

ROMANIZATION OF LYCIA FROM AN ARCHITECTURAL AND URBAN PERSPECTIVE (1)

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1. This paper is based on the author's Ph.D. dissertation, titled "Lycia and Rome. An Architectural Encounter" (Kalinbayrak Ercan 2018), which was completed under the supervision of Prof. Dr. Suna Güven in the Department of Architectural History at Middle East Technical University.

INTRODUCTION

Located on the southwest coast of Asia Minor, the historical region of Lycia harbors many ancient cities containing comparatively well-preserved architectural and urban remains from various periods (**Figure 1**). Despite having material traces of prehistoric activity in the region and Bronze Age epigraphy mentioning the cities (Becks, 2016; Bryce, 1986), early traces of settlements with discernible architectural and urban patterns are currently dated to the Late Archaic Period. The cities, which emerged mainly in central and western Lycia during this period, were occupied by the Lycians, an Anatolian civilization with a distinct culture, language, administrative system, art, architecture, and urban planning. Together with the rest of Asia Minor, Lycians were heavily influenced by the Hellenistic movement following the arrival of Alexander the Great. During this process, Lycian language was abandoned in favor of Greek and the Greek institutions like *agora* (central public space), *bouleuterion* (council houses), *prytaneion* (seat of government) and theater spread across the region. The beginning of cultural and then political encounters with the Romans as early as the third century BCE initiated Romanization in Lycia and resulted in the gradual transformation of social, cultural, architectural, and urban characteristics of the Lycian cities. During this transformation, some local architectural practices survived within the diversity inherent in Roman architecture, resulting in a unique architectural and urban harmony in Lycian cities. This paper approaches the Romanization of Lycia from an architectural perspective by examining the architectural remains dated between the Late Archaic Period and the end of the Roman Imperial Period and ponder upon how the dynamics between local and Roman architecture participated in the construction of collective identities. After a brief discussion about Romanization, the paper approaches the Romanization process of Lycia in three broad periods, determined according to the transformation of architectural and urban practices under key political and cultural turning points; and discusses how urban narratives generated by

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Figure 1. Map of Lycia
(All figures in this paper belong to the author unless stated otherwise)

2. Modern archaeological studies in Lycia began in 1950 and intensified after the 1980s. For lists of official archaeological excavations and surveys conducted between 2006-2021, see the website of the Directorate General of Cultural Assets and Museums <https://kvmgm.ktb.gov.tr/>. For a list of older studies, see Çevik (2015, 14-5). Several Lycian cities have been under intense scholarly scrutiny for several decades now, which has resulted in a wide range of publications. A large part of this scholarly corpus concerns the architectural remains in city centers, which enables an examination of architectural continuities and changes in the Lycian cities along the centuries, even though the level of accessibility of information collected from each city is not equal. Field surveys were conducted in Lycia by the author in 2014 and 2016 for on-site observations and photographing the architectural remains.

the movement of people within the built environment contributed to the construction of collective identities. By combining published information with the author's on-site studies in the Lycian cities, this paper offers a holistic understanding of the Romanization of Lycia from the perspective of architectural history (2).

ON ROMANIZATION

Romanization, by and large, corresponds to the cultural interactions that occurred between the Romans and the natives under Roman rule. The concept was theoretically developed by Theodor Mommsen (1899) and coined by his pupil Francis John Haverfield (1905-1906), both of whom were classical historians and archaeologists. Their work mainly promoted the idea that Rome deliberately spread Roman culture and identity in conquered lands so that indigenous societies could rise from barbarism to civilization. With the development of post-modern and post-colonial discourses in the second half of the 20th century, scholars began to question the imperialist connotations of the concept, and to dwell upon the participation of the natives in the process of cultural transformation. The popular nativist approach argued that the native elites, who desired to be a part of the imperial system, were the driving force behind the cultural changes (Millet, 1990).

The nature of Roman culture and identity also came under scrutiny. Studies in Roman Italy have shown that Roman culture contained regional diversities and plurality, in contrast to the conventional idea that it was a static and homogeneous entity (Freeman, 1993; Keay and Terrenato, 2001). Woolf (1997, 341, 347) describes Roman imperial culture as "a structured system of differences" that varied depending on various criteria such as province, region and social status, and was inclusive and expanding like an "organism that metabolizes other matter and is itself transformed by what it feeds on". As for identity, the supposedly monolithic, fixed, and opposed terms of "Roman" and "native", began to be considered fluid (Revell, 2009, 5-10). Freeman (1993, 444) argues that the acquirement of a material identified as Roman is not simply or necessarily an indication of the acquisition of or desire for Roman identity. Instead, Roman identity is

3. For instance, see Price (1984) for the establishment of the imperial cult in Asia Minor; Mitchell (1993) for the cultural continuity and transformations in central Asia Minor, especially in Galatia, under the Roman rule; MacMullen (2000) for how the Roman culture was Hellenized during the Romanization of the East.

4. For instance, see MacReady and Thompson (1987) for diverse aspects of Roman architecture in the Greek provinces; Yegül (1992) for the emergence of bath-gymnasium complex in Asia Minor; Yegül and Favro (2019) for the continuity of local architectural practices and the experimental nature of Roman architecture in Asia Minor.

5. Major dynastic cities can be listed as Xanthos, Patara, Plos, Pinara, Telmessos, Myra, Limyra, Kyaneai and Phellos. Minor cities include but are not limited to Sidyma, Apollonia, Simena, Tyberissos, Zagaba, Rhodiapolis and Idebessos. Teimiussa, Apollonia, Pheoinix and Andriake were harbor settlements. Letoon and Sura were cult centers. Even though Phaselis was a major city in the period, it was not a dynastic city. For a compilation of historical settlements in Lycia, See Çevik (2015).

6. According to the recovered pottery, Lycians and Greeks had been in contact as early as the Archaic Period (Keen, 1995, 66). Athenian interest in Lycia's strategic location along the naval routes increased in the 6th century BCE that produced both hostility and alliance throughout the Classical Period. In addition to their attempts to seize the cities, Athenians were able to persuade or force the Lycians to participate in the Delian League against the Persians in the mid-5th century BCE. For Lycians and Athenians, see Keen (1995, 97-135).

claimed to be a discourse that was acquired and performed through the everyday routines, while the material culture was an instrument instead of a determinant in this process (Revell, 2009, 8-9). When considered from the perspective of architecture, the daily human movement through the architectural environment which physically, politically, and socially underwent transformation during the Romanization process, generated narratives of individual and collective identities. The encounter of the local and Roman architectural practices and daily rituals that involved the use of old and new buildings during this transformation contributed to the multiplication and diversification of these identities.

The Romanization debate discussed above has predominantly concerned the cultural transformation in the western Roman provinces until recent decades. It is mainly because the early theorists of Romanization like Mommsen and Haverfield adopted the Roman ideas that the Greeks were an already civilized society as claimed by Horace (Hor. *Epist.*, 2.1.156-7), whereas the westerners were "simple natives" who were civilized by Rome as stated by Tacitus (Tac. *Agr.*, 21). Hence, these early theorists largely ruled out the Romanization of the East due to the misapprehended conclusion that Romanization occurred among less civilized societies (Ando, 2000, 50). The growing scholarship concerning the cultural interaction between Rome and the East demonstrate that in contrast to the initial misconceptions, Eastern regions like Asia Minor were an active part of the Romanization process both as recipients and contributors (3). Considering the architectural aspects of Romanization, the merging of Greek and Roman architecture in the East, particularly in Asia Minor, greatly contributed to the formation of Roman Imperial architecture (4). Moreover, the diversity of cultural and architectural heritage on a regional scale in Asia Minor created provincial idiosyncrasies. The scholarship concerning the Romanization of the Greek East has increased in recent decades (Alcock, 1993; Woolf, 1994; Mitchell, 1993; Madsen, 2009). However, studies that particularly focus on the architectural dynamics of the Romanization process in a provincial or regional scale, are still scarce. The investigation of the Romanization of Lycia from an architectural perspective can serve as a case study that can be applied elsewhere in the Roman East.

LYCIA BEFORE BECOMING A ROMAN PROVINCE

Material evidence reveals that Lycia had been occupied since prehistoric times (Becks, 2016). Despite the scarcity of this evidence, the region seems to have had a particularly high period during the Bronze Age as Hittite, Egyptian and Ugarit texts account for the involvement of Lycia, which was then called Lukka Lands, in the political affairs of the era (Bryce, 1986). Even though old city names like Arinna (Xanthos) and Pttara (Patara) survived from that period, settlements with discernible patterns and common architectural and urban characteristics can only be traced back as far as the Late Archaic Period. The early Lycian cities located mainly in western and central Lycia were ruled with a dynastic system under a loose Persian control from the 6th century BCE onwards (5) (**Figure 1**) and had encounters with the Greeks from time to time (Keen, 1998) (6). The dynastic system involved the administration of each city by local dynasts, who were subjected to the Persian satrapy of Yaunâ.

The remains of dynastic Lycian cities are highly disturbed due to later occupations except for the better-preserved settlement at Avşar Tepesi (Zagaba) (Thomsen, 2002). By combining the fragmentary data from Lycian

cities with those from Avşar Tepesi, we can tell that the dynastic cities were walled hilltop settlements containing fortified citadels, ruler residences, houses and *necropoleis* (cemeteries) which were mostly intramural in contrast to contemporary cultures (Wurster, 1978; Thomsen, 2002; Çevik, 2015). The inner and outer fortifications were made of polygonal masonry, a common construction technique of the era (Marksteiner, 1993). Built over leveled bedrock, the houses were multi-story. The first stories were made of stone and the upper stories of less durable materials like timber and mudbrick (Thomsen, 2002, İşkan and Işık, 2005). Lycian *necropoleis* present a variety of idiosyncratic tomb types such as pillar tombs, temple-tombs, rock-cut tombs, and sarcophagi (Hüllden, 2006), showing that the Lycians were highly skilled in rock carving. While the imitation of wooden construction dominates the façades of the surviving tombs, the decorative elements of the Lycian funerary architecture in fact ranged from small details to complex sculptural decorations, which present an array of Anatolian, Ionian, Greek and Persian influence (Childs, 1978; İşkan, 2004). For instance, the Nereid monument at Xanthos is a well-known example of a dynastic period monumental tomb in Ionic temple form, richly adorned with sculptural decorations inspired from Greek and Persian artistic styles and narratives (Demargne, 1990). In addition to monumentality, Lycian funerary architecture draws attention by the intramural burial of the aristocratic class. The Nereid monument that used to stand at the southeast sector and the pillar tombs that are still at the Western *Agora* of Xanthos (**Figure 2**), are conspicuous examples of monumental tombs erected within the city walls of a dynastic city (des Courtils et al., 2015, 128).

Letoon, the federal sanctuary of Lycia under the jurisdiction of Xanthos, was used as a sacred space since at least the 6th century BCE. It was dedicated to Leto and her twins Artemis and Apollo, and had a sacred spring dedicated to Elyanas, the Lycian equivalents of Nymphs. In the late 5th or early 4th century BCE, three temples were built for each deity, most probably by the Xanthian dynast Arbinas (Le Roy, 1991). Although these temples were replaced in the Hellenistic Period, their foundations can still be observed. The remaining post holes and grooves carved into the bedrock indicate that the upper structures were made of timber, a common



Figure 2. Western *Agora* and Lycian tombs at Xanthos

construction material of the era that was imitated on the decoration of rock-cut tombs (des Courtils, 2003, 143).

Despite the scarcity of material evidence, it is possible to say that the dynastic Lycian cities were fortified hilltop settlements, a pattern commonly encountered elsewhere in Anatolia. Yet, they differed from their contemporaries, especially with their idiosyncratic funerary architecture and artistic style. These cities also lacked Greek institutions, which were adopted later and consequently led to the Hellenization of Lycia (7).

The dynastic system ended after Lycia was forced under the rule of Mausolos, the Hecatomnid ruler and the satrap of Caria, following the collapse of the Great Satraps' Revolt (366-360 BCE), an unsuccessful rebellion against the Persians that the Lycians were involved (Keen, 1998). The Persian dominion was eventually abolished by Alexander the Great. The collapse of the dynastic system was followed by the adoption of the administrative structure of *polis* (city-state), related institutions and architecture. Lycia changed hands between the Hellenistic Kingdoms until the Battle of Magnesia in 190 BCE, when Rome defeated the Seleucid King Antiochos III, the ruler of Lycia at that time (Schuler, 2016). According to the Treaty of Apamea of 181 BCE, Rome distributed the acquired territory among the allies and turned Lycia over to the Rhodians, only to set Lycia free from the oppressive Rhodian rule in 167 BCE (Pib., 21.24; Livy, *Epit.*, 37.56.5, 41.6.8-12). From then on, closer relations with the Romans were fostered.

Lycia enjoyed independence with Roman support until its annexation to Rome in 43 CE; while the Lycian League, the democratic union of the Lycian cities, gained power (8). The League demonstrated gratitude in various ways for instance officially establishing the cult of *Dea Roma* (Goddess Roma, the personification of the city of Rome) who was already worshipped in Lycia since the 3rd century BCE and founding *Rhomaia*, competitive festivals dedicated to *Dea Roma* (Schuler, 2016, 48-9). The League also dedicated a statue of *Dea Roma* to Jupiter Capitolinus and the Roman people in Rome (*CIL* 1².725). Lycia proved loyal to Rome in several instances such as withstanding Mithridates VI of Pontus and supporting Julius Caesar during the civil wars (Adak, 2002; Schuler 2016).

In the Hellenistic Period, the urban and architectural character of Lycian cities changed both physically and institutionally as they became *poleis*. Besides continuing to occupy the *acropolis* (upper city), cities either spread towards the plains or were relocated at coastal areas, growing and expanding similar to the Hellenistic cities elsewhere (Billows, 2003). Together with the newly founded settlements, the number of cities gradually increased. As the necessity for walled protection continued due to the ongoing power struggles of the Hellenistic Kingdoms over Lycia, the existing defensive systems were restored and reinforced. Greek institutions, such as *agora*, *bouleuterion* and *prytaneion* began to appear within the city walls. The earlier phases of such buildings from the Roman Period date back to the Hellenistic times, such as the commercial *agora* at Arykanda (Bayburtluoğlu, 2003, 94-7), the *prytaneion* and *bouleuterion* at Tlos (Korkut, 2015, 84-7) and the *bouleuterion* at Patara (Korkut and Grosche, 2007) (Figure 3).

Despite the absence of architectural evidence concerning the Hellenistic *gymnasion* (gymnastic school), an inscription dated to 196 BCE which was dedicated by the *neoi* (the young) to a *gymnasiarch* (supervisor of *gymnasion*)

7. Even though ancient writers claimed that certain eastern cities like Rhodiapolis, Korydalla, Gagae and Phaselis were founded by Dorians and Rhodians, no trace of colonization or Greek institutions have been discovered thus far. For a summary of these claims, see Keen (1998, 16). Yet, another group of people may have resided in eastern Lycia, because early Lycian culture can hardly be traced east of Rhodiapolis.

8. The Lycian League was the democratic union of the Lycian cities. Member cities were entitled to one to three votes depending on their sizes, which were used for decision making during the annual meetings. While there is ambiguity about why and when it was founded, the League was fully developed by the early second century BCE. For more on the foundation and operation of the League, see Str. 14.3.3; Behrwald (2000); Schuler (2016).



Figure 3. Bouleuterion at Patara

9. As listed by Farrington (1995, 123), Hellenistic epigraphy records the existence of *gymnasia* in other Lycian cities, such as Lydae, Antiphellos, Kyaneai, Tlos, Kandyba, Arneae.

10. Theaters of Antiphellos, Apollonia, Arykanda, Balbaura, Idebessos, Kadyanda, Kandyba, Kibyra, Kyaneai, Letoon, Limyra, Oenoanda, Olympos, Patara, Phaselis, Pinara, Rhodiapolis, Telmessos, Tlos are dated to the Hellenistic Period, whereas theaters of Myra and Xanthos were rebuilt in Roman times (Özdilek, 2016).

11. For these *stadia*, see Bean (1978, 44); Hülden (2008, 143) and Korkut (2015, 71-2).

12. For these temples, see Bean (1978, 94); Bayburtluoğlu (2003, 65-8); Borchhardt (1975; 79-80) and Cavalier (2012).

called Lyson who restored the *gymnasion* of Xanthos (Gauthier, 1996), hints that both the institution and the Greek social structure were already established in Lycia by the early 2nd century BCE (9). Moreover, theatres based on Greek theatre design were built in several cities in varying dimensions (10). *Stadia* (stadiums) with a short *dromos* (racecourse) and linear seating rows on one long side discovered in Bubon, Kadyanda and Tlos are also dated to this period (Figure 4) (Figure 5) (11).

The impact of Hellenistic influence on religious architecture also became prominent as Hellenistic temples were built in several cities such as Antiphellos, Arykanda, Sura and Limyra (12). This era also witnessed the refurbishing of the sanctuary of Letoon which included the replacement of the dynastic period temples of Leto, Artemis and Apollo with Hellenistic temples in Ionic, Corinthian and Doric orders respectively (Figure 6), the construction of a false grotto for the deities of the sacred spring, a theatre, a *propylon* (monumental gateway) and porticoes (des Courtils, 2009; Le Roy, 1991). The remains of the dynastic temples may have been preserved, as



Figure 4. Stadiion at Kadyanda



Figure 5. *Stadion* at Tlos



Figure 6. Temples of Apollo, Artemis and Leto at Letoon (from left to right)

relics inside the new temples as their aforementioned foundations can still be observed (des Courtils, 2003, 143).

As for the dating of the surviving Hellenistic buildings, architecture from the Early Hellenistic Period is almost limited to the city walls. Well-preserved examples of Early Hellenistic monumental architecture are two buildings from the 3rd century BCE, namely the *Ptolemaion* in Limyra (Stanzl, 2012), a round temple dedicated to Ptolemy II and his sister-wife Arsinoe and the Ionic temple of Leto in Letoon (Cavalier and des Courtils, 2013). Moreover, some theatres like the one in Kyaneai were built in the late 3rd or early 2nd century BCE (Özdilek, 2016, 282). Most remaining Hellenistic buildings introduced above, on the other hand, are so far dated after the 2nd century BCE.

It is not possible to talk about a direct Roman influence on the architecture of the Lycian cities during the Hellenistic Period. However, the developing political relations between Lycia and Rome following the events of the

Battle of Magnesia may have indirectly aided the urban and architectural development of the Lycian cities. The flourishing of Hellenistic architecture in Lycia especially after the 2nd century BCE, seems to correspond to the increasing freedom, power, and prosperity of the Lycian League after Rome released Lycia from the Rhodian rule and provided security and stability in the region. For instance, the transformation of Letoon into a Hellenistic sanctuary may have begun with the rebuilding of the temple of Leto by the League following its foundation probably in the 3rd century BCE (Cavalier and des Courtils, 2013). Whereas the rest of the grand transformation and the establishment of Letoon as the federal sanctuary took place as the League gained power in the 2nd century BCE (Le Roy, 1991, 346). Similarly, the increase in the number of theatres after the 2nd century BCE can be associated with the need for venues for the assembly of city councils and the meetings of the gradually strengthening League, which were held in a different city each year (Str. 14.3.3).

As the worship of *Dea Roma* in Lycia can be traced back as early as the 3rd century BCE (Schuler, 2016, 48-9), it is possible to say that the cultural interactions between Lycia and Rome began long before the annexation. However, the reflections of these interactions became more pronounced with the beginning of the Principate, when the imperial imagery and iconography which were developed in Rome as a part of the ideological and constitutional foundation of the Empire under the Augustan Cultural Revolution infiltrated major and minor Lycian cities and sanctuaries (Zanker, 1983). For instance, the portrait of Augustus was minted on the coinage of the Lycian League (İplikçioğlu, 2016, 62), and an imperial temple was dedicated to him in Oenoanda in 27 BCE (IGR III 482). The temple was built shortly after the establishment of the imperial cult by the provinces of Asia and Bithynia in 30/29 BCE (Price, 1984). The cult of the emperor and the statues of the imperial family were installed in a special room called the *ethnikon Kaisareion* in Letoon (Davesne, 2000, 624-6), which indicates the acknowledgment of the imperial cult within the local pantheon. In time, the cults of the imperial family members such as Livia, Gaius Caesar and Germanicus were also established (Şahin, 2014, 53), and a monumental Cenotaph inspired by Augustan art in Rome was built for Gaius Caesar in Limyra where he died.

As the material evidence suggests, Lycian cities came from a deeply rooted Anatolian culture, which included idiosyncratic architectural and urban practices. By the time Lycia became a Roman province, Lycian cities were already Hellenistic *poleis*, equipped with necessary institutions and architectural infrastructure. They also displayed the continuity of some dynastic architectural and urban practices, such as the occupation of old settlements and sanctuaries, renovation of existing city walls and preservation of dynastic tombs within the growing city centers. Lycians were familiar with Roman culture before becoming a Roman province, to the extent of becoming a part of the provincial culture being newly established during the early Principate concurrently with the Roman provinces. Adoption of Roman culture in Lycia may have been stimulated by the enforcement and encouragement strategies of Rome and/or by the voluntary or obligatory participation of the Lycians. It is possible to say that political motivations that concerned maintaining good relations with Rome was a driving force in the first phase of Romanization.

LYCIA AS A ROMAN PROVINCE

Almost seventy-five years of the relative independence of Lycia under Roman support ended in 43 CE, when Emperor Claudius annexed and declared Lycia a Roman province. The reason for the annexation is recorded as an internal dispute which allegedly claimed the lives of Roman citizens (Suet. *Claud.*, 25; Cass. Dio, 60.17) (13). Becoming a province was far from a smooth transition as the inscription on the Monument of Roads which was erected in Patara in 46 CE declares how Claudius restored order in the supposedly chaotic region (Onur, 2016). The Lycian League survived the annexation, but its mode of operation was adapted to fit into the Roman administrative system (Behrwald, 2000).

As stated in the previous section, Roman architecture did not have a considerable impact on Lycian architecture before the annexation. This changed shortly after the constitution of the province of Lycia when a series of architectural and technical works were launched under imperial order, supervision and/or contribution.

To begin with, the existing road network of Lycia was measured and repaired by the imperial legate Quintus Veranius, on the orders of Emperor Claudius (Şahin, 2014; Onur, 2016). A monumental pillar referred as *Stadiasmus Patarensis* or the Monument of Roads in modern scholarship, was erected in the harbor area of Patara in 46 CE and inscribed with the distances between most of the cities (Şahin, 2014; Onur, 2016). This suggests that the inspection of roads was mostly finished in three years after the annexation. The swift measurement of roads and the erection of the Monument to propagate the imperial work shortly after the annexation indicate that Claudius put a special emphasis on land communication throughout Lycia, probably for the establishment of military control over the region through the secured road network (Şahin, 2014, 21-5).

The waterworks of Lycian cities were also improved shortly after the annexation. One of the earliest hydraulic projects is the Patara aqueduct. Its dedicatory inscription is explanatory (İşkan Işık et al., 2008, 115-8). The project was begun by Vilius Flaccus (48-50 CE) and finished by his successor Eprius Marcellus (50-55 CE), two legates of Claudius. After being damaged by earthquakes, the aqueduct was repaired by Sextus Marcius Priscus, the provincial governor under the rule of Emperor Vespasian. The cost was partly paid by the funds of the Lycian League and partly by the tax money remitted by the emperor. Whether granted by the emperor out of generosity or in response to the requests of the city or the League, the imperial benefaction of tax remission can be interpreted as the willing participation of the emperor in the improvement of the infrastructure of Patara. Starting from Bodamya (İslamlar village), the 22.5 km long aqueduct, consisted of terracotta and stone pipes which were supported by embankments, walls, and arches (İşkan and Baykan, 2013). A technically important part of this aqueduct is the inverted siphon at Delikkemer, which was made of a row of hollowed limestones carried over a traditionally built massive polygonal masonry wall (Figure 7) (Figure 8). The Flavian Period saw the construction of more aqueducts in other Lycian cities such as Oenoanda and Balboura (Stenton and Coulton, 1986; Coulton, 1987) (14). The number of aqueducts increased throughout Lycia in the following centuries.

13. Another reason given by Bennett (2011) is the need to provide a new source of tax collection for supporting the ailing financial status of the Empire.

14. The aqueduct in Oenoanda had an inverted siphon built of hollow stone blocks similar to Delikkemer siphon (Stenton and Coulton, 1986).

It would be unsatisfactory to explain the abrupt need for more water after annexation only with a rapid increase in population or insufficiency of



Figure 7. Delikkemer inverted siphon of the Patara aqueduct



Figure 8. Polygonal wall supporting the Delikkemer inverted siphon

close water sources since Lycian cities had procured their water without aqueducts for centuries. Rather, it is possible to associate this need with the changes in daily life, particularly with the introduction of Roman bathing habits, a cornerstone of Roman culture. A vast amount of clean water had to be supplied to the cities due to high water consumption in the baths. The earliest datable bath building is found in Patara (**Figure 9**) (**Figure 10**) and dated to the time of Nero; whose name was later replaced by that of Vespasian in the dedicatory inscription (Eck, 2008). Similar to the restoration of the Patara aqueduct, the construction of the building, now called Nero/Vespasian baths, was supervised by Sextus Marcius Priscus and funded both by the League and imperial benefaction (Eck, 2008). The baths may have been planned together with or shortly after the aqueduct, suggesting that both building types were introduced to Lycia almost concomitantly following the annexation.

Modest in size compared to the monumental baths of Asia Minor and Rome, the Nero/Vespasian baths consisted of three rectangular rooms



Figure 9. Nero/Vespasian baths at Patara

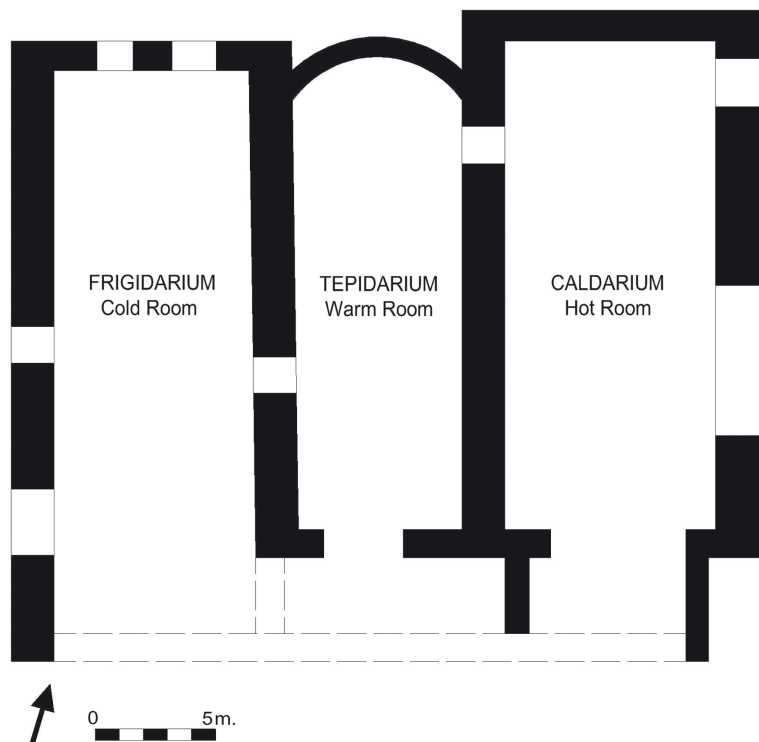


Figure 10. The plan of Nero/Vespasian baths at Patara (adapted from Gülşen, 2007, 462, Figure 3)

arranged in a row (Figure 9) (Figure 10). Row arrangement later became a common feature of bath buildings all over Lycia. The sharp contrasts between the bath layout in Lycian cities and the other parts of Asia Minor suggest that the row arrangement was not inspired by the neighboring regions (Farrington, 1995, 44-9) (15). Instead, it originated from an early type of Roman baths developed in the Republican Period, known as the “Pompeian/Campanian” type, which may have been brought to Lycia directly from Italy by the imperial authorities (Farrington, 1995, 48). Lycian baths display an architectural uniformity also by their average size, which was determined by land constraints, irregular topography and use of

15. For more on the architecture of bath-gymnasium buildings in Asia Minor, see Yegül (1992).

local material in the form of coursed or polygonal masonry. According to Farrington (1995, 80), the use of polygonal masonry for the load-bearing walls of free-standing buildings is unique to Lycia. The polygonal masonry which was probably utilized due to its quick production process and convenience it offered to the local masons who were already skilled in the technique, can be observed in other buildings dated to the Roman times, such as the Small Baths of Patara, the baths of Vespasian at Kadyanda, the baths of Antoninus Pius at Kyaneai, the granary of Hadrian at Andriake and the lighthouse of Patara (Farrington, 1995, 80-6). In light of the current lack of any Hellenistic predecessors; aqueducts, hot bathing habits and the row arrangement plan type of the baths seem to have been introduced to Lycia by the Romans in the early decades of the provincial period. In fact the choice of building size, material and construction technique reflect regional needs and local practices and preferences.

Lastly, Claudius reinforced emperor worshiping in the new province shortly after the annexation. Besides allowing the cities to honor him as a god (Şahin, 2014, 74-6), Claudius rebuilt the *ethnikon Kaisareion* at Letoon which had previously been destroyed by fire (Davesne, 2000, 626-8). Even though emperor worship was already institutionalized and routinized by Claudius' time as a way of communication between Rome and the provinces (Price, 1984, 57), the emperor underlined the worship of the imperial cult in the newly established province by restoring its place in Letoon and thus its status within the local pantheon. Moreover, a *sebasteion* (imperial cult building) built in Sidyma in his reign by the governor Quintus Veranius was dedicated to the *Theoi Soteres Sebastoi*, the Savior Gods the Emperors, as a celebration of the divinity of both the reigning and the past emperors, and thus the perpetuity of the empire (Price, 1984, 263). Building the *sebasteion* in the form of a Roman podium temple also signifies a conscious choice for imperial propaganda.

A significant change in the dynamics of cultural relations between Lycia and Rome can be observed following the annexation. After becoming a province, the imperial interventions in military, social and religious settings in the form of measurement, construction and repairing of roads, introduction of hot bathing and bath buildings, aqueduct construction and repair, and enhancement of the imperial cult immediately and markedly affected the daily life and urban fabric in Lycian cities. Even though the resulting architecture had a local touch, the introduction of Roman institutions and related architecture in the first decades after the annexation, especially by the incentive of the emperors and governors, connote a predominant impact of state imposition, direct transportation of Italian designs and little contact with the artistic and architectural styles of the surrounding regions.

LYCIA AFTER THE SECOND CENTURY CE

In the early decades of the 2nd century CE, imperial contributions in the urban development of Lycian cities slowly diminished and were surpassed by *euergetism* (elite benefaction) (16). Increased prosperity under *Pax Romana* (the Roman peace brought by Augustus), desire of the elite for more visibility in public and taking part both in local and Roman administrative systems, visits of Emperor Hadrian to Asia Minor and devastations caused by natural disasters like earthquakes contributed highly to the proliferation of elite benefaction during this time in Asia Minor in general and in Lycia in particular. The investment of numerous

16. *Euergetism* was the benefaction of the elite who voluntarily used their wealth in the service of community benefit in antiquity. Having become common in Hellenistic times and increasingly proliferated during the Roman Imperial Period, *euergetism* came to be practiced in *poleis* as a mode of economy all over the empire. The increase in the number of euergetic inscriptions in Asia Minor in the 1st and 2nd century CE testify for a boost in benefactions during this period (Zuiderhoek, 2009).

benefactors in architecture, an increasing mode of visual and perpetual benefaction for self-promotion, propelled the reshaping of the urban fabric (Kalinbayrak Ercan, 2011). The impact of Roman architecture became more prominent and substantial in the architectural and urban characteristics of the Lycian cities in this period.

Following the endorsement of the emperor worship by Claudius, the number of *sebasteia* increased in several cities in the following centuries. The *Sebasteion* at Bubon, *Sebasteion* and *Traianum* at Arykanda and *Hadrianeum* at Rhodiapolis can be given as well-preserved examples (Figure 11) (Figure 12). Epigraphic records indicate that Patara, Akalissos, and Oenoanda received the honorific title of *neokoros*, the permit to organize imperial festivals and build a provincial imperial temple, although no trace of temples has been discovered thus far (Burrell, 2004, 254-6; Milner, 2015). According to Burrell (2004, 256), minor cities like Akalissos and Oenoanda could have acquired this title only after major cities like Patara received it at least twice, which means that several



Figure 11. *Traianum* at Arykanda



Figure 12. *Hadrianeum* at Rhodiapolis

other Lycian cities may also have received the honor. The *neokorate* only pertained to the Roman provinces in Asia Minor and was a privilege that provoked competition among provinces and cities (Burrell, 2004; Price, 1984). Ostensibly, Lycian cities were participants of this rivalry.

The exhibition of the emperor's god-like status through *sebasteia* which were placed in prominent locations within the city centers, became an important medium for the urban representation of the emperor's authority. In addition, the presence and power of the emperor and the empire were incorporated into the daily lives of the Lycians through an empire-wide standardized iconography and symbolism which manifested in various forms like statues representing the emperor and the imperial family and inscriptions mentioning their names and deeds. These were displayed in public spaces, including *agorae*, colonnaded streets, *scaenae frontes* (stage buildings), and on façades and interiors of public buildings. Constant exposure to these displays in the urban context consciously and sub-consciously reminded the inhabitants to reiterate and justify imperial ideology and power (Revell, 2009).

Another impact of Roman architecture on a religious context is the introduction of the Roman podium temple. The earliest example currently stands as the *sebasteion* at Sidyma, suggesting that the building type first entered Lycia with the annexation. Like the rest of Asia Minor, this temple form became common in the region. The well-preserved examples include the Corinthian temple at Patara, the temple of Kronos at Tlos, and the temple of Asklepios and Hygieia at Rhodiapolis, all dated to the 2nd century CE (Figure 13) (Figure 14) (Figure 15). Among them, the temple at Rhodiapolis which was also dedicated to the *Sebasteoi* (emperors), was built by Herakleitos, a physician, poet, and writer of medical works (TAM II 910) (Figure 15). Approximately in the same period, the form of this temple type began to be utilized for temple-tombs by wealthy citizens. Apart from their monumentality, many of the surviving temple-tombs stand out for having been built within the settlement areas. Even though the intramural burial of heroic figures was acknowledged in Greek and Roman societies, it was prohibited for ordinary people. Yet, the Lycian elite seems to have



Figure 13. Corinthian temple at Patara



Figure 14. Temple of Kronos at Tlos



Figure 15. Temple of Asklepios and Hygieia at Rhodiapolis

continued the early Lycian tradition of the burial of the aristocratic class within the city, replacing the architectural form of the Greek temple with that of the Roman podium temple (Işık, 1995). The temple-tomb of Opramoas, a great benefactor of the 2nd century CE, built inside the *agora* of Rhodiapolis, stands out as a striking example of this tradition (Figure 16) (Çevik, 2015, 434-6). Moreover, the intramural temple-tombs at Patara, mostly dated to the 3rd century CE, draw attention with their increased dimensions and elaborate decorations (Işık, 1995).

Another Roman religious building type appropriated in Lycia is the theater-temple, a building complex with a temple axially placed on the upper *cavea* (semicircular seating rows) of a theatre, facing the orchestra and the stage building. Originated from the Theater of Pompey at Rome (Hanson, 1959), theater-temple became a recurrent form in the Western provinces, especially in Africa. The only examples in Asia Minor are so far in Patara and Tlos, where temples are later additions to the Hellenistic theaters. According to its dedicatory inscription, the temple at Patara



Figure 16. *Agora* of Rhodiapolis and the temple-tomb of Opramoas

theater was financed in Hadrianic times by Tiberius Claudius Flavianus Eudemus, a wealthy local (Piesker and Ganzert, 2012, 219-25). The rarity of this building type in the East suggests that it took inspiration from the west.

Agora, a Greek institution which used to be associated with democracy (Sennett, 1998, 17-8), remained as the civic and commercial center of a Lycian city; instead of the adoption of *forum*, the Roman institution that represented Roman power through the visual imperial imagery that was established during the reign of Augustus (Zanker, 1983, 79-82). The existing Hellenistic *agorae* continued to be used with repairs and additions and new *agorae* were built when necessary. The key buildings from the Hellenistic repertoire, namely theatre, *bouleuterion*, *stoa* and *prytaneion* remained as the essential public buildings within the *agora* proper. Yet, the restoration of old buildings or the construction of new ones largely followed Roman design principles, stylistic concepts, and a combination of local and Roman construction techniques. Moreover, the imperial authority was included within the *agora* through the addition of *sebasteia* or the representations of the emperor and the empire. For instance, the commercial *agora* of Arykanda and its surroundings remained almost in their Hellenistic configuration except for the addition of the *Sebasteion* (Bayburtluoğlu, 2003, 86-97; Sancaktar, 2016, 61-7). Occasionally, some cities experimented with other Roman building types, such as the civil basilica at the Northern/Upper *Agora* at Xanthos. The planning layout of new *agorae* remained idiosyncratic, reflecting local preferences or restrictions. For instance, the *agora* of Rhodiapolis dating back to Roman times, except for the Hellenistic theatre, was built in an organic, asymmetrical, and compact organization due to topographical restrictions (Figure 16). However, all three *agorae* at Xanthos, the Western, Northern/Upper and Southern/Lower *agorae*, were built on flat plains which allowed an orthogonal design and peristyle enclosure (Figure 2). Moreover, the Tetragonal *Agora* at Phaselis which was dedicated to Emperor Hadrian by a woman called Tyndaris was in the form of an enclosed square (TAM II 1194) (Figure 17). In brief, the *agora* continued to be a public space for a range of public activities in Lycian cities, but the presence of Roman rule and architecture permanently



Figure 17. Tetragonal Agora at Phaselis

modified the spatial, social, and political dynamics within the Lycian *agorae*.

Theatres and *stadia* were the primary building types for large-scale performances both in Hellenistic and Roman times. However, theatres underwent significant physical modifications especially after the 2nd century CE, because of both the growing influence of Roman culture and architecture and the damages caused by the earthquake of 141/142 CE. Though not applied systematically to every theatre, modifications included increasing the seating capacity by building an upper *cavea*, replacing Hellenistic *proskenion* (stage) with Roman *scaenae frontes*, connecting the *cavea* and the stage building with vaulted *parodoi* (entrance) and turning the orchestra into an arena for hosting Roman gladiatorial games and beast hunts (Özdilek, 2016) (Figure 18) (Figure 19) (Figure 20). There is also evidence that the orchestra of the theatre of Myra was filled with water for mock naval battles (Özdilek, 2016, 229-30) (Figure 18). These modifications are in tune with the transformation of theaters in the rest of the Graeco-Roman world (Bieber, 1961, 213-20). The lack of amphitheatres in Lycia, on the other hand, indicates that, like many other Greek cities, the building type was rejected in Lycia (17), and the Roman games were accommodated in theatres with modified orchestras in major Lycian cities like Tlos, Myra, Patara and Xanthos (Figure 18) (Figure 19) (Figure 20). The existing Hellenistic *stadia* do not present significant modifications like those observed in the theatres. However, a new *stadion* was built in Kibyra in Roman standards by the donations of Flavius Kapiton and his cousin Titus Flavius Ovidianus, in the late 2nd, early 3rd century CE, to be used both for athletic sports and gladiatorial games (Dökü and Kaya, 2013, 183) (Figure 21).

Water was a crucial element in Roman culture and the urbanism of Roman cities. Hence, it also played a vital role in the urban and architectural development of the Lycian cities. The abundance of water carried by newly built aqueducts and the spread of Roman hot bathing habits resulted in the proliferation of bath buildings in Lycia throughout the Roman Imperial Period. Small and medium-sized cities had at least one, while the larger cities had multiple baths operating at the same time. For instance,

17. The rejection of amphitheatres in the Eastern provinces is possibly due to its pre-established strong connotation as a symbol of Roman colonization since it was mainly built in the western colonies in the Early Imperial Period (Welch, 2007, 185).

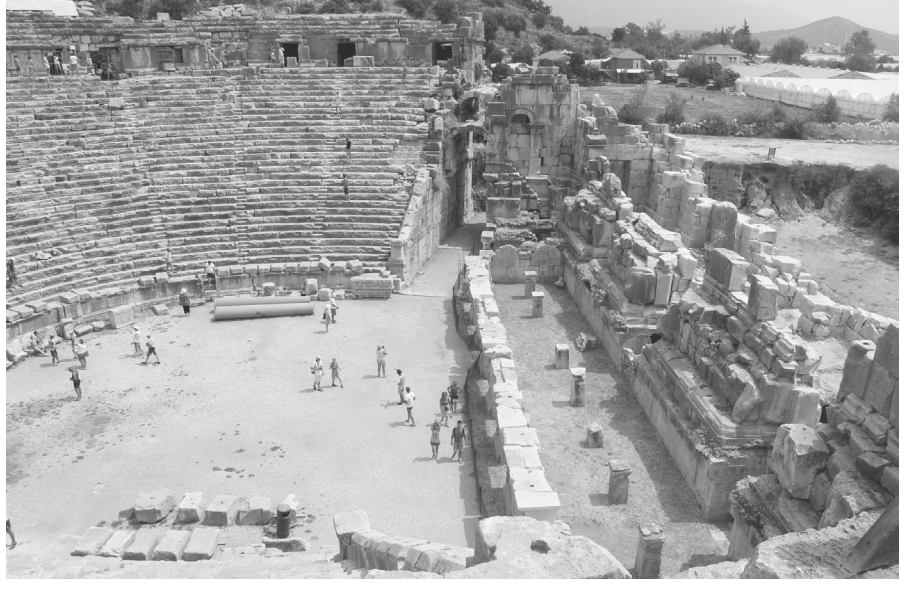


Figure 18. Theatre at Myra



Figure 19. Theatre at Patara



Figure 20. Theatre at Xanthos



Figure 21. Stadium at Kibyra

there were at least four baths in Patara, an important harbor city as well as the capital of the Lycian League during the Roman Imperial Period (Gülşen, 2007). The materials and construction techniques applied in these baths largely reflect the local architectural practices (Gülşen, 2007, 459). The constant flow of water by the aqueducts also contributed to the development of inner-city water distribution and drainage systems, the adoption of latrine culture and the construction of monumental pools and *nymphaea* (fountains). Patara had an intricate piping and drainage system that distributed the water brought by the aqueduct to the public buildings and discharged the used water (Şahin, 2015). Examples of *latrinae* (latrines), used for bodily requirements as well as relaxing and socializing in Roman culture, can be seen in Arykanda and Phaselis which are identified with the clean and wastewater channels running under the buildings (Bayburtluoğlu, 2003, 75-6; Öner, 2019). Although modest compared to the *nymphaea* with monumental theatrical façades found in other parts of Asia Minor such as Miletus and Sagalassos, the fountain complexes in the Lycian cities brought aesthetic qualities to the urban settings with their experimental character. For example, the octagonal pool at Patara was filled with the water carried by the Arch of Mettius Modestus. The arch, which was dedicated in 100 CE to C. Trebonius Mettius Modestus and his family (TAM II 421), the provincial governor of Lycia and Pamphylia, functioned both as a city gate and an extension of the aqueduct (Dündar, 2017) (Figure 22) (Figure 23).

The Lycian cities apparently experienced a proliferation in architectural production especially after the 2nd century CE. Even though main arteries and monumental public buildings of some Hellenistic cities survived and anchored older routines in their previous locations, almost all these buildings were restored, and their surroundings were reorganized with new buildings and infrastructure according to the principles of Roman architecture. In this last surge of Romanization, elite benefaction evidently steered the urban development of the Lycian cities, and the adoption of Roman architecture took the form of a more flexible assimilation. Preserving the Hellenistic building types but renovating them according to Roman architecture, adopting certain Roman building types while experimenting with or rejecting others, combining local materials and



Figure 22. Octagonal pool at Patara



Figure 23. Arch of Mettius Modestus at Patara

construction techniques with Roman technology, continuing early practices like intramural burial using Roman building types are some prominent examples of how the architecture of the period was distinctively shaped. Architectural and urban decisions made during this period demonstrate the selective adoption of Roman architectural elements, the balancing of old and new architectural practices and the creation of a provincial architectural language.

URBAN NARRATIVES AND COLLECTIVE IDENTITIES

Lycian cities underwent dramatic physical changes in Roman times. Yet, in the end, the Roman cities of Lycia were composed of dynastic, Hellenistic, and Roman architectural elements which were all blended within the flexible and collective nature of Roman architecture. The resulting architectural and urban development was an organic yet conscious growth that allowed all the old and new buildings to function together by means of a network of connections, thus forming an urban armature. Introduced

by Macdonald (1988), the “armature” of a Roman city organized and facilitated the movement of the inhabitants within the urban fabric through physical infrastructures like thoroughfares, streets, squares and landmarks, visual connections like similar architectural forms and classical orders, and symbolic means of communications like inscriptions and statues installed in public spaces. The Roman architectural elements within the armature formally, visually, and symbolically linked all the Roman cities with each other, while local heritage gave each city an idiosyncratic nature. With the internalization of Roman architecture, the Lycian cities synchronized with other Roman cities while preserving their idiosyncrasy through the surviving local architecture. For instance, the presence of dynastic tombs inside the Western *Agora* of Xanthos (**Figure 2**), or the execution of polygonal masonry in the construction of Roman baths can be considered as the manifestations of this interaction.

The daily movement of people along the armature gave life to the Roman cities. In MacDonald’s (1988, 268-9) words: “because the town had goals, places with things people wanted, and because those goals were fixed, people had to supply movement. As they moved, towns multiple narratives came to life.” As the number of goals increased, the narratives multiplied. In Lycian cities, the addition of Roman amenities brought about new narratives, while the survival of dynastic and Hellenistic architectural heritage kept the old narratives and the memory of the past alive.

As stated by Revel (2009, 8), identity is reproduced through the repeated engagement with material culture. The constant generation of urban narratives within the built environment of Lycian cities involved a wide possibility of interactions with Roman architecture which encompassed dynastic and Hellenistic heritage. These interactions resulted on a range of collective identities in regional scale, in addition to individual identities on a micro scale.

Considering the representations of being Roman in Lycia from an architectural perspective, three main collective identities come to the forefront. First, the constant performance of Roman religious, social and cultural practices within the architecturally and symbolically reorganized Roman urban fabric resulted in the construction of Roman identity. Second, the utilization of a common architectural and urban language with the rest of the empire contributed to the generation of imperial identity. Lastly, the blending of the preserved architecture from the dynastic and Hellenistic periods with Roman architecture made possible the emergence of provincial identity.

CONCLUSION

The varying nature of cultural interactions between Lycians and Romans indicates that the Romanization process of Lycia was a dynamic, cumulative, and manifold dialogue which began long before the annexation of Lycia by the Romans and lasted for centuries. Examined in three broad periods divided according to the manifestation of architectural material, this dialogue was multi-layered and took different forms in varying socio-political contexts, including the impositions, interventions, and encouragements of the Romans and the voluntary, obligatory, or emulative participation of the Lycians. The leading actors responsible for this cultural exchange and the urban transformation of the Lycian cities

included state representatives like the emperors and the imperial governors and local powers like the League and the elite.

Romanization, “a multivalent construction of mutual exchanges [that is] firmly rooted in the process of urbanization” (Yegül and Favro, 2019, 3), manifested itself strongly in architecture and urbanism in Lycia, as the cities were reorganized according to Roman architecture and urban principles. The flexible and inclusionary nature of Roman architecture allowed for the harmony of continuity and change. The preservation of dynastic tombs within the city centers, the application of polygonal masonry in new constructions and the continuation of Hellenistic building types can be summarized as the continuity of local architectural practices, whereas the installation of imperial imagery in public spaces, the adoption of bathing habit, the appropriation of Roman building types like bath-buildings, podium temple, theater-temple and theater stage buildings, the modification of theaters for hosting Roman games and the application of Roman technologies like the aqueducts can be given among the most apparent changes under the Roman rule.

This harmony provided the stage for the enactment of both Roman and local cultural practices and rituals. As a result, it encouraged the emergence of infinite numbers of urban narratives generated by the daily performances of Lycians from all social classes who moved within the city from one goal to another. From a communal aspect, these narratives eventually resulted in the construction of Roman, imperial, and provincial identities. In conclusion, being Roman in Lycian cities contained plurality and variety, just like the Roman architecture itself.

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ABBREVIATIONS

Cass. Dio Cassius Dio

CIL Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum

Hor. *Epist.* Horace, *Epistulae*

IGR Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes

Livy, *Epit.* Livy, *Epitomae*

Plb. Polybius, *Historicus*

Str. Strabo, *Geographus*

Suet. *Claud.* Suetonius, *Divus Claudius*

Tac. *Agr.* Tacitus, *Agricola*

TAM Tituli Asiae Minoris

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Anahtar Sözcükler: Likya; Küçük Asya;
Romalılaşma; Roma mimarisi ve şehirciliği

MİMARİ VE KENTSEL BİR BAKIŞ AÇISIYLA LİKYA'DA ROMALILAŞMA

Anadolu'nun güneybatısında yer alan tarihi bir bölge olan Likya'da bulunan antik kentler, Geç Arkaik Dönem'den itibaren Likya uygarlığı tarafından iskân edilmiş ve özgün fiziksel, sanatsal ve kültürel özellikler göstermiştir. Büyük İskender ve Hellenistik Krallıkların etkisi altında zamanla Hellenistik kültürü ve mimariyi benimseyen Likya kentleri, Roma toplumu ile karşılaşmalarının ardından yerel bazı mimari geleneklerini korumakla birlikte Roma kültürü, mimarisi ve şehirleşme anlayışına göre yeniden kentleşmiştir. Bu çalışmanın amacı, Roma mimarisi ve yerel mimari arasındaki etkileşimi irdeleyerek Likya'da gerçekleşen Romalılaşma sürecine mimari açıdan bir yorum getirmektir. Likya kentlerindeki Geç Arkaik Dönem ve Roma İmparatorluk Dönemi sonu arasına tarihlenen mimari kalıntılara bakıldığında, bu dönemler arasında gerçekleşen mimari ve kentsel değişimlerin siyasi ve kültürel olaylardan oldukça etkilendiği görülmüştür. Bu nedenle, Likya'da gerçekleşen Romalılaşma süreci mimari ve kentsel gelişmeler ışığında üç dönemde incelenmiştir: Likya'nın Roma eyaleti olmasından önceki dönem, Likya'nın Roma eyaleti oluşuyla birlikte başlayan dönem ve seçkin sınıfın banilik faaliyetlerinin arttığı milattan sonra ikinci yüzyıldan sonraki dönem. Elde edilen sonuçlara göre, Romalılaşmanın Likya ile Roma arasındaki ilişkilere sıkı sıkıya bağlı ve yüzyıllar süren çok katmanlı bir süreç olduğu; Roma yönetiminin teşvik ve dayatmalarından, yerli halkın zorunlu ve istekli katılımına kadar çok çeşitli biçimler alan karşılıklı kültürel bir etkileşimi temsil ettiği anlaşılmıştır. Son olarak, Roma mimarisinin benimsenmesinin ve yerel mimari ile harmanlanmasının kentleri değiştirmekle birlikte bu yeni yapıyı çevrelerde üretilen kentsel anlatıların ortak kimlik inşasına da katkıda bulunduğu görülmüştür.

ROMANIZATION OF LYCIA FROM AN ARCHITECTURAL AND URBAN PERSPECTIVE

The ancient cities in Lycia, a historical region on the southwest coast of Asia Minor, were inhabited by the Lycian civilization beginning with the Late Archaic Period and displayed idiosyncratic physical, artistic, and cultural characteristics. These cities later adopted Hellenistic culture and architecture under the influence of Alexander the Great and the Hellenistic Kingdoms. Following their encounter with the Romans, Lycian cities became re-urbanized according to Roman culture, architecture, and urban principles. The aim of this study is to bring an architectural perspective to the Romanization of Lycia by exploring the interaction between local and Roman architecture. Examination of the architectural remains dated between the Late Archaic Period and the end of the Roman Imperial Period reveals that the architectural and urban transformations were highly influenced by the political and cultural highlights of the period. In this respect, Romanization process of Lycia can be divided into three broad periods determined by architectural and urban developments: the period before it became a Roman province, the period after the establishment of the Roman province of Lycia and the period after the second century CE when elite benefaction proliferated. It is concluded that the Romanization of Lycia was a centuries-long process which was by its very nature tied closely to the relations between Lycia and Rome and represented a cultural interaction that took many forms including the enforcement and encouragement strategies of Rome and the voluntary or obligatory

participation of the locals. Finally, the adoption of Roman architecture and its harmony with the local architectural practices not only changed the face of the cities but the urban narratives generated in these built environments also participated in the construction of collective identities.

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