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Living Amidst the Ruins: The Yuruks in the Archaeology and History of Lycia

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ABSTRACT
The history of Lycian archaeology has a long tradition dating back to the late 18th century. In contrast to the earlier periods spanning from prehistory to Late Antiquity , however, Lycia in the Ottoman period has been generally overlooked by archaeologists, being dismissed as either uninteresting or not worthy of study. This is due, not to a lack of body of knowledge, but to intellectual and ideological boundaries on what constitutes the archaeological past of Lycia, and/or what its relevance to the archaeology of Anatolia could be. In this regard, all the historical narrations identifying Ottoman Lycia make particular reference to the Nomads and illustrate them as either the barbaric destroyers or the glorious conquerors of Greco-Roman antiquities. In doing so, they push the Yuruks into an eccentric, ambitious, or exclusive past and thus marginalise them as permanent 'others' in the long-term history of the region. Hence, the present paper shifts the research focus from history to archaeology, and based on comparative analysis, it provides theoretical and practical insights into the cross cultural interactions between the Yuruks and Greco-Roman antiquities in Lycia. Contrary to previous works, I argue here that the Yuruks were one of the components that composed the long-term history of Lycia, and they contributed to the preservation of Lycian heritage by providing different concepts, meanings, and contexts to the surviving antiquities.
Keywords: Archaeology, Antalya, Lycia, Antiquities, Yuruks

Introduction

Lycia is an exonym used in classical antiquity that refers to the southwestern part of Anatolia, extending between Caria and Pamphylia (Fig.1). Flanked by the highest peaks of the Western Taurus to the north and the Mediterranean Sea to the south, it lies within the borders of the Antalya, Muğla, and Burdur provinces of modern Turkey.

The characteristics of its physical and cultural geography that are typical of both Mediterranean and Alpine landscapes have made Lycia an attractive area for archaeological research. This research has a long tradition dating back to the late 18th century and has produced a substantial body of knowledge that has advanced our understanding of the history of the area, spanning from prehistory to the Byzantine period. In contrast to the earlier periods, however, the Ottoman period, during which the region was attached to the Teke Province (Fig. 2) and widely inhabited by Nomads (Yuruks), has been generally overlooked by archaeologists, being dismissed as either uninteresting or not worthy of study. Therefore, current research accumulation is lacking any comprehensive information about the relationships and interactions between the Yuruks and the classical landscape of Lycia. As a result, the field has been largely influenced by historians whose perspectives and areas of focus are distinct from those of archaeologists. (Tütüncü-Çağlar 2017, 111).

In the light of this, the primary purpose of this paper is to bring the Yuruks back into the archaeological research agenda in Lycia and thus into the long-term history of Mediterranean Anatolia. In this sense, the main question addressed here is whether the Ottoman period represents one of "decline and decay" in the cultural landscape of the region.

Within the scope of this general frame, the rest of the study has been divided into four sections. The following part presents an overview of the research accumulated thus far. The third section focuses on the way of life and subsistence of the Yuruks through current archaeological and historical records. In the next section, archaeological evidence is used to provide a better understanding of how the Yuruks perceived, interpreted, and re-purposed the ruins of the distant past. The final part argues that the boundaries isolating both the Yuruks and the Ottoman period from Lycian archaeology are artificial, creating a major historiographical problem that needs to be overcome.

The Nomads (=Yuruks) in Modern History and Archaeology

The nineteenth century saw the emergence of nationalism and also of archaeology as a professional discipline (Diaz-Andreu 2007, 61.). Throughout the period, the Ancient Greek and Roman pasts were perceived as the roots of pan-European civilization (Diaz-Andreu 2007, 99-130; Trigger 2006, 61-67; Shaw 1998, 61pp.). The increase in the political potential of antiquities gave way to the integration of archaeology into nationalism in the construction

of the modern state, and as a form of colonial discourse it served for the production and the maintaining of an imaginary past for European imperial powers (Diaz-Andreu—Champion 2014.). The role of archaeologists conducting research in the margins of Europe, particularly in the vast area of the Ottoman Mediterranean, was supposedly to reveal the past Golden Ages of European civilisation. However, any traces of the present—of an Ottoman present—were considered 'annoying and debasing the illustrious ancient tradition' (Uzi-Caroll 2002, 5; Todorova 1996, 45). As the nineteenth century passed, the difference between core Europeans and the 'Others' -including the countries of Mediterranean Europe- became rationalized through racial terms, the first, the European, being seen as containing a superior, all-white, dolichocephalic, Aryan race (Diaz-Andreu 2007, 128).

The description of nomadic tribes living in the vast geography of the Ottoman State corresponds to this period of time as well. In this regard, history written about the Yuruks in Lycia, in particular, and about Anatolia, in general, is not complicated. To summarize the general trends we can take a closer look at mainstream scholarly publishing from the late 19th century to the recent past.

F. von Luschan, an anthropologist, ethnographer, and archaeologist, was one of the pioneering figures who published several papers in the late 19th and early 20th centuries based broadly on anthropometric surveys in Lycia (von Luschan 1886, 1889, 1911). Luschan wrote much about the cultural habits of the Nomadic tribes, and identified the Yuruks first with Gypsies (von Luschan 1886, 167-171), later noting that 'this was a mere suggestion, and it might well be that their resemblance to the Gipsies is only quite accidental' (von Luschan 1911. 227). Almost in the same period, Th. Bent, British explorer and archaeologist, reported his personal observations following his travels in Lycia, Pamphylia, and (Rough) Cilicia (Bent 1891.). In his work, Bent divided the nomads into two groups as 'Tahtagees Yourouks' and 'Pastoral Yourouks', referring to their races, and noted that they were more akin to the Kurds than to the Persians or Armenians. (Bent 1891, 276).

In the early 20th century, W.M. Ramsay, well-known British authority in archaeology and geography of ancient Anatolia, prepared an extensive study on racial diversity in Asia Minor and focused on the cultural habits of the Yuruks as well. Contrary to previous assumptions, Ramsay identified the Yuruks as a group of Central Asian nomads who have preserved many of their cultural habits that differ from other nomadic groups in Anatolia. According to Ramsay, they were truly nomadic and did not conform to the old settled and peaceful Anatolian type, which resulted in the dismantling of the settled and peaceful Greco-Roman way of life in Turkey (Ramsay 1917, 30 pp.). It is also worthy of note that during the early republican period, Turkish archaeologists and historians followed parallel pathways to their contemporaries, likely due to the political realities of the period (Ergin 2010.), of course with some minor revisions. These responses were reactive in nature and sought to transform the

historical role of the Yuruks from 'barbarous Asiatic destroyers' into the 'glorious Asiatic conquerors' of the Greco-Roman past of the country. These narrations describe the Yuruks as Asiatic nomads who spread into the coastal Mediterranean region after the conquest of Anatolia and they did not only move their cultural identity to Anatolia, but also contained their philosophy of life in their newly settled lands. Thus the Yuruks of the Oghuz tribes, who influenced the ethnic structure of Anatolia, played a key role in the expansion of the Turkish conquest to the west (Halaçoğlu 2009, VII; Ak 2015, 8).

Reconsideration of 'Asiatic Nomadism" in Ottoman Lycia

Following a long silence in the historical records of the Late antiquity , Seljuk, and Early Ottoman periods (Flemming 1964; Foss 1996, 19-32; Kiel 2012, 185-226) the Tax Registers of Teke Sancak, -also known as Tahrirs or Tahrir Defters (Gümüşçü 2008.)-, are the earliest sources that give comprehensive information on the population, economy, and settlements of the region during the 15th and 16th centuries (Armağan 1997.; Karaca 2002.; Kiel 2012, 199). These documents include taxpayers and tax resources and enable us to obtain a detailed picture of the physical and human geography of the Teke province, from flora and fauna to settlement and economy, all of which are unique and valuable (Karaca 2002, 162-202).

The Tahrir documents reveal that Lycia was divided into three primary kazas (sub-districts) in the 16th century. Administrative records from 1568 indicate that Western Lycia was attached to the Kaş and Kalkanlu sub-districts, while Central and Northern Lycia, -also known as Milyas-, were associated with the Elmalu (Ustaoğlu 2016, 152) (Fig. 2). Lists of tax payments also make it evident that each of these regions was home to a particular group of people registered under the name of 'Yuruk'. Even though the origin of the word Yuruk is still under discussion, there is consensus in scholarly research that it is derived from the Turkish verb "yürümek /yörümek," which means "to walk/to move", as opposed to "oturak" ("to sit down/to settle" or "to be sedentary"). The word first began to be used in the 15th century. H. İnalcık underlines that the term "yuruk" was originally invented and used by the Ottoman chancery as an administrative-financial context to refer to the nomads from various origins living in Western Anatolia and the Balkans, who were subject to a special status among the reāyā-ra'īyat (tax-paying subjects) (İnalcık 2012, 471-473).

Several issues related to the Yuruks become clear through the particular information provided by the Teke Tahrirs. The first is about the origin of the Yuruks, a topic of great debate even to the present day (İnalcık 2014, 471-472). Based on the names mentioned in the tax-paying lists, it is evident that the Teke Yuruks are mainly composed of Oghuz and Kurdish tribes (Karaca 2002, 169-189; see also Table 21). Moreover, there were also other tribes mentioned in the same lists bearing probably Greek, Arabic, or Armenian names [Durnos, Duşe (Dushe), Karpenk, Rumcalar (=Rumish), Urbâlar (=Arabs)] that may indicate

they were of distinct origins. However, there is a lack of complementary studies to confirm this assertion (Karaca 2002, 169-189, see also Table 21). In any event, the available pieces of evidence are crucial and suggest that the statements that all the "Yuruks" living in the Teke Sancak in the Ottoman period were of Central Asian origin need to be revisited.

Another critical point is the association of the nomadic lifestyle in Mediterranean Anatolia with the Yuruks and their Central Asian roots. However, the Tahrirs present a more nuanced perspective that challenges this oversimplified view. Specifically, they demonstrate that the Yuruks practiced a form of nomadism that entailed the movement between summer and winter pastures, primarily depending on the climate, rather than a purely nomadic existence. Moreover, an analysis of the tax registers between 1455 and 1580 reveals that their economic activities were primarily agricultural rather than solely based on livestock farming (Karaca 2002, 171).

This is indeed a form of nomadism, known as vertical transhumance, being exercised in the wide area of the Mediterranean Basin and characterized by short-distance movements of herds of domestic herbivores between seasonal grasslands at different altitudes (Greenfield 1999, 9; Liechti-Biber 2016; Emiroğlu-Aydın 2009, 813). As highlighted by S. Aydın, the land use strategy of the Yuruks represents a fundamental distinction from traditional Asiatic practices, which do not depend on climate and which involve a year-round horizontal migration over long distances across wide steppes (Aydın 2006, 113). In his recent publication focused on the spatial configurations and settlement patterns of transhumant cultures in the Turkish province of Antalya and the Italian province of Abruzzo, R. Kavas (2016) arrives at a conclusion that aligns with that of Aydın. According to Kavas, there are shared characteristics in both countries defining the significant continuities that reinforce the idea of a common "Mediterranean" identity (Kavas 2016, 389).

Based on both studies, it can be inferred that the semi-sedentary way of life in the Taurus region exhibits characteristics that are more closely related to the Mediterranean cultural sphere than to those of the Asian Steppes. This conclusion is further reinforced by archaeological evidence that highlights the long-standing history of transhumance in Lycia. In that respect, the remains recovered from Ayvasıl (today Kocapınar/Elmalı) reveal that the site was used seasonally and the main habitation area remained in the lowland plains (Minzoni-Deroche 1987, 148; Taşkıran 2006, 763; Becks 2016, 27.). Archaeological excavations in Karataş in Elmalı also indicate that the Semahöyük Plain hosted a small village established by the semi-nomadic groups that probably moved between the coastal and inland regions during the Early and Middle Bronze Ages (Massa 2016, 109-110). Recent archaeological surveys conducted around Akdağ and Elmalı Dağ have yielded interesting findings, particularly that seasonal settlements were probably in use in the first half of the Iron Age (French 2012, 50-59). According to Herodotus, the Xanthians migrated to the highland pastures during the summer

months (Hdt. 1.176). Epigraphic documents dated to the Hellenistic and Roman periods present that disputes over the use of summer pastures (probably Girdev [=Kerdobata]) in the Akdağ (Kragos) and Semahöyük in Elmalı) were among the main administrative problems for the Lycians (Şahin 2014, 215-219). Moreover, the diary of St. Nicholas and archaeological research in the periphery of Myra evidenced that the transhumance culture prevailed in Lycia during the Eastern Roman Period (Ševçenko & Ševçenko 1984; Robinson 2007, 118; Terroy 2019, 6). Ultimately, the memoirs of Y. Pehlivanides serve as a compelling illustration that large populations in Antalya persisted in practicing transhumance for diverse economic reasons throughout the 19th and 20th centuries (Pehlivanidis 1989, 140-143; 155-156)

The 'Others' Living Amidst the Ruins

As emphasized by Diaz-Andreu (2007, 61-67), the defeat of the Napoleonic venture in Europe and the implementation of new regulations for banning the export of ancient works of art in Italy (1820) and Greece (1827) resulted in the Ottoman Empire becoming the primary source of antiquities for European museums. As a small port on the Mediterranean coast of southwest Anatolia, Antalya suffered most in this period. The city was flooded by state-sponsored European researchers and expeditions from the early 19th century to the end of the Italian occupation in 1921. During that period, the 'Greek and Roman cities' of Lycia -previously unknown to Europeans- were discovered, archaeological, epigraphic, and numismatic data was collected (Duggan 2019; 115-168) and many antiquities, -from coins to spectacular monuments-, were dismantled and taken to European museums.

It is noteworthy that the plundering of antiquities in the Ottoman Empire was often rationalized by means of claims of protection. W. Shaw notes that these arguments depended on the perceived inability of non-European races to appreciate and protect the arts of antiquity, appropriated as part of the imaginary pan-European past (Shaw 2003, 37). According to Shaw Europeans considered the practise of collecting antiquities from the lands of the Ottoman Empire as transferring antiquities from barbaric hands that presumably neglected and even destroyed them into the hands of scholars who coddled, studied, and preserved them (Shaw 2003, 38).

Contrary to this general frame, however, there are sufficient archaeological and historical records in the research corpus that give us an opportunity to examine whether the Yuruks caused the devastation of Greco-Roman antiquities in Lycia. Hence, below I will follow the trace of this evidence to better understand how the Yuruks perceived, interpreted, re-purposed and re-functioned the remains of the distant past.

The case of the ancient city of Limyra serves as an apt starting point, as it was the site of the oldest religious and assembly center for the Yuruks in the Teke Sancak. Associated later with Kâfi Baba, the Tekke (derwish monastery/lodge) was founded in the middle of the 14th

century by Abdal Mûsâ, who was believed to be a reincarnation of Hacı Bektâş-ı Velî, and was reborn in Teke (Köprülü 1988, 64; Bauer 1999, 117). Archaeological investigations show that one of the four major Bektashi centers and the first assembly space in the Lycian lands was built right next to the Kaineus Tomb and Necropolis III just outside the eastern Byzantine city (Fig. 3). Located by the sources of the Limyros spring, this particular place was at the heart of Limyra, where the long-standing religious centre, the Limyreion Chresmos, had served the Lycians (Bauer 1999, 117- 122; Borchhardt 1999, 24).

The awqaf records in Tahrirs present detailed information on the location of dervish lodges and zawiyahs, particularly in North Lycia (Elmalı) that make clear that the scene in Limyra is not exceptional. Accordingly, Çeke Dede Lodge (Karaca 2002, 380) served in the Ernez village, known to us as the ancient city of Arneai. Kilerci Baba Tomb (Karaca 2002, 279) located in Gilevgi Village, on the mound of Gilevgi Höyük dates back to the Bronze Age (Melaart 1954, 192). Kuyucu Baba Tomb (Durgun 2018, 213), which was also used as a small mosque, was located in the Müren/Gölova and hosts a magnificent Archaic tomb and ancient ruins (Tiryaki 2015.). Halil Baba Zawiyah, who was a student of Ümmi Sinan, was built on the mound of Semahöyük (Mellink 1984.). Hacı Baba Zawiyah was located in the ancient city of Soklai, contemporary Söğle (Melaart 1954, 192). Baltasıgedik Mahmut Dede Tomb was built on an ancient pavement road that connected Gökpınar- Elmalı (Akarassos) and Bayınıdır (Terponella) and was at the centre of the necropolis (Ekiz 2001, 29).

The sites dedicated to these holy figures have both tangible and intangible (symbolic) functions that give insight into cross cultural interaction and relationships between the Yuruks and the distant past. It is also clear that these spatial encounters were not brought about in order to alienate antiquity nor to humiliate, demonize, and ultimately erase the "pagan" culture, which, in contrast, is preached in the Song of Roland, and which was widely circulated in mediaeval Europe (Akbari 1999). On the contrary, the Yuruks preserved these cultural spaces by including them in social and religious life. This also means that the ancient sites were physically perceived, mentally (re)designed, and eventually transformed into memory spaces through new narratives. Furthermore, this transformation is important since it includes the consent of the followers. Thus, the interest of the faithful visitors to these sites encouraged the preservation of antiquities in Lycia and also allowed the allocation of new meanings, contexts, and functions.

Besides this, there is also complementary information on the settlements, transportation networks, and toponyms that disprove the assumption that the Yuruks were indifferent towards the archaeological landscape of the region or that they deliberately destroyed the Greco-Roman antiquities. In this respect, the tax registers and additional archival records help to revive the historical geography of Teke Sancak by providing the names of geographical locations related to the Yuruks according to administrative-fiscal categories. The analysis of the

toponyms from the 15th to 19th centuries shows the Yuruks were well aware of the historical landscape of the region and described the archaeological ruins in several ways. It is apparent that they used the original site names in some cases such as Adrasan [Atrassas]; Andifli [Antiphellos]; Ernez [Arneai]; Belen [Belos]; Budalye [Podalia]; Demre [Myra]; Elbis [Elbis]; Fırnaz [Phurnos], Finike [Phoinikous]; Gedelma [Kadrema]; Gendeve [Kandyba]; Girdev [Kerdobata]; Gödeme [Kendema]; Gömbe [Komba], Kozarası [Kosara]; Seyret [Seroita]; Söğle [Soklai]; Soura [Sura] (Tiryaki 2022, Tablo 1). Alternatively, they used their own terms for particular sites that include the remains of ancient periods, which we have attested today as archaeological sites. These well-known terms are *üyük* (mound); *viran* (ruin); *harab* (ruin); *ören* (ruin); *hisar* (castle); *asar* (antique), *gavuristan* (the place where the pagans lived once), *körüstan* (the place where the pagans lived once) etc, as can be seen in Semayük (Elmalı); Kozlucaeyük, Sulucaeyük, Yassıeyük (Kaş); Avşar Harabesi (Apollonia); Asartepe (Kyeneai); Av Asarı (Aperlai); Gavuristanlık (Akalissos); Körüstan (Korba); Güzören (Pygela) and İthisar (Hippokume) (Tiryaki 2022, Table 1). Furthermore, some specific characteristics of ancient sites or ruins were used in the identification of famous sites such as: Yanartaş [Chimaira]; Çıralı Dağ [Chimaira Oros]; Deliktaş [Korykos/Olympos]; İblistaşı [Uylupınar]; Aytaş or sometimes Kalkantaş [İslamlar/Elmalı] (Tiryaki 2022, Tablo 1). Moreover, the names of Arvas; Ayvasıl; Dire; Gilevgi; İlya; Kortan; Müren; Mürmür; Mursal; Rumşa; Serkiz; Tepese and Tula (Tiryaki 2022, Table 1) could be derived from their original names, but to date there has been no archaeological or epigraphical proof for this.

Furthermore, the testimonies of travellers who visited Lycia between the 18th and early 20th centuries drew vivid pictures of the habitations and transportation networks used by the Yuruks. As is understood from these accounts the ancient cities of Antiphellos, Arykanda, Rhodiapolis, Kyaenai, Korydalla, Ksanthos, Limyra, Patara, Phellos, Sidyma and Tlos were settled by the Yuruks as their winter quarters (Fig. 4-5) (Başgelen 2008.; Duggan 2017, 2108, 2019; Greenhalgh 2013, 2019.) and they also used the ancient Lycian transportation networks in their movement to the summer pastures (Fig. 6) (Yücel 1958, 196 (Map 7); Saraçoğlu 1989, 531, 570; French 2014, 19, 21-22 [D. Lycia]).

In this sense it can be highlighted here that both archaeological excavations and surveys in the mentioned sites have not reported any destruction level attributed to the Yuruks to date (Borchhardt 1999, 9-24; Bayburtluoğlu 2005, 15-25; des Courtils, 2003, 38-39, Çevik 2008, 11-69; Işık 2011, 145.). This is also true for the plundered Lycian monuments (Greenhalgh 2013, 356-358.; id. 2019, 305-306; Szemethy 2011, 345-347) since the drawings, photographs and exhibition conditions of the Nereids and Heroon of Trysa (Fig. 6) prove that antiquities in those cities were not exposed to damage until the visit of Europeans in the 19th century (Işın 2016, 6-21). As a result, it is worth mentioning that there is no evidence in the current research of deliberate destruction in Lycia comparable with that of mediaeval Europe, where

Roman amphitheatres and walls in the cities of Trier, Nimes, Le Man, and Poitiers were destroyed. (Schnapp 1996, 105).

Conclusion

What then can be concluded from the present review on both the Yuruks and their relationships or interactions with the antiquities of Lycia? The critical point to start with, I suppose, is the unpopularity of the Yuruks in the history of archaeology of Lycia. This is, indeed, not related to a lack of body of knowledge, but to the intellectual and ideological boundaries of what constitutes the archaeological past of Lycia, and of what the relevance to archaeology of Antalya could be. In fact, these boundaries are 'a major historiographical problem" (Baram-Caroll 2002.) that isolate the Ottoman period from the history of Lycia, and cause the marginalization of the Yuruks within a shroud of uncertainty, perceiving them as either barbarous Asiatic destroyers or glorious Asiatic conquerors of Greco-Roman past. In doing so, they push the Yuruks into an eccentric, ambitious, or exclusive past and thus make them permanent "others" in the long term history of the region. However, the problem with such assumptions is not that they lack factual basis but rather that broad generalizations derived from conjectural facts are untrue and logically invalid. In other words, these assumptions have indeed weak and fragile grounds that stem not from historical facts but from ficticious accounts that were produced to serve the construction of 'other' by the nationalistic mind-sets of the 19th and early 20th centuries. Therefore, to bring both the Yuruks and the Ottoman period back into the archaeological research agenda, and thus into the long-term history of Antalya, one must bypass early modern historiography, which seems to have shadowed our broader understanding of the past. In fact, once these synthetic borders are crossed, the complexity of cultural interactions gets deeper, and different contexts emerge that force our perspectives to change.

In this regard, it should be underscored that all the statements identifying the "Yuruks" as a particular ethnic group or tribe have no historical basis . The term was used by local record offices in a general sense for nomads of various ethnic origins, such as Oghuz, Kurds, and perhaps others. Besides that, in contrast to the repetitive narration, it also seems logical to think that the semi-nomadic way of life in western Taurus is neither of Asian origin nor was it introduced into the lands of Lycia by Turkic tribes. Rather, the body of evidence is sufficient enough to demonstrate that the Yuruks practiced a transhumant land use strategy in the region, which is characteristic of subsistence in the entire Mediterranean Basin, going back to prehistoric periods in Lycia, as well.

Moreover, the relationship between the Yuruks and the physical remains of Greco-Roman antiquities is far more nuanced than has been described in previous studies. To make this clear, I have attempted to offer patterns of interactions through the particular archaeological evidence such as settlements, transportation networks, religious centres, cemeteries, and

mausoleums of derwishes. These are shared, negotiated, and contested cultural places that reveal how deeply the Yörüks were connected to the cultural landscape of the region. Furthermore, by following their footprints in the abandoned ancient cities, necropolis, mounds, and classical toponyms, it became clear that they were well aware of the historical and cultural landscape of the region and made use of its remnants without hesitating over their pagan connotations. These spaces were maintained with continued care and with the updating of cultural statements and affiliations, as we have seen in the case of Bektashi lodges and zawiyehs found elsewhere in Lycia. Hence, it is also crucial to underline that there is nothing in the research corpus implying that the re-functioning of antiquities caused their deliberate destruction for various reasons such as religion, origin, or cultural habit.

All of these and other pieces of information and evidence confirm that the Yuruks were one of the groups of people that composed the long-term history of Lycia. Therefore, isolating the Yuruks as well as the Ottoman period from the long-term history of Antalya as "other" seems to be both misleading and mistaken.

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Figures

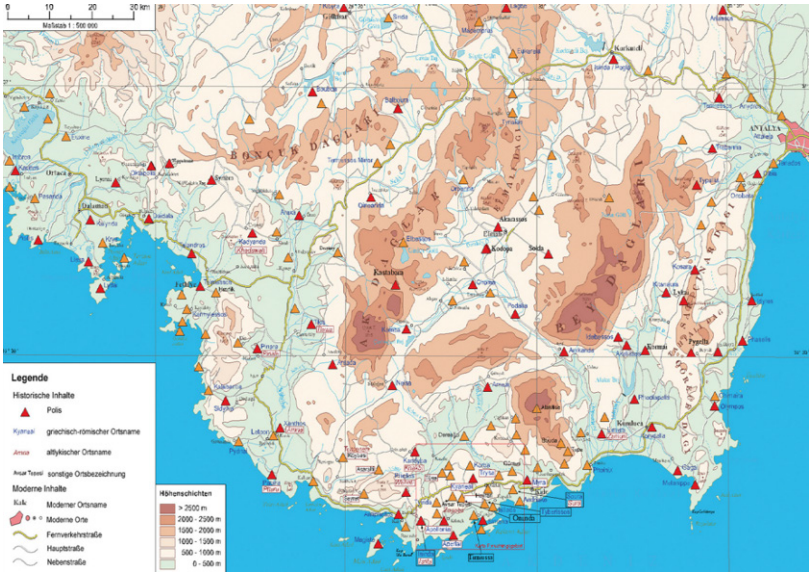

Figure 1: Map of Ancient Lycia (Kolb 2019, 15.1)

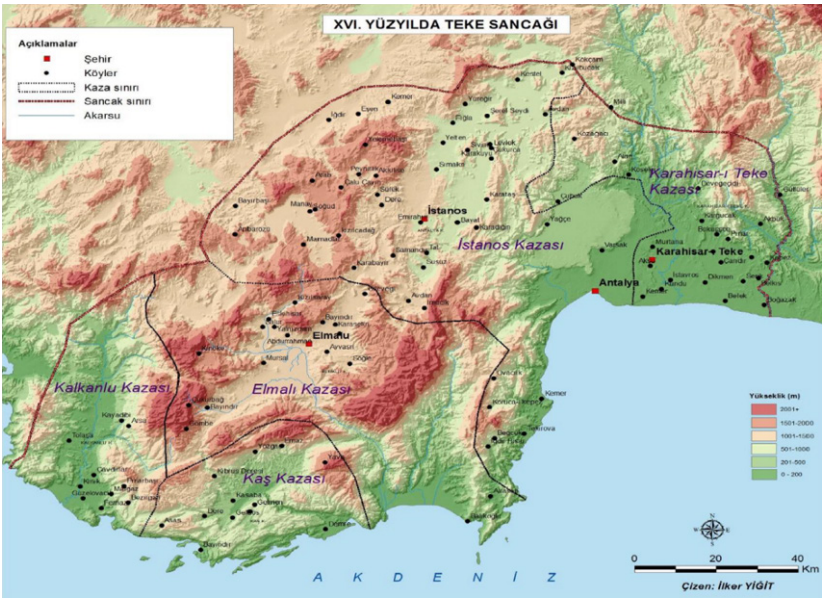

Figure 2: Map of Teke Province in the 16th century (Ustaoğlu 2016, 152)

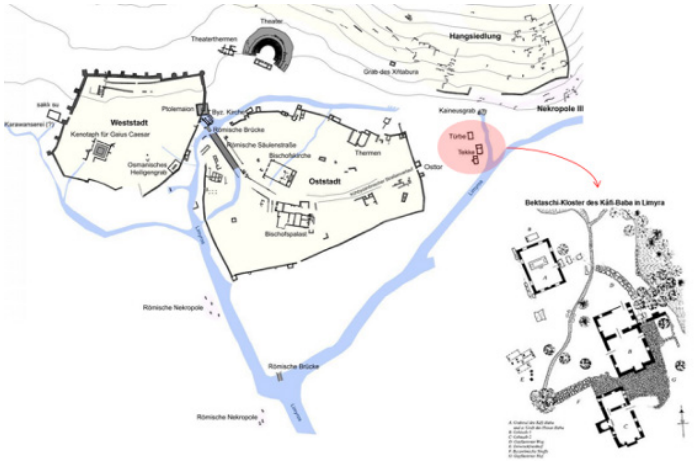

Figure 3: Kâfi Baba Tekke in Limyra (Bauer 1999, 119)

Figure 4: *(left)* The Yuruk encampment in Tlos (Duggan 2017, 514-515); *(right)* the Yuruk huts in Sidyma (von Luschan 1881, 193)

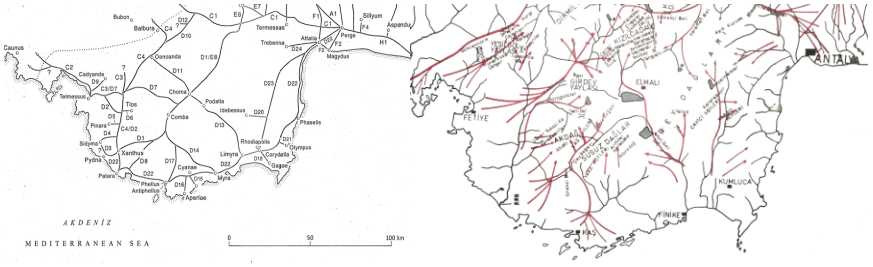

Figure 5: (*left)* Map of Roman Roads in Lycia (French 2014, 5.1.1); (*right)* Yuruks Migration and Transportation Networks (Saraçoğlu 1989.)

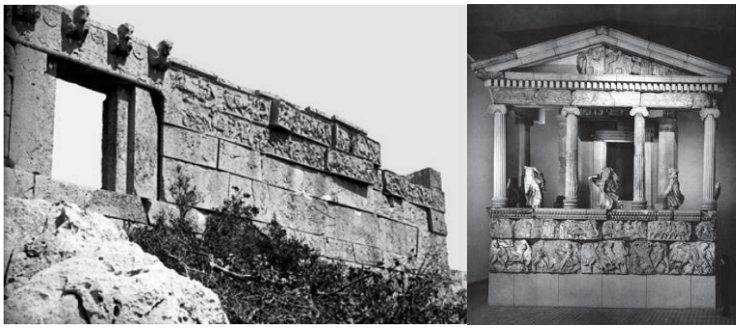

Figure 6: *(left)* Trysa Heroon (Landskron 2013, Taf. 4.2); (*right)* the Nereids Monument (Işın 2016 8)