Urbanism of Xanthos in the Byzantine Period

by

S. Emre Üstündağ

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Graduate School of Social Sciences and Humanities

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S. Emre Üstündağ

and have found that it is complete and satisfactory in all respects,
and that any and all revisions required by the final
examining committee have been made.

Committee Members:

_____

Prof. Dr. Engin Akyürek (Advisor)

_____

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Alessandra Ricci

_____

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Inge Uytterhoeven

_____

Prof. Dr. Burcu Ceylan Duggan

_____

Assoc. Prof. Dr. H. Ayça Tiryaki Türkmenoğlu

Date: 06.07.2022

ABSTRACT

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S. Emre Üstündağ

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The city of Xanthos, which has a long history of excavations, has been mentioned mostly for its world-famous tomb monuments dating back to the Classical period. However, the Byzantine urbanism of the city has never been studied comprehensively, except for some excavations carried out in certain structures with limited publications. This dissertation aims to offer a complete building inventory of the city in the Early and Middle Byzantine periods and to interpret the urban landscape of Byzantine Xanthos based on these data. In order to do so, besides the publications made in the past, the results of new studies carried out in the field were used. This encompasses some structures that have never been the subject of detailed studies before, as well as some newly discovered ones which were studied and interpreted in order to contribute to a better understanding of the city plan.

Xanthos always had a unique urban texture, even in the Classical period. It came under Roman rule in 43 BC and was subsequently turned into a Roman city through extensive construction activities. Starting in the Late Antique Period, Xanthos gradually became a Byzantine city, with the corresponding religious and cultural shift. The city shared to a large extent the same path and ultimate fate of other cities in the nearby region, keeping, however, its own unique characteristics. Four particularly large basilicas, aristocratic residences with rich architectural features, and a commercial life that spread to almost every part of the urban area give clues about how wealthy the city actually was – something that was difficult to understand before due to the lack of written sources. Through the examination of its architectural catalog, the city's importance, which is not evident from the Byzantine historical narrative, becomes apparent. In addition, preserving the ancient monuments in the city center can be explained as a conservative approach but may also point to a special bond with the past and even to the construction of a specific Xanthian urban identity.

ÖZETÇE

Xanthos'un Bizans Dönemi Şehirciliği

S. Emre Üstündağ

Arkeoloji ve Sanat Tarihi, Doktora

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Uzun yıllara dayanan bir kazı geçmişine sahip olan Xanthos kenti bugüne kadar çoğunlukla Klasik döneme tarihlenen dünyaca ünlü mezar anıtlarıyla anılmıştır. Öte yandan, Bizans şehirciliği belli başlı yapılarda gerçekleştirilen kazılar ve sınırlı sayıdaki yayınlar haricinde hiçbir zaman bütüncül olarak incelenmemiştir. Bu tezin amacı kentin Erken ve Orta Bizans dönemlerine tarihlenen yapı envanterini bütünlüklü olarak ortaya koymak ve bunlardan yola çıkarak Bizans Xanthos'unun kentsel manzarası hakkında yorumlara varabilmektir. Bu doğrultuda geçmişte yapılmış yayınların yanı sıra arazide yeni gerçekleştirilen çalışmaların sonuçlarından yararlanılmıştır. Bunların arasında daha önce hiç detaylı çalışmalara konu olmamış hatta varlığı dahi bilinmeyen bazı yapılar da ilk defa keşfedilerek çalışılmış ve yorumlanarak kent planının daha iyi anlaşılmasına katkı sağlanması amaçlanmıştır.

Klasik dönemde dahi son derece kendine özgü bir kent dokusu olan Xanthos, MÖ 43 yılında Roma idaresine girmiş ve yoğun inşa faaliyetlerine sahne olan bir Roma kenti olmuştur. Geç Antik Çağ'dan itibaren ise değişen dinin ve kültürün etkisiyle zaman içinde bir Bizans kentine dönüşmüştür. Kent büyük oranda yakın coğrafyadaki diğer kentlerin tarihsel seyrini ve nihayetinde kaderini paylaşmış olsa da kendine has bazı özelliklerini de muhafaza etmiştir. Oldukça büyük boyutlu dört adet bazilika, dönemi için zengin mimari özelliklere sahip aristokratik konutlar ve kentin neredeyse her bölgesine yayılan ticaret hayatı; yazılı kaynakların azlığı sebebiyle fikir sahibi olunamayan varlıklı bir kent hakkında ipuçları sağlamaktadır. Başka bir deyişle, kentin tarihi kaynaklara bakıldığında anlaşılamayan önemi, mimari varlığı incelendiğinde ortaya çıkmaktadır. Bunun yanı sıra, kentte eski dönemlere ait anıtların korunmuş olması muhafazakar bir yaklaşım olarak açıklanabileceği gibi, geçmişle kurulan özel bir bağı hatta bir Xanthos'lu kimliğinin inşasını işaret ediyor olabilir.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AKMED Koç University Suna & İnan Kıraç Research Center for Mediterranean Civilizations.

ANMED News Bulletin on Archaeology from Mediterranean Anatolia.

CRAI Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres.

GABAM Koç University Stavros Niarchos Foundation Center for Late Antique and Byzantine Studies

KST Kazı Sonuçları Toplantıları.

OA T.C. Cumhurbaşkanlığı Devlet Arşivleri Başkanlığı, Osmanlı Arşivi.

TAD Türk Arkeoloji Dergisi.

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Geography of Xanthos

Even though the borders of the Lycian region have slightly changed throughout history, it covers the area which is now called the Teke Peninsula between the Indos River [Dalaman Çayı] and Attaleia [Antalya] (Figure 1.1).



Figure 1.1: Location of Lycia (Raynaud 2009, 10, fig.1).

Xanthos is a UNESCO World Heritage archaeological site located in the western part of the Lycian region (Figure 1.2), in the valley of the Xanthos River, whose modern name is Eşen Çayı. The coordinates of the ancient city are latitude 36.356880 N, and longitude 29.319965 E. A number of other ancient cities such as Patara, Sidyma, Pinara and Tlos, as well as the Letoon sanctuary are located along the Xanthos Valley. The city

was occupied from the Archaic period onward and has been the subject of archaeological research since 1838.

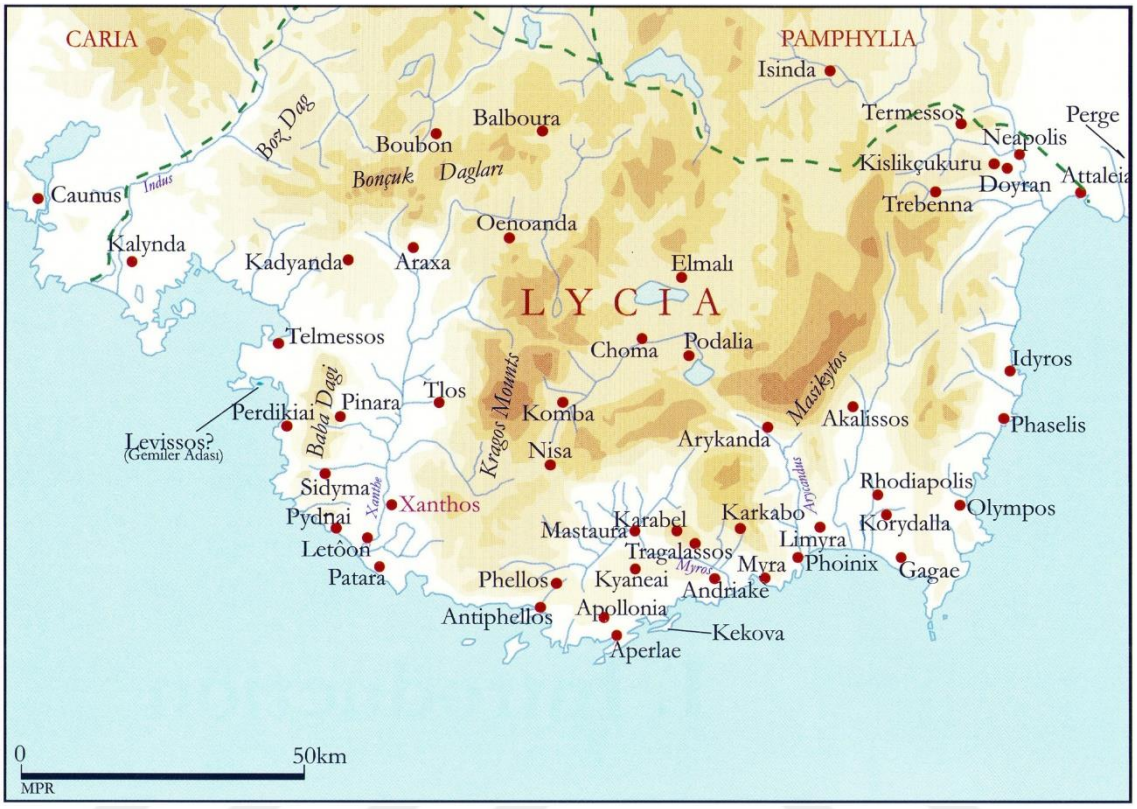


Figure 1.2: Map of the Lycian cities (Raynaud 2009, 16, fig.3).

Today, the remains of the ancient city of Xanthos are located in Kınık, a neighborhood of Kaş District in Antalya Province. The distance to the sea is about 8 km. It is known that the area where the Xanthos river approached the sea, was once a delta surrounded by lagoons and marshes (Fouache et al. 2012, 48). Transportation from the sea to the city seems to have been possible through the Xanthos river even though the flow rate was high. The wetlands in the region have been filled over time by the alluviums carried by the river. The accounts of 19th-century travelers mention a lake in the region and that many parts of the land were still swamps (Fellows 1852, 335). Today, these areas have completely dried up and are serving for agriculture, the main economic activity of the region, thanks to the fertile soil. Especially tomatoes and chili peppers are cultivated

in the greenhouses of the area. Unfortunately, due to the pollution related to the highly industrialized mass agriculture, the Xanthos river no longer have the original yellow color that once gave it its name.

The city was founded on an area rising in the middle of a vast plain on the east bank of the Xanthos river. The urban area geographically consists of three levels. At the bottom, close to the river, there is one of the main gates of the city and a few extramural structures. Then comes the area where the main settlement of the city is established at +50 meters from sea level. This flat area was divided into an eastern and western part by a valley passing through. The third and highest level is the uninhabited hilltop at +120 meters, which is called the Upper Acropolis. The slopes of the hill were settled, with a residential area and necropolis from earlier periods onwards, while public buildings were located on the flat parts of the city. The area in the south of the Western part of the city is called the Lycian Acropolis and was designed as the core of the settlement since the Classical period with its sheltered position overlooking the river over steep slopes.

1.2 Scope and Methodology

The aim of this dissertation is to understand the development of Byzantine urbanism in the city of Xanthos. In order to achieve this, both archaeological data and written sources are used. However, the written sources for Byzantine Anatolia are very limited; therefore, it is not possible to understand urban life without the help of systematic archaeological research supported by other related sciences such as epigraphy, numismatic, anthropology, and geography (Niewöhner 2017a,1).

The first excavations in the city were conducted by Charles Fellows and his team between 1842-44 (Demargne 1958, 16-18). From the perspective of today's archaeology,

these studies did not meet scientific standards and caused destruction and data loss in most areas. On the other hand, they resulted in two positive outcomes. First of all, the city was documented for the first time with many drawings and written notes, and in this sense, Xanthos was among the earliest documented cities in Anatolia. In addition, after many stone artifacts were moved to the British Museum, the Lycian culture, which was almost never known before, started to attract scientific attention, and many researchers contributed to the development of archaeology by conducting various studies and publications (Zimmermann 2020a, 4-5). It should be underlined that there was no interest in Byzantine artifacts in these early studies.

In the first years of the modern archaeological excavations that started in the city in 1950 by French archaeologists from Paris-Sorbonne University, as mentioned in detail later, the Byzantine layers were not taken care of and were even destroyed, and the excavated structures were not published properly. Byzantine studies in the city began to be published for the first time with the excavations conducted by Sodini in the 1970s (Sodini 1980, 119). The biggest problem with Byzantine studies in Xanthos is that it has not been approached from a holistic perspective until now. Especially starting from the 2000s, the excavation areas were expanded, a broader perspective on the city from an urbanistic point of view was embraced, and the number of publications was increased. However, the fields of study and publications were still limited to certain structures.

When I joined the Xanthos excavation team in 2017, I was impressed by the dense Byzantine texture of the city, and I was surprised that this period had not been dealt with in its entirety until now. In previous studies, there was not even a city plan showing all of the Byzantine structures of Xanthos together. Only one article mentions the Byzantine buildings, but the published plan shows only the aristocratic houses on the Lycian Acropolis and the city's five large basilicas (des Courtils and Cavalier 2001, 164, fig.6-

22). For all these reasons, it has become necessary to deal with the entire Byzantine architectural inventory of the city as a whole for the first time specifying which type of buildings are located in the city, where the buildings are situated, and the characteristics and chronology of the buildings.

Historical written sources for the Byzantine period of Xanthos are very limited, while sources related to the Classical and Roman periods are abundant, even though they often repeat each other and are sometimes non-verifiable.

Undoubtedly, the most important historical narrative about Xanthos is the mass suicide that took place during the Persian occupation in 546 BC (Hdt. 1.176). The story has created such a strong symbolic meaning that an identity was built by ascribing many features to the city and its people, such as heroism, courage, and fearlessness. On the other hand, archaeological excavations could not confirm such a historical event (Demargne and Metzger 1967, 1381). Roman historians recorded that the same incident occurred when the city was besieged by Brutus in 43 BC (App. B Civ. 4.10.80; Dio Cass. 47.34). Likewise, a destruction layer dated to this period could not be found (des Courtils and Cavalier 2001, 159). However, despite the inconsistency between the story and the findings, researchers still did not give up looking for clues on urbanism in the historical narrative. For example, based on this narrative, attempts were made by some researchers to localize the *Sarpedonion* temple, a monument to the Lycian hero Sarpedon in which some Xanthians took refuge during the siege of Brutus (Keen 1992, 55; des Courtils, Cavalier and Lemaître 2015, 132). However, the exact existence of this structure has not been archaeologically proven yet. As we can see from these, scholars can neither rely on historical sources alone nor are the archaeological data sufficient to draw a complete picture.

For the purpose of this dissertation, especially when it comes to the Byzantine period, all the existing written sources were taken into account, but archaeological data and field studies that analyze and interpret the architectural remains in the city constitute the most important data source.

All previous publications and excavation reports about Xanthos were studied, and the results of the field studies and interpretations of previous researchers were included in the data collected during the writing of this dissertation. Furthermore, various field studies were carried out by the author as a member of the Akdeniz University excavation team for three years [2017-2019], under the direction of Prof. Dr. Burhan Varkıvanç, trying to contribute to the documentation of previously unknown structures. Moreover, various short-term studies for collecting some missing data, including additional photo shootings, were conducted in 2020 and 2022. Field observations were documented by means of notes, photography, and drawings and later interpreted by comparing them with the relevant available data.

In this context, the architectural remains of Xanthos were handled in the following ways:

1- The structures known to exist in the city, of which research had been completed or partially researched and published, were revisited and documented in their current state.
2- The structures that were known to exist before but only mentioned briefly in publications and were not subject to any detailed research by former researchers were documented, examined, and interpreted for the first time.
3- Some structures that were known to exist and were documented in the past years but could not be found again during the current fieldworks were considered lost

or destroyed buildings. These structures are still presented in the catalog, explaining their current status.

4- Structures that were not referred to in any way in previous publications were considered as structures that had never been researched before. The documentation and interpretation of these structures for the first time is one of the main outputs of this dissertation and an original contribution to the discipline.

Another original output of the dissertation is an up-to-date urban plan. Since Xanthos has a long research history, its layout was documented many times in different ways in the past, from simple sketches to general city plans (see Chapter 3: Research History). However, none of these were complete and up to date. Within the scope of this dissertation, a study for drawing a new city plan was carried out in 2018. The aim was to update the plan by adding the results of the excavations in recent years, eliminating the mistakes and deficiencies in the existing plans, and adding the structures unearthed as a result of vegetation clearing works in large areas. This study was carried out with the financial support of the Koç University Stavros Niarchos Foundation Center for Late Antique and Byzantine Studies – GABAM. The precise coordinate points of all the visible walls were recorded with a CHC X91 GNSS GPS device and transferred to the digital environment with the help of a mapping engineer. Then, as a result of combining them, a new city plan was created on the topographic map showing the current situation (Figure 1.3). Later, the author colored the plan to visualize the chronological periods (Figure 1.4) and continuously updated it throughout the dissertation process.

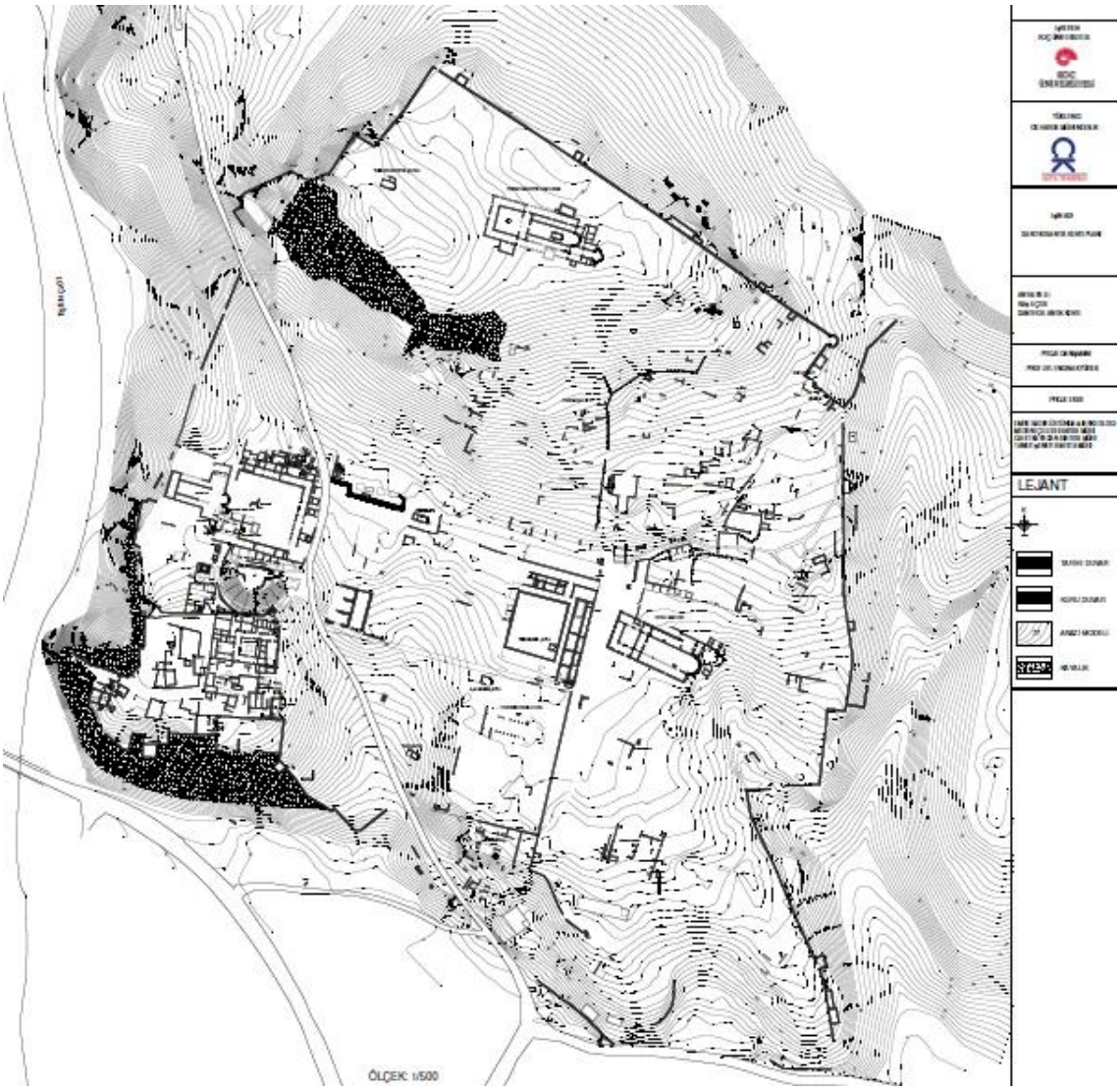


Figure 1.3: General plan of Xanthos (© GABAM).

There were several limitations encountered during the dissertation process. First of all, although Xanthos has a long excavation history of more than 70 years and is the first modern excavation of the Lycian region, research and publications focusing on the Byzantine period were very limited. In fact, the excavations, in general, are far from being completed. The forced transfer of the direction of the excavation in 2011 from the French team to the Akdeniz University also caused a severe data loss as a continuous archive

which is vital for an archaeological excavation, was unavailable. No study notes, fieldwork diaries, and inventory information had been transferred to the new crew, and the excavation depot was handed over without an inventory or notes regarding the find locations and levels of the findings. Therefore, the excavation depot cannot be regarded as a healthy data source, not only for this dissertation but also for further studies. Due to this unacceptable situation in terms of scientific ethics, the findings in the depot could not be evaluated within the scope of this thesis, and only the already published material was included.

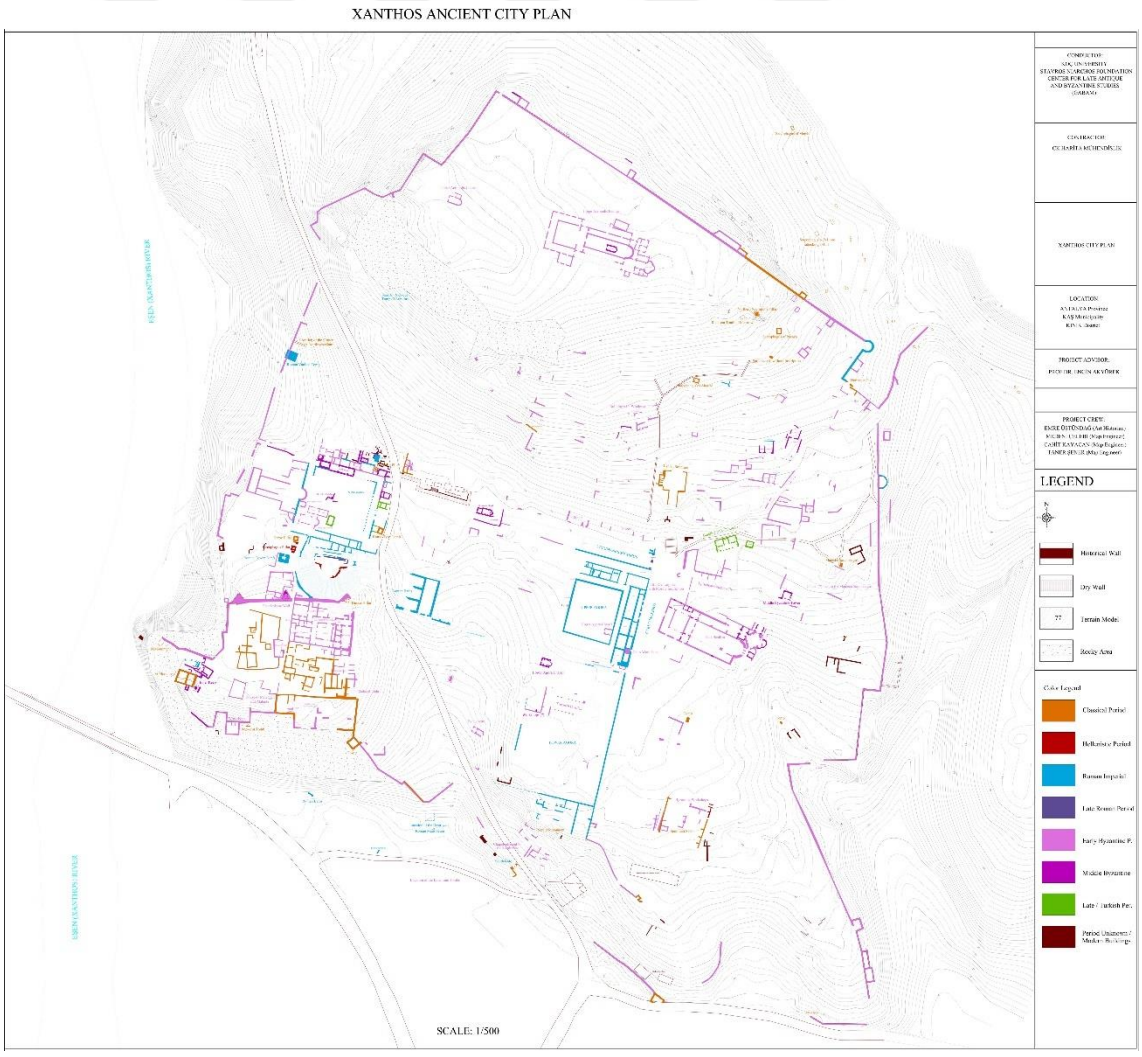


Figure 1.4: Chronological plan of Xanthos (edited by the author from Figure 1.3).

The site itself had also been neglected for a long time. The soils from the excavated areas were left cumulated in various parts of the site covering other structures and creating obstacles. The density of vegetation was a second problem. In the city, stretching over a vast territory, the dense and thorny bushes, which form the typical vegetation of the Mediterranean region, cover the structures in such a way that the latter cannot be identified. This situation was especially seen on the skirts of the Upper Acropolis hill, which constitutes the Byzantine residential area, and could not be resolved for many years due to the insufficiency of excavation budgets and labor force. Especially before the study for drawing the new city plan in 2018, intensive efforts were made to clear the vegetation in that area as much as possible to ensure proper documentation.

The lack of budget, as mentioned before, and the absence of an excavation house resulted in working with a small team and limited workforce, and only very small areas within the city could be excavated in 2019 under the direction of the Akdeniz University excavation team.

The field studies carried out within the scope of this dissertation during 2017, 2018, and 2019 excavation seasons were as follows:

1- Various visual surveys covering the entire city: during these surveys, the pre-existing city plans were controlled wall by wall, the deficiencies/inaccuracies were noted, and the structures/walls that were never found in the former plans were also identified and studied. On the other hand, in a few parts of the city, some walls, which were documented in the past years, could not be found, possibly due to changes in land conditions such as dense vegetation and slope erosion. Such situations were mentioned in the relevant sections.

2- Vegetation clearing: the structures/walls, which were uncovered at the necessary points, were documented with photographs and drawings and then added to the main plan, which was continuously updated throughout the writing progress of the dissertation. These areas are the Byzantine residential area at the foot of the Upper Acropolis, the West Basilica, the Triconch Basilica, the Synagogue, the Upper Agora Chapel, the Lower Agora Chapel, the Chapel (?) next to the Maidens Sarcophagus, the Building with Chimneys and surrounding walls, and the Structure with Rectangular Pool.
3- Excavations and Soundings: these fieldworks were carried out only in 2019 in three buildings: the Triconch Basilica, the Synagogue, and the Building with Chimneys.
4- A study for drawing the new city plan as explained above.

The dating and possible functions of the structures that have not been the subject of any studies before, have been suggested by the author considering structural similarities with previously researched and published structures in the city and nearby geography, which could be appropriately dated by other scholars[1].

Within the scope of this dissertation, the urbanism of Xanthos was limited to the urban area. The most important reason for this is the limited amount of previous research in the vicinity. There is no data on which of the surrounding settlements were connected to the city at which periods. In other words, the borders of the hinterland of Byzantine Xanthos have never been inspected by previous researchers[2]. For example, even though there are

[1] For example, the idea that a building researched for the first time in 2018 may be a synagogue, even though its general appearance resembles a chapel, was developed on the basis of its structural similarity with the Andriake Synagogue in the nearby geography, being completely excavated and certainly proven to be a synagogue.
[2] Research on the hinterland of Xanthos in the pre-Byzantine periods is also quite new. For these studies published in recent years, see des Courtils 2013, and Zimmermann 2020b.

structures that can be dated to the Byzantine period[3] in a settlement located 7 km from Xanthos, today called Aklar/Asarcık, this settlement has never been thoroughly investigated, nor has its connection with the city been proven. Saying that, the hinterland of Xanthos and connections with the surrounding settlements constitute a different subject of study, so they were not included within the scope of this thesis.

A similar situation applies to the Letoon. The settlement, which was never a city by itself, was a sanctuary in pre-Christian times. Contrary to the general opinion, the view that the Letoon was a unit belonging only to Xanthos is today open to discussion. As can be seen from the donations it received from different cities of Lycia, the sanctuary was the common worship place of the whole Lycian League (Çevik 2002, 76). The sanctuary has lost its importance with Christianity and became a very small settlement with a church built in the middle of the 6th and abandoned at the beginning of the 7th century AD (Foss 1994, 13). There is not enough data available to allow for considering the Letoon as a part of Xanthos in the Byzantine period. On the other hand, the castles that played a role in defense of the city will be briefly mentioned.

In this dissertation, the terms Late Antique, Early Byzantine, and Middle Byzantine were used for naming the periods of Byzantine rule. Even though Late Antique and Early Byzantine seem to refer to the same period, this choice was made due to the particular situation of Xanthos. Up to now, very few structures belonging to these periods have been excavated, and precise chronologies are missing for most of the buildings. In addition, no structure has been definitively dated to the period between the 8th and 11th centuries – also called the "dark ages"– so far. This might be due to an actual lack of structures belonging to this period but could also derive from insufficient research. Therefore, there

[3] The existence of two churches (Cavalier and des Courtils 2020, 149) and a possible *martyrion* (Onur 2016, 221, fig.11) have been reported briefly.

may be structures built in this intermediate period that cannot be called Late Antique anymore. The term "Early Byzantine" was preferred, especially in the sections dealing with architecture and dating the masonry, in order to be more inclusive. Thus, it was suggested as a general term covering the 4th to 10th centuries in the city due to the lack of precise chronologies. On the other hand, the term “Late Antique” is also describing the cultural atmosphere in this period and therefore used in the historical and urbanistic contexts describing the post Roman Imperial period up to the Arab/Sassanid raids.

1.3 Review of the Modern Literature

This section aims to chronologically examine how Byzantine architecture and artifacts were handled by previous researchers within the modern research history of the city. On the other hand, the primary written sources on Xanthos from the Byzantine period will be examined in “Chapter 2.5”.

The first important modern secondary sources about the city are undoubtedly the publications of Fellows, who discovered the city and carried out the first research there in 1838. Fellows published the results of his first expeditions in two books: “A Journal Written During an Excursion in Asia Minor” (Fellows 1839) and “An Account of Discoveries in Lycia, Being a Journal Kept During a Second Excursion in Asia Minor” (Fellows 1841). In the following years and after the fieldwork in the city, he published two more books: “The Xanthian Marbles, Their Acquisition and Transmission to England” about how the artifacts in the city were discovered and transferred (Fellows 1843) and “Account of the Ionic Trophy Monument Excavated at Xanthus” about the features of the Nereid Monument (Fellows 1848). In 1852, these four books were brought together and reissued with some additional documents in the appendix in a volume called

"Travels and Researches in Asia Minor, More Particularly in the Province of Lycia" (Fellows 1852).

First of all, it should be underlined that Fellows did not show a particular interest in Byzantine artifacts during his fieldwork in the city. However, his publications are essential as they are the first modern accounts about Xanthos. The accompanying illustrators visually documented the city for the first time, with general views, architectural plans, and drawings of the artifacts. Some of these drawings were included in the books of Fellows, and some of them were published by Scharf in 1847 in the book "Lycia, Karia, Lydia" together with short introductory texts written by Fellows (Scharf and Fellows 1847). Another importance of Fellows' publications is that they provide information about life in the region in the 19th century. Spratt and Forbes, team members of the expedition, also made similar contributions in their book "Travels in Lycia, Milyas and the Cibyratis vol.I&II" (Spratt and Forbes 1847), published in 1847. For example, the earliest city plan and the plan of the Upper Acropolis Basilica are available in this book. Even though all these 19th-century publications are the earliest documents about the city, it should be underlined that these accounts should be read carefully from the perspective of modern archaeology since they include many inaccurate descriptions and dates[4].

After the modern excavations started in 1950 by French scholars, the excavation directors and team members made a wide variety of publications. The most prominent ones among these are undoubtedly the annual excavation reports published in various periodicals such as CRAI, TAD, KST, Anatolia Antiqua, and ANMED, as well as some

[4] For example, some Roman sarcophagi were identified as Byzantine artifacts (Fellows 1852, 503).

books and articles in different journals. Below, the books and articles related to Byzantine artifacts will be examined chronologically.

One of the most important sources for the city is the series of books called "Fouilles de Xanthos", the first of which was published in 1958 (Demargne 1958). In the publications, each volume of which is devoted to a different theme or area, there is no particular focus on Byzantine works. In the book titled "l'Acropole Lycienne", the second book in the series written about the Lycian Acropolis, the Byzantine architecture in the area was briefly mentioned with some inaccurate definitions since the excavations were not completed at that time. For example, the *triclinium* with an apse of the Northeast House on the Lycian Acropolis has been described as a Byzantine church (Metzger 1963, 7).

"Guide de Xanthos/Xanthos Kılavuzu", a general guidebook on the site, was published in 1966 by Demargne and Metzger in French and Turkish (Demargne and Metzger 1966). The book was the first publication that handled the city as a whole, but it has partly lost its validity today as many new findings have been revealed with the ongoing excavations over the years.

The article "Sculptures lyciennes d'époque paléochrétiennes à représentations humaines et animalières" published by Sodini in 1976, was the first article on Byzantine artifacts found in Xanthos. In the article, five stone reliefs found in the city were examined (Sodini 1976).

In 1980, Sodini published the *templon* reliefs found in the baptistery of the East Basilica, which was converted into a church in the Middle Byzantine period, in his article "une iconostase byzantine à Xanthos". In this publication, the architectural plans of both

the baptistery and the East Basilica and the reconstruction proposal of the iconostasis of the medieval church were included for the first time (Sodini 1980).

In 1981, Jolivet-Levy published the Middle Byzantine frescoes fragmentally found on the walls of the same church in the article “Peintures byzantines inédites à Xanthos (Lycie)” (Jolivet-Levy 1981). The introduced paintings are the only religious fresco samples found in Xanthos, and the publication is the only source on this subject.

In 1989, Sodini published an article titled “Les groupes épiscopaux de Turquie (à l'exception de la Cilicie)” which introduced the episcopal churches in Turkey, including the Xanthos East Basilica (Sodini 1989).

Des Courtils, the director of the excavation between 1996 and 2010, made the first publication about the city walls of Xanthos in 1994, “Nouvelles données sur le rempart de Xanthos” (des Courtils 1994). Since this publication was later updated as a result of further research, some sections are outdated today. Still, it is important as the first source that mentions the Byzantine city walls. In the same year, the book “Xanthus: Travels of Discovery in Turkey” was published by Slatter. Combining the unpublished diaries and archival material by Fellows and his team, this work is the most detailed sourcebook written thus far about the discovery and excavation process of Fellows apart from his own publications (Slatter 1994).

In 1996, Canbilen, Lebouteiller and Sodini published an article on the Upper Acropolis Basilica called “La basilique de l'acropole haute de Xanthos” (Canbilen, Lebouteiller and Sodini 1996). Even though no excavations were carried out in this area, both the plan and the reconstruction proposal of the church were published as a result of field observations. This publication is the first article that focusing on a Byzantine structure in the city. In the same year, Raynaud published her first article on the mosaics

of the East Basilica, “La composition en croix de U dans la mosaïque de pavement” (Raynaud 1996). Also, in the same year, Jordan and Kotansky published their article “Two Phylacteries from Xanthos” (Jordan and Kotansky 1996). These artifacts, which are considered among the rare finds, provide an overview of the beliefs in Xanthos and are epigraphical examples from the Byzantine period, which are very scarce.

In 1998, the French excavation team published a comprehensive publication, and the 239th issue of the French archaeological journal Dossiers d'Archéologie was devoted entirely to Xanthos. Although the publication stands somewhere between scientific articles and popular publishing, the city was introduced for the first time as a whole, and each period was explained in separate articles by experts and accompanied by plenty of color photographs, including some Byzantine structures. The relevant articles in this volume are: “La Lycie a l'epoque Byzantine” (Sodini 1998b), “Les églises de Xanthos” (Sodini 1998c), “Les maisons de l'Acropole Lycienne” (Manière-Lévêque 1998a), “La basilique de l'agora” (Manière-Lévêque 1998b), “Les pavements de la basilique épiscopale” (Raynaud 1998) and “La conservation des pavements de la basilique épiscopale de Xanthos” (Blanc and Krougly 1998). In the same year, Sodini examined the altar table fragments found in Xanthos in his article “Tables de Xanthos” in a different journal (Sodini 1998a). In the same year, Armstrong published an article on Seljuk pottery titled “Nomadic Seljuks in "Byzantine" Lycia: New Evidence”. The article examined the Balboura and Xanthos finds and is the only source from which information can be obtained, albeit limited, about the post-Byzantine early Turkish period of Xanthos (Armstrong 1998).

In 2001, des Courtils and Cavalier published an important article, “The City of Xanthos from Archaic to Byzantine Times” (des Courtils and Cavalier 2001), examining the city according to chronological periods and taking into account the urban layout,

including the Byzantine period. Since many buildings were not mentioned in the article, it is not comprehensive but valuable in terms of looking at the city from an urbanistic perspective for the first time.

In 2002, Manière-Lévêque published the Northeast House on the Lycian Acropolis, in her article “La maison de l'acropole lycienne a Xanthos” (Manière-Lévêque 2002). As the excavation proceeded, the new findings continued to be published in the following years: in 2005, “La résidence de l'acropole lycienne à Xanthos: un modèle de la Méditerranée orientale” (Manière-Lévêque 2005); in 2006, “Habitat proto-byzantine à Xanthos: les espaces de réception de la grande résidence nord-est de l'acropole lycienne” (Manière-Lévêque 2006); in 2007, “The House of the Lycian Acropolis at Xanthos” (Manière-Lévêque 2007a) and “Apports des Fouilles Récentes sur les Secteurs Occéaux de Xanthos” (Manière-Lévêque 2007b); in 2008, “An Unusual Structure on the Lycian Acropolis at Xanthos” (Manière-Lévêque 2008). The building is the most detailed one among the Byzantine structures of Xanthos and has been the subject of many publications. In the same year, Pellegrino wrote his first article on the ceramics of the Northeast House on the Lycian Acropolis, too, “Le matériel céramique issu des fouilles menées en 1995 et 2000 sur l'acropole lycienne de Xanthos” (Pellegrino 2002). He continued his publications on the same subject in the following years, and in 2003 he published “Présentation des céramiques issues des fouilles menées en 1998-1999 sur l'acropole lycienne de Xanthos” (Pellegrino 2003); in 2004, “Note sur un dépotoir de céramique du IIIe p. ap. J.-C. et la datation de la résidence du Nord-Est de l'acropole lycienne de Xanthos” (Pellegrino 2004); and in 2007 two articles, “Les céramiques de la maison du Nord-Est de l'acropole lycienne de Xanthos. Un ensemble original de la fin du VIe-début VIIe p. apr. J.-C.” (Pellegrino 2007a) and “Présentation des céramiques à pâte rouge

orangée granuleuses de Xanthos. Une production de céramique culinaire locale sur le long terme" (Pellegrino 2007b).

In 2003, des Courtils published the guidebook "Guide de Xanthos et du Letoon/The Guide to Xanthos and Letoon/Ksanthos ve Letoon Rehberi" (des Courtils 2003a), which was published in English, French and Turkish in three different languages. This is an illustrated guide for tourists rather than a scientific publication; still, it covers the city in a very comprehensive way. It is also important in that it replaced the old guidebook, which was published in 1966; but unfortunately, this guide was not updated again in the following years.

In 2004, Hellenkemper and Hild included Xanthos in the eighth volume of the Tabula Imperii Byzantini series: Lycia and Pamphylia (Hellenkemper and Hild 2004). It is a very comprehensive and up-to-date summary of former publications.

In 2005, Cavalier published her book "Architecture Romaine d'Asia Mineure: Les Monuments de Xanthos et Leur Ornementation" (Cavalier 2005). Although the book did not focus on Byzantine artifacts, it is the most important publication about the Roman architecture of the city. In the same year, two articles were published about the East Basilica: "The Construction Date of the Baptistery at Xanthos" by Armstrong, which deals with the ceramics found during the excavation of the baptistery (Armstrong 2005); and "Les sols en opus sectile et leur contexte architectural dans la basilique épiscopale de Xanthos" by Froidevaux and Raynaud focusing on the *opus sectile* floors of the basilica (Froidevaux and Raynaud 2005).

In 2006, Buchet and Manière-Lévêque published two articles: "Le peuplement de Xanthos a l'époque proto-byzantine. Apports de l'anthropologie et de la paléodémographie" (Buchet and Manière-Lévêque 2006a) and "La perception de

phénomènes migratoires. La variation biologique intra-site: Xanthos (Turquie) à l'époque byzantine" (Buchet and Manière-Lévêque 2006b). These articles were the first anthropological studies related to the Byzantine period of Xanthos, evaluating the burials found in the West Agora Church and the East Basilica excavations.

In 2007, Cavalier published her article "L'agora supérieure de Xanthos: fouilles 2000-2005" about the excavations of the Upper Agora and the Civil Basilica (Cavalier 2007). In the following years, she continued to the publications on the subject with "Les aménagements architecturaux de l'agora supérieure de Xanthos" (Cavalier 2010) and "La basilique civile de Xanthos: étude architecturale et proposition de restitution" (Cavalier 2012). Also in 2007, Foy published "Une production de verre à Xanthos au début de l'époque byzantine" (Foy 2007), and Gratuze "La composition des verres de Xanthos" (Gratuze 2007). These two publications, which include the analysis of ceramic and glass finds from the glass workshop unearthed during the Civil Basilica excavations, are the only studies on Byzantine glass in Xanthos. Also in the same year, a computer-aided study about the city was published for the first time. In the publication "Vers la modélisation de deux sites d'Asie Mineure: Xanthos de Lycie et Telmessos de Carie" by Cavalier, des Courtils and Mora, 3D reconstructions of the Dipylon and the Civil Basilica were featured (Cavalier, des Courtils and Mora 2007). Two more similar studies were published in the following years.

In 2009, the first of two important books focusing on the Byzantine mosaics of the city was published by Raynaud: "Corpus of the Mosaics of Turkey. Lycia. Volume I. Xanthos, Part 1: The East Basilica" (Raynaud 2009). Besides being a very detailed review of the mosaics of the East Basilica, this publication is important as it includes the architectural drawings of the church and some architectural descriptions and chronology. In the same year, a study titled "Modélisation 3D diachronique du site de Xanthos"

(Cavalier et al. 2009), which briefly mentions the project of transferring the city to 3D digital media by Cavalier, des Courtils, Mora and Viiver, was published with a digitally created image of Lycian Acropolis.

In 2010, Sodini published the article “Les portes centrales de la basilique Est (Cathédrale) de Xanthos” which inspects the gates and various architectural sculptures of the East Basilica (Sodini 2010).

In 2012, Manière-Lévêque published the second band of the mosaic corpus series “Corpus of the Mosaics of Turkey. Lycia. Volume II. Xanthos, Part 2: The West Area”, examining structures that are located on the West side of the city, such as the Northeast House on the Lycian Acropolis, the House of Meleager and Atalanta on the Lycian Acropolis, and the churches in the West Agora (Manière-Lévêque 2012). Although the publication focuses on the mosaic floors of the buildings, it constitutes one of the most valuable resources for Byzantine architecture in the city, as it also includes architectural plans, descriptions, and chronologies. Due to the fact that the author reviewed the previously unpublished excavation diaries of former researchers during the preparation of the book, she provides some critical data on some Byzantine structures that were destroyed in the early years of the excavation without documentation. Unfortunately, the third volume of this series of books has not been published, and some important Byzantine mosaics, which are known to exist –such as those found in the Upper Agora and the Civil Basilica–remain unpublished thus far. In the same year, Sodini published “A slab with opposed peacocks in the Xanthos Eastern Basilica” adding a new publication to his articles on architectural sculpture found in the East Basilica (Sodini 2012).

In 2013, a new publication was added to the series of 3D studies in the city: “Restitution d’un théâtre antique: l’exemple de Xanthos”, and this time it included

restitutions of the Theater and Northeast House on the Lycian Acropolis (Cavalier, des Courtils, and Mora 2013, 124).

In 2014, Dönmez, a member of the Akdeniz University team to which the excavations were transferred in 2011, completed his master's thesis titled "Ksanthos Kenti Batı Agorası". Even though the thesis focuses on the Roman period architecture of the West Agora, the Byzantine period workshops unearthed during the excavations by the Akdeniz University team and other structures in the vicinity dating to this period were also mentioned (Dönmez 2014).

In 2015, des Courtils, Cavalier and Lemaître published their article "Le rempart de Xanthos: Recherches 1993-2010" the most recent research about the city walls of the city (des Courtils, Cavalier and Lemaître 2015). The previous article about the city walls published by des Courtils in 1994 was completely updated with many new results of research, and some data in the first article consequently lost their validity[5]. This publication constitutes the most important source about the city walls. In the same year, Baker, Chamberland and Thériault, who conducted epigraphic research in the city, published their article "Trois Milliaires Xanthiens". The three milestones from the Late Antique period included in this article have an important place in the very limited Byzantine epigraphic material of the city (Baker, Chamberland and Thériault 2015). In the same year, Varkıvanç published "Pottery Finds from the Winery in the West Agora of Xanthos". The result of the winery excavations, which vividly reflects the Late Antique period trade life with various finds, was examined here (Varkıvanç 2015b).

In 2016, Sodini who carried out the East Basilica excavations for many years, published his last article on Xanthos: "Une boucle de fermoir dans une tombe de la

[5] For example, while some parts of the city walls were dated to the Hellenistic period in the first article, this date was updated later as Early Roman with the help of the finds unearthed as a result of the soundings.

cathédrale de Xanthos". Since the small finds published from the Byzantine period are limited for Xanthos, this article has an important place (Sodini 2016). After this date, Sodini did not publish new material on Xanthos. Even though it has been known for many years that he was editing a final publication on the East Basilica, unfortunately, this publication was not realized during the writing period of this dissertation.

In 2017, des Courtils published his article "The City of Xanthus: "Lieu de mémoire" of the Lycians". In this article, a mosaic inscription, one of the most important finds dating to the Late Antique period in Xanthos, which was briefly mentioned in the excavation reports before, was published without giving much detail (des Courtils 2017, 63). In the same year, Kökmen-Seyirci briefly included the Byzantine phase of the South Gate in her article titled "Ksanthos Güney Kent Kapısı ve Evreleri" (Kökmen-Seyirci 2017, 195-196).

In 2018, Dönmez made suggestions about the functions of the Byzantine structures around the West Agora in his article "Xanthos West Agora II: Alteration and Transformation in the Byzantine Period" (Dönmez 2018b).

In 2019, Özdamar provided some clues about the situation of the city after the Byzantine period, based on Ottoman sources, in his book "Ksanthos'tan Kınık'a" (Özdamar 2019).

In 2020, Armstrong published her article "Medieval handmade wares in southwest Anatolia: the paradigm of Xanthos" on the Byzantine ceramic findings (Armstrong 2020).

In 2021, Ölmez completed her master's thesis with the title "Tarihsel Mekanların Analizinde Uzaktan Algılama ve CBS Uygulamalarında Entropi Yaklaşımı: Ksanthos Antik Kenti Örneği" in the department of Remote Sensing and GIS at Akdeniz University (Ölmez 2021). Although the results are highly debatable, the thesis, coming from the

natural and applied sciences department, tries to provide a different point of view regarding the research history of Xanthos. The application of modern technological methods like GIS could be promising, creating new perspectives for future studies in archaeology, art history, and other related social science branches.

In this context, it is also deserving that modern digital imaging and documentation methods such as Reflectance Transformation Imaging - RTI and Structure from Motion Photogrammetry - SfM were used during the studies of the master's thesis on the Maidens Sarcophagus in Xanthos completed by Eraslan in 2022 (Eraslan 2022, 4-6).

Also in 2022, Yılmaz completed her master's thesis on Byzantine stone artifacts situated in the excavation depot (Yılmaz 2022).

CHAPTER 2: HISTORY OF XANTHOS

2.1 Earliest Accounts

The oldest written sources about Lycia are dated to the Bronze Age and are obtained from neighboring cultures. The Lukka people were mentioned in Hittite and Egyptian texts, sometimes as an ally and sometimes as an enemy (des Courtils 2003a, 19). The inscription from a Late Bronze Age Hittite monument found in Yalburt, a site northwest of Konya, describes the Lukka expedition of the Hittite king Tudhaliya IV [1239 - 1209 BC]. The names of some western Lycian cities and their fates during the campaign were recorded in this inscription. Accordingly, the city of Xanthos, which was named “Awarna”, was plundered by the Hittite king, and a garrison was settled there. Pinata [Pinara], Talwa [Tlos], Patar [Patara] and Wiyanawanda [Oinoanda] are also mentioned (Woudhuizen 1994-95, 170-173). The name of the city was also referred to as “Arinna” in different Hittite cuneiform records from the second half of the 17th century BC (Yiğit 2006, 903).

As can be learned from various inscriptions and other written sources, the Lycian name of the city was also similar to the Hittite name and was Arñna [Ἄρνα in Ancient Greek] (Steph. Byz., 123.12-14), which was originally written as 𐊛𐊟𐊢𐊝 in the Lycian language (Palaeolexicon, n.d.). Xanthos [Ξάνθος, ἡ in Ancient Greek], which means yellow or blond in Ancient Greek, was the name of the river flowing just west of the city, today known as the Eşen Çayı. Strabo [64 BC - AD 24] mentioned that the original name of the river was “Sirbis” (Strab., 14.3.6). This word also means ‘reddish yellow’ in Phoenician and Arabic, and the Ancient Greek name Xanthos was probably a direct translation of this original (Smith 1857, 1333). One of the earliest written texts that mentioned the name of Xanthos is Homer's Iliad [8th century BC], in which the place where the Lycian warriors came from is referred to as the "eddying Xanthus" and the

"banks of Xanthus" (Hom. Il., 2.877, 5.479, 12.313). Obviously, these geographical references point out the river and its valley rather than the city. It is not known when exactly the city was named after the river.

2.2 Classical Period (6th Century BC - 334 BC)

In the period starting with the conquest of the city by the Persians in 546 BC, the administration was dominated by an aristocratic family in an oligarchic way, which Aristotle [384 - 322 BC] called *dynasteia* (Kolb 2020, 34). Although the information before this period is limited, it is thought that Persians kept the local ruling structure without completely changing it. The first mention of the city in the ancient sources – except Homeros– is in Heredotos' work due to the events during the siege of the city by Harpagos the Mede, the commander of Cyrus the Great, in 546 BC. Realizing that they would be defeated when the city was besieged, Xanthian men gathered their wives, children, goods, and servants into the acropolis, then set them on fire, and fought to the death. The entire population perished except for 80 families out of the city at that time (Hdt. 1.176). Although this information is repeated by many other ancient historians of later periods (App. B Civ. 4.10.80; Dio Cass. 47.34), modern archaeological studies could not find a layer of destruction in the city that can be dated to this period; instead, the excavations made on the Lycian Acropolis revealed a great destruction layer that could be dated to 470 BC [based on the ceramic data], possibly related to the attack of Cimon of Athens (Draycott 2015, 105).

The names of the dynastic rulers are known both from inscriptions and from the coins they minted (Özüdoğru 2015). Besides Xanthos, they established dominance throughout most of the Lycian region. The city then was surrounded by a long circuit of defensive walls, whose boundaries did not change in later periods. The Lycian Acropolis

was built as a nucleus with the palace and the temple, and the West Agora nearby was designed both as an urban public space and a cult center where the ruling class was not only commemorated but also deified through their tomb monuments (Işık 2010, 79-82). Among them, the most important ones are the Harpy Monument, of which the reliefs are in the British Museum, and the Inscribed Pillar, which contains the longest inscription in the Lycian language. Although the whole narrative of the text could not be solved yet, it can be learned from the short epigram on the north side of the monument written in Ancient Greek that the owner of the tomb was Xeriga or Xerei, son of Harpagos (Gygax and Tietz 2005, 91). It has been widely discussed whether the city was ruled by the actual descendants of Harpagos the Mede or by the family of a local dynast named after the famous commander[6] (Özüdoğru 2015, 518 ff). However, it is known that each member of this dynasty added a tomb monument glorifying them in the city center. After the death of Arbinas –Erbbina in Lycian–the last influential member of the dynasty who built a totally different type of tomb for himself in the form of an Ionic temple, the Nereid Monument, Xanthos lost its power in the region. The city went first under the rule of Pericles of Limyra, then under the rule of Piksodoros, brother of Mausolos of Halikarnassos, until Alexander the Great arrived in Anatolia (des Courtils 2003a, 30).

Here, it is helpful to correct a frequently repeated mistake regarding Xanthos. In some sources, the city is referred to as the 'capital of Lycia' in the Classical period (Unesco World Heritage Centre, n.d.). Even though the Xanthos dynasty held many other Lycian cities under its rule, the word 'capital' is not a correct conceptual term referencing the administrative structure of this period. More accurately, Xanthos was 'the residential center of the ruling class' or 'the dominant city of the region'.

[6] Pericles, the Limyran dynast, was named after Pericles of Athens, as well.

2.3 Hellenistic Period (334 BC - 43 BC)

In 334 BC, Xanthos was conquered by Alexander the Great (des Courtils 2003a, 32). There are two opposite narratives regarding the conquest. Appian [middle of the 2nd century AD] stated that the people of Xanthos resisted the besieging armies as they did before during the invasion of Harpagos (App. B Civ. 4.10.80). On the other hand, Arrian [2nd century AD] wrote that Pinara, Xanthos, Patara, and 30 other small cities immediately surrendered to Alexander (Arr. Anab. XXIV.68).

After the death of Alexander in 323 BC, Xanthos was dominated first by the Seleucids of Antioch and then by the Ptolemies of Alexandria during the 3rd century BC. The city, which came under Seleucid rule again for a short time in the 2nd century BC, was later given under the rule of Rhodes (des Courtils 2003a, 32).

The time between 166 BC and AD 43 is known as the period of the Lycian League. The 23 cities of this union had different voting counts according to their population, and Xanthos was one of the six principal cities with three voting rights along with Patara, Pinara, Olympos, Myra, and Tlos (Strab. 14.3.3).

The Hellenistic era was a period when not many structures were built in Xanthos, and the architectural focus was on Letoon, the sanctuary of the Lycian Union. It should also be underlined that it was a period when the Lycian language disappeared completely, and Ancient Greek became dominant.

2.4 Roman Period

Conquered by Brutus in 43 BC, the Xanthians once again faced terrible destruction, according to the classical historical narrative, choosing to burn their city with their own hands rather than to surrender (Figure 2.1) (Plut. Brut. 31.1-5; App. B Civ. 4.10.76-80).

However, traces of this destruction have not been found archaeologically either (des Courtils and Cavalier 2001, 159).



Figure 2.1: "Brutus Before Xanthus" (Ollier 1883, 367).

After its conquest, the city underwent a massive architectural reconstruction campaign. Colonnaded streets and squares, public buildings, and triumphal arches were built, as well as the smaller Hellenistic theater was replaced with a larger one. Although many inscriptions found in the excavations mention some structures built in this period, such as a *bouleuterion*, *gerousia*, *balaneion ton gynaikon*, and *gymnasium*, these structures have not been identified so far; on the other hand, importance was given to the Letoon in this period too, and construction activities continued there (des Courtils and Cavalier 2001, 159-160). During the reign of Emperor Vespasian [AD 69 - 79], Lycia and

Pamphylia were combined into a double province, with Patara being the administrative center (Zimmermann 2016, 68). Sextus Marcus Priscus, the governor of Lycia, renovated the South Gate of the city building an arch decorated with busts of deities between AD 68 - 70 in order to honor Emperor Vespasian (Kökmen-Seyirci 2017, 193). It is known from the inscriptions that Opramoas of Rhodiapolis, an important Lycian benefactor, helped Xanthos with 30,000 *denarii* for the restoration of the city after a major earthquake in the 2nd century AD (Frézouls 1990, 885).

2.5 Late Antique / Byzantine Period

While the Lycian region was a united province with Pamphylia in the Roman period, it became a single province again during the reign of Emperor Constantine I [AD 324 - 337] (Foss 1994, 2). In the Late Antique period, Xanthos was a bishopric seat in the Province of Lycia, whose archbishop sat in Myra[7], within the Diocese of Asia. Although Lycia has an important place in the Byzantine history narrative, especially because of the early Christian history from Saint Nikolaos to the monastic movement, there is not much information in the sources directly about Xanthos. However, the city seems to be one of the most important in the region as its rich architectural catalog suggests. The four major basilicas of the Late Antique period and the fact that one of them was probably an important pilgrimage center indicate its dominant position within the region in terms of religious architecture. Furthermore, wealthy residences, especially on the Lycian Acropolis, are important examples of profane architecture in the East Mediterranean

[7] Myra had been the metropolis of Lycia since the reign of Emperor Theodosios II [AD 408 - 450] (Foss 1991a, 313-314).

basin. Unluckily, almost all of our knowledge is based on archaeological data, as there are very few mentions of the city in written history.

The names of only three bishops from Xanthos are mentioned in the Lycian section of Le Quien's work, in which he compiled the bishop lists of the Byzantine world (le Quien 1958, 981-984).

The first bishop whose name was mentioned in the list of the first synod –AD 381– that took place in Constantinople during the reign of Emperor Theodosios I [reign AD 379 - 395] is Makedon. Secondly, the name of Athanasios was recorded as the bishop of Xanthos in the letters of the Myra synod –AD 458– that were sent to Emperor Leon I [reign AD 457 - 474]. The last name is Georgios, who was recorded in the canons of the Quinisextae synod –AD 692– being held in Trullo during the time of Emperor Justinian II [reign AD 685 - 695 and 705 - 711].

One of the most important written sources from the Byzantine period mentioning Xanthos is the Vita Procli, written by Marinus of Samaria, which tells the life of Proklos the Neoplatonist, who lived in AD 411 - 485 and was considered one of the last great classical philosophers. According to the *vita*, the philosopher's family was originally from Xanthos but lived in the capital for a while. When Proklos was a child, they returned to their hometown, and Proklos received his education in Xanthos (Siorvanes 1996, 1-3). Marinus informs us that Proklos received an "excellent education" in Xanthos (Marin., 20), from which we can conclude that there was an advanced school in Xanthos in the Late Antique period. This gives an important clue about the history of the city, especially what kind of intellectual infrastructure it had in the 5th century AD.

In the Synecdemus, a work that lists the cities of the Byzantine geography of the Justinian period in the most complete way, written by Hierokles the Grammarian in AD

535, Xanthos was recorded with the number 684:11 along with Aperlai, Phellos, Patara, Kombe, Pinara and Telmisos (Hier., 41).

Stephanos of Byzantion also briefly mentioned the city in his geographic lexicon Ethnika written in the 6th century. Without giving much information, the author just states that the city was located where the river of the same name flows into the sea and that the name Xanthos comes from an Egyptian or Cretan settler (Steph. Byz., 480).

Like all cities in the region, Byzantine Xanthos was affected by many calamities, such as the major earthquake in AD 529 - 530 that destroyed Myra; the great plague that appeared in AD 542 and killed nearly half of the population; two significant earthquakes in the 7th century AD, after which the East Basilica was abandoned (Duggan 2004, 131-134). Despite all these disasters, the city had brilliant days in the Late Antique period with the inheritance from Rome and the strong state of the empire. Xanthos took advantage of its sheltered geography in the close vicinity of an important port like Patara and lived a wealthy life as a trade city.

The golden period of the city continued until the Arabs won the Battle of Phoenix in AD 655 and gained long-lasting control in the region. Constant raids of Arabs and Sassanids drove Lycia into a period of unrest until the end of the 10th century (Foss 1994, 3). The scarcity of archaeological data from this timespan in Xanthos led researchers to once conclude that the city was entirely abandoned by the 7th century AD (des Courtils 2003a, 37). However, studies conducted in recent years have revealed some new results. The ceramic findings unearthed in the excavations of the Byzantine residence on the Lycian Acropolis showed an extensive trade relationship with Cyprus in the 8th century AD, and these finds caused the researchers to change their opinion about the abandoning of the city (des Courtils 2011b, 72).

An important document regarding this dark period is the Notitiae Episcopatuum, which gives the hierarchical order of Byzantine dioceses. In the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, and 4th Notitiae, which cover the 7th and 9th centuries, Xanthos ranked 18th[8] among the Lycian cities (Darrouzes 1981, 209, 224, 238, 256). This shows that although the city had appeared in the lower ranks[9], at least there was still life here. However, the mystery of little-known two centuries –from the middle of the 8th to the beginning of the 11th century– can only be unshrouded with the results of further excavations and detailed analyzes.

In the middle of the 7th century AD, the old provincial administration was replaced by the *themata* system in the Byzantine Empire. In De Thematibus, written by Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus [reign AD 913 - 959] in the middle of the 10th century, the name of Xanthos was mentioned under the theme of Kibyrrhaiotai together with Telmessos, Patara, and Myra (De Adm. Imp. 37).

At the beginning of the 11th century, architectural activities started in the city again. The East Basilica, which used to be the great cathedral of Xanthos, could not be repaired completely probably due to insufficient population and budget; instead, its former baptistery building was converted into a church with new arrangements (Raynaud 2009, 120). Apart from this, some small-sized chapels were built, as well as various residences and some parts of the city walls were repaired. Among these structures, only the excavations of the East Basilica's former baptistery have been completed and

[8] Myra always figured as the first city in these lists being the metropolis of Lycia. While some scholars rank the cities including Myra as the first entry (Demargne and Metzger 1967, 1406), some others consider only the cities ranking below Myra (Hild 2004, 14); therefore, the numbers may be found inconsistent in different academic sources. Here, the rankings are given by counting Myra as the first.

[9] Even though the true significance of the hierarchical order in the Notitia documents is arguable, the lists largely correspond to the historical facts. For example, important port cities such as Olympos, Phaselis, Aperlai, and Antiphellos disappeared from the lists after the port cities were seriously affected by the Arab invasions (Hild 2004, 7).

published, and its final abandonment layer was dated to the 13th century (Raynaud 2009, 109).

In the Notitia documents, there are also records regarding this second period of the Byzantine city. It is seen that the city rose to the eighth rank according to the 7th, 9th, 10th, and 13th Notitiae belonging to the 10th to 12th centuries (Darrouzes 1981, 279, 300, 318, 358). This means that Xanthos was one of the cities with the highest ranks among the ancient Lycian metropolises along with Myra.

Various disasters happened during the late period as well. In 1148, a new plague epidemic broke out in the region, and some significant earthquakes were recorded in the 13th and 14th centuries (Duggan 2004, 135-137). The city preserved its Byzantine identity until the Turks settled in Asia Minor, and even in the Ottoman period, a small Rum[10] population lived within the ruins of the once magnificent city (Fellows 1852, 175).

In addition to the sources mentioned above, there are also inscriptions and coins dated to the Byzantine period found in the city, even though they are very limited.

2.5.1 Inscriptions

Two milestones dating to AD 333 - 337, the period of Constantinus and his family, were found 3 km away from the city and published. Based on the fact that on one of these two

[10] The use of the term 'Greek' has been particularly avoided in this dissertation. Unlike some cities in Western Anatolia, Xanthos was never colonized by the Greek Mainland. The use of the Ancient Greek language had begun at the end of the Classical period with a heavy social influence due to various cultural and economic exchanges and was settled entirely with the forced 'Hellenization' of Anatolia during the reign of Alexander the Great. This community was also Christianized after the 3rd century AD. People who did not belong to the Greek Mainland, except for the similarity of language and religion, were forced to move to Greece during the great population exchange after the First World War based on the general assumption that they were 'Greeks'. For these reasons, the use of the Ottoman word 'Rum', which defines the Orthodox Christian populations of Anatolia, was deemed appropriate to describe the people having lived in Xanthos after the 13th century.

milestones, Xanthos was named as “Metropolis” [Ξανθίων ἡ μητροπόλις], and on the other, the city was simply called as the “City” [Ξανθίων ἡ πόλις]; the authors pointed out that Xanthos had lost the title of “Metropolis” during this period (Baker, Chamberland and Thériault 2015, 146). These inscriptions are also important as they document the name of the governor in this period: Aurelius Fabius Faustinus.

An honorary inscription dedicated to Emperors Valentinian and Valens [reign AD 364 - 375] was found during excavations where collapsed blocks of the Dipylon were unearthed. The inscription was mentioned only in the excavation reports, and its entire content has not been published (des Courtils 2002a, 435). From the fact that this inscription was mounted on the Dipylon, it is understood that this structure, which originally dated to the Roman imperial period, was in use at least until the last quarter of the 4th century.

Önen, who is conducting epigraphic studies in the city, gave the information that an unpublished inscription was found, honoring Emperor Theodosios I [reign AD 379 - 395] (Nihal Tüner Önen, personal communication, August 31, 2020).

A drawing is available within the online achieve of the French team showing another unpublished votive inscription found on a block on the Lycian Acropolis (ArchXant, n.d. "Inscription byzantine - Blocs N°773, 772 et 770". Accessed Jun 01, 2022).

In the catalog prepared by Yılmaz within the scope of her master's thesis, eleven inscribed Byzantine stone artifacts situated in the Xanthos excavation depot were studied (Yılmaz 2022, 214 [catalog numbers: 15, 16, 17, 18, 21, 22, 25, 27, 28, 32, 35]). However, these inscriptions are too fragmentary to allow for interpretation.

The most important inscriptions dating to the Late Antique period of Xanthos are the short texts found in a mosaic dated to the 5th century AD covering the floor of a hall adjacent to the north of the Civil Basilica (Cavalier 2010, 193; des Courtils 2017, 63). Inside this mosaic, which is a geometric carpet, there are two inscriptions written in rectangular *tabulae*. In the first inscription, Tranikios, a citizen of the city, is honored as "the keeper of Lycia". The second inscription is a quote from Homer's Iliad, praising the Lycians as fierce warriors (Hom. Il. 12.346). The meaning of the passage was strengthened by making some changes in the Homeric text to especially commemorate this person (Chamoux 2004, 758). Honoring an individual by referencing the glorious heroes of the past shows how strongly the city was still connected to its ancient roots in the Late Antique period. The people of Xanthos might have pride and devotion to their past, as they showed respect to the former kings of the city too. They did not destroy their monuments and lived surrounded by them as a part of their city. This must mean an exceptional identity of being a Xanthian as well as being a Christian.

Within the Northern Necropolis, two *phylacteries* –protective inscriptions, usually written on thin metal sheets– were found as surface findings, which are kept in the Antalya Museum today. The first one is a silver sheet dating to the 3rd or 4th centuries AD, while the second one is made of bronze and from the 4th or 6th centuries AD. These texts with exorcistic content were written to get divine aid to free two men named Ioannes and Epiphanios from evil spirits. Interestingly, these texts contain both Christian elements and Jewish influence (Jordan and Kotansky 1996, 162-164).

2.5.2 Coins

The coins found during the excavations, especially those dating from the end of the 3rd to the beginning of the 7th century AD –from Diocletian to Heraclius– are numerous (Demargne and Metzger 1967, 1406). A coin of the period of Emperor Phokas [reign AD 602 - 610] was found in the metal workshop in the West Agora (Varkıvanç 2018a, 70), and a gold coin dated to the reign of Emperors Heraklios and Heraklios Constantine [AD 610 - 641] was found in the Lycian Structure (Varkıvanç 2017, 54). Furthermore, the fact that many 9th-century coins of Emperor Michael II the Amorian [reign AD 820 - 829] were found (Demargne and Metzger 1967, 1408) indicates that life in the city continued during this century.

Among the Middle Byzantine finds in Xanthos, the coins of Emperors Romanos III Argyros [reign AD 1028 - 1034] and Romanos IV Diogenes [reign AD 1068 - 1071] were mentioned in some publications (Sodini 1980, 148; Manière-Lévêque 1998a, 73).

2.6 Turkish Period

Wittek attributes the easy advance of the Turks within Western Anatolia to the weakness of security emerging from the shifting of the Akritai forces, who had been protecting the borders by that time, to the Balkans after 1261. Between 1269 - 1278, the coast of Asia Minor from Caria to Antiochia was conquered by the Turks (Wittek 1944, 15, 26).

It is not known precisely when the region around Xanthos started to be settled by the Turks. Some researchers claim that the Turks dominated the land as early as the 12th century (Hild 2004, 8). Although there are no architectural remains in the city from this period, ceramic finds from the Seljuk times suggest that nomads were temporarily occupying the city without settling permanently (Armstrong 1998, 327).

The first official record from the Ottoman period[11] is a Tahrir Defteri, a tax registration book, dated 1455, which states that Kınık was founded between 1422 - 1444 as a Turkish village belonging to Kalkanlu Nahiyesi[12] of Teke Sancağı (Özdamar 2019, 14, 36). Instead of the hills where Xanthos was located, Turks were settled on the fertile plain by the river. The first population census made in the 15th century shows a population of 300-400 people in Kınık. According to the same record, non-Muslim populations could only be found in the surroundings of Kınık, for example, in Kalamaki, but not in Xanthos itself (Özdamar 2019, 37).

However, a few written documents seemingly testify to non-Muslims living in the city after the Byzantine period. Stephan Gerlach, who visited the Ottoman lands in the last quarter of the 16th century as a clergyman of the Holy Roman Empire, wrote in his journal that "Venetian sailors were buying wine in barrels from Xanthus in Lycia, which was good and strong wine" (Gerlach 1674, 212 [translated by the author]). The fact that the production of good wine existed in Xanthos in the 16th century shows that non-Muslim people must have lived in the city since Turks generally did not produce wine at that time.

Additionally, in his journal published after his first visit in 1838, Fellows mentioned that "Greeks" were living in Xanthos/Kınık and stated that they always had wine in their houses, flavored with pine turpentine following the ancient tradition of adding aroma to the wine (Fellows 1839, 234-235). This, too, hints at a continuous presence of a non-Muslim population in Xanthos, as small as it might have been[13]. We

[11] As a result of various struggles with the Menteşe beys, the region became an Ottoman province in 1424 (Wittek 1944, 102).
[12] Kalkanlu is modern Kalkan and today as legal status both Kınık and Kalkan are districts belonging to Kaş Municipality of Antalya.
[13] A census made in 1831 shows that the population of the village dropped to only 60 people at that date (Özdamar 2019, 40). However, the proportion of Muslim vs. non-Muslim population has not been recorded.

do not have any additional information about these people's lives, for example, how they practiced their religion because when Fellows arrived, all the churches of Xanthos might have been in ruins.

Some other but questionable remarks about the presence of a Rum population in the city and their possible origins have been made by des Courtils. In three different publications, he suggested that, in the 18th century, “the Sultan” exiled the Rums who rebelled on the island of Rhodes to Xanthos (des Courtils and Laroche 1998, 459; des Courtils 2002b, 70; des Courtils 2003a, 17, 39). The author does not cite the source of this information in any of the publications. During the writing of this dissertation, even though sources about the Ottoman period Rhodes were researched and experts were consulted, no written source could be found mentioning such a revolt and displacement. The only available connection with Rhodes is to be found in Scharf's book of engravings, in which Fellows wrote a commentary about the Diateichisma Wall behind the theater: “... this appears to be the work of the Christians - perhaps of the Knights of St. John when occupying these coasts, after their expulsion from Rhodes.” (Scharf and Fellows 1847, plate III). Fellows probably made such an estimate by comparing this wall with the architecture of the Castle of St. Peter in Halikarnassos, which was actually built by the Knights of St. John. However, there is no evidence that the knights from Rhodes ever came to Xanthos. Even though some basic constructions dated to the 18th century were found during excavations in the city, it is impossible to know the origins of those who built them.

After the journal of Fellows, there is no further information about the presence of a Rum population in Xanthos. The remaining families might have been sent away during

the population exchange between Turkey and Greece after the First World War, like in most parts of Anatolia[14].

Today, although there is no active church in Xanthos, it has a titular bishop for both the Orthodox and Catholic Church, as the city has the right to bear the honorary title of Episcopate. For the Roman Catholic Church, Xanthos is a Titular Episcopal See established in 1933. The city, which had a Titular Archbishop between 1961 and 2003, Archbishop Bruno Bernard Heim, is currently in a 'vacant' situation (GCatholic, n.d.). For the Greek Orthodox Church, Xanthos is also a Titular Episcopate of the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople under the Archdiocese of America. Father Dimitrios Couchell was elected as the Titular Bishop of the city in 1998 until his retirement in 2006 (Orthodox Wiki, n.d.). There is no current successor for the position.

[14] It is not true that the Christian population has completely disappeared after the arrival of the Turks in the region. Many of them probably moved to settlements with larger Christian populations rather than living as a minority in small Turkish villages. For example, before the population exchange between Greece and Turkey, Kalamaki [Kalkan], Makri [Fethiye], Levissi [Kayaköy] and Megisti [Meis] were settlements where Rum populations lived in the vicinity of Xanthos. At the end of the 19th century, the ratio of the Rum population to the Turks residing in the region was approximately 1/5. In the census of 1890, 4048 of the total population of the Makri District of 24954 were recorded as Rum (Cavid 2010, 398).

CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH HISTORY

Xanthos seems to have been forgotten by history until it was rediscovered in the middle of the 19th century. The city was not mentioned in the Ottoman sources, such as Piri Reis [ca. 1465 - 1553] and Evliya Çelebi [1611 - 1682], even though they both traveled the surrounding region.

The interest of foreign travelers in the region started with the French diplomat Choiseul-Gouffier in 1776. His book, Voyage Pittoresque de la Grèce, a pioneering work published in 1782, including his travel notes and more than three hundred engravings, made an incredible impact in Europe and triggered a trend of traveling to the East. Although Choiseul-Gouffier did not visit –yet undiscovered– Xanthos, he traveled the Anatolian shores as far as Makri, modern Fethiye. A map in his book showing the Gulf of Makri indicates the river both with its Latin name "Essenide" and its original name "Xanthus" (Choiseul-Gouffier 1782, between 124 and 125). This is one of the earliest appearances of the name on a map[15].

Von Hammer and Leake in 1800, Beaufort and Cockerell in 1811 - 1812, and Texier in 1836 visited the region and the nearby surroundings of the yet undiscovered Xanthos. They made some estimations regarding the localization of the city.

Another estimate of the possible location of Xanthos was made by Beuford in his work Karamania. When the local people living around Patara mentioned some other ruins not far from the shore, the author commented that this place could be the city of Xanthos

[15] On 19th century maps especially those dating before Fellows' discovery, Kınık and the Eşen River appear with different names such as Günek, Gunik, Koonik, Eksenide and Essenide; and Fellows recorded the name as Eksekuid (Fellows 1843, 7). Most probably, the modern name "Eşen" derives from this similarity of sound as Xanthos > Essenide > Eşen.

(Beaufort 1818, 6-7). Leake also stated that the city should be eight or nine miles north of Patara but had not yet been discovered by modern travelers (Leake 1824, 183). During Texier's first visit to the region in 1836, the city was still not discovered. After Fellows' discovery, Texier visited the city and gave detailed information about Xanthos in the 1862 edition of his work Asie Mineure (Texier 1862, 670-672).

Among the modern travelers, Fellows was the first one to visit the ancient city and identify the ruins as the city of Xanthos, known from historical sources. Fellows, who had gone on a long trip to research the Anatolian shores, rediscovered many ancient cities, including Xanthos. He came to the ruins on 20-21 April 1838 for the first time (Slatter 1994, 39), made drawings of the artifacts that could be seen on the surface, especially the tomb monuments, and showed interest in copying the Lycian and Ancient Greek inscriptions on the tombs. After this short visit that lasted only one and a half-day, he was very impressed by the city and decided to return to carry out excavations. Fellows published the details of this expedition in a journal, and thus, the city was introduced to the Western world for the first time (Fellows 1839, 224-235).

During his first trip, Fellows was traveling without a given mission. In those years, museums in Europe were growing fast, and bringing artifacts from the East became a trend, gradually turning into a race. Fellows applied to the Trustees of the British Museum and persuaded them, with his drawings and copies of inscriptions from Xanthos, to support him, allowing him to bring some artifacts from the city to Britain (Searight 1979, 158).

Fellows returned to Xanthos, which he called his "favorite city", on 17-21 April 1840. During their four-day-long stay, the illustrator Scharf, who accompanied him, drew several views of the city and its artifacts. This time Fellows returned to England with

better visual documentation and published the fieldwork in his second journal (Fellows 1841, 163-177).

After its discovery, the city began to be visited by other travelers and researchers. Hoskyn, who arrived there in 1841, drew the first plan of the city (Figure 3.1) (Spratt and Forbes 1847, plan). In the same year, Schönborn copied some of the inscriptions.

Fellows had already applied for legal permission after his first visit from the Sultan to carry out excavations in the city, with the support of the Trustees of the British Museum and with the intermediatory of the British Embassy in Istanbul. The necessary permit [ferman] was issued in October 1841, and a permission letter was given to Fellows' crew with the signature of the Grand Vizier Rauf Paşa, addressing the administration of the Menteşe Sancağı and the Governor of Rhodes, Ali Paşa (Fellows 1843, 2-11).



Figure 3.1: The earliest plan of Xanthos drawn by Hoskyn in 1841 (Spratt and Forbes 1847, plan).

At the beginning of 1842, a larger team came to the city to conduct excavations, and as a result, 78 large crates of artifacts, including important monuments such as the Nereid Monument and the reliefs of the Harpy Monument, were transported to England via Malta on a British Navy ship that was waiting by the Xanthos estuary (Fellows 1852, 455). From the moment the artifacts were brought to the British Museum, they began to attract great interest in society, as was the case with the Parthenon friezes brought a few years ago (Searight 1979, 161).

The fourth visit of Fellows to the city between September 1843 and May 1844 was also his second legal fieldwork. Unlike previous years, he did not publish the studies conducted in this campaign in a journal. Detailed information can be obtained from other sources, such as Slatter, who published a useful chronology of all the studies done in the city by reviewing and compiling both the published and unpublished personal diaries of Fellows and his team (Slatter 1994).

During the 1843-44 expedition, which was the most extensive campaign, 120 more crates and some other monuments, which could not be transferred before because they were large and heavy, including the Payava Sarcophagus, were brought to the British Museum (Demargne 1958, 17).

Fellows was accompanied by the illustrator Scharf and the architect Hawkins, and they drew dozens of illustrations from large panoramas to general views of the city as well as detailed images of the artifacts. A general city plan (Figure 3.2) and detailed plans showing the find locations of some artifacts during the excavations were also prepared.

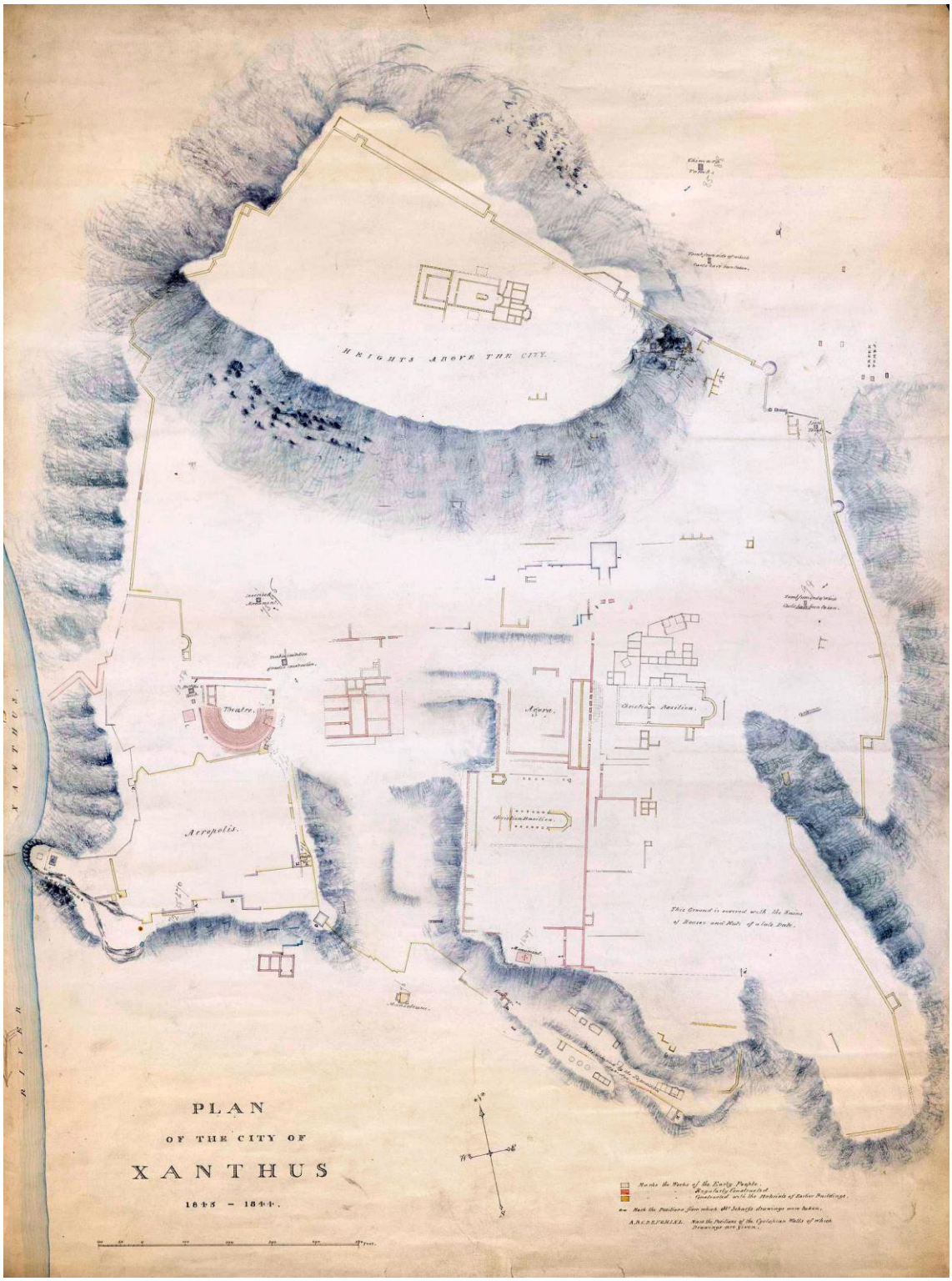


Figure 3.2: The plan of Xanthos drawn by Hawkins during the 1843-44 campaign (British Museum, no. 2012,5034.29).

These drawings, which were made for visual documentation in a period when there was no photography, are very important documents in terms of both the history of the city and the history of archaeology. In this sense, it can be said that Xanthos was one of the best-documented ancient cities in the 19th century. Some of these drawings were used in Fellows' books, and some were published as a collection (Scharf and Fellows 1847). Furthermore, many unpublished drawings are still kept in the archives of the British Museum and in other collections. At the same time, the admiral Spratt and the geologist Forbes, who were accompanying the team, published a book of two volumes on the studies carried out in the city and the other visits they made in the Lycian region (Spratt and Forbes 1847).



Figure 3.3: The drawing of the Upper Acropolis Basilica by Scharf (Travelogues, n.d.).

Fellows and his team did not pay any particular attention to documenting the Byzantine period buildings during their expeditions. Among the drawings the team made at Xanthos, the only picture directly subjected to a Byzantine structure is a drawing by Scharf showing the Upper Acropolis Basilica (Figure 3.3). On the other hand, one note is interesting in a letter he wrote to the Trustees of the British Museum[16] in the following years of the excavation, saying: "Near to each of the Christian churches and chapels we find the various forms of the cross, blended with monograms, and introduced into the architectural ornaments, tiles, and even pottery of this people. Of these you have specimens. Much of the ironwork, nails, hinges, etc., were found in the houses of this age." (Fellows 1852, 504).

Other researchers continued to visit the city. Ross came to Xanthos in 1844 and Falkener in 1845. Waddington conducted numismatic research in 1850-51 (Demargne 1958, 18). As early as 1845, the city even began to appear in guidebooks for travelers (Murray 1845, 344).

The epigraphic research by Austrian scholars between 1881 and 1908 can be considered a significant research project. In 1881, Benndorf came to the city to analyze and publish inscriptions (Benndorf 1900). In 1892, Hula and Kalinka continued the campaign, and Kalinka published many inscriptions in his epigraphic corpus Tituli Asiae Minoris (Kalinka 1901; Kalinka 1920). Krickl, accompanying them, documented the city by photography for the first time (Figure 3.4) (Krickl 2005, 82-88) and drew a new city plan (Figure 3.5) (Benndorf 1900, 100, fig.23).

[16] Following a personal communication with the museum officials, it was stated that the mentioned artifacts are currently not present in the archives of the museum.

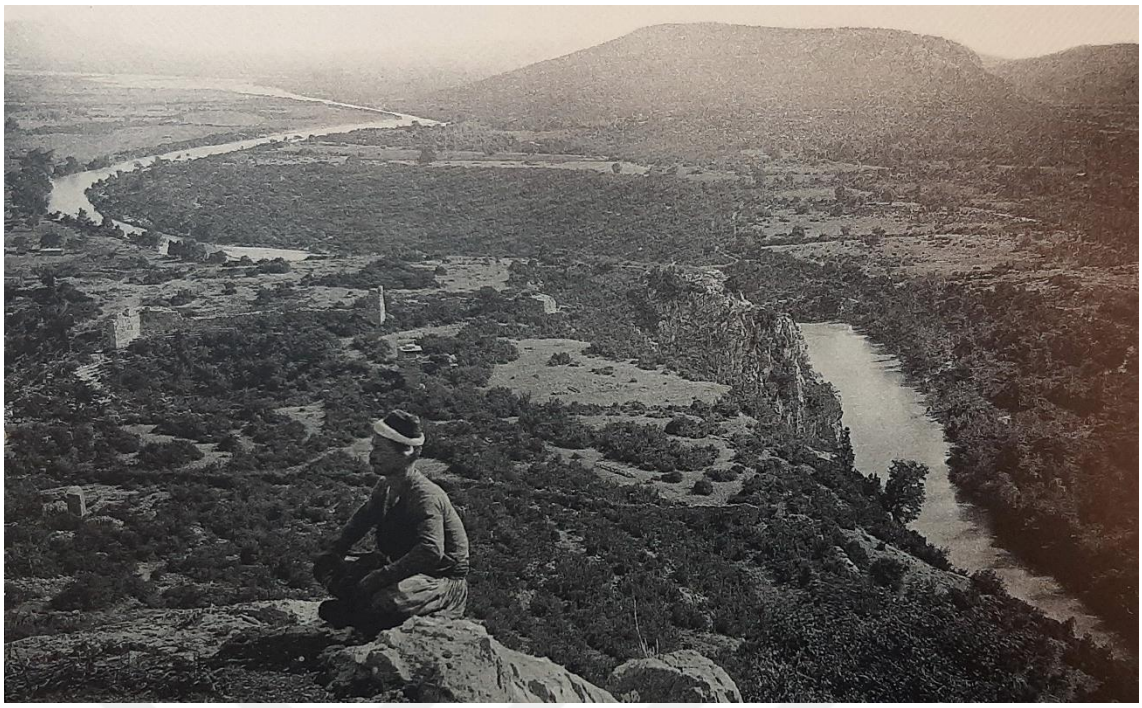


Figure 3.4: One of the earliest photographs taken in 1882 at Xanthos (Krickl 2005, 245).

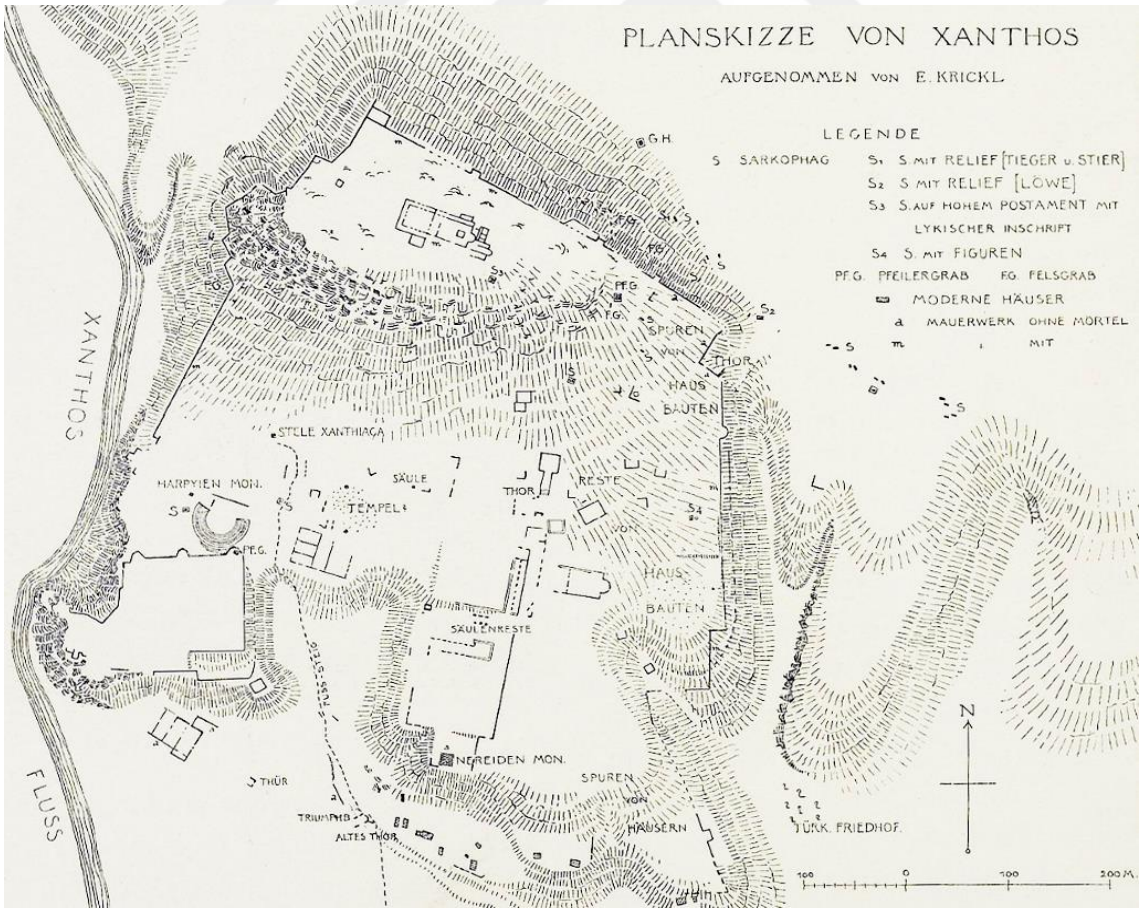


Figure 3.5: The plan of Xanthos drawn by Krickl (Benndorf 1900, 100, fig.23).

As a result of research in the Ottoman State Archives [T.C. Cumhurbaşkanlığı Devlet Arşivleri Başkanlığı Osmanlı Arşivi], an important document (Figure 3.6) has been found written by Osman Hamdi Bey, director of the Müze-i Hümayun, in 1894 that has never been published before in any source (OA 1894). The document is an official correspondence about the "transportation of an old stone with inscriptions on its four sides in the ancient Lycian language, which is known to exist in the ruins of 'Ksantos', located close to the 'Gunik' village in the 'Mekri' district of the Menteşe Sancağı. It was requested that the necessary adjustments be made to transport the stone to the capital by a ship in order to be stored and exhibited in the museum[17]".

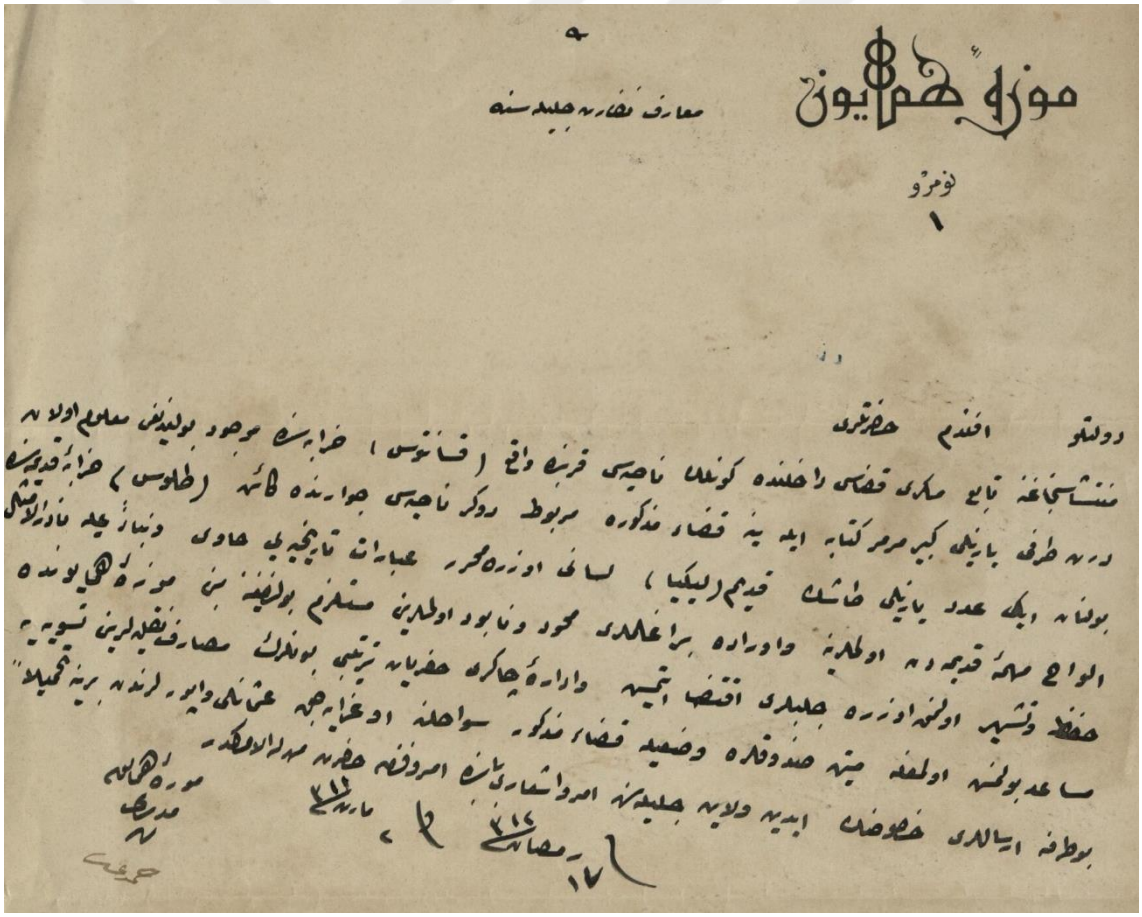


Figure 3.6: The letter written by Osman Hamdi Bey about the Inscribed Pillar at Xanthos (OA 1894).

[17] The text was translated by Ottoman language expert Murat Polat.

The stone with inscriptions in the Lycian language on four sides, described in the letter, is the Inscribed Pillar monument standing in the West Agora. In those years, the transportation arrangement, which the state museum planned, shows the importance given to the preservation of the artifact. Unfortunately, we do not know the motivation behind the idea and the reason why this plan was never realized. Still, it is an important document showing that the Ottoman archaeologists did not completely neglect the site 50 years after it was excavated by Fellows.

In the spring of 1897, a group led by Hogarth representing the British School of Athens visited western Lycia, where Hogarth, who was deeply impressed by Xanthos, reported that excavations there had to continue. He offered a proposal to the board, but due to the lack of budget and political turmoil in the region, these studies could not be realized (Gill 2011, 214).

The architect Gabriel, known for his research in Rhodes, also wanted to carry out excavations in Xanthos in 1913. These plans could not be realized due to the beginning of the First World War, and systematic archaeological fieldwork in the city could only begin after the Second World War (Metzger 1998, 7).

In 1950, the excavation started under the direction of Demargne and Devambez from the University of Paris. Xanthos also became the first modern systematic archaeological excavations in the Lycia region. Metzger from the University of Lyon accompanied Demargne after 1951, and while Frézouls undertook the excavations in the theater after 1953, Delvoye studied the West Agora Church in 1955 (Demargne 1958, 20).

As of 1959, the team decided that the first period of fieldwork in the city was completed, and Demargne left the direction of excavation to Metzger in order to

concentrate on publications (Metzger 1998, 9). With the beginning of the publication activities, the "Fouilles de Xanthos" volumes started to be published. Although these publications were focused on certain areas or themes in the city, and did not contain sufficiently detailed chronologies, they have an important place among the early publications. The first volume of the series also includes the first city plan drawn during the modern excavation period (Figure 3.7).



Figure 3.7: The plan of Xanthos drawn by the French excavation team (Demargne 1958, foldout plan).

As of 1962, the team directed by Metzger wanted to focus on the Letoon, and with the help of le Roy, they started excavating the sanctuary. With this new focus, the team had lost their interest in the main site, and until the 1990s, the Xanthos excavations were limited to only a few areas, such as the East Basilica, whose research was directed by Sodini. In 1966, a guidebook was published covering the city as a whole for the first time (Demargne and Metzger 1966). In 1978, le Roy took over the directorate of the excavation.

In 1988, the city of Xanthos and the sanctuary of Letoon were inscribed on the UNESCO World Heritage List (Unesco World Heritage Centre, n.d.). The sites appeared on the list according to criterion II: "to exhibit an important interchange of human values, over a span of time or within a cultural area of the world, on developments in architecture or technology, monumental arts, town-planning or landscape design" and criterion III: "to bear a unique or at least exceptional testimony to a cultural tradition or to a civilization which is living or which has disappeared" [18].

The research under the directorate of des Courtils from the University of Bordeaux, which started in 1996, was a period in which the working areas in the city expanded and focused on urbanism in different periods (des Courtils 2008, 1631). Until 2010, studies concentrated on the Lycian Acropolis, the West Agora, the Upper Agora, the *Decumanus Maximus*, the Dipylon, the East Basilica, the Civil Basilica, and the Southeast Sector. Studies in areas where interrelated structures exist –such as the Upper Agora, the Civil Basilica, the *Decumanus Maximus*, and the Dipylon– are especially important in terms of urbanization, showing the relationships between buildings within the urban texture. Additionally, the excavation of the Northeast House on the Lycian

[18] For general information about UNESCO's selection criteria see "The Criteria for Selection", UNESCO World Heritage Center, accessed Nov 15, 2020, https://whc.unesco.org/en/criteria/.

Acropolis was one of the most important fieldwork for the Byzantine archaeology of Xanthos. For all Byzantine period structures or earlier structures with Byzantine layers excavated between 1950 and 2010, see Figure 3.8, blue colored areas. It can be said that the number of detailed publications has also increased in this period, even though most of them are excavation reports. Especially four books from this period are considered important among Xanthos publications: des Courtils 2003a, Cavalier 2005, Raynaud 2009, and Manière-Lévêque 2012.

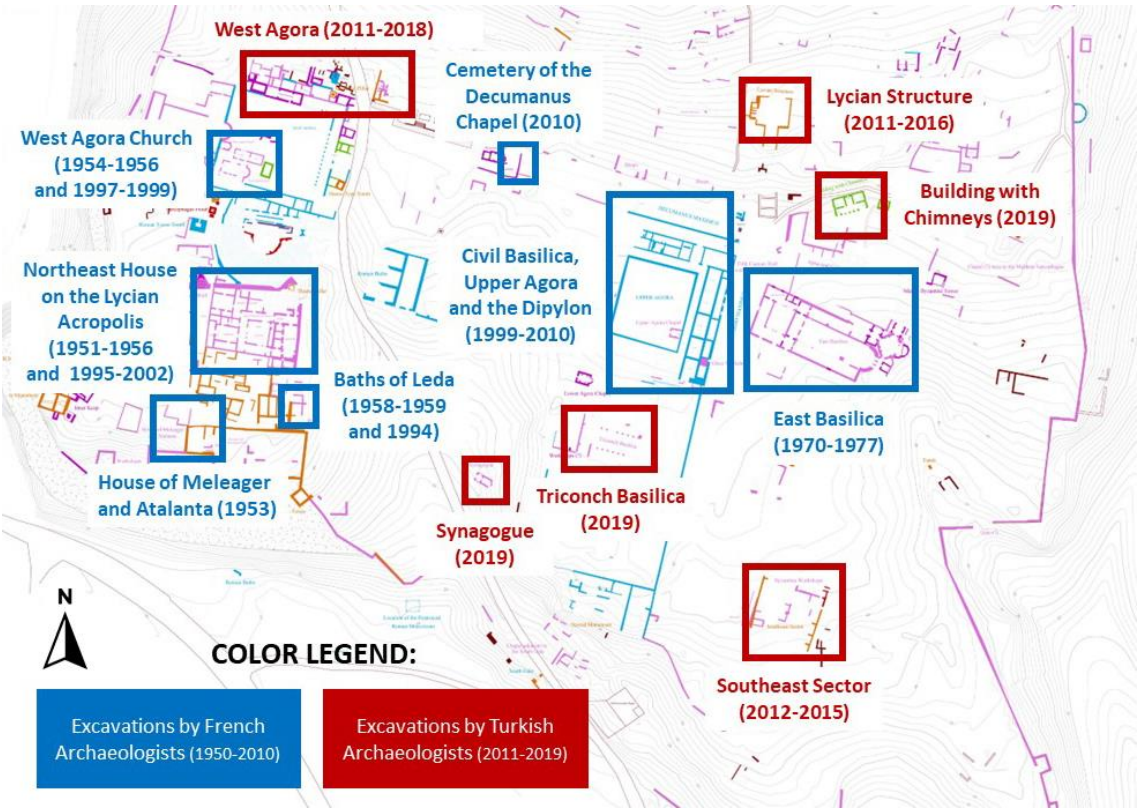


Figure 3.8: Byzantine period structures or earlier structures with Byzantine layers excavated between 1950-2019 in Xanthos (edited from Figure 1.4).

As of 2011, excavations were taken away from the French archaeologists by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism and transferred to the Akdeniz University Department of Archaeology under the directorate of Prof. Dr. Burhan Varkıvanç. While it was stated

in the Turkish media that the reason for the transfer was "on the grounds that the works were progressing slowly" (Acar 2011), comments were made in the foreign media that this was a political decision (Matthews 2012). During this handover process, none of the vital documents such as field notebooks, fieldwork reports, drawings-photographs-sketch-plans, depot inventory and layout plan, and official excavation archives were provided to the new team[19]. The city, which has decades of excavation history, consequently suffered a tremendous loss of scientific knowledge, and the new team just found itself with hundreds of boxes full of artifacts in the depot. Without a proper inventory, it is impossible to evaluate these artifacts properly since the find locations, and layers/stratigraphical data are unknown. Even though the French team has started sharing the scanned documents from the excavation archive, such as some drawings, photographs, and inventories, on an internet site as of 2018 (ArchXant, n.d.), these technical notes can only be understood by the people who carried out the excavation, and, unfortunately, all these notes do not convey usable knowledge unless they are turned into scientific publications by their creators.

Between 2011 and 2019, the working areas of Akdeniz University were limited to certain places due to the lack of budget and team insufficiency. Among these, the West Agora, the Theater, the Lycian Structure, the Southeast Sector, the Nereid Monument, the Bouleuterion (?), the Building with Chimneys, the Triconch Basilica, and the Synagogue were the excavated areas. For all Byzantine period structures or earlier structures with Byzantine layers excavated between 2011 and 2019, see Figure 3.8, red colored areas. For the fieldwork conducted in the scope of this dissertation between 2017 and 2019, see

[19] See Tiryaki's article for further information and criticism about this problematic handover process (Tiryaki 2015).

Figure 3.9. In addition, small-scale repair and improvement projects[20], vegetation clearing, and a project for drawing a new city plan were realized[21]. During this period, besides various publications, two Ph.D. (Dönmez 2022; Karademir 2016) and two master's theses (Dönmez 2014; Erdoğan 2017) on Xanthos have been completed in the field of classical archaeology.

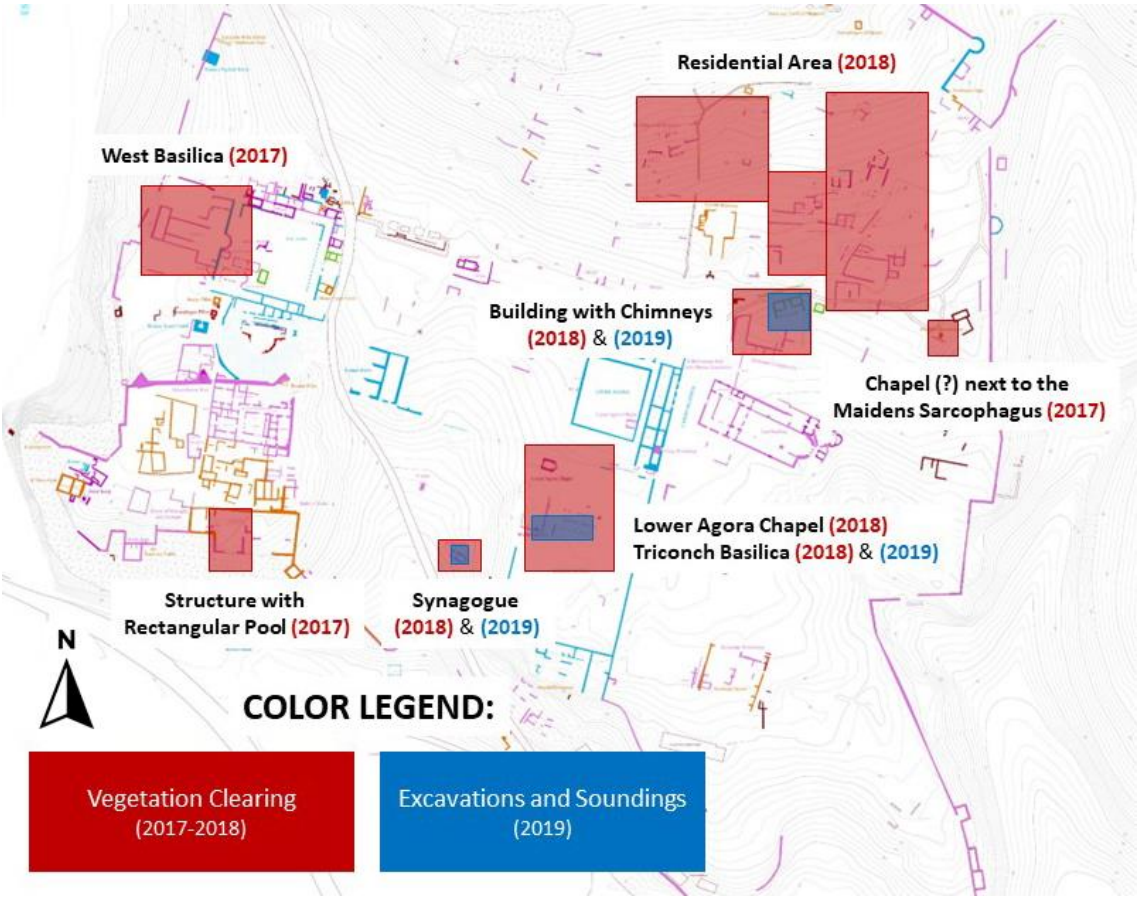


Figure 3.9: Fieldworks conducted in the scope of this dissertation between 2017-2019 in Xanthos (edited from Figure 1.4).

[20] Incorrect restoration practices with cement had been applied by previous researchers on the mosaics and outer walls of the East Basilica. All the cement treatments were removed, and the surfaces were repaired appropriately (Varkıvanç 2012, 56-57).

[21] The old city plan, which was drawn by the French archaeologists, was not up to date. Within the scope of this dissertation, a new city plan was drawn in 2018 with the kind funding of GABAM and it was constantly updated during the writing progress.

The Letoon sanctuary was considered a separate excavation area as of 2011, and Assoc. Dr. Sema Atik Korkmaz from the Başkent University Department of Architecture directed the research in the sanctuary between 2011 and 2019.

In 2020, the excavation director Prof. Dr. Burhan Varkıvanç, quit the excavation for personal reasons, handing it over to a new team. The Xanthos and the Letoon excavations were once again merged and transferred to the directorate of Assoc. Dr. Erdoğan Aslan from the Selçuk University Department of Underwater Archaeology.

CHAPTER 4: BYZANTINE PERIOD STRUCTURES OF XANTHOS

Notes on Building Materials, Construction Techniques, and Dating

Considering the history of Xanthos, there are architectural remains from the Late Antique / Early Byzantine [4th - 7th centuries AD] and Middle Byzantine period [11th - 13th centuries AD] in the city. As city life ended with the rapid Turkification of the region in the 13th century, Late Byzantine architecture cannot be found, as is the case in many parts of Anatolia. From an architectural point of view, the Late Antique / Early Byzantine period in Xanthos stretches from the 4th to the 7th centuries. So far, there are no structures precisely dated between the 8th and 11th centuries, the little-known era that some scholars call the "dark ages" (Brandes 1999, 25). At the beginning of the 11th century, architectural activities started once again and the structures that were built until the 13th century will be studied as Middle Byzantine buildings.

The masonry techniques of Xanthos' Early Byzantine and Middle Byzantine periods differ very distinctly from each other visually. Considering the materials and construction techniques of the buildings dated to the Late Antique / Early Byzantine period, there are no structures built entirely of bricks, especially as it can be seen in the capital, or of regular ashlar masonry, examples of which can be found in various regions of Anatolia.

Most of the Early Byzantine walls of Xanthos were built with spolia and rubble joined with a white-grayish lime mortar, exhibiting an irregular masonry (Figure 4.1). Even though there are brick fragments and broken roofing tile fragments within the wall structure, they are very few. The wall thicknesses of the buildings vary depending on

whether they are multi-storied or not, with an average of 0.70 - 0.80 m and thicker. Some walls have traces of plaster and wooden beam slots.



Figure 4.1: Early Byzantine irregular masonry with mortared rubble (2018).

In some parts of the city walls –e.g., the wall section S05– (Figure 4.19) and on the Diateichisma Wall (Figure 4.2), architectural material was used to create regular masonry. In particular, finely cut rectangular architectural spolia or ashlar blocks from former structures were chosen and placed in a uniform manner to create a regular surface. However, this masonry technique was not used in the construction of other buildings in the city. Therefore, none of the Byzantine buildings in Xanthos features uniform ashlar masonry other than a small part of the *bema* of the Triconch Basilica (see Section 4.11 Triconch Basilica).



Figure 4.2: Early Byzantine regular masonry with spolia blocks (2017).

In the Middle Byzantine walls, spolia material and rubble were still present, but this time brick and tile fragments were also used in a remarkable amount. The reason for this is practical as brick material to be reused was scarce in the Early Byzantine period. In the Middle Byzantine, on the other hand, roofing tiles of the collapsed Early Byzantine buildings became a construction material easy to find in the field. Bricks were placed in such a way to fill the spaces between the rubble stones, and at some points, they completely surrounded the stones (Figure 4.3). This technique can be considered a rather crude application of the cloisonné masonry, which was used in Byzantine architecture especially after the 10th century, in which ashlar stones were surrounded by bricks like a frame.



Figure 4.3: Middle Byzantine masonry containing a large number of brick fragments from Xanthos (2020).

Additionally, the fact that the spolia blocks used in the Middle Byzantine period buildings were smaller-sized ones indicates a decline in construction techniques and workforce. Naturally, the new churches had also shrunk in size due to the lower population. The walls of the buildings belonging to this period are generally thinner and have a thickness of 0.70 m or less. It is also important to underline that most of the walls dating to this period belong to defensive structures; surprisingly, these also have the same thickness which actually seems unexpected.

The most important one among the structures that were excavated by researchers in previous years and can be definitively dated to the Middle Byzantine period, is the baptistery of the East Basilica, which was converted into a church in medieval times. Both new additions were made to the building during this change, and the existing walls underwent various repairs and alterations. These additions and repairs clearly show the masonry technique described above, containing a large number of brick fragments (Figure 4.4). Within the scope of this dissertation, these wall techniques were taken into consideration when making suggestions for the dating of buildings that have not been the subject of any study before. Some fortification walls on the Lycian Acropolis, a tower-like construction built on the Diateichisma Wall, a long wall on the north of the West Basilica, a tower in the north of the East Basilica, and some buildings in the residential area clearly show the Middle Byzantine masonry technique. Apart from these, the Building with Chimneys, a structure whose dating is problematic, will be discussed in the relevant section. However, the suggestions for the dating of the structures may be subject to change according to the results of future systematic excavations.



Figure 4.4: Middle Byzantine masonry from the Medieval Church in Xanthos (2017).

It is possible to find close examples of the aforementioned Middle Byzantine masonry techniques in the nearby region. The best example is the walls of the “Medieval City” of Patara. Some section of the old harbor was surrounded by a new circuit of city walls and a domed church built within the area in the 12th century (Işık 2011, 99-100). A very similar masonry can be observed on the walls of this area (Figure 4.5, also compare with Figure 4.46).



Figure 4.5: Middle Byzantine masonry from the “Medieval City” of Patara (2020).

The use of spolia at Xanthos can be divided into two categories. The first one is the reuse according to its original purpose. For example, door jambs and lintels belonging to an unknown Roman period structure were used as gates in the entrance portal of the East Basilica (Sodini 2010). The second one is, using the materials in a different way from their original function and covering them with plaster. In this type, it is not important whether the pieces are whole or broken; or whether they have decorative elements or not,

since they were used only as a building material in the construction. In Xanthos, the reused blocks belonging to the early periods are as follows: polygonal cut blocks obtained from walls built in the polygonal technique [with or without bossage], rectangular cut blocks from isodomic built walls, orthostat blocks, pedestals and altars [with or without inscriptions], broken parts of some tomb monuments [decorated or undecorated], all kinds of architectural pieces and blocks [decorated/undecorated/only with a profile] such as lintels, jambs, column capitals, bases and drums, architraves, simas, etc. (Figure 4.6).



Figure 4.6: The use of different kinds of spolia and building elements together in the Late Antique wall of the East Basilica (2017).

In the following section, all the structures in Xanthos dating to the Late Antique and Middle Byzantine periods will be examined in a certain order: fortifications, religious architecture, civic buildings including residential architecture and commercial buildings.

In some cases, areas are explained rather than individual structures –e.g., the Residential Area–; and in some cases, the structure in the title belongs to an earlier period but contains Byzantine structures in or around it –e.g., the West Agora–.

In order to ensure consistency, certain sub-headings were followed while describing each structure. For each building/area, first of all, its place in the city is shown accompanied by a general plan with the coordinates and altitude information. After that, the location of the building in the city is described, followed by a short introductory description and its current status. Then, if known, the construction phases and chronology are explained. The architectural description is the most detailed part and is analyzed in small subheadings according to the buildings. The decorative features of the structures, if any, and the excavation finds are included. After the description of the construction techniques, the fieldwork carried out in the building and publications are listed.

4.1 City Walls and Gates

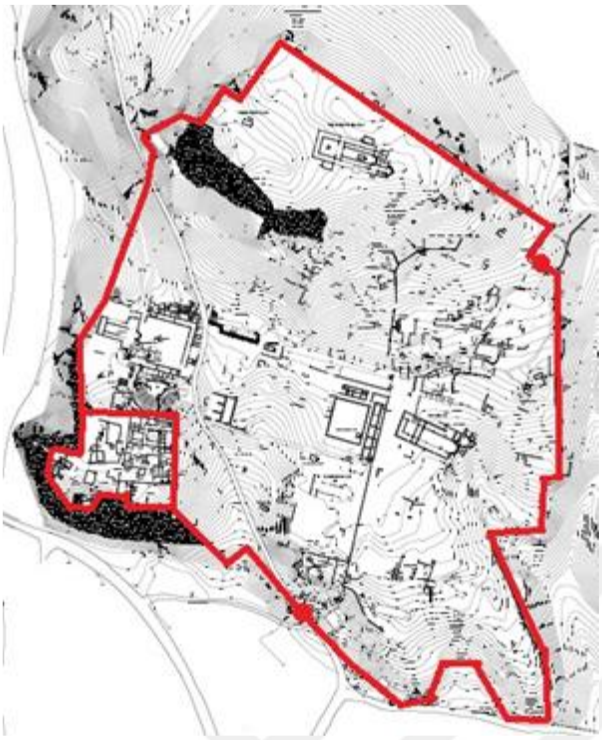


Figure 4.7: Location of the City Walls and Gates (edited from Figure 1.3).

Coordinates:
Northeast Gate: 36.357899 N, 29.322883 E; **Alt:** +78 m.

South Gate: 36.354409 N, 29.319908 E; **Alt:** +25 m.

Location (Figure 4.7):

The walls are surrounding the city including the Upper Acropolis as a completely closed circuit. The Xanthos walls have a topographic distribution varying between +19 m and +115 m to sea level. The part of the city called the Lycian Acropolis is also surrounded by walls. There are two main gates in the walls, one in the northeast and one in the south.

Description:

City Walls: The Xanthos city walls are approximately 2.30 km long and surround the whole city. Hellenistic, Early Roman, Late Antique / Early Byzantine and Middle Byzantine phases are seen in the walls, whose foundations mainly belong to the Classical period. The city walls of Xanthos constitute long walls, and there were only eight bastions and five towers in total. Neither remains of wall-walk and any staircase leading to the upper sections were observed at any point of the walls, nor any trace of merlon.

The Lycian Acropolis has an individual circuit of fortification walls. In the Classical period, this area was the core of the settlement where the dynastic palace was located. This inner castle/outer castle system –the citadel and the fortified city– is an Anatolian urbanistic tradition inherited from the Hittites (Işık 2020, 233).

Northeast Gate: One of the two main gates in the city walls, the Northeast Gate provided the road connection towards the northern parts of Xanthos valley, to directions such as Sidyma, Pinara, Tlos, and Telmessos.

South Gate: As the second main gate in the city walls, the South Gate provided the road connection towards the Letoon and Patara. Especially considering that the sacred road leading to the Letoon was an important way throughout history, the importance of the gate at the start of this road can be better understood. The Nereid Monument and two other essential landmark monuments –Structures G and H– located on the Lycian Acropolis emphasize the importance of the way since they were built in a position dominating the view from this direction. In the Roman period, the road from the Letoon coming along the west side of the Eşen River passed through a necropolis –within the borders of the modern Karaköy village– where many sarcophagi were found, and the remains of a mausoleum can still be seen (des Courtils 2003a, 79). Then, the road passed

the Eşen River via a bridge of which remains are buried under the modern one. After the bridge, the road passes nearby a Roman bath that has never been excavated and a Roman mausoleum that is completely destroyed today, and finally reaches the South Gate. Some recent unpublished data revealed in recent years that there may have been a necropolis area just outside the South Gate in the Late Antique period (see Section 4.18 Southern Necropolis Outside the City Walls). A residential area built on the south slope of the Nereid Monument in the Byzantine period is located immediately north of the gate.

Current Status:

City Walls: Since they are spread over vast geography, the preservation status of all the walls is not the same. While some areas have completely collapsed, some points have survived in very high and sound conditions up to 7 m. In general, the walls leaning on the slopes have been preserved more firmly, while the parts in more flat areas such as the north line have survived at only low heights. The most extensive missing parts are in the southern wall of the city, and some parts were destroyed while building the modern road through the city.

Northeast Gate: The gate is completely collapsed. Most of the stones belonging to the gate are piled up, probably because the gate collapsed when the city was no longer inhabited. The current visiting path to the s area passes near this point. In the last years, the gate could not be easily perceived due to the destruction and the dense vegetation covering it. It has been fully uncovered thanks to vegetation clearing work in the summer of 2021.

South Gate: The arch of the gate dated to the Roman period stands in a good condition, while the early-period towers on the front side are partially in ruins. The gate is located at the lower elevation of the modern highway passing by. Because of the steep height

difference from the road –3.4 m– and the south side is covered with a fence, visitors cannot walk through the gate, and the remains can only be seen from the road. Today, the majority of visitors access the ancient city via the modern road passing through the city and reaching the old visitor center in the middle of the Roman colonnaded street. Thus, most of the visitors do not visit or may not even be aware of the gate. As of 2019, the construction of a new visitor center has been initiated by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism on the west side of the gate. In the future, the new visitor center will completely change the visiting path and the South Gate will be the starting point of the touring route.

Construction Phases and Chronology:

City Walls: Most of the Lycian Acropolis walls were built in the second quarter of the 5th century BC, and some at the end of the 6th century BC (Metzger 1963, 13-14). Apart from the Lycian Acropolis, most of the city walls –or at least the foundations– belong to the same dates (des Courtils, Cavalier and Lemaître 2015, 103; Marksteiner 2002, 213). It can be seen that the surface area of the city has not changed since this time. Although two towers (T01 - T02) near the Northeast Gate and a wall between them were dated to the Hellenistic period in old publications, the date has been revised by the researchers as Early Roman after recent studies (des Courtils, Cavalier and Lemaître 2015, 120). The walls were strengthened in the Early Byzantine period, especially before and during the Arab/Sassanid raids. Repair and rebuilding activities carried out during this period are so intense that the city wall reflects a Byzantine character to a large extent[22]. On the other hand, the Byzantine walls were built on the foundations of the old circuit, and they respected the pre-existing layout instead of creating a totally new wall route (des Courtils

[22] The construction periods of the Xanthos city walls can be distinguished visually. The Classical walls were built in polygonal masonry, while the Early Roman walls were built in polygonal [with high bossage] and isodomic masonry. Early Byzantine walls, on the other hand, were built with mortared rubble and a large number of spolia.

1994, 289). Some repairs that can be dated to the Middle Byzantine period are also observed on the Lycian Acropolis walls.

Northeast Gate: The Northeast gate is completely collapsed, but it is possible to comment on its chronology, as most of the building materials are found in the area. Accordingly, two construction phases can be observed. First of all, there is the main part, of which large blocks can be dated to the Classical period in terms of craftsmanship and style. Then an arch was added in the Roman period, just like at the South Gate. It has been stated that the craftsmanship is stylistically similar to the South Gate built in the time of Emperor Vespasian (des Courtils, Cavalier and Lemaître 2015, 107). Even though some Byzantine period structures were built both inside and outside the gate, the gate itself seems to have no intervention related to this period. The process of narrowing the door as in the South Gate was probably not carried out because this gate was already narrower than the other one. In addition, an outer wall was built starting from the corner of the wall to the east of the gate and narrowing towards the north, thus creating an extra fortification protecting a large area in front of the gate.

South Gate: Three main construction phases can be observed. According to an inscription, the first construction was once dated to the Hellenistic period, during the times of Antiochos III [Reign 241 – 187 BC] (des Courtils 1994, 286). However, recent studies have revealed that the first construction phase of the gate was the same period as the Lycian Acropolis walls –the second quarter of the 5th century BC– (des Courtils, Cavalier and Lemaître 2015, 122) and the Hellenistic inscription was just a later addition. A Roman-period arch was added to the gate in AD 68 - 70 according to a dedicative inscription (des Courtils and Cavalier 2001, 159). Byzantine repairs and the reduction of the size of the gate span due to security reasons most probably dated to the Arab/Sassanid raids of the 7th century.

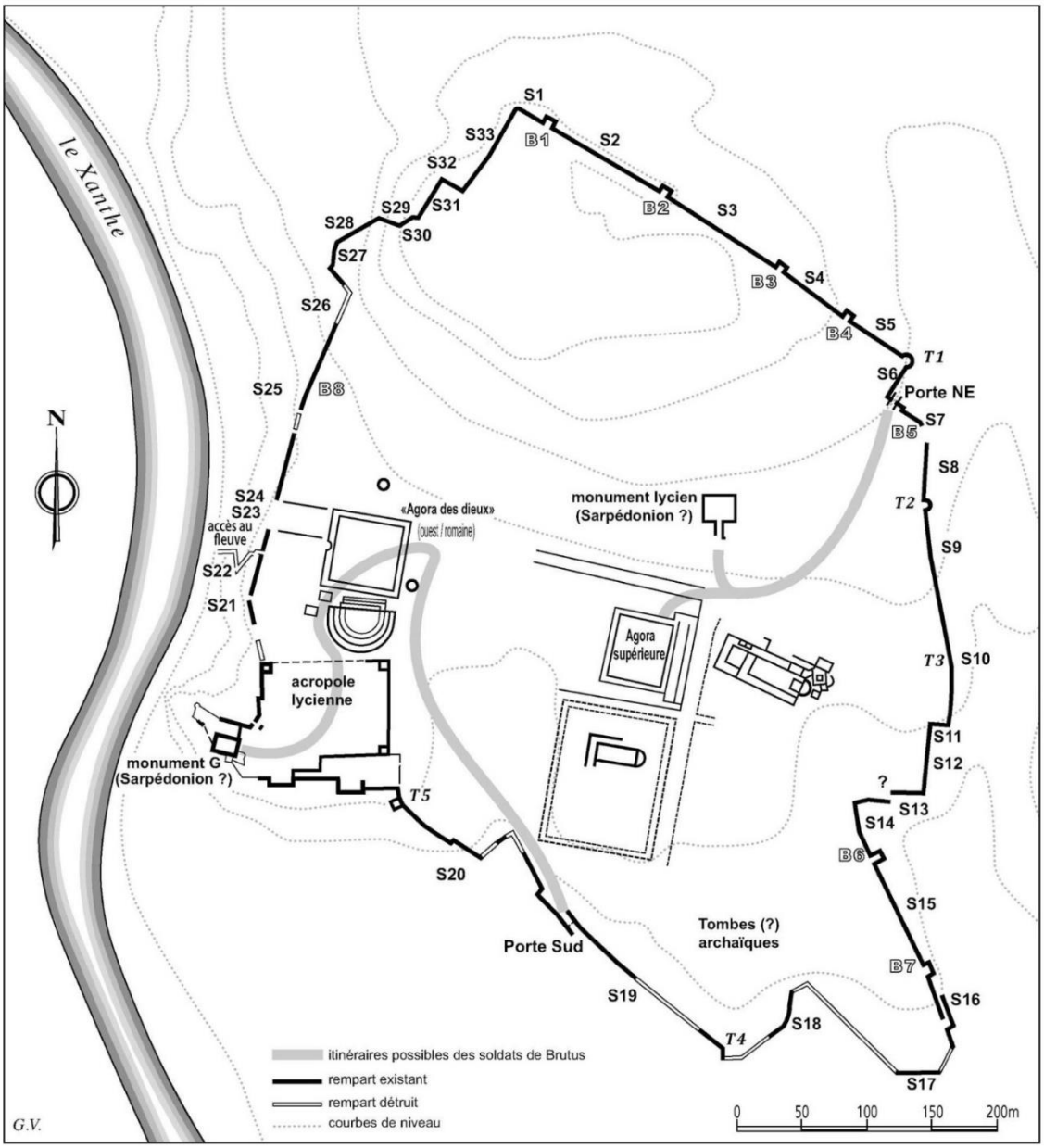


Figure 4.8: The general layout of the Xanthos city walls (des Courtils, Cavalier and Lemaître 2015, 158, fig.1).

Architectural Description:

Since the walls are approximately 2.3 km long, certain sections will be named and explained according to a coding system. Wall sections will be named as "S..", bastions as "B.." and towers as "T.." as also shown in the 2015 article by the French researchers (des Courtils, Cavalier and Lemaître 2015, 158, fig.1). See Figure 4.8.

The city walls will be studied clockwise starting from the northwest corner of the city and will be explained under the following subsections: North Walls, Northeast Gate, East Walls, South Walls, South Gate, Lycian Acropolis Walls, and West Walls.

North Walls: The 420-meter-long section of the city walls starting from the northwest corner of the city and continuing up to the Northeast Gate is named as "North Walls", and the wall sections between S01 - S06, the bastions between B01 - B04, and the tower T01 will be inspected in this section. The 240 m section between the northeastern corner and Bastion B03 is the flattest part of the hill and is easily accessible from below. Therefore, the northern walls of Xanthos have been fortified with many bastions that are not so frequent on other points (des Courtils, Cavalier and Lemaître 2015, 122). Although only 2-3 rows of blocks have survived from the walls in the north of Upper Acropolis, there are expected to have been quite high and strong walls in this area, which is normally difficult to defend.

S01: The wall between the northeast corner and the first bastion is 18.50 m long and 1.30 m thick with a maximum preserved height of 1.40 m. When modern structures such as a flagpole and a GSM transmitter station were built on the Upper Acropolis hill, a dirt road climbing up the hill was constructed, destroying a section of the wall. This wall is made of rubble and Roman-period spolia such as decorated architrave blocks. To the north of the wall, there is a second row of walls made of small-sized rubble joined with mortar

(Figure 4.9). This 0.70 m thick wall with a height of 1.80 m starts in front of Bastion B01 and extends parallel to the wall. On the city plan by Hawkins, this wall was drawn even longer, extending to Bastion B02 (British Museum, no. 2012,5034.29. This second wall was built in front of the bastion probably after it collapsed.



Figure 4.9: The wall in front of the S01 –from the NW– (2017).

B01: This bastion measures 5.60 m x 6.30 m, and its wall thickness cannot be measured. It has completely collapsed and looks like a stone pile (Figure 4.10). Blocks that can be dated to the Classical and Roman periods were used in construction. A bull relief, dated in particular to the Classical period, probably must have been taken from a nearby tomb monument (Figure 4.11).

S02: The wall between the Bastion B01 and B02 is 98.7 m long and 1.65 m thick with a preserved height of 1.40 m. It was built of limestone blocks as a double-faced wall, up to 3 rows of which have survived, and filled with small debris in-between (Figure 4.12).



Figure 4.10: Bastion B01 –from the E– (2017).



Figure 4.11: Classical period bull relief that was reused as spolia (2017).



Figure 4.12: Wall Section S02 –from the N– (2017).

Roman architectural blocks and broken column drums were also used as construction materials.

B02: The bastion measures 5.90 m x 6.90 m. Classical period blocks and large-sized rubble were used in its construction (Figure 4.13). On the west side of the bastion, there is a second row of walls similar to the one in front of S01. This building can be dated to the Early Byzantine period and could be identified as a workshop with the help of surface finds. For further details about this structure, see Workshop II within Section 4.29 Workshops.

S03: The wall between the Bastion B02 and B03 is 100 m long and built of limestone blocks as a double-faced wall with a thickness of 1.40 m. The outer surfaces were built with large blocks and the gaps between them were filled with small-sized rubble. The preserved height of the wall is 1.50 m. Its direction is not perfectly straight but slightly



Figure 4.13: Bastion B02 –from the NW– (2017).



Figure 4.14: Wall Section S03 –from the W– (2017).

curved to the north (Figure 4.14). Roman architectural pieces decorated with acanthus leaves and broken column drums were also used as construction material.

B03: The bastion measures 2.50 m x 8.00 m and has a wall thickness of 1.40 m. The maximum preserved height of the wall is 2.80 m. The lower rows are in the Classical era polygonal masonry, while the upper rows and the western part were repaired with rubble in the Early Byzantine period. The bastion marks the eastern end of the Upper Acropolis hill, and after this point, the terrain starts descending (Figure 4.15). It was built on a high bedrock, where Classical period rock-cut tombs were carved within in the lower elevation of the slope. The necropolis area outside the wall starts from this point and spreads to the north and east on the slopes of the hill.

S04: The wall between Bastions B03 and B04 is 52 m long and has 1.40 m thickness. The maximum preserved height of the walls is 3.20 m. It was built in the Classical period joining large blocks with the polygonal technique and appears as a double-faced wall (Figure 4.16).



Figure 4.15: Bastion B03 –from the NW– (2017).



Figure 4.16: Cross-section view of the wall S04 –from the E– (2017).



Figure 4.17: Blocks with bossage in the wall S04 –from the SE– (2022).



Figure 4.18: Bastion B04 –from the NW– (2017).

In the inner part of the easternmost section of the wall, trapezoid blocks with bossage were used (Figure 4.17), which are also dated to the Classical period (des Courtils, Cavalier and Lemaître 2015, 106).

B04: This bastion measures 4.30 m x 6.20 m. The maximum preserved height of the walls is 3.50 m. It was built on the bedrock with large stones using the polygonal technique and dates to the Classical period (Figure 4.18).

S05: The wall between Bastion B04 and Tower 01 is 57 m long, has a 2.5 m thickness and has a maximum height of 6.80 m (Figure 4.19). It is located on a slope where the land rises from east to west. This wall was constructed from regularly cut blocks of various sizes and a wide variety of re-used architectural materials. As a result of the dating of the spolia elements used, it was concluded that the construction of the wall must be placed after the end of the 3rd century AD (des Courtils, Cavalier and Lemaître 2015, 130).



Figure 4.19: Wall Section S05 –from the E– (2017).



Figure 4.20: Architectural sculpted blocks used as spolia in Wall Section S05 (2018).

The roughly processed lion's paw reliefs on some blocks might belong to the podium corners of tomb monuments taken from the necropolis area just in front of the wall (Figure 4.20). This wall was partially built to form a thick second layer in front of and adjacent to the Classical wall. For a similar construction, see the Wall Section S20 below.

T01: The long row of walls forming the northern fortification ends with a tower, the plan of which draws three-quarters of a circle with an estimated diameter of 10 m. The lower parts of the tower, which were built in carefully crafted polygonal technique using blocks with high bossage, were unearthed by a sounding conducted by French archaeologists on the east side (Figure 4.21). After the five rows of polygonal blocks, the upper section of the tower is made of isodomic limestones. While the construction date of the tower was once determined as Hellenistic period in some publications (des Courtils 1994, 298; Erdoğan 2017, 23), with subsequent studies –based on the ceramic data obtained from the soundings– it was concluded that the building of the tower was a part of a big reconstruction campaign of the Early Roman period –ca. 50 BC– (des Courtils, Cavalier and Lemaître 2015, 120). Similar craftsmanship can also be seen in T02.



Figure 4.21: Blocks with high bossage of Tower T01 –from the SE– (2017).

S06: The wall between Tower 01 and Northeast Gate is 27 m long, with a maximum height of 3 m. Five rows of very regularly cut isodomic blocks are present (Figure 4.22). Even though the blocks have only 0.35 m thickness, the wall has survived in a very solid state as the wall is resting on the slope. The wall is dated to the early Roman period, belonging to the same building activity as T01 (des Courtils, Cavalier and Lemaître 2015, 121). Although a rectangular structure was built in front of the wall just outside the city gate during the Early Byzantine period, its function is unknown (Figure 4.25, no: 2).



Figure 4.22: Wall Section S06 –from the SE– (2022).

Northeast Gate: As one of the two main gates of the city, the Northeast Gate opens to a large necropolis area. Although the road connection between the gate and the city center is not yet known for the Classical and Roman periods, the Early Byzantine road connection can be understood from the unearthed Byzantine main street (see Section 4.32 Residential Area) during recent fieldwork (Varkıvanç 2019, 251-252).



Figure 4.23: Northeast Gate –from the NE– (2022).

It is also important in terms of the connection of the city with the outside, as it is the beginning of the road that provided access to cities and countryside in the north.

Most of the blocks that constitute the gate are lying where they collapsed (Figure 4.23). The two very large blocks forming the jambs are seen *in situ* on both sides of the gate (Figure 4.24, upper left). With the 2.35 m span between the jambs, the Northeast Gate is narrower compared to the South Gate –width in the Classical period: 4.00 m, width of the Roman arch: 2.80 m–. Among the scattered architectural elements, there are both Classical blocks and the *voussoirs* of the Roman arch, so it is understood that an arch was added to the gate in the Early Roman period as in the South Gate and the original height was about 3 m (Cavalier 2005, 113; des Courtils, Cavalier and Lemaître 2015, 106).

It is clear that there was a serious reconstruction activity in this area in the Early Roman period including the construction of the arched gateway added to the Classical gate, an isodomic wall [S6] and two very regularly planned towers on the north and south sides [T01 and T02] which are unusual for the Lycian region. The French researchers interpreted that this area of the Xanthos city walls was probably the weakest point of defense during the invasion of Brutus, and that the Roman soldiers entered the city from here. Therefore, after the conquest, a complete reconstruction activity happened in this area in the Early Roman period to especially reinforce this region, just before the times of the Pax Romana [27 BC - AD 180] (des Courtils, Cavalier and Lemaître 2015, 121). The Classical blocks are lying around, while most of the Roman period material is missing to allow a complete restitution. Based on this, it can be said that the Roman period arch was destroyed in an earlier period, and the stones were removed, while the Classical parts of the gate were destroyed in a late period when the city was not inhabited anymore. With or without the arch, it is clear that the gate was still in use in the Early Byzantine period since many structures dating to this period were built around the gate.

East Walls: The 550-meter-long section of the city walls starting from the Northeast Gate and reaching up to the southeast corner of the city is named as “East Walls”, and the wall sections between S07 - S16, the bastions between B05 - B07 and the towers T02 - T03 will be inspected in this section. The walls on this line were built on the descending terrain from north to south along the valley. The extramural necropolis of the city dating to the Classical and Roman periods, part of which is still used as the modern cemetery of Kınık, was also situated in this area, including some rock-cut and sarcophagus-type tombs.

B05: Located next to, and 0.70 m inside the east jamb of the Northeast Gate (Figure 4.24, lower right; Figure 4.25, no: 4). It was built of large stones in polygonal technique (Figure 4.26, right side). In the interior, consolidation made with small-sized rubble and mortar during the Byzantine period can be seen. It has a preserved height of 3.50 m.

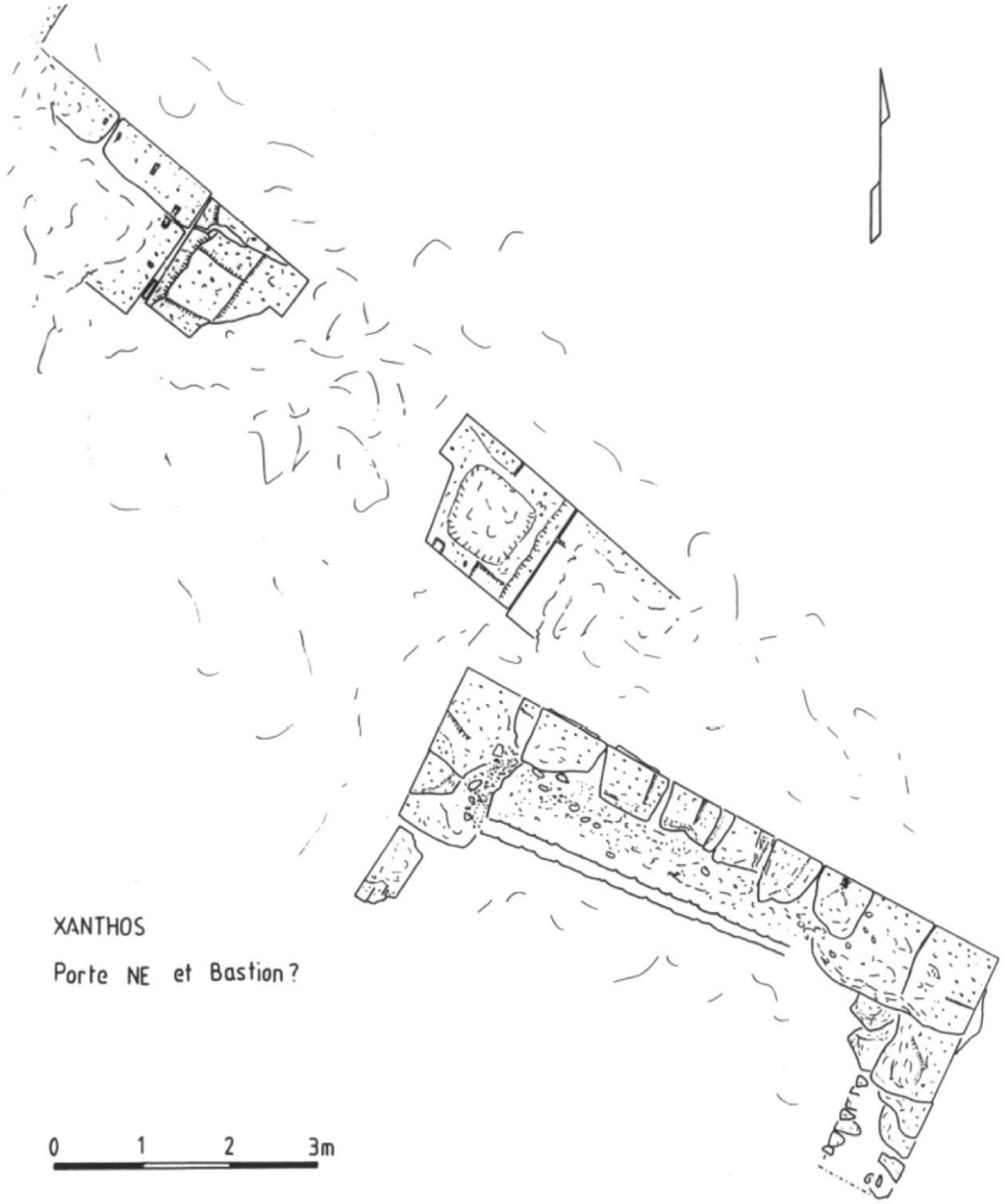


Figure 4.24: Plan of the Northeast Gate –upper left– and Bastion B05 –lower right– (des Courtils 1994, 295, fig.8).



Figure 4.25: Aerial view of the area around the Northeast Gate: 1- Wall Section S06; 2- Early Byzantine structure; 3- The Northeast Gate; 4- Bastion B05; 5- Wall Section S07; 6- The Northeast Gate Baths; 7- Classical period necropolis area with The Lion Pillar; 8- Modern visitor's path; 9- Curved Outer Wall (Xanthos Excavation Archive, 2019).



Figure 4.26: Wall Section S07on the left and Bastion B04 on the right –from the NE– (2020).

S07: Here, for the first time, it is seen that the Byzantine wall does not exactly follow the Classical wall line since the remnants of the earlier were found 3 m inside the existing wall (des Courtils, Cavalier and Lemaître 2015, 107). A new wall was built in the line of the Bastion B05, which normally should have an outward appearance (Figure 4.25, no: 5). In the construction of the wall, many large blocks that should have belonged to the old one were jointed with mortar (Figure 4.26, left side). It has a thickness of 0.90 m with a preserved height of 2.80 m.

On the east side, there is a Roman or Late Antique bath structure adjacent to the south of the wall (Figure 4.25, no: 6) (see Northeast Gate Baths), and the intramural necropolis area where the "Lion Pillar" once stood, known to be the oldest tomb monument of Xanthos (Figure 4.25, no: 7; Figure 4.27). The northeastern corner of the wall in this area has been completely destroyed. The modern visiting path passes through this point, so the visitors go out of the city wall to visit the Northern Necropolis, but originally there was no route here (Figure 4.25, no: 8). The French researchers hypothetically proposed that there should be a second tower at this point, similar to T01 (des Courtils, Cavalier and Lemaître 2015, 121).

Curved Outer Wall: There is a thinner wall [0.70 m] built with mortared rubble, apparently from the Early Byzantine period, starting from the destroyed corner of the wall and proceeding to the north for approximately 75 m (Figure 4.25, no: 9). Since the wall was built in a curved way and narrowed towards Tower T01, it was probably built to facilitate the defense of the Northeast Gate and to create a safe area in front of it. In some places where the wall leans against the slope, it has survived as high as 3.2 m (Figure 4.28).



Figure 4.27: Scharf's drawing of the necropolis area with Wall Section S07 in the background (British Museum, no. 2012,5034.4).



Figure 4.28: One of the high sections of the Curved Outer Wall –from the E– (2017).

S08: It is a 15-meter-long wall between the destroyed part of the wall and Tower 02. The maximum preserved height is 1.20 m. It was built with isodomic blocks made of soft limestone, of which two rows are preserved.

T02: A sounding was conducted inside the tower revealing the south wall by French researchers in 1992 (des Courtils 1994, 290-293). The semi-circular tower has a diameter of 10 m and a total height of 3 m –as seen from the sounding pit– (Figure 4.29). The width of the wall is 1.40 m. It has the same type of construction technique and building material as T01: the lower parts were built in the polygonal technique using the blocks with high bossage, and the upper parts were built with isodomic blocks (Figure 4.30). Three stone cannonballs were found during the excavations (des Courtils, Cavalier and Lemaître 2015, 109). Like the other similar Tower T01, there are two different suggestions on the dating of this construction. While some researchers suggest a dating in the 2nd - 3rd centuries BC (Erdoğan 2017, 23), others place it into the Early Roman period (des Courtils, Cavalier and Lemaître 2015, 120).

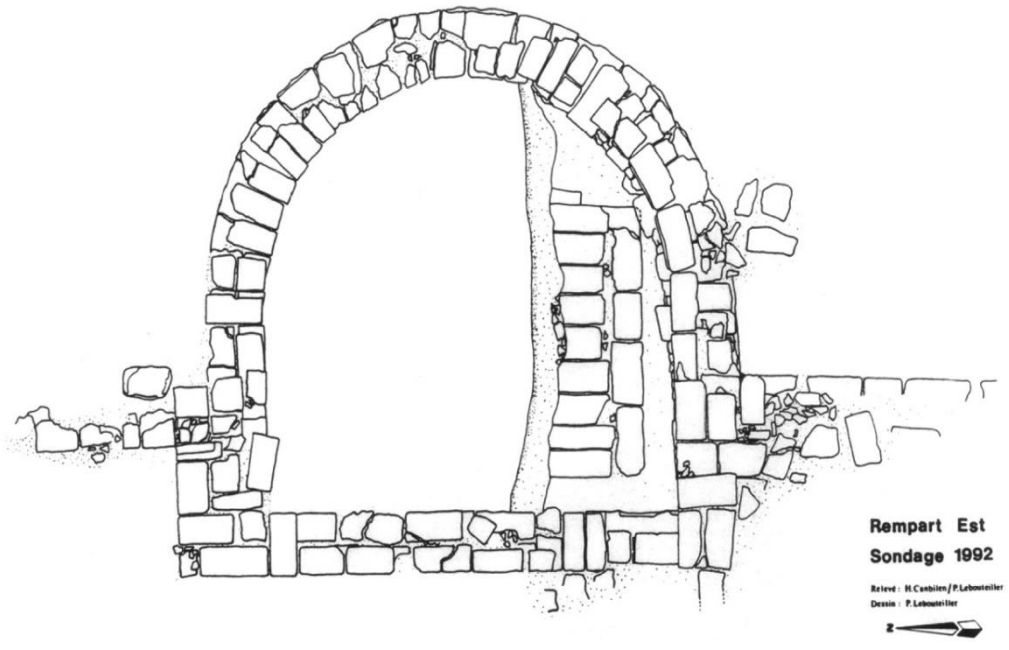


Figure 4.29: Plan of Tower T02 (des Courtils 1994, 291, fig.4).



Figure 4.30: The sounding pit in the SW corner of Tower T02 –from the NE– (2017).

Ceramic finds dating to the 7th century AD show that the tower had a long period of use.

S09 - S10: It is not easy to observe this wall since most of the parts are buried under the earth, and the parts on the surface are covered with dense vegetation. The highest point is at a maximum height of 3 m, and the wall thickness is 1.75 m. A large number of spolia dating to the Roman period including inscribed blocks were used in its construction on the upper sections that can be dated to the Byzantine period. A small test sounding was conducted by the French researchers in front of the wall revealed that it had a polygonal foundation built of blocks with high bossage. Since this masonry is very similar to that of Towers T01 and T02, it is probably dated to the Early Roman period as the towers.

A wall located to the east of the wall indicates that there was a two-level fortification at this point (Figure 4.31). The wall turns west with a 90-degree angle after 160 m from Tower T02.



Figure 4.31: One of the high sections of Wall Section S09 in the back and the outer wall in the front –from the SE– (2017).

T03: The French researchers mentioned a tower located 96 m south of Tower T02, measuring 4.80 m x 7 m, constructed with small-sized rubble and mortar and possibly dated to the Byzantine period (des Courtils, Cavalier and Lemaître 2015, 109). During our survey, it was not possible to verify the presence of this structure due to the dense vegetation.

S11: From the corner where the wall turns west to a second corner from which it turns south again, this 13-meter-long section was built with large blocks on the upper parts and the lower parts with spolia materials, probably taken from Classical period tomb monuments. The wall thickness is 0.60 m, and preserved with a height of 1.60 m.

S12: Turning south at an angle of approximately 90 degrees, the wall advances 60 m until it makes a westward turn again. Some parts of this wall are dated to the Hellenistic period (des Courtils, Cavalier and Lemaître 2015, 109).

S13: This is a 54-meter-long section from the corner of the wall to the place where it makes another corner towards the south. The maximum preserved height of this wall is 1.5 m. In the middle of this section, a gate with a path in front of it is shown on the city plan drawn by Krickl in 1892 (Benndorf 1900, 100). However, since there was no excavation here, it is difficult to determine whether it was a gate in the Byzantine period or a collapsed wall section that was used to enter the city in the 19th century. Raynaud stated that there was a road leading from the East Basilica's baptistery to a possible gate located here (Raynaud 2009, 31). Large-sized isometric soft limestone blocks were used in the construction of the wall.

S14: The wall again turns to the south and proceeds with this 40-meter-long section eastward until the next bastion, B06. The maximum preserved height of this wall is 4 m, and has a thickness of 0.90 m. Many architectural pieces such as column drums and capitals with acanthus leaves were used as spolia in the construction of the wall (Figure 4.32).

B06: The bastion built of limestone blocks measures 6.00 m x 9.00 m. It is dated to the Classical period (des Courtils, Cavalier and Lemaître 2015, 110).

S15: This 40-meter-long wall between two bastions was built as a double-faced wall. The outer surfaces were built with regular cut blocks and filled with rubble in-between.

B07: It is a very damaged bastion measuring 4.00 m x 10.00 m.



Figure 4.32: Wall Section S14 –from the NE– (2017).

S16: This very damaged wall between Bastion B07 and the completely destroyed southeastern corner of the city, was once 35 m long. A structure whose function is unknown was built adjacent to the outside of the wall in the Byzantine period.

South Walls: The 560-meter-long section of the city walls between the southeast corner of the city and the Hellenistic Tower T05 is named “South Walls”. The wall sections between S17 - S20 and the towers T04 - T05 will be discussed in this section. In general, the walls on this line are the most damaged sections of the Xanthos walls; some parts of them have been completely destroyed. Since the city was most vulnerable to attacks from the south, it was normal for these parts to receive the most damage. Furthermore, modern road construction has destroyed the southeast corners, and the road crossing through the ancient city was built right next to the South Gate.

S17: This is a heavily damaged part of the city wall that can measure approximately 47 m. Spolia materials such as column drums were used for construction (Figure 4.33). During road construction works in 2001-2002, two Classical period [5th century BC] rock-cut tomb chambers were discovered in the bedrock on which this section of the city walls sits (Cavalier 2003, 203-207).

S18: The section made of regularly cut blocks joined without mortar is present over a length of 35 m and has a height of 2.00 m and 1.00 m of thickness.

T04: The tower, half of which was destroyed during the construction of the modern road and whose original dimensions were calculated to be approximately 7.00 m x 11.00 m, was built in the polygonal technique that can be dated to the Classical period (Figure 4.34, right side) (des Courtils, Cavalier and Lemaître 2015, 112). The maximum preserved height of the tower is 1.70 m.



Figure 4.33: Wall Section S17 –from the S– (2017).



Figure 4.34: Wall Section S19 on the left and Tower T04 on the right –from the SW– (2017).



Figure 4.35: Wall Section S19 –from the S– (2017).

S19: A very large part of this wall, which should have had a length of 150 m between Tower T04 and the South Gate, was destroyed during the construction of the modern road. A section of about 60 m can be traced west of the tower (Figure 4.34, left side). The maximum preserved height of this section is 2.50 m. Many architectural materials and inscribed blocks dated to the Roman period were used as spolia, and especially the middle sections exhibit decent craftmanship (Figure 4.35). The western end of this wall connects to the South Gate.

South Gate: The gate consists of two parts: An early structure in the front, flanked by sidewalls, and a Roman arch (Figure 4.36). Although they were dated to the Hellenistic period in the early years of the research, the two towers standing on the front side –one in the east and one in the west– were ultimately dated to the Classical period based on recent research (des Courtils, Cavalier and Lemaître 2015, 122). The towers must once have been a part of a monumental gate. The span between the two towers is 4 m. The western tower is 3.75 m wide and 4.81 m high. The eastern tower could not be completely unearthed due to the modern road passing by; furthermore, some part of the tower was destroyed while the road was being constructed.

Originally, the towers were calculated to be 4.00 m x 9.00 m in size. Traces of the places where the door wings fit can be seen. A rectangular planned building with a trap room in the middle –a bayonet gate– was proposed as a reconstruction (Figure 4.37). During the Roman Imperial period, a single arched gate, having Doric architectural features, was built 6.00 m to the north of the towers. The width of the arch measures 6.28 m, the total height is 6.52 m, the depth is 1.32 m, the door opening is 2.80 m, and the height below the arch is 4.65 m (Kökmen-Seyirci 2017, 184, 187).

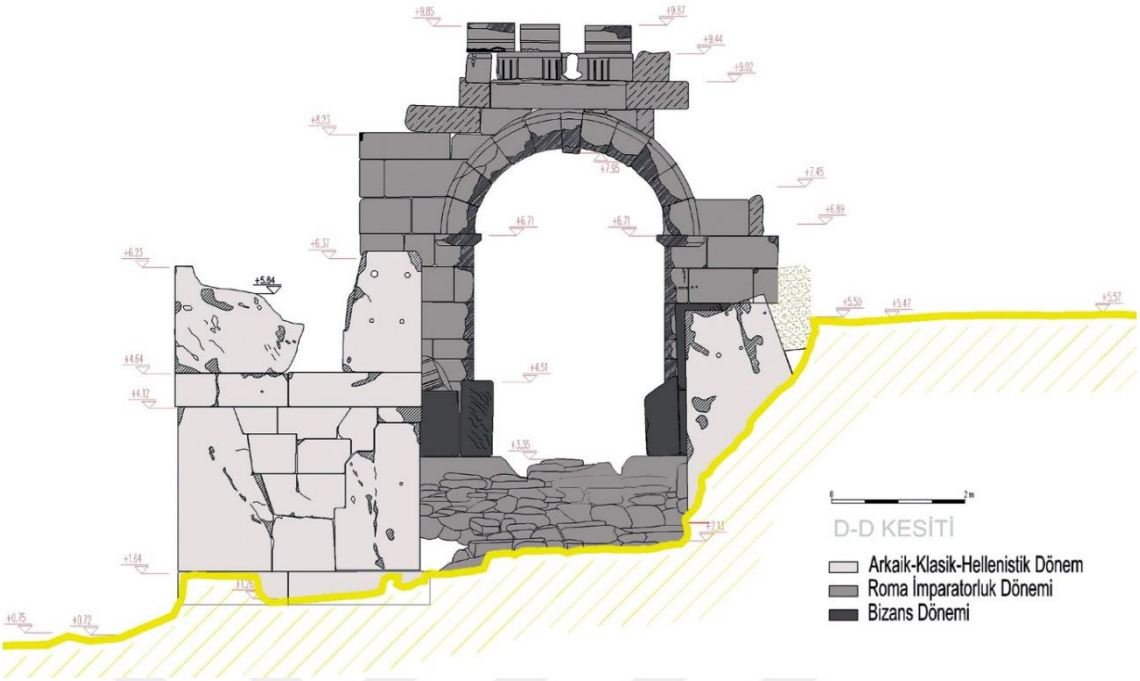


Figure 4.36: Frontal view of the South Gate (Kökmen-Seyirci 2017, 210, fig.19).

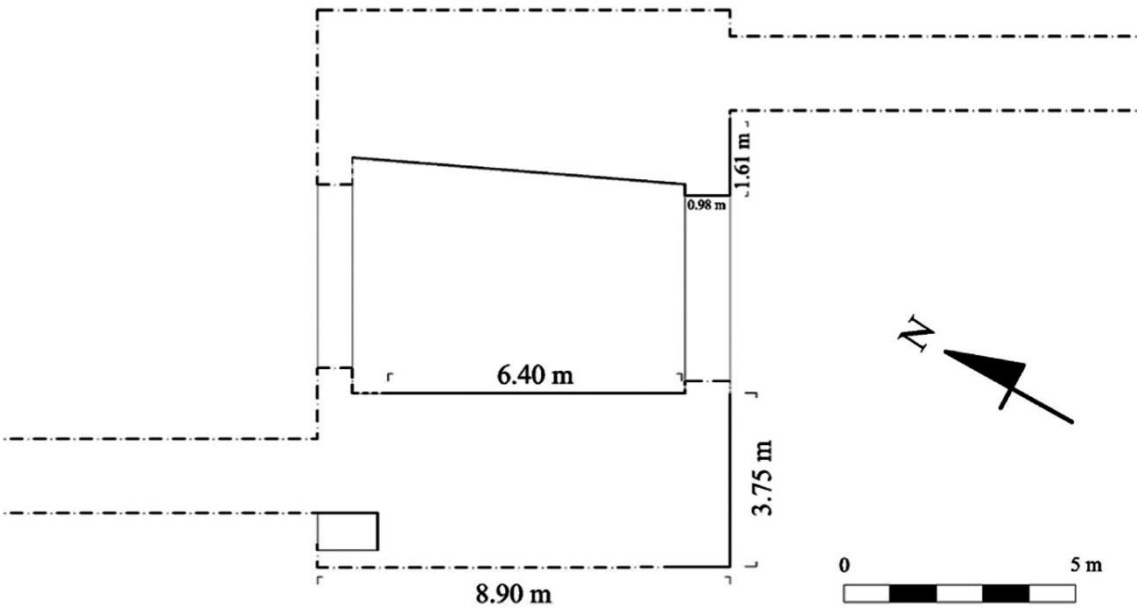


Figure 4.37: Reconstruction of the floor plan of the South Gate (Kökmen-Seyirci 2017, 210, fig.21).



Figure 4.38: Frontal view of the South Gate –from the S– (2017).

In the Byzantine period, the road was narrowed down to 2.30 m to facilitate defense. There are shaft slots on the roadblocks accommodating the door wings. Importantly, even though the gate was narrowed, it continued to be one of the main gates of the city (Figure 4.38).

Classical period towers were built in the polygonal technique with upright positioned blocks. For static purposes, the use of larger blocks, especially in the corners, is a common situation in Xanthos in every period. On both sides of the road extending from the gate opening, there are walls formed with smaller blocks, again in a polygonal masonry. The arch of the Roman period was built with regular ashlar stones of local limestone, which is not very durable in weather conditions. While the door was narrowed during the Byzantine period, some Roman blocks were used as spolia. Since the excavation could not continue to the north of the gate, the Byzantine wall in this part

could not be unearthed (for the extension of this wall, see Section 4.16 Chapel Adjacent to the South Gate).

There is an inscription on the architrave above the arch explaining that the gate was commissioned by the Lycian Governor Sextus Marcius Priscus[23] and devoted to Emperor Vespasian (Kökmen-Seyirci 2017, 185), and bust reliefs of three deities were depicted (des Courtils 2003a, 78); Leto can be seen *in situ* and Artemis and Apollon were brought to the British Museum. All of them belong to the Roman Imperial period –1st century AD– and there are no ornaments that can be dated to the Byzantine period.

S20: This is a 175-meter-long section between the South Gate and Tower T05 in the southeastern corner of the Lycian Acropolis. After the South Gate, the wall climbs the hill making a zigzag route. As the terrain rises, the city wall starts at +23 m above sea level and ends at +45 m. In the first part of the wall close to the South Gate, which stands quite high [approximately 4 m], a second row of walls was built in the Byzantine period, attached to the front of the old polygonal wall dating to the Classical times (Figure 4.39). This type of repair can be seen in one another part of the city walls (see above S05). The higher parts of the wall close to the Lycian Acropolis were built with many Roman architectural blocks. Based on the dating of the spolia used, it was concluded that the construction of the wall should be placed somewhat after the end of the 3rd century AD (des Courtils, Cavalier and Lemaître 2015, 130).

[23] For detailed information and epigraphic corpus about the governor, see İşkan-Işık, Eck and Engelmann 2008, 111-115.



Figure 4.39: Wall Section S20 –from the SW– (2017).



Figure 4.40: Tower T05 –from the NW– (Metzger 1963, planche XI).

T05: This is a nearly square tower measuring 7.40 m x 8.00 m, with a wall thickness of 1.20 m, located in the southeast of the Lycian Acropolis (Figure 4.40). The maximum preserved height of the tower is 2.00 m. Except for an opening in the east direction that was later blocked, no trace of a door or window is visible. It was built with regularly cut hard limestone blocks. Although the tower was defined as Hellenistic in the first years of the excavation, it was ultimately dated to the Classical period –6th or 5th centuries BC– considering the construction technique and material (des Courtils, Cavalier and Lemaître 2015, 114).

Lycian Acropolis Walls: The walls surround the Lycian Acropolis at four sides. Since this area was the center of administration in the Classical period –the dynast palace was located here– special attention was paid to defending this hill. The southern and western sides are steep slopes, and although it is almost impossible to climb these, still, strong walls were built. The eastern wall overlooks the small valley that separates the eastern and western parts of the city, while the northern wall opens to the area where the theater and the West Agora are located, which is the most easily accessible part. Therefore, a large Diateichisma Wall[24] (Figure 4.41, no: 1) was built during the Byzantine period to fully strengthen this area, especially against Arab/Sassanid raids.

Since the structure of the northern walls was completely changed due to the construction of the Diateichisma Wall (Figure 4.42), its structure in the Classical period is not fully known. Although Marksteiner formulated the theory that in the Classical period, the Lycian Acropolis may have been separated from the rest of the city by a wall since that was a Lycian tradition, it is quite difficult to prove this archaeologically (des Courtils, Cavalier and Lemaître 2015, 123).

[24] For the explanation of the term and why it is preferred, see Section 5.2.5.1.4.

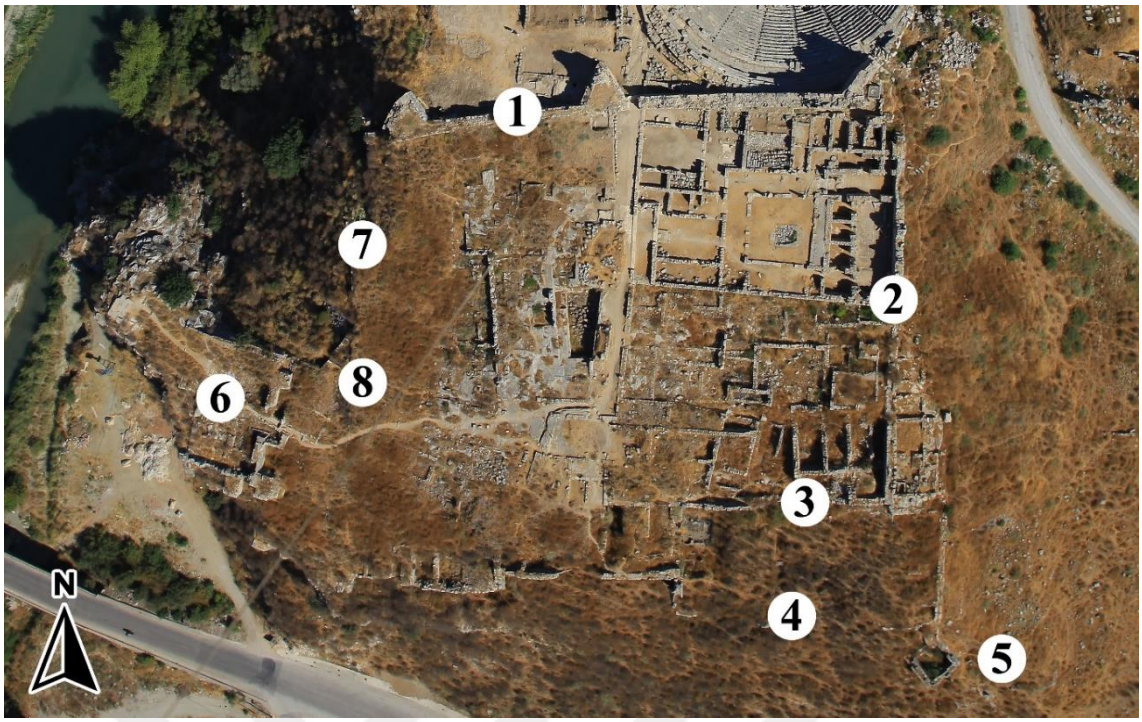


Figure 4.41: Aerial view of the Lycian Acropolis: 1- Diateichisma Wall; 2- East Walls; 3- Classical Period South Wall; 4- Early Byzantine South Wall; 5- Tower T05; 6- Middle Byzantine Castle; 7- West Walls; 8- Postern (Xanthos Excavation Archive, 2013).

The high and strong wall seen today is a long section that was built to cover the Lycian Acropolis from east to west, which was constructed by removing the upper rows of the theater to create a sheltered area on this hill. It consists of three pentagonal bastions with a preserved height of 4.30 m and two long walls with a preserved height of 3.80 m between them and reduces the entrance to the acropolis to a single narrow gate with a width of 1.80 m (Figure 4.43). The great wall has survived quite intact, except for half of the northernmost bastion that has collapsed.



Figure 4.42: General view of the Diateichisma Wall –from the W– (2017).



Figure 4.43: Entrance gate to the Lycian Acropolis in the Diateichisma Wall –from the S– (2017).

Two main construction phases can be observed on the Diateichisma Wall. The first construction phase is dated to the Arab/Sassanid raids of the 7th century AD (des Courtils 2003a, 62). The masonry technique is quite similar to the Ankara city walls built during the reign of Emperor Constans II [AD 641 - 668] (Sodini 1998b, 62-63). The bastions also resemble some parts of the Ankara castle morphologically (des Courtils, Cavalier and Lemaître 2015, 131). In the second construction phase a wall was built on top of the middle bastion, probably to protect the nearby gate (Figure 4.44; Figure 4.45). This 4 m high wall, named "surveillance curtain" by the French researchers, it features masonry similar to the Middle Byzantine walls of Xanthos. Furthermore, during the excavations carried out in 1995, an Emperor Romanos IV [reign AD 1069 - 1071] coin dated to the 11th century was found, supporting the Middle Byzantine dating of the construction[25] (Manière-Lévêque 1998a, 73).

There is no deliberately placed decorative element on the wall. Since the theater rows were used as spolia, the seating rows with reliefs of lion paws and other architectural parts with different decorations are included in the masonry as a construction material.

The structure has not been the subject of a specific field study. However, even during the earliest documentation of the city, the wall can be seen on various drawings due to its proximity to the theater and the famous tomb monuments. For example, a plan of the theater drawn by Hawkins in 1843-44 shows a section of the wall with a comment: "This Wall is built with the seats of the Theater" (British Museum, no. 2012,5034.36). It is also visible in many engravings from this period (Scharf and Fellows 1847).

[25] The emperor was incorrectly called "Romain IV Lécapene" in the article (Manière-Lévêque 1998a, 73). There is only one emperor "Romanos I Lekapenos" named after his birthplace [Laqabin in Syria], who ruled in the 10th century. The Emperor Romanos IV of the 11th century was called "Diogenes".



Figure 4.44: Middle Byzantine addition on the middle bastion of the Diateichisma Wall –from the S– (2020).

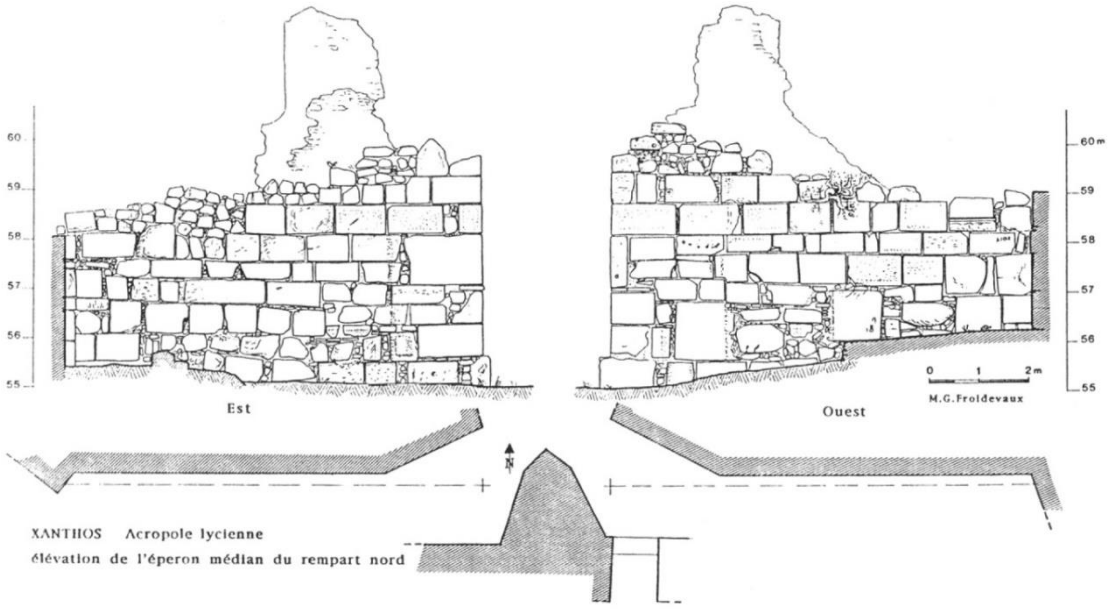


Figure 4.45: Drawing of the middle bastion of the Diateichisma Wall (des Courtils and Laroche 1999a, 379, fig.9).

Metzger's book about the Lycian Acropolis, published in 1963, did not mention this wall in detail even in the section dedicated to the fortification walls (Metzger 1963, 1-14). The wall was briefly mentioned in a recent article about the city walls (des Courtils, Cavalier and Lemaître 2015, 130-131).

The east walls of the Lycian Acropolis were mostly built from large blocks in the polygonal technique and were repaired in the Byzantine period. The eastern wall of the Northeast House on the Lycian Acropolis constitutes the northern half of this section, and the eastern wall of the Dynast Palace is the southern half[26].

In the south section, the Classical polygonal wall, which forms the south retaining wall of the palace, has survived to the present day in a very strong and high state with a maximum preserved height of 6.00 m (Figure 4.41, no: 3). In the Early Byzantine period, a second fortification row was built 25 m further southwards (Figure 4.41, no: 4) so that a large area of 1250 m2 was obtained at the lower level of the acropolis. It is not known what this area was used for since there is high earth deposit in this area, and no excavations have been conducted. However, a small area excavated in the far west of this part has revealed a place that was probably connected to the private houses in the acropolis, which was substantially repaired during this period, if not entirely in the Byzantine era (see Section 4.21 Structure with Rectangular Pool). Just west of this point, there is a natural cave (Metzger 1963, 3), and further westwards, there are parts both belonging to the Classical period –in the polygonal technique–, and parts built with spolia material that can be dated to the Early Byzantine era. The most important of these are the relief blocks of the Classical tomb monuments that Fellows removed from the walls and

[26] In fact, there were various other structures here during the Byzantine period, but these were removed in the early years of the excavation (see Section 4.23 Destroyed Baths on the Lycian Acropolis).

brought to the British Museum (Metzger 1963, 5). On the other hand, two points in the southern part of the Lycian Acropolis walls reflect the Middle Byzantine masonry of Xanthos. These are sections in which a large number of broken brick fragments are placed surrounding rubble stones (Figure 4.46). As mentioned above, this type of masonry can also be found in the other Middle Byzantine buildings in the city.

At the southwestern end of the Lycian Acropolis, on a steep cliff overlooking the river, there is a stone podium that looks like a viewing platform today. This construction is actually the base of a tomb monument known as the "Structure H". To the southeast, there is another larger one called the "Structure G". In the Middle Byzantine period, the western extremity of the acropolis where these structures are located was secured with a new fortification consisting of a corner tower, three bastions and connecting walls creating a small castle-like structure (Figure 4.41, no: 6). Some walls of this fortification show the rough cloisonné masonry. A small house dating to the Roman period was also unearthed within this area (Manière-Lévêque 2012, 19, fig.9).

From this point, towards the north, the western walls of the Lycian Acropolis begin (Figure 4.41, no: 7). To the 10 m north of the small fortress, a postern with a width of 0.90 m can be seen, probably used to descend to the river (Figure 4.41, no: 8; Figure 40). The rest of the wall was repaired in the Byzantine period extending to the point where it connects with the Diateichisma Wall.

West Walls: The 500-meter-long section of the city walls starting from the west corner of the Diateichisma Wall and continuing up to the northwest corner of the city is named "West Walls", and the wall sections between S21 - S33 and the bastion B08 will be discussed in this section.



Figure 4.46: Middle Byzantine repairs in the south walls of the Lycian Acropolis (2020).



Figure 4.47: Postern in the west wall of the Lycian Acropolis –from the E– (2017).

In the area between the Lycian Acropolis and the northwestern corner of the West Basilica, the walls were severely damaged, their upper parts were destroyed, and only some parts leaning on the slope have survived. Due to the steep nature of the terrain and the dense vegetation, it was not possible to examine and measure these walls in detail during our fieldwork. On the other hand, the wall lines climbing up to the Upper Acropolis hill towards the northwest are very high and well preserved.

S21: The walls to the west of the theater were placed on the bedrock on a high slope. The upper sections have been demolished, but the parts facing the slope have survived. Since this area was inaccessible, the features of the walls in this area could not be examined.

S22: These are the walls to the west of the West Basilica. These ramparts only survived to the present day at the ground level and are only visible from the slope below. The narthex of the West Basilica rests directly on these thick walls. Earlier researchers mention the presence of a 2 m wide vaulted corridor, almost completely buried in the ground, built with Roman spolia in the middle part of the wall (des Courtils, Cavalier and Lemaître 2015, 116). The corridor can also be seen on the city plan by Hawkins (British Museum, no. 2012,5034.29). During our survey, it was not possible to verify the presence of this structure due to the dense vegetation and elevation of the terrain.

S23 - S24: These two wall sections were built in the Classical period in the polygonal technique, and only a small part has been preserved.

S25: There is a postern in the wall at the starting point of this section. This opening is connected to a street, which passes north of the West Basilica and connects it to the northwest of the West Agora, just to the corner of the north portico. The long separating wall between the street and the basilica will be discussed in the West Basilica section.

Towards the north of the postern, the wall advances 30 m at a height of 4-5 m. Since the wall is leaning against the slope, its thickness cannot be measured. In the construction of this part, many architectural sculptures were used, such as various entablature blocks, column drums and capitals, and blocks with inscriptions, which can be dated to the Roman period (Figure 4.48).



Figure 4.48: Wall Section S25 –from the SW– (2017).

Towards the north of this section, a regular polygonal technique was used for the lower rows of the wall, but the upper parts were repaired in the Byzantine period. An interesting feature of this wall is the spolia piece used in the polygonal section that was built in the Classical times, which is a rare occurrence for this period (des Courtils, Cavalier and Lemaître 2015, 117) (Figure 4.49, the two straight-cut stones on the right side near the bottom).



Figure 4.49: Wall Section S25 –from the N– (2017).

A large vault made of very long blocks is located within the wall further to the north (Figure 4.50). A *tabula ansata* on the ground in front of the vault shows that it was used as a tomb in the Roman Imperial period (Figure 4.51). This type of tomb architecture, especially seen in Cadyanda in the Lycian region, is in the form of an independent vault. Before the Northwest Gate of the city was demolished in the Byzantine period, there was a necropolis area outside like in front of the other city gates (see the Northwest Gate below). When the city walls were renewed without the gate, the new section crossed over the vaulted tomb, including it into the wall.

B08 and the Northwest Gate: The structures in this area (Figure 4.52, no: 1) were unearthed by Marksteiner with a series of soundings and published later. The results of this research are very interesting because it revealed that there once was another gate of the city other than the known ones, which is very important for the understanding of the

ancient urban planning. As understood from the soundings, the first construction phase consisted of a wall dating to the Classical period [5th - 6th centuries BC]. Then again, in the Classical period, around the 5th - 4th centuries BC, this wall was removed, and a gate with a bastion was built (Marksteiner 2002, 213).



Figure 4.50: Vault within Wall Section S25 –from the SW– (2017).

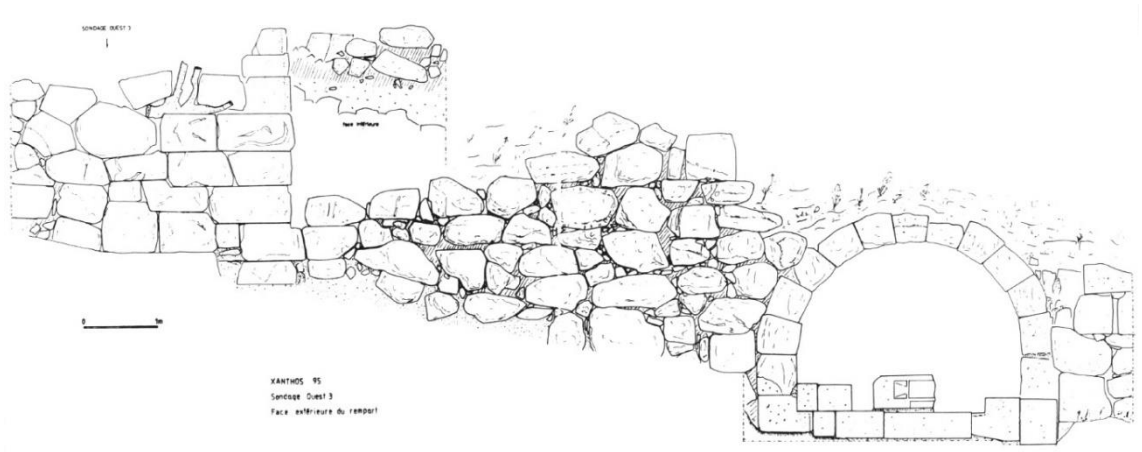


Figure 4.51: Drawing of Wall Section S25 around the vault (des Courtils et al. 1997, 324, fig.9).

The bastion once measured 7.20 m x 11.70 m, had a height of 3.02 m and was built in the polygonal technique (des Courtils, Cavalier and Lemaître 2015, 117). The bastion is structurally stronger and possibly higher than the fortification wall, and its original height might have been 8-9 m (Marksteiner 2002, 215). In the light of all this information, it is possible to put forward a chronology of this area: In the Classical period [5th - 6th centuries BC], a simple fortification wall was built in the first construction phase; in the second phase within the same or next century [4th - 5th centuries BC], a gate with a bastion/tower was built; in the last phase the gate was closed off and replaced again with a wall in the Early Byzantine times. In the Roman period, a vaulted tomb was built outside the gate. Demargne mentioned two other tombs that do not exist today (des Courtils, Cavalier and Lemaître 2015, 117). In addition, at the point where the modern road cuts the wall, another tomb carved into the bedrock can be seen. All these show that there was an extramural necropolis area in this region. The fact that such an area was formed here indicates that the gate was one of the main gates of the city since necropolis areas can be seen outside and around the other two main gates of Xanthos, as well as along the ancient roads. Finally, while the walls were completely renovated in the Early Byzantine period, this gate was not restored; a flat wall was built instead, and the vaulted Roman tomb was also included within this new wall[27]. A postern was built around 80 m to the south of this blocked gate as an opening to the west of the city. For the Byzantine period, this area was obviously no longer important, but understanding the gate and the road axis to the city is important in terms of shedding light on the urbanism of earlier periods.

[27] Probably, the gate was already destroyed in this period, since even during the test soundings not many architectural remains were found.

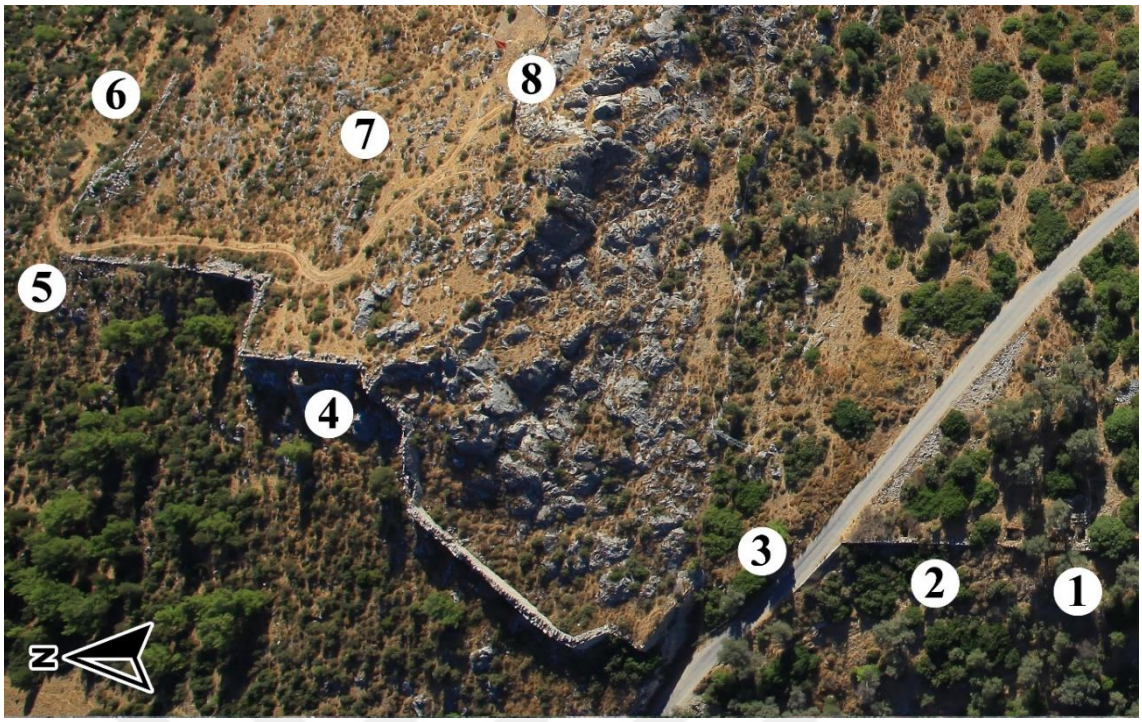


Figure 4.52: Aerial view of the west walls and the Upper Acropolis: 1- Classical period West Gate and Bastion B08; 2- Wall Section S25; 3- Part of the walls destroyed by the modern road; 4- Wall Sections S26-S33; 5- Northwest corner of the walls and the part destroyed by the dirt road; 6- North Walls; 7- Upper Acropolis Chapel; 8- Peak of the Upper Acropolis [+118 m.] (Xanthos Excavation Archive, 2013).

S25 (Continues): An oil lamp belonging to the 6th - 7th century AD, found during the excavation on the S25 wall extending towards the north of the bastion, gives the dating for the Byzantine period of the wall (Marksteiner 2002, 210). From this point onward, the wall rises up to the Upper Acropolis hill (Figure 4.52, no: 2), but an approximately 25 m part of it has been destroyed by the modern road (Figure 4.52, no: 3; Figure 4.53).

S26 - S27: These two sections of the wall measure 27 m long and have a height of 4-6 m. They can be dated to the Early Byzantine period and were built with a large number of spolia. The walls were placed on a high bedrock and rose towards the hill.

S28: This section stands 2-4 m in height, extending straight in southwest-northeast direction for 42 m. The wall thickness is 1.60 m. Many entablature fragments and inscribed blocks from the Roman period were used in the construction.



Figure 4.53: The northern part of Wall Section S25 destroyed by the modern road –from the SW– (2017).

S29 - S30: This 5-6-meter-high section that placed on a high bedrock climbs the hill and was built with Roman spolia as a double-faced wall [width 1.65 m]. The inner wall filling consists of a mix of small-sized rubble and mortar, which is visible at the points where the outer blocks have collapsed (Figure 4.54).

S31: This 33-meter-long and 5-6-meter-high section was built in the Classical period in the polygonal technique and placed on bedrock. (Figure 4.55).

S32: This section was built in the Byzantine period using Roman architectural blocks and has been preserved up to a height of 4 m. Inscribed pedestals are important elements among the spolia (Figure 4.56).



Figure 4.54: Wall Section S29 –from the E– (2017).



Figure 4.55: Wall Section S31 –from the SW– (2017).



Figure 4.56: Wall Section S32 –from the E– (2017).



Figure 4.57: Wall Section S33 –from the SW– (2017).

S33: This wall extends straight in southwest-northeast direction for 74 m and has a thickness of 1.5 m. While the wall has been preserved up to a height of 5 m in the southwest (Figure 4.57), it has survived up to the present day with a height of only 1 m at the northwest end. Many Roman spolia, including some inscribed blocks, were used in the construction.

Decorative Features:

Although many architectural blocks were used in the city walls as spolia, there are no particularly placed decorative elements among them. Fellows reported that some sculptured blocks of former monuments were placed on the southern fortification walls of the Lycian Acropolis. These reliefs dating to the Classical period were removed from the walls and taken to the British Museum (Demargne and Metzger 1967, 1407). Except for the spolia, there is no decorative element or inscription on the walls that can be dated to the Byzantine period.

Construction Techniques:

Since the construction techniques are already mentioned individually for each wall section, only a general summary is included here. The Classical city walls of Xanthos were built mostly with large blocks in the polygonal wall technique (Figure 4.58, no: 1). The Early Roman period walls were also built in polygonal technique, but the stones were cut with high bossages (Figure 4.58, no: 2) while also regular ashlar masonry was used (Figure 4.58, no: 3). In the Early Byzantine period, according to the features of the spolia used, the wall texture could be regular (Figure 4.58, no: 4) or irregular (Figure 4.58, no: 5). In general, rubble and a large number of spolia blocks were joined with mortar in the construction. Among these blocks, all kinds of decorated architectural fragments, blocks with inscriptions, and columns can be seen. In the parts that were added or repaired in the

Middle Byzantine period, a large number of brick fragments were used. In some sections, small-sized rubble stones were surrounded by broken bricks (Figure 4.58, no: 6).

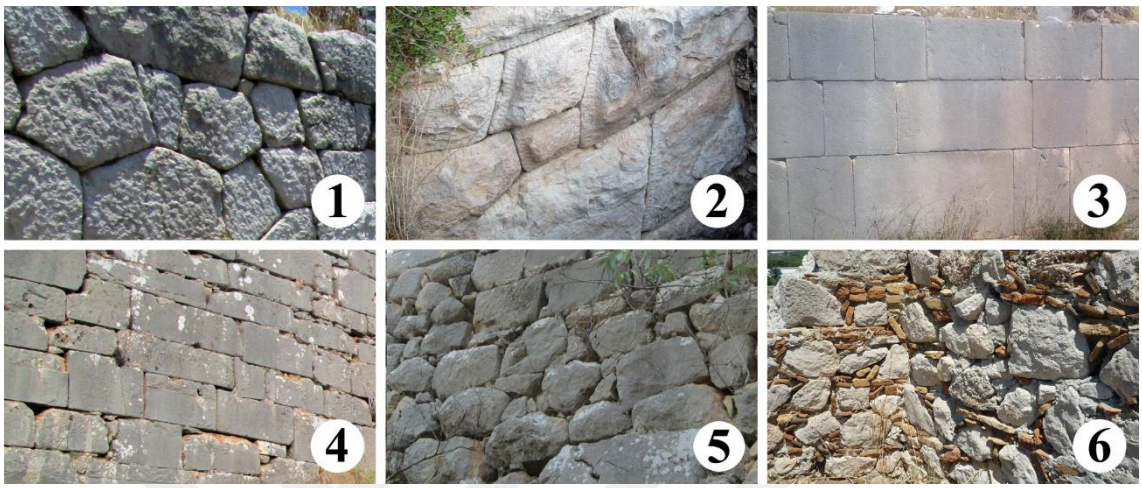


Figure 4.58: Masonry techniques from different periods in the Xanthos city walls: 1- Classical period polygonal; 2- Early Roman polygonal; 3- Early Roman regular ashlar 4- Early Byzantine regular [regular cut spolia blocks and fewer rubble joined with a small amount of mortar]; 5- Early Byzantine irregular [various spolia and more rubble joined with thick layers of mortar]; 6- Middle Byzantine [small-sized rubble and a large number of brick fragments] (2017).

Research/Fieldwork History and Publications:

City Walls: Some of the walls surrounding the Lycian Acropolis were excavated and published during early studies in the area (Metzger 1963, 1-14). During the time des Courtils was the director of the excavation, soundings were carried out at several different points of the walls, and two articles were published on the city walls as a whole (des Courtils 1994; des Courtils, Cavalier and Lemaître 2015). Marksteiner also conducted soundings on the western walls (Marksteiner 2002). Besides, within the scope of his master's thesis, Erdoğan inspected the polygonal walls and towers of the defense system (Erdoğan 2017, 15-24).

Northeast Gate: The first plan of the city drawn by Hoskyn does not show the Northeast Gate (Spratt and Forbes 1847, plan). On the city plan drawn in 1843-44, the gate was drawn without any comment (British Museum, no. 2012,5034.29). Krickl, however, tagged the gate as "Thor" on his plan (Kalinka 1920, 95). This gate was never investigated in detail but was mentioned in some articles (des Courtils 1994, 293; Cavalier 2005, 113; des Courtils, Cavalier and Lemaître 2015, 106-107).

South Gate: This gate was shown on the Hoskyn's plan as the "Roman arch" (Spratt and Forbes 1847, plan). On the city plan drawn in 1843-44, the gate was named "Gateway" (British Museum, no. 2012,5034.29). Scharf created two drawings of the gate from both sides with people working and sitting nearby during Fellows' expedition (Figure 4.59). Hawkins made a technical drawing during the same fieldwork and offered a restitution proposal with the reliefs. These drawings are important to show that the structure has been preserved since the 19th century without severe structural changes. In 1954 and 1957, Demargne conducted cleaning and excavation around the structure. A stone-paved road in front of the gate was unearthed, and the fieldworks were published in the annual excavation reports (Demargne 1955; Demargne 1957a; Demargne 1957b). Excavations could not progress any further due to the presence of the modern road passing just nearby the gate. Des Courtils and Cavalier inspected and mentioned the gate in several articles during their excavations (des Courtils 1994; des Courtils and Cavalier 2001; Cavalier 2005; des Courtils, Cavalier and Lemaître 2015). Over time, the soil flow from the slope covered the pavement. For this reason, new cleaning work was carried out in 2011 under the direction of Varkıvanç (Varkıvanç 2012, 57-58). Finally, Kökmen-Seyirci, a member of Akdeniz University's excavation team, fully examined the gate and published it as a separate article (Kökmen-Seyirci 2017).



Figure 4.59: Scharf's drawing of the South Gate during Fellows' excavations (British Museum, no. 2012,5034.6).

4.2 Fortress Opposite of Xanthos

Coordinates: 36.355492 N, 29.313689 E
Alt: ?

Location:

Located on the opposite side of the Eşen River, west of Xanthos; between the river and Karaköy village.

Description:

A hilltop castle on the opposite side of Xanthos.

Current Status:

The location of the fortress cannot be explored today because it is located within a fenced private property outside the excavation area. Although some walls on the hill can be seen from the closest accessible area (Figure 4.60), it is not possible to make clear comments and interpretations.



Figure 4.60: Visible walls of the fortress –from the SW– (2020).

Research/Fieldwork History and Publications:

Even though Fellows did not give any written account of the structure, the first sketch plan of the city published in 1843 (Fellows 1843, plan) marked an area surrounded by several walls tagged as “Fortress” (Figure 4.61).

Hoskyn's plan (Spratt and Forbes 1847, plan) shows a castle drawn on a hill on the west side of the river, but it remained unidentified (Figure 4.62).

There is a significant difference between the two plans. The fortress, marked on Fellows’ plan, was pointed out as the place where the modern bridge stands at the edge of the river, while it is located further away on Hoskyn’s plan (Spratt and Forbes 1847, plan).

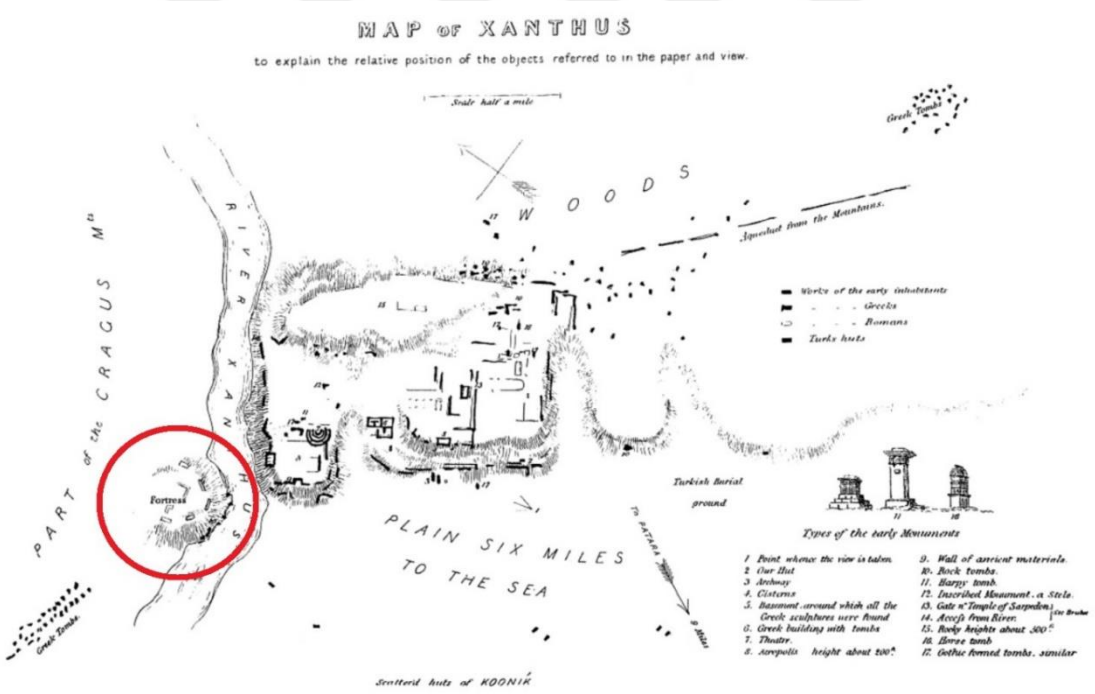


Figure 4.61: Fortress on Fellows’ sketch plan (Fellows 1843, plan [circle added]).



Figure 4.62: Fortress on Hoskyn's plan (Spratt and Forbes 1847, plan [circle added]).

In the west part of the four-page panoramic drawing by Scharf (British Museum, no. 2012,5034.27) some ruins resembling a fortress can be seen on a hilltop to the left side of the Lycian Acropolis. Some other walls that descend towards the skirts of the hill are also visible (Figure 4.63; for comparison, see Figure 4.64).

Benndorf wrote the first account about the structure: "Ahead of us was the village of Karakoi, which has a medieval or Turkish fortress on a hilltop, a parallel fort to the fortress of Xanthos. Once it dominated the valley road from the west side as the other [Xanthos] dominated from the east." (Benndorf and Niemann 1884, 84 [translated by the author]). Demargne, the first director of the systematic modern excavations, repeats the same information without adding any detail (Demargne 1958, 22).

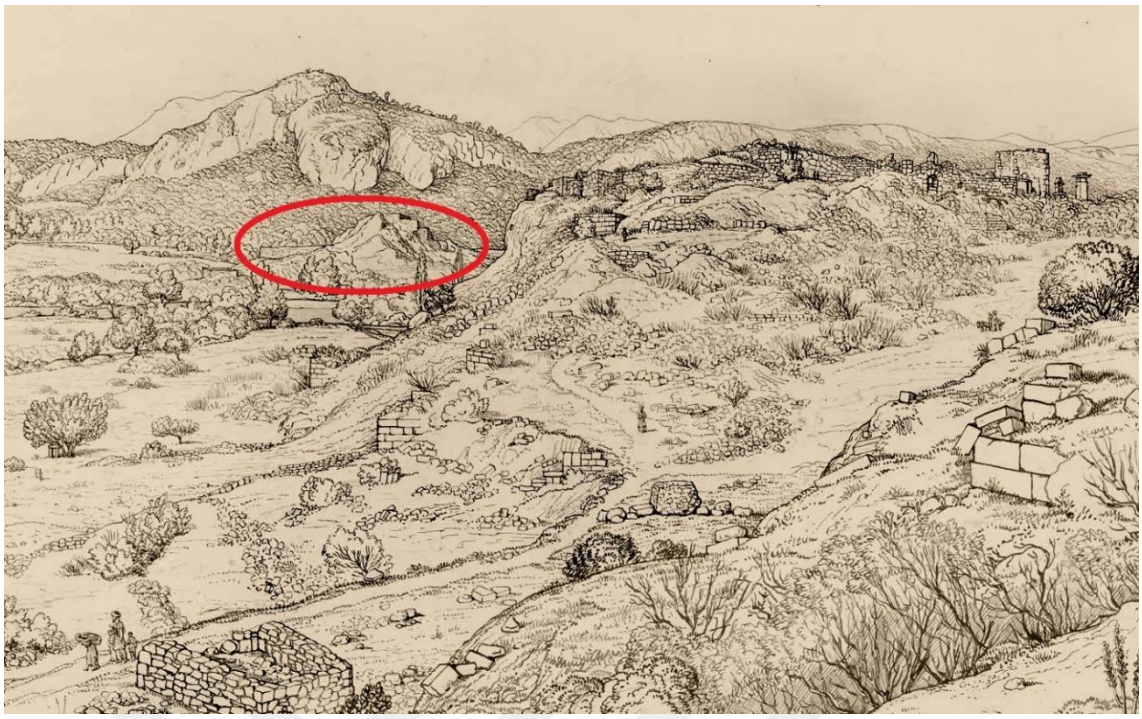


Figure 4.63: Scharf's drawing showing the fortress (British Museum, no. 2012,5034.27 [close-up, circle added]).



Figure 4.64: Location of the fortress from the same angle as Scharf's drawing (2020).

4.3 East Basilica



Figure 4.65: Location and general plan of the East Basilica (edited from Figure 1.3).

Coordinates: 36.356059 N, 29.321666 E
Alt: +54 m.

Location:

Located on the east side of the city. Adjacent to the east of the *Cardo Maximus* [0.70 m below the street level], near the square where the two main Roman streets of the city intersect.

Short Description:

The East Basilica is one of the four large-sized basilicas dating to the Early Byzantine period in Xanthos along with the West Basilica, the Triconch Basilica and the Upper Acropolis Basilica. The church is a three-aisled basilica with an atrium, and a narthex (Figure 4.66). The basilica measures 29.00 m x 74.00 m and has a surface of 2400 m2. It

was identified as the episcopal church of the city with the help of the traces of the *cathedra* on the *synthronon* (Raynaud 2009, 35).

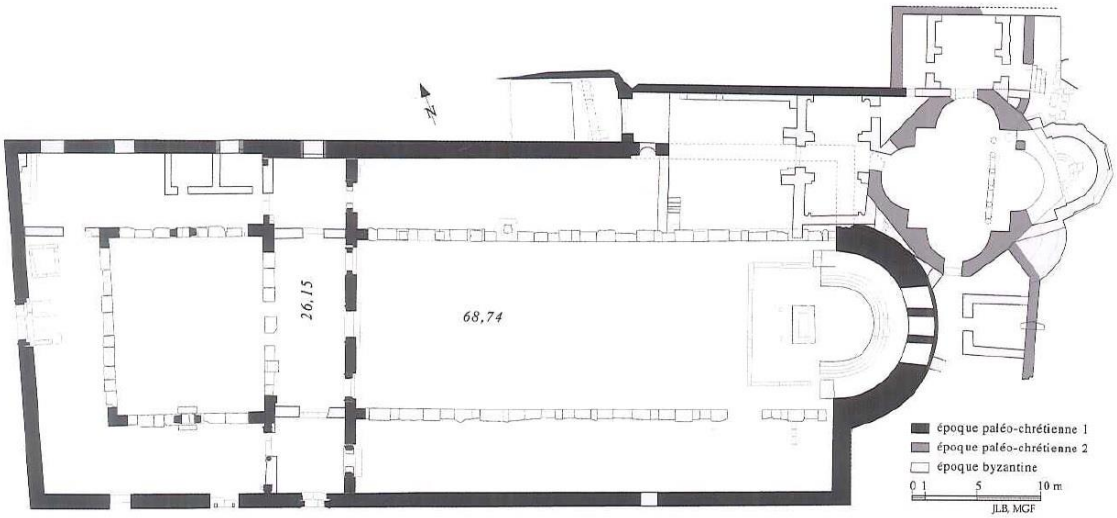


Figure 4.66: General plan of the East Basilica (Sodini 2012, 136, fig.1).

Current Status:

The structure stands in quite good condition with high walls, and the mosaic decoration on the floor has survived to a great extent. The location of the church is one of the main visiting routes of the site. The mosaics are currently covered for protection, and the entrance of the building is shut with an iron fence; visitors are not allowed to walk inside.

Construction Phases and Chronology:

Three main construction phases can be observed: the first construction, some repairs after a major earthquake, and Middle Byzantine alterations.

During the excavations, a Roman structure was found at the site preceding the building of the church. The nature of the Roman structure is unknown and could only be identified based on a small fragmental mosaic dated to this period (Raynaud 2009, 32).

The first construction phase of the church is dated to the 5th century AD.

After significant earthquake damage in the middle of the 6th century AD[28], the church was repaired, and some changes were made to the mosaics. It is believed that the baptistery was built during this reconstruction campaign (Raynaud 2009, 144).

In the third quarter of the 7th century AD, some areas were used as a cemetery after the abandonment of the church due to another major earthquake probably at the beginning of the same century (Sodini 2010, 330).

After a long abandonment period, the basilica was partially restored, and a new church was installed in the former baptistery building at the beginning of the 11th century.

In the 13th century, the structure was completely abandoned after a major fire (Raynaud 2009, 109).

Some ceramics found in the excavations were identified as nomadic Seljuk ware, but no architectural activity dating to the Seljuk period was observed in the structure (Armstrong 1998, 330-331).

During the excavations, some walls belonging to the late Ottoman period were found –these are today entirely removed–. It was stated by the excavators that the northern portico of the atrium and the north aisle of the church were probably used as cattle barns in the 19th century (Metzger 1974, 133).

Architectural Description:

Atrium (Figure 4.67): The atrium of the church is not a regular square since the western wall was aligned to the main street the *Cardo Maximus*. Thus, the northern wall (25.50

[28] Most probably it concerns the earthquake of AD 529-530 which affected the region of Myra (Duggan 2004, 131).

m) is longer than the southern wall (23.30 m). The width of the atrium on the eastern side is 26.40 m. The atrium is surrounded by three porticos in the north, south, and west, while the fourth portico in the east constitutes the narthex. The court in the middle is approximately twice the width of the porticos [14 m and 6.50 m]. This ratio is the same in the narthex and aisle divisions of the church. The main entrance in the west direction opens to the *Cardo Maximus* and since the church was built 0.70 m below the street level, the atrium is accessible by three steps.



Figure 4.67: Atrium of the East Basilica –from the N– (2017).

The porticos on three sides were covered with *opus tessellatum* mosaics and the central courtyard (12.00 m x 14.00 m) was paved with 18 rows of white limestone slabs with an average size of 0.70 m x 1.10 m. Three doors open from the north portico to the north direction, which may have led to the episcopal complex, thought to be located on the north side of the structure, but these gates were blocked during the Middle Byzantine

period. In addition, two small rooms of unknown function were built in the northern portico in the same period. There are also two doors opening from the south portico to the south side of the church. Although some remaining walls can still be seen here, it is not known whether they are connected to the church or not because excavations have not been conducted here. On the western wall of the atrium and in the north of the stairs, a brick-built basin measuring 1.10 m x 1.25 m with a depth of 0.30 m has been found during the excavation, which is thought to be a pediluve[29]. On the northwest corner of the atrium, there are remains of a water system providing water to this basin.

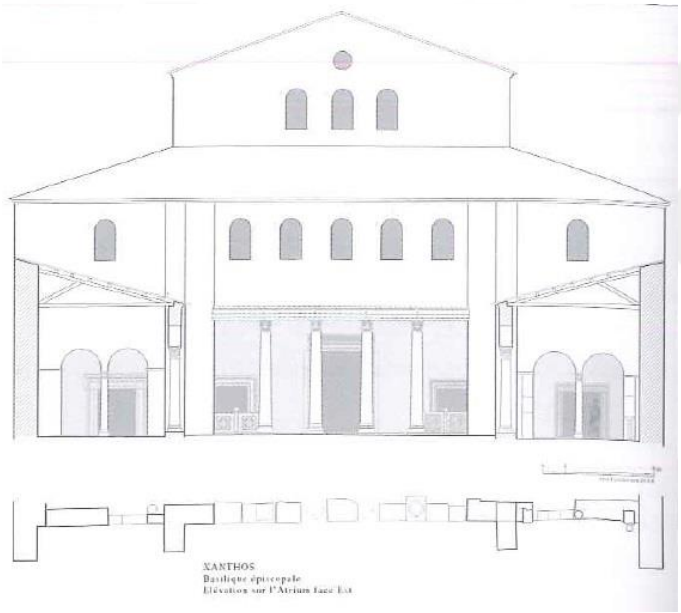


Figure 4.68: The semi-open narthex of the East Basilica –from the W– (Sodini 2010, 320, fig.3).

Narthex (Figure 4.68): With its total dimensions of 5.75 m x 26.40 m, the narthex constitutes the eastern portico of the atrium. The place consists of three parts: two square rooms in the north –5.60 m x 5.75 m– and the south –5.45 m x 6.00 m– and a rectangular

[29] Pedilavium is the ceremony of the washing of the feet performed in the liturgy on the Holy Thursday before Easter (Cross 2005, 1256). *Pediluve* is the wash basin used during this religious ceremony.

room in the middle –5.55 m x 13.25 m–. The middle space is twice the width of the square spaces on the sides. As mentioned earlier, this ratio is the same in all parts of the church. Transitions between these sections were narrowed during the Middle Byzantine alterations for an unknown reason. Entrances from the narthex to the naos are provided by a total of five gates (Figure 4.69).

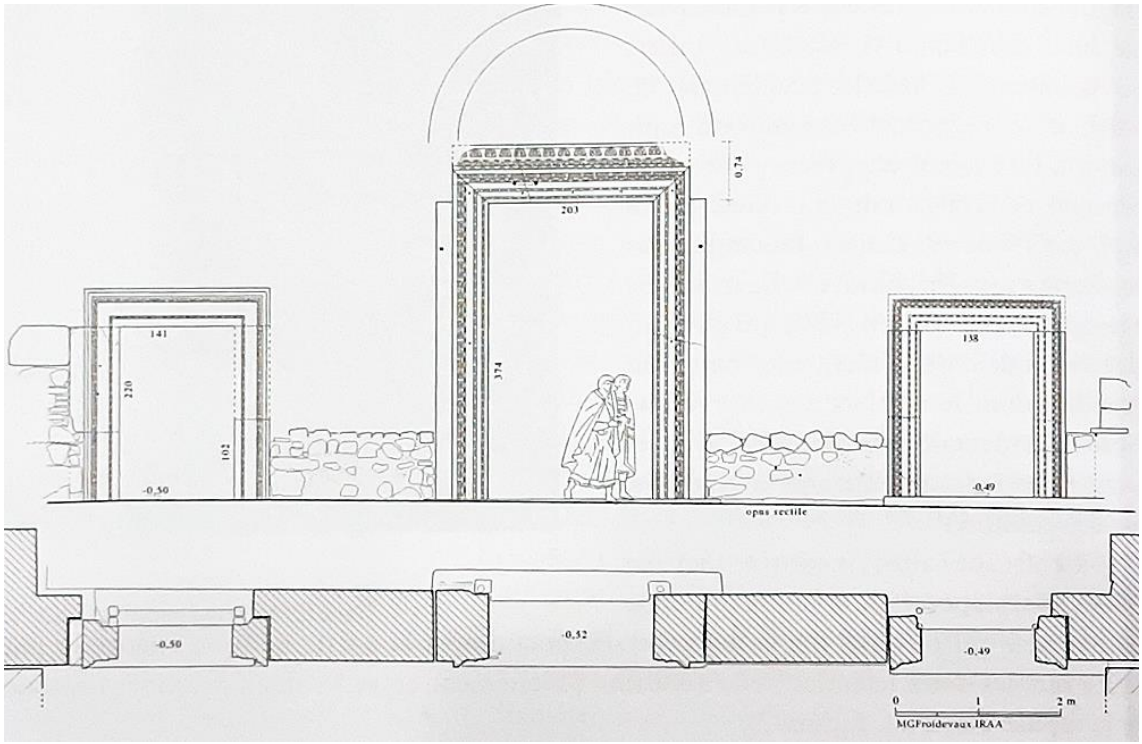


Figure 4.69: Entrance portals of the East Basilica –from the W– (Sodini 2010, 324, fig.7).

Both square rooms give passage to the side aisles and the central rectangular room opens to the central nave with three gates. The central gate was used as a spoliated element from an unknown Roman structure dated to the end of the 2nd or the beginning of the 3rd century (Sodini 2010, 324). With dimensions of 2.03 m x 3.74 m, it is larger than the side doors, which measure 1.40 m x 2.20 m. This type of arrangement is well known in many early-period basilicas, including the Hagia Sophia of Istanbul and the Church of the

Stoudios Monastery (Sodini 1998c, 77). It is thought that there is a U-shaped gallery floor above the narthex and side aisles. The exact location of the staircase is unknown, but it was presumably an exterior staircase adjacent to the south of the narthex; the square rooms are covered with *opus tessellatum*, while the central space is covered with geometric *opus sectile* mosaics.

Naos (Figure 4.70): The naos has dimensions of 26.40 m x 37.10 m. The side aisles and the central nave have a 1/2/1 ratio to each other; in other words, the central nave is twice the width of the side aisles. This ratio is quite common in the Late Antique period architecture and there are many other examples such as the Church of Stoudios Monastery in Istanbul. The stylobates of the colonnades that separate the aisles were made with reused irregular-sized blocks. While blocks of different sizes are placed side by side, the sides facing the central nave are aligned with each other and the other sides facing the north and south aisles appear irregular. Some of the pedestals, column drums, and Corinthian capitals were found during the excavations. Each colonnade had 12 columns carrying the gallery floor above the side aisles (Froidevaux and Raynaud 2005, 146). Smaller columns and capitals belonging to the gallery floor were also found.

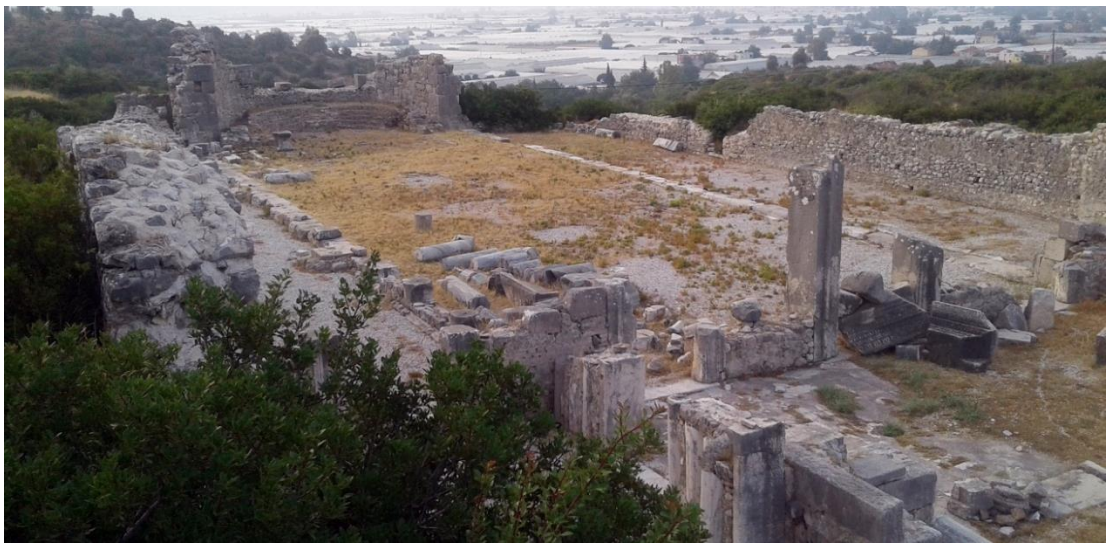


Figure 4.70: Naos of the East Basilica –from the N– (2017).

The North Aisle and the Vestibule on the North Side: The eastern half of the north aisle was destroyed in the Middle Byzantine period when the early baptistery was converted into a church –from the original 5.45 m x 37.30 m dimensions it was reduced to 5.45 m x 24.10 m–. Originally there was a door on the northern wall of the aisle which was opened to a vestibule that led to the baptistery. On the west side of this vestibule, there is a room with an unknown function that is only partially excavated. Because a large wastewater drain pipe passes under this room, it is thought that this room was reserved for ablutions or functioned as a *latrina* (Raynaud 2009, 108). The exact dimensions are not known since the excavation is not completed; the present dimensions are 5.00 m x 8.00 m. In the east, stairs led to the baptistery through a 19.50 m long mosaic-covered corridor with a geometrical pattern. In the Middle Byzantine period, the door from the aisle to the vestibule was closed and replaced by a *proskynetarion* in the form of a small niche (Sodini 2012, 143). The original stairs were also removed and new stairs were installed on the east side of the north aisle since the baptistery is located 2 m below the elevation of the church. When the baptistery was converted into a church, a narthex was built to the west side and a court was added in front of it. In order to make room for them, half of the north aisle of the church was dismantled which was already destroyed in the 7th century AD. The area was dug 2 m down to the same elevation as the baptistery. When this was done, the basilica's original gallery floor had already been destroyed by the earthquake. The debris might have been cleaned and the north aisle was covered with new roofing, now serving as a walkway to the new church. There is a round-shaped cistern under the north stylobate, which was built in the first construction phase and repaired in a later period. The opening of the cistern is on the north side of the stylobate. After the church was abandoned entirely, the aisle was used as a barn in the late Ottoman period, probably in

the 19th century, and a new wall was built in this part, which does not exist today since it was removed during the excavation.

The South Aisle: In the eastern part of the south aisle, a small part is divided with a low stylobate. It is thought that a *diaconicon* was formed here (Raynaud 2009, 76). This is not a room divided by a wall, but only a small area separated by a chancel screen. Since the eastern part was completely destroyed in the north aisle, it is not known whether there was a similar division on its symmetrical side. Some burials were practiced in this aisle after the church was destroyed in the 7th century AD.

The Central Nave and the Apse: The apse of the basilica is preserved with a height of 8 m, has three windows and points to the southeast. Its depth is 5.70 m. The apse originally featured a five-step *synthronon* covered with white marble revetments and a platform for a *cathedra*, which does not exist today (des Courtils and Cavalier 2001, 168). The *bema* was paved with limestone slabs as floor covering. Although the altar table does not exist today, its location is evident from the marks on the flooring. The altar was a stone-built table covered with marble revetments, some of which were decorated (Sodini 1998a; des Courtils and Laroche 1999a, 388). Water was brought to the altar table from the underground via terracotta pipes. There are also water evacuation holes at the corners of the altar. It was understood during the excavations that water was coming from the northeast and evacuated in the southeast direction (Figure 4.71). This is an interesting liturgical arrangement that is not very commonly seen (Metzger 1977, 65; des Courtils 2003a, 93). In the eastern part of the central nave, the floor mosaic was destroyed and burials were practiced after the church got out of use. The slabs were cut to be used as the grave covers. A total of 25 graves that can be dated to the second half of the 7th century AD were found in the structure (des Courtils and Laroche 1998, 469; Buchet and Manière-Lévêque 2006a; 109).

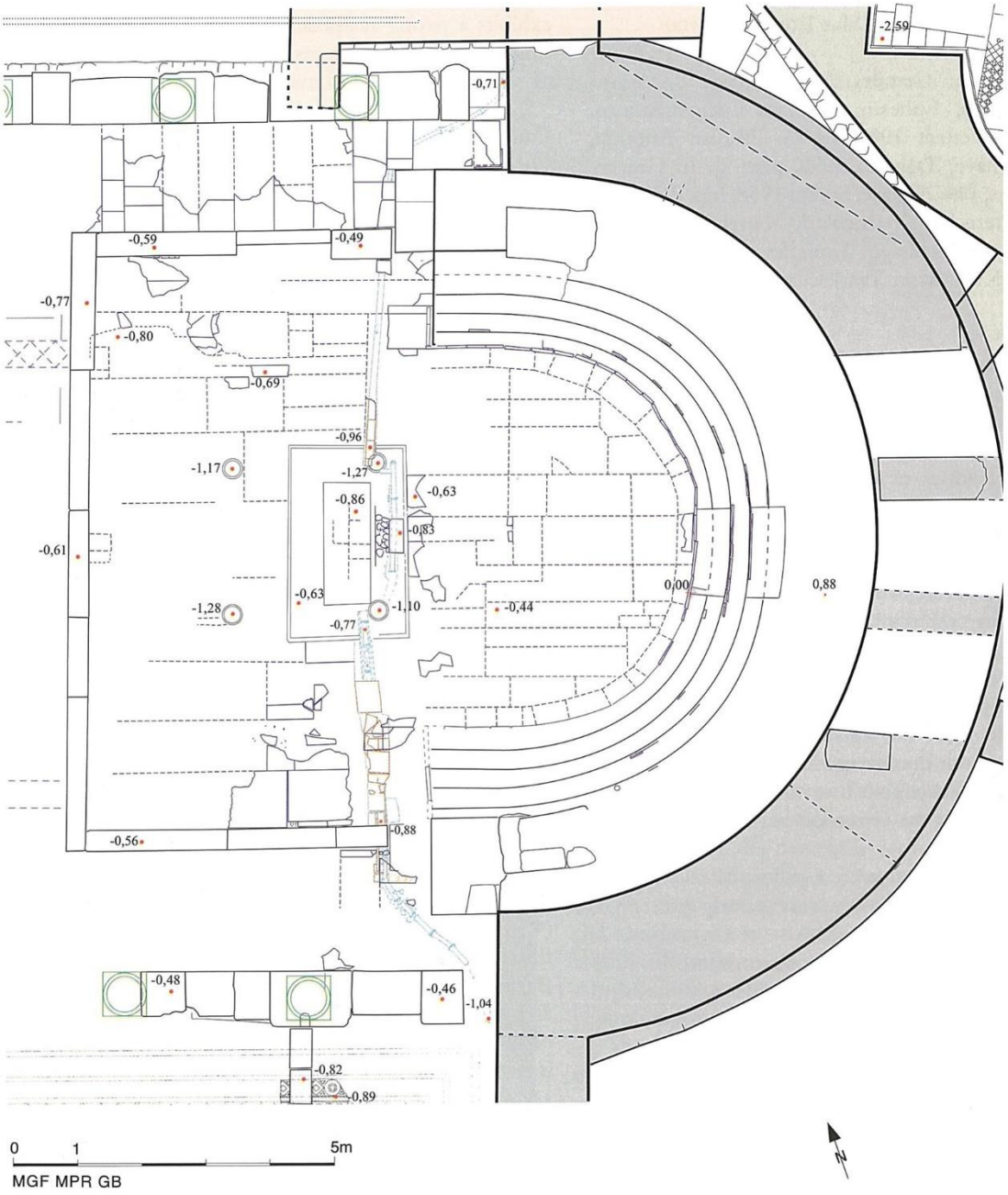


Figure 4.71: Waterline Arrangement in the bema (Raynaud 2009, 106, fig.118).

Decorative Features:

Architectural Sculpture: Two types of spolia were used in the architecture of the building. Some materials were used only as building blocks inside the walls without any external decorative features, especially the broken pieces of some Classical tombs. On the other

hand, some elaborate pieces dating to the Roman period were used as parts of the church decoration, especially the doors opening to the central courtyard from the atrium's porticos and the portals opening from the narthex to the naos. Although their original location is unknown, the high-quality craftsmanship shows that they were obviously taken from a richly decorated, large-scale structure.

The architectural sculpture pieces dating to the Early Byzantine period consist of a small number of Prokonessos marble and many local limestones[30]. The style and the motifs are in close parallel with those of the St. Nikolaos Church in Myra (Metzger 1973, 121). Some architectural sculptures found during the excavations were published by Sodini in various articles (Sodini 1976; Sodini 1998a; Sodini 2010; Sodini 2012).

Floor Decoration: A large part of the church floor is covered with an *opus tessellatum* mosaic. During the first building phase, three different workshops were operating simultaneously. The three porticos of the atrium, the north and south square rooms of the narthex, and the side aisles of the church were covered with this type of mosaic, while the middle rectangular room of the narthex and the central nave of the naos are tiled with *opus sectile*. In the 6th century AD, the church was damaged by an earthquake and during the following repair activity, the *opus sectile* floor of the central nave was removed and replaced with *opus tessellatum* since this type of mosaic is more resistant to earthquakes. Thus, the only remaining geometric *opus sectile* floor is in the narthex. It is understood that the repair works were undertaken by two different workshops. The style of these workshops shows similarity with examples from Gemiler Ada and Patara (Raynaud 2009, 132). The *opus sectile* and geometric borders made of small pieces show exquisite craftmanship and are seen in important buildings of the period (Raynaud 2009, 131). The

[30] Due to the difficulty of importing and the distance to the resources, the use of high-quality marble material is generally rare on the Lycian Coast and limited to very elaborate structures. The same situation can be observed in Xanthos too (Sodini 1998a, 41).

mosaics of the church consist of large geometric carpet-style panels with some vegetal motifs on the borders. The pictorial motives are very scarce. There is one panel representing the fountain of life with two deer standing on either side of a crater flanked by birds and one panel of a pomegranate tree. The Xanthos mosaics represent the art style of their period and have high decorative and technical qualities, which indicates experienced workshops. The Xanthos mosaics reflect the cultural exchange as a good example since the Lycian Coast is located between Constantinople, the Near East and Egypt and received influences from both sides of the empire (Raynaud 2009, 139). They also have some interesting artistic features. In some panels, glass tesserae were used which is not typical for the floor mosaic due to the fragile nature of the material. Some unique pattern transitions and the presence of a particular small motif –interpreted as the artist's signature– indicate that the workshops working in the church had their own characteristics and individuality.

Wall Painting: Some fragmental frescoes were found in certain places within the church, especially in the northern portico of the atrium and the narthex of the new chapel that was installed within the baptistery during the Middle Byzantine period. Most of the figurative paintings belong to this late period, while very limited fragments can be dated to the first construction phase. For example, under the medieval fresco in the northwest corner of the atrium, green grapes are seen on a red background; these can be dated to an early period (Raynaud 2009, 37).

Construction Techniques:

Since the East Basilica has both Late Antique and Middle Byzantine construction phases, it is possible to see two different masonry techniques of each period, which were explained in the introduction of this chapter.

Research/Fieldwork History and Publications:

On the city plan drawn by Hawkins in 1843-44, the church was called “Christian Basilica” and only the atrium and the apse are visible, though without much detail. However, this plan is important since it show some spaces adjacent to the north and south of the church that do not exist today, and the foundations of the walls cannot be seen because these areas were not excavated. As far as known from Fellow's diaries, the team did not conduct any excavation in the building. The church was systematically excavated for the first time between 1970 and 1977 under the direction of Sodini. After 1984, additional soundings and restoration works were conducted, and the mosaics were documented until 2008 and finally published in 2009 by Raynaud. Excavation of the building was completed to a great extent and the main elements of the church were completely uncovered, except for the northern and southern annexes. After the excavation was handed over to Akdeniz University, the mosaics were uncovered for control in 2011 and it was observed that some erroneous restoration practices had been applied. Restorations made with cement, which is harmful to the mosaics, were corrected immediately. In addition, protective capping work was carried out on the surrounding walls of the building (Varkıvanç 2012, 56). After this date, no further fieldwork has been conducted.

The first excavation works in the church between 1970 and 1977 and the additional studies and restorations between 1984 and 2008 were published in the annual excavation reports (Metzger 1970; Metzger 1973; Metzger 1974; Metzger 1977; Metzger 1980a; Metzger 1980b; Metzger 1981; le Roy 1981; le Roy 1988; le Roy 1989; le Roy 1990; le Roy 1995; des Courtils et al. 1997; des Courtils and Laroche 1998; des Courtils and Laroche 1999a; des Courtils and Laroche 1999b; des Courtils and Laroche 2000; des Courtils 2001; des Courtils and Laroche 2002; des Courtils 2003b; Varkıvanç 2012). The church is also mentioned in general publications about the city (des Courtils and Cavalier

2001; des Courtils 2002b; des Courtils 2003a). A summary description of the church concerning both its architectural features and some of the finds was published by Sodini (Sodini 1998c, 76-79). The frescoes of the church and the baptistery (Jolivet-Lévy 1981), the *opus sectile* (Froidevaux and Raynaud 2005), and *opus tessellatum* floors (Raynaud 1996; Raynaud 1998; Blanc and Krougly 1998; Blanc and Krougly 2003) have been the subject of articles and a comprehensive mosaic corpus (Raynaud 2009). Some architectural sculpture, ceramics, and other small finds found during the excavations were also published (Sodini 1980; Armstrong 1998; Sodini 1998a; Armstrong 2005; Sodini 2010; Sodini 2012; Sodini 2016; Armstrong 2020). An anthropological study on the tombs excavated in the church has also been published (Buchet and Manière-Lévêque 2006a). A final publication by Sodini has been announced for a long time, however, it has not yet been published at the time of writing this dissertation.

4.4 Tetraconch Baptistery of the East Basilica / Medieval Church



Figure 4.72: Location and general plan of the Tetraconch Baptistery / Medieval Church (edited from Figure 1.3).

Coordinates: 36.356050 N, 29.322011 E
Alt: +49 m.

Location (Figure 4.72):

Adjacent to the northeast corner of the East Basilica.

Short Description:

The structure was built as the basilica's baptistery with a tetraconch plan. After the basilica got out of use, the building was re-purposed as a church in the Middle Byzantine period with various alterations.

Current Status:

The structure stands in a quite good condition with high walls, and some of the *opus sectile* mosaic decoration on the floor has survived. The location of the church is on one

of the main visiting routes of the site. The entrance is provided through the East Basilica, but the gate of this building is currently shut with an iron fence and visitors are not allowed to walk inside.

Construction Phases and Chronology:

Two main construction phases can be observed: the first construction phase as a baptistery belonging to the basilica and the Middle Byzantine conversion into a church (Figure 4.73).

As the result of excavations, previous researchers stated that the structure was not built at the same time as the basilica which is dated to the 5th century AD. During the repair of the basilica after a major earthquake –probably in AD 529 - 530–, the baptistery was built in the middle of the 6th century AD, adjacent to the north side of the apse and located at a slightly lower level (Raynaud 2009).

Probably at the beginning of the 7th century AD, the basilica was abandoned and used as a cemetery area (Sodini 2010, 330). After a long abandonment period, the baptistery was converted into a church with some additional constructions in the first half of the 11th century (Jolivet-Levy 1981, 80).

In the 13th century, the structure was completely abandoned after a major fire (Raynaud 2009, 109).

Architectural Description:

The structure measures 14.80 m x 18 m, has an internal tetraconch plan, and from the outside it appears as a square shape with cut corners. Conches are aligned to the corners of the square, and a square center space exists in the middle of the conches. The dome of the structure, which was once decorated with mosaics, is completely destroyed. The

original entrances of the baptistery were once provided from the north and south sides. After the medieval alterations, the main entrance to the structure shifted to the west side, where once the northeast corner of the church was situated. In the Middle Byzantine period, the corner of the already destroyed basilica was completely demolished, a narthex was built here, and a new entrance door was opened.

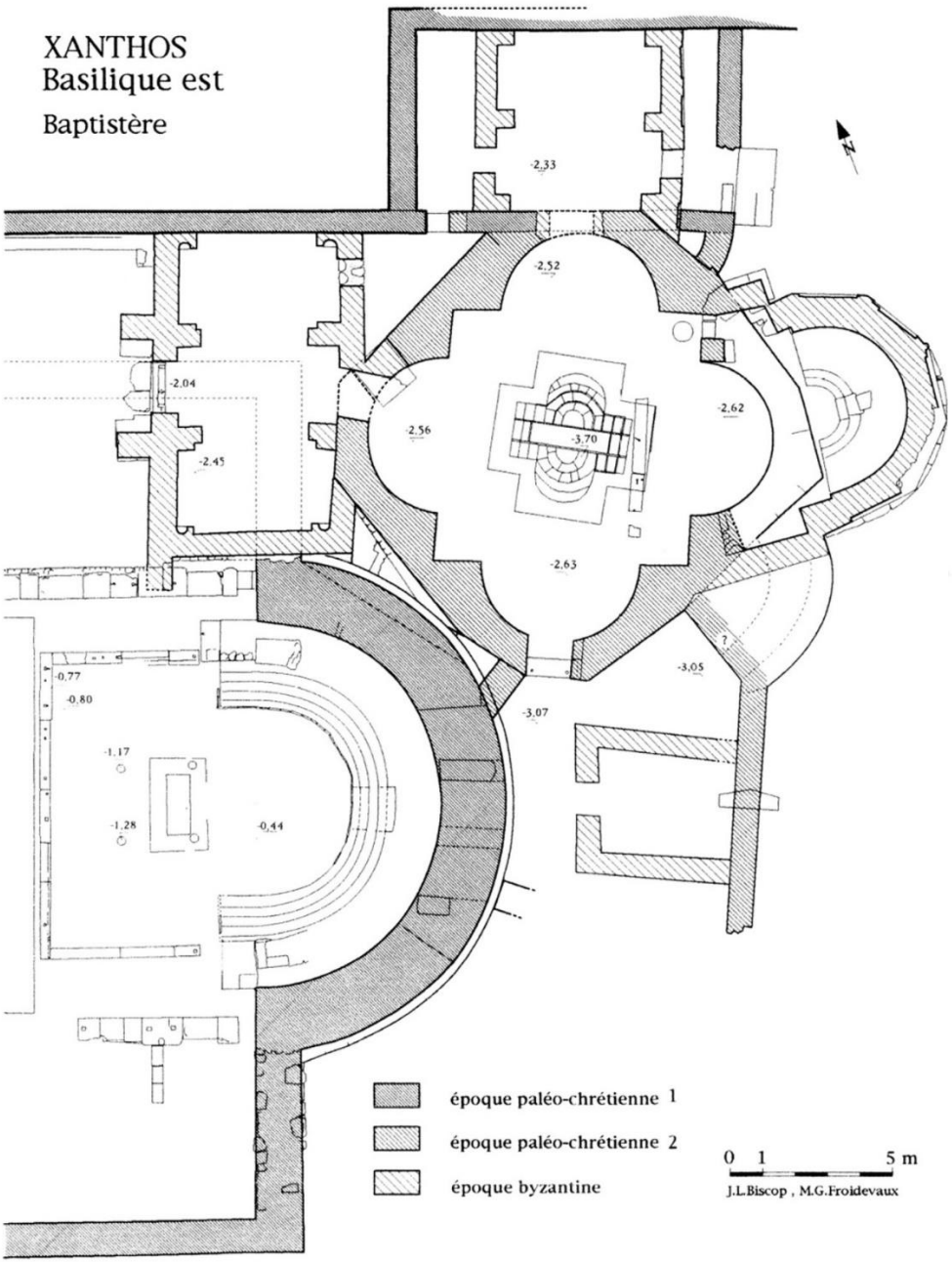


Figure 4.73: General plan of the Baptistery/Medieval Church (des Courtils 2001, 238, fig.24).

Entrance Corridor and Antechamber: Both the baptistery and the East Basilica went through many changes when the baptistery was converted into a church in the Middle Byzantine period. The north portico of the atrium of the East Basilica and the western part of the north aisle of the naos were arranged as a corridor leading from the entrance to the new church. Two new adjoining rooms were built on the portico, and wide arched openings leading once to the north side of the basilica were walled up. Later, the eastern part of the north aisle was demolished and dug down for approximately 1.5 m in order to reach to the same level as the baptistery, and some stairs leading down to this lower level from the corridor were added. The function of the 8.8 m x 11 m antechamber created in this area is not known exactly. The corridor reaches there via a door on the south side of the room, while another door on the north side opens to a different space. Although its function is not fully understood because the excavations were not completed, it is estimated that this room was a *latrina* or reserved for water ablutions (Raynaud 2009, 108).

Narthex: A new narthex with 4.75 m x 9.55 m interior dimensions was built in the Middle Byzantine period between the antechamber and the church, where the destroyed north aisle of the early basilica was dug down. Elongated and narrow long niches were opened at the four corners, and frescoes of some saints were painted on the concave surfaces inside them as well as on the other walls of the narthex. Today, the dismantled frescoes are kept in the excavation depot. In the east, there is a 1.45 m wide door opening in the middle leading to the tetraconch church, and a second door to a narrow side space just to the north of it. This narrow space is a triangular room measuring 3.80 m x 4.00 m x 5.50 m, consisting of the space formed between the conches of the building, and opens to a room in the north of the church with a second door in the north.

Tetraconch Naos: The original dimensions of the building were 13 m x 13 m from the north-south and east-west conches. However, while the baptistery was converted into a church, the eastern conch was demolished and rebuilt 4 m further to the east in order to create an apse with a diameter of 5.45 m. In the meantime, the direction of the apse has also slightly changed to point exactly east, while the eastern conch was originally facing east-southeast. In the center of the baptistery, there was a baptismal pool with an oval plan in the early period, which could be descended with steps and was covered with marble revetments. An area in the form of an east-west-oriented bridge was formed in the middle of the pool, so that during baptism, the priest could stand in the middle of the pool without getting wet (Figure 4.74). When the building was converted into a church, the pool was completely filled and the floor was covered with *opus sectile* mosaics, and also a *templon* was built in front of the apse (Figure 4.75) (Sodini 1980).

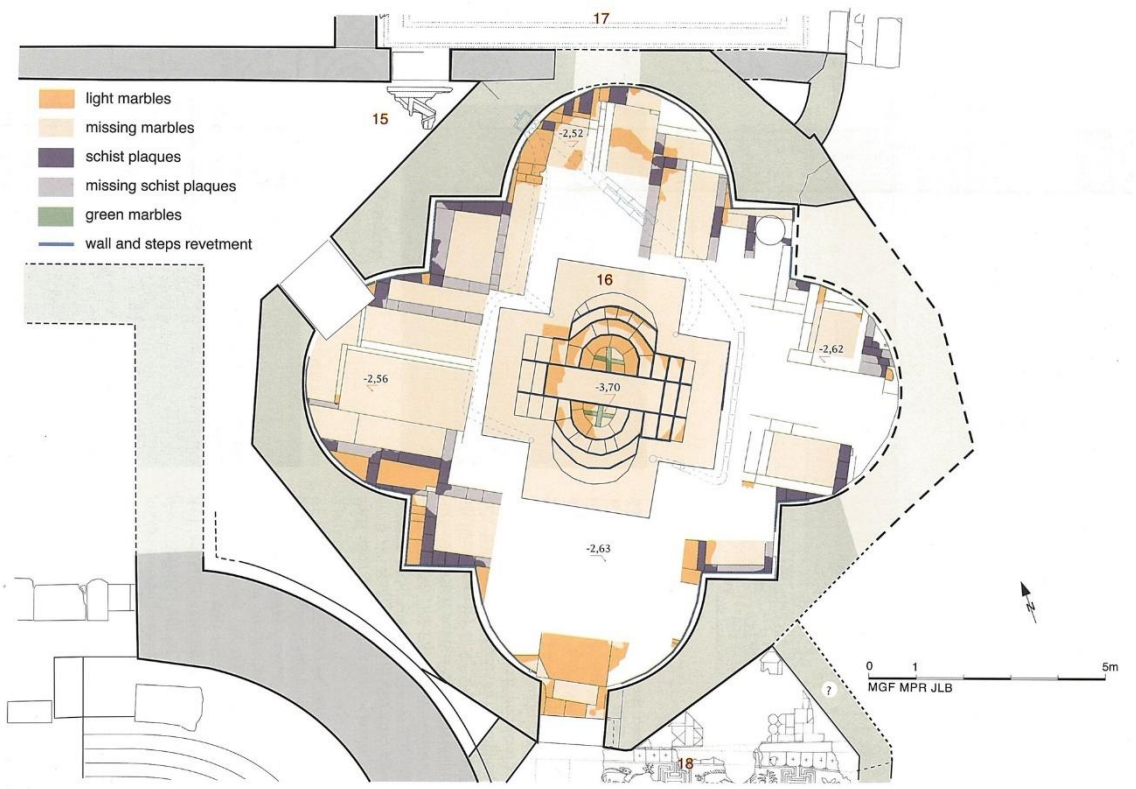


Figure 4.74: Plan of the Baptistery phase (Raynaud 2009, 110).

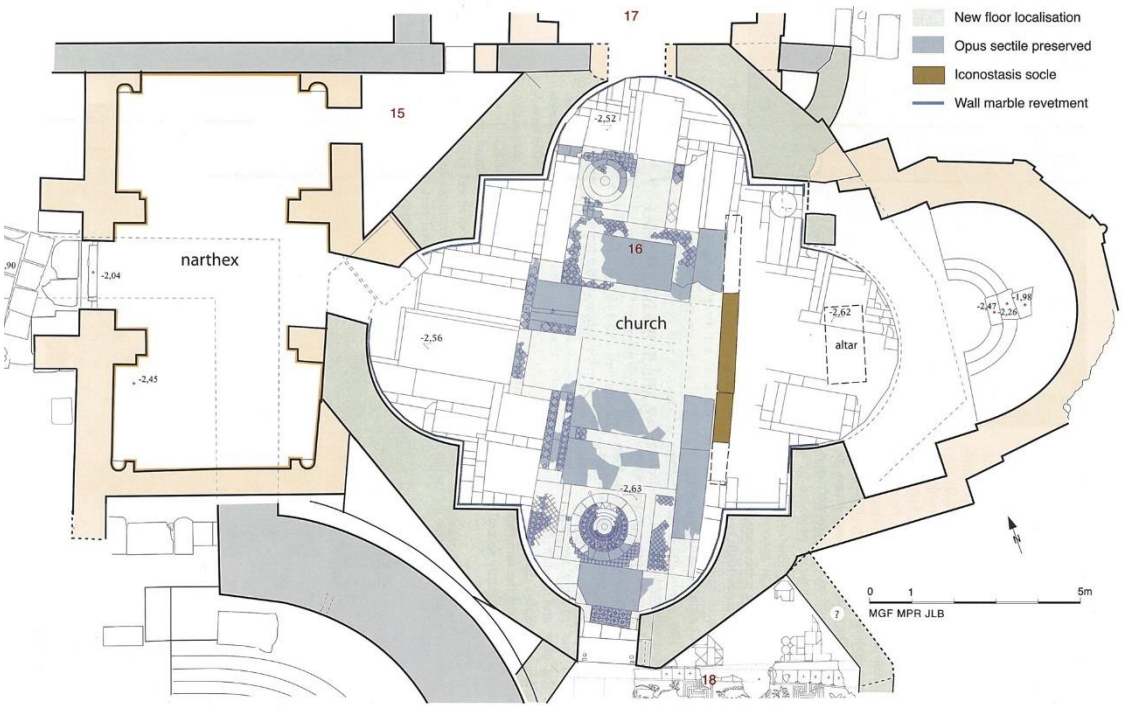


Figure 4.75: Plan of the Medieval Church phase (Raynaud 2009, 122).

Annex Rooms (Figure 4.76): The Early Byzantine period space with unknown function adjacent to the north of the building, measuring 5.70 m x 9.30 m, was narrowed by the walls built inside when the baptistery was converted into a church, and turned into a nearly square space of 5.70 m x 5 m with unknown function. The south-facing door of the room leads directly to the north conch of the church which was the main route of access. There is also a door leading outside in eastern direction.

To the south of the church was a space whose original dimensions could not be measured; this was originally built in the Early Byzantine period. Inside this place, a room measuring 3.00 m x 4.30 m was built in the Middle Byzantine period. Further south of this place, the excavations did not continue.

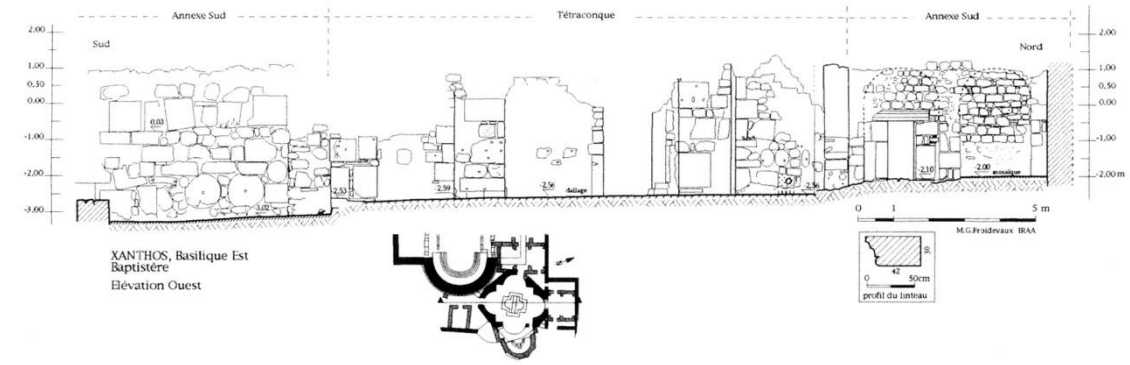


Figure 4.76: Section showing the naos and annexes of the Medieval Church (des Courtils 2001, 240, fig.27).

Decorative Features:

Architectural Sculpture: The most important architectural sculpture found in the excavations is a *templon* architrave with a *deesis* composition consisting of portraits of Jesus, the Virgin Mary, and John the Baptist in medallions. In addition, parapet slabs and other pieces belonging to the *templon* were found. All material was studied in detail and published in an article by Sodini with a restitution drawing of the *templon* (Figure 4.77).

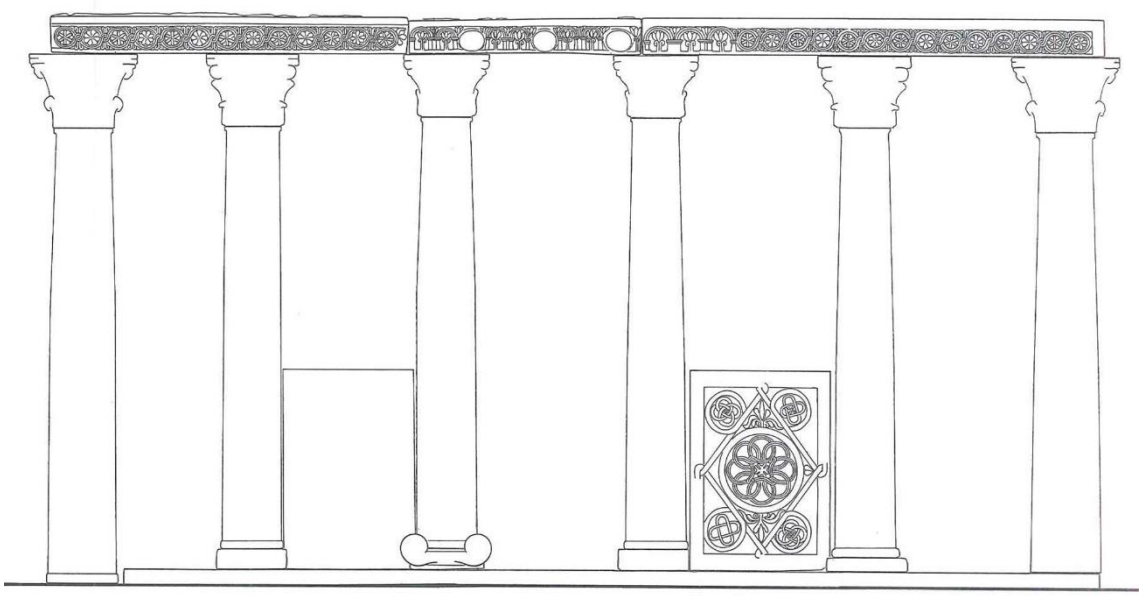


Figure 4.77: Templon restitution of the Medieval Church (Sodini 1980, 139, fig.3).

During the construction activities in the Middle Byzantine period, some Early Byzantine architectural materials were used in the construction as spolia. For example, the columns of the atrium's portico were used in the walls of the newly built spaces in the northern portico. During the excavations, some fragments belonging to three different *ambones* were found (Raynaud 2009, 87), but the original location of the *ambo* could not be determined.

Floor Decoration: During the Middle Byzantine period, the baptismal pool was filled, and a new *opus sectile* mosaic floor was laid out in it (Figure 2). Although *opus tessellatum* mosaic fragments were found on the floors of the other places mentioned above, these belong to the earlier phases of the building (for a detailed review of these, see Raynaud 2009, page 111 and further).

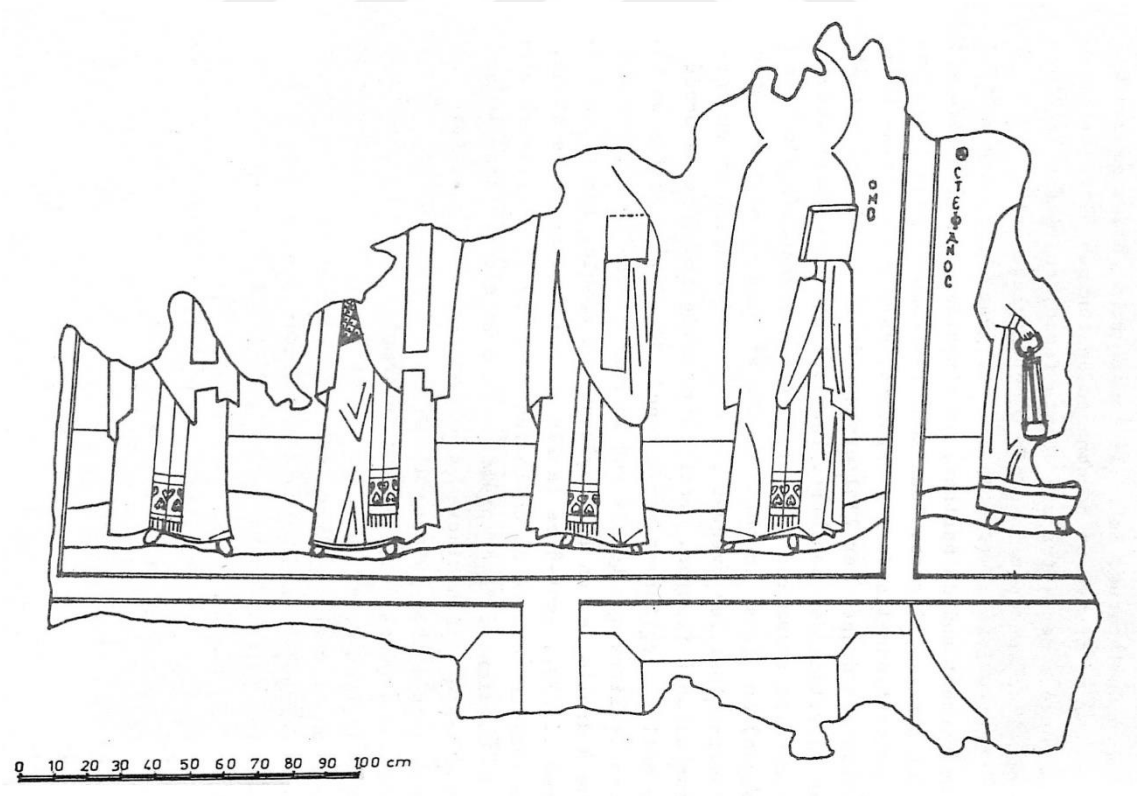


Figure 4.78: Drawing of the paintings from the narthex of the Medieval Church (Jolivet-Levy 1981, 76).

Wall Painting: The medieval frescoes in the narthex of the church constitute the only examples of religious painting found in Xanthos (Figure 4.78). The fragmental frescoes were removed from the wall at the end of the 1970s and are kept in the excavation depot today. These 11th-century frescoes did not have a local stylistic and reflect the aesthetics of the capital of the period (Jolivet-Levy 1981, 80). It was not possible to precisely identify all figures since the upper levels of the panels were very little preserved. From a total of 24 figures, only two can be surely named: St. Stephanos and Abibus of Edessa. The remaining figures can be identified as bishops, deacons, soldier saints, martyrs, holy women, and archangels based on their dresses since the below parts of the frescoes are better preserved.

Vault Mosaics: The walls of the church were covered with marble revetments up to the vault level, and the dome was decorated with *opus tessellatum* mosaics. A large number of mosaic pieces were found during the excavations in the building, and it was possible to understand the mosaic program, although the remains are very fragmentary. The pieces constituting the letters among these fragments indicate that there was a wide inscription belt in the composition with a height of 0.20 m, as well as geometric and floral motifs and drapery fragments indicating figurative mosaics. In addition to a wide range of colors, a large number of glass tesserae were also used (des Courtils and Laroche 2000, 366).

Construction Techniques:

While the building was converted into a church in the Middle Byzantine period, many new walls were added to create new spaces or existing spaces were divided into smaller rooms. The masonry used in these walls can be compared very easily with the Early Byzantine walls since they are located side by side. The most important feature of the walls added during the Middle Byzantine period was the use of a large number of broken

bricks and smaller-sized rubble (Figure 4.4). In some places, the walls were formed by placing column shafts side by side.

Finds:

Sodini states that a plate found during the excavations and dated to the 12th century AD is of Fustat [old Cairo] origin, showing that Xanthos was still in trade relations with Egypt at this time (Sodini 1998c, 79).

Research/Fieldwork History and Publications:

The building was not shown in any of the early plans of the city. The church was excavated along with the East Basilica between 1970 and 1977 under the direction of Sodini. The first article about the structure focused on the architectural sculpture (Sodini 1980), which was followed by articles about the frescoes (Jolivet-Lévy 1981) and the ceramic finds (Armstrong 2005). Finally, in 2009, the mosaics of the East Basilica and the baptistery were published by Raynaud, who studied both the first and second construction and decoration phases in much detail (Raynaud 2009).

4.5 Episcopal Complex (?) to the North of the East Basilica



Figure 4.79: Location and general plan of the Episcopal Complex (edited from Figure 1.3).

Coordinates: 36.356546 N, 29.321706 E
Alt: +57 m.

Location (Figure 4.79):

Located to the north of the East Basilica, on the east side of the square where the *Decumanus* and the *Cardo* intersect.

Description:

Although the function of the buildings in this area is unclear, the close location of the city's main church and the architectural plan of the buildings suggest the possibility of an episcopal complex in the area.

Current Status:

Some buildings stand with high walls, while some have collapsed down to the foundation level. Since the façade of one of the buildings faces the intersection of the main Roman streets of the city, the complex is located at a very central point on the visit route.

Construction Phases and Chronology:

Three different building periods can be observed in this area. The first group of walls is thick –0.8 m or thicker– and built with rubble and spolia blocks with a small number of brick fragments. These walls can be dated to the Early Byzantine period. To the east of the area, a tower was added in the Middle Byzantine period. The latest building in the area should be evaluated separately from the others. For more information about this structure, see Section 4.26 Building with Chimneys.

Architectural Description:

Although the East Basilica has been excavated to a great extent, no research has been carried out in the parts connected to the structure from the north. For example, although a room that might be a *latrina* was unearthed to the north of the church, the excavations were not continued (Raynaud 2009, 108). Certain is that there are more structures connected to the north of the church that may have constituted a complex. Since the East Basilica is known as the city's cathedral and Xanthos was a bishopric center, it would be accurate to expect an episcopal palace next to the church.

The four openings on the north wall of the church's atrium once provided passages to the north, which were closed during the arrangement of the baptistery to be reused as a chapel at the beginning of the 11th century. A wall starting from the north of these openings continues 22 m to the north and is connected with the structures explained below.

The 7 m elevation difference in the area creates three levels: buildings on the upper level, the terrace in between, and the church on the lower level. The buildings at the upper level can be listed as follows: at least six rooms in a row (Figure 4.80, no: 3); a rectangular building with a high façade facing the square where the *Decumanus* and the *Cardo* intersect (Figure 4.80, no: 6); two rectangular structures in the middle (Figure 4.80, no: 7); and the Building with Chimneys as a late addition (Figure 4.80, no: 8). A long and solid retaining wall (Figure 4.80, no: 4) with a Middle Byzantine tower at the end (Figure 4.80, no: 5) separates the two levels. It is unknown whether there is any structure at the terrace level (Figure 4.80, no: 2) since no previous fieldwork has been conducted here. Since the terrain is completely covered with dense vegetation, there are no visible remains.

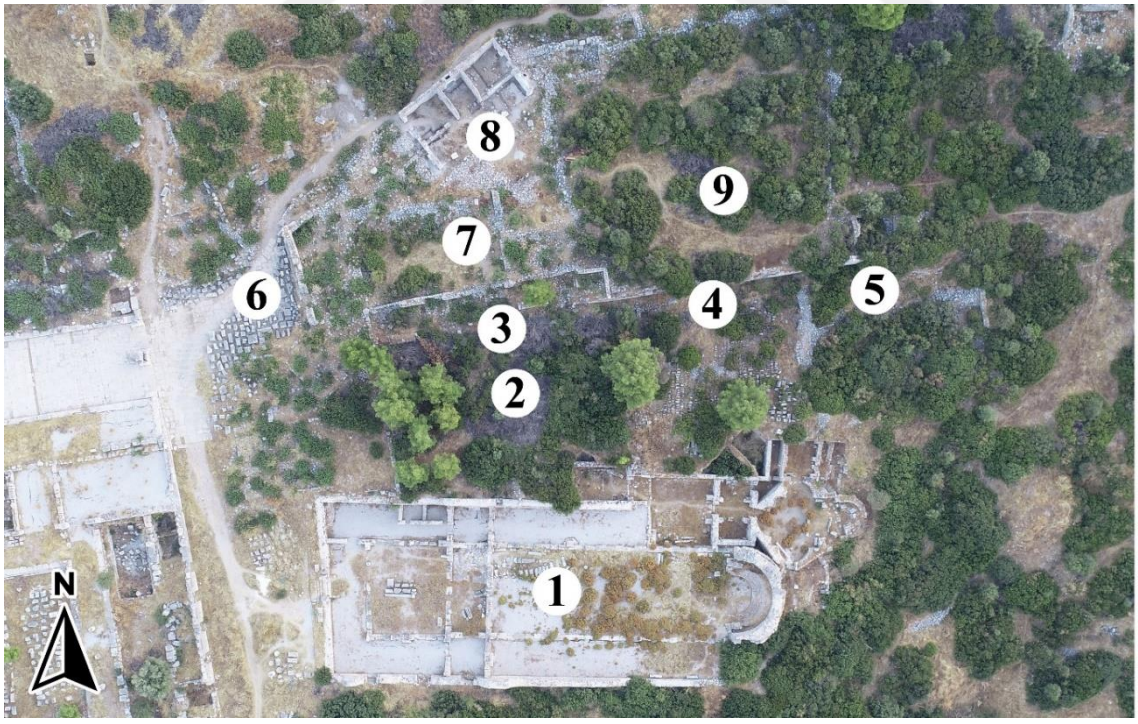


Figure 4.80: Aerial view of the area north of the East Basilica: 1- East Basilica; 2-Terrace between the church and the upper level; 3- Rooms in a row; 4- Retaining wall; 5- Middle Byzantine tower; 6- Building with a high façade facing the square; 7- Rectangular structures; 8- Building with Chimneys; 9- Terrace above the retaining wall (Xanthos Excavation Archive, 2019).

Rooms in a row and retaining wall: Six rooms have been lined up in an east-west direction (Figure 4.80, no: 3), of which the walls looking toward the slope are destroyed. They measure, respectively: 4.90 m x 6.15 m; 4.90 m x 4.75 m; 4.90 m x 5.45 m; 4.90 m x 2.77 m; 3.05 m x 3.35 m and 3.25 m x 3.55 m. On the city plan drawn in 1843-44, these rooms are clearly recognizable (Figure 4.81).

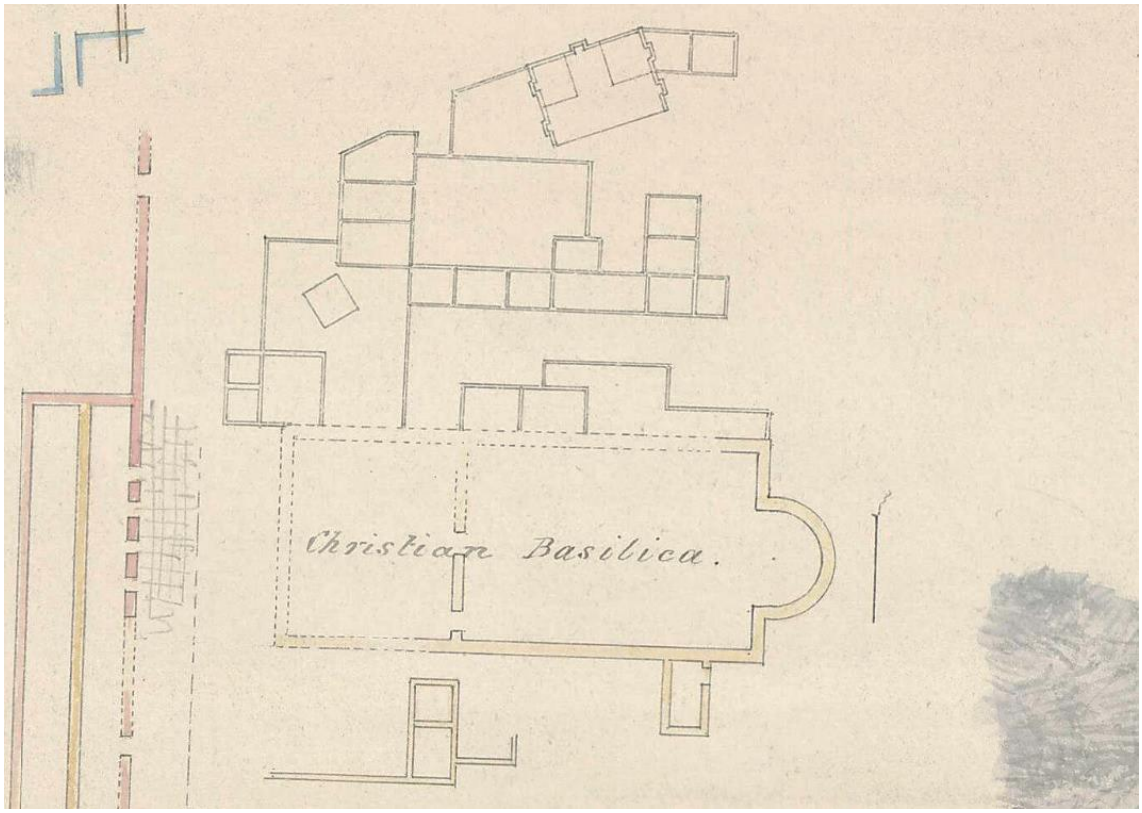


Figure 4.81: Plan of the area on the city plan by Hawkins (British Museum, no. 2012,5034.29 [close-up]).

The annex spaces adjacent to the south of the Patara City Basilica can be given as a similar example from the nearby region. This group of buildings consists of rooms lined up in a single row, just as seen here, and it has been suggested that these places may have been a part of an episcopal complex (Ceylan and Erdoğan 2016, 178-179). Another

example showing a similar layout to Xanthos is the episcopal palace of Miletos, having a courtyard in the north of the complex with adjacent rooms in a row, as well as various other spaces directly attached to the north of the basilica (Ceylan 2007, 177, fig.2). In Xanthos, the fact that these buildings are not adjacent to the church and the level difference in-between makes it difficult to propose such an idea. However, it should be underlined that the area between these places and the church has not been investigated yet. In Xanthos, it may be possible to have a complex that spread over a large area where all these spaces were somehow connected with the church.



Figure 4.82: Early Byzantine retaining wall on the left and the Middle Byzantine tower on the right (2017).

The wall to the south of these rooms continues as a retaining wall towards the east for 35 m. Although the masonry consists of polygonal cut blocks, the placement of these blocks is not regular. Possibly, a collapsed terracing wall belonging to earlier periods –most

likely Classical– was rebuilt with the same materials in the Early Byzantine period (Figure 4.82, left side). The wall continues to the east and ends with a tower of which masonry exhibits a Middle Byzantine character (Figure 4.82, right side). The 7.20 m x 7.20 m tower has been aligned approximately with the baptistery, which was converted into a church also in the Middle Byzantine period. No structure has been identified so far on the upper terrace retained by this wall (Figure 4.80, no: 9).



Figure 4.83: Building with a high façade on the left and East Basilica on the right –from the N– (2017).

Building with a high façade facing the square: The structure shows an irregular rectangular plan. The front of the building facing the west is 13.45 m, and the wall facing the east is 16.30 m. The width is 7.25 m. The west wall was built in a fortified manner (Figure 4.83) using large spolia blocks and is 2.00 m thick, while the other walls are 0.8

m. Today, the building, which is perceived as a single large room because of the collapsed inner walls, was shown as divided into three rooms on the plan drawn in 1843-44 (Figure 4.81). Again on the same plan, although some other walls were drawn extending towards the church's atrium in the south of this building, they are hardly visible today due to the dense vegetation and rubble deposit.

Small and large rectangular buildings: In the middle of the area, a very large rectangular room measuring 13.25 m x 22.00 m and a second room measuring 7.00 m x 8.80 m adjacent to its east was identified. The wall thicknesses vary between 0.60 m and 0.90 m. Due to the earth deposit, the floors of the structures are not visible, and it is unknown whether they are divided into smaller rooms (Figure 4.84). On the city plan drawn in 1843-44, it is seen that the places in this section were drawn differently than visible today (Figure 4.81).



Figure 4.84: Building with a high façade on the right and rectangular buildings on the left –from the N– (2017).

Construction Techniques:

The wall construction techniques of the buildings in this area are similar to those of the East Basilica, using a large number of spolia material, large-sized rubble and a small number of brick fragments. This masonry is similar to that of Early Byzantine walls at Xanthos. The only structure showing Middle Byzantine masonry is the tower to the east of the retaining wall. It was built with smaller-sized rubble and a large number of broken brick pieces, which coincides with the medieval wall construction technique seen in the subsequent additions in the East Basilica dated to the 11th century. Additionally, the Building with Chimneys situated in close proximity probably belongs to an even later date.

Research/Fieldwork History and Publications:

Previous researchers also suggested that the buildings on the north side of the East Basilica could be identified as an episcopal complex (Raynaud 2009, 31; Sodini 2010, 319). On the other hand, the excavations could not be extended to this area due to budget problems (Sodini 2011). Although studies were carried out in the Building with Chimneys in 2019, this late-period structure is not directly related to the Early Byzantine episcopal complex.

4.6 West Basilica

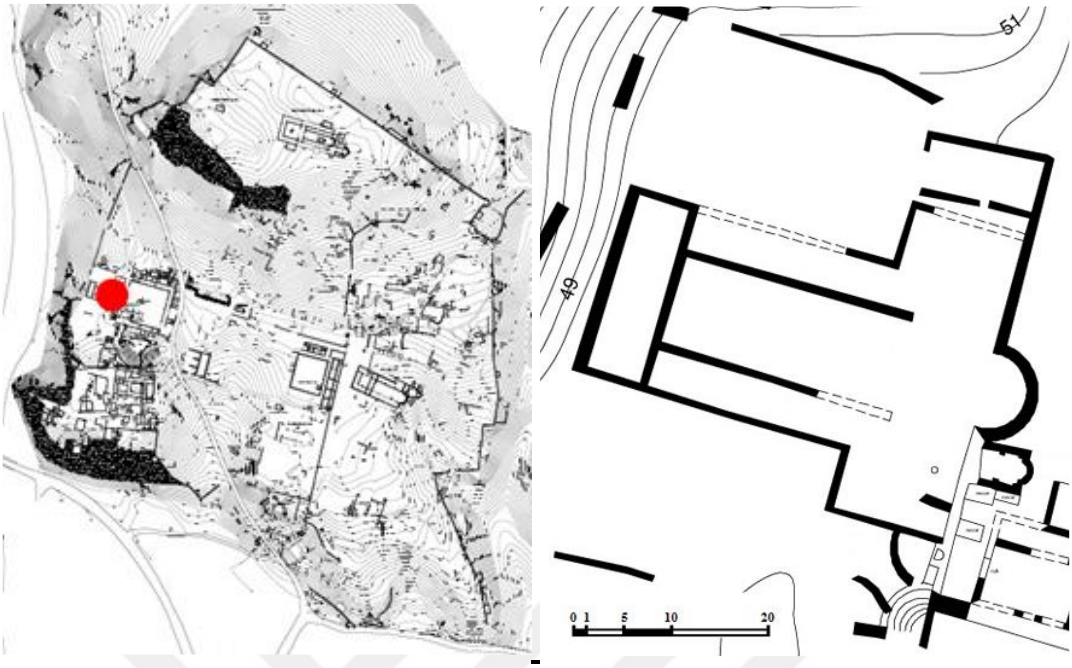


Figure 4.85: Location and general plan of the West Basilica (edited from Figure 1.3).

Coordinates: 36.357073 N, 29.317937 E
Alt: +52 m.

Location (Figure 4.85):

Located adjacent to the west portico of the West Agora.

Description:

The West Basilica is one of the four large-sized basilicas dating to the Early Byzantine period in Xanthos along with the East Basilica, the Triconch Basilica and the Upper Acropolis Basilica. The church is a three-aisled transept basilica with a narthex, and without an atrium (Figure 4.86). The apse was formed by carving the western wall of the agora; in other words, the apse pierced within the agora's border wall. Since it was built adjacent to this agora, one of the two most important squares of the city, it can be thought that it might have had an important place among the churches of Early Byzantine Xanthos.

Current Status:

The church has collapsed up to the ground level, except for some low walls sufficient to understand the plan. The lack of building materials in the western parts and the flatness of the surface show the agricultural activity in this area in the years before the excavation started[31]. The apse is preserved slightly higher. Reused material dating to the Roman period can be seen in the *bema* (Cavalier 2005, 33).

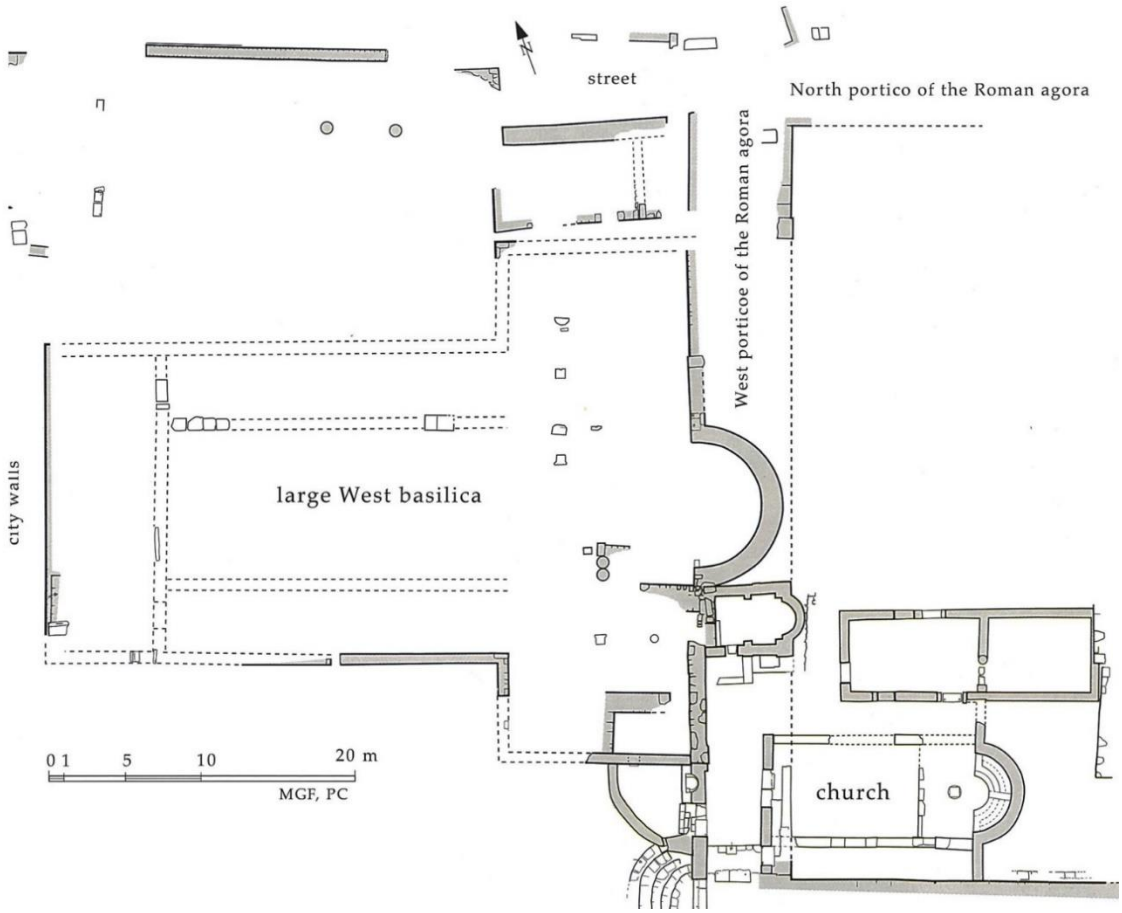


Figure 4.86: General plan of the Wst Basilica (Manière-Lévêque 2012, 87, fig.114).

[31] Fellows stated that agricultural activities were intense in the period of his visits not only for this building but also at every point in Xanthos: "... they cultivate every bare spot amidst the ruins, and the whole surrounding district is under plough" (Fellows 1841, 174).

Construction Phases and Chronology:

Some large-sized Corinthian capitals dated to the Severian period [AD 193 - 235], which were reused in the *bema* and cannot have belonged to the agora, show that there was a building here before the church that could have been a civil basilica (des Courtils 2003a, 55).

There is no evidence that the building had a second phase, probably because the West Agora Church nearby was used until the 7th century AD. In addition, the West Agora Chapel was built next to the church in a later period after both churches got out of use. A door in the southern transept arm was blocked by the construction of a fountain adjacent to the church (Manière-Lévêque 2012, 98). For detailed information about the fountain, see Section 4.33 West Agora.



Figure 4.87: Aerial view of the West Basilica (Xanthos Excavation Archive, 2013).

Architectural Description:

Surrounding Walls and Annex: The church is surrounded by two east-west-oriented walls at a distance of 20 m both on the north and south sides of the building, extending between the agora and the city walls. The north wall is 23-meter-long with a preserved height of 3 m. On the north of this wall there is a street that connects the West Agora to a postern in the city walls. The wall is not contemporary with the church since its masonry is similar to that of Middle Byzantine walls in Xanthos.

Another but almost completely destroyed wall runs on the south side of the church, connecting to the agora with a circular staircase. The path on the north of this wall should have led up to the entrance door of the church in the south wall of the narthex.

In the north of the north transept arm, there is an additional structure of unknown function, consisting of two interconnected spaces, measuring 5.60 m x 12.25 m. There is a possibility that the building may have been a baptistery, as it can be expected to have existed next to an early period basilica of this size as can also be seen in the East Basilica of Xanthos.

Narthex: Since the church is adjacent to the city walls in the west, it has no atrium, and entrances are provided through the doors in the north and south walls of the narthex. The same feature is also seen in the West Agora Church because of space restrictions. On the other hand, all other large-sized basilicas in Xanthos have atriums. In 2012 during the surface cleaning fieldwork, *in situ* pieces of marble revetments were found to the east of the narthex wall, and the threshold of the entrance gate from the narthex to the naos was also uncovered (Varkıvanç 2013, 68).

Naos: While the church was being built, the *krepidoma* of the agora's western portico was partially dismantled and those blocks were used to construct the stylobates that separate

the aisles (Dönmez 2018a, 221). There is no architectural material on the surface except for one impost capital with a cross, as probably the area was previously leveled for agricultural activities.

Apse: The apse of the church with a diameter of 7.9 m was formed by demolishing the west side of the agora wall in a semicircle shape (Figure 4.88). There is no high rubble deposit within the apse, showing the church has no *synthronon*.

Decorative Features:

Architectural Sculpture: Architectural materials are not preserved in the central and western parts of the building, and only some blocks in the transept and *bema* parts are visible. Some architectural sculpture including column capitals and architrave pieces are dated to the Severan period (des Courtils 2003a, 55). In addition, two *prohedriai* without decoration removed from the theater were also used as construction material (Dönmez 2022, 367, fig.37a-b). The only architectural sculpture that can be dated to the Byzantine period is one impost capital with a cross (Figure 4.89).

Mosaics: During the cleaning works carried out in 2012, a mosaic floor was found on the edges of the north and south aisles. However, a 2.00 m x 2.00 m test sounding made in the central nave did not yield *in situ* floor mosaic (Varkıvanç 2013, 68). As in other churches in Xanthos, the floor may have been excavated and used as a burial ground after the church collapsed. At the point where the narthex adjoins the western fortification wall, fragments of the floor mosaic are visible. The features and protection status of the mosaic cannot be understood without extensive excavation in the area.



Figure 4.88: Apse of the West Basilica –from the W– (2017).



Figure 4.89: Impost capital with a cross from the West Basilica (2017).

Construction Techniques:

Since the walls of the basilica were demolished up to the ground level, what can be said about wall construction techniques is limited except for the use of rubble and spolia.

Research/Fieldwork History and Publications:

No detailed excavation work has been carried out in the building until today. In 1998, the structure was revealed and briefly studied for the first time after a vegetation clearing in the area (des Courtils and Laroche 1999a, 373). Aydın and Yaman initiated some fieldwork in the 2012 excavation season, however, these studies did not continue. During that season, general cleaning works were carried out to reveal the stylobate blocks of the colonnades. Besides, the exterior walls of the church were unearthed in order to understand the plan. A trial sounding was carried out to search for the mosaics in the central nave but yielded no results (Varkıvanç 2013, 67-68).

Manière-Lévêque briefly mentioned this structure in her book, but there is no detailed architectural description except for a general plan of the area (Manière-Lévêque 2012, 87, Figure114).

Dönmez, a member of the Akdeniz University excavation team, briefly mentioned the structure in his master's thesis and in an article on the West Agora (Dönmez 2014, 35-36; Dönmez 2018b, 287-288).

4.7 West Agora Church



Figure 4.90: Location and general plan of the West Agora Church (edited from Figure 1.3).

Coordinates: 36.356874 N, 29.318114 E
Alt: +50 m.

Location (Figure 4.90):

Located at the southwest corner of the West Agora, adjacent to the southern portico and partly above the western portico.

Description:

The building is the fifth largest church in the city, with dimensions of 11.20 m x 20.80 m, after the four major basilicas of Xanthos [East Basilica, West Basilica, Triconch Basilica and the Upper Acropolis Basilica]. The church is a three-aisled basilica with a narthex, and without an atrium (Figure 4.91). It has a two-room annex building adjacent to the

north. After the church was destroyed, the area was used as a cemetery with more than 60 burials.

Current Status:

The structure was demolished up to the foundation level, and the highest walls are preserved at the level of the *synthronon* in the apse (Figure 4.92). It is located on one of the most visited and visible points of the city. The mosaics unearthed in the building during the excavations are currently kept covered with sand and pebble stones for protection purposes.

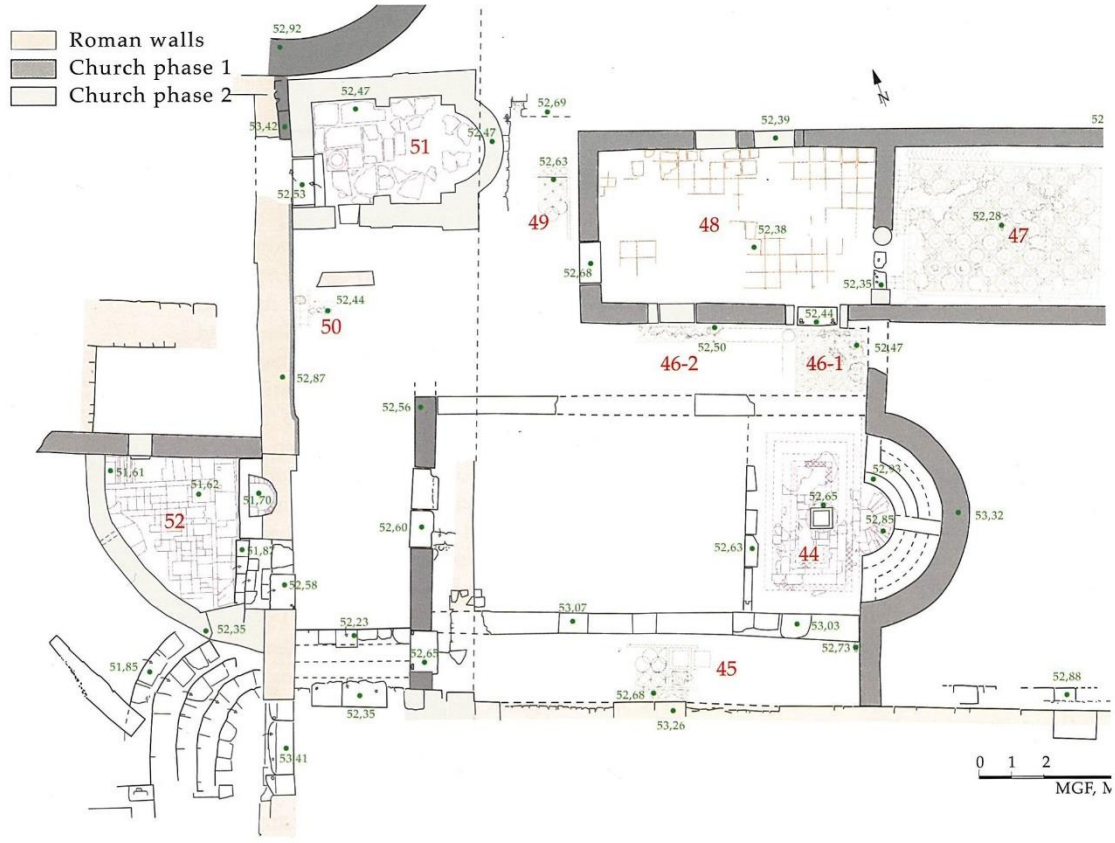


Figure 4.91: General plan of the West Agora Church (Manière-Lévêque 2012, 88, fig.115).

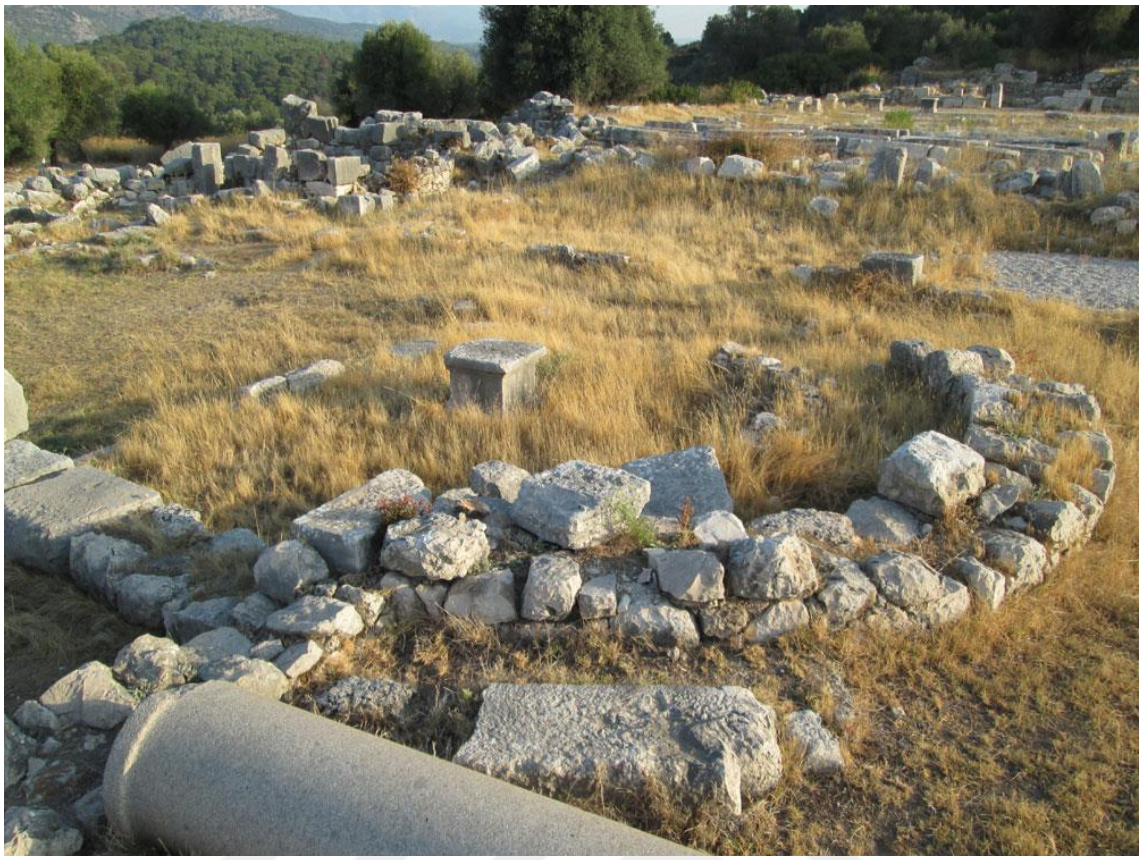


Figure 4.92: Apse of the West Agora Church –from the S– (2017).

Construction Phases and Chronology:

The excavations provided a chronology based on both architectural features and the grave finds. Accordingly, the church was built in the 5th century AD, repaired in the 6th century AD and destroyed in the first half of the 7th century AD (Manière-Lévêque 2012, 86, 89). The fact that the places where the walls collapsed, were flattened and graves were dug (Figure 4.93), shows that the area was used as a cemetery after the building was demolished (des Courtils 2003a, 55).

Architectural Description:

Narthex: Since the church was built at the southwest corner of the agora, the western outer wall of the narthex ends at the border of the western portico. Therefore, the building does

not have an atrium. On the other hand, there was a possibility to expand eastwards in the area where the church was built, so it is clear that the construction of the building without an atrium was a deliberate choice. Manière-Lévêque claims that, when the building was first constructed, there was an entrance through a door to the west of the narthex accessible by a staircase, but was it closed afterwards when the fountain structure was built in this area (Manière-Lévêque 2012, 86). This is neither a common nor a practical arrangement since there is a height difference of 1.50 m between the two levels. It is more reasonable for the entrance to be provided from the door in the south of the narthex that is accessible from the south portico of the agora. There is a similar situation in the West Basilica, as its narthex too is adjacent to the city walls in the west direction, and entrances are provided through doors located on the north and south sides. Dimensions of the narthex are 3.4 m x 10.10 m.

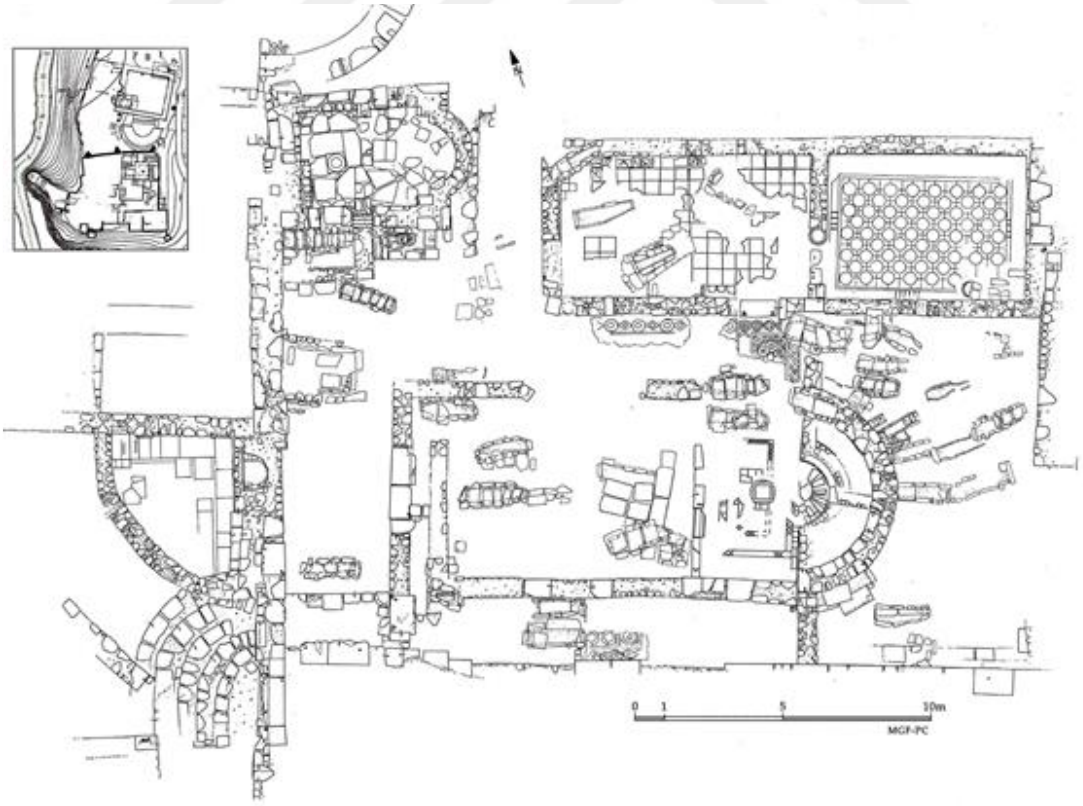


Figure 4.93: Archaeological layout plan of the West Agora Church (Manière-Lévêque 2012, 113, fig.143).

In this church, it is logical that the public access to the narthex was through the south gate that opened to the agora's southern portico. The north gate of the narthex was opening to a corridor connected to the annex building (see Annex below).

Naos: The naos measures 10.10 m x 13.30 m, and the separation of the aisles was provided by two colonnades that each have had four columns. The *opus tessellatum* mosaic was heavily damaged due to the late burials which were cist graves.

Bema and Apse: The *bema* section has a damaged *opus sectile* floor. Architectural elements belonging to the *templon* arrangement are spolia. A pedestal of the agora columns was used as the altar. The apse dimensions are 3.57 m x 6.57 m and there are four steps of the *synthronon*. Although marble revetments were seen *in situ* on the lower step in a photograph taken in 1952 (Manière-Lévêque 2012, 89, fig.118) these have been destroyed today.

Annex: There is a two-room rectangular annex building, measuring 4.80 m x 15.10 m, adjacent to the north aisle of the church and can be accessed through two doors from this aisle (Figure 4.91, no: 47-48). The first room, which measures 4.80 m x 8.30 m, has its floor paved with *terracotta* tiles which are 0.45 m x 0.45 m in size[32]. There are a total of six doors in the room. Two doors in the south allow passage to the north aisle of the church. One door in the west provides access to an area with a mosaic floor[33] (Figure 4.91, no: 49). This area could be a corridor between the church's narthex and the annex building; thus, it was possible to access the annex building without going through the church. That is why it is thought that the public entrance to the church was provided only from the south of the narthex. A small chapel was built next to this corridor in a later

[32] There are examples of using this type of floor covering in religious architecture, such as the side chapel of Letoon church (Metzger 1966, 110) and the Sinop Çiftlikköy Church (Tatlıcan 1997, 336).

[33] This mosaic was also destroyed by the graves, which were precisely dated to the beginning of the 7th century AD (Manière-Lévêque 2012, 95).

period (see Section 4.8 West Agora Chapel). Since there are another two doors in the annex building opening to the north side, it is thought that there might be other buildings connected with the church in this direction (Manière-Lévêque 2012, 95), but since no excavation has been carried out in this area, there is no definite information. The east door of the room opens to a second room of 4.90 m x 6.80 m and with an *opus tessellatum* mosaic floor with a geometrical pattern. This door is the only entrance to this room. The mosaic on the floor can be considered as a high-quality execution (Figure 4.94).



Figure 4.94: Floor mosaic of the annex building (Manière-Lévêque 2012, 94, fig.128)

Decorative Features:

Mosaics: The *opus sectile* mosaic of the *bema* and the *opus tessellatum* mosaic of the side aisles were found only fragmentally. The floor covering of the naos has been destroyed and there is no information about this part. After the church was demolished, burials were made all over the building and the mosaics were especially destroyed during this process.

The mosaics are similar in style to the East Basilica mosaics (Manière-Lévêque 2012, 95). In the second room of the annex building, the *opus tessellatum* mosaic have survived rather intact. The pattern of this mosaic consists of circles and crosses connecting them, and it is very similar to the mosaic floor in the area where the fountain structures are located in the northeast of the West Agora (see Section 4.33 West Agora, Room 13).

Construction Techniques:

It is not possible to comment on the wall construction technique since the building has been demolished up to its foundation level, but it is seen that spolia material is used in its construction together with rubble.

Research/Fieldwork History and Publications:

The church is one of the few Byzantine structures that have been completely excavated at Xanthos, together with the East Basilica and the Northeast House on the Lycian Acropolis.

After the partial excavation in the years between 1954 and 1956 by Delvoye (Demargne 1955, 110), the studies were resumed in more detail between 1997 and 1999 (des Courtils and Laroche 1998, 463; des Courtils and Laroche 1999a, 372; des Courtils and Laroche 2000, 341). During the second study period, the church has been the subject of a short article (Manière-Lévêque 1998b).

Especially the grave finds contributed to the chronology of the building. Anthropological and paleo-pathological studies were carried out on a total of 69 graves in the area. As a result, it was stated that the burials were local people with similar socioeconomic characteristics (Buchet and Manière-Lévêque 2006a, 144). The church is also included in the Xanthos mosaic corpus (Manière-Lévêque 2012, 86-97).

4.8 West Agora Chapel



Figure 4.95: Location and general plan of the West Agora Chapel (edited from Figure 1.3).

Coordinates: 36.357027 N, 29.318023 E
Alt: +50 m.

Location (Figure 4.95):

Located on the west portico of the West Agora, between the West Basilica and the West Agora Church.

Description:

The chapel consisting of only a single space is the smallest church in Xanthos. It was probably built after the nearby churches got out of use.

Current Status:

The chapel was completely excavated. The walls of the structure are preserved in a height of 1.5 m. Because of its central location, the chapel is a frequently visited place.

Construction Phases and Chronology:

Although the excavations have been completed, the structure has not been dated precisely. According to Manière-Lévêque, the area where the chapel stands once provided access between the West Basilica and the agora in the 5th century AD, and this passage was closed with the construction of the chapel. Based on this, it was interpreted that the chapel was built after the basilica was destroyed in the 6th century AD (Manière-Lévêque 2012, 97). In the earlier years of the excavation, Metzger stated that this church was built after the agora was destroyed during the Arab/Sassanid raids; thus, it could be dated to the 7th – 9th centuries AD (Metzger 1956, 160). This date seems appropriate since it is known that the area was used as a cemetery after the West Agora Church was destroyed; this building may have been built to function as a funerary chapel.

In Xanthos, as in many Lycian cities, the information concerning the time period between the 8th and the 11th centuries AD, called the "dark ages" by some scholars, is very limited. In particular, no structure was ever precisely dated to this period by previous researchers in Xanthos. This church might probably be one of the rare structures that can be dated to this little-known period, based on its location between the West Basilica and the West Agora Church.

Architectural Description:

The building is a small chapel with an interior size of 3.30 m x 4.30 m, consisting of a single space without a narthex (Figure 4.91, no: 51). The entrance to the place is through a door in the south wall (Figure 4.96). The depth of the apse facing southeast is 0.75 m. The wall thickness of the building is 0.80 m. It is understood from the wall pillars on the north and south walls that the chapel was covered with a barrel vault. This supporting arch and wall pillars are a common architectural feature and very characteristic, that can



Figure 4.96: General view of the West Agora Chapel –from the SW– (2017).

be seen nearly in all chapels in Xanthos, even in this very small building. The floors are covered with reused, irregular-sized limestone and marble slabs.

Decorative Features:

Painting: A plaster layer and red paint marks are visible on the western wall which has 1.50 m in height.

Construction Techniques:

Most of the construction materials are reused blocks from the former churches. The masonry is similar to that of Early Byzantine walls in Xanthos, as rubble and a small number of brick fragments were used in the construction.

Research/Fieldwork History and Publications:

The building was completely excavated along with the West Agora Church. It was published briefly in the mosaic corpus by Manière-Lévêque (Manière-Lévêque 2012, 97). No detailed studies have been carried out.



Figure 4.97: Aerial view of the West Agora Chapel (Xanthos Excavation Archive, 2013).

4.9 Upper Acropolis Basilica

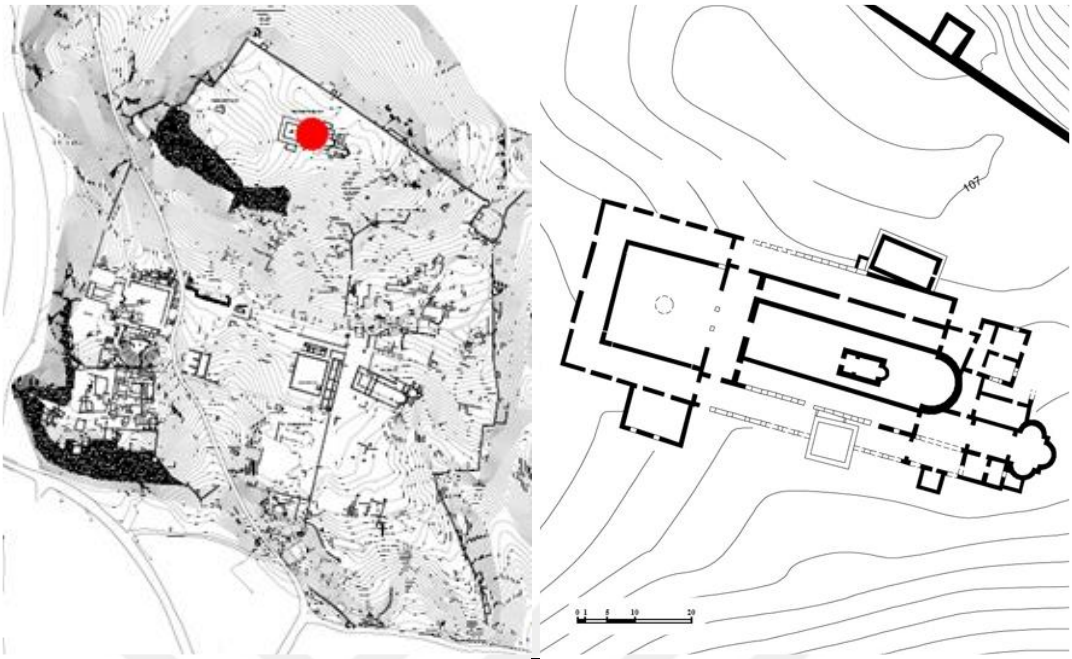


Figure 4.98: Location and general plan of the Upper Acropolis Basilica (edited from Figure 1.3).

Coordinates: 36.358845 N, 29.320812 E
Alt: +110 m.

Location (Figure 4.98):

Located on the top of the Upper Acropolis hill, the highest point of the city.

Description:

The Upper Acropolis Basilica is one of the four large-sized basilicas dating to the Early Byzantine period in Xanthos along with the East Basilica, the West Basilica and the Triconch Basilica. The church is a three-aisled basilica with an atrium, and a narthex (Figure 4.99). On the east side of the apse of the church, there is a complex of buildings consisting of many rooms and a chapel with a triconch plan. It is thought to be a pilgrimage church due to its remote location.

Current Status:

The walls of the building are standing quite high and especially the atrium part is preserved in a very intact condition up to a height of 5.80 m (Figure 4.100). Since the Upper Acropolis is located at a remote position away from the main visiting route, and the path leading to the church is not properly marked, most visitors do not visit this area.

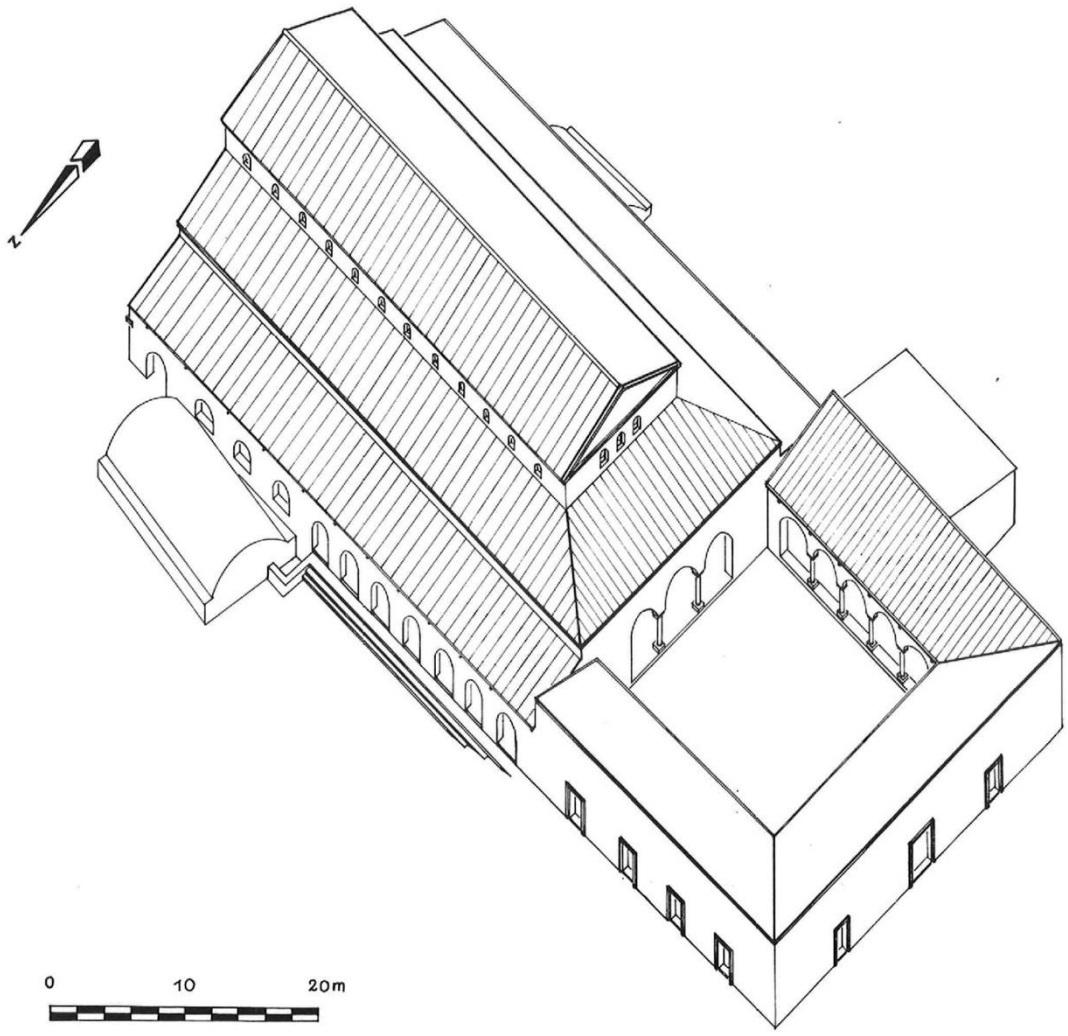


Figure 4.99: Restitution of the Upper Acropolis Basilica (Canbilen, Lebouteiller and Sodini 1996, 225, fig.33).



Figure 4.100: General view of the Upper Acropolis Basilica –from the N– (2017).

Construction Phases and Chronology:

The basilica was dated around AD 550 as a result of the examination of the architectural sculpture (Canbilen, Lebouteiller and Sodini 1996, 227). The church was abandoned in the 7th century AD, and a small chapel was built inside its naos during the Middle Byzantine period (Sodini 1998c, 75).

Architectural Description (Figure 4.101):

The overall dimensions of the church are 29.60 m x 71.60 m [including the atrium but excluding the spaces on the east]

Atrium and South Annex: The atrium of the basilica measures 23.80 m x 29.60 m, and is surrounded by porticos in the north, west, and south. The southwest walls of the atrium are preserved with a height of 5.80 m. In the middle of the courtyard measuring 17.70 m x 17.80 there is a round pool with a diameter of 3.20 m. Entrances to the atrium from the

outside are provided by four gates in the north, three in the west, and two in the south. The dimensions of the doors are 1.35 m. One of the features of the church is the presence of two stoas in the north and south.

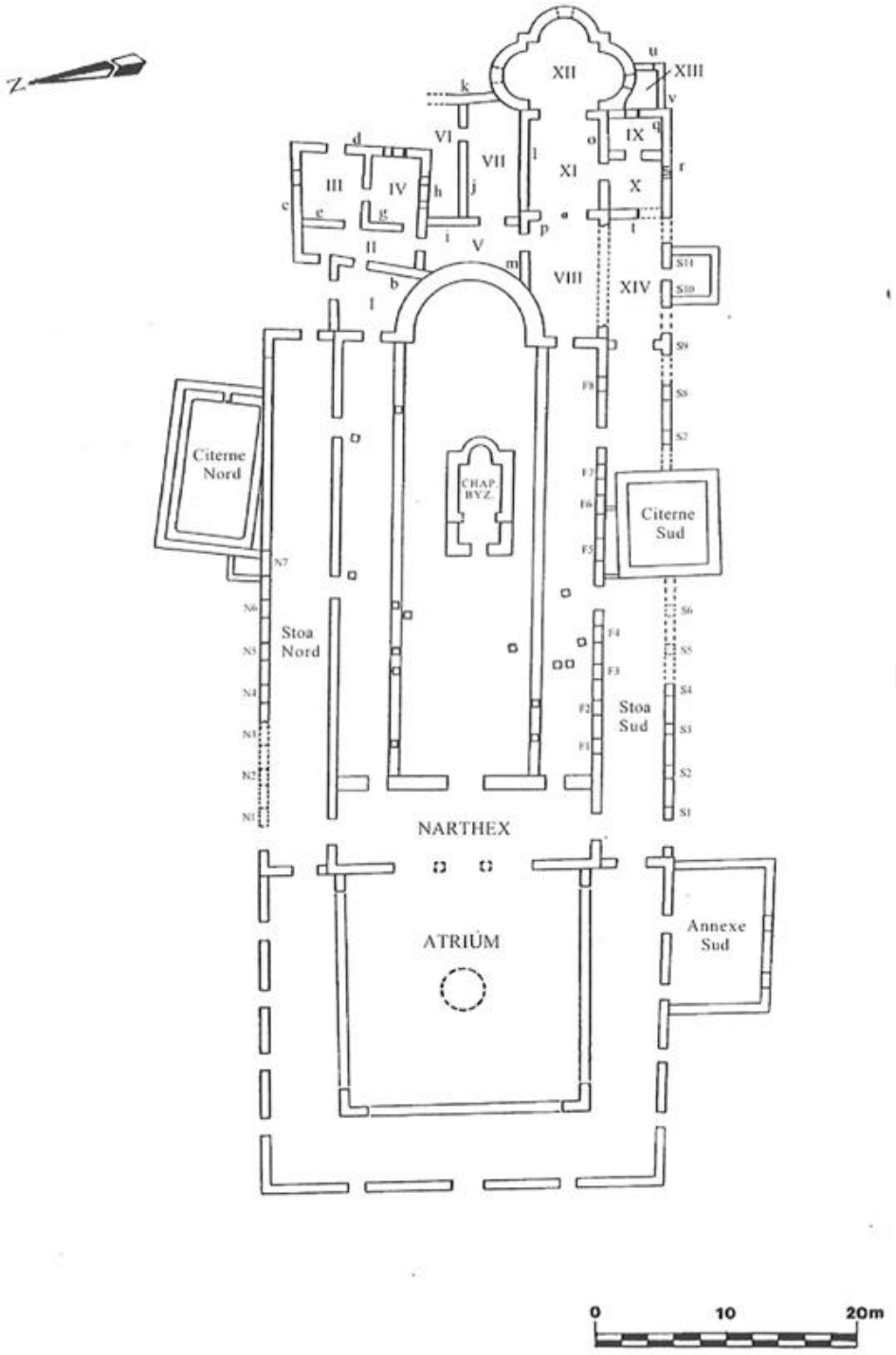


Figure 4.101: Plan of the Upper Acropolis Basilica (Canbilen, Lebouteiller and Sodini 1996, 204, fig.3)

Access to these stoas is provided by 2.00 m wide doors from the north and south of the atrium. At the entrance to the narthex, there is a 10.50 m wide three-arched opening.

There is a rectangular annex building measuring 7.00 m x 10.30 m adjacent to the south of the atrium. The east and west walls of the building are preserved, while the south wall is collapsed. Its entrance is provided by two 1.35 m wide doors from the south portico of the atrium.

Stoas: Two stoas measuring 4.50 m x 40 m, which are connected to the building in the north and south directions, were built in the same construction phase as the church (Canbilen, Lebouteiller and Sodini 1996, 201). The north stoa has approximately the same width as the north portico of the atrium and extends along with the church. Six entrances were identified. The first one is from the north portico of the atrium; a second one opens to the north wall of the narthex, two others to the north aisle of the church, and the last two doors open to the outside of the building. There is a 5.20 m x 10.20 m cistern in the north direction of the stoa from the outside, which is not aligned with the church. It is thought that the cistern was built earlier than the church (Canbilen, Lebouteiller and Sodini 1996, 215).

The south stoa also has similar features. Six entrances are placed symmetrically with the north stoa. The only difference is that while the north stoa does not open to the rooms of the complex in the east, the south stoa joins one of the rooms. There is a second cistern measuring 6.10 m x 6.40 m on this side too.

Narthex and Naos: The narthex of the building, measuring 5.60 m x 19.50 m, is of semi-open type. There are three arched openings from the atrium in the west (Figure 4.102, at the top), and two door openings to the outer stoas in the north and south walls. In the east wall there are three doors accessing each of the three aisles of the naos. The door opening

to the central nave measures 2.80 m, while the ones giving access to the side aisles are 1.40 m wide.

The naos, which measures 19.50 m x 33.45 m, is divided into three aisles of which the central nave is nearly twice as wide as the side aisles –side aisles are 4 m wide and the central nave is 10 m–. The church did not have a gallery floor (Sodini 2011). The apse cannot be seen from the outside since there are rooms that form a religious complex built adjacent to the church in the east. Rooms I, V and VIII are attached to the apse from the outside. The back wall of the apse is preserved at a height of approximately 5 m, and there was probably a *synthronon* inside.

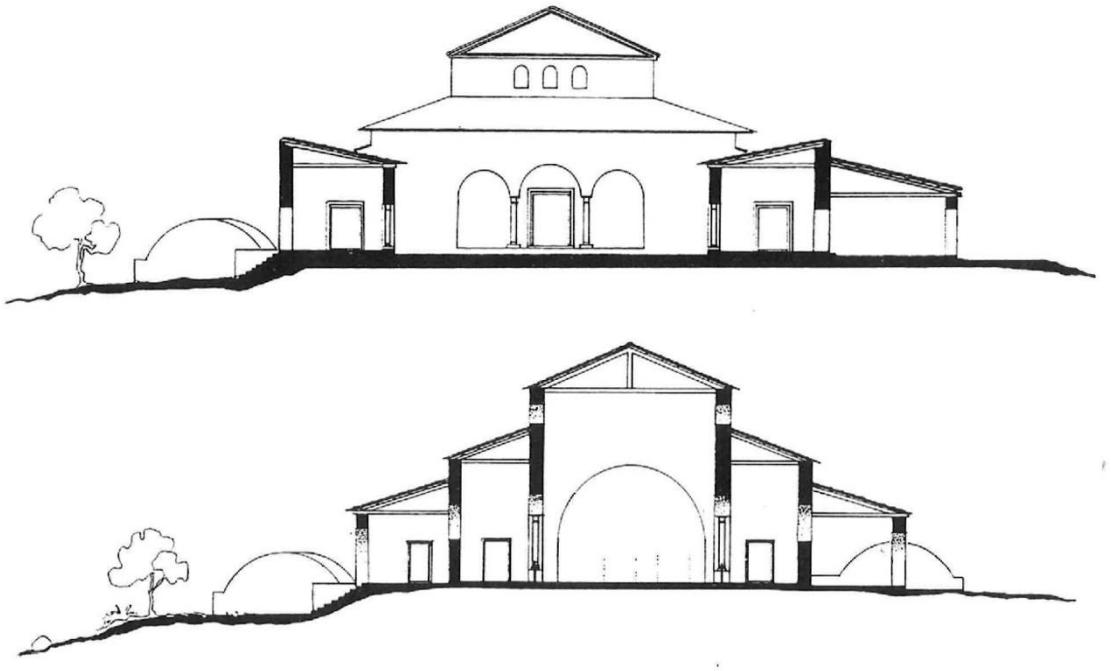


Figure 4.102: Sections from the atrium and apse of the Upper Acropolis Basilica (Canbilen, Lebouteiller and Sodini 1996, 224, fig.32).

Middle Byzantine Chapel: A chapel was built in the middle of the central nave during the Middle Byzantine period, measuring 5.00 m x 8.00 m with the building materials that

were obtained from the destroyed basilica. It is the only example among the chapels of Xanthos of the church-within-church type, many examples of which can be seen in Lycia (Erdoğan-Ceylan 2019, 666).

Building Complex and the Triconch Chapel: To the east, a building complex consisting of many rooms and a chapel with a triconch plan was built adjacent to the church. The complex, which consists of a total of 14 rooms, including the chapel, is thought to have been a pilgrimage center holding the reliquary of an important saint or martyr (Sodini 2009, 22).

The structures on the east side of the basilica should be perceived as two groups: the places named "habitat" by the French researchers in the north (Figure 4.101, no: I, II, III, and IV) and the places with religious functions in the south: a triconch chapel and various rooms around it.

It is thought that the north and south stoas of the church, the triconch chapel and the interconnected spaces leading to it created a visiting route, and the chapel may hold the relics of an important saint or a venerated icon (Canbilen, Lebouteiller and Sodini 1996, 220). It has been underlined that the triconch chapel, which measures 9.20 m between the north and south conches, belongs to the same construction phase as the basilica (Canbilen, Lebouteiller and Sodini 1996, 227).

Decorative Features:

Architectural Sculpture: Two column capitals, one intact and one broken, were found on the surface, but these were not dated. (Canbilen, Lebouteiller and Sodini 1996, 209). In addition, a reused Roman architrave was found that dated to the first half of the 2nd century AD (Canbilen, Lebouteiller and Sodini 1996, 212).

Mosaic: Some mosaic remains in the atrium have been reported (Sodini 1998c, 75).

Construction Techniques:

The building has the typical Early Byzantine masonry. The lower parts of some of the walls of the atrium were carved in the bedrock.

Research/Fieldwork History and Publications:

Probably since the structure is located at the highest point of the city and remained in a good condition, it attracted the attention of early researchers who normally did not focus on Byzantine architecture. Spratt and Forbes from Fellows' team referred to the structure as a monastery and published its first plans in their book (Spratt and Forbes 1847, 14, foldout plan, plan between pages 104-105). Interestingly, there are two very different drawn plans of the church within the same book. On the general city plan, which was the first drawn plan of Xanthos, the basilica was drawn completely wrong (Figure 4.103). In the following pages, there is a second drawing showing the plan of the church, which is also full of mistakes, but still more accurate than the first one (Figure 4.104).



Figure 4.103: Upper Acropolis Basilica in the earliest plan of Xanthos drawn by Hoskyn in 1841 (Spratt and Forbes 1847, plan [close-up]).

The Upper Acropolis Basilica was the only Byzantine structure that was depicted in the drawings of Scharf, who worked in the city in the same period (Figure 3.3).

Although the church was mentioned in some reports after the start of the modern excavations (Demargne 1951, 64), no detailed examination was carried out for long years.

Only one detailed scientific article (Canbilen, Lebouteiller and Sodini 1996), and a summary description of the church (Sodini 1998c, 75), which has never been excavated, have been published.

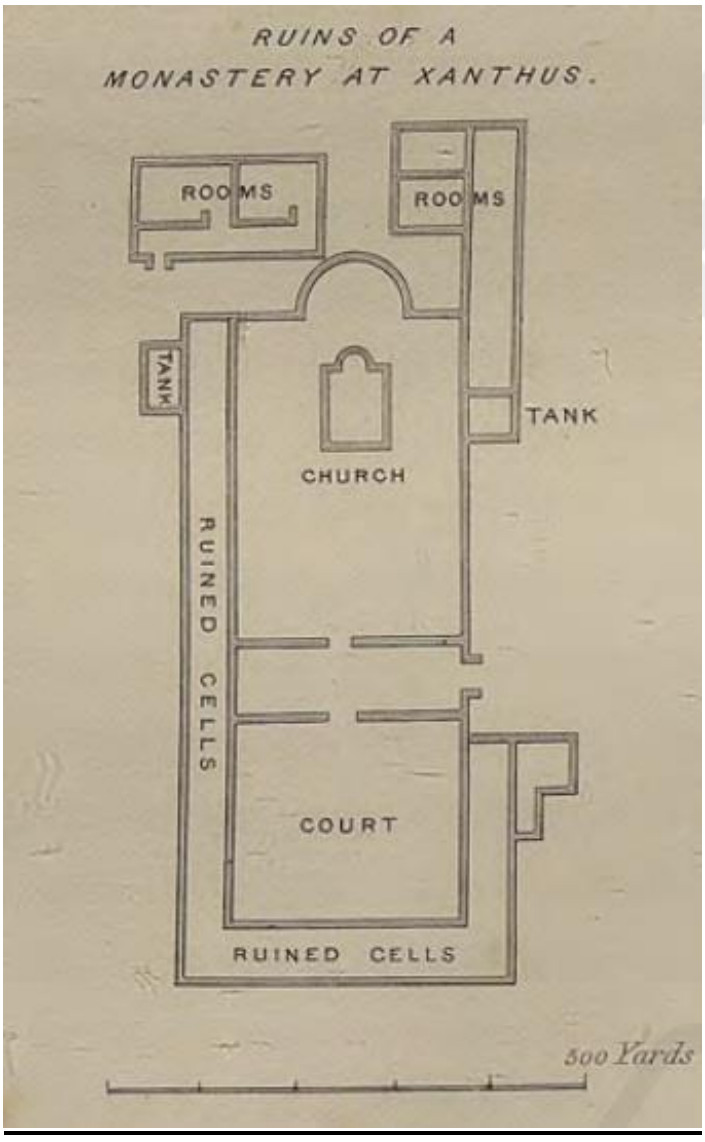


Figure 4.104: An early plan of the Upper Acropolis Basilica (Spratt and Forbes 1847, plan between pages 104-105).

4.10 Upper Acropolis Chapel

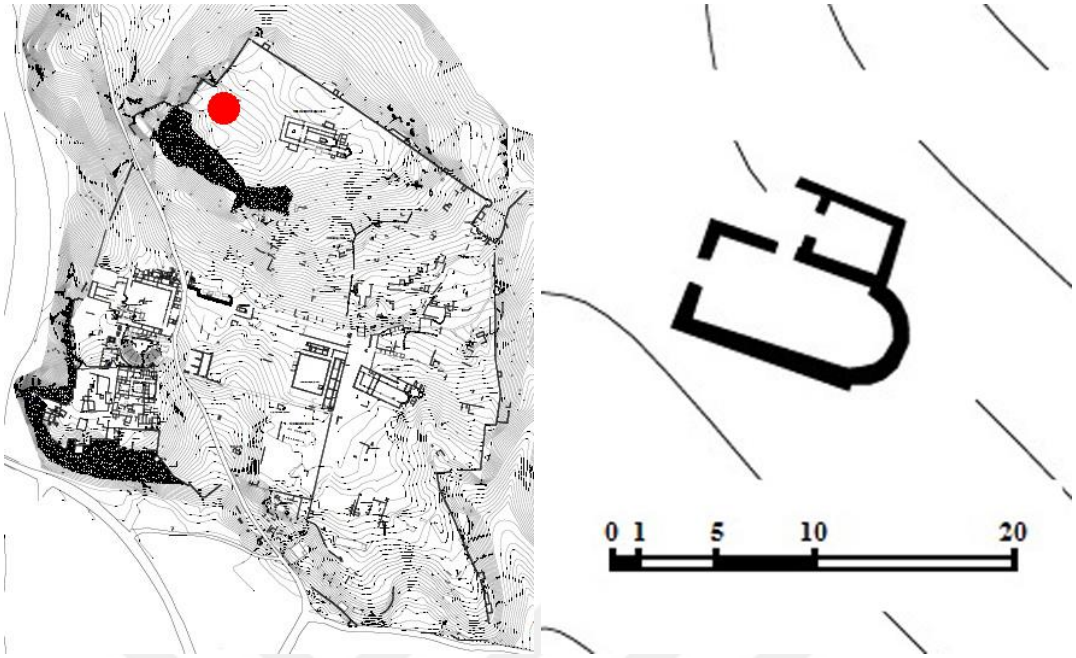


Figure 4.105: Location and general plan of the Upper Acropolis Chapel (edited from Figure 1.3).

Coordinates: 36.359175 N, 29.319394 E
Alt: +116 m.

Location (Figure 4.105):

Located on the Upper Acropolis, 70 m to the west of Upper Acropolis Basilica.

Description:

The building is one of the small-sized chapels in Xanthos and consists of a single nave and an annex room.

Current Status:

The walls of the building stand up to a level of 1.5 m and its plan can be fully understood. The dirt road accessing the GPS transmitters on the hill passes near the chapel (Figure 4.106).



Figure 4.106: Aerial view of the Upper Acropolis Chapel –in the middle– (Xanthos Excavation Archive, 2013).

Construction Phases and Chronology:

In the article in which the Upper Acropolis Basilica was examined, a short section was devoted to this structure and stated that the chapel was built in the same period as the basilica. The basilica was dated to around AD 550 as a result of the examination of the architectural sculptures (Canbilen, Lebouteiller and Sodini 1996, 227-229).

Architectural Description:

The chapel has a single nave measuring 5.90 m x 11.50 m and a large semicircular projecting apse pointing in southeastern direction (Figure 4.107). The inner width of the apse is 3.90 m, and the depth is 1.70 m (Figure 4.108). The entrance to the building is provided by a 1.40 m wide door from the west. This chapel does not have interior wall pillars helping carry the vault, which is a common feature of the other small-sized chapels

in Xanthos. Due to the rubble deposit inside the church, neither its floor nor any architectural sculpture pieces can be seen.

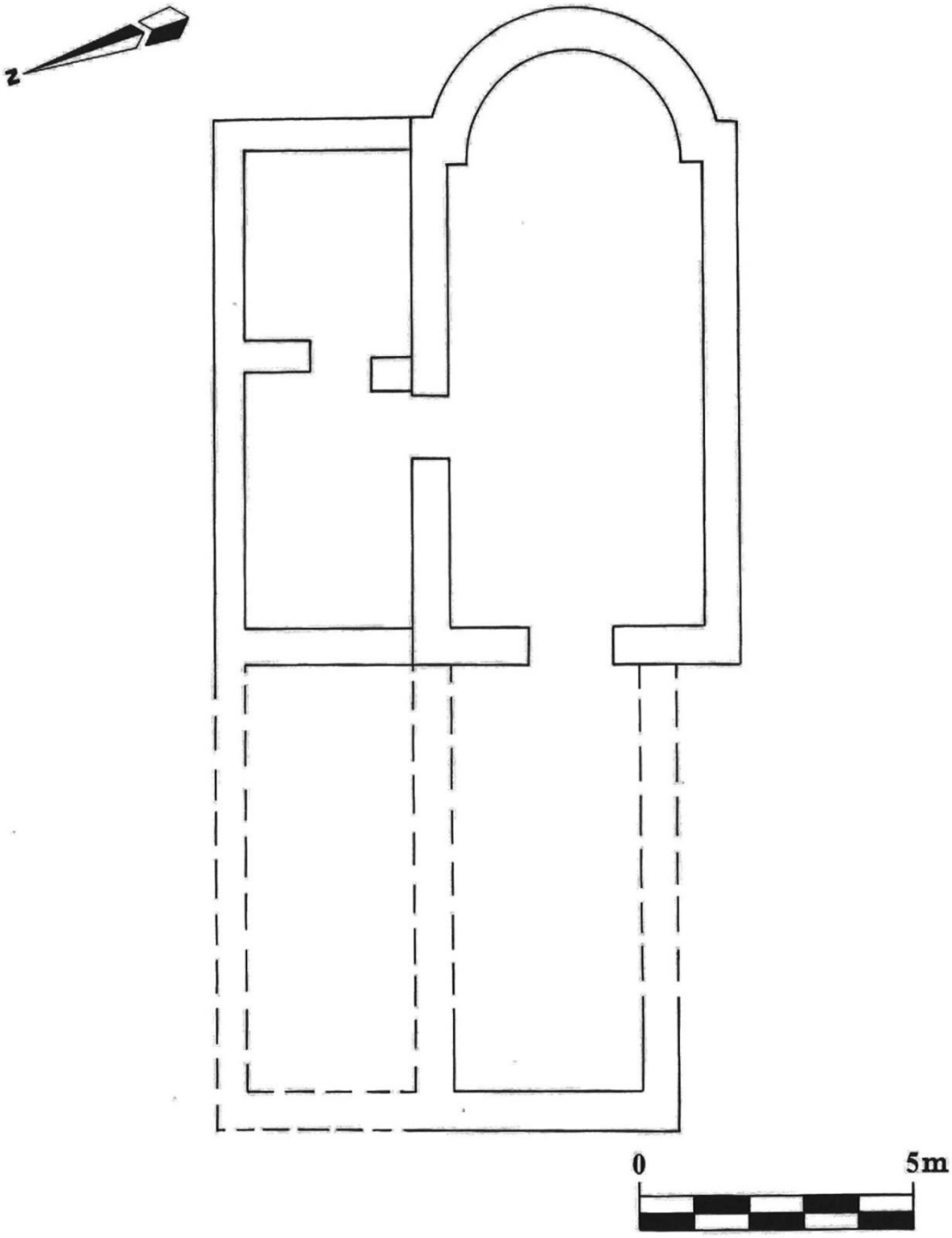


Figure 4.107: Plan of the Upper Acropolis Chapel (Canbilen, Lebouteiller and Sodini 1996, 228, fig.48).

The annex to the north of the building, probably added later, consists of two rooms. The entrance to the west room of the annex is provided by a 1.10 meter-wide door in the north wall of the chapel. The second room to the east is only accessible through a 1.30 meter-wide door from the west room (Figure 4.109). The dimensions of the west room could not be precisely determined as the western wall is destroyed. If the western wall of this room were finished in line with the western wall of the chapel, as suggested on the plan drawn by the French researchers (Figure 4.107), the interior dimensions of the room would be 2.90 m x 4.75 m. However, no traces of a wall connection can be traced in the northwest corner of the church. The east room is completely intact and its interior dimensions are 2.90 m x 3.60 m. These rooms, whose functions are unknown, are not a common feature seen in the small-sized chapels at Xanthos. Only the West Agora Church has an adjacent annex building to the north of the church consisting of two rooms, but these are larger in size –4.80 m x 8.20 m, and 4.80 m x 6.70 m–. The adjacent space in this chapel may have been used for funerary purposes (Canbilen, Lebouteiller and Sodini 1996, 229). Although the French researchers hypothetically suggested two more rooms adjacent to the west of the chapel, as shown in the drawing (Figure 4.107), there are no visible walls to prove this idea.

Construction Techniques:

The masonry is similar to that of Early Byzantine walls in Xanthos, as rubble and a small number of brick fragments were used in the construction.

Research/Fieldwork History and Publications:

An article about the Upper Acropolis Basilica was published in 1996, in which the chapel was mentioned briefly with its plan (Canbilen, Lebouteiller and Sodini 1996, 228-229).



Figure 4.108: Apse of the Upper Acropolis Chapel –from the NE– (2020).



Figure 4.109: Eastern annex room of the Upper Acropolis Chapel –from the S– (2017).

4.11 Triconch Basilica



Figure 4.110: Location and general plan of the Triconch Basilica (edited from Figure 1.3).

Coordinates: 36.355482 N, 29.320573 E
Alt: +50 m.

Location (Figure 4.110):

Located in the east section of the city, in the middle of the Lower Agora[34], to the west of the *Cardo Maximus*.

Description:

The Triconch Basilica is one of the four large-sized basilicas dating to the Early Byzantine period in Xanthos along with the East Basilica, the West Basilica and the Upper Acropolis

[34] The Lower Agora is located at the lower elevation of the Upper Agora. Measuring 110 m from north to south and 78 m from east to west, larger than the other two agorae of the city. It is not common for a city to have two agorae next to each other and three agorae in total. The spolia material that was used for the construction of the church in the 6th century AD contains architectural fragments that may have belonged to the agora such as the postaments and architraves.

Basilica. The church is a three-aisled basilica with an atrium, and a narthex. The *bema* of the church is in the form of a triconch enclosed within a polygonal wall from the outside (Figure 4.111). The Triconch Basilica at Xanthos is the largest example of its plan type built in a city center in the Lycian region.



Figure 4.111: Aerial view of the Triconch Basilica –from the S– (Xanthos Excavation Archive, 2018).

Current Status:

No detailed excavation work has been carried out in the building so far. Especially the *bema* of the church is preserved at a very high level, and the architectural sculptures of this section are lying on the surface as they were collapsed. The location of the church is out of the city's routine visiting tour.

Construction Phases and Chronology:

The church can be dated to the middle or second half of the 6th century in the historical context. The date of the first known example of the triconch basilicas in the region, AD 530 (İşler 2010, 247), forms a *terminus post quem* for dating the Triconch Basilica at Xanthos.

The triconch part of the church, which constitutes the *bema*, is almost completely collapsed, and the building material has remained in place without being removed. Considering this situation, it can be said that this part was destroyed at a late time when the city was no longer inhabited. The column drums, capitals, architrave blocks, and arch stones composing the *templon*, lie over a high earth deposit. Although some of these materials are very large, the smaller ashlar stones of the *bema* could be easily removed for use in other constructions in the city. The presence of these materials supports the idea that the destruction had happened after the 13th century when the city was no longer inhabited. On the other hand, the architectural material such as columns, architraves, and *voussoirs*, which should be present in the basilica part of the church, is not existed in the area, except that only the column postaments are present *in situ*, this indicates that the basilica part of the church collapsed at an earlier age when the city was inhabited, and the material was taken. It is also seen in many other settlements that the *bema* part covered by half domes is statically more durable to earthquakes than the basilica part consisting only of flat walls, colonnades, and maybe a second gallery floor.

Architectural Description:

The church consists of a triconch part that constitutes the *bema*, a naos divided into three aisles with two colonnades, an atrium, and a semi-open narthex. The total dimensions of

the structure are 22.00 m x 60.00 m –from the western wall of the atrium to the end of the apse–.

Atrium: It was not known before that the Triconch Basilica had an atrium until the fieldwork of the 2019 excavation season. The south wall of the atrium was unearthed as a result of tracing a wall extending from the southwest corner of the narthex to the west. This wall ends by intersecting with a Roman wall in the westernmost part, probably belonging to the western portico of the agora built with regular ashlar masonry (Figure 4.112). The length of the atrium is 12.80 m. Since the width of the church is 22.00 m and atriums are mostly square or close to a square, this length seems to be short, but when the width of the narthex –7.50 m – is added to it –the narthexes of the East Basilica (Metzger 1977) and Upper Acropolis Basilica (Canbilen, Lebouteiller and Sodini 1996) in Xanthos are semi-open narthexes connected to the atrium reaching to a size of 20.30 m that is closer to a square shape.

According to the scrap metal finds, the atrium must have been used as a workshop area in a late period, possibly during the second settlement era of the city after the beginning of the 11th century, by dividing the space with at least one wall. In the meantime, a small chapel to the northwest direction of the basilica was built (Cavalier 2005, 91) for the continuity of daily worship in the area or for the funerary ceremonies[35]. In later periods, burial practice continued in the area, and simple in-ground burials were constructed over the early period casket-type graves at the lower levels. This illustrates the functional continuity of the space even after centuries.

[35] This chapel may be an indicator that the *bema* part of the basilica was not used as a church.



Figure 4.112: South wall of the atrium of the Triconch Basilica –from the W– (2019).

Naos: The basilica part measures 22.00 m x 23.00 m and is divided into three aisles by two colonnades that each have had seven columns. Only the column pedestals exist *in situ* as the other architectural materials such as columns, capitals, architraves and parapet slabs are missing. The *in situ* pedestals situated on top of the stylobates were most probably belonged to the porticos of the agora. Dimensions are 0.78 m x 0.85 m x 0.85 m and each side has deep channels for the parapet slabs, which divide the aisles. The stylobate is made of fine ashlar stones of 1.00 m in width and 1.20 m in length (Figure

4.113). The north and south aisles have a *opus tessellatum* floor at the same level as the stylobate. The level of the central nave is 12 cm lower than the stylobate and most probably has an *opus sectile* floor. Since the floors were destroyed when the church was converted into a cemetery, the pavement of the central nave could not be found *in situ* during the soundings; nonetheless, many white limestone *opus sectile* floor fragments were found in pieces. Adjacent to the stylobate, flat limestone blocks of 2.9 cm thickness were found *in situ* –the dimensions are unclear since none of the blocks are intact, but the remaining sizes of the broken pavement slabs are 0.4 m x 1.05 m –. These are thought to be the large border area at the margins of the *opus sectile* pavement.



Figure 4.113: Stylobate of the south colonnade of the Triconch Basilica –from the W– (2019).

As mentioned before, the demolished basilica part of the church was used as a cemetery due to the sanctity of the area. For this purpose, the *opus tessellatum* mosaics of the side aisles and the *opus sectile* floor of the central nave were destroyed, and burials made. Even though it is customary in Christianity to make burials within a church during the period it served, it was also found during excavations in Xanthos' West Agora Church that some graves belonged to a period after the church was destroyed (des Courtils and Laroche 1999b, 133). The same is valid for the East Basilica, where the graves can be dated to the middle of the 7th century AD after the church was destroyed around the beginning of the same century (Raynaud 2009, 87). This continuous burial practice is an indication that the sanctity attributed to the area of the church continued even after the building itself was destroyed. During the transformation of the area into a cemetery, the presence of a nearby chapel for funerary ceremony can be expected. Either the *bema* part of the basilica or the chapel (see Section 4.12 Lower Agora Chapel) in the immediate vicinity of the building must have been used for this function.

Bema and Apse: The *bema* of the church measures 16.00 m x 22.00 m, and its external appearance of the conches from the outside shows a multi-angled typology[36]. To the south of the *bema* outside the structure, a high rubble deposit along with a wall extending southwards may suggest the possibility of an annex; however, it is impossible to prove this without an excavation. The possible existence of an adjacent baptistery should also be taken into account. The conches in the *bema* section are 8.40 m wide and 5.00 m deep.

[36] There are several different applications related to the external appearance of triconch buildings. In the first type, the trefoil shape can be seen both inside and outside. In the second type, the conchs are surrounded by walls, so that when viewed from the outside, the entire structure appears to be square. In the third type, only the conchs are enclosed in rectangular walls, and when viewed from the outside, the building appears like a cross-plan structure. Finally, there are examples where the conches are surrounded by multi-angled walls from the outside. The Triconch Basilica of Xanthos is an example of the last typology.



Figure 4.114: Apse of the Triconch Basilica –from the W– (2018).

Although no excavation was carried out within the conches, it is clear that there was a *synthronon* based on the height of the rubble deposit (Figure 4.114). This section was built with finely cut ashlar stones as well as many reused Roman architectural materials. This construction is the only known example for ashlar masonry in Xanthos dating to the Byzantine period except some sections of the city walls. Among the spolia, architrave blocks, two columns with very large diameter and their Corinthian column capitals are easily recognizable[37]. There is no architectural ornament that can be directly dated to the Byzantine period; however, Cavalier states that the *voussoirs* have an unusual profile for the Roman period and may have been designed for this building (Cavalier 2005, 169).

[37] These capitals are dated to the second half of the 2nd century AD at the earliest, or most probably to the 3rd century AD. Another one was found in the northern stoa of the Lower Agora close to the triconch basilica (des Courtils 2003b, 244). Cavalier underlined that this capital in the Triconch Basilica and also the cornices and *kymai* belonged to the entablature of the Lower Agora's portico. She also stated that two more capitals fell down from the west of the agora to the valley (Cavalier 2005, 91, 93), however, these two capitals were not found during our survey within the city.

Architrave blocks with lion reliefs used as building materials in the walls and the postaments of the colonnades were probably taken from the porticos of the Lower Agora.

Decorative Features:

Although the decorative features of the church have not survived to the present day, some findings retrieved during the soundings can suggest some ideas. The *opus tessellatum* and *opus sectile* floor decoration, pieces of stained-glass window in various colors and shapes, remains of fresco and wall mosaics of small size *tesserae* in wide variety of color palette –as well as some *tesserae* pieces made of a kind of metal glittering like gold and glass *tesserae*– indicate to a rich decoration program once the church had.

Construction Techniques:

The masonry is similar to that of Early Byzantine walls in Xanthos. A large number of spolia, mostly taken from the porticos of agora, were used in the construction.

Research/Fieldwork History and Publications:

A vegetation clearing work was conducted in the area in 2001 and the church was investigated for the first time (des Courtils 2003b, 244). Some Roman period spolia used in the church were published by Cavalier (Cavalier 2005, 89-94).

Since the plan of the church was incomplete or inaccurate in earlier city plans, a detailed plan needed to be drawn during the 2018 excavation season. The building was briefly introduced in the annual excavation report (Varkıvanç 2019, 250-251).

In the 2019 excavation season, some soundings were conducted to complete certain inadequate points in the plan. The results of the fieldwork were published briefly in the annual excavation report (Varkıvanç 2020, 67-68). However, a stratigraphic report regarding these soundings has not been published.

4.12 Lower Agora Chapel

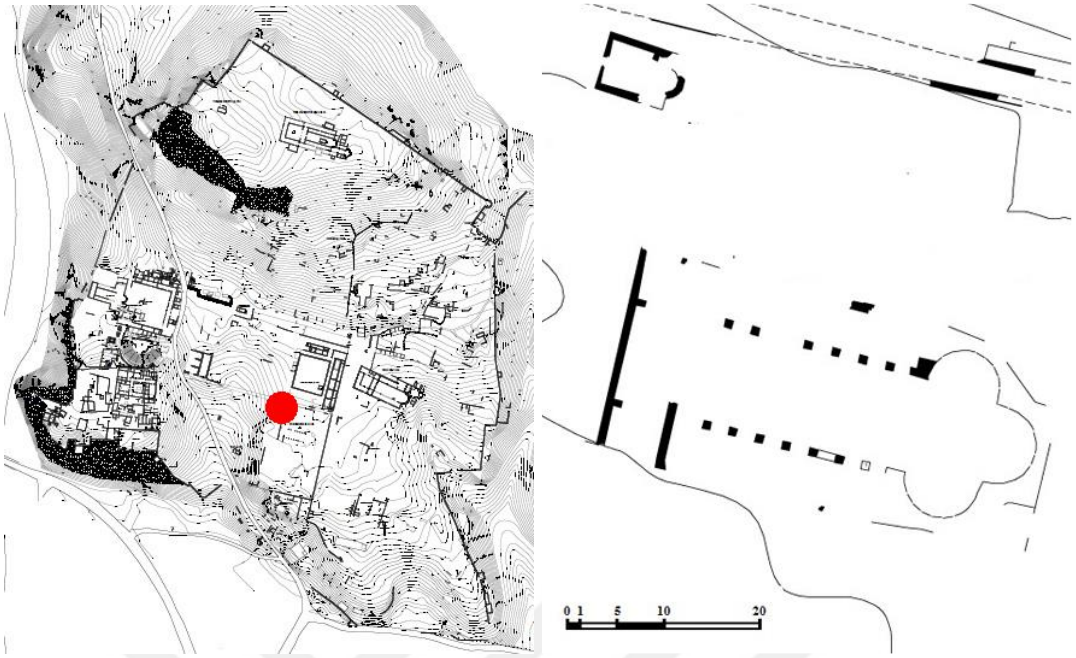


Figure 4.115: Location and general plan of the Lower Agora Chapel (edited from Figure 1.3).

Coordinates: 36.355853 N, 29.320359 E
Alt: +50 m.

Location (Figure 4.115):

Located near the northwest corner of the Lower Agora.

Description:

The building is one of the small-sized chapels in Xanthos and consists of a single nave.

Current Status:

The walls of the church stand 0.50 m high, and its plan can be fully understood (Figure 4.116).

Construction Phases and Chronology:

Although it is difficult to date the church based on the masonry technique since the walls are preserved very low, the elevation data can help. The original levels were unearthed as during soundings carried out in the northern portico of the agora; thus, it was seen that the church was built on a very high level of embarkment above the original floor (Cavalier 2005, 94). The chapel might have been built after the Triconch Basilica, which was located in the middle of the agora and dated to the 6th century AD, got out of use. Some soundings conducted in the Triconch Basilica in 2019 revealed that the area was used as a cemetery after the church was destroyed and its atrium was divided into spaces used as workshops. Probably the chapel dates to the Middle Byzantine period and contemporary with the nearby workshops.



Figure 4.116: General view of the Lower Agora Chapel –from the SW– (2017).

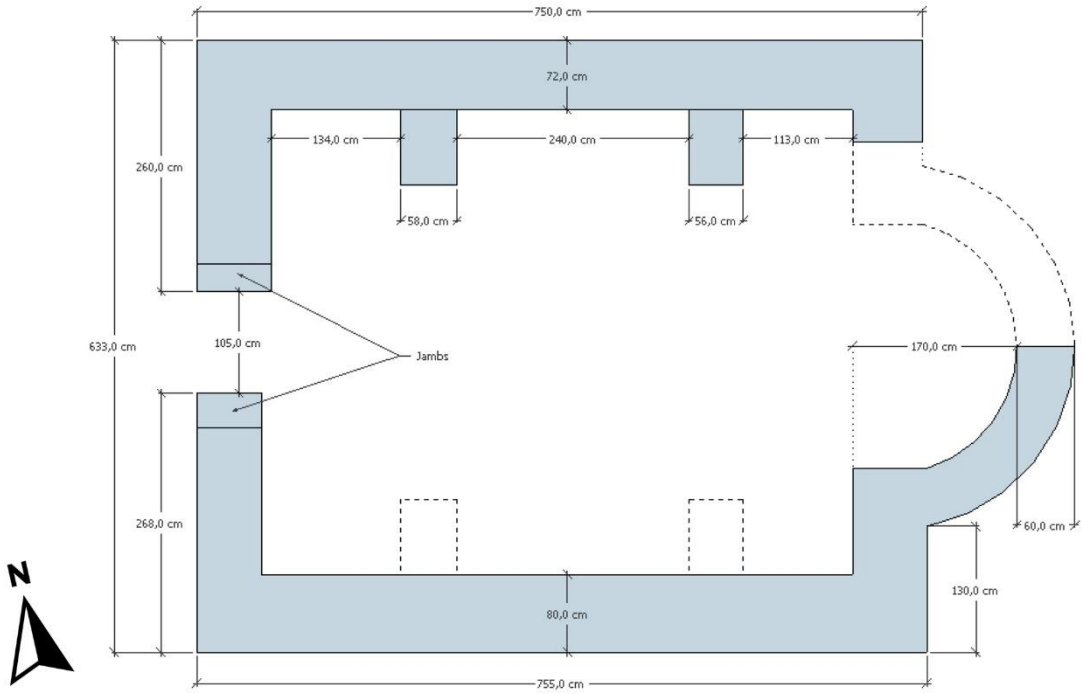


Figure 4.117: Plan of the Lower Agora Chapel (Drawn by the author).

Architectural Description:

The chapel was built with the same plan type as the other small chapels in the city with the use of some spolia blocks. It is located in the northern portico of the Lower Agora, 2.5 m away from the east-west direction street –the *Decumanus Secundus* (?)–, which runs between the Lower and Upper Agorae towards the Roman bath complex. It consists of a single nave measuring 6.33 m x 7.55 m and does not have a narthex (Figures 4.117 and 4.118). Wall thickness varies from 0.6 m to 0.8 m. There is a 1.05 m wide door in the west direction.

There are 0.57 m x 0.66 m wall piers carrying the vault in the north and south walls. While the piers on the north wall can still be seen, the other two in the south wall have not survived. These wall piers are a common architectural feature seen in all small-sized chapels in Xanthos; on the other hand, only this building and the Decumanus Chapel

–dating to the 12th century– have two wall piers on each wall instead of one. Since both structures are dated to the Middle Byzantine period, it can be said that a double vault arch is a feature of this period. The apse diameter is 2.60 m and its depth is 1.80 m. It cannot be understood whether there was once a *synthronon* in the apse.



Figure 4.118: Aerial view of the Lower Agora Chapel (Xanthos Excavation Archive, 2017).

Construction Techniques:

Most of the construction materials are reused blocks from earlier structures combined with rubble. It is not possible to say much about the construction technique because the walls are preserved up to a very low height.

Research/Fieldwork History and Publications:

The structure is the only one among the other small chapels of Xanthos that was drawn on the city plan of 1843-44 by Hawkins (Figure 3.2). The Lower Agora was the focus of modern research for the first time in 2001 with vegetation clearing work (Figure 4.119). Some soundings were conducted in the northern portico, but the chapel was only mentioned without any detail (Cavalier 2005, 89). Vegetation clearing work was carried out again in 2017 in order to document the chapel.

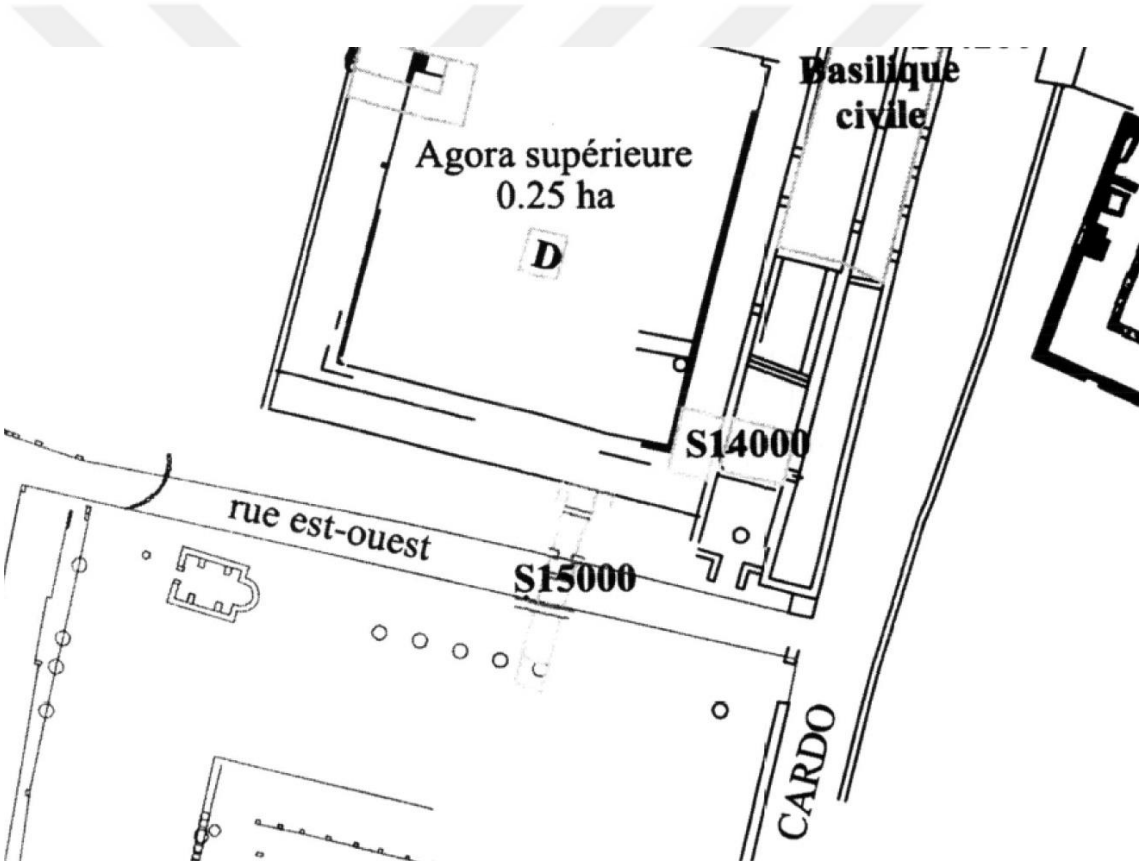


Figure 4.119: Plan of the Lower Agora Chapel in the excavation report (des Courtils and Laroche 2003, 424, fig.1 [close-up]).

4.13 Upper Agora Chapel

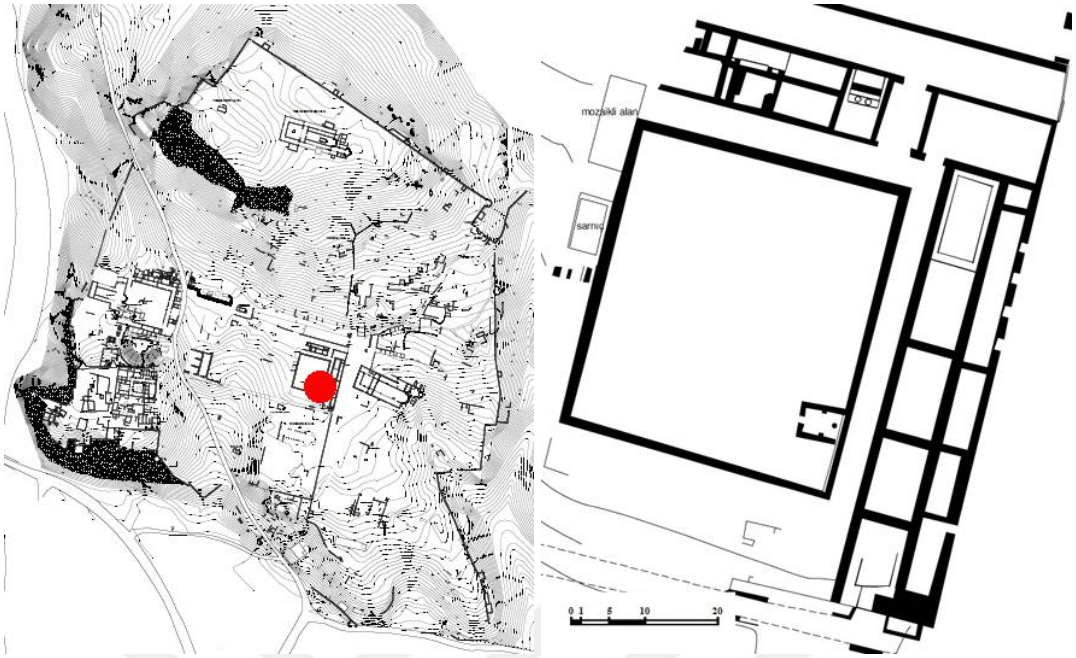


Figure 4.120: Location and general plan of the Upper Agora Chapel (edited from Figure 1.3).

Coordinates: 36.356093 N, 29.320754 E
Alt: +54 m.

Location (Figure 4.120):

Located on the southeast corner of the Upper Agora.

Description:

The building is one of the small-sized chapels in Xanthos and consists of a single nave.

Current Status:

Although excavations were carried out around the area where the building was located, the chapel was not excavated up to the floor level. The walls of the building stand 0.50 m high. The apse, originally sitting on the *krepidoma* of the agora, does not exist anymore (Figure 4.121).



Figure 4.121: Aerial view of the Upper Agora Chapel –in the middle– (Xanthos Excavation Archive, 2018).

Construction Phases and Chronology:

Excavations in the Upper Agora showed that this area was used for residential purposes in the Hellenistic period before the agora was built in the Roman times (des Courtils 2008, 1647). The building date of the chapel is unknown. It was built according to the same plan type as the other small chapels in the city and integrated some spolia blocks. Neither the construction material nor the architectural technique can help to date the building, as walls are preserved up to low heights (Figure 4.122). Although the French researchers conducted excavations around the chapel, they did not suggest a dating and only stated that it belonged to the last phase of occupation of the agora (Cavalier 2007, 169). During these excavations, tombs were also found around the chapel in the eastern portico of the agora, but they did not yield any finds that could lead to dating (Cavalier 2010, 192).



Figure 4.122: General view of the Upper Agora Chapel –from the W– (2018).

The fact that the church sits directly on the *krepidoma* of the agora may indicate that the structure may belong to the Early Byzantine period, because the Lower Agora Chapel, which is very similar to this church in size and location, was built in the Middle Byzantine period on a high earth deposit above the original level of the portico. Another difference between the two churches is that this structure had a single vaulted arch like the other Early Byzantine chapels of Xanthos, while the Lower Agora Chapel was built with double arches like the other Middle Byzantine churches (see Section 4.12 Lower Agora Chapel).

Architectural Description:

The chapel was built 7 m away from the southeast corner of the Upper Agora and its apse was built to sit on the *krepidoma* of the eastern portico of the agora (Figure 4.123). It consists of a single nave measuring 5.00 m x 6.00 m and does not have a narthex. The

wall thickness is 0.7 m. There is a 1.10 m wide door opening in the west. In the north and south walls, there are 0.40 m x 0.60 m wall piers carrying the vault. These wall piers are a common architectural feature seen in all small-sized chapels in Xanthos. The apse, which originally sat on the *krepidoma* of the agora, is now completely destroyed (Figure 4.124). Since the 0.30 m wide *krepidoma* steps of the agora remain within the building, it is understood that they were used as a two-step *synthronon* within the apse. One of the column drums of the agora, 0.72 m in diameter and 0.92 m in height, used as a pedestal for the altar table, is still *in situ*.

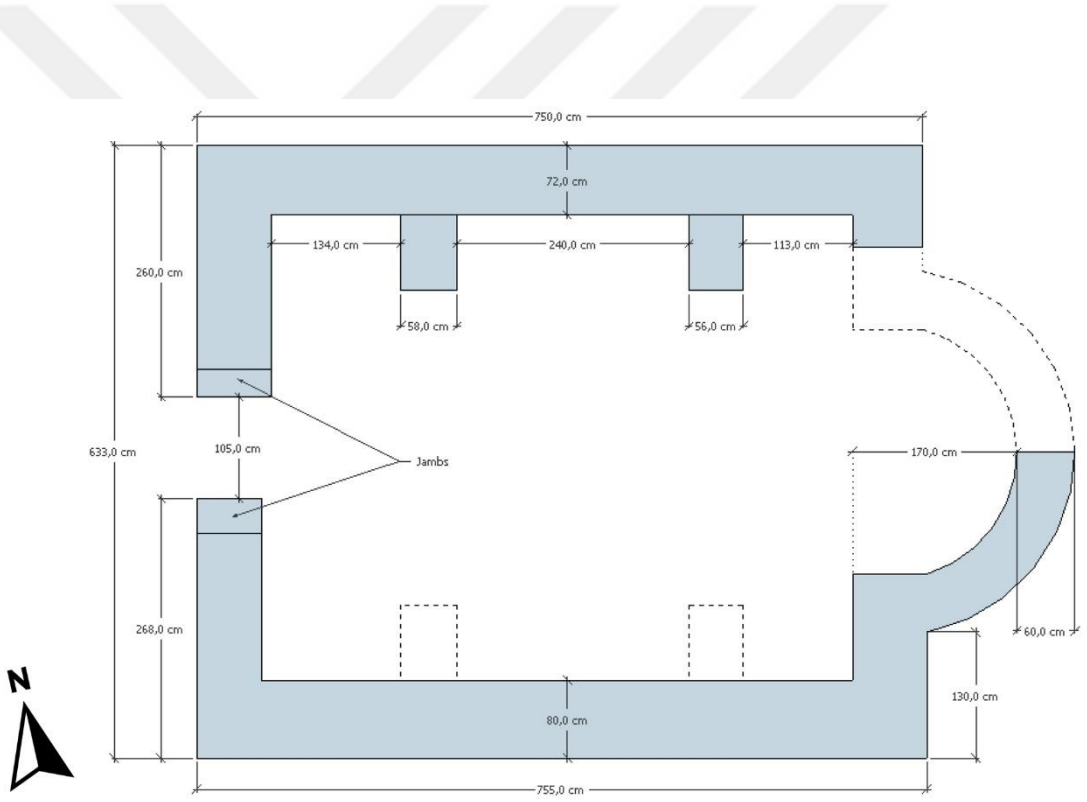


Figure 4.123: Plan of the Upper Agora Chapel (Drawn by the author).

Construction Techniques:

Most of the construction materials are reused blocks from earlier structures combined with rubble. It is not possible to say much about the construction technique because the walls are preserved only up to a very low height. An inscribed block was used as spolia on the bottom of the south pier bearing the vault.

Research/Fieldwork History and Publications:

The Upper Agora and the Civil Basilica were partially excavated. The *krepidoma* of the agora and the outer walls of the church were unearthed, but the interior of the church was not completely excavated. Although there are publications and excavation reports about the Upper Agora, the existence of the chapel is only mentioned without detailed descriptions (Cavalier 2007, 169; Cavalier 2010, 192). An aerial photograph dated to 2005 shows the state of the chapel before its surroundings were excavated (Cavalier 2012, 20, fig.2).



Figure 4.124: Destroyed apse of the Upper Agora Chapel –from the NE– (2018).

4.14 Decumanus Chapel



Figure 4.125: Location and general plan of the Decumanus Chapel (edited from Figure 1.3).

Coordinates: 36.356960 N, 29.319619 E
Alt: +58 m.

Location (Figure 4.125):

Located on the city's main east-west-oriented colonnaded street, the *Decumanus Maximus*, about 80 m away from the West Agora, and east of the modern visitor center and parking lot.

Description:

With its dimensions of 5.20 m x 12.50 m, this chapel is the largest example among the small-size chapels of Xanthos. It is a single-nave church with a narthex close to a square in shape, surrounded by a cemetery area in the south and east (Figure 4.126).

Current Status:

Although the building has not been excavated up to the floor level, it can be seen partly uncovered on the main street. The eastern section of the cemetery around the church was excavated, and the unearthed graves were protected by filling them with pebble stones (Figure 4.127). The building is located on a very central point of the visiting route since it is on the main colonnaded street of the city.



Figure 4.126: General view of the Decumanus Chapel –from the NW– (2017).

Construction Phases and Chronology:

The church was dated to the 12th century by earlier researchers (des Courtils 2011a, 47). The building itself was not excavated, but excavations were carried out in the surrounding

cemetery area, however, no finds were available to clarify the dating. Fifteen tombs, mostly disturbed, were found in the eastern part of the cemetery. In some graves, more than one skeleton was buried, and one mass grave of children was found; reuse was also observed. The tombs yielded no finds except two bronze earrings (des Courtils 2011a, 47). Only half of the cemetery area was excavated. If excavations will continue in the following years, maybe a more precise dating can be suggested.

The church was built on a layer of 0.50 m earth deposit on the *Decumanus Maximus*, and this clearly shows that the main street was already abandoned in the 12th century or it continued to be used with a beaten earth floor at a higher level. The graves were dug in this shallow soil, and the bodies were placed on the street's ground blocks.



Figure 4.127: Aerial view of the Decumanus Chapel and the cemetery (Xanthos Excavation Archive, 2013).

Architectural Description (Figure 4.128):

Narthex: The narthex measures 3.90 m x 3.55 m and the walls are 0.80 m thick. The access to the naos is provided by a 1.00 m wide door, which was blocked at a later period. The entrance to the narthex on the west side was also blocked.

Naos: Small-sized chapels in Xanthos are covered with barrel vaults, and each of them has one wall pier on each side carrying an arch to support the vault. Only the Decumanus Chapel and the Lower Agora Chapel have two piers on each wall, and both can be dated to the Middle Byzantine period. This feature of the church has led researchers to interpret that the building may have been covered with a dome (Varkıvanç 2015a, 60). However, the four wall piers did not provide a square area as it is 3.15 m in the east-west and 4.10 m in the north-south. Thus, it is understood that the church was covered with a vault supported by two arches. The total inner dimension of the naos is 4.20 m x 6.45 m. The walls are preserved with a height of approximately 1.5 m have a thickness of 0.70 m.

The apse has a width of 2.39 m and a depth of 1.40 m and is round from the outside. There is a column base and a column drum of different sizes that functioned as an altar base (Figure 4.129). Although the stone material that may belong to the *bema* separation can be seen, its precise arrangement cannot be understood because of the earth deposit.

Decorative Features:

Painting: Faint traces of red and black paint can be seen on the plaster.

Construction Techniques:

The structure was built with rubble and reused small blocks as well as a large number of broken brick fragments. This masonry is similar to that of Middle Byzantine walls in Xanthos.

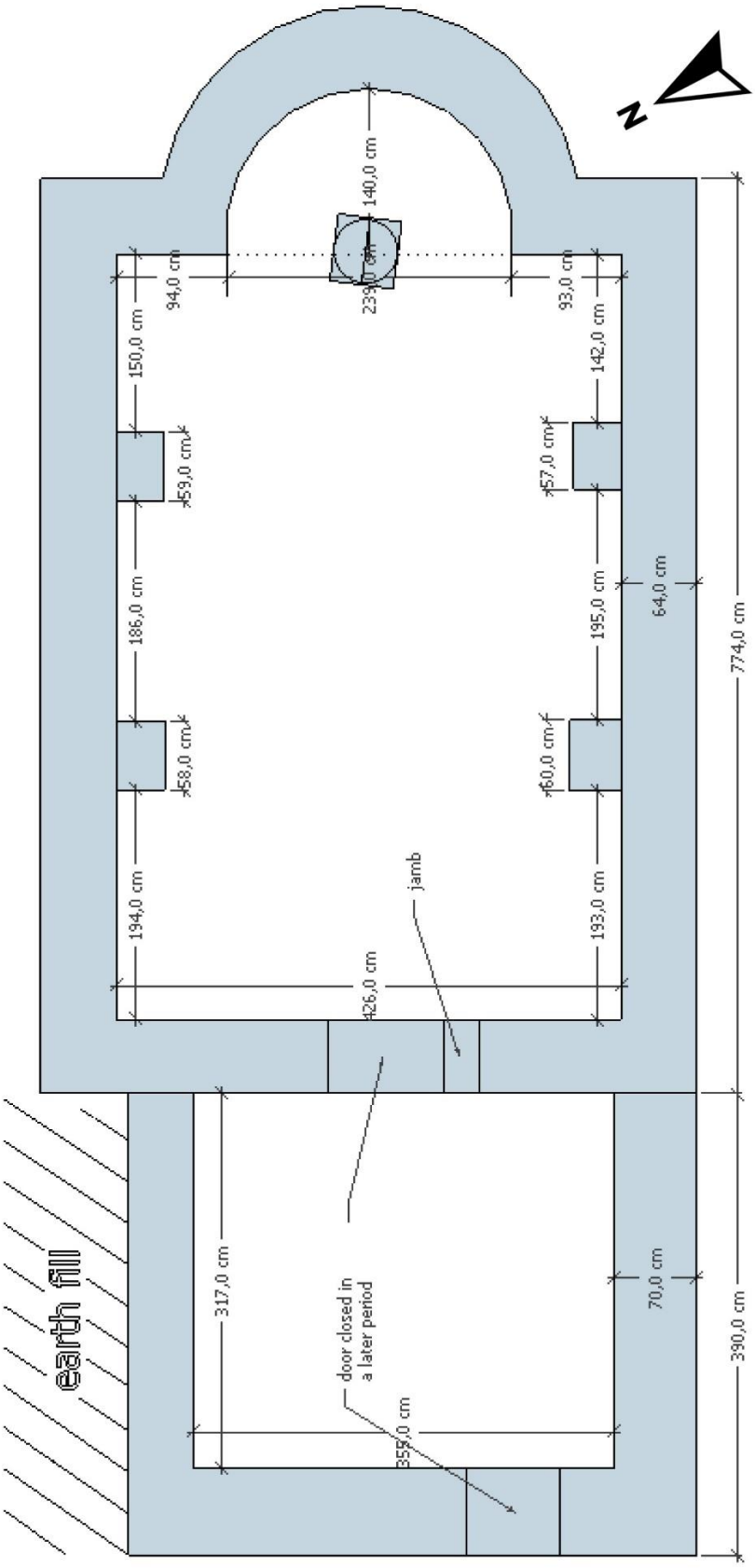


Figure 4.128: Plan of the Decumanus Chapel (Drawn by the author).

Research/Fieldwork History and Publications:

The church was never completely excavated, and only the cemetery area around it was partially excavated in 2010 (des Courtils 2011a, 47). In 2014, the earth deposit inside the church was partially cleaned but no excavation was carried out up to the floor level (Varkıvanç 2015a, 60).



Figure 4.129: Apse of the Decumanus Chapel –from the E– (2017).

4.15 Chapel (?) next to the Maidens Sarcophagus

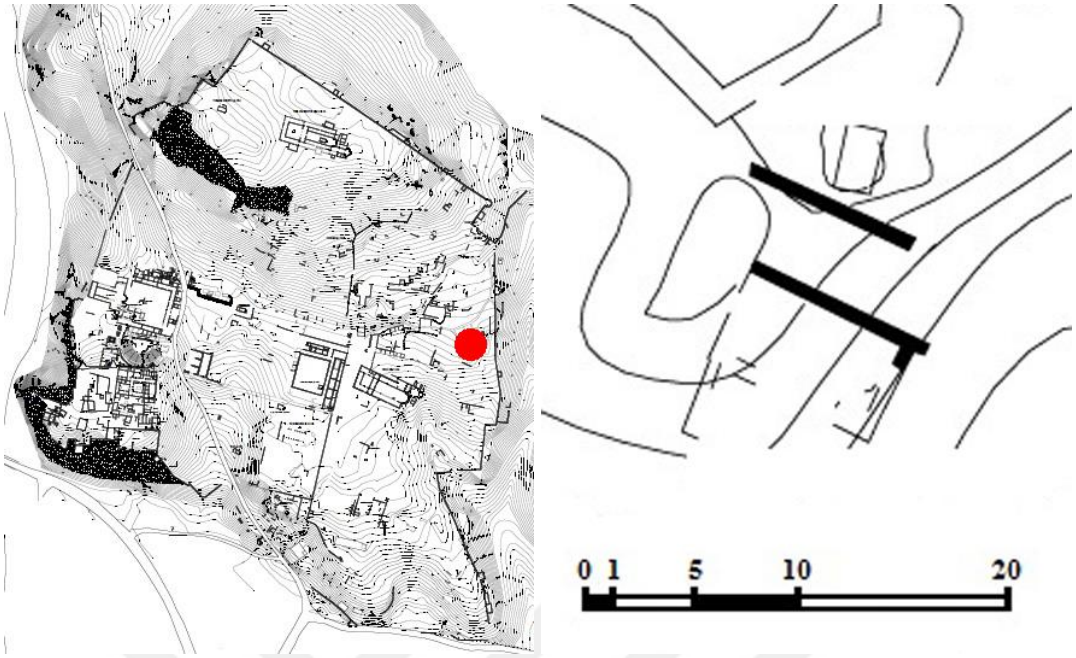


Figure 4.130: Location and general plan of the structure next to the Maidens Sarcophagus (edited from Figure 1.3).

Coordinates: 36.356510 N, 29.322813 E
Alt: +62 m.

Location (Figure 4.130):

Located in the east part of the city, adjacent to the south of the Maidens Sarcophagus.

Description:

It is thought that the structure consisting of a single room may be one of the small chapels in Xanthos.

Current Status:

The north and west walls of the building are standing while the others are destroyed. Two blocks in the east direction, placed in a curved way, resemble an apse.



Figure 4.131: Aerial view of the structure next to the Maidens Sarcophagus (Xanthos Excavation Archive, 2017).

Construction Phases and Chronology:

No previous information is available about the structure. Since the wall construction technique resembles the Early Byzantine walls of Xanthos, the building probably belongs to this era.

Architectural Description:

The structure is located to the south of the tomb known as the Maidens Sarcophagus and at the lower elevation of the monument (Figure 4.131). The north wall leans against the terrace where the sarcophagus stands and is preserved as high as 2.60 m, while the west wall is standing freely at a 2.10 m height (Figure 4.132). There is another parallel and similar wall in the south of the sarcophagus on the terrace where the north wall leans. The south and east walls of the building were destroyed up to their foundation levels. The

dimensions of the building are 4.90 m x 8.80 m and the wall thickness is 0.6 m for the north wall and 0.70 m for the west wall. The presence of a 3.75 m wall extending from the southwest corner to the south indicates that there was probably an additional room adjacent to the south.



Figure 4.132: West and north walls of the building –from the S– (2018).

Although it is not clear that the building was a church, the hypothesis emerged from the appearance of two blocks placed in a curved manner resembling an apse in the east (Figure 4.133, arrow on the right). When the angle of these blocks is completed in the plan, it forms an apse of 1.20 m in depth and 2.30 m in diameter. Also, there is a flat wall on the east side of this ‘apse’ (Figure 4.133, arrow on the left), which is not a common architectural feature for Xanthos churches. All churches in the city, both small and large ones, have semi-circular apses on their eastern sides without any frontal walls.

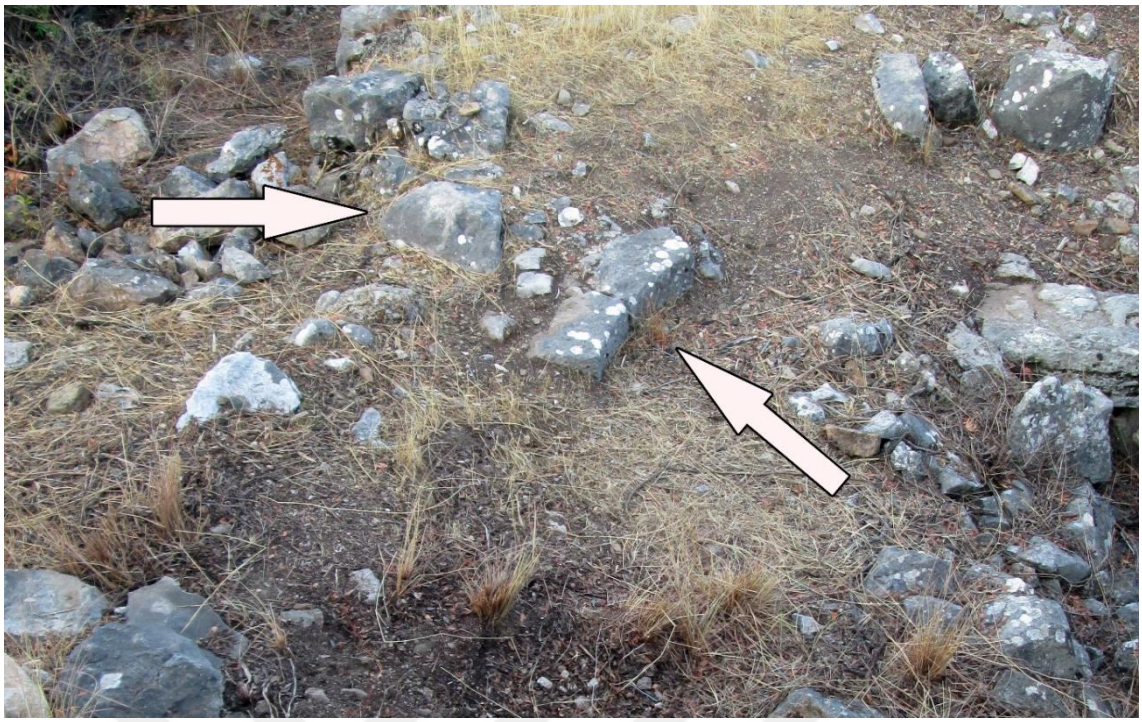


Figure 4.133: Detail of the ‘apse’ of the structure –from the N– (2018).

In the western wall, there is a 1.10 m wide door of 1.50 m high –the original height cannot be measured due to the earth deposit– (Figure 4.134). When the apse is completed in the plan, it is seen that this door is not exactly located in the middle axis and shifts to the north. In addition, the wall piers bearing a vault, which is a common feature in all chapels of Xanthos, are not present in this structure. Since these three features differentiate the building from the typical Xanthos chapels, it raises a suspicion that the building may not have been a church.

Although the northern wall is preserved quite high, there are no traces neither of the beginning of the vault or of any window. The middle of the structure is very much hollowed, so that it may have been the target of an illegal excavation in previous years. Systematical excavations are required in the area in order to determine the function of the structure correctly.



Figure 4.134: West wall of the building and the door –from the W– (2018).

Construction Techniques:

The walls were built from mortared rubble and contains only a small number of brick fragments. This masonry is similar to that of Early Byzantine walls in Xanthos.

Research/Fieldwork History and Publications:

No fieldwork was carried out in the structure before. In 2017, while the area was completely covered with plants, two blocks showing an apse-like form in the east direction were discovered by the author, and vegetation clearing work was conducted to document the structure.

4.16 Chapel Adjacent to the South Gate

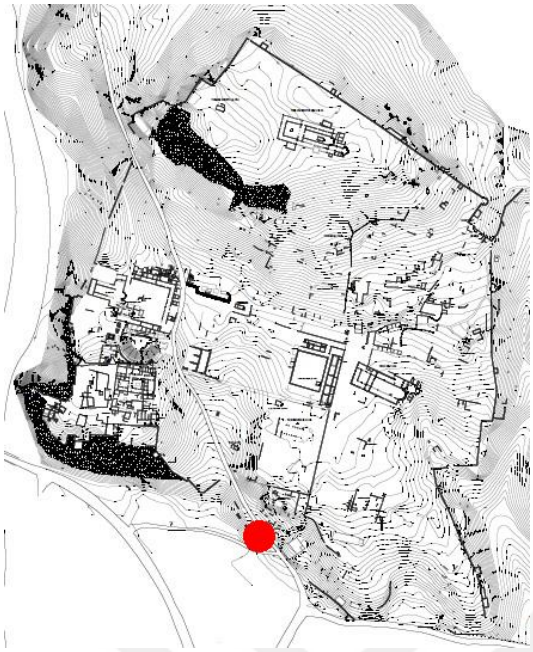


Figure 4.135: Location of the Chapel Adjacent to the South Gate (edited from Figure 1.3).

Coordinates: 36.354448 N, 29.319954 E
Alt: +26 m.

Location (Figure 4.135):

Located adjacent to the South Gate and on the southwest slope of the Nereid Monument. Between the excavation depot and the newly-built visitor center.

Description:

Hawkins drew a plan in 1843-44 showing the locations of the architectural fragments found during the excavations around the Nereid Monument to acquire its pieces systematically (British Museum, no. 2012,5034.30). This plan includes the podium and its surroundings, as well as the Byzantine buildings in the south of the monument up to the South Gate (see Section 4.36 Nereid Monument Area). This drawing shows a structure

that was never shown in any other city plan: a chapel with an apse and a narthex is clearly visible adjacent to the northern pier of the Roman arch of the South Gate (Figure 4.136).

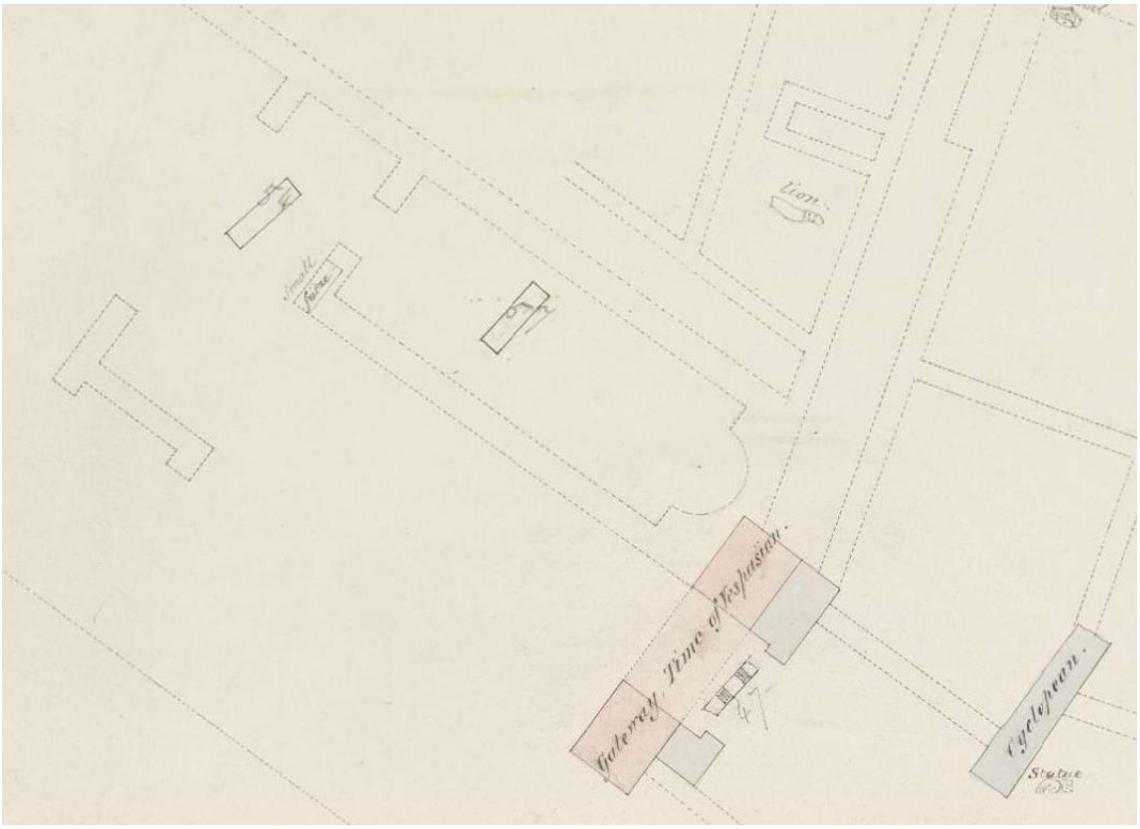


Figure 4.136: Plan of the Chapel Adjacent to the South Gate (British Museum, no. 2012,5034.30 [close-up]).

Fellows referred to this structure and its function in two instances. When he describes the re-use of old buildings in different ways during the Christian era, he points out that it is a disregard, saying, "amongst many other instances, the erecting a small chapel against the archway" (Fellows 1852, 503). The second mention is when he describes their search for the heads of the Nereid Monument statues. While stating that the heads could not be found despite all the searches due to the iconoclasm of the Christians, he also describes the Christian structures found here, saying, "... upon some of the walls the Panagia of the Greek church was still to be recognized." (Fellows 1852, 480).



Figure 4.137: Scharf's drawing of the South Gate with the chapel's south wall on the left (British Museum, no. 2012,5034.25).

In two drawings of the South Gate made in the same period, the south wall of the structure can be seen (British Museum, no. 2011,5012.116; British Museum, no. 2012,5034.25). It is also clearly visible in these drawings that the building had collapsed and covered with soil. In this case, Fellows probably saw and identified some fresco fragments after excavating the area.

Current Status:

The modern road passes from the east side of the South Gate and directly above the church. It can be supposed that the building was filled with earth while the road was being constructed instead of being completely demolished. In that case, it may have been preserved under the road since there is a 3.40 m elevation difference between the road

and the original pavement level of the South Gate. The south wall of the building is partially visible from the outside, constituting the east wall of the paved way that once leading from the South Gate to the city.

Architectural Description:

Since the church does not exist or is at least not visible anymore, the only resources about its presence are the commentaries of Fellows and the plan drawn by Hawkins. According to this plan, the church had a single nave and a narthex. The apse is pointing to the south-southeast. The entrance to the narthex from the west is also visible, but the south wall of the narthex is absent. The apses of the churches in Xanthos are round from the outside, but since this structure is adjacent to the pier of the gate arch, it is bounded by a flat wall in the east.

It is possible to measure the structure with the help of the scale of the plan. According to the scale: the wall thickness is 0.60 m, the apse diameter 1.80 m, the apse depth 0.90 m, the naos width 2.90 m, the naos length 7.75 m, the naos entrance door width 1.10 m, and the length of the narthex is 2.25 m.

Construction Techniques:

Since the South Gate excavations could not proceed more due to the existence of the modern road, the south wall of the church could not be revealed completely. The wall, of which only 0.50 m is visible, was built with rubble and some brick fragments, but it cannot be observed further to allow interpretation. Scharf's drawing of the South Gate is the only document showing the masonry of this section (Figure 4.137). Assuming the drawing is accurate, the masonry looks similar to the Early Byzantine walls in Xanthos.

Research/Fieldwork History and Publications:

The surroundings of the church were excavated by Fellows searching for parts of the Nereid Monument. According to the plan, three fragments of the monument were recovered from the church; one inside the naos, one in the narthex, and one in the wall between the narthex and the naos (Figure 4.136). Fellows referred to this building in his book (Fellows 1852, 480, 503). Since the structure was later buried under the highway, it was not subject to any study by other researchers.

4.17 Synagogue

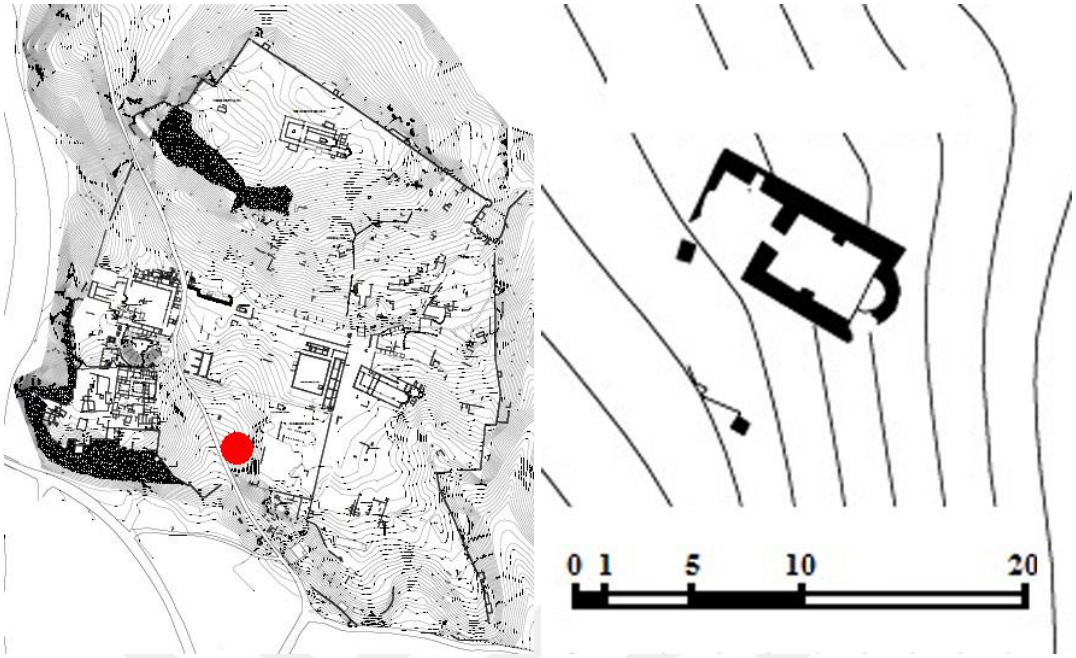


Figure 4.138: Location and general plan of the Synagogue (edited from Figure 1.3).

Coordinates: 36.355354 N, 29.319558 E
Alt: +37 m.

Location (Figure 4.138):

Located on the opposite slope of the Lycian Acropolis, east of the modern road passing through the city, between the Roman Baths and the South Gate.

Description:

The structure consists of a narthex, a naos, and a niche in the southeast resembling an apse from the outside.

Current Status:

The walls of the building stand approximately 2 m high (Figure 4.139).



Figure 4.139: General view of the Synagogue before the excavation –from the NW– (2018).

Construction Phases and Chronology:

During the excavations, no finds were unearthed that would help to date the building precisely. When the wall construction technique and its functional context are evaluated, the 5th - 6th centuries AD are considered appropriate.

Architectural Description:

The structure consists of a single nave and a narthex, measuring 4.75 m x 9.36 m in total and has a wall thickness of 0.80 m. The apse in the southeast is round from the outside, which is a usual appearance in chapel architecture in the city. However, when viewed from the inside, the half-circular apse does not start from the floor level and is raised on a 1-meter-high wall (Figure 4.140). While in Christian architecture, the apses of churches start from the ground level, in this structure, this part does not have the function of the

apse of a church and appears as an apsidal niche. On the other hand, synagogues have niches or cabinets raised from the ground called ‘Ehal’, ‘Aron Hakodesh’, ‘Torah ark’ or ‘ark of the scrolls’ in which the rolls of sacred text are placed. In the ‘apsidal synagogue’ plan type,[38] the ehal appears in the form of an apse visible from the outside of the building, as in this structure (Figure 4.141). Thus, the idea has emerged that this structure could be a synagogue. The width of this southeast-oriented niche is 1.65 m, and the depth is 0.90 m. The orientation of this structure is also correct since the diaspora synagogues located to the west of Palestine were generally oriented to the east (Sukenik 1934, 51).



Figure 4.140: Naos of the Synagogue after the excavation –from the W– (2019).

[38] The synagogues that were built according to this plan type date to the 5th to 8th centuries AD and some important examples are the Beth Alpha, Gaza, Maon, and Hammath Gader Synagogues (Pelaez del Rosal 1988, 44). Although the Priene synagogue has an ehal niche on the eastern side, it has a square form and is not apsidal. The closest example of this plan type in Asia Minor is the Andriake Synagogue (Çevik et al. 2010).



Figure 4.141: Torah niche in the east wall in the shape of an apse –from the N– (2019).

Entrances from the outside to the narthex and from the narthex to the naos are located in the western. Remains of wall piers –dimensions 0.35 m x 0.55 m– in the north and south walls in the center of the naos –dimensions 3.20 m x 4.40 m–, point to barrel-vaulted roofing supported by an arch. The walls were built with rubble, broken bricks, and architectural spolia joined with mortar. In the present state, the walls of the structure are approximately 2 m high from the inside, but the original height is unknown.

The 2019 excavation revealed a second important architectural feature that could indicate that the building was a synagogue. Two stone blocks are placed as coming out of the wall, facing each other in the north and south walls just in front of the apsidal niche. The ‘Bimah’ or ‘Teva’ is an elevated platform where sacred texts are read, an

indispensable element of synagogue architecture, mostly located in front of the Torah ark[39]. These two stone blocks, functioning as corbels, must have carried a platform between them; thus, an elevated area was created in front of the apsidal niche, easily accessible to the Torah ark, perhaps with a step. On the other hand, there is no other suitable space where a *bimah* can be located considering the dimensions of the structure. The *bimah* of a synagogue would be a stone or a wooden platform (Pelaez del Rosal 1988, 59). Since there is no stone deposit in this section in Xanthos Synagogue, it seems more likely to have a wooden *bimah* here.

The corner of the wall below the apse at the beginning of the niche was assumed as point zero, and the original ground level was found at -0.76 m. Only some of the limestone pavement blocks with a thickness of 0.20 m were found *in situ*, and others must have been taken to use elsewhere in the past. A sounding of 1.20 m x 1.20 m was dug at the corner where the apse wall and the south wall joint. 20 cm below the compacted soil of the ground –which is a bed for the limestone flooring–, the layer appeared as a more compact soil, and the walls were built directly upon this layer without a deeper foundation. The sounding yielded unqualified ceramic finds, mostly dating to the Roman period. The second working area was the narthex which is 3.5 m x 5.5 m. As the result of the excavation, two arches in the north and south directions were found –the one in the south was already collapsed–. The function of these rather pointed arches is unclear. No architectural sculptures were found *in situ*.

Grave: Towards the end of the fieldwork, when a wall on the surface located in the south of the apse was studied, two blocks were seen in a parallel position. After the excavation,

[39] In the rectangular synagogues which have no apse, the *bimah* can be located in the center of the building, whereas in the apsidal synagogues it is usually located just in front of the apsidal niche, the Torah ark.

a grave was unearthed that had already been destroyed and robbed by illegal excavations in the past, and only tiny fragments of a broken glass bracelet and disturbed bones were found inside. The tomb is a stone cist grave and was constructed by joining spoliated architectural blocks with mortar. Its length is 2.50 m; its width is 0.40 m at its narrowest part and 0.60 m at its widest part. It is positioned parallel to the structure, looking in the southeast direction (Figure 4.142, in the bottom right). The grave is located at a -0.54 m level according to point zero, which is quite high in respect to the original floor of the building. This shows that the tomb probably belongs to a later period and is not contemporary with the synagogue.



Figure 4.142: Aerial view of the Synagogue after the excavation (Xanthos Excavation Archive, 2019).

Terrace Wall: A circular wall that can be seen on the southwest side may be a retaining wall supporting the elevated area, which appears as a platform on which the structure was built or may indicate different functional spaces in the environment. Mostly, a synagogue is not only a religious prayer house but also a school for children, a repository for communal funds, a court for communal law, a general assembly hall for political issues, a hostel for merchants, and a space for commercial activities (Levine 1981, 3-4; Çevik et al. 2010, 340). Since the Xanthos Synagogue is very small, it does not seem possible to have hosted all these functions, but it could have been surrounded by other rooms. Excavation in these areas in the upcoming years may reveal new data that may prove the exact function and features of the structure.

Decorative Features:

No remains of architectural sculpture or any other decorative features were found during the excavations. Most likely, the reusable architectural materials had already been taken after the end of the use of the building. Only a small part of a marble revetment found *in situ* shows that there was a marble flooring layer over the large pavement blocks.

Construction Techniques:

The structure was built with mortared rubble and reused architectural material with a small number of brick fragments. The masonry is similar to that of Early Byzantine walls in Xanthos. Column drums, some small-sized ashlar stones and very large blocks in the outer walls were used in the construction as spolia.

Research/Fieldwork History and Publications:

In the last days of the 2018 excavation season, a small chapel was found during the fieldwork of updating the urban plan of Xanthos. The plan of the building was drawn after the vegetation clearing, but no further studies could be carried out as the end of the

excavation season was reached. As a result of the later examination of the photographs and plans, it was observed that this structure is not in accordance with the characteristics of church architecture, and the theory emerged that it could have been a synagogue due to the special appearance of the apse, which could be found in synagogue architecture. The structure was only shown without details in the former city plans drawn by the French scholars excavating the city until 2011. Although there is no mention in the excavation reports and articles belonging to this period, it was understood that excavations were carried out here in the late 1980s or early 1990s –if not scientifically, the structure was maybe a subject of an illegal excavation– and it was used as a garbage pit by a former retail kiosk nearby in the early 1990s.

The first publication that briefly mentions the building is the 2018 excavation report. Since this report was published before it was thought that the building might have been a synagogue, the structure was introduced here as a newfound small chapel (Varkıvanç 2019, 252-253).

As a result of the fieldwork in 2019, no findings were retrieved to precisely date the building or show its original function. The structure was introduced as a synagogue for the first time in the annual excavation report (Varkıvanç 2020, 65). However, a stratigraphic report regarding these excavations has not been published.

4.18 Southern Necropolis Outside the City Walls



Figure 4.143: Location of the Southern Necropolis (edited from Figure 1.3).

Coordinates: 36.354173 N, 29.318884 E
Alt: ?

Location (Figure 4.143):

Located to the southeast of the South Gate, in the area where the new visitor center has been built.

Description:

It is known that there was a Roman mausoleum in this area that is completely destroyed today, and it has also been reported that there were many sarcophagi found in the vicinity. These show that the area was used as a necropolis at least since the Roman period. This function continued in the Byzantine period as well.

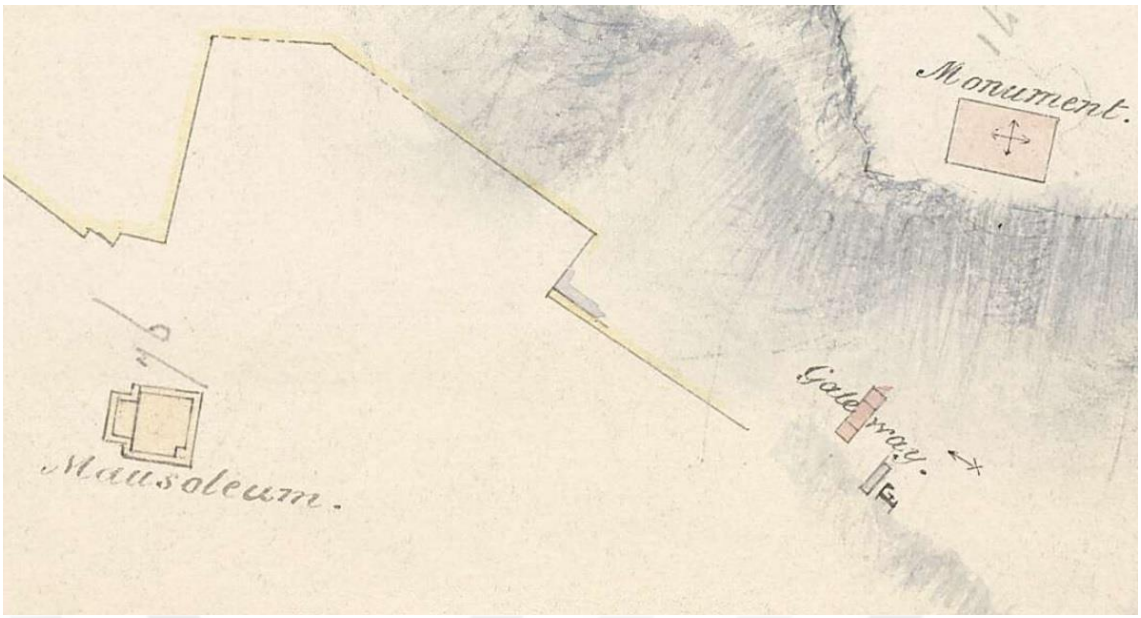


Figure 4.144: Plan of the mausoleum on the city plan by Hawkins (British Museum, no. 2012,5034.29 [close-up]).

Roman Mausoleum: On the city plan drawn by Hawkins in 1843-44, a structure was recorded as "Mausoleum" to the west of the South Gate (Figure 4.144). This building was destroyed at an unknown date, the area was flattened, and the weekly market of the Kınık district was set up in this area for many years. Today, a new visitor center has been built in this area. During the new construction works in the area, a lid belonging to a Roman sarcophagus was found.

The purpose of mentioning the Roman mausoleum here is to correct earlier inaccurate information. After his excavations, Fellows dated the findings to the Byzantine period: "On the plain at the foot of the elevation upon which the city was placed, we disinterred the remains of a mausoleum. In this room, which had vaults beneath, stood four sarcophagi, raised upon pedestals, forming biers or places of burial within them. I much regret that these sarcophagi were mere fragments, or they would have displayed fine specimens of the Byzantine age of art." (Fellows 1852, 503). However, contrary to

the evaluation of Fellows, these sarcophagi do not belong to the Byzantine period. A detailed examination of the sarcophagi was published in a later article along with the plan of the building, and pieces of four sarcophagi found in the mausoleum were dated to the last quarter of the 2nd century AD (Rodenwaldt 1933, 183, 211).

Byzantine Cemetery: In 2019, excavations were required in the southeast of the South Gate to build a septic tank for the new visitor center, and these were carried out under the supervision of officials from the Museum of Lycian Civilizations, Demre. During these excavations, several torpedo-type terracotta tombs dated to the Early Byzantine period were unearthed 3-4 m below the ground level and under a thick alluvial layer (Figure 4.145). This type of graves is known from the nearby region at the Letoon and Patara. The same type of tombs found at the Letoon were dated to the first quarter of the 5th century AD, based on coin finds (le Roy 2005, 250). The graves in the Cemetery Church, which is thought to be an important pilgrimage center in Patara, were dated to the late 4th - early 5th centuries AD (İşkan and Şahin 2019, 340).

Various Early Byzantine ceramics[40], a thick wall in ashlar masonry, and pieces of wall revetments made of high-quality stones were also found in the same area. These data show that there was a necropolis outside the city walls in the Early Byzantine period. Considering that burials were usually made inside or around churches in the Byzantine period as also can be seen in the Xanthos West Agora Church, it can be expected that there was an Early Byzantine church in this region as is also suggested by the wall foundation. However, if there was a church, it was already destroyed before it was covered by the alluvium that came with the floodwater.

[40] It was verbally reported by the museum staff that an oil lamp with sheep motive, found at the same level as the tombs, was dated to the 5th - 6th centuries AD. On the other hand, when the tombs were opened, only bones were found inside without any grave finds (personal communication, 2019).



Figure 4.145: Torpedo-type graves and the wall (2019).

Current Status:

The Roman mausoleum has been destroyed already, and a new visitor center is being built on-site. The torpedo-type tombs were found 3-4 m below the present ground level. For these reasons, there are currently no visible remains in the area, except three decorated architraves from the Roman period that cannot be certainly attributed to any particular building.

Architectural Description:

It is not possible to say much about the building in the area where the Byzantine tombs were found, since only 6 m of a wall, with a thickness of 1 m was unearthed (Figure 4.145). The research could not continue as the wall goes further in the direction out of the excavated area. Torpedo-type tombs were found at the level of this wall, both in the south

and north, so that the wall may belong to the foundations of a building somehow surrounding the tombs. The wall was constructed with regular cut limestone blocks.

Decorative Features:

Fragments of high-quality marble and dark purple granite, which could be wall revetment, were found near the wall but not *in situ*.

Research/Fieldwork History and Publications:

Roman Mausoleum: On the city plan drawn by Hawkins in 1843-44, the structure was named 'Mausoleum' (British Museum, no. 2012,5034.29). Hawkins also drew the plans and cross-sections of the building (Rodenwaldt 1933, 184, fig.1). Interestingly, the structure does not appear on the next two city plans drawn by Hoskyn in 1847 (Spratt and Forbes 1847, plan) and by Krickl in 1892 (Kalinka 1920, 95).

As a result of the excavation conducted by Fellows, the fragments belonging to four different sarcophagi were found inside and brought to the British Museum, and these were later published by Rodenwaldt. Since the building completely disappeared, it was not subjected to any other research after Fellows.

Byzantine Cemetery: Even on the earliest city plans, no ruins can be seen here. The remains must have been buried due to floodwater on an unknown date before the 19th century. Since the site was excavated by the authorities of the Demre Museum, this fieldwork was not included in the annual report published by the excavation team.

4.19 Northeast House on the Lycian Acropolis



Figure 4.146: Location and general plan of the Northeast House on the Lycian Acropolis (edited from Figure 1.3).

Coordinates: 36.356113 N, 29.318253 E
Alt: +58 m.

Location (Figure 4.146):

Located on the northeast of the Lycian Acropolis.

Description:

Although earlier and later building phases were identified during the excavations, most of the elements of the structure belong to the 5th century AD. This great residence covers approximately 1/6 of the Lycian Acropolis with a surface area of 2000 m2 (Figure 4.147). The rooms were arranged around a peristyle courtyard with a pool in the middle, and the richly decorated *triclinium* shows the wealthy Mediterranean house scheme of the period.

Its architecture, plan, building materials and location give the impression that it belonged to an important aristocratic family of Byzantine Xanthos.



Figure 4.147: Location of the Northeast House on the Lycian Acropolis –yellow area– (Manière-Lévêque 2012, 19, fig.9).

Current Status:

Since the walls of the building are standing at an average height of 1.30 m, its plan is easily understandable. Furthermore, the walls of the apsidal *triclinium* are survived with its high walls almost up to the ceiling level (Figure 4.148). The building is completely excavated and open to visit. Mosaic floors are currently kept covered with pebble stones for protection.

Construction Phases and Chronology:

4th Century AD: It was understood during the excavations that the building was also a residence with a different plan in the 4th century AD (Manière-Lévêque 2012, 19). The *opus tessellatum* floor mosaics in the northern part of this house were kept during the 5th century AD rebuilding work by changing the room layout. The original size of the first building could not be understood, as it was completely changed structurally in the later periods, but excavations revealed that it consisted of at least two sections (Manière-Lévêque 2012, 23, fig.13). The floor mosaic, which does not have a figurative scene, shows good craftsmanship in terms of color variety and quality in the application; besides, the mosaic bed was technically well prepared. Similarities have been identified between these mosaics, which are understood to have been made by a skilled workshop, and those found in the Baths of Leda (Manière-Lévêque 2012, 27).



Figure 4.148: Aerial view of the Northeast House on the Lycian Acropolis (Xanthos Excavation Archive, 2018).

5th Century AD: The 5th century construction phase of the residence has a Mediterranean house plan scheme consisting of spaces gathered around a central peristyle courtyard, and developed after the Hellenistic period (Figures 4.149 and 4.150). The pool in the middle of the courtyard is one of the important elements that show the rich character of the architecture and especially the monumental marble-clad *nymphaeum* at the east side. In the Eastern Mediterranean area, its counterparts can be found in Apamea, Antioch, Perge, Ephesos, Aphrodisias and Pergamon (Manière-Lévêque 2007a, 493).

Later Phases: In total, three later periods of use have been identified during the 7th-8th, the 12th-13th, and the 18-19th centuries (Manière-Lévêque 2012, 15). After the 7th century AD, the private status of the residence changed, and it was divided into many different spaces and some parts were arranged as barns (Manière-Lévêque 2012, 20). This change probably took place during the period when the city was affected by the raids when the Diateichisma wall was built, and a sheltered area was created on the Lycian Acropolis. It has been shown by the Seljuk pottery finds that the building continued to be occupied at the end of the 13th century (des Courtils and Laroche 2003, 441).

Architectural Description:

Tablinum: The entrance to the house was provided through a vestibule measures 3.10 m x 13.80 m, parallel to the street that extends in the north-south direction on the Lycian Acropolis. This room also opens to the 7.80 m x 11.80 m *tablinum,* which is connected to the peristyle courtyard in the east and flanked by annexes in the north and south directions, which are thought to be service areas. An *opus spicatum*[41] mosaic floor was found *in situ* in the annex room to the north, where also the beginning of a staircase is visible indicating the existence of a terrace or a second floor that probably was used as

[41] An arrangement made of terracotta bricks laid in a herringbone pattern.

storage area (Manière-Lévêque 2012, 36). After the 7th century AD this section of the house was converted into a sheepfold (Manière-Lévêque 2012, 20).

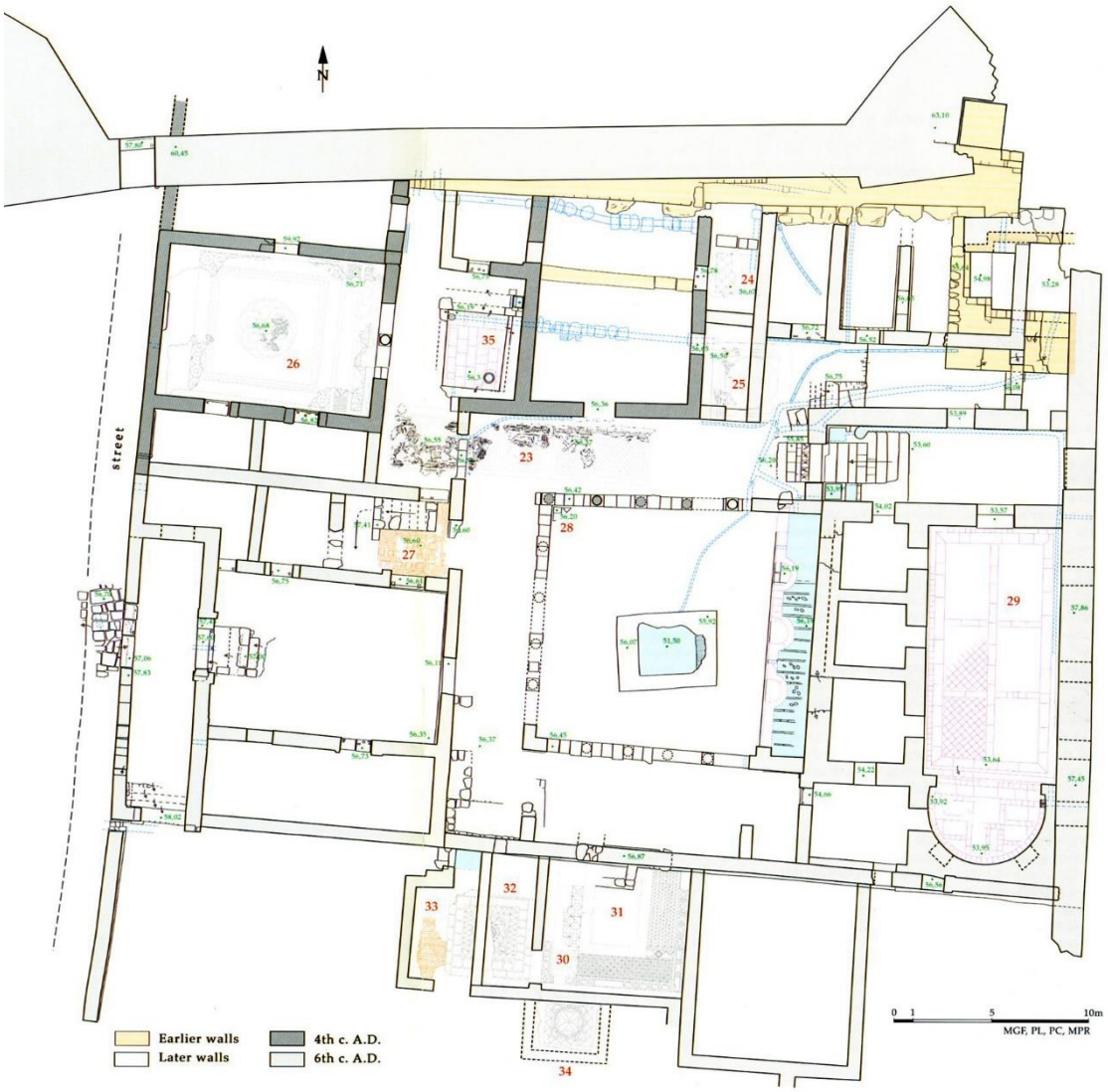


Figure 4.149: General plan of the Northeast House on the Lycian Acropolis (Manière-Lévêque 2012, 34, fig.33).

Peristyle Courtyard: There is a shallow pool measuring 11.00 m x 11.90 m in the middle of the peristyle courtyard which measures 18.30 m x 21.70 m through which all the wings of the house are connected. The courtyard is surrounded by porticos on three sides in the north, west and south and a fountain structure in the east direction. There were a total of

14 granite columns with a diameter of 0.40 m in the porticos, which were once standing on 0.65 m x 0.65 m bases on a limestone stylobate. There is a cistern measuring 4.00 m x 5.00 m in the middle of the pool. In the fountain part, there are three marble-clad niches 1.80 m wide and 1.20 m deep, in which once statues were placed.

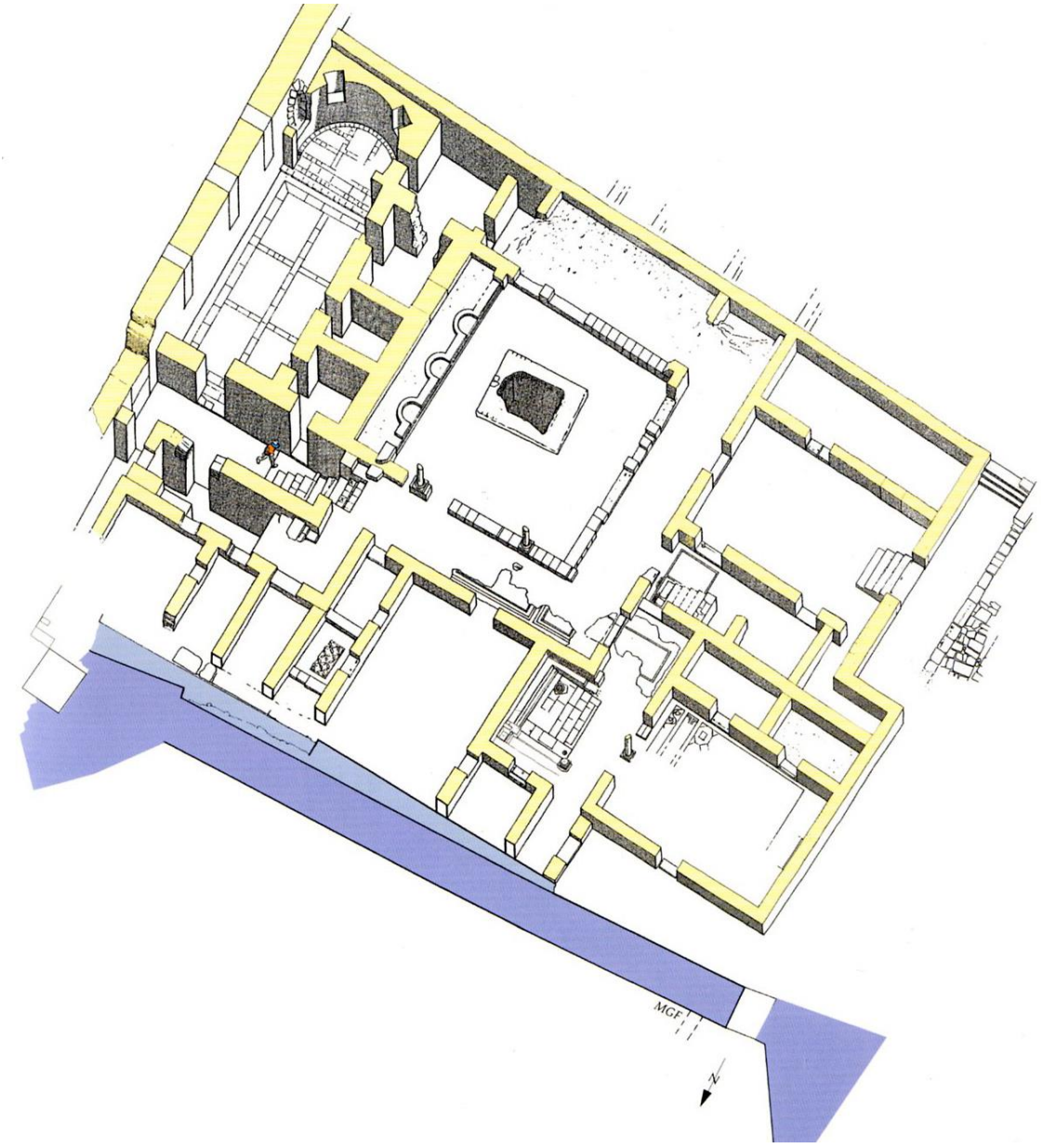


Figure 4.150: Isometric view of the Northeast House on the Lycian Acropolis (Manière-Lévêque 2012, 35, fig.34).

Water was pumped to the fountain with a siphon system on both sides of the stairs leading down to the *triclinium*. Remains of this water system were discovered during excavations. With its pool and fountain it is the most impressive private *nymphaeum* arrangement found in the nearby region in terms of dimensions and design (Manière-Lévêque 2012, 38). The rich architectural features can be compared with the peristyle courtyard with a pool of the episcopal palace at Olympos (Öztaşkın 2013, 124).

Private Courtyard: The private rooms in the north of the house are accessed from the northwest of the central courtyard via a smaller –6.20 m x 6.80 m– private courtyard covered with marble. A marble drain cover with a flower pattern once supplied a cistern under this open area. Water could be taken out through the well hole with a diameter of 0.45 m at the other corner.

Kitchen: It was understood that the kitchen space in the northeast corner was used as a shop during the Roman period –the end of the 2nd or the beginning of the 3rd century AD– (des Courtils 2003b, 255).

Triclinium: On the north side of the courtyard and at the lower level of -2.00 m, there is a richly furnished *triclinium* of the residence and its service areas. This lower level is reached with 11 steps of marble-covered stairs towards the east from the north portico of the courtyard. The *triclinium* is a rectangular room measuring 7.00 m x 12.80 m. The south side ends in a half-round apse with a depth of 4.40 m, and its floor is 22 cm higher than the rest of the room. This part was added to the structure in a phase that can be dated between the 6th and the end of the 7th / beginning of the 8th centuries AD (Manière-Lévêque 1998a, 70-71). The eastern wall of the building also forms the fortification wall of the acropolis. In the west, there are four rooms in a row. The northern and southern walls of the rooms were plastered, and the western walls were not, suggesting that once

wooden cabinets stood there (Manière-Lévêque 2012, 41). The southernmost room opens to the apse and was also used as exit to the south portico of the courtyard. The walls of the main room stand with a height of 4 m. The lower parts of the walls were once covered with marble revetment, and the upper parts were decorated with painted plaster.

South Wing: An area of 1650 m2 on the south side of the Northeast House on the Lycian Acropolis with mosaic floors was destroyed in 1956 (Manière-Lévêque 2007a, fn8). If this information is correct, it means that almost half of the total of the building has been destroyed by previous researchers while looking for Classical period levels. Although the remains of a private bath have survived very fragmentarily, it is no longer possible to understand whether this place was connected to the house or not (see Section 4.23).

Decorative Features:

Architectural Sculpture: A marble drain cover with a flower pattern was found *in situ* (Figure 4.205).

Mosaics: The floor of the *triclinium* was paved with white marble and dark schist stones in a diagonal checkerboard pattern. Very few of them have survived *in situ*, but imprints can be seen on the mortar. Apart from this, although there are mosaic fragments of *opus tessellatum* in various parts of the house, they are mostly from the previous phase.

Research/Fieldwork History and Publications:

Although it points exactly south, the apse of the *triclinium* of the building created confusion for researchers for many years, and in some publications prior to the excavations, the structure was introduced as a church (Metzger 1956, 159-160; Foss 1994, 10).

The structure was partially excavated between 1951 and 1956 by Demargne and Metzger, then systematic excavations were carried out after 1995 by Manière-Lévêque (Manière-Lévêque 2012, 15). During the excavations the house was called “Northeast Edifice” in an article about the houses on the Lycian Acropolis (Manière-Lévêque 1998a, 68-72). The excavation of the structure was completed in 2002 (des Courtils 2004, 255). In the same year, the mosaics in the building were consolidated (Manière-Lévêque 2012, 31). After the excavations were completed, many articles (Manière-Lévêque 2002; Manière-Lévêque 2005; Manière- Lévêque 2006; Manière- Lévêque 2007a; Manière-Lévêque 2007b; Manière-Lévêque 2008) and a mosaic corpus (Manière-Lévêque 2012) on the structure were published. Pellegrino also wrote various articles about the ceramics found in the building contributing to its dating (Pellegrino 2002; Pellegrino 2003; Pellegrino 2004; Pellegrino 2007a; Pellegrino 2007b). The residence is one of the most widely published Byzantine buildings in Xanthos. It is mostly called “House on the Lycian Acropolis”.

4.20 House of Meleager and Atalanta



Figure 4.151: Location and general plan of the House of Meleager and Atalanta (edited from Figure 1.3).

Coordinates: 36.355661 N, 29.317777 E
Alt: +58 m.

Location (Figure 4.151):

Located in the south of the Lycian Acropolis (Figure 4.147 [light blue area]), at the corner where the main street of the acropolis with north-south orientation crosses the secondary street with east-west orientation.

Description:

It is one of two houses along with the Northeast House on the Lycian Acropolis dating to the Early Byzantine period on the Lycian Acropolis. Although excavations were completed in the house, its plan was not fully understood due to the lack of walls because of the heavy damage by earthquakes. Two rooms at the entrance to the house, one having

mosaics, and a courtyard could be identified. Although a staircase near the house descends to a water-related structure on the lower elevation of the acropolis (see Section 4.21 Structure with Rectangular Pool), the relationship between the two structures could not be determined clearly.

Current Status:

Most of the walls of the building were destroyed up to the ground level (Figure 4.152). The mosaics found in the excavations were removed from the original places and some of them are exhibited in the Antalya Museum. Therefore, it is very difficult to understand the plan of the building today. This is one of the areas where visitors frequently pass on the Lycian Acropolis, but the structure cannot be noticed due to the lack of an information sign. Even though most of the mosaic floor has been taken to the museum, there are still fragments of the border that remained *in situ* in the areas close to the wall. Since they are left unprotected on the site, they are vulnerable to possible destruction.



Figure 4.152: Remaining walls of the House of Meleager and Atalanta –from the NE– (2020).

Construction Phases and Chronology:

Based on the excavations, it was suggested that the building has two phases of construction. The figurative mosaics found in the building belong to the first construction phase of the house and are dated to the 5th century AD (Demargne 1954, 113). Some structural changes show that the second phase of the house can be dated to the beginning of the 7th century AD, and it was used until the Middle Byzantine period (Manière-Lévêque 2012, 63).

Architectural Description:

Although the room with the figurative mosaic looks like the entrance of the house, this is not a conventional plan for such houses. Therefore, in the first phase, there must have been a vestibule or anteroom west of this space (Figure 4.153). In later periods, a door was opened from the mosaic room to the street directly. Originally, the house is thought to have had a peristyle courtyard with three porticos and a marble floor (Manière-Lévêque 2012, 63).

In order to reach the Classical period layers in the eastern parts of the building, the upper layers were removed without sufficient documentation in the early years of the excavation, so the original plan of the building cannot be fully understood. Although it exhibits a typical house plan with rooms lined up around the courtyard with porticos, the actual boundaries of the house cannot be determined (des Courtils and Cavalier 2001, 165). Other structures were also removed from the same area. For example, although an octagonal basin was found in the area (see Section 4.23 Destroyed Baths on the Lycian Acropolis) it is not known whether it was connected with this house or the Northeast House on the Lycian Acropolis.

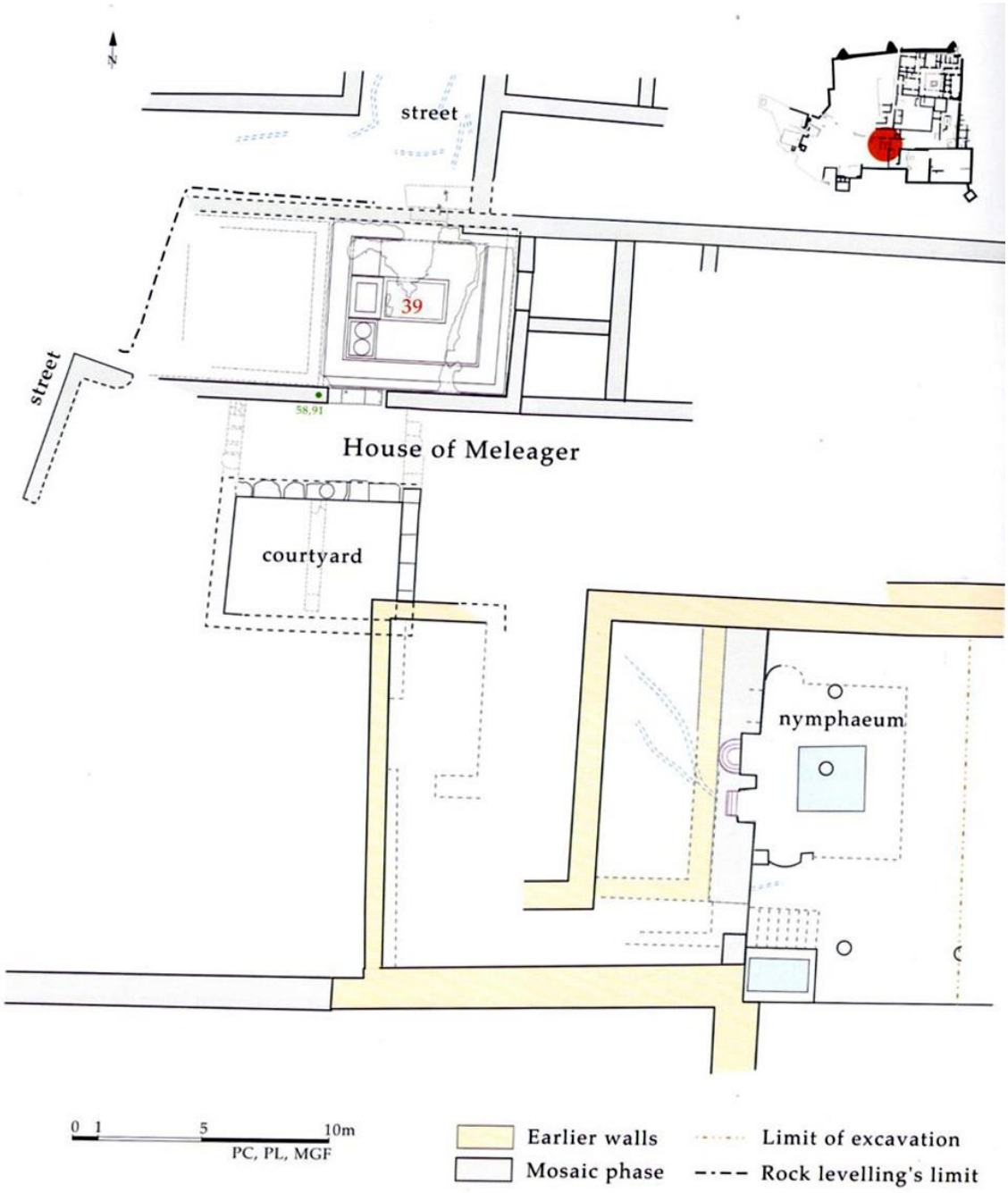


Figure 4.153: Plan of the House of Meleager and Atalanta (Manière-Lévêque 2012, 62, fig.77).

Decorative Features:

Mosaics: The figurative mosaics of the building were transported to the Antalya Museum in 1956 and are there on display today (Figure 4.154). Some of the border mosaics are

kept in the museum and some in the excavation depot. It was planned to display all the mosaics in the museum in the correct form by combining them again as they were once found, but this plan has not been implemented, even if the French excavation team have offered to provide visual documentation (Manière-Lévêque 2012, 66).



Figure 4.154: Meleager and Atalanta mosaic in Antalya Museum (2018).

There are two panels of figural scenes, one panel of busts, and a U-shaped mosaic carpet of small human and animal figures within the borders and squares surrounding them. The figural scenes are the hunt of Meleager and Atalanta, who gave the house its name, and a scene showing Thetis with Achilles. The two bust portraits in another panel are Eirene and Euprepeia, the personifications of peace and dignity. The mosaics of this house do not have very good craftsmanship. Symmetrical incompatibilities and inexperienced

practices were described as "awkward" by the researchers (Manière-Lévêque 2012, 75) and even named a “barbaric style” (Demargne and Metzger 1967, 1407).

Construction Techniques:

Since the walls of the building are not preserved on a sufficient level, there is no possibility to make clear interpretations about the construction techniques.

Research/Fieldwork History and Publications:

The mosaics, which were first unearthed in 1953, were mentioned in the excavation reports of those years. The house and its mosaics were published in an article about the houses on the Lycian Acropolis (Manière-Lévêque 1998a, 66-67). The plan of the house and a detailed examination of the mosaics were published by Manière-Lévêque in her mosaic corpus (Manière-Lévêque 2012, 62-75).

4.21 Structure with Rectangular Pool (Nymphaeum?)

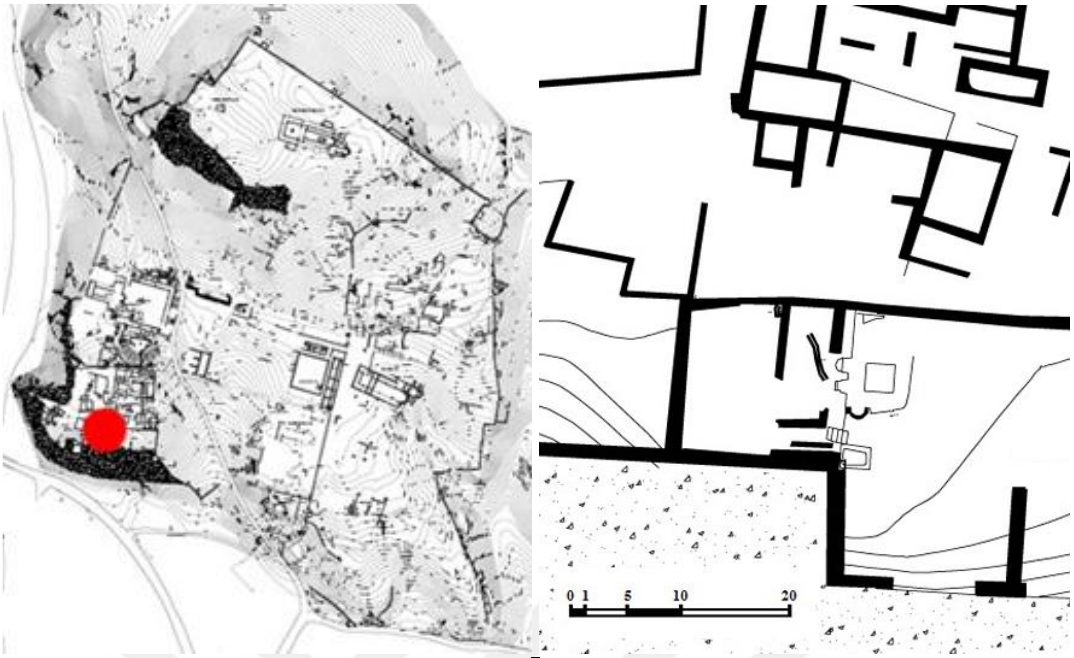


Figure 4.155: Location and general plan of the Structure with Rectangular Pool (edited from Figure 1.3).

Coordinates: 36.355515 N, 29.317992 E
Alt: +55 m.

Location (Figure 4.155):

Located in the south section of the Lycian Acropolis, between the Classical period walls and Byzantine walls surrounding the acropolis. Situated in the lower elevation below the acropolis level, it once was accessible by a staircase.

Description:

It is a water-related structure that could possibly be associated with the House of Meleager and Atalanta (Figure 4.153). However, since the relationship with the house could not be firmly proven, it is discussed as a separate structure in this section. Since the excavations

on the east side of the building have not been completed, its borders in this direction are not known.

Current Status:

The structure is partially uncovered, and its plan is understandable. Pools, niches, a cistern, and a staircase can be identified. In August 2019, it was saved from being damaged in a fire at the last minute. The fire that started from the bottom of the hill reached up to the city walls and was extinguished when it was about to enter the Lycian Acropolis at the border of this structure (Figure 4.156).



Figure 4.156: Aerial view after the fire in August 2019 (Xanthos Excavation Archive, 2019).

Architectural Description:

The building has a rectangular plan. Since the excavations were not completed, its exact dimensions are unknown, and only an area of 6 x 15 m is visible. There are two niches

built of bricks with marble revetments inside, in the middle on the west wall (Figure 4.157). To the south of these, stairs leading to the upper elevation begin. There is a rectangular water reservoir right next to the stairs in the south and this is adjacent to the Early Byzantine city wall. Since the excavations in the east have not continued, the clear boundaries of the building cannot be defined. In the north wall, it is seen that the main rock was flattened and that square holes were drilled for wooden beams. This indicates that the top of the structure was covered, in whole or in part, by a wooden roofing. This type of craftmanship in the bedrock indicates an earlier phase for the structure. In a small area preserved at the northwest corner of the building, it is seen that a layer of plaster was first applied on the flattened bedrock, and in the later period, a partially demolished wall was built in front of it. The angle of this later period wall evokes the idea that this could be a wide *exedra*.



Figure 4.157: General view of the structure –from the NE– (2018).

There is a two-leveled pool in the middle of the building. A large pool was carved into the bedrock and small niches were formed in the north and south with bricks. In the middle of this pool, there is another deep rectangular level measuring 2.70 m x 2.70 m. The exact depth of the pool could not be measured due to the earth deposit.

Decorative Features:

Architectural Sculpture: The four-step arrangement inside the northern niche is covered with colored marble revetments (Figure 4.158). The two-step arrangement of the southern niche may be considered to have had a similar application, but it is not preserved. However, marble revetment is visible on the upper front of this niche.



Figure 4.158: Marble revetment detail within the northern niche (2017).

There is a decorated block at the bottom of the middle pillar that carries the niches' arches and has two shallow relief flower rosettes on it. Such decorated blocks are mostly seen in *ante* pillars in temple or tomb structures. It probably belonged to pre-Roman periods and

was used here as spolia. The presence of mortar on the decorated face shows that the block was only used as a building block and not for decorative purposes and that it was plastered over.



Figure 4.159: Niches in the west wall –from the E– (2018).

Construction Techniques:

The northern wall of the building is also the outer wall of the Classical period city wall of the acropolis. The main rock was flattened here and holes were drilled for wooden beams bearing the now disappeared roofing. The northern part of the west wall was also formed by flattening the main rock, and some gaps withing the rock were filled with bricks. The niches were built with large stone blocks at the lower levels and brick at the top (Figure 4.159). Although the brick arches have been collapsed, the beginning of the

arches can be observed. Over the niches, there is a place that looks like a balcony or a platform. Although the function of this part is unknown, there is an open water channel and many pieces of terracotta pipes scattered around. Probably the water from the upper levels of the acropolis was led up to here via pipes and was flowing through the marble-covered niches to fill the pool. The southwestern corner and the southern wall of the building are adjacent to the city walls.

Research/Fieldwork History and Publications:

Although it is understood that a superficial excavation/cleaning work was carried out by the French researchers, no details about the fieldwork could be found in the excavation reports.

Drawings of this structure are included in Manière-Lévêque's mosaic corpus where it is called “Nymphaeum” (Manière-Lévêque 2012, 62, fig.77). On this drawing, the borderline of the excavation in the east direction is shown. However, since the publication focuses on mosaics, no information is provided on the architecture.

4.22 Baths of Leda



Figure 4.160: Location and general plan of the Baths of Leda (edited from Figure 1.3).

Coordinates: 36.355681 N, 29.318534 E
Alt: +55 m.

Location (Figure 4.160):

Located to the south and outside the walls that surround the Lycian Acropolis, overlooking the valley separating the west and east sides of the city (Figure 4.147 [pink area]).

Description:

It is a bath building consisting of a row of north-south-oriented rooms built adjacent to the exterior of the Lycian Acropolis walls.

Current Status:

The rooms in the eastern part of the building are destroyed due to slope erosion. Only the westernmost row of rooms built next to the wall and some adjacent parts to the east are preserved (Figure 4.161). The Leda mosaic was not taken to the British Museum after it was discovered by Fellows, and it got damaged due to natural causes since it was left unprotected on the site. Only the borders of the mosaic are preserved (Manière-Lévêque 2012, 78, fig.103). It is currently covered with geotextile and pebble stones for protection. This structure is not visited frequently since it is located at a point that is not an easy to reach.

Construction Phases and Chronology:

As the result of studies carried out by French researchers in the 1990s and 2000s, it was stated that the baths were built in the 4th century AD (Manière-Lévêque 2012, 76, fig.100). The last phase of the structure was dated to AD 480 based on the ceramic data in a study conducted in 2005 (Manière-Lévêque 2012, 77).



Figure 4.161: General view of the Baths of Leda –from the W– (2020).

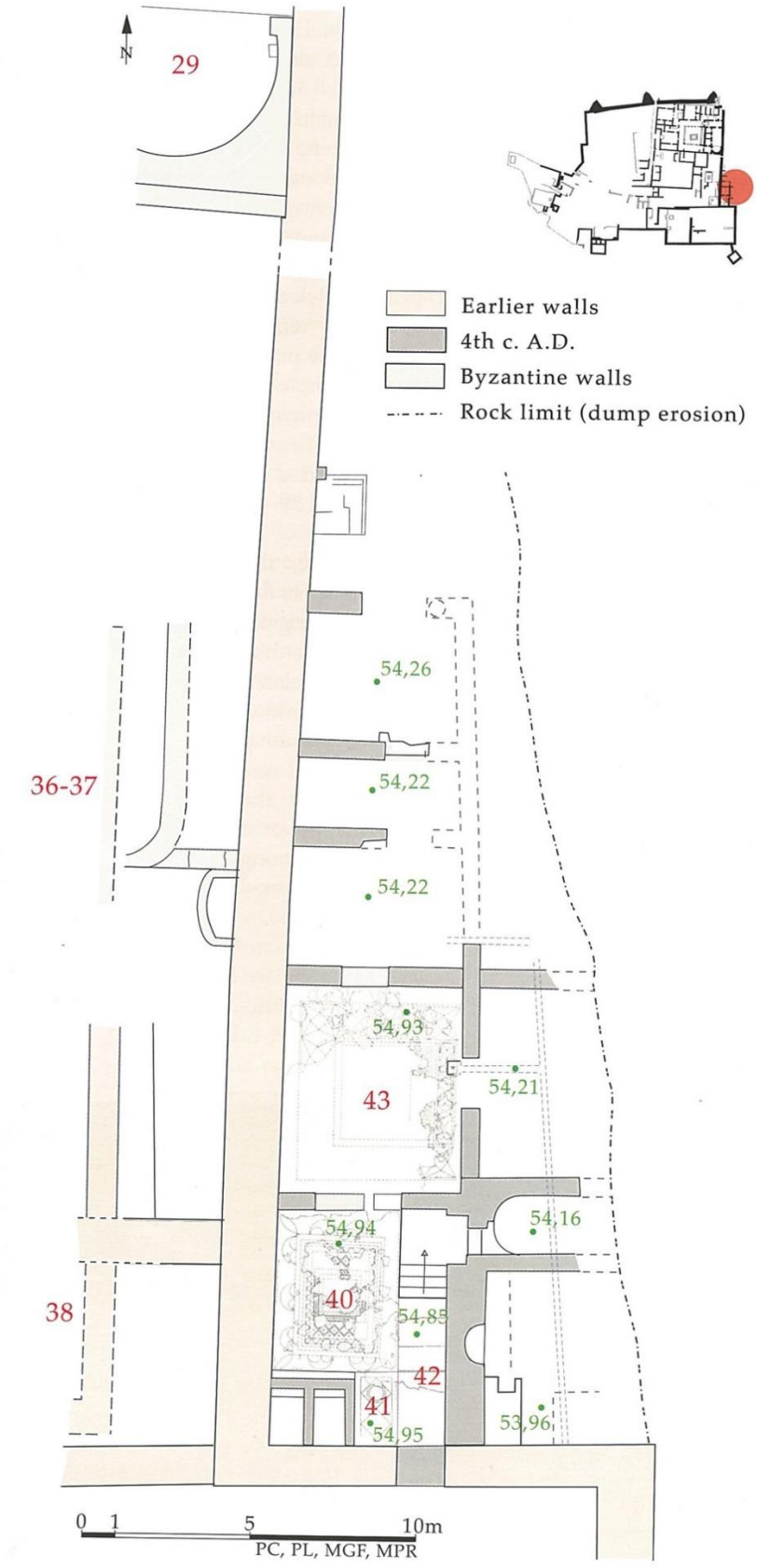


Figure 4.162: Plan of the Baths of Leda (Manière-Lévêque 2012, 76, fig.100).

Architectural Description:

In the westernmost space consisting of rooms adjacent to each other, five rooms can be identified (Figure 4.162). The eastern part of the building has been destroyed by slope erosion and only two rooms can be identified in this area. It is thought that the rooms in the west were cold spaces of the baths and that the heated rooms were located in the east. Many water pipes, channels, and a drain cover were found. Two small bathing pools covered with terracotta plates in the southernmost room have survived intact. Two semicircle *exedrae* with 1.20 m diameters on the east side were once part of pools.

Decorative Features:

Architectural Sculpture: A marble drain cover with a flower pattern was found *in situ*.

Mosaics: In 1844, a floor mosaic was found with the "Leda and Swan" scene in the southernmost room, measures 3.50 m x 4.60 m. Hawkins draw a picture of the mosaic, which gave the building its name (Figure 4.163). Today, the figurative part of the mosaic has been destroyed by natural factors, and only its borders remain. The stylistic analysis can only be made based on the drawing and is thus dated between the 2nd - 4th centuries AD (Manière-Lévêque 2012, 82). Although fragments belonging to another mosaic floor were found in the room adjacent to the north, this scene cannot be analyzed because of its poor condition.

Research / Fieldwork History and Publications:

In one of the earliest plans of the city drawn by Hawkins in 1843-44, the structure was identified as "Baths" (British Museum, no. 2012,5034.29). A detailed color drawing of the mosaic was made by Hawkins, and a plan of a part of the building was also drawn by the same artist (British Museum, no: 2012,5034.31). Slatter gives the exact date of

discovery of the building according to Fellows' diaries as 21 Jan 1844 (Slatter 1994, 300). The building was not marked on the plans of 1847 and 1892.

Fellows described the finds as “we found the pipes supplying the water, and the drains from the rooms; a stove, with charcoal and ashes remaining” and furthermore, he stated that there was fresco painting on the walls of the mosaic room (Fellows 1852, 503), which does not survive today.

Excavations were carried out in the building in 1958 and 1959 under the directorate of Demargne, but the results were not published. The mosaics got destroyed even more after this fieldwork since no protective measures were taken. The building was reexamined in 1994 and Manière-Lévêque published architectural drawings of the building and an analysis of the mosaic fragments (Manière-Lévêque 2012, 76-85).

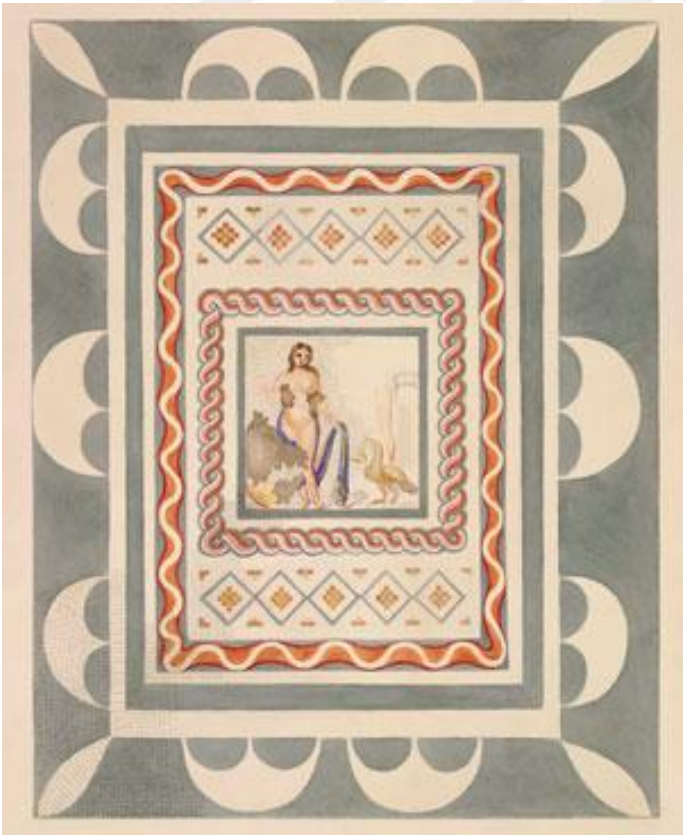


Figure 4.163: Drawing of the Leda mosaic by Hawkins (British Museum, no. 2012,5034.32).

4.23 Destroyed Baths on the Lycian Acropolis

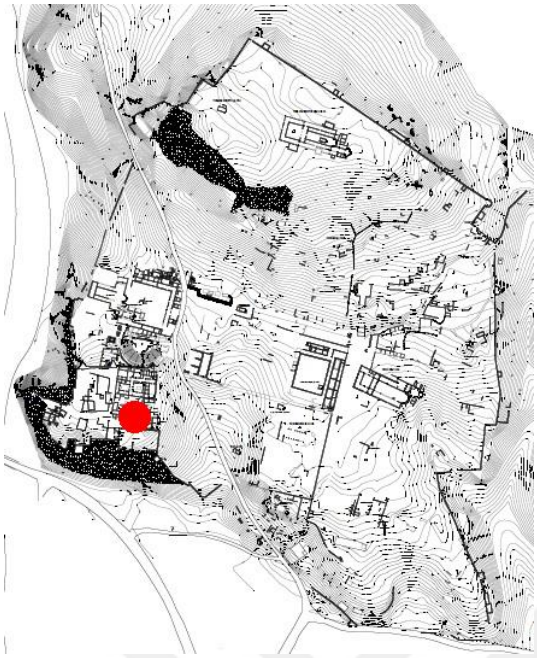


Figure 4.164: Location of the Destroyed Baths on the Lycian Acropolis (edited from Figure 1.3).

Coordinates: 36.355738 N, 29.318360 E
Alt: +58 m.

Location (Figure 4.164):

Located to the south and inside the walls that surround the Lycian Acropolis, separated from the Baths of Leda by the acropolis walls.

Description:

It was a private bath built adjacent to the interior of the Lycian Acropolis walls, probably belonging either to the Northeast House on the Lycian Acropolis or the House of Meleager and Atalanta (Figure 4.147 [dark blue area]).

Current Status:

The structure was removed during excavations in the 1950s without being documented in order to uncover the Classical period palace complex on the lower levels in the area. Since the area is quite large, it is not known what other structures were removed. Only a small room with floor mosaic has remained. The original size of the building is unknown, and its connection with other structures on the acropolis is completely lost.

Construction Phases and Chronology:

It is stated that the bath was built in the same period as the Northeast House on the Lycian Acropolis located to the north (Manière-Lévêque 2012, 55).

Architectural Description:

Since the west parts of the building were completely demolished without documentation, it is impossible to know the architecture of this section. Two apsidal rooms –destroyed later– and a bathing room in the east, heating installments built adjacent to the acropolis wall, and an octagonal basin in the south –dismantled in 2009– are the parts that could be documented (Figure 4.165). The bathing room measures 5.00 m x 7.50 m, and its floor is covered with white marble plates and there is a geometric *opus tessellatum* mosaic in the middle. It is the only part that is preserved in its entirety. Since the area around the building was excavated to reach the Classical period levels, this room looks like an elevated platform today, but it actually has the same height level as the courtyard level of the Northeast House on the Lycian Acropolis. The acropolis walls are 5 m away from the room, and it was documented that there were many pipes and a heating installation in this area before the excavations (Manière-Lévêque 2012, 55).

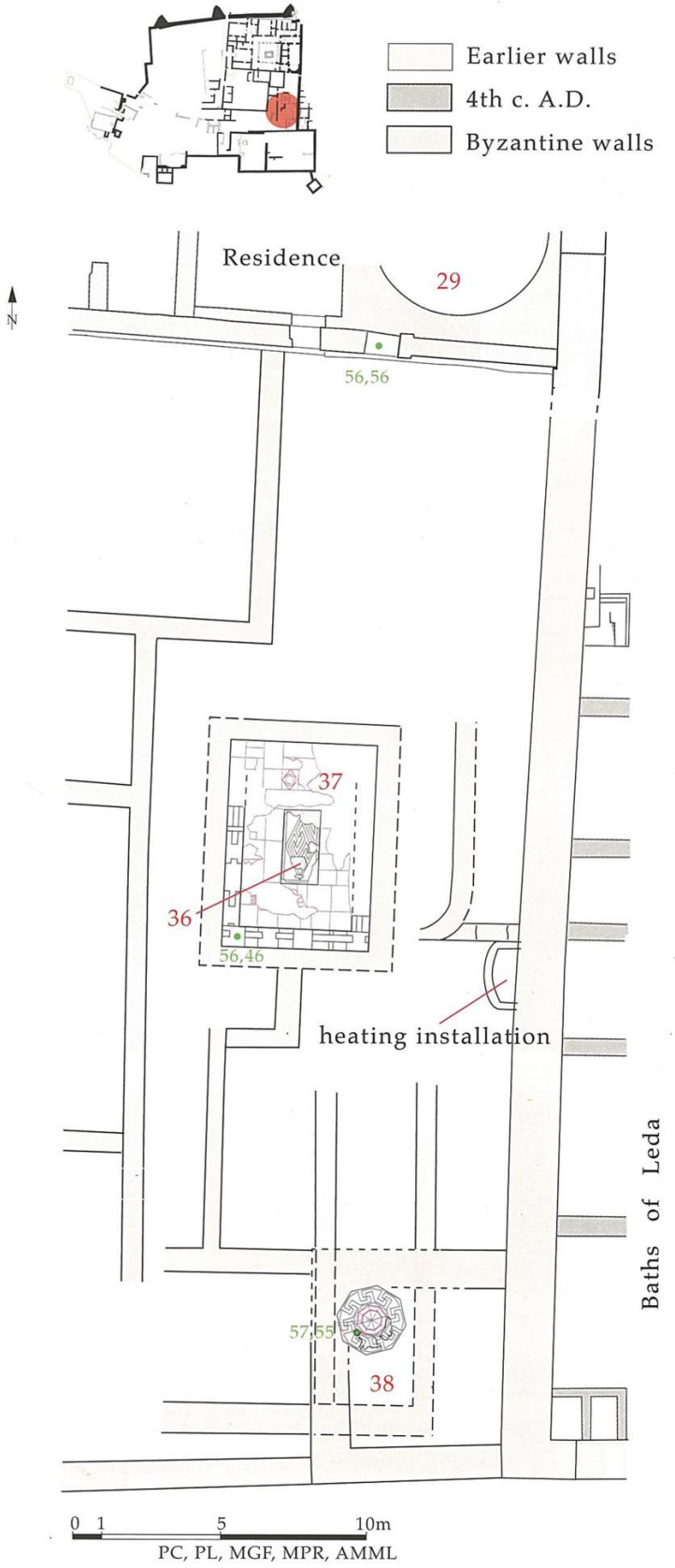


Figure 4.165: Plan of the Destroyed Baths (Manière-Lévêque 2012, 55, fig.63).

An octagonal basin was once located in the southern part of the structure (Figure 4.166), detached from its surroundings during the excavations in 1953 and 1954, and it was entirely dismantled in 2009 (des Courtils 2010a, 289). It was located 13 m south of the bathing room, adjacent to the upper part of the Lycian Acropolis fortification wall built in the Classical period[42]. The octagonal basin which had an internal height of 0.46 m, was constituted of eight plates measuring 0.18 m x 0.41 m that placed vertically. Under these plates, eight triangular pieces were meeting in the center, and there was a 0.85 m diameter terracotta water pipe at the bottom. This arrangement was 2.30 m wide in total with a surrounding *opus tessellatum* mosaic border (Manière-Lévêque 2012, 59).



Figure 4.166: View of the octagonal basin before its destruction (Metzger 1963, planche XII, no:3).

[42] In the Early Byzantine period, a new line of walls was added to the south of the Classical fortification in order to create new spaces in the lower elevation. Except one, it is not known what kind of structures were built here since this area has never been excavated completely. For this structure see Section 4.21 Structure with Rectangular Pool.

Decorative Features:

Mosaics: The *opus tessellatum* mosaic in the center of the bathing room was documented by a drawing in 1957 (Figure 4.167). This geometric pattern, which was formed with red and white tesserae, is covered today, so its current state could not be examined. Although the mosaic has not been dated precisely, it is thought that it was made at a later date than all the mosaics on the Lycian Acropolis (Manière-Lévêque 2012, 57), so it may belong to the late 5th or 6th centuries AD.

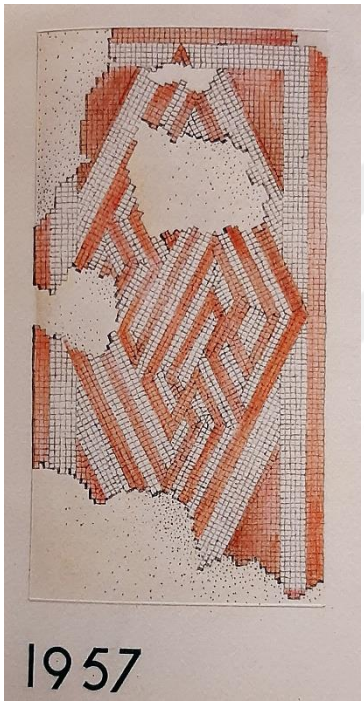


Figure 4.167: Drawing of the mosaic in the middle of the bathing room (Manière-Lévêque 2012, 57, fig.67)

The *opus tessellatum* mosaic border around the octagonal basin was a continuous belt consisting of eight meander motifs formed by knot patterns. This mosaic, which was partially preserved and documented by a drawing, was destroyed during excavations in 2009 (Figure 4.168).

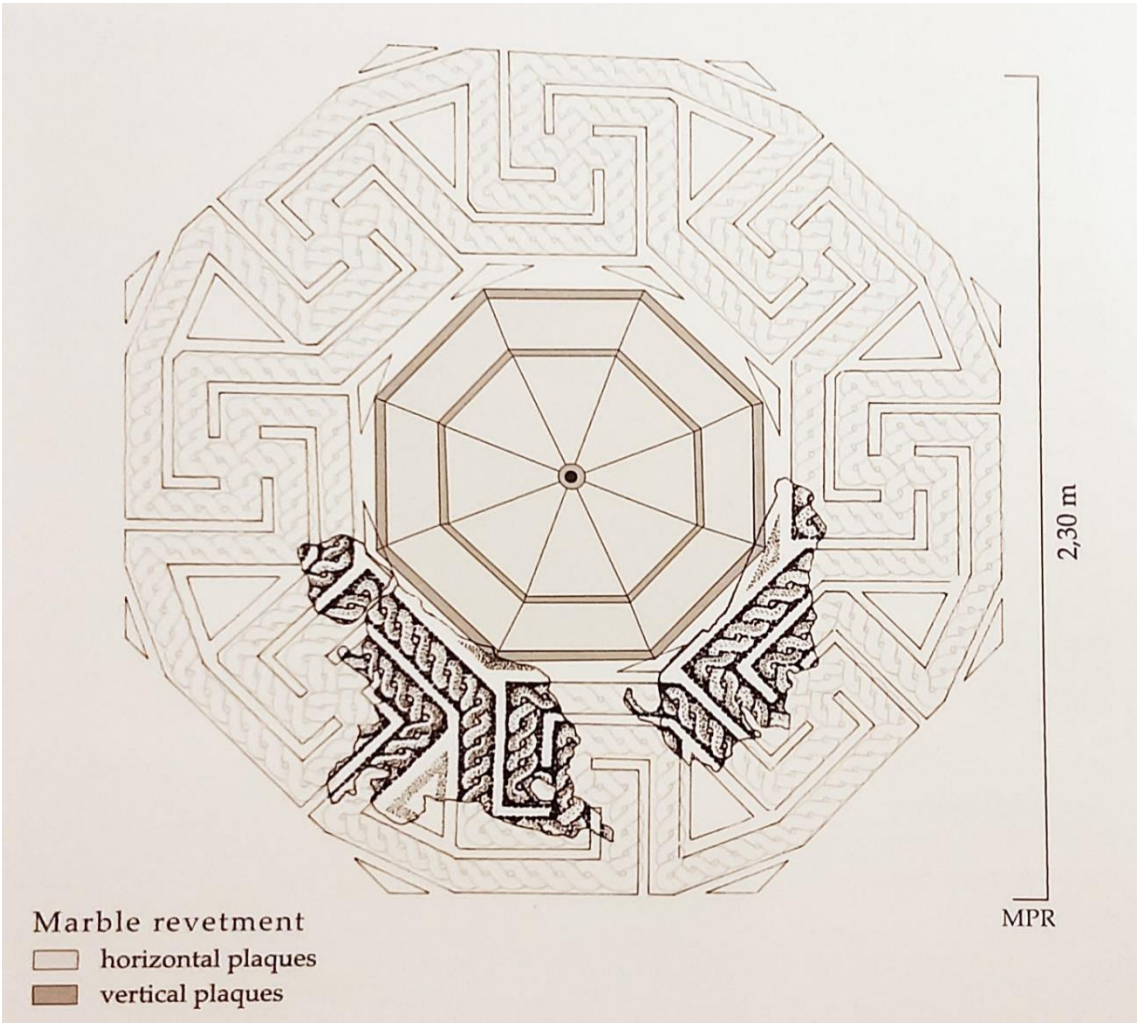


Figure 4.168: Restitution drawing of the mosaic border around the octagonal basin (Manière-Lévêque 2012, 61, fig.76).

Research / Fieldwork History and Publications:

Excavations were carried out between 1951 and 1956 to reach the Classical period palace complex in the lower layers, and the architectural elements in the upper layers were demolished without proper documentation. Manière-Lévêque tried to gather information using the excavation notebooks in the archive. The octagonal basin was also dismantled in 2009, and the fieldwork was published in the annual excavation report (des Courtils 2010a, 289).

4.24 Dipylon



Figure 4.169: Location and general plan of the Dipylon (edited from Figure 1.3).

Coordinates: 36.356600 N, 29.321103 E
Alt: +58 m.

Location (Figure 4.169):

Located at the eastern end of the main colonnaded street, the *Decumanus Maximus*.

Description:

The structure was a triumphal arch with double passageways providing access to the east of the main street.

Current Status:

The arches have collapsed whereas the piers of the gates are still partially standing. After the street was excavated, the blocks were lined up in the square where the *Decumanus* and the *Cardo* intersect (Figure 4.170).



Figure 4.170: Aerial view of the Dipylon and the stone-paved square (Xanthos Excavation Archive, 2013).

Construction Phases and Chronology:

The arch was built in the 3rd or 4th century AD (des Courtils 2004, 253). A reused block with an inscription dated to the beginning of the 3rd century AD forms a *terminus post quem* for the construction (Cavalier 2005, 105). Dedicatory inscriptions were found on the monumental blocks and are addressed to Helios and Rhadamanthus[43], as well as to the 4th-century emperors Valens and Valentinianus, indicating that the monument was

[43] Epigraphic records of Rhadamanthus worship have also been found in the nearby region, in Kaunos (des Courtils 2002a, 435). This worship should have been more significant in Xanthos, since Rhadamanthus was the brother of Sarpedon, the legendary founding hero of Xanthos. The *Sarpedonion*, a temple or *heroon* honoring him was still existing in Xanthos in 43 BC when Brutus conquered the city (App. B Civ. 4.10.78-79).

used both in pagan times and in late antiquity (des Courtils 2002a, 435). Since an inscription honors the 15th anniversary of Valens' accession to the throne, it can be certainly dated to AD 378 (Baker, Chamberland and Theriault 2021). However, this date does not indicate the first construction of the structure but probably a rearrangement or a repair (Lavan 2020, 450). From this point of view, the Dipylon is one of the examples that physically shows the transition age from the Roman to the Late Antique periods.

Architectural Description:

Honorific arches were mostly built with three passageways, such as the Arch of Modestus at Patara, Hadrian's Gate at Antalya, and Frontinus Gate at Hierapolis, which are examples from nearby region. The Dipylon is the only example in Asia Minor with a double passageway (Cavalier 2005, 183). The French researchers made calculations after scanning all the blocks, and as a result, they suggested that the structure would not have been able to stand on its side piers since they were not sturdy enough. Thus, it only could stand by dividing its weight over both sides, being supported by the arches of the porticos on both sides of the *Decumanus* (Figure 4.171) (Cavalier, des Courtils, and Mora 2007, 86).

There is a Roman water channel extending in this direction in the Lycian Structure, which is at an upper level in the north of Dipylon, and five large cisterns were built within the basement of the Civil Basilica to the south. The archway may also have functioned as an aqueduct, providing a water connection between the two. A similar feature is seen in the Patara City Gate [also known as the Arch of Mettius Modestus] from the nearby region, which was both a gateway and an aqueduct (İşkan and Aktaş 2019, 204).

Decorative Features and Construction Techniques:

This Late Roman structure was built of regular cut stones. The inner sides of the arches have cassettes decorated with various plant and animal figures. Although the structure was still standing in the Early Byzantine period, no decorative element from this era can be seen.

Research/Fieldwork History and Publications:

The *Decumanus Maximus* was excavated in 1998 - 2000, and the Dipylon was unearthed in 2000 (des Courtils 2003a, 82-83). A project was carried out suggesting a 3D modeling for the monument. In the light of this project, the building was considered as a single entity together with the *Decumanus Maximus* and the Civil Basilica to the south. There is also an article on the subject (Cavalier, des Courtils, and Mora 2007).



Figure 4.171: 3D restitution of the Dipylon (Cavalier, des Courtils, and Mora 2007, 87, fig.7).

4.25 Civil Basilica

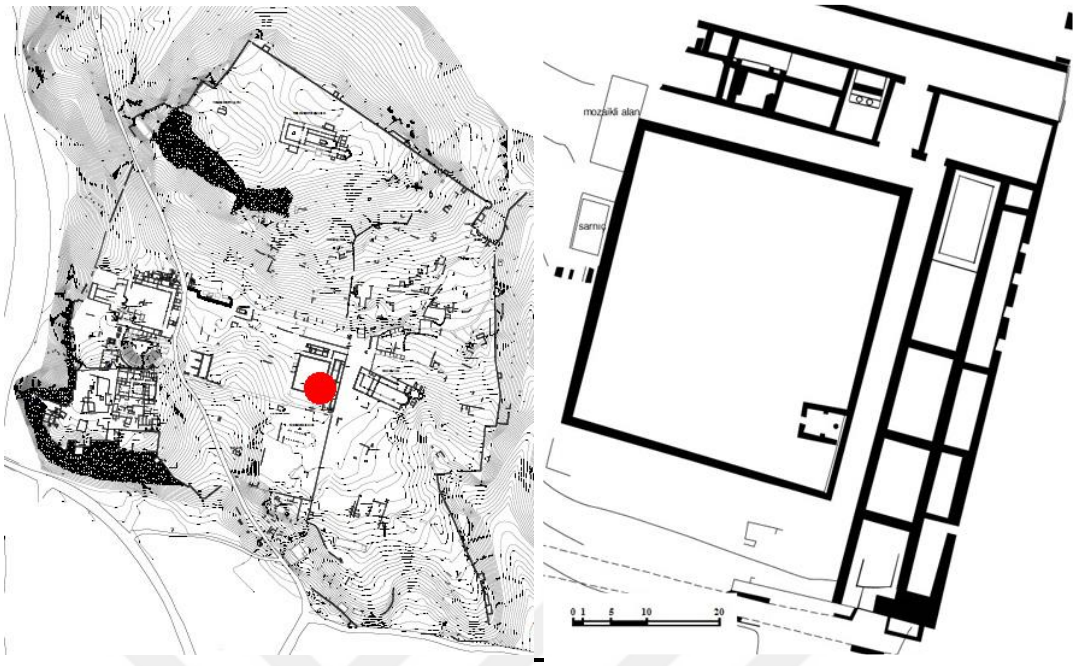


Figure 4.172: Location and general plan of the Civil Basilica (edited from Figure 1.3).

Coordinates: 36.356154 N, 29.320917 E
Alt: +54 m.

Location (Figure 4.172):

Located on the east side of the city, between the Upper Agora and the *Cardo Maximus*.

Description:

Various parts of the building, which was a Roman administrative structure[44] built to the east of the Upper Agora, were reused and altered in the Early Byzantine period. Shops and workshops were built within the front section facing the street, and a hall with mosaics was built to the north in the 5th century AD.

Current Status:

[44] Based on the inscriptions found on the excavation site (Cavalier 2005, 84)

The façade facing the *Cardo Maximus* stands quite high, while the upper floor has not survived. The mosaic areas unearthed during the excavations are kept covered with geotextile and pebble stones for protection.

Construction Phases and Chronology:

Two main construction phases can be observed. The first construction period is dated to the Severian period (Cavalier 2005, 86-87) and was built as a basilica that was integrated into the porticos of the agora. In the second phase, a hall was added to the north of the building, dated to the 5th century AD. The inner spaces of the basement floor have been converted into shops and workshops.

Architectural Description:

The Upper Agora is a 4000 m2 square surrounded by porticos on all four sides, built in the Roman period at the intersection of the *Decumanus* and the *Cardo* in the eastern part of the city. The Civil Basilica is a three-aisled basilica with dimensions of 75.00 m x 16.50 m in the north-south direction, adjacent to the east of the Upper Agora, and built at the same ground level (Figure 4.173). The building also has a basement with two aisles facing the *Cardo Maximus* at the lower level, and its northeast corner is adjacent to Dipylon and the south portico of the *Decumanus* (Figure 4.174). The Civil Basilica, which is thought to belong to the Severian period [AD 193 - 235] continued to be used after underwent significant changes in the Early Byzantine period. It must have had an important place in the Byzantine Xanthos with its central location at the intersection of the two main streets, between the Upper Agora and the cathedral of the city.



Figure 4.173: 3D Restitution of the Civil Basilica (https://classic.europeana.eu/portal/en/record/2048711/object_HA_762.html accessed: 15.11.2020).



Figure 4.174: 3D Restitution of the Civil Basilica applied to an actual photography (https://www.archeogrid.fr/project/831 accessed: 15.11.2020).

The building actually had two floors. The upper floor of the building, which was completely destroyed, had the plan of a three-aisled basilica and was at the same level as the Upper Agora. The west aisle of the basilica was built as a portico open to the agora. Although this type of structures, called forum-basilica or stoa-basilica, were a known formula in the western geographies of the Roman Empire and in Asia Minor, this is an architecture that has not been found in Lycia before (Cavalier 2005, 83). The lower floor of the building, on the other hand, has a façade facing the *Cardo Maximus*, as well as the East Basilica across the street. Since the land slopes southward from the square where the streets intersect, the façade also has an architecture that rises gradually as it goes south (Figure 4.175). Four openings of different sizes lined up along the façade both animate the wall and provide entrance to the interior, but it is not known what function this part had in the Roman period. A cistern system consisting of a total of five spaces, with a total dimensions of 6.70 m x 60.40 m was integrated into the inner side of the lower floor, which has two aisles. During the Late Antique period, the spaces on the outer side were divided by walls and used as shops and workshops. Even though a glass workshop (see Section 4.35) was identified among these, the abundance of metal finds indicates that different trade branches were found together. A hall measuring 18.50 m x 8.50 m, adjacent to the north of the building, was renovated in the 5th century AD (des Courtils and Laroche 2004, 310).

Cistern: The walls and bottom of the cisterns are coated with a fairly well-preserved hydraulic plaster. The cisterns were once covered by a vault made of rubble and brick fragments joined with mortar. The start of the vault is still clearly visible at some places (Cavalier 2005, 72).



Figure 4.175: Façade of the Civil Basilica facing the Cardo Maximus –from the NE– (2020)

Decorative Features:

Mosaics: The floor of the rectangular hall measuring 8.50 m x 16.50 m adjacent to the north of the building is covered with a large piece of *opus tessellatum* mosaic constructed in the Early Byzantine period. The most important feature of the mosaic, which looks like a simple carpet consisting of a diamond pattern repeated on a white background inside a double row of geometric borders, is the inscriptions enclosed in two opposite rectangular *tabulae* at a point close to the middle (Figure 4.176). In the first inscription, one of the citizens of the city, Tranikios, the governor of Lycia (Cavalier 2010, 193) is honored with the title of "keeper of Lycia", while the second *tabula* contains a sentence from Homer's Iliad commemorating the heroism of the Lycians. The glorification of this citizen by being identified with the Lycian heroes strikingly reflects the loyalty of the 5th century AD people of Xanthos to their past (des Courtils 2017, 63-64).



Figure 4.176: Hall with the 5th century AD mosaic with inscription (ArchXant, n.d. "Basilique Civile". Accessed Jun 01, 2022. http://archxant.huma-num.fr/exhibits/show/basilique-civile)

A similar hall was found in the northwestern portico of the agora during the excavations. In this section, also an inscribed *tabula* was found inside the mosaic, but it could not be read due to extensive damage, and the diamond patterns on the background of the mosaic are also similar (des Courtils and Laroche 2003, 425; Cavalier 2005, 69)

Construction Techniques:

The Roman walls of the structure were built in regular ashlar masonry; on the other hand, the later additions show the construction techniques of the Early Byzantine period.

Research/Fieldwork History and Publications:

Excavations in the structure was conducted between 1999 and 2010. The results have been published in annual excavation reports and various articles by Cavalier (Cavalier 2007; Cavalier 2010; Cavalier 2012).

4.26 Building with Chimneys

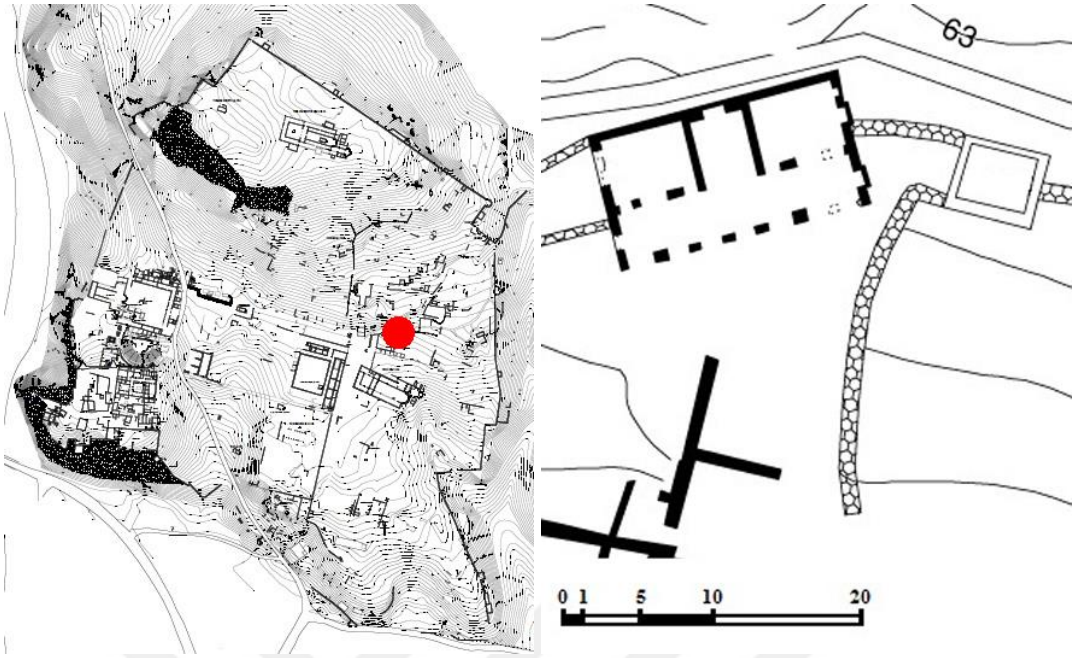


Figure 4.177: Location and general plan of the Building with Chimneys (edited from Figure 1.3).

Coordinates: 36.356727 N, 29.321785 E
Alt: +61 m.

Location (Figure 4.177):

Located to the east of the square where the *Decumanus Maximus* and the *Cardo Maximus* intersect, and to the north of the East Basilica.

Description:

As the result of vegetation clearing work in 2018, a group of structures was uncovered, which had never been investigated before (Figure 4.178). While most of these structures can be dated to the Early Byzantine era[45], a late period structure between them – preliminarily named as 'the building with chimneys'– is especially interesting.

[45] For the other structures, see Section 4.5 Episcopal Complex (?) to the North of the East Basilica.



Figure 4.178: Aerial view of the Building with Chimneys after the vegetation clearing (Xanthos Excavation Archive, 2018).

Current Status:

This structure is one of the best-preserved buildings in the city with its 2.90 m high walls. It is on the visiting route since it is located on the path to the Northern Necropolis area of the city.

Construction Phases and Chronology:

Although the masonry is similar to that of Middle Byzantine walls in Xanthos, the structure could not be precisely dated due to its unusual architectural features. The structure does not belong to any known architectural typology from the Byzantine period; on the other hand, some features are reminiscent of the Turkish era. It is known from both the written sources and the architectural remains of the city that Xanthos was never settled by a significant population during the Turkish era in order to build such a qualified

structure. In the Beylik and Seljuk periods, the city was only temporarily occupied by nomads (Armstrong 1998, 327). In the Ottoman period, when Kınık was founded, the Turks chose to settle in the plain close to the river, and only a few simple huts were built in the southern sector of the city. Although some buildings dating to the 18th century were found in certain parts of the city during the excavations, these are simple animal folds and do not have such a regular plan and construction technique (see Section 4.33 West Agora). All these factors make it difficult to answer the question of to which period the building belongs.



Figure 4.179: Aerial view of the Building with Chimneys after the fieldwork –from the SE– (Xanthos Excavation Archive, 2019).

During the excavations carried out in the area in 2019 (Figure 4.179), no finds were unearthed that could allow an exact dating. Some green-glazed ceramics that

have been found only in small fragments indicate a transition period and may belong to either Middle Byzantine or Turkish times.

The eastern and western rooms –5.10 m x 5.90 m– of the building have a wall arrangement with a hearth in the center and niches on both sides. One of the examples of a similar arrangement can be found at Tlos, on the wall of the stud farm structure (Figure 4.180) belonging to the Ali Agha Mansion, which was built on the acropolis in the first half of the 19th century (Korkut 2016, 108). Another example can be seen in a room in the Simena Castle (Figure 4.181), but since Simena was inhabited from the Classical period into the Ottoman era and no excavations have been carried out, the dating of this room in the castle is not clear. Furthermore, it is challenging to date the origins of this typology since the Rums living in the Ottoman period also continued to use the traditional architectural techniques they inherited from Byzantium. For example, the use of similar hearth and niches can also be seen in some of the 19th-century houses in Levissi [Kayaköy], where not only the arrangement but also the masonry technique is strikingly similar to those of the Late Byzantine period. However, it should be noted again that it is not possible to compare the population of Xanthos in this period with a crowded town like Levissi.

Two mentions that Fellows wrote regarding an uncertain building in Xanthos are quite interesting. The first one is: "A Turkish khan, probably used half a century ago, has been constructed amidst the ruins: it has fallen to decay…" (Fellows 1843, 40).



Figure 4.180: A similar niche and hearth with a chimney arrangement in Tlos (2020).



Figure 4.181: A similar niche and hearth with a chimney arrangement at Simena Castle (2019).

The second mention is a little bit more detailed: “Within the last century several buildings have owed their origin to the Turk: amongst these are the remains of an extensive khan or establishment of a Derebbe[46] now in ruins.” (Fellows 1852, 492). Although it is not exactly clear which building Fellows was mentioning, the most likely candidate seems to be the Building with Chimneys because it is one of the latest and most intact buildings in the city. However, Fellows' interpretation of the building as a "khan" is arguable as well. The building is neither suitable for accommodation due to the nature of its open-porch architecture nor located on a known trade route of the period.

Architectural Description:

The Building with Chimneys has dimensions of 9.60 m x 17.60 m and a symmetrical plan (Figure 4.182).. While the south side has an open porch with a width of 3.00 m, the north side is divided into three rooms. The walls of the building are preserved with an average height of 2.90 m and have a thickness of 0.70 m. There is no trace of the building having more than one floor and it wa probably covered with a wooden roof since there is no high deposit within. The building has a total of 5 hearths in every room and on the two sides of the open porch, which is a rare architectural feature.

In 2019, several soundings were conducted, and as a result of these, the missing parts of the plan could be completed. Extensive molten scrap metal was found especially near the hearths during the excavation. Based on these, it may be thought that the structure was a metal workshop, but in fact, such a structure is not required for melting metal slag, which is mostly lead with a small amount of iron.

Ceramic pieces belonging to the cooking vessels that could not be precisely dated were also unearthed during the excavation, and they may also indicate that the hearths

[46] Fellows often uses this word, meaning feudal lord [‘derebeyi’ in Turkish] in his journals.

were used for cooking. The structure may have shown these functions at the same or different times. If the building was built in the Middle Byzantine period, it was probably one of the most intact structures in the city when the Turks arrived. The building was likely used by nomadic Turks during their temporary settlement for functions such as production/cooking.

The southern part of the structure is an open porch carried on probably wooden pillars –five different-sized stone blocks used as pedestals are still *in situ*, but the easternmost one is missing– and there are hearths on the eastern and western ends of this porch. The only hearth with a preserved chimney is located on the southeast corner. The width of the heart is 1.05 m and the chimney has a height of 4.30 m.

The northern part of the building is horizontally divided into three rooms. There is no wall in front of the middle room and it is directly open to the porch and this room has a bigger size fireplace –it measures 1.50 m, while the others are 1.00 m–. The rooms in the east and west are separated by a wall from the porch. There are three high openings in these walls –0.75 m wide on average–, and one door at the end of this wall opening to the porch –on the east side in the west room and on the west side in the east room–. Against the west wall of the west room and the east wall of the east room, there are hearths in the middle and one niche on each side. These rooms should have been ventilated through these high openings to eliminate the heat during the daytime, and in the evenings, these openings must have been closed with a wooden window/shutter system to create a safe storage area inside.

There is a 5.20 m x 6.00 m structure that has been built with rubble and very large blocks, 5 m east of the building. The hydraulic plaster preserved in the lower levels of the wall indicates that this structure was a cistern.

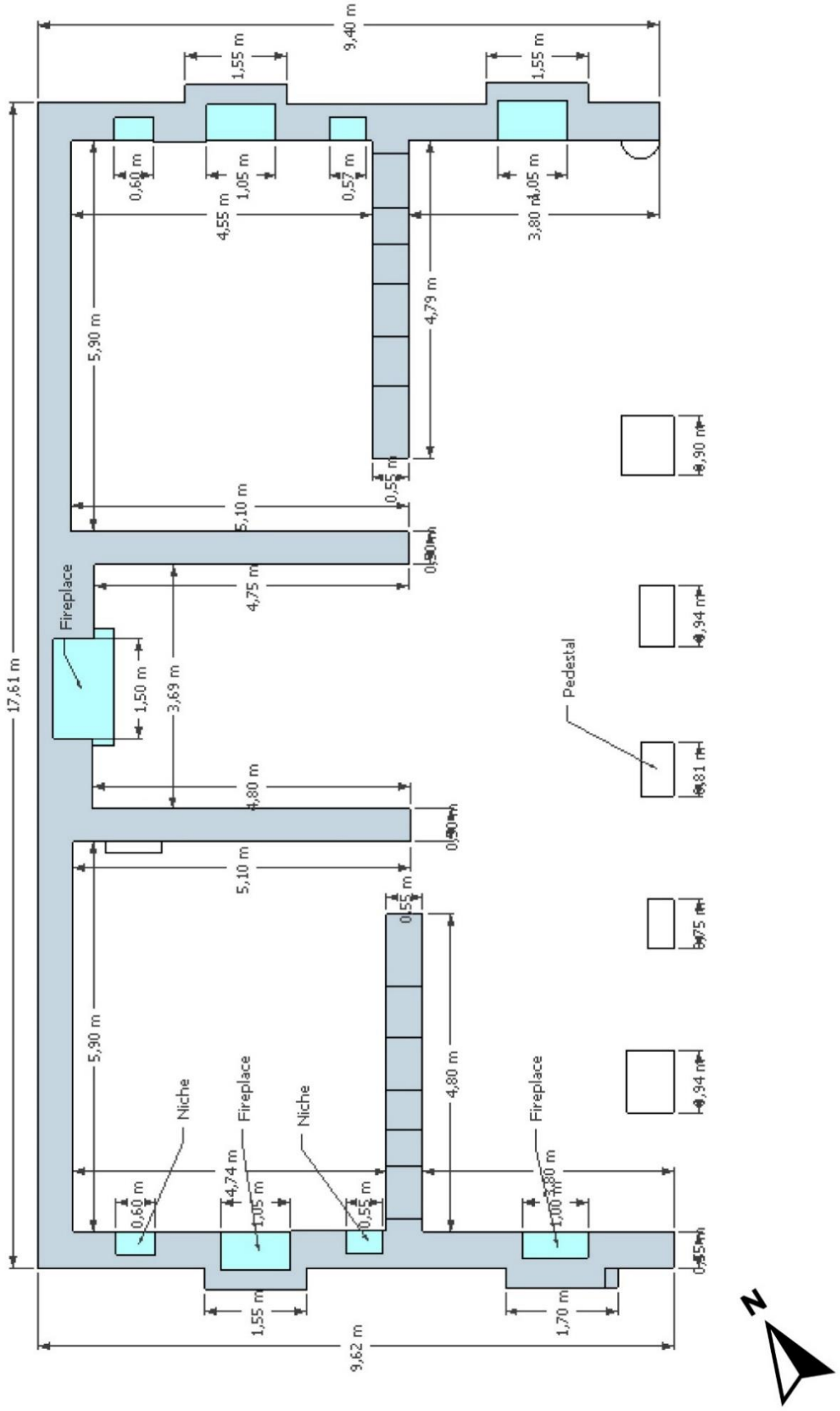


Figure 4.182: Plan of the Building with Chimneys (Drawn by the author).

Construction Techniques:

The structure was built with small-sized rubble, only a few spolia and a large number of brick fragments. This masonry is similar to that of Middle Byzantine walls in Xanthos.

Research/Fieldwork History and Publications:

This structure and the surrounding walls belonging to the Early Byzantine period were drawn in detail on the 1843-44 city plan of Hawkins (British Museum, no. 2012,5034.29). The structures must have been more intact at this time than at the present day, as the surrounding walls could be documented in more detail on this plan. The five hearts within the structure were clearly indicated (Figure 4.183).

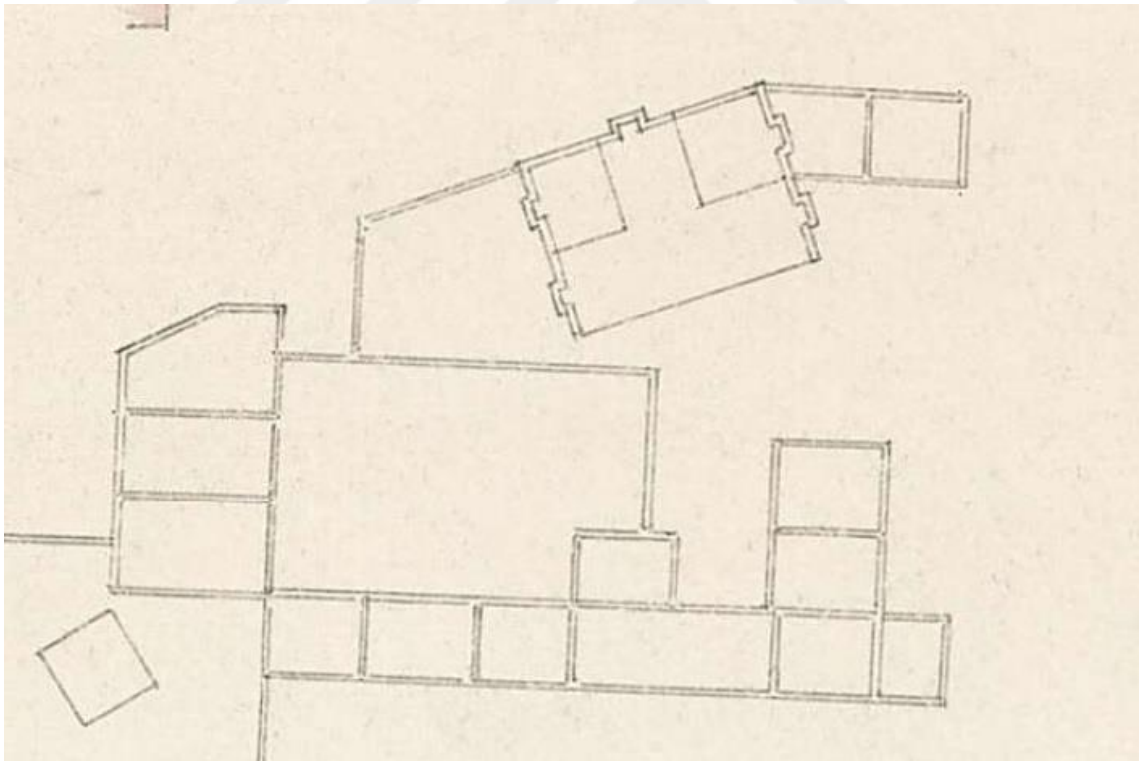


Figure 4.183: Plan of the Building with Chimneys on the city plan by Hawkins (British Museum, no. 2012,5034.29 [close-up]).

In 2018, vegetation clearing work was carried out to reveal the building to draw its plan, and the building was briefly introduced in this year's excavation report with the title "Community Kitchen (?)" (Varkıvanç 2019, 250-251).

A photograph from the excavation archive taken in the early 2000s shows two chimneys still standing symmetrically on both the west and east sides (Figure 4.184), but today the one in the west has collapsed. A consolidation project was necessary to prevent the east chimney from collapsing, this was executed in the 2019 excavation season alongside various soundings. However, a stratigraphic report regarding these soundings has not been published.



Figure 4.184: Photograph taken in the early 2000s showing two chimneys (ArchXant, n.d. "Place Dallée en cours de dégagement - Vue depuis le Cardo". Accessed Nov 17, 2020. http://archxant.huma-num.fr/items/show/1428 [close-up, arrows added]).

The consolidation work was carried out in two areas in the structure (Figure 4.185 and 4.186). The hearth on the southeastern side was repaired to prevent the existing

chimney from collapsing, and to protect the hearth in the middle room and the wall above. In the original condition of the hearths, the brick arches were the structural carriers for the walls above them. The material loss in the walls posed a risk that the wall could collapse completely as these arches were destroyed. Therefore, it was necessary to complete the arches of the hearths during the work of the wall and the chimney reinforcement.

The mortar was prepared as a mixture of 3 units of crushed sand, 1.5 units of hydraulic lime, 5% acrylic resin as structural reinforcement, and a small amount of glass fiber shavings –1 handful for 3 wheelbarrow mixture–. The rubble and bricks used for the completion of the walls and arches were provided from the original collapsed material within the structure. The cracks on the other walls of the building, which were dangerous for the structure, were filled with the same mortar from the surface. The results of the fieldwork were published briefly in the annual excavation report (Varkıvanç 2020, 65-67).



Figure 4.185: The southeast hearth and its chimney before the consolidation work –from the S– (2018).



Figure 4.186: The southeast hearth and its chimney after the consolidation work –from the S– (2019).

4.27 Building with Windows and the Double Staircase

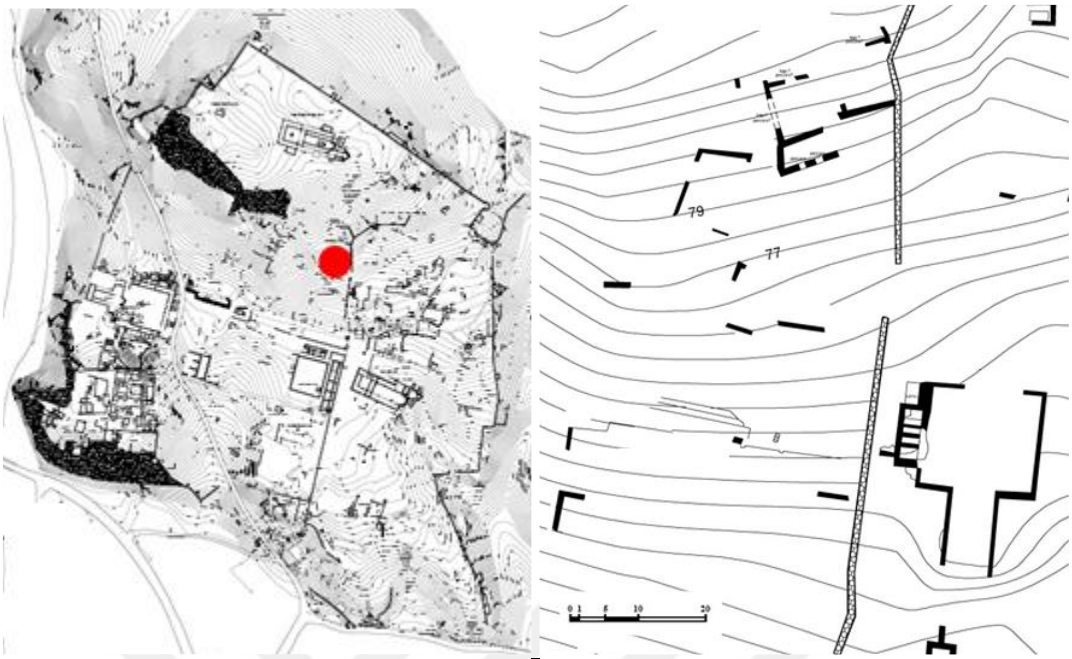


Figure 4.187: Location and general plan of the Building with Windows and the Double Staircase (edited from Figure 1.3).

Coordinates: 36.357586 N, 29.320964 E
Alt: +81 m.

Location (Figure 4.187):

A strong terrace wall extends westwards from the so-called Lycian Structure. On this wall, 33 m west of the Lycian Structure, double stairs lead up to the upper terrace level. 40 m to the north of the stairs, at the foot of the upper acropolis, there is a structure with a high façade, preliminarily called the ‘Building with Windows’.

Description:

Although it is not certain whether the stairs are directly related to the Building with Windows, they provide access to the upper terrace level where the building is located (Figure 4.188). It is not known how the Upper Acropolis Basilica could be reached in the

Late Antique period. A pilgrimage way of which this staircase might have been a part, could have led to the church, which was probably an important pilgrimage basilica. Even though some other walls on the upper terrace belonging to other structures exist, none of them are preserved as high as the Building with Windows. This area is somehow separated from the densely occupied main residential area to the east of the Lycian Structure.

Unlike other surrounding walls, the structure is positioned differently on the terrain. While the other buildings and stairs nearby were aligned parallel to the *Decumanus Maximus* below the hill, this building was aligned according to the topographical inclination. Therefore, the windows face the East Basilica instead of the colonnaded street. It is not certain whether this preference was a practical choice suitable to the topography or if the structure was deliberately aligned to look towards the church.

Current Status:

Although the two entrances of the stairs on both sides are visible, it is impossible to see whether the steps are intact in the lower parts due to the earth deposit. Some smaller steps are visible at the end of the stairs on the upper terrace (Figure 4.189).

The façade of the Building with Windows is preserved as high as 6.70 m. Although the bricks of the arch of the windows are missing, it keeps the integrity of the windows since there is a stone wall over it. Other windows have collapsed, and only their traces can be seen. Apart from the high façade, the walls in the north direction are still standing at such an extent that the plan of the building can be understood.

Since both the Double Staircase and the Building with Windows are located in a hard-to-reach area surrounded by high bushes, they are not on the standard visiting route of tourists.



Figure 4.188: General view of the Double Staircase –from the SW– (2018).



Figure 4.189: Steps on the terrace –from the N– (2018).

Construction Phases and Chronology:

Double Staircase: The lower parts of the terrace wall have been carved into the main rock. On the other hand, the upper parts were built with large building blocks and rubble. Although it is not possible to determine the first construction date, it is understood that the staircase was at least repaired during the Byzantine period.

Building with Windows: Since there have not been carried out any excavations in this structure, it is impossible to determine the building phases precisely. However, the masonry of the building is similar to that of Early Byzantine walls in Xanthos, and no later repairs can be observed. The masonry of a smaller building in the southwest shows a distinctly different wall construction technique and is similar to the walls dated to the Middle Byzantine period. In particular, these two structures offer a chance to compare the different masonry techniques due to their close location to each other.

Architectural Description:

The long and sturdy terracing wall continues from the Lycian Structure to the west. The wall is interrupted 33 m to the west of the building, and a stairway arrangement was built leading to both sides. These stairs are positioned parallel to the *Decumanus Maximus*, located 50 m further southwards, and not according to the curves of the terrain. There is a 9.30 m span between the stairs extending in two different directions. Each of the stairs is 3.00 m wide and 6.50 m long. The stairs connect the two terrace levels that have a total of 4.00 m height difference.



Figure 4.190: South façade of the Building with Windows –from the SE– (2018).

The Building with Windows is located at the upper level of the terrace. The structure has a high façade measuring 6.70 m, but the original height of the walls cannot be known due to the rubble deposit. The plan consists of three interconnected spaces. It can be determined that the southern room was two-storied. The wall thickness of the building varies from place to place between 0.95 and 0.70 m.

South Room: The room with the high façade measures 5.00 m x 9.50 m (Figure 4.190). The corners of the western wall have angles of 108 and 74 degrees. The eastern wall of the room is destroyed. There are large windows in the south wall, which is the most remarkable feature of the building. The window on the west is preserved in a better condition even though the upper arch bricks are missing. The width of the window is 1.00 m, and the depth is 0.95 m. Jambs are not present. The upper parts of the window on the

east are not preserved. The preserved width of the window is 1.2 m, and has a depth of 0.90 m. The size difference between the two windows was perhaps equalized using jambs of different thicknesses. Above the arch of the west window, there is a ridge supporting the floorboards of the second floor, located at a 2.40 m height above the floor (Figure 4.191), which shows that at least this section of the structure has two floors. Smaller windows were found on the second floor as well, but they are not entirely preserved. Only the east side of the west window and the west side of the east window can be seen, but their height is unknown. Overall, there are two large and two small windows in the building. Since the two corners of the building are preserved on the southern façade, it is clear that there could be no more than two windows on this side. However, since they are already placed asymmetrically, the number of small windows on the second floor is unknown.



Figure 4.191: View from the inside –from the W– (2018)

Northwest Room: This room measures 9.00 m x 11.20 m. There are two openings, one in the west and one in the north wall. The width of the west one is 4.76 m and it is a very large opening compared to the wall. The opening in the north wall has a width of 1.50 m.

Northeast Room: This room measures 9.50 m x 10.20 m. There is an opening whose width cannot be determined in the north wall. The wall, which borders the space in the east direction, does not belong to the building period, and it is a drywall created to separate the borders of olive groves in modern times.

Late Period Building: Although there is another room at a distance of 3.50 m to the southwestern wall of the building, the masonry of which is completely different from that of the large building and similar to the Middle Byzantine walls in Xanthos. It is a rectangular building measuring 8.00 m x 11.00 m and has a 3.40 m opening in the west wall. The wall thickness is 0.60 m. which is less than in the Building with Windows.

Although it cannot be seen easily today due to the dense vegetation, the wide terrace wall, staircase, and the structure rising on the terrace above must once have occupied a remarkable place in the urban landscape of Byzantine Xanthos (Figure 4.192).

Construction Techniques:

The façade was built with mortared small and large-sized rubble and a small number of brick fragments. This masonry is similar to that of Early Byzantine walls in Xanthos. Larger and regular cut stones were used in the corners and the windows of the building for reinforcement.

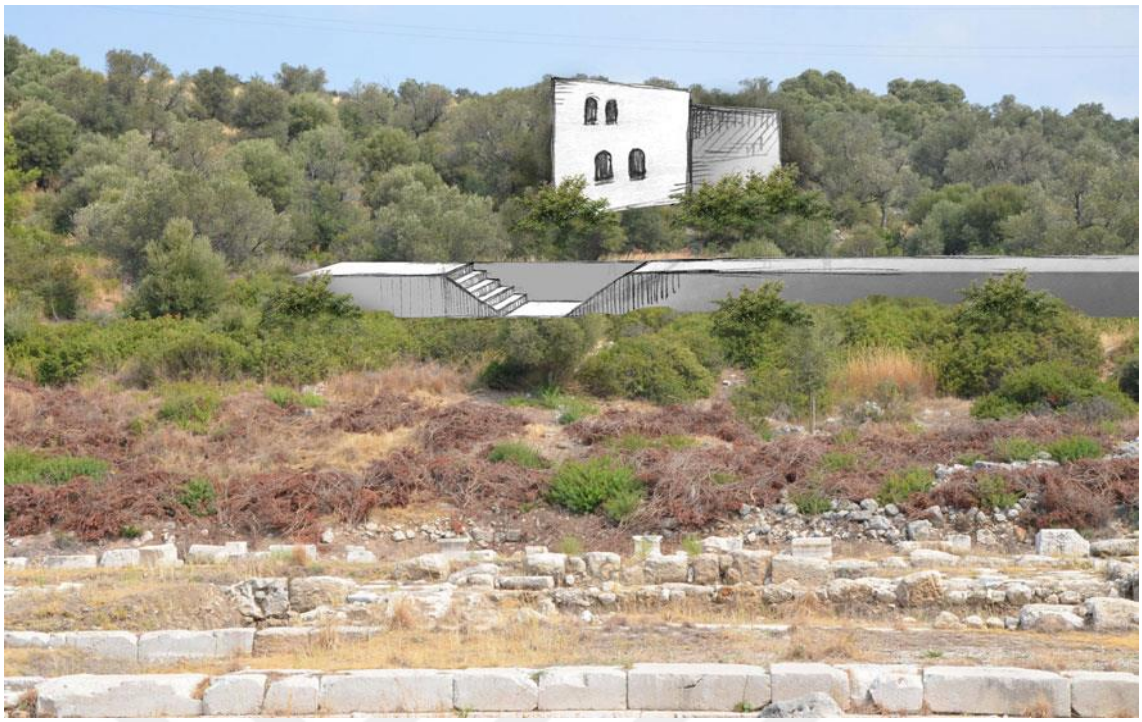


Figure 4.192: A restitution attempt showing the dominant position of the building and the staircase with the terrace wall in the urban landscape –view from the Upper Agora– (Drawn by the author).

Research/Fieldwork History and Publications:

Both structures have never been the subject of field study. Only the Double Staircase was shown on Hawkins's city plan in 1843-44 (Figure 4.193). In the same year, a four-page panoramic drawing of the city was made by Scharf from the area where the Nereid Monument stands. In the north part of this drawing, the high façade of the Building with Windows can be seen at the foot of the Upper Acropolis (Figure 4.194). In Krickl's plan of 1892, the Building with Windows existed, but the staircase was not shown (Kalinka 1920, 95). Both the staircase and the building were described briefly in the excavation report of the year in which vegetation clearing work was carried out in the area (Varkıvanç 2019, 252).

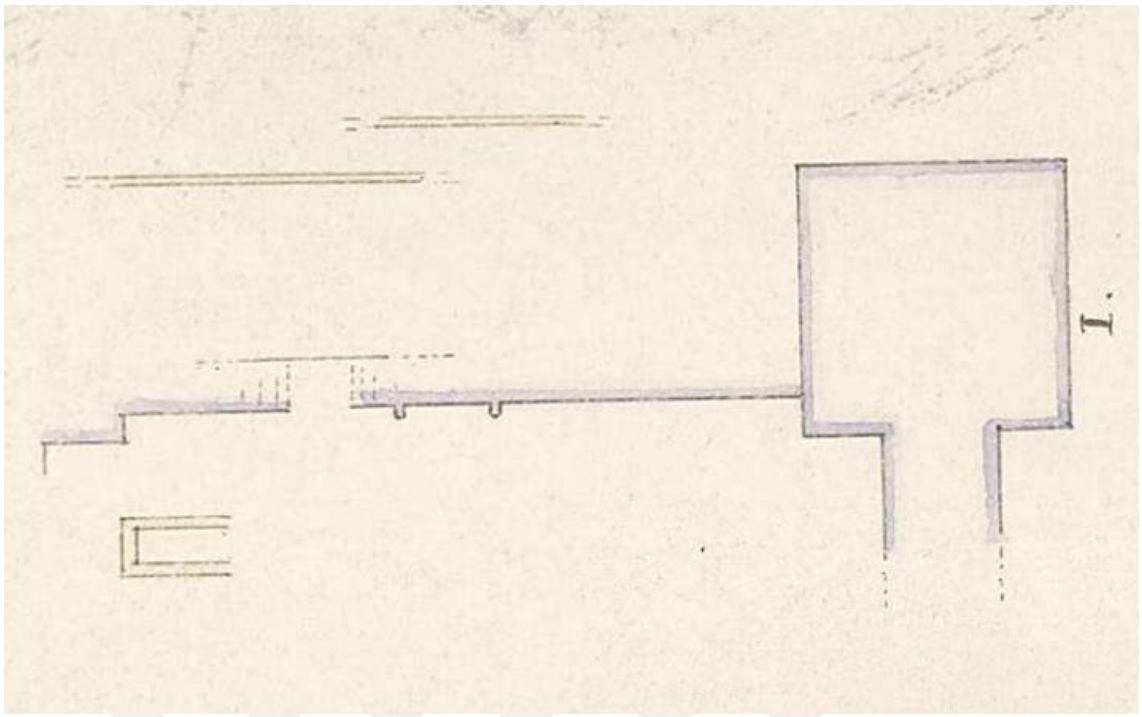


Figure 4.193: Plan of the staircase on the city plan by Hawkins (British Museum, no. 2012,5034.29 [close-up]).

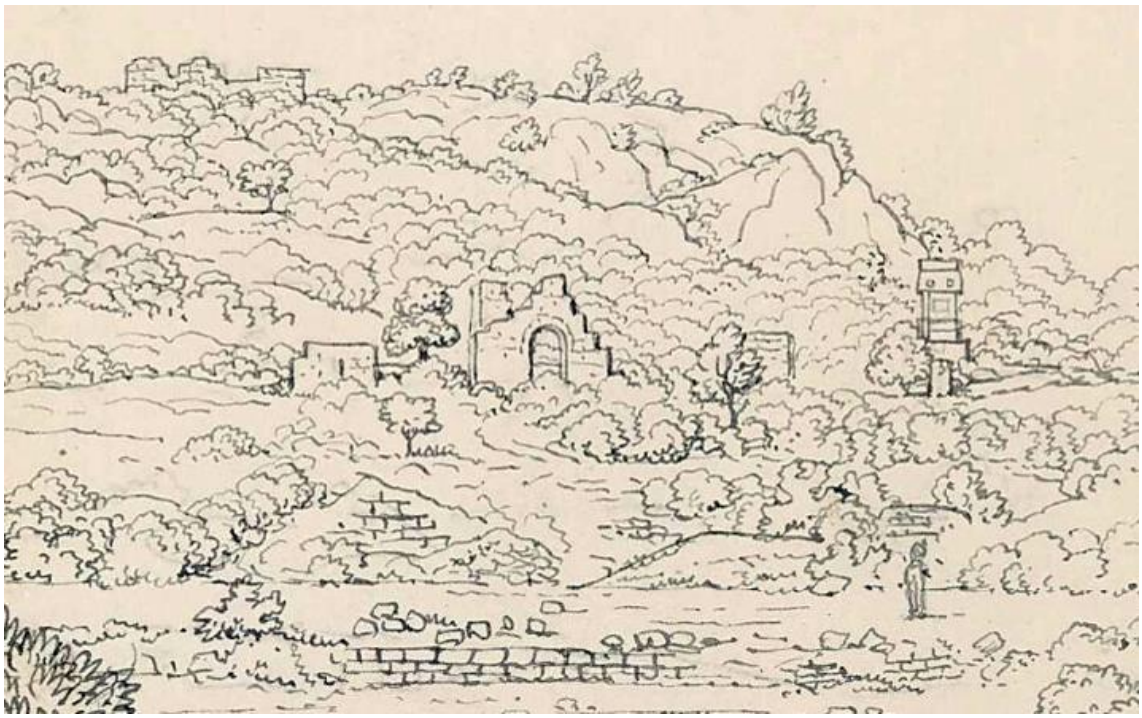


Figure 4.194: Scharf's drawing showing the Building with Windows (British Museum, no: 2012,5034.27 [close-up]).

4.28 Northeast Gate Bath

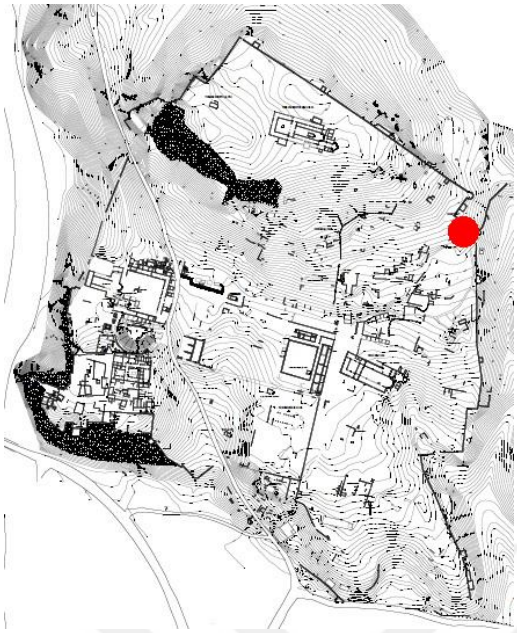


Figure 4.195: Location of the Northeast Gate Bath (edited from Figure 1.3).

Coordinates: 36.357767 N, 29.322967 E
Alt: +78 m.

Location (Figure 4.195):

Located on the east side of the Northeast Gate, adjacent to the inner side of the walls and north of the necropolis area where the Lion Pillar once stood.

Description:

The bath building only could be identified based on the hypocaust system that became visible as a result of two different illegal excavations. No other data is available regarding the architecture.

Current Status:

The hypocaust system was exposed as a result of an illegal excavation (Figure 4.196). Further northwest of this area, another illegal excavation pit as deep as nearly 5 m was

dug. The upper part of the structure is completely covered with rubble and very dense and thorny vegetation makes it nearly inaccessible.

Construction Phases and Chronology:

It is difficult to specify the date of the building as no fieldwork has been carried out in this area. The wall structure that can be seen in the illegal excavation pit suggests that it may belong to the Early Byzantine period.

Architectural Description:

Although the plan of the building is not understandable, it is clear that the structure is a bath as the hypocaust system was unearthed (Figure 4.197). It must have been a small, possibly a private bath, since it was built between the Northeast Gate and the necropolis area at a distance of 10 m from each other.



Figure 4.196: Hypocaust system exposed as a result of illegal excavation (2017).



Figure 4.197: Hypocaust system of the bath (2017).

There is an approximately 4 m difference in elevation between the Northeast Gate and the necropolis area where the monument known as the Lion Pillar[47] was once located.

[47] The burial chamber with a lion relief on top of the monument, which is thought to be the oldest example of Xanthos' pillar tombs dated to the first half of the 5th century BC (Demargne 1958, 32), was taken to the British Museum, and the pillar is currently tumbled down. The excavations made by Fellows showed that the area was an early burial site.

One of the two illegal excavations created a hole to a wall in this area and revealed a hypocaust system. Secondly, a very deep hole was dug in the east of the Northeast Gate. There is not enough data to understand the architectural features of the building. Having a bathhouse close to the gate at the city entrances is quite common in terms of urban planning; for example, there is a Roman bath at the west just outside the South Gate near the river. However, due to the small size of this building, there is a possibility that it was a private bath built in the Early Byzantine period rather than a Roman public bath.

Research / Fieldwork History and Publications:

Since the necropolis area adjacent to the building is one of the places where Fellows worked, the area was documented by drawing (Figure 4.27). The wall seen behind the sitting men in the picture might belong to this structure. No other fieldwork has been carried out since. The building was mentioned in two instances by the French excavators as ‘private baths’ without any further comment (des Courtils and Cavalier 2001, 171; des Courtils, Cavalier and Lemaître 2015, 107).

4.29 Workshops

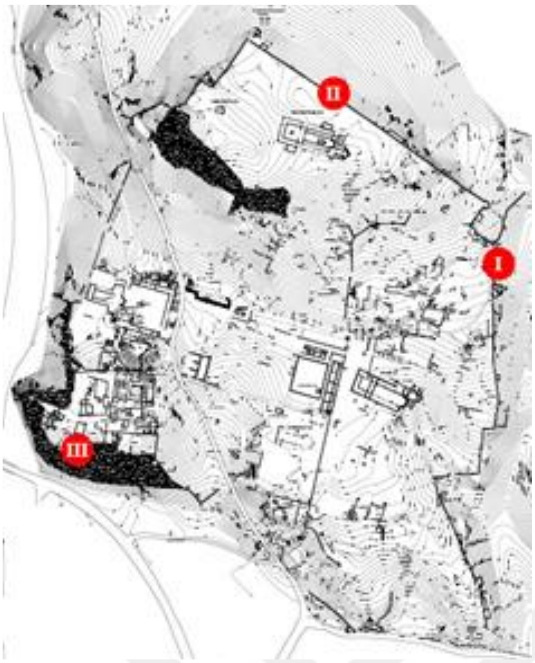


Figure 4.198: Locations of the Workshops (edited from Figure 1.3).

Coordinates:

WI: 36.357563 N, 29.323113 E; **Alt:** +67 m.

WII: 36.359430 N, 29.320915 E; **Alt:** +108 m.

WIII: 36.355485 N, 29.317480 E; **Alt:** +47 m.

Location (Figure 4.198):

Workshop I: Located outside the city walls on the east side of the city, near the Northeast Gate.

Workshop II: Located outside the city walls on the north side of the city, near the Upper Acropolis Basilica.

Workshop III: Located inside the city walls on the south side of the Lycian Acropolis, near the House of Meleager and Atalanta.

Description:

It is thought that these places, two of which are located outside the walls and one inside the walls of the Lycian Acropolis, were used as oil mills.

Current Status:

The spaces have been demolished down to the foundation level so that only the ground plans can be understood.

Construction Phases and Chronology:

Since none of these buildings have been the subject of any research, their exact construction dates are unknown. However, their masonry is similar to that of Early Byzantine walls in Xanthos.

Architectural Description:

Workshop I: This rectangular structure measures 5.70 m x 7.60 m and has a wall thickness of 0.60 m. The walls are preserved up to 0.80 m high. The lower row of the wall was built with large blocks, and the upper parts were built with medium-sized rubble. The masonry is similar to that of Early Byzantine walls in Xanthos. The structure was built outside and independently of the city walls. Although there is no indication of the function of the building, its location and dimensions caused it to be considered as a workshop. The place where the building is located is surrounded by olive trees today.

Workshop II: A wall has been built in front of the area where Bastion B02 protrudes from the wall and a rectangular space has been created here (Figure 4.199). It is a long rectangular large room measuring 4.20 m x 22.60 m with a wall thickness of 1.00 m. The *Mortarium* part of a *trapetum* stone found a few meters away from the structure shows that it was an olive oil mill (Figure 4.200).



Figure 4.199: General view of the Workshop II –from the W– (2017).



Figure 4.200: Trapetum stone found near the Workshop II (2017).



Figure 4.201: General view of the Workshop III –from the W– (2020).

Workshop III: On the Lycian Acropolis, there is a structure consisting of three adjacent spaces built at the lower elevation and close to the residence known as the House of Meleager and Atalanta (Figure 4.201). It is thought that it could have been a small olive oil production and storage area serving the residences on the Lycian Acropolis rather than a commercial production workshop due to its location. The structure measures 11.00 m x 17.80 m and is divided into three equal spaces by two walls. The entrances are in the north and the floor cannot be seen due to the earth deposit. The *Mortarium* part of a *trapetum* stone has been found on the surface inside the easternmost room (Figure 4.202).

Construction Techniques:

The masonry of these buildings is similar to that of Early Byzantine walls in Xanthos.



Figure 4.202: Trapetum stone found within the Workshop III (2017).

Research/Fieldwork History and Publications:

Workshops I and II have not been the subject of any study so far. Even though excavations were carried out around Workshop III in the 1950s during the fieldwork on the Lycian Acropolis, this place was not excavated, and publications do not provide any information.

4.30 Cisterns and Water System

Description:

The water system of Xanthos including supply, storage, distribution and drainage networks in various periods is a broad subject of study that unfortunately has not been investigated until today. A 9.5 km long waterway that consists of open channels, aqueducts, and underground channels depending on the topography was once, during the Roman period bringing water to the city from the mountains in the east (Burdy and Lebouteiller 1998). The water network within the city such as cisterns, water channels and water pipes that were found during various excavations were only briefly mentioned in some excavation reports without detail.

East Side of the City: The exact point of entry of the waterway into the city has not survived, but it must have been entering from a point close to the Northeast Gate. A small bath at the entrance of the gate was perhaps one of the first structures fed by the system (see Section 4.28 Northeast Gate Bath). Then, the waterway should have passed by the Residential Area on the skirts of the Upper Acropolis hill and reached the lower levels, where it must have met the water needs of the dwellings and the workshops, if any. As a result of the studies carried out in this area for the first time in 2018 (see Section 4.32 Residential Area), it was understood that the buildings reaching the Northeast Gate did not have cisterns; on the other hand, some buildings above this level had cisterns. The main line passing the Residential Area must have reached the Lycian Structure, as a channel and a reservoir were found during the excavations here (Varkıvanç 2013, 64). Workshops installed within the structure in the Roman and Early Byzantine periods must also have benefited from water. After this point, a large cistern, which consists of five adjacent spaces, must have been filled at the lower floor of the Civil Basilica. Since there

is both a level difference and the main street in between, it is thought that the passage was possible over the Dipylon, which was standing between the Lycian Structure and the Civil Basilica. This monumental honorific arch may also have served as an aqueduct, as in the case of the Patara City Gate example. There was a large Roman fountain right next to the Dipylon (Cavalier 2005, 95), and a second fountain south of the Civil Basilica, which was transformed into a simple pool during the Early Byzantine period (des Courtils 2006b, 31). There is another cistern measuring 3.80 m x 7.10 m in the western portico of the same agora. Although many terracotta pipes were unearthed during the excavation of the baptistery of the East Basilica to the east of the Agora, the connection to this place is not exactly known.

The main street of Xanthos, the *Decumanus Maximus*, is a road that was built as an engineering marvel, even for the Roman period, with a rare regularity of placement of the blocks and a gentle slope from east to west. Some trial excavations carried out in 2019 revealed an important architectural feature of the street. It was observed that the blocks in the form of thin lines were missing at some points, especially on the eastern part of the road, and excavations were carried out at these points. As a result of these, it was observed that there were two rows of terracotta pipes crossing the road in the north-south direction (Figure 4.203). Thus, it was understood that there were pipelines passing under the thinner block lines on the *Decumanus*. These might have supplied the water to the shops on both sides of the road and also to the Upper Agora. At the same time, some collapses are observed in the side blocks in the south direction of the street, which indicates that there is probably a wide drainage channel passing through this area, as well as a drainage hatch. Just ahead of this hatch, there is an open channel on the street that transfers the flowing rainwater from the north to the south. The fact that this channel was placed after the drainage hatch in the direction of water flow must indicate that there is probably at least

one more hole in the westward direction. Today, approximately 1/3 of the easternmost part of the street is fully visible; the middle 1/3 part has been partially excavated, but since the street was narrowed during the Byzantine period, the southern side of this section cannot be seen; lastly, the westernmost 1/3 part of the street is unexcavated. Considering these data, there is a possibility that such channels or other drainage holes may exist in the western parts of the street that cannot be seen today.



Figure 4.203: Detail of the terracotta pipes passing through the Decumanus (2019).

West Side of the City: The water transfer route of the main line from the east to the west side of the city has not been found so far. However, the water channels unearthed during the excavations in the building called the Council House and another pipe about 60 m east of this building may give clues about the connection between the two sides. Those channels are situated approximately 2 m above the level of the *Decumanus*.

Speaking about the west side of the city, it is necessary to consider the West Agora, the large Roman bath in the east of it and the Lycian Acropolis as the main consuming points of water. In the northeast corner of the West Agora, there are two fountain structures in the form of pools, one of which dates to the Early and the other to the Middle Byzantine period, as well as a reservoir where the water was distributed. To the north of the agora, a wide water channel and a small cistern were built in the Middle Byzantine period in order to supply water to the workshops here. It is not known through which water source the channel was fed, but it is understood that this new system was built after the Early Byzantine waterway was destroyed (Varkıvanç 2016, 65-66). At the southwest end of the agora, there is a quarter-circle fountain structure with a pool, which can also be dated to the Early Byzantine period. The large Roman bath complex to the east of the agora must have also needed much water. There is no information about the water system once feeding the bath building since no fieldwork has ever been done there.

The Lycian Acropolis was also fed by a water system coming from the direction of West Agora. During the excavations carried out there, many terracotta pipes and a waste water discharge channel were found (Varkıvanç 2014, 70). On the other hand, the fact that there are many cisterns in this region, which will be mentioned below, shows that the water brought from outside was not enough. The presence of many water-related structures such as the Baths of Leda, the Destroyed Baths and the Structure with Rectangular Pool in this area also increases the need for water.

Cisterns: Only a few of the cisterns known to exist in the city have been fully/partially excavated or only their existence has been mentioned. Since there are no detailed studies on them –for example, almost none of their interior capacities have been investigated– they can only be mentioned here without many details:

1- A large rock-cut cistern on the Lycian Acropolis (Figure 4.204), was studied in the early years of the excavation and mentioned without detail. With its dimensions of approximately 6 m x 13 m, it is the largest known cistern in the city. There are steps in the north of the cistern, which has the appearance of a deep pool carved out of the rock with a depth of 2.80 m, since its upper vault collapsed. It is reported that the cistern was built during the Byzantine period (Demargne and Metzger 1967, 1407).
2- The Byzantine period structure with a cistern and overflow pool was built adjacent to the Diateichisma wall (see Section 4.31).
3- The cistern that is located in the basement of the Civil Basilica, which was built in the Roman period, consists of five spaces in a row (see Section 4.25).
4- Two cisterns that measure 5.20 m x 10.20 m and 6.00 m x 6.30 m are located to the north and south of the Upper Acropolis Basilica (Canbilen, Lebouteiller and Sodini 1996, 215).
5- A cistern/reservoir is located in the middle of the orchestra of the theater (Dönmez 2022, 49).
6- Round-shaped water reservoirs are situated on the terrace of the Nereid Monument.
7- A Roman period cistern is located adjacent to the west of the Lycian Structure (Varkıvanç 2013, 64).



Figure 4.204: Rock-cut cistern on the Lycian Acropolis –from the S– (2020).

8- A wide water channel and cistern of the workshops were unearthed during the excavations in the northern part of the West Agora and dated to the Middle Byzantine period (Varkıvanç 2016, 66).

9- A reservoir supplied water to fountains with pools in the northeast corner of the West Agora (see Section 4.33).

10- A cistern is located in the middle of the great pool of the Northeast House on the Lycian Acropolis.

11- A cistern is located under the private inner courtyard of the Northeast House on the Lycian Acropolis (Figure 4.205).

12- A cistern is located in the House of Meleager and Atalanta on the Lycian Acropolis.

13- A row of cisterns are located in the northern part of the Baths of Leda (see Section 4.22).

14- The small cistern of the Structure with the Rectangular Pool measures 1.20 m x 2.20 m (see Section 4.21)



Figure 4.205: Decorated filling cover of the cistern under the inner courtyard of the Northeast House on the Lycian Acropolis (2017).

Apart from these, cisterns have also been identified as a result of field studies by the author –although some of them are marked on the old city plans, they were not defined as cisterns before–

1- A cistern with internal dimensions of 3.80 m x 4.90 is located 5 m east of the Building with Chimneys and was probably built at the same time and belonging to

this building but using large spolia blocks. Traces of hydraulic plaster can be seen on the lower parts of the interior walls.

2- A cistern with dimensions of 1.90 m x 4.10 m is located approximately 50 m southeast of the large Roman bath structure and approximately 40 m northwest of the Synagogue, on the northern side of the modern road between the Theater and the South Gate. As far as can be seen today, it has no connection with any structure.



Figure 4.206: Cistern next to Structure 18 –from the S– (2020).

3- There are two cisterns on both the east and west sides of Structure 18 in the Residential Area. The one on the west side measures 1.45 m x 2.80 m and looks like an above-ground water reservoir surrounded by walls. To the east is a cistern measuring 1.70 m x 3.70 m, below ground level, with a pit-like appearance. Although the upper vault has collapsed, the beginning of the vault can still be seen (Figure 4.206).

4- A cistern measuring 2.90 m x 3.90 m was found in front of a space carved out of the bedrock, 17 m northeast of Structure 20 in the Residential Area.
5- There are two cisterns located very close to each other in the inner part of the bastion, which is named B4 in the northern part of the city walls. The one in the west is located in the western corner of the bastion and measures 2.60 m x 4.40 m. The one in the east is about 4 m southeast of the first one and measures 2.20 m x 3.20 m.
6- Within the Northern Necropolis area, there is a round-shaped well approximately 30 m north of the tomb monument known as the Ahqqadi Sarcophagus. Another similar well is located about 10 m north of the Lycian Structure.

Apart from these, two constructions that were found during the field studies but could not be investigated in detail due to the unfavorable terrain conditions, have the possibility of being cisterns.

1- Approximately 25 m east of the Upper Acropolis Chapel, there is a hollow area within the rocks. Inside this hollow area, which could not be investigated, there is a space carved into the rock and supported by some walls. This structure was possibly a water reservoir (Figure 4.106, in the middle and at the bottom near the city walls).
2- On the west side of the podium of the Structure H in the far southwest of the Lycian Acropolis, on the lower elevation of the steep slope, a rectangular pool-like structure of approximately 2.5 m x 3.5 m is located.

In addition to the city's waterways and cisterns, three wells have also been identified, all of which are located in the Byzantine Residential Area at the foot of the Upper Acropolis Hill and on the upper elevations of the Lycian Structure.

4.31 Structure with Cistern in Front of the Diateichisma Wall



Figure 4.207: Location and general plan of the Structure with Cistern in Front of the Diateichisma Wall (edited from Figure 1.3).

Coordinates: 36.356339 N, 29.317805 E
Alt: +54 m.

Location (Figure 4.207):

Adjacent to the north of the Diateichisma Wall, behind the theater to the west of the central bastion.

Description:

It is a cistern building with an overflow pool and some spaces located on its west. Only the cistern part was excavated, whereas the other parts were not researched in detail.

Current Status:

The pool is unearthed and visible today and an iron battlement was placed on top of the cistern opening to prevent accidents.



Figure 4.208: General view of the Structure with Cistern –from the E– (Varkıvanç 2014, 70, fig.11).

Architectural Description:

The main feature of the building is a cistern carved into the bedrock and an overflow pool above measuring 3.00 m x 4.00 m (Figure 4.208). A circular opening with a diameter of 0.80 m connects the cistern below to the pool. The walls of the pool are covered with large rectangular terracotta tiles and the floor with square terracotta tiles of different sizes

[the large plates in the middle measure 0.53 m x 0.53 m, the smaller plates on the sides are 0.30 m x 0.30 m in size]. The cistern under the bottom of the pool was fed by pipes.

The pool is not the only architectural element in the area and it is flanked by several other rooms (Figure 4.209). The room in the west measuring 4.80 m x 6.10 m was built with reused blocks and rubble. The location and wall quality of the structures led researchers to interpret them as workshops but their exact function is unknown since no detailed fieldwork was carried out (Varkıvanç 2014, 70).

Research/Fieldwork History and Publications:

The structure was partly excavated in 2013 and briefly mentioned in the annual excavation report (Varkıvanç 2014).



Figure 4.209: Aerial view of the Structure with Cistern (Xanthos Excavation Archive, 2018).

4.32 Residential Area



Figure 4.210: Location and general plan of the Residential Area (edited from Figure 1.3).

Coordinates: 36.357104 N, 29.322145 E
Alt: from +67 m. to +78 m.

Location (Figure 4.210):

Located in the northeast section of the city, covering a vast area to the north and northeast of the Building with Chimneys and to the east and northeast of the Lycian Structure.

Description:

The Byzantine-era residential area of the city consists of the Main Street in the northeast-southwest direction connected to the city from the Northeast Gate and side streets crossing it. Dozens of structures were built around this road axis.

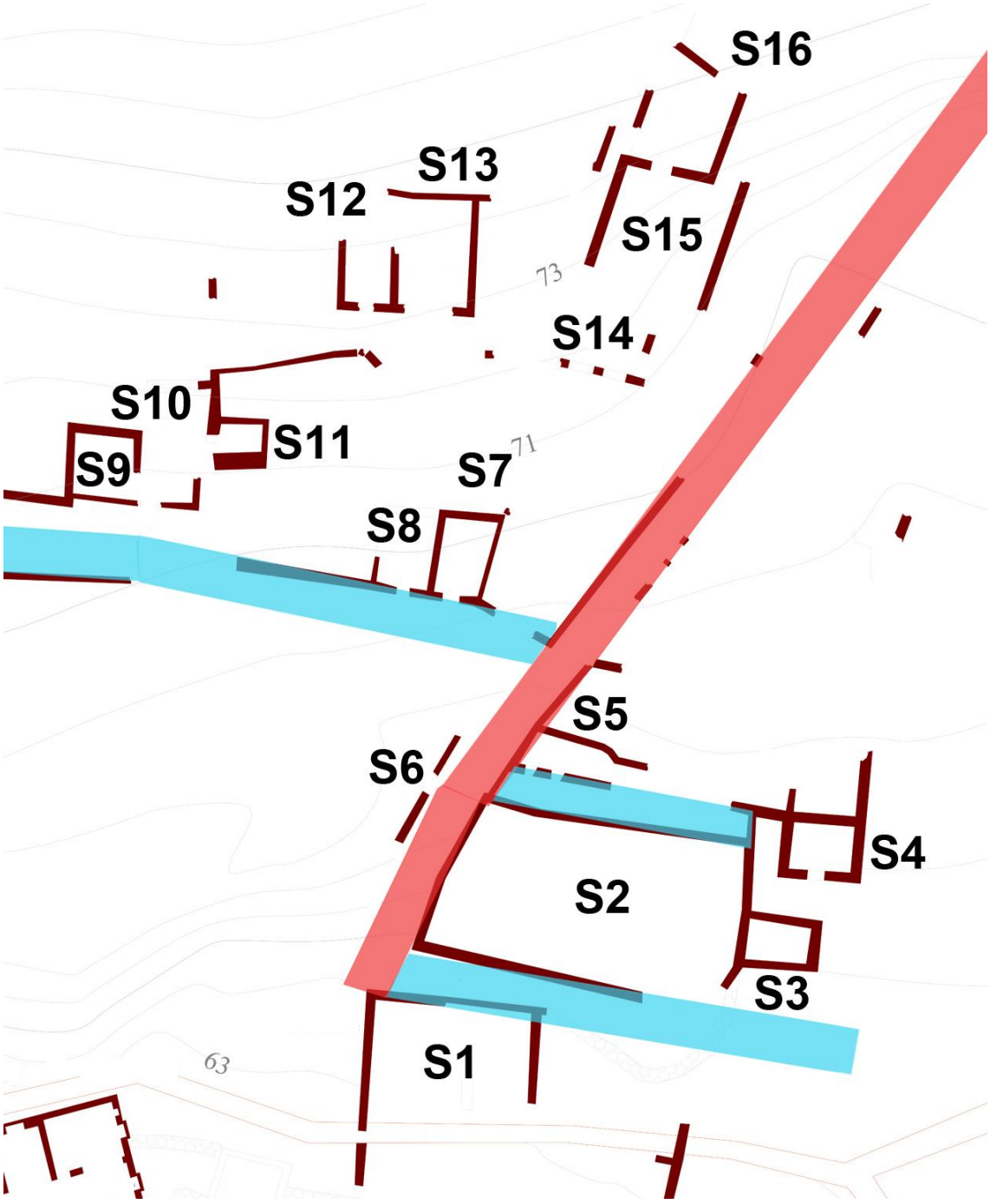


Figure 4.211: General plan of the Residential Area showing the structures, Main Street [red colored], and Side Streets [blue colored] (edited from Figure 1.4).

Current Status:

The residential area located on the slope of the Upper Acropolis is under dense vegetation and in a difficult-to-reach location. The structures are preserved in a wide variety of preservation conditions.

Construction Phases and Chronology:

A vast set of buildings can be seen in the area, ranging from the Early Byzantine to late periods. Spolia material dating to the Roman period used in some buildings indicates that there were large Roman houses with peristyle courtyards in this area (Varkıvanç 2019, 252). Since the north and east directions were used as necropolis areas in the Classical period, it is thought that it was not used as residential in the early periods.

Architectural Description:

In this section, the buildings and streets will be analyzed by numbering; please refer to Figure 4.211.

Byzantine Main Street: It was not known until recently what kind of road connection existed between the Northeast Gate of Xanthos and the city center. Although the road axis in the early periods is still unknown, the Early Byzantine urban texture has become more evident with the discovery of this main street (Figure 4.211, red colored; Figure 4.212, no:2; Figure 4.213), which is an essential development for the history of urbanism. Although the street cannot be seen continuously in the field due to the earth deposit, when the discovered parts are drawn in the plan, a clear picture emerges. According to this, the street starts from the Northeast Gate, makes a very slight curve, and reaches the point where the small cistern in the east of the Building with Chimneys (Figure 4.212, no:1) is located. From here, it must have been connected to the stone-paved square where the *Decumanus* and the *Cardo* intersect. The total length of the street is 147 m. The width of

the street widens from north to south, from 2.70 m to 4.50 m. There is no data on the pavement of the street due to the earth deposit. The boundaries of the street are determined by buildings on both sides. It is also seen that some pedestals dating to the Roman period were used as the side stones of the street (Figure 4.214). Three intersecting side streets were also discovered (Figure 4.211, blue colored).

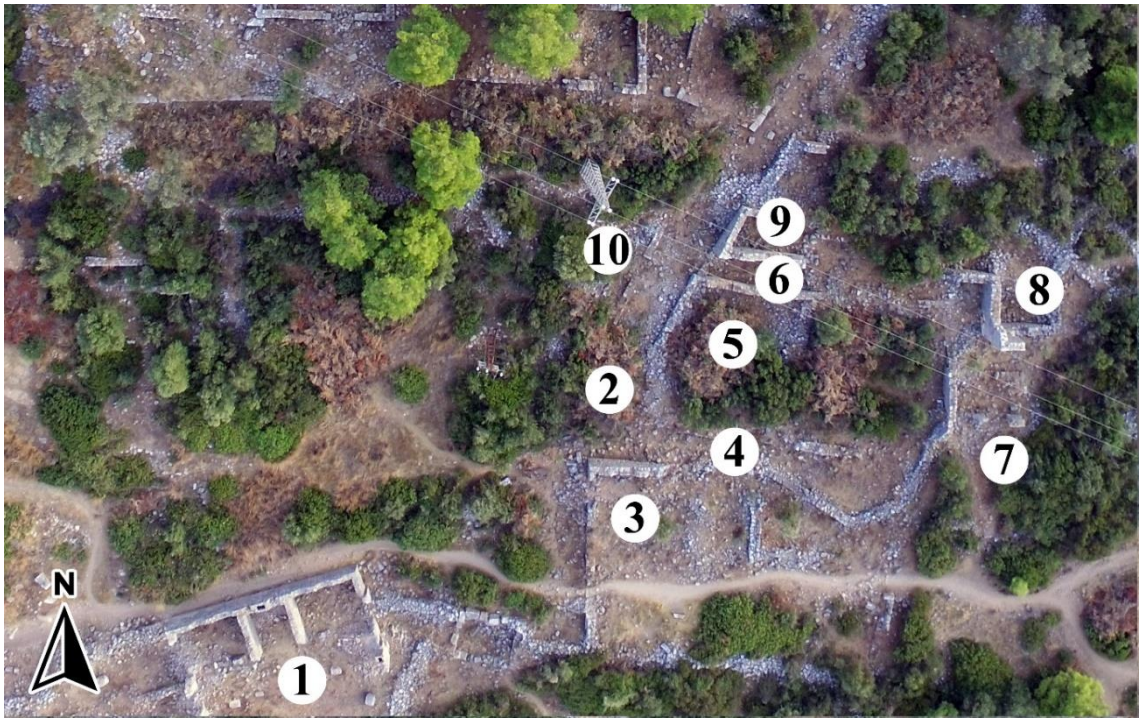


Figure 4.212: Aerial view of the south section of the Residential Area: 1- Building with Chimneys; 2- Byzantine Main Street; 3- Structure 1; 4- Side Street I; 5- Structure 2; 6- Side Street II; 7- Structure 3; 8- Structure 4; 9- Structure 5; 10- Structure 6 (Xanthos Excavation Archive, 2018).



Figure 4.213: General view of the south section of the Byzantine main street –from the SW– (2018).

Structure 1: Visitors are using a path connecting the stone-paved square to the Northern Necropolis. Originally this axis was not a real road, and this path actually passes through the walls of this building, which measures 14.00 m x 16.45 m, and whose function could not be understood (Figure 4.212, no: 3). The walls, which were built double-faced by joining large-sized rubble with mortar, are preserved at a maximum level of 1.10 m. The masonry is similar to that of Early Byzantine walls in Xanthos. A wall passing through the middle divides the building into two longitudinal parts. The south and west walls of the building are completely disappeared. Just north of this building lies the first of the side streets that intersects the main street.

Side Street I: There is a side street with an average width of 3 m, and 20 m of which can be followed from the northwest corner of Structure I to the east (Figure 4.212, no: 4; Figure 4.215).



Figure 4.214: General view of the middle section of the Byzantine main street –from the S– (2018).

Structure 2 (Area with Enclosure Wall): To the north of Side Street I, there is an area surrounded by a wall (Figure 4.212, no: 5). Due to the dense vegetation, no other structure

could be seen within the premises. This perimeter wall measures 14.45 m x 23.00 m. The wall, which was built by joining large-sized rubble with mortar, is preserved at a maximum level of 2.30 m and has a thickness of 0.85 m. The masonry is similar to that of Early Byzantine walls in Xanthos. The area is adjacent to Side Street II in the north, and previously there was a 1-meter wide opening to the street in this wall, which was blocked in later periods.



Figure 4.215: General view of the Side Street I –from the SE– (2018).

Side Street II: The second street lies 14.50 m north of the first one, towards the east of the main street (Figure 4.212, no: 6; Figure 4.216). The entrance of this 25-meter-long and 2.30-meter-wide street was blocked by a wall in a later period. A feature of these streets is that they have been constructed following the topography, while the main street is directed towards the Northeast Gate; thus, the side streets do not intersect the main road perpendicularly. Therefore, the corners of the buildings on each side of the streets do not

have 90-degree angles, but one corner has wide, and the other has narrow angles (see Structure 5).



Figure 4.216: General view of the Side Street II –from the W– (2018).

Structure 3: This dwelling is located adjacent to the east of the area numbered two, and measures 4.80 m x 6.80 m; it has a wall thickness of 0.7 m (Figure 4.212, no: 7; Figure 4.217). Only the west wall is preserved with a height of 2 m. The south wall was severely damaged, while the north and east walls were destroyed up to the foundation level. The walls were built with rubble and a very small number of broken bricks joined with grayish-colored lime mortar. The masonry is similar to that of Early Byzantine walls in Xanthos. On the wall plaster of the inner side, there are traces made with a pointed object without a proper pattern. These are probably the marks created on the wet mortar in order to apply fine coating better. There is no trace of any other architectural feature, such as a

door or windows. An undecorated, semi-finished column capital was used in the east wall as well as some other spolia blocks.



Figure 4.217: Structure 3 –from the NE– (2018).

Structure 4: This tower-like structure measures 5.60 m x 7.00 m, and was built with rubble and a small number of brick fragments joined with grayish-white lime mortar (Figure 4.212, no: 8). This masonry is similar to that of Early Byzantine walls in Xanthos. The corners are reinforced with large cut stone blocks. The wall thickness is 0.9 m. Some traces of repairs from later periods can be seen on the façade, which are simple repairs such as filling cracks and holes with a mixture of small-sized rubble, broken bricks, and pinkish-colored mortar. Although the floor of the building cannot be seen due to the rubble deposit, it is clear that the structure was at least two stories high. The entire valley can be easily seen from the upper floor in the south and east. The southwestern corner of the building has been preserved quite high and intact (Figure 4.218).



Figure 4.218: Structure 4 –from the NE– (2018).

On the first and second floors, the remains of two windows are visible, which are not aligned on a line. Although the width of the windows cannot be measured, it is understood from the angle of the jambs preserved on the west side that the building had embrasure windows. The original entrance was probably located in the east or south wall, which are both destroyed. Inside the building, two beam slots can be seen in the west wall for supporting the second floor. In addition to those, there is an elongated support ridge along the south wall just above them that was also holding the floor. Additionally, there are more beam slots in the second-floor walls. There are traces on the mortar as on the walls of Structure 3, and also top coating plaster is preserved at some points (Figure 4.219). The western wall of the building faces Side Street II, another wall starts from the northwest corner and continues to the north.



Figure 4.219: Mortar and plaster detail on the wall of Structure 4 (2018).

Structure 5 (Building with Embrasure Windows): The structure was built to the north of the corner where Side Street II and Main Street intersect, facing both streets (Figure 4.212, no: 9). It measures 4.75 m x 9.10 m and has a wall thickness of 0.85 m. The masonry is similar to that of Early Byzantine walls in Xanthos. There are two embrasure windows on the façade facing the side street. The one in the west is completely intact –its inner dimensions are 0.40 m x 0.50 m, and 0.13 m x 0.50 m outside– while only half of the other is preserved (Figure 4.220).

It was stated before that the side streets were aligned following the topography, so the corner angles of the buildings are not 90 degrees. This situation is most clearly seen in this structure (Figure 4.221). The northwest corner has a 107-degree wide-angle, while the southwest corner has a 68-degree narrow-angle. The southwest corner of the building is preserved at a very high level of 3.40 m.



Figure 4.220: Structure 5 –from the N– (2018).



Figure 4.221: Narrow-angle of the southwest corner of Structure 5 –from the W– (2020).

The entrance of the building was probably through the eastern wall, which is completely destroyed. There are beam slots in the three existing walls. Wall plaster can be seen as in the previous two structures. The original floor is not visible due to the rubble deposit. A terracotta water pipe and a piece of thin marble revetment have been found on the surface. Deep cracks in the walls can create possible danger in the future of the building.

Structure 6: Although only the eastern wall of the building can be seen at the foundation level, and its plan cannot be understood, the presence of this wall is important as it defines the western border of the Main Street (Figure 4.212, no: 10). The wall has a 1.90 meter-wide door, which has spolia blocks used as jambs on both sides. A high-voltage line tower stands approximately 5 m inside the street to the west of this wall.

Side Street III: 10 m north of Side Street II, a relatively long third street opens from the Main Street, this time in western direction for around 55 m (Figure 4.222, no: 1). At the intersection of the streets, a regular corner was created by placing large cut stones and postaments without inscription. While there is a continuous row of buildings and walls on the north side of this side street, the south direction looks empty.

Structure 7: The south wall of this dwelling faces the street, while the northern wall leans on the slope (Figure 4.222, no: 2; Figure 4.223). The building measures 4.60 m x 7.00 m, and there is a 1.37 meter-wide door and a 0.65 meter-wide window on the south façade. While spolia blocks were used in the front façade as construction material, the interior and rear walls were built with mortared rubble. In the northwest corner of the building, a block with an inscription was also used as spolia.

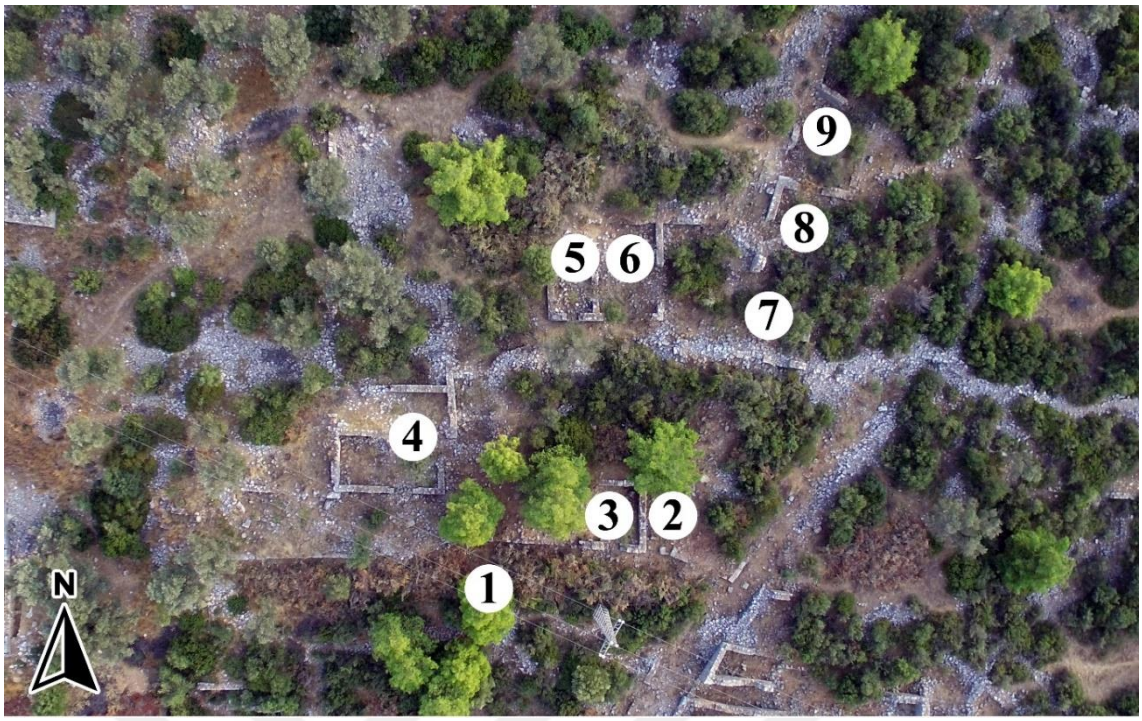


Figure 4.222: Aerial view of the north section of the Residential Area: 1- Side Street III; 2- Structure 7; 3- Structure 8; 4- Structure 9, 10 and 11; 5- Structure 12; 6- Structure 13; 7- Structure 14; 8- Structure 15; 9- Structure 16 (Xanthos Excavation Archive, 2018).



Figure 4.223: Structure 7 –from the NE– (2018).

A heart-shaped column drum was found just above the northeast corner, independent from the structure. With the discovery of other architectural sculpted blocks dating to the Roman period in the vicinity, it is understood that a Roman house with a peristyle once existed on this slope (Varkıvanç 2019, 252).

Structure 8: This dwelling is quite similar to Structure 7 and adjacent to it from the west, measuring 4.70 m x 7.00 m (Figure 4.222, no: 3; Figure 4.224). Spolia blocks have been used in the south façade facing the street and some more in the north wall which lean on the slope, while the rest of the house was built with mortared rubble. There is a 1.20-meter-wide door in the south wall, but no windows are visible. Inside the building, there is a niche measuring 0.45 m x 1.40 m in the west wall, which could be a hearth.



Figure 4.224: Structure 8 –from the NE– (2018).

Further westward these two adjacent houses, there is a terrace over a retaining wall built with very large spolia blocks, where many architectural sculpted blocks from the Roman period are scattered. Structures 9 - 10, and 11 are also located in this area (Figure 4.222, no: 4).

Structure 9 - 10: The walls of the structures were built with rubble and some Roman spolia. Structure 10 has a 1.95-meter-wide door in the south wall. Roman spolia are used as jambs on both sides. Although its plan is not fully understood due to the earth deposit, it resembles an L-shaped space. Structure 9, measuring 5.00 m x 5.60 m, appears as a room within this building if they are not two separate structures (Figure 4.225).



Figure 4.225: Structures 9 and 10 –from the E– (2018).

Structure 11: It is a 4.10 m x 5.00 m building adjacent to the east wall of Structure 10. There is a 0.80 meter-wide passage between two buildings. A large spolia block measuring 0.70 m x 1.00 m was used as a jamb in the north direction of this opening.

Structure 12 - 13 (Figure 4.222, no: 5 - 6): Structure 12 measures 5.00 m x 9.85 m, and has a 1.15 meter-wide door in its south-facing façade (Figure 4.226). It is understood that the entrance to Structure 13, which measures 7.10 m x 9.75 m, is also on the southern façade, but the dimensions of the door could not be determined since this wall partly collapsed. These two adjacent structures are preserved with a maximum height of 1.40 m. In addition, there is a niche in the west wall of this structure, the width of which cannot be determined precisely. However, with a depth of 0.45 m, it must have been a hearth such as the niche in Structure 8.



Figure 4.226: Structure 12 –from the N– (2018).

These two buildings are clearly distinguished from every other structure in Xanthos concerning their masonry technique because of two features: the way of placement of bricks and the use of natural stones. Two rows of reused bricks were placed in straight lines between the rubble stones on the south façade of the structures (Figure 4.227), and the same thing can be seen in the east wall of Structure 13 (Figure 4.228).

A large number of spolia elements have also been used, such as blocks, column drums, and even fragments of broken marble revetment. The most interesting feature is that natural round stones were used in the construction of these two buildings without any crushing or flattening process (Figure 4.229). As a result, the walls were not very strong since the round stones could not hold the mortar as good as rubble. The rocks that fell off the walls left circular holes in the mortar. This type of wall construction is not seen in any other building in Xanthos. The quite different and low-quality construction of these buildings suggests that they are structures that can be dated to the latest era of the city. There are also repairs in some other buildings of the residential area that can be dated to a late period (see Structure 4).

This indicates that the residential area was constantly inhabited for the same purpose from the Early Byzantine era –and even from the Roman period– until the time that the city was no more inhabited. The northern wall of Structure 13 is an early wall made of regular ashlar blocks and needs to be studied independently from these structures, and can possibly be dated to the Roman period or earlier (Figure 4.228, left side). In front of Structure 12 stands a second heart-shaped corner pillar independent from the building. In addition, a half-broken granite mortar was found on the surface inside the structure and is stored in the excavation depot now.



Figure 4.227: South façade of Structure 12 –from the S– (2018).



Figure 4.228: North and east walls of Structure 13 –from the SW– (2018).



Figure 4.229: Round stones used as construction material in Structure 13 –from the SW– (2018).

Structure 14 (Building with Arches): The presence of two wide regular openings on the southern façade of this building near the Main Street suggests that it might have been a building with arched openings (Figure 4.230). The arch spans are approximately equal, 2.00 m in the east and 2.10 m in the west, and the widths are 0.7 m. To the east of these, there is another opening of 2.10 m in the east wall, which could be a door. Since the north and west walls are completely destroyed, the dimensions of the structure cannot be determined. Although the building is slightly recessed from the Main Street, it is thought that its door opened to the street. On the interior walls, there are marks on mortar as seen in some other buildings before. The masonry is similar to that of Early Byzantine walls in Xanthos.

Structure 15: The width of this large structure is 9.60 m. Its length cannot be measured since the south wall has collapsed, and because of the same reason, it cannot be determined whether it has a connection with Structure 14. The east wall of the structure is located 5 m away from the Main Street. There are two openings on the north, one of which provides access to Structure 16 –width 1.75 m– and the other opens apparently to the outside –width 2.00 m–. The walls of this building are preserved at a maximum height of 3.50 m and they contain a large number of broken brick fragments. This masonry is similar to that of Middle Byzantine walls in Xanthos.

Structure 16: The width of this structure is 6.70 m. However, the length of the east –7.20 m– and west walls –9.80 m– are different. There is a door opening to Structure 15 in the south wall and another door in the north that cannot be measured exactly. Like the adjacent Structure 15, this building might also belong to the Middle Byzantine period, as its masonry suggests. The walls are preserved at a height of 1.90 m.



Figure 4.230: Wide arched (?) openings of Structure 14 –from the N– (2018).

Structure 17: It is a building that consists of two adjacent spaces built on the bedrock on the west side. The southern room measures 5.10 m x 5.70 m, and the northern room measures 5.00 m x 5.70 m. There is a door in the east of the northern room, the width of which could not be determined.

The lower parts of the northern wall of the building were built in the polygonal technique that can be dated to the Classical period, and may possibly be related to the early necropolis in the area. Some classical architectural fragments used in the construction of the Byzantine period walls and regular holes on the ground may also point to a previously unknown Classical period structure, possibly a funerary monument.

Structure 18 (Building with Cisterns): Cisterns have not been identified in any of the buildings mentioned so far in the residential area, probably because these structures up to a certain altitude received water from the general waterline (see Section 4.30 Cisterns and Water System). On the other hand, since this building is located at +82 m, a very high point on the Upper Acropolis hill, it must have met the water requirements from its own reservoirs. Two cisterns located very close to each other and three independent walls positioned around them were identified, but the original plan of the building could not be understood. The cistern in the west measures 1.45 m x 2.80 m, and the one in the east is 1.70 m x 3.70 m (Figure 4.206). In the western cistern, a terracotta supply pipe is visible. These structures are very close to the Classical period necropolis as they are located at a high elevation. A tomb monument known as the Ahqqadi Sarcophagus stands only 10 m further northwards in the vicinity (Figure 4.231). Two metal *phylacteries* dating between the 3rd and 6th centuries AD were found in this area as surface finds –see Section 2.5.1– (Jordan and Kotansky 1996).



Figure 4.231: Structure 18 and the Ahqqadi Sarcophagus –from the SW– (2018).

Structure 19: This structure consists of two adjacent rooms measuring 4.50 m x 6.60 m and 3.10 m x 3.50 m respectively. The masonry is similar to that of Early Byzantine walls in Xanthos. The bedrock is visible in the floor of the eastern room. It is further away from other structures and is located between the Northeast Gate and the Northern Necropolis area.

Structures 20 - 21: These buildings are located in a remote location to the west of the residential area and were built under the steep rocky part on the slope of the Upper Acropolis by placing the northern walls on the bedrock. Its dimensions are approximately 5.50 m x 9.00 m and 8.00 m x 10.00 m respectively. Since many other walls and terrace walls were found in the south, it is understood that most of the skirts of the Upper Acropolis hill were used for settlement.

During the survey in the area, dozens of more walls were found apart from all these structures, but they are too fragmentary to be identified as buildings. On the other

hand, since this large area is covered with dense vegetation, many possible other structures or wall connections may not have been seen.

Decorative Features:

Architectural Sculpture: Although architectural sculpted materials that can be dated to the Roman period were used as spolia as the construction material, decorative elements dated to the Byzantine period could not be found.

Construction Techniques:

Early Byzantine: The Early Byzantine masonry technique, which can be seen throughout the city, is observed in most buildings. Medium and large-sized rubble, some spolia and a small number of brick fragments were used.

Middle Byzantine: The Middle Byzantine masonry technique is also typical like in the other structures in Xanthos that were built after the 11th century. The walls were built with small or medium-sized rubble and a large number of broken brick fragments. Structures 15 and 16 belong to this period.

Late Structures: The wall technique of Structures 12 and 13, which can be called the most interesting or even unique, is not seen in any other building in the city. Natural round stones were used in the construction without any crushing or flattening process. These two buildings are probably among the latest structures of Xanthos.

Research/Fieldwork History and Publications:

No research has been conducted in this area before. An extensive vegetation clearing work was carried out for the first time in 2018, and architectural remains unearthed were documented via photography and drawing a plan. The excavation report of this year is the only publication describing the region briefly (Varkıvanç 2019, 251-252).

4.33 West Agora



Figure 4.232: Location and general plan of the West Agora (edited from Figure 1.3).

Coordinates: 36.356998 N, 29.318331 E
Alt: +50 m.

Location (Figure 4.232):

Located in the western part of the city, at the point where the colonnaded street ends in the west and just north of the theater.

Description:

It is a square agora dated to the Roman period and surrounded by porticos on all four sides. It gained a feature that combined both religious and commercial functions during the Late Antique period. Workshops in the northern area have provided important finds to better understand the commercial life of Byzantine Xanthos.

Current Status:

Today, the surrounding porticos are destroyed, and the square is an empty area in the center of the city (Figure 4.233). Since the tomb monuments around the agora are the most visited area of Xanthos, it can be considered as the point where tours begin. Mosaic areas are few and kept covered for protection. The western part of the square is used as a stone sorting area where the large-sized architectural material is kept.



Figure 4.233: Aerial view of the West Agora (Xanthos Excavation Archive, 2013).

Construction Phases and Chronology:

It is known from the Ancient Greek inscription on the north face of the Inscribed Pillar that there was a Classical period agora in the same place, although its exact shape and

dimensions are unknown (des Courtils and Cavalier 2001, 154). Tomb monuments, one of the most characteristic features of Xanthos' cityscape, are located around the agora. These monuments also appear as landmarks situated in the center of the city rather than just being graves. Thus, a communal area was created, where political, commercial, and religious activities were combined.

According to the stylistic analysis of its entablature, the Roman agora can be dated to the end of the 1st and the beginning of the 2nd century AD (Cavalier and des Courtils 2010, 415). The finds obtained during excavations show a continuous activity between the 2nd and the 7th centuries AD. Dönmez, who carried out excavations in the area, dated the first construction phase of the agora to AD 60 - 80, based on the 1st century AD ceramics and typological data (Figure 4.234) (Dönmez 2018a, 231). It was interpreted that it was a cultural and state agora rather than a commercial agora in the Roman period. Typologically it reflects the characteristics of Ionian agorae, well planned and surrounded by porticos, which are rare in the Lycian region except for the Phaselis example. In nearby region, Perge and Side of Pamphylia and Laodikeia of Pisidia have similar Roman agorae (Dönmez 2018a, 228-229).

A commercial area was created in the Early Byzantine period, with many workshops in the north wing of the agora, which also continued to be used in the later periods. A winery used between the 5th and 7th centuries AD and a metal workshop dated to the 11th century were identified. Architectural and ceramic finds show that this commercial area was used until the 13th century (Varkıvanç 2015b, 546).

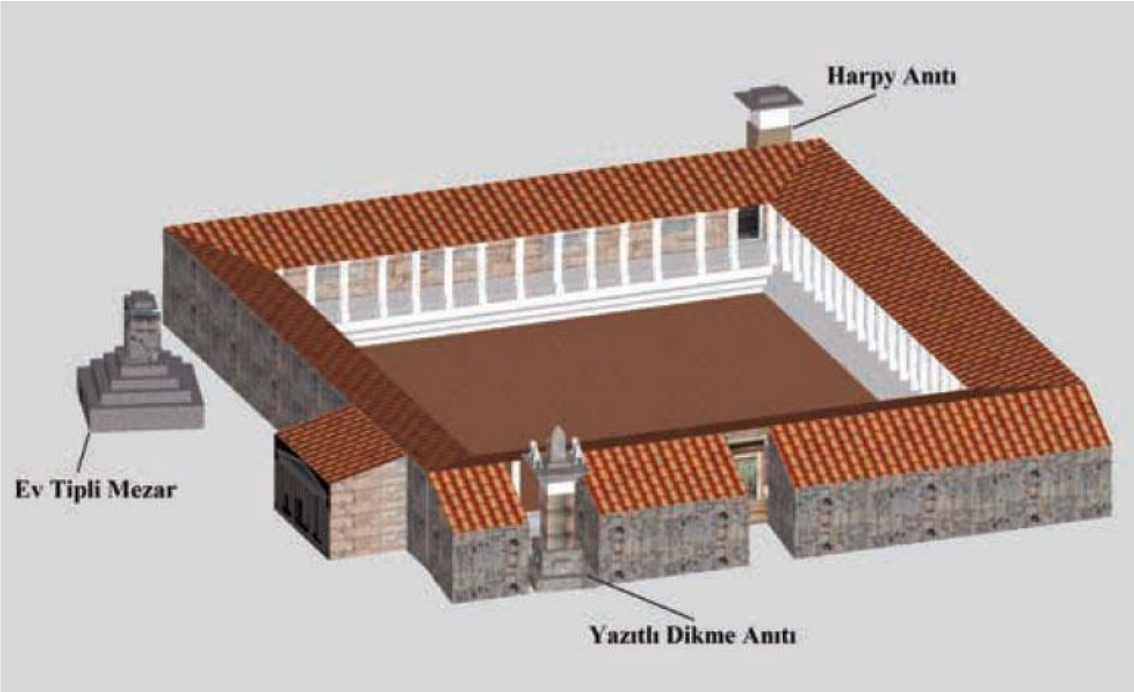


Figure 4.234: Reconstruction of the West Agora in the Roman imperial period (Dönmez 2018a, 248, fig.44).

Architectural Description:

The agora is a square space measuring 60 m x 60 m, enclosed by porticos of 5 m width on all four sides. The square is surrounded by the theater in the south, the West Basilica in the west, shops in the north, and a street in the east. The original entrance was in the east. Except for some dismantled points, the three-stepped *krepidoma* can be seen intact, but the colonnades of the porticos are completely destroyed. Architectural sculpture belonging to entablature and columns was used as spolia in Byzantine period buildings. The walls surrounding the stoas were built with the double-faced wall technique with polygonal blocks on the outside and rectangular stones inside joined without mortar. There were 22 columns in each portico and 84 columns total within the agora. The columns are made of green-veined marble with a diameter of 0.45 m and the pedestals

measure 0.70 m x 0.70 m x 0.55 m. The façade height of the porticos has been calculated as 6.95 m (Dönmez 2018a, 222, 226).

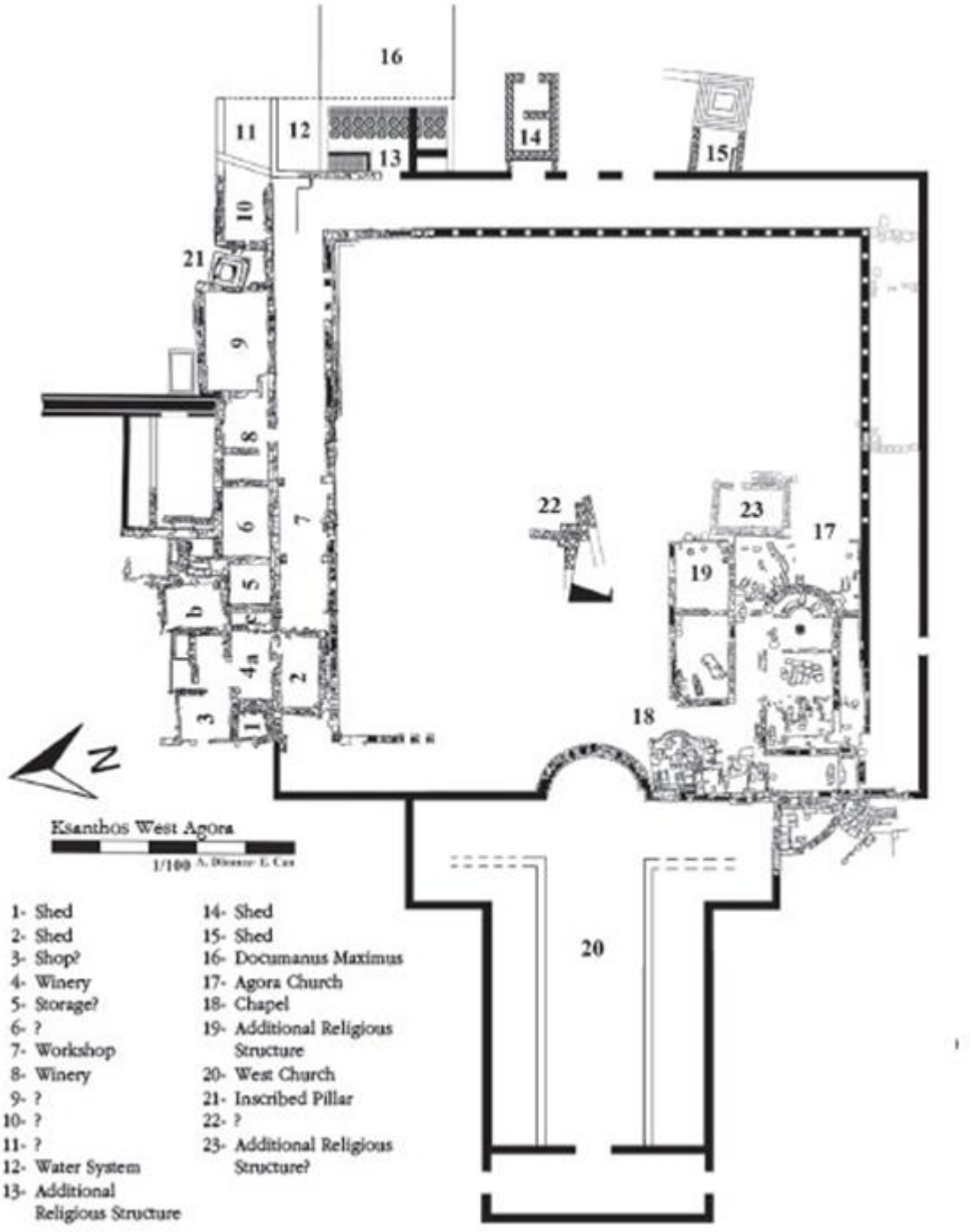


Figure 4.235: Plan of the West Agora (Dönmez 2018b, 307, fig.3).

NORTH PORTICO: There were spaces open to the agora in the north wing, originally from the Roman period (Figure 4.236). Starting from the Early Byzantine period, these spaces were reshaped by dividing them with walls or building new additions, and a new commercial area was created at the back of these spaces.



Figure 4.236: Aerial view of the north portico –from the S– (Xanthos Excavation Archive, 2013).

For the room numbers in the following sections, please refer to Figure 4.235.

Room 4a - b - c and 8: See Section 4.34 Winery.

Metal Workshop: It is understood from the architectural remains that this place was covered by a vault, and piers in the south were carrying it. The spaces between the piers [height 1.35 m] were not closed with a wall, but the place was semi-open to the outside for better ventilation. The space was identified as a metal workshop because of the slag metal finds and a large stone basin for cooling the metal products in it. The workshop is dated to the Middle Byzantine period (Dönmez, 2018b, 285).

Street: A street of 1.20 m width was formed between the places added to the north of the Inscribed Pillar during the Byzantine period. A golden cross dating to the Early Byzantine period was found during the excavations in this area (Varkıvanç 2015a, 56).

Water Channel: A large water channel of 1.40 m wide and 0.8 m deep, which lies in the north-south direction from the north of the agora, passes through the spaces and ends behind the winery. A 13-meter-long section was uncovered during excavations. The floor and walls are plastered with thick lime mortar. There is a height difference of 0.9 m in the north-south direction. To the east of the channel, which is thought to be carrying water to the workshops below, there is a cistern that measures 2.00 m x 4.50 m and was built with rubble with a 0.80 m wall thickness, once covered with an east-west-oriented vault. The direct connection between the cistern and the channel was not found intact, but three pipe connections are visible. The channel, which stands on a deposit of compact earth and rubble, was dated to the Middle Byzantine period due to its high elevation and craftmanship (Varkıvanç 2016, 66). In the Early Byzantine period, water that came from the east –see Council House below–was conveyed by a line to the reservoir –Room 12– in the northwest corner of the agora. In the late period, this system got probably out of use, and the water needed for the workshops continued to be supplied through the construction of this open channel.

Northwest Area: Between 2017 - 2019, the agora excavations were focused on the northwest area, surrounded by modern road in the east, the Inscribed Pillar in the south, and the water channel in the west. Excavations here begin at about 4 m above the agora level, and structures dating to the Byzantine period were found at a depth of 2 m. The excavators also unearthed a cult center dated to the 3rd century AD in the same area. A platform covered with limestone plaques and numerous votive items dedicated to the Artemis Kombike cult were found. This platform probably belonged to a *naiskos* rather

than a temple (Varkıvanç 2017, 53). Like other parts of the agora, its surroundings were filled with workshops in the Early Byzantine period. A stone bowl with a diameter of 1.00 m and a depth of 0.40 m was found just north of the cult area –it was removed into the excavation depot in 2017–. This room was dated to the beginning of the 7th century AD by a Nicomedia coin of the period of Emperor Phokas [reign AD 602 - 610] found on the floor, where there were finds showing metal production (Varkıvanç 2018a, 70). A second structure with a bench was added to the east of this building in the Middle Byzantine period. Metal slag findings in large quantities indicate that this building could also have been a metal workshop. However, this place was not closed entirely by walls and was an open-air space (Varkıvanç 2017, 54). Excavations continued in the north of the mentioned spaces in 2019, where a limestone piece of a cross arm as the central motif of an open-worked parapet slab and a bronze cross were found. Possibly this piece, like the other architectural sculpture found at the lower elevations, was taken from the West Agora Church and used as construction material together with rubble.

An *opus tessellatum* mosaic floor was found during a sounding made in 2005 in the northwest of this area. Since the research area was not expanded, the architecture of the structure could not be understood. The mosaic is very similar to the examples in the East Basilica with its geometric patterns and colors. Because of the stylistic similarity, it was dated to the 5th century AD (des Courtils 2006a, 282). This shows that the Early Byzantine period structures expanded to the north of this area.

Council House (?): The easternmost structure of the north wing is located to the north of the point where the *Decumanus* enters the agora. Although it is known from an inscription that a *bouleuterion* was built between AD 82 - 85 close to the West Agora of Xanthos (Robert 1951, 254), a structure with such a function has never been identified. In 2014, excavations were initiated to understand the function of the building with the idea that

this might be a council house due its location and the early walls of polygonal cut large blocks in this area. However, this hypothesis could not be proven since the excavations did not yield sufficient results. Even though the western wall preserves its original quality, it was observed that the building was used in the Byzantine period by building new walls that divided the space. These walls were constructed with rubble at high elevations and showed poor craftsmanship. A small mosaic area was also uncovered (Varkıvanç 2016, 68). The functions of the spaces could not be determined. Open water channels with brick floors and terracotta pipes were found in the building. The pipes located -1.70 m below the current level extended to the agora direction, they were probably connected to the water system in Room 12 (Varkıvanç 2015a, 57).



Figure 4.237: Aerial view of the east portico –from the W– (Xanthos Excavation Archive, 2013).

EAST PORTICO: In the middle of the east portico, there are two arched doors for the entrance to the agora, and six of the *voussoirs* belonging to them are visible on the surface. The main entrance before these gates was provided with a propylon at the place where

the *Decumanus* ended (see Room 13). There are a total of five spaces adjacent to the east portico, dating to different periods (Figure 4.237).

Room 11: Located to the northeast of the corner where the east and north porticos meet. The excavation could not be completed as the eastern part of the place continues under the modern road. Its architectural features are similar to Room 12.

Room 12 (Water Reservoir and Divider): This place, which is located in the northernmost part of the east portico, is a water reservoir. The water brought from the east of the city arrived here and was further distributed through a siphon that controlled the flow rate. From here, distribution was provided to the north areas by terracotta pipes and also to the fountains of the Byzantine period adjacent to the south of this place.

Room 13 (Fountains) (Figure 4.238): It is thought that there was a *propylon* in this area as the main entrance of the agora during the Roman imperial period (Dönmez 2018b, 280). In the Early and Middle Byzantine periods, two fountains, one in the north and one in the south, were built in this 7.00 m x 13.00 m area. The floor is covered with mosaics from two different periods, and earlier mosaics were destroyed while the fountains were built. There is a wider mosaic area in the east, but the modern road has blocked the progress of the excavation. The mosaics in this section has similar patterns with the one in West Agora Church's annex building (Dönmez 2018b, 281). The fountain in the north has a pool that measures 1.90 m x 3.80 m and is 0.80 m in depth; it is formed by parapet blocks with a thickness of 0.35 m and a height of 0.90 m. The lengths of the parapets differ from 0.60 m to 1.45 m. Canals were carved into the parapets, to take water easier with a clay jug. The water supplied to the pool with a 0.25 m diameter pipe in the north wall. The floor of the pool was covered with ten pieces of 0.70 m x 0.70 m terracotta plates. Some traces of marble cladding are visible but the revetment is not preserved.



Figure 4.238: Aerial view of the fountains and the mosaic area –from the E– (Xanthos Excavation Archive, 2013).

The fountain in the south measures 3.85 m x 7.15 m and consists of a wall formed with reused blocks instead of parapets. This pool, which overbuilt the Early Byzantine mosaic, is dated to the Middle Byzantine period (Dönmez 2018b, 282).

Room 14 (Animal Fold): Some drywalls found during the excavations were identified as animal folds from the 18th century (des Courtils 2003a, 49). While the north-south direction wall measures 3.20 m, the east-west wall is unknown since the east side of the room is under the modern road.

Room 15 (Animal Fold): This 3.90 m x 4.45 m space is surrounded by a low wall of 0.60 m made with poor craftsmanship similar to that of Room 14. It is thought that this building that leans against the House-type Tomb in the east was also an animal fold from the late period.

SOUTH PORTICO (Figure 4.239): The back wall of the south portico also forms the rear side of the theater's stage building (Cavalier and des Courtils 2010, 415). In this portico, the original Roman mosaic floors have survived in fragments, and even though they are kept covered, they are damaged due to being on one of the most frequent visiting routes in the city. The south aisle of the West Agora Church, which was built in the 6th century AD in the western part of the area, was built adjacent to the south portico, and the entrances were once provided from there.



Figure 4.239: Aerial view of the south portico –from the N– (Xanthos Excavation Archive, 2013).

WEST PORTICO (Figure 4.240): This wing of the agora was reshaped in the 5th century with the construction of the West Basilica. The stylobate of the basilica was built with the *krepidoma* blocks removed from the north section (Dönmez 2018b, 287-288), and the western outer wall of the agora was partially demolished to build the semicircular apse of the church with a diameter of 10 m. In other words, the church was built with an apse embedded in the agora.

The narthex of West Agora Church and the West Agora Chapel are entirely located in this portico (see Sections 4.7 and 4.8). Apart from these, there are no other buildings in the north direction.



Figure 4.240: Aerial view of the west portico –from the E– (Xanthos Excavation Archive, 2013).

A fountain in a shape of a pool was built in the southwest outer corner of the agora, between the West Basilica and West Agora Church, and adjacent to the south transept arm of the West Basilica (Figure 4.91, no: 52). The building consists of a quarter-circle-shaped large basin with a smaller half-circle-shaped basin. Even though a precise dating could not be proposed, it is thought that the fountain was built after both of the churches in the area got out of use, based on the fact that when the fountain was built, it blocked a door in the south transept arm of the West Basilica and a door opening to the narthex of the West Agora Church. (Manière-Lévêque 2012, 98).

The semi-circular basin was built adjacent to the south transept arm of the West Basilica in the north, and the surrounding wall of the West Agora in the east, measuring 4.76 m x 5.40 m (Figure 4.241). The floor is completely covered with reused marble plates with different sizes. The actual depth of the pool is unknown.



Figure 4.241: General view of the fountain –from the S– (2017).



Figure 4.242: Semi-circle basin of the fountain –from the W– (2017).

The water system supplying water to the basin has also disappeared along with the upper levels of the walls. There is a smaller basin next to the east wall, in the shape of a semi-circle of 1.20 m long, 0.88 m wide and 0.60 m deep (Figure 4.242). It is likely that the water source first supplied this tank before the larger basin, so the water system must have been located above this part. The interior of the basin is covered with various reused white marble slabs in long thin pieces placed side by side, and among those pieces, a part of a sigma table[48] was found (Manière-Lévêque 2012, 98).

CENTRAL AREA OF THE SQUARE: During the excavations in 1997, the foundations of two rectangular structures built with spolia were found in the south of the agora. One is in the southeast corner of the annex structure of the West Agora Church (Figure 4.235, no.23). The exact location of the other is not specified, and it is not possible to find it anymore as the researchers removed the structure. These are thought to be 18th-century houses (des Courtils and Laroche 1998, 459, fig.4-5). When evaluated together with Room 14 and Room 15, it can be thought that those living in these houses in the late period were having animal husbandry activity in the area.

In a GPR study conducted in 2012, some structures were found in the middle of the agora, and a sounding was made in 2013. The unearthed walls were dated to the 11th - 12th centuries and interpreted as workshops (Varkıvanç 2014, 64). The exact dimensions of the building are unknown since the excavation area was not expanded.

Decorative Features:

Architectural Sculpture: A total of 29 pedestals of the porticos, several column drums – of various types of stones such as limestone, granite, and green marble, 3.50 m high, with

[48] A semi-circular table, most probably the broken top part of an altar table from the nearby churches.

a lower diameter of 0.50 m, and an upper diameter of 0.45 m–, two column bases in the attic-ionic style –compatible with the diameter of the columns– and some pieces of the entablature –0.60 m high architrave-frieze blocks having blind waterspouts with lion reliefs– were found during excavations. None of the column capitals were found entirely, but many broken pieces of acanthus leaves probably indicate that Corinthian capitals were used. There is a 1.70 m space between the pedestals –width 0.70 m– found *in situ*. Taking this distance into account, the French archaeologists replaced some pedestals to their original positions (Dönmez 2018a, 221-222, 225).

Mosaics: The floors of the porticos were covered with geometric *opus tessellatum* mosaics in the Roman period consisting of large white *tesserae* of which some fragments were found only in the east (Figure 4.243) and south porticos (Dönmez 2018a, 226).



Figure 4.243: Opus tessellatum mosaic in the east portico of the West Agora –from the N– (2022).

Construction Techniques:

Different wall construction techniques that indicate different periods are found together in West Agora. It is one of the areas with the widest building chronology of the city, including the Archaic, Classical, Hellenistic, Roman, Early Byzantine, Middle Byzantine and Late Turkish periods.

Research/Fieldwork History and Publications:

During the first years of fieldwork, between 1951 and 1955, excavations were carried out especially around the tomb monuments.

Excavations continued between 1997 and 1999 under the direction of des Courtils.

Between 2011 and 2019, Varkıvanç and his team focused intensively on the West Agora, especially on the north and east wings.

Geophysical studies were conducted in the area in 2012, and it was proven that there were architectural remains in the middle of the agora (Varkıvanç 2012, 54).

During the excavations in 2013, the fountains and water systems in the eastern portico were discovered and consolidation work was conducted to the mosaics (Varkıvanç 2013, 62). The northern portico excavations were continued until the 2019 excavation season.

4.34 Winery



Figure 4.244: Location and general plan of the Winery (edited from Figure 1.3).

Coordinates: 36.357263 N, 29.318412 E
Alt: +50 m.

Location (Figure 4.244):

Located on the north portico of the West Agora.

Description:

The Early Byzantine winery consists of four spaces, which could be identified as wine production, fermentation, storage, and retail sales areas. The structures are dated between the 5th and 7th centuries AD and were abandoned while they were still in use (Varkıvanç 2015b, 546). The winery gives a pretty good idea of how the commercial life in the Early Byzantine period looked like, thanks to its high quality ceramic finds. Among the many commercial areas and workshops in Xanthos dating to this period, only the functions of a few can be determined precisely, and the winery is an important example of them.

Current Status:

The walls of the rooms are standing mostly at up to 2.80 m. Since the West Agora is one of the most visited points of the city, the places here are also frequently visited, even though the function of the place remains unknown to the visitors since there is no information sign.

Construction Phases and Chronology:

Although the spaces adjacent to the north of the north portico of the agora were built in the Roman period, their functions in this period are unknown.

Various additions and restorations can be seen in the walls from the 5th to 7th centuries AD. Numerous terracotta and metal vessels unearthed during the excavations also show that the buildings were used continuously for the same purpose between the 4th and 7th centuries AD (Dönmez 2014, 45).

Architectural Description:

The excavations in the area clearly show that the northern portico of the West Agora and the spaces further north and adjacent to it were used for various purposes during the Early and Middle Byzantine periods. Among these places, four rooms are associated with a winery. These are spaces 4a, 4b, 4c, and 8 seen in Figure 4.235.

Room 4a: This room measures 3.20 m x 7.45 m and its floor is covered with 0.35 m x 0.35 m terracotta plates. Since access to the rooms where grapes were crushed and wine stored was provided from here, it is thought that this is also one of the places where the production stages took place.

Room 4b: The floor of this 4.30 m x 5.65 m room was built with large blocks. Since it is located higher than the other rooms and its walls were destroyed, it appears like a podium

today. Due to the solid structure of the ground, this room is thought to be the place where the grapes were crushed and left for fermentation (Varkıvanç 2015b, 546).

Room 4c: This 1.30 m x 4.20 m storage room is accessible from Room 4a through a 0.65 meter-wide door. During the 2013 excavation, five *amphorae* were found in this room, four of which were turned upside down (Figure 4.245). These *amphorae* are dated to the 4th - 6th centuries AD (Dönmez 2014, 43).

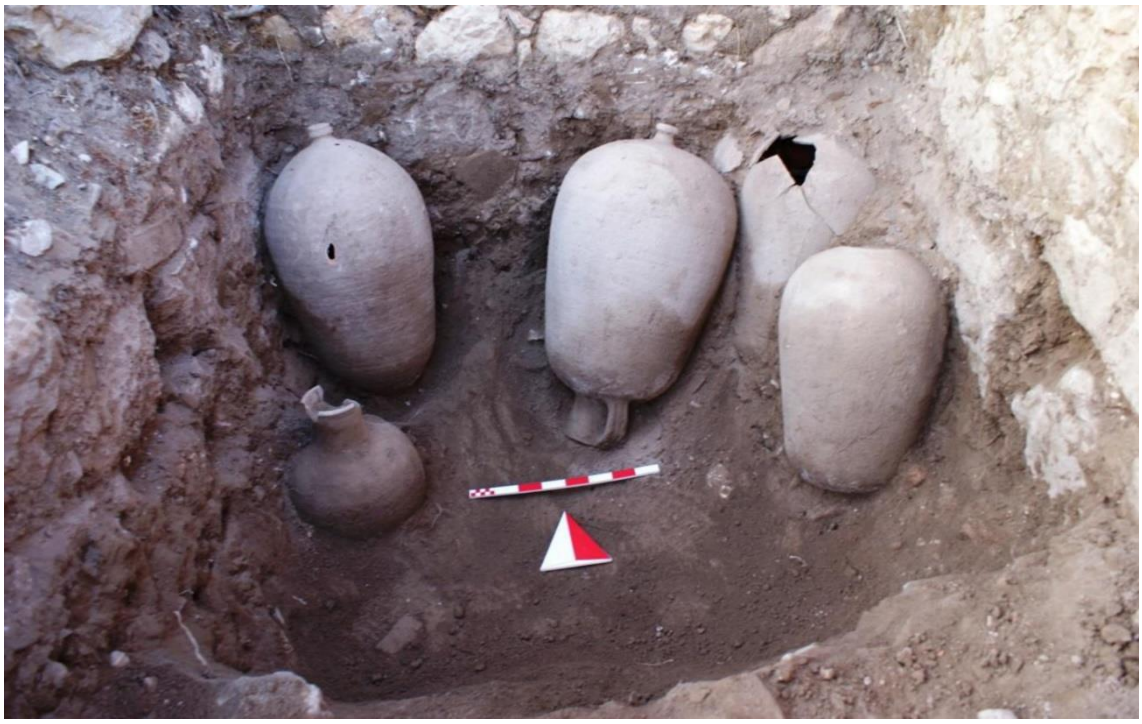


Figure 4.245: Excavation finds in the Winery (Dönmez 2014, fig.30-a).

Room 8: This place is thought to be the place where the wine was sold in retail (Figure 4.246). It is 4.60 m x 8.75 m in size and accessible from the northern portico of the agora through a door in the middle of the southern wall. While the northern wall is preserved at a height of 2.80 m, the walls in the other directions are preserved at a maximum height of

1.40 m. The room was created by reorganizing a Roman period space. In the room, five *pithoi*, 85 cm high, 60 cm wide, 15 cm high, a terracotta vessel angled to receive liquid from the *pithos* (Figure 4.247, left side) and a cylindrical container –a pipette– were found (Figure 4.247, middle and right side). Especially the pipette is an interesting find. This cylindrical tool, which was used to transfer liquid from one container to another, is hollow inside and has two openings, one at the top and one at the bottom. When immersed in a liquid, the space inside the tool would fill, and the liquid kept inside when closing the top hole with a finger due to the vacuum created. In modern times, a similar tool made of glass and working by the same physical principle is still in use, the so-called wine thief.



Figure 4.246: Retail shop section of the Winery –from the SW– (Dönmez 2014, fig.38-a).

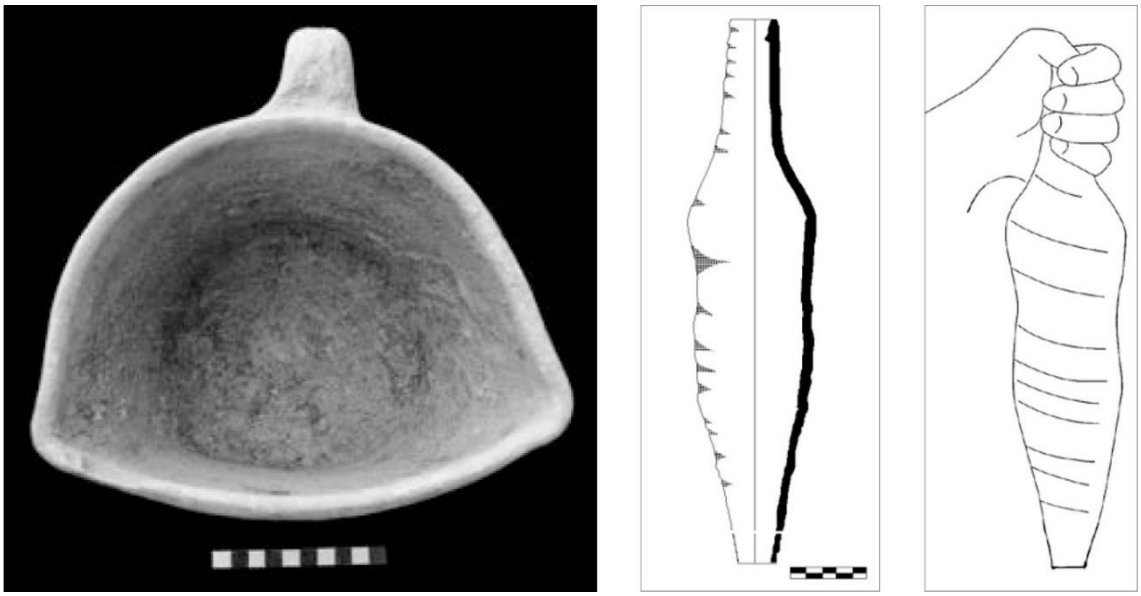


Figure 4.247: Excavation finds of the Winery (Varkıvanç 2015b, 556, fig.8, fig.11, fig.12).

A lower wall made of rubble that passing through the middle of the room is thought to have been used as a counter and divides the room into two unequal parts. The terracotta vessels were found at the western end of the room, behind the counter. This section was interpreted as the place where the seller served, and the eastern part might be the place where the wine was consumed (Varkıvanç 2015b, 546). A restitution was proposed accordingly (Figure 4.248).

Research/Fieldwork History and Publications:

Although the area where the winery is located was excavated in the early years of the excavation to find pieces of the Inscribed Pillar, these shops were first identified by Akdeniz University in 2012 - 2013. Dönmez studied the structure and excavation finds in his master's thesis on the West Agora (Dönmez 2014, 42-45)

Varkıvanç published the structure and excavation finds in a separate article (Varkıvanç 2015b).

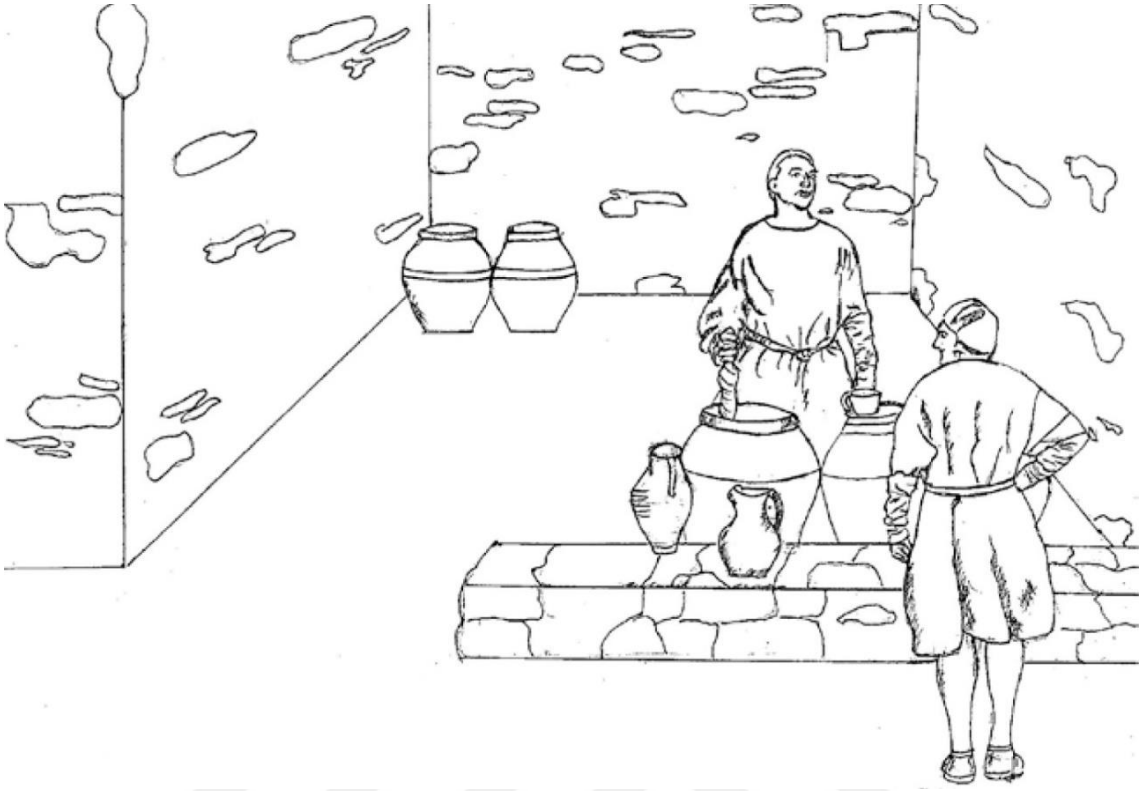


Figure 4.248: Restitution of the retail shop section of the Winery (Varkıvanç 2015b, 557, fig.13).

4.35 Glass Workshop

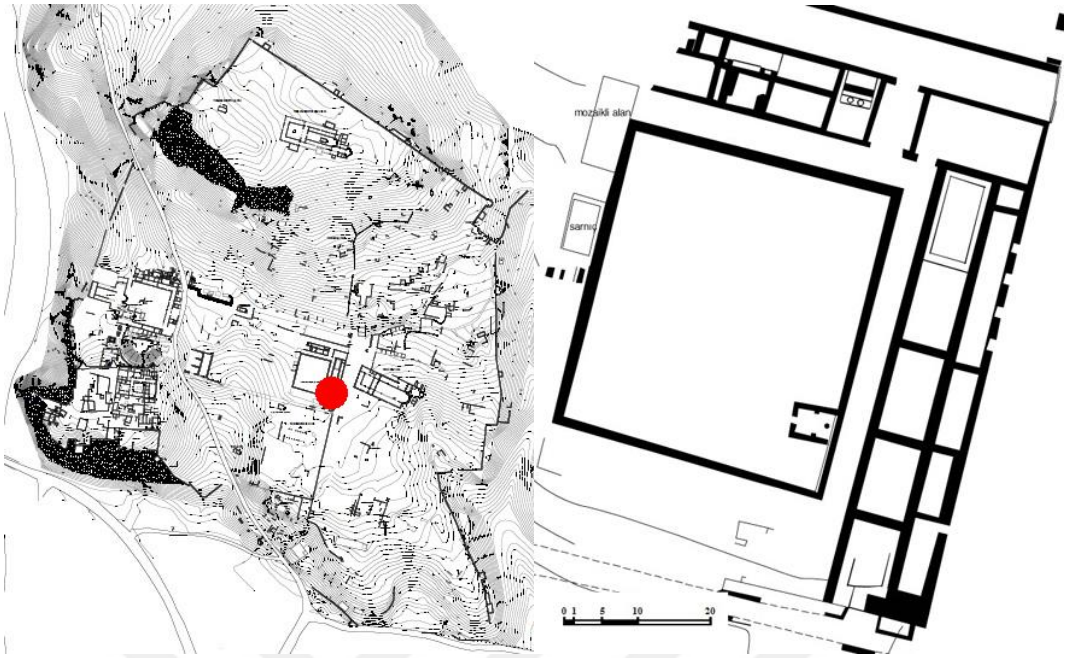


Figure 4.249: Location and general plan of the Glass Workshop (edited from Figure 1.3).

Coordinates: 36.356009 N, 29.320914 E **Alt:** +52 m.

Location (Figure 4.249):

Located in the eastern part of the city. Adjacent to the west of the *Cardo Maximus*, near the square where the two main colonnaded Roman streets intersect. Built within the eastern portico of the Civil Basilica on the opposite side of the East Basilica. The exact location of the shop can be seen in a plan (Figure 4.250, marked as C) published in the excavation report of the year 2001 (des Courtils and Laroche 2002, 298, fig.1).

Short Description:

A glass workshop was installed on the lower floor of the Civil Basilica.

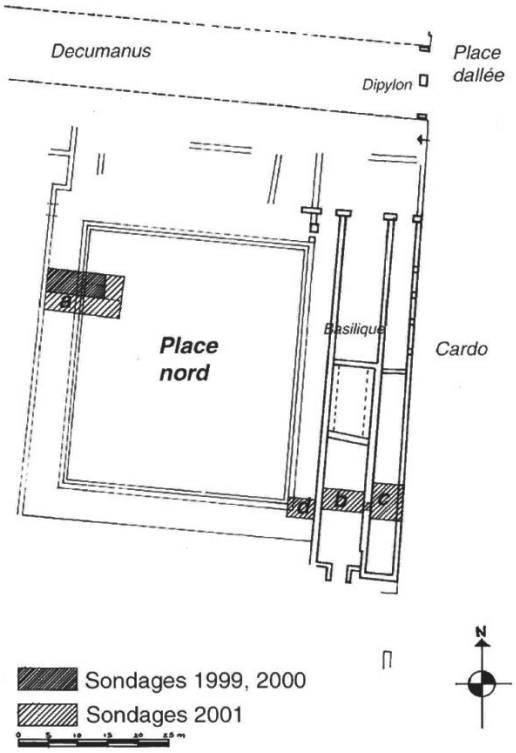


Figure 4.250: Plan of the soundings in the Upper Agora with the Glass Workshop marked as C (des Courtils and Laroche 2002, 298, fig.1).

Current Status:

No detailed excavation work was carried out in this part of the Civil Basilica, and the glass workshop was found during some soundings. Today, it is impossible to determine which space was the workshop within the area (Figure 4.251).

Construction Phases and Chronology:

The Civil Basilica was built in the Roman Imperial period, and it is not known how the eastern portico was used during the first phase. The spaces here were divided by walls made of rubble and spolia in the Early Byzantine period and converted into shops whose function could not be determined one by one. One of the shops could only be identified

based on its finds. As a result of dating the glass finds, it was revealed that the workshops established here belong to the 5th century AD (Cavalier 2007, 167).

Architectural Description and Construction Techniques:

Since the workshop was built within a part of the Civil Basilica, see Section 4.25 for architectural features.



Figure 4.251: Aerial view of the workshop area –from the E– (Xanthos Excavation Archive, 2018).

Finds:

During a series of soundings in the Civil Basilica in the early 2000s, remains of a hearth and many glass pieces dating to the 5th century AD were unearthed in the south of the east aisle (des Courtils 2005a, 449). When the glass finds were examined, Early Byzantine products such as glass tesserae, game pawns, glass oil lamps, window glass, and glass houseware were identified. Glass slags and pieces indicating cast and blown techniques

were also found. Window glass were produced by blowing a cylindrical shape, cutting this in half while it was still hot, and flattening it on a surface. In this technique, a glass sheet with an average thickness of 5 mm –not homogeneous– was obtained. One surface could be smooth and the other surface could be rough due to the surface it was laid on. The colors of the glass that was found are green, yellowish-green, and bluish. Besides, glassware that were dated to the second half of the 6th century and 7th century were found, such as wine glasses, oil lamps, and glass dishes. Glass lamps produced to be used in a *polycandilion* are similar to the samples found in Amorium, Sardes, and Elaiussa Sebaste, and were popular during the late 5th and 6th centuries (Foy 2007, 244). There are also ceramic and coin finds that provided the same dates in the sounding.

These finds are common products of its era. In this period, glass production was generally carried out with a two-stage supply system. Some central primary workshops produced glass slags using natural raw materials, and local workshops that bought them were re-melting them to produce their final products. The workshop in Xanthos was working according to this system, but the origin of the raw glass could not be determined. Although the finds are not very qualified, the presence of a glass workshop in the city is important in terms of showing a characteristic of industrial activity and commercial life in the Early Byzantine period.

Research/Fieldwork History and Publications:

The Civil Basilica was first explored in the year 2000 and fieldwork here continued until 2010, when the excavations were transferred to Akdeniz University. The Glass Workshop was unearthed during the soundings in 2001 and 2005 (des Courtils and Laroche 2002). The glass finds were analyzed and published in 2007 (Foy 2007; Gratuze 2007).

4.36 Nereid Monument Area

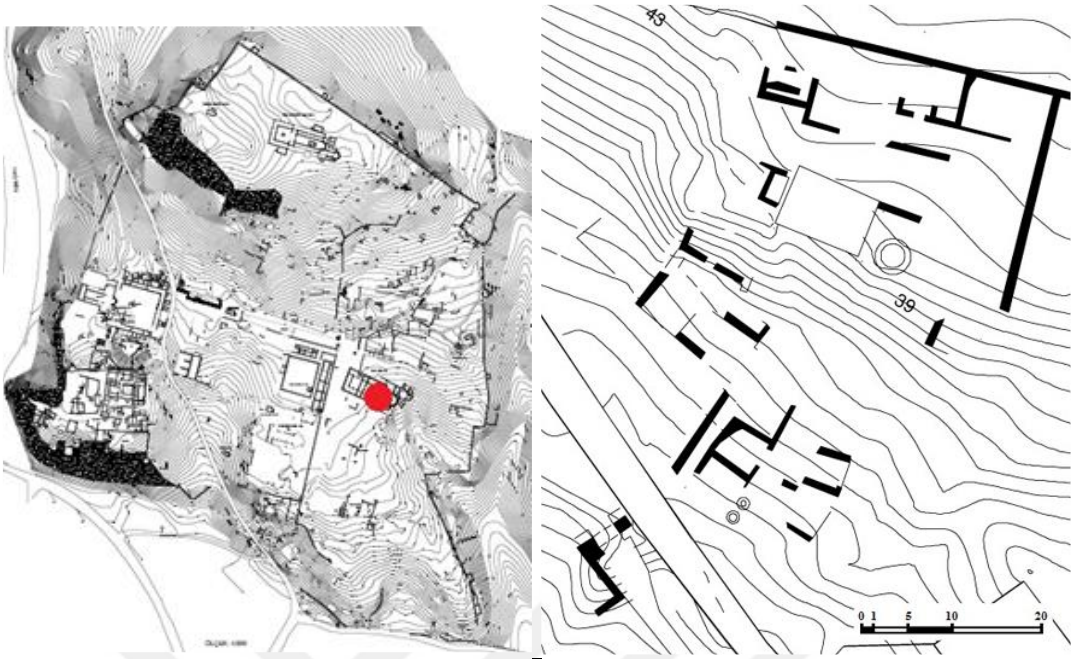


Figure 4.252: Location and general plan of the Nereid Monument Area (edited from Figure 1.3).

Coordinates: 36.354520 N, 29.320082 E
Alt: +32 m.

Location (Figure 4.252):

Located to the north of the South Gate and on the slope just below the terrace where the Nereid Monument is situated.

Description:

Although there are many walls and structures dating to the Early Byzantine period in this area, their essential functions are unknown. It should probably be a small residential district or a commercial area with workshops.

Current Status:

The structures were excavated while Fellows and his crew were looking for fragments of the Nereid Monument. The area is difficult to access due to the steep slope.

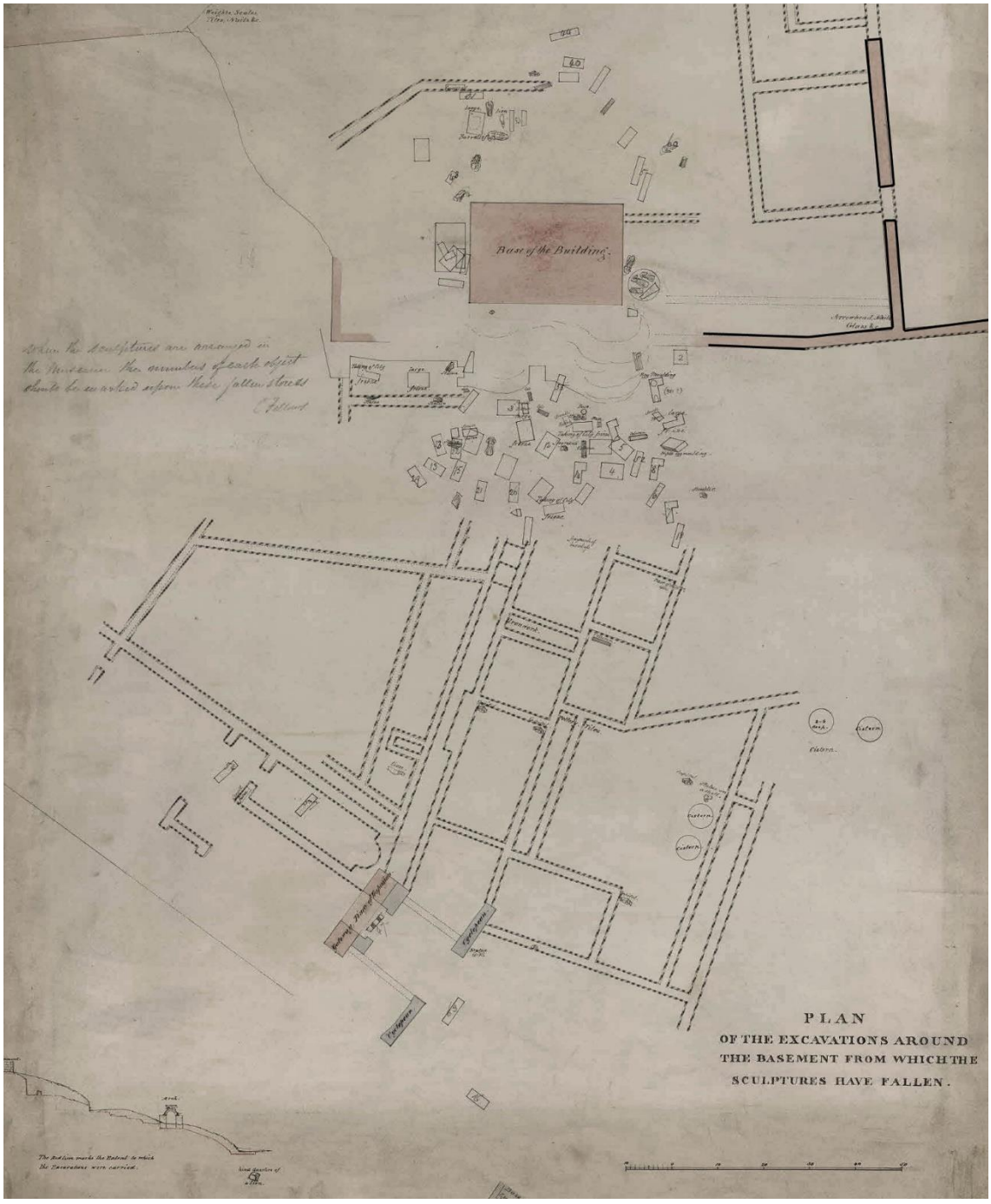


Figure 4.253: Plan of the area drawn by Hawkins during the 1843-44 campaign (British Museum, no. 2012,5034.30 [walls bolded by the author]).



Figure 4.254: Aerial view of the Nereid Monument Area –from the N– (Xanthos Excavation Archive, 2013).

Construction Phases and Chronology:

The masonry of the walls in this area is similar to the Early Byzantine walls in the city. Large blocks belonging to the podium of the Nereid Monument collapsed on these structures. Although the exact date of the destruction of the monument is not known, it

is understood that it was standing –at least partially if not completely– at least until about the 7th century AD. Fellows, who made the first excavations in the area, also specifically stated that the monument was demolished later than the houses below (Fellows 1852, 504).

Architectural Description:

Before collecting the collapsed pieces of the Nereid Monument, Fellows wanted a plan of the area to be prepared and marked all the blocks in their find position (Figure 4.253). In this way, the architectural remains in the area have also been documented for the first time. Besides the other spaces, a church that has not survived can also be identified from this drawing (see Section 4.16 Chapel Adjacent to the South Gate). After the documentation, the area was excavated and Fellows briefly interpreted the structures in the area around as houses (Fellows 1852, 470-471). Fellows also noted some of the finds they obtained from the "series of small houses", and interestingly he saw imprints of crosses on the floor tiles and pictures of the Virgin Mary on the walls (Fellows 1852, 480). Modern researchers, on the other hand, stated that the buildings functioned as workshops (Varkıvanç 2012, 56).

The large blocks belonging to the podium of the monument cover the structures and prevent their examination (Figure 4.254). It can be understood that there is an Early Byzantine street extending down from the middle of the monument and many buildings are situated on both sides of it.

The round cistern with a diameter of 2.70 m located in the southeast corner of the monument's podium belongs to a recent period (Varkıvanç 2013, 67).

Construction Techniques:

The walls in this area have masonry similar to the Early Byzantine walls in the city.

Research/Fieldwork History and Publications:

Although excavations were carried out around the Nereid Monument first by Fellows, then by the French team in the 1950s (Figure 4.255), and finally, by the Turkish scholars between 2011 - 2013, these studies did not focus on the Byzantine structures in the area.

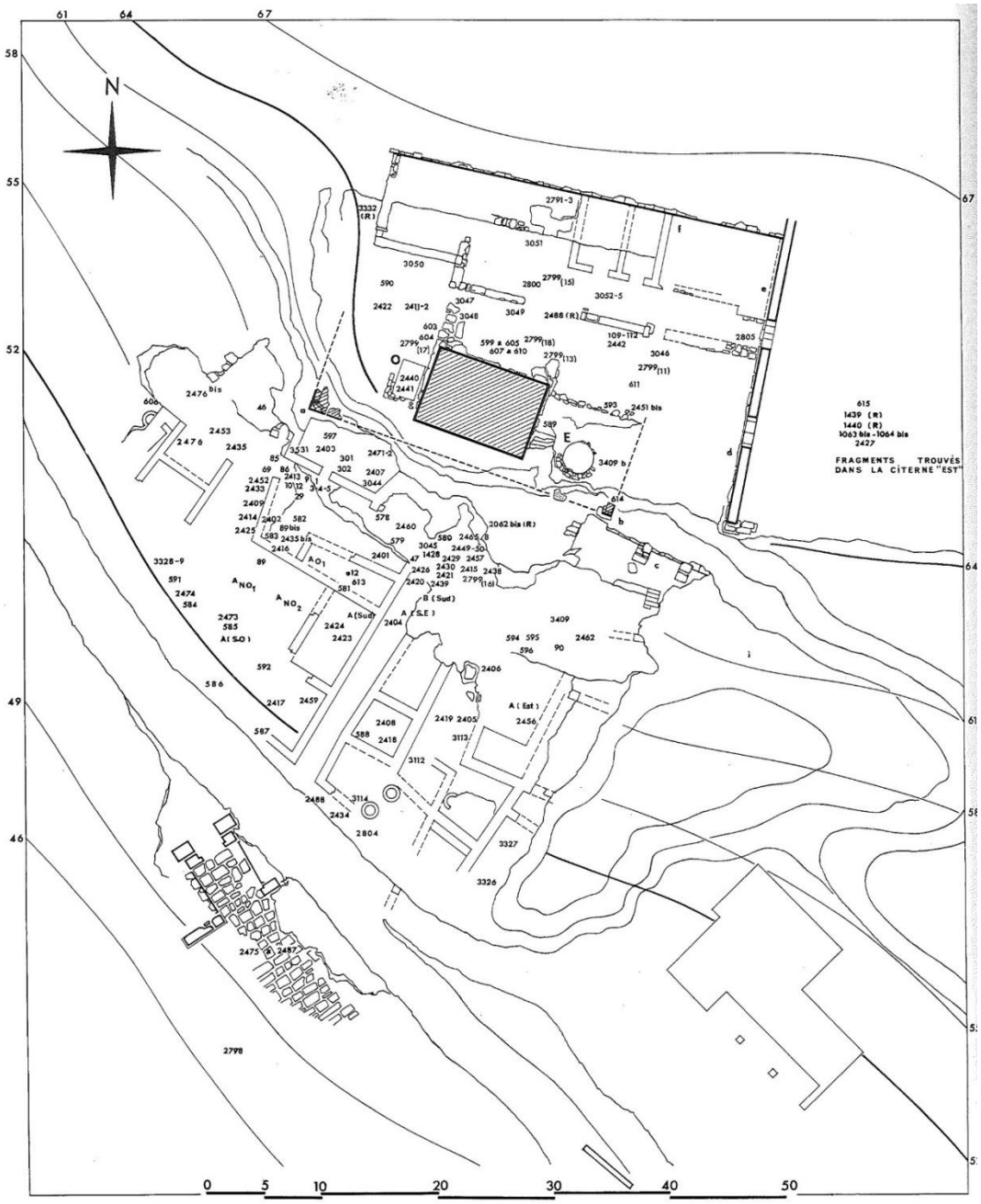


Figure 4.255: Plan of the area drawn by the French excavation team (Coupel and Demargne 1969, planchet II).

4.37 Lycian Structure (Dromos Building) Area



Figure 4.256: Location and general plan of the Lycian Structure Area (edited from Figure 1.3).

Coordinates: 36.357158 N, 29.321258 E
Alt: +70 m.

Location (Figure 4.256):

Located to the north of the Upper Agora and on the south slope of the Upper Acropolis, near the Byzantine Residential Area.

Description:

The structure is one of the largest buildings in Xanthos dated to the Classical period, more precisely to the first half of the 4th century BC (des Courtils, Cavalier and Lemaître 2015, 135). Even though it appears as a square platform and a large *dromos* with a ramp in the south today, the preserved part is only the base of the original superstructure that was

probably made of wood (Varkıvanç 2012, 55). There is no information about the function of the building beyond its monumental appearance. The building was completely altered during the Roman and Byzantine periods, and excavations in the area did not help in understanding the original function. It has been suggested by Cavalier that this could be the foundation of the *Sarpedonion*, the famous *heroon* of Xanthos mentioned by Appian (App. B Civ. 4.10.78), which was always sought on the Lycian Acropolis by previous researchers (des Courtils, Cavalier and Lemaître 2015, 137). The structure was named as the Dromos Building by the French researchers (des Courtils and Cavalier 2001, 154) and the Lycian Structure by the Turkish researchers (Varkıvanç 2012, 55).

Current Status:

Only the base of the building is preserved, which was built with large blocks. Any architectural elements belonging to the superstructure is not available (Figure 4.257).



Figure 4.257: Aerial view of the Lycian Structure –from the SW– (Xanthos Excavation Archive, 2013).

Construction Phases and Chronology:

The building is dated to the 4th century BC by the wall construction technique (des Courtils and Cavalier 2001, 154).

It underwent various repairs during the Roman and Early Byzantine periods and continued to be used for different functions. The building and its surroundings were converted into workshops and started to be used as a commercial area between the 4th - 7th centuries AD (Varkıvanç 2013, 66).

Architectural Description:

The existing building is actually the base of an unknown Classical period building. The base measures 17.00 m x 18.50 m and has a 13-meter-long ramp in the south direction. The walls are preserved with a maximum height of 2.10 m. An additional part on the western wall that contains very high walls [4.20 m] and three long gates were also uncovered during the excavations dated to the same period, although the function of this section is also uncertain.

Western Sector: A large-sized workshop dating to the Early Byzantine period was uncovered adjacent to the western wall of the building. There is a cistern dating to the Roman period of 1.80 m x 3.50 m in the north. Since the cistern was partly destroyed while the workshop was being built, it was understood that it was already out of use during the Early Byzantine period. A system was created in which the water was brought to the city with aqueducts from outside and transported to the lower parts of the city through a canal from this building and supplied the cisterns within the Civil Basilica below the building (see Section 4.25). A wall in which a large water pipe with a diameter of 0.37 m was found and removed during the excavations in 2013 (Varkıvanç 2014, 65-66). A rectangular limestone basin was found in the south of the workshop. Based on the finds,

it was interpreted that the workshop could have been a glass and metal workshop (Varkıvanç 2013, 64-65). A gold coin found during the excavations dated to AD 610 - 641 forms a *terminus post quem* for its occupation (Varkıvanç 2017, 54).

Workshops Inside the Building: Workshops were built inside as well as outside the building in the Early Byzantine period. Five stairs leading down to a workshop (Figure 4.258) were found in the southeast corner (Varkıvanç 2013, 65). The height of the steps is 0.30 m and the depth is 0.35 m. The widths of the steps are not equal and the top one is 1.20 m wide, while the bottom one is 0.90 m.

Ramp: In the excavations carried out to the east and west of the ramp in the south of the building, different workshops were uncovered. Since these excavations were only test soundings in certain areas, the constructions have not been fully uncovered. Therefore, the functions of the spaces were identified based on the finds, but their architectural features and dimensions were not revealed. Especially a workshop that was abandoned in the 7th century AD is noteworthy because of its metal finds (Figure 4.259). An iron saw, a saddle-maker's needle, hinges, various work tools, and many metal appliques for wooden furniture show that this place was a carpenter's workshop (Varkıvanç 2013, 66).

Construction Techniques:

The substructure was built with blocks in polygonal and isodomic techniques. Since the building was divided into smaller spaces in the Early Byzantine period, these walls reflect the characteristics of the period.

Research/Fieldwork History and Publications:

Excavations were carried out by Akdeniz University in and around the building between 2011 and 2016. The studies have been published in the annual excavation reports

(Varkıvanç 2012, 55; Varkıvanç 2013, 63; Varkıvanç 2014, 65; Varkıvanç 2015a, 57; Varkıvanç 2017, 54).



Figure 4.258: Steps of the Byzantine workshop –from the NW– (Varkıvanç 2013, 65, fig.6).



Figure 4.259: Metal finds from the Byzantine workshop (Varkıvanç 2013, 65, fig.7).

4.38 Southeast Sector



Figure 4.260: Location and general plan of the Southeast Sector (edited from Figure 1.3).

Coordinates: 36.354689 N, 29.321443 E
Alt: +45 m.

Location (Figure 4.260):

Located in the area 85 m to the east of the Nereid Monument in the southernmost part of the city.

Description:

It is a large-scale building, the construction of which dates back to the Archaic period, and it was partially unearthed during excavations. To date, precise information about its exact size and function is unknown. It is thought to have been a monumental structure with a ceremonial function. The area was re-purposed during the Early Byzantine period as a residential and commercial area.



Figure 4.261: Aerial view of the Southeast Sector –from the SW– (Xanthos Excavation Archive, 2013).

Current Status:

The area was not completely excavated and only two walls in the north-south direction were unearthed (Figure 4.261). It is not one of the places well-visited in the city since it is located at a distant point.

Construction Phases and Chronology:

A stone axe dating to the Chalcolithic age was found in a sounding made in an area closer to the building, and it is the only prehistoric find of the city known to date (des Courtils 2005b, 44). After the Southeast Sector was discovered, and it was realized that the building here was one of the oldest structures in the city, ideas about the early urbanism of Xanthos changed, because the earliest structures of the city were known to be on the Lycian Acropolis, and there was no structure dating back to the Archaic period. However,

orthostatic reliefs found in this area which can be seen in relation to Neo-Hittite and Phrygian traditions, led to a re-evaluation of the city's history (des Courtils 2008, 1640). The association of the area with the monumental tomb architecture is new and important data in terms of showing that there could have been a strong dynastic rule in Xanthos in the 7th century BC, even before the Persian occupation (Varkıvanç 2018b, 930).

There are clues that the area was used as a necropolis during the Hellenistic and Roman periods. In the Early Byzantine period, the interior of the main building was occupied smaller structures that can be identified as workshops (Varkıvanç 2014, 69). During the excavations in the area, very dense ash layers were found, and it was understood that the buildings were abandoned as a result of a fire in the middle of the 6th century AD (Varkıvanç 2015a, 59).

Architectural Description:

Archaic Period: In the excavations carried out in 2004 in the east part of the area, a north-south-oriented polygonal wall of 16 m in length was unearthed. The wall has a height of 1.76 m, and its thickness is 0.55 m. The excavations started in 2012 with the idea that there may have been a parallel wall in the western part of the area. A wall of the same quality and the same length was found as a result. Since the presence of two parallel walls seems to form a gigantic platform of 16 m x 35 m, excavations were also carried out in the central part of the building, but an architectural feature connecting these two walls could not be found (Varkıvanç 2018b, 925). Although it was thought that the building may have belonged to monumental palace architecture in the previous years of excavations, with the latest data available, it was suggested that this structure might be the earliest necropolis area that housed some unknown monumental tombs of the city (Varkıvanç 2018b, 928).

Hellenistic and Roman Periods: The area underwent various changes and additions and continued to be in use. The eastern wall was extended to the north with an isodomic wall addition. Architectural elements that may have belonged to tomb structures dating to the Roman period were also recovered. Based on these, it is thought that it could have been used as a necropolis again in the Hellenistic and Roman periods (Varkıvanç 2018b, 930).

Byzantine Period: The area was used as a dense residential and commercial area by building workshops and dwellings in both directions around the Archaic walls located both in the east and the west (Varkıvanç 2018b, 920, 924). The walls were built with rubble and various types of spolia such as column drums and limestone ashlar blocks. The masonry is similar to that of Early Byzantine walls in Xanthos. During the excavations on the western side, a northwest-southeast-oriented water channel with a length of 2.55 m was found (Varkıvanç 2016, 69) and associated with the Early Byzantine workshops. A place with its floor covered with terracotta tiles was also unearthed (Varkıvanç 2013, 67). It was determined that the area was used until the 7th century (Varkıvanç 2018b, 929). Earlier excavations did not reveal any information about the Byzantine period, and it was only noted that there were ruins of a house dating to the 5th century AD in the area (des Courtils 2007, 32).

Decorative Features:

Architectural Sculpture: The earliest Archaic reliefs of Xanthos (Figure 5.1) were found in the area and can be dated to the 7th - 6th century BC (Cavalier 2017, 267). These reliefs, some of which are exhibited in the Antalya Museum, do not have any Greek or Persian influences, and they resemble Late Hittite or Phrygian art (Işık 2020, 234). No decorative elements belonging to the Byzantine period were found.

Research/Fieldwork History and Publications:

In the surface cleaning work carried out in 1988 and 1998, two different blocks with bas-relief were found (le Roy 1990, 179; des Courtils and Laroche 1999a, 372).

Between 2004 and 2016, excavations were carried out in the area, first by the French and then by the Turkish teams. The results were published in the annual excavation reports (des Courtils 2005a, 454-457; des Courtils 2006a, 278-280; des Courtils 2007a, 317-319; des Courtils 2009a, 363-365; des Courtils 2011a, 331-339; Varkıvanç 2013, 67; Varkıvanç 2014, 68-69; Varkıvanç 2015a, 58-60; Varkıvanç 2016, 68-69).

Geophysical studies were carried out in the area during the 2012 excavation season (Varkıvanç 2013, 67).

Varkıvanç published an article on the structure (Varkıvanç 2018b).

CHAPTER 5: URBAN HISTORY OF XANTHOS

5.1 Late Antique / Early Byzantine Urbanism

In order to understand the principles of Xanthos's Byzantine period urbanism, first of all, it is necessary to look at what an Anatolian Late Antique city looked like. The culture today called Byzantine is essentially the result of the restructure and evolution of the Roman Empire. At first, the liberation of Christianity, then the acceptance of this new religion by the great masses, and finally becoming the official religion of the empire is a process that changed and transformed culture, social values, art, and architecture slowly but ultimately thoroughly. As the new capital was chosen as Constantinople by Emperor Constantine I in AD 330 (Cross 2005, 408) and with the influence of the eastern lands where Christianity emerged, the geography of Anatolia and the Middle East gained importance.

In the Late Antique period, which covers roughly the end of the third century and the end of the sixth century, cities also changed from the Roman urbanistic pattern to a Byzantine character. This change did not follow a standard scheme but varied according to geography and centuries. The cities located at more vulnerable points of the empire turned into a military form that focused on defense, and the ones situated in the areas less affected by the outside attacks preserved their dimensions (Lavan 2020, 1). Among the Byzantine studies, researches that look at cities holistically are relatively new. The correct methodology that should be used to understand and interpret cities in a scientific sense is to evaluate archaeological evidence together with written sources, if any, but at this point, the lack of the latter is always restrictive (Zavagno 2009, 6).

The ideal model of a Roman city is an environment created according to the principles of proper urban planning, consisting of public spaces connected by main road axes and decorated with monuments, various public structures such as temples, theatres, baths, administrative buildings, etc., residential areas and infrastructures such as water supply and sewage. The Late Antique city inherited all of them, continued to benefit from these amenities for a certain period, and at the same time began to reshape them for the new necessities of the changing culture.

From the perspective of urbanism, the influence of Christianity can only be seen after it was institutionalized. It is possible to trace the roots of Christianity in Lycia back to the time when the apostles wandered through Anatolia, and two of the cities of the region, Patara and Myra were mentioned in the Bible (Acts 21:1; Acts 27:5). The first Christian communities in Lycia might also have been formed very early as the archaeologic evidence shows, the oldest being an inscription found in the theater of Limyra and dated to the 1st century AD (Jacobek 1999, 111). The spreading of Christianity to large masses under the Roman Empire was seen as a threat to the social structure and tried to be prevented by persecution (Cross 2005, 1266). Methodius of Olympus, the first known bishop of the Lycian region, was executed too in the last years of the reign of Diocletian [AD 284 – 305] (Harrison 1963, 119). The local communities having a bishop shows that Christianity was already established with a hierarchical structure at the beginning of the 4th century. However, it was still not possible for the congregation to have a temple explicitly, but they must have continued their religious practices in secrecy. For all this reason, it is not possible to speak about the influence of Christianity on urbanism before Emperor Constantine I liberated the religion by the Edict of Milan in AD 313 (Gregory 1991, 677). Especially after the declaration of Christianity

as the official religion of the state by Emperor Theodosios I in AD 380 (Gregory and Cutler 1991, 2051), a period of inevitable change began.

First of all, the temple was replaced by the church, which was the main body of the new religion, and then some public structures such as the theater, bath, agora, and forum began to be seen as the cause of corruption by the church and gradually disappeared over time (Akyürek 2016, 520). Forums that lost their monumental importance and administrative public buildings that lost their function were often re-purposed and architecturally altered, turning them into commercial spaces, workshops and shops, as well as some larger residences were also divided into smaller spaces (Brogiolo 1999, 247; Zavagno 2009, 6). Although all these alterations were necessary to meet the increasing population, it was also a result of the fact that the concept of public space had lost its function as a demonstration of imperial power, which was one of the fundamental elements of classical antiquity; instead, practical solutions gained importance for daily life. On the other hand, essential items such as defense systems were thoroughly repaired and often completely rebuilt (des Courtils, Cavalier and Lemaître 2015, 130). The evolution of the city is the total of all these de/re-constructions, conversions, additions, and repairs. This whole concept cannot only be explained by "decline" or "decay" but is in many ways a "subtly modified version" of the Roman imperial city that must be evaluated in its own right (Lavan 2020, 4). The essential structure of the Mediterranean/Anatolian main cities did not change much. It was still a microcosm that protected the people from external dangers, daily needs of the changing culture, religion, and administration were met, production and trade were carried out, and sometimes ceremonies and spectacles were held.

It should also be taken into account that the change in the city was related to the economic system. While the budget required for the construction and maintenance of

public buildings was provided by the taxes collected by the city council during the Roman Empire, the changing structure from the Emperor Constantine I period resulted in more taxes entering the imperial treasury and created a decrease in the benefits to the city itself; however, some distinguished citizens have made investments for the public as benefactors (Saradi 2006, 152).

At the center of all this change, it is a fact that the most decisive element shaping the culture was religion. Not only did the city open up space for many different new religious structures, but it also lost some of its former buildings/artifacts of antiquity according to the new moral values of Christianity. As religion became more and more structured and institutionalized over time, it continued to open up more space for itself. In the end, it was not a sole replacement of the pagan temple with the church but also a vast catalog of Christian architecture such as basilicas in various sizes, cathedrals, baptisteries, bishop's palaces, residences for clergy, *martyria*, reliquary chapels, funerary chapels, pilgrimage churches, sacred springs, and monasteries. At the same time, some social services such as hospitals, orphanages, and nursing homes were also provided by the church (Lavan 2020, 4). While all these new building types were occupying the urban area, the church could sometimes turn into an economic structure that contributed to the cities financially and developed them (Haldon 1999, 6). Especially between the fourth and sixth centuries, the influence of religion on the urban landscape was clearly visible as large basilicas became the new landmarks of the cities, replacing the monumental architecture in the Roman public space (Saradi 2006, 149). By the 6th century, the social structure of the empire had changed almost completely (Cameron 2012, 159-165).

In the middle of the 7th century, as a result of the constant threat of Arab and Persian raids to Anatolia, plague and various natural disasters, there was a serious decrease in the urban population as people moved to rural, sheltered areas. This period,

in which urban life was interrupted significantly, is also called the "dark ages". The military and the administrative structure were also changed, and the *themata* system was introduced. In the following process, some cities shrunk, and most small settlements became military structures called *kastron*, which refers to a fortress city on a well-protected hilltop (Saradi 2012, 34). In the settlements, which continued to live with an urban identity, a systematic structure as before could not be maintained again.

From the 9th century onwards, there was relative prosperity and revival in the Anatolian cities until the Turkification of the land at the beginning of the 13th century. However, this time the city was completely transformed away from its Late Antique form inherited from Roman Imperial times. The city became an introverted and protective structure that developed its pattern organically in line with daily needs without specific planning and design (Akyürek 2016, 521). This dissertation aims to reflect on how all these described changes took place in Xanthos.

5.2 Urbanism of Xanthos

In order to understand the principles of Byzantine urbanism of Xanthos, first of all, it is necessary to understand the Classical and Roman urban patterns of the city because the Byzantine city was developed on the basis created during these periods. The public spaces that determine the main characteristics of the city, such as the main streets and agorae, continued to be used in the Late Antique period. The new structures of the new religion were mainly located around these fundamental axes.

5.2.1 Prehistoric and Archaic Periods

Since the finds dating back to prehistoric times in most Lycian cities are scarce, the data on this period is very limited. Considering the Xanthos valley, prehistoric materials were found mainly in and around Tlos, in the Girmeler and Tavabaşı caves and during Patara Tepecik excavations (Korkut et al. 2018). Two stone axes have been found so far at Xanthos as prehistoric material. The first one was found during the construction of the modern bridge crossing the Eşen River and was dated to the Late Neolithic period (des Courtils 2003a, 18). The second stone ax dated to the Late Neolithic or Early Chalcolithic age was unearthed during a sounding carried out in the Southeast Sector in 2004 (des Courtils 2005b, 44). However, these tools did not provide enough data as they came from disturbed contexts (des Courtils 2005a, 454).

From the beginning of modern excavations, the focus of the researchers was the Lycian Acropolis. Since the area was the main core of the dynastic residence, it was believed that life in the city had probably started from here. However, in 1988, the earliest architectural remains of Xanthos were also found in the Southeast Sector, which is located close to the Nereid Monument. With further excavations, the walls of a monumental building with reliefs were unearthed in 2004 (Varkıvanç 2018b, 920). Although the function and plan of this building, which consists of two long orthostat walls extending parallel to each other, dating to the Archaic period, is not fully understood, it has been revealed that it was the earliest monumental architectural example in the city (Varkıvanç 2018b, 930). The reliefs of a lion, a bull, and a human found in this building are among the earliest monumental works of art, dating to the 8th - 7th centuries BC, not only of Xanthos but also of the whole Lycian region (Figure 5.1).

Contrary to the Greek-Persian influences seen in the Classical period works in the city, such as the reliefs of the Harpy or Nereid Monuments, these reliefs entirely reflect the local characteristics of Anatolia and have significant parallels with the Late Hittite and Phrygian arts (des Courtils 2005b, 43; des Courtils 2008, 1639-1640). Until these artifacts were found, the oldest contextual data recovered in the city were ceramics from the 7th century BC (des Courtils 2003a, 23).

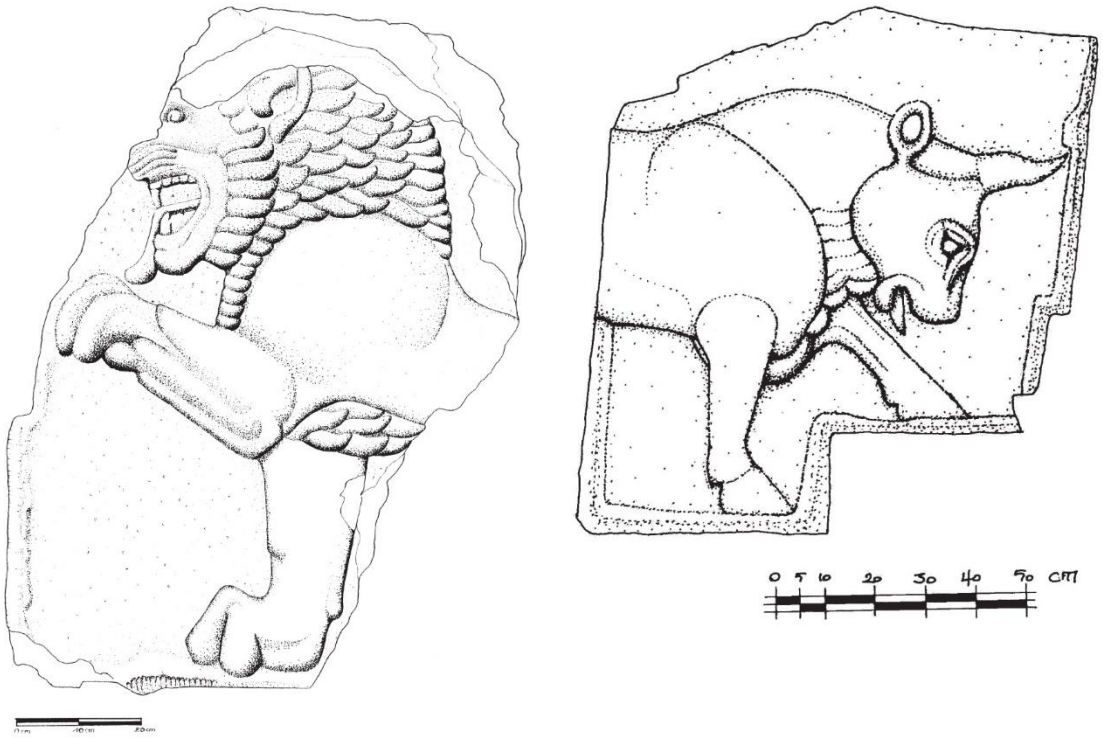


Figure 5.1: Archaic lion and bull reliefs (des Courtils 2012, 159, fig.1-2).

5.2.2 Classical Period (6th Century BC - 334 BC)

The settlement took the form that can be called a city for the first time in the Classical age. The city was established on both the east and west sides at an altitude of +50 m from

the current elevation of the river, separated by a shallow valley in the middle. Although there is a higher hill in the north of the city, called the Upper Acropolis today, there is no structure dated to the Classical period, except for the perimeter wall and the burial area called the Northern Necropolis (Demargne 1974).

The walls surrounding the city were primarily built in the Classical period to cover an area of approximately 30 hectares. Although repairs were made in the Roman and Byzantine periods, these alterations remained faithful to the early wall line; therefore, the city's surface area did not change over the centuries (des Courtils 1994, 289). Three main gates existed: the South Gate and the Northeast Gate, which were used in the following periods with various repairs and additions, and the Northwest Gate, which was not used after.

The South Gate (Figure 5.2, no: 7) was built in a fortified manner equipped with a trap room in the middle –a bayonet gate– (Figure 4.37). The gate was connected to the city by a road passing through the valley between the east and west sides of Xanthos. Fieldworks around the gate revealed a small part of the pavement, which was preserved about 3 m below the modern road passing through the city. This gate marked the beginning of the sacred road leading to the Letoon sanctuary.

The Northeast Gate (Figure 5.2, no: 8) was built in close proximity to the Northern Necropolis. The road connection between the gate and the city center in the Classical period cannot be identified today. The Roman streets determined the characteristics of the city's road axes very dramatically and, at the same time, erased the traces of the earlier periods. Topographically, the most suitable solution is the axis on which the Romans built the road because the slope of the Upper Acropolis hill starts from the north and reaches the valley that divides the city into two sides. In other words, the Classical period road

connecting the east and west parts of the city must have been on the same line on which the *Decumanus Maximus* extend.

The Northwest Gate was only discovered during excavations as it does not exist anymore (Marksteiner 2002). In the Classical period, this gate must have had a very important function as it was an entrance leading directly to the Agora of the Twelve Gods, the main center of the city. While arches were added to the other two gates during the Roman period, no such feature was found for the Northwest Gate during the excavations. In the Byzantine period, the gate, which was probably damaged, was completely destroyed, and the renewed fortification wall passed straight through this point.

The western part of the city consists of the hill overlooking the Xanthos River – the Eşen Çayı– with a steep slope and called the Lycian Acropolis today (Figure 5.2, no: 1), and the area where the theater and the West Agora are located in the north. The Lycian Acropolis constituted the administrative core of the city in the Classical period (Figure 5.3), and in addition to the surrounding city walls of Xanthos, this area was also surrounded by a separate circuit.

Many structures have been identified as belonging to the Classical period during the excavations carried out since the 1950s:

– the foundation remains of the administrative buildings known as Structures A and B belong to two different building periods, which can also be referred to as ‘palaces’ or dynastic houses (Metzger 1963, 16-19),

– Structure C, which was a temple with three *cellae* (Cavalier 2006, 332),

– Structure D, which was also a temple thought to be dedicated to Artemis based on the excavation finds (Metzger 1963, 29-47),

– Structure E, a large building whose function could not be understood (Metzger 1963, 42-44), and,

– Structures F, G, and H, three monumental buildings whose functional character is controversial due to the fact that these last three monuments are typologically different from the tomb monuments belonging to the members of the dynasty outside the Lycian

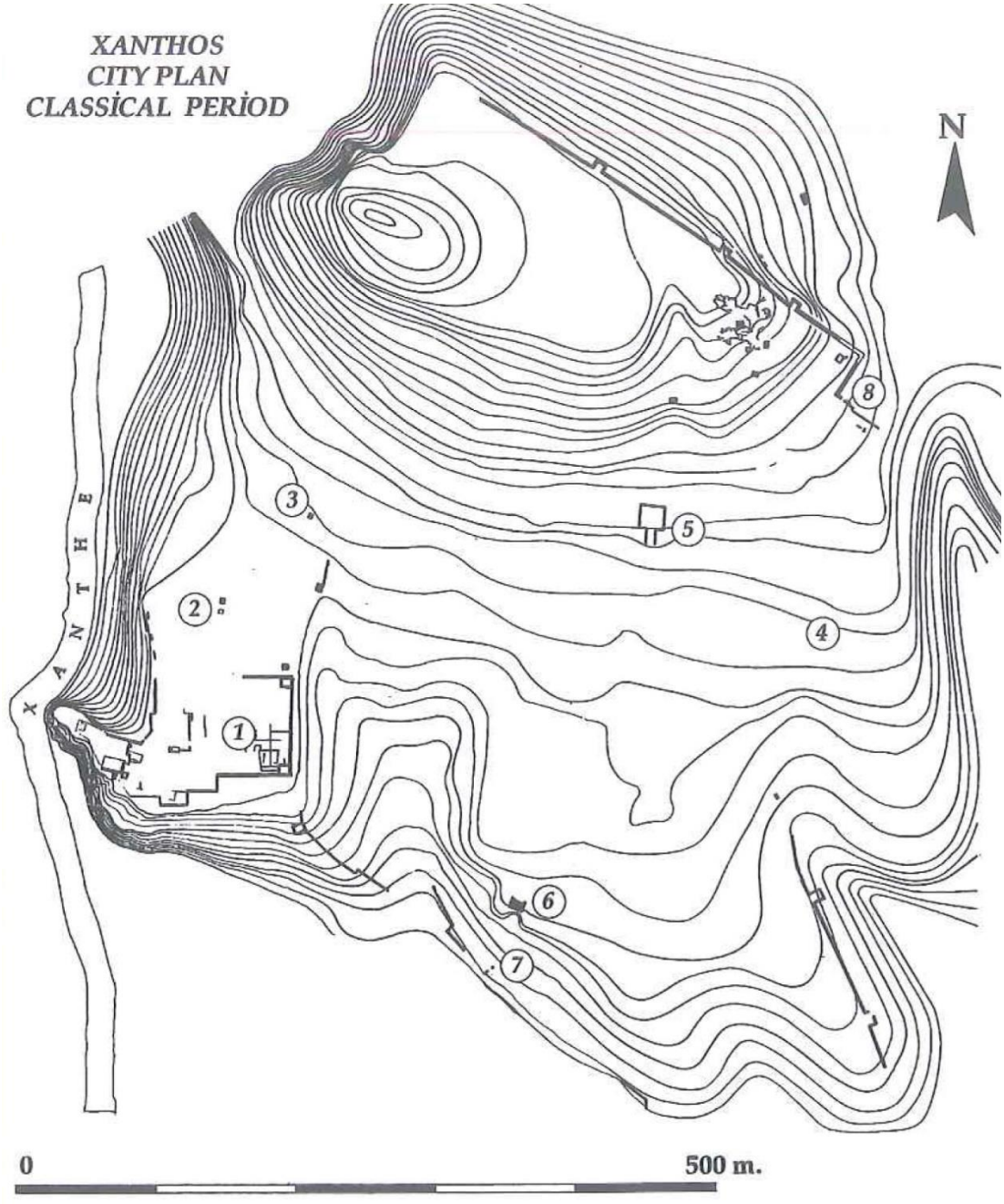


Figure 5.2: The general layout of Xanthos in the Classical period (des Courtils and Cavalier 2001, 148, fig.6-1).

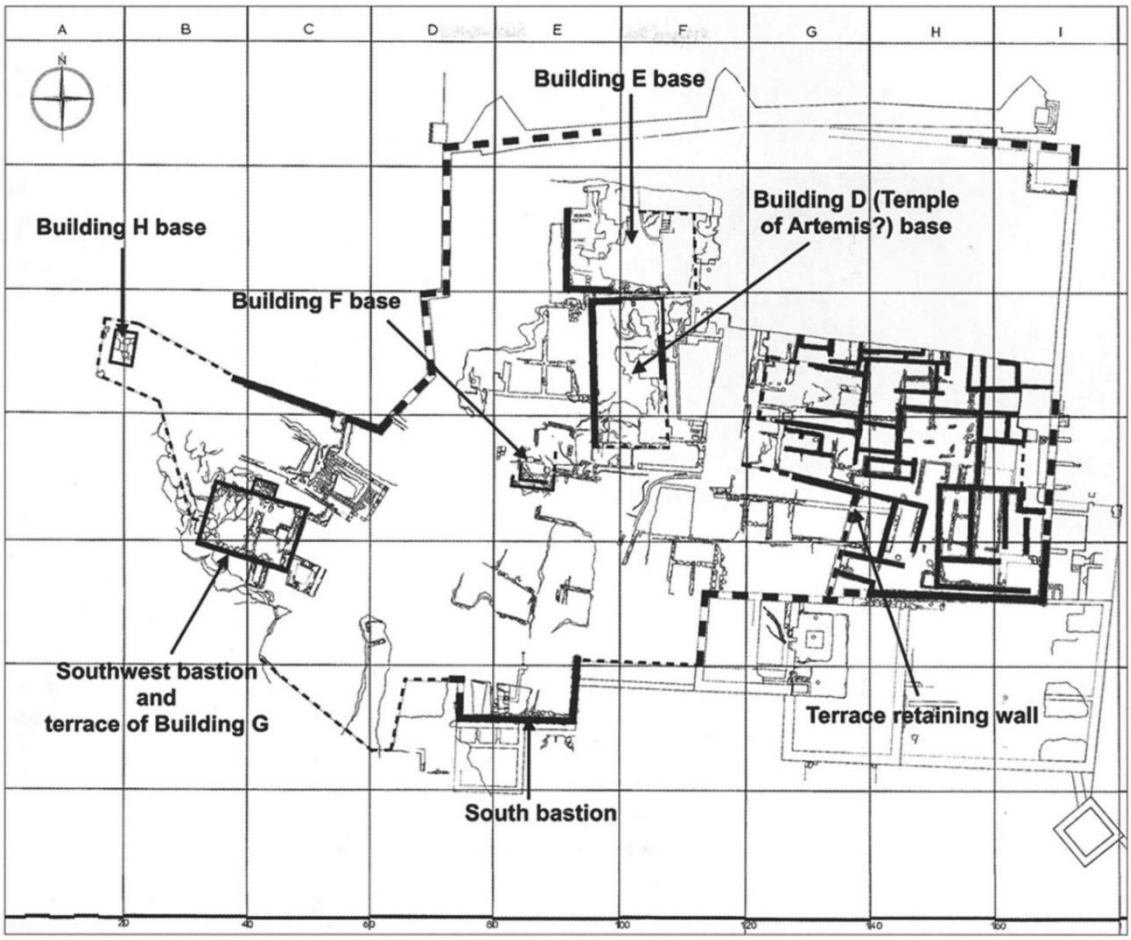


Figure 5.3: Plan of the Lycian Acropolis (Draycott 2015, 107, fig.9).

Acropolis. Unlike the others, these structures, which are located on the acropolis, may be *heroa* rather than the tombs of the local rulers. The votive offerings found in the foundations of these structures show that these three monuments had a cult function (Metzger 1963, 69; Keen 1992, 55-56; also see Draycott 2015 for a detailed discussion and an opposing argument). All three of these structures have not survived to the present day in their entirety, except for their foundations.

Considering all these, this core part of the city –even though it is unknown to what extent this area was open to the public or whether the access was dedicated to the palace staff only–, geographically well protected and fortified by its own circuit of walls, was a

citadel/acropolis designed as a center of administration, religion and hero cult. Even though the term ‘acropolis’ is controversial for Xanthos, which was never a Hellenic polis, this name was adopted for this part of the city since the term was used in the Ancient Greek epigram written on the Inscribed Pillar referring to various surrounding cities: “πολλὰς δὲ ἀκροπόλες σὺν Ἀθηναίαι πτολιπόρθωι = [he] conquered many acropoleis with the support of Athene” (Gygax and Tietz 2005, 91). The Lycian Acropolis of Xanthos might have once reflected the ‘ideal’ urban cityscape of Classical period Lycia with its surrounding walls, palace structures, and tomb monuments. Visual parallels can be observed in the urban depiction carved into a rock tomb in Pinara (Draycott 2015, 118).

The monumental tombs of dynasty members were placed around the public agora just north of the acropolis wall (Figure 5.2, no: 2-3). Even though the current appearance of the West Agora was shaped in the Roman period, we learn from the Ancient Greek epigram on the Inscribed Pillar that the area was already an agora dedicated to twelve gods [δώδεκα θεοῖς ἀγορᾶς] in the Classical period (Gygax and Tietz 2005, 91). Although the subject of intramural burial practices in the Classical period Lycia is still open to discussion (Hülden 2020, 161-162), the Agora of the Twelve Gods was surrounded by pillar tombs of the Xanthian dynasts. These monuments were integrated within the public space and created a very characteristic urban landscape.

The Inscribed Pillar, which is surrounded by inscriptions in the Lycian language on all four sides, has a short Ancient Greek section only on the north side, actually facing away from the agora. It has been interpreted that this inscription, praising the owner of the tomb, was written for the Greek merchants who came to the city (Işık 2015, 611). If this interpretation is correct, it can help to understand another road connection within the Classical period urban texture. Considering the existence of the Northwest Gate, which does not exist anymore but was discovered during excavations, the inscription could have

been engraved to the north side in order to be seen by travelers coming from the road that connected the Northwest Gate to the city's agora.

The eastern part of Xanthos consists of the area where the Nereid Monument and the Southeast Sector are located at the southernmost end of the hill and the area in the north where a monumental structure with the *dromos*, currently called the Lycian Structure, stands. No structures dating to the Classical period were found in the in-between area except for some sarcophagi because some Roman and Byzantine structures, such as the Upper and Lower Agorae and the East Basilica, changed the appearance of this part of the city drastically. The Nereid Monument (Figure 5.2, no: 6) is the latest and typologically the most different and the most "Hellenized" one among the city's previous dynastic tombs. Arbinas, the last of the influential members of the dynasty, built his mausoleum around 390 BC in the form of an Ionic temple on a raised podium. Today, the monument preserved in British Museum presents a magnificent appearance, dominating the topography that can be observed even from afar. It was located at the edge of the hill, just above the South Gate, one of the two main gates of Xanthos, where the sacred road from Letoon reached the city. The monument's location away from all other dynastic tombs can be considered as a unique positioning at first. However, the excavations carried out in recent years have resulted in a different evaluation. The architectural finds unearthed in the Southeast Sector, located at a distance of 90 m from the Nereid Monument, revealed that this area was the oldest necropolis of the city. In this sense, the location of the Nereid Monument was not a singular case, but it was actually deliberately positioned close to the oldest tombs of the city (Varkıvanç 2018b, 930).

Another monumental Classical period building, built on the skirts of the Upper Acropolis hill in the north of the eastern side of the city, is the so-called Lycian Structure or the Dromos Structure (Figure 5.2, no: 5). The upper structure was completely

destroyed, and its foundations were altered entirely in the Roman and Early Byzantine periods. Although various excavations were carried out within this structure, its original function and appearance could not be fully revealed. Some of the suggested ideas are that it could be a large-sized residence (Varkıvanç 2018b, 931) or the *Sarpedonion* temple mentioned in historical sources[49] (des Courtils, Cavalier and Lemaître 2015, 138).

The above-mentioned Northern Necropolis stretches to the northeast of the Lycian Structure and at the foot of the Upper Acropolis hill. Payava, Ahqqadi and some other unidentified sarcophagi, many rock-cut tombs, the Lion Pillar, and an undecorated pillar tomb called the Northern Necropolis Pillar are situated within the city walls and constitute the intramural section of the necropolis. Outside the city walls, there are many other Classical tombs, including the Merehi Sarcophagus, a sarcophagus with a relief showing lions attacking a bull, and several rock-cut tombs forming the extramural section. Within the city walls, some other isolated tombs stand scattered across different points of the city. For example, in the northeast of the East Basilica, there is a monument known as the Maidens Sarcophagus (Figure 5.2, no: 4) and a few other unnamed sarcophagi to the south and southeast of the same church. Two different theories have been put forward about how these tombs were located within the city, which can lead us to two different points in terms of understanding the urbanistic design scheme of the Classical period Xanthos. The first theory is that the tombs are located on a planned processional route through the city and the other is that the tombs once had houses around them, and these family tombs may have been built right next to the house within the private property of the owner (Benndorf and Niemann 1884, 101).

[49] Based on Appian's narrative (App.B Civ. 4.10.78-79), this *heroon* was generally sought on the Lycian Acropolis by most researchers (Keen 1992, 55).

Cavalier suggests a designated processional route of monuments starting from the gate and lined on the main thoroughfares (Cavalier 2017, 273). However, this anticipated path actually does not include all of the tomb monuments of the city. For example, the Payava and Ahqqadi Sarcophagi, two of the most famous Xanthos tomb monuments located on the outskirts of the Upper Acropolis, are topographically situated in remote positions that cannot be included by a route passing through the city center.

The other idea emphasizes a residential layout as it emerges from private properties owned by the people in the city. It does not seem easy to prove this theory since no examples of residential architecture from the Classical period have survived. However, there are examples where the family tomb was located on private land, especially in farm-type settlements outside the cities (Kolb 2007, 282).

The elements that determine the character of the urban landscape of Classical Xanthos in the most dramatic way are undoubtedly the dominance of the various types of tomb monuments. One of the most important differences between the Lycian cities and the Hellenic poleis is the relationship of the two cultures with the cult of death, which is also reflected in urbanism. In Ancient Greek culture, even if a person was an important ruler, he was buried in the necropolis outside the city and was not deified after he died. However, the Lycian rulers not only had their graves built in the most central points of the city, but the monuments also had a cult function. In front of some tomb monuments, special places were reserved for votive offerings (Işın and Yıldız 2017, 87). Religious offering materials were also found during the excavations carried out in front of Structure H on the Lycian Acropolis of Xanthos (Metzger 1963, 69). As a result of the excavations, it was understood that the Inscribed Pillar Monument actually had a surrounded temenos (Dönmez and Schürr 2015, 130). These situations do not exist around the tomb structures in Ancient Greek understanding. Since Xanthos was the most prominent city of Lycia in

the Classical period where the dynasty resided, many funerary monuments have been built throughout the ages, either in the city center or on the hills that dominate the geography. These remarkable urbanistic landmarks survived for a long time and gave Xanthos a special appearance even in the later centuries. This is for instance the case with the Nereid Monument, which was still standing in the Late Antique period (Fellows 1852, 470).

The Classical period, to summarize, was the first time when Xanthos took its form as a city. It was surrounded by walls, the main city gates were built, and the east and west quarters were inhabited in accordance with the terrain situation. The main administrative core, the Lycian Acropolis, has located in the western part of the city. Just north of the acropolis, an agora with a cultic function dedicated to the Twelve Gods was adorned with dynastic tomb monuments. On the east part, the Lycian Structure and the Southeastern Sector, which are estimated to have been very important structures with their monumentality but whose functions are not fully understood today, were built. The tomb monuments that gave Xanthos its characteristic appearance were built in this period in many parts of the city.

5.2.3 Hellenistic Period (334 BC - 43 BC)

The Hellenistic era is a very obscure period in terms of architecture in Xanthos. Either important architectural works that would affect the city's appearance were not put forward, or the Roman period reconstruction activities removed them to such an extent that their traces were not left behind, as the latter is true for almost every city in Lycia. For example, Hellenistic architecture cannot be found in Myra, Patara, Pinara and Tlos, except for the theatre, fortifications and defense structures (Çevik 2015, 152). The

existence of the Hellenistic theater could only be determined by the unearthed foundations as a result of the excavations conducted in the orchestra of the Roman theater of Xanthos. Excavations showed that the theater was built in 150 - 125 BC, and its capacity was 2500 people (Dönmez 2022, 183). Also, the soundings made in the Upper Agora unearthed remains of some Hellenistic structures whose function could not be certainly determined (Cavalier 2007, 168). However, it has been suggested that the remains might belong to Hellenistic period dwellings, and the area had a residential function before it was converted into a public agora during the Roman period (Cavalier 2020, 81). Similar to this, foundations of other Hellenistic structures may be found in future research under Roman or Byzantine structures.

Some examples of Hellenistic tomb architecture have been found in the city. For example, new tomb monuments were added to the West Agora. The Sarcophagus Pillar, located right next to the Harpy Monument, belongs to this period, and since the grave finds were recovered, it was possible to date it definitively (Demargne 1958, 47-58). In addition, smaller and pyramid-shaped tombs[50] and some simple earth burials around this pillar, whose foundations can be traced today, were also dated to the Hellenistic period; thus, it was seen that the intramural necropolis function of this area continued to develop. At the same time, a new necropolis area began to emerge in the eastern direction of the city, outside the city walls (Cavalier 2003, 210-213).

Although a temple dated to this period was not found during the excavations on the Lycian Acropolis, archaeological findings showing the worship of Serapis and Isis were obtained from a Byzantine period *favissa* (Demargne and Metzger 1967, 1399). In addition, it is learned from the inscriptions that a temple dedicated to Artemis was built

[50] The Egyptian artifacts found inside these tombs point towards trade relationships with Egypt during the Ptolemaic era (des Courtils 2017, 59).

in the city during the Seleucid period (des Courtils and Cavalier 2001, 171). Repairs dated to this period can also be seen on the city walls (des Courtils, Cavalier and Lemaître 2015, 115).

The dimness of the Hellenistic period in Xanthos contrasts with the Letoon, the sanctuary that was the scene of important construction activities such as three temples, porticos, and the construction of a much larger theater than in Xanthos during the same period (Cavalier 2020, 74-75).

5.2.4 Roman Period (43 BC - 4th Century AD)

With the vision of Romanization and the development of the imperial culture, the city offered a common experience of public spaces to all equal citizens. Perhaps for the first time, an urban layout with elaborately designed units was presented to society to be experienced together. According to the ideals mentioned by Vitruvius, a Roman city should have had colonnaded streets and squares that determined the principal axes, all of which were planned with advanced engineering techniques, and an urban texture with a grid plan (Vitr. De arch. V). Temples, agorae, stoas, baths, theatre/arena, *gymnasium*, and administrative buildings were some of the public areas and structures. Xanthos developed and expanded in the process of its transformation into a Roman city while preserving some of its characteristics that were formed in the Classical period. The reconstruction activities were started immediately after Brutus captured the city in 43 BC when it was severely damaged; however, it developed over time through additional constructions. Most of the essential Roman buildings seen today are dated to the 2nd century AD (Figure 5.4).

5.2.4.1 City Walls and Gates

The Early Roman fortification walls built near the Northeast Gate of Xanthos are a rare case in Lycia. It is known that in the period called Pax Romana, which started with the reign of Emperor Augustus in 27 BC, there was a generally peaceful atmosphere in the Roman Empire. Especially military architectural activities were limited, and even in some cities, no new fortifications were built during this period. In Xanthos, it is thought that the repair and reconstruction activities on the aforementioned walls are dated just after the invasion of Brutus and before the Pax Romana (des Courtils, Cavalier and Lemaître 2015, 129).



Figure 5.4: An artistic restitution of Roman Xanthos (Golvin 2019, 100).

In the publications that appeared in previous years, those fortifications near the Northeast Gate were dated to the Hellenistic period (des Courtils and Cavalier 2001, 157-158). However, according to the latest evaluation made after the test soundings and excavations in the area, these reconstruction activities were re-dated to the Early Roman period. The researchers concluded that this part was probably the weakest point of defense

when Brutus besieged Xanthos; thus, it was exclusively fortified during the early reconstruction activities after the city was conquered (des Courtils, Cavalier and Lemaître 2015, 129).

A city gate is not only a practical marker of the starting point of the city and, at the same time, a representative monument reflecting the character of the city to the outside. With this approach, two Classical period gates of Xanthos were renovated with additions of arched gateways as in many Roman cities. Although there is no detailed data about the Northeast Gate since it has completely collapsed, traces of the Roman arch have been found in recent fieldwork (des Courtils, Cavalier and Lemaître 2015, 107). The South Gate (Figure 5.5, no: 11), on the other hand, is still intact, and thanks to its inscription, it is known that it was built in honor of Emperor Vespasian by Sextus Marcius Priscus, who was the governor of Lycia between AD 68 - 70 (Kökmen-Seyirci 2017, 193).

5.2.4.2 Streets

Colonnaded main streets, being essential elements of Roman urbanism, were not only commercial centers but also the prestige monuments of the cities (Parrish 2001, 11). The two main streets of Roman Xanthos also became determining for the urban layout. While the *Cardo Maximus* (Figure 5.5, no: 6), in the north-south direction, was the prominent street in most Roman cities, the main street of Xanthos was actually the *Decumanus Maximus* (Figure 5.5, no: 5), in the east-west direction, due to the geographical situation of the city. This street connects the two parts of the city, and was already established between the east and west sides since the Classical period. On both ends of the *Decumanus*, two large agorae were constructed, called the West Agora and Upper Agora.

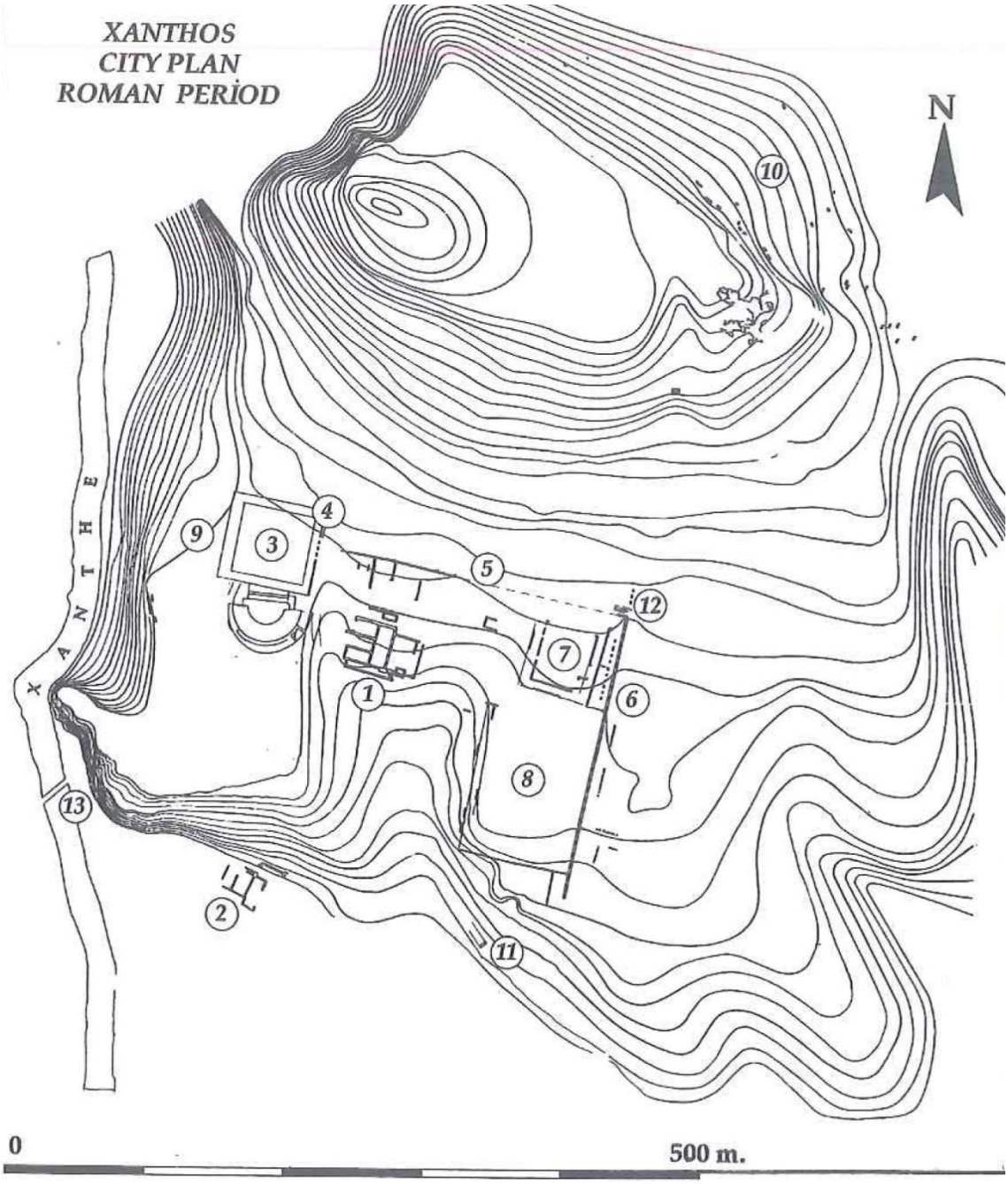


Figure 5.5: The general layout of Xanthos in the Roman period (des Courtils and Cavalier 2001, 160, fig.6-17).

At the entrance of the stone-covered square where the two streets intersect, the Dipylon was built as a later addition, which was an honorific arch with double passageways. The monument, which is understood to have been used until the Late

Antique period from its inscriptions, was one of the most significant urbanistic landmarks of the Roman city.

The third street in Xanthos is the one that connects the South Gate to the West Agora. Unlike the other two Roman streets, this one runs not straight but follows the topography in a curved and sloping manner. Since the South Gate had existed since the Classical period of the city, this street connection is as old as the gate, but probably the pavement was renewed when the archway was built in the first century AD. This street has never been adequately explored as it is located under the modern road. As a result of the research carried out to the east of the theater in the 1990s, it was noted that at least this part of the street was built not as a ramp but as giant steps (le Roy 1995, 305).

In Xanthos, a precise grid system has not been identified yet except for the perpendicular intersection of these two main streets and the possible presence of the *Decumanus Secundus*, a street parallel to the first in the south of the Upper Agora. The orthogonal grid system is quite typical in Roman city planning, and it can be detected in 31 cities in Anatolia, including some cities such as Perge, Ephesos, Antiocheia pros Pisidiam. On the other hand, this situation cannot be fully observed in many cities due to insufficient excavations (Willet 2020, 207).

5.2.4.3 Religious Architecture

Temples are controversial phenomena in Roman Xanthos. The French archaeologists found a temple with three *cellae*, thought to be dedicated to the sacred family –Leto, Artemis and Apollo– on the Lycian Acropolis belonging to the Classical period; as well as a second structure, called Structure D, with votive offerings dedicated to Artemis (Metzger 1963, 41). In the following centuries, these two structures were entirely destroyed up to their foundation levels, so it is not known whether they were used in the

Roman period. Some researchers claimed that there was no need for another temple in the city since the Letoon complex, which was first started to be built in the Classical period and took its current shape in the Hellenistic period, functioned as the city's sanctuary (des Courtils and Cavalier 2001, 171). During the Roman period, additional structures were constructed in Letoon, and the sanctuary continued to be used (des Courtils 2003a, 133). The Roman Empire, which added many new buildings to Xanthos, not built a temple or an imperial cult edifice in the city center? Although epigraphic sources mention a temple for Caesar, such a structure has not been found yet (Cavalier 2005, 115).

On the other hand, it was a widespread practice in the Byzantine world that some early churches were built on the sites of former pagan temples (Saradi-Mendolovici 1990, 53-55). Were the basilicas of Xanthos built in this way too? Some Roman mosaics were unearthed during the East Basilica excavations; however, it is stated that they probably belonged to residential architecture (Raynaud 2009, 32). At the same time, the three monumental portals used as the main entrance doors of the church were taken from an unknown Roman structure, dated to the second half of the 2nd or beginning of the 3rd century AD (Sodini 2010, 324). Further excavations are not possible in the East Basilica since the *opus tessellatum* floor mosaics are largely preserved, and therefore a clear stratigraphy of the area could not be obtained.

No archaeological excavations have been carried out so far in the Upper Acropolis Basilica, a location where a Roman temple could also previously have been located. However, only a few building materials have been found that can be dated to the Roman period, and the researchers stated that these might have belonged to a smaller structure such as a funerary monument or a *heroon* rather than a large structure such as a temple (Cavalier 2005, 168).

A stronger possibility exists for the place of the West Basilica (Figure 5.5, no: 9), one of the city's largest early churches built adjacent to the West Agora. The area where the church once stood covers the space between the city walls and the western wall of the agora. In fact, this space was not wide enough to fit a church of similar size as the other three large basilicas built in the same period. For this reason, this church does not have an atrium like the other three, and the western wall of the narthex rests directly on the city walls. The reason why the church was built here may have been the desire to use the foundations of a building that stood here before. Indeed, it can be seen that many Roman-period building materials were used as spolia here. Based on this, previous researchers suggested the existence of a civil basilica dating to the Severan period (des Courtils 2003a, 55). Still, the possibility of a religious structure should also not be ignored. Thus, the Roman state agora surrounded by a monumental entrance gate in the east, the theater in the south, and the *andron* spaces in the north may have been completed with a temple in the west to create a magnificent public square in the heart of Xanthos.

A small sanctuary dating to the Roman period was unearthed just north of the West Agora in recent years. Rather than being a temple structure, it might have been a *naiskos* or perhaps an open-air cult area since it provided votive finds offered to Artemis. The area, which is understood to have been used at least until the 3rd century AD, was destroyed during the Early Christian period (Varkıvanç 2017, 53).

5.2.4.4 Civic and Commercial Buildings

By preserving certain buildings, new structures of the Roman period were added to the city to be surrounded by these monuments. As understood from the Ancient Greek text on the Inscribed Pillar (Gygax and Tietz 2005, 91), the area where the monument was located also had an agora function in the Classical period. Not only this famous tomb but

also the Harpy Monument and the House-Type Tomb were positioned to encircle this early agora. When the Roman agora was being constructed, the area was used in the same way, and the porticos were built to remain within the area surrounded by these monuments (Figure 4.234). The smaller theater of the Hellenistic period was also rebuilt in the Roman period, and a pillar tomb monument whose original location is unknown hindered the construction. However, instead of destroying this tomb, the Romans moved it to its present location at the southeast corner of the theater with great effort, and this was recorded in the inscription on the monument (Demargne 1958, 107-112). The easternmost bastion of the Diateichisma Wall bordering the north of the Lycian Acropolis was built to include this monument. Today, the monument is partially visible within the collapsed walls of the bastion. Even though its current location seems to be an idle spot, in the Roman period, it was actually located right next to the vomitorium of the theater that opened to the Lycian Acropolis, where there were shops during the same period as revealed by the excavations (Manière-Lévêque 2008, 492). These examples show that the Classical period monuments were deliberately preserved in the Roman period and that new construction activities were planned in this direction. This conservative approach continued in the following centuries too.

Especially the area where the West Agora is located is seen to have been an important center of the Roman Xanthos. The complex of public structures consisting of the agora in the middle, the theater in the south, the large bathhouse in the east, and possibly a civil basilica in the west (des Courtils 2003a, 55) is an important combination in the name of Roman urbanism.

The second agora of Xanthos is the Upper Agora (Figure 5.5, no: 7), located on the east side of the city and at the corner of the square (Figure 5.5, no: 12) where the two

main streets intersect. On the eastern side of this agora, a two-storied Civil Basilica was built at the end of the 2nd century AD (Cavalier 2012, 25).

The third Roman agora of the city was the Lower Agora (Figure 5.5, no: 8) which is dated to the second half of the 2nd century AD (Cavalier 2005, 93). This largest square of Xanthos with its 110 m x 78 m dimensions, was surrounded by a *quadroportico*. The Lower Agora is located in the south and at the lower elevation of the Upper Agora, and an east-west-oriented street passed between them. It is adjacent to the terrace where the Nereid Monument is located from the south, to the *Cardo Maximus* from the east, and overlooks the valley that divided the city from the west. Even the existence of three agorae in Roman cities is a rare situation, while the fact that two of them were built adjacent to each other raises a question mark. There are no architectural remains in this flat and wide area other than the Triconch Basilica, which was built later in the middle of the square. On the other hand, this is the most suitable area topographically, where a *gymnasium* structure could have been located in the city[51]. A *gymnasium* was mentioned in the inscriptions but no trace of archaeological evidence has been retrieved yet. It is possible that the Triconch Basilica was built on such a former *gymnasium* and the surrounding area might have been its *palaestra*.

The Roman theater was built in the second half of the 2nd century on the site of the previous smaller Hellenistic theater located between the Lycian Acropolis and the West Agora. It is known from the inscriptions that the famous Lycian benefactor Opramoas of Rhodiapolis gave financial support for the repair of the Xanthos theater after an earthquake affected the whole of Lycia in AD 141. Probably the reconstruction progress was begun with this help and completed during the Antonine period. However,

[51] Cavalier suggests an extramural location for the *gymnasium*, near the baths to the west of the South Gate (Cavalier 2005, 115).

it is understood that the stage building was renewed once again in the Late Severan period (Dönmez 2022, 178-179). In a later construction phase, a high wall was built between the *ima cavea* and the orchestra to turn it into an arena for the animal or gladiator fights, probably at the end of the 3rd or the beginning of the 4th century AD (Dönmez 2019, 1292). The theater had a total capacity of 4600 people (Dönmez 2022, 177).

To the southwest of the colonnaded street, there is a large bath complex that has not been excavated yet (Figure 5.5, no: 1). The structure, dating to the end of the 2nd or the beginning of the 3rd century AD, is one of the largest baths of Lycia with its 900 m2 size and consisted of four large rooms and a *palaestra* (Cavalier 2005, 110). A second and smaller bathhouse that has also not been researched is located outside the city walls and close to the river to the west of the South Gate (Figure 5.5, no: 2). The 300 m2 building, consisting of three rooms lined up side by side, is probably dated to the Domitian period [reign AD 81 - 96] (Cavalier 2005, 110). Epigraphic records show that three baths were built in Xanthos during the Roman period, and the related inscriptions are dated approximately between AD 90 and 149 (Farrington 1995, 163). Still, it is not certain which record is related to which bath building. The water need of Xanthos was provided from the Akdağlar in the east by a 9.5-kilometer-long waterway. It has been calculated that this waterway carried 5000 - 7000 cubic meters of water per day to the city (Burdy and Leboutellier 1998, 247).

5.2.4.5 Residential Architecture

The data available on Xanthos' civil residential architecture in the Roman period is scarce. The Upper Acropolis was not inhabited during the Roman period, and only civil residential settlements were built on the slopes of the hill. Uninhabited upper acropoleis are not an unencountered phenomenon for Lycia and are also observed in Pinara and

Patara (Işık 2020, 233). In 2018, some building materials dated to the Roman period were observed in the Byzantine period residential area located on the skirts of the Upper Acropolis hill. In particular, the two *cordiform* column drums –heart-shaped pillars often used in the corners of peristyle courtyards that were a common architectural element for the Xanthos valley in the Roman period (Cavalier 2005, 93)– found here have been interpreted as belonging to a large Roman peristyle house (Varkıvanç 2019, 252). The same area was also used for dwellings in the Early and Middle Byzantine periods. Based on these facts, it is understood that the flat areas of the city were primarily used for public spaces, while the foot of the hill was reserved for residential architecture. In addition to this, a Roman house with a peristyle (Manière-Lévêque 1998a, 64) and a kitchen/shop (Manière-Lévêque 2008, 492) were found during the excavations on the Lycian Acropolis. It is understood that the Lycian Acropolis, which was an area with a palace-cult function in the earlier periods, was re-purposed from the Roman period onwards –it must probably have been from the Hellenistic period when the local dynasty ended even though there is no archaeological data on this subject yet– and was open to a residential function that was continued in the Byzantine period.

Despite the fact that the tombs were located outside the city walls in the Roman period, especially around the roads leading to the city gates, there are exceptions to this situation in Xanthos, which has been famous for its intramural burials throughout history. One of them is the monument called the 'Tower Tomb', which was built in the immediate vicinity of the Harpy Monument during the Augustan period [27 BC - AD 14] (des Courtils 2017, 61). The second one is the 'Aurelius Tomb', which can be identified by its inscription showing that a Classical period rock-cut tomb was reused in the Roman period (Cavalier 2017, 273-274). In addition, it has been revealed during recent studies that the Southeast Sector, which had been one of the oldest necropoleis of Xanthos since the

Classical period, continued to be used for the same purpose in the Roman times and that at least one mausoleum was built here (Varkıvanç 2018b, 930). Although intramural burials were not usual, and furthermore prohibited in the Roman Empire (Bodel 2014, 179), these two examples show how much the citizens of Xanthos adopted their traditional culture of living with their dead.

As extramural tombs from the Roman period, there are three known mausolea, as well as many sarcophagi outside the city walls of Xanthos. One of them was located just outside the South Gate, now totally destroyed (see Section 4.18 Southern Necropolis Outside the City Walls, Roman Mausoleum); another lies in ruins near Karaköy village on the western bank of the river (des Courtils 2003a, 79); and the only one among them which was published in detail is situated about 500 m east of the Northeast Gate (Coupel and Demargne 1976).

All these buildings mentioned above have irrevocably brought the character of a Roman city to Xanthos, with the preservation of some of the Classical period monuments. In the following centuries, especially in the Late Antique period, this characteristic continued to exist as a visually determining factor as Xanthos was reshaped once again as a Christian city.

5.2.5 Late Antique / Early Byzantine Period (4th Century AD - 8th Century AD)

Although it has been scholarly debated for a long time whether the change that started in the Roman cities in Late Antiquity is an evolution or a decline, modern scholars think it to be a transformation towards a distinctive medieval civilization. Roman Xanthos was also transformed according to the needs of the new culture and social structure coming with Christianity.

5.2.5.1 Fortifications

As mentioned above, a defense system had been established around the city since early times in order to resist attacks from various directions[52]. The 'long wall' protected the city from the attacks that could come from the north. Attacks that might come from the seaside were watched over by the Pydnai and Bükses castles. There was also a small castle just to the west of the city, which was an outpost that controlled the other side of the river (see Section 4.2 Fortress Opposite of Xanthos). The city itself was entirely surrounded by walls, and the Lycian Acropolis was especially secured from the north with a very high and solid wall.

5.2.5.1.1 The Long Wall

This 3-kilometer-long wall is located 5 km north of the city, protecting the east side of the Xanthos Valley. The thick wall with a 2.30 m width on average, was built mostly with unworked stones and only some parts in the polygonal technique, probably in the 5th century BC (des Courtils and Marksteiner 1999, 89-96). The absence of any traces of repair in the wall that can be dated to later periods, and the scarcity of finds around it, give the impression that it may not have been used during the Byzantine period. Since the main threat to the Byzantine cities in Lycia came from the sea, the defense systems in the south of the city must have gained more importance in this period.

5.2.5.1.2 Bükses/Bükceğiz and Pydnai Castles

These two castles have been protecting the city from attacks from the sea since early times. No detailed research has been done on Bükses/Bükceğiz so far. It is probably dated to the 5th century BC and must have been used in the following centuries (des Courtils

[52] For more information on the early defense systems of Xanthos, see Thomsen 2020, 15-42.

2003a, 126-127). Pydnai –also named Kydnai in some sources– is a Hellenistic castle from the 3rd century BC (Cavalier and des Courtils 2011, 458). The walls, which are longer than 300 m and as high as 10 m, have survived in good shape. Since the front of the castle, which was closer to the sea in ancient times, was the only suitable area to anchor, those who wanted to reach the region from the sea had to dock here first. In fact, the remains of a small harbor have been discovered there in recent years (Écochard et al. 2015). From here, it was possible to reach Xanthos easily, passing first by the Letoon[53]. A three-aisled basilica church built inside the castle in the 6th and repaired between the 9th and 11th century AD (Adam 1977, 67, 72) shows that the castle was still in use in the Byzantine period.

5.2.5.1.3 City Walls

Today, the walls surrounding Xanthos have a Byzantine character to a large extent. Although the area of the city has not changed since the Classical period, the city walls underwent such a large-scale restoration in the Byzantine period that they gained their present appearance. Except for some sections built in the polygonal technique in the Classical period and the isodomic parts from the Roman period, the rest of the wall was built in the Early Byzantine period with a lot of spolia material and rubble. This 2-kilometer-long wall, which completely surrounds the city, has been preserved at the height of 7 m in some parts, and on the other hand, some sections, especially in the southeast direction, have disappeared. Walls have no merlons and no wall-walk in any section. Wooden constructions in some places should have once provided access to the

[53] It has not been proven whether, in ancient times, there was a river connection between Xanthos and the sanctuary of Letoon, or not. Today such a connection does not exist and the Eşen Çayı flows into the sea in the middle of the Patara beach between the ancient city and Karadere. However, these lands have undergone great changes throughout history. For example, it has become clear that the Letoon was once founded on the shore of a lagoon open to the sea (Écochard et al. 2015, fig.4).

upper parts. Especially the northern section –topographically the most accessible place– has been strengthened with bastions and towers.

As examined in detail under the “Construction Techniques” subsection within Section 4.1 City Walls and Gates, there are different wall techniques belonging to different periods in the walls of Xanthos. The most characteristic appearance of the Early Byzantine walls is formed by arranging the spolia in a regular way, as can be seen especially in the northern parts of the city, the so-called "Early Byzantine Regular" system. The closest examples to this masonry can be found at Tlos, on the walls located in the lower part of the acropolis; and at Patara, in the section of the city walls at the entrance of the harbor street (Dündar and Koçak 2019, 186, fig.8).

Spolia materials were not used for decorative purposes in the city walls of Xanthos, except for a single area on the Lycian Acropolis which was dismantled by Fellows for the reliefs. The same is true for the two mentioned cities. For the Patara city walls, the researchers explained this situation by the fact that the region has a general tradition of simplicity and emphasized that the aesthetical aim was to maintain regularity in the masonry rather than using decorative pieces (Dündar and Koçak 2019, 191). In Tlos, aesthetic integrity was also achieved by bringing together similar blocks as much as possible in the wall. For example, column drums were lined up next to each other to form straight rows, and when square pieces were needed, equal ones were used in the same line. Similarly, it is seen that Xanthos walls have a more regular craftmanship, especially at the most visible points, such as the sections close to the main gates. For example, the high section just north of the Northeast Gate has one of the most regular masonry, and the wall that continues to the east from the South Gate is also similar. The Diateichisma Wall, which will be examined below, was built with the blocks of the theater and exhibits a regular appearance. On the other hand, irregular masonry using rubble was

preferred in places that were difficult to see and access. All this shows that the construction of the walls was not just a rapid act of defense but a planned project that combined both practical and aesthetic approaches.

5.2.5.1.4 Diateichisma or Kastron Wall?

A separate circuit of walls had surrounded the Lycian Acropolis since the Classical period. The northern section of the earlier wall between the theater and the acropolis was replaced by the Diateichisma Wall in the 7th century AD.

The term was adopted in this dissertation not only because it was suggested by some of the previous researchers but also because it describes the wall best. Diateichisma means a wall built in order to divide the city into two regions or create a protected area within a city that already has a complete wall circuit. Examples ranging from the 5th century BC to the 15th century AD are found in many cities such as Athens, Ephesos, Assos, and Miletos[54].

It is also seen that the term 'Kastron Wall' was used for the wall at Xanthos in some publications (Whalin 2020, 227; Dönmez 2022). Therefore, it should be explained why one of these two terms is preferred. First of all, diateichisma describes a division, while *kastron* designates a fortified settlement usually on a hilltop, distinct from the open lower town" (Foss 1991b, 1112). Creating a protected area became necessary with the Arab/Sassanid raids in most Byzantine cities. As it can be seen in the region, in cities such as Myra and Sidyma, a castle was built on the heights of the city. In the seventh and following centuries, life came to an end in some cities, while in others, the city itself "became a fortress" (Foss 1996, 27). Does this situation apply to Xanthos? Was a castle-

[54] For a detailed research on the subject, see Sokolicek 2009.

city created by constructing this wall, allowing the city to shrink and continue its life here?

One of the most important examples of the 'shrinking Byzantine city' phenomenon in the nearby geography can be seen in Patara. Its ‘medieval village’ dating to the 10th - 12th centuries, was surrounded by a totally new wall circuit to include the old port quarter, and many new structures were built inside, such as shops and a church which was significant in size for the period (Işık 2011, 99-100). Although it was not located on the hilltop in order not to lose the connection with the port, it was a newly created area where a completely fresh urban plan was defined. In Xanthos, on the other hand, neither in the seventh nor after the eleventh century such a city transformation can be observed.

The Lycian Acropolis has been excavated to a large extent, and the settlement scheme of this region is generally understood. In the area, which used to have rich houses, baths, and water-related places in the Byzantine period, there is no new building that can be dated after the 7th century AD, except for some additions and repairs on the fortification walls and redesigning activities of interior spaces of houses (Manière-Lévêque 2012, 63). Most importantly, there is no church in this area, which must have existed, especially if city life had continued there. Architectural data also shows that the Lycian Acropolis was not a shrunken fortress city but a temporary shelter[55], as life continued widely throughout the city (for the Middle Byzantine urban scheme, see Section 5.2.6 below).

The undeniable presence of the great wall that closes the acropolis is the most significant proof that the city faced severe danger. Once wealthy aristocratic private residences had been divided into smaller spaces and probably used as temporary shelters.

[55] Xanthos is not the only example in this regard, for more information on the subject and different examples, see Kirilov 2007, 11-15.

However, a new ‘medieval city of Xanthos’ was never created there. In particular, the absence of even a small chapel in the area shows the temporariness of the shelter.

Because of all these situations, the definition of *kastron*, which brings to mind the idea of a shrunken castle-city, was not found appropriate for Xanthos, and the wall that divided a part of the city in order to create a refuge area was called Diateichisma.

This solid and high wall, which some researchers compare with the Ankara city walls (Sodini 1998b, 62-63), was built with blocks taken from the theater. It consists of three pentagonal bastions and two thick body walls between them securely close the north of the acropolis, reducing the passageway only to a narrow door. The Lycian Acropolis of Xanthos and the Theater Hill of Miletos bear similarities in terms of urbanistic landscape, with the imposing walls rising above both theaters even though the latter was built at a later date (Niewöhner 2017b, 262-263).

5.2.5.2 Gates

In addition to two main gates, at least three posterns were identified in the city walls. Both the South Gate and the Northeast Gate were built in the Classical period, renovated in the Roman period with the addition of arches, and reworked once again in the Byzantine period. The South Gate was narrowed in order to facilitate defense. Although there is no trace of narrowing in the Northeast Gate itself, it was protected by a second wall line that gradually narrowed towards the front of the gate.

On the other hand, the Classical period Northwest Gate, identified only during excavations, was completely destroyed in the Byzantine period and replaced by a straight wall section. Besides the main gates, two posterns are preserved, one on the Lycian Acropolis and the other in the northwest of the West Basilica, both open towards the river.

There was probably another small gate to the southeast of the East Basilica (Raynaud 2009, 31), but its exact location cannot be determined today.

5.2.5.3 Streets

Contrary to the well-planned streets of the Roman period, most Byzantine streets were formed organically between the buildings (for a detailed examination of Late Antique streets, see Lavan 2020, 12-149). It is certain that the Roman main streets of Xanthos were still in use during the Late Antique period because urbanism developed in this direction. New structures were built to open directly to these streets, such as the East Basilica; as well as the Roman buildings facing the street were re-purposed as shops and workshops. Although not proven due to the lack of excavations, the shops behind the porticos of the *Decumanus Maximus* must have continued to be used, as some crosses were engraved as graffiti on the side and ground stones of the street (Figure 5.6).



Figure 5.6: Graffito cross on the side pavement blocks of the Decumanus Maximus (2017).

The *Cardo Maximus*, on the other hand, did not have porticos, so different solutions were found to line up shops along the street. In the north direction, the openings on the street-facing façade of the Civil Basilica were converted into shops (des Courtils and Laroche 2002, 301); and in the south, it can be determined that shops were built outside the Lower Agora. However, their numbers and features are unknown since these areas were never excavated.

Apart from the two intersecting Roman main streets, a newly discovered street should be added to the street axes of the Byzantine city. As a result of an extensive vegetation clearing work carried out in 2018, an approximately 150-meter-long street[56] was uncovered, passing through the city's residential area and heading to the Northeast Gate. Since the history of the gate dates back to the Classical period (des Courtils 1994, 294), there must have already been a street connecting from here to the city before, but no data is available about the former route, and what can be seen today is the main street surrounded by Byzantine dwellings and intersecting side streets. Similarly, the South Gate must have been connected to the center also during this period since there are buildings belonging to the Early Byzantine period nearby. Still, the modern road passing over it makes it impossible to conduct research here.

A 1.80-meter-wide stone-paved street runs through the Lycian Acropolis, which was transformed into a residential area with aristocratic residences in the Late Antique period. From the entrance of the acropolis, the street advances approximately 55 m in the south direction, then turns west at an angle of 90 degrees and extends towards the slope

[56] The pavement of the street is not visible due to the earth deposit, and its direction can only be understood from the walls of the surrounding structures. Today, it ends 50 m away from the square where the *Decumanus* and the *Cardo* intersect. More research is needed to understand the former road connection, which does not open directly to the square.

that overlooks the river. When the Diateichisma wall was built, a gate with the same width as the street was added, and access to the acropolis was limited to this entrance.

5.2.5.4 Religious Architecture

Xanthos exhibits rich Late Antique / Early Byzantine religious buildings with four large basilicas, a medium-sized church, five chapels, and a synagogue.

5.2.5.4.1 Churches

The dimensions of the four primary basilicas, which give clues about both the population and the monetary wealth of the city, vary between 46.70 m. and 52.20 m. –excluding the atriums–. In terms of plan type, two of them are of the 'classical' basilica type, one is a transept basilica, and one is a triconch basilica. Lycian cities usually have many churches; still, the fact that four basilicas of this size were built in a time span of a hundred years can be explained by the wealth of Xanthos, probably deriving from a prosperous trade life. Large basilicas with rich architectural features were also an indicator of prestige, and it was usual for wealthy settlements to have many churches, sometimes regardless of their populations. Andriake is a good example. The port of Myra, the metropolis of Lycia, was one of the most important harbors of the empire. Although there is no residential quarter here, there are a total of five churches, three of which as well as a synagogue were located in the central sector. The finds obtained during the excavations revealed that there was dense traffic of pilgrims who were using these structures in the port (Akyürek 2014, 55). Therefore, it can be said that churches with large dimensions and rich architectural decoration could have been built in important settlements even without a large resident population, but because of the wealth brought by commerce.

West Basilica

The West Basilica is the only transept basilica in Xanthos. It is not easy to answer why different plan types were preferred in Byzantine church architecture as it is based on various criteria. For example, although the transept basilicas were mainly used as the cathedral church of cities –such as at Tlos, Patara, Limyra and Olympos in Lycia– in terms of giving the building a more monumental appearance and creating various liturgical spaces by expanding the interior area (Ceylan and Erdoğan 2019, 353-354), this is not the case at Xanthos, as the West Basilica was not the cathedral of the city. It was built adjacent to the West Agora, one of the most important squares of Xanthos that has been the city's cultural center since the earliest periods. The apse of the church was built as piercing within the western wall of the agora, and the transept arms extended along the west stoa. Undoubtedly, creating a monumental façade dominating the square was an essential factor in selecting the architectural feature of the church[57]. Without the transept, the width of the church –20.70 m– would cover only 1/3 of the agora's west stoa, which is 60 m long. With the addition of the transept arms, the length of the east façade reached 33.90 m and to the 1/2 ratio of the agora. Thus, it was ensured that the church visually dominated the square. The building is probably the earliest of the monumental basilicas in Xanthos, and it was also emphasizing the power of Christianity in early times. However, it is clear that the church was not the cathedral since neither it has a *synthronon* nor additional large buildings that could be an episcopal residence. The church was built in a limited space without an atrium, which shows that it was highly desired to be constructed precisely in this area, probably to replace an earlier structure.

[57] It should be underlined that the church was designed to be mainly viewed from this main square of the city, thus the eastern façade must have been the dominant visual aspect. The East Basilica, on the other hand, is located to the west of the main street of the city and has not such appearance.

East Basilica

The East Basilica, the episcopal church of Xanthos, is located close to the Upper Agora, another essential square of the city. It can be seen once again that the site of this building was selected in accordance with the urban planning of the Roman period. The east and west sides of the city were connected by the *Decumanus Maximus* with two agorae at each end. In the Late Antique period, this plan was completed with the addition of two large churches close to both agorae. On the other hand, these churches were not built at the most optimal points topographically. The West Basilica had to be built without an atrium since it had to be fit between the agora and the city walls, and the terrain had to be leveled to build the East Basilica due to the southward inclination of the area (Raynaud 2009, 32). At the same time, the additional spaces possibly belonging to an episcopal palace had to be located on the terraces formed on the slope. The location of this church was very central like the West Basilica in the Late Antique period. It is situated opposite of the Upper Agora, the second important agora of the city, and the Roman Civil Basilica with its commercially re-purposed spaces. The church was built to the corner of the stone-paved square –probably replacing an unknown Roman structure as the spoliated construction material suggests– where the two main streets of the city, the most frequently used axes, intersect (on the selection of locations in the city centers where churches were built in Late Antiquity, see Ceylan and Karabacak 2021, 268-269).

Upper Acropolis Basilica

Another major basilica of the city was located on the Upper Acropolis, which has never been inhabited in the history of Xanthos. A few possible ideas can be put forward regarding the nature of the building, which is outside the urban fabric, and which is understood to be a pilgrimage center rather than a congregational church due to its

location and architectural features (Canbilen, Lebouteiller and Sodini 1996). The location of the pilgrimage churches is designated according to the reason of the visit, such as the tomb of an important saint, the place of a particular religious incident, or a sacred spring. For example, the Grave Church at Patara was founded on an important Apollon prophecy center of the pagan period and turned into a pilgrimage center because of the tombs of influential local saints (İşkan and Şahin 2019, 342). Since the building in Xanthos has not been excavated, it has not been clarified yet what kind of reason for visiting existed. The ensemble of annex spaces[58] to the east of the apse and the small triconch chapel can be interpreted as a reliquary chapel and also the porticos surrounding the church from outside created a visiting route (Sodini 2011).

The location of the basilica might be selected to include a saint's tomb, or a desire to replace a Roman temple that was formerly here (Canbilen, Lebouteiller and Sodini 1996). The church, which was built at the highest point of the city, added a monumental appearance to the topography and helped to create a Christianized landscape (on the selection of locations at high points where churches were built in Late Antiquity, see Jacobs 2013, 320). Vertical demonstration of power at Xanthos, a city famous for its pillar tomb monuments, has been an important tradition in every period of history. The earlier dynasts have deified themselves by erecting high monument tombs surrounding the agora in the Classical period (Hülden 2020, 165), and the last and most magnificent work of this practice was the Nereid Monument. This monument which was built on a very elevated platform can be viewed even from afar when approaching the city from the south due to its location. Even in the Roman period –although this is not a typical situation for the era– the city hosted a 'tower tomb' in the center next to the oldest examples. Likewise,

[58] Although the additional rooms around the church have led some researchers to identify the building as a monastery (Spratt and Forbes 1847, 14; Foss 1994, 11), this idea does not seem possible due to the absence of a surrounding wall and the fact that the annexes are not directly related to monastery spaces.

this prestigious church, which is located on the highest acropolis of the city like a crown in the landscape, also continues the tradition and emphasizes the power of Christianity. A similar positioning is also seen in the Byzantine basilica built on Doğucasarı Hill, an 'upper acropolis' at Patara that has never been inhabited (Kunze and Varkıvanç 2010, 38).

The location of the building also has a third –perhaps accidental– characteristic. The distance of the church to the other two basilicas of the city is exactly equal. In other words, the distance of the Upper Acropolis Basilica to both the West and the East Basilica is 325 m each –the distance between the West and East Basilicas is 375 m–. A nearly equilateral triangle emerges when the churches are joined with lines on the city plan[59].

The road from the city center to the Upper Acropolis used in the Late Antique period is not known today. The double staircase in the middle of the hill may have been part of a monumental arrangement on the way leading to the church.

Triconch Basilica

The 5th-century basilicas of Xanthos are dispersed within the urban texture. The East and West Basilicas, which are two main churches, are on both sides of the city and the Upper Acropolis Basilica, which was a pilgrimage center, is on the highest hill. However, a new church added to the city in the 6th century raises a question mark due to its location as the Triconch Basilica was built very close to the East Basilica. The two churches are located on opposite sides of the same street –the *Cardo Maximus*– only 70 m far from each other. It is also clear from the excavation results that the East Basilica was also

[59] This may be a pure coincidence or a deliberately planned feature of the urban pattern. Geometric features such as grid system, golden ratio, and symmetry were considered, especially in the urban planning of the Roman period. The particular choice for the location of certain structures was also planned in Early Byzantium, at least in important cities. For examples of various geometric projections on the Byzantine urban plan from the same centuries, see Düzgüner 2004, 130, 133-140. On the other hand, it should also be taken into account for Xanthos that the distances mentioned are air distances and that there is a huge elevation difference of 70 m between the Upper Acropolis and the lower level where the other two churches are located.

serving until the beginning of the 7th century AD (Raynaud 2009, 87); this means that both churches were in use within the same time span. 'What was the necessity for building two large-scale churches so close to each other?' is an interesting question in terms of the Byzantine urbanism of Xanthos.

In general, a triconch basilica is a hybrid plan type in Byzantine architecture that connects two different architectural elements. The triconch part serves as the *bema* of the church as it is added on the eastern end of a classical basilica instead of a standard apse. A triconch –also known as trichora/trichorum– is a square room expanded on three sides by semicircular *exedrae* –or conches– resembling a three-leaf clover shape. Predominantly it can be found as an independent, central-planned structure in Roman and Byzantine architectures with several different functions such as a palace *triclinium*, *nymphaeum*, mausoleum or *heroon* in the Roman period; and *martyrion*, baptistery, chapel, a church annex, or *triclinium* in an episcopal palace in the Byzantine period (Grossmann 1991). Its combination with the classical basilica and thus the creation of a hybrid new plan type can be traced back to Egypt, dated to the middle of the 5th century AD (Kinney 2016, 37). The plan type came to Asia Minor, and most especially to Lycia, via Palestine and Syria. The first example in the region was the Sion Monastery, which is well known from the written sources and was built by Nicholas of Sion in AD 530 (İşler 2010, 247). In the same century, the triconch basilica became almost a region-specific plan scheme and was the most used plan type after the classical basilica (Akyürek 2016, 525). The most important and large-scale triconch basilicas in the Lycian region are all monastery churches located on the outskirts of the city, Karabel –Asarcık West–, Alacahisar, Devekuyusu and Dikmen, all of which are dated to the 6th century (Aydın 2006, 43-44).

It is understood during the excavations that after a major earthquake in the 6th century, significant restoration work was conducted at the East Basilica, and it continued to be used (Raynaud 2009, 87). Obviously, the construction of the Triconch Basilica is not related to this situation. Probably in this century, the population increased, and the churches in the city were not enough for the community, so another basilica almost as big was built at such a close distance from the cathedral of the city. This church, which was built in the popular scheme of its time, is also the largest example of this plan type found in a city center in Lycia.

West Agora Church

The location of this funerary chapel, which is the fifth large church in the city, raises some question marks. Just south of the area where the church was built was a center of a death cult not only in the Classical period but also during the Hellenistic and Roman periods. The existence of a monumental Roman tomb in this area is also unusual for its period since intramural burials were not a common practice in Roman times. Was there an ongoing belief in the sanctity of the area, even if the religion had changed entirely? Alternatively, with the opposite belief, was the area intended to be consecrated by establishing churches there, since, in early Christianity, it was thought that pagan monuments could attract demons (Saradi-Mendelovici 1990, 56). Although these questions cannot be answered easily, this corner of the West Agora provides some clues about the Byzantine urbanism of Xanthos. Excavations in the church have shown that it was built in the 5th and destroyed in the 7th century AD. The surrounding area was used as a cemetery before and after the lifespan of the church (Buchet and Manière-Lévêque 2006a, 108). There was already a large-sized church, the West Basilica, in the close vicinity, but it is unknown when it was destroyed as there has been no excavation there. Did an earthquake in the 5th century AD destroy the West Basilica; and was this church

built very close to it? Or were they both used in the same period, as in the example of the East and the Triconch Basilicas? These questions can only be answered when the West Basilica is excavated, and the date of its destruction is precisely found.

Still, the fact that this church was built on the agora shows the change in the function of the square in the Late Antique period. Excavations have revealed shops belonging to various trade branches dating to the same period in the northern portico of the agora. It is understood that the Roman agora continued to be an important center in the Late Antique period and gained both commercial and religious meaning.

South Gate Chapel

Only superficial information can be obtained from the drawings made by Fellows about the chapel, which has not survived to the present day (British Museum, no. 2012,5034.30). However, it is notable for its location adjacent to a main gate in the city walls. The presence of a church right at the entrance of the city is almost like an expression of the Christian identity of Byzantine Xanthos. It should also be underlined that, for centuries, the South Gate was marking the beginning of the way leading to the Letoon sanctuary dedicated to the three most important pagan deities of Xanthos in antiquity, which were represented on the gate itself through bust reliefs. The presence of the chapel built adjacent to the gate can also be read as a Christian sanctification of this important urban landmark identified with pagan sanctity in the urban memory (similar practices are frequently seen in the early Christian world, for further information, see Ceylan and Karabacak 2021, 269).

West Agora Chapel

Three churches of very different sizes, located very close to each other in the West Agora, led researchers to perceive them as a religious complex (des Courtils 2003a, 55).

However, it is understood that this small chapel was built after the churches got out of use because, with its construction, an opening had been blocked that was previously located here and provided the connection between the two churches (Manière-Lévêque 2012, 97). It is seen that the church at the corner of the square was used as a cemetery both when it was used and after it was demolished. In this case, it would not be wrong to evaluate that this small building may have been built as a funeral chapel while the cemetery function of the area continued, probably during the "dark ages" between the 8th and the 11th centuries AD.

Upper Agora Chapel

This small chapel is located next to the Civil Basilica, which was converted into shops and workshops in the Byzantine period, and its apse was built directly on the *krepidoma* of the agora, which was also probably an open market area in the same time span. The church that was entirely surrounded by a commercial area was probably located here for the daily prayers of the merchants. The fact that graves were found during the excavations indicates that the chapel may have been used as a cemetery church in the later periods (Cavalier 2010, 192).

5.2.5.4.2 Episcopal Palace

Although the structures to the north of the East Basilica, the cathedral church of the city, were defined as episcopal complex by previous researchers, no excavations have been carried out here until today (Raynaud 2009, 31; Sodini 2010, 319). As Xanthos has a wide variety of monumental religious architecture and richly decorated churches, it is expected to have had an episcopal palace that was equally elaborate. This complex, which was probably more than a couple of spaces located next to the building, exhibited a scheme

spread over the terraces to the north. However, it does not seem possible to attribute any function to these structures without further research.

Some early-period publications defined the large residence on the Lycian Acropolis as an episcopal palace or a monastery, and they interpreted the *triclinium* of the residence as a church. However, as a result of the detailed excavations carried out, it has been revealed that this information is definitely not correct (Manière-Lévêque 2007a, 475). See Northeast House on the Lycian Acropolis below for further information about this structure.

5.2.5.4.3 Annex Buildings

Although the West Agora Church is small in size, there is a structure adjacent to its north side, almost the same size as the church and consisting of two rooms decorated with mosaics (Manière-Lévêque 2012, 92-95). A very similar annex is also located to the north of the West Basilica, adjacent to the transept arm. On the other hand, this building can be expected to have been a baptistery.

The issue of the baptistery is an underexplored situation in Xanthos. Apart from the tetraconch plan baptistery of the East Basilica, which was converted into a church in the Middle Byzantine periods, the baptisteries expected to be found next to the large-sized basilicas have not been identified so far. Moreover, the researchers stated that the baptistery of the East Basilica did not belong to the first construction period of the church but was added during the repair works after an earthquake, probably at the beginning of the 6th century AD (Raynaud 2009, 144). It is well-known that large-scale baptistery structures were needed in the early periods of Christianity due to the conversion of large groups of people to the religion. Therefore, it should be expected that there must have been a baptistery in Xanthos belonging to the 5th century AD.

5.2.5.4.4 Synagogue

Whether this building was really a synagogue or not, was discussed in the section on its architecture (see Section 4.17). The question here is, what does it mean to have a synagogue in the city? This situation can be explained in two different ways: either there must have been a local Jewish community living in the city, or this relatively small structure was mainly built for traveling merchants.

It is known from written sources that Jewish communities settled in the neighboring cities of Tlos and Patara even though no synagogue structures could be identified so far (Çevik et al. 2010, 344). A small community might be expected in Xanthos too, but no clear epigraphical proof has been found yet except for some clues of Jewish influence. Hebrew words and names such as Adonai, Sabaoth, Abraxas, Solomon, and Abraham are included in the text written on two *phylacteries* dating between the 3rd and 6th centuries AD found in Xanthos. In addition, the text also has expressions such as "I adjure you in Hebrew" and "I adjure you by the great God of Abraham" (Jordan and Kotansky 1996, 162, 168). However, these are not enough to prove that there were Jews settled in the city, because this interesting occult text is not just a mixture of Christian and Hebrew influences, it also contains Aramaic and Egyptian words as well as *voces magicae* –writing of some vocal sounds without a literal meaning used for spells–. However, since it is the only example with Hebrew references among the written texts of the Byzantine period in the city, it is deemed necessary to mention it here.

It can also be thought that the Xanthos synagogue was built for traveling merchants due to its close location to the city gate. It should be noted that most of the Diaspora synagogues were located not in the very center of the city, but they were on the road leading to the center, and they were close to the city gates (Weiss 2014, 155).

Considering these, the location of the building in Xanthos, close to the main street between the city center and the South Gate, is compatible with these general features.

Although the Jewish presence in many cities in Anatolia has been identified through various archaeological finds and epigraphic records, there are three structures that are certainly proven to be synagogues: at Sardis, Priene, and Andriake. The first and best-known example, the Sardis synagogue, belonging to a large local community, is also distinguished by its size. Although the first construction phase of the building dates back to the 3rd century AD, recent studies show that the structure was used as a synagogue through the 6th century AD based on numismatic evidence (Magness 2005, 468). This building is located at a very central point in the city. In Priene, the synagogue is located within the city's residential area surrounded by houses, so it must have been a structure that served the local congregation (Trebilco 1991, 55-56). The Andriake synagogue, dated to the 5th century AD, discovered in 2010, was the first certainly identified Jewish structure in the Lycian region (Çevik et al. 2010, 348-349). Although Andriake was not a city on its own, but the harbor quarter of Myra, it was an important settlement for Byzantium with its many churches and examples of civil architecture. The synagogue, which is located next to the *Horrea*, the most important structure of the port, and on an equal level with the other churches, must have served both a small local community here as well as the traveling merchants from the Mediterranean (Akyürek 2018, 41). Although the Andriake synagogue is larger in terms of dimensions [5.15 m x 6.90 m with an apse diameter of 3.90 m], it is architecturally the most similar example to the one in Xanthos with its southeast-oriented apsidal niche.

In recent years a second presumed synagogue was identified in Lycia. In Limyra, a structure was unearthed next to the eastern gate of the city, and based on some reused slabs with menorah depictions, the building was identified as a synagogue (Seyer and

Lotz 2013). On the other hand, since there is no clear evidence showing whether the building was really a synagogue or not, some researchers have suspicions regarding the identification of the building (Kraemer 2020, 304).

The issue of Jewish presence in Xanthos can only be understood with the excavations to be made around the building in the coming years and possible epigraphic finds.

5.2.5.5 Civic and Commercial Buildings

It is seen that the Late Antique Xanthos had a lively trade life that spread to every part of the city. Important monumental structures and squares dated to the Classical and Roman periods were re-purposed due to their central locations and included in the commercial life of the city. Glass, metal, wine, and olive oil are the most important production and trade branches that can be identified thanks to various archaeological finds.

5.2.5.5.1 Agorae and Monuments

There are three Roman agorae in the city that were used during the Byzantine period even though their functions had changed, the so-called West, Upper, and Lower Agora.

The West Agora, Rome's civic space surrounded by magnificent monuments located in the heart of the city center, was no longer a piazza and evolved to different functions. The former *andron* spaces to the north of the agora were completely re-purposed and turned into shops and workshops, some of which were identified during the excavations. Also, large communal fountains were built to meet the city's water needs. Two churches were constructed on the west and southwest of the agora. Thus, the square, which continued its life as both a religious and commercial center, also kept its surrounding monuments from antiquity. Structures such as the Harpy Monument, the

Inscribed Pillar, the Sarcophagus Pillar, and the House-Type Tomb, which are still standing today, adorned the Byzantine agora as in the previous periods. Were these monuments preserved due to respect for the ancestors and the glorious history of the city?

It is important to understand which early monuments were preserved during the Byzantine period. One of the most important and iconic tombs of Xanthos is undoubtedly the Harpy Monument. The monument remained in the heart of the city for 23 centuries until Fellows brought its reliefs to the British Museum. It seems that the Christians were not disturbed by these sculptures of the pagan period and perhaps even respected the ancient kings of their city depicted there. Even more interestingly, a Stylite monk lived inside the burial chamber of this monument and carved "religious paintings and monograms" on the backside of the blocks[60] (Fellows 1852, 439). It is understood that the Nereid Monument was also still standing in the Early Byzantine period despite its purely pagan appearance in the form of an Ionic temple, since blocks of the monument, which was subsequently destroyed by an earthquake, were found in the upper elevations of the structures belonging to the Byzantine workshop/residential area on the slope just below. The only missing parts that have never been found are the heads of the statues, and Fellows explains this with an iconoclastic approach (Fellows 1852, 480, 504). The fact that some monuments were deliberately preserved while three of them on the Lycian Acropolis were destroyed on purpose must be explained by the character of the monuments. Some researchers claim that the acropolis monuments –Structures F, G, and H (Figure 5.7)– were not tombs but cultic edifices, and that would explain why they were demolished by early Christians who knew their original function, and their reliefs were placed on the city walls after the demolition (Cavalier 2017, 269; Keen 1992, 55-56).

[60] The British Museum was contacted about this issue, and after an examination it was reported that, there were indeed faint traces of paint, and an expert on the subject would investigate them (personal communication, March 9, 2022).

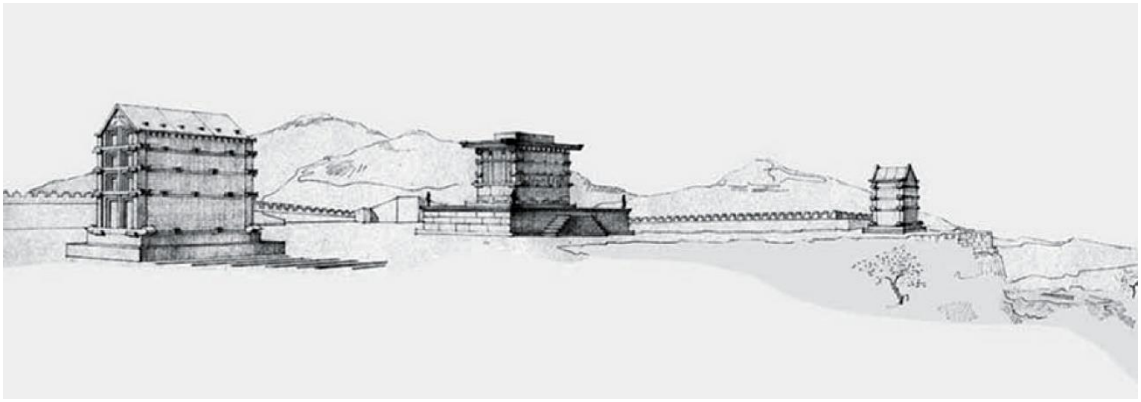


Figure 5.7: Structures F, G, and H on the Lycian Acropolis (Cavalier 2017, 271, fig.24.6).

The reason why many of the monuments were preserved was perhaps because they were “not-so-pagan-in-character”. Since the themes that were traditionally depicted in Xanthos monuments are mostly war and hunting scenes, these were probably seen as objects of pride to connect with past heroism, because they are true narratives of real events rather than mythology (Işık 2020, 2017). Although the Byzantine walls surrounding the entire city were mainly constructed with reused blocks from various buildings, no decorative elements were placed in the walls in an ornamental manner. Only the friezes of the aforementioned structures with cultic character were placed on the southern walls of the Lycian Acropolis and later found by Fellows (Demargne and Metzger 1967, 1407). After the buildings were dismantled and their religious function was abolished, their decorative elements –friezes with roosters, birds, a boar hunt and a procession scene with horses, all of which are in the British Museum now– continued to be exhibited in the city walls.

From all this, it is seen that only the structures with pagan cult functions were destroyed, but other monuments were not touched. In fact, new structures were built close to them –the West Agora Church was built next to the Harpy Monument, shops next to

the Inscribed Pillar, and houses under the Nereid Monument– showing that these historical landmarks were culturally appreciated and protected as the commemoration of the past (on the practice of preservation of ancient artifacts in the Late Antique period, see Lavan 2011). This has been a very distinctive characteristic in terms of the urbanism of Xanthos. The fact that the city protected its historical values in every period and always conserved them while designing, renewing, changing, and transforming itself has also shaped urbanism. This conservative attitude is one of the most striking characteristics of the city. Xanthos is not the only example where monuments from classical antiquity have been preserved. A similar approach can be observed in many cities, such as Miletos (Niewöhner 2017b, 257). In general, Byzantine cities had different approaches towards pagan monuments and these also changed from time to time (for a review on the subject, see Saradi-Mendelovici 1990). What is striking in the case of Xanthos is the possibility that it may have emerged as a result of a distinct connection with the past or an urban identity. The passage from the Iliad commemorating Lycian warriors in a 5th-century AD mosaic inscription also proves how much the city was still connected to its past even though religion and culture have changed.

The Upper Agora (Figure 5.8) was the second important square of the city and continued to be used during the Byzantine period. The *Decumanus Maximus* (Figure 5.8, no: 2) passes from the north of the agora; and there are shops (Figure 5.8, no: 4) between the south portico of the street (Figure 5.8, no: 3) and the northern portico of the agora. Excavations in these areas unearthed Hellenistic buildings before the area became an agora in the Roman period. While there must be finds from the Byzantine period in this area, they have not been published. In the northeast corner of this row of shops, a mosaic with the inscription mentioned in the previous paragraph was found on the floor of a hall (Figure 5.8, no: 5) adjacent to the Civil Basilica.

Another structure with a mosaic floor was also added to the western portico (Figure 5.8, no: 6). A person playing a water organ can be seen, accompanied by a second person playing a cornu or salpinx, and only the head of a third person is visible in this heavily damaged mosaic which was dated to the 5th century AD (Cavalier 2010, 188).

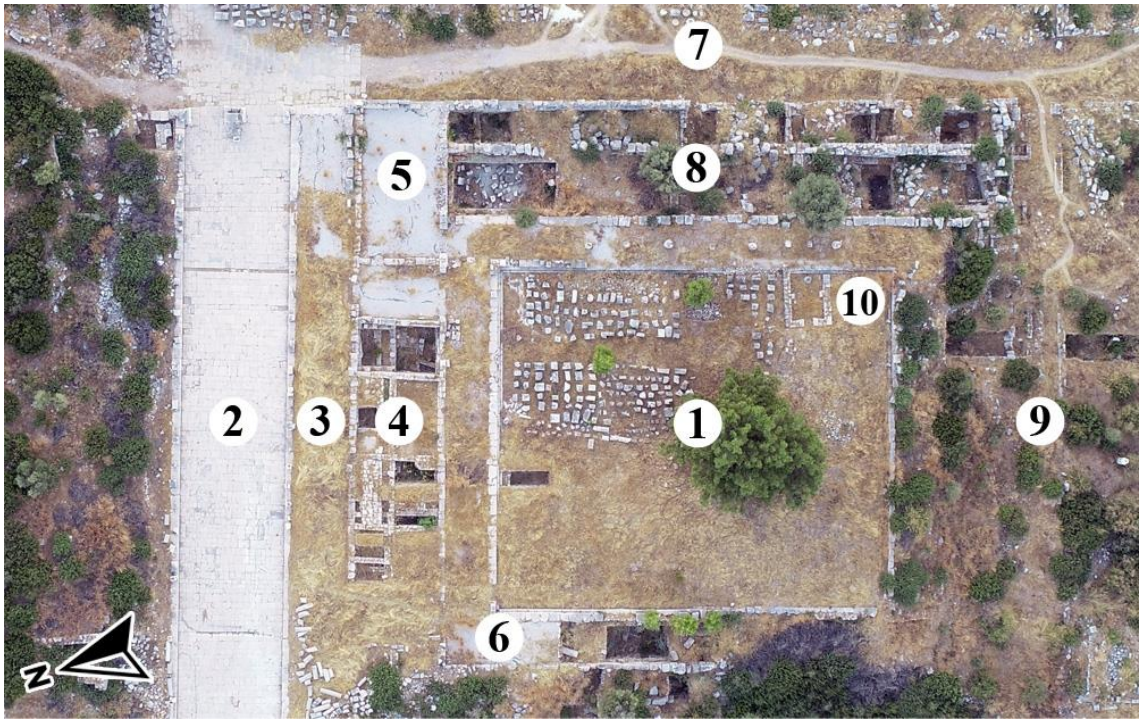


Figure 5.8: Aerial view of the area around the Upper Agora: 1- Upper Agora; 2- The Decumanus Maximus; 3- The south portico of the main street; 4- Shops; 5- Hall with the mosaic floor with inscriptions; 6- Hall with the mosaic floor with musicians; 7- The Cardo Maximus; 8- Civil Basilica; 9- The Decumanus Secundus; 10- Upper Agora Chapel (Xanthos Excavation Archive, 2019).

To the east, the Roman Civil Basilica (Figure 5.8, no: 8), located between the agora and the *Cardo Maximus* (Figure 5.8, no: 7), was re-purposed in the Late Antique period by building shops and workshops inside. There was a row of cisterns on the lower floor of this building with shops on its exterior, the upper floor of which overlooked the agora. Glass and metal findings show some of the trade branches here.

The shops continue in rows on the lower level adjacent to the south of the agora. A street passes between the Lower and Upper agoras, which can be called the *Decumanus Secundus* (Figure 5.8, no: 9) due to its regularly parallel position to the *Decumanus Maximus*, on which the shops were lined at the north side. Thus, it is seen that the agora is entirely surrounded by commercial buildings from the north, east, and south. Apart from these, a small chapel was constructed directly on the *krepidoma* of the eastern portico, probably for the merchants (Figure 5.8, no: 10). The middle square of the agora (Figure 5.8, no: 1), where no other buildings were situated, possibly must have functioned as an open market area.

Although the Lower Agora was built in the Roman period like the other agorae of the city, almost nothing has survived from its original structure, and a small part of its portico could only be detected by soundings. In the center of its square, the Triconch Basilica was built in the 6th century. After the church got out of use, the area was used as a cemetery, and the atrium was used as a workshop. It is thought that the Roman period spolia used in the church was obtained from the agora. On the eastern side, some Byzantine shops were identified leaning against the portico of the agora from the outside (Cavalier 2005, 89, fn.1).

In summary, it can be said that the agoras, which were one of the main public urban areas, did not disappear completely during the Late Antique period, but they lost their monumental appearance by being surrounded by commercial and religious buildings. Most importantly, they gained a Christian character due to the large basilicas built around and even inside them. Today, the West Agora, one of the most important urban centers of Xanthos, has a Greco-Roman aspect with Classical tomb monuments and the Roman theater and baths surrounding it. On the other hand, in the 6th century AD the agora must have looked different with the monumental West Basilica and its wide transept

adjacent to the piazza on the west side, accompanied by the West Agora Church built on the corner of the south stoa. Even though these structures were destroyed up to the foundation level does not eliminate their existence, just their ‘presence’ in terms of visibility. Therefore, the Christian appearance of the urban landscape once provided by their three-dimensional volumes has changed dramatically.

A similar situation applies to the Upper Agora. The East Basilica, located across the street to the east, symbolizes the new architectural language of the new faith, and contrasts with the Civil Basilica, which was a Roman administrative structure. Very close to these structures, the Triconch Basilica was built in the middle of the Lower Agora. This structure, with its large dimensions, once rose behind the Nereid Monument, which was only 80 m south of it and was probably still standing in the 6th century. When the Triconch Basilica and the East Basilica, which is only 70 m away from it, are considered together, it can be seen that this area, which forms the core of the eastern quarter of the city, has a Christian character represented in the architectural presence.

Finally, the Christianized landscape of Xanthos, which was dominated by these large and voluminous structures, was also crowned with the Upper Acropolis Basilica at the highest hill of the city.

5.2.5.5.2 Theatre

Architecturally, there is no trace of any Byzantine period reconstruction within the theater except for some repaired walls outside in front of the eastern *parados*. With the spread of Christianity, theaters gradually lost their public functions. While highlighting the Christian values, the early bishops criticized the culture of antiquity and opposed the events such as theater, fights, and sports games, as well as the bathhouses, which they said were against moral values. However, the change did not happen all at once but took

place gradually until the 6th century as the social structure changed over time (Cameron 2012, 159-165). Recent research shows that theater/stadium buildings were repaired and still used in some cities of Asia Minor, especially in the 4th and 5th centuries AD (Roueché 2007, 60). The latest excavations carried out within the orchestra of the Xanthos theater also unearthed ceramic finds that can be dated to the 6th century AD (Dönmez 2022, 183). It is understood that the Xanthos theater might have functioned until it was used as a stone quarry during the construction of the Diateichisma against the Arabian raids.

5.2.5.5.3 Commerce/Shops/Workshops

The spread of commercial zones in the plan of Xanthos provides important data in terms of urbanism. Traces of a lively commercial life can be seen in almost every part of the city, especially around the Roman agoras. Although individual ateliers have been identified around the city walls as well (see Section 4.29 Workshops), there are distinctly gathered commercial areas at four points in the city. These are the northern part of the West Agora, the eastern part of the East Agora, the interior and surroundings of the Lycian Structure, and the area called the Southeastern Sector. Wine, olive oil, metal, and glass production in these areas are the ones that could be detected among the production and trade branches of the city. Beyond this, other productions that have not yet been found should also be expected. For example, even though a local pottery workshop has not yet been identified architecturally in Xanthos, archaeological data has helped identify local wares belonging to the city (Pellegrino 2007a, 662). In addition to production, retail selling can also be traced. The wine shop, which was found in the West Agora, brought to light one of the most complete archaeological contexts on the subject. Besides the spaces where the grapes were crushed, and wine was stored, a retail shop was also

unearthed with its complete interior arrangement (Varkıvanç 2015b). The area around the *Decumanus Maximus* must have continued to be used for commerce, since the remains of some Byzantine shops built to the northern side can be identified. All these show that the principal axes of the city, which were formed during the Roman period, were included in a dense trade network and that the earliest Classical period buildings of the city were also used due to their central location.

It is understood that Xanthos owed its wealth to trade. The cities of the Xanthos valley formed a tradeline from south to north including Patara, Xanthos, Sidyma, Pinara, and Tlos. The geographical location of Xanthos provided a great advantage. As well as being close to Patara, an important harbor opening to the Mediterranean world, its sheltered position offered better protection from attacks than a port city. The trade connections of Xanthos with distant regions in every period are also proven by the excavation findings. In the Hellenistic period, the city had a trade relationship with Egypt (des Courtils 2017, 59), and in the Byzantine period, especially in the 6th and 7th centuries AD, with Cyprus (Pellegrino 2007a, 662). Some researchers attribute the prosperity of Xanthos in the Byzantine period to the trade opportunities offered by its particular location, which has always been reachable by waterway (Écochard et al. 2015). The alluvium carried by the river also helped to provide fertile land for agricultural activities in the valley. Thanks to all these, Xanthos was able to have a rich architectural catalog, from four large basilicas to wealthy aristocratic residences.

5.2.5.6 Residential Architecture

Three residential areas have been identified so far in Xanthos. The first is the Lycian Acropolis, where large and luxurious aristocratic residences were built in the Late Antique period. This area was already a neighborhood of upper-class houses in the Roman

period, as it became apparent during the excavations (Manière-Lévêque 2012, 22-32). Unfortunately, it is not possible to understand the exact layout of the acropolis today since some of the structures were destroyed without documentation during the excavations in the 1950s. Only two houses have been documented and published. Although the entrance of another house belonging to the same period was found to the west of the Northeast House on the Lycian Acropolis and on the opposite side of the street, it was stated that it was destroyed during the excavations in the 1950s (des Courtils and Laroche 2002, 306, fn.25).

The largest residential area of the city is spread over almost all of the southern slope of the Upper Acropolis hill of Xanthos. Apart from the houses built on both sides of the main street, there are also dwellings situated closer to the top of the hill. No excavation work has been carried out in these areas so far, and their documentation was only possible after a vegetation-clearing campaign in 2018. Although it is difficult to understand the individual functions of the buildings or to evaluate their features in detail, it is possible to see how the living quarters took shape within the urban texture.

Three side streets were identified intersecting the main street, extending from the center towards the Northeast Gate. The main street was built straight in a particular direction, but the side streets were created more organically following the curves of the terrain. Therefore, the intersecting corners do not have perpendicular angles. Buildings extended side by side on both sides of the main street and towards the interiors of the side streets. However, a regular grid plan cannot be seen. Most of the buildings are small in size and built with a plan suitable for simple housing, mostly consisting of a single space. A few large buildings in the area are two-storied and have more than one room.

A third area is the foot of the hill on which the Nereid Monument stands. Due to the large cyclopean blocks that fell from the podium of the monument, no excavation could be conducted, and today the remains could not be thoroughly examined because of the earth deposit and dense vegetation. The Byzantine remains on the slope were identified as houses by Fellows during his excavations in the area in order to acquire the pieces of the monument.

Apart from these three areas, the Southeast Sector of the city was also considered a Byzantine residential area by previous researchers (des Courtils and Cavalier 2001, 169). During recent excavations, the area was identified as both a commercial and residential area (Varkıvanç 2018b, 924).

5.2.5.6.1 Northeast House on the Lycian Acropolis

Among the Byzantine structures of Xanthos, the best-researched and best-published one is the Northeast House on the Lycian Acropolis which occupies the northeastern quarter of the Lycian Acropolis. The house plan with a peristyle courtyard appeared in the 5th century BC and became the favorite architectural type of the wealthy Roman *domus* in the East Mediterranean. It continued to be used as the plan of the Late Antique aristocratic residences (Vicente 2014, 1013). The Northeast House on the Lycian Acropolis is one of the best examples of civil architecture of its period, reflecting the wealth and the delicate taste of the owner from its architecture to its decoration. A large peristyle courtyard surrounded by rooms, having a pool in the middle with a *nymphaeum* with niches on one side, and a *triclinium* with an apse reflect the popular plan of the period also can be found in the cities such as Antioch, Perge, Ephesos, Aphrodisias, and Pergamon (Manière-Lévêque 2007a, 493). The closest counterpart of the house in the Lycian geography is the Episcopal Palace of Olympos (Öztaşkın 2013). Therefore, early researchers also

interpreted that this house in Xanthos could be an episcopal palace or a monastery. One of the most important issues that caused this confusion is that the *triclinium* has an apsidal end, though it was oriented to the south. With the completion of the excavations, it was fully revealed that the building was a civil residence.

This area reflects a problematic issue related to the early excavations in Xanthos. As the later researchers also testified, many structures in this region were destroyed without documentation, especially in the 1950s. For example, an area of 1650 m2 in the south wing of this residence covered with mosaics was destroyed in 1956 (Manière-Lévêque 2007a, 477, fn.8); furthermore, another house on the west side across the street suffered the same fate (des Courtils and Laroche 2002, 306, fn.25). Unfortunately, removing the Byzantine architectural remains was a continued practice even in recent years to reveal the Classical period dynast palace in the lower layers (see Section 4.23 Destroyed Baths on the Lycian Acropolis).

Between the end of the 6th century and the 7th century AD, the residence underwent several alterations. Luxurious aristocratic houses began to gradually change their appearances, as can be observed in various parts of Asia Minor (for an in-depth study on the topic, see Uytterhoeven 2019). Smaller spaces were obtained by dividing the rooms with walls, and some sections were converted into animal barns (Manière-Lévêque 2012, 20).

5.2.5.6.2 House of Meleager and Atalanta

Some sections of the house were destroyed in the early years of the excavation after the discovered figurative floor mosaics were transported to the Antalya Museum in 1953. Even though the existing parts have been researched and published, it is no longer possible to fully understand the plan of the house (Manière-Lévêque 2012, 62). The

peristyle house with a courtyard probably was not as large as the Northeast house, but it was richly decorated.

Different themes are seen together in floor mosaics. It should be a deliberate preference of the owner to choose scenes that are not related to each other and brought together in the same room. The most important panels are the hunting scene of Meleager and the immersion of Achilles in Styx by his mother Thetis. It is well known from the Grand Palace mosaics of Constantinople, the Yakto mosaic in the Hatay museum, and countless other examples; hunting scenes are a popular theme in the Late Antique civil architecture. On the other hand, choosing a Homeric hero like Achilles may require a particular interpretation in Xanthos. As mentioned before, the inscription of the mosaic found in the Civil Basilica and dated to the same period as this house, 5th century AD, includes a passage from Homer's Iliad praising the Xanthians and honors one of the citizens of the city, Tranikios, a governor of Lycia (Cavalier 2010, 193). This residence and the Northeast House on the Lycian Acropolis obviously must have belonged to the most prominent people of Xanthos. Although it is not possible to know whether the house belonged to the governor or not, at least it is possible to interpret that the aristocracy of the era was proud of the heroic connections with the past of their city and displayed this by reflecting on the mosaic art.

5.2.5.7 Water-Related Structures

A building located in the southeast of the Lycian Acropolis draws attention with its deep pool and niches arranged in such a way that water can flow through them. Although it is not known whether the building directly connects with the House of Meleager and Atalanta, the staircase between the two areas may indicate this relationship. Therefore, it seems to be a private space rather than a structure for public usage. The area was named

as *nymphaeum* by Manière-Lévêque without a detailed explanation (Manière-Lévêque 2012, 62, fig.77). On the other hand, the two-level depth of the pool suggests that it can have been functional rather than having only used for ornamental purposes like the *nymphaeum* in the courtyard of the Northeast House on the Lycian Acropolis. It can be thought that this place might have been a pool for cooling in the summer. The eastern side of the pool has never been excavated, and it is under such a high earth deposit that it is impossible to understand the features and function of the space entirely. If there is a possibility that there was a bath complex on the eastern side, this space may have been the cold pool of the bathhouse. However, since there is another private bath 40 m northeast of the area [Destroyed Baths] and the Baths of Leda 45 m east of the area, it is doubtful that there were so many baths in the same area[61]. The possible solution to this problem could be as follows: this space could belong to the House of Meleager and Atalanta as a cold pool, the Destroyed Baths could have been the private baths of the Northeast House on the Lycian Acropolis, while the Baths of Leda could have a public function due to its location.

The water channels ending directly above the arches show that the water came from the acropolis and supplied the pool by flowing within these niches. It is understood from the beam holes on the north wall that the structure had wooden roofing. Column pieces inside the area may also point to a portico that may have partially covered this court to create a canopy area.

It is known that the public baths, which were an essential part of Roman everyday culture, were gradually erased from urban life with Christianity, mainly after the 6th century AD (Smith 2007, 102). In Late Antiquity, there were also private baths of palaces

[61] It is certain that the three structures were not connected with each other since they were built at different elevation levels and also separated by city walls.

or aristocratic houses. Since none of the baths in Xanthos have been explored in detail so far, there is no data about when the two known public bathhouses of the Roman period – the large bath to the east of the West Agora and the small bath to the west of the South Gate outside the city walls– went out of use.

The only bathhouse that was partially researched is the Baths of Leda, of which the *terminus post quem* is AD 480. Although it was defined as a private bath by the researchers (Manière-Lévêque 2012, 85), the fact that it is located outside the Lycian Acropolis walls and not in connection with any other buildings, as well as its dimensions indicate that it probably had a public use.

The bath just south of the Northeast Gate was only discovered as a result of illegal excavations, and there is no data regarding its period and architectural features. However, as can be understood from the surrounding structures, this building was likely a private bath due to its size (des Courtils and Cavalier 2001, 171; des Courtils, Cavalier and Lemaître 2015, 107).

The water need of Xanthos was provided from the east of the city by a waterway that was built during the Roman period (Burdy and Lebouteiller 1998). This system probably continued to be used in the Byzantine period because most parts of the city had no cisterns, probably due to the regular water supply. Although the exact location of this waterline within the city cannot be determined, it is possible to have some ideas by looking at the urban plan. First of all, the distribution of cisterns in the city, especially on the Upper Acropolis hill, gives a clue about the possible line of the waterway. After a certain height of the hill, the buildings have cisterns; thus, the line must have passed below the level where these cisterns were built.

Water was coming from the east side, from the Akdağlar, and was probably entering the city around the Northeast Gate. The private bath near the gate must have been one of the first structures fed from this line; then, the line passing through the residential area reached the Lycian Structure. Excavations carried out in the Lycian Structure revealed a water system (Varkıvanç 2013, 64). From here, the water was directed to supply the large cisterns in the basement of the Civil Basilica. A fountain adjacent to the south of the Civil Basilica made the water from the cisterns available for public use (Cavalier 2012, 20). On the other hand, there is a height difference of about 15 m between the Lycian Structure and the Civil Basilica, and the *Decumanus Maximus* also passed by. The double-arched Dipylon, located between the two buildings and passing over the street, probably also served as an aqueduct. The Roman fountain located in the immediate vicinity shows a continuous water supply in the region. The water collected in the large reservoir must have been distributed to various parts of the city through terracotta pipes. Excavations carried out in various points of the city revealed some of the waterpipe systems. For example, water was conveyed to the baptistery of the East Basilica by pipes from the north (Raynaud 2009, 110, fig.124).

It was understood that the water need of the western side of the city was provided in a similar way as can be seen through the West Agora excavations that a reservoir system was built to supply water to the workshops and the large communal fountain there. Terracotta pipes were unearthed heading to the Lycian Acropolis even though cisterns were built. For example, the building adjacent to the north of Diateichisma has a cistern and overflow pool (Varkıvanç 2014, 69-70). The large Northeast House on the Lycian Acropolis in the northeast corner of the acropolis also has cisterns both under the small inner courtyard and under the pool of the large courtyard, as well as two water reservoirs paved with marble-revetment at the place where the kitchens were located.

However, the most important water structure on the Lycian Acropolis is undoubtedly the large cistern carved into the bedrock located at the point where the street turns at a 90 degrees angle. The excavations showed that the cistern was built during the Byzantine period (Demargne and Metzger 1967, 1407).

5.2.6 Middle Byzantine Period (11th century AD - 13th century AD)

Although the Notitia records show the opposite, it is generally thought that Xanthos was abandoned until the 11th century due to the scarcity of archaeological data after the 8th century (des Courtils 2003a, 95). At the beginning of the 11th century, various parts of the city were resettled again. Only two of these structures have been the subject of research and were dated by the excavators. These are the baptistery of the East Basilica, which was transformed into a church by various alterations at the beginning of the 11th century; and the cemetery church built on the *Decumanus Maximus* in the 12th century, which was understood to have been covered with an approximately 0.5 m layer of soil at that time.

In the same century, a core settlement called the “Medieval City” was created in the old port of Patara. This area was surrounded by a new circuit of walls, and a considerably large church for this period was built (Işık 2011, 99-100). A similar situation can be seen in the medieval “South Castle” of Olympos, where there is a very large church in the area enclosed by the walls (Parman and Olcay-Uçkan 2006, 589). In Xanthos, on the other hand, this type of condensed layout cannot be seen, and the settlement spread over the surface of the city, as in the early periods. Since the Lycian Acropolis had already been transformed into a shelter with the construction of the Diateichisma in the 7th century AD, it can be expected to be a *kastron* type settlement, but apart from a few

fortification repairs and continued domestic life, no new structures were built in this period, such as a church.

5.2.6.1 Fortifications of the Lycian Acropolis

There are two structures on the Lycian Acropolis that can be dated to the Middle Byzantine period based on the wall construction technique.

The first structure is a tower-like high construction built on the middle bastion of the Diateichisma, probably for observation and protection of the nearby gate providing access to the Lycian Acropolis.

The second structure is a small fortress (Figure 5.9) built at the southwestern end of the Acropolis overlooking the river, where two Classical period monuments, called Structures G and H, were once located. In the immediate vicinity of these, there is also an excavated but unpublished peristyle house dating to the Roman period (Manière-Lévêque 2012, 19, fig.9). In the Middle Byzantine period, a north-south-oriented wall was built to enclose the western extremity of the acropolis where these three structures were located, partially using the walls of the Structure G and the early fortification walls (Demargne 1952, 165). Just as the Diateichisma secured the acropolis from the north and created a protected area inside, this structure separated the ledge of the acropolis in the east, creating a small castle-like protected area. The structure consists of three bastions on the east side and one on the south side, connected by walls. The original height of these irregular rectangular bastions is unknown. The early fortification wall of the acropolis, just southeast of this place, also underwent a major restoration in the same period (Figure 4.46). In addition, it is seen that the Late Antique residences continued to be used with some simple architectural changes (Manière-Lévêque 2012, 63). Ceramic finds also prove that this area was used until the 13th century (Pellegrino 2002, 249). All

this shows that the Lycian Acropolis, where luxury residences were located in the Late Antique period, continued to be used in the Middle Byzantine period as well.



Figure 5.9: Aerial view of the small Middle Byzantine castle on the Lycian Acropolis – from the N– (Xanthos Excavation Archive, 2019).

5.2.6.2 Streets

The *Decumanus Maximus* had an essential role among the urban axes during the Roman and Late Antique periods connecting the two sides of the city. The cemetery church, which was built on the street in the 12th century, shows that the street had been covered with about 0.5 m of soil at this date. On the other hand, it is understood from the spread of the buildings to the city in the Middle Byzantine period that both sides continued to be used. In this case, even though the street was buried, there must still be a road connection since this axis is the only possible passage topographically. Probably a dirt road was

passing from the south of the church and cemetery, following the same route as today's visitor path.

The street leading from the city center to the Northeast Gate is also expected to have been used in this period, as residential settlements continued on the hill, as in the Late Antique period (see Houses below).

5.2.6.3 Churches

In Medieval Lycia, there was neither the population nor the economic power to repair the great basilicas damaged by earthquakes and fires, and small-sized churches were built (Akyürek 2016, 526). During the resettlement period of Xanthos at the beginning of the 11th century, small chapels with dimensions ranging from 7.30 m to 12.60 m were built, mainly around the former churches.

5.2.6.3.1 Tetraconch Church

The 6th-century baptistery of the East Basilica in the tetraconch plan was converted into a church at the beginning of the 11th century. During this work, the eastern conch of the building was enlarged and turned into an apse, and a narthex was built on the west of the building decorated with frescoes. Although the frescoes have been preserved in poor condition, some saints could be identified. The baptismal pool in the middle was filled, a *templon* was added, and the floors were paved with *opus sectile* mosaics. Access to the building was provided from the north portico of the atrium and the north aisle of the East Basilica, which was destroyed to a great extent, and its naos was already used as a cemetery area. Since the basilica was the cathedral church of the city, it must have been the most important church of the city during the Middle Byzantine period as well. In addition, 26 m in the north direction, a tower was built in the same line as the church.

5.2.6.3.2 Decumanus Chapel

The location of this cemetery church shows that the Roman main streets, which were still in use in the Late Antique period, were entirely buried in the Middle Byzantine era. The church was built in the 12th century directly in the middle of the former main street and on the 0.50 m earth deposit (des Courtils 2011a, 47).

5.2.6.3.3 Lower Agora Chapel

A small chapel was built in the northwest corner of the Lower Agora and very close to the Triconch Basilica. In the field studies carried out in the early basilica in 2019, it was seen that the naos part was used as a cemetery area and the atrium part as workshops after it was destroyed (Varkıvanç 2020, 68). This building at a 15 m distance to the atrium of the main church must have been built in the Middle Byzantine period probably as a cemetery church for the burials in the area.

5.2.6.3.4 Upper Acropolis Basilica Naos Chapel

A small single-nave chapel was built in the naos of the Upper Acropolis Basilica. In the article about the church, it was dated to the Middle Byzantine period without giving details, and it is stated that it was built with spolia material (Canbilen, Lebouteiller and Sodini 1996, 212). During our field studies, the structure could not be examined clearly due to the earth and rubble deposit and dense vegetation completely covering it. The building is the only example of a church-within-a-church practice in Xanthos (Erdoğan and Ceylan 2019, 666), and since the early basilica was an important pilgrimage center in the 6th century AD, the continuation of the sanctity of the place must have been desired.

5.2.6.4 Workshops in the West Agora

During recent years' excavations in the northern part of the West Agora, workshops dating to the Middle Byzantine period have been unearthed at very high levels. The function of one of them was determined as a metal workshop (Varkıvanç 2017, 54), and it was built as a semi-open space over the Early Byzantine layers (Varkıvanç 2018a, 70). A wide channel and a cistern next to it met the water requirement of the area built just to the west of the shops (Varkıvanç 2016, 65-66). Interestingly, the commercial area still continued in the West Agora, while traces of life from the Middle Byzantine Xanthos are mostly found in the eastern part of the city. Even though earlier researchers expected that there should be a church in this area, based on architectural sculpture findings (des Courtils 2010b, 48), it has not been found architecturally yet.

5.2.6.5 Houses

Some houses in the residential area that spread over the hill of the Upper Acropolis, which was first explored in 2018, can be dated to the Middle Byzantine period. For the descriptions, see Structures 12, 13, 15, and 16 under the title of Residential Area and the ‘Late Period Building’ under the title of Building with Windows. It was previously stated that the area had been used with the same function since Roman times.

5.2.6.6 Building with Chimneys

One of the most complicated structures in Xanthos is the Building with Chimneys. Regardless of the period in which this structure was built, it is neither a common type of building nor easy to identify its original function. However, in architecture, local requirements can produce untypical structures. One of the buildings with a similar chimney arrangement in the region is located in Tlos. This very elongated rectangular

structure measuring 10 m x 56 m also has a rather unusual plan (Figure 5.10). The interior walls of the building have no other features than the existence of a hearth with a chimney flanked by two niches on both sides. Fortunately, this structure was able to be identified thanks to the finds –many horseshoes– and it was understood that it was a horse stable.

Another interesting example of a structure with a hearth and chimney is from Gökçeada. Historical laundry houses with fireplaces have an architectural form typical to this island and were built in the Rum villages in the 19th century. The laundry house of Dereköy, the largest among them, has nine fireplaces side by side (Figure 5.11). This unusual architecture, which is rare to find in other places, might be an interesting example showing how architecture can be shaped for different needs. The mystery of the structure in Xanthos will be understood maybe after more detailed excavation work.



Figure 5.10: The horse barn at Tlos –from the E– (2020).



Figure 5.11: Historical laundry house at Dereköy, Gökçeada (2020).

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION

Although the archaeological data in Xanthos goes back to the Archaic age, the oldest era in which we can examine urbanism is the Classical –dynastic– period. After the conquest of the city by the Persians, which became famous through the narratives of classical historians, Xanthos was a Lycian city ruled by a powerful dynastic family that dominated a vast region. The core of the settlement, the Lycian Acropolis, formed an inner castle protected by a fortification system of its own and high cliffs. The outer city walls, which cover a large area of 30 hectares, determined the boundaries of the urban area. The urban texture of this period is still far from being fully understood, but the arrangement of a particular area shows that the urban design has a unique character. The Agora of the Twelve Gods, the main city center, was surrounded by magnificent tomb monuments belonging to the dynasts. Although intramural burial practices were not unusual in Lycia, no city has ever adorned its central square with such a monumental display of its veneration of the dead. This should not be surprising for a city that, in the historical sources, has always been mentioned together with war, death, and heroism.

As far as it comes to architecture, the influence of Alexander the Great and his successors, who conquered the whole Anatolian cities and started the new Hellenistic era, is not felt much in Xanthos. In contrast, Letoon, the common sanctuary of all Lycian League, was developed in this period and lived its golden era.

Then, historians once again report a violent attack with dramatic scenes and a sad ending for the city, this time under the responsibility of Brutus. Even though the claims of traditional historiography cannot be verified by modern archaeology today, what matters is its place in the collective memory. Since Homer, Xanthos has been the home of “fierce warriors”. Dynasts who deified themselves with temple-like tomb monuments were always remembered for their heroic acts which were captured in stone, may it be

hunting and battle scenes, processions after victories in war, triumphant poses while overthrowing their enemies, or other ways of display of power, e. g. depictions of lions slaying bulls. This display of pride is part of a visible identity within the urban memory: a Xanthian equals a heroic warrior.

The transformation of Xanthos into a Roman city followed the typical scheme of all Asia Minor cities: large public squares were built at the ends of the colonnaded main streets; triumphal arches, theatre, baths, and many other public buildings were constructed. Untypical, however, was its unchanged interest in the death cult and its connection with its past. During the construction of the Roman theater, a tomb monument that prevented construction was moved to a new place with great effort instead of being destroyed. It is not known why a 500-year-old grave was requested to be preserved. Moreover, a "tower tomb" was built next to the main agora, which is not typical in the Roman period. Obviously, some intramural Classical period rock-cut tombs were reused too.

After the conversion to Christianity, the concepts of typical and non-typical still coexisted. Due to the scarcity of historical sources, it is difficult to understand the importance of Byzantine Xanthos. What we know is, that there was a school in the city where an influential philosopher was educated in the 5th century. So, in order to understand the power of the city, it is necessary to look at its architectural works. In the 5th and 6th centuries, the number of great basilicas, one or at most two in all other Lycian cities, was four in Xanthos. Moreover, these structures, one of which was probably an important pilgrimage site, surrounded the city just as the Classical period monuments once surrounded the agora. In addition to being tombs and cult buildings in a functional sense, early monuments were built as urbanistic landmarks. The Byzantine city also had its own new landmarks, which were large-sized churches. The Lycian Acropolis, once

the palace area of the Classical period city, was filled with rich aristocratic houses, which were the best examples of their kind. The wealth leading to the construction of these churches and residences was probably the result of a flourishing trade life spreading to every part of the city. Homeric heroes and hunting scenes selected from mythology could be seen in the decoration of these houses, which is not very surprising for a city like Xanthos. An even more apparent reference can be found on the inscribed floor mosaic of an official hall built in the 5th century. A citizen of the city was honored as “keeper of Lycia”, while a second inscription contains a short passage from Homer's Iliad telling about the courage of the Lycian warriors. Can a tradition that started in the 5th century BC and continued up to the 5th century AD be explained by urban memory? The bond of the Xanthians with their ancestors might not have been broken as they lived surrounded by monuments carrying reliefs with the whole heroic narrative from the past. Or was that a sub-identity? Byzantine, Christian, and Lycian, but still was a hero. Marksteiner also interpreted this situation as “the Lycian national consciousness was still living in Christian times” (Marksteiner 2010, 73). This consciousness could not be coincidental since the existence of Proclus's school also indicates that the urban elite was educated enough to do the necessary readings.

The preservation of classical monuments should be a result of the same understanding. Traces of pagan temples and some monuments with religious functions have obviously been destroyed, but the depictions of ancestors were, until 1840, still displayed up the pillar tombs, and no one looked at them as marbles to be reused. Xanthos is not the only example where Classical and Roman monuments have been preserved, but it is an important one. Considering all these bonds with the past, they seem to have turned into a conservative approach.

Another previously unknown layer of the Late Antique Xanthos was revealed in the studies carried out within the scope of this dissertation: the existence of a synagogue in the city. The Jewish presence in the region is an issue that has not been extensively studied and has only recently emerged from new archaeological findings and epigraphic records. A synagogue in Xanthos might have been for the use of traveling merchants or could possibly point to a very small local congregation. In any case, it is a finding that adds a whole new layer in terms of urbanism.

From the 6th century onwards, disasters affecting the whole region, plague and Arab/Sassanid raids, hit Xanthos and all its neighboring cities. Thanks to the favorable geographical situation, they created a protected area by securing the Lycian Acropolis with a large wall. Private residences were divided into small spaces, and a shelter was created during attacks. However, the citizens did not completely settle there; for example, they did not even build a church in this area. On the other hand, it is clearly seen that this protected area could not prevent population decrease and Xanthos had a quiet period between the 8th and 11th centuries without archaeological findings. From the beginning of the 11th century, a new city emerged from the ashes, though not in its former glory.

The Middle Byzantine period of Xanthos was also quite untypical. A castle-city was already created in the Lycian acropolis at the beginning of the 7th century, and it could have been easily used as it corresponded to a typical settlement scheme in that period; still, Xanthians did not settle there.

The civic and religious life mainly continued on the east side of the city. The foot of the Upper Acropolis hill continued to be used as a housing area with new additions. The baptistery of the early cathedral of the city was converted and used as the main church, and a tower with an unknown function was built nearby. Since the title of the city

as a bishopric seat had not changed, the episcopal palace must have continued to be used. Small chapels were also built in the Lower Agora next to the ruins of the Triconch Basilica, and its grounds were used as a cemetery area like the former colonnaded street, which was completely covered with soil. Another small chapel was built in the central nave of the Upper Acropolis Basilica probably because it was an important pilgrimage center in the 6th century AD.

On the other hand, it can be seen that the commercial axis of the city had mainly shifted to the west in the Middle Byzantine times. Workshops from this period were built in the northern part of the West Agora, and since the Roman and Late Antique water system was out of use, a new water channel was constructed to meet the needs. There is no Middle Byzantine church on the west side of Xanthos other than the Decumanus Chapel located in the middle of the city, the remaining late-period churches being located in the east quarter.

On the Lycian Acropolis, some parts of the fortifications have been repaired, and additionally, a small castle-like area was created on the edge of the cliff. The once luxurious private residences underwent alterations and were divided into smaller spaces while some sections were converted into animal barns (Manière-Lévêque 2012, 20). The fact that the acropolis continued its residential function has been proven during the excavations, based on ceramic findings dating to the 13th century (Pellegrino 2002, 249). On the other hand, with no church existing in this area and the workshops being located on the northern side of the West Agora, it seems obvious that the Lycian acropolis did not become a typical Middle Byzantine *kastron*. So, the city did not shrink to continue urban life only within this enclosed area.

The building inventory within this dissertation, which has never been thoroughly studied in any previous research, and the interpretations made based on this data, can only be an initial step and a small contribution to the Byzantine archaeology of the city. This part of the city's history, which has received little attention and is thus largely unknown until today, can only be fully illuminated as a result of continuous studies in which all methods of archaeology are systematically used.

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