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The Western Shores of the Pamphylian Gulf: Tenedos, "Olbia and others" Revisited

Pamfilya Körfezi'nin Batı Kıyıları:Tenedos, "Olbia ve Diğerleri"ne Yeniden Bir Bakış

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Fatih ONUR*

Abstract: One of the most challenging parts of our surveys on the road network in Lycia and Pamphylia has been to understand the borders of Lycia and Pamphylia. The Pataran Road Monument does not provide any information about the region between Phaselis and Attaleia, except for the road from Onobara to the "sea". In addition, we do not know much about the historical geography of this coastline. Although the available data draw a certain general picture, our epigraphic data for settlements such as Tenedos, Lyrnessos, Thebe, Olbia, which some literary texts indicate to be in this area, were not sufficient to determine the localisation of these places. However, some new data and the re-evaluation of the data gave us the opportunity to go a little further and led us to reach some conclusions such as Tenedos was located in Hayıtlıgöl and Olbia cannot be localised in Kemer/Çalış Mountain. In this context, a partial re-evaluation of this coastline is made in this article.

Keywords: Lycia, Pamphylia, Phaselis, Tenedos, Attaleia, Olbia

Öz: Likya ve Pamfilya'daki yol ağı üzerine yürütmüş olduğumuz yüzey araştırmaları kapsamında yaptığımız çalışmaların en zorlu kısımlarından bir tanesi Likya ve Pamfilya sınırlarını anlamak olmuştur. Phaselis ve Attaleia arasındaki bölge hakkında Patara Yol Anıtı, Onobara'dan "deniz"e verdiği yol dışında bir bilgi sunmamaktadır. Bununla birlikte bu kıyı şeridinin tarihi coğrafyası hakkında da bilgimiz çok da fazla değildir. Mevcut veriler belli bir genel resim çizmekle birlikte, bazı edebi metinlerin bu alanda olduğunu belirttiği Tenedos, Lyrnessos, Thebe, Olbia gibi yerleşimlere yönelik epigrafik verilerimiz de bu yerlerin lokalizasyonlarını tespit etmek için yetmemişti. Fakat bazı yeni veriler ve verilerin yeniden değerlendirilmesi bir parça daha ileriye gitme fırsatı tanımış olup, Tenedos'un Hayıtlıgöl'de olduğu, Olbia'nın Kemer/Çalış Dağı'nda olamayacağı gibi bazı sonuçlara ulaşmamızı da sağlamıştır. Makalede bu bağlamda bu kıyı şeridinin kısmi bir yeniden değerlendirilmesi yapılmaktadır.

Anahtar sözcükler: Likya, Pamfilya, Phaselis, Tenedos, Attaleia, Olbia

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Inhabitants of Antalya and visitors to the city know the spectacular landscape of the western shore of Antalya Bay[1], which is furnished with steep mountains rising directly from the sea, many gorges, valleys and rivers separating the mountains from each other so that a fascinating order of geography immediately captures the viewer. Today's towns and localities in this section extending to the north after ancient Phaselis are Çamyuva (formerly Ağva), Kiriş, Kemer, Göynük, Beldibi, Hurma, Arapsuyu and Antalya. The shore from Phaselis to Hurma is quite rough, and it was only the 1960s that a coastal road began to be constructed between Antalya and Kemer. The earliest tunnels are Akyarlar in the north (the eastern slope of Yumrucak Hill) and Çamdağ in the south (the eastern slope of Çamdağı near Beldibi), built in the 1970's, tunnels through these two promontories that did not provide access for trucks even in our era. These tunnels are now blocked because the larger tunnels have been constructed for the increasing vehicular traffic in recent decades. Transportation of bulk goods along the coast was possible only by sea prior to the 1960's. However, there were inland roads from Phaselis to Attaleia passing through the Kesme Strait, Ovacık, then Hisarçandır and Gökdere valleys, which can be used year-round and could be employed at times, if the sea was unfavourable for sailing in stormy weather. There is also another inland road that climbs up to Hayıtlıgöl after Beldibi and descends down to Büyük Çaltıcak (see p. 29 below).



Fig. 1. Western Shore of Antalya Bay (Şahin 2014, 322)

Monumentum Patarense (*alias* Stadiasmus Patarensis) of 45 AD, upon which our field surveys were based, provides little information for this part of the section after Phaselis to the north. What we have in the road list of this monument are three roads: From Trebenna to Attaleia of Pamphylia, from Trebenna to Onobara, and from Onobara to the "sea" or to "Thalassa"[2]. The road between Trebenna and Attaleia should have passed the Çandır River somewhere around or to the south of Hacısekililer then it should have led through Domuzağılı, where a Roman settlement with many sarcophagi existed, and Hurma, then passed Boğa Çayı finally reaching Attaleia via Konyaaltı, Arapsuyu ruins, leading on the sea cliffs[3]. However, it is also possible that the road took a route through the upper parts of Boğa Çayı, then Bahtılı Village, Uncalı-Duraliler cemetery, where traces

[1] I am grateful to T. Michael P. Duggan for his cooperation and suggestions during the study and discussion of this coast and for his corrections to the language of this paper, and to Prof. Pascal Arnaud for his most valuable contribution to the discussions on the evidence in the portolans and the coastal geography of Antalya Bay.

[2] Şahin 2014, 47, Face C ll. 8-10: ἀπὸ Τραβέννων εἰ[ς] Ἀτταλείαν τῆς Π[αμφυλίας στάδια . .] | ἀπὸ Τραβέννων εἰς Ὀνόβαρ[α στάδια . .] | ἀπὸ Ὀνοβάρων ἐπὶ θάλασσα[ν στάδια . .]

[3] See also Çevik 1995, 47; İplikçioğlu *et al.* 2000, 204.

of an ancient road were visible until a few years ago[4]. The first half of the road from Trebenna to Onobara could be the same with the road to Attaleia, that is up to a point near Hacısekililer, but afterwards it should have turned south to reach Gedeller, Deveboynu where was the ancient Onobara. The road from Onobara to the "sea" or "Thalassa" is problematic in several aspects. First it is not exactly clear if the word "thalassa" refers to the "sea", because the road list employs articles for all natural formations[5] and here "thalassa" does not have an article (ἀπὸ Ὀνοβάρων ἐπὶ θάλασσαν), as all the other place names in the road list, suggesting that it might have been a place name by the sea[6]. On the other hand, if θάλασσα was the name of a settlement or of a port, perhaps εἰς would have been better instead of ἐπί, however, for the moment, we cannot know the nature of this road and *thalassa*. The road most probably followed the slopes of the valley leading from Gedeller/Deveboynu down to Balıkçı Barınağı, or perhaps lead to the western end of the Antalya Plain through the Gökdere Valley[7]. Another funerary inscription of the III[rd] century AD from "Dinek Çeşmesi" located by the sea on the lower south-eastern slopes of Tünek Tepe reads that Trebenna was authorized for the collection of the fines[8]. This clearly shows that Trebenna's territory has reached south by sea in the III[rd] century.

However, the ancient geography and political organization of the settlements on the shore between Phaselis and Attaleia have long remained blurry, due to the insufficiency or the misinterpretation of epigraphic evidence and the conflicting labyrinth of testimonies recorded in the ancient literary sources[9].

Table 1. Settlements and literary/epigraphic sources in chronological order.
Footnotes (fn.) and pages (p.) are of this paper.

	Cent.	Idyros	Olbia	Tenedos	Thebe	Lyrnessos / Lyrnas / Lirnuteia
BC	VI	• Hecat. (fn. 53)	-	-	-	Hecat. (fn. 59)
	V	-	-	-	-	-
	IV	• Ps. Aristot. (fn. 44: Idyris Island) • Theophr. (fn. 47: Idyros River) • Scylax (fn. 51: Idyros polis)	• Ps. Aristot. (fn. 44) • Inscr. (fn. 39) • Scylax (fn. 51)	-	• Callisthenes (fn. 54)	• Callisthenes (fn. 54)
	III	-	-	-	-	-
	II	-	• Artemid. (fn. 55)?	• Apollod. (fn. 24)	-	-
	I	-	• Str. (fn. 55) • Plin. (fn. 58)	• Inscr. (Hayıtlıgöl; p. 20)	-	-
AD	I	-	• Philon (fn. 69)		-	• Plin. (fn. 58)
	II	-	• Ptol. *geogr.* (fn. 65)	• Inscr. (fn. 29)	-	-
	III	-	-	• *Peripl. mar. Mag.* (fn. 27)	-	• *Peripl. mar. Mag.* (fn. 27)

There are ruins of settlements or buildings in several locations along this coast and although we know of ancient names that survive in the primary sources and in inscriptions, none of these names has been localized through epigraphic testimonies found *in-situ*. The limited epigraphic evidence, which can be employed roughly for the existence of some settlements, presents relatively more

4 Cf. Şahin 2014, 317.

5 Şahin 2014, 45, Face B ll. 30-31: ἀπὸ Οἰνοάνδων εἰς Βάλβουρα διὰ τοῦ π[εδί]ου στάδια ρξ′ | διὰ δὲ τῆς ὀρεινῆς στάδια ρκη′; Face C, l.21 (mountain name): ἀπὸ Μύρων εἰ[ς Λί]μ[υρ]α δ̣[ι]ὰ̣ τ̣ο[ῦ] Μ̣α̣σ̣ικύτ̣ου σ[τά]δια ..′.

6 For a discussion on the matter see Onur 2016, 96.

7 Şahin 2014, 320-321; Onur 2022, 515.

8 İplikçioğlu 2003, 74 no. 26; cf. Şahin 2014, 318 fn. 638.

9 For the most recent evaluation and the background of the discussions see Şahin 2001; 2002; Adak 2006; 2007.

reliable information on the locations and territories of the settlements on this coastline, while the literary sources from a variety of ancient and Medieval periods provide ambiguous and sometimes contradictory statements, which have puzzled researchers. Although there have been several attempts to localize the ancient cities known from the primary sources, no undoubted conclusions could be presented to-date. There were certainly settlements after Phaselis to the north, *poleis* or *demoi*, such as those transmitted in the sources: Tenedos, Idyros, Olbia, Lyrnas/Lyrnessos, Thebe and the "T/thalassa", that is mentioned above. Of these, only Tenedos and Olbia were attested in the epigraphic evidence.

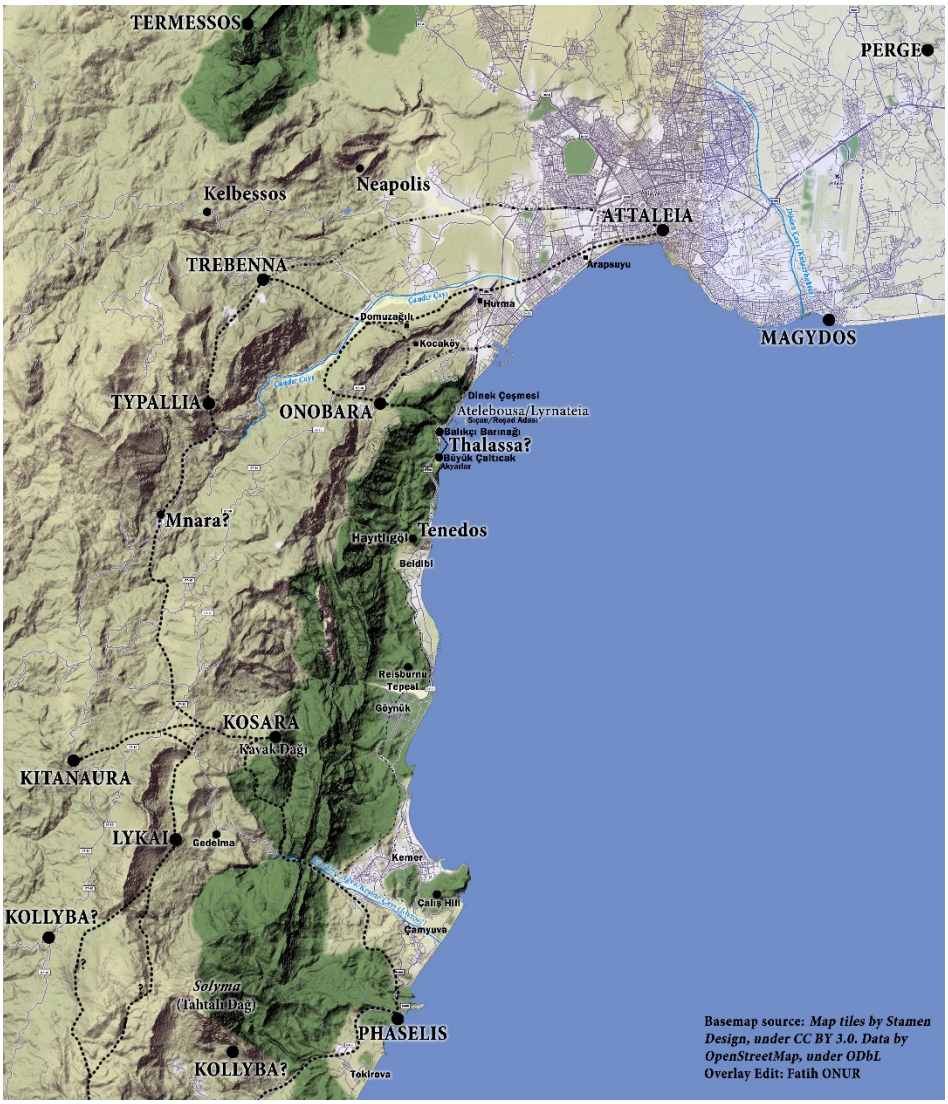


Fig. 2. The Map of Eastern Lycia and Western Pamphylia

Tenedos

In the early 2000's, S. Şahin's survey team (including the author) found an inscription amongst the ruins in Hayıtlıgöl to the northwest of Beldibi during the initial preparatory years of the field surveys. Though Şahin entrusted the publication of this inscription to the members of the team and it is mentioned several times[10], this inscription, unfortunately, has remained unpublished.

[10] The mention of the inscription and description of the site in Hayıtlıgöl can be found in Hellenkemper & Hild 2004, II,

It was known that Tenedos and the Tenedans are mentioned in this inscription within the frame of an issue between the citizens of these two *poleis*, Phaselis and Tenedos, the ancient name of the site has constantly been named as Lyrnas (see fn. 10 above). The fact that the content of this inscription lacks from the related discussions has led the scientific world and the public due to a lack of information or misinformation about the ancient geography of the region and caused the continuance of certain stereotypical discourses.



Fig. 3. The inscription from Hayıtlıgöl. The archive of the Research Centre for Mediterranean Languages, Akdeniz University

The last record of the inscription *in situ* seems to date from 2003 according to our survey archives, and the records of S. Şahin provided only photos and incomplete manual records of the text, but no squeezes, which were certainly taken during the on-site investigations. After such a long period, it became inevitable that this inscription should be included with its text in these discussions due to our studies concerning the geography of the region. However, our several recent visits to the site to revisit and investigate this inscription did not produce any result, as the inscription seems to be lost today, or the equivalent, deliberately hidden, as some claimed. Nevertheless, hoping that it will resurface, or that those, who might have the full record of the inscription, will properly present it in near future, and knowing that the text carries a crucial key to uncovering some of the obscurities

877, s.v. Tenedos; Adak & Güzelyürek 2005, 84-86; Adak 2007, 45-46; Şahin & Adak 2007, 281 fn. 855; Adak 2013, 65; Şahin 2014, 414 fn. 855. The information given by N. Tüner in her doctoral thesis of 2008 is as follows: "Kalker taşından bir stel. Üst kısmı kırılmış, sağ ve sol kenarları işlenmiş, arka kısım işlenmeden bırakılmıştır. Yazıtın sol kısmı oldukça yıpranmış ve kısmen okunamaz durumdadır. Yazıtın bulunduğu yapı kaçak kazıcılar tarafından tahrip edilmiştir. Yapının etrafındaki bölümler ve yazıt, burada Helenistik Dönem'den resmi karakterli bir yapının söz konusu olduğunu düşündürmektedir. Buluntu Yeri: Beldibi yakınındaki harabeliğin güneybatısında yer alan bir yapı duvarında bulunmuştur.", then comes a very rough preliminary edition of the inscription, see Tüner 2008, 238, TEp. 1. All the researchers cited above believed that the ruins in Hayıtlıgöl belonged to Lyrnas.

about the ancient geography of eastern Lycia and western Pamphylia in antiquity, some parts of the text are presented below in a form of preliminary edition based upon our earlier studies.
H: 47 cm; W: 46 cm; D: 15 cm; Lh: 1 cm.

---------- Τ..
----------ΑΤΑ..
----------. τὰ? πρυτ]ανεῖα καὶ ὁ ἐσα-
4 [γωγεύς ----------] Σ̣ΘΑΝ πρυτανεῖα Ν̣.?
---------- χρήματα ἀντιγραφάς
---------- εἰς Τένεδον· εἰ δέ τίς κα Φασ[ηλ-]
[ίτας ----------]ΜΗΤ ------- Σ Φασηλίτα ΚΑΤΑ..
8 ---------- καὶ Φασηλιτᾶν ἁ̣πάντων Τενεδ̣[εῖς?]
----------· [ὡ]σαύτ̣ως δὲ καὶ Τενεδ[εῖς]
Φασηλῖταις Δ̣ . . Σ̣ ---------- Ν διεξαγέσθωσ̣[αν]
χ̣ρήματος̣ ΕΤ̣ ---------- αγεγραμένους νόμ̣[ους?]
12 Τ̣Α̣Δ̣Ε . . . Σ̣ΤΑΤΑΙ . . ΚΛΙΔΙΑΝ̣ . . . . .ΝΑΝ κρίσεων ΑΝΑ̣ . . .
---------- ΑΓ̣ΕΤ̣. Ω̣Ε̣. · τὰ δὲ αὐτῶν ἀρχεῖα ΟΜΟ̣ . . .
---------- ἐ̣ν Τενέδωι χρηματί[σαι?]

ll. 3-4 – τὰ? πρυτ]ανεῖα καὶ ὁ ἐσα|[γωγεύς: The restorations are based on the defined nature of the text. The πρυτανεῖα were the court fees paid by both parties prior to the trial of the case. The winner of the case used to receive the opponent's fee. Since the term was for most private cases, it was different than παρακαταβολή, fee for the inheritance cases, and παράστασις, fee for the public cases[11]. Similar uses of πρυτανεῖα are already known from inscriptions[12]. An ἐσαγωγεύς (=εἰσαγωγεύς) was the magistrate, who presided over the court and introduced the cases into the law court after the πρυτανεία were deposited. He, in Athens, "was part of a five-member collegium which was entitled to preside over certain urgent legal affairs"[13]. Pollux described them as introducers of the monthly cases, such as those about dowry, loans or several debts, commercial issues etc.[14]. So what was referred in this text was most probably commercial or other private cases between the citizens of Tenedos and those of Phaselis, as also the words χρήμα (l. 5 and 11) and χρηματίζω (l. 14) indicate.

l. 4 – ...ΣΘΑΝ πρυτανεῖα Ν̣.?: It is difficult to bring a solution here, as the word (τὰ) πρυτανεῖα would have repeated in the same meaning. However, perhaps ...Σ̣ΘΑΝ πρυτανείαν but then the πρυτανεία here comes to mean "presidency" of boule or the court. Unfortunately, I have no suggestion for... Σ̣ΘΑΝ or less probably ...Σ̣ΟΑΝ. It perhaps refers to the monthly turns or rotations

11 A basic description can be found in Poll. 8.38.1-4: τὰ μὲν πρυτανεῖα ὡρισμένα, ὅ τι ἔδει καταβαλεῖν πρὸ τῆς δίκης τὸν διώκοντα καὶ τὸν διωκόμενον· εἰ δὲ μή, διέγραφον τὴν δίκην οἱ εἰσαγωγεῖς. ὁ δ᾽ ἡττηθεὶς ἀπεδίδου τὸ παρ᾽ ἀμφοτέρων δοθέν, ἐλάμβανον δ᾽ αὐτὸ οἱ δικασταί (*The court fees were specified, how much the plaintiff and the defendant respectively had to deposit prior to the trial; if they did not, the Introducers cancelled the trial. Whoever was defeated would pay the amount given by both sides; the judges received that*); Wyse 1904, 330-331; Thür & Taeuber 1994, 229-232; Thür 2008.

12 For some epigraphic occurrences and for an account on *prytaneia* in the inscriptions see Papazarkadas 2017, 338-340; Papazarkadas 2021, 107-117 (cf. Scafuro 2021).

13 Thür 2004.

14 Poll. 8.101: εἰσαγωγεῖς οἱ τὰς ἐμμήνους δίκας εἰσάγοντες· ἦσαν δὲ προικός, ἐρανικαί, ἐμπορικαί.

of presidency in the court calendar, if the second option above was true.

l. 5 – ἀντιγραφάς: an ἀντιγραφή was the statement of allegation or reply to the accusations, or plea of defence[15].

ll. 6-8: Dor. Φασηλίτας = Koin. Φασηλίτης; Dor. Φασηλίτα = Koin. Φασηλίτου; Dor. Φασηλιτᾶν = Koin. Φασηλιτῶν.

ll. 6-7: A restoration as following might perhaps be suggested: εἰ δέ τίς κα Φασ[ηλ|ίτας τινὸς Τενεδέως τ]ί ἢ Τ[ενέδευ]ς Φασηλίτα κατα[γο]|ρεύσηι … (*if a Phaselitan denounces/accuses a Tenedan …, or a Tenedan a Phaselitan …*).

ll. 8-9: The ethnic use Τενεδεῖς is accepted based upon the description of Stephanos Byzantios, who stated "those of Pamphylia (are called) *Tenedeis*" (see fn. 24 below).

l. 10 – διεξαγέσθωσ̣[αν: this is another important word, διεξάγω in judicial terminology, in the meaning of " to try a case, lawsuit" or "to settle, to bring to an end (a lawsuit, dispute, conflict etc.)". An inscription from Erythrai (*IErythrai* 114) honouring Kallikrates son of Leagoras, a judge (δικαστής), employs the verb for the judges with the following statements in ll. 2-8: … τοῦ δήμου προειρημέ|[νου] καὶ τὰς εἰς τὸ π[ολι]τικὸν κρίσεις εἰσαγομένας διεξάγεσθα[ι | καλ]ῶς καὶ δικαίως καὶ πεποημένου πρ[όνο]ιαν περὶ τῶν ἀποδεικνυ|[ομέ]νων δικαστῶν ἀν᾽ ἕκαστον ἔτος ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαιρεσίαις ἕνεκα | [το]ῦ διεξάγεσθαι τὰ συμβόλαια τοῖς ἰδιώταις ἐπιμελῶς καὶ [τοῖ]ς νόμ[οι]ς ἀ[κ]ολούθως (*since the people also want the complaints which are brought before the domestic court to be dealt with in an orderly and just manner and they use care when they appoint their judges year after year in the electoral assemblies, so that the complaints of each individual are dealt with all care and in accordance with the laws*). So, since this practise was done by "judges", we may expect that somewhere in the text there was the word "δικασταί", perhaps Δ̣…Σ̣… after Φασηλῖταις in the beginning of the same line. Gauthier concludes that from the beginning of the II[nd] century BC, the symbola (see p. 23 below) handed over the trials of individuals to foreign judges, who came especially for this purpose[16]. However, we have no trace of this in the surviving part of our inscription, although it is plausible to expect it.

L. 11 – …αγεγραμένους: it was probably [κατὰ τοὺς κατ]αγεγραμένους/[ἀν]αγεγραμένους …

l. 12 – …NAN κρίσεων: the κρίσεις were usually the case judgements or decisions taken by the court, but sometimes the word denoted trials or suits as well, as in the example above in IErythrai 114. …NAN seems to have been ending of a participle in Gen. Pl. (-νᾶν) dependent on κρίσεων.

l. 13 - OMỌ . . . : perhaps ὁμοίως.

l. 14: The text seems to have finished with this line, or, with less probability, it continued in the illegible left part of a possible next line.

Approx. translation:

> *…….the court fees and the introducer …… court …… pleas? [for?] money …… to Tenedos. If any Phaselitan ……. not … Phaselitan … ……. all the Phaselitans … Tenedans …… and similarly let the Tenedans towards Phaselitans … [let the judges] bring [lawsuits] to end … money … according to the laws written …… the judgements … …… their public records ……to deliberate/to conduct business in Tenedos …*

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15 For a detailed account and references to ἀντιγραφή see García Domingo 2016, 96-103.

16 Gauthier 1972, 345-346, who also adds that at this time, most Greek cities – with a few rare but notable exceptions, such as Rhodes and Athens - gave up having their own citizens tried by local courts. These courts could either no longer be convened because of the wars, or their decisions were no longer recognised because of the lack of a minimum of social harmony.

There is no record of a date or a historical event in the inscription, while the letters and orthographic features can provide an approximate date. The letters are carved with careful apices. The alphas have straight cross-bar. The sigmas are with flat cross bars and their middle strokes do not reach far to the right. Pis have short right strokes and horizontal bars protrude beyond the vertical strokes. The cross-bars of kappas are short. Omega is inscribed plainly; the ends of the loop are not so close to each other, though they remain in the same diameter of the loop, however, it remains a little above the bottom alignment of the line. The middle bars of thetas are short and do not touch the circle. Epsilon's horizontal bars are long with a shorter middle bar. Xi has two simple bars above and bottom, in the middle of which is a very short line. Phi is taller than the other letters and its middle circle is horizontally elliptic.



Fig. 4



Fig. 5

The inscription from Hayıtlıgöl. The archive of the Research Centre for Mediterranean Languages, Akdeniz University

The text is in the Doric dialect, as can clearly be understood from the uses of εἰ δέ τίς κα (l. 6) and Φασηλιτᾶν (l. 8). However, the use of διεξαγέσθωσ̣[αν] in the imperative ending -σαν (l. 10), which was introduced from the III[rd] century BC onwards in both papyri and inscriptions[17], is in Attic form instead of the ending -εσθον, -σθον, a similar but active form of which can be seen in the treaty between Mausolos and the Phaselitans[18]. The iota adscript is employed in the dative form (l. 14: ἐν̣ Τενέδωι). We do not know if the subjunctive forms of the verbs keep iota adscript, as we have no example surviving in the inscription. The cessation in use of iota adscript in dative singular forms is usually before the I[st] century AD[19]. The πρυτανεῖα ("court fees"), ἐσαγωγεύς ("introducer", a magistrate who brought cases into court), κρίσεων ("judgements") and ἀρχεῖα ("public records") are the keywords as to the nature of the text, that is judicial and concerns the legal disputes between the Tenedans and the Phaselitans.

The date of the inscription can be given as roughly the II[nd] or at the latest -I[st] century BC. The Doric dialect in the region is familiar, like some inscriptions from Phaselis, Olympos, Gagai, as the Rhodian influence on this shore is well known through these inscriptions and the narratives in

17 Gignac 1981, 361; also cf. Gignac 1976, 183-186.

18 See fn. 28 below, l. 3: ὀμόσαντον δὲ καὶ …

19 Gignac 1981, 3 and 22.

ancient sources[20]. Adak thought that some conditions, which concerned Tenedos and Phaselis together, were formulated in this text and that this could be the text of the treaty establishing a sympolity between them[21]. However, the text deals with judicial procedures between Phaselitans and Tenedans, the nature of which is not clear as the text is fragmentary. It is probably about the private lawsuits, which arose from commerce and other business conducted between citizens of the two *poleis* and were based on the debts or infractions concerning business contracts (i.e. τὰ συμβόλαια, as mentioned in IErythrai 114 above). The inscription reflects the equal status of both as *poleis* and the content hints that Phaselis and Tenedos were adjacent, as the geographical positions indeed exhibit. So, the inscription bears the text of a *symbola*-treaty made between these two cities. The *symbola* were treaties between two cities to protect the security of each other's citizens and to settle commercial or other disputes. We know an example of such a treaty issued in Athens for the Phaselitans, who reside and commerce in Athens, from a much earlier period, mid-5th century BC[22]. Such an inscription containing an official treaty between two cities should be expected to have been erected in front of a public building in the city, usually in the sanctuaries of the prominent Gods of the cities. So, it clearly indicates that the name of the ancient city at Hayıtlıgöl was Tenedos.

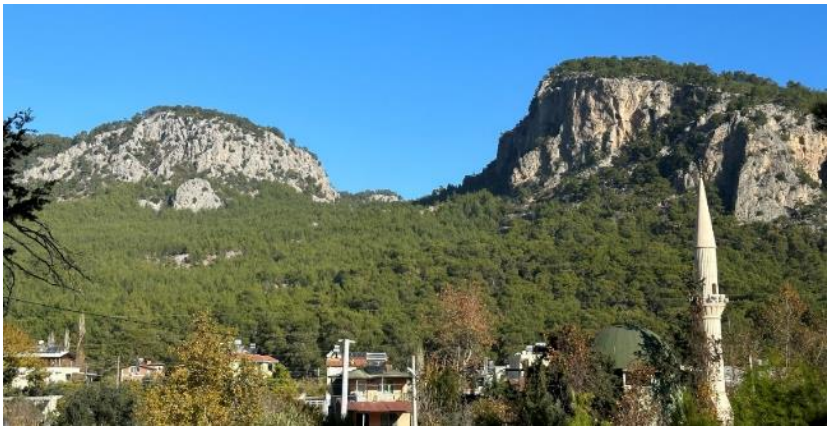


Fig. 6. The pass of Hayıtlıgöl. View from Beldibi (Photo by Gül Işın)



Fig. 7.



Fig. 8 (Photo by Gül Işın)

20 For a detailed account of evidence on the Doric influence in the region see Adak 2007, 41-46.

21 Adak 2006, 10; 2007, 45.

22 *IG* 1^2, 16; See the detailed account in Gauthier 1972, 158-161.



Fig. 9



Fig. 10

Fig. 7-Fig. 10: The outer walls and their blocks of the building, to which the new inscriptions belonged



Fig. 11. Architectural fragment from the same building



Fig. 12. Architectural fragment from the same building (Photo by Gül Işın)



Fig. 13. A Hellenistic building on northwest side of the site (Photo by Gül Işın)



Fig. 14. Another Hellenistic building on northwest side of the site



Fig. 15. The detail from the Hellenistic wall belonging to the building in Fig. 13



Fig. 16. The Hellenistic building in Fig. 14. Photo taken in 2003 before the large stone at the entrance rolled down



Fig. 17. Architectural fragment (Photo by Gül Işın)



Fig. 18. Olive press basin (Photo by Gül Işın)

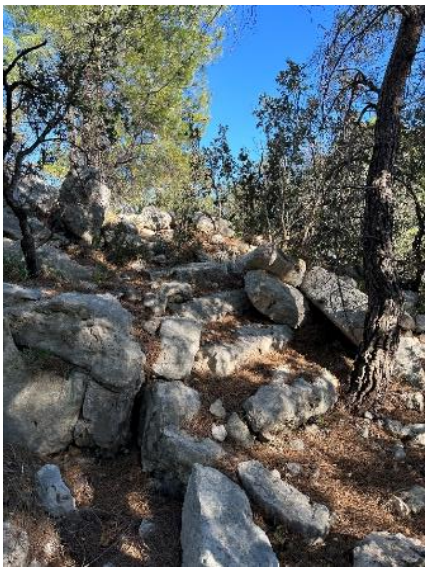


Fig. 19. Steps climbing up to acropolis (Photo by Gül Işın)

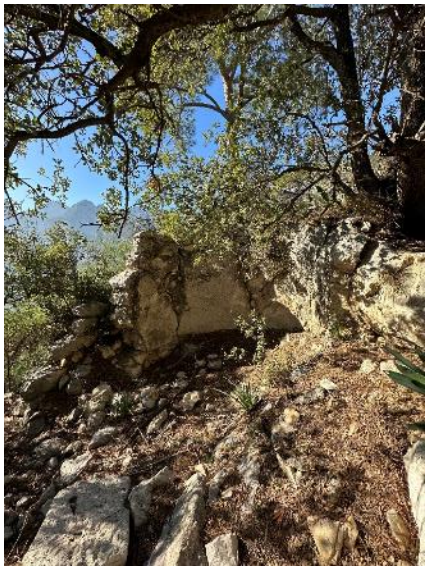


Fig. 20. A cistern on the acropolis (Photo by Gül Işın)



Fig. 21. A fragmentary relief of sword and shield



Fig. 22. Pit in the bedrock on acropolis



Fig. 23. View from the acropolis of Tenedos towards the north, Antalya (Photo by Gül Işın)

The ruins of Hayıtlıgöl are the most remarkable site along the shore between Attaleia and Phaselis, probably the only site deserving to be considered as a *polis*. There are numerous ancient buildings within an area of at least 10-15 *ha*. The acropolis of the city is located immediately to the north of the settlement on a large rock outcrop, and over the slopes of which the structures in ruins – mostly Hellenistic – are orientated towards the east. Only *ca*. 200 m south of this building group, there is a large building with many rooms, which is located to the west of the site and almost closing the western mouth of the shallow valley between the acropolis and the hill to the south of the settlement. Adak and Güzelyürek suggested that this complex might have been an archive or assembly building, or a temple[23]. The inscription was found in front of this building amongst its largely fallen wall blocks. The existence of an ancient path in front of this building is observable, so the treaty was probably erected in front of this building, facing towards the west, as also towards the road and the necropolis, which still retains a few tombs.



Fig. 24. View from Hayıtlıgöl to Beldibi

The new inscription presented here provides a new perspective on the historical geography of this coast, as it was found *in situ* and contains direct information concerning the name of the settlement, i.e. Tenedos, which is already known from epigraphic and literary sources. The earliest reference to Tenedos is from Apollodoros of Athens (II[nd] century BC), related by Stephanos Byzantios as follows:

> There is also a city of Tenedos, (located) near Lycia. Apollodoros (FGrHist 244 F 166), however, says that it is in Pamphylia ... Apollodoros reports in (his commentaries on) the Catalogue of Ships (FGrHist 244 F 166), those of Pamphylia (are called) *Tenedeis*, but those of the island (in Troas) *Tenedioi*. And in the feminine, *Tenedia*[24].

Stephanos points out that Tenedos was located close to Lycia, namely in the neighbourhood of Lycian Phaselis. But Apollodoros wrote in a time when Phaselis was not in Lycia and also when probably the mountainous region to the west of Tenedos, called Mnarike later, was in Termessan/Solymian territory. Tenedos, obviously, has never been a part of Lycia, but remained in Pamphylia. Plinius recorded Idyris, Telendos, Attelebousa (Sıçan; Lyrnateia) as the islands to the north of Cypriae (Üçadalar)[25]. Idyris was mentioned as an island in Pamphylian golf earlier by Ps.

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23 Adak & Güzelyürek 2005, 85.

24 Steph. Byz. *Ethnika 615.17-19*: … ἔστι καὶ πόλις Τένεδος πρὸς τῇ Λυκίᾳ. Ἀπολλόδωρος δὲ Παμφυλίας αὐτὴν εἶναί φησι … (616.13-15) … Ἀπολλόδωρος δὲ ἐν νεῶν καταλόγῳ φησὶν ὅτι τοὺς μὲν τῆς Παμφυλίας Τενεδεῖς, τοὺς δὲ τῆς νήσου Τενεδίους. καὶ θηλυκῶς Τενεδία; See Billerbeck & Neumann-Hartmann 2016, 292-295, s.v. 91 Τένεδος.

25 Plin. *nat*. 5.131: in Lycio autem mari Idyris, Telendos, Attelebussa, Cypriae tres steriles et Dionysia, prius Charaeta dicta, dein contra Tauri promunturium pestiferae navigantibus Chelidoniae totidem, … (*In the Lycian Sea are the*

Aristoteles (see fn. 44 below), while Telendos here is most probably Tenedos[26], which seems to have been taken as an island perhaps due to a mistake that occurred during compilation or copying, or confusion with the island of Tenedos (Bozcaada) in Troas. However, the sole island in this section of Antalya Bay is Sıçan (or *Ott*. Reşad) Island, Attelebousa/Lyrnateia. He does not mention Attaleia, but Lyrnessos near Katarrhaktes (Düden Çay), and what follows to the south is Olbia before Phaselis, bypassing Tenedos, or intermixing Tenedos with Olbia. Therefore, the information given by Plinius seems rather confusing and ambiguous. The Stadiasmus Maris Magni (*Peripl. mar. Mag.*) presents Tenedos within the context below:

> From Attaleia up to *chorion* Tenedos 20 stades (=*ca.* 3,7 km). From Tenedos to Lyrnas *chorion* 60 stades (=*ca.* 11,1 km). [From Lyrnas to Phaselis ... ?]. Above the city, the mighty mountain [...] lies.[27]

The localization of Tenedos in Arapsuyu, *ca*. 4 km to the west of Attaleia, was due to the distance between Attaleia and *chorion* of Tenedos given in *Peripl. mar. Mag.*[28]. However, we have an attestation from a funerary inscription on a sarcophagus located in Kocaköy in the Gökdere Valley and dating from the IInd-IIIrd century AD which reads a Φα(σηλείτης) ἀπὸ π[ό]λε[ω]ς [Τ]ενέδου ("Phaselitan from the *polis* Tenedos")[29]. This could indicate that the traditional boundaries of Tenedos were somewhere closer to Kocaköy, but there is also another tomb inscription from the same period, again in Kocaköy, which identifies the owner of the tomb as Severa of Kougas, a *Trebennates* from Onobara[30]. These do not provide a territorial affiliation of the land, but it shows that people of different nationalities lived and/or were buried here. So it is difficult to understand

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islands of Idyris, Telendos, and Attelebussa, the Cypriae - three barren isles, and Dionysia formerly called Caretha. Opposite to the Promontory of Taurus are the Chelidoniae, as many in number, and extremely dangerous to mariners.)

26 There are several islands in this section of the coast mentioned in the ancient sources. Ps. Scylax (100.7-14) reported Khelidoniai (Beş Adalar) as "two islands", Dionysias (Sulu Ada) and Lyrnateia (Sıçan/Reşat Adası). Strabon (14.3.8.1-17) noted only Khelidoniai (as "three rugged islands ... one of them has a landing place for vessels") and Krambousa (Sulu Ada). Plinius (*NH* 5.131) reports that there are "insignificant islands" in the "Pamphylian sea", providing no names, but giving the islands mentioned in fn. 25 above, he further mentioned many other islands, which cannot be localized, and did not mention many others that he did not find worth noting. Illyris is probably Idyris, and perhaps one of the islands of Kypriai (Üç Adalar) see Hellenkemper & Hild 2004, II, 567 s.v.; Winkler & König 2013, 253: "*Idyris*, besser Idyros, keine Insel, sondern eine Stadt, h. Kemer, südl. von Antalya, mit einem gleichnamigen Fluß, h. Kemer Çayı.". Telendos is probably Tenedos given in *Peripl. mar. Mag.* (224-225) between Attaleia and Lyrnas, and attested in the new inscription from Hayıtlıgöl, see also Winkler & König 2013, 253: "*Telendos*, ebenfalls keine Insel, sondern die Stadt an der Mündung des h. Arab Su, südwestl. von Antalya.". Ptol. *geogr*. 5.3.9.1-4 and 5.5.10.1-3 list Attelebusa (as "Apelbusa"), Krambousa and Khelidoniai.

27 There are three editions of *Peripl. mar. Mag.*, slightly different from each other. The part in question was given in each as follows: 1) Hoffman 1841, 232-235: Ἀπὸ Ἀτταλείας ἐπὶ χωρίον Τένεδον σταδ. κ′. Ἀπὸ Τενέδου εἰς Λύρναντα χωρίον σταδ. ξ′. ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως ὄρος μέγα ὑπέρκειται Φάσηλις, 2) Müller 1855, 489-490 – *Peripl. mar. Mag.* 224-226: Ἀπὸ Ἀτταλείας ἐπὶ χωρίον Τένεδον στάδιοι κ′. Ἀπὸ Τενέδου εἰς Λύρναντα χωρίον στάδιοι ξ′. [Ἀπὸ Λύρναντος εἰς Φάσηλιν στάδιοι ρο′·] ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως ὄρος μέγα ὑπέρκειται (Φάσηλις). 3) Helm 1929, 122, nos. 477-479: Ἀπὸ Ἀτταλείας ἐπὶ χωρίον Τένεδον στάδιοι κ′. Ἀπὸ Τενέδου εἰς Λύρναντα χωρίον στάδιοι ξ′. ⟨Ἀπὸ Λύρναντος εἰς Φάσηλιν στάδιοι *′·⟩ ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως ὄρος μέγα [ὑπέρ]κειται [Φάσηλις]. However, the missing name of the mount "lying above the city (Phaselis)" should be Solyma, not Phaselis, which is certainly an incorrect restoration.

28 Müller 1855, 489-490; Ruge 1934, 498; Şahin 2002, 10; Hellenkemper & Hild 2004, II, 877, s.v. Tenedos; Adak 2006, 8-9; However I had expressed my reluctance concerning this localization and the conjectural extend of Phaselitan territory upto Kocaköy near Attaleia, see Onur 2005, 10-11.

29 For the inscription see Ormerod & Robinson 1914, 32 no. 48; Çelgin & Çelgin 2001, 396 fig. 10; Adak 2006, 9-10; 2007, 45: Ἑρμαῖς δὶς Μ[ο]λέυς Φα(σηλίτης) | ἀπὸ π[ό]λε[ω]ς [Τ]ένεδου | κατεσ[κεύασε]ν τὴ[ν] | σωματοθήκην ἑαυτ|ῷ καὶ τῇ γυναικί μου | Δημητρίᾳ Καρποῦ ἑαυτοῖς μόνοις.

30 The sarcophagus and its inscription are known for long, but not published. It was also noted in "2015 Epigraphic Research Report" of Phaselis research team at http://www.phaselis.org/phaselis-arastirmalari/epigrafik-arastirmalar/2015-raporu. The text on the sarcophagus is as follows: Σευήρα Κούγου | Τρε(βέννατις) ἀπὸ Ὀνοβάρων | κατεσκεύασεν τὴν | σωματοθήκην ἑαυ|τῇ καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις μου.

which city Kocaköy belonged to in the IInd-IIIrd century based on these funerary inscriptions. Some of the funerary inscriptions of IIIrd century AD in the Domuzağılı district just *ca*. 2 km northwest from Kocaköy record the penalties to be paid to Attaleia[31]. So, a Tenedan land between Domuzağılı and Attaleia in the Roman Period is quite unlikely, unless a special harbour in the use of the Tenedans existed, which would in any case be rather speculative. It is quite possible that there is misinformation/intermixing in the *Peripl. mar. Mag.* or a misinterpretation of the case. The reliability of the *Peripl. mar. Mag.* has already been questioned by researchers, as it contains interpolations, incorrect place names, repetitions of the same places with different names, overlaps and mistakes in distances, and, it was compiled through collecting from various works with additions and misplacements up to the Vth century AD, further, the text was largely corrected both by ancient compilers/copyists and by modern editors, esp. by Karl Müller, who made numerous changes in the toponyms and distances that are preserved in the original manuscripts[32], needless to mention the problem as to the exact length of the *stadion*[33]. Further the *Peripl. mar. Mag.* employs "ἐπὶ χωρίον Τένεδον" ("up to *chorion* Tenedos"), leaving us irresolute about what exactly was meant by the word χωρίον and the preposition ἐπί, while εἰς is used in the next part for Lyrnas as εἰς Λύρναντα χωρίον. What we can derive as relatively secure from the *Peripl. mar. Mag.* is that Tenedos was adjacent to Attaleia. However, we can perhaps consider that "up to *chorion* Tenedos" meant the territorial boundaries of Tenedos, while Lyrnas was a port, perhaps belonging to Tenedos, which certainly needed one somewhere between Beldibi and Büyük Çaltıcak. The route "from Lyrnas to Phaselis" is restoration, and it is not possible to know which route or routes are missing, though the manuscript leaves a blank of one route. None of the distances given in this part seems reliable, as is the case with many others given throughout the text.

There seems to have been a road connection between Tenedos and Attaleia. The mountainous ancient route climbing up to Hayıtlıgöl from Beldibi passes through the city and continues through the strait between Çelikkat Tepe and Kötekli Tepe, then descends down to Büyük Çaltıcak, which was most probably a port in antiquity. This road seems to have continued along the slopes of Kale Tepe at the mouth of the Acısu, where a partial retaining wall probably of the road remains visible, and the slopes of Tünek Tepe. An inscribed sarcophagus from the IIIrd century AD (see fn. 8 below) built on this route in Dinek Çeşmesi shows that the road was active until then. The origin of this route perhaps can be assigned to the times when Alexander the Great was around and he ordered a road to be made around a mountain called Klimax for the purpose of the passage along this coast (see p. 32, also fns. 49 and 50 below). We do not know if Tenedos was already founded at those times, or if it was founded in connection with Alexander's march or thereafter. No source concerning events associated with Alexander's route mention any settlement on this shore north of Phaselis.

Olbia and others

Olbia has always been the most mysterious city to have been found on this shore, usually bringing the researchers to a dead end. It has widely been considered in Hurma near Antalya (Attaleia), or Antalya itself. Several maps starting from 16th century locate Olbia nearby Attaleia, probably based

31 Çevik 1995, 44; *SEG* 45 1771c; İplikçioğlu 2002, 128 no. 9; During our field works headed by Prof. Gül Işın in this area, another inscription dating back to the IIIrd century AD was found, indicating that the area was within the territory of Attaleia at that time. The publication of these works including the inscriptions will be made by the team members in the near future.

32 Arnaud 2009, 167;2011, 415, 418-419; 2017, 15-18; Onur 2019, 272.

33 For recent detailed accounts on the length of the *stadion* see Shcheglov 2016, 694-701 and Tupikova 2022; For the development and revaluation of the maritime distances see Arnaud 1993.

upon Ptolemy's map[34]. Some of the earlier travellers located Olbia to Antalya[35], some to Arapsuyu[36], some to Hurma[37]. More recently Şahin opted for Çalış Hill in Kemer. Şahin's fundamental motivation for locating Olbia in Çalış Hill, Kemer, was Stephanos' description of Kadrema as "a colony of Olbians" (see fn. 68 below). Şahin basically thought that (1) the name of Gedelma, a district located *ca*. 15 km to the west of Çalış Hill, should originate from the name of Kadrema; (2) Since Stephanos explains the word Kadrema as the "grain pit; grain parching", this purpose should fit with the large Byzantine "castle", which might represent a surviving tradition of grain preservation in the Byzantine Period in Gedelma; (3) Gedelma's geographic position and climate is convenient for such a purpose of " grain parching"; (4) The transportation between Çalış Hill and Gedelma is straight and steady[38]. However, no matter how the theory looks suitable, it still keeps its tenuous nature, as Kadrema can be anywhere in Lycia, though this Olbia might well have been the one in Pamphylia. Kemer and Phaselis are so close to each other, and now we have the new player in the puzzle, Tenedos neighbouring to Phaselis. Further, there are also other cities such as Phaselis, Kosara and Lykai, which should certainly have had territories along this line between Kemer and Gedelma.

M. Adak, who published the sole inscription concerning Olbia, that is the decree of Olbians, found at the heart of Antalya (Attaleia), i.e. Kaleiçi, could not bring a solution to the location of Olbia. This inscription is amongst the earliest evidence, dating from the IVth century BC[39]. Adak reports that the stele was unearthed during levelling works in the garden of a hotel in an area between the harbour and the agora (Kesik Minare) and, however, he, who accepts Çalış Tepe at Kemer as the location of Olbia like Şahin (see above), thought that the stele was probably transported to Attaleia from its original place, "the port of Olbia", in the Middle Ages and used as a building material in the old town similar to the case of the stones brought from Phaselis[40]. Another interesting example found again in Kaleiçi, in Kesik Minare known as Cumanın Camii, is from the same period, as its letters indicate, but in Doric dialect providing a clear hint that it might have been transported from Phaselis[41]. Of course, there are cases that the ancient materials were transported to different places for several

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34 See the examples at: https://www.raremaps.com/gallery/detail/50933/asia-minor-cyprus-fries; https://www.rarmaps.com/gallery/detail/73056/a-new-mappe-of-the-romane-empire-1626-speed; https://www. davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~285469~90057738:Asia-Minor.

35 For examples see D'Anville 1768, 83; Beaufort 1817, 127-131; Walpole 1820, 271; Cramer 1832, 274-276.

36 Spratt & Forbes 1847, I, 215-220; Müller 1855, 489-490 also accepts this possibility, though only in the condition that Tenedos and Olbia denoted the same place, as the distance of *ca*. 4 km from Attaleia to Tenedos in the *Peripl. mar. Mag.* ends in Arapsuyu; Çevik 1994 [1995], 91-95 is latest who identified Olbia as the ruins at Arapsuyu.

37 Kiepert, Karte von Kleinasien, D II. Adalia.

38 Şahin 2001, 147-151; Şahin 2002, 11-16.

39 The text by Adak 2006, 3 (=*SEG* 56 1710): ἔδοξεν τῆι βουλῆι καὶ | τῶι δήμωι· Παστορίδη[ς] | εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ Ἡρόδοτος | ὁ Ξένου Κυζικηνὸς δ[ι]|ατελεῖ τῆι πόλει τῆ[ι] | Ὀλβιανῶν χρήσιμο[ς] | ὤν, εἶναι αὐτὸν καὶ [ἐκ]|γόνους προξένους [Ὀλ]|βιανῶν· τὸ δὲ ψήφισμα | τοῦτο ἀναγραψάστω|σαν οἱ ταμίαι οἱ μετὰ | Πανταλέο[ντα ἐν στήλῃ] | [λιθίνῃ καὶ - - - - - - - - - - - -].

40 Adak 2006, 2 and 7-13. As an example of the stones carried to Attaleia, he presents the fragmentary inscription bearing a treaty between Mausolos and the Phaselitans (see Wilhelm 1898; *TAM* II 1183; and for other examples see TAM 1191, 1210 and 1217).

41 The inscription in majuscule with a photo first appeared in Gökalp 2008, 178, no. 4.10.1 and 218 Fig. 73. Next year, its majuscule, description a short commentary and its photo were published in Kaymak 2009, 109-110 no. 3.5.2.1 and 274 Fig. 131. It is noted there (owing to D. Knibbe) that the poor state of the stone and many dubious letter traces make a minuscule transcription pointless. However, a tentative transcription might be suggested as follow: ---πέ/λή]μψετ^{ν}αι μὲν ἐν ἀμέ|[ραις ---δώσει ὅσου κα πρία|[ται --- ΕΙ μέρος τὸ ἐπιβάλλ|[ον --- (οἵ)τι?]νες ἀμφότε|[ροι ---] καὶ τᾶς μαχανᾶς | ---Ο.Α.φάναν ἐπρί|[ατο --- τᾶι πό]λει ἐν ταῖς κα .? | --- ΑΤΟ ἀμεῖν ΑΛΛ| --- οἱ ἄρχοντε?]ς καὶ οἱ πρόβουλοι | --- κατασκεύωσας | ---ΑΓΩΝΕ.ΚΑΙΤΟΝΑΣ.Ε | --- παρεχόμενος | [--- τᾶ]ς πόλιος ΤΙ | ---ναν· εἰ δέ κα | --- ἀτελεῖς? ἐπιδοὺς? | ---ἀμετέρωι Ν . | [---χρ?]ήματα | ---. The inscription might be concerned with a contract of an undertaking a public construction, its requirements, and expenses.

reasons, and on many occasions, materials were carried as ballast stones (ἔρματα /*saburrae*) between the harbours[42]. However, the Olbian decree does not contain any strangeness and still the inscription could actually be from a closer vicinity or even perhaps from the area of today's Kaleçi. The Ionic/Attic dialect of the inscription shows that the provenance of the inscription should be out of the areas where the Doric influence existed, i.e. from the area between Phaselis and Tenedos (Hayıtlıgöl – Beldibi)[43], perhaps unless Tenedos superseded Olbia, which could only be a tenuous approach for now anyway. However, an origin for the stone cannot be presented, as there is no large site, apart from the ruins in Hayıtlıgöl, on the shore up to Attaleia after Phaselis. It is of the highest probability that there was no other *polis* between Phaselis and Tenedos at least by the time of the inscription, i.e. IInd-Ist century BC, before Phaselis was integrated into Lycia through the Caesarean *foedus* in 46 BC, until the Roman Imperial Period, when Tenedos still appears as a polis (see fn. 29 above), which, in all probability, already occupied a large area between the borders of Phaselis and Attaleia. This situation pushes us north to search for Olbia, about which we have in the literary sources the following chronologically:

> **Ps. Aristoteles, IVth century BC:** Borras (the North Wind) ... In Olbia towards Magydos in Pamphylia it is called Idyreus, since it blows from an island called Idyros. Some, among whom are the Lyrnantians near Phaselis, however, think that it is Borras[44].

Here what we read as ἐν δὲ Ὀλβίᾳ τῇ κατὰ Μάγυδον τῆς Παμφυλίας indicates that Olbia was close and probably facing towards Magydos, that was located in Karpuzkaldıran *ca*. 10-11 km southeast of Antalya[45]. However there is a problem with "the Island of Idyris/Idyros", which was also mentioned by Plinius (see fn. 25 above). In the bay of Antalya, there is only one island: Sıçan (or *Ott*. Reşad) Island, that was called Atteleboυsa/Lyrnateia in the Roman Period. If this island was named Idyros earlier, then a north wind blowing from the direction of this island would produce an effect on the section down to Beldibi and this section is perhaps the most difficult area for land transportation and certainly a sea route would have been preferred as long as the winds do not frustrate the sea. However, Mayhew thinks that "the island" was incorrectly written instead of "island"[46] (see note in fn. 47), and in the correlative passage of Aristoteles' pupil, Theoprastos (IVth-IIIrd century BC), Idyris/Idyros is not an island but a river:

> In many places this order of change is pretty much daily. But in some places the blowing back is not an alternating wind but a different sea wind, as indeed (occurs) around the Pamphylian Gulf. For at dawn ⟨the⟩ so-called Idyris blows from the Idyris river with much force, and Notos

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42 For a collection of such finds from the classical world see Buckland & Sadler 1990, 115-118; also for two examples of the inscriptions see *I.Iasos* 393 and *I.Lindos* I, 139. The ships sometimes entered into the harbours only with ballasts, see for example the papyrus of P. Bingen 77, l. 10 and 12: ἐφ᾽ ἅρματος (= ἔρματος).

43 Adak 2006, 14-15 also finds the Ionic/Attic dialect of the inscription striking, however he did not comment on how such an inscription can exist in the middle of an area of Doric influence, despite he thinks that Olbia might have been founded by Ionians. Also cf. Adak 2013, 65.

44 Aristot. *Vent.* 973a.1-8: Βορρᾶς ... ἐν δὲ Ὀλβίᾳ τῇ κατὰ Μάγυδον τῆς Παμφυλίας Ἰδυρεύς· πνεῖ γὰρ ἀπὸ νήσου ἣ καλεῖται Ἰδυρίς. τινὲς δὲ αὐτὸν βορρᾶν οἴονται εἶναι ἐν οἷς καὶ Λυρναντιεῖς οἱ κατὰ Φασηλίδα. (The edition: D'Avella 2007, 223-224).

45 For a detailed examination on Magydos see Adak & Atvur 1999.

46 See the comment for ἴδυρις of Theophr. *Vent*. 5.53 in Mayhew 2018, 323: "Re. ὁ ἴδυρις: Turnebus has properly corrected ms. A's incomplete δύρις. [Arist.] *vs*, under the heading Βορρᾶς, writes: "And in Olbia along Magydos in Pamphylia it (sc. Boreas) is called Idyris, for it blows from the island called Idyris" (973a5–7). Though quite different paleographically, at some point there must have been a confusion in this text such that ποταμοῦ mistakenly became νήσου. There is no such island off the shore of Pamphylia (the region of southern Asia Minor between Lycia and Cilicia). Moreover, if there were, any wind blowing from it would not be a northerly wind. The river Idyris or Idyros was in western Pamphylia (as was a small city of the same name)."

> (south wind) and Eurus (east wind) blow against it. And when they beat against each other, great waves arise, as the sea is pushed together, and many presters (i.e. waterspouts with lightning) strike, by which even ships are destroyed[47].

This river is usually identified with Kuzdere/Ağva/Kesme river flowing into Çamyuva near Kemer[48]. However, the direction of this river is from west to east, so any wind blowing down from the gorge of this river is in fact a west wind (Ζέφυρος). The fame of these winds related by Aristoteles and Theophrastos can be in connection with the Alexandrine events on this shore. One of the most renowned is from Strabon (14.3.9), who describes the path of Alexander's army leading through the waves at the feet of Klimax by the sea. Arrian, in the II[nd] century AD, referring to the same advent, emphasized the power of the winds blowing in the region and laying an obstacle for passage, but stated that miraculously the sea retreated.[49] Plutarch, who criticises similar approaches, reported that such a sea passage did not actually take place and Alexander stayed in Phaselis because he had to wait until the completion of the road construction, which eventually provided him passage through the Klimax to the north.[50] But if he had taken this coastal route, then why there is no mention of any other settlements in any of the accounts mentioning this incident remains an open question (see fn. 64 below). However, it, in any case, seems clear there was a matter of winds and Alexander's concerns about passing the shore due to the sea conditions originating from the winds, which might have been reflected by Aristoteles and Theophrastos.

The most difficult sections of this shore are those areas, where the mountains descend steeply to the sea, are, first, between Beldibi and Büyük Çaltıcak, especially the spot called Akyarlar ("white cliffs") at the bottom of Yumrucak Tepe, and secondly, between Balıkçı Barınağı at the mouth of the Acısu Deresi and the Sarısu. It is quite possible that he was informed about the impossibility of a passage through the seaside, as the southern winds would beat the section heavily, as happens today in exactly the same way around Beldibi and Sıçan Adası, and he ordered that a road be constructed on Klimax, the location of which should have been in this section of this shore. Another source, the origin of which is from the same period as the Alexandrine events is Ps. Scylax, who writes:

> ... (then) Phaselis, a city with a harbour—and this is a gulf; and Idyros, a city; the island of Lyrnateia; Olbia; Magydos and the river Katarrhaktes; and Perge, a city ...[51]

Apart from Olbia, whose location is given between Lyrnateia (Sıçan/Reşat island) and Magydos, obviously somewhere on the lands which Attaleia owned after its foundation, here we have Idyros, this time a *polis*, after Phaselis to the north. This is the only clear source, that presents Idyros as a city, apart from the entry "Ityra" in the Athenian Assessment List of 425 BC[52], whose identification with Idyros cannot be justified. The last three sources of the same period (IV[th] century BC) – i.e. Ps. Aristoteles, Theophrastos and Ps. Scylax – presented the nature of Idyros differently, namely an island, a river, and a city respectively. Stephanos Byzantios, citing Hekataios of VI[th] century BC, relates Idyros both as a city and a river of Pamphylia[53]. However, it does not mention Tenedos, perhaps because it was not founded by that time, but Idyros was in power as a city in those areas.

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[47] Theophr. *Vent*. 5.53. The translation is from Mayhew 2018, 60-61.

[48] See more in Hellenkemper & Hild 2004, II, 564-566, s.v. Idyros and Idyros Potamos.

[49] Arr. *anab*. 1.26.1-2. A similar account citing this passage can be found in Eust. *Comm. in Dion. Per.* 861.16-26.

[50] Plut. *Alex*. 17.3-5.

[51] Scylax 100: ... Φασηλὶς πόλις καὶ λιμήν· ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο κόλπος. καὶ Ἴδυρος πόλις, νῆσος Λυρνάτεια, Ὀλβία, Μάγυδος καὶ ποταμὸς Καταρράκτης, Πέργη πόλις ...

[52] *ATL* I, no. A9 l. 147 = *IG* I[3] 71 col. II l. 147; *ATL* III, 23, 210 dn. 71.

[53] Steph. Byz. *Ethnika 327.*Ἴδυρος, πόλις καὶ ποταμὸς Παμφυλίας. Ἑκαταῖος. ἢ καὶ Ἰδυρίσ ὀξυτόνως. τὸ ἐθνικὸν Ἰδυρίτης, τῷ τύπῳ τῶν εἰς -ις. (the text is from Billerbeck & Zubler 2011, 268)

On the other hand, two more settlements are shown by Strabo, who related a tradition that places Thebe and Lyrnessos between Phaselis and Attaleia citing Kallisthenes (IVth century BC), who states that some of the Trojan Cilicians were driven from the plain of Thebe into Pamphylia[54]. Plinius also mentions Lyrnessos (see fn. 58 below). Strabo provided some more information on the location of Olbia:

> Three hundred and sixty-seven stadia are travelled from Hiera Akra to Olbia ... After Phaselis there is Olbia, the beginning of Pamphylia, a great fortress; and then to the river called Katarrhaktes, which rushes down from a high rock, mighty and torrential, so that the noise can be heard from far away. Then there is the city of Attaleia so called from its founder, Attalos Philadelphos, who also sent another colony to Korykos, a small neighbouring town, and surrounded it with a larger wall.[55]

The 367 *stadia* given by Strabo for the distance between Hiera Akra (Cape Gelidonya) and Olbia is appr. 68 kilometres. This distance brings one to a point between today's Hayıtlıgöl (Tenedos), Büyük Çaltıcak and Sıçan Island (Lyrnateia)[56]. So this distance fits neither in Şahin's proposition of Kemer, nor in a possible location in Antalya. However, we should be careful that Strabon does not mention Olbia as a city but "a large fortress", which, according to him or to the sources he employed (mostly Artemidoros of *ca*. 100 BC), is the most prominent point to the north after Phaselis. In fact, the most remarkable city in this direction is in Hayıtlıgöl, with a fortified acropolis on a cliff, i.e. Tenedos, whose existence as a *polis* in the IInd-Ist centuries BC is now proven from this new inscription. Basing upon all discussions above, it is possible to consider that Strabon's statement is not correct – as was already noted in the early 19th century by Leake, who suspected that Attaleia might have been founded on ancient Olbia[57] – or, though rather speculative, that the ancient Olbia was located in Hayıtlıgöl prior to the foundation of Tenedos and the traditional nomenclature survived in the sources.

After just a few decades from Strabo, we read Plinius, who wrote that Lyrnessos was near Katarrhaktes, then came Olbia before Phaselis[58], no mention of Attaleia, probably due to his source that seems much older. So he said in other words that Lyrnessos was adjacent to Olbia to the west/southwest, this location was in fact in the land of Attaleia near Katarrhaktes of his own time. An entry by Stephanos Byzantios records a Lirnyteia as a *polis* of Pamphylia, receiving this information from Hekataios of Miletos (VIth-Vth century BC)[59]. Another entry in Stephanos Byzantios

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54 Str. 14.4.1.8-11: φασὶ δ' ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ Φασήλιδος καὶ Ἀτταλείας δείκνυσθαι Θήβην τε καὶ Λυρνησσόν, ἐκπεσόντων ἐκ τοῦ Θήβης πεδίου τῶν Τρωικῶν Κιλίκων εἰς τὴν Παμφυλίαν ἐκ μέρους, ὡς εἴρηκε Καλλισθένης (FGrHist II B, S. 60 no. 124).

55 Str. 14.3.8-14.4.1: ... ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Ἱερᾶς ἄκρας ἐπὶ τὴν Ὀλβίαν λείπονται στάδιοι τριακόσιοι ἑξήκοντα ἑπτά· ... Μετὰ Φασήλιδα δ' ἔστιν ἡ Ὀλβία, τῆς Παμφυλίας ἀρχή, μέγα ἔρυμα, καὶ μετὰ ταύτην ὁ Καταράκτης λεγόμενος ἀφ' ὑψηλῆς πέτρας καταράττων ποταμὸς πολὺς καὶ χειμαρρώδης ὥστε πόρρωθεν ἀκούεσθαι τὸν ψόφον. εἶτα πόλις Ἀττάλεια, ἐπώνυμος τοῦ κτίσαντος Φιλαδέλφου καὶ οἰκίσαντος εἰς Κώρυκον, πολίχνιον ὅμορον, ἄλλην κατοικίαν καὶ μείζω περίβολον περιθέντος. See also Eust. *Comm. in Dion. Per.* 855, *Comm. ad Hom. Il.* 1.501.26-31 and Suda s.v. Κωρυκαῖος, which cited Strabon's passage.

56 At this point, I should thankfully mention the note by Pascal Arnaud, who informed me about that Strabo and other periplographers usually use round figures and that the coastal distances are all multiples or sub-multiples of a basic unit of 120 stades, and that Strabo's irregular figure of 367 is actually 3x 120 = 360 stades + 1 heptastadion, which is usually measured from the coast to some point inland. In fact, the ruins of Hayıtlıgöl remain about 1 km inland from the coast.

57 Leake 1820, 271.

58 Plin. *nat*. 5.96: amnes Eurymedon iuxta Aspendum fluens, Catarractes, iuxta quem Lyrnessus et Olbia ultimaque eius orae Phaselis (The rivers, Eurymedon, which flows by Aspendos and the Katarrhaktes, near to which is Lyrnessus, then Olbia and Phaselis the farthest on this coast).

59 Steph. Byz. *Ethnika 418.11-12:* Λιρνύτεια, πόλις Παμφυλίας. Ἑκαταῖος Ἀσίᾳ. τὸ ἐθνικὸν Λιρνυτειεύς.

is Lyrnatia, which was given as a peninsula and *chorion* basing upon Alexander Polyhistor of II[nd] half of the I[st] century BC[60] All these Lyrn- based toponyms, i.e. Lyrnessos – Lyrnas – Lyrnateia – Lirnuteia – Lyrnatia – Lyrnantia[61] mentioned in the sources clearly show that there was at least one Lyrn- on land and possibly one as an island. It is impossible to locate them in a certain place, but the most suitable places are Sıçan Island as Lyrnateia of Ps. Scylax and Büyük Çaltıcak or Balıkçı Barınağı as Lyrnas/Lyrnessos, a port. Nothing further seems available to put forward a certain idea. As to Thebe, which was mentioned by Kallisthenes (IV[th] century BC) in Strabo together with Lyrnessos, Adak proposed the ruins on Reisburnu Tepesi[62], however, again nothing certain can be said for the moment. Adak thought that Tenedos, Lyrnessos and Thebe were Aeolic foundations and that they were founded on the hills, not by the sea and could not gain political power in the region[63]. Now, we see that Doric dialect was used in Tenedos, not Aeolic, which presents a different background. However, as a remote possibility, the treaty may have been written in the Doric dialect simply because of the superiority of Phaselis. Here it is also important to notice that Olbia does not appear in the *Peripl. mar. Mag.*. Even back in 19[th] century this absence was questioned, and it was proposed that Olbia might not have been right by the sea, but a little inland or reduced[64]. However, we also have examples from *Peripl. mar. Mag.* that records the names of the harbours belonging to a city, such as Andriake of Myra. I wonder if Lyrnas might have been the name for the possible port belonging to Olbia or Tenedos, though possible, it is at present without evidence. It is also possible that Olbia was once on the list of *Peripl. mar. Mag.*, then the name was changed to Tenedos, or perhaps to Attaleia if the text was later revised. It is a fact that it is not possible to know what changes exactly happened during the transmission of those ancient texts, which have survived to the present day.

The next source, which mentions Olbia, is the Geography of Ptolemaios, who describes this shore in the following order:

(5.3.1.7) On the south by the Lycian Sea, of the coast of which the following is a description:

...

(5.3.3.6)	Hiera Akra	61°30′	36°15′(05′)
	Olympos *polis*	61°40′(35′)	36°20′(15′)
	Phaselis	**61°50′**	**36°25′**

...

(5.5.2.1) After Phaselis, a polis of Lycia, **the coasts of Pamphylia**:

Olbia	**62°**	**36°35′(55′)**
Attaleia	**62°15′**	**36°30′**
mouth of River Katarrhaktes	**62°30′(15′)**	**36°35′(55′)**

...

(5.5.10.1-3) Islands adjacent to Pamphylia are:

Krambousa Island	62°30′	35°50′
Attelebousa Island	63°15′	35°50′″[65]

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60 Steph. Byz. *Ethnika* 423.4-6: Λυρνατία, χερρόνησος καὶ χωρίον Λυκίας. Ἀλέξανδρος ἐν δευτέρῳ περὶ Λυκίας. τὸ ἐθνικὸν Λυρνατιεύς, ὡς Οἰχαλία Οἰχαλιεύς (Lyrnatia, a peninsula and chorion of Lycia. Alexander in the second volume of his "on Lycia". Its etnic is Lyrnatieus, like Oikhlia, Oikhlieus).

61 Hellenkemper & Hild 2004, II, 698, s.v. Lyrnas.

62 Adak 2007, 46.

63 Adak 2007, 47; 2013, 65.

64 Leake 1824, 190-191; Hoffman 1841, 232-233. In comparison, he also noted the inclusion of Olbia in Scylax and adds that Scylax might have put the name of Olbia because he himself set this out or heard. He thinks that Tenedos and Lyrnas might have not been founded by the time of Alexander the Great, since they were not mentioned in the historical accounts of Alexander; Spratt & Forbes 1847, I, 215.

65 Ptol. *geogr*. 5.3.1.1-5.3.3.8; Stückelberger & Graßhoff 2017b, 498-512.

According to the coordinates given by Ptolemaios, the locations of Phaselis, Olbia and Attaleia create a triangle, Olbia remaining almost in the middle of Phaselis and Attaleia but above both. One suspects that the location of Olbia or Attaleia might be wrong, as Katarrhaktes remains remarkably far from both, and Magydos is not listed. Further, we might expect to see Tenedos, even perhaps instead of Olbia, as Tenedos remains a little inland right in the middle between Phaselis and Attaleia, and as we know, Tenedos survived as a *polis* into the III[rd] century AD (see fn. 29 above) while Olbia should have already been reduced esp. after the foundation and growth of Attaleia, the territory of which might perhaps have covered the lands of Olbia. However, again, the names of the cities and their locations in Ptolemaios' Geography may not always be correct, as he employed, in addition to the maps that he mentioned at the beginning of book 8, many other sources and oral traditions, though not always reliable[66], to compile his work. On the other hand, discussions concerning the accuracy of Ptolemaios still continue[67]. As a later source, Stephanos Byzantios of VI[th] century AD provided information about Olbia on two occasions:

> Kadrema, city of Lycia, colony of Olbians. The city is explained as 'Grain parching'. The ethnicon is *Kadremeus*[68].

> Olbia, city ... the fourth one (is) of Pamphylia, as Philon (Herennios *ca.* 100 AD) (claimed. This city) does not belong to Pamphylia, but to the land of Solymians, further, it is called not Olbia, but Olba and the citizens *Olbaioi* and *Olbios* and *Olbia*[69].

Stephanos' accounts do not provide any reference as to the location of Olbia. We already mentioned the account of Kadrema in the first entry (see above p. 30). Stephanos' second information is interesting because he objected to Herennius Philo of *ca*. 100 AD, who placed it in Pamphylia, and Stephanos stated that it is in fact in Solymian lands. We do not know on what basis or sources Stephanos employed to emphasize this "fact" even in VI[th] century AD. The Solymians, i.e. Termessans[70], who were indigenous inhabitants in the closest neighbourhood, once reached the Kuzdere/Kesme Strait to the south. Even much further south in earlier times according to the traditions that transmit that Rhodian colonists beat the Solymian people to conquer the land, resulting in the foundation of the city of Phaselis by the sea[71]. Adak explains this information in the way that Stephanos obviously had the geography of his time in mind, in which "Pamphylia" was understood to mean only the flat plain between Attaleia and Side, but no longer the coastal area reaching down to Cape Chelidonia on the western edge of the "Pamphylian Sea" and separated from Lycia by the Solyma chain, which was also an integral part of Pamphylia in the Archaic-Classical

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66 See details in Stückelberger & Graßhoff 2017a, 16-20; Also see Grainger 2009, 22.

67 For example see Russo 2013 and Shcheglov 2016 (contra Russo), also the response of Russo's team at https://intellectualmathematics.com/blog/shcheglov-ptolemy-map/

68 Steph. Byz. *Ethnika 346.9:* Κάδρεμα, πόλις Λυκίας, ἄποικος Ὀλβίων. ἑρμηνεύεται δὲ σίτου φρυγμὸς ἡ πόλις. τὸ ἐθνικὸν Καδρεμεύς. (The text is from Billerbeck *et al.* 2014, 8. The translation is from Pisaniello 2021, 67 ff., who, for the meaning of σίτου φρυγμός, finds "grain pit" more appropriate for a toponym from a semantic view, but prefers "grain parching" based on Şahin 2001, 148, who thinks that the physical, climatic and habitual features of the region indicate dry storage, but not underground.).

69 Steph. Byz. *Ethnika 489:* πόλις ... $\overline{\delta}$ Παμφυλίας, ὡς Φίλων (FGrHist 790 F 47). οὐκ ἔστι δὲ Παμφυλίας, ἀλλὰ τῆς τῶν Σολύμων γῆς, καὶ οὐδὲ Ὀλβία, ἀλλὰ Ὄλβα καλεῖται καὶ οἱ πολῖται Ὀλβαῖοι καὶ Ὄλβιος καὶ Ὀλβία... (the text is from Billerbeck *et al.* 2014, 428).

70 See also Arroyo-Quirce 2017.

71 *I.Lindos* 2, col. C sat. 6-10: Φασηλῖται κράνη καὶ δρέπανα, ἐφ' ὧν ἐπε|γέγραπτο· "Φασηλῖται ἀπὸ Σολύμων τᾶι Ἀθαναίαι τᾶι Λινδίαι, Λακίου τοῦ οἰκιστᾶ ἀγευμένου", ⟨ὡ⟩ς ἀποφαίνεται Ξεναγόρας ἐν τᾶι α' | τᾶς χρονικᾶς συντάξιος; Hom. *Il*. 6.184 (Bellerophontes' second task, fighting against the Solymians) and Eust. *Comm. ad Hom. Il.* II 285; Str. 13.4.16; also see Tüner 2008, 260-261.

period[72]. However, it is not only Olbia, which was conjecturally located at the foot of Solyma mountains, but Tenedos, Idyros too, but nevertheless he does not give any Solymian attribution to them. Was there possibly any other reason? At this point, an old question can re-arise: the relationship of Termessos with the sea.



Fig. 25. Termessan coin with the *asphalton* on the reverse (Vitale 2011, 143 Abb.2; AE 20 mm; 5, 98 g; 12h)

It cannot easily be explained if Termessos did not have a connection with the sea in any period of history. The closest shore to Termessos is where the Boğaçayı meets the sea near the modern harbour, which is about 20 km south of Termessos. If Termessos had a port, it would have been somewhere between Balıkçı Barınağı (the new harbour of Antalya) and Antalya. But we do not have any evidence concerning this and there comes no indication of a sea relation of Termessos until the *lex Antonia de Termessibus* allying Rome and Termessos and dated to 68 BC (or 72 BC). We can derive from the text that Termessos' autonomy was already confirmed in 91 BC, then it lost freedom for some time after the First Mithridatic War, probably because it submitted to or supported the forces of Mithridates as some scholars consider[73]. In this text, it is stated that the Termessans are permitted to keep their rights on the territory they had both in 91 BC and 72 BC. An interesting part of the text provides a piece of direct information concerning the sea connections of Termessos, as it kept the rights of collecting maritime customs duties and had islands. Some scholars found this information unreliable because the text might have included the standard formulas, which actually applied for coastal cities, but not for Termessos, so one should not expect that Termessos had connection to the sea or possessed islands[74]. However, these phrases in the text should be taken seriously, as Vitale rightly points out with the comparisons made to other similar treaties[75]. Vitale's reinvestigation of the Termessos' sea connection and islands, is based up on a unique Termessan coin of the IIIrd century AD, on the reverse of which is an *aphlaston* standing on an altar, and brought a new perspective to the matter. *Aphlaston* is usually associated with a naval victory, and Vitale proposes that this coin either refers to a contemporary incident, such as the Gothic sea-borne invasions in 260s AD, or a reflection of their historical or mythological traditions, mentioning the Roman campaigns against pirates in the Ist half of the Ist century BC as a possible background in the western coasts of Antalya Bay. Finally, he finds it reasonable that the Romans might have entrusted this coastline to Termessos as an allied *polis* and assigned them islands with moorings for maritime security[76].

However, which islands were mentioned in the *lex* cannot be precisely known. But we can try to see what the most probable options might have been, as this would help us to understand to what extent the Termessan influence expanded in the south, which would at most reach up to the

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72 Adak 2006, 5-6.

73 For examples see Mitchell 1994, 102; Ferrary 1985, 444; 1996, 332: "The city probably submitted to Mithridates in 88 BC and after 85 BC paid for its defection with the loss of its liberty and the confiscation of part of its territory for the benefit of the Roman people (see Col. I, 11. 20-2). But a new invasion in 73 BC by the Pontic general Eumachos presumably offered Termessus Maior the chance to rehabilitate itself in Roman eyes and recover what it had lost". However some others accept that it sided with Rome against Mithradates, see for examples Bean 1976, 896; Arslan 2002, 128; 2007, 184, 254-5 and 537.

74 Magie 1941, 185; Magie 1950, 1177; Bean 1968, 124; Ferrary 1985, 454.

75 Vitale 2011, 139-142.

76 Vitale 2011, 143-145.

promontory of Chelidoniae at most. Today in this area there are 10 islands, all of which were mentioned in ancient sources. The northernmost of these is the Sıçan/Reşad Adası. This is the closest island to Termessos, however, if we consider that the plural form of "insulae" was employed then we need more islands. In the unlikely event that an island could have disappeared due to natural disasters, we do not know anything concerning such an event, but a report from Cyprus dated 4 April 1743 records that villages were disappeared and a mountain to the west of Sıçan/Reşat Island (Atteleboussa/Lyrnateia) sunk completely into the sea due to an earthquake and tsunami[77]. Geomorphologic research in the area is unfortunately missing, thus we cannot really know what this section of the coast looked like in antiquity. However, no hint of the existence of additional island(s) around the area in earlier accounts and maps could be found, apart from the islands lying to the south between Phaselis and Hiera Akra (Gelidonya), i.e. Üç Adalar (Kypriai), Sulu Ada (Kramboussa/Dionysias), and Beş Adalar (Khelidoniai) (see fn. 26 above). If the next island group to the south, i. e. Kypriai (Üç Adalar), were among these Termessan islands, one had already arrived in the territorial waters of Phaselis. If advanced more to the south, then come Kramboussa and the Khelidoniai, which should have been within the maritime territories of Olympos and Melanippe or Gagai. So, we cannot expect that these islands belonged to Termessos, unless certain conditions prevailed. Such conditions can only be found in the period of campaigns against the pirates during Ist half of the Ist century BC, when the lands of Olympos, Phaselis and Attaleia were taken over by Servilius Vatia in 78/7 BC[78], when Rome might have vested Termessos with authority over these lands following the victory, as Vitale has already indicated (fn. 76 above). Although there is no evidence to prove this, it is, for now, unobstructed to consider the conditions and consequences in this way. The Caesarean Treaty of 46 BC shows Phaselis as free city given to Lycia on its eastern border, when Termessos could not have had any islands, which would have remained to the south of today's Kemer, only if Phaselis had the possession of these islands. After ca. 90 years later in the MP we see that Phaselis was still on the eastern border and probably the coastline to the north of Phaselitan territory remained out of provincial territory, while most of the area to the south of Termessos, called Mnarike, perhaps together with its lands that had once sea-connections on the western coast of Pamphylian Bay, was already integrated into Lycia.

77 Ambraseys & Finkel 1995, 118 no. 216: "A report from Cyprus '… I have been informed from Satalia (Antalya) that from the 8th to 20th of the month there were terrible earthquakes as a result of which the port dried up for some time, many houses collapsed as well as part of the walls at different places which fell on the consul's house, destroying it. Many villages were lost in this earthquake and a mountain opposite that, which lies west of the islet of Rachat (Reşat), sunk completely'" (Archives de la Chambre de Commerce de Marseille, J. 541); Duggan 2004, 146; Papadopoulos *et al*. 2007, 61.

78 Cic. *Verr*. 2.4.21; Str. 15.5.7; Sall. *Hist*. 127-137; Oros. *hist*. 5.23.22; Flor. *epit*. I 41. 6; Eutr. 6.3.

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