat area between the tower and the single-roomed large rectangular building to its west is bounded by a wall, extending in an east-west direction containing entrances. The wall was built from cut stones and today the door jambs remain *in situ*.

The tower was built on a platform hewn from the bedrock on the highest point of the hill with the ruins. It measures 6.10 x 6.25 m., with a wall thicknesses of 0.80 – 0.65 m. The tower is clearly understood to have been of two-storeys and the ground floor is a single room with a surface area of 22.80 sq. m. (Fig. 23). All the walls were built from large cut stones and are preserved to a maximum height of 5 m. The doorway in the middle of the south wall has monolithic jambs and lintel. The cylindrical shaft holes and lock holes are on both the inner and outer sides of the door jambs indicating there were door wings on both sides.

⁹³ N. Çevik – S. Bulut, “The Belen and Kelbessos farmsteads with towers on the border of Pisidia–Lycia and some thoughts on security in the countryside”, *Adalya X*, 2007, 105–130.

The unique feature of this tower is the secret underground tunnel at the foot of its rear wall. The mouth of the tunnel in the tower is 0.55 m. w. and 0.57 m. h. and originally had a door, inferred from the lintel and the lock and shaft holes on the right hand side door jamb. The tunnel extends westward, out of the tower for a distance of 3.80 m. reaching a depth of 2.00 m. below the ground level of the tower. The tunnel is 0.84 m. h. It must have been constructed for secret escape – at least, it was not constructed for daily or any usual need.

Taking the tower into consideration, independent of the surrounding structures, parallels are known in the region, for example the tower at the farmstead at Kelbessos as also the Lyrboton Kome tower⁹⁴. The layout of the tower itself and its stonework resemble Roman period towers and structures.

In the middle of the settlement, to the east of the tower there is a rectangular vaulted tomb chamber measuring 2.45 x 2.80 m. This is the tomb of the real ruler of Belen and it was sited in a privileged position in front of the tower and formed the focus of all the buildings. At the east end of the complex the house remains continue. In the flat area 18.50 m. west of the tower there is a storehouse building, with its courtyard of 400 sq. m. bounded by the tower and walls. Its doorway in the wall faces east, towards the tower. The absence of any traces of a window can be linked to security measures and no trace has been found indicating any second floor.

In the rocky area to the southwest of this area there is a work-area with a trapezoidal press bed/crushing basin cut into the bedrock. Our surveys in the region have shown that work-areas with crushing basins hewn into the bedrock in open areas were for wine production⁹⁵. The absence of finds of elements such as trapetum and orbis found at press workplaces employed for olive oil production, further verifies this function. A new example has been found of the screw presses connected to a stone weight in cylindrical form⁹⁶, a technique widely employed in the region. The collecting basin of the wine press workplace is the largest of all those discovered in this region. Therefore, Belen with a high production capacity is expected to have served a wide agricultural area. This expectation is supported by the agricultural land lying to the south of the settlement and on the nearby slopes. The parallel example in proximity was found at Kelbessos, and both are alike in respect to both structures and organisation.

It is widely accepted that the *pax Romana* during the Roman Imperial period meant there was no need for defensive measures to be taken, such as erecting fortresses and other defensive units⁹⁷. This is further supported by the lack of Roman period evidence of defensive constructions in Lycia, Pamphylia and Cilicia, where numerous examples of defensive buildings have been identified dating to the Classical, Hellenistic and Byzantine periods. Especially during the reign of Emperor Augustus, pre-planned roads were constructed, military colonies were founded and economic measures were taken, ensuring

⁹⁴ N. Çevik, "An Olive Oil Production Center in Pamphylia: Lyrboton Kome", *Lykia* III, 1996/97, 82, 84 Fig. 8.

⁹⁵ S. Bulut, "Likya Pamfilya-Pisidya Sınır Bölgesinden Sıradışı İki Zeytinyağı İşliği", *Adalya* VIII, 2005, 193.

⁹⁶ Bulut, *op.cit.*, 194, 197.

⁹⁷ A. Konecny, *Hellenistische Turmgehöfte in Zentral- und Ostlykien* (1997) 81; Th. Marksteiner, *Die befestigte Siedlung von Limyra* (1997) 29.

peace and security across the Empire⁹⁸. However, this secure life did not last for very long and by the mid-3rd century, wars and epidemics⁹⁹ paved the way for the decline of the Empire¹⁰⁰ and in consequence, with this loss of security, anarchy and uprisings began in the provinces. Local security problems increased, particularly in the rural areas distant from the cities¹⁰¹. With this increasing insecurity came the bandits, who did not have the force to raid the large cities, usually preferred to raid the smaller settlements lying off the beaten track.

The deep valley of Doyran between the Belen and Kelbessos farms had rural paths on either flank, no longer visible today, that were used by villagers, travellers, soldiers and merchants. These same roads were also used to transport the harvest to the storehouses in the farms, and bring the surplus production to urban centres such as Trebenna. These roads also provided passage to the bandits, consequently retaining the possibility of danger. Settlements of various sizes located along these routes played an important role in the cultivation and exploitation of the land in the territory. The fortified settlements, especially those located along the valley forming the border between Lycia and Pamphylia, probably also assumed the duty of guarding this road network in addition to their agricultural production. For security in rural Lycia during the Hellenistic period we have many available examples, and evidence in this region for the much less well known Roman period has been accumulating. The political system changing with the Roman Empire obviously did not alter local security issues and as can be inferred, concerns of a similar nature resulted in the fortification of settlements and farmsteads in a similar way.

It is noteworthy that there are no tower farms in the settlements around Trebenna, Neapolis and Kelbessos, other than these two examples on either side of the Doyran valley. This is because the Doyran valley was the main route leading from the mountains to the plain. This must be why settlements such as Moryer, Şehit Beleni and Badırık Tepe that are found on this route that provided the quickest access, as also for the mountain bandits, were the better fortified. The fact that Kelbessos, a settlement like a mountain fortress employed for defensive purposes, was established and maintained in this location dominating the entire valley may indicate it is no mere coincidence that the other fortified structures are also found along this Doyran valley route. Almost all of the settlement units possessing some fortification works are located in and along the Doyran valley; and although this may point to an implementation related to the border between Lycia and Pisidia or to the border between the territories of Trebenna and Termessos, these observation-fortification works are not only related to the Hellenistic period. The absence of fortifications at the provincial borders or of urban territories during the Roman period, and that these borders were under the control of the Empire and under the protection of the imperial army. However, in the interpretation and understanding of the local defence measures it should

⁹⁸ M. Özşait, *Hellenistik ve Roma Devrinde Pisidya Tarihi* (1985) 96.

⁹⁹ T. M. P. Duggan, "A Short Account of Recorded Calamities (Earthquakes and Plaques) in Antalya", *Adalya VII*, 2004, 130.

¹⁰⁰ The letter by Emperor Commodus to Boubon written in 190 A.D. is the first evidence for the emergence of banditry indicating the end of the 150-year-long peace in Lycia. This document shows that the people of Boubon was dealing with these bandits on their own: M. Adak, "Batı Toroslar'da Yerel Ayaklanmalar ve Eşkıyalık", *Olba XIV*, 2006, 119.

¹⁰¹ For general information on this topic see H. Öztürk, *MÖ. II – MS. IV. Yüzyıllarda Likya–Pamfilya Bölgesi'nin Kırsal Alan Güvenlik Problemleri* (Marmara University, Unpublished PhD Thesis, 2006).

be remembered that Lycia and Pamphylia were cited amongst the “unguarded provinces (*inermes province*)”¹⁰².

Many farms that were discovered at Hisar Çandır, at Gökdere, in the Hurma valley and the Asar valley comprise only farmhouses and work-areas. The security measures at such farms do not go beyond the usual measures taken by households such as inwardness and strong doors and windows. On the other hand, the settlements at Moryer, Badırık Tepe and Hurma Tepesi are noteworthy for their strong encircling wall, their dominant location and they display a defensive character. The example at Çağlarca distinguishes itself from the others only by its watchtower.

Güzle/ Kapıkaya: The Asarlık Tepe rising to the north of Güzle village, 17 km. from Kelbessos, is a rock hill extending in an east-west direction. There are remains on the south slope of this hill. The necropolis here contains six sarcophagi. On the main mass of rock behind these sarcophagi there are three sockets cut to locate the tomb stelae. Further to the east, up from this sarcophagi group, there is an ostothek hewn into the bedrock.

The double defence wall starts from the sarcophagi and rises northwest to the hill top. It is 0.95 m. thick. It was built with rubble and mortar. Houses were built on the terraces extending parallel to the slope.

About the middle of the hill, toward the southeast there is a church. The narthex, naos, apse and walls of this three-aisled church are visible. It measures 5.60 x 10.60 m. and the apse is 3.40 m. wide with a radius of 2.20 m. In the debris left by illegal excavators were fragments from an ambo and from a baptismal font. Very small fragments of fresco provide information about the decoration of the walls. A coin dating to the 3rd century A.D. was found in the settlement (Fig. 25).

Neapolis: It was first noted in 1996, with the first preliminary observations made in 1997¹⁰³ and the detailed surveys of this settlement were completed in 2004 (Fig. 26). The name of this settlement was identified by B. İplikçioğlu and his team. Surveyed by N. Çevik and his team, the settlement is located towards the top of Keldağ rising behind and to the northwest of Doyran. The visible remains date from the Hellenistic, Roman and Early Byzantine periods. According to the inscribed block, re-used as a lintel on the door of the basilica, it was a peripolion of Termessos. It establishes the link of Termessos to the sea, through its location on the first hill closest to the sea. The settlement stands upon a very steep rocky hill and can be accessed only by a narrow rock-cut path alongside which extends the necropolis of the settlement and a fortification wall was unnecessary due to its inaccessible location.

The remains can be grouped as follows: I. Sacred buildings. II. Public buildings. III. Houses, work-areas and cisterns. IV. Necropoleis.

Inscriptions¹⁰⁴ and archaeological remains indicate the cults of Zeus, Artemis and Dionysos in the city (Fig. 28). In addition to the Zeus Temple, which possibly lies beneath

¹⁰² For general information on the imperial auxiliary troops in the region, see J. Bennett, “The Roman Army in Lycia and Pamphylia”, Adalya X, 2007.

¹⁰³ N. Çevik – İ. Kızılgut – Ş. Aktaş, “1997 Yılı Trebenna ve Çevresi Yüzey Araştırmaları”, AST XVI-2, 1999, 409 ff.

¹⁰⁴ V. Çelgin, “Termessos Egemenlik Alanında Artemis Tapınımı II: Keldağ/Göldağ (Neapolis) Antik Yerleşmesindeki ‘Aspalos-Artemis Akraia’ Kültü”, Adalya VI, 2003, 141–170.

the Byzantine church (Fig. 27), temples dedicated to Artemis (Fig. 28) and to Dionysos were identified in the city¹⁰⁵. In addition, another building was understood to have a function related with a cult because of a large monolithic altar and the hardly legible inscription records the name *Aurelios Trokondas*... Another inscription on the front side of the first block on the left of the south arch in the same area was entirely deciphered by İplikçioğlu. The names such as Aurelius, Artemis, Herakleion Egis belonged to those who contributed to the construction of this monument. It is unconnected to the city, far from the rest of the buildings and was erected on a high part of the hill and, in addition, its careful stone-workmanship indicates its religious function. At present we have no idea as to the identity of the deity or cult this structure was erected to serve.

Along the main road coming from the city gate leading towards the town centre, toward the basilica, there are some monuments and buildings. Due to the dense Byzantine settlement around the church (Fig. 27) and the debris, not much remains from the public buildings and monuments. The first two buildings at the northern end of the town centre are U-shaped exedrae, adjacent to each other. Further south is another exedra, a circular one, which was investigated in 2003. This main street is embellished with statue bases, inscribed on one of which is the name of the Emperor Commodus. The monument was built in 195 A.D. during the reign of S. Severus after the death of Commodus¹⁰⁶ and it carries the dowel holes drilled to secure the feet of the bronze statue.

One peculiar aspect of Neapolis is that its houses remain in quite a good condition today (Fig. 31). They constitute the boundary of urbanism. These houses were placed on terraces (Fig. 30) with the areas in between them, arranged as streets extending parallel to the slope and across the entire town. The town is arranged into easily discernible quarters and are usually connected to each other via stepped streets. We have termed these quarters: "Temple quarter", "Lower quarter", "Square quarter" and so on, our modern understanding, but we are of the opinion that they were probably so termed during the Roman period. The houses are arranged individually or as several in groups. Although they do not display consistent plan types, they all have a few rooms and a courtyard as their common features. The cisterns may be shared, or belonged to one house or to a house group. The house walls were built from rubble from the local bedrock.

Scattered around the town are three sarcophagi and three chamosoria – all of the rest line the road into the town (Fig. 29)¹⁰⁷. The tombs mainly comprise sarcophagi but there are also chamosoria, ostotheks and built tombs. The tomb totals include: one chamber tomb, one aedicula tomb, 23 sarcophagi, 11 chamosoria, one independent ostotheke and three rock-cut ostotheks. Elements relating to the cult of the dead were also found around the tombs. The most important example is a plain stele with a curved top, this stele has no tongue for a socket, the base fitted into a rock-cut slot, the only example of this type that we have found. Within the town it is particularly noteworthy that there are two chamosoria side by side accompanied by sockets cut for a stele and also an altar, hewn into the bedrock for the cult of the dead was found in this same area¹⁰⁸. Most of the sarcophagi

¹⁰⁵ O. Tıbıkoğlu, "Neapolis Tapınakları", in preparation as a master's thesis.

¹⁰⁶ B. İplikçioğlu, *Neue Inschriften aus dem Territorium*, 216 No. 183.

¹⁰⁷ B. Özdilek, "Neapolis Nekropolü" (Akdeniz University, unpublished master's thesis, 2006).

¹⁰⁸ N. Çevik, "New Finds from Neapolis concerning the Cult of the Dead", *Adalya VIII*, 2005, 121–135; B. Özdilek, "Neapolis Nekropolü Üzerine Bir Ön Rapor", *Anadolu/Anatolia Supplementary series* 3, 2006 (in press).

carry relief decoration and inscriptions. Usually there is a *tabula ansata* flanked by shields of the Pisidian type on the front, some also have portraits on the side faces. Two sarcophagi distinguish themselves from the rest, firstly, that in the necropolis which is decorated with cult elements including an altar and a phiale, and, secondly, that in the rocks behind the apse of the church, which has on its front side the tomb owner hunting a bear and three other people standing – two women and the third, a man.

At and around the settlement there are many workplaces for grapes and olives and the associated cultivatable land and some of these work-areas provided us with some unique examples¹⁰⁹. Farmsteads and villages of various sizes have been identified around this town, the most important being that at Kartınpınarı¹¹⁰, which extends over a rocky acropolis, with its necropolis on the slopes of the hill. One of the highest quality sarcophagi to have been found in the region was discovered here, the frieze carved in relief on this sarcophagus depicts scenes from rural life¹¹¹.

There is a three-aisled Early Byzantine church in the centre of Neapolis and a monastic complex at Kisle Çukuru which contains almost all the elements that typify a monastery: a church, kitchens, storehouses, monks' cells, latrines etc. Palamut Düzü has two rich layers dating from the Byzantine period. All of these Byzantine finds have been explored by the Byzantinist members of our team¹¹² and this work continues.

We have summarised some of the important results obtained and the discoveries made during the course of the past ten years of Surveys in the Bey Mountains¹¹³, a joint project of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism and Akdeniz University, under the author's direction.

¹⁰⁹ S. Bulut, "Likya–Pamfilya–Pisidia Sınır Bölgesinden Sıradışı İki Zeytinyağı İşliği", *Adalya VIII*, 2005, 191–210; S. Bulut, "Bey Dağları Çiftlik Yerleşimleri ve İşlikler", *Silifke Müzesi Konferansları 2005–2006 Kitabı* (in press).

¹¹⁰ E. Akalın, "Kartınpınarı Yerleşimi", in preparation as a master's thesis.

¹¹¹ For more information on this sarcophagus and the social structure of the region as reflected through the necropolis, see N. Çevik, "The Social Structure as Reflected through the Necropolis of Trebenna", *Symposium on Lycia 2006*, I, 175–207.

¹¹² E. Akyürek, "The Bey Mountains in the Middle Ages: the Byzantine settlements at Trebenna and Neapolis", *Symposium on Lycia I*, 2006; E. Akyürek – A. Tiryaki – G. Kızılkayak, "Antalya'nın Doyran ve Aşağı Karaman Köylerindeki Bizans Mimari Varlığı", *Arkeoloji ve Sanat Dergisi* 112, 2003, 13–26; E. Akyürek, "12. yy'da Batı Pamphylia'da Bizans Varlığı: Arkeolojik Buluntular Işığında Bir Değerlendirme", *First International Sevgi Gönül Byzantine Studies Symposium* (in press). In addition, the 12th century monastery at Kisle Çukuru within the territory of Neapolis was explored in detail by A. Tiryaki ("Kisle Çukuru Manastırı: Antalya'da 12. yy'a Ait Bir Bizans Manastırı", *First International Sevgi Gönül Byzantine Studies Symposium*, in press), and the Neapolis basilica by G. Kızılkayak (Istanbul University, Unpublished PhD thesis, 2005).

¹¹³ The Surveys in the Bey Mountains project is now in the hands of İsa Kızgut, one of the two leading assistants to the author over the course of the past ten years of the Surveys in the Bey Mountains project.

Abbreviations

Symposium on Lycia 2006

K. Dörtlük – B. Varkıvaç – T. Kahya et al., (eds.), The IIIrd Symposium on Lycia. 07-10 November 2005. Antalya. Symposium Proceedings. Suna-İnan Kıraç Research Institute on Mediterranean Civilizations Vol. I-II (2006).

Trebenna 2005

N. Çevik – B. Varkıvaç – E. Akyürek (eds.) Trebenna. Its History, Archaeology and Natural Environment. Suna-İnan Kıraç Research Institute on Mediterranean Civilizations. Adalya Supplementary Series 1 (2005).

Öz

Yeni Bulgular ışığında Kuzeydoğu Likya

Araştırmalarımız göstermiştir ki bu bölgenin içerdiği kültürel ve tarihsel zenginlik, bilinen ve varsayılanın çok üstündedir. Arkeolojik kalıntıların birçoğu ilk kez keşfedilmiştir. Bu yeni bulgular bir program içerisinde bilim dünyasına sunulmaktadır. Bölgeye gelen bunca araştırmacı ve aradan geçen onca zamandan sonra kent Antalya'nın hemen batısında görülen kalıntıların araştırılmasında bunca geç kalınmış olması nedeniyle hem bilim gecikmiş, hem de tespit ve tescille başlayan korumada zaman kaybedilmiştir. Doğuda Pamphylia düzlüğünün başladığı, kuzeyde Pisidia dağlarının devam ettiği ve güney ve batısı Likya topraklarına giren bu bölgedeki bulgu nicelik ve niteliği araştırmalarımız öncesinde bilinenleri büyük oranda değiştirmiştir. Artık bu bölge, yüzeyde kaldığı ve bulunabildiği kadarıyla tam kimliğine kavuşmuştur. Bu bölge örnek alındığında Likya ve Pisidia'nın diğer kesimlerinde de ne kadar çok bilinmeyenin bizleri beklediği anlaşılmaktadır. Yöntemimiz, yüksek çözünürlüklü uydu fotoğrafları ve hali hazır 1:25.000 ölçekli haritalar yardımıyla ilk ayakta ön keşif gezileriyle varlıkları ve yoğunluklarını saptamak, ardından organize araştırmalarla önce GPS ile GIS üzerinde doğru küresel yer tespiti yapıp bunu sayısal haritalarda konumlandırmak; bulunan yerleşimlerin total station ve Geodetik GPS yardımıyla detaylı haritasını çıkarmak; bulunan her kalıntının rölevesini çıkarmak ve yerden ve havadan fotoğraflamak yanında detaylı tanımlamalarını yerinde yapmak ve yayınlamaktır. Aşağıda, Kültür Bakanlığı ve Akdeniz Üniversitesi projesi olarak başkanlığımızda 10 yılını dolduran Bey Dağları Yüzey Araştırmaları boyunca keşfedilen ve incelenen yeni bulgulardan varılan genel sonuçlar özetle sıralanmıştır.

1. Bu bölgede ilk kez, yasal, uzun soluklu ve geniş kapsamlı bir arkeolojik yüzey araştırması projesi gerçekleştirilmiş, bölgenin arkeolojik envanteri modern bilimin tüm gerekleri uygulanarak çıkarılmıştır.
2. Tarihsel-kültürel mirasın hızla yok oluşunun kısmen önüne geçilmiş, tescillerin tamamlanması sağlanmıştır. En azından tamamı yok edilmeden/yok olmadan, fotoğraf ve çizimler aracılığıyla kâğıt üzerinde sonsuza taşınmaları sağlanmıştır.
3. Farklı karakterler gösteren yerleşimleri nedeniyle, yerleşim arkeolojisi ve urbanistik araştırmaları için benzersiz örnekler ele geçtiği gibi kent ve çevresinde bulunan köy, çiftlik, garnizon gibi birimlerle ilişkileri belirlenmiştir. Özellikle Helenistik, Roma ve Bizans dönemleri açısından var olan bilimsel sorunların çözümüne katkı sağlayacak verilere ulaşılmıştır.
4. Dağlık yerleşimlerde şehircilik-urbanizm konusunda önemli örnekler saptanmış ve şehircilik açısından incelenmiştir. Sarp topografyada temel başarının teraslama ve arazinin doğasına uygun planlamadan ve tamamen yerel malzeme kullanımından

kaynaklandığı tespit edilmiştir. Özellikle Roma dönemi dağlık alan/kırsal şehirciliğin yerel boyutu konusunda önemli yol alınmıştır. Anadolu'nun büyük ölçekli Roma dönemi şehirciliğini anlatan örneklerin, yerel özellikleri anlatmaktan uzak metropoller olmaları nedeniyle kırsal yerleşimlerin bunu anlamak için tek şans olduğu görülmüştür.

5. Alışlagelen yüzeysel-hızlı “survey” değil, yerleşimleri tüm kalıntılarıyla tespit etmeyi amaçlayan “modern arkeolojik survey” gerçekleştirilmiştir. Böylelikle bulgular, hem yerleşim bazında hem de tek tek kalıntılar açısından gerçekte ilk kez kimliklendirilerek kronolojik hikayeleri çıkarılmıştır.
6. Özellikle bölgenin Roma dönemi sanat ve mimarlığının taşra boyutları konusuna ilişkin pek çok kalıntı tespit edilmiştir.
7. Çok sarp olması nedeniyle, Doğu Likya'nın, Likya'nın diğer bölgelerine göre çok daha az yerleşim gördüğü düşünceleri, keşfedilen birçok farklı boyutta yerleşim sayesinde geçersiz kalmıştır. Klasik dönemdeki zayıf yerleşim gördüğü belirlenmiş, Helenistik dönemde beklenenin üstünde bulgu ele geçmiş ve esasında Roma Dönemi'nde yerleşim niteliği ve yaygınlığı artmış ve Bizans döneminde de bu yaygınlık sürmüştür.
8. Flora ve fauna uzmanları dahil farklı disiplinlerden bilimciler aynı çatı altında toplanmış geçmişin ve bugünün çok yönlü bilgileri derlenmiştir. Örneğin, mikoloji çalışmalarında mikrokolonial bakterilerin antik kalıntılara zararları incelenmiştir.
9. Bulgular, Antalya'nın sadece sahil şeridindeki önemli mermer kentlerden ibaret olmadığını, onları besleyen temel kaynakların dağlarda ve vadilerde bulunduğunu göstermiştir. Kereste, zeytinyağı ve üzüm ürünlerinin temel ekonomik girdi kalemleri olduğu anlaşılmıştır. Termessos'un ekonomik gücünün kaynakları, askeri gücünün dayanakları anlaşıldığı gibi, Trebenna, Phaselis ve Attaleia gibi merkezi yerleşimlerin umulmadık egemenlik alanlarının bulunduğu da anlaşılmıştır.
10. I. etap bölgesinde Trebenna, Neapolis, Kelbessos, gibi orta ölçekli yerleşimler; Typallia, Onobara, İn Önü gibi küçük ölçekli yerleşimler; Hurma, Badırık ve Nesos Lyrnateia (Sıçan Adası) gibi garnizonlar; Hisar Çandır ve Kesener gibi köyler; Belen gibi az sayıda savunmalı-kuleli ve çok sayıda savunmasız çiftlikler ve bu çiftliklere ait yapılar; çok sayıda zeytinyağı ve şarap işliği ve yine çok sayıda tarım teraslarına ilişkin detaylı çalışmalar tamamlanmıştır. Bunlardan çiftlik ve köy düzeyindekilerin büyük çoğunluğu ilk kez tarafımızdan tespit edilmiş; varlıkları önceden bilinen büyük yerleşimler tüm arkeolojik içerikleriyle ilk kez arşivlenmiştir. İn Önü tarafımızdan keşfedilmiş; erken literatürde varlıkları anılan Kelbessos, Neapolis ve Typallia'nın arkeolojik kalıntıları tarafımızdan tespit edilmiş; bu yerleşimlerin isim tespitleri ve yazıtlarının incelenmesi paralel çalıştığımız epigraflar B.İplikçioğlu ve ekibi tarafından yapılmıştır.
11. Doyran-Keldağ'dan Kemer'in güneyine kadar olan dağlık alan taranmış ve tüm envanter çıkarılmıştır. II. Etaptaki, Kitanaura, Lykai, Kosara, Mnara ve çevredeki küçük birimleri içine alan bölgede araştırmalar sonlanmak üzeredir.
12. Prehistorik mağaralar, Helenistik dönem Termessos egemenlik sınırları, Roma yerleşim yaygınlığı ve kırsaldaki karakteri, Bizans yerleşimleri, kilise ve manastırlarıyla bu bölgenin arkeolojik kimliği artık belirlenmiştir. Termessos, Trebenna, Attaleia ve

- Phaselis gibi kentlerin territorium sınırları ve bu yerleşimlerin birbirleriyle ilişkilerini anlaşılmıştır.
13. Elde edilen verilerden, bölgenin yaşam kronolojisi, yerleşim yoğunluğu, yerleşim tipolojisi, şehirciliği, yol ağı, sanatı, mimarisi, dinsel inançları, ölü gömme mimarisi ve gelenekleri, sosyal yapısı, ekonomik yapısı ve kültürel/politik ilişkilerine değin pek çok bilimsel sonuç çıkarılmıştır.
 14. Termessos, Trebenna ve Phaselis gibi büyük kentlerle küçük birimler arasındaki bağlar da daha açık anlaşılmıştır. Territorium sınırları konusundaki değerlendirmelerde en büyük pay –İplikçioğlu ekibinin değerlendirdiği- epigrafik bulgularındır. Pamphylia, Pisidia ve Lykia'nın kavşağında olması nedeniyle üç bölgenin sanatından izler içeren pek çok görüntünün yan yana ya da iç içe olduğu görülmüş, siyasi olarak Likya'ya bağlı olduğu halde, Doğu ve Kuzeydoğu Likya'daki yerleşimlerde sanatın Likya'yla çok ilgisi olmadığı daha çok Termessos'tan-Pisidya'dan etkilendikleri anlaşılmıştır. Bu durum en açık, yerleşimlerin çoğunda Pisidya tipi lahitlerin yaygın olmasından anlaşılmaktadır.
 15. Patara Miliarium Lyciae'de anılan yolların bu bölgedeki bazı somut karşılıkları tespit edilmiştir.
 16. Taşra yerleşimleri ve kırsal birimlerin çokluğu nedeniyle halk kesimlerinin sanatı, yaşamı ve geçimine ilişkin pek çok yeni veri elde edilmiştir. Lahit korpuslarında neredeyse hiç yer almayan yüzlerce yeni lahit üzerinde bölgedeki yaşam ve inançlardan iz veren yazı ve kabartmalarda bölge halkının kırsal yaşam resmi çıkarılmıştır. Günlük yaşam sahneleri içeren Roma lahitleri olarak Likya'nın diğer bölgelerinde bulunmayan bir şans yaratır. Bu sahnelerde çiftçilik, öküzle çekilen saban, demircilik, ev hayvanları, dağ keçisi, geyik, ayı avı sahneleri, yaban hayvanları mücadeleleri (özellikle dağ aslanı ve dağ keçisi) yaygın bulunmaktadır.
 17. İşlikler, farklı formlarda kırsal yerleşimler ve tarım alanları yardımıyla bölgenin kırsal yaşamı somut açıklamalarını çokça bulmuştur.
 18. Mimaride ve yerleşim biçimlerinde özgün tür ya da tipler bulunmuş ve hatta başka yerde benzeri olmayan gizli tünelli Belen kulesi, Kelbessos Principia'sı, Neapolis İşliği, konutları veya Trebenna konik kapaklı yuvarlak kaya ostohekleri gibi çok özgün keşifler de arkeoloji literatüründe katılmıştır.
 19. Belen ve Kelbessos kuleli/korunaklı çitlikleri gibi örneklerle, Roma Dönemi'nde kırsalda güvenlik konusuna yeni açıklamalar getirilmiştir. Helenistik Dönem'den çok örnekle bilinen kule-çiftliklerin benzeri yapıların bulunduğu çiftlikler ve bölgenin gözetilip korunmasına yönelik yapılmış garnizon ve gözetleme kulesi benzeri yapılarla bu bölgede yoğun yaşanan dağ eşkıyası gibi sorunlara çözüm bulunduğu anlaşılmıştır. Çiftlik ve köy sahiplerinin özel güçleri yanında, bağlı olunan ana kent merkezindeki mobil jandarma kuvvetleri aracılığıyla da kırsalda güvenlik sağlanmaktaydı. Daha önce bazı yazıtlar aracılığıyla da bilinen bu sorun şimdi de savunma mimarisini yansıtan yapılar ve yerleşim ilişkisi ve bağlarıyla da belirlenmiştir.
 20. Arkeolojide az bilinen halk konutları mimarlığı ve bölgenin rustik konutları hakkında çok özel ve oldukça iyi korunmuş örnekler keşfedilmiştir. Bir arada, sık bağlantılı konut birliklerinden oluşan güvenli köyler ve birkaç odanın avlu etrafında yer almasıyla biçimlenmiş olan kırsal konutların sarnıç ve işlikler içererek aynı zamanda

üretim ve ürüne yönelik fonksiyonları karşılayan yapılar olarak organize edildikleri anlaşılmıştır. Konut planlarının örneğin Neapolis gibi kentlerde de çiftliklerde de yaklaşık aynı anlayışla tasarlanıp yapıldığı gözlemlenmiştir. Farklar bazen, kırsal üretim fonksiyonundan kaynaklanan oda sayısı ve niteliğe yansımıştır. Yapıların ortak yapı taşlarının yerel moloz taş ve harç olduğu ve ahşap çatılarla örtüldüğü belirlenmiştir.

21. Keşfedilen zengin nekropollerde her tipten mezarlar bulunduğu gibi, dönemlerinin sosyal dokusunu ve statüler arası ilişkilerini yansıtan mezarlık organizasyonları da saptanmıştır. Bulunan mezarların çoğunluğu lahitlerdir. Bunun yanında oda mezarlar ve kaya mezarları da çok sayıda bulunmuştur. Mezarların büyük çoğunluğu Roma dönemine aittir. Lahitler genellikle Pisidya tipindendir. Üç kata kadar örnekleri bulunan anıtsal örme mezarların tamamı Roma dönemindendir. Bunların yanında, silindirik teknesi ve çan biçimli kapağıyla Anadolu'da bilinmeyen yeni bir mezar tipi de keşfedilmiştir: Yuvarlak kaya ostothekleri.
22. Teras kompleksleri, işlikler ve çiftlikler, bölgenin başat ürünleri olan zeytin ve üzüme dayalı doyurucu tarımsal üretimin bulunduğunu göstermiştir. Bu üretimin ihtiyaçtan fazla olduğu, ilgili birimin hayati ihtiyaçlarını karşılamaktan öte, önemli ticaret kalemleri olduğu da kolaylıkla anlaşılmıştır. Bölgede işliklere ilişkin en çok sayıda ele geçen buluntular, ezme kalası yuvaları, trapetumlar, tekneler ve ağırlık taşlarıdır. Asıl önemlisi, lahit gibi belirgin bulgular sayesinde, tarihlenmede yaşanan büyük sorunların çözümüne katkılar sağlanmıştır.



Fig. 1 Map showing the main settlements in northeast Lycia.

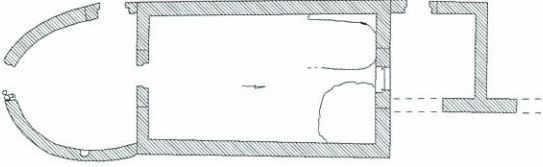


Fig. 2 Gasetin İni. Drawing: S. Bulut.

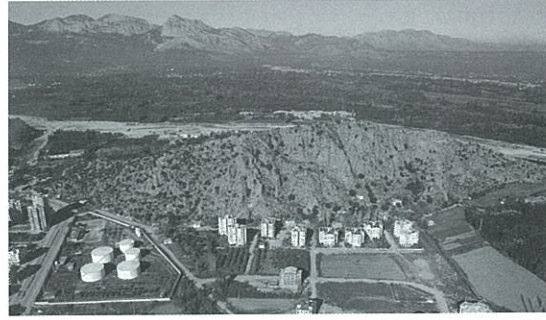


Fig. 3 Hurma Fortress. Aerial photo: Çevik.

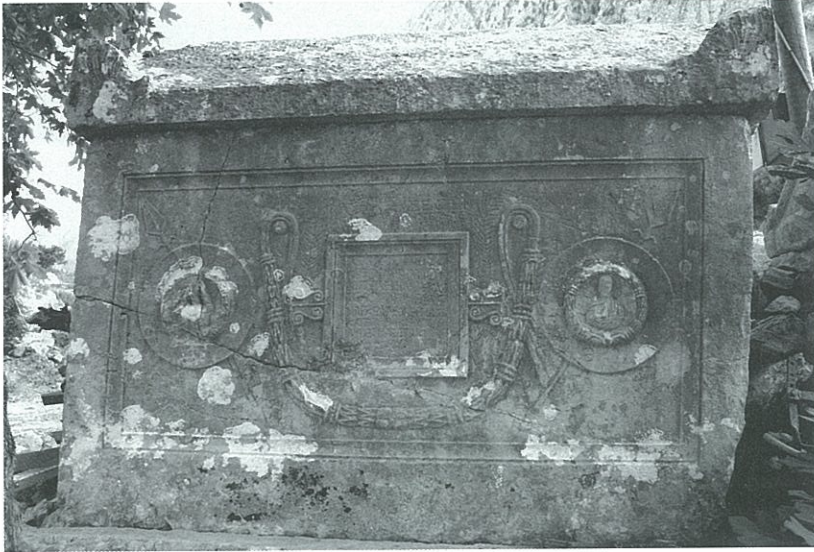


Fig. 4 Doyran Kozu. Sarcophagus.

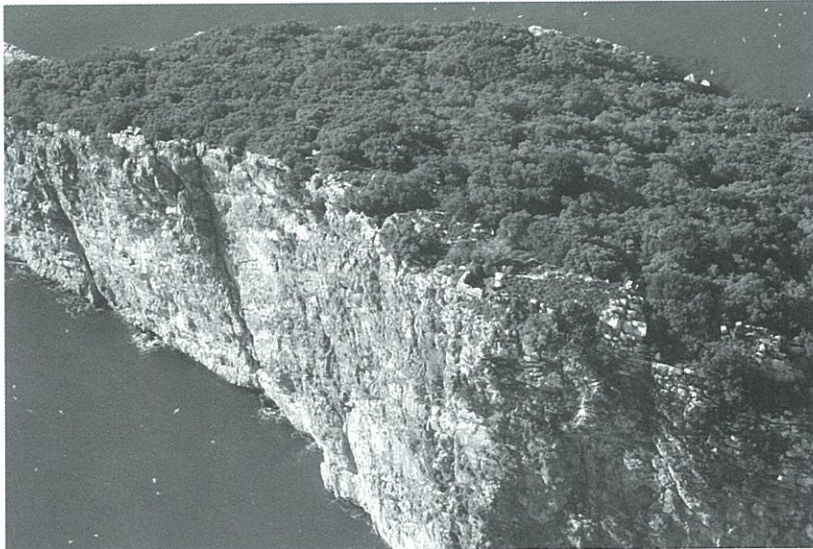


Fig. 5 Nessos Lyrnateia, Sığan Island. Aerial photo: Çevik.



Fig. 6 Kocaköy. Work-area. Photo: Akalın.

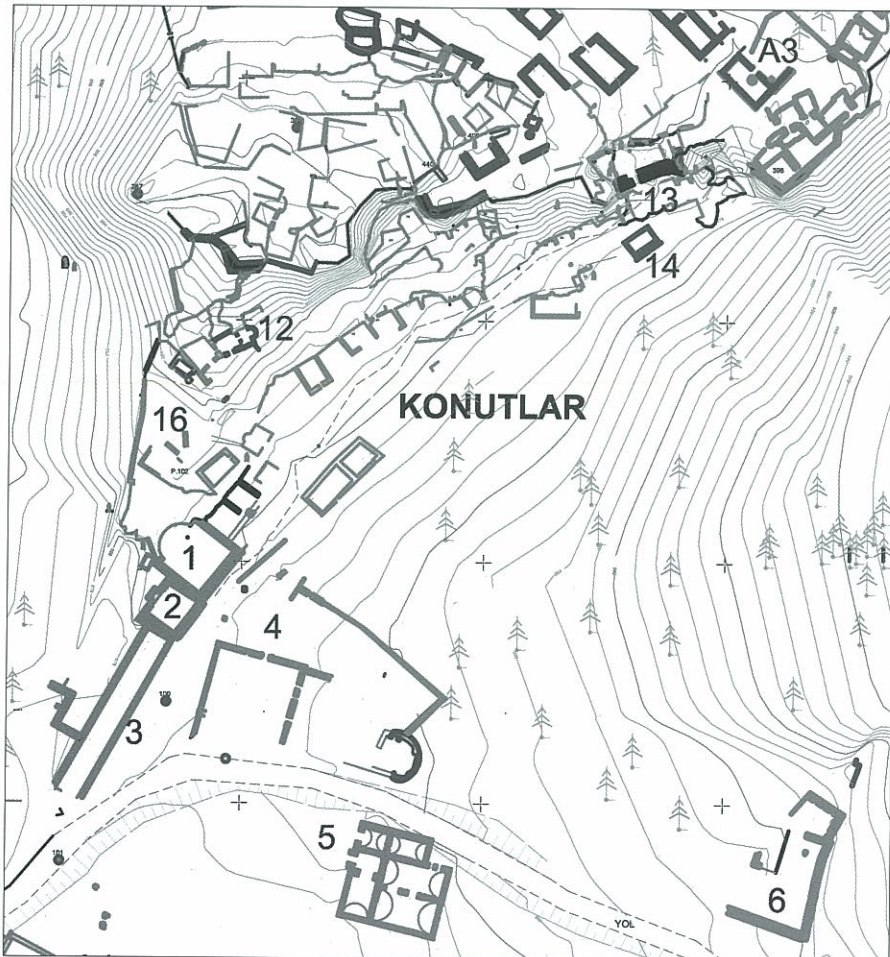


Fig. 7 Trebenna. Plan of the city centre: Çevik – Akalın – Çoşgun.

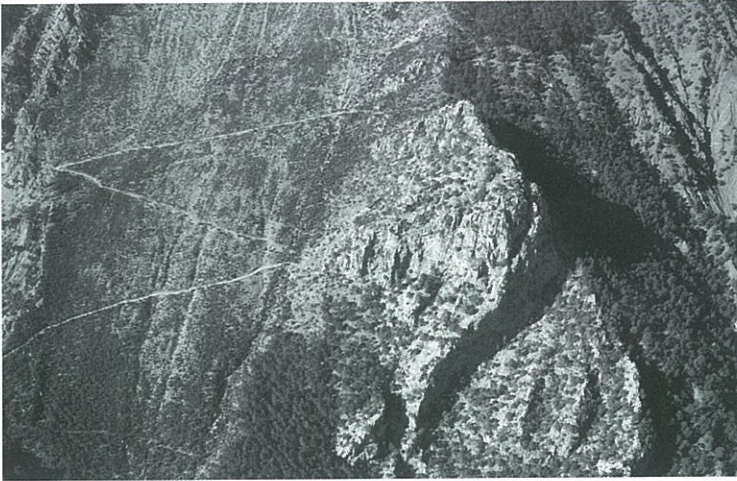


Fig. 8
Typallia. Aerial photo: Kızgut.

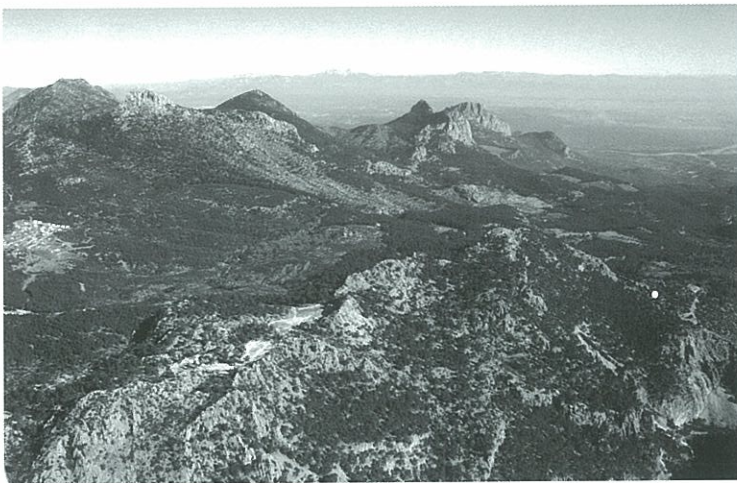


Fig. 9
From Kelbessos toward
Neapolis. Aerial photo: Çevik.

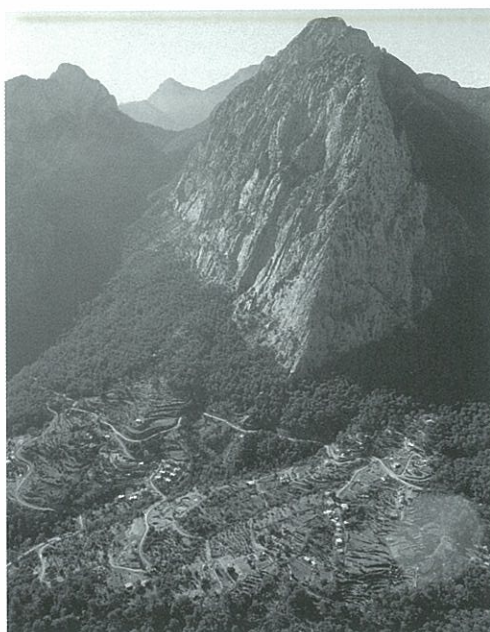


Fig. 10
Gedeller (Onobara) farmsteads.
Aerial photo: Çevik.



Fig. 11 Kitanaura. Acropolis and walls. Aerial photo: Çevik.

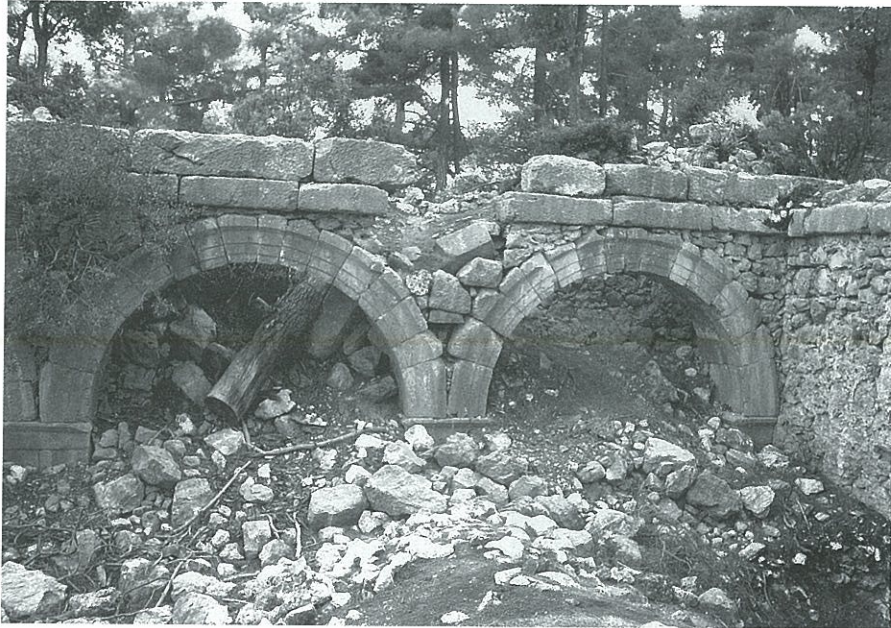


Fig. 12 Kitanaura. Baths: Tıbıkoğlu.



Fig. 13 Mnara. Open-air meeting/cult area.



Fig. 14 Lykai. Bölücektepe. Aerial photo: Kızıgut.

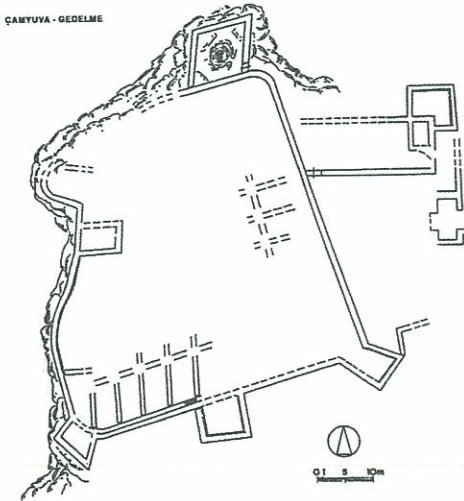


Fig. 15 Kadrama – Gedelma. Plan: Jacobek 1993, Aerial photo: Çevik.

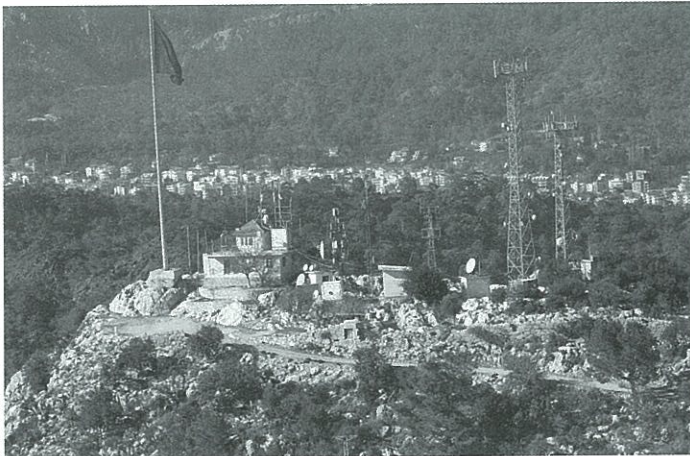


Fig. 16 Kemer – Çalışdağ. Aerial photo: Bulut.

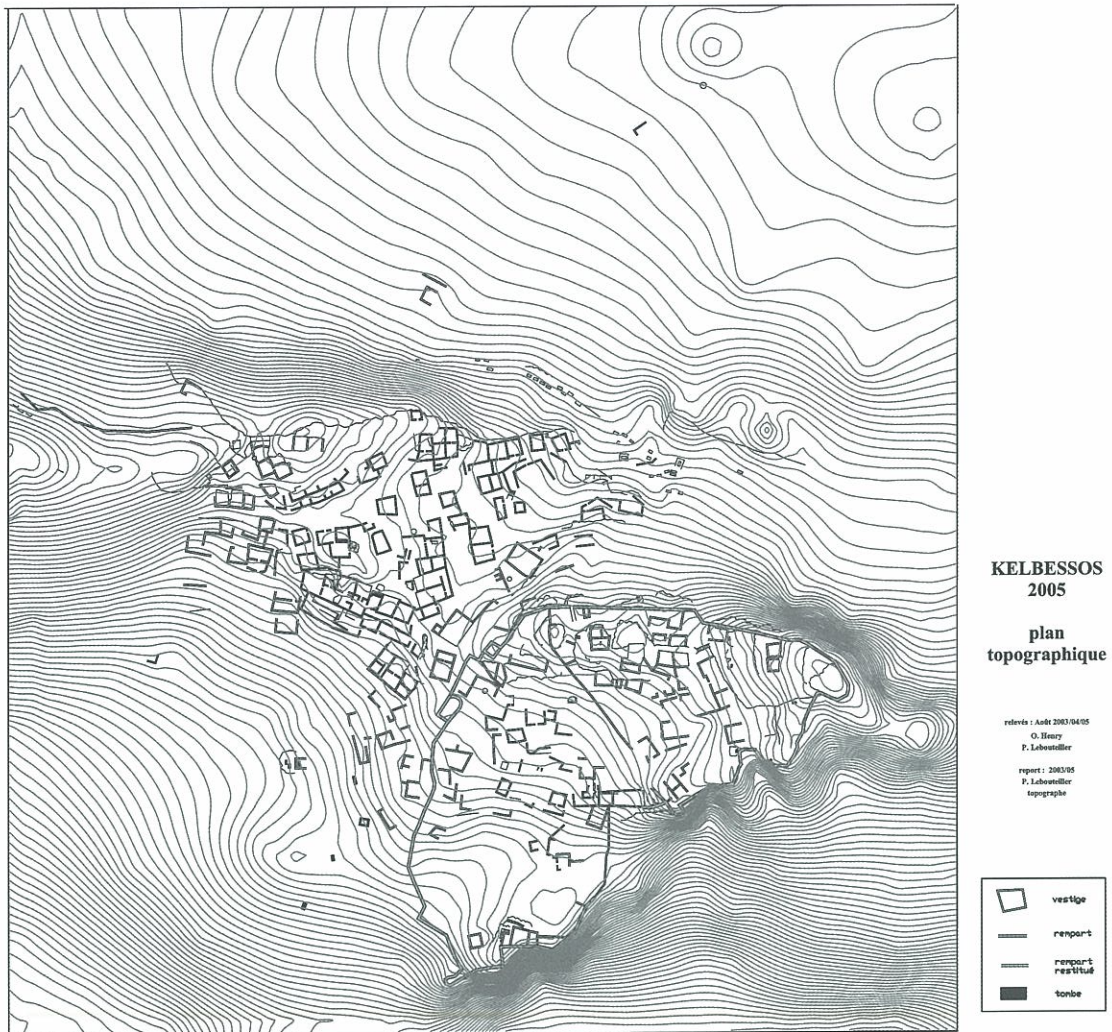


Fig. 19 Kelbessos. City map: P. Labotuiet.



Fig. 20 Kelbessos. Aerial photo: Çevik.

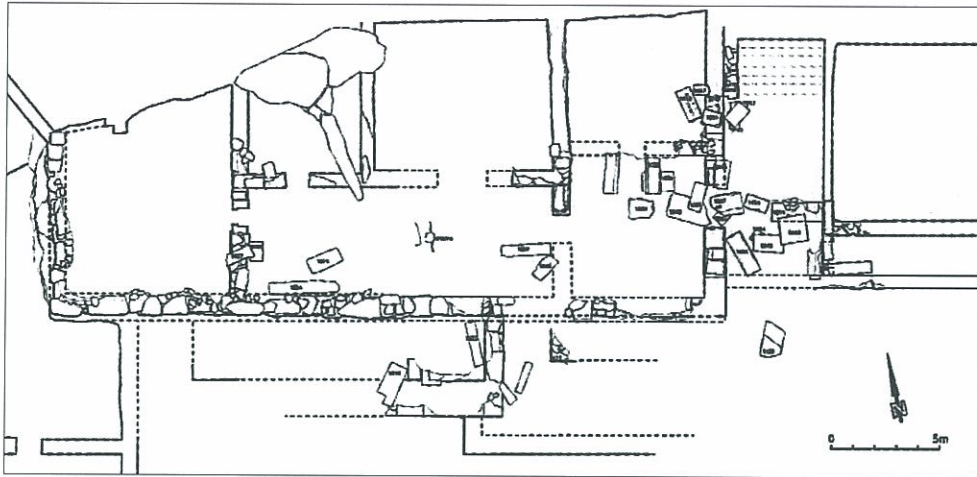


Fig. 21 Kelbessos. Principia. Plan: O. Henry.

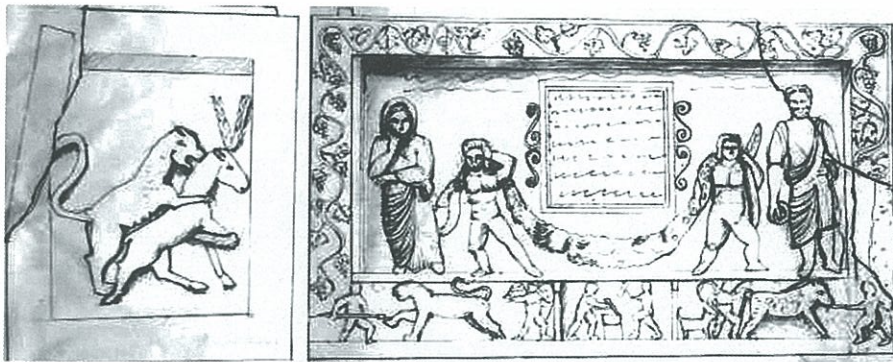


Fig. 22 Kelbessos. Sarcophagus. Drawing: B. Özdilek.

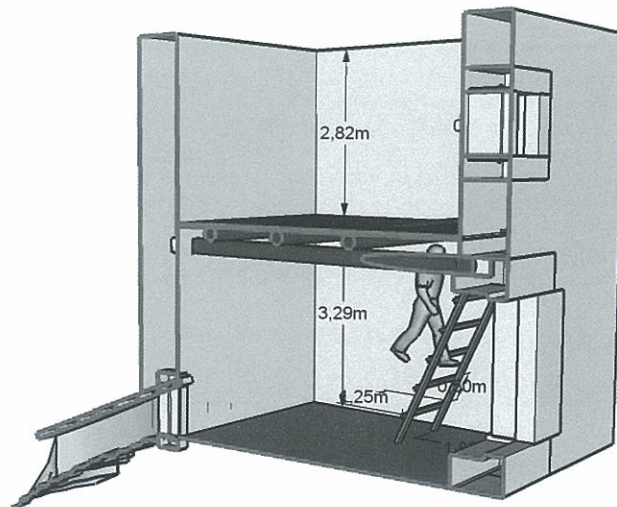


Fig. 23 Belen. Farmstead with tower. 3D cross-section: Afşin.



Fig. 24 The Termessian 2nd century B.C. coin found at Kelbessos. Photo: Tıbıkoğlu.



Fig. 25 Güzle. Roman 3rd century A.D. coin. Photo: Akalın.

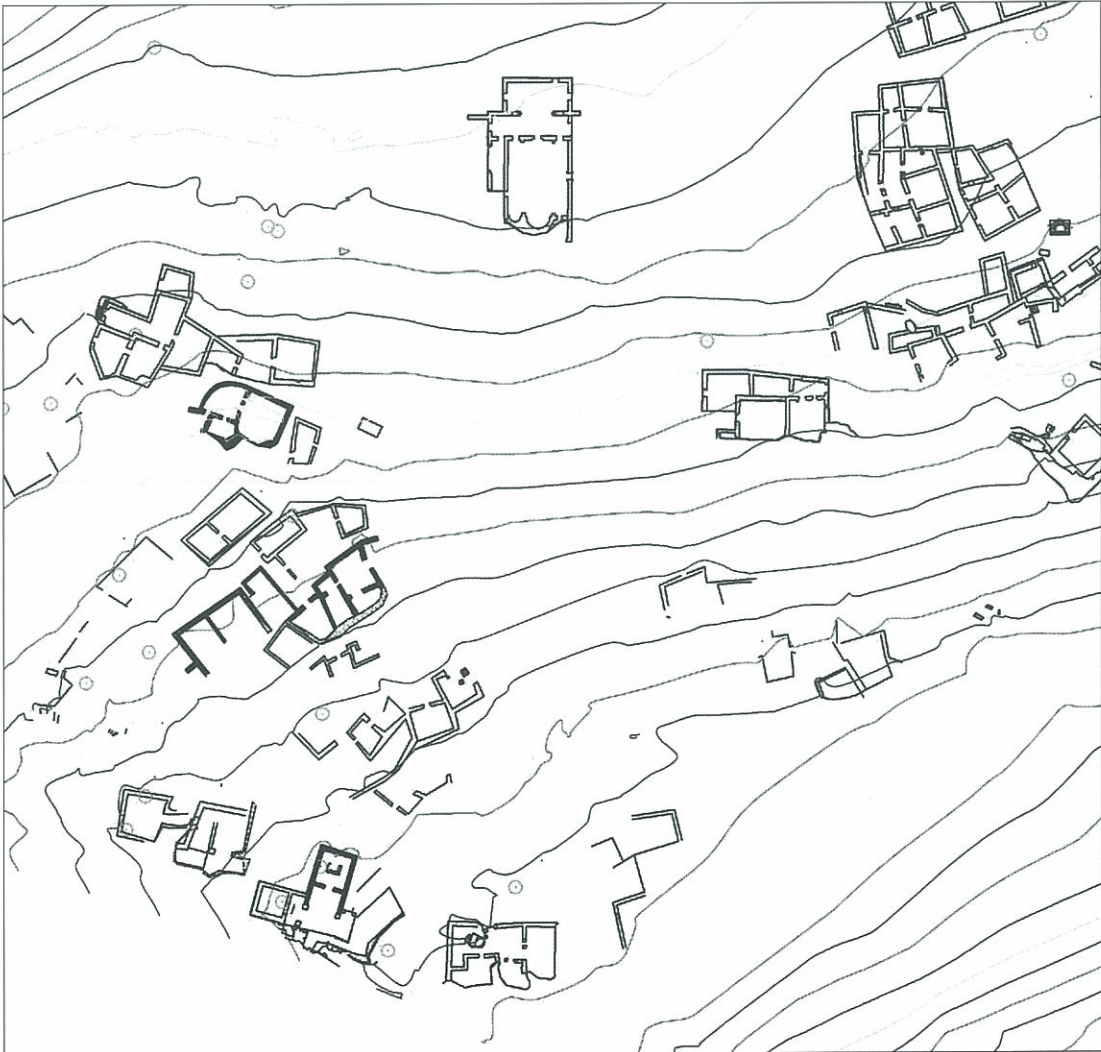


Fig. 26 Neapolis. City map: Çevik – Akalın – Çoşgun.

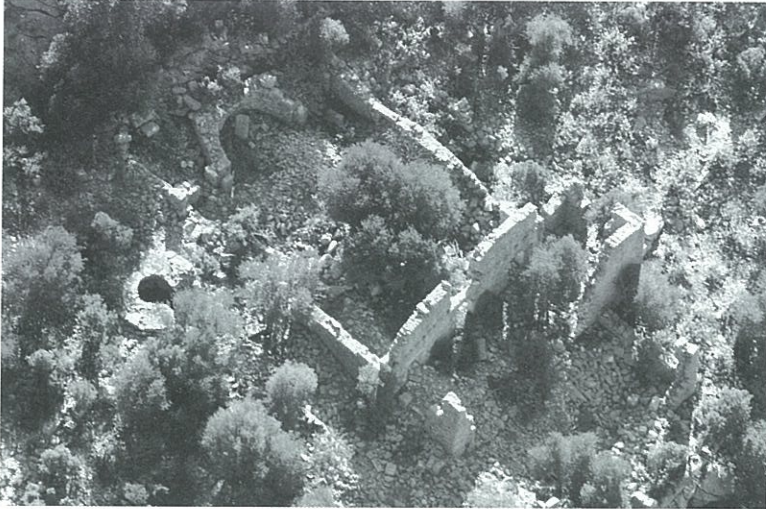


Fig. 27
Neapolis. Church.
Aerial photo: Kızgut.

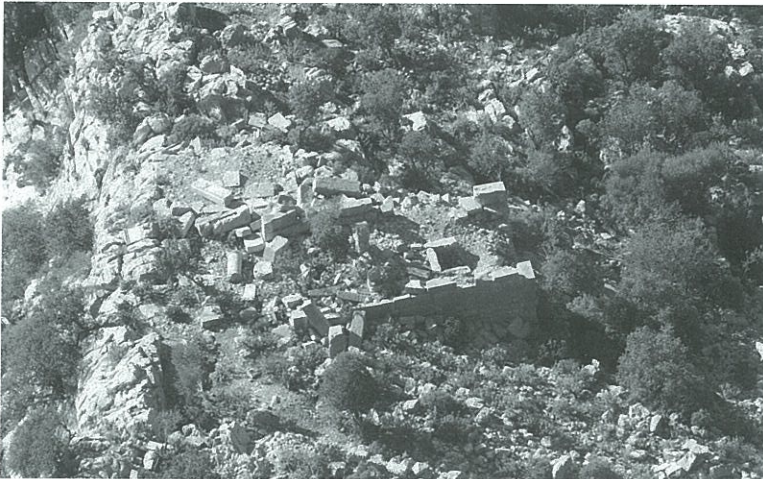


Fig. 28
Neapolis. Temple of Artemis
and Dionysos.
Aerial photo: Çevik.



Fig. 29
Neapolis. A sarcophagus.
Freehand Drw. T. M. P. Duggan.



Fig. 30
Neapolis. Terrace housing.
Freehand Drw. T. M. P. Duggan.



Fig. 31
Neapolis. A terrace house.
Freehand Drw. T. M. P. Duggan.

