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Olympos in Lycia: A Novel Assessment of its History and Localization in Light of Recent Archaeological and Epigraphical Research

HÜSEYİN SAMİ ÖZTÜRK – ÖGÜL EMRE ÖNCÜ*

Abstract

Olympos is located on the eastern coast of Lycia, one of the ancient regions of Western Anatolia. It was one of the principal cities in the Lycian League, along with five others, and entitled to three votes. Archaeological excavations and surveys that started in 1998 and continued until today have unearthed much scientific data that illuminate the unknowns of the city and increase our knowledge of the Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine periods of Olympos. Particular examples of archaeological and epigraphic data, which will most contribute to the debate regarding the localization of Olympos in Lycia, will be discussed in this article.

Keywords: Lycia, Olympos, Corycus, Mount Musa

Öz

Olympos, güneybatı Anadolu'nun antik bölgelerinden Lykia'nın doğu sahilinde yer alır. Antik Dönem'de Lykia Birliği'nin üç oy hakkına sahip altı büyük kentinden biridir. Burada 1998 yılında başlayan ve günümüze değin kesintisiz sürdürülen arkeolojik kazı ve araştırmalar kentin bilinmezlerini aydınlatan pek çok bilimsel veriyi gün yüzüne çıkarmıştır. Bu veriler Olympos'un Hellenistik, Roma ve Bizans dönemlerine ilişkin bilgilerimizin artmasını sağlar. Bunlar arasında Hellenistik ve Roma dönemlerini kapsayan arkeolojik ve epigrafik bulguların bazıları bu yazıda bilim dünyasının ilgisine sunulacaktır. Söz konusu veriler, bu makalenin temel konusu olan Lykia Olympos'unun lokalizasyonu tartışmalarına katkı sağlayacak niteliktedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Lykia, Olympos, Korykos, Musa Dağı

Olympos is located on the eastern coast of Lycia, one of the ancient regions of Western Anatolia. It was one of the principal cities along with five others in the Lycian League and entitled to three votes. Archaeological excavations and surveys started in 1998 and have continued until today. They have unearthed much scientific data that illuminate the unknowns Olympos¹

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¹ Prof. Dr. Bediâ Yelda Uçkan, a faculty member at Anadolu University, is the head of the Olympos excavations and surveys. A large team is involved in the ongoing studies. The outcome presented in this article is based on the results of the dedicated efforts of the whole team. Therefore, the proposal presented herein should be regarded as the work of all members of the Olympos team. We express our appreciation to our excavation director and fellow team members.

and have increased our knowledge of its Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine Periods. Particular examples of the archaeological and epigraphic data that will most contribute to the ongoing debates regarding the localization of Olympos of Lycia will be discussed herein.

The primary discussion centers on the location of Olympos. The discovery of the *Stadiasmus Patarensis* (*SP*) monument has led to a new discussion. Since the name Olympos was not included on the monument, an assumption has been made that the name Korykos refers to the settlement known today as Olympos due to the distances. This has sparked a vigorous academic debate.² Apart from the *SP*, this thesis was inspired by several literary texts and a border inscription in which Korykos was mentioned. Based on this data, it is claimed that Olympos was located on the peak of Mount Musa until the Roman Period. Further, it is argued that the ancient coastal settlement, thought to be Olympos throughout all periods and also known today by this name, is another city called Korykos in the Hellenistic Period. Accordingly, it is claimed that Olympos was moved to Korykos from the settlement on Mount Musa in the Roman Period and thus the coastal settlement, once called Korykos, started to be called Olympos during the Roman Period.

No detailed research has been carried out on Mount Musa until today. Neither the argument that Olympos was there in the Hellenistic Period nor the suggestion we will present relies on systematic and detailed scientific research regarding the settlement on Mount Musa. On the other hand, the research we carried out should be taken as observatory trips. Therefore, we accept in advance that these thoughts will be just provisional until detailed research can be conducted at the settlement on Mount Musa.

All arguments presented and to be presented on the subject should be evaluated cautiously. In light of the data yielded from the research conducted in the city, we would like to state that our intention is to open a new, yet not definite, window on the question of the location of Olympos. It should not be forgotten that the publications related to the localization and name of Olympos, which have continued until today, lack the information presented here. For this reason, our goal is not to highlight the inaccuracies of the ideas put forward in the cited publications. On the contrary, all other studies conducted so far have inspired the ideas on the localization of Olympos that will be presented below.

Two different periods will be discussed under two subheadings for the following reasons. The most important breaking point in the history of Olympos is the “Zeniketes event.” Zeniketes ruled the region by capturing Olympos, and as a response Rome sent Servilius Vatia to reclaim its territory in the region in 76 BC.³ Afterwards Rome imposed an interdiction, and the lands of Olympos were declared to be *ager publicus*. These events took place between 76 BC and AD 60 and are chronologically covered by two different periods - Hellenistic and Roman. The Hellenistic section will cover a period until Vespasian (AD 69-79) when the interdiction was annulled. In addition, the archaeological, epigraphical and historical data for the second half of the 1st century AD to the end of the 3rd century AD of the city has been increasing. Therefore, the data about the localization of the city in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods will be discussed separately. The premise that Olympos is the coastal settlement is

² Adak 2004; Şahin and Adak 2007, 275-77; 2014, 406-9.

³ On the campaigns of Servilius against the pirates and Lycia, see Ormerod 1922; Magie 1950, 288-91; 1167 n. 17; Maróti 1989; Arslan 2003, 99-104; Öztürk 2006, 54-63; Baker and Thériault 2005, 363-64; La Penna and Funari 2015, 346.

widely accepted by academicians. The final section will be a new consideration on the location of Olympos in light of discussions on the subject to date.

The Hellenistic Period

The earliest written record of Lycian Olympos is found in the *Geographika* by the renowned geographer Strabo.⁴ Quoting Artemidoros, the geographer identifies Olympos as one of the powerful members of the Lycian League with three electoral votes.⁵ While this was the city's status until the second half of the 2nd century BC, its name began to be mentioned because of piracy activities in the 1st century BC. The war between Zeniketes and Rome is the prominent incident in the written records of this period. Olympos was the stronghold of Zeniketes who seized the strategically important cities and fortified locations of Eastern Lycia and Pamphylia one by one and established a "kingdom(!)" in the coastal region from the Gulf of Gelidonia to Attaleia. It is not known exactly when and how Zeniketes captured the city. However, Attaleia must have been dominated by pirates led by Zeniketes in this period, at least from the beginning of the 1st century BC.⁶

The navy of the Lycian League must have battled the forces of Zeniketes several times. One of the inscriptions names Aichmon of Xanthos, an admiral of the Lycian League, and uses the phrase of ἐπὶ τῶν τὰ ἐναντία πραξάντων τῷ ἔθνει⁷ ("about those who engage hostile activities against the public"). This most likely points to the cities of Olympos and Phaselis.⁸ The Roman legions under the leadership of Servilius Vatia campaigned against the eastern Lycian cities and Pamphylia because of the inadequacy of the league's navy and the potential danger to the profits of Roman tradesmen in the region. So Servilius blockaded the fortress of Zeniketes. Realizing that he could no longer endure the attacks, Zeniketes set himself on fire with his family rather than falling alive into the hands of Servilius.⁹

After the fall of Olympos, Servilius Vatia captured all the settlements one by one that once belonged to Zeniketes or were involved in sedition. Those who aided and abetted Zeniketes were interdicted, and their lands declared as *ager publicus*. Olympos, being among those

⁴ Strab. XIV 3, 3; XIV 3, 8; XIV 5, 7.

⁵ Strab. XIV 3, 3.

⁶ Öztürk 2006, 57. By looking at the coin issues, H.A. Troxell (1982, 92-94) maintains that Phaselis and Olympos were not members of the Lycian League after 104-100 BC and 81 BC respectively. E. Uğurlu (2007, 91), on the other hand, holds that Olympos had to leave the league in 104-100 BC when it also fell under the rule of Zeniketes. Another view suggested by M. Arslan (2003, 96) dates the rule of Zeniketes back to the years 94-79 BC.

⁷ *OGIS* 553 = *TAM* II 265. To celebrate his victories, Aichmon had monuments erected in Xanthos in honor of Ares, Sarpedon and Glaukos. See *TAM* II 264, 319 = *OGIS* 552, 554 = *IGRR* III 607, 1516. On Aichmon and his campaigns see Magie 1950, 1167-168 n. 18; Arslan 2003, 95-97; Baker and Thériault 2005, 360-66.

⁸ From the Hellenistic Era, the Lycian League was usually mentioned as Λυκίων τὸ κοινὸν or τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Λυκίων, with occasional and more simplistic name variations such as οἱ Λύκιοι, expressing the league's organisation; see Behrwald 2000, 169. Artapates from Xanthos ἱππαρχίσι[α]ντα καὶ στρα[α]τηγ[ήσαντα] Λυκίων (*TAM* II 261) and Kallias [ἱερατεῦ]σαντα Λυκίων [θεᾶς Ῥώμης] were honored as such. For further reading see *TAM* II 155, 191, 200, 832, 905, 5 II 89. During the Imperial Period, in addition to the civil service of many people assuming responsibility in the Lycian League, as Behrwald thinks, the word ἔθνος was used instead of the expression τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Λυκίων. This indicates that League was used as a synonym for Koinon (Behrwald 2000, 170-71). For instance, Neiketetes from Xanthos is described as ἱεροκίρυσξ τοῦ ἔθνους, i.e. "the messenger of the League"; see *TAM* II 366. For similar examples, see *TAM* II 496, 575. Therefore, as suggested above, what is meant by the expression "those who show hostility to the public" must be the people of such Lycian League cities as Olympos and Phaselis under the rule of pirates/bandits.

⁹ Strab. XIV 5, 7.

settlements, was dropped from the League and not taken back until the 1st century AD.¹⁰ Its neighbor Phaselis was evicted from the league, and a part of its land was declared as *ager publicus* as well. However, it was readmitted to the Lycian League prior to Olympos.¹¹

This was a dark period though, except for a few written documents. In order to understand what truly happened in the city, it is necessary to look at the results of the archaeological and epigraphic research. Therefore, the earliest epigraphic and archaeological data will be presented below.

The inscription on a newly discovered sarcophagus in the area called the Acropolis Hill, located at the eastern end of the Northern City, is dated between the end of the 1st century BC and the middle of the 1st century AD due to its orthography (fig. 4).¹² The 8-line inscription on the side of the limestone sarcophagus with a lid probably faced the Hellenistic road leading up the hill. The dimensions of the sarcophagus are: H: 91 cm; W: 91.5 cm; D: 143.5 cm; LH: 3.5-4.8 cm.

Μενέμαχος Μηνοδότου
κατεσκεύασεν τὸν τάφον <ἐαυτῶι>
καὶ τῆ γυναικὶ Ἀρτεμιδώραι
4 καὶ τὸ ὑποσόριον Σαραπάδι τῆ
ἀπελευθέραι ἄλλωι δὲ μηθε-
νὶ ἐξέστω ἐπενβαλεῖν εἰς τῆ-
ν σορὸν καὶ ὑπόδικος ἔστω
8 τῶι χρήζοντι.

2 <ἐαυτῶι> it must have been forgotten by the stonecutter.

Translation:

Menemachos, the son of Menodotos, had this tomb built (for himself) and for his wife Artemidora, and the (hyposorion) for his freedwoman Sarapas. No one else can bury their mortal remains (here), and it is to be held responsible for an oracle.

This is the earliest inscription found to date in the coastal settlement considered Olympos in all periods. The remarkable feature of the inscription is that it does not contain any ethnicon. The phrase Ὀλυμπηνός, Ὀλυμπηνή/Ὀλυμπηνοί, meaning “Olympian/Olympians” and found in other inscriptions from Olympos, does not appear on this one. It is common to specify the ethnicons in tomb inscriptions in the Lycian cities.¹³ So it is noteworthy that this inscription with

¹⁰ In place of Olympos, Limyra was probably made the new member of the Lycian League, with an electoral franchise of three votes; see *F.Xanibos* VII 176; Borchhardt 1999, 16; *TIB* VIII s.v. “Limyra”. For further reading about the reentry of Olympos to the League, see Pohl 1993, 261 n. 219; Syme 1995, 208; cf. Knoepfler 2013, 129.

¹¹ For more comprehensive information, see Troxell 1982, 90; Behrwald 2000, 108 n. 358; Mitchell 2005, 169, line 54.

¹² The inscription is similar in character to the *Stadiasmus Patarensis* found in Patara. Yet it is necessary to avoid dating the sarcophagus to the same period as the *SP*.

¹³ See *TAM* II 1-3. Inscriptions numbering 943-1171 in *TAM* II belong to Olympos. Of the 228 inscriptions, 158 mention the Olympos ethnicon at least once. The remaining inscriptions consist of commendation, tomb inscriptions with ethnicon belonging to citizens of other cities, non-ethnicon tomb inscriptions, and fragments. Others published mention the Olympos ethnicon as follows: Atila and Çelgin 1991, 86; Adak and Atvur 1997, 18, no. 2; Adak and Tüner 2004a, 60-62, no. 4 (= Öztürk 2017, 231-33, no. 5 [*corrigendum et addendum*]); 63-65, no. 6; Öztürk 2017, 229-31, no. 2.

very good workmanship, dated to the end of the 1st century BC - middle of the 1st century AD, does not contain any ethnicon. Perhaps none of the tomb inscriptions contained an ethnicon, or it avoided mentioning one due to the imposition of interdiction against the city. However, another opinion is preferred here in accordance with other evidence: its omission was because Olympos became *ager publicus* after 76 BC, so that the city and its lands were declared Roman public property.

In addition to this sarcophagus built for Artemidoros and his freedman Sarapas, the finds obtained from the city walls during archaeological studies provide important information about the city's Hellenistic Period. The earliest architectural remains found in the city are the walls. They surround an area which is called the "South City."¹⁴ Starting from the west side of the slope on which the theater rests, the fortification descends at a right angle to the river-side and turns east. Then it turns east and continues immediately behind the harbor and rises back to the slopes. Thus, it covers all 7.5 hectares of the southern side of the city suitable for settlement (fig. 2). The walls, whose lowest part reached 3.60 m., were built with polygonal stonemasonry (fig. 5). Excavations were conducted at the section where the walls cross the Roman bridge (Sector 6-VI, H1 trench). In addition, excavations were carried out in the entire area called "Bridge Street", understood to have been built during the Roman Imperial Period. Consequently, along with the stone masonry, archaeological data was obtained to date the walls. Accordingly, it was proven that the gate of the walls in this area was damaged during the construction of Bridge Street, and therefore the construction of the city walls was made before the Roman Imperial Period.¹⁵ Considering the prohibited period after Zeniketes, the *terminus post quem* of its construction appears as 76 BC.

In addition to the city walls, the Olympos theater is another monumental architectural element in terms of historical readings for the Hellenistic Period. The theater was built on the slope of the north-facing hill on the western border of the Southern City that was surrounded by walls.¹⁶ It has the architectural form of Roman theaters in terms of a characteristic plan.¹⁷ However, meticulous analysis indicates that the structure is a renewed version of a Hellenistic forerunner. The structure's location within the city is the prominent data suggesting this opinion. The walls, clearly built during the Hellenistic Period, turn at the slope of the theater. And there is a narrow line that is not suitable for any other type of construction (fig. 2). This design indicates that the connection of the city walls and the theater was taken into consideration when the city plan was made. There are no other remains on the hill where the theater sits. The hill, after all, has a steep topography unsuitable for other structures. These things suggest that the theater was to be constructed at this very point during the first urban planning in the Hellenistic Period. The second piece of data is that the vaulted *parados* in the western wing of the theater was later added to the *analemma* wall. The transition corridor, not in the first construction phase, was built later. That this corridor is connected to the *skene* reveals that the theater had one or more stages of construction. The fact that the *parados* was added later appears similarly in the theater of neighboring Phaselis. This was done during the Roman Imperial

¹⁴ Olympos is split in two by a river that bears the same name as the city. To distinguish these two parts of the city, the excavation team uses the appellations "North City" and "South City".

¹⁵ For further see Öncü 2017, 36-37.

¹⁶ Resources are limited about the Olympos theatre; see Bayburtluoğlu 2004, 21; Bean 1997, 155; Sear 2006, 371.

¹⁷ It is one of the few theaters built in the Roman period in Lycia and is similar to the theaters in Phaselis and Tlos; see Özbek 1991, 284; 1992, 9; İşler 2007, 303; Sear 2006, 373, 379-80.

Period, namely, during expansion work in the 2nd century AD.¹⁸ All these data indicate that there was a theater here in the Hellenistic Period. Whether or not it was completed, at least its construction was started during this period.

In addition, the results of the epigraphical research on the localization of Olympos in the Hellenistic Period provide insightful information. Between 2004-2008 epigraphical and historical-geographical research have been carried out by a team, including Öztürk, under the leadership of B. İplikçioğlu in Lycia.¹⁹ This research has yielded more than 50 inscriptions, of which some were *addendum* and *corrigendum*.²⁰ Nearly all the inscriptions identified in Olympos and its territory - both the ones found in the aforementioned research²¹ and the 30 newly discovered inscriptions Öztürk recorded as the epigraphist of the Olympos excavation since 2013 - have the ethnicons of Ὀλυμπιός, Ὀλυμπινή and Ὀλυμπινοί. However, only one inscription mentions Korykos. It is a border inscription read as OKΩ that is ὄρος Κορυκίων.²² Furthermore, the surveys conducted in the Kumluca and Kemer districts of Antalya province in 2004-2012 have not yielded any inscription identifying Korykos as a city.²³

Roman Period

The Roman archaeological and epigraphical finds do not leave any doubt that Olympos was the name of the coastal settlement during this period. The name Olympos is frequently read on many tomb, votive and acclamation inscriptions dated to the 2nd-3rd centuries AD. It is also clear that major zoning activity took place in Olympos beginning in the second half of the 1st century AD. This must have been related to the annulment of the city's interdiction in the Vespasianic period (AD 69-79) at the latest because the bath, regarded as the earliest public building of the Roman Period, was built during the rule of this emperor.²⁴ However, studies conducted in recent years have found evidence that the interdiction was annulled or loosened before the Vespasianic Period. This includes two limestone votive/boundary inscriptions dated to the Augustan Period. These inscriptions were used as spolia and placed in the sub-basement of the southern wall of the Vespasian Bath (fig. 6).²⁵ "Of Augustus the Caesar God" appears on these inscriptions.²⁶ It is known that monuments²⁷ and votive/cult areas started to be built during the Pax Romana of the Augustan Period. Lycia has such inscriptions, though limited.

¹⁸ Özdilek 2016, 176.

¹⁹ The epigraphic work carried out by B. İplikçioğlu in Olympos was terminated by the Ministry of Culture in 2008 due to an excavation conducted by B.Y. Olcay-Uçkan from Anadolu University.

²⁰ For the short reports of İplikçioğlu regarding the inscriptions he recorded, see İplikçioğlu 2008, 357-59; İplikçioğlu 2010, 157. Only one of these reports was published so far: İplikçioğlu 2006.

²¹ See n. 13.

²² For further about this inscription, see Şahin and Adak 2014, 409.

²³ Şahin and Adak (2014, 410-12) offer a suggestion about the inscription found in Barsak Creek around Beycik/Fırıncık and read as ΠΟΡ | ΒΑΤ by L. Robert 1966, 40, 44. They read it as ΚΩΡ | ΦΑΚ - (ὄρος) Κορυκίων | Φασ(ηλειτῶν) - and claim that the borders of Korykos extended from Gagai to Phaselis.

²⁴ For inscriptions about the bath, see Adak and Tüner 2004a, 59-61, no. 3; İplikçioğlu 2006.

²⁵ The inscription may also be a border inscription on a cult area of Augustus. For similar ones in Lycia, see Akdoğu-Arca 2005.

²⁶ Καίσαρος | θεοῦ | Σεβαστοῦ. These two votive inscriptions are being prepared by us together with other inscriptions.

²⁷ Apollonia (*IGRR* III 694), Andriake (*IGRR* III 718-19), Arneai (*TAM* II 770), Arykanda (Wörle 1996), Kadyanda (*TAM* II 654); Xanthos/Letoon (*F.Xanthos* VII 18-19), Myra (*IGRR* III 722), Sidyma (*TAM* II 183; Takmer 2010, 115-17, no. 1), Tyberissos (Schuler 2007), Tlos (*TAM* II 556).

Examples from Kadyanda²⁸, Nysa²⁹ and Tlos verify this. These inscriptions, which appeared in Olympos, reveal that at the beginning of the Roman Imperial Period, Olympos gave special importance to showing its loyalty to Augustus. Therefore, they had established a cult³⁰ for Augustus, as they did in Tlos.³¹

During the period between the campaign of Servilius Vatia and its regaining membership in the Lycian League during the Imperial Period, Olympos had expanded its territory and gained back its former glorious days. This is demonstrated by the boundary inscriptions found during epigraphical research. Evidently the northern border extended south of Tahtalı Mountain to Beycik/Gavurpazarı in Tekirova,³² while the southern border extended to the ancient city of Gagai in Mavikent on the borders of the Kumluca district. Its western border extended to an unknown settlement in Erentepe, 6 km east of the city³³ (fig. 1).

The expansion of its borders can be explained by the fact that the city had become an important commercial center in the region due to its strategic location. As before the Zeniketes, the city had resumed its important role in maritime trade.³⁴ This is made explicit through the tomb inscriptions made for people who came from different places, settled in Olympos, and then died here. One of these is the famous epitaph of Captain Eudemos of Chalcedon.³⁵ Other tomb inscriptions mention people from Phaselis, Myra, Prynnessos, Melitene, Tlos, Kyaneai and from remote areas such as Pisidia, Phrygia and Bithynia.³⁶

Because of its previous record of piracy and banditry, there were probably a considerable number of law enforcement officers on duty in Olympos who had been assigned by Rome. That such enforcement was in effect during the early period of the empire is solidly supported by the evidence, such as a fragmented stele in Latin unearthed in 2010.³⁷ The inscription appears to be a stele of [Gaius] Iulius Valerius, a veteran who had served 35 years. Although it is

²⁸ TAM II 654: Καί[σ]αρος θε[ο]ῦ Σε[β]α[σ]τ[α]ρ[ο]ῦ.

²⁹ Takmer and Oktan 2013, 65-67, no. 1.

³⁰ Another remarkable point in these two votive inscriptions is that while they are dated to the Late Hellenistic-Early Roman Imperial Period, their characteristics are more 3rd century AD. Similar is the Artemis Kitaneurissa inscription found at Mount Musa and dated in the *editio princeps* to the 2nd-1st century BC, according to its letter characteristics. However, its orthography, particularly the square sigma suggests that this inscription should be dated to the 1st century AD. For this reason, there is need for a new study in Olympos on the dating of the inscriptions, most of which are dated to the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD.

³¹ For the cult in Tlos, see Reitzenstein 2017.

³² Öztürk 2006, 58, 60. For further see Bayburtluoğlu 2004, 98-101; *TIB* VIII s.v. "Beycik". Öztürk considers that this site may have been abandoned at an early date, based on his observations during the 2005 survey of Gavurpazarı on the high slopes of Mount Solyma under the direction of B. İplikçioğlu. Öztürk claims that the city has nothing related to the Roman Period. This Hellenistic settlement in Gavurpazarı was probably dominated by Zeniketes, who ruled Olympos, and it formed the northern-northeastern border of the city. After the invasion by Servilius Vatia against Zeniketes, this city had to be abandoned by necessity and then must have come under the rule of Olympos during the Roman Imperial Period. For the sarcophagus in its vicinity that carries the Ὀλυμπηνός ethnicon dating to the Imperial Age, see TAM II 1215.

³³ Öztürk 2006, 58, 60; Şahin and Adak 2007, 277. For further see Adak and Güzelyurt 2003, 104. The only natural defense line that could withstand threats from the east against Olympos is here. Considering that the topography also determines the boundaries of ancient settlements, this boundary must have extended to the creek bed behind the vegetable market in Kumluca today. Numerous sarcophagi with the Ὀλυμπηνός ethnicon in the area extending from Mavikent to Erentepe also prove it; see Şahin and Adak 2007, 277.

³⁴ Öncü and Evcim 2015.

³⁵ Adak and Atvur 1997.

³⁶ TAM II 946, 977, 983-84, 990-91, 1102, 1147.

³⁷ The inscription was recorded by us with the inventory number of OLY1 and is still being studied for publication.

not known in which legion he had served due a fracture on the fragment, the *Iulius gens* born by Valerius leads one to think that he may be connected to the Julio-Claudian dynasty.

Olympos' commitment to Rome in the first years of the empire resulted in several things: the annulling of its interdiction, the regaining of its reputation as an important Lycia city, and its resuming as a vital commercial port. Consequently, the safety of the roads around the city and its surrounding area was of special importance. Tomb inscriptions in the necropolis of many *beneficiarius*³⁸ responsible for road safety are important evidence in this regard. The tomb inscription of a *beneficiarius* named Iulius Solon (*TAM* II 987) demonstrates the presence of a military outpost in Olympos. Iulius Solon commanded the *stationarius* here and was the *beneficiarius consularis*, that is, the *beneficiarius* of the governor. According to L. Robert, this reference to Iulius Solon as *beneficiarius consularis* attests to the presence of an outpost of the provincial governor in Olympos.³⁹ That may be the reason for the presence of the *beneficiaries* in Olympos. Another *beneficiarius* is Aelius Telephus Isaurus. The inscription on the tomb of a woman named Theodora Numeriana mention that her husband, Aelius Telephus Isaurus, served as *beneficiarius* at an outpost in Olympos.⁴⁰ Another tomb inscription belonging to husband and wife declares that a fine of 2.500 denarius “should be paid to the polis station.”⁴¹

In addition to *beneficiarius*, *stationarius* ensured the safety of major intersections and roads, thus served in and around Olympos. Because of the inscription mentioning Martinus⁴² the *stationarius* from Olympos who offered a votive to (God) Invictus, it is known that there was a *stationarius* outpost⁴³ in the city. *Stationarius* with a headquarters in Olympos must have secured the roads from Phaselis to Attaleia.⁴⁴

Another officer known to be in the Roman army of the region is a regimental soldier. *Praetor* Aurelius Mucianus had made a tomb for himself and his wife in the 3rd century AD and offered a votive to (God) Invictus.⁴⁵ Invictus, associated with Mithras,⁴⁶ was worshipped in Olympos and its surrounding area in the 3rd century AD, as the inscription declares.

Along with these inscriptions, archaeological data also reveal that this was a significant city in the Roman Imperial Period. It was reconstructed under Roman rule with a regular planning approach.⁴⁷ In addition, important information about certain structures has been discovered

³⁸ The *beneficiarius* was among the lower-level officers in the Roman Imperial military hierarchy and commanded the gendarmes on the streets and roads, that is, the *stationarius*. For the presence of *statio* in Olympos, see Robert 1955, 172-77; Mitchell 1993, 122; Nelis-Clément 2000, 49-51.

³⁹ Robert 1955, 177.

⁴⁰ *TAM* II 1165.

⁴¹ *TAM* II 953.

⁴² Adak and Tüner 2004a, 62, no. 5A.

⁴³ *TAM* II 953, 1165.

⁴⁴ Sherk 1955, 402. The roads from Phaselis to Attaleia, see also Arslan 2018, 19-45.

⁴⁵ *TAM* II 949; Adak and Tüner 2004a, 62, no. 5B.

⁴⁶ The existence of the cult of Mithras in Olympos in the 1st century BC is conveyed through a passage of Plut. (*Vit. Pomp.* XXIV) where he gave interesting information about the beliefs of the pirates: “They offered strange sacrifices on Mount Musa and performed secret rituals. Among which those of Mithras that was first established by the pirates/bandits, which are widely accepted today. It is not surprising, though, that these unlawful people, who have nothing to do other than piracy / banditry and who are in danger of being killed at any time, worship such a cult with a belief of afterlife”. About the archaeological remains of the Mithras cult in Olympos, see Diler 1991; Atvur 1999, 15-17; Adak and Tüner 2004a, 62-64.

⁴⁷ Research concerning the urban fabric of Roman-Imperial Olympos has enabled us to understand that this place was built in accordance with a regular urban planning system. In the South City, the center of social life, streets extending in an east-west direction and steep, intersecting lanes and streets have been identified; see Öncü 2012,

through the research conducted in recent years. Prominent ones include the baths, temple, Bridge Street and the bridge. Data collected regarding these structures will follow a similar chronological order. Priority will be given to the baths in order to make an assessment.

In all the cities under Roman rule, large budgets were spent on the construction of at least one bath and more than one in large-scale cities because baths were an indispensable part of social life. All such activities served to improve civic commitment to the empire;⁴⁸ moreover, they became important representatives of Roman ideology.⁴⁹ Olympos, in particular, was provided funds by Rome for the construction of two baths - Vespasian and Harbor - starting from the early days of the empire. Such funding was given to elicit loyalty to its authority, probably because of the “Zeniketes event.”

The Vespasian Bath is located in the middle of the South City (S-VI/6), close to the Olympos Creek (figs. 2, 7). A building inscription reveals it was built in the Vespasianic Period.⁵⁰ The plan of the building reveals that its dimensions were large. The other bath is in the eastern part of the South City (S5-V), close to the harbor (figs. 2, 8). Its name, Harbor Bath, is not only important in terms of its location, but also because it emphasizes that the area it serves is likely to be a city harbor. There is no written document to date the building. The general history of bath structures in the Lycian cities can be taken into consideration,⁵¹ and it can be assumed that the bath was built between the third quarter of the 1st century AD and the end of the 2nd century AD.

The excavations at the Roman Imperial temple (SVIII-7) carried out in recent years has provided significant data as well.⁵² They reveal that the building was a monumental temple with six columns in a prostylos plan in the Ionic order (figs. 9-10). The characteristic decorative features of the temple’s architectural elements indicate that it was probably built in the first half of the 2nd century AD (probably the Hadrianic Period).⁵³ Fragments of a colossal Zeus or Asclepius found in the naos also support this date.⁵⁴ The pedestal of a statue that was dedicated to Marcus Aurelius, believed to have stood in the sacred stoa of the temple area, reveals

2017. Recent research indicates that the urban fabric of the Roman Period continued without change into the Byzantine Period; see Olcay-Uçkan et al. 2017.

⁴⁸ DeLaine 1999a, 1999b.

⁴⁹ Nielsen 1990, 60-61.

⁵⁰ Found in dense vegetation, the inscription was at the section close to the walls that we assume to be the northeast wing of the bath. For the epigraphical evaluation, see Adak and Tüner 2004a, 59-60, no. 3; İplikçiöğlü 2006. Another example known to have been built in the Vespasianic Period in Lycia is the Great Bath of Patara; see Yegül 1995, 299. The earliest examples of the baths considered as noteworthy representatives of the Romanization of the Lycian Region are those dated to the Flavianic Period; see Farrington 1995, 118. The bath from the Vespasianic Period in Olympos is significant in terms of comprehending the Romanization process in Lycia in general and in Olympos in particular, since it is among the early examples of its kind.

⁵¹ Farrington 1984, 119-20.

⁵² For thoughts on this temple before its excavation, see Anabolu 1970, 43-44; Bean 1997, 155-56; Bayburtluoğlu 1982, 18; Diler 1988, 112; Serdaroğlu 2004, 80-81. All these researchers except Diler stated that this structure was a temple. Diler, on the other hand, claimed that this structure’s function was unknown.

⁵³ Studies are in progress on the architecture of the temple. However, it should be said that quite unique architectural arrangements are observed in its details. These include the arch span of the ante, the connection between the stoa that extends along the eastern and western sides of the temple facade, and the column.

⁵⁴ The leader of the Aphrodisias excavation, R.R.R. Smith, stated that the head could be either Zeus or Asclepius. We appreciate his valuable thoughts. In addition, during the preliminary investigation conducted during the 2019 excavation season, Smith shared with us his opinion that the fragments in this area belong to multiple sculptures. He will carry out detailed investigations on sculptural fragments during the 2020 excavation season. As a result of these constructive examinations, the statue and, ultimately, who the temple was dedicated to will hopefully become clear.

that the building was in use throughout the Pax Romana. (fig. 11).⁵⁵ The temple is believed to have been located in a large temenos or agora/forum (?). It is one of the most important monumental architectural elements that emphasizes the power of Roman domination in the city. If it is dedicated to the cult of Zeus, it is clear that it has an important relationship with the name Olympos.

Evaluation

The localization of Olympos has generated a discussion that started with the discovery of the *Stadiasmus Patarensis* Monument and has continued to date. One theory has been inspired by a number of ancient texts and a border inscription describing a series of intertwined historical events. It advances two main considerations. First, the name Olympos is not mentioned on the *SP*. Second, since Korykos is mentioned on the *SP*, it is argued that it existed as a polis until the Roman Imperial Period at the very point where Olympos is located today.⁵⁶ This theory argues, based on the statements of the *SP* and Strabo, that during the Hellenistic period, Olympos was located in a fortified settlement at a height of 650 m, approximately at the peak of Mount Musa and 3,800 m as the crow flies to the modern settlement.⁵⁷ Olympos was dominated by Zeniketes and then destroyed by Rome in 78-77 BC, thus it is the settlement on Mount Musa. According to this view, after this settlement was taken by Servilius Vatia, the people were settled in Korykos on the edge of the Olympos River. The settlement, located where the river flows into the sea and today known as Olympos, was called Korykos until the Roman Imperial Period. However, under pressure from the settlers of Mount Musa, the name was altered to Olympos.

At this point, it is necessary to evaluate the settlement on Mount Musa that is at the center of the localization discussion. No comprehensive research has been conducted there to date. All assessments on the settlement, including ours, are based on observational studies. Built at the summit of Mount Musa, the settlement was surrounded by ramparts built with cut stone blocks whose style was isodomic but mostly polygonal. The walled area is smaller than the width of 13-14 hectares specified by Adak⁵⁸ and is approximately 7.7 hectares.⁵⁹ The central part of the walled area has a large open area surrounded by walls made of isodomic technique with regularly shaved block stones. A structure containing open space is aligned on one of its wings. This could be considered an agora (?). However, it is not possible to be clear about the function of the structure without comprehensive research. City walls and a structure complex with an open courtyard along with a few remains with similar masonry could be from the Hellenistic Period. However, apart from these architectural elements, building remains that could be clearly dated to the Hellenistic Period could not be observed by us. There is not a

⁵⁵ TAM II 943: Αὐτοκράτορα Καί|σαρα Μάρκον Αὐρή|λιον Ἀντωνεῖνον ||⁴ Σεβαστὸν Ἀρμενι|ακὸν Μηδικὸν Παρ|θικὸν Γερμανικὸν ||⁸ Ὀλυμπιῶν ἡ βουλή καὶ ὁ δῆμος | ἐγ δωρεᾶς Παν|ταγᾶθου δις.

⁵⁶ Adak 2004.

⁵⁷ Adak 2004. For discussions and suggestions on the localization of Korykos located between Olympos and Phaselis, see Beaufort 1817, 44; Keyser 1997; Işık et al. 2001, 46; *TIB* VIII s.v. “Korykos”; *SEG* LIV 1426; Şahin and Adak 2014, 406-9.

⁵⁸ Adak 2004, 35.

⁵⁹ The Olympos excavation team organizes educational trips to the settlement at the Mount Musa. The last one occurred in 2019. During this survey the area surrounded by the walls was measured using GPS. The fortification walls of the settlement surround an approximately rectangular area. The four corner coordinates in this form are: NW: N36° 21' 43.8" E30° 28' 31.0", SW: N36° 21' 33.1" E30° 28' 36.1", SE: N36° 21' 32.6" E30° 28' 42.4", NE: N36° 21' 46.8" E30° 28' 37.1". The area covered by these coordinates has a surface area of approximately 7.7 hectares.

theater at the settlement. In addition, the necropolis, mentioned by Adak as located northeast of the settlement,⁶⁰ could not be identified. Although extensive observations have repeatedly been made in this area, no architectural elements have been found except the remains of three one-roomed, square-like rectangular structures preserved at the base level. These structural remains do not provide enough data to specify their function. Even if we assume that these are chamber tombs, there are no graves other than these three structures.

If the settlement at Mount Musa was Olympos in the Hellenistic Period, how can one explain the absence of a theater in the city that was one of the six important members of the Lycian League and had been settled for a long time? This is significant given the finds shared previously that the coastal settlement had a theater in the Hellenistic Period. Since the settlement at the Mount Musa does not have a theater, it does not meet the definition of a city with the status of a polis.⁶¹ At this point, the antithesis of other settlements (such as Gavurpazarı, Erentepe, Madamyssos and Pygela) without a theater in Lycia can be presented. These settlements have walls, a square, necropolis and only residential areas. Adak and Tüner made a suggestion for one of these settlements, Pygela, which is a settlement of Korydalla: “The settlement in question should be considered as a town-style demos rather than a big city. Although there are no central buildings such as agora or theater....”⁶² Although it can be argued that Patara did not have a theater in the Hellenistic Period,⁶³ none of the polis of Lycia had a theater in the relevant period. The same theory was applied to the theaters of Limyra and Myra until recently.⁶⁴ However, this theory has lost its validity with the discovery of the pre-Roman phases of the theaters of these cities, as has been emphasized for the example of Olympos.⁶⁵ A similar discovery may be waiting to be revealed for the Patara theater.

In addition, the fact that the settlement of Mount Musa does not have a necropolis is a greater point questioning its polis status. In contrast, the coastal settlement, which we believe is the Hellenistic Olympos,⁶⁶ has numerous different types of tombs, including monumental tombs, and many different types of necropolis areas that have survived to date. As a matter of fact, almost all of them are dated between the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD. However, the tomb of Menemachos and his wife, mentioned above, is an example proving that at least one of these necropolises was used during the Late Hellenistic - Early Roman Imperial Period.

There are four large, deep cisterns built during the Roman Period at the four corners of the open area (agora?) of the building complex surrounded by walls at the settlement on Mount

⁶⁰ Adak 2004, 45.

⁶¹ Ancient texts identify Olympos as a polis; see Strab. XIV 3, 8; Cic. *Verr.* II 1, 56; Eutr. VI 3. For a settlement in ancient times to have public buildings was a significant criterion to be identified as a polis. Of these, one of the most important was the theater. As a matter of fact, Vitruvius (*de arch.* I 3, 1; I 7, 1) emphasizes this point when he describes the Roman cities that were inspired by the Hellenic polis. For a view that dates the theaters of the Lycian settlements mostly from the Hellenistic Period, see Özdilek 2016, 140. This same researcher has argued that these theaters have roots in the Hellenistic Period in almost all of the Lycian cities. Özdilek (2016, 140) also claims that this region has the highest density of theaters in Anatolia with 32 theaters identified.

⁶² Adak and Tüner 2004b, 47.

⁶³ Piesker and Ganzert 2012.

⁶⁴ Sear 2006, 371-80.

⁶⁵ Archaeological data from the Hellenistic building phase of the Myra theater has been discovered; see Çevik 2015, 370-72. The Limyra theater is dated to the 1st century BC according to the cavea and stage building. It is believed that the side *analemma* walls and vaulted gallery were added during expansion work after the 2nd century BC; see Özdilek 2016, 176.

⁶⁶ Of these tombs 16 are Lycian-type sarcophagi, which can be considered as representatives of the Roman Period of the Lycian tradition; see Uğurlu 2006, 46-48.

Musa. Thus, it is evident that the settlement needed the cisterns even in the Roman Period. However, how its water needs were met in the Hellenistic Period is a lacuna in terms of archaeological data for now. As a vital member of the Lycian League, Hellenistic Olympos must have had a significant population. While the cisterns offer a limited solution for the large population, the stream passing through the middle of the coastal settlement and numerous freshwater resources still active today are more suitable for a settlement with a growing population. This is another strong factor that makes us think that Olympos was founded on the coast.

Limited literary texts along with a border inscription referring to the name of Lycian Korykos form the basis for the suggestion that Olympos should be localized to the settlement at the summit of Mount Musa in the Hellenistic Period. While one of the literary texts and the border inscription mention Korykos as a polis, other written records show no clear evidence that Korykos was identified as a polis.⁶⁷ The document that mentions Korykos as a polis is the letter of Brutus. In his letter to the Lycians, Brutus lists Patara, Myra and Corycus among the cities that did not surrender. This letter is the second document in chronological order and was written in the 40s BC when the territory of Olympos was declared as *ager publicus* after the campaign of Servilius Vatia.⁶⁸

Besides this letter, the maritime navigation guide - the *Stadiasmus Maris Magni (SMM)* written in the 2nd century AD - mentions Korykos, not Olympos, as the port between Phaselis and Phoinikus (the Genoisian port).⁶⁹ Şahin and Adak note that “pointing Korykos as a city can be attributed to the fact that for this study, a geography resource dated before the Claudius period was used.”⁷⁰ Additionally, as will be detailed below, the ancient name of the Çıralı coast was Korykos for centuries and could be the reason that this name was used in the 2nd century AD.⁷¹ In addition to literary texts, there is only one inscription that demonstrates the existence of Korykos as a settlement.⁷² There are no other epigraphical, archaeological or numismatic data about Korykos other than those specified here.

Other literary texts mentioning Korykos are as follows. The first written document citing the name Korykos is the work of Porphyry of Tyre.⁷³ This author listed Korykos among the cities

⁶⁷ In Strabo's work, the name Korykos is mentioned in several places. One of them describes a cave and mountain/hill (?) area in Cilicia (XIII 4, 6; XIV 5, 5-6; XIV 6, 3). Another one mentions it as a mountain in Ionia (XIV 1, 32-33). Strabo then writes about Lycian Korykos; “...next, there is the city of Olympos also named Phoenicus and a mountain of the same name. Then, one arrives to Korykos, a tract of sea-coast” (XIV 3, 8). “After that, Phaselis, a three-port city of note and a lake. ...” (XIV 3, 9). “On the ridges of the Tauros (in Lycia) lies the piratical castle of Zeniketes. I mean Olympos. All Lycia, Pamphylia, Pisidia and Milyas are visible from both the mountain and the castle. Nevertheless, when the mountain was captured by Isauricus, Zeniketes set himself on fire with his whole family. Korykos, Phaselis and many cities in Pamphylia were belonged to him; however, all of them were taken by Isauricus” (XIV 5, 7). “Then to the city of Attaleia, named after its founder Attalos Philadelphos; who also sent a colony to Korykos, a small neighbouring town (κατοικίαν) surrounded with a greater wall...” (XIV 4, 1). It is clear that Korykos was not identified as a polis in Strabo's work.

⁶⁸ Jones 2014, 219, 18 (27).

⁶⁹ *SMM* 227-28.

⁷⁰ Also see Şahin and Adak 2007, 277.

⁷¹ The mention of Andriake, the port of Myra in the *SMM*, could be another example. “There are 60 stadia from Andriake to the Isios tower and 80 stadia from Andriake to Somena.” This is found within the list of ports in Central Lycia, which included Andriake as well (*SMM* 238-39). That Myra's name is not mentioned in the *SMM* does not mean that Myra did not exist. Just as Myra stood gloriously with its architectural elements and inscriptions in the 2nd century AD, Olympos was at its current location. Like the city of Myra, Olympos had a harbor called Korykos in the place called Deliktaş at the mouth of the Olympos River. For this reason, perhaps Korykos was mentioned in this guidebook for seafarers (*SMM* 227-28).

⁷² For this inscription see also Şahin and Adak 2014, 409.

⁷³ *FGrHist* II B, 1224 (Frag. 46).

in Syria, Cilicia and Lycia that Antiochus III took from Ptolemy after 197 BC: “Aphrodisias, Soloe, Zephyrion, Mallos, Anemurium, Selinum, Coracesium, Coricus, Andriace, Limyra, Patara and Xanthos”. Nevertheless, certain points should be noted. Even though the cities appear to be listed in geographical order from the coast of Syria towards Western Anatolia, writing Andriake before Limyra is a mistake. This suggests that there might be an error in the geographical ordering. In other words, is the Korykos mentioned here really “the city”(!) claimed to be founded at the place of Olympos? Couldn't this Korykos be the one in Cilicia or right next to Attaleia?

Strabo the geographer twice provides information about Lycian Korykos. First, Korykos is “a tract of sea-coast. After that, Phaselis, a three-port city of note and a lake.”⁷⁴ The other information he conveys regards the settlements Zeniketes captured. Accordingly, along with his stronghold Olympos, he ruled Korykos, Phaselis and many cities in Pamphylia.⁷⁵ Similar geographical locations for Korykos are stated in both texts. If the “coastline” mentioned in the first description is taken as a reference, Korykos was a local name attributed to the long Çıralı coast.

At this point, the etymology of Korykos must be discussed. An article recently published on the meaning of *korykos* argues: “In the ancient sources the Korykoses are cited along with the cave/rocky areas, isthmus, mountain/hills, harbors and shores at the coastline and were identified with the same name.”⁷⁶ Indeed, it is clear that the Korykoses in Kilikia, Ionia, Pamphylia and Lycia in Strabo's work are similar places.⁷⁷

These data suggest that Korykos is used as a toponym rather than a settlement name. Therefore, the Olympos-Korykos discussion needs a new window. Further data will deepen the issue: While Strabo uses *πόλις* for Olympos, he uses *ὁ αἰγιαλός* (“the coast”) for Korykos.⁷⁸ Furthermore, Quintus Smyrnaeus identifies the place while describing Chimaira as “Korykos Reef”.⁷⁹ The Çıralı coast answers to both descriptions (fig. 3). Thus, it is more likely to consider that Corycus is a description of the long Çıralı coast with its steep reefs and numerous caves and caverns.

Another point suggesting Korykos was not a city is that there is no mention in ancient texts of any interdiction imposed on it. In them, only Olympos, Phaselis, Attaleia and Angeira in Pisidia are mentioned as *ager publicus*.⁸⁰ This can be explained by the fact that Korykos was already a place within Olympos. Moreover, while the lands of all settlements involved in piracy activities were declared *ager publicus*, it should be questioned why Korykos, claimed to be an important settlement for pirates between Olympos and Phaselis, was not confiscated. If there was an independent city called Korykos, it would inevitably be involved in acts of piracy.

⁷⁴ Strab. XIV 3, 8-9.

⁷⁵ Strab. XIV 5, 7.

⁷⁶ Arslan and Tüner-Önen 2011, 196.

⁷⁷ A cave in Cilicia: Strab. XII 4, 6; XIV 5, 5. A mountain in Ionia and the identification of “Corycusians” attributed to pirates lived around this mountain: Strab. XIV 1, 32. A town near Attaleia: Strab. XIV 4, 1. A mountain in Attaleia: Strab. XIV 6, 3.

⁷⁸ Strab. XIV 3, 8. Based on this statement, some researchers position the Korykos mentioned in the *SP* to the Deliktaş locality at the mouth of the Olympos River; see Adak 2004; Şahin and Adak 2007, 276; Arslan and Tüner-Önen 2011, 198.

⁷⁹ Quint. Smyrn. XI 93-95.

⁸⁰ Cic. *leg. agr.* I 5; II 50; Sall. *hist.* I 1, 129-32; cf. La Penna and Funari 2015, 96-97, no. 123-26, with commentary 346-47. On Phaselis, see Atilla 2019.

Thus, Rome would confiscate the city by declaring its lands *ager publicus*. Based on this data, we believe that Korykos, derived from the toponym *korykos*, was used as the name of a place that defines the long Çıralı coastline of Olympos.

If Olympos was one of the six largest cities of Lycia, can it be thought that the name is not mentioned in the *SP*? Taking also the aforementioned data into consideration, it is not a convincing assumption that there were two different poleis, namely Korykos and Olympos, at the time the *SP* was written. There was no mention of Olympos since it was located on Mount Musa, which was a certain distance from the main roads listed in the *SP*.

Instead we offer the following hypothesis: Olympos was one of the six major cities of Lycia with three votes in the Hellenistic Period. In its current position, it is surrounded by walls, has a theater, necropolis, and abundant, clean water resources. Furthermore, it had a safe harbor, a long beach, and the cult center of Hephaistos, now called Yanartaş. The settlement at Mount Musa, also in its territorium, was likely the acropolis (?) of the coastal settlement. Thus, perhaps, it was the reason Zeniketes chose this point as his stronghold⁸¹ so that he could observe from here all the ships transiting the sea route. After being involved in piracy, the lands of the city became *ager publicus* following the victories of the Rome in 76 BC and consequently, the official use of its name was prohibited. Even so, the tomb of Menemachos explicitly attests that there were inhabitants of the city in this relevant period. This population required a name, and for this reason, the name Korykos, which identifies the rocky areas and rock cavities on the Olympos coast, was noted in the official records. It is precisely at this time that Brutus calls the settlement Korykos in his letter. Nevertheless, no Korykos ethnicon was used except for a border inscription since the public still referred to themselves as Olympians. The Menemachos tomb inscription verifies this fact. While the name of Olympos came into use again after the annulling of the interdiction, the name Korykos, which defines the Çıralı Coast, was used at least until the 2nd century AD, as we understand from *Stadiasmus Maris Magni*. The interdiction was probably annulled during the reign of the Emperor Vespasian. The archaeological and epigraphical findings from the Roman Period reinforce the theory that the Hellenistic city was at the same location as the Roman-period city. Since it was one of the important cities in the Lycian League, making important investments and rapid completion of the development activities in the city was of significance. The expansion of the territory, keeping its security at the highest level, and the rapid completion of public reconstruction explicitly indicate that the Roman Empire attached special importance to the city. This can only be explained by the fact that the settlement has been a strong city since the Hellenistic Period.⁸²

⁸¹ E. Uğurlu (2007, 97-98) argued that Olympos was a city that had two settlements - both in Mount Musa and at the sea coast. According to her, the settlement on Mount Musa became a pirate stronghold after Zeniketes' conquered it.

⁸² For a similar view, see Uğurlu 2007, 97-98.

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FIG. 1
Map of Olympos
territorium.

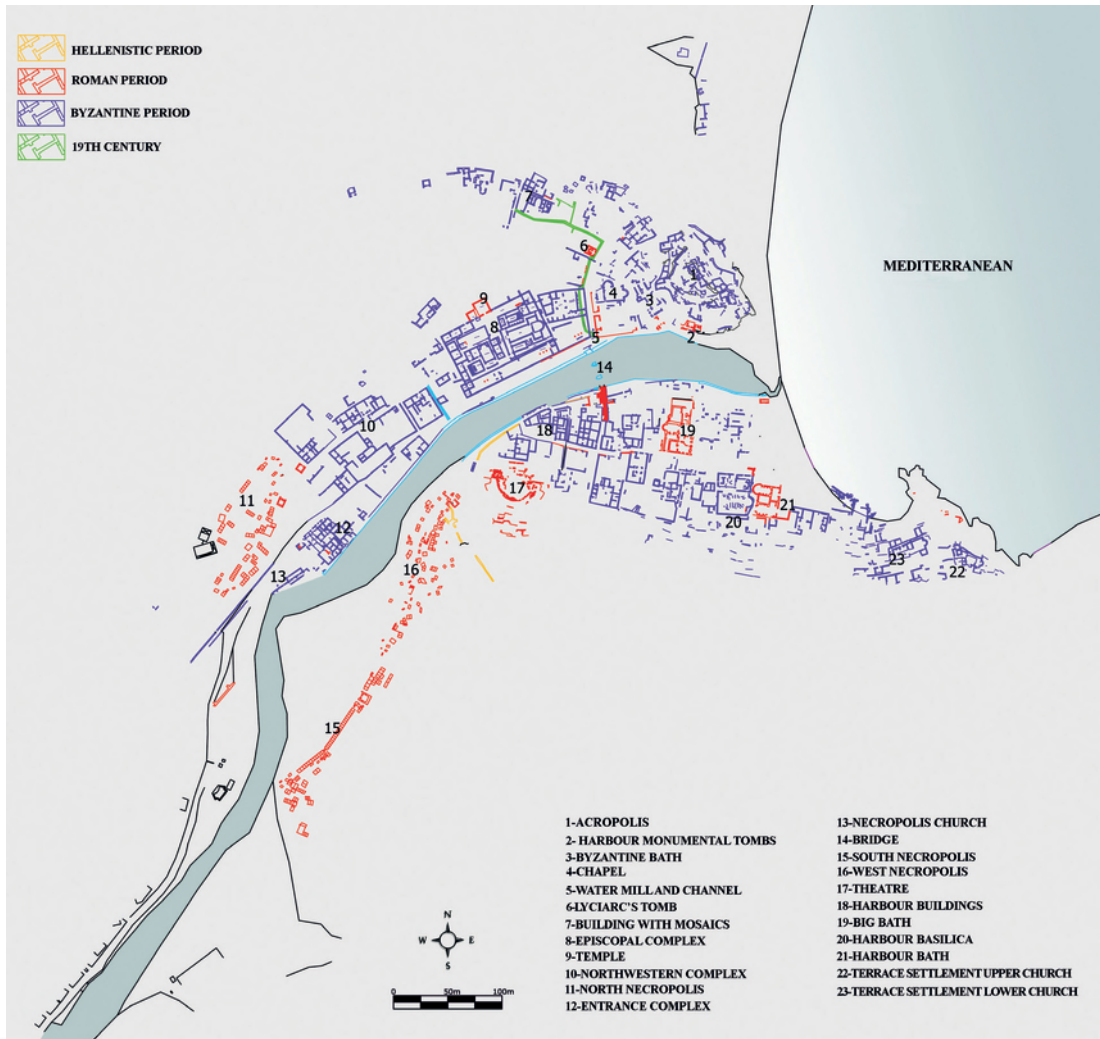


FIG. 2 Olympos city plan.

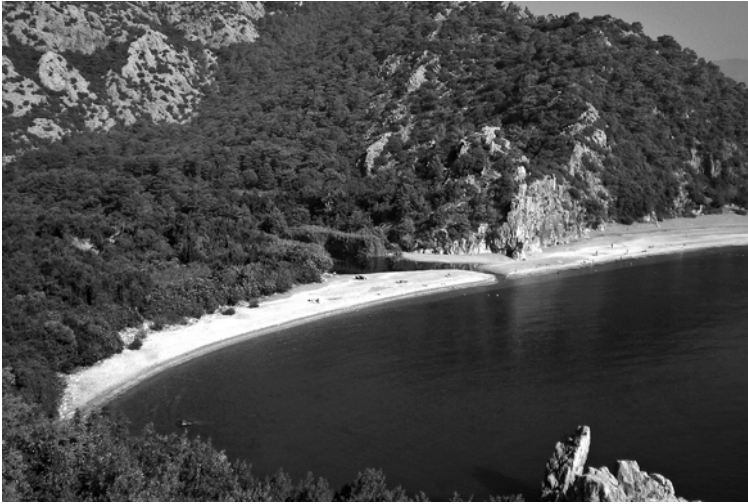


FIG. 3
View of the
Olympos seaside.



FIG. 4
Epitaph of Menemachos'
wife Artemidora.



FIG. 5
Polygonal city walls.



FIG. 6 Sub-basement inscriptions of the Vespasian Bath.

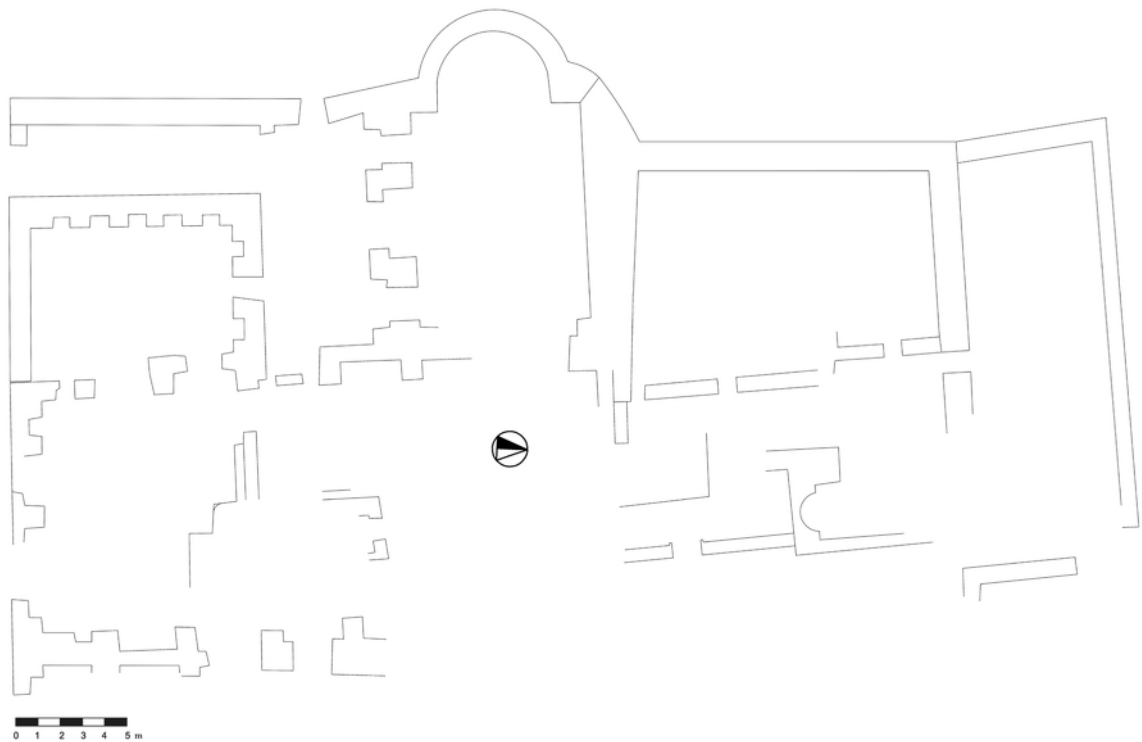


FIG. 7 Vespasian Bath plan.

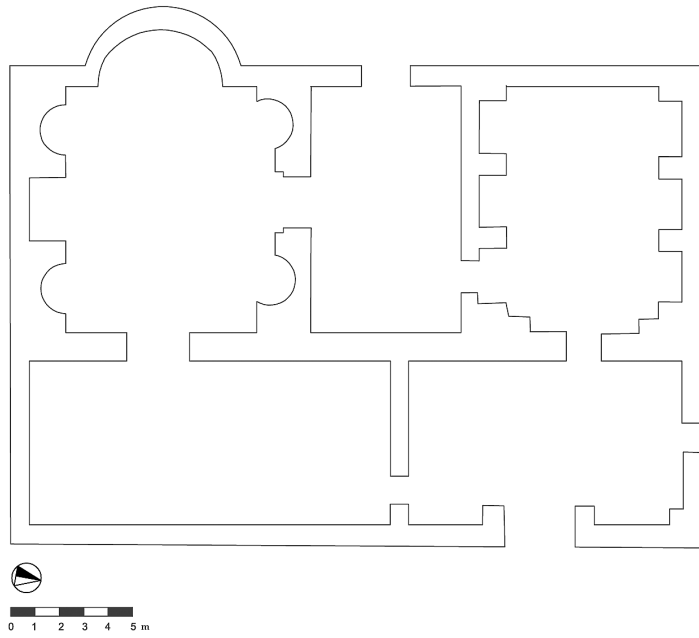
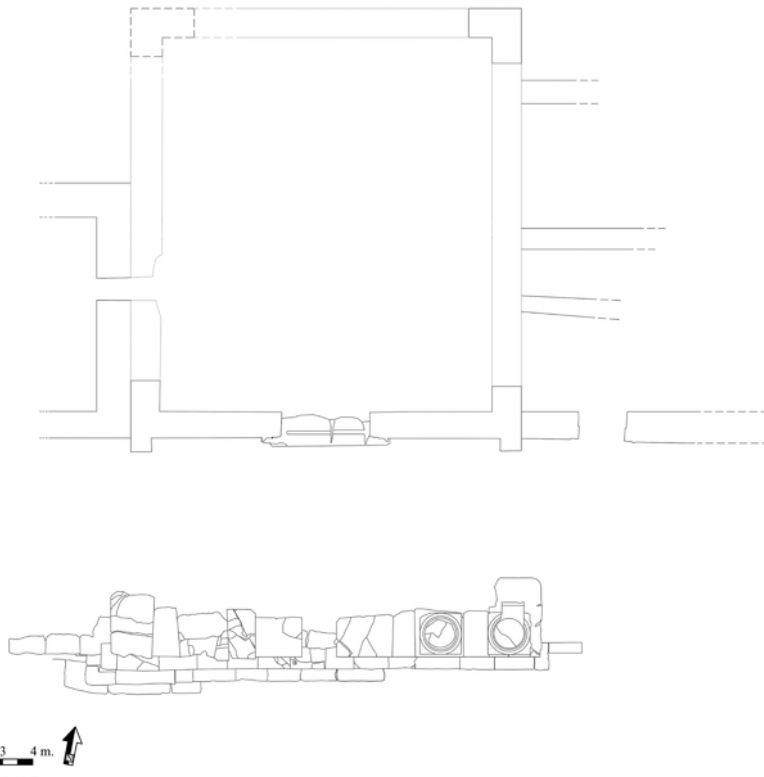


FIG. 8 Harbor Bath plan.



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FIG. 9 Temple plan.



FIG. 10
General view
of the Temple.



FIG. 11
Honorary inscription
for Emperor
Marcus Aurelius.

