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Contents

F. Gülden Ekmen <i>A Vaulted Figurine from İnönü Cave: A New Link between the Balkans and Northwestern Türkiye</i>	1
Duygu Akar Tanriver – Serhat Foça <i>Archaic and Early Classical Trade Amphorae from Old Smyrna</i>	17
Utku Arınç – Fatma Bağdatlı Çam <i>The Heracles-Melqart Head from The Hatay Museum</i>	49
Candemir Zoroğlu – Ertekin M. Doksanaltı – D. Ozan Tozluca <i>The “Winged Woman of Burgaz”: A New Archaic Sculpture from the Territory of Knidos</i>	65
Uğurcan Orhan <i>A Group of Phaselis Type 3 Amphorae by the Base of the Phaselis Central Tower: A New Pottery Dumpster (Bothros) and Amphora Production Area</i>	85
Özlem Vapur – Abdulkadir Baran <i>An Underground Chamber Tomb with Serpent Relief in Ula, Muğla</i>	117
Gonca Cankardeş-Şenol – Oğuzhan İleri – A. Kaan Şenol <i>Stamped Amphora Handles from Kedreai</i>	145
Pınar Özlem Aytaçlar <i>New Funerary Monuments from Aizanoi</i>	169
Fatma Avcu – Hüseyin Uzunoğlu <i>New Inscriptions from Rough Cilicia</i>	193
Noah Kaye <i>In Search of Ancient Antalya (Attaleia): A First Approach</i>	211
Şevket Aktaş – Mustafa Koçak – Andrew Lepke – Feyzullah Şahin <i>Localizing and Reconstructing the Gymnasion of Patara. An Interdisciplinary Approach</i>	247
Nevzat Çevik <i>Kelbessos: A Military Settlement as Termessos’ Peripolion</i>	293
Hüseyin Köker – Esra Tütüncü <i>Coin Finds from the Surveys of Northern Pisidia and the Excavations at Timbriada and Zindan Monastery</i>	313

Güray Ünver	
<i>A New Thiasos from Mylasa: Thiasitai Heroistai of Ouliades, Son of Euthydemos</i>	335
Hava Keskin – Serdar Hakan Öztaner	
<i>Some Thoughts on the Julio-Claudian Period of Nysa ad Maeandrum in the Light of a Private Portrait from the City</i>	347
Zeki Mete Aksan	
<i>A House Type Tomb in Sinope: A Neglected Burial from Paphlagonia</i>	363
Günder Varinlioğlu	
<i>Quarry Industry in Rough Cilicia: The Cases of Dana Island and Kesiktaş</i>	383
Mustafa Yıldızlı	
<i>Bricks and Roof Tiles of Alanya Castle: Evaluation of Animal Footprints from an Ichnoarchaeological Perspective</i>	409
Fatma Şimşek – Damla Ayoğlu-Duman	
<i>The French Consulate and Trade in Antalya in the 17th Century</i>	429

Localizing and Reconstructing the *Gymnasion* of Patara An Interdisciplinary Approach

ŞEVKET AKTAŞ – MUSTAFA KOÇAK – ANDREW LEPKE – FEYZULLAH ŞAHİN*

Abstract

Although a universal feature of the Greek polis and, despite ample epigraphic evidence, the *gymnasia* of the Hellenistic and Roman East, especially in Lycia, are understudied. In this paper we present our initial findings relating to the *gymnasion* of Patara. Through an interdisciplinary approach we can identify the site of the *gymnasion* and reconstruct how it was integrated into the city center in terms of urban planning. By analysing the relationship of the *gymnasion* to other buildings in the vicinity, we can even trace developments in the building history of the *gymnasion*. This paper presents numerous archaeological findings from the city center of Patara. It also presents three hitherto unpublished inscriptions, one of which was set up in honor of the Patarean benefactor Ti. Claudius Flavianus Eudemos.

Keywords: Lycia, Patara, Roman architecture, *gymnasion*, bath

Öz

Antik Hellen polis'inin evrensel bir özelliği olmasına ve çok sayıda epigrafik kanıta rağmen, Hellenistik ve Roma Doğu'sunun ve özellikle Likya'nın *gymnasion*'ları yeterince araştırılmamıştır. Bu makalede, Patara *gymnasion*'u ile ilgili ilk bulgularımızı sunuyoruz. Disiplinler arası bir yaklaşımla *gymnasion*'un bulunabileceği alanını tanımlıyor ve urbanistik planlama açısından kent merkezine nasıl entegre edildiğini sorguluyoruz. Çevredeki diğer yapılarla ilişkisini analiz ederek, *gymnasion*'un yapı tarihindeki gelişmelerinin izini sürmeye çalışıyoruz. Bu makale, son yıllarda Patara kent merkezinden elde edilen çok sayıda arkeolojik bulguyu bir araya getirmektedir. Ayrıca, biri Pataralı hayırsever Ti. Claudius Flavianus Eudemos onuruna dikilmiş olan, şimdiye kadar yayınlanmamış üç yazıt da yine burada bilim dünyasına sunulmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Likya, Patara, Roma mimarisi, *gymnasion*, hamam

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1. Introduction

There can be no denying the importance of the *gymnasion* for cities in the eastern part of the Mediterranean world.¹ As a place of education and training for the next generation of citizens, the *gymnasion* was a keystone of the citizenry and in areas of cultural interchange a stronghold of “Greekness.”² As a place of exercise and debate, it was an important public space of the city, where civic identity was negotiated and mediated. Accordingly, our literary sources are full of gymnasial themes, language, and rituals. Numerous inscriptions cast light not only on the local variants of organization and the maintenance of gymnasia but also illuminate the multifarious attempts of citizens, athletes, and - in the Imperial period - women to present themselves inside or in relation to a *gymnasion*.

In recent years historical research on gymnasia has intensified.³ But in comparison to other public structures such as theaters, archaeologically the Hellenistic and Imperial *gymnasion* remains understudied. On the one hand, this is a consequence of the architectural remnants of *gymnasia* that, without intensive archaeological analysis, are seldom clearly identifiable. So research into these buildings has been less active than in the case of more eye-catching structures. On the other hand, especially in Asia Minor, the connection between gymnasia and Roman-style bath buildings obscured the distinctive architectural features of the Hellenistic *gymnasion*. The complexes termed “Thermengymnasien” not only reshaped the face of the cities, but also, at least in some instances, magnificent bath buildings left little room for traditional gymnasial activities.⁴

The situation at Patara in Lycia seems to reflect these methodological issues. Despite more than thirty years of intensive archaeological research, focusing amongst other things on two of the city’s four known baths, it has not yet been possible to locate a *gymnasion*. However, rich epigraphic evidence for gymnasial institutions and organization and an exemplarily detailed account of repairs and construction works being conducted at and near the *gymnasion* in the second century AD survives. Furthermore, recent excavations have significantly increased our understanding of the city’s grid, especially of the city center with its agora, baths, and harbor street. By combining the various pieces of evidence, in this paper we will propose a site and architectural context of the *gymnasion* of Patara within the city and identify architectural remains and details of its building history. Bringing together case studies on the inscriptions (Andrew Lepke), architectural decoration (Feyzullah Şahin), and archaeological / architectural context of the *gymnasion* (Şevket Aktaş and Mustafa Koçak) not only furthers our understanding of this organization and history of Patara but also provides the fullest analysis of a *gymnasion* in Lycia to date - a topic of demonstrable importance for the urbanistic study of the Imperial period in this region and beyond.

2. The epigraphic evidence for the *gymnasion* at the agora

When the urban area of Patara was reduced in Late Antiquity and enclosed by an impressive city wall, the stonemasons reused almost every stone available in the vicinity. Funerary

¹ An overview of the state of research up to 2014 is provided by Scholz 2004, 2015.

² For the Hellenistic world see Paganini 2022 and Stavrou 2016.

³ See, for example, the “GymnAsia”-Project: <https://gymnasia.huma-num.fr>

⁴ See Quatember 2018 and Trümper 2015. As the so-called “explosion agonistique” attests, however, gymnasial culture was thriving at the end of the second / beginning of the third century AD; see Robert 1984 and van Nijf 2001; Nollé 2012.

monuments, colonnades, and nearby buildings and spaces were scavenged for building blocks of any kind, with many bearing inscriptions. While the process of accumulating building material and constructing the wall is a topic that still requires a detailed analysis, it seems reasonable to assume that most of the reused stones came from the immediate vicinity.⁵ For the construction of the southern parts of this wall, we would assume to find stones⁶ from at least the Harbor Street, the bouleuterion, the agora, the Neronian Bath, and from their respective adjacent stoai and forecourts, and various other areas whose archaeological identification is still pending. And while we find clear indications of the places from where a few of our inscriptions derive,⁷ disentangling this complex puzzle by assigning certain (fragments of) inscriptions to their presumed place of origin seems impossible. We will have to fall back on internal criteria of our texts to assess the inscriptional and statuary decor of the *gymnasion*.⁸ Certain themes like the *gymnasiarchia*, agonistic contests and victories, and gymnasial groups - in our case the *neoi* - should be more prevalent at a *gymnasion* than anywhere else. This therefore allows for an at least rough localization of the *gymnasion* to the vicinity of the southern part of the late antique city wall. Of course, this does not mean that all the aforementioned themes are indicative of an origin of these blocks as being from the *gymnasion* itself. Inscriptions did add meaning to structures and spaces. However, on the one hand there was no need for a text to match the function of the public space in which it was located. On the other hand, by conveying certain themes and messages, inscriptions were not confined to a specific place, but were able to overcome narrow architectural boundaries.⁹ So it remains unclear whether or not an inscription set up inside the *gymnasion* and an inscription on the agora differed at all. What we can identify is one area where gymnasial themes played a prominent role in the public representation of members of the elite and the city's institutions. At other areas of the city, for example, the hitherto unexplored stadium east of the ancient harbor basin, a very similar emphasis might have been placed, at least temporarily. At the theater gymnasial themes are represented in our evidence only for a rather short period of time between the end of the first century and the beginning of the second century AD when the Xanthian athlete T. Flavius Hermogenes, one of the best runners of his time and who also held citizenship of Patara, was honored with a statue probably at the stage building.¹⁰ Two inscriptions were set up for Iulia Verania, the

⁵ For some examples, see below.

⁶ A large part of the reused construction materials most likely came from the buildings that stood in the vicinity of the relevant construction sites of the late antique wall and Harbor Street e.g., many of the stylobate and architrave blocks of the stoai of the agora were recovered from the southern section of the late antique wall. Comparable building elements could not be observed at the other parts of this wall. The buildings enclosed by the late antique wall were now intramural. As the archaeological studies of recent years on the Harbor Street, the Neronian Bath, the newly discovered exedra, and the stoa in front of the exedra showed (see below), no building elements were taken from these structures for the late antique wall. On the contrary, they were still in use when this wall was built, a topic to be addressed in another essay to be published. It seems that they only reused elements such as stone statue bases, which now had become useless.

⁷ Some inscriptions give an explicit notion of their place of erection (cf. Lepke et al. 2015, 357-76, no. 9 I 1.1; *SEG* 65, 1486, see below). Other fragments could be assigned to blocks whose place of installation was known at tower 9 two blocks were found that directly match a pilaster block from the temple terrace above the theater (see below no. 3; for the temple see Piesker and Ganzert 2012, 185-93).

⁸ For a similar attempt see Engelmann 1993 with Thür 2007 on the Hellenistic *gymnasion* from the upper agora of Ephesos; see also Sturgeon 2022, 4-11, on the *gymnasion* of Corinth.

⁹ On the differentiation of function and semantics of public spaces see Hölscher 1999, 104-7 and Zimmermann 2009. A striking example for an inscription overcoming the space of the *gymnasion* is the giant base (close to 2.00 m high) set up by M. Aurelius Alexion alias Boethius II, *gymnasiarchos* of the *neoi*. This monument (*TAM* II 415) is set up, still *in situ*, directly at the late antique city gate on the main street.

¹⁰ For the two agonistic fragments from the substructures of the stage building (*SEG* 64, 1402-403), see Lepke 2023a.

sitting gymnasiarch for all age groups, who donated her income to the city, and for her brother whose inscription refers to the *gymnasiarchia* of all age groups and the constitution of the age group of the *gerontes* by their father, C. Iulius Demosthenes.¹¹

2.1 A quantitative approach

At Patara, as in many other cities of Asia Minor,¹² the *gymnasiarchia* seems to have been one of the most prestigious civic offices. Being responsible for the training and especially the supply of oil¹³ of one of the two and later three age groups of the *neoi* and *epheboi* (and *gerontes*), the *gymnasiarchos* commanded in the second century AD a budget of 12,500 *denarii p.a.* (if they presided over all three age groups at once).¹⁴ To date 22 texts have been identified mentioning this office. In 17 of these, the *gymnasiarchia* figures prominently and is not just one of many offices held by a benefactor.¹⁵ 16 of these 17 inscriptions, approximately 94 %, stem from the southern section of the city wall and the south end of Harbor Street.

While these numbers are in themselves inconclusive - archaeological research at Patara has devoted significantly more emphasis on the theater, bouleuterion, Neronian Bath, and the city walls between than to other public spaces and buildings - these finds are by no means accidental, as we can adduce from the monuments set up for Q. Vilius Titianus at the beginning of the second century AD. To date we have identified eight inscriptions for this benefactor. Two were found in the main nave of the church in the northern necropolis, one was reused for the construction of the northern late antique city wall near the inner harbor, one was from the theater, and the remaining four texts were found in the section of the southern wall between the bouleuterion and the Neronian Bath. Out of these eight inscriptions, only two texts place particular emphasis on the *gymnasiarchia*.¹⁶ A third inscription praises the benefactor's initiative in educating the city's children from his own money ([ἀ]νατρέφων ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων | [τοῦ]ς τῆς πόλεως παῖδας).¹⁷ These three texts were found at the southern city wall. The remaining fourth inscription from this area might have been connected to the *gymnasiarchia* as well, but is too fragmentary to determine.¹⁸ The only other text for Q. Vilius Titianus even mentioning this office derives from the church, but there the *gymnasiarchia* is one office amongst the many that this benefactor held. The inscription from the harbor and another text from the church omit the office entirely. This shows clearly that the information the various texts provide was very much tuned to their place of publication. To the south of the city area constant support for

¹¹ Engelmann 2016 (*SEG* 66, 1764) and Engelmann 2012a, 227, no. 11 (*SEG* 63, 1338). On female holders of the *gymnasiarchia* see Wörrle 2020, esp. 412-16.

¹² Cf. Scholz 2015.

¹³ They were supported in this regard by the ἐλεωνήσας - an official buyer of oil (Bönisch and Lepke 2013, 487-96 [*SEG* 63, 1346]). Claudia Anassa, the wife of the later discussed Ti. Claudius Flavianus Eudemos, set up a foundation to secure the annual oil supply (*SEG* 46, 1715 and *SEG* 63, 1342). On the significance of such provisions of oil, see Fröhlich 2009.

¹⁴ Engelmann 2016, ll.5-7 (*SEG* 66, 1764): χαρι[σα]μένη τῇ πόλει καὶ τὰ τῆς | [γυμνασ]ιαρχ[ί]ας δηνάρια μύρια διαχει[λ]ια πεντα[κόσ]ια - "who donated to the *polis* the 12,500 *denarii* of the *gymnasiarchia*."

¹⁵ For example, having a gymnasiarch dedicating or the *gymnasiarchia* as a central theme of an honorary inscription (e.g., if the *gymnasiarchia* is the only office mentioned). In comparison to other Lycian cities, the *gymnasiarchia* is particularly well attested at Patara due to the city's state of archaeological research.

¹⁶ *SEG* 63, 1339 (theater), 1360 and 1361.65, 1484 (church); see Şahin 2008, 603, n. 39a and b. Special emphasis on the *gymnasiarchia* is found in *SEG* 63, 1360-61.

¹⁷ Şahin 2008, 603, n. 39b.

¹⁸ Şahin 2008, 603, n. 39a.

the children and the age classes of the *gymnasion* were especially laudable, while to the north other offices and liturgies seem to have possessed a greater significance.¹⁹

Our data for agonistic inscriptions seems to mirror this basic distribution: 20 out of 23 agonistic inscriptions (almost 87 %) were reused for the wall or buildings (shops?) on the main street. The ties to the *gymnasion* of at least some of our agonistic texts become apparent, when regarding the monuments commemorating the victors of a local prize-event (*themis*).²⁰ As far as we can tell, the city of Patara celebrated these events by setting up group monuments consisting of statue bases for the victors of three disciplines only: the *enkomion*, wrestling (*pale*) in the boy category, and wrestling in the man category. Not only did these monuments serve the general regard for wrestling in Lycia, by combining athletic and artistic victors they created an illustrious image of the unity of body and mind. This put the next generation of athletes - that is, citizens - literally at the center of those focal points of civic ideology. This is nowhere more apparent than with Alexandros Karpos, son of L. Valerius Iason, who is not only shown as a victor of the *enkomion*, but also chosen by the Romans governor. Our inscription emphasizes that this man during the previous *themis* had been the victor of the wrestling in the youth category - a "record" clearly relevant to the city and to the promotion of its talents that develops its effect specifically within a gymnasial context (fig. 1).²¹

Even more directly connected to the *gymnasion* is a third group of inscriptions: bases set up for or by the *neoi*.²² Especially for three inscriptions found at Tower 9 of the late antique wall, an erection inside the *gymnasion* seems most likely. Two statues, one of Herakles Kallinikos and one of Hermes Agonios, were set up by the demos of Patara. A third statue, of Herakles, was set up by the *hypogymnasiarch* of the *neoi*, a certain Daliades III.²³ In other instances we see the *neoi* as a group, not as a recipient, but in action, for example, when they honor and crown their benefactor, an *hypogymnasiarch*, in an inscription from Harbor Street.²⁴ During the excavations at the Neronian Bath a round base and a fragment of a round base have been found that attest a very similar practice. They are briefly presented here:

No. 1 Base for Artapates III

A round limestone base (H. 0.62 [preserved] x DM. 0.48 [measurable]) was found in 2019 built into the late antique southeastern city wall directly north of the latrines. The top and bottom profile were mostly chipped off; the surface of the stone is carefully smoothed. The base with mortar remains; the stone faces northeast towards the wall filling. For the reading of I.5, modeling clay was used. Letters carefully drawn with fine apices. Height 2.4 cm, line spacing

¹⁹ Interestingly, one of the inscriptions found at the church (SEG 65, 1484) was commissioned by a club of elite citizens and seems to put more emphasis on the offices Titianus held in the Lycian League (II.6-7) and in the context of the cult of Apollon Patroos (II.2-5). It is tempting to suggest that this base was originally put up in the sanctuary outside the city's gates; see Lepke et al. 2015, 347-49, 369-72 and Schuler and Zimmermann 2012, 600-601.

²⁰ Lepke 2015, 135-40, 146-47.

²¹ Lepke 2015, 136-38, no. 2 (SEG 65, 1490).

²² How to conceptualize this group (association or institution) is disputed; see Eckhardt 2021, 149-58 and van Bremen 2013. In Lycia *neoi* are attested from the early second century BC onwards; see Wörrle 2011, 407-10 and Gauthier 1996, 7-16.

²³ Zimmermann 2016.

²⁴ Lepke and Schuler (forthcoming), no. 4, an honorary inscription for an *hypogymnasiarch* by his family. Until now, no inscriptions set up by or for the *neoi* have been found that were not rebuilt in the southern section of the late antique city wall.

1.8 cm. According to its letterforms, the inscription dates from late Hellenistic times (Ny with right leg floating, the height of the right leg of Pi shortened).

- 1 οἱ νέοι Ἀρτα[πάτην]
 Ἀρταπάτο[υ τοῦ]
 ὡ. Ἀρτα[πάτου]
 4 γυμνασια[ρχήσαντα]
 καὶ ἀγωνο[θετήσαντα].

“The *neoi* (honor) Artapates, son of Artapates, grandson of Artapates, who was *gymnasiarchos* and *agonothetes*” (figs. 2-3).

Since the upper side of the base is chipped off, we are unable to confirm whether or not a statue of Artapates III was placed on top of this round base. This was most likely. While Artapates is a Persian name already attested in Patara,²⁵ we cannot identify the *gymnasiarchos* in the city’s prosopography.

No. 2 Fragment of a round base

This fragment of a round base of dark grey marble (H. 0.12 [preserved] x W. 0.105 [preserved] x D. 0.035 [preserved]) was found in 2018 in the west section of Tower 9 (inv. no: EP 549). A profile remnant at the top was carefully worked with a tooth iron, but slightly rough. The inscribed surface is slightly recessed. Deeply cut letters are carefully drawn with clear apices. Height 2.5 cm, line distance 1.7 cm. The inscription probably dates from early Imperial times.

[οἱ ν]έοι - - -
 - - - Π - - - -
 - - - - - - - -

The restoration is based on number 1. Alternatively [Παταρέων οἱ ν]έοι might have been employed in 1.1 (fig. 4).²⁶

From this preliminary survey the southern part of the ancient city of Patara appears closely connected to gymnasial institutions and activity - and deliberately so, as an analysis of the inscriptions for Q. Vilius Titianus has shown. About the actual extent of the *gymnasion*-complex in the south of the city center, very little can be said (see below). However, it is probably no coincidence that no further inscriptions matching our criteria were found in the late antique city wall to the north of the Neronian Bath.²⁷ This makes an honorary inscription for an *hypogymnasiarch*, said to be honored by the *neoi* from the late first century BC, and four agonistic inscriptions from the third century AD even more interesting.²⁸ Three of the agonistic inscriptions were found slightly offset to the north opposite the Neronian Bath, and the honorary base

²⁵ SEG 43,1825 and SEG 63, 1336 B col. II 16; C 21.

²⁶ Compare, for example, TAM 2, 498 and SEG 46, 1721 for the Xanthian *neoi* at the Letoon in the second century BC and SEG 46, 1723 for a decree by the *neoi* and a *gymnasiarchos* possibly of Kandyba at the Letoon in the first century AD. [Κ]ανδυβέων οἱ νέοι also at Kandyba (TAM 2, 751) in the early first century AD. Compare also TAM 2, 556 (early first century AD from Tlos).

²⁷ To date this section of the walls has not fully been uncovered.

²⁸ Lepke 2015, 144, no. 9 (reused as a curb stone of the main street; SEG 65, 1497), 141, no. 5 (SEG 65, 1493), 146, no. 13 and Lepke and Schuler (forthcoming) no. 4. Compare SEG 63, 1337 from the west *stoa*.

and the fourth agonistic inscription come from the main street opposite the so-called Central Bath. While we cannot exclude the possibility that these blocks have been moved there from the agora or elsewhere, the use of four different monuments argues in favour of a site between the Central Bath and the Neronian Bath (see below).

2.2 A qualitative approach

An inscription originally inscribed at the theater provides a detailed report of the architectural integration of the *gymnasion* into the broader representational framework of Patara. We will now present and discuss this text in detail. The inscription dates to the second century AD, a period when the city engaged in extensive building activities. The theater, *gymnasion*-complex, sanctuary of Apollo, city gate, and agora with its immediate surroundings were rebuilt, reshaped, or repaired after various earthquakes. We possess detailed information about the measures taken as they were at least partially financed by a foundation of 250,000 *denarii* that the benefactor Ti. Claudius Flavianus Eudemos had set up to pay for construction and repairs from the interests accrued.²⁹ In return, the city set up inscriptions and honorary statues at various building sites, detailing the work done from the accumulated money. The base of an honorary statue with an inscription listing the work conducted at the theater was found at the diazoma of the theater.³⁰ A second base listing various works in the city and honoring Claudius Flavianus Eudemos as well as his wife Claudia Anassa was found in Tower 9 of the city wall. It was, according to its text, originally set up at a stoa.³¹ Three blocks preserve the major part of a third inscription:

No. 3 Honorary inscription for Ti. Claudius Flavianus Eudemos

In 2012 Helmut Engelmann published a block (B) found in 2001 at the bottom of the *koilon* of the theater (T.01.340: W. 0.69 x H. 0.60) (fig. 5).³² The attached corner shaft segment and the pilaster point to a place of origin at the west corner of the front of the temple above the theater. In 2012 and 2018 two blocks of limestone (A: W. 0.68 x H. 0.60 x D. 0.30 and C:³³ W. 0.83 x H. 0.695 x D. 0.30) were found in the southern section of the late antique city wall in the rubble of Tower 9. These directly connect to the line endings contained in Engelmann's fragment. Block B is now in the stone field of the theater; block A is in the stone field of the Neronian Bath; block C is in the stone depot of the excavation house (figs. 6-7). Block A is broken at the back, all four sides with *anathyrosis*; upper corners bumped, spalling on the front and abrasion of the writing in places. Block C is well preserved with a 6 cm high, slightly raised decorative line at the bottom. The left, right and bottom sides are with *anathyrosis*; the top side is roughly smoothed with a claw chisel and the back roughly chipped. The letters are very regular: H. 2.3-3 cm, line spacing 1-2 cm. Above 1.1 a space of 6 cm is left blank.

²⁹ For a general overview compare Lepke et al. 2015, 373-76; Zimmermann 2015, 585-89, 592, fig. 2.

³⁰ Engelmann 2012a, 219-21, no. 1 (*SEG* 54, 1436).

³¹ Lepke et al. 2015, 357-76, no. 9 (*SEG* 65, 1486). Our new inscription specifies: [ἡ στο]ἶα ἢ πρὸ τοῦ ἀλιπτηρίου - the stoa in front of the *aleipterion* (see below).

³² Engelmann 2012a, 221, no. 2. A description of the stone is found in Piesker and Ganzert 2012, 191-92 with fig. 203.

³³ A preliminary report of this block is published in Koçak and Şahin 2020, 199-203.

- A+B [Τιβέριον] Κλαύδιον Εὐδήμου υἱὸν | Φλα-
 [ουιανὸν] Κυρεῖνα Εὐδημον Παταρέ|α, ἄν-
 [δρα μεγαλ]όφρονα καὶ φιλόπατριν, πολλ|ὰ καὶ
 [μεγάλα πα]ρασχόμενον τῇ πατρίδι ἔν τε | ἀρχαῖς,
 5 [λειτουργί]αις καὶ ἐπιδόσεσιν, καταλελοι|πότα
 [μὲν τοῖς πολ]εῖταις <ἐπίδοσιν> καθ' ἕκαστον ἔτος καὶ διδ|όντα
 [μετὰ τῆς γυ]ναικὸς αὐτοῦ Κλαυδίας Ἀνάσ|σης
 [τῷ πολεῖτη] ἀνὰ Χ ἕξ ἡμισυ, καταλελοιπ|οῖτα δὲ
 [ἀργυρίου] δηναρίου μυριάδας κε' εἰς τὸ | ἀπὸ
 10 [τῶν τόκων] παντὶ τῷ αἰῶνι προσκτί|ζεσθ|[αι α]ύ-
 [τοῦ τὴν πα]τρίδα· ἐξ οὗ δὴ πλήθους τοῦ κ|[εφα]-
 [λαίου ἕως] ἀρχιερέως τῶν Σεβαστῶν Λι|[κιν]-
 C [ν]ίου Φ[ι]λξίνου γεγόνασιν [έ]κ τῆς προ[σόδου τῶν τό]-
 κων δηναρίου μυριάδες εἴκοσι [δηνάρια . . α]-
 15 κισχεῖλια πεντακόσια τριακόντα τ[έσσαρα? vac.]
 ἀφ' οὗ πλήθους τῶν τόκων κατεσκευά[σθη μὲν καὶ]
 τὰ ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ ἔργα αἵ τε ἀντηρεῖδ[ες καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ]
 κύκλῳ τοῦ θεάτρου ἀνοικοδομημένα ἔρ[γα καὶ τὰ και]-
 νὰ βάρη καὶ ἡ στοᾶ καὶ ὁ ναός, ἐπεσκε[υάσθη δὲ ἀπὸ]
 20 τῶν χρημάτων τούτων καὶ τὸ γυμνάσι[ον καὶ ἡ στο]-
 ᾶ ἢ πρὸ τοῦ ἀλιπτηρίου, κατεσκευάσθη δὲ καὶ ἡ]
 πρὸς τῷ ἀλιπτηρίῳ ἐξέδρα, ἐπεσκευάσθη δὲ καὶ τὰ]
 καισάρεια δύο ἔν τε τῇ διπλῇ στοᾷ καὶ ἐν τ[ῷ τεμέ]-
 νει τοῦ θεοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ ὁ προφητικ[ὸς οἶκος καὶ]
 25 οἱ ἐν τῷ ἄλσει ὄντες ὄχαιοί, κατασκευάζεται [δὲ καὶ τὰ πρὸς]
 τῇ πύλῃ ἔργα ἐκ τῶν τόκων τῆς δωρεᾶς τῶν [χρημάτων]
 τούτων ^{Hedera} Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος Ἐπαφρόδε[ιτος Πατα]-
 ρεὺς καὶ αὐτὸς ἐργεπιστάτης γεγωνῶς τ[ῶν τοῦ ναοῦ ?]
 καὶ τῶν τοῦ θεάτρου τὸν ἑαυτοῦ εὐεργέτη[ν ^{Hedera}]

Engelmann already identified block B as being part of an honorary inscription for Ti. Claudius Flavianus Eudemos and suggested an epsilon above l.1. On closer inspection this E turns out to be a scratch on the stone surface. **1-12** About 8 characters per line must have been written on the adjacent block to the left. **6** On the syntax see below. **8** Engelmann: . ΛΑΣ. **13-29** About 10 characters per line must have been written on the adjacent block to the right. For **13-14** the space available renders ἐξάκις (6,000) or ἐνάκις (9,000) likely. **15** τ[ρία ^{vacat}] is also possible. **28** The space available suggests that no *figura etymologica* (ἐργεπιστάτης τῶν ἔργων) was used. The genitive article τῶν shows that ἔργα are implied. The place of origin of our inscription does lend itself towards our restoration. **29** For the *hedera* see below.

“Tiberius Claudius Flavianus Eudemos, son of Eudemos, of the *tribus* Quirina, citizen of Patara, a high-minded and patriotic man, who performed many great services for his hometown, both in offices and liturgies and donations. He left an annual <distribution> for the citizens and, together with his wife Claudia Anassa, gave 6 ½ *denarii* to each citizen, and left on the other hand 250,000 *denarii* so that from the interest his home city would continue to be developed for all time. From this sum of the capital stock an income from interest accrued to the amount of 20x,534 *denarii* until the imperial high priesthood of Licinnius Phileinos. From this sum of interest, the work inside the theater: the supporting towers as well as the work of walling up inside the theater round, and the new seats and the stoa and the temple were constructed, furthermore the *gymnasion* and the stoa in front of the *aleipterion* was repaired from this money and the exedra at the *aleipterion* was constructed. Two *kaisareia* were repaired, one inside the double stoa, the other in the sacred precinct of the god Apollo, and the house of the prophet and the drains inside the sacred grove. Furthermore, the work at the gate is conducted from the interest of the gift of this money. Tiberius Claudius Epaphroditos from Patara, who was himself superintendent of the work at the temple and at the theater (has set up this monument to honor) his personal benefactor.”

More than fifteen extensive inscriptions were set up in the city in honor of Ti. Claudius Flavianus Eudemos and his wife Claudia Anassa - most of them on bases originally adorned with honorary bronze statues. This, however, seems to be the only inscription of the series so far that was inscribed on the outer wall of a building itself. The corresponding statue bases implied by the formula of our texts might have been set up to the side of the temple's front. Ti. Claudius Epaphroditos, the client and heir of the deceased couple, probably used his office of *ersepistates* to have an inscription for Ti. Claudius Flavianus Eudemos carved into the wall of the temple. Epaphroditos was already known to be *ersepistates* in AD 150.³⁴ In our text we see him as a former *ersepistates* of two building projects financed from the interest of Eudemos' foundation.³⁵

An analogous “private” monument following a very similar formula - set up for ἡ ἑαυτοῦ ἐπεργέτις - was found in 2005 near the city gate of the late antique wall.³⁶ In this text Ti. Claudius Epaphroditos commemorates the life and deeds of Claudia Anassa. While its lettering compared to our text is somewhat careless, the letter forms are very similar. The epigraphic surface is enclosed by slightly elevated 5-6 cm high strips similar to our decorative line. The name of the person responsible for the honor is separated from the rest of the text by two *bederae*, as probably is the case with our text as well. Most striking is the similar width of both inscriptions. The base for Claudia Anassa is 119 cm wide, while the preserved width of block C is 83 cm, with an average letter width of 2.5-2.9 cm. Considering the approximately ten letters missing that were inscribed on a second block, we can reconstruct an original width for our inscription that is very similar to the inscription for Claudia Anassa (fig. 8).

So it seems likely that Claudia Anassa was honored by Claudius Epaphroditos next to her husband at the wall of the theater temple as well. In fact, the block for Claudia Anassa and block A and B are both 60 cm high, probably at a level on either side of the temple door.³⁷

³⁴ *SEG* 65, 1486 I ll.25-27 and II ll.17-18.

³⁵ An *ersepistates*, unlike the ἐπιμελετής δημοσίων ἔργων (attested at Patara in Bönisch and Lepke 2013, 487-96, no. 1 ll.14-15 [*SEG* 63, 13]; commentary on 492-93), seems to have been responsible for the supervision of specific construction projects limited in time. Compare Wörrle 1988, 117-18.

³⁶ Engelmann 2012b, 185-86, no. 4 (*SEG* 63, 1342). The text differs from the known formula of the other uniform inscriptions set up in Claudia Anassa's honor by the city. This conveys the impression of a personal connection between the benefactor and her heir.

³⁷ See the reconstruction in Piesker and Ganzert 2012, suppl. 18.

Interestingly, here - compared to the double base - with Claudia Anassa on the left and Eudemos on the right, the order of husband and wife is reversed, and Anassa is named first, so to speak.

While the text in honor of Claudia Anassa differs significantly from the almost uniform versions known from various honorary bases, the inscription for her husband resembles more closely other honorary inscriptions for the benefactor. After a brief summary of Eudemos' political career, the text jumps right into the considerable amount of money the benefactor bequeathed to the city. As is reiterated in ll.5-11, we need to distinguish two separate transactions: an annual donation of 6.5 *denarii* for each citizen and the endowment of 250,000 *denarii* for the construction and repair of the city's buildings. The passage on the former donation in our text is clearly corrupt - καταλείπειν without object in conjunction with καθ' ἕκαστον ἔτος seems rather nonsensical. Most probably the object ἐπίδοσιν was erroneously omitted by the stone mason who may have got confused by the sequence ἐπιδόσεις - ἐπίδοσιν in two successive lines. An almost identical depiction of this first donation is to be found in the earliest honorary text for Ti. Claudius Eudemos known to us.³⁸ The latter donation proved to be an unexpected stroke of luck for the city of Patara, as second-century Lycia suffered through various devastating earthquakes. Dutifully, as prescribed by the benefactor, the city placed a statue base at each "construction site" giving an account of the various projects financed from the foundation.³⁹

The preserved text indicates that our inscription follows the same formula as the double base and the inscription from the theater temple. After establishing a key date - the already attested, but hitherto undated, federal priesthood of Licinius Philinos - the sum of interest accrued up to this time is given before identifying the various measures funded from this money. Our text lists construction works that has been or being conducted, as well as repairs at the theater, *gymnasion*, agora, sacred precinct of Apollo Patroos, and city gate. They clearly fit the picture established by the inscriptions already known, but add details and use alternative terminology allowing for a better understanding of the building activity at Patara in the middle of the second century. Especially productive, as we shall see, is the comparison between our text and the double base from the stoa (*SEG* 65, 1486). The latter text was written in the same year or shortly after Mettius Androbios was federal priest of the Lycian League in AD 150. Until then 340,534 *denarii* had been accumulated, which is significantly more than in our text where we find probably 206,534 or 209,534 *denarii*. In 2015, Klaus Zimmermann, Christof Schuler, and

³⁸ Engelmann 2012b, 179-80, no. 1 ll.13-6: ποιησάμενος ἐπιδόσεις ἀργυρικὰς καὶ ἐν εἰλαίῳ καὶ κατ' ἔτος ἀργυρικὴν | ἐπίδοσιν χαρισάμενος ("He made distributions of money and in oil and donated an annual distribution of money"). There are significant differences in the way this *epidosis* is depicted in the other inscriptions in honor of Eudemos and Claudia Anassa: The donation is at times characterized as a onetime event (*SEG* 65, 1486 I ll.9-11): διδοὺς με|τὰ τῆς γυναίκος αὐτοῦ Κλ(αυδίας) Ανάσσης τῷ πολεῖται ἅνῃ δηνάρια ἕξ ἡμισυ ("Together with his wife, Claudia Anassa, he gave 6.5 *denarii* to every citizen"). Another text even characterizes the donation as a onetime gift by Claudia Anassa (*SEG* 65, 1486 II ll.7-11: πολλὰ καὶ | μεγάλα παρασχομένη τῇ πατρίδι ἐν αἰς | ἐποίησατο εὐεργεσίας καὶ ἀναθήμασιν καὶ | αἷς κατέλειπεν ἐπιδόσεις τοῖς πολεῖταις | καὶ γυμνασιαρχία εἰς ἅπαντα τὸν αἰῶνα ["She granted many great things to her hometown while making benefactions and dedications and while bequeathing distributions to the citizens and the *gymnasiarchia* for all time"]). The text, *SEG* 63, 1342 ll.7-11 for Claudia Anassa and associated with the theater temple above, places the emphasis on the widow, but depicts the donation as a joint gift by her and her husband: καταλείπειν αὐτῆς καὶ ἀναθήματα καὶ χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου καὶ γυμνασιαρχίαν | κατ' ἔτος εἰς ἅπαντα τὸν αἰῶνα καθὼς διετάξατο, διδοῦσα || διὰ παντὸς καὶ τῷ πολεῖται κατ' ἔτος ἕκαστῳ ἅνῃ * ἕξ ἡμισυ μετὰ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ("She left votive offerings of gold and silver and the (cost for the) annual *gymnasiarchia* for all times, just as she ordered by will, and she also gave continually to every citizen 6.5 *denarii* annually together with her husband"). These are contradictory claims that undoubtedly owe themselves to a certain distance from the death of the two protagonists.

³⁹ Lepke et al. 2015, 373-75. The regulation is explicitly stated in *SEG* 65, 1486 ll.24-27.

Andrew Lepke experimentally speculated about the foundation's rate of interest as between 6% and 8%.⁴⁰ Abiding by the same limitations, that is, under the condition of continuous investment development - clearly not a given with a foundation of this amount - and in negligence of the existent running costs and of a possible allowance for compound interest, it would have taken about four years for interest income to grow from 20x,534 to 340,534 *denarii*. It is exactly four years prior to Mettius Androbios that a certain Licinnius, whose cognomen is not preserved, is attested as federal priest of the Lycian League for the year AD 146 in the Opramoas dossier of Rhodiapolis.⁴¹ Even if our experimental calculation is not an exact indication, it seems likely that this Licinnius should be identified with Licinnius Philinos, which dates our text to AD 146,⁴² a hypothesis already suggested by Denise Reitzenstein. This is especially so, since our inscription clearly belongs in the first half of the second century which leaves very few alternatives for Licinnus Philinos' federal priesthood. (Otherwise the list of federal priests from AD 131-150 has only two blanks: 143 and 145.)⁴³

To assess the works conducted according to our new inscription and to evaluate the general building activity in AD 146 and 150, it is necessary to analyze the surviving information comparatively. The following table puts the various measures together: those reported from the statue base from the theater, our new inscription, and the honorary double base from the stoa.

	SEG 54, 1436 (found in the diazoma)	New inscription (theater temple, AD 146?)	SEG 65, 1486 (double base, AD 150)
Theater	κατεσκευά[σ]θη καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ ἔργα, αἱ τε ἀντηρείδες καὶ ὁ ἔξωθεν τοῦ θεάτρου κύκλος, καὶ ἡ ἐπικειμέ[νη] αἰτῶ στοὰ σὺν ταῖς ἀνόδοις καὶ τὰ καινὰ βᾶθρα καὶ ὁ ναός· “the works inside the theater: the supporting towers as well as the outer ring of the theater, and the stoa lying on it with its ways up, and the new seats and the temple were constructed”	κατεσκευά[σθη μὲν καὶ] τὰ ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ ἔργα αἱ τε ἀντηρείδ[ες] καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ] κύκλῳ τοῦ θεάτρου ἀνοικοδομημένα ἔρ[γα καὶ τὰ καὶ]νὰ βᾶθρα καὶ ἡ στοὰ καὶ ὁ ναός “the works inside the theater: the supporting towers and the recon- struction works (of the walls) inside the theater round, and the new seats and the stoa and the temple were constructed”	κατεσκευάσθη (...) καὶ τὰ ἐν θεάτρῳ ἔργα “the works inside the theater were constructed”

⁴⁰ Lepke et al. 2015, 366-67.

⁴¹ TAM 2. 905 11 H 5-6 (Kokkinia 2000, 49) and 18 A 1 (Kokkinia 2000, 68); cf. Kokkinia 2000, 170. It is likely that both passages refer to the same Licinnius, being federal priest, when Voconius Saxa was governor of Lycia.

⁴² Another priest, Aelius Aristolochianus Capito, was probably from Kadyanda and a relative of Aelius Tertullianus Aristolochos (see the following note and Reitzenstein 2011, 218, no. 78). According to Lepke et al. 2015, 376-83, no. 10, he was federal priest twenty-four years after Licinnius Philinos, which would therefore belong to the year AD 170 (or 167 / 169). The inscription for Aristonoe, daughter of Serapion, dates to the same year (or slightly later). The dating of this text is relevant for our analysis, since Serapion took over the task of ἐργεπιστασία (building supervision) multiple times; see below.

⁴³ Reitzenstein 2011, 239, no. 122. Reitzenstein's further considerations on the dating of Licinnius Philinos therefore seem to be unfounded. Her argument is based on the *nomen gentile* of Aelius Tertullianus Aristolochos, who was *agonothetes* when Licinnius Philinos was federal priest (TAM 2. 678). Reitzenstein argues for Tertullianus' Roman citizenship being awarded to his father under Hadrian. Since Tertullianus was still *agonothetes* when a M. Aurelius was federal priest (TAM 2. 677), which could have been 161 at the earliest, she opts for dating Philinos to the second half of the second century. Thus, we are looking at a remarkably long tenure of an *agonothetes*.

While the double base only briefly summarizes the works at the theater, the base from the theater itself is more explicit. Various construction works is addressed and almost verbatim reproduced in our new text. Two differences are to report: the ways up, according to *SEG* 54, 1436 belonging to the stoa have been omitted in our new inscription - either because they were not completed around 146 or, more likely, because they were conceptualized as being part of the stoa.⁴⁴ The other difference concerns what is described in *SEG* 54, 1436 as “the outer ring of the theater” [τὰ ἐν τῷ] κύκλῳ τοῦ θεάτρου ἀνοικοδομήμενα ἔργα], which clearly points to reconstruction work being conducted inside the theater, a few years prior to approximately 146. The most likely reason for this activity was the great earthquake of 141 / 142.⁴⁵

Gymnasion	<p>ἐπεσκε υάσθη... και τὸ γυμνάσι ον και ἡ στο ᾶ ἢ πρὸ τοῦ ἀλιπτηρίου, κατεσκευάσθη η δὲ και ἡ πρὸς τῷ ἀλιπτηρίῳ ἐξέδρα</p> <p>“the <i>gymnasion</i> and the stoa in front of the <i>aleipterion</i> was repaired. and the <i>exedra</i> at the <i>aleipterion</i> was constructed”</p>	<p>ἐπεσκευ ύσθη τὸ γυμνάσιον και ἡ στο<ᾶ> αὕτη, κατεσκευάσθη δὲ και ἡ παρακειμένη ἐξέδρα</p> <p>“the <i>gymnasion</i> and this stoa was repaired, the <i>exedra</i> lying beside was constructed”</p>
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Most interesting for our purposes are the details given on the construction and repair work conducted at and near the *gymnasion*. The substance of the report of both inscriptions is identical: the *gymnasion* and a stoa had been repaired, an *exedra* constructed. Yet both texts seem to struggle with the need to distinguish the stoa and the *exedra* in question from other stoai and *exedrai* in the area. While the double base itself serves as a geographic marker to denote the stoa in *SEG* 65, 1486, our new text introduces the *aleipterion* as a point of reference: the stoa stood in front of this structure, the *exedra* next to it. An *aleipterion* traditionally denotes a building or room where the visitors of a *gymnasion* could change and anoint themselves. However, as Anne-Valérie Pont has shown, in Imperial times the *aleipteria* turned into important ceremonial rooms - oftentimes at the junction of *gymnasion* and bath.⁴⁶ Our epigraphic evidence seems to match this assertion: the *aleipterion* in Patara clearly was a distinctive and prominent enough structure to serve as a reference point in what is essentially an account of the city’s management of Ti. Claudius Flavianus Eudemos’ foundation, and an anchor point in the mental maps of contemporaries.⁴⁷

Sanctuary of Apollo Patros	<p>ἐπεσκευ ύσθη δὲ και τὰ καισάρεια δύο ἐν τε τῇ διπλῇ στοᾷ και ἐν τ ῶι τεμέ ναι τοῦ θεοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος και ὁ προφητικ[ὸς οἶκος και] οἱ ἐν τῷ ἄλσει ὄχαιοί</p> <p>“two <i>kaisareia</i> were repaired, one inside the double stoa the other in the sacred precinct of the god Apollo, and the house of the prophet and the drains in the sacred grove were constructed”</p>	<p>ἐπεσκευ ύσθη δὲ και καισάρεια δύο και ὁ προφητικὸς οἶκος και οἱ ἐν τῷ ἄλσει ὄχαιοί</p> <p>“two <i>kaisareia</i> and the house of the prophet and the drains in the sacred grove were repaired”</p>
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⁴⁴ Compare Piesker and Ganzert 2012, 63-64, who identify the eastern access tunnel and the (postulated) staircase leading up to this access tunnel with the stoa and their ways up.

⁴⁵ See Lepke (forthcoming). On the chronology of the seismic activity in 141 / 142, see Ambraseys 2009, 128-31.

⁴⁶ Pont 2008.

⁴⁷ See below for the archaeological evidence.

Regarding the sanctuary of Apollo Patroos, our new text informs us that one of the two *kaisareia* mentioned in *SEG* 65, 1486, was situated inside the temenos of the sanctuary (on the second one, see below). The completed repairs for the house of the prophet and the drains in the sacred grove can now be dated around 146, placing them closer to the great earthquake of 142 and the “long silence” of the oracle of Apollo Patroos mentioned in the Opramoas dossier.⁴⁸

After the destruction of 142, many Lycian communities turned to the benefactor from Rhodiapolis for financial aid. If two decrees by the Lycian League are to be believed,⁴⁹ the Patareans proved particularly inventive in asking for help: after having received substantial gifts already, they arranged that one of the first oracular responses of Apollo Patroos after a “long time in which no oracular responses had been issued” was issued to Opramoas, convincing him to support the restoration of the oracle and the festival of Apollo Patroos. While no date is given for Opramoas’ benefactions, one of the two decrees mentions the Roman governor of 143-146, Q. Voconius Saxa.⁵⁰ So either Opramoas was one of the first visitors at the sanctuary after the Patareans had finished their repairs, or the Patareans got the assurance of Opramoas’ financial support first and then started their own repairs at the sanctuary. A strategy similar to the latter variant was employed when constructing the stoa at the harbor. This project too had been planned as a joint venture of Opramoas and the city of Patara, and again the Patareans were able to persuade the benefactor to pay all the costs.⁵¹

Having the repairs at the sanctuary - and the oracle speaking again - that close to 142, seems to favor a reconstruction of events that assumes a rather short period of silence of the oracle. After the earthquake hit the sanctuary, the Patareans either started the reconstruction right away and finished in 143-146, or they focused on other works - probably due to structural necessities urging civic officials to put all their money, building material, and workforce to the theater⁵² - and started the repairs only in 143-146. They finished their work around 146 when they brokered a deal with the benefactor from Rhodiapolis for the repairs of the oracle and reintroduction of the great Apollonian games.⁵³

Double stoa	<p>ἐπεσκευάσθη δὲ καὶ τὰ καισάρεια δύο ἔν τε τῇ διπλῇ στοᾷ καὶ ἐν τ[ῶ]ι τεμέ[[ν]ει τοῦ θεοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος</p> <p>“two <i>kaisareia</i> were repaired, one inside the double stoa the other in the sacred precinct of the god Apollo”</p>	<p>ἐπεσκευάσθη δὲ καὶ καισάρεια δύο</p> <p>“two <i>kaisareia</i> were repaired”</p>
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⁴⁸ *TAM* 2. 905 17 E 11-12.

⁴⁹ *TAM* 2. 905 14 E 11.3-10, no. 55 (Kokkinia 2000, 60, no. 56) and 17 E 11.10-13, no. 59 (Kokkinia 2000, 67, no. 59).

⁵⁰ See Kokkinia 2000, 258.

⁵¹ *TAM* 2. 905 17 E 11.14 - F 11.1; 18 G 11.3-4 and FdX 7 67 11.12-14. Initially, as *TAM* 2. 905 18 G 11.1-6 (Kokkinia 2000, 70) demonstrates, Opramoas had given 18,000 *denarii* (i.e. 45 %) towards this building project, the costs of which amounted to 40,000 *denarii*; cf. Zimmermann 2019, 136-37.

⁵² See Piesker and Ganzert 2012, 76, on the provisional character of the works conducted after the earthquake and the state of incompleteness the theater remained in. The repairs at the Neronian Baths were postponed until after about 146 as well.

⁵³ On the history of these games see Lepke et al. 2015, 345-47. On the *agonothesia(i)* of Opramoas, see Zimmermann 2019, 137-38.

Since there seems to be no distinctive type of *kaisareion*, the appearance of this structure remains obscure.⁵⁴ As the double base attests, a stoa at Patara could be furnished with large statue bases bearing wordy inscriptions. And indeed, numerous statue bases with honorary inscriptions for various emperors have been found rebuilt into the southern section of the late antique city wall, possibly forming the *kaisareion* in question. There are, on the other hand, hundreds of fragments of marble slabs found at the double stoa have survived the limekilns. While an in-depth analysis of the marble tiles with inscription is still pending, the material and the marble decoration without inscription that was also utilized in this stoa shows a demonstrable level of expense and presentation.⁵⁵

Baths		ἐπεσκευάσθη δὲ καὶ τὸ πρὸς τῇ ἀγορᾷ βαλανεῖον “the baths at the agora were repaired”
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Interestingly, these repairs are somewhat detached from the repairs and construction works near the *gymnasion*. However, this might be for chronological reasons, since work at the Neronian Bath seems not yet to have been finished by around 146.⁵⁶

City Gate	κατασκευάζεται [δὲ καὶ τὰ πρὸς] τῇ πόλει ἔργα “the work at the gate is being conducted”	κατασκευάζεται δὲ καὶ τὰ πρὸς τῇ πόλει ἔργα “the work at the gate is being conducted”
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With regards to the construction work at the gate - probably the so-called Mettius Modestus gate in the north of the city - our new text and the double base are fully identical.

Statue	καὶ ἡ εἰς τοὺς [ἀν]δριάντας ἑαυτοῦ ἔξοδος ἐγένετο ἐκ [τ]ῶν τόκων “and the expenditure for his statues got paid from the interest”	καὶ ἡ εἰς τὸν ἀνδριάντα δὲ αὐτοῦ ἔξοδος ἐγένετο ἐκ τῶν τόκων τούτων “and the expenditure for his statue got paid from the interest”
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Both inscriptions set up by the city of Patara elaborate on the prize of the statues being paid from the proceeds of the foundation. In contrast, our new text is clearly a private gift by the grateful Ti. Claudius Epaphroditos who must have paid for the monument himself.

In concert with our other inscriptions referring to the building activities financed by Ti. Claudius Flavianus Eudemos, our new text allows for a new evaluation of the scope and severity of the destruction of 142. Prominent parts of the city - the Neronian Bath at the agora and the house of the prophet at the suburban sanctuary of Apollo - remained in need of repair for a couple or even several years, probably indicating an overload of financial resources, insufficient workforce, and lack of building materials due to abundant demand. Rebuilding Patara after this catastrophe turned out to be an enormous task, distributed on many shoulders and

⁵⁴ Lepke et al. 2015, 367 with n. 230. On the double stoa see Aktaş 2016a, 2019.

⁵⁵ On the other marble decoration see Möllers 2015, who dates part of the marble tiles into Severan times.

⁵⁶ On the interrelationship of the construction of the stoa and the frigidarium of the Neronian Baths, see Koçak and Şahin 2020, 203-6. It is not entirely clear what kind of activities are precisely depicted with *ἐπισκευάζειν* in our inscription. Koçak and Şahin 2020 proposed a wide meaning of the word, also encompassing the extension of the building stock of a structure. A more rigorous differentiation between *κατασκευάζειν* and *ἐπισκευάζειν* might favor a slightly earlier construction of building phase II of the Neronian Baths and the stoa north of the agora, which in turn were damaged in 142 and had to be repaired between AD 142 and 150.

certainly overstressing the civic budgets. Regional benefactors like Opramoas of Rhodiapolis stepped in and paid for various costs so that the Patareans could focus all their effort on rebuilding the city.⁵⁷

The thorough account of the city's effort in combating this destruction preserved in our texts allows for an unusually detailed picture of the city center in the middle of the second century AD. We find the *gymnasion* connected to a stoa, which was placed directly in front of an *aleipterion*. Adjacent to this stoa an exedra was situated. We cannot say whether the *aleipterion* was part of the *gymnasion* or the baths at the agora, which were repaired just after 146. Even the stoa is not explicitly identified as, for example, "the stoa of the *gymnasion*." The reason for this is probably that it was not possible to conceptually distinguish between the baths and the *gymnasion* in second-century Patara.

Both inquiries into our epigraphic record have produced two fragmentary but complementary pictures of the *gymnasion* at Patara. Our inscriptions clearly point to the existence of a *gymnasion* in the vicinity of the agora since at least the first century BC. Whether this *gymnasion* had grown into a *gymnasion*-bath complex before the second century AD remains unclear.⁵⁸ So also is the question whether the *gymnasion* lost its importance during the Imperial era in favor of the thermal baths. Our epigraphic evidence for the *neoi* or any activity taking place in the palaestra⁵⁹ seems to be restricted towards the first century AD and at the beginning of the second century we find *gerontes* more prominently represented instead. But the education and training of the *neoi* clearly was a centerpiece of the city's public image as various agonistic inscriptions attest up until the third century AD.

Over this time the *gymnasion* seems to have grown into a prominent location of representation. While there are very few inscriptions that we can safely place in the *gymnasion* and there is no distinctive "persona" that we might ascribe to the inscriptions from the *gymnasion*, it clearly had an impact on the way civic and federal elites presented themselves and were represented in the south of Patara.

3. Architectural evidence for the city's *gymnasion*⁶⁰

Analysis of the epigraphic material given above suggests the localization of the *gymnasion* north of the agora and east of Harbor Street. In this section of the city, an area stands out that seems to have been ideally suited for a *gymnasion*, or more precisely, for the palaestra of a

⁵⁷ Compare TAM 2. 905.

⁵⁸ On changes of the Hellenistic *gymnasion* in Imperial times, see Trümper 2015. On the changing balance between the importance of the bath or the *gymnasion* aspect in *gymnasion*-bath complexes, see Steskal 2015.

⁵⁹ TAM 2. 470 (Merkelbach and Stauber, *Steinepigramme* 4, 2002, 39, no. 17 / 09 / 02) is an epigram for Ammonius, guardian of the palaestra (*palaistrophylax*).

⁶⁰ The importance of sports and related activities for fostering community and urban identity is also attested by the seventeen completely preserved strigils found in subterranean chamber tombs at Patara, in addition to numerous fragments. Analyses have shown that they date between the second half of the second century BC and the first century AD (Şahin 2018a, 27-35). It is generally assumed that the strigils enclosed in graves indicate that the deceased was an athlete during his lifetime. This is a plausible explanation in many cases, especially when supported by other finds such as inscriptions or various prizes won. It should not be assumed, however, that grave goods always point to primary meanings or are connected to the general function of the object; see Kotera-Feyer 1993, 1-2. On the various uses of the strigils, see Şahin and Doğan 2016, 772-73. However, the presence of a considerable number of strigils in many tombs may indicate otherwise. H.L. Reid suggests that strigils as grave goods rather reflect the image of a polis citizen who was a regular, perhaps lifelong, visitor to the *gymnasion*; see Reid 2022, 191-93. Thus, the strigiles from the tombs belonged primarily to the *gymnasion* world and had a significance that represented the social and political status of the male citizens in the city (Reid 2022, 198-210).

gymnasion.⁶¹ Roughly speaking, it is the area between the Neronian Bath and the so-called Central Bath further to the north. Apart from the proximity of the relevant inscriptions, there are several other reasons for identifying this area as a palaestra and thus a *gymnasion* (figs. 9, 10).

These reasons include the surrounding buildings related to a *gymnasion* already identified (to be discussed below). In addition, the topographical situation in the immediate vicinity of the agora must also be considered. However, two special features should be mentioned initially that make the site a suitable candidate for a palaestra and thus for a *gymnasion*. Firstly, there are no visible building remains that could be Roman or earlier on this large, flat area between the two baths that measures approximately 50 x 100 m. Secondly, the entire area lies considerably lower than its surroundings (fig. 10).⁶² In antiquity, this difference in level was certainly somewhat greater (the floor of this area, the presumed palaestra, has not yet been excavated), while the other elevations are from the exposed floors of the ancient buildings. In most cases palaestrae were unpaved and lower than the floors of the surrounding stoas.

According to the related epigraphic finds and the features briefly described above, the area between the two baths could be taken for the palaestra of the *gymnasion* of Patara. But more evidence is needed. Perhaps we can go a step further by observing the neighboring buildings that belong together and their topographical relationship with each other: agora, two baths mentioned above, exedra, stoa, propylon, *latrina*, and two wall remains (Wall A-B). In addition to these buildings, we will have to discuss another building known only from inscriptions, the *aleipterion*.

Some of the aforementioned buildings were also mentioned in the inscriptions listing the building activities of the Eudemos Foundation (see above). These inscriptions provide a good dating basis for some buildings or phases of their construction. At the same time, they are a valuable source of information for the identification and localization of individual buildings, since they contain simple topographical details. It is therefore advisable to include these inscriptions when analyzing the architectural landscape north / northeast of the agora.

In both the Eudemos inscriptions, the terms *gymnasion*, stoa, *aleipterion*, and exedra stand together as one group. A *balaneion* is only mentioned in the inscription SEG 65, 1486 and somewhat later, not as a part of the aforementioned group. The fact that the *gymnasion* is mentioned together with a stoa, an exedra and an *aleipterion* is not surprising, because such structures or parts of buildings were the components of a *gymnasion* or a so-called bath-*gymnasion*. Moreover, since all these structures / buildings are mentioned one after the other, one might assume that they are close to each other and communicate with each other in some way. We believe we have located at least three of these buildings with certainty: These are “the *balaneion* at the agora” along with the stoa and exedra. In the following we will briefly describe these buildings and their topographical situation. However, we must first ask where the agora mentioned in the inscriptions is supposed to be.

⁶¹ More than two decades ago, Fahri Işık 2000, 107 had expressed the opinion that this area could be the palaestra of the Neronian Bath. Şevket Aktaş also shares the same opinion; see Aktaş 2016b.

⁶² There is a natural gradient at this point anyway, which slopes down from the agora towards the north (inner harbor). For example, the difference in height is approximately 1 m at Harbor Street with a length of approximately 100 m; see also Piesker and Ganzert 2012, 40-44.

3.1 Agora

A large square complex is situated in the southwest of the urban area of Patara, in the neighborhood of the well-preserved theater and a bouleuterion (fig. 11). A stoa approximately 120 m long and 15 m deep with a double row of columns was excavated several years ago. It borders this open square to the west.⁶³ During the 2018 excavation campaign, part of a 7.5 m deep stoa was also uncovered to the east of this square. It runs parallel to the western one and possesses only one row of columns (fig. 12). The distance between the two stoas is 77 m. In the northern part of the eastern stoa, there is also a *latrina*, which was partially covered by one of the towers (Tower 7) of the late antique city wall. There is still no architectural evidence for a southern stoa. Such a closed complex, that is, a stoa as the southern end, is not mandatory but can be expected.⁶⁴

According to these brief descriptions, it can be assumed that this square is the agora of Patara. In the Eudemos inscriptions, the agora has no other adjective such as “lower,” “small,” or “large.” It therefore is probable that Patara had only one agora.⁶⁵

The agora and the surrounding buildings such as the theater, bouleuterion, and Neronian Bath are part of their own street grid system, while the rest of the city has a different grid system. These grids, which “touch” each other at the southern end of Harbor Street, lie at an angle of about 30 degrees to each other. One can only assume that this rectangular street system was laid out, at the latest, with the construction of the Late Classical / Early Hellenistic city wall.⁶⁶ It is certain that the core of the theater is pre-Roman.⁶⁷ The same applies to the bouleuterion.⁶⁸ Accordingly, the agora can only be assumed to have been initially designed, at the latest, in the Hellenistic period. However, it was redesigned several times during the Imperial period - at least once in the Flavian period, then again in the Antonine, and finally in the Severan period.⁶⁹ In Late Antiquity, almost all the building elements of the agora, that is, all the stoas, other buildings, and stone furniture, were incorporated into the late antique wall as construction material.

3.2 *Balaneion* at the agora

The statement in the newly discovered Eudemos inscription is clear: the *balaneion* at the agora is being renovated.⁷⁰ We have only one bath complex at the agora of Patara: the

⁶³ Aktaş 2016a.

⁶⁴ See Sielhorst 2015, 21-24. Compare the agorai of Asia Minor in Hellenistic times such as Priene, Ephesus, Miletus, Pergamon (lower agora), or Magnesia ad Maeandrum; see Sielhorst 2015, 108-32, 144-45, 165-68.

⁶⁵ Piesker and Ganzert 2012, 43, figs. 37, 43, speculate that there was a “northern *agora*” at the inner harbor and a “southern” one at the theater and bouleuterion. However, there is no evidence to corroborate this theory.

⁶⁶ For the Late Classical / Early Hellenistic wall see Dündar and Rauh 2017; for the pottery finds in the area from the eighth century BC, see Şahin and Aktaş 2019, 156. On the rectangular street system at Patara, see Ganzert 2015, 274-75, figs. 8-9, 11; Şahin and Aktaş 2019, 163.

⁶⁷ Piesker and Ganzert 2012, 233.

⁶⁸ The first construction phase of the bouleuterion dates to the late Hellenistic period; see İşkan 2019, 275-76.

⁶⁹ Elements of architectural sculpture associated with the first building phase of the west stoa of the agora are rare. One of the ex-situ architectural fragments found here belongs to an Ionic corner capital dated to the Julio-Claudian period; see Şahin 2018b, 91-93, cat. no. 39. A pilaster capital belongs to the early Roman Imperial period; see Aktaş 2013, 105; Şahin 2018b, 147-48, cat. no. 83. The Ionic and Corinthian capital fragments, clearly identified as belonging to the building, are characteristic of the Antonine period; see Aktaş 2013, 105. The Corinthian pilaster capitals under the wall coverings are dated to the late second to early third century AD and represent the final construction phase of the building; see Aktaş 2013, 101-2; Şahin 2018b, 148-49, cat. nos. 84-90.

⁷⁰ Unfortunately, the extent of the works referred with the term *ἐπισκευάζειν* is not clear. It is equally difficult to determine what *κατασκευάζειν* exactly means; see Fournier and Prêtre 2006, 487-97, esp. 491-92.

so-called Neronian Bath (figs. 13-16).⁷¹ The construction activities mentioned in the inscription, therefore, must be connected to this bath, which has been almost completely uncovered in recent years.

As its name suggests, the Neronian Bath was built during the reign of the Roman Emperor Nero, known from the *in situ* building inscription.⁷² Afterwards, this building continued to function as a bath for several centuries, while undergoing several structural changes, some of them considerable.⁷³ As far as we know, the bath's first phase initially consisted of only two rooms (fig. 14, spaces I and II), although it has not yet been possible to determine with certainty what functions the individual rooms had.⁷⁴ Around the middle of the second century AD at the latest, the building was enlarged by adding an additional room to the west (fig. 15, space III).⁷⁵ From this phase onwards, the functions of the individual rooms can be clearly defined from west to east: frigidarium, tepidarium and caldarium (III-I). In an even later period, further rooms were added such as the apodyterion in the west and the two small rooms in the south (fig. 16, spaces IV-VI).⁷⁶

The bath building was located at the northeastern corner of the agora. Space I of Phase I lies on the axis of the eastern stoa of the agora's last construction phase. If the size of the agora did not change, one could say that the early bath building was in the immediate vicinity of the agora. Remarkably, the entrance to this early complex is not to the south, that is, not on the agora side, but to the west towards Harbor Street. This must have meant that the bath at least could not be directly entered from the agora. Apparently, the west side was more important or more suitable structurally / topographically than the others. Probably the latter point played the most important role in the placement of the entrance. For, as it seems, there was no direct connection between the northeastern area of the agora and the new bath building. About 7 m south of the bath ran a double-shelled wall (wall A-B) lying on the east-west axis, of which non-continuous remains have survived (see below). In the section along the bath building, this wall had no entrance, so there was no connection between the bath and the agora.

3.3 The so-called Central Bath⁷⁷

We have assumed that the so-called Central Bath is at the northwest corner of the palaestra (fig. 17). Only the upper parts of the walls of the building can be seen; the rest lies under debris. However, this is sufficient to determine the functions of the rooms. The original core of this complex consists of three rooms from east to west: frigidarium, tepidarium, and caldarium. The entrance is in the east where the frigidarium is located. Later another room was added to the east.

⁷¹ The statement "balaneion at the agora" implies the existence of other baths in the city. The so-called Harbor Bath was built in Flavian times, that is, before the inscription; see Erkoç 2018. We do not know whether the Central Bath also existed before this inscription was carved.

⁷² *TAM* 2, 396; compare Eck 2008; Farrington 1995, 73-74, 156-57, no. 38. See also Koçak and Erkoç 2016; Koçak and Şahin 2020. So far, the Neronian Bath is the earliest archaeologically known bath complex not only in Patara, but also in all of Lycia. It is also one of the earliest well-preserved baths in Asia Minor.

⁷³ The publication of this building complex is currently in preparation.

⁷⁴ However, since the entrance is in the west, room II should have been intended for cold bathing (?). There are baths with only two rooms in Athens and Olympia; see Nielsen 1990, 101 nos. C.254 and C.271.

⁷⁵ For a detailed discussion of this construction activity, see Koçak and Şahin 2020, 195-200.

⁷⁶ The analysis of these finds is ongoing.

⁷⁷ The site was so named because of its location in the middle of the city. For a plan and brief description, see Farrington 1995, 157-58, no. 40, figs. 23, 107, 134.

Since the Central Bath has not yet been excavated, and moreover no building inscription is known, hardly anything can be said about its dating. On the other hand, this bath is smaller than the Neronian Bath, and had three rooms from the beginning. Perhaps this could be seen as evidence of the later creation of this bath. Another striking thing is that its orientation corresponds to the street grid system of the northern part of the city: the western outer wall of the caldarium lies parallel to Harbor Street. The construction, therefore, had to respect already existing buildings. It can thus be assumed that the Central Bath was built into a pre-existing architectural framework so that the available construction site dictated the orientation of the building.

3.4 Stoa, exedra, *aleipterion*

In two Eudemos inscriptions we read that an exedra was newly built “next to” an *aleipterion* (new text) and “along” (*SEG* 65, 1486) a stoa. The stoa is additionally localized by being placed “opposite” this *aleipterion* (new text) as well as this exedra (*SEG* 65, 1486). It is thus clear from the inscriptions that these three buildings stand very close to each other and are neighboring buildings, so to speak. The *aleipterion* and exedra stand next to each other, and the stoa stretches out in front of them (see above). Considering this topographical information, we will try below to identify some building remains that have been partially uncovered in recent years.

Immediately to the north of the late antique wall (as well as Tower 9 with the inscription *SEG* 65, 1486), some fallen column shafts and architraves were uncovered (fig. 18). As the positions of these building elements show, they remained lying about the way they toppled in an earthquake.⁷⁸ The structure extended from west to east and originally adjoined the southwest corner of the frigidarium wall of the Neronian Bath.⁷⁹ The last architrave of the stoa sat on a console protruding from the wall compound. The height of the marble column shafts is approximately 4 m. The distance between the stylobate and the support of the console is approximately 4.45 m. This leaves about 45 cm for the base and the capital. It follows that this stoa must have been of Ionic order, like the stoas of Harbor Street and the stoas of the agora. The front side of the building was oriented southwards. To the north of this stoa an exedra adjoins, which will be discussed further below. The depth of the stoa is about 7.5 m, like the east stoa of the agora. We cannot date this stoa absolutely, but it must have been built before the two Eudemos inscriptions, i.e., before the middle of the second century AD.

But how can one be sure that this stoa is the one mentioned in the two inscriptions? Firstly, the following must be taken into account: in the inscription *SEG* 65, 1486, the stoa that underwent repair is specified as “this stoa,” that is, the location of the base of the statues for Eudemos and his wife Anassa. As already addressed above, the spolia of the late antique wall usually came from the immediate vicinity. The base probably stood originally either in the western stoa of the agora or in another stoa to the north of the agora.⁸⁰ The western stoa of the agora, also mentioned above, has a double row of columns. Thus, it is probably the one that is described in the same inscriptions as a “double stoa” in which a *kaisareion* was erected. However, apparently this double stoa was not repaired by the funds of the Eudemos Foundation, since we have no such information. The repaired stoa where the Eudemos couple was honored should therefore be a different one.

⁷⁸ The bases and capitals are missing and almost certainly reused in post-antique buildings.

⁷⁹ Koçak and Şahin 2020, 202-3.

⁸⁰ Koçak and Şahin 2020, 202.

The newly built exedra⁸¹ mentioned in both inscriptions plays a key role in the localization of both the stoa and the *aleipterion*, which is only known through inscriptions. As already mentioned, an exedra is located directly north of the above-mentioned stoa (fig. 19). It is about 22 m wide and 14 m deep, and opens onto the stoa in front of it. Its inner walls are divided into deep niches between wide half-pillars. Last year's excavation revealed numerous fragments of marble wall cladding panels. The floor is also laid with marble. The opening in the direction of the agora and the use of marble as a cladding material show that the exedra was a splendid building. Unfortunately, it is not clear from the inscriptions what function it served, and the excavations to date have not brought any clear results to light in this respect.

Two coffered ceiling panels, a Corinthian capital, some remains of column shafts and five architrave-frieze blocks are known from the exedra (fig. 20a-c).⁸² The architrave-frieze blocks bear ornamentation on two sides. Ionic *kymatia*, *astragal*, *anthemion*, and tendrils can be found on the front side. Examples of similar Ionic *kymatia* are known from the early Antonine period.⁸³ In the *anthemion*, each of the leaves form open and closed palmettes rising independently from the base. The side leaves of the open leaves have the shape of scimitars.⁸⁴ Similarly constructed *anthemia* are common from the Antonine period onwards.⁸⁵ At the back we have *astragal*, lesbian *kymatia*, and as an upper finish, flutes on the frieze. The first examples of lesbian *kymatia* of similar form are known from Hadrianic buildings.⁸⁶ The main difference between the lesbian *kymatia* of the Patara example and the Hadrianic examples is that the individual elements of the *kymatia* at Patara are not connected by small bridges. The design also appears much heavier, and the midrib is more independent than in earlier periods. We also encounter this in examples from the second half of the second century AD.⁸⁷ The flutes on the architrave-frieze blocks rise straight up from the lower moulding and end convexly at the upper end. This type of flute design is found on frieze blocks dating from the first half of the second century AD.⁸⁸ Many parts of the Corinthian capital are broken and missing. The acanthus leaves of the capital have elliptical narrow eyes, a feature common on second century AD Corinthian capitals, although in different forms. The earliest examples of the caules that shaped triangular knobs on the capital are known from the Corinthian capitals of the Hadrianic to Early Antonine periods.⁸⁹

⁸¹ Koçak and Erkoç 2016, 494-95, fig. 28; Koçak and Şahin 2020, 200-3. The uncovering of the exedra began in the summer of 2022.

⁸² The exedra's architectural decoration is currently being studied by Feyzullah Şahin for an in-depth publication.

⁸³ For the temple of Antoninus Pius in Sagalassos, see Vandeput 1997, 66, 69, 72, pl. 29.1; the Nymphaion at the upper agora of Sagalassos, see Vandeput 1997, 101, pl. 44, 1-2; the theater of Myra, see Dinstl 1987, 164, fig. 14; the Baths of Faustina in Miletos, see Karaosmanoğlu 1996, 50-51, pl. 37a.

⁸⁴ Leaves of this form appear at the end of the Hadrianic period and become widespread during the Antonine period; see Vandeput 1997, 160.

⁸⁵ For the *gymnasion* of Vedius in Ephesus, see Keil 1929, fig. 18; the theater of Side, see Vandeput 1997, 93, 101-3, pl. 115.3; the Nymphaion at the upper agora of Sagalassos, see Vandeput 1997, 102, pl. 44.3. However, earlier examples of this type, albeit in small numbers, are known from the Hadrianic period; see Başaran 1995, 80-81.

⁸⁶ Vandeput 1997, 67, pl. 86.1.

⁸⁷ For Xanthus, see Cavalier 2005, 82; the temple of Antoninus Pius in Kremna, see Mitchell 1995, 92, fig. 33; the agora of Perge, see Mansel 1978, 171, fig. 16; Vandeput 1997, 67, 90, 96, pl. 108.3; Rhodiapolis see Kökmen-Seyirci 2016, 167-68, 222-31, cat. nos. 132, 244, pl. 55, 86; the theater of Sagalassos, see Vandeput 1992, 110-12, pl. 26c, 27c.

⁸⁸ The flute motifs provide few clues for dating, but the S-profile of the leaf motifs suggests a date later than the mid-second century AD; see Kökmen-Seyirci 2016, 194; Karagöz et al. 1986, 137, fig. 15a-g.

⁸⁹ For the temple of Zeus Lepsynos in Euromos, see Doğan 2020, 456-57, cat. nos. 384-85, 388, figs. 603-4, 607; the north agora of Laodikeia see Yener 2019, 163-66, cat. no. KA-KB-5, pl. 56.

Thus, the dates of the inscriptions mentioning an exedra and the architectural sculpture of the building under discussion coincide. Therefore, the assumption that the exedra mentioned in the Eudemos inscriptions must be the exedra north of the agora is extremely probable.⁹⁰ If the exedra mentioned in the inscriptions and the stoa located next to it are the buildings discussed above (fig. 1), it remains to be asked where the *aleipterion* could be. According to the new inscription, the exedra was built next to the *aleipterion*, and the stoa is opposite the *aleipterion* and exedra. First of all, this *aleipterion* must have already existed and thus would have been known to the readers of the newly discovered inscription. So the *aleipterion* could be taken as an orientation marker, with the *aleipterion* older than the exedra. However, we are not yet aware of any building or space around the exedra that could pass for an *aleipterion*, although it should be noted that the west and north sides of the exedra have not yet been excavated.

The preposition “next to” suggests that the *aleipterion* must be on the left or right side of the exedra when one stands in front of it. This means in the west or in the east, since the *aleipterion* is opposite the stoa, which is also in front of the exedra. Therefore, only the two sides of the exedra are possible locations for the *aleipterion*. It cannot have been the east side because that area is occupied by the freshly excavated apodyterion of the Neronian Bath (fig. 21). This “changing room” was definitely added after the construction of the exedra and frigidarium, since the stone benches of this room lean against the east wall of the exedra and the west wall of the frigidarium. Moreover, it was not until the new construction of the exedra and the addition of the frigidarium that an empty space was created here, which was later converted into an apodyterion. Approximately in the middle of this freshly exposed apodyterion, where floor paving was missing, a sondage was made in the summer of 2022 to clarify the former architectural situation (fig. 22). The sondage revealed only part of a sewage system, but no traces of any other predecessor buildings or paving were present. The architectural design of this area before the construction of the frigidarium and the exedra (and later the apodyterion) is currently unknown.

According to observations to date, the exedra has no passage to its backside in the north. However, if the *aleipterion* we are looking for was on the exedra’s rear side, we would very likely have a completely different wording in the inscription besides “next to.” Thus, it seems plausible to look for the *aleipterion* on the west side. This area has not yet been excavated for logistical reasons. To the southwest is a gateway (so-called propylon), which is discussed below.

3.5 Remains of a wall (wall A-B)

About 10 m south of the Neronian Bath at the level of the tepidarium and frigidarium runs the 20 m long remnant of an *emplecton* wall, already mentioned above (wall A). It is built of yellowish-light limestone blocks, the inner sides of which are only irregularly and roughly hewn. On the north side, two late bathing rooms adjoin the wall (spaces V-VI). On the south side, the wall has a façade structure with pilasters and bases of varying widths. In front of the wall, the floor is paved with very well-cut thick greyish limestone slabs (fig. 23a-b). One cannot see a beginning, end, or any change in the wall line.

⁹⁰ These architectural decorations used in the first phase of the exedra with its fixed date will also serve as a reference for future works.

About 50 m farther to the west on the same axis, there is another wall remnant about 10 m long (fig. 24a-b, wall B). It is similar to the above-mentioned wall in terms of construction, dimensions, material, and shape. This wall runs, in the west, under the gateway of the west stoa of the agora. The west stoa abuts this wall. To the east, the wall is broken off. A floor adjoins the north side that, like the south side of the section of wall to the east, is paved with well-cut greyish limestone slabs.

Presumably, these two wall remains belong together. On the one hand, they have the same alignment while on the other, the small rooms of the late antique wall end exactly on this alignment. However, we have not yet succeeded in determining in what way they belong together, although a suggestion is made below. This wall is definitely earlier than the west stoa of the agora. The steps of this stoa are joined to Wall A, whose ashlar blocks were recessed for this purpose. It is probably one of the earliest architectural features of this area, as the surrounding buildings respect it. This wall (or its rising parts) existed until Late Antiquity, as its limestone ashlar blocks were used in the late antique wall that runs only a few metres to the south (cf. above).

3.6 The so-called propylon

A propylon measuring approximately 7.5 x 10 m opened from Harbor Street into a kind of corridor that extended to the east (fig. 25). The south side of this corridor is formed by the early wall A-B, already mentioned above. On the north side, not yet been excavated, there was apparently a room, the entrance to which was added in late antiquity (fig. 26). About 20 m after the gateway, the row of columns of the stoa, discussed above, begins. It is not yet known how wall B behaves exactly at this level. A small sondage showed that wall B must have run even further (fig. 24a-b). The last stone in the east has prepared abutting surfaces for the next stone block that, however, is missing. The floor of the propylon consists of yellowish limestone slabs. The sondage on wall B revealed a different floor situation. About 10 cm below the current floor lies an older one made of greyish limestone slabs.

3.7 The *latrina*

In the northern part of the eastern stoa of the agora, there is a large public *latrina*, of which only the northern section has been uncovered (fig. 27). The rest has not yet been excavated, so we do not know its exact dimensions, especially its length. The original entrances have not been preserved either, since one of the towers of the late antique wall was built on this site.⁹¹ In the process, it seems, the entrance of the *latrina* was changed. Therefore, the connection between the *latrina* and the Neronian Bath is not as yet clear.

4. Evaluation and conclusion

In a short essay from 1993, Henner von Hesberg stated that from the early Hellenistic period onwards *gymnasia* tended to be located in the political center of the respective city, where the control of the urban institutions was naturally strongest.⁹² We can confirm Hesberg's assertion in respect to Patara. Several inscriptions not only prove the existence of a *gymnasion* in Patara from the late Hellenistic period until the third century AD, but they also give an indication of

⁹¹ The *latrina* was only partially destroyed by the construction of the tower, so we believe that it remained in use in late antiquity.

⁹² Hesberg 1993, 14-16; see also Raeck 2004, 365-66.

its central location in this Lycian city, as we have seen above. On the basis of the findspots of gymnasia inscriptions, almost all of which were reused as spolia, we have been able to identify one area as the location of the *gymnasion* or of the palaestra of this *gymnasion*, namely, the area to the north of the agora between two baths.

In our opinion, the two baths, namely, the Neronian and Central Bath, also speak in favor of this localization. It is not by chance that they were built there: the first “Roman” baths found their way into everyday life in the cities of Asia Minor through the institution of the *gymnasion*, as several examples suggest.⁹³ For the Central Bath, clear evidence of dating is not as yet available. The Neronian Bath is the earliest known bathing facility in Patara as well as in Lycia. In light of other examples, it is to be expected that this bath complex, which was initially much smaller, was built in or near the *gymnasion* of Patara.

The (main) entrance to the early (and also later) Neronian Bath was to the west, not to the south.⁹⁴ There was therefore no direct access from the agora to this bath. In all probability, the *emplecton* wall (A-B), described above, separated the areas of the agora and *gymnasion* (fig. 28). The façade structure of wall A-B with pilasters of different widths indicates a monumental architecture. The Hellenistic columns that came to light in the northwest corner of the agora may also have belonged to this structure (fig. 29).⁹⁵ Perhaps they were part of a monumental gateway that connected the agora with the *gymnasion* (?). Unfortunately, the late antique wall, its towers, and the dense and successive building development in this area make it difficult to carry out exploratory excavations or search trenches that could provide answers to these questions. However, for the moment it seems most plausible to us that the *emplecton* wall A-B and the aforementioned columns formed the agora-side façade or the entrance to the *gymnasion* (or firstly to the *aleipterion* located in this area?).

Before the middle of the second century AD, the stoa and the *aleipterion*, attested only in inscriptions and certainly located to the west of the *exedra*, still existed.⁹⁶ As the term implies, the *aleipterion* was a space associated with oil, either as its storage place or as an anointing room or both.⁹⁷ According to Anne-Valérie Pont, the *aleipteria* of the Imperial period were sumptuously furnished rooms for representation.⁹⁸ They could also function as a splendid passage room, as is the case in Pergamon.⁹⁹ Considering its place behind the stoa, one could assume that the *aleipterion* of Patara could also have been a passage room to the palaestra behind it. Unfortunately, the architectural design between the *aleipterion* and the Neronian Bath before the *exedra*, *frigidarium* and *apodyterium* construction remains obscure. It is only probable that the stoa extended as far as the Neronian Bath of the first phase, which can be observed in the continuous stylobate under the west wall of the *frigidarium* (fig. 30).

⁹³ Delorme 1960, 243-50; Nielsen 1990, 101-3; Yegül 1992, 21-24; Trümper 2015; Quatember 2018.

⁹⁴ All other baths in Patara have their main entrance to the east.

⁹⁵ Thus, the *emplecton* wall A-B would also be Hellenistic. But we still have no clear evidence for this chronology. In the summer of 2018 northwest of the *agora*, six *in situ* pedestals were uncovered, lying on a north-south axis (Şahin and Aktaş 2019, 162). Column bases with shafts have been preserved on two of these pedestals. An Ionic capital was also found on one of the bases that dates to the second century BC. Each pedestal sits on its own small foundation. No traces of paving or a possible stylobate were found between the plinths. Both the capital and the bases date to the Hellenistic period; see Şahin and Aktaş 2019, 163.

⁹⁶ It is safe to assume that the term *aleipterion* found in the Eudemos inscription does not indicate the bath or the *gymnasion*, but an independent room, as the other two facilities are explicitly mentioned.

⁹⁷ Nielsen 1990, 160; Pont 2008.

⁹⁸ Pont 2008.

⁹⁹ On the other hand see Trümper 2015, 177-78, n. 32.

To investigate the question of the connection between the Neronian Bath and the *gymnasion* as well as the architectural design of the area between the *aleipterion* and the bath, we made two sondages north of the apodyterion and another in the middle of the later apodyterion in the summer of 2022 (fig. 22).¹⁰⁰ Unfortunately, these sondages did not yield any results. We could not find any traces of any architectural structure that could provide answers in this regard.

From the middle of the second century AD onwards with the construction of the exedra and the frigidarium, the area between the Neronian Bath and the *aleipterion* was architecturally filled. It seems much more likely that the exedra, which opens to the south, was located opposite the monumental gateway we have suggested. This would mean that a richly decorated space was inserted between the gymnasium area and the agora. Thus, the main passage or entrance to the palaestra, at least from the south, must have been guaranteed via the *aleipterion* since the exedra, as already mentioned above, has no opening in its northern wall. There was a narrow passage in the north wall of the later apodyterion of the Neronian Bath (fig. 21).¹⁰¹ It is possible that the service area of the baths was reached through this narrow door.

Another entrance, no less monumental but built only in the Severan period, existed to the west at the southern end of the Harbor Street: the so-called propylon. The construction of the propylon also suggests that the *emplecton* wall A-B continued to exist during this period.¹⁰² The propylon “bisected” the gate of the western stoa of the agora. Its eastern entrance was no longer accessible from Harbor Street (fig. 31). We do not know whether this entrance was walled up at this time. However, if we observe the limestone threshold blocks of the two entrances to the gate, we notice that the threshold of the eastern entrance is much less worn.¹⁰³ Thus, a corridor behind the propylon led eastwards so that the *aleipterion* (and thus the *gymnasion*), the exedra, and finally the Neronian Bath were also accessible from Harbor Street.

From the middle of the second century AD, we have a conglomeration of buildings and rooms to the north of the agora: a wall (A-B) with a possible gateway, the stoa, the Neronian and Central Bath, the exedra, the *aleipterion*, and the Severan propylon. The *latrina* at the northeast corner of the agora belongs to this complex. Behind this conglomerate was the palaestra, which was almost certainly surrounded by additional stoas. If we look at the whole, we have a Bath-*Gymnasion* (or *Gymnasion*-Bath?) complex before us, which was not laid out all at once in a planned manner, but grew organically over several centuries.¹⁰⁴ Apparently, it was not possible to build a bath in the style of an imperial thermal bath, as in Aphrodisias

¹⁰⁰ In this area, the floor pavement was missing, so that it was possible to lay a sondage. Here we only uncovered a small section of a sewer system, which is about 1.8 m below the floor of the apodyterion.

¹⁰¹ As mentioned above, the apodyterion is later than the exedra and the frigidarium, possibly dating from Severan Times. This opening was added in an even later period. The exploratory excavations north of this opening did not yield any results (see above).

¹⁰² For further evidence of the reuse of their ashlar blocks in the late antique wall, see above.

¹⁰³ Aktaş 2013, 109; 2016b, 5.

¹⁰⁴ It is not within the scope of this article to elaborate on this point, and not to compare directly. But the different spaces of some *gymnasia* in Greece (e.g., in Corinth) are spread over a large area and do not show a uniform plan, like the rectangularly closed examples, especially from Asia Minor; see Sturgeon 2022, 7-9, with other examples.

or Ephesus.¹⁰⁵ But the desire to obtain a similar architectural and functional experience is evident.¹⁰⁶

In a certain way, even the agora was included in this conglomerate. The exedra, although it does not seem to have been directly a part of the *gymnasion* itself but somehow connected with the Neronian Bath, was nevertheless a link between the agora and the *gymnasion* as was the *aleipterion*. Through these building activities Patara, like many other contemporary cities, experienced a strong architectural monumentalization of public space.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁵ Maybe because of the topographical situation. But perhaps regional architectural developments and / or the city's financial possibilities played a key role (we thank Matthias Pichler for the comment).

¹⁰⁶ Something similar can be observed with the so-called Harbor Bath of Patara: a *basilica thermanum*, which had become a fashionable feature of Asia Minor baths, was added, probably in the third century AD; see Erkoç 2018.

¹⁰⁷ Evangelidis 2014.

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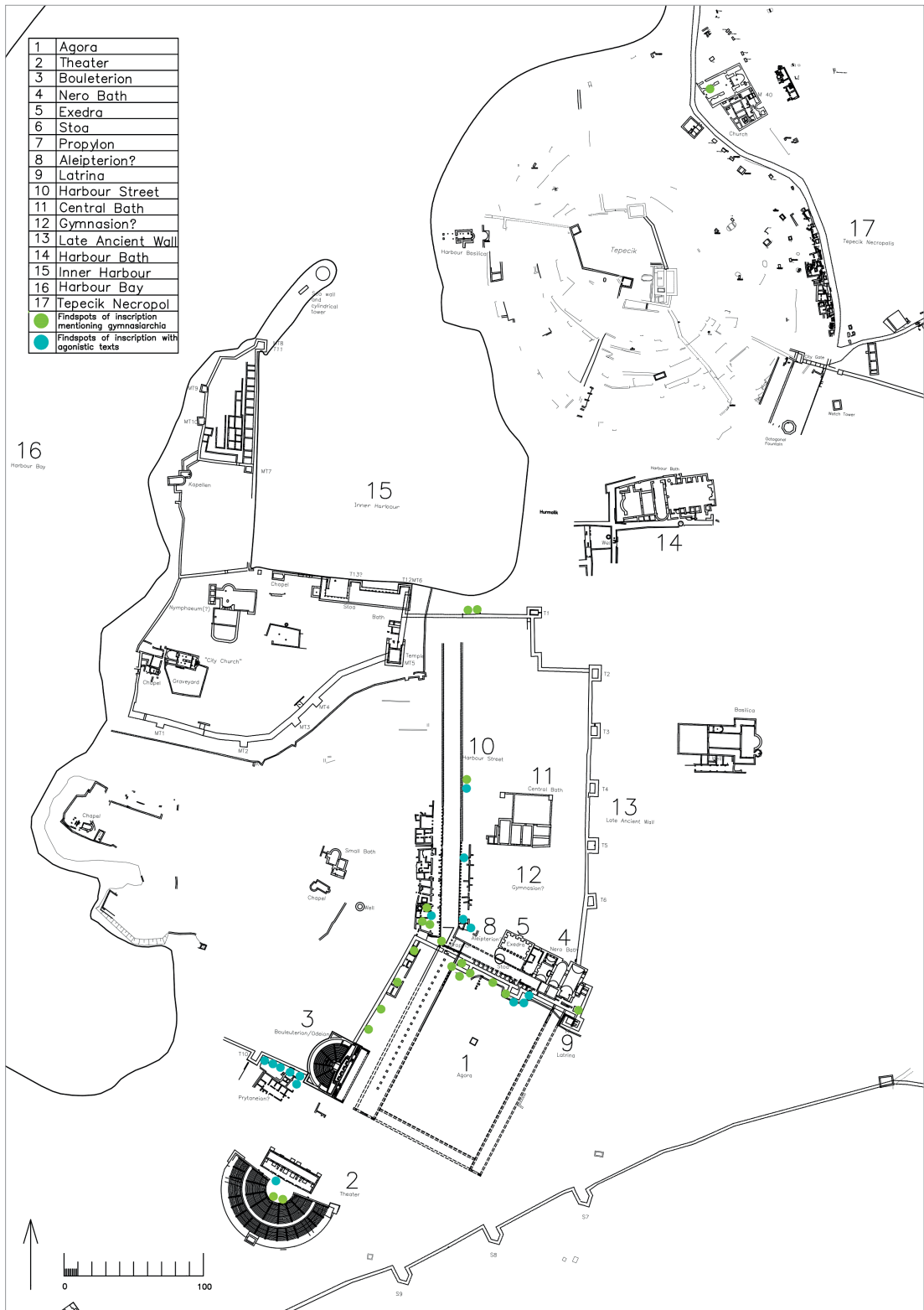


FIG. 1 Plan of Patara with the approximate findspots of the gymnasial inscriptions (© Patara Excavations).



FIG. 4 Inscription no. 2 -
Fragment of a round base
(Photo: A. Lepke).



FIGS. 2-3 Inscription no. 1 - *Neoi* honor Artapates III
(Photo: Ch. Schuler / A. Lepke).



FIG. 5
Inscription no. 3 - Honorary
inscription for Ti. Claudius
Flavianus Eudemos B
(© Patara Excavations).



FIG. 6 Inscription no. 3 - Honorary inscription for Ti. Claudius Flavianus Eudemos A (Photo: K. Zimmermann).

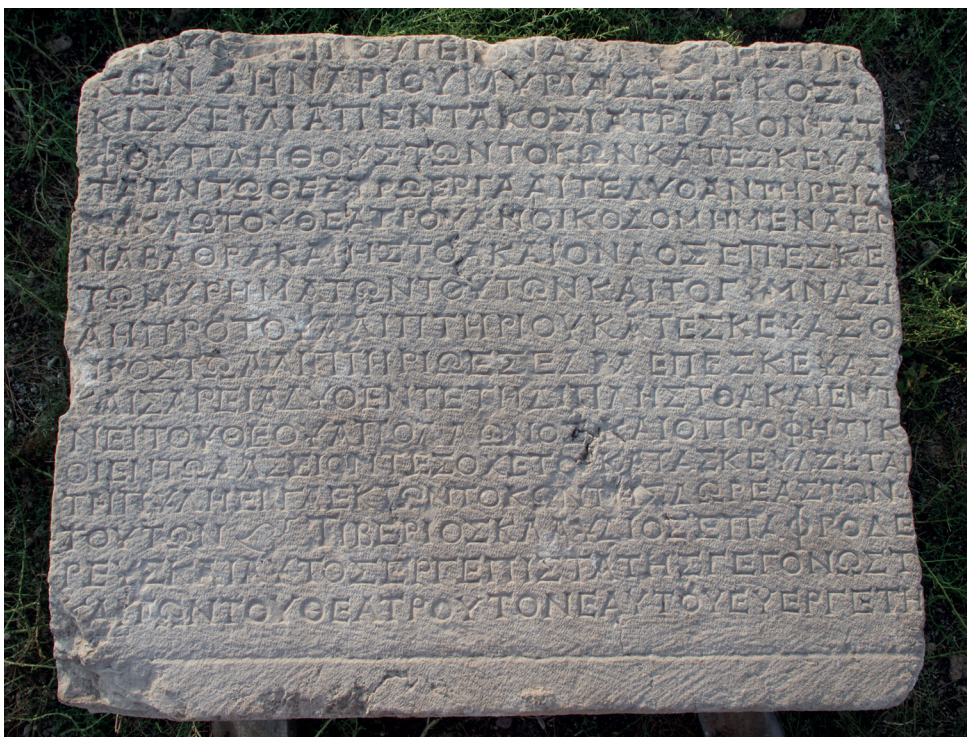


FIG. 7 Inscription no. 3 - Honorary inscription for Ti. Claudius Flavianus Eudemos C (Photo: K. Zimmermann).



FIG. 8 Honorary inscription for Claudia Anassa - SEG 63, 1342 (Photo: A. Lepke).

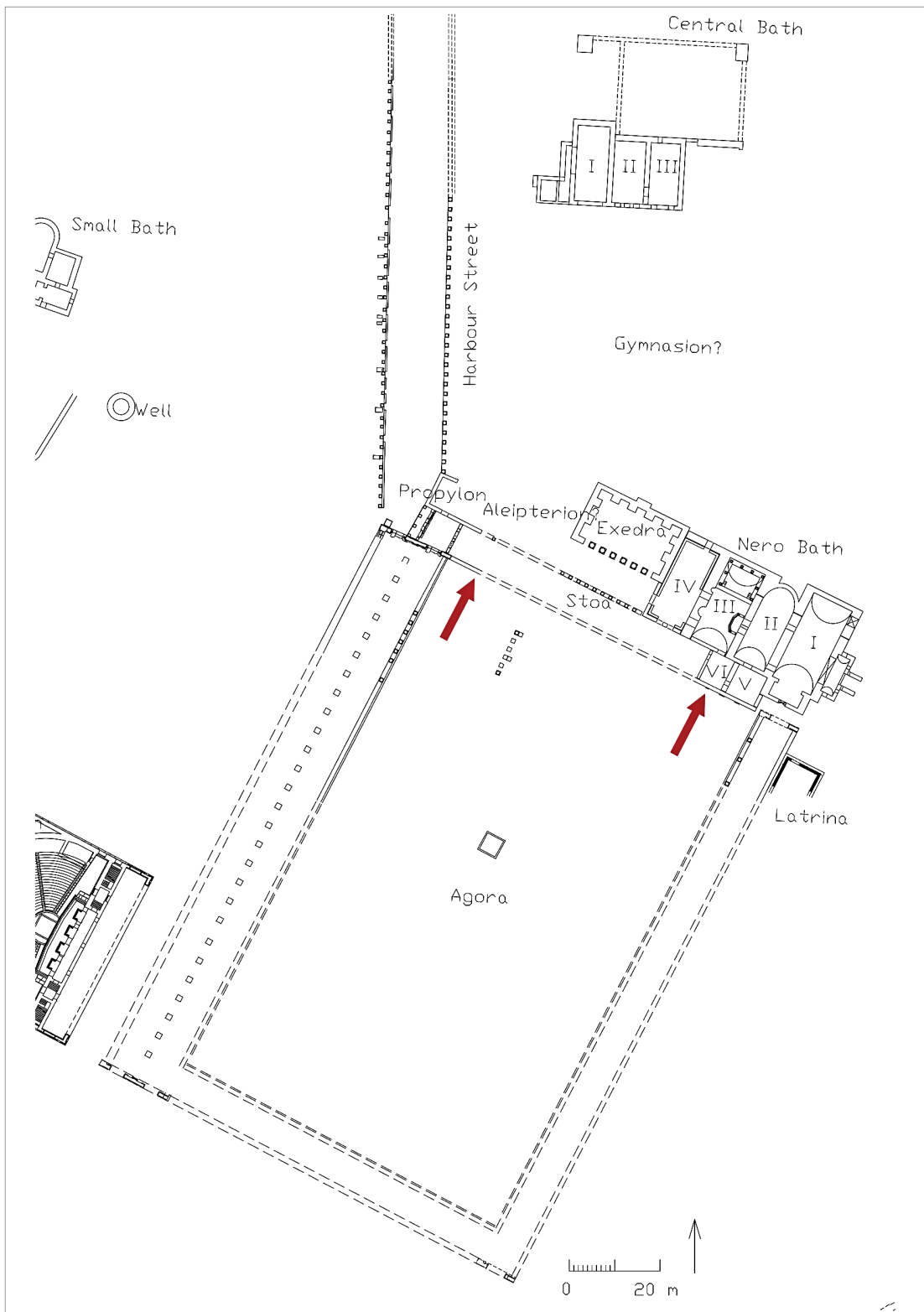


FIG. 9 Plan of area of proposed location of the *gymnasion* in the second and third centuries. Red arrow shows the walls A and B (© Patara Excavations).



FIG. 10 Orthomosaic of the area; red arrow shows walls A and B (© Patara Excavations).



FIG. 11 Agora seen from northeast, in foreground the Neronian Bath
(© Patara Excavations).



FIG. 12 Western stoa of agora, view from the northeast
(© Patara Excavations).



FIG. 13 Aerial view of the Neronian Bath, from the southwest (© Patara Excavations).

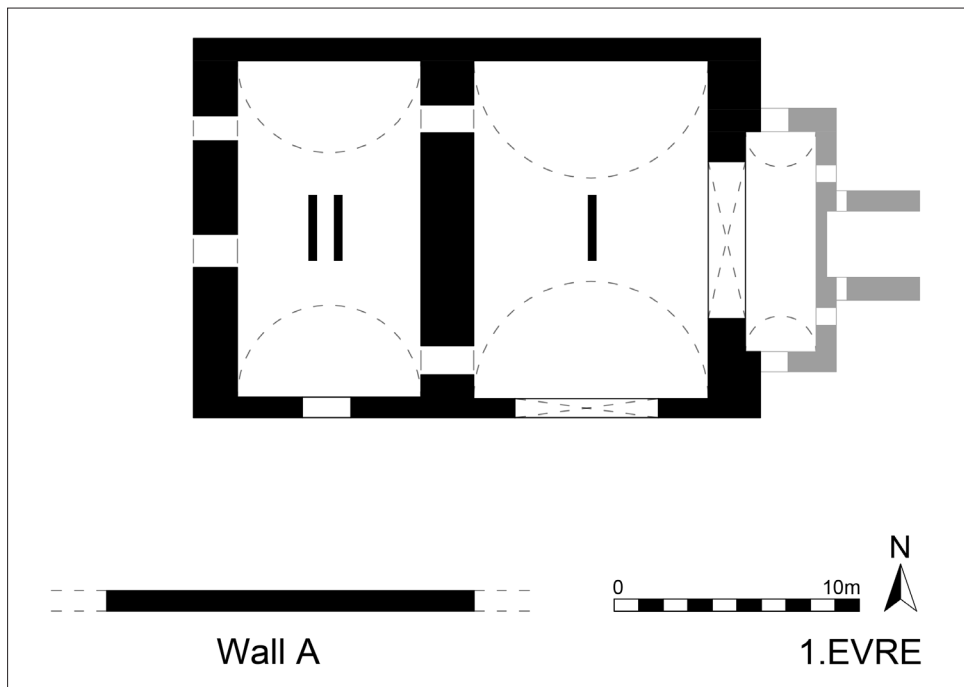


FIG. 14 Plan of Neronian Bath, first phase, room I and II (© Patara Excavations).

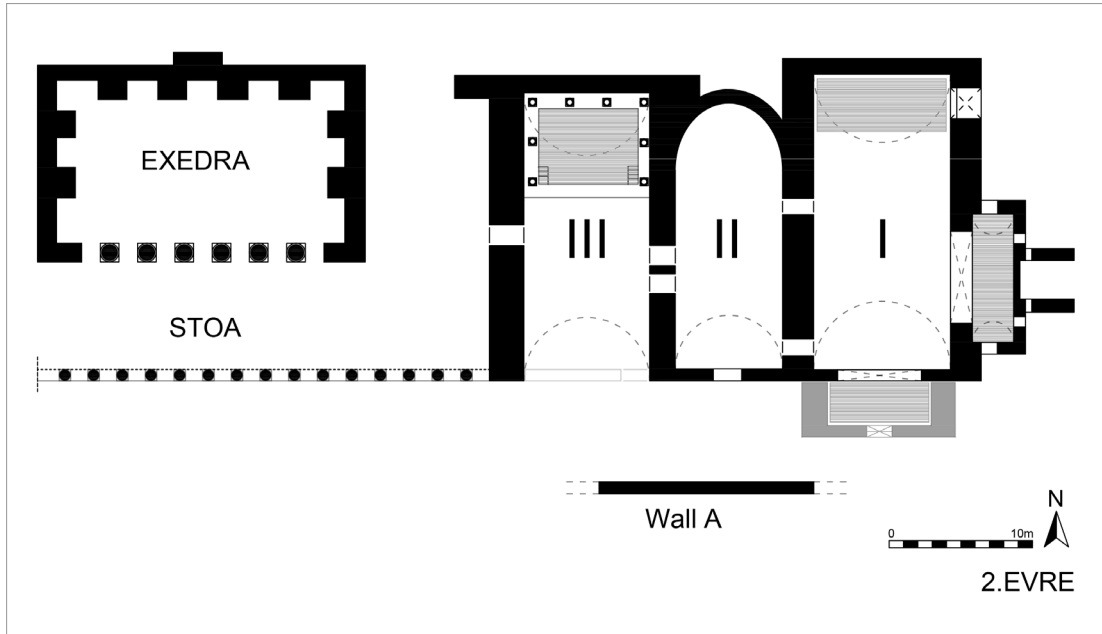


FIG. 15 Plan bath exedra and stoa, second phase (© Patara Excavations).

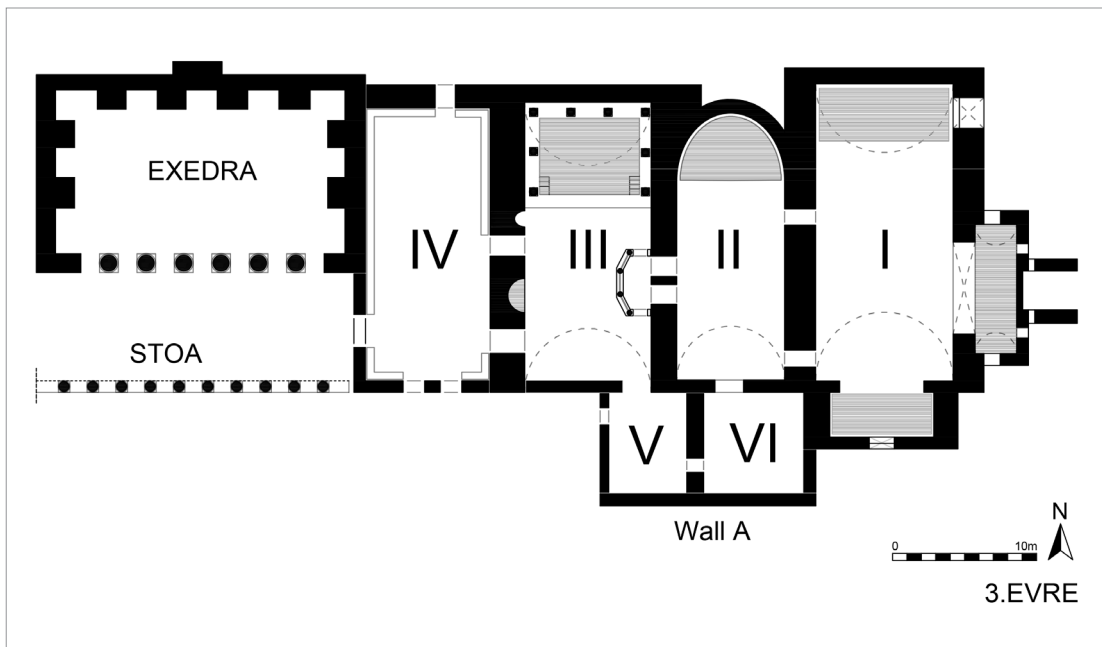


FIG. 16 Neronian Bath, exedra and stoa: last stage (© Patara Excavations).



FIG. 17 Aerial view of Central Bath, from the southwest (© Patara Excavations).



FIG. 18 Aerial view of the stoa remains (© Patara Excavations).



FIG. 19 Aerial photo of exedra with excavated parts at the northeast corner (© Patara Excavations).



FIG. 20 a-c Corinthian capital and one architrave (front and rear) from the exedra (© Patara Excavations).



FIG. 21
Apodyterion, view
from the southeast
(© Patara Excavations).



FIG. 22
Sondage in the apodyterion
(© Patara Excavations).



FIG. 23 a-b Wall A with pavement and pilaster, view from south and west (© Patara Excavations).



FIG. 24 a-b Wall B with pavement, Sondage Wall B with pavement view from east (© Patara Excavations).



FIG. 25 Propylon, view from the west (© Patara Excavations).



FIG. 26 Added door in the propylon blocked in Late Antiquity (© Patara Excavations).



FIG. 27 Aerial view of *latrina* (© Patara Excavations).

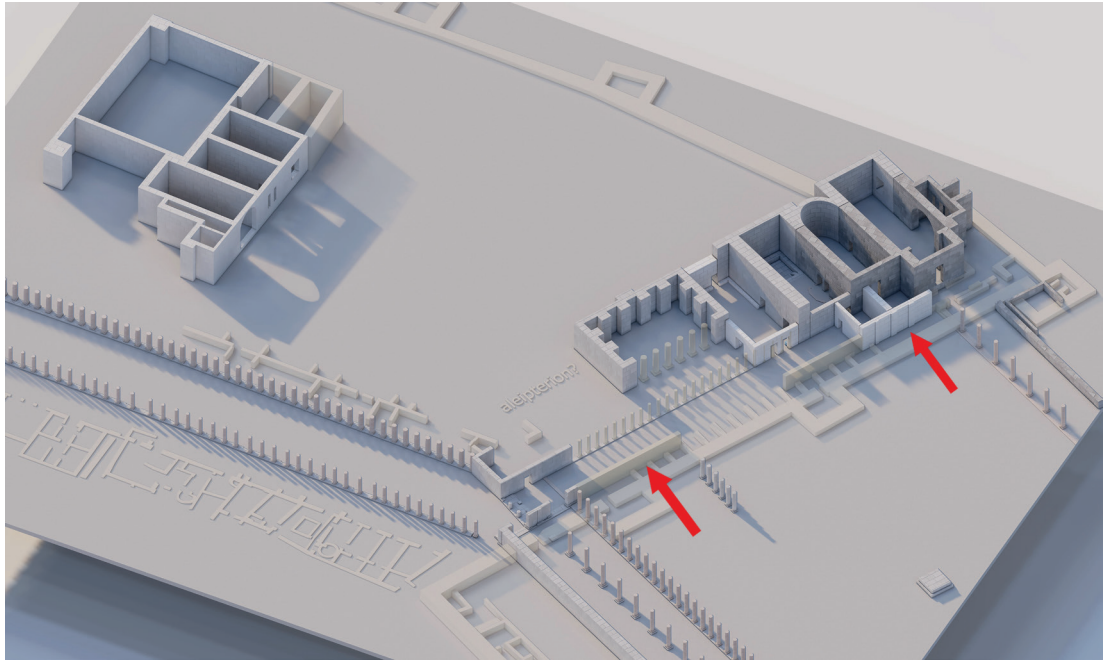


FIG. 28 Model of area; red arrow shows walls A and B (© Patara Excavations).



FIG. 29 Hellenistic columns from the agora (© Patara Excavations).



FIG. 30
Stylobate under west
wall of the frigidarium
(© Patara Excavations).

FIG. 31
Eastern entrance of the
western stoa of agora,
walled-up during the
construction of the propylon
(© Patara Excavations).



