

Parerga to the Stadiasmus Patarensis (16): The Roads, Settlements and Territories

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*in memory of Prof. Dr. Sencer ŞAHİN***

In this paper, I discuss some issues concerning the relationship between roads, settlements and territories recorded in the Stadiasmus Patarensis (SP). Accepting that the SP was not a journey guide and that it just provided the length of the roads (R) constructed or renovated, and of course measured, between almost all of the major and some minor settlements, I propose: firstly, that the roads between the settlements were from and into the settlements' town zones; secondly, that the composition of the road list took account of the territories of the settlements; thirdly, that all the settlements mentioned in the SP had an independence, which might have varied in different status. The paper opens by discussing the use of prepositions and articles in the SP, before addressing the courses of the roads. I shall then treat the probable start and end points of the roads, and dedicate a final section to the political status of the settlements and the related territorial issues.

Before addressing these points, I believe that it should be firstly and precisely determined what was meant by the use of *óδοs* on the SP at the top of side B. From the beginning of our research and publications, we have called these road connections, the "routes" (*itinera*) between settlements,

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while in reality it was not the intention of the text of the SP to provide a journey planner (see the explanations below in p. 97). *Iter* means “way; course; journey”, while *via* indicates the “road” itself. There is a clear distinction between these terms. The evidence to understand this comes straight from the SP itself in the use of *κατασκευάσται* given for the road from Idebessos to Kitanaura on side C, line 5. It is clear that this verb (*κατασκευάζω*) defining an actual construction, can only be used for the road itself, namely *via*, not *iter*, which could be given in Greek again as *πορεία*, *οδοπορία*, in addition to *ὁδός*.¹ Likewise, the inscription on the Claudian monument on Bonda, *ὁδός* does not mean anything more than the “road” itself by the term “*κατασκευῆ τῶν ὁδῶν*” (for the references to this inscription see fn. 30).

I. Prepositions and Articles

Prepositions in the SP, esp. *διά*, *εἰς*, *ἐπί*, and the articles employed provide some hints with regard to the courses of these roads. What is clear in the whole text of the SP is that the settlements never have articles, as is typical in Greek. The articles can be seen in different cases, and relate to natural formations, mountain names, the names of regions etc. I will begin with the function of prepositions and firstly with *διά*.² That the function of this preposition in the SP in most cases is related to the territorial issues has already been noted.³ For the purpose of the present study, this matter is further elaborated.

An important feature of the SP is that the roads are given mostly between adjacent settlements. This is not only due to the geographical situation, but is also related to the fact that each road led only through the territories of the settlements that are associated with it. This can be inferred from the roads which include more settlement names, in addition to the origin and the destination. In such cases, the SP uses the preposition *διά* + “settlement name” in the genitive case without article⁴, highlighting that the road passed through the land of another settlement. This information about territorial passes would not have been provided in a random manner, but might have been associated with crossing borders.⁵ Though I cannot completely reject the suggestion that this information might have been given because there were other routes or because those roads were (re)built by Claudius,⁶ I believe rather that the information actually points towards the territories of autonomous settlements.⁷ This situation might help us, if only partially, in determining the territories of

¹ Lex. Corn. Schrev., p. 51, s.v. *Iter*; Nov. Lex. Man., p. 455-456; s.v. *Iter*.

² For the use of *διά* see Harrison 1858, 187-192 (esp. 189-190) and 195; for its use in earlier sources, see Luraghi 2003, 168-187 and Luraghi 2012, 367-374.

³ For general statements see Onur – Alkan 2011, 69; Şahin 2014, 25.

⁴ Şahin mentions the situation for R 25, see Şahin – Adak 2007, 176; Şahin 2014, 211 and R 52 (Şahin 2014, 332).

⁵ There were certain rules for the goods to pass through the customs and there were pass points for traders on the borders between cities, for more information see Ikaunos pp. 214-215; Takmer 2007, 172 and 176.

⁶ Salway 2007, 202: “More importantly, this information also no doubt served to distinguish, where alternative routes existed, which road had been (re)built by Claudius.”

⁷ Zimmermann (1992, 141) considers the existence of local *demoi* and local cult traditions in central Lycia a form of partial independence. For further information on status of settlements see Schuler 1998, 17-32 (*polis*), 41-45 (*demos*) ve 45-49 (*peripolion*).

the settlements during the Claudian period and the course of the roads in the field. In the SP there are 8 examples of the use of *διά*, 5 for settlements, 3 in other cases.

A. The use of *διά* for the settlements

1. Trimilinda

R 24 (B, l. 32): ἀπὸ Βαλβ[ούρω]ν εἰς Κιβύραν *διὰ Τριμιλίν[δω]ν* στάδια ρλς'

(The road) from Balboura (leading) to Kibyra (passing) through (the territory of) Trimilinda: 136 stadia.

Trimilinda was an autonomous settlement and the road did not pass through the centre of the settlement, but through its peripheral territory. This road must have passed through Dirmil/ Altunyayla⁸, and this region was probably in the territory of a settlement called Trimilinda, from which the name Dirmil should have derived, at least by the time of Claudius. It is accepted by Kokkinia that the territory of Boubon extended at least 5-6 km to the east and southwest, and 7 km to north-northwest.⁹ Bean reports a settlement 1,5 km east of Dirmil/Altunyayla and 6 km north of Balboura, 12 km east of Boubon, stating that it was a dependency of Balboura, not of Boubon, as is also accepted by Robert and Kokkinia.¹⁰ Two inscriptions on the road between Boubon and this settlement mention market inspectors (ἀγορανόμοι) from Boubon, who fulfilled dedications to Ares as they had promised to their city.¹¹ The evidence seems to suggest that the area where these two inscriptions were found and perhaps the ancient settlement near Dirmil might have been within the territory of Boubon. In the website of “Survey results in Boubon (Cibyrtis, northern Lycia)” doubts are exposed that Dirmil/Altunyayla was in the territory of Boubon¹², as is accepted by Coulton who placed Dirmil/Altunyayla the north-eastern points within the territory of Boubon.¹³ The ruins mentioned by Bean might have been Trimilinda. If not, then it means that there was another autonomous settlement named Trimilinda having territory around Dirmil as a region on the way from Balboura to Kibyra. Dirmil might indeed have been within the territory of Boubon, as Coulton suggests (see fn. 13), which might also cause to think that Trimilinda was perhaps Boubon. This could also be the possible explanation for the absence of Boubon, as one of the poleis of Lycia, which would otherwise be expected to have been listed. Such a case is probable only if Boubon was also called “Trimilinda”¹⁴ at least by the time of Claudius (perhaps similar to the use Korykos instead of Olympos¹⁵). But apart from this evocative mention in the SP, unfortunately, there is no evidence to support such a hypothesis. Another possibility might be the settlement by the north-eastern shores

⁸ Şahin – Adak 2007, 171-172; Şahin 2014, 203-204.

⁹ Kokkinia 2008, 13.

¹⁰ Bean 1971, 10; Robert 1983, 552; cf. Kokkinia 2008, 13.

¹¹ See now Kokkinia 2008a, 101-106 nos. 71-72.

¹² <http://www.eie.gr/nhrf/institutes/igra/projects/boubon/territory.asp>.

¹³ Coulton 2012, 27 Fig. 2.11 and 30.

¹⁴ Perhaps referring the earlier history of the city and region, cf. Şahin – Adak 2007, 171-172; Corsten – Hüllden 2012, 10; Corsten 2013, 80-82; Şahin 2014, 203-205.

¹⁵ See Adak 2004.

of Gölhisar Gölü. This settlement is identified as “Old-Kibyra”,¹⁶ from where, according to the account of Strabo (13.4.17), the inhabitants were moved by the Pisidians, who settled there, to found Kibyra.

2. Plata...

R 25 (side B, l. 33): ἀπὸ Τλώ εἰς Οἰνέανδα ^(sic) διὰ Πλατα[...]_ς στάδια σ ..'

(The road) from Tlos (leading) to Oinoanda (passing) through (the territory of) Plata...: 2.. stadia.

The suggestions for the restoration are Πλατα[ίας, -ῶν], Πλατά[νης, -νῶν], Πλατα[σης, -σων].¹⁷ Rousset conjectures the restoration of διὰ πλατα[ίας] = διὰ πλατε[ίας] as well, in the meaning of “par la grand-route”, which seems unlikely in terms of its usage with διὰ.¹⁸ The term plateia referred primarily to (broad) streets inside cities, not to tracks or roads through the countryside. It was a settlement between Tlos and Oinoanda, perhaps the ruins of Kōristan/Dikmen or those of Çökek belonged to this settlement.¹⁹ The Hellenistic inscription on the boundary issues between Tlos and Termessos at Oinoanda mentions a mount called Masa, as the key point to be shared between the two parties.²⁰ This mount is also attested in a treaty of 46 B.C. between Caesar and the Lycian confederacy associated with the borders.²¹ A wider field examination, particularly on the area between Kōristan/Dikmen Tepe and north of Çökek, is certainly required to understand if this same vicinity is meant by Plata... and Masa, since Plata... seems by the early imperial period to be an autonomous settlement, located between the borders of Tlos and Oinoanda, while Mount Masa was at the border during the Hellenistic era.²²

3. Kollyba

R 51 (side C, l.13): ἀπὸ Λυ[κ]ῶν διὰ Κολλύβων εἰς Πύγε[λα στά]δια ρ[...]

(The road) from Lykai (passing) through (the territory of) Kollyba (leading) to Pygela: 1.. stadia.

Since the village of Gödene (Altınyaka) has no remarkable ancient remains, the ruins at Bozbelen 3 km to the north of Gödene has been suggested as Kollyba.²³

¹⁶ Corsten – Hüllden 2012, 37-38, for more archaeological and epigraphic evidence from the site see pages 19-41.

¹⁷ Şahin – Adak 2007, 176; Şahin 2014, 210.

¹⁸ Rousset 2010, 142; cf. Şahin 2014, 211.

¹⁹ Şahin – Adak 2007, 177-179; Şahin 2014, 212-215; For the remains of road between these two places see Yılmaz – Çevik 1996, 193; Korkut 2014, 506-510; Korkut 2015, 176-188; Çevik 2015, 260.

²⁰ For a detailed account on Mount Masa see Rousset 2010, 43-61 and 123-126.

²¹ Mitchell (2005, 215-216) proposed that it should be identified somewhere in the section between the south of Oinoanda and the west (the author inadvertently employed “east”) of Girdev, cf. Rousset 2010, 123.

²² The Hellenistic inscription mentioned above (Rousset 2010) records a demarcation on Mount Masa. In our field surveys of 2015, we found some boundary markers in two groups, one consisting of three letters carved into the bedrock, an individual letter employed as a marker, just to the east of Kōristan, the other group consisting of two markers carved into the bedrock, which are on the northern peaks above Tezli Dere. But unfortunately, they are insufficient to identify them with the boundary marks mentioned in the inscription and thereby to clarify the geography of Mount Masa.

²³ Şahin 2014, 330-331.

4. Kandyba

R 55 (side C, l.17): ἀπὸ Φελλοῦ εἰς [Νεῖσα διὰ Κανδύβων στάδια ..']

(The road) from Phellos (leading) to Neisa (passing) through (the territory of) Kandyba: .. stadia.

Kandyba has been localized to Çataloluk, between Dereköy near Phellos and Sütleğen near Neisa. Considering that the destination has been restored, it seems possible that another settlement might have also been recorded here, perhaps even the port of Antiphellos (see below pp. 106-108).

5. Rhodiapolis and Madamyssos

R 62-63: side C, l.24-25): ἀπὸ Κορυδάλλων διὰ Ῥοδίας πόλεως [κ]αὶ Μαδαμυσσοῦ εἰς Ἀκαλισσοῦν στάδια ρζ'

(The road) from Korydalla (passing) through (the territories of) Rhodiapolis and Madamyssos (leading) to Akalissos: 96 stadia.

Madamyssos has been localized at Baysı Village ca. 7-8 km north of Rhodiapolis.²⁴ But this road between Korydalla and Akalissos is inconceivably divided into two routes by the *editor princeps*.²⁵ This is a single road starting from Korydalla and ending in Akalissos, as also implied by Rinner,²⁶ which passed through the peripheral territories of Rhodiapolis and Madamyssos, without entering these settlements. Even if the statement is to be divided, it would end up not with two routes but with three: 1. Korydalla – Rhodiapolis, 2. Rhodiapolis – Madamyssos, 3. Madamyssos – Akalissos. We would then have to divide all the other roads with διὰ into two as well. If the roads had entered into the settlements prepositioned with διὰ, they would not have been shown in the middle of the course of the road but as the destinations. For instance, there would not be a single statement for the road between Korydalla and Akalissos, but instead we would probably have seen lines like following on the monument: * ἀπὸ Κορυδάλλων εἰς Ῥοδίαν πόλιν στάδια ... ' | * ἀπὸ Ῥοδίας πόλεως εἰς Μαδαμυσσοῦν στάδια ... ' | * ἀπὸ Μαδαμυσσοῦ εἰς Ἀκαλισσοῦν στάδια ... '.

B. The other cases prepositioned with διὰ

6. “plain”

R 22 (side B, l.30; between Oinoanda and Balboura): ἀπὸ Οἰνοάνδων εἰς Βάλβουρα διὰ τοῦ πεδίου στάδια ρζ'.

(The road) from Oinoanda to Balboura through the plain: 160 stadia

7. “mountain country”

R 23 (side B, l.31; between Oinoanda and Balboura): (ἀπὸ Οἰνοάνδων εἰς Βάλβουρα) διὰ δὲ τῆς ὄρεινης στάδια ρκη'.

(The road) from Oinoanda to Balboura through the mountain country: 128 stadia

8. Masikytos

R 59, side C, l.21): ἀπὸ Μύρων εἰς Λίμ[υρ]α δ[ι]ὰ τοῦ Μασικύτου σ[τά]δια ..'

(The road) from Myra to Limyra over the (mountain of) Masikytos: ... stadia

²⁴ Şahin 2014, 396-397; see also below fn. 67.

²⁵ Şahin – Adak, 2007, 41 and 270-272 (STR 62-63); Şahin 2013, 47 and 394-397 (GZR 62-63).

²⁶ Rinner 2009b, 222 with Map VIII.4 and 224-225 with Map VIII.5.

The nature of the Masikyotos in this part could not be fully identified.²⁷ I think that it cannot be a name for a settlement and should be either the name of the mountain or of a part of it. If it is the name of the mountain, then we should understand the phrase as διὰ τοῦ Μασικύτου (ὄρους), as in Ptolemaios the forms of the same construction can be observed as διὰ τοῦ Μασικύτου ὄρους (5.3.1.4-5), πρὸς δὲ τῷ Μασικύτει ὄρει (5.3.6.1), with the obscurity of the gender and declension of Masikyotos. The reason for the use of Masikyotos only for this road in the SP might be that this road, unlike the others, was constructed to a height of 900 m above sea level with many zigzags as a major work²⁸ or, that in antiquity the name of Masikyotos was actually used only for a certain section at the south of the Beydağları mountain range²⁹. In this section, there was probably either a very poor connection or there was none. This is the very place where the Lycians expressed their gratitude for the Roman construction of the road through the erection of the Claudian monument on Bonda.³⁰

These examples clearly show the difference in the use of the articles, which can also be supported by other uses in the SP. The names of regions were always used together with the article: Κόδοπα τῆς Μυλιάδος (B, l.37), Ἀτταλεία τῆς Παμφυλίας (C, l.8), ἐν τῇ Ἀσίαι (C, l.28), ἐν τῷ Ἐπικαλ... (C, l.29) and Κόσσαρα τῆς Μναρικῆς (C, l.11; l.14; but without the article in l.5 and without region in l.6, probably due to the concern to fit the lines into the space). Another epigraphic example of this kind of use can be observed in a decree regulating the transportation issues from Myra to Limyra and the precautions against smuggling.³¹ A section of the inscription reads ... ἀπὸ τῆς Δασ[εί]ας μήτε ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος τῆς λίμνης ἢ ἀπὸ Ἀνδριακῆς. Here Andriake, being the port of Myra, does not have

²⁷ Şahin questions that “through Masikyotos” was used only for this road, since many roads in central and eastern Lycia also passed the Mount of Masikyotos; he believes this name in the SP might have also belonged to a settlement homonymous with the mountain, referring to the example from Strabon who says ὁ Κράγος, ἔχων ἄκρας ὀκτῶ καὶ πόλιν ὁμώνυμον (14.3.5.3: *Kragos, having eight peaks and a polis homonymous*), Şahin – Adak 2007, 265; Şahin 2014, 383-384.

²⁸ See also Şahin – Adak 2007, 263; Şahin 2011, 55-56; Şahin 2014, 380; cf. Mittenhuber 2009b, 50.

²⁹ Masikyotos may have described only this part of the mountain range. Cf. Wörrle in Marksteiner – Wörrle 2002, 561; See sources and other details in Takmer 2002, 35-36. Plin. *NH* 5.100.4-6 (... *nunc sunt montana Gagae, Corydalla, Rhodiopolis. iuxta mare Limyra cum amne, in quem Arycandus influit, mons Masicytus, Andria civitas, Myra, ...*) points to its localization between Limyra and Myra. The settlements Ptolemaios (5.3.6) put around Masikyotos are Korydalla, Sagalassos (taken as Akalissos), Rhodiapolis, Trebendai, Phellos, Myra and Limyra (cf. Şahin 2014, 100). Here Phellos is actually a bit far from Alacadağ. Sagalassos, considered as corrupted from Akalissos, might also be taken as Tragalassos, a settlement on Alacadağ see Alkan 2011, 101-105. Quintus Smyrnaeus mentions Masikyotos as opposite Cape Gelidonya (3.234: *ναῖε δ' ὁ γ' αἰπεινὸν Μελανίππιον ἱρὸν Ἀθήνης | ἀντία Μασσικύτοιο Χελιδονίης σχεδὸν ἄκρης*), and around Limyros and Phoenix (8.103-107: *ὅς ῥά τε ναιετάσκε παρὰ προχοῆς Λιμύροιο καὶ ῥά μιν ὡς βασιλῆα περικτίονες τῖον ἄνδρες, Γλαύκου ἀποκταμένοιο καὶ οὐκέτι κοιραμένοτος, πάντες ὅσοι Φοίνικος ἔδος περὶ πάγχυ νέμοντο αἰπὸ τε Μασσικύτοιο ῥίον βωμόν τε Χιμαίρης*).

³⁰ For the details of the monument and its inscription see Marksteiner – Wörrle 2002; Marksteiner thinks that there was already a partial pre-Roman road connection in that area, but he emphasizes that the road on the western slope has an homogeneous character representing a complete new Claudian construction or a massive work of renovation (Marksteiner – Wörrle 2002, 553).

³¹ LBW III 1311 = OGIS 572 = CIG 4304a; for the content of the inscription see Robert 1963, 35-37; Robert 1966, 52; Zimmermann 1992, 233-235; Marksteiner – Wörrle 2002, 561; Takmer 2004, 112.

an article, while Daseia and the “mouth of the lagoon” have one, so Daseia stood here as a natural formation or regional name, as was already concluded in a recent contribution³² based mainly upon the geographical features of the region.

Next, I shall briefly discuss the preposition ‘εἰς’, which not only precedes the destinations, but also contrasts in meaning with δία. If the situation for δία is as explained above, then ‘εἰς’ should mean that the distance given for the roads were measured until the settlement itself, at least to the entrance gates or to a nearby the town-zone where usually the measurement and array of milestones started in conformity with Roman tradition. There are examples reflecting this situation. For instance, a Trajanic milestone in Cyrenaica in north Africa, erected as the first milestone on the road from Kyrene to Apollonia to the north, shows that the zero point of the distance is somewhere in the city centre, as 1 MP (ca. 1480 m) is the distance between the two points. This zero-point was also proved by a Hadrianic milestone (on which one reads 1 MP) on the road between Kyrene and Balagrae to the south.³³ The Lincoln milestone (RIB 2241) in Britain is also considered as evidence that measurements were taken from town centres, though there are doubts as to whether it actually stood in its current place in antiquity.³⁴ Rodwell, in the conclusion of the survey on the British section of the Antonine Itinerary, reported that the routes in the Antonine Itinerary started or ended in a point that was in or at the edge of the town-zones (of which the widths vary depending on the settlement and the epoch), not in the centre of the settlement.³⁵ He also states the following for the town-zones of the settlements in Britain (p. 98): “... it remains to consider the nature of the town-zone itself. In the case of civitas – capitals and towns of lesser status only the immediate environs (principally cemeteries and probably extra-mural industrial areas) are included. Hence, it is simplest to regard the boundary revealed by the itinera as the junction between town lands (under civic control) and the countryside (composed of private farms and estates). The extent of the town-zone was clearly related to the size and status of the settlement which it surrounded ...”. Rivet and Jackson believe that measurements should have started from city centres.³⁶ As another example, the distances mentioned in the *miliarium aureum* (golden milestone), which was erected by Augustus in the Forum in Rome, started from the city gates in the direction of the destinations.³⁷ Van Tilburg refers to a statement in Plin. *NH* 3.66 (... *a miliario in capite Romani fori statuto ad singulas portas...*) to support this view.³⁸ Another *miliarium* (called *milion*), which had the same purpose, was constructed by Constantinus in Constantinople.³⁹ The milestone found in the Church of St. Nicholas in Myra⁴⁰ was probably moved from one of the roads⁴¹ and it might even have stood in a point, near to where the road to the west started. Furthermore, an unpublished Tetrarchic milestone from

³² Şahin 2011, 58; cf. Marksteiner – Wörrle 2002, 561.

³³ Goodchild 1950, 83-84 and Fig. 1.

³⁴ Rodwell 1975, 77 and 86-87.

³⁵ Rodwell 1975, 76-79 and 97-98.

³⁶ Rivet – Jackson 1970, 38-39.

³⁷ DRGA 762-763, s.v. Milliare; Platner 1929, 342, s.v. *Milliarium Aureum*.

³⁸ Van Tilburg 2007, 20.

³⁹ Cedr. 1.564; Suda mu.1065; Parastaseis 16.

⁴⁰ Takmer 2004, 109.

⁴¹ Şahin 2014, 118.

Rhodiapolis stands *in situ* by the gate at the eastern exit of the city. Mittenhuber considered city gates as starting and ending points for the SP, but since the city gates of the settlements cannot be defined precisely, their team usually used agoras and sometimes theatres or even a general point depending on the definability of the settlement, as benchmarks in the measurement between settlements on the GIS.⁴² A recent survey on the road between Xanthos and Neisa in the SP showed that measurements seems to have been between the borders of town-zones⁴³, instead of the very centre of the settlement, similar to Rodwell's conclusion above.

It should be noted that in R 48, from Onobara to 'sea' (ἀπὸ Ὀνοβάρων ἐπὶ θάλασσαν), the word θάλασσα was not preceded by the article and εἰς, the very first meaning of which is "to; into; within"⁴⁴, but only by ἐπί meaning "upon, on to; to; up to, as far as; towards" with the accusative case in motivational use.⁴⁵ The absence of an article could have meant that θάλασσα was actually a place name, but the use of ἐπί shows the road was "up to" the sea, similar to the other use of ἐπί (though it is restored by the editor) in R 42, that limits the road construction to 32 stadia between Idebessos and Kitanaura of the Termessians. If θάλασσα had been the name of a settlement or of a port, it would probably have been preceded by εἰς instead of ἐπί, just like Telmessos, Patara, Gagai, Korykos and maybe Kalabatia (see below pp. 106-109). Then we would expect that it was autonomous. The commonness of the use without article can be seen from a search in the TLG database that provides a 60% rate for ἐπὶ θάλασσαν/θάλατταν while the remaining 40% of total was for ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν/θάλατταν. Şahin tends not to accept that θάλασσα was a harbour settlement due to the difficulties in locating certain territorial and geographical areas around the shores near Onobara.⁴⁶ There was therefore, perhaps a connection to another road on the coast,⁴⁷ e. g. from Phaselis to Attaleia.

The semantic difference in the use of εἰς (for ports/harbours) and ἐπί (for landmarks) in ancient Greek *periploi* (maritime itineraries) can also be observed. For example, a part from the Lycian section of the SMM (235-238) reads:

Ἀπὸ δὲ Μελανίπης εἰς Γάγας στάδιοι ξ'.	<i>From Melanippe (in)to Gagai 60 stadia.</i>
Ἀπὸ δὲ Γαγῶν ἐπὶ ποταμὸν Λάμυρον στάδιοι ξ' ...	<i>From Gagai till River Limyros 60 stadia...</i>
Ἀπὸ Λαμύρου ποταμοῦ εἰς πύργον τὸ Ἴσιον καλούμενον στάδιοι ξ'.	<i>From Limyros River (in)to the tower called Ision 60 stadia.</i>
Ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰσίου πύργου εἰς Ἀνδριακὴν στάδιοι ξ'.	<i>From Ision tower (in)to Andriake 60 stadia.</i>

Actually here the phrase "εἰς πύργον τὸ Ἴσιον" may seem to create some problems in terms of the arguments presented, namely how a ship can enter into a tower. But this may mean a harbour with a lighthouse marker-tower or protected by a tower by the sea. Based on the SMM, the Hellenistic tower at Yukarı Beymelek was suggested for the localization of the Ision tower.⁴⁸ This suggestion

⁴² Mittenhuber 2009c, 102-103.

⁴³ Onur 2016, 215.

⁴⁴ For the use of εἰς see Harrison 1858, 209-212; for the earlier use, see Luraghi 2003, 107-117.

⁴⁵ For this meaning of ἐπί with the accusative see Harrison 1858, 296-299; for the earlier usage Luraghi 2003, 305-308.

⁴⁶ Şahin – Adak 2007, 237-238; Şahin 2014, 320-321.

⁴⁷ Şahin – Adak 2007, 237-238; Salway 2007, 200; Şahin 2009, 104 fn. 14; Şahin 2014, 321.

⁴⁸ McNicoll – Winikoff 1983, 320-321.

was received with scepticism, due to the tower's situation, which was too far from the sea to be a station in a maritime itinerary.⁴⁹ The recent suggestion that Ision Tower may be sought in Gök Burnu has problems in terms of distances, though the distance in the SMM is considered an exaggeration.⁵⁰ The distance in the SMM from Limyros Potamos to the Ision Tower is 60 stadia, namely ca. 11-12 km, but the distance from Limyros to Gök Burnu is ca. 5 km. Even if it is accepted, then another problem occurs. The distance between Gök Burnu and Andriake is not less than 20 km, while the distance between the Ision Tower and Andriake, according to the SMM, is 60 stadia (ca. 11-12 km). In the Roman Era the lagoon in Beymelek was mentioned only as στόμα τῆς λίμνης in an inscription (see references in above fn. 31), and it may have been named Symbolon in the life of Saint Nicholas of Sion in the 6th century A.D.⁵¹ But if in earlier times the port in Beymelek (by the lagoon) was called "Ision Tower" perhaps after the Hellenistic tower at Yukarı Beymelek or from a tower that formerly marked the entrance to, or stood beside the lagoon, this localisation conforms with both the distance and the sense of εἶς in the SMM.

II. The Distances and Settlements

It is accepted that the list given in the SP does not serve any practical use for journeying.⁵² Since the SP is to be taken as an official report of the measurement of the roads, it must be expected that the information on it is accurate.⁵³ The SP gives a list of roads and their lengths, but the sum of these distances does not represent the total length of the entire construction since the roads coincide in many places.⁵⁴ We cannot deduce the length of the entire road-system, if we disregard the slim possibility that this total distance was inscribed on one of the lost blocks as yet undiscovered. We should expect the individual road lengths given in the inscription to be accurate, since the preface of the road list specifically draws attention to the question of measurement at the top of side B: ... ὁδοὺς ... ἐποίησεν ... ὧν ἔστιν μέτρον τὸ ὑπογεγραμμένον, namely "... made roads, the length of which has been written below...". Salway tries to find another sense than that which the SP recorded and re-constructed 30 routes (*itinera*) from this road list on the monument.⁵⁵ The verb ποιέω used for ὁδοὺς presents us with a generalized meaning. However, we can see, that this subsumed the meaning of "construction", as is indicated by the word κατεσκευάσται given for the road from Idebessos to Kitanaura in side C, line 5. The phrase "κατασκευῆ τῶν ὁδῶν" also appears in the inscrip-

⁴⁹ Zimmermann 1992, 99 fn. 187; Hellenkemper – Hild, 2004, 573, s.v. Ision Pyrgos; Çevik – Pimouguet-Pédarros 2010, 267.

⁵⁰ Şahin 2014, 380.

⁵¹ Alkan 2011, 107-108; Alkan 2013, 89-97.

⁵² Şahin – Adak 2007, 14; Rinner (2009b, 212, 243, 248-249) emphasizes the absence of connections between some places, e. g. Lesei... and Idebessos, and this makes the SP unsuitable as an itinerary for planning a journey; Şahin 2014, 19; cf. Işık – İşkan – Çevik 2001, 30.

⁵³ Mittenhuber 2009a, 7.

⁵⁴ For example, there are roads to Tlos from Xanthos, Pinara, Kadyanda and Araxa. They are not independent of each other. The roads should have joined somewhere near the Xanthos River, then leading to Tlos in a single road (Şahin 2014, 25); For the intersections in the Xanthos Valley see Rinner 2009a and Rinner 2009b, 226-227 and Map VIII.6.

⁵⁵ Salway 2007, 198-199 Table 1; Salway 2012, 207-208.

tion of the Claudian monument on Bonda Tepe.⁵⁶ So roads were constructed.⁵⁷ Biagi believes that Claudius did not actually construct the roads at all, but created a network, which was incorporated into the *cursus publicus* and represented Roman sovereignty by listing the lengths of roads between settlements.⁵⁸ Biagi is right in highlighting the work of measurement. But her work omits certain sources and the latest developments in the history and geography of Lycia. Since she did not have the opportunity to consult Şahin – Adak 2007 (see Biagi’s fn.1: “non vidi”), this has also led to certain omissions. The part of the “nouvelle province de Lycie–Pamphylie” of the title of her contribution shows that she still holds to the old *communis opinio* about the double province, but the Stadiasmus itself directly shows that the new province contained only Lycia. While she interprets the phrase “ὁδοῦς ... ἐποίησεν” not as an actual road construction and says “si le stadiasmus de Patara claironne la «construction» des voies par Claude, c’est dans le sens de l’appropriation par le pouvoir romain d’un certain nombre de voies, de l’organisation romaine du réseau, et ce dès l’incorporation de la Lycie à l’empire.” (p. 306), she does not mention the phrase “περὶ τῆς κατασκευῆς τῶν ὁδῶν” in the Claudian monument of Bonda (see fn. 30), that shows there was also actual road construction or major restoration.⁵⁹ Polla and Rinner also concluded that not all the roads were newly constructed.⁶⁰ Lebreton rightly argues that the road construction for the whole country could not have been completed within the period between the annexation in 43 A.D. and the erection of the SP in 46 A.D.⁶¹ Rousset considers that even without actual construction, the measurement of the roads was sufficient to symbolize Roman power and annexation, and that the list in the SP was actually based upon the existing Lycian road network, and includes development, rehabilitation and construction.⁶² The construction of some roads originally for military requirements⁶³ during the annexation may be observable on some important routes, such as Tlos – Kastabara – Choma and Xanthos – Neisa – Choma (both reaching to the Mylias), and Myra – Limyra. These roads were constructed on a shallow incline and were wide enough for carts, notably in the steep sections.⁶⁴

The roads in the SP have almost exact distances, for which there need to be defined places or points to begin and to end (see the discussion above pp. 95-96 on εἰς). It should also be noted that almost

⁵⁶ There are numerous inscriptions mentioning road construction. For example, various epigraphic examples on milestones from Thyateira reflect road works with different verbs to describe what was done. *Ποιέω* (make): ... Οὐεσπασιανὸς ... τὰς ὁδοῦς ἐποίησεν (TAM V 869, AD 75). *Κατασκευάζω* (construct): Θουατερηῶν πόλις κατεσκεύασεν τὰς ὁδοῦς... (TAM V 871, AD 220). *Ἀποκαθίστημι* (repair, renovate): [Δομτιανὸς] ... τὰς ὁδο[ύς] ἀποκατέστησεν (TAM V 870, AD 92).

⁵⁷ Polla – Rinner 2009, 85-86; Şahin 2014, 23, 25, 111; Işık – Işkan – Çevik 2001, 28-29 and 50.

⁵⁸ Biagi 2008, 306-307.

⁵⁹ Marksteiner – Wörrle 2002, 553 and 561 fn. 58.

⁶⁰ Polla – Rinner 2009, 85-86.

⁶¹ Lebreton 2010, 67-74.

⁶² Rousset 2013, 68-70.

⁶³ Şahin – Adak 2007, 17; Şahin 2009, 104-105 (for the road from Sidyma to [Kalabatia]); Şahin 2014, 16.

⁶⁴ The massive road construction in the steep slopes to the east of Tlos have been investigated by our field survey team, see the relevant report in Akyürek Şahin et al. 2016; The mountainous road from Xanthos to Neisa has recently been investigated, see the second article by the author in this volume; for the road between Myra and Limyra see Marksteiner – Wörrle 2002, Şahin 2011 and Şahin 2014, 379-387.

all of the surviving numbers of lengths recorded are divisible by eight as integers, as a stadion is one eighth of a Roman mile, including the length of the road from Pinara to Telmessos, which is corrected by the editor from 177 on the stone to 176⁶⁵. Two examples, if divided by eight, do not give integers, but can be resolved into half miles. These are the roads from Tlos to Telmessos ($188/8 = 23,5$ MP) and from Kadyanda to Araksa ($108/8 = 13,5$ MP). So even though the actual measurements were completed for each road, the actual lengths recorded were then rounded to form integers or halves, as the Roman surveyors worked in whole or and half miles⁶⁶. Accordingly, the distances recorded in the list might be a little more, or a little less, than the actual length of the road itself, given that the recorded distance has been either rounded up or down. Şahin's proposal on this matter is that measuring did not start or end always in the settlements, but measuring points might have been in some cases the *mansiones*, which would be aligned with the settlements, on the main roads.⁶⁷ This can be applied for some sources, like e.g. Tabula Peutingeriana.

However, while it is certain that there were secondary roads extending from the main roads to the settlements, I think that it is more difficult to prove this for the SP than to suppose that the distances were actually indicative of a measurement between the settlements themselves. What I actually understand from the statements of the SP is more precise. For instance, when the SP says ἀπὸ Φελλοῦ εἰς Κυανέας στάδια x (R 56), it should actually imply that the road starting from Phellos will end in Kyaneai after x stadia, not at a point outside the city, such as in a plain.⁶⁸ This suggested practice, which does not seem to fit with the purpose of the SP, would have the result that all the distances given positively on the monument are unverifiable. I will try to explain this through using the same examples, namely the roads between Phellos, Kyaneai and Myra (RTs 56-57).

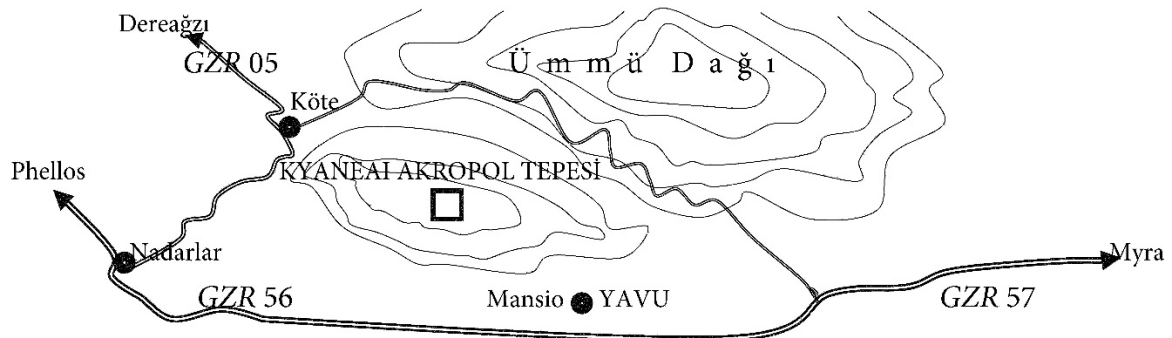


Fig. 1) The road network around Kyaneai according to Şahin (2014, 123).

There were probably two roads to Kyaneai near the place called Nadarlar, to where R 56 came in a single road from Phellos. The transit road, that is also a main road, leads through the Yavu plain to the south of Kyaneai. But the statement in the SP “from Phellos to Kyaneai” cannot be applied to this transit road, since it does not lead to Kyaneai but somewhere in the plain in its close territory.

⁶⁵ Şahin 2014, 146.

⁶⁶ Salway 2007, 202.

⁶⁷ On this point see Şahin 2014, 123, although Şahin modifies this position in a later version of the text, which concerns the road between Korydalla and Akalissos (p. 395; cf. also p. 25).

⁶⁸ This was suggested by Şahin (2014, 123) discussing the same route. But I noted my reluctance in Onur – Oktan 2013, 98 fn. 10, believing it required further study.

Although there is a shortcut that connected the road on plain and city centre, climbing up to the southern necropolis of Kyaneai, and Kolb emphasizes its importance in the Classical period,⁶⁹ the main access to the city in the imperial period should have been from its northern and eastern sides. There was certainly a road through the Yavu plain, but this was not for those who came from west and went to Kyaneai. The road measured in the SP was probably the modern secondary road, on which the remains of the old road can still be seen near Köte. Traces of a shorter road are also still visible amongst several rock cut tombs between Kyaneai and Nadarlar, starting 60-70 m east of the theatre of Kyaneai. Similarly, the measurement from Kyaneai and Myra should have started from the eastern exit of Kyaneai, where there is a well preserved Roman road amongst the Roman sarcophagi and probably provided the most comfortable access to Kyaneai from the east.⁷⁰ This resembles the case of the road from Patara to Phellos on the mountain (R 54).⁷¹ If the road between Phellos and Kyaneai had passed through the plain south of the latter *polis*, Kyaneai would not have been mentioned as the destination in R 56 but *διά* would have been employed to state that the road passed through the peripheral territory of Kyaneai, with Myra as the destination. There is a similar situation on the road between Korydalla and Akalissos mentioned above (see p. 93, no. 5). In terms of geography, this road must obviously have passed through the Alakır Valley in a place close to Rhodiapolis. According to the theory of *mansiones*, we should have had a road from Korydalla to Rhodiapolis (see above p. 93) represented by a *mansio* on the main road. But this is not the case. The SP gives no information about any road from Korydalla to Rhodiapolis. Furthermore, I think it is unlikely that the measurement in Rs 56-57 was carried out through the Yavu plain for the benefit of those who wished to go to Myra without going into Kyaneai, because the list did not serve as an itinerary, but was a presentation of the inventory of the roads measured and built/renovated if necessary (see above p. 97), in the form of a public notice, e. g. a *γνώσις/notitia*. In other words, the SP merely records the roads and their measurements and is not intended as a guide for travellers.

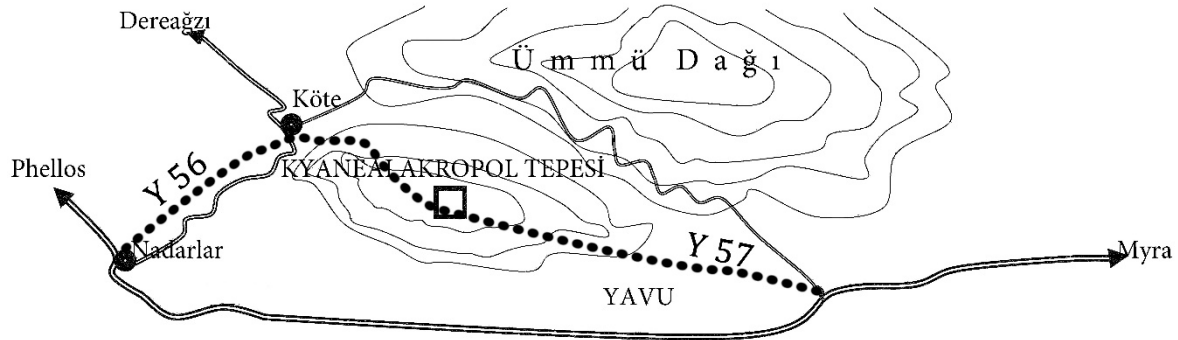


Fig. 2) The schematical courses of the roads around Kyaneai (modified from the plan in Fig. 1)

We had reported that Schuler, who accepts that Köybaşı lay within the territory of Patara,⁷² is wrong to state that if the ancient road from Xanthos to Neisa passed through the Alacıışık pass by Köybaşı, then the affiliation of Köybaşı cannot be with Patara, since this road should have led only

⁶⁹ Kolb 1995, 247.

⁷⁰ Kolb 1995, 247; Kolb 2008, 185; Hüllden 2010, 185-186; Onur – Oktan 2013, 100.

⁷¹ For the details of R 54 see Onur – Alkan 2011.

⁷² Schuler 2010, 81.

through the territories of Xanthos and Neisa.⁷³ But accepting that the road between Xanthos and Neisa passed through the Alacaışık pass raises other questions, especially regarding the modern distance, which exceeds the distance recorded in the SP by about 10 km.⁷⁴

III. The Status and Territories of the Settlements

Before proceeding to the status of settlements mentioned in the SP, it is useful to mention the relationship between the regions of Oktapolis, Mnara and Mylias in Lycia, and Pamphylia and Asia outside Lycia and some of the settlements named in the SP. It has been suggested that this practice was intended to prevent confusion with other homonymous settlements.⁷⁵ But I do not think such a confusion would really be possible, since the list already claims that roads were constructed καθ' ὄλην Λυκίαν, and no one would really suspect that Kodopa, for example, which was positioned on a road from Khoma leading to Akarassos, could be other than the Lycian Kodopa. The association of Kodopa with Mylias might mean that the road network reached Mylias by the road from Khoma to Kodopa. In the following road, Kodopa is given by itself. Next, the same applies for the road from Kalynda to Lyrnas, the latter tied with Oktapolis. Again in the following road, Lyrnas is given alone. The case of Kosara with Mnarike – possessive (*ktetikon*) form from Mnara⁷⁶ – is more complicated. Kosara is first mentioned after the road from Idebessos to Kitanaura of the Termessians (see p. 102), and it is associated with Mnarike. On the following road Kosara is named on its own. Then after the road from Onobara to the “sea”, the SP returns to the region of Mnarike, which is given again with Kosara’s second occurrence. In the same manner, Kosara’s third occurrence on face C l. 14 is after Pygela, which was probably not in Mnarike. The SP again supplies the information that Mnarike was attached to Kosara, perhaps because the road network of the SP is back in Mnarike. However, I cannot say that this was the intention of the SP, and it seems that this case remains obscure, until it is clarified by new evidence. The case of Attaleia which was associated with Pamphylia (ἀπὸ Τραβέννων εἰ[ς] Ἀτταλείαν τῆς Π[αμφυλίας]) may also provide a similar situation. The association of Kibyra with Asia is given in a different form and context, which should be connected with the unknown changes made by Quintus Veranius on the boundary between Lycia and Asia (C l. 28-29: καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἀσία[ι]· μεταξύ Κ[ιβ]ύρας κ[αί] Λαοδικῆας, ἐν τῷ Ἐπικα...⁷⁷). This section records some activity between Kibyra and Laodikeia, which cannot be clearly defined due to the illegibility of the relevant section of the inscription.

A. The Cities outside Lycia in the SP

Four cities lying beyond the borders of Lycia are recorded in the SP, although one of them (Kaunos) is dubious. Two of these were recorded without affiliation: Kaunos and Termessos, in the lat-

⁷³ Şahin 2010a, 141-144; Onur – Alkan 2011, 67 with fn. 5. and 69.

⁷⁴ A subject that has been investigated by the author, see in this volume Onur 2016.

⁷⁵ Şahin 2014, 174 and fn. 255 (for Lyrnai of Oktapolis); 223 (for Kodopa of Mylias); cf. Salway 2007, 203 and Rousset 2013, 72. It is implied that the regional information of Kodopa (in Mylias) was given to describe the settlement geographically in the correct region (Şahin 2014, 223). A homonymous settlement in Kilikia was shown as an example (Şahin 2014, 229 and fn. 462c).

⁷⁶ For Mnara see Tüner 2002, 68-70.

⁷⁷ For more on the matter see Şahin – Adak 2007, 290-294; Şahin 2014, 422-428.

ter case taking the form of the reference to Kitanaura as a settlement or colony belonging to Termessos; the other two are Kibyra in Asia and Attaleia in Pamphylia.

For the case of Termessos, the section C 1.3-9 is as follows:

ἀπὸ Ἰδεβησσοῦ ἢ εἰς Κιτάν[αυρ]α τῶν Τερμησσεῶν φέρουσα κατεσκευάσται ἐπὶ σ[τάδια] λβ'	(The road) from Idebessos leading to Kitanaura of Termessians was constructed to the extent of 32 stadia.
ἀπὸ Κιταναύρων εἰς Κό[σ]αρα Μν[αρικῆς ? σ]τάδια ...'	(The road) from Kitanaura to Kosara of Mnarike ... stadia.
[ἀπ]ὸ Κοσά[ρ]ων εἰς Τ[υ]πάλλι[α] στάδια ...'	(The road) from Kosara to Typallia ... stadia
ἀπὸ Τυπαλλίων εἰς Τράβεννα [στάδια ...']	(The road) from Typallia to Trabenna ... stadia
ἀπὸ Τραβέννων εἰς Ἄτταλείαν τῆς Π[αμφυλίας] στάδια ...']	(The road) from Trabenna to Attaleia of Pamphylia ... stadia
ἀπὸ Τραβέννων εἰς Ὀνόβαρ[α] στάδια ...']	(The road) from Trabenna to Onobara ... stadia
ἀπὸ Ὀνοβάρων ἐπὶ θάλασσα[ν] στάδια ...']	(The road) from Onobara up to sea ... stadia

What we can directly deduce from this section is that Kitanaura in l. 3-4 belonged to the Termessians (not a regional attribution like the others, but an ethnicon) by the time of the SP, while the other mentions of Kitanaura (l.5 and l.12 on Face C) do not mention Termessos. But I think it is not so easy to conclude that the places located to the north of Kitanaura also belonged to the Termessians.⁷⁸ Kitanaura might have been a detached colony in the south, similar to the settlement of the Termessians at Oinoanda⁷⁹. Most of the area between Termessos in Pisidia, Oinoanda and Kitanaura might have belonged to the Termessians⁸⁰, and perhaps to Isinda (near Korkuteli), whose political status is not clear by the reign of Claudius, provided that Termessos/Oinoanda remained in Lycia in the imperial period. However, Kosara, Typallia, Trebenna and Onobara should have been out of the Termessian zone by the time of the SP, since this is contrary to the claim of the SP that Claudius furnished all of Lycia with roads, as phrased in the beginning as: “ὁδοὺς καθ’ ὄλην Λυκίαν ἐποίησεν”. Lycia has two neighbouring provinces, Asia and Galatia, and probably one autonomous power - Termessos. The representation of Kitanaura as belonging to the Termessians in the SP in-

⁷⁸ Şahin – Adak 2007, 218, 230-232; Şahin 2014, 297, 313-314.

⁷⁹ According to Coulton (1982, 127-129), there were two communities sharing the public affairs in one city. The Oinoandians dealt with the buildings and cemeteries while the Termessians at Oinoanda, the full official title of the citizen body defining themselves as the successors of the colonists from Termessos in Pisidia, were responsible for honorific statues, official correspondence and coinage. The city of Oinoanda, beside Oinoandians, contained a distinct community of Termessians (cf. Wörrle 1988, 45-53; Milner – Eilers 1995, 85; Milner – Eilers 2006, 66); But Rousset (2010, 87-88) finds improbable to consider Termessians near Oinoanda and Oinoandians as two different communities, indicating that Oinoanda appears as a name of region near Termessians inhabited İncealiler, not as a city, in the earliest sources and that the city of Termessians near Oinoanda was the ruins above İncealiler; In his recent contribution, Gander (2014, 393-402) expresses that Oinoanda was a name already existed in the region, but not for a city, prior to the arrival of Termessians, also emphasizing the absence of archaeological material dating before late 3rd/early 2nd century amongst the ruins in İncealiler. Then he proposes that the region around Ören, where the city of Araxa was localized, was probably Wiyanawanda (Hit.) /Winbête (Lyk.)/Oinoanda, which might have been re-named as Araxa with the Persian period.

⁸⁰ On the territory of Termessos see Heberdey 1929, 5-15; Heberdey 1934, 734-737; Çelgin 2009, 102-103; İplikçioglu 1999; İplikçioglu 2004; Porcher 2009; Hellenkemper – Hild 2004, II, 878; Çelgin 2013, 115-116 and fns. 1-2.

dicates the autonomy of the latter, recognized both by Roman authorities and the Lycians during the reign of Claudius.⁸¹ Otherwise Kitanaura would not have been shown as attached to Termessos. If Kosara, Typallia, Trebenna and Onobara were in Termessian territory, it would mean that the Lycian network listed in the SP first entered the area controlled by Termessos, before it was connected to Galatia through the road leading to Attaleia of Pamphylia.

In the cases of Kaunos (see below), Kibyra,⁸² and Attaleia in the SP, the road network does not continue once it passes beyond the border of Lycia and the road network does not lead to another provincial or municipal territory (but see above p. 101 for the explanation for the mention of Laodikeia in the SP). Furthermore, Kibyra, Attaleia and perhaps Kaunos were already under Roman dominion, while Kitanaura belonged to the Termessians. Perhaps Kitanaura was the easternmost settlement at the very edge of the Termessian zone in the region, after which there were no further lands belonging to Termessos. The territory of Termessos was probably the reason why no connection was given between Akarassos or Soklai in Milyas of Lycia and Trebenna in the SP, despite the existence of fortresses such as Gilevgi and Ovacık,⁸³ indicating the existence of important roads. A Claudian inscription found in Müğren (close to Gilevgi and Ovacık) showed that there was a frontier problem (ἀμφισβήτησις) between Lycia and Termessos,⁸⁴ clearly indicating the recognition of the autonomy of Termessos both by the Lycians and Romans. Şahin, comparing the phrases of περί τῆς

⁸¹ Termessos ensured its independence, which it lost during First Mithridatic War (89-85 B.C.), in 72 (or 68) B.C. with *Lex Antonia de Termessibus* (CIL 1², 2, 589). For details see Mattingly 1997, and also Arslan 2007, 184 and fns. 835-836; 254-255. Nollé (1996, 25) thinks that Kitanaura, which he localizes in Saraycık, came under the rule of Termessos by that time, after the campaigns of Isauricus, cf. İplikçioğlu 1999, 310. The coins issued by Termessos from several periods also show their autonomy, as they do not have the image of the emperors, but their local god Zeus Solymeus, see SNGBN 2184 (A.D. 41-96), SNGBN 2146 (A.D. 1-200). Termessos also had coins with the legend of ΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΩΝ in a later period, see for example BMC 39 (A.D. c. 150-250), BMC 54 (A.D. c. 238-268). An inscription of the 3rd century A.D. from the theatre of Termessos reads “εις ἑῶνα τὰ δίκαια Τερμησσεῶν αὐτονόμων” (TAM III, 1, 877). For a detailed account on the autonomy of Termessos see also Mitchell 1995, 102-103.

Çevik and Pimouguet-Pédarros think that the Heroon in Kitanaura dates to a time between the 1st century B.C. and the 1st century A.D. They report that the political status of the city is not clear at the time when the heroon was built (Çevik – Pimouguet-Pédarros 2013, 288). But the inscription of the heroon, reading τῷ τοῦ κυρίου Καίσαρος ταμίῳ * μ(ύρια) βφ' / to the treasury of (our) master Caesar 2500 denaria, clearly shows that it was constructed at a time when Kitanaura was in fact under Roman jurisdiction. So the heroon cannot be dated to before the middle of the 1st century A.D., since the SP gives the latest attestation as to when Kitanaura was within Termessian land.

⁸² Kibyra remained in Asia during the organization of the *provincia Lycia*, see the arguments for the city's association with the province of Asia in Corsten 2007, 179-181; cf. Rousset 2010, 109.

⁸³ See Harrison 2001, 54-60; Porcher (2009, 290-296) defines Ovacık as a Termessian village and an economic centre of Termessian territory.

⁸⁴ İplikçioğlu 2007, 81-82; Rousset (2010, 110-115) suspects the Termessians mentioned in the Müğren inscription could be the Termessians at Oinoanda. This is very unlikely because firstly, Termessos/Oinoanda was already in Lycia by that time (as Rousset himself considers it in the Lycian Confederacy, p. 110). So it does not make sense to sign a border agreement between the Lycian league and one of its own members. Secondly, Pisidian Termessos' territory might well have extended to the Milyas region, see above pp. 102-103 and fns. 80-81.

ἐν τῇ Μεικρο[...] in this inscription and Μεικρὸν Ὀρος Ἀκαρασσός in the treaty of 46 B.C.⁸⁵, concludes that the border between Lycian and Termessian territories was just to the northeast of Nohutlu Dağ⁸⁶, which he identifies as Μεικρὸν Ὀρος Ἀκαρασσός. However, *editor princeps* (S. Mitchell) accepted that the second occurrence of Ἀκαρασσός is actually a dittography.⁸⁷ If Kosara, Typallia, Trebenna and Onobara were under Termessos by the reign of Claudius, the SP would probably not have mentioned them after Kitanaura, which would be the last station out of Lycia. Kosara is in a region called Mnarike, which cannot be a part of Termessian land, as this was not indicated in the SP. Typallia is known from an inscription to have been independent around 30 B.C.⁸⁸ According to some inscriptions from the 3rd century A.D. Typallia became dependent on Termessos.⁸⁹ Onobara was also in a *sympoliteia* lead by Trebenna at least in the 3rd century A.D.⁹⁰

The provincial affiliation of Kaunos, as well as that of Kibyra and Attaleia, has recently been debated. Marek pointed to the inclusion of Kaunos in Lycia by the Roman imperial period⁹¹ basing this upon the dating in the Hadrianic customs inscription from Kaunos⁹² which refers to the eponymous *lykiarkhes* Licinius Stasithemis⁹³. Şahin and Adak had proposed that Kaunos was not included in the new province of Lycia when it was first established.⁹⁴ Takmer asserted that the appearance of Kaunos in the customs inscription of Andriake is evidence for the inclusion of Kaunos in the new province of Lycia.⁹⁵ I cannot say more on that since the exact context of the mention of Kaunos is not elaborated upon in the preliminary report. Marek rejected Şahin's opinion and reported that Kaunos was included in the new province of Lycia on the basis of several inscriptions,⁹⁶ amongst which only the SP and the customs inscription of Andriake can be used as contemporary evidence for the *provincia Lycia* (all the other inscriptions he gives are from the Flavian period or later). With respect to the SP, he basically claimed that Kaunos was in Lycia by the time of Claudius, because it was given with no affiliation in the list, while Attaleia was shown as "of Pamphylia" and Kibyra was associated with Asia (as he had already stressed in IKaunos, 101). On the one hand, Marek is right to say that "Man muß bei den antiken geographischen Namen unterscheiden, ob sie sich auf landschaftliche oder politische Einheiten beziehen" (p. 57), on the other hand he creates confusion

⁸⁵ Mitchell 2005, 169, l. 69 (AE 2005, no. 1487 = SEG LV 1452).

⁸⁶ Adak – Şahin 2004, 69; Şahin 2010b, 156: "In dieser Eigenschaft ist dieser Bergstock nicht nur eine Trennlinie zwischen den beiden Poljen, sondern auch eine natürliche Grenze zwischen Lykien und Asien, so daß die westlich gelegene Polje in Lykien, die östliche aber in Asien blieb." But according to the evidence, it is the border between Lycia and autonomous Termessos, not Asia, at least by the time of Claudius; cf. Şahin 2014, 221-223.

⁸⁷ Mitchell 2005, 215 and 221.

⁸⁸ Mitchell 1995 = SEG 44, 1113.

⁸⁹ İplikçioğlu – Çelgin – Çelgin 2001, 242-244; SEG 51, 1838-1839; Onur 2005, 9, fn. 33.

⁹⁰ Heberdey – Kalinka 1897, 37 no. 47; İplikçioğlu – Çelgin – Çelgin (n.d.), nos. 32-39; Onur 2005, 9, fn. 26.

⁹¹ IKaunos, 101, 188-189.

⁹² Bean 1954, 87-105 no. 38; IKaunos, 175-221 no. 35.

⁹³ For this Lyciarch see Reitzenstein 2011, 182-183, no. 28.

⁹⁴ Şahin – Adak 2007, 93 and 291; Şahin 2014, 423.

⁹⁵ Takmer 2007, 173.

⁹⁶ Marek 2011.

when he uses the term, “Provinz Pamphylia” (p. 58), which never existed as a political entity till the reign of Diocletianus. Adak, interpreting a new Flavian inscription from the Via Sebaste and with reference to the arguments of Marek and Takmer, noted the general conclusion that Kaunos was not a part of the Asian Province, but was included in that of Lycia from its establishment in A.D. 43.⁹⁷ The latest contribution on the issue is from Şahin (2013). He thinks that the inclusion of Kaunos in Lycia should have started from the reign of Vespasianus, who newly created the *provincia Lyciae et Pamphyliae*, and that there is no clear evidence showing Kaunos was in Lycia before the Flavian period. As for the author, it is evident that none of the documents used in these arguments can prove that Kaunos was in the province of Lycia, perhaps except for the customs law in Andriake, where the context in which Kaunos is mentioned needs to be clarified. The passage of Dion Khrysostomos (31,50.124-125) mentioning the punishment of Kaunos, i.e. loss of the status of *libera civitas*, that probably took place in the reign of Vespasianus is also important in approaching this matter, since Kaunos might have kept this status during the Julio-Claudian period (also cf. Dräger 1993, 28-29 and fn. 13). I believe the Andriake inscription and a comparison with the customs law in Kaunos will lead us to a better understanding of the issue. So, at present I prefer to remain uncommitted before the full publication of the Andriake inscription.

B. The settlements in Lycia and their political status in the SP

The status of the settlements in the SP has been debated. Tietz concluded that all the settlements with no affiliation in the SP were independent, considering that the start and end points of routes were *poleis* and that the towns not mentioned in the SP, such as Daidala and Telandros (though they were on the route from Telmessos to Kaunos), were not independent *poleis*.⁹⁸ Schuler on two occasions accepted that all the settlements in the SP had the status of a *polis*. In the first he reported that the settlements listed in Stadiasmus were *poleis* and he uses the ethnonim *Κοδοπηνή*⁹⁹ mentioned in an inscription from Arykanda to show the independence of Kodopa.¹⁰⁰ His second remark is that if a settlement is not listed in the SP, even though it is actually located on the roads given in the SP, then it was not a *polis* in that time.¹⁰¹ This idea was not found plausible by Şahin, who thinks that not all the settlements in the SP were *poleis*, but some were already in the territory of other settlements, giving the examples of Kalabatia under Sidyma, Kosara under Mnara, and Onobara under Trebenna.¹⁰² Şahin is right to see difficulties in identifying the status of all the settlements as *poleis*. But I believe we should also be careful when we use evidence that is not contemporary with the SP, such as the inscriptions referring to “sympoliteia” dating mostly to the 2nd or 3rd centuries A.D. Furthermore, we do not know exactly how the system of “sympoliteia” worked, especially in terms of the political rights of the members, who seem to have maintained their independence to some

⁹⁷ Adak – Wilson 2012, 13-14.

⁹⁸ Tietz 2003, 276 fn. 207; 292.

⁹⁹ It was corrected by Mitchell (2005, 221) from *Κολοπηνή* in TAM II 794 = IArykanda 147 (... τῆ εὐ-εργέτιδι Γῆ τῆ καὶ Δ[.]ανη Μοσχίωνος Κοδοπηνῆ [καὶ] Ἀρυκανδίδι).

¹⁰⁰ Schuler 2007, 77.

¹⁰¹ Schuler 2010, 81 fn. 79.

¹⁰² Şahin 2010a, 144 fn. 11.

extent in administration, political organization and fiscal affairs.¹⁰³ Consequently, being a member of a sympolity headed by another *polis* probably did not change the independent status of the member.

Although the SP does not give direct hints as to the status of the settlements mentioned, I also think that all the settlements in the SP were independent at least to some extent. It was pointed out above that *διά* + 'settlement name' in the genitive case without the article indicates the independence of the related settlement (see above p. 90). I consider this to be direct evidence of the attention paid to the status and territories of the settlements. Except for the five roads given above (see above p. 91), all the roads are between adjacent settlements and no road mentioned on the SP connects non-adjacent settlements without mentioning that it passed through the intermediate territory. In the SP, we can find further hints relating to this situation, including the omission of some ports such as Andriake. Different explanations have been proposed for this situation: for instance that the military priority of the roads, were built with military priorities not for economic, social and civic reasons, and so the roads did not lead to harbours unless the topography forced them to do so;¹⁰⁴ or that access to these harbours was more convenient for ships and the SP focused on land routes;¹⁰⁵ or that the harbours were not of *polis* status at the time of the SP.¹⁰⁶ Actually this situation is not peculiar to ports. The SP never gives a road between two points within the same territory, or between a place in the territory of a major settlement and another settlement. Furthermore, at least five harbour settlements were mentioned in the SP: Telmessos, Patara, Gagai¹⁰⁷, Korykos and Phaselis. Kalabatia might be a sixth,¹⁰⁸ (see below pp. 108-109) and Antiphellos perhaps a seventh (see below). So it is also possible that the reason for the absence of some ports is that they were already within the territory of other settlements, as Andriake was within the territory of Myra.

The absence of Antiphellos from the SP seems complicated. But first it should be remembered that the destination of R 55, which is the second road from Phellos, could also be Antiphellos, and the reason that the destination was restored as Neisa by way of Kandyba by the editor¹⁰⁹, was that the SP was supposed to have omitted ports. There is no direct evidence for the political status of Antiphellos in the Julio-Claudian period. Its absence from the SP may have been that Antiphellos was under the control of Phellos at that time, or the SP may simply have omitted it for an unknown reason. In the Classical period, Phellos¹¹⁰ was associated with a port.¹¹¹ However it is not certain whether its

¹⁰³ Zimmermann 1992, 125 with fn. 10 (giving the examples of Olymos and Hydai under Mylasa), also 136 and 140-141.

¹⁰⁴ Işık – İşkan – Çevik 2001, 47; Şahin 2014, 25.

¹⁰⁵ Mittenhuber 2009b, 62; see also Polla – Rinner 2009, 85-88.

¹⁰⁶ Schuler 2010, 81 fn. 79.

¹⁰⁷ SMM gives Gagai as one of the ports of Lycia (235-236: *Ἀπὸ δὲ Μελανίππης εἰς Γάγας στάδιοι ξ'. | Ἀπὸ δὲ Γαγῶν ἐπὶ ποταμὸν Λάμυρον στάδιοι ξ'*). Although it was situated by the sea, its close surroundings do not provide a good place for a port, but it probably had a one opposite Melanippe in the bay of Karaöz.

¹⁰⁸ Işık – İşkan – Çevik 2001, 47; Şahin 2014, 25.

¹⁰⁹ Şahin 2014, 336, 344-345.

¹¹⁰ For the results of the field surveys around Phellos and the inscriptions see Zimmermann 2004a, 2004b, 2005a, 2005b ve 2006.

¹¹¹ Ps. Skylax, *Peripl.* 100.4-5: *Φέλλος πόλις καὶ λιμὴν.*

λιμὴν was at Kaş or Limanağzı/Bayındır Limanı (Sebeda?).¹¹² The funerary inscriptions from the Roman imperial period around Asar Tepesi, Asar Gediği Tepesi, Bayındır and also Fakdere and Üzüm iskelesi on the southern shore indicate the control of Phellos over these territories.¹¹³ Accordingly the Φέλλος λιμὴν mentioned by Skylax might be today's Bayındır Limanı, which is much more practical and more convenient for sailing ships while Bucak Limanı was probably only suitable for small vessels and was dangerous for large sailing ships.¹¹⁴ Nevertheless, according to a bilingual funerary inscription mentioning the owner as an Ἀντιφελλίτης (TAM I 56), Antiphellos may have been an independent settlement in 4th century B.C. Although we do not know its exact status in the early imperial period, inscriptions indicate that Antiphellos was independent at least from the 2nd century A.D. onwards.¹¹⁵ Bean thinks Antiphellos was a small settlement in the pre-Hellenistic period.¹¹⁶ Furthermore, the coins from Antiphellos show its independence in the Hellenistic period.¹¹⁷ Alexandros Polyhistor (FHG Frg. 78-80 l.12) and Alexandros Polykharmos (FGH Frg. 4.3-4) show both Phellos and Antiphellos as *poleis* of Lycia in the 2nd century B.C. Also in a Hellenistic inscription from Kos a certain Menophilos is shown as a citizen of Antiphellos.¹¹⁸ Zimmermann mentions its development following its separation from Phellos, indicating its buildings including a theatre, bouleuterion, agora and necropolis that reflect its urban expansion during the Hellenistic Period.¹¹⁹ According to Bean following some later geographers (whom he does not cite), Antiphellos was the most important city in the area.¹²⁰ But actually Strabon and Plinius, as the later geographers, did not give any remarkable information concerning Antiphellos. Strabon (14.3.7.6-7) mentions it as ἐν δὲ τῇ μεσογαίᾳ χωρία Φελλὸς καὶ Ἀντιφελλος καὶ ἡ Χίμαιρα, while Plinius writes *iuxta mare Limyra cum amne, in quem Arycandus influit, mons Masicytus, Andria civitas, Myra, oppida Aperlae et Antiphellos, quae quondam Habesos, atque in recessu Phellos* (NH 5.43). Plinius also mentions the famous soft sponges found about walls of the city.¹²¹ An interesting funerary inscription from Kaş reads ἀποτεισάτω τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Μυρέων καὶ Ἀντιφελλειτ[ῶν δηνάρι]α ,ε.¹²² The inscription is dated to A.D. 149 when the eponym Veranius Tlepolemos¹²³ was *archiereus*. The editors conjecture that there may have been a sympolity between Myra and Antiphellos following the earthquake of 141 A.D.¹²⁴ However the editors of SEG approach this suggestion with suspicion. In

¹¹² See references and comments in Uzunoğlu – Taşdelen 2011, 83-84.

¹¹³ Zimmerman 1992, 61-62; Uzunoğlu – Taşdelen 2011, 85 and 96 Fig. 2.

¹¹⁴ Bean 1958, 56 fn. 24.

¹¹⁵ See, e.g. TAM II 905: it was one of the cities that Opramoas aided; IGR III 704: Antiphellos issued a decree for Iason of Kyaneai; cf. Uzunoğlu – Taşdelen 2011, 81-82.

¹¹⁶ Bean 1958, 55.

¹¹⁷ Kirsten 1985, 27-28; Zimmermann 1992, 187; Troxell 1982, 39, Pl. 4, nos. 21-23; Pl. 13, nos. 71-74.

¹¹⁸ Klee 1918, 8.II = SEG 41 685, C 41-42: Μηνόφιλος Δη[μητρίου Λύκιος] ἀπὸ Ἀντιφέλλου.

¹¹⁹ Zimmermann 2006, 911; For more concerning the cultural and urban connections between Phellos and Antiphellos see Zimmermann 2005b, 248-250.

¹²⁰ Bean 1958, 55.

¹²¹ Plin. NH 31.39: nunc autem mollissimae (spongiae) circa muros Antiphelli urbis reperiuntur.

¹²² Nollé – Sayar 1983, 219 No. 1 = AE 1987 946 = SEG 33 1169.

¹²³ see Reitzenstein 2011, 203-204, no. 53, though she does not seem to have cited this inscription.

¹²⁴ Nollé – Sayar 1983, 220-221.

any case, the absence of a connection to Antiphellos in the SP cannot be satisfactorily explained in the present state of evidence. This apparently requires some further research or we have to wait till the missing block, on which the destinations of the two roads from Phellos, one of which may have ended at Antiphellos, were recorded, is found at Patara.

Kalaba(n)tia is actually restored as the destination from Sidyma in R 3 of the SP, and is considered an exception by the *editor princeps*, who hypothetically explains the existence of this road connection with the military goal of Quintus Veranius to besiege Sidyma, where rebel forces might have taken shelter.¹²⁵ But some of these explanations should be re-examined and I strongly recommend the following points for consideration in further research:

1) The restoration of Kalabatia is not secure. The *editor princeps* accepts the restoration of ε[ις Καλαβατί]αν mainly based on the information given in SMM 250-251 (Ἀπὸ Ἱερᾶς ἄκρας εἰς Καλαβαντίαν στάδιοι λ'. Ἀπὸ Καλαβαντίων εἰς Περδικίας στάδιοι ν'), and on the size of the lacuna on the inscription.¹²⁶ The line 11 of face B (R 3) of the SP is inscribed almost a half-size smaller than the above and below lines, so R 3 has a lacuna for more letters, which actually seems to fit with the restoration of ε[ις Καλαβατί]αν, but still it actually does not exclude the proposal of ἐ[πὶ θάλασσαν] or ἐ[πὶ τὴν θάλασσαν]¹²⁷, something that had already occurred in R 48 of the SP (see above pp. 96).

2) If the restoration of Kalabatia is correct, the status of Kalabatia should be better clarified. Kalabatia might have been an independent settlement (though perhaps not a *polis*) by the reign of Claudius. The use of the ethnicon in inscriptions might be considered evidence for the independence of Kalabatia for earlier periods. Persons are attested as [Κα]λαβατιανοί in an inscription from Sidyma.¹²⁸ This inscription's oracle section, where the "Kalabatians" are mentioned, is dated to the mid-1st century A.D. at the latest.¹²⁹ The other is a recently published funerary stone, which records a certain Καλαβατιανός named as Hoplon, from Sidyma.¹³⁰ Takmer – probably based on the forms of the letters – dates the inscription to the second half of the 2nd century A.D. But the inscription clearly shows earlier features in terms of letter types which resemble those of the SP (for instance the curve of the cross lines of the sigmas). With a similar approach, Schuler considered Kodopa a *polis*, based on the use of its ethnicon in a funerary inscription at Arykanda (see above fns. 99-100).

3) The localisation of Kalabatia at Sancaklı Limanı¹³¹ is not certain, since there is no evidence relating to Kalabatia from the settlement in Sancaklı. What we can surely say is that the ancient

¹²⁵ For the reasons stated in support of the construction of this connection, see Şahin 2009; Şahin 2014, 140-141.

¹²⁶ Şahin – Adak 2007, 128; Şahin 2009, 102-103; Şahin 2014, 139.

¹²⁷ Cf. Şahin 2009, 103.

¹²⁸ TAM II 174 l. E1; Merkelbach 2000; Merkelbach – Stauber 2002, 31 no. 17/08/01 l. 97.

¹²⁹ The inscription incorporating this oracle is dated to the second half of 2nd century, see Merkelbach 2000 125; Merkelbach – Stauber 2002, 33; Takmer 2010, 113 with fn. 159; Reitzenstein 2011, 76 with fn. 8.

¹³⁰ Takmer 2010, 120 no. 3.

¹³¹ Şahin – Adak 2007, 128-129; Şahin 2009, 103; Takmer 2010, 113; Şahin 2014, 139-140.

port at Sancaklı belonged to Sidyma in the 2nd and 3rd centuries A.D. as the tomb violation fines were to be paid to Sidyma.¹³²

4) The distance given for R 3 (Sidyma – [Kalabati]a) in the SP is 24 stadia, namely 4,5 km. This length cannot fit with the actual distance between Sidyma and Sancaklı Limanı, which is around 7-8 km, a point also stressed by Şahin.¹³³

IV. Conclusion

The relations between roads, settlements and territories are especially important for the on-going field researches on the Roman roads in Lycia. On field surveys, I believe, we must now be even more careful searching the roads between settlements, since the distances in the SP should indicate the measurements between the town zones. There are still many issues to be solved through these field surveys, such as the matter of Sidyma and Kalabatia, Antiphellos and Phellos, Boubon and Trimilinda, Termessians at Oinoanda and Tlos (and the issue of Mount Masa between these two), Termessos and Lycia. It is important to understand the geographical and territorial relations between settlements and other administrative units (other provinces or powers) through the SP in the Claudian period, when Lycia was organised as a Roman province, since most of the roads are between adjacent settlements and the SP informs us if the territory of another settlement lay on the way. This also indicates the independent nature of the settlements recorded in the SP.

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¹³² TAM II 249-253.

¹³³ Şahin 2014, 137.

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Stadiasmus Patarensis için Parerga (16): Yollar, Yerleşimler ve Teritoryumlar

Özet

Bu makalede Stadiasmus Patarensis'te (SP) geçen yollar, yerleşimler ve teritoryumlar arasındaki ilişkilere yönelik bazı hususlar tartışılmaktadır. SP'nin bir seyahat kılavuzu olamayacağını ve sadece, neredeyse bütün büyük ve bazı küçük yerleşimler arasında tamir edilen, yeniden yapılan ya da mevcut haldeki yolların (*viae*) uzunluklarının verildiği, fakat rotaları (*itinerata*) gösterme amacı taşımayan bir liste olduğunu kabul eden yazar şunları önermektedir: 1) Yerleşimler arasındaki yolların mesafeleri yerleşim merkezlerinden ya da merkez sınırlarından ölçülmüş ve anıtta da o şekilde verilmiştir. 2) Yerleşimlerin teritoryumları SP'de dikkate alınmıştır. 3) SP'de adı geçen tüm yerleşimler, statü bakımından her zaman belirlenemese de bağımsız bir yapıya sahiptir. Bu üç öneri üç başlıkla açıklanmaktadır.

I. Prepozisyonlar (edatlar) ve artikeller: SP'de kullanılan prepozisyonlar (διά, εἰς ve ἐπί) ve artikellerin kullanımındaki belli özellikler metni coğrafi olarak kavramada önem arz etmektedir. Bu bağlamda yazar, artikellerin bölge isimlerinde (B yüzü sat. 37: Κόδοπα τῆς Μυλιάδος, C yüzü sat. 8: Ἀτταλεία τῆς Παμφυλίας, C yüzü sat. 28: ἐν τῇ Ἀσίαι, C yüzü sat. 29: ἐν τῷ Ἐπικαλ...) ve doğal oluşumlarda (B sat. 30–31: διὰ τοῦ πεδίου ... διὰ δὲ τῆς ὀρεινῆς) kullanıldığına dikkat çekmektedir. Διά prepozisyonu alıp, artikelle verilen diğer isimlerin doğal oluşumlara (örn. ovalık alan, dağlık alan) ve dağa (örn. Masikyos), artikel almayan isimlerin ise (Trimilinda, Plata..., Kollyba, Kandyba, Rhodiapolis ve Madamyssos) bağımsız yerlere ait olduğunu belirtmekte, bu yerleşimlerin διά ile gösterilmesinin nedenini de yolun yerleşimin içine girmeden teritoryumundan geçmesiyle açıklamaktadır. Bu durumda yazar, yolların εἰς alan yerleşimlere girdiğini ve bu yolların ölçülerinin kent merkez sınırlarından itibaren alındığını savlamaktadır.

II. Mesafeler ve yerleşimler: SP'nin bir seyahat rehberi gibi bir amacının olmadığı ve sadece yol ölçülerinin resmi bir sunumu olduğu kabul edilerek, verilen ölçülerin özenli olduğu ve yolların doğrudan ilgili yerleşimlerden çıkıp diğer yerleşimin içine ulaştığı belirtilmektedir. Phellos – Kyaneai – Myra yolları ile Rhodiapolis ve Madamyssos arazilerinden geçerek giden Korydalla – Akalissos yolu bu tez için örnek olarak kullanılmaktadır. Bu örnekler uyarınca, Phellos'tan çıkan yolun Kyaneai kentine gitmeyip hemen güneyindeki ovidan ilerleyerek Myra'ya gitmiş olması, SP'te belirtilen yol ölçülerinin verilmiş sistematigi açısından uyumsuz olmaktadır. Çünkü böyle bir durumda, yol Kyaneai teritoryumundan geçecek olduğu için Kyaneai'nin διά prepozisyonu ile verilmiş bir ara yerleşim olarak görünmesi gerekecekti. Bunun böyle olması gerektiği, Korydalla'dan çıkıp Akalissos'a ilerleyen ve Rhodiapolis'in hemen doğusundaki ovidan geçmesi gereken yolun διά Ῥοδίας πόλεως καὶ Μαδαμυσοῦ olarak verilmesinden anlaşılmaktadır. Çünkü bu yol Rhodiapolis'e uğramadan kentin teritoryumundan geçmektedir. Böylelikle yazıttaki διά ve εἰς prepozisyonlarının kullanım farkı daha belirgin bir şekilde görülebilmektedir.

III. Yerleşimlerin statüleri ve teritoryumları: SP'te geçen yerleşimlerin hepsinde bağımsız bir yapıya sahip olduğu gerek yukarıdaki tartışmalardan gerekse bazı yerleşimlerin verilmemiş olmasından anlaşılabilir. Bunun yanı sıra Kitanaura'nın Termessos'a bağlı verilmesi de özerkliklerin dikkate alınmış olmasına bir örnektir. SP'nin aynı teritoryum içerisinde bulunan herhangi iki nokta arasında hiç yol vermemesi de bu durumla ilişkilidir. Bu duruma aykırı görülebilecek tek yol bilgisi Sidyma ve Kalaba(n)tia arasında gösterilen yoldur. Fakat bu yol bilgisinin gözden geçirilmesi gereken önemli hususları vardır: 1- Yazıttaki Kalaba(n)tia tamamlaması kesin değildir; 2- Eğer Kalaba(n)tia tamamlaması doğru ise, SP'nin sistematigine göre Kalaba(n)tia'nın statüsünün bağımsız

bir yapıya sahip olması beklenir; 3- Kalabatia'nın Sancaklı Limanı'ndaki lokalizasyonu kesin değildir, çünkü Sancaklı limanından Kalabatia'ya ilişkin kesin bir veri olmamakla birlikte, Sancaklı limanının İ.S. 2.-3. yüzyıllarda Sidyma'ya ait bir liman olduğu kesindir; 4- Sidyma – Kalaba(n)tia arasında verilen mesafe SP'de 24 stadia (4,5) km iken, Sidyma ve Sancaklı limanı arasındaki gerçek mesafe 7-8 km'dir. Sonuç olarak, yollar, yerleşimler ve teritoryumlar arasındaki ilişkiler devam eden yüzey araştırmaları açısından oldukça önemlidir.

Anahtar Sözcükler: Stadiasmus Patarensis; Roma Yolları; artikeller; edatlar; yerleşim statüleri; yerleşim teritoryumları.

Parerga to the Stadiasmus Patarensis (16): The Roads, Settlements and Territories

Abstract

In this contribution the author discusses three issues relating to the course of the roads and settlements mentioned in the Stadiasmus Patarensis (SP): 1- All the roads recorded on the SP were measured from within the borders of town centres, except for those settlements given with the preposition $\delta\acute{\iota}$. 2- The territories of the settlements were observed in the composition of the road list and indicated through $\delta\acute{\iota}$ when required. 3- All the settlements recorded on the SP had an independence with reference to fiscal basis and possessed territorial rights. The author begins the discussion with the use of the prepositions $\delta\acute{\iota}$, $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ and $\epsilon\pi\acute{\iota}$, which relate to territories or natural formations, town zones and borders respectively, and the articles that were not used for the settlement names, but for the regions or natural formations recorded on the SP. The author understands the SP was not constructed as a route guide for travellers, as it does not provide “routes” (*itinera*) but “roads” (*viae*) and, in consequence, it should be regarded as an official inventory of the roads, and consequently it is suggested that the recorded distances indicate the actual lengths of the roads between the borders of town-zones. Finally, based upon the argumentation outlined above, the author points out the independent nature of the settlements recorded in the SP. He also discusses the possible reasons for the omission of some ports, and concludes that it was because they were either, not *poleis* at the time or, they were ports under the control of other settlements, such as Andriake of Myra, with the roads given to the cities to which these ports belonged.

Keywords: Stadiasmus Patarensis; Roman Roads; articles; prepositions; status of settlements; territories of settlements.