LYCIA AND ROME: AN ARCHITECTURAL ENCOUNTER

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
OF
MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY

BY

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IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
IN
ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY

JANUARY 2018

Approval of the Graduate School of Social Sciences

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ABSTRACT

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January 2018, 354 pages

This thesis examines the Romanization of Lycia from an architectural point of view. The central premise of the study is to expose how being Roman and the sense of belonging to the Roman Empire were collectively manifested in Lycia through architecture with an acknowledgement of the possible impacts of local identities and architectural practices. In this respect, the study concentrates on the architectural and urban development of Lycian cities during the Roman Imperial Period, and the outcome of the encounter between the local and Roman architectural practices.

In order to pursue a deeper understanding of the continuities and changes concerning the urban fabric of Lycian cities over time, and reveal the balance between the assimilation of Roman architecture and the survival of local architectural traditions, currently discernible architectural remains and other forms of material evidence regarding the urban layouts of Lycian cities dated to a period between the late Archaic and the end of the Roman Imperial Era are examined diachronically and thematically under the consideration of key political events and cultural highlights. Then, the results are interpreted within the framework of

Romanization theory which is reformulated through the review of critical discussions concerning the Romanization debate.

This inquiry has revealed that Romanization was a dynamic and manifold dialogue between Lycia and Rome that began as early as the first encounter. The Lycian cities were conspicuously reurbanized during the Imperial Period under the influence of Roman culture and architecture, whereas some architectural practices from the Classical and especially the Hellenistic Period survived embedded within the rejuvenated urban fabric. The common architectural and urban imagery and symbolism offered by the Roman Imperial architecture, and the regular performances of Roman rituals and institutional practices within the Romanized architectural and urban setting resulted in the construction of a collective Roman and imperial identity in Lycian cities. At the same time, however, the diversity inherent in the nature of Roman architecture and the survival of the local architectural and cultural practices contributed to the creation of an idiosyncratic provincial identity in Lycia under the Roman Empire.

ÖZ

LİKYA VE ROMA: MİMARİ BİR KARŞILAŞMA

Kalınbayrak Ercan, Aygün

Doktora, Mimarlık Tarihi

Tez Yöneticisi: Prof. Dr. Suna Güven

Ocak 2018, 354 sayfa

Bu tez, Likya'nın Romanizasyon sürecini mimari bir bakış açısıyla incelemektedir. Tezin temel hedefi Romalı olmanın ve Roma İmparatorluğuna ait olma hissinin, yerel kimliklerin ve güncel mimari pratiklerin etkilerini göz önünde bulundurarak, Likya'da mimarlık aracılığıyla kitlesel biçimde nasıl dışa vurulduğunu ortaya koymaktır. Bu bakımdan çalışma, Likya kentlerinde, Roma İmparatorluk Döneminde gerçekleşen mimari ve kentsel gelişmeler ile yerel ve Roma mimari pratiklerinin karşılaşmasından ortaya çıkan sonuçlara odaklanmaktadır.

Likya kentlerinin kent dokusunda zamanla gelişen süreklilik ve değişimler üzerine derinlemesine bir anlayış elde etmek ve Roma mimarisinin özümsenmesi ve yerli mimari geleneklerin sürdürülmesi arasındaki dengeyi ortaya çıkarmak amacıyla, Geç Arkaik Dönem ile Roma İmparatorluk Dönemi sonu arasındaki döneme tarihlenen mimari ve Likya kentlerinin kentsel düzenini ilgilendiren diğer maddi kanıtlar önemli siyasi ve kültürel olaylar ışığında artzamanlı ve tematik olarak incelenmiştir. Elde edilen sonuçlar, Romanizasyon ile ilgili eleştirel

tartışmalar ışığında yeniden değerlendirilen Romanizasyon kavramı çerçevesinde incelenmiştir.

Bu araştırma, Romanizasyon sürecinin, Likya ve Roma arasında, olasılıkla ilk karşılaşmadan başlayarak süregelen, dinamik ve çok yönlü bir etkileşim olduğunu ortaya çıkarmıştır. Likya kentleri, Roma İmparatorluk Dönemi sırasında, Roma kültürü ve mimarisi etkisi altında gözle görülür biçimde yeniden kentleşmiştir. Öte yandan, Klasik ve özellikle Hellenistik Dönem'e tarihlenen bazı mimari yapılar ve gelenekler, yenilenen kent dokusu içerisinde hayatta kalmıştır. Roma İmparatorluk mimarisinin sunduğu ortak mimari ve kentsel imgeler ve sembolizm ile Roma ritüellerinin ve kamusal pratiklerinin Romanize olmuş mimari ve kentsel düzende düzenli olarak uygulanması, Likya kentinde Romalı ve emperyal kimlik inşasına yol açmıştır. Aynı zamanda, Roma mimarisinin doğasında yer alan çeşitliliğin yanı sıra bazı yerel mimari ve kültürel geleneklerin sürdürülmesi, Likya'da Roma İmparatorluğu bünyesinde kendine özgü bir eyalet kimliğinin oluşmasına katkıda bulunmuştur.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Likya, Küçük Asya, Roma Mimarlığı, Romanizasyon, Mimarlık Tarihi

To My Husband Önder Ercan

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

The bibliographical format of the American Philological Association (APA) was utilized in this dissertation. Ancient Greek and Roman authors and texts are abbreviated in accordance with the fourth edition of the *Oxford Classical Dictionary* (OCD); or in accordance with the *A Greek-English Lexicon* and *Oxford Latin Dictionary* respectively, where the OCD is lacking.

Ancient Greek and Roman authors and texts

Ath.	Athenaeus
Ant. Lib.	Antoninus Liberalis
App.	Appian
B Civ.	*Bella civilia*
Mith.	Μιθριδάτειος,
Syr.	Συριακή
Arr.	Arrian
Anab.	*Anabasis*
Cass. Dio	Cassius Dio
Hdt.	Herodotus
Hom.	Homer
Il.	*Iliad*
Hor.	Horace
Epist.	*Epistulae*
Joseph.	Josephus
BJ	*Bellum Judaicum*
Livy	Livy
Mela	Pomponius Mela
Paus.	Pausanias

Plin.	Pliny the Elder
HN	*Naturalis historia*
Plut.	Plutarch
Quaest. Rom.	*Quaestiones Romanae*
Vit. Brut.	*Vitae Parallelae, Brutus*
Vit. Cim.	*Vitae Parallelae, Cimon*
Vit. Pomp.	*Vitae Parallelae, Pompeius*
Polyb.	Polybius
Ps.-Scyl.	Pseudo-Scylax
Steph. Byz.	Stephanus Byzantius or Byzantinus
Stadiasmus	*Stadiasmus Maris Magni*
Strab.	Strabo
Suet.	Suetonius
Claud.	*Divus Claudius*
Tert.	Tertullian
De spectaculis	*De spect.*
Theopomp.	Theopompus Historicus
Thuc.	Thucydides
Vell. Pat.	Velleius Paterculus
Vitr.	Vitruvius
De arch.	*De architectura*

Other abbreviations

ATL	The Athenian Tribute Lists
CIL	*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*
FHG	*Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*
IGR	*Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes*
IEph	Die Inschriften von Ephesos
OGIS	*Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae*
SEG	*Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*
TAM	*Tituli Asiae Minoris*

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Lycia is a historical region located at the southwestern coast of Asia Minor which roughly corresponds to the modern Teke peninsula. The region harbors a number of ancient sites with comparatively well preserved architectural remains from various time periods.

Traces of prehistoric occupation have been noted in numerous parts of the region, yet a coherent settlement history goes back to the late Archaic Period. This period of time also coincides with the dating of the earliest material remains attributed to the Lycians who occupied the region throughout the Classical Period. From what can be inferred from a small amount of surviving remains, these Lycian settlements presented a common physical character that was different from the contemporary Greek or Near Eastern cities surrounding or having contact with the region. Like the rest of Asia Minor, Hellenistic culture and architecture prevailed throughout the peninsula, beginning with the rise of Hellenistic Kingdoms and gradually dominating the urban fabric especially after the 2nd century BC. Roman architecture, on the other hand, began to make significant presence in the architecture and urban structure of the Lycian cities after the middle of the 1st century AD.

Despite the changes and damages to the built environment in later periods, the majority of the extant architectural remains and urban layouts of ancient Lycian cities belong to the Roman Empire. Blended with the architecture of the Imperial Period also traceable are older architectural remains from the Classical and Hellenistic Periods.

Therefore, this thesis concerns the architectural encounter between the local and Roman architectural and urban practices in Lycia, in an attempt to examine the nature of the Romanization process in the region within the broader context of architecture. In this respect, the architectural materials belonging to a period between the Archaic times and the end of the Roman Imperial Period will be scrutinized in a diachronic and comparative approach with an emphasis on continuity and change in architectural practices, and under the light of cultural and political highlights which contributed to the transformation of the built environment. Finally, the results will be interpreted within an expanded view of Romanization in an attempt to assess how being Roman in Lycia was reflected through architecture.

Following the decline of the region in the Middle Ages, Lycian cities were rediscovered by early modern European travellers who visited Lycia in late 18th and especially 19th centuries such as Francis Beaufort, Charles Texier, Charles Fellows, Thomas Abel B. Spratt and Edward Forbes, Otto Bendorf, Eugen Petersen and Felix von Luschan, and Ernst Kalinka.[1] The introduction of Lycian culture to a wider audience was made possible notably by Charles Fellows, who conducted several excursions to Lycia between 1838 and 1843, published his discoveries and experiences in his travel accounts and transported art pieces from Xanthos to England, including the Nereid monument, the Pavaja Tomb and the marble reliefs of the Harpy Tomb which are currently on display in the British Museum. Fellows' and his predecessors' discoveries directed the attention of more scholars of diverse expertise to the region. Despite the looting of the antiquities by some in the name of science and antiquarianism, the published accounts of many early scholars provided the initial results of scientific and archaeological observations in Lycian cities which remain as important testimonials of what was there before the physical changes took place in later times as a result of natural or human factors as well as archaeological research.

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[1] For a review of early modern travellers and scholars in Lycia, see Demargne (1958, pp. 15-20) Zimmermann (2016) and Çevik (2015a, pp. 3-12).

Following a period of abandonment of scholarly interest in Lycia due to worldwide political turmoil in the early 20th century, modern archaeological studies began in 1950 with the excavation of Xanthos. The fruitful results gained in Xanthos paved the way for the archaeological exploration of other parts of Lycia especially intensifying after the 1980s.[2] Subsequently, Lycia has been under intense scholarly scrutiny of national and international academics in the last couple of decades which has resulted in a wide range of publications that provides descriptive, analytical and theoretical insight into the ancient life in Lycia. The academic literature concerning Lycian studies include, but are not limited to, the reports of archaeological excavations and surveys; monographs, compilations, and articles about the findings in particular sites published by the responsible excavation or survey teams or team members; conference proceedings; MA and PhD theses; studies on individual themes that concern overall Lycia such as history, art, architecture, epigraphy, funerary practices or numismatics; and finally comprehensive studies that collect descriptive essays on Lycian cities in the form of scholarly guidebooks or compile an array of thematic topics on Lycia.

With this immense scientific production, Lycia stands as one of the most studied regions in Asia Minor and the published scholarship has made a tremendous contribution towards expanding the understanding of the aspects of life and culture in Lycia. Architecture, the primary focus of this thesis, is one of those important aspects of cultural manifestation. Considered from the context of architecture, it is possible to say that the early studies primarily focused on the distinctive Lycian material of the Classical Period. Major progress has been made on revealing the settlement characteristics, funerary architecture and housing of the era. The Hellenistic architecture and settlement layouts which had largely been in obscurity due to limited datable surviving material on the surface have been slowly coming to light as the archaeological studies progress. Studies on the Romanization of Lycia in general and the Roman architecture in particular, on the other hand, have been taking over in the last decades. Today, descriptive,

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[2] For a list of official excavations and surveys which took or still have been taking place in Lycia as of 2015, see Çevik (2015a, pp. 14-15).

analytical and theoretical information in varying degrees of detail about the Roman buildings of almost all the Lycian cities are accessible from the existing scholarship. There is also clearly an emerging effort on revealing the architectural and urban characters of the Lycian cities of the Roman Imperial Period and establishing links with earlier architectural practices. For instance, the studies by des Courtils (2009a) on Letoon, des Courtils and Cavalier (2001a) on Xanthos, Çevik, Kızgut, and Bulut (2010) on Rhodiapolis, İşkan (2016) and Çevik and Aktaş (2016) on Patara contribute to the understanding of urban development of these cities throughout the history by looking for connections between different time periods. However, from an overall perspective, almost all of the current studies on Roman architecture in Lycia remain local and focus on the buildings and urban fabric of individual cities.

There are, nevertheless, a limited number of studies that adopt an all-inclusive approach towards the examination of certain building types that functioned in Lycian cities during the Roman Period. For instance, Farrington (1995) conducted an in-depth study on Roman baths. His general inferences are still valid even after the emergence of more information on the baths he discussed and the discovery of more bath buildings in later periods. Moreover, the theaters, most of which were built in the Hellenistic Period but continued to be used with modifications in Roman times were included within comprehensive studies on Hellenistic and Roman theaters first by de Bernardi Ferrero (1966; 1969) and then Sear (2006). Özdilek (2011; 2016), on the other hand, specifically focused on Lycian theaters, and her PhD Thesis (2011) currently stands as the most detailed study on the architecture of Lycian theaters. Even though these individual studies on baths and theaters, and other similar works, are major additions to Lycian studies concerning Roman architecture, they do not specifically concern how these buildings functioned with respect to other buildings within a wider urban historical context.

With that said, a holistic understanding of architectural and urban transformation of Lycian cities has been treated very rarely. An attempt for the investigation of urban Romanization concerning more than one city was made in

an MA Thesis prepared by Alp (1998). In this study, Alp first overviewed the Classical and Hellenistic urban development of the cities, listed the Roman buildings in selected cities which provided enough material at the time of the study, and finally outlined the Roman building types found in discussed settlements. Alp considered Romanization as a process during which the Roman culture and way of living almost entirely wiped out the local practices. This study sheds some light on overall interpretation of Roman architecture in Lycia; however it does not bring a critical approach to the concept of Romanization or scrutinize the impact of contemporary cultural and political motives on the selection of building types and their forms. Moreover, the study overlooks the continuity of local architectural practices, and the material discussed needs an update according to new discoveries made during the next 20 years. Furthermore, in his summarizing article, Kürkçü (2012) looks into the development of Lycian cities during the Roman Imperial Period by very briefly reviewing some aspects including economy, onomastic, institutions, funerary practices, euergetism, communication network, infrastructure and public buildings. He concludes that during the Romanization of the region, the merging of the Hellenistic and Roman architectural practices resulted in a new architectural style. The study is worth attention for its focus on various socio-cultural aspects for understanding the Romanization process; however, it lacks an in-depth discussion.

As can be seen, even though significant scholarship is now available on Roman architecture and urban development of Lycian cities in individual cases and some attempts have been made for an overall understanding of Roman architecture in Lycian cities, an up-to-date study that analytically and theoretically brings together the information on the architectural and urban transformation of the cities under Roman influence and assesses the survival of local practices is still lacking in the current scholarship.

Therefore, this study attempts to put together a holistic and in-depth understanding concerning the Romanization of Lycia by providing a comprehensive and comparative treatment of the architectural and urban characteristic of the cities, with specific attention to the continuities and changes

in local practices and important cultural and political issues. By investigating the Romanization of Lycia, this study also indirectly contributes to the recently growing scholarship on the Romanization of Asia Minor in a more regional scale.

Considering the methodology, this is a study of architectural history that benefits from interdisciplinary research. Historical, archaeological and architectural materials and arguments have been viewed from the perspective of architectural history and theory.

The architectural remains in Lycian city centers are the focus of this thesis. As this study concerns the Romanization of the region through the examination of architectural and urban dynamics, the primary focus has been given to the built environment produced under the influence of Roman architectural and urban principles which took place especially during the Roman Imperial Period. Surviving architectural materials from earlier periods have been overviewed to bring insight to the pre-provincial urban and architectural character of the cities so as to build a comparative analysis of continuity and change. The chronological bracket of the discussed material can be roughly given as the Late Archaic Period and the late 3rd century AD. The architecture produced during the Late Imperial Period and after is omitted and only sparingly mentioned if and when necessary in an effort to remain within the theoretical scope of the thesis.

Throughout the research, emphasis is given to the public buildings due to their comparatively better preserved states and abundance as well as their better reflection of contemporary social, political and cultural manifestation. However, in order to have an overall view of the urban operation of the cities, a review of military, maritime, domestic and funerary architecture within the city boundaries has been incorporated into the discussion. Since the architectural and urban dynamics of the city and countryside significantly differ from each other, the rural architecture is omitted as it would have been a vast project demanding its own focus in the light of data obtained by increasing numbers of archaeological surveys recently carried out in the hinterland.

The primary sources utilized in this study are the large corpus of published scholarship that has resulted from almost 70 years of modern archaeological

excavations and surveys conducted in the region. Other sources consulted include the books and treatises of ancient authors, the travel books of early modern scholars and secondary sources.

Intrinsically, archaeological studies are not uniformly distributed throughout Lycia due to a number of reasons including the selection of the study area according to its state of preservation and accessibility. To give extreme examples, some well-preserved cities like Xanthos and Patara have been under intensive archaeological scrutiny for decades, while some other cities are no longer available for further or extensive studies due to being either buried under modern towns and villages like Antiphellos, Araxa and Sidyma or robbed of their stones like Korydalla. Similarly, some settlements like Choma have not presented satisfying architectural material about the important Roman city it had once been despite years of exhaustive efforts. Moreover, the nature of data obtained from surveys and excavations differs; while the former provides preliminary and more generalized information about the research area, the latter gives comparatively more detailed and precise results.

Hence, the lack of a uniform collection of knowledge about architecture in every locality of Lycia has inevitably resulted in a disproportionate discussion on the architecture of Lycian cities. As expected, the archaeological material used in this research mainly comes from better studied areas, while the cities with insufficient data have been regrettably mentioned less. As a result, the cases discussed in this dissertation are limited; however the number and architectural variety of the studied examples have been enough to reach satisfying conclusions within the scopes of the thesis' methodological and theoretical framework.

As a complementary to the information obtained from written sources, two field surveys were conducted in Lycia in 2014 and 2016. Throughout these surveys, all the major cities and most of the minor cities were visited by the author depending on their accessibility. The fieldworks consisted of on-site observation and photographing of the architectural remains in visited sites. Field surveys were made possible by the 2014 Doctoral Research Grant of Suna-İnan Kıraç Research Institute on Mediterranean Civilizations.

An inductive approach has been used throughout the research. That is, instead of setting up the theoretical framework of the thesis at the beginning, the study began with data collection through published sources and site observation. This method has allowed the examination and interpretation of the collected data with a fresh eye devoid of any preconceived notions. During this process, the data was divided into workable thematic groups, which eventually constituted the chapter divisions. Depending on the nature of the existing material, each chapter and subchapter have generated their own sets of questions, discussions and conclusions. Following the examination and interpretation of the data, the inclusion of theoretical discussions on Romanization led to the reformulation of the concept of Romanization through the critical review of the canonical approaches to the theory of Romanization. Finally, the results obtained from the thematic chapters were reconsidered in tandem with the theoretical background in an attempt to bring new insight into the process of Romanization in Lycia.

By investigating the Romanization of Lycia, this study also indirectly contributes to the recently growing scholarship on the Romanization of Asia Minor in a regional scale. Certain similarities and differences in architectural practices between Lycia and the other Roman provinces in Asia Minor have been pointed out in some discussions when necessary. However, a thorough comparison of the Romanization of Lycia with the rest of Asia Minor has been avoided, since it would have been an unrealistic endeavor due to the vastness of the subject within the limited scope of the study.

The methodology and the theoretical frame adopted in this thesis intend to bring a new perspective to the expression of Roman identity in provincial context through the observation of continuity and change in the physical fabric of the cities; and are easily applicable to other Roman provinces with strong local cultural backgrounds.

The thesis is structured in six chapters. After the Introduction, Chapter 2 "Lycia in Geographical and Historical Context" provides background information about the geographical and political settings of Lycia in two different sections in an attempt to expose the characteristics of the environment and aspects of politics

in antiquity which participated in shaping the architectural and urban development of the Lycian cities. In this respect, the first part of the chapter (2.1) aims to define the boundaries of Lycia in the light of ancient texts and modern discussions, and mention the topographical characteristics and ancient communication routes of the region. The second part of the chapter (2.2) provides a brief political history of Lycia, highlighting especially the political and cultural turning points that took place within the chronological range of the research.

Following this background chapter, the next two chapters which are divided into chronological and thematic subsections examine the collected data on the architectural remains in Lycian cities.

Chapter 3 "An Overview of the Settlement History in Lycia before the Roman Imperial Period" aims to gain insight about the architectural and urban characteristics of the Lycian cities prior to the growing and dominating influence of the Roman architecture. Correspondingly, the chapter is discussed in three subsections chronologically divided into time periods. The first part of the chapter (3.1) very briefly traces the early human activity and habitation in Lycia back to the prehistoric times. Even though the discussion has not revealed a coherent settlement pattern with common architectural and urban characteristics throughout the region, the overview of early material history has been integral for understanding the setting from which the early Lycian culture originated. The second part (3.2) puts forth the idiosyncratic architectural and urban features of the early Lycian settlements which emerged especially in the western and southern parts of Lycia around the Late Archaic Period, and thrived during the Classical times. The third section (3.3), on the other hand, investigates the process of Hellenization of the region by tracing the extant architecture from the Hellenistic Period. The discussions pursued in the last two subsections are critical for developing a comparative approach towards the understanding of continuities and changes during the Roman Imperial Period.

Chapter 4 "The Impact of Roman Architecture and Urban Planning in Lycia" constitutes the backbone of the study and is devoted to the Roman architectural and urban imprints in Lycia. The chapter consists of six main

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sections divided according to themes derived from the categorization of surviving Roman architectural material in Lycian cities. Accordingly, the first part (4.1) focuses on religious architecture discussing the impact of Roman design principles, new temple forms, the institution of imperial cult and the associated *sebasteia* on the reformation of religious architectural practices and the redefinition of sacred space and sanctuaries in Lycian cities. The second subchapter (4.2) focuses on the agora proper, and explores the operational and experiential changes that occurred in the civic centers following the introduction of the Roman architectural and cultural practices by concentrating on the transformation of the physical and political nature of the Hellenistic agora and the surrounding public buildings. The next section (4.3) discusses the buildings used for large-scale performances especially looking at the theater and the *stadion* which were favored by the Lycians since the Hellenistic times and continued to be the leading building types for spectacles during the Roman Imperial Period. The discussion examines how these two building types were functionally and structurally modified so as to adapt to the cultural changes, and then briefly mentions less occurring building types of performance. The fourth chapter (4.4) discusses the adjustments in the water utilization following the introduction of water related Roman habits and institutions to Lycia by looking into the technological developments on infrastructure for water management, transformation and distribution including aqueducts and water channels, and the introduction of new buildings types operating with water such as baths, latrines and *nymphaea*. The fifth part (4.5) investigates the concept of armature, the essence of Roman urban organization, by scrutinizing its physical, visual, social and symbolic means of providing communication between humans and the built environment, generation of infinite numbers of urban narratives, and construction of common and different identities in Lycian cities. Finally, the last section of Chapter 4 (4.6) discusses the architectural contexts which are comparatively peripheral to the scope of the thesis but nevertheless complements the overall understanding of the changing urban dynamics in Lycian cities. Accordingly, this part is examined in four subdivisions, respectively concentrating on military,

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maritime, domestic and funerary architecture found within the boundaries of the settlements.

Chapter 5 "An Architectural Encounter: Romanization in Lycia" involves the theoretical background of the thesis which challenges the former theory of Romanization, and the reinterpretation of the results obtained from Chapter 3 and Chapter 4 under the light of this theoretical frame. This chapter is conveniently divided into three sections. The first part (5.1) presents an overview of the theoretical and critical discussions concerning the origin, elaboration and deconstruction of the theory of Romanization. The second part (5.2) sets the theoretical background of the thesis which is generated through the reformulation and reconstruction of the concept of Romanization in consideration of the previous discussion. Lastly, in the third section (5.3), the patterns of architectural practices obtained from the investigation of the material remains in Lycian cities are reexamined in the light of the expanded view of Romanization.

Finally, the concluding Chapter 6 offers a summary of the results drawn from the main discussions, and highlights the contribution of this thesis to the scholarship on the urban Romanization of Lycia in particular, and the cultural and architectural interaction of the Roman Empire with the provinces in general.

CHAPTER 2

LYCIA IN GEOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL CONTEXT

This chapter intends to provide insight into the physical and historical setting of Lycia in order to reveal the regional boundaries and examine the contribution of environmental and political aspects to the development of Lycian cities. Accordingly, the first part of the discussion attempts to establish the approximate boundaries of Lycia and expose the geographical and topographical characteristics of the region. The second part, on the other hand, presents a brief political history of the region.

2.1. Geography of Lycia

Lycia is a geographical and historical term that corresponds to the peninsula on the southwestern coast of Anatolia, surrounded by Caria, Pisidia and Pamphylia. Mentioned as Lukka Land in the Hittite, Egyptian and Ugarit records of the Late Bronze Age, the region is today called Teke Peninsula and lies within the borders of Antalya, Muğla and Burdur provinces of modern Turkey.

The exact borders of Lycia are in dispute and according to the ancient and modern sources, varied from time to time. Roughly speaking, Lycia was confined in a crescent by the Bay of *Glaukos* (Gulf of Fethiye) on the west, the *mare Lycium* (part of the Mediterranean) on the south, the *mare Pamphylium* (Gulf of Antalya) on the east and the southern parts of the regions of Kabalia/Kibyratis and Milyas on the north (Fig. 2.1.1).

On the west, Telmessos is generally considered as the frontier between Lycia and Caria prior to the Roman intervention (Livy 37.16; Mela 1.82; Plin. *HN*

5.101; Ps.-Scyl. 100; *Stadiasmus*. 254; Strab. 14.3.4). Yet, Telmessos appears apart from Lycia in the Athenian Tribute Lists for 446/5 BC (Keen, 1998, p. 122),[3] and was included in the Lycian territory after it was conquered by the Xanthian dynast Arbinas in the 4th century BC.[4] The city was separated from, but then rejoined to Lycia in later periods (Magie, 1950, p. 517; Akşit, 1967, p. 48). The western border of Lycia remained fluid throughout history, and expanded beyond Telmessos from time to time. By the 2nd century AD, cities like Kaunos, Kalynda, Kyra, Lydai, Telandros and Daedala were already incorporated within the political boundaries of the Roman province of Lycia.[5] However, the remains belonging to the early Lycian culture such as Lycian inscriptions or tombs discovered in some of these cities suggest that the cultural and perhaps the political boundary of Lycia extended towards the Indus (Dalaman Çayı) valley long before the Roman hegemony.[6]

On the north, the Taurus Mountains drew a natural boundary between the Lycian heartland and Milyas. However, the northern boundaries stretched out to Milyas and southern Kibyratis in a later period, when Murena dissolved the "Tetrapolis" headed by Kibyra in the 1st century BC, incorporated Kibyra into the province of Asia, and attached the other three cities Bubon, Balboura and Oenoanda to Lycia (Magie, 1950, p. 516). The northern Lycian frontier was later sharpened by a treaty between Lycia and Rome in the time of Julius Caesar in 46 BC (*SEG* 55 1452, ll. 55-60) which mentions more than 20 cities that delineated

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[3] For more on the appearance of Lycia in *ATL*, see Chapter 2.2, pp. 21 ff.

[4] Keen suggests that Telmessos was brought under Xanthian control for a short period of time in the late 5th century BC. An inscription (*SEG* 39 1414) discovered in Letoon mentions that the city was conquered by Arbinas together with Xanthos and Pınara. For the inscription, see Bousquet (1992, p. 156).

[5] For discussions on the western border of Lycia, see Arkwright (1895, p. 95); Akşit (1967, pp. 47-51); Magie (1950, p. 570); Keen (1998, pp. 17-18), Şahin (2014, p. 106).

[6] As Tietz notes (2016, p. 340), the last Lycian inscription to the west was found in Telmessos, the westernmost example of a house type rock-cut tomb is located close to Daedala, the last example of pillar tomb at western Lycia is in Daedala, while pigeon-hole tombs are observed in Daedala and Kalynda.

the border.[7] It is also suggested that, after the establishment of the province, Kibyra was included within the political boundaries of Lycia (Magie, 1950, p. 526). Expansion of Lycia to the north appears as a later political act rather than an ongoing cultural diffusion due to the scarcity of pre-Hellenistic Lycian characteristics such as tomb types and language in the northern plains (Coulton, 1993).[8]

There is controversy about the eastern border as well. Even though Pseudo-Scylax (Ps.-Scyl. 100) stretches the Lycian border as far as Perge, according to Strabo (Strab. 11.12.2), the frontier between Lycia and Pamphylia was determined by Tahtalı mountain range which branches off from Bey Dağları and runs parallel to the coast forming Cape Gelidonya at the south. According to his description, Phaselis and Olympos, the cities located on the land between this range and the Mediterranean were excluded from the Lycian territory. This is supported by the fact that Phaselis, similar to Telmessos, was listed separately in the Athenian Tribute Lists for 446/5 BC (Magie, 1950, p. 516). In parallel to this, Pomponius Mela (Mela 1.13), Pliny the Elder (Plin. *HN* 5.96) and Athenaeus (Ath. 7.42) consider Phaselis as the westernmost city of Pamphylia. However, in contrast to his previous accounts, Strabo (Strab. 14.3.9) later includes Phaselis within the Lycian boundaries, hinting that the city became a part of Lycia in a later period (Akşit, 1967, p. 30). This argument is reinforced by the aforementioned treaty between Lycia and Rome in which it is stated that Phaselis together with Telmessos were given back to the Lycians (*SEG* 55 1452, ll. 52-55). During the Imperial Period, Phaselis was considered as the last major city on the eastern coast, yet the Lycian territory covered the minor cities on the north-east such as Trebenna, Kelbessos and Neopolis, which were once within the *territorium* of Termessos (Çevik, 2015a; Şahin S. , 2014, p. 108). As in the case

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[7] For more on this treaty, see Chapter 2.2, p. 28.

[8] For the cultural boundaries, see Chapter 3.2.

of the northern borders, this expansion seems rather political than ethnical as Lycian cultural heritage is rarely found in the east beyond Rhodiapolis.[9]

When considering the topography, the territory of Lycia is broken into deep ridges, narrow valleys and occasional plains by the western end of the Taurus Mountains which enters through the peninsula from the northeast (Fig. 2.1.1). Two major mountain ranges, namely Bey Dağları (Masikytos) on the east and Akdağlar (Kragos) on the west, run almost in parallel with the horseshoe-shaped coastline and leave a plain in the center, the Elmalı plateau, the ancient Milyas. Besides these major mountain chains, minor ranges such as Tahtalı (Solyma) on the east, Baba Dağ and Boncuk Dağları (Antikragos) on the west divide the lands between the Taurus and the Mediterranean into mountainous districts. The ancient settlements were mostly founded on the valleys and plateaus created between the ridges of these ranges. As the mountain ranges generally plunge into the sea, the coastline is mostly inhospitable due to the precipitous slopes, but nevertheless allows some protected coves that are suitable for maritime activities.

Six main rivers, flowing in a north-south direction, water the rugged country. From east to west, Limyros (Göksu Çayı) and Arykandos (Başgöz Çayı) empty into the Phoenix plain; Myros (Demre Çay) formed by several smaller streams passes Myra and meets the Mediterranean; Xanthos (Eşen Çay) fertilizes the Xanthos valley and reaches the sea near Patara; Glaukos (Nif Çayı) gives its name to the Bay of Glaukos/Telmessos, west of Telmessos; and finally Indus (Dalaman Çayı) roughly determines the later western boundary.

The mountainous characteristic of the Lycian topography severely hampered transportation within the heartland and between the neighboring regions in ancient times. Yet, communication was nevertheless provided by certain routes. A coastal road from Telmessos passed through a restricted access between the Boncuk Dağları and the Baba Dağ, turned to the Xanthos valley and reached Patara, then continued to the plain of Limyra in parallel to the coastline and

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[9] See fn. 8.

arrived in Phaselis after crossing the range of the Tahtalı Dağ (Magie, 1950, p. 519). The communication with central Anatolia was mainly provided by the route which was a part of the great road from Ephesus to the East, the backbone of the Anatolian road system (Ramsey, 1890, p. 49). This road branched off from Laodiceia towards Kibyra, then passed through Balboura, Oenoanda and entered into the Xanthos valley or continued to Choma and Podalia, entered into the Arykandos valley and reached Limyra and Phoenix (Ramsey, 1890, p. 49; Magie, 1950, pp. 518-519; Akşit, 1967, pp. 63-65). The internal communication was rendered easier by a highly sophisticated road network with major and minor arteries during the course of the Imperial Period. The construction and measurement of roads began immediately after the declaration of Lycia as a Roman province in AD 43, by the orders of the Emperor Claudius and under the supervision of the governor Quintus Veranius, and continued afterwards (Fig. 4.6.1.16). The distances of the paved roads between each city were given in *stadia* on a monumental inscription which was erected in Patara in AD 45.[10]

On another side, topographic restrictions led to the development of sea trade and transportation, resulting in the emergence of important harbors at the coastal settlements such as Telmessos, Patara, Antiphellos, Phoenix, Andriake and Phaselis as well as in other smaller bays.[11] Lycia's strategic location as a barrier between the Aegean and Mediterranean, and advanced sea transportation not only increased the importance of Lycia as a trade center but also as an inevitable stop along the naval route between Egypt, Cyprus, Rhodes and the Aegean.

The last thing to mention is that Lycia suffered from earthquakes throughout history. The most devastating earthquake recorded in ancient times took place in AD 141/142, which caused massive damage to the built environment, after which many Lycian cities were involved in the restoration of urban fabric.

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[10] For more on this inscription and the works on Roman road network in Lycia, see Chapter 4.6.1, pp. 145-146.

[11] For the development of maritime architecture in Lycia, see Chapter 4.6.2.

Consequently, it can be deduced that the cultural and political borders of Lycia were not necessarily identical or static throughout the history. Moreover, the geographical and topographical characteristics of the region played an important role in the determination of the settlement location and layout. This study will concern the regional limits that were defined during the Imperial Period and before, and take into consideration the physical characteristics of the region when examining the urban development of the cities.

2.2. Political History of Lycia

The evidence for the political history of Lycia is patchy but the available data suggest that it was rather tumultuous. To begin with, the history of Lycia can be traced back to the prehistoric times with archaeological and epigraphic data. However, even though the modern studies have begun to reveal small findings in Lycia belonging as early as the Epi-Paleolithic period, there is not enough material evidence to suggest coherent information about the settlements and their inhabitants earlier than approximately the 8th century BC.[12] In this respect, certain ancient sources are comparatively more enlightening about the region before the early 1st millennium BC.

In Hittite, Egyptian and Ugarit texts of 15th-13th century BC, the peninsula is referred to as part of Lukka Lands occupied by Luwian-speaking people, who were described as unruly nomads or semi-nomads and pirating seafarers.[13] Besides designating the word "Lukka" as an ethno-geographical term (1992, p. 130), Bryce argues that Lukka was not a political entity or a vassal of the Hittites except for paying tribute to the kingdom from time to time, but instead, "a

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[12] For material remains in Lycia belonging to the period between the Prehistoric and Archaic times, see Chapter 3.1.

[13] For a collection of references to Lukka in Late Bronze Age texts, see Bryce (1986, pp. 8-10). Bryce locates Lukka in central-southern Anatolia, deriving from the cultural traits of Lukka people among the people in western Caria and Lycia (1992, p. 130). For a detailed discussion about the location of Lukka lands, see Bryce (1974; 1992). For more about Lukka people, see Bryce in Melchert (2003, pp. 40-44).

conglomerate of independent communities, presumably with close ethnic affinities but with no real sense of a common political identity" (1986, p. 4), which resembles the political structure of the region after the Iron Age.

The word Lycia as the name of the territory finds the earliest known mention in Homer's *Iliad*, in which the Lycians, the inhabitants of this land, are described as the allies of Trojans (Hom. Il. 2.876). Despite the fact that there seems to be a temporal overlap of Lycians and Lukka people both being present in the 13th century BC according to Homer's accounts and the Late Bronze Age texts, there is not much evidence to relate these two nations with each other. Even though both populations are similar in terms of being devoid of a definite state organization and having engaged in coastal activities; the most concrete evidence comes from linguistic similarities between Luwian and Lycian languages which suggest that Lycians can be related to the Lukka people.[14]

Archaeological materials dating after the first quarter of the 1st millenium BC draw a more conclusive picture about the Lycians and their culture. The remains in Lycian cities belonging roughly to the period between the 8th and 4th century BC suggest that Lycians were a group of Anatolian people who were distinguished from their contemporaries especially by their pre-Hellenistic funerary architecture and language.[15] These people called themselves *Trm̃mili* and their country *Trm̃misa* in Lycian inscriptions, but were named as Τερμίλαι or

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[14] This result was first reached by Laroche (1957-58; 1960; 1967). Lycian is found mainly on coins and funerary inscriptions on tombs, and a small number of historical inscriptions on *stelai*, and texts on a few ceramic and metal objects (Tekoğlu, 2016, pp. 114-116). Lycian is considered to belong to the Anatolian, Indo-Germanic family and have a script that shares similarities with the Greek alphabet. For more about the specifics of the Luwian and Lycian languages and related bibliographies see Melchert (2008a; 2008b) and Tekoğlu (2016). For the history of the studies on Lycian language, see Tekoğlu (2016).

[15] For more on the material remains belonging to the early Lycians, see Chapter 3.2.

Τρεμιλείς,[16] Hellenized versions of *Trm̃mili,* or λύκιοι by the Greeks (Bryce, 1986, p. 22).[17]

Probably as a continuation of the Lukka tradition, a governmental system that dominated over all Lycia is unheard of in the first half of the first millennium BC. According to Bryce (1983, p. 32), in their earlier phases, Lycian cities were nothing more than small self-sufficient communities that may have gathered together in case of a threat. On the other hand, Keen argues that Lycian cities were individual political units that developed a cultural and regional consciousness at an early date which was reflected through a common funerary style and language (1998, pp. 29-31). In parallel to Keen, Jones argues that it was the nationalism of Lycians which made it possible to resist to a large extent the colonization movements of the late Iron Age (1998, p. 96). According to early sources, only eastern Lycia was affected by the colonizers, where Dorians and Rhodians founded the cities of Rhodiapolis, Korydalla, Gagae, Melanippie and Phaselis, though this is not fully confirmed by modern scholarship.[18]

Beginning from the 6th century BC, Lycia began to draw the attention of larger powers, especially Persians and Athenians, with its developing marine force and its strategic location along the naval routes.[19] Following the fall of Sardis, Lycia was annexed by the Persian general Harpagos in the name of Cyrus the

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[16] According to Herodotus (Hdt. 7.92), Lycians are the descendants of the people called Termilae who migrated from Crete and settled in the Xanthos valley. However, since Lycia was already occupied by Anatolian inhabitants, namely Lukka people or their descendants, Termilae can only be a group of late comers according to modern scholarship (Akşit, 1967, pp. 79-85; Bean, 1978, pp. 20-22).

[17] The origins of the words λυκία (Lycia) and λύκιοι (Lycian) are associated with λύκοι (wolf), in honor of the wolves who guided Leto to the river Xanthos where she gave birth to her twins (Ant. Lib. 35.3); and with the Athenian refugee Lykos, son of Pandion by Herodotus (Hdt. 1.73, 7.92). According to Akşit (1967, pp. 86-91), these words derive from "Lukka" while easily Hellenized due to the phonetic and semantic resemblance.

[18] For more on the colonization of Lycia, see Chapter 3.1, p. 37.

[19] For the importance of the location of Lycia, see Chapter 4.6.2, p. 147. According to Bryce (1983, pp. 32-33), the rough terrain and poor communications of the territory may have discouraged larger powers such as Lydians to conquer the lands before the Persians. Keen (1993, p. 74; 1998, p. 71), on the other hand, suggests that the lack of Lydian interest in Lycia is due to the facts that Lycia was far away from the Lydian power and that Lydians were land people and had no interest in coastal activities.

Great sometime between 547-538 BC (Hdt. 1.171.1), who caused a great destruction in Xanthos but later proceeded into the region without much resistance (Childs, 1981, p. 55; Treuber, 1887, p. 91). Herodotus (Hdt. 1.176) recounts the violent results of this confrontation, according to whom Xanthians fought back in force, but at the end, retreated to the acropolis, and set the acropolis on fire, decimating the population in a mass suicide except for eighty families who were not in the city during the events.[20]

Lycia was subsequently included in the first satrapy, the satrapy of Yaunâ (Ionia), along with Ionians, Magnesians of Asia, Aeolians, Carians, Lycians, Milyans, and Pamphylians (Hdt. 3.90.1). Instead of placing garrisons in Lycia (Treuber, 1887, p. 98), the Persians opted to exercise a looser control as long as the coastline was secured, demanding only tribute and maintenance of peace and order (Frei, 1990, p. 7). According to Childs (1981, p. 55), being away from the satrap and his official influence gave Lycia a level of freedom and independence. But nevertheless, the Persians had an indirect control over the governance of Lycia through the dynastic system which was either implemented by the Persians themselves as Bryce suggests (1983, pp. 33-34) or already existing as Keen claims (1998, p. 79).

It is still not clearly known how the dynastic system operated, but the numismatic material of the era helps illuminate the internal politics of the region to a certain extent. An evaluation of the coins minted contemporaneously by more than thirty dynasts has revealed that Lycian coinage was divided into two on the basis of their weight, as a light standard (Attic) was used in the west in the Xanthos valley and surrounding areas, while a heavy standard (Persian) was used in the central-eastern part between Phellos and Limyra (Mørkholm, 1964; Mørkholm & Neumann, 1978). The coinage also shows that while some dynasts minted in only one standard, several issued both; and while some of the dynasts minted only in their own jurisdiction, some others minted in various locations (Mørkholm, 1964; Mørkholm & Neumann, 1978; Childs, 1981, pp. 57-58).

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[20] Keen (1998, p. 75), based on Bean's claim (1978, p. 50) that these families may have been at summer pasture, dates the attack between May and September.

According to some scholars, it suggests that there was a hierarchical structure between the dynasts and a collective subordination to a higher authority among them (Childs, 1981, pp. 57-59; Keen, 1998, pp. 51-52). It is claimed that Herodotus' use of the words "Lycian" and "Xanthian" interchangeably (Hdt. 1.76), and the coinage of Xanthian dynasts issued in various cities as far as Limyra, present Xanthos as the ruling city and the intermediary between Lycia and the Persian administration (Bryce, 1983, pp. 34,36; Keen, 1998, pp. 56-60).

In the 5th century BC, Lycia was caught in the crossfire between Persians and Athenians. Treuber's assumption about Lycia not taking part in the Ionian Revolt in 499-493 B.C (1887, p. 96),[21] and Herodotus' claim (Hdt. 7.92) that the Xanthian dynast Kybernis provided 50 ships to Xerxes' fleet for the Battle of Salamis in 480 BC imply an allegiance between Lycia and the Achaemenid Empire (Bryce, 1983, p. 34; Kolb, 2016, p. 38). However, in the middle of the 5th century BC, Lycia was listed as a tributary to the Delian League in the Athenian Tribute Lists for the years 452/1, 450/0 and 446/5 BC. This was probably a forced alliance, which occurred after Kimon campaigned in Caria and Lycia in the 470s or 460s BC, in an attempt to cut Persian access to the Aegean (Bryce, 1983, pp. 34-35; Childs, 1981, p. 56; Keen, 1998, pp. 96-107). Even though Diodorus (Diod. Sic 11.60.4) uses the word "persuade" when mentioning Kimon's influence over Lycian cities,[22] Keen suggests that similar to the case of Harpagos, Kimon must have gone after Xanthos, which probably held the power, in order to bring down easily the whole of Lycia (1998, p. 105).[23]

Regarding the tribute payment, Jones claims that the Lycian cities must have had a financial organization and a collective treasury from where the tribute was paid (1998, p. 96). Having Telmessos and Phaselis appear in the same list separately suggests that the word Λύκιοι καὶ συντελεῖς in the lists can be "a

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[21] Trueber does not give a reference for his claim but Childs suggests that his deduction may have driven from Herodotus (Hdt. 5.103.2, 104.1), who does not mention Lycia in the wars (Childs, 1981, pp. 55, fn. 5).

[22] For a discussion on Diodorus' use of the verb "persuade", see Keen (1998, p. 104).

[23] Bryce doubts that Kimon attacked Xanthos, on the basis of the silence of the ancient sources about such a destruction (1986, pp. 103-104).

grouping of various entities within the area called Lycia or an area 'Lycia' to which other units were attached for administrative reasons" (Childs, 1981, p. 57),[24] which further reinforces the existence of a state. Xanthos was most likely the capital of this state, due to the reasons already discussed that Xanthian dynasts had an influence over a vast area and that Xanthos was generally the first city to be attacked during a conflict.

Apparently, the relations between Lycia and Athens were severed before the Peloponnesian War (431-404 BC). It is commonly agreed that Lycia left the Delian League shortly before 442 BC, as Lycia no longer appears in *ATL* of 442/1, 441/0 and 440/39 BC (Treuber, 1887, p. 100; Childs, 1981, p. 62; Keen, 1998, p. 123). Furthermore, Lycians are assumed not to have taken part in the Peloponnesian War due to a possible hostility between the Lycians and the Athenians, as Thucydides (Thuc. 2.69) accounts that Athenian general Melesander died in a confrontation in Lycia after he came to seek revenue for the war expenses in 430/29 BC (Treuber, 1887, p. 100; Childs, 1981, p. 62).

Following the fall-out with the Greeks, Lycian allegiance to the Persians was restored. Even though the history of Lycia is less clear after this point, the epigraphic sources suggest that there was conflict among the dynasts through the end of the 5th century BC, probably in order to break away from the central power as Bryce suggests (1986, p. 110). It is also evident from the coinage that, at about the same time, the Xanthian dynasty began to lose its control over the east, as the dynasts no longer issued coins in the central and eastern cities (Bryce, 1986, p. 110).[25]

As the Xanthian dynasty weakened in the east, a ruler called Perikle who was based in Limyra began to rise as an independent power in the first decades of the 4th century BC. After securing the east as far as Phaselis, Perikle embarked on campaigns towards the west to obtain sole authority; he defeated Arttum̃para,

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[24] For a discussion on the explanation of *sunteleis,* see Childs (1981, pp. 57-61) and Keen (1998, pp. 41-42).

[25] For more on the internal struggles in Lycia, see Keen (1998, pp. 136-147).

possibly the last ruler of the west appointed by the Persians,[26] and took Telmessos (Bryce, 1986, p. 111; Keen, 1998, pp. 154-170). His expansion policy resulted in a shift of power from Xanthos to Limyra even for a short period of time (Bryce, 1986, p. 111). By his actions, Perikle apparently broke all the ties with the Persians, and as a result, he was held responsible for Lycian participation in the Great Satraps' Revolt that took place between 372-362 BC (Bryce, 1986, p. 113; Keen, 1998, pp. 154-170).[27] In the aftermath of the revolt which resulted in the victory of the Persians, Lycians were punished by being placed under the authority of Mausolos, the satrap of Caria who ended the dynastic rule and established garrisons in the region (Keen, 1998, pp. 168-174). This marks the beginning of the Hecatomnid rule over Lycia. Also ended together with the dynastic system was the minting of coinage by individual dynasts and cities (Keen, 1998, p. 174). Sometime after the collapse of the dynastic system, the Lycian cities adopted the administrative structure of the *polis*.[28]

Following the arrival of Alexander the Great in Lycia in the winter of 334/3 BC, the Persian dominion as well as the coastal power in the region was terminated.[29] According to Arrian (Arr. *Anab*. I.24.4), Telmessos, Pinara, Xanthos, Patara and thirty small strongholds submitted to Alexander without resistance. Before moving further east from Phaselis, he left Nearkhos in charge

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[26] Epigraphic material suggests that Arttum̃para was Persian in origin and was probably appointed to western Lycia by the satrap of Sardis after the death of Arbinas, the last dynast of the west (Keen, 1998, pp. 154-170).

[27] Lycia's participation in the revolt is listed by Diodorus (Diod. Sic 15.90.3). Even though Perikle's name is never mentioned in ancient sources in relation to the revolt, modern scholars agree that he must have played an important role in the rebellion as he was against the Persians (Bryce, 1986, p. 112; Keen, 1998, p. 169) .

[28] Some ancient authors refer to the dynastic Lycian cities as *poleis*, and some Greek inscriptions of the dynastic period also mention the word *polis*. See Keen (1998, pp. 53-54) for examples. des Courtils states that the word *polis* may not have been used in its Greek meaning, and that it would be more appropriate to refer to the Lycian cities as *poleis* in the Greek sense after they acquired Greek institutions which most probably took place after the conquest of Alexander the Great (oral communication, December, 2017). Some other studies, on the other hand, suggest that the *polis* system was introduced to Lycia by the Hecatomnids (Domingo Gygax, 2001; Schuler, 2016).

[29] Arrian (Arr. *Anab*. I.24.3) mentions that Alexander's primary motive for annexing Lycia and Pamphylia was to render useless the Persian navy.

as the satrap (Arr. *Anab*. III.6.6), continuing the Persian tradition of administration (Akşit, 1967, pp. 126-127).

After Alexander's untimely death, Lycia fell to the share of Antigonus I Monophthalmus (Diod. Sic 18.3.1); however, the control of Lycia changed hands several times in a short period of time between Antigonids and Ptolemies. In 309 BC, Ptolemy I Soter took Phaselis and then crossing into Lycia, captured Xanthos which had an Antigonid garrison (Diod. Sic 20.27.1-2).[30] However, only five years later in 304 BC, Demetrius Poliorcetes, the son of Antigonus I, re-established Antigonid dominion in Lycia after taking back Patara. Following a tumultuous period (Akşit, 1971, pp. 39-46), the Ptolemies annexed Lycia again in the first quarter of the 3rd century BC and from then on Lycia enjoyed stability for a century, established most probably by Ptolemy II Philadelphus, the son of Soter (Meadows, 2006; Magie, 1950, p. 523; Akşit, 1971, pp. 47-50). It is in this period that the Lycian language began to be abandoned in favor of Greek, which is widely accepted as an indication of the Hellenization process in Lycia (Jones, 1998, pp. 100-101).[31]

The weakening reign of the Ptolemies in Lycia was ultimately put to an end by the Seleucid ruler Antiochos III in 197 BC, who dominated Lycia for only a couple of years before his defeat at the Battle of Magnesia against the Romans in 190 BC (Magie, 1950, pp. 19, 524; Akşit, 1971, pp. 51-56; Grainger, 2002). As the Romans did not have an expansionist policy at the time (Gruen, 2004, p. 251), they did not claim the territory surrendered by Antiochus III, but instead split it among their allies. As a punishment for their participation in the war on the Seleucid side, Lycian cities, except for Telmessos which was given to Eumenes II

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[30] Apparently Diodorus does not include Phaselis in Lycia. Ptolemy's capture of Xanthos right after Phaselis without interfering with central Lycia may imply either that Xanthos was still the capital of a Lycian state that survived since the dynastic period, or Xanthos was the most important city of the region. Akşit, on the other hand, claims that Phaselis was not included in Lycia due to its Greek origin (1971, p. 34).

[31] For a detailed discussion about the nature of Hellenization in Lycia, see Chapter 3.3.

of Pergamum, were placed under the control of Rhodians according to the Treaty of Apamea signed in 188 BC.[32]

Two decades of oppressive Rhodian rule led to several revolts in Lycia (Akşit, 1971, pp. 57-64), and a series of Lycian envoys to Rome complaining about the cruelty they suffered at the hands of Rhodians (Livy 41.6.8-12). Finally in 167 BC, Romans set Lycia free from Rhodian dominion (Magie, 1950, p. 524).[33] In order to show their gratitude for the restoration of their democracy, Lycians dedicated a statue of the Goddess Roma to Jupiter Capitolinus and the Roman People in the name of the Lycian "commune" (*CIL*_1[2].725), which, according to Magie (1950, p. 524), is a reference to the Lycian League. Around the same time, Lycians also began the official worship of the cult of Dea Roma, and founded the penteteric federal festival of *Rhomaia* as a demonstration of their royalty to Rome (Schuler, 2016, pp. 48-49). The cult of Roma was celebrated locally in some of the Lycian cities since the 3rd century BC, but it was made official after Lycia's struggle with Rhodians in order to get Rome's help and approval (İplikçioğlu, 2016, p. 60).

There is controversy about when the Lycian League (*koinon*) was established. As Troxell points out (1982, pp. 9-10), the origins of such a collaboration among the cities may go back to the dynastic period, if one takes into consideration the appearance of Lycian cities as Λύκιοι καὶ συντελεῖς in *ATL* and the common use of *triskeles* on the reverse of many coins minted by several dynasts (Mørkholm & Neumann, 1978; Treuber, 1887, p. 149; Behrwald, 2000, p. 165; Childs, 1981, p. 60).[34] Another proposition is that the League was constituted towards the end of the 3rd century BC at a time when the Ptolemaic power in Lycia was weakening (Treuber, 1887). According to a different view, the Rhodian oppression led the Lycian cities to act together and found the League, through

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[32] Livy (Livy 37.40) and Appian (App. *Syr.* 6.32) list Lycians on the Seleucid side. For the conditions of the Treaty of Apamea, see Livy (Livy 37.56) and Polybius (Polyb. 21.24).

[33] Lycian pleas were not the only reason for the grant of their freedom. Rome cut ties with Rhodians due to their affiliation with Macedonians (Livy 41.6; Polyb. 30.5; Behrwald, 2000, p.88, Dönmez-Öztürk, 2009, 278).

[34] For a detailed discussion on the use of the *triskeles* motif on Lycian coins, see Bulut (2004).

which they sent embassies both to Rhodes and Rome for their complaints (Magie, 1950, p. 524; Jameson, 1980, p. 835; Schuler, 2016, pp. 48-49; İplikçioğlu, 2016, p. 60). Finally, it can also be suggested that since the transformation of Letoon into a Hellenistic sanctuary is associated with the foundation of the Lycian League (Le Roy, 1991b, p. 346), the League may have been established during the Ptolemaic reign, as the temple of Leto, one of the earliest Hellenistic buildings within the sanctuary, is dated to the reign of Ptolemy II or III.[35]

The earliest known mention of the League as *to koinon ton Lykion* is from an inscription of a monument erected in Alexandria in 182 or 180 BC, in honor of an official of the King Ptolemy V (Schuler, 2016, p. 48). Apparently, the importance and the authority of the League increased after the liberation from Rhodes, as the federal coinage, issued in silver or bronze with the word "Lycian" and the initials of individual cities, mostly dates after this date (Troxell, 1982).

A detailed description on how the League operated comes from Strabo (Strab. 14.3.3). According to his accounts, which were quoted from Artemidorus who lived in 100 BC, the Lycian League had an assembly that was composed of delegates from twenty three member cities and annually gathered in a jointly selected city. Each year, the council renewed the officials of the League, starting from the "Lyciarch", the head of the federation, and continuing with the other public officials and magistrates including a secretary, commanders for the navy and army, and a treasurer (Magie, 1950, p. 527; Akşit, 1971, pp. 80-81). The latter was entrusted with the treasury which was spent for the expenses including the maintenance of a navy, army and liturgies (Magie, 1950, p. 525). The League also had its own law courts where the judges who were selected from the member cities settled the disputes among the citizens (Jameson, 1980, p. 852).

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[35] According to des Courtils (oral communication, December, 2017), it is possible that the League was initiated or encouraged by Ptolemy II, similar to the case of the Chrysaoric League of Caria as suggested by Debord (1999), and the Hellenistic temple of Leto may have been built to commemorate the constitution of the League. For the redating of the Hellenistic temple of Leto, see Cavalier and des Courtils (2013). For the Hellenistic architecture in Letoon, see Chapter 3.3, p. 40.

After selecting the officials, the city representatives decided on federal affairs such as wars, treaties, and alliances (Magie, 1950, p. 525). During the decision-making process, a voting system was used in which the member cities had one, two, or three votes determined according to the city's size and importance (Strab. 14.3.3). The number of votes reflected the number of representatives sent by the cities as well as the proportion of the payment each city made to the treasury (Jameson, 1980, p. 837). The smaller settlements which did not qualify for the membership generally formed *sympoliteia* with each other or with major cities in order to obtain the right to vote (Korkut, 2007; Dinç, 2010).[36] Strabo names the six largest cities with three votes as Xanthos, Patara, Pinara, Olympos, Myra, and Tlos (Strab. 14.3.3), though some of these cities later lost their privileged status.[37]

The loyalty of the Lycian League to Rome was proven when Mithridates VI of Pontus invaded western Asia. During this campaign, he attacked Patara and even partially destroyed the sacred grove next to the sanctuary of Leto in 88 BC (App. *Mith*. 27). Lycia's opposition to Mithridates was acknowledged by Sulla, who granted Lycians freedom and recognized them as friends (App. *Mith*. 61). Moreover, as a part of Sulla's reorganization of the province of Asia, his general Murena ended the Tetrapolis headed by Kibyra, and attached three of the cities, Bubon, Balboura and Oenoanda, to Lycia. Even though it was a measure taken against the "tyrant" of Kibyra named Moagetes (Magie, 1950, p. 241), Lycia nevertheless benefitted from the action by having its territory enlarged.

Besides the struggle with Mithridates, the growing power of Cilician pirates also posed a significant threat in the beginning of the first century BC that

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[36] The Lycian *sympoliteia* in the Hellenistic and Roman periods are extensively studied by Dinç (2010) and listed as follows; Akalissos-Idebessos-Korma, Aperlai-Simena-Apollonia-Isinda, Arneai-Koroa-Çağman?-Kiltepe?, Korydalla-Madamyssos, Korydalla-Pygela, Myra-Trebendai, Myra-Tyberissos/Teimiussa, Phaselis-Mnara, Phaselis-Tenedos, Termessos-Typallia, Trebenna-Onobara; and probably Arykanda-Tragallassos, Oktapolis.

[37] For a discussion on the number and identity of other member cities, see Jameson (1980, pp. 837-842).

resulted in the loss of member cities from the Lycian League.[38] The pirate chief Zenicetes who seized power and settled in Musa Dağı settlement, early Olympos,[39] and also took Phaselis in around 100 BC,[40] was captured by the Roman general Publius Servilius Isauricus in 77-75 BC (Magie, 1950, p. 527; Akşit, 1971, pp. 91-92).[41] Even though both Olympos and Phaselis were recovered from the pirates, neither city issued League coins anymore, implying that they did not become members again, possibly as a punishment for their cooperation with the pirates (Akşit, 1971, p. 92).

Lycia was affected by the Roman civil wars. Lycians supported Gaius Julius Caesar by giving him five ships for his campaign to Alexandria (Magie, 1950, p. 527). After that, the relations with the Romans were formalized with a treaty struck between the Lycian League and Caesar in 46 BC (*SEG* 55 1452), which defined military alliances, legal jurisdictions and Lycia's territorial boundaries (Mitchell, 2005; 2006).[42] According to İplikçioğlu (2016, p. 62), despite sealing the good relations between Lycia and Rome, this treaty restricted the freedom of Lycian to a great degree, and Lycia officially became a part of the Roman Empire. However, following the death of Caesar, Lycians refused to carry out the orders of his killers Brutus and Cassius which resulted in angering them (Magie, 1950, p. 527). Consequently, Brutus attacked Lycia, starting from Xanthos. According to the ancient authorities, history repeated itself and despite

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[38] Arslan (2003) gives three main reasons for the growth of piracy along the Mediterranean coasts. Accordingly, initially Seleucids and later Rhodians lost their power on the sea because of their conflicts with the Romans. Second, Ptolemies, Cypriots and Rhodians opted not to hinder this development as they considered it as a threat to their enemies. And finally, Romans were busy with internal struggles and did not feel responsible for the security of the region until it reached a point when Romans were unable to trade or sail.

[39] For the relationship between Musa Dağı settlement and Olympos, see Chapter 4.6.2, p. 149.

[40] Pirate dominion in the region is dated between ca. 100-77 BC, a period when Olympos and Phaselis minted Pseudo-League coins, probably on behalf of the pirates, which did not carry the League ethnicon (Troxell, 1982, pp. 84-95; Özer, 2013, p. 217).

[41] The piracy in the Mediterranean was ultimately suppressed by Pompey in 67 BC.

[42] Probably the longest Roman treaty that has survived in an inscription, this treaty is inscribed in Greek on a bronze tablet found in Tyberissos and translated by Stephen Mitchell (2005; 2006). The tablet is currently in The Schøyen Collection, a private manuscript collection mostly located in London and Oslo.

the vigorous defending, Xanthos fell and Xanthians destroyed their city and killed themselves; only a 150 men and a few free women were captured alive (App. *B Civ.* 4.65, 4.76 ff., Plut. *Vit. Brut.* 30 ff., Cass. Dio 47.34). Intimidated by the obvious fate, Patara and Myra surrendered without much resistance. The fallen cities were made to give all the silver and gold they had, the Lycian League agreed to pay 150 talents for the peace, and coastal cities were ordered to provide all their ships to Brutus for his encounter with Marcus Antonius. However, the ships were never used and the money was not paid due to the defeat of Brutus (Magie, 1950, p. 529), and Marcus Antonius exempted Lycians from tribute and urged them to rebuild Xanthos (App. *B Civ.* 5.7).

The period between the battle of Actium and the establishment of the province of Lycia fostered good relations between Lycia and Rome as can be seen from the celebration of the emperor and the imperial family in various forms. The League issued coins with the portrait of Augustus in 27 BC (İplikçioğlu, 2016, p. 62). A temple of "Caesar", possibly Augustus, was built in Oenoanda in the same year (*IGR* III 482), indicating the establishment of the worship of the imperial cult in Lycia early on.[43] The emperor and the imperial family were honored with titles and statues in some cities. For instance, a group of bronze statues of the emperors Augustus and Tiberius, and the imperial family including Germanicus, Agrippina, Agrippa, Drusus, Julia Augusta and Gaius Caesar were erected on a monument in Andriake during the reign of Tiberius (Çevik, 2015a, pp. 387-388);[44] whereas the statues of Augustus, Livia, Agrippa, Gaius Caesar and Lucius Caesar were placed in Letoon (Davesne, 2000, pp. 624-626).[45] Moreover, in addition to the cult of the emperors, the cults of some of the family members such as Livia, Gaius and

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[43] For more on this temple and the worship of the imperial cult in Lycia, see Chapter 4.1, pp. 62 ff.

[44] For the Monument II in Andriake, see Chapter 4.6.2, pp. 151-152.

[45] For the installation of the statues of the emperor and the imperial family in Letoon, see Chapter 4.1, p. 65.

Germanicus were instituted; and a Cenotaph was built for Gaius Caesar in Limyra after he died in the city during his military campaign in Asia Minor.[46]

After nearly seventy-five years of a relatively peaceful period, the Roman senate declared Lycia as a Roman province in AD 43 by the orders of the Emperor Claudius. Suetonius (Suet. *Claud.* 25) and Cassius Dio (Cass. Dio. 60.17) justifies the annexation as a punishment for the civil strife among the Lycian cities which also caused the death of free Roman citizens. In parallel to this, Şahin claims that the road construction initiated in the Xanthos valley right after the declaration of the province was an attempt to respond urgently to the strikes (2011, pp. 107-108).[47] On the other hand, Bennett (2013) suggests that the annexation was primarily motivated by financial concerns of the Emperor.[48] In anyway, the dedicatory inscription on the Stadiasmus Monument narrates that Claudius saved Lycians from "mutiny, lawlessness and brigandage", and restored the order by taking the administration from "undiscriminating multitude" and giving it to the "councilors chosen amongst the noblest man".[49] As a result, the autonomy that Lycia enjoyed following the liberation from the Rhodian rule came to an end with the annexation.

Due to being the smallest province in Asia Minor, Lycia was combined with Pamphylia in a single administrative unit. The date of this integration was controversial until recently (Brand & Kolb, 2005, pp. 20-24). On the one hand, it has been claimed that Claudius formed the joint province from the very beginning which was dissolved by Nero or Galba, only to be reattached approximately ten years later by Vespasian (Treuber, 1887, p. 208; Jones, 1998, p. 68; Syme, 1937).

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[46] For the cult of the imperial family members, see Chapter 4.1, p. 66. For the Cenotaph of Gaius Caesar, see Chapter 4.6.4, p. 168.

[47] For the Roman works on the roads in Lycia, see Chapter 4.6.1, pp. 145-147.

[48] Bennett (2013) claims that Claudius' excessive generosity to the soldiers and Roman people, and the loss of taxes due to the return of Commagene, Judaea-Samaria, and Chalcis to client status required a solution to restore the finances of the empire without manipulating the quality of coinage and introducing new or increased taxes. With the establishment of the province of Lycia, regular tax payments and a degree of economical relief were secured.

[49] The English translations are from Onur (2016, p. 570). For more on this monument, see Chapter 4.6.1, pp. 145-146.

On the other hand, it is assumed that Claudius formed Lycia as a single province and that later Vespasian created the joint province of Lycia et Pamphylia (Magie, 1950, p. 526). With recent discoveries, the second claim has been proved to be the case (İplikçioğlu, 2016, p. 65).

Following the incorporation of Lycia into the Roman administrative system, the Lycian League survived but experienced loss of power and independence. Strabo notes that the congress of the League was no longer allowed to decide about war and peace, and alliances without Roman consent; as such affairs were henceforward controlled by the Romans (Strab. 14.3.3.). Nevertheless, the League retained a degree of autonomy and remained crucial for internal affairs. According to Livy's account, (Livy 37.15.6) who mentions Patara as *caput gentis,* the city is considered to have served as the capital of both the league and the province (Korkut & Grosche, 2007, pp. 79-81; İşkan, 2016, pp. 150-151)

The organizational structure underwent certain changes. According to the 2nd century AD inscriptions, the League now had two legal entities, the Council and Assembly (Magie, 1950, p. 531). While the head of the League was still the Lyciarch, the annually selected Priest of the Imperial Cult became the other most important office following the introduction of the emperor cult in Lycia. The treasury of the League may have turned into a system of funds, to which wealthy citizens such as Opramoas of Rhodiapolis and Iason of Kyaneai generously contributed. It is also known that the number of member cities increased in this period, with probably more than thirty-six cities known to Pliny the Elder (Plin. *HN* V. 101, Magie, 1950, p. 535).

From the first century on, the province was governed by a proconsul appointed by the emperor, until the Emperor Commodus turned Lycia and Pamphylia into a senatorial province (İplikçioğlu, 2016, p. 66). During the division of the empire into dioceses by the Emperor Diocletian in the end of the 3rd century AD, Lycia was incorporated into the Diocese of Asiana (Akşit, 1971, p. 126). In the reign of Constantine, Lycia became a separate province again, but when the empire was reorganized according to the new military theme system in

the 8th century A.D., the province was added to the Theme of the Cibyrrhaeots (Zimmermann K. , 2016, pp. 70-71).

Despite the administrative organizations, the loss of autonomy, the plague of the 540s and the earthquake of 529, Lycia enjoyed a period of prosperity between the 4th and 7th centuries A.D (Foss C. , 1995, pp. 16-17). Myra became the capital, the seat of the metropolitan bishopric of the province, of which Hierocles lists thirty-four cities in his ecclesiastical lists (Ramsey, 1890, pp. 424-426). Harrison (2001) points out to a shift in the settlement patterns in the 5th century AD, according to which the coastal cities declined though were not abandoned, but the inland valleys prospered with smaller settlements and richly decorated churches and monastic complexes.

The constant Arab attacks between the 7th and 12th centuries AD resulted in further settlement changes, when the heavily damaged cities conspicuously declined, shrank, and retreated to the fortified acropoleis (Foss C. , 1995, pp. 20-25; Küçükaşçı, 2005). The restored Byzantine power and prosperity in Lycia in the beginning of the 11th century AD was finally ended by the conquest of the Turks in the 12th century AD (Foss C. , 1994, p. 3), after which the ancient cities were completely abandoned or buried under later villages.

CHAPTER 3

AN OVERVIEW OF THE SETTLEMENT HISTORY IN LYCIA
BEFORE THE ROMAN IMPERIAL PERIOD

This chapter focuses on the archaeological remains in Lycia before the Roman Imperial Period in order to trace older architectural and urban practices in Lycian cities and build a ground for comparative analysis of continuities and changes under the influence of Roman architecture. The discussion is pursued in three chronologically divided parts. The first part of the chapter overviews the early human activity between prehistoric times and the Iron Age in an attempt to shed light to the cultural setting from which the early Lycian culture emerged. The second part focuses on the distinctive physical characteristics of the early Lycian dynastic settlements which ruled most of Lycia between the Late Archaic and the Classical Periods. Finally, the last section questions the Hellenization process of the Lycian cities by examining the architectural remains of the period.

3.1 Early Life in Lycia

While the epigraphic records concerning the region date back as early as the Bronze Age, the archaeological data reveal a much longer history for the human existence in Lycia. It is not very possible to follow a continuous occupation from prehistoric to Roman times in a single site, but different sites set important examples for particular time periods (Fig. 3.1.1).

The studies so far have revealed that the earliest human activity in Lycia took place especially in caves. For instance, Girmeler Cave, located nearly five km north-east of Tlos, has presented findings dating to the Epi-Paleolithic period,

suggesting hunter-gatherer occupation (Becks & Polat Becks, 2013). The mound in front of the cave entrance, on the other hand, dates the settled life as early as the 9th millennium BC (Korkut, 2012, pp. 463-464). Studies on the mound have also revealed terrazzo floors of the 8th millennium BC of putative ritual structures which resemble the temples in Nevali Çori and Çayönü, thus showing parallelism with the settlement development in other parts of Anatolia (Korkut, 2015b, pp. 641-643). Additionally, the caves in Tavabaşı, close to Tlos and Arsada, have presented findings from Late Neolithic to Chalcolithic period as well as a 5th millennium BC rock painting at the entrance of the Tavabaşı II cave (Korkut, 2014, pp. 109-110). Moreover numerous caves discovered in the intersection of Lycia, Pamphylia and Pisidia regions, such as Karain, Öküzini, Belbaşı and Beldibi, have revealed human activity dating between Lower Palaeolithic to the Epipalaeolithic (ca. 350.000-9.000 BC), attesting to the fact that, eastern Lycia and its neighboring areas were one of the most ideal places in Anatolia for early hunter-gatherers (Becks, 2016).[50]

Surveys conducted in the Elmalı Basin by Foss between 1997 and 2005 revealed materials dating from Neolithic (ca. 8000-5000 BC) to Early Turkish Period (12th-15th centuries AD) in several sites. In this study, Foss (2006) claims that there is a spread of settlements in the area between the Neolithic Period and the Early Bronze Age; however, the basin was abandoned during the Middle Bronze Age due to a possible rise in lake levels until the Early Iron Age when the lakes were suddenly drained. An important example of Early Bronze Age settlement life in the Elmalı plain was discovered in Karataş-Semayük (Mellink, 1974). The area which is occupied by a mound today was initially dominated by a fortified complex situated in an oval courtyard until it was burnt down (Warner, 1994). The mound was later covered with storage pits and kilns and was surrounded by free standing megaron-type houses and cemeteries with pithos burials (Warner, 1994) (Fig. 3.1.2). Another Early Bronze Age settlement is found in Choma (Hacımusalar) which is known to have been almost continuously

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[50] For an overview of caves around this area and related bibliography, see Taşkıran (2006).

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occupied beginning from the Neolithic Period (Özgen, 2005; Foss P. W., 2006, p. 6; Özgen & Baughan, 2016). In central Lycia, too, some sites have produced Bronze Age findings including ceramic sherds, stone axes and loomweights such as Avşar and Gölbaşı Tepeleri in Kyenaei *territorium* and Seyret in Kaş (Becks, 2012, pp. 25-26; Foss C. , 1994, p. 5).

Kabalia/Kibyratis was also occupied since the prehistoric times. The studies on Çaltılar and Eceler mounds have revealed traces of occupation dating back to the Late Chalcolithic Period which hint at communications with Anatolia (Momigliano, et al., 2011; Momigliano, 2013). There are also several other prehistoric mounds and settlements discovered within the *territoria* of Kibyra, Balboura and Oenoanda (Özsait, 1991; Coulton, 1993, p. 80; Özüdoğru, 2014, p. 173).

As for the sites that later became important city centers, the acropoleis of Tlos and Arykanda, and a cave in Gagae have revealed Bronze Age stone axes and pottery, though not necessarily in prehistoric contexts but in debris (Korkut, 2012, p. 459; Bayburtluoğlu, 1995, p. 218; Çevik & Bulut, 2008a). The Tepecik acropolis at Patara, on the other hand, revealed limited but comparatively more consistent ceramic evidence and some other small finds (Dündar, 2015, pp. 200-201). Similarly, the discovery of obsidian and stone tools and potsherds discovered during the excavations conducted in the stadium area in Tlos herald the existence of a prehistoric settlement in this location (Korkut, 2014, pp. 103-105).

Furthermore, the Bronze Age shipwrecks discovered along the Lycian coast attest to the importance of Lycia as a stop along the maritime trading routes from very early on.[51] The cargo of the ships discovered off Uluburun and Cape Gelidonya allow scholars to estimate possible long distance sea trade routes. The Uluburun shipwreck which sank through the end of the 14th century BC near Antiphellos with a load of raw and manufactured goods and precious objects most probably embarked from the Levant, past Cyprus and headed to the Aegean,

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[51] For the development of coastal settlements in Lycia later periods, see Chapter 4.6.2.

possibly to the Mycenaean Greek mainland (Bass, 1986; Pulak, 2010). The ship that sank off Cape Gelidonya in around 1200 BC also carried raw metals and sailed from the Near East to the West (Bass, 1967; Bass, 2010). However, it is not clear how coastal settlements or harbors were utilized in early periods. Additionally, it is currently difficult to determine the degree of participation of the Lycian cities in such trading activities due to the scarcity of archaeological material in the region which are similar to those carried by the ships (Dündar, 2016, p. 506).

Although human activity in Lycia during the Iron Age is rather obscure, some studies nevertheless reveal important materials belonging to the era. For instance, ceramics belonging to the period between 10th and 7th century BC, representing examples of Protogeometric, Geometric and Archaic pottery, were unearthed both in the palace at Limyra and in the Tepecik *necropolis* in Patara (Borchhardt, 1999, pp. 38-39; Kahya, 2001-2002). Geometric pottery was also discovered in the stadium area in Tlos, the Lycian Acropolis of Xanthos, and Avşar Tepesi (Korkut, 2015b, p. 637; Metzger, 1972, p. 25; Kolb, 1998a, p. 349).[52] The Elmalı Plateau also began to be re-settled in the 8th century BC in various places, one of which was the fortified Iron Age settlement in Choma (Foss, 2006, p. 6; Özgen & Baughan, 2016, p.323-325).

An important discovery concerning the late Iron Age of Lycia has been made in Xanthos. Studies in the southeastern sector, east of the Nereid Monument, have revealed orthostats with bas-reliefs depicting lion, bull and human feet, all dated to the 7th century BC and attributed to Neo-Hittite and Phrygian styles (des Courtils, 2006; des Courtils, 2012, pp. 154-155) (Fig. 3.1.3). The revelation of Hittite influence in the architecture and funerary sculpture of pre-Hellenistic Lycian cities further proves contact with the Eastern Anatolian

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[52] For an overview of Iron Age ceramics discovered in Lycian settlements, see Dündar (2016, p. 509). Des Courtils draws attention to the fact that Geometric pottery discovered in Lycian cities may not be a reliable source of evidence for illuminating the Iron Age in the region since most of the Geometric pottery discovered in Xanthos and Limyra does not date before the 7th century BC (oral communication, December, 2017).

cultures.[53] In fact, through an examination of some other reliefs on Lycian tombs, İşkan (2004) suggests that the iconographic representation of Lycian art is rooted in the Hittite and Neo Hittite art.

The ancient and early modern sources suggest that Rhodiapolis, Korydalla, Gagae, Melanippe and Phaselis were founded by Dorians and Rhodians during the Greek colonization movements.[54] However, the older names of the cities mentioned in Bronze Age texts and the prehistoric pot found in Gagae suggest that these cities were founded much earlier than the colonization period. In addition, modern scholarship has not discovered any signs of Greek foundation nor even a Greek settlement in these cities so far.

To recapitulate, the dating of the prehistoric materials in Lycia confirms relatively greater human activity on land as well as the sea during the Bronze Age when compared to the other pre-Classical periods. However, despite the discovery of prehistoric materials in several sites, it is still not possible to relate these remains with the Lukka people or the Lycians mentioned in the contemporary inscriptions. The increasing discovery of Iron Age materials in recent studies, on the other hand, has begun to shed light on the period previously considered as Dark Ages.

3.2 The Characteristics of the Early "Lycian City" in the Late Archaic and Classical Period

The association of material remains with the Lycians becomes possible beginning approximately from the 7th century BC; they maintained their idiosyncratic cultural traits until the 4th century BC. This period roughly coincides

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[53] For Neo-Hittite influence in Lycia, see Chapters 3.2; 4.6.3 and 4.6.4.

[54] Theopompus mentions that Rhodiapolis took its name from Mopsos the Oracle's daughter Rhode (Theopomp. *FHG* 115F 103, 15). Stephanus Byzantius (Steph. Byz. 376.15), who quotes Hecataeus, informs that Korydalla is a Rhodian colony. Spratt & Forbes accounts the Rhodian origin of the name of the city Gagae (1847, pp. 186-187). Herodotus (Hdt. 2.178.2) acknowledges Phaselis as a Dorian city and Athenaeus (Ath. VII.51) narrates the foundation legend of the city.

with the beginning of the Persian hegemony in the 6th century BC and the dynastic ruling system in the region.

The best preserved example of a Lycian city was discovered in Avşar Tepesi, the ancient name of which is not known but speculated to be Zagaba (Kolb & Tietz, 2001). As mentioned in the previous chapter, the studies in the site have revealed Bronze Age and Geometric material indicating human presence since the prehistoric times. Yet, the settlement enjoyed prosperity between the 6th and 4th centuries BC (Kolb, 1997, p. 480). The lack of finds dating to later periods suggests that the city was abandoned toward the end of the Classical Period never to be settled again (Kolb, 1995, p. 86), providing modern scholars with the opportunity to investigate the Archaic and Classical Periods of an early Lycian city (Thomsen, 2002).

According to the physical remains, the settlement is located on the hillside of a fortified acropolis, surrounded by poorly preserved city walls but partly grown beyond the walls (Kolb, 1997, p. 481) (Fig. 3.2.1). The 5th century BC fortifications circling both the Acropolis and the settlement were built with polygonal masonry (Thomsen, 1996, pp. 31-35), a signature construction technique of the era (Marksteiner, 1993b; Wright, 2009, pp. 153-156). Similar to Avşar Tepesi, several dynastic cities discovered in the western and central Lycia were surrounded with fortifications built in same masonry technique.[55]

The Acropolis supports a bastion, storage units, cisterns and possibly a temple but lacks residential units (Kolb, 1998b, p. 41). The settlements both in and outside the city walls, on the other hand, were densely occupied with clustered houses organized with non-orthogonal streets. An investigation in the residential area has revealed houses with various plan types which were usually multi-story (Thomsen, 2002). Placed partially by leveling the bedrock, the lower stories were constructed with rubble stone while the upper stories were built of timber or timber frame filled with mud brick (Thomsen, 2002; İşkan & Işık, 2005). Both the planning layout and the construction techniques used in these

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[55] For the Archaic and Classical fortifications in Lycian cities, see Chapter 4.6.1.

houses indicate Neo-Hittite influence (İşkan & Işık, 1996, pp. 413-414). Dwellings with similar characteristics have also been observed in other dynastic settlements.[56] Apart from the regular dwellings, a larger residence possibly belonging to the ruler has also been discovered within the Avşar Tepesi settlement, located close to the open public space (Thomsen, 2002, p. 245) (Fig. 4.2.1, no. 101-102). Identified as a dynastic palace based on the political setting of the era, the remains of such buildings have survived to our day in other contemporary settlements such as Xanthos, Patara, Tlos and Limyra.[57] Both the common houses and palaces discovered in various settlements point out to a well-established traditional domestic architecture in Lycia during the Classical Period.

Within the intramural settlement area of Avşar Tepesi, an open space with a rock-cut tomb, two pillar tombs, a storage building, a podium and a retaining wall right across the podium draw attention (Fig. 4.2.1). Despite the lack of any inscription naming this open space, Kolb deems it suitable to identify the area as an "agora", based on the use of the word in the Greek epigram on the bilingual Inscribed Pillar of Xanthos of the 5th century BC, and the Greek text of the bilingual epitaph inscribed on a 4th century BC sarcophagus found in Kyaneai (1998b, p. 42).[58] The podium within the agora is considered to have belonged to a temple that once had a timber frame and mud brick upper structure similar to the residential architecture (Kolb, 1998b, p. 41). The retaining wall, on the other hand, may have supported timber seating rows that once hosted the spectators of the rituals that took place within the agora (Kolb, 1998b, p. 41).

While such an agora with a religious context or even an agora itself did not survive in any other Lycian city, temple structures are still found in some of them. For instance, there are foundations of two religious structures on the Lycian Acropolis of Xanthos. The structure with three rooms, which was in use between the 6th and 5th centuries BC, has been identified as a temple with three *cellae*

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[56] For domestic architecture in early Lycian cities, see Chapter 4.6.3, pp. 155-158.

[57] For more on dynastic palaces in early Lycian cities, see Chapter 4.6.3, pp. 157-158.

[58] For more on these inscriptions and the concept of agora in Lycian cities during the Classical Period, see Chapter 4.2, pp. 70 ff.

dedicated to Leto, Apollo and Artemis (Metzger, 1963, pp. 28-38). According to Işık, its close proximity to the dynastic palace resembles the configuration of Neo-Hittite temple-palaces (Işık, 2016a, p. 173). Another building identified as a temple is located at the highest point of the acropolis, dated to the 5th century BC and was probably dedicated to Artemis (Metzger, 1963, pp. 40-42). Judging from the scarcity of epigraphic material on the religious activities of Xanthos, des Courtils and Cavalier (2001a, p. 149) suggest that the rituals may have moved to Letoon, approximately 5 km from Xanthos, in the early 4th century BC.

Letoon, the Sanctuary of Leto, was a federal sanctuary of the Lycians under the jurisdiction of Xanthos and contained three temples dedicated to Leto and her twin children Artemis and Apollo, a sacred spring dedicated to Elyenas/Nymphs and other auxiliary units (Figs. 3.3.7, 3.3.8 and 3.3.9). According to the recovered pottery sherds, the area was occupied beginning from at least the 8th century BC, even though the initial function of the area is unknown (Le Roy, 1991b, pp. 341-342). The sanctuary was active in the 6th century BC as the small finds like votive elements found around the sacred spring and building remains under the North Portico suggest (Le Roy, 1991b, pp. 342-346). In around 400 BC, the site underwent a dramatic change by the Xanthian dynast Arbinas who arranged the erection of three temples dedicated to the Apolline Triad side by side and parallel to each other on a terrace created by cutting the western hill (des Courtils, 2009a). As will be discussed in the following chapter, these early structures were built over by Hellenistic-style temples during a reformation process of the sanctuary that began in the 3rd century BC,[59] yet their foundations can still be distinguished. It is possible that these early temples were kept inside the new buildings as relics (Cavalier & des Courtils, 2013, p. 145).[60] The remaining post holes and grooves hewn into the bedrock foundations of these early temples suggest that the upper structures were of timber (des Courtils, 2003, p. 143) (Fig. 3.2.2).

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[59] For the transformation of Letoon in the Hellenistic Period, see Chapter 3.3, pp. 48-49.

[60] Studies have revealed that the Hellenistic temple of Leto did not have a paved floor suggesting that the early temple was kept within the *cella* (Cavalier & des Courtils, 2013, p. 145).

In addition to the temples, open air sanctuaries and rock-cut altars found in Tlos and Patara, and Persian fire altars found in Limyra and Apollonia give hints about the religious activities in Lycia during the Classical times (Yılmaz & Çevik, 1996, p. 186; Işık, 2000, pp. 43-44; Bayburtluoğlu, 2004, pp. 113, 222).

Hence, the surviving architecture of the Archaic and Classical Lycian cities is scarce and mainly restricted to the remains of city walls, dwellings and temples. The tombs, on the contrary, are the most conspicuous legacy of Lycians, which give important details about the Lycian language, art and architecture.[61] During the Archaic and early Classical Periods, tumuli, chamber tombs, and podium and terrace tombs were favored by the upper class, who lived especially in the Yavu region (Hülden, 2011; 2016). Following the arrival of the Persians, new tomb types emerged including pillar tombs, rock-cut tombs, sarcophagi and monumental *heroa*, all carved out of rock. These tombs are not only a testimony of how excelled the Lycians were at rock carving, but also an important source of the Lycian language which was used in epitaphs, and the Lycian art that was depicted in the sculptural decorations on the tombs.

The inscriptions that survived in funerary context constitute a large part of the Lycian corpus. Even though the deciphering of the Lycian language still awaits, as far as it is understood, the funerary inscriptions were rather formulaic texts that gave the name of the tomb owner and the instructions about the protection of the tomb (Tekoğlu, 2016, p. 115). The texts also mention that a sort of committee called *miñti* was in charge for the protection of the tomb and the execution of the disciplinary actions in case of violations (Bryce, 1986, p. 121). Some of these tombs were decorated with reliefs, ranging from small details to complex sculptural decorations in varying dimensions. Examination of the artistic styles and the narrations depicted in sculptures present an array of Anatolian, Ionian, Greek and Persian influence that resulted in a unique artistic style.[62] Moreover, the tombs decorated with the rock-cut imitation of timber construction

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[61] The Lycian tombs have been discussed in detail in Chapter 4.6.4.

[62] For a brief analysis of architectural and artistic styles of the sculptures of selected Lycian tombs, see Chapter 4.6.4.

have been an important source of information for understanding the utilization of timber in early Lycian architecture. In addition to architectural and artistic authenticity, Lycian funerary customs differed from the sepulchral practices of many contemporary cultures with intramural installation of tombs belonging to the ruler or upper class.[63] The distinctive tombs of early Lycians are concentrated especially in the western and central Lycian cities and ultimately disappear towards the eastern and northern regions.[64]

In short, Lycian cities were hilltop settlements with fortified acropoleis, having at least one open space and clusters of houses which were organized with streets without an orthogonal planning. Studies have shown that the layout of the city and construction techniques of surviving buildings have similarities with Neo-Hittite practices, suggesting an Anatolian origin. Similar to the Greek cities, the dynastic cities had a space they called "agora". Even though the open space which has been designated as an agora in Avşar Tepesi resembles the Greek agora in terms of having a temple, *heroon* and possibly a *theatron*, it lacks stylistic characteristics and buildings of Greek architecture such as a stoa, *bouleuterion* or *prytaneion* (Kolb, 1998b, p. 42).[65] Thus, the Lycian cities differ from the Greek settlements with the practice of intramural burial, non-orthogonal planning and the lack of Classical building types. Similarly, even though the proliferation of the Lycian art and architecture coincides with the dynastic period under Persian dominion, Achaemenid influence is barely noticeable in the material culture of Lycia. The Persian traces are limited to the aforementioned fire altars and stylistic inspirations in surviving relief sculptures, as well as some rarely found Persian names in funerary inscriptions and Persian motifs on dynastic coinage (Zahle, 1991; Vismara, 2007).

But still, the eastern and western stylistic and contextual influence in sculptural programs, the orthogonality in Letoon created by the temple triad of

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[63] For intra-mural burial practices in Lycia, see Chapter 4.6.4, p. 166.

[64] For more on the geographical borders of the Lycian tombs, see Chapter 4.6.4, pp. 167-168.

[65] For the Greek agora of the Classical Period, see Chapter 4.2, pp. 70 ff.

Arbinas, and the use of the word "agora" in Greek inscriptions of the period suggest a degree of artistic, architectural and linguistic interactions with the surrounding cultures.

When looking at the distribution of the architectural remains of the period, it is possible to say that the Lycian culture was mainly concentrated within an arc drawn between Telmessos and Rhodiapolis. The northern and eastern Lycia, on the other hand, has so far did not reveal any trace of fortified dynastic settlements and the Lycian heritage in terms of tombs and inscriptions have been found in limited numbers. This supports the fact that the northern and eastern boundaries of the region are political constructions and the indigenous Lycians mainly occupied western and central Lycia.[66]

3.3 The Question of Hellenization in Lycia

In modern scholarship, there is a general acceptance that Lycia began to Hellenize after the arrival of Alexander the Great in the 4th century BC, and the process was accelerated under Ptolemaic rule in the 3rd century BC. Small finds such as coins, pottery, and metal objects belonging to the Hellenistic period and Greek inscriptions that replaced Lycian are found almost in every excavation and survey. However, it is not always easy to trace the Hellenization process in the architecture of the region. Even though the number of buildings dated to the Hellenistic Period is increasing with recent studies, the Hellenistic architecture is still notably scarce in Lycian cities. The Hellenistic building types are so far largely limited to the remains of city walls and initial construction phases of agoras, some public buildings and temples.

City walls are among the best preserved remains that have survived from the Hellenistic Period. The dynastic cities that accumulated in the western and central Lycia were fortified settlements.[67] The need for protection with walls

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[66] See Chapter 2.1 for a detailed discussion on the borders of Lycia.

[67] For the military architecture in Lycia, see Chapter 4.6.1.

continued during the Hellenistic Period. Apparently, the power struggles between the Hellenistic kings over Lycia necessitated the restoration of earlier fortifications and the reinforcement and extension of the defensive systems depending on the progressive development and prosperity of the cities. While, in some of the cities such as Xanthos, the new fortifications largely followed the course of the earlier fortifications (des Courtils, 1994, pp. 290-294), in others like Patara, the walls were expanded to include the spreading city (Gerrit Bruer & Kunze, 2010, pp. 21-38) (Figs. 4.6.1.1 and 4.5.18). Moreover, the establishment of an extra urban defense system with a series of towers within the *territorium* of Myra is a demonstration of the measures taken to protect both the city and its harbor at Andriake (Çevik & Pimouguet-Pedarros, 2011, pp. 308-317). In other parts of Lycia, on the other hand, newly founded cities such as Kibyra, Oenoanda, Bubon and Balboura on the north and Musa Dağı settlement, Trebenna and Kelbessos in the east were all surrounded with city walls, probably since their establishment.[68]

The concept of agora in Lycia goes back to the Classical times. However, the only agora safely dated to this period is found in Avşar Tepesi, and the existing agoras have not revealed any evidence for Classical use yet.[69] Hellenistic agoras, on the other hand, can be traced in many cities, even though they are considerably destroyed due to the later works. The remains of all the Hellenistic agoras have so far been discovered under their Roman successors, indicating the continuation of the original use of public space.[70]

The agoras which preserved their Hellenistic configuration and early buildings to a degree can be exemplified as the Esplanade at Oenoanda, the commercial agora of Arykanda, and the agoras of Musa Dağı settlement and Patara. Esplanade is the older of the two agoras at Oenoanda. Despite the

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[68] For the fortified cities on the northern and eastern Lycia, see Chapter 4.6.1, pp. 144-145.

[69] For a detailed discussion on Avşar Tepesi and the Classical Agora, respectively, see Chapters 3.1 and 4.2.

[70] Agoras in Lycian cities in general and the examples given below in particular are discussed in more detail in Chapter 4.2.

additions to the public space in the Roman times, the surviving double-story free-standing stoa and the Doric-style pseudoperipteral temple-like building are both dated to the Hellenistic Period (Bachmann, 2016, p. 354) (Figs. 4.2.51 and 4.2.52). The commercial agora of Arykanda consists of two terraces containing public buildings. While the agora plain and the shops are located on the lower level; *bouleuterion*, archive building and the temple of Helios occupies the upper terrace. The area underwent reconstructions during the Roman Period, but the initial construction phases of all the given buildings are dated to the Hellenistic times (Bayburtluoğlu, 1988, p. 111; Bayburtluoğlu, 2003). Its location on the highest urbanized part of Arykanda and the early construction dates of the surrounding buildings indicate that the area served both as the acropolis and the center of the city before the Roman Period (Bayburtluoğlu, 2003, p. 96). The settlement at Musa Dağı, which was the early location of Olympos, largely remained in its Hellenistic state after the majority of the population left for the coastal town.[71] The rectangular agora, surrounded by shops on the west and a stoa on the east, is one of the best examples of a well-preserved Hellenistic agora in Lycia (Olcay Uçkan, Uğurlu, Gökalp, & Bursalı, 2007, pp. 129-130). The agora of Patara has been almost entirely destroyed, but the theater and *bouleuterion*, both located bordering the plain where the agora used to be, were built before the 1st century BC (Piesker & Ganzert, 2011, p. 233; Korkut & Grosche, 2007, pp. 57-77), indicating an urban arrangement dating back to the Hellenistic times. Agoras in other cities, such as the Upper/Northern Agora at Xanthos, the Terrace I at Kibyra and the agora of Bubon also revealed varying amounts of evidence for Hellenistic use.[72]

Considering the buildings constructed around the agoras, it can be suggested that theaters, *bouleuteria* and stoas were already appropriated building types before the Roman Period. Among those, theaters are the most common type of buildings that can be safely dated to the Hellenistic Era. According to the most

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[71] For the relationship of Musa Dağı settlement and Olympos, see Chapter 4.6.2, p. 149.

[72] For these agoras, see Chapter 4.2.

recent study conducted by Özdilek (2011; 2016), 32 theaters have been discovered in 30 cities in varying degrees of preservation.[73] Despite being renovated during the Roman Period, most of these theaters including those at Antiphellos, Apollonia, Balboura (upper), Kyaneai, Letoon, Pinara, Phaselis, Kadyanda, Limyra, Oenoanda, Patara, Rhodiapolis, Simena, Tlos and Telmessos (upper) were built in a period spanning between the 3rd and 1st centuries BC, while the theaters of Kibyra, Telmessos and Arykanda are dated to the late Hellenistic and early Roman Period. The over-semicircular plan type and the construction technique of *analemma* walls are primarily instrumental in the dating.[74] Moreover, the studies in the theaters of Xanthos and Myra have revealed that they were rebuilt in Roman times over smaller Hellenistic theaters (Frezouls, 1990, pp. 887-888; des Courtils, 2003, p. 62; Özdilek, 2011, p. 144). Concerning the stage buildings, the first construction phases of some of the remaining, have been identified as a type of *proskenion* developed in the Hellenistic Period.[75] The increase in the number of theaters after the 3rd century BC can be associated with the establishment of the Lycian League, and the increasing autonomy of the city councils which used theaters as a meeting venue.[76]

As mentioned above, the *bouleuteria*, such as those found in Arykanda and Patara, began to be specifically built for the assembly of the councils beginning with the Hellenistic times. Another *bouleuterion*, in a rather uncommon arrangement, is found in Tlos. The *bouleuterion*, together with the *prytaneion*, was built on top of the *cavea* of the *stadion* and entered from the *diazoma* (Fig. 4.2.30). All three building are considered to have been built in a single construction program in the Hellenistic Period, when the city began to spread to the lower acropolis (Korkut, 2015a, pp. 84-87).

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[73] For a list of these cities, see Chapter 4.3, fn. 172.

[74] For a detailed discussion about the theaters in Lycian cities and their dating, see Chapter 4.3.

[75] For the stage buildings, see Chapter 4.3, pp. 94 ff.

[76] For the use of theaters for council meetings, see Chapter 4.3, p. 97.

The *stadion* is another building type adopted by the Lycians. The surviving *stadia*, most of which date back to the Hellenistic times present a consistent form; smaller dimensions than the regular Greek *stadia*, and a *dromos* with a single *cavea* flanking one long side. In addition to the *stadion* of Tlos, those found in Kadyanda and Bubon are considered Hellenistic, while the one in Arykanda, which was jointly built with the theater is dated to the Augustan Period.[77]

There is no single example of a surviving *gymnasion* dated to the Hellenistic Period in any of the Lycian cities, even though inscriptions refer to the existence of *gymnasia* already in the Hellenistic times (Gauthier, 1996, pp. 1-27). Inscriptions dating to the 2nd and 1st century BC, which mention *gymnasia* and gymnasiarchs, have been discovered in some cities such as Antiphellos, Letoon, Lydai, and Kyaneai.[78]

The temples of the period have survived in some of the cities, such as Kadyanda, Antiphellos, Arykanda, Tyberrisos, Sura, Limyra and Letoon. A Doric temple surrounded by a *temenos* wall was located on the terrace above the *stadion* in Kadyanda (Rumscheid, 1994, pp. 24, 303; Bayburtluoğlu, Lycia, 2004, p. 289) (Fig. 3.3.1). A temple, again within its *temenos* has survived in Antiphellos, which was built in Hellenistic times for an unknown deity (Bean, 1978, p. 94) (Fig. 3.3.2). The temple of Helios in Arykanda, probably a Doric *in antis* or *prostylos* temple, was located at the upper terrace of the commercial agora (Bayburtluoğlu, 2003, pp. 65-68) (Fig. 3.3.3). Built after the 4th century BC, the temple was in use until it was destroyed by the earthquakes in the 2nd century AD and converted into a dwelling (Bayburtluoğlu, 2003, pp. 66-67; 2004, p. 137).[79] The surveys in Tyberissos have revealed a Hellenistic Doric temple dedicated to Apollo, which was probably built over an earlier sanctuary (Thomsen & Zimmermann, 2002, p. 64). Another temple dedicated to Apollo is survived in the lower plain at Sura, the

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[77] *Stadia* have been discussed in detail in Chapter 4.3, pp. 99 ff. The only exception is the *stadion* of Kibyra, which was built in a U-shaped form, with *cavea* on both long sides and a *sphendone* on one short end. For the *stadion* of Kibyra, see Chapter 4.3, pp. 102-103.

[78] Antiphellos: Delorme (1960, p. 198), no. 1; Letoon: Gauthier (1996, pp. 1-27) Lydai: *TAM* II 130; Kyaneai: Heberdey and Kalinka (1897), no. 28.

[79] For the afterlife of the Helios temple and its surrounding, see Chapter 4.6.3, p. 159.

site of the famous fish oracle (Fig.3.3.4).[80] Executed in Doric order, the temple is dated to the late Hellenistic Period (Borchhardt, 1975, pp. 79-80).

The architectural fragments of two Hellenistic temples, one belonging to a peripteral temple of Ionic order, the other to a pseudo-peripteral Corinthian temple have been discovered in Limyra, reused in the later walls (Cavalier, 2012b). The better preserved Hellenistic temple in the city is the *Ptolemaion*.[81] The building, which is dated to the 3rd century BC, consists of a *tholos* surrounded by Ionic columns and covered with a conical roof of Corinthian order, built over a high square podium decorated with a Doric entablature (Stanzl, 2012) (Figs. 3.3.5 and 3.3.6). The building was highly decorated with polychrome architectural elements and sculptures depicting Centauromachy on the podium and chariot race on the temple (Borchhardt & Stanzl, 1990). The larger-than life size sculptures of Ptolemaic dynasty, which were a part of the sculptural program, helps to identify the building as a temple for the ruler cult (Borchhardt, 1999, pp. 79-83). While the sculpture which is attributed to Ptolemy III provides a *terminus post quem* for the construction of the temple, the other sculptures and the general artistic style of the temple suggest that it was dedicated to Ptolemy II and his sister wife Arsinoe II (Borchhardt & Stanzl, 1990).

The highlight of the Hellenistic architecture in Lycia can be designated as the transformation of Letoon into a Hellenistic sanctuary with a dramatic construction program that took place especially between the 3rd and 2nd century BC (Figs. 3.3.7 and 3.3.8).[82] Even though the attribution of this transformation to a specific ruling class is difficult, its beginning more or less coincides with the foundation and growing power of the Lycian League and the establishment of

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[80] The oracle and how it operated are mentioned in ancient sources such as Ath. 8.333-34; Plin. *HN* 32.17; Steph. Byz. 582.17; Plut. *De soll. an.* 23.

[81] The building is predominantly considered as a temple due to the lack of a burial chamber within the podium (Stanzl, 2012).However, Webb (1996, p. 125) argues that it can still be a *heroon,* as the remains of the dead is not needed for the celebration of the cult.

[82] For the political history of Lycia, see Chapter 2.2. For the interventions to the site during the Roman Period, see Chapter 4.1, p. 65.

Letoon as the federal sanctuary (Le Roy, 1991b, p. 346).[83] According to the grand make-over, new temples in Ionic, Corinthian and Doric orders were built respectively over the older temples dedicated to Leto, Artemis, and Apollo by the Xanthian dynast Arbinas (Le Roy, 1991b) (Fig. 3.3.9).[84] Not much can be said about more precise dating of the Hellenistic temples belonging to Apollo and Artemis as they are poorly preserved (Cavalier & des Courtils, 2013, p. 143). However, the stylistic analysis of surviving decorative elements belonging to the better preserved temple of Leto has revealed similarities with the artistic styles observed on the *Ptolemaion* at Limyra and some other buildings outside of Lycia known to have been built during the time of the Ptolemies, especially Ptolemy II (Cavalier & des Courtils, 2013). Thus, according to Cavalier and des Courtils (2013), it is possible to assume that both the *Ptolemaion* and the temple of Leto were built around the same time in the 3rd century BC. In the course of time, the sanctuary continued to receive new constructions. The *temenos* was surrounded by porticoes on the west and north, a *propylon* was built at the intersection of the sacred way and the western stoa, and a theater was constructed for religious festivities (Le Roy, 1991b, pp. 346-349) (Figs. 3.3.10, 3.3.11, 3.3.12, 3.3.13 and 3.3.14).

For the lack of Hellenistic buildings in Oenoanda, Hall once suggested that this absence may have resulted from the removal of buildings in later periods, or the vacancy of the city during this period, or simply the burial of existing structures under the ruins (1984, p. 147). Considering the relatively young history of archaeology in Lycia and the outweighing number of surveys compared to the number of excavations, it would be assertive to claim that the cities stagnated or were deserted during a specific period based on the shortfall of a certain architectural culture. In fact, the increasing discoveries of architectural remains of buildings or decorations dated to the Hellenistic Period in many cities, or the redating of already known buildings such as those at the Esplanade of Oenoanda,

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[83] For the foundation of the Lycian League, see Chapter 2.2, pp. 25-26.

[84] For more on the earlier temples, see Chapter 3.2, pp. 39 ff.

suggest that the Hellenistic architecture was absorbed in Lycia. Thus, the destruction of Hellenistic buildings in succeeding periods or their burial under later constructions seems to be more valid explanations. The population may have decreased due to the turmoil of the Hellenistic Period, yet, the rebuilding or the extension of city walls in almost every city is, all by itself, a manifestation of the continuation of life in those cities.

However, it should also be considered that most of the cities may not have adopted all types of Hellenistic buildings at the same time, and that the adoption of Hellenistic architectural building types may have taken time. Lycians were not strangers to the Greek culture in the Classical Period, as it can be observed in the adoption of Greek artistic and architectural styles in their tombs and the bilingual use of the Greek language together with the Lycian. In a sense, the lack of Classical monumental architecture may indicate how conservative they could be when it comes to city planning. Such conservatism may have continued in the early Hellenistic Period as well.

No matter what the reason is for the rarity of Hellenistic architecture in Lycia, the studies show that Hellenistic buildings begin to increase after the 2nd century BC, which may be related to the heritage of uninterrupted Ptolemaic reign, the dissolution of Rhodian rule, the growing autonomy of the cities under the Lycian League and the increasing contact with both the Greek and the Roman world. The transformation of Letoon into a Hellenistic sanctuary, construction of theaters in almost every city, adoption of building types such as *stadion*, *bouleuterion*, stoa and *prytaneion*, and the establishment of Hellenistic institutions such as *gymnasion* in addition to the small finds and Greek inscriptions reinforce the hypothesis of both cultural and architectural Hellenization of Lycia. Future studies will hopefully reveal more about the Hellenistic state of the Lycian cities.

CHAPTER 4

THE IMPACT OF ROMAN ARCHITECTURE AND
URBAN PLANNING IN LYCIA

By the time Lycia officially became a Roman province in the 1st century AD, most of the Lycian cities were urban centers that operated with fundamental buildings from the repertoire of the Hellenistic architecture. During the next two centuries, the cities underwent intensive construction programs in parallel with the growing influence of the Roman culture and architecture.

Roman Imperial architecture offered common architectural forms and artistic imagery which provided visual and symbolic associations between the cities from all over the empire, despite their different cultural and architectural backgrounds. Yet, Roman architecture, at the same time, allowed flexibility in design, freedom in adoption and rejection of building types, forms and construction materials, and survival of older architectural practices, all culminating into eclecticism in city, regional and provincial scale.

Accordingly, this chapter concentrates on how Roman architecture and urban principles were assimilated during the architectural and urban development of the Lycian cities that took place in the Imperial Period. The chapter is organized into six thematic discussions derived from the grouping of surviving Roman architectural material in Lycian cities. The first part focuses on the redefinition of sacred spaces following the introduction of Roman design principles, religious building types and the worship of the imperial cult. The second part looks at the changing physical, social and political dynamics of the agora under the influence of the Roman culture and architecture. The next section examines how the existing Hellenistic buildings for large-scale performances,

namely the theater and the *stadion*, were functionally and architecturally adapted to the changing cultural, architectural and artistic trends of the era. The fourth part discusses the introduction of new water management technologies such as aqueducts and water channels; and the buildings operated with water, i.e. the baths, *latrinae* and *nymphaea*. The fifth subchapter examines the Lycian cities from an urban point of view and delineates the concept of armature, the essence of Roman urban organization. Finally, the last part, which is divided into four discussions, respectively overviews the military, maritime, domestic and funerary architecture in Lycia in order have a holistic understanding on the changing urban dynamics in Lycian cities.

4.1 Religious Architecture: Introduction of New Architectural Forms and the Cult of the Emperor

Pre-Roman religious buildings have survived in some Lycian cities. The temples built in the Archaic and Classical Periods, such as those at Xanthos, Avşar Tepesi and early temples at Letoon, were generally built of perishable material like wood and mud brick over stone foundations and podiums, which is consistent with the traditional construction systems of the dynastic period.[85] The Hellenistic temples, on the other hand, demonstrate the general architectural and artistic styles of the era with their plan types, architectural decorations in Doric, Ionic and Corinthian orders, and the execution and narration of sculptures.[86] Among those, the sanctuary of Letoon, which was converted from a Classical sanctuary to a Hellenistic one with a grand architectural construction program, stands out with its well preserved overall architecture and layout which were minimally touched in the Roman Period.[87]

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[85] For the temples dated to the Archaic and Classical Periods, see Chapter 3.2, pp. 39 ff.

[86] For the Hellenistic temples, see Chapter 3.3, p. 47-49.

[87] For the arrangement of Letoon in Classical and Hellenistic Periods, see Chapter 3.2, p. 40 and Chapter 3.3, pp. 48-49.

During the course of the Imperial Period, previously nonexistent forms of religious buildings were introduced to Lycian cities, such as the theater-temple, asklepieion, Roman podium temple and *sebasteion*.

A form of a religious complex uncommon in Asia Minor, which is composed of a temple axially placed on the upper *cavea* of the theater facing the *orchestra* and the stage building, is so far observed in two Lycian cities, Tlos and Patara. Unfortunately, in both cases, the temples are substantially destroyed, and the deities to whom the temples were dedicated are unknown.[88] Studies being carried on in the Tlos theater have not yet revealed much about the temple, apart from the fact that it was in the Doric order according to architectural fragments found fallen inside the *cavea* (Korkut, 2015b, p. 635) (Fig. 4.1.1). Comparatively more is known about the prostyle temple on top of the *cavea* of the Patara theater (Piesker & Ganzert, 2011, pp. 185-188) (Fig. 4.1.2). According to an inscription, the "ναός" was financed by a citizen called Tiberius Claudius Flavianus Eudemus together with the upper part of the *cavea* in the second quarter of the 2nd century AD (Engelmann, 2004).[89]

The earliest known example and probably the first prototype of the combination of a theater and temple in a single unified building is acknowledged as the Theater of Pompey at Rome, which incorporated the Temple of Venus Victrix on its *cavea* (Fig. 4.1.3).[90] The complex was built by Pompey the Great in 55 BC, as a triumphal monument for the celebration of his military achievements,

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[88] Based on the fragments of a male statue found in the *cella*, the *cavea* temple of Patara was speculated to be dedicated to Dionysos (Işık, 2002, pp. 402-403). Alanyalı (2017, p. 21), on the other hand, argues that these fragments may have belonged to an emperor and suggests that the temple may have been dedicated to the cult of the emperor based on the spread of the institution of the imperial cult all over Asia Minor.

[89] The constructions in the theater were finished posthumously, with the interest of 250000 *denarii* that Claudius Eudemos left to Patara. The foundation was primarily for the construction and restoration of public buildings, and in the course of time, several buildings were built or restored with the revenue of the capital, as is known from inscriptions discovered in different places within the city center of Patara. For a discussion on the nature and activities of the foundation and the references for the related inscriptions, see Zimmermann (2015).

[90] Pompey's monument also included four other shrines within the theater precinct for Honos, Virtus, Felicitas and an unknown deity, a Hellenistic monumental garden behind the stage building surrounded by porticoes and *curia* for the Roman Senate (Hanson, 1959, pp. 43-55; Sear, 2006, pp. 57-61).

the demonstration of his gratitude to Venus Victrix for her protection and bestowal of success and personal propaganda.[91] It was the first stone theater in the capital of the Romans, built at a time when the construction of permanent theaters in Rome was opposed by the Senate.[92] According to Tertullian (Tert. *De Spect.*10.5), Pompey designated it not as a theater but as a temple of Venus, with steps for watching the performances. Tertullian also questioned Pompey's sincerity by implying that the dedication of the building as a temple rather than a theater was an attempt to escape the condemnation by the Senate and possibly the demolition of the building (Tert. *De Spect.*10.5-6). It may never be definitely established whether the installation of the temple on top of the *cavea* was a way to flout the theater ban or not, but it is sure that Pompey's innovative design became a repeated form of the Roman Imperial architecture, especially in the African provinces, and in some rare cases in Italy and the Western provinces, in a span of time between the Augustan Era and the 3rd century AD (Hanson J. A., 1959, pp. 59-77).

The origins of the design of Pompey's theater complex are sought in Republican sanctuaries, mostly known as "theater-temples"[93] in modern studies, which were built in Italian territory between the early 2nd and 1st century BC.[94] Basically, these sanctuaries were planned with curvilinear steps leading to a

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[91] For more about Pompey's motivations for the construction of the monument and the importance of Venus Victrix for him, see Hanson (1959, pp. 50-52) and Temelini (2006).

[92] There was not any law that legally banned the permanent theaters but the Senate could vote against the construction. Lucius Cassius attempted to construct a theater facing the Palatine. However, the construction was interrupted and the building was demolished in 154 BC at the orders of the consul Scipio Nasica, who considered the theater as the source of the disturbances as well as a Greek pleasure which Romans should not get accustomed (App. *B Civ.* 1.4.28; Vell. Pat. 1.15.3).

[93] The theater-temple is a broad term used in modern scholarship to define religious complexes with theaters and temples which were arranged in diverse relations with respect to each other. In this study, the emphasis is given to a certain model, in which a shrine is axially placed on top of the *cavea* of the theater, and conveniently called *cavea*-temple to distinguish it from the other formulations (Hanson J. A., 1959).

[94] The original foundations of these sanctuaries can be older than their Republican refurbishments. For a discussion about the known examples of these Republican sanctuaries and related bibliography, see Nielsen (2004).

temple in an axial, symmetrical and monumental layout. The widely discussed examples considered as the precursors of the Theater of Pompey can be given as the sanctuary of Juno at Gabii, the sanctuary of Hercules Victor at Tivoli and the sanctuary of Fortuna Primigenia at Praeneste in Latium.[95] The sanctuaries at Gabii and Tivoli share a similar planning (Figs. 4.1.4 and 4.1.5). They have a temple centered within a rectangular raised *temenos* which is enclosed by walls, rooms or porticoes on three sides. A curvilinear staircase is placed in front of the temple on the open end of the sacred platform, serving both as a staircase to the *temenos* and a seating for the spectacles performed in the central area which resembles the *orchestra* of a theater. The sanctuary of Fortuna Primigenia at Praeneste is planned as a string of monumental terraces, all reached and linked by ramps and staircases which are united on a main axis. The highest level of the complex, which draws parallels to the previously discussed sanctuaries, culminates in a semi-circular platform surrounded by a curvilinear stepped structure with a colonnade and a circular temple (Fig. 4.1.6).[96]

Nielsen (2000) argues that the semi-circular stairs in front of the temples are cultic theaters which were adopted from Greek sanctuaries, where ritual dramas performed for the deity of the sanctuary were observed from a *theatron*, a stepped stone structure that was not necessarily curvilinear. However, the surviving examples of Greek sanctuaries do not present a unified organization or a systematical connection between the theater and the temple, until they began to appear in Italy in 2nd century BC with the aforementioned axiality, frontality and monumentality (Hanson, 1959, p. 29; Nielsen, 2000, p. 120; Nielsen, 2004).[97]

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[95] These sanctuaries and more are discussed in relation to the Theater of Pompey by Hill (1944) and Hanson (1959, pp. 29-35).

[96] The origins of the monumental terraced planning observed in the sanctuary of Fortuna Primigenia, previously unparalleled in Roman Republican Architecture, can be sought in the Hellenistic East, such as the case of terraced relationship between the theater and the temples of Athena and Dionysos at the upper city of Pergamon (Güven, 1991, p. 27).

[97] The concept of cultic theaters and ritual drama was introduced to central Italy as early as the 6th century BC by the Greek colonies. There was also a familiarity with theater-like structures in Italy, which were found as a part of 7th century BC Etruscan tombs, and probably used for funerary rituals. The development of cultic theaters has been thoroughly investigated by Nielsen in various publications (Nielsen, 2000; 2002; 2004; 2007).

As stated by Vitruvius (Vitr. *De arch*. 4.8.6), temples should not be built "according to the same rules to all gods alike, since the performance of the sacred rites varies with the various gods." This design principle may also apply for the sanctuaries. Judging from the fact that not every sanctuary of antiquity possessed a cultic theater, it can be said that these sanctuaries with *theatra* were dedicated to particular deities who required particular dramatic performances (Nielsen, 2004, p. 73). Curiously, several of these Republican theater-temples were dedicated to Eastern Gods, such as Magna Mater (Cybele), Juno (Hera), Fortuna (Tyche), Venus (Aphrodite/Astarte), Hercules and so on. Apparently, when Eastern Gods came to Italy, they came with their own rituals and architectural settings. Although, the names of the deities changed, rituals were adapted in accordance with the Roman beliefs and settings were rearranged according to Roman design principles.[98]

Pompey brought the design of such Republican sanctuaries to a whole new level by combining the principle elements of the *temenos*, i.e. the temple and the *theatron*, into a single architectural unit. The new design came to be a part of the Roman Imperial architecture which was variously repeated in several provinces, especially in the west, in following centuries (Hanson, 1959, pp. 59-77).

The theater-temples found in Tlos and Patara are so far the only known examples of theaters with *cavea*-temples both in Lycia and Asia Minor, and as a matter of fact in the East.[99] The temple complexes in Stratonikea, Pessinus and Pergamon are acknowledged as theater-temples in modern studies (Teraman, 2007; Alanyalı, 2017). However, these sanctuaries present an indirect relationship between the temples and theaters when compared to the organic relationship of the *cavea* and the temple observed in the tradition began with the Theater of

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[98] For a broad study on Roman religion, see Beard, North, & Price (1998). For a compilation of articles on various aspects of Roman religion and a collection of selected bibliography for each topic, see Rüpke (2007).

[99] Hanson (1959, p. 71) suggested that the theater of Apamea, which was partially excavated at the time, may have had a *cavea*-temple based on a wide staircase on the central axis of the *cavea* leading to the top; however, later excavations have revealed that the stairs was connected to a street at the back of the theater (Finlayson, 2012, pp. 293-294).

Pompey.[100] The theater of Mytilene, which was taken as a model for the theater of Pompey (Plut. *Vit. Pomp.* 42.4), is speculated by Caputo to have a now lost (if ever existed) *cavea*-temple that inspired Pompey to build a theater with a *cavea*-temple at Rome (as cited in Hanson, 1956, p. 53). Without any evidence, it is almost impossible to know the kind of relation the temple and the theater once had. The closest example to a *cavea*-temple is discovered in Kibyra. However, the temple is slightly off the center of the *cavea;* and the temple and theater, both of which belong to the Hellenistic Period, were only got close to each other following the addition of the *summa cavea* in the Roman Period (Özdilek, 2011, p. 160; Özüdoğru, 2014, p. 182).

The thus-far lack of similar examples in neighboring cities and even region renders the cases of the *cavea*-temples in Patara and Tlos unique. The data such as the date of the construction, the deity or the deities the temple was dedicated to, and the identity and the motives of the commissioner are all vital information for the interpretation of the adoption of this building type in Lycian cities. Even though the available evidence fails to reveal much, for the case of Patara, it is possible to say that the later addition of the temple to the theater together with *summa cavea* in the 2ⁿᵈ century AD, long after Lycia became a Roman province suggests that the enterprise is part of the adaptation to Roman culture in Lycia. First of all, the theater was enlarged to accommodate more spectators for the increased number of the performances as in the case of most of the theaters in Asia Minor. Secondly, it was an act of public munificence performed by a wealthy citizen of Patara, who like Pompey himself, most probably used this opportunity not only for public welfare but also for personal propaganda to achieve his ambition; which, in his case, may have been to perpetuate his memory.[101] New data is expected to reveal more about the *cavea*-temples in Tlos

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[100] The temple at Stratonikea is located axially on a terrace above the theater, with a distance to the *cavea*. The temple at Pessinus rises above a theater-shaped staircase, not a conventional theater. And finally, the Dionysus temple at Pergamon is located at the northern end of the theater terraces, also called the *stadion*, having no physical relation with the *cavea*.

[101] Wealthy elites in provincial cities often engaged in euergetic activities in their homeland in order to establish a strong bond with Rome in the hope of political, religious or social status. For the concept of benefaction in antiquity, see Veyne (1992).

and Patara. At least, it can be said that both of the theaters acquired a religious character, if not already had, and became urban sanctuaries within the city center.

Another intra-urban sacred precinct, composed of several buildings of religious character, all dated to the Roman period, is found in the city-center of Rhodiapolis. Designated as the religious insula of Rhodiapolis by modern scholars (Çevik, Kızgut, & Bulut, 2010, p. 34), the precinct contains an asklepieion, a temple to Asklepios and Hygieia, and a *sebasteion*, all attached to and entered from the *decumanus* (Fig. 4.1.7).[102]

The sanctuary of Asklepios, built in the 2nd century AD, is so far the only example of a sacred healing center encountered in Lycia (Kızgut, Akalın, & Bulut, 2010, p. 88). The Asklepieion is arranged around a courtyard built over a large cistern and contains chambers, a library and a round temple (Fig. 4.1.8). The chambers confining the eastern and western boundaries of the courtyard were used for examination and treatment according to the medical tools found inside (Kızgut, Akalın, & Bulut, 2010, p. 88) (Fig. 4.1.9). The library, a rectangular room with small niches on the walls, is attached to the southern end of the western room chains, across from the temple (Fig. 4.1.10). The only known example of its kind in Lycia, the room was built by Herakleitos of Rhodiapolis who was a physician, writer, and poet of medical works, and most probably housed the treatises and poetic works written and donated by him (*TAM* II 910; Kızgut, Akalın, & Bulut, 2010, pp. 88-89). The circular temple is the sole example of a round Roman temple in the region,[103] the closest example being the *Ptolemaion* in Limyra which is in the form of a Hellenistic *tholos*.[104] It was placed at the southern end of the courtyard on a semicircular terrace with a commanding view over the lower fields and the sea. The temple was built upon a high podium in the

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[102] For the *decumanus* of Rhodiapolis, see Chapter 4.5, p. 126.

[103] The round temple form originated from Italian huts and later influenced from the form of Greek *tholos* and ornamented with Greek orders (Boëthius, 1978, p. 162; Stamper, 2005, pp. 70-72). The temples possessed the most basic characteristics of the Roman temples, i.e. the high podium and frontal emphasis. For the Roman temple, see fn. 107.

[104] For the *Ptolemaion*, see Chapter 3.3, p. 48.

Corinthian order for an unknown deity,[105] and entered through a gate from the north, transversely facing the entrance of the sanctuary (Çevik N. , et al., 2010, pp. 215-216) (Fig. 4.1.11). It was also associated with the cult of Asklepios (Çevik N. , et al., 2010, p. 78); however, the existence of a temple dedicated to Asklepios and Hygieia just outside the Asklepieion reduces the chances of dedication of the temple to the same deities.

The temple of Asklepios and Hygieia, the god of healing and the goddess of health,[106] is located on the east-west main street, in front of the Asklepieion. The rectangular temple was raised on a podium facing the east and approached by a flight of steps (Kızgut, Akalın, & Bulut, 2010, pp. 89-90) (Fig. 4.1.12). It is a typical Roman temple in form,[107] which was frequent in Lycia in the 2nd century AD like the rest of Asia Minor (Price, 1984, p. 168), as examples include the Corinthian temple at Patara and the temple of Kronos at Tlos (İşkan & Çevik, Patara 1998, 2000, pp. 94-95; Korkut, 2012, pp. 105-106) (Figs. 4.1.13 and 4.1.14). According to the dedicatory inscription found inside the building (*TAM* II 906), the same Herakleitos who financed the library, built the temple of Asklepios and Hygieia, set up an altar, and dedicated statues. In addition, he donated money for the competitions of Asklepios (*TAM* II 910).

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[105] The circular shrine was initially considered as a *tholos* in a *macellum* and speculated to be dedicated to Fortuna, the goddess who is associated with prosperity and is known to have been worshipped in Rhodiapolis (Çevik N. , et al., 2010, p. 78).

[106] Asklepios is often accompanied by Hygieia who is generally referred to as his daughter, and sometimes as his wife or sister. While Asklepios provided cure for illnesses, Hygieia preserved good health. Hence, the Asklepieia were frequented not only by the sick, but also the healthy who prayed for the continuation of their well-being. For the association of Asklepios and Hygieia, see Compton (2002).

[107] The Roman temple of the imperial architecture originated from Etrusco-Italian shrines of archaic and classical times. These early Roman temples were characterized with their high podium and frontal approach via a single flight of staircase. This pronounced frontality and axiality differentiated them from their Greek counterparts which were designed to be viewed and approached from all directions (Kostof, 1995, pp. 115-135). The early Etrusco-Italian temples were later Hellenized mainly after the Punic Wars of 3rd and 2nd century BC, due to the increasing confrontation with the Hellenic culture. While the primary features, the podium and frontal approach, were preserved; the Hellenistic orders especially the Corinthian columns were adopted. For the history and development of the Roman Temple, see Boëthius (1978, pp. 35-64, 156-178) and Stamper (2005).

The cult of Asklepios emerged in Greece (Paus. 2.26.8-9) as a hero and god of medicine.[108] The temples and sanctuaries dedicated to Asklepios came to be frequented as healing spots which, in time, turned into sacred medical complexes and spread to the Mediterranean world in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods. Asklepieia were mostly introverted sanctuaries usually located away from the *poleis* (Plut. *Quaest. Rom.* 94), at naturally privileged sites with fresh air and water which were crucial for healing (Vitr. *De arch.* 1.2.7). The sanctuaries consisted of temples and altars for worshipping, rooms, porticoes or buildings for examinations and various types of treatments, libraries, *gymnasia* for exercises, and theaters and *stadia* for rites and festivals which included performances and competitions.[109] Water played an important role in the healing process, so springs and wells were considered sacred (Walton, 1894, pp. 40-41).

The well-known asklepieia can be listed as those at Epidaurus, Kos, Pergamon, Athens, Corinth and Rome; yet, over two hundred healing centers have been identified from epigraphic records in various locations.[110] Among these, the sanctuary of Asklepios at Epidaurus, founded in the 6th century BC is considered as the earliest and the most important medical center in the ancient world. The sanctuary was intensively rebuilt and developed in the 4th century BC and underwent restorations and additions in the later periods. The *temenos* was entered through a *propylon* and the main buildings within included the temple of Asklepios, the *tholos* which was used for the still-ambiguous treatment techniques,[111] and the Abaton or Enkoimeterion where the patients incubated (Fig.

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[108] For the cult of Asklepios, see the old but still valuable treatments of Walton (1894) and Jayne (1925, pp. 240-303).

[109] These festivals included dramatic and musical performances as well as chrematitic games of gymnastics and music in which winners were rewarded with cash or prizes of material value (Robinson, 1978; Miller, 2004, pp. 129-131).

[110] For a collection of ancient texts mentioning the various asklepieia in the Graeco-Roman world, see Edelstein & Edelstein (1998, pp. 370-452).

[111] Built in the 4th century BC as one of the core buildings of the sanctuary, the *tholos,* also called rotunda or *thymele,* consisted of circular passages around a small room in the center. It is speculated to be an altar, a treatment place for mentally sick patients or the place where the sacred snakes used for healing were kept (Robinson, 1978, pp. 533-534).

4.1.15).[112] The buildings which served the various needs of the patients or were used during the Asklepian Games were spread around the sanctuary. These included several temples and altars dedicated to other healing deities, a theater, a *stadion*, an *odeion*, a *gymnasion*, a *palaestra*, a library, baths, a hostel, fountains, springs, and a sophisticated water system for clean and waste water.

The Sanctuary of Asklepios Soter at Pergamon, which was founded in the 4th century BC, on the other hand, flourished in the Hellenistic Period and became the most important Asklepieion of Asia Minor in the Roman times. Located at a distance from the city center, the sanctuary was arranged around a courtyard surrounded by porticoes on three sides and featured various buildings, including the round temple of Zeus-Asklepios, a two-story rotunda for treatment, a library, a *propylon* court, a theater, a *gymnasion*, a sacred well, latrines, water channels and several auxiliary buildings (Fig. 4.1.16). Today's remains are mainly dated to the Roman Era (Deubner, 1938).

When compared to the primary sanctuaries of Asklepios at Epidaurus and Pergamon, the Asklepieion of Rhodiapolis strictly stands out with its location and substantially smaller scale.[113] The choice of site does not correspond to the general standards of an Asklepieion: it was neither outside the city nor had a natural spring, but instead, was at the very core of the city and provided with water through cisterns. It is not clear whether the site already had a sacred character which played a role in the determination of the location, since the remains so far do not date back before the 2nd century AD.

The insertion of the Asklepieion into the city center resulted in the organization of the sanctuary in a smaller and more compact form with a degree of symmetry and axiality (Fig. 4.1.7). While designing the complex, the priority was given to the courtyard, the chambers of examination and treatment, the library

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[112] Incubation was the typical healing technique in asklepieia; during which the patients supposedly communicated with the healing god in their dreams (Jayne, 1925, pp. 279-281).

[113] According to Unesco's World Heritage list, the Sanctuary of Asklepios at Epidauros covers a territory of 1394.802 ha. The Sanctuary of Asklepios Soter at Pergamon is built on an area of 1.302 ha (Ward-Perkins, 1981, p. 284). The Asklepieion of Rhodiapolis sits on an area of 0.15 ha (Kızgut, 2012, p. 353).

and the round temple. The existing buildings within the city center must have catered to the diverse needs of the sanctuary. For instance, the theater may have been used for the competitions of Asklepios financed by Herakleitos (*TAM* II 910). This compact organization also pushed the temple of Asklepios-Hygieai outside the *temenos*, which probably enabled not only the patients of the sanctuary but also the citizens of Rhodiapolis to make their prayers and offerings without the need to enter the sanctuary.

The last building in the sacred precinct of Rhodiapolis to be mentioned is the *sebasteion* which is adjacent to the Asklepieion on the east, and behind the stoa running parallel to the main street. Also called *Hadrianeum*, the U-shaped building decorated with Ionic columns was a religious physical setting dedicated to the cult of the emperor, which once housed the statues of Hadrian and the imperial family (Kızgut, 2012, pp. 354-355) (Fig.4.1.17).

The foundation of the Roman imperial cult goes back to the early Principate of Augustus, when the Greeks of Asia and of Bithynia sought permission from Augustus to celebrate his divinity, a practice rooted in the Hellenistic worship of the ruler cult, as an expression of gratitude for his establishment of peace in Asia Minor after Actium.[114] Following the grant of the permission in 30/29 BC,[115] the worship of the cult of the emperor spread in the east and the west, and it not only became an important part of the local pantheon, but also served as a tool in politics.[116] Worship of the imperial cult was a means for establishing relations with Rome and demonstration of loyalty to the emperor and the empire.

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[114] For a thorough discussion on the emergence, development and the practice of the imperial cult in Asia Minor, see Price (1984).

[115] The permission was granted only on the condition that Augustus' cult would be associated with the Goddess Roma since worshiping him while he was still alive would destroy his republican image among the people of Rome (Cassius Dio 51.20.6-9; Price, 1984, p.58; Zanker, 1988, p.302).

[116] In the newly urbanizing west, the emperor worship became a part of the imperial propaganda forced upon the locals in order to create a religious common ground between the cities, consolidate the power of Rome and reinforce loyalty to the emperor (Fishwich, 2002).

A further step which consolidated this bond was the setting up of a provincial temple of the imperial cult which fuelled rivalry among as well as within the provinces. From the 2nd century AD on, the honorific title of "*neokoros*", the temple-warden,[117] was given to the cities which were permitted to build a provincial imperial temple. The title was received only by the cities of Asia Minor and names of at least thirty-seven *neokoroi* have been discovered through surviving inscriptions and coins (Burrell, 2004). In Lycia, at least three cities, Patara, Akalissos and Oenoanda, are known to have achieved the honor. Patara was twice *neokoros*, but the details of when and for which emperor are uncertain (Burrell, 2004, pp. 254-255). Akalissos' title has been discovered on a statue base belonging to the Emperor Commodus, but similar to Patara, it is not known for whom the city was given the title (Burrell, 2004, p. 256). According to Burrell (2004, p. 256), the city must have received the title in the 3rd century AD, after the major cities like Patara were granted with the privilege at least twice. Finally, Oenoanda's neokorate title was found on an inscribed base dedicated to Constantius II, which indicates that the celebration of the imperial cult continued in the 4th century AD, after the official sanction of Christianity (Milner, 2015). Unfortunately, no temple related to the neokorate title, if ever existed, has been discovered in any of these cities yet.

The institutionalization of the imperial cult not only influenced the religion, politics and prestige of a city, but also affected its urban and architectural development. Diversified in form and appearance, architectural settings for the imperial cult, called *Sebasteion* or *Kaisareion*, resulted in the reconfiguration of the public spaces and buildings, construction of temples solely for the imperial cult, and transformation of existing sanctuaries (Price, 1984, pp. 133-169).

A notable way to celebrate the emperor was to insert his cult within the city center, such as the case of above mentioned *Hadrianeum* of Rhodiapolis. Located at a prominent place right in front of the city square where the daily

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[117] The title *neokoros* was initially given to the chief priest who was responsible for the religious, practical and financial activities of a sanctuary. The term later came to designate cities which took care of the temple of the imperial cult (Burrell, 2004, pp. 3-6).

activities of the citizens merged, the *Hadrianeum* stood as a constant remainder of the power of the emperor and the empire. Two similar buildings are also found in Arykanda. One of them is the *Traianeum*, a *sebasteion* dedicated to Traian, which consisted of a temple surrounded by walls with niches, and was located at the lower terraces below the civic agora (Bayburtluoğlu, 2003, pp. 72-76) (Figs. 4.2.6 and 4.1.18). The other one is the *Sebasteion* which was built through the end of the 3rd century AD and dedicated to Septimus Severus and his family (Sancaktar, 2016, pp. 61-67) (Figs. 4.1.19). Consisting of a rectangular peristyle courtyard with a vaulted room in the middle, the *Sebasteion* was located at a prominent place at the Hellenistic Acropolis of Arykanda, across from the *bouleuterion* (Bayburtluoğlu, 2003, pp. 72-76; Sancaktar, 2016, pp. 61-67).[118] Finally, another *sebasteion* is found in Bubon. A U-shaped room, possibly belonging to a portico, was reserved for honoring the emperors and the imperial family with bronze statues (İnan, 1993). The room was in use for about two centuries between the mid-1st and mid-3rd centuries AD, beginning with the display of the statue of Nero and his wife Poppaea Sabina (İnan, 1994). Accordingly, the arrangement of the *Sebasteion* was altered during the course of time for the addition of the statues of some of the next emperors and their kin (İnan, 1994).

Apart from these free standing buildings or attached rooms, *sebasteia* also took the form of temples. The earliest known but now lost imperial temple was erected for "Caesar", probably Augustus, in Oenoanda, in 27 BC (*IGR* III 482 = *OGIS* 555).[119] Another temple dedicated to Theoi Soteres Sebastoi, the Savior Gods the Emperors,[120] was built in Sidyma during the term of the first governor Quintus Veranius of the Roman province of Lycia (*IGR* III 577 = *TAM* II 177; Price, 1983, p.263; Takmer, 2010, Şahin, 2014, p.75). Now in ruins, the

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[118] For more on the Hellenistic Acropolis of Arykanda and the commercial agora, see Chapter 4.2, pp. 74-75.

[119] The temple was initially believed to have been located in Xanthos due to the phrase ὁ Ξάνθου in the inscription (Magie, 1950, p.1386, fn. 45; Price, 1984, p.263), however the same inscription was later rediscovered in Oenoanda (Wörrle, 1988, pp. 58, fn. 38; Şahin S. , 2014, pp. 53, fn. 4).

[120] The English translation is from Bean (1978, p. 80). Price translates Sebastoi as the emperors of the past and the present (1984, p. 58).

Sebasteion of Sidyma was a Roman Doric temple and rose on a podium with a prostyle plan (Benndorf & Niemann, 1884, pp. 61-64; Serdaroğlu, 2004, pp. 75-79).

The cult of the emperor was also incorporated into the existing sanctuaries of the traditional gods without outdoing or dishonoring them (Price, 1984, pp. 146-156). For instance, the temple of Asklepieion and Hygieia at Rhodiapolis was also dedicated to Sebastoi (*TAM* II 906). Yet, among all the local sanctuaries, Letoon must have served as the most conspicuous place to demonstrate provincial loyalty to the emperor. In fact, the existence of an *ethnikon Kaisareion,* a setting where the imperial cult was nationally celebrated, is known from an inscription (Balland, 1981, pp. 27-28, no. 67). A room in the Northern Portico, in which stood the statue bases belonging to Augustus, his daughter Livia, her husband Agrippa, and their children Gaius Caesar and Lucius Caesar, can in fact be the *Kaisareion* in question (Davesne, 2000, pp. 624-626). It was first built before the establishment of the province, but was destroyed when the Northern Portico was burnt down. Claudius rebuilt the Northern Portico, enlarging it with a double portico; and restoring the *Kaisareion* (Davesne, 2000, pp. 626-628).[121] The room was renewed in later times as the existence of inscriptions dedicated to the Flavian family suggests (Davesne, 2000, p. 627). It is also proposed that the Hadrianic *nymphaeum* had a rectangular room behind its portico, which could have been used for the activities related to the imperial cult (Balland, 1981, p. 61).[122] If there was in fact such a room, it would represent the juxtaposition of local and imperial cultic practices, since the *nymphaeum* was fed by a holy spring dedicated to the Elyenas/Nymphs that were worshipped in Lycia at least since the Classical Period (Longfellow, 2012, p. 151).

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[121] In a recent study, Cavalier and des Courtils (2017) associates a base decorated with laurel crowns and *Bucrania* with Augustus. The small room west of the North Portico where the base was found is considered to be the initial location of the imperial cult hall before the fire. The statues of the imperial family are believed to have been inserted in this place after the death of Gaius Caesar. During the Claudian reconstruction of the North Portico after the fire, the imperial hall was moved to the eastern wing of the North Portico.

[122] For the Hadrianic *nymphaeum*, see Chapter 4.4, p. 121.

The appreciation of the imperial cult is an expression of the acceptance of the imperial rule, and of the loyalty to the emperor and Rome. Yet, Lycians' demonstration of loyalty to Romans through religion began as early as the 2nd century BC, long before the constitution of the province of Lycia. The allegiance of Lycians is known from the dedication of a statue of Roma by the Lycian League to Jupiter Capitolinus and the Roman People, after the Romans freed them from the Rhodian rule (*CIL_1*[2].725).[123] Moreover, the League also founded the penteteric federal festival of *Rhomaia* in addition to the establishment of the official cult of Dea Roma, which was already locally worshiped in some of the Lycian cities since the 3rd century BC (Magie, 1950, p. 524; Schuler, 2016, pp. 48-49; İplikçioğlu, 2016, p. 60).[124] The enthusiasm to maintain good relations with Rome and especially with the first emperor Augustus was intensified after Actium, when the Lycians began to commemorate the cult of the emperor. One of the first things was the dedication of the above mentioned temple to Augustus in Oenoanda which was contemporaneous with the beginning of the worship of the imperial cult in Asia Minor. In addition, the cult of Augustus and the statues of his family were installed in Letoon, possibly in the so-called *ethnikon Kaisareion*. The cults of the imperial family members were also established, such as those of Livia, Gaius Caesar and Germanicus.[125] Later, the League initiated the cult of the second emperor Tiberius, which was still actively worshipped in Balboura in the 3rd century AD (*IGR* III 474, Magie, 1950, p.1386, fn. 46; Şahin, 2014, p.53, fn. 4).

The worship of the imperial cult increasingly continued after the creation of the province of Lycia, which is obvious from the *sebasteia* established in

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[123] For the historical background, see Chapter 2.2, pp. 25 ff.

[124] For more on the establishment of the worship of Roma in Lycia, see Roland (1975, pp. 36-39), Taşdelen (2012, pp. 8-11) and Şahin (2014, pp. 53, fn. 3).

[125] The inscriptions mentioning the cults include for instance, *TAM* II 2 549 which mentions a festival in Tlos for the cult of Livia, the inscribed statue base of Gaius Caesar found in the *ethnikon Kaisareion* titles him as Νέος Θεός (Balland, 1981, pp. 48, no. 25); and *TAM* II 2 420 = *IGR* III 680 which mentions the cult of Germanicus in Patara. For more on the epigraphic evidence on the imperial cult, see Magie (1950, p.1386, fn. 46 and p.1392, fn. 62); Taşdelen (2012); Şahin (2014, p.53).

various forms in many cities. The title *neokoros* must have turned into a primary reason of competition among the cities as in the case of the majority of Asia Minor. Even though, so far, only three cities who achieved the title *neokoros* are known in Lycia, the number of examples should be expected to increase, since, as Burrell points out (2004, p. 256), a minor city like Akalissos could have received such a title only after the major cities like Patara had received it at least twice.

From an architectural point of view, the institutionalization of the imperial cult played a crucial role in the transformation of urban space. The cult of the emperor which was inserted into the most prominent places of the cities became a constant reminder of the dominion of the empire in various forms of architectural settings. These and other religious building forms, such as the circular and rectangular Roman temples and the *cavea*-temple complexes discussed above, along with Roman design principles diversified the repertoire of the religious architecture in Lycia, which constitutes an important aspect of understanding the impact of Roman architecture and urban planning in Lycian cities.

4.2 Architecture for Civic Life and Commerce: Agora and the Surrounding Public Buildings

In Greek and Roman cities, an open public space, namely Agora for the Greeks and Forum for the Romans, was essential for conducting all sorts of activities related to the civic and communal life. In Lycian cities, similar to all Greek and Hellenistic cities, this place was the Agora according to epigraphic and architectural remains.

The agora first appeared in Greece during the Archaic Period and evolved thereafter as the heart, the civic center of the *polis*.[126] It was an open space used

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[126] Eastern settlements, which were highly urbanized since at least the Bronze Age such as those at India, Mesopotamia and Egypt, had open areas within the city layout that functioned as courtyards of temples and palaces, but otherwise did not have public spaces used for communal civic activities. Similar to Eastern traditions, the open spaces in Minoan cities in Crete were also related to religious and courtly life. The lack of such a space is attributed to the autocracy that dominated those geographies. It is argued that the emergence of agora stemmed from the democratic nature of the *polis*, where the citizens needed a place to have their voices heard. In fact, in Homeric texts, the word "agora" is used both for the assembly of free male citizens and the place where they met.

for various objectives such as political and juridical affairs, commercial activities, honorary displays and religious celebrations including dramatic, musical and athletic performances.

Emerging as a simple flat area, the agora gradually developed into a more complex arrangement of the open space with specialized architectural units as the activities took place therein became more articulated. Early agoras at the cities in mainland Greece present an irregular layout defined by border stones or encompassing buildings that lacked coordination among each other which stemmed from topographical conditions and gradual development of the area in time.[127] Even though every agora had its own unique configuration of architectural elements chosen and built according to the demands of each city, the mainly repeated buildings, from very early on, included free-standing stoas, temples, altars and civic buildings like *bouleuteria* and *prytaneia*.[128] Beginning from the late 5th century BC, the agoras in Ionian cities began to differ from their Hellenic contemporaries with their regular layouts inserted within the gridiron city plan. The main difference stemmed from the use of stoas perpendicular to each other which resulted in a better-defined, fully or partially enclosed rectilinear

Hence, the agora originated with political associations and later acquired other functions. For the examination of settlements without public spaces, see Martin (1951, pp. 64-102) and Zucker (1959, pp. 19-26). For discussions about the concept of agora in Homeric texts, see McDonald (1943, pp. 20-36) and Martin (1951, pp. 18-62). For the concept of public space in the Greek *polis*, see Hölster (1998).

[127] For the emergence and architectural development of the Greek agora in the Archaic and Classical Periods, see Martin (1951), Zucker (1959, pp. 36-33), Wycherley (1962, pp. 50-62), Kenzler (1999) and Kolb (1981). The Athenian agora is thus far the best studied public space among the ancient Greek cities, which has presented valuable material for the reconstruction of its archaic phase and its subsequent transformation in later periods. The materials from the Athenian Agora have been extensively published including Thompson & Wycherley (1972), Camp (1986) and Camp & Mauzy (2009). By the way, the agoras of the early colonies were more regular compared to those at the mainland, due to the planned city layout (Camp, 2016, p. 303).

[128] Donati (2015, p. 179) points out that the revelations of the Athenian agora resulted in setting misleading standards for the architectural furnishing of the Greek agora in general. The studies in agoras at Peloponnesian cities such as those at Corinth, Argos, Elis and Megalopolis have revealed that there were no strictly established rules as to how an agora should be; instead, every agora was unique in its layout, and the selection and organization of architectural elements depended on the needs of each city (Donati, 2011; 2015).

space that functioned as a part of the urban system.[129] The regularization of the agora in an organized layout became the norm in the Hellenistic Period, and was applied to old agoras as much as the topography and the existing layout of the city allowed (Dickenson, 2016, pp. 50-122). Finally, during the Imperial times, the Greek agora was influenced from and largely transformed according to the Roman architectural principles of axiality and symmetry as well as strict rectilinearity in plan and full enclosure created by the peristyle.[130]

Architecturally, the configuration of every agora was unique to each city and the area was subjected to constant change over time. The buildings within the agora or surrounding it were often in relation to the activities that took place therein; including but not limited to, *bouleuteria*, *ecclesiasteria* and *prytaneia* for official works and meetings; temples and altars for religious affairs; *heroa,* statues and inscriptions for celebrating eponymous or legendary city founders and influential individuals; shops and workshops for commercial activities; porticoes and stoas for providing shade and shelter for general use; *dromoi* and *theatra* for performing and observing spectacles and wells and fountains for supplying water. It is usual to find more than one agora in a city, each of which could have been

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[129] Stoa, a characteristically Greek building type, emerged as a free-standing unit in the mainland Greece; however in Ionian rendition, stoas lost their independence due to being attached to each other or other buildings (Coulton, 1976). The difference in the utilization of stoas in Hellenic and Ionian agoras was observed by Pausanias (Paus. 6.24) in the 2nd century AD, who describes the stoas at the agora of Elis as separated from each other in "the older manner", different than the ones in Ionian cities. For the development of the so-called Ionian agora in the late Classical and Hellenistic Period, see Wycherley (1942) and Martin (1951, pp. 372-417).

[130] Similar to the early agora, the Republican Roman Forum emerged in the Archaic Period in an irregular form and developed haphazardly. First introduced by Caesar in the 1st century BC, the Roman Fora began to be built in a strictly rectangular, axial and symmetrical layout surrounded by porticoes and had three main elements, namely the forum, temple and civil basilica (Martin, 1972, pp. 912-927; Gros, 1996, pp. 207-231). While the architectural axiality and symmetry principles were Etruscan and Italian in origin, the temple and porticoes were inspired from Hellenistic architecture (Martin, 1972, pp. 916-917; Boëthius, 1978, p. 146). Called "basilica-type forum" or "tripartite forum", this configuration became an important building type of Roman imperial architecture and spread in the western provinces, especially in the colonies (Ward-Perkins, 1970, pp. 7-11; Gros, 1996, pp. 220-229). The design principles of the Roman forum were influential in the transformation of existing agoras during the Roman Imperial Period; however, it never took over the Greek Agora completely in the deeply rooted Greek cities (Camp, 2016, p. 304; Dickenson, 2016, pp. 197-304).

specialized for a certain activity, with surrounding architectural components selected and structured accordingly.

In Lycia, the concept of agora can be traced back to the Classical Period. An early inscription hints to the existence of an agora in Lycian Xanthos. The bilingual Inscribed Pillar of Xanthos dated to the late 5th, early 4th century BC was meant to be built within the agora, as it was dedicated to "The Twelve Gods of the Agora in (their) pure *temenos*",[131] according to the Greek epigram carved on its northern face. Thus, the so-called Western or Roman agora, the edge of which the pillar currently stands, may have also served as the agora in the Classical times; however the archaeological studies have not revealed any trace of use in this period within the area yet (des Courtils, Roy, Marksteiner, Manière-Lévêque, & Moretti, 1997, p. 317). Another early reference to agora is found in the Greek text of a 4th century BC Lycian-Greek bilingual inscription carved on a sarcophagus in Kyaneai, which mentions that the funerary fines should be paid to the gods associated with the agora in case of the violation of the grave (Zimmermann M. , 1993; Neumann & Zimmermann, 2003). Therefore, the sarcophagus is believed to have been placed within the Classical Agora, which may have previously dominated the area of the later Hellenistic and Roman agora (Kolb, 1998b, p. 42).

The physical remains of the Classical agoras referred to in the Xanthos and Kyaneai inscriptions have not been found yet; however, an open space discovered inside the well-preserved Classical settlement of Avşar Tepesi provides a picture of how a Lycian agora may have looked like.[132] Designated as an "agora" by Kolb (Kolb, 1998b, p. 41), the open space consists of a rock-cut tomb, two pillar tombs, a putative storage building, a podium and a retaining wall (Thomsen, 2002) (Figs. 3.2.1 and 4.2.1). While the podium is believed to have been the foundations of a temple made of timber frame and mud-brick; the retaining wall is supposed to have supported a wooden seating where the spectators watched the performances held in the agora (Kolb, 1998b, p. 41).

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[131] *TAM* I 44. Translation is from Long (1987, p. 49).

[132] For Avşar Tepesi, see Chapter 3.2.

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Today, agoras can be recognized among the ruins of almost every Lycian city. Despite the alterations in later periods, excavations conducted in some of the well-preserved cities such as Xanthos, Arykanda, Phaselis, Kibyra, Tlos, Rhodiapolis, Patara and Andriake, and surveys that have taken place, for instance, in Bubon, Oenoanda and Musa Dağı settlement near Olympos give some indications of how the agoras were planned, structured, functioned and transformed during the Roman Period and in some cases even before.

Xanthos had three agoras, one at the west and two at the east of the city proper (Fig. 4.5.1). The so-called Roman or Western Agora lies below the north of the Lycian Acropolis, west of the road that ascends from the southern city gate (Fig. 4.2.2). The agora, which was surrounded by porticoes on four sides, was entered through a *tripylon* on the east, bordered by the theater on the south and flanked by shops on the north (des Courtils, 2003, pp. 45-49) (Fig. 4.2.3). Lycian tombs from the Classical Period still stand on its three corners.[133] An inscription discovered within the agora proper mentions the construction of a *bouleuterion* in the agora between AD 82 and 85 by C. Caristanius Fronto, the governor of the province of Lycia and Pamphylia (Robert, 1951, p. 254). Even though it is not confirmed yet, the polygonal masonry walls at the area where the east-west thoroughfare, the *decumanus*, meets the agora are speculated to belong to the remains of the *bouleuterion* (Varkıvanç, 2015, pp. 56-57). The agora seems to have gone through an intense construction process in the Roman times, during which the porticoes and the shops were built respectively in the 1st and 2nd century AD (des Courtils, 2003, p. 48; Varkıvanç, 2013, pp. 62-63). Its surrounding was also changed in the same period, as the theater and its stage building were rebuilt in the 2nd century AD, replacing a smaller Hellenistic theater.[134] As previously mentioned, based on the use of the word "agora" on the Inscribed Pillar, the area

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[133] The Harpy Tomb (5th century BC) and the pillar tomb with sarcophagus (4th and 3rd centuries BC) are on the south-west corner; the house-type tomb (5th century BC) is on the south-east corner and the Inscribed Pillar (late 5th century BC) is on the north-east corner. The pillar tomb with sarcophagus is a combination of a 4th century BC Lycian pillar tomb with a sarcophagus which was superimposed over the pillar during the Ptolemaic reign (Demargne, 1958, pp. 47-58).

[134] For the theater of Xanthos, see Chapter 4.3.

is considered to have been in use as an agora since the Classical times, however no trace has been found from that period suggesting a civic use.[135] Moreover, the surrounding of the Harpy Tomb at the south-west corner of the agora was a worship area dedicated to the tomb owner Kybernis (Demargne, 1958, pp. 37-47). During the early Hellenistic Period, this sector was used as a Ptolemaic cemetery (Cavalier & des Courtils, 2012, pp. 251-252; Demargne, 1958, pp. 58-64), which reduces the chances of using this area as an agora in the Greek sense (des Courtils, oral communication, December, 2017). Even though this cemetery continued to be sporadically used until the end of the Hellenistic Period,[136] it is also possible that the rest of the area may have begun to be used as a public gathering space together with the construction of the Hellenistic theater.[137]

The other two agoras were built on two consecutive terraces in the eastern part of the city (Fig. 4.2.4). The Upper or Northern agora, which was surrounded by colonnades of Corinthian order on four sides, is located at the south-western quadrant of the intersection of cardo and decumanus (Fig. 4.2.5). Behind the eastern portico, was built a two-story building, identified as a civic basilica and sometimes called cryptoporticus (des Courtils, 2003, pp. 85-87; Cavalier, 2012a). The upper story, which was on the same level with the agora, consisted of a wide nave and side aisles, while the lower story was designed by the use of the slope and comprised of rows of rooms flanking the cardo and opening to the street (des Courtils & Laroche, 2002, pp. 298-299; Cavalier, 2012a, p. 20).138 Behind the shops, under the central nave, was found a large cistern supporting the upper structure which was built over a Hellenistic predecessor (des Courtils & Laroche, 2002, pp. 298-299; des Courtils, 2003, p. 86). The porticoes of the agora and the

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[135] The excavations conducted around the Inscribed Pillar have so far only revealed architectural blocks and pottery sherds of 4th century BC, which are most likely related to the *temenos* around the pillar (Varkıvanç, 2015, pp. 55-56; 2016, p. 67).

[136] For an in-depth discussion on the funerary character of this area, see Cavalier & des Courtils (2012).

[137] For the relationship of agora and the theater, see Kolb (1981).

[138] The function of these rooms is unknown during the Imperial Period but they were used as workshops in later times (Cavalier, 2012a, p. 20).

civil basilica were built likely within the same construction program in the 2nd century AD, during the Hadrianic or Antonine Period (des Courtils, 2003, p. 87; 2009b, pp. 40-42). The function of the civil basilica is unknown, but its central location and the discovery of inscriptions dedicated to Hadrian point to an official character (Cavalier, 2012a, p. 19). Studies have revealed that the place of the agora was in use before its imperial takeover. During the Augustan Period, the area was occupied by a square surrounded with official buildings (des Courtils, 2008, pp. 1646-1649; 2009c, pp. 361-363). The walls of these buildings were decorated in First Pompeian style (des Courtils, 2009c, p. 361; 2010, p. 277). The existence of the Hellenistic cistern under this square strengthens the idea of the utilization of the above area as an open space as it would not be able to carry the load of heavy constructions (des Courtils, 2003, p. 86).

The Lower or Southern agora is located on a terrace below the Upper Agora, along the *cardo* (Fig. 4.2.4). This area is less studied but it is known that this agora, larger than the upper one, was also surrounded by Corinthian porticoes, and bordered with rooms at least on the northern side, supported by the terrace wall of the Upper Agora (des Courtils & Cavalier, 2001a, p. 163; des Courtils & Laroche, 2002, p. 301; des Courtils & Laroche, 2003, p. 429). An east-west street, parallel to the *decumanus*, run in front of these rooms, connecting the *cardo* to the baths and residential area at the west (des Courtils & Laroche, 2003, p. 429). A *nymphaeum* was also located on this street, which received water from the cistern under the civil basilica (Cavalier, 2012a, p. 20).

It can be deduced from the present studies that the areas where the Western and Northern agoras are located were in use in previous periods, although it is not entirely clear whether they served as agoras. The extensive renovation projects during the Roman times apparently resulted in the redefinition of civic spaces. The creation of two central foci in different parts of the city may imply the specialization of these agoras for certain activities. However, thus far, the better studied Western and Northern agoras have not revealed any definitive evidence to suggest that any of these agoras were reserved for any specific activity.

Contrary to Xanthian agoras, the two agoras of Arykanda are functionally more distinguishable; one of them is identified as commercial, while the other as civic (Figs. 4.2.6 and 4.5.17). The commercial (upper) agora is located on a flat terrace at the northwestern part of the city (Fig. 4.2.7). Supported by a retaining wall on the south, the northern part of the agora was lined up with 12 rooms, partially carved into the bedrock, which were in use between the 2nd century BC and 4th century AD (Bayburtluoğlu, 1988, pp. 111-113) (Fig. 4.2.8). A wooden stoa, which was separated from the open space of agora by a flight of three steps, was built in front of the nine rooms on the east (Bayburtluoğlu, 1988, p. 111). A staircase between the 3rd and 4th rooms on the west leads to the upper terrace which is occupied by the *bouleuterion*, archive building and a temple dedicated to Helios (Fig. 4.2.9). The *bouleuterion* was a covered rectangular building with rock-cut curved seating rows facing an *orchestra* that is approximately 2.5 m below the last seating row (Bayburtluoğlu, 1980, pp. 53-55) (Fig. 4.2.10).[139] The building is believed to be in use since the Hellenistic Period and possibly altered and continued to be used in the Roman times (Bayburtluoğlu, 2003, pp. 86-93). The rock-cut rectangular room next to the *bouleuterion* is identified as the archive building of the assembly place that was also in use between the 2nd century BC and 4th century AD, similar to the shops (Bayburtluoğlu, 2003, p. 92) (Fig. 4.2.11). The temple of Helios was probably a Doric *in antis* or *prostylos* temple, built within a rock-cut *temenos* which was entered through a *propylon* (Bayburtluoğlu, 2003, pp. 65-68) (Fig. 3.3.3). The temple was most likely built in the 4th century BC, and destroyed during the earthquake of AD 141/142 (Bayburtluoğlu, 2003, p. 68). Based on the early construction dates of these buildings, Bayburtluoğlu (2003, p. 96) claims that this area was the Hellenistic acropolis. In the 3rd century AD, a *sebasteion* dedicated to the Emperor Septimus Severus and his family was built west of the *bouleuterion*,[140] suggesting that the

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[139] The identification of the building as a *bouleuterion* is further supported by the discovery of three types of clay ballots which probably meant yes, no and abstain (Bayburtluoğlu, 2003, pp. 89-90).

[140] For the *sebasteion,* see Chapter 4.1, p. 64.

area was still an important civic, commercial and religious focus during Roman times (Fig. 4.1.19).

The civic (lower) agora is located at the mid-eastern part of the city, below the theater, at a lower terrace compared to the commercial agora (Fig. 4.2.12). The agora may have initially been designed together with the theater-stadium complex in Augustan times and gradually altered (Bayburtluoğlu, 2003, p. 111).[141] It was a rectangular area, retained by a wall on the south and surrounded by a U-shaped portico on other three sides (Fig. 4.2.13). The portico was 2.5 m higher than the courtyard, in the middle of which the remains of a temple, dedicated probably to Tykhe or the cult of the emperor, have been discovered (Bayburtluoğlu, 2003, pp. 111-113). The entrance was provided with monumental gates on the east and the west that were connected to the stepped streets on both sides (Fig. 4.2.14). In a later period, an *odeion* was attached to the north of the agora and entered from the northern portico by three gates (Fig. 4.2.15). Identified as a covered meeting place,[142] the building was constructed in the 2nd century AD in the form of an auditorium with semi-circular *cavea* and *orchestra* (Bayburtluoğlu, 2003, pp. 114-119). In addition, the remains of a building with multiple rooms at the west, separated from the agora by a street, have been defined as the *prytaneion*, based on its proximity to the agora and the inscriptions mentioning a prytan found within the city (Bayburtluoğlu, 2003, p. 92) (Figs. 4.2.14 and 4.2.16). When considering the nature of the surrounding buildings and the lack of any shops within the area, it can be assumed that the agora may have served primarily as the civic and political assembly place, though it may have also been used for commercial purposes from time to time with the installation of temporary stalls (Bayburtluoğlu, 2003, p. 113).

In the light of current studies, the location of the "commercial" agora seems to be the civic center in the Hellenistic Period. Even though it is not clear

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[141] For theater-stadium complex Arykanda, see Chapter 4.3.

[142] While mentioning the size of the *odeion*, Bayburtluoğlu (2004, p. 141) says it is "doubled up as the city's *bouleuterion*", which suggests that the building was used also as an assembly place and the word *odeion* is used interchangeable with the *bouleuterion* in the modern scholarship.

exactly when the civic agora began to be used as a public space, it can be suggested that the center of gravity of activities was divided among these two public centers in the Early Empire. Consequently, during the Imperial Period, both agoras in Arykanda fulfilled basic political, commercial and religious requirements of the public; however the commercial character is more pronounced in one, while the civic character in the other.

There are also two agoras in Phaselis, both located close to each other (Fig. 4.5.21). The earlier and larger one is located at the southern part of the city, whose façade flanked almost all along the western side of the main street that runs between the southern port and the main plaza (Fig. 4.2.17). The inscription (*TAM* II 1186), that was still standing in-situ until recently on the architrave of one of the two surviving gates which provided entrance from the street, indicates that the building was donated by the Emperor Domitian (Figs. 4.2.18 and 4.2.19).[143] Accordingly, it is so far accepted as the earliest safely dated public building in Phaselis (Arslan & Tüner Önen, 2016, p. 312). Surveys have revealed that the building was an agora with rooms in various dimensions lined up on the western and southern sides of a courtyard (Schäfer, 1981, pp. 102-106).

The other agora is located in front of the public square, across the small baths and the theater, separated from the agora of Domitian by a street running perpendicular to the main avenue and boasting two *nymphaea* on its both sides.[144] According to an inscription in which it is referred to as "tetragonal agora", the building was donated by a woman called Tyndaris and was dedicated to the Emperor Hadrian in AD 131 (Fig. 4.2.20).[145] The almost square building, measured 37 m by 35 m, was called tetragonal possibly due to its enclosed layout (Schäfer, 1981, p. 93).[146] Even though it was altered in later periods almost beyond recognition with the construction of a basilica inside, studies have

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[143] *IGR* III 75 = *TAM* II 1186. The name of the emperor was later erased from the text.

[144] For these *nymphaea*, see Chapter 4.4, pp. 119-120.

[145] *IGR* III 759 = *TAM* II 1194.

[146] Inscriptions and ancient texts referring to "tetragonal agora" have been discovered, for instance, in Antioch (Joseph. *BJ* 7.55), Ephesus (IEph 3005, IEph 4123) and Cyzicus (*SEG* 28 953).

revealed that the agora consisted of rows of rooms arranged around an open courtyard with a cistern (Bayburtluoğlu, 1985, pp. 374-375).

What type of activities took place in either agora is unknown. According to Schäfer (1981, pp. 93, 106), due to its central location and the inscribed statue bases erected before its front façade, the Tetragonal Agora may have had civic and official character; while the agora of Domitian must have accommodated more diverse activities based on its comparatively larger dimension, open layout and its close proximity to the harbor.

Similar to the eastern agoras of Xanthos, the agora of Kibyra was designed on three successive terraces, which can be described as a three-terraced building complex, located at the north of the main avenue that runs between the city gate and the theater (Figs. 4.5.15, 4.2.21 and 4.2.22).[147] The well-studied Terrace I, the lowest terrace at the east, has been revealed to be a colonnaded street that runs perpendicular to the main avenue (Fig. 4.2.23). The street is flanked with stoas on both sides, built in front of 15 rooms on the west and 11 on the east (Özüdoğru, 2015, p. 48). Even though the street and stoas were largely altered in late antiquity, some walls and floor remains as well as pottery sherds found at the eastern rooms suggest that the area was in use since at least Hellenistic times (Özüdoğru Ş. , Dökü, Dikbaş, & Vanhavarbeke, 2011, p. 40). Nothing much is known about the second terrace yet, but the third and largest terrace, measured 180 m by 120 m, is speculated to have been a *macellum* based on the monumental circular *nymphaeum* discovered at its southern part (Dökü, 2012, p. 90) (Fig. 4.4.18). Such an agora in monumental dimensions, spread over on three terraces and serving varying functions is an expected feature in a city like Kibyra, which was an important trade post along the route that connected inner Asia Minor to Lycia.[148]

Kibyra has a well-preserved *odeion/bouleuterion,* built in the 2nd century AD, in the form of a covered small theater with a *cavea* of 31 rows of seats and an

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[147] For the main avenue, see Chapter 4.5.

[148] For land communication in Lycia, see Chapter 2.1, pp. 15-16.

orchestra covered with an *opus sectile* depiction of Medusa (Özüdoğru & Dökü, 2010, pp. 39-42; Dökü, 2012, p. 91) (Figs. 4.2.24, 4.2.25 and 4.2.26).[149] A stoa with a 560 m^2 floor mosaic was built behind the highly decorated *skene* (Özüdoğru & Dökü, 2010, p. 40; 2013, pp. 160-161) (Fig. 4.2.27).[150] The building may have been used for various activities such as political meetings, musical performances, juridical activities and theatrical performances in unfavorable weather conditions (Özüdoğru & Dökü, 2010, p. 41). The *odeion/bouleuterion* is located 100 m south of the theater (Özüdoğru & Dökü, 2013, p. 159), thus, far away from the agora. Future studies will hopefully reveal the relation of the building with other public buildings, or whether there was any other public space close to it.

The agora of Tlos, only the location of which can be identified, is almost entirely destroyed on the surface. However, the organization of the city center provides information of its relationship with the surrounding. The city center of Tlos was designed on a large plain between the foot of the acropolis and the theater, roughly in two terraces (Figs. 4.2.28 and 4.2.29). The lower terrace below the acropolis is generally referred to as "stadium area" in modern scholarship (Fig. 4.3.20). The area is bound by nine rows of seats belonging to the *stadion* on the west and shops on the east (Figs. 4.2.29, 4.3.20 and 4.3.21). Two rectangular buildings, identified as *bouleuterion* and *prytaneion*,[151] were built side by side approximately on the central axis of the *stadion* (Fig. 4.2.30). Accessed from the *diazoma* on top of the *cavea*, these buildings were probably designed and constructed together with the *stadion* in the Hellenistic Period (Korkut, 2015a, pp. 84-87).[152] A U-shaped colonnaded gallery and a fountain-pool complex[153] were

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[149] The depiction of Medusa is considered to be a rare example on an *orchestra* floor (Dökü, 2012, p. 92).

[150] The mosaic was laid in the 3rd century AD by Aurelius Sopatros and Klaudios Theodoros according to the inscription on it and is considered to be so far the largest mosaic discovered as a whole in Anatolia (Özüdoğru & Dökü, 2013, p. 159).

[151] According the Korkut (2015a, pp. 84-85), the inclined floors of the buildings that resemble a *theatron* and inscriptions mentioning *bouleuterion* and *prytaneion* found within the city were influential in the identification of the buildings.

[152] For the *stadion* of Tlos, see Chapter 4.3, p. 101.

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built at the northern end of the area during the restoration works following the earthquake of AD 240, after which the southern part of the area fell into disuse (Korkut, 2015a, pp. 75-81) (Fig. 4.4.19).[154]

The upper terrace, on the other hand, served some other public buildings. The southern part of the area was occupied with two bath buildings and a temple dedicated to Kronos, while the flat area on the north in front of the theater functioned as the agora (Fig. 4.2.31). Despite the heavy destruction caused by modern use, architectural fragments found in and around the agora proper suggest that the agora underwent reconstruction in the 2nd century AD;[155] however, considering the development of the stadium area and the construction of the theater in the Hellenistic Period;[156] it is possible that the agora was originally laid out in similar times, if not earlier (Korkut, 2015a, pp. 64-66).

These two terraces were separated from each other with two building blocks of shops which were interrupted in the middle with a gate that provided the communication between the upper and lower terraces (Korkut, 2015a, pp. 66-71) (Figs. 4.2.28 and 4.2.29). The building block on the north was two-story: the 13 shops at the first level were facing the stadium area; while the second story, which has not revealed any division so far, was entered from the agora (Fig. 4.2.31). The southern building block in front of the *palaestra*, on the other hand, had at least 11 shops that were also accessed from the lower terrace. These two rows of shops were built in different times. An estimated date is given as the 2nd century AD for the northern block, and the 3rd century AD for the southern (Korkut, 2015a, pp. 70-71).

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[153] For the fountain-pool complex at Tlos, see Chapter 4.4, p. 120.

[154] Some parts of the portico may have initially designed in the Hellenistic Period together with the *stadion*, but rebuilt following the destruction as the architectural decoration suggests (Korkut, 2015a, p. 78).

[155] Some of the architectural elements from the agora were reused in the city basilica built in front of the temple of Kronos in late antiquity (Korkut, 2015a, pp. 42-45, 65).

[156] For the dating of the theater of Tlos, see Chapter 4.3, p. 91, fn. 182.

Accordingly, it can be said that the public space of Tlos was in use since the Hellenistic Period, when most of the public buildings such as the theater, *stadion*, *bouleuterion* and the *prytaneion* were built. Terraced into two large flat sections which can be called as upper and lower agoras as Işık has designated (2016b, p. 212), the area was intensively altered during the Roman times, and the new buildings were progressively added.

The agora proper of Rhodiapolis was also designed in two major terraces utilizing the hilly terrain, though smaller and more compact compared to Tlos, due to the limited space. The east-west street that starts at the western city gate reached a public square in the city center, which opened to a trapezoidal flat surface on the north that formed the lower terrace (Figs. 4.5.8, 4.2.32 and 4.2.33). Identified as the agora, this area was built over four large cisterns and surrounded by a stoa on the north-west; an *exedra* on the north; and an unidentified building on a lower terrace on the east. The double-story stoa with mosaic paving must have served the commercial needs of the city (Çevik N. , et al., 2010, pp. 214-215) (Fig. 4.2.34). The *exedra* was once adorned with statues, and the unidentified building on the east with two rooms and a courtyard may have functioned as the city's *prytaneion* (Çevik, Kızgut, & Bulut, 2010, p. 42). The agora also communicated with the *Hadrianeum* and the ancestral cult hall at the south through the public square, both of which were built in the 2nd century AD and respectively dedicated to the Emperor Hadrian and the imperial family, and the family of Opramoas of Rhodiapolis, a well-known benefactor for Lycian cities (Kızgut, 2012, pp. 354-356) (Fig. 4.2.35).

The upper terrace behind the stoa, which was reached through the staircase on the west, was occupied by the tomb and stoa of Opramoas on the south and the west, the theater on the north and a four-stepped *cavea* on the east (Figs. 4.2.36 and 4.2.37). Among these, the earliest is the theater, which was built in the Hellenistic Period and then enlarged and enhanced with a stage building during the Roman Period.[157] The tomb, built for Opramoas, was a *heroon* in *prostylos*

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[157] For theater of Rhodiapolis, see Özdilek (2012) and Chapter 4.3.

temple form (Çevik, Kızgut, & Bulut, 2008b, pp. 65-66) (Fig. 4.6.4.27).[158] Located at the most prominent place of the city, the walls of the *heroon* were covered with the inscriptions mentioning the good deeds of the famous citizen (Kokkinia, 2000). The stoa that functioned together with the upper story of the double stoa was in Ionic order and had eight niches on its back wall (Çevik, Kızgut, & Bulut, 2010, pp. 34, 42) (Fig. 4.2.38). Apparently, all three structures, the tomb and the two stoas, were built around the same time in the 2nd century AD, based on their layout and the Antonine style decoration (Çevik, Kızgut, & Bulut, 2010, p. 42). Considering that a similar style was also used in the stage building of the theater (Özdilek, 2012, pp. 68-69), it can be said that the whole upper terrace went through an intense restoration process within a close period of time. The small *cavea*, on the other hand, belongs to a meeting hall, that was built after the 3rd century AD, after partially removing the eastern end of the stage building (Çevik, Kızgut, & Bulut, 2010, p. 42; Çevik N. , et al., 2010, pp. 212-213) (Fig. 4.2.39). The political activities, which took place within the theater, must have moved to this building.[159] Considering the early construction date of the *cavea* and the remains of some Hellenistic walls around the theater suggest that the upper terrace was in use during the Hellenistic times and underwent a transformation especially after the 2nd century AD (Çevik, Kızgut, & Bulut, 2010, p. 32). The public area was used for various activities as in the case of many other cities. However, the agora proper of Rhodiapolis differs from most of the Lycian cities with the promotion of a *heroon* and an ancestral cult hall dedicated to contemporary citizens.

In Patara, the agora was located on a flat plain at the south of the city, which is bordered by the theater on the south, the *bouleuterion, prytaneion* and stoa on the west and the colonnaded street on the north (Figs. 4.5.18, 4.2.40 and 4.2.41). The agora, however, is not as easily discernible today as in the case of Tlos. It is almost entirely destroyed, and so far, can only be identified by the stoa

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[158] For the monumental tomb of Opramoas, see Chapter 4.6.4, p. 171.

[159] The existence of political activity within the theater of Rhodiapolis is known from the recovered ballots (Özdilek, 2012, p. 73).

that once flanked its western edge (İşkan, 2016, p. 154) (Fig. 4.2.42). The 120 m long stoa with two rows of columns, Ionic on the exterior and Corinthian on the interior, lies between the *bouleuterion* on the south and the main street on the north (Aktaş, 2013, pp. 98-105; İşkan, 2016, p. 154). It was initially built in the Early Imperial Period, and later renovated in Trajanic, Antonine and Severan periods (Aktaş, 2013, pp. 104-105).

The theater and the *bouleuterion* predate the stoa. The theater was constructed in the 1st century BC at the latest (Piesker & Ganzert, 2011, p. 233) (Figs. 4.1.2, 4.2.41, 4.3.1.j and 4.3.12). The structure underwent several reconstructions during the Roman Period, including the addition of *summa cavea*, the stage building and the *cavea*-temple, as well as the transformation of the *orchestra* into an *arena* for gladiatorial games and beast hunts.[160] The *bouleuterion* was constructed around the same time with the theater in the late Hellenistic Period and similarly restored during the Roman times (Korkut & Grosche, 2007, pp. 57-77) (Figs. 4.2.43 and 4.2.44). It was a roofed rectangular building housing an over-semicircular *cavea* of 21 rows of seats. It was used as the assembly building not only of the city but also probably of the Lycian League, since Patara is considered to have been the capital of both the League and the province based on Livy's (Livy 37.15.6) designation of the city as *caput gentis* (Korkut & Grosche, 2007, pp. 79-81; İşkan, 2016, pp. 150-151). There is also evidence for the use of the building for other purposes. During a reconstruction phase that took place probably in the 1st century AD, the building was modified to function as an *odeion* by the addition of a stage building and *pulpitum* (Korkut & Grosche, 2007, pp. 66-72).[161] Between the theater and the *bouleuterion* have been discovered the traces of a structure with several rooms. Even though much remains to be learned about the building from future studies, it is safely identified

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[160] For the theater of Patara, see Chapter 4.3; for a discussion on *cavea*-temples, see Chapter 4.1, pp. 53 ff.

[161] İşkan (2016, p. 151) mentions a late 2nd century AD funerary inscription which refers to the building as an *odeion*.

as the *prytaneion* (İşkan, et al., 2014, pp. 278-279; İşkan, 2016, p. 151) (Figs. 4.2.43 and 4.2.45).

The main street on the north of the agora, which is accessed from the stoa through a *dipylon*, is believed to have been designed together with the theater and the *bouleuterion* in the late Hellenistic Period (Aktaş, 2013, pp. 58-61) (Figs. 4.5.19 and 4.5.20). Initially built on a northeast-southwest axis, the street was reoriented towards the north during a Trajanic reconstruction and eventually furnished with colonnades and shops on both sides (Aktaş, 2013, pp. 55-63).

With its new orientation, the so-called "Harbor Street" connected the agora with the harbor area (İşkan, 2016, p. 154). The harbor of Patara had another agora for maritime activities. However, since the area is currently submerged, nothing much is known about either this second agora or any other architecture related to the port (İşkan & Koçak, 2014, p. 280; İşkan, 2016, p. 154).[162] Yet, the surviving buildings in the surrounding, such as the harbor baths, the Corinthian Temple, and the Stadiasmus Monument suggest that the harbor and its agora may have once been part of an articulate urban configuration (İşkan & Koçak, 2014, p. 280).

Subsequently, it is clear that the agora proper of Patara was in use as a public space since at least the late Hellenistic Period, as the primary civic buildings, the theater and the *bouleuterion* as well as the initial phase of the main street of the city are dated to this period. Both the agora and the surrounding civic buildings underwent conspicuous architectural and functional alterations in Roman times.

Andriake presents a well-preserved example of how a harbor area may have been arranged in Lycia. The agora of Andriake was located at the center of the harbor settlement, next to the *horreum* (Figs. 4.6.1.8, 4.6.2.7 and 4.2.46).[163] Called Plakoma, the building was a U-shaped building having rows of rooms of shops and workshops lined on three sides of a courtyard that was built over a

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[162] For more on the port of Patara, see Chapter 4.6.2, pp. 153-154.

[163] For more on the harbor settlement at Andriake, see Chapter 4.6.2, pp. 150-152.

cistern (Figs. 4.2.47, 4.2.48, 4.2.49).[164] Plakoma was built in the 2nd century AD, within a construction program that also included the *horreum*, probably in preparation for the arrival of the Emperor Hadrian to the region (Çevik & Bulut, 2011, p. 62) (Figs. 4.6.2.7 and 4.6.2.9).

It is for sure that excavated agoras have revealed more about the concept of public space in Lycian cities in terms of dating the constructions and restorations; however, surveys have also reached interpretable results about the agoras in some cities such as Bubon, and Oenoanda and Musa Dağı settlement near Olympos.

The agora of Bubon is a flat rectangular area spread on a terrace that is retained by a high wall on the south (Hülden, 2008, pp. 141-144) (Fig. 4.2.50). Above this terrace wall, attached to the southern side of the agora, are found five rows of seating, which are believed to have belonged to a *stadion*.[165] The eastern and western sides of the agora were once flanked by porticoes, while the northern side, which may also have been lined up by colonnades, is bound by the retaining wall of an upper terrace. At the western side of the agora is located a rectangular structure. The upper terrace on the north of the agora, on the other hand, was occupied by the theater and the *sebasteion*. It is difficult to reconstruct the chronological development of the agora but the pseudoisodomic masonry of the retaining wall that supports the southern part of the agora and the theater with its over-semicircular layout may belong to the Hellenistic Period (Hülden, 2008, pp. 142, 147). The *Sebasteion* was in use between the 1st and 3rd century AD (İnan, 1993),[166] while the rectangular and functionally unidentified building at the western side of the agora was built of reused material, possibly in late antiquity, most probably over an earlier building (Ekinci H. A., 1995, pp. 335-336; Hülden, 2008, pp. 143-144). Consequently, it can be said that the agora of Bubon was

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[164] Due to the lack of any trace pertaining to religious and political activities within the Plakoma, des Courtils suggests that the building may have been a *macellum* instead of an agora (oral communication, December, 2017).

[165] For the *stadion* of Bubon, see Chapter 4.3, pp. 102.

[166] For the *sebasteion* of Bubon, see Chapter 4.1, p. 64.

actively used in a long span of time, and despite the compact arrangement in a limited space, it seemingly served various functions.

Oenoanda had two identified civic spaces that were connected to each other by a colonnaded street; one called "Esplanade" and the other one "agora" in the modern scholarship (Fig. 4.6.1.11). The Esplanade is believed to be the early city center which was equipped with monumental buildings, the earliest of which have been recognized as a free-standing double-story stoa at the north and a Doric-style pseudoperipteral temple-like building at the west, both dated to the Hellenistic period (Bachmann, 2016, p. 354) (Figs. 4.2.51 and 4.2.52).[167] Another free-standing stoa was added to the south of the area in the 2nd century AD, possibly donated by Diogenes, the philosopher of Oenoanda, who had an Epicurean inscription carved on its walls (Bachmann, 2016, p. 357).[168] The agora, on the other hand, belongs to the Roman Period. It was a rectangular area surrounded by porticoes on three sides that gave way to the buildings behind them (Coulton, 1986) (Fig. 4.2.53). While the functions of the buildings behind the porticoes are largely unknown, the building at the northeastern section of the agora, which has its own façade installed between the eastern and northeastern porticoes has been identified as a *Boukonisterion*, a building related possibly to athletic activities.[169]

The agora of Olympos which is considered to be under the Harbor Basilica is notably disturbed after the Imperial Period (Olcay Uçkan & Kurtuluş Öztaşkın, 2016, p. 282). However a settlement at Musa Dağı, which is considered to be the early settlement of Olympians before they moved to the coast,[170] presents the remains of a Hellenistic agora, which was a rectangular area built of cut masonry,

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[167] The Doric building (Mk 2) is considered to be a temple or a temple-tomb and dated to the 2nd century BC according to stylistic analysis of its architrave (Coulton, 1982a).

[168] The Epicurean inscription of Diogenes is presumed to be the longest philosophical inscription in the ancient world. The recovered fragments have been published many times. For the most recent publication on the inscription, which includes all previous studies and their revisions, see Hammerstaedt & Smith (2014).

[169] For the *Boukonesterion*, see Chapter 4.3, p. 104.

[170] For the relationship between Musa Dağı settlement and Olympos, see Chapter 4.6.2, p. 149.

having shops on the west and a stoa on the east (Olcay Uçkan, Uğurlu, Gökalp, & Bursalı, 2007, pp. 129-130) (Fig. 4.6.1.9). Its residents began to gradually move to the coastal town, however the mountain settlement continued to be used probably as an upper city during the Roman times as the continuation of architectural constructions suggest, which can be exemplified by saffron storage (Uğurlu E. , 2007, pp. 11-12).

As revealed from the above discussion, similar to Greeks, Lycians also created public spaces they called "agora" for conducting their multiple civic activities since at least Classical times. Even though almost all early agoras have been lost due to the superimposition of later constructions, the abandoned settlement of Avşar Tepesi has so far presented the only surviving example of a Classical agora in a Lycian city. Functionally, the open space at Avşar Tepesi has similarities with the Greek Agora in the utilization of a temple, *heroon*, and *theatron;* however it lacks Greek political institutions like the *bouleuterion* and *prytaneion*, and the common stylistic characteristics of Greek architecture (Kolb, 1998b, p. 42). The absence of the institutional structure of the Greek agora in this early "agora" cast a serious doubt on the use of the area literally as a Greek agora.

So far it seems that the agora in the Greek sense began to appear in the Hellenistic Period. The Hellenistic agoras were also heavily damaged due to succeeding Roman urban development. Yet some of the existing agoras discussed above, such as those at Xanthos, Kibyra and Bubon, have revealed Hellenistic use, although scantily. The more intact remains from the Hellenistic Period in the Esplanade of Oenoanda, the commercial agora of Arykanda, the agora of Musa Tepesi and the agora proper of Patara on the other hand, provide more solid information on Hellenistic agoras at Lycian cities, which present regular elements of Greek *poleis* such as the *bouleuterion,* stoa, temple and the classical orders.

The remaining materials from all periods hint to the fact that in most cases, the place of the earlier public spaces continued to be used as civic centers in the Roman times. Agoras in almost every Lycian city underwent intensive reconstructions and developments in the Roman Imperial Period. Each city rebuilt their own unique agora and public space according to their own topographical

conditions and architectural needs. For instance, the city centers of Xanthos, Tlos and Patara spread on almost flat plains; thus the agoras and their surrounding were arranged more freely when compared to those of Arykanda, Rhodiapolis and Bubon, which were built in a more limited space in a much more compact layout. Considering current discoveries, it can be said that theater, *bouleuterion*, stoa, shops and, to a degree, *prytaneion* can be regarded as recurring building types which were mostly built within or close to the agora proper. However, it is also possible to find highlighted architectural elements that were not repeated in every agora. For instance, the civil basilica at the northern agora of Xanthos is so far the only example discovered in Lycia. Together with the porticoes surrounding the agora which stress the emphasis Romans gave to enclosure and rectilinearity, the existence of the civil basilica reminds the basilica-forum complex (des Courtils & Laroche, 2002, p. 299); which may have been an attempt to build a Roman forum in Xanthos. On the other hand, Lycian tombs which were preserved within the western agora of Xanthos which was also a product of Roman design principles with its encircling peristyle, exhibit a design understanding bringing the old and the new together. Similarly, the upper terrace of the agora complex at Kibyra, which is considered to be a *macellum* due to the existence of a circular fountain on its courtyard, is also the only example of its kind discovered in Lycia thus far. In Rhodiapolis, on the other hand, the stoa and the tomb of Opramoas and the ancestral cult hall built for his family occupied a prominent place within the civic center. The inscriptions and statues dedicated to influential individuals and families can be found in almost every public space of every Roman city; however the scale of the celebration of Opramoas and his family within the civic center of Rhodiapolis is currently unmatched in any other Lycian city of Roman times. Finally, the agora of Oenoanda features a *Boukonisterion*, a building type previously unknown, which further testifies to how accepting the Lycians could be for new architectural elements.

Even though the earlier agoras and their surroundings were almost completely destroyed and rebuilt in the Roman Period, the final result was again the Greek agora, not the Roman forum in terms of its name, layout and principle

buildings. However, Roman influence made its presence felt in the agora through the introduction of redefined classicism,[171] renovation of buildings according to Roman design principles, application of orthogonality and enclosure, addition of certain building types and the incorporation of the cult of the emperor within the agora proper through the implantation of *sebasteia*, statues of emperors and inscriptions honoring the emperor and the empire. Similar to the rest of the Greek cities, the Roman forum did not succeed in replacing the agora in Lycian cities as an architectural entity. However, the presence of Roman rule and architecture forever altered the dynamics of the Lycian agora.

4.3 Architecture for Performance: Theaters and *Stadia*

Collective celebration and entertainment was an important aspect of Greek and Roman societies. As a result, several types of permanent buildings were added to their architectural repertoire such as theaters, *stadia*, *odeia*, amphitheaters and circuses. These monumental buildings accommodated large populations and housed various forms of religious and secular events including theatrical performances, political gatherings, sports, musical recitals, gladiatorial games, animal hunts, chariot races, and so on. In Lycia, in particular, two of these building types were constructed for housing various spectacles which were highly in use both in the Hellenistic and the Roman Imperial Period: theater and *stadion*.

Theaters are one of the best preserved building types that withstood destruction in Lycian cities. According to the surviving buildings, partial remains or at least the craters which were once filled with the *caveae*, it appears that most of the cities had theaters.[172] Justifying Pausanias (Paus. 10.4.1) who included

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[171] For Roman classicism, see Chapter 4.5.

[172] In addition to being studied individually, the theaters at Lycian cities have been the subject of comprehensive studies dedicated to ancient theaters by modern scholars, such as De Bernardi Ferrero (1969), Sear (2006) and Özdilek (2011; 2016). Özdilek, who conducted the most recent and up-to-date study on theaters in Lycian cities, identifies 32 theaters in 30 cities: Antiphellos, Apollonia, Arykanda, Balboura (2), Bubon, Gagae, Idebessos, Kadyanda, Kandyba, Kibyra, Korydalla, Kyaneai, Letoon, Limyra, Lydai, Megiste, Myra, Nisa, Olympos, Oenoanda, Patara, Phaselis, Phellos, Pinara, Rhodiapolis, Sidyma, Simena, Telmessos (2), Tlos and Xanthos (2011,

theaters among the buildings every city was required to have in order to be acknowledged as a *polis*, theaters were an essential ingredient of the social, cultural and urban structure of the Lycian cities as for the rest of the Graeco-Roman world.

Before beginning to discuss theater buildings, it should be mentioned that seating arrangements for public gatherings may have been common in Lycia before the Hellenistic and Roman Periods. For instance, the retaining wall found at the agora of the well-preserved Classical Period settlement at Avşar Tepesi may have supported a timber seating, which was built in front of an open space where putative rituals and spectacles were performed (Kolb, 1998b, p. 41).[173] In fact, the existence of such seating places within the agoras led Kolb to the conclusion that the early agoras may have also functioned as theaters (1998b, p. 41; 1981). A seating arrangement of 11 rows discovered in Mnara, which is located in front of a platform and most probably dated to the Hellenistic Period, can be a continuation of a linear seating tradition in Lycia (Çevik, 2005, p. 109; Özdilek, 2011, p. 137).

It is not an easy task to trace when the theater entered the architectural repertoire of Lycian cities in the form of a building, but physical characteristics and construction techniques of the surviving examples give clues for estimating an approximate date. To begin with, the majority of the theaters built in Lycian cities were constructed in the Greek fashion.[174] The *caveae* of most of the

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pp. 148-151; 2016, p. 140). In Gagae, Korydalla and Lydai, the theaters have completely disappeared and only the bowl where the *cavea* once stood can be observed. The theater of Phellos is currently undetectable. Even though Zimmermann discovered the outline of its *cavea* without any seating (2005, p. 48), it could not be found on site by Özdilek later (2011, pp. 148-149). In Sidyma and Olympos, only a few rows of seating have survived. At the lower theater of Balboura, the remains include only a couple of rows of rock-cut seating and a platform which was intended as a base for the stage building. The rest of the theaters, on the other hand, are in variable but comparatively better conditions of preservation.

[173] For a discussion about the agora of Avşar Tepesi, see Chapter 3.2.

[174] In Greek theater design, an over-semicircular *cavea* which rested upon a natural slope was built around a circular orchestra with a high *proskenion*, and low stage building that enabled the landscape to be incorporated into the performances. In Roman theater design, on the other hand, the semi-circular *cavea* which usually sit on vaulted substructures was built around a semi-circular orchestra. The *pulpitum* was lower, but the stage building was as high as and connected to the *cavea*, thus creating an enclosed space and cutting off communication with the outside world. For

surviving theaters are over-semicircular in layout and arranged around a circular *orchestra* (Fig. 4.3.1). Yet, there are exceptions. For instance, the *caveae* of the theaters at Phaselis and Idebessos, and the *orchestra* of the theater at Simena are D-shaped, while the *cavea* of the lower theater at Balboura is less than a semicircle (Fig. 4.3.2).[175] Moreover, the theater of Xanthos has a semicircular *cavea* and *orchestra* which were built over an earlier and smaller theater (Frezouls, 1990, pp. 887-888). However, the traces of the previous theater suggest that its *cavea* also exceeded a semicircle and the *orchestra* was circular like the majority of the Lycian theaters (Frezouls, 1990, pp. 887-888) (Fig. 4.3.3).

In addition, all theaters rest on a natural slope and many were supported by *analemmata* at the ends. The surviving *analemmata* were composed of polygonal or coursed masonry, or a combination of both; and a change in the construction technique or skill reveals the modifications and repairs (Özdilek, 2011, pp. 187-198).[176] In some cases, the seats and *orchestrae* were cut-out of rock. For instance, most of the seats of the upper theater at Balboura,[177] the theater at the acropolis of Telmessos and the theater of Letoon (Fig. 4.3.4) are carved into the bedrock, while the *caveae* of the theaters at Simena (Fig. 4.3.5), Kandyba and the existing seats at the lower theater of Balboura[178] are entirely rock-cut (Fig.

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the Greek and Roman theaters and related bibliography, see Bieber (1961) and Sear (2006). The instructions of how to lay out Roman and Greek theaters were thoroughly given by Vitruvius (Vitr. *De arch.* 5.6, 5.7). For discussions on Vitruvius' manual for building theaters, see Small (1983) and Sear (1990).

[175] How many degrees of a circle a *cavea* covers is obtained by the intersection of the projections of the *analemma* walls on the *orchestra*. For a list of degrees of the arcs formed by the *caveae* of Lycian theaters, see Özdilek (2011, pp. 185-187).

[176] The theaters of Kandyba, Simena, Telmessos acropolis and Balboura (lower city) do not have *analemmata* due to being carved into the bedrock. The *analemma* walls of the upper theater of Balboura, Bubon, Idebessos, Nisa, Oenoanda and Sidyma, are heavily destroyed. For a discussion about *analemmata* of the theaters at Lycia, see Özdilek (2011, pp. 187-198).

[177] The *cavea* of the upper theater at Balboura was left unfinished with a rocky outcrop still remaining in the middle of the upper *cavea*. It was initially considered as a part of the design (Spratt & Forbes, 1847, p. 269), but according to Bier (1994, p. 37), it was used as the quarry for the seats and would have ultimately been removed.

[178] Similar to the upper theater, the lower theater at Balboura was probably left before completion, as the rocky projections break the curvature continuity of the *cavea* (Bier, 1990, pp. 74-78).

4.3.6).[179] Moreover, the *orchestra* of the theaters at Pinara and Simena are formed by leveling the bedrock (Özdilek, 2011, p. 227).

The rock-cut theaters found in Kandyba and on the acropolis of Telmessos are believed to be the early examples of theater buildings in Lycia according to their formal and constructional characteristics, their high locations where the cities were settled during the Classical and early Hellenistic Periods and the absence of permanent stage buildings (Özdilek, 2011, pp. 137-139; 2016, pp. 147-149). The initial construction date of the majority of the remaining theaters, on the other hand, spread approximately over two centuries before the turn of the millennium. According to the over-semicircular shape of their *caveae*, and the masonry technique of the remaining *analemmata*, the theaters at Antiphellos, Apollonia, Balboura (upper), Kyaneai,[180] Letoon, Pinara and Phaselis are dated around the late 3rd and early 2nd century BC; the theaters of Kadyanda, Limyra, Oenoanda, Patara, Rhodiapolis and Simena belong to the 1st century BC at the latest; and the theaters of Arykanda, Kibyra and Telmessos are from the late Hellenistic and early Roman Era, the Augustan Period.[181] Finally, the theater of Tlos is roughly dated to the Hellenistic Period.[182]

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[179] For the *caveae* at Telmessos acropolis and Kandyba: Özdilek (2011, pp. 137-139; 2016, pp. 147-149); Letoon: Badie, Lemaitre, & Moretti (2004, p. 151); Simena: Sear (2006, p. 378).

[180] The theater of Kyaneai is dated to the late 3rd-early 2nd century BC, and is usually regarded as one of the earliest theaters of Lycia (de Bernardi Ferrero, 1969, pp. 145-151; Kolb, 1996, pp. 16-19; Sear, 2006, p. 369). However, Özdilek suggests that the theater is dated to a period between 100-50 BC according to the masonry technique of the *analemmata* (2011, p. 192).

[181] For the dating of Lycian theaters, see the following for each mentioned city: Antiphellos: De Bernardi Ferrero (1969, pp. 137-141); Apollonia: Özdilek (2011, p. 281); Arykanda: Bayburtluoğlu (2003, pp. 103-104), Balboura upper theater: Bier (1994, pp. 40-45); Kadyanda: Özdilek (2011, p. 282); Kibyra: De Bernardi Ferrero (1966, pp. 9-24); Kyaneai: see fn. 180; Letoon: Badie, Lemaitre, & Moretti, (2004, pp. 167-168); Limyra: Borchhardt (1999, p. 102); Oenoanda: De Bernardi Ferrero (1969, pp. 137-141); Patara: (Piesker & Ganzert, 2011, p. 233); Pinara: Özbek (1991, pp. 285-287); Rhodiapolis: Özdilek (2011, pp. 108-110); Simena: Özdilek (2011, p. 286); Telmessos: De Bernardi Ferrero (1969, pp. 99-102).

[182] The theater of Tlos is commonly dated to the Augustan Period (Sear, 2006, pp. 379-380), by an inscription found on the northern *parodos*, which names a group of benefactors who promised to build the theater (*TAM* II 550-551, *IGR* III 566). According to Korkut (2015a, p. 41), this inscription implies a repair instead of initial construction, and asserts that the theater was constructed much earlier, based on a 3rd century BC statue base found inside the building.

Yet, only a small number of theaters are dated to the Roman Period. The theater of Xanthos was initially built in the Hellenistic Period, but was replaced by a larger theater in around the 2nd century AD (Frezouls, 1990, pp. 887-888; des Courtils, 2003, p. 62). Similarly, the theater of Myra was rebuilt in the Roman Period over a Hellenistic predecessor (Çevik, 2015a, p. 370).[183] The construction of the lower theater at Balboura began in the 2nd or 3rd century AD but it probably never was completed as the *proskenion* and the *cavea* were left unfinished;[184] and the stage building is unlikely to have ever been built (Bier, 1990, pp. 74-78).

Several theaters underwent repairs and modifications during the Roman Period. The repairs began as early as the Early Empire. For instance, the theater of Patara was restored by a citizen called Polyperchon during the reign of Tiberius.[185] The bulk of repairs, on the other hand, took place after the 2nd century AD.

One major undertaking was increasing the capacity of theaters by adding new seating rows. For instance, the *summa cavea* was added to the theater of Patara by Tiberius Claudius Flavianus Eudemus, as mentioned in an honorary inscription dated to AD 127 (Engelmann, 2004). Similarly, the theaters of Antiphellos, Kadyanda, Kibyra, Kyaneai, Limyra, Rhodiapolis and Tlos were enlarged by the addition of upper seating rows in the 2nd and 3rd century A.D (Özdilek, 2011, pp. 281-288). The *summa caveae* of the theaters of Patara and Tlos stand out from the rest as they were built with a temple (Figs. 4.1.1 and 4.1.2).[186]

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[183] On-going excavations have begun to reveal traces of the Hellenistic theater (Çevik, 2015a, p. 370). Moreover, the seating blocks with Hellenistic inscriptions found reused in the later theater are taken as proof for the existence of an earlier building (Özdilek, 2011, p. 144).

[184] For the lower theater at Balboura, see fn. 178.

[185] *TAM* II 420. Sturgeon suggests that Polyperchon built the entire theater judging by the fact that the inscription refers to the theater as a whole with a single word (θε[άτρ]ου) instead of mentioning its sections (2004, p. 420). However, since the theater is securely dated to the Hellenistic Period (Piesker & Ganzert, 2011, p. 233), it must be a reconstruction even if the entire building was rebuilt.

[186] For a detailed discussion of theater-temples of Patara and Tlos, see Chapter 4.1.

As explained above, all the theaters were built into hillside, and there is no example of free standing theaters in Lycia which were entirely supported by vaulted structures in Roman style like the theater of Aspendos. However, the *summa cavea* of the theater at Limyra, which was built during the enlargement program, is carried by a vaulted corridor (Sear, 2006, p. 369) (Fig. 4.3.7). Moreover, the *summa cavea* of the theater at Myra was built partially over a vaulted substructure when the entire theater was rebuilt, which provided rooms, corridors and galleries for entrance (Sear, 2006, p. 370) (Fig. 4.3.8).

Secondly, some theaters needed repairs after the earthquake of AD 141/142, which caused an immense amount of damage all over Lycia. It is highly likely that the rebuilding of the theater of Xanthos took place following the disaster, since both the *caveae* and the stage building are dated to the 2nd century AD (Frezouls, 1990, pp. 885-886). Following the earthquake, cities received donations from influential citizens such as Opramoas of Rhodiapolis and Iason of Kyaneai (Coulton, 1987c, p. 174). The theaters that were specifically mentioned in inscriptions related to Opramoas' generosity include those of Limyra, Tlos, Myra and Xanthos.[187] Iason of Kyaneai, on the other hand, contributed to the repairs of the theater of Myra (*IGR* III 704).[188] However, it is not clear which parts of the theaters the donated money was used for. An inscription from Patara is comparatively more specific. According to this (*TAM* II 408), the *proskenion* of the theater of Patara was rebuilt by Quintus Velius Titianus and her daughter Velia Procula during the reign of Antonius Pius after it was leveled possibly due to the earthquake.

Another modification during the reconstructions is the covering of *parodoi* with vaults, thus connecting the previously separated *cavea* and the stage building in Roman style. For instance, the side entrances at the theaters of Limyra, Tlos

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[187] For Limyra, Myra and Xanthos, see *TAM* II 902 XIX B-C; for Tlos, see *TAM* II 578-579 = *IGR* III 679.

[188] According to Özdilek (2016, p. 149), similar to the theater of Xanthos, the theater of Myra was too destroyed to be used and was rebuilt during the repairing works. According to Çevik (2015a, p. 371), on the other hand, there is no evidence for the construction date of the Roman theater of Myra, and the work done after the earthquake was not the initial construction but a restoration.

and Myra (Fig. 4.3.9) were covered during the repairs in the 2nd and 3rd century AD, while the *cavea* and the stage building of the theater of Xanthos were designed connected to each other with vaulted *parodoi* during the rebuilding of the entire theater in the 2nd century AD (Özdilek, 2011, pp. 173-178) (Fig. 4.3.10).[189]

Stage buildings have partially survived in some of the theaters.[190] Similar to the *caveae*, more than one construction phase can be observed in several of them. The early form of *proskenion* developed in the Hellenistic Period (Winter, 2006, pp. 101-110), which was rectilinear and often trapezoidal in plan, had a high flat roof and Doric colonnade, have been traced in some of the theaters. For instance, trapezoidal *proskenia* are discovered in Arykanda, Kadyanda, Oenoanda, Pinara, Telmessos and Xanthos;[191] while remains of Doric entablature belonging to the *proskenia* are found at Apollonia, Arykanda, Kadyanda, Letoon, Limyra, Myra, Olympos, Oenoanda, Phaselis, Pinara and Xanthos (Özdilek, 2011, pp. 232-263).[192] These early stage buildings are commonly dated to the second half of

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[189] Due to the limitations of the terrain, the western *parodos* of the theater of Xanthos does not allow for entrance and exit, and was built as a result of a concern for symmetrical design (Frezouls, 1990, pp. 881-882).

[190] The remains of stage buildings that provide enough evidence for interpretation have been discovered at Apollonia, Arykanda, Balboura (upper and lower), Kadyanda, Kibyra, Letoon, Limyra, Myra, Oenoanda, Olympos, Patara, Phaselis, Pinara, Rhodiapolis, Telmessos, Tlos and Xanthos. For the lack of a stage building in Antiphellos, it has been suggested that the *skene* of Antiphellos theater may have been of temporary material due to financial reasons or for practicality (Spratt & Forbes, 1847, p. 71); or in order not to obstruct the landscape (Bayburtluoğlu, Lycia, 2004, p. 243). Any of these suggestions could also be valid for other theaters found with no trace of stage buildings such as Idebessos, Kandyba, Simena and Telmessos Acropolis. The stage buildings of the theaters left out above are either heavily destroyed beyond recognition or largely buried under debris or vegetation. For a general examination and related bibliography for the stage buildings of the theaters at Lycian cities, see Özdilek (2011, pp. 232-263; 2016, pp. 160-168).

[191] The *proskenion* of the theater of Myra is also trapezoidal but it is believed to be a Roman reconstruction in Hellenistic style (Özdilek, 2016, p. 162).

[192] The stage building at Apollonia has disappeared but a fragment of Doric frieze which possibly belonged to the *proskenion* is found reused in a nearby Byzantine church (Özdilek, 2011, p. 235). The stage building of the theater of Letoon which lies buried under alluvial deposit has been discovered through sondages and geophysical resistivity surveys (Badie, Lemaitre, & Moretti, 2004, pp. 149-151; Atik-Korkmaz, Ergüder, & Babayiğit, 2015). The test excavations revealed fragments of Doric frieze (Badie, Lemaitre, & Moretti, 2004, p. 149). The stage building of Myra was rebuilt in the Roman Period, but the *triglyph* and *metope* fragments discovered during the excavations suggest that the early *proskenion* was in Doric order (Özdilek, 2011, p. 244).

the 1st century BC (Özdilek, 2011, pp. 232-263). This indicates that the *cavea* and *skene* are not contemporary in most of the theaters and the construction of permanent stage buildings took place a while after the construction of the *cavea* in these cases.

The earthquake of AD 141/142 resulted in disastrous consequences for stage buildings as well, many of which were rebuilt with Roman-style *scaenae frontes*; richly decorated, multi-story, columnar stage backgrounds. For instance, the father and daughter who rebuilt the collapsed *proskenion* of the theater of Patara also paid for the decorations and the statues displayed on the stage building (*TAM* II 408). The ornamentation on the architrave blocks belonging to the *scaenae frontes* of the theaters of Limyra and Rhodiapolis are dated to the Antonine Period, thus confirming a reconstruction following the earthquake (Dinstl, 1986-87; Özdilek, 2011, pp. 110-113). The examination of well-preserved fragments belonging to the *scaenae frontes* such as those at Myra, Patara, Telmessos and Tlos reveal more. The dating of the architectural decorations which are mainly attributed to the Antonine and Severan styles suggests a construction period between mid-2nd and early 3rd century AD.[193] This period of time largely corresponds to the reconstructions following the disaster of AD 141/142, and intense architectural programs with elaborate decorations that took place all over the Empire during the reign of the Severan Dynasty.[194]

The last conspicuous change in the design of the theaters in Lycian cities is the turning of the *orchestra* into an *arena* for gladiatorial games and beast hunts. This modification included either putting up a parapet wall circling the *orchestra,* or removing the first few rows of seats to create a high podium in an attempt to diminish the physical contact between the spectators, and the contestants or the beasts (Welch, 2007, pp. 166-167). Such transformations have been observed at the theaters of Myra, Patara, Tlos and Xanthos so far (Figs. 4.3.11, 4.3.12, 4.3.13

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[193] For the stage building of Myra: Knoblauch & Özbek (1996); Patara: Piesker & Ganzert (2011, pp. 81-180); Telmessos: de Bernardi Ferrero (1969, pp. 99-102); Tlos: Korkut (2015a, pp. 38-40).

[194] For a brief discussion and related bibliography about the Roman architecture during the Severan Period in Rome and the provinces, see Thomas (2014) and Walker (1990).

and 4.3.14).[195] The barriers used between the *cavea* and *orchestra* could also have been of temporary material such as wood, as the post holes found on the *cavea* podium of Rhodiapolis theater suggest (Özdilek, 2012, p. 98) (Fig. 4.3.15). The chambers built into the *orchestra* walls at Patara and Xanthos may have been related to the games and used for temporarily housing the gladiators or the animals right before the games began (Piesker & Ganzert, 2011, p. 201) (Fig. 4.3.16).[196] The vaulted rooms built into the substructure of the *proskenion* of the lower theater of Balboura which is dated to the late 2nd-early 3rd century AD, may also have been used for transferring the animals into the *arena* (Bier, 1990, p. 74). The transformation of the *orchestra* of the Patara theater is dated to sometime between 3rd and 5th century AD (Piesker & Ganzert, 2011, p. 201). A period between the late 2nd and 5th century AD is more or less acceptable for the other cases (Özdilek, 2011, pp. 225-232). Lastly, the *orchestra* of the theater of Myra may have been sealed for waterproofing to turn the *orchestra* into *kolymbethra* (pools) for water spectacles in the 3rd or early 4th century AD (de Bernardi Ferrero, 1969, pp. 199-206; Sear, 2006, p. 370; Özdilek, 2011, pp. 229-230).

The existence of theaters in most of the Lycian cities and frequent reconstructions for several centuries suggest that the theaters had an important place in the daily life of the Lycians, similar to the other parts of the Greek and Roman world. This importance is also reflected in the urban configuration of the cities, since the theaters were mainly built within or close to the city centers as long as the topography allowed. For instance the theaters of Patara, Phaselis, Rhodiapolis and Xanthos were located directly within the heart of the city, in close relation to the main avenues and the agoras. In Pinara and Kyaneai, on the other hand, theaters were built outside the city center, but in an easily accessible proximity in order to benefit from the topography.

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[195] For Myra: de Bernardi Ferrero (1969, pp. 199-206), Sear (2006, p. 370) and Özdilek (2011, pp. 229-230); Patara: Piesker & Ganzert (2011, pp. 195-205); Tlos: Korkut (2015b, p. 635); Xanthos: Frezouls (1990, p. 882).

[196] Frezouls claims that the chambers at the Xanthos theater are too small to be *cerceri*, i.e. prisons (1990, p. 882), thus not suitable for long-term confinement.

The proliferation of the theater buildings in the 2nd century BC can be associated with the increasing power and freedom of the Lycian League (Isler, 2006, pp. 302-303), and the peace and prosperity of the Lycian cities established especially after the independence the cities acquired when they were released from Rhodian oppression by the orders of the Roman senate.[197] It is highly likely that the theaters served as venues for the assembly of the city councils, and the meetings of the Lycian League which were held annually in a selected city (Strab. 14.3.3).[198] Archaeological evidence is confirmative. The inscriptions and ballots recovered in the theater of Rhodiapolis prove that it was used as an assembly house (Özdilek, 2012, p. 73). In later periods, the civic activities must have largely moved to the *bouleuteria*.[199] Yet, theaters may have continued to be used for such purposes in some cases, such as in the absence of a council house or the need for a bigger space with a larger seating capacity.

Despite being utilized for civic activities, theaters were mainly used for ritual drama accompanied by other performances that took place during the religious festivals (Bieber, 1961). It is known from epigraphic records that religious festivals were commonly provided by benefactors in Lycian cities,[200] though these inscriptions are silent about the use of theaters as venues for such festivities. However, it is possible to make interpretations. For instance, the theater of Letoon was a "sanctuary theater", meaning that it was definitely used for religious activities. Moreover, the location of the inscription found behind the *cavea* of the theater at Rhodiapolis which mentions the competitions financed by Herakleitos in honor of Asklepios (*TAM* II 910), may be an implication that these competitions took place in the theater (Özdilek, 2011, p. 61). The religious character of theaters went one step further with the introduction of the theater-

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[197] For the historical background, see Chapter 2.2.

[198] Theaters were used for the council meetings and public gatherings for important announcements in Greek cities since the Classical Period (McDonald, 1943, pp. 41, 67; Chaniotis, 1997, p. 224).

[199] For *bouleuteria* in Lycian cities, see Chapter 4.4.

[200] For a compilation of inscriptions concerning euergetism in Lycia, see Akdoğu-Arca (2001).

temple form in which the temple was placed axially on the *cavea*. The theaters of Patara and Tlos are, so far, the only known examples of *cavea*-temples not only in Lycia and Asia Minor but the whole Eastern Roman provinces. The unknown motivations behind the utilization of this quintessentially Roman building type in Lycia have provoked scholarly interest.[201]

Theaters began to house Roman spectacles such as gladiatorial games and beast hunts as the eastern provinces adopted Roman ways of entertainment.[202] Instead of constructing amphitheaters, which were specifically designed for these shows (Welch, 2007), Greeks, especially those in Asia Minor, opted to modify their theaters and turned the *orchestra* into an *arena* (Bieber, 1961, pp. 213-220). The modification of theaters gradually became a successful and commonly repeated practice especially after the 2nd and 3rd century AD,[203] which was also taken up by the Lycians, as in the above mentioned cases of Myra, Patara, Tlos, Xanthos, Balboura (lower) and Rhodiapolis. Even though theaters in other cities have not revealed any trace of modification in relation to these games, inscriptions suggest that a variety of animal fights were taking place possibly in the theaters (Özdilek, 2011, pp. 267-272). Considering the popularity of these games at the time, it is possible that many other theaters may have been used for accommodating such shows with temporary adjustments.

According to Welch (2007, p. 185), the rejection of the amphitheater in a regional scale is due to the negative connotations it initially conveyed as a symbol of Roman power and colonization in the Early Imperial Period, since

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[201] For *cavea*-temples of Patara and Tlos, see Chapter 4.1.

[202] Gladiatorial games were first introduced to the Greek world by Antiochus IV, when he included the combats into the show he organized in Antioch in 166 BC (Polyb. 30.25; Polyb. in Ath. 5.194; Livy 41.20). However, the games were rarely displayed until they became a part of the festivals provided in honor of the imperial cult (Price, 1984, p. 89). For gladiatorial games in the East, see Robert (1940).

[203] The first theater to have been modified is accepted as the Theater of Dionysos at Athens, the modification of which was financed by Ti. Claudius Novius in the Neronian Period; and the application slowly spread to other cities (Welch, 2007, p. 185).

amphitheaters were built especially in Roman colonies in the West.[204] By altering the *orchestra*, on the other hand, the Eastern provinces especially those at the Mainland and Asia Minor succeeded in accommodating the Roman spectacles without radically changing the classical form of theaters or marking their cities with an architectural stamp of Roman dominance (Bieber, 1961, p. 213; Welch, 2007, p. 183).[205] Lycian cities clearly followed this path.

In short, almost every theater in Lycian cities dates back to the Hellenistic Period and the majority of them were sporadically repaired, restored and modified until the late Roman times. The theaters, most of which were initially built in Greek design principles, were usually adapted to Roman standards during the reconstructions by adding vaulted substructures, covering the *parodoi*, building *scaenae frontes* or transforming the *orchestra* into *arena*.[206] As the culture transformed, so did the theaters.

Another building type preferably constructed by Lycian cities for displaying various forms of performances is the *stadion*. Even though the *stadia* in Lycia are studied less comprehensively compared to the theaters, the existing remains and the individual studies provide a useful amount of information regarding the role of the *stadion* in the urban activities of the Lycian cities.

The *stadion* appeared in the Archaic and Classical Periods in the Greek world for the accommodation of footraces and other athletic games. The facility consisted of a *dromos* (racetrack) which was approximately 600 Greek feet long

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[204] Gladiatorial games, which developed from aristocratic funerary rites in Rome, became a public spectacle heavily enjoyed by the Roman populace. The gladiatorial games were especially popular among the Roman soldiers as a means of training and entertainment in the Republican Period. As the veterans settled in colonies, they introduced their favorite entertainment to foreign lands. Thus, the games and the amphitheater spread to the western provinces notably through military colonies. For the gladiatorial games in general, see Hopkins (1983) and Kyle (1998); for the emergence of amphitheater as a building type, see Welch (2007); for military and colonial associations, see Welch (2007, pp. 79-91).

[205] A small number of amphitheaters were built in the Greek East. According to Welch (2007, p. 182), most of the Greek cities which built amphitheaters were either Roman colonies like Pisidian Antioch, provincial capitals such as Antioch or had a large Roman populace as in the case of Pergamon. For an overview of the amphitheaters in Pergamon, Cyzicus and Anazarbus in Asia Minor, see Güven (1992).

[206] Bieber considers the changes in the theaters in the cities of Mainland Greece and Asia Minor as "modernization" and called the end product "Graeco-Roman theaters" (1961, pp. 213-220).

and 100 Greek feet wide, but both the length and the width varied from city to city (Romano, 2010, p. 384).[207] The spectators initially watched the activities from natural slopes or artificial earth banks on one or both long sides of the *dromos* (Miller, 2014, pp. 291-292). With the Hellenistic Period, *stadia* began to be built with permanent stone seating and sometimes with a *sphendone*, a curved end (Welch, 1998, pp. 547-548).[208] In Roman times, the building type became more sophisticated with monumental entrances and vaulted substructures that eliminated the need for natural slopes or embankments (Welch, 1998, p. 548).

The appropriation of *stadion* as a building type in Lycia begins in the Hellenistic Period. The early *stadia* such as those at Arykanda, Kadyanda, Tlos and Bubon present a uniform layout with smaller than regular dimensions and a rectangular layout with a *dromos* flanked by a single *cavea* on one long side. A *stadion* built in Roman standards, on the other hand, has so far been found and studied only in Kibyra.

The *stadion* of Arykanda is located on a terrace above the theater (Fig. 4.2.6). The stylistic similarity of the seating rows suggests that both the theater and the *stadion* were planned and designed together, and built during the Augustan Period (Bayburtluoğlu, 2003, p. 98). The *dromos* is approximately 117 m, a little longer than half of the traditional length; and the *cavea* consists of three rows of seating built over a rubble substructure (Bayburtluoğlu, 2003, pp. 109-110) (Fig. 4.3.17). A conspicuous part of the *stadion* is the eight-niched Doric style façade built into the bedrock on the northwestern end of the *cavea* (Fig. 4.3.18), which is considered to have a religious connotation (Bayburtluoğlu, 2003, pp. 106-108). According to Çevik (2015a, p. 417), it is dated to the Hellenistic Period and functioned as a pantheon for the gods worshiped in Lycia.

A longitudinal open area with a length of ca. 90 m and a width of 9 m found at the city center of Kadyanda is identified as a *stadion* (Bean, 1978, p. 44).

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[207] 600 Greek feet was equal to a *stadion*, but the length of one foot varied from 29,57 cm to 33,30 cm depending on the location (Hornblower, Spawforth, & Eidinow, 2012, p. 917).

[208] A rare form of *stadion* built with two *sphendonai* on both ends and called "amphitheatrical stadium" (στάδιον ἀμφίθέατρον) is found in Aphrodisias in almost excellent state of preservation. For a detailed discussion on the building, see Welch (1998).

The inscriptions about two athletic games and eight statue bases indicating champions of athletics discovered in or around the *stadion* are supportive of the claim (Bean, 1978, p. 44). Also acting as a part of the street network, the *dromos* is bordered by a *cavea* of six seating rows on the north (Bean, 1978, p. 44; Bayburtluoğlu, 2003, p. 289) (Fig. 4.3.19). The construction date of the building is ambiguous, but since the majority of the buildings of Kadyanda are dated to the Hellenistic Period, it may be suggested that the *stadion* is also from this era (Tietz, 2016, pp. 348-349). The ruins of a Doric temple dated again to the Hellenistic times, is found on the terrace above the *cavea* surrounded by a *temenos* wall (Rumscheid, 1994, pp. 24, 303; Bayburtluoğlu, Lycia, 2004, p. 289) (Fig. 3.3.1). Either planned together or not, the games that took place in the *stadion* may have been related to the unknown deity of the temple,[209] and the *dromos* may have been used as a processional road (İlhan, 2002, p. 15).

The *stadion* of Tlos is built at the foot of the acropolis, on the western side of a large rectangular plain, called "stadium area" by modern scholars (Figs. 4.2.28, 4.2.29 and 4.3.20).[210] The single linear *cavea* with nine rows of seating is almost entirely carved into the bedrock; while the *dromos* measures around 148 m, which may have been longer before the later destructions (Korkut, 2015a, pp. 71-72) (Fig. 4.3.21). The *stadion* was designed and built together with the *bouleuterion* and *prytaneion* in the Hellenistic Period, both of which were located side by side approximately on the central axis of the *stadion* and opened to the *diazoma* on top of the *cavea* (Korkut, 2015a, pp. 73, 84-85) (Fig. 4.2.30). The southern part of the *stadion* fell into disuse due to the damages caused by the earthquake that shook Lycia in AD 240; and the northern part was redesigned with a U-shaped colonnaded gallery and a fountain-pool complex in the middle (Korkut, 2015a, pp. 78-81) (Fig. 4.4.19).[211]

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[209] According to Akkurnaz (2007, pp. 64-65), the temple could have been dedicated either to the cult of the emperor or Apollon who may have been the tutelary deity of the city, as the abundance of numismatic and epigraphic materials concerning Apollo suggests.

[210] For a discussion on the stadium area at Tlos, see Chapter 4.2, pp. 78 ff.

[211] For the fountain-pool complex, see Chapter 4.4, p. 120.

Another *stadion* with a *dromos* of ca. 120-130 m by 10 m and a *cavea* of five seating rows has been discovered attached to the agora of Bubon (Hülden, 2008, p. 143) (Fig. 4.2.50). The agora is dated to the Hellenistic Period (Hülden, 2008, p. 142), which provides a *terminus post quem* for the construction of the *stadion*.

The main street of Phaselis was initially considered to have been a *stadion* due to three rows of steps that flank the street on both sides from one end to the other (Fellows, 1838, p. 211). The avenue, which is entirely paved with stone, is 225 m long, 20-25 m wide and divided almost equally into two by the public square (Schäfer, 1981, pp. 87-89; Arslan & Tüner Önen, 2016, p. 305) (Figs. 4.5.21, 4.5.22 and 4.5.23). Since the street is paved and the steps are considered to be a covered walking area that provided access between the street and the public buildings located on both sides, the functioning of the street as a *stadion* has been challenged by modern scholars (Arslan & Tüner Önen, 2016, p. 305). However, Farrington suggests that the street could have been temporarily turned into a *stadion* in certain days by covering the floor with earth and sand (1995, p. 124).[212]

The *stadion* of Kibyra, which is conspicuously different than the *stadia* of other Lycian cities, is a U-shaped building with a *dromos* of ca. 200 m, a *sphendone* at the southern short end, and a monumental five-arched *propylon* on the northern straight end (Dökü & Kaya, 2013) (Figs. 4.5.15, 4.3.22 and 4.3.23). The stone seating with 21 rows on the west rests on natural bedrock, while the *sphendone* with 21 seating rows and the eastern *cavea* with seven rows were built upon vaulted substructures filled up with rubble (Özüdoğru Ş. , Dökü, Dikbaş, & Vanhavarbeke, 2011, pp. 36-37) (Fig. 4.3.24). The entrance to the *stadion* was provided by the *propylon* and two vaulted gates, one in the middle of the round end, and the other on the eastern *cavea* (Dökü & Kaya, 2013, p. 184) (Figs. 4.3.25 and 4.3.26). The rain water that fell on the *caveae* and the *dromos* was drained away with a waste water system (Ekinci, Özüdoğru, Şükrü, Dökü, & Tiryaki,

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[212] This technique may have been applied in Kadyanda as well, since Bayburtluoğlu (2004, p. 289) claims that the floor of the *stadion* of Kadyanda, which is completely covered by earth and pine needles today was in fact paved with stone which was once revealed by a fire.

2008, p. 38). The *stadion* was built in the late 2nd and 3rd century AD by the donations of Flavius Kapito and his cousin Titus Flavius Ovidianus; and was dedicated to Zeus, Emperor Septimus Severus and the imperial family (Dökü & Kaya, 2013, pp. 183-184). The building fell into disuse in the 5th century AD after having been heavily damaged when the vaulted substructures were destroyed by the earthquake of AD 417. During its lifetime, the building was used for athletic competitions and possibly for gladiatorial combats and animal fights.[213]

The *stadion* of Patara, which is approximately 200 m long, has been discovered completely buried at the western side of the ancient harbor, near the *horrea* (İşkan, 2016, p. 162). Last but not least, an inscription from Letoon, which mentions the victors of the agonistic games called *Rhomaia* and organized by the Lycian League in honor of Goddess Roma, suggests that the sanctuary not only had a *stadion* but also a *hippodromos* in addition to the theater (Robert, 1978). Neither of them has been found yet, but both are speculated to be located on the plain in front of the theater (Badie, Lemaitre, & Moretti, 2004, p. 145).

Similar to the theaters, the *stadia* in Lycian cities began to be built in the Hellenistic Period and were used until the end of the Roman times. The mountainous geography of the cities played a major role in the design and location of the *stadia*. The early examples such as those at Arykanda, Bubon, Kadyanda and Tlos were located on available flat surfaces or terraces within the city centers, but with a shorter than usual *dromos* and limited number of seating rows. The monumental dimensions and the U-shaped layout of the *stadion* of Kibyra, on the other hand, is the result of the adoption of Roman constructional techniques.

Like theaters, *stadia* were multifunctional buildings. Although built primarily for athletic games held in religious festivals, some were also used for civic purposes; as in the case of the *stadion* of Kadyanda which was jointly used

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[213] Even though no traces of architectural modifications related to the displaying of Roman spectacles such as putting up parapets or nets have been discovered within the building, Dökü and Kaya suggests that the *stadion* must have been used for such performances based on the discovery of reliefs associated with gladiators in the *necropolis*, as well as the need for a larger place than the theater for performing such games (2013, pp. 183-184).

as a street and that of Tlos which provided access for the *bouleuterion* and *prytaneion*. In later times, the *stadia* were probably utilized for Roman spectacles. The cities which did not possess a *stadion,* on the other hand, may have temporarily converted their streets to *dromoi,* as may have been the case of Phaselis.

Before the final remarks, it should be added that, buildings other than the most frequently used theater and *stadion* were also used as venues for public performances in Lycian cities. For instance, some of the *bouleuteria* such as those at Patara, Arykanda and Kibyra are known to have been used interchangeably with the *odeion* beginning with the Roman times.[214] In addition, cities may have possessed buildings constructed for specific purposes such as the *Boukonisterion* found in the agora of Oenoanda which was dedicated by Diogenes to Septimus Severus (*IGR* III 484). Its plan has not been completely identified, but the building was entered through its own façade which was in the form of a pedimented archway and attached to the eastern portico of the Roman agora (Coulton, 1986, p. 64) (Fig. 4.2.53, Ml 4). Considering its location next to the bath gymnasium complex and the etymological background of its name,[215] the building was possibly used for wrestling by young adults (Coulton, 1986, pp. 76-83).

Apparently, the theater and the *stadion* were the primary public building types used for large-scale performances in Lycian cities. It appears that both facilities were in use in Lycia for more than half a millennium between the Hellenistic Period and Late Antiquity. Their survival for such a long period of time can be attributed to their suitability for multiple purposes and adaptability to the changing cultural situations.

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[214] For *bouleuteria* and *odeia* in Lycian cities, see Chapter 4.1.

[215] The building was initially considered as an *arena* for bull fights, since the word *Boukonisterion* was associated with βοῦς, the Greek word for ox. For a list of earlier publications, see Coulton (1986), fn. 215. However, Coulton (1986, p. 82) asserts that the space is not suitable for bull fighting, and that the name derives from the word βοῦα, which was used for boys or youth in Sparta.

4.4 Urban Water Supply and Distribution: Aqueducts, Baths and Fountains

Water has always been pivotal to the development of civilizations. The existence of a water source such as a lake, river or spring played a major role in determining the location of a new settlement since prehistoric times. Yet, in time, population growth and elaboration of agricultural, domestic, industrial and urban activities necessitated the management of water.

The initial attempts to manage the water flow began after the emergence of the need to irrigate agricultural lands as early as the Neolithic Age in Mesopotamia and Egypt (Wikander, 2000a, pp. 607-609; Mays, 2008, pp. 471-472). By the end of the Classical Period, urban centers had water supply and distribution systems,[216] which became more sophisticated in the Hellenistic Period, and eventually excelled during the Roman Imperial times.

Roman hydraulics were heavily influenced by the works of Greeks and Etruscans. Hellenistic water technologies were marked with significant progress in geometry and physics, and consequently, a better understanding of and mastery over hydraulics and water pressure.[217] This led to the improvement or invention of various mechanical devices, longer-distance aqueducts and inverted siphons.[218]

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[216] Between the Early Bronze Age and Iron Age, settlements in Indus Valley, Mesopotamia, Egypt, Anatolia, Minoan Crete and Mycenaean Greece developed urban water systems including but not limited to wells and fountains in city centers for the public use, bathrooms and latrines in domestic contexts, drainages and cisterns for the collection and storage of rain water, aqueducts of terracotta pipes, drainages for the waste water, and finally dams to tame the rivers (Wikander, 2000a; Jansen, 1989; Showlech, 2007; Emre, 1993; Viollet, 2007, pp. 5-99). The Dark Ages following the collapse of the Bronze Age caused a setback in the urban development and water management especially in the Greek cities; however, in the Archaic and Classical Periods, pre-existing water systems were revived and developed (Crouch, 1993, pp. 19-31; Wikander, 2000b, pp. 622-630). Moreover, baths for public use became available as early as the 6th or 5th century BC (Yegül, 1992, pp. 24-29). In the East, Iron Age kingdoms such as Urartians and Neo-Assyrians developed impressive irrigation systems despite the setback caused by the Dark Ages (Burney, 1972; Wikander, 2000b, pp. 617-622).

[217] Cosmopolitanization of cultures after the conquests of Alexander the Great introduced Greeks to the scientific achievements of the Near East, and led to a synthesis of eastern and western scholarship. For Hellenistic water technologies, see Lewis (2000a; 2000b) and Viollet (2007, pp. 102-127).

[218] It should be indicated that siphon and inverted siphon are different technologies. Unlike siphons, which are used to convey water over rising grounds, inverted siphons are used for overcoming depressions (Hodge, 1983; 1992, pp. 147-160; Viollet, 2007, pp. 110-111).

Etruscans, on the other hand, especially mastered building tunnels for draining marshy lands.[219]

Hence, by the time the Romans rose as a power, theoretically and scientifically, almost all had already been achieved on hydraulic engineering in the Greek world and central Italy. But still, Romans immensely contributed to the field. Yet, their contribution was more on technological advancement rather than scientific innovation. The fundamental difference was manifested in the increasing monumentality of scale and quantity of water structures which were made possible by the use of new materials and construction techniques.[220] Probably the most renowned and largely repeated products of this technological progress were the aqueducts. These previously completely subterranean structures became capable of bringing water from farther away with advanced engineering solutions for irregularities in terrain, such as tunnels, bridges, embankments, arcades and inverted siphons (Hodge, 1992).[221]

The demand for water as a result of population growth and increased priority given to sanitation was, in fact, something that the Roman cities could have reasonably met by means of their well-established system of wells and cisterns (Hodge, 1992, pp. 46-66). However, the growing interest in public bathing as a part of daily routine necessitated larger amounts of water which exceeded the capacities of existing water supplies in many cities. Hence, the cities, which were able to afford the financial burden of the construction and

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[219] Etruscan achievement in water management is best exemplified by the *Cloaca Maxima* at Rome, which was built to drain the area of the Roman Forum in the 6th century BC, and later and is still used as a sewer. For the development of Etruscan water works, which was influenced by Greek and Near Eastern hydraulic technologies, see Viollet (2007, pp. 128-131) and Bizzarri & Soren (2016, pp. 136-142).

[220] The invention of concrete contributed particularly to the development of arches and vaults (Wright, 2009, pp. 269-283). However, in provinces, local materials and construction techniques were more than often applied due to the lower cost and easier access of local materials, and competence of masons in local techniques (Lancaster & Ulrich, 2014, pp. 186-188).

[221] In addition to technological advancements, the Romans developed highly detailed laws on water use which later influenced the modern water legislations (Ware, 1905; Bruun, 2000).

maintenance of aqueducts,[222] brought water from distant sources. As a result, the aqueducts carried constantly flowing water that was more than enough for the baths and provided water for multiple purposes.

As Hodge points out (1992, p. 291), it is not possible to suggest an urban water distribution and discharge system that was uniformly applied in the Roman towns. However, it may be conjectured that the water which arrived in the city by an aqueduct was distributed to the city center through a piping or water channel system which supplied water primarily to the baths and public fountains and secondarily to private houses and industrial workshops depending on the amount of remaining water.[223] The overflow of fountains and the waste water from the baths were used for flushing the latrines and cleaning of the streets. Finally, the used water, the storm water and the waste flowed over the streets, or if existing, emptied into closed drains or sewers which were generally built under the main streets.[224]

Consequently, water became an indispensable part of the Roman cities demonstrating a high level of civilization, not only for its role in satisfying the basic public needs like drinking and cleaning, but also for providing pleasure and recreation. The technological and social advancements achieved on water-works in the homeland were transported to the provinces as the Romans claimed new lands. It is also the case in Lycia, which is evident in the multiplied water installations following the establishment of Lycia as a Roman province, such as aqueducts, baths, latrines and *nymphaea*, which will be further elaborated below.

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[222] Building and maintaining aqueducts was a costly initiative. In contrast to the monumental public buildings, aqueducts were mainly built by imperial donation or city-funds rather than private benefactors (Coulton, 1987a, p. 81).

[223] According to Vitruvius (Vitr. *De arch*. 8.1.1), the water had to be distributed equally to three major destinations; the fountains, the baths and the private houses. Hodge (1992, pp. 280-282) finds this instruction hypothetical and impractical, since during a shortage of water, every recipient would go short of water at the same time; which contradicts Vitruvius' (Vitr. *De arch*. 8.6.2) own claim that the water for the public use would never cease.

[224] For a detailed analysis of urban water distribution and discharge in Roman cities, see Hodge (1992, pp. 273-303, 332-345).

In Lycian cities, water was commonly supplied from local springs, wells and cisterns up until the Roman times. Even though these sources continued to be widely used, several cities built aqueducts after the 1st century AD in order to meet the increasing demand for water.

A sophisticated water supply and urban distribution system has been discovered in Patara.[225] After the inclusion of Lycia in the Roman Empire, a 22.5 km long aqueduct was built to fetch water from Bodamya (İslamlar village) to the city center of Patara. The aqueduct was supported by embankments, arches and inverted siphons along the way, and the water was carried by terracotta pipes, and open or closed masonry channels. The most conspicuous part of this aqueduct is the inverted siphon at Delikkemer, which was made of stone pipes carried over a massive wall of polygonal masonry (Figs. 4.4.1, 4.4.2 and 4.4.3). According to the information obtained both from the dedicatory inscription on the inverted siphon and the archaeological studies, the aqueduct was built during the reign of Claudius in AD 48/49 and finished sometime in AD 50-55, but later repaired during the time of Vespasian after it was destroyed by the earthquake of AD 68 (İşkan Işık, Eck, & Engelmann, 2008, pp. 115-116; Passchier, Sürmelihindi, & Spötl, 2016, pp. 2-3). In the course of the four-month-long restoration which caused a water shortage in the city, the inverted siphon was backed up with terracotta pipes placed at the foot of the wall to continue providing constant water during the maintenance (İşkan Işık, Eck, & Engelmann, 2008, p. 116; Passchier, Sürmelihindi, & Spötl, 2016, p. 3; İşkan & Baykan, 2013, s. 96-99).[226]

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[225] The Patara aqueduct has been the subject of several scholarly works but the most extensive research on the Patara water supply and urban water distribution system was conducted by Prof. Dr. Havva İşkan within a TUBITAK Project titled "Archaeological, Architectural and Water Engineering Investigations of Patara Ancient Waterways" (Baykan & İşkan, 2011; İşkan & Baykan, 2013).

[226] In addition to the back-up piping, fragments of terracotta pipes with larger diameters were found built into the wall, which suggests that the Delikkemer inverted siphon was originally made of terracotta pipes during the initial construction in the time of Claudius, but was replaced by the hollowed stone blocks during the Vespasianic restoration (Passchier, Sürmelihindi, & Spötl, 2016, p. 3). This information helps to placate the controversy over the dating of the inverted siphon, which was speculated to be Hellenistic by some scholars due to the construction technique of the polygonal masonry wall (Hodge, 1992, pp. 33-37). The dating of the aqueduct has been confirmed by the examination of carbonate deposits extracted from older terracotta pipes (Passchier, Sürmelihindi, & Spötl, 2016, p. 3). However, there is still dispute whether this aqueduct was

After reaching the city, the water flowed into a *castellum*, a water distribution tank, which had two chambers that supplied water to two different parts of the city (İşkan & Baykan, 2013, s. 99-100; Şahin F. , 2015, pp. 509-512). One of the chambers served the northern part of the city and fed the harbor, port agora, the harbor baths and possibly the private houses; while the other chamber, which was supported with two pressure tanks along the way to control the water pressure, supplied the southern city center where the important public buildings such as the theater, *bouleuterion*, agora and three other baths were located (İşkan & Baykan, 2013, s. 99-100; Şahin F. , 2015, p. 512). Even though its connection with the aqueduct has not been clearly understood yet, it is known that the Arch of Mettius Modestus served as a water conduit, and the water which cascaded from the gutter located on its western façade filled up a basin next to it and then carried on to the octagonal fountain in front of the arch (Figs. 4.4.4 and 4.4.5) (İşkan & Baykan, 2013, s. 99-100; Dündar, 2017). As a last note on Patara water-works, a drainage system was found under the main street which collected the waste water from the southern city center, especially the baths, and by the look of the direction of the street, possibly carried it away to the north, the harbor area (Işık, 1995a, p. 288; Aktaş, 2013, pp. 56-57).

Another comparatively well understood water system has been discovered in Phaselis. Due to the inadequacy of the existing sources,[227] water was brought from the lower skirts of Tahtalı Dağ which was carried by terracotta pipes fitted in a stone masonry conduit (Tüner Önen & Akçay, 2014, pp. 280-288). In the last approximately 400 meters of the aqueduct, the water entered the city over arches, dated to the 1st or 2nd century AD (Tüner Önen & Akçay, 2014, p. 280; Schäfer, 1981, pp. 44-46) (Fig. 4.4.6). The arcades carried two converged pipelines which may suggest that more than one water supply was brought into the city without mixing the water (Kürkçü, 2015, p. 57; Tüner Önen & Akçay, 2014, p. 281). The

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preceded with a Hellenistic one as Patara was an important port city and may have needed additional water supply in the Hellenistic Period (İşkan & Baykan, 2013, s. 98).

[227] Prior to the construction of the aqueduct, water was supplied from close-by springs and the cisterns mainly located at the acropolis (Tüner Önen & Akçay, 2014, p. 280).

arriving water was distributed within the city through a terracotta piping system, and as revealed so far, fed the bath-gymnasium complex, the theater baths, *nymphaea* and cisterns within the Tetragonal Agora (Bayburtluoğlu, 1983a, pp. 183-184; Kürkçü, 2015). The sewers underneath the main street drained the excessive water, reused water and the human waste away to the sea (Bayburtluoğlu, 1983a, p. 183; Tüner Önen, 2008, p. 82).

The water at Oenoanda was supplied by an aqueduct in addition to cisterns and wells. The water conduit consisted of a terracotta and stone pipeline, as well as an inverted siphon made of hollowed stone blocks similar to Delikkemer, but this time, placed over an arcade (Stenton & Coulton, 1986). The water entered the city by perforating the south wall of the Hellenistic fortification (Stenton & Coulton, 1986, p. 32) (Figs. 4.4.7 and 4.4.8). There is not much to say about the urban water distribution yet, apart from the surviving stone junction blocks found around the city, which suggest that there used to be an elaborate system which once fed at least the existing two baths and *nymphaea* (Stenton & Coulton, 1986, pp. 37-42). The dating of the system is not clear. However, the fact that part of the city wall was dismantled to give way to the aqueduct may imply that the water system was built at a later time, probably during the *Pax Romana*, when the protection of the fortification was no longer necessary (Stenton & Coulton, 1986, p. 43; Coulton, 1987a, p. 74).[228] It was most likely built in the Flavian Period at similar times with the aqueduct of Patara (Stenton & Coulton, 1986, p. 44).

Water supply and distribution systems of other Lycian cities have also been the subject of surveys.[229] For instance, another aqueduct is found at Balboura, which is also dated to the reign of Vespasian by an inscription (Coulton, 1987b, p. 173). It provided water to the lower city and fed the baths and

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[228] According to Mitchell (1993, p. 216), aqueducts weakened the fortifications by crossing their boundary, thus providing an undesired communication between inside and outside. In addition, Coulton (1987a, p. 73) suggests that Greeks had adequate technology to build arches even before 300 B.C, however preferred not to in order to protect the integrity of the defenses until the Augustan Peace during which the earliest known aqueduct in Asia Minor was built in Ephesus (4-14 AD).

[229] For a comprehensive study on water systems of Lycian cities, see Türk (2008) and for the updated version of this study, see Baykan, Baykan & Türk (2015).

the *nymphaeum* (Coulton, 1998, p. 233). The aqueduct of Myra met the water demand of not only the city but also its harbor city. Before arriving in Myra, the 20 km long aqueduct reached a *nymphaeum* and then branched off to Andriake and carried over arches (Borchhardt, 1975, pp. 47-48; Çevik, 2016, pp. 235-236). A 9.5 km long aqueduct which is dated to the Roman times brought water to the city of Xanthos and probably fed the two baths and the *nymphaeum*; though, based on the small dimensions of the aqueduct, it is suggested that the water carried by this conduit was not enough for the city (Burdy & Lebouteiller, 1998; des Courtils & Cavalier, 2001a, p. 171). In Arykanda, in addition to the local springs and cisterns, three aqueducts supplied water to the sloping city at three different elevations (Bayburtluoğlu, 2003, pp. 122-124).

Even though aqueducts were commonly utilized for fetching water from long-distances in Lycia, some cities managed to survive solely on cisterns and local springs despite the excessive water demand that came with the Roman way of living, as in the case of Rhodiapolis. No remains of an external water supply have been discovered in or around the settlement so far (Çevik, Kızgut, & Bulut, 2010, pp. 45-47). Instead, it has been revealed that the city had an elaborate system of large and small cisterns for public and private use. The hilly terrain of the city was leveled with terraces in order to provide flat surfaces, underneath of which large reservoirs were built (Çevik, Kızgut, & Bulut, 2010, pp. 34-35) (Figs. 4.4.9 and 4.4.10). However, it is not completely understood how the water was distributed throughout the city, apart from the remains of water channels which carried water to the baths.[230]

Even though Rhodiapolis is an example of water management without an aqueduct; several cities of Lycia opted to obtain constant water as long as they found a suitable source and were able to cover the expenses. As a result of this, cities received plenty of water which promoted the spread and improvement of buildings operating with water, especially the baths, latrines and fountains.

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[230] The water supply of the baths of Rhodiapolis is discussed below.

Bathing habits in the Roman world were far beyond today's understanding of cleansing. The bath was a social and cultural institution which provided facilities for personal hygiene, physical and mental health, entertainment, and intellectual enrichment.[231] Bathing evolved into an integral and indispensable part of the daily routines of the inhabitants of a Roman city, who had spent the afternoons in public baths for recreation and socializing (Yegül, 1992, p. 1; 1992, pp. 5-10). As a result, bath buildings became attraction points within the city centers, which were regularly frequented by large groups of people. Yegül claims that (2010, p. 2), "public baths embodied the ideal Roman way of urban living"; hence, an urbanized Roman city cannot be imagined without baths.

Bathing was most likely adopted in Lycia after the region became a part of the Roman Empire as the dating of the surviving baths does not go earlier than the second half of the 1st century AD. The Nero/Vespasian baths in Patara is considered as the earliest of its kind in Lycia. Its construction could have begun at about the same time with the construction of the Patara aqueduct. Previously dated to the reign of Vespasian according to an inscription, the bath is now believed to have been built in AD 65-69 in the time of Nero, whose name was overwritten by that of Vespasian in the epigraphic record.[232] Other baths that can be firmly dated according to their inscriptions include the baths of Vespasian at Kadyanda and Olympos, the baths of Titus at Simena and the Baths of Antoninus Pius at Kyaneai.[233]

Accurate dating of the majority of the Lycian baths is rather difficult since only a very small number of them have related inscriptions. Based on the construction technique and layouts, Farrington roughly divides the chronology of the Lycian baths into two (1995, pp. 52-100).[234] Accordingly, the first and more

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[231] For the activities took place in the Roman baths, see Yegül (2010, pp. 11-21).

[232] *IGR* 3.659 = *TAM* II 2.396. For the correction of the transcription of the inscription, see Eck (2008).

[233] Kadyanda: *IGR* III 507 = *TAM* II 2.651; Olympos: Adak & Tüner (2004b, pp. 59-60); Simena: *IGR* III 390, and Kyaneai: *IGR* III 700.

[234] The most comprehensive study on Lycian baths was conducted by Farrington (1995). His research was largely based on survey results, since only a small number of baths were being

intensive construction phase took place between the late 1st and early 2nd century AD; while the second phase belongs to a period between 2nd and 3rd century AD Most of the baths were restored after the earthquakes of AD 141/142 and 240, and modifications like addition of spaces, decorations or *palaestrae* largely took place in the Severan Period.[235]

The bath buildings are one of the best preserved Roman building types in Lycian cities. According to the remains, almost every small and medium city had at least one bath building, while major cities had multiple baths depending on the density of the human activity. For instance, Patara, which served as the capital of the province of Lycia and an important harbor at the Lycian coast, had at least four baths dated to the Roman times, all positioned in central locations within the city center (Gülşen, 2007a). Several other cities such as Arykanda, Oenoanda, Olympos, Phaselis, Tlos, and Xanthos had at least two baths functioning during the Roman Period.[236]

Even though most of the baths in Lycia remain unexcavated, their fairly well-preserved conditions have revealed substantial information about their planning layouts, material use, heating systems, and water supply and discharge systems.

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excavated at the time. Even though some of his observations need to be updated according to recent discoveries, his general remarks on the chronology of the baths still remain solid.

[235] Comparatively few baths were built after the 4th century AD. Among the five baths discovered in Arykanda, three of them, namely the small bath/Inscribed House, terrace baths and the baths at Nal Tepesi are dated to a period after the 4th century AD (Bayburtluoğlu, 2003, pp. 127-139, 184-189). The theater baths of Limyra, and the small baths of Rhodiapolis are also among the ones built after the 4th century AD (Marksteiner & Schuh, 2008; Çevik, Kızgut, & Bulut, 2010, p. 41). Most of the bath buildings ceased functioning in around 6th-7th century AD, due to cultural changes and decline of the cities (Farrington, 1995, pp. 119-120). However, a small number of them may have survived longer, such as the theater baths at Phaselis, which is known to have been used until at least the 8th century AD (Bayburtluoğlu, 2004, p. 93). It is also known that Andriake thrived in late antiquity and the east baths, an example of Early Byzantine bath building, continued to be used until the harbor declined in the 7th century AD (Çevik & Bulut, 2014).

[236] Arykanda bath-gymnasium and the 5th bath: Bayburtluoğlu (2003, pp. 127-131, 138-139); Oenoanda: Ling & Hall (1981); Olympos: Öncü (2012); Phaselis: Bayburtluoğlu (2004, pp. 90-93); Tlos: Korkut (2015a, pp. 53-64); Xanthos: des Courtils & Cavalier (2001a, p. 162).

Lycia had medium-sized and small baths when compared to the monumental baths of Rome and Asia Minor,[237] having varied asymmetrical plans which mainly derived from the relatively limited availability of land in the mountainous geography of Lycia (Farrington, 1995, pp. 3-19; Yegül, 2010, pp. 173-176). Yegül attributes the lack of large bath buildings in Lycia to the fact that the cities in mountainous inland regions of south and southwest Asia Minor including Lycia, Pamphylia, Pisidia and Rough Cilicia had "lesser means and lesser needs" (1992, p. 250).

The baths reveal a degree of uniformity in planning. They generally consisted of rows of three or four barrel-vaulted rectangular rooms which were placed adjacent and parallel to each other, and were generally interconnected (Farrington, 1995, pp. 3-20). The origins of the row arrangement plan that the majority of the Lycian baths adopted lies in the "Pompeian/Campanian" type (Farrington, 1995, pp. 44-49), an early type of Roman baths which developed in the Republican Period (Yegül, 1992, pp. 57-66). The sharp contrasts in bath building plans between Lycia and its neighbors suggest that the row plan type may have been directly imported from Italy by means of imperial governors (Farrington, 1995, p. 48).[238]

The principal rooms of the row arrangement can easily by identified as the *caldarium*, *tepidarium* and *frigidarium* which was commonly used as the *apodyterium* as well. Larger baths could also include more than one service room. The façades were generally accentuated with apsidal projections, and both apses and the walls were perforated with large rectangular windows that provided sunlight, heat and a view of the landscape (Farrington, 1995, p. 4). Examples of baths with the derivatives of the row arrangement plan type, excavated or under excavation, include the bath-gymnasium complex at Arykanda, the bath-gymnasium and theater baths at Phaselis, Hurmalık/Harbor baths at Patara, the

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[237] For a detailed study on Roman bath-gymnasium complexes, see Yegül (1992).

[238] For a comparison of the plan type of Lycian baths with those at other parts of Asia Minor; and a thorough analysis of the origins of the Lycian bath layouts, see Farrington (1995, pp. 20-51).

bath-gymnasium of Rhodiapolis, and the large baths at Tlos (Fig. 4.4.11).[239] A small number of baths which do not exactly fit into this plan type, on the other hand, may be given as the Baths of Titus at Simena and the small baths in Patara and Tlos (Fig. 4.4.12). The baths at Simena has a rectangular plan divided into four rooms, one of which has an apsis (Farrington, 1995, p. 5). The small baths in Patara has an apsidal rectangular room adjacent to a square room, and another rectangular room placed at a right angle to the other two rooms (Aktaş, 2015). Finally, the small baths of Tlos consists of two parallel rectangular rooms that lie at right angle to a third rectangular room (Korkut, 2015a, pp. 53-59).

The baths did not only provide mental and physical relaxation and recreation, but also pleased the eye, so they were more often than not decorated, which was also the case in Lycia. For instance, the studies in the bath-gymnasium complex at Arykanda revealed that some parts of the walls were reveted with marble and insides of the niches were covered with a plaster resembling marble (Bayburtluoğlu, 1983b, p. 278). Moreover, several niches were built inside the walls of the baths and the *palaestra* which once supported currently missing statues (Bayburtluoğlu, 1983b, p. 281). Several baths in Asia Minor included rooms richly decorated with marble façades and sculptures, called "marmorsaal" or "kaisersaal" in modern literature, but none have been encountered in any of the Lycian baths so far.[240]

It is known that athletic practices took place in Lycia in Hellenistic *gymnasia* already in the 2nd century BC. For instance, an inscription found in Letoon which is dated to 196 BC honors a benefactor called Lyson for restoring the *gymnasion* at Xanthos (Gauthier, 1996, pp. 1-27). Unfortunately, Hellenistic

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[239] For these particular baths, see Bayburtluoğlu (1983b) for Arykanda; Bayburtluoğlu (1983a; 1984) for Phaselis; Gülşen (2007a, pp. 254-255) and Erkoç (2015) for Patara; Çevik, Kızgut, & Bulut (2009) for Rhodiapolis; Korkut (2015a, pp. 53-59) for Tlos.

[240] The names "marmorsaal" and "kaisarsaal" were given respectively by Benndorf & Heberdey (1898) and Keil (1929a; 1929b) to rooms decorated with columnar marble façade with *aediculae* for statues discovered in the Harbor Gymnasium and Gymnasium of Vedius at Ephesus. Keil (1929a; 1929b) introduced the theory that these rooms served for the cult of the emperor. This theory has been advanced by Yegül (1982) and established as a commonly acceptable norm. However, Burrell (2006) opposes this idea on the grounds of lack of enough evidence to suggest emperor worship in these places.

gymnasion have been discovered neither in Xanthos, nor in any city yet. However, several *palaestrae* were built attached to the baths in the Roman Period,[241] which have been recovered in various Lycian cities such as Arykanda, Tlos, Patara, Kyaneai, Oenoanda, Rhodiapolis and Kibyra.

The construction techniques of baths reflect a local preference rather than imperial influence. There were basically two types of structural techniques that the Lycians preferred while building baths. The first one is the polygonal masonry technique, which was popular in the Greek world during the Classical times and was mostly abandoned before the Hellenistic Period (Wright, 2009, pp. 153-156). However, it remained in use in Lycia from the 5th century BC up until Hadrianic times,[242] possibly for its better load-bearing capacity and the competence of the local masons in practicing the technique (Farrington, 1995, pp. 52-70). Generally preferred for terracing and fortification, the use of polygonal masonry for the walls of free-standing buildings during the Imperial Period is unique to Lycia (Farrington, 1995, p. 80). The other technique adopted in the construction of the baths, similar to the most of the baths in Asia Minor, is the coursed masonry which was being used in Lycia since the Hellenistic times (Farrington, 1995, pp. 70-86). Brick was used mainly for vaulting but a very rare example of a bath building made out of brick is found at Myra (Borchhardt, 1975, p. 61) (Fig. 4.4.13).

The heating systems of the Lycian baths consisted of under-floor and wall heating. Under-floor heating was traditionally provided by the hypocaust

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[241] According to Farrington (1995, p. 135), the word γυμνάσιον found in inscriptions dated to the Roman Period most likely refers to a *palaestra* attached to a bath building, or a bathing complex with a *palaestr*a but not to a bath without a *palaestra*. The Greek *gymnasion* was an institution for physical training, and intellectual and artistic education of the young citizens; which in time came to be more than education and was incorporated into the daily life through entertaining and ritual activities (Yegül, 1992, pp. 7-8). The attachment of the *palaestra* to Roman baths does not reflect the merging of the institution of *gymnasion* with that of bathing (Yegül, 1992, pp. 55-57). The *palaestrae* of the Roman baths were used for recreational sportive activities before moving on to the main activity, bathing; rather than intense gymnastic and athletic trainings (Yegül, 2010, pp. 14-17). However in Greek cities with bath-gymnasium complexes, the tradition of using the *palaestra* for athletic training of the youth must have continued.

[242] For the use of polygonal masonry in Lycia during the Archaic and Classical Period, see Chapter 4.6.1.

system,[243] the remains of which have been found in the *tepideria* and *caldaria* of almost all the Lycian baths. For heating the walls, the most frequently applied technique in Lycia was the terracotta spacer pin system.[244] This system consisted of creating cavities for the circulation of hot air between the walls and large flat tiles which were mounted on the wall with terracotta pins (Fig. 4.4.14). The preference of this less common system in Lycia over the widely used *tegulae mammatae* and *tubuli* in other parts of the Roman Empire may have stemmed from the fact that spacer pins allowed larger cavity than the former and was more economical than the latter (Farrington & Coulton, 1990, pp. 65-67).[245]

The water required for the baths was largely supplied by aqueducts and cisterns. It is generally argued that the aqueducts were primarily built for the baths (Hodge, 1992, p. 6). Thus, based on the current researches, it is not surprising that the construction of early Roman aqueducts in Lycia coincides with the construction of the early bath buildings of the region such as the Nero/Vespasian baths and the Claudian aqueduct of Patara. The connections between the aqueducts and the baths are largely lost, but remains of water channels or piping systems that brought water into the baths can still be observed in some of the bath buildings such as the theater baths at Phaselis (Bayburtluoğlu, 1983a, p. 184). The Rhodiapolis baths, on the other hand, were fed by cisterns. A rare surviving example of an indoor water distribution system within the bath building has revealed that the water coming from the upper terraces, possibly from the cisterns of the G Building (Fig. 4.5.8), was collected in a *castellum* and provided water that was pressurized enough to be distributed within the baths (Çevik, Kızgut, & Bulut, 2009, p. 239).[246] The bath building of Pinara, on the other hand, stands out for having its own spring (Tietz, 2016, p. 339).

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[243] For the hypocaust system, see Yegül (1992, pp. 356-362).

[244] For studies about the terracotta spacer pin system and its utilization in the baths of Lycian cities, see Farrington & Coulton (1990), Farrington (1995, pp. 101-104) and Gülşen (2007b).

[245] For Roman wall heating systems, see Yegül (1992, pp. 363-365).

[246] It has not yet been revealed how the cisterns under the *palaestra* served the baths. If the baths were supplied by a cistern from an upper terrace in order to provide water pressure, it is possible that the cisterns at the baths were used not only for the baths but also for lower terraces.

The used water was drained out via water channels and piping systems. It was a common practice to flush the streets or sewage systems with the waste water coming from the baths. The baths at Phaselis and Patara were very close to the main streets which had closed drain channels, thus, it is highly likely that their drainage systems were connected to these channels (Tüner Önen, 2008, p. 82; Aktaş, 2013, p. 57). Hodge points out the logical practice of placing *latrinae* within or next to the baths, so that the water discharged from the baths would provide constant flow for the disposal of the sewage from the lavatories (1992, p. 271). The location of the *latrina* next to the theater baths at Phaselis suggests such an arrangement (Fig. 4.4.15). It was a rectangular structure of approximately 15 m by 10 m, with a mosaic floor, traces of seats on three surviving walls and water channels on three sides (Bayburtluoğlu, 1983a, p. 187; Akduman, n.d.; Arslan & Tüner Önen, 2016, p. 310). The channels were directly connected to the sewage system that ran below the thoroughfare and discharged into the central harbor (Bayburtluoğlu, 1983a, p. 187; Aslan, 2016, p. 38). Another *latrina* has been discovered in Arykanda, on a lower terrace in front of the *Traianeum*, supporting the southern terrace wall of the sanctuary. The public toilet consisted of four rooms with seats and water channels which were connected to the waste water system of the city (Bayburtluoğlu, 2003, pp. 75-76) (Figs. 4.2.6 and 4.4.16). The prominent location of the public toilets within the city center of Phaselis and Arykanda is not surprising considering the importance of public toilets in Roman society as a venue for relaxing and socializing (Favro, 1997). Given the importance of latrines as a place not only for meeting the bodily requirements but also for having recreational activity as a part of daily routines, it is highly possible that more examples will be revealed in other Lycian cities in future works.

Another building type that consumed large amounts of water second after the baths was the public fountain. Fountains were vital urban elements for providing water for the inhabitants, especially for those who did not have private water sources like wells and cisterns. Thus, while distributing water to the city, it was made sure that the water of the public use never ceased (Vitr. *De arch*. 8.6.2). Fountains were initially built at the springs; however, together with the

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development of aqueduct systems, their location became independent of the water source, and with the increase in the amount of water carried into the city center, they multiplied in number (Glaser, 2000).

In time, public fountains went beyond being simply utilitarian urban structures. Conventionally called *nymphaea* in Roman architecture,[247] these fountains became monumental aesthetic objects that provided sensory experience with water plays, and served as instruments of political and religious propaganda with their highly embellished and sculpturally decorated façades (Walker, 1987; Aristodemou, 2014).

When considering the number of aqueducts arriving in several cities, one expects to find numerous fountains in Lycian cities. However, when compared to the large number of surviving baths, the fountains are less-preserved in Lycia, but nevertheless, discovered in some cities in various forms and contexts.

In Phaselis, two *nymphaea* are found at the street between the Tetragonal Agora and the Agora of Domitian. According to the remains, both fountains had a single basin and a one-story columnar façade (Bayburtluoğlu, 2004, pp. 88-89; Tüner Önen, 2008, p. 17). At Arykanda, a U-shaped *nymphaeum* with three statuary niches on each side wall is located at the west of the civil agora and fed by a clean water channel coming from the terrace baths at the north (Bayburtluoğlu, 2003, pp. 124-125) (Fig. 4.4.17). The remains of a curved building located at the junction of *cardo* and *decumanus* at Xanthos is speculated to be a *nymphaeum* which was fed by the aqueduct (des Courtils, 2001b, p. 75; des Courtils & Cavalier, 2001a, p. 171). Two emperor statues from the 2nd century AD which were found close by, not only provide a possible construction date for the structure, but also give an idea of its decoration (des Courtils, 2003, p. 87). Another *nymphaeum* is discovered on the street which runs between the Upper and Northern Agoras at the eastern city center and operated with the water coming

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[247] In the Greek world, fountains were sometimes associated with spring deities. Thus, originally, a νυμφαῖον was a fountain shrine dedicated to nymphs (Uğurlu N. B., 2004, pp. 1-2). *Nymphaeum*, the Latinized version of the word, on the other hand, largely lost its religious connotation in the Roman Period (Segal, 1997, p. 151).

from the cistern underneath the civil basilica (Cavalier, 2012a, p. 20).[248] A monumental circular *nymphaeum* has been unearthed in the third terrace of the agora at Kibyra ("Burdur'daki Kibyra, 2016) (Fig. 4.4.18).

A rather different water arrangement is found at Patara. As mentioned above, an octagonal pool located in front of the Arch of Mettius Modestus was most probably fed by the water coming from the arch (Figs. 4.4.4 and 4.4.5). Dated to the 1st century AD, the structure did not only provide water for public use, but more than anything, presented an aquatic show together with the arch for those approaching the entrance of the city (İşkan & Baykan, 2013, s. 99-100; Dündar, 2017).

Another interesting fountain arrangement has been discovered at Tlos. In the middle of the stadium area were built a fountain and a long rectangular pool attached to it, which according to Korkut (2015a, p. 81), resembles the *Canopus* (Fig. 4.4.19). This fountain-pool complex must have been built in the 3rd century AD, when part of the stadium area was rendered useless due to the damages caused by the earthquake of AD 240 (Korkut, 2015a, pp. 78-81)

In addition to the outdoor arrangements, baths usually incorporated pools with fountains. For instance, a fountain is found inside the bath-gymnasium complex of Arykanda, within the *frigidarium*. The fountain had an apsidal *piscine* and three niches on the semi-circular back wall (Bayburtluoğlu, 1983a, p. 278) (Fig. 4.4.20).

An extra-mural *nymphaeum*, initially suggested to have been a bath building (Borchhardt, 1975, pp. 72-74), is found at the valley between Andriake and Myra. The structure is in the form of a rectangular fountain-house, inside of which is decorated with niches (Fig. 4.4.21). The aqueduct which carried water to Myra, branched off to Andriake after reaching this fountain (Çevik, 2016, p. 235). Its rather isolated location sparks questions as to why Lycians needed such an embellished monumental fountain-house for distributing the aqueduct water. A

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[248] For more on the eastern agoras and the civil basilica at Xanthos, see Chapter 4.2, pp. 72-73.

logical reason suggested by Farrington (1995, p. 6) is that this location may not be as isolated as it seems today.

Fountains were not solely functional or aesthetical objects, but also had religious purposes.[249] A fountain with cultic associations was built at Letoon. Within the sanctuary, a sacred spring welled out which was dedicated to the Elyanas; the Lycian equivalents of the Nymphs, the Greek spring deities. In the Hellenistic Period, most probably as a part of the grand make over,[250] a fake cave with a vaulted room was built for offerings in front of an artificial pond which was filled by the water of the spring (Metzger, Llinas, Roy, & Balland, 1974, pp. 333-338; des Courtils, 2009a, p. 66). In the second century, possibly in AD 130-131, a semi-circular pool surrounded by a colonnaded portico of Corinthian order was built over by Claudius Marcianus, a high priest of the imperial cult, and was dedicated to the Emperor Hadrian, whose statue stood on a rectangular platform located at the middle of the portico (Metzger, Llinas, Roy, & Balland, 1974, pp. 333-338; Balland, 1981, pp. 57-64) (Figs. 3.3.8 and 4.4.22). The *nymphaeum* may have also included a chamber for the cult of the emperor, which, in that case, is a demonstration of the juxtaposition of the local and imperial religious practices that was widely practiced in Asia Minor (Longfellow, 2012, p. 151).[251]

Since water was a key element to the Roman culture as well as the urban and architectural development of Roman cities, one of the first things done following the transformation of Lycia into a Roman province was to increase the amount of water each city received. The tranquility provided by *Pax Romana* enabled the construction of long-distance and above-ground aqueducts by the cities which could afford them. Thus, the aqueducts became a source of pride for these cities; not only for implying the large amount of water they possessed but also the security, technological progress and prosperity they had which were essential concepts for pulling of such a monumental undertaking according to

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[249] For the religious character of the fountains, see fn. 247.

[250] See Chapter 3.3, p. 48-49 for the restoration of the sanctuary during the Hellenistic Period.

[251] For the institution of imperial cult in Lycia, see Chapter 4.1, pp. 62 ff.

Mitchell (1993, p. 217). Especially the arcades which run into the city center and welcomed the visitors as in the case of Phaselis and to an extent Oenoanda, became manifestations and promoters of this success. The management of high amount of water necessitated the development of urban water distribution and drainage systems, and several cities built piping networks to feed the public and private buildings as well as sewers to carry away the used, waste and excess water.

The increased amount of water in cities paved the way for the adoption of bathing institution and proliferation of bath buildings. Influenced by the early Italian bath building layouts, Lycians developed an idiosyncratic bath building type with row arrangement which was applied in a degree of uniformity in various cities with local material and constructional techniques. When compared to the monumental baths of Rome and Asia Minor, the baths of Lycian cities are medium and small-sized; and lack extra facilities like shops, libraries, and imperial halls. But their introduction to Lycia as soon as becoming a Roman province, their construction in cities in multiple numbers and their survival at least until the 8th century AD are significant indications that baths and bathing habit were highly embraced by the Lycians and became an important part of the urban development of the Lycian cities.

The number of surviving fountains may be lower than expected but there is still enough to see that Lycian cities utilized fountains not only as a water supply but also as an urban element in various forms. The niches found in several *nymphaea* suggest that they were frequently used as showcases. However, the *nymphaea* in the form of monumental theatrical façades are clearly missing from the repertoire, although they were popular in Asia Minor and built in several cities like Miletus, Ephesus, Sagalassos, Perge and Aspendos. Nevertheless, rare forms of water works such as those at Patara and Tlos show how innovative the Lycians could become concerning water displays.

In short, water became a crucial element of the urbanization and architectural development of Lycian cities during the Roman Period. Even though Lycia made a flying start to the adoption of Roman water architecture shortly after

its establishment as a Roman province, their utilization of aqueducts, baths and fountains reflect interpretation rather than direct importation, and very limited communication with the neighboring provinces.

4.5 Urban Armature: Streets, Squares and Landmarks

Romans revolutionized architecture by the invention of new building types, utilization of novel construction techniques, elaboration and articulation of interior space and redefinition of classicism.[252] Yet, Roman imperial architecture reached its zenith when all the architectural elements of a city were designed to function as a coherent whole in urban level. Irrespective of rank, scale, urban configuration, and regional or provincial differences, every Roman city developed a network of interconnections defined as "armature" by William L. MacDonald, which is a "path-like core of thoroughfares and plazas…, that provided uninterrupted passage throughout the town and gave ready access to its principal public buildings" (1988, p. 3).[253] Compared to the city plans which were applied according to theory and technical knowledge, armature was an organic accumulation resulting from the urban needs which emerged with the gradual development of the cities, and was subjected to constant transformation and evolution as long as something was added to or changed along the path (MacDonald, 1988, pp. 18, 23-25). The armature catered physical, visual, symbolic and propagandistic means of communications and interactions between humans and the built environment, through which it facilitated movement, navigation and orientation within the city and catalyzed various types of urban experiences and narratives.

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[252] For Roman architecture, see for instance, Boëthius (1978) and Ward-Perkins (1981). For a review of the distinctive characteristics of Roman architecture, see Güven (2009).

[253] According to the Oxford English Dictionary, the word "armature" has three main literal meanings: a part of an electric motor, a framework used for supporting a sculpture and a protective organ or a covering. MacDonald coins "armature" as a new term for the terminology of Roman urbanism. Yet, the author assures that the concept of armature is not a modern theory applied on the ruins, but a reality of Roman cities which was recognized, though not theorized, in ancient times (MacDonald, 1988, pp. 14-17).

To begin with its physicality, according to MacDonald's thorough analysis, the armature involved three essential components which were, at least rudimentally, found in each and every Roman city: connective architecture, passage architecture and public buildings. Connective architecture consisted of a main street, plazas and squares including agoras and fora, and stairs, all linked to each other for a flowing movement (MacDonald, 1988, pp. 32-73). Among these, the main street, also called a thoroughfare, was the core of the armature. Wider than the other streets and often flanked by colonnades,[254] the thoroughfare crossed the city from one gate to another, gave direct access to the public buildings located on the path, and directed the movement to other attraction points such as ports. The architecture of passage, including secondary architectural elements such as arches, *exedrae* and *nymphaea*, on the other hand, regulated the movement and navigation by punctuating intersections and defining nodal points on the path (MacDonald, 1988, pp. 74-110). Finally, public buildings functioned as primary destinations along the armature, which were frequented by the citizens for conducting various activities under the guidance of the elements of connective and passage architecture (MacDonald, 1988, pp. 111-141).

In many Lycian cities, the Roman armature can be outlined by the partial remains of streets, open spaces, public buildings and secondary structures. The following discussion will include the better preserved examples, including those of Xanthos, Rhodiapolis, Kibyra, Arykanda, Patara and Phaselis, which allow coherent interpretations.

At present, Xanthos exhibits one of the most intact and legible armatures among the Lycian cities (Fig. 4.5.1). The modern road that reaches Xanthos from Kınık was roughly built over the ancient road that approached the city from the south (Işık, 2016a, p. 180). The visitors coming from this direction were greeted with a gate complex, which now stands on the west side of the modern road, and presently consists of two gateposts of a gateway at the front and an arch at the

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[254] Colonnaded thoroughfares emerged in the eastern provinces of the Roman Empire in the first century AD. For the evolution of colonnaded streets in Roman architecture, see Bejor (1999), Güven (2003) and Burns (2017). For the physical criteria of thoroughfares, see MacDonald (1988, p. 33).

back (Fig. 4.5.2).[255] The gateway was initially built in the Classical Period according to the dating of the polygonal masonry observed on the better exposed left gatepost (Marksteiner, 1993b, pp. 39-40; des Courtils, 1994, p. 290).[256] An inscription surviving on the right post reveals that Antiochos III dedicated the city to Leto, Apollo and Artemis, after he seized Lycia from the Ptolemies in the 2nd century BC (*TAM* II 266), suggesting a possible restoration in this period (des Courtils, 2003, p. 76). The arch on the other hand, was built by Sextus Marcus Priscus, the governor of the province of Lycia, and dedicated to the Emperor Vespasian in AD 68-70 (Balland, 1981, pp. 29-31, no.12). The Doric frieze on the arch was decorated with the busts of the three deities of Letoon (des Courtils, 2003, p. 78; Cavalier, 2005, p. 28). The emphasis on these divinities, both on the gatepost and the arch, stresses that this road connected the sanctuary to Xanthos (des Courtils, 2003, p. 79; Işık, 2016a, p. 171). Today, the gate seems isolated as its surroundings do not reveal much, except for the Nereid monument, which sits above the eastern slope with a commanding view over the gate and the overall Xanthos plain, and must have once provided an impressive panorama for the visitors (Fig. 4.5.3).

The stone-paved road passed under the gateway and the arch, and climbed up towards the Lycian acropolis (Figs. 4.5.2 and 4.5.4), at the foot of which the western city center with the theater and the western/Roman agora was located. The road gave way to the theater on the west and passed the baths on the east, and then reached a flat area at the east of the agora. Even though it has not been excavated yet due to its current use as a parking lot, this area most likely functioned as a square which provided access to the agora through a triple-arched *propylon*, and possibly other public buildings such as the *bouleuterion*.[257] It is also highly likely the location where the street coming from the southern city gate

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[255] For a detailed analysis of the architectural features of the South Gate, see Cavalier (2005, pp. 27-29), des Courtils, Cavalier, Laurence and Lemaître (2015, p. 113) and Kökmen Seyirci (2017).

[256] For the South Gate and the military architecture of Xanthos, see Chapter 4.6.1, pp. 138-140.

[257] The western civic center of Xanthos and the buildings around it have been discussed in Chapter 4.2, pp. 71-72.

intersected with the *decumanus,* the east-west thoroughfare (Işık, 2016a, p. 180) (Figs. 4.2.2 and 4.5.5). This 11.85 m wide main avenue, which was once flanked with porticoes and shops on both sides, perpendicularly crossed the *cardo* on the east, thus creating another square at the crossing point (des Courtils, 2001c, p. 229) (Figs. 4.2.4 and 4.2.5). The junction where the *decumanus* met the eastern square was marked with a *dipylon,* built in the 4th century AD, and incised with the names of the Emperors Valens and Valentinianus (des Courtils, 2001c, pp. 227-231) (Fig. 4.5.6). Furthermore, a structure with a concave façade, speculated to be a *nymphaeum,* stood on the northern side of the square (des Courtils & Laroche, 2000, pp. 339-340).[258]

At the southwest corner of the crossing where the *decumanus* and the *cardo* met, were located the upper and lower agoras on two successive terraces (Fig. 4.5.1). Between the upper agora and the *cardo* was built a two story civil basilica, also called *cryptoportucus,* together with the agora in the 2nd century AD.[259] The upper story, which was possibly used for civic purposes, functioned together with the agora and the *decumanus,* while the lower story was divided into rooms which opened to the *cardo* (Figs. 4.2.4 and 4.2.5). Thus, the building interacted with both thoroughfares on different levels. The *cardo,* less studied compared to the *decumanus,* descended along the lower agora towards the southern area where the Nereid monument was located (Fig. 4.5.7). A minor street parallel to the *decumanus* ran between the upper and lower agoras and connected the *cardo* to the western part of the city, where the baths and the residential area were located (des Courtils & Laroche, 2003, p. 429).

The surviving remains of the armature reveal that the navigation through the city was provided by an orthogonal street system which was initially laid out in the Augustan Period and developed on this foundation (des Courtils, 2008, p. 1647). The two civic centers on the east and the west were connected with the *decumanus,* which was anchored on both ends with public squares. The overall

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[258] For the *nymphaeum* at Xanthos, see Chapter 4.3, p. 119.

[259] For the eastern agoras and the civil basilica at Xanthos, see Chapter 4.2, pp. 72-73.

path was stamped with nodal points along its course, such as the southern gate at the beginning of the armature, the *tripylon* at the entrance of the Western/Roman Agora, and the *dipylon* and *nymphaeum* at the junction of the *cardo* and the *decumanus*.

Compared to Xanthos, the city center of which spread on a wide and largely flat area, Rhodiapolis was a smaller city, arranged on articulately designed terraces due to the hilly and restricted terrain. Thus, its armature was less spread out than that of Xanthos, yet effectively shaped according to the urban dynamics (Fig. 4.5.8).[260] The western gate of the city directly opened to the *decumanus*, the main artery which connected the gate to the public square located in the core of the city (Figs. 4.5.9 and 4.5.10). While only a group of workshops have been recovered on its north so far (Kızgut, Akalın, & Bulut, 2010, pp. 91-92); the entire southern side of the *decumanus* was bordered by buildings in religious character, forming what can be defined as the religious sector of the city (Çevik, Kızgut, & Bulut, 2010, p. 34). These buildings included, from west to east, the temple of Asklepios and Hygieia, the sanctuary of Asklepios and the *Hadrianeum,* all built in the 2nd century AD.[261] The stoas in front of the Asklepieion and the *Hadrianeum*, which were connected to each other with a combination of steps and a monumental arch to emphasize as well as overcome the level difference, formed the colonnades of the thoroughfare (Çevik, Kızgut, & Bulut, 2010, p. 40) (Figs. 4.5.11 and 4.5.12).

The *decumanus* widened around the middle of the city to give place to a public square. The triangular plaza was bordered by the *Hadrianeum* and the ancestral cult of the family of Opramoas on the south, and the agora on the north (Figs. 4.2.33 and 4.2.35). The agora, built on cisterns, was surrounded by a two-story stoa on the north-west, an *exedra* on the north, and the *prytaneion* on a lower terrace on the east. Behind the double stoa was an upper terrace which housed the stoa and *heroon* of Opramoas, the theater and the stage building, and

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[260] The urbanism of Rhodiapolis has been extensively discussed by Çevik, Kızgut, & Bulut (2010).

[261] For a detailed discussion about the religious sector and these buildings, see Chapter 4.1.

the *bouleuterion* (Figs. 4.2.36 and 4.2.37). The second story of the agora stoa also functioned together with this terrace.[262] A stepped street that began from the north-east corner connected the plaza respectively with the upper terrace of the agora proper, the *diazoma* at the top of the theater and finally the acropolis, which was occupied by buildings including a large cistern and a temple (Çevik, Kızgut, & Bulut, 2010, p. 40) (Figs. 4.2.36 and 4.5.13).

The rest of the street system has not been extensively revealed yet; however some paths have survived. For instance, the *decumanus* continued beyond the square and descended down from the south of the *prytaneion* to the large baths and eventually reached the other city gate (Çevik, Kızgut, & Bulut, 2010, p. 39) (Fig. 4.5.14). Moreover, two streets branched off from the *decumanus* right after leaving the square. One of them ran between the agora and the *prytaneion* and headed towards the residential area at the north, and possibly connected to another street there; while the other branch reached to the Building G on the south (Çevik, Kızgut, & Bulut, 2010, p. 40).

Hence, the majority of the public buildings of Rhodiapolis concentrated on a small area at the foot of the acropolis, while some other buildings like the baths and the unidentified Building G spread down the slopes below. The elements of armature, which are more identifiably in the central area but nevertheless can be traced partially in other parts of the city, reduced the difficulties of the hilly terrain by the utilization of steps and ramps and sacrifice of the orthogonality of the streets.

Similar organizations can be observed in other mountain cities such as Kibyra and Arykanda. Kibyra was approached from the east via a paved road that was flanked by *necropoleis* (Dökü, 2012, p. 88). At the end of this road, the entrance to the city was provided through a three-tiered gate which was supported by circular towers on both sides (Dökü, 2012, p. 88). The east-west street, which began from the gate, traversed the city all the way to the theater, giving access to the public buildings located on its sides (Fig. 4.5.15). The surviving buildings

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[262] For an analysis of the agora proper of Rhodiapolis, see Chapter 4.2.

which were directly accessed through the *decumanus* include the *stadion* on the south which was entered through a *propylon* and the agora complex on the north that was designed in three successive terraces (Figs. 4.3.23, 4.3.25 and 4.2.22). [263] The first terrace of the agora proper was in the form of a colonnaded street with shops on both sides and connected the *decumanus* to a parallel street at the east of the agora. Excavations have revealed that the street took the form of a staircase before reaching the lowest agora terrace in order to overcome the level difference (Özüdoğru & Dökü, 2013, pp. 49-50) (Fig. 4.5.16). The *decumanus* must have intersected with a street running in a north-south direction somewhere in front of the theater which must have connected the *bouleuterion* to the civic center.[264] The stairs and stepped streets were the vital means of communication in Arykanda which connected the flat terraces together, on tops of which were built all the civic centers and public buildings, as well as houses and cemeteries of Arykanda (Bayburtluoğlu, 2003, pp. 49-54) (Figs. 4.2.6, 4.5.17 and 4.2.9).[265].

In coastal cities with harbors, there was definitely a communication provided between the city center and the port. Patara had one of the most important natural harbors of Lycia, thus had a developed inner port on the east coast of the estuary with related harbor structures and a harbor agora (Fig. 4.5.18).[266] Even though not much is known as the area is currently submerged under the water (İşkan & Koçak, 2014, pp. 284-289), the existence of the harbor baths and the Corinthian temple, and the discovery of the Stadiasmus Monument in close vicinity suggest a developed urban area in the surrounding (İşkan &

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[263] For the *stadion* at Kibyra, see Chapter 4.3, pp. 102-103; for an examination of the agora complex, see Chapter 4.2, p. 77.

[264] The *bouleuterion* of Kibyra has been discussed together with the agora complex in Chapter 4.2, pp. 77-78.

[265] The civic centers and public buildings of Arykanda have been discussed in detail elsewhere. For the civic and commercial agora, see Chapter 4.2; for theater and *stadion*, see Chapter 4.3.; for baths and water systems, see Chapter 4.4.

[266] The harbor of Patara has been discussed in Chapter 4.6.2, pp. 153-154 in more detail.

Koçak, 2014, p. 280; Çevik & Aktaş, 2016, p. 19).[267] The harbor was connected to the city center via the north-south thoroughfare, the *cardo*.[268]

Cardo, the so-called Harbor Street, which had a width of 12.6 m (Aktaş, 2013, p. 55), began from the agora at the city center where the important public buildings including the theater, *bouleuterion, prytaneion* and the stoa were located.[269] The northern end of the stoa opened to the avenue, and the entrance was marked by a *dipylon* in Ionic order (Aktaş, 2013, pp. 106-113) (Figs. 4.5.19 and 4.5.20). The street was laid out in the Hellenistic Period, initially on a northeast-southwest axis, most likely connecting the theater and the *bouleuterion* to the Hellenistic city gate located at the east of the Arch of Mettius Modestus (Aktaş, 2013, pp. 58-59). During the reign of Trajan, its direction was turned to the north, directly towards the harbor; after which colonnades in Ionic and Corinthian order with shops behind were built on its both sides in successive construction projects (Aktaş, 2013, pp. 59-97).[270] Three of the four bath buildings of Patara were located on both sides of the stone-paved avenue; the baths of Nero/Vespasian and the central baths on the east, and the small baths on the west. The *palaestra* of the Nero/Vespasian baths opened to the avenue through a *propylon* added to the street during the Antonine period, and the central baths also had direct access from the avenue (Aktaş, 2013, pp. 55, 114-121). The small baths, on the other hand, was most likely connected to the thoroughfare through a minor street.

The *decumanus* is comparatively less exposed. Its porticoes were found in situ, incorporated within the later Byzantine city wall that stretches before the Corinthian temple; hence, it must have passed in front of the temple and

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[267] For Stadiasmus Monument, see Chapter 4.6.1, pp. 145-146.

[268] The thoroughfare and the related structures along its path have been extensively studied by Aktaş (2013) in his PhD dissertation titled "Patara Ana Caddesi", which is consulted as the main source in the following discussion.

[269] For the civic center of Patara, see Chapter 4.2, pp. 81-82.

[270] Only a 100 m of the street has been excavated since the studies came to a halt due to the high underground water table (Aktaş, 2013, p. 55).

intersected with the *cardo* on the east (Aktaş, 2013, p. 56) (Fig. 4.5.18). Minor streets have also been partially recovered in certain locations. For instance, a crossroad of two streets, one running parallel to the *cardo* on the north and the other to the *decumanus* on the east has been revealed at the southwestern corner of the Harbor baths (Işık, 1998, pp. 58-59; Aktaş, 2013, p. 132). Moreover, another street beginning from the Arch of Mettius Modestus and oriented towards the agora has been discovered, which may have been more or less laid over the earlier path of the colonnaded avenue (Aktaş, 2013, p. 132). The Arch, which was built by the "people of Patara, the Metropolis of Lycian Nation", honored Proculus Mettius Modestus and his family, who served as a governor of the province of Lycia and Pamphylia under the Emperor Trajan (İşkan, 2016, p. 156). The monument directed the people towards the city center, but also punctuated the boundary between the urban area and the *necropolis* (Çevik & Aktaş, 2016, p. 19). Moreover, it carried the water coming from the aqueduct which cascaded to a water basin on its west, and eventually conveyed to the octagonal pool in the front, thus welcoming the visitors coming from the land route with water plays (İşkan, 2016, p. 156). [271]

The western shore of the Patara estuary was also actively used; as the lighthouse, the imperial *horreum*, the *stadion*, and another *necropolis* were located there;[272] however how this side of the city was accessed has not yet been revealed.

Similar to Xanthos, Patara benefitted from having been laid out on a flat plain, as the communication within the city was mostly provided with perpendicularly crossed linear streets, which were punctuated at nodal points with gates and arches.

The civic center and public buildings of Phaselis, another coastal city with three harbors, were arranged on both sides of a main avenue that ran between the south and central harbors (Fig. 4.5.21). The 225 m long and 20-25 m wide stone-

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[271] For the relation of the Arch with the water system of Patara, see Chapter 4.4, p. 120.

[272] For the lighthouse and the *horreum*, see Chapter 4.6.2, p. 154; for the *stadion*, see Chapter 4.3, p. 103.

paved thoroughfare was divided almost equally into two by a public square (Schäfer, 1981, pp. 87-89; Arslan & Tüner Önen, 2016, p. 305) (Figs. 4.5.22 and 4.5.23). This main street was flanked with three rows of steps possibly covered with wooden stoas on both sides from end to end (Bayburtluoğlu, 2004, p. 91). Besides providing communication between the street and the public buildings, these steps may have also functioned as seating rows whenever or if ever the main street was converted into a *stadion* at certain occasions.[273]

A newcomer, who disembarked at the southern port, would enter the thoroughfare passing under the Arch of Hadrian which was built right at the beginning of the street, emphasizing the entrance to and exit from the city center (Fig. 4.5.24). The first section of the thoroughfare was bordered by the Agora of Domitian on the west, and the ruins of unidentified buildings on the east.[274] The façade of the agora which was pierced by two monumental gates that provided access to the building from the avenue ran all the way to the square, uninterruptedly defining the space of the street (Fig. 4.2.17). The avenue reached the trapezoidal square where more public buildings were concentrated (Fig. 4.5.25). On the west, separated from the Agora of Domitian only by a street perpendicular to the thoroughfare, was located the Tetragonal Agora,[275] slightly recessed back from the projected line of the street to give more space to the square. On the east stood the theater baths and the latrine.[276] Moreover, a stairway led to the theater built on an upper terrace (Fig. 4.5.26).[277] The second section of the thoroughfare, which does not maintain the direction of the first part but slightly deviates through the north-east, was bordered by rows of rooms on the west (Schäfer, 1981, pp. 89-90), behind of which was located the bath-gymnasium

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[273] For more on the use of the main street of Phaselis as a *stadion*, see Chapter 4.3, p. 102.

[274] For the Agora of Domitian, see Chapter 4.2, p. 76; for the remains on the east, see Schäfer, (1981, pp. 101-102).

[275] For the Tetragonal Agora, see Chapter 4.2, p. 76.

[276] The baths and the latrine have been discussed together with the water systems of Phaselis in Chapter 4.4.

[277] For the theater, see Chapter 4.3.

complex.[278] The thoroughfare culminates in front of the central harbor which was surrounded by buildings related to maritime activities.[279]

The examination of the physical characteristics of the Lycian cities echoes the general features of the Roman urban armature. Accordingly, every city was unique in its architectural organization and urban communication, yet at the same time similar in the sense of having a main thoroughfare, construction of similar building types, use of arches and gates to punctuate nodal points, and creation of squares where major streets intersected or public buildings accumulated. Moreover, the construction of different elements in different periods of times and restorations of existing buildings further emphasize the organic and ever-evolving nature of the urban backbone.

The components of Roman armature were not only physically but also visually linked to each other. This visual link was provided by the combination of Greek orders and Roman forms, which eventually culminated in the creation of an imperial architectural language.[280] The elements of Greek architecture were stripped out of their traditional origins of individuality and structural quality, and instead became primary visual and decorative elements (Norberg-Schulz, 1978, pp. 90-92; MacDonald, 1988, pp. 143-178). The mixture of these old but functionally and aesthetically redefined elements of trebeation with curvilinear Roman forms, namely the arch, the vault and the dome, were applied on façades in a variety of nonrecurrent and complex symmetrical combinations of multi-story columnar displays (MacDonald, 1988, pp. 179-220).[281] Despite the immense

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[278] Schäfer examines these groups of rooms but does not propose anything about their functions (1981, pp. 89-90).

[279] For more on the harbors of Phaselis, see Chapter 4.6.2, pp. 152-153.

[280] This architectural language was part of an imperial imagery and iconography which began to form in the Late Republican Period, and matured and turned into an ideological tool for Augustus' agenda of cultural revolution (Zanker, 1988).

[281] Even though the main ingredients of the vocabulary for Roman classicism were the Greek and Roman forms and styles, Roman art and architecture was also open to assimilation of other foreign elements. Elsner (2006, p. 271) brings a new definition to classicism and describes it as the "emulation of any earlier set of visual styles, forms, or iconographies, which in the very fact of their being borrowed are established as in some sense canonical (or classic). This process of later emulation is in principle applicable to all earlier arts - so that Roman Classicism is Egyptianizing

diversity, the use of similar forms, which were dramatically altered in scale, proportion and position, though within the limits of recognizability, culminated into a visual consistency throughout the whole building (MacDonald, 1988, p. 250). Further adorned with statues of gods, emperors and influential individuals, this new façade understanding was best reflected in the theater stage buildings, and was more than usual repeated in other outer and sometimes inner surfaces which intended prominent displays such as those of monumental *nymphaea,* court halls at bath-gymnasium complexes, *sebasteia* and other idiosyncratic buildings like the Library of Celsius.

The majority of the buildings in Lycian cities followed this mainstream fashion. The better-preserved fragments of *scaenae frontes* at the theaters of Myra, Patara, Telmessos and Tlos testify to a lavishly decorated arrangement of columnar compositions with statues.[282] Antonine and Severan styles of the ornamentation suggest a construction and restoration period between the mid-2nd and early 3rd century AD, which go parallel with the rest of the empire. However, no example of a monumental *nymphaeum* with columnar façade which was favored in Asia Minor has been discovered yet.[283] The degree of destruction of the public buildings in Lycian cities makes it difficult to examine their surface decorations; yet recovery of architectural fragments sometimes helps to reconstruct the related elevations. An example of such a case can be given as the façade of the *Hadrianeum* at Rhodiapolis which had an Ionic columnar design (Kızgut, 2012, p. 95).

As it is seen, even though every façade combination was unparalleled and gave every building a unique character, the use of a common architectural

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and Italicizing as well as Hellenicizing, centrifugal in its dispersal among the provincial arts as well as centripetally focused on Greece".

[282] For a general examination of theater stage buildings in Lycia, see Chapter 4.3. For more of the *scaenae frontes* at Myra, Patara, Telmessos and Tlos, see Chapter 4.3, p. 95, and the references at fn. 193.

[283] The architectural fragments and statue pieces discovered near the *nymphaeum* at Xanthos suggest the existence of a highly decorated façade. It will be possible to say more about the *nymphaeum* and its decoration as the archaeological studies in the area progress.

vocabulary in each building provided stylistic coherence throughout the whole city. Moreover, columns, which were frequently repeated in the porticoes of thoroughfares and stoas, in the peristyles of temples, agoras and *palaestrae*, and on façade decorations provided an unimpeded rhythm and perception all along the armature, like an unbroken thread that three-dimensionally wrapped up all the elements of the urban layout. Likewise, the visual cohesion achieved in city scale stylistically synchronized all the imperial cities. The armature in all its physical and visual features became a trademark of Roman imperial architecture that stamped all the cities empire-wide, creating a feeling of familiarity, a feeling of being "at home" anywhere in Roman territory.[284]

Besides its physical and visual vitality, the armature of the Roman cities also held symbolic meanings. First of all, the urban trademark that formally linked the cities together also provided a common identity that united the cities coming from different cultural backgrounds and a feeling of belonging to a larger whole, the empire. The armature also became "a physical counterpart of the Roman rule", an everyday reminder of the Roman peace and prosperity that made it possible for the cities to flourish (MacDonald, 1988, p. 30).

In addition, the use of classical elements promised continuity of traditions. It made it easier for previously Hellenized cities to accept Roman architecture. Lycians were familiar with the Greek artistic style since at least the late Classical Period as can be seen from the decorations of Lycian tombs. For instance, the reliefs on the Harpy Tomb at Xanthos were executed in western style despite the oriental figures and narratives; the Nereid monument at the same city imitated an Ionic temple, and the *Heroon* of Perikle at Limyra had caryatids similar to the *Erechtheion*.[285] In addition, surviving architectural remains from the Hellenistic Period evidently reflect the style of the era and suggest architectural Hellenization in Lycia; such as the entire organization of the sanctuary of Letoon, the

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[284] The phrase is cited from Onians (1999, pp. 166-167), who claims that repetitive planning in Roman military camps enabled the soldiers to find their place within the camp through a system of signs which increased their efficiency and speed in settling, since they "felt at home even when far from Italy".

[285] For the stylistic analysis of these Lycian tombs, see Chapter 4.6.4.

Ptolemaion at Limyra, the stoa at the Esplanade of Oenoanda, and the majority of the theaters.[286] Hence, with its stylistic similarities to the Greek and Hellenistic architecture, Roman architecture was hardly bewildering for the Lycians.

Another significant aspect is that the armature was a means to convey messages, a tool for spreading propaganda. All the elements of the urban backbone served as a showcase, a display area for the inscriptions and statues which were erected along the streets, at open public spaces, and on arches and façades as constant reminders of particular individuals or occasions. The buildings themselves were also important mnemonic reminders.

Turning back to Xanthos, the decorations and inscriptions at the South Gate tell much. To begin with, the inscription of Antiochos III, in which he dedicated the city to the deities of Letoon (*TAM* II 266), was carved after he established his rule over Lycia following the defeat of the Ptolemies. While it is possible to interpret this act as the generosity of the new ruler, it is also possible to consider it as a "face-saving phraseology of surrender" like Grainger suggests (2002, pp. 44, fn. 35). Two-centuries later, the ceremonial arch at the back of the gate was dedicated to another ruler, this time to the Emperor Vespasian, almost thirty years after the establishment of the Roman province of Lycia.[287] The Arch not only emphasized the presence of Roman rule within the city but also promoted the reputation of its benefactor, the provincial governor Sextus Marcus Priscus. The highlighting of Leto, Apollo and Artemis on both the gate and the Arch, on the other hand, must have been an indication of physical and symbolic connection between Xanthos and Letoon. Though, it may as well be read as an attempt to receive the permission of tutelary deities of the whole region to legitimize their causes, whatever they were. Thus, while entering the city, a visitor was made aware of the political turning points in the history of Xanthos as well as the importance of the sanctuary of Letoon.

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[286] For the Hellenistic architecture in Lycia, see Chapter 3.3.3.

[287] According to Güven (1983), in contrast to the free-standing triumphal arches built in some other parts of the Roman Empire, the arches built in Asia Minor were mainly ceremonial and honorary in parallel to the differing political ideologies.

In Phaselis, the arch dedicated to Emperor Hadrian marked the entrance to the city from the south harbor. The inscription carved on the southern façade of the arch facing the harbor has been considered as an indication that Hadrian entered the city from this port (Tüner Önen, 2013). Similar to many cities which expected the arrival of Hadrian, Phaselis also enthusiastically prepared for the huge occasion, and marked it with a ceremonial arch that would perpetuate its evocative purpose. Furthermore, the recovery of the several inscribed bases suggests that the statues of prominent individuals were erected along the thoroughfare (Bayburtluoğlu, 2004, p. 91). Having a statue or an inscription in the city center was an important step for the higher class to increase and perpetuate their reputation. It was also an opportunity for women to come to prominence in a male-dominated society like Tyndaris, the benefactress of the Tetragonal Agora, which was also dedicated to Hadrian. However, the reverse was also possible. The name of the Emperor Domitian was erased from the inscription of the agora that he donated, his memory was infinitely condemned and the condemnation was permanently exposed on the armature.

In conclusion, the armature was an urban entity that organized and facilitated human movement through physical infrastructures, visual connections, symbolic meanings and messages. It was a living organism, generated by the movement of people, who created urban narratives as they moved between goals which were located in different parts of the city (MacDonald, 1988, pp. 268-269). When describing the armature of Ephesus, Yegül (1994, p. 107) mentions that "monuments belonging to different periods in time, layered and connected along the thoroughfare, helped to create feeling of collective consciousness." Thus, the narratives created as a result of kinetogenesis (MacDonald, 1988, pp. 268-269), culminated into an urban experience and grand narrative where the memory and past of the city merged with the ordinary life and the present (Yegül, 2000, pp. 148-154). As a result, the urban armature merged Lycian and Hellenistic cultural and material heritage together with Roman experiences, rituals and institutions; resulting in idiosyncratic cities which were unique in themselves, but all linked to each other and to the empire with Roman architectural imagery and symbolism.

4.6 Other Architectural and Urban Contexts

The content of this section is, in fact, peripheral to the scope of this dissertation. However, it is worth mentioning these topics, even briefly, in order to obtain a holistic perspective on Roman architecture and urbanism in Lycian cities. Accordingly, this chapter is divided into four parts: the first section discusses the military constructions, the second part investigates the development of coastal cities, the next section looks into the domestic architecture and the final part deals with the funerary architecture. The contents of the chapters are examined in a period roughly between the late Archaic and late Roman Periods in order to better assess the continuity and change.

4.6.1 Military Architecture and Engineering

Military architecture and engineering in Lycia can be broadly characterized by fortifications and paved roads. The Lycian settlements were commonly surrounded by walls in certain periods chiefly for defensive purposes; and most of these cities were connected to each other with a sophisticated inter-urban road network which was constructed mainly in Roman times.

To begin with, the remains of fortifications can be observed in almost every large and small settlement in varying degrees of preservation. The examination of the better preserved and better studied walls in major cities such as Xanthos, Limyra, Patara and Myra would cater an overview into the practices of defensive architecture, and provide data for an overall comparison among Lycian cities.

Xanthos, the leading city of western Lycia during the Classical Period, was surrounded by city walls in different periods of times (Figs. 4.5.1 and 4.6.1.1). The acropolis, where the dynastic palace, sanctuaries of the city and many funerary monuments were located, was protected by a city wall built mainly of

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polygonal masonry,[288] the first construction phase of which is dated to the second quarter of the 5th century BC (Metzger, 1963, pp. 1-14; des Courtils, Cavalier, & Lemaître, 2015, pp. 115-120) (Fig. 4.6.1.2).[289] The settlement area around the acropolis was also defined by a wall circuit that began in the same period, the remains of which can still be traced on the later walls, suggesting that the initial circuit was preserved in later periods (des Courtils, 1994, p. 290; des Courtils, Cavalier, & Lemaître, 2015, p. 120). Studies have so far shown that only a very limited area in the west within the fortifications was occupied during the Classical Period, and the rest was most probably uninhabited until the High Hellenistic Period, indicating that the primary aim of the urban city walls was to reinforce the defense system of the dynastic acropolis (des Courtils, Cavalier, & Lemaître, 2015, p. 129).[290] Two gates have survived from the fortification: one at the south and the other at the northeast (Fig. 4.6.1.1). The South Gate which presents the same Classical technique of polygonal masonry is considered to have initially been built as a part of the early ramparts (Marksteiner, 1993b, pp. 39-40; des Courtils, 1994, p. 290; des Courtils, Cavalier, & Lemaître, 2015, pp. 113,122) (Fig. 4.5.2).[291] The gate in the northeast is poorly preserved but studies have shown that it underwent a reconstruction in the late Hellenistic, early Imperial Period, before the annexation of Lycia.[292] Apparently the fortifications were actively used throughout the Hellenistic Period until *Pax Romana* when they were

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[288] For the dynastic palace of Xanthos, see Chapter 4.6.3, p. 157; the sanctuaries are mentioned in Chapter 3.2, p. 40.

[289] For the construction techniques of the fortifications of Xanthos, see des Courtils, Cavalier, & Lemaître, (2015, pp. 124-127). For a discussion on the use of polygonal masonry in Lycia during the Classical Period, see Marksteiner (1993b).

[290] According to des Courtils (oral communication, December, 2017), the Xanthians were transhumant pastoralists who retreated within the walls in times of unrest, and the urban life within the walled area which began in the Classical Period, must have intensified after the assimilation of Hellenistic institutions.

[291] For more on the southern gate, see Chapter 4.5, pp. 124 ff.

[292] The reconstruction may have taken place after the siege of Brutus (des Courtils, Cavalier, & Lemaître, 2015, pp. 121, 127). For the state of the northeastern gate, see des Courtils, Cavalier and Lemaître (2015, pp. 106-107). Despite the lack of any visible remains, a gap in the southeastern city walls suggests the existence of a third gate (des Courtils, Cavalier, & Lemaître, 2015, p. 105).

no longer needed. The walls were repaired first in the 3rd century AD and then in 7th century AD with reused Roman material, possibly against the Arab attacks (des Courtils, 1994, p. 289; des Courtils, Cavalier, & Lemaître, 2015, pp. 130-131), which suggests that the walled area of the city remained more or less similar during the times of unrest experienced in different periods.

In Patara, Tepecik hill served as the acropolis in the Archaic and Classical Periods (Figs. 4.5.18 and 4.6.1.3). The settlement was fortified since at least the 7th century BC, encircling the dynastic palace and the housings (Dündar, 2016, p. 43).[293] After a period of stagnation during the 5th century BC, the area was refortified with pseudoisodomic masonry walls and a bastion in around 350 BC, during the Hecatomnid rule (Dündar, 2016, p. 43). The fortification was repaired in the second half of the 3rd century BC under the Ptolemies; and the settlement continued to be used until the late Hellenistic Period when the Tepecik *necropolis* began to grow closer (Dündar, 2016, p. 44; İşkan, 2016, p. 149). In late Classical, early Hellenistic Period, a fortification wall of polygonal masonry was built to protect the settlement that began to grow on the lower plain between Tepecik and Kurşunlutepe (Gerrit Bruer & Kunze, 2010, pp. 21-38) (Fig. 4.5.18). The partially preserved walls which began from the Doğucasarı hilltop branched towards Tepecik on the northwest and to Kurşunlutepe on the southwest, encompassing the city and the bordering eastern slopes where the Hellenistic and Roman residential area has been discovered.[294] In late Roman times, a city wall was built within the city center, excluding some major buildings like the theater, agora, harbor baths and the dwellings (İşkan, 2016, p. 147).

It is known from limited material evidence that a settlement existed in Limyra at least since the 6th century BC (Seyer, 2016b, p. 260). However, it was during the reign of Perikle in the 4th century BC, when the center of power shifted

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[293] For more on the dynastic palace and the settlement area of Tepecik Acropolis, see Chapter 4.6.3, p. 158.

[294] For the residential area on the western slopes of Doğucasarı which borders the east of the city center, see Chapter 4.6.3, pp. 160-161.

from Xanthos to Limyra even for a short period of time,[295] that the city underwent an intensive architectural program, during which the acropolis was fortified and the settlement area below was surrounded by a wall circuit (Marksteiner, 1997) (Fig. 4.6.1.4). The locations of the theater and the *Ptolemaion* suggest that the settlement spread towards the south during the Hellenistic Period, which was also fortified, probably during the Ptolemaic reign (Seyer, 2014, p. 73).[296] This lower city, which flourished and heavily built during the Roman times, was separated into Eastern and Western cities by city walls which were built of reused material in the 5th or 6th century AD (Seyer, 2016b, p. 260).

The Classical settlement of Myra was located at the acropolis above the theater, which was surrounded by a city wall in around the 5th century BC (Borchhardt, 1975, pp. 45-47; Çevik & Pimouguet-Pedarros, 2011, pp. 305-306) (Figs. 4.6.1.5 and 4.6.1.6). The repairs on the fortifications of the acropolis and the remains of partial walls at the lower city indicate that the defensive architecture in Myra was renewed and extended in the Hellenistic Period, sometime between the late 4th and 2nd century BC (Çevik & Pimouguet-Pedarros, 2011, pp. 307, 317). In addition, an extra-urban defense system was installed in the countryside in the 3rd or 2nd century BC, which consisted of fortified towers placed at strategic locations that provided wide field of view and intercommunication (Çevik & Pimouguet-Pedarros, 2011, pp. 308-317) (Fig. 4.6.1.7). Similarly, Andriake, the harbor settlement of Myra, was also protected by military defenses. A garrison was built on the hilltop of Kumdağ Tepe at the entrance of the estuary in the Hellenistic Period in parallel with the increasing maritime activities and the development of the mother city (Çevik & Pimouguet-Pedarros, 2012) (Fig. 4.6.1.8). In Byzantine times, the ramparts of the acropolis of Myra was renewed and extended (Borchhardt, 1975, pp. 45-47; Çevik, 2015a, pp. 365-366), while the northern settlement at Andriake, the residential quarter of the harbor, was also fortified against Arab attacks (Marksteiner, 2013, p. 288; Çevik,

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[295] For the historical background, see Chapter 2.2, pp. 22ff.

[296] For the theater and the *Ptolemaion*, see respectively Chapters 4.2 and 3.3.

Bulut, & Aygün, 2014, p. 239). The southern coast of the basin, where the harbor facilities were located was only partially protected by walls, possibly due to the decreasing importance of the port in Late Antiquity due to Arab attacks, earthquakes, plagues and the silting up of the basin (Çevik, Bulut, & Aygün, 2014, p. 239).

As it is revealed, these four major cities were walled settlements with fortified acropoleis in Late Archaic and Classical Periods. Similar layouts can be observed in many Lycian settlements that are mainly located at the western and central Lycia such as Telmessos, Pinara, Tlos, Phellos, Kyaneai, Avşar Tepesi, Tüse, Trysa, Hoyran, Apollonia, Korba, Tyberissos, Isinda, and Simena, most of which followed a similar progress and were refortified in Hellenistic and Late Roman Periods.[297]

The Archaic and Classical period fortified hilltop settlement layout is clearly missing at the eastern coast of Lycia, however most of the cities in this region needed sorts of defensive architecture in Hellenistic and Late Roman times. According to Plutarch (Plut. *Vit. Cim.* 12.3), Phaselis was a Hellenic city that was surrounded by city walls during its encounter with Cimon. Even though this suggests that it was a fortified city in the 5th century BC, traces of a dynastic castle, similar to those found in the western and central Lycian cities, has not been discovered so far on the acropolis where the early city was located. The remains of the ramparts surrounding the acropolis mainly belong to the Hellenistic Period, which were possibly the reconstruction of earlier walls after the siege of Ptolemies in early 3rd century BC (Schäfer, 1981, p. 166). After its construction, the central harbor was included within the fortifications and its entrance was protected by towers (Schäfer, 1981, p. 168; Aslan, 2016, pp. 34-38) (Figs. 4.6.2.17 and 4.6.2.18). During the Early Byzantine Period, new buildings were built on the acropolis which was possibly fortified with a wall that incorporated the stage

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[297] Telmessos: Buschmann (1993) and Tietz (2016, p. 341); Pinara: Wurster & Wörrle (1978b); Tlos: Korkut (2015a, pp. 93-94); Phellos: Zimmermann (2006); Kyaneai: Kupke (1998, pp. 10-15); Avşar Tepesi: Thomsen (1996, pp. 31-35); Tüse: Marksteirner (1995a), Trysa: Marksteiner (2002), Hoyran: Marksteiner (1995b), Apollonia and Isinda: Marksteiner (1993b); Korba and Tyberissos: Marksteiner (1993a); and Simena: (Çevik, 2015a, pp. 333-335).

building of the theater (Bayburtluoğlu, 1983a, p. 188; Arslan & Tüner Önen, 2016, p. 311).

The early settlement of Olympos at Musa Dağı, on the other hand, was founded in the Hellenistic Period, either by Ptolemies or Seleucids (Uğurlu E. , 2007, p. 10).[298] The city was heavily fortified by pseudoisodomic masonry walls dated to late Hellenistic Period (Çevik, 2015a, p. 466) (Fig. 4.6.1.9). Once used as a fort by the pirate king Zenicetes, the settlement declined following his defeat, whereas the coastal city prospered (Uğurlu E. , 2007, pp. 11-12). The remains of Hellenistic polygonal city walls on the southern part of Olympos indicate that the coastal settlement was also fortified and the harbor was protected (Olcay Uçkan & Kurtuluş Öztaşkın, 2016, p. 277) (Figs. 4.6.2.3 and 4.6.1.10). During the Late Roman times, local defensive systems, that is, fortification of individual buildings such as the Episcopal Palace (*episkopeion*) (Olcay Uçkan & Kurtuluş Öztaşkın, 2016, p. 283), departs from the general pattern of military practice in Byzantine Lycia.

In addition to these major cities, most of the minor settlements located in eastern Lycia were surrounded by city walls, the early phases of some of which, including those of Trebenna and Kelbessos have been safely dated to the Hellenistic times (Çevik, Varkıvanç, & Akyürek, 2005; Çevik & Pimouguet-Pedarros, 2004).[299] Both cities were located on the border between Pisidia and Lycia and initially lay within the *territorium* of Termessos, but must have been incorporated within the Lycian territory in a later period (Çevik, 2015a, pp. 509-513, 522-531). In fact, according to the inscriptions found within Kelbessos, the city was a *peripolion*, a frontier fortress constructed in the Hellenistic Period and continued to be occupied as a military base by the Romans (Çevik & Pimouguet-Pedarros, 2004).

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[298] For more on the relationship between Musa Dağı settlement and Olympos, see Chapter 4.6.2, p. 149.

[299] Many of these settlements have been examined during Bey Dağları Surveys, the results of which have been extensively published as survey results, in various journals and as monographs. For brief descriptions of these settlements and related bibliography, see Çevik (2015a).

Similar to the east, dynastic settlements are absent in northern Lycia. Even though the traces of human activity in the north date back to the prehistoric times,[300] the settlement history of most of the major cities does not go back before the Hellenistic times. For instance, in major cities of Kibyratis,[301] namely Kibyra, Bubon, Balboura and Oenoanda which formed a tetrapolis (Strab. 13.4.17), the earliest architectural remains belong to the Hellenistic Period, providing a *terminus post quem* for the city foundations. This is also supported by the fact that these cities begin to appear first in literary sources of Hellenistic times or about Hellenistic events.[302] Even though these cities are located close to early settlements, they were nevertheless founded on previously unsettled areas, most probably as Pisidian colonies.[303] The discovery of Hellenistic city walls in each city indicates that they were surrounded with fortifications prior to the Roman times. In Kibyra and Bubon, the walls are scantily preserved. The remains of a partial wall of isodomic masonry have been discovered during the excavations of the *stadion* at Kibyra (Özüdoğru, 2014, p. 180), whereas, in Bubon, the traces of earlier masonry have been observed in the Byzantine fortifications of the acropolis (Hülden, 2008, pp. 135-138). The fortifications of Balboura and Oenoanda are comparatively in better condition. In Balboura, a polygonal masonry wall circuit reinforced with towers surrounded the Hellenistic settlement and the fortified acropolis (Coulton, 1994) (Fig. 4.6.1.11). The differences between the fortifications of the acropolis and the settlement suggest at least two phases of construction, however, both are dated to the Hellenistic Period, sometime after the foundation of the city in around 200 BC (Coulton, 1994, p.

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[300] For early life in Lycia, see Chapter 3.1.

[301] According to Bachmann (2016, p. 352), the cultural activity in Kabalia/Kibyratis declines and stagnates in the 1st millennium BC until the Hellenistic times, which is a consequence of the development of urban centers in the coastal regions.

[302] See Strabo (Strab. 13.4.17) in general. Kibyra: Özüdoğru (2014, p. 173); Bubon: Kokkinia (2008, p. 15); Balboura: Hall & Coulton (1990, pp. 147-152); Oenoanda: Coulton (1982b, pp. 117-119).

[303] For prehistoric activity in Kibyratis, see Chapter 3.1, p. 35. For the relations of these cities with Pisidia, see Strabo 13.4.17 for all; Özüdoğru (2014, pp. 174-175) for Kibyra; Kokkinia (2008, p. 15) for Bubon; Hall & Coulton (1990, pp. 147-152) for Balboura; Coulton (1982b) for Oenoanda.

334). The fortifications were renewed in the Late Roman Period and extended to include the public buildings built in the lower plain during the Roman Period (Coulton, 1994, p. 329). The early defensive system of Oenoanda, on the other hand, depended largely on natural fortification and the city was walled only on the south-west (Hall, 1976, p. 196; Bachmann, 2016, p. 353). Approximately 60 m long section of this wall is extremely well preserved, almost up to its parapet in some parts (Fig. 4.6.1.12). Dated to early 2nd century BC, the wall was built of a combination of polygonal and pseudoisodomic masonry and fortified with two towers, one pentagonal and the other circular in plan (Hall, 1976, p. 196; Bachmann, 2012, pp. 197-198) (Figs. 4.6.1.13 and 4.6.1.14). This partial fortification may have been enough in the Hellenistic times; however, a much longer wall circuit was built to secure the city center in Early Byzantine Period (Hall, 1976, p. 196).

As a result, most of the Lycian cities were fortified in Classical, Hellenistic and Late Roman times.[304] However, the peace and prosperity provided by *Pax Romana* eliminated the need for defense during the Imperial Period. Since Lycia was not a frontier, Roman forts and military camps were never built. In fact, the existing walls that once protected the cities gradually lost their defensive strength. For instance, the parts of the Doğucasarı Hellenistic fortifications at the lower city of Patara were removed in Roman times, making it difficult to trace the entirety of the wall (Gerrit Bruer & Kunze, 2010, p. 21). Moreover, the aqueduct of Oenoanda entered the city by perforating the Hellenistic walls, thus weakening its defensive quality (Stenton & Coulton, 1986, p. 32).[305]

Yet, the Roman military engineering was utilized for other purposes. Immediately after the establishment of Lycia as a province in AD 43, the Romans undertook the task of construction and measurement of roads in a regional

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[304] The medieval times, during which the majority of the cities shrank and retreated to fortified castra, has been omitted from the discussion in an attempt to remain within the scope of the dissertation.

[305] For the dynamics between aqueducts and city walls, see Chapter 4.4, p. 110, fn. 228.

scale.[306] The distances between each city were carved on a monumental inscription which was erected within the harbor area of Patara. Dated to AD 45, the monument, which is given a variety of names in modern scholarship such as Miliarium Lykiae, Stadiasmus Patarensis or Monuments of the Roads, was in the form of a rectangular prism that was inscribed on its three sides and is believed to have been surmounted by the statue of Claudius (Işık, İşkan, & Çevik, 2001; Şahin S. , 2014; Onur, 2016) (Fig. 4.6.1.15). The front face (side A) contains a dedication to Emperor Claudius, which records that Claudius ended the civil strife and restored the laws and administration in Lycia, while a portion of the inscription on side B (the left face) indicates that Claudius had Quintus Veranius, the first governor of the province, made the roads (Şahin S. , 2014, pp. 36-43). The rest of the inscription on sides B and C, on the other hand, gives the distances between the cities in terms of *stadia*, beginning with the distance between Patara and Xanthos (Şahin S. , 2014, pp. 44-47) (Fig. 4.6.1.16).

In this initial undertaking, the Roman works on roads must have mainly constituted of measurement of the distances between localities, as most of the routes were already in use in Hellenistic times, and paving all roads in only two years between the establishment of the province and the erection of the monument would be unrealistic (Şahin S. , 2014, p. 25; Onur, 2016, pp. 573-574). Judging from the change of handwriting, it is suggested that the monument continued to be inscribed after its erection as the unfinished parts of the construction and measurement work on the roads were completed (Şahin S. , 2011, pp. 107-108).

The road engineering was not finalized when Quintus Veranius left Lycia in AD 48, and in fact, continued throughout the Imperial Period. For instance, an inscription found in Kemerarası, at the foot of Oenoanda, mentions that a bridge, now lost, was built in 50 AD by Eprius Marcellus, the next governor of Lycia, by the orders of Claudius (Milner, 1998). Another bridge, locally called Kırkgöz due to its surviving 26 arches, was built close to Limyra in the 3rd century AD (Çevik, 2015a, p. 414) (Fig. 4.6.1.17). Finally, the milestones were put up especially

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[306] For the political background, see Chapter 2.2, pp. 30 ff.

beginning with the reign of Septimus Severus (French, 2014, pp. 59-73). Hence, the internal communication was rendered easier during the course of the Imperial Period by a highly sophisticated road network with major and minor arteries that were connected with bridges when necessary (Fig. 4.6.1.16).

It can be concluded that the Lycian cities were protected with fortification between the Archaic and Hellenistic Periods. The peace and prosperity provided by *Pax Romana* obviated the need for defensive architecture until the Late Roman times. The focus and efforts of the Roman engineers, on the other hand, was directed to the construction and measurement of roads.

4.6.2 Maritime Architecture

Lycia's coastline which is mostly composed of rocky cliffs, has nevertheless allowed several natural havens suitable for maritime activities. The restrictions on land communication caused by the mountainous geography most likely played a role in the improvement of sea transportation and the development of harbors at these havens. In addition, Lycia's location as a barrier between the Aegean and Mediterranean promoted the harbors of the peninsula as a favored temporary station for the seafarers. As Keen asserts (1993, pp. 71-72), since the triremes of the classical world were not suitable for open seas and could not carry enough supply of provisions, the sailors had to sail along the coastline and reach a friendly land at the end of the day for food, water and sleep after a day of rowing; which apparently turned Lycia into an important stop to be secured by whoever wanted to cover more than a day-long distance between the Aegean and the Mediterranean.

The traces of sea-trade along the Lycian coasts go back as early as the Bronze Age, as attested by the recovered shipwrecks of Uluburun and Cape Gelidonya.[307] Even though the direct involvement of the Lycian cities in trading activities is currently ambiguous (Dündar, 2016, p. 506), the wrecks of these long-

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[307] For these Bronze Age shipwrecks, see Chapter 3.1, pp. 35-36.

distance trade ships which sailed between the Near East and the Greek West and sank very close to the Lycian coasts, can be acknowledged as a testimony of the importance of Lycia at least as a pit stop along the wide network of sea commerce from very early on. Lycia's location became politically crucial for the leading powers of the Classical Period if not before, which eventually led to the confrontation of Persians and Athenians over Lycia in order to possess the control of trade and military routes.[308]

Several mountain cities of the Classical Period which were located close to the shore had harbor settlements. As the maritime activities increased during the Hellenistic Period, both the mother cities and the harbor settlements went through various development processes, such as the abandonment of hilltops in favor of coasts; stagnation or decline of the mother cities and the flourishing of the harbor settlements as individual *poleis*; and the development of the harbors along with the parent cities.

Telebehi, the Classical settlement of Telmessos, was located at Hızırlık, 2 km inside the coast of modern Fethiye. The walled settlement was founded on two hills, the southern of which served as the fortified acropolis (Tietz, 2016, p. 341). The settlement which is dated to the 5th century BC at the latest by its city walls (Buschmann, 1993), was deserted in around 400 BC when the residents moved to a new fortified hilltop which was closer to the harbor (Tietz, 2016, p. 341) (Fig. 4.6.2.1).[309] The city must have gradually spread to the lower plain where the Hellenistic and Roman city flourished.[310]

In central Lycia, Phellos was a powerful fortified dynastic city which used Antiphellos as its harbor settlement (Zimmermann, 1992, pp. 187-198). Together with the increasing trading activities especially in the Hellenistic Period,

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[308] For the historical background, see Chapter 2.2, pp. 19 ff.

[309] This second acropolis was later occupied by a Crusader Castle of Knights of Rhodos in the Middle Byzantine Period (Tietz, 2016, p. 341). Due to the later constructions, the remains from the Classical Period are difficult to observe. The most conspicuous remains from the era include the Lycian sarcophagi and rock-cut tombs which can be observed in the modern city center today.

[310] Today, the almost only remains survived from these periods are the Hellenistic theater and its Roman stage building, since the ancient city is buried under modern Fethiye.

Antiphellos surpassed its mother city (Çevik, 2015a, p. 293). The small scale of the architectural construction in Phellos as oppose to the intensive urbanization of Antiphellos during the Hellenistic and Roman times testifies to the stagnation of the mother city and the flourishing of the port settlement (Zimmermann, 2005) (Fig. 4.6.2.2).[311] A similar case can be said about Musa Dağı settlement and Olympos. According to Adak (2004), the city of Olympos, which was founded in the Hellenistic Period, possibly during the time of Antiochos III, was initially located at Musa Dağı; which is supported by the extensive architectural remains in Musa Dağı settlement including a Hellenistic agora and city walls in contrast to the scarcity of architectural remains in Olympos dated before the Roman Period (Figs. 4.6.1.9 and 4.6.2.3).[312] The settlement which was used as a military base by the pirate king Zenicetes in the first quarter of the 1st century BC, declined after it was recovered from piracy which led to a gradual migration to the coast.[313] As a result of the migration, the coastal city prospered while the mountain settlement continued to be used as an upper city during the Roman Period (Uğurlu E. , 2007, pp. 11-12). The settlement area of Olympos is divided into two by the Olympos Creek, and the Roman buildings are mainly concentrated on the southern section (Öncü, 2012) (Fig. 4.6.2.3). The two sides were connected to each other with a bridge (Fig. 4.6.2.4). The walls and buildings belonging to harbor facilities on

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[311] Surveys conducted in Phellos revealed very little architecture from the Hellenistic and Roman Periods. According to Zimmermann (2005), the most clearly observed remains from the Hellenistic Period are the additions to the Classical city walls, and the theater and the stoa which were built near an open space identified as the agora; whereas only a cistern and the remains of a road have survived from the Roman Period. The remains of Antiphellos, on the other hand, lay largely under the modern city. Today, the most visible remains mainly belong to the theater, the Hellenistic temple and some parts of city walls on the coast. However, in some early sources, the existence of an agora, two bath buildings and a *bouleuterion* were also recorded, which must have been destroyed by modern constructions (Texier, 1862, pp. 682-683; Çevik, 2015a, pp. 292-295). For the theaters of Phellos and Antiphellos, see Chapter 4.3, fn. 172. The Hellenistic temple at Antiphellos is briefly mentioned in Chapter 3.3, p. 47.

[312] For the agora of Musa Dağı settlement, see Chapter 4.2, p. 84; for the fortifications, see Chapter 4.6.1, p. 143.

[313] Adak (2004a, pp. 32, 41) identifies the coastal settlement as Korykos and claims that its name was changed to Olympos possibly in the 2nd century AD. However, Uğurlu (2007, pp. 11-12) rejects Adak's argument and suggests that the location of Korykos must be sought somewhere between Phaselis and Olympos as Strabon described (Strab. 14.3.8).

both sides of the river suggest that the ships traveled up the river into the city (Olcay Uçkan & Kurtuluş Öztaşkın, 2016, p. 274) (Figs. 4.6.2.5). In these cases, both Antiphellos and Olympos became individual *poleis*.

The inland cities of Limyra and Myra were also leading cities in the Classical Period which respectively used Phoenix and Andriake as their ports. As the cities developed in the Hellenistic and Roman times, the harbor activities and the physical infrastructure of the ports developed as well. Unfortunately, nothing much can be said about Phoenix, as the settlement and the port are almost completely destroyed.[314] However, Andriake is a unique example with its well-preserved harbor facilities which sheds light onto how maritime activities were conducted in Lycia.

Andriake was a natural harbor which turned into a marshland after its entrance silted up in time by sand and the alluvial deposit carried by the Myros river (Öner, 2001) (Fig. 4.6.1.8). Andriake must have been in use as the harbor of Myra at least since the Classical times considering that Myra was an active city in the given period (Çevik, Bulut, & Aygün, 2014, pp. 233-234).[315] Both the parent city and the harbor gained importance in the Hellenistic Period, as is evident from the extra-urban fortification system that protected both Myra and Andriake (Çevik & Pimouguet-Pedarros, 2011; 2012) (Fig. 4.6.1.7).[316] The estuary was secured by a garrison in the Hellenistic Period, that was situated at the Kumdağ Tepe at the entrance of the basin (Çevik & Pimouguet-Pedarros, 2012). A residential district was located at the northern coast of the estuary, which was mainly used in the Roman Period and Late Antiquity (Marksteiner, 2013, p. 287; Çevik, Bulut, & Aygün, 2014, p. 239). The harbor facilities, the majority of which belong to the Imperial Period, on the other hand, were located on the southern coast (Figs. 4.6.2.7 and 4.6.2.8).

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[314] The remains that can be observed today include the remains of Hellenistic walls and a tower, some tombs and underwater constructions (Çevik, 2015a, pp. 405-409).

[315] However, except for a couple of sherds found both on the northern settlement and near the *horreum,* almost nothing has been dated to the Classical Period (Marksteiner, 2013, p. 284; Çevik, Bulut, & Aygün, 2014, p. 233).

[316] For the extra urban fortification of Myra, see Chapter 4.6.1, p. 141.

The earliest interpretable architectural remains belong to two honorary monuments located north of the *horreum,* on the other side of the harbor street. The Monument I, which was built during the reign of Tiberius or earlier, was surmounted by statue bases; however, it is not known to whom this monument was dedicated (Çevik, 2015a, pp. 387-388). The Monument II, on the other hand, reveals more. Built in the time of Tiberius, the structure was similarly topped with statues. 13 inscribed statue bases recovered from this second monument inform that Augustus, Tiberius, Germenicus, Agrippina, Agrippa, Drusus, Julia Augusta and Gaius Caesar were honored by the *demos* of Myra (Çevik, 2015a, p. 388).

East of these monuments was found an inscription containing the Neronian custom law that organized the customs in Lycia, indicating the importance of Andriake as a harbor in the Early Empire (Takmer, 2006). The harbor area flourished during the Imperial Period, especially in the 2nd century AD, when the settlement received a *horreum* and a commercial harbor agora (Çevik, Bulut, & Aygün, 2014, p. 235) (Fig. 4.2.46). The *horreum,* which is well-preserved up to its parapet, was a rectangular building of approximately 65 m by 39 m, divided into eight rows of rooms which are all interconnected to each other with direct access to the outside (Çevik, 2015a, p. 385) (Figs. 4.6.2.9, 4.6.2.10 and 4.6.2.11).[317] The last two rooms on the west were shorter than the rest which were elongated in a later period, and there were two projecting rooms at the both ends of the front façade, possibly used as offices (Çevik, 2015a, p. 385). According to the dedicatory Latin inscription carved on the façade, the *horreum* was dedicated to Emperor Hadrian sometime between AD 129-130 (Çevik, 2015a, p. 385). The agora, which is referred to as Plakoma in the Life of Nicholas of Sion, is believed to have been built within the same construction program together with the *horreum* (Çevik & Bulut, 2011, p. 62). The building consisted of a courtyard built over a cistern which was surrounded on three sides with shops and workshops (Çevik & Bulut, 2011, p. 62) (Figs. 4.2.47, 4.2.48 and 4.2.49).[318] The structures

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[317] Following restoration, the *horreum* now serves as the Museum of Lycia. For the decision and design processes and the objectives of the museum, see Çevik (2015b).

[318] For more on the Plakoma, see Chapter 4.2, pp. 83-84.

related to harbor facilities, including offices, shops and storages built in the 3rd century AD, were lined along the coast (Çevik & Bulut, 2011, pp. 63-65) (Fig. 4.6.2.12). In addition, a bath was built for the service of people using the harbor in the 2nd century AD at the latest (Çevik, 2015a, p. 388).

Some other cities, which were initially founded near coasts providing easy access to the sea such as Phaselis and Patara, highly benefitted from their geographical location in the following periods. Phaselis is a rare example of an ancient city having multiple harbors (Fig. 4.6.2.13). The city drew the attention of several ancient writers and modern scholars with its southern, northern and central harbors. It is claimed that the lake mentioned by Strabo (Strab. 14.3.9) along with three harbors, which is a marshy area today, was an inner natural harbor during the Classical times; and that the central harbor was built sometime between the 1st century BC and 1st century AD when the inner harbor was rendered useless after its entrance silted up (Aslan & Baybo, 2015) (Fig. 4.6.2.14). Consequently, Phaselis did not have three but four harbors (Aslan & Baybo, 2015), which were not necessarily used contemporaneously. Remains of port structures and breakwaters have survived in three of the harbors while the lake has not been intensely studied yet.[319] Accordingly, the northern harbor was mostly used as an anchorage area (Schäfer, 1981, pp. 59-61; Aslan & Baybo, 2015, pp. 5-7) (Fig. 4.6.2.15). The southern harbor, which was used for large scale trade activities, was directly connected to the main street of the city and surrounded by architectural remains of buildings including the Agora of Domitian which were possibly used for harbor facilities and trading activities (Schäfer, 1981, pp. 55-59) (Fig. 4.6.2.16).[320] The smallest of all, the central harbor was a closed port, whose entrance on the east was surrounded by Hellenistic city walls and controlled by two breakwaters with towers (Schäfer, 1981, pp. 59-61; Aslan & Baybo, 2015, pp. 7-11; Aslan, 2016, pp. 34-38) (Figs. 4.6.2.17 and 4.6.2.18). The port was built

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[319] The results of the underwater surveys at Phaselis harbors being conducted since 2013 under the directorship of Erdoğan Aslan have been extensively published on the website of Phaselis Project at http://www.phaselis.org/phaselis-arastirmalari/liman-sualti-arastirmalari.

[320] For the Agora of Domitian, see Chapter 4.2, p. 76.

especially for military activities as it was fortified and had a controlled entrance (Aslan, 2016, pp. 43-44).[321] The harbor area is surrounded with architectural remains related to maritime activities on the north and the south. The remains on the north are considered to be workshops and storage buildings, while the wall and the structures behind it have been identified as the dock and the associated buildings (Aslan, 2016, pp. 37-43).

Similar to Andriake, the harbor of Patara grew on the coasts of a natural estuary, which also gradually silted up and was cut from the sea by the wave and wind-driven sand dunes, and the progression of the delta of the Xanthos river towards the entrance (Öner, 1996; İşkan & Koçak, 2014, p. 289). How this estuary was utilized in the previous periods is currently unknown,[322] but during the Imperial Period, both the east and the west coasts of the harbor were used for maritime activities (İşkan & Koçak, 2014, p. 277) (Fig. 4.6.2.19). An inner port, which, together with the harbor agora is under water at the present, was built on the east coast, southwest of Tepecik hill and north of the plain where the city was laid out (Figs. 4.5.18 and 4.6.2.20). Even though the murky water obstructs archaeological studies, geophysical surveys conducted at the port area have nevertheless revealed wall constructions yet to be explained (İşkan & Koçak, 2014, pp. 284-289). Thus, nothing much is known about the architecture of the port and the harbor agora, except from the fact that the colonnaded street that began from the agora connected the civic center to the harbor area (İşkan & Koçak, 2014, p. 280; İşkan, 2016, p. 154). However, based on the existing structures in the surrounding area, such as the harbor baths, the Corinthian Temple, and the Stadiasmus Monument, it can be suggested that the inner harbor area may have supported other larger structures which have been demolished or waiting to be unearthed (İşkan & Koçak, 2014, p. 280; Çevik & Aktaş, 2016, p. 19).

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[321] For the fortifications of Phaselis, see Chapter 4.6.1, p. 142.

[322] Even though the physical state of the Hellenistic harbor is currently unknown, it is known that Patara was an important naval base during the Hellenistic Period (Robert, 1960, p. 157). Patara was restored by Ptolemy II who renamed the city as Arsinoe after his sister-wife (Strab. 14.3.6).

On the western shore was built a *horreum*. The rectangular building, measured 75 m by 25 m, and almost similar to the one in Andriake, was divided into eight equal compartments that were all opening to the outside and were connected to each other with doors on partition walls (Işık, 2002, pp. 142-143) (Figs. 4.6.2.21, 4.6.2.22 and 4.6.2.23). According to an inscription found on its façade, it was dedicated to the Emperor Hadrian and his wife Sabina in AD 131, probably during their visit to Patara, but whether the building was in use previously is unknown (Işık, 2002, pp. 144-145). Also on the western shore, at the entrance of the ancient harbor, is located the remains of a lighthouse (Fig. 4.6.2.24). The *pharos* was a circular structure with a spiral staircase built over a rectangular podium (Özkut, 2009). An inscription dated to AD 64/65 indicates that it was built by the governor Sextus Marcius Priscus by the orders of the Emperor Nero to protect the sailors (İşkan Işık, Eck, & Engelmann, 2008). The indication of an "*antipharos*" on the same inscription raises the hopes of finding another lighthouse on the eastern coast, even though the surveys has failed to trace substantial remains so far (İşkan Işık, Eck, & Engelmann, 2008, pp. 91-92).[323]

It can be summarized that the Lycian coast was actively involved in maritime activities since the Bronze Age. During the Classical Period, mountain and inland settlements frequently used coastal establishments as their harbors. The Hellenistic Period saw the gradually increasing importance of maritime activities. During this process, many mountain and inland settlements such as Telebehi, Phellos and Musa Dağı were abandoned, declined or reduced to upper level settlements, whereas their coastal cities, Telmessos, Antiphellos and Olympos, flourished and eventually became individual *poleis*. In some other cases, the coastal settlements grew in parallel with the development of their mother cities, such as Limyra and Pheonix, and Myra and Andriake. Moreover, cities which were founded already close to the sea such as Phaselis and Patara, organized their layouts in accordance with the location of harbors, incorporating harbors within

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[323] According to İşkan (2016, p. 164), a circular foundation that was revealed on the breakwater of the inner harbor in 2014 when the water table dropped due to a drought, is a possible candidate for the other lighthouse.

their city centers. Especially in the Imperial Period, the harbors became more active than ever and were equipped sufficiently with necessary architectural facilities according to the density of the activities. Among these, the ports of Patara and Andriake came into prominence as the two most important harbors of Lycia, where imperial *horrea* were built.[324] Harbors of Lycia highly contributed to the urban and economic development of the cities and facilitation of trade and transportation, until the end of the Imperial Period.

4.6.3 Domestic Architecture

When compared to monumental architecture, smaller buildings like houses are more susceptible to destruction or loss of characteristics during cultural, economic and social changes, since they are a lot easier to modify. Expectedly, the domestic architecture in city centers is less exposed than the monumental buildings in Lycian cities. Even though not systematically pursued, the studies on surviving remains nevertheless give insight into the housing practices in Lycian cities between the Classical and Roman Periods.

Lycians had a characteristic housing type in the Classical Period. The well-preserved Classical settlement of Avşar Tepesi has provided valuable information in this respect. The residential quarters within the city center were composed of clustered multi-story houses with varying plans which were organized with non-orthogonal streets (Fig. 3.2.1). Thomsen (2002), who conducted a thorough study in this area, divides the Lycian house plans into four; namely houses with porch, houses with rooms in a row, houses with single rooms, and houses with curved

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[324] How exactly these *horrea* were put into use is unclear. The *horrea* are generally identified as granaries and associated with Roman *annona*, imperial grain transportation (Rickman, 1971, p. 140), and considered as stops along the route between Egypt and Rome (Çevik, 2015a, p. 386). Cavalier (2007, p. 63), on the other hand, points out to the lack of any evidence concerning the participation of Lycia in *annona*, apart from serving only as a stop along the route. Cavalier (2007, pp. 63-64) rather suggests that these *horrea,* which were the imperial property of Hadrian as indicated in dedicatory inscriptions, served as regional markets or stored imperial possessions and may have been rented to private tenants by the emperor. A 4th century AD inscription carved on the front façade of the *horreum* of Andriake mentions that various materials were stored in the *horreum*, such as iron *fragellium* and copper *xestes* (Çevik, 2015a, pp. 386-387).

walls. The surviving walls of the houses, remaining to a height of approximately one to two meters, were built with double walls of rubble filled with small stones and the gaps were plastered with mud mortar, while the corners of the buildings were reinforced with large stone blocks (Thomsen, 2002, pp. 289-295; İşkan & Işık, 2005, pp. 402-403). The wide width of the walls suggests that the buildings were more than one story, and the inadequacy of stone material in the ruins hints that the upper structure was of less durable material (İşkan & Işık, 2005, pp. 406-412). There are suggestions about the material and construction technique of the upper stories. On the one hand, it is proposed that the upper structure was made entirely of timber, based on the decoration of the house-type tombs of the period which mimic timber construction (Thomsen, 2002, p. 260; des Courtils, 2003, p. 72).[325] On the other hand, İşkan and Işık draws attention to the impracticality of timber construction over irregular and curvilinear layouts of the houses at Avşar Tepesi, and suggest a superstructure made of timber frame filled with mud brick or stone (İşkan & Işık, 1996; 2005, pp. 406-412). Both techniques, which have survived in rural villages in modern Lycia (Fig. 4.6.3.1),[326] may have been utilized depending on preference and practicality. The origins of the plan and construction technique of these houses are in dispute. Thomsen (2002, p. 74) associates the plan type of the porched houses with Persian influence. According to İşkan and Işık (1996, pp. 413-414), on the other hand, the emergence of these houses predate the arrival of Persians to Lycia, and both the plan type with porch and the construction technique of timber frame and mud brick may have been borrowed from the Neo-Hittites.[327]

In Limyra, a residential district on the slope of the acropolis to the north of the western city has been dated to the 4th century BC (Seyer, 1993) (Fig. 4.6.1.4). The district consisted of terrace houses partially built into the bedrock, including

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[325] For the rock-cut Lycian tombs imitating timber construction, see Chapter 4.6.4, pp. 163-164.

[326] The timber construction of the granaries found in modern rural Lycia is almost identical to the representations of woodwork in Classical rock-cut tombs (Aktaş, 2016). However, the modern granaries usually have a pitched roof. On the other hand, timber-frame constructions are still being utilized in local architecture (İşkan & Işık, 2005, p. 410).

[327] For more on the Neo-Hittite influence, see Chapter 3.1, pp. 36-37.

large residences with several rooms, upper stories and votive niches carved into the walls (Seyer, 1993; Borchhardt, 1999, pp. 33-36) (Fig. 4.6.3.2). Classical Period terrace houses of similar characteristics have been observed also at other settlements in central Lycia, such as Trysa and Hoyran.[328] With respect to other dynastic cities, Wurster (1978a), who conducted surveys in Lycian settlements such as those at Pinara, Tlos, Apollonia, Kandyba, Sura, and Kyaneai, points out that the Classical residential areas in these settlements were irregularly organized and included single story and flat roofed houses, composed of rock-cut rectangular rooms with terraces and porches.[329]

Beside the houses of common people, dwellings in more monumental dimensions belonging to the ruler class have also been discovered in various Lycian settlements. A large structure with several rooms located at the Lycian Acropolis of Xanthos has been identified as a dynastic residence considering the political setting of the time (des Courtils, 2003, p. 72). It was built at least in two phases (Fig. 4.6.3.3). The first phase, "Mansion A", was constructed in the 6th century BC but was burnt down a century later, probably during the siege of Harpagos (Demargne & Metzger, 1966, p. 36).[330] "Mansion B" was immediately built on top of the surviving remains and was in use until a second fire towards the middle of the 4th century BC (des Courtils, 2010, pp. 47-48). The lack of openings in the remaining rubble walls which survived up to two meters in some places suggests that the ground floor was reached from the top and probably used as storage (des Courtils, 2003, pp. 71-72) (Fig. 4.6.3.4). The upper structures are believed to have been partially or entirely of timber, similar to the houses of Avşar Tepesi (des Courtils, 2003, pp. 71-72).

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[328] See Marksteiner (2002, p. 89) for Trysa and Marksteiner (1995b, pp. 220-221) for Hoyran whose ancient name is unknown.

[329] Wurster asserts that no multi-story house has been discovered in any of these settlements, and he associates the beam holes he observed on the walls with roof construction and not with an upper floor (1978a, p. 23). A comparative analysis with the thoroughly investigated Avşar Tepesi may bring new interpretations.

[330] For the historical background, see Chapter 2.2, pp. 19 ff.

Another contemporary palace was discovered in Patara, located within a fortified building complex on Tepecik hill (Figs. 4.6.1.3, 4.6.3.5 and 4.6.3.6). The building was first constructed in the 7th century BC and continuously altered in the course of two centuries (Işın, 2010). While the initial function of the building is unknown, it served as the residence of the dynast in the 5th century BC, and declined afterwards (Işın, 2010, p. 103). In parallel with the dwellings of the Classical Period, the palace consisted of a terrace in front of three rows of rooms with thick rubble walls which must have carried upper stories made of timber and mud brick (Işın, 2010, p. 96; Dündar, 2016, p. 39). The surroundings of the palace were occupied by the residential quarter of the settlement which continued to be used as a residential area even after the decline of the palace (Dündar, 2016, pp. 42-43). The area was refortified with pseudoisodomic masonry walls in around 350 BC (Dündar, 2016, p. 43). The remaining foundations of dwellings within this fortified area which were most probably built of mud brick or wood and had flat roof considering the lack of durable material and roof tiles, were in use between the 6th and 2th century BC, suggesting a continuation from the Classical Period onwards (Dündar, 2016, p. 43). The Tepecik hill, which must have served as the acropolis of Patara, was abandoned in the 1st century BC when the Tepecik *necropolis* began to grow towards the slopes (Dündar, 2016, p. 44). Apart from the regular dwellings, a larger residence possibly belonging to the ruler has also been discovered within the Avşar Tepesi settlement, located close to the agora (Thomsen, 2002, p. 245) (Fig. 4.2.1, no. 101-102).

So far, investigations in various settlements have presented consistent housing practices in Lycia during the Classical Period. The domestic architecture of the Hellenistic and Roman Periods, on the other hand, have been less revealed compared to the contemporary public and monumental architecture; partly because they mostly fell victim to the changes in the following periods, and partly because the residential quarters of most of the cities have not been extensively surveyed or excavated yet. However, the case of Arykanda is an exception in this respect.

The studies in Arykanda have so far presented the most comprehensive information on post-Classical housing practices in a Lycian city. Several types of residential architecture have been discovered surrounding the city center, including terrace houses, *domūs* and house-workshop complexes (Fig. 4.2.6). The terrace houses are concentrated in two major areas, one above the commercial agora, to the north and east of the Helios temple; the other below the agora at the western fringes of the city. The common characteristic of these houses is that they were generally multi-story, having wooden upper floors carried above one or two rooms carved into the bedrock (Gürgezoğlu, 2005, pp. 102-104). According to small finds, the residential quarter next to the Helios temple was uninterruptedly in use between the 2nd century BC and 1st century AD, during which it was mostly occupied by the middle and lower classes (Bayburtluoğlu, 2003, pp. 153-154; Gürgezoğlu, 2005, p. 104). However, based on the similarities with the terrace houses of Limyra, it is possible that the area may have been in use prior to the Hellenistic times (Gürgezoğlu, 2005, p. 104). The houses seem to have been abandoned for a period and then reoccupied in the 3rd century AD, probably following the earthquakes of 140 and especially 240 AD, after which the well-to-do also moved to the area based on the discovery of valuable small finds (Bayburtluoğlu, 2003, p. 154; Gürgezoğlu, 2005, p. 104). The temple of Helios was also converted into a three-roomed dwelling after it was destroyed during the earthquake of the 2nd century AD (Gürgezoğlu, 2005, p. 107).[331]

A number of *domūs* have been discovered within the city.[332] The earliest dated among these is the so-called "Eastern Villa", which is located on a terrace below the commercial agora, west to the *Traianeum*. This house consisted of 12 rooms, some carved out of bedrock and some covered with mosaic depending on their function (Gürgezoğlu, 2005, pp. 100-102) (Fig. 4.6.3.7). The numbers of rooms were gradually increased as needed which resulted in an irregular layout

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[331] Similarly, the *Sebasteion* which is located at the east of the Helios temple was also converted into a private residence in the 4th century AD (Gürgezoğlu, 2005, p. 106).

[332] The townhouses in Arykanda are designated as villas by the excavation team even though they are urban residences. For the sake of conformity with the published material, the appellations given to these houses by the excavation team are preserved in this thesis.

(Gürgezoğlu, 2005, p. 102). The townhouse is roughly dated to the 1st and 2nd century AD, approximately when the city prospered and the elite got rich enough to build townhouses according to Bayburtluoğlu (1996, p. 132). Another *domus*, which was in use in a period between the 3rd and 5th century AD, was built opposite the Eastern Villa, below the western terrace houses (Bayburtluoğlu, 1989, p. 193). The Western Villa was comprised of ten rooms surrounding a peristyle, some of which were partially cut out of the natural rock and covered with mosaics (Bayburtluoğlu, 1989, p. 191) (Fig. 4.6.3.8). The building must have featured a wooden upper floor in a similar layout to the ground floor with rooms circling the peristyle, based on the beam holes carved into the bedrock walls and recovered metal materials like nails related to woodwork (Bayburtluoğlu, 1989, p. 193). The recovered column and marble fragments as well as mosaics in both Eastern and Western Villas give clues about the lavish decorations of their interiors (Gürgezoğlu, 2005, pp. 99-101). Another residential quarter discovered in the south-east of the city center has revealed two or three peristyle houses with workshops dated to the 3rd century AD and after (Bayburtluoğlu, 2003, p. 150; Gürgezoğlu, 2005, pp. 104-106).

Almost all townhouses discovered in other cities are dated to the Late Antiquity.[333] However, a rare example of a *domus* dated before the Late Roman Period is discovered in Patara, at the western skirts of the Doğucasarı hill which borders the east of the city center and was occupied with dwellings (Fig. 4.5.18). The high-quality architectural, mosaic and pottery remains discovered in these so-called "slope houses" suggest that this portion of the city was reserved for the upper crust of the society during the Roman Period (Işık, 2000, p. 36; Çevik & Aktaş, 2016, p. 19). The discovery of the townhouse in this area is a conspicuous evidence of this inference. The dating of the large residence, which has several rooms and a peristyle, is still speculative, however the recovered Doric column

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[333] Among these, the most extensively studied is the villa at the Lycian Acropolis at Xanthos (Manière-Lévêque, 2007). Recent geophysical surveys conducted in the Eastern city of Limyra have revealed houses with peristyles, which most probably belonged to the elite class of the Late Antiquity (Seyer, 2016a, pp. 79-80). For an overview of the studies on late antique domestic architecture in Lycia including both regular houses and villas, see Özgenel (2006).

capitals hint to a dating to the Hellenistic times (Işık, 1991a, pp. 35-36; Işık, 1992, pp. 239-240; Işık, 2000, p. 36), which, if is the case, suggest that the area was prioritized long before the Roman era.

As can be seen, the information on domestic architecture in Lycian cities before the end of the Imperial Period is rather restricted. Yet, it is still possible to draw concluding remarks with what discussed above. First of all, Lycian houses are the second most preserved architectural testimonies from the Classical Period after the tombs, thus the surviving remains are vital for shedding the most possible light on the architectural practices of the era. The studied Classical settlements reveal a fairly uniform picture of the dwellings of the era which were generally terraced by leveling the bedrock in order to benefit best from the mountainous geography. Houses were built upon stone substructures of varying plan types; and the upper stories, if existing, were usually constructed of less durable material. The layouts and construction techniques of these houses suggest Anatolian origin, which are still in use in modern villages in Lycia.

As revealed, the studies in Arykanda have so far provided the most concrete information about the housing practices in Hellenistic and Roman times. Accordingly, it is safe to say that multi-story terrace houses carved out of bedrock continued to be favored especially by the middle and lower classes in the following periods. The *domūs* of the upper class, on the other hand, are exemplary for the combination of local techniques like leveling the rocky surface, and foreign elements like the peristyle (Gürgezoğlu, 2005, p. 108). Thus, the domestic architecture in Arykanda has so far revealed that some of the traditional practices of Classical Period survived into the Roman times and blended with imported elements; and the elite kept up to date with the contemporary housing trends.

A more holistic view over the domestic architecture in Lycian cities can be achieved with comparative analysis of more examples which will hopefully be possible as the studies in residential quarters in general and dwellings in particular are furthered.

4.6.4 Funerary Architecture

Funerary architecture in Lycia is rich in typology and abundant in number. The attempts for making final resting places of individuals perpetual with architectural constructions began to appear with the Archaic Period. Following the Persian hegemony, new forms of funerary architecture left their mark on the Classical Period. While the production of tombs diminished in the Hellenistic era, the variety and number of tombs once again increased during the Roman times.

In Archaic Period, the aristocratic families generally opted for tumuli, podium and terrace tombs, and chamber tombs for monumentalizing their graves which are mostly concentrated in central Lycia, especially in Yavu region (Hülden, 2011; 2016). A comparison of these tomb types with similar surviving structures in other regions has revealed close resemblances with the funerary practices in Caria and the islands close to Asia Minor (Hülden, 2011; 2016).

These tombs continued, decreasingly, to be built in the early Classical Period; however, with the coming of the Persians, new types of tombs reformulated the funerary architectural practices of the dynastic period (Hülden, 2016; Kolb, 2016, p. 38). Demonstrating the high competence of Lycians in rock-carving, various forms of funerary architecture such as pillar tombs, rock-cut chamber tombs, sarcophagi and monumental *heroa* were produced which are still conspicuous parts of the landscape across Lycia.[334]

A pillar tomb can be described as a monolithic rectangular prism sitting on a base and surmounted by a burial chamber. The pillar tombs are considered as the oldest examples of Lycian dynastic tombs, dating as early as the 6th century BC (Zahle, 1983, p. 198). Found especially in dynastic cities such as Xanthos, Apollonia, Isinda, Trysa and Avşar Tepesi, approximately only fifty of such tombs have been discovered so far, which suggests that they were appropriated by

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[334] For the classification of Lycian tombs by various scholars, see Fellows (1840, p. 100 ff.), Benndorf-Niemann (1884, p. 95), and Zahle (1983, pp. 7-22). For a detailed analysis of tombs and tomb types in Yavu region, see Hülden (2006).

the upper, especially the ruling class (Zahle, 1983, p. 198; Kolb, 2016, p. 16; Aykaç, 2016).

Among the surviving examples, the Inscribed Pillar and the Harpy Tomb, both erected on the sides of the Roman Agora of Xanthos, have drawn most of the scholarly attention due to the bilingual historical inscription on the former, and the sculptural decoration on the latter. The Inscribed Pillar sits on a stone foundation and was once crowned by a burial chamber decorated with scenes of battle, possibly the military success of the deceased, and covered with a lid that carried the sculpture of the enthroned tomb owner (Demargne, 1958) (Figs. 4.6.4.1 and 4.6.4.2). All four sides of the shaft was inscribed with a long inscription in Lycian, a short text in Lycian B and a Greek epigram (*TAM* I 44). While the Lycian and Lycian B have not been fully deciphered yet;[335] as it is understood mainly from the Greek epigram, the inscription narrates the military successes of the Xanthian dynast Kheriga, the owner of the tomb and was meant to be erected within the agora and dedicated to the Twelve Gods (Long, 1987, p. 49; Keen, 1998, pp. 9-10).[336]

Similarly, the Harpy Tomb, which belonged to the dynast Kybernis, also stands on a stone base and is topped by a burial chamber (Demargne, 1958) (Fig. 4.6.4.3). The marble relief sculpture surrounding the burial chamber depicts a scene from the underworld in Greek mythology with figures from both Greek and Persian iconography, all executed in Ionic artistic style, thus revealing multi-cultural influence in Lycian art (Işık, 2016c, pp. 441-442) (Fig. 4.6.4.4).

In contrast to the small number of pillar tombs, rock-cut tombs were one of the most common types of funerary architecture employed in Lycia. Carved into rocky formations and used possibly as family graves, the façades of most of these tombs were decorated with the imitation of timber building construction (Zahle,

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[335] For Lycian language, see Chapter 2.2, fn. 14. Lycian B, which has not been deciphered yet, is considered as a distant and ancient dialect of Lycian with hitherto unknown relationship (Gusmani, 1993; Melchert, 2008b, p. 47; Tekoğlu, 2016). Also called Milyan language, which is unfounded according to Tekoğlu (2016), the script is so far found only on Inscribed Pillar of Xanthos and the lion sarcophagus at Antiphellos.

[336] For the use of the word "agora" in the inscription, see Chapter 4.2, p. 70.

1983, pp. 17-22; Kuban, 2016) (Figs. 4.6.4.5, 4.6.4.6 and 4.6.4.7). Proliferated especially in the 4th century BC, the façades differ in detail, presenting a variety of combinations of modular designs, inscriptions and reliefs (Kuban, 2016) (Fig. 4.6.4.8). Apart from timber construction design, imitation of Greek forms such as columns, pediments and *acroteria* gave the tombs the look of Greek temple fronts; which, in rare examples, became quite monumentalized such as the tombs of Bellerophon at Tlos and Amyntas in Telmessos (Dinsmoor, 1950, p. 68; Kuban, 2016, pp. 413-414) (Figs. 4.6.4.9 and 4.6.4.10). In addition to these highly decorated rock-cut tombs, Lycians also carved simple rectangular cavities into rock surfaces which may have once been closed by now lost covers (Kuban, 2016, p. 413). Popularly called pigeon holes, these rock-cut cavities can be found in groups as in the cases of Sidyma and Pinara (Fig. 4.6.4.11).

The Lycian sarcophagi, another widespread Lycian tomb type, differ from their Hellenistic and Roman successors by their greater size and gable-shaped lids which are unique to Lycia (Zahle, 1983, pp. 15-17; Özer, 2016) (Fig. 4.6.4.12).[337] Although greatly varied in design, they are generally composed of a podium, a chest and a lid, and sometimes a *hyposorion*, a second burial chamber below the chest.[338] *Khamasorioa* are also widespread, in which, the chest is carved out of the bedrock and covered with a gable-lid (Özer, 2016, p. 432). While many sarcophagi were plainly decorated, some were adorned with relief sculptures or the imitation of timber architecture; and a limited number of them were inscribed in Lycian conveying the identity of the tomb owner and a warning against misuse. The Payava Tomb of Xanthos is an example that represents many characteristics of a Lycian sarcophagus. Belonging to a Xanthian named Payava according to its Lycian inscription, the upper part of the chest of the tomb imitates timber architecture, while its gabled lid and lower chest are decorated with low reliefs of combat scenes (des Courtils, 2003, pp. 118-119) (Fig. 4.6.4.13).

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[337] Fellows (1838, p. 220) likens the shape of the lids to a pointed Gothic arch, which resulted in the description of this Lycian tomb type as "Gothic sarcophagus" in modern scholarship.

[338] For a typological analysis of Lycian tombs, see Yılmaz (1994).

The *heroa* of Lycia were mostly executed in the form of free-standing monumental tombs with elaborate sculptural designs and are found in dynastic cities such as Xanthos, Limyra, Trysa, Apollonia and Phellos. Well-known examples which will be discussed below include the Nereid Monument in Xanthos and the *Heroon* of Perikle in Limyra. Dominating over the Southern Gate, the Nereid Monument, which is believed to have been built for Arbinas in around 380 BC, was in the form of a peripteral Ionic temple installed on a high podium that probably contained a burial chamber for the family of the tomb owner (Coupel & Demargne, 1969; Demargne, 1990) (Figs. 4.5.1, no.18, 4.5.3 and 4.6.4.14). The podium, the architrave and the top of the *cella* were decorated with reliefs; whereas women statues, the Nereids, were placed between the columns. While the two friezes decorating the podium depicted scenes from a Greek and Persian battle and city sieges; the reliefs on the architrave and the *cella* walls portrayed scenes of combat, hunt and offerings, as well as enthroned figures with Persian elements (Childs, 1978, pp. 11-12, 22-31). Considered as one of the most important monuments of its era, the tomb is accepted as a stylistic hybrid with its Anatolian originated podium and Greek, Ionian and Persian aesthetics (Demargne, 1990, p. 69; Martin, 1951).

The *Heroon* of Perikle was built outside the fortifications of the Acropolis of Limyra on a terrace with a commanding view over the lower plains in around 370 BC (Borchhardt, 1976, pp. 99-105) (Fig. 4.6.1.4). Similar to the Nereid monument, the *heroon* consisted of a tetrastyle amphiprostyle temple mounted on a high podium that functioned as a *hyposorion* (Borchhardt, 1976; Borchhardt, 1999, pp. 46-47) (Fig. 4.6.4.15). The columns of the temple on both southern and northern façades were replaced by caryatids, inspired from the Erechtheion in Athens (Borchhardt, 1999, p. 47), yet locally executed in Anatolian fashion of dress and style (Şare, 2013, p. 59) (Figs. 4.6.4.16 and 4.6.4.17). Figurative *acroteria* depicted characters and themes from the Greek mythology, namely Perseus and Medusa, and Bellerophon and Pegasus (Borchhardt, 1999, p. 48). Finally, the friezes that decorated the long sides of the *cella* narrated a military procession, where Perikle and the Persian king Artaxerxes were portrayed

together, indicating the loyalty of the Lycian dynast to the Persians (Borchhardt, 1999, pp. 49-50). Thus, this monument too is a product of multi-cultural interaction.

Overall, the Lycians began to monumentalize their tombs in the Archaic Period, and the funerary architecture that became the trademark of the Classical Lycian cities emerged during the Persian hegemony. The tomb types of the dynastic period accommodate idiosyncratic elements such as the pillars, façades imitating timber and sarcophagi with gable lids. Aesthetically, on the other hand, the tomb architecture is under the influence of both the East and the West, whose borrowed styles, iconographies and narratives were combined with elements of Anatolian and Lycian origin.

Apart from the artistic combination of different cultures, another conspicuous feature of Lycian funerary architecture is the tradition of intra-mural burial. For instance, the existence of tombs at the agoras of, such as Xanthos, Avşar Tepesi and Phellos suggest that the burial of most probably the aristocratic class within the public space of a city was an acceptable practice (Hülden, 2016, pp. 383-384; Zimmermann, 2005, p. 46). It is, in a way, different than the intra-mural burial customs of the contemporary Greek cities of both the Mainland and Asia Minor, where the settlement area and the *necropolis* was clearly separated from each other, but the tombs of important people, for instance the city founders or heroes, were located within the city, mostly in the agora (Schörner, 2007). While it was a honor very seldom bestowed upon very distinguished figures in Greek societies, intra-mural burial seems to be a tradition among the upper Lycian class. In addition, the location of the *necropolis* and the settlement area side by side in Avşar Tepesi present a very uncommon picture of the settlement layout (Thomsen, 2002) (Fig. 3.2.1). Yet, as Hülden (2013) points out, it is too early to make generalizations about the relations between Lycian settlements and *necropoleis* simply by looking at the case of Avşar Tepesi, given the facts that it is so far the only dynastic city that survived almost intact in its Classical phase, and that very little is known about the development process and the growth of the settlement.

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The tomb types discussed above have been discovered in dynastic cities and their countryside which are geographically confined to the western and central Lycia. Thus, the number of Lycian tombs diminishes and eventually disappears towards the east and the north. On the east, Lycian cultural traits are rarely seen beyond the Bey Dağları. Two Lycian rock-cut tombs that imitate timber construction, one with reliefs and the other with a Lycian inscription found in a small settlement close to Olympos, called Asartaş or Topal Gavur, have so far been the easternmost Lycian tombs discovered in Lycia (Işın, 2013; Çevik, 2015a, pp. 474-475). Without more examples, it would be too soon to talk about the expansion of Lycian culture to the east (Çevik, 2015a, p. 475).

In northern Lycia, several rock-cut tombs discovered during the surveys conducted in the Kibyratis have been safely identified as Lycian type with their architectural and decorative features (Gay & Corsten, 2006). Dated to the 4th century BC, the existence of Lycian funerary architecture in further north is considered as a consequence of the expansion policy of Perikle, the dynast of Limyra (Gay & Corsten, 2006). Accordingly, it is argued that the tombs may have belonged to Lycian aristocratic class who were assigned to protect and control the land on behalf of Perikle (Gay & Corsten, 2006, p. 58). Another suggestion is that these tombs are the product of Lycians from the mainland who used to move to highlands during summers (Coulton, 1993, p. 81; Çevik, 2015a, p. 54). However, the number and find spots of these Lycian tombs are not yet relevant to suggest the existence of dynastic settlement in the north, similar to the eastern Lycia.

Otherwise, the Archaic and Classical Period funerary architecture of the northern regions show an array of Phrygian, Lydian, Ionian, Lycian, Greek and Persian influence (Coulton, 1993, p. 81; Işık, 2015). The most important examples include Kızılbel and Karaburun II tumuli both located in Milyas.[339] Dated to the late 6th century BC, Kızılbel tomb consists of a stone-built chamber with paintings on every surface; textile-like motifs covering the ceiling and the floor, and frescoes decorating the walls (Mellink, 1998) (Fig. 4.6.4.18). The surviving

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[339] Life-size reconstructions of both tombs are on exhibition in the Museum of Elmalı, Antalya.

frescoes, executed in Ionic style, depict military processions, banqueting of enthroned figures, farewell of the departing tomb owner on a chariot, hunts and seafaring as well as figures from the Greek mythology such as Gorgon, Medusa and Pegasus (Mellink, 1998). The iconography is associated with Lycian themes, while the style is identified as Ionian and ancestral to Archaic Etruscan art (Mellink, 1978, pp. 806-807). Similar to the Kızılbel tomb, Karaburun II grave, which is dated to the early 5th century BC, also consisted of a stone burial chamber and was decorated with polychrome wall paintings narrating banquets, battle scenes and funerary procession (Mellink, 1972, pp. 159-162) (Fig. 4.6.4.19). However, different than the former, the figures are depicted with beard, in Persian clothes, holding Achaemenid vessels (Mellink, 1972, p. 161). The ritual and the art in Karaburun wall paintings have been attested as Graeco-Persian (Mellink, 1978, p. 808). Hence, these two tumuli not only reflect an intersection of artistic styles of the bordering of regions, but also show how the funerary art was affected in the north following the Persian dominion.

During the Hellenistic Period, the production of new funerary architecture diminished and the earlier tombs were reused, yet sarcophagi became the dominant group of produced tomb types (Hülden, 2016, p. 382; Özer, 2014). Underground chamber tombs discovered in Patara, emerged as a new type of family burial as early as the 3rd century BC, and were in use at least until the 2nd century AD (İşkan-Yılmaz & Çevik, 1995).

Undoubtedly, the most important example of funerary architecture that has survived from the transitional period between Hellenism and the Roman Empire is the Cenotaph of Gaius Caesar at Limyra, the grandson and prospected successor of Augustus, who died in the city in AD 4 during a military campaign in Asia Minor. The ceremonial tomb rose above a limestone foundation and was topped with a pyramidal roof (Ganzert, 1984; Borchhardt, 1999, pp. 85-97) (Fig. 4.6.4.20). The core of the structure, which has survived in the western city, was once cladded with life size marble reliefs depicting the life of Gaius (Borchhardt, 1999, pp. 87-91) (Figs. 4.6.4.21 and 4.6.4.22). With its high quality sculptures which draw similarities with the Augustan art in Rome, the Cenotaph is an elusive

piece of funerary art and architecture unparalleled in Lycia as well as Asia Minor (Seyer, 2016b, p. 269).[340]

During the Roman Imperial Period, the production of funerary architecture increased once again. The sarcophagi were the most appropriated tomb form among many other types (Özer, 2014), including various types of underground chamber tombs such as those found in Patara and Kibyra (İşkan-Yılmaz & Çevik, 1995; Dökü, 2012, p. 93); and barrel-vaulted graves such as those at Kadyanda and Arykanda (Bayburtluoğlu, 2004, p. 289; Gerçek, 2015, pp. 292-293). However, the highlight of the Roman funerary architecture in Lycia is the proliferation of monumental tombs, especially in the form of temples.

A series of monumental temple-tombs have been discovered on both sides of the Patara estuary. Most of them are located on the eastern coast, north of Tepecik, including the so-called Bodrum, Akdam and Markia temple tombs (Işık, 1995b). Two other tombs in temple form, Markiana and Anassa, in contrast, were built within the city center, close to the harbor (Gülşen, 2010, p. 82). Among these, the Markia tomb is the best-studied, while the Akdam grave is the best preserved. The former, which is dated to the 3rd century AD, was built by a woman called Markia Aurelia Chryion for herself and her family, in the form of a tetrastyle prostyle temple in Corinthian order, mounted on a *hyposorion* and reached by a flight of stairs; while its *cella* was covered with a barrel-vault and the roof was finished with a pediment (Işık, 2000, pp. 44-46; Gülşen, 2010) (Fig. 4.6.4.23). The inscription which gives details about the tomb owner, also instructs who would be buried within the *naos, pronaos* and the surrounding *temenos* (Işık, 2000, pp. 45-46). The utilization of the terminology normally related to religious architecture for a tomb further proves that it was designed as a temple-tomb (Işık, 2000, p. 44). The slightly bigger Akdam temple-tomb, also dated to the 3rd century AD, was also built like a Roman temple in a very similar fashion to that of Markia; consisting of a Corinthian tetrastyle prostyle temple, installed over a

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[340] For a discussion on the decorations of a marble plaster belonging to the Cenotaph and the participation of local workmen in the execution of the decorative elements of the monument, see Plattner (2012).

podium, covered with a barrel vault and gable-roof (Işık, 2000, p. 48; Gülşen, 2010, pp. 76-78) (Fig. 4.6.4.24). On the western coast, north of the *horreum*, stand the remains of the largest temple tomb of Patara along with tombs of other types. Called pseudoperipteral temple-tomb due to its plan type, the monumental grave, similar to Markia and Aktam tombs, had a *cella* built on a podium over a vaulted *hyposorion* and reached by frontal steps (Işık, 2000, pp. 145-147) (Fig. 4.6.4.25). The ceiling was covered with a coffered barrel-vault and again finished with a gable roof and pediment (Işık, 2000, p. 146).

The installation of Markiana and Anassa temple-tombs close to the harbor and the pseudoperipteral temple-tomb and some other graves near the *horreum* and the *stadion* is conspicuous. A similar case can be seen in Arykanda, where the eastern *necropolis* of the city, which was composed of a series of monumental family graves belonging to the upper class of the city lined up along a street, was located on a terrace above the bath-gymnasium complex.[341] The monumental tombs, four of which were in the form of temple-tombs, were mostly built between the 1st and 3rd century AD, a period when the bath-gymnasium was one of the most monumental and highly visited building of the city (Bayburtluoğlu, 2003, pp. 164-179) (Fig. 4.6.4.26).

Intramural installation of monumental tombs is a rare tradition in Classical, Hellenistic and Roman societies bestowed only upon very distinguished citizens. It was also practiced in Lycian cities from very early on, as exemplified above with the Lycian tombs of dynastic period and later with the Cenotaph of Gaius. However, it seems to have become a rather frequent custom among the Roman elite, which may have come down from the Classical Lycian practices (Işık, 2000, p. 146). Apparently, the erection of monumental tombs, especially those in the form of temples within the settlement areas became a convenient way for reaching larger groups of people even after death in Lycia during the Roman Period.

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[341] Gerçek (2015, p. 291) delineates the location of the *necropolis* as being more or less defined and isolated, and indirectly related to the public buildings.

The most striking example of this is the monumental tomb of Opramoas in Rhodiapolis. Dated to the 2nd century AD, the tomb was built in the form of a *prostylos* Roman temple, decorated with four Corinthian columns at the front and crowned with a pediment (Çevik, Kızgut, & Bulut, 2008b, pp. 65-66; Çevik, 2015a, pp. 434-436) (Figs. 4.6.4.27 and 4.6.4.28). Comparatively much smaller than the above-mentioned later examples of Patara, the monumentality of the tomb comes from the inscription carved on the outside of its three walls and its location within the city (Gülşen, 2010, p. 87). One of the longest Greek inscriptions discovered in Asia Minor, the text is, in a way, the *Res Gestae* of Opramoas, who generously contributed to almost every Lycian city, especially after the earthquake of AD 141/142. Besides documenting the donations Opramoas made to the cities, and the honors he received in return, the text includes decrees of the Lycian League and letters from cities, Roman officials and emperors, especially from Antoninus Pius; 70 documents in total, all related to his life and activities (*TAM* II 905).[342] The tomb was placed on the theater terrace, above the agora of the Rhodiapolis, the most prominent place of the city (Figs. 4.2.36 and 4.2.37). In addition to that, an ancestral hall dedicated to the family of Opramoas was built across the agora.[343] The privilege given to Opramoas and his family is hitherto mirror the culmination of how an influential figure was celebrated in the urban configuration in Roman Lycia.

In sum, the *necropoleis* of Lycian cities, many of which were in use more or less continuously between the Classical Period and the Roman times, is a display area of a variety of tomb types. Among the many distinctive characteristics of Lycian tombs, two stand out: one being monumentality and the other intra-mural burial. Since Classical times, the upper and ruler class perpetuated their final resting places with monumental tombs of varying forms, especially in the form of pillar and temple tombs, which were executed in a

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[342] The inscription has been published in various sources including the extensive version by Kokkinia (2000), who added 115 new fragments she found at the site to the previously known parts of text.

[343] For the agora of Rhodiapolis and the surrounding buildings, see Chapter 4.2, pp. 80-81.

combination of dominating cultural styles of the period. These tombs were mostly built within the boundaries of the urban settlement, which largely differs from the contemporary practices. The tradition of entombment in intra-mural temple-tombs continued into the Roman times, which began to be built in the form of Roman temples.[344] Moreover, with the expansion of Roman cities, the pre-Roman *necropoleis*, which were previously outside the settlements, became a part of the urban configurations and the backdrop of the urban landscape, as can be exemplified by the pillar tombs around the Roman/Western Agora of Xanthos, the Western/Sea *necropolis* next to the theater of Myra and the *necropolis* of Tlos at the skirts of the acropolis rising behind the stadium area (Figs. 4.2.3, 4.6.1.5, 4.6.4.6 and 4.6.4.7). For a Roman Lycian, the scenery was ordinary as well as mnemonic; since it was an ancestral heritage they were born into and grew accustomed to, as well as a part of the Roman architectural culture which brought past and present together.[345]

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[344] The use of Roman podium temple form as a temple-tomb became widespread in Asia Minor also in the 2nd century AD (Price, 1984, p. 168).

[345] For more on this concept, see Chapter 4.5.

CHAPTER 5

AN ARCHITECTURAL ENCOUNTER: ROMANIZATION IN LYCIA

This chapter aims to interpret the architectural responses that emerged in Lycia as a result of the encounters between Lycians and Romans from a theoretical perspective. In order to do this, the insights obtained from the discussions and comments in previous chapters are reconsidered within a theoretical framework derived from the Romanization theory.

The following discussion is divided into three sections. The first section reviews the canonical approaches to the history, development and deconstruction of the concept of Romanization. The second section introduces the theoretical framework of this study which is established through the reformulation of the Romanization theory under the light of the preceding review. In the final section, the architectural practices in Lycia are reexamined within this framework in an attempt to shed light to the nature of being Roman in Lycia.

5.1 On Romanization

Romanization is a modern concept which very broadly corresponds to the cultural change that took place in the provinces under Roman rule. The roots of the idea go back to the Renaissance,[346] however, it was first theoretically developed in the 19th century by Mommsen (1899), who pointed out the similarities in the western Roman provinces based on archaeological material, especially Latin inscriptions, as a demonstration of the emanation and expansion

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[346] Mattingly (2011, p. 38) draws attention to the use of the verb "romanize" since 1607 according to the Oxford English Dictionary.

of Roman civilization (Freeman, 1997, p. 43). Haverfield (1905-1906), who coined the term Romanization in the early 20th century, broadened Mommsen's theory by giving primacy to a wider range and quantity of archaeological evidence (Freeman, 1997, p. 43).[347] Focusing especially on Britain, Haverfield argued that this process was a civilizing mission initiated by Rome which targeted providing uniformity in language, material culture, administration and religion among the western provinces; though he also added that it was not a homogeneous process that took hold everywhere at the same time, influenced every level of society equally or completely erased all pre-Roman cultural traces (1915, pp. 9-22).[348] According to Haverfield (1915, p. 79), the upper class was substantially Romanized, whereas the nativity of the peasantry was covered only superficially. Haverfield's views on Romanization of Britain were challenged in 1930s by Collingwood (1932, p. 92), who claimed that Britain was not purely Romanized, but instead, the resulting civilization was a "fusion" of both Roman and Celtic cultural traits.

Even though Collingwood slightly shifted the focus on the discourse of cultural interaction between Roman and native cultures, Mommsen and Haverfield's "progressive perspective" which argued that Rome brought civilization and higher culture to the barbarian natives in a deliberate cultivation program remained unchallenged until the latter half of the 20th century.[349] Subsequently, partly of the development of post-modern and post-colonial studies and partly of the increase in the archaeological works that began to yield more on local cultures, a "nativist" approach emerged in 1970s and 1980s, which

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[347] For the foundations of the theory of Romanization in Mommsen and Haverfield's works, see Freedman (1997).

[348] Haverfield's contradictory opinions on Romanization being both uniform and heterogeneous at the same time have been criticized in later discussions (Webster, 2001, p. 211).

[349] According to Hingley (1997, pp. 84-85), progressive perspective "is based on the assumption of gradual, cumulative and directional change from one extreme to the other, from 'native' to 'Roman' modes of existence", according to which "the supposed abandonment of native identity and adoption of a Roman image is presented as a positive and deliberate act."

deconstructed the established idea of Romanization as a positivist state act, and rather directed the attention to the indigenous cultures.[350]

One of the seminal works in nativist discourse is the work of Millett (1990) on the cultural change in Britain, which has given a new direction to studies on Romanization as a whole, since it significantly diverged from the theory that cultural change in the provinces was an imperial policy (Hingley, 2005, pp. 41-42). Instead, Millett (1990) proposed that Romanization was a result of the voluntary emulation of the Roman culture by the native elite in an attempt to gain and maintain power, status and position within the imperial system, and that the changes gradually infiltrated to the lower social strata as a progressive result.

The groundbreaking contribution of Millet to the theory of Romanization received mixed reactions. Millett's work has been noted, on the one hand, for its utilization of the methodologies of archaeology and social sciences in this theory in addition to written evidence;[351] on the other hand, especially for defining the natives in the provinces as the driving force for the adoption or rejection of cultural changes during the Romanization process.[352]

The theory of self-Romanization of the elite has given a new impulse and diverse responses to the studies on cultural change in the provinces. Hanson (1997, pp. 67, 76), who has designated this trend as "new orthodoxy", opposed the idea on the ground that Rome would not have left the involvement of the elite into the imperial system to chance; but instead "deliberately and directly promoted Romanization", whereas, Whittaker (1997, p. 21) has proposed that state intervention and the native's aspiration could occur concomitantly. Millet's work has also received criticism for designating the upper class as the dynamo of the process and reducing the lower class to passive recipients, an argument which has

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[350] For a brief description and summary of historical development of the nativist approach and related bibliography, see Webster (2001, pp. 212-213) and Hingley (2005, pp. 40-42).

[351] On the interdisciplinarity of Millett's work, see for instance, the reviews of his book by Reece (1993) and Abrams (1993).

[352] See Hingley for an analysis of Miller's influence on the perception of the elite in Romanization studies (2005, pp. 41-42).

remained standard since Haverfield (Webster, 2001, pp. 213-216). According to Hingley (2005, p. 43), the idea of the diffusion of Roman culture into the lives of the lower class through emulation is a continuation of the progressive perspective, according to which, Roman material culture and lifestyle were considered superior, attractive, desirable and preferable to the non-elites who wished to be Romanized like the upper classes.[353] The questioning of progressive approaches has eventually led to the scrutiny of important issues: the nature of Roman material culture and identity, and the voice of the non-elite in the cultural transformation.

In reviewing Millett's work, Freeman (1993) argued that Mommsen and Haverfield's works led to the unquestionable and uncritical acceptance of Roman material culture as a fixed and homogeneous entity in the following scholarship including Millet's. Correlatively, studies on Roman Italy have revealed that Roman culture was a combination of regional diversities instead of a pure and complete formation that disseminated from Rome and Italy to the periphery (Keay & Terrenato, 2001). Hence, as Woolf described (1997, p. 341), the Roman imperial culture which disseminated outside of Italy was "a structured system of differences" that diversified according to province, region, social status and many other parameters. Woolf also argued that, rather than being static and complete, Roman culture was dynamic and inclusionary, and grew to be more complex with the incorporation of provincial cultures like an "organism that metabolizes other matter and is itself transformed by what it feeds on" (1997, p. 347).

Aside from its ever-changing and heterogeneous nature, it is commonly accepted that Roman culture underwent a revolution under the regulations of Augustus. Considered evolutionary and experimental instead of being thorough, static and monolithic, the "Augustan culture" is considered to have formed in Rome and then dispersed to the provinces through various media including art, architecture, literature, epigraphy, numismatics and religious institutions

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[353] Moreover, Hingley adds that the overall idea of the attractiveness of the Roman culture to the natives is the result of the post-colonial guilt of the modern scholars, who tried to vindicate modern Western imperialism (2005, pp. 45-46).

(Galinsky, 1996; MacMullen, 2000). According to Woolf (1995), the post-conquest cultural formation took place at around the same time in every province irrespective of the time of their inclusion to the Roman rule. This period coincides with the institutionalization of the empire which more or less took place in the Late Republican and Early Imperial Period, and was largely a part of the Augustan revolutions (Woolf, 1995). Having accepted the surge of global cultural transformations like the one that took place in the Augustan period, however, Terrenato (2008), has proposed that the cultural interactions between Rome and the natives was a long-term engagement that predated the annexation, as opposed to the claims that cultural change followed the conquest.

As for identity, the criticism brought to the nativist approaches has also resulted in the scrutiny of the binary opposition of 'Roman' and 'native', which stood for fixed and homogeneous identities directly linked to material culture (2009, p. 6). In parallel to this, Jones (1997, p. 33) has recapitulated that the "adoption of Roman material culture has also been taken to reflect the adoption of Roman identity." Accordingly, a native's use of an object that was designated as Roman has been undoubtedly considered as an indication of becoming Roman. Conversely, the absence of the so-called Roman material in a region has been interpreted as the resistance of the locals. However, the deconstruction of the notion of a monolithic Roman culture has also resulted in the deconstruction of a monolithic Roman identity (Hingley, 2005, p. 44). It is also found difficult to describe native identity, as it has also come to be considered fluid and heterogeneous. As Curchin has pointed out (2004, p. 9), the "'native' culture had already begun acclimatizing to the culture of the conqueror, often before the conquest was complete". It has also been added that the access of natives to the Roman cultural material does not necessarily represent their acquirement of Roman identity or their wish to become Roman (Freeman, 1993). As Revell has described (2009, pp. 8-9), Roman identity was not "a fixed point to be reached" but rather "a discourse…which needs to be continuously worked at through the routines of everyday" during which material culture was an agent rather than a determinant. In parallel, the volume of essays compiled by Vanacker and

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Zuiderhoek (2017) scrutinizes the construction of Imperial identity and the feeling of belonging to the empire by looking at the many ways of engaging with the changing daily activities like production, consumption and worship in selected case studies.

The debates on the concepts of culture and identity together with the rising awareness of the lack of attention given to the responses of the non-elites have led to the emergence of new theoretical frameworks to explain cultural transformations and creations of fragmented identities in the provinces. Webster (2001) has offered the exploration of the transformation of cultural changes in the Roman provinces through creolization theory, a socio-linguistic term used in post-colonial studies of the New World which represents the blending of cultures instead of replacement of one by the other. Throughout, Webster has attempted to obtain "insights into the negotiation of post-conquest identities from the "bottom-up" rather than … from the perspective of provincial elite" (2001, p. 209). Mattingly (2011, p. 213), on the other hand, has offered the concept of discrepant identities to reflect upon "the heterogeneity of response to Rome, to culture change and to identity (re-)formation", from a both bottom-up and top-down perspective, so as to combine and associate diverse experiences from all levels of the society, and reveal their versatile and ever-changing complexion. By benefiting from the approaches of globalization theory, Hingley (2005) has explored how a unity was provided within the empire through diverse identities. Revell (2009) has questioned the meaning of being Roman through the examination of the spatial organization of buildings and inscriptions in urban context, which were experienced by different identities. By doing so, Revell (2009) has attempted to render the invisibility and silence of the non-elite in archaeological records more interpretable. Finally, some studies still support the idea of elite-driven cultural transformation due to the easier and dominant access of upper class to the power and cultural relations, without overwriting or passivizing non-elite experiences or identities (Woolf, 1998; Hingley, 2005).

It should be noted that the theories of Romanization discussed above revolve exclusively around the cultural change in the western provinces.[354] Hence, it is crucial to establish where the East, especially the Greek and Hellenized societies stand in the Romanization debate. For the Romans, the Greeks were considered already civilized, which was succinctly put forward by Horace, who wrote that "Greece, the captive, made her savage victor captive and brought the arts into rustic Latium" (Hor. *Epist*. 2.1.156-7). His ideas resonated in modern studies, which, for a long time, traditionally accepted that eastern provinces had hardly ever been influenced from the Romanization process, apart from, for instance, the utilization of Roman law and the staging of gladiatorial games (Woolf, 1994, p. 116). According to Haverfield (1915, p. 12), the effects of the Romanization on Greek civilization was "inevitably small". Even after half a century, Jones has claimed (1963, p. 3) that "Greeks had no impulse to Romanize themselves" as "they never ceased to regard [Romans] culturally barbarian" and that "the Roman government felt no mission to impose their civilization on the East" because the Roman elite "had a profound reverence for Greek civilization and were deeply imbued with its culture." Reflecting the general view of the era, Bowersock (1965, p. 72), has explained the meaning of the word Romanization as "what subsequently happened in certain areas of the western empire, and what did not happen in the East." As Ando has deduced (2000, p. 50), the theory that the East was not influenced by the Roman culture is the result of a deeply-rooted interpretation that "Romanization takes place among less civilized peoples."

Despite the entrenched opinion about the absence of Romanization in the East, exceptions were nevertheless noticed. For instance, Robert's (1940) study on the gladiatorial games in the East is one of the earliest works on Roman cultural penetration into the eastern provinces. In a later work, the increase in the Roman names in the Greek East has been observed as a demonstration of the acquirement of Roman citizenship, thus an indication of Romanization (Welles, 1965, p. 43).

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[354] According to Terrenato (2008, p. 236), the emphasis given to the west "is largely a result of the national points of view of modern scholars, the advancement of archaeological fieldwork, and the overall balance of power in the modern western world."

Moreover, a study on the relatively few Roman colonies founded in less civilized areas of Asia Minor has revealed that they were nevertheless successful in introducing Latin speech, law and customs to Greeks (Levick, 1967, p. 191).

Together with the increasing interest in the East, the studies began to reveal more about the cultural interaction between Rome and the eastern provinces. Alcock (1993) deemed it highly necessary to study the Roman Period in Achaea despite the prejudiced theories that Roman Greece was in a cultural decline with no substantial change during the Roman times. This study was followed by an international conference about the Romanization of Athens (Hoff & Rotroff, 1997), and thought-provoking essays compiled in a book on different aspects of Roman rule in the East (Alcock, 1997). In a chapter devoted to the East in his book on the Romanization process that took place during the Augustan Period, MacMullen has summarized the key concepts of changes in the urban and rural landscapes of the eastern provinces; such as the transformations in administrative and legal systems, introduction of the imperial cult, gladiatorial games and beast hunts and the bathing habit, and the adoption of Roman architectural practices (2000, pp. 1-29). Zanker (1988) has emphasized how Hellenistic art and architecture had a prominent impact in the creation of a visual language of the Empire during the Augustan revolution, which was used to provide a communication between the emperor and empire, and the provinces. Woolf (1994) has drawn attention to the survival of Hellenistic identity in Greek cities due to the flexible nature of Hellenism, despite gradually becoming Roman. Spawforth (2012), on the other hand, has explored how the cultural revolution initiated by Augustus influenced the Roman province of Greece.

Studies focusing on the cultural transformations particularly in Roman Asia Minor also have gained a foothold among Romanization studies. To begin with, regional studies have brought an understanding of diverse responses to Roman imperialism in the Roman provinces in Asia Minor. For instance, Mitchell has dedicated a greater portion of his book on Galatia, an area which was occupied by the Celts and hardly ever Hellenized, to the survey of cultural continuity and transformations under the Roman rule (1993, pp. 59-259). By

focusing on literary evidence, Madsen (2009) has tried to show how, in contrast to the earlier preconceptions, Greek communities in the province of Pontus and Bithynia eagerly became a part of the Roman imperial system.

Moreover, more thematic studies have shed light on the interactions between Roman and local cultures in Asia Minor. To give an example, the concept of the imperial cult, how it was rooted in Hellenistic societies, then spread to the other provinces, and how it was utilized and architecturally defined in Asia Minor has been broadly scrutinized by Price (1984). Furthermore, Zuiderhoek (2009) has traced the practice of euergetism in Asia Minor which reached a peak in the first two centuries of the Imperial Period, and has investigated how the elite utilized public munificence in order to consolidate their position high in the social hierarchy and the oligarchic administration of the cities following the incorporation into the Roman Imperial system.

In addition, the studies on Roman architecture in Asia Minor have brought another dimension to the works on the Romanization of the East. Diverse aspects of Roman architecture in the Greek provinces have been discussed in individual essays compiled in a monograph edited by MacReady and Thompson (1987). In his book about the emergence of Roman Imperial architecture, Ward-Perkins (1981, pp. 273-306) devoted a chapter to the architectural changes in Asia Minor under Roman rule, emphasizing how the Greeks on the Mediterranean coasts were open to innovations but at the same time remained conservative in the utilization of local materials and construction techniques; as a result, they highly contributed to the development of Roman architecture through the inventive combination of traditional and foreign elements and forms. Similarly, Yegül (1992, pp. 250-313), who has traced the origins and evolution of baths and bathing in antiquity focusing mainly on the Roman Period, has attributed the creation of the bath-gymnasium complex to Asia Minor. Very recently, an international conference was held at the University of Graz in Austria about the continuities and changes in

the architectural practices in Asia Minor that took place during the transition between the Hellenistic and the Roman Imperial Periods.[355]

It is beyond our scope to cite all the works concerning Romanization in general and cultural transformation in Asia Minor in particular. However, out of the discussion of selected key studies, two important points emerge. The first one is that, the theory of Romanization evolved from a progressive approach which saw Roman culture and identity as superior, monolithic, homogenous and fixed entities that almost only concerned the dialogues between the state and the native elite; but the subsequent deconstruction of the term has revealed the diverse, fluid, heterogeneous and ever-changing nature of the concept of being Roman which was created through the experiences of fragmented as well as collective identities. Secondly, it can be seen that the western provinces have been central to the debates concerning the cultural transformations under the Roman rule, while the eastern provinces have remained peripheral. However, increasing interest in the East in the last decades has begun to close the gap.

5.2 The Theoretical Background

It is vital to highlight that the debate on Romanization has broadly divided scholars into two separate groups. One has argued that the term should be completely abandoned on the grounds that it originated from pro-imperialist discourse which represents a uniform progressive state that imposed cultural transfer and suppressed diversity, giving prominence to the native elites while silencing the subaltern and finally coming to connote so many meanings and understandings that it rendered itself "a flawed paradigm" (Mattingly, 2011, pp. 38-39).[356] As a result, some recent studies have replaced Romanization with other

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[355] International Conference on "Continuity and Change, Architecture in Asia Minor during the transitional period from Hellenism to the Roman Empire", organized by Institute of Archaeology at the University of Graz, took place in April 26th –29th 2017 in Graz, Austria. Conference page can be reached at: https://archaeologie.uni-graz.at/en/events/zwischen-bruch-und-kontinuitaet/

[356] Among the scholars discussed in this Chapter, the ones who advocate the abolition of the term Romanization can be given as Freedman (1993), Alcock (1993), Woolf (1998), Hingley (1997; 2005), Webster (2001) and Mattingly (2011).

concepts for the explanation of the various dynamics of cultural transformation in the Roman provinces such as the already mentioned theories of creolization, globalization and discrepant identities. However, recent discussion has also brought skepticism into the use of any overarching grand theory or descriptive term that intends to single-handedly account for all the discrepancies of cultural change (Woolf, 2014, p. 47; Versluys, 2014, p. 54).

On the other hand, the other side posits that the concept of Romanization can still bear fruit if deconstructed and restructured under the light of the critical discussions to better describe the cultural changes that took place in the periphery (Keay & Terrenato, 2001, p. ix; Curchin, 2004, p. 8). Accordingly, some related studies have continued to use the theory of Romanization to support their cases after redefining or remodeling the concept.[357]

This study takes the latter stand and finds the concept of Romanization useful for discussing the cultural transformation in the Roman province of Lycia. The productive debates on Romanization have provided a base for the reformulation of the term for the benefit of this study.

Accordingly, in its broadest sense, the term Romanization is taken to mean a cultural dialogue between the state and the province in this study. It is accepted that this dialogue generally began with the first confrontation of the center and periphery which almost always took place before the establishment of the province; while at the same time acknowledging the fact that official inclusion within the Roman rule may have resulted in the diversification of this dialogue. Accordingly, the dialogue is considered as a spectrum of exchange modes that vary between state impositions and interventions, and voluntary initiatives and accidental participations of the natives. Here, both cultures are recognized as heterogeneous, dynamic and open to two-way interactions. Similarly, the identities in both sides are regarded as fluid, complex and composite; linked to the material culture not by simply acquiring it but by making use of the object in daily life together with the social practices and institutions that came with it.

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[357] See for instance, Lomas (1995, p. 115) and Curchin (2004, p. 14).

While studying the Romanization of Lycia, the grand theory is fragmented and the weight is given to a particular form of cultural material, the architecture, since it is considered as an important manifestation of culture. As Revell rightfully states (2014, p. 383), "Roman-type buildings within the provincial context are no longer only markers of the process of cultural change, but play an active role within it." This is not to say that the other evidences matter less; rather it is intended to benefit from focusing on a particular parameter for a comprehensive and thorough study on the particular subject.

As a significant component of Roman cultural material, in addition to its shared and unifying characteristics, Roman architecture is considered as intrinsically cumulative, dynamic and changing, and "does not have to be fitted into superimposed categories, and its very diversity becomes a norm" (MacDonald, 1988, p. 249). Thus, regional and provincial differences in architectural practices as well as the infinite number of possible native responses in the encounter with Roman architecture are acknowledged. Correspondingly, the investigation of the adoption or rejection of certain Roman building types, materials and construction techniques is not intended to measure the degree of Romanization of Lycia. Instead, it is aimed to investigate how the Roman way of life and institutions were architecturally defined and how being Roman was reflected by means of architecture. In this respect, the discussion pays attention to the plurality, and revolves around the binary key words of continuity and change, as well as similarity and diversity.

Moreover, it is accepted that the native elite had a significant role in the transformation of the architectural and urban dynamics of Lycian cities as the majority of the public buildings in Roman cities were built by benefactions. However, since a "physically complete but wholly empty town is useless, a cipher; only people can fulfill it, bring it and its buildings to life" (MacDonald, 1988, p. 267), the participation of all levels of society in the creation of diverse identities through the use of the urban context cannot be denied. Yet, it must be stated that, in this study, prominence is given to the range of collective identities

and narratives of belonging to the Roman Empire, instead of fragmented identities.

A final remark must be made about the use of the terminology. The word 'Roman' is used to denote a foreign but familiar culture that symbolically comes from Rome, a unifying paradigm that represents belonging to the Roman Empire and an umbrella term for a myriad of identities. On the other hand, the word "Lycian" stands for two different but interrelated meanings. Firstly, following the course of the modern scholarship, it stands for the cultural material and identity that were generated in Lycia in the late Archaic and Classical Period. Secondly, it is used in a more general sense, representing all the cultural material and identities created in the Lycian region in all periods of time; while being aware of the complex nature of identity that existed before the contact with the Romans, up to the conquest and following the conquest. The other definitive words such as native, indigenous and local are used interchangeably with 'Lycian' and 'non-Roman', in order to make a distinction from 'Roman', even though knowing that all these identities may embody a degree of *Romanitas*.

5.3 Lycia and Rome: Encounter and Architectural Manifestation

In order to examine the Romanization process in Lycia, and the dynamics of the architectural encounter between the Lycians and the Romans, it is necessary to develop a chronological and comparative approach to understand the nature of pre-Roman architectural and urban state of the Lycian cities, and establish the continuities and transformations following the confrontation with the Roman culture and architecture.

The Romanization of Lycia was a non-uniform process, the cultural and architectural manifestation of which took varying forms under the influence of prominent cultural and political turning points. In the following discussion, the Romanization of Lycia is examined in three major chronological phases, respectively corresponding to the period before the official annexation of the region by the Romans, the period immediately after the establishment of the

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Roman province of Lycia, and the period beginning roughly after the 2nd century AD. The final remarks on the Romanization of Lycia are given at the end of the discussion.

5.3.1 Cultural Interaction during the Pre-Provincial Period

The examination of architectural and cultural material belonging to the period before the establishment of the province of Lycia has shown that the Roman cities in Lycia came from an already deeply rooted cultural and historical background. The political relations of the early cities with Rome before the annexation eventually resulted in cultural interaction.

The studies discussed in Chapter 3.1 point to human activity and occupation in Lycia since prehistoric times. Yet, coherent settlement history in the region is traced around the 7th century BC, when a group of cities with similar characteristics emerged, concentrating mainly in the western and central parts of Lycia. As scrutinized in Chapter 3.2, these cities which shared similarities in urban forms and architecture were fortified hilltop settlements having inner castles, ruler palaces, residential quarters and *necropoleis*. They conspicuously lacked public buildings except probably for an open space that is encountered only in a single case. This space is speculated to be an agora, however it had very little in common with the Greek agora. These settlements were designated as dynastic cities belonging to the early Lycians who had a common culture that was unique and idiosyncratic compared to surrounding regions but far from being pure and monolithic. Analysis of Lycian art and architecture has revealed a synthesis of local and foreign cultural factors, including Neo-Hittites, Persians, Greeks and Ionians.[358]

It is assumed that following the collapse of the dynastic system, the Lycian cities turned into city-states, *poleis*, in terms of administration, and that Lycia fell under the influence of the Hellenistic culture together with the rest of Asia Minor

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[358] For the late Archaic and Classical Period Lycian cities, see Chapter 3.2.

after the arrival of Alexander the Great.[359] The related archaeological material suggests that this influence came to be more prominent during the Ptolemaic reign which began in the end of the 4th century BC and lasted over a century. The abandonment of the Lycian language in favor of Greek is taken as one of the most important indications of the Hellenization of the region during this period. However, the survival of the Anatolian deities within the Hellenistic pantheon,[360] reuse of earlier tombs and continuation of local construction techniques account for the continuity of cultural practices.

As the examination of the architectural production in Lycia during the Hellenistic Period in Chapter 3.3 has exposed, tracing Hellenistic architecture in Lycia is difficult, especially those belonging to the 4th and 3rd century BC. The remains of fortifications encircling some cities, the *Ptolemaion* in Limyra and the early Hellenistic buildings in Letoon such as the temple of Leto can be given as the most apparent examples.[361] However, an inscription dated to 196 BC, which was dedicated by the *neoi* (young men), to a Xanthian benefactor called Lyson who served as a gymnasiarch for two years and restored the *gymnasion* at Xanthos,[362] is a testimony for the adoption of one of the most important Greek institutions and buildings as well as Greek social structure at least since the late 3rd century BC.

Hence, it is reasonable to say that the Lycians were a society that presented Hellenistic identities during their earliest most important historically recorded confrontation with the Romans at the Battle of Magnesia in 190 BC.[363] As already emphasized throughout the thesis, the battle had adverse consequences for the defeated Lycians, as they were given over to Rhodian hegemony by the Romans.

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[359] For the political history, see Chapter 2.2, pp. 23 ff.; for the Hellenization process in Lycia, see Chapter 3.3.

[360] For a detailed discussion on the worship of Anatolian gods in Lycia through the end of the Roman Period, see Efendioğlu (2010).

[361] For the *Ptolemaion*, see Chapter 3.2, p. 48; for the city walls in general, see Chapter 4.6.1.

[362] For the inscription, see Gauthier (1996, pp. 1-27).

[363] For the historical background, see Chapter 2.2, pp. 24 ff.

It can be said that the cruelty the Lycians suffered under the oppressive Rhodian rule resulted in the development of diplomatic relations with Rome, which consequently promoted cultural interaction between the Lycians and the Romans. The most noticeable long lasting outcome of this early interaction was in the religious sphere, which involved the official establishment of the worship of *Dea Roma* and the foundation of the penteteric federal festival of *Rhomaia*, as a demonstration of gratitude and loyalty to, and securing good relations with Rome.[364] An inscription found in Araxa dated to sometime after the end of the Rhodian rule mentions a military commander called Orthagoras who was sent to the first and the second festivals as *theoros* (observer), for both observing the festival and making sacrifices (*SEG* 18 570).[365] He is also referred to as an envoy who was deployed to meet with the ambassadors of Rome for internal affairs of Lycia, which means that the diplomatic relations with Rome did not comprise only the issue with the Rhodians.

As most of the surviving Hellenistic buildings traced in Lycia are revealed to belong to the 2nd century BC and after, it is possible to surmise that the freedom and the increasing power the Lycian League and the cities acquired following the release from the Rhodian authority very likely contributed to the proliferation of monumental architecture thereafter. The dating of the theaters in Chapter 4.3 has revealed that it is mainly in this period that almost every city built theaters, which were most likely used also for the assembly of the city councils and the meetings of the Lycian League which were held in a different city each year (Strab. 14.3.3).[366] Other buildings from the Hellenistic repertoire which are dated to this time period include, for instance, the early phases of some of the agoras, *stadia*, *bouleuteria*, *prytaneia*, stoas, temples and city walls.[367] The overall urban layout

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[364] For the references, see Chapter 4.1, p. 66.

[365] The dating of the inscription is problematic. For a summary of the references on the inscription and its dating, see Adak in Şahin (2014, pp. 53, fn. 3), who thinks the inscription is dated to 167 BC.

[366] For the dating of the theaters, see Chapter 4.3, pp. 91-92.

[367] For the Hellenistic building in Lycian cities, see Chapter 3.3.

of the cities, on the other hand, cannot be clearly traced. The highlight of the Hellenistic era, that is, the best preserved architectural organization from the period is the transformation of Letoon into a Hellenistic sanctuary that was most likely initiated by the newly founded Lycian League in the 3rd century BC and continued into the 2nd century BC.[368]

As the historical records have shown, the relations between the Lycians and the Romans were relatively mild despite some setbacks until the establishment of the province, as the Lycians and the Romans stood by each other in times of distress.[369] The treaty that was ratified between the Lycians and Caesar through the end of the Roman Republic can be seen as an indication of sealing good relations with the Romans.[370] Even though this treaty officially attached Lycia to Rome and limited the freedom of the Lycians, or simply formalized the already ongoing dependence to Rome, it nevertheless secured the support and protection of the growing power of the Mediterranean.

Following the beginning of the Principate, a new form of affiliation was enacted between Rome and Lycia; which now involved the empire, the emperor and the imperial family. The seeds of the Augustan cultural revolution began to take impact. As mentioned in Chapter 2.2, the portrait of Augustus appeared in the coinage of the Lycian League in 27 BC, and a temple was dedicated to him in Oenoanda in the same year.[371] Even though it may not be the earliest temple dedicated to the emperor in the region, its dating indicates that the worship of the imperial cult in Lycia began in around the same time with the provinces of Asia and Bithynia, who in fact laid the foundation of the institution by securing the permission of the emperor in 30/29 BC. The statues of the emperor and the imperial family members were showcased in leading settlements such as Andriake, where there was a busy traffic as it was one of the most important

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[368] For the urban development of Letoon, see Chapter 3.3, pp. 48-49. For the Lycian League, see Chapter 2.2, pp. 25 ff.

[369] For the political history, see Chapter 2.2 pp. 27 ff.

[370] For the treaty, see Chapter 2.2, p. 28.

[371] For this temple and the establishment of the imperial cult in Lycia, see Chapter 4.1, pp. 62 ff.

harbors of the Lycian coast.[372] Perhaps more importantly, the cult of the emperor and the images of the imperial family were introduced to Letoon in the *ethnikon Kaisareion*; through which the imperial cult was in a way accepted within the local pantheon.[373] Moreover, similar to that of the emperor, the cults of the imperial family members such as Livia, Gaius Caesar and Germanicus were also established;[374] and when Gaius Caesar died in Limyra, the monumental Cenotaph was built in his honor within the city center which echoed Augustan art in Rome.[375] It is apparent that the imperial family was respected almost as much as the emperor.

As can be seen, the establishment of the worship of the imperial cult and the commemoration of the imperial family in Lycia occurred almost concurrently with the Roman provinces. For the simultaneity of the provincial actions in the Roman world, it is reasonable to take into consideration not only the willingness of the provincials, but also the encouragement or imposition of Rome (Revell, 2014, p. 90). For instance, as Zanker points out (1988, p. 306), the Roman Senate decreed honors for Germanicus after his death and the copies of the decree were sent to be set up in "all the *municipia* and *coloniae* of Italy, as well as in all *coloniae* in imperial provinces". Lycia was not a Roman province, so that the Lycian cities did not fit into any of these ranks at the time, and there is so far no known copy of the decree discovered in Lycia. It is a question how binding the treaty signed between Lycia and Caesar was for fulfilling such commemorative acts. Yet, it can be assumed that, either willingly or obligatorily, the Lycians did not remain behind in performing such diplomatic duties even though they were not officially a province of the empire. They may have felt the need or pressure to follow the new mainstream in order to provide political stability and preserve their alleged autonomy (Şahin S. , 2014, p. 54).

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[372] For the Monument II in Andriake, see Chapter 4.6.2, p. 151.

[373] For the *ethnikon Kaisareion* at Letoon, see Chapter 4.1, p. 65.

[374] For the cults of the imperial family members, see Chapter 4.1, p. 66.

[375] For the Cenotaph of Gaius Caesar, see Chapter 4.6.4, p. 168.

Thus far, it is clear that the political and cultural interaction between the Lycians and the Romans began long before the creation of the province of Lycia. Rome intervened with the internal and international affairs of the League when necessary, and the Lycians saw Rome as a consultant and arbitrator. In time, Rome had an active role in the modification of the administrative and legal aspects in Lycia. The Augustan cultural revolution permeated Lycia when it was in full effect, decades before the region's official inclusion to the Empire. The cult and the images of the emperor and his entourage began to be commemorated in public spaces and sanctuaries, having a huge impact in the transformation of urban dynamics and narratives. Finally, it is also more or less in the period between the 2nd century BC and the time of annexation that the monumental Hellenistic architecture proliferated.

5.3.2 The Initial Impact after the Establishment of the Province

The impact of Roman architecture in the architectural and urban context of the region became pronounced after Lycia was officially turned into a province. In fact, the early decades of the Roman province of Lycia were stamped by imperial interventions that addressed the improvement of certain aspects of the architectural and urban settings of the Lycian cities.

Despite the centuries of relatively good relations with Rome, the process of becoming a province was not smooth for Lycia. Claudius annexed and declared Lycia a province in AD 43, following an internal strife which allegedly claimed the lives of Roman citizens (Suet. *Claud*. 25; Cass. Dio. 60).[376] On the Stadiasmus Monument of Patara, the annexation was justified by the emperor as restoring order in Lycia by clearing the region from revolts, banditry and chaos, and replacing the inadequate administrators with more qualified ones.[377] The

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[376] For the possible reasons of the annexations, see Chapter 2.2, p. 30.

[377] For more on the Stadiasmus Monument, see Chapter 4.6.1, pp. 145-146.

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monument was not a simple list of roads improved by Rome, but in fact the propaganda of the imperial power and authority (Şahin S. , 2014, p. 23).

Imperial construction and engineering programs came almost right after the creation of the Roman province of Lycia. Aimed at regulating the political, social and religious dynamics of the new province by improving the military, architectural and urban settings, the imperial ventures commenced by Claudius included the advancement of the road network, improvement of the waterworks and enhancement of the institution of the imperial cult.

As revealed in Chapter 4.6.1, one of the first large-scale imperial undertakings Claudius ordered was the measurement and construction of the road network which is considered as a part of the establishment of the military control over the region.[378] It can be assumed that the imperial military engineering skills were directed towards reinforcing the road system instead of building military defensive architecture. It is mainly because Lycia was not a frontier that there was no need for military camps or fortresses. In addition to that, with the rather peaceful environment provided with *Pax Romana,* the old city walls were rendered useless and did not need repairing until the Late Roman Period.[379] The Stadiasmus Monument, which was erected in AD 45, gives the distances between the majority of the cities, indicating that the measurement of the roads was largely completed in only two years after the annexation. Construction works, on the other hand, continued well into the 3rd century AD, which is evident by the building of bridges and setting up of milestones in this period.[380]

Another imperial task initiated during the reign of Claudius concerned the improvement of the waterworks. One of the earliest datable projects within this scope was the aqueduct of Patara.[381] Its dedicatory inscription mentions that tax payers' money was not used during the construction, but instead, it was financed

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[378] For the political motivation of the construction of roads, see Chapter 2.2, p. 30.

[379] For city walls in Lycian cities, see Chapter 4.6.1.

[380] For Roman military engineering works in Lycia, see Chapter 4.6.1.

[381] For the Patara aqueduct, see Chapter 4.4, pp. 108-109.

both by the tax money remitted by the emperor and the funds of the Lycian League.[382] With available evidence, it is difficult to establish whether this imperial benefaction was bestowed by the emperor's wish, or was granted as a reply to a request from the city.[383] In any case, it may represent the willing participation of the emperor in the improvement of the urban infrastructure of Patara.

It is not easy to tell with certainty whether the Patara aqueduct was the first of the Roman waterworks in Lycia, but it was definitely not the only one, as was noted in Chapter 4.4 when reviewing the water management in Lycia. It is known that the aqueduct of Balboura was built in the time of Vespasian, and that of Oenoanda was also most likely built contemporarily. The remains of water distribution systems in many cities point to the fact that several aqueducts were built to fetch water from a far distance in the course of time.[384] It is difficult to explain the sudden need for surplus water simply by a rapid increase in population within a short period of time or the lack of significant reservoirs, for the Lycian cities were already capable of meeting the water demand from close-by springs and cisterns for centuries. It would be more appropriate to attribute this swift change to modifications in lifestyle. It is widely accepted that the aqueducts were primarily built for baths, and therefore, it is not surprising that the Roman bathing habits and bath buildings were introduced to the Lycian cities concomitantly or right after the aqueducts.

The examination of the surviving baths in Lycian cities in Chapter 4.4 has shown that all these buildings were built after the establishment of the Roman

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[382] For the inscription, see İşkan Işık, Eck and Engelmann (2008, pp. 115-118).

[383] Imperial benefaction took many forms. In addition to granting cash, emperors contributed to the cities with tax exemptions, offering military expertise and man power, and sending raw and/or processed material from imperial quarries. Imperial benefactions were almost always accompanied with local financial support (Mitchell, 1987b, p. 22), in this case of the Lycian League. For more on the imperial buildings in the provinces, see MacMullen (1959) and Mitchell (1987a; 1987b). des Courtils also draws attention to the fact that most of the time the imperial benefactions were conducted by provincial governors in the name of the emperor (oral communication, December, 2017).

[384] For more on the Roman waterworks in Lycia, see Chapter 4.4.

province of Lycia. The baths of Nero/Vespasian at Patara, which is so far designated as the earliest bath building in Lycia, might have been planned together with the aqueduct and was similarly paid for by imperial largesse and the treasury of the League.[385] The number of bath buildings dramatically increased in the following periods, with at least one bath in almost every city, which is an indication of internalizing the foreign institution. The analysis of physical characteristics of the surviving buildings has revealed an architectural uniformity and idiosyncracy in dimension, plan type, and use of local material and construction techniques throughout the region which derived from regional and provincial necessities, preferences and taste. The lack of any traces of Hellenistic baths or bathing routines in Lycia, the dating of the earliest baths after the creation of the province and the attribution of the signature asymmetrical row arrangement plan type appropriated in Lycian baths to the "Pompeian/Campanian" type of the Republican Period strongly support the claim that the baths and bathing were introduced to Lycia by the Romans following the official incorporation of the region within the Roman Empire.

Typical to the rest of the Roman world, the excessive water carried by the aqueducts contributed to the adoption of latrine culture and the spread of monumental *nymphaea* in Lycian cities. The Roman *latrinae* discovered in Lycia are so far limited and the best preserved examples are seen in Rhodiapolis and Arykanda.[386] However, considering the importance of the practice as a social phenomenon during the Roman Imperial Period, there is likely more building to be unearthed. Compared to the *nymphaea* with monumental theatrical façades found in major cities of Asia Minor, the surviving fountains in Lycian cities were more modest in design. However, as discussed in more detail in Chapter 4.4, they were nevertheless used as impressive urban décor that presented sensory experience with innovative water plays such as the arrangement of the Arch of Mettius Modestus in Patara as an extension of the aqueduct to provide water for

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[385] For the inscription, see İşkan Işık, Eck and Engelmann (2008, p. 118).

[386] For the *latrinae* in Lycian cities, see Chapter 4.4, p. 118.

the octagonal pool in front of it; the fountain-pool complex at the middle of the stadium area at Tlos; or the rebuilt monumental fountain and pool at Letoon that was filled by the sacred spring in Letoon.[387]

In short, the importance of water as a vital element for Roman way of living and the urban and architectural development of the Roman cities was reflected in Lycia as soon as the region was incorporated within the Roman dominion, as one of the first tasks after securing the military control by reinforcing the road network was to introduce more water and water related facilities to Lycian cities. Introduction of water and associated institutions were a crucial step in the urban and social transformation of the Lycian cities, since the increased amount of water paved the way for the dissemination of the newly introduced bathing habit and latrine culture, contributed to the urban embellishment with monumental fountains, and necessitated the development of related infrastructure such as water distribution and drainage systems and piping networks. Roman waterworks, architecture and related institutions seem to be rather hastily introduced to the Lycian cities almost right after the establishment of the province, yet the execution and utilization of these new technologies and establishments indicate assimilation rather than imitation; at the same time suggest direct artistic contact with Italy and very restricted emulation of the surrounding regions.

The final Claudian undertaking treated in this study is the enhancement of the emperor worship in Lycia. As Price remarks (1984, p. 57), the worship of the imperial cult was already institutionalized and routinized by the time of Claudius as a way of communication between Roman rule and the provinces. Following the annexation of Lycia, Rome apparently made attempts to encourage strengthening mutual relations through this institution.[388] Besides allowing the cities to honor

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[387] For more on the *nymphaea* in Lycian cities, see Chapter 4.4, pp. 118 ff.

[388] Throughout the provinces, emperors and governors personally involved in encouraging or initiating imperial cults in cities and provinces in addition to the local efforts (Price, 1984, pp. 68-71).

him as a god,[389] Claudius rebuilt the *ethnikon Kaisareion* at Letoon after it was previously destroyed by a fire, reestablishing and reinforcing the place of the emperor cult within the local pantheon.[390] Moreover, a temple was dedicated in Sidyma to the Savior Gods the Emperors during his reign, which perpetuated the divinity of both the current and the previous emperors, and established a bond between the past and the present of the empire.[391]

Over time, the worship of the emperor became a regular practice in Lycia, and accordingly, the number of buildings dedicated to the cult of the emperor increased in Lycian cities. The investigation of the surviving buildings associated with the imperial cult in Chapter 4.1 has revealed that s*ebasteia* took various forms. While the cult of the emperor was housed in temples like those at Oenoanda and Sidyma, the *sebasteia* were also in the form of free standing buildings such as the *Hadrianeum* at Rhodiapolis, and the *Traianeum* and *Sebasteion* at Arykanda, or attached rooms like the *Sebasteion* at Bubon. Moreover, the imperial cult was also commemorated together with the other gods within the same sacred precincts without disrespecting the local deities, such as the dedication of the Temple of Asklepieion and Hygeia at Rhodiapolis also to Sebastoi; but more notably, the installation of the *ethnikon Kaisareion* at the federal sanctuary of Letoon.[392]

As the epigraphic records have revealed, at least three Lycian cities, Patara, Akalissos and Oenoanda, received the honorific title of *neokoros*, even though no trace of an imperial temple related to the neokorate have been discovered in any of these cities.[393] The granting of the right to build an imperial temple and provide imperial festivals was a privilege that provoked competition among the Roman cities in Asia Minor, and the discovery of the title of *neokoros*

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[389] For the religion policy of Claudius and some inscriptions honoring him as a god in Lycia, see Adak in Şahin (2014, pp. 74-76).

[390] For the *ethnikon Kaisareion* at Letoon, see Chapter 4.1, p. 65.

[391] For the *sebasteion* at Sidyma, see Chapter 4.1, p. 64.

[392] For more detail about these *sebasteia*, see Chapter 4.1, pp. 63 ff.

[393] For more on the title of *neokoros* in Lycia, see Chapter 4.1, pp. 66-67.

in Lycia indicates that the Lycian cities were a part of this rivalry. Evidently, this competitive field must have encouraged Lycians to improve their diplomatic relations with Rome in order to acquire the consent of the emperor for the bestowal of the title.[394] In conjunction with the worship of the emperor, the priesthood of the imperial cult also became a prestigious social and religious rank desired by the wealthy elite, who competed with each other to earn the honor by investing in euergetism. As expected, the imperial priesthood became a highly coveted title and an important office in the administrative system of the Lycian League; attracting the eminent individuals from various cities.[395]

From a broader angle, the emphasis given to the emperor worship in Lycia provided a closer and more direct communication with the emperor, added another layer to the religious bond shared among the Lycian cities and created a religious common ground with the rest of the empire. This symbolic affiliation between Lycia and Rome facilitated the feeling of belonging to the empire and reinforced the loyalty to the emperor.[396]

In addition to its influence on the religious, political and social dynamics, the institution of the imperial cult made an impact on the architectural and urban settings of the Lycian cities. The *sebasteia*, which were almost always located in prestigious locations within the city centers, mostly close to the agoras as in the above-discussed examples, stood as urban sanctuaries and reminders of the divinity of the emperor.

The exhibition of the god-like status of the emperor through *sebasteia* was only one of the many ways of the urban representation of the emperor's authority in Lycian cities. The dominion of the emperor was also incorporated into the daily lives and activities of the Lycians through an empire-wide standardized iconography and symbolism which manifested in various forms including statues

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[394] For the political connotation of the imperial cult, see Chapter 4.1, pp. 62 ff.

[395] For the nature of imperial priesthood in Lycia and the inscriptions mentioning the priests of the imperial cult from various Lycian cities, see Reitzenstein (2011).

[396] For the aspects of emperor worship as a multifaceted dialogue between the center and the periphery, see Zanker (1988, pp. 298, 302) and Price (1984, pp. 248-235).

and inscriptions.[397] As already explained in the preceding discussion (Chapter 5.3.1), the representations of the emperor and the imperial family were introduced to Lycia in the Augustan Period. This tradition exponentially continued after the establishment of the province. The statues of the emperors and the imperial family, and the honorific or dedicatory inscriptions mentioning their names and deeds were represented in public spaces including agoras, colonnaded streets, *scaenae frontes*, building façades and interior of public buildings. As Revell claims (2014, p. 89), by erecting and then constantly viewing these commemorative displays, the inhabitants of Roman cities reproduced and justified the ideology and the power of the emperor. Likewise, the imperial power which was imprinted into the urban fabric of the Lycian cities was constantly reconstructed through the experiencing of the built environment.

To recapitulate, the annexation of Lycia was followed by a series of almost urgent imperial contributions to the architectural and urban setting of the Lycian cities which can be summarized as the improvement of the inter-urban road network, introduction of Roman waterworks and related institutions, and the enhancement of the institution of the imperial cult and its architectural setting. The imperial interventions initiated for the improvement of the new province continued to be influential until the end of the 1st century AD; and these imperial contributions became rooted, diversified and spread in time.

5.3.3. Cultural Emulation and Assimilation after the Second Century AD

Approximately after the 2nd century AD, the imperial interference in architectural and urban dynamics of the Lycian cities decreased and the cultural interaction between Lycia and Rome took the form of emulation and assimilation. The influence of Roman design principles and building types gradually became influential in more diverse aspects of the built environment of the Lycian cities.

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[397] For the reproduction of the power of the emperor in urban context, see Revell (2014, pp. 80-108); for the standardized iconography and symbolism of the Roman Empire, see Zanker (1988).

The most significant changes can be observed in religious architecture, agora, architecture of performance, housing, harbors and finally the urban layout.

To begin with religious architecture, in addition to the influence of *sebasteia* in urban dynamics, Roman design principles and building types made an impact on the configuration and confinement of the sacred spaces in the province of Lycia as discussed in detail in Chapter 4.1.

The examination of the architectural characteristics of the Roman temples that have survived in Lycian cities has shown that the Roman podium temple became a recurrent building type generally chosen for religious buildings constructed in Lycian cities during the Imperial Period. The *terminus ante quem* for the introduction of this temple form in Lycia can be given as a time shortly after the annexation, as the earliest temple in this form is currently stands as the *sebasteion* at Sidyma. This temple form became common in Lycia similar to the rest of Asia Minor especially in the 2nd century AD, as three temples from this period, discovered well-preserved at Rhodiapolis, Patara and Tlos, testify.[398] It is also approximately in this period that this temple form began to be utilized in Lycian cities also for funerary architecture in the form of temple-tombs. The analysis of some examples found in Patara and Rhodiapolis in Chapter 4.6.4 has demonstrated that these sacred sepulchers, which were described with the terminology of religious architecture in inscriptions, were built mostly by wealthy and influential individuals for themselves and their families.[399] Apart from their apparent monumentality in dimension and artistic elaboration, one of the most discernable features of these temple-tombs is revealed to be burial within the settlement areas. As widely accepted in modern scholarship, dedication of intra-mural *heroa* for the commemoration and the worship of the cult of heroic figures is an acknowledged tradition in Greek and Roman societies. However, as the studies in Lycia demonstrate, it was commonly taken up by the Roman elite in Lycian cities. This praxis seems to have descended from the practice of intramural

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[398] For the temple of Asklepios and Hygieia at Rhodiapolis, the Corinthian temple at Patara and the temple of Kronos at Tlos, see Chapter 4.1, pp. 58-59.

[399] For Roman Period temple-tombs, see Chapter 4.6.4, pp. 169 ff.

burial of Lycian aristocratic class in Archaic and Classical Periods in various tomb types including those in the form of Greek temples as revealed in Chapter 4.6.4.[400] In Roman times, the temple-tombs continued to be used in their ancestral contexts but apparently took the form of a Roman podium temple.

Another Roman religious building type appropriated in Lycia is revealed to be the *cavea*-temple; the only examples of which have been discovered in Patara and Tlos in the entire eastern part of the Roman Empire.[401] The reason of why this building type was chosen to be built particularly in these cities is currently a conundrum; and until new examples emerge in the East, the origin of inspiration should be sought in the West.

Letoon, the federal sanctuary of the region had its share of the new architectural arrangements. Even though the temples and the general layout of the sanctuary survived its Hellenistic design, the Roman contributions like the addition of the *sebasteion* and the replacement of the existing sacred fountain with a monumental *nymphaeum* dedicated to the Emperor Hadrian indicate substantial changes in the religious character of the sanctuary.[402]

Asklepieion at Rhodiapolis, on the other hand, is a prominent example of a religious sanctuary built from scratch during the Roman Imperial Period for observing the utilization of Roman architectural forms and design principles.[403] Accordingly, the Asklepieion was organized within the city center in a more or less symmetrical, orthogonal, axial and enclosed layout, following the rules of Roman design. Moreover, the round temple within the complex stylistically, though not necessarily functionally, replaced the Greek *tholos*.[404] In contrast, the

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[400] For the Archaic and Classical Period burial practices in Lycia, see Chapter 4.6.4, pp. 162 ff.

[401] For more on the emergence of *cavea*-temples and the examples in Patara and Tlos, see Chapter 4.1.

[402] For the physical changes took place in Letoon during the Imperial Period, see Chapter 4.4, p. 65.

[403] For a detailed discussion of the Asklepieion at Rhodiapolis, see Chapter 4.1, pp. 58 ff.

[404] *Tholoi* were built as important components in some Greek sanctuaries in the Classical Period. Some well-known examples include the *Tholos* at Epidaurus and the *Tholos* of Athena Pronaia at Delphi.

temple of Asklepios and Hygieia was built in Roman temple form and was also dedicated to Sebastoi (*TAM* II 906).

As a result, the utilization of Roman design principles and the addition of Roman building types to the repertory of the religious architecture of Lycian cities contributed to the reformation of the sacred spaces and urban sanctuaries within the city centers as well as the federal sanctuary.

Another significant architectural change with the coming of the Roman architecture is observed in the agora, the civic center of the Lycian cities, which is discussed in detail in Chapter 4.2. As the epigraphic material from Xanthos and Kyaneai, and the physical remains in Avşar Tepesi have revealed, the early Lycians were familiar with the concept of agora since the Classical Period.[405] However, the material link that would have tied the Classical and Hellenistic agoras in Lycian cities is currently broken, as no trace of use from the Classical Period has so far been discovered in any of the extant civic centers. Yet, comparatively more is known about the Hellenistic agora. Even though the public spaces dated to the Hellenistic era were largely disturbed by later constructions, the discovery of the early phases of theaters, *bouleuteria*, stoas, temples and shops around later agoras indicate that the agoras were palpably Hellenized, as can be seen, for instance, in Arykanda, Patara, Oenoanda and Musa Dağı settlement.[406]

The examination of better preserved Roman agoras in Lycian cities has revealed that the locations of Hellenistic agoras continued to be used as civic centers in most of the cities. In almost all cases, the early agoras underwent changes, ranging from some additions and renovations to major transformations. For instance, the Hellenistic layout of the commercial agora at Arykanda survived mostly intact and most of the related buildings continued to be used with restorations in Roman times. The biggest change is the addition of a *sebasteion* to the agora proper in the 3rd century AD.[407] Similarly, the civic center of Patara

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[405] For the concept of agora in early Lycian cities, see Chapter 3.2, p. 39 and Chapter 4.2, pp. 70 ff.

[406] For Hellenistic agoras, see Chapter 3.3, pp. 44 ff.

[407] For the commercial agora of Arykanda, see Chapter 4.2, pp. 74-75.

remained in its Hellenistic configuration, even though the agora and its surroundings underwent changes during the Roman times which can be observed from the restorations of the surrounding buildings, the addition of the stoa and the realignment of the main avenue.[408] Some other cases, on the other hand, have shown that some agoras, such as the civic agora of Arykanda and all three agoras of Xanthos, were built almost entirely from scratch on areas which may not have necessarily been previously used as agoras.

The architectural configuration of every agora in each Lycian city was idiosyncratic; it is not possibly to talk about a certain uniformity in terms of planning layout. The variety in architectural organization also continued in the agoras built during the Roman times. For instance, the agora proper of Rhodiapolis, which was almost completely built in the Roman Imperial Period except for the theater, displays an organic, asymmetrical and compact organization which primarily focused on making the best of the limited mountainous land. In contrast, the agoras of Xanthos, more or less freely spread out to the rather flat plains, were built in strict rectilinearity in plan and were surrounded by peristyles, conforming to Roman design principles of orthogonality and enclosure. The Tetragonal Agora at Phaselis, on the other hand, is an example of a fully enclosed agora building which is so far the only example of its kind in Lycia. The closest example is the Plakoma at Andriake, which is similarly surrounded by high walls and entered through a gate; however, it is enclosed only on three sides. Even though the layouts differ from each other, a consistency can be observed in the selection of building types that surround the agora. Preservation of early buildings within the agora proper including theaters, *bouleuteria*, stoas, and *prytaneia,* and the continuation of the construction of these key building types from the Hellenistic repertoire in Roman times indicate the continuity of earlier practices and institutions.

Nevertheless, it is possible to recognize non-recurring building types or accentuated architectural concepts in some agoras. For instance, the one of a kind

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[408] For the agora proper of Patara, see Chapter 4.2, pp. 81 ff.

Boukonisterion at the agora of Oenoanda is an indication of how creative the Lycians could have been. The putative *macellum* at the upper terrace of the agora of Kibyra and the civil basilica at the Northern/Upper Agora of Xanthos, on the other hand, indicate the open-mindedness to the trial of new Roman architectural types. In fact, the combination of the civil basilica with a peristyle may have been an attempt to replicate a Roman forum-basilica complex in Xanthos, which is so far unparalleled in any other city in the region. Moreover, the emphasis given to the commemoration of Opramoas and his family in the civic center of Rhodiapolis with a tomb and stoa for Opramoas and an ancestral hall to his family, is an unparalleled example of the celebration of influential citizens within the agora of a city in Lycia.

As is revealed, the Roman Period civic centers of Lycian cities were either restorations of earlier agoras or built almost from scratch. The end product was again the Greek Agora in terms of its name mentioned in the epigraphy, its flexible layout that was diversified in every city and the surrounding principal building types selected from the Hellenistic architectural repertory. As in the case of the rest of the Greek and Hellenized cities, the agora survived in Lycian cities and was not taken over by the Roman forum. However, the influence of Roman architecture is evident in the introduction of redefined classicism,[409] restoration or construction of buildings according to Roman design principles, application of orthogonality, symmetry, axiality and enclosure, and addition of previously unfamiliar building types. Moreover, in addition to the architectural changes, Roman influence was experienced through the introduction of the authority of the emperor and the empire by means of the representations of the imperial cult, and the images of and dedications to the emperor and imperial family. By this way, the presence of Roman rule and architecture permanently modified the operational and experiential performances conducted in the agora of Lycian cities.

During the Roman Imperial Period, the existing buildings used for spectacles also underwent physical and functional changes, and a limited number

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[409] For Roman classicism, see Chapter 4.5.

of new building types were added to the collection of buildings for large-scale events. As discussed in Chapter 4.3, the main building types chosen in Lycian cities to accommodate spectacles in the Hellenistic Period were the theater and the *stadion*, both of which continued to be the primary architecture for performance in the Roman Period. The other public buildings that were introduced after the establishment of the province included the *odeia* and a single example of a *Boukonisterion*.

As emphasized throughout the thesis, almost all Lycian cities had a theater from the Hellenistic Period on, the proliferation of which is attributed to the political nature of the era in addition to the assimilation of Hellenistic culture.[410] These typically Hellenistic buildings in terms of architectural form and execution underwent changes especially after the 2nd century AD as a result of both the destructive consequences of the earthquake of 141/142 AD, and the gradually increasing influence of Roman culture, fashion and practices. Even though the modifications were not systematically applied in each and every theater, the overall examination of the well preserved examples in Lycian cities have revealed that the repairs included but were not limited to the increasing of the seating capacity with the addition of *summa cavea*, the replacement of Hellenistic *proskenion* with the Roman *scaenae frontes* and the covering of the *parodoi* with a vault for a Roman way of experience, and the conversion of the *orchestra* into an *arena* and sometimes a pool for the accommodation the Roman games. Rebuilding of an existing theater is rare but nevertheless conducted in two known cases in Xanthos and Myra, neither of which was completely built in Roman style. The use of vaulted substructures for supporting the *summa cavea* of the theaters of Limyra and Myra, and the *cavea*-temples built at the *summa cavea* of the theaters at Patara and Tlos during repairs stand out among the other restoration works as prominent contributions of Roman architecture and construction technology.[411] In contrast, the decorations of the fragments discovered in the better-preserved stage

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[410] For the dating of the theaters, see Chapter 4.3. For the proliferation of the theaters in the Hellenistic Period, see Chapter 4.3, p. 97.

[411] For the *cavea*-temples, see Chapter 4.1, pp. 53 ff.

buildings in Myra, Patara, Telmessos and Tlos, which belong to the Antonine and Severan styles, indicate that the Lycians were in harmony with the current trends on architecture.

Lack of even a single example of an amphitheater in Lycia clearly indicates that similar to the rest of the Graeco-Roman world, hosting wide-spread and highly popular Roman games in modified theaters instead of purpose-built amphitheaters is the primary preference in Lycian cities. The four cities, Myra, Patara, Tlos and Xanthos, which permanently modified their *orchestrae* for hosting Roman games were *metropoleis* (Reitzenstein, 2011, p. 134) thus it can be assumed that they very likely could have afforded the financial burden of a monumental building like an amphitheater. They clearly opted not to.

Similar to the theaters, most *stadia* discovered in Lycia are revealed to be dated to the Hellenistic Period.[412] The examination of these early *stadia* in Chapter 4.3, the examples of which are found in Arykanda, Kadyanda, Tlos and Bubon, have revealed their distinctive and uniform design which is conspicuously different from the architecturally and chronologically Roman *stadion* at Kibyra. Even though none of the *stadia* discovered in these Lycian cities present significant physical modifications like those observed in theaters, these buildings may have also been used for conducting Roman festivals and shows, indicating a functional diversification following the expansion of Roman cultural practices.

In Roman times, in addition to the theaters and *stadia*, some other public building types began to serve as venues for large-scale performances. The most common case is the use of *bouleuteria* as *odeia* for musical performances.[413] A rare type of architecture of performance is the *Boukonisterion* discovered at the Roman agora of Oenoanda, which was most likely used for the wrestling of young adults as is deduced from its name.[414]

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[412] For the *stadia* discovered in Lycian cities, see Chapter 4.3, pp. 99 ff.

[413] For the examples of *bouleuteria* which were also used as *odeia* in Lycian cities, see Chapter 4.2.

[414] For the *Boukonisterion* at Oenoanda, see Chapter 4.3, p. 104.

It can clearly be seen that, under the empire, the building types for spectacles were diverse, yet the theater and the *stadion* remained as the principle buildings which were in use for centuries between the Hellenistic era and the end of the Roman Period in Lycia. With necessary physical modifications and functional adaptations, these buildings, especially the theaters, were adjusted according to Roman standards and requirements for multi-purpose use under the changing cultural dynamics. The absence of amphitheaters in Lycian cities can be explained with the habitual rejection of the building type, as a continuation of an established tradition among the Greeks of the Mainland and Asia Minor. However, the appropriation of a stylistically Roman *stadion* in Kibyra must have been more acceptable, for it can be considered as the updating and upgrading of traditional architecture. The use of *bouleuterion* interchangeably for *odeion* is also a reflection of practicality or preference of multifunctional space. However, the *Boukonisterion,* so far the sole example of its kind not only in Lycia but all over the Empire, is a testimony of how creative and open minded the Lycian could get considering architecture.

The knowledge about Roman domestic architecture in Lycia is limited. However, intensive studies conducted on Roman housing in Arykanda have yielded important results.[415] As discussed in Chapter 4.6.3, housing types discovered within the city center of Arykanda present two broad categories as being terrace houses and townhouses. The multi-story terrace houses which were in use since at least the Hellenistic times reflect the continuation of some traditional housing practices that were dominant in the Classical Period such as the carving of the lower rooms out of the bedrock for utilizing the slopes and the building of the upper stories out of less durable material. Likewise, the unearthed Roman townhouses display the use of local constructional techniques like rock carving, but they also exhibit later architectural forms like the peristyle as well as decorations with mosaic floors and Classical orders. Future studies on Hellenistic and Roman residential quarters in other Lycian cities will hopefully reveal more

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[415] For a detailed discussion on residential architecture in Arykanda, see Chapter 4.6.3, pp. 159 ff.

about how the domestic architecture of the Imperial Period was formed, yet with the available information it is possible to say that local traditional practices were mixed with imported architectural elements and styles.

Regarding the changes in the built environment of the Lycian cities, it should also be mentioned that the increase in maritime activities during the Imperial Period resulted in the development of harbors and the organization of the layouts of coastal settlements accordingly.[416] The scrutiny of the urban development of better preserved coastal cities in Lycia in Chapter 4.6.2 has revealed the most illustrative examples of such progress as those that took place in Phaselis, Patara and Andriake. The development of the city center of Phaselis on both sides of the thoroughfare that ran between the two of the three harbors of the city, the realignment of the main street of Patara in order to connect the harbor area to the city center, and the intense architectural program Andriake underwent especially in the 2nd century AD are strong indications that demonstrate how the settlements on the Lycian coast arranged their built environments to benefit most from the increasing maritime activities during the Roman Imperial Period. The construction of imperial *horrea* in Patara and Andriake, on the other hand, express how significant Lycia in general and these cities in particular became along the Roman sea trade route.

The last development to be discussed in Lycian cities after the establishment of the region as a Roman province is the improvement of the urban organization and layout. It is revealed throughout the thesis that nearly all Lycian cities grew and were almost entirely rebuilt during the Roman Imperial Period. As seen, even though some of the monumental public buildings from the Hellenistic Period survived and contributed to the configuration of the cities by anchoring older practices in their previous locations, almost all of these buildings were renewed mostly according to Roman design principles and engineering techniques, and their surroundings were reorganized with new buildings and infrastructure. Obviously, these changes were not applied according to a pre-

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[416] For the development of coastal cities and related architecture, see Chapter 4.6.2.

designed master plan. On the contrary, the architectural additions to the urban growth were rather delivered organically in the course of time, yet in a conscious way to enable all the buildings within the Lycian cities to function together which eventually led to the manifestation of urban armature.

No matter whether it was a coastal, inland or mountain settlement, as discussed in detail in Chapter 4.5, the core principles of the armature worked similarly for every Lycian city like the rest of the Roman Empire.[417] For instance, as mentioned above, the main avenue of Phaselis connected the central and southern harbors to each other, and at the same time provided access to the public buildings. In a different example, the road that began from the southern gate of Xanthos eventually intersected with the *decumanus*, which connected the two civic centers of the city to each other, thus maintaining a continuous and unlimited communication between all the public buildings located in different parts of the city. In cities like Kibyra and Arykanda, where the topography played an important role in shaping the city layout, a fluid connection between different terraces were sustained through stepped streets. In addition to the promotion of movement, navigation and orientation, the utilization of redefined classical forms in façade decorations in new, repetitive and unconventional ways all along the armature, produced similarity in differences like an order in chaos and provided a visual rhythm and a stylistic coherence among the entire built environment of the Lycian cities. Moreover, through the embellishment of its physical setting with commemorative commissions like statues and inscriptions, the armature served as a display area for the exaltation of religion, the glorification of the power of the emperor and the empire, the reminder of historical events and occasions, the promotion of good deeds like benefaction, the elevation of one's reputation and even for *damnatio memoriae*.

This way, the cities of the Roman province of Lycia formally, visually and symbolically synchronized not only with each other but with all the cities within the boundaries of the empire. With its shared physical, visual and social

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[417] For the concept of armature and its reflection in Lycian cities, see Chapter 4.5.

characteristics, the armature became a symbol of Roman way of living and stood as an everyday reminder of the development and prosperity provided by Rome and *Pax Romana* in Lycian cities. The experiencing of the symbolic representation of Rome and the visual imagery of the Roman architecture through the armature together with the rest of Roman world nurtured a sense of common identity and a feeling of belonging to the empire among the Lycians despite their distinctive cultural background.

As can be seen, certain elements of Roman architecture spread in Lycia in the course of time. By the middle of the 2nd century AD, the Lycian cities were conspicuously reurbanized with the addition of new buildings, building types and infrastructure as well as the restoration of existing structures according to the requirements of the Roman culture and fashion. While doing that, all these buildings were arranged so as to operate in harmony and cooperation by means of the armature, the Roman urban accomplishment, which also provided symbolic associations with Rome.

5.3.4 Assessing the Romanization of Lycia

When all the above are considered within the scope of Romanization adopted in this study, it is seen that the cultural interaction between the Lycians and Romans can be discussed in three periods, broadly divided according to the varying nature of the cultural manifestation.

Accordingly, it is clear that the process of Romanization in Lycia was initiated long before the annexation. The beginning of the worship of *Dea Roma* in Lycia from the 3rd century BC on can be acknowledged as one of the earliest traceable steps into the Romanization of the region. The official commemoration and appropriation of her cult by the Lycian League in early 2nd century BC coincides with the early phases of the growing political relations between the Lycians and the Romans. It can be deduced from the political history of the region that, for centuries prior to the annexation, Lycia and Rome had comparatively positive relations. The cultural interaction during this period was mostly

politically motivated to maintain the stability of diplomatic relations. However, considering the currently available archaeological and architectural material belonging to this era, it would not be wrong to surmise that the impact of Roman representational culture and especially architecture was not very visible until the beginning of the Principate. Yet, a proliferation in the number and diversity of Hellenistic buildings during this period can clearly be observed. Hence, until proven otherwise by the future discovery of early Hellenistic buildings, it can be assumed that Rome indirectly contributed to the development and improvement of architecture and urbanism in Lycia by providing a degree of stability and security. With the Augustan cultural revolution in imperial imagery and representation, the images of the emperor and the imperial family, the worship of the imperial cult, and the new art and architectural style which began to develop in Rome appeared in Lycia almost simultaneously with the other Roman provinces. This supports the claims that a shared provincial culture began to take shape all over the empire at about the same time, which corresponds to the ideological and constitutional foundation of the Roman Empire under the Augustan reforms. The acceleration of the Romanization process and the expansion of shared Roman cultural values in Lycia concurrently with the rest of the empire may have been generated by the orders and encouragements of the Romans, or voluntary participation of the Lycians. In either or both cases, Lycia acted synchronically with the other Roman provinces, even though the region was not a formal province at the time.

The second surge of the Romanization process begins with the annexation of Lycia which occurred in a relatively negative atmosphere compared to the previously moderate diplomatic relations. In this period, the impact of Roman architecture, which is mainly introduced to Lycia by the imperial interventions, is prominently felt in the urban fabric of the Lycian cities, especially in military, social and religious context. The Emperor Claudius immediately consolidated his authority over the region by establishing military control through the reinforcement of the road network. He also led the way for the dissemination and promotion of two important aspects of Roman culture, bathing and the imperial cult, by the introduction of water related technology, and the reformation of the

worship of the emperor. The architecture concerning these institutions also reflected Roman influence. The aqueducts that provided the necessary amount of water to fulfill a Roman way of life were built in a combination of Hellenistic and Roman engineering techniques, the bath buildings were influenced from the design of early Republican baths developed in Italy, and the *Sebasteion* dedicated during the reign of Claudius in Sidyma was built in the form of a Roman podium temple. The way and the architectural form these institutions were introduced to the new province connote state imposition, direct transportation of Italian design and little contact with the artistic and architectural styles of the surrounding regions. In the following centuries, the number of baths and aqueducts increased, other institutions and structures related to water like the latrine culture and monumental *nymphaea* spread, and the form of *sebasteia* became diversified, suggesting that all these hastily promoted pillars of Roman culture were embraced and internalized by the Lycians, and became key elements of the urban development of the Lycian cities. During the rest of the 1ˢᵗ century AD following the annexation, the investment of the emperors into the architectural and urban development of the Lycian cities is discernable from the dedicatory inscriptions of various buildings, on which the names of other early emperors like Nero, Vespasian and Domitian were mentioned as benefactors. The early provincial governors such as Quintus Veranius, Sextus Marcus Priscus and C. Caristanius Fronto also actively participated in constructional programs, either by themselves or under imperial orders. Thus, it is possible to talk about a conscious promotion of Romanization by Rome in the first decades of the newly formed province.

In the final period of the Romanization of Lycia, which begins roughly after the 2ⁿᵈ century AD, the impact of Roman architecture took the form more of an emulation and assimilation. In contrast to the early decades of the province when imperial benefaction was prominent, this period witnessed the proliferation of private munificence. Even though euergetism was a part of the Lycian culture since at least the Hellenistic Period, the surviving inscriptions testify to a boost in the number of wealthy citizens who engaged in architectural benefaction among other types of munificence during this period. These generous acts not only

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contributed to the elevation of benefactors' status in the eyes of both the locals and the state, but also resulted in the escalation of urban and architectural activities. The association between private benefaction and urban development is clearly discernible, and consequently the voluntary involvement of the native elite in the Romanization of the Lycian cities is undeniable. This process is on a parallel path with the rest of Asia Minor (Zuiderhoek, 2009). The architectural and urban decisions made in Lycian cities during the last phase of the Romanization process present continuity and change in local practices together with idiosyncrasies and similarities between provincial choices.

To begin with, the design principles of Roman architecture such as symmetry, axiality, salient orthogonality and enclosure were influential in designing new buildings like the Asklepieion or all three agoras of Xanthos; however, the previously dominant asymmetrical and irregular design practices also continued to dominate the architectural and urban arrangements like the construction of the agora proper of Rhodiapolis.

Furthermore, like the rest of the Roman world, the bathing habit became an essential part of the daily activities and bath buildings were constructed in almost every settlement, even multiplying in major cities. However, the row plan type that was introduced in the Early Imperial Period remained as a standard with some adjustments in dimension and layout till the end of Late Antiquity. The monumental symmetrical bath-gymnasium complex which was common in some large cities of Asia Minor and Rome was never built in Lycian cities even in the peak of their prosperity, possibly because what the Lycians had was already satisfying for their needs and artistic taste. Moreover, some of the baths were built with polygonal masonry technique, which was popular in Lycia and the Greek world since the Classical Period. Yet, the use of this masonry type for free standing buildings during the Imperial Period is exclusive to the region (Farrington, 1995, p. 80). Considering the other waterworks, creative forms of monumental *nymphaea* were built in cities such as Patara, Tlos and Letoon; however nothing similar to the theatrical façades of the fountains elsewhere in Asia Minor has been encountered so far.

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The appropriation of the Roman podium temple as a common form both for temples and tombs is not unique to Lycia, but the frequent use of this building type for intra-urban monumental burials for the elite is, as the practice echoes the continuity of the Lycian burial custom of Archaic and Classical origin. In a parallel approach, the discovery of Roman townhouses in Arykanda indicates the adoption of current domestic architectural taste, although carving the rooms into the bedrock is an extension of early housing practices and another example of the utilization of traditional construction techniques in addition to the use of polygonal masonry.

As for the continuation of Hellenistic building types, the agora remained as the heart of the city; however, its physical character was adjusted by the preference of Roman artistic and architectural concepts, while its political character was altered with the representations of the emperor and the empire. Moreover, even though the majority of the buildings surrounding the agora proper remained Hellenistic in origin such as the theater, *bouleuterion*, *prytaneion* or stoa*, the emergence of an unknown building type like the *Boukenisterion* or provincially nonrecurring Roman building types like the civil basilica and *macellum* in and around the agoras show how open-minded, accepting and experimental the individual Lycian cities could get.

Similarly, the theaters survived in their Hellenistic form but some of them were restored and modified according to Roman standards. These modifications are in parallel with the works done for the improvement of the contemporary Hellenistic theaters in the rest of the Greek world. In fact, the conversion of the existing theaters for Roman shows instead of building amphitheaters is the emulation of a well-established practice widely applied in the Greek Mainland and Asia Minor which initially emerged from the rejection of the amphitheater by the Greeks due to its symbolism. However, two theaters in Lycia, the ones in Patara and Tlos, differ from the rest of the theaters in Greek cities with their *cavea*-temples, so far the only examples discovered in Greek and Hellenistic cities, which must have been inspired from the West.

Moreover, the building of a full-size *stadion* in Kibyra in late 2nd and 3rd century AD can be taken as an indication of the ongoing popularity of the traditional sports and athletic contests during the High Imperial Period. On the other hand, construction of this building in Roman standards and architectural techniques reflects an attempt to revise and improve the intrinsically Hellenistic building type.

Finally, the armature which embodied the peak of architectural and urban Romanization of the Lycian cities was a representation and symbol of a common identity shared by all the cities of the Roman Empire. The armature not only ignited the feeling of belonging to the empire by providing a mutual physical, visual, political and social setting but also stood as an effective symbol of the materialization of the contribution of Roman rule, peace, culture and civilization in the development of the urbanism. However, the armature at the same time maintained idiosyncrasy by allowing the hybridity of local and Roman architecture. The armature was the link between the built environment and human activity of any sort. Hence, the blending of the surviving early Lycian and Hellenistic architectural culture with Roman architecture and urbanism enabled the juxtaposition of the memory and the past with the present and the future. By this way, even though the Roman way of life dominated the urban presence and prevailed over older traditions, the locals kept narrating earlier practices as well with their daily urban experiences. As a result, the myriad of urban narratives generated by the movement of people between the old and new goals along the armature culminated into a grand urban narrative which produced coherence between Lycian, Hellenistic and Roman characteristics, thus linking Lycian cities to the wider empire but at the same time giving idiosyncracy to Lycia as a Roman province.

To sum up, the dialogue of Romanization between Rome and Lycia was not uniform, but manifold. The process of Romanization began before the annexation, became pronounced during the constitution of the empire and imperial imagery, and grew into dominance following the incorporation into the empire. The dialogue took many forms and included the encouragements,

impositions and interventions of the Roman state, willing or compulsory participation of the Lycians in cultural exchange due to political concerns, and the emulation of cultural trends.

In this study, the Roman architecture of Lycian cities is treated as a prominent testimony of this dialogue. The examination of the surviving remains has revealed that a reurbanization process took hold in Lycian cities beginning especially after the increasing dissemination of Roman cultural institutions and practices. The selection of the characteristics of architecture that was employed for confining the Roman way of living presents an array of choices and decisions which may have been made by the representatives of the state like the emperors and the governors, or the local authorities such as the League and the elites. Such architectural preferences included the retaining of non-Roman buildings and their utilization or modification according to Roman architectural and urban standards, adaptation and assimilation of Roman architectural and urban design principles, the adoption and rejection of selected Roman building types, the combination of local construction techniques with Roman technology, and the emulation or elimination of certain architectural practices prevalent in distant or surrounding regions.

The Roman architecture in Lycia assisted the formation of collective consciousness of belonging to the empire through the use of a common architectural and urban language and imagery. The daily enactment of Roman practices and rituals in the fairly Romanized architectural and urban context eventually resulted in the construction of Roman identity. Yet, at the same time, the diverse, heterogeneous and cumulative nature of Roman architecture allowed for the survival of local practices, resulting in the creation of a unique provincial identity.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

This thesis has investigated how Lycia, a region with a deeply rooted distinctive cultural background, responded to the impact of Roman culture by examining the continuities and changes in the architectural and urban dynamics. This inquiry derived from a need to fill the scholarly gap on a holistic analysis of the encounter between the local and Roman architectural practices and aimed to bring an understanding of the Romanization of Lycia from the perspective of architectural history.

This research began with an inquiry into the geographical and political setting in which the ancient Lycian settlements emerged and thrived (Chapter 2). Then, the study continued with a survey of the architectural production leading up to and especially during the Roman Imperial Period in Lycian cities. The data obtained from the existing scholarship and personal observations made in the field were discussed under chronological and thematic headings, each of which produced its own conclusions (Chapter 3 and 4). Following the exposition and analysis of architectural remains, the theoretical section of the thesis was presented (Chapter 5). Reviewing the theory of Romanization after the survey of critical discussions on the history, theory and deconstruction of the concept of Romanization constituted the backbone of this chapter. Finally, the conclusions drawn from the discussions of the material remains were reinterpreted within the reformulated theory of Romanization. The overall results can be summarized as follows.

The examination of geographical conditions of the region revealed that the mountainous character of Lycia restricted all types of communication with the

other side of the Taurus, hence contributing to the development of harbors on the one hand, and the emergence and development of an idiosyncratic culture as early as the late Archaic Period on the other. The subsequent review of the political history exposed the impact of specific political turning points in explaining cultural transformation which were emphasized throughout the study.

The investigation of the archaeological material discovered in Lycia aimed to reveal settlement patterns and architectural practices. Accordingly, it is shown that Lycia was sporadically occupied since prehistoric times. The traceable human activity is more or less parallel with the development of early life in Asia Minor. However, the beginning of a unified settlement history can only be traced back to the Late Archaic Period, when fortified hilltop settlements began to emerge. These settlements which are attributed to the early Lycians, concentrated especially in the western and southern parts of Lycia. They presented distinctive physical characteristics not resembling any of the settlements that were surrounding or in contact with the region, but were nevertheless harmonized with Anatolian, eastern and western artistic and architectural influences. In the following periods, these early settlements were abandoned or expanded towards the plains or coastal areas. Hellenization began in the region after the arrival of Alexander the Great, but the architectural materialization of this process in a wider context occurred especially after the 2nd century BC. By the time Lycia was officially incorporated into the Roman Empire, Lycian cities were already urban centers functioning with Hellenistic institutions and buildings. Throughout the Roman Imperial Period, these Hellenistic settlements grew beyond their former sizes and were almost entirely restored and rebuilt in order to accommodate Roman institutions, according to Roman architectural and urban principles. Yet, the resulting urban fabric maintained the traces of older architectural traditions.

By revealing the survival of earlier architectural practices in conspicuously reurbanized Roman cities, the thesis clearly demonstrates that, similar to the fact that there did not exist a pure Classical Lycian culture and architecture all because of the cultural interactions at the time, or a uniform and complete Hellenization

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process that wiped out all the early Lycian practices; it is not possible to talk about a homogenous, monolithic or static Romanization.

Tracing back the Roman cultural footprints in Lycia revealed that the Romanization of the region was a long process which began before the formal incorporation of the region to the empire and continued throughout the Imperial Period. Considering the political history of the region, it was deduced that particular confrontations between the Lycians and the Romans throughout this history were followed by archaeologically observable cultural changes. For instance, from the beginning of the 2nd century BC, and especially after the end of the Rhodian rule, Rome acted more often as an arbiter on internal and external affairs of the Lycian League, who in return, formalized the worship of the cult of Dea Roma, which was already locally worshipped since the 3rd century BC. Even though Roman architectural influence is quite absent until the Imperial Period, there is clearly a development in the architectural and urban settings of the Hellenistic cities which can partly be attributed to the relative stability provided by the Roman power during the rest of the Hellenistic Period. The relations with Rome remained mostly peaceful and close, to the point that a treaty was ratified between Lycians and Caesar which regulated the legal aspects of their affiliation. This treaty seemingly restricted the alleged independence and autonomy of the League. In fact, the indications of dependence became more visible with the institution of the empire soon after the treaty was signed. Similar to the other Roman provinces, Lycia was affected by the Augustan cultural revolution even though it was not a Roman province. Concurrently with the leading cities of Asia Minor, the newly founded imperial imagery and the emperor worship was manifested also in Lycia. On the strength of the evidence of the thesis, it is asserted that the willing or obligatory assimilation of Roman cultural features by the Lycians during the early Romanization period can be attributed to political motivations that concerned maintaining good relations with Rome.

The examination of the dated surviving architectural remains clearly showed that there was a conspicuous increase in the number of new or restored buildings which were constructed or repaired according to Roman architectural

principles and construction technology after the second half of the 1st century AD. This increase was experienced in the immediate aftermath of the annexation of Lycia in AD 43, and is concurrent with the emergence of inscriptions that wholly or partly attribute some buildings and constructions to the early emperors and provincial governors. Hence, it appears that, as soon as Lycia became a Roman province, large-scale building programs were initiated under imperial supervision, which, at the onset, particularly aimed at the improvement of the military, social and religious settings and waterworks of the cities. These early undertakings included the advancement of the road network by the measurement and construction of roads, the introduction of bathing habits by the construction of earliest baths of the region, the improvement of the waterworks by the introduction of Roman water technology, and the consolidation of the institution of the imperial cult by implementing or restoring *sebasteia* in cities and the federal sanctuary. During the rest of the 1st century AD, the imperial ventures continued to be effective in many other aspects of urban development of the cities. It is not easy to determine whether these imperial engagements directly came from the state or took place as a response to provincial demands. However, the state's involvement in the rearrangement of the architectural and urban dynamics of the cities according to Roman cultural and architectural features can be taken as a possible intentional promotion and even imposition of Romanization in the initial decades of the new province.

In the following periods, the urban transformation of the Lycian cities accelerated. The ambitious construction and restoration projects which intensified especially during the reign of Hadrian and after the earthquake of AD 141/142 were largely realized by the munificent contributions of the local upper class. The architectural and urban decisions made during this process reflect the adoption of some aspects of Roman architecture and the emulation of eastern and western practices, while at the same time preserving older traditions.

Thus, the thesis claims that the Romanization process of Lycia took different forms in three broad chronological periods. The material manifestation of the interaction between the Lycians and the Romans during the initial phase of

the Romanization is limited until a surge of cultural transformation took place during the Augustan Period. The impact of Roman architecture initiated by imperial investments began to be strongly felt in the architectural and urban setting of the Lycian cities after the annexation of Lycia which marks the beginning of the second period. Finally, approximately from the 2nd century onwards, the influence of imperial interventions in the built environment of the cities diminished and the appropriation of Roman architectural, urban and design principles began to reflect a more flexible assimilation.

Considering the overall architectural panorama by the end of the Imperial Period, one of most obvious physical characteristic of the Roman cities in Lycia is that the key buildings from the repertory of Hellenistic architecture such as the agora, theater, *stadion*, *prytaneion* and stoa remained as the essential public building types. While this clearly demonstrates the continuation of Hellenistic traditions, of these buildings, the majority of the existing ones and the newly-built were adjusted according to Roman culture, architecture and imperial symbolism. The changes include the use of Roman architectural design principles and artistic concepts such as axiality and orthogonality in confining and enclosing open spaces as in the cases of newly built agoras or other building complexes such as the Asklepieion; the use of classical orders in novel ways; the adaptation of Hellenistic theaters for Roman ways of experiences; utilization of *bouleuteria* jointly as *odeia*; construction of a new *stadion* in Roman form and the incorporation of the imperial imagery within the urban sphere as a reminder of imperial authority. These changes were not applied in each and every city uniformly or systematically. However, in essence, the Roman way of life was enacted in what was inherently a Hellenistic setting, while this Hellenistic setting was now stamped with Roman culture and imperial authority.

Another widespread feature of the urban fabric of the Lycian cities that emerged in the thesis is the adoption of Roman institutions, architecture and construction technology such as the worship of the imperial cult and the related architecture, water related institutions and structures, Roman temple forms and commemorative arches. The worship of the imperial cult, which was introduced to

Lycia during the Principate and enhanced by Claudius became a routinized practice over time, and a number of *sebasteia* dedicated to the cult of the emperor appeared in temple form or in the form of other structures. The cult of the emperor was also incorporated into existing religious arrangements. These urban sanctuaries changed the nature of religious activities enacted within the city centers. After their introduction to Lycia in the early decades of the province, the number of baths proliferated as a result of the wide acceptance of the bathing habit and the provision of more water with aqueduct technology. Over the course of centuries, the Lycian bath building preserved its initial layout inspired from Republican bath plans, providing a consistency in design throughout the region. With the increased amount of water in cities, other water related buildings such as latrines and *nymphaea* with experimental characters also appeared in the urban fabric. Among the adopted Roman temple forms, the podium temple became a recurring type, while construction of the circular temple and the *cavea*-temple remained rather experimental similar to the cases of the civil basilica and the *macellum*. Finally, the single or multi-tiered monumental arches marked the streets as commemorative displays and landmarks. On the other hand, there is clearly a rejection of some canonical Roman building types, like the forum and the amphitheater. While the reason of the rejection of certain building types can be politically charged, it can also depend on local preferences, practicality and taste.

Among the togetherness of Hellenistic and Roman architecture, also traceable are the aspects of early Lycian architecture such as construction techniques, and funerary practices and architecture. The leveling of the bedrock and the use of polygonal masonry during the Roman Imperial Period seems to have been utilized in Lycia since the Archaic and Classical times. In fact, the use of polygonal masonry in Roman times for free-standing buildings like baths is so far unique to the region. Considering the funerary practices, the use of the Roman podium temple as intramural tombs for the elite class is a continuation of the pre-Hellenistic Lycian practice in which the Roman temple form replaced the Greek temple. The most conspicuous heritage of the early Lycian culture, on the other

hand, is its distinctive funerary architecture. The Lycian *necropoleis* which were composed of regionally distinctive types of tombs were incorporated within the city centers in most of the Lycian cities, and became parts of the urban fabric, scenery, life and memory.

Lastly, the study also revealed that in the Roman cities of Lycia all the idiosyncratic urban and architectural characteristics of these cities functioned together by means of the armature. The armature not only arranged the multidimensional communication between the inhabitants and their goals within the urban fabric, but also provided a physical and visual harmony that knitted the built environment into a coherent whole. The shared urban, architectural and artistic language inherent in the system of armature was universal, which facilitated the synchronization of the Lycian cities with each other and with the rest of the empire despite their physical differences in settlement location, layout organization and even selection of some building types. While the armature served as an embodiment of the enhancement of urban life under the Roman rule, it also cultivated a sense of common identity and belonging to the Empire. However, at the same time, by merging the old and new architectural practices, the armature enabled the generation of infinite numbers of urban narratives which brought the past and present together and reanimated the memory in Lycian cities. In the grand scheme of the narratives, the early Lycian, the Hellenistic and the Roman coalesced with each other within the complex and collective nature of Roman architecture.

In the final part of this study, dealing with the theoretical framework of the Romanizing process based on the review of critical discussions concerning the theory of Romanization in general, and the scrutiny of the results obtained from the examination of the architectural remains under the light of the reformulated Romanization theory revealed that Romanization in Lycia was in the form of a dynamic and cumulative dialogue between the Lycians and the Romans which took centuries to unfold. This dialogue was multilayered and presented an array of forms of cultural exchange, which ranged from state imposition and encouragement to voluntary, obligatory or emulative participation of the locals.

The actors involved in this dialogue were several, including the representatives of the empire like the emperor and the imperial governors, the large powers over cities such as the Lycian League and the elites, and the lower classes which remain comparatively silent in archaeological material and historical records. According to epigraphic material, the architectural and urban decisions made mostly by authoritative figures reshaped the urban fabric.

Elsner (1991, p. 136) considers the tenancy of local culture as a part of the Romanization process and describes it as a "careful attempt to compromise between local and ruling identities, and to weld out of the combination of the two in any one province a new identity which encompassed both." Considering its dynamic nature, it would not be wrong to designate the process of Romanization as a different and unique experience for every Lycian city. Moreover, the creation of diverse and fragmented identities by different ranks of the society, and even by each individual through the experiencing of the urban context cannot be ignored. However, when considered from the perspective of collective representation of being Roman in Lycia through architecture, the main focus of this study, three arguments can be deduced. First of all, the daily enactment of Roman rituals and cultural practices within the urban fabric, which was largely reurbanized according to Roman architecture, urbanism and symbolism, eventually prompted the construction of Roman identity. Secondly, the use of a common architectural, urban and artistic language and imagery with the rest of the empire generated the feeling of belonging to the empire and contributed to the formation of an imperial identity. Lastly, the collective, inclusive and heterogeneous nature of Roman architecture which incorporated older architectural practices, led to the emergence of an idiosyncratic provincial identity. Consequently, during the Imperial Period, the Lycians were Roman, yet being Roman contained plurality and variety in essence.
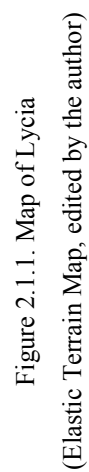
Figure 2.1.1. Map of Lycia

(Elastic Terrain Map, edited by the author)

Figure 3.1.1 The locations of mentioned prehistoric materials in Lycia are highlighted with red
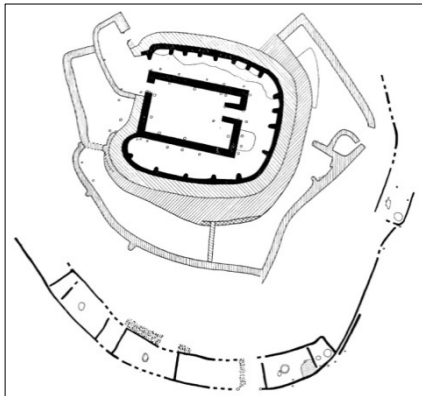(Elastic Terrain Map, edited by the author)

Figure 3.1.2 Plan of Karataş-Semayük
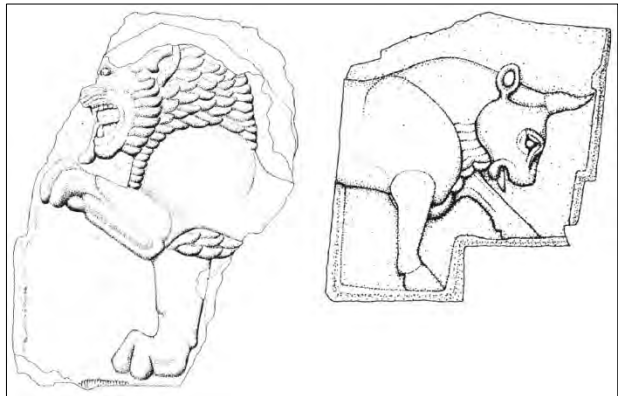(Mellink, 1974, ill.2)

Figure 3.1.3 Bas-reliefs with lion and bull figures
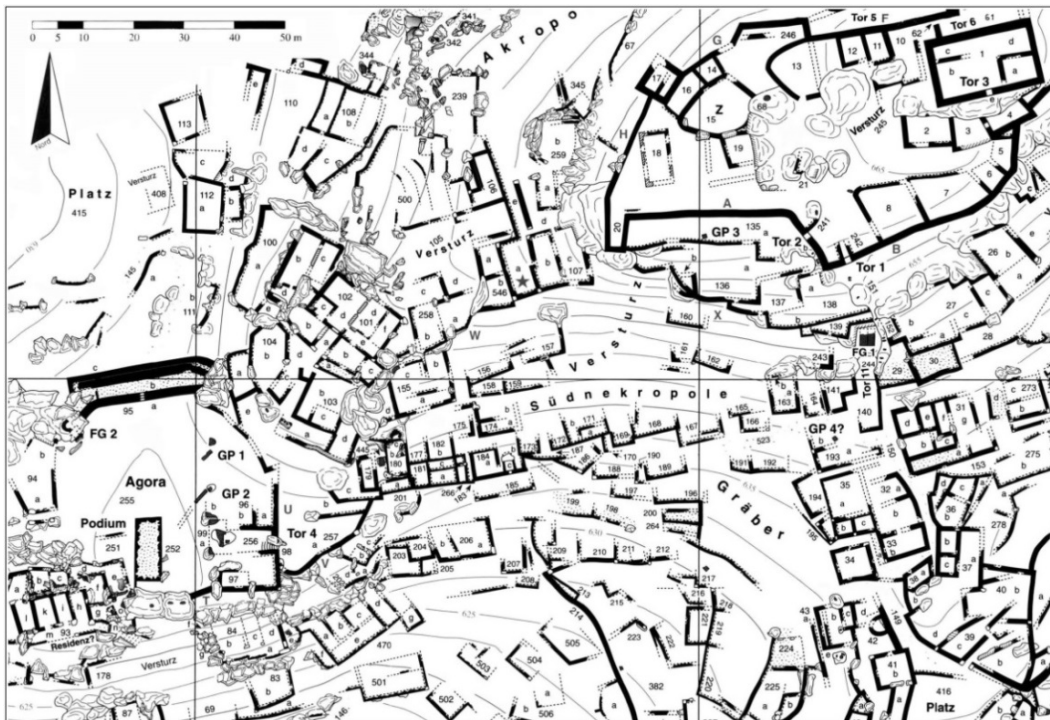discovered in Xanthos
(des Courtils, 2012, figs. 1 and 2)

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Figure 3.2.1 Detail from the settlement plan of Avşar Tepesi, showing the acropolis, agora, residential quarters and the south *necropolis* (Hülden, 2013, fig. 4)

Figure 3.2.1 Detail of the post holes and grooves inside the temple of Apollo (photograph by the author)

Figure 3.3.1 The Hellenistic temple at Kadyanda (photograph by the author)

Figure 3.3.2 The Hellenistic temple at Antiphellos (photograph by the author)

Figure 3.3.3 The temple of Helios at Arykanda (photograph by the author)

Figure 3.3.4 The temple of Apollo at Sura (photograph by the author)

Figure 3.3.5 Restitution of the *Ptolemaion* (Seyer, 2016, fig. 9a)

Figure 3.3.6 The *Ptolemaion* at Limyra, western (above) and eastern (below) remains (photograph by the author)
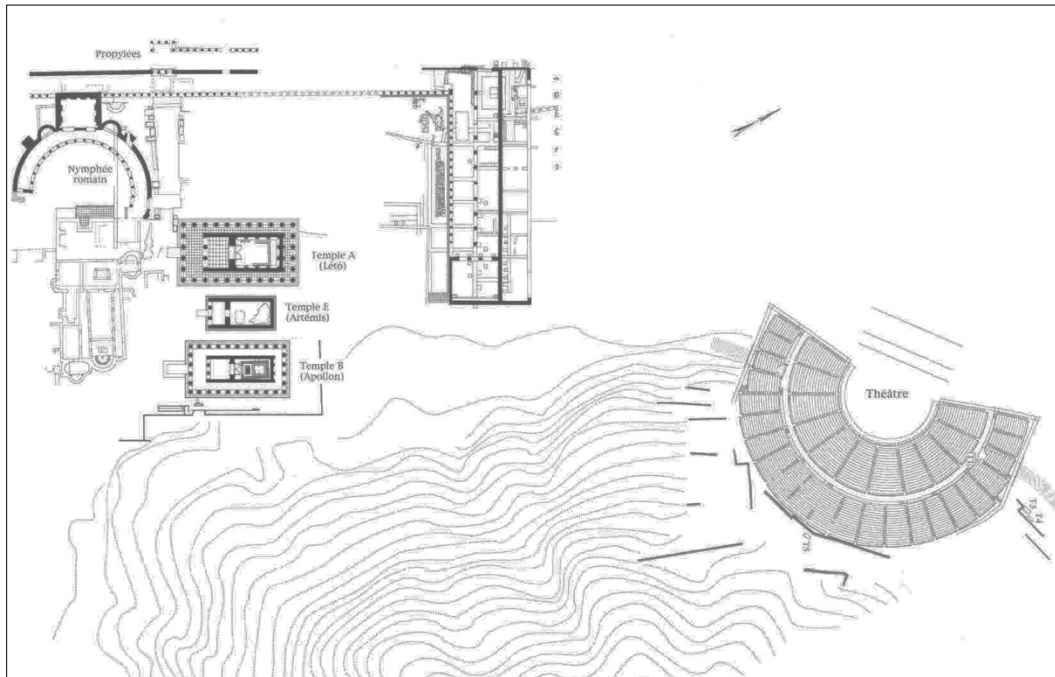
Figure 3.3.7 The settlement plan of Letoon (Badie et.al., 2004, fig. 1)
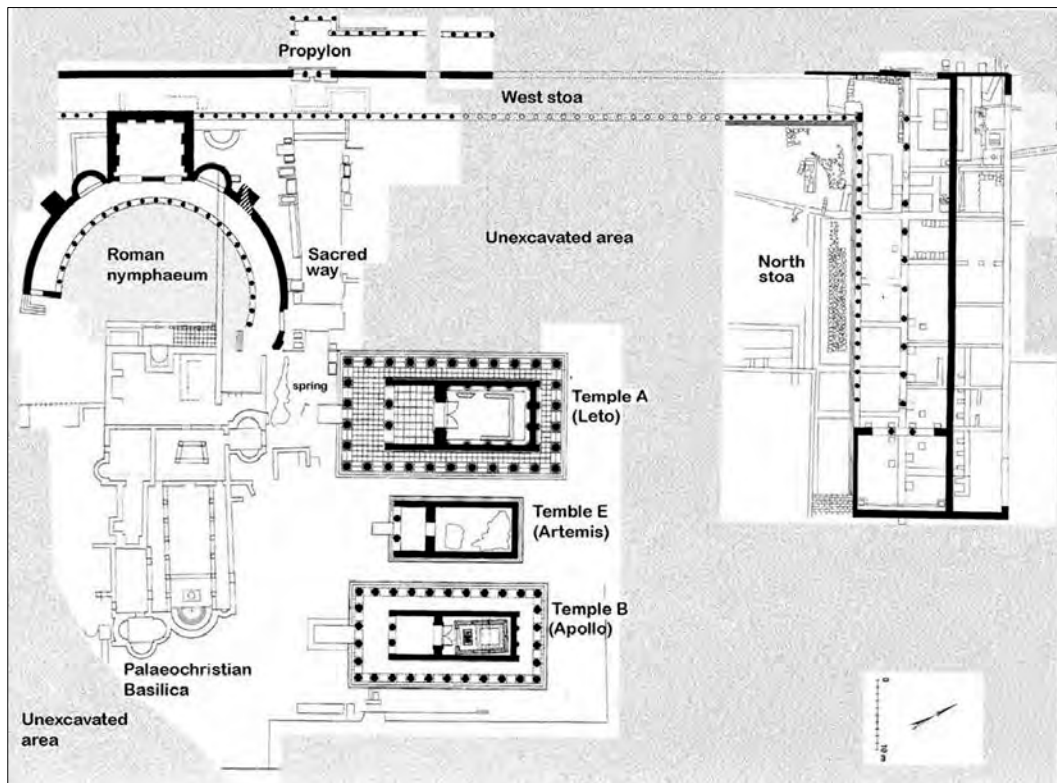
Figure 3.3.8 Detail from the plan of the sanctuary of Letoon (des Courtils, 2009a, fig. 1)

Figure 3.3.9 From left to right, the temples of Apollo, Artemis and Leto at Letoon
(photograph by the author)

Figure 3.3.10 The western portico at
Letoon (photograph by the author)

Figure 3.3.11 The northern portico at
Letoon (photograph by the author)

Figure 3.3.12 The sacred way at Letoon
(photograph by the author)

Figure 3.3.13 The *propylon* at Letoon
(photograph by the author)

Figure 3.3.14 The theater at Letoon (photograph by the author)

Figure 4.1.1 The remains of the *cavea* temple at Tlos (photographs by the author)

Figure 4.1.2 The remains of the *cavea* temple of the Patara theater (photographs by the author)
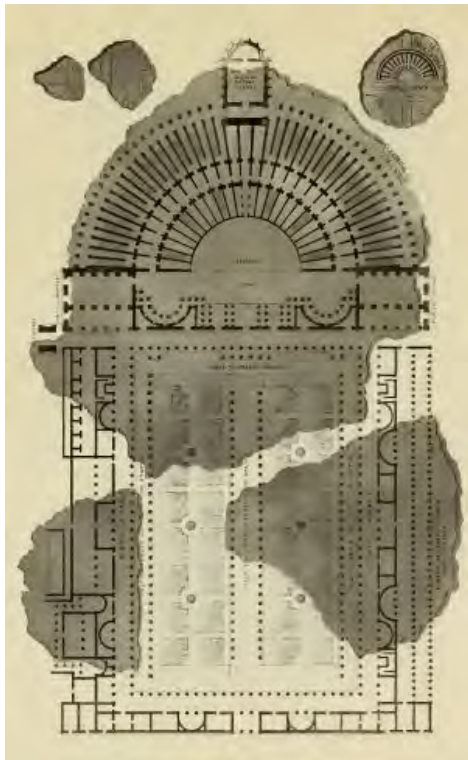
Figure 4.1.3 The Theater of Pompey
(Hanson, 1959, fig. 19)
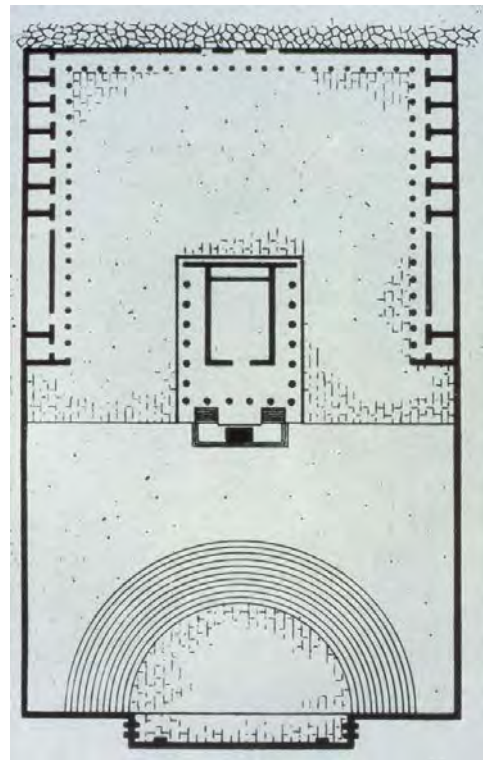
Figure 4.1.4 The Sanctuary of Juno at Gabii
(Hanson, 1959, fig. 5)
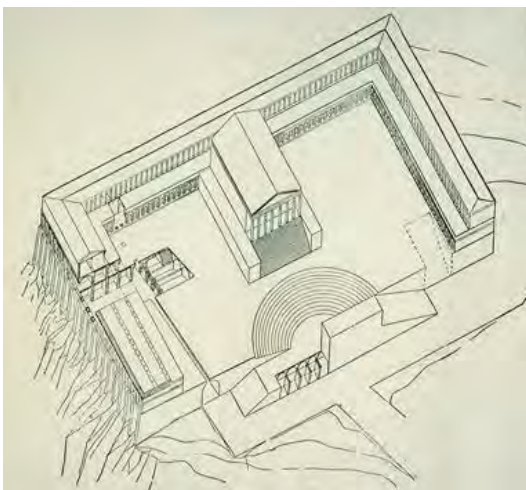
Figure 4.1.5 (above) The Sanctuary of Hercules
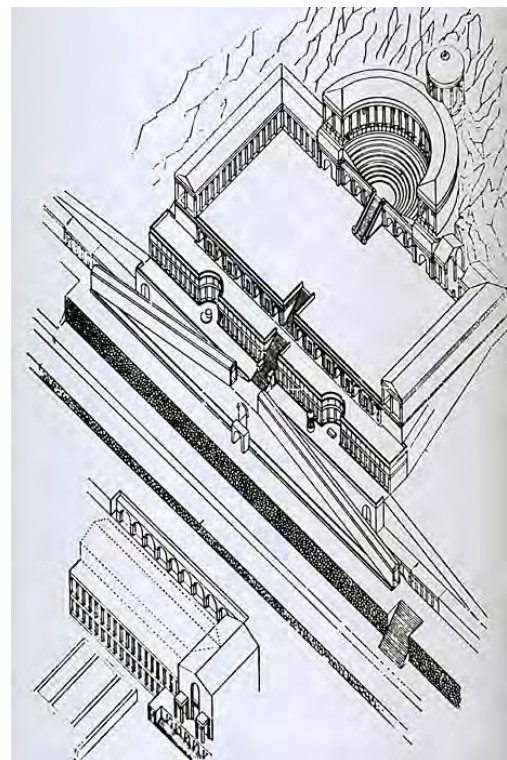Victor at Tivoli (Hanson, 1959, fig. 7)

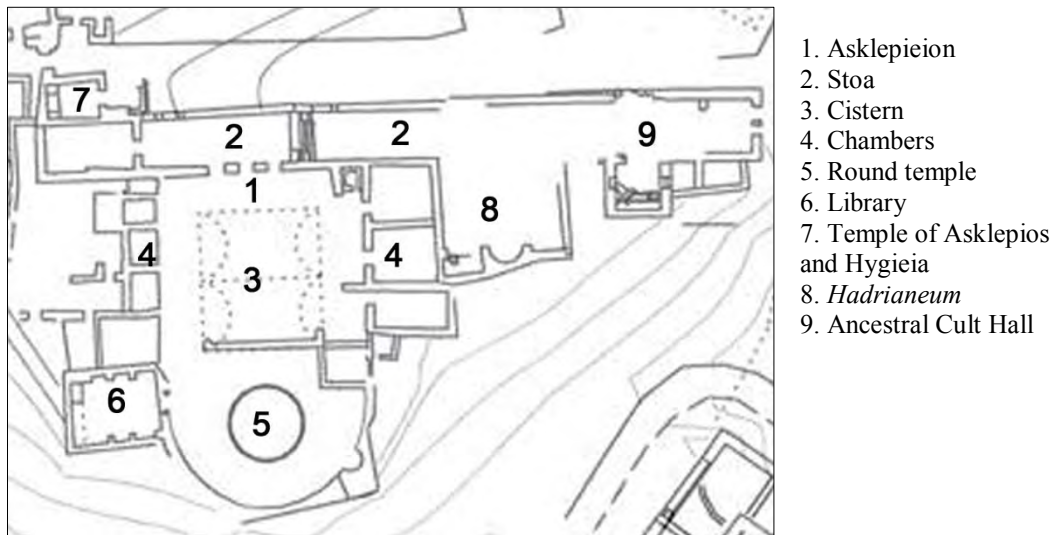Figure 4.1.6 (right) The Sanctuary of Fortuna
Primigenia at Praeneste (Boëthius, 1978, fig. 158)

1. Asklepieion
2. Stoa
3. Cistern
4. Chambers
5. Round temple
6. Library
7. Temple of Asklepios and Hygieia
8. *Hadrianeum*
9. Ancestral Cult Hall

Figure 4.1.7 Religious precinct at Rhodiapolis (after Çevik et.al., 2010, fig. 2)

Figure 4.1.8 The Asklepieion at Rhodiapolis (photograph by the author)

Figure 4.1.9 The Asklepieion at Rhodiapolis, chambers at the east (left), and west (right)
(photographs by the author)

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Figure 4.1.10 The library at the Asklepieion at Rhodiapolis (photographs by the author)

Figure 4.1.11 The round temple at the Asklepieion at Rhodiapolis (photograph by the author)

Figure 4.1.12 The temple of Asklepios and Hygieia at Rhodiapolis (photograph by the author)

Figure 4.1.13 The Corinthian temple at Patara (photograph by the author)

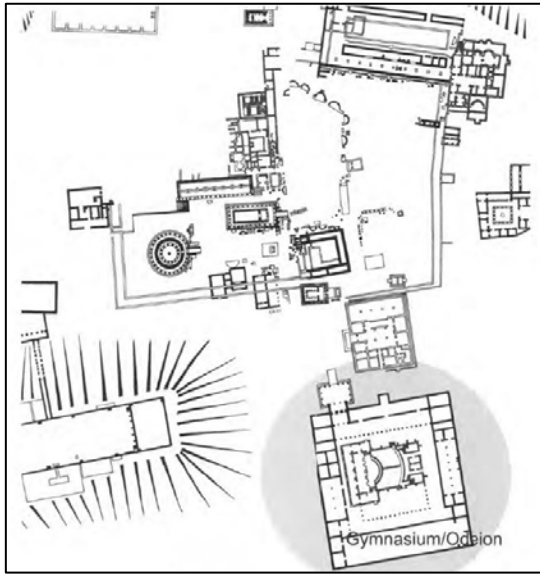Figure 4.1.14 The temple of Kronos at Tlos (photograph by the author)

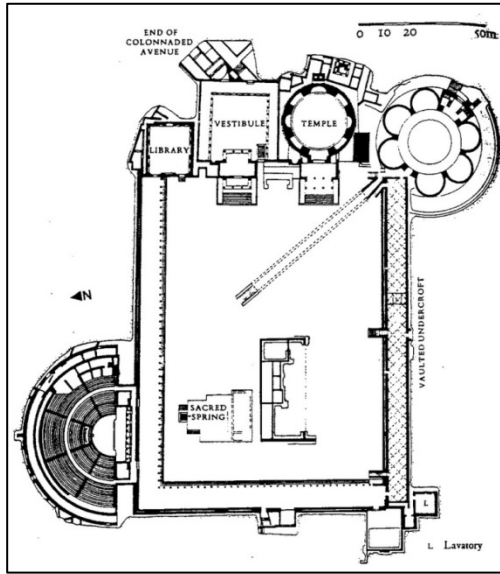233

Figure 4.1.15 The Sanctuary of Asklepieion at Epidauros (c)

Figure 4.1.16 The Sanctuary of Asklepieion at Pergamon (Ward-Perkins, 1970, fig. 183)

Figure 4.1.17 The *Hadrianeum* at Rhodiapolis (photograph by the author)

Figure 4.1.18 The *Traianeum* at Arykanda (photograph by the author)

Figure 4.1.19 The *Sebasteion* at Arykanda (photograph by the author)
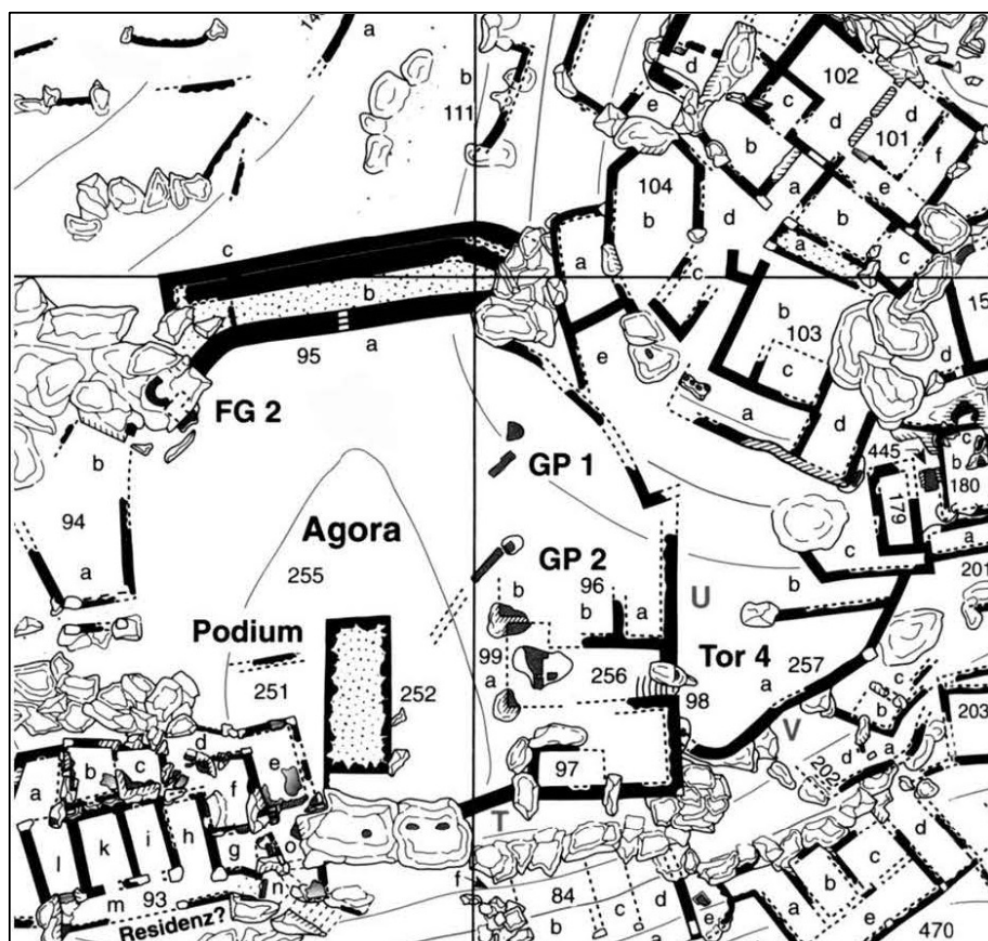
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Figure 4.2.1 Plan of the agora at Avşar Tepesi (after Hülden, 2013, fig. 4)

1. Agora
2. Inscribed Pillar
3. Putative location of the *bouleuterion*
4. Putative location of the square
5. The *decumanus*. Its hypothetical projection towards the agora is drawn in red
6. Bath Building
7. Modern road
8. Theater
9. Pillar Tombs
10. Lycian Acropolis

Figure 4.2.2 Plan of the Roman/Western agora at Xanthos (after: Cavalier, 2012a, fig.1)

Figure 4.2.3 The Roman/Western agora at Xanthos, view from the north looking towards the theater (photograph by the author)
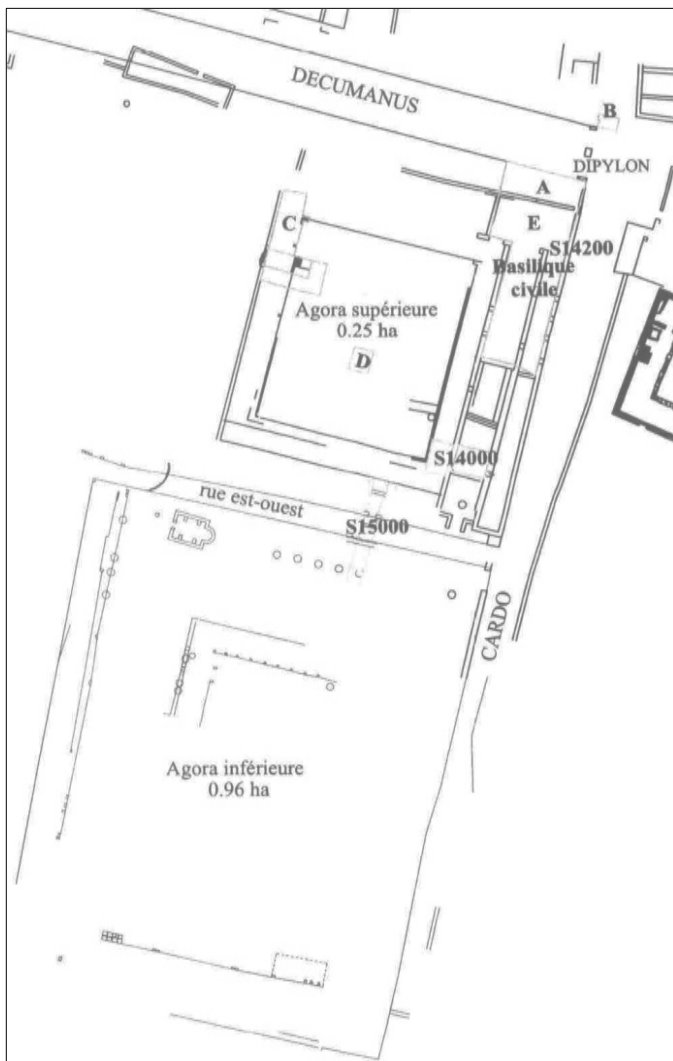

Figure 4.2.4 Eastern agoras of Xanthos (des Courtils & Laroche, 2002, fig.1)
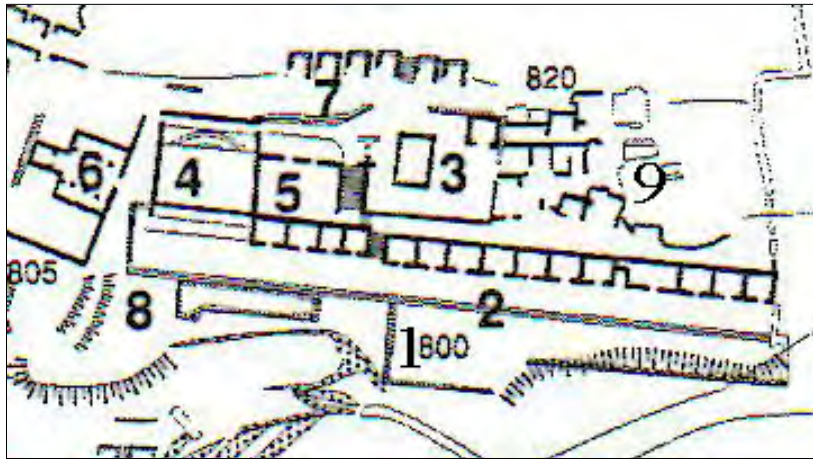
Figure 4.2.5 The Upper/Northern Agora at Xanthos, view from the north
(photograph by the author)

1- Gözetleme Kulesi
2- Ticaret Agorası
3- Helios Tapınağı
4- Bouleuterion
5- Arşiv Yapısı
6- Sebasteion / Kutsal Ev
7- Mağara Mezarları
8- Sarnıç
9- Stadium
10- Kutsal Alan
11- Bizans Evi
12- Tiyatro
13- Odeion
14- Devlet Agorası
15- Prytaneion
16- Nymphaion
17- Yamaç Hamamı
18- Bazilika
19- Sebasteion - Traianus Tapınağı
20- Batı Roma Villası
21- Batı Yamaç Evleri - Villaları
22- Doğu Yamaç Evleri - Villaları
23- Naltepesi Yapıları ve Hamamı
24- Küçük Hamam
25- Büyük Hamam - Gymnasion
26- Doğu Nekropolü
27- Şaraphane
28- Latrina

Yükseklikler
Orman Yolu
Su Kanalı
Duvar İzi
Duvarlar
Merdivenler
Yontulmuş Kayalar
Kayalar

Figure 4.2.6 City plan of Arykanda (C. Bayburtluoğlu in Çevik, 2015a, p.423)

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1. Agora
2. Stoa and shops
3. Helios temple
4. *Bouleuterion*
5. Archive
6. *Sebasteion*
7. Tombs
8. Cistern
9. Terrace Houses

Figure 4.2.7 Detail from the city plan of Arykanda, showing the arrangement of the commercial agora and its surrounding (after C. Bayburtluoğlu in Çevik, 2015a, p.423)

Figure 4.2.8 The commercial agora at Arykanda (photograph by the author)

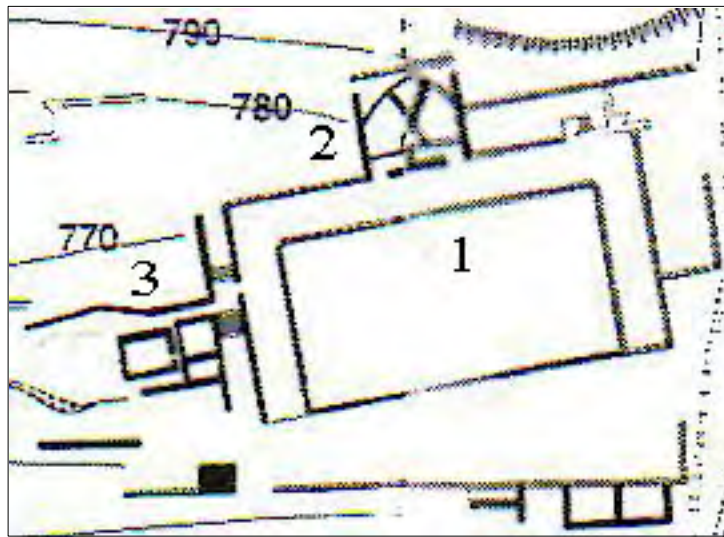Figure 4.2.9 The stairs at the commercial agora at Arykanda (photograph by the author)

Figure 4.2.10 The *bouleuterion* at Arykanda (photograph by the author)

Figure 4.2.11 The archive building at Arykanda (photograph by the author)

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1. Civic Agora
2. *Odeion*
3. *Prytaneion*

Figure 4.2.12 Detail from the city plan of Arykanda, showing the arrangement of the civic agora and its surrounding (after C. Bayburtluoğlu in Çevik, 2015a, p.423)

Figure 4.2.13 Civic agora at Arykanda. The gates lead to the *odeion* (photograph by the author)

Figure 4.2.14 Eastern gate of the civic agora with the *prytaneion* located opposite (photograph by the author)

Figure 4.2.15 The *odeion* at Arykanda (photograph by the author)

Figure 4.2.16 View from the *prytaneion* at Arykanda (photograph by the author)

Figure 4.2.17 The remains of the façade of the agora of Domitian at Phaselis
(photograph by the author)

Figure 4.2.18 The southern gate of the agora
of Domitian at Phaselis. The fallen inscription
is at the bottom-right corner of the gate
(photograph by the author)

Figure 4.2.19 Close up of the dedicatory
inscription of the Agora of Domitian at
Phaselis. The name of the emperor was
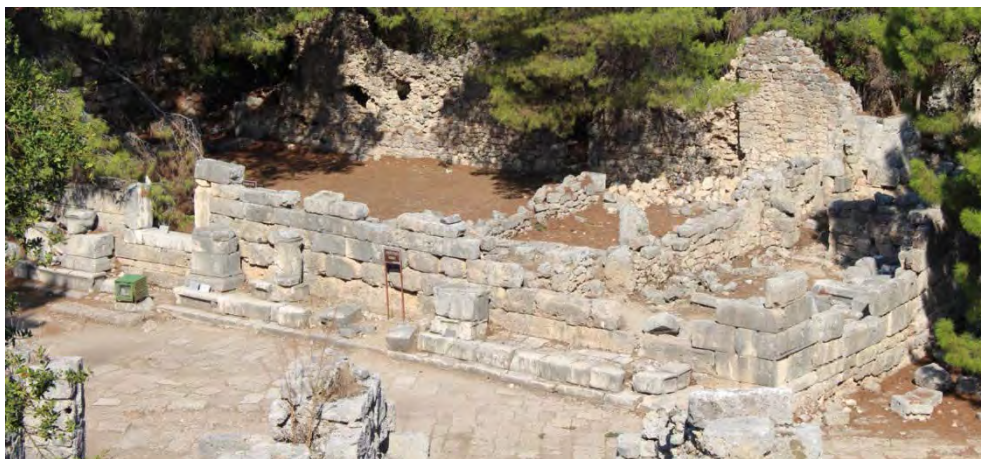erased from the beginning of the second
line (photograph by the author)

Figure 4.2.20 Tetragonal Agora at Phaselis (photograph by the author)

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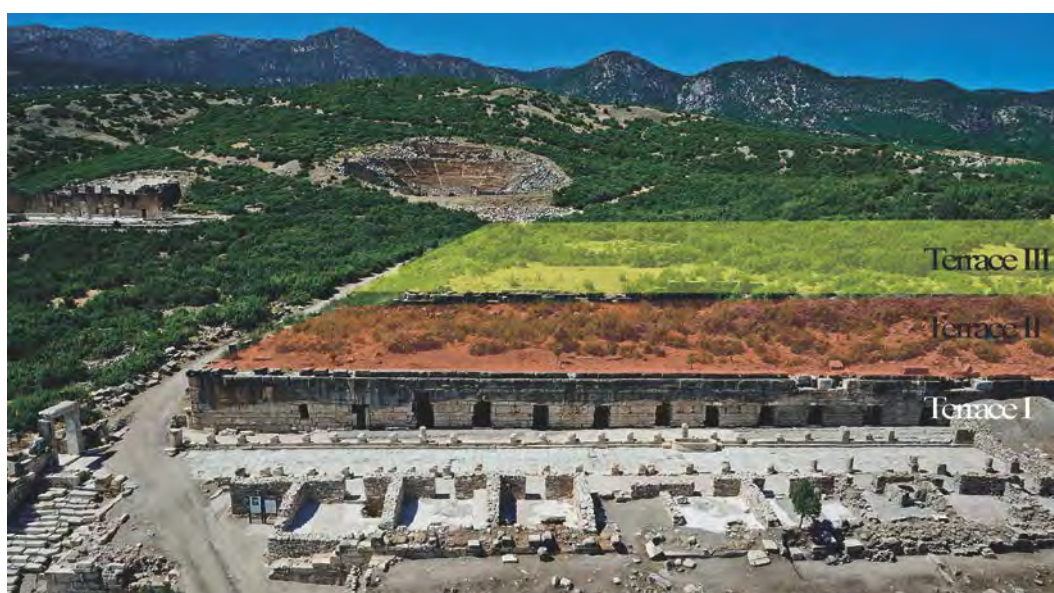Figure 4.2.21 The plan of the three-terraced agora of Kibyra (after Ş. Özüdoğru in Çevik, 2015a, p.256)

Figure 4.2.22 The view of the three-terraced agora of Kibyra with the theater and the *bouleuterion* at the back. The Terrace I/colonnaded street is on the fore, while the approximate borders of the other two terraces are indicated in color (after Özüdoğru, 2014, fig.1)
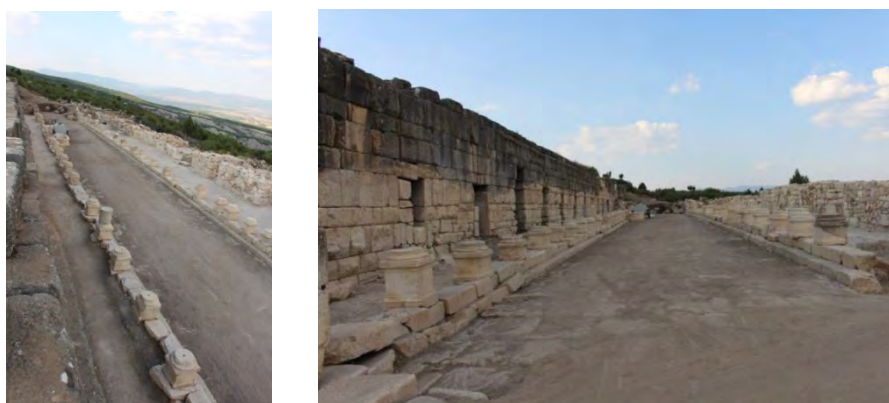

Figure 4.2.23 The colonnaded street/Terrace I of the agora complex at Kibyra (photographs by the author)
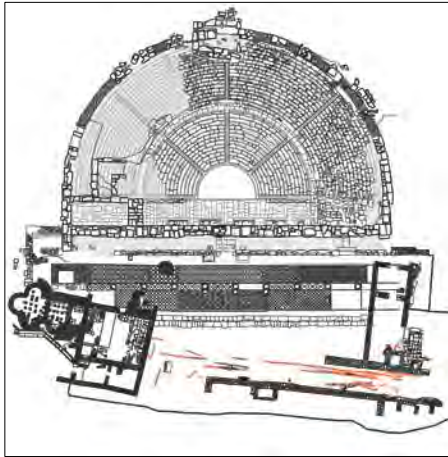
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Figure 4.2.24 (left) The plan of the *odeion/bouleuterion* of Kibyra (Özüdoğru, 2013, fig. 3)

Figure 4.2.25 The *odeion/bouleuterion* of Kibyra and the *opus sectile* depiction of Medusa on the *orchestra* floor (photograph by the author)

Figure. 4.2.26 *Opus sectile* mosaic of Medusa at the *odeion/bouleuterion* of Kibyra (www. http://arkeolojihaber.net)

Figure 4.2.27 The stoa at the back of the stage building of the *odeion/bouleuterion* at Kibyra (photograph by the author)

1. Acropolis
2. *Stadion*
3. *Bouleuterion* and *prytaneion*
4. Stadium area
5. Fountain-pool complex
6. Shops
7. Agora
8. Theater
9. Small baths and *palaestra*
10. Large baths
11. Temple of Kronos
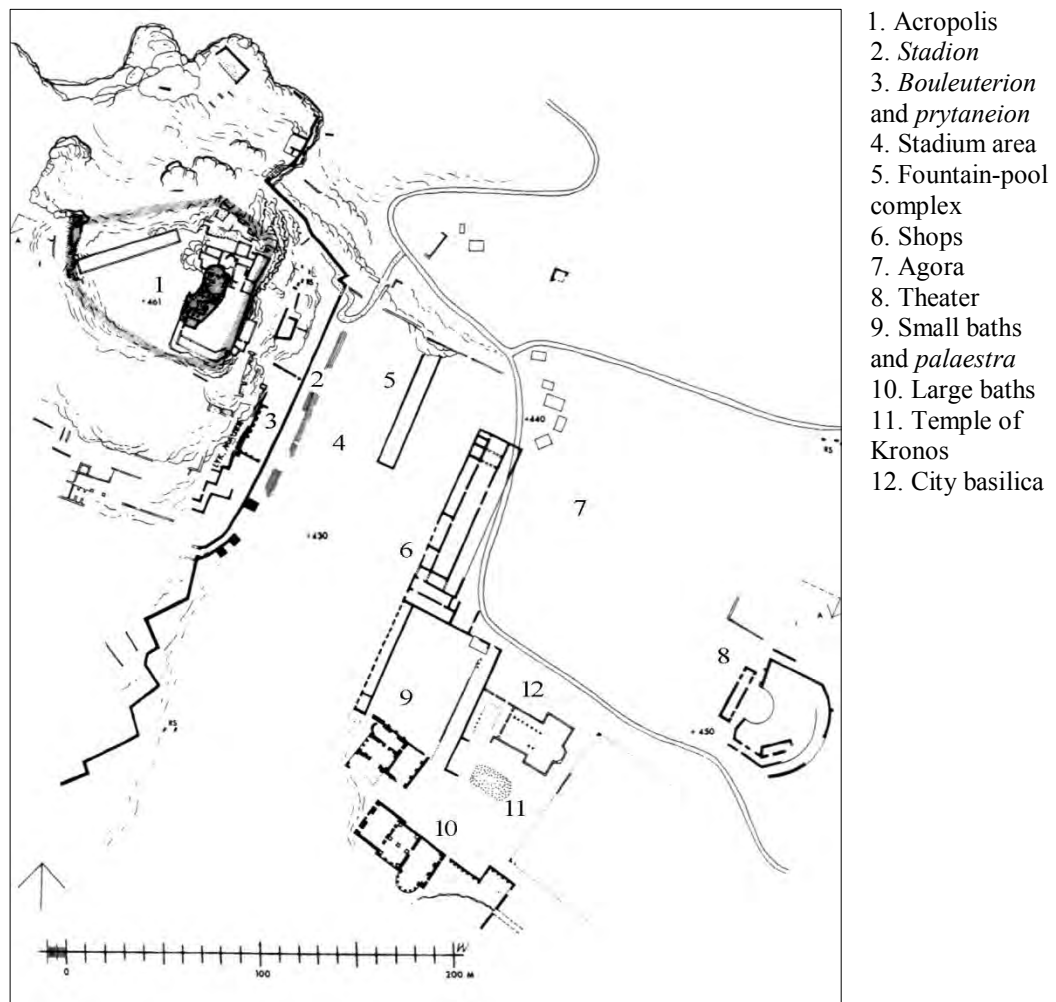12. City basilica

Figure 4.2.28 Settlement plan of Tlos (W. Wurster in Çevik, 2015a, p.239)
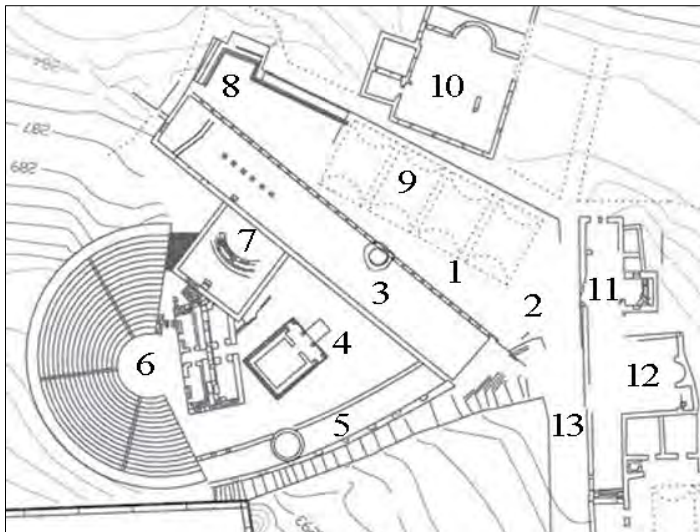

Figure 4.2.29 The public space of Tlos. Lower terrace/stadium area at the front, upper terrace/agora and the surroundings at the back (photograph by the author)

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Figure 4.2.30 (right)
The b*ouleuterion* and the *prytaneion* at Tlos (photograph by the author)

Figure 4.2.31 (below)
The plain in front of the theater where the agora of Tlos used to be (photograph by the author)

1. Agora
2. Square
3. Double stoa
4. Heroon of Opramoas
5. Stoa of Opramoas
6. Theater
7. *Bouleuterion*
8. Exedra
9. Cisterns
10. *Prytaneion*
11. Ancestral Cult Hall
12. *Hadrianeum*
13. *Decumanus*

Figure 4.2.32 Plan of the agora and its surrounding at Rhodiapolis
(after: Çevika, 2015, p.423)

Figure 4.2.33 The upper and lower terraces of the agora proper at Rhodiapolis
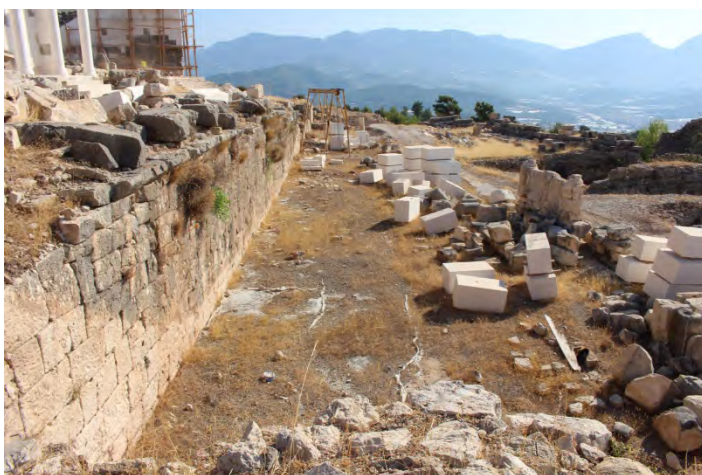(photograph by the author)

Figure 4.2.34 The double-stoa at Rhodiapolis, views from the south (left) and north (right)
(photographs by the author)

Figure 4.2.35 The
Hadrianeum (right) and the
ancestral cult hall of the
family of Opramoas. The
flat area at the fore is the
trapezoidal square
(photograph by the author)

Figure 4.2.36 The upper/theater terrace and the theater street at Rhodiapolis.
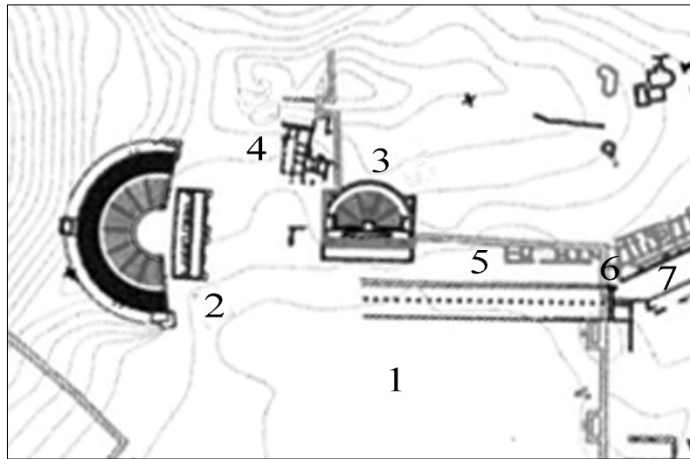View from the public square (photograph by the author)

Figure 4.2.37 The upper/theater terrace of Rhodiapolis (photograph by the author)

Figure 4.2.38 The Stoa of
Opramoas at Rhodiapolis
(photograph by the author)

Figure 4.2.39 The *bouleuterion*
at Rhodiapolis (photograph by
the author)

1. Agora
2. Theater
3. *Bouleuterion*
4. *Prytaneion*
5. Stoa
6. *Dipylon*
7. Harbor Street

Figure 4.2.40 Plan of the agora and its surrounding at Patara (after İşkan, 2016, fig. 5)

Figure 4.2.41 General view of the public space of Patara. The theater and the stage building at the front, the *bouleuterion* at the center, the *prytaneion* at the left, the stoa and the agora plain at the right (photograph by the author)

Figure 4.2.42 The stoa (left) and the agora plain (right) at Patara (photograph by the author)

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Figure 4.2.43 The *bouleuterion* and the remains of the *prytaneion* at Patara
(photograph by the author)

Figure 4.2.44 Interior of the *bouleuterion* at
Patara (photograph by the author)

Figure 4.2.45 The remains of the *prytaneion*
at Patara (photographs by the author)

Figure 4.2.46 View of the Plakoma and the *horreum* at Andriake from above
(Çevik, 2015a, p. 382)

Figure 4.2.47 Entrance of the Plakoma at Andriake (photograph by the author)
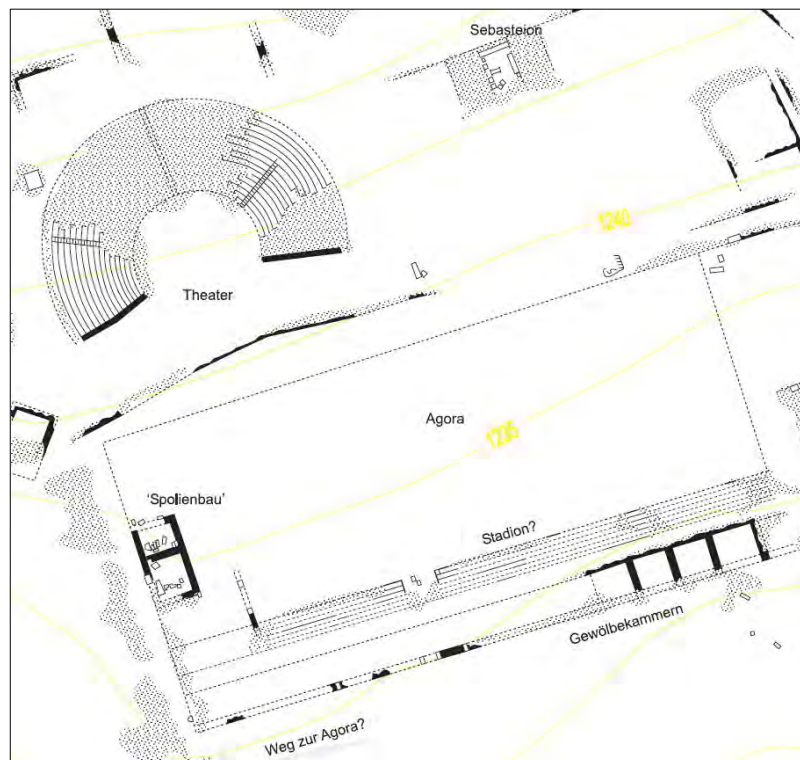
Figure 4.2.48 The rooms around the courtyard of the Plakoma at Andriake (photograph by the author)

Figure 4.2.49 (right) The cistern under the courtyard of the Plakoma at Andriake (photograph by the author)

Figure 4.2.50 (below) The plan of the agora and its surrounding at Bubon (Kokkina, 2008)
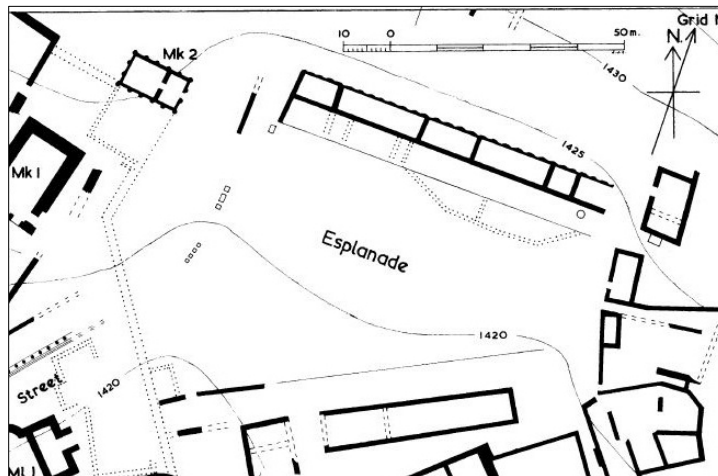
Figure 4.2.51 Plan of the Esplanade at Oenoanda (Coulton, 1982a, fig. 1)

Figure 4.2.52 3D modeling of the Esplanade at Oenoanda (Bachmann, 2016, fig. 9)
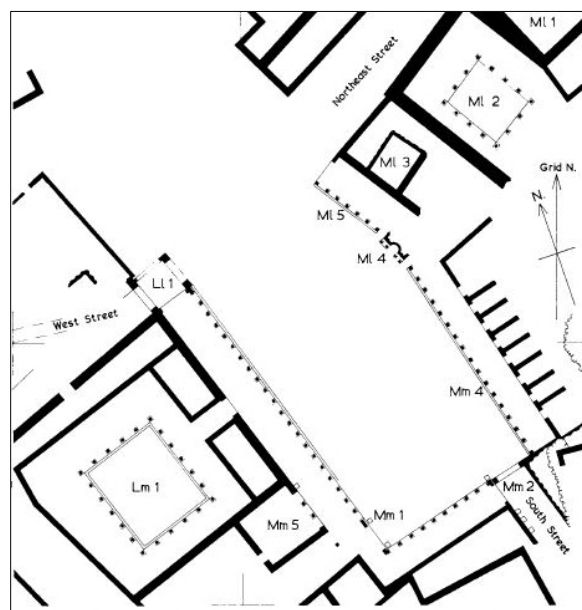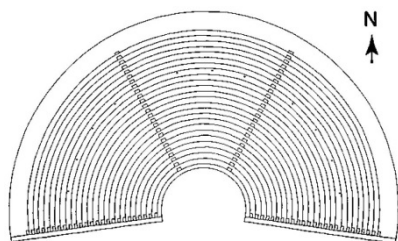

Figure 4.2.53 Plan of the Roman agora at Oenoanda (Coulton, 1986, fig. 2)

a) Theater of Antiphellos
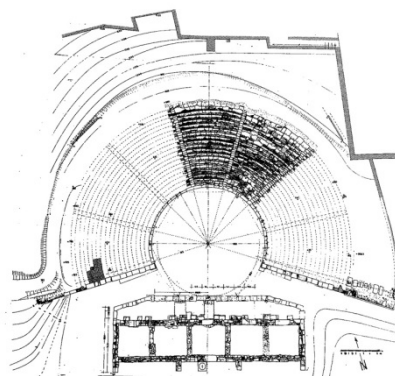
b) Theater of Arykanda
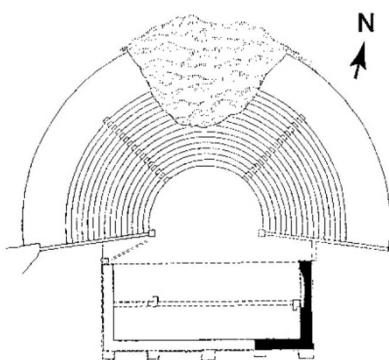
c) Upper theater of Balboura
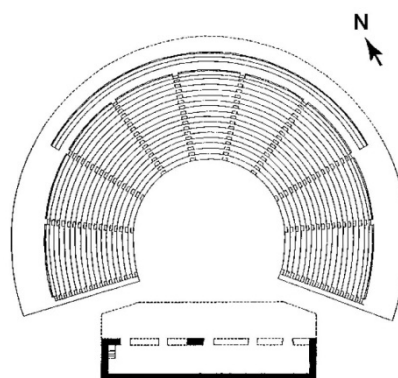
d) Theater of Kadyanda
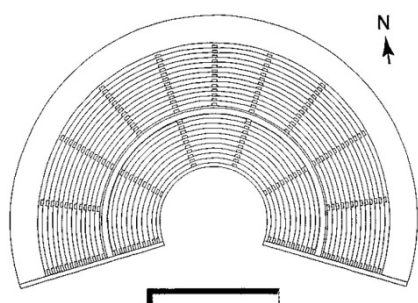
e) Theater of Kyaneai
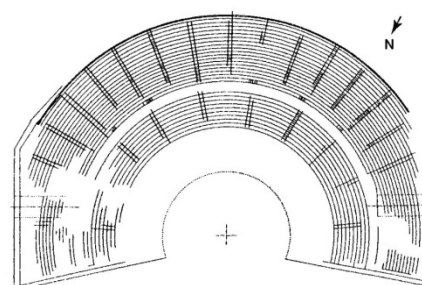
f) Theater of Letoon

Figure 4.3.1 A selection of theaters with over-semicircular plans at Lycia.
(Sear, 2007, plans for a:379, b:381, c:384, d:386, e:387, f:407)
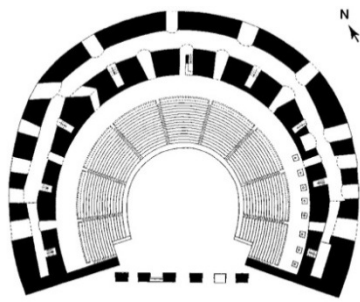
g) Theater of Limyra
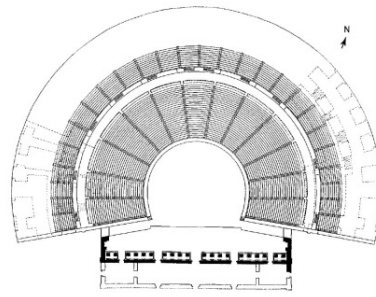
h) Theater of Myra
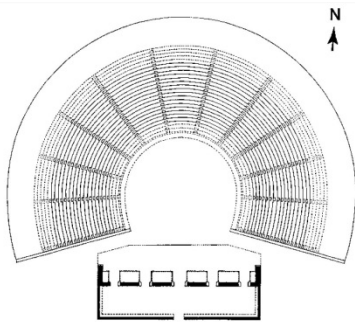
i) Theater of Oenoanda
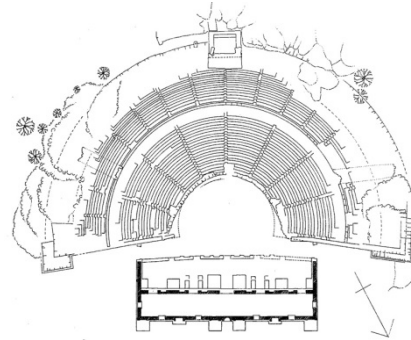
j) Theater of Patara
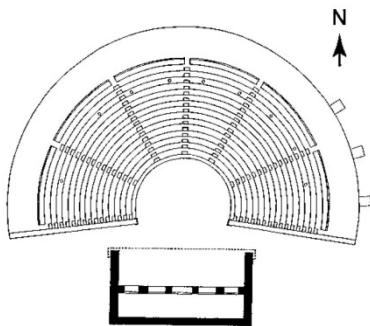
k) Theater of Rhodiapolis
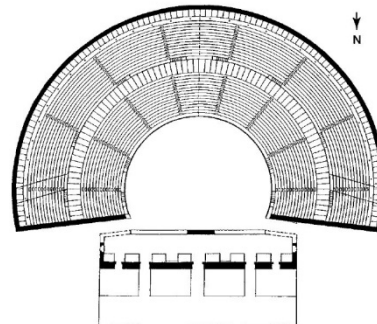
l) Theater of Telmessos
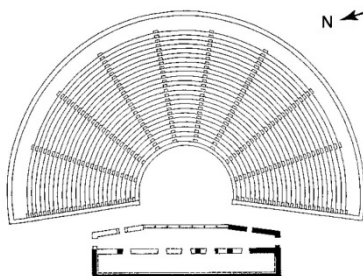
m) Theater of Pinara
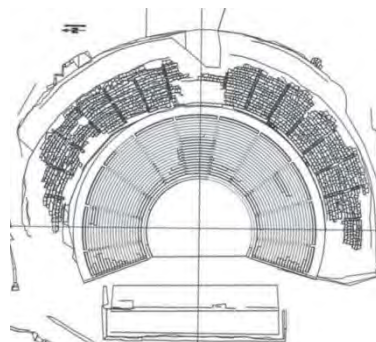
n) Theater of Tlos

Figure 4.3.1 (cont'd) A selection of theaters with over-semicircular plans at Lycia
(Sear, 2007, plans for g:388, h:389, i:390, k:395, l:402, m:394; Patara: Piesker and Ganzert, 2012;
Tlos: Korkut, 2011, fig.9)
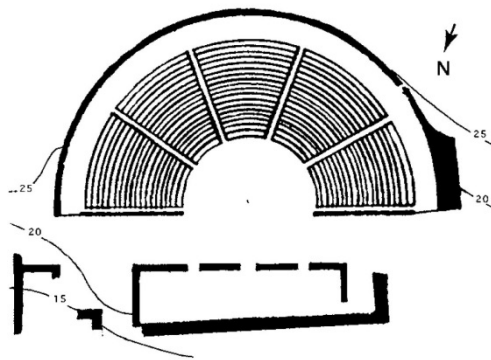
a) Theater of Phaselis
(Sear, 2007, plan 393)
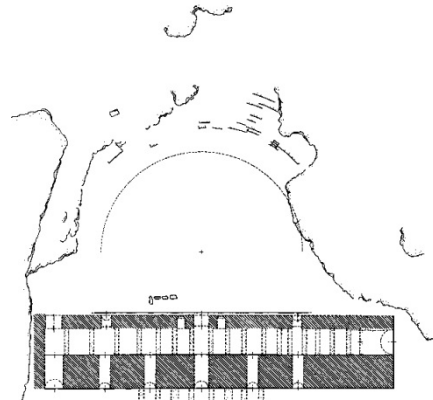
b) Lower theater of Balboura
(Bier, 1990, fig. 5)

Figure 4.3.2 Theaters with semicircular *cavea*
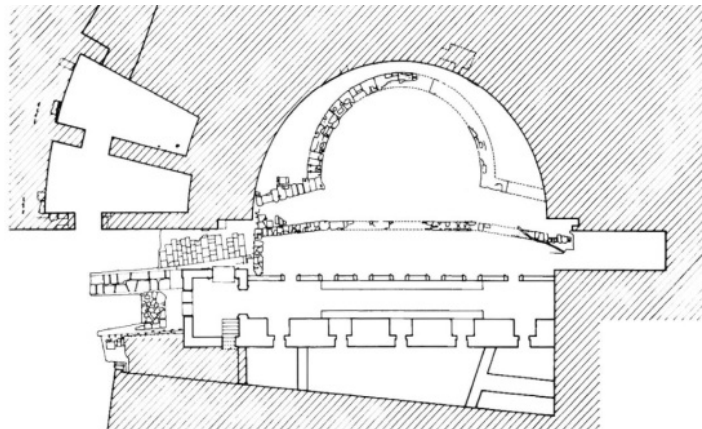
Figure 4.3.3 Plan of the theater of Xanthos, indicating the traces of its Hellenistic predecessor
(Frezouls, 1990, fig. 3)

Figure 4.3.4 Rock-cut seating rows and
diazoma of the theater of Letoon
(photograph by the author)

Figure 4.3.5 Rock-cut *cavea* of the theater of
Simena (photograph by the author)

Figure 4.3.6 Unfinished rock-cut *cavea* of
the lower theater at Balboura
(photograph by the author)

Figure 4.3.7 Vaulted corridor supporting the
summa cavea of the theater of Limyra
(photograph by the author)

Figure 4.3.8 The theater of Myra. Entrance to the vaulted substructure leading to the *summa cavea*
on the left (photograph by the author)

Figure 4.3.9 Covered *parodos* at the theater
of Myra (photograph by the author)

Figure 4.3.10 Eastern *parodos* of the theater
of Xanthos (photograph by the author)

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Figure 4.3.11 The *orchestra* of the theater of Myra with parapet (photograph by the author)

Figure 4.3.12 The *orchestra* of the theater of Patara with parapet (photograph by the author)

Figure 4.3.13 The *orchestra* of the theater of Tlos with parapet (photograph by the author)

Figure 4.3.14 The *orchestra* of the theater of Xanthos with high podium wall (photograph by the author)

Figure 4.3.15 Post holes on the *cavea* podium at theater of Rhodiapolis (photograph by the author)

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Figure 4.3.16 Rooms built into the *orchestra* wall at the theaters of Xanthos (left) and Patara (right) (photograph by the author)

Figure 4.3.17 (above) The *stadion* at Arykanda (photograph by the author)

Figure 4.3.18 (left) The Doric style, 8 niched façade at the *stadion* of Arykanda (photograph by the author)

Figure 4.3.19 (below) The *stadion* at Kadyanda (photograph by the author)

Figure 4.3.20 The stadium area at Tlos (photograph by the author)

Figure 4.3.21 The *stadion* at Tlos (photograph by the author)
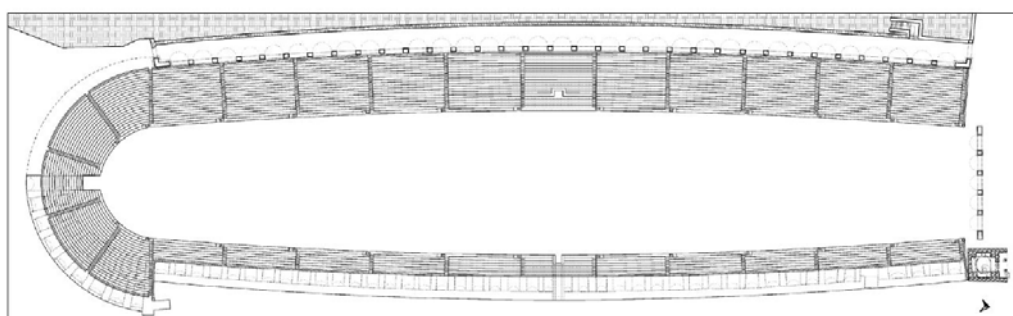
Figure 4.3.22 The plan of the *stadion* at Kibyra
(Dökü & Kaya, 2013, fig. 6, architects: I. Akgül, N. Gürlesin, M. Sayan, N. Kocaman)

Figure 4.3.23
The *stadion* at Kibyra
(photograph by the author)

Figure 4.3.24 Vaulted and
rubble-filled substructure
supporting the eastern *cavea* of
the *stadion* at Kibyra
(photograph by the author)

Figure 4.3.25 The five-arched
propylon of the *stadion* at
Kibyra
(photograph by the author)

Figure 4.3.26 The *sphendone*
and the vaulted entrance at the
stadion of Kibyra
(photograph by the author)

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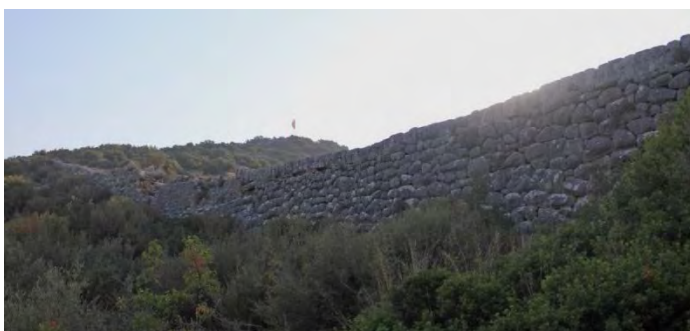
Figure 4.4.1 Patara Delikkemer inverted siphon (photograph by the author)

Figure 4.4.2 Patara Delikkemer inverted siphon (photograph by the author)
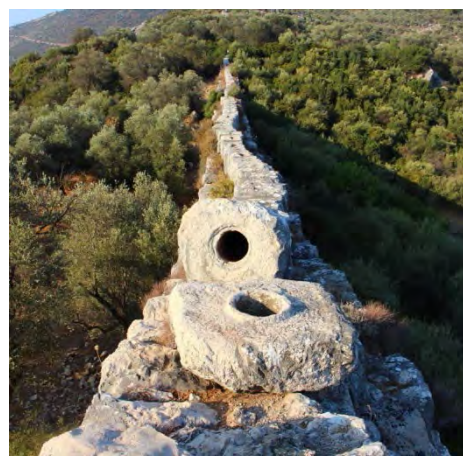
Figure 4.4.3 The hollowed stone blocks of Patara Delikkemer inverted siphon (photograph by the author)

Figure 4.4.4 The Arch of Mettius Modestus at Patara and the gutter on its western façade (photographs by the author)

Figure 4.4.5 The octagonal pool at Patara, possibly fed by the water coming from the Arch of Mettius Modestus (photograph by the author)

Figure 4.4.6 The arcade of the Phaselis aqueduct (photograph by the author)
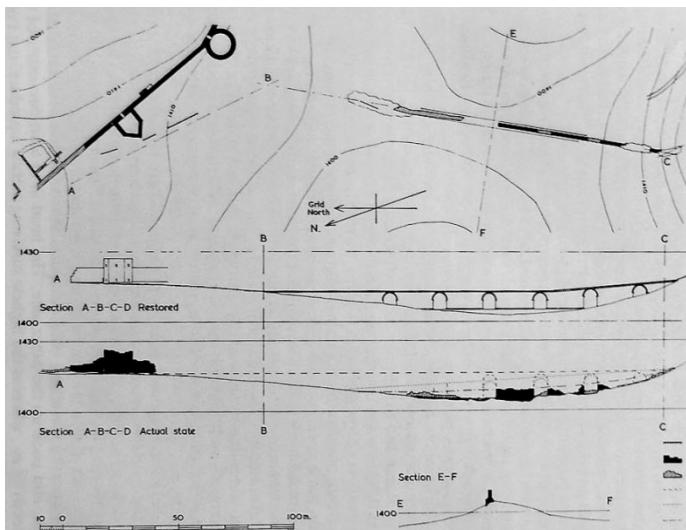
Figure 4.4.7 The plan of the Oenoanda aqueduct, indicating where the piping system pierces the city walls (Stenton & Coulton, 1986, fig. 3)

Figure 4.4.8 Stone piping leading to the city walls at Oenoanda (photograph by the author)

Figure 4.4.9 The cistern at the acropolis of
Rhodiapolis (photograph by the author)

Figure 4.4.10 The cistern at the Asklepieion
of Rhodiapolis (photograph by the author)
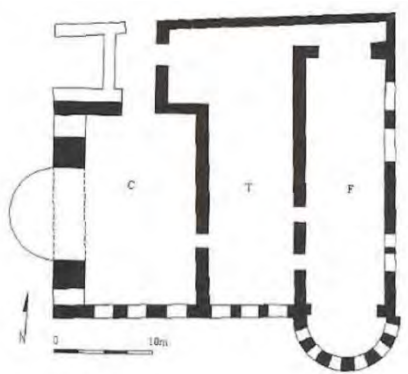
a) Humalık/Harbour baths at Patara
(Gülşen, 2007b, fig. 4)
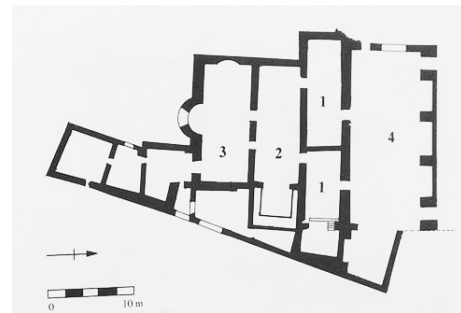
b) Bath-gymnasium at Phaselis
(Farrington, 1995, fig. 13)
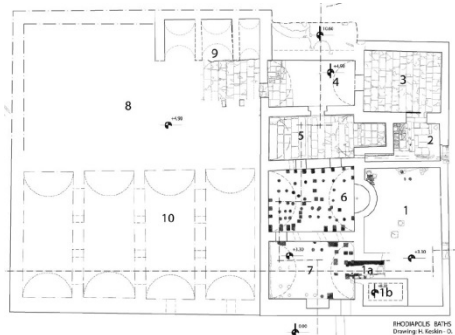
c) Bath-gymnasium at Rhodiapolis
(Çevik, Kızgut, & Bulut, 2009, fig. 3)
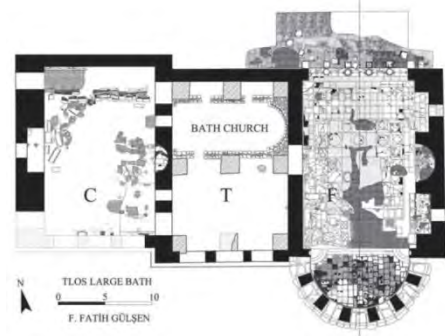
d) Large baths at Tlos
(Korkut, 2011, fig. 9)
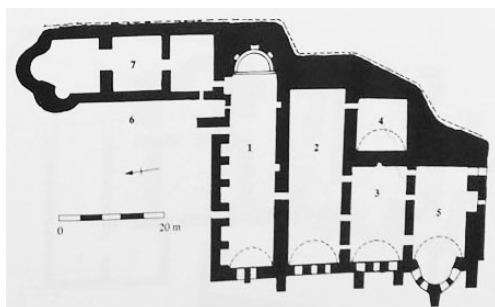
e) (left) Bath-gymnasium at Arykanda
(Farrington, 1995, fig. 2)

Figure 4.4.11 The available plans of baths that
have been excavated or under excavation
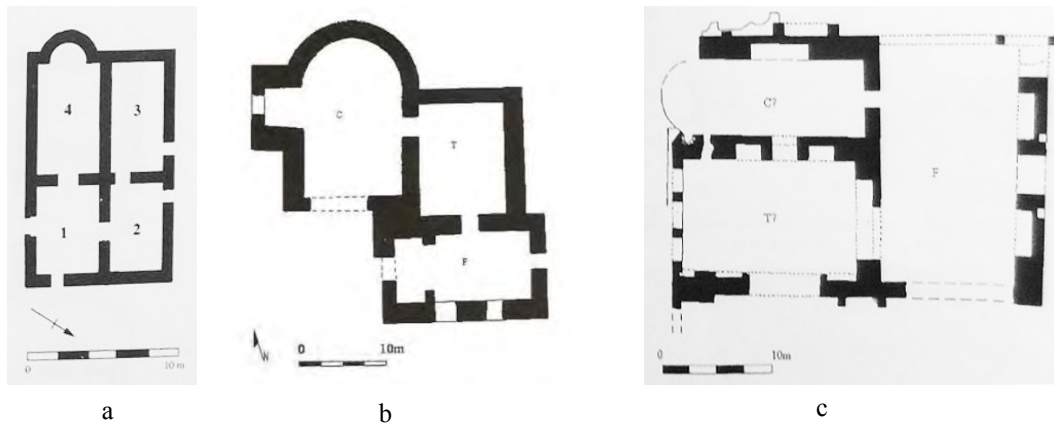
Figure 4.4.12 The plans of baths that do not have row-arrangement plan type
a) Baths of Titus at Simena (Farrington, 1995, fig. 15)
b) Small baths at Patara (Gülşen, 2007b, fig. 6)
c) Bath-gymnasium at Tlos (Gülşen, 2007b, fig. 7)

Figure 4.4.13 Brick baths at Myra
(photograph by the author)
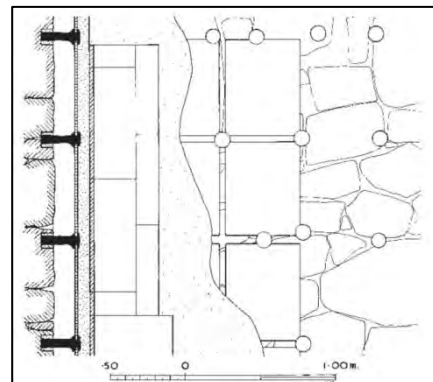
Figure 4.4.14 The schematic drawing of
terracotta spacer pin system
(Farrington & Coulton 1990, fig. 4)

Figure 4.4.15 The *latrina* at Phaselis
(photograph by the author)

Figure 4.4.16 The *latrina* at Arykanda
(photograph by the author)

Figure 4.4.17 (left)
The *nymphaeum* at Arykanda
(photograph by the author)

Figure 4.4.18 (below)
The *nymphaeum* at Kibyra
(www. http://arkeolojihaber.net)

Figure 4.4.19 (above)
The fountain-pool complex at
the stadium area of Tlos
(photograph by the author)

Figure 4.4.20 (left)
The fountain inside the
frigidarium of the bath-
gymnasium complex at
Arykanda
(photographs by the author)

Figure 4.4.21 The *nymphaeum* at the junction of Myra and Andriake (Çevik, 2016, fig.9)

Figure 4.4.22 The *nymphaeum* of Hadrian at Letoon (photograph by the author)

1. South Gate
2. Lycian Acropolis
3. Theater
4. Western/Roman Agora
5. Harpy Tomb
6. Inscribed Pillar
7. Baths
8. Square

9. *Bouleuterion*?
10. *Decumanus*
11 *Dipylon*
12. Square
13. *Nymphaeum*?
14. *Cardo*
15. Upper/Northern Agora
16. Civil Basilica/*Cryptoportucus*

17. Lower/Southern Agora
18. The Nereid Monument
19. City Basilica
20. Southeastern Sector
21. Roman Acropolis

● Nodal points
▬ Roads and streets

Figure 4.5.1 The city plan of Xanthos (after Cavalier, 2012a, Fig.1)

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Figure 4.5.2 The South Gate of Xanthos, views from the front (left) and back (right) (photograph by the author)

Figure 4.5.3 The Nereid Monument, view from the South Gate (photograph by the author)

Figure 4.5.4 The modern road climbing up towards the Lycian Acropolis of Xanthos, which follows the course of the ancient road (photograph by the author)

Figure 4.5.5 The *decumanus* of Xanthos, view from east to west (photograph by the author)

Figure 4.5.6 The *dipylon* at the intersection of the *cardo* and the *decumanus* at Xanthos (photograph by the author)

Figure 4.5.7 The *cardo* and the eastern wall of the *cryptoporticus* at Xanthos, view towards the south (photograph by the author)
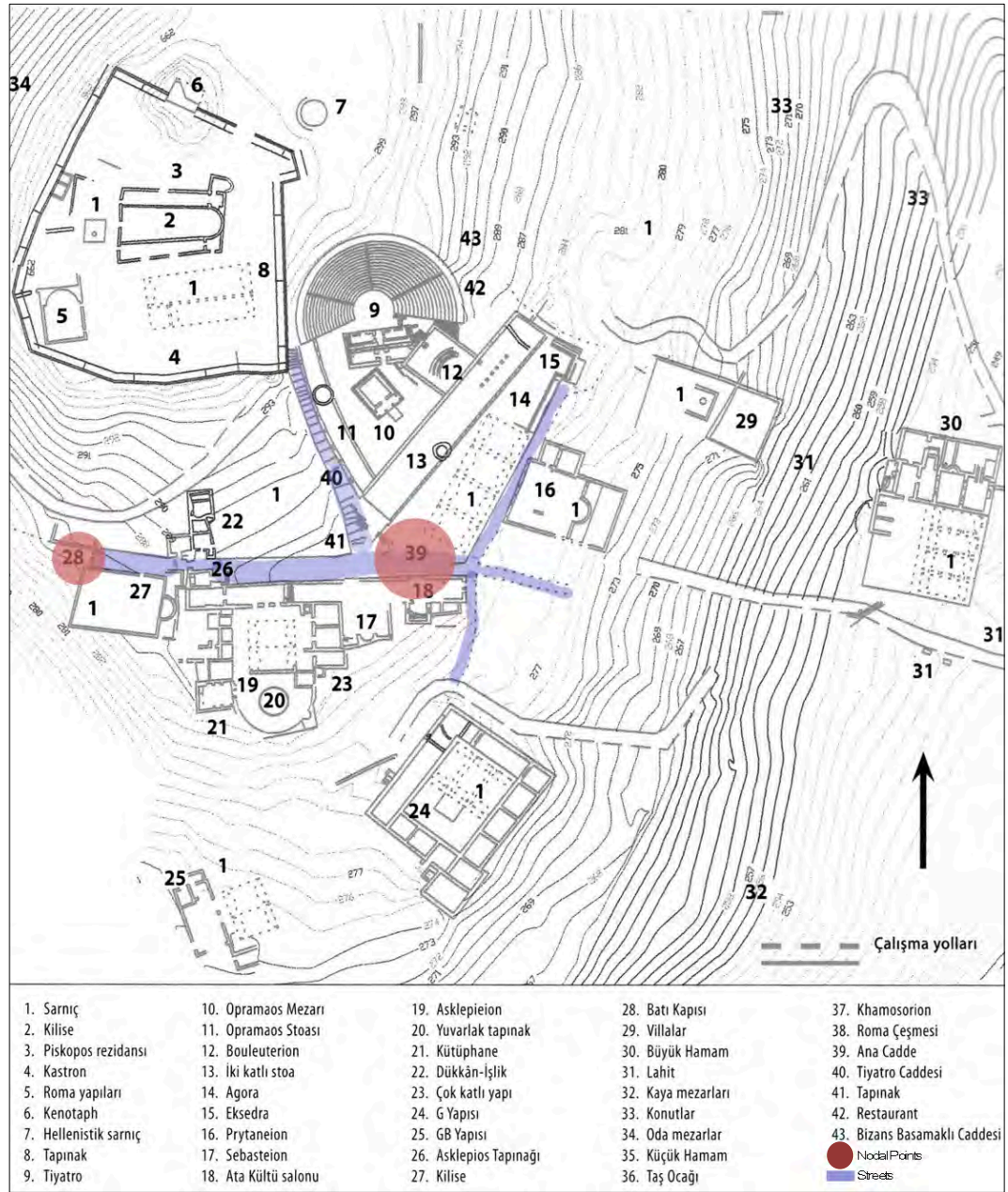
Figure 4.5.8 The city plan of Rhodiapolis (after Çevik, 2015a, p. 423)

The legend of the figure reads:

1. Sarnıç
2. Kilise
3. Piskopos rezidansı
4. Kastron
5. Roma yapıları
6. Kenotaph
7. Hellenistik sarnıç
8. Tapınak
9. Tiyatro
10. Opramaos Mezarı
11. Opramaos Stoası
12. Bouleuterion
13. İki katlı stoa
14. Agora
15. Eksedra
16. Prytaneion
17. Sebasteion
18. Ata Kültü salonu
19. Asklepieion
20. Yuvarlak tapınak
21. Kütüphane
22. Dükkân-İşlik
23. Çok katlı yapı
24. G Yapısı
25. GB Yapısı
26. Asklepios Tapınağı
27. Kilise
28. Batı Kapısı
29. Villalar
30. Büyük Hamam
31. Lahit
32. Kaya mezarları
33. Konutlar
34. Oda mezarlar
35. Küçük Hamam
36. Taş Ocağı
37. Khamosorion
38. Roma Çeşmesi
39. Ana Cadde
40. Tiyatro Caddesi
41. Tapınak
42. Restaurant
43. Bizans Basamaklı Caddesi

Nodal Points
Streets
Çalışma yolları

Figure 4.5.9 The western gate at Rhodiapolis, view from east to west (photograph by the author)

Figure 4.5.10 The *decumanus* and the western city gate of Rhodiapolis, view from west to east (photograph by the author)

Figure 4.5.11 The stoa of the Asklepieion at Rhodiapolis (photograph by the author)

Figure 4.5.12 The stairs between the stoas of Asklepieion and the *Hadrianeum* at Rhodiapolis (photograph by the author)

Figure 4.5.13 The theater street at Rhodiapolis (photograph by the author)
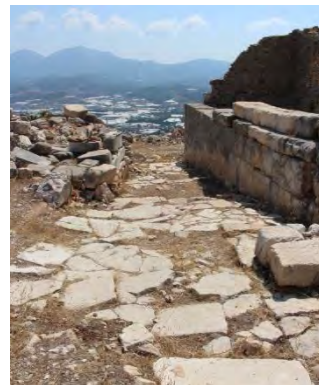
Figure 4.5.14 The *decumanus* of Rhodiapolis leading towards the east (photograph by the author)
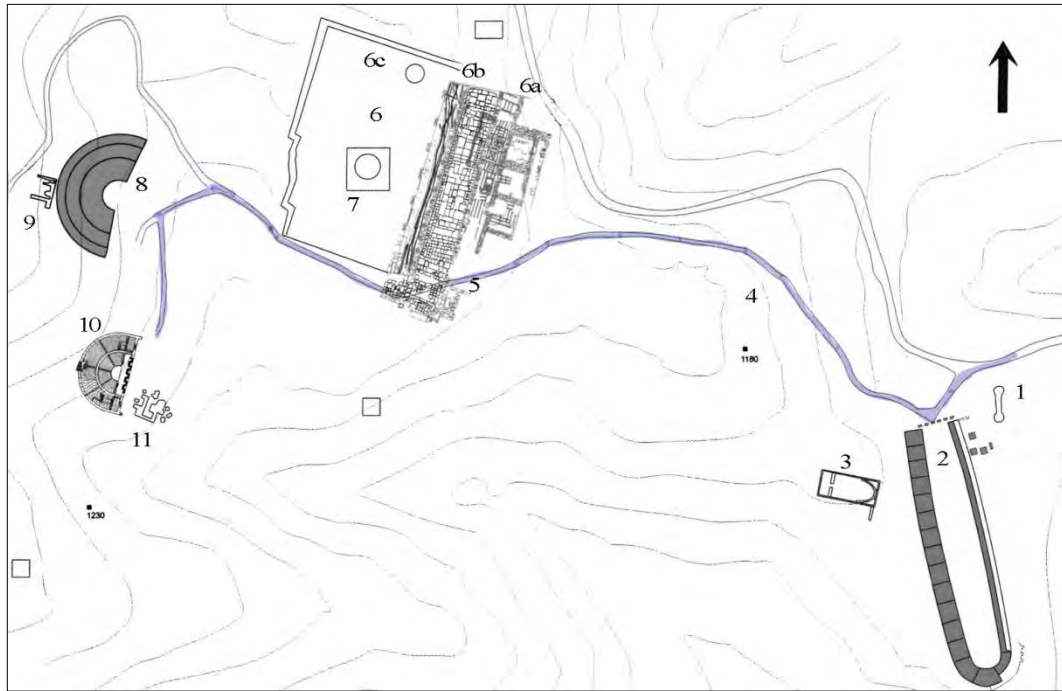
Figure 4.5.15 The city plan of Kibyra (after Özüdoğru, 2014, Fig. 2)

Figure 4.5.16 The *cardo* in the form of stepped street at Kibyra (photograph by the author)

Figure 4.5.17 Model of Arykanda (Bayburtluğlu, 2003, p.51)
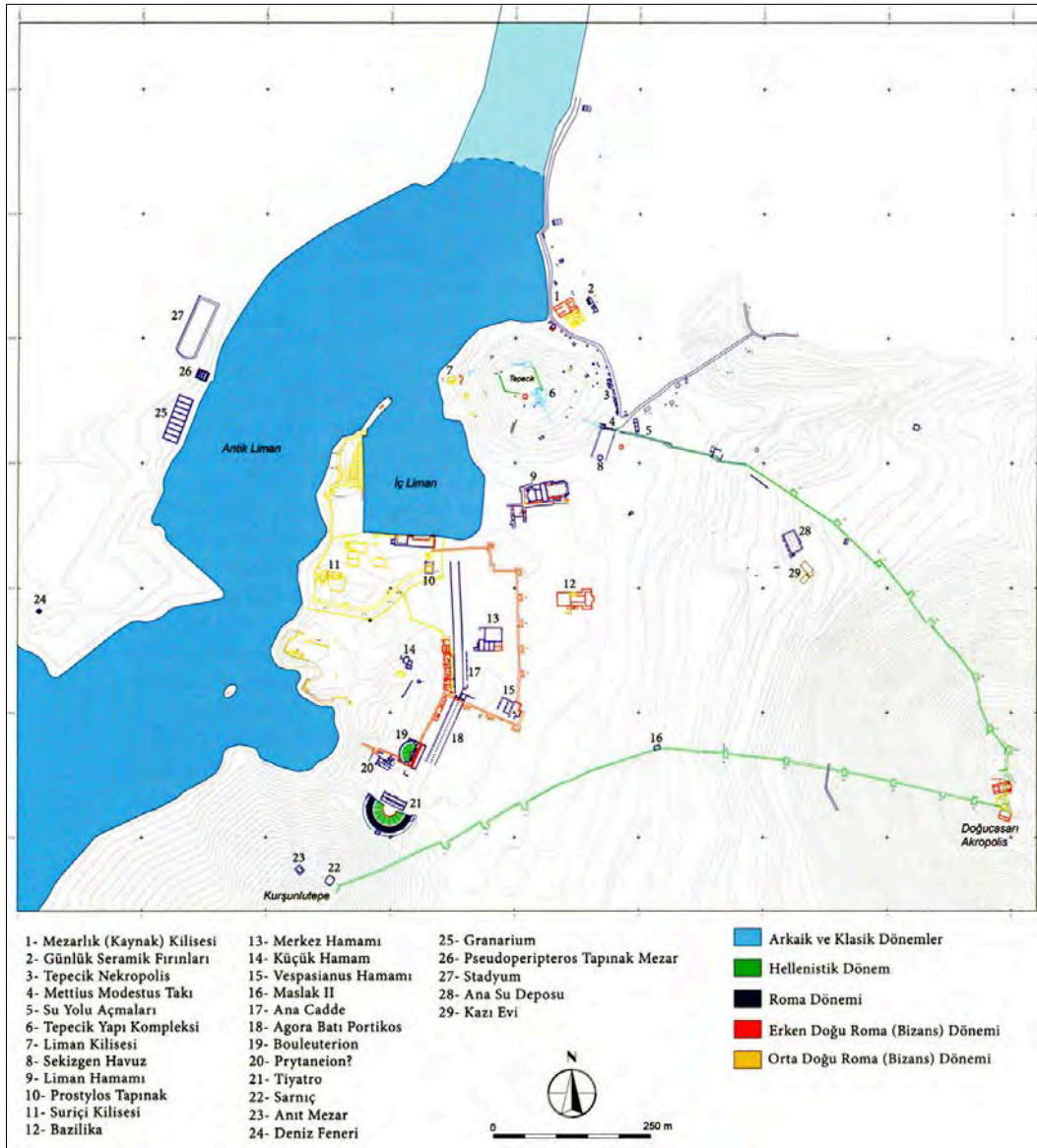
Figure 4.5.18 The city plan of Patara (İşkan, 2016, Fig. 6)

1- Mezarlık (Kaynak) Kilisesi
2- Günlük Seramik Fırınları
3- Tepecik Nekropolis
4- Mettius Modestus Takı
5- Su Yolu Açmaları
6- Tepecik Yapı Kompleksi
7- Liman Kilisesi
8- Sekizgen Havuz
9- Liman Hamamı
10- Prostylos Tapınak
11- Suriçi Kilisesi
12- Bazilika
13- Merkez Hamamı
14- Küçük Hamam
15- Vespasianus Hamamı
16- Maslak II
17- Ana Cadde
18- Agora Batı Portikos
19- Bouleuterion
20- Prytaneion?
21- Tiyatro
22- Sarnıç
23- Anıt Mezar
24- Deniz Feneri
25- Granarium
26- Pseudoperipteros Tapınak Mezar
27- Stadyum
28- Ana Su Deposu
29- Kazı Evi

Arkaik ve Klasik Dönemler
Hellenistik Dönem
Roma Dönemi
Erken Doğu Roma (Bizans) Dönemi
Orta Doğu Roma (Bizans) Dönemi

Figure 4.5.19 The harbor street at Patara
(photograph by the author)

Figure 4.5.20 The *dipylon* at
Patara (photograph by the author)

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Figure 4.5.21 The city plan of Phaselis (after Arslan and Tüner-Önen, 2016, Fig.1)

1. South Harbor
2. Agora of Domitian
3. Arch of Hadrian
4. Main Street
5. Square
6. Tetragonal Agora
7. Small baths
8. Latrine
9. Theater
10. Bath-gymnasium
11. Military/Central Harbor
12. Harbor facilities
13. Aqueduct

Figure 4.5.22 The main avenue of Phaselis, the section between the military harbor and the public square (photograph by the author)

Figure 4.5.23 The main avenue of Phaselis, the section between the public square and the Arch of Hadrian (photograph by the author)

Figure 4.5.24 The Arch of Hadrian at Phaselis (photograph by the author)

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Figure 4.5.25 The trapezoidal square at Phaselis and the Tetragonal Agora at the back
(photograph by the author)

Figure 4.5.26 The stairs leading to the theater at Phaselis
(photograph by the author)
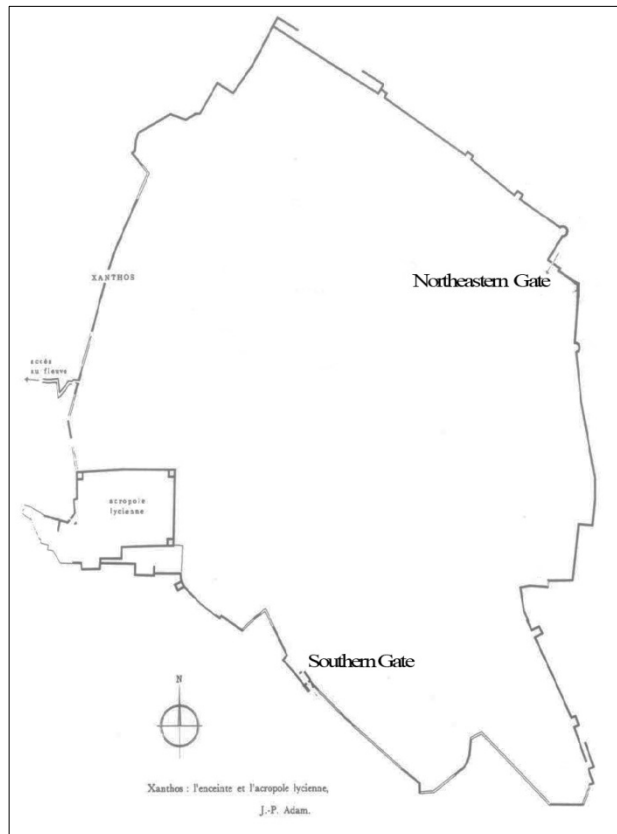
Figure 4.6.1.1 (left) Plan of the city walls of Xanthos (after des Courtils, 1994, Fig. 1)

Figure 4.6.1.2 (below) Polygonal masonry walls surrounding the Lycian Acropolis of Xanthos (photograph by the author)
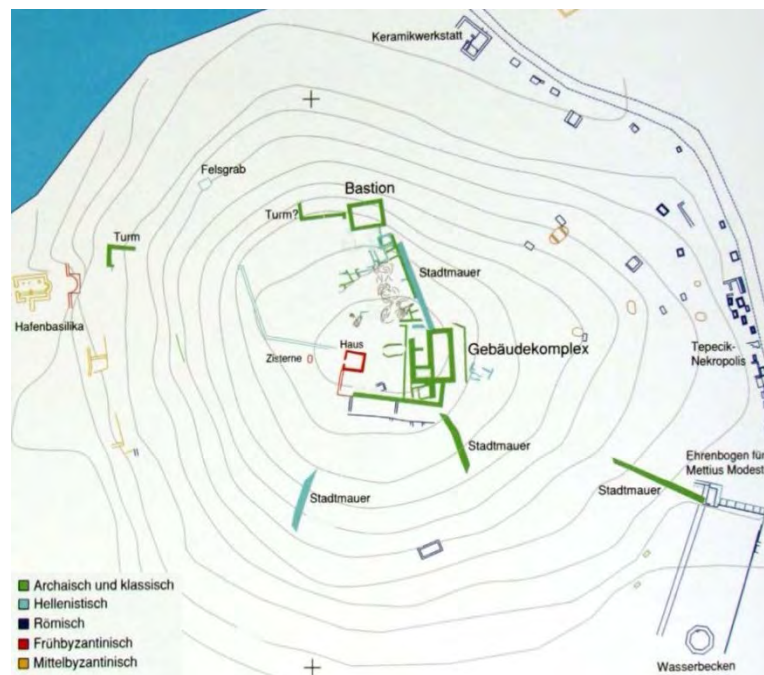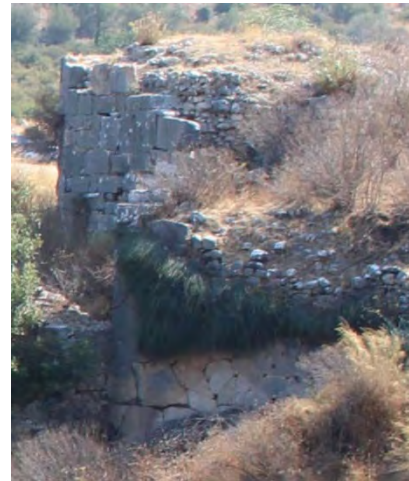
Figure 4.6.1.3 Plan of the Tepecik Akropolis at Patara (Dündar, 2016, Abb. 26)

Figure 4.6.1.4 The city plan of Limyra (Seyer, 2016, Fig. 2)
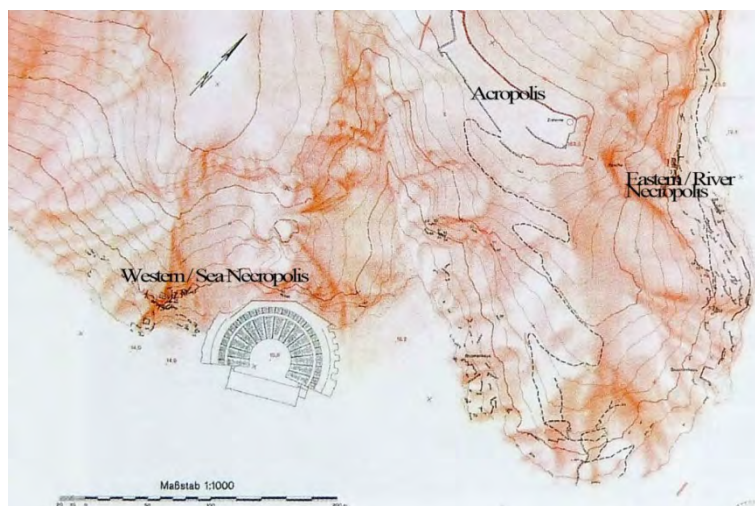
Figure 4.6.1.5 Settlement
plan of Myra
(J. Borchhardt in Çevik,
2015a, p.360)
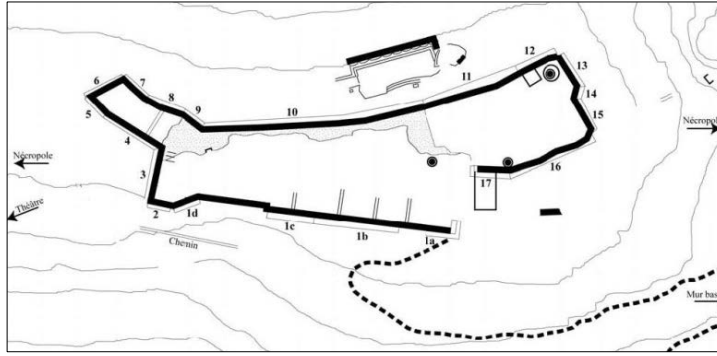
Figure 4.6.1.6 Plan of the Acropolis of Myra (Çevik & Pimouguet-Pedarros, 2011, Fig. 14)
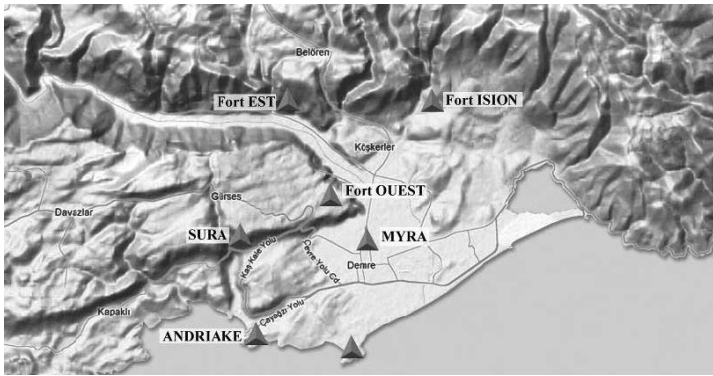
Figure 4.6.1.7 Extra-urban defensive system of Myra (Çevik & Pimouguet-Pedarros, 2011, Fig. 10)

Figure 4.6.1.8 Settlement plan of Andriake (Ç. A. Aygün in Çevik, 2015a, p. 379)
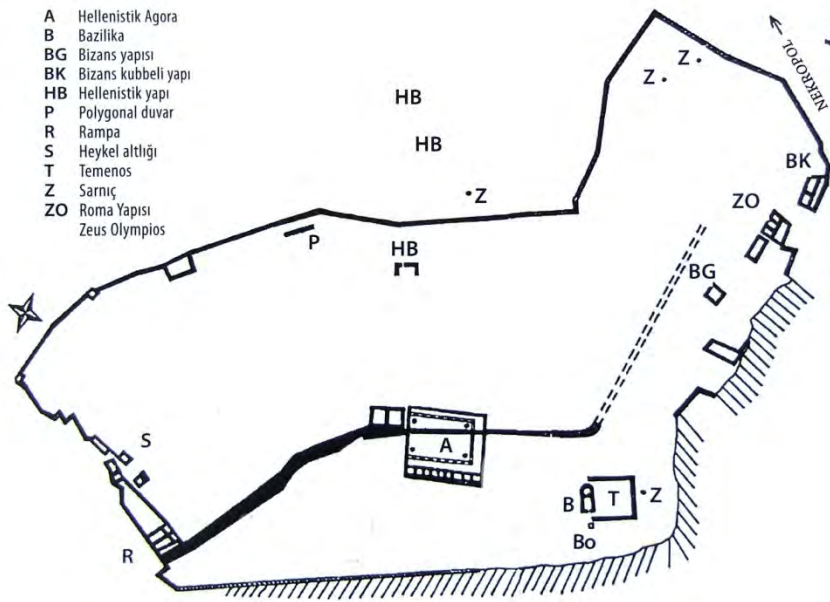
Figure 4.6.1.9 (above) Plan of Musa Dağı settlement (after N. Öner Tüner and M. Adak in Çevik, 2015a, p. 466)

A	Hellenistik Agora
B	Bazilika
BG	Bizans yapısı
BK	Bizans kubbeli yapı
HB	Hellenistik yapı
P	Polygonal duvar
R	Rampa
S	Heykel altlığı
T	Temenos
Z	Sarnıç
ZO	Roma Yapısı Zeus Olympios

Figure 4.6.10 (left) Hellenistic city wall of Olympos (photograph by the author)
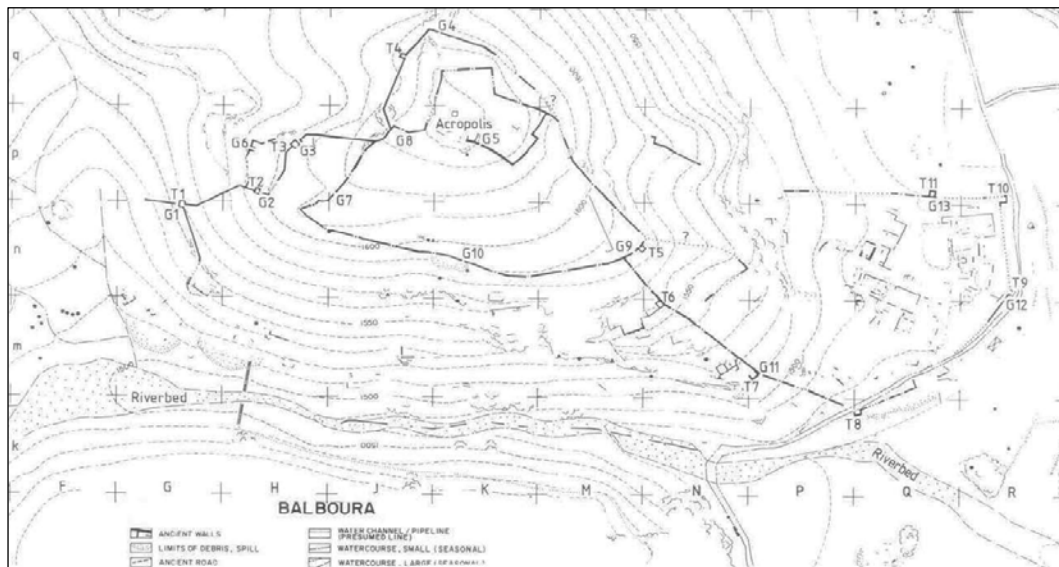
Figure 4.6.1.11 (above) Plan of Balboura, indicating Hellenistic and Byzantine fortifications (Coulton, 1994, Fig. 1)

Figure 4.6.1.12 (left)
Plan of Oenoanda
(after Bachmann, 2016, Fig. 6)
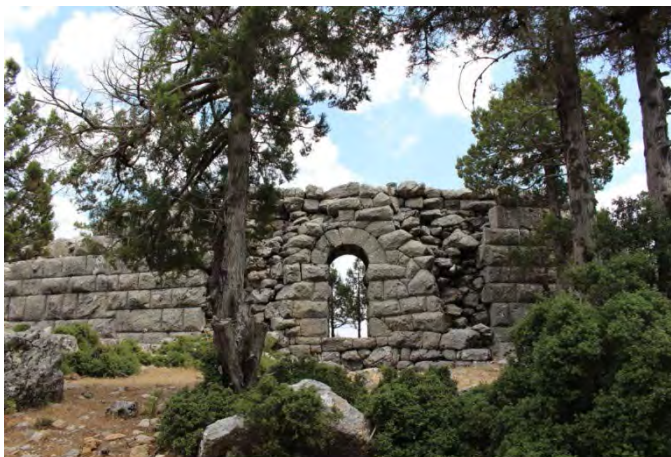
Figure 4.6.1.13 Well-preserved sections of the Hellenistic city walls of Oenoanda, showing both construction techniques (photograph by the author)

Figure 4.6.1.14 The outside and inside of the pentagonal Hellenistic tower at Oenoanda
(photograph by the author)
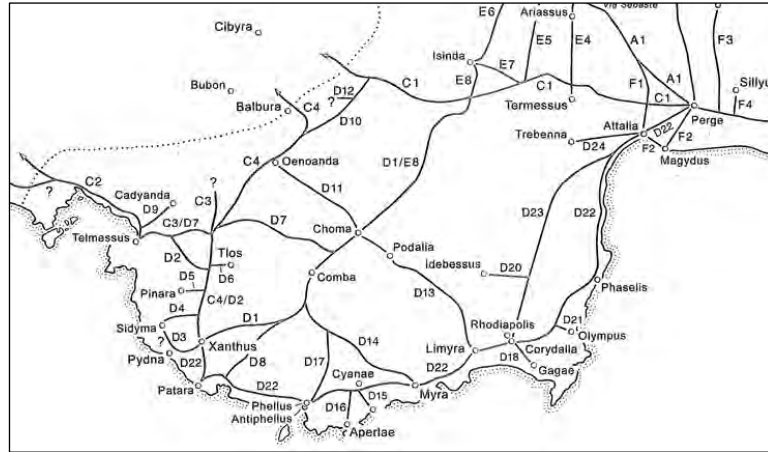
Figure 4.6.1.15 The
restitution of the
Stadiasmus Monument
(Onur, 2016, fig. 4)

Figure 4.6.1.16 Roman roads in Lycia
(French, 2014, fig. 5.1.1)

Figure 4.6.1.17 Kırkgöz Kemeri, the Roman bridge at Limyra (photograph by the author)
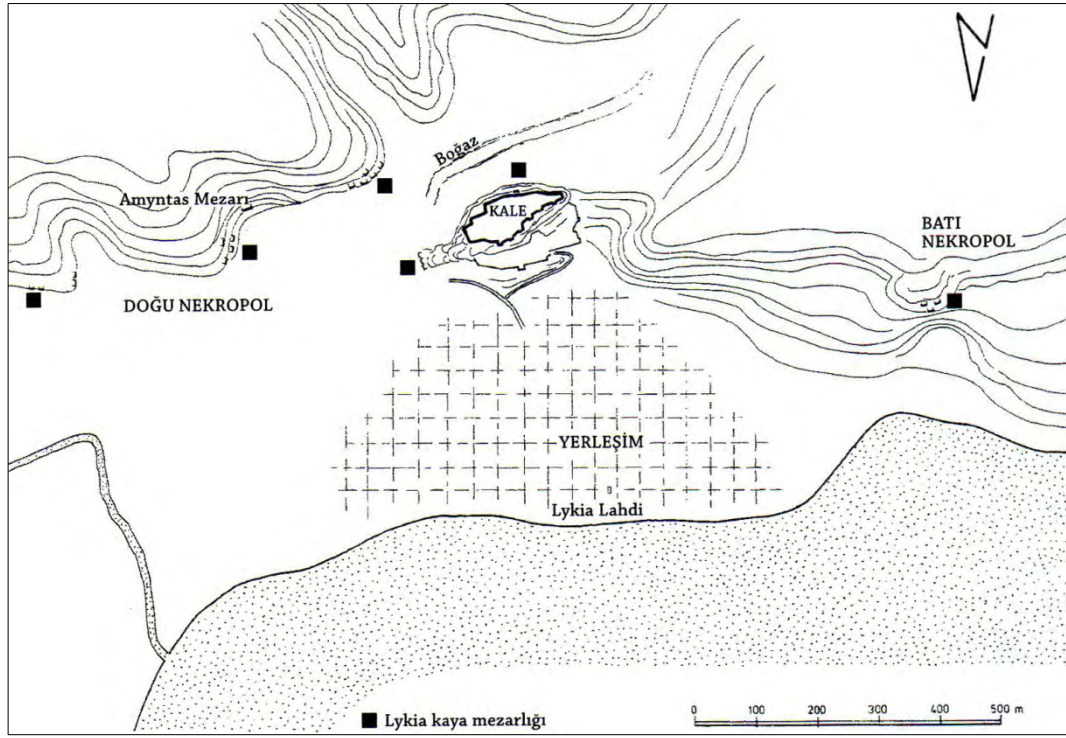
Figure 4.6.2.1 Settlement plan of Telmessos
(J. Borchhardt in Çevik, 2015a, p. 197)
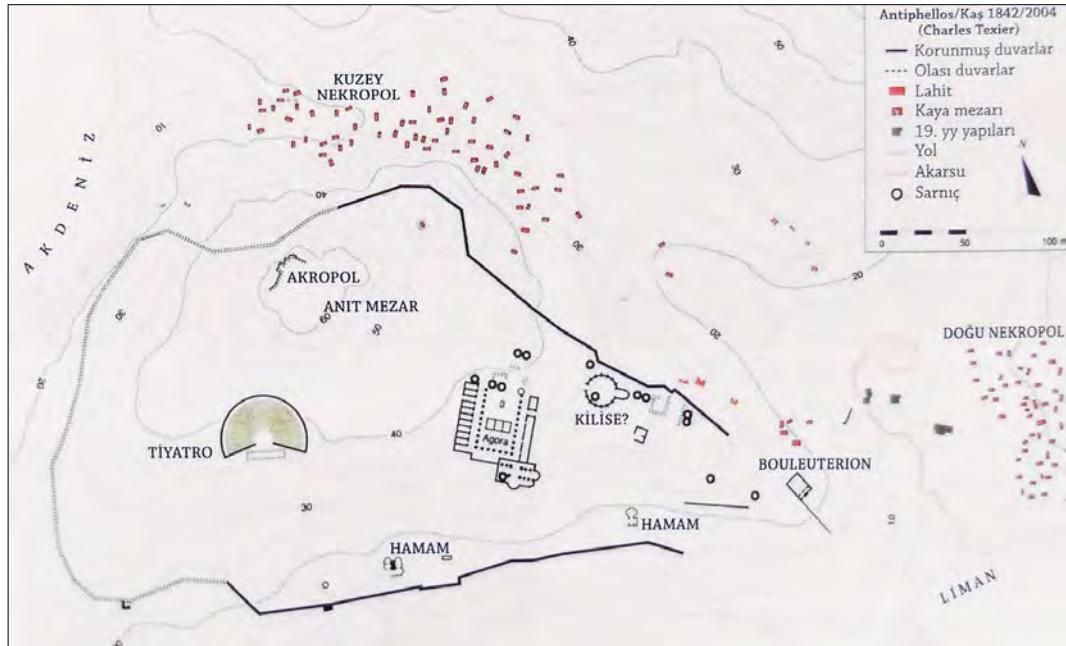
Figure 4.6.2.2 Plan of Antiphellos
(C. Texier edited by A. Thomsen in Çevik, 2015a, p. 293)

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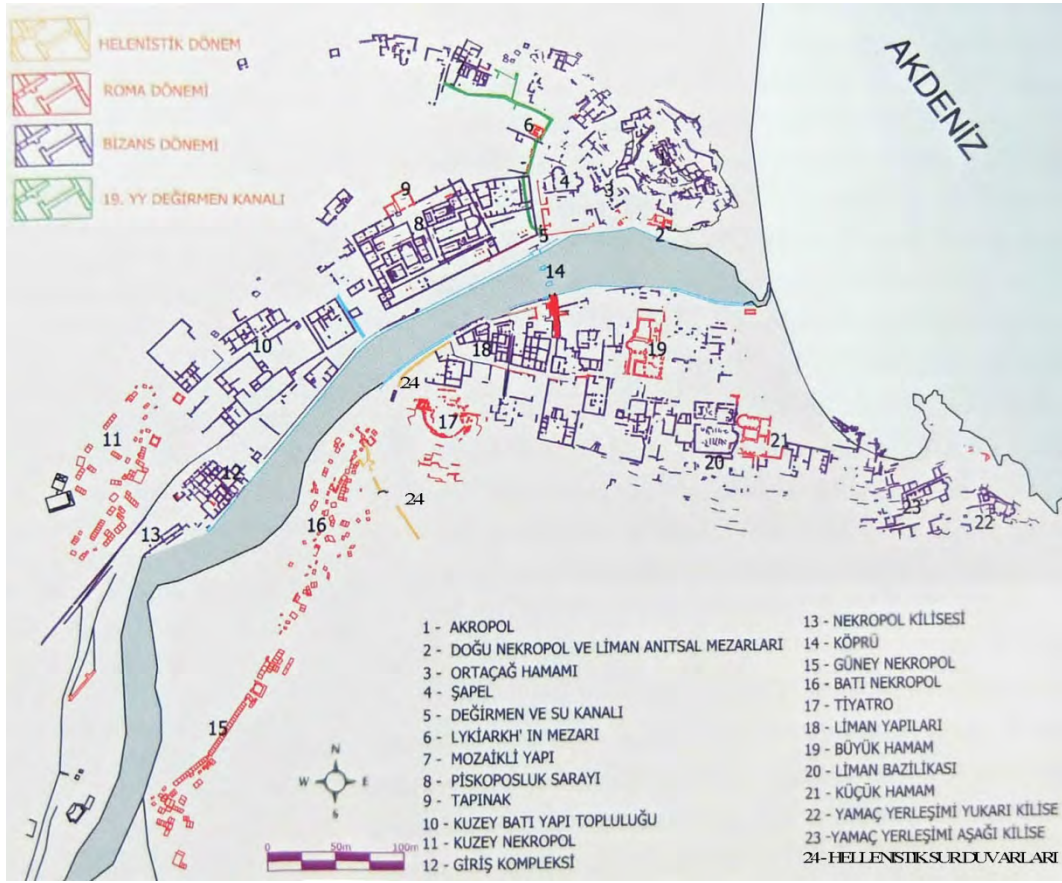
Figure 4.6.2.3 Plan of Olympos (after Olcay Uçkan & Kurtuluş Öztaşkın, 2016, Fig. 1)

The legend in the plan reads:

HELENİSTİK DÖNEM
ROMA DÖNEMİ
BİZANS DÖNEMİ
19. YY DEĞİRMEN KANALI

AKDENİZ

1 - AKROPOL
2 - DOĞU NEKROPOL VE LİMAN ANITSAL MEZARLARI
3 - ORTAÇAĞ HAMAMI
4 - ŞAPEL
5 - DEĞİRMEN VE SU KANALI
6 - LYKİARKH' IN MEZARI
7 - MOZAİKLİ YAPI
8 - PİSKOPOSLUK SARAYI
9 - TAPINAK
10 - KUZEY BATI YAPI TOPLULUĞU
11 - KUZEY NEKROPOL
12 - GİRİŞ KOMPLEKSİ
13 - NEKROPOL KİLİSESİ
14 - KÖPRÜ
15 - GÜNEY NEKROPOL
16 - BATI NEKROPOL
17 - TİYATRO
18 - LİMAN YAPILARI
19 - BÜYÜK HAMAM
20 - LİMAN BAZİLİKASI
21 - KÜÇÜK HAMAM
22 - YAMAÇ YERLEŞİMİ YUKARI KİLİSE
23 - YAMAÇ YERLEŞİMİ AŞAĞI KİLİSE
24 - HELLENİSTİK SUR DUVARLARI

Figure 4.6.2.4 Remains of the bridge at Olympos (photograph by the author)

Figure 4.6.2.5 Harbor walls at the southern side of Olympos (photograph by the author)

Figure 4.6.2.6 Harbor facilities at the southern side of Olympos (photograph by the author)

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Figure 4.6.2.7 Plan of Andriake (after Çevik, 2015a, p. 379)

Figure 4.6.2.8 View of the harbor area at Andriake (photograph by the author)

Figure 4.6.2.9 The *horreum* at Andriake (photograph by the author)
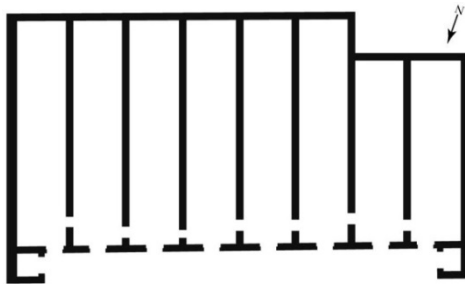
Figure 4.6.2.10 The plan of the *horreum* at Andriake (Cavalier, 2007, Fig. 4)
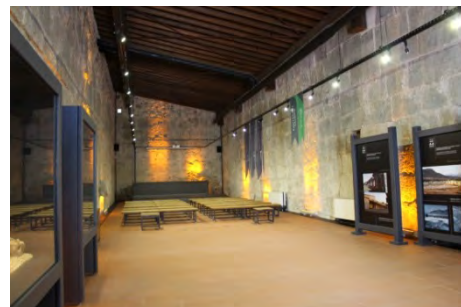
Figure 4.6.2.11 View from the interior of one of the rooms of the *horreum* at Andriake (photograph by the author)

Figure 4.6.2.12 Harbor facilities
at Andriake
(photograph by the author)
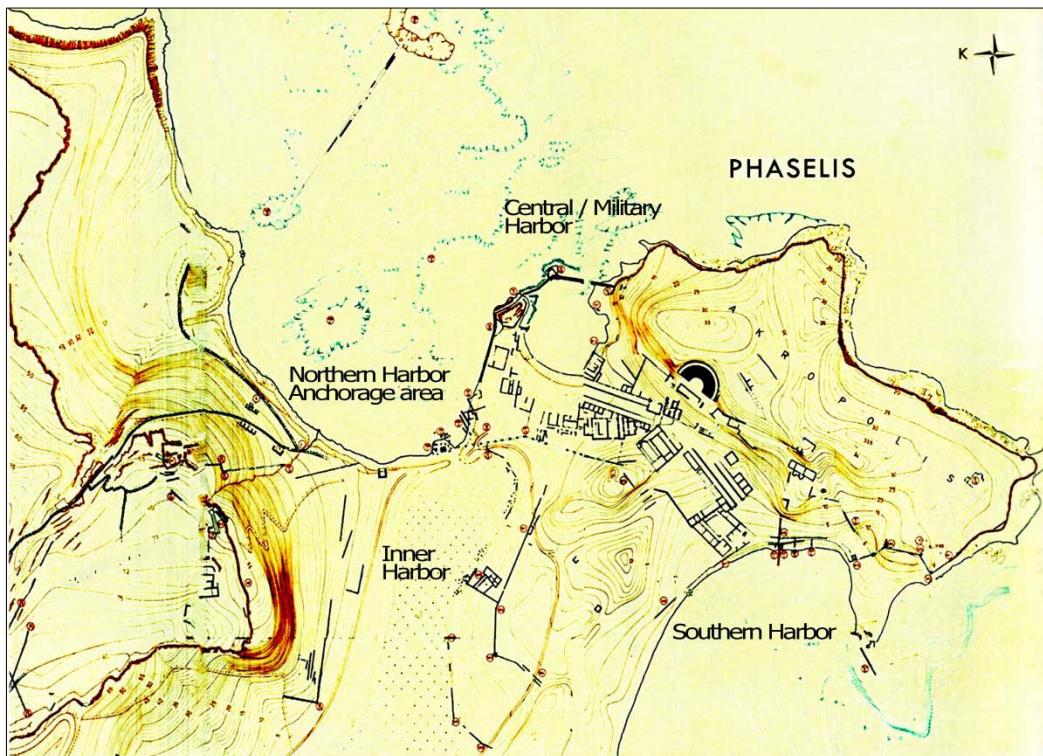
Figure 4.6.2.13 Plan of Phaselis, indicating the locations of the harbors
(Arslan and Tüner-Önen, 2016, Fig.1)
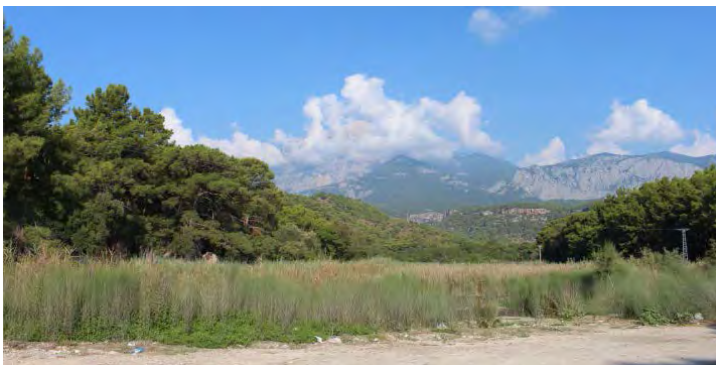
Figure 4.6.2.14 Current
situation of the inner harbor
at Phaselis (photograph by
the author)
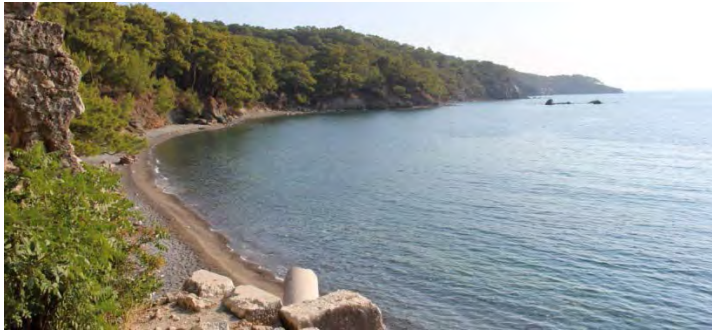
Figure 4.6.2.15 Northern harbor at Phaselis (photograph by the author)

Figure 4.6.2.16 Southern harbor at Phaselis (photograph by the author)
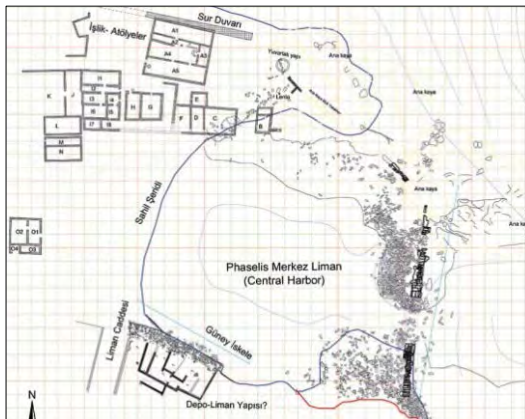
Figure 4.6.2.17 Plan of the central harbor at Phaselis (Aslan, 2016, Fig.1)

Figure 4.6.2.18 Central harbor at Phaselis (photograph by the author)
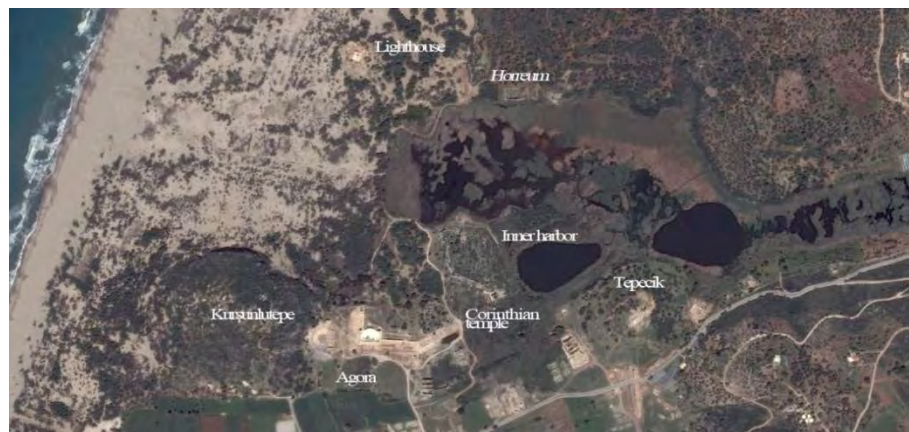
Figure 4.6.2.19 Google earth view of Patara estuary (edited by the author)
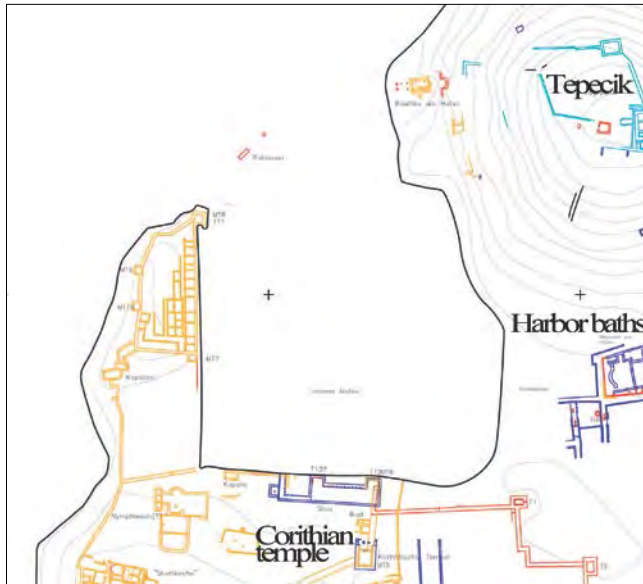
Figure 4.6.2.20 Inner harbor at Patara (after İşkan & Koçak, 2014, Abb. 12)

Figure 4.6.2.21 The *horreum* at Patara (photograph by the author)

Figure 4.6.2.22 The *horreum* at Patara, view from the back (photograph by the author)
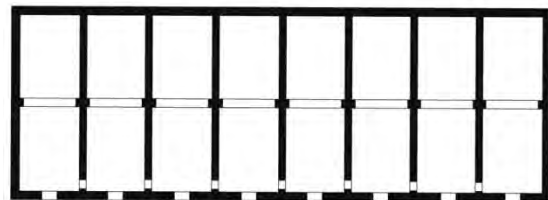
Figure 4.6.2.23 The plan of the *horreum* at Patara (Cavalier, 2007, Fig. 4)

Figure 4.6.2.24 The lighthouse at Patara (photograph by the author)

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Figure 4.6.3.1
Modern granaries in the
countryside of Kaş
(photograph by the author)

Figure 4.6.3.2
Terrace houses at Limyra
(Borchhardt, 1999, Lev. 90)
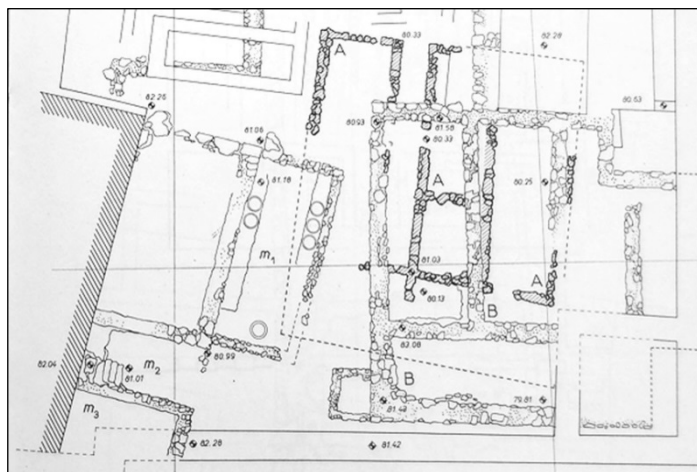
Figure 4.6.3.3
Plan of the dynastic palace at
the Lycian Acropolis of
Xanthos, showing two phases
of construction
(Metzger, 1963, Fig. 3)

Figure 4.6.3.4 The remaining
walls of the Mansion B on the
Lycian Acropolis of Xanthos
(photograph by the author)

Figure 4.6.3.5 Dynastic palace at Patara (photograph by the author)

Figure 4.6.3.6 Terrace wall of the dynastic palace at Patara (photograph by the author)

Figure 4.6.3.7 Some of the rooms of the Eastern Villa at Arykanda (photograph by the author)

Figure 4.6.3.8 The perisyle of the Western Villa at Arykanda (photograph by the author)

Figure 4.6.4.1 The Inscribed Pillar of
Xanthos (photograph by the author)
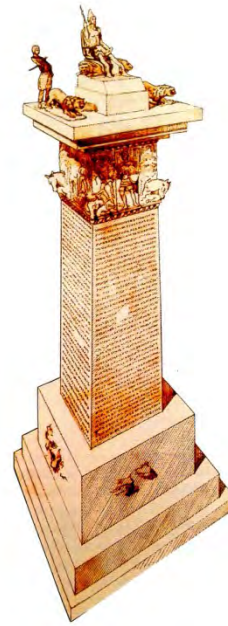
Figure 4.6.4.2 The restitution of the
Inscribed Pillar at Xanthos
(P. Coupel in Işık, 2016, Fig. 1)

Figure 4.6.4.3 The Harpy Tomb at
Xanthos (photograph by the author)
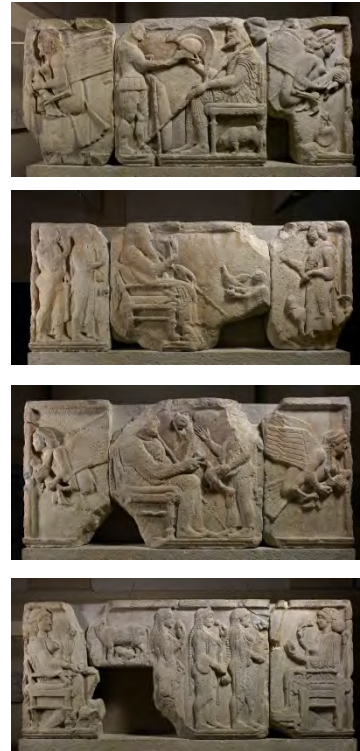
Figure 4.6.4.4 Reliefs from the Harpy Tomb;
in order of north, east, south and west
(©Trustees of the British Museum)

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Figure 4.6.4.5 Varieties of rock-cut tombs (Fellows, 1840, p.128)

Figure 4.6.4.6 The rock-cut tombs at the Western/Sea *necropolis* of Myra
(photograph by the author)
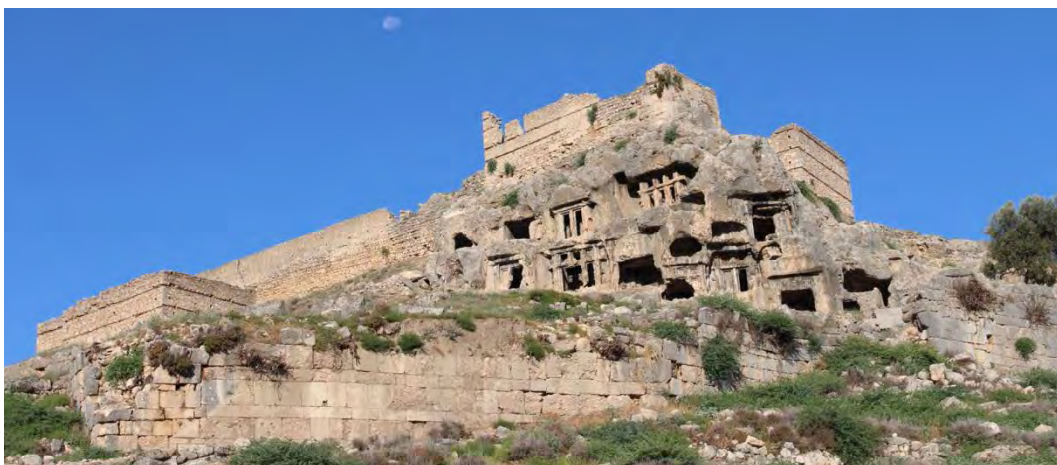
Figure 4.6.4.7 The rock-cut tombs at the skirts of the acropolis of Tlos (photograph by the author)
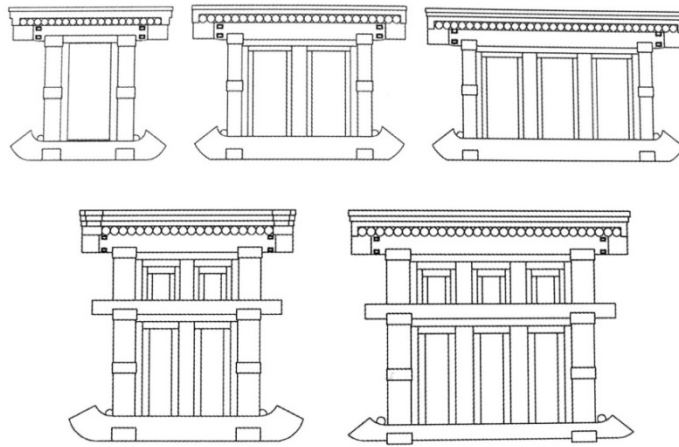
Figure 4.6.4.8 The schematic drawing of the modular design of rock-cut tombs imitating timber (Ö. Yılmaz in Kuban, 2016, Fig. 4)

Figure 4.6.4.9 The tomb of Bellerophon at Tlos (photograph by the author)

Figure 4.6.4.10 The tomb of Amyntas at Telmessos (photograph by the author)
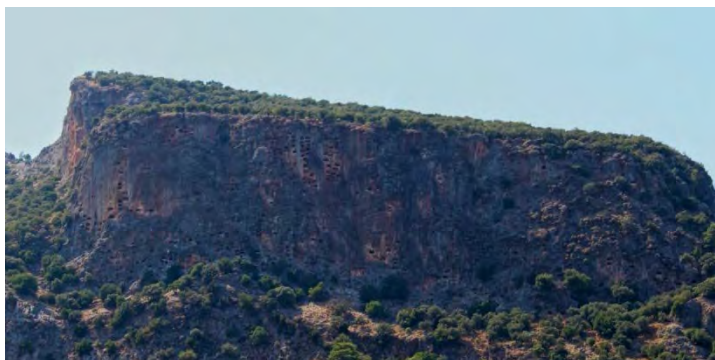
Figure 4.6.4.11 The pigeon hole tombs at Pinara (photograph by the author)
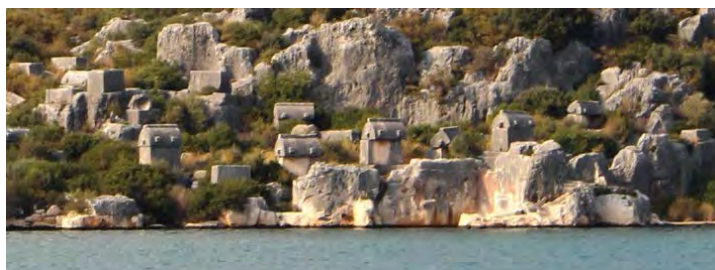
Figure 4.6.4.12 Lycian sarcophagi at the *necropolis* of Teimiussa (photograph by the author)

Figure 4.6.4.13 The Payava Tomb
of Xanthos at the British Museum
(©Trustees of the British Museum)

Figure 4.6.4.14 The Nereid Monument of
Xanthos at the British Museum
(©Trustees of the British Museum)

Figure 4.6.4.15 Model of the *Heroon* of
Perikle at Limyra (Seyer, 2016, Fig. 4b)

Figure 4.6.4.16
Caryatid from the
Erechtheion
(©Trustees of the
British Museum)

Figure 4.6.4.17
Caryatid from the
Heroon of Perikle
(photograph by the
author)

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Figure 4.6.4.18 View from the interior
of the reconstructed Kızılbel tumulus
(photograph by the author)

Figure 4.6.4.19 View from the interior of the
reconstructed Karaburun II tumulus
(photograph by the author)

Figure 4.6.4.20 Model of the Cenotaph of Gaius Caesar
at Limyra (Borchhart, 1999, Lev. 55)

Figure 4.6.4.21 Relief from the
Cenotaph at Limyra
(photograph by the author)

Figure 4.6.4.22 Surviving remains of the
Cenotaph in Limyra
(photograph by the author)

Figure 4.6.4.23 Markia temple-
tomb at Patara
(Gülşen, 2010, Lev. 8d)

Figure 4.6.4.24 Akdam temple-tomb at Patara
(photograph by the author)

Figure 4.6.4.25 Pseudoperipteral temple-
tomb at the western coast of Patara
(photograph by the author)

Figure 4.6.4.26 Eastern *necropolis* above the
bath-gymnasium at Arykanda
(photograph by the author)

Figure 4.6.4.27 (left) The tomb of
Opramoas at Rhodiapolis
(photograph by the author)

Figure 4.6.4.28 (below) The pediment
of the tomb of Opramoas
(photograph by the author)

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APPENDICES

A. CURRICULUM VITAE

PERSONAL INFORMATION

Surname, Name: Kalınbayrak Ercan, Aygün
Nationality: Turkish (TC)
Date and Place of Birth: 14 March 1984, İstanbul
Marital Status: Married
Email: aygunkercan@gmail.com

EDUCATION

Degree	Institution	Year of Graduation
MA	METU Architectural History	2011
BArch	METU Architecture	2007
High School	75. Yıl IMKB Anadolu Lisesi, Pazar / Rize	2002

WORK EXPERIENCE

Year	Place	Enrollment
2014- Present	Tokat Gaziosmanpaşa University Department of Architecture	Research Assistant
2015- Present	ARCHTECH Company at Tokat Teknopark	Co-owner, Architect
1997-2003	Niğde Ömer Halisdemir University Department of Architecture	Research Assistant
2012-2012	Ediz Mimarlık	Architect
2010-2012	Kerkenes Project Office at METU	Part-time assistant
2009-2011	Dean's Office at METU Faculty of Architecture	Part time student assistant
2007-2008	Setenart Tasarım	Architect

GRANTS

Travelling Fellowship, 2017
University of Graz, Austria. Participation as a listener to the conference "Continuity and Change - Architecture in Asia Minor during the Transitional Period from Hellenism to the Roman Empire", which took place between 26-29 April, 2017 at the Institute of Archaeology of the University of Graz.

Doctoral Research Grant, 2014
Suna & İnan Kıraç Research Institute on Mediterranean Civilizations

FIELD WORK AND INTENSIVE PROGRAMS

Dissertation Fieldwork in Lycia, Aug. 8-19, 2016
Researcher, on-site observation of the ancient cities in Lycia

Dissertation Fieldwork in Lycia, Aug. 6-21, 2014
Researcher, on-site observation of the ancient cities in Lycia

ERASMUS Intensive Program, Sept. 1-14, 2013 Izmir, Turkey
Participant at *Erythrai/Ildırı Summer School: Archaeological Landscapes: Preservation, Design, Use (PreDU)*

Kerkenes Dağ Project, Apr. 2010, Yozgat, Turkey
Architect in the Geophysical Survey

Aphrodisias Archaeological Excavation, July - Aug. in 2009 & 2010, Aydın, Turkey
Architect in the Anastylosis project of Sebasteion

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS

International Symposium Presentations published as Proceedings

KALINBAYRAK ERCAN, A. "Likya Antik Kentlerinin Mimari ve Kentsel Gelişimi", *International Young Scholars Conference II: Mediterranean Anatolia,* Suna-İnan Kıraç Akdeniz Medeniyetleri Enstitüsü, Antalya, November 4-7, 2015 (in publication process)

KALINBAYRAK ERCAN, A. (2016) "Romalı bir Kadının Hayatını Mimariyle Anlatmak: Plancia Magna ve Perge Şehir Kapısı / Narrating a Roman Woman's Life through Architecture: Plancia Magna and the City Gate of Perge", *International Symposium Writing Women's Lives: Auto/Biography, Life Narratives, Myths and Historiography International Symposium Paper Book, Yeditepe University, İstanbul, April 19-20, 2014*, (pp. 390-396) İstanbul: Women's Library and Information Center Foundation

AKIN, E.S; YAPRAK BAŞARAN, E.; KALINBAYRAK ERCAN, A. (2015) "Standardization for Livable Spaces in Historic Environments", *Proceedings of the 12th International Conference "Standardization, Protypes and Quality. A Means of Balkan Countries' Collaboration", Kocaeli University, İzmit/Kocaeli, Turkey, October 22-25, 2015,* (pp. 225-229). Kocaeli: Kocaeli University Foundation.

Articles Published in National Journals:

AKIN, E. S; KALINBAYRAK ERCAN, A.; YAPRAK BAŞARAN, E. (2017). Tokat-Zile Şeyh Nusrettin Türbe ve Camii. The Tomb and Mosque of Şeyh Nusrettin in Tokat-Zile, *Vakıflar Dergisi* (47), 67-98.

National Symposium Presentations

KALINBAYRAK, A. "Plancia Magna of Perge: A Female Patron in the Roman Empire" presented at the *Doctorate Researches Symposium VI: "Spaces / Times / Peoples: Patronage and Architectural History"*, Middle East Technical University, Ankara, December 3-4, 2009

KALINBAYRAK ERCAN, A. "Private Benefactions in The Greek Cities Of Asia Minor: Re-Urbanization Under The Roman Rule" presented at the *KOÇ ARHA GSA Graduate Symposium: Cities: A Bigger Picture"*, Research Center for Anatolian Civilization, İstanbul, April 27, 2013

KALINBAYRAK, A. "Roman Urbanization of the Greek Cities of Asia Minor: The Case of Perge" presented at the *Doctorate Researches Symposium VII: "Spaces / Times / Peoples: The City and Architectural History"*, Middle East Technical University, Ankara, December 1-2, 2011 (in publication process)

KALINBAYRAK ERCAN, A. "Likya ve Roma. Mimari Bir Karşılaşma" *2. Sosyal Bilimler Doktora Öğrencileri Çalıştayı"*, Middle East Technical University, Ankara, April 17-18, 2014

FOREIGN LANGUAGES

Modern: Turkish (native), English (fluent), Italian (basic), German (basic), French (basic)
Ancient: Latin (basic), Ancient Greek (basic)

PERSONAL ASSOCIATIONS

Turkish Chamber of Architects (2007-)
EAHN European Architectural History Network (2017-)

HOBBIES

Travelling, Camping, Swimming, Cycling, Photography, Movies

B. TURKISH SUMMARY / TÜRKÇE ÖZET

Likya, Küçük Asya'nın güneybatısında yer alan ve günümüzde Teke Yarımadası olarak anılan tarihi bölgedir. Likya sınırları kesin olarak belirlenememekle birlikte, genel hatlarıyla güneyde Akdeniz, batıda Fethiye Körfezi, doğuda Antalya Körfezi, kuzeyde ise Toros Dağları ile sınırlandırılan alan olarak tanımlanabilir. Roma Dönemi'nde ise bölge sınırlarının, batıda İndus vadisi, kuzeyde ise Kibyratis/Kabalia'nın güneyine kadar genişlediği bilinmektedir.

Likya'da farklı dönemlere ait birçok mimari ve arkeolojik kalıntı barındıran çok sayıda antik kent bulunmaktadır. Bölgenin birçok yerinde tarih öncesi çağlara ait bulgulara rastlanmaktadır. Ancak, Roma Dönemi ve sonrasında neredeyse kesintisiz devam eden yerleşimler, Geç Arkaik Dönemle birlikte ortaya çıkmıştır. Dolayısıyla, bu çalışmada yerleşim tarihi, Geç Arkaik ve Klasik Dönem, Hellenistik Dönem ve Roma Dönemi olmak üzere üç zaman diliminde incelenmiştir. Zamanla bölgede yayılan ve gelişen Likya yerleşimlerinin ilk evreleri, Beylik yönetim sistemiyle Klasik Dönem sonuna kadar bölgeye hükmetmiş olan Likyalılarla ilişkilendirilmektedir. Bu döneme ait az da olsa günümüze ulaşmış kalıntıdan elde edilen bilgiye göre, erken Likya yerleşimleri, ortak fiziksel özellikler göstermekte, öte yandan aynı döneme ait Yunan ve Yakın Doğu kentlerinden büyük ölçüde farklılaşmaktadır. Hellenistik krallıkların ortaya çıkması ve güçlenmesiyle Hellenistik kültür ve mimari, Küçük Asya'nın geri kalanında olduğu gibi Likya'da da etkili olmuş, özellikle milattan önce ikinci yüzyıldan sonra kent dokusunda etkisini giderek hissettirmiştir. Öte yandan Roma mimarisi, özellikle milattan sonra birinci yüzyıldan itibaren, Likya kentlerinin mimari ve kentsel gelişiminde önemli ölçüde etkili olmuştur.

Likya kentlerinin yapılı çevrelerinde sonraki dönemlerde gerçekleşen değişimlere rağmen, bu kentlerde günümüze ulaşan mimari ve kentsel yerleşim planına ait kalıntıların büyük çoğunluğu Roma Dönemi'ne tarihlenmektedir.

Klasik ve Hellenistik Dönem'e ait daha eski mimari kalıntıların ise İmparatorluk Dönemi mimarisi ile harmanlandığı görülür.

Orta Çağ'da kentlerde yaşanan gerilemeden sonra Likya, 19. yüzyılda Avrupalı gezgin bilim adamları tarafından yeniden keşfedilmiş ve dünyaya tanıtılmıştır. 20. yüzyılın başlarında dünya çapında yaşanan siyasi çalkantılar nedeniyle Likya'ya olan ilginin bir süreliğine azalmasının ardından modern arkeolojik çalışmalar, 1950 yılında Xanthos kazılarıyla resmi olarak başlamıştır. Bugün Likya, ulusal ve uluslararası araştırmacılar tarafından çeşitli alanlarda farklı açılardan incelenmekte, ortaya çıkan sonuçlar ise Likya'da sürdürülmüş olan antik dönem yaşamına tanımlayıcı, analitik ve kuramsal bakış açıları sunmaktadır. Mimari bağlam göz önüne alındığında, erken çalışmaların öncelikli olarak Klasik Dönem'e odaklandığını söylemek mümkündür. Bu çalışmalarda, erken Likya kültürü, yerleşim özellikleri, ölü gömme gelenekleri ve konut yapıları hakkında önemli bulgular saptanmıştır. Yüzeyde tarihlenebilen mimari malzemenin sınırlı olması nedeniyle büyük ölçüde belirsizlik içeren Hellenistik Dönem Likya mimarisi ve kentsel planlaması hakkında ise arkeolojik kazı çalışmaları ilerledikçe her geçen gün yeni bilgiler açığa çıkmaktadır. Öte yandan, Likya kentlerindeki Roma mimarisini ve Likya'nın Romanizasyon sürecini ilgilendiren çalışmalar son yıllarda göze çarpmaktadır.

Günümüzde, hemen hemen tüm Likya kentlerinde bulunan Roma yapıları hakkında farklı derecelerde bilgi edinmek mümkündür. Öte yandan, Likya kentlerinin, Roma İmparatorluk Dönemi'nde geçirdiği mimari ve kentsel dönüşüm sürecini irdeleyen ve yerel mimari geleneklerle olan ilişkilerini inceleyen çalışmalar giderek çoğalmaktadır. Ancak, bütüncül bir bakış açısıyla bakıldığında, bu çalışmaların, bina ya da kent bazında kaldığı görülmektedir. Bir başka deyişle, Likya kentlerinin Roma mimarisi ve kentsel gelişimi üzerine çalışmalar tekil örnekler üzerinde artmış olsa da Likya kentlerini bütüncül olarak ele alan ve Roma İmparatorluk Dönemi'nde gerçekleşen mimari ve kentsel dönüşümü ve yerel mimari geleneklerin sürekliliğini analitik ve kuramsal olarak inceleyen güncel bir çalışma bulunmamaktadır.

Bu nedenle bu çalışma, Likya kentlerinde Roma ve yerel mimari ve kentsel uygulamaların nasıl bir araya geldiğini inceleyerek bölgedeki Romanizasyon sürecini mimari bir açıdan ve bütüncül bir yaklaşımla ele almayı hedefler. Bu bakımdan bu tezde, Arkaik Dönem ve Roma İmparatorluk Dönemi sonu arasındaki zaman dilimine tarihlenen mimari veriler, yapılı çevrenin değişimine katkıda bulunan siyasi ve kültürel olaylar ışığında, mimari geleneklerde gözlemlenen süreklilik ve değişime odaklanarak artzamanlı, tematik ve karşılaştırmalı bir bakış açısıyla incelenmektedir. Böylece, Likya'nın mimari Romanizasyonuna ilişkin bütüncül ve derinlemesine bir anlayış ortaya konmaya çalışılmaktadır. Likya'nın Romanizasyon sürecini inceleyen bu çalışma, ayrıca Küçük Asya'nın Romanizasyon sürecini konu alan çalışmalara da dolaylı olarak katkıda bulunmaktadır.

Bu tezde başvurulan temel kaynaklar Likya'da sürdürülen araştırmalar kapsamında yayınlanmış bilimsel çalışmalardır. Yazılı kaynaklardan edinilen bilgilere tamamlayıcı olarak bu tez kapsamında, Likya'da 2014 ve 2016 yıllarında arazi çalışmaları yapılmıştır. Bu çalışmalar sırasında, büyük kentlerin tümü, küçük kentlerin ise ulaşıma elverişli olanları ziyaret edilmiştir. Arazi çalışmaları sırasında kentlerde bulunan mimari kalıntılar yerinde gözlemlenmiş ve fotoğraflanmıştır. Bu çalışmalar, Suna-İnan Kıraç Akdeniz Medeniyetleri Enstitüsü tarafından sağlanan 2014 yılı Doktora Bursu ile gerçekleştirilmiştir.

Tez çalışması altı ana bölümden oluşmaktadır. Giriş bölümünü takip eden "Coğrafik ve Tarihi Bağlamda Likya" başlıklı İkinci bölümde, Likya kentlerinin mimari ve kentsel gelişiminin şekillenmesine katkıda bulunan coğrafi ve siyasi etmenler hakkında temel bilgiler paylaşılmıştır.

Bu bölümün ilk kısmında (2.1) antik yazarlar ve modern çalışmalara dayanarak Likya'nın sınırları tartışılmış, bölgenin topoğrafik özelliklerine değinilmiş ve antik dönem ulaşım yollarına yer verilmiştir. Buna göre, Likya sınırlarının tarih boyunca değişken olduğu ve en geniş sınırlara Roma İmparatorluk Dönemi sırasında ulaşıldığı irdelenmiştir. Öte yandan, bölgenin dağlık yapısının, Küçük Asya'nın iç bölgeleriyle fiziksel ve kültürel etkileşimi sınırladığı, böylece kendine özgü bir Likya kültürünün ortaya çıkmasına katkıda

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bulunduğu ortaya çıkmıştır. Ayrıca, kısıtlı kara yolu ulaşımının limanlar ve deniz yolu taşımacılığının gelişmesine katkı sağladığı söylenebilir.

İkinci kısmında (2.2) ise araştırmanın kronolojik aralığında gerçekleşen siyasi ve kültürel dönüm noktaları vurgulanarak Likya'nın kısa bir politik geçmişi sunulmuştur. Likya'nın Akdeniz kıyılarındaki stratejik konumu, güçlü ülkelerin ilgisini çekmiş, Likya tarih boyunca çeşitli devletlerin hakimiyeti altına girmiştir. Olasılıkla milattan önce üçüncü yüzyılda Likya kentleri, Likya Birliği'ni kurmuştur. Roma ile Likya Birliği arasındaki siyasi ilişkiler ise milattan önce ikinci yüzyılın başında gerçekleşen Magnesia Savaşı sonrasında artmaya başlamıştır. Likya, Magnesia Savaşı'nın ardından kısa bir dönem Rodos himayesine girmiştir. Likya'nın Roma sayesinde kurtulduğu Rodos hakimiyeti sonrasında kazandığı özerklik, Roma eyaletine dönüştürüldüğü milattan sonra birinci yüzyıla kadar devam etmiştir. Ancak bu süreçte, özerkliğe rağmen, Roma'nın Likya Birliği'nin iç ve dış işlerinde söz sahibi olduğu görülmektedir.

Temel bilgileri içeren bu bölümü takip eden Üçüncü ve Dördüncü Bölümlerde, Likya kentlerinde bulunan mimari kalıntılar hakkında toplanan veriler, kronolojik ve tematik olarak sınıflandırılmış alt başlıklar halinde incelenmiştir.

Üçüncü bölüm, "Likya'da Roma İmparatorluk Dönemi Öncesi Yerleşim Tarihine Genel Bir Bakış", Roma mimarisinin etkilerinin yayılmasından önce Likya kentlerinin sahip olduğu mimari ve kentsel özellikler hakkında genel bir bilgi sunmaktadır. Bu amaçla, bu bölüm, üç kronolojik zaman aralığında ele alınmıştır.

Birinci alt bölümde (3.1), Likya'nın çeşitli bölgelerinde keşfedilmiş, Tarih Öncesi Çağlar'dan Demir Çağı'na kadar geçen zamana tarihlenen arkeolojik kalıntılara kısaca değinilmiştir. Buna göre, Likya'da ilk yaşam, Epi-Paleolitik Çağ'a kadar takip edilebilmekte olup özellikle Tunç Çağı'nda yoğun bir aktivite izlenmektedir. Demir Çağ'a ait bilgiler çok az olmakla birlikte, bu dönemden itibaren sanat ve mimaride Neo-Hitit etkisi görülmektedir. Antik kaynaklara göre Likya'nın sadece doğusundaki kentler Yunan kolonizasyon hareketlerinden etkilenmiştir. Bu kaynaklar tarafından, Rhodiapolis, Gagae, Melanippe, Korydalla

ve Phaelise gibi kentlerin, Dor ve Rhodos kentleri oldukları anlatılmaktadır.[418] Ancak modern arkeolojik çalışmalar kapsamında, bu kentlerde kolonizasyon sürecine dair herhangi bir bulgu henüz keşfedilememiştir. Bu alt bölümde yer alan tartışma, her ne kadar incelenen zaman dilimi içerisinde, mimari ve kentsel açıdan benzer ve bölge genelinde tekrarlanan bir yerleşim modeli ortaya koyamamış olsa da, takip eden dönemlerde kurulan erken Likya kentlerinin ortaya çıktığı ortamı değerlendirebilmek konusunda önemli bir katkı sağlamıştır.

Üçüncü Bölümün ikinci kısmında (3.2), Arkaik Dönem'in sonuna doğru ortaya çıkan ve Klasik Dönem boyunca gelişen erken Likya yerleşimlerinin kendilerine özgü mimari ve kentsel özellikleri ortaya konmuştur. Erken Likya kentleri, Likya'nın özellikle batı ve orta kısımlarında gözlemlenmektedir. Bu durum, Likya bölgesinin politik ve kültürel sınırlarının tam olarak eşleşmediğini göstermektedir.

Bu döneme ait kentlerin neredeyse tümü, takip eden dönemlerde büyük ölçüde tahrip edilmiştir. Bu dönemden kalan en iyi korunmuş erken Likya kent örneği, Kyaneai territoryumunda Avşar Tepesi üzerinde keşfedilmiştir. Eski adı Zagaba olarak tahmin edilen kent, Klasik Dönem sonunda terk edilmiş ve tekrar iskan edilmediği için nispeten korunmuştur. Avşar Tepesi ve diğer kentlerden elde edilen bilgiler ışığında, erken Likya kentlerinin benzer mimari ve kentsel özellikler taşıdığı görülmüştür. Buna göre bu kentler; iç kalesi, bey sarayı, konut bölgesi ve çeşitli mezar tiplerinin izlendiği mezarlıkları olan sur duvarlarıyla çevrelenmiş dağlık yerleşimlerdir. Bu kentlerde henüz kamusal yapılara rastlanmamıştır. Ancak dönemin Yunan yazıtlarından anlaşıldığı üzere kent içinde bulunan bir yere "agora" adı verdikleri bilinmektedir. Araştırmacılar tarafından Avşar Tepesinde bulunan açık alan agora olarak tanımlanmıştır. Ancak *bouleuterion*, *prytaneion* ve benzeri gibi agora işleyişinin temel taşı olan Yunan kamusal yapılarının eksikliği, bu alanın tam anlamıyla bir Yunan agorası şeklinde işlediği konusunda şüphe uyandırmaktadır. Bu dönem ile ilgili bahsedilecek son

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[418] Bu iddialar için bkz. Theopompus (Theopomp. *FHG* 115F 103, 15), Stephanus Byzantius (Steph. Byz. 376.15), Spratt & Forbes (1847, pp. 186-187), Herodotus (Hdt. 2.178.2) ve Athenaeus (Ath. VII.51).

husus, Likya kültürünün özgün, ancak etkileşime açık olduğudur. Likya sanatı ve mimarisi ile ilgili araştırmalar, Neo-Hitit, Pers, Yunan ve İyonya gibi farklı kültürlerin etkilerinin sentezlendiğini ortaya koymaktadır.

Üçüncü alt bölümde (3.3) ise, Hellenistik Dönem mimarisi ışığında bölgenin Hellenizasyon süreci irdelenmiştir. Hellenistik Dönem'e tarihlenen mimari yapılar sınırlı olmakla birlikte güncel araştırmalar çerçevesinde her geçen gün daha çok yapı gün ışığına çıkmaktadır.

Likya'da Hellenizasyon sürecinin Hellenistik krallıkların başlamasıyla ortaya çıktığı genel olarak varsayılmaktadır. Bu sürecin ilk göstergelerinden biri, Likçe'nin tamamen terk edilerek yerine Yunanca'nın anadil olarak benimsenmesi kabul edilmektedir. Milattan önce dördüncü ve üçüncü yüzyıllara tarihlenen Hellenistik dönem yapıları neredeyse sadece sur duvarları ile sınırlıdır. Üçüncü yüzyılda Letoon'da inşa edilen Leto tapınağı ile aynı dönemde II. Ptolemy ve karısı Arsinoe için Limyra'da yaptırılan *Ptolemaion*, istisnai örnekleri olarak verilebilir. Hellenistik Dönem'e tarihlenen diğer çoğu mimari kalıntı ise milattan sonra ikinci yüzyıldan sonra yapılmıştır. Örneğin, Letoon'da üçüncü yüzyılda başlayan mimari dönüşüm, ikinci yüzyılda da devam etmiştir. Yine bu dönemde, neredeyse her kentte tiyatro inşa edilmiş, kimi kentlerde agora, *stadion*, *bouleuterion*, stoa, *prytaneion* ve *gymnasion* gibi Hellenistik yapılar ve kurumlar ortaya çıkmıştır. Bunların yanında hemen hemen her kentte Hellenistik Dönem'e ait seramik ve sikke gibi küçük buluntu ile çok miktarda Yunanca yazıta rastlanmaktadır. Toplu olarak değerlendirildiğinde, bu buluntular, Likya'da hem kültürel hem de fiziksel bir Hellenizasyon sürecinin gerçekleştiğine işaret etmektedir.

Üçüncü bölümün özellikle son iki kısmında Erken Likya kentleri ve Hellenizasyon üzerine gerçekleştirilen tartışmalar, Roma İmparatorluk Dönemi boyunca mimarlıkta görülen süreklilik ve değişimlerin anlaşılmasına yönelik karşılaştırmalı bir yaklaşım geliştirmek açısından bu çalışmaya büyük bir katkı sağlamıştır.

Dördüncü bölüm, "Likya'da Roma Mimarisi ve Kent Planlamasının Etkisi", bu tez çalışmasının omurgasını oluşturmaktadır. Bu bölüm, Likya

kentlerinde günümüze ulaşan Roma Dönemi mimari kalıntılarının tematik olarak sınıflandırılmasından elde edilen altı alt bölüme ayrılmıştır.

Birinci kısımda (4.1) dini mimariye odaklanılmış, Roma tasarım ilkelerinin, yeni tapınak formlarının, imparatorluk kültünün ve bu kültle ilişkili *sebasteion*'ların Likya'daki dini mimariyi ve kutsal alanları nasıl şekillendirdiği üzerine değerlendirmelerde bulunulmuştur. Buna göre, Roma tapınağı, dairesel tapınak, tiyatro tapınağı gibi çeşitli tapınak formlarının Likya'da inşa edilmeye başlandığı görülmüştür. Likya'nın bilinen tek Asklepieion örneği milattan sonra ikinci yüzyılda Rhodiapolis'te inşa edilmiş, tasarım sürecinde simetri, ortogonallik ve eksenellik gibi Roma mimarisinin önemli tasarım ilkelerinden bazıları uygulanmıştır. Öte yandan, Augustus Dönemi ile birlikte imparator kültü tapınımı başlamıştır. Likya eyaletinin kurulmasının ardından, imparator kültüne adanan *sebasteion* yapılarının sayıları artmış ve mimari formları ise çeşitlenmiştir. İmparator kültü tapınımı, tekil yapıların dışında, diğer tanrılara ait tapınak ve kutsal alanlara da eklemlenmiştir. Bunun en önemli örneklerinden biri, imparator kültünün, Likya'nın dini merkezi olan Letoon'a yerleştirilmesi olarak verilebilir. Sonuç olarak, Roma tapınak formları ve imparator kültünün benimsenmesi Likya kentlerindeki dini aktivitelerin ve kutsal alanların yeniden tanımlanmasında önemli bir rol oynamıştır.

İkinci alt bölümde (4.2), kentlerin kamusal merkezi olan agoraya odaklanılmış, Hellenistik agora ve çevresinin Roma mimarisi ve kültürü etkisi altında geçirdiği fiziksel ve siyasi dönüşüm incelenerek Likya kentlerindeki agoraların işlevsel ve deneyimsel olarak nasıl değiştiklerini sorgulanmıştır. Bu bölümde, Roma Dönemi Likya kentlerinde Hellenistic agora kavramının isim ve tasarım düzeni açısından korunduğu anlaşılmıştır. Ancak, erken dönem agoraların ve bu agoraların etrafında bulunan tiyatro, *bouleuterion*, stoa ve *prytaneion* gibi kamusal yapıların, İmparatorluk Dönemi sırasında tamir edildiği ya da yeniden yapıldığı gözlemlenmektedir. Yeniden işlevlendirilen klasik düzen elemanlarının uygulanması, eski yapıların Roma mimarisi tasarım ilkeleri kapsamında yenilenmesi, Xanthos'da bulunan sivil basilika gibi yeni bina tiplerinin inşa edilmesi ve son olarak imparatorun kültü ve temsilinin agoraya yerleştirilmesi gibi

yeni uygulamalar aracılığıyla Roma kültürü ve mimarisinin etkisi agorada hissedilmiştir. Roma forumu agoranın yerini alamamış olsa da, Roma'nın gücü ve mimarisi Likya agoralarının işleyişini değiştirmiştir.

Bir sonraki bölümde (4.3), büyük ölçekli gösteri yapıları incelenmiş, özellikle Hellenistik Dönem'den itibaren Likya kentlerinde inşa edilen ve Roma İmparatorluk Dönemi'nde yoğun bir şekilde kullanılmaya devam edilen tiyatro ve *stadion* yapıları ele alınmıştır. Tartışmada, bu iki bina türünün kültürel değişikliklere uyum sağlayacak şekilde işlevsel ve yapısal olarak nasıl değiştirildiği incelenmiştir. Sonuç olarak, Hellenistik Dönem'de inşa edilen tiyatroların, Roma kültürünün ayrılmaz bir parçası olan gladyatör oyunları ve vahşi hayvan avlarının gösterimine uygun olarak tadilat geçirdikleri görülmüştür. Her tiyatroya sistematik bir şekilde uygulanmamış olsa da, bu değişiklikler oturma kapasitesinin arttırılması, Hellenistik Dönem sahne yapılarının *scaenae frontes* ile değiştirilmesi, *parodoi* üzerlerinin kemerle kapatılarak sahne binasının *cavea* ile birleştirilmesi ve en önemlisi orkestranın *arena*'ya dönüştürülmesi olarak sıralanabilir. Tiyatroların aksine, bazı kentlerde bulunan Hellenistik Dönem *stadion* yapılarında göze çarpan mimari bir değişime rastlanmaz. Ancak bu yapıların da Roma oyunlarının sergilenmesi için kullanılmış olabileceği düşünülmektedir. Kibyra'da Roma Dönemi'nde inşa edilen *stadion*, boyutu, formu ve yapım tekniği açısından Hellenistik Dönem yapılarından farklılaşmaktadır. Tiyatro ve *stadion* dışında Roma döneminde performans yapılarında gözlemlenen bir diğer değişiklik ise *bouleuteria*'nın *odeia* olarak kullanılmaya başlamasıdır.

Dördüncü alt bölümde (4.4), Roma kültürü ile birlikte Likya'da yayılmaya başlayan farklı su kültürü alışkanlıkları ve ilgili mimari ve kentsel değişiklikler ele alınmıştır. Bu amaçla, su kullanımı ve yönetimi ile ilgili teknolojik gelişmeler ile hamam, umumi tuvalet ve anıtsal çeşme gibi Roma kültürüyle birlikte gelen yeni su yapıları incelenmiştir. Buna göre, Likya'nın Roma eyaletine dönüştürülmesinin hemen ardından Patara'da bir suyolu ve hamam yapıldığı bilinmektedir. İzleyen zamanlarda, Likya kentlerinde inşa edilen suyolu ve özellikle de hamam sayısının artığı, her kentin en az bir, büyük kentlerin ise

birden fazla hamam inşa ettiği görülmektedir. Likya hamamlarında uygulanan ve Roma Cumhuriyet Dönemi hamam planlarından esinlenilen plan tipi, yüzyıllar boyunca korunmuş, böylece Likya'nın tamamında hamam tasarımı açısından bir süreklilik sağlanmıştır. Phaselis ve Arykanda'da keşfedilen kamusal tuvaletler, Roma kültürüne ait tuvalet alışkanlığının da Likya kentlerinde içselleştirildiğini göstermektedir. Ayrıca, yaratıcı mimariye sahip gösterişli çeşme yapıları, Tlos ve Patara gibi çeşitli Likya kentinde rastlanmış, atık ve fazla suyu yönetmek için cadde altına döşenen su kanalları ise Patara, Arykanda ve Phaselis gibi kimi kentlerde bulunmuştur. Su, Roma kentsel planlamasının temel taşlarından biridir. Likya'nın Roma eyaleti olması ile birlikte su, Likya kentlerinin mimari ve kentsel gelişimi açısından önemli bir tasarım kriteri olmuştur.

Beşinci kısımda (4.5), Roma kentsel organizasyonunun temeli olan armatür kavramına odaklanılmıştır. Her Roma kenti, insanlar ve yapılı çevre arasında fiziksel, görsel, sosyal ve sembolik iletişim sağlayan bir bağlantı ağına sahiptir (MacDonald, 1988). Bu bağlamda, caddeler, sokaklar, meydanlar ve kent simgeleri, kamu yapılarına kesintisiz ulaşım sağlanmasında rol oynamıştır. Mimari formlar ve klasik düzen elemanları gibi benzer tasarım elemanlarının farklı kombinasyonlarda tekrarlanması, kent bütününde görsel bir benzerlik ve bütünlük sağlamıştır. Dahası, kamusal alanlar ve bina cepheleri, yazıt ve heykellerin sergilenmesi için kullanılmış, kentin tümü bir propaganda sahnesine dönüştürülmüştür. Diğer Roma kentleri gibi Likya kentleri de belirgin bir armatür ağına sahiptir. Fiziksel, görsel ve sosyal bağlamları ile armatür, Roma tarzı bir yaşam biçiminin simgesi olmuş, böylece, artık Roma imparatorluğunun resmi bir parçası olan Likya kentleri sadece birbirleriyle değil, ayrıca imparatorluk sınırları içerisinde yer alan tüm Roma kentleriyle benzer özelikler taşımaya başlamışlardır.

Son alt bölüm de ise (4.6), Likya şehirlerinde değişen diğer kentsel dinamikleri anlamaya yönelik tamamlayıcı bilgiler sunan mimari bağlamlar ele alınmıştır. Buna göre, bu bölüm sırasıyla yerleşim sınırları içinde bulunan askeri, denizcilik, konut ve ölü gömme mimarisi üzerine yoğunlaşan dört alt bölümde incelenmiştir.

Askeri mimariyi inceleyen birinci alt bölümde (4.6.1), Likya kentlerinin Arkaik Dönem'den başlayarak Hellenistik Dönem sonuna kadar sur duvarlarıyla korunduğu, Roma Dönemi'nde ise *Pax Romana*'nın sağladığı barış ortamı sayesinde sur duvarına gereksinim duyulmadığı ortaya konmuştur. Bu nedenle, Roma'nın askeri gücü sur duvarı inşası ve tamiri yerine, yol yapımı gibi Likya kentlerinin başka gereksinimlerini karşılamaya yönlendirilmiştir. Likya'nın Roma tarafından ilhak edilmesinin hemen ardından İmparator Claudius, muhtemelen bölgede askeri kontrol sağlamak amacıyla, Likya kentleri arasındaki yolların ölçüm ve inşasını sağlamıştır. Milattan sonra 45 yılında Patara'da dikilen ve kentler arasındaki mesafeleri belirten Stadiasmus Anıtı, bu büyük çaplı yol çalışmasının kısa sürede ne kadar gelişme kaydettiğini örneklemektedir (Işık, İşkan, & Çevik, 2001; Şahin S. , 2014; Onur, 2016).

Deniz mimarisi ile ilgili olan ikinci alt bölümde (4.6.2), ilk göze çarpan konu, Likya kıyılarının tarih boyunca denizcilikle iç içe olduğudur. Birçok erken Likya dağ yerleşiminin kıyı kesimlerde liman kentleri kurduğu bilinmektedir. Özellikle Hellenistik Dönem ile birlikte dağ kentleri düzlükler ve kıyı yerleşimleri için terkedilmeye başlanmıştır. Bu dönemde kimi liman kentleri, önceden bağlı oldukları ana kentlerden daha fazla gelişerek kent statüsü kazanmıştır. Kimi ana kentler, tamamen terk edilmiş, kimileri ise yukarı kent olarak kullanılmaya devam etmiştir. Roma Dönemi'nde ise kıyı kentlerinin ve limanların önemi artmış, limanlar aktivite yoğunluğuna göre gerekli mimari yapı ve alt yapı ile donatılmıştır. Bunlar arasında imparatora ait *horrea* inşa edilen Patara ve Andriake limanları Likya'nın en önemli limanları olarak öne çıkmıştır.

Konut mimarisinin ele alındığı üçüncü alt bölümde (4.6.3), Likya kentlerinde bulunan konut yapıları ile ilgili bilgilerin yetersizliğine rağmen sınırlı bir tartışma yürütülebilmiştir. Buna göre, erken Likya kentlerinin konut yapılarının, düzleştirilmiş ana kaya üzerine inşa edildiği, genellikle birden fazla kata sahip bu evlerin ilk katının yığma taş, üst katlarının ise daha az dayanıklı malzemeden yapıldığı bilinmektedir. Hellenistik Dönem konut yapılarıyla ilgili neredeyse hiç bilgi bulunmazken, Roma Dönemi konutlarıyla ilgili en kapsamlı çalışma Arykanda'da gerçekleştirilmiştir. Arykanda'da, teras evler ve *domus*

olmak üzere, özellikle iki konut tipi öne çıkmaktadır. Teras evler, yapım tekniği açısından Klasik Dönem konut pratikleri ile devamlılık gösterirken, özel konutlar hem Klasik Dönem yapım teknikleri hem de *atrium* gibi yeni mimari öğelerin asimile edilmesi gibi çeşitli özellikler sergilemektedirler.

Son alt bölümde (4.6.4) ise, Likya kentlerinde görülen ölü gömme mimarisi tartışılmıştır. Likya kentlerinin nekropolleri, tarih boyunca farklı çeşitlerde mezar yapılarının sergilendiği alanlar olmuşlardır. Özellikle erken Likya dönemi mezar mimarisi örnekleri, form, mimari ve sanatsal özellikleri açısından dikkat çekmektedir. Erken Likya mezarlarının ayırt edici birçok özelliğinin arasında, anıtsallık ve hükümdar sınıfın kent içine gömülmesi öne çıkmaktadır. Anıtsallık ve kent içi gömü uygulaması Roma Dönemi'nde de devam etmiştir. Özellikle varlıklı sınıfın, kent içinde yer alan önemli noktalarda tapınak-mezarlara gömülmesi dikkat çekicidir. Önceden Hellenistik formda olan bu tapınak-mezarlar artık Roma tapınağı formunda inşa edilmeye başlanmıştır. Zengin ama sıradan vatandaşların kent içine gömülmesinin ise, Yunan ve Roma kültürlerinde alışılmamış bir durum olduğu ve erken Likya dönemi ölü gömme pratiklerinden esinlenilmiş bir uygulama olduğu söylenebilir.

Likya kentlerinde bulunan mimari kalıntıların tez kapsamında incelenmesi sonucu Üçüncü ve Dördüncü bölümlerde ortaya çıkan sonuçlar doğrultusunda, İmparatorluk Dönemi sonuna doğru oluşan mimari çerçeve dört maddede özetlenebilir.

1. Likya'daki Roma kentlerinin en bariz fiziksel özelliklerinden birincisi, agora, tiyatro, *stadion*, *prytaneion* ve stoa gibi Helenistik Dönem mimarisinin en önemli yapı tiplerinin, Roma Dönemi'nde de kentlerin temel kamu yapıları olarak kullanılmaya devam edilmiş olduğudur. Bu durumda, Helenistik mimari geleneklerin devam ettirildiği açıkça görülmektedir. Öte yandan bu yapılar, Roma kültürü, mimarisi ve imparatorluk sembolizmine uygun olarak adapte edilmiş ya da yeniden inşa edilmişlerdir. Bu mimari değişiklikler, her kentte eşit veya sistematik olarak uygulanmamış olsa da, temel olarak bakıldığında, Likya'da Roma yaşam biçimi, özünde Hellenistik olan bir ortamda yeşermiş; bu Hellenistik

ortam ise Roma kültürü, mimarisi ve imparatorluk otoritesinin varlığıyla ile yeniden şekillenmiştir.

2. Likya kentlerinin kentsel dokusuna dair bu tezde öne çıkan bir başka özellik, Roma tapınak formları ve anıtsal taklar, imparatorluk kültü ve ilgili mimari yapılar, su yönetimi ve kullanımıyla ilgili yapı ve kurumlar gibi Roma mimarisinin, kurumlarının ve inşaat teknolojisinin benimsenmiş ve yayılmış olduğudur. Buna rağmen, forum ve amfitiyatro gibi bazı önemli Roma yapı tiplerinin inşa edilmediği göze çarpmaktadır. Bunlar ve benzeri kimi yapı tiplerinin bölge çapında görülmeyişinin altında siyasi nedenlerin yatmasının yanı sıra, uygulanabilirlik ve mimari zevkler gibi yerel tercihlerin etkili olduğu da söylenebilir.

3. Roma Dönemi Likya kentlerinin bir diğer özelliği ise, erken Likya mimarisine ait bazı mimari uygulamaların Hellenistik ve Roma mimarisi ile bütünleşmiş bir şekilde devam ettirilmesidir. Bu uygulamalar içerisinde polygonal duvar örgüsü ve ana kayanın düzleştirilmesi gibi inşaat teknikleri ile kent içi ölü gömme geleneği önemli bir yer tutmaktadır. Ayrıca, bölgesel olarak kendine has mezar yapıları barındıran erken Likya dönemine tarihlenen nekropollerin, kentlerin genişlemesiyle yaşam alanları içerisine dahil oldukları, böylece kentsel doku, manzara, bellek ve günlük yaşamın önemli birer parçası haline geldikleri görülmektedir.

4. Son olarak, Likya kentlerinin yukarıda sıralanan tüm kentsel ve mimari özelliklerinin armatür aracılığıyla bir araya geldiği ve birlikte işlev gördüğü söylenebilir. Armatür, yalnızca kent sakinleri ve onların yapılı çevredeki hedefleri arasında çok boyutlu bir iletişim sağlamakla kalmamış, aynı zamanda Roma mimarisinin kapsayıcı doğası dahilinde geçmiş ve bugünü bir araya getirmiştir.

Beşinci Bölüm, "Mimari Bir Karşılaşma: Likya'da Romanizasyon", Üçüncü ve Dördüncü bölümlerden elde edilen sonuçların Romanizasyon kuramı kapsamında yeniden yorumlanmasını içermektedir. Bu bölüm üç kısma ayrılmıştır. Birinci alt bölümde (5.1), Romanizasyon kuramının kökeni, gelişimi ve eleştirisi ile ilgili kuramsal ve eleştirel tartışmalar incelenmiştir. İkinci kısımda

ise (5.2), bir önceki bölümde ele alınan tartışmalar ışığında tezin teorik arka planı oluşturulmuştur.

Romanizasyon kavramı ile ilgili tartışmaların incelenmesi sonucu kavramın geçerliliği ile ilgili çeşitli fikirler olduğu vurgulanmıştır. Buna göre, bazı araştırmacılar, pro-emperyalist anlamlar içerdiğini iddia ettikleri Romanizasyon sözcüğünün artık kullanılmaması gerektiğini savunurken; kimi araştırmacılar ise Romanizasyon kavramının yeniden formüle edilerek kullanılmaya devam edilebileceğini savunmaktadır. Bu tez, ikinci yaklaşımı desteklemekte ve yerli halk ile Romalılar arasında gerçekleşen kültürel etkileşimin açıklanmasında Romanizasyon kuramının hala geçerli olduğunu savunmaktadır. Bu açıdan, Beşinci bölümün son kısmında (5.3), Likya kentlerinde bulunan mimari kalıntıların değerlendirilmesi sonucu Roma Dönemi mimarlık geleneklerine ilişkin elde edilen bilgiler, Romanizasyon kavramı çerçevesinden yeniden yorumlanmıştır.

Bu tez, Likya'da gerçekleşen Romanizasyon sürecinin üç kronolojik aşamada gerçekleştiğini iddia etmektedir.

1. İlk aşama Likya'nın Roma eyaletine dönüştürülmesinden önceki dönemi kapsamaktadır. Roma kültürünün Likya'daki izleri geçmişe doğru takip edildiğinde, Likya'da gerçekleşen Romanizasyonun, bölgenin resmi olarak Roma eyaletine dönüştürülmesinden çok önce başlayan ve İmparatorluk Dönemi boyunca devam eden uzun bir süreç olduğu görülmektedir. Roma ve Likya arasında gerçekleşen kültürel etkileşimin en eski izlerinden biri milattan önce üçüncü yüzyıldan itibaren bazı Likya kentinde gözlemlenen Tanrıça Roma kültünün varlığıdır. Bölgenin politik tarihi göz önüne alındığında, Likyalılar ve Romalılar arasında gerçekleşen belirli karşılaşmaların arkeolojik olarak gözlemlenebilir kültürel değişimlere sebep olduğu sonucuna varılmıştır. Örneğin, milattan önce ikinci yüzyılın başından itibaren ve özellikle Rodos egemenliğinin sona ermesinden sonra Roma, Likya Birliği'nin iç ve dış işlerinde söz sahibi olmuş, buna karşılık Likyalılar ise önceden beri süregelen Tanrıça Roma tapınımını resmileştirmiştir. Roma mimarisinin Likya'daki etkisini, Augustus Dönemine kadar takip etmek neredeyse imkansızdır. Ancak, milattan önce ikinci

yüzyıldan itibaren Hellenistik Likya kentlerinde izlenen mimari ve kentsel gelişimi, kısmen de olsa Roma'nın Likya'da Hellenistik Dönem boyunca sağladığı görece olarak daha istikrarlı barış ortamına atfetmerk mümkündü. Likya ve Roma ilişkileri çoğunlukla barışçıl sürdürülmüş ve bu istikrarlı politik ilişki Sezar ile imzalanan bir antlaşma ile yasal olarak düzenlenmiştir (*SEG* 55 1452). Bu antlaşma Likya Birliğinin sözde özgürlüğünü ve bağımsızlığını sınırlamış gibi görünmektedir. Öyle ki, Roma'ya olan bağlılık, antlaşmanın imzalanmasından kısa bir süre sonra Roma İmparatorluğunun kurulmasıyla daha da belirgin hala gelmiştir. Tıpkı Roma eyaletleri gibi Likya da, resmi olarak bir Roma eyaleti olmamasına rağmen, Augustus'un kültürel devriminden etkilenmiştir. Küçük Asya'nın önde gelen kentleriyle eş zamanlı olarak, Likya'da da imparatorluk imgeleri ve imparator kültü ortaya çıkmıştır. Tezde öne sürüldüğü üzere, Roma kültürünün Likyalılar tarafından isteyerek ya da zorunlu olarak benimsenmesinin, Roma ile siyasi ilişkilerin iyi bir şekilde sürdürülmesi kaygısı ile yapıldığı düşünülebilir.

2. Romanizasyon sürecinin ikinci dönemi Likya'nın ilhakı ile başlamaktadır. Likya kentlerinde bulunan mimari kalıntılar üzerinde yapılan tarihleme çalışmaları, milattan sonra birinci yüzyılın ikinci yarısından sonra Roma mimarisi ve inşaat teknolojisine göre inşa edilen veya onarılan, yeni veya restore edilmiş bina sayısının belirgin bir şekilde arttığını açıkça göstermektedir. Bu artış, milattan sonra 43 yılında Likya'nın Roma eyaletine dönüştürülmesinin hemen ardından yaşanmıştır. Bu süreç kimi yapıların inşaat ve onarımlarını imparatorlara ve eyalet yöneticilerine atfeden yazıtların eş zamanlı ortaya çıkışıyla desteklenmektedir. Dolayısıyla Likya'nın Roma hakimiyetine girdikten sonra, imparatorluk denetimi altında, Likya kentlerinin fiziksel ve sosyal olarak geliştirilmesini amaçlayan büyük ölçekli bir takım inşaat programları başlatılmıştır. İmparator Claudius tarafından başlatılan bu girişimler, öncelikli olarak yolların ölçülmesi ve yapımı, imparator kültü tapınımının güçlendirilmesi ve *sebasteia* inşası ile su denetiminin Roma su teknolojisinin ile iyileştirilmesini kapsamıştır. Suyollarının geliştirilmeye başlanması ile birlikte hamam kültürü ve yapıları da eyaletin ilk dönemlerinden itibaren kentlerde ortaya çıkmaya

başlamıştır. Böylece, askeriye, imparatorluk kültü, su teknolojisi başta olmak üzere Roma kültürüne ait en önemli üç kurum Likya'ya ya ilk kez getirilmiş ya da pekiştirilmiştir. Milattan sonra birinci yüzyılın geri kalanında imparatorluk girişimleri Likya kentlerinin mimari ve kentsel gelişimine çeşitli yönlerde etkili olmaya devam etmiştir. Bu girişimlerin doğrudan yönetimden mi geldiği yoksa Likya'dan gelen talepler doğrultusunda mı gerçekleştirildiğini belirlemek kolay değildir. Ancak, imparatorluğun, Likya kentlerinin Roma kültürü ve mimarisi etkisi altında gelişen mimari ve kentsel dönüşümüne bulunduğu katkı göz önüne alındığında, yeni eyaletin ilk on yıllarında Romanizasyonun Roma yönetimi tarafından teşvik edildiği hatta dayatıldığı söylenebilir.

3. Romanizasyon sürecinin son aşaması yaklaşık olarak milattan sonra ikinci yüzyıldan itibaren başlar. Bir önceki döneme kıyasla, imparatorluk girişimlerinin, Likya kentlerinin yapılı çevrelerindeki etkisinin azaldığı, aksine yerel üst sınıfın bireysel katkılarının arttığı gözlemlenmiştir. Bu dönemde Likya kentlerinin kentsel dönüşümünün hız kazandığı görülmektedir. Özellikle İmparator Hadrianus döneminde ve MS 141/142'de meydana gelen depreminin yıkıcı etkilerinin ardında inşaat ve onarım projeleri yoğunlaşmıştır. Bu süreçte alınan mimari ve kentsel kararlar, Roma mimarisi ve kentsel tasarım ilkelerinin daha esnek seçimlerle benimsendiğini, imparatorluğun doğu ve batısında uygulanan farklı mimari pratiklerden çeşitli şekillerde esinlenildiğini ve aynı zamanda bazı eski mimari geleneklerin korunduğunu göstermektedir.

Sonuç olarak, bu çalışmada, Likya'nın Romanizasyon sürecinin, önemli kültürel ve siyasi dönüm noktalarının etkisiyle farklı biçimler almış, tekdüze olmayan bir süreç olduğu ortaya konmuştur. Görüldüğü üzere, Likya'da gerçekleşen Romanizasyon süreci Likya ve Roma arasında yüzyıllarca süren dinamik bir iletişim şeklinde gelişmiştir. Çok katmanlı bir yapıya sahip olan bu iletişim, Roma yönetiminin teşvik ve dayatmalarından, yerli halkın zorunlu ve istekli katılımına kadar çok çeşitli biçimler alan karşılıklı kültürel bir etkileşimi temsil etmektedir.

Dinamik doğası göz önüne alındığında, Romanizasyon sürecinin, her Likya kenti için farklı ve eşsiz bir deneyim olduğunu düşünmek mümkündür.

Daha ileri gidilecek olunursa, her toplumsal sınıfın, hatta her bir bireyin mekânsal ve kentsel deneyimleme yoluyla çok çeşitli kişisel kimlikler üretebileceği yadsınamaz. Bununla birlikte, Likya'da bir Romalı olmanın kolektif olarak temsil edilmesi fikrine mimari bir perspektiften bakıldığında, üç temel argüman öne sürülebilir. İlk olarak, Roma mimarisi, şehirciliği ve sembolizmine uygun olarak büyük ölçüde yeniden şekillenen Likya kentlerinde Roma ritüelleri ve kültürel uygulamalarının sürekli bir şekilde canlandırılması, Romalı kimliğinin inşasına yol açmıştır. İkinci olarak, imparatorluğun geri kalanı ile ortak mimari, kentsel ve sanatsal bir dil ve imgelemin kullanılması, imparatorluğa aidiyet hissi sağlamış ve imparatorluk kimliği oluşmasına katkıda bulunmuştur. Son olarak, eski ve yeni mimari uygulamaları birleştiren Roma mimarisinin kolektif, kapsayıcı ve heterojen doğası, Likya'nın kendine has bir eyalet kimliğinin ortaya çıkmasını sağlamıştır. Dolayısıyla, İmparatorluk Dönemi boyunca Likyalıların Romalı olduğu, ancak Romalılığın özünde çoğulculuk ve çeşitlilik içerdiği söylenebilir.

C. TEZ FOTOKOPİSİ İZİN FORMU

ENSTİTÜ

Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü ☐

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Deniz Bilimleri Enstitüsü ☐

YAZARIN

Soyadı : Kalınbayrak Ercan
Adı : Aygün
Bölümü : Mimarlık Tarihi

TEZİN ADI (İngilizce) : Lycia and Roma: An Architectural Encounter

TEZİN TÜRÜ: Yüksek Lisans ☐ Doktora ■

1. Tezimin tamamı dünya çapında erişime açılsın ve kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla tezimin bir kısmı veya tamamının fotokopisi alınsın. ☐

2. Tezimin tamamı yalnızca Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi kullanıcılarının erişimine açılsın. (Bu seçenekle tezinizin fotokopisi ya da elektronik kopyası Kütüphane aracılığı ile ODTÜ dışına dağıtılmayacaktır.) ☐

3. Tezim bir (1) yıl süreyle erişime kapalı olsun. (Bu seçenekle tezinizin fotokopisi ya da elektronik kopyası Kütüphane aracılığı ile ODTÜ dışına dağıtılmayacaktır.) ■

Yazarın imzası:……………….. Tarih:…………………………..