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EDITOR
HAVVA İŞKAN

TRANSLATION FROM TURKISH
UMUR GEDİKLİ
SIMON SALVATORE STEPHENSON
ÖYKÜ YETİŞ

BOOK DESIGN
EMRE SENAN

PHOTOGRAPHY
EXCAVATION ARCHIVES
ALİCAN AKÇÖL
ORHAN KOLUKISA

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TÜRKİYE İŞ BANKASI KÜLTÜR YAYINLARI
MEŞELİK SOKAK NO: 4 K: 2
BEYOĞLU 34430 İSTANBUL
T: (0212) 252 39 91
F: (0212) 252 39 95
WWW.İSKULTUR.COM.TR

TÜRKİYE İŞ BANKASI
Kültür Yayınları

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Patara Defensive Structures

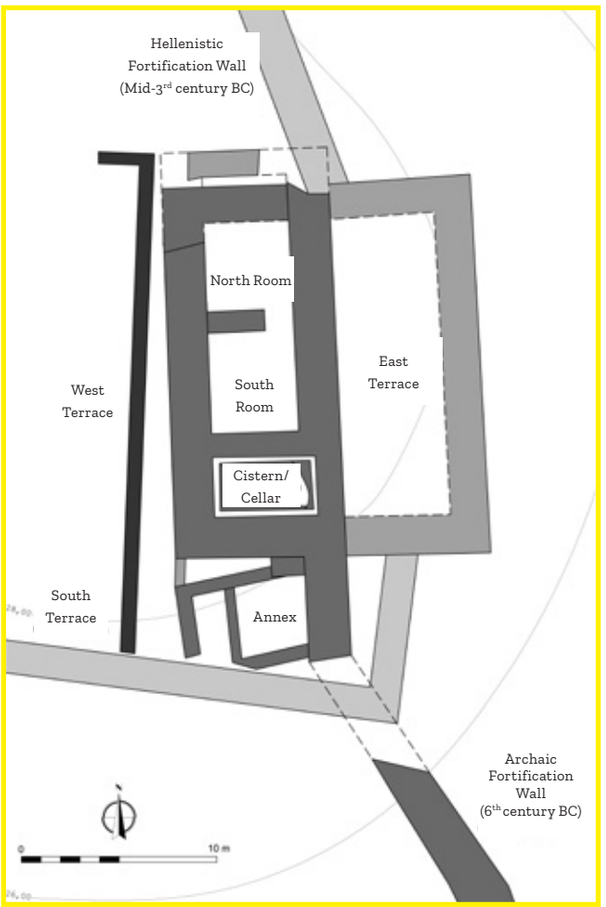
ERKAN DÜNDAR
MUSTAFA KOÇAK

The first research done on Patara defenses, namely the walls, was carried out in the 1990s and early 2000s. The German archaeologist Max Kunze and his team of Turkish archaeologists participated in the mapping of all the remains of the walls that could be seen from the surface through a comprehensive survey. Their valuable observations were gathered in 2010 in the publication "Der Stadtplan von Patara und Beobachtungen zu den Stadtmauern, Patara I.1." After the publication, the excavations carried out provided new and comprehensive information about the city walls of Patara.

Dynastic Period (6th-5th century BC)

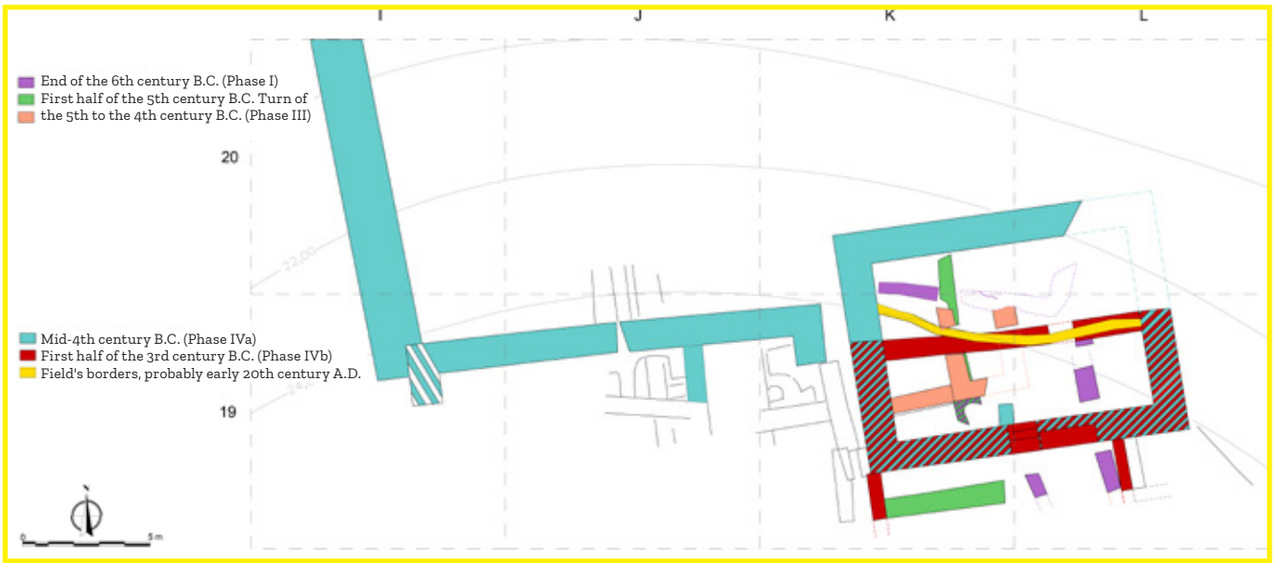
The earliest data on the defenses in Patara comes from the Tepecik settlement to the east of the inner harbor (see E. Dündar, "An Early Witness of the Urban Settlement: Tepecik" in this publication). The earliest remnant of the city defenses in Tepecik, which dominates both the inner harbor and the road from the north to the city due to its location, is the tower at the west slope of the wall where it meets the harbor. Dating back to the second half of the 6th century BC, this 8-meter-wide tower is made of cyclopic (irregularly cut large stone) blocks with a wall thicknesses of approximately 2 to 2.5 meters. It is the beginning of the defenses surrounding Tepecik from the north and east. Although there are not many remains from the walls of the early defensive structures, especially in the east and southeast of Tepecik, the data provide important information.

1.
Drawing of the building complex called "Tower House" (R. Becks-E.Dündar)



At the highest point of Tepecik, a building complex, which we can call "tower house" salutes those who reach the city from the north with its magnificent walls (Fig. 1). This structure stretches 19 by 8.75m in the north-south direction and follows a sequential plan with two consecutive rooms and a pantry. The amount of rubble uncovered during the excavations carried out in the building, which is thought to be at least two or three stories high due to the wall remains reaching 2.40m, indicates that walls were not completely made from the stone. Therefore, it is thought that the superstructure was built with mudbrick or wooden material. The most similar examples of this structure, which is unique in size, are known from Avşar Hill (Zagaba) in Lycia and Alâzeytin (Syangela) in Caria. These examples date to the 6th and 5th centuries BC.

The wall, which descends 86.00m perpendicular to the skirts of Tepecik to the southwest from the Tower House, is divided by another 2.40-meter-wide gate. It is believed that the



2. Architectural phases of the *Bastion* and the North Fortification Wall

wall, which continues to the southwest after the gate, used to extend to the harbor. In this early period the presence of defensive structures could not be determined if on the promontory. This promontory sits at an elevation of 150m, and the structure would have extended around the inner harbor or along the north. It can not be determined for the time being due to the swampy nature of the ancient harbor (see M. Koçak and E. Dündar, "West Lycia's Gateway to the Sea: Patara Harbor"in this publication).

A New Arrangement Following the Revolt (4th century BC)

In the 5th century BC, there were no traces of any new construction in the city. However, this situation changed radically in the middle of the 4th century BC, as the recent excavations have shown.

Excavations conducted on the city defenses, which are dominated by the northern road leading to the north of the Tepecik upper plain, provided important new data not only for Patara but also for the dating of the defenses of many cities in southwestern Anatolia. These defenses consist of a 17.75m long a fortification Wall with pseudo-isodomic masonry and a rectangular Bastion measuring 19.64 by 9.53m, located just east of the upper plain of Tepecik (Figs. 2-3). As a result of the excavations, the archeological finds in the North Bastion and a lead slingshot bullet with " Αλεξάνδρου - Φιλίππου (Alexander (son) of Philip)" written on it, showed that the Bastion and the North Fortification Wall might have been destroyed in 334/333 BC during an assault by the forces of Alexander the Great during his campaign against Lycia in 334/33 BC. As a result of these data acquired, it was possible to date these two structures and some defensive structures in different areas of the city to right after the middle of the 4th century BC. The structural similarities between the workmanship of the Tepecik Bastion and the North Fortification Wall and some defensive structures in Doğucasarı in the east of the city

3. Orthomosaic photo of the North facade of the North Fortification Wall



4. Doğucasarı O1 Tower (Stephanie-Gerrit Bruer)

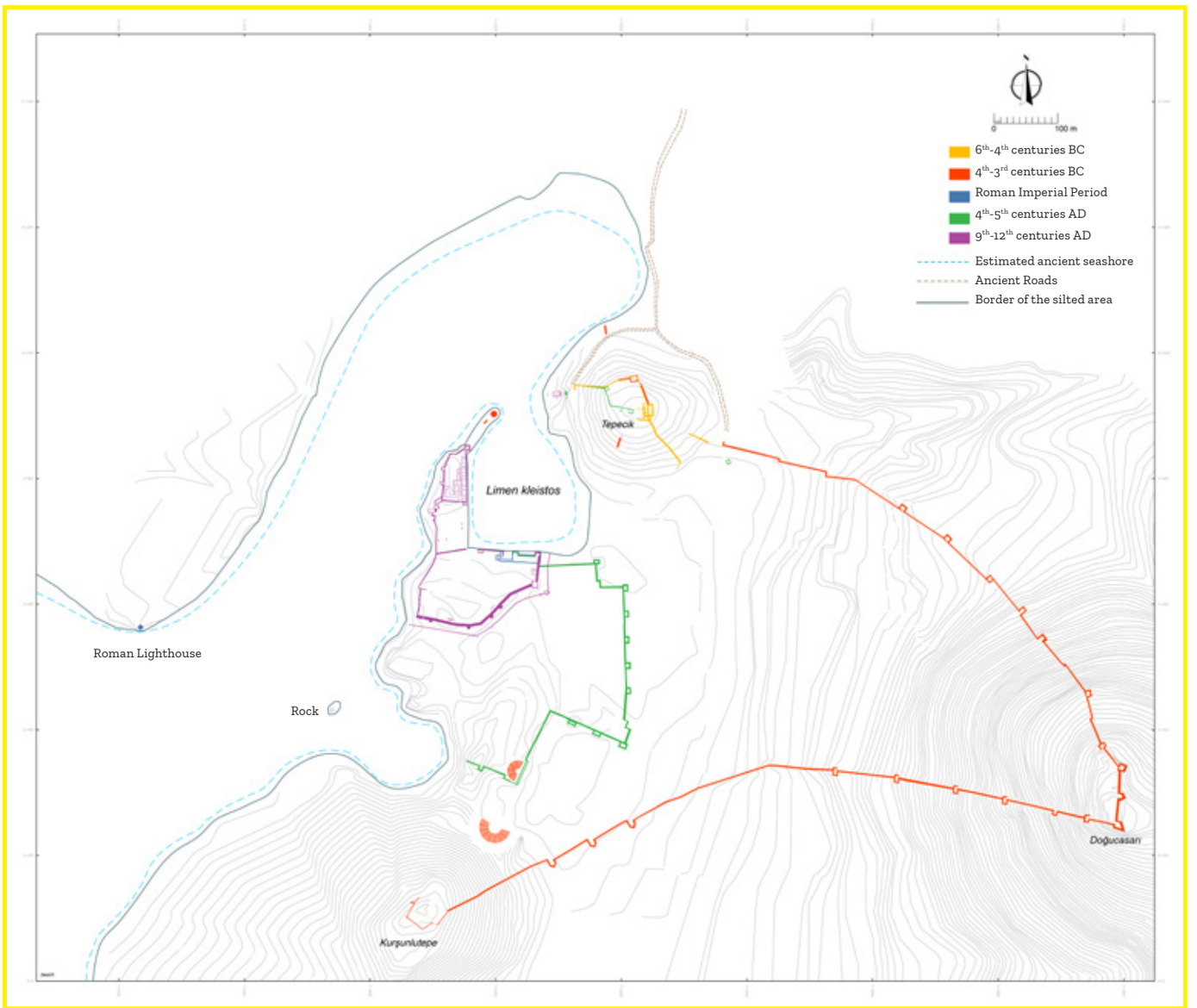


(Fig. 4) showed that when Alexander the Great or his forces came to the city, there may have been freestanding bastions present at this point.

Lycia, which was ruled by local dynasties under Persian sovereignty sometime after 546-544 BC, took part in a rebellion that put Persians in a difficult situation in 366-360 BC, like many other city states in the Western Anatolia (Diod. Sic. 16.74). In the Lycian region, Pericle, who declared himself king of the entire Lycian region, was the head of this uprising. After Pericle and other rebels failed in ca. 360 BC, the governing of Patara was left by the Persians to Satrap of Caria Mausolos, like all Lycian cities (Diod. Sic. 16.74; Pseu. Arist. *Oec.* II.2.14d [1348a, 28-34]). It is possible to say that the freestanding bastions, which were thought to be located in Tepecik (about 30m) in the north of the city, in Doğucasarı (about 195m) in the east, and Kurşunlutepe (about 64m) in the south of the city, were built in relation to the political policy of the Hecatomnid dynasty. This dynasty reigned briefly in both the city and the region on behalf of the Persians. The presence of the garrisons of Hecatomnids is also known in Kaunos, a harbor city like Patara, with island settlements such as Rhodes, Kalymnos, Nisyros, Telos, Kos and Chios (Dem. 5.25, 15.15, 15.27).

Struggles for Power from Demetrius to Ptolemy (4th and 3rd centuries BC)

Apart from the freestanding bastions, the city wall starting from Tepecik in the north and going to Doğucasarı in the east, and then immediately extending to the west and to Kurşunlutepe in the southwest constitutes a defensive fortification built to defend the harbor in the west (Fig. 5). As in the city walls seen in many different ancient cities, local limestone was used in the construction of these walls in Patara. It is known that the stone quarries, especially those found in Doğucasarı and Kurşunlutepe, were used during the construction of these walls. The Patara city wall, which is about 2060m long



5. Patara Defense Structures Plan

and reinforced with nineteen towers, was built in using a double walled technique (see below). Today, along with its unprotected enclosure-walls, its towers and entrances have been destroyed. The upper parts of the observable fortification wall are mostly barely visible in a stone sequence. In some places, only the foundation is buried under the ground, with the old route of the fortification wall showing above ground in fields. The vegetation on the slope of Doğucasarı caused the remains of the fortification walls to be completely or partially under plant and soil. Only in the upper plain of Doğucasarı, the lower part of the fortification wall, can be seen from a height of about 1 to 3.50m (Fig. 6). One of the most important factors in the protection of the city walls in this area was the lack of settlement here during the Roman Imperial era. During this period, this 195m high hill was not considered a good place for settlement. The fortification walls in the eastern and southeastern corners of Doğucasarı have been particularly strengthened. In this area, the fortification walls have a thickness ranging from 2.50 to 3.60m and can be seen even today when looked for carefully.

It is possible to see the city walls partly in the area extending from the south front of Doğucasarı to the west, valley plain and from there to Kurşunlutepe where the theater stands. From this area, the fortification walls rise to Kurşunlutepe, another hill that dominates the city in the south. Even if there was not any report on presence of vestiges of the forticifation walls in Kursunlutepe from earlier research, recent

6. Southeast corner of Doğucasarı Walls



studies have revealed the remains of bedding of fortification wall into the badrock which were surrounding upper plain of Kurşunlutepe from the east, south and west. These bedding and the individual blocks seen in some areas show that there were defensive structures that introduced the big cistern in the north of Kurşunlutepe (Fig. 5).

Another similar scene in the city wall can be seen on the northeast fortification wall, which descends from the northeast of Doğucasarı to the valley plain. The fortification walls are preserved between a height of 0.50 and 1.50m and the sections on the peak and slopes of Doğucasarı can be easily traced from the surface. The part of the fortification wall on this side of the city descends to the valley plain to the west, as it is to the south. The end of the northeastern fortification wall after the division of the city gate was not been fully known about until a short time ago. However, in recent years, the excavations conducted at the City Gate (see H. İşkan - Ş. Aktaş, "Inside and Outside: the City Gate" in this publication) have provided important data on how this part of the forticifation wall ended. During the excavations, it was discovered that a wall lying down to the north just east of the City Gate and formed a tower (see H. İşkan - Ş. Aktaş, "Inside and Outside: the City Gate", Fig. 3 in this publication). It was also discovered from the excavation carried out at the City Gate that the fortification wall did not continue after this gate.

The city wall ended with a tower at the City Gate and connected to the harbor to the west and Tepecik. It must have been provided with the using of defense systems dating back to the middle of the 6th and 4th centuries BC again, which we expect stood in Tepecik at the west of the City Gate. Thus, it can be seen that the city walls that surround the harbor over Tepecik, Doğucasarı and Kurşunlutepe, areas which dominate the harbor and the city.

Nowadays, it is believed that the city wall, which can especially be seen in the northern part of the city and Doğucasarı, was destroyed

or left idle during the Roman Imperial era. The most important indicator of this is that the blocks of the early city wall were used in the construction of the Late Antique Wall, which was built in the Late Antique period and surrounded a narrower area (see below).

We do not have any archaeological finds that give an accurate date for exactly when the city wall surrounding Patara was built. However, it is believed that it may have been made soon after the freestanding bastions built in Tepecik, Doğucasarı and Kurşunlutepe in the beginning of the second half of the 4th century BC according to ancient resources. The wars between the Diadochi after Alexander the Great give us some clues on this matter. It is known that between 313-309 BC the cities in southwest Anatolia changed hands for a short time between Antigonus Monophthalmus and Ptolemy I Soter. The fact that cities in southwestern Anatolia changed hands for a short period of time may indicate that these cities were protected only by freestanding bastions rather than fortification walls (Diod. Sic. 19.75.5, 20.27.2).

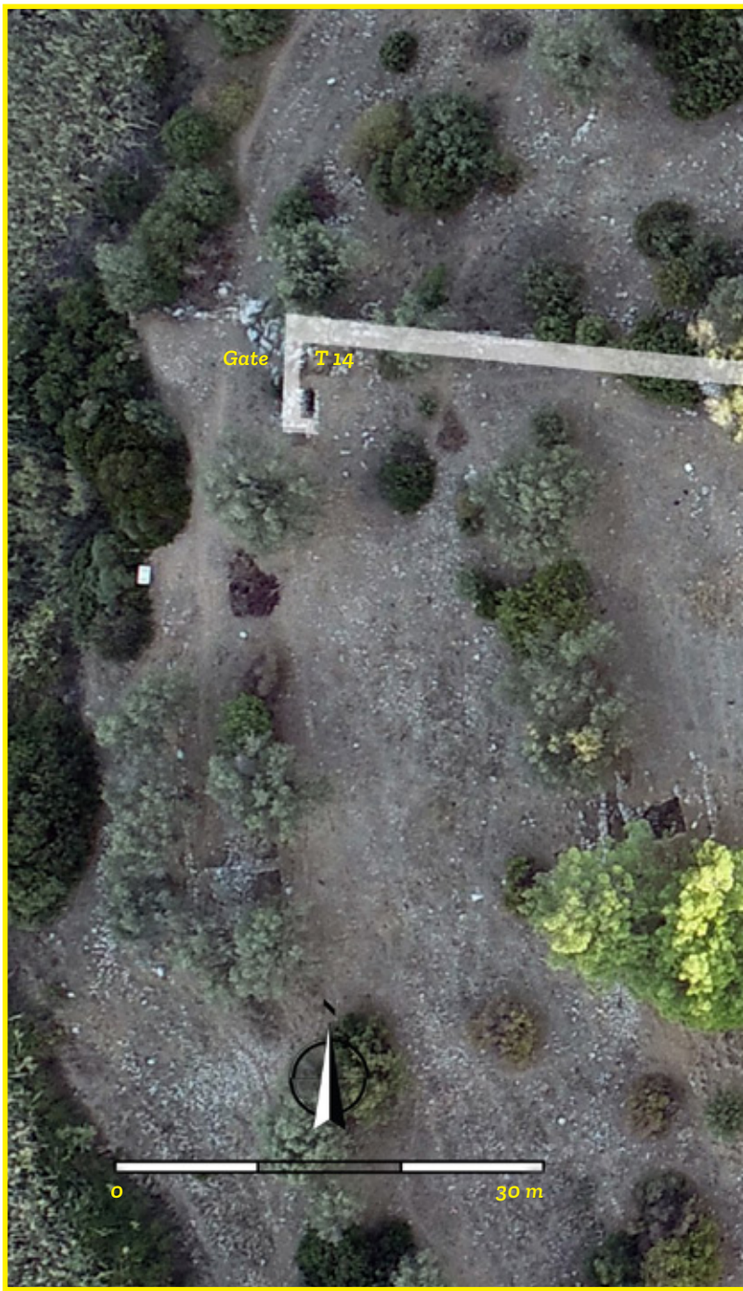
It is known from the writings of Diodoros (19.64.5) and Polyainos (3.16) that the influence of Ptolemy I Soter, who seized Antigonus Monophthalmus's Lycian garrison in Xanthos through the harbor of Patara in 309 BC with his navy, had a short-term effect in the region. After this event, Patara again came under the control of Demetrios Poliorketes, son of Antigonos Monophthalmus. It seems impossible that the city wall of Patara was built by Ptolemy during this very short amount of time, which perhaps was only few months. In 305/304 BC, the ships in the port of Patara belonging to Demetrios Poliorketes were attacked by Menedemus of Rhodos (Diod. Sic. 20.93.2–5; Plut. Demetr. 22.1). In light of this information, we may posit that Menedemus of Rhodos operated offshore of Patara or in the harbor bay but could not intervene in the inner harbor and the city. Consequently, the attack did not or could not reach the city. In the context of all these historical data, it is possible to say for now that the city walls surrounding the city and possibly the inner harbor were built by Demetrios Poliorketes between 309-305/304 BC.

Some repairs and additions were made on the city walls that were built at the end of the 4th century BC, during the period of Ptolemy II Philadephos (283-246 BC), especially in Tepecik and the northeastern city wall. The related fortification walls being reinforcemed or renovated dated to the 5th century BC and to the end of the 4th century BC, for Tepecik and the northeast city wall, respectively. Following these additions or repairs, which as a result of excavations were found to have been carried out in the first half of the 3rd century BC, no structures regarding the city walls have yet to be discovered. After the transformation of the Lycian Region into a Roman province by the Emperor Claudius in 43 AD, Patara was designated as the capital of this province. As of such, there was no need for a fortification wall to defend the city within the Pax Romana. However, this situation changes again in the 5th century AD.

Outpost in Tepecik

The excavations conducted on Tepecik in 2018 have resulted in new and important conclusions concerning the defence of the city and harbor in Late Antiquity. In the excavations carried out in the northwest of the Tepecik upper plain, the foundations of a tower (T15), which is approximately 6x5 meters in area with a wall thickness of 0.70m - 0.80m, oriented to face northwest-southeast, were identified. The outer face of the wall of T15 employed hammer-faced ashlar blocks and the inner face employed small irregular stones, quarry-faced and for the most part polygonal and arranged in irregular courses. The finds recovered from the excavations in and around of T15 indicate that the tower was built in the 4th-5th century AD. The hammer-faced ashlar blocks used in the outer face of T15 exhibit similarities with the North Fortification Wall and the Bastion's blocks which are located to the north of the upper plain of Tepecik. Probably, some of the blocks belonging to the North Fortification Wall and the *Bastion*, which no longer functioned in the 4th-5th centuries AD, were reused in the construction of T15 (Fig. 7, T15).

In the excavations conducted in 2018, a wall extending in an east-west direction, about 22.00 meters in length, was unearthed, approximately 30m south of T15. The masonry technique of this wall, which has a thickness of about 0.70 to 1.00m, is entirely of rubble stone, partly different from that of the T15. It is possible to also date this wall to the 4th/5th centuries AD like T15, from the finds obtained from the excavations (Fig. 7). This long wall, which surrounds the south part of the upper



plain of Tepecik and exposes 22.00m of it, has been found to be in an organic connection with another tower/building (T16) square in form, to the east, approximately 7.35 x 7m in area. In T16, which has reused hammer-faced limestone blocks in the western wall like T15, there is a masonry technique which generally employed mortar as a binder between small rubble stones (Fig. 7, T16).

Looking at these three structures in Tepecik together, it can be seen that the towers in the northwest and southeast are connected to each other by the wall between them. This defensive fortification, which consisted of two



7.
The late Antique defense system on Tepecik

towers (T15-16) and an angled wall, was also discovered to be associated with another tower (T14) located on the western slope of Tepecik facing the east entrance of the harbor. It was understood to have been used from the 6th century BC to the 5th century AD (Fig. 7, T14).

The data obtained in the 2018 excavation season has shown that the upper plane of the Tepecik hill was reorganized, (as before the establishment of Pax Romana) and was reused for defensive purposes in the 4th - 5th century AD. The wall thicknesses and tower dimensions of these defensive sturctures, where three towers and connecting walls between them can be identified, are thinner and smaller than the Late Antique Wall (LAW) to the south of the harbor. However, this defence system on Tepecik is visible from the guardhouse/tower on Adatepe, east of the Kısık Strait, which connects the northern road to the Xanthos Valley via a narrow pass. The fact that these Late Antique defensive system on Tepecik, which had absolute control of the main road at the north and the harbor at the west, were not strong enough to withstand the dangers coming to the city from the north, can easily be seen by looking at its thin walls. It is possible with this available data to consider it as an outpost that

8.
View of the Late Antique Wall from Agora



monitors the harbor and main road of the Late Antique defensive system on Tepecik. It is also linked to another outpost located on Adatepe.

Until this data was discovered, the remains visible on the surface suggested that only the core part of the city (south of the harbor) was enclosed in late antiquity and that no defence system was created for the harbor. The data obtained in 2018 showed that the Late Antique defence system on Tepecik was a special point which protected the harbor established to protect from the dangers may come from coastline to the northwest of Tepecik and from the road to the north and to easily observe, monitor and control the harbor.

Late Antique Wall and Dwindling City (?)

Today a visitor who wants to visit the ruins of Patara, if not familiar with ancient times, can only with some effort observe the walls described above and towers of the pre-Roman period. While some of these are located some distance away from the classical routes, others can only be identified by experts because of their states of preservation. However, the situation is different for the Late Antique Wall (LAW). The LAW is not likely to escape the attention of people who visit the 'classic' city center, which is one of the most important buildings of Patara and a neighbor to Bouleuterion (Parliament Building), meaning the Agora. Some of the walls and towers of this Late Antique defenses, whose heights are between 8 to 9m, limit the agora from the west and north (Fig. 8). A visitor who wishes to reach the Harbor Street from the agora will head north in front of the parliament building and will have to use the only gate in this part of LAW.

This wall was built using spolia, as is the case with almost all city walls (and many other buildings) dating from and after the Late Antiquity (3rd-5th centuries AD). Spolia refers to materials belonging to other earlier structures or monuments, and as expected, they show a great variety of differences in their appearance. In the Patara Late Antique Wall, which is several hundred meters in length, has been used spolia from dozens of buildings from the Roman and Hellenistic periods. Among those which we could easily identify are limestone blocks of the early Hellenistic city wall extending

to Kurşunlutepe, limestone seats of the theater and the parliament building, blocks of *stylobate*, columns and capitals of the stoas surrounding the agora, statue bases with inscriptions as well as blocks and altars brought from many monumental tombs. The most famous monument whose blocks were re-used in the Late Antique Wall is the Patara Road Monument (see F. Onur's article in this publication). We do not yet know which buildings or monuments the blocks of which there are tens of thousands belong to. This is because there are no comparable architectural remains such as those mentioned above in the immediate vicinity of the wall. As far as can be ascertained, all buildings and monuments in the vicinity excluding those mentioned have been dismantled to their foundations and reused. Structures such as Late Antique Wall which was built with spolia can be compared in this regard to modern museums, as some researchers have suggested. In museums many objects from the past are exhibited without their former context. However, as will be discussed below, this type of display is different in the Patara Late Antique Wall.

Before leaving the subject of spoila, it would be appropriate to talk briefly about another type of reused material that was found in the Late Antique Wall of Patara as in other structures, which is sculptures. The streets, squares and buildings of ancient cities were equipped with sculptures and reliefs. With the dominance of Christian culture in the Late Antiquity, the purpose of these objects, which were seen as representatives of pagan culture and filled all the living spaces, and thus the relationship established with them, began to change. Frequently observed forms of this complex of relations, which has many facets and cannot be detailed here, is mainly the reuse of some sculptures or reliefs in new constructions in a way which can be recognized by the viewers. The Istanbul and Aphrodisias walls are a good example of this practice. Undoubtedly, every



9. Double shelled technique

place and every location of Patara was equipped with sculptures and reliefs. However, in the Late Antique Wall of Patara, except for a few points, there is no practice similar to that of the aforementioned cities. Nevertheless, during the ongoin excavations on LAW some fragments of sculptures come to light. Obviously, these fragments were used in the filling of thick walls. Of course this situation, which still requires an explanation, will be discussed below.

The LAW of Patara surrounds an area of approximately 10 ha (Fig. 5). This corresponds to roughly 20 pct of the 50-ha urban area surrounded by the early Hellenistic wall. However, it would not be right to conclude that the city dwindled in size. Excavations carried out in many places outside the LAW indicate the presence of workshops and dwellings during and after the same period, indicating urban continuity. Only the 'defensive' part of the city dwindled. This 10-ha section roughly covers the area from the south shore of the inner harbor to the agora and the low hill to the west of the parliament building. The inner harbor must have played an



10. The section of the Late Antique Wall unearthed in recent years

important role in the decision as to which part of the city would remain within the city wall.

The wall, which has an average wall thickness of 2.40m, was constructed using a double-shelled technique (*emplekton*) (Fig. 9). These shells were made up of the aforementioned reused materials. The space between the shells were filled with a mixture of crushed stone, pieces of sculpture/reliefs, mortar and materials of old structures that could no longer be used. However, large tufa blocks were also observed to be used in this filling. It is not yet known whether the tufa blocks were reused or not. Another point of uncertainty is the number of towers the wall had. In the research carried out so far, the presence of 13 towers, one of which is not completely visible, are certain. The exact length of the city wall is unknown, as the west of the Parliament building and the sections south of the inner harbor have not been adequately explored. The sea-facing side of the hill west of the parliament building are steep cliffs, and probably the southwestern end of the Late Antique Wall rested on the cliffs. It extends to the southeast and connects to tower 10 and then to the west wall of the parliament building. During this period, the Parliament was integrated into the Late Antique Wall and turned into a huge *bastion*. Many entrances were filled and the southern corner was raised. During this period, the portico in front of the building was probably removed and its material used elsewhere. The part of the wall west to the agora starts adjacent to the northern wall of the parliament building and extends towards the northeast.

It can be seen that this section, where no tower is located, sits mostly on the rocks in this area. It runs to the southeast at a steep angle in the northwest corner of the agora. There is a gate to the Harbor Street and three towers. The towers have a rectangular shape and the distance between them is approximately 30m. The tower at the end is a corner tower (T7). From here, the wall runs to the northeast parallel to the east Wall of *caldarium* of the Nero Bath behind it and connects to the protruding wall of the same structure. The Nero Bath is integrated here. The northeast corner of the *caldarium* protrudes outwardly and acts like a tower.



11. Late Antiquity Wall, tower 8, view from northwest

The eastern section starts adjacent to the northern wall of the Nero Bath and extends to Tower 2. There are five towers with a rectangular plan and the distance between them is approximately 30 meters. Tower 2 is also a corner tower. The part of the wall up to tower 1 was retracted to form a triangle. Previous researchers have predicted that a monumental entrance would be found in this corner. Unfortunately, due to the swamp covering the area, the data that might prove this prediction, which may be valid, is not yet available. The wall extends to the west from tower 1, which is also a corner tower. At the north of the "Seljuk" Bath in front of the Corinthian Temple, it turns north at a right angle and connects to tower 12. Tower 12 now rises on the southern coast of the inner harbor. From this tower to the west of the wall another structure is integrated: the Harbor Stoa. In the harbor side of this stoa, the spaces between the front columns were walled up, thus creating a half-columned front overlooking the harbor. This front wall is connected to tower 13 in the west. The trail of the Late Antique Wall disappears to the west of Tower 13, as structures built here in the Middle Ages (see below) covers the earlier buildings (Fig. 5).

The heights of the towers of the Late Antique Wall of Patara and the walls lying between the towers are not yet known exactly. Nor is their architectural appearance known. This is because these sections are not preserved completely at any point. Previous researchers have estimated similar heights of 8 to 9m for the walls between the towers and about 13 to14m for towers based on similar examples and written sources. Given the distribution and number of building blocks in ruins uncovered during recent excavations, it is true that the towers should be much higher than the walls between the towers. However, the full heights will only be determined after the ongoing analysis of the blocks has been concluded.

During recent excavations, the southern front of the section rising north of the agora along with its towers was almost completely uncovered (Fig. 10). Thus, some details about the architecture of the towers have become clearer. These details can be summarized as follows in tower 9, which has an average wall thickness of 2.40m: approximately at the height of the wall between the towers the inner walls of the tower 9 extend inward (Fig. 11).

12. Late Antique Wall, tower 7, south wall



These extensions are intended to accommodate the beams bearing the ceiling of the space respectively the floor of the upper story. Thus, it shows that the tower had at least two stories and the second floor started at the height of the walls between the towers. Unfortunately, no specific data on the flooring could be reached. There is a previously known gate on the northern wall. No traces of a stairway leading to the second floor have been found on the walls of the entrance floor of the tower. Of course, a wooden staircase that leaves no mark on stone walls can be considered as the most likely solution. However, it is possible that transition to the second floor was provided through the wall between the tower, as well as both possibilities together. The solution to this problem will be found by evaluating the findings and examining similar examples. On the south wall of tower 9, there is a window opening resembling an arrow slit. These window openings are also found in other towers. Tower 7 also has three similar windows on each of the three walls (Fig 12). It was observed that this window opening was subsequently closed in tower 9 during a major repair outside. There is no data on the history of this repair, which was done with different masonry. The current analysis of the stratigraphy inside the tower will be able to address this still unanswered question. Within each excavated tower, a layer containing dense roof tile fractures was identified. This finding shows us that the roofs of the towers would have been wooden constructions covered with tiles. The architecture of tower 9 described briefly above applies to towers 8 and 7 in this section. In this case, we can assume that the same architectural arrangement applies to all the remaining towers.

The excavations of the inner part of the Late Antique Wall in front of the Nero Bath are still in progress. However, as it can be seen that there are many spaces (rooms) leaning against the LAW starting from the east of tower 9. Since the excavations have not yet gone deep enough, it is not possible to say anything certain about the functions of these rooms. Likewise, the question as to whether these were planned and built with the wall or if they were added later will remain unanswered for now.

The Late Antique Wall: How Late?

One of the most important problems with the Late Antique Wall of Patara, as in many of its counterparts, is related to its construction date. Various researchers have proposed various dates for it from the 4th century to the 8th century AD. The proposals are either linked to historical events (such as Arab attacks from the 7th century

onwards) or made by comparison with other known walls. Finally, Philipp Niewöhner divided the Late Antique Wall of Anatolia into two classes. He proposed that Patara's LAW of the 7th - 8th centuries AD fit into the second category. Istanbul's Theodosius walls and Aphrodisias walls for example, whose history is well known, are inserted in the first class. The feature of this first class is that the walls were built entirely for aesthetics. Sculptures and reliefs were used on the walls and the entrance doors were arranged decoratively. The other class is unpretentious and are used particularly for defensive functions because of their wall thickness.

In terms of this classification it would be useful to evaluate the Late Antique Wall of Patara. The walls, which are claimed to be decorative, owe these features to their gates. As mentioned above, these were decorated with statues and reliefs on their fronts. How does the LAW of Patara fare in this context? Is it decorative or not? Can the absence of statues and reliefs on the walls be seen as a sign of simplicity? First of all, it is necessary to start with a phenomenon that needs to be considered and investigated. Many cities of Lycia have long been undergoing excavatations (Patara, Xanthos, Limyra, Arykanda, etc.). The quantity of sculpture found in all of these cities is far behind those found in, for example, Aphrodisias. In the construction of Aphrodisias' walls which dates back to the 4th century AD, many blocks along with many sculptural spolia removed from the necropolis were reused. A similar situation is also observed in Patara. However, it is a fact that the grave structures in Patara contain less sculpture and they are quite plain in this respect. Of course, this alone is not enough to explain the absence of sculpture for "decoration" in the Patara Late Antique Wall. On the other hand, Lycian structures have a tangible simplicity when compared to those of other parts of Anatolia. It can also be argued that this tradition of simplicity, which should be explored in its own accord and expressed only as an observation here, continues with the wall structure of Patara in the Late Antiquity.

Furthermore, the decorative or rather aesthetic emphasis on the city wall does not have to be achieved through the use of sculpture alone. In this sense, it is clear that 'aesthetic concerns' were part of the Pataran LAW. Namely almost all of the decorated blocks used were built with the back or side surfaces facing outwards. The same applies to inscribed blocks. Almost all of the profiled parts of blocks were chipped from the wall surfaces. In other words, the builders of the wall placed the spoila with a certain plan, rather than placing them randomly. This most likely would have been accompanied by an effort to keep the horizontal joint in each layer as long as possible. Thus, it is obvious that what was desired was a "beautiful" wall surface built of monolithic and smooth blocks as in the city walls of the past. As Max Kunze states, the Late Antique Wall of Patara follows the best ancient wall tradition.

Only one gate of the Patara Late Antique Wall is known: the gate that connects the agora to Harbor Street. It should be remembered that the agora was just a plain area that had lost its

importance in Late Antiquity. A fancy gate to this area was probably not needed. On the other hand, the gate of Harbor Street with its triangular pediment from the Roman Period, which remains inside the city wall, was untouched. While the walls of the propylon to the east of this gate were dismantled and used in the Late Antique Wall, the magnificent agora gate of Harbor Street survived. In other words this gate, with the rising Late Antique Wall behind it, was optically combined arranged in order to look aesthetically impressive. An outward arrangement, which can be compared with this one, is also found to the south of the inner harbor. As mentioned above, the front columns of the Roman Period *stoa* here were integrated into the wall and a fancy front of half-columns was formed (Fig. 5). Moreover, this front would have been one of the most important entrances of the city as it overlooks the harbor. We do not have any information about the other entrance that Max Kunze and his team estimated would be found between towers 1 and 2. However this side can be said to be a more functional area, unlike the southern side. In this case, if a fancy monumental entrance were to have been found, it should have been in this corner.

In brief, the Patara Late Antique Wall was a structure built with aesthetic concerns in mind. In the light of these views, this should be emphasized in relation to the defensive purpose of the wall. The Patara Late Antique Wall is not a hastily constructed structure in the face of any immediate danger. As Max Kunze stressed, it was built carefully and slowly with a meticulous plan, so to speak. For example, the mortar filler was raised in layers by pouring each batch after the previous one dried, which is quite a time-consuming process. It was mentioned above that the *isodomic* appearance was attempted. This technique also requires a certain amount of time. In addition, the blocks used in the wall were carefully dismantled from the previous structures to which they used to belong. These blocks and other building materials do not contain any damage that may have been inflicted in previous periods. Most likely a crane was installed for each structure to be dismantled, the parts carefully dismantled and lowered to the ground, metal dowels and lead removed (they are not observed in almost any block), and the blocks carefully moved to and placed in their new positions. This too must have taken a lot of time.

The average wall thickness of the Patara Late Antique Wall is around 2.40m. The thickness on the side facing the inner harbor is approximately 2m. This thickness often was used on the defensive walls of the period, or is suggested in the related sources of antiquity. On the other hand, there is a problem with the Patara wall. As can be seen at many points, many of the blocks forming the shells do not reach deep enough into the inner core of the wall. Of course, this is a situation that would adversely affect the stability of the wall in the event of an attack. That is why it is observed that in many parts of the wall the outer shells are bent or collapsed together with the filling behind a wall.

According to Niewöhner, the towers of the walls built with the purpose of defense have a solid basis

(*sockel*). Patara Late Antique Wall' towers have entrances from the ground and the thicknesses and foundations of the walls of towers are no different from than other walls. In short, for the Late Antique Wall of Patara, despite their 2.40m thickness, we cannot say that they are perfectly designed for defensive purposes.

Classifications that can be made with subjective criteria such as aesthetic concerns and without knowledge of the details about the structure of the walls, in light of issues described so far, have many drawbacks. This is especially true for finding the dates for gigantic constructions such as city walls. It is therefore useful to be more careful and, if possible, to make judgements based on data acquired from excavations and extensive observations.

Classifications and evaluations of the finds recovered during the excavations and test trenches in the Late Antique Wall of Patara are still in progress. However, both the coins we have found so far and the data from a trench conducted in Tower 8 yielded very important clues for the dating of the wall. The coins indicate use from the 4th century AD. Moreover, a coin found inside the Tower 9 is dated to the 4th century AD belongs to Constantius II. Other coins in this tower indicate the use of the building between the 11th and 13th centuries AD. The coins found in the Tower 8 are from a Late Roman mint from the 3rd and 4th centuries AD. The ceramics recovered in trench 1 conducted in Tower 8 are currently dated between the end of the 3rd century AD and the beginning of the 4th century AD at the latest. Thus, the Patara Late Antique Wall, as often mentioned, probably would have been built in the 4th century AD, not in the 6th-7th centuries AD. Of course, more accurate information will be found by evaluating the findings and artifacts of excavations which have yet to be conducted.

Medieval Wall

According to written sources, in 961 AD the Eastern Roman Empire reclaimed the island of Crete, which had been under Arab rule for some time. Patara was probably turned into a naval base of the Eastern Roman Empire at that time. The architectural finding that seems to confirm this information is the construction at the northern end of the *promontory* that separates the inner harbor from the bay (Fig. 5). An area of approximately 80 by 40m is surrounded by a wall of approximately 1.90m in thickness. The walls were strengthened with four towers. There has been no excavation work conducted in this area yet, which includes orthogonal planned structures. It is very difficult to enter due to the dense vegetation. Due of orthogonal planning, this location was suggested by Max Kunze to possess military functions and named Castron. This coincides with the historical information mentioned above. Nevertheless, conclusive results can only be achieved by excavations.

The area of 1.62 ha to the south of this promontory and the inner harbor was probably surrounded by a wall in the same period as Kastron above, ie in the 10th century AD. However, from this it should not be concluded that the city dwindled in size. For example, there are buildings of the

same period on the hill behind the parliament building. Only the defensive area or the place where people would have gathered during an attack was reduced in size. The inner harbor was the focus of this new wall.

The thickest of the medieval walls fortified with six towers are on the land side. Here, the wall thickness reaches up to 4.40m. The wall, which was preserved only at one point with its crenellations, still measures to a height of 7 to 8m (Fig. 13). The lower parts and corners were built with large reused blocks, and the upper and inner parts were made with smaller crushed stones and were double walled. On the sides facing the inner harbor and bay, the wall thickness does not reach 2m. There are at least three churches, a bath and residences in the space surrounded within the walls.



13. Medieval Wall, view from the south

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