

ADALYA

26 2023



AKMED

KOÇ UNIVERSITY

Suna & İnan Kıraç

Research Center for

Mediterranean Civilizations

26 2023

ISSN 1301-2746

ADALYA

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

(OFFPRINT)



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) – CC / A&H (Current Contents / Arts & Humanities), Social Sciences and Humanities Database of TÜBİTAK / ULAKBİM Tr Index, ERIH PLUS (European Reference Index for the Humanities and Social Sciences), Scopus, and Index Copernicus.

<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>	Metin Sitti, President, on behalf of Koç University
<i>Editor-in-chief</i>	Oğuz Tekin
<i>Editors</i>	Tarkan Kahya and Arif Yacı
<i>English copyediting</i>	Mark Wilson
<i>Editorial advisory board</i>	(Members serve for a period of five years) Emanuela Borgia, Università di Roma Sapienza (2021-2025) Ian Hodder, Koç Üniversitesi (2023-2027) Nevra Necipoğlu, Boğaziçi University (2023-2027) Fatih Onur, Akdeniz University (2023-2027) Christopher H. Roosevelt, Koç University (2021-2025) Charlotte Roueché, Emerita, King's College London (2019-2023) Mustafa H. Sayar, İstanbul University (2023-2027) Peter van Alfen, American Numismatic Society (2023-2027)
©	Koç University AKMED, 2023
<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>	Fotokitap Fotoğraf Ürünleri Paz. ve Tic. Ltd. Şti. Oruç Reis Mah. Tekstilkent B-5 Blok No. 10-AH111 Esenler - İstanbul / Türkiye Certificate number: 47448
<i>Mailing address</i>	Barbaros Mah. Kocatepe Sok. No. 22 Kaleiçi 07100 Antalya / Türkiye Tel: +90 (242) 243 42 74 • Fax: +90 (242) 243 80 13 https://akmed.ku.edu.tr
<i>E-mail address</i>	adalya@ku.edu.tr

Contents

Güzel Öztürk <i>Cultural Continuity from the Ka`rum Period to the Hittite Empire Period in Light of Stamp Seals and Impressions</i>	1
Müge Bulu <i>Contextualizing the Consumption of Syro-Cilician Ware at Tell Atchana / Alalakh (Hatay, Türkiye): A Functional Analysis</i>	37
Gülgüney Masalcı Şahin – Özlem Sir Gavaz <i>New Tablet Fragments on Dreams from the Boğazkale Archive</i>	75
Aytaç Dönmez – Halil Mert Erdoğan <i>Xanthos West Agora III: Dynastic Nele</i>	97
Oğuz Tekin <i>Weights of Alexandria in the Troad: Forms, Types, Units, and Chronology</i>	127
Erkan Alkaç – Beste Tomay <i>Amphora Stamps of the Hellenistic and Roman Periods from Myra and its Harbor Neighborhood of Andriake</i>	149
Mehmet Özhanlı <i>New Votive Plates Discovered in the Temple of Men and its Sanctuary in Pisidian Antioch</i>	171
Asuman Coşkun Abuagla <i>Nominative and Genitive Endings of Some Epichoric Personal Names in Light of Inscriptions from Tymbrida</i>	185
Nergis Ataç – Guntram Koch <i>Figürliche Reliefs frühchristlicher Zeit in Kleinasien (4.-6. / 7. Jahrhundert n.Chr.)</i>	197
Orçun Erdoğan – Hatice Pamir <i>The Temple Church at Epiphaneia in Cilicia Pedias and its Terracotta Frieze</i>	233
Yavuz Selim Güler <i>A Roman Steelyard with a Control Inscription from the Roman Imperial Period in the Pera Museum</i>	257
Mehmet Önal – Sevcan Ölçer <i>Research on the History, Function and Architectural Features of the Harran Saqiyas</i>	265
Seçkin Evcim <i>The Discovery in Olympus (Lycia) of One of the Oldest Known Paintings of Christ Pantocrator with a Discussion of its Iconography</i>	289

Reyhan Yirşen

*The Problem of Piracy in Commercial Relations between the Ottoman State and the Kingdom
of Two Sicilies (Sicilyateyn) between 1740 and 1804* 319

Ahmet Kısa

*Antalya Junior High School as the First Example Reflecting the Ottoman Modern Educational
Approach in Antalya* 337

Evren Dayar

Three Periods of Antalya in the 19th Century 363

Xanthos West Agora III: Dynastic *Nele*

In memory of Prof. Dr. Burhan VARKIVANÇ

AYTAÇ DÖNMEZ – HALİL MERT ERDOĞAN*

Abstract

New evidence obtained from excavation of the West Agora of Xanthos indicates that the first functional formation of the area may have taken place around 530-480 BC. This happened just after the founding of the Xanthos Dynasty during the time of the Dynast Kheziga (Kossika) or his son Kuprlli (Kybernis). Our comparisons with the agora of Avşar Tepesi, dated to the Early Classical period, revealed that these areas were a Lycian design. Epigraphic and archaeological evidence suggest that ceremonies for the purpose of ancestor cult, victory celebrations, and worshipping the gods occurred here. In addition, comparisons are made between our results and Oreshko's pairing of "acropolis *nele*", reveals that these two places, called agora and acropolis in Greek inscriptions from the late fifth century BC, may have been identified *nele* by the Lycians as only one area. It follows that these areas called *nele* have quite different characteristics from the Greek agora. Therefore, it shows that Lycian *nele* were only termed "agora" in translations on the Inscribed Pillar Monument and the Kudalije Sarcophagus. This occurred because of the lack of a more accurate and appropriate synonym for *nele* in ancient Greek. In addition, considering the early existence of the cult area of agora gods worshiped in the *nele*, whose sacred and religious function was a priority, it was initially created under

Öz

Ksanthos Batı Agora kazılarında elde edilen yeni veriler, alanın işlevsel olarak ilk oluşumunun Ksanthos Hanedanlığı'nın kuruluşunun ardından MÖ 530-480 yılları civarında, Hanedan Kheziga (Kossika) ya da oğlu Kuprlli (Kybernis) zamanında gerçekleşmiş olabileceğini göstermektedir. Erken Klasik Dönem'e tarihlendirilen Avşar Tepesi agorası ile yaptığımız karşılaştırmalar, içerisinde ata kültü ritüellerinin, zafer kutlamalarının ve tanrılara tapınım amaçlı törenlerin yapılmış olduğuna epigrafik ve arkeolojik kanıtlar bağlamında işaret edilen bu alanların Likya'ya özgü bir tasarı olduğunu ortaya koymuştur. Ayrıca, elde ettiğimiz sonuçlar ile Oreshko'nun "*nele akropolis*" eşleştirmesi üzerinden yaptığımız karşılaştırmalar, beşinci yüzyıldan itibaren Yunanca yazıtlarda agora ve akropolis olarak adlandırılan bu iki ayrı mekânın, Likyalılar tarafından yalnızca bir alan olarak *nele* ismiyle adlandırılmış olabileceğini ortaya koyar. Dolayısıyla Likçe'de *nele* olarak adlandırılan bu alanların bir Yunan agorasından çok farklı özelliklere sahip olmaları, Yazıtlı Dikme Anıtı ve Kudalije Lahdi üzerinde sadece çeviri amaçlı agora olarak ifade edildiklerini göstermektedir. Ayrıca kutsal ve dini işlevi ilk sırada geldiği anlaşılan *nele* içerisinde tapınım gören agora tanrıları kültü, alanın erken varlığı da göz önünde bulundurulduğunda ilk olarak Anadolu kültürü etkisinde oluşturulduğu ancak Klasik Dönem'de Atina'nın yoğun etkisi

* Corresponding author: Asst. Prof. Aytaç Dönmez, İstanbul Üniversitesi, Klasik Arkeoloji ABD. 34000 İstanbul, Türkiye. E-mail: aytac.donmez@istanbul.edu.tr ; <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-5326-8129>

Asst. Prof. Halil Mert Erdoğan, Antalya Belek Üniversitesi, Mimarlık ve Şehir Planlama Bölümü, Mimari Restorasyon Programı, 07000 Antalya, Türkiye. E-mail: halil.mert.erdogan@gmail.com ; <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-8119-7196>

the influence of Anatolian culture. However, due to the significant influence of Athens in the Classical period, it became paired with the Greek twelve gods.

Keywords: Xanthos, agora, *nele*, Gods of Agora, Lycia

nedeniyle Yunan On İki Tanrısı ile eşleştirildiği düşünülmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Ksanthos, agora, *nele*, Agora Tannıları, Lykia

Xanthos is the most important and powerful city of the Lycian Dynastic period in Western Lycia.¹ In the city, where excavations have been carried out since the 1950s, a dynastic palace surrounded by walls and monumental temenos-tombs from the seventh century BC were found.² The West Agora (figs. 1-2), where quantities of the early finds were made, is located on the western flank of Xanthos and on the northern slope of the Lycian Acropolis. The agora, around which there are examples of Lycian Dynastic period (545-362 BC) tomb architecture, particularly pillar-tombs³, exhibits the Roman Imperial period (first century AD) form in its present-day architectural remains.⁴ It had the function of a state agora during the Roman Imperial period, and was later transformed into the center of religious and commercial activity through the addition of two churches, a chapel and workshops, as well as a winery when the area was changed in the Byzantine period. The area was abandoned due to the Muslim raids during the second half of the seventh century AD. It later became a simple settlement in the tenth and eleventh centuries, with traces from the Late Byzantine period⁵ (13th century AD) of Seljuk-period nomadic culture.

“[δ]ώδεκα θεοῖς ἀγορᾶς ἐν καθαρῶι τεμένει...”⁶

“to the Twelve Gods in the holy temenos of the agora...”⁷

As known from the Greek poem on the Inscribed Pillar dated to late fifth century BC in the northeast corner of the agora,⁸ this area had a Classical period phase. It is also known from this poem that the dynast Kherei dedicated the monument to the “Twelve Gods” and had it built inside the sacred temenos of the agora.⁹ However, the problems related to this phase

¹ Keen 1998; des Courtils 2003; Işık 2016a, 2016b; Varkıvaç 2017.

² The large structure, thought to be a temenos-tomb in the southeastern part of the city, is quite interesting. A block with a Neo-Hittite god relief (mother-child) on the walls of this building and two orthostates, one with a bull and the other with a lion relief, are dated to the seventh century BC; see Varkıvaç 2018, 931-32. For the reliefs also see des Courtils 2003, 43; Işık 2016b, 455-56.

³ For a general evaluation of the pillar tombs, see Draycott 2007, 103-34.

⁴ For the agora of the Roman Imperial period, see Dönmez 2018a, 219-47.

⁵ For the Byzantine period, see Dönmez 2018b.

⁶ *TL* 44c, 22. Lycian inscriptions given as *TL* 44 refer to *TAM* 1.

⁷ Translated by T. Bryce: Bryce 1986, 96. For the translation as “pure Temenos” see Dönmez and Schürr 2015, 132: “reine Temenos”.

⁸ For the historical content of the inscription, see *TAM* 1, 38-56; Childs 1981, 63; Bryce 1986, 107-20; Borchhardt et al. 1997-1999, 17-22; Keen 1998, 130-39; Bousquet 1992, 155-70; des Courtils 2003, 49-51; Schürr 2012, 2009, 2007b; Thonemann 2009. For the latest reviews on this subject, see Müseler and Schürr 2018; Müseler 2020; Hyland 2021; Oreshko 2021; Sasseville 2021.

⁹ Mörholm and Zahle 1976, 87; Bryce 1982, 332; Nieswandt 2011, 7, 327; 1995, 20, 24; Lotz 2017; Müseler and Schürr 2018, 382; Müseler 2020. For those who argue that the owner of the tomb is Kheriga, see Laroche 1974, 142-46; Bousquet 1992, 167-72; Keen 1998, 129-31; 1992, 55, 59; Eichner 2006, 233-36; Thonemann 2009, 167; Oreshko 2021; Sasseville 2021, 163.

still continue today. The first of these is that an architectural trace of the “pure Temenos” of the Classical period agora mentioned in the poem has yet to be found.¹⁰ The second problem is the debate on whether this area shows the influence of Greek culture, since an agora is mentioned in the inscription. And does it represent a design and culture specific to Dynastic Lycia, given the use of the Lycian word *nele* on the monument? Under these circumstances we believe that the few remnants of a wall dated to the Classical period uncovered during the agora excavations in 2014¹¹ and 2015¹² are connected only with the Inscribed Pillar Monument.¹³ Fortunately, thanks to the new architectural and archaeological finds obtained from the excavations in 2016 that are presented in this article, we reached a part of the “pure Temenos” of the agora mentioned in the Greek verse. This evidence is important for solving the first of the above-mentioned problems and brings new interpretations into the discussion about the second question. So much so, this new evidence has made it necessary to date the area to the Late Archaic-Early Classical period.

Description

The remains of the classical agora, the subject of this study, lie in an east-west direction on the north of the temenos (T) wall of the Inscribed Pillar Monument unearthed in 2015 (figs. 3-4). However, because this area was in a position where vital activities in Xanthos continued uninterrupted until the Middle Byzantine Period (10th and 11th centuries AD), only three blocks (A-B-C) and trenches (Q) remained from the wall. Building walls dated to the Roman Imperial (R) and Middle Byzantine periods (M) overlie the remains of the wall (fig. 5). The direction of the trenches forming the wall is almost parallel to the temenos wall of the Inscribed Pillar.

Block B is in the middle and better preserved than the other two blocks (A, C) and broken in the upper part. Block B is 1.20 m wide, and its preserved height is 0.75 m. The eastern face of B rises vertically, while its western face rises slanting towards block A, with which it meshes. The thickness of the wall cannot be observed precisely because of the late-period wall located just above the block. Thus, the observable thickness of block B is 0.35 m. The surface of the block is trimmed and smooth (figs. 5-6).

The westernmost block A has been damaged considerably compared to block B which it abuts, and only a very small section of it has survived to the present day. The preserved height of this block is 0.20 m, and its width is 0.36 m. The surface of this block is flat and smooth, with the same features as block B. Block A, like block B, sits quite flat on the wall trench.

¹⁰ From the 1950s, when archaeological research began in Xanthos, until 2007, many excavations have been carried out around the monument in order to reach the remains of the Classical period agora mentioned in the inscription. However, no such find of this has occurred. For the work carried out around the Inscribed Pillar Monument in the 1950s, see Demargne 1958, 79; 1953, 156; 1952, 168; 1951, 63. Although the West Agora excavations were carried out under the then head of excavations, des Courtils, to find traces of the Classical period agora structure, no early finds were made. des Courtils interpreted this situation as indicating all the remains of the early structure may have been cleared away while the new agora structure was built during the Roman Imperial period. For the same idea see also Kolb 1998, 42. For the work carried out in the West Agora during the time of des Courtils, see des Courtils et al. 1997, 317-18; des Courtils and Laroche 1998, 457-58; 2003, 54; des Courtils et al. 2007, 319-20; 2006, 280.

¹¹ Dönmez and Yanardağ 2015.

¹² Dönmez 2016.

¹³ Three blocks unearthed at the northwest corner of the monument in 2014 and 2015, along with the surviving trench of the wall surrounding the monument, showed that the Inscribed Pillar had a temenos wall; see Dönmez and Schür 2015.

The easternmost block C, most of which is under the late period wall, looks almost like a piece of rubble, because its outer surface has been severely damaged. Despite this, the fit of the block upon the wall trench is quite similar to the other two blocks in terms of consistency of the junction angles with block B and the type of stone. In this context, the observed height of this block - the eastward continuation of the wall - is 0.60 m and its width 0.36 m. When viewed from above, the upper parts of the two blocks (C-B) are at the same height, and they join each other at a flat angle, approximately 0.20 m wide, on their side surfaces. The two blocks are curved inwards from the point where the joints of these side faces end. This probably evidences anathyrosis workmanship and shows that the backs of the blocks were left in a roughly curved shape.

On the south side of the blocks, a second row (E) made of stones of various sizes can be observed (fig. 7). The height of this wall, built using the logaden masonry¹⁴ technique with irregular workmanship, is 1.65 m. Unfortunately, this side of the wall remains under the ruins (R) thought to belong to the building of the Artemis Kombike sanctuary dating from second-third centuries AD.¹⁵ However, the eastern continuation (E) of the wall running southwards emerges (fig. 8) at the point where the building remains associated with the Artemis sanctuary come to an end. This wall extension, of which about two m are visible, is also logaden-built. Another large block of wall F is located at the point where the east end of the remains of wall E terminates (fig. 9). Although the Middle Byzantine period structure (M) passing over this block does not allow us to see its front and side surfaces that are on the same axis as the other blocks (A-B-C), it can be seen that the workmanship of the back of block F was left rough.¹⁶ There is a 0.30 m gap between the block and wall trench Q.¹⁷ The wall trench is traceable 3 m further east from this block. However, it is not possible to follow the trench further east from this point, since it passes under the modern asphalt road.

To the west of blocks A, B and C the wall bed, which moves into earth fill, can be followed for a distance of 14 m. Its westward continuation cannot be observed (fig. 10). In this part of the wall bed there is a 10 m long wall (H) extension inside the bed and logaden-built during the Hellenistic Period (fig. 11). However, the stones inside this wall are smaller and irregular in size compared to the other wall, and its axis is not in the same direction as the wall bed. The height of the wall trench north of the wall bed varies between 0.17 m and 0.22 m.

There is another wall bedding trench, with a width of 0.50 m, and lower by an average of 0.17 m, running south from the point where the wall bedding trench, upon which blocks A, B and C sit, ends. Inside the wall bed here, on the southern border of the blocks, there is a square block (D), with a width of 0.46 m, a depth of 0.42 m, and a height of 0.35 m. However, the upper part has been destroyed. All three visible faces of the block show smooth and

¹⁴ Logaden masonry can be defined as bastard masonry or dry wall that generally offers a style wherein the stones of the wall is are unworked and their joints do not meet. For detailed information see Akarca 1987, 113; Erdoğan 2017, 65-66.

¹⁵ Dönmez et al. 2017.

¹⁶ Similar wall masonry is seen in the podium structure on Aşar Tepesi (Zagaba), located in the area defined as the agora and thought to have a sacred function. It is dated to Early Classical period; see Thomsen 2002, 107, figs. 45-46.

¹⁷ In masonry from the Lycian region, especially in the early periods, working the bedrock is found almost as a common style feature in wall foundations. In the examples where the bedrock has been shaped to act as the wall bed, distance or height differences may occur between the wall and the wall bed, especially depending upon the topography; see Marksteiner 1997, 112-13.

burnished¹⁸ workmanship. The block sits quite neatly on the flattened wall bed. This indicates that the block has remained *in situ*. Similar bedding is observed at the westernmost end of the bed trench (Q). At this point, the south of the wall building trench, with an approximate height of 0.15 m, was trimmed to a width of approximately 1.20 m (fig. 6).

Reconstruction of the Wall

The finds examined provide very important information for the reconstruction of the wall. In this context, the three blocks marked A, B and C show themselves, both from their shape and by their very smooth fit to the wall foundation bed, to be the original blocks of the wall and so reveal the architectural texture of the building. The remains of logaden-built walls (E) to the north and east of the blocks also constitutes the second side of the wall.¹⁹ Therefore, block F - located in the easternmost of the wall trenches, whose front side cannot be seen due to the late-period wall upon it, and whose back surface is rough-worked - should also be one of the blocks belonging to the inner masonry of the wall. The presence of a gap of approximately 0.30 m between this block and the wall construction trench shows that this part was also logaden-built (E). We determined this to be the second side of the wall.²⁰ In this context, the oval-shaped and roughly worked back face of this large block F in its eastern section indicates that the unseen reverse faces of the central blocks A, B and C are similar. The central position of blocks A, B, C and E clearly shows how wide the wall trench is. This is because the blocks here can be traced in both directions as they sit on the wall trench, providing both the inner and outer wall surfaces. Thus, the distance between the northern wall trench and the southern one, whose blocks sit on the trench, is 1.20 m. In summary, the wall has an arrangement in which trapezoidal²¹ or polygonal masonry may be posited, due to the obtuse angle of the particularly intact western edge of the block, which is quite damaged. The reverse side has an inner wall consisting of large blocks of oval form and bastard masonry, and an outer logaden wall knitted with stones of various sizes surrounding this wall from behind. The length of the wall is 25 m, and the total width of the trench in which the wall sits is 1.20 m.

¹⁸ For Parement Dressé or Tooled Face see Ginouvès and Martin 1985, 130. It is believed this craftsmanship began to appear in the Archaic period and is found especially in temples of the fifth to fourth centuries BC; see Orlandos 1968, 172.

¹⁹ This masonry technique is also called Hollow Wall; see Tayla 2007, 2:578. The masonry organization expected in double-skinned walls is the connection of parallel wall extensions that stand apart from each other, suitable for the weft-warp system. However, in early periods, instead of this bond system, the spaces between the two walls were filled with organic materials, especially of materials bonded with clay; see Vitruvius, *De arch.* 2.4.1, 2.5.1; Marksteiner 1997, 112-13.

²⁰ The walls built in this style are known in the Lycian region, especially in the wall configurations related to fortifications from the Classical period. Basically, the sizes of the blocks generally differ between the two walls. The front wall, which provides the visible façade, is built with larger blocks. The backs of these large blocks were left convex, and the other walls built with smaller stones fit into the gaps formed by these bulges. For such practices observed since the Classical period, especially in structures related to fortifications in the Lycian region, see Marksteiner 1997, 114; also Erdoğan 2022.

²¹ The angle change of the horizontal or vertical joints in the block eliminates masonry forms, such as rectangular isodomic and rectangular pseudo-isodomic. For blocks in which such angle changes are detected, only trapezoidal-isodomic or trapezoidal pseudo-isodomic are possible. Sequential polygonal or ordinary polygonal are the only masonry techniques that can be used. For masonry with trapezoidal blocks, see Ginouvès and Martin 1985, 98; Scranton 1941, 70-98; Orlandos 1968, 135-39. For masonry with polygonal blocks, see Ginouvès and Martin 1985, 97-98; Orlandos 1968, 132-34; Scranton 1941, 45-69; Akarca 1987, 113; Winter 1971, 78-80; Saner 1995, 28-29; Erdoğan 2022, 2017.

The second wall trench, 0.50 m wide, is located approximately 0.17 m lower and just south of blocks A, B and C. This indicates another arrangement in front of the wall. Another approximately square block (D), located in front of the three blocks and properly seated in this trench, supports our assumption that there is a different arrangement concerning the wall's façade. In this context, this arrangement in front of the wall may indicate an interlocking architectural configuration. It is quite possible, in terms of similar examples in the city, that another large orthostat block, cut with the same form and size as the small block, was located from the lower part of this small block (D) and aligned with the wall bed.

The most important feature within the city, comparable for a possible architectural arrangement that might be located in front of the wall, is the unidentified building in the Southeast Sector. There are two north-south oriented walls with a distance of approximately 35 m between them. Different opinions have been presented about the function of this structure,²² created by two 17 m-long walls built of large blocks in the Lesbos style.²³ As a result of the excavations made around the walls, it was understood that two orthostat blocks, one with a bull relief and the other with a lion relief, were placed on the small rectangular blocks standing *in situ* on the eastern wall with one corner aligned to it.²⁴ In this arrangement, the neatly cut rectangular slot in a lateral corner of the lower part of the bull relief orthostat block fits perfectly over the rectangular *in situ* block in the wall.²⁵ Thus, a frieze-shaped row of bull and lion reliefs was formed on the wall. In this context, the presence of a block on this small block is similar to the relief blocks in the Southeast Sector, in front of the wall blocks unearthed to the north of the agora. A row of reliefs may have been set up inside the wall. At present this is a possible interpretation.

Dating

We have three pieces of evidence for the suggested dating of the wall. The first is the date of the inscription on the Inscribed Pillar Monument. The second is the typological and stylistic dating provided by the wall, and the third is the pottery sherds recovered from the excavations around the wall.

First is the expression, “in the pure Temenos of agora,” on the north face of the Inscribed Pillar Monument. The date 425-400 BC, when this pillar of the dynast Kherei was built, gives us a *terminus ante quem* for dating the wall.²⁶ In addition, the workmanship of the trench on the wall line and the trenches of the temenos wall of the Inscribed Pillar, unearthed in 2015, are quite similar to each other. However, as mentioned in the Lycian inscription on the Inscribed

²² des Courtils 2012b, 154-55: “a monumental gate that may belong to a palace, city walls or a tomb”; Cavalier 2006, 350: “a prestige structure like a palace or a tomb”; Özüdoğru 2008, 89, 92, 148: “a city entrance or a monumental tomb arranged with embossed orthostats” or “a sacred structure in the local architectural tradition, with the same function as the orthostats in Zincirli or Karatepe Güney Kapı”; Borchhardt and Bleibtreu 2013, 11: “a Pre-Persian East Gate”; Varkıvaç 2018, 928: “the walls should be the delimiter of a podium or terrace encountered in later monuments of the city such as the G Monument and the Nereids Monument.”

²³ In early studies, this work is defined as the “Lesbos Masonry Technique” with reference to Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*; see Ginouvès and Martin 1985, 98; Orlandos 1968, 129-30; Scranton 1941, 27; Akarca 1987, 113-14; Saner 1995, 29. However, this workmanship is essentially a joint work encountered in polygonal masonry; see Erdoğan 2017, 61-62. Despite this fundamental difference, masonry with this craftsmanship developed in Hellas before the Persian Wars, in the sixth century BC; see Scranton 1941, 44. This recommendation is also consistent with the Southeast Sector of Xanthos.

²⁴ Varkıvaç 2018, 925, fig. 10.

²⁵ For the reconstruction of wall and blocks, see Varkıvaç 2018, 925, fig. 11.

²⁶ Dönmez and Schür 2015, 145.

Pillar, Kherei erected his pillar near a holy building²⁷ belonging to the gods of the agora²⁸ and to the graves of his grandfather and father.

In addition, Kherei, in the continuation of his statement in Greek verse, says that no one has ever had a stele like the Inscribed Pillar erected within the “pure temenos.” Therefore, the tombs of his grandfather and father were in the agora before Kherei erected the Inscribed Pillar. So Kherei states that the most magnificent of the tombs here is his pillar monument, and he sees himself greater than other dynastic members.²⁹ The tomb that Kherei mentions in the inscription may be the “House-Tomb,”³⁰ thought to belong to his father Harpagos and dated to 460-440 B.C. Therefore, the terminus ante quem of the wall is earlier, since the tomb of the father was placed in the temenos of the agora, as stated in the inscription.

This dating parallels the typological and stylistic dating of the wall. Thomas Marksteiner, one of the pioneering researchers concerning the architecture of Lycian walls, argues that this type of wall employs a technique especially favored for fortification structures during the Classical period.³¹ In addition, the surface workmanship³² observed on the wall points to a certain period compared with other examples in the Lycian region. Workmanship of flat surface or burnished surface can also be observed on the Embankment Wall (?) at Trysa,³³ in the Southeast Sector at Xanthos,³⁴ and the tower of the South Gate of the city.³⁵ All of these structures have been dated to the Late Archaic-Early Classical period.

Surface workmanship of various kinds such as bossage were employed intensely in the Hellenistic period, and a change in polyorctic approach related to this may undoubtedly be cited as the reason.³⁶ However, the pottery sherds recovered from the excavations conducted around the wall, and especially in the wall bed, date the wall to an earlier date. These three blocks (A, B, C) and the wall remains (E) forming the second wall with logaden composition were not dismantled in later periods, and the next layer was laid directly above it. In this context, especially the lowest level of the blocks and the heavy black-figure imported pottery sherds (fig. 12a-e), uncovered in the wall bed ditch during excavations, are dated between 540 and 525 BC.³⁷

²⁷ Schürr 2009, 172; Dönmez and Schürr 2015, 145.

²⁸ Schürr 2007a; 2001, 114; Dönmez and Schürr 2015, 145; Eichner 2005, 29; Thonemann 2009, 169.

²⁹ Dönmez and Schürr 2015, 145.

³⁰ Demargne 1958, 21; des Courtils 2003, 46, figs. 12-13.

³¹ Marksteiner 1997, 114.

³² Also, for Parement Dressé, Tooled Face, or *αργολιθοδομη*, see Ginouvès and Martin 1985, 130.

³³ Marksteiner 1993, 45.

³⁴ Erdoğan 2017, 47-51; Varkivanç 2018.

³⁵ Erdoğan 2017, 41; Kökmen Seyirci 2017.

³⁶ Winter 1971, 85-86.

³⁷ Six fragments of an imported volute crater were recovered from the wall bed south of the blocks and the spaces between the blocks (fig. 12a). There are rows of palmette leaf motifs in black-figure technique on yellow slip, one of the characteristic features datable to 540-525 BC, on the part below the meander motif on the mouth of the pieces. While the three pieces are thought to belong to the lower part of the body, they also have rays and tongue motifs, also characteristic of this period. For this see Beazley 1956, 280, no. 55; *CVA* 36, 15-16, figs. 5, (pls. 2251-252) 6.6, 7.1-4; Cohen 2006, 84, no. 16; Lund and Rasmussen 1995, 81, no. 3. In addition, a small kylix fragment with a warrior figure in the black-figure technique, dated to a similar period as the crater, and an amphora mouth fragment (c) with a vertically broken handle and a broken oil lamp fragment, which are local wares, were found in the bedrock spaces between the wall channel beds and the blocks (fig. 12 c-f). The ceramics in the upper layer reflect a mixed context, especially Archaic, Classical and Hellenistic periods. This successive mixed context, although questionable in terms of dating, may indicate chronological continuity around the wall. Again, three pieces carrying geometric motifs recovered from this layer have earlier features than the other pieces (a).

This dating agrees well with the similarly dated wall-crown blocks found in the immediate vicinity of the wall. About 10 m north of the excavated temenos, blocks with Ionic kymation decoration dated around Late Archaic-Early Classical period (sixth or early fifth century BC) were found during excavations carried out in 2005 (fig. 13).³⁸ The discovery close to the temenos wall, together with the dimensions of the blocks, the historical context between them and the wall, and the absence of any other building in the immediate vicinity to which these blocks may have belonged: these all strengthen both our proposal in dating the wall and the possibility that these blocks belonged to the temenos wall. Examples of wall-crown arrangements at the top of temenos walls are encountered here and in other cities in Lycia. The temenos wall built of polygonal blocks in the Lesbos style and dated to the Late Archaic-Early Classical period in the Southeast Sector is one of the similar examples in the city to date.³⁹ There is a wall-crown on the upper parts of the single-row blocks. Although it is later dated, the closest similar example, in terms of architectural order, is the Heroon of Trysa. There is a 0.32 m high wall-crown decorated with an Ionic kymation on the top row of the temenos wall of the heroon (380 BC).⁴⁰ Another example from the city is the Nereid Monument. Although it is not a temenos, the top of the podium wall of the monument with similar characteristics ends with a kymation-decorated wall-crown.⁴¹

Our evaluation of these finds indicates that the uncovered remains belong to the wall that defines the area referred to as the “pure Temenos” in the poem on the Inscribed Pillar Monument. Also, the finds show this area was in use around 530-480 BC. This dating corresponds to the earliest period of the dynasty that ruled Xanthos⁴² after the Persian invasion by the Median commander Harpagos in 546 BC, about 100 years before the dynast Kherei built the Inscribed Pillar Monument. This dynasty may possibly be of the “Lineage of Karikas,”⁴³ mentioned in the Greek poem on the pillar monument. The possible Lycian equivalent of Karikas is thought to be Kheziga.⁴⁴ This connection is established via the commander named Kybernis mentioned by Herodotus. Herodotus tells us that in 480 BC, Kybernis, son of Kossika, commanded a unit of 50 Lycian warships in support of the Persian navy at the Battle of Salamis.⁴⁵ In this context, the letters “KYB” on the earliest coins⁴⁶ used in Lycia are thought to

³⁸ des Courtils et al., 2006, 282, fig. 11. In the Ionic kymation decoration on the façade of the block, the eggs have an oval appearance approaching a triangular form, and the egg walls are quite thin. The arrow-shaped decorations have suffered the most wear since they are located in the upper corner. They start a little below the middle of the eggs and have a larger surface compared to the egg shells. In the Ionic kymation decoration, the form of the eggs and the arrow-shaped decorations are inseparable from the eggs. For similar examples dated to the Late Archaic period (530-500 BC), see Schneider 1984, 333-43; Koenigs 1986, 113, pl. 11.1; Boardman 1959, 177-78, pl. 26a, n. 15; Tuchelt 1984, 205, pl. 54.2; Buschor 1957, 21, suppl. 19.1. For similar examples dates to the Late Archaic period (500-480 BC); Ateşlier 2001, 150, figs. 13-16; Thieme 1993, 49, pl. 9.3; Boardman 1959, 180-86, pl. 26C, n. 27.

³⁹ Varkıvanç 2018.

⁴⁰ Marksteiner 2002, 157, fig. 192; Landskron 2015, 393, pl. 19.

⁴¹ Coupell and Demargne 1969, 59-66, pls. 24-27, XVIII.

⁴² On the date of the establishment of the Xanthos dynasty, for 545 BC see Keen 1998, 79-82; for 530 BC see Müseler 2018, 25; for 550 BC see Kolb 2016, 36.

⁴³ “Κα[-]ικα γένος” (TL44c 31): “...It was Him who crowned the lineage of Karikas through the most beautiful deeds”; see des Courtils 2003, 53; Işık 2016b, 436.

⁴⁴ This is a controversial pairing. For those who complete the name as Κα[ζ]ικα and match it with Kheziga, see Bousquet 1992, 173; Keen 1998, 81-82; Thonemann 2009, 169; Kolb 2016, 38; Işık 2016b, 441. For those who complete it with Κα[ρ]ικα and matched it with Kheriga, see TAM 1; Schürr 2007b, 32. “Καρικα γένος” (c31) Kheriga see Müseler and Schürr 2018, 394-95.

⁴⁵ Hdt. 7.92-98.

⁴⁶ Mørkholm and Neumann 1978, 6, M1, M2; Vismara 1989, 70-72, no. 35.

represent Kybernis.⁴⁷ It is mostly accepted that the Lycian equivalent of Kybernis is Kuprlli.⁴⁸ Therefore, since Kybernis was a ruler in Xanthos from 525-480 BC, it is probable that his father Kossika, or Kheziga, ruled the city from approximately 540-525 BC.⁴⁹ In this historical context, the temenos wall uncovered in the dynastic agora may have been built for the first time during the dynasty of Kheziga or his son Kuprlli / Kybernis.

When we compare this dating within the architectural context of the area, we only have a Wrestler's Relief dated to 530-525 BC.⁵⁰ This relief with exactly the same features as the marble slabs surrounding the burial chambers of other pillar tomb monuments in the area, taken with its find location, form and dimensions, probably belongs to the burial chamber of a pillar monument.⁵¹ In this context, especially considering the tombs around the dynastic agora, the most appropriate view advanced to date is that the Wrestler's Relief may belong to the first phase of the Sarcophagus Pillar Monument.⁵² While the sarcophagus on the pillar is dated to the fourth century BC,⁵³ the excavations carried out in the hollow pillar produced finds of imported Attic ceramics dated to 540-525 BC.⁵⁴ Consequently, the first phase of the monument should belong to this date. Probably the only building in the agora that conforms to this dating is the Wrestler's Pillar, thought to belong to Kheziga F (figs. 15-16).⁵⁵

“stta?l]ti: n̄tepi: Puwejehe: t̄urt[tahi: tezi?:
se-n̄tewē: Erbbinahe: tezi: χu[gahi: ehbije]hi:
se-n̄tewē: teθ̄θ̄i: ehbij[ehi: prnawi?]⁵⁶
se-n̄tewē: mahana: neleze[(a, 24-27).”

“(It should stand?] onto Puweje's,⁵⁷ the unc [le's, sarcophagus (or monument)?⁵⁸
and] opposite Erbbina's sarcophagus (or monument), [his] grandfather's,
and opposite his father's [house-tomb?]
and opposite the gods of the agora.⁵⁹

⁴⁷ Shahbazi 1975, 46; Işık 2016a, 174; Kolb 2016, 38.

⁴⁸ Shahbazi 1975, 48-49; Bryce 1982, 330; Keen 1998, 96; 1992, 53-56; Işık 2002, 107, n. 5; Özüdoğru 2008, 144; Kolb 2016, 38; Işık 2019, 548; Dönmez 2021, 114.

⁴⁹ Keen 1992, 63; 1998, 82; Kolb 2016, 38.

⁵⁰ Demargne 1958, 44, pl. 13. For different dating see Akurgal 1961, 134 (530 BC); Marksteiner 2002, 238-39, no. 12 (525 BC). Also see Draycott 2007, 107, fig. 3.

⁵¹ Keen 1992, 63. For another view see Işık 2016a, 174. The relief was recovered from the pillar section of the Sarcophagus Pillar. This embossed block, found in an inverted position and 2.30 m below the floor cover, was reused to protect Hellenistic sepulchre; see Demargne 1958, 50-51; Marksteiner 2002, 238-39; des Courtils 2003, 59-60, fig. 18.

⁵² Keen 1992, 63.

⁵³ Demargne 1958, 51.

⁵⁴ des Courtils 2003, 59; Cavalier and des Courtils 2012, 247-50.

⁵⁵ Keen 1992, 63.

⁵⁶ Oreshko completes the sentence with the term *arawazije*, as opposed to Schürr's *prnawi*: “*se n̄tewē: teθ̄θ̄i: ehbijebi arawazije*” / “and in front of [the monument] of hi[s] father”; see Oreshko 2021, 106.

⁵⁷ The use of this term is also quite problematic. While Schürr and also Tekoğlu (Tekoğlu 2017, 65) treat the word as a personal name, Oreshko states that the term *puwejehñ* means inscribed or painted: “*tezi puwejehñ*” / “inscribed / painted monument”; see Oreshko 2021, 113, 115.

⁵⁸ For *tezi* as “monument” see Oreshko 2021, 105, 113-14.

⁵⁹ Dönmez and Schürr 2015, 145.

The second tomb built in the dynastic agora is the Harpy Monument dated to 480 BC. In historical context, this monument may belong to one of Kherei's two grandfathers - Kuprlli⁶⁰ (Kybernis) or Erbinna I.⁶¹ The inscription only mentions the location of Erbinna's tomb, although the names of both appear in the inscription. However, in the inscription, the word *tezi*, the Lycian architectural term applied to Erbinna's tomb,⁶² is preferred. This term has been analyzed by Neumann in several ways: as sarcophagus, monument or chamber.⁶³ Therefore, if *tezi* is accepted as a sarcophagus, it could be posited that the Harpy Monument belongs only to Kuprlli. If it is considered to be a monument or a chamber, it could belong to Erbinna also.⁶⁴ In the case of the Harpy Monument being attributed to Kuprlli alone, it is conceivable that a sarcophagus of a similar date, longer extant, must have been located in the agora. We think that the Harpy Monument more likely belonged to Erbinna, since the inscription does not mention a tomb belonging to Kuprlli. If this is the case, it suggests that the tomb of Kuprlli / Kybernis⁶⁵ or Erbinna was placed next to the tomb of Kheziga. There would therefore have been two tombs in the agora around 480 BC.

Probably the third tomb built in the agora is the one located on the east and known as the "House-Tomb." This feature of the tomb, the only different type among the pillars in the area, probably belonged to Harpagos, the father of Kheriga and Kherei.⁶⁶ It is not known whether Harpagos was a dynast,⁶⁷ since no coins minted in his name have been found. He must have had aristocratic status because he was married to Kuprlli's daughter Ignota.⁶⁸ The tomb may therefore have been built employing a different architectural style. The Inscribed Pillar also states that the pillar is located directly opposite the tomb of tomb owner's father.⁶⁹

The "House-Tomb" provides probable indications concerning the architecture of the dynastic agora. Located in the southeast corner of the dynastic agora and running north from the northeast border of this tomb, there is a wall line with an exposed length of seven m. This lies right on the edge of the modern asphalt road (fig. 14). Polished workmanship is observed on the surfaces of the large polygonal blocks encountered in the masonry.⁷⁰ Along the edges the miter work and the joints are combined in perfect harmony.⁷¹ In terms of workmanship and typological features, the wall exhibits features almost identical to the walls of the Lycian Acropolis.⁷² In addition, the northeast orientation of the wall is not parallel to the outer wall

⁶⁰ Demargne 1958, 44; Shahbazi 1975, 49; Keen 1998, 96; Özüdoğru 2008, 15; Cavalier and des Courtils 2012. For the opposite view see Işık 2016b, 441.

⁶¹ For Erbinna II as a dynast in the beginning of the third century BC and son of Kheriga, see Thonemann 2009, 169.

⁶² *se-jñewē: Erbbinabe: tezi: χulgabi: ebbijelbi:* (a, 25)

⁶³ Neumann 2007, 355. Also see Tekoğlu 2017, 65. For *tezi* as "sarcophagus" see Schür 2009, 172; 2020, 103; Eichner 2017, 283; for *tezi* as "monument" see Oreshko 2021, 105, 113-14.

⁶⁴ Thonemann notes: "If the tombs of Arbinas I and his son Harpagos are still in existence (which is by no means certain), it is possible that they are to be identified with the Harpy-monument and the theatre-pillar respectively"; see Thonemann 2009, 184, n. 19.

⁶⁵ For the Kybernis cult around the Harpy Monument see Cavalier and des Courtils 2012.

⁶⁶ *"ebē ñnił: stallāl: m=e|n=adē : χjer[ē i: ar]ppa-χub"*: "Diese Stele, die hat errichtet Xerēi, Kind des *Arppaxu*"; see Lotz 2017, 156.

⁶⁷ The name of Harpagos is mentioned in the inscriptions from the city of Phellos; see Thonemann 2009, 168, n. 7.

⁶⁸ Thonemann 2009, 169.

⁶⁹ Dönmez and Schür 2015, 145.

⁷⁰ Ginouvès and Martin 1985, 130; Orlandos 1968, 172.

⁷¹ Erdoğan 2017, 61.

⁷² Metzger and Coupell 1963, 11-14, pl. 10; Marksteiner 1993, 35-36; Marksteiner 1994, 300-1; Erdoğan 2017, 21-22. Also, for the surface work encountered in the masonry, see Scranton 1941, 25.

of the Roman agora. However, since this orientation lies under the modern street, it has not yet been possible to excavate its continuation. Nevertheless, this orientation does tell us something. This wall runs from south to north and meets on almost the same axis the dynastic agora's northern temenos wall, whose northern part is exposed and whose unexposed continuation lies beneath the modern asphalt road to the east. In addition, the axis of this wall line, which runs north from east of the House-Tomb, also extends along the same plane as the axis of the eastern face of the Inscribed Pillar Monument. In this context, this wall may have functioned as the eastern boundary wall of the dynastic agora. Its typological and stylistic features suggest that this wall was probably built at the same time as the House-Tomb. This dating indicates the wall was added approximately 60-70 years after the wall to the north.

This situation can be explained in two ways. The first possibility is that when the dynastic agora was built in the Late Archaic period, only a north-running wall was required. The need in this section may have been due to the fact that the northern side of the area rises to the north with a very great difference in level above the agora plain. This sloping height is unlike others, so at this point the wall functions not only as a boundary marker but also to prevent any flow of earth from the north. The fact that the outer face of the north-facing wall was logaden-built with an irregular composition indicates that the wall was not visible from the north and that there was therefore no human habitation at this point. The second possibility is that this part of the wall was built together with the northern wall, but was later demolished for some reason and later rebuilt around 450 BC when the walls of the Lycian Acropolis were rebuilt after the attack of the Greek commander Kimon (fig. 15).⁷³

The fourth tomb built inside the dynastic agora is the Theater Pillar, dated around 440 BC, and thought to belong to Young Kuprlli (480-440 BC). It was built to the south of the dynastic agora, like the other two tombs erected there. The last tomb built inside the agora is the Inscribed Pillar Monument. Unlike the other tombs, this tomb built at the northernmost point of the dynastic agora and has been almost certainly shown through the latest studies to belong to Kherei (fig. 16).

Analogy

The general framework for understanding the public square in the Dynastic period emerged from combining the old and new findings at Xanthos. It is as follows: a dynastic palace was surrounded by a wall, and just north of it a wide square bordered by walls contained temple tombs with a temenos and various cult structures. The dynastic public squares in the Lycia region, such as the agoras of Avşar Tepesi and Alazeytin and the gathering places of Göl bent and Asarcık, have similar layouts and thus are comparable with the Xanthos example.

Located in Central Lycia, the Avşar Tepesi settlement was completely abandoned in the fourth century BC. The well-preserved settlement, uninhabited during the later Hellenistic and Roman Imperial periods, is very important for showing what kind of layout Dynastic Lycian

⁷³ It is believed that around the 470s BC, the Athenian commander Kimon partially captured Xanthos and during this invasion, a fire broke out in the Lycian Acropolis, see Metzger and Coupell 1963, 22-26. This dating coincides with the time when the Lycians joined the Delian League. Despite Metzger's assessment based on the data obtained from the acropolis excavations, des Courtils 2009 excavation did not provide evidence to support or refute his view. However, Courtils stated that while he accepted Metzger's chronology to a certain extent, he did not support Metzger's hypothesis about Kimon. See des Courtils et al. 2010, 291-93; des Courtils 2012b, 154. Also see Draycott 2015, 105.

cities had in the Archaic and Classical periods.⁷⁴ There is a square of approximately 2700 m² defined as the agora. This square is dated to the early fifth century BC⁷⁵ and located just below an acropolis surrounded by walls and with a nearby dynastic residence.⁷⁶ The agora is partially surrounded by walls and contains two pillar tombs, a rock tomb, a temple podium, a warehouse and the remains of foundations thought to belong to a wooden tribune.⁷⁷ Kolb states that the tribune was used as a kind of theater, from which to watch ceremonial activities taking place in front of the temple.⁷⁸ In addition, Thomsen emphasized that political meetings could have been held in the agora, whose sacral and sepulchral functions were clearly defined.⁷⁹

Another example for comparison is at Gölbent. In this dynastic site located to the north of Xanthos, there is a level terrace partly leaning on retaining walls and two funerary pillars. This area, determined as a meeting place by des Courtils,⁸⁰ is dated to the Classical period and has a plan similar to Xanthos. A similar situation is encountered at the Asarcık settlement, which belongs to Xanthos. An elevated terrace and pillar tombs in an area measuring approximately 1000 m² are dated to the Classical and Hellenistic periods.⁸¹ All similarly formed areas in Lycia, including the Xanthos agora, are interpreted by des Courtils as forming the most important gathering area of the city. des Courtils also states that these areas are quite different from the Greek agora.⁸² Another example is the agora dated to the sixth century BC in Alazeytin, a Lelegian settlement near Kaunos. There is a tribune, a temple and temple tombs in the square below a dynastic palace.⁸³

As seen from these examples, this layout, which includes a large square just below the dynastic palace and tombs and temples of the dynastic members within this area, was a form preferred throughout Lycia in the late sixth and fifth centuries BC. As observed, especially in the examples at the Avşar Tepesi and Alazeytin agoras, the area was bordered by walls at some points. In this context, the temenos wall uncovered in the Xanthos agora is similar to these walls. However, the sacral features of these walls, as indicated in the inscription on the Inscribed Pillar, can be explained by the presence of temples and temple tombs with a temenos belonging to the ancestor cult, especially in Xanthos. The understanding that there is a temenos around the Inscribed Pillar has grown particularly over recent years. In this case, it shows that both the gods and the members of the dynasty were worshiped within the *nele*, so the members of the dynasty were also deified.

⁷⁴ Kolb 1998, 40-47; 2016, 42; Thomsen 2002.

⁷⁵ Thomsen was rather hesitant in making this dating. However, the dating of the area due to the dense Archaic pottery finds recovered there should be dated at least as Late Archaic-Early Classical period; see Thomsen 2002, 112.

⁷⁶ Thomsen states that the Dynasty residence located on the eastern part of the agora may have been located in the acropolis in the first phase, and later was moved to the agora for possible political reasons in 400 BC; see Thomsen 2002, 125; also see Kolb 1998, 41.

⁷⁷ Kolb 1998, 40-47, figs. 7-11; Thomsen 2002, 103-31, fig. 45.

⁷⁸ Kolb 1998, 41. For the 3D reconstruction of the agora, see Kolb 2016, 43, fig. 5.

⁷⁹ Thomsen 2002, 131.

⁸⁰ des Courtils 2012a, 290, fig. 3.

⁸¹ des Courtils 2012a, 290, fig. 4a-b.

⁸² “Only empty and informal spaces observed inside the habited zone of certain Lycian sites, in the vicinity of dynastic tombs, suggest that there could have been places of gathering, but we do not know anything about the religious, funerary or political, that these gatherings presented. In spite of the explicit mention which is made of it in the Greek language in the inscription TL 72, 44, neither Xanthos nor any other city of Lycia seems to have possessed in the dynastic period a civic center which could fully correspond to the Greek word ‘agora’”; see des Courtils 2012a, 301.

⁸³ Işık 2019, 530; 2010, 75, fig. 18.

Agora or Nele?

Xer [ēi: n̄te: sttalā] tuwete: ti ebēññē: neled[e: Arñna: hrppi:] tukedri: tuwete

“Kher [ēi] who put up this [stele] (in the) neled[e at Xanthos] has placed on it a statue.”⁸⁴

The initial evaluations of the term *nele* were made by Neumann and Melchert, who interpreted this word as “settlement.”⁸⁵ However, with the interpretation of the Lycian-Greek bilingual inscription TL 72⁸⁶ found in Kyaneai, it is now clearly understood that *nele* was actually used in the sense of “agora”.⁸⁷ Therefore, most linguists have accepted this interpretation in their analysis of Lycian sentences.⁸⁸ The term Lycian *nelede* on the Inscribed Pillar was paired with ἐν καθαρῶι τεμένει in the Greek section by Schürr, first interpreted as “Agora-Temenos”⁸⁹ and then as “pure temenos.”⁹⁰ Kolb, on the other hand, preferred the terms *nele* and *nelede* to mean “agora”, without separating them from each other.⁹¹ The latest evaluation of *nele* was made by Oreshko who states that the word means “acropolis” rather than “agora”.⁹² In addition, Oreshko interpreted *nelede* not as a temenos but as the fortifications surrounding the acropolis.⁹³ In this context, Oreshko states that the places emphasizing the victory in the captured cities should be the acropolis rather than the agora.⁹⁴ Although Oreshko’s linking of the acropolis with *nele* seems quite logical, why was the term “agora” used in Kyaneai for a similar match? Since this situation refutes Oreshko’s interpretation, it makes sense to accept the agora / *nele* pairing. However, Oreshko’s suggestion, namely the fortification pairing, may also be plausible. It is known that in this area the gods were worshiped, sacrifices were made, and the victories of the dynasty were celebrated. Therefore, the walls uncovered around this area, whose sacred quality cannot be denied, do have a temenos function. In this context, it is highly probable that the walls surrounding the place called *nele* and set within its own special structure were also called a *nelede*. Oreshko’s suggestion of a “*nele* acropolis” may also be correct in a way, because the agora and the acropolis are located adjacent to each other both in Xanthos and the dynastic settlements at Zagaba (Avşar Tepesi). In addition, the walls we uncovered in Xanthos almost unite the area with the acropolis section (fig. 17). In this case, the Lycians may have given only one name to these two areas and named them both *nele*.

⁸⁴ Mūseler and Schürr 2018, 388.

⁸⁵ Melchert 2004, 43; Neumann 2007, 238.

⁸⁶ For the publication of TL 72, see Neumann and Zimmermann 2003; also see Christiansen 2019, 83; Kolb 2018, 394.

⁸⁷ *mabāi nelez[i]: θεοί οι ἀγοραῖοι*.

⁸⁸ Dönmez and Schürr 2015; Kolb 2018; Neumann and Zimmermann 2003; Sasseville 2021; Hüllden 2006; cf. Oreshko 2021.

⁸⁹ Schürr 2009, 159.

⁹⁰ ‘Agora’ ist demnach lykisch *nele-* und davon muß *nelede* abgeleitet sein, denn es ist ja unwahrscheinlich, daß viermal die enklitische Partikel *-de* abzutrennen wäre. Folglich dürfte *nelede*, dem in a, 41 ff. ein ‘Athenaion’ korrespondiert, dem ‘reinen Temenos’ der griechischen Verse entsprechen, das offenbar den Zwölf Göttern der Agora geweiht war”; see Dönmez and Schürr 2015, 145; also Hüllden 2006, 331-32.

⁹¹ “... eine Agora (*nele*), auf der Agora (*nelede*)”; see Kolb 2018, 606.

⁹² Oreshko 2021, 125.

⁹³ Oreshko 2021, 126.

⁹⁴ “Zagaba: *nele=de* and Êtri: Tuminehi: *nele=de* may be interpreted ‘(victory) at Zagaba / Lower Tumnessos, (up to / including) its acropolis’”; see Oreshko 2021, 126. He also equates *nele=de* with TL44c “many acropolises’ conquered by the author ([πο]λλὰς δὲ ἀκροπόλες ... [π]έρσας”); Oreshko 2021, 125.

However, in the Greek text of the Inscribed Pillar Monument, the square where political and sacred meetings were held, such as victory celebrations, sacrifices to the gods, and public announcements, may have been called the “agora.” The other part - the dynasty’s living and administrative area - may have been known as the “acropolis.”

The Lycian section of inscription states that the Inscribed Pillar is located opposite the gods of the agora. So what and where is the structure that belongs to the gods of the agora stated in this Lycian text? Some researchers argue that the agora may have had a structure at some point within the square similar to the altar of twelve gods in the Athenian Agora.⁹⁵ However, the excavation and sondage work undertaken in the square has not produced any evidence of such a temple or altar. In addition, when we look at the example of Aşağ Tepesi, the earliest agora structure known in Lycia, we do not encounter an altar dedicated to the gods. However, there is a podium thought to belong to a temple. Işık thinks that this temple in the West Agora could be under the foundations of the West Church, adjacent to the Roman agora. Işık also argues that the area is sacred by association with the “Temple of Twelve Gods,” because the stele is dedicated to the Gods of the Agora, as stated in the inscription.⁹⁶

The indications obtained from these inscriptions suggest different problems. The first is whether their own public square, which the Lycians call *nele*, did in fact fulfill the function of a Greek agora, while the second concerns the origin of the cult of the gods of the agora. In this regard, some researchers mention that it is not yet clear whether the *nele* areas really served an agora function.⁹⁷ A different view of some is that the use of the Greek term is a strong indicator that these cities should be understood as a polis based upon the Greek model, especially considering the inscriptions in Xanthos and Kyaneai.⁹⁸ Advocates of this view particularly think that the cult of the “Agora Gods” must be in imitation of Athens, an acquired culture, at least when they became a member of the Delian League in the middle of the fifth century BC.⁹⁹ However, the finds concerning these issues permit a differing interpretation. Firstly, the evidence obtained through excavation shows that the dynastic *nele* existed in the years around 530-480 BC. In addition, the sacred temenos named *nelede*,¹⁰⁰ unearthed north of the area and mentioned in the inscription, shows that this area had been a sacred place since then. Therefore, these show that the relationship of this area with the gods dates back at least to the Late Archaic period, according to the current evidence. Thus, this place is a unique area with its pillars and other tombs, so quite different from the Greek agora, when comparisons are made. Although we do not know exactly what kind of activities were carried out in this area, the term “agora” must have been the preferred Greek translation for these sacred areas called *nele* by the Lycians on the inscriptions, since it was a gathering place whose first and main function was a public square. Otherwise, to speak of a purely cultural transfer, the Lycians would have used only the term “agora” to name their squares. In this context, we know that

⁹⁵ Schürr 2001, 114; 2007a; Dönmez and Schürr 2015, 145; Eichner 2005, 29; Thonemann 2009, 169; Schürr 2020, 102.

⁹⁶ Işık 2019, 530.

⁹⁷ Kolb 2016, 43; 2018, 709; see also Oreshko 2021, 125.

⁹⁸ In Kyaneai, where Kolb was researching, the inscriptions “Agora Gods” in both Lycian and Greek are found on the inscription on a sarcophagus dated to 400 BC; see Kolb 1998, 42.

⁹⁹ Ancient writers relate that the Lycians were included in the Attica-Delos League together with the Carians by the Athenian commander Kimon around 470 BC: Thuc. 1.100; Diod. Sic. 11.60. In addition, since it is stated in the inscription that the tomb of Kherei’s grandfather Kuprilli is also located in the dynastic agora, it is thought that this functionality in the area began during his reign (470-440 BC); see Schürr 2020, 104.

¹⁰⁰ “Da ist nelede also mit einem Heiligtum parallelisiert”: Schürr 2020, 105; cf. Oreshko 2021, 125.

the word *nele* was used at least in the late fifth century BC. If this were in fact a situation related to Hellenization, there should have been agoras with stoas in Xanthos and Lycia by the third or, at the latest, the second century BC. Yet we know the earliest example of such structures to be the Upper Agora in Xanthos, dated to the second half of the first century BC.¹⁰¹ The early second century BC is the time when architectural structures representative of Hellenistic culture began to be built throughout Lycia. These places, certain in their sacred and cult function and which the Lycians called *nele*, are undoubtedly different from a Greek agora. In addition, to be understood as a polis based upon the Greek model, a city must have not only an agora but also other public buildings such as a theater. The earliest phase of the Xanthos Theater was built in the second century BC.¹⁰² This is a somewhat strange position for a city to find itself in, given that it allegedly adopted the Greek polis model in the fifth century BC.¹⁰³

In this context, we know that the word *nele* was used at least in the late fifth century BC. This is also true for the gods of the agora. Since the second quarter of the fifth century BC, the depictions of the gods of the Greek pantheon were preferred iconographically over the depictions on the Harpy monument and on the coins¹⁰⁴ However, the Greek gods corresponding to the Lycian gods had quite different characteristics, especially in the matching made on the Inscribed Pillar monument. For example, it is understood today that there is no common bond between Athena and the Anatolian goddess Malija, who are paired with each other.¹⁰⁵ A similar situation exists in the pairing of Trqqas with Zeus,¹⁰⁶ while Işık argues that these pairings are simply translational equivalents.¹⁰⁷ In addition, Bryce and other Lycian researchers think that the belief in the twelve gods, referred to as *Mabai Tusnti* in the Lycian text on the Inscribed Pillar, may be related to the Hittite gods on the Yazılıkaya at Hattusa, not to the Greek pantheon.¹⁰⁸ In this context, the cult of the Agora Gods, referred to as *Mabâna Neleze* both on the Inscribed Pillar and on the Kudalije Sarcophagus in Kyaneai, must have been a cult related to the Lycians' own local beliefs and traditions. It is also thought that Komba (Gömbe), located only 35 km northwest of Xanthos, is the cult center of the Twelve Gods and that this cult is related to Artemis Komba.¹⁰⁹ Therefore, the sanctuary of Artemis Komba¹¹⁰ (R) (figs. 1, 3, 5, 7),

¹⁰¹ des Courtils 2012a, 293, fig. 5.

¹⁰² Dönmez 2022.

¹⁰³ For a new reassessment of the Hellenization of Lycian cities as a Greek Polis, see Daems 2020.

¹⁰⁴ For the religious structure of Lycia in the Classical period, see Özdemir 2015.

¹⁰⁵ Özdemir 2015, 114.

¹⁰⁶ Bryce 1986, 177.

¹⁰⁷ Işık 2010, 77.

¹⁰⁸ Bryce 1986, 179-80; Keen 1998, 206-7. Işık 2016b, 438. "The Lycian Twelve Gods are in no way related to the Ancient Greek gods known as the Twelve Olympians; those in Lycia are of Anatolian Hittite origin. The Ancient Greek poem on the stele of Xanthos mentions the names of the Twelve Gods, who are probably identical to the Twelve Gods mentioned in the inscriptions of the stelae found at Komba" (Akyürek-Şahin 2016, 542). Cf. Schürr 2013.

¹⁰⁹ Lebrun 1998, 146.

¹¹⁰ "The building is comprised of a platform measuring 5.00 x 8.00 m and limestone floor slabs of varying widths and 0.20 m in height. There is a 2.25 m-wide space opening immediately to its west, whose floor was compressed with a lime-based material. This space is 0.4 m lower than the terrace floor. Excavations conducted in the area revealed two small votive altars measuring 0.113 m and 0.143 m in height underneath the tiles of the collapsed roof. They feature an inscription that reads, 'To Artemis Kombike (votive).' Immediately next to these, a terracotta temple model 0.185 m in height was found. Between its columns, which features the façade of an Ionic temple, is a goddess figurine possibly depicting Artemis of Gömbe mentioned in altar inscriptions. Immediately next to the altar and the model is a small bowl, possibly used during rituals. The handle of a bronze vessel (hydria?) and appliqué materials of floral motifs, an iron lance, bronze fragments of what appears to be a three-legged table, lead and bronze bowls, as well as the skull and bone fragments of a bovine were also discovered. Of the finds,

located just north of the inscribed Pillar in West Agora, probably indicates the permanent cult of the Twelve Gods mentioned on the pillar.¹¹¹ In this context, the cult structure of the Agora Gods mentioned on the pillar may have taken place somewhere at this point.

Conclusion

- The wall unearthed north of the Inscribed Pillar Monument is a northern part of the Dynastic *Nele* / agora recorded in the inscription on the Inscribed Pillar. Since this wall is dated to 530-480 BC, the first known existence of the Dynastic *Nele* dates back to the Late Archaic-Early Classical period. In this context, the Xanthos Dynastic *Nele* may constitute the earliest prototype known in Lycia of a Dynastic *Nele*. These areas, located right next to the dynastic palace, may have been called *nele* as a single unit together with the palace. Then they may named for the first time as an acropolis and agora from the fifth century BC.
- The only monument in the area during this period may have been the Wrestler's Pillar belonging to the dynast Kheziga. Also, there would have been another temenos wall in the east, which merged with the one in the north, and enclosed the area. The presence of the modern asphalt road prevents this wall from being exposed at present. However, some Classical-period wall remains to the east indicate that the wall in this direction may have been renovated during the construction of the House-Tomb built in the middle of the fifth century BC. This tomb is thought to belong to Harpagos, the father of Kherei. A further reason for this possible renewal may be linked to the attacks by the Athenian commander Kimon in the 470-460s BC. Like the walls of the Lycian Acropolis, which was destroyed as a result of these attacks, this part of the temenos may have been destroyed and then rebuilt in the 450s BC.
- Although the existence of the Dynastic *Nele* lasted into the middle of the fourth century BC, cultic activities in the area continued until the end of the first century BC. This is shown by the tombs dated to the Late Hellenistic Period around the Harpy Monument, which are thought to be related with the cult of Kybernis particularly. The most radical architectural change to the area was realized first with built the theatre in the second century BC, then after in the Early Imperial Period with the addition in c. AD 60-80 of a square-shaped agora structure surrounded by stoas on all four sides. However, the preservation of all the tombs erected in the area during this period is an indication that the innovations were only to the outward look of the setting; there was no cultural change to the belief in the cult of ancestors.
- The Dynastic *Nele* is a sacred and honored space where the tombs of the ruling family were placed. It also served functionally as a gathering place. Most probably within the *nele*, meetings were held that were attended by the public under the leadership of the ruling family, and victories were celebrated. In addition, when we think that the Xanthos dynasty had control of Lycia as its sovereign city from the sixth to the fourth centuries BC, it is possible

the altar votives, the goddess figurine on the model's façade, the altar bowls, and the animal bones strongly suggest that the area was designed as a sanctuary. Furthermore, the iconography of Artemis of Komba, often defined by the inscriptions of the votive altars with which it is found, is encountered for the first time here. This is critical in determining the goddess's area of worship in Xanthos. The most widely worshipped local goddess of Lycia reflects depictions of local and Ionian goddesses with her attire, necklace, bare breasts, and long sheath. That this unique and eclectic iconography still existed in the 3rd century A.D. should be emphasized..." (Dönmez et al. 2017).

¹¹¹ For the Lycian local gods and goddesses of the Hellenistic and Roman Imperial periods, see Efendioğlu 2010.

that political meetings attended by neighboring civic administrators were also held in the *nele*. However, it is not possible to talk about a democratic environment, especially because of the existence of a hereditary monarchy. For this reason the word “agora,” used as the equivalent of *nele* in the inscriptions, can be understood as only an approximate translation denoting the city center. This situation certainly cannot be related to the adoption of the Greek polis city model.

- The presence of the Dynastic *Nele*, together with the Southeastern Sector Structure (fig. 18) of an approximately similar date, show that Xanthos had sanctuaries surrounded by temenos walls in both the eastern and westernmost parts of the city, which dated from the Late Archaic-Early Classical periods.

Bibliography

Modern Works

- Akarca, A. 1987. *Yunan Arkeolojisinin Ana Çizgileri*. Vol. 1, *Şehir ve Savunması*. 2nd ed. Ankara: TTK.
- Akurgal, E. 1961. *Die Kunst Anatoliens von Homer bis Alexander*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.
- Akyürek-Şahin, N.E. 2016. “Likya’da Tanrılar ve Kültler - Gods and Cults in Lycia.” In *Lukka’dan Likya’ya Sarpedon ve Aziz Nikolaos’un Ülkesi / From Lukka to Lycia. The Land of Sarpedon and St. Nicholas*, edited by H. İşkan and E. Dündar, 536-49. Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları.
- Ateşlier, S. 2001. “Observations on an Early Classical Building of the Satrapal Period at Daskyleion.” In *Achaemenid Anatolia, Proceedings of The First International Symposium on Anatolia in the Achaemenid Period, Bandırma 15-18 August 1997*, edited by T. Bakır, 147-68. Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten.
- Beazley, J.D. 1956. *Attic Black-Figure Vase-Painters*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Boardman, J. 1959. “Chian and Early Ionic Architecture.” *AntJ* 39:170-218.
- Borchhardt, J., and E. Bleibtreu. 2013. *Strukturen lykischer Residenzstädte im Vergleich zu älteren Städten des Vorderen Orients*. Antalya: Suna & İnan Kiraç Research Institute on Mediterranean Civilizations.
- Borchhardt, J., H. Eichner, M. Pesditschek, and P. Ruggendorfer. 1997-1999. “Archäologisch-sprachwissenschaftliches Corpus der Denkmäler mit lykischer Schrift.” *AnzWien* 134.2:11-96.
- Bousquet, J. 1992. “Les inscriptions gréco-lyciennes.” In *Fouilles de Xanthos*. Vol. 9, *La région nord du Létôon. Les sculptures. Les inscriptions gréco-lyciennes*, edited by H. Metzger. 147-99. Paris: Éditions Klincksieck.
- Bryce, T.R. 1982. “A Ruling Dynasty in Lycia.” *Klio* 64.2:329-37.
- Bryce, T.R. 1986. *The Lycians*. Vol. 1, *The Lycians in Literary and Epigraphic Sources*. Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum Press.
- Buschor, E. 1957. “Altsamischer Bauschmuck.” *AM* 72:1-34.
- Cavalier, L. 2006. “Observations sur l’architecture de Xanthos à l’époque archaïque.” *REÁ* 108:327-54.
- Cavalier, L., and J. des Courtils. 2012. “Permanence d’un culte héroïque dans la nécropole intra muros de Xanthos.” In *‘Stephanēphoros’: de l’économie antique à l’Asie mineure: hommages à Raymond Descat*, edited by K. Konuk, 247-59. Bordeaux: Ausonius.
- Childs, W.A.P. 1981. “Lycian Relations with Persians and Greeks in the Fifth and Fourth Centuries Re-Examined.” *AnatSt* 31:55-80.
- Cohen, B. 2006. *The Colors of Clay: Special Techniques in Athenian Vases*. Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Museum.

- Coupeil, P., and P. Demargne. 1969. *Fouilles de Xanthos*. Vol. 3, *Le monument des Néréides: L'Architecture*. Paris: Klincksieck.
- Christiansen, B. 2019. "Editions of Lycian Inscriptions not Included in Melchert's Corpus from 2001." In *Luwic Dialects and Anatolian. Inheritance and Diffusion*, edited by I.-X. Adiego, J.V.G. Trabazo, M. Vernet, B. Obrador-Cursach, and E.M. Rodríguez, 65-134. Barcino Monographica Orientalia 12. Series Anatolica et Indogermanica 1. Barcelona: Edicions de la Universitat de Barcelona.
- Daems, D. 2020. "Reassessing the Origin of Polis in Lycia and Southwest Anatolia." *Adalya* 23:111-31.
- Demargne, P. 1951. "Les fouilles de Xanthos en Lycie (campagne de 1950)." *CRAI* 95.1:63-70.
- Demargne, P. 1952. "Les fouilles de Xanthos en Lycie (campagne de 1951)." *CRAI* 96.1:163-69.
- Demargne, P. 1953. "Les fouilles de Xanthos en Lycie (campagne de 1952)." *CRAI* 97.2:151-58.
- Demargne, P. 1958. *Fouilles de Xanthos*. Vol. 1, *Les piliers funéraires*. Paris: Librairie C. Klincksieck.
- Demargne, P. 1974. "Xanthos et les problèmes de l'hellénisation au temps de la Grèce classique." *CRAI* 118.4:584-90.
- des Courtils, J. 2003. *Dünya Kültür Mirası Kentlerinden Ksanthos ve Letoon Rebberi*. Istanbul: Ege Yayınları.
- des Courtils, J., Chr. Le Roy, Th. Marksteiner, A.-M. Manière-Lévêque, and J.-Ch. Moretti. 1997. "Xanthos et le Létôon. Rapport sur les campagnes de 1995 et 1996." *Anatolia Antiqua / Eski Anadolu* 5:317-35.
- des Courtils, J., and D. Laroche. 1998. "Xanthos et le Létôon. Rapport sur les campagnes de 1997." *Anatolia Antiqua / Eski Anadolu* 6:457-77.
- des Courtils, J., L. Cavalier, G. Vincelli, M. Lesvigne, E. Cayre, R. Nikolaeva, B. Vergnaud, F. Prost, P. Paker, G. Thériault, S. Rocheron, D. Foy, and A.-M. Manière-Lévêque. 2006. "La campagne 2005 à Xanthos." *Anatolia Antiqua / Eski Anadolu* 14:275-91.
- des Courtils, J., D. Laroche, P. Wavasseur, and S. Lemaître. 2007. "La campagne 2006 à Xanthos." *Anatolia Antiqua / Eski Anadolu* 15:315-24.
- des Courtils, J., L. Cavalier, E. Cayre, Fr. Prost, J.-F. Pichonneau, C. Rocheron, A. Vivier, P. Mora, M. Rocheleau, P. Baker. 2010. "Xanthos 2009." *Anatolia Antiqua / Eski Anadolu* 18:277-99.
- des Courtils, J. 2012a. "Particularités des lieux de rassemblement public en Lycie." In *Basiliques et agoras de Grèce et d'Asie mineure*, edited by L. Cavalier, R. Descat, and J. des Courtils, 287-304. Mémoires 27. Bordeaux: Ausonius Éditions.
- des Courtils, J. 2012b. "Xanthos: état des questions." In *40 Jahre Grabung Limyra. Akten des internationalen Symposions Wien, 3.-5. Dezember 2009*, edited by M. Seyer, 153-60. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Dönmez, A. 2016. "Batı Agora / West Agora." In B. Varkıvanç, "Ksanthos Kazıları 2015 Yılı Çalışmaları / Excavations at Xanthos in 2015." *Anmed* 14:65-67.
- Dönmez, A. 2018a. "Ksanthos Batı Agora I: Roma İmparatorluk Dönemi (MS 1-4. yy.)." In *Uluslararası Genç Bilimciler Buluşması 2: Anadolu Akdenizi Sempozyumu 04-07 Kasım 2015 / Antalya International Young Scholars Conference 2: Mediterranean Anatolia 04-07 November 2015*, edited by T. Kahya, A. Özdizbay, N. Tüner Önen, and M. Wilson, 217-46. Istanbul: Koç Üniversitesi AKMED.
- Dönmez, A. 2018b. "Xanthos West Agora II: Alteration and Transformation in the Byzantine Period." *Adalya* 21:277-314.
- Dönmez, A. 2021. *From Sarpedon to Keykubad, Once Upon a Time in Antalya: Mythology, Heroes, Key Characters and Events*. Antalya: Muratpaşa Municipality Cultural Publications.
- Dönmez, A. 2022. "Ksanthos Tiyatrosu." Ph.D. diss., Akdeniz University.
- Dönmez, A., and D. Schürr. 2015. "Zum Agora-Pfeiler in Xanthos IV. Finding a New Fragment of the Inscription and Evidence Pointing to a Temenos Tomb." *Kadmos* 54.1.2:119-49.

- Dönmez, A., and Ö. Yanardağ. 2015. "Batı Agora / West Agora." In B. Varkıvaç, "Ksanthos Kazıları 2014 / Excavations at Xanthos in 2014." *Anmed* 13:55-56.
- Dönmez, A., C. Öz, H. Kökmen Seyirci, I. İzgi, H. Değirmencioğlu. 2017. "Batı Agora." In B. Varkıvaç, "2016 Yılı Ksanthos Kazıları / Xanthos Excavations of 2016." *Anmed* 15:49-53.
- Draycott, C.M. 2007. "Dynastic Definitions. Differentiating Status Claims in the Archaic Pillar Tomb Reliefs of Lycia." In *Anatolian Iron Ages 6. The Proceedings of the Sixth Anatolian Iron Ages Colloquium Held at Eskişehir, 16-20 August 2004*, edited by A. Çilingiroğlu and A. Sagona, 103-34, *Ancient Near Eastern Studies* 20. Leuven: Peeters Publishers.
- Draycott, C.M. 2015. "Heroa" and the City. Kuprili's New Architecture and the Making of the "Lycian Acropolis" of Xanthos in the Early Classical Period." *AnatSt* 65:97-142.
- Efendioğlu, T. 2010. *Hellenistik ve Roma Çağlarında Likya'da Yerel Tanrı ve Tanrıçalar*. Istanbul: Arkeoloji ve Sanat Yayınları.
- Eichner, H. 2005. "Die philologische Evidenz." In *Kerththi oder der Versuch, eine antike Siedlung der Klassik in Zentrallykien zu identifizieren*, edited by J. Borchhardt, H. Eichner and K. Schulz, 19-37. Adalya Suppl. Series 3. Antalya: Suna & İnan Kırac Research Institute on Mediterranean Civilizations.
- Eichner, H. 2006. "Neues zum lykischen Text der Stele von Xanthos (TL 44)." In *III. Uluslararası Likya Sempozyumu 07-10 Kasım 2005 Antalya. Sempozyum Bildirileri / The IIIrd International Symposium on Lycia 07-10 November 2005 Antalya. Symposium Proceedings*. 2 vols., edited by K. Dörtlük, B. Varkıvaç, T. Kahya, J. des Courtils, M. Doğan Alparslan, and R. Boyraz, 231-38. Antalya: Suna & İnan Kırac Research Institute on Mediterranean Civilizations.
- Eichner, H. 2017. "Ein philologisch-sprachwissenschaftlicher Blick auf den Fortgang der lykischen Studien seit Emmanuel Laroche." In *Hittitology Today: Studies on Hittite and Neo-Hittite Anatolia in Honor of Emmanuel Laroche's 100th Birthday / L'Hittitologie aujourd'hui: Études sur l'Anatolie hittite et néo-hittite à l'occasion du centenaire de la naissance d'Emmanuel Laroche, Istanbul, 21-22 novembre, 2014*, edited by A. Mouton, 277-99. Istanbul: Institut Français d'Études Anatoliennes Georges - Dumézil.
- Erdoğan, H.M. 2017. "Ksanthos'un Polygonal Duvarları". Master's thesis, Akdeniz University.
- Erdoğan, H.M. 2022. "Lykia Bölgesi'nde Klasik Dönem'e Tarihlendirilen Bazı Yapılardaki Duvar Örgü Stilllerine Dair Gözlemler 1." *Neşebir Hacı Bektaş Veli Üniversitesi SBE Dergisi* 12.4:2517-536.
- Ginouvès, R., and R. Martin. 1985. *Dictionnaire méthodique de l'architecture grecque et romaine*. Vol. 1, *Matériaux, techniques de construction, techniques et formes du décor*. Athens / Rome: École Française d'Athènes / École Française Rome.
- Hülten, O. 2006. *Gräber und Grabtypen im Bergland von Yavu (Zentrallykien): Studien zur antiken Grabkultur in Lykien*. Bonn: Dr. Rudolf Habelt.
- Hyland, J.O. 2021. "Between Amorges and Tissaphernes - Lycia and Persia in the Xanthos Stele." In *Beyond All Boundaries Anatolia in the First Millennium BC*, edited by A. Payne, Š. Velhartická, and J. Wintjes, 257-78. Leuven / Paris / Bristol.
- Işık, F. 2002. "Die Vergöttlichung der lykischen Dynasten im Lichte ihrer Gräber." In *Güneybatı Anadolu'da Mezar Tipleri ve Ölü Kültü. Uluslararası Kollokium / Grabtypen und Totenkult im südwestlichen Kleinasien. Internationales Kolloquium, Antalya, 4.-8. Ekim / October 1999*, edited by H. İşkan and F. Işık, 107-24. Lykia. Anadolu-Akdeniz Kültürleri 6. Antalya: Orkun Ozan Yayıncılık.
- Işık, F. 2010. "Anadolu-Lykia Uygarlığı: Lykia'nın 'Hellenleşmesi' Görüşüne Eleştirel Bir Yaklaşım." *Anadolu* 36:65-125.
- Işık, F. 2016a. "Beylikler Dönemi'nin Likya Egemeni: Ksanthos / The City Ruling Lycia in the Dynastic Period: Xanthos." In *Lukka'dan Likya'ya Sarpedon ve Aziz Nikolaos'un Ülkesi / From Lukka to Lycia. The Land of Sarpedon and St. Nicholas*, edited by H. İşkan and E. Dündar, 166-85. Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları.

- Işık, F. 2016b. "Likya Uygarlığı'nın Anadolu-İon Özü Üzerine -Beylikler Dönemi Ksanthos'u Özelinde- / On the Anatolian-Ionian Essence of the Lycian Civilization -In the Case of Xanthos in the Dynastic Period-." In *Lukka'dan Likya'ya Sarpedon ve Aziz Nikolaos'un Ülkesi / From Lukka to Lycia. The Land of Sarpedon and St. Nicholas*, edited by H. Işkan and E. Dündar, 436-59. Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları.
- Işık, F. 2019. *Uygarlık Anadolu'dan Doğdu*. 3rd ed. Izmir: Akdeniz Ülkeleri Akademisi Vakfı Yayınları.
- Keen, A.G. 1992. "The Dynastic Tombs of Xanthos - Who Was Buried Where?" *AnatSt* 42:53-63.
- Keen, A.G. 1998. *Dynastic Lycia: A Political History of the Lycians and their Relations with Foreign Powers c. 545-362 B.C.* Leiden / Boston / Cologne: Brill.
- Koenigs, W. 1986. "Reste archaischer Architektur in Milet." In *Milet 1899-1980: Ergebnisse, Probleme und Perspektiven einer Ausgrabung Kolloquium Frankfurt am Main, 19.-21. Juni 1980*, 113-19, edited by W. Müller-Weiner. IstMitt-BH 31. Tübingen: Ernst Wasmuth Verlag.
- Kolb, F. 1998. "Hanedanlık Yerleşiminden Otonom Kente Geleşme: Klasik Çağda Likya'da Akültürasyon." *Adalya* 3:37-62.
- Kolb, F. 2016. "Beylikler Dönemi'nde Likya (MÖ 550-360) / Lycia during the Dynastic Period (ca. 550-360 BC)." In *Lukka'dan Likya'ya Sarpedon ve Aziz Nikolaos'un Ülkesi / From Lukka to Lycia. The Land of Sarpedon and St. Nicholas*, edited by H. Işkan and E. Dündar, 36-45. Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları.
- Kolb, F. 2018. *Lykien: Geschichte einer antiken Landschaft (von der Bronzezeit bis zur Mitte des 4. Jhs. v. Chr.)*. Darmstadt: Verlag Philipp von Zabern.
- Kökmen Seyirci, H. 2017. "Ksanthos Güney Kent Kapısı ve Evreleri." *Adalya* 20:181-211.
- Landskron, A. 2015. *Das Heroon von Trysa: Ein Denkmal in Lykien zwischen Ost und West: Untersuchungen zu Bildschmuck, Bauform und Grabinhaber*, edited by S. Haag. Schriften des Kunsthistorischen Museums 13b. Vienna: Holzhausen Verlag.
- Laroche, E. 1974. "Les épitaphes lyciennes." In P. Demargne, *Fouilles de Xanthos*. Vol. 5, *Tombe-maisons, tombes rupestres et sarcophages*, 123-49. Paris: Librairie C. Klincksieck.
- Lebrun, R. 1998. "Panthéons locaux de Lychie, Lykaonie et Cilicie aux deuxième et premier millénaires av. J.-C." *Kernos* 11:143-55.
- Lotz, H. 2017. "Xerëi, der Errichter des Inschriftenpfeilers von Xanthos." *Kadmos* 56:1.2:139-72.
- Lund, J., and B.B. Rasmussen. 1995. *Guides to the National Museum, The Collection of Near Eastern and Classical Antiquities*. Copenhagen: National Museum.
- Marksteiner, T. 1993. "Klasisches Polygonalmauwerk in lykischen Befestigungen." In *Les Grands Ateliers d'architecture dans le monde égéen du VIe siècle av. J.-Cb. Actes du colloque d'Istanbul 23-25 mai 1991*, edited by J. des Courtils and J.E. Moretti, 35-46. Istanbul: Institut Français d'Études Anatoliennes-Georges Dumézil.
- Marksteiner, T. 1994. "Befestigte Siedlungen Lykiens in vorrömischer Zeit". In *Fortifications et défense du territoire en Asie Mineure occidentale et méridionale. Table ronde CNRS, Istanbul 20-27 mai 1993*, edited by P. Debord and R. Descat, *RÉA* 96.1.2:299-314. Bordeaux: Maison de l'archéologie Université Michel de Montaigne-Bordeaux III.
- Marksteiner, T. 1997. *Die befestigte Siedlung von Limyra: Studien zur vorrömischen Webrarchitektur und Siedlungsentwicklung in Lykien unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der klassischen Periode*. Vienna: Phoibos.
- Marksteiner, T. 2002. *Trysa. Eine zentrallykische Niederlassung im Wandel der Zeit. Siedlungs-, architektur- und kunstgeschichtliche Studien zur Kulturlandschaft Lykien*. Vienna: Phoibos.
- Melchert, H.C. 2004. *A Dictionary of the Lycian Language*. Ann Arbor / New York: Beech Stave Pres.
- Metzger, H., and P. Coupell. 1963. *Fouilles de Xanthos*. Vol. 2, *L'acropole Lycienne*. Paris: Klincksieck.

- Mørkholm, O., and G. Neumann. 1978. *Die lykischen Münzlegenden*. Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philologisch-Historische Klasse 1. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht.
- Mørkholm, O., and J. Zahle. 1976. "The Coinages of the Lycian Dynasts Kheriga, Kherēi and Erbbina." *ActaArch* 47:47-90.
- Müseler, W. 2018. "Beyond the Xanthos Valley: Rulers and mints in Eastern and Central Lycia at the time of the "dynasty of Xanthos." *Gephyra* 15:11-28.
- Müseler, W. 2020. "Kheriga and Kherēi in Central Lycia and in the Xanthos-Valley: the Rise of a Migrant Dynasty." *SNR* 98:57-84.
- Müseler, W., and D. Schürr. 2018. "Zur Chronologie in den Inschriften auf dem Agora-Pfeiler von Xanthos (TL 44), den betroffenen Dynasten und ihren Münzen." *Klio* 100.2:381-406.
- Neumann, G. 2007. *Glossar des Lykischen. Überarbeitet und zum Druck gebracht von Johann Tischler*. Dresdner Beiträge zur Hethitologie 21. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag.
- Neumann, G., and Zimmermann, M. 2003. "Die lykischen Götter der Agora. Neulesung der griechisch-lykischen Bilingue TL 72a-b in Kyaneai." In *Lykische Studien*. Vol. 6, *Feldforschungen auf dem Gebiet der Polis Kyaneai in Zentrallykien. Berichte über die Ergebnisse der Kampagnen 1996 und 1997*, edited by F. Kolb, 187-192. AMS 48. Bonn: Dr. Rudolf Habelt.
- Nieswandt, H.-H. 1995. "Zum Inschriftenpfeiler von Xanthos." *Boreas* 18:19-44.
- Nieswandt, H.-H. 2011. *Ikonographische und ikonologische Untersuchungen zur Herrschaftsrepräsentation xanthischer Dynastengräber*. Münster.
- Oreshko, R. 2021. "Observations on the Xanthos Trilingual: Syntactic Structure of TL 44a, 41-55 and the Lycian Terminology of Art and War." *Hungarian Assyriological Review* 2:95-144.
- Orlandos, A.K. 1968. *Les matériaux de construction et la technique architecturale des anciens Grecs*. 2 vols. Paris: Editions de Boccard.
- Özdemir, B. 2015. *Klasik Dönem'de Lykia Bölgesi'nin Dinsel Yapısı*, edited by N.E. Akyürek Şahin, M.E. Yıldız and H. Uzunoglu 99-120. *Eskiçağ Yazıları* 7. Akron 9. Istanbul: Arkeoloji ve Sanat Yayınları.
- Özüdoğru, Ş. 2008. "Arkaik Dönem Plastik Eserler Işığında Lykia İkonografisinde Yerli ve Yabancı Unsurlar." Ph.D. diss., Akdeniz University.
- Saner, T. 1995. "İyonya ve Karya'da Hellenistik Duvar Örgüsü." Ph.D. diss., ITU.
- Sasseville, D. 2021. "Die Deutung von lykisch *ter̄n* und ihre Konsequenz für die Kriegspolitik Lykiens." *Hungarian Assyriological Review* 2:161-72.
- Schneider, P. 1984. "Untersuchungen an der Terrassenmauer im Apollon-Bezirk von Didyma." *IstMitt* 34:326-43.
- Schürr, D. 2001. "Karische und lykische Sibilanten." *IGForsch* 106:94-121.
- Schürr, D. 2007a. "Zum Agora-Pfeiler in Xanthos I: Anschluß eines weiteren Fragments." *Kadmos* 46:109-24.
- Schürr, D. 2007b. "Formen der Akkulturation in Lykien: Griechisch-lykische Sprachbeziehungen." In *Griechische Epigraphik in Lykien: Eine Zwischenbilanz. Akten des internationalen Kolloquiums München, 24.-26. Februar 2005*, edited by Ch. Schuler, 27-40. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Schürr, D. 2009. "Zum Agora-Pfeiler in Xanthos II: Selbstlob auf Perserart und Ordnung des Raumes." *Kadmos* 48.1.2:157-76.
- Schürr, D. 2012. "Zum Agora-Pfeiler in Xanthos III: vom Wettergott und dem Dynasten Te θ iweibi." *Kadmos* 51:114-42.

- Schürr, D. 2013. "Beobachtungen zu den Zwölfgötter-Reliefs in Lykien." *Adalya* 16:213-23.
- Schürr, D. 2020. "Die Übernahme der Agora in Lykien." *Acta Classica Mediterranea* 3:101-108.
- Scranton, R.L. 1941. *Greek Walls*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Shahbazi, A.S. 1975. *The Irano-Lycian Monuments. The Principal Antiquities of and its Region as Evidence for Iranian Aspects of Achaemenid Lycia*. Tehran: International Communicators.
- Tayla, H. 2007. *Geleneksel Türk Mimarisinde Yapı Sistem ve Elemanları*. 2 vols. Istanbul: Taç Vakfı Yayınları.
- Tekoğlu, R. 2017. "Old and Newly Discovered Lycian Inscriptions from Tlos". In *Hittitology Today: Studies on Hittite and Neo-Hittite Anatolia in Honor of Emmanuel Laroche's 100th Birthday / L'Hittitologie aujourd'hui : Études sur l'Anatolie hittite et néo-hittite à l'occasion du centenaire de la naissance d'Emmanuel Laroche, Istanbul, 21-22 novembre, 2014*, edited by A. Mouton, 63-69. Istanbul: Institut Français d'Études Anatoliennes-Georges Dumézil.
- Thieme, T. 1993. "The Architectural Remains of Archaic Labraynda." In *Les Grands Ateliers d'architecture dans le monde égéen du VIe siècle av. J.-C. Actes du colloque d'Istanbul, 23-25 mai 1991*, edited by J. Courtills, and J.-Ch. Moretti, 47-55. Varia Anatolica 3. Paris: Institut Français d'Études Anatoliennes-Georges Dumézil.
- Thomsen, A. 2002. *Die lykische Dynastensiedlung auf dem Auşar Tepesi*. Antiquitas 43. Bonn: Dr. Rudolf Habelt.
- Thonemann, P. 2009. "Lycia, Athens and Amorges." In *Interpreting the Athenian Empire*, edited by J. Ma, N. Papazarkadas, and R. Parker, 167-94. London: Bristol Classical Press.
- Tuchelt, K. 1984. "Didyma. Bericht über die Arbeiten der Jahre 1980-1983." *IstMitt* 34:193-344.
- Varkıvanç, B. 2017. "Ksanthos." *Aktüel Arkeoloji* 56:116-123.
- Varkıvanç, B. 2018. "Ksanthos'taki Güneydoğu Sektör Üzerine Düşünceler." In *Arkeoloji, Tarıh ve Epigrafi'nin Arasında: Prof. Dr. A. Vedat Çelgin'in 68. Doğum Günü Onuruna Makaleler*, edited by M. Arslan, and F. Baz, 919-33. Istanbul: Arkeoloji ve Sanat Yayınları.
- Vismara, N. 1989. *Monetazione arcaica della Lycia*. Vol. 2, *La collezione Winsemann Falghera*. Milan: Edizioni Ennerre.
- Winter, F. 1971. *Greek Fortifications*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Standard Reference Works

- CVA 36. CVA 36. Tübingen, Antikensammlung des Archäologischen Instituts der Universität 1, K. Wallenstein. Muenich: Verlag C. H. Beck (1973).
- TAM 1 TAM. *Conlecti et editi auspiciis Caesariae Academiae litterarum Vindobonensis*. Vol. 1, *Tituli Lyciae lingua Lycia conscripti*, E. Kalinka, Vindobonae: Rudolfus M. Rohrer Brvnae (1901).



FIG. 1 West agora aerial photo. Excavation archive.

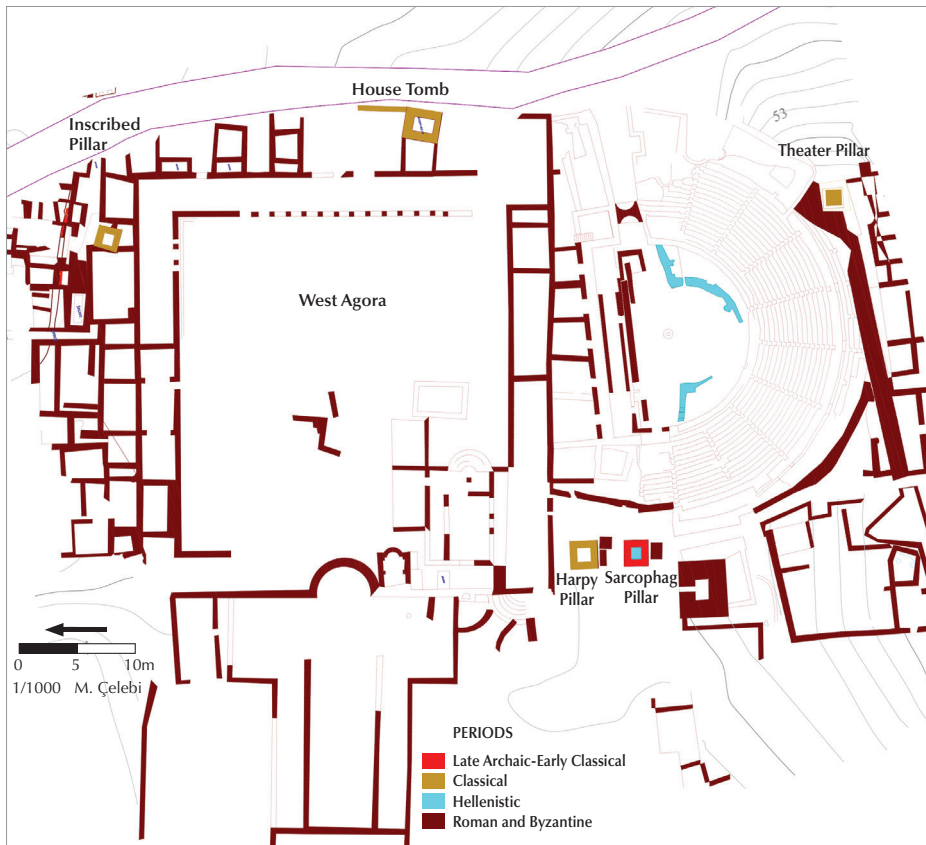


FIG. 2 West Agora plan. Drawing M. Çelebi.



FIG. 3 Remains of the Dynastic Nele / Agora Photo. by A. Dönmez.

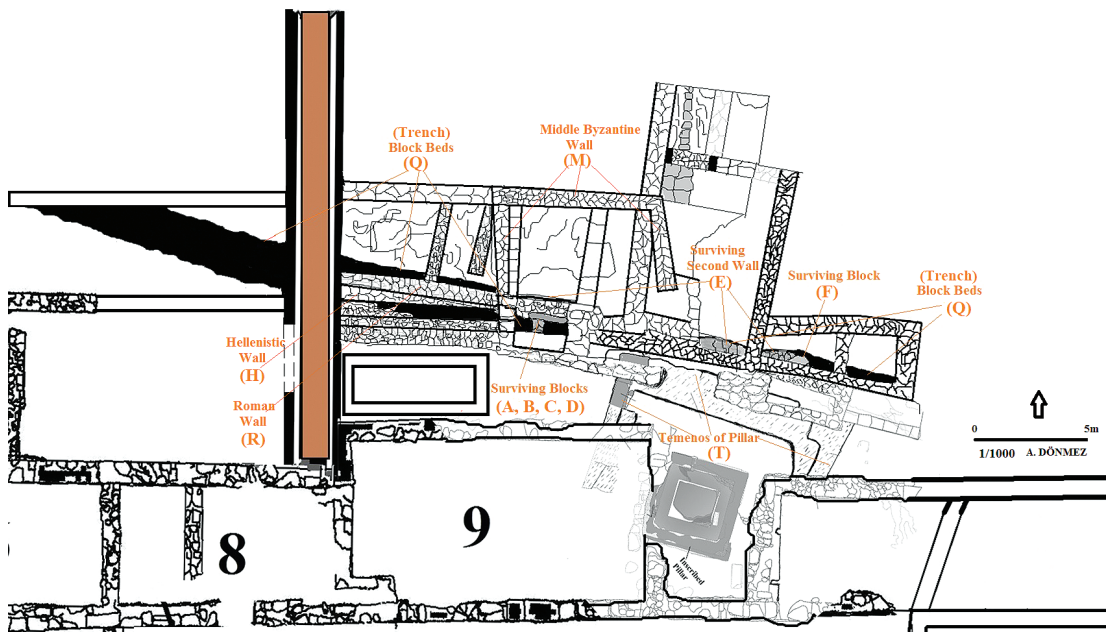


FIG. 4 The ruins of the Dynastic Nele / Agora. Drawing by A. Dönmez.

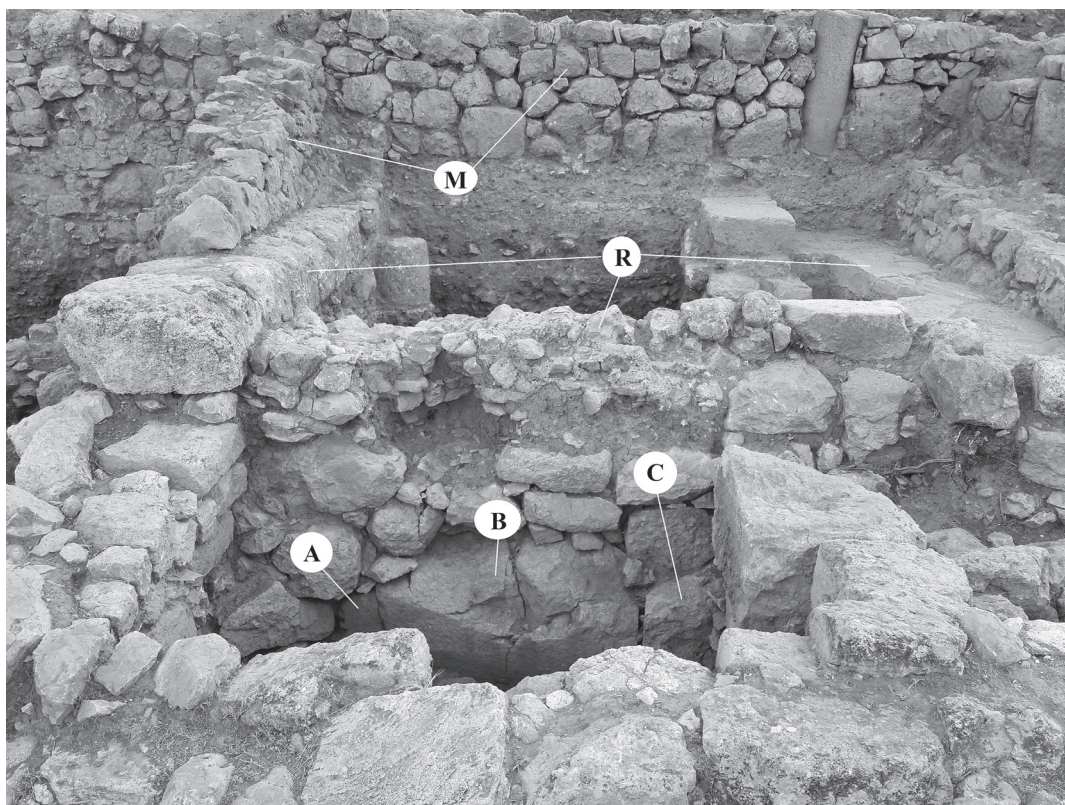


FIG. 5 Remains of the Dynastic Agora. Wall blocks (A-B-C). Photo. by A. Dönmez.

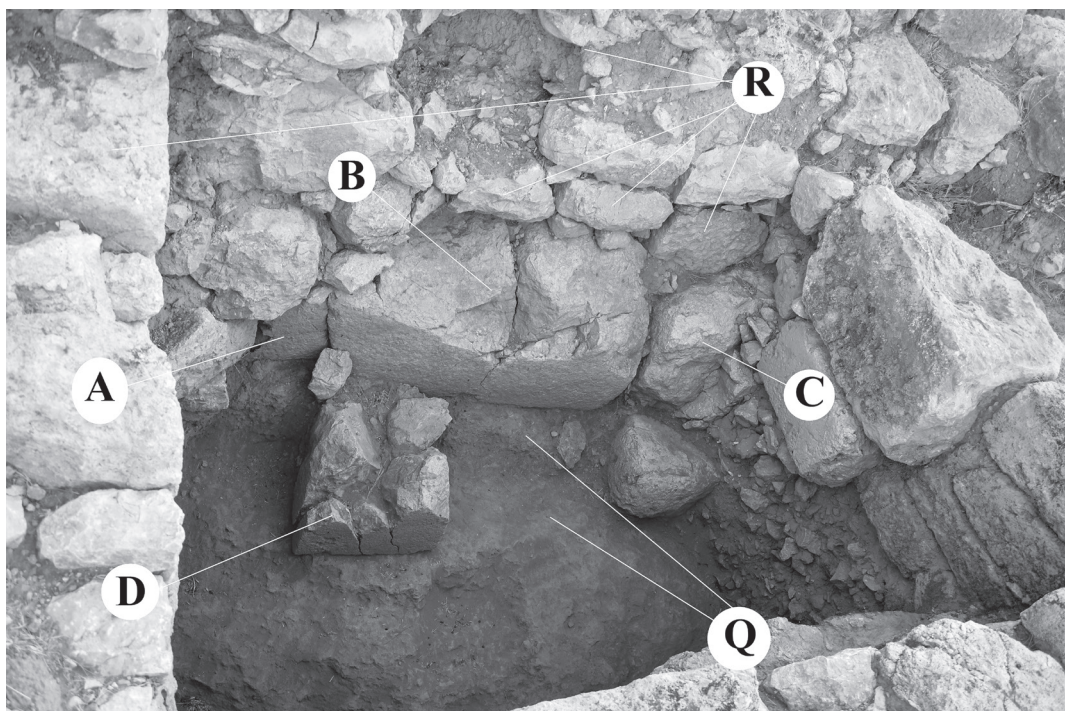


FIG. 6 Blocks (A-B-C-D).

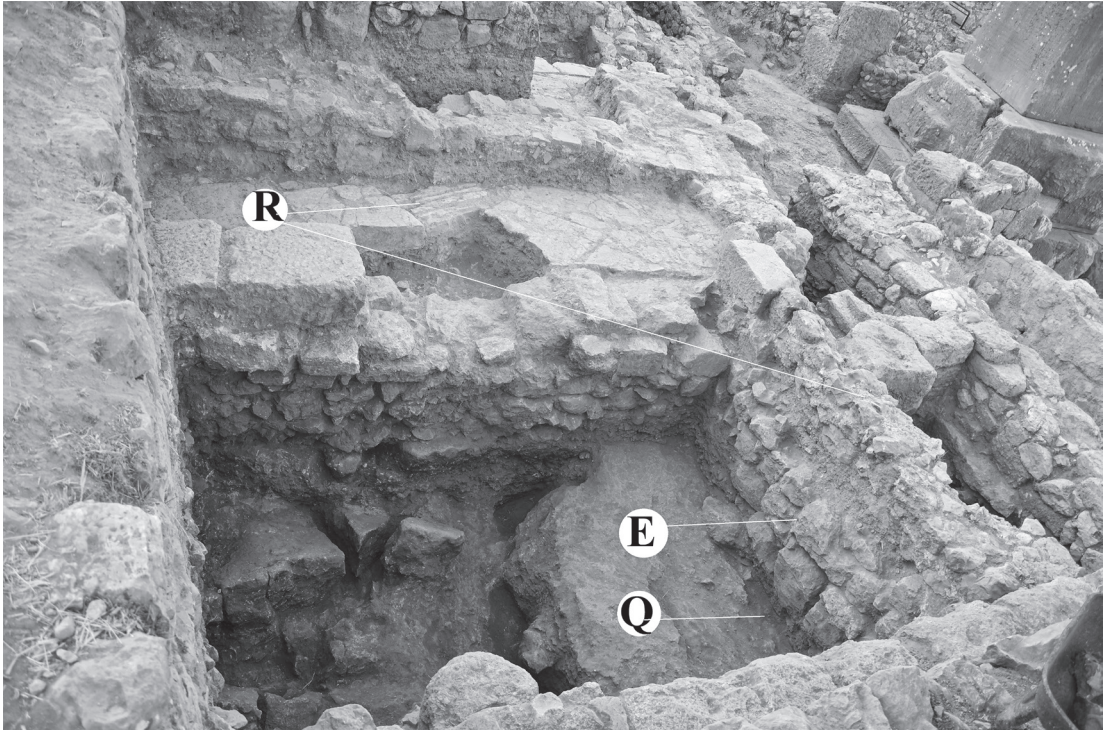


FIG. 7
Second side of the wall. Logaden
masonry (E) and the Artemis
Kombike Sanctuary (R).

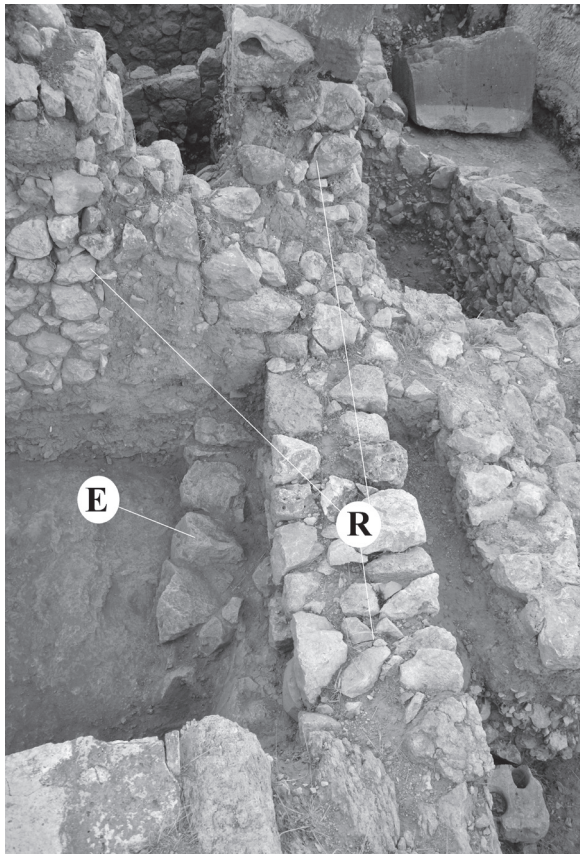


FIG. 8
Remains of the wall
continuation to the east (E).

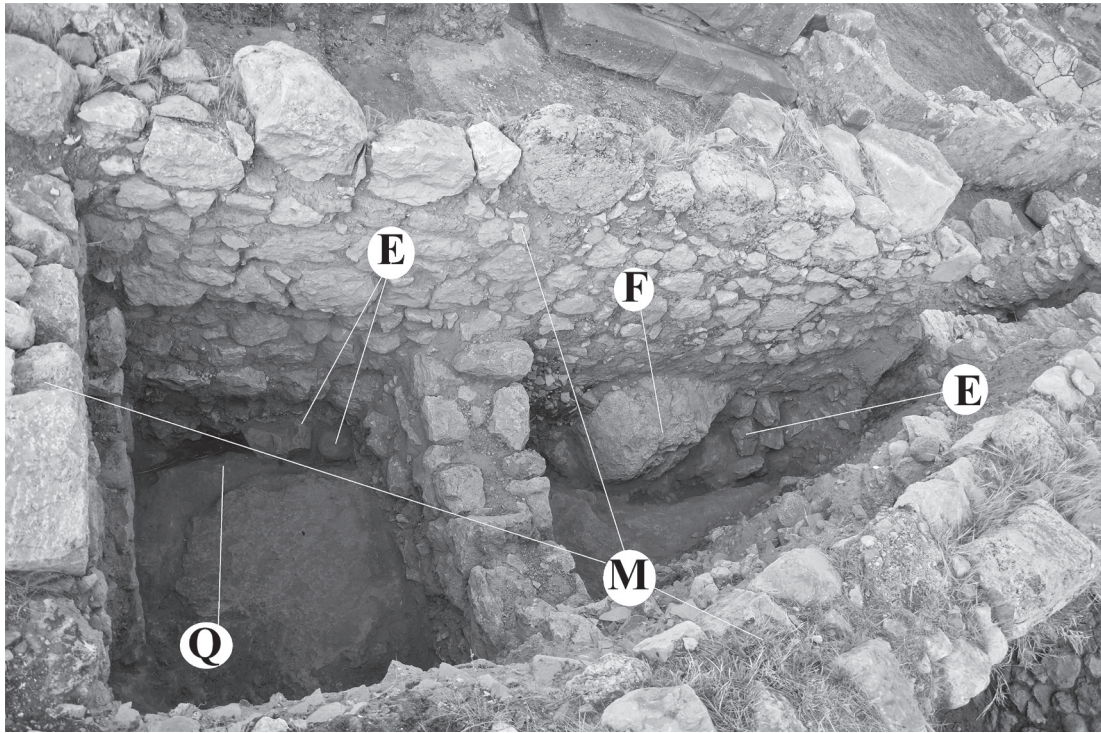


FIG. 9
Big block (?) and the
remains of the second wall
(E) leaning against it.

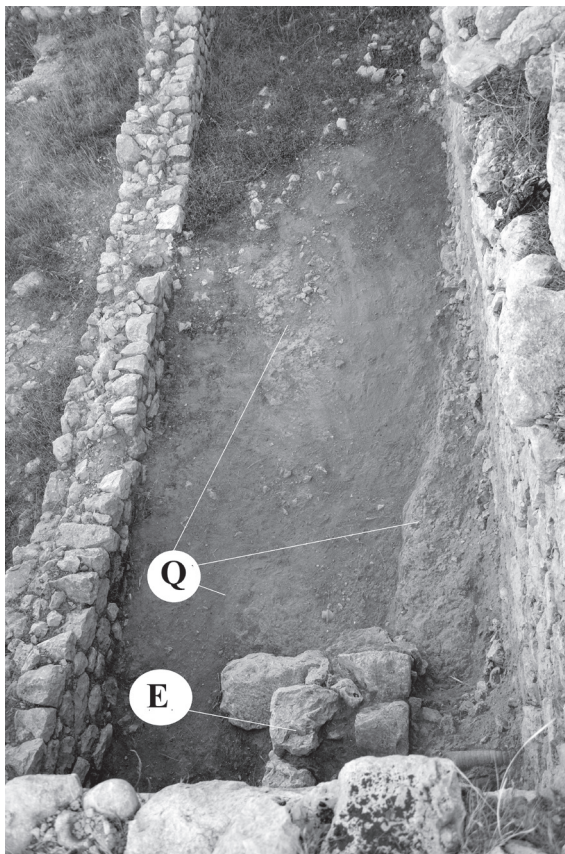


FIG. 10
Wall bedding trench
traces to the west.

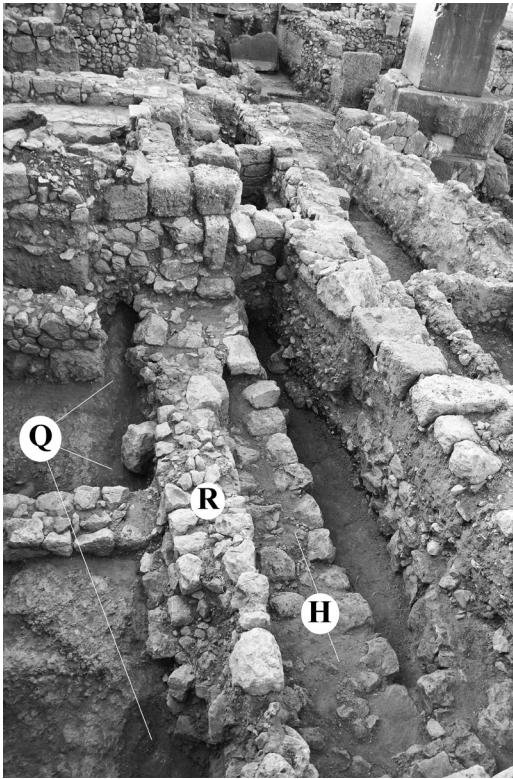


FIG. 11 Walls and trenches to the west.

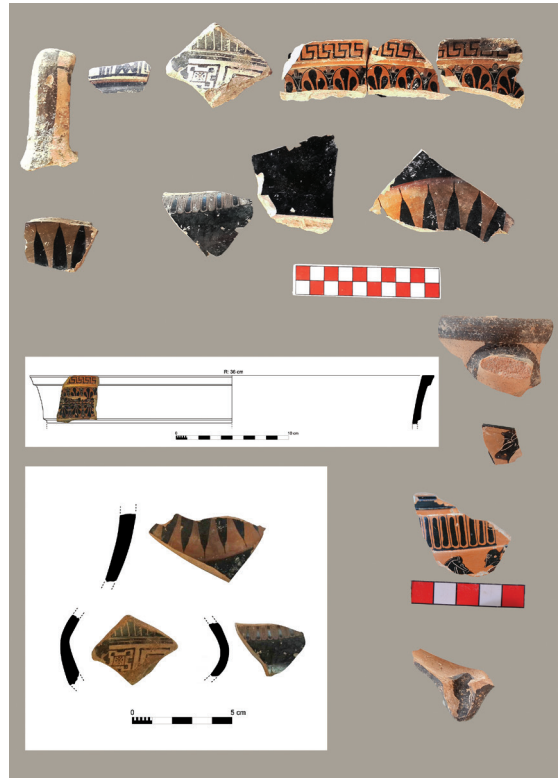


FIG. 12 Pottery sherds dated to Late Archaic period. Drawings C. Öz.



FIG. 13 Wall-crown blocks ornamented with an Ionic kymation.



FIG. 14 East Wall (Temenos?) of Nele / Agora dated to the Classical period? (460-450 BC).

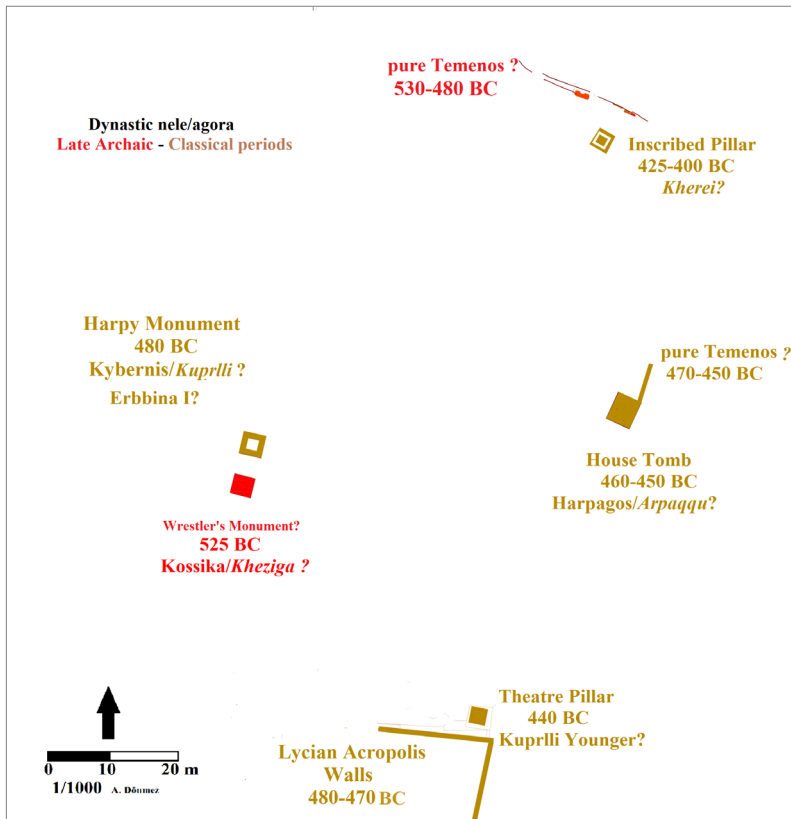


FIG. 15
Dynastic *Nele* / Agora.

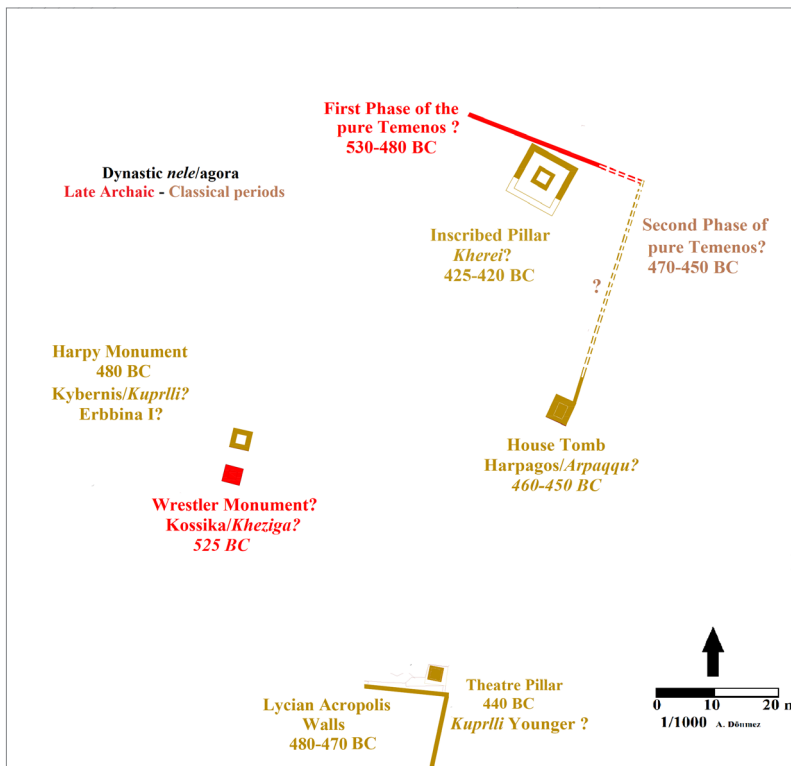


FIG. 16
Dynastic *Nele* / Agora.
(530 / 480-400 BC).



FIG. 17 Agora and Acropolis.



FIG. 18 Temenos wall of south west sector building in Xanthos. Late Archaic-Early Classical period.

