Ankara Üniversitesi Yayınevi No: 873
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SAPIENTIA

Cumhuriyetin Yüzüncü Yılında Prof. Dr. Güngör Varınlıoğlu ve Prof. Dr. Ender Varinlioğlu Onuruna Yazılar

EDİTÖRLER

F. Gül Özaktürk

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Güray Ünver

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ISBN: 978-605-136-693-7

ANKARA ÜNİVERSİTESİ BASIMEVİ

İncitaşı Sokak No: 10

06510 Beşevler / ANKARA

Tel: 0 (312) 213 66 55

Basım Tarihi: 27.09.2024

SAPIENTIA (2024) 503-519

The Road from Myra to Its Port, Andriake, in the Stadiasmos of Patara

Patara Yol Anıtı'nda Myra'dan Limanı Andriake'ye Verilen Yol

Fatih ONUR*

Abstract: There are three roads related to Myra in the Stadiasmos of Patara. Two of these are the roads of Kyaneai and Limyra. The other one is the road that is from Myra to a destination, which could not be read. Although Arneai, Dereağzı (Mastaura) and Trebendai have been suggested as the destination of this road, none of them could completely solve the epigraphic and geographical problems. The author's recent studies on the stones of the Patara Road Monument, using photogrammetry techniques and old squeezes of the stones, have revealed that this destination was Andriake. The fact that the target was Andriake added to our knowledge of the route list on the monument and required some adjustments in our approach. It is now understood that a road from a city to its port was given in the road list of the monument and that not all settlements in the Stadiasmos of Patara are independent *poleis*, but when they have a different status,

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I am deeply grateful to Prof. Havva İşkan Işık, Asst. Prof. Şevket Aktaş and Assoc. Prof. Mustafa Koçak, who kindly provided me access to the Patara Excavation Archive and entrusted me with the positive and negative films containing the photographs of the blocks belonging to the monument and taken in the 1990s. I have also used the most valuable squeezes taken by Sencer Şahin in the same period. I would like to thank the staff of the Antalya Archaeological Museum, especially Mustafa Demirel (the director of the museum) and Fatma Nur Konukman, who took care of all the formal procedures and helped me to work on the blocks of the monument in the museum. Res. Asst. Dr. Aykan Akçay deserves special thanks together with Res. Asst. Dr. Betül Gürel for taking the *SfM* (Structure from Motion) photographs of the blocks I worked on. This article constitutes a portion of the paper titled "New Readings and Approaches to the Stadiasmos of Patara and the Historical Geography of Lycia", which I presented at the event "Eine Brücke von zwei Seiten bauen... Aktuelle Forschungen zur Epigraphik und Archäologie Kleinasiens" organized for the 60th birthday of Prof. Klaus Zimmermann at the University of Münster on February 8, 2024.

this distinction is given – as in the use of "port" (ὁ λιμήν) for Andriake. In addition, the roads from Phellos in l. 17 of face C and from Sidyma in l. 11 of face B were examined. In the first of these, it was suggested that the destination could not be "Neisa via Kandyba", but that a road from Phellos could lead to Antiphellos, while no new approach could be provided for the second.

Keywords: Lycia, Myra, Andriake, Stadiasmos, ancient road.

Özet: Patara Yol Anıtı'nda Myra bağlantılı üç tane yol bulunmaktadır. Bunlardan iki tanesi Kyaneai ve Limyra yollarıdır. Diğeri ise Myra çıkışlı olup hedefi okunamamış olan yoldur. Bu yolun hedefi için daha önce Arneai, Dereağzı (Mastaura), Trebendai önerilmiş olmakla birlikte, hiçbirisi de epigrafik ve coğrafi sorunları tam olarak çözememiştir. Yazarın Patara Yol Anıtı taşları üzerinde yakın dönemde yaptığı çalışmalar, fotogrametri teknikleri ve taşların eski estampajları aracılığıyla yaptığı incelemeler bu hedefin Andriake olduğunu sonucunu ortaya koymuştur. Hedefin Andriake olması, anıt üzerindeki yol listesi hakkındaki bilgilerimize yenilikler katmış ve yaklaşımlarımızda bazı düzenlemeler yapmamızı gerektirmiştir. Artık anıtta bir şehirden onun limanına giden bir yolun da verildiği ve yol listesindeki tüm yerleşimlerin bağımsız kentler olmadığı, ancak farklı bir statüde ise – Andriake için "liman" (ὁ λιμήν) kullanımında olduğu gibi – bu farkın verildiği anlaşılmıştır. Ayrıca C yüzü sat. 17'deki Phellos çıkışlı ve B yüzü sat. 11'deki Sidyma çıkışlı yollar gözden geçirilmiştir. Bunlardan ilki için hedefin "Kandyba üzerinden Neisa" olamayacağı fakat Phellos'tan bir yolun Antiphellos'a gidebileceği önerilmiş, ikincisi içinse yeni bir yaklaşım sağlanamamıştır.

Anahtar sözcükler: Likya, Myra, Andriake, Stadiasmos, antik yol.

There are three roads related to Myra in the Stadiasmos of Patara: from Kyaneai to Myra, from Myra to an unknown destination, and from Myra to Limyra. The second road, l. 20 on face C, is the subject of this paper. A number of proposals have been made for the destination of this road, as the relevant section of the block has been damaged. H. İşkan-Işık considered the possibility of Arneai or some other possible unknown cities between Myra and Arneai.[1] M. Wörrle was just sure that it was not a second road to Limyra.[2] Şahin and Adak, in their second preliminary report of 2004, mention Andriake and Arneai among the possibilities, but they opt for Arneai

[1] Işık *et al.* 2001, 44, 99 with fn. 242.
[2] Marksteiner – Wörrle 2002, 561.

because otherwise the transport connection from the coastal area to the interior would be completely interrupted, but since Arneai would not fill the existing gap, they suggest adding a clause constructed with διά, similar to several other cases in the road list of the monument:[3] ἀπὸ Μύρων [εἰς Ἀ]ρ̣[νέας δ]ι̣[ὰ] σ̣τ̣[ε]ν̣ῶ̣[ν στάδια ...] ("from Myra to Arneai through narrow passages: ... stadia").[4] In their later editions of 2007 and 2014, basic reading of this section was as follows:[5]

ἀπὸ Φελλοῦ εἰ̣ς̣ [Νεῖσα διὰ Κανδύβων στάδια ..′]

18 ἀπὸ Φελλοῦ [εἰς Κυανέας στάδια ...′]

ἀπὸ Κυανεῶ[ν εἰς Μύρα στάδια ...′]

20 ἀπὸ Μύρων [εἰς …]Ị . . . . . Ị . .

ἀπὸ Μύρων εἰ̣[ς Λί̣]μ̣[υρ]α̣ δ̣[ι]ὰ̣ τ̣ο̣[ῦ] Μ̣α̣σικύ̣τ̣ου σ[τά]δ̣ι̣α̣ ...′

22 ἀπὸ Λιμύρω[ν εἰς Κορύ]δ̣α̣λ̣λ̣α̣ σ̣τ̣[ά]δια νς′

From Phellos to [Neisa through Kandyba ... stadia]

From Phellos [to Kyaneai ... stadia]

From Kyanea[i to Myra ... stadia]

From Myra [to ---]

From Myra t[o Li]m[yr]a through the Masikytos ... stadia

From Limyra to Korydalla 56 stadia

[3] There are seven examples of διά in the road list (see Onur 2016, 91-95). Four of them were used with the cities: Trimilinda (Face B, l. 32: διὰ Τριμιλίν[δω]ν), Plata[...] (Face B, l. 33: διὰ Πλατα[...]), Kollyba (Face C, l. 13: διὰ Κολλύβων), Rhodia Polis and Madamyssos (Face C, l.24-25: διὰ Ῥοδίας Πόλεως [κ]αὶ Μαδαμυσσ[οῦ]). There is also a suggestion for a road from Phellos to Neisa through Kandyba in Face C, l. 17, but such a road does not seem likely, see p. 515 below. The remaining three examples are for the natural formations or their names: the plain (Face B, l. 30: διὰ τοῦ π[εδί]ου), the highland (Face B, l. 31: διὰ δὲ τῆς ὀρεινῆς), Mount Masikytos (Face C, l. 21: δ[ι]ὰ το[ῦ] Μασικύτου).

[4] Şahin – Adak 2004, 240-241.

[5] Şahin 2014, 47, 336, 370.

In their commentary to the 20th line, Şahin and Adak were convinced that the destination should have been Dereağzı, the ancient name of which is unknown but is thought to have been Mastaura, and then proposed ἀπὸ Μύρων [εἰς *(De*]I[*reağzı)* δ]ι̣[ὰ] σ̣τ̣[ε]ν̣ῶ̣[ν στάδια . .] ("from Myra to [Dereağzı/Mastaura?] through narrow passages ... stadia").[6]



Fig. 1. l. 20 in the section on Face C, ll. 17-22

Şahin was aware of the problem and expressed that these proposals would not solve it completely. He also considered Andriake as a destination, but ruled it out, giving the following reasons:

> *Roads were never diverted to ports unless the route required it, as the infrastructure for military operations, not for economic, social or civilian purposes, was the priority in providing the country with a transport network. In this context, for example, we do not see milestones on the Lycian roads of the Claudian period, which were present on all Roman roads for civilian purposes.*[7]

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[6] Şahin – Adak 2007, 261-262; Şahin 2014, 370-378, he observed the following: *"Bloğun sol kenarında yak. 4 harf bulunmaktaydı. Bunu takip eden harften ise taş üzerinde dikey bir çizgi zorlukla tanınabilmektedir. Bundan sonraki yak. 8 harflik boşlukta hiçbir şey okunamamaktadır. Bloğun sağ kenarında ise iki harfin alt kısımlarına ait kalıntılar gözükmektedir:* ⊾ı. *Bunlar da* Σ̣Ι *ya da* Σ̣Τ *veya* Δ̣Ι *olarak anlaşılabilirler."* (Eng. Trans.: *There were ca. 4 letters on the left edge of the block. A vertical stroke belonging to the next letter is barely identifiable. After this, nothing can be read in the space of ca. 8 letters. On the right edge of the block, there are remains belonging to the bottom sections of two letters: They may be taken as* Σ̣Ι, Σ̣Τ *or* Δ̣Ι*).*

[7] Şahin 2014, 25: *"Yollar, güzergâh zorlamadıkça, asla limanlara yönlendirilmemiştir, zira ülkenin ulaşım şebekesiyle donatılmasında ekonomik, sosyal, sivil değil (...), askeri operasyonlara yönelik altyapı ön planda tutulmuştur (...). Bu bağlamda, örneğin sivil amaçlı tüm Roma yollarında var olan mil taşlarını (...) Claudius devri Likya yollarında göremiyoruz."* Şahin basically suggested that the Roman military forces commanded by Quintus Veranius, faced with rugged terrain and local uprisings during the annexation of the country, needed to move quickly and that the creation of the province was primarily

and:

> *Due to its location, this station was either at the end of a cul-de-sac or at the junction of another route in the Claudian transport system. The next route (R 59) also originates from Myra, and its destination is Limyra; in other words, it has nothing to do with the destination of R 58. The first name that comes to mind for the dead-end hypothesis is undoubtedly Andriake, the port of Myra and the largest port in Lycia after Patara. The road between Myra and this port had undoubtedly existed since the earliest times. However, it seems unlikely that such a road was surveyed and listed as part of the SP, as the SP does not include a road from any inland city to its port.* [8]

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driven by military objectives. The fact that no milestones have been found from the reign of Claudius and that the construction of roads began immediately after the invasion of the country suggests that these roads were initially built for military purposes, i.e. as a kind of *viae militaris*, in a hasty and cursory manner in order to provide rapid mobility for military units. In other words, the health of the economic infrastructure of a newly organised province and, to this end, the operation of the country's transport system were of secondary importance to Rome. Consequently, all sort of perspectives concerning the monument were directed by this idea and speculated, for example, that this explains the poor quality of the roads and deficiency of the road list presented on the monument. Şahin 2014, 21-23 develops these theories further. However, we have no information about the size of the army of the Roman governor Quintus Veranius during the annexation of the region. We also have no information about such an extensive occupation of Lycia by Roman troops, nor is there any evidence that Roman legions or auxiliaries arrived or remained in Lycia during this period. There is no evidence of a permanent Roman military organisation in the region, especially in central Lycia, apart from groups of veterans or soldiers sent to cities or soldiers serving at outposts (*SEG* 41, no. 1364; 51, no. 1833; 54, no. 1431; *TAM* II no. 165; 485; 949; 987; 1173), and Roman military units which appear to have been present in Milyas during the Severan period, according to an inscription from Khoma (Reger 2020). The available evidence does not provide a picture of a major invasion of Lycia, except for the military operation of Veranius, probably in the Kibyratis region (see Adak 2003; Şahin 2014, 65-70; Onur 2022, 500). Furthermore, we now have evidence to suggest that there were milestones erected in the Claudian period. A Vespasian milestone found at Patara states that Vespasian repaired/renewed the milestones and old roads (... τὰ μειλιάρια καὶ τὰς ἀρχαίας ὁδοὺς ἐπεσκεύασεν), clearly indicating their earlier existence (Schuler 2019, 110, 118-119).

[8] Şahin 2014, 371: *"Konumu itibariyle bu istasyon ya bir çıkmaz sokak sonunda idi ya da Claudius ulaşım sisteminde geçen bir başka güzergâhın kavşak noktasında bulunuyordu. Çünkü bir sonraki güzergâh (GZR 59) yine Myra çıkışlı olup, hedef istasyonu Limyra'dır; yani GZR 58'in hedef istasyonu ile ilgisi yoktur. Çıkmaz sokak varsayımı için ilk akla gelen isim kuşkusuz Myra'nın limanı durumunda bulunan ve*

Later, in 2015, I proposed some other restoration possibilities, since these restorations were unlikely due to the status of the settlements and their geographical incompatibility both in the field and in the stadiasmos, and suggested Trebendai near Myra, thus removing Dereağzı (Mastaura?) from the proposals and thus from the discussion.[9] I was also convinced that none of the roads could have been between two places within the same polis territory,[10] since there were indeed no such roads in the text as it was read at the time. Recent work on the corresponding stone has clarified what exactly is inscribed in the problematic part of the line and has given us a new perspective on the ports, at least for Andriake, within the list of roads given on the monument.



Fig. 2. The related block, Şahin 2014, no. 34; Işık *et al.* 2001, no. 46 C VI; Photo: Patara Excavation Archive.

Likya'nın da Patara'dan sonra en büyük limanı olan Andriake olmaktadır. Myra ile bu liman arasındaki yol bağlantısı kuşkusuz en eski devirlerden beri mevcut idi. Fakat böyle bir yolun SP kapsamında ölçüm çalışmasının yapılmış ve listelenmiş olması pek mümkün gözükmemektedir; çünkü SP hiçbir kara içi kentten onun limanı konumundaki yerleşime yol vermemektedir."

[9] Onur 2015, 89-94.

[10] Onur 2016, 106: *"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 ... 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."*; I was also sure in Onur 2022, 510-511 that no road would be given to Andriake for the same reasons.

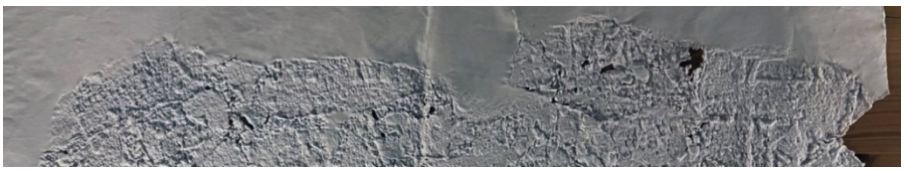


Fig. 3. The squeeze taken by Şahin. The part of l. 20 on the topmost line of the middle block

At the end of last year, I was finally able to work on the stones stored in the Antalya Archaeological Museum, although not all of them were fully accessible due to the narrow spaces between the blocks. One of the blocks I was able to examine was the one with the problematic line. Some of the *SfM* (Structure from Motion) images of the block are as follows:



Fig. 4. The block as it is today. Orthographic image produced through *SfM* (by Aykan Akçay). Note that some pieces at the top and bottom, and occasionally in the middle, that can be seen in the earlier photos (e.g. fig. 2 above), are not on the block today.

The first surviving letter trace on the far left of the first line of the block certainly belongs to the sigma of ΕΙΣ (see fig. 7-8 below). Then comes a half vertical line, which must be a T, according to the distance between the letters after Σ and before O, the lower part of which is clearly visible. The next letter does not provide a precise trace to attribute to a particular letter, but the section after this letter has shown that it should be a N. The traces after that are two inward diagonal lines, which could be either an A or a Λ. The next letter is the lower part of an I, because of the rather small distance between

the letters before and after it. Then we see another partial left diagonal hasta of a letter, which could be an A, a Λ or a M. This is followed by a missing letter, then the right part of a N and an A. Then there are traces of a diagonal letter, the lower right part of a N, then a Δ, followed by a very close vertical letter which could be I, Π, H, Γ and P. On the upper line of the block[11] immediately to the right of this block there are tiny lower ends of some letters.

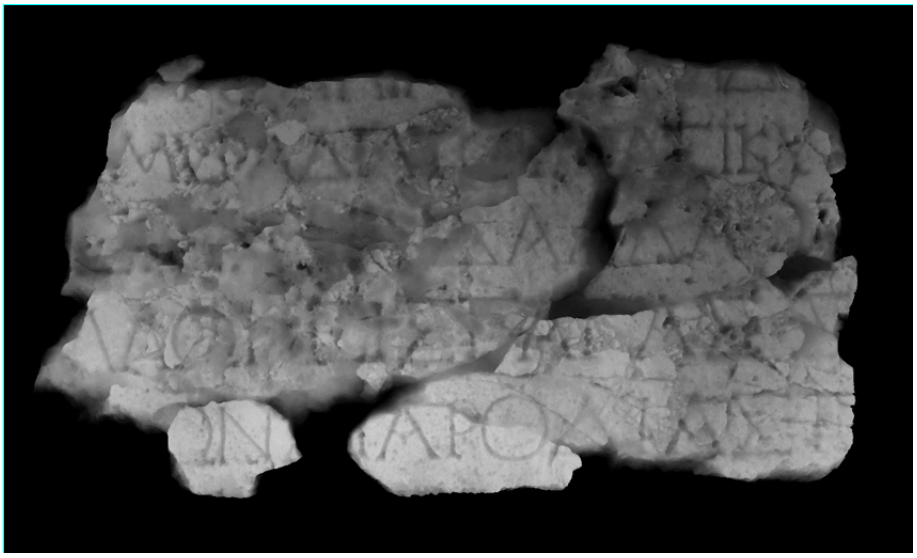


Fig. 5. *SfM* image in autopsy mode showing only the surviving original surface of the block (by Aykan Akçay)

It is not difficult to see that these surviving traces point to the port of Andriake, as shown below:

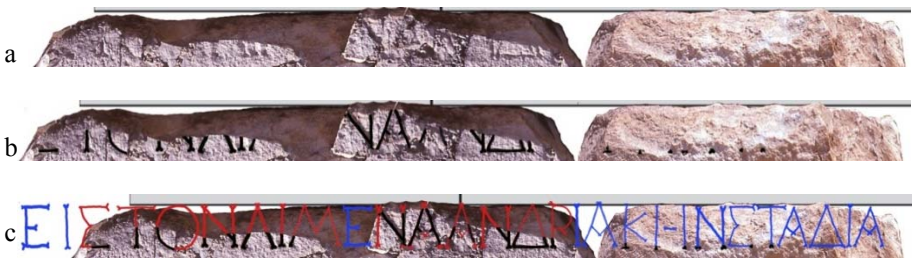


Fig. 6. Surviving traces of the destination in l. 20 of Face C.

[11] Şahin 2014, no. 35; Işık *et. al.* 2001, no. 47 C VI.

After this examination the whole line can be clearly understood as follows:



ἀπὸ Μύρων [εἰ]ς τὸν λιμ[έ]να Ἀνδρ[ιάκην· στάδια --΄]

From Myra to the port (of) Andr[iake: ... stadia]

Along with this reading, we should first revise some of our perspectives regarding the status of settlements and ports in the Stadiasmos of Patara. First, it is now understood that a road was given from a city to its dependent port, although this still remains as the only definite example, and that not all settlements mentioned in the Stadiasmos of Patara are *poleis*, but we can still take this into account by adjusting the approach with "unless otherwise specified" as in the use of "the port" (ὁ λιμήν) for Andriake.

The route of the ancient road between Myra and Andriake has not been fully investigated, but it is not difficult to determine from some of the landmarks along the route and known traces of the road. The best known landmark for the route is the "Nymphaion", which was built near the southern gates of Myra and on the road to Andriake.[12] The road then most likely crossed immediately to the southern side, as this is the closest point to the northern slopes of Kumdağı Tepesi, along which the road would lead to the port of Andriake.[13] Strabon states "then Myra (located) at the distance of 20 stadia from the sea, on a high hill".[14] 20 stadia corresponded to about 4 km, and it is not clear exactly where Strabon's measurement starts, but it should not be far from Andriake. The distance between Myra and Andriake is about 4.5 km, so the length of the road built was most probably given as 24 stadia.[15] This figure is in perfect agreement with the distance given in the

[12] Borchhardt 1975, 73; see also the roads drawn in Plate 1 on p. 46; Çevik – Bulut 2022, 61 Fig. 5.

[13] The ancient road was in use until recent times, see Petersen – von Luschan 1889, 41, all the earlier visitors to the site should have used this road; the latest report on this "nymphaion" is given by Çevik – Bulut 2022, 48; see the relation of its location to the route of the ancient road better in Çevik – Bulut 2022, 61 Fig. 5.

[14] Strab. 14.3.7.1-2: Εἶτα Μύρα ἐν εἴκοσι σταδίοις ὑπὲρ τῆς θαλάττης ἐπὶ μετεώρου λόφου.

[15] 24, divisable by 8, is the lowest number of stadia in the monument. It is given for the roads from Korma to Idebessos and from Sidyma to [Kalabat?]ia. Almost all the lengths

praxis de stratelatis as 3 miles.[16] This source, written in the 6th century (most likely fabricated) but telling a miracle story of Saint Nicholas (the Elder) in the 4th century during the reign of Constantine the Great, gives several details about the road between Andriake and Myra. According to the story, three Roman generals and their troops, sent by Constantine to suppress a rebellion in Phrygia, landed in Andriake. The soldiers made trouble in the port and the locals responded by resisting them, causing a great commotion in the Plakoma. St Nicholas heard this and arrived on the scene to calm everyone down. Soon after, news came from Myra that three innocent people were about to be executed by order of the ἡγεμών (*praeses*/governor) Eustathius. He set off for Myra, taking the three generals with him to stop the execution:

> *"...and when he arrived at the place called Leon, he asked those present about those who had received the sentence, if they were still alive. And they said that they were still alive and were in the street leading to so-called Dioskouroi. Then, going to the martyrion of the Saints Kreskens and Dioskorides, he asked again and learnt that they were about to exit the city gate. When he arrived at the city gate, the people there told him that they were going to Berrhas."*[17]

He then arrives at Berrhas and saves the lives of these three people. Here we see toponyms on the road from Andriake to Myra. The first is Leon, obviously a small residential area or a resting place for people coming from

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given on the monument are divisible by eight, since one Roman mile corresponded to eight stadia. Şahin 2014, 146 changed the recorded length of the road from Pinara to Telmessos from 177 to 176 stadia. When divided by eight, two instances do not result in whole numbers, but they can be expressed in half-mile increments. This is evident in the lengths of the roads from Tlos to Telmessos (188/8 = 23.5 miles) and from Kadyanda to Araxa (108/8 = 13.5 miles). Despite the precise measurements taken for each road, the recorded lengths were subsequently rounded to the nearest whole or half mile, in line with the Roman surveyors' practice of working in whole or half mile units, see Salway 2007, 202.

[16] *Prax. Strat.* 1, ll. 8-9: ... ἐν τῷ ἐπινείῳ Ἀνδριάκῃ, ὄντι λιμένι τῆς μητροπόλεως ἀπὸ τριῶν μιλίων ... ("... in the port of Andriake, the port of the metropolis, three miles away ..."). The Greek text is from Recension 1 of Anrich 1913, 67-77.

[17] *Prax. Strat.* 6, ll. 9-15: ... καὶ γενόμενος ἐν τόπῳ καλουμένῳ Λέοντι, ἐπηρώτησε τοὺς πάροντας περὶ τῶν λαβόντων τὴν απόφασιν, εἰ ἔτι ζῶσι. καὶ εἶπον, ἔτι αὐτοὺς ζῆν καὶ εἶναι ἐν τῇ πλατείᾳ εἰς τοὺς καλουμένους Διοσκόρους. εἶτα ἐξελθὼν ἐπὶ τὸ μαρτύριον τῶν Ἁγίων Κρίσκεντος καὶ Διοσκορίδους, πάλιν ἐπερώτησας ἔμαθεν, ὅτι ἤδη ἄρτι μέλλουσι τὴν πύλην ἐξιέναι. καὶ γενομένου αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν πύλην, εἶπον αὐτὸν οἱ ἐκεῖσε, ὅτι ὑπαγοῦσιν εἰς τὸν Βηρρᾶν. The Greek text is from Recension 1 of Anrich 1913, 67-77.

both directions. The next place is the *martyrion* of Saints Kreskens and Dioskorides.[18] At this point, there was probably a church, or a chapel built above the tomb of the martyrs, within the necropolis in front of the city. He then arrives at the city gate, which should be located somewhere in the southern part of the polis centre; this should also be the starting point for measuring the road to Andriake in the road list of the monument. These three prisoners were brought to the gate by the road that probably led from or to the "Dioskoroi", the nature of which is not clear. After the gate, the prisoners were taken to Berrhas to be executed. This place is obviously not in the direction of Andriake, as St Nicholas and the three generals came to the gate from Andriake, so it was probably somewhere to the south or east.[19]

Andriake was the scene of many events in history, which is no coincidence, because Andriake has always been important, at least since the Hellenistic period.[20] The maintenance of the road between Andriake and Myra was vital for many aspects of mobility, such as economic, military, and social, not only for Myra but for the whole of Lycia. When the roads were built in the Claudian era, the Lycians honoured Claudius on the territory of Myra on Bonda Hill for the κατασκευὴ τῶν ὁδῶν ("construction of the roads"),[21] which included the road to Andriake. Together with the massive construction of the road to Limyra, especially the section from Beymelek to Bonda Tepesi,[22] Myra seems to have benefited greatly from this Claudian road-building programme. During the imperial period, Andriake was the second most important port in Lycia after that of Patara, which became the seat of the governor with the Roman annexation of Lycia. Even before the

[18] The *Encomium Andreae Cretensis* (9th century AD?) gives also Nikokles martyred together with Crescens and Dioscorides. *Encom. Andr. Cret.* 9.13-16: *"(O Myra!) ... you have, besides him (St. Nicholas the Elder), noble agonists for piety, I speak of Crescens, Dioscorides and Nikokles, these three martyrs who, united in their thought, illuminate the essence of the Trinity with sacred splendour, to whom the Trinity itself has bestowed honour, with prizes worthy of victory over the Kingdom."* (see Anrich 1913, 427 for the Greek text). These three were probably on their way from Andriake to Myra on a Christian mission, but they seem to have been martyred somewhere along the road.

[19] See also the comments of Şahin (2010, 146) in response to Çevik 2010, 59.

[20] See the most recent account in Çevik – Bulut 2022, 33-39; see also Yılmaz – Kurul 2023, 364-365.

[21] Marksteiner – Wörrle 2002, 555-556, 561.

[22] Marksteiner suggests the existence of a pre-existing partial road connection in this area before the Roman period but points out that the section of the road to Limyra from Beymelek to Bonda Tepesi has a homogeneous character, suggesting a completely new Claudian construction or a massive renovation, see Marksteiner – Wörrle 2002, 553; see also Şahin 2014, 379-387 for a detailed information on the road between Myra and Limyra.

annexation, however, there were memorial buildings and inscriptions dedicated to members of the Julio-Claudian family in Andriake,[23] as there were in other places in Lycia albeit to a lesser extent, indicating a firm alliance with Rome.[24] Another inscription of great importance is the Neronian customs regulation[25] erected at the entrance to the port of Andriake, which shows that Andriake was still one of the two most important main ports of Lycia in the Early Empire. The intense activity in the port, so the heavy use of the ancient road to Myra, continued until the middle of the 7th century AD.[26]

❁

Now that we know that the Stadiasmos of Patara also includes at least one road to a dependent port, we need to consider whether this new determination can be applied to the other possible coastal roads mentioned in the monument. Indeed, we notice that many ports, except for harbour cities[27], were bypassed in the road list. We do not read any roads to the coastal settlements between Andriake and Antiphellos. As was already pointed out in an earlier paper,[28] Antiphellos may have been in the list, but most probably as an independent harbour city, not as a dependent port.

There is the proposal for a road as ἀπὸ Φελλοῦ εἰς [Νεῖσα διὰ Κανδύβων στάδια ..′] ("from Phellos to Neisa through Kandyba: .. stadia") in face C, l.17, considered by Şahin. However, the gap is much shorter than the proposed restoration (see fig.7 below), so Neisa can hardly be the destination, as the road would then have gone to Kandyba or through its territory, there is not enough space for such a construction.

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[23] Öztürk 2022 collected the inscriptions honouring the family of Augustus, enriched with additional inscriptions that have recently come to light; for a detailed account with recent architectural observations on these memorials see Çevik – Bulut 2022, 41-42.

[24] In any case, this alliance dates back to 168 BC, when Lycia was liberated from Rhodes and made independent by Rome and manifested itself after 122 years in the Caesarean foedus of 46 BC (Mitchell 2005). We know that a few years earlier Brutus had invaded Patara and later Myra. The people of Myra resisted Brutus' general, Lentulus Spinther, for a long time and only surrendered when he broke the chain blocking the entrance to the port of Andriake, see Dio 47.34.6 and App. *BC* 4.82.1; also see Çevik – Bulut 2022, 40-41.

[25] See Takmer 2006; Takmer 2007 for the details of this inscription.

[26] Çevik – Bulut 2022, 55-57.

[27] Such as Kaunos, Telmessos, Kalynda?, Patara, Gagai, Korykos, Phaselis, and perhaps Kalabatia and Antiphellos, see Onur 2016, 106.

[28] Onur 2016, 106-108.



Fig. 7. The reconstruction shows that the restorations like εἰς Νεῖσα διὰ Κανδύβων στάδια ..′ for both face C, l.17 and 18 (first two lines in the picture) are impossible.

One of the destinations of the two roads from Phellos was certainly Kyaneai, while the other was either Kandyba or Antiphellos. For Kandyba, however, we would expect to see another road connecting Kandyba and Neisa, but none is given in the monument. So Antiphellos seems more likely, but not as the port of a city (i.e. Phellos), since a similar construction to that of Andriake would exceed the space (see fig. 8 below). On the other hand, Antiphellos was most probably an independent harbour city by then,[29] and the road might have plausibly ended in a dead end.



Fig. 8. A possible construction for l. 17-18:
ἀπὸ Φελλοῦ εἰ̣[ς Κυανέας στάδια ..′] | ἀπὸ Φελλοῦ [εἰς Ἀντίφελλον στάδια ..′].[30]

The next case that should be revisited is the lost destination of the road that runs for 24 stadia (about 4.5 km) from Sidyma. I have already discussed this issue in detail in another paper, suggesting that the lost destination may indeed have been Kalabatia, which would then have been an independent city 4.5 km from Sidyma. However, the Sancaklı port, which some have identified as Kalabatia, is 8 km away, so this place cannot be the destination of this road. Therefore, I proposed the ruins in Bel district, about 4.5-5 km south of Sidyma, as the destination of the road, in accordance with the length of the road given in the Stadiasmos of Patara. I had there stated "it becomes obvious that either the destination is not Kalabatia, but some other settlement

[29] See the detailed discussion in Onur 2016, 106-108.
[30] The destinations can be interchanged, although normally one would expect the second road to be to Kyaneai, which is the origin of the next station. However, there is no consistent rule for sorting roads in such cases, and the Stadiasmos of Patara contains many different examples.

in a distance of 4,5 km from Sidyma, or that Kalabatia should not be located in Sancaklı Port, but in another place, which would be 4,5 km distant from Sidyma."[31]

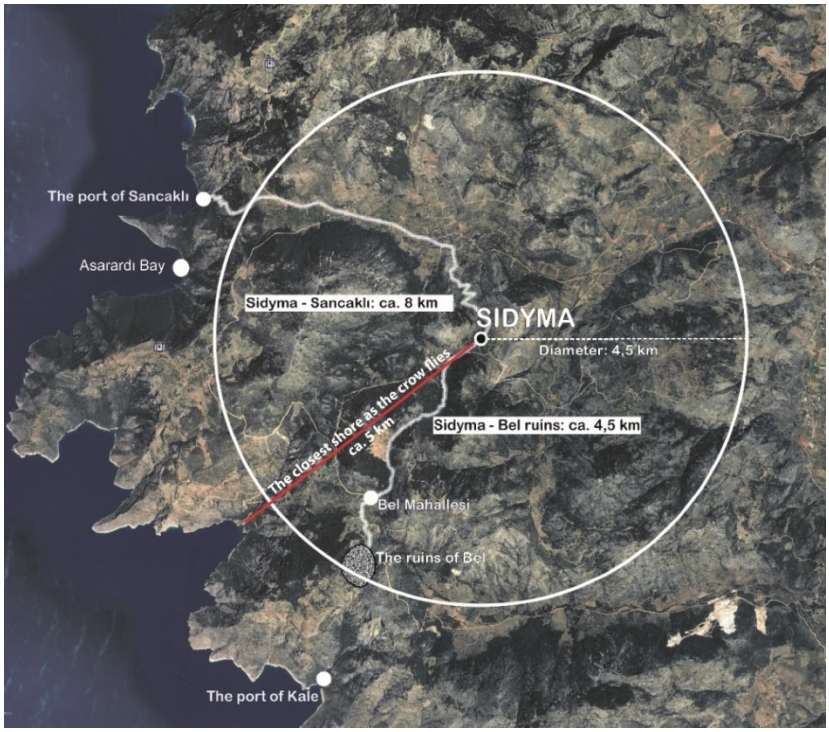


Fig. 9. Sidyma and its nearest shores

Unfortunately, the new restoration of Andriake Port on the road list does not solve the problem, as the nearest shore to Sidyma is about 5 km even as the crow flies. So, the destination cannot be a port, although another settlement with a port far away is possible. So a suggestion of a restoration such as ἀπὸ Σιδύμων ε[ἰς τὸν λιμένα Καλαβατί]αν[32] ↳ στάδια ↳ κδ′, cannot be justified. Furthermore, the case of Kalabatia is still rather dubious and

[31] Onur 2019, 264.
[32] The form of Καλαβατία is taken from the ethnicon in *TAM* II no. 174, which is given as Καλαβατιανοί. But there are two other forms: Καλαβαττία from the ethnicon Καλαβαττιανός from a funerary inscription in Takmer 2010, 120 no. 3 and Καλαβαντία from the Stadiasmus Maris Magni (Helm 504-505; Müller 250-251).

raises several questions. We are not sure that the destination here was really Kalabatia. We do not know if or when Kalabatia belonged to Sidyma. As for the location of Kalabatia, we have no evidence not only from Sancaklı port, but from anywhere else. Perhaps the most important problem is the distance from the northern exit of Sidyma to the western end of the Boğaziçi plain, which is about 6.5 km, and another 1.5 km down to Sancaklı limanı, where the best part of the old road has survived, making a total of about 8 km.

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