

## RELIGIOUS DEVELOPMENTS IN LATE ROMAN LYCIA: TOPOGRAPHICAL PRELIMINARIES\*

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Christianity's rise and paganism's fall perennially interest late Roman historians. The story is no longer treated as a straight gladiatorial combat – 'The conflict of paganism and Christianity'. Both religions gave and took; and if apologists liked to draw firm lines, that was because many ordinary people did not. But other misconceptions remain. In particular, the replacement of paganism by Christianity is still widely treated as a conscious change in religious taste – Christianity's triumph was the reward of intrinsic superiority, even if that superiority had social and organizational as well as doctrinal and cultic aspects. There were of course converts who had either made this calculation, or personally experienced Christianity's advantages. But we have been too much influenced by the well-known literary paradigms of conversion. Justin's narrative of his search for truth at the beginning of the *Dialogue with Trypho*, or Minucius Felix's account of the pagan Caecilius's debate on the beach at Ostia

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\* Εἰ δὲ τούτοις τις ἀπιστήσῃ, οὐ πολὺς μέχρι τῆς Λυκίας ὁ σκυλμός, πρὸς πληροφορίαν τῆς ἀληθείας, says John Moschus, after telling the story of the miraculous lamp at Kerdebotā near Oenoanda (*Prat.* 215). Thanks are nonetheless due to the National Hellenic Research Foundation (Centre for Greek and Roman Antiquity), the Netherlands Organization for the Advancement of Pure Research (Z.W.O.) and the 'Panorama' Cultural Society of Athens, for alleviating the financial σκυλμός of two visits to Lycia (August 1985 and December 1988); to Marianna Koromila of 'Panorama', without whose enthusiasm I would have gone on postponing the project whose first instalment is here presented; to Martin Harrison and Robert A. Bridges Jr., for kind advice, mainly about the Elmalı area; to David French, for detailed criticism and notes on his investigations of Lycian roads during the summer of 1989; and to Elizabeth Key, vigilant critic and resourceful companion in the rigours of a Lycian winter.

with his Christian friend Octavius, have fascinated scholars, who recognize kindred spirits in these educated doubters. But for every Justin or Augustine there were innumerable others who became Christians because of family pressures, or along with the rest of the village, or because they were pushed. And the social and economic forces that stimulated conversion, mass or individual, did not stop there. The structure of late Roman society worked catalytically on the very nature of the religious systems that existed within it. This was nothing new. Simon Price has recently discussed the origins of the imperial cult primarily in terms of an attempt by the emperor's subjects 'to make sense of an otherwise incomprehensible intrusion of authority into their world';<sup>1</sup> while Peter Brown's work has both exemplified and encouraged integrated study of late Roman religion and society. But certain preconditions for such synthesis are still lacking.

The more traditional but still influential intra-ecclesial approach, recently exemplified by W.H.C. Frend's *The rise of Christianity* (London 1984), was bred of the view that religion is something apart, a law to itself;<sup>2</sup> and from this standpoint it has often seemed natural (though fortunately not to Frend, who is also an archaeologist) to view the late Roman religious revolution on an empire-wide basis, local nuances smoothed away. In fact, experience varied widely from place to place. The study of these variations is intrinsically worthwhile, as a contribution to regional history; and micro-area studies have implications, both direct<sup>3</sup> and cumulative, for the macro-area. A comprehensive view of religious developments in the macro-area, the Roman Empire generally, is indeed the long-term aim of the research programme on 'Philosophy and pagan religions in the late Roman East' sponsored by the Centre for Greek and Roman Antiquity at the National Research Foundation, Athens. But the pro-

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1. S.R.F. Price, *Rituals and power. The Roman imperial cult in Asia Minor* (Cambridge 1984) 247.

2. Frend's book may instructively be compared with a similar work, *The formation of Christendom*, written by a self-professed 'non-believer', J. Herrin (Princeton, N.J. 1987). Although Herrin claims to subordinate 'political and economic elements of the transition from Antiquity to the Middle Ages... to a study of the development of Christian faith'(7), her book is throughout informed by a sense that all these elements are part of a whole.

3. C. Wickham, 'Marx, Sherlock Holmes, and late Roman commerce', *JRS* 78(1988)190: 'all parts of the Mediterranean,... Egypt perhaps excepted, have more or less the same resources; major ecological differences in the area tend to be intra-, rather than inter-regional'.

gramme's initial approach is firmly regional, and it has been decided to tackle first, not the relatively well-documented areas like Syria and Egypt, but others which, though obscurer, pose in acute form certain problems which look as if they may turn out to be central. Why, for example, did paganism persist so much more strongly in some places than others? In an article entitled 'City and mountain in late Roman Attica', *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 108 (1988) 48-59, I have already touched on this problem, as far as the Athens area is concerned; and a more systematic study of Attica is planned. In the same article, I referred briefly to the problematic relationship between on the one hand geographical and socio-economic factors, and on the other hand variations of religious taste, in the generation of cultic change. If we are to pursue this line of enquiry further, we need to take an area with a more firmly differentiated physical and, hence, human geography than Attica. Lycia seems a good candidate; and the purpose of this preliminary article is to describe the interaction of landscape and society in late Roman Lycia, as the necessary background for a forthcoming discussion of religious developments.<sup>4</sup>

### 1. Landscape, routes and settlement<sup>5</sup>

Lycia is a peninsula which projects from the south-west corner of Asia Minor. For Roman administrative purposes it formed a single province together with Pamphylia, until these two dissimilar regions were separated at some point between 313 and 325.<sup>6</sup> The frontier of imperial Lycia started from the Indus (Dalaman) river in the west, and ran south of Cibyra to some point on the Gulf of Attaleia (Anta-

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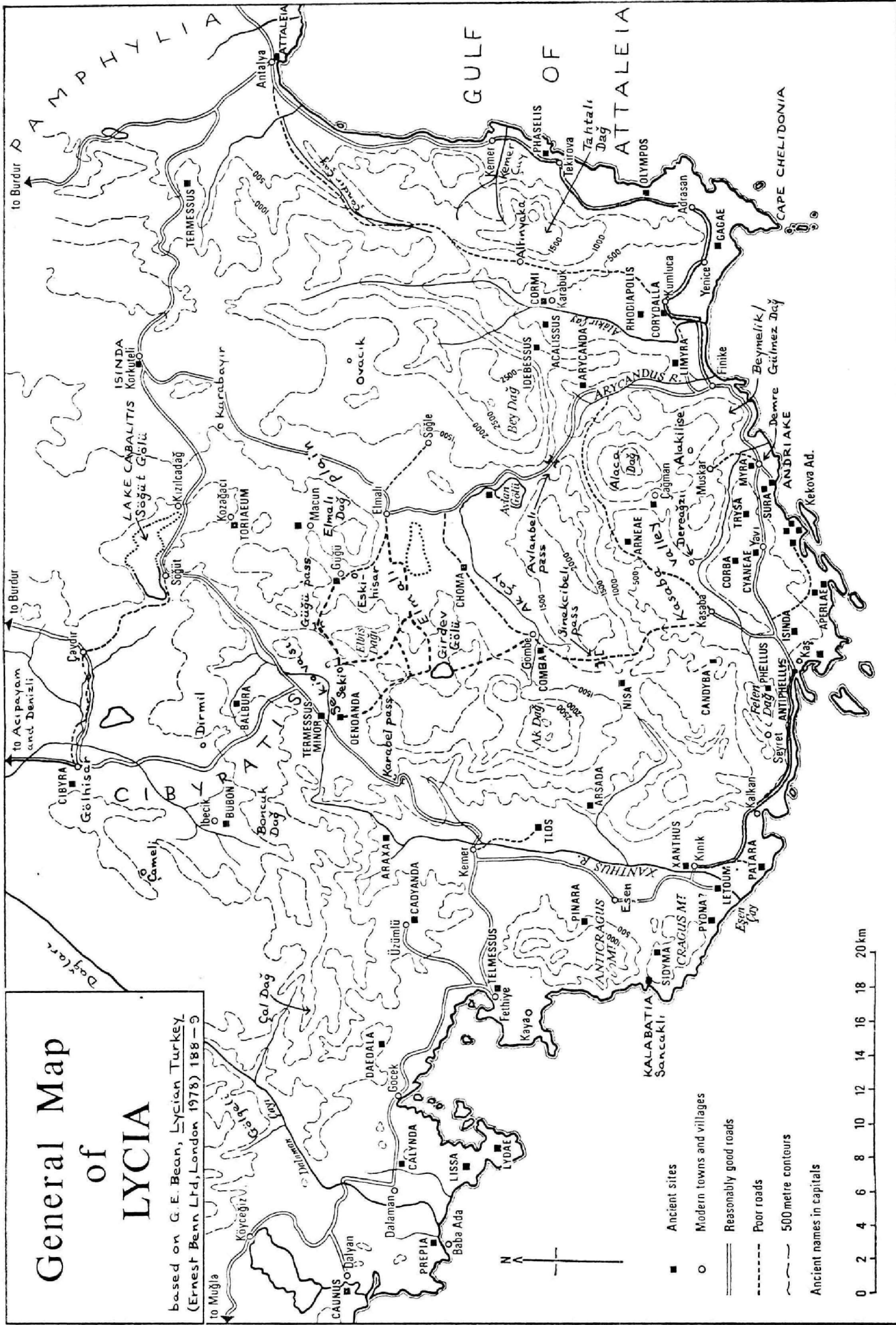
4. 'Regional studies in late Roman religion 1: Lycia'.

5. The intention is to describe all significant relief features and routes. The cities will simply be alluded to in their appropriate context: for brief descriptions see G.E. Bean, *Lycian Turkey: an archaeological guide* (London 1978). Few previous students of Lycian history have thought it worthwhile to draw an overall picture of how the different parts of the landscape fit together. C. Ritter, *Die Erdkunde von Asien* 9. 2 (Berlin 1859) 716-1200, based on the early, heroic travellers (especially the extraordinary A. Schönborn), remains a unique synthesis adorned with interesting detail.

6. C. Naour, 'Nouvelles inscriptions de Balboursa', *AncSoc* 9(1978) 181 n. 31.

# General Map of LYCIA

based on G. E. Bean, *Lycian Turkey*  
(Ernest Benn Ltd, London 1978) 188-9



- Ancient sites
- Modern towns and villages
- Reasonably good roads
- - - Poor roads
- ... 500 metre contours

Ancient names in capitals



lya), west of Attaleia itself.<sup>7</sup> The whole area south of this line is what the present study is concerned with.

Geologically, Lycia is a westerly extension of the Taurus Mountains<sup>8</sup> or (in a wider context) the point of linkage between the Hellenides and the Taurides, two mountain-arcs which in turn form part of a belt of Alpine mobility stretching from the Dinaric Mountains in Yugoslavia, through the Pindus, Peloponnese, Crete, the Taurus and Anti-Taurus ranges and the Zagros, to the Indian Ocean.<sup>9</sup> There would be much to be gained from studying the Middle Eastern sector of this vast swathe of territory as a single entity – one would then be able to fill in missing dimensions of the region's history, which is traditionally written from the standpoint of the great empires of the plains.<sup>10</sup> This wider context of Lycia should not be forgotten, if only for comparison; but the land itself is, like Greece, a collection of microcosms, lacking broad horizons. Most Lycians lived, and live, either in relatively constricted valleys or upland basins surrounded by forests and mountains,<sup>11</sup> or on the coast, 'rugged and hard to travel' (Strabo XIV. 3. 2), with their backs to the mountain wall.<sup>12</sup>

The Lycian mountains are much less of a unity than the massive heart of the Taurus range further east in Cilicia.<sup>13</sup> They fall into what might, for the sake of simplicity, be called three principal chains, tending from north-east to south-west; and the rivers they generate have formed valleys which, opening hardly ever northwards, nearly always southwards towards the sea, and terminating in

7. S. Jameson, 'Lykia', *RE Suppl.* 13, 265-71, 279; id., 'The Lycian League: some problems in its administration', *ANRW* II.7.2, 834, 842. C. Naour, *Tyriaion en Cabalide: épigraphie et géographie historique* (Zutphen 1980) 10-13 (and cf. 9 n. 29 and id., *AncSoc* 9 (1978) 184-5), shows that, after Cibyra, the frontier ran along the north side of Lake Cabalitis (Söğüt Gölü), and then southeast along the Merdivenli Dağ.

8. Thus Str. XI.12.2., XIV.2.1 (τά ἄκρα τοῦ Ταύρου μέχρι Μαιάνδρου), 3.8.

9. H.H. Read and J. Watson, *Introduction to geology 2: Earth history, Part II: Later stages of earth history* (London 1975) 179-215; R. Brinkmann, *Geology of Turkey* (Amsterdam 1976) 118-19.

10. I am preparing a book on this theme, to be called *The Mountain Crescent: missing dimensions of Middle Eastern history*.

11. E.g. *Actes du Colloque sur la Lycie antique* (Paris 1980) pl. XXIII (Alakilise – an extreme case, from the early Byzantine period when Lycians were moving to the uplands from the coast: see below, 369).

12. E.g. J. Ganzert, *Das Kenotaph für Gaius Caesar in Limyra: Architektur und Bauornamentik* (Tübingen 1984) pl. 1-3 (Limyra).

13. See O. Erol's excellent relief map of Turkey in W.-D. Hütteroth, *Türkei* (Darmstadt 1982) fig. 26.

alluvial plains, have provided the most favourable areas for agriculture and urbanism. To these three mountain chains we may, with some expansion of their strict application, attach the names Boncuk Dağları, Ak Dağları and Bey Dağları (including Tahtalı Dağ). They will here be described in sequence, from west to east.

Lycia's north-west frontier is clearly defined by the Indus (Dalaman) river, and beyond it by the abrupt line of the Sandrasdağ and Bozdağ (the Gölgeli Dağları), Caria's eastern rampart. The Lycian side of the Dalaman valley is scarcely less abrupt. In order to pass from Caria into Lycia, one either took the coastal route, much easier by sea than by land, from Caunus (Dalaman) to Telmessus (Fethiye),<sup>14</sup> or else one crossed from the Maeander (Menderes) valley or the Tabae (Tavas) plateau (N.E. Caria) into the Karayük/Acıpayam plain, and thence down into the Cibyratis. Between these two routes, the deep and narrow Dalaman valley creates a zone of isolation. It is an active obstacle to transverse communication, except for the local movement, so often mentioned by the travellers, of wandering shepherds and the occasional caravan.<sup>15</sup> As for communication along the length of the valley, this must always have been limited, more or less, to transhumance and the wood trade, and will have concerned exclusively the regions in which the river rises (the Karayük/Acıpayam plain and, south of it, the Cibyratis), that into which it debouches (the coastal plain east of Caunus), and points strictly intermediate.<sup>16</sup>

The Boncuk Dağları, the mountain chain which, within Lycia, runs parallel to the Dalaman valley, and conspires with it to discourage intercourse with the world beyond, includes peaks which rise as high as 2750m. These are familiar, at a distance, to the Lycian traveller, a high wall before him as he follows the Xanthus (Eşen) valley northwards, and an impressive backdrop to the bay of Fethiye. This part of Lycia, little inhabited and less visited, is well appreciated if

14. The land route is described by A. Philippson, *Reisen und Forschungen im westlichen Kleinasien* (Gotha 1910-15) 5.89-91, noting traces of the ancient road; and by L. Robert, 'Les conquêtes du dynaste lycien Arbinas', *JS* (1978) 15-18 (with photographs).

15. Ritter, *Erdkunde* 903-6, 909-12; O. Benndorf and G. Niemann, *Reisen in Lykien und Karien* (Vienna 1884) 146-50; Philippson, *Reisen* 5. 98-9, 104-6; L. and J. Robert, *La Carie 2: Le plateau de Tabai et ses environs* (Paris 1954) 32, pl. VII. 2; L. Robert, *A travers l'Asie Mineure* (Paris 1980) 69.

16. L. Robert, *Documents d'Asie Mineure* (Athens 1987) [*DAM*] 278 n. 25.

one takes the minor road from Fethiye via Çameli to Acıpayam.<sup>17</sup> The road crosses the Fethiye plain, whose fertile soil, according to Cicero, produced many abnormal growths, and gave rise to the Telmessians' addiction to the study of prodigies.<sup>18</sup> Then we head north-eastwards into the pine-covered hills, and climb until we reach the small mountain plain of Üzümlü, which formed the node of ancient Cadyanda's territory, and has yielded a Severan milestone.<sup>19</sup> We climb out of this plain over a col to the north, and into the lonely heart of the mountains, snow-capped even in June. We pass east of the fine peak of Çal Dağ (2185 m), across sharp slopes sparsely covered with fir, while eastwards rises the line of peaks that closes the Xanthus valley's northern end. Descending gradually through labyrinthine forested hills and across occasional small mountain plains, by abundant crystalline streams, always with high peaks to our right, we eventually reach the wide (by local standards) and very flat Çameli plain.<sup>20</sup> From the eastern end of this plain we climb again, then run through bare, rolling hill country with extensive views northwards across the Dalaman valley towards Carian Bozdağ. We watch the Dalaman valley and its surrounding mountains smoothe themselves gradually north-eastwards into the great upland plain of Karayük/Acıpayam, into which we too now descend.

Joining the Gölhisar-Acıpayam road, we find ourselves on an important ancient route which linked the Maeander (Menderes) valley at Laodicea (near modern Denizli) to the Mediterranean coast of Lycia at Limyra. Gölhisar is near the ancient Cibyra, which looked primarily to the Karayük/Acıpayam plain, with its mixed Pisidian and Phrygian population, and was never captured by Lycia's fluctuating frontier, unlike the more southerly members of the Cibyran tetrapolis, Bubon, Balbura and Oenoanda, which were incorporated into Lycia in 84 B.C., despite the fact that they too had substantial Pisi-

17. Autopsy, 26.12.88. Compare Benndorf and Niemann, *Reisen* 141, 147-8, 150, fig. 87 and pl. XLVII (Eldschikdagh=Çal Dağ); Philippson, *Reisen* 5.96-8, and pl. 16; Robert, *A travers l'Asie Mineure* 380-2, 392, figs 1-3, 8-9. See also Robert, *DAM* 271-81, describing the route from the coast to Bubon (Ibecik).

18. Cic. *Div.* I. 94.

19. D. French, *Roman roads and milestones of Asia Minor [RRMAM]* 2 (Oxford 1988) no. 857.

20. On the Çameli plain and its approaches see C. Naour, 'Inscriptions et reliefs de Kibyrate et de Cabalide', *ZPE* 22 (1976) 109-12 (with photograph and map showing the sites of Cibyra, Bubon and Balbura), 123-4.

dian affinities.<sup>21</sup> Bubon lies near the head of a valley which issues north-eastward into the plain around Cibyra, and is otherwise overshadowed by the high peaks of the Boncuk Dağları, the decisive nature of whose relief is underlined by the fact that some of the remotest sources of both the Dalaman and the Eşen rivers here lie almost next to each other.<sup>22</sup> Balbura is less isolated, situated near to the Laodicea-Limyra road just after the Dirmil pass (1580m., and difficult in winter<sup>23</sup>) has carried it over the watershed into the region of the Eşen's headwaters. At the south-eastern end of the valley that opens out below Balbura's eminence (1500 m.),<sup>24</sup> the road leaves the Boncuk Dağları behind, and emerges onto the 'ova' (upland plain) of Seki, as its most significant present-day town is called. Tending north-east to south-west, this long, thin 'ova' separates the Boncuk Dağları from our next mountain chain, the Ak Dağları.<sup>25</sup> It also gives rise to much of what eventually becomes the Eşen river. But before we consider this highly important Eşen valley - Sekiovası axis, we should note that Fethiye communicates with it by a wide and easy gap<sup>26</sup> between the Boncuk Dağları and what might perhaps be regarded as their southward extension, namely Mounts Anticragus and Cragus (Baba Dağ), which fill the space between the Eşen valley and the sea, and render this part of the Lycian shore particularly inaccessible.<sup>27</sup> The so-called coastal route followed the gap and descended the valley, and henceforth related only episodically to the sea, running high up and inland where the mountains reach to the shore, and between mountain and marsh when the route was forced to traverse a coastal plain. Mount Cragus shelters the city of Sidyma, situated just south of an insignificant route which leads from the Eşen

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21. On the culturally mixed character of these regions, and on Cibyra's strong links with Caria too, see Robert, *Carie* 19-20, 35, 72-9, 378-9 and *Bull.* (1978) 462; J.J. Coulton, 'Termessians at Oinoanda', *AS* 32 (1982) 115-31. On the marked difference between Cibyran and Lycian funerary art see Naour, *Tyriaion* 12.
22. On the route from Bubon over these wild mountains to Araxa (Ören) at the head of the Eşen valley, see Robert, *Bull.* (1950) p. 195; F.Stark, *Alexander's path from Caria to Cilicia* (London 1958) 240-1. For traces of an ancient route from Bubon north-westwards into the Çameli basin, see Naour, *ZPE* 22 (1976) 122-3.
23. Ritter, *Erdkunde* 863.
24. Photograph; traces of ancient road: Naour, *AncSoc* 9 (1978) pl. VIII, pp. 182-3.
25. Naour, *AncSoc* 9 (1978) pl. VIII, shows the latter seen from the former, and part of the intervening plains.
26. Philippson, *Reisen* 5.94.
27. On this coast see L. Robert, *Documents de l'Asie Mineure méridionale* (Geneva 1966) [*DAMM*] 15-22.



valley, by way, at its western end, of a precipitous descent, to the small harbour of Kalabatia (Sancaklı). But Sidyma must always have looked mainly towards the Eşen valley.

The Eşen valley and its north-eastward extension, the Sekiovası, are best understood if one takes the modern road from Kınık (Xanthus) via Eşen and Kemer to Söğüt (Seki lies 9 km. south-east of this route). Unlike the Telmessians, who benefitted from a fortifiable position beside a protected bay, the Xanthians found no suitable spot by the sea, and built their city some way inland, on the west side of the Eşen valley at a point where the river cuts off the eastern tip of a spur running out from the foothills of Mount Cragus, creating an acropolis (148 m.) with extensive views northwards across the wooded hills of the valley floor, and eastwards and southwards across the valley's wide and (where drained) fertile mouth.<sup>28</sup> 11 km. to the south lay Lycia's most important port, Patara. Xanthus's combination of defensibility with easy access to both sea and valley floor is unique. The Eşen valley's other two major cities, Pinara (highest point on acropolis: 715m.) and Tlos (highest point on acropolis: 477m.), are both perched on its sides, unassailable but slightly remote, and lacking easy access to the sea.<sup>29</sup>

North of the modern town of Kemer, the Eşen valley becomes, for most practical purposes, a cul-de-sac, hemmed in by high mountains to west, north and east, and controlled by relatively insignificant Araxa (Ören).<sup>30</sup> So at Kemer, near to which was an important Roman bridge,<sup>31</sup> one either turns left to Fethiye, or right, climbing gradually up the forested western foothills of Ak Dağ, and over the Karabel pass (1300m.) into the bare expanses of the Sekiovası.<sup>32</sup> This is not a difficult route, and offered the inhabitants of the valley, in

28. *Fouilles de Xanthos* 1 (Paris 1958) 22-3, 2 (Paris 1963) pl. 1 (southward view), 5 (Paris 1974) pl. 29 (1) (south-eastward view). For a view across the mouth of the Xanthus valley from Pydna towards Patara, see J.-P. Adam, *L'architecture militaire grecque* (Paris 1982) 118.

29. For a photograph of Pinara from the valley, see F. Stark, *The Lycian shore* (London 1956), between pp. 124-5.

30. Photograph (from the Oenoanda road): Stark, *Lycian shore*, opp. p. 124. The northern Eşen valley is described by Philippson, *Reisen* 5. 95-6, who also mentions the route which links it to the Üzümlü plain, and whose wider significance was perhaps overestimated by Benndorf and Niemann, *Reisen* 144. On the route to Bubon, see above, n. 22.

31. W.W. Wurster and J. Ganzert, 'Eine Brücke bei Limyra in Lykien', *AA* (1978) 304-7. Photographs of the river: Robert, *JS* (1978) 20.

32. See Robert, *A travers l'Asie Mineure* 305-7, on the changing landscape.

antiquity as now, escape from intolerable summer heat and mosquitoes,<sup>33</sup> and access to extensive summer pastures – to what the Turks call the ‘yayla’.<sup>34</sup> Recently the road has been much improved, to afford travellers a quick and painless route, ‘yayla’dan’, from Fethiye to Antalya. Soon after the initial descent from the Karabel pass into the Sekiovası, the road passes just north of the spur (rising to over 1500m.) whence the southernmost city of the Cibyratis, Oenoanda, dominates the scene.<sup>35</sup> Thereafter, the road rises very gradually through the ‘ova’ and the ever flatter, emptier plains and more desolate hillsides of the Lake Cabalitis (Söğüt Gölü) region, onto the north Lycian plateau around Isinda (Korkuteli), whose nudity bears witness to a long history of transhumant pastoralism, mainly in interaction with the Pamphylian plain.<sup>36</sup> Another type of connection between northern Lycia and the regions to the east is indicated by the presence at the foot of Oenoanda’s hill of a second city, Termessus Minor (Kemerarası), an offshoot of Termessus in the mountains north-west of Attaleia (Antalya).<sup>37</sup> There can be no doubt, then, of the importance of this ‘yayla’dan’ route, not just in linking the Ca-

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33. Even for Philippson 29-30.7.1904, spent in a deserted village below Tlos, was ‘die schlimmste Nacht auf der ganzen Reise’: *Reisen* 1.11; 5.94, 106.
34. On snow still blocking the passes in March, see T.A.B. Spratt and E. Forbes, *Travels in Lycia, Milyas, and the Cibyratis* (London 1847) 1.48-9. On routes from the Eşen valley to yaylas between Ak Dağ and the Elmalı plain, see n. 43 below, and R. Heberdey, ‘Nisa und Komba, zwei Städte der lykischen Milyas’, *Festschrift für Heinrich Kiepert* (Berlin 1898) 153-4 (Arsada to Nisa; it is perhaps to remains of an ancient link to Tlos that Schönborn refers ap. Ritter, *Erdkunde* 828).
35. Traces of ancient road: Wurster and Ganzert, *AA* (1978) 304. Map: Coulton, *AS* 32 (1982) 117. Photographs: Stark, *Lycian shore*, between pp. 124-5; *The proceedings of the Xth International Congress of Classical Archaeology* (Ankara 1978) pl. 265-6.
36. Map: Naour, *AncSoc* 9 (1978) 166. Milestones: *RRMAM* 2, nos 849; 288-91 (found off the Oenoanda-Isinda route, at Tyriaion (Kozagacı), but some, at least, of them originally from the Söğüt area (Naour, *AncSoc* 9 (1978) 184 n. 36); misplaced on the *RRMAM* map through confusion with another Kozagacı some way to the northwest); 193 (found near Tyriaion, but possibly also a wanderer: Naour, *AncSoc* 9 (1978) 183 n. 35); 191. Other antiquities along the route: G.E. Bean, *Journeys in northern Lycia 1965-1967* (Vienna 1971) nos 15-33; Naour, *Tyriaion* 9 n. 30; Robert, *A travers l’Asie Mineure* 306 n. 14. N. Lycian plateau: X. de Planhol, *De la plaine pamphylienne aux lacs pisidiens: nomadisme et vie paysanne* (Paris 1958) 49-50, 111, 118-20, 209, 408-12 and figs 14, 20; Naour, *Tyriaion* pl. I.
37. On the relationship between Termessus and north Lycia, see generally Coulton, *AS* 32 (1982) 115-31.

rian and west Lycian coast – and, by extension, Rhodes<sup>38</sup> – with Pamphylia, but also as an influence on the intermediate areas.

As one travels from Kınık (Xanthus) towards the north Lycian plateau, one always has to one's right the western or north-western flank of the Ak Dağları, which eventually merge into the plateau region. Again, these are high peaks (Ak Dağ itself is 3015m.), clothed in snow for much of the year, and crossed by few roads. And at the chain's southern end, it simply curves round eastwards and unites with Lycia's third chain, the Bey Dağları – which, indeed, has also been known as '(East) Ak Dağ'.<sup>39</sup> So the mountains of central and eastern Lycia may be thought of as a horseshoe tilted north-eastward, enclosing the extensive upland plain centred on Elmalı – for that is all that keeps the two ranges apart. This Elmalı plain is easily accessible from the north-east, from Korkuteli – indeed, motor traffic from Elmalı to Fethiye still makes a long eastward detour by way of Korkuteli, so difficult are the links between the south-western sector of the Elmalı plain and the Sekiovası, not to mention the route between the plain's north-eastern sector and Lake Cabalitis (Sögüt Gölü)<sup>40</sup>. One of the three dirt roads originating in the Sekiovası must be identical with that section of the ancient Laodicea-Limyra road which crossed the Elbis Dağ, as the Ak Dağları are called at this point.<sup>41</sup> All leave the Sekiovası near Seki. The western-

38. Rhodian coins are commonly found in central northern Lycia: Robert, *DAM* 397. See also Diog. Oen., fr. 15, 51, and NF 107(=M.F. Smith, 'Eight new fragments of Diogenes of Oenoanda', *AS* 29 (1979) 71) on his visits to fellow Epicureans in Rhodes during the hard Oenoanda winter. L. Ross, *Kleinasien und Deutschland* (Halle 1850) 74, observes that 'an der Südküste von Karien, von Telmessos bis Physkos (Marmarás), kommen die Schiffer, Handwerker, Müller u.s.w. von Rhodos, theils aus den christlichen Vorstädten der Hauptstadt, theils aus Lindos, und namentlich die letzteren gehen bis tief in das Innere, bis Muhla und Mylasa'. During the night Benndorf and Niemann spent at the han east of Çal Dağ, 'kam uns ein durch seine Messingbestandtheile anreizender grosser Compass abhanden, den ich dann im folgenden Jahre bei einem Antiquar in Rhodos wieder fand und wieder kaufen konnte': *Reisen* 148.

39. E. Petersen and F. von Luschan, *Reisen in Lykien, Milyas und Kibyrtis* (Vienna 1889) 163, and pl. XX (cp. n. 43 below), XXIV; H. Kiepert's map, *TAM* 1. On central and eastern Lycia see G. Jahn, *Die Beydağları: Studien zur Höhengliederung einer südwestanatolischen Gebirgslandschaft* (Giessen 1970) passim.

40. Naour, *Tyriaion* 8, 118-19; id., *AncSoc* 9 (1978) 166, 183, on traces of ancient road on the south-west side of Lake Cabalitis.

41. The map of this area issued by the Harita Genel Müdürlüğü (Ankara 1943-51, scale 1:200 000) is reproduced by M. Wörrle, *Stadt und Fest im kaiserzeitlichen Kleinasien. Studien zu einer agonistischen Stiftung aus Oinoanda* (Munich 1988) pl. 1; and note Robert's important comments on Seki and its ova, *DAM* 398.

most runs up into the mountains behind Oenoanda and, still in Oenoandan territory, crosses the Girdev Gölü basin, with its signs of an ancient road and settlement (ancient Elbessus?).<sup>42</sup> Thence connections lead into the Elmalı plain due west of Elmalı, and south to the environs of Comba (Gömbe), at the far south-west extremity of the Elmalı plain, or rather of its extension, the Ak Çay valley.<sup>43</sup> A second, directer route runs closer to the peak of Elbis Dağ, through the Yuva Yaylası with its signs of ancient settlement,<sup>44</sup> and also reaches the Elmalı plain due west of Elmalı. The third and easternmost route takes the Güğü pass (1852 m., crossed by Spratt and Forbes in 'pitiless' weather and snow on 14 May 1842<sup>45</sup>), follows the valley below the ancient village of Orpenna (Güğü) and emerges, past rock reliefs at Kapıkaya, onto the Elmalı plain at Eskihisar, north-west of Elmalı.<sup>46</sup> The first of these roads will have been particularly favoured by travellers originating from or heading for the city of Oenoanda, whose territory embraced the whole Elbis Dağ massif between the Sekiovası and the Elmalı plain.<sup>47</sup> Through traffic will perhaps have

42. Ritter, *Erdkunde* 841-5; G.E. Bean, 'Notes and inscriptions from the Cibyratis and Caralitis', *ABSA* 51 (1956) 142-3; id., *Lycian Turkey* 174-5; Wörrle, *Stadt und Fest* 47 n. 13.

43. See previous note; also Bean, *Lycian Turkey* 157-60. Two Severan milestones (*RRMAM* 2, nos 846-7) were found south of the Girdev Gölü – see Kiepert's map in *TAM* 1, and note their misplacement on the *RRMAM* map. Do they belong to the north-south route, or to that which leads west to the Xanthus valley and Tlos, whose territory extended up into this region: Ritter, *Erdkunde* 825-30 (noting traces of ancient road); *TAM* 2, p. 265? Photograph of Ak Dağ and Ak Çay valley: Petersen and von Luschan, *Reisen* pl. XX, and p. 156.

44. R. Hoskyn, 'Narrative of a survey of part of the south coast of Asia Minor; and of a tour into the interior of Lycia in 1840-1', *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* 12 (1842) 155, 159 nos 3-4 (=CIG 4380o); Bean, *Journeys* 23 no. 39.

45. C. Fellows, *An account of discoveries in Lycia* (London 1841) 234: 'Hence we beheld a new series of cultivated plains to the west, being in fact table-lands, nearly upon a level with the tops of the mountains which form the eastern boundary of the valley of the Xanthus. Still far above us, to the south-west, stood Massicytus (Ak Dağ), a stupendous snow-mountain. To the north-west was the lofty range giving source to the river Xanthus.'

46. That the 'apparently' Roman bridge seen by Spratt and Forbes, *Travels* 1.283, above Eskihisar may have been modern (Petersen and von Luschan, *Reisen* 176) does not, *pace* D. Magie, *Roman rule in Asia Minor* (Princeton, N. J. 1950) 1373 n. 12, throw doubt on the Seki-Eskihisar route's antiquity, which is independently attested (Orpenna: Bean, *Journeys* 26-8; Kapıkaya reliefs: *ibid.* 25-6; see also Petersen and von Luschan, *Reisen* 177). It was joined at this point by another ancient route, across the north flank of Elmalı Dağ from Lake Cabalitis: Naour, *Tyr-iaion* 7-8.

47. Wörrle, *Stadt und Fest* 47.

preferred the Seki-Eskihisar option. All three routes will have seemed less attractive than the eastern detour, in the depth of winter.<sup>48</sup>

Elmalı (1150 m.), situated below Elmalı Dağ (2500m.)<sup>49</sup> at the tightly-drawn waist of the treeless plain to which it gives its name, has yet to reveal its ancient history. Much of the plain's south-western portion was covered by a lake of seasonally varying dimensions until the 1950s,<sup>50</sup> and no doubt in antiquity too. There are various ancient remains around the peripheries, and the city-site of Choma has been found at a mound near the (river) Ak Çay.<sup>51</sup> But G. E. Bean's location of Podalia, another city placed by the literary sources in this general area, at Söğle in the north-eastern part of the plain, has not commanded universal assent.<sup>52</sup> In general, the ancient sites of the Elmalı plain are undistinguished, and it is difficult to decide whether that is because the waters of the lake prevented the full exploitation in antiquity of what is in principle a very fertile and sheltered area, with an unusually mild climate granted the altitude, or should be put down to the predilection of the Turkish invaders for this upland region,<sup>53</sup> and their removal for their own use of all that was there before them. This is the only area of Lycia where one sees early Turkish buildings.

From the Elmalı plain the wheat caravans used, in the summer months, to cross the northern shoulder of Ak Dağ and reach the west coast of Lycia at Fethiye.<sup>54</sup> If one wishes to cross the Bey Dağları and reach the south coast, there are two possibilities. One may take the good road that, from the Avlanbeli pass (1090m.), follows the valley of the Arycandus river (Karasu Çay), via Arycanda (Arif) to Limyra and the Limyra (Finike-Kumluca) plain. This route has long been important, and clearly was in antiquity too, not just because flourishing Arycanda lay on it, but also because the mountain plain of Elmalı and the coastal plain of Finike-Kumluca complement each

48. Thus A. Schönborn (ap. Ritter, *Erdkunde* 838-40), in February 1842.

49. Photograph: Petersen and von Luschan, *Reisen* pl. XXI.

50. Photograph: Stark, *Alexander's path* 152-3.

51. G. E. Bean and R. M. Harrison, 'Choma in Lycia', *JRS* 57 (1967) 40-4 (note general view of area, pl. I).

52. G.E. Bean, 'The site of Podalia', *AAWW* 105 (1968) 157-63; cp. R. M. Harrison, 'Survey in Central Lycia', in *I. Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı* (Ankara 1984) 76.

53. R. M. Harrison, 'Town and country in late Roman Lycia', in *IX. Türk Tarih Kongresi. Ankara, 1981* (Ankara 1986) 387. On the climate, Spratt and Forbes, *Travels* 1. 280-2.

54. Above, n. 43.

other perfectly in terms of produce. This is also a natural route for transhumants and seasonally migrant workers.<sup>55</sup> The alternative road leaves the Elmalı plain from its south-west corner, and via the Ak Çay valley reaches Kasaba and Kaş – but the Sinekçibeli pass is at 1710m., and not always possible in winter.<sup>56</sup> Descending the forbidding south-eastern face of the main Bey Dağları range (here called Susuz Dağ, ‘the waterless mountain’), we enter an interesting and little-investigated area, namely the Kasaba valley, oriented like much else in Lycia from north-east to south-west, but paralleled in its length, width and fertility only by the Eşen valley. It collects a good deal of water, but is cut off from the sea by the high rock screen behind Antiphellus (Kaş). Its inhabitants no doubt occupied themselves with pastoralism and the growing of wheat,<sup>57</sup> but the Kasaba valley was too isolated to boast cities that rivalled those of the Eşen valley. The ruins of Candyba and Arneae<sup>58</sup> are not such as to detain the visitor for long; while the stunning church at Dereağzı was built in the late ninth or early tenth century, when the Kasaba valley belatedly acquired a role for the essentially negative reason that its sheltered position afforded protection from Arab pirates.<sup>59</sup> Towards Elmalı, there is a route that leaves the valley at its north-eastern end, meeting up with the Finike-Elmalı road; while another climbs up and over to Kaş from its south-western end. As for the waters, they exit south-east down the impressive gorge of the Demre river, taking with them the silt that has formed, to the south and east of Myra (Demre/Kale), the third coastal plain that we have encountered, after those of Fethiye and Xanthus.<sup>60</sup> Recent investigation of the Myra plain has shown that, contrary to what one might suppose, it was no less extensive in antiquity – the alluvia have accumulated

55. De Planhol, *De la plaine pamphylienne* 115, 174 and fig. 13; Jahn, *Beydağları* 109-10. At Söğüt I was told that many local men still seek work in the Finike glasshouses. Milestone: *RRMAM* 2, no. 196.

56. On a less frequented branch-route to Patara, see Ritter, *Erdkunde* 825, 833-6.

57. See below, 365, and Stark, *Alexander's path* 163 (mentioning also the valley's unfortunate tendency (which I can confirm) to act as a frost-hollow).

58. On the little-visited Arneae area, see L. Robert, *Hellenica* 10 (Paris 1955) 216 n. 6.

59. J. Morganstern, *The Byzantine church at Dereağzı and its decoration* (Tübingen 1983) – note views of the Kasaba valley in the plates. Also id., ‘The settlement at Dereağzı: a preliminary report on the 1974 and 1975 seasons’, *TürkAD* 25 (1980) 209-10, on the nearby Byzantine fort, hypothetically dated between the seventh and ninth/tenth centuries.

60. Photographs of gorge and coastal plain: J. Borchhardt (ed.), *Myra, eine lykische Metropole in antiker und byzantinischer Zeit* (Berlin 1975) pl. 3, 6.

vertically, not horizontally.<sup>61</sup> This rich area, with its famous city, its oracle at Sura, its harbour of Andriake and its maritime connections with foreign parts, was the Kasaba valley's natural window on the world. Contact was frequent between Arneae, in particular, and Myra,<sup>62</sup> either via the road through the Demre gorge, of which traces have been found,<sup>63</sup> or over the west flank of Alaca Dağ,<sup>64</sup> an attractive alternative granted the gorge road's frequent indistinguishability from the river-bed,<sup>65</sup> and late Roman population movements from coast to mountain.<sup>66</sup>

Between Xanthus and Myra the mountains reach right down to abrupt, deeply indented shores ringed by islands. The sea-bed falls away so rapidly that otherwise perfect harbours such as that of Kalkan offer 'but uncomfortable anchorage';<sup>67</sup> and the waters of the 'Turquoise Coast' are unmuddied by rivers, such as the Eşen, charged with alluvia from coastal plains. The pleasant upland triangle bounded by the stretch of shore from Antiphellus (Kaş) to Myra (Demre), the Kasaba valley, and the Demre river's gorge, was in antiquity thickly scattered with small cities, linked either by sea, or by the road whose course, marked by numerous ancient sarcophagi, links a sequence of upland plains, among which that of Cyaneae (Yavı) was particularly important.<sup>68</sup> Again, from Myra to Lycia's fourth and last coastal plain, that of Limyra, the road passed over the

61. G. Wiegand, 'Zur Entstehung der Ebene von Myra', in Borchhardt, *Myra* 431-5, against (e.g.) R.M. Harrison, 'Lycia in late antiquity' *Yayla* 1 (1977) 10. Probably the same applies to other Lycian coastal plains, e.g. that of Finike-Kumluca.

62. Robert, *Hellenica* 10. 216 n. 6.

63. J. Morganstern, 'The church at Dereağzı: a preliminary report', *DOP* 22 (1968) 224 and fig. 8. Ross, *Kleinasien* 17-18, found the route much frequented by transhumants etc. in June 1844. D.H. French, in a forthcoming study of which he kindly sent me a copy, adds the information that the visible remains are Roman and can be traced spasmodically as far as the Sinekcibeli pass.

64. Petersen and von Luschan, *Reisen* 40-1; R.M. Harrison, 'Churches and chapels of central Lycia', *AS* 13 (1963) 131 n. 96, 150 n. 165 (for traces of the road).

65. Spratt and Forbes, *Travels* 1. 122-3; Benndorf and Niemann, *Reisen* 131.

66. Below, 369.

67. F. Beaufort, *Karamania* (London 1818<sup>2</sup>) 7, 13.

68. Description and maps: O. Benndorf and G. Niemann, *Das Heroon von Gjölbaschi - Trysa* (Vienna 1889) 19-20; W.W. Wurster, 'Antike Siedlungen in Lykien', *AA* (1976) opp. p. 38. Photographs: Stark, *Lycian shore*, between pp. 140-1, and *Alexander's path*, opp. p. 169. Traces of ancient roads between Patara and Myra: Magie, *Roman rule* 1373 n. 11; D.H. French (letter 25.7.89: 'good Roman road' between Kalkan and Kaş).

intervening mountain (Beymelik/Gülmez Dağ);<sup>69</sup> but this was a waterless and exhausting climb, 'as steep as a horse can do' (F. Stark, *Letters* (London 1974-82) 7.176), that would have created an even bigger psychological and physical gap between the two regions, had it not been for the ease and popularity of the sea journey.<sup>70</sup> The Limyra plain was formed by the deposits of the rivers Arycandus (Karasu) and Alakır (ancient name uncertain), and is today dominated by Finike, a growing tourist centre and once, as Phoenix, the harbour of ancient Limyra, and by the market town of Kumluca, successor of the ancient cities of Corydalla and Rhodiapolis.<sup>71</sup> Rhodiapolis is known to history as the home of the second-century A.D. philanthropist Opramoas, benefactor of numerous Lycian cities; and Opramoas no doubt derived some of his wealth from the fertile plain that Rhodiapolis overlooks, as well as from maritime trade and the forests in and around the Alakır valley.<sup>72</sup> Thanks to its orchards and its glasshouses, the plain once again prospers. Of its important links

69. Spratt and Forbes, *Travels* 1. 140-2, 157-8; Borchhardt, *Myra* 90-1. The modern road (1960) is cut into the cliff-face by the sea.

70. *OGIS* 572 (second/third-century regulations for the boat-service).

71. Traces of ancient road east of Limyra: Spratt and Forbes, *Travels* 1. 160. Bridge (early Byzantine?) between Limyra and Corydalla: Wurster and Ganzert, *AA* (1978) 288-304. The name Phoenix is not unambiguously attested before the sixth century: W. Ruge, *RE* 20. 384, 428-31, and C. Le Roy, 'Alexandre à Xanthos', in *La Lycie antique* 52-3, against T. R. Bryce, *The Lycians in literary and epigraphical sources* (Copenhagen 1986) 239. (K. Buschmann, 'Die Expedition des Melesander nach Lykien 430/29 v. Chr. und die Lokalisierung von ΦΟΙΝΙΚΗ', *EA* 12 (1988) 1-7, takes Thucydides's statement (II.69) that in 430/29 BC the Athenians intervened in Lycia to stop piratical attacks on τὸν πλοῦν τῶν ὀλκάδων τῶν ἀπὸ Φασήλιδος καὶ Φοινίκης καὶ τῆς ἐκεῖθεν ἡπείρου as a reference to the bay of Kalkan rather than to Finike. But I prefer the obvious interpretation, that the allusion is to Phoenicia and the Asiatic continent (a standard meaning of ἡπειρος) behind it, rather than to a small port much less known than Phaselis. *Contra* Buschmann, it is irrelevant whether or not the Phoenicians themselves were active at this period on the trade-route between Syria-Phoenicia and the Aegean, which was always important, whoever owned the boats: see J.-P. Rey-Coquais, *Arados et sa Pérée* (Paris 1974) 143-7, 174-6. All Thucydides says is that they set out from Phoenicia). 'Daseia' (*OGIS* 572, second/third century) can hardly, *pace* L. Robert, *Noms indigènes dans l'Asie Mineure gréco-romaine* (Paris 1963) 35-6, be Phoenix, since the Phoenix boatmen could not have been regulated by the authorities of Myra. One wonders how important Phoenix was in pre-Byzantine times. Scyl. *Per.* 100 states, and *OGIS* 572 implies, that the river that flows from Limyra to the sea was navigable. Perhaps then it was to protect access to this river, rather than to a harbour at its mouth, that Finike's Hellenistic fort (Buschmann, *EA* 12 (1988) 4 n. 15) was built.

72. Magie, *Roman rule* 521, 538, exaggerates Rhodiapolis's altitude and isolation, but rightly notes its lack of its own harbour.



with the Elmalı plain, up the Arycandus (Karasu) valley, something has already been said.

The Alakır valley is much less well known. Between the high wall of the Bey Dağları to the west and the scarcely less impressive rampart of the Tahtalı Dağ (also called Görece Dağ) to the east, a road follows the valley, via Altınyaka, over the pass at the watershed, and down the valley of the Çandır Çay into the Pamphylian plain.<sup>73</sup> Since the east coast road began to be constructed in the 1950s, the Alakır valley route has lost the role which it was destined for by Nature, and undoubtedly played in antiquity. But still we should not exaggerate the historical importance of this natural link between Lycia and Pamphylia. The ancient cities of the Alakır valley, Idebessus, Acalissus and Cormi, were of little significance; while the valley itself was rather 'a vast succession of forests spreading over undulating hills' (Spratt and Forbes, *Travels* 1.168-9), 'nirgends Ebenen zulassend, nirgends den Fluss zeigend' (Petersen and von Luschan, *Reisen* 146). North of modern Altınyaka, the bordering mountains crowd in on this 'wilddurchfurchtes Hügelland' (ibid.), and eventually merge in a confused tract of peaks that continues on up past Termessus into Pisidia. Henceforth, the road is easily cut and controlled, as witness the remains of various ancient fortifications. The terrain is perfect for the brigand, and difficult in the extreme to control from the Alakır valley, the Elmalı, north Lycian or Pamphylian plains, or the coast. Even in its lower reaches, the Alakır valley does not in the end seriously impair the obstructive powers of the Bey Dağları and what is in practice its eastern extension rather than a separate chain, the Tahtalı Dağ. The historical role of this extensive east Lycian mountainous region, stretching from the edge of the Elmalı plain to the Gulf of Antalya, has been single and consistent, that of a barrier to communication between Pamphylia and eastern or southern Lycia, as also between the east coast cities and the interior. Even the sea-route is problematic, as it has to round Tahtalı Dağ's dangerous southern tip, Cape Chelidonia (Gelidonya).<sup>74</sup> The role

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73. Spratt and Forbes, *Travels* 1. 166-81, 201-8 (alluding to traces of an ancient road at the route's northern end); Petersen and von Luschan, *Reisen* 145-55 (including an account of the route across the Bey Dağları to the Elmalı plain); C. Anti, 'Esplorazioni archeologiche nella Licia e nella Panfilia', *MonAL* 29 (1923) 660-3 (earlier accounts), 665-8, 713-54; Stark, *Alexander's path* 248-53, and photographs between pp. 120-1, 136-7.

74. G. F. Bass, *Cape Gelidonya: a Bronze Age shipwreck* (Philadelphia 1967) 15-18; J. Nollé, 'Pamphyliche Studien', *Chiron* 16 (1986) 210.

of the Cibyratis as zone of communication and cultural transition becomes fully apparent only when the flanking barriers of the Dalaman Çay - Boncuk Dağları to the west, and the Bey Dağları - Tahtalı Dağ to the east, are taken into account.

From the Finike-Kumluca plain the coastal road crossed over Tahtalı Dağ to Olympus on Lycia's east coast, and continued thence, probably involving a stiff climb, to Phaselis and the Pamphylian plain.<sup>75</sup> The modern highway, only recently completed, is forced to keep well above and inland of Olympus, and continues to suffer every year from serious landslips. It descends close to the shore at Phaselis, because there is at this point a small coastal plain; but between Kemer and Antalya the road requires several tunnels, so abruptly do the mountains fall down to the sea. When Alexander left Phaselis, he himself persisted along the almost impassable coastal road, and those whom he took with him had to wade through the sea 'up to their navels' (Str. XIV.3.9); but the rest of the army he sent across the Tahtalı Dağ to the inland road, and thence into Pamphylia. Presumably the Macedonians followed the 'circuitous and steep pass' (ibid.) through the deep gorge of the Kemer Çay, one of several which provide the only punctuation in this wild and thickly forested mountain chain. Naturally, Olympus and Phaselis were oriented towards the sea, and virtually all their traffic was maritime.<sup>76</sup> Though administratively part of Lycia in the late Roman period, their most natural economic links were then as now with Pamphylia. There are no Lycian tombs east of the Alakır valley and Limyra plain; while Strabo records Homer's assertion that the people hereabouts, the Solympoi, were not ethnically Lycian, and Phaselis's non-participation in the Lycian League.<sup>77</sup>

75. On this route, possible traces of the ancient road, and Alexander's march, Magie, *Roman rule* 1137 n. 14; Anti, *MonAL* 29 (1923) 783-6. D.H. French (letter 25.7.89) reports traces north of Kemer and near Phaselis of a Roman road, 'well-made, rock-cut, stepped in places'. Milestone: *RRMAM* 2, no. 192. View of Tahtalı Dağ: Stark, *Lycian shore*, between pp. 164-5; id., *Alexander's path*, between pp. 80-1, 88-9; *Ἱστορία τοῦ ἐλληνικοῦ ἔθνους* 4 (Athens 1973) 67 (southern tip, Cape Chelidonia (Gelidonya), from west); J. Schäfer (ed.), *Phaselis: Beiträge zur Topographie und Geschichte der Stadt und ihrer Häfen* (Tübingen 1981) pl. 3, 16. Anti, *MonAL* 29 (1923) 657-786 (and plates), has much to say about the inner parts of Tahtalı Dağ, and its little-known cities.

76. Cic. *Verr.* IV. 21.

77. Str. XII. 8.5, XIV. 3.9-10; H. A. Ormerod, 'The campaigns of Servilius Isauricus against the pirates', *JRS* 12 (1922) 41 n. 2; Anti, *MonAL* 29 (1923) 659-60; Robert, *DAMM* 43 n. 2. On the area's modern economy see Jahn, *Beydağları* 20-9.

To describe micro-regions, their settlements and the routes that linked them may seem a dry exercise, but it is the only way into the real Lycia, or the real anywhere. The historian is unlikely to come into contact with this real Lycia unless he travels in it, or can read, with imagination informed by experience, good maps and photographs – and there is an acute lack of both these categories of evidence. Otherwise, Lycia remains an inchoate mass of mountains, or a passing stop on a sea route.

So far, the narrative has been cast in the tense of Braudel's *longue durée* – almost indifferently past or present. But the historian is not only a geographer. He needs to introduce diachronic momentum, and with a snappier rhythm than that favoured by mountains and plains in their process of becoming. The human rhythms of a given region – the transhumants' repetitive patterns, for example – may of course seem almost as long-term as the landscape itself. But even geological processes admit incident, such as earthquakes and volcanic eruptions; and the everyday affairs of even the most 'traditional' and unchanging human societies also experience, as we shall see, occasional upsets, which indeed, like the bleeps on a radar screen, may be the only sign that anything is going on at all. Our ultimate end is the analysis of cultural change. It behoves us to ask, then, what use was made of the road system and the sea-lanes, which were the unique media of cultural transmission before the invention of aeroplanes and telecommunications. Of course, the purposes for which roads are used, in a given traditional region, are not likely to change much, even if the particular roads in use vary. If the roads in use do vary, that is likely to be a consequence of changes in settlement pattern; and that problem we shall address in the final section of this paper. By then, we shall have reached a rhythm of 'eventfulness' within the *longue durée* of Lycian history comparable with that at which occurred the transition from paganism to Christianity – movement, in other words, measurable certainly in centuries, possibly in decades.

## **2. Use and influence of routes**

We must begin with an obvious but often forgotten truth – that there is no fixed relationship between the use of a route and its influence on the areas through which it runs. A new road may open a previously isolated area to development, and so destroy its traditional society; or it may, at least nowadays, retard or even halt the depo-

pulation of such an area, and hence the destruction (by desertion) of its traditional society, by providing access to jobs in the wider region. And under certain circumstances (mountain roads running through narrow passes; rivers, like the Euphrates, flowing between high banks; sea-lanes along inaccessible coasts) a route may simply have no effect at all on the surrounding landscape. Hence one of the growth-points of Lycian archaeology, the underwater exploration of shipwrecks, is becoming a major new source of information about daily life in the ancient world, while telling us little or nothing about Lycia itself.<sup>78</sup> In other words the fact that on almost any long-distance sea journey in the eastern Mediterranean one was likely, by accident if not design, to come into some form of contact with the Lycian coast, including, conceivably, a stop-over of some duration in one of its harbours, had cultural implications for Lycia which are, to say the least, disputable. For example, everyone knows that the apostle Paul changed ships at Patara on his way back from Ephesus to Antioch, and at Andriake during his voyage to Rome.<sup>79</sup> Yet there were no consequences, known to us, for the spread of Christianity in Lycia. Again, the cities of the shore enjoyed constant intercourse with the wider world, and especially with the Aegean (notably Rhodes and Crete), the south coast of Asia Minor, Cyprus, Syria and Egypt. Such contacts fostered a cosmopolitanism that caused such as Cicero and Strabo to compliment the coastal Lycians on their civilized manners, indeed their Hellenism – though admittedly the context, in both cases, is a comparison with the pirates of Cilicia.<sup>80</sup> But inner Lycia remained largely unknown to outsiders, as to most European travellers of the eighteenth and even the nineteenth century, whose exploration of the area was confined to the coast;<sup>81</sup> while the present-day tourist development is a calculatedly European facade stuck onto an indifferent hinterland.

The Lycian coast is indeed rich in red herrings. The biggest was let loose by Alexander when he marched his men from Telmessus round to Pamphylia, and left historians with the impression that Lycia is on the way to somewhere. In fact, the nearest major cross-

78. E.g. Bass, *Cape Gelidonya*, esp. 163-7; and cp. J.D. Muhly, T. S. Wheeler and R. Maddin, 'The Cape Gelidonya shipwreck and the Bronze Age metals trade in the eastern Mediterranean', *JFA* 4 (1977) 353-62, further emphasizing the international character of trade along this route.

79. *Act. Ap.* XXI.1-2, XXVII. 5-6.

80. *Cic. Verr.* IV. 21; *Str.* XIV. 3.2.

81. H. Metzger, 'Etapas de la découverte du monde lycien...', *REA* 89 (1987) 4.

country route is that from Smyrna (Izmir) or Ephesus via Laodicea (Denizli) to Attaleia (Antalya), which was used by Romans, Byzantines and Ottomans alike, but by-passed Lycia completely.<sup>82</sup> The 'yayla'dan' route from Telmessus to Attaleia was not to be compared, despite its local importance. The only road which may have exercised inter-regional influence involving Lycia was that which linked Laodicea to Limyra via the Cibyratis, Sekiovası, Elmalı plain and Arycandus valley, and vied in importance (Martin Harrison has suggested<sup>83</sup>), with the coastal route. The coastal route, as we have seen, was better in some parts than in others, and the same will have been true of the north-south axis, which also has the problem of high passes snowed up in winter. One can well imagine, for example, that traffic over the Ak Dağları from the Sekiovası to the Elmalı plain, by difficult roads linking areas that had nothing to exchange because they produced the same things, will have been a good deal thinner than that between the Elmalı plain, Arycanda and Limyra. On the other hand, we have already noticed the Cibyratis's cultural links northward into Pisidia and Phrygia; while Laodicea lay on the crucial Maeander valley route from west to east, which was itself rich in cities, and led on to Miletus, Ephesus, Smyrna, Sardis, Pergamum and so on – the commercial and cultural heart of Roman Asia Minor. To all of this, the north-south axis provided the key, and for the inhabitants of northern and central Lycia in particular a rare counterbalance to the general tendency of Lycian routes to follow the larger river valleys down to the coast.<sup>84</sup>

These long-distance routes are of obvious interest to the student of religious change and in general the dissemination of ideas; but travel, and therefore communication, was time-consuming, tiring and unpredictable,<sup>85</sup> and tended in consequence to be short-distance.

82. K. Miller, *Itineraria romana. Römische Reisewege an der Hand der Tabula Peutingeriana dargestellt* (Stuttgart 1916) 705-6, 716-17; *RRMAM* 2, map 5; B.Flemming, *Landschaftsgeschichte von Pamphylien, Pisidien und Lykien im spätmittelalter* (Wiesbaden 1964) 14-15; Robert, *Carie* 27; de Planhol, *De la plaine pamphylienne* 25, 86-7.

83. Harrison, *AS* 13 (1963) 118 n. 8.

84. Recent excavations of late eighth- and seventh-century tumuli at Bayındır in the Elmalı plain reveal marked influences from Phrygia and possibly Lydia: K. Dörtlük et al., *Antalya Museum* (Ankara 1988) 31-49, 187-95.

85. On this aspect of sea-travel, note: Str. XIV. 3.2 on the Lycian coast as 'rugged and hard to travel'; *V. Nic. Sion*. (ed. and tr. I. Ševčenko and N. Patterson Ševčenko, *The Life of Saint Nicholas of Sion* (Brookline, Mass. 1984) 37-8, on invocation of divine intervention as the traveller's only remedy for adverse winds and recalcitrant captains; Nollé, *Chiron* 16 (1986) 209-12, and J. H. Pryor, *Geography. tech-*

Long-distance routes were in everyday practice assemblages of shorter, more local routes: Lycian roads are generally minor, narrow roads, not major arteries;<sup>86</sup> and most of the passengers on the boat from Andriake to Attaleia will have been travelling from Andriake round the headland to Limyra, or from Phaselis along to Attaleia.

What then was the purpose and socio-cultural influence of these mainly short-distance, intra-regional movements? It has been observed, with reference to Lycia, that 'intercommunication between... mountain sites was always – and still is – a much easier affair than communication between them and the coast'.<sup>87</sup> While this is often true, we must be careful not to say 'easier' and mean 'necessarily more frequent'. We should not of course leave out of account the practice of transhumance between mountain plains and surrounding mountain slopes;<sup>88</sup> but the most usual purpose of travel was buying and selling, or exchange, and people will not have bought and sold, or exchanged, in places that produced and lacked exactly the same things. We should not, as has recently been pointed out in a study of the Lasithi mountain plain in Crete, underestimate the willingness of uplanders to travel down to the coast over long, rough tracks, and many times a year, for the sake of shepherding flocks, exchange, harvest, or attendance at religious festivals;<sup>89</sup> while the coastal Greeks of nineteenth-century Makri (Fethiye) and nearby Livisi were famous throughout Lycia as indefatigable travelling artisans, the 'living news-

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*nology and war: studies in the maritime history of the Mediterranean, 649-1571* (Cambridge 1988) 96, on the bay of Antalya's notoriously sudden storms; and the many wrecks found in Lycian waters.

86. Wurster and Ganzert, *AA* (1978) 303.

87. R. M. Harrison, 'Upland settlements in early medieval Lycia', in *La Lycie antique* 116.

88. Postulated by Bean (above, n. 42) for Oenoanda and the Girdev Gölü area; cf. Wörrle, *Stadt und Fest* 140, and *V. Nic. Sion*. 61-2; and for more recent times, de Planhol, *De la plaine pamphylienne* 237, 412 (Karabayır, Söğüt Gölü area); Jahn, *Beydağları* 104-5, 131.

89. L. V. Watrous, *Lasithi: a history of settlement on a highland plain in Crete* (Princeton, N.J. 1982) 6, 8, 31-5, esp. 32: 'The frequent present-day rate of contact with the rest of Crete (especially with the north coast) appears to have been equaled in the early 20th century, despite the absence of mechanized transport and sophisticated roads. As many as twenty times per year (according to villager estimates), trips would be made to Herakleion to sell products of the plain and to procure those items unavailable in Lasithi.' The settlement with specific reference to which Harrison makes his point (n. 87) is, precisely, transhumant (mountain to coastal plain).

papers' of the mountain villages.<sup>90</sup> Between the Lycian coast and interior there has always been a relationship of real economic interdependence, based on 1) transhumance and 2) the exchange of produce distinctive to the two regions.

These activities are very modestly documented for Roman Lycia; but we need not doubt their reality. Cicero talks of Phrygian, Pisidian and Cilician pastoralists who 'roam the plains and mountains in winter and in summer' (*Div.* I. 42); there are passing references in a recently published second-century inscription, and in the *Life of S. Nicholas of Sion*, to transhumance between the Sekiovası and the surrounding mountain slopes;<sup>91</sup> and it is not unknown for the names of modern Turkish yaylas to preserve echoes of earlier Greek toponymy.<sup>92</sup> As for the exchange of produce, this shows up, as one might expect, mainly when something produced in the mountains is being sent via the coast for export. Lycia was famous for its timber, for example;<sup>93</sup> and apparently the upland plains and the Eşen and Kasaba valleys also produced significant quantities of grain, which were then stored in the fine Hadrianic granaries at Patara and Andriake before being shipped abroad.<sup>94</sup> Otherwise, transhumance and trade tend to be attested only when things go wrong. When the Persian Harpagus sacked Xanthus in 545 BC, eighty families escaped the massacre, according to Herodotus, because they happened to be away – at the yayla, as G.E. Bean surmised.<sup>95</sup> When Brutus attacked Xanthus in 42 BC, it was some Oenoandans who showed him the secret tunnel that let him into the city, because of their longstanding feud with the Xanthians. What was the problem between the Xanthians and the

90. Spratt and Forbes, *Travels* I. 253, 266; Benndorf and Niemann, *Reisen* 36; K. Μουσαίου-Μπουγιούκου, *Παροιμίες τοῦ Λιβισιοῦ καὶ τῆς Μάκρης* (Athens 1961) 15; and above, n. 38, on the similar role of the Greeks of Rhodes, who were closely related to those of Makri and Livisi.

91. See above, n. 88.

92. Ritter, *Erdkunde* 853-4; de Planhol, *De la plaine pamphylienne* 102.

93. Robert, *A travers l'Asie Mineure* 67 n. 416.

94. Borchhardt, *Myra* 67-8, 70, and *Fouilles de Xanthos* 7 (Paris 1981) 217, whom I follow in assuming that these granaries were not intended solely for the winter storage of grain during the journey from (e.g.) Alexandria to Rome (on which see G. Rickman, *The corn supply of ancient Rome* (Oxford 1980) 130-2). The reference to Arneae in the Kasaba valley, in an inscription about weights and measures on the Andriake granary, supports this assumption. J. J. Coulton, N. P. Milner and A. T. Reyes, 'Balboursa Survey: Onesimos and Meleager, Part I', *AS* 38 (1988) 139, raise the possibility that imperial exploitation of Lycian grain may have provoked local shortages. On Myra as entrepot for Roman Lycia's imports, see *SEG* 35 (1985) 1439.

95. Hdt. I. 176; Bean, *Lycian Turkey* 50.

Oenoandans? Presumably, again, the summer pastures, up in the Sekiovası around Oenoanda.<sup>96</sup> Kınık, the modern village at the foot of Xanthus's acropolis, still has its summer double and homonym up near Oenoanda – like many other lowland villages in the Eşen valley and towards Fethiye. And although these are relatively short-distance movements, they combine with others to establish contacts between communities which in winter are remote. The north Lycian plateau, for example, has traditionally provided summer pasture for inhabitants of the south Lycian plains, Pamphylia and the Maeander valley<sup>97</sup> – a clear example of how the north-south axis works, and worked (no doubt) in antiquity too. As regards the exchange of produce, our most explicit testimony about what it involved dates from 542-3, when the great Justinianic plague reached Myra along the searoutes, and S. Nicholas of Sion earned the citizens' resentment by forbidding his villagers on the mountain behind Myra to take down such essential supplies as grain, flour, wine and wood.<sup>98</sup> And this was only one more incident in a long history of tension between Myra and its hinterland, as witness the string of Hellenistic watch-towers still standing where the Alaca Dağ falls down into the Myra plain.<sup>99</sup> The prickly line of castles or towers following the contour lines is indeed a not uncommon feature of Mediterranean landscapes – along the foothills of the Cilician Taurus,<sup>100</sup> for example, or between the Boeotian plain and the Helicon-Parnassus complex,<sup>101</sup> or the Eurotas valley and Taygetus.<sup>102</sup> An inscription from Araxa refers to conflict

96. App. BC IV. 79. M. F. Smith, 'Oenoanda and its philosophical inscription', in *La Lycie antique* 74-5, offers a purely political interpretation. See also below, on an inscription from Araxa.

97. De Planhol, *De la plaine pamphylienne* 115, 209; Jahn, *Beydağları* 103-11.

98. *V. Nic. Sion.* 52-3.

99. Borchhardt, *Myra* 49-52, 55-6, 87-9; A. McNicoll and T. Winikoff, 'A Hellenistic fortress in Lycia - the Isian tower?', *AJA* 87 (1983) 311-23. D.H. French (letter 25.7.89) draws attention to another such line of towers between Kalkan and Kaş.

100. J. Keil and A. Wilhelm, *Monumenta Asiae Minoris antiqua* 3: *Denkmäler aus dem rauhen Kilikien* (Manchester 1931) 119-20 and Taf. 1. The Turkish invasions led eventually to extensive nomadization, and almost complete desertion of the villages on the Taurus's southern flank: Hütteroth, *Türkei* 210-11.

101. P. Lock, 'The Frankish towers of central Greece', *ABSA* 81 (1986) 112, fig. 1.

102. G. Huxley, *Monemvasia and the Slavs* (Athens 1988) 16-17. See also F. Braudel, *La Méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II* (Paris 1982<sup>5</sup>) I. 50 on Italy; and on North Africa C.R. Whittaker, 'Land and labour in North Africa', *Klio* 60 (1978) 335, 349-50 and map facing 346; B. Shaw, 'Fear and loathing: the nomad menace and Roman Africa', in C.M. Wells (ed.), *L' Afrique romaine: Les Conférences Vanier 1980* (Ottawa 1982) 46.



in the second century BC between the denizens of the Xanthus valley and their mountain neighbours, Boubon and Cibyra;<sup>103</sup> while Alexander is said to have subjected a mountain stronghold behind Phaselis, whence Pisidian bandits had terrorized the city's territory.<sup>104</sup> Strife was imposed by proximity and conflicting interest in the same limited resources. Culturally, we may expect differences between the mountain and the plain, but not mutual isolation.<sup>105</sup> And even in Lycia, where mountain and plain do not fade into each other but are starkly contiguous, there are points where a gentler transition is made, within a zone economically, socially and even politically intermediary. It is worth quoting the comments made a century ago by Benndorf and Niemann on the historical function of the Dalaman valley between Lycia and Caria:

To begin with, it was the inhabitants either of the coastal plain or of the inland mountain plains who were masters of the Dalaman valley; and we can assume that the shipbuilding of the ancient Caunians, and to a large extent their prosperity, was based on the abundant forests of this their hinterland. Later on, in consequence of its recolonization, the city of Cibyra began to flourish and grow into a powerful state, whose possessions stretched as far as the Milyas and the borders of Lycia; and, according to Strabo, its villages reached down to the Rhodian Peraea, which simply means the Dalaman valley. In other words, this region was also, for a time, a political intermediary between Lycia and Caria, just as, still today, its inhabitants' way of life is different from that of their neighbours, most notably in the way they build their huts, in the style of log cabins.<sup>106</sup>

### 3. Changes in the settlement pattern

Within Lycia, then, travel and communication occurred as naturally between mountain and coast as within the mountains or along

103. J. Pouilloux, *Choix d'inscriptions grecques* (Paris 1960) no. 4. For a similar situation at Tlos, see L. Robert, 'Une épigramme hellénistique de Lycie', *JS* (1983) 241-58. For ὄροφυλακία and a defensive Hellenistic πυργίον in the Telmessus area, see Robert, *Bull.* (1980) 484.

104. *Arr. An.* I. 24. 6.

105. Cf. de Planhol, *De la plaine pamphylienne* 18, on Lycia as '(un) haut bloc tirailé entre des directions divergentes, ou plutôt exerçant sur toute sa périphérie une forte influence...'

106. Benndorf and Niemann, *Reisen* 147. See also Bean, *JHS* 67 (1947) 40: 'Akdağ, which seems from across the river [Eşen] to rise in a steep continuous slope from the valley, in fact conceals a number of upland plains, often of surprising extent; Arsa [the ancient Arsada] is situated on one of these.'

the coast. What we know about changes in the settlement pattern during late antiquity confirms the importance of this mountain-coast axis.

When Gordian III (238-44) revoked the two hundred year old ban on the minting of coins by the members of the Lycian League, perhaps in order to mark the beginning of Lycia's third century as a Roman province, twenty cities, including some quite obscure ones, are known from surviving specimens to have availed themselves of the privilege; and that was far from being the sum of functioning urban communities in Lycia, since such distinguished cities as Xanthus, Pinara and Telmessus are absent from the list.<sup>107</sup> From the reign of Septimius Severus, and again from the Tetrarchy onward, a number of milestones have been found in Lycia, proving continuing interest in the roads, perhaps even road building, or at least repair.<sup>108</sup> Above all the frequency of late Roman remains, including churches, in the cities of Lycia shows that no significant change occurred in the settlement pattern and the distribution of population before the fifth century. The major cities continued to be concentrated on or near the coast and in those valleys which were easily accessible from the coast, and to a lesser extent in the upland plains.

Yet one of the most frequent types of late Roman building is the defensive wall, usually enclosing a contracted area of the town often identical with the ancient Lycian settlement.<sup>109</sup> The incursions into Asia Minor during the third quarter of the third century of Gothic barbarians from the north, and of the Sassanian and Palmyrene armies from the east, will have created even in relatively remote Lycia an atmosphere of unease; and this in turn intensified one of the region's oldest and, thanks to its mountainous character, never wholly forgotten problems, brigandage.<sup>110</sup> After well over three centuries of peace imposed by Pompey the Cilicians, or rather Isaurians as they were now called, became active in the later third century, and

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107. H. von Aulock, *Die Münzprägung des Gordian III und der Tranquillina in Lykien* (Tübingen 1974); A. Johnston, 'The intermittent imperials: the coinages of Lycia, Lycaonia, and Pisidia', *NC* 140 (1980) 208.

108. *RRMAM* 2, map 5.

109. E.g. W.W. Wurster and M. Wörle, 'Die Stadt Pinara', *AA* (1978) 99.

110. On brigandage around Bubon in the late second century, see F. Schindler, *Die Inschriften von Bubon (Nordlykien)* (Vienna 1972) no. 2.

remained so into the reign of Justinian.<sup>111</sup> Lycia was among the regions they harried;<sup>112</sup> and two recently-discovered inscriptions of the earlier fourth century from Ovacık, 45km. east of Elmalı on the northern slopes of Bey Dağ, refer clearly to the threat from brigands and the need to fortify the town.<sup>113</sup> And the Isaurians were pirates too, who disrupted maritime communications and were probably capable of assaulting coastal areas by sea as well as land.<sup>114</sup> One of the longer-term effects of their depredations seems to have been a drift of coastal populations inland – Martin Harrison has pointed to the emergence of well-built villages, with high-quality ecclesiastical buildings, on the south slopes of Alaca Dağ behind Myra, and in the Elmalı area, at a period, in the first part of the sixth century, when construction techniques in the coastal cities were deteriorating.<sup>115</sup> The *Life of S. Nicholas of Sion*, written not long after the death of Justinian, shows the two areas, mountain and coast, co-existing in mutual dependence – the coast had not been abandoned. Yet the progressive degradation of the cities, and the increasing importance of small fortified settlements, as also of larger villages (*kōmai*) of *subpolis* status,<sup>116</sup> created an environment in which the old gods might often find themselves deprived of the spatial and territorial framework which had till then allowed them to continue to seem familiar and relevant even if, as the Christians alleged, inefficacious. Adaptation to new settlement-patterns made it seem less painful to adopt new patterns of thought and devotion as well.

But that is to anticipate. The purpose of this article was simply to set the scene for an investigation of the fate of Lycia's pagan cults,

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111. Zos. I. 69-70 on events under Probus (*Hist. Aug.*, 30 Tyr. 26, on Gallienus's reign, being of dubious value: M. Christol, 'Un duc dans une inscription de Termessos (Pisidie)', *Chiron* 8 (1978) 537); G. Dagron, *Vie et miracles de Sainte Thècle* (Brussels 1978) 113-23; id., *La romanité chrétienne en Orient* (London 1984) VII. 41.
112. Zos. IV.20.1; Philostorgius, *HE* XI. 8. Zos. I.69.1 has Isaurian brigands terrorize 'Cremna, a city of Lycia', under Probus; but Cremna was in the Pamphylian part of what was then still the joint province of Pamphylia and Lycia.
113. Harrison, in *La Lycie antique* 114; id., 'Lycian Survey, 1980', *AS* 31 (1981) 199-200.
114. Philostorgius, *HE* XI.8: Κύπρον τε τὴν νῆσον καταστρεψάμενοι...
115. R. M. Harrison, 'Nouvelles découvertes romaines tardives et paléobyzantines en Lycie', *CRAI* (1979) 222-39; id., in *La Lycie antique* 109-18; cf. Borchhardt, *Myra* 87-9.
116. See Dagron, *La romanité chrétienne* VII. 41, on Isauria.

and the installation of Christianity. Having established the character of the landscape, the lines of penetration and communication it offered, and the pattern of settlement, we now have a framework into which to fit such information as is available about the distribution of native and Greek cults, and the mechanisms of Christianity's dissemination. Certain precise questions already suggest themselves: Did the accessibility of the Lycian coast favour imported gods? Did the lesser accessibility of the interior favour autochthonous gods? Did Christianity, an import, strike root more easily on the coast than inland? Did the routes that linked Lycia with the Anatolian interior also affect its religious atmosphere, either pagan or Christian? – one thinks, in particular, of the apostle Paul's extensive missionary journeys in the Iconium plain, Pisidia and the Maeander valley. How does transhumance affect religious practice, granted the difficulty of maintaining cult centres? Can transhumants become agents of religious dissemination and change?

## ΠΕΡΙΛΗΨΗ

### ΘΡΗΣΚΕΥΤΙΚΕΣ ΕΞΕΛΙΞΕΙΣ ΣΤΗΝ ΥΣΤΕΡΟΡΩΜΑΪΚΗ ΛΥΚΙΑ: ΕΙΣΑΓΩΓΙΚΑ ΣΤΗΝ ΤΟΠΟΓΡΑΦΙΑ

Με το παρόν άρθρο εγκαινιάζεται μια σειρά μελετών, η οποία έχει σαν σκοπό την επανεξέταση της θρησκευτικής ιστορίας της υστερορωμαϊκής αυτοκρατορίας. Οι σχέσεις παγανισμού-χριστιανισμού δεν ήταν ενιαίες. Χωρίς λεπτομερείς και διαφοροποιημένες μελέτες του γραπτού και του αρχαιολογικού υλικού κατά περιοχή/επαρχία, είναι αδύνατο να καταλήξουμε σε βάσιμες γενικεύσεις. Πρέπει επίσης να τονιστεί ο συχνά αποφασιστικός ρόλος του γεωγραφικού χώρου και των επικοινωνιών. Η Λυκία συνδυάζει μια σχετική έλλειψη γραπτών και αρχαιολογικών πληροφοριών με μια ιδιαίτερη γεωλογική δομή. Μας επιβάλλει, δηλαδή, μια προσέγγιση στον παραδοσιακό ιστορικό προβληματισμό, όσον αφορά στην κατάρρευση του παγανισμού και στη διάδοση του χριστιανισμού, μέσω μη παραδοσιακών οδών. Τα συμπεράσματά μας θα επηρεάσουν τη μελέτη περιοχών (π.χ. της Συρίας, της Αιγύπτου), οι οποίες προσφέρουν ένα πιο πλούσιο φιλολογικό και αρχαιολογικό υλικό, ικανό να αποσπάσει την προσοχή μας από το γεωγραφικό παράγοντα.

Το πρώτο μέρος του άρθρου περιγράφει το λυκιακό χώρο – τοπία, επικοινωνίες και οικισμούς. Τονίζεται ο μη ενιαίος χαρακτήρας αυτού του χώρου, και ο ρόλος της θάλασσας, των κοιλάδων και των οροπεδίων στη δημιουργία επαφών εξωτερικών και εσωτερικών.

Στο δεύτερο μέρος γίνεται ιδιαίτερη αναφορά στον θαλάσσιο δρόμο, ο οποίος επηρέαζε τα παράλια αλλά όχι ιδιαίτερα την ενδοχώρα, και στον άξονα Λαοδίκεια-Λίμυρα, που διευκόλυνε την επικοινωνία με άλλες περιοχές της δυτικής Μικράς Ασίας. Τα περισσότερα ταξίδια, όμως, ήταν τοπικά, γίνονταν ανάμεσα στα πεδινά και τα ορεινά μέρη της Λυκίας, και είχαν σαν αιτία είτε την εποχιακή μετανάστευση βοσκών, είτε την αγορά/πώληση αγροτικών προϊόντων.

Το τρίτο και τελευταίο μέρος αφορά τη μετατόπιση πληθυσμών, που παρατηρείται γύρω στις αρχές του έκτου αιώνα, από τα παλαιά αστικά κέντρα των παραλίων, προς την ορεινή ενδοχώρα, όπου δημιουργήθηκαν καινούρια χωριά. Ενώ, στο πρώτο και δεύτερο μέρος αυτού του άρθρου, γίνεται λόγος για τους παράγοντες, κυρίως φυσικούς, οι οποίοι επηρέαζαν τη διάδοση των διαφόρων παγανιστικών λατρειών (ελληνικών και μη), και του χριστιανισμού, πρόκειται εδώ για μια κοινωνική πράξη, η οποία αφ' ενός επιβεβαιώνει τη σημασία του φυσικού άξονα πεδινών-ορεινών, αφ' ετέρου επισφραγίζει τη μεγάλη πνευματική αλλαγή της ύστερης αρχαιότητας. Η προσαρμογή σε καινούριους χώρους και τρόπους ζωής διευκολύνει και την προσαρμογή σε καινούριους τρόπους σκέψευς.

Η προκαταρκτική αυτή μελέτη τελειώνει, θέτοντας διάφορα ερωτήματα για την επιρροή την οποία εξασκούν γεωγραφικοί και συναφείς κοινωνικοί παράγοντες πάνω σε θρησκευτικά ρεύματα.