

The Northern District of Olympos (Lycia) in the Roman Period

Roma Dönemi'nde Olympos (Lykia) Kuzey Kent

Ögöl Emre ÖNCÜ*


Abstract: Excavations and research focused on the northern side of the city has been ongoing for some time in Lycian Olympos. Concentrated on the temple and its surroundings, where one of the most comprehensive construction programs of the city was carried out during the Roman Period, subject studies yielded finds that are promising for the development of new perspectives on the reconstruction program of the Roman Period to the northern part of the Olympos Stream, termed the Olympos Northern District. While sharing the incentive data regarding a strong claim such as the 'zoning program', presenting a holistic view on the urban plan rather than addressing the elements of the city individually, forms the backbone of this article. Taking into account the fact that some research results on the subject are published here for the first time, evaluations are conducted on the functions and definitions of the structures at some points affecting the content. The research method principally consists of evaluating the data obtained by documenting the finds revealed as a result of these excavations. Further, numerous data gathered as a result of work conducted over a 20-year period, is included. This article presents a thesis concerning the Roman Period development of the Olympos Northern District. In addition, certain questions are raised at the end of this article concerning the situation of this part of the city prior to the Roman Period, as it may enable the development of new perspectives and contribute to future research at Olympos.

Keywords: Olympos • Lycia • Urbanization • Urban Plan • Temple

Özet: Lykia Olympos'unda bir süredir kentin kuzey yakasına odaklanılmış kazı ve araştırmalar sürdürülmektedir. Bu çalışmalar Roma Dönemi'nde kentin en kapsamlı inşa programlarından birinin yaşandığı tapınak ve çevresinde yoğunlaşmıştır. Ortaya çıkan bulgular, Olympos Kuzey Kent olarak isimlendirilen, kentin Olympos Çayı'nın kuzeyinde kalan yakasında, Roma Dönemi'nde yaşanan imar programı konusunda yeni bakış açıları geliştirmek için cesaret vericidir. İmar programı şeklinde vurgulu bir tanımlama için teşvik edici verileri bilim dünyasıyla paylaşırken, kent öğelerini tekil olarak ele almaktan ziyade, bütüncül biçimde birbirleriyle ilişkilerine kent planı üzerinde bakış sunmak bu makalenin omurgasını oluşturmaktadır. Konuyla ilgili bazı araştırma sonuçları bu yazıda ilk kez bilim dünyasıyla paylaşılacağından, içeriği etkileyen bazı noktalarda ihtiyaç duyulduğu kadar yapıların işlev ve tanımları üzerine değerlendirmeler de yapılmaya çalışılacaktır. Araştırma yöntemimiz büyük oranda kazılar sonucu ortaya çıkan buluntuların belgelenmesiyle elde edilen verilerin değerlendirilmesi şeklindedir. Bunun yanında kentte yaklaşık 20 yıldır süren çalışmalar sonucu elde edilen ve yayınlanan pek çok bilgi de değerlendirmeye dâhil edilecektir. Yazımızın ulaşmayı hedeflediği sonuç, Olympos Kuzey Kent'in Roma Dönemi imarı konusunda bir tez ortaya koymaktır. Bunun yanında kentin bu bölümünün Roma Dönemi öncesindeki durumu hakkında bazı sorular da, bilim dünyasında yeni bakış açıları geliştirebileceği ve Olympos araştırmalarının geleceğine katkı sağlayacağı için makalemizin sonunda ortaya koyulacaktır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Olympos • Lykia • Kentleşme • Kent Planı • Tapınak

Olympos is divided into two sides by the stream, that flows through and which carries the same name as the city. The stream eventually flows into the sea from the city's harbour (Fig. 1). There is a narrow valley line between steep hills on both sides of the stream and this is where the settlement is located.

* Dr., İstanbul Archaeological Museums, İstanbul.  0000-0001-9918-3270 | oeoncu@gmail.com

These geographical features had priority in the planning of the city which was built as a port city divided into two sides as a consequence of this natural structure (Fig. 2). Furthermore, natural and historical events were influential in the shaping of the settlement. All these factors should be taken into consideration when describing the zoning program. Accordingly, it will be useful to start with a summary of the historical events in the Hellenistic and Roman periods and the architectural status of the city during these periods, both for readers learning about Olympos for the first time and for reminding of the history of research concerning the city¹.

Olympos is in Eastern Lycia². It was one of the elite member cities of the Lycia League³ with six voting rights. The earliest traces of the city are the coins minted by the Lycian League dating from 178-168 B.C.⁴. The earliest architectural structure is the fortification wall surrounding the Southern District, built in the Hellenistic Period. Yet other than the walls, data on the Hel-



Fig. 1. *General View of Olympos*

lenistic Period settlement is virtually non-existent due to a lack of research. However, concrete evidence confirming that the walls were built before 76 B.C. proves that there was a Hellenistic Period settlement here⁵. The early settlement of Olympos was destroyed by the Roman General Servilius Vatia during the campaign against Zenicetes, who had seized power⁶. Later, in 76 B.C. Olympos was declared *ager publicus* (public land) for a while by Rome, claiming that the city collaborated with pirates.

¹ For the ancient sources on Olympos, information conveyed by 19th century travellers and for modern researches, Öncü 2012, 273-274. The current bibliography of the Olympos Excavation can be followed in the section at the end of the publication titled "Olympos I: 2000-2014 Research Results" edited by B. Y. Olcay- Uçkan. Olcay-Uçkan 2017, 287 ff. I would like to thank Prof. B. Yelda Olcay-Uçkan, who led all the excavation and research activities in the ancient city for nearly 20 years as head of the excavations. She provided me with both permission and encouragement in writing this article. In addition, I would also like to thank Assoc. Dr. Gökçen K. Öztaşkın, Dr. Seçkin Evcim and Assoc. Dr. Muradiye Öztaşkın, my dear colleagues. The results of the epigraphic researches conducted by Assoc. Dr. Hüseyin Sami Öztürk have provided valuable data for this study. I thank him for sharing his scientific results with me. I hope that Sinan Sertel, who passed away after a tragic event, may rest in eternal peace and forever live in the hearts of archaeologists as a 'Martyr of Archaeology'. This article is dedicated to him.

² Although there is an ongoing debate about the name of the settlement, the opinion of the team conducting research in the city is that the port city where the studies were carried out was known as Olympos since its establishment. For supporting data, see, Öztürk & Öncü 2020.

³ Str. XIV. 3. 685.

⁴ Troxell 1982, 30 ff.

⁵ Öncü 2017, 37.

⁶ For detailed information about the march of Servilius Isauricus Vatia, see, Ormerod 1922, 35-56; Arslan 2003, 99-104; Öztürk 2006, 54-63.

The city, as it is accepted, regained its independence at the latest in the period of Vespasian (69-79 A.D.)⁷. There are many Roman Period structures, indicating that comprehensive development activity took place after the city had regained its position. This extensive construction covered over the Hellenistic Period city, and is important in terms of revealing how lively Roman Period Olympos was. The port of the city was reorganized during this process⁸. Two baths, a theatre, roads, streets in the Southern District, and some public buildings whose functions have not yet been clearly determined, were built during this period⁹. The bridge¹⁰ that connects the Southern and Northern ends of the city, a monumental temple in the Northern District and an area surrounded by monumental walls, were all constructed during the Roman Period. In addition, many monumental tombs were also built in the Northern District¹¹. While both sides of the city underwent intense structuring in the Early Byzantine Period starting from the Early Christian period, it is understood that this structuring employed the Roman Period city as a base¹² (Fig. 2).

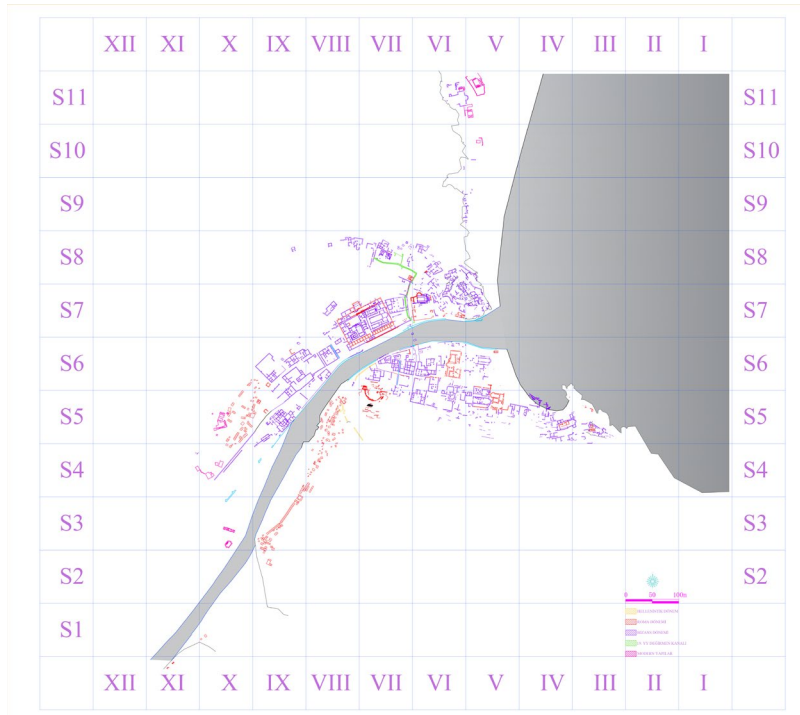


Fig. 2. Plan of the Layout of Olympos

⁷ The inscription of the large bath located in the Southern City built during the Vespasian Period, shows Olympos was no longer *ager publicus* during this period, at the latest, Adak & Tüner 2004, 53-65; İplikçioğlu 2006. Two votive steles from the Augustus Period are reused material. They were found at the bottom level of the Vespasian Bath in recent research, indicating that it could be dated somewhere between the end of the 1st century B.C. and the beginning of the 1st century A.D., Öztürk & Öncü 2020, 258-259.

⁸ Öncü & Evcim 2015, 99-100.

⁹ Öncü 2012, 273-279; 2017, 34-36.

¹⁰ It is understood that the first construction phase of the bridge built over the Olympos stream was undertaken in the Roman Period, Öncü 2017, 32-33.

¹¹ For detailed information on the Necropolises of Olympos, see, Uğurlu 2006.

¹² Olcay-Uçkan *et al.* 2017, 9-19.

Based upon the research on Roman Period architecture that we conducted in the city, we understand that the Southern and Northern Districts of Olympos were planned as two independent units (Fig. 2). While the reconstruction of the Southern District was conducted more or less as a transformation of the Hellenistic city, the data on hand reveals that this was not the case for the Northern District. Furthermore, finds unearthed in the excavations carried out in and around the temple since 2017 have clarified this idea. In this context, the temple and its surrounding structure will be described first.

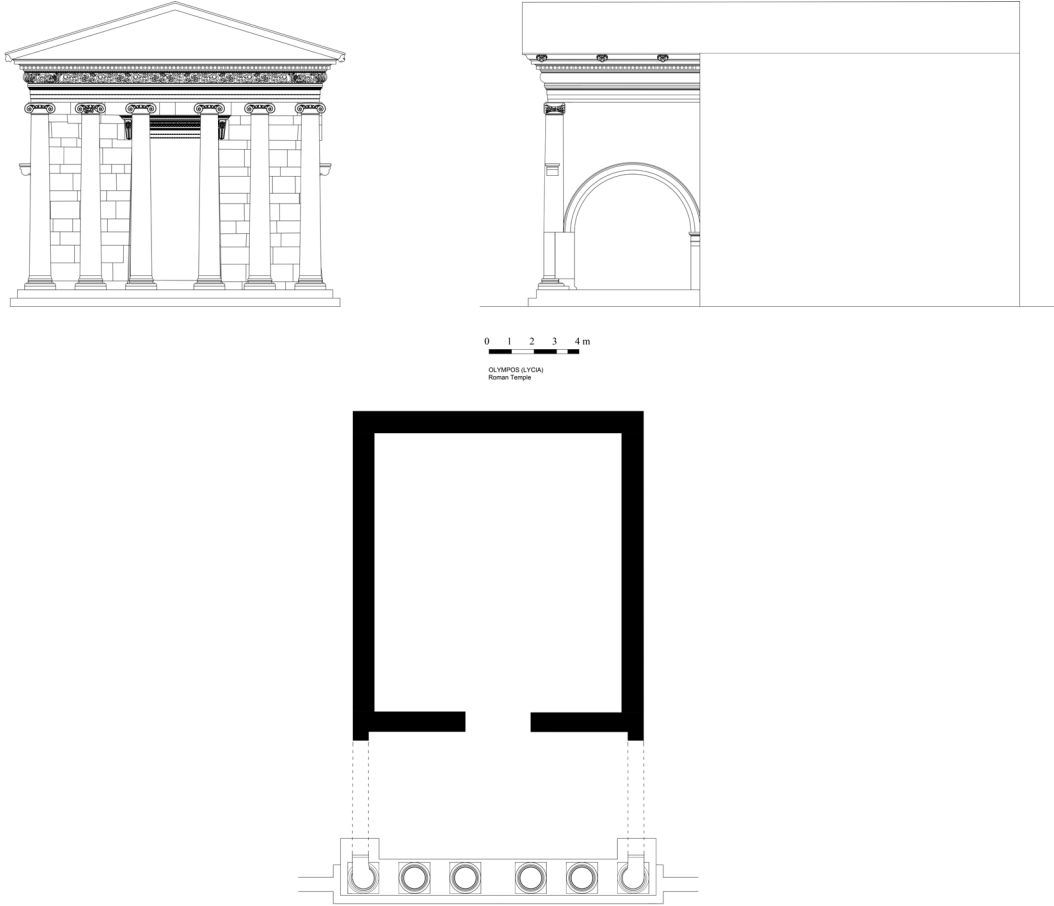


Fig. 3. *Plan and Façade Restitution of Temple*

Initial information concerning the building, which became evident during excavations carried out since 2017 is located in the centre of the Northern District, was presented by Fellows¹³. Following him, Bean, Anabolu, Bayburtluoğlu, Serdaroğlu and Diler also presented their considerations of this structure¹⁴. Excavation and research activities have confirmed that there is a six-column, prostyle temple in the Ionic order¹⁵ (Fig. 3, 4). Certain architectural details are of importance in terms of its

¹³ Fellows 1838, 213.

¹⁴ While most of the scholars accept the structure as a temple, Diler suggests that this is a structure of which the function is unknown, Bean 1997, 155-156; Anabolu 1970, 43-44; Bayburtluoğlu 1982, 18; Serdaroğlu 2004, 80 ff; Diler 1988, 112.

¹⁵ For reports of the excavations and researches on the temple, Olcay-Uçkan *et al.* 2019, 618-622; 2020, 432-437. Comprehensive publication on the temple and its surroundings is in process.

relation to the area where it is located. The first of these are the vaulted spans in the ante walls. During the excavations carried out in the pronaos of the temple, vault blocks collapsed as in-situ were unearthed at the level of the ante walls. The arch openings in the antes can clearly be expressed when the vault span is evaluated together with the pilasters on both sides of the cella facade wall and corner columns. Another important architectural detail is on the cella facade wall which has managed to survive to this date. The wall, built with cut stone blocks, contains sections on both sides where the blocks protrude irregularly. There are walls built using the *opus caementicium* technique on both sides of the cella facade wall, running parallel to it. These walls and the cella walls of cut stone masonry are intertwined. While this explains the protruding blocks on the cella facade wall, it also indicates that the walls extending on both sides of the cella were built together with the temple. Certain parts that have survived to the present day indicate that the surrounding walls built in the *opus caementicium* technique were completely plastered. Consequently, the *opus caementicium* technique walls and the cella facade were all built in an integrated manner, within a single construction phase.



Fig. 4. Temple

A closed area measuring approximately 94 by 63 metres (Fig. 5, 6), containing a temple and surrounded by walls is located approximately in the centre of the Northern District, parallel to the Olympos Stream. Its north, east and west sides are surrounded by walls about 6 metres high. On the south side, opening to the outside of the area there is a stoa, and behind it 16 spaces, which are thought to be shops. The main entrance of the area is an opening to the south, positioned in the middle of the stoa. There is another stoa to the north which leans against the northern perimeter wall¹⁶. The North Stoa runs in a parallel line from the east and west sides of the temple pronaos and faces the area (Fig. 6, 7). It is not yet clear whether there is any other stoa parallel to the east and west perimeter walls of the area, other than the South and North stoas.

It is understood that this area, surrounded by walls and stoas, was designed as a 5.5-acre area, built in a closed form and isolated from the other parts of the city. The focal point of the area is the temple. Indeed, the door opening of the North Stoa that opens to the square, faces the same direction as the temple, thus enabling a direct view of the temple when entering the area. The positioning of the temple is interesting, as the cella facade wall was built parallel to the surrounding walls, yet not entirely

¹⁶ The stoas in the area identified in the Northern City were named North and South Stoa by the excavation team.

inside the square, with the naos outside it. (Fig. 6). Thus, the pronaos of the temple and the stoa in the north of the area were designed to form a single facade (Fig. 8).



Fig. 5. *Layout plan of Northern District in Roman Period*

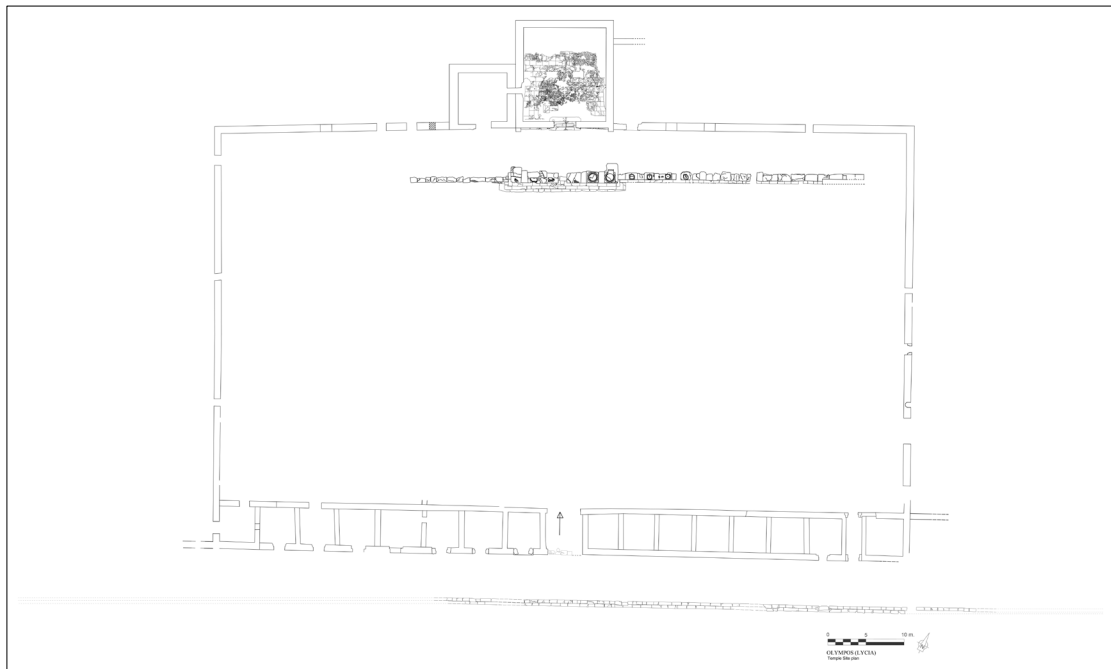


Fig. 6. *Plan of Temple Site in Roman Period*

Furthermore, the presentation of the details of some architectural features of the North Stoa will contribute to the subject in terms of defining the site. The most important of these are the spaces behind the stoa. There are two rooms leaning on the naos of the temple on the east and west sides. The entrances of both are provided through the stoa via monumental doors (Fig. 8). There is one other room

to the west of the western room (M13) and another to the east of the other one. The layout of the door and window on the north wall of the stoa provides proof of these rooms. The above-mentioned four spaces on both sides of the naos have a symmetrical arrangement and extend approximately to the middle of the east and west wings of the stoa. Apart from these, there is no place behind the North Stoa.



Fig. 7. *Temple and Northern Stoa*



Fig. 8. *Façade restitution of Temple and Northern Stoa*

In light of the fact that the pronaos of the temple is connected to the stoa via vaults and the connection between the peristasis of the stoa and the temple¹⁷, it is understood that the North Stoa displays a special design. The two spaces adjacent to the naos can be regarded as secondary sacred rooms, considering both the monumental entrance doors and the direct passage through the pronaos. In this case, these can be regarded as being secondary cult spaces associated with the main worship in the temple. At this point, the sculptures found during the naos excavations will serve as guides.

During the classification of the fragmented sculptures from the naos, two different colossal male sculptures were found. Depicted as sitting on a throne, one of them is Zeus or Asklepios¹⁸. The other

¹⁷ The architectural details of the consoles on the corner columns of the temple show the stoa carried the architraves in the corners. This design demonstrates that the temple and stoa pronaos were designed as an integrated structure to form a single body.

¹⁸ Prof. Dr. R. R. Smith came to Olympos upon the invitation of the excavation team and conducted the preliminary examination of the sculptures. He reported that one of the statues could be Zeus or Asklepios, judging from the head unearthed in excavations. We would like to thank him for sharing his valuable opinions. Although a comprehensive study of the sculptures has been planned, this has not yet taken place due to the Covid-19 outbreak. As a result of this work, which we hope to be completed in the near future, it will be clear who these sculptures represented and only then will we be able to conclude the cult definition of the temple.

is a bearded and dressed male figure which has yet to be identified. It is thought that the one representing Zeus or Asklepios was the temple's cult statue, while the other was brought from the immediate vicinity of the naos¹⁹. In that case, we can assume that one of the statues may have come from one of the two spaces adjacent to the naos or somewhere inside the stoa. Apart from the sculptures mentioned, there is an inscribed statue base found among the ruins in the temple pronaos. Closer examination has made it clear that it was brought here after the pronaos had collapsed. Therefore, the original location of this base was probably not the pronaos, but some other place in the North Stoa. According to the inscription²⁰, it was dedicated to Marcus Aurelius. This indicates that the pedestal once bore the statue of the emperor which is no longer in existence.

Currently available data allows for a general assessment of the temple and its location. Architectural details reveal that the construction of the temple began in the Hadrian Period²¹. The construction of the North Stoa, which was built in connection with the temple pronaos, may have continued during the Antonine Period²². Consequently, an informed estimation suggests that the temple and its location, were developed sometime between the second quarter and end of the 2nd century AD. The connection between the temple and the North Stoa is apparent. However, no clear data exists regarding the sacred and/or civilian functions of the rooms on either side of the naos. Nevertheless, we shall abstain from further discussion on this issue since it has no effect on the course of this article. We share the prevailing opinion that the North Stoa was constructed and used solely as a cult space. This view seems particularly valid when we take its architectural design, the aforementioned statue fragments and statue base into consideration.

The other stoa, which is located in the south of the area and was built for its outer part, is thought to

¹⁹ The temple and the whole area in which it is located were rearranged as an episkopeion in the Early Christian Period, Öztaşkın 2017, 54-55. It is clear that the temple was not demolished and gained a new function within the building complex in the episkopeion. In fact, during this period Roman Period structures such as the North Stoa, attained new functions, Öztaşkın 2017, 62. Cult objects within the area must have also gone through this change phase. Therefore, only estimations can be made about the original locations of the sculptures based upon the finds. Fragments of a statue, which is believed to be a Zeus or Asklepios, were found scattered at the centre of the naos. The legs of the statue and the pieces of the throne on which he is seated were found in the rear of the naos. The torso pieces were found in the centre, and the head and a piece of a hand were found near the door, Olcay-Uçkan *et al.* 2020, 433. Another hand was found outside the naos, in front of the steps. After examining the condition of the fragments we may suggest that this statue was the cult statue that stood inside the naos in the Roman Period and it was destroyed by human activity. On the other hand, the majority of the fragments of a clothed statue, were found close to the east wall of the naos. The location where the fragments were uncovered suggests that the statue was brought here in the Christian period and was broken and destroyed in the same place.

²⁰ TAM II 943.

²¹ Facade blocks of the temple are of priority. The architraves and frieze blocks with curved branch decoration closely resemble those of the Phaselis Hadrian Propylon. There is an inscription stating the Olympos theatre was built in honour of Hadrian. This explains the large-scale construction in Olympos during the Hadrianic Period. Accordingly, we may conclude that the construction of the temple of Olympos started in the Hadrianic Period. For Phaselis Hadrian Propylon and the inscription concerning the Olympos theatre see respectively, Arslan & Tüner-Önen 2020, 351-352; TAM II 1195.

²² The statue base dedicated to Marcus Aurelius and the style features of the statues in the naos, pointing to the Antonine Period constitute the most important reasons behind this assumption, Olcay-Uçkan *et al.* 2020, 434.

be a civil structure, considering that the rooms located behind it are shops (Fig. 6). In light of the abovementioned, it is thought that the area surrounding the temple, which is understood to have been built in the second century AD in the Northern District, is a temenos and/or a forum²³. The findings listed above reveal that the religious identity of this site is emphasized²⁴. However, it is insufficient to say that this place is only a temenos²⁵. Therefore, considering the possibility that the area was a temenos and/or a forum, the term "Temple Site" is preferred herein, until more definite data is available²⁶.



Fig. 9. Southern Stoa and Retaining Wall

The stoa, which stretches along the south of the Temple Site, extends beyond the borders of the area and extends east and west. The row of crepis, which goes beyond the Episkopeion southern wall, is a clear indication of this²⁷. The crepis goes beyond the borders of the Temple Site, a further 26 metres to the east and west (Fig. 5, 9). Moreover, the wall traces of the rows of shops behind the stoa can also be traced in the area close to Bridge Street. Thus, the South Stoa reaches a total length of approximately 145 metres, making it the most

-
- ²³ Apart from the temple and the North and South Stoas, there are the remains of a single Roman Period building in this area. Traces of the podium measuring 6.95 x 4.90 metres located in front of the west corner of the North Stoa. No remains of the structure located on this podium have survived. The reason for this is that the entire area was transformed into an Episkopeion, with a comprehensive transformation taking place in the Early Christian period. For detailed information about the Episkopeion, see, Öztaşkın 2013.
- ²⁴ In the 2019 excavation season, a Roman Period Hephaistos statue was unearthed close to the central sections of the eastern wall of the area. The statue was found in the fill and cannot be evaluated in a distinctive Roman Period context. This statue, which is preserved in Antalya Museum and has not as yet been published, will make sense if it is considered in connection with the Hephaistos cult centre in Yanartaş, located within Olympos territory. Perhaps it may increase the emphasis on the religious identity of the area that is being evaluated. For the Yanartaş Hephaistos cult area, see, Diler 1988, 107-120.
- ²⁵ Excavations are ongoing in the area and the results of the studies are awaiting clear definitions.
- ²⁶ Before excavations, a suggestion based upon an observation that this place used to be an agora was presented, Hellenkemper & Hild 2004, 760. The stoas and shops in the south wing may indicate that the area called the Temple Site could have been an agora. However, this stoa is not positioned inside but outside the site, towards the street passing in front of it. In other words, it was designed to be disconnected from the area. In fact, this is the most important data that suggests it may not be correct to describe this site as an agora. While designing the site, the location of the temple in the centre and the situation of the South Stoa which was organized as a commercial area, should not be overlooked in research concerning the definition of the square.
- ²⁷ The Temple Site was converted to an Episkopeion in the Christian era. Afterwards the columns of the South Stoa were removed, a wall was built here, and consequently the area was completely closed to the public. As a result, the only obvious trace of a stoa is the crepis.

important architectural element of the Northern District Harbour Street. This indicates that it has a design that provides a two-way benefit: Blocking the south side of the Temple Site and creating a public/social space on Harbour Street.

The South Stoa is important in defining the focal point of the Northern District. The findings of previous years have shown that the bridge²⁸ connecting the two sides of the city must have led to a central street in the Northern District²⁹. In this respect, attention was drawn to the existence of a north-south oriented street extending to the inner parts of the Northern District that appears after crossing the bridge from the Southern District. This hypothesis gains weight, since the end point of the stoa is positioned to form a 145 metres facade on the most important street of the Northern District. Also, the intersection axis of the bridge clarifies the existence of a street here. This road which we will call the Northern District Bridge Street, is comprehensively discussed in the conclusion section on urban planning, with details presented below.

Once the Southern Stoa and the Northern District Bridge Street are taken into account together, it becomes clear that there is an area approximately 25 metres wide, extending from the east of the Temple Site to Bridge Street (Fig. 5). Due to the orientation of Bridge Street, this area expands to the north. Obviously, it is an important focal point in the Northern District, as it is just behind the South Stoa and it fronts Bridge Street. However, there were no identifiable surface finds related to Roman Period structuring, as it was considered a part of the Episkopeion and the bishop's residence was constructed here³⁰ (Fig. 10). Although there is no evidence today, there must have been an important building or structures here in the Roman Period. This matter should be clarified in excavations that are to be conducted here in following years.

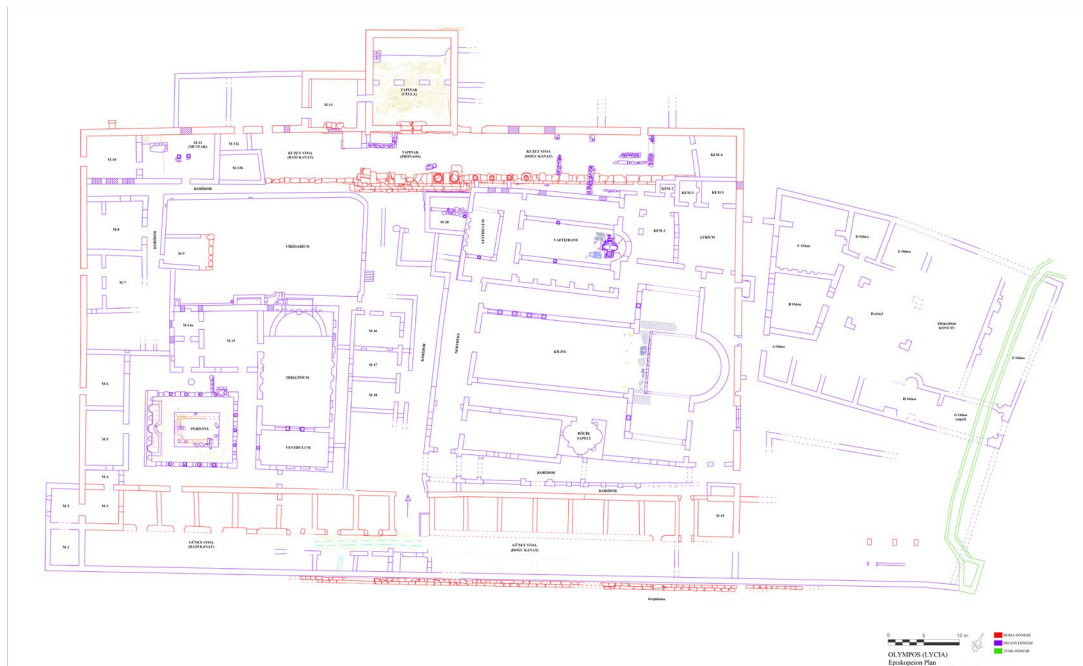


Fig. 10. Plan of Temple Site in Byzantium Period

²⁸ Öncü 2017, 32-33, fig. 4-7.

²⁹ Olcay-Uçkan *et al.* 2017, 12.

³⁰ Öztaşkın 2017, 57, plan 2.

There is another area/site surrounded by high walls at the Northern District, that appears to have been built in the Roman Period. It is called 'Building B' since its exact function in the Roman Period has yet to be identified (Fig. 5). It is located approximately 40 metres east of the Temple Site, at the foot of the western slope of the 'Akropolis Tepesi' near the harbour. It measures approximately 45.5 by 33 metres. The southern short side faces the Olympos Stream. The walls surrounding the area are preserved in the northwest, southwest and southeast corners. These sections were built with large rusticated ashlar blocks. Unfortunately, the walls other than the ones mentioned cannot be traced³¹. Its entrance is on Bridge Street, in the middle of the long facade in the west. There is an apsis with a diameter of 7.30 metres positioned in the centre of the northern wall of the area. The masonry is similar to the area's surrounding walls³².

A large part of 'Building B' has yet to be excavated. Therefore, we currently lack information regarding its function. However, it can be assumed that the site had a special identity, considering its approximately 1.5 acre-surface area, its location within the city and the apsis in its northern wall. The fact that it is located close to the harbour and the Temple Site, and on the two important streets of the Northern District strengthens this assumption. It is possible to assume that it was cult area. One of the two important factors supporting this view is that a large part of the Northern District served as a place for worship and for burial cults. The other is that the religious and cultic areas of the Roman Period were still used after being converted during the Christian era, especially in the Northern District³³. The fact that the apsis here is positioned on the central axis and extends beyond the surrounding walls, brings to mind the relationship between the Temple Site and the temple. We can hypothesize that this section, which today appears to be an apsis and is directed towards a large area surrounded by walls, belonged to a monumental structure. If indeed this is a monumental building, it is not possible to clearly say what purpose it may have served. Nevertheless, it could have been a cultural building like any other temple or heroon in the city. In addition, we cannot ignore the hypothesis that Building B could have been a civilian space, despite the fact that it does not conform with the general composition of the Northern District. In this case, we have to take into consideration that such a large area could have been an agora or a macellum, since it is a square open to public use. Although our thoughts on this issue will not go beyond speculation until comprehensive excavations are carried out in the area, it could be said with certainty that Building B was an important element of the reconstruction program carried out in the Northern District during the Roman Period.

In addition to the described structuring of the city, there are innumerable Roman-era tombs scattered almost all over the Northern District. The graves can be categorized as belonging to the Northern or Eastern Necropolis, since they formed two separate groups³⁴. The Northern Necropolis covers the perimeter of the Temple Site and the area to its west, and was in service from the first half of the century. Whereas the Eastern Necropolis covers the southern and western slopes of 'Akropolis

³¹ A church was built at the northern part of this area in the Christian era, Evcim & Öztaşkın 2019, 136-138. Excavations were carried out at this structure named "Church-3". However, areas other than this have not yet been excavated. Therefore, we cannot say whether the perimeter walls have been completely destroyed or not.

³² A church was built at the northern edge of Building B. In the building called Church 3, the apsis from the Roman Period was transformed into an exedra, Evcim & Öztaşkın 2019, 138. Extensive repairs were carried out on the apsis walls during this phase. However, the original walls of the apsis can still be seen.

³³ Olcay-Uçkan *et al.* 2017, 16; Evcim & Öztaşkın 2019, 149.

³⁴ Uğurlu 2006, 33-36.

Tepesi', starting from the roadstead at the Northern District. This necropolis contains two of the most important tombs of Olympos. Research conducted on the Tomb of Zosimos – one of the two tombs mentioned above – led to the conclusion that the necropolis was used from the end of the 2nd century A.D. until the 3rd century A.D.³⁵

If we are to respectively review the necropolises in relation to the structure of the Northern District during the Roman Period, we should start by evaluating the Northern Necropolis which contains 29% of all the tombs found in Olympos. From the western entrance of the city down to the Temple Site, there exists a great number of chamber and vaulted tombs. Chamber tombs are located on the street named 'Necropolis Street'. As the number of civil buildings constructed on Necropolis Street multiplied during the Byzantine Period, some of the tombs here were removed and converted³⁶. One other designated section in the North Necropolis is located east of the Temple Site. This is where the Tomb of the Lykiarkhes Marcus Aurelius Arkhepolis, one of Olympos's most important mausoleums, is located³⁷. Roughly 25 metres to its northeast stands the Tomb of Antimachus, which dates from the second quarter of the 2nd century A.D.³⁸

The tombs of Eudemos and Zosimos are situated at the point where the Eastern Necropolis connects to the harbour of the city³⁹. Not only do these tombs emphasize the identity of Olympos as the 'harbour city', but also contribute to the thesis concerning the Northern District's cultic identity⁴⁰. The vaulted tombs lined up side by side are located to the west of these two tombs. Yet evaluating its status in the Roman Period has proven to be a difficult task due to the intense Byzantine Period constructions on the 'Akropolis Tepesi'⁴¹. Nevertheless, the Early Roman Period sarcophagus which was discovered in a tower-like structure from the Byzantine Period, located on this hill, allows us to make certain assumptions⁴². An inscription identified on the sarcophagus is the earliest epigraphic discovery ever made in Olympos, dating between the end of the 1st century B.C. and the middle of the 1st century A.D.⁴³. Although it is the only find of its kind to date, it still leads us to think that the 'Akropolis Tepesi' actually might have been a necropolis.

In the light of the aforementioned data, we would like to present our thoughts on the reconstruction activities that took place in the Northern District during the Roman Period. Firstly, it is necessary to study the topography of the area and then the barrier walls along the stream. It seems obvious that the sea to the east of the city and the Olympos Stream that flows through it, were taken into close consideration in the planning of the city. The residential area of the North City is situated on a plain

³⁵ For the Necropolises of the Northern District of Olympos and their dates see, Uğurlu 2006, 34-35, 140, 144.

³⁶ Olcay-Uçkan *et al.* 2017, 16.

³⁷ The tomb dates to some time between the end of the 2nd century and the beginning of the 3rd century A.D. For the tomb monument see, Atilla-Çelgin 1991, 79 ff, Atilla 1992, 114-115; Uğurlu 2006, 287-288.

³⁸ Adak & Tüner 2004, 63 ff, Uğurlu 2006, 281.

³⁹ Adak & Atvur 1997, 12 ff.; Atvur 1999, 21 ff.; Uğurlu 2006, 34-35.

⁴⁰ Öncü & Evcim 2015, 100-101.

⁴¹ Uğurlu believed that there was a castle on 'Akropolis Tepesi' during the Roman Period and put forward the hypothesis that the Early Roman Period sarcophagus on the hill and the vaulted tombs on the west slope may belong to the people responsible for the security of the castle, Uğurlu 2006, 34.

⁴² Uğurlu 2006, 278, cat. no. 316.

⁴³ Öztürk & Öncü 2020, 256-257.

extending along the north of the stream to the slopes of Omurga Mountain rising behind it. This region is circumscribed by a valley that reaches Olympos by land in the west, and by the Yolmaca Ridge, which constitutes the south-eastern extension of Omurga Mountain and is also named 'Akropolis Tepesi' in the east⁴⁴. The Roman Period settlement is mostly along the banks of the stream and around the slopes of 'Akropolis Tepesi'. No ruin of any building is to be found on the 120-metre-high plain that begins immediately after the Temple Site and extends to the slopes of Omurga Mountain. Today, this is a semi-swamp area covered in reeds (Fig. 5).

Next, we analyse the architectural practices employed for the improvement of the Olympos Stream. The stream, which was a decisive point for the settlement plan of the city, had retaining walls on both sides. Sections built with cut stone blocks in the polygonal technique were identified on the south retaining wall⁴⁵. These are similar to the defence walls of the Southern District⁴⁵. Therefore, it is understood that the first construction phase of the southern retaining wall was carried out during the Hellenistic Period and restoration work was conducted in various subsequent periods. On the other hand, the entire northern section of the stream's northern retaining wall was built using the mortared rubble technique. This indicates that this side of the wall was constructed in the Roman Period. It was also during this same period that this part of the area was zoned out⁴⁶.

While presenting such substantial evidence which demonstrates that the Northern District was opened to construction for the first time in the Roman period, we would also like to evaluate the transportation axis. There are approximately 11 metres between the stoa at the south of the Temple Site located at the focal point of the Northern District, and the retaining wall along the stream. The architectural design of the Southern Stoa facing the Olympos Stream, makes it possible to identify the main transportation route⁴⁷. Harbour Street, which extends from the western edge of the Northern Necropolis uninterrupted, is approximately 450 metres long (Fig. 5, 9). Instead of running in a straight route, it makes angles that follow the retaining walls that were built in accordance with the form of the bed of the stream. These angles can be followed at points close to the bridge and southwest of the Temple Site.

Necropolis Street is the second transportation route of the Northern District that runs in an east-west direction. What makes this street distinguishable are the chambered tombs which line it and the Early Byzantine structures that we believe lined this fundamentally Roman street. With its west end – where the tombs of the Northern Necropolis are more concentrated – as a starting point, the street proceeds in a straight line and takes a slight turn to continue along the route leading from the Byzantine period structures to the Temple Site (Fig. 5).

Other than these two streets, there are also north-south oriented transportation axis that cut them perpendicularly and proceed to the inner parts of the Northern District. The first of these is Harbour

⁴⁴ Therefore, the Northern City has a surface area of approximately 10 hectares.

⁴⁵ Öncü 2017, 36-37.

⁴⁶ The Olympos Stream frequently caused floods in the winter months. In the middle parts of the city, close to the bridge, there was a sharp curvature from the north to the south. Considering that there was no retaining wall, it seems clear that during the flood periods there was a strong flow of water from this area to the plain where the Northern City was established.

⁴⁷ Known today as the 'Tourist Road', it is used extensively as a route from the tourism accommodation facilities to the sea.

Street. This street, that we know for certain existed, was perhaps the city's most important axis. Although its traces cannot be seen today due to various changes made over time, it once connected to the street known by the same name on the south side of the city via the bridge, and ran through the whole city uninterrupted. From the intersection with Harbour Street, Building B is located perpendicularly on its western border (Fig. 5). It then curves northeast from Building B's northwest corner, and extends almost up to the Tomb of Antimachus⁴⁸. There are eight preserved doorjambes set side by side on the north side of the street, at the section after it curves from Building B. These follow a parallel line to the tomb of Lykiarkhes. The four places belonging to the jambes, whose functions we as yet don't understand due to their demolished conditions, date from the Roman Period. This in turn confirms there was Roman Period construction along Harbour Street.

Furthermore, it could be argued that the two streets amidst the buildings dating from the Early Byzantine Period, which were preserved in the building island between the south of Necropolis Street and the north of Harbour Street, were influenced by the Roman Period. Thus, it is possible to develop a notion of the intermediate axes connecting these two streets (Fig. 5).

When the Northern District buildings and the street-main road layout are evaluated together, we seem to encounter a distinctive picture of Roman Period planning. Accordingly, it is understood that the zoning area on this side of the city was a narrow strip that ran parallel to Harbour Street. There are no perfectly vertical courses on the main road-street plan. This reveals that unlike the Southern District, a complete hypodamic plan was not implemented⁴⁹. Harbour Street, which constitutes the main axis, is arranged in accordance with the natural structure on the northern border of the Olympos Stream. In addition, as with the Bridge and Necropolis streets in certain parts, there are orientations according to structures. These facts indicate that the Northern District had an urban plan that was shaped in accord with both the topography and the buildings.

At this point, an important question needs to be considered: What are the reasons behind the distinct differences between the two sides of the city in urban planning? While searching for the answer, we find two main issues. Firstly, unlike the Southern District, we do not find any trace of Hellenistic settlement in the Northern District. Secondly, settlement in the Northern District only occurs on a narrow strip parallel to the stream. As mentioned above, the first settlement in the Southern District took place during the Hellenistic Period. We also pointed out that Olympos was declared *ager publicus* for a while after the incident involving Zeniketes, yet the city regained its former reputation around mid-1st century A.D. In this case, it would not be erroneous to think that the Hellenistic Period settlement scheme provided a basis for comprehensive reconstruction initiated during the Roman Period. There is no trace of the Hellenistic Period in the Northern District.

In fact, the evidence regarding the stream retaining walls has been reviewed above, which makes

⁴⁸ The status of the street from the Antimachus Tomb is not clear. The slope that forms the northern ridge of the city roughly begins at this point. While dense construction dating from the Byzantine Period is observed on the slope, no obvious traces of Roman Period buildings have been identified here to date. According to one opinion, the "Mosaic Building" which is about 70 metres northwest of the Tomb of Antimachus, dating from the end of the 5th century, was constructed as a result of the transformation of a bath of the 3rd or 4th century, Öztaşkın & Öztaşkın 2012, 335. In line with this thesis, we may assume that in the Late Roman Period there was a street/main road here. If there was such an axis in the Roman Period, it would naturally be connected to Harbour Street.

⁴⁹ Öncü 2012, 278; Olcay-Uçkan *et al.* 2017, 12-14.

one presume that construction began in the very early Roman Period. In addition, we should mention that the first construction phase of the bridge that connects the southern side (the Hellenistic-based part of the city) to the northern side (which we have discussed in this article) dates from the Roman period⁵⁰. At this point, we would like to share one more datum. During the 2017 excavation season, a sounding was undertaken in front of the temple's crepis to find the foundation of the structure, and, no cultural filling in the Temple Site was found that dated prior to the Roman Period⁵¹. In addition, it was understood that the green coloured soil with river stones in it, rose approximately to the upper level of the foundation blocks of the temple pronaos. In other words, the foundation of the building was created by digging into the main soil (Fig. 11). This shows the first construction phase of the area where the temple was built began in the Roman Period.

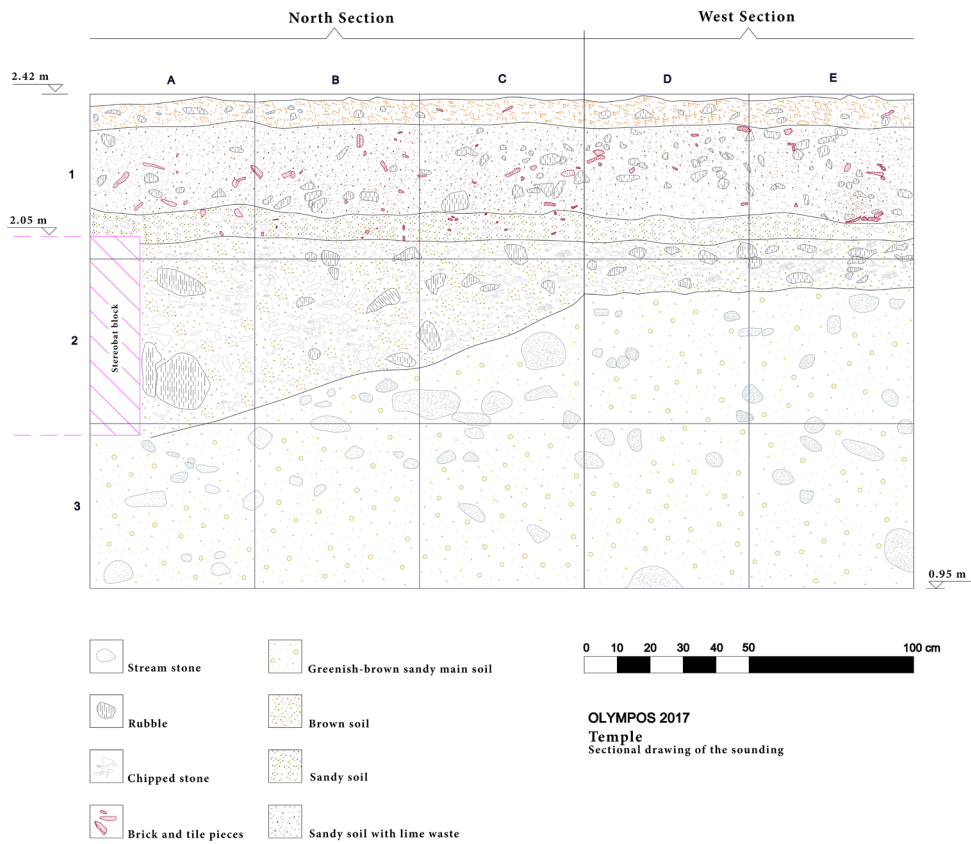


Fig. 11. Sectional Drawing of the Sounding Made in front of the Temple

The second subject of evaluation concerns the Northern District which was established on a relatively narrow strip, running parallel to the shore of the Olympos Stream. The largest building settlement area of the Northern District was the Temple Site, and it extends approximately 75 metres north from Harbour Street. Behind this, is a plain of about 100 metres up to the slopes of the Omurga Mountain, but there are no residual building here (Fig. 5). The slope of 'Akropolis Tepesi' constitutes the northern border of Building B, another important structure of the Northern District. Similarly, the northern end point of Bridge Street also reaches the slope of 'Akropolis Tepesi' to which it proceeds with a

⁵⁰ Öncü 2017, 32-33.

⁵¹ Olcay-Uçkan *et al.* 2019, 620, fig. 3.

bend. When viewed on the plan, we see that this bend on the north of Bridge Street lies in a strip on the natural curve of the slope of 'Akropolis Tepesi'. The monumental tombs of Lykiarkhes and Antimakchos were also located here. Today, the plain behind the temple is semi-marshland. It extends towards Bridge Street. When we evaluate the plan scheme and the swamp together, we understand that the topographic situation was decisive in the planning. The city was probably not suitable for settlement when it was first established. It is clear that the entire Northern District was flooded by the Olympos Stream before the northern retaining wall was built during the Roman Period⁵². The water must have reached the marshy area. In this case, while building the stream retaining walls, ground improvement works were also probably carried out in order to make the area, where the structures on and behind Harbour Street are located, suitable for settlement. Nevertheless, there must have been a valid reason for excluding this section when conducting improvement work that covered the area that is currently marshland. A plausible suggestion is that in the Roman Period, this area might have been home to a lake and not a swamp⁵³. The presence of the Olympos Stream to the west, a wide roadstead to the east, and the wetlands on the slopes of the Omurga Mountain, that are fed by multiple water resources, to the north, seem to suggest that the above argument could be valid. As a matter of fact, an unpublished report on geological research conducted in Olympos and the surrounding region, contains data that supports this claim⁵⁴.

The settlement topography of Olympos Northern District in the Roman Period has been identified. Now we may present our considerations on the zoning activities carried out here and in the settlement. Above we have shared our data on 'Akropolis Tepesi' being used as a necropolis at the beginning of the 1st century AD at the latest. Although the sarcophagus described here – which dates sometime between the Late Hellenistic and the Early Roman periods – is a singular find, it still supports this claim. It also sheds light on the fact that the hill might have been used as a necropolis even before the Roman Period. Although the Southern District was an important port city surrounded by walls as was Hellenistic Period Olympos, it is not unlikely that 'Akropolis Tepesi' overlooking the city's harbour was used as the settlement's necropolis. In addition, the tombs of Zosimos and Eudemos situated on the slopes close to the harbour, demonstrate that this certainly was the case at least during the Roman Period. Based on this idea, we argue that there was no Roman period settlement here.

Thus, we can say that the narrow strip between the lake behind the Northern District and the Olympos Stream extended to 'Akropolis Tepesi'. The Temple Site was established at the centre of the

⁵² Harbour Street was approximately 1.40 metres above sea level. Since this level was determined during the planning of the street after the construction of the stream retaining walls, we understand that this part of the city was approximately at sea level before the development activities. Consequently, it appears that flooding, which is emphasized here, was inevitable.

⁵³ The possible presence of a lake in the Byzantine Period city was hypothetically revealed by the excavation team in previous years, and was shown on the 3D model of the city of the relevant period. <https://www.olymposkazisi.com/index.html#map> (02.03.2012)

⁵⁴ The report entitled "Antalya, Olympos Ancient City Groundwater Modelling" prepared by Bilge Bingül from Anadolu University, Institute of Science and presented to the head of excavation in 2019 and the master's thesis which forms the basis of the report, provided information on this subject, Bingül 2019, 28-33, fig. 3. 8. Geological research has been conducted in the ancient city since 2020. The results of these studies will provide clearer data on the subject.

development area within the specified boundaries. This complex, which consisted of a uniquely designed temple, a stoa in a large square surrounded by high walls, and another long stoa located on Harbour Street, was the most important area in this part of the city. Furthermore, the facade of the South Stoa must have presented a magnificent panorama when viewed from the Southern District. Building B complemented the axis by creating another long monumental facade on it.

Since the focus of the design is the Temple Site, this is the most important factor in determining the date of development of the Northern District. The Temple and surrounding area date from the period of Hadrian and later. Consequently, we may argue that the development of the Northern District began around the middle of the 2nd century A.D. Hence, we can say that the reconstruction of the Northern District began after that of the Southern District, which was a Roman city during the rule of Vespasian at the latest. The Southern District was a social centre equipped with civil and public buildings, while the Northern District was an area where buildings with religious and cultic functions were located⁵⁵. Thus, we may assume that the Northern District's development was the result of an effort to expand a complementary area for religious construction. An action not found on the other side of the city. Structures with defined functions, form the basis for theories that narrow the possibilities for the surrounding structures whose functions have yet to be designated. Thus, the possible assumption that Building B had a cultural identity gains importance.

All things considered; we can now put forward clear definitions concerning Olympos's Northern District. With the exception of the 'Akropolis Tepesi', the city did not have a suitable area for settlement before the Roman Period. Major construction activities began sometime around the between mid-2nd century A.D. in the Roman Period. Initially, work must have begun in the Harbour, the necropolis and Bridge Street, which constitute the main transportation axis. The Temple Site, which highlights the identity of this side of the city, most probably was next. The South Stoa, the structures to the east of the Temple Site and Building B were most likely built during the same time. Following these activities on this side of the city, which stands out with its religious identity, the construction of monumental tombs for the city's privileged began. These tombs were positioned in the available areas not taken up by the main buildings. Yet the North Necropolis must have been built to meet the need for a new burial area that emerged with the growth of the city. The fact that the tombs here mostly date from the beginning of the 3rd century A.D. and later, confirms this. The 'Akropolis Tepesi' on the other hand, continued to accommodate the tombs of the city's elite while preserving its former identity as a necropolis.

While we focus on the Roman Period development of Olympos's Northern District in this study, a new question concerning the stream's retaining walls (built while this part of the city was opened to construction in the Roman Period) and the lake (which we believe was located behind the Temple Site) comes to the fore: What was in this region during the Hellenistic Period? It seems that on the opposite side of Olympos, which was a non-residential area consisting of nothing more than the Southern District surrounded by sturdy walls, there was a channel extending inward from the Olympos Stream, the lake and the port area. Assuming that these three different water sources were interconnected, we believe that there may have been a waterway running from the sea to the lake behind 'Akropolis Tepesi'. If we take the hypothesis concerning the abovementioned connection to be valid, then we may argue that the area where the Northern District was established used to be a deep lagoon

⁵⁵ Olcay-Uçkan *et al.* 2017, 10.

in the Hellenistic Period⁵⁶. In that case, the harbour of Olympos could have been this wide and extremely sheltered lagoon. Moreover, this area was most probably easy to defend, due to the narrow channel formed in the sea passage, and 'Akropolis Tepesi' that rose in front of the area prevented it from being seen from the sea. The answer can only be clarified through extensive geological studies. We hope that the region attracts the interest of the scientific community, and all necessary efforts be made to provide an answer this important question.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Adak M. & Atvur O. 1997, "Das Grabhaus des Zosimos und der Schiffseigner Eudemos aus Olympos". *EA* 28, 11-27.
- Adak M. & Tüner N. 2004, "Neue Inschriften aus Olympos und seinem Territorium I". *Gephyra* 1, 53-65.
- Anadolu M. U. 1970, *Küçük Asya'da Bulunan Roma İmparatorluk Çağı Tapınakları*. İstanbul.
- Arslan M. 2003, "İ.Ö. 188 Yılından İ.Ö. 67 Yılına Kadar Lykia, Pamphylia ve Kilikia Trakheia Sahillerindeki Korsanlık Faaliyetleri: Nedenleri ve Sonuçları". *Adalya* 6, 91-118.
- Arslan M. & Tüner-Önen N. 2020, "2018 Yılı Phaselis Kazı Çalışmaları". *KST* XLI/3, 351-363.
- Atila İ. A. & Çelgin A. V. 1991, "Likya'da, Olympos'ta Bulunan Bir Mezar Anıtı". *Mimar Sinan Üniversitesi Fen/Edebiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* 1, 75-105.
- Atila İ. A. 1992, "Olympos Mezar Odası Kurtarma Kazıları". 2. *Müze Kurtarma Kazıları Semineri*, 105-128.
- Atvur O. 1999, "Olympos Antik Kenti (1991-1992 Çalışmaları)". *Arkeoloji ve Sanat Dergisi* 88, 13-31.
- Bayburtluoğlu C. 1982, *Arkeoloji*. Ankara.
- Bean G. E. 1997, *Eski Çağda Lykia Bölgesi*. Çev. H. Kökten. İstanbul.
- Bingül B. 2019, *Antalya, Olympos Antik Kenti Yeraltısını Akımı Modellemesi*. Unpublished Master Thesis, Eskişehir Technic University. Eskişehir.
- Diler A. 1988, "Olympos ve Hephaestion'da Kült Kalıntıları Üzerine Bir Ön Araştırma". *AST* VI, 107-120.
- Evcim S. & Öztaşkın G. K. 2019, "Early Byzantine Churches in Olympos". *Arkeoloji ve Sanat Dergisi* 161, 129-162.
- Fellows C. 1838, *A Journal During the Excursion in Asia Minor*. London.
- Hellenkemper H. & Hild F. 2004, *Tabula Imperii Byzantini 8: Lykien und Pamphylien*. Wien.
- İplikçioğlu B. 2006, "Zwei Statthalter vespasianischer Zeit und die "Große" Therme in Inschriften von Olympos (Lykien)". *AnzWien* 141/2, 75-81.
- Ormerod H. A. 1922, "The Campaigns of Servilius Isauricus against the Pirates". *JRS* 12, 35-56.
- Öncü Ö. E. 2012, "Antalya – Olympos Antik Kenti Roma İmparatorluk Dönemi Araştırmalarında Yeni Bulgular". Eds. K. Dörtlük & T. Kahya, *Uluslararası Genç Bilimciler Buluşması I: Anadolu Akdenizi Sempozyumu*. (AKMED: Suna-İnan Kıraç Akdeniz Medeniyetleri Araştırma Enstitüsü). Antalya, 04-07 Kasım 2009. Antalya, 273-284.
- Öncü Ö. E. & Evcim S. 2015, "Lykia'da Bir Liman Kenti: Olympos". Eds. C. Yemişçi, T. E. Çakar, M. G. Beydiz & C. Çoban, 2. *Turgut Reis ve Türk Denizcilik Tarihi Uluslararası Sempozyumu*. Bodrum Turgut Reis, 1-4 Kasım 2013. Bodrum, 94-112.
- Öncü Ö. E. 2017, "Olympos Hellenistik ve Roma Dönemi Mimari Araştırmaları: Köprü, Köprü Caddesi ve Kent Surları". Ed. B. Y. Olcay-Uçkan, *Olympos I: 2000-2014 Araştırma Sonuçları* (Akmed Series in Mediterranean Studies 2). İstanbul, 31-48.

⁵⁶ In the geology report we mentioned in footnote 55, the theoretical data that there were lagoons in both Çıralı and Olympos in the 1st Millennium B.C. constitutes the main source for the hypothesis presented here.

- Öztaşkın G. K. & Öztaşkın M. 2012, "Antalya-Olympos Mozaikli Yapı". Eds. K. Dörtlük & T. Kahya, *Uluslararası Genç Bilimciler Buluşması I: Anadolu Akdenizi Sempozyumu*. (AKMED: Suna-İnan Kıraç Akdeniz Medeniyetleri Araştırma Enstitüsü). Antalya, 04-07 Kasım 2009. Antalya, 329-346.
- Öztaşkın G. K. 2013, *Olympos Antik Kenti Episkopeion Yapı Topluluğu*. Yayınlanmamış Doktora Tezi, Anadolu University. Eskişehir.
- Öztaşkın G. K. 2017, "Olympos Kenti Episkopeion Yapı Topluluğu". Ed. B. Y. Olcay-Uçkan, *Olympos I: 2000-2014 Araştırma Sonuçları* (Akmed Series in Mediterranean Studies 2). İstanbul, 49-78.
- Öztürk H. S. 2006, *M.Ö. II.-M.S. IV. Yüzyıllarda Likya-Pamfilya Bölgesinde Kırsal Alan Güvenliđi*. Yayınlanmamış Doktora Tezi, Marmara Üniversitesi. İstanbul.
- Öztürk H. S. & Öncü Ö. E. 2020, "Olympos in Lycia: A Novel Assessment of the History and Localisation of the City in Consideration of Recent Archaeological and Epigraphical Research". *Adalya* 23, 253-276.
- Serdarođlu Ü. 2004, *Lykia-Karia'da Roma Dönemi Tapınak Mimarlıđı*. İstanbul.
- Troxell H. A. 1982, *The Coinage of the Lycian League*. New York.
- Olcay-Uçkan B. Y. 2017, *Olympos I: 2000-2014 Araştırma Sonuçları* (Akmed Series in Mediterranean Studies 2). İstanbul.
- Olcay-Uçkan B. Y., Ö. E. Öncü & S. Evcim 2017, Olympos'un Roma ve Bizans Dönemi Kent Dokusu". Ed. B. Y. Olcay-Uçkan, *Olympos I: 2000-2014 Araştırma Sonuçları* (Akmed Series in Mediterranean Studies 2). İstanbul, 9-31.
- Olcay-Uçkan B. Y., G. K. Öztaşkın, Ö. E. Öncü, S. Evcim & M. Öztaşkın 2019, "Olympos Kazısı 2017 Yılı Çalışmaları". *KST XL/3*, 617-638.
- Olcay-Uçkan B. Y., G. K. Öztaşkın, M. Öztaşkın, S. Evcim & Ö. E. Öncü 2020, "Olympos Kazısı 2018 Yılı Çalışmaları". *KST XLI/4*, 429-450.
- Uđurlu E. 2006, *Olympos Nekropolü*. Yayınlanmamış Doktora Tezi, Ankara Üniversitesi. Ankara.