

Two Reused “Blattkelch” Capitals from Patara. An Example of Reuse in the 2nd Century AD in the Context of the Building Activities in and around the Nero Bath

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Introduction

During the excavations of the ‘Nero bath’ in the ancient city of Patara since 2018, two relatively well-preserved column capitals (*Blattkelch capital*), eight column shafts and large and small fragments of column bases were found in the cold water pool of the frigidarium. Apart from the above-mentioned, other architectural fragments found in the pool must belong to at least one or more similar capitals. The corresponding dimensions of the column shafts, capitals, and bases indicate that they were members of a single architectural organization. Upon our observations, especially the in-situ column bases and the remained traces of stonemasons’ tools, this structure had eight columns, three on each narrow side and four on the long northern side¹.

The architectural observations to be mentioned below and two inscriptions discovered very close to the bathhouse in recent years indicate that the current frigidarium section was most likely added to the structure in the middle of the 2nd century AD. On the other hand, stylistic analysis of the capitals suggest that they must have been produced in the first half of the 1st century AD. In this case, the capitals surrounding the frigidarium pool (with other elements of the arrangement?) present an example of reuse in Roman Imperial era.

Recent research has revealed that the reuse phenomenon existed long before the late antiquity, but it was not taken into consideration by scholars². As it is seen, there is a continuity in the practice of reuse starting from the at least early classical period for the Greco-Roman world³. To a much better understanding of this practice of Christian late antiquity, in which it had become

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¹ We would like to thank to Dr. Şevket Aktaş from the Patara Excavations for his helpful readiness for discussion and also to the Head of the Patara Excavations Prof. Dr. Havva Işık. We would also like to thank to Dr. Simon Barker, who sent us his publications that were not accessible to us.

² Apart from studies on the ancient reuse of statues (see with further literature Longfellow 2018a and 2018b), scientific publications on this phenomenon of other areas such as architecture are very new, see: Ng – Swetnam-Burland 2018, especially p. 3; Munro 2011; Maschek 2014 (staute bases); Frey 2015; Barker 2018 (see also the author’s other publications on this topic); Peña 2020.

³ See for pre roman time: Shear 1982; Kousser 2009; Sioumpara 2019; unfortunately, the very interesting monography on this topic, *Reset in stone: memory and reuse in ancient Athens* by Sarah A. Rous published 2019 was not available for us.

much more visible for various reasons, it is essential to study the earlier examples. The following article aims to contribute to such studies. But before addressing to the topic of capitals and their reuse, it is necessary to consider the building periods and chronology of the Nero bath in order to understand the context of this practice in Patara. In this respect, this building, and especially its frigidarium, will be introduced briefly, followed by the construction periods and their chronology. Subsequently, the above mentioned arrangement with columns around the cold water pool will be examined and analyzed from the perspective of reuse practice.

‘Bath in Agora’ - Nero Bath

Nero bath, as modern researchers call it, is located in the northeast corner of the agora, about 60 m east of the so-called harbor street (liman caddesi) (Fig. 1 and 2)⁴. Together with the agora and surrounding structures such as theater, parliament building and exedra, it is part of an orthogonal settlement system. It consists of three rectangular spaces lined up side by side from west to east: frigidarium, tepidarium and caldarium. These three spaces (with the water reservoir to the east, the water-related platforms again to the north, and the estimated praefurnium areas) were built on an area of approximately 1,200 square meters based on currently available data. The question of whether there were other spaces belonging to the bathhouse can be answered after the completion of still ongoing excavations. This is because of the fact that last year, the remains of a latrine were found in the southeast of the bath. The relation of this latrine in the northeast corner of the agora with the bath has not been determined yet.

Most of the walls of the bath have survived to the present day in good condition. The frigidarium walls, about 9 m high, were preserved together with parts of the vault above the walls that once covered this space (Fig. 3). As regards the other two spaces, the shells of walls collapsed in some parts and the vaults collapsed in large pieces on floor. The marble facing slabs in all spaces, along with the terracotta slabs and terracotta nails of the wall heating system in the tepidarium and caldarium were completely destroyed, and that the walls are completely bare except for a few points in the frigidarium. Marble floor coverings were preserved in-situ only in some places in the frigidarium and tepidarium. Almost no marble slabs remain on the caldarium floor. Furthermore, the floors of the tepidarium and caldarium made of a thick layer of mortar, survived only in very few places and to a large extent destroyed completely by the destruction of the hypocaust pillars below them. The destruction was so massive that the collapsed floor fragments were mixed with the bricks forming the hypocaust piers, possibly due to the effect of the groundwater and humidity that had risen since Antiquity.

The frigidarium is the best preserved part of the bathhouse and has interior wall lengths of 20x9⁵ meters (Fig. 3-4. 19. 23). There are two doors on the west wall (Fig. 3 and 9, 3rd period). However, it is understood that the southern one was opened later, as it did not have a solid lintel as the other one, and the filling is visible on its inner walls. There are also two niches on the west wall, which were built subsequently, like the second door. The southern niche is larger than the other, and a

⁴ More for the Nero bath: Farrington 1995, 73-74. 156-157 no. 38; Korkut 2003, 446. 451-454; Gülşen 2008, 454. 456. 458. 459; Işık 2011, 48; Koçak – Erkoç 2016; Akça-Erkoç – Aktaş 2016, 64; Koçak 2019.

⁵ The measurements, including the following ones, have been taken of the walls in their current bare form.

terracotta pipe enters it from its rear wall. Water was also led into the second smaller niche in the north. There are two door openings on the east wall of the frigidarium, providing access to the tepidarium. There is a building inscription on the lintel of the south of these double doors. The door just north of it was opened later. Further north, there is another door that was later closed with masonry. There are also four small niches on the east wall of the frigidarium.

To the north of the space, there is a cold water pool measuring 7x5.3 m and 1.5 m depth. The walls of the pool are originally covered with marble and its floor is covered with limestone slabs. The architectural members that form the subject of this article were found in this pool (Fig. 19). It was understood that the cold water was supplied to the pool from an external water tank through five holes on the north wall, one of which has a lead pipe in-situ. In the northwest corner of the pool, there is a drain hole in the ground, and an excess water drainage hole with a lead pipe residue on top.

Above the pool, on the north wall, there are two window openings 4.2 m above the ground. It can be expected that the windows with a width of 1.75 m rose up to the vault ceiling. There is only a 0.6 m high wall to the south of the space. Traces on the eastern part of the wall indicate that there might have been a door here. This wall did not continue upwards as it is understood from the fact that there are no traces inside the western and eastern walls to which it is connected. This opening must have been closed with a window.

Building periods and construction dates

One of the doors providing passage between the frigidarium and tepidarium has a building inscription on the surface of the lintel (Fig. 5). The text is given in TAM II 396 as follows⁶:

Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Φλάουιος Οὐέσπασια[ν]ός
 Σεβαστὸς [-----]
 [-----]
 4 [-----ΙΟΣ ΛΙ-----Ο-----]
 [-----Ο-----] τὸ βαλανεῖον κατεσκεύασεν
 [ἐκ] θεμελι[ι]ων σὺν τοῖς ἐν αὐτῷ προσκοσμήμασιν καὶ ταῖς
 [κο]λυμβήθραις διὰ Σέξτου Μαρκίου Πρεῖσκου πρεσβευτοῦ
 8 [αὐτ]οῦ ἀντιστρατήγου ἐκ τῶν συντηρηθέντων χρημάτων ἐκ
 [τε] τοῦ ἔθνους ^{vac.} ✕ ^{vac.} καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Παταρέων πόλεος
 συντελειώσαντος καὶ ἀφιερῶσαντος τὰ ἔργα.

“Imperator Caesar Flavius Vespasianus Augustus [...] constructed the bathhouse from the foundations together with the additional ornaments in it and the pools, through the agency of Sextus Marcius Priscus, his legate and governor in propretorian rank, who completed and consecrated the works from the allotted funds from both the (Lycian) confederacy as .. *denarii* and the polis of Patareans.”

⁶ Eck 2008.

There is a long empty space after the words, *Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Φλάουιος Οὐεσπασια[ν]ός Σεβαστός* at the beginning of the text, which take up slightly more than a line. After this empty space, the text continues with *τὸ βαλανεῖον* (bathhouse). About 3.5 lines of text was erased. In this erased place, letters and letter sets of the old text can be easily recognized by a familiar eye. In addition, the distinctive stylistic differences between the letters are immediately noticeable with the lower part written in elaborate chiseled letters. Erasing of names from inscriptions and even portraits from paintings or mosaics was a well-known practice in the antiquity (and later). Whose name was erased from the inscription in Patara can be clarified by mentioning a certain person in line 7: *Sextus Marcius Priscus*, the Governor of the Lycian province. We know the name of this governor from another inscription from the lighthouse in Patara built during the reign of Nero⁷. In other words, Nero must be the emperor, whose name was chiseled off from the building inscription of the bathhouse⁸. Indeed, the epigraphist Werner Eck has also made a convincing proposal to fully fill the space until the word *τὸ βαλανεῖον* with Nero's name and titlature. It is possible to trace some more letters in the erased lines and a probable construction of the first five lines of the inscription prior to the Vespasianic arrangement might be as follows⁹:

[[*Νέρων Κλαύδιος, θεοῦ Κλαυδίου υἱός, Τιβερίου Καίσα*]-]

[[*ρος Σεβαστοῦ καὶ Γερμανικοῦ Καίσαρος ἔκγονος, θεοῦ*]]

[[*Σεβαστοῦ ἀπόγονος, Καῖσαρ Σεβαστός Γερμανικὸς ἀρχιερεὺς*]]

4 [[*μέ]γιστος δη[*μαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ ι]α' [ῥ]πατος [τὸ δ', Αὐτο*]-]*

[[*κρά]τω[*ρ τὸ θ', πατήρ*] πατρίδος]] *τὸ βαλανεῖον κατεσκεύασεν**

...

“Nero Claudius, son of god Claudius, great-grandson of Tiberius Caesar Augustus and Germanicus Caesar, great-great-grandson of god Augustus, Caesar Augustus Germanicus, the chief high priest, holding tribunician power for the 11th time, consul for the 4th time, emperor for the 9th time, father of fatherland, constructed the bathhouse ...”

⁷ İşkan-Işık – Eck – Engelmann 2008.

⁸ However, S. Şahin had rejected the suggestion that the name and titular of Emperor Nero were erased until the word *τὸ βαλανεῖον* with various arguments (Şahin 2007, 107-108; Şahin 2008a, 2-9; Şahin 2008b, 598-601; Şahin 2009, 332-336). These were however convincingly debunked by Eck 2008. Furthermore, the letters of the two parts of the inscription are stylistically so different that they cannot belong together. While the first line with the name of Vespasian has relatively larger and somewhat casual letters, the letters of the inscription below are smaller and very carefully chiselled. Against the thesis of Şahin that an emperor would not adopt a building, which was built by his predecessor: Alföldy 1995. Though all these arguments can be discussed in detail, this paper does not aim at this point. The traceable letters in the erased section indicates the titlature of Nero, which perfectly fits in this space (see above).

⁹ The English translation here was made by Fatih Onur according to Eck's proposal. Onur on this translation: Though the restoration is made after Eck's proposal (Eck 2008, 273-274), it includes some minor changes. The regnal numbers of the emperor are based upon those in the Neronic inscription of the Lighthouse, dating from 64/65. The entire restoration is provisional, and it can change after a detailed investigation on the inscription.

In order for the inscription to be placed above the entrance door, the construction of the building must have been completed before 68 AD, when Nero died. If the number of the consulship etc. in the postulated titulature are true, it can be claimed that the construction of the bath started in the late 50s. Thus, the Nero bath of Patara becomes one of the earliest baths in Anatolia¹⁰.

The fact that the building inscription was placed inside the frigidarium needs to be explained - especially if it is stated that the whole building but not a part of it was built “from the foundations” ([ἐκ] θεμελ[ί]ων). Because such inscriptions are expected to be placed at the entrance of the whole building. The only explanation for the building inscription having been placed inside the bath is that the frigidarium must have been added later. Our observations on the walls of the building confirm this thesis: on the east wall of the frigidarium, just north of the door that was later canceled, there is a joint that rises from floor to ceiling (Fig. 6). That is, there are two different walls that are independent but adjacent to each other. Moreover, clear differences can be seen in masonry technic of that two walls: while the horizontal joints continue uninterrupted in the newly added walls, the joints are interrupted or continue in a diagonal fashion in the old part. Also, this difference confirms the thesis of later adding of the frigidarium.

Constructional changes were also made in other spaces of the bath: there are opposite joints, just on the same axis of the extension joint of the frigidarium, at the west and east walls of tepidarium where the apse of this space begins (Fig. 7). Furthermore, adjacent to the south of these joints, each a vertical area of approximately 0.9 m wide shows a broken appearance; the wall filling is visible. The situation is clear; a wall that previously stood here was removed and the entire space was extended by the addition of an apse.

A similar situation can be observed in the caldarium: the northern part of the caldarium with the pool was added later, like the apse of the tepidarium and the entire frigidarium, as the joints are observed on the same axis (Fig. 8). Again, as in the tepidarium, it is understood from the remaining traces that a wall that bound its north was removed. The vertical joints in the tepidarium and caldarium are on the same axis as in the frigidarium, and more importantly, the organic integrity of the outer/northern walls of the frigidarium, tepidarium, and caldarium suggest that this change was planned and carried out at the same time.

In the light of the archaeological data so far, we can suggest the relative chronological order of the building periods as follows (see plans Fig. 9): In the first period, the bath, built during the reign of Emperor Nero, consisted of two spaces (T and C¹¹) with dimensions of 18.5x7.5 m and 18.5x9.5 m¹². In a second period, F was added to the entire building, the northern walls of T and C were removed and extended towards that direction. Probably at this stage, a door opening from frigidarium to tepidarium was closed because it had been located just at the one of the stepped entrances of the cold water pool - it obviously made it difficult to enter the pool. A second door

¹⁰ For the roman early baths in Asia Minor: Nielsen 1999; Quatember 2018.

¹¹ In addition, there are the rooms in the east and south. The room in the east, behind the big arch, measures 8.7x3.2 m and the other one in the south 7x2.9 m.

¹² The question now is, what were the functions of these two rooms before the frigidarium was added? Because of the inscription on the building, we can assume that room T had no direct access from outside. In this case, this room could not have been a heated one in the sense of Roman baths. The answer to this question can be given by the ongoing excavations.

was opened next to the door with the building inscription (Fig. 4). In a third period, two niches and a new door were placed on the west wall of the frigidarium, one with a pool (?) in front of it.

There are other additions and modifications to the structure: after the second period, two prae-furniums and at least one hot water pool were added to the tepidarium (perhaps in the same period as the door and niches that opened to the frigidarium?); another obvious addition is the vaulted section to the south of the caldarium. Another major repair/modification is seen in the caldarium pools. These were somewhat reduced in size by building smaller pools with brick walls. But it is not possible to fit these changes in any place in the relative chronology just mentioned above. Future excavations may clarify these issues.

In this relative chronological order, we have a definite date for the two spaces (T and C): AD 60s on the basis of the above-mentioned building inscription. A date can also be suggested for the extension of the spaces T and C and the addition of the frigidarium. The basis for this suggestion is an inscription (inscription A) on the facade of a sculpture base discovered during the 2012 excavations and published in 2015¹³, and a second inscription (inscription B, unpublished) uncovered very close to this sculpture base in 2018. Inscription A reads as follows:

- Παταρέων τῆς μητροπόλεως
 τοῦ Λυκίων ἔθνους ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ
 δῆμος καὶ ἡ γερουσία Τιβέριον Κλαύ-
 διον Εὐδήμου υἱὸν Φλαουιανὸν Κυρεῖνα
- 5 Εὐδημον Παταρέα, ἄνδρα μεγαλόφρονα καὶ φιλό-
 πατριν, γένους ἐκ τοῦ πρώτου, πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα πα-
 ρασχόμενον τῇ πατρίδι ἔν τε ἀρχαῖς καὶ λειτουρ-
 γίαις καὶ ἐπιδόσεσιν, τετειμημένον ὑπὸ τε τοῦ
 ἔθνους καὶ τῆς πατρίδος πλεονάκις, διδόντα με-
- 10 τὰ τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ Κλ(αυδίας) Ἀνάσσης τῷ πολεῖτῃ ἁ-
 νὰ δηνάρια ἕξ ἡμισυ, καταλελοιπότεα καὶ ἀργυρίου
 * μυριάδας εἴκοσι πέντε εἰς τὸ ἀπὸ τῶν τόκων
 παντὶ τῷ αἰῶνι προσκτιζέσθαι αὐτοῦ τὴν πα-
 τρίδα· ἐξ οὗ δὴ πλήθους τοῦ κεφαλαίου ἕως ἀρ-
- 15 χιερέος Μεττίου Ἀνδροβίου γεγόνασιν ἐκ τῆς
 προσόδου τῶν τόκων δηναρίου μυριάδες τρι-
 ἄκοντα τέσσαρες δηνάρια πεντακόσια τριάκον-
 τα τέσσαρα ἀφ' οὗ δὴ πλήθους τῶν τόκων ἐπεσκευά-
 σθη τὸ γυμνάσιον καὶ ἡ στο(ὰ) αὕτη, κατεσκευάσθη δὲ καὶ

¹³ Lepke – Schuler – Zimmermann 2015, 357-276, no. 9 (A).

- 20 ἡ παρακειμένη ἐξέδρα καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ ἔργα, ἐπεσκευ-
 άσθη δὲ καὶ καισάρεια δύο καὶ ὁ προφητικὸς οἶκος καὶ οἱ
 ἐν τῷ ἄλλοι ὀχετοί, ἐπεσκευάσθη δὲ καὶ τὸ πρὸς τῇ ἀγο-
 ρᾷ βαλανεῖον, κατασκευάζεται δὲ καὶ τὰ πρὸς τῇ πύλῃ
 ἔργα. ὕ καὶ ἡ εἰς τὸν ἀνδριάντα δὲ αὐτοῦ ἔξοδος ἐγέ-
 25 νετο ἐκ τῶν τόκων τούτων, τὴν δὲ ἀνάστασιν ἐποίησα-
 το ἡ πόλις διὰ ἐργεπιστάτου Τιβ(ερίου) Κλ(αυδίου)
 Ἐπαφροδίτου Παταρέος.

“The Council, the People and the Elders Assembly of Patara, the metropolis of the Confederacy of Lycians, (have honoured) Tiberius Claudius Flavianus Eudemos, son of Eudemos, from Quirina Tribe, citizen of Patara, a generous and patriotic man, descendant of great family, who offered to his hometown many and great favours in offices, liturgies and donations, and was honoured many times by the Confederacy and the hometown, and gave (each) citizen six and half *denarii* together with his wife Claudia Anassa, and bequeathed two hundred and fifty thousand (250.000) *denarii* to be spent from its interest to his homeland forever: from this capital sum grew three hundred forty thousand and five hundred thirty-four (340.534) *denarii* through the income of interests until the (ministry of) chief priest Mettius Androbios; from the sum of the interests the gymnasium and this stoa were renovated; the adjacent exedra and the structures in the theatre were built; two Kaisareions, the prophets house and the canals in the grove were renovated; the bathhouse nearby the agora was renovated; the structures nearby the gate were built; and the cost of his statue was met from these interests; the city made the erection (of this statue) through Tiberius Claudius Epaphroditos, citizen of Patara.”

The approximately 1.4 m high base carried the honoring statues of Tiberius Claudius Flavianos Eudemos and his wife Claudia Anassa, who were from a wealthy family of Patara as suggested by many other inscriptions. From the inscription, we understand that Eudemos donated 250 thousand *denarii*, the interest revenues of which would be used in construction activities in Patara, and that the said capital increased to 340,534 *denarii* during the Priesthood of Mettius Androbios. Furthermore, we learn which buildings were repaired/renovated and which new structures were financed using the interest revenues (90,534 *denarii*): the gymnasium, that stoa (i.e., the stoa in which that sculpture base stood), the two kaiseriea, the house of prophet the canals in the sacred grove and the bathhouse at the agora were repaired/renovated. Besides the stoa, an exedra and some buildings in the theater were newly built. In addition, the construction of the structures at the “gate” (possibly the city gate) continued.

The aforementioned priest Mettius Androbios gives a *terminus ante quem* for the inscription and thus the said building activities: before 150 AD¹⁴. The great Lycian earthquake that took place in 141/142 AD can be seen as a reason for this extensive building activities¹⁵.

¹⁴ Lepke – Schuler – Zimmermann 2015, 359.

¹⁵ Other building activities, which also fall into this period, and which we know from other inscriptions, are the completion of the stage building of the theatre by Vilia Procula (Piesker – Ganzert 2012, 222-223 [H. Engelmann]) and the new construction (?) of a stoa by Opramoas from Rhodiapolis (Bruer – Kunze

The inscription B has almost the same content¹⁶. This second inscription, which belongs to an earlier date -both because it does not mention the bathhouse in the agora and that the stated interest income is below 90.000 *denarii*- gives a little more clue about the scope of the building activities mentioned in the next inscription and the localization of some of these structures¹⁷. Three of the structures mentioned in these two inscriptions are of great importance for our topic: the *bathhouse in the agora*, the *exedra* and the *stoa* ('this' stoa, where the statue base stands). Because their localization and the topographical relationships between them can be revealed in the light of both the prepositions used in the texts and the archaeological data.

Nero bath = τὸ πρὸς τῇ ἀγορᾷ βαλανεῖον

First of all, until another agora and another bathhouse at an agora appear in Patara, what is meant by the "bath in the agora" in the inscription A should be the "Nero bath". As a matter of fact, if there were a second agora in Patara, it would have been expected that at least one of them would be referred to by a different name to distinguish the two¹⁸. On the other hand, the reason for using only the phrase "agora" might be the proximity of the inscription to *this agora*. Also, if there was a second bath at the agora, this bath would have to be called by any adjective or another name in order to avoid confusion. After all, in any case the bath in the agora mentioned in inscription A should be what we call the Nero bath. Unfortunately, the inscription does not specify the exact meaning and scope of repair/renovation (ἐπεσκευάσθη) as for other structures. Since it is not known how much money was spent for each structure, it is not possible to calculate the volume of the work by comparison, at least for now¹⁹. However, the archaeological data to be mentioned below suggest that the repair/renovation should cover the second building period, which we mentioned above, at least for the Nero bath. To be mentioned in such an important context (theater, kaiseria, prophet's house, stoa etc.), the volume of construction work on the bathroom must also be large. An enlargement of the bath structure by almost 2.5 times is not an underestimated scale.

Exedra - stoa

The second important structure in our context is the exedra, which was stated to be newly built with the interest revenues, where the third structure is the renovated/repared stoa. The only

2010, 55; Zimmermann 2019); For other building activities under the governorship of Priscus in Lycia see İplikçioğlu 2008 and Kökmen-Seyirci 2017.

¹⁶ The finding place of the inscription B is about 20 m away from the inscription A. This inscription must have been spread over three blocks at least. Unfortunately, the blocks are missing, which must have carried the beginning and the right side of the inscription.

¹⁷ The relevant part of the inscription is as follows: "ἐπεσκε[υάσθη | δὲ ἐκ] τῶν χρημάτων τούτων καὶ τὸ γυμνάσι[ον καὶ | ἢ στο]ὰ ἢ πρὸ τοῦ ἀλιπτηρίου, κατεσκευάσ[θη δὲ | καὶ ἢ] πρὸς τῷ ἀλιπτηρίῳ ἐξέδρα" ("The gymnasium and the stoa in front of the alipterion were renovated; the exedra next to the alipterion was built"). Thanks to Fatih Onur for the English translation.

¹⁸ In an inscription from Cyzicus, a harbor is referred as "the great harbor" in order to distinguish it from the well-known other harbors of the city (see Schwertheim 1978). For the harbors of Cyzicus see Meral – Has 2017.

¹⁹ There is a current project lead by M. Koçak on this topic.

known structure in Patara that could be counted as an exedra is the Π formed structure we discovered in 2016 to the north of the agora and just west of the Nero bath (Fig. 10 and 11)²⁰. This building, which measures 22.7x14.25 meters, with one layer of blocks visible on the surface, faces south, towards the agora. Inscription B states that the exedra was next to an aleipterion²¹. Also in the same inscription (inscription B), it was stated that another building in front of this aleipterion was renovated/repared. But the place referred to the name of this building is missing²². This structure, the name of which cannot be fully read in inscription B, must be the stoa mentioned in inscription A for the following reasons: 1. The building is associated with the gymnasium, just like in the inscription A; 2. The only building that was mentioned in Inscription A but not in B (except the bathhouse) is the stoa²³, which is expected to be here as well; and 3. The surviving last letter of the structure name mentioned is an Alpha.

Aleipterion and Gymnasion

This aleipterion with exedra (πρὸς τῶ) next to it and stoa (πρὸ τοῦ) in front of it plays the key role. Its localization will solve the localization issue of stoa and exedra as well. An aleipterion has not yet been discovered in Patara. It is known that the Aleipterion (the oiling chamber or where the oils were stored) was part of the Hellenistic palaestra and gymnasiums or Roman baths. In other words, a gymnasium/palaestra or a bath gymnasium should be expected in the area where the aleipterion is located. Indeed, in the northwest corner of the agora, at the south end of the harbor street (liman caddesi), in the area where the Nero bath is located, many epigraphic findings related to the gymnasium and belonging to the Roman Period were found²⁴. These objects, mainly consisted of sculpture bases, were reused as building materials in the late antique city wall.

At this point, it would be appropriate to briefly mention a feature related to the construction of the late antique city wall²⁵. The excavation of the southern part of the Patara late antique wall, which is adjacent to the agora, has been going on for three years. The southwestern part was unearthed in previous years and revived during the restoration of the parliament building. In the light of these excavations and previous observations, it is possible to make the following general suggestion: almost all of the buildings and other monuments belonging to the previous period in a large area outside the wall, which was built in the 4th century AD and completely made up of spolia, were dismantled down their foundations and used as building material there (except the theater). It is observed that the materials of these old buildings and monuments were used collectively and in the closest part of the wall, without being taken far from where they were located²⁶.

²⁰ Koçak – Erkoç 2016.

²¹ According to Andrew Lepke in an e-mail, Aleipterion is mentioned in an inscription for the first time in Lycia.

²² See fn. 17.

²³ Lepke – Shchuler – Zimmermann 2015, 360, l. 19. See also above p. 6, l. 19.

²⁴ Aktaş 2013, 288 no. 19 and 20; also, Engelmann 2016, *passim*; Lepke – Schuler – Zimmermann 2015, 342-352. 357-376 no. 6. 7 and 9.

²⁵ For the late antique city wall of Patara see Bruer – Kunze 2010, 49-77; Dündar – Koçak 2019.

²⁶ For example, the so-called Monumentum Patarense. See Onur 2019.

In this case, it is expected that the area where the inscription findings related to the gymnasium are concentrated would be very close to the gymnasium. The closest candidate is the “empty” area, about 67x64 meters to the north of the Nero bath, extending to another structure known as the Central Bath in the north, and on which no other architectural formations can be observed except the remains of a small building, possibly belonging to the late antique period (Fig. 2). The late antique city wall borders that area in the east, while the eastern portico of harbor street (liman caddesi) forms the western border. Today the walking level of the field is one meter lower than its surrounding area. This area is the most suitable candidate to be the palaestra of the gymnasium mentioned in the inscriptions, since no remains of pre-late antiquity can be detected on it (at least for now)²⁷.

Again, *exedra* and *stoa*

To sum up, the gymnasium in the Eudemos inscriptions must be adjacent to both the Nero bath (“bathhouse in the agora”) and the Π formed structure discovered in 2016²⁸. Since aleipterion should also be associated with the gymnasium, the Π formed structure must be the *exedra* mentioned in the inscriptions. After roughly localizing the gymnasium, hence the aleipterion (and thus the *exedra*), we can easily say that the *stoa*, which was repaired/renovated thanks to the revenues created by the Eudemos foundation, should be in the north of the agora. Because the *stoa* in front of the aleipterion must also be in front of the *exedra*. In this context, the columns and architraves unearthed during excavations in 2010 and which appear to belong to a *stoa* are important (Fig. 12 and 13)²⁹. The marble column shafts and sandstone architraves of this *stoa* are still lying where they were fell over. Only the capitals and bases are missing³⁰. When the columns are raised according to their fall conditions, they would rise above a not yet uncovered stylobate in the east-west direction. This *stoa*, with its façade faces south, i.e. the agora, extends 7 m from and parallel to the *exedra* front. So, the ‘front’ of the *exedra* must have formed part of the back wall of this *stoa*.

When the façade of this *stoa* is extended to the east, it is seen that it is exactly on the same axis as the southern façade of the frigidarium of Nero bath. Outside the west wall of the frigidarium, a console protrudes westward, 3 meters above the current walking level (Fig. 14). This lone console, of which we could not make any sense at the beginning, must have carried the architrave of the *stoa* in question. Because it is also compatible with the height of the columns. It is very likely that this *stoa* was located to the north *stoa* of the agora, that at least the frigidarium façade of the Nero

²⁷ According to Hesberg, before the 2nd century BC the gymnasiums were built in the immediate vicinity of the agorai. But in the late Hellenistic period, however, city outskirts were preferred as building sites for these institutions (Hesberg 1995). Whether the gymnasium of Patara, located in the immediate vicinity of agora, is also of early Hellenistic origin cannot yet be answered.

²⁸ The postulated gymnasium is located behind the two buildings (*exedra* and bath). The structural relationship of all these buildings has not yet been clarified.

²⁹ Şahin 2012, 22; A part of the east *stoa* was unearthed in 2017 excavations: İşkan 2019, 365 fig. 3.

³⁰ The capitals (and apparently also the bases) are missing. After the collapse, an attempt was made to cut the column shafts in half lengthwise, as can be seen on one specimen in-situ, so that they could be reused elsewhere.

bathroom directly faced the agora, but the answer can be given upon ongoing excavations in this area.

Nero bath second period - exedra - stoa (and gymnasium): a joint building program before 150 AD

All of these structures are located on the area east of the southern part of harbor street and are adjacent to each other enough to form a "building complex" (Fig. 2)³¹. The second building period of the Nero bath should belong to a program of reorganizing this area with interest revenues raised by the Eudemos foundation before 150 AD. The first evidence of this is the union of stoa and frigidarium wall as mentioned above. The column row that starts in the west of the stoa ends at the south end of the frigidarium wall, where the last architrave is carried by a column and the console protruding from the frigidarium wall. This console was placed there, when the frigidarium wall was being built - otherwise it would not have been possible. In other words, the restoration/renovation of the stoa, the addition of the frigidarium and the expansion of the tepidarium and caldarium spaces took place in the same period. As a second proof is that the northern limit of exedra and the northern walls of the Nero bath are on the same axis. As it is understood, with the newly built exedra, the area on which it was located was expanded northward to a certain limit³².

Frigidarium pool and columnar arrangement

After determining that frigidarium was added to the bathroom before 150 AD, possibly after the earthquake of 141 AD, it is necessary to ask the following question: Is the columnar arrangement surrounding the cold water pool on three sides with this addition from the same time period? Unfortunately, we do not have any supportive argument (at least for now) other than architectural observations to answer this question. But first, let's take a look at the find situation and this columnar arrangement:

A 0.9 m deep bench extends along three sides (west-north-east) of the cold water pool consisting of limestone blocks. Sandstone slabs with an average thickness of 0.15 m, a depth of 0.6 m, a length of 1 m to 2.2 m and a distance of approximately 0.3 m from the rear wall were placed on this bench. The space between the wall and the sandstone slabs was filled in with mortar and small crushed stones. Column bases, the remains of two of which can be seen in-situ, were placed on these sandstone slabs (Fig. 15). The traces of masons' tools, mortise holes and other tool marks can be easily detected in the places where the other column bases once stood (Fig. 16, 22). Thus, it is certain that there were eight column bases, three on two short sides and four on one long side, on the bench surrounding the pool. The distance between the bases is 2.8 m on the short sides and 2.6 meters on the long side.

During the excavations, a small number of fragments of similar bases were found in the cold water pool (Fig. 17-18). In addition, as indicated in the introduction, many fragments of broken columns of breccia marble were found (Fig. 19). When brought together, it was understood that these pieces belonged to eight columns. In addition, the two capitals, which are the reason of this article,

³¹ See also: Aktaş 2016; Şahin – Aktaş 2019; Aktaş 2019.

³² It seems that this expansion to the north took place to the disadvantage of the postulated gymnasium. But this building has not yet been excavated, so this thesis can be revised in the future.

were found between the column fragments in almost complete condition. Fragments of these two capitals and at least a third capital are among the further finds. Unfortunately, among the finds, there are no other structural elements such as architraves that could have sit on these capitals, not only from the pool but also from the entire frigidarium.

The compatibility of the sizes of the bases, column shafts and capitals, and the location of the finds provide evidence that they were arranged along the three sides of the cold water pool. When raised (Fig. 20) they reach a height of approximately 4.5 meters, which corresponds approximately to the threshold of the windows in the north wall. The remains of bronze dowels towards the front on the sandstone slabs on which the bases sit suggest that some objects such as statues or perhaps parapets must have been fixed between the columns (Fig. 21). Since we have no other finds other than the above, or any other finding that we can trace on the walls, it would only be speculative to suggest what this architectural arrangement looked like.

Above, we mentioned that other changes were made in this space in a third period, after the addition of the frigidarium. The most visible of these changes are the south door and niches in the west wall: limestone blocks were removed (possibly by breaking), and these architectural elements were formed by drilling and carving the wall filling made of mortar and crushed stone. It is possible to trace the architectural changes (from floor coverings to canals, etc.) over time in other parts of the frigidarium. This also applies to the edges of the cold water pool, but as far as we can observe, these changes occurred during a period after the columnar arrangement.

When examined, it is seen that after the first construction of the cold water pool, it did not undergo any fundamental changes other than of decorative fashion³³. Since the sandstone slabs placed on it were either completely destroyed or damaged in places, the top of the bench surrounding the pool from three sides can be observed well. No traces of any previous architectural formation or arrangement could be detected from the sandstone slabs in any part of this upper part of the bench. In other words, it can be said that the slabs were placed during the first construction of the pool along with the frigidarium.

The traces left by masonry tools on the slabs covered with mortar residues are as follows: 1. Vertical and diagonal lines marking the edges of the plinth where the column bases sit, and a pecked surface, lead duct and dowel hole (Fig. 16, 22). 2. Dowel holes of various forms in the sections between the column bases (Fig. 21). There are three holes between each column, as far as it can be detected, and they are on the same axis at a distance of 4 to 7 cm from the pool side edge of the sandstone slabs. Remains of bronze dowels in different forms can still be seen in some of these holes. 3. A drain in the northwest corner 10 cm deep, 14 cm wide, in which a lead pipe is still in-situ (Fig. 22). If there are other traces other than these, they must have remained under the mortar residues in some parts of the surface.

The traces listed above do not indicate any architectural changes other than the columnar arrangement. In other words, these traces are also not against the idea that the pool and the columnar arrangement realized together when frigidarium was added. In fact, at least one hole, men-

³³ The hot water basins of the caldarium, however, show a different situation: the northern and southern rectangular basins were somewhat reduced in size at a time not yet known, by adding new basins with oval narrow sides. The walls of these new basins were made of bricks.

tioned in number 2 above, containing the remains of bronze dowels, was closed in a later architectural modification by filling it with mortar (Fig. 21 a). The foregoing modification was as follows: adhering to the wall behind the columns, a wall with a thickness of 0.4 m was built with brick, the height (with the cladding plates) of which we do not know exactly (Fig. 15 and 16). This wall and sandstone slabs were covered with mortar and marble slabs that have survived in very few places. This wall faces with marble slabs covers partially column bases (Fig. 16). The remains of mortar indicate that the sandstone slabs must have been covered with marble as well. But in the meantime, as mentioned above, the previous dowel holes were filled in and became unusable. In addition, a block of 40x70x78 cm each was placed in the southwest and southeast corners of the pool, just to south of the columns there (Fig. 15 and 23). These blocks were brought from elsewhere and reused here, as their upper and lower profiles were chiseled away. The north faces of the blocks were also covered with mortar and marble plates.

We do not yet have a clue about the history of this last architectural/decorative change about the pool (and which is not limited to the pool) that we briefly described above. What is certain is that this happened after the columnar arrangement took place, and most likely before the end of its use as a bathhouse. However, we do not have a date yet, because the evaluation of the finds, especially the very small amount of pottery sherds, is still ongoing. On the other hand, we know that the so-called harbor bath (*liman hamamı*), which was excavated in recent years, lost its function since the 4th or 5th centuries and the structure began to host various workshops³⁴. The traces of a late transformation that we can identify in the Nero bath, which we can call the last of all the architectural changes and transformations we mentioned above, are the many holes opened on the floor of the frigidarium (except for the recycling activities in the building)³⁵. A larger hole than the others is also located almost in the middle of the cold water pool (Fig. 23). Although we have not yet known the purpose of these holes, it is possible to suggest that they were related to some sort of production/workshop³⁶.

In the light of the evaluations so far, it can be claimed that this columnar arrangement was from the beginning of a part of the decorative/architectural adventure of the cold water pool. In other words: since there are no traces of any changes that might have been made previously, we can suggest that the columnar arrangement was created from the beginning, that is, in the process of the addition of frigidarium, which corresponds to AD 140-150. As stated in the introduction, it is seen that at least the column capitals of this architectural arrangement were produced long before they were used in the frigidarium pool. Stylistic analysis, which is almost impossible for column shafts and bases, can be applied for capitals. The basis for the reuse judgment is this stylistic analysis we will present below.

³⁴ Erkoç 2018, 255-256.

³⁵ The pits have a diameter of 16 to 20 cm and a depth of 10 to 15 cm.

³⁶ Another possible explanation for these holes would be that they were intended for fixing a crane. It seems that the architectural elements in the frigidarium were carefully dismantled because, as mentioned above, we did not find any fragments of, for example, architraves, which must have been in existence.

Capitals: General definition, terminology and typology

The two capitals (BKC.1 and BKC.2³⁷) uncovered in the Nero Bath have similar features with each other in terms of the decorative elements they bear and the stylistic features of these elements (Fig. 24-28). Rising on a protruding kalathos astragal, there are two basic decorative elements on the kalathos of the capitals: palm leaves and acanthus leaves. Between the kalathos and the abacus, there is the "echinus" decorated by bead-and-reels and Ionic kyma decorations one on top of the other. There are figures of eagles on the corners of the echinus. On the square abacus, there is a flat molding at the bottom and a kyma recta profile decorated with lesbian kymation.

The capitals of the frigidarium pool of the Nero Bath are literally "mixed" capitals, in which different parts of several column capital types were brought together; in other words, they contained the unique features of various orders. The first of the ornaments that come to the fore in the general decoration of the capitals is the long concave leaves of the palm capitals³⁸. Another main decoration is the acanthus leaves used in Corinthian capitals. The capitals in which these two ornaments are used together are generally named as "Blattkelch capital"³⁹ in the literature⁴⁰. Blattkelch capitals end with a square abacus located just above the palm leaves. On the Pataran examples, there is an echinus between the kalathos and the abacus with bead-and-reels and Ionic kyma decorations, respectively. This feature is more common in Ionic and Composite capitals⁴¹. As it is known, there are adjoining volutes of Ionic corner capitals at the upper corners of the Composite

³⁷ Blattkelch Capital-1 (BKC.1): Inv. No. Ptr-Mi.2637; Material: Limestone; Dimensions: H. 55 cm; Diam. 37.5 cm; Abakus 56x56 cm (there are lesbian kyma decorations on all four sides of the abacus.) Blattkelch Capital-2 (BKC.2): Inv No. Ptr-Mi.2638; Material: Limestone; Dimensions: H. 53 cm; Diam. 37.5 cm Abakus 56x56 cm. (There are lesbian kyma decorations on two sides of the abacus. The other two side have no decoration.).

³⁸ This motif has been called "palm-leaves", "flutes", "pipe" or "strigiles". It is called "pfeifenblatt" in German, "godron" in French, "pipo bezek" "oluk/yiv" or "strigilis" in Turkish. These motifs should undoubtedly be considered as botanical members and therefore in this study, we will prefer the definition of palm leaf. See Liljenstolpe 1997-1998, 93-94; Öztaner 2006, fn. 45.

³⁹ This type of capital, which is created by combining the decoration elements of two different types of capitals. It is called in German "blattkelchkapitell" (Börker 1965; Alzinger 1974, 92; Liljenstolpe 1997-1998), in English "fluting-and-acanthus capital" (Ward-Perkins 1948, 66. 68. 69) or "flute-and-acanthus capital" (Vandeput 1997, 89. 126), in French "acanthos et godrons" (Cavalier 2005, 37). See Şahin 2018, 138 fn. 754. Names such as "Pergamon type", "Aiol type" and "lotus-acanthus" were also suggested for the capital. For terminology see Liljenstolpe 1997-1998, 93-94.

⁴⁰ Four capitals in Ephesus, dated to the Augustan period and immediately after, are the first representatives of this type in Anatolia in the Roman Imperial Period. Although these capitals have similar characters as a general scheme, it is seen that they are not made to a certain standard. See Alzinger 1974, 92-94 figs. 123-126.

⁴¹ In the archeology literature, the term "Composite Capital" is used for the capitals. In the archeology literature, the term "Composite Capital" is used for the capitals which essentially a mixture of four-sided Ionic and Corinthian capitals, in varying proportion. However, this basic pattern shows many variations, both with the combination of the main elements in different proportions and with different ornamental elements added to the various parts of the capital. See Strong 1960; Summerson 2005, 12-14; Büyükkolancı – Söğüt 2012, 115-116; Şahin 2018, 135-136.

capitals and the abaci are protruding towards the corners in accordance with the projection of the volutes. On the corners of the capitals of the Nero Bath, instead of volutes, eagle figures are used both as a carrier element and as an ornamental element with the aesthetic appearance provided by their decoration⁴². With all these features, the capitals include altogether the general form and palm leaves motifs of the palm capital, the acanthus elements of the Corinthian capitals, the echinus part of the Ionic capitals, and the eagle decorations of the "eagle capitals".

C. Börker, who carried out the pioneering work on Blattkelch capitals, examined these types of capitals belonging to the Roman imperial period in two sub-types according to the difference of the main ornament which is covering the kalathos⁴³. On the capitals called "Greek Type", "lotus" leaves with a thin groove in the center, ending with a pointed tip, cover the kalathos. On the capitals named as "Anatolian Type", the decorations in the form of a longitudinally concave half-groove cover the kalathos (palm leaves). In this context, Pataran examples are considered within the second type of C. Börker, namely the "Anatolian type". P. Liljenstolpe, who worked on the same subject, has added two different types (Type III and Type IV) of Composite capitals, which its kalathos were formed with lotus leaves or palm leaves, apart from the two types mentioned by C. Börker⁴⁴. However, it is seen that the capitals of the Nero Bath at Patara, also differ from the groups derived from the Composite capitals specified by P. Liljenstolpe. On the upper corners of the capitals, eagle figures were used instead of volutes and the square in form. In this context, it would be appropriate to consider these capitals as a new type of the Blattkelch capitals.

Palm Leaves

Successive concave 24 palm leaf motifs emerging from the upper border of the kalathos astragal rise straight upwards and ends with a semi-circular rim by curving outwards just below the kalathos lip. The joining edges of the palm leaves have pointed back. Acanthus leaves, one of the other ornamental elements of the capital, also rise above the kalathos astragal and reach about ½ of the kalathos' height. Each acanthus leaf is the width of 2 palm leaves where it is most common. There is one palm leaf motif between each of the sparsely worked acanthus leaves. Thus, there are 8 acanthus leaves in each of the capitals. C. Börker states that "lotus leaves" are mostly used in Greece and there are generally 8 acanthus and 16 lotus leaves on these capitals. And also states that where the combination of 12 acanthus and 24 palm leaves motifs was predominantly preferred in Anatolia⁴⁵. In this context, it can be said that the arrangement of 8 acanthus and 24 palm leaf motifs as seen in the capitals uncovered in Patara suggests a mixed application⁴⁶.

⁴² For "eagle capitals" see von Mercklin 1962, 221-236 cat. 543-572.

⁴³ These two types are named according to the usage intensity in the two different regions. The first is more common in Greece and the second in Anatolia. See Börker 1965, 7, 197; Rohmann 1998, 30. In a group of Blattkelch capitals found in Ankara Roman Bath; there are acanthus leaf wreath at the bottom, palm leaf motif at the top and thin-pointed "lotus" leaves between the palm leaves at the top. See Beard 2017.

⁴⁴ Liljenstolpe 1997-1998, 94-96.

⁴⁵ Börker 1965, 7, 197-201. O. Alp, who studied the Blattkelch capitals in Anatolia, states that "palm leaf-acanthus capitals" with 8 acanthus and 16 palm leaf decoration are common in Anatolia, including the Early Roman Imperial Period examples in Ephesus. See Alp 2006, 63.

⁴⁶ The first known example of the Blattkelch capitals was found in Pergamon near the Sanctuary of Athena and is dated to the end of the 2nd century BC. See Kästner 1996, 157. 158 fig. 5.

Acanthus

In the profile of the acanthus leaves on the capitals, there is a slight “S” form towards the top leaflet, but it is seen that the flat and vertical structure was preserved. No overhanging top-leaflet of acanthus leaves is preserved on any of the capitals. The mid-rib of the acanthus leaves, which start broadly at the bottom and taper towards the top leaflet have a rounded structure on the surface. Side-leaflets, on both sides of the mid-rib look like a fan of fingers separated from each other at the ends. The side-leaflets consists of 3 fingers at the bottom and 4 at the top. The leaf fingers were defined by thinly opened grooves. The upper finger of the lower leaflet joins with the lower finger of the leaflet above. Thus, closed eyelets were formed between the leaflets. The base-line of these eyelets is generally straight or slightly convex. Therefore, the eyelets are triangular in form or slightly convex drop-shaped. The fact that mid-ribs of the acanthus leaves are rounded on the surface, the thin and fan-shaped dense structure of the leaflets, and the close triangular form of the eyelets between the leaflets, especially appear in the acanthus leaves of the Corinthian capitals from the Augustan period⁴⁷, where acanthus with drop-shaped eyes, on the other hand, can be seen mostly on the capitals of the Julio-Claudian period⁴⁸.

There are many capitals at Ephesus which they have similar style acanthus. A capital from the State Agora⁴⁹, a pillar capital⁵⁰ and a normal Corinthian capital⁵¹ of the Marktbasilica and a Corinthian capital⁵² of the Agora, West Hall are dated to the Late Augustan period. The working of the leaf fingers found on one of the capitals of the Augustus Temple at Antiocheia pros Pisidian and the preserved fragments of the anta capital from same building are similar to those of Patara⁵³. However, the capital of the temple of Antiocheia and the examples at Ephesus both have circular eyelets or almost triangular heart-shaped eyelets. In addition, the surface of the mid-ribs of these acanthus leaves have a rounded structure, as on the Pataran examples. Although the construction date of the Temple of Augustus at Antiocheia pros Pisidian is not known exactly, it has been generally suggested that its construction began in the second half of the reign Augustus and completed during the Tiberian period⁵⁴. In Sagalassos, it is seen that the acanthus leaves on the two Corinthian capitals belonging to the Southwest Gate of the Lower Agora were worked with much deeper channels than the Pataran examples, but especially the triangular/drop-shaped eyelets between the leaflets are in close similarity. These capitals are dated to the Tiberian period⁵⁵. Acanthus leaves on a capital belonging to the propylon of the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias; the rounded form of the mid-rib, the leaf fingers in the shape of a fan, and the triangle/drop shape of the eyelets are closely parallel to the Pataran examples. The capital belonging to the Propylon of Sebasteion

⁴⁷ Alzinger 1974, 126-131.

⁴⁸ Heilmeyer 1970, 84-86.

⁴⁹ Heilmeyer 1970, 86 pl. 22, 4.

⁵⁰ Alzinger 1974, 88 figs. 118 a, b.

⁵¹ Plattner 2009, 102-103 fig. 6.

⁵² Alzinger 1974, 86-87 fig. 115.

⁵³ Heilmeyer 1970, 81-83 pl. 8, 3, 4; Vandeput 1997, pl. 69, 2; 69, 3, 4; Büyükkolancı 1996, 60-66 pl. 54 a-b; Rumscheid 1994, 4 pl. 5, 8; 6, 1, 2; İdil 1984, 8, 9 pl. 3, 2; 4, 1.

⁵⁴ Heilmeyer 1970, 81; Vandeput 1997, 170; Şahin 2018, 106, 107.

⁵⁵ Vandeput 1997, 58 pl. 22, 1, 2.

at Aphrodisias, which began in the reign of Emperor Tiberius and continued until the reign of Emperor Nero⁵⁶, probably belongs to the first construction phase of the structure and was dated to the early stages of the Tiberian period⁵⁷. The acanthus leaves of a Corinthian capital found on the Syrian Street in Laodikeia which dated to the Late Augustan - Early Tiberian period are similar to the examples of Patara in terms of the eyelets close to the triangle form and the thin grooves of the leaflets⁵⁸. The acanthus leaf on a Corinthian capital fragment from Rhodiapolis also shows similar features and dated first half of the first century AD⁵⁹. 10 Blattkelch capitals belonging to the peristyle courtyard (1st phase) in Terrace House 2 (Unit 6) at Ephesos were unearthed⁶⁰. It is seen that the acanthus leaves used in these capitals have a structure very close to the acanthus leaves on the capitals of the Nero Bath. The separation of the leaflets from each other and the way of the leaf fingers fold and especially the form of the eyelets between the leaflets, have very similar features. These capitals in Ephesus show characteristics of the Early Roman imperial period, as many experts have noted⁶¹. These capitals are dated within the second quarter of the 1st century AD, based on the similarities with the Blattkelch capitals⁶² of the Ephesus, Lower Agora of the post-earthquake (AD 23) construction phase in Tiberian period⁶³ and the finds from the 1st phase of the Terrace House 2 (Unit 6)⁶⁴.

Ionic kyma

The Ionic kyma decoration consists of 5 eggs and tongue motifs between them, on each side of the capital. The egg motifs corresponding to the corner of the capital are partly hidden under the eagle figures on the corners. Eggs in Ionic kyma decoration have a form that is cut at the upper edge, tapering towards the bottom rib and ends with a pointed tip. Eggs are integrated with the upper edge. Inward curved egg frames have a slightly tapered ridge on the top surface. There is a small space between the egg motifs and the frame. Tongues also have a pointed back. In general, the egg-and-tongues show densely spaced row. The cut structure of the egg in the Ionic kyma decoration and its relationship with the upper edge are especially seen in the Ionic kyma decorations from the Augustan period onward⁶⁵ and egg motifs in this form were also used during the Julio-Claudian period. Although egg motifs in the Augustan period were largely dependent on the frame, at the end of this period and during the Julio-Claudian period, a slightly deep and wide

⁵⁶ Smith 1987, 90.

⁵⁷ Vandeput 1997, 59. 120 pl. 73, 5; for dating to the middle or second half of the 1st century AD, Cf. Otschar 1987, 110-111 figs. 14-15.

⁵⁸ Yener 2014, 129-131 fig. 2 cat. 2.

⁵⁹ Kökmen-Seyirci 2016, 93-94 cat. 036.

⁶⁰ Thür 2014b, 140-143 pl. 44-48 figs. 5-23.

⁶¹ Thür 2014a, 14.

⁶² Alzinger 1974, 93-94 fig. 125.

⁶³ This construction phase is dated to the early 30s AD by means of an inscription. See Thür 2014b, 143; Scherrer – Trinkl 2006, 24-27, 42.

⁶⁴ Thür 2014a, 14; Thür 2014b 143.

⁶⁵ Karaosmanoğlu 1996, 24.

groove was observed between the egg and the frame⁶⁶. Although the Ionic kyma decorations adorning the abaci of the Ionic capitals of the Marktbasilica at Ephesus show similarities with the Patara examples, they differ especially with the proximity between the frame and the egg⁶⁷. Similar Ionic kyma decorations appear on different architectural elements of the buildings belonging to the Late Augustan - Tiberian period. An Ionic kyma decoration on an anta capital found on the street in front of the Propylon at Ephesus⁶⁸ and an Ionic kyma decoration on Ionic capital found at Aphrodisias⁶⁹ were dated to the Late Augustan period. The Ionic kyma on the architrave of the Temple of Augustus at Antiocheia pros Pisidian⁷⁰, whose construction began in the Augustan period and is known to be completed during the Tiberian period, and examples of the Sebasteion at Pessinus dated to the reign of Tiberius⁷¹ bear parallel features with the Ionic kyma decoration on the capitals of the Nero Bath.

Bead-and-Reels

The bead-and-reels are just below the Ionic kyma decoration, consists of successive two reels and one bead motifs. Beads are in a slightly oval form, while reels are in the disc form. Reels and beads show very densely spaced and there are no strings between them. Similarly shaped bead-and-reels appears on the buildings of the Late Hellenistic period. For example, we see similar bead-and-reels on the capitals of Aphrodite Temple at Aphrodisias⁷², on the some architectural blocks of the Temple of Artemis at Magnesia on the Meander⁷³ and on the statue base found in the Opra-moas Stoa at Rhodiapolis⁷⁴. Similar decorations are seen in the Early Roman Imperial Period as architectural reflections of the classicism of Augustan period. The bead-and-reels seen on the frieze blocks of the Gate of Mazaeus and Mithridates at (4-3 BC)⁷⁵ and on the anta capital of West Gate of Agora at Ephesus⁷⁶, on the blocks of the temenos gate of the Sanctuary of Apollo Klarios⁷⁷, and on the echinus of an Ionic capital in the Temple of Apollo Klarios at Sagalassos⁷⁸, on the frieze blocks of the Augustus Temple at Antiocheia pros Pisidian⁷⁹ and the frieze blocks of Sebasteion at Pessinus⁸⁰ dated to Augustan - Early Tiberian period, are similar to the bead-and-reels on the

⁶⁶ Karaosmanoğlu 1996, 30-32.

⁶⁷ Alzinger 1974, 26-37. 77-79 figs. 92-101.

⁶⁸ Alzinger 1974, 98 fig. 138.

⁶⁹ Waelkens 1987, 127 pl. 3, 5.

⁷⁰ Vandeput 1997, 50 pl. 70, 3.

⁷¹ Lambrechts et al. 1972, 167 fig. 7.

⁷² Bingöl 1980, 167. 168 cat 25. 26. 28-33. 36. 38-40 pl. 5, 25. 26. 28-33; 6, 36. 38. 39. 40.

⁷³ Rumscheid 1994, 198-213 pl. 78, 3. 4; 79, 1; 83, 2. 3; 84, 1-4.

⁷⁴ Kökmen-Seyirci 2016, 289-290 cat. 334-335.

⁷⁵ Rumscheid 1994, 291 pl. 37, 1; 38, 7. 8; Alzinger 1974, 9-10 figs. 5. 162. 163.

⁷⁶ Karaosmanoğlu 1996, 29 pl. 7, b.

⁷⁷ Vandeput 1997, 148 pl. 17, 3; 18, 2.

⁷⁸ Vandeput 1997, 56 pl. 20, 3.

⁷⁹ Rumscheid 1994, 150-160 pl. 7, 1. 6; Vandeput 1997, 148 pl. 70, 1.

⁸⁰ Vandeput 1997, 148 pl. 112, 1.

Pataran examples. The bead-and-reels on blocks of the portico at Miletos, dated to the Claudian period, has a similar style⁸¹. These examples suggest that the use of a similar bead-and-reels continued throughout the first half of the 1st century AD.

Lesbian kyma

On the kyma reversa profile at the upper edge of the abacus of the capitals, there are the stirrup-framed lesbian kyma, which was widely used in Anatolia during the Augustan period and later. Stirrup frames have a form with slightly rounded corners at the shoulder. On the upper part of the frame, which is defined by a groove in the middle, there is a circular shaped eyelet inside the neck of the frame. The mid-rib starting from the bottom of this eyelet has a triangular form, raised in the center and tapering from top to bottom. The adjacent frames of successive motifs touch each other from the lower edge of the profile to the middle height. The space between the upper parts of adjacent frames is largely covered with heart-shaped intermediate leaves. These leaves rise above the frames at the middle height of the moulding as the stirrup frames are adjacent. According to J. Ganzert's definition, Lesbian kymations, where the visual focus is concentrated on the frames and the intermediate leaves sprout from the lower edge of the kyma are original stirrup-framed Lesbian kyma⁸². As in the capitals here, it is seen that the instances where the intermediate leaves do not yet spring independently from the lower edge of the kyma were still common in Anatolia during the early Augustan period and the change of the stirrup framed lesbian kyma was completed in this process⁸³. The fact that Lesbian kyma on the abacus of the capitals of the Neo Bath is in the stirrup-framed type, the intermediate leaves between the adjacent stirrup frames rise above the adjacent branches of the frames and fill the entire area, and the wide structure of the mid-rib in the center⁸⁴, indicates that the kymation has Late Augustan - Tiberian period style characteristics.

⁸¹ Vandeput 1997, 148 pl. 96, 2.

⁸² Ganzert 1983, 179.

⁸³ Ganzert 1983, 179; Vandeput 1997, 151; Şahin 2018, 76 fn. 436. In the Augustan Period, lesbian kymations are seen simultaneously, where intermediate leaves sprout at the junction of the frames or rise with a thin stalk from the lower edge of the kyma. These intermediate leaves expand with a convex inclination towards the upper border of the kyma. The Lesbian kymations of the Monument of Memmius at Ephesus, which are dated to the first years of Augustan period or just before, are evaluated within the stirrup-shaped Lesbos kymations. See Alzinger 1974, 108. 125 figs. 174. 175; Ganzert 1983, 182 figs. 129, 1. 2. For the Lesbian kymation in the abacus of a capital from the West Gate of the Agora at Ephesus, see Alzinger 1974, 123-125, figs. 76a. 171e, 51. For the sample on the gate block at Lagina Propylon, see Rumscheid 1994, pl. 75, 4; Alzinger 1974, 123-125 figs. 171e, 52. For the capitals of the Gate of Mazaeus and Mithridates at Ephesus, see Alzinger 1974, 125 figs. 171e, 54; 173; Ganzert 1983, 181 fig. 126. For the Augustus Temple at Antiocheia pros Pisidian dated to the Late Augustan - Tiberian period, see Alzinger 1974, 123-125 fig. 171f, 59; Rumscheid 1994, 4. 5 pl. 7, 5. On the frieze blocks of the Sebasteion at Pessinus (Lambrechts et al. 1972, 169-170 figs. 9-10) and the lesbian kymations on the abaci of the capitals of the Portico of Tiberius at Aphrodisias are accepted as the standard for the stirrup-shaped Lesbian kymations. The intermediate leaf, which rises independently from the lower edge of the kyma, begins to dominate from the end of the Augustus Period. See Alzinger 1974, 126; Vandeput 1997, 151.

⁸⁴ This form of the mid-rib is usually seen in the Augustan period. See Vandeput 1997, 152.

Eagle figures

Most of the eagles, which are the figurative decoration elements of the capitals and located on the corners just below the abacus, are broken and missing. However, an eagle with missing head found in one corner of one of the capitals (BKC.1) and a few fragments of broken eagle figures which also includes a head of eagle, allow us to understand the general form of the eagles, (Fig. 27-28). Eagles are depicted usual standing imperial type as is often encountered. The legs of the eagle, whose head and body are engraved from the front, are positioned at a distance from each other and with an aggressive posture, the right paw is in the front and the left paw is in the back. The eagle's open wings extend parallel to the abacus and curl down to match the echinus profile below. The general posture of the eagle shows that the moment of take-off of the bird for flight was taken as a model. The dynamic and aggressive structure in the posture of the eagle figure is also supported by the feathers on the neck, body and wings that worked in a natural way of movement and in accordance with the posture. While the throat feathers are parallel to each other in S-shaped deep lines, the feathers extending down from the body were worked in the form of undulating grooves that overlap in places. Secondary feathers in the form of rhombus on the wings close to the body, it is in successive rows formed so that a feather comes out between two feathers. The lower ends of each of these feathers are gradually deeply worked. Primary feathers on the wing tips, on the other hand, have a thin-long form parallel to each other. The tail of the eagle, which extends to the side, is also highlighted with horizontal lines⁸⁵.

Among the eagle capitals⁸⁶ which belonging to the Imperial Period, the examples where the eagle figure is used as the center of decoration on the facades are much more than the examples where the eagle is used on the corners of the capitals. Almost as a rule, the wings of the eagles are more or less spread out to the sides and the head is turned to the side in front view⁸⁷. It is seen that the eagle figures on the corners of the Patara capitals are in a similar posture.

There are well-known examples of the Early Imperial period, which closely similar to the eagle figures on the capitals of Nero Bath at Patara, especially as regards the working of the feathers. An eagle figure on the right side of the emperor's right leg in a relief with depictions of Emperor Augustus and winged Nike from the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias is one of these examples⁸⁸. The feathers of throat and chest of the eagle in this relief are highlighted with wavy grooves arranged

⁸⁵ In the Hellenistic Period and the Roman Imperial Period, it is seen that especially the Corinthian capitals, the Composite capitals derived from the Corinthian capitals, and the figural reliefs were used on the corners or facades of the pilaster capitals. See von Mercklin 1962. One of the figures used in this type of capitals is the eagle figure, and these are capitals with eagle figures in the literature, known as eagle capital in English and Adlerkapitelle in German. See von Mercklin 1962, 221-236.

⁸⁶ Although the eagle figure is known as an attribute of Jupiter, its importance as a symbol of the military power of Rome, especially the empire, and its role in the apotheosis of the emperor is known. For the Lavunium sculpture of Emperor Claudius (AD 41-54) with Jupiter attributes, see Kleiner 1992, 132 fig. 106. Emperor Antoninus Pius and an eagle are displayed on a capital from Lorium; see von Mercklin 1962, 128. 221 cat. 341 figs. 640-643. This tradition continued until the period of the Eastern Roman Empire. See Kautzsch 1936, 30. 153-165 pl. 30-32.

⁸⁷ von Mercklin 1962, 221.

⁸⁸ Smith 1987, 101-104 pl. 4-5; Smith 2013, 128-131 fig. 82 pl. 46-47.

parallel to each other, as on the eagles of the capitals of the Nero Bath. Furthermore, the rhomboid structure of the secondary feathers on the wings and the successive order of the long primary feathers formed by parallel lines also closely similar to the Pataran examples. Another similar example is known from Sardeis. The legs of a large marble table called an “eagle table” in the synagogue are decorated with a pair of “imperial eagles” holding thunderbolt in their paws⁸⁹. The eagles decorating the altar table are closely similar to the eagle figures on the capitals of Nero Bath with their feathers of neck, the general structure of their wings, and the stylistic features of both primary and secondary feathers of wings. It is thought that the altar table was brought to the synagogue from the nearby Marble Court and it is dated to the Early Imperial period⁹⁰.

The stylistic evaluation of the different decoration elements of the capitals of the Nero Bath at Patara clearly reveals that they were produced during the Early Imperial period. To put it more clearly, we can say that the capitals are from Late Augustan-Tiberian period.

Conclusion

As stated in the introduction, the reuse practices of pre-late antiquity have not yet received the scientific attention they deserve (see fn. 2). Various reasons can be put forward to explain this situation. One of the important reasons is that, as Simon Barker stated in a 2018 article, it is difficult for archaeologists to detect reuse from previous periods in the continuity of building activities⁹¹. The situation, i.e. archaeological determination, definitely becomes even more difficult if the practice of reuse takes place both in the same ‘cultural environment’ and within a relatively short period of time (the time between first production/use and second/reuse). Nevertheless, careful observation and rigorous analysis of the findings, as attempted to be demonstrated in the above example, could help uncover such practices.

In addition, researching and publishing examples of pre-late antiquity reuse practices, both in the same and other cities, which we estimate their numbers to be substantial, will be advantageous in many aspects. Thus, first of all, our experience on the detection of this phenomenon in archaeological findings would be improved. More importantly, through the publications, fruitful discussions on the pre-late antiquity ‘meanings’ of the practice of reuse will also take place⁹². Obviously, it is precisely this area of ‘meanings’ that occupies us the most, or rather leaves us a little helpless in the case of reuse in the Nero bathhouse.

We will briefly discuss the reasons for this ‘desperation’ below, but first let’s briefly list a few reuse practices from Patara, which we can identify with rather superficial observation and that we think belong to the Roman imperial period. First of all, the marble facing plates, bricks and roof tiles should be mentioned used in mortar in many parts of the Nero bath, on the walls or on the floor (Fig. 29). It is clear from the highly expensive/time consuming techniques that they were produced not as aggregates in the mortar, but on the contrary, as facing plates (marbles) or other

⁸⁹ Yegül 1986, 6 fig. 115; Yegül 1982, 12-13 figs. 11-12.

⁹⁰ Yegül 1986, 6 fn. 24; Yegül 1982, 12.

⁹¹ Barker 2018.

⁹² Cf. Frey 2015, 169-171; Ng – Swetnam-Burland 2018, 9.

building materials (brick/tile) and used for this purpose in other areas (in the bath itself?). Similar practices can be observed in other structures in Patara⁹³.

Even more expensive products (a row of finely worked ashlar blocks) were reused in the wall separating the tepidarium from the caldarium in the Nero bath (Fig. 30). It is clear that the blocks were not produced for this wall, both because their facades became invisible due to their arrangement and that they would never be seen when these walls were covered. Similarly, reused building blocks are found in the theater's stage building⁹⁴, which can be dated to the 2nd or 3rd centuries AD, or in the *basilica thermarum* of the harbor bath (liman hamamı) from the middle of the 3rd century AD (Fig. 31). In the Delikkemer aquaduct near Patara, known to be repaired during the reign of Emperor Vespasian, reused blocks can be observed on the stone ring row, through which water pipes passed (Fig. 32).

In the harbor bath (liman hamamı) mentioned above, another practice of reuse has been identified, precisely dating earlier than the 3rd century AD, i.e. before the construction of the *basilica thermarum*: six pedestals on the consoles on the western wall of the space with divine figures (Attis and Dionysos) depicted on the front faces belong to the early imperial period and they were reused at a later period (maybe in the course of 2nd century AD) (Fig. 33)⁹⁵.

Only a few examples are known from other ancient cities of Anatolia⁹⁶. For example, Hellenistic blocks were reused in a Roman imperial vault belonging to the gymnasium in Pergamon⁹⁷. A similar practice that took place in the same period is known from Euromos. As a result of recent studies, the first phase of the Agora at Euromos is dated to the middle of the 2nd century BC. The plan of the agora that can be seen today is a square one, surrounded on four sides by porticoes. Many blocks which belong to the Hellenistic Period of the agora, were reused in the reconstruction of this agora in Roman Imperial Period⁹⁸. Some epigraphic evidence has been recovered at Aphrodisias: a couple from the city, M. Aurelius Iason Prabreus and Iulia Paula, probably carried out construction activities in an archive structure (*grammatophylakion*)⁹⁹. In some part of the building, stone panels belonging to a previous stoa are reused with the permission of popular assembly¹⁰⁰. In the context of our subject, the most interesting example of reuse was found in the *buleuterion* of Aphrodisias. The word "ΠΙΟΒΑΤΑ" (the ancient Greek spelling of the Latin *probata*) is read on a group of blocks that are thought to be reused on the walls of the building. It means something like 'it was allowed'¹⁰¹. It is understood that these words were not written there after the blocks were used on the wall, by the fact that an example is upside down. As far as it is

⁹³ For example, in the so-called Harbor Baths of Patara.

⁹⁴ In 2nd century AD: Piesker – Ganzert 2012, 127 fn. 471 fig. 144; 129-130 fig. 140; 233-234.

⁹⁵ Erkoç – Koçak 2018.

⁹⁶ But of course, a comprehensive literature review will increase the number of examples a little.

⁹⁷ Herrmann 2013.

⁹⁸ Kızıl – Doğan 2015, 412; Doğan 2020, 27-28.

⁹⁹ Chaniotis 2008, 66-70.

¹⁰⁰ Also, in Aphrodisias, the building materials of a bathhouse destroyed by an earthquake in the 1st century AD are reused: Chaniotis 2008, 62.

¹⁰¹ Chaniotis 2008, 68-69, fig. 1.

seen, these blocks belonging to another context were brought to their current place of use with the permission of an 'official' institution of the city (popular assembly known from the inscription of Prabreus and Paula?).

Other examples of reuse in Roman Imperial Time can be found in Myra and Andriake. In the walls of the *plakoma* (agora) of Andriake, after the great earthquake of 240 AD, profiled limestone blocks were reused, belonging to the first construction period of this building¹⁰². After this earthquake and also in the Severan period, several building elements (column shafts, capitals, bases, architraves, benches etc.) were reused in the walls of the theatre of Myra¹⁰³. Another example from that theatre can be seen on the second floor of *post scaene*, where limestone blocks with garlands and inscriptions were reused¹⁰⁴. These inscriptions contain words like KHPII NAO and OΠHΘOΔOMOΣ. This could be interpreted as an evidence that these blocks were originally parts of a temple.

Examples of reuse in Patara and other ancient cities, which are briefly mentioned above, can be grouped under two categories in the most general sense¹⁰⁵: 1. Just because of its material value, i.e. purely **practical/pragmatic**¹⁰⁶ and 2. **aesthetic/ideological** reuse. Especially, we can say that this second category is the field where reuse research is concentrated the most. Especially when it comes to reuse of sculpture. Although this is no subject that can be examined in depth within the scope of this article, it would be appropriate to remind the following: It is certainly beneficial to study the reuse practices that we find in abundance in human history by classifying them in practical and ideological. But even an ordinary recycling action corresponds in some way to a cultural and thus ideological situation in the society to which it is concerned. The backgrounds of the consumer industrial societies' approach towards the 'old' from their 'new' fetishism framework, which is constantly fed by advertisements, as well as the re- or up-cycling actions that are shaped as a reaction to this, are also very ideological¹⁰⁷.

Without forgetting the ambivalence between these two 'categories': we can consider 'building materials' reused in mortar or masonry having belonged to the first category. The most important common feature is that these objects became invisible to the people of that period after they were generally reused. Above all, especially this situation of 'invisibility' must have prompted archaeologists and art historians to consider those objects in the first category¹⁰⁸. Therefore, they are

¹⁰² Çevik – Bulut 2010, 43.

¹⁰³ This not yet published information were presented by S. Bulut on 12 January 2013 at a conference organized by AKMED (name of the lecture: "Yeni Veriler Işığında Myra Tiyatrosu"). We would like to thank S. Bulut very much for this notice.

¹⁰⁴ Çevik – Bulut – Akyürek 2013, 91.

¹⁰⁵ They are generally investigated under these two categories in relevant studies: Ng – Swetnam-Burland 2018.

¹⁰⁶ In this context, the process explained with the concept of recycling becomes relevant.

¹⁰⁷ Kinney – Brilliant 2016, 3-4.

¹⁰⁸ The spolia that are not 'visible' are not even considered as spolia by some researchers: Kalakoski – Huuhka 2017, 17.

more the object of such research fields as the construction economy or the construction organization, and indeed they need to be taken into account in the foregoing researches¹⁰⁹. But it is also noteworthy: these objects are disassembled, collected, transported to somewhere, stored, reviewed and sorted, occasionally bought and sold, taken to the place of reuse, or as in the case of Aphrodisias, they are ‘tagged’ as is with an organizational permit until they are reused in any context and become ‘invisible’¹¹⁰. But they become ‘visible’ throughout all these processes. Therefore, as Diana Y. Ng and Molly Swetnam-Burland stated in the introduction to their book “Reuse and Renovation in Roman Material Culture”, it is necessary to ask questions that investigate the intentions of the actors, beyond just documenting these practices: beyond its material value, why was this object deemed suitable for reuse?¹¹¹.

We would like to listen to this call and ask the above question for the column capitals reused in the cold water pool of the Patara Nero bath, since they are already visible where they are reused, in other words, we would like to evaluate them in the aesthetic/ideology category we mentioned above. But at this point, problems begin to arise. What kind of problems?

The most burning problem we come across is that there is no clue as to what kind of structure and context these capitals were used in before. In Corinth, for example, the reuse of columns and capitals from the *cella* of the archaic Apollo temple in a stoa in the agora is a relatively different situation¹¹². Because the city has changed hands (from Hellenes to Romans), that is, there is an important cultural differentiation. The origin of the reused building elements was also known. Thus, these objects, which also gain a transcultural character, can be evaluated in the context of the (highly ideological) relationships that their new owners have established with both the ‘foreign’ past of the city and the religious topography of this past¹¹³. How relationships with the past or with another culture, or with both other and past cultures are, is also the dominant question of reuse or ‘spolia’ research. If one knows how an object is *first* used by whom and *then* by whom, at least some starting points or a basis can be mentioned to approach the issue. In the case of column capitals in the Nero bath, there is an equation with multiple variables, so to speak. So, we do not know at all what a citizen of Patara of the 2nd century AD remembered when he saw these capitals?

Another problem is directly related to these objects themselves. If there were a sculpture or a group of sculptures taken from its own context and reused in another, the situation might be a little different, as for example Augustus did in his forum¹¹⁴. Because sculptures have a much more pronounced representation power than other objects. In other words, they can solely be carriers

¹⁰⁹ According to Barker, the reuse of structural elements can reduce construction costs by up to 80% (Barker 2010, 135).

¹¹⁰ Sale of roof tiles in Pompei (*CIL* 4.7124): Peña 2020.

¹¹¹ Ng – Swetnam-Burland 2018, 9.

¹¹² Frey 2015, 169-171.

¹¹³ Cf. Jäggi 2013, *passim*.

¹¹⁴ Longfellow 2018a.

of ideas, meanings, ideologies, etc. In this sense, they offer a more efficient potential in reading the users' intentions. Column capitals are understandably quieter¹¹⁵.

Despite all these problems mentioned briefly: it seems that these capitals, which were reused in the frigidarium of the Nero bath, represent a very special style, unprecedented except for Patara. Blattkelch capitals do not appear to be as popular in the rest of the empire as they were in Anatolia¹¹⁶. This situation also shows the continuity of a tradition already established in Anatolia. However, the capitals of Nero bath belonging to the Early Roman Imperial Period differ from these Blattkelch capitals in many aspects. Palm leaves and acanthus leaves are standard in all types of this category. Other decoration elements that change are the differences of capitals from each other. On the Blattkelch capitals of Nero bath, the echinus part is used as in Ionic capitals or Composite capitals, but unlike these, the use of eagle figures on the corners of the capitals instead of volutes and a square-shaped abaci are important differences. In addition, as mentioned above, the fact that the numbers of palm leaves (24) and acanthus leaves (8) are not compatible with the general template is one of the unique features of Blattkelch capitals of Nero Bath at Patara. Undoubtedly, eagle figures are one of the important decoration elements that attribute a unique feature to the capitals with their functional and aesthetic appearance. However, it would not be wrong to consider the eagle figures on the corners of the capitals as an overt symbol of monarchic power and Roman military superiority with their aggressive posture.

However, it would be appropriate to ask the question whether there could be a difference between the meaning of these eagle figures in the period when the capitals were first produced and in the first building they belonged to and the meaning when they were reused in the frigidarium of a bath in the middle of the 2nd century AD. The first use of these capitals coincides with a period during which the "principatus" was maintained by the Julio-Claudians with stability. In this context, the eagle figure must have been seen as a symbol defining the power of Roman Empire in all provinces, where the new administrative order was implemented through *legati*. In this period, when "Imperial culture" started to be formed with bilateral transfer of culture and multi-directional communication, the meanings defined as "Roman symbolism" gradually expanded. Thus, in addition to the common symbolic connotations imposed on the eagle and that would take hold in minds across the empire, there were also local/localized symbolic connotations expressed in one region or city¹¹⁷. We can say that the eagles on the Blattkelch capitals of Nero Bath at Patara symbolize a "Roman power" provided/owned by the urban elite rather than the local culture. Another question that may arise is: did the reuse of these sui generis capitals still have their original meaning/meanings as much as their aesthetic value of their first production for those who saw them? We can say that these capitals, which should be seen in the context of the building activities

¹¹⁵ Classical architectural orders appear to have meaning, but that the original meanings were largely lost or transformed during the Early Roman Imperial Period. The continuity of the forms of architectural elements, as well as their suitability to function, shows that they were taken consciously and purposefully from the past, and that they do not consist of a general act of repetition. Classical architectural orders and each of their architectural and ornamental elements should be considered as "bearer of meaning" both outside the context and in the context of a building. On the meaning of classical architecture see Onians 1988; Hersey 1988.

¹¹⁶ Liljenstolpe 1997-1998, 126.

¹¹⁷ Greet 2015, 108-112.

initiated after the destruction caused by a great earthquake, should have been reused with a practical/pragmatic concern primarily because of their material values. However, it is clear that the eagle figure preserved its symbolic power and meaning in that first period in the 2nd century AD¹¹⁸. However, when we also consider the conditions created by the great earthquake in Patara, it is possible that the eagle figures represented not the military power of Roman Empire, but the protective / guardian nature for its subjects through the local elites. Because the wounds of cities that have gone through tough times were being healed, destroyed structures, and even better ones, were being rebuilt. In this context, the capitals reused in the frigidarium of the Nero bath is remarkable that these show the practical/pragmatic and aesthetic/ideological aspects of reuse and the permeability between these two ‘categories’.

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¹¹⁸ Greet 2015, 197-204.

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**Patara'dan Yeniden Kullanılmış İki "Blattkelch" Sütun Başlığı.
Nero Hamamı ve Çevresindeki Yapı Faaliyetleri Bağlamında MS 2. Yüzyılda Bir
Yeniden Kullanım Örneği**

Öz

Patara "Nero Hamamı'nda" son yıllarda gerçekleşen kazılarda bu çalışmanın ilk fikrini veren iki adet sütun başlığı bulunmuştur. Özel bir stili temsil eden bu iki başlık, erken Roma İmparatorluk Dönemi'nde üretilmiştir. Bu başlıklar ve günümüze ulaşmayan diğer altısı, breş mermerinden sütunlarla birlikte, bahsedilen hamamın frigidariumunda MS 2. yüzyılın ortalarında gerçekleştirilen mimari faaliyetlerde yeniden kullanılmışlardır. Bu nedenle, bu durumun, Roma İmparatorluk Dönemi'ne ait bir yeniden kullanma uygulaması olduğu açıktır. Son yıllarda yoğunlaşmaya başlayan araştırmalar, yeniden kullanma fenomeninin Geç Antik Dönem'den çok daha önce var olduğunu ancak bunun araştırmacıların görüş alanına pek girmediğini ortaya koymuştur. Patara'daki bu örnekte yeniden kullanımı tespit etmek görece kolay olsa da anlamının yorumlanması birtakım zorluklar içermektedir. Şüphesiz, konuyla ilgili araştırmaların sayılarının artması bu fenomenin daha iyi anlaşılır olmasını sağlayacaktır. Aşağıdaki makale, bu bağlamda yeniden kullanım pratiği araştırmalarına katkı sağlamayı amaçlamaktadır.

Anahtar sözcükler: Roma Mimarisi, yeniden kullanma, Roma hamamı, Patara, Blattkelch.

**Two Reused "Blattkelch" Capitals from Patara.
An Example of Reuse in the 2nd Century AD in the Context of the Building Activities
in and around the Nero Bath**

Abstract

During the excavations of the last few years in the so-called Nero bath in Patara, two Blattkelch capitals were found, which gave reasons to the following article. These two capitals were created in the early Roman Imperial Period, although they were not used in the bath until the 2nd century AD. They, and another six that have now disappeared, crowned columns of breccia marble in the frigidarium of the bath mentioned above, which was added around the middle of the 2nd century AD. It was therefore clear to us that this was a practice of reuse in the Roman Imperial Period. This phenomenon, the reuse of architectural elements in that time, has been little studied so far, in contrast to late antiquity and later periods. Although it was relatively easy to determine the reuse in this case of Patara, it is hardly possible to make any statements about the interpretation of its meaning. In this respect, it can only be hoped that more research will increase in the future. The following essay should serve as a contribution to such research.

Keywords: Roman architecture, reuse, Roman baths, Patara, Blattkelch.

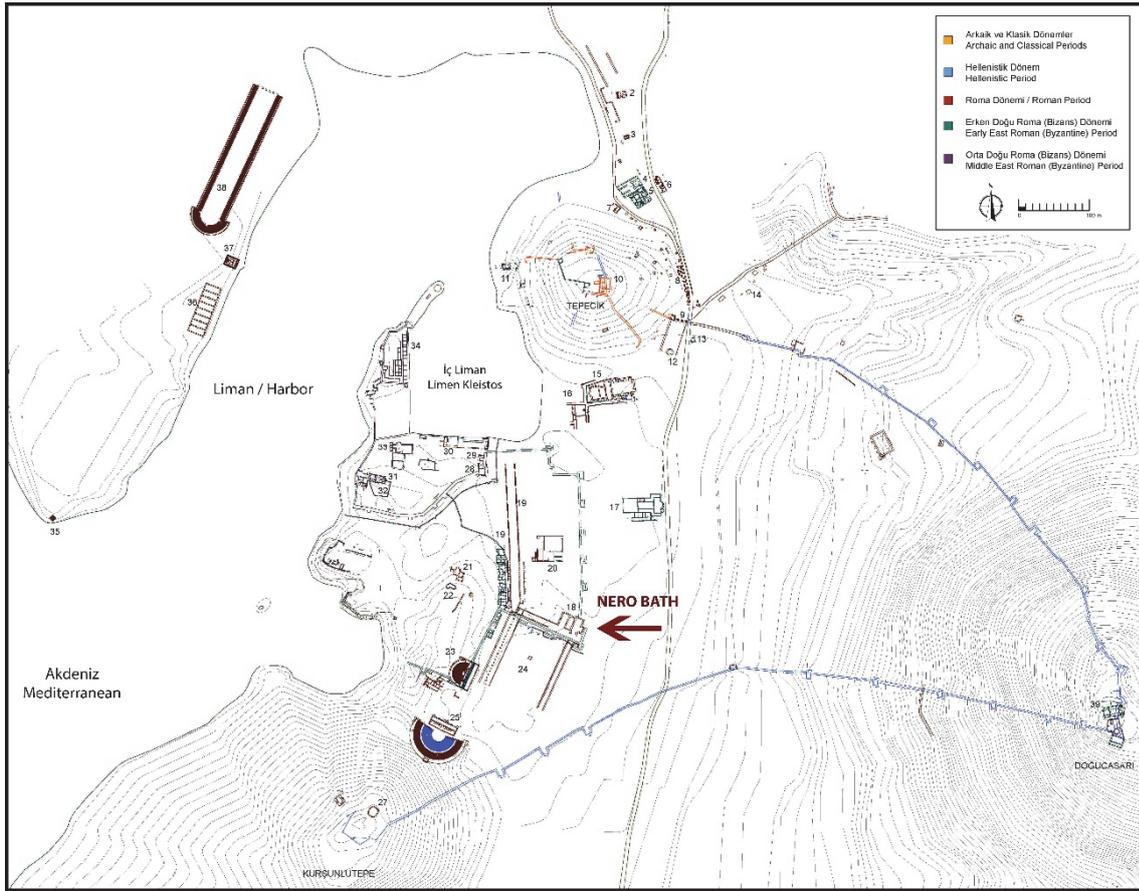


Fig. 1) City plan of Patara (©Patara Excavations)



Fig. 2) Aerial view of the area north the agora, a: harbor street, b: exedra, c: Nero bath, d: expected palaestra/gymnasion (©Patara Excavations)



Fig. 3) Frigidarium of the Nero bath, seen from the southeast (©Patara Excavations)



Fig. 4) Frigidarium of the Nero bath and the east wall, seen from the southwest, a: building inscription, b: the later closed door (©Patara Excavations)

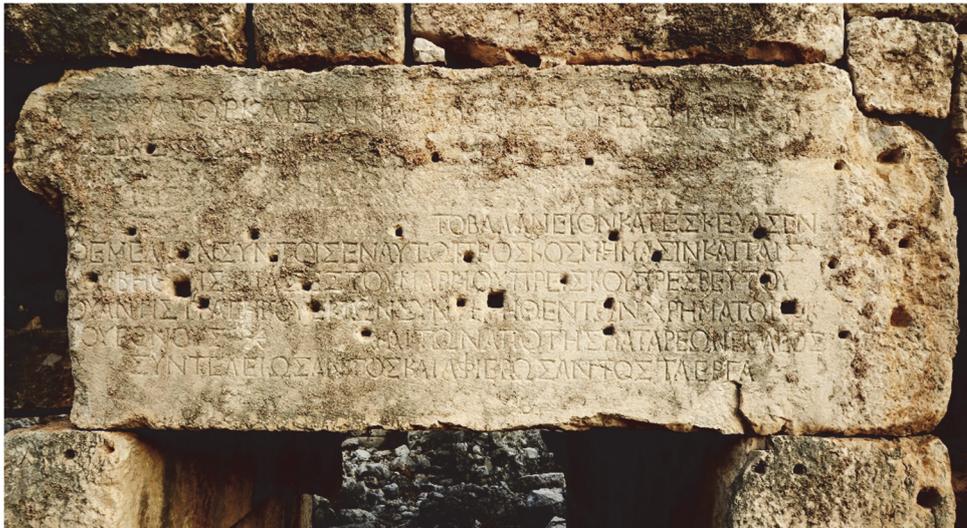


Fig. 5) Building inscription on the lintel of the door connecting frigidarium and tepidarium (©Patara Excavations)



Fig. 6) Joint on the east wall of the frigidarium, a: joint, b: later closed door (©Patara Excavations)



Fig. 7) Joints on the walls of tepidarium, a: westwall, b: eastwall, (©Patara Excavations)



Fig. 8) Joints in the caldarium, a: eastwall, b: westwall, (©Patara Excavations)

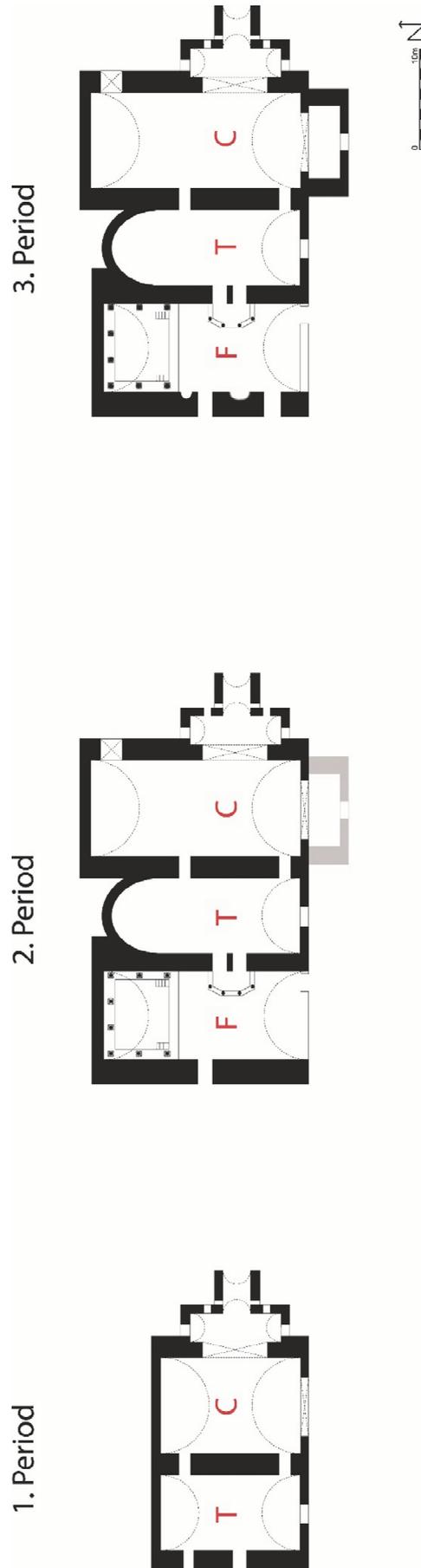


Fig. 9) Idealized plans of Nero bath (©Patara Excavations)



Fig. 10) Aerial view of the area with Nero bath, a: exedra, b: columns and architraves of the 'stoa', c: Nero bath, d: expected palaestra/gymnasion (©Patara Excavations)



Fig. 11) Exedra seen from the southwest (©Patara Excavations)



Fig. 12) Aerial view, columns and architraves of the 'stoa' (©Patara Excavations)



Fig. 13) Columns and architraves of the 'stoa' seen from the West, in the background the Nero bath (©Patara Excavations)



Fig. 14) Console on the frigidarium wall of Nero bath, (©Patara Excavations)



Fig. 15) Sand stone slabs of the cold water pool of frigidarium (©Patara Excavations)



Fig. 16) Remain of a base in situ, a: brick wall with marble facing slabs, b: reused ashlar block, c: column base (©Patara Excavations)



Fig. 17) A large fragment of a column base found in the frigidarium of Nerobath (©Patara Excavations)

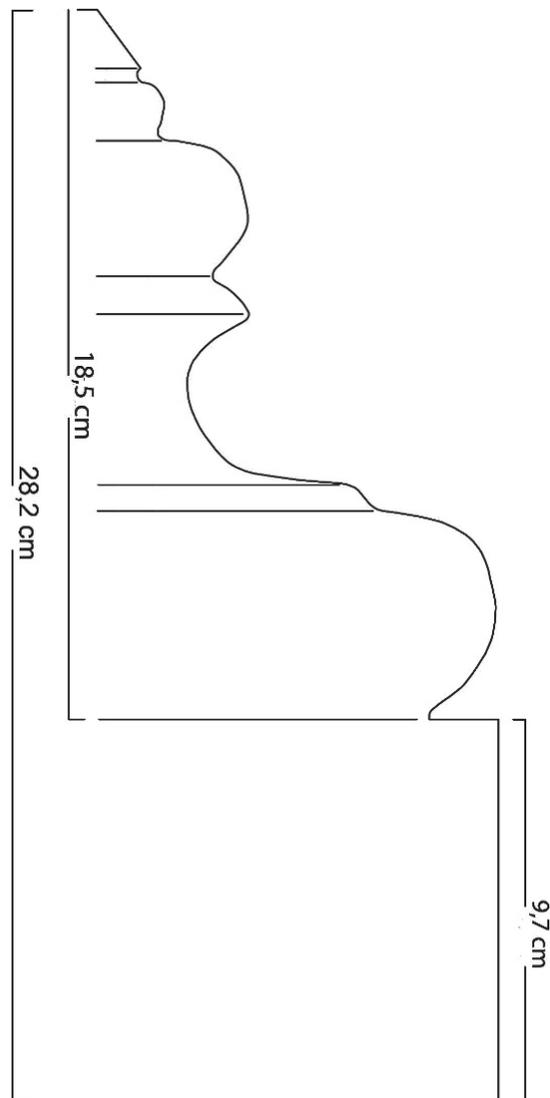


Fig. 18) Profile drawing of the base Fig. 17 (©Patara Excavations)



Fig. 19) Aerial view of the frigidarium (orthophoto), showing the cold water pool with the find situation of the broken columns and blattkelch capitals (©Patara Excavations)



Fig. 20) Cold water pool of the frigidarium with the expected column arrangement (©Patara Excavations)

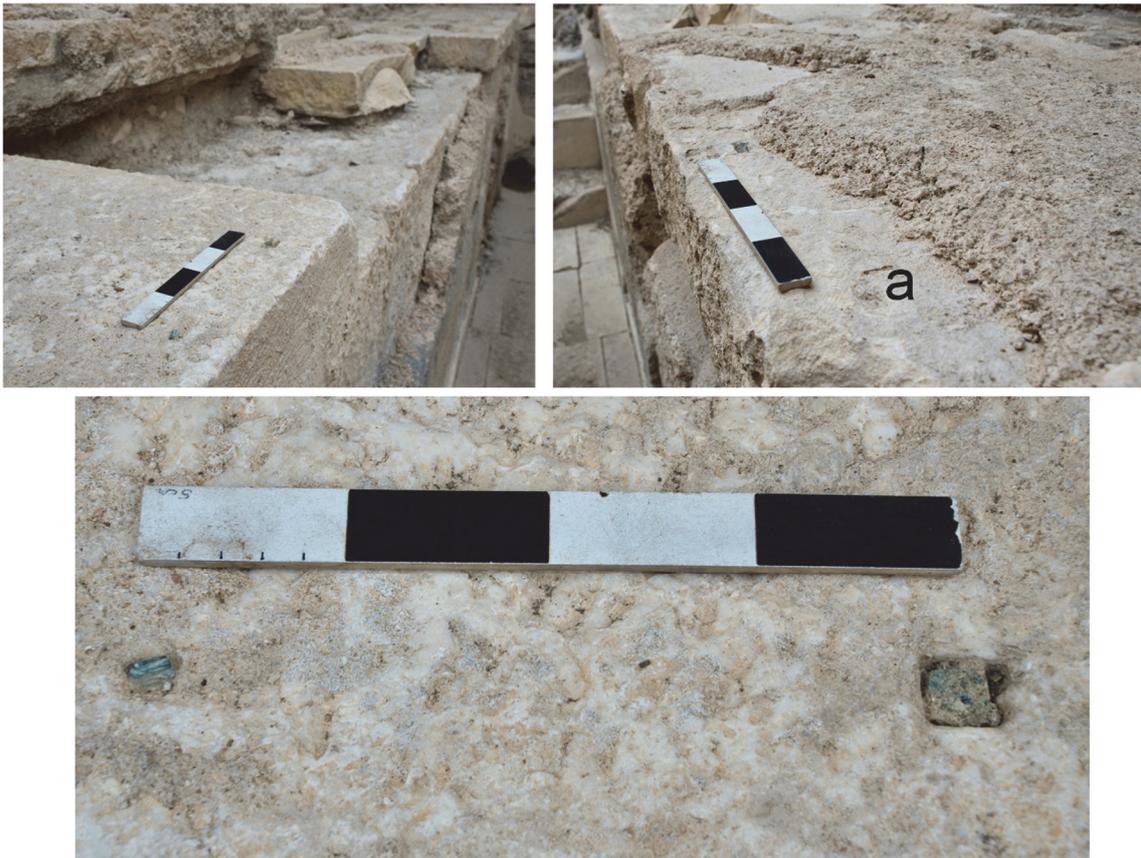


Fig. 21) Dowel holes and bronze dowel remains on the sand stone slabs of cold water pool, a: mortar filled dowel hole (©Patara Excavations)



Fig. 22) Drain with the in situ lead pipe (a) (©Patara Excavations)



Fig. 23) Aerial view of the frigidarium (orthophoto) (©Patara Excavations)



Fig. 24) Blattkelch capital Cat.-no. 1 (©Patara Excavations)



Fig. 25) Blattkelch capital Cat.-no. 2 (©Patara Excavations)

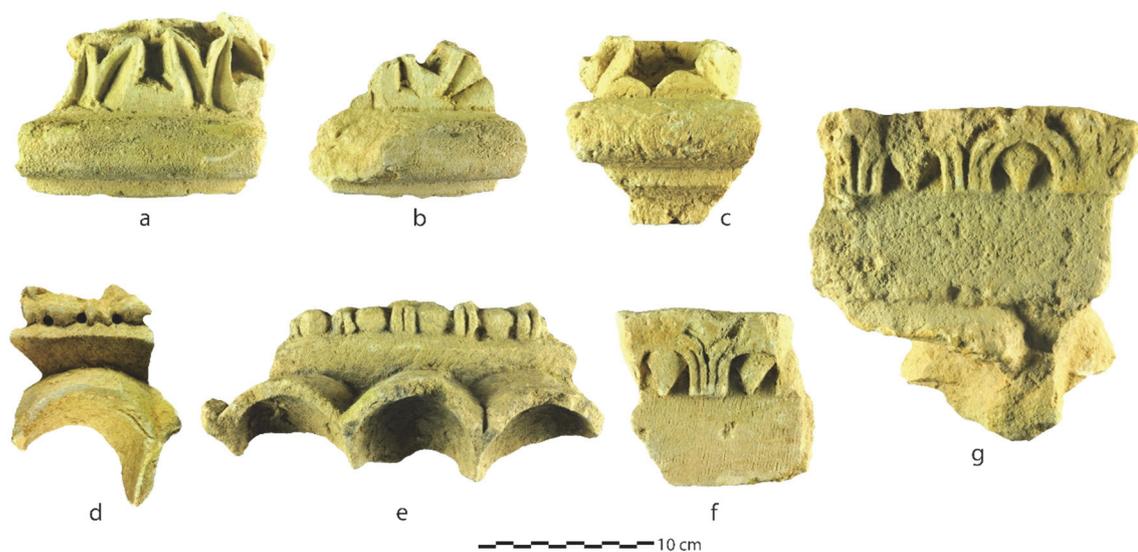


Fig. 26) Various fragments of Blattkelch capitals (©Patara Excavations)



Fig. 27) Fragment of an eagle from a Blattkelch capital (©Patara Excavations)



Fig. 28) Fragment of an eagle from a Blattkelch capital (©Patara Excavations)



Fig. 29) Broken marble slabs, roof tiles and bricks reused in mortar in the Nero bath (©Patara Excavations)



Fig. 30) Ashlar blocks reused on top of the Wall separating tepidarium and caldarium (©Patara Excavations)



Fig. 31) Part of an architrave from the first half of the 2nd century AD, reused in the middle of 3rd century AD in a wall of basilica thermarum of Harbor baths of Patara (©Patara Excavations)



Fig. 32) Reused ashlar blocks on the Delikkemer aqueduct (©Patara Excavations)



Fig. 33) Two of reused pedestals from Harbor baths with depicting of Attis and Dionysos (©Patara Excavations)