

22 2019

ISSN 1301-2746

ADALYA

The Annual of the Koç University Suna & İnan Kıraç Research Center
for Mediterranean Civilizations

(OFFPRINT)



AKMED

KOÇ UNIVERSITY

Suna & İnan Kıraç

Research Center for

Mediterranean Civilizations

ADALYA

The Annual of the Koç University Suna & İnan Kırac Research Center
for Mediterranean Civilizations (AKMED)

Adalya, a peer reviewed publication, is indexed in the A&HCI
(Arts & Humanities Citation Index) and CC/A&H (Current Contents /
Arts & Humanities)
Adalya is also indexed in the Social Sciences and Humanities Database of
TÜBİTAK/ULAKBİM TR index and EBSCO.

<i>Mode of publication</i>	Worldwide periodical
<i>Publisher certificate number</i>	18318
ISSN	1301-2746
<i>Publisher management</i>	Koç University Rumelifeneri Yolu, 34450 Sarıyer / İstanbul
<i>Publisher</i>	Umran Savaş İnan, President, on behalf of Koç University
<i>Editor-in-chief</i>	Oğuz Tekin
<i>Editor</i>	Tarkan Kahya
<i>Assistant Editor</i>	Arif Yacı
<i>English copyediting</i>	Michael D. Sheridan Mark Wilson
<i>Editorial Advisory Board</i>	(Members serve for a period of five years) Prof. Dr. Engin Akyürek, Koç University (2018-2022) Prof. Dr. Mustafa Adak, Akdeniz University (2018-2022) Prof. Dr. Nicholas D. Cahill, University of Wisconsin-Madison (2018-2022) Prof. Dr. Charlotte Roueché, Emerita, King's College London (2019-2023) Prof. Dr. Edhem Eldem, Boğaziçi University / Collège de France (2018-2022) Prof. Dr. Mehmet Özdoğan, Emeritus, Istanbul University (2016-2020) Prof. Dr. C. Brian Rose, University of Pennsylvania (2018-2022) Prof. Dr. Christof Schuler, DAI München (2017-2021) Prof. Dr. R. R. R. Smith, University of Oxford (2016-2020)
©	Koç University AKMED, 2019
<i>Production</i>	Zero Production Ltd. Abdullah Sok. No. 17 Taksim 34433 İstanbul Tel: +90 (212) 244 75 21 • Fax: +90 (212) 244 32 09 info@zerobooksonline.com; www.zerobooksonline.com
<i>Printing</i>	Oksijen Basım ve Matbaacılık San. Tic. Ltd. Şti. 100. Yıl Mah. Matbaacılar Sit. 2. Cad. No: 202/A Bağcılar - İstanbul Tel: +90 (212) 325 71 25 • Fax: +90 (212) 325 61 99 Certificate number: 29487
<i>Mailing address</i>	Barbaros Mah. Kocatepe Sok. No. 22 Kaleiçi 07100 Antalya - TURKEY Tel: +90 (242) 243 42 74 • Fax: +90 (242) 243 80 13 https://akmed.ku.edu.tr
<i>E-mail address</i>	akmed@ku.edu.tr



KOÇ ÜNİVERSİTESİ



AKMED

KOÇ UNIVERSITY

Suna & İnan Kırac

Research Center for

Mediterranean Civilizations

Contents

Ralf Becks – Betül Fındık <i>New Middle Paleolithic Finds from the Lake District</i>	1
İrfan Deniz Yaman <i>Prehistoric Paintings in the Keçe Cave (Kahramanmaraş-Elbistan)</i>	11
Taner Korkut – Turan Takaoğlu – Kudret Sezgin <i>Pre-Classical Habitation at Tlos, Lycia</i>	25
Güzel Öztürk <i>Post-Akkadian and Ur III Features on Cylinder Seals from Kültepe-Kanesh: An Iconographic and Stylistic Analysis</i>	45
Tevfik Emre Şerifoğlu <i>Kilise Tepe in Rough Cilicia before the Late Bronze Age: An Overview of the Architecture, Pottery Traditions, and Cultural Contacts</i>	69
Aslıhan Yurtsever Beyazıt <i>New Assessments of the Middle and Late Bronze Age Pottery Recovered in the First Excavation Period at Tilmen Höyük</i>	101
Claudia Devoto <i>Some Remarks on the Chronology of the First Coins of Knossos, Crete</i>	145
İnci Türkoğlu <i>Civic Coinage of Keramos in Caria</i>	167
Tetiana Shevchenko <i>Attributes of the Mother of the Gods on Terracottas from Olbia Pontike and Asia Minor</i>	201
Julian Bennett <i>The Annexation of Galatia Reviewed</i>	223
Fatih Onur <i>An Investigation around Kragos in Lycia: The Question of Sidyma and Kalabatia</i>	259
Havva İşkan – Şevket Aktaş <i>Überlegungen zu einem Artemis-Relief aus Patara</i>	297
Fatma Avcu – Hüseyin Uzunoglu <i>The Ancient Roads and Routes around Sidyma and New Inscriptions from its Vicinity</i>	319
Emel Erten – Emine Akkuş Koçak <i>Glass Finds from the Monastery at Olba</i>	345

Ahmet Dönmez	
<i>The Role of James Brant in the Process of Structural Changes in British Consulates</i>	363
Fatma Şimşek	
<i>The Role of the Islands and Islanders in the Illegal Felling and Smuggling of Timber from the Ottoman Mediterranean and Aegean Coastlines in the 19th C.</i>	381
Mine Esmer	
<i>Evaluating Repairs and Interventions of the Fethiye Camii through the Perspective of Contemporary Conservation Ethics and Principles</i>	401

The Ancient Roads and Routes around Sidyma and New Inscriptions from its Vicinity

Fatma AVCU – Hüseyin UZUNOĞLU*

Abstract

In this contribution, we introduce the Xanthos-Sidyma road on the basis of its physical remains, which were found and topographical observations made during the course of field surveys conducted in 2017–2018 within the framework of the Monumentum Patarense (MP). The article focusses upon why there is no connection recorded on the monument between Sidyma and Pinara, despite the fact that these were neighbouring settlements. In this respect, we investigate the issue of whether the connection recorded in the MP between Xanthos and Sidyma took the northern or southern course. It is suggested in the article that it must have been the northern course, due to the two (or possibly three) new milestones and other ancient artefacts discovered at Dereboğaz Mevkii. One of the milestones (no. 1) is dated to the reign of Commodus and records that the restoration of the roads was accomplished under the superintendence of the proconsul C. Pomponius Bassus Terentianus. This milestone was used in the 1st Tetrarchic Period (no. 1b). The other milestone likewise belongs to the 1st Tetrarchic Period (no. 2), but lacks any mile information. Also presented are six inscribed funerary altars, from both the Fethiye Museum and from various villages around Sidyma (such as Seki, Ge, etc.) as well as one early Christian metrical building inscription concerning a hospital.

Keywords: Monumentum Patarense-Stadius Patarenensis; Roman road; Sidyma; Xanthos; Pinara; milestones, funerary inscriptions, iatreion and xenodokheion.

Öz

Bu makalede, Monumentum Patarense çerçevesinde 2017-2018 yıllarında gerçekleştirilen yüzey araştırmalarında elde edilen maddi buluntular ve topografik gözlemler ışığında Ksanthos-Sidyma yol bağlantısı tanıtılmakta ve birbirine komşu kentler olmasına rağmen Sidyma ve Pinara arasında anıtta neden yol bağlantısı verilmediği sorunu tartışılmaktadır. Bu bağlamda, ilk olarak MP'de kaydedilen Ksanthos-Sidyma yolunun güney istikametten mi yoksa kuzey istikametten mi geçtiği konusu ele alınmıştır. Dereboğaz mevkiinde bulunan 2 (ya da 3?) yeni miltaşı ve çeşitli antik buluntular anıtın kuzeyden giden yolu kaydettiğinin önemli bir işaretidir. Bu miltaşlarından ilki (no. 1a) Commodus Dönemi'nden olup yolların onarımının Vali C. Pomponius Bassus Terentianus denetiminde gerçekleştirildiği bilgisini vermektedir. Bu miltaşı (no. 1b), I. Tetrarkhlar Dönemi'nde tekrar kullanılmıştır. Diğer miltaşı da (no. 2) benzer şekilde I. Tetrarkhlar Dönemi'nden olup diğeri gibi mesafe bildiri taşımamaktadır. Makalede, ayrıca Sidyma ve civarındaki çeşitli köylerde (Seki, Ge) ve ayrıca Fethiye Müzesi'nde kayıt altına aldığımız 6 adet mezar yazıtı ve son olarak da Hıristiyanlık Dönemi'nden bir hastaneye ait ve zinli bir inşa yazıtı tanıtılmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Monumentum Patarense-Stadius Patarenensis; Roma yolu; Sidyma; Ksanthos; Pinara; miltaşları; mezar yazıtları; iatreion ve ksenodokheion.

* Arş. Gör. Fatma Avcu, Akdeniz Üniversitesi, Edebiyat Fakültesi, Eskiçağ Dilleri ve Kültürleri Bölümü 07058 Antalya. E-mail: fatmaavcu@akdeniz.edu.tr ; <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-9196-239X>

Dr. Hüseyin Uzunoglu, Akdeniz Üniversitesi, Edebiyat Fakültesi, Eskiçağ Dilleri ve Kültürleri Bölümü 07058 Antalya. E-mail: huseyinuzunoglu@gmail.com ; <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7707-4647>

Since 2004, field surveys of the road network in Lycia have been conducted on the basis of the Monumentum Patarense (hereafter MP), also known as the Stadiasmus Patarenensis. This forms part of a project that aims to determine the ancient roads and routes in Lycia and Pamphylia and to evaluate the epigraphical and archaeological material attesting the presence of these roads and routes.¹ In this context, a part of the field surveys conducted in 2017 and 2018 was dedicated to the area around Sidyma. Our aim was to determine the course of the roads from Xanthos to Sidyma and then from Sidyma to another destination, whose name has not survived on the MP. We also visited several hamlets around Sidyma, including Bel, Ge, Seki, Kızılcıca, Dereboğazi, Boğaziçi, and Avlan, as well as İzzetinköy, Ekincik, and Belen in the direction of Pinara (see fig. 25). New inscriptions discovered in some of these places are also introduced in this paper. The hamlet of Bel has been excluded, as it is being investigated separately by F. Onur in this volume.

I. Description of the Remains in the Field

A. Roads and routes

There are four connections to Sidyma: 1) from the south, passing through Kumluova, Karadere, and Dodurga; this is a connection between Xanthos and Sidyma, providing a convenient route reaching the Letoon and the sea via Pydnaï; 2) from the north, passing through Gölbent and Dereboğazi and finally reaching Sidyma through the gorge just to the northeast of the ancient site; 3) from the south-southwest, leading from Bel;² and 4) from the northwest, on the connection between Sancaklı port and Sidyma that was investigated by B. Takmer.³ Since the third connection is now under investigation and the last has already been studied and published, the southern and northern connections are the foci of this paper.

1. The road between Sidyma and Xanthos: Southern route (Dodurga – Karadere – Kumluova – Kınık)

The ancient southern route from Sidyma leading to Xanthos passes through Gözlükuyu Mahallesi, the localities of Koliçi and Belencik, the Karadere Valley, Karadere Pass, Karadere, Kumluova (Letoon), and Orta Mahallesi, finally reaching Xanthos by crossing the ancient bridge to the southwest of the city (see fig. 25). The only surviving parts of this road that are still visible lie to the southeast of Sidyma in the direction of Gözlükuyu, right below the

This contribution is a result of field surveys conducted on the ancient roads of Lycia and directed by the late Prof. S. Şahin through 2014, then by Prof. N.E. Akyürek Şahin through 2017, and thereafter by Assoc. Prof. F. Onur, with permission from the Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism. These field surveys have been supported by the Akdeniz University Scientific Research Projects Coordination Unit (Project nos.: SBA-2015-937 and SBA-2016-1675) and by the Koç University Suna & İnan Kırac Research Center for Mediterranean Civilizations (Project no: KU AKMED 2018/P.1016) from 2015 onwards. We owe a debt of gratitude to both Prof. Dr. N.E. Akyürek Şahin and Assoc. Prof. Dr. F. Onur, who gave permission to publish the materials of the field survey. We also would like to thank the director of the Fethiye Museum, E. Özkan, for her permission to work on the epigraphic material transported from Sidyma and its environs to the museum. We further thank T.M.P. Duggan (Antalya), Dr. S. Wallace (Dublin), and M. Chin (DPhil., Oxford) for improving the English of this paper, and E. Berberoğlu (Antalya) for preparing the map. We also thank two anonymous reviewers for their many insightful comments and suggestions. Naturally, we are responsible for any remaining errors.

¹ Şahin – Adak 2007; Şahin 2014. The results of the ongoing survey have been regularly published. For a selection of the publications, see Onur 2015; Onur 2016a; Onur 2016b; and Onur 2016c.

² R3 is investigated in a special study by F. Onur, who claims that this road was to the ancient settlement in Bel, employing new evidence obtained from our field research in 2017 and 2018.

³ Takmer 2010, 113–14.

modern road and on the southern slope of Mount Meşeli after Koliçi and Belencik in the plain to the south of Gözlükuyu (fig. 1).

The milestones found near Özlen at the southern end of Karadere Valley are dated to AD 293–305 and were erected by the Xanthians.⁴ They confirm the existence of an ancient road passing through the Karadere Valley and also indicate that Xanthian territory extended to the point where these milestones were found.

2. The road between Sidyma and Xanthos: Northern route (Dodurga – Dereboğazi – Gölbent – Kınık)

A second road between Sidyma and Xanthos took a northern course. An ancient road starting from the northeastern end of the Sidyma necropolis and leading through the valley to the northeast before finally joining the modern road of Dodurga is still traceable to a great extent (fig. 2). Remarkably, this section of the road still bears the marks of ancient construction, which presumably indicates that the road remained in use until recently.

The road then reaches a junction where an Ottoman cistern is situated by the modern road. Apart from this road, three modern roads meet at this junction, one of which leads in the direction of İzzetinköy, perhaps reaching Pinara via Ekincik and Belen. This route could not be followed due to the difficult terrain, and it seems to have changed remarkably, leaving no ancient traces and only being passable on foot in certain sections. However, the MP does not record a road between Sidyma and Pinara, a vexing question that is discussed below. Another route from this junction leads to the west, in the direction of the hamlets of Boğaziçi and Avlan, and finally reaches Sidyma's port, located at Sancaklı and previously identified with ancient Kalabatia: this is a localization reviewed by F. Onur in in this volume. The third route from the aforementioned junction seems to have been the main route running from Sidyma in antiquity, and it extends towards the east in the direction of Dereboğazi. The new milestones and several other ancient material remains in the old Turkish cemetery of the hamlet of Dereboğazi⁵ show that in antiquity the course of this main road from Sidyma to the Xanthian Valley passed through Dereboğazi Pass parallel to the Koca Dere, taking an eastern course. This was the case from the Ottoman period to the present, as indicated by the cisterns built in the Dereboğazi Pass. The road would then have forked in two, with one fork leading to Xanthos and the other to Pinara, although we were unable to discover any definite traces of the ancient road after the Dereboğazi Pass.

3. The northern section of the road between Pinara and Xanthos

In 2018 another road between Pinara and Xanthos was studied, with some detailed field observations being made. From our observations, we determined that this road conceivably leads from Pinara via Yakabağ, Esen, and Gölbent to Xanthos (see fig. 25). This road connection is important in understanding the reason why a road between Sidyma and Pinara was not recorded in the MP (see below). An ancient road starts from the southern necropolis of Pinara and leads, after 400–500 m, southeast to a place called Güvercintaşı, a small rocky mountain pass. In this pass, the steps of the ancient road remain visible today (fig. 3). The ancient route, following an eastern-east-southern course, leads to Bahçebaşı before reaching Yakabağ. In Bahçebaşı there is a rock-cut relief depicting a soldier with a spear and six men (fig. 4), and

⁴ TAM II, no. 257–258

⁵ See below, nos. 1a/b.

ca. 20–30 m to the northeast of this relief another example of the road's steps were recorded.⁶ After Yakabağ the ancient road most probably passed through Eşen and Gölbent by crossing the ancient bridge to the southwest of the city to reach Xanthos. No traces of the ancient road were found in this section.

During our field survey the mountainous area between Pinara and Sidyma was also investigated in detail, and as a result several ancient ruins—including blocks, columns, and the building stones of a door—were recorded in Ekincik, a small settlement to the west of the village of Yakabağ. On the western side of Ekincik there is also a rock-cut tomb probably dating from the Classical Period. This small settlement might indicate that there was a road connection between Pinara and Sidyma, a route through the mountains to the west of the Xanthian Valley, perhaps via İzzettinköy (see above).

B. Other ancient remains found in the hamlets around Sidyma

In 2018, apart from Dereboğazi, several ancient remains were recorded around Sidyma and its vicinity. The Kızılca and Seki villages, ca. 5 km away from Sidyma, were visited. To the northeast, neighbouring the Kızılca cemetery, there are 2 cisterns and the ruins of a church (fig. 6). The main apse is 15 x 10 m in length, and the north apse is visible. At Seki, in the village square, we recorded a large hypaethral cistern, with many large and small cisterns seen around it (fig. 5). One *chamatorion* and 2 press stones (figs. 7–8) were found on the northern side of the village, while on the northwestern side were the remains of an illegally dug and destroyed ancient tomb (fig. 9). Another *chamatorion* on the western side of the Seki cemetery, this one with a lid (fig. 10), as well as several ancient blocks within the same cemetery were also recorded. In the district of Ahırlı in the village of Seki we recorded the base of a building consisting of many rooms. In the district of Ortadişönü, we found a farm complex and a stone press with a cross carved on it. In the districts of Baldıranlı, Kaklıkalan, Bekirdişi, Çamyani, and Yazdıardın on the southern hillside in the village of Seki were many blocks and ruins, indicating a farm complex. No trace of a road from this point could be found. In the district of Yel Değirmeni in the village of Seki, we recorded a possible checkpoint or patrol station, situated on a large area and with a view of both Sidyma's acropolis and the entrance to Dereboğazi. This station would have had command over the direction of the Gölbent valley.

II. Results and Commentary on the Roads and Settlements

1. The road from Xanthos to Sidyma in MP

The section relating to this part is recorded in lines 10–11 of Face B, as based on the edition by Şahin:⁷

l. 10 (R2): ἀπὸ Ξάν[θου εἰς Σίδυμα ρ' στ]άδια ρ' ρδ' *From Xanthos to Sidyma 104 stades*
(= ca. 19, 25 km)

From the observations made above, there are two possible routes for the road connection between Xanthos and Sidyma. One is the southern route (Dodurga – Karadere – Kumluova – Kınık), and the other is northern route (Dodurga – Dereboğazi – Gölbent – Kınık). The distance of both routes seems to correspond to the distance recorded on the monument. In regards to this road connection, Şahin reported as follows:

⁶ See also Schweyer 1996, 23 and figs. 8–10.

⁷ Şahin 2014, 124.

If the *via Claudia* passed through Karadere, the given distance was correct. The milestones, found at Özlen in the entrance of Karadere valley, were erected by the Xanthians for the Tetrarchies (293–305 AD). In 2006 this route was investigated by our team and the existence of an ancient road was determined on the western slopes of the Avdancık Mountain. The ancient road splits in two directions around Bel. One leads in a northern direction passing through the pass between the Avdancık mountain and the Avdan hill and reaches Sidyma on the southern side via Gözkuyu; while the other leads towards the northwest climbing a steep slope by zigzags to Bel and reaches the city through the western side of the rock tombs, mentioned in TAM II, no. 244, and the northern foothill of Avdan Hill. This route should be the course of the road between Xanthos and Sidyma.⁸

To determine which route was measured on the Pataran monument, both the circumstances of the road list and observations made in the field were evaluated. The southern route is extremely important because it is connected to the Letoon, the religious centre of the Lycian League. The Letoon is located ca. 4 km southwest of Xanthos and 4 km from the sea, near a small modern settlement called Kumluova. The Letoon functioned as a central temple of the Lycian League during the Hellenistic period and doubtlessly maintained its importance during the Roman period as well. The road connections from the surrounding cities to the Letoon were necessary in any case, because it was an important cult and congregation centre of the Lycians. However, the distance recorded on the monument was most probably measured by the northern route, considering that the routes Xanthos – Letoon – Pydnai or Sidyma – Letoon – Pydnai must have already been in good condition before the Claudian period, due to the significance of the Letoon, and may not even have required any major renovation or restoration work. This would suggest that it was not the route listed on the MP. The fact that the southern route must have been very busy—being a road employed for religious and trading purposes (since the road was also associated with Pydnai, the port of Xanthos)—also suggests that the road given in the MP was measured following the northern route. Moreover, the high quality of the road, as well as the milestones found in the cemetery of Dereboğazi (some mentioning an extensive road renovation during the reign of Commodus⁹) also record the significance of the northern route. If this was the case, this may explain the absence of the road between Sidyma and Pinara on the MP.

2. *The absence of a road between Sidyma and Pinara in the Monumentum Patarense*

The MP does not list road connections between certain cities, even though some of these were adjacent, as was the case between Sidyma and Pinara. These absences can mostly be explained by the contiguity of the settlements and territorial matters,¹⁰ although some may have been due to topographical-geographical reasons. In some instances, as between Sidyma and Pinara, other road connections between the surrounding cities should be taken into consideration. In our case, the road connection between Xanthos and Sidyma acquires special importance. If the course between Sidyma and Xanthos given in the MP took the northern route as proposed above, it is highly possible that anyone travelling from Sidyma to Pinara could have taken the road between Xanthos and Pinara through Dereboğazi and then joined this road, perhaps via

⁸ Şahin 2014, 136–37.

⁹ See below, no. 1a.

¹⁰ On the MP the roads are given mostly between adjacent settlements, and it is a fact that each road on the MP led only through the territories of the settlements associated with it; see in detail Onur 2016a.

Gölbent. In this case, the northern road, leading from Sidyma, would have reached Xanthian territory via Gölbent, and then taken the course between Xanthos and Pinara recorded on the monument, thus arriving at Pinara. The fact that the main road between Sidyma and Pinara in all likelihood passed through Xanthian territory and that the northern and eastern sections of the Xanthos – Sidyma and Xanthos – Pinara roads constitute a junction point, thereby forming the Sidyma-Pinara route by itself, must have been evident, so there was no practical need to list any other route on the MP. Furthermore, it would have been difficult to build a road on the rugged, mountainous terrain between Sidyma and Pinara, which would explain why the Xanthos – Pinara road, which leads through the valley, was used.

The monument presents various similar cases. For instance, on the MP there are no road connections given between Tlos and Neisa (although they seem to have been adjacent) due to the road between Tlos and Xanthos, which is given as a direct connection in the text without mention of Arsada, which must have lain on this route. This would suggest that it was most probably a part of the territory of Tlos, at least in the early empire. Furthermore, the topography between Tlos and Neisa is unsuitable for road construction. The mountain Yumru Dağı, 2700 m high, is quite steep and obstructs any road that would pass through. In order to reach Neisa from Tlos, one would have had to first take the northern part of the road between Xanthos and Tlos, and then the eastern part of the road between Xanthos and Neisa, both already recorded on the monument, perhaps meeting somewhere after Duman Spring/Duman Pass. There are some traces of an ancient road to the north of Duman Pass in the direction of Tlos,¹¹ which may indicate a secondary road. But this does not mean that the MP indicates that this was the only road between Tlos and Neisa. In practical terms, the monument was not designed in order to facilitate the planning of journeys. It probably simply reflects the fact that, for various reasons mentioned above, no road was constructed between these cities. The absence of a road connection between Patara and Neisa in the MP is another, although slightly different, example. It was observed that there was in fact a road connecting these two cities,¹² as also shown on the Tabula Peutingeriana,¹³ which created an important connection for transport into Mylias. One of the basic reasons for the absence of such a connection on the monument was that there was apparently no road building for this route within the scope of the construction program presented on the MP. This probably indicates the non-adjacency of the cities, at least in terms of road connections, presumably implying that a part of Xanthian territory lay on this route, including most probably the small village called Lengüme/Çamlıova. On the southwestern edge of this plain there is a Tetrarchic milestone, of which only the lower part with the indication of the distance (16 miles) has survived. Onur concluded that the distance on this milestone was not from Xanthos, as had previously been thought, but from Patara, whose territory consequently seems to have extended to this point.¹⁴

It is quite likely that the absence of listed road connections between some adjacent *poleis*, as is the case for Sidyma and Pinara, indicates that no roads were constructed or renovated between them. This is due either to the fact that the terrain was unsuitable, or that roads had already been constructed or renovated between other nearby cities within the framework of the MP, with parts of these roads already forming connections between the adjacent *poleis* and consequently entering into the territories of the other cities. If the course between Sidyma and

¹¹ Onur 2016b, 214–15.

¹² Onur 2016b.

¹³ Tab. Peut. 10.2.

¹⁴ Onur 2016b, 215–17.

Xanthos given on the MP had taken the northern route, as we suggest here, then the first part of the road from Sidyma in the direction of Pinara could have followed the western section of the road between Sidyma and Xanthos; that is, until somewhere near Gölbent to the east of Sidyma. The second part of the road in the same direction would then have traced the route that forms the northern part of the road between Xanthos and Pinara. This suggests that the eastern end of Dereboğazı Pass—which is called the Uzundubar (“Long Wall”) district and lies on the natural border between the Xanthian Valley and the mountainous terrain to the west—might have formed the territorial border between Sidyma and Xanthos. Such a case would presumably explain why there was no road between Sidyma and Pinara listed on the MP, since an automatic connection seems to have been formed, and thus there was no need to build or renovate another road within the framework of the Claudian road construction programme.

III. New Inscriptions

No. 1: Milestone of C. Pomponius Bassus Terentianus (figs. 11–12)

Cylindrical in shape with the upper part broken. Limestone. Findspot: Dereboğaz Cemetery; H.: 54 cm; Diam.: 42 cm; Lh: 3–3.5 cm

a.

- 01 [[Αὐτοκράτορι Καίσαρι]
 02 [[Μάρκῳ Αὐρηλίῳ Κομμόδῳ]
 03 [[Αντωνείῳ]] [Σεβαστῷ Γερμα-
 νικῷ Σαρματικῷ μεγ[ίστῳ]
 Βρεταννικῷ Σιδυ[μέων]
 ἡ πόλις καθιέρωσεν π[ρο-]
 4 νοησαμένου τῶν ὁδ[ῶ]ν
 τοῦ κρατίστου ἀνθυπάτου
 Γαίου Πομπωνίου Βάσσου
 Τερεντιάνου

Translation: *The city of the Sidymaens dedicated (this milestone) to [the emperor M. Aurelius Commodus Antoninus] Augustus, Germanicus, Sarmaticus maximus, Britannicus. The mightiest proconsul C. Pomponius Bassus Terentianus oversaw (the restoration) of the roads.*

L. 5–7: C. Pomponius Bassus Terentianus was the proconsul of Lycia and Pamphylia most probably in AD 186–187: see Rémy 1989, 317; Leunissen 1989, 151; 277–78; Mennen 2011, 118. Cf. further Marek 2010, 851, who dates his governorship between 185 and 192. Aside from this new inscription, the governor is only mentioned once elsewhere, again in Sidyma, in TAM II, no. 175. Under the reign of Commodus, a *gerousia* composed of 51 *bouletai* and 50 *demotai* (commoners) was established and the city asked the governor Terentianus to ratify the decree passed by their council and the ecclesia, which was refused by the governor on the grounds that the degree did not require any ratification; see lines 4–8: διὰ τὴν τοῦ κρατίστου ἀνθυπάτου Γαίου Πομπωνίου Βά[σ]σου Τερεντιανοῦ περὶ τὰς πόλεις αὔξησιν καὶ ἡ ἡμετέρα πόλις ἐψηφίσατο σύστημα γεροντικὸν κατὰ τὸν νόμον ἐννόμου βουλῆς καὶ ἐκκλησίας ἀγομένης, ἔδοξεν γραφῆναι ψηφίσμα τῷ κρατίστῳ ἀνθυπάτῳ δι’ οὗ παρακληθῆναι καὶ αὐτὸν συνεπικυρῶσαι τὴν τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου κρίσιν; lines 10–12: Πομπῳ(νιος) Βάσσος ἀνθύ(πατος) Σιδυμέων ἄρχουσι βουλῆ δῆμῳ χαίρειν· τὰ καλῶς γεινόμενα ἐπαινέσθαι μᾶλλον προσήκει ἢ κυροῦσθαι· ἔχει γὰρ τὸ βέβαιο[ν] ἀφ’ ἑαυτῶν· On the *gerousia* of Sidyma, see Oliver 1958, 477–78 and Takmer 2010, 108–9.

L. 3–4: π[ρο]νοησαμένου τῶν ὁδ[ῶ]ν: After π[ρο]νοησαμένου, τῆς κατασκευῆς or τῆς ἐπισκευῆς would normally be expected, but here this detail is omitted. The role of the Roman governors in provincial construction or restoration activities as overseers or superintendents is mostly expressed through various formulas, such as διὰ τοῦ δεινὸς πρεσβευτοῦ καὶ ἀντιστρατήγου τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ / ἀνθυπάτου, or simply by employing the verbs ἐπιμελέομαι, ἐπιστατέω or, as in our example, προνοέω in a typical genitive absolute construction; see Winter 1996, 149–55, in particular 153–55. As far as we could determine, the use of προνοέω in relation to the roads or milestones is attested here for the first time, at least in Asia Minor. On the other hand, its Latin equivalent, *curare*, is quite prevalent.

Due to the plural usage of the ὁδός, meaning that we are dealing here with at least two road connections, these lines apparently show that an extensive repair or restoration was undertaken on the road network around Sidyma. On the basis of the milestone's findspot, we can say that one of them is obviously R. 4, namely the Xanthos-Sidyma connection, whilst the other(s) remain unknown. As discussed above, there must have been two different roads connecting Xanthos and Sidyma, and there is the possibility that the expression τῶν ὁδ[ῶ]ν may be related to this. This is quite an important document insofar as it is the second epigraphic attestation of any kind of repair or renovation work concerning the roads in Lycia after the provincialization of the region by Claudius in AD 41 and the major road construction and renovation activity completed by his legate Q. Veranius (see Şahin 2014, *passim*; Marksteiner and Wörrle 2002); the first such epigraphic attestation comes from Patara. According to a new text that will be published soon by Chr. Schuler in the Gedenkschrift for Peter Herrmann, the governor S. Marcius Priscus initiated extensive repair work after a severe earthquake which struck Lycia in AD 69 (Schuler, forthcoming; cf. also the preliminary report: Schuler, Zimmermann and Lepke 2017, 58). Until now, no milestone known dating to before the Severan period was known in Lycia, yet the picture has now changed as a result of this new stone, which joins the new milestone of the Vespasianic period discovered in Patara (see above) as thus far the earliest milestone to be recorded in Lycia.

Date: AD 186–187

- b.** The reverse of the stone was later reused and a new milestone was carved. This side of the stone is highly weathered and the letters are difficult to read. Lh: 3–3.5 cm (fig. 13)

It reads:

- 001 [Ἀὐτοκράτορσιν Καίσαρ-]
 002 [σιν Γ(αίω) Οὐαλερίω]
 003 [Διοκλητιανῶ καὶ]
 [Μά]ρ(κω) Αὐρ(ηλίω) Οὐα[λ(ερίω)]
 [Μαξιμια]ν[ῶ εὐσεβ(έσιν) ε]ὔ-
 [τυχ]έ[σιν Σ]εββ(αστοῖς)
 4 [καὶ Φλ(αουίω)] Ο[ὐ]α[λ(ερίω) Κ]ωνσ-
 [ταν]τίω [καὶ] Γαλ(ερίω)
 [Μαξιμιανῶ ἐπιφ(ανεστάτοις) Καίσαρ]σιν
 [Σιδυμ]έω[ν ἢ πό]λις

Translation: *The city of the Sidymaens (set this up) to the emperors Gaius Valerius Diocletianus and Marcus Aurelius Valerius Maximianus, the pii and felicii Augusti, and to (Fl.) Valerius Constantius and Galerius Maximianus, the illustrissimi Caesares.*

Date: AD 293–305

Baker, Chamberland and Thériault (2015, 141) assert that Diocletianic milestones are rarely attested in Lycia, stating: “En Lycie, [...] les milliaires de Dioclétien sont rares.” Including these two new examples introduced here and another, as yet unpublished, from Patara (Schuler, Zimmermann and Lepke 2017, 58), the number rises to 7, making it clear that these are not as rare as previously thought. For the milestones belonging to the first Tetrarchy, see French 2014, no. 32 (B) [Limyra]; French 2014, no. 24 (A) = Baker, Chamberland and Thériault 2015, no. 1 [Xanthos]; French 2014, no. 27 [Xanthos]; and French 2014, no. 34 [Aperlai].

No. 2: Milestone of Diocletian and Maximian (fig. 14)

The milestone is cylindrical in shape. Findspot: Dereboğaz Cemetery; H.: 71 cm; Diam.: 41 cm; Lh: 3.5 cm

Αὐτοκράτορσιν Καίσαρ-
 σιν [Γ(αίϙ) Οὐαλ]ερίϙ
 Διοκλήτιανῶ [καί]
 4 [Μά]ρ(κϙ) Αὐρ(ηλίϙ) Οὐα[λ(ερίϙ)]
 Μαξιμιανῶ ε[ὐσεβ(έσιν)]
 εὐτυχέσ[ιϙ] Σεββ(αστοῖς)
 καὶ Φλ(αουίϙ) Οὐαλερίϙ
 8 Κωνσταντίϙ καὶ
 Γαλερίϙ Οὐαλερί[ϙ]
 Μαξιμιανῶ ἐπιϙ(ανεστάτοις)
 [Καίσαρ]σιν Σιδυ-
 12 μέων ἢ πόλις.

Translation: *The city of the Sidymaens (set this up) to the emperors Gaius Valerius Diocletianus and Marcus Aurelius Valerius Maximianus, the pii and felicii Augusti, and to Flavius Valerius Constantius and Galerius Valerius Maximianus, the illustrissimi Caesares.*

Date: Between AD 1 March 293 and 1 May 305; cf. the commentary above.

We have discovered a further inscription on the same spot carved with either a Greek lambda or a Latin V, which may form the lower part of a milestone, possibly indicating *milium passuum* (fig. 15). If this is so—we cannot be certain as there are other columns in the same cemetery that are architectural fragments and have nothing to do with milestones—then this would complicate our picture. A Greek lambda (equivalent to 30 miles = ca. 43 km) is difficult to accept, since such a distance is impossible from any place to Sidyma, exceeding by a large margin the territorial boundaries of Sidyma. It is possible, however, that it was transformed into a delta (4 miles = ca. 6 km) by the painting of the lower horizontal bar in antiquity. This is the most plausible explanation under the circumstances, so long as we accept that the milestone has remained at its current location since antiquity. The Latin V (5 miles = ca. 7 km) is much less likely, as this would suggest that stone was inverted, and moreover creates the problem of a large space between the last lines and the distance recorded on the stone. Furthermore, the distance between Sidyma and the findspot of the milestones is around 4.5–5 km, enhancing the probability of the first option. The Greek lambda is only acceptable if it signifies a distance of 30 stades (ca. 4 miles = ca. 6 km). This is, however, only a very slight possibility, because except for one Hellenistic example (Meriç, Merkelbach, Nollé and Şahin 1981, no. 3601, termed a stadion-stone by French 1997, 189–96 and a dekastadion by Thonemann 2003, 95, fn. 2) on the road from Ephesos to Sardes, there is no other evidence for the use of the stade as a unit of measurement on Roman milestones. In fact, the Pataran Stadiasmos monument, which was erected for the purposes of

Roman propaganda, unexpectedly gives the distances in Greek stades, even though the distances were measured in miles in the first place and later converted into stades (Şahin 2014, 123). The reasons for this are still disputed; see Salway 2007, 201–2. A. Kolb (2016, 233), referring to the Gallic leuga preserved on the milestones, has recently put forward the idea that “the people of the Empire thus used their accustomed measurements for documenting distances” (which might also be the case for Lycia), and claims that the absence of stades in the milestones of the region is incidental. In short, we might say that the possibility of our lambda being a figure given in Greek stades is relatively low, but is not impossible. Another possibility is that this letter was perhaps an A whose middle hasta has been damaged, or which was painted soon after the erection of milestone (like the possible Δ discussed above). In this case, the milestone would have been transported in later periods from a point on the road 1 mile away from Sidyma to its north. In all likelihood, all the ancient material in this cemetery was brought from other places, since neither building bases nor materials belonging to the superstructure of any building were observed in the cemetery.

No. 3: Gravestone for Thalamos (figs. 16–17)

Found in a private garden to the south of Sidyma, close to the ancient city centre. It is a funerary altar of limestone, quite plain, having no hollow cuttings on its top or bottom. H.: 51 cm; Diam.: 30 cm; Lh.: 1–2 cm

Οἱ φίλοι τὸν φίλον
 Θάλαμον
 Ἐπάγαθος β´
 4 Δεῖος ^{vac.} Κάρπος
 Φίλτατος ^{vac.} Πιξας
 Ἐπάγαθος ^{vac.} Ἐπαφρόδειτος
 Δημητρᾶς
 8 Διογᾶς ^{vac.} ἥρωα
 Θαλλίαρχος.

Translation: *The friends Epagathos II, Deios, Karpos, Philtatos, Pixas, Epagathos, Epaphrodeitos, Demetras, Diogas, and Thalliarkhos (honoured their) friend Thalamos, the deceased.*

L. 1: Θάλαμος is attested in Lycia three times, twice in Sidyma (TAM II, 230, l. 12; Frézouls and Morant 1985, 241–43, no. 7, l. 12), and once in Tlos (TAM II, 615, l. 11). See also LGPN VB, 289 s.v.

L. 2: Θαλλίαρχος is very rare in Asia Minor. In Lycia, the name is known only from Sidyma; see the other examples: TAM II, 230, l. 10 and Frézouls and Morant 1985, 241–43, no. 7, l. 11. For the name, see also LGPN VB, 190 s.v.

L. 5: Πιξας is an epichoric name and is seen only in Sidyma; see Zgusta 1964, § 1263–1; LGPN VB, 353 s.v.

The omission of the patronymic of these friends, both in this inscription and in other similar ones (see below) is noteworthy, but does not necessarily imply that they were of servile origin; see McLean 2002, 103.

L. 8: ἥρωα is a term defining the deceased that became prevalent from the late Hellenistic period onwards, and into the Roman imperial period. For a detailed account of “the dead as heroes,” see Wypustek 2013, 65–95. Cf. below nos. 4–6.

Date: AD 3rd cent.

Commentary

In the inscription a certain group of individuals honour their deceased friend. Similar inscriptions are known from Sidyma,¹⁵ this being the sixth example of the same type. Takmer emphasizes that the formula “οἱ φίλοι τὸν φίλον” mentioned in these inscriptions refers to a fraternity or college in Sidyma, with a long discussion on *collegia*; Corsten (SEG 60, 1567) states, however, that “it seems simpler to assume that some friends erected a statue for their friend, either honorary or funerary.” However, the inscription published by Takmer is included on the AGRW website,¹⁶ and these six examples indicate a certain group of people who rallied, most probably officially, to support each other for certain social needs, such as funerary practises.

Almost all of the names given in this new inscription are already known from four of these inscriptions, though in different sequence, so that we may suppose that these refer to the same individuals. The names given in accordance with the original sequence in these inscriptions are as follows:

No. 1) TAM II, no. 230	No. 4) Frézouls and Morant 1985, 241–43, No. 7	No. 5) Takmer 2010, 122, No. 5	No. 6) New Inscription
...
Κοίντον Εὐφρόσυνον	Ἐπάγαθος β΄	Κλαύδιον Δαφνικὸν	Θάλαμον
Ἐπάγαθος [ό?]	Κάρπος	Ἐπάγαθος	Ἐπάγαθος β΄
καὶ Ποσει-	Εὐφρόσυνος	Δεῖος	Δεῖος
δειος	Δεῖος	[Φί]λτατ[ος]	Κάρπος
Φίλτατος	Καλότυχος	...	Φίλτατος
Καλότυχος	Φίλτατος		Πιξᾶς
Ἐπάγαθος νέος	Καλλικλῆς		Ἐπάγαθος
Θαλλίαρχος	Θαλλίαρχος		Ἐπαφρόδειτος
Ἐπαφρόδειτος	Θάλαμος		Δημητῶς
Θάλαμος			Διογᾶς
Δημητῶς			Θαλλίαρχος
Διογᾶς			
Κάρπος			
Πιξᾶς			

Since these inscriptions bear many identical names, it might be possible to match them and create a chronology. Frézouls and Morant (1985: 241–43) successfully investigated the names in three of these inscriptions (nos. 1, 2, and 4) and established connections among

¹⁵ No. 1) TAM II, no. 230: οἱ φίλοι τὸν φίλο[v] | Κοίντον Εὐφρό[σ]υνον | Ἐπάγαθος [ό?] | καὶ Ποσει[δ]ειος | Φίλτατος | Καλότυχος | Ἐπάγαθος νέος | Θαλλίαρχος | Ἐπαφρόδειτος | Θάλαμος | Δημητῶς | Διογᾶς | Κάρπος | Πιξᾶς; No. 2) TAM II, no. 231: Σύμφορον | Πρυτανικὸ[ς] | Νεικοφῶν | Εὐφρόσυνος | Τληπόλεμος | Πτολεμαῖος | Ζώσιμος | Εὐφρόσυνος νέ[ος?]| [Ἐ]ξ[ω]τικὸς | <Π?>ίγ[ρ?]|ης | Σα<σ>ας | Ὀπ[ρ]?αορας | Δάμων | οἱ φίλοι; No. 3) TAM II, no. 238: [Αρ]ιστόδημον | [Μ]<ελ?>ε<ά?>γρου Σιδ[υ]μέα | Σύμφορος | Εὐ[δ]ωρος | [Κ]αλότιμος | Φιλήμων | Μιτ[ρ?]|οδάτης | Αἰσχ[ί]ν[η]ς? | Στέφανος | Εὐδα[.]ήσιος | Φ[ιλ]ό[θ]εο[ς] | τὸν φίλο[v] | ἥρω[α]; No. 4) Frézouls and Morant 1985, 241–43, no. 7: Σύναμα ζόντα | οἱ φίλοι | μνείας ἔνεκεν | Ἐπάγαθος β΄ | Κάρπος | Εὐφρόσυνος | Δεῖος | Καλότυχος | Φίλτατος | Καλλικλῆς | Θαλλίαρχος | Θάλαμος; No. 5) Takmer 2010, 122, no. 5: οἱ φίλοι τὸν | φίλον Κλαύδιον | Δαφνικὸν | Ἐπάγαθος | Δεῖος | [Φί]λτατ[ος] | [.]

¹⁶ Philip A. Harland, trans. “Grave (frag.) of Claudius Daphnikos Prepared by Friends (III CE) || Sidyma – Lycia”, Associations in the Greco-Roman World, Accessed 23.10.2018, <http://www.philipharland.com/greco-roman-associations/?p=24313>.

them.¹⁷ Together with two more inscriptions, the close relationship between these texts can be even more convincingly demonstrated. We should first note, however, some corrections to the names in the earlier inscriptions. In light of nos. 6 and 4, lines 4–6 (Ἐπάγαθος [ὁ?] | καὶ Ποσειδαῖος) of no. 1 should be corrected. Thalamos is the deceased in the new inscription (no. 6), and should thus be dated later than nos. 1 and 4. In such a case, we might have expected Deios in no. 1, since he is listed in both nos. 6 and 4. In fact, in its earlier edition these lines were read as “Κάρπος | Δεῖος,”¹⁸ which was also the reading adopted by Frézouls and Morant. This seems preferable for harmonising the inscriptions. An addendum is most probably required for line 4 of no. 5, since the ends of lines 4–6 are broken, while Epagathos in the fourth line should be supplied with a β’ (the upper part of a beta is only barely visible on the photo given by Takmer) and most of the names on the lost bottom part should be those in the other inscriptions. On the other hand, no. 4, the upper part of which is lost, does not seem to have been fully inscribed to the bottom. Frézouls and Morant do not state if the lower part of the stone is complete. Based on the occurrences of the names, we are inclined to believe that this might be a fragment, the bottom part of which is also lost. In no. 4, two names, Kallikles and Euphrosynos, do not appear in no. 1, which may suggest that these were later members of the college, and that no. 4 was later than no. 1. However, as they do not appear in no. 6 we might suppose that they had died sometime between nos. 4 and 6. Additionally, one more funerary inscription, for Kolotykhos, should also be placed between these two, since he is not mentioned in no. 6. The deceased Claudius Daphnikos in no. 5 is not listed in the others, which probably indicates that this inscription was the earliest of these four. Based on this chronological sequence, nos. 4 and 5 should have contained these names among those who appear in the other inscriptions. Presented below are the tentative lists of names, which do not offer definitive restorations but at best a probable chronological ordering:

No. 5 (fragment)	No. 1 (complete)	No. 4 (fragment)	No. 6 (complete)
Epagathos [II]	Epagathos [II]	Epagathos II	Epagathos II
Deios	Deios	Deios	Deios
Philtatos	Philtatos	Philtatos	Philtatos
[Thalliarkhos]	Thalliarkhos	Thalliarkhos	Thalliarkhos
[Karpos]	Karpos	Karpos	Karpos
[Pixas]	Pixas	[Pixas]	Pixas
[Epaphrodeitos]	Epaphrodeitos	[Epaphrodeitos]	Epaphrodeitos
[Demetras]	Demetras	[Demetras]	Demetras
[Diogas]	Diogas	[Diogas]	Diogas
[Epagathos (the young)]	Epagathos the young	[Epagathos (the young)]	Epagathos (the young)
[Thalamos]	Thalamos	Thalamos	Thalamos (deceased)
		Kallikles	
		Euphrosynos	
[Kalotykhos]	Kalotykhos	Kalotykhos	
[Karpos (2)]	Karpos (2)	[Karpos (2) (deceased)?]	
[Quintus Euphrosynos]	Quintus Euphrosynos (deceased)		
Claudius Daphnikos (deceased)			

¹⁷ However, a further problem occurs if this old reading is accepted as correct, because the same name appears on line 15 again and there is no indication (such as a patronymic or a second name) that these are in fact different persons. On the other hand, Frézouls and Morant (op. cit.) state that there was actually no need to distinguish between them, because the collegium was formed in a restricted environment.

¹⁸ Benndorf and Niemann 1884, 82, no. 69.

No. 4: Gravestone for Philetos (figs. 18–19)

A small funerary altar erected for Philetos by his parents, Antiokhos and Elpidous, and found in the Gödençe Bahçesi in the Bel district. The upper and lower portions are profiled. On the upper surface is a hollow cutting for liquid offerings. At the bottom is a mortise, indicating that it was fixed onto another element. H.: 22 cm; Diam.: 14 cm; Circumfer.: 43 cm; Lh.: 1 cm

Ἀντίωχος
καὶ Ἐλπιδοῦς
Φίλητον τὸν
4 υἰὸν {υἰὸν}
ἥρωα

Translation: *Antiokhos and Elpidous (honoured through this funerary altar) Philetos, their deceased son.*

L. 1: Ἀντίωχος: The usual form is Ἀντίοχος. However, this form also appears in inscriptions from various regions, not only in personal names but also in the spelling of cities named Antiocheia or their ethnicons; see, e.g., Corsten 1993, no. 1048; Sayar 2000, nos. 165; 506; and TAM V,1, 782.

L. 2: Ἐλπιδοῦς (gen. Ἐλπιδοῦτος): A rare name to be found in inscriptions. Several forms of the name can be found in LGPN VB (p. 134 s.v.), such as Ἐλπιδᾶς, Ἐλπίδης, Ἐλπιδῶς, and Ἐλπιδώ, amongst other similar names. One example from Lycia gives the dative form of the name as Ἐλπιδοῦτι (TAM II, no. 1078).

L. 4: υἰὸν {υἰὸν}: The word is repeated.

Date: The letter forms might indicate the late Hellenistic to early Roman periods.

No. 5: Gravestone for Teimarchos (fig. 20)

Funerary altar of limestone, with a moulded top, and buried below. Findspot: In the cemetery at Ge Mahallesi (near Sidyma). H.: 72 cm; Diam.: 62 cm; Lh.: 2 cm

Δαμόνεικος [καὶ ὁ/ἡ δεῖνα]
οἱ Εἰρελαίμιος
τῶι ἐατῶν ἀ[δελφῶι?]
4 Τειμάρχῳ [ι φι]λο[στοργίας?]
ἔνεκεν [vac.]
καὶ Τατούς ΙΙ ΔΟΙ [--]
τῶι ἐατῆς υἰῶι
8 ἥρωι

Translation: *Damoneikos and so and so, the children of Eirelaimis, (set this up) for their brother (?) Teimarchos on account of affection (?) and Tatous, daughter of... for her deceased son ...*

L. 2: For the unattested male name Eirelaimis, cf. Αλαιμις, another epichoric male name which has been recorded epigraphically only once to date (in Xanthos, see LGPN VB, 17 s. v.).

L. 6: For Τατούς, see Zgusta 1964, § 1517–31.

L. 7: ἐατῆς = ἐαυτῆς; see Meisterhans – Schwyzer 1900,³ 61, §18,3; 154, § 61,5.

Date: AD 1st cent. at the latest, from the style of the lettering.

No. 6: Gravestone for Agathokles and P(ri)ndarma (fig. 21)

Funerary altar of limestone, with a moulded top, and buried below. Findspot: In the cemetery at Seki Mahallesi (near Sidyma). The first two lines are quite damaged; the others are in good condition. H.: 65 cm; Diam.: 47 cm; Lh.: 1.5–2 cm

ΕΡ . ΙΔ . ΝΑΣ [---]
 . ΙΙ . . ΡΗΤΩΠΑΙΡΩΙ και
 Ἀγαθοκλῆ τῷ πα-
 4 [τρὶ] και Πρινδαρμα τῆ ἐ-
 ατῆς μητρὶ Οσσαρμ[α?]
 ἥρωσ[ιν]

Translation: *So and so (set this up) for his deceased uncle [E]r[ph]igres and for his deceased father Agathokles, and Prindarma for her deceased mother Ossarm(a?).*

L. 1: A name beginning with ΕΡΠΙΔΑ- is possible.

L. 2: The line can be restored as [E]ρπ[ιγ]ρη τῷ πάτρῳ (Ερπιγρης is attested in Olympos and Xanthos; see LGPN VB, 155 s.v.). For the usage of πάτρως instead of θεῖος, which was more common in Lycia, cf. TAM II 547.

L. 4: Πρινδαρμα: Either the first *rho* was redundantly carved by the stonemason or this previously unattested name is closely related to the other name in the next inscription, also unattested (i.e., Πινδαρμα). The relationship between all these individuals is not explicit. One explanation would be that Ossarma was Agothokles' second wife and P(ri)ndarma was born with her first husband. If Prindarma was identical with the Pindarma of the next inscription, then Ossarma's first husband would be Iason.

L. 5: Οσσαρμ[α?] is an epichoric name which has not hitherto been recorded.

L. 6: ἥρωσ LAPIS.

Date: AD 1st cent. at the latest, from the style of the lettering.

No. 7: Gravestone for Na (fig. 22)

Funerary altar of limestone. Reused as a spolia in the garden wall of Ramazan Çimen in Seki Mahallesi (near Sidyma). Severely damaged moulding at the bottom. On the shaft are carved two figures, a woman and a child. The head of the woman is broken; she stands in frontal pose and is depicted wearing a long *chiton* and *himation* and putting her right hand on her shoulder, while the child puts his left hand on his shoulder. Beneath the relief is an inscription of three lines neatly carved. H.: 76 cm; Diam.: 47 cm; Lh.: 1 cm

Σερισυμμας Βοήθου και Πιν-
 2 δαρμα Ἰάσονος Να τῆ ἐατῶν
 θυγατρὶ φιλοστοργίας ἔνεκεν.

Translation: *Serisymmas, the son of Boethos, and Pindarma, the daughter of Iason, (erected this funerary altar) for their daughter Na, on account of affection.*

L. 2: For the epichoric female name *Na*, see Zgusta 1964, § 1007–1. The name seems to be attested rarely in inscriptions and, apart from this, there has only been one (albeit dubious) example from Sidyma to date; see LGPN VB, 309 s.v.

L. 1–2: To the best of our knowledge, Σερισυμμας and Πινδαρμα are documented here for the first time. For the probable identification of Pindarma with the Prindarma of the previous inscription, see the commentary on l. 4 of no. 6.

L. 3: φιλοστοργία may signify the affection of parents for their deceased children (as in our case), or further that of husbands for their wives, or of wives for their husbands. For the term, see Robert 1965, 38–40 and Wörrle 2012, 455.

Date: Early Roman (AD 1st or 2nd cent.), from the style of the lettering.

No. 8: Gravestone for Asklepiades (fig. 23)

A small rectangular limestone altar with acroteria. Text on the shaft; other faces are uninscribed. Housed in the garden of the Fethiye Museum, having been transported there from Boğaziçi Village (near Sidyma). H.: 59 cm; L.: 27 cm; D.: 26 cm; Lh: 2–2.5 cm

Ἀσκληπιάδην
 Εὐνοία[ς] Σιδυμέα
 Ἀλέξανδρος
 4 ΟΛΣΕΑΣΟΞ
 ἈΣΩ . ΙΔ
 . . ΣΤΩ
 . . ΠΟΔ
 8 . . ΤΟ . Ε . ΙΣ
 ΣΩ

Translation: *Alexandros (honoured through this funerary altar) Asklepiades from Sidyma, the son of Eunoia ---.*

L. 2: For a freedwoman named Εὐνοία in Arykanda, see LGPN VB, 164 s.v. That Asklepiades is named with a matronymic rather than patronymic suggests that he was born to a non-citizen father. If so, his father would have still been a slave at the time the inscription was carved, or died prior to his manumission. In this case, Eunoia might also have been a freedwoman, just like her namesake in Arykanda.

Date: Roman imperial period

No. 9: Building inscription concerning a hospital (fig. 24)

Limestone block. Two clamp holes are visible, one on the moulding and one on the bottom surface, suggesting that it was connected to another block and presumably belonged to a hospital building (see below). Findspot: The cemetery at Ge Mahallesi (near Sidyma). H.: 20–21 cm; L.: 120 cm; D.: 61 cm; Lh: 5 cm

[οὔτος] ὁ οἶκος λιμὴν ἐστίν [- -]
 2 [ξέ?]νων κέ ἰατρῶν νοσοῦντ[ων - -]
 [- - γ]ὰρ ἔλεως τοῖς ἀσθενοῦσιν.

Translation: *This house is a harbour --- of the strangers(?) and a clinic for the (people) who are ill – ... pity those who fall sick!*

Because of the missing letters on both the left and the right of the block, the full content of the text cannot be reconstructed sufficiently, but it most probably recorded a metrical building inscription composed of three hexameters.

L. 1: οἶκος is mostly employed in a funerary context (see the list of attestations in Kubinska 1968, 113–14), but considering the general content of the inscription it is highly probable that here it denotes a ξενοδοχεῖον (guest-house, hospital) or νοσοκομεῖον (hospital). The ξενοδοχεῖον was a well-known Christian institution that provided medical care and shelter for both pilgrims and the

needy and poor; see Szabó 1983, 61–2; Risse 1999, 82; and Bosselmann-Cyran 2011, 1509–510. The metaphorical characterisation of a hospital as a harbour where people take shelter is noteworthy. There are only a few epigraphical attestations for this term: see Şahin 1978, 37–9, no. 4 (Pylai) = SEG 28, 1063 (cf. Robert 1979, 271–75) and MAMA III, 347 (Korykos; albeit dubious); for νοσοκομείον, see Anderson, Cumont and Grégoire 1910, 217 (Euchaita) and SEG 36, 1350. ξενεών, another term for these buildings, is also only infrequently attested in the inscriptions; see, e.g., Waddington 1870, no. 2327; 2524; SEG 36, 1350; and SEG 37, 1435. For the term also cf. Mazzoleni 1995, 308–9.

L. 2 *ιατρῖον* = *ιατρεῖον*; for the frequent interchange of *ει* and *ι*, see Gignac 1976, 189–90. For a parallel expression, see Greg. Nyss. *De s. Theod.* 46.745.37–38: *ιατρεῖον νόσων ποικίλων τὸν τόπον τοῦτον ἀπεργασάμενος*. The term has two meanings: one is an office where doctors exercised their practice (cf. Samama 2003, 37–8 and Nissen 2010, 118), while the other is a surgery or remedy, see LSJ, s.v. The first meaning is here much the more probable. Apart from our new inscription, there are only three other known inscriptions (two from Delos and one from Cos) in which *ιατρεῖον* is mentioned; see Nissen 2010, 118–24 who compiled the literary, epigraphic, and papyrological sources for this term and provides an extensive commentary.

L. 3: *ἔλεως* = *ἔλεος*; see Gignac 1976, 277.

Date: Both the lettering style and the content indicate an early Christian date (probably AD 5th/6th cent.).

Abbreviations and Bibliography

- Anderson, J.G.C., F. Cumont, and H. Grégoire. 1910. *Studia Pontica III. Recueil des inscriptions grecques et latines du pont et de l'Arménie*. Brussels: H. Lamertin, Libraire-Éditeur.
- Baker, P., G. Chamberland, and G. Thériault. 2015. "Trois milliaires xanthiens." *Epigraphica Anatolica* 48: 139–49.
- Benndorf, O., and G. Niemann. 1884. *Reisen in Lykien und Karien*. Vienna: Carl Gerald's Sohn.
- Bosselmann–Cyrán, K. 2011. "Xenodochium." In *Enzyklopädie Medizingeschichte*, edited by W.E. Gerabek, B.D. Haage, G. Keil, and W. Wegner, 1509–510. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.
- Corsten, Th. 1993. *Die Inschriften von Prusa ad Olympon, I-II. (Die Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien 39–40)*. Bonn: Dr. Rudolf Habelt GmbH.
- French, D. 2014. *Roman roads & milestones of Asia Minor. Vol. 3.6: Lycia et Pamphylia*. BIAA Electronic Monograph 6. Ankara: British Institute at Ankara.
- French, D.H. 1997. "Pre- and Early Roman Roads of Asia Minor. A Hellenistic Stadion-stone from Ephesus." *Arkeoloji Dergisi* 5: 189–96.
- Frézouls, E., and M.J. Morant. 1985. "Inscriptions de Sidyma et de Kadyanda." *Ktéma* 10: 233–42.
- Gignac, F.T. 1976. *A grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods I. Phonology*. Milan: Istituto Editoriale Cisalpino – La Goliardica.
- Kolb, A. 2016. "The Romans and the World's Measure". In *Brill's Companion to Ancient Geography. The Inhabited World in Greek and Roman Tradition*, edited by S. Bianchetti, M.R. Cataudella, and H.-J. Gehrke, 223–38. Leiden, Boston: Brill.
- Kubinska, J. 1968. *Les Monuments funéraires dans les Inscriptions de l'Asie Mineure*. Warsaw: PWN-Editions Scientifiques De Pologne.
- Leunissen, P.M.M. 1989. *Konsuln und Konsulare in der Zeit von Commodus bis Severus Alexander (180–235 n. Chr.). Prosopographische Untersuchungen zur senatorischen Elite im römischen Kaiserreich*. Amsterdam: Brill.
- LGPN VB Balzat, J.S., R.V.W. Catling, É. Chiricat, and F. Marchland. 2013. *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names, Vol. VB: Coastal Asia Minor: Caria to Cilicia*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- MAMA III Keil, J., A. Wilhelm. 1931. *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua, Vol. III: Denkmäler aus dem rauben Kilikien*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Marek, C. 2010. *Geschichte Kleinasiens in der Antike*. Munich: Verlag C.H. Beck.
- Marksteiner, T., and M. Wörrle. 2002. "Ein Altar für Kaiser Claudius auf dem Bonda." *Chiron* 32: 545–70.
- Mazzoleni, D. 1995. "Iscrizioni nei luoghi di Pellegrinaggio." In *Akten des XII. Internationalen Kongress für Christliche Archäologie, Teil I. 22–28. September 1991*, edited by E. Dassmann and J. Engemann, 301–9. Münster: Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung.
- McLean, B.H. 2002. *An introduction to Greek Epigraphy of the Hellenistic and Roman Periods from Alexander the Great down to the Reign of Constantine (323 B.C. – A.D. 337)*. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press.
- Meisterhans, K., and E. Schwyzer. 1900. *Grammatik der attischen Inschriften. Dritte vermehrte und verbesserte Auflage*. Berlin: Weidmannsch Buchhandlung.
- Mennen, I. 2011. *Power and Status in the Roman Empire, AD 193–284*. Leiden, Boston: Brill.
- Meriç, R., R. Merkelbach, J. Nollé, and S. Şahin. 1981. *Die Inschriften von Ephesos VII,2 (Die Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien 17,2)*. Bonn: Rudolf Habelt Verlag GmbH.
- Nissen, C. 2010. "Ἱατροῖον et ἐργαστήριον, les noms des lieux d'exercice des médecins privés dans le monde grec." *L'antiquité classique* 79: 117–35.
- Oliver, J.H. 1958. "Gerusiae and Augustales." *Historia* 7: 472–96.

- Onur, F. 2017. "Patara Yol Ağı Çerçevesinde Kentler, Kırsal ve Yol Ağı." In *Antik Dönem'de Akdeniz'de Kırsal ve Kent, Sempozyum Bildirileri, 4-7 Nisan 2016, Mersin, Turkey*, edited by. Ü. Aydınoglu and A. Mörel, 282–301. Mersin: Mersin Üniversitesi Yayınları.
- Onur, F. 2016a. "Parerga to the Stadiasmus Patarensis (16): The Roads, Settlements and Territories." *Gephyra* 13: 89–118.
- Onur, F. 2016b. "Parerga to the Stadiasmus Patarensis (17): A Correction to the Course of the Road between Xanthos and Neisa." *Gephyra* 13: 211–24.
- Onur, F. 2016c. "The Vexed Question of Kalkan / Bezirgan and the Stadiasmus Patarensis: Some Corrections to the Course of the Road between Patara and Phellos." In *Havva İşkan'a Armağan Lykiarkbissa, Festschrift für Havva İşkan*, edited by E. DüNDAR, M. Koçak, and S. Erkoç, 591–610. İstanbul: Ege Yayınları.
- Onur, F. 2015. "Parerga to the Stadiasmus Patarensis (15): The road network around Kasaba plain." *Gephyra* 12: 89–109.
- Rémy, B. 1989. *Les carrières sénatoriales dans les provinces romaines d'Anatolie au Haut-Empire (31 av. J.-C. – 284 ap. J.-C.) (Pont-Bithynie, Galatie, Cappadoce, Lycie-Pamphylie et Cilicie)*. İstanbul-Paris: Institut Français d'Études Anatoliennes et Éditions Divit.
- Risse, G.B. 1999. *Mending Bodies, Saving Souls: A History of Hospitals*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Robert, L. 1979. "Un voyage d'Antiphilos de Byzance, Anthologie palatine, X, 17, Géographie antique et byzantine." *Journal des savants* 1979: 257–94.
- Robert, L. 1965. *Hellenica. Recueil d'épigraphie, de numismatique et d'antiquités grecques. Vol. 13: d'Aphrodisias a la Lycaonie*. Paris: Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient.
- Salway, B. 2007. "The perception and description of space in Roman itineraries." In *Wahrnehmung und Erfassung geographischer Räume in der Antike*, edited by M. Rathmann, 181–209. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern in Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft.
- Samama, E. 2003. *Les médecins dans le monde grec: sources épigraphiques sur la naissance d'un corps médical*. Geneva: Librairie Droz A.S.
- Sayar, M.H. 2000. *Die Inschriften von Anazarbos und Umgebung. Teil 1: Inschriften aus dem Stadtgebiet und der nächsten Umgebung der Stadt. (Die Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien 56)*. Bonn: Dr. Rudolf Habelt GmbH.
- Schuler, Chr. K. Zimmermann, and A. Lepke. 2017. "Epigrafi Çalışmaları". In Ş. Aktaş, Patara 2015 Kazı ve Koruma Çalışmaları, *Kazı Sonuçları Toplantıları* 38.2: 47–62.
- Schuler, Chr. 2019. "Straßenbau und Infrastruktur im Flavischen Lykien. Zwei neue Meilensteine aus Patara." In *Epigraphische Notizen zur Erinnerung an Peter Herrmann (Hamburger Studien zu Gesellschaften und Kulturen der Vormoderne. Band 6)*, edited by K. Harter-Uibopuu. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner.
- Schweyer, A.V. 1996. "Le Pays Lycien. Une Étude de Géographie Historique aux Époques Classique et Hellénistique." *Revue Archéologique, nouvelle série, fasc. 1*: 3–68.
- SEG Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum.
- Szabó, Th. 1983 "Xenodochia, Hospitäler und Herbergen - kirchliche und kommerzielle Gastung im mittelalterlichen Italien (7. bis 14. Jh.)." In *Gastfreundschaft, Taverne und Gasthaus im Mittelalter*, edited by H.C. Peyer, 61–92. Munich-Vienna: R. Oldenbourg.
- Şahin, S. 2014. *Stadiasmus Patarensis, Itinera Romana Provinciae Lyciae. Likya Eyaleti Roma Yolları (Taribi İçerik: M. Adak)*. İstanbul: Arkeoloji ve Sanat Yayınları.
- Şahin, S. 1978. *Bithynische Studien / Bithynia İncelemeleri (Die Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien 7)*. Bonn: Rudolf Habelt Verlag GmbH.
- Şahin, S., and Adak, M. 2007. *Stadiasmus Patarensis, Itinera Romana Provinciae Lyciae*. İstanbul: Ege Yayınları.

- Takmer, B. 2010. "Stadiasmus Patarensis için Parerga 2: Sidyma I. Yeni Yazıtlarla Birlikte Yerleşim Tarihçesi." *Gephyra* 7: 95–136.
- TAM Tituli Asiae Minoris.
- Thonemann, P. 2003. "Hellenistic Inscriptions from Lydia." *Epigraphica Anatolica* 36: 95–108.
- Waddington, W.H. 1870. *Inscriptions Grecques et Latines de la Syrie: recueillies et expliquées*. Paris: L'Institut de France.
- Winter, E. 1996. *Staatliche Baupolitik und Baufürsorge in den römischen Provinzen des kaiserzeitlichen Kleinasien. Asia Minor Studien 20*. Bonn: Dr. Rudolf Habelt GmbH.
- Wörrle, M. 2012. "Die griechischen Sepulkralinschriften von Limyra." In *Limyra. Studien zu Kunst und Epigraphik in den Nekropolen der Antike*, edited by J. Borchhardt and A. Pekridou-Gorecki, 411–547. Vienna: Phoibos Verlag.
- Wypustek, A. 2013. *Images of eternal beauty in funerary verse inscriptions of the Hellenistic and Greco-Roman periods*. Leiden–Boston: Brill.
- Zgusta, L. 1964. *Kleinasiatische Personennamen*. Prag: Verlag der Tschechoslowakischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.



Fig. 1 The remains of the road from Sidyma to Karadere



Fig. 2 The remains of the road leading from the northern pass of Sidyma



Fig. 3 The steps of the Pinara – Xanthos road

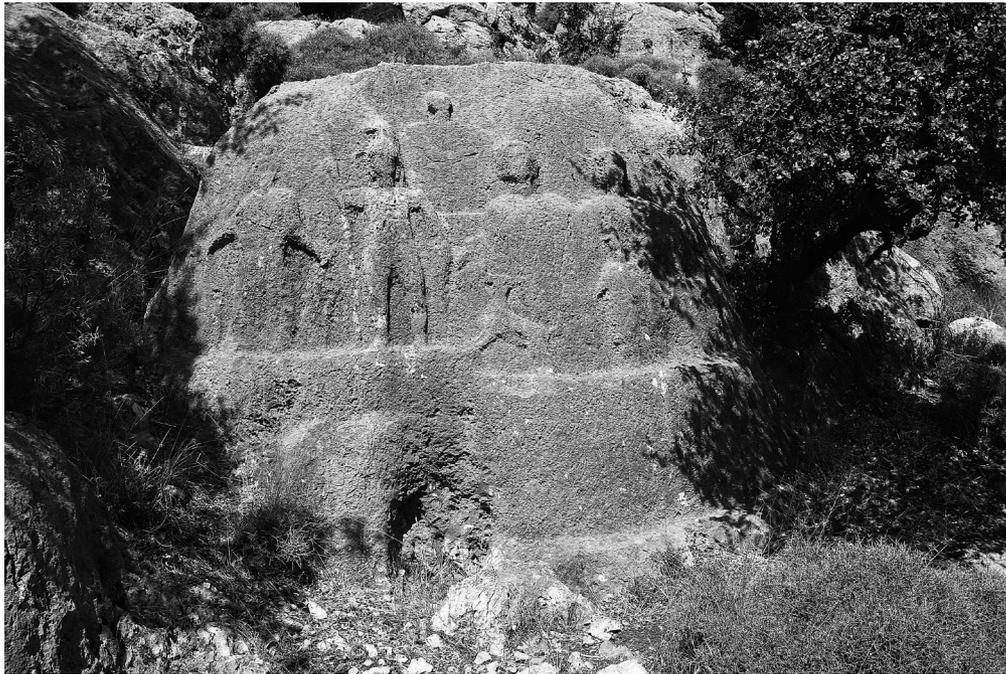


Fig. 4 The rock-cut relief at Bahçebaşı



Fig. 5 The cisterns at Seki village



Fig. 6 The church at Kızılca



Fig. 7 A stone press at Seki



Fig. 8 A chamasorion on the northern side of Seki village



Fig. 9
The remains of an
illegal dig at Seki



Fig. 10
A chamasonion with
lid intact on the
western side of the
Seki cemetery



Fig. 11 Milestone of C.
Pomponius Bassus Terentianus



Fig. 12 Milestone of C.
Pomponius Bassus Terentianus



Fig. 13 Milestone of Diocletian
and Maximian



Fig. 14 Milestone of Diocletian and Maximian



Fig. 15 Milestone?



Fig. 16 Gravestone for Thamos



Fig. 17 Gravestone for Thamos



Fig. 18 Gravestone for Philetos



Fig. 19 Gravestone for Philetos



Fig. 20 Gravestone for Teimarchos



Fig. 21 Gravestone for Agathokles and
P(r)indarma



Fig. 22 Gravestone for Na



Fig. 23 Gravestone for Asklepiades



Fig. 24 Building inscription in the cemetery at Ge Mahallesi (near Sidyma)

