

21 2018

ISSN 1301-2746

ADALYA

The Annual of the Koç University Suna & İnan Kırac Research Center
for Mediterranean Civilizations

(OFFPRINT)



AKMED

KOÇ UNIVERSITY

Suna & İnan Kırac

Research Center for

Mediterranean Civilizations

ADALYA

The Annual of the Koç University Suna & İnan Kırac Research Center
for Mediterranean Civilizations (AKMED)

Adalya, a peer reviewed publication, is indexed in the A&HCI
(Arts & Humanities Citation Index) and
CC/A&H (Current Contents / Arts & Humanities)
Adalya is indexed in the Social Sciences and Humanities Database of
TÜBİTAK/ULAKBİM TR index.

<i>Mode of publication</i>	Worldwide periodical
<i>Publisher certificate number</i>	18318
ISSN	1301-2746
<i>Publisher management</i>	Koç University Rumelifeneri Yolu, 34450 Sarıyer / İstanbul
<i>Publisher</i>	Umran Savaş İnan, President, on behalf of Koç University
<i>Editor-in-chief</i>	Oğuz Tekin
<i>Editor</i>	Tarkan Kahya
<i>Advisory Board</i>	(Members serve for a period of five years) Prof. Dr. Engin Akyürek, Koç University (2018-2022) Prof. Dr. Mustafa Adak, Akdeniz University (2018-2022) Prof. Dr. Nicholas D. Cahill, University of Wisconsin-Madison (2018-2022) Prof. Dr. Thomas Corsten, Universität Wien (2014-2018) Prof. Dr. Edhem Eldem, Boğaziçi University / Collège de France (2018-2022) Prof. Dr. Mehmet Özdoğan, Emeritus, Istanbul University (2016-2020) Prof. Dr. C. Brian Rose, University of Pennsylvania (2018-2022) Prof. Dr. Christof Schuler, DAI München (2017-2021) Prof. Dr. R. R. R. Smith, University of Oxford (2016-2020)
<i>English copyediting</i>	Mark Wilson
©	Koç University AKMED, 2018
<i>Production</i>	Zero Production Ltd. Abdullah Sok. No. 17 Taksim 34433 İstanbul Tel: +90 (212) 244 75 21 • Fax: +90 (212) 244 32 09 info@zerobooksonline.com; www.zerobooksonline.com
<i>Printing</i>	Oksijen Basım ve Matbaacılık San. Tic. Ltd. Şti. 100. Yıl Mah. Matbaacılar Sit. 2. Cad. No: 202/A Bağcılar - İstanbul Tel: +90 (212) 325 71 25 • Fax: +90 (212) 325 61 99 Certificate number: 29487
<i>Mailing address</i>	Barbaros Mah. Kocatepe Sok. No. 22 Kaleiçi 07100 Antalya - TURKEY Tel: +90 (242) 243 42 74 • Fax: +90 (242) 243 80 13 https://akmed.ku.edu.tr
<i>E-mail address</i>	akmed@ku.edu.tr



KOÇ ÜNİVERSİTESİ



AKMED

KOÇ UNIVERSITY

Suna & İnan Kırac

Research Center for

Mediterranean Civilizations

Contents

Gizem Kartal <i>The Neolithic Cave Settlements of the Antalya Region in Southwestern Anatolia: A Comparative Perspective in Terms of Chipped Stone Assemblages</i>	1
Derya Yalçıklı <i>Two Neolithic Ritual Centers in East Mysia (NW Turkey): The Baltalın and İnkaya Caves</i>	19
Nurcan Kayacan <i>Oval Points and Cattle-Hunting Practices in Central Anatolia during the 8th Millennium BC</i>	45
Yalçın Kamış <i>Acemhöyük Buluntuları Işığında Erken Tunç Çağında Orta Anadolu'nun Güneyinde Çark Yapımı Seramiğin Ortaya Çıkışı</i>	63
Murat Akar – Demet Kara <i>Into the Hinterland: The Middle Bronze Age Building at Toprakhisar Höyük, Altınözü (Hatay, Turkey)</i>	85
Gonca Dardeniz – K. Serdar Girginer – Özlem Oyman-Girginer <i>A Pottery Kiln from Tatarlı Höyük (Adana, Turkey) and its Implications for Late Bronze Age Pottery Production in Cilicia and Beyond</i>	117
S. Gökhan Tiryaki <i>The Sanctuary with the Relief of the “Twelve Gods” in the Elmalı Highlands: On the Iconography of “Leto, her children, and the Nymphs” in Ancient Southwest Anatolia</i>	135
Elif Özer – Murat Taşkiran <i>The Sillyon Main City Gate</i>	151
Şükrü Özudođru – Düzgün Tarkan <i>Kibyra Geç Antikçağ Hamamı</i>	175
Mustafa Adak <i>Die Melas-Brücke bei Kotenna und die Familie des Stanamoas</i>	211
Urs Peschlow <i>Die Gabriel-Platte in Antalya. Rekonstruktion und ursprünglicher Kontext</i>	229
Ünal Demirer – Nilgün Elam <i>Lead Seals of the Kibyra Excavations</i>	245
Aytaç Dönmez <i>Xanthos West Agora II: Alteration and Transformation in the Byzantine Period</i>	277

Hüseyin Metin – Salih Soslu <i>The Altıkapılı Cave Church at Pisidia</i>	315
Merih Erol <i>Becoming Protestant: Greek Orthodox Responses to Conversion in 19th-Century Ottoman Anatolia</i> ..	335
Evren Dayar <i>1853 Antalya İsyanı</i>	363
Funda Solmaz Şakar – Neriman Şahin Güçhan <i>Building System Characterization of Traditional Architecture in Cappadocia, Turkey</i>	379

Xanthos West Agora II: Alteration and Transformation in the Byzantine Period

Aytaç DÖNMEZ*

Abstract

This article deals with the transformation of Western Agora of Xanthos in the Byzantine period through two different groups of buildings with commercial and religious functions, whose historical associations were revealed with archaeological finds in the excavations of the Western Agora. Evaluations made at this point show that in the first half of the 5th century A.D. the agora was transformed into a central area that, in the context of a non-integral composition, became a large religious complex as well as a center of private commercial activity. Evidence also shows that all these new areas within the former agora were then abandoned in the 7th century and remained without significant activity until the 10th century. Then this area was converted into a small settlement comprised of simple residential places and workshops utilized in the 10th and 11th centuries. That material finds for the 13th century are only a few ceramics from the Byzantine and Seljuk cultures indicates the presence of a nomadic culture in the area.

Keywords: Xanthos, West Agora, Alteration, Transformation

Öz

Batı Agora'da gerçekleştirilen kazılar sonucunda ortaya çıkarılan arkeolojik bulgulara göre tarihsel bağlamda birliktelikleri tespit edilen ticari ve dini işlevli iki farklı yapı grubunun arasında, düşünsel olarak da bir birlikteliğin olabileceği yönünde yapılan tartışmalar, agoranın 5. yy.'da, bütüncül olmayan bir kompozisyon bağlamında, üzerinde özel ticari faaliyet mekânlarının yanı sıra büyük bir dini kompleksin de bulunduğu merkezi bir alana dönüştürüldüğünü göstermektedir. Veriler ayrıca, alandaki bütün mekânların 7. yy.'da terk edilmiş olduğunu ve alanda 10. yy.'a kadar hiçbir yaşamsal faaliyetin olmadığını; 10 ve 11. yy.'da ise alanın basit yapıdaki konut ve işliklerden meydana gelen küçük bir yerleşime dönüştüğünü göstermektedir. 13. yy. verilerinin ise sadece Bizans ve Selçuklu kültürüne ait seramiklerle sınırlı olması alandaki göçebe kültürünün varlığına işaret etmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Ksanthos, Batı Agora, Değişim, Dönüşüm

Introduction

Because Roman cities preserved their practice of urbanization until the 4th century A.D., this understanding continued to form the outlines of urban phenomenon during the Early Byzantine period. In fact, the population continued to use elements belonging to Roman urbanization and architecture such as the streets, aqueducts, baths, cisterns, and temples for a while. This began to change with the construction of the churches which were added to Roman cities, particularly in the 4th century¹. The most important indicator of this change

* Aytaç Dönmez, Research Assistant, Akdeniz University, Faculty of Letters, Archaeology Department, Antalya.
E-mail: donmezaytac@gmail.com

made to the Roman urban fabric were the pagan temples which were dismantled completely or employed to serve different functions². The change increased particularly after the Edict of Milan when the church objected to other public buildings, such as the theater, civic baths, and the agora because they were factors that led people to sin³. As a result of these objections, these buildings were demolished or underwent physical changes in time⁴. In addition to Christianization and the administrative changes that began in the 4th century A.D., public structures such as agoras and porticos were transformed into private property areas through physical changes⁵. However, although agora structures in the eastern part of the empire underwent some changes such as repairs or renovations in this period, they were still political, social, and economic centers till the end of the 6th and early 7th centuries⁶. The West Agora in Xanthos has been almost completely unearthed as a result of excavations in recent years and is a significant and different example in which the physical changes that emerged as a result of this process can be clearly followed.

Xanthos had entered into a period of great prosperity in the Early Byzantine period and was in the process of transformation through the influence of Christianity. In this context, two luxurious houses built in the Lycian acropolis and churches built at many points of the city are seen as new types of buildings added to the Roman city⁷. Units on which a research was realized between these areas indicate that the city retained its Roman area but was transformed by Christianity. In addition to the new architectural structures of this new era, which were confronted almost everywhere in the city, a large number of coins belonging to this period indicate that Xanthos remained a prosperous and wealthy city until the Persian invasion in the time of Heraclius (610-641) in the 7th century A.D.⁸.

The West Agora is one of the important monumental architectural buildings located in the western part of the city, together with the theater and the monumental pillar tombs. It is in the area between the Lycian acropolis to the south and the Roman acropolis to the north (Fig. 1). The four sides of the building had the typical characteristics of an "Ionian Agora"⁹, whose form

¹ This study has been taken in part from the section entitled the "Byzantine Period" in my master thesis on the "West Agora of Xanthos City" completed in 2014, within the Institute of Social Sciences of Akdeniz University. I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my advisors B. Varkıvanç and M. Bulba as well as to S. Doğan, H. M. Erdoğan, F. Şahin E. Can, A. Akduman, H. Kökmen Seyirci, E. Dündar, and O. Erdoğan for their assistance. And also many thanks from the heart go to T. M. P. Duggan and Ö. Bozkurtoğlu Özcan for assistance in revising the language of the text.

For the transformation of the Roman city area in Late Antiquity, see Mango 2000, 971; Liebeschuetz 2001; Lavan 2001, 9 ff.; 2006, 230 ff.; Brands – Severin 2003; Brenk 2003; Saradi 2006; 211 ff., 349-52; 2008, 317 ff.; Kirilov 2007; Akyürek 2016, 520 ff. For the transformation in Lycia, see especially Foss 1994, 48 ff. and Akyürek 2016, 521 ff.

² Saradi 2006, 355 ff.; Akyürek 2016, 520.

³ Saradi-Mendolovici 1988, 365 ff.; Kirilov 2007, 18.

⁴ For the Christian attitudes towards pagan monuments, see Saradi-Mendolovici 1990; Saradi 2008, 319; Lavan 2009, 439 ff.

⁵ Saradi 2008, 319. For the effects of the new laws of architectural activities introduced by administrative changes in Late Antiquity on the city transformations, see Ceylan 2016, 535-554.

⁶ Lavan 2006, 235-236. For the transformation of agoras in Late Antiquity, see also Jacobs 2013, 120-124.

⁷ des Courtils – Cavalier 2001, 164.

⁸ Foss 1996, I. 19 ff. For the Early Byzantine period of Xanthos, see also Foss 1994, 9 ff.; des Courtils – Cavalier 2001, 164 ff.

⁹ Pausanias (I, 17, 1-2) classified agoras into two groups: regular and irregular. While he states that irregular agoras emerged in Greece and were built disorganizedly without regard to any designed plan, he indicated that regular agoras emerging in the Ionia region were built within a particular city plan. In these agoras, termed "Ionian Type Agoras" by Pausanias, stoas bordered three sides of the area while the fourth side was closed by another stoa. These agoras thus emerged with planned borders which were determined and isolated from the other buildings

emerged in the Late Hellenistic period in West Anatolian cities where hippodamic urban planning was carried out. They were surrounded by porticos (Fig. 2).

The Roman Imperial period stage of this building was constructed between 60 and 80 A.D.¹⁰. However, the archaeological and epigraphical evidence dates its earliest history to the Classical period¹¹, but the architectural and social construction of that period is not clearly known. In some places destructions and renovations dating from the Byzantine period attracted our attention, as well as many new structures belonging to Byzantine society in the area known to have functioned as a state agora¹² during the Roman Imperial period. Scientific excavation work in the city was directed more intensively to this area after the change of site directorship, and therefore the excavation team in 2011 discovered many buildings, structures, and finds dating from the Byzantine period.

The history of Byzantine research in the West Agora dates from studies initiated in the area beginning in 1950¹³. Then a medium-sized church was located in the southwest corner of the area, and a chapel related to this church and a rectangular-shaped place were identified. Detailed results of the studies conducted in this same area in 1952¹⁴, 1954¹⁵, 1955¹⁶, and more recently in 1997¹⁷, 1998¹⁸, and 1999¹⁹ were presented to the academic world by A.-M. Manière-Lévêque²⁰ in 2012. Research refocused on the West Agora by 2011²¹ enabled the north and east sides of the structure to be uncovered over a wide area. For this purpose, after excavation work began in the west part of the area, the Roman Imperial period structure of the north side was completely uncovered. In addition, it was determined that the construction dated to Roman Imperial period were transformed into a row of spaces consisting of workshops employed for different functions through partial structural alterations conducted in the Early and Middle Byzantine periods²². It was understood from the *in situ* finds recovered in

around them. The agoras – constituted as a result of the stoas being replaced perpendicularly with a 90-degree angle as interdependent to each other – are peculiar in particular to the new cities founded in the Hellenistic period. For these types of agoras, different typological terms such as “new type agora”, “regular agora”, peristyle agora”, and “tetragonal agora” are used. See Knackfuss 1924, fig. 40; Wycherley 1962, 69-78; Vanderpool 1974, 308-310; Bingöl 1998, 51. It is known that these types of agoras were popular in many cities of Asia Minor from the 2nd century A.D. onward. This and the most similar ones are found in the cities of Pamphylia, Pisidia, and Ionia; see Waelkens 1989, 81 ff. For examples see Lanckoroński I, 44; Mansel et al. ff. 1956, 7, fig. 141; and Lanckoroński II, 189 G.

¹⁰ For the architectural structure of the West Agora during the Roman Imperial period, see Dönmez 2018, 219-248.

¹¹ It is recorded in ancient Greek on the inscribed part of the north face of the Inscribed Pillar dated between 425 and 400 B.C. on the northeast corner of the building that the monument was erected in the agora: TL 44c (22). New findings indicate that it may date as early as the Archaic period.

¹² Dönmez 2018, 231.

¹³ Demargne 1951, 63.

¹⁴ Demargne 1953, 155.

¹⁵ Demargne 1955, 108.

¹⁶ Metzger 1956, 157.

¹⁷ Manière-Lévêque 1998, 459.

¹⁸ Manière-Lévêque 1999, 372 ff.

¹⁹ Manière-Lévêque 2000, 341 ff.

²⁰ Manière-Lévêque 2012.

²¹ The site directorship of Xanthos and resulting research undertaken by French archaeologists since the 1950s was assigned in 2011 to Prof. Dr. B. Varkivanç, an academician at Akdeniz University with the decision of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism of the Republic of Turkey.

²² Kökmen – Budak 2012, 53.

excavation work in this same area in 2012²³ and 2013²⁴ that some places were reorganized for wine production, others for storage and as retail units in the Byzantine period, and some were transformed into workshops. During work in 2014²⁵ and 2015²⁶ a water channel was identified. This water supply provided water for the area on the north side of this area and probably had a connection with a cistern to the north as well as with a quadrangular water reservoir on the eastern border of this channel.

While the remains dating from the Byzantine period can be observed in almost all areas, there is no visible Byzantine element on the south portico. Noteworthy is the religious complex built on the southwest corner of the agora and the west portico, workplaces, and workshops on the north portico. The fountain buildings in the east portico are among the other remains from this period. However, except for the Agora Church on the southwest corner, the chapel and other additional buildings have already been evaluated in detail by Manière-Lévêque²⁷. The new structures uncovered on the north and east stoas and behind them as well as the finds obtained from the building, particularly in the 2011-2016 excavation seasons, are evaluated and together presented in context in this study.

East Portico

One of the places that have changed since the Early Byzantine period is the east facade of the building. In this part are five rooms located as if leaning on the outer wall of the portico (Rooms 11-15)²⁸. Among these, Room 13 containing two fountain buildings is quite interesting (Figs. 2-3). The north and south walls of this room measure 7 x 13 m. Leaning on the outer wall of the Roman Imperial period portico, they were constructed with reused blocks in the Early Byzantine period²⁹. The excavation work in the room recovered stylobate blocks under these walls that have exactly the same form as the existing building, but they belong to another building dating to an earlier period³⁰. Because the fountain buildings were later built on the west side of the building whose floor was covered with a mosaic, the west part of the mosaic has been quite destroyed. Despite this, a small portion of the mosaic that was uncovered was decorated with geometrical figures. Its tesserae were smaller-sized in comparison with the other, thus showing there were two different mosaic pavements and thus two different stages³¹ (Fig. 4). The tesserae used in the building's floor mosaic, which runs in a north-south direction and measures 3,15 x 12,80 m contains three different colors – white, dark blue and brick red. The main motif is a composition consisting of a flower motif with four acute leaves in intersecting circles. While this circular motif with turning leaves was completed with dark-blue tesserae,

²³ Dönmez – Erdoğan 2013, 62 ff.

²⁴ Dönmez – Erdoğan 2014, 62.

²⁵ Dönmez – Yanardağ 2015, 55 ff.

²⁶ Dönmez 2016, 65 ff.

²⁷ For all of the religious buildings in the area, see Manière-Lévêque 1998, 459 ff.; Manière-Lévêque 1999, 372 ff.; Manière-Lévêque 2000, 341 ff.; Manière-Lévêque 2012.

²⁸ Tritsch 1942, 42, states that these spaces were added to the building in the Late Antique period, and thus this place was a cult area in the Roman Imperial period in which the votive stelae were mostly replaced in forums.

²⁹ Dönmez – Erdoğan 2014, 62 ff.

³⁰ Dönmez – Erdoğan 2014, 62. In addition to the stylobate blocks, other evidence obtained from this space shows that this early building could have been a propylon providing entrance to the agora in the Roman Imperial period; see Dönmez 2018, 227, fig. 35 ff.

³¹ Dönmez – Erdoğan 2014, 63.

dark-blue tesserae were also used in the outer contour of the leaf motif. The inside part of the leaf motif was decorated with red brick tesserae. In the middle of the rhombohedron generated from the intersection of these leaves with each other, the main scene of the mosaic pavement was created by a small rhombohedron in the main center. This was formed by three series of tesserae, dark blue in the outermost and brick red and white in the inner part. We also see similar leaves in the main scene, and the rhombohedron motif is interjacent in floor mosaics of the Agora Church on the west corner of agora³². That the floor mosaics in the room resemble the floor pavements in the Agora Church and the units around it suggests there could be contemporary architectural structuring here³³. However, because the east part of Room 13 with a mosaic lies under the modern road passing through the city, it is not possible to yet reach a definite conclusion.

There are two fountain structures, adjacent to the outer wall of the east stoa in the area. The first fountain building in the north measures 1,90 x 3,80 m and has a 0,85 m hearth depth. It sits on a stylobate that is 0,30 m in height and 2,10 x 4,70 m long. Except for the outer wall of the stoa constituting the west wall, the pool is enclosed by five different parapet blocks. These parapets, which were employed as reused material in this building, are probably elements of a fountain building dating to an earlier period. The height of the parapets, of which just two pieces have been wholly preserved, is 0,90 m and have a thickness of 0,35 m. There are sliding canals on the parapets for drawing water with ceramic vessels. The slot supplying water for the fountain is on the north wall of the pool and measures 0,90 m in height and 0,25 m in diameter. On the inner side of the fountain, there are marble plaques with a thickness of 0,02 m, most of which have been destroyed. In addition, although there are trace remains of ten earthenware tiles forming the pavement of the pool – each 0,70 x 0,70 m in size and set in grout on the floor of the fountain – only a portion consisting of approximately 0.40 m of these tiles remains *in situ* today in the southeast corner of the pool.

The other fountain building in the south side of the room has a rectangular form and measures 3,85 x 7,15 m. The walls of the building oriented in an east-west direction are probably reused blocks that belonged to another building. There are partly extant marble plaques on the inner faces of these walls. These are 0,80 m in height and 0,85 m in thickness. The north wall of the room sits directly on top of the mosaic pavement in the room, and this shows this construction was erected after the function of the mosaic pavement had ended. There is a wall 0,30 m in height and laid with large, dressed-stone blocks. It divides the water coming from the fountain and is 2,20 m from the east wall between the west and east wall at the depth of the hearth. The pool of the fountain was divided into two sections by this wall.

It is possible to generate a chronology for Room 13 with the fountain within the context of this evidence. The building, thought to have functioned as a propylon during the Roman Imperial period, was destroyed in the Early Byzantine period. New walls were then built on top of the existing bases. A mosaic, similar to the mosaics of the Agora Church, was placed over the floor of the building. Probably this building may have been converted into a religious structure or luxury housing. The fountain building on the northwest corner was built into the room in the next stage of the building. Lastly, although any find providing a certain date for

³² For the floor mosaics of the Agora Church, see Manière-Lévêque 2012, 90, figs. 115-119.

³³ We have a similar example in the Perge Agora, which has a similar plan to the West Agora. The floor of the north propylon in the Perge Agora was covered with stone and a mosaic pavement in the Byzantine period and used as a small chapel; see Özdizbay 2012, 67.

this building was not found during the excavations, the second fountain building must have been built in the Middle Byzantine period from its walls and from its position on top of the mosaic floor.

Room 12 is located just to the north of the building with the fountain (Fig. 3). Although the room has a square form with its general appearance, this building could not be excavated entirely because the east part of it lies beneath the modern road. Thus the complete architectural structure could not be entirely recovered. This room contains a siphon regulating the speed of flow of the water running through the pipes and pipes relating to it (Fig. 5). The siphon is 0,80 m in height and consists of three interwoven separate pieces, the diameters of which expand downward. There is an elbow pipe rising upwards located on the west wall in the southwest corner of the room. The parallel part to the floor of this pipe is 0,46 m, and the rising part of it, which curves upward like an elbow, measures 0,41 m. This connection elbow provided for water transfer to the agora through a flow system with a Π form. This most probably relates to the siphon parts in the room³⁴ and measures 0,17 m in diameter with a wall thickness of 0,25 m. Additionally, the wide slot on the joint wall of this room with the fountain building shows that the water was supplied by this system to the fountain in Room 13 just to the south of the space. However, for the operation of this system, one more T-shaped pipe that interconnected the slot and the Π -shaped flow system just to the east of the secondary pipe, missing today, is required. Apart from these pipes, there are five separate water outlets that form the west wall of the building. These dispersed water from the outer wall of the stoa into the stoa and to various places in the area of the “agora”.

Room 11 has a square plan and measures 3,40 x 4,80 m in area; it is located just to the north of Room 12 (Fig. 3). Although the architectural form of the building has been completely uncovered, the excavation of this space could not be completed due to the modern road on the eastern border. Its architectural characteristic closely resembles Room 12.

Room 15 in the south has a plan close to a square and measures 3,90 x 4,45 m (Figs. 2-3). While the building is bordered by a polygonal outer wall built in Roman Imperial period on the west, it is bordered on the east by a house-like tomb characteristic of traditional Lycian tomb architecture dated to the Early Classical period. There are quite low walls in this room, only 0,60 m in height. There is a small bordered area, 2,30 m in an east-west direction and 0,50 m in a north-south direction at the southwest corner of the room. The position of the area in the room and its primitive structure indicate this area was probably used as an animal feedbox. It is known that exiled Rhodians lived in the area in 18th century³⁵. In this context, this simple structure with low walls and a rectangular plan was most probably used as a space for small cattle where these Rhodians bred their animals. Room 14 lies to the north of this structure, and its east wall has a rectangular plan. Because its walls measuring 3,20 m in length in a north-south direction lie beneath the modern road, the east-west length of the walls has not yet been established (Figs. 2-3). The extant wall height of the structure, whose walls have mostly been destroyed, is 0,80 m. The wall thickness is 0,90 m in the south and 0,75 m in the north. These walls were laid with large and small stones and reused material. In regard to its low walls and simple masonry without mortar, this room has similar structural features to Room 15 and may also have served the function of an animal fold.

³⁴ Dönmez – Erdoğan 2014, 62.

³⁵ des Courtils 2003, 49.

North Portico

One of the places where the original architectural structure changed in the Early Byzantine period are the rooms on the north side of the agora. This part was reorganized except for some parts of the wall face and Room 9.

Room 1 is the first space in the northwest corner of the north portico of the agora in this row. This square-shaped room measures 2,65 x 2,65 m. Formed of three courses of stone, both large and small, upon approximately 0,30 m of dirt fill, the extant height of the walls is 0,90 m with a thickness of 0,70 m. The part forming half of the north and the west wall of the building from north to south displays more skilled workmanship than the other walls. Additionally, there is another wall adjacent to the east wall of this room, and this displays skilled workmanship different from the other walls. While mortar was used as reinforcement material in this wall, no trace of mortar can be found in the other walls. Room 2 measures 4,50 x 5,24 m in area and is on the floor of the portico just to the south of Room 1. We found dirt fill beneath the wall, a characteristic feature. This space also has similar masonry and structural features to Room 1. Due to a lack of finds, it is difficult to make any inference concerning the function and date of these two rooms. However, these rooms closely resemble Rooms 14 and 15 in the east portico with their rectangular forms and low walls. In consequence, these two rooms may have also have been used as animal folds by Rhodians who inhabited this area in the 18th century.

Room 3, just to the north of Room 1, measures 4,80 x 5,70 m in area and has a rectangular plan. While the west, east, and north walls of this structure differ from the first two rooms in both workmanship and quality of blocks (dated to the Roman Imperial period) employed in the walls, the south wall was constructed in the Early Byzantine period when the present form of this room was defined. The extant walls of the structure are more durable and of more skilled workmanship compared to the walls of Room 1. They are 0,86 m in height and 0,70 m thick. There is a door aperture 1,50 m wide, opening directly on to the street in the front facing west. This aperture, of which no elements have been found, was blocked with a rubble infill in a later period. No evidence was found indicating the function of this room.

The most attractive is Room 4. This space is located just to the east of Room 1 and consists of three separate parts (4a-c; Figs. 3, 6). Entrance into the room is from the north stoa of the agora. First, Room 4a is entered through a rectangular-planned door measuring 3,20 x 7,45 m (Fig. 6). The floor of the room is covered in earthenware tiles, most of which have been destroyed. Only a small part of the floor tiles extant can be observed in the southwest part of the room. The front of the wall of the building was formed of rectangular-cut stone blocks 0,90 m in thickness on the outer face and with polygonal blocks in the inner 1,40 m high. It is constructed in the isodomonic technique. There are traces of repairs dated to later periods in some parts of the wall; some parts of the west and north wall were constructed in mortared rubble stone. In the 2011³⁶ and 2013³⁷ excavations in this room, the following were recovered in the same context: two *in situ* dinos-like large ceramic vessels with one having a pouring hole (Cat. Nos. 1-2), a bronze pitcher³⁸ dated to the Early Byzantine period (Cat. No. 3), vessels

³⁶ Kökmen – Budak 2012, 53.

³⁷ Dönmez – Erdoğan 2013, 62 ff.

³⁸ For similar examples see Giunilia-Mair 2004, figs. 10-14.

such as oinochoe³⁹ and olphe⁴⁰ (Cat. Nos. 4-5), an oil-lamp⁴¹ dated to the same period (Cat. No. 6), a stoup⁴² (Cat. No. 7), a pot⁴³ (Cat. No. 8), a bowl⁴⁴ (Cat. No. 9), and scales of the Constantinople type⁴⁵ (Cat. No. 10)

Room 4c measures 1,30 x 4,00 m in area and is located just to the east of Room 4a oriented in an east-west direction. The other walls of this room – into which entrance is provided by a small opening in the west wall – are of poor quality except for the south and east walls (Fig. 7). The west wall has been masoned with different sized rubble stone and is mostly repaired. The extant part of this wall is 0,85 m in height and 0,50 m in thickness. There is a row of tile sat the southeast corner of the structure and adjacent to the east wall. This tile row measuring 1,65 m in length and 1,20 m in height protrudes about 0,15 m from the east wall to the west. There is an intense layer of grout at the top level of the tiles. In this space, an *in situ* spatheia amphora⁴⁶ from North Africa, dated between the 6th and 7th centuries A.D. (Fig. 8) (Cat. No. 11) was found. Also found were five amphorae⁴⁷ that are probably different variants of the Samos cistern type, of which four were side by side and upside-down and one was to the north of them (Figs. 9-11) (Cat. No. 12-15). Additionally, a pitcher-shaped vessel (Cat. No. 16) was found whose origin is unidentified, but we think it is of local production⁴⁸. Regarding the structure's location and dimensions in addition to amphorae placed upside-down, it can be understood that this room was employed for wine storage⁴⁹.

In the northeast border of this room, Room 4b is approximately 2 m above the floor dated to Roman Imperial period (Fig. 6). The room measuring 4,30 x 5,65 m in area differs from the other structures by having large blocks on the floor. The structure looks like a podium formed of stone blocks approximately 0,25 m thickness placed one on the top of the other as quadruple on a dirt fill of 0,85 m (Fig. 12). The walls are approximately 0,40 m in height and formed of stones all of different sizes. There is mortar around this square podium. Of these walls, some parts of the south, east, and north have been preserved.

The cluster of finds recovered in Room 4, particularly the finds from 4c, are quite significant for determining the function of this space. Seven amphorae, of which four were placed upside

³⁹ For comparable examples see Demirer 2013, 189, fig. A2; Gaitzsch 2005, 9, Abb. 3b, Taf. 73, 9b; Oransay 2006, 43, fig. 2, pl. V, A5; Richter 1915, 111, pl. 98, 2700-2701; Waldbaum 1983, 93, pl. 35, 526; Wright 2000, 167, fig. 12.a.2.

⁴⁰ For comparable examples see Korkut 2007, no. 11, fig. 2, no. 33, fig. 6; Rocheron-Blanco 2014, 691, pl. 3, 1.

⁴¹ For similar examples see Bailey 1998, pl. 91/x 171-173; Hayes 2007, pl. 14.14/N9; 15.1/32-39; Çevik – Bulut 2014, fig. 39.

⁴² For comparable examples see Özdemir 2009, 22 ff. cat. no. 89; Robinson 1959, pl. 30, M 300; Atik 1995, fig. 22, cat. no. 59.

⁴³ For comparable examples see fn. 42.

⁴⁴ For comparable examples see Korkut 2007, no. 11, fig. 2, no. 33, fig. 6; Rocheron-Blanco 2014, 691, pl. 3, 1.

⁴⁵ Franken 1993, 89-94, fig. 11. The typical feature of the Constantinople scales are the hooks used to measure the weight being jammed without interlacing each other by being passed through from hoops fixed to the scales. Thus the hooks can be affixed and dismantled when needed. For detailed information see Franken 1993, 90 ff.

⁴⁶ Spatheia amphorae are separated into two groups: "Classical Spatheia" and "Late Spatheia"; see Santamaria 1995, 51-57, pl. VI-VIII. Examples dated to the late periods are 40-45 cm and Classical samples average 0.95 m in height. Our example resembles examples of Late Spatheia b group and date between the 6th-7th centuries A.D. For examples, see Murialdo 1995, 444, fig. 5; Bonifay 2004, 125-129, fig. 67-69. Keay 1984, type XXVI; Williams – Peacock 1991, 51; Şenol – Kerem 2000, 85, pl. 14-4; Şenol 2000, pl. XXXV, fig. 130; Aslan 2011, pl. 86, fig. 1.

⁴⁷ Kassab Tezgör et al. 2003, pl. VI no. 27; Robinson 1959, pl. 32, no. M328; Papadopoulos, 1989, 89-92; Radulescu 1976, pl. VII, no. 3; Bass – van Doornick 1971, pl. 2, fig. 8.

⁴⁸ Dönmez – Erdoğan 2014, 64.

⁴⁹ Dönmez – Erdoğan 2014, 64; Varkivanç 2015, 546.

down, were uncovered in this narrow space, thus indicating this room was used for storage⁵⁰. Filling and filtering vessels were uncovered in Room 4a in the same context and show that filling and filtering functions were conducted in this room. The floor is covered with quite carefully laid tiles, and the enclosure is surrounded with low walls as if there was no door opening. Its upper surface was open. These things plus its position suggest it was probably for grape crushing and a room for natural fermentation⁵¹.

Room 5 is located on the eastern border of Room 4. This room measures 4,10 x 4,30 m; its plan is approximately square. Except for the exterior wall constructed in the Roman Imperial period, all the other walls were constructed in the Early Byzantine period. The extant height of the walls, some parts of which have been destroyed, is 1.40 m. Because there were no finds from this room during the excavations to indicate its function, the use of this room remains unknown.

On the east border of Room 5 is Room 6 that measures 4,70 x 7,00 m. This room is also oriented in a north-south direction since its facade opens to the stoa like the other parallel rooms. While the wall face and the north walls belonged to the first stage of the building, the east and west walls were added in the Early Byzantine period as are the side walls extending in a north-south direction of the rooms previous identified. Another alteration made in the Byzantine period is visible on the door of the structure. Although the threshold of the door belonged to the first stage of the structure, the lower pieces of the jambs that are about 1,50 m in their extant height are reused architrave blocks from another building. There are soffit decorations on the lower faces of these architrave blocks that have three fascias on their front facades coming up to the lateral facades of the jambs (Fig. 13). Excavation work in this space did not provide any evidence that could enable us to understand the function of this room.

Room 7, which has different architectural features from the other rooms, is located entirely on the north portico and in front of the door of Room 6 (Fig. 6). That the functions of the rooms in the north side ceased indicates that this space was built in the Middle Byzantine period. This room is 5,00 x 8,50 m in size and has a rectangular plan. It has an open room not completely enclosed by walls. Mortared bricks that are interconnected and pedestals replaced mutually as reused material (uncovered in the room during excavations) indicates the upper side of this building was covered by a vaulted roof⁵². There is a circular-shaped water reservoir that could sit entirely on the stylobate from the Roman Imperial period in the south part of the structure (Fig. 14). The reservoir is 0,60 m in height, 0,23 in depth, and 0,90 m in diameter. Because three capitals – Corinthian⁵³, Ionic⁵⁴, and impost⁵⁵ – dated to the 5th-6th centuries A.D. were recovered during the course of excavation work in this space in 2009, it was initially thought that this room was first used as a church. It was emphasized in subsequent reports that this room may have been used as a residence⁵⁶. Another impost capital⁵⁷ and an Ionic capital of the same types found in 2009 were dated to the 5th-6th centuries A.D. (Fig. 15). Parapet

⁵⁰ Dönmez – Erdoğan 2014, 64.

⁵¹ Varkıvaç 2015, 546.

⁵² Dönmez – Erdoğan 2013, 62 ff.

⁵³ des Courtils 2010, 281, fig. 7.

⁵⁴ des Courtils 2010, 283, fig. 8.

⁵⁵ des Courtils 2010, 283, fig. 9.

⁵⁶ des Courtils 2011, 326.

⁵⁷ For similar examples, see Herrmann 1988, fig. 181; Tezcan 1989, figs. 463-464.

pieces dating from the same period were uncovered in the same room during excavations in 2012⁵⁸. These pieces belonged to religious architecture which has no relationship with the existing form of the structure. These pieces were brought here for use and had been taken from the destroyed architectural fabric of the Agora Church during the Middle Byzantine period or later. Although the fact that relevant identifiable finds were not made during the excavation of this room makes the identification of the function of the room difficult, its half-open architecture, water reservoir, and location suggest that this room most probably functioned as a workshop.

Room 8 is to the east of Room 6 measures 4,65 x 8,25 m in size (Fig. 6). The extant height of facade wall of the space is 1,45 m with a thickness of 0,60 m. The east and west walls of the structure have the same features as the east and west walls of other rooms. The north wall was constructed from polygonal masonry, but the excavation of this room has not yet been completed so its function at the moment is unknown. The extant height of this destroyed wall is 2,85 m. On the lateral facades of the door jambs are soffit decorations made from reused architrave blocks as in Room 6. There is a water channel adjacent to the east wall of the structure. This water channel passes parallel to the east wall and starts from the east corner of the north wall of the space to reach the stoa. There is a water tower measuring 1 m wide and long on the northernmost edge of the channel, which is 0,85 m wide in an east-west direction and extends 4,65 m in a north-south direction. The upper part of the water tower has been destroyed, and its extant height is approximately 1,50 m. The water tower and channel are connected to a large water channel 0,90 m wide, which is thought to be connected to a cistern on a higher level. A part of this channel extending north was excavated in 2015⁵⁹ (Fig. 16). During excavation in this room, five large pithoi dating from the 5th-7th centuries A.D. were found. Three of these were in a line (Figs. 17-18) (Cat. No. 17), and two filling⁶⁰ vessels as well as an *in situ* measuring vessel (Cat. No. 18) and a pipette (Cat. No. 19) were recovered⁶¹. The large pithoi and other filling vessels found in this space indicate this room was a place where liquids were sold⁶². Studies concerning the example identified as a pipette amongst the filling vessels⁶³ show this type was used to get wine from a large pithos and decant it into another vessel in wine shops⁶⁴. Consequently, Room 8 was a wine shop in which retail wine was sold⁶⁵. When the finds recovered from Room 4 were analyzed together with Room 8, we understood that there was a wine workshop in use in the northwest corner of the Xanthos West Agora during the Early Byzantine period. It was abandoned in the 7th century A.D. with a winery connected to it⁶⁶.

Among the rooms of the north portico, the only room that preserved its structurality during the Late Antique period was Room 9. Despite this, repairs and alterations dating from later

⁵⁸ These Impost and Ionic capitals found in the same context fit together on top of each other. Hence, a composition similar to the Ionic-impost capitals may have been created here, in particular as a secondary use of Ionic capitals. See a similar example of this rare use in Herrmann 1988, fig. 181.

⁵⁹ Dönmez 2016, 66, fig. 2.

⁶⁰ For detail on the ceramic vessels uncovered in the winery, see Varkıvaç 2015, 545-558.

⁶¹ Dönmez – Erdoğan 2013, 63.

⁶² Dönmez – Erdoğan 2013, 62; Varkıvaç 2015.

⁶³ For the “Wine house” in Room 8, the pipette and the other ceramics, see Varkıvaç 2015.

⁶⁴ Varkıvaç 2015, 548.

⁶⁵ Dönmez – Erdoğan 2013, 63; Varkıvaç 2015, 549. For some wine workshops and findings, see Crawford 1990, 45, 52, fig. 35, 207-210; Jashemski 1967, 193 ff.; Mellink 1960, 67; Shear Jr. 1975, 357; Wolff 1996, 747.

⁶⁶ Dönmez – Erdoğan 2014, 64; Varkıvaç 2015, 549.

periods can also be seen that were made to this structure. Its façade, which had repairs, has been destroyed. In particular, the threshold – at a height of 0,40 m compared to other thresholds – was raised by filling the lower part with rubble stones in a later period. Because the excavation of this room was carried out in the 1950s and no evaluation concerning the date of this room was made in publications at that time, it is impossible from them to say when this repair work was carried out. Despite this, the use of rubble stones in particular and the fact that the level of the floor of the stoa was raised indicate this repair work was carried out in the Early Byzantine period or later. Because the excavations were carried out in 1950s for the purpose of finding architectural pieces of the Inscribed Pillar Monument, only information relevant to this was mentioned in the publications. Consequently, we have no information concerning any other finds uncovered in the room, and so the function of this space in the Byzantine period cannot be determined.

Room 10, located just to the east of the Inscribed Pillar Monument, measures 4,30 x 5,50 m in size. Although the front facade of the room has been destroyed, the north and east walls were constructed from different-sized rectangular and square-shaped travertine blocks that display the monumentality of the Roman Imperial period. Due to the fact that there was no evaluation of any finds or the use of this room published by previous researchers as noted above in respect to Room 9, it is quite difficult to determine the date of the wall. However, besides the mortar used to strengthen the wall, the similarity exhibited with the walls of the building with the fountain behind the east portico indicates this structure took this form in the Early Byzantine period. The upper parts of the wall that were destroyed were raised with small rubble stones and set in copious mortar. The quality of the materials employed and close similarity in workmanship with the column imitations located on the east corner of the north stoa and the filling in-between date them to the 11th-12th centuries A.D.⁶⁷ (Fig. 19). Hence, from this similarity, we can suggest that this repair work was executed in the Middle Byzantine period. As with Room 9, this room was excavated in 1950s. Except for the pieces of the pillar, there was no find in the publications that could aid in determining the function of this room.

West Portico

Another church with basilical plan was constructed on the western border of the agora in the Byzantine period. It was influential in causing some physical changes to the center of the west portico (Figs. 2-3 No. 20)⁶⁸. The building, today called the West Church or West Basilica⁶⁹, has three naves and an apse; its transepts form measures 40 x 20 m. The part of the building directly impinging upon the agora and causing physical changes to the agora was its apse. This protruding, semicircular apse was constructed as if to divide the portico by changing the original architectural layout of the portico. It forms a semicircle 10 m in diameter. The stylobate blocks separating the naves of the church are of reused material⁷⁰. The blocks measure 0,41 m in height and 0,77 m in width. These blocks have the same measurements as the stylobate blocks of the agora. It therefore seems probable that these stylobate blocks were removed

⁶⁷ des Courtils 2003, 49.

⁶⁸ For the Western Church see Manière-Lévêque 2012, 87, fig. 114. Manière-Lévêque 2012, 86: "Its semicircular apse containing a *synthronon*, was built into the Agora's W portico, and this may be a part of a civil basilica. The question remains open, since this building never excavated".

⁶⁹ The first excavations conducted in the West Church were not researched in detail before excavations were carried out by A. Aydın and A. Yaman during the 2012 season; see Aydın – Yaman 2013, 67 ff.

⁷⁰ Aydın – Yaman 2013, 67 ff.

from the west portico of the agora and reused in the construction of the church⁷¹. There are two rows of wall extending in an east-west direction approximately 20 m from the south and north sides of the church. These walls isolated the church from its surroundings by closing off both directions and generating an integrated architectural composition with the agora. This construction joined the ramparts going down to Eşen Stream in the south and the north and the south porticos of the agora in the east, as can be observed today. Consequently, access to the church was provided via the north and south porticos of the agora. Because only superficial work was conducted in the area, the available evidence does not suffice to provide us with a date for this structure. However, the fact that the types of form including transepts are generally dated to the 4th and 6th centuries A.D. in the Byzantine world and in the Lycian region the 5th and 6th centuries respectively indicates that this church may have been built in the 5th century A.D.⁷².

Agora Square

In soundings taken in the agora square, walls dated to the Byzantine period were uncovered⁷³ (Figs. 2-3 No. 22). However, because as yet the whole of the square has not been excavated, it is quite difficult to make any definitive judgement concerning the dimensions and functions of the structures at present. However, considering the proximity of the square to the other additional buildings connected to the church and the church on the southwest corner of the square, these structures may be understood to be a continuation of the additional buildings connected to the church.

Other Late Structures in the Area

The most remarkable examples of these restructurings can be seen at the points where the east and the north porticos intersected. In this part, instead of pedestals on stylobate blocks, imitations of these of the same sizes and apertures and strengthened with lavish mortar were replaced. Thus, it seems most probable that the aim was to form a simple imitation of the demolished porticos. In a later period, this unit was converted into a completely closed form through filling apertures of these imitation columns with small-sized rubble stones (Fig. 19)⁷⁴. This closed room may have been used as residence⁷⁵.

In research conducted at a height of about 2,00 m from the floor levels of the shops in the north side of the area behind the north portico, some ceramic pieces belonged to the Late Byzantine and Seljuk cultures⁷⁶ together with five *in situ* small amphorae dated to the Middle Byzantine period (11th-12th centuries) were found. The bodies of these were decorated with striplines⁷⁷. Together architectural finds from structures belonging to structures dating from the

⁷¹ Dönmez 2018, 221.

⁷² In the Lycian region in the cities of Patara, Tlos, and Olympos, three churches with transepts form have been excavated, and important results have been reached. For the Patara example see Ceylan – Erdoğan, figs. 3-5. For the Tlos example see Korkut 2015, 42-47. For the Olympos example see Öztaşkın – Sertel 2017, 357 ff. For general information about basilicas with transepts, see also Akyürek 2016, 523 ff.

⁷³ Dönmez – Erdoğan 2013, 64.

⁷⁴ Apertures between the columns in the east portico of the Macellum in Perge were also were infilled with similar workmanship; see Özdizbay 2012, 67.

⁷⁵ des Courtils 2003, 49.

⁷⁶ des Courtils 2007, 323 ff.

⁷⁷ des Courtils 2007 ff., 321, fig. 10.

Middle Byzantine period were recovered. Because it is not supported by architectural finds as well as the small number of ceramic pieces dating from the Late Byzantine and Seljuk periods, it is difficult to make any inferences about the degree of activities here⁷⁸. However, contrary to this position, the finds from the Middle Byzantine period show that architectural buildings particularly were reused as workshops and residences⁷⁹.

Many simple structures were also detected in the agora square. Entablature in one of these restructurings uncovered in the north part of the square and the presence of a unit that consisted of two rooms simply formed by placing other architectural pieces side by side are known from the publications of past researchers⁸⁰. These simple structures found in pieces and restituted during environmental planning in the agora may have been used as places with an animal-fold function in which Rhodian people bred their animals, since it is known they lived in the area in the 18th century⁸¹.

Coins

The coins recovered from the agora excavations are in poor condition. Despite this, those coins that are legible conform with the historical process indicated by other evidence from the north workshops of the agora. All six coins in the catalogue are dated to the 4th and 5th centuries A.D. (Cat. Nos. 20-25). As a result of being recovered at ground level in the north workshops of the agora and in strata close to this level, it is evident they come from the same stratigraphy as the storage vessels recovered that date the rooms. The earliest coin recovered dates from the reign of Delmatius Caesar (A.D. 335-337) and the latest from the reign of Honorius (A.D. 393-423). The names of the legible mints on these coins are Thessaloniki, Nicomedia, and Antiochia⁸².

General Evaluation and Conclusion

From the evaluation of the above evidence, significant conclusions have been reached concerning the changes made to and the transformation of the Xanthos West Agora during the Byzantine period. However, from this new evidence arises several points worthy of further discussion.

Archaeological finds from the area show the function of the Roman State Agora ended in the first half of the 5th century A.D. when the agora was converted into an area of commercial activity. It contained shops and workshops as well as additional buildings with functions that differed from those of the Roman Agora. It also had a religious area containing two churches, one of which was located at the southwest corner of the area (Fig. 3 No. 17)⁸³, the other in the west portico (Fig. 3 No. 20)⁸⁴, and a chapel (Fig. 3 No. 18)⁸⁵. In particular, the finds from these

⁷⁸ Armstrong 1998, 327 states in her study in which she evaluated the Seljuk-period ceramics recovered in Xanthos that users of these ceramics had left no archaeological finds except for these poorly fired ceramics. A reason for this situation is that the Turks who came to Xanthos at that time would have used the units already standing without building any new structures in the city, since they led a nomadic life.

⁷⁹ Dönmez 2017 et al., 49-54.

⁸⁰ des Courtils 1998, 461, fig. 5 ff.

⁸¹ des Courtils 2003, 49.

⁸² Dönmez 2014, 60.

⁸³ For the Agora Church, see Manière-Lévêque 2012, 88, fig. 115, no. 44.

⁸⁴ For the Western Church, see Manière-Lévêque 2012, 87, fig. 114.

⁸⁵ For the Chapel in the agora, see Manière-Lévêque 2012, 88, fig. 115, no. 51.

different building groups show that the rooms in the north and the religious structures were both built in the first half of 5th century A.D.⁸⁶ from contextual correlations established through excavation. Both were simultaneously abandoned in 7th century A.D.⁸⁷. The following questions can be asked on the basis of the available data. Were the alterations made to the West Agora in the Early Byzantine period executed as planned, or were they independent of each other? Why was this identified as a religious complex by Manière-Lévêque⁸⁸? In other words, why were so many churches and other additional structures concentrated particularly in this area? Can there be a living relationship between the religious complex and the rooms on the north portico? Alternatively, did new structures emerge as a result of the physical alterations made in the agora, and are the urban units independent of each other and to be evaluated by themselves?

We know from the examples of Thasos and Selge that churches were built on the edge of agoras in the 4th-5th centuries A.D. as Lavan stated in his article about Late Antique agoras⁸⁹. However, the Xanthos example differs from them in that the Agora Church was built exactly in the square of agora. Additionally, it is not just one church but such a complex that consists of another large church and additional religious structures. Thus, there should be a reason for constructing so many religious structures in the area. It would be correct to associate this reason with the area's previous function as an agora since the Church in the course of Christianization regarded squares such as the agora and the forum as sources of corruption and immorality⁹⁰. Hence, the function of Roman agora must have been ended when the churches were constructed in the area, thus preventing non-Christian activities that might otherwise have taken place in the agora. However, this argument may not be regarded as a sufficient reason by itself because, although the agoras and similar public buildings were those spaces in which pagan beliefs were intensely expressed, they continued to be used for a while during the Early Byzantine period⁹¹. Then they were converted into the units generally consisting of shops and rooms with a residential function through physical alterations made in the 5th and 6th centuries A.D.⁹². This phenomenon shows itself in the new architectural forms behind the north and east

⁸⁶ The chapel is located on a passage between the Western Church and the Agora Church, thus indicating that it was built later than the churches; see Manière-Lévêque 2012, 95, 97. In addition, Metzger states that during the dark period of the 7th century A.D. the church of the agora was destroyed as a result of the invasion, as in the case of the eastern basilica. This small chapel must have been built afterwards; see Metzger 1956, 160.

⁸⁷ For the events in 7th century A.D. in Xanthos, see Foss 1994, 9 ff.; 1996, 26-27.

⁸⁸ Manière-Lévêque 2000, 341 ff.

⁸⁹ Lavan 2006, 234.

⁹⁰ Saradi-Mendolovici 1988, 365 ff.; Kiriliov 2007, 18.

⁹¹ Lavan 2006, 230 ff.; Kiriliov 2007, 18. For paganism in public spaces in the Late Antique period, see Lavan 2009, 439 ff.

⁹² These kind of physical alterations show themselves on large public buildings dating from the Roman Imperial period in many Mediterranean cities in the 5th and 6th centuries. The buildings were converted into areas of commercial activity or dwelling places that consisted of small, side-by-side rooms by being restored; see Cameron 1993, 106. In this context, we find the same in the Xanthos Agora as in the Lower Agora at Sagalassos. At this time, new side-by-side rooms were added to the porticos of the agora, and the area was converted into a significant commercial center in which there were shops; see Putzeys et al., 164 ff., fig. 5. Another example of this is the Byzantine shops adjacent to the south wall of the Bath-Gymnasium complex at Sardes. The area became an important area of commercial activity with the addition of many shops side-by-side to the portico of this building in the 5th century A.D., which was a colonnaded street in the Imperial Period; see Crawford 1990, fig. 2 ff. Another example is the Perge Agora where some alterations were made to the propylon and shops in the Byzantine period. All of the entrances to the agora except for the west propylon were walled off. Some of the shops in the east were converted into vaulted rooms. The north propylon was probably used as a small chapel; see Özdizbay 2012, 67, fig. 54 ff. A further example is the Andriake Harbor Agora (Plakoma). In the first half of the 5th century, the north spaces of the building through alterations were converted into murex workshops, and the south side of the

portico of the area, as also in the West Agora. In this context, some rooms on the north portico, thought to have served as an andron in the Roman Imperial period, were converted into shops, a storeroom, a winery, and workshops by undergoing substantial physical alterations. A structure thought to have functioned originally as a propylon in the east portico was converted into a structure where there were probably fountain buildings dated to the later decades of the Early Byzantine period.

There should therefore be some different reasoning for the presence of a religious complex in this area. This reason can be associated with the longstanding cultic significance of this area, which it had possessed since the Classical period⁹³. The fact that this particular area of the city was chosen, when there were other relatively flat areas upon which a religious complex could have been built elsewhere in the city, was most probably due to its sacred character from the Classical period onwards. This spatial cultic memory was preserved through this area being converted into a state agora in the Roman Imperial period⁹⁴, an association extending into Late Antiquity.

The architectural alterations that occurred in the same period in many cities around the Mediterranean region support the idea that physical alterations made in the Xanthos agora were irregular and independent of each other. In addition, it is difficult to say that agora was transformed into a monastery or a similar religious complex in a planned and integrated manner, since both the distance from the north to the religious structure and the findings that should link the two building groups have not yet been found. Along with the administrative changes that began in the 4th century A.D., public structures such as agoras and porticos were transformed into private property areas with physical changes⁹⁵. Therefore, the space in the north may have been transformed into a private business activity area due to the monopoly of one of the city's administrators. However, although not the entire agora, nevertheless, the Agora Church and other additional structures around it were transformed into a religious complex, as Manière-Lévêque has stated⁹⁶. At this point, West Church (No. 20), within the framework of similar examples should be the center of this complex, and other structures around it must be additional structures connected to it⁹⁷. In addition, the rooms⁹⁸ on the passage from the West Church to the Agora Church are very important for understanding the function of the complex. However, because of the fact that the Western Church has not yet been excavated, it

building was employed as dump area for these workshops; see Aygün 2016, 50, pl. 10. For the transformation of agoras in the Late Antiquity, see Lavan 2006; Jacobs 2013, 120-124.

⁹³ As is known from the ancient Greek inscription on the Inscribed Pillar Monument, it is understood that the area had the function of an agora in the Classical period. An enclosure wall with a kind of title consisting of holiness was recorded as a "pure temenos" (καθ' αἰῶνι τεμένει); see TL 44c (22). This shows this area was a sacred place. Additionally, there is information concerning the twelve gods of the agora among these same inscriptions. Bryce 1986, 96 writes, "Since the time when the ocean separated Europe from Asia, no Lycian ever yet raised such a stele to the Twelve Gods in the holy temenos of the agora". In addition, the pillared tombs of monumental dimensions belonging to dynast members, some of which were encircled by temenos walls in this area clearly exhibit the sacred aspect of this area. For a tomb example with temenos in this area, see Dönmez – Schürer 2016, 119-149.

⁹⁴ Dönmez 2018, 231.

⁹⁵ Saradi 2008, 319.

⁹⁶ Manière-Lévêque 2012, 86 ff.

⁹⁷ Additional religious units on the sides of the Early Byzantine basilica-planned churches are a common feature in the religious architecture of Lycia in Late Antiquity; see Aydın 2006, 40-45; Akyürek 2016, 524-25. For the similar examples in Lycian region, see Ceylan – Erdoğan 2016, 212, figs. 2-3; Akyürek 2016, 524, fig. 4; Tiryaki 2016, figs. 1-2.

⁹⁸ Manière-Lévêque 2012, 86, fn. 110.

is currently impossible to go beyond hypotheses and make clear inferences about the function of the complex⁹⁹.

The finds recovered from this units enable us to make some observations about the Middle Byzantine period. In this period there was some activity associated with fresh habitation in this area in the 11th and 12th centuries A.D. Despite alteration in the Early Byzantine period, the architectural structures from the Roman Imperial period had been somewhat preserved. However, between the 7th and 10th centuries these were completely abandoned, and the shops in the north part were covered in a strata of dirt fill. Rooms enclosed by walls of simple workmanship were built on top of this filling. In addition, the workshops on the north portico and residential rooms on the northeast corner of the portico show that this area became a small settlement at that time. Also, the small chapel (Fig. 3 No. 18), which is problematic in terms of dating, must have been built during this period¹⁰⁰. Finds dating from the Late Byzantine period are quite scarce in this area compared with the finds from the Early and Middle Byzantine periods. This is to such an extent that only a few ceramics date from the Late Byzantine and Seljuk periods, indicating that the people inhabiting this area at that time had a nomadic culture as Armstrong has stated¹⁰¹.

Catalogue

Cat. No. 1	Measuring / Mixing Vessel
Inventory	: Xnths'11-03
Findspot	: West Agora. North Portico. Room 4a. Trench No. 9; +10 cm
Sizes	: R.D.: 55 cm Ht.: 23 cm B.D.: 43 cm
Description	: It has conical body, horizontal handle, flat base with a small triangular beads band bossing of handle-length at rim edge.
Clay	: 5 YR – 7/6 reddish yellow
Fabric Description	: Well-fired, hard, non-porous, untempered, clean.
Date	: 4 th -7 th centuries A.D. (dating from context).



Cat. No. 2	Filling / Filtering Vessel
Inventory	: Xnths'11-04
Findspot	: West Agora. North Portico. Room 4a. Trench No. 9; +10 cm
Sizes	: R.D.: 48 cm Ht.: 28 cm B.D.: 38 cm
Description	: It has conical body, horizontal handle, flat base with a small triangular beads band bossing on handle-length at rim edge and a pouring hole at the base.



⁹⁹ The religious buildings of Xanthos dating from the Byzantine period are being evaluated by E. Üstündağ, a PhD student at Koç University within the scope of a doctoral thesis. Research conducted by Üstündağ will hopefully enlighten problems concerning the West Church.

¹⁰⁰ A small-sized chapel was built into or alongside the basilica-shaped churches which were destroyed for various reasons due to the economic collapse of the Lycian region in the Middle Ages. One of the examples of this situation, which has many representations, is confronted in the city basilica of Patara; see Ceylan – Erdoğan 2016, 213, fig. 24. For the list of the other examples, see Hellenkemper – Hild 2004.

¹⁰¹ See fn. 78.

Clay : 5 YR - 7/6 reddish yellow
 Fabric Description : Well-fired, hard, non-porous, untempered, clean.
 Date : 4th-7th centuries A.D. (dating from context).

Cat. No. 3 Pitcher
 Inventory : Xnths'11-06
 Findspot : West Agora. North Portico. Room 4a. Trench No: 9;
 +10 cm
 Sizes : R.D.: 7.3 cm Ht.: 18 cm B.D.: 8.5 cm
 Description : It consists of three-pieces, flat base, round body,
 long neck, convex lip, ovoidal form, single
 handle and the handle is decorated.
 Material : Copper
 Comp. Ex. : Giunlia-Mair 2004, figs. 10-14.
 Date : 1st-3rd centuries A.D.



Cat. No. 4 Pitcher / Oinochoe?
 Inventory : Xnths'13-10
 Findspot : West Agora. North Portico. Room 4a.
 Sizes : R.D.: 8.5 cm Ht.: 25 cm B.D.: 10 cm
 Description : It is clover-rimmed and the neck widens
 gradually starting from the rim and end on the
 body. The body is biconical and it has a concave
 high base.
 Material : Copper
 Comp. Ex. : Demirer 2013, 189, fig. A2; Gaitzsch 2005, 9,
 Abb. 3b, Taf. 73, 9b; Oransay 2006, 43, fig. 2,
 pl. V, A5; Richter 1915, 111, pl. 98, 2700-2701;
 Waldbaum 1983, 93, pl. 35, 526; Wright 2000,
 167, fig. 12.a.2.
 Date : 5th-7th centuries A.D.



Cat. No. 5 Pitcher (Olphe)
 Inventory : XNT. 2011/05
 Findspot : West Agora. North Portico. Room 4a.
 Sizes : R.D.: 5 cm.: Ht.: 18 cm B.D.: 5,4 cm
 Clay : 5 YR - 7/6 reddish yellow
 Fabric Description : Well-fired, hard, non-porous, untempered, clean.
 Comp. Ex. : Korkut 2007, no. 11, fig. 2, no. 33, fig. 6;
 Rocheron-Blanco 2014, 691, pl. 3, 1.
 Date : Late Roman-Early Byzantine period

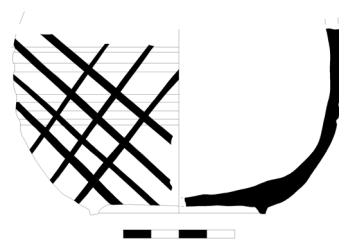


Cat. No. 6 Oil-lamp
 Inventory : XNT. 2013/14
 Findspot : West Agora. Room 4a.
 Sizes : Ht.: 3.3 cm L.: 8.5cm B.D.: 5.6 cm
 Clay : 5 YR - 7/6 reddish yellow

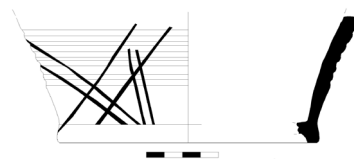
- Description : It is made of ceramic, brick-colored burnished and has a buff fabric. Discus protrudes upward and has round body with a perpendicular handle from discus to body.
- Comp. Ex. : Varkıvañç 2001-2002, 143, fig. 14; Bailey 1998, pl. 91/x 171-173; Hayes 2007, fig. 14.14/N9; 15.1/32-39; Türker 2010, 137-152, fig. 12; Çevik – Bulut 2014, fig. 39.
- Date : 6th-7th centuries A.D.



- Cat. No. 7** Mug?
- Inventory : XNT. 2011
- Findspot : West Agora. Room 4a. Trench 9 K.19 0.00/-0.10 m
- Sizes : H.D.: 6,5 cm. Ht.: 14 cm
- Clay : 5 YR – 7/6 reddish yellow
- Fabric Description : Well-fired, hard, non-porous, untempered, clean.
- Comp. Ex. : Özdemir 2009, 22 vd. cat. no. 89; Robinson 1959, pl. 30 M 300; Atik 1995, 146, fig. 22, cat no. 59.
- Date : 5th-7th centuries A.D.



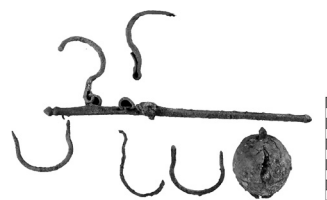
- Cat. No. 8** Bowl/Pot
- Inventory : XNT. 2012
- Findspot : West Agora. Room 6.A 20 trench - 120 cm
- Sizes : B.D.: 14,5 cm: Ht.: ?
- Clay : 5 YR - 7/6 reddish yellow
- Fabric Description : Well fired, hard, non-porous, untempered, clean.
- Comp. Ex. : See No. 7.
- Date : 5th-7th centuries A.D.



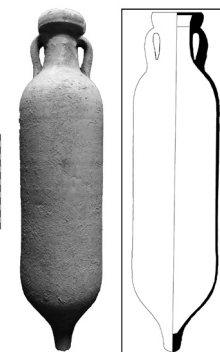
- Cat. No. 9** Bowl
- Inventory : XNT. 2011
- Findspot : West Agora. Room 4a. Trench 8 K/5 +40/ 0 cm
- Sizes : B.D.: 6 cm: Ht.: 4 cm
- Clay : 5 YR - 7/6 reddish yellow
- Fabric Description : Well-fired, hard, non-porous, untempered, clean.
- Comp. Ex. : Rocheron – Blanco 2014, 691, pl. 3, 1; Korkut 2007, no. 11, fig. 2.
- Date : Late Roman-Early Byzantine period



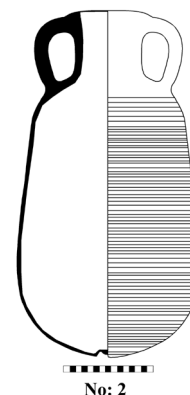
Cat. No. 10 Steelyard
 Type : Constantinople
 Inventory : XNT. 2011
 Findspot : West Agora. Room 4a. Trench X, K28.
 Sizes : L.: 25 cm
 Material : Bronze
 Comp. Ex. : Franken 1993, 91, fig. 11.
 Date : 5th-7th centuries A.D.



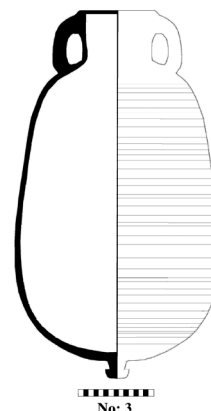
Cat. No. 11 Amphora
 Type : Spatheia 3B
 Inventory : XNT. 2013/11
 Findspot : West Agora. North Portico. Room 4c
 Sizes : R.D.: 6,7 cm Ht.: 47 cm B.D.: 2,3 cm
 Clay : 5 YR - 7/6 reddish yellow
 Fabric Description : Well-fired, hard, non-porous, untempered, clean.
 Comp. Ex. : Keay 1984, 80, fig. 20-4; Kassab Tezgör et al. 2003, pl. V, no: 25
 Date : 6th-7th centuries A.D.



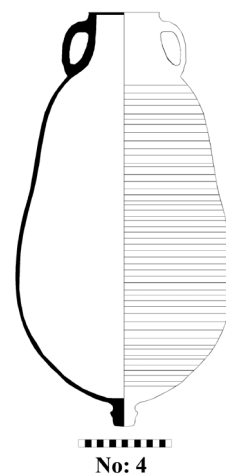
Cat. No. 12 Amphora
 Type : Samos
 Inventory : XNT. 2013/14
 Findspot : West Agora. North Portico. Room 4c
 Sizes : R.D.: 13 cm Ht.: 55 cm
 Clay : 5 YR - 7/6 reddish yellow
 Fabric Description : Well-fired, hard, non-porous, untempered, clean.
 Comp. Ex. : Kassab Tezgör et al. 2003, pl. VI, no: 27; Robinson 1959, pl. 32, no: M328; Papadopoulos 1989, 89-92; Radulescu 1976, pl. VII, no: 3
 Date : 4th-6th centuries A.D.



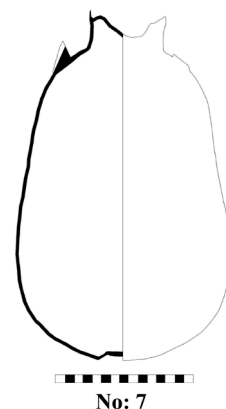
Cat. No. 13 Amphora
 Type : Samos
 Inventory : XNT. 2013/15
 Findspot : West Agora. North Portico. Room 4c
 Sizes : R.D.: 14 cm Ht.: 71 cm
 Clay : 5 YR - 7/6 reddish yellow
 Fabric Description : Well-fired, hard, non-porous, untempered, clean.
 Comp. Ex. : Kassab Tezgör et al. 2003, pl. VI, no. 27; Robinson 1959, pl. 32, no. M328; Papadopoulos 1989, 89-92; Radulescu 1976, pl. VII, no. 3; Bass – van Doornick 1971, pl. 2, fig. 8.
 Date : 4th-7th centuries A.D.



- Cat. No. 14** Amphora
 Type : Samos
 Inventory : XNT. 2013/16
 Findspot : West Agora. North Portico. Room 4c
 Sizes : R.D.: 34 cm Ht.: 69
 Material : Ceramic
 Clay : 5 YR – 7/6 reddish yellow
 Fabric Description : Well-fired, hard, non-porous, untempered, clean.
 Comp. Ex. : Kassab Tezgör et al. 2003, pl. VI, no. 27; Robinson 1959, pl. 32, no. M328; Papadopoulos 1989, 89-92; Radulescu 1976, pl. VII, no. 3; Bass – van Doornick 1971, pl. 2, fig. 8.
 Date : 4th-7th centuries A.D.



- Cat. No. 15** Amphora
 Inventory : XNT. 2013/17
 Findspot : West Agora. North Portico. Room 4c
 Sizes : R.D.: ? Ht.: 40
 Material : Ceramic
 Clay : 5 YR – 7/6 reddish yellow
 Fabric Description : Well-fired, hard, non-porous, untempered, clean.
 Comp. Ex. : Kassab Tezgör et al. 2003, pl. VI, no. 27; Robinson 1959, pl. 32, no. M328; Papadopoulos 1989, 89-92; Radulescu 1976, pl. VII, no. 3; Bass – van Doornick 1971, pl. 2, fig. 8.
 Date : 4th-7th centuries A.D.



- Cat. No. 16** Pitcher?
 Inventory : XNT. 2013/17
 Findspot : West Agora. North Portico. Room 4c
 Sizes : R.D.: 13 cm Ht.: 35
 Clay : 5 YR – 7/6 reddish yellow
 Fabric Description : Well-fired, hard, non-porous, untempered, clean.
 Date : 4th-7th centuries A.D. (dating from context).



- Cat. No. 17** Pithos
 Inventory : XNT. 2012
 Findspot : West Agora. Room 8. Winery. Floor
 Clay : 5 YR – 7/6 reddish yellow
 Fabric Description : Well-fired, hard, non-porous, untempered, clean.



Description : This pithos of Ht. 85 cm and Dia. 80 cm at its widest point has a base of 5 cm diameter and a cylindrical base of the same height on the exterior of approximately 20 cm diameter and a base with a curve to the body in the interior. Rim diameter is 30 cm.

Date : 4th-7th centuries A.D. (dating from context).

Cat. No. 18 Measuring / Filling Vessel

Inventory : XNT. 2012

Findspot : West Agora. Room 8. Winery. Floor

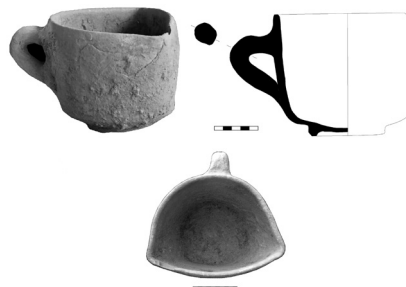
Sizes : R.D.: 13 cm Ht.: 20 cm?

Clay : 5 YR - 7/6 reddish yellow

Fabric Description : Well-fired, hard, non-porous, untempered, clean.

Comp. Ex. : Broneer 1935, 240, pl. XL, fig. 16;
Broneer 1947, 71 ff. fig. 14 ff.;
Çokay-Kepçe 2006, 66 ff., 137 BZ31; Hayes 2008, 100. 264 (no. 1564) 61.266 (no. 1585) 101 ff. 267 (no. 1595); Kögler 2005, 56, fig.14.

Date : 5th-7th centuries A.D. (dating from context).



Cat. No. 19 Pipette

Inventory : XNT. 2012

Findspot : West Agora. Room 8. Winery. Floor

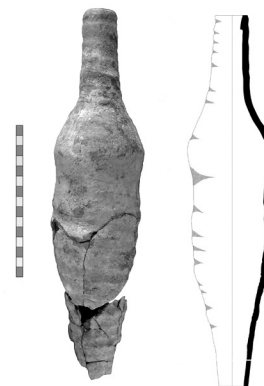
Sizes : R.D.: 2.5 cm Ht.: 35 cm

Fabric Color : 2.5 YR 6/8 light red

Fabric Description : Well-fired, hard, non-porous, untempered, clean.

Comp. Ex. : Bailey – Craddock 2003, 1 ff., fig. 1.1-1.4;
Devries 1973, XXXX; Dunham 1963, fig. 71 ff.;
Fernandez 1984, 43 ff., fig. 8, pl. VI, no. 166-1;
McGovern 2007, 274; Kephaliadou 2003, 64 ff.,
fig. 2 ff.; Seele 1974, 9 fig. 5a-b; Tigner 1974,
437, fn. 16; Trofimova 2007, 95 no. 16;
Williams 1991, 7, 10, 62 ff., 67, 74, 78, 87, 157 fig. 21a-d, 87c, 92c, 121d,
126b, 159, 171c, 289a.

Date : 4th-7th centuries A.D. (dating from context).



Cat. No. 20

Inv. : XNT. 2011

Flavius Julius Constans, A.D. 337-350

FS : Head with diadem to the right; "D N CO[NSTA NS P F AVG]"

BS : In wreath; "VO[T] XX [M]V[LT] XXX" In exergue, "SMN[A]"

Metal : AE

Weight : 1,39 g

Diameter : 19 mm

Direction : 11

Findspot : Agora; Room 4a, K23/2011

Level : 1,24 m

Excavation Inv. No :



Mint : Nicomedia
Unit : AE 4

Cat. No. 21

Inv. : XNT. 2012
Valens, A.D. 364-378
FS : Bust with diadem to the right; “[D N] VAL[EN]S P F AV[G]”
BS : Emperor resting his right hand on shield and a banner in his left while walking to the right; “[GL]O[R]IA RO[MAN]O[RV]M”
Metal : AE
Weight : 1,70 g
Diameter : 11 mm
Direction : 12
Findspot : Agora, Room 7
Level : - 80 / - 95 cm
Excavation Inv. No :
Mint : ?
Unit : ?

**Cat. No. 22**

Inv. : XNT. 2012
Valentinian I, A.D. 364-375
FS : Bust with diadem to the right; “D N V[ALENTINIANVS P F AVG]”
BS : Victory proceeds to the left and keeps wreath and palm; “SE[CVRITAS REIPV]BLICAE”; In exergue, “[T]ESA”
Metal : AE
Weight : 1.89 g
Diameter : 11 mm
Direction : 10
Findspot : Agora, Room 6
Level : - 105 cm
Excavation Inv. No :
Mint : Thessaloniki?
Unit : AE 3

**Cat. No. 23**

Inv. : XNT. 2012
Dalmatius Caesar 335 – 337 A.D.
FS : Bust of Dalmatius Caesar to the right; “[FL DALMA]TIS NOB C”
BS : Two standing soldiers with their spears; “[GLORIA EXERCI]TVS” In exergue, “SMTS”
Metal : AE
Weight : 0,88 g
Diameter : 18 mm
Direction : 11
Findspot : Agora, Square
Level : Surface
Excavation Inv. No :
Mint : Thessaloniki?
Unit : AE 3

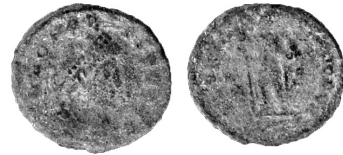


Cat. No. 24

Inv.	: XNT. 2014 Arcadius, A.D. 383-408	
FS	: Bust with pearl diadem to the right; "[D N ARCAD]VS [P F AVG]"	
BS	: Arcadius is standing, leans on the spear with his right hand, his head towards right, Nike crowns him; "VIRTVS [EXERCI]TI"	
Metal	: AE	
Weight	: 2,25 g	
Diameter	: 18 mm	
Direction	: 5	
Findspot	: West Agora. Room 11	
Level	: - 140 cm	
Excavation Inv. No	:	
Mint	: Antioch/Antiochia; AN (?)	
Unit	: AE 3	

**Cat. No. 25**

Inv.	: XNT. 2012 Honorius, A.D. 393/423	
FS	: Emperor's bust with pearl diadem to the right; "[D N H]ONOR[IS P F AVG]"	
BS	: Emperor is standing, his head towards to the right and holds globus in his hand; "[GLORIA ROMA]NORVM"	
Metal	: AE	
Weight	: 4,75 g	
Diameter	: 21 mm	
Direction	: 11	
Findspot	: West Agora. North Portico	
Level	: Surface	
Excavation Inv. No	:	
Mint	: ?	
Unit	: AE 3	



Abbreviations and Bibliography

- Akyürek 2016 E. Akyürek, "Likya'da Bizans Dönemi Mimarlığı", in: H. Işık – E. Dündar (ed.), *Lukka'dan Likya'ya: Sarpedon ve Aziz Nikolaos'un Ülkesi* (2016) 520-533.
- Armstrong 1998 P. Armstrong, "Nomadic Seljuks in 'Byzantine' Lycia: new evidence", in: *I byzantini Mikra Asia (in Modern Greek) Athenes* (1998) 321-338.
- Aslan 2011 E. Aslan, *Kekova Bölgesi Limanları* (Selçuk University Unpublished PhD Thesis 2011).
- Atik 1995 N. Atik, *Die Keramik aus den Südthermen von Perge, IstMitt, Beiheft 40* (1995).
- Aydın 2006 A. Aydın, *Die Trikonchosbauten in Lykien: Ihre Entwicklung und Funktion*, in: K. Dörtük – B. Varkıvanç – T. Kahya et al. (eds.), *III. Uluslararası Lykia Sempozyumu, 07-10 Kasım 2005 Antalya, Sempozyum Bildirileri/The 3rd International Symposium on Lycia, 07-10 November 2005 Antalya* (2006) 40-45
- Aydın – Yaman 2013 A. Aydın – A. Yaman, "West Agora", in: B. Varkıvanç, "Ksanthos 2012 Yılı Çalışmaları", *Anmed* 11, 2013, 63-64.
- Aygün 2016 Ç. A. Aygün, *Andriake Mureks Boya Endütrisi*, *Adalya Ek Yayın Dizisi* 14 (2016).
- Bailey 1998 D. M. Bailey, *Excavations at el-Ashmunein. V. Pottery, lamps and glass of the late Roman and early Arab periods* (1998).
- Bass – van Doornick 1971 G. F. Bass – F. H. van Doornick, Jr., "A Fourth-Century Shipwreck at Yassi Ada", *AJA* 75, 1971, 27-37.
- Bingöl 1998 O. Bingöl, *Magnesia Ad Maeandrum Menderes Magnesiası* (1998) 51.
- Bonifay 2004 M. Bonifay, *Etudes sur la céramique romaine tardive d'Afrique*, *British Archaeological Reports, International Series* 1301 (2004) 125-129.
- Brands – Severin 2003 G. Brands – H.-G. Severin, *Die spätantike Stadt und ihre Christianisierung. Symposium vom 14. bis 16. Februar 2000 in Halle/Saale* (2003).
- Brenk 2003 B. Brenk, *Die Christianisierung der spätromischen Welt: Stadt, Land, Haus, Kirche und Kloster in frühchristlicher Zeit* (2003).
- Broneer 1935 O. Broneer, "Excavations in Corinth, 1934", *AJA* 39, 1935, 53-75.
- Broneer 1947 O. Broneer, "Investigations at Corinth, 1946-1947", *Hesperia* 16, 1947, 233-247.
- Bryce 1986 T. R. Bryce, *The Lycians I. The Lycians in literary and epigraphic sources* (1986) 96.
- Cameron 1993 A. Cameron, *The Mediterranean World in Late Antiquity, A.D. 395-600* (1993).
- Crawford 1990 J. St. Crawford, *The Byzantine Shops at Sardis* (1990) 147 ff.
- Çevik – Bulut 2014 N. Çevik – S. Bulut, "Andriake Doğu Hamamı: Bölgenin Hamam Mimarlığına Işık Tutan Yeni Bir Örnek", *Adalya* XVII, 2014, 221-262.
- Ceylan 2016 B. Ceylan, "Geç Antik Dönem Kentlerinde Gerileme-Devamlılık Modellerine Kanunlar Üzerinden Bir Bakış", *Olba* XXIV, 2016, 535-554.
- Ceylan – Erdoğan 2016 B. Ceylan – O. Erdoğan, "The Architecture and History of the City Basilica of Patara: A Preliminary Report on Four Seasons of Excavation", in: E. Dündar et al. (ed.) *LYKIARKHISSA Festschrift für Havva Işkan* (2016) 205-224.
- des Courtils – Cavalier 2001 J. des Courtils – L. Cavalier, "The City of Xanthos", in: P. David (ed.), *Urbanism in Western Asia Minor, New Studies on Aphrodisias, Ephesos, Hierapolis, Pergamon, Perge and Xanthos*, *AJA Supplementary Series* 45 (2001) 148-171.

- des Courtils 2003 J. des Courtils, *Ksanthos ve Letoon Rehberi* (2003) 49.
- des Courtils 2007 J. des Courtils, "La campagne 2006 à Xanthos", *Anatolia Antiqua - Eski Anadolu XV*, 2007, 315-324.
- des Courtils 2010 J. des Courtils, "Xanthos 2009", *Anatolia Antiqua - Eski Anadolu XVIII*, 2010, 277-299.
- des Courtils 2011 J. des Courtils, "Xanthos Rapport sur la Campagne 2010", *Anatolia Antiqua - Eski Anadolu XIX*, 2011, 321-350.
- des Courtils et al. 1998 J. des Courtils, et al., "Xanthos et le Létôon. Rapport sur les campagne de 1997", *Anatolia Antiqua - Eski Anadolu V*, 1998, 457-477.
- Çokay-Kepçe 2006 S. Çokay-Kepçe, *Antalya Karaçalı Nekropolü. Adalya Ekyayın Dizisi 4* (2006).
- Demargne 1951 P. Demargne, *Les fouilles de Xanthos en Lycie (campagne 1950)*, CRAI 95, 1951, 63-70.
- Demargne 1953 P. Demargne, "Les fouilles de Xanthos en Lycie (campagne de 1952)", CRAI 97, 1953, 151-158.
- Demargne 1955 P. Demargne, "Les fouilles de Xanthos en Lycie (campagne de 1954)", CRAI 99, 1955, 104-110.
- Demirer 2013 Ü. Demirer, *Kibyra Metal Buluntuları* (Akdeniz University Unpublished PhD Thesis 2013).
- Devries 1973 C. E. Devries, "An Enigmatic Pottery form from Meroitic Nubia", *JNS* 32, 1973, 62-69.
- Dönmez 2014 A. Dönmez, *Ksanthos Kenti Batı Agorası* (Akdeniz University Unpublished Master's Thesis 2014)
- Dönmez 2016 A. Dönmez, "Batı Agora", in: B. Varkıvaç, "Ksanthos 2014 Yılı Çalışmaları", *Anmed* 14, 2016, 65-67.
- Dönmez 2018 A. Dönmez, *Ksanthos Batı Agorası I: Roma İmparatorluk Dönemi (MS 1-4. yüzyıl)*, in: T. Kahya et al., *International Young Scholars Conference II: Mediterranean Anatolia*, 04-07 Kasım 2015, Antalya (2018) 219-248.
- Dönmez – Erdoğan 2013 A. Dönmez – H. M. Erdoğan, "Batı Agora", in: B. Varkıvaç, "Ksanthos 2012 Yılı Çalışmaları", *Anmed* 11, 2013, 62-72.
- Dönmez – Erdoğan 2014 A. Dönmez – H. M. Erdoğan, "Batı Agora", in: B. Varkıvaç, "Ksanthos 2013 Yılı Çalışmaları", *Anmed* 12, 2014, 62-75.
- Dönmez – Yanardağ 2015 A. Dönmez – Ö. Yanardağ, "Batı Agora", in: B. Varkıvaç, "Ksanthos 2014 Yılı Çalışmaları", *Anmed* 13, 2015, 55-61.
- Dönmez – Schürr 2016 A. Dönmez – D. Schürr, *Zum Agora-Pfeiler in Xanthos IV: Finding a new fragment of the inscription and evidence pointing to a temenos tomb. Das neue Fragment und das "reine Temenos"*, *Kadmos* 54, 2015, 2016, 119-149.
- Dönmez et al. 2017 A. Dönmez et al., "West Agora" in: B. Varkıvaç, "Xanthos Excavation of 2016", *Anmed* 15, 2017, 49-54.
- Franken 1993 N. Franken, "Zur Typologie antiker Schnellwaagen", *BJ* 193, 1993, 69-120.
- Foss 1994 C. Foss, "The Lycian Coast in the Byzantine Age", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 48, 1994, 1-52.

- Foss 1996 C. Foss, *Cities, Fortresses and Villages of Byzantine Asia Minor* (1996) 26 ff.
- Gaitzsch 2005 W. Gaitzsch, *Eisenfunde aus Pergamon, Geräte, Werkzeuge und Waffen, Pergamenische Forschungen* 14 (2005).
- Giumlia-Mair 2004 A. Giumlia-Mair, *Analytical and technical studies on vessels from late antique well hoards in the South-Eastern Po plain*. in: C. Museteanu (ed.), *The antique bronzes: typology, chronology, authenticity. The Acta of the 16th International Congress of Antique Bronzes, Organised by The Romanian National History Museum, Bucharest, May 26th-31st 2003* (2004) 187-198.
- Hayes 2007 J. W. Hayes, "Pottery", "Clay Lamps", in: A. H. S. Megaw, *Kourion, Excavations in the Episcopal Precinct* (2007).
- Hayes 2008 J. W. Hayes, *Roman Pottery: Fine-Ware Imports. Agora* 32 (2008).
- Hellenkemper – Hild 2004 H. Hellenkemper – F. Hild, *Lykien und Pamphylien, TIB* 8 (2004) 780-788.
- Hermann 1988 J. J. Herrmann, *The Ionic Capital In Late Antique Rome*, G. Bretschneider (ed.), *Archaeologica* 56 (1988).
- Jacobs 2013 I. Jacobs, *Aesthetic Maintenance of Civic Space* (2013) 120-124.
- Jashemski 1967 W. F. Jashemski, "Pompeian Vinarius", *The Classical Journal* 62, 1967, 193-204.
- Kassab Tezgör et al. 2003 D. Kassab Tezgör – S. Lemaitre – D. Pieri, "La Collection d'Amphores d'İsmail Karakan Sinop", *Anatolia Antiqua* VI, 2003, 443-449.
- Keay 1984 S. J. Keay, *Late Roman Amphorae in the Western Mediterranean: A Typology and Economic Study: The Catalan evidence I*, *BAR International Series* 196 (1984).
- Kephalidou 2003 E. Kephaliđou, "Tis Estin; Ouxi Klepsydra; (Aristophanes, Sphekes, 858): Mia Omada Idiomorphon Aggeion tes Archaikes Epokses", *Egnatia* 7, 2003, 61-107.
- Kirilov 2007 C. Kirilov, "The reduction of the fortified city area in Late Antiquity: Some reflections on the end of the 'antique city' in the lands of the Eastern Roman Empire", J. Henning (ed.), *Post Roman Towns, Trade and Settlement in Europe and Byzantium* (2007) 3-24.
- Knackfuss 1924 H. Knackfuss, *Der Südmarkt und Benachbarten Bauanlagen, Milet* 1-7 (1924).
- Korkut 2007 T. Korkut, "Roma Dönemi Patarası Yemek Pişirme Kapları: Tavalar/Roman Period Cooking Ware of Patara: Frying Pans", *IV. Uluslararası Katılımlı Seramik, Cam, Emaye, Sır ve Boya Semineri, Eskişehir 26-28 Kasım 2007* (2017) 431-449.
- Korkut 2015 T. Korkut, *Akdağların Yamacında Bir Likya Kenti: Tlos* (2015) 42-47.
- Kögler 2005 P. Kögler, "Import, export, imitation. Trade and the economic power of late Hellenistic and early Imperial Knidos according to the fine pottery", in: M. Berg Briese – L. E. Vaag, *Trade Relations in the Eastern Mediterranean from the Late Hellenistic Period to the Late Antiquity: The Ceramic Evidence. Halicarnassian Studies* 3 (2005) 50-62.
- Kökmen – Budak 2012 H. Kökmen – S. Budak, "Roma Agorası", in: B. Varkıvañç, "Ksanthos Antik Kenti 2011 Yılı Çalışmaları", *Anmed* 10, 2012, 54-64.
- Lanckoroński I K. G. Lanckoroński, *Pamphylia ve Pisidia Kentleri I: Pamphylia* (2005) 44.
- Lanckoroński II K. G. Lanckoroński, *Pamphylia ve Pisidia Kentleri II: Pisidia* (2015) 189.
- Lavan 2001 L. Lavan, "The Late Antique City: a bibliographic essay", in: L. Lavan (ed.), *Recent Research in Late Antique Urbanism, JRA, Supplementary Series* 42 (2001) 9-26.

- Lavan 2006 L. Lavan, "Fora and Agorai in Mediterranean Cities During the 4th and 5th C. A.D.", in: W. Bowden et al. (ed.), *Social and Political Life in Late Antiquity (LAA 3)* 2006, 195-249.
- Lavan 2009 L. Lavan, "Political Talismans? Residual 'Pagan' Statues in Late Antique Public Space", L. Lavan – M. Murlayn (ed.), *The Archaeology in Late Antiquity 'Paganism'* (2009) 439-478.
- Liebeschuetz 2001 J. H. W. G. Liebeschuetz, *The Decline and Fall of the Roman City* (2001).
- Maniere-Leveque 1998 A.-M. Maniere-Leveque, "La nécropole de l'église de l'agora romaine", in: des Courtils et al. 1998, "Xanthos et le Létôon. Rapport sur la campagne de 1997", *Anatolia Antiqua - Eski Anadolu VI*, 1998, 457-477.
- Maniere-Leveque 1999 A.-M. Maniere-Leveque, "Les structures byzantines de l'angle sud-ouest de l'agora romaine", in: des Courtils et al. 1999, "Xanthos et le Létôon. Rapport sur la campagne de 1998", *Anatolia Antiqua - Eski Anadolu VII*, 1998, 457-477.
- Maniere-Leveque 2000 A.-M. Maniere- Leveque, "Les structures byzantines de l'angle sud-ouest de l'agora romaine", in: des Courtils et al. 2000, "Xanthos et le Létôon. Rapport sur la campagne de 1999", *Anatolia Antiqua - Eski Anadolu VI*, 2000, 341 ff.
- Maniere-Leveque 2012 A.-M. Manière-Lévêque, *Lycia Xanthos Part 2, The West Area*, in: M. Şahin – D. Parris (ed.), *Corpus of the Mosaics of Turkey* (2012) 86-98.
- Mango 2000 C. Mango, "Building and Architecture", A. Cameron et al. (ed.), *Cambridge Ancient History XIV, Late Antiquity: Empire and Successors, AD 425-600* (2000) 918-971.
- Mansel et al. 1956 A. M. Mansel – G. Bean – J. İnan, *Side Agorası ve Civarındaki Binalar* (1956).
- McGovern 2007 P. E. McGovern, *Ancient Wine: The Search for the Origins of Viniculture* (2007) 274.
- Mellink 1960 M. J. Mellink, "Archaeology in Asia Minor", *AJA* 64, 1960, 57-69.
- Metzger 1956 H. Metzger, "Les fouilles de Xanthos en Lycie (campagne de 1955)", *CRAI* 100, 1956, 155-161.
- Murialdo 1995 G. Murialdo, "Alcune considerazioni sulle anfore africane del VII secolo dal Castrum di S. Antonio nel Finale", *Archeologia Medievale* 22, 1995, 433-453.
- Oransay 2006 B. S. A. Oransay, *Arykanda Antik Kentinde 1971-2002 Kazı Sezonlarında Ele Geçen Madeni Buluntular ve Madencilik Faaliyetleri* (Ankara University Unpublished PhD Thesis 2006).
- Özdemir 2009 B. Özdemir, *Patara Roma Dönemi Günlük Kullanım Seramikleri* (University Unpublished MA Thesis 2009).
- Özdizbay 2012 A. Özdizbay, *Perge'nin M.S. 1.-2. Yüzyıllardaki Gelişimi*, *Adalya Ek Yayın Dizisi* 10 (2012) 67.
- Öztaşkın – Sertel 2017 G. K. Öztaşkın – S. Sertel, "Olympos Piskoposluk Kilisesi'ndeki Nef Ayrımı Düzenlemeleri ve Levha Yanı uygulaması", *Adalya* 20, 2017, 357-373.
- Papadopoulos 1989 J. K. Papadopoulos, "Roman Amphorae from the Excavations at Torone", *AEphem* 1989, 67-103.
- Pausanias The Description of Greece, Vol: II. R. Priestley (ed.) (1824).
- Radulescu 1976 A. Radulescu, "Amfore Romane si Romano-Bizantine din Scythia Minor", *Pontica* 9, 1976, 99-114.
- Richter 1915 G. M. A. Richter, *Greek, Roman and Etruscan Bronzes* (1915).
- Robinson 1959 H. S. Robinson, *The Athenian Agora V. Pottery of the Roman Period* (1959).

- Rocheron – Blanco 2014
C. Rocheron – T. Blanco, “Les Ceramiques Communes de la finde L, Antiquite a Xanthos: Continuete ou Innovation?” in: P. P. Natalia – N. Eleni – K. Vassilis (ed.), LRCW 4, Cooking Wares and The Amphorae in the Mediterranean, BAR international Series 2616 (I) (2014) 685-692.
- Saradi-Mendolovici 1988
H. Saradi-Mendolovici, “The Demise of the Ancient City and The Emergence of the Medieval City in The Eastern Roman Empire”, in: Echos du Monde Classique/Classical Views 32, N. S. 7. 1988, 365 ff.
- Saradi-Mendolovici 1990
H. Saradi-Mendolovici, “Christian Attitudes Towards Pagan Monuments in Late Antiquity and Their Legacy in Later Byzantine Centuries”, in: Dumbarton Oaks Papers 44, 1990, 47-61.
- Saradi 2006
H. Saradi, *The Byzantine City in the Sixth Century: Literary Images and Historical Reality* (2006) 355-84.
- Saradi 2008
H. Saradi, “Towns and Cities”, in: E. Jeffereys et al. (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Byzantine Studies* (2008) 319.
- Santamaria 1995
C. Santamaria, “Les Amphores de la Cargasion”, *Archeonautica* 13, 1995, 51-57.
- Seele 1974
K. C. Seele, “University of Chicago Oriental Institute Nubian Expedition: Excavations between Abu Simbel and the Sudan Border, Preliminary Report”, *JNS* 33, 1974, 1-43.
- Shear Jr. 1975
T. L. Shear Jr., “The Athenian Agora: Excavations of 1973-1974”, *Hesperia* 44, 1975, 331-374.
- Şenol – Kerem 2000
A. K. Şenol – F. Kerem, “İçel Müzesinde Bulunan Bir Grup Amphora”, *Olba* III, 2000, 81-114.
- Şenol 2000
A. K. Şenol, *İskenderiye Kazılarında Ele Geçen Amphoralar Işığında Kentin Roma Dönemi Şarap, Zeytinyağı, Salamura Balık ve Sos Ticareti* (Ege University Unpublished PhD Thesis 2000).
- Putzeys et al. 2008
T. Putzeys et al., “Shops and Retail in Late Antiquity A Contextual Approach to the Material Evidence from Sagalassos”, V. Vanhaverbeke et al. (ed.), *Thinking about the space: the potential of surface survey and contextual analysis in the definition of space in Roman times*, *Studies in Eastern Mediterranean Archaeology* 8, 2008, 127-149.
- Tezcan 1989
H. Tezcan, *Topkapı Sarayı ve Çevresinin Bizans Devri Arkeolojisi* (1989).
- Tigner 1974
St. S. Tigner, “Empedocles’ Twirled Ladle and the Vortex-Supported Earth”, *Isis* 65, 1974, 432-447.
- Tiryaki 2016
A. Tiryaki, “Rhodiapolis Psikoposluk Kilisesi’nin Geometrik Desenli Taban Mozaikleri”, *Olba* XXIV, 2016, 505-534.
- Türker 2010
A. Ç. Türker “Demre-Myra Aziz Nikolaos Kilisesi ve Kazılarda Ortaya Çıkarılan Küçük Buluntular”, in: N. Çevik (ed.), *Arkeolojisinden Doğasına Demre/Myra* (2010) 137-152.
- Tritsch 1942
F. Tritsch, “The Harp Tomb of Xanthus”, *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 62, 1942, 39-50.
- Trofimova 2007
A. A. Trofimova (ed.), *Greeks on the Black Sea: Ancient Art from the Hermitage* (2007).
- Vanderpool 1974
E. Vanderpool, “The ‘Agora’ of Pausanias”, *Hesperia* 43, 1974, 308-310.

- Varkıvaç 2001-2002 B. Varkıvaç, "Patara'da Bir Seramik İşliđi", *Adalya V*, 2001-2002, 137-152.
- Varkıvaç 2015 B. Varkıvaç, "Pottery Finds from the Winery in the West Agora of Xanthos", in: H. Işık – F. Işık (ed.), *Kum'dan Kent'e, Patara Kazılarının 25 Yılı Uluslararası Sempozyum Bildirileri*, 11-13 Kasım 2013 (2015) 545-558.
- Waldbaum 1983 J. C. Waldbaum, *Metalwork from Sardis* (1983).
- Waelkens 1989 M. Waelkens, "Hellenistic and Roman Influence in the Imperial Architecture of Asia Minor", *Bulletin of the Institute of the Classical Studies* 55, 1989, 77-88.
- Williams 1991 B. B. Williams, *Meroitic Remains from the Qustul Cemetery Q, Ballana Centery B, and A Ballana Settlement. Excavations between Abu Simbel and the Sudan Frontier* 8.1 (1991).
- Wolff 1996 S. R. Wolff, "Archaeology in Israel", *AJA* 100, 1996, 725-768.
- Wright 2000 G. R. H. Wright, "Some Byzantine Bronze Objects from Beycesultan", *AnatSt* 50, 2000, 159-170.
- Wycherley 1962 R. E. Wycherley, *How The Greeks Built Cities* (1962) 69-78.



Fig. 1 Xanthos, general view (Aerial photograph)



Fig. 2 West Agora (Aerial photograph)

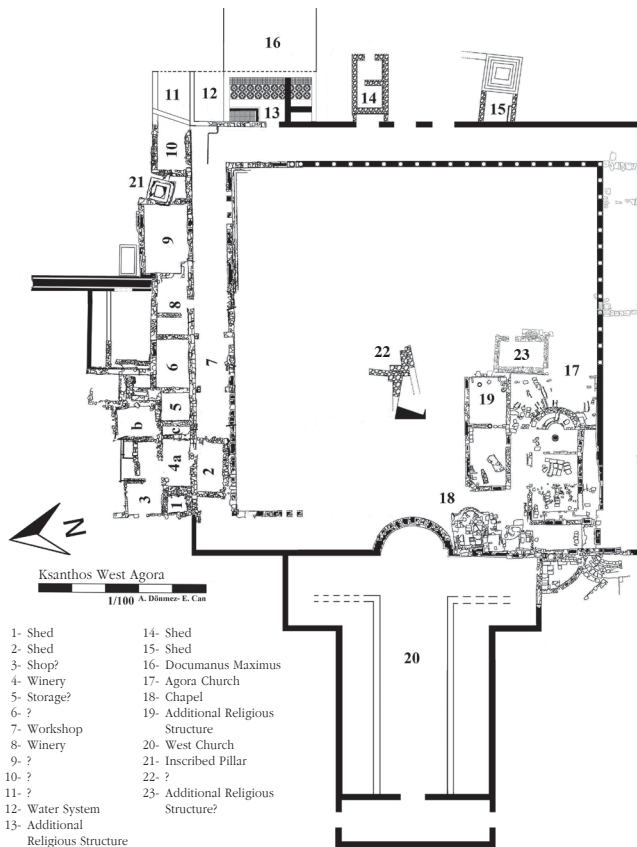


Fig. 3
West Agora plan
(Drawn by A. Dönmez –
E. Can, *Agora Church and
Chapel* taken from Manière-
Lévêque 2013, 113, fig. 143)

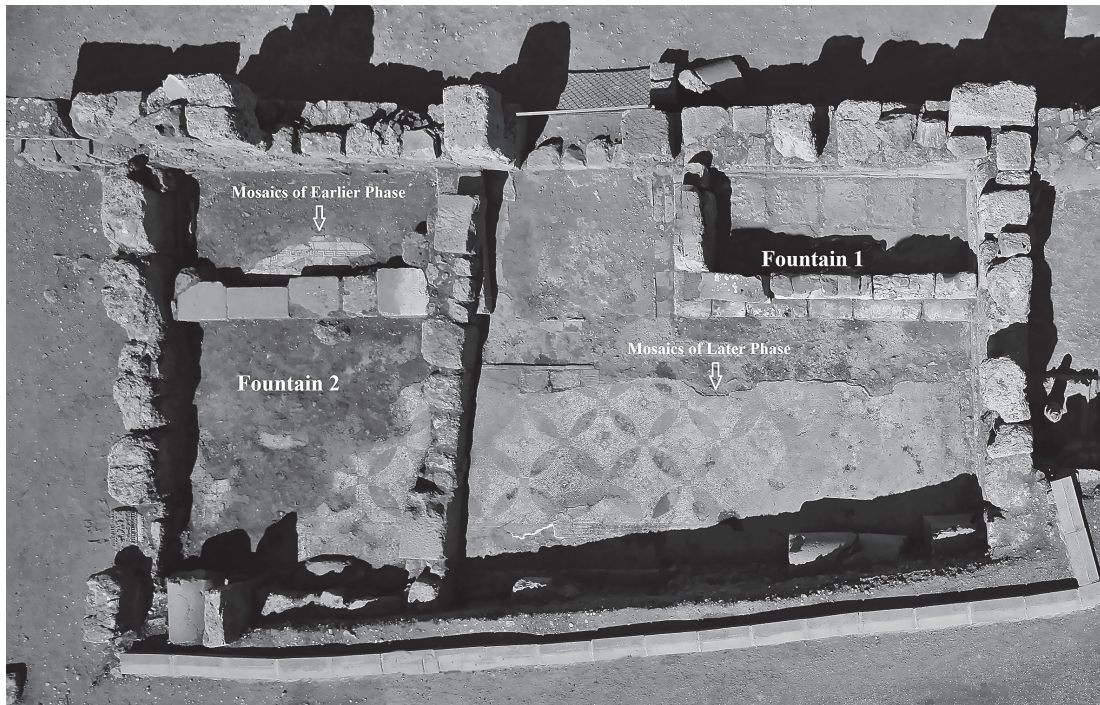


Fig. 4 Room 13



Fig. 5 Room 12, water distribution system



Fig. 6 West Agora, north side (Aerial photograph)



Fig. 7
Room 4c



Fig. 8
Room 4c,
spatheia amphora

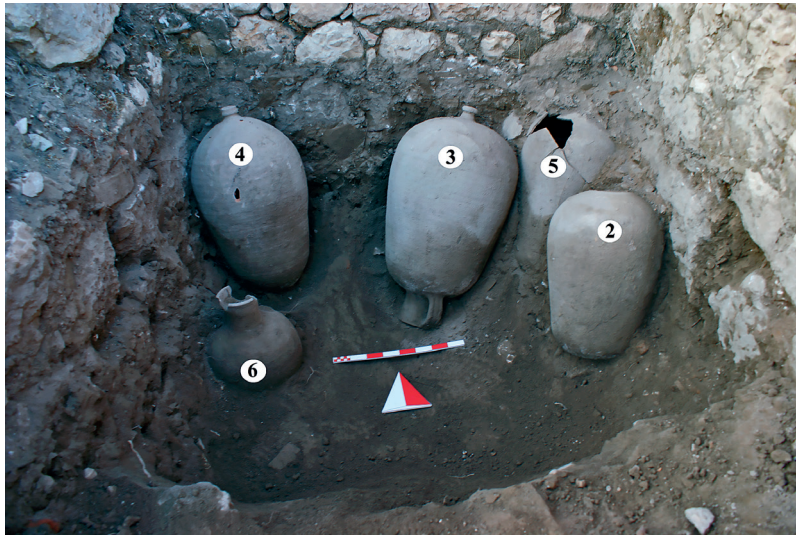


Fig. 9
Room 4c, find
group: amphorae



Fig. 10
Room 4c, amphora

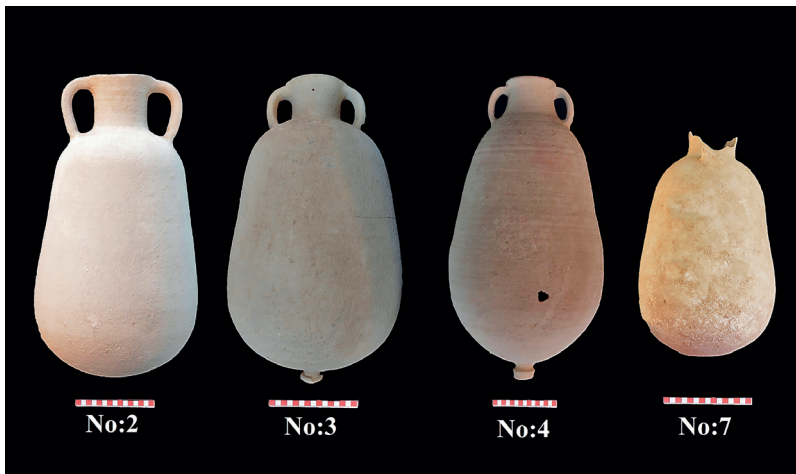


Fig. 11
Room 4c, find
group: amphorae



Fig. 12
Room 4b, floor pavement

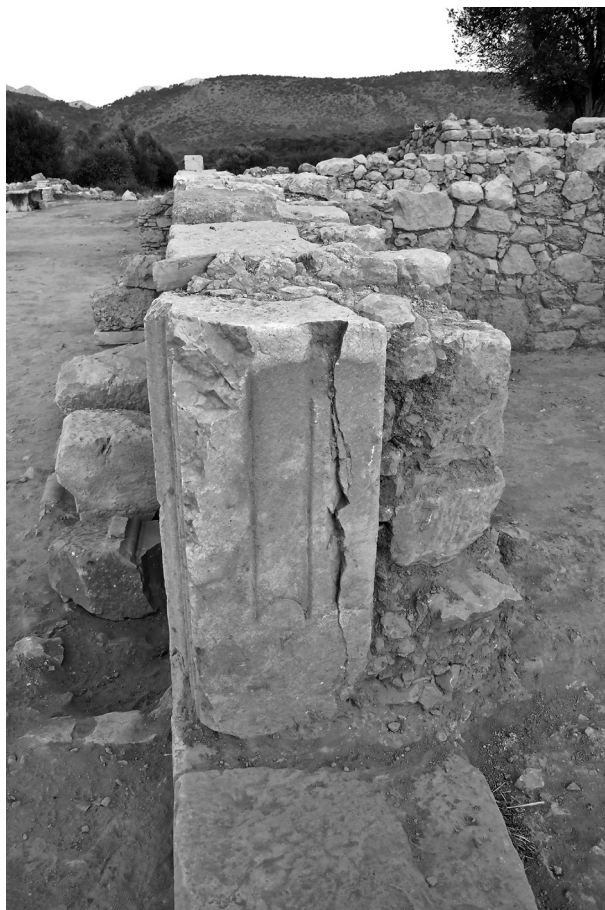


Fig. 13
Room 8, jamb detail



Fig. 14 Room 7, workshop



Fig. 15 Ionic-impost capital (Photo E. Üstündağ)

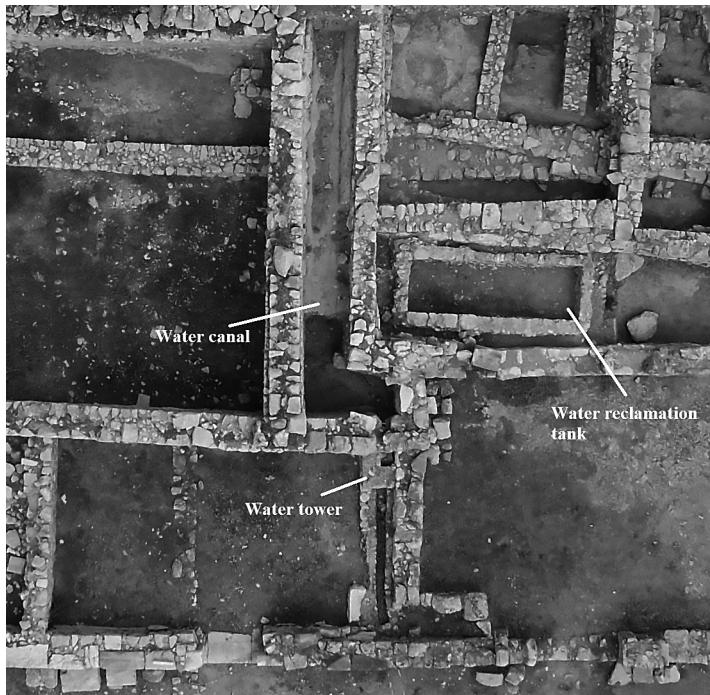


Fig. 16
Water system



Fig. 17
Room 8, winery: pithoi



Fig. 18
Room 8, winery:
pithoi and filling vessels



Fig. 19 Portico, northeast corner