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SUNA - İNAN KIRAÇ AKDENİZ MEDENİYETLERİ ARAŞTIRMA ENSTİTÜSÜ SUNA & İNAN KIRAÇ RESEARCH INSTITUTE ON MEDITERRANEAN CIVILIZATIONS

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SUNA - İNAN KIRAÇ AKDENİZ MEDENİYETLERİ ARAŞTIRMA ENSTİTÜSÜ YILLIĞI THE ANNUAL OF THE SUNA & İNAN KIRAÇ RESEARCH INSTITUTE ON MEDITERRANEAN CIVILIZATIONS

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*Yayın Türü: Yerel Süreli Yayın *Sayı: XI - 2008

Sahibi: Vehbi Koç Vakfı Adına Erdal YILDIRIM

Sorumlu Müdür: Kayhan DÖRTLÜK Yapım: Zero Prodüksiyon Ltd., İstanbul Arslan Yatağı Sk. Sedef Palas No. 19/2

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Adalya is indexed in the **A&HCI** (Arts & Humanities Citation Index) and **CC/A&H** (Current Contents / Art & Humanities).

Hakemli bir dergidir / A peer reviewed Publication

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ISSN 1301-2746



İçindekiler

| Some Observations on a Group of Buildings and their finds from the Early Neolithic II/2 Settlement at Bademağacı | 1 |
|--|-----|
| Erkan Dündar Some Observations on a North-Syrian/Cilician Jug in the Antalya Museum | 21 |
| H. Kübra Ensert – Ahmet Görmüş – Demet Kara The Stele of Erzin | 35 |
| Murat Arslan Eurymedon Muharebesi'nden Sonra Aspendos ve Genel Olarak Pamphylia'nın Durumuna Bir Bakış | 49 |
| Nevzat Çevik - Süleyman Bulut The rediscovery of GAGAE / 'GAXE' in the south-east corner of Lycia. New finds from the total surface surveys | 63 |
| Thomas Corsten Die Grabinschrift des Priesters Albasis in Myra | 99 |
| Burak Takmer – Nihal Tüner Önen Batı Pamphylia'da Antik Yol Araştırmaları: Via Sebaste'nin Perge-Klimaks Arası Güzergahında Yeni Bir Yol Kalıntısı | 109 |
| Çilem Uygun – Eray Dökü Kibyra Yerel Kırmızı Astarlı Seramiklerinden Örnekler | 133 |
| Guntram Koch Kinder-Sarkophage der römischen Kaiserzeit in Kleinasien | 165 |
| Nevzat Çevik Northeast Lycia. The New Evidence – Results from the past ten years from the Bey Mountains Surface Surveys | 189 |
| Şevket Aktaş Tombs of the Exedra Type and Evidence from the Pataran Examples | 235 |
| Ergun Kaptan Kelenderis'te Alaşım Metalurjisine Ait Buluntular | 263 |
| Ayşe Aydın Adana, Anamur ve Silifke Müzesi'ndeki Figürlü Paye ve Levhalar | 269 |

| Ozgü Çömezoğlu | |
|---|-----|
| Myra's Place in Medieval Glass Production | 287 |
| Engin Akyürek | |
| Palamutdüzü: A Medieval Byzantine Village Settlement in the Bey Mountains | 297 |
| T. M. P. Duggan | |
| The paintwork and plaster on Evdir and Kırkgöz Hans by Antalya- and some implications | |
| drawn concerning the original appearance of 13^{tb} c. Seljuk State buildings | 319 |
| Altan Çetin | |
| Akdeniz Ticaretinde Memlûklar Devri Mısır - Anadolu Mal Mübadelesi | 359 |
| Sema Bilici | |
| Bazı Örnekleriyle Alanya Kalesi Kazılarında Bulunan İthal Kıbrıs Sırlı Seramikleri | 373 |

The rediscovery of GAGAE / 'GAXE' in the south-east corner of Lycia. New finds from the total surface surveys

Nevzat ÇEVİK* - Süleyman BULUT**

The surrounding settlements of Rhodiapolis began to be legally and scientifically investigated only within the context of the "Vicinity of Rhodiapolis Surface Surveys". As a result of these surface surveys, the settlements of Idebessos, Akalissos, Melanippe, Korma, Pygela, Corydalla, Madnausa and the related settlements are undergoing detailed investigation and research within the scope of this surface survey project. The aim of these surveys conducted within the surroundings of Rhodiapolis is to determine the context surrounding the city of Rhodiapolis, that is, to determine the history, culture, religion, trade etc of this the surrounding region.

The first settlement that came under investigation within the scope of this series of surveys, which had never previously been officially surveyed in its entirety, was Gagae. During the 2007 summer season all the visible ruins at Gagae were investigated and were recorded in detail with the assistance of Geodetic GPS and a detailed city plan was produced (Fig. 4)¹.

This city located in the Kumluca–Mavikent district, that is termed today "Asar tepe" or "Aktaş Harabeleri", was first noted by the Pseudo Skylax, and called "Palaion Teikos" or the "Eski Kale (Old Castle)" (Fig. 1). The myth of the foundation of the city, not truly linked to its foundation, states that the Rhodians needed fields for the establishment of a settlement, making their request to the local population for land with the word, "Ga" "Ga", meaning arable land. After this request was granted, the new settlement became known as Gagae. From another legend, "when the Rhodian commander Nemius reduced the pirates of Cilicia and Lycia, after they had encountered a difficult time during a storm at sea, when the crew saw the land at this place, they called out in the Dorian dialect 'Ga Ga' and they

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The members who accompanied this survey from the Rhodiapolis Excavation team were: Assoc. Prof. İ. Kızgut, Research Assistants B. Özdilek, E. Akalın, H. O. Tıbıkoğlu and the students E. Özkan, Ç. Yağar, B. Yıldız, S. Parlak, M. Şengül. The caves in the fault zone were researched with the help of geomorphologists. Ö. Çomak was the State Representative on this survey from Ministry of Culture. Our thanks to the members of the survey team who directly worked in the field; to our friend T. M. P. Duggan who edited this text for language; our thanks to the General Management of Monuments and Museums for the permission and our appreciation to the Akdeniz University Research Projects Unit for their support in this project.

saved themselves from the storm in this place"². Until today these legends have been repeated associating the foundation of this city with the Rhodians. The meaning of the word Gagae³, which does mean land-"ga", is a word that originated from the Dorian dialect⁴. B. Umar explains the word "Gagai" as the "people of Gaga"⁵.

However, the most comprehensive and correct suggestion on this matter comes from Carruba who took the Classical coin from Gagae as a reference: "The word 'gagat' originates from the word 'hahha', which comes from the old Anatolian language. Its writing must be in the form 'gaxe' and the word 'haha' which means 'ancestor' would have been written as 'gage', because it was impossible to write the word 'xaxe' in Greek. In the Lycian language there is no word written as 'gaxe', as there is no word that begins with the letter 'g'. The only words that begin with this letter are all loan words recording Persian titles. The meaning of this word is maybe 'wither'. There are the words 'hahhum' in Akad and 'hahhas' in Hittite, words employed as city names. Another meaning of the word is, "cook or, fire" in the Pala language. It is clear that the word 'gaxe' originated from the word 'hahha' in the old Anatolian language. Somewhat apart, it is known that the syllables starts with the letters 'g' and 'x' are duplicates. Consequently, this coin supports the suggestion that the name 'Gagae' originated from the word 'gaxe' originating from the old Anatolian word 'hahha'".

Eusebius records it as "an unimportant city of Lycia". Its importance came from the mine which was reported to be in the city and it was also reported there was a source of lignite near the city called "gagates", the mine of lignite⁸, together with a stream near the city that was termed "Gages". The lignite, chrome and manganese mines in south-east Lycia directed the eastern politics of Pericle of Limyra in the 4th c. B.C. 10. Pliny the younger records that the mine and stream took their names from the name of the settlement 11. From Carruba's remarks quoted above concerning the origin of the city name "Gagai" as "gaxehahha", a question is therefore raised as to the names of the lignite mines and stream and their association with Carruba's suggestion concerning the original name of this city.

Spratt and Forbes mention this settlement in their record of travels in the region¹². Petersen and Von Luschan mention this site in their work published by the Viennese Science Institute (ÖAW) concerning research in Asia Minor¹³, permitted by the Ottoman Sultanate. O. Akşit cited the location of the site and records the visits of earlier travelers in

 $^{^2\,}$ T. A. B. Spratt - E. Forbes, Travels in Lycia, Milyas and the Cibyratis (1847) 186 ff.

³ L. Zgusta, Kleinasiatische Ortsnamen (1984) 131 f.

O. Treuber, Geschichte der Lykier (1887) 90; O. Akşit, Likya Tarihi (1967) 98; L. Zgusta, Kleinasiatische Ortsnamen (1984) 131.

⁵ B. Umar, Türkiye'deki Tarihsel Adlar (1993) 269.

⁶ O. Carruba - N. Vismara, "Una emissione arcaica della città Gagae", Atheneum 2002, 76 ff.

⁷ G. Bean, Eskiçağ'da Likya Bölgesi (1998) 154.

⁸ W. Ruge, "Gages", RE VII,1 (1910)² 467; H. Hellenkemper - F. Hild, Lykien und Pamphylien (2004) TIB 8, 541 ff.

⁹ Dioskurides, De materia medica V 128.

¹⁰ J. Borchhardt, Die Steine von Zemuri (1993) 41.

¹¹ Plinius, Naturalis historia XXXVI, 141.

¹² Spratt - Forbes 1847, supra 2, 161 ff.

E. Petersen – F. von Luschan, Reisen in Lykien Milyas und Kibyratis, Reisen im Südwestlichen Kleinasien II (1889) 117 ff.

his book 14 . The only official survey to have been conducted in the region to date has been the epigraphical survey led by İplikçioğlu which continues today 15 .

Our observations and the finds recorded during our surface surveys have helped us to determine some of the truth contained in the core of these legends. The most important of these finds was a well preserved two handled ceramic jar that has been dated to the Early Bronze Age EBA II (Fig. 48)¹⁶ that was discovered in a cave located within the fault beneath the hill upon which Gagae stands (Figs. 2-3). This pot has parallels from the EBA II levels of Karataş Semahöyük¹⁷ and from Badem Ağacı Höyük¹⁸, and it establishes as a fact, the supposition that the Early Bronze Age cultures came down from the high interior of Lycia to the sea, by this date. This EBA find clearly indicates that the earliest known settlement at Gagae certainly predates any supposed Rhodian colonization of Gagae, by many centuries. From the Rhodiapolis excavations we have found ceramics that date from the end of the 8th c. B.C. 19, that is, to a time also predating the start of Rhodian colonization, finds clearly indicating significant settlement within this region of Lycia, settlements that long preceded the dates that are implied in the surviving city foundation legends. The find spot of the EBA cup²⁰ in one of caves in the fault that runs along the western slope of Gagae indicates this find was in situ, as it was found beneath a huge rock outcrop that had fallen from the roof of the cave and covered these early remains, and which protected these finds (Fig. 5). Evidently there was no access to these remains given their location after this rock mass had fallen from the roof of the cave in the pre-archaic period. Due to the absence of excavations in south east Lycia, in respect to Phaselis, Melanippe, Rhodiapolis and Gagae²¹, all of which are described as Rhodian colonies²², as with the finds from Gagae and Rhodiapolis, a far earlier date of settlement, long prior to the period of Rhodian colonization is indicated. Due to absence of surface evidence indicating Rhodian colonization, the only source for these assertions as to Rhodian foundation are the statements that are recorded in the ancient sources. The evidence for settlement prior to Rhodian colonization will come from excavations, as has already been the case in central Lycia²³. Evidence also exists for these earlier settlements, settlements pre-dating the period of Rhodian colonization, that is pro-

¹⁴ O. Akşit, Likya Tarihi (1967) 34 vdd.

¹⁵ B. İplikçioğlu, "Doğu Likya'da Epigrafya Araştırmaları 2006", AST (in print)

The ceramic is dated to the Early Bronze Age by Prof. Dr. Refik Duru. We would like to thank him for his invaluable assistance in this matter.

¹⁷ M. Mellink, "Excavations at Karataş-Semayük 1964", AJA 69, 1965 Figs. 29, 30.

¹⁸ R. Duru, "Bademağacı Kazıları 1999", Belleten CLXIV, 2001, Plt. 12 / 1.

¹⁹ N. Cevik et al. "Rhodiapolis 2007", KST 30.1 (2009 in print)

²⁰ For detailed information about this pot, see here p. 76.

O. Akşit, Likya Tarihi (1967) 95: "It seems that Lycia underwent very little colonization. There is only a slight possibility that Gagae, Corydalla and Rhodiapolis were colonies".

As a tradition that originated from the ancient literature (Theopomp. F 103.15; Steph. Byz 376.15 and Etym. Magn. 219) the settlements along the seashore in this region have been described as "Rodian colonies": O. Treuber, Geschichte der Lykier (1887) 90; A. G. Keen, Dynastic Lycia (1998) 16, 233; G. Bean, Eskiçağ'da Likya Bölgesi (1997) 150 f.; C. Bayburtluoğlu, Likya (2004) 104: "Phaselis, Melanippe, Rhodiapolis, Gagae may have been colonized in the first quarter of 7th century by Rhodians".

²³ For example the Bronze Age axe and the Protogeometric ceramics from Patara: F. Işık, Patara. The History and Ruins of the Capital City of Lycian League (2000) 5 f.

vided by the earlier names *hahha-Gaxe*²⁴ (Gagae), as also of Limyra, Zummari (Zemuri)²⁵, for Patara, Patar²⁶ and for Rhodiapolis, Wedrei²⁷. In any case, the wrecks at Uluburun²⁸ and off Cape Gelidonia dating from between the 12th and 14th centuries B.C. evidently indicate the presence of at least small ports and their associated settlements located along the coast-line to support this shipping route that also included the cabotage trade along the coast. Borchhardt says that in the fertile mountainous areas above the Xanthos there must have been small dynastic settlements dating from the 'dark ages'²⁹ but the above new evidence also indicates the presence of Bronze Age settlements along this coastline. However the nature of these settlements remains unknown and consequently the settlement plans, building types and forms remain to be determined from excavation. Likewise the process and manner of Rhodian colonization awaits the evidence from the spade, the evidence from excavations, to indicate if any large scale colonization took place.

Gagae is located at the meeting point of the two seas, the Mare Pamphylian³⁰ and the Mare Lycium, forming a point of cultural intersection and possible exchange (Fig. 1). Cape Gelidonya, following the Kallias peace treaty of 449 B.C.³¹ formed the border defined by this treaty, between the Persian and the Attic spheres of control. We are, with the exception of the numismatic evidence, without finds relating to the classical period at Gagae. From this numismatic evidence it seems Limyra had power over the city during this period. During the Hellenistic period the tower was erected on top of the hill at Gagae. Melanippe in the port of Karaöz, was a small settlement under the control of Gagae, dating from the Hellenistic period³². According to the Spratt and Forbes, probably, "Gagae, together with Rhodiapolis and Corydalla together formed a sympoliteia"³³ and it is noteworthy that "Corydalla was the head of this sympolity". In this corner of south-east Lycia there was a union of power between the smaller settlements and the adjacent smaller city.

Roads

Gagae lies on the route, Limyra-Corydalla-Gagae-Corycos, recorded in the 1^{st} c. A.D. Miliarium Lyciae of Patara (Fig. $1)^{34}$. Gagae was linked to the ports of Melanippe-Karaöz

²⁴ Carruba - Vismara, supra 6, 85.

Borchhardt, ibid, 39; T. Marksteiner in J. Borchhardt – H. Eichner – K. Schulz, Kerththi oder der Versuch, eine antike Siedlung der Klasik in Zentrallykien zu identifizieren, Adalya Supplementary Series 3 (2005) 4.

²⁶ Işık, ibid., 3 f.

²⁷ Borchhardt, ibid., 59.

G. F. Bass - D. A. Frey - C. Pulak, "A Late Bronz Age Shipwreck Near Kaş, Turkey", IJNA 13, 1984, 272 ff.; G. F. Bass, "A Bronze Age Shipwreck at Uluburun (Kaş): 1984 Campaign", AJA 90.3, 1985, 269 ff.

²⁹ Borchhardt, ibid, 10.

N. Çevik, Taşların İzinde Likya (2002) 119; Strabon XIV, 66, 651; XI, 520: "It formed the southern end of the eastern border of Lycia".

³¹ Borchhardt, supra 10, 11; A. Keen, Dynastic Lycia (1998).

³² İplikçioğlu, supra 15.

Corydalla and Gagae have mentioned together with Rhodiapolis: Plinius, Naturalis historia 5.28.100. The existence of this union seeming doubly certain in some sources: G. F. Hill, Greek Coins of Lycia, Pamphylia, and Pisidia. BMC, IXIV. This information is based on an inscription found by Spratt and Forbes in the theatre (Spratt – Forbes 1847, supra 2, I, 182 ff.). After Spratt and Forbes, nobody subsequently mentions this inscription and we could not find it.

³⁴ H. İşkan, "Wesen und Gestalt", in: F. Işık - H. İşkan - N. Çevik, Miliarium Lyciae, Patara Yol Kılavuz Anıtı/Das Wegweisermonument von Patara, Lykia IV, 1998-1999 (2001) 46.

(Korsan Koyu, the corsairs' port) and also to Finike harbor. Observation- control over both the land and sea routes was maintained from the Hellenistic period onwards from the highpoint of the tower that was erected at Gagae. The road that climbs to the city runs from the eastern side of the city and reaches the area of the lower acropolis and then divides, one road extending to the lower acropolis with the other leading to the necropolis valley. That road that comes from the necropolis then climbs to the upper acropolis, reaching the acropolis on its northeastern side where the main gate is located.

An extensive stretch of this ancient way is visible today along the necropolis valley, in places it is a footpath, but near to the rock cut necropolis there are terraces built to support a broader road that was constructed from large blocks. Where the road turns to lead to the upper acropolis there is an in-filled bridge (Fig. 6) which measures 11.82 x 1.80 m., the sides of which were constructed from large blocks. On its western side the road extends to a width of 20 m. but, on its eastern side the road is narrower as it turns towards the acropolis. There are no visible ruins on the slope after this bridge leading to the acropolis and there is only a small quarry.

The ruins of the city can be divided into four main areas: the upper acropolis, the lower acropolis, the ruins on the flat area at the foot of the slope and the necropolis.

The Upper Acropolis (Figs. 4, 7-14)

In this area there are the earliest visible architectural remains and there are also buildings that extend in date into the Byzantine period. This acropolis is of a near rectangular shape, following the natural form of the hill (Fig. 7). It is orientated NE-SW and, at its longest point, measures 120 m., and in the east is 56 m. and in the west is 34 m. wide. The fortifications stand in places to a height of 6 m. in the north and east, in part, up to the level of the parapet walkway and are built from rubble and lime mortar, with tile inclusions in places, and are of Early Byzantine type (Figs. 8-11). The wall extends over a distance of more than 400 m³⁵. These walls have a width of 1.30 m. and the parapet walkway measures 0.88 m. The entrance gate is preserved except for its lintel and is located in the northeast. The width of the outer entrance, which was built from limestone blocks is 1.45 m., which widens to 2 m. on the inside and has a depth of 1.34 m. (Fig. 9) The locking beam for the door that slid within the wall a distance of 2.60 m. to open the door and the hole for it, is square, measuring 0.44 cms. per side. This beam was approx. 30 x 30 cms. and, when the door was locked, the beam extended a distance of 30 cms. into the wall on either side of the doorway (Fig. 9).

On the north-west side of the acropolis on the highest point, 162 m. asl. there is a late Classical-early Hellenistic tower of two rooms (Fig. 13). Visible to the north-west is Rhodiapolis and Finike to the west, to the east is Cape Gelidonya, a wide area being fully visible from this tower. The walls of this tower measure 8.10 x 18.00 m. and are 1.55 thick, with a few courses remaining *in situ* today. The hole that was excavated to receive the new flagpole is regrettably far larger than was actually required for this purpose. On the east side of the tower the inclined fortification wall is noteworthy. The construction technique that was employed for the walls of this tower resembles that of the tower farms

³⁵ D. Magie, Roman Rule in Asia Minor I (1950) 521: "... a strongly fortified citadel".

of Eastern Lycia³⁶. Another tower in the vicinity of Gagae is at Andızlıtaş forming another part of a security chain of watchtowers.

There is a further smaller tower, measuring 8.40×5.20 m., which is connected on the east side to this tower but which is today poorly preserved, only a few blocks remaining, together with its rock cut foundations. The area in front of the tower is today covered by the later apse of the Basilica and the connecting wall between these two towers was reemployed to form a side aisle of this Basilica.

Basilical Church: (Fig. 14) This Byzantine church has the usual orientation and is located between the two earlier towers, having a basilical plan. Its exterior walls are of limestone and the interior walls are of rubble and lime mortar. The synthronon was cut from the bedrock and it has 4 visible steps. There is no evidence of a narthex. The building is 20 m. long and 13.24 m. wide. The apse measures on its interior 5.45 m., the main aisle is 7.20 m. wide and the side aisles 3.0 m. wide. The main portal is in the west wall and it is 1.40 m. wide. From the construction technique and the plan this basilica dates from the 5th c. A.D. as has been suggested³⁷.

Other structures: (Fig. 12) Inside the fortification walls within the castle there is evidence of many buildings-rooms attached to and extending parallel to these walls. The rear walls of these buildings serving to reinforce the fortification walls. Some are houses, others, without doors and windows, were employed as depots or cisterns, but their function may have changed over time. The interior plaster over the cistern walls is very well preserved and the finest preserved cistern is in the south of the castle, having a trapezoidal plan and with walls 0.75~m. thick, measuring 6.45~x~9.00~x~5.60~m. Another cistern measures 4.10~m. x 4.10, and is 3.8~m. deep and covered by a barrel vault (Fig. 12). There is much rubble masonry in this area but the other buildings remain, in the absence of any visible walls, unidentifiable.

The Lower Acropolis (Figs. 15-21)

The area called the "lower acropolis" s, termed the later acropolis and the caves within the area of the fault are examined within this section.

On the first lower hill overlooking the sea the lower acropolis and its associated ruins are located. The most visible ruins are Byzantine fortifications located on a north-south axis following the natural form of the hill and forming, together with the rock outcrops, a fortified enclosure (Fig. 19). The walls are 1.40 m. thick. and within these walls there are no identifiable buildings, although from the rock-cut evidence there were hybrid structures erected within this area, and from the beam holes cut in the rock face, buildings of more than one storey were constructed (Fig. 21). At the northern end of the fortification walls there is a circular tower (Fig. 18), its inner diameter measuring 3.28 m. and with walls 0.80 cms. thick. The walls then extend 15.30 m. to the south, and then turn to the east extending for 32.00 m. In this area the walls are of a double thickness and stronger and there is another tower also located in this area. The tower construction is of rubble and mortar

³⁶ A. Konecny, Hellenistische Turmgehöfte in Zentral-und Ostlykien (1997).

³⁷ Hellenkemper – Hild, supra 8, 541, ff.

³⁸ G. Bean, Eskiçağda Likya Bölgesi (1998) 153 ff.

with tile inserts around the rubble stone and seems to be of a 10^{th} to 12^{th} c. date. However, the walls extending from the tower employ larger stones with tiles around them and are of $6^{th} - 7^{th}$ c. date, probably erected because of the Muslim coastal raids of that time.

The rock mass extending between the two hills was employed to support hybrid-rock cut buildings, indicated by the extant beam holes and drainage channels, buildings largely of one and two storeys. However one structure, lying 24 m. east of the circular tower, is different, having a rock-cut area from which 10 rock-cut steps lead up to a flat rock cut area having two rock-cut rectangular cavities 0.70 cms. deep, forming the lower rock-cut parts of two ostothek (Fig. 20).

100 m. southeast of the lower fortifications there is a large flat rock-cut area with an upper and lower line of beam holes cut into the rock face. Both lines of beam holes have beneath them rock cuttings to allow the fixation of an angled support for the floor, indicating the presence here of a two storey hybrid building (Fig. 21). This type of cutting is visible on other rock outcrops in this area for other hybrid buildings and there are large quantities Byzantine and lesser quantities of Roman ceramics lying on the surface.

Nearby, but located in an elevated position, the rock face has been worked and a small cubic area of stone has been cut out, forming a room-like space, above which there are two beam holes and to its left upper corner there is a niche-like cavity. To its left there is a further rock-cut cavity of a triangular form with a secondary rectangular hole cut in the wall to support an object. Between these two major rock-cut cavities, exposed through recent illegal excavation, there is a semi-circular base carved in the rock-face below the surfaces to either side. Although the function of this area is today unclear, it evidently served some particular purpose and is unusual in its distribution of rock-cut areas and seems evidently unrelated to, and serving a different function from the hybrid dwellings that were erected within this area.

At the back of this rock outcrop is the start of the fault area and at the start of this fault's fissure there is a square niche cut into the rock-face measuring 1 x 1.10 x 0.22 m. From this niche onwards, within the fissure of the fault the air temperature is remarkably cooler and there are many caves. Our research within the cave system (Fig. 5) produced finds of both architectural ceramics, of Roman storage vessels and daily use ceramics including sieves, and there are also many beam holes that were cut into the rock-cut walls of these caves. Some of the ceramic fragments may have been brought down by rainfall from above, but others seem to have been from vessels that were employed to store goods within this natural cold storage system. Those deep galleries, those that are suitable for use, seem to have been deliberately used and the ceramic finds in many of them seem to have originated from within these areas, as these areas are not liable to the rain water runoff bringing into them ceramic pieces from elsewhere. In the deeper galleries in this fault system there are rock-cut steps and beam holes and also platforms of built stone blocks, together with fragments of pithoi, clear indications that these galleries were deliberately employed for storage and it therefore seems clear that these galleries formed a cold storage facility at Gagae, in the otherwise somewhat warm Mediterranean climate. Given the finds of Early Bronze Age ceramics from these caves, it is also possible that these caves were initially utilized as rock-cut shelters for the population and in later times they were perhaps also employed for accommodation by the population during any periods of extreme summer heat.

The ruins on the level area that formed the public center during the Roman Period

On the west and northwest side of the acropolis, where there are today orchards of orange and lemon trees and greenhouses, there are also some remains of construction lying in-part concealed within the vigorous undergrowth of vegetation. Some of these structures have been identified, but the majority, a consequence of subsequent agricultural activities, has been destroyed. These ruins include: the probable site of the theater, the aqueduct, the bathhouse, the nymphaeum, basilica (Fig. 31) and the area that was probably the location of the Roman agora. There are a variety of other remains, largely dating from the Roman period that served some unknown function. It is evident that this area served in the Roman period as the city center. Here on the surface there are considerable remains of Roman pottery, remains of household wares, bricks and roof-tiles. Turning inland from the sea the first ruins are observable: this is a cylindrical cistern partially destroyed with thick walls built from rubble-stone and mortar, with pieces of Roman pottery lying around it. Lying 40 m to the north of this cistern there is a Byzantine hybrid building, well preserved, of two rooms, one is well preserved and measures 4.10 by 4.10 m. with a slit window in the northern wall.

The Bath House: (Figs. 22-28) From the Opramoas inscriptions already known that were excavated in the 2007 season at Rhodiapolis, we know that the "balneion" at Gagae was built as a result of a donation of 18.000 dinarii by Opramoas³⁹. In the sources a Panagyric festival is mentioned at Gagae, involving Greek-wrestling and boxing, an event also known from other cities such as: Rhodiapolis, Olympos, Phaselis Oinoanda, Myra, Patara, Sura etc. It is recorded that this festival at Gagae was associated with the cult of Asklepios and was called Asklepeia⁴⁰. From the above, it is evident that a bathhouse was built in the middle of the 2nd c. A.D. at Gagae. Petersen and Luschan record the existence of a bathhouse at Gagae from the known inscription⁴¹. F. Starke also mentions the ruins of a bathhouse although if it was seen is uncertain and, given the profusion of vegetation it seems probable that the inscription may also have been the source of this remark⁴². A. Farrington also records from the inscription that there must have been a bathhouse in the city43 and, H. Hellenkemper published an apse of a basilica and suggested this "may have been the Gagae bathhouse"44. S. Doğan in her Byzantine surveys in the region published and reported upon a "unique example of a therme of the Byzantine period"45, however this structure is in fact a Roman period nymphaeum and is located at some considerable distance from the bathhouse at Gagae.

³⁹ E. Kallinka, TAM Vol. 2 (1920) no 905 XII F 1-3, XVII E 7-8, XIX D 1-3; Ch. Kokkinia, Die Opramoas-Inschrifte von Rhodiapolis (2000) 103.

⁴⁰ A. Farrington, The Roman Baths of Lycia (1995) 145; IGR 3 no 746.

⁴¹ Petersen – von Luschan 1889, supra 13, 117.

⁴² F. Stark, Alexander's Path (1958) 131.

⁴³ Farrington, ibid., 78: "There are two epigraphic references tobalneia at sites where no bath survive today. The first refers to Gagae, now denuded, where Opramoas is reported to have given money for the building of a bath, pool and fittings. Money for this bath is cited in a decree of 149, but for this date, Opramoas promised a sum of money to Gagae is only cited. This suggests that this bath formed a part of the widespread building in Lycia, after the earthquake of 141-142".

⁴⁴ Hellenkemper - Hild, supra 8, 141.

⁴⁵ S. Doğan, "Likya'da Bizans Dönemi Araştırmaları", AST 22.2 (2005) 77 Res. 1.

Today concealed in the vegetation lying 40 m. north-west of the depression, the former site of the theater, in the adjacent flat area is the Gagae bathhouse. This is a small three section bathhouse that has been in large part destroyed. The first room measures 16.50 by 7.00 m. orientated north-south, the frigidarium-apoditarium (Fig. 22). The main entrance to the bath house, 1.90 m. wide is on the east wall of this section, within a 3.50 m. wide arch. The walls are preserved here to a height of 6.50 m. This section covered by a barrel vault is orientated north-south. The other two rooms of the bathhouse are adjacent, lying to the west of this section. The second room, 4.60 by 4.60 m., the tepidarium (Fig. 23), is reached through a 1.0 m. wide door opening through the west wall of the frigidarium. The roof of the tepidarium section has fallen. Some of the mosaic floor is today visible, the rest of the floor lies beneath the earth. The door 1.00 m. wide through the north wall of the tepidarium leads to the caldarium. The caldarium measures 5.40 by 8. 50 m. and is covered by a barrel vault. It is orientated towards the west. Parts of the hypocaust system remain in situ, and are well preserved in the west and east sides of this section (Fig. 22). This preserved area measures 3 by 6 sq.m. A small hole today provides access into the hypocaust system. The pilaes (small pillars) supporting the hypocaust floor are 1.30 m. in height⁴⁶ and, in section, the form of those pilaes applied to the walls are square, the others round (Figs. 26 and 27). They are spaced 0.55 cm. apart. The round-in section bricks of the pilaes are 0.30 m. in diameter and are 0.07 m thick. The base and capitals of these pedestals (pilaes) are square bricks measuring 0.43 x 0.43 m. These support the big square bricks measuring 0.84 by 0.84 m. which completed the under construction of the floor. The thickness of the floor, constructed of bricks and mortar is 0.45 m. The mouth of the preafurnium is well preserved (Fig. 28), opening in the western end of north wall of the suspensura of the caldarium. It has a brick arch surround, the bricks, 0.66 m wide and 0.98 m in high. The arch of the preafurnium, opening to the exterior, is filled with debris and is not measurable but is covered by a barrel vault that inclines towards the exterior. At the north-west corner of the caldarium there are the remains of walls that probably enclosed the water reservoir for the bathhouse, below which would have been the furnace. These slightly preserved walls are 0.80 m. wide. The empty area lying on the north side of the caldarium, bordered by the west facing exterior wall of the frigidarim that extends beyond the frigidarium to the north and this wall encloses an area of approximately 200 sq. m. This bathhouse resembles those at Patara⁴⁷ and Arycanda⁴⁸ in the group consisting of three-roomed bathhouses. The small bathhouse in the south-west of Patara very closely resembles that at Gagae. However the materials employed are different, at Patara large stone blocks were employed in the construction, while at Gagae, rubble, bricks and mortar were used. With the addition of this small bathhouse to those small bathhouses that are already known from Lycia⁴⁹, further evidence concerning the bathhouses of the smaller settlements dating from

^{46 1.30} m is maximum height for a hypocaust: F. Yegül, Baths and Bathing in Classical Antiquity (1992) 492. It is interesting to see this maximum height in this very small bath house.

⁴⁷ A. Farrington, The Roman Baths of Lycia (1995) Fig. 19; J. Ganzert, Varmes Wasser and en "Verborgenen Wassern von Limyra. Beobachtungen aus den Jahren 1981/82 zur Thermenanlage in der östlichen Stadthölfte in: F. Blakolmer et al (Hrsg.) Fremde Zeiten (1996) I, 175-187; F. Işık, Patara. The History and Ruins of the Capital City of Lycian League (2000) 125 ff.; A. Bulut, Patara Küçük Hamamı (Unpublished thesis, Antalya 1995).

⁴⁸ C. Bayburtluoğlu, "Arykanda Kazısı 1983", KST V (1985) 294 Fig. 2.

⁴⁹ The smallest example of this small baths was discovered by the authors at Typallia: N. Çevik - B. Varkıvanç, "An evaluation of the Roman rural baths of Lycia in the light of two new examples from Trebenna and Typallia", Adalya VII 2004, 223-249.

the Roman period is now known, and this find is important for the evidence it provides concerning the heating system that was employed within these small bathhouses, as also because the location of the bathhouse at Gagae is now known for certain.

The Nymphaeum?: (Figs. 29-30) Lying 50 m. to the east of the bath house, at the start of the slope, there are the remains of a structure semi-circular in plan, facing the bathhouse. The aqueduct extending from the northern side of the city along the foot of the slope leads to this building. This is the building that was identified as "an unique Byzantine thermae" by S. Dogan⁵⁰, however, from the in situ constructional evidence, this ruined structure is of a Roman date. The apse measures 3.23 m. in diameter and is slightly more than a semi-circle and at the edge of the apse on either side are the walls and these wall are not aligned with each other. This apse from the in situ remains was covered by a semi-dome. The three niches in the walls of this apse are spaced 0.80 cms. apart and the foot of these niches is 1.10 m. above the floor level. These niches are 0.75 wide and 1.50 m. high, all are semi-circular in section. The building was constructed from rubble and bricks and it was then plastered. From the floor which was exposed and largely destroyed through the activities of illegal excavators, it was seen that the floor was 1.50 m. thick, comprising large rubble stones bonded by a strong mortar. The strength of this floor construction may be related to the fact that this building was constructed on a slope, together with the location of the nymphaeum's pool. These ruins, from the plan and its relation to the aqueduct would indicate that this building was the Roman nymphaeum.

The Theater⁵¹: (Fig. 4) There is a natural cavity lying 50 m. south of the bathhouse at the beginning of the slope having the form of a small cavea. T. Demir a local man, reports having heard something concerning this from his father⁵², who said that he saw the limestone blocks of the seats which were fixed to each other with iron clamps. Today we observed only two blocks remaining *in situ* in the undergrowth. These may belong to the set at the end of the cavea. It is understood that there was a small theatre that was located on this slope cavity. When we think of the other public buildings within this area that this was the location of theatre becomes both logical and most probable. The architectural materials of this building were almost totally removed during the 1950's to build the mosque⁵³ and the first houses at Mavikent, an event which also caused the destruction of the Corydalla theatre. This seems most probable because the other buildings materials employed were generally rubble stone and bricks and at this time in the 1940's the stone blocks from the theatre were very valuable.

⁵⁰ Doğan, supra 45, 77 Res. 1.

⁵¹ Stark, supra 42, 131; Bean states that "there is a theatre in the city": G. Bean, Eskiçağ'da Likya Bölgesi (1998) 154 f. The later visitors saw neither the theatre nor the balneion nor most of other structures, such as C. Bayburtluoğlu who only records the name of the city "Gagae" in the section, but did not explain the ruins, he does however state, "we visited the city a few times with my team" and he mention, "I did not find the theatre": C. Bayburtluoğlu, Likya (2004) 103; H. P. Isler, "Antike Theaterbauten in Lykien", in K. Dörtlük – B. Varkıvanç – T. Kahya et al., (eds.), The IIIrd Symposium on Lycia. 07-10 November 2005. Antalya. Symposium Proceedings. Suna-İnan Kıraç Research Institute on Mediterranean Civilizations Vol. I (2006) 301 ff: There is no information about the theater in Gagae, only mentioned its name in the footnote 7 and showed by a punkt on the map (Abb. 1).

We would like to thank to Turgut Demir who gave us important information concerning the existence of the theatre and also for showing us the "hole", in fact the hypocaust of the bathhouse, which they went into when they were children.

⁵³ Stark, supra 42, 131, "the theater has vanished altogether, into a little mosque built fifteen years ago with pride by the neighboring village of Yeniceköy".

Aqueduct: (Figs. 32-33) The aqueduct is orientated in a NE-SW direction, extending from Gagae to Mavikent via Karaveliler. A stretch 250 m. long of this aqueduct is very clearly visible and is largely preserved. 23 of the supporting piers are well preserved but the arches between them are totally destroyed. The piers that rise on the Gagae side – that is on the sea side- where the topography slopes downwards account for this change in the topography through the construction of a wall upon which these arches were constructed. The aqueduct was constructed from bricks, rubble stone and mortar. The walls are a standard 1.00 m. thick. The width of the piers differs, ranging between 1.70 and 2.00 m. The spaces between the piers are between 2.18 and 2.60 m. The piers are 2.25 m. high, with the arch giving a total height of 4.75 m. Buttresses were constructed on two sides to support the arches. On the wall, at three different heights, in the wall surface there are holes to locate a ladder. This aqueduct was built employing the same technique and materials as the aqueduct of Corydalla and it maybe that these two aqueducts were built during the same period, perhaps with the financial assistance of Opramoas of Rhodiapolis.

The orientation of the aqueduct is to the eastern part of the Roman public centre which includes the nymphaion and the bath house. The water brought by the aqueduct must firstly reach the nymphaion and balneion. The aqueduct must have been constructed at the same time as the balneion of Gagae which built between 145 and 150 A.D. with financial help from Opramoas. The same technique of construction was employed for the walls of aqueduct and for the balneion which supports this suggested dating. An Ionic column capital which we found near the aqueduct in a house garden also seems to be from this same period – the mid. 2nd c. A.D. (Fig. 54).

The ruins of the aqueduct extend parallel to the slope which includes the nymphaeum and goes northwards from it. There is a terrace-like surrounding wall extending slightly lower than the aqueduct northwards for 80 m. and enclosing this flat area and there are some openings through this wall on the nympheaum-city side for access.

On the flat area there are many ruins of walls, and at the western end there are the remains of an apsidal structure, the apse measuring 5.0 m. in diameter, that may have been a basilica given its east-west orientation, but, in the absence of identifiable remains of the rest of this building it is difficult to be certain about this buildings original form and function. Hellenkemper states this building may have been a Roman bath house⁵⁴.

The flat area lying between the balneion and the theater may have been the area of the Roman Agora (Fig. 4). The Asklepeia festival that is mentioned in the sources⁵⁵ may have been held here and other civic facilities may also have been erected in this area. The ruins in this area indicate that this part of the city formed the Gagae city center during the Roman period.

The Necropolis

Lying beneath the northern slope of the upper acropolis in the facing slope and most notable, visible in a small long and low rocky area on the north side of the ancient road to the acropolis, there is a group of rock cut tombs. On the northwestern slope there are underground chamber tombs and there are also a few other tomb types such as arcosolium.

⁵⁴ Hellenkemper - Hild, supra 8, 540 Fig. 107.

⁵⁵ IGR 3 no. 746.

Built tombs: (Fig. 37) The first tomb at the foot of the slope is a built tomb with half of the ceiling blocks destroyed, the rest are *in situ*. It measures 2.0 m. in length and is 0.90 m. wide at the base, and is 0.55 m. wide at the top and is 1.44 m. high. The tomb cover comprises long stone slabs that are 0.25 m. thick. The walls are constructed from plastered rubble and mortar and the floor was made from brick. From the type of construction employed, it seems to date from the Roman period, however parallels are few in the region for this tomb type.

A further tomb of a different type is situated on the pathway between the two acropolii where there are some unidentified buildings, here there is a chamber tomb of a rectangular plan, roofed by a barrel vault, constructed of rubble and mortar, and it was plastered. The room measures $2.30 \times 1.02 \, \text{m}$, and is $1.22 \, \text{high}$ and the walls are $0.37 \, \text{cms}$. thick. The front wall has been destroyed and the location and form of the tomb entrance due to this damage is unknown. In the middle of the long wall there is a small niche for gifts to the deceased (Fig. 40).

The underground chamber tombs: (Figs. 34, 35) At the start of the necropolis way on the slope of upper acropolis some underground tombs were discovered, only some parts of the entrance blocks are visible. In Gagae this type of underground chamber tomb, together with the rock cut tombs, seems to have been the preferred tomb type. Along the necropolis way 10 examples of this tomb type were discovered carved into the limestone rock. However the number of this tomb type at Gagae is certainly greater than the 10 that were recorded in our survey. The chambers of these tombs are entirely carved into the ground but the door area was constructed from stone blocks. Some of these tombs appear to form an intermediary group between the rock-cut tombs and the underground tomb types.

The clearest example of this tomb type was discovered as a result of some illegal excavations conducted in the city when a tomb of this type was exposed⁵⁶. In the discarded rubble from this illegal excavation the single stone block that was cut to form the infilling of the door was found (Fig. 36). It had been broken into 4 pieces. It has a profile and a small hole which was employed to locate this door cover over the tomb entrance. This slab measures 0.64 m. by 0.67. Also discarded in the spoil heap from these illegal excavations was a large piece of terracotta, a kline, to support the deceased and also some ceramic fragments. The plan of this tomb is not complete but it had a triclinium plan, with a space between, to permit movement within the tomb⁵⁷. The illegal excavators had excavated the entrance and the lintels and door jamb are visible with profiles, profiles that match the profile on the door slab. The only visible and intact section of the room provides a measurement (uncertain) for this tomb of 1.70 m. in width and 1.15 in height.

Rock Cut Tombs: (Figs. 41-47) There are 13 tombs located in a 50 m. long, low rocky outcrop extending beside the antique road (Figs. 41, 42). These tombs mostly face the road. There is little difference in terms of quality, door size and dimensions between them, differences are in the organization of the tomb chambers, differences that seem de-

⁵⁶ Illegal excavators exposed this tomb, we caught and delivered them to the Gendarmeries forces.

⁵⁷ The most important examples of underground chamber tombs excavated with their rich context in the area were found at Patara. These examples date from the 1st century B.C to the 1st century A.D.: H. İşkan - N. Çevik, "Die Grüfte von Patara", Lykia II, 1995, 187-216.

pendant upon the bed-rock characteristics rather than being the result of planning. Within these chambers there are either rock-carved coffin-like khamosoriums or kline and both also occur together or there are rock-cut holes and supports defining the former presence of wooden kline within these tombs. Typically, between the klines there is a rectangular area to permit movement within the tomb. Several of the doors to these tombs are visible, but the majority lie half buried beneath deposited eroded material. All of these tombs have been excavated and robbed in the distant past. Some of these tombs stand alone, while others are together, forming a group. All have bare facades with in the middle of the facade a bare entrance and level with the door opening there are niche-like cavities in which the tomb stele were located. The door jamb and lintels are cut from limestone and all of the other parts of these tombs are cut from the bed-rock. Each door slab that covered the tomb entrance moved in a slide to the right and some of these door slabs are *in situ*, others are broken.

None of these tombs can be connected to the Lycian type as they have no imitation wood carved elements. They belong to the tradition of Roman rock cut tombs⁵⁸. In and around the city there are no Lycian type tombs⁵⁹ but, in places such as Andızlıtepe, the garrison center belonging to Gagae, there are rock cut tombs that belong to the Lycian rock-cut tomb tradition.

Sarcophagus: A single sarcophagus has been found, two pieces from the sides and one piece from the tomb cover which are bare of decoration. However, the base is of interest, as there is a small coffin-like room, constructed of rubble stones and mortar which was then plastered, that forms a hyposorium-like base for this sarcophagus.

Khamosorion: (Figs. 38-39) Lying just to the east of the chamber tomb located beside the fault, there is a khamosorion and also a circular carved space, possibly for an ostothek, the cavity having a diameter of 0.84 m. This tomb was entirely carved from the bed-rock with the exception of the lower northern side which was completed through the addition of a stone block. Its length is 1.96 by 0.56 m. wide and is 0.69 high. Half of the cover remains *in situ* but the rest has been destroyed. On the face of the bed-rock there is a carved area with a hole, carved to receive the base of a stele.

Finds

Most of the surface ceramic finds from the lower acropolis area, as elsewhere in the city, are of daily wares and are largely of Roman and Byzantine date. Only one piece of black glazed Hellenistic ceramic was found in the area of the lower acropolis. However, in two separate areas there were numerous finds of architectural material. Firstly, in the garden of the primary school at Mavikent Yalı, largely Roman and Byzantine capitals and column pieces that were in the past brought from Gagae and assembled here and, secondly, in the area of the Mavikent Yapraklı Cemetery. In this cemetery Byzantine Church material was employed in the construction of tombs erected within the cemetery. There are also some isolated architectural and other finds including altars in the houses and in the gardens of Mavikent.

N. Çevik, "The rock-cut tombs of Etenna and the rock-cut tomb tradition in southern Anatolia", AnatSt 53, 2003, 97-116

⁵⁹ A. V. Schweyer, "Le pays lycien. Un étude de geographie historique aux époque classique et hellenistique", RA I, 1996, 65 ff.

The important surface finds from Gagae are:

- 1. An Early Bronze Age pot: (Fig. 48) Discovered by us during the surveys of 2007, beneath a collapsed massive stone block fallen from the roof in a cave in the fault zone of Gagae hill. 12 cms h. with a spherical base and having two handles for suspension. The color of the clay is brick red and it was made by hand, not thrown on a wheel. This find was dated by Prof. Refik Duru to the Early Bronze Age and is the earliest known find from this region.
- 2. A Roman opal cameo: (Fig. 51) Discovered in the lower acropolis during the surface surveys of 2007 it can be dated to the 2nd c. A.D. from the method of gem stone cutting that was employed. It is of an elliptical form nearly 1cm. long. From the corrosion evidence attached to the opal stone it is evident it was set in an iron ring. Carved on this stone there is a depiction of Athena Parthenos⁶⁰. The Goddess is fully armed, facing right holding Nike on her outstretched left hand.
- 3. Two spindle whorls were found on the surface.
- 4. Tomb altar. (Fig. 52) Found in the 2007 surveys in the garden of the house of Süleyman Karakuş in Mavikent, Yenice Mah. 61. 0.53 m. in height, dia 0.33 m. Carved in the upper half of the cylindrical body there is a niche containing a mantled male figure and beneath this niche, a three line legible inscription recording the name of the tomb owner as "Balianbos", and, from the style of the carving it can be dated to the 3rd c. A.D.
- 5. Tomb altar. Found in Mavikent Mah. seaside park⁶². (Fig. 53) This cylindrical altar decorated with garlands between bulls heads was subsequently carved with a niche containing a standing figure. Dated to the 1st c. A.D.⁶³ but the niche and the figure were carved after the 2nd c. A.D. The five line inscription is clearly legible, reading, "Belon and his wife Cleopatra dedicated this altar to the memory of their child Menippos and Iason".
- 6. Tomb altar, found in a field and which is today in the garden of D. Küçükyavuz. It is cylindrical and has a diameter of 0.52 m. and is 0.65 high. On the upper body of the cylinder is carved in relief a grape vine band and carved within a niche is carved a standing couple. Below this there is a five line inscription. The inscription was published by D. French⁶⁴, "Arsasis who is also named Paua with her child from Myra and also from Gagae dedicated this altar to her husband Trocondas". The names of eight family members are given in this inscription, of which five are local names and Arsasis was from Myra, lying 34 km. west of Gagae, before she married Trocondas who came from Gagae. This inscription is important for recording the name of the city of Gagae.

⁶⁰ M. Henig – M. Whiting, Engraved Gems from Gadara in Jordan, Oxford monograph Series No: 6 (1985) 18 ff. No: 152-154

We appreciate with thanks the assistance of Mr. Süleyman who provided the information concerning the location of this altar.

⁶² S. Şahin, "Epigraphische Mitteilungen aus Antalya I: Inschriften aus Pamphylien und Lykien, EA 31, 1999, 46; SEG 49 (1999) no. 1351.

⁶³ S. Şahin dating it to the 1st century. But every decorative element on this altar was not worked at same time. The relief carved in the niche was added subsequently.

He found the altar when he was "strolling about" in Kumluca at 1993 and he published these 2 inscription: D. French, "Inscriptions of Southern Lycia", Adalya IV, 1999/2000, 173ff no. 1 = SEG 50 (2000) no. 1351

- 7. Tomb Altar. Brought from Sürüncek to Kadir Demir's house, this tomb altar is now located in the garden of a workplace building opposite the Mavikent Municipality building. This altar includes a 13 lines inscription that was published by D. French⁶⁵. According to the inscription this is a dedication of the Consuls of Gagae to the Emperor Claudius⁶⁶. Because of the name of the Emperor, this altar dates to 43 A.D. 19 of the 21 names mentioned in the list are in Greek. This inscription also includes the name of the Governor Quintius Veranius, and is important for providing evidence of the Consuls of Gagae.
- 8. Tomb altar. This altar was brought from Gagae by B. İplikçioğlu, and is today by the municipality building. This cylindrical tomb altar dates to the early Roman Empire and its inscription reads, "Asklas son of Sopatros made a tomb for his mother Tatia daughter of Philiskos"⁶⁷.
- 9. Tomb Altar. Today in the Antalya Museum, Inv. No. 1.25.81. It is 0.75 m. high and the diameter of the cylindrical body is 0.45 m. Carved around the cylindrical body there is a vine band carrying grapes, the ends tied in a Heracles knot. In the lower part there is a legible six line inscription. T. Korkut⁶⁸ and R. Tekoğlu published this altar and have dated it to the last quarter of the 1st c. A.D.⁶⁹. This was the tomb altar of Pleistarchos.
- 10. Tomb Altar. (Fig. 55) This altar is today in the Antalya Museum Inv. No. 2.25.81. It is 0.85 m. high, a cylindrical altar having a diameter of 0.46. This is a garlanded altar, the garlands suspended between bulls' heads, with bust portraits of the tomb owners situated above the dip in the garlands. The inscription below the garlands is a four line inscription that records that this was the tomb altar of Teudarma. T. Korkut and R. Tekoğlu published this altar and have dated it to the first century A.D.⁷⁰
- 11. A Roman milestone. Found by B. İplikçioğlu in Mavikent Çanakçı cemetery and dating from the period of the sons of Emperor Septimius Severus⁷¹.
- 12. Coins⁷²: The first known coin to be struck recording the name of the city dates from the Classical period (Fig. 49). This unique coin provides very important information concerning the original name of the city, recording it as "gaxe" and it dates to the period between 430-420 B.C.⁷³ Gagae was of the cities that minted coins during the period of the Lycian League⁷⁴. These coins that name the city belong to the second and third group. Gagae coins were minted in silver in the first series of the second group⁷⁵. On the obverse face there is the head of Appollo crowned with a laurel

⁶⁵ French, ibid, 174ff, no. 2; M. Wörrle, Chiron 32, 2002, 562-564 = SEG 50 (2000) no. 1350.

J. Thornton, "Pistoi symmachoi: versioni locali e versione imperiale della provincializzazione della Licia", MediterrAnt 7.1, 2004, 247 ff.

⁶⁷ İplikçioğlu, supra 15 (Env. No. 671).

T. Korkut, "Grabaltare mit Girlanden in Pamphylien und Lykien", Akten des Symposiums des Sarkophag-Corpus 2001, Band 3, 328 ff., Taf. 116-1

⁶⁹ T. Korkut - R. Tekoğlu, "Grabinschriften aus Pamphylien und Lykien", ZPE 143, 2003, 107. They did not state that this altar belong to Gagae.

⁷⁰ Korkut - Tekoğlu, ibid, 106.

⁷¹ İplikçioğlu, supra 15 (Inv. No. 672).

⁷² B.V. Head, Historia Numorum (1911) 695; BMC XXV, LXIV 59; Carruba - Vismara, supra 6, 90 (1) 75 ff.

⁷³ Carruba - Vismara, ibid., 84 ff.

 $^{^{74}}$ Head, ibid, 694: BMC, IXIV; H. A. Troxell, The Coinage of the Lycian League (1982) 227.

⁷⁵ Troxell, ibid, 62, 227.

wreath. On the reverse a cithara is depicted, the $\Lambda YKI\Omega N$ ethnicon and ΓA the abbreviation of the word Gagae. This series of coins dates from 167 B.C. to 50 A.D. The silver coins of Gagae minted in this series were probably struck in Limyra⁷⁶.

The bronze coins of Gagae belonging to the second group carry a depiction on the obverse of Apollo Patroos and on the reverse, a depiction of a cithara, the $\Lambda YKI\Omega N$ ethnicon and the name of the city. These weigh approximately 4.71 gms. and they date to the first half of the first century B.C.⁷⁷.

The minting of coins by the Lycian League ends during the reign of Emperor Claudius⁷⁸ and begins again during the reign of Emperor Gordianus III. During this period some of the Lycian cities minted autonomous coins and Gagae minted coins during the reign of the Emperor Caracalla. In addition, Gagae together with the other Lycian cites minted coins carrying the busts of Emperor Gordianus III and Tranquillina. These are the known coins of Gagae.

Classical silver coin. (430-420 B.C.) (Fig. 49)

Obv: Head of Athena, helmet and olive crown r.

Rev: Octopus in shallow incuse circular, gaxe⁷⁹

Periods II (Silver) (B.C. 167- B.C. 1st century middle) Series I

Obv: Head of Apollo, laureate, r., bow and quiver behind neck.

Rev: Cithara in shallow incuse square, helmet to l.; $\Lambda Y K I \Omega N$ and $\Gamma A^{80}.$

Periods III (Bronzes) (B.C early 1st century-B.C. 1st century middle)

Obv: Apollo Patroos standing, 1.

Rev: Cithara in shallow incuse square, to l., helmet, $\Lambda Y K I \Omega N$ and ΓA^{81} .

Caracalla (198-217 A.D.)

Obv: Bust of Emperor, laureate, r; AVT KAICEP MARKOC ANTΩNINOC.

Rev: Artemis/Nemesis standing, stringing bow, in field 1., wheel, at her feet, hound; $\Gamma A \Gamma A T \omega N^{82}.$

Gordian III (242-244 A.D.)

Obv: Bust of Emperor, laureate, r.; AV K MAP ANT ΓΟΡΔΙΑΝΟC CEB.

Rev: Temple of two columns, in which two goddess of cult statue⁸³.

Gordianus III (242-244 A.D.) (Fig. 50)

Obv: Bust of Emperor, laureate, r.; AV KAI MAP ANT ΓΟΡΔΙΑΝΟC CEB.

Rev: Nemesis, standing r., to r. griffin; $\Gamma A \Gamma A T \omega N^{84}$.

Tranquillina

Obv: Bust of Tranquillina r., wearing stephane; CABEINIA TRANK...

Rev: Nemesis, standing r., to r. griffin; $\Gamma A \Gamma A T \omega N^{85}$.

⁷⁶ ibid, 62.

⁷⁷ ibid 104

⁷⁸ H. von Aulock, Die Münzprägung des Gordianus III. und der Tranquillina in Lykien, IstMitt Beiheft 11 (1974) 17.

⁷⁹ Carruba - Vismara, supra 6, ibid, 80 ff.

⁸⁰ HN, 695; BMC, IXIV, Pl. XIII. No. 1: Troxell, ibid, 62 Pl. 6 no. 39.

⁸¹ Troxell, ibid, 104 Pl. 14 no. 83.

⁸² SNG. The Royal Collection of Coins and Medals. Danish National Museum. Lycia-Pamphylia (1955) 76.

⁸³ von Aulock, supra 78, 60 no. 56, 57.

⁸⁴ BMC, IXV, Pl. XIII no.2; F. Imhoff-Blumer, Kleinasiatische Münzen II (1974) 305; von Aulock, supra 78, 60 no. 58.

⁸⁵ von Aulock, supra 78, 60 no. 59.

Conclusions: The information concerning Gagae and its ruins in the literature to date consisted only of the founding legends that are dependant upon the mythology of "ga" "ga" by early scholars, and the fortification walls, the early tower, aqueduct, inscribed finds and coins. Later publications that refer to the city of Gagae repeat this early information. But one of these publications provides very important information and comments concerning the origin of the city name and the city. It is Carruba, who states that the name of Gagae originated from the word "gaxe" coming from the word "hahha" a word in the old Anatolian language⁸⁶ to which can be added our find of an EBA vessel. The similar names of the stream and the lignite mines must be freshly examined in consequence of Carruba's remarks. However, although there were a considerable number of visitors to Gagae, interestingly they failed to see or recognize many of the ruins, such as the necropolis, basilica, dwellings, cisterns, balneion, nymphaion and caves/shelters. The site of Gagae with all of its ruins, are here evaluated for the first time. It is now understood that this site was settled from the EBA onwards and so south-east Lycia must have been settled from this time onwards.

The architectural ruins include two towers for the control the sea traffic located upon the upper acropolis which seem to date from the Early Hellenistic period. The Roman public ruins in the flat area and the necropolis clearly indicate that the site expanded in area and obtained today's visible dimensions during the Roman period. As we understand from the inscriptions of Opramoas from Rhodiapolis concerning the balneion, the city was a site of important public works in the middle of 2nd century A.D.

However, although we identified some hybrid ruins of buildings related to cult places, we did not find evidence for any temple in the city except for the related nymphaion. But the small finds provide a guide to the solution of this problem. There are heads of Apollo on the silver and bronze coins. One of these is the head of Apollo⁸⁷, the other depicts Apollo Patroos. Struck on Roman coins there are depictions of Nemesis and Artemis. Carved upon a Roman period (2nd c. A.D.) cameo is a depiction of Athena Parthenos. Quintius Smyrnos who recorded there was a temple of Athena on a hill near the Melanippe, provides further evidence suggesting there was belief in Athena located in the vicinity of Gagae. On a few coins of Roman date there are depictions of Nemesis. It seems therefore that during the Hellenistic period the chief god was Apollo, as in all of Lycia, and that during the Roman period Nemesis/Artemis gained in prominence. The existence of a temple dedicated to Nemesis at Rhodiapolis supports the probability that there was also a cult dedicated to Nemesis at Gagae, as throughout the entire region. It is possible show there was the cult of the Nymphe because of the existence of the Nymphaion⁸⁸ and of a health cult that was connected with the festival of Asklepieia. Further, this cult is not surprising, because of the Asklepieion at Rhodiapolis and of the finds of statues dedicated to Asklepios and to his daughter Hygieia that have been found in the excavations at Rhodiapolis.

The fortification walls show there were settlements at Gagae from the 5th century B.C. into the Byzantine period. The most important buildings of the Byzantine period are the fortification walls, the basilica, cisterns and houses. We did not find any ruins dating from later than the Byzantine period within the city.

⁸⁶ Carruba - Vismara, supra 6, ibid, 75 ff.

⁸⁷ Z. Taşlıklıoğlu, Anadolu'da Apollon Kültü ile İlgili Kaynaklar (1963) 98.

⁸⁸ P. Frei, "Die Götterkulte Lykiens in der Kaiserzeit", ANRW 18-2 (1990) 1819.

The numerous caves in the fault zone were used as shelters from the EBA period and were used for cold storage throughout the period when the city was inhabited as the rock cut works and the ceramic finds clearly indicate. These caves may also have provided housing for the inhabitants during periods of extreme summer heat.

During the Classical period the city was under the control of Limyra as a peripolion. At the time of the Lycian League the city was in a political union with Corydalla and Rhodiapolis forming a sympoliteia and small settlements such as Melanippe were also within this sympoliteia. It was a small sea-shore city in the Roman Province of Lycia after the 1st century A.D. The city was mentioned as Khelidonia Nesoi during the Byzantine period as were two other nearby settlements. According to Hierokles it was a Lycian city under the Metropolitan of Myra⁸⁹.

⁸⁹ Hierokles 683. 3.

Öz

Likya'nın güney-doğu köşesinde Gagae/Gaxe'nin yeniden keşfi. Yüzey araştırmalarından yeni buluntular

Rhodiapolis Kazıları ve Çevresi Yüzey Araştırmaları kapsamında, Rhodiapolis'in yakın çevresinde bulunan alanlar taranmaya ve yerleşimler-kalıntılar incelenmeye ve değerlendirilmeye başlanmıştır. İdebessos, Akalissos, Melanippe, Atrassos, Korydalla, Madamissos gibi yerleşimler bu kapsamda detaylı yüzey araştırmaları programına alınmıştır. Rhodiapolis çevre araştırmalarında amaç kentin yakın çevresinde yer alan yerleşimleri inceleyip Rhodiapolis'in içinde yer aldığı bölgeyi topluca değerlendirebilmek ve kentin tarih ve kültürünü ve de siyasi-sosyal-ticari ilişkilerini bütünüyle anlayabilmektir. Bunlardan ilki, bugüne dek resmi ve kapsamlı bir yüzey araştırması yapılmamış olan Gagai'dir. 2007 yazında yapılan çalışmalarla kentte bulunan tüm kalıntılar detaylıca incelenmiş ve Geodetic GPS yardımıyla yerleşimin ilk kez bir haritası çıkarılmıştır.

Kumluca'nın Mavikent Beldesi içinde Aktaş Harabeleri / Asartepe olarak adlandırılan yerleşimin adıyla antik kaynaklarda ilk karşılaşmamız Pseudo Skylaks'ta, "Palaion, Teikhos ya da Eski kale" biçimindedir. Kentin gerçekte kuruluşuyla ilgisi olamayan uydurma kuruluş mitosuna göre, yerleşecek toprak peşinde olan Rodoslular, yerli halka toprak isteklerini bildirmek için "ga" "ga" (toprak) diyerek iletmişlerdir. İsteklerini aldıktan sonra da buna bağlı olarak yerleşime Gagai demişlerdir. Diğer bir söylenceye göre de, Rodoslu komutan Nemius Kilikya ve Likyalı korsanları yendikten sonra denizde karşılaştığı fırtına sırasında sular içinde mücadele ederken tayfalar uzakta karayı görür ve "ga" "ga" diye bağırır ve kıyıya çıkıp canlarını kurtarırlar. Bugüne dek alışkanlıkla aktarıla gelen tüm bu öyküler kentin kuruluşunu Rodoslulara bağlamaya yöneliktir. İlk kez Spratt ve Forbes'te yayınlanan "Gagai" adıyla ilgili uyduruk açıklama olan "Dor lehçesindeki 'ga' (toprak, kara) kelimesinden gelmiş olduğu"nu bugün bile hala doğru bulanlar vardır.

Bu konuda en kapsamlı ve doğru öneri Carruba'dan gelir: "Gagai kelimesi eski Anadolu dillerinde bulunan 'hahha' kelimesinden gelmektedir. Normalde yazılışı gaxe formunda olmalıdır. 'Ata-soy' anlamındaki 'haha' kelimesi, Yunanca'da 'xaxe' yazılamadığı için gage olarak yazılmıştır. Ancak, Likçe'de 'gaxe' olarak yazılan bu kelime, yapısını Likçe'de de bulmaz. Çünkü Likçe'de 'g' ile başlayan kelime yoktur, olanlar da Persçe ünvanlardır. Anlamı da 'wither-solgun' olabilir. Akadça'da 'hahhum', Hititçe'de 'hahhas' olarak geçen kent adları vardır. 'gaxe'nin Anadolu dillerindeki 'hahha' sözcüğünden kaynaklandığı açıktır. Ayrıca Anadolu dilerlinde "g" ve "x" ile başlayan hecelerin çiftleştirildiği de bilinmektedir". Dolayısıyla Likçe yazılı bu sikke, Gagai'nin, bir eski Anadolu kelimesi olan 'hahhe'den türemiş olduğu anlaşılan 'gaxe'den gelmiş olduğunu göstermektedir.

Eusebios "Likya'nın önemsiz bir şehri" der. Ünü, kentte bulunduğu söylenen madenden gelir. Gagai yakınlarında "Gages" olarak anılan bir akarsudan söz edilir. Ayrıca yerleşim yakınlarında –Gagates diye tanınan- bir linyit ocağı olduğu da söylenir. GD Likya'da bulunan krom, manganez ve linyit gibi madenlerin Perikle'nin doğu politikasında belirleyici olduğu düşünülür. Aslında genellikle tersi beklendiği halde, Pilinius'a göre hem maden hem de akarsu adını Gagai'den almıştır.

Spratt ve Forbes de bölgedeki gezilerinde yerleşime değinirler. Petersen ve von Luschan Viyana Bilimler Akademisi'nin Küçük Asya Araştırmaları kapsamında yaptıkları araştırmalarını yayınladıkları eserlerinde yerleşime değinmişlerdir. Bugüne dek yapılan tek resmiizinli çalışma B. İplikçioğlu'nun bölgede yürüttüğü epigrafya araştırmalarıdır.

Rhodiapolis Çevresi Yüzey Araştırmalarımız boyunca gerçekleştirdiğimiz yüzey gözlemlerimiz ve bulgularımız yukarıdaki öykülerden öte kentin geçmişini somut gerçeklere bağlamamıza yardım eder. Bunlardan en önemlisi yerleşimin ilk kez bir Rodos kolonisi olarak kurulduğunun gerçek dışı olduğu aslında İlk Tunç Çağı'ndan itibaren yerleşimin var olduğu Gagai'nin dibindeki mağaralarda bulduğumuz seramik kanıtlamaktadır. Benzer bir kanıtın daha geç örneği olan kolonizasyon öncesi seramikler (İ.Ö. 8. yy. sonu) Rhodiapolis kazılarında da gün yüzüne çıkarılmıştır. Gagai batı yamaç fay zonu içindeki çok sayıdaki mağaradan biri içerisinde bulunan seramiğin buluntu yerinin özelliği bulgunun orijinal yerinde olduğunu göstermektedir. Çünkü Mağara içinde kütlesel bir tavan çöküntüsü altında ki boşlukta sıkışıp kalmıştır. Yani Helenistik, Roma ya da Bizans dönemlerinde görülme olasılığı yoktur. İlk Tunç sonrasında çökmüş bir mağara olduğu buluntunun orada yüzeyde kalmışlığından anlaşılmaktadır. Özellikle Phaselis, Melainippe, Rhodiapolis, Gagai ve bölgedeki diğer yerleşimlerde kazı ve araştırmalar yapılmadığı için bu yerleşimlerin tamamı Rodos kolonileri olarak tanımlanmıştır. Oysa araştırmalarımız ilerledikçe Rhodiapolis ve Gagai örneklerinde olduğu gibi erken bulgulara ulaşılacaktır. Ve, batı Likya'da olduğu gibi GD Likya'da yerli yerleşimlerin kolonizasyon öncesi var olduğu konusundaki fikirler bu açıdan da belgelenmiş olacaktır. Zaten Gelidonya Burnu ve Uluburun batıkları İ.Ö. 14 ve 12. yy.'da limanı olan sahil kentlerinde Tunç Çağ yerleşimleri olduğunu göstermektedir. Zaten, Gagai'nin Gaxe, Limyra'nın Zummari (Zemuri), Patara'nın Patar ve Rhodiapolis'in Wedrei gibi eski Anadolu isimleriyle biliniyor olması bu durumu açıkça desteklemektedir. Borchhardt, "yukarı -dağlık- kesimlerin verimli alanlarında küçük beyliklerin yaşadığı da düşünülebilir", noktasındayken yeni bulgular artık yaylada da sahilde de Tunç Çağ yerleşimleri olduğunu göstermektedir. Ancak bölgede, Klasik Çağ öncesine verilebilecek her hangi bir mimari kalıntı henüz bilinmektedir. Dolayısıyla nasıl bir kolonizasyon olduğu da anlaşılmamaktadır.

Gagai, "İki denizin (Mare Pamphylium ve Mare Lycium) buluştuğu bu kültürel değişim köşesinde yükselir". Bu köşedeki Gelidonya Burnu İÖ. 449 Kallias Barışı ile Persler ve Yunanlılar arasında deniz egemenlik sınırı oluşturuyordu. Klasik Dönem'le ilgili elimizde sikkeden öte bir veri bulunmamaktadır. Buna göre de Limyra'nın Klasik Dönem bölge egemenliği bu yerleşimleri de kapsıyordu. Karaöz Limanı'ndaki Melanippe "Helenistik Çağ'dan itibaren Gagai'nin egemenlik alanında küçük bir köy" yerleşimidir. Gagai, Rhodiapolis ve Korydalla ile birlikte bir sympoliteia oluşturmaktaydı. İlginç bir biçimde bu üçlü birliğin önde geleni Korydalla'dır. GD Likya'nın bu köşesinde küçük kentlerin oluşturduğu ve onlara bağlı daha küçük yerleşimlerle birlikte oluşan bir güç birliği söz konusuydu.

Gagai, Patara, Milarium Lyciae'nin doğruladığı doğal arazi izlencesine göre, İ.S. 1. yy.'da, Limyra-Korydalla-Gagai-Korykos güzergâhında yer almaktadır. Deniz yolu bağlantıları da öncelikle Karaöz (Korsan Koyu) ve olasılıkla Finike limanları aracılığıyla sağlanıyor olmalıydı. Kara ve deniz yollarının kontrolü de, her yanı rahatlıkla gören Gagai kulesinden yapılmaktaydı. Kente çıkan yol doğu kesimden şehre bağlanıyordu. Aşağı kentte hamam ve diğer yapı kalıntılarının bulunduğu alandan doğuya yönelip, yamaç başlangıcında çatallanıyor ve biri güneye aşağı akropole, diğeri de doğuya nekropol vadisine yöneliyordu. Nekropol boyunca ilerleyen ve bugün de çoğunlukla izlenen yol dönerek yukarı akropole çıkmak üzere güneye, tepeye yöneliyordu. Ve akropol surlarının kuzeydoğusundaki içerlek korunaklı kapıyla da sur içine giriyordu.

Gagai yerleşimi yukarı akropol, aşağı akropol, tepenin eteğinde düzlükteki kalıntılar (Roma Dönemi Kamu Merkezi) ve nekropol olarak dört ana grupta incelenir.

Gagai ilk kez tüm kalıntılarıyla bilim dünyasına sunulmuş ve topluca değerlendirilmiştir. İlk Tunç Çağ'dan itibaren yerleşim gördüğü ve dolayısıyla GD Likya bölgesinin de en geç bu dönemden itibaren yerleşimlere sahne olduğu anlaşılmıştır. Geç Klasik-Erken Helenistik Dönem'den itibaren mimari kalıntılar saptanmış. Yukarı akropolde başlangıçta birbiriyle bağlantılı iki erken kuleyle deniz trafiği kontrolü sağlandığı görülmüştür. Roma Dönemi'nde yerleşimin büyüdüğü ve bugün izlenen yaygınlığa ulaştığı nekropollerden ve kamu yapılarından anlaşılmıştır. Roma Dönemi ile birlikte tepenin etekleri ve düzlükte de yapılar inşa edilmiştir. Rhodiapolis Opramoas yazıtından ve kalıntılardan anlaşıldığına göre özellikle balneion ve aquadukt yapımıyla bağlantılı olarak İ.S. 2. yy.'ın ortalarında imarın nitelik kazandığı ve yaygınlaştığı anlaşılmıştır. Kentte kült alanları olabilecek hybrid mimari kalıntıları olsa da herhangi bir tapınağa rastlanmamıştır. Kentte inanılan asal tanrının Athena olduğu Klasik Dönem *Gaxe* sikkesinden ve bulduğumuz yüzük taşı üstündeki Athena Parthenos'tan açıklıkla anlaşılmaktadır. Athena tapınımını destekleyen diğer belge Gagai'ye bağlı Melanippe'de Athena Tapınağı olduğunu söyleyen Quintius Smyrnos'tur.

Bizans Dönemi'nde erkenden itibaren yapılaşma olduğu ve bugün görünen sur duvarlarının bu dönemden itibaren inşa edildiği belirlenmiştir. Bu dönemin en önemli yapıları sur duvarları, bazilika, sarnıçlar ve konutlardır. Yerleşimde Bizans sonrası herhangi bir bulguya rastlanmamıştır. Tepeyi ikiye bölen fay zonu içindeki çok sayıda mağara İlk Tunç'tan itibaren kullanılmıştır. Başlangıçta sığınak olarak ve Roma ve Bizans dönemlerinde de soğuk depolar ve mekanlar olarak kullanılmışlardır. Kaya işçilikleri ve seramik bulgular bu durumu belgelemektedir.

Klasik Dönem'de bölgenin egemeni olan Limyra'nın kontrolünde bir uç kale olması gereken Gagai, Birlik Dönemi'nde siyasi olarak Korydalla ve Rhodiapolis'le bir sympoliteia oluşturmuş, Gagai'ye bağlı Melanippe gibi küçük birimler de bu birlik egemenliğine dahil olmuştur. İ.S. 1. yy.'dan itibaren de Roma İmparatorluğu'nun Likya Eyaleti sınırlarında küçük bir sahil kenti olarak yer almıştır. Bizans döneminde ise, yakınındaki iki yerleşim gibi Gelidonia Nesoi olarak anılmıştır. Hierokles'e göre Myra Metropolis'ine bağlı Likya Eyaleti sehirlerinden biridir.

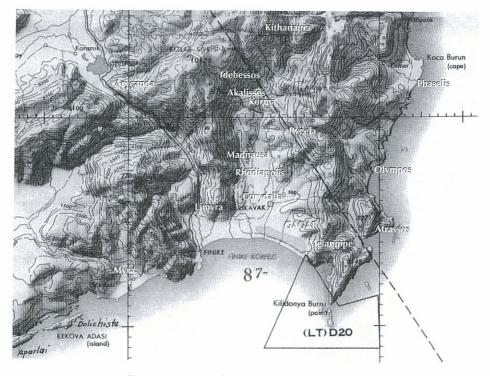


Fig. 1 Location of Gagae in south-east Lycia.

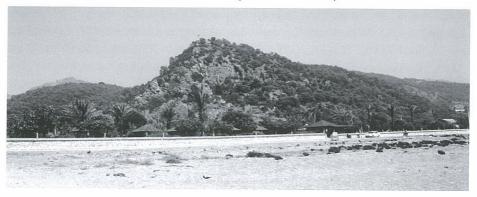


Fig. 2 Gagae from the south.

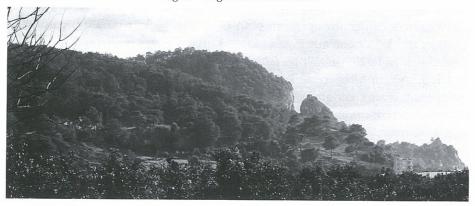


Fig. 3 Gagae and the fault zone from the west.

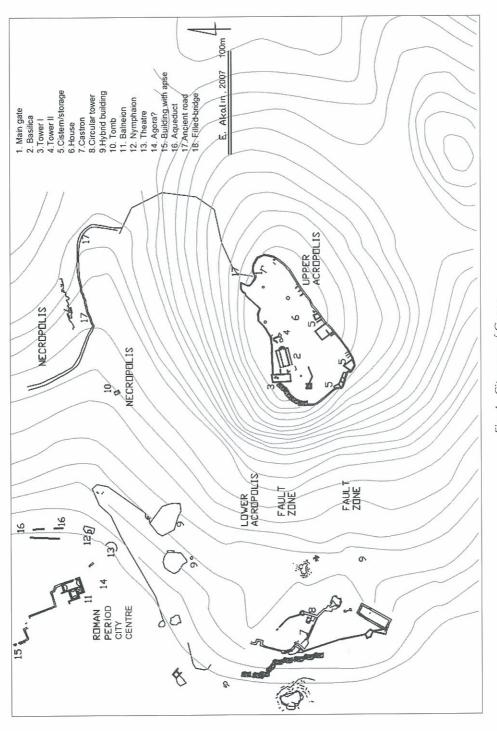


Fig. 4 City map of Gagae.



Fig. 5 Surveys in a cave beneath the fault zone.

Fig. 6 $\,$ A part of the ancient road and the in-filled bridge.

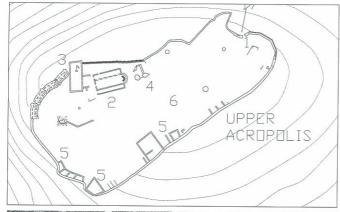


Fig. 7 Plan of the upper acropolis.



Fig. 8 Main entrance of the upper acropolis from the exterior.



Fig. 9
Main entrance of the upper acropolis from the interior.
Section showing the locking hole.

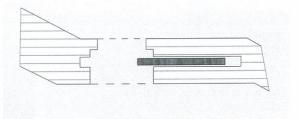




Fig. 10 Fortifications walls of the upper acropolis (exterior).



Fig. 11 Fortification walls of the upper acropolis (interior).



Fig. 12 Cisterns covered by a barrel-vault.





Fig. 13 The remains of the walls of the tower.

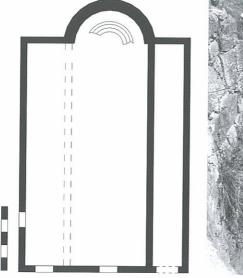




Fig. 14 Basilica, synthronon and plan.

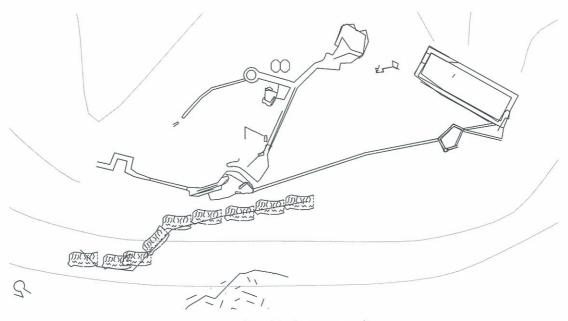


Fig. 15 Plan of the lower acropolis.



Fig. 16 Lower acropolis.



Fig. 17 Lower acropolis.



Fig. 18 The circular tower of the lower acropolis.

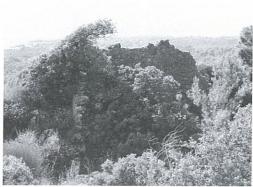


Fig. 19 Lower acropolis, the fortification walls.



Fig. 20 Lower acropolis, stepped rock-cut platform of tombs.



Fig. 21 Lower acropolis, rock-cut part of a hybrid building.

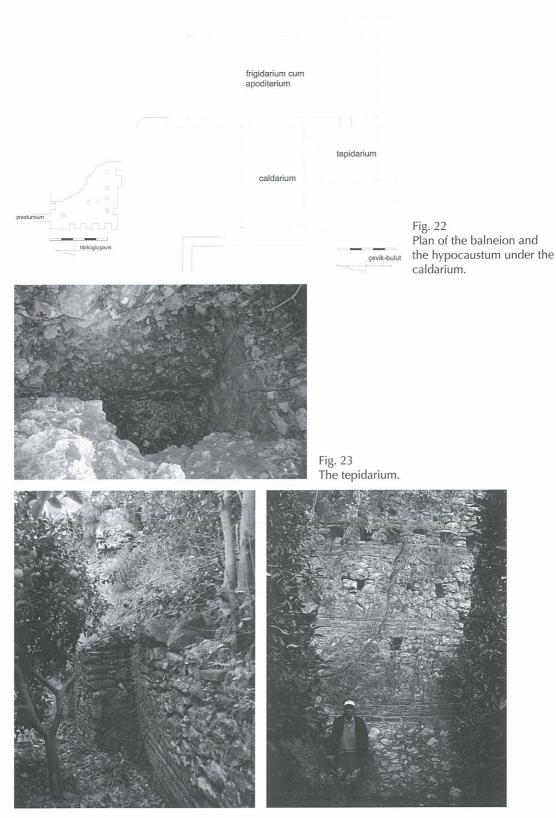


Fig. 24 The wall from the balneion to the north.

Fig. 25 Balneion, exterior of the east wall.



Fig. 26 Balneion, hypocaust and pilaes.



Fig. 27 Balneion, hypocaust.



Fig. 28 Balneion, hypocaust, praefurnium.



Fig. 29 Nymphaion ?

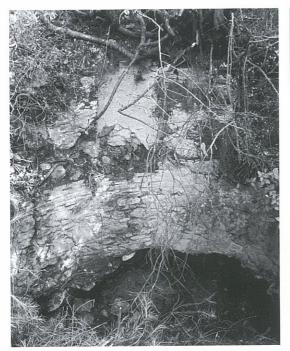




Fig. 30 Nymphaion?

Fig. 31 Apse of the basilica.



Fig. 32 Aqueduct.



Fig. 33 Aqueduct.



Fig. 34 Underground chamber tomb.



Fig. 35 A group of underground tombs.

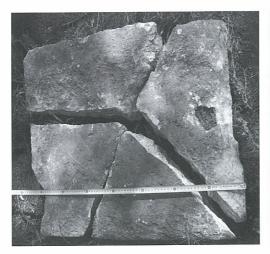




Fig. 36 Door slab of the chamber tomb.

Fig. 37 Built tomb.



Fig. 38 Khamosorion.

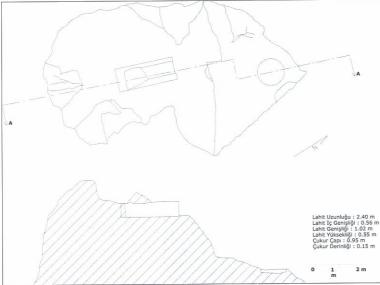


Fig. 39 Khamosorion and the circular cavity.



Fig. 40 Built tomb.

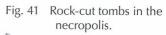




Fig. 42 Rock-cut tombs in the necropolis.

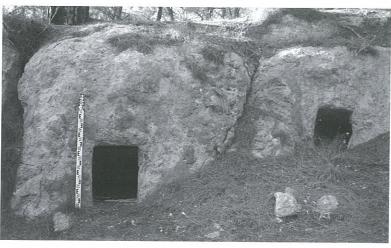


Fig. 43 Rock-cut tombs.





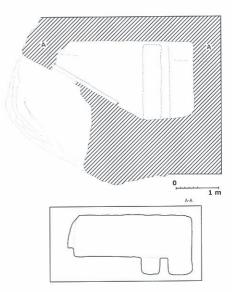


Fig. 45 Plan of one of the rock-cut tombs.



Fig. 46 Entrance of a rock-cut tomb.



Fig. 47 Inside a rock-cut tomb.



Fig. 48 EBA II pot from the cave in the fault zone.



Fig. 49 Classical coin of Gagae depicting an octopus (after Carruba).



Fig. 52 Tomb altar of Balianbos.



Fig. 50 Roman period coin of Gagae with Nemesis (after Aulock).



Fig. 51 Cameo depicting Athena Parthenos (Nikephoros).



Fig. 53 Tomb altar of Menippos and lason.



Fig. 55 Tomb altar of Teudarma.



Fig. 54 An Ionic capital.