

Rhodiapolis, as a Unique Example of Lycian Urbanism

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Rhodiapolis stepped into the academic literature¹ for the first time in 1842 with the British scholars Th. Daniel, T. A. B. Spratt and E. Forbes². Lycia was actually discovered by the Austrian scholars. O. Benndorf, the founder of the Austrian Academy of Sciences, led research together with G. Niemann, F. von Luschan and K. Lanckoronski in 1881 and 1882. The results were published as *Reisen im südwestlichen Kleinasien* in 1884 and 1889. Thus, Rhodiapolis took her place in a scientific publication, together with the monumental tomb of Opramoas and the lengthy inscription on its walls, one of the longest Ancient Greek inscriptions from Anatolia³.

In 1892 and 1894, E. Kalinka, R. Heberdey and E. Hula continued their interest in the renowned Opramoas inscriptions and researches mainly focused on them as well. The first volume of *Tituli Asiae Minoris* (TAM I – *Tituli Lyciae*) was published in 1901 by E. Kalinka and covered the finds in Lycia from Termessos to Rhodiapolis. Another volume of TAM (II.3) published in 1944 included the inscriptions from Rhodiapolis as well. On the other hand E. Krickl made great contributions to these works through his maps and photography – the first photographs of Rhodiapolis/Kumluca are found in this volume⁴. G. Bean started research in Lycia in 1946 and the resulting volume is still a major reference including a surface survey of Rhodiapolis⁵. In addition, Rhodiapolis took her place as an entry in encyclopedias as well⁶.

In the recent years, epigraphic surveys conducted by B. İplikçioğlu and H. S. Öztürk have covered inscriptions that missed the attention of other scholars. Apart from the surface observations on the theater by B. Ferrero and H. Y. Özbek, on the bathhouse

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¹ Present study includes the data obtained in the excavations from 2006 to 2009 and our surface observations for unexcavated areas and buildings. An abstract on this topic has been formerly published: N. Çevik, "Urbanism of Rhodiapolis as a Different Example for Lycia and Caria", *Colloque Euploia, Résumés des Communications* 2009, 9.

² Spratt – Forbes 2008, 162 ff.

³ Petersen – von Luschan 1889, 75-137. The inscriptions of the Opramoas monument have been the scope of many publications to date, the latest of which is Kokkinia (2000).

⁴ Krickl 1892, 39 ff., 209 ff.

⁵ Bean 1998, 150-153; Bean 1976, 758.

⁶ Friedlaender 1914, 955; Thomsen 2001, 994.

by A. Farrington⁷, overall observations on the settlement by C. Bayburtluoğlu⁸, exploration by Hellenkemper and Hild⁹, researches by G. Huber¹⁰ and D. Murphy¹¹ and overall surface observations on the remains by N. Çevik¹², a comprehensive excavation and research project has been initiated for the first time on the archaeology of the settlement¹³. Excavations conducted by us on behalf of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism and the Akdeniz University is a comprehensive project aiming at uncovering the entire settlement. The present article is based on the results of excavations carried out in 2006¹⁴, 2007¹⁵, 2008¹⁶ and 2009¹⁷ as well as our surface explorations and observations on the unexcavated areas and buildings¹⁸.

Theopompus mentions the settlement as “Rhodia in Lycia”. Ptolemy, too, calls her “Rhodia”¹⁹. The actual historical story of the settlement, which has been only partially known as part of eastern Lycia within the known history of Lycia, is now being re-written by the remains and excavations. Now it can be clearly stated that the story of Rhodos, daughter of Mopsos, narrated by Theopompus and thus the story of foundation relevantly going back to the Rhodian colonization in the 7th century BC is not valid any more. Data obtained in the excavations pushed the history back to the 8th century BC at least. Amphora shards of the Late Geometric period uncovered clearly indicate that the settlement was founded in the 8th century BC or even earlier, that is, before the Rhodian colonization²⁰. In our surveys at Gagai/Gaxe located at Cape Gelidonya, to the southeast of Rhodiapolis, pottery of the Early Bronze Age²¹ was found and this clearly shows that this area was settled much earlier indeed. This means that the Early Bronze Age culture known from Bademağacı and Karataş-Semayük was actually experienced along the coastline as well. Finds regarding earlier periods increase as excavations and researches continue.

The earlier –original or local– name of the settlement may have been Wedrei/Wedrenehi as suggested by Lycian inscriptions and coins²². Therefore, her local presence is understood from her Classical period name, before she assumed the name

⁷ Farrington 1995, 160 fig. 9.

⁸ Bayburtluoğlu 2004, 105-111: Some errors of Bayburtluoğlu in this publication have been noted. For instance, there is no “Hellenistic tower built in the Ptolemaic period”. The ruin in the acropolis is not a “tower” but rather a cenotaph. What is described as “street” by him is indeed the agora. “Substructures of the Early Byzantine period buildings in the southwest end of the Stadion [Agora]” are actually the cisterns that constitute the substructures of the Roman period agora; and there is no “aqueduct bringing water to the city”.

⁹ Hellenkemper – Hild 2004, 825 ff.

¹⁰ Huber 2006, 5 ff.

¹¹ Murphy 2006, 159-164.

¹² Çevik 2002, 119-124.

¹³ Çevik 2008, 9 ff.

¹⁴ Çevik – Bulut – Kızgut 2008a, 1-18; Çevik – Bulut – Kızgut 2007, 59-67.

¹⁵ Çevik – Kızgut – Bulut 2009b, 297-316; Çevik – Kızgut – Bulut 2008b, 54-60.

¹⁶ Çevik – Kızgut – Bulut 2010; Çevik – Kızgut – Bulut 2009a, 50-61. All the written evidence regarding Opramoas uncovered in the excavations have been under study by B. İplikçioğlu and H. S. Öztürk.

¹⁷ Kızgut 2011.

¹⁸ The first comprehensive summary has been published in Çevik 2008, 16-36.

¹⁹ Friedlaender, “Rhodia”, RE 1A-1 (1914) 955 ff.

²⁰ Kolb 1992, 4.

²¹ Çevik – Bulut 2008, 63 ff.

²² Kolb – Tietz 2001, 392 ff.

of Rhodiapolis. If her name had been Rhodiapolis in the 7th century BC then why did it change to Wedrei in the Classical period? In case she were founded during the colonization then one would expect to see her name as Rhodiapolis as of the earlier periods too. Thus, one result to attain here is that the colonization did not have the strength and format as has been thought it had²³. Only a group of people who left the island due to difficulties of land and water scarcity must have joined such coastal settlements and partially formed new strata of life. That is, not a new city was founded but rather a small settlement must have attained the conditions of becoming a city. The possible city name Wedrei mentioned in Lycian inscriptions of the Classical period is local both in writing and as a name. As a matter of fact the façades of the rock tombs of this period do imitate the local traditional timber constructions. The name Rhodiapolis or a similar city name is not known from the Classical period. In the cities that started to transform culturally in the Hellenistic period, names and language started to become ancient Greek too but the inhabitants were still native Lycians²⁴.

Urbanism

Rhodiapolis is located on a hill rising 300 m above the sea level behind the Sarıcasu Village to the north of Kumluca township of Antalya (Figs. 1-7). Top 50-meter section of the hill displays urbanism. Apart from the remains on the acropolis, the north and east slopes facing the Kumluca plains and the Mediterranean are full with buildings. The settlement extends for 625 m. from the northernmost houses to the rock tombs of the Classical period, and for 415 m. from the westernmost chamber tombs to the easternmost houses, covering a total area of 260,000 sq. m. encompassing the fringes. The public center covers an area of about 40,000 sq. m. The remaining area is full with necropoleis and houses (Fig. 1).

Rhodiapolis stands out with her urbanism – a very compact city successfully planned within a narrow and difficult terrain (Figs. 2, 8-9). No other Roman settlement in the region displays such intricate, organic and packed layout of constructions as at Rhodiapolis. A person sitting on the upper rows of the theater can see all the public structures in the city center. Buildings are located organically close to each other without leaving any empty space other than the streets (Figs. 2, 8). In the sloping terrain (Figs. 7, 19) terraces needed for urban fabric were formed mostly by cisterns. This clever solution both supplied the water demand and created flat areas for constructions.

Development of Rhodiapolitan Urbanism through Ages: Looking at the urbanism of Rhodiapolis individually in every period reveals a different picture for each period. Although the area is the same, the city and buildings are different. In every period, geography and climate were the determinative elements for the site selection and formation of the macroforms and textures. There is sufficient evidence for understanding the Roman and Byzantine settlement characteristics but it is difficult to claim the same for the pre-Roman periods. Particularly, for the late 8th century BC and thereafter, which is attested with pottery finds, we have not encountered any architectural remains yet. Thus, for the time being, it is not possible to talk about the earliest settlement itself, which is documented

²³ Bean, too, stated that the “city descended from the original Lycians”: Bean 1998, 151.

²⁴ Courtills – Cavalier 2001, 149, states that “Xanthos never became a Greek city”.

with small finds only. It is seen that the Roman and Byzantine periods' urbanism comprises several phases. As the settlements overlap to a great extent, remains and finds at hand can be evaluated to cast light onto the preceding period as well.

For the evaluation of urbanism, social, political, cultural and economic structure above all were taken into account as well as basic issues such as topography, morphology, climate (wind directions, daylight etc.), panoramic directions, water sources, structures for water supply, sources for and types of building materials, streets and terrain forms suitable for them, natural flat areas for public squares, particularly constructional trends of the time and legal regulations for city-scaping and constructions because it is necessary to take all these into account when a city is planned or enlargement is foreseen. At settlements like Rhodiapolis which do not have enough flat land, the terrain shapes the city. However, settlements in flat land may employ independent layouts. This is why Rhodiapolis and Arykanda have more in common but little with Limyra.

In the Classical period, presence of 26 rock tombs (Fig. 6) and Lycian inscriptions clearly indicate a medium size settlement. However, no architectural remains revealing information on the lives of the owners of these rock tombs have been encountered. Magnetic and seismic geophysical surveys have not supplied satisfactory results for this purpose but our research continues. It is expected that the inhabitants of the Classical period lived also on top of the hill. Remains of houses in the north valley with the rock tombs suggest that a lesser settlement was established there. The wide and agriculturally fertile plains of Kumluca seem to be the main attraction for the settlement since ancient times. Presence and proximity of Classical period settlements such as Kumluca-Belen²⁵ indicate that Rhodiapolis was not secluded then²⁶. Indeed the feudal lords of the Classical period settled on well-defended fortified castles along the valleys, thus safekeeping themselves and their dominion over agricultural production²⁷. This attitude continued during the later periods of settlement as well²⁸.

Existence of a Hellenistic settlement is verified by remains, statue bases, inscriptions and coins. Indeed it would be impossible to claim that there was no Hellenistic settlement at Rhodiapolis which was certainly existent in the Classical period and was a well-developed settlement in the Roman period. However, no architectural remains have been identified other than the theater's cavea (Fig. 9) datable to the Late Hellenistic period and the cylindrical cistern with white plaster. This is verified by the eastern analemma wall of the theater. Certain masonry works indicate the presence of terraces in front of the theater in this period. Architectural elements belonging to Hellenistic monuments uncovered in the rubble of terrace wall in the lower layer of the Meeting Hall further support this presence. However, there is nothing to say about the Hellenistic urbanism for the time being. Despite the great variety and quantity of finds uncovered in the excavations Hellenistic finds are comparatively few and this suggests that the Hellenistic settlement was quite lesser compared with the Roman settlement. Yet, the finds belonging to monuments and particularly inscriptions and coins leave no doubt for the presence of a Hellenistic phase.

²⁵ Çevik 2008, 54 ff.

²⁶ For the development in the Classical period see Kolb 1992a, 14 ff.

²⁷ Wurster 1996, 161; Kupke 1992, 43.

²⁸ The overall characteristic of settlement policy in Rough Lycia is based on a centralized settlement surrounded with small agricultural settlements nearby based on production. Çevik 2008a, 189 ff.

It is likely that the castrum's walls on the acropolis were built on top of Hellenistic fortifications; however, it is early to speak before any excavations are carried out. Yet, it is also worth noting that nothing has survived from a likely fortification. The honoring inscription (2nd-1st century BC) of the Hellenistic period records the honoring with a golden crown and tax exemption for a citizen issued by the Assembly. Thus, there is no doubt about the presence of a Hellenistic settlement with its Assembly but it is too early to talk about its size and features for the time being. It is expected that this settlement is similar to the general situation in Lycia²⁹. Political league that was formed with the Hellenistic period and the democratic social structure that developed in connection with it found their reflection on the settlements. The settlements that were once ruled by local lords now started to transform to cities governed by Assembly³⁰. Now the local lords started to commission public structures in the cities as a requisition of the new social system. The theater was for the first time located inside the city for public purposes³¹ and public squares started to form in order to accommodate the changing urban circulation and meeting halls needed for public administration started to become a part of the cities.

The new city started to transform rapidly to answer the needs of her people³². Anatolian urbanism that emerged in the early first millennium BC and that displayed significant development in the Hellenistic period³³ left a qualified legacy to the Roman period and created influences that were discernible within the dominant urbanism of the Roman period. Yet, Roman urbanism presents us with a series of innovations that need to be evaluated as a phenomenon of wide spectrum varying from urban planning to authentic buildings.

New constructions³⁴, annexes and revisions are observed in every century of the Roman period and particularly the 2nd century AD steps forth as the most brilliant period of urbanism at Rhodiapolis, as inferred from the remains that constitute the majority of what is visible today. What sets Rhodiapolis apart from other settlements is her urbanism, which is best visible in the Roman period. If the changes in use during the Byzantine period are ignored, a Roman city model entirely designed according to the terrain lies before our eyes. This model is the urbanism with Hellenistic-Roman character, seen only in Asia Minor³⁵. Existence of a deep rooted urban tradition prevented the formation of pure Roman cities and paved the way for emergence of a Roman urbanism that combined an authentic past and the present. Exploring all the buildings and particularly the locations of the reservoirs and cisterns it is seen that the city developed from the top of the hill down the slope; this is further verified by the urban road network.

All the building types typically found in a Roman city are also found at Rhodiapolis, though smaller in scale. Most of the buildings that form the city are widely known buildings like theater, bathhouse, and stoa, similar examples of which are known in other settlements; however, structures like the round temple, Asklepieion and library are the first

²⁹ Brandt – Kolb 2005, 34 ff.; Marksteiner 2002, 71 ff.

³⁰ For Hellenistic urbanism in Lycia see Marksteiner 1990, 27 ff.; Kolb 1992a, 22.

³¹ Wurster 1996, 163.

³² Wycherley 1993, 6 ff.

³³ Perkins – Nevett 2000, 218 ff.

³⁴ Roman urbanism has a deep-rooted past and displays a development that set the foundations for modern urban understanding. For general information see Robertson 1969, 186 ff.

³⁵ Owens 2000, 125.

examples attested in Lycia to date. The sebasteion is unique in Anatolia for the present layout/structure. The ancestral cult hall of Opramoas built adjoining the east side of sebasteion, as part of the same complex, is an unparalleled special building in the region, dedicated to a local leading family. The Asklepieion, no other examples of which are known in Lycia, on the other hand, was built due to physician Herakleitos of Rhodiapolis, who established this cult in the region. The functions of these public buildings and their functional relations with each other determined their locations within the city. For instance, Asklepieion, library and sebasteion constitute an insula (religious insula) (Fig. 1, 2, 12, 13) while the theater, stoa and agora constitute another insula (social insula) (Fig. 1, 2, 9). Between these two insulae runs the main street establishing the common-functional circulation. The area between these two main insulae and located to the west of the public center must have assumed the economic functions (Fig. 1, 2). The buildings uncovered here in 2009 were extensively exploited in the later periods, thus it is not possible to understand their original functions in the Roman period. For about 70 m. extend shops and work-areas along the north side of the main street starting from the corner of the main junction reaching the west gate. In the 2nd century AD there should have been buildings of similar functions here. It is known, at least, that such structures are not found elsewhere in the city. Thus, this area stands for the socio-economic buildings such as restaurant, bar, andron, shops and work-areas, an indispensable part of city life. Furthermore, this area starting from the west gate and extending into the city toward the agora is one of the areas most suitable for commercial buildings.

A very compact city is successfully founded on narrow and difficult terrain (Fig. 2, 8-10). No other Roman settlement in the region displays such intricacy and compactness. Each square meter of the site is exploited. Rhodiapolis presents an extraordinary model of urbanism for a compact Roman city built within a very narrow piece of land. Buildings are completed using either the same areas or each other. This “dense layout” makes it difficult sometimes to handle each building individually. Mostly there are buildings that are not entirely independent of each other; there are some combined buildings sharing some walls or rooms. Therefore, the functions of the buildings also overlap. For instance, the Opramoas stoa and the theater adjoin in the west creating an unparalleled example for arranging the circulation of entrance and traffic outside the theater (Figs. 2, 10). Or, traces seen outside the south wall of sebasteion belong to two- or three-story buildings. Furthermore, the four units facing west on the west side of sebasteion face the area in front of the round temple. The second floor of the two-story stoa in the city center creates an extra area of ca. 500 sq. m. This area with the densest urban circulation is enhanced with the upper floor of the 60-meter-long and 9-meter-wide stoa, relieving the density. This improvement was most welcomed by the theater and the Opramoas stoa when it was built and then allowed the meeting hall to be placed here in the later times. The most striking constructional combination here is with the Opramoas stoa and the two-story stoa, the upper floor of which constitutes the east flank of the former.

The flat areas formed by cisterns are generally used for courtyards of the buildings, or, as is the case with building G both as courtyard and substructure (Figs. 16-17). Thus, extra heavy loads were prevented from coming onto the cistern construction while facilitating the collection of water and its use. The following cisterns in the city center only make up a total area of 1600 sq. m. contributing to the urban architecture as courtyards or public

squares: 14.50x16.00 m. in the central courtyard of the building G; 13.20x11.50 m. in the forecourt of the round temple; 26.30x13.00 m. in the temple-basilica area of the acropolis; 33.00x11.40 m. in the agora; 21.50x12.00 m. in the palaestra of the baths (Fig. 18); 20.60x10.50 m. in the Asklepieion; and, 9.90x12.60 m. in the outer courtyard of the building on the southwest slope. Furthermore, these dimensions are of only the cisterns; when the areas reclaimed by filling around the cisterns are also taken into account, reclaimed land made suitable for construction is seen to be much larger. In addition, there are many smaller cisterns built to create land for houses and supply water to them. These cisterns supplying the houses are usually pear-shaped. There are only very few cisterns that were used only for water storage, not serving to create flat areas to build on; one such example is the cylindrical cistern in the inbuilt flat area right behind the Byzantine tower in the acropolis. As it does not have a vaulted superstructure, it cannot create a flat area on its top. This cistern distinguishes itself for its solitary location not connected with other buildings. Furthermore, the only flat area without a cistern in this hilly city is the terrace on which the monumental tomb of Opramoas stands. Here the terrace is built by filling and without a cistern and the reason for this choice is timing. It is understood that this terrace of theater existing since the Hellenistic period was re-used in the Roman period. That is why it does not conform to the terraces with cisterns underneath in the Roman urbanism peculiar to Rhodiapolis. The existence of the Opramoas terrace and cylindrical cistern precedes the Roman period and shed light onto the Hellenistic period arrangement. Thus, city-terracing with cisterns is peculiar for the Roman period of Rhodiapolis.

The city center is divided into two by the main street extending in the east-west direction (Fig. 2, 15). The public square lies to a great extent to the north of the main street and is shaped with the theater terrace and the agora terrace while the other public structures (sebasteion, library, Asklepieion, temple) extending side by side along the south side of the main street complement the social public center of the city (Fig. 1, 2). The group of buildings on the south concerns cults and worship (Fig. 1, 2); those to the north comprising the theater and the stoas constitute the social center (Fig. 1, 2) while those in the northwest insula in between the two seem to be spared for commercial buildings (Fig. 1, 4). Streets do not disintegrate these insulae; rather sebasteion and temple on one side and the agora, stoas and shops on the other side are designed to create a common look around a central area of movement, i.e. a small square. The overall texture observed is like that of a medium size city of provincial countryside in the Roman period. The centrally located meeting is complemented with the buildings on top of the acropolis. The southern half of the acropolis is arranged as a square, used for public administrative purposes and created by reservoirs of the Roman period although the present-day look of the site is different due to the Byzantine castrum and the large church. Although it is difficult to visually discern today as the Roman period buildings atop the acropolis are in ruins, there is only 5 m. maximum level difference between the top row of the theater and the flat area of the acropolis. This top area is the uppermost part of the city directly connected with the settlement on the slope rather than the acropolis (Fig. 1 nr. 5). The temple once rising on the southeast corner of the acropolis looked over the city from right behind the theater. And the stepped street climbing by the Opramoas stoa to the theater actually extended up to the acropolis. Thus, it is understood that the buildings in the city were built according to a serious urban planning, that their façades were designed in harmony to create a similar/

common impression, that no rooms were spared for planning mistakes and actually that they did not have such chances/luxuries. It was not the buildings but the city herself that was pre-planned. It seems to be unlikely to plan independent buildings in such compact urban planning. This difficulty is clearly demonstrated by the meeting hall of 70 people capacity that was possibly added on the theater terrace in the 4th century (Fig. 2 nr. 12). This overall harmony is distorted entirely by the buildings added in the Late Roman period and even later. Why such later buildings were squeezed in already densely built areas is because they did not want to alienate themselves from the city center.

The central planning is inferred from the same facing direction (southeast) of the theater, stoas and Opramoas monument, that constitute the focus of the public center buildings, and from the buildings further south that face north toward this main insula. To cut a long story short, by positioning the theater on the north, sebasteion and the temple on the south, agora/stoa on the east and commercial rooms on the northwest, a provincial example of a Roman forum was formed in the heart of the city. This central focus is surrounded with the bathhouse on the east foot of the hill, complex G on the south and the acropolis temple on the west. The urban silhouette rises in stages as per the sloping terrain creating a general view of a city that rises with her interconnections intact and that is enriched encompassing the slopes.

The term “acropolis” is used here for the top settlement just for the convenience of the readers because the city does not have a real acropolis in the sense of the word. The buildings on the top level are just continuations of the buildings on the slope just beneath the top of the hill (Fig. 19). However, the term acropolis may be valid for the Byzantine period because the church and the bishop’s residence in the middle were encircled with walls forming a castrum.

The necropoleis are found along the roads leading to the town and on the slopes below the town, as was the common practice in the Roman period (Fig. 1). Apart from the south and southwest, the town is surrounded with necropoleis on all other sides. Actually only very privileged people could be buried within a town in the Roman period. The aesthetic concern reflected in the street-facing façades of the tombs is also observed on the buildings within the town. All the buildings are accessed via their entrance from the streets. This was not only functional but also the result of efforts for a common aesthetic living space³⁶.

It was the duty of urban planners/architects to present the settlers a livable city with respect to visual, aesthetic and functional aspects³⁷. The cities were structuralized in parallel to the administrative policy as a powerful and basic tool that structuralized and harmonized the society. The urban spaces and the activities in them were designed in order to make the people to appropriate their city³⁸. What was foremost important was that the architecture was to answer all the personal and public needs. The buildings that responded to this could take different shapes in every city based on the natural, economic and cultural circumstances but the basic principles and forms were similar. Constructors

³⁶ Owens 2000, 4 ff.

³⁷ Owens 2000, 4 ff. Besides, for the dynamics of design see Jones 2000, 49 ff.

³⁸ Perring 2000, 279 mentions “user-friendly” constructions.

of the Roman period had the opportunity to implement big building projects in the period of peace, security and high welfare brought by the Pax Romana³⁹. Moreover, it was not necessary to have fortified cities⁴⁰ and it was equally possible to settle in the plains. The Roman period urbanism seen at Rhodiapolis displays the high limits and powerful trend of a city with livable visual value even under the most unfavorable circumstances. The resistance of the topographic and morphologic conditions faced by the architecture and planning was overcome by the extraordinarily well-developed construction and material engineering of the Roman period and the local skills. Despite the fact that the axes could not be developed as desired at Rhodiapolis that has a difficult terrain a settlement most suitable, feasible and impressive was planned and implemented. This concern is felt even in the later additions and revisions.

The most important sign of aesthetic public spaces peculiar to the Roman period is the long colonnaded streets, squares and monumental portals leading to squares⁴¹. This is the most important sign that betrays the Roman period constructions in Anatolian towns. The sebasteion, Asklepieion, two-story stoa and the rich colonnaded façade of the Opramoas' stoa altogether create an extraordinarily dense and qualified Roman settlement character in the center. The desire for and choice of a Roman style settlement was shaped both by the dominant urban and architectural tradition of the period and the desires of local powers like Opramoas for taking advantage of Rome's power and Romanization⁴². The leading figures of the cities rivaled with each other in order to be able to undertake important public offices and to win the people's appreciation⁴³. In addition the cities rivaled with each other to get honorary titles⁴⁴. The formational and developmental processes of the cities usually depended on the cultured and select elites. Therefore, the rises and declines experienced by the wealthy usually reflected on the fates of their cities. A city could be planned as desired, optical relations between the buildings and their connections with the urban axes⁴⁵ are best observed in the settlements of flat lands; therefore, large settlements in Lycia like Myra⁴⁶, Patara⁴⁷ and Limyra⁴⁸, whose topographies do not challenge urbanism and thus which were designed as needed, reveal the top level attained by Roman period Lycian urbanism. These settlements which grew thanks to their harbors and other assets are the richest metropolises of Lycia. However, at isolated settlements on rough terrain, shaped by challenging natural conditions the influence of Roman urbanism is as explicit as at least in the settlements on flat lands. This is why Samnium and Lycia, both of which have rough topography but physically very far away from each other,

³⁹ Kolb 1992a, 28 ff.

⁴⁰ Radt 2001, 49.

⁴¹ Parrish 2001, 39.

⁴² Çevik 2002, 123 ff.

⁴³ Owens 2000, 124.

⁴⁴ Magie 1950, 588 ff.

⁴⁵ Wurster 1996, 165.

⁴⁶ Myra, somewhat another Pompeii of Anatolia, is buried under alluvium of 4 to 6 m. thickness; when she is uncovered in the future, she will probably display an urbanism with similar excellence: Çevik 2010.

⁴⁷ Işık 2000, 67 ff. The colonnade street that shaped the Roman urbanism at Patara is currently under study as a doctoral dissertation by Ş. Aktaş.

⁴⁸ Reiter 1992, 293 ff.

have similar settlement models⁴⁹. The empire did have serious influence over the entire Mediterranean.

The first thing to be mentioned for the Byzantine period is that a new city was not formed anew but rather a new and smaller settlement developed on top of the Roman city, shaped on the local formats of the new religion and the period, making use of the Roman buildings. The biggest difference between the two periods is the new settlement is centered on the church and it lacks the public buildings reminiscent of the Roman period. The pagan-Christian transformation observed in almost all the sanctuaries in western Anatolia⁵⁰ did take place at Rhodiapolis in its own dimensions. In the Byzantine period the church shaped an urban fabric developing arbitrarily and centered on the church located in the heart of the public administration and dominated over the other social and economic functions. Most of the extant Roman buildings now meant a source for lime kilns. This is why the lime kilns are found in the middle of the urban area that once contained the stoas and other buildings with high quality marble constructions.

The most determinative area for the Byzantine period is the castrum encircling the church and surrounding buildings (Figs. 2, 11). The castrum's walls contain the spolia obtained from Roman buildings. The Byzantine settlement here is characterized by the church in the center and residences of the clergy extending along its north side. It is seen that an extant Roman building in the west corner of the castrum remained in use. Although its layout reminds of meeting halls, its function is not clearly known. For the walls and towers of the castrum, other Roman buildings like the cenotaph were integrated and spolia materials were used in between. It is understood that other Roman buildings that are not extant in the acropolis today were integrated into the castrum or simply dismembered and reused. Thus, it was not the city but the buildings of the Roman period that were actually altered in the Byzantine period and the urbanism sat on the same base to a great extent – but much weaker and less qualified. The stepped Byzantine street (Fig. 2) built in the layer overlying the Late Roman restaurant (Fig. 2) on the east side of the theater must have been built to provide access to the basilica on the acropolis. For the time being, only houses retained their function in the Byzantine period as well – all other buildings underwent a change in function. Perhaps the small baths could be an exception. Only the streets and alleys as well as cisterns either remained in use or were repaired to continue to use. Actually many Roman buildings and their adornments were damaged and decorative materials such as sculpture and columns were made into lime due to intensive need for defensive measures. There is a lime pit almost in every area where buildings had significant marble available. The two-story stoa and Opramoas' stoa are the two sites with the most intensive lime production and contain the largest lime kilns; therefore, the marble building materials as well as sculpture were entirely consumed to obtain lime.

In the period following the 4th century AD a good Byzantine start is observed. About the beginning of the 6th century the city must have attained the highest population of her history. The plague of AD 546 and ensuing famine led to a dramatic fall in the population of Lycia – for 200 years the population of Lycia stayed at the bottom level. Compounded with the Arab raids, the Lycian people could not catch their breaths to recover. Although

⁴⁹ Patterson 2000, 168.

⁵⁰ Parrish 2001, 31.

Lycia did recover for about another 200 years before the arrival of Turks in the region, it had lost all hopes for the former glory. The basilica of Rhodiapolis is a product of this phase.

Following the 11th century, there is no evidence at hand for any Turkish settlement on the hill of Rhodiapolis. The only find from the post-Byzantine period is a coin of the Hamidids dated to 1322 and it is not known how this coin arrived here. Kumluca known as İğdir in the Seljuk period and as İğdir nahiye of the Teke sanjak or İğdir mah. Kardiç kaza in the Ottoman period was re-settled by the Seljuk beys who captured Elmalı in 1158 and by the Ottomans who conquered Teke in 1393⁵¹. Spratt and Forbes provide us with the earliest scholarly information regarding the Turks thanks to their visit in 1842. This source states that “Haggi-vella [Haciveliler] is a small village made up of Urook [Yörük] tents, and a blacksmith’s shop, with a row of sheds erected for a bazaar held here weekly. The village lies at the foot of [Rhodiapolis]”⁵². Turks settled in the Kumluca plains and these settlers “removed truckloads of ancient stones to build their own” as witnessed by Bean in 1952⁵³.

Major buildings that shaped the urbanism

Streets network (Figs. 2, 14-15)

“Institutions such as the temples, basilicas, stoas, gymnasia, baths and theaters provide the cultural and intellectual features of the ancient cities. However, it is the streets and the alleys that bring these institutions into view, that value them and that give them life. Streets become select with porticoes, arches, portals and triumphal arches; become wider with squares and flat areas; are honored with fountains and monuments; they interlock and give life and meaning to the integrating urban fabric”⁵⁴. MacDonald considers the streets to be the most important organ within the urban fabric by stating that “the streets create a communication skeleton – an urban armature – that frames and functionalizes most of the city life”⁵⁵. With no regards to the size of the settlement, this vital organ steps to the fore with the same level of importance at every city – only they are more, or less, monumental depending on the size and character of the settlement. No settlement can be thought of without streets. Just like today, the streets and quarters of a city had names; however, no such name has been identified at Rhodiapolis yet. For instance, at her neighbor Limyra, it is known from the tombstones that quarters of the city had names of renowned personages like Sarpedon, Bellerophon and Pandaros⁵⁶.

The street network of Rhodiapolis can be traced mostly from the surface by evaluating the relations between the buildings and the topography. The main axis (Fig. 2), however, gives more information owing to excavations (Fig. 15). The main road coming from the south, i.e. from Kumluca and Corydalla reaches the southeast side of the baths at the foot of the settlement hill and then ascends to the town directly via the south side of the baths

⁵¹ Güçlü 2006 115 ff.

⁵² Spratt - Forbes 2008, 162 ff.

⁵³ Bean 1998, 151.

⁵⁴ Yegül 1995, 77.

⁵⁵ Mac Donald 1986, 29 ff.

⁵⁶ Borchhardt 1999, 31.

and the west slope. The road passing by the north side of the baths reaches the residential area.

The road leading up from the baths at the foot of the settlement in the east ascends westward to the town center and then continues to the west gate where it joins the outer road. This street passing through the settlement allows access to other sites and squares via side streets, most of which can be clearly followed. The first street, which the main road coming from the baths meets at the agora, leads down south to the building G while the one opposite passes between the agora and the prytaneion (?) and continues passing between the sebasteion and agora leading to the flat site of the agora. Here a junction forms. The main street extending from this junction in the east-west direction towards the west gate, parallel to the sebasteion and Asklepieion, retained its existence at all times but it was altered in the Roman and Byzantine periods. The wide street that retained its structure until mid-2nd century AD was altered when the Asklepios-Hygeia cult building added by the end of the 2nd century and the westernmost Roman building narrowed it on the south side; and it was further narrowed by other buildings added in the Byzantine period on the north side. The original street as planned in the first half of the 2nd century was wide and grandiose. Particularly the colonnaded porticoes of the sebasteion and Asklepieion along its south side ascribed the main axis of the city a colonnaded street look. The level difference at the border of the Asklepieion and sebasteion caused a stepped construction and between the porticoes of these two monuments is a monumental arch. The main street connected to the outer road at the monumental west gate. This gate's good-looking west façade imposes a monumental start for those arriving at the town from the west. The stepped portions suggest that this street never served wheeled transportation.

Another street turning right, i.e. north, from the junction reaches the agora and the two-story stoa, where it becomes stepped and goes toward the portal that leads to the upper floor of the two-story stoa. Then it extends crossing the stepped theater street, and between the temple (?) and the Opramoas stoa, continues along the back wall and reaches the back of the theater (Fig. 2, 14). The pavement of this street was damaged to a great extent when the marble materials were removed to make lime in the Byzantine period. Its total length is 45 m. measured from the beginning of the stone pavement at the junction before the sebasteion to the end of the Opramoas stoa's wall up to which the excavations have been completed. Then it extends towards the acropolis with steps getting frequent. The street is 5.10 m. wide in the southeast and tapers down to 3.10 m. in the northwest where the excavations halted. Along this length are 20 steps, heights and depths of which vary. As the slope increases the length and width of the steps get smaller. The level difference between the bottom end and top end of excavated portion is 4.92 m. The level difference reaches 5.65 m. when measured from the stylobate of the agora, i.e. the southeast end. On the average, each step rises 27 cm. However, this average level difference arises not only from the physical height of the step but also from the inclination of the terrain along its length because all the steps have sloping surfaces. This street' extension goes towards the stepped ramp road behind the west analemma of the theater. It was partially exposed and seen that it continues. It was observed that this street joins the upper street behind the diazoma and extends along the back side of the entire cavea, passing behind the last row of seats. The street passes through the corridor formed by the protective

wall of the Byzantine castrum, theater's analemma wall and the back wall of the theater's cavea. It ascends to the acropolis allowing access to the residential area to the northeast of the theater.

Another street going around the settlement stretches from the west gate, northwards parallel to the foot of the acropolis and turns northeast toward the residential area. Its extension descending south from the houses runs through the necropolis to the east of the baths and meets the main street ascending towards the town center. Thus, in addition to the main axis passing through the center, an "encircling street" going around the settlement is formed. Rhodiapolis has two main inter-city connections – one comes from Limyra passing the valley to the south and ascends to the center passing by the baths; the other coming from the residential area, passing through the north necropolis descends into the north valley and extends toward the early Lycian rock tombs; this second road possibly connected to the north settlements in the Kumluca valley. The southern main route connects to Limyra and others via Korydalla in the west while it connects to Adrassus via the settlements on the Cape Gelidonya in the east. The northern route, on the other hand, connects to Idebessos and Akalissos in the mountainous region.

The large baths (Figs. 2, 18) stands in solitude away from the central buildings and is the monument with the most different location with respect to urbanism⁵⁷. It is the last public building on the foot of the settled hill. Its layout with the rectangular main chambers placed side by side is typical for Lycian baths. When it was built after the 2nd century probably there was no room left within the dense settlement area for a baths of this size and thus it must have been built here for this reason. Another reason may be that the compact mass of the city herself would be blocking the daylight required at all times by such baths. Furthermore, the water sources would reach the settlement at the lowest level and the baths is the monument that needed the highest pressure. Similarly Arykanda too has baths located at the lowest level of the settlement. Farrington had dated these baths to the 3rd century, i.e. post-Severan period⁵⁸. Except for these baths, the inscriptions also mention a gymnasium⁵⁹. Besides, a newly found inscription mentions a balnea built by a philanthropist named Enteimos but its location is not known for the time being⁶⁰. The large baths connects to the town center via the stepped street and to the residential area via the road on the east. It had a prominent place in the urban life of the Roman period with its functions as a social meeting place, cultural-sportive activities and a hygienic-health facility. It was given a new identity as a work-area and houses in the Byzantine period.

The small baths (Fig. 2) is located to the northeast of the large baths⁶¹ and it the most distant and isolated building from the town center. Its location may have been based on the stream that still flows today. Its location and dimensions suggest a date after the 4th century.

The two-story stoa extending in the northeast-southwest direction had an imposing place in urbanism (Fig. 2, 14, 19). The substructure, i.e. the terrace, of the 35-meter-long

⁵⁷ Çevik – Kızıgüt – Bulut 2009, 231-260.

⁵⁸ Farrington 1995, 160 fig. 9.

⁵⁹ TAM 2, No. 910, 924.

⁶⁰ Kızıgüt 2011.

⁶¹ Kızıgüt 2011: The small baths was discovered during clearing of vegetation in this area.

southern half of the agora comprises four large cisterns. This stoa is the most central public building and extends along the west side of the agora and through its architectural aspects it facilitates the functions of the agora. Thus, it becomes the focus for the social life, business, politics and economic functions. The stoa has retained its age-old indispensability⁶². This 59-meter-long stoa's floor is paved with mosaics. The width of the entire site varies from 29.90 m in the south to 19.15 m in the north and only the 9.20-meter-wide west part is part of the stoa. To its east is the flat area of the agora tapering from the south (20.70 m.) toward the north (10.00 m.), that is, the south side of the agora which is more active due to circulation from the street is designed wider. Here four large cisterns constitute the substructure for the terrace. The triangular area between the south end of the agora and the north side of the sebasteion is the most striking point of the city.

In the northeast corner of the site is an exedra which was adorned with statues on top, forming a monumental part of the agora; opposite the two-story stoa are three rows of seats, extant in the northern half today, which provided seating for those involved in the agora but it is also plausible to suggest that some activities were watched from these rows of seats. A gate in the northeast end of the stoa opens to streets leading to residential area, theater and the villas below.

The agora and the two-story stoa, adorned with monuments erected to honor people or commemorate events, constitute the central square with the densest circulation and are in organic connection with other public spaces. For instance, the upper floor of the two-story stoa served as the east wing for the activities held in the Opramoas' stoa. This organic connection shows that both monuments were built about the same date; thus, the two-story can be said to have been built about mid-2nd century AD, which is further verified by the Antonine style of the architectural decoration of the stoa. The most significant aspect of the Rhodiapolitan stoa that sets it apart from other examples is the lack of shops/work-areas adjoining the stoa, other than two small units in the stoas area; rather, it terminates with flat terrace walls.

One terrace below is a building separated from the agora via a narrow alley and it is thought to be the prytaneion (Fig. 2). Its courtyard with a cistern is adorned with niches and a large apse on the east; there are two rooms by the north wall of the courtyard. Although this layout with an apsed courtyard does not conform to the known prytaneions this function seems to be quite plausible to ascribe to this building; however future excavations will clarify the issue.

Monumental tomb and stoa of Opramoas (Fig. 2, 11) are located at the most privileged point in the center. Although the monumental tomb disturbs the urban fabric and narrows the theater square by approaching the stage building, this privilege is issued for Opramoas who embellished the city. The monumental tomb is of the small temples with podium type widely seen in this period; the tomb and the Ionic stoa that encircles it on two sides occupy the entire area in front of the theater. They were built together with the two-story stoa simultaneously. As the east wing of the Opramoas stoa projects out like a balcony, a large extra area of 9x59 m. is gained widening the area in front of the theater which is narrowed with the construction of the tomb. This monument bears the longest ancient Greek inscription in Anatolia, carrying to the future generations the honored past and the

⁶² Wycherley 1993, 47.

brilliant era of Opramoas. Built in the most inconvenient but most striking place in the city center, this monument symbolizes the unlimited sovereignty of local powers.

The theater rests on the hillside next to the Opramoas area (Fig. 2). Evaluated only superficially by B. Ferrero⁶³ and H. Y. Özbek⁶⁴ the theater was excavated from 2006 to 2009 and entirely exposed⁶⁵, obtaining new and complementary information⁶⁶ (Figs. 8-9). Entire circulation and urbanism here seem to be focused on the theater, the focus of entertainment and culture in the city's life. Closely and organically connected to the stoas and the agora it gathered the central and intensive activities on itself and surrounding buildings. An unparalleled layout for the region, the theater's west parodos and the stoa of Opramoas are in full organic connection as if they had been planned together. Those exiting the parodos found themselves in front of the stoa. It is also worth noting that the narrow and inconvenient area by the east end of the stage building was picked for the small meeting hall with a capacity of 70 people built after the 3rd century. New structures uncovered in 2009 by the east wall of the theater are very curious. According to the finds these structures should date to the 2nd century AD and seem to belong to a restaurant⁶⁷. Those attending the performances in the theater or hanging around in the agora and the stoas must have refreshed themselves in such places.

The temples are located at various points in the city center: in the east corner of the acropolis looking over the theater and dominating the panorama (Fig. 2), at the central junction (Fig. 2), inside (Fig. 2) and in front of the Asklepieion; however, except for the temple to Asklepios and Hygeia (Fig. 2), to which deities these temples were dedicated is still not known. Locations of the temples are just like what is defined in the ancient sources⁶⁸. Written evidence uncovered at Rhodiapolis state that there were temples dedicated to Asklepios, Hygeia, Nemesis and Fortuna. A bronze eagle evincing Zeus, an altar with relief evincing Helios and inscribed house-altars bearing the name of Artemis reveal the presence of other deities at Rhodiapolis.

Among the sanctuaries in Rhodiapolis, the sebasteion (Fig. 2, 12) stands out with its privileged location and architecture. This is the most special imperial cult building where the imperial family was worshiped. Inscriptions on statue pedestals in situ verify the identity of the building. The statues were removed in 1971 to Antalya Museum. Yet, one point here of utmost importance is that the cult memorial hall for the Opramoas family organically adjoins the imperial cult hall and shares the same layout. The area in front of the sebasteion in the west and the adjoining Opramoas ancestral cult hall in the east is arranged together. Both face the common area in perfect harmony with the public center. Inscribed statue pedestals verify this function. Imperial cult hall (Kaisersaal)⁶⁹ is usually found within the baths' palaestrae, not independently, in Anatolia⁷⁰; however, here at

⁶³ Ferrero 1988, pl. 4.

⁶⁴ Özbek 1992, 12-14 figs. 6-10.

⁶⁵ Çevik 2008b.

⁶⁶ B. Özdilek currently studies the Rhodiapolitan theater together with other Lycian theaters as doctoral dissertation.

⁶⁷ Kızılgut 2011.

⁶⁸ "For the sake of ease in fencing them and of cleanliness, we must erect the temples all round the market-place, and in a circle round the whole city" (Plato Laws VI 778c): Borchhardt 1999, 99.

⁶⁹ Yegül 1982, 7 ff.

⁷⁰ Parrish 2001, 21.

Rhodiapolis, it is independent and is located in a monumental structure with an authentic layout. Although there are some examples like the Boubon imperial hall⁷¹ in Lycia the Rhodiapolitan example has a unique layout.

Asklepieion (Fig. 2, 12) is the only known example of this cult introduced into Lycia by Herakleitos. It is located within the insula of temples that constitutes the south side of the city center and adjoins the sebasteion on the west. The only round temple (Fig. 2, 13) of the region is found in the center of this complex with a courtyard. This building is the medicinal and health complex of the city and also contains a library (Fig. 2, 13) which is the only known example in Lycia. All these buildings constitute a group of imposing religious buildings facing the same direction as the sebasteion does on the main east-west axis. The co-presence of Asklepieion and sebasteion reflects the exaltation of two personages of high status, namely Opramoas and Herakleitos, and indeed exaltation compatible with the imperial cult. Particularly some aristocrats like the Opramoas family and Herakleitos undersigned the brilliant era of the city in the 2nd century AD. When the monuments (such as Opramoas monument, Opramoas stoa, stage building, two-story stoa, Asklepieion, round temple, library, Nemesis and Fortuna temples and perhaps many others whose builders are not known today) commissioned by these elite people are taken away, then not much remains in the city. It is understood from the low number of rich houses in the city that the number of such aristocratic families was quite low.

The basilica (Fig. 2, 11) was built in the highest central area on top of the Roman period temple area partially with its materials. With this church the pagan temples of Rhodiapolis were replaced with a three-aisled basilica. The church together with the clerical rooms adjoining on the north forms the central buildings of the castrum. Thus, the settlement's focus shifted from the central agora to the acropolis and the basilica. According to preliminary observations by E. Akyürek, the first construction phase of the church goes to the Early Byzantine period; however, finds going up to the 11th-12th centuries suggested that the settlement was inhabited until the beginning of the second millennium AD.

Shops and workshops (Fig. 2, 12): In the western part of the city center, there are many building remains along the main street, spreading northwards, in the area between the west gate and the agora. Some were excavated in 2009. Mostly belonging to the Byzantine period, these units were built on top of Roman remains at places. These buildings in this area are expected to be shops and work-areas for this is the only area within the city for these functions. Apart from this group, there are some other sites for eating-drinking like the one to the east of the theater. There is very little evidence for any production; the most significant one is the olive oil press uncovered in the area to the east of the residential area.

Houses⁷² (Fig. 1, 2, 5) built in the Roman period and mostly remained in use in the Byzantine period can be studied under two headings – the first is the villas in select places covering spacious areas and overlooking the panorama and the second is the houses of the common people that constituted the majority. The north side of the city center was entirely spared for housing. These houses belonging to common people hang together

⁷¹ Inan 1993, 213 ff.

⁷² Bean, too, (1998, 151) states that "the houses dated from the Roman period".

while the villas of the rich are found in various parts of the city⁷³. On the ridge extending north of the city center is the central residential area where some streets and some houses (some with courtyards) can be discerned but since no excavations have been carried out here yet, it is too early to say anything about the house types and residential quarters. One thing can be clearly stated: No houses were built amidst the public buildings spreading compactly on the acropolis and its foot. An insula on a slope by the public center displays a particular position. This is the area extending between the exedra in the north end of the agora, the prytaneion (?) and descending down to the baths. This area contains villas. The building on the slope to the southwest of Asklepieion is expected to be a villa thanks to its architecture and location but its function has not been verified yet.

No fountains have been identified within the city yet. A fountain outlet on the cistern façade of the baths suggests that the city's demand was supplied from the ubiquitous cisterns. The holes on top of cisterns for obtaining water functioned like fountains inside the city. The only fountain as an architectural example from the Roman period is the extra-settlement source in the valley to the west of the city. It is plausible to suggest that the streams still flowing today also supplied the drinking water in Antiquity.

Water procurement

Rhodiapolis is not a lucky settlement with respect to water sources and indeed this is why the city could not grow any bigger. The absence of water that introduces civilization into urbanism and building arrangements is felt everywhere in the settlement. Water was procured by two ways: Firstly from the natural sources around and at the foot of the settlement. Sources in the southeast valley and northern valleys still have some water today and were probably better exploited in Antiquity. The strongest of all these sources is the one in the northern rock tomb necropolis. The only one that survived with its fountain construction is on the slope descending to the valley on the west. The vaulted building with an inner pool measures 2.22x3.33x4.44 m. and is extant to a great extent. It still has a spring.

The water demand of the settlement was mainly supplied from the cisterns (Fig. 2). Large reservoirs with multiple compartments served the public in public areas while smaller cisterns served the private buildings like houses and shops. As the settlement grew in parallel to the population new small cisterns were built, like those inside and outside the houses in the north residential area. Many terraces all over the settlement have a sub-structure of cisterns, that is, both the water demand and terrace need were supplied by the same investment. Architect-engineers of the time had foreseen cisterns with a capacity enough to supply the people. The city has eight huge reservoirs designed with multiple compartments which facilitate the storage of large quantities of water. These reservoirs comprise barrel-vaulted rectangular chambers built side by side and interconnected with arches (Figs. 16-19). They were built partially hewn into the bedrock or earth on the hillside and by building high walls on their fronts to eliminate the level differences. They were built with stones and bricks and plastered over with mortar. Supporting piers, vaults and arches were built with bricks while the walls were usually built with rubble and mortar; usually they were multi-layer-plastered with a thick impervious tempered final layer

⁷³ For this respect it is similar to the location of the villas in Arykanda. Knoblauch 1993, 125 ff.; Bayburtluoğlu 1993, 123. For general information on the houses in Arykanda see Gürgezoğlu 2006, 13 ff.

(Figs. 17-18). The white, grey and red colored plaster is usually applied in multiple layers. Some examples have multiple layers due to time not due to technical reasons. It can be said that the cisterns' plasters were repaired in the Byzantine period uses.

All these central reservoirs were entirely for public use. These eight reservoirs have the following number of compartments: Four compartments in the baths, three in building G, four in the agora, two in the fore-area of the round temple, two in the building to the southwest of the round temple, four in the west building, two within the building group across the street to the north of the round temple, and five in the center of the acropolis. The rectangular compartments each are five to ten meters deep. Their capacity is 600-700 cubic meters on the average but some like the main reservoir in the acropolis has a capacity of 1300 cubic meters. The reservoir with four compartments in the substructure of the terrace of the west building next to the west gate, in the southwest corner of the city, still holds the winter water. Many reservoirs cannot hold water any more due to cracks and ground-slides in their floors caused by earthquakes and due to gaps between the buildings materials when the plasters fell off.

The main reservoir extending along the south side of the church in the acropolis measures 25x12 m. with a depth of 10 m. It was partially hewn into the bedrock and mostly built and plastered over with lime mortar. Plaster layers from various periods are discerned. A staircase in the small square unit in the southwest corner allows access to its bottom and this is what makes it different from other reservoirs.

The only round cistern (Fig. 2) of the settlement is located behind the Byzantine tower in the acropolis and distinguishes itself with its location, plan and workmanship. In spite of the fact that all the other reservoirs were built with stones and bricks this particular one was built with stones. Its depth is not known due to filling inside but its diameter is 7 m. Although its location and workmanship may suggest an earlier date there is no evidence at hand to support this hypothesis. Murphy and others who dated it to the Hellenistic period based their evaluation on the Hellenistic date of the tower nearby⁷⁴. However, this tower is the Roman cenotaph (Fig. 2) constituting the northwest corner of the Byzantine castrum on the acropolis.

Since the excavations and cleaning have not been completed here it is only possible to say that the whole water storage system had a capacity of 7,000 cubic meters at least in the Roman period. Roughly this amount would be enough for 5,000 people for a period of five months without any fresh supply. Water constantly decreasing was re-supplied with rains, thus lasting longer. The winter rainfall is about 1050 mm. on the average according to the climate stable for the last three millennia. It is not known how the water demand of the Hellenistic city was supplied. The only evidence at hand is the cylindrical cistern in the acropolis but this could supply only a very small settlement.

Apart from the water storage facilities, little has been uncovered regarding the water distribution and drainage because sites like streets where these systems need to be found have not been excavated yet. However, two installations uncovered are of value to shed light onto the presence of water distribution system in the city. One of these installations was uncovered in the trench on the road leading up to the town center from the baths.

⁷⁴ Murphy 2006, 159 ff.

Excavations in the area outside the palaestra in the southwest corner of the baths aimed at identifying the street and water channels were exposed. Built with masonry these channels extend toward the reservoirs in the building G. The water coming from these channels flowed into the reservoirs of the baths. The other installation was uncovered in the slope above the apodyterium wall, in the west of bathing section of the baths. The first elbow from the tank down to the baths was uncovered *in situ*. Distribution within the baths complex was provided from the castellum in the northeast corner. Thin terracotta pipes of various diameters have been uncovered side by side showing that distribution was provided via multiple lines within the baths.

There is no waterway coming toward the city. The previously so-called “aqueduct piers” indeed belong to Roman period chamber tombs. Murphy’s account for the “presence of an aqueduct in the settlement”⁷⁵ does not have any ground and is based on earlier publications⁷⁶.

Techniques and materials

At last the techniques and materials that shaped the Rhodiapolitan urbanism will be studied. A few buildings were built with ashlar; stoas and temples have their foundations, façades and corners built with ashlar; but the majority has rubble bound with mortar. It is seen that all the material used was procured from local limestone quarries. The rocks near Rhodiapolis are not suitable for cutting ashlar because of their natural formation but rather quarrying durable rubble and this is why rubble is dominant in the settlement. As observed in all the buildings, and particularly in the sebasteion and Asklepieion, this density continued even in the Roman times. This choice allowed easy, practical and economic constructions at Rhodiapolis.

Use of bricks is very striking at Rhodiapolis: Bricks were especially used in the carrying elements of cisterns that constitute the substructures. All the arches and vaults of cisterns were built with bricks specially produced for this purpose. Bricks used in the buildings of the 2nd and 3rd centuries seem to be a reflection of basic Roman construction material⁷⁷. Starting with the first floor of the stage building of the theater bricks were used in the intermediate walls. Extant in a few courses of bricks these walls were dismantled in the Byzantine period for a second use elsewhere.

Comparison with neighboring settlements and evaluation

The peculiarity of Rhodiapolitan urbanism arises from the terraces formed with cisterns (Fig. 19). Large and strong cisterns were built where the sloping terrain did not allow any terraces and thus areas for construction were formed and water demand was supplied at the same time. Gaining flat land to build on by building cisterns seems to be a consequence of planning. Indeed there are wide flat areas in the north and west very close to the settlement hill. Here the desire for facing the sea and exploiting the sun, light and winds to the best possible level overwhelmed other issues. Besides, it was desired to build a compact city with buildings placed close to each other instead of creating a city of build-

⁷⁵ Murphy 2006, 159 ff.

⁷⁶ Spratt - Forbes 2008, 163; Bean 1998, 153; Bayburtluoğlu 2004, 105 ff.

⁷⁷ Radt 2001, 53.

ings dispersed across a wide area. This also improved the economic feasibility because in such compact planning many buildings can share common walls and courts. So an easily accessible settlement is created for the inhabitants and aesthetically the buildings made use of each other. The medium size of Rhodiapolis did not pose any obstacle for such arrangements but for big cities such arrangements are not realistic because high density of human circulation requires large size public buildings and this is not possible with this arrangement. Besides, big cities have multiple points of attraction and thus can have more than one center. As medium size settlements like Rhodiapolis have only a single social recreation center, all other structures were positioned closest to this center in order to make use of this attraction and circulation.

Many other settlements on rough and narrow terrain like Rhodiapolis are known both in Lycia and other regions. Especially in mountainous regions like Lycia there are towns on rough terrain, shaped by its topography, climate and social aspects⁷⁸. Furthermore, Termessos, Mnara, Typallia and Neapolis are examples for such settlements of different sizes located on incredibly rough topography⁷⁹. Some of such settlements like Neapolis have a few examples of terraces formed with cisterns. There are also settlements on more convenient flat land on top of hills but yet shaped in very dense clustering because of the topography. One of the examples closest to Rhodiapolis is Cyaneae⁸⁰, which comprises buildings and building groups dispersed all around the central urban area and the streets in between do not reveal any planning. Arykanda located very close to Rhodiapolis displays some parallelisms both in geographical conditions and urbanism. Furthermore both settlements have similar examples of buildings as in the theaters. One difference worth noting is that the public buildings of Arykanda are not clustered within the same compact structure but rather arranged as separate complexes located in proximity with each other. Related buildings are located adjoining within the same area⁸¹. A single monumental effect created by the co-presence of building groups within the city center is not like that in Rhodiapolis: This effect is dispersed in Arykanda; thus, Arykanda differs herself from Rhodiapolis. Furthermore, Arykanda does not have substructures of cisterns because Arykanda has sufficient water sources further supported by an aqueduct. Thus, building areas were created by high terrace walls supported by fillings.

Building areas created by cistern-terraces at Rhodiapolis are a result of two requisitions: Firstly, water procurement; and secondly, creating flat land to build on. This difficulty was successfully overcome at Rhodiapolis by developing an authentic urbanistic technique. Rhodiapolitan urbanism steps forth with its compact planning on sloping terrain. This arises not only from optimization of land use, sharing by several buildings, facilitation of social circulation, and an integrated presentation of individual aesthetic features of buildings⁸² but also from the desire to protect the inhabitants from the unfavorable effects of very high temperatures in the summer. Streets and alleys between adjoining buildings were better shaded in the heat of the summer providing some freshness. This need was answered by the stoas reaching a semi-covered area of about 1,000 sq. m. where the

⁷⁸ Alp 1998; Aşkın 2006.

⁷⁹ Çevik 2008a, 189-233.

⁸⁰ Tietz 2006, 821 ff. fig.1; Kolb 2008; Kolb 2010.

⁸¹ Bayburtluoğlu 2004, 132.

⁸² Erinç 2008, 132 ff.

human circulation was the highest. Perhaps this is why the baths, which always needed a high amount of daylight, is the only public structure located in solitude, outside the compact center of the settlement. One of the greatest advantages of settlements on sloping terrain is that no flow blockage problems were experienced in the drainage or water distribution systems. Another advantage was that adjoining buildings did not block the view or daylight of neighbors.

Consequently, Rhodiapolis could only develop to become a medium size city due to her unfavorable location in the political geography of Lycia, her distance from the main inter-city routes and lack of sufficient natural water sources. Indeed it almost looks like a miracle that she could grow this much within the limited opportunities of the environment and scarcity of water sources. The urbanization reflects dense Roman and Byzantine periods; and beyond the reflection of these periods' cultural and artistic changes on the city and buildings, the actual urban development was based on the political and economic variables of the local aristocratic families. The fact that the brightest period was in the 2nd century AD is because the renowned, rich and philanthropist Opramoas and his family as well as other aristocrats like Herakleitos all lived in this century. A compact settlement was developed with a very successful cistern-terrace model and organically tight-connected buildings in order to keep the settlement alive and develop it despite the scarcity of water sources. So much so, that the agora, two-story stoa and the Opramoas stoa cannot be separated from one another. This authentic character puts Rhodiapolis at a special position among the Roman cities in Anatolia. Authenticity in planning and materials pushes Rhodiapolis to the fore among the urbanisms in Lycia. The most significant point is that beside her well-protected condition, the high rate of legibility from the surface as well as the fact that most of the major sites have been uncovered to a great extent allow us to understand a Lycian city's urban structure in the Roman period. Ongoing excavations will hopefully shed more light onto the details of the urban development in the Roman period as well as the urbanism of the Classical and Hellenistic periods⁸³.

⁸³ The Rhodiapolis excavations was directed by Prof. Dr. Nevzat Çevik between 2006-2009. As of 2009 campaign the excavations at Rhodiapolis have been taken over by Asst. Prof. Dr. İsa Kızılgut and ongoing excavations will bring into daylight many new pieces of information regarding urbanism of Rhodiapolis.

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Öz

Likya şehirciliğinin ünük bir örneğı Rhodiapolis

Kentin bilim literatürüne ilk girişı 1842'de İngiliz araştırmacılar Th. Daniel, T. A. B. Spratt ve E. Forbes sayesinde olmuştur. Asıl keşfi de Avusturyalı bilimciler O. Benndorf ve ekibi tarafından gerçekleştirilmiştir. Kentin arkeolojisi üzerine kapsamlı bir kazı-araştırma projesi ilk kez 2006'da N. Çevik tarafından tümçül bir proje olarak başlatılmıştır.

Antalya İli Kumluca İlçesi'nin hemen kuzeyindeki Sarıcasu Köyü'nün arkasında yükselen denizden 300 m yüksekliğindeki tepe ve çevresinde kurulmuştur. Tepenin güneyinde Kumluca düzlüğüne ve Akdeniz'e bakan yamaç yapılarla doludur. Rhodiapolis'in en önemli özelliğı şehirciliğidir. Dar ve zor arazide oldukça başarılı planlanmış kompakt bir kent yaratılmıştır. Yapılar arasında neredeyse sadece cadde ve sokak boşlukları dışında bir boşluk bulunmayacak biçimde çoğunlukla sıkı-organik bir bağ içerisinde inşa edilmiştir. Eğimli arazide kentsel yapılaşmaya olanak tanıyan çok sayıda teras, çoğunlukla sarnıçlar ile oluşturulmuştur. Bu akılcı çözümle hem yerleşimin su ihtiyacı karşılanmış hem de yapılaraya uygun düzlükler sağlanmıştır.

Rhodiapolis şehirciliğine dönemsel olarak bakıldığında, her bir dönem için aşağıda ana hatları çizilen Roma şehirciliğinden farklı resimler çıkmaktadır. Alan aynıdır, ancak şehir ve yapılar farklıdır. Her dönemde yerleşim yeri seçimi, makroformlar ve dokuların oluşumunda coğrafya ile iklim belirleyiciliğini korumuştur. Roma ve Bizans Dönemleri yerleşim özelliklerinin anlaşılabilmesi için yeterli veri varken Roma öncesi dönemler için aynı şeyi söylemek zordur. Özellikle seramik bulgularla varlığına tanık olduğumuz İ.Ö. 8. yy. sonu ve sonrasına ilişkin herhangi bir mimari kalıntı henüz bulunamamıştır. Dolayısıyla erken dönemlerin yerleşim biçimleri konusunda, küçük buluntularla belgelenen varlıkları ötesinde söyleyebilecek hiçbir şey şimdilik bulunmamaktadır. Roma ve Bizans Dönemleri şehirciliğinin de birkaç evreden oluştuğı görülmektedir.

Klasik Dönem'de orta ölçekli bir yerleşim olduğu 26 adet kaya mezarının varlığından ve Likçe yazıtlardan bellidir. Ancak bu mezarların sahiplerinin yaşamlarına ilişkin bir mimari kalıntıya henüz rastlanmamıştır. Beklentimiz, Klasik Dönem halkının tepe üstünde yaşadığı yolundadır. Diğer bir grubun da kuzey vadideki kaya mezarlarının olduğu bölgede daha küçük bir yerleşim oluşturdukları da, özellikle konutlara ait kalıntılardan öngörülmektedir.

Helenistik Dönem'in varlığı hem kalıntılar, hem heykel altlıkları hem yazıtlar hem de sikkeler aracılığıyla doğrulanmıştır. Bu dönemde tiyatro önü teraslarının var olduğu bazı duvar işçiliklerinden anlaşılmaktadır. Toplantı Salonu alt katmanından, teras duvarı yıkıntısı içinde bulunan Helenistik anıtlara ait mimari elemanlar bu varlığı güçlendirmektedir.

Roma Dönemi içinde her yüzyılda farklı yapılaşmalar, ekler ve revizyonlar olduğu görülse de özellikle İ.S. 2. yy. Rhodiapolis'de en parlak şehirciliğin söz konusu olduğu ve bugün görünen Roma Dönemi kalıntılarının çoğunlukla olduğu en parlak zamandır. Tamamen arazi şartlarına göre biçimlenmiş bir Roma kent modeli görülmektedir. Bu model Roma'nın sadece Küçük Asya'da görülen Helenistik-Roma ortak karakterli şehirciliğidir. Tüm yapılar incelendiğinde ve özellikle rezervuar ve sarnıçların konumlarına bakıldığında, kentin en yukarıdan tepe yamacında aşağıya doğru gelişmiş olduğu anlaşılmaktadır. Bu durumu yerleşim içi yol ağı da göstermektedir. Bir Roma kentinde bulunan tüm yapı tipleri -küçük boyutlarda da olsa- örneklerini Rhodiapolis'te bulmaktadır. Kenti oluşturan yapıların büyük kısmı diğer yerleşimlerden farklı ölçeklerde benzerleri bilinen, tiyatro, hamam, stoa gibi yaygın yapılar iken, yuvarlak formu tapınak, asklepeion ve kütüphane gibi bir kısmı da Likya'da henüz bilinmeyen yapı örnekleridir. Sebasteion ise bu yapısıyla/planıyla Anadolu'da tektir. Sebasteion'un doğu bitişiğinde, sebasteionla birlikte aynı yapı kapsamında planlanmış olan Opramoas ata kültü salonu da yerel bir egemen aileye yapılmış bölgede benzersiz özel bir yapıdır. Likya'da şimdilik bilinmeyen Asklepeion ise varlığını, bu kültür bölgedeki kurucusu Rhodiapolisli hekim Herakleitos'a borçludur. Bu kamu yapılarının fonksiyonları ve birbirleriyle olan fonksiyonel ilişkileri şehir içerisindeki konumlarında belirleyici olmuştur. Örneğin Asklepeion, kütüphane ve sebasteionun bir ada (Dinsel ada) oluşturması ya da tiyatro, stoa ve agoranın başka bir ada (Sosyal ada) oluşturması gibi. Çoğunlukla birbirinden tam bağımsız olmayan, bazı duvarları yada mekanları ortak birleşik yapılar da söz konusudur. Bu nedenle bazı yapıların fonksiyonlarında da örtüşmeler görülmektedir. Örneğin Opramoas Stoası ile tiyatro, batı kesimde birleşmiştir. Ve böylelikle giriş ve tiyatro dışı trafiğinin çözüldüğü bu örneksiz uygulama yaratılmıştır. Eğimli arazide kentsel yapılaşmaya olanak tanıyan çok sayıda teras çoğunlukla rezervuarlardan / sarnıçlardan oluşturulmuştur. Bu akılcı çözümle hem yerleşimin su ihtiyacı karşılanmış hem de yapılara uygun düzlükler sağlanmıştır. Sarnıçlardan elde edilen düz alanlar genellikle yapıların avluları, G yapısı gibi örneklerde ise avlunun yanısıra alt yapı olarak da işlevlendirilmiştir.

Tüm yapıların girişleri yollara bakmaktaydı. Bu durum sadece fonksiyonel değil aynı zamanda estetik bir ortak yaşam ortamı oluşturma çabasının da sonucuydu. Büyük kentlerde pek çok sosyal cazibe merkezi bulunduğu tek bir merkeze mecburiyet olmamaktadır. Rhodiapolis gibi orta ölçekli yerleşimlerde tek bir sosyal rekreasyon alanı olduğundan tüm diğer yapılar da bu merkezi cazibeden ve trafikten yararlanmak için aynı alan etrafında, olabildiğince en yakınında konumlandırılmaktaydı. Yerleşimcilerine görsel, estetik ve fonksiyonel bakımdan yaşanabilir bir kent sunmak şehir plancıların/mimarların işiydi. Kentler, toplumu yapılandıran ve ona ahenk veren güçlü ve temel bir araç olarak yönetim politikası paralelinde yapılandırılıyordu. Kentteki mekanlar ve mekanlardaki etkinlikler halkın, kentlerini benimsemelerini sağlayacak biçimde tasarlanmaktaydı. Öncelikle önemli olan tüm kişisel ve toplumsal ihtiyaçların mimaride karşılığını bulmasıydı. Rhodiapolis'teki Roma Dönemi şehirciliği de her türlü elverişsiz koşulda bile yaşanabilir görsel değeri olan bir kentin yüksek limitlerini ve güçlü eğilimini göstermektedir. Mimarinin ve planlamanın karşısındaki zor topografik ve morfolojik koşullarının direnci dönemin yerel ustalığıyla ve Roma Dönemi'nde olağanüstü gelişmiş olan inşaat ve malzeme mühendisliğiyle çözülmüştür. Arazi zorluklarına sahip olan Rhodiapolis'te de istenen düzende akslar oluşturulamamış olsa da araziye göre en uygun, kullanılabılır ve etkileyici bir yerleşim planlanmış ve

uygulanmıştır. Sonraki eklerde ve revizyonlarda bile, olabildiğince bu kaygıyla davranılmıştır. Rhodiapolis kent merkezindeki sebasteion, asklepeion, iki katlı stoa ve Opramoas stoasının sütunlardan oluşan zengin cephesel yapısallığı yerleşim merkezinde olağanüstü yoğunlukta ve nitelikte estetik kamu alanları yaratmıştır. Roma tarzında yerleşim kurma isteği ve seçimi hem dönemin dominant şehircilik ve mimari geleneğinden hem de Opramoas gibi yerel iktidar sahiplerinin Roma'nın gücünden yararlanma ve Romalılaşıma isteklerinden de kaynaklanıyordu. Kentlerin önde gelen yurttaşları halkın takdirini kazanmak ve önemli kamu görevleri almak için yarışıyorlardı. Bunun yanında kentler arasında da onur ünvanları elde etmek için de bir yarış vardı. Kentlerin oluşum ve gelişim süreçleri çoğu zaman, az sayıda, kültürlü ve seçkin sınıfa dayanıyordu. Dolayısıyla seçkinlerin yaşadıkları iniş çıkışlar çoğunlukla kentlerin kaderine de yansıyordu.

Bizans Dönemi için söylenmesi gereken ilk şey, Roma Dönemi şehri üzerine ve Roma yapılarından yararlanılarak daha küçük, yeni dinin ve dönemin yerel formatlarıyla biçimlenen yeni bir yerleşimin geliştirildiğidir. Roma benzeri kamu yapıları bulunmayan kilise merkezli bir yerleşim iki dönem arasındaki en büyük farktır. Anadolu'nun hemen tüm batısındaki kutsal alanlarda görülen pagan-Hıristiyan transformasyonu Rhodiapolis'te de kendi çapında gerçekleşmiştir. Bu dönemde artık kilise kamu yönetiminin merkezinde yer alan ve diğer sosyal ve ekonomik fonksiyonların bu merkezden yürütüldüğü rastlantısal gelişen bir yerleşim dokusunun odağını oluşturan bir kent yapısını biçimlendirmiştir. Bizans Dönemi için en belirleyici alan kastronun çevrelediği kilise ve çevresindeki yapılardır. İ.S. 11. yy. sonrasında bölgeye gelmiş olan Türklerin Rhodiapolis tepesine yerleşmiş olabilecekleri konusunda herhangi bir iz bulunmamaktadır. Bizans sonrasına ilişkin ele geçen tek bulgu olan 1322 tarihli Hamitoğulları sikkesinin de buraya nasıl geldiği bilinmemektedir. Selçuklular Dönemi'nde İğdir, Osmanlılar Dönemi'nde Teke Sancağına bağlı İğdir Nahiyesi, İğdir maa Kardıç Kazası olarak bilinen Kumluca'yı, 1158 yılında Elmalı'yı ele geçirip sahile inen Selçuklu beyleri ve 1393 yılında Teke'ye egemen olan Osmanlılar yeniden iskan etmişlerdir. Türklerin varlığı konusunda 1842 yılında kente gelen Spratt ve Forbes'in gözlemleri eldeki en önemli erken bilimsel kayıttır. Bu kaynakta *"Rhodiapolis tepesinin eteğinde Pazar olarak kurulan Hacıveliler adlı yerde bir sıra kulübe, Yörük çadırları ve bir demirci dükkanından oluşan küçük bir köyden"* bahsedilmektedir. Türkler Kumluca düzlüğüne yerleşmişlerdir. Ve bu yerleşenler, 1952'de Bean'in gördüğü gibi *"kamyonlarla antik taşları kendi yapılarını yapmak için taşımışlardır"*.

Sonuç olarak, Rhodiapolis, Likya siyasal coğrafyasındaki elverişsiz konumu, şehirlerarası yolun ana güzergahında bulunmaması ve doğal su kaynaklarının eksikliği yanında nüfusun azlığı nedeniyle yeterince gelişememiş ve orta ölçekli bir kent olabilmıştır. Kentin en parlak döneminin 2. yy. olmasında, ünlü bir zengin ve hayırsever olan Opramoas ve ailesinin ve de Herakleitos gibi diğer aristokratların bu dönemde yaşamış olmaları gerçeği yatmaktadır. Susuz yerleşimi geliştirebilmek ve yaşatabilmek için çok başarılı sarnıç-teras modeliyle ve sıkı organik bağlantılarla ilişkilendirilmiş yapıların oluşturduğu kompakt bir kent geliştirilmiştir. Bu özgün karakteriyle, Anadolu'daki Roma Dönemi antik kentleri içerisinde farklı ve özel bir şehircilik örneği göstermektedir. En önemlisi de yerleşimin korunmuşluğu yanında, yüzeyden okunabilirlik oranının ve önemli alanların yüksek oranda kazılmış olması Likya kentleri içerisinde yeterince bulamadığımız bir şans en iyisiyle vermekte ve özellikle Roma Dönemi'nde bir Likya kentinin yapısını neredeyse tamamına yakın anlama şansı vermektedir.

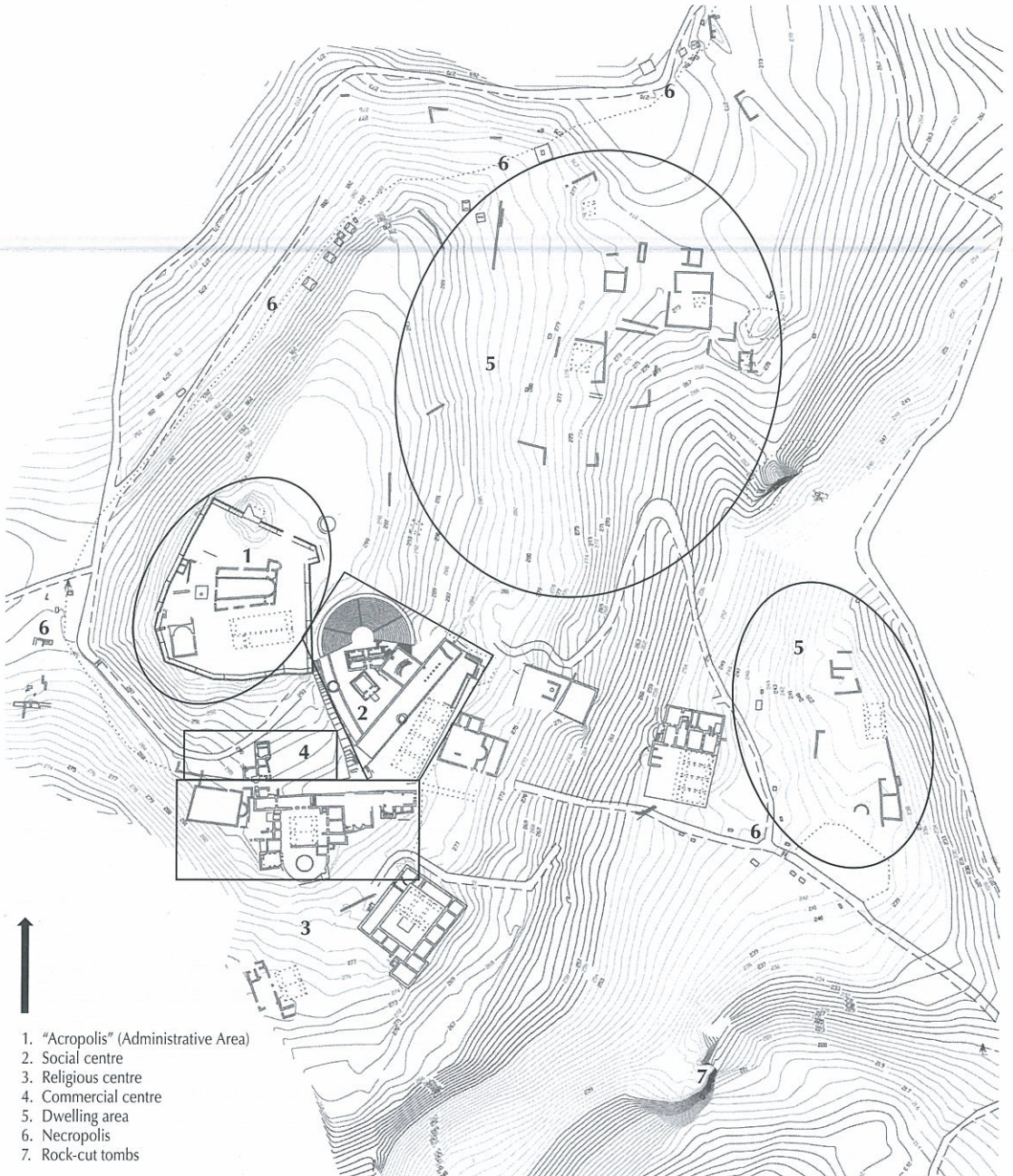


Fig. 1 Areas of the city where the buildings with similar functions are clustered

1. Cistern
2. Basilica- Church
3. Episcopal Residence
4. Castron
5. Roman Building?
6. Cenotaph/Byzantine tower
7. Hellenistic Cistern
8. Temple
9. Theatre
10. Opramoas ' Tomb
11. Opramoas' Stoa
12. Meeting Hall
13. Two - storey Stoa
14. Agora
15. Exedra
16. Prytaneion ?
17. Sebasteion
18. Ancestors Cult Hall
19. Asklepeion
20. Round Temple
21. Library
22. Shop-Workshop?
23. Multi - storey building
24. G Building
25. SW Building
26. Temple of Asclepeios
27. West Building/Church
28. West gate of the city
29. Villas
30. Large Bathhouse
31. Sarcophagi
32. Rock-cut tombs
33. Dwellings
34. Chamber tombs
35. Small Bathhouse
36. Quarry
37. Chamosoria
38. Roman Fountain
39. Main Street/Junction
40. Theatre street
41. Temple?
42. Restaurant
43. Byzantine stepped street



E.Akalin

Fig. 2 City plan of Rhodiapolis



Fig. 3
Aerial photo from N



Fig. 4
Aerial photo from W



Fig. 5
Aerial photo from NE



Fig. 6
General view
from S

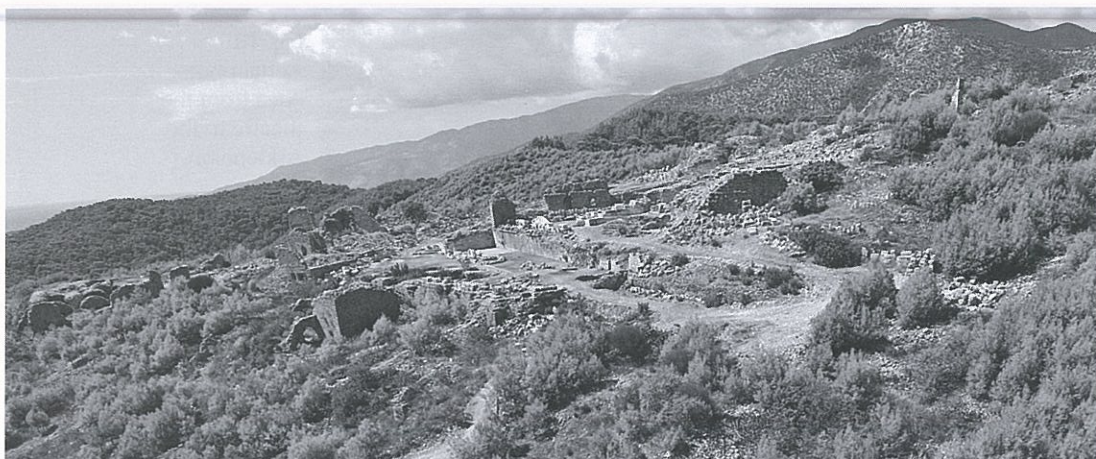


Fig. 7
General view
from E

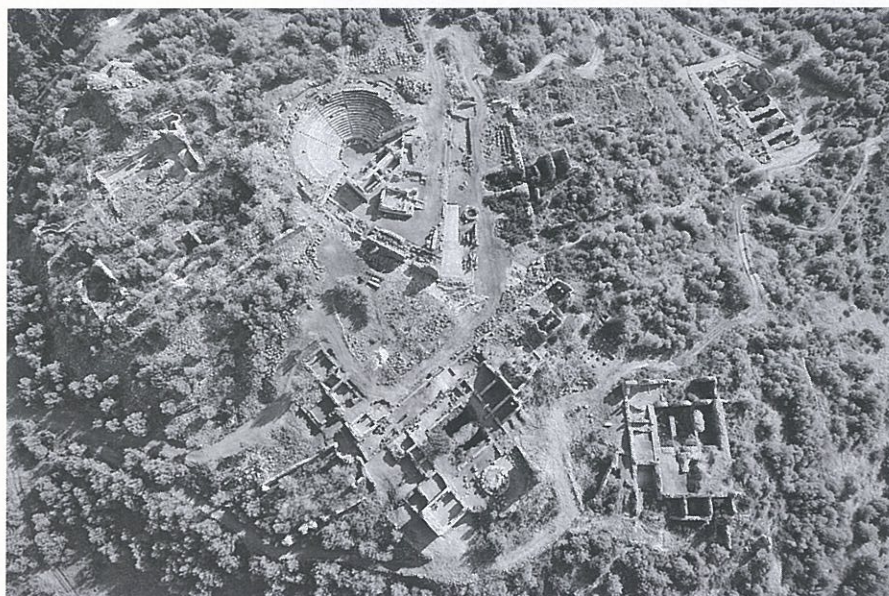


Fig. 8
Aerial photo.
Entire city

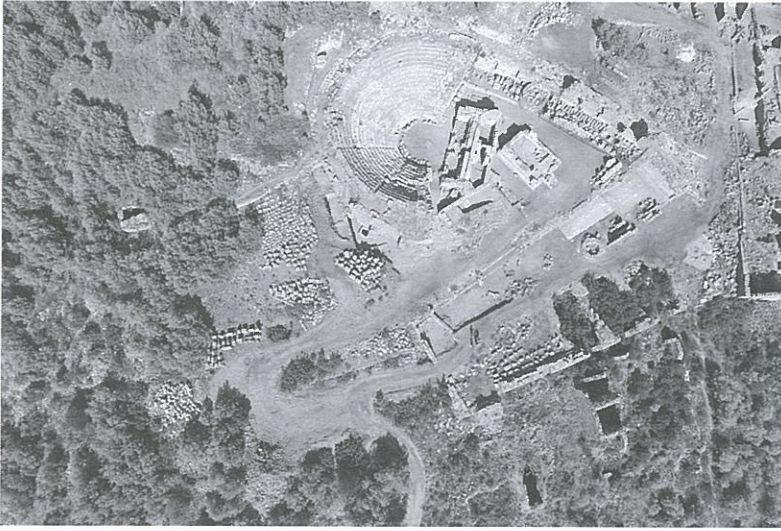


Fig. 9
Aerial photo.
City centre



Fig. 10
Aerial photo.
Area from the
theatre to the
Asklepeion



Fig. 11
Aerial photo.
Acropolis



Fig. 12
Aerial photo.
Religious area



Fig. 13
Aerial photo.
Asklepieion
and sebasteion



Fig. 14
View from the street
junction to the stoas
and theatre



Fig. 15
View of the main
street from E

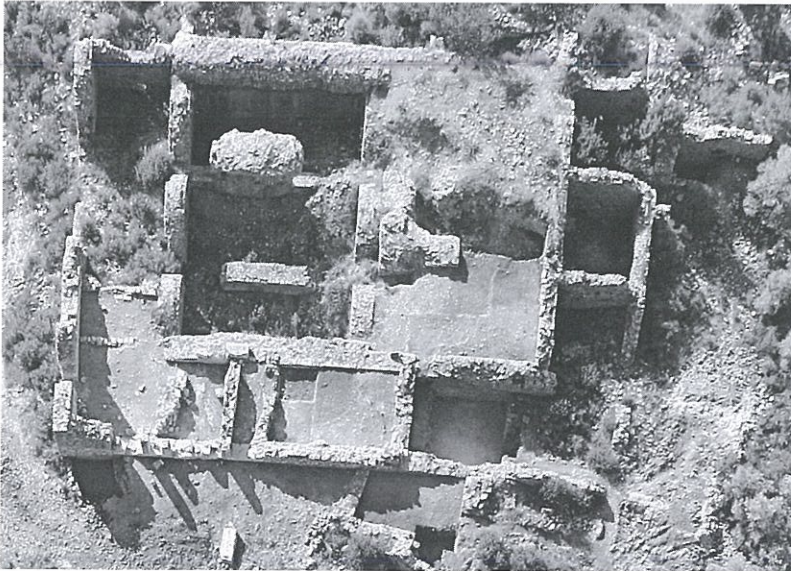


Fig. 16
Aerial photo.
Building Complex G



Fig. 17
Cisterns under the
Building Complex G



Fig. 18 View of the palaestra of the large baths from N



Fig. 19 W-E section of a proposed restitution of the city