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**ANATOLICA 42 (2016)**

ISSN: 0066-1554

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# ANATOLICA

ANNUAIRE INTERNATIONAL POUR LES CIVILISATIONS DE L'ASIE  
ANTÉRIEURE, PUBLIÉ SOUS LES AUSPICES  
DE L'INSTITUT NÉERLANDAIS DU PROCHE-ORIENT À LEIDEN

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## THE 2014 AND 2015 CONTROL EXCAVATIONS ON AND AROUND THE UPPER AGORA OF SAGALASSOS

### The structural remains and general phasing

Peter Talloen and Jeroen Poblome\*

#### **Abstract**

*The Upper Agora of the Pisidian city of Sagalassos represented the beating heart of the local community, in providing the stage for the familiar fusion of commerce, politics, administration and cult that characterised urban life in antiquity. The current state of the agora, as it has been unearthed by archaeologists, is the product of centuries of monumental accretion, re-arrangement, make-over and removal, making it an excellent platform for the diachronic study of urban development. In this sense, the Upper Agora constitutes an architectural manifestation of processes of urbanisation and community formation that occurred at this ancient settlement.*

*In 2014, a two-year programme of control excavations was initiated in order to complete reconstructing the chronology of origin, construction and changes to the public square, as well as to finalise the excavation and study of the surrounding public buildings and monuments. It is the aim of this paper to present the preliminary results of these targeted small-scale excavations conducted during the campaigns of 2014 and 2015 in a sequence of seven chronological phases, representing the occupation history of the square and its immediate surroundings between the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BCE and the 7<sup>th</sup> century CE.*

#### INTRODUCTION

The Upper Agora of Sagalassos, a city in the ancient region of Pisidia (South-West Turkey), represented the beating heart of the local community, in providing the stage for the familiar fusion of commerce, politics, administration and cult that characterised urban life in antiquity. The current state of the agora is the product of centuries of monumental accretion, re-arrangement, make-over and removal, making it an excellent platform for diachronic study. The control excavations discussed in this paper form part of the CORES-project ([www.iap-cores.be](http://www.iap-cores.be)) that wishes to establish and compare long-term regional trajectories of change and development, in this case in Pisidia. The periods considered here saw the origins of Sagalassos as an urban community, followed by several waves of change, before an eventual de-urbanisation in late antique times. In this sense, the Upper Agora at Sagalassos is considered as an architectural manifestation of processes of urbanisation and community formation during a span of almost a millennium of uninterrupted use of the square.

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\* The authors are members of the Sagalassos Archaeological Research Project directed by Jeroen Poblome (University of Leuven, Belgium). This research was supported by the Belgian Programme on Interuniversity Poles of Attraction, the Research Fund of the University of Leuven and the Research Foundation Flanders (FWO). We would like to thank the Ministry of Culture and Tourism of the Republic of Turkey, its Kültür Varlıkları ve Müzeler Genel Müdürlüğü and its representatives (Arif Küçükçoban, Burdur Müzesi and Veysel Öztürk, Denizli Müzesi) for the excavation permission, support and appreciated aid during the 2014 and 2015 fieldwork campaigns.

The Upper Agora has been a focal point of attention since the early years of the archaeological excavations at Sagalassos. The roughly trapezoidal square, measuring 57.5m (W) – 60.75m (E) N-S and 37.5m E-W in its current condition (Fig. 1), was exposed between 1992 and 1996 (Waelkens *et al.* 1995, 1997 and 2000). While its surroundings are lined with Hellenistic, Roman Imperial and late antique buildings, the square itself was found to be a paved open space; apart from a number of freestanding, honorific monuments in the corners and central part of the agora, and a canopy shrine, the agora was mostly empty. In more recent years the square has been the object of targeted soundings, investigating aspects of its chronological development, infrastructure (water supply and sewage) and accessibility (Waelkens *et al.* 2000: 304; Waelkens *et al.* 2001). Based on this research, the use of the area as an agora was proposed to have originated by the early 3<sup>rd</sup> century BCE at the latest (Waelkens 2004: 454), witnessing a phase of expansion during the Augustan period (Waelkens *et al.* 1997: 130-136) and con-

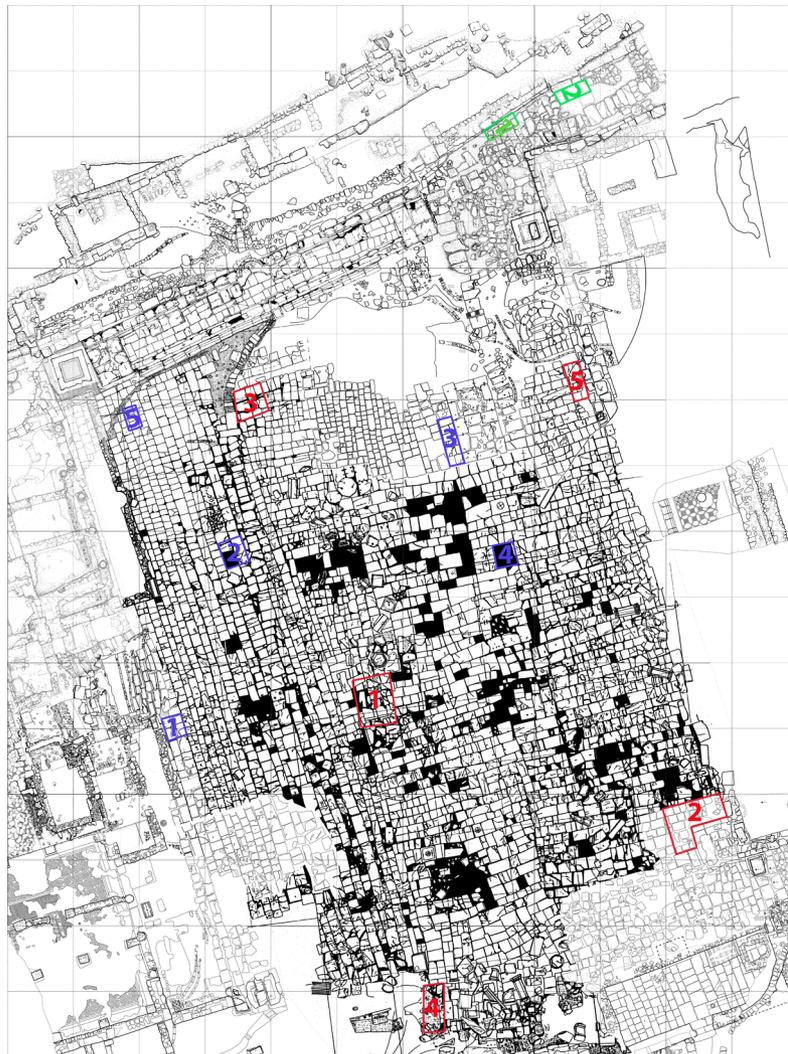


Fig. 1. Plan of the Upper Agora with indication of the control excavations of 2014 and 2015.

tinuing its central urban functions until the abandonment of the upper city in the course of the 7<sup>th</sup> century CE (Waelkens *et al.* 2006: 244).

In 2014, a new two-year programme of control excavations was initiated in order to complete reconstructing the chronology of origin, construction and changes to the public square, as well as to finalise the excavation and study of the surrounding public buildings and monuments. Specific attention was to be paid to the early stages of the Upper Agora area, in order to establish the origins of the local community and their initial steps at urbanisation. In the *Anabasis* of Alexander the Great by the Roman historian Flavius Arrianus, written almost 500 years after the facts, Sagalassos is described as “not a small city, inhabited by Pisidians who were thought to be the most warlike of this warlike people” (*Anabasis Alexandri*, I, 28). This passage on the capture of Sagalassos by Alexander in 333 BCE meant its appearance on the stage of history. At the same time, Arrian’s reference to the nature of the contemporary settlement implied scope for archaeological research. Given the central importance of the phenomenon of agora in antiquity for the functioning of local communities (Hölscher 2012), the creation of the Upper Agora at Sagalassos could bear testimony to its foundation and/or transformation towards a city-state.

A total of ten control excavations were executed underneath the pavement of limestone slabs of the Upper Agora (Fig. 1), five in 2014 (blue) and five in 2015 (red). To the north-east of the square, two control excavations were conducted along the south façade of the Terrace Building and North-East Gate in 2015 (green). Another five control excavations were completed in the Bouleuterion complex to the west of the agora (Fig. 2), of which three were situated inside the council hall (blue), and two in its forecourt (red). It is the aim of this paper to present the preliminary results of these targeted small-scale control excavations conducted during the campaigns of 2014 and 2015 in a sequence of seven chronological phases.

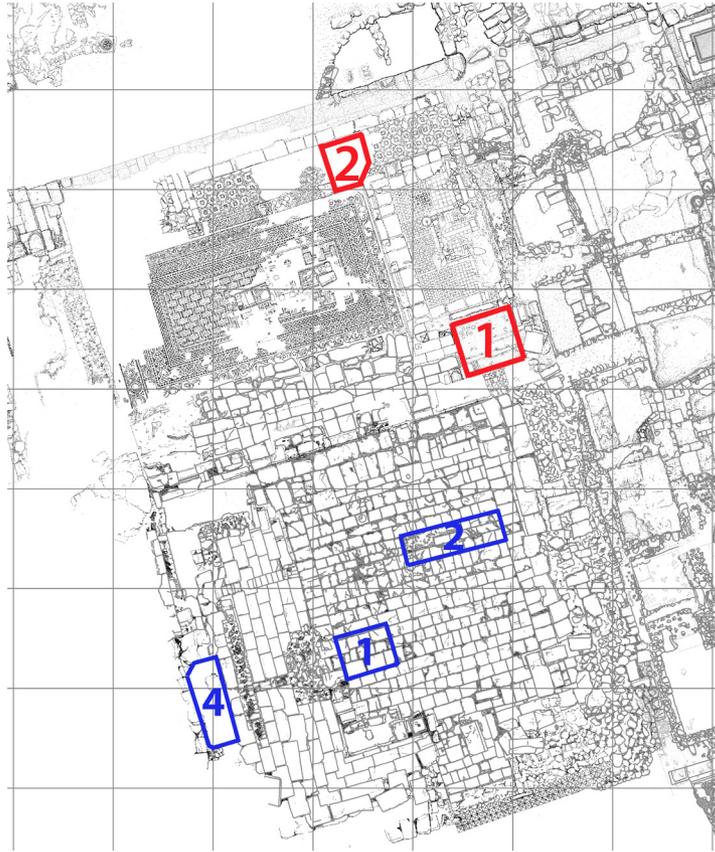


Fig. 2. Plan of the Bouleuterion-Basilica with indication of the control excavations of 2015: BO in blue and BA in red.

## CHRONOLOGICAL PHASES

The occupation history of the square and its immediate surroundings, spanning ten centuries between the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BCE and the 7<sup>th</sup> century CE, can be subdivided into seven main phases: the occupation of the area before the agora; the layout of the public square; the expansion of the agora; the monumentalisation of the square; an age of maintenance; the late antique modifications/conversion; abandonment.

### Before the agora: a quarry landscape?

#### *The construction of a (terrace?) wall*

The earliest structural remains recorded by the control excavations in the area of the agora were found in Trench 2 of 2015, an L-shaped trench laid out in the south-east corner of the agora, with a length (N-S) of 3.54m and a width (E-W) of 4.38m. Here, a wall of five remaining courses of dry-laid, roughly shaped polygonal blocks of limestone was built on top of the virgin soil of weathered ophiolitic *mélange*, at 3.80m below the level of the slabs. The preserved section of the wall was oriented NE-SW, stood to a maximum height of 1.55m and was exposed over a length of 1.06m. As it formed part of the northern profile of the trench, its thickness could not be determined. Given its monumental nature, composed of relatively large blocks and standing to a considerable height, the wall section could have functioned as a retaining wall (Fig. 3). The pottery from the associated walking level, abutting the southern face of the wall, provided a *terminus ante quem* for its construction, and was dated to the second half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BCE with some residual pieces from the late 5<sup>th</sup> to early 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries BCE.



Fig. 3. (Retaining?) wall of polygonal blocks (on the right) and associated walking level (locus 203) containing material dating to the second half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BCE, in Trench 2 of 2015.

In the western half of a nearby trench excavated in Site G, a porticoed rectangular space situated 22m north-east of this wall, two less monumental, dry rubble walls were uncovered at a similar level. Both walls had a NW-SE orientation, suggesting these could have formed part of the same structure, or of adjacent structures following some sort of planned layout. The walls were probably contemporaneous with the wall of Trench 2, as suggested by the small pottery collection retrieved from their foundation deposits. The building style of these walls is reminiscent of the structures in vernacular architecture known from the Classical-early Hellenistic period at the neighbouring settlement of Düzen Tepe (Vanhaberbeke *et al.* 2010).

Against the southern face of the wall in Trench 2 several fill deposits with a combined thickness of 1.05m were arranged, which contained sherds dating to the end of 3<sup>rd</sup>-beginning of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE.

### *The exploitation of clay pits*

Geophysical study of the square by the team from the University of Ljubljana coordinated by Branko Mušič revealed several anomalies in the central part of the agora, underneath the limestone slabs (Fig. 4). One of them, located in the middle of the eastern part of the square, took the form of a more than 20m long and up to 4.50m wide N-S oriented anomaly of increased conductivity.

In Trench 4 of 2014, with a length of c. 2.45m (N-S) and an average width of 2.00 m (E-W), this anomaly corresponded with a trench cut through the virgin soil consisting of ophiolitic clay, present at a depth of 1.20m below the level of the slabs (Fig. 5). The trench, exposed in the east part of the sounding over a length of 0.60m (N-S) and a width of 0.50m (E-W), was cut almost vertically through the clayey deposit to a depth of more than 1.00m and can therefore be identified as a pit for the extraction of clay. The period and extent of this clay quarrying activity could not be established, but given the dimensions of the anomaly (more than 20m long and up to 4.50m



Fig. 4. Geophysical plan of the Upper Agora with the visualisation of the results of Ground Penetrating Radar (courtesy of Branko Mušič) and the indication of the investigated anomalies.

wide), and an excavated depth of more than 1.00m, it will have been considerable, producing a large amount of ophiolitic clay. No datable material was found in association with this quarrying. However, as ophiolitic clay is known to have been used for the local production of Classical/Hellenistic and Hellenistic ceramic vessels, it is tempting to relate this clay pit to contemporary potting activities (Braekmans *et al.* 2011). The potters' workshops established on the slope to the south of the agora, in the area of the later concert building or *odeion* come to mind, where the remains of a potter's kiln contained pottery datable to the late 3<sup>rd</sup>-early 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries BCE (Poblome *et al.* 2013b). The trench was filled with deposits of clayish soil and limestone blocks.

The pottery retrieved from this fill was dated to the late 3<sup>rd</sup>-early 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries BCE, providing a *terminus post quem* for the dumping operation.

In Trench 5 of 2015, with a length of 2.90m (N-S) and a width of 1.07m (E-W) laid out in the north-east part of the agora, an area not covered by the geophysical research, excavation was halted at 3.50m below the level of the slabs before mother soil was reached. Instead, a series of stony deposits was partly excavated (Fig. 6). These deposits



Fig. 6. Stony fill (locus 225) of a (clay?) pit in Trench 5 of 2015.



Fig. 5. View of the fill (locus 145) of the pit cut into the ophiolitic clay (locus 143) in Trench 4 of 2014.

were found well below the level of the mother soil composed of tephra present at 0.70m below the level of the pavement in the neighbouring Trench 3 of 2014, situated at 10m to the west. The considerable difference in depth of the mother soil at this distance could imply human intervention, for instance caused by clay quarrying. In this way, the stony deposits could probably be identified as the fill of a (clay?) pit, comparable to the one mentioned above. The oblique angle of the top layers of the fill, sloping down from west to east, suggested that these were deposited from the west side. The few sherds retrieved from these deposits could be dated to the late 3<sup>rd</sup>-early 2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE, again providing a *terminus post quem* for the fill of the pit.

The presence of such clay pits rules out the use of the area as market place during the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BCE. As no other area appears to have served as public square at this time, this would imply that there was no urban centre at this site prior to late 3<sup>rd</sup> century BCE. The location and nature of the settlement, conquered by Alexander the Great in 333 BCE and described as “not a small city”, remains an open question.

## Layout of the urban centre

### *The oldest agora*

A small part of the original agora floor was preserved in the north part of Trench 2 of 2015. Overlying the top of the aforementioned wall and the abutting layers was a series of levelling deposits, composed of ophiolitic clay mixed with pieces of ophiolitic stone, which could again all be dated to the late 3<sup>rd</sup>-early 2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE. It was on top of these that a first floor level of the square, consisting of beaten earth and some small stones, was laid out.

The first floor level was better preserved in other trenches, namely Trench 3 of 2014 and Trench 1 of 2015, where it had been laid out on top of the mother soil, consisting of tephra in the former, and of weathered ophiolitic mélange in the latter. In Trench 3, laid out in the northern part of the eastern half of the public square with a length of 3.75m (N-S) and an average width of 1.15m (E-W), a deposit of hard sandy silt with charcoal present on top of volcanic tephra, served as the substrate for this walking level. Its ceramic content was attributed to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE, but some residual sherds from the Classical/Hellenistic period were also present.

In Trench 1 of 2015, with a length of 4.00m (N-S) and a width of 3m (E-W) laid out in the central part of the square, a deposit supporting the walking level which consisted of beaten earth with small stones, was laid out on top of weathered ophiolite (0.88m below the level of the slabs) in the eastern half of the trench. Here again, this original surface of the square could be attributed to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE on the basis of its ceramic contents.

On top of the fills of the (clay?) pit in Trench 5 of 2015 a number of levelling deposits were arranged which will most probably have served as the substrate for the first floor level of the agora. Its surface could no longer be discerned due to later activity in the area, namely the construction of the East Portico (see below). They contained a ceramic assemblage originating in the early 2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE. Also in Trench 4 of 2014 the construction of a (honorific?) monument (see below) removed any traces of a floor surface above the filled-in clay pit.

The distribution of these patches of the Hellenistic walking level allows for a reconstruction of the extent of the original city square. The fact that the Hellenistic levelling deposits and walking level were not found on the western edge of Trench 1 of 2015, but the outcropping mother soil being present instead, can be held to indicate the western border of the Hellenistic agora. This is also confirmed by the absence of Hellenistic material in Trenches 1, 2 and 5 of 2014 which were all situated in the western part of the (later) square.

The exact eastern border of the original square can no longer be determined as it became monumentalised by the construction of the so-called Market Building during the following decades. Yet, as the orientation of this building was probably determined by that of the square it was bordering, it can be held to reflect the orientation of the agora during the Hellenistic period.

Trench 3 of 2014 and Trench 5 of 2015 are the northernmost trenches with Hellenistic deposits. The absence of stratified Hellenistic material in Trench 3 of 2015 confirmed that

this line constituted the northern border of the Hellenistic square. The southern border can only approximately be determined on the basis of the presence of a walking level in Trench 2 of 2015. In the north-east corner of Trench 4 of 2015, a deposit was laid out on top of the mother soil consisting of ophiolitic clay (0.65m below the level of the slabs). It contained Hellenistic ceramics dating to the 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> century BCE. Although this seemingly suggested that the Hellenistic agora was already extending as far south as the Roman Imperial one, the absence of a sequence of Hellenistic strata and of intermediate walking levels, as well as the mixed nature of the deposit pointed to a 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE levelling operation (see below).

Based on the absence of Hellenistic strata in the northern (Trench 3 of 2015) and western part (Trenches 1, 2 and 5 of 2014) of the later square, the extent of the Hellenistic agora can be reconstructed as measuring roughly 25m (E-W) by 40m (N-S) or 1000m<sup>2</sup>, significantly smaller than the currently visible square of 2380m<sup>2</sup>. The absence of structural remains in any of the trenches, other than the surface of small stones set in beaten earth, suggested that it was an open area without monuments or other structural features, corresponding to its function as a space for political, commercial, and religious gatherings. Originally thought to date back to the early 3<sup>rd</sup> century BCE (Waelkens 2004: 454), the results of the control excavations argue for an early 2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE origin of the agora.

#### *Construction of the Market Building*

On the eastern edge of Trench 2 of 2015, a N-S oriented trench with a width of 0.45m, was exposed over a length of 0.70m. It was cut through the original surface of the agora for the construction of the west wall of the so-called Market Building delimiting the agora to the east which had already been partially exposed during the excavation campaign of 2014 (Poblome *et al.* in press). This building will be discussed in detail elsewhere. In short, the rectangular *stoa*-like structure (17.50m wide and at least 29m long) lined the eastern side of the agora and had two storeys composed of rooms, located below and behind the colonnades, most probably for the storing and exchange of (food) supplies. This type of building was commonly found bordering the agoras of Pisidian cities (Köse 2005) and symbolised their economic independence or *autarkeia*, as well as the petrification of functioning institutions.

In the foundation trench, a N-S oriented and 0.25m high foundation wall of roughly shaped stones was placed. It carried



Fig. 7. Foundation trench (locus 125), foundation (locus 126) and west wall (locus 93) of the so-called Market Building in Trench 2 of 2015.

a double faced wall of limestone ashlar blocks with a standing height of 2.05m, which was exposed over a length of 1.10m (Fig. 7). This wall segment formed part of the west wall of the south-west room partially excavated in 2014 and situated below the level of the agora (Poblome *et al.* in press). Ceramic material from the fill of this construction trench could be dated to the first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE, constituting the *terminus post quem* for the construction of the building and identifying it as the oldest known monumental structure of the city. The absence of traces of a similar wall in Trench 5 of 2015 indicated that the Market Building did not extend that far north and can therefore not have been longer than 35.7m.

Levelling deposits were arranged to cover the foundation and lower part of the west wall, on top of which a new walking level of beaten earth, abutting the west wall of the building, was laid out. The pottery from these deposits provided a *terminus post quem* in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE for this operation.

#### *Construction of Terrace Building*

Along the north side of the street leading to the agora from the north-east, a structure was built into the hillside, as indicated by a 12.30m long and 3.10-3.40m high wall fragment made of six irregular courses of rusticated ashlar blocks which accommodated the arched entrance of a stepped tunnel-like corridor. Originally, the wall formed the southern face of a terrace building situated to the north of the agora, but was largely dismantled during the early Roman Imperial period for the construction of a new terrace wall in pseudo-isodomic masonry which would later serve as the back wall of the Antonine Nymphaeum. Based on its location near the agora and the presence of spaces behind the wall, it had been identified as the substructure of a market building, a multi-storeyed *stoa*-like structure with storage spaces located below and colonnades on top for the storing and exchange of food supplies. The building had been tentatively dated to the (early) 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC on constructional grounds (i.e. the ceiling of the tunnel consisting of alternating horizontal vaulted sections and sloping parts covered with flat stones), which would make it the oldest known building of the site (Waelkens *et al.* 1997: 127-130; Waelkens *et al.* 2000: 303-304). The fact, however, that we are dealing with a blind wall facing a street rather than the actual square, which was located further south at this time, appears to rule out such an identification as all known examples include a portico facing the square (Köse 2005). This, together with the presence of an actual market building along the east side of the agora, suggests a more descriptive identification as “Terrace Building”.

The excavations of Trench NEG1 (2.60m long (E-W) and 1.20m wide (N-S)) along the south face of the rusticated wall, revealed that the foundations of the said building were laid out on top of the mother soil of weathered ophiolitic *mélange*. This natural deposit had been excavated to a depth of 0.30m for the layout of the foundation trench. The ceramics retrieved from its fill were assigned to the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup>-first half of the 1<sup>st</sup> centuries BCE.

In the eastern part of Trench NEG2, a trench with a length of 2.50m (E-W) and a width of 1.25m (N-S) laid out against the inner face of the northern pillar of the North-East Gate, fill deposits were found in a trench with a length (E-W) of 0.66m, a width (N-S) of 0.36m, and a maximum depth of 0.55m, cut into the mother soil of tephra. It extended beneath the eastern part of the foundation of the arched gateway built over the street during

the early Roman Imperial period. This substructure was made up of regular limestone blocks which could originally have belonged to the foundation of the Terrace Building.

The ceramic content of the upper part of the fill was similar to the overlaying deposits, consisting of Hellenistic material with an important Roman Imperial component; this indicated that it had been reworked for the construction of the arch (see below). The ceramics pertaining to the lower fill, on the other hand, belonged to the first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE and can probably be associated with the construction of the eastern corner of the Hellenistic Terrace Building which was later on dismantled for the construction of the arch. The Terrace Building is therefore not an early 3<sup>rd</sup> century BCE construction as previously proposed but a late 2<sup>nd</sup>-early 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE one, monumentalising the access to the agora from the east.

The original, Hellenistic agora of Sagalassos was a modest square of beaten earth, adjoined to the east by a single monumental structure, the Market Building, both dating to the first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE. Only towards the end of that century an additional monumental structure was built in the form of the Terrace Building, along the street leading to the agora. The modest architectural decoration of these public buildings placed the emphasis on function rather than representation, serving the needs of the community.

### **The expansion of the Upper Agora**

During the 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE, the agora retained its form as an open square, but towards the end of the century it was expanded considerably towards the west. In Trench 2 of 2014, with a length of 2.00m (N-S) and a width of 1.80m (E-W), and situated in the western part of the public square, the mother soil consisting of ophiolitic clay was first levelled after which material accumulated onto the new surface. These were small pieces of pottery, brick and tile, which along with charcoal and limestone fragments had been trampled into the ophiolitic clay. The small, worn pottery sherds could be attributed to the late Hellenistic and early Roman Imperial periods, and indicated the temporal range of use of the expanded surface of the agora, in the stage before slabs were to be laid out.

A similar accumulation of material on top of the mother soil of ophiolitic clay was found in Trench 3 of 2015, with a width of 2.50m (E-W) and a length of 2.60m (N-S), laid out in the northern part of the agora. It equally consisted of many fragments of limestone and archaeological material from the late Hellenistic and early Roman Imperial periods trampled into the ophiolitic clay. No traces of older floor levels were encountered in this trench either, which suggested the agora was enlarged not only towards the west as established in Trench 2 of 2014, but also towards the north.

At the same time, the level of the original agora appears to have been raised. In Trench 3 of 2014, a second floor level of beaten earth and small stones was laid out some 0.10m above the first walking level. The pottery fragments from its substrate were attributed to the 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE. Also in Trench 1 of 2015, a second walking level could be discerned, some 0.10-0.15m above the original one. The ceramics again belonged to the 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE.

The excavations in Trench 2 of 2015 revealed a series of levelling deposits, with a combined thickness of c. 0.80m, that made the level of the agora in its south-east corner sig-

nificantly higher. These contained considerable amounts of refuse consisting of ceramics and faunal remains, dating to the late Hellenistic period, which appeared to have been brought to the square for this operation, as nowhere else was this much material found in the control excavations. The date of the pottery suggested that this may have occurred at the same time as the enlargement of the square towards the north and west.

In the north-east corner of Trench 4 of 2015, with a length of 3.00m (N-S) and a width of 0.75m (E-W), a c. 0.20m thick deposit of sandy silt with a hard surface was laid out on top of the mother soil consisting of ophiolitic clay (0.65m below the level of the slabs). It contained ceramics dating to the late Hellenistic period, again pointing to a 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE levelling operation, comparable to the one established in Trench 2. In the southern and western part of the trench limestone bedrock had been levelled. This would mean that the agora was also extended towards the south at this time.

In Trench 5 of 2015 another series of levelling deposits (with a combined thickness of 0.65m), containing 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE ceramics, was laid out on top of the deposits constituting the substrate of the original public square, probably again at the same time as the enlargement of the agora as suggested for in Trenches 2 and 4 of 2015. The corresponding walking level was composed of small stones set in beaten earth.

These operations resulted in a substantial enlargement of the agora which now reached its final trapezoidal form and maximum extent of 58-61m (N-S) by 40m (E-W) or 2380m<sup>2</sup>. Also for this phase no traces of a pavement were found, ruling out the possibility of a paved agora during Hellenistic times as previously suggested (Waelkens *et al.* 2000: 298 and 304).

### **The age of monumentalisation**

The enlargement of the agora at the end of the Hellenistic period was followed by a large-scale building programme during the early Roman Imperial period which lasted several decades and would drastically transform the outlook and character of the square.

#### *Erection of honorific monuments*

A first new element on the agora at this time was the construction of honorific monuments. From the late Hellenistic period onwards, the administration of towns was increasingly left to a small hereditary minority, the notables, who used their personal fortunes to run public services. In exchange they received increasingly conspicuous forms of honour (Zuiderhoek 2011). These honours often took the shape of monuments erected on and around the city square, with inscriptions recording their names and deeds. Such imagery sustained the creation of social distance differentiating the notables within their communities. Thus, the agora, the traditional meeting place of the popular assembly, assumed a new socio-political role as a display case for the elite, becoming a stage on which the leading members of society could compete for symbolic capital in the form of obligation, gratitude, prestige and personal loyalty, on which they relied as a source of social empowerment.



Fig. 8. Foundation blocks (locus 99), walking level (locus 112), levelling (locus 114) and fill deposits (loci 124, 133 and 137) on top of the ophiolitic clay (locus 143) in Trench 4 of 2014.

the monument had been placed on top of fill deposits, consisting of large, irregular blocks and mortared rubble stones with a total thickness of c. 0.80m (Fig. 8). The latter covered the back-filled clay pit mentioned earlier. They were arranged inside a foundation trench which presumably cut through Hellenistic deposits explaining the absence of earlier walking levels. The pottery from the foundation deposits could be dated to the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE-beginning of the 1<sup>st</sup> century CE. The levelling deposits on top, which served as substrate for the associated walking level of large stones and beaten earth, originated in the beginning of our era according to the associated pottery.

In the northern part of Trench 1 of 2015, an E-W oriented trench (with a width of 0.20m and excavated to a depth of 0.50m) was also cut through the Hellenistic deposits and partly through the mother soil for the construction of a similar squarish monument (measuring



Fig. 9. Foundation blocks (locus 3) and core (locus 13) of the dismantled monument, and the adjoining walking level (locus 19) in Trench 1 of 2015.

Such monuments were erected in the four corners of the square as well as in its centre. Rectangular limestone building blocks forming the north-east corner of the substructure of a monument were exposed over a length of 1.33m and a width of 1.18m in the south-west part of Trench 4 of 2014. The edges of these stones were provided with incised parallel lines indicating the placement of the blocks of the superstructure of the monument, which had been dismantled in antiquity. The foundations of



Fig. 10. Foundation trench (locus 102) cut through the late Hellenistic walking level (locus 100) for the arrangement of the foundation of mortared rubble stone (locus 36) of the South-East Honorific Column in Trench 2 of 2015.

2.43m N-S and 2.58m E-W). The western edge of the monument was arranged immediately on top of the ophiolitic bedrock. In this case as well, the upper structure of the monument had been removed in antiquity, leaving only the foundation stones or *euthynteria* in the form of roughly shaped limestone blocks, again provided with incised parallel lines for the placement of the superstructure (Fig. 9). These surrounded a core of rubble stones and silty soil. This substructure proved to be the N-S orientated rectangular anomaly (5.40m long and 2.80m wide) revealed by geophysical research in the central part of the square (Fig. 4). The pottery from the fill of the foundation trench and from the core of the monument was attributed to the last quarter of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE, providing a *terminus post quem* for the construction of the monument. Abutting the monument on its north side, a walking level of many small stones set into beaten earth was laid out. The sherds from the underlying substrate also suggested a *terminus post quem* in the last quarter of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE for the arrangement of this level.

In the eastern part of Trench 2 of 2015, a 1.70m deep and 0.90m wide E-W oriented pit was exposed over a length of 2.80m (Fig. 10). It had been dug through the deposits of the Hellenistic agora for the arrangement of the foundation of an honorific monument (2.75m wide (E-W) and 1.75m deep), composed of mortared rubble stone. The actual monument with a total height of 12m took the shape of a tall Corinthian column crowned by a statue base on top of a pedestal, carried by a stepped podium with a bench-shaped socle on top. It was one of four such columns erected in the four corners of the square, which had been dated on stylistic basis to the middle or second half of the Augustan period (Vandeput 1993: 193-198). Such commemorative columns were used to honour achievements and to magnify the status of the honoured person whose portrait statue was placed on top. It was thought that the monuments were granted to members of the elite for their role in the rearrangement and pavement of the Upper Agora during the early Roman Imperial period (Waelkens *et al.* 2011: 84-87). An inscription on the west side of the pedestal identified it as an honorific monument for Admon, son of Arnestes, erected by the *demos* of Sagalassos.

At the bottom of the foundation trench a layer of rubble stone was deposited, on top of which the soil from the foundation trench was re-deposited, causing the original Hellenistic material to be mixed with some material belonging to the early Roman Imperial period.



Fig. 11. Stepped substructure of the South-East Honorific Column and the adjoining early Roman Imperial period walking level (locus 33) in Trench 2 of 2015.

The operation was finalised by the creation of a walking level on top of the fill deposits and foundation, consisting of many small stones set in beaten earth mixed with remains of mortar (Fig. 11), comparable to the floor level in Trench 1 of 2015. The pottery from its substrate could again be attributed to the beginning of our era, providing a *terminus post quem* for the monument and associated walking level.

The excavations around the South-East Honorific Column con-

firmed the (mid to late) Augustan date, as suggested for the other of the four columns in each corner of the agora based on their architectural decoration (Vandeput 1997: 46-49, 193-198). The exposure of a walking level of small stones set in beaten earth adjoining the honorific column, on the other hand, indicated that the monument cannot be related to the pavement of the square as previously suggested (Waelkens *et al.* 2000: 298; Waelkens 2002: 333). The columns not only emphasised the four corners of the enlarged square but they actually formed a rectangle, thus giving the trapezoidal agora a more regular appearance.

#### *Construction of the Bouleuterion*

As part of the development of the agora, a council hall was built on the slope to the west of the agora, between the square and the Doric Temple, to house the meetings of the city council. Excavated between 1996 and 2000, the political building was composed of a slightly trapezoidal-shaped forecourt (measuring 19.70 m E-W by 11.80-12.70 m N-S) to the north and a squarish council hall to the south (measuring 20.20 m N-S by 20.75 m E-W). The latter consisted of rows of ascending limestone seats arranged in a U-shape flanking a paved court along three walls of the structure, while the north wall had five door openings leading into the forecourt (Waelkens *et al.* 2000: 246-268). The Bouleuterion was believed to have been constructed in the late Hellenistic period (c. 100 BCE), a date suggested by its architectural decoration (Waelkens *et al.* 2000: 256; Waelkens 2004: 455-456). As part of the programme of control excavations a total of five trenches was excavated within the complex to obtain a stratigraphically generated date for this monument.

Trench BO1 in the south-west part of the council hall, with a length of 2.40m (E-W) and a width of 1.90m (N-S) revealed how the mother soil of ophiolitic *mélange* had been levelled in function of the construction of the council hall. On its surface, several small sherds

belonging to the early Roman Imperial period were recovered, providing a *terminus post quem* for this operation. On top, a deposit of limestone rubble set within a layer of lime mortar was registered, which served as a substrate for the limestone slab pavement of the council hall. The pottery associated with the rubble stone deposits belonged to the early Roman Imperial period. In the lowest part, just on top of mother soil, a diagnostic sherd for the period 15/10 BCE-15/20 CE was found encased in the mortar, providing a *terminus post quem* for the layout of the floor of the council hall. On top of this foundation, levelling deposits of dark brown silty soil and limestone fragments were arranged which served as the substrate of the limestone pavement. The ceramic material within these layers could again be ascribed to the early Roman Imperial period.



Fig. 12. View of BO2 with the pavement substrate of mortared rubble stones (right and top) and the Byzantine pit (locus 110 left bottom corner).

Also in Trench BO2, situated in the north-east part of the former council hall, against the eastern row of seats, with a length of 6.40m (E-W) and a width of 1.60m (N-S), the oldest encountered deposits were concentrations of nicely arranged limestone blocks, some of which were bonded with lime mortar, laid out on top of the levelled natural soil consisting of weathered ophiolitic *mélange* (Fig. 12). This stratum also served as foundation for the limestone slabs of the pavement. In the eastern extremity of BO2, adjacent to the eastern row of seats, a 0.45m deep foundation trench had been cut into the mother soil and filled with limestone blocks to provide a solid foundation for the substructure of the eastern row of benches. The few ceramics found between the stones of these deposits were not diagnostic, but sherds found on the surface of the natural soil could be dated to the early Roman Imperial period. The foundation deposits were covered by levelling layers of dark brown silty soil and limestone fragments. The ceramics retrieved from these layers were dated to the last quarter of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE. It was on top of this that the pavement of limestone slabs was laid out.

Behind the top of the western rows of seats, another trench (BO4) with a length of 4.50m (N-S) and a width of 1.60m (E-W) was excavated in front of the south part of the west wall of the council hall composed of roughly shaped polygonal blocks, which was thought to belong to an earlier phase of the building (Waelkens *et al.* 2000: 259; Waelkens 2004: 455)<sup>1</sup>. The rows of seats had been arranged on top of a fill with large limestone blocks which could only be partially excavated (Fig. 13). The soil present between these blocks contained scores of tiny limestone fragments as well as some pottery fragments. The pottery was typical for the last quarter of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE, but a substantial amount of residual Hellenistic sherds, dating

<sup>1</sup> Initially, a third trench (BO3) was planned in the north-west corner of the council hall/*atrium*, to examine both the construction of the *narthex* along the north wall of the hall, as well as the paving of the court. However, results from the other control excavations made an invasive investigation in this location redundant.



Fig. 13. View from the north of the substructure (loci 230 & 232) of the western row of benches and the foundation of mortared stone (locus 227) of the west wall of the Bouleuterion in Trench BO4.

between 200 and 25 BCE, were identified among the finds. Additionally, one Classical-Hellenistic sherd (late 5<sup>th</sup>-early 3<sup>rd</sup> century BCE) was found in this construction fill.

On top of this deposit, the 0.50m thick foundation of the west wall, composed of limestone blocks bonded with a strong lime mortar, was built. It contained a number of sherds of 1<sup>st</sup> century CE water jugs. Rather than indicating an earlier phase of the west wall of the Bouleuterion as previously considered (Waelkens *et al.* 2000: 259), the different masonry of this part of the wall was due to that fact that it also served as the east *temenos* wall of the Doric Temple. Excavations in 1997 had already unearthed foundations of the northern *temenos* wall near the *propylon* of the sanctuary dating to the early Roman Imperial period (Waelkens *et al.* 2000: 217-231 and 240). The present control excavations confirmed this date.

The oldest deposit registered in Trench BA1, with a length of 2.80m (N-S) and a width of 3.50m (E-W) and situated in the south-east corner of the forecourt of the Bouleuterion, consisted of limestone blocks bonded with a strong lime mortar. As a result

of its hardness the deposit could not be completely excavated. Since this layer of concrete continued underneath the row of stones along the south-east corner of the room which served as the foundation for the original east and south walls of the forecourt, the concrete deposit also constituted the substrate for these vertical elevations. Unfortunately, no datable artefacts were retrieved from this deposit, but given the introduction of lime mortar in Anatolia after the middle of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE (Özer 2012: 477), and in consideration of the results of the other control excavations, a date in the (early) Roman Imperial period is proposed.

In the rest of the trench, a layer of rubble stone bonded with lime mortar, still carrying some negative imprints of rectangular slabs, was present. It could be identified as the substrate of the floor in the forecourt, comparable to that of the council hall itself. Two irregular limestone slabs set in mortar found in the southern part of the trench could have belonged to this original pavement (or perhaps a later repair).

For the construction of a water channel, running approximately N-S across the centre of Trench BA1, a trench was cut into the concrete substrate. The channel, which was exposed over a length of 1.20m, had a width of 0.30m and a depth of 0.30m (Fig. 14). Its floor

and walls were built with brick of 0.30m by 0.30m, bonded by hydraulic mortar. The mortar used to build the channel was covering the top of the underlying concrete, indicating its relative posteriority. A deposit of sandy soil inside the lower part of the channel contained pottery, including several sherds of a single drinking cup typical for the second half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century CE which can possibly be associated with its use, thus suggesting a *terminus ante quem* for the creation of the conduit.

In Trench BA2, a T-shaped trench with a length of 2.20m (N-S) and a width of 0.90 to 2.20m (E-W) in the northern part of the forecourt, traces of a similar but broken-out channel built on top of the ophiolitic bedrock and running NE-SW over a length of 2.30m were present. As with the example uncovered in Trench BA1, it had of a floor of brick, which could mainly be observed as negative imprints in the underlying mortar bed.

The function of these channels is not clear but they could have supplied one or more water features in the complex where council members could wash or dip their hands before entering the council hall. Like a sanctuary, the Bouleuterion was under the protection of the gods, in this case Ares and Athena (Talloen 2015: 110-111), which qualified it as a sacred space that could only be entered after purification.

As the construction of the western (BO4) and eastern rows of seats (BO2), as well as the layout of the floor inside the council hall (BO1 and BO2) could be firmly dated to the early Roman Imperial period, a late Hellenistic date for the Bouleuterion is no longer tenable. Instead, the building project should be seen as part of the reorganisation of the wider area of the Upper Agora at the beginning of our era. An exact date for the origin of the forecourt could not be established due to lack of datable material relating to this phase, but the fact that stones bonded with lime mortar were used as a substrate for the pavement of the space, as well as for the foundation of its walls (BA1), suggested a date in the Roman Imperial period. Judging by the brick-built water channel which was arranged in this concrete deposit in the south-east corner of the forecourt by the second half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century CE, an early Imperial date seems warranted.



Fig. 14. View of BA1 with the water channel (Locus 41) arranged in the concrete substrate of the floor of the forecourt.

*Construction of the North-East Gate*

The North-East Gate, an arched, slightly funnel-shaped gateway with a length of 2.65m and a width of 4.75 (W)-5m (E) which was excavated in 1995-1996 (Waelkens *et al.* 2000: 303-311) spanned the street that gave access to the north-east corner of the Upper Agora. It consisted of two side walls (3m high) carrying an archivolt. The upper part of the archway is only partly preserved; its architectural decoration was originally dated around the middle of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century CE (Waelkens *et al.* 2000: 311). The northern pillar of this single arched gateway was inserted at the east end of the south wall of the so-called Terrace Building which caused the latter to be partly dismantled. The excavations of Trench NEG2 in 2015 revealed when this occurred.

The socle of the northern pillar of the arch was constructed upon a foundation of regular limestone blocks. Underneath, the excavations exposed the substrate of the foundation blocks, composed of mortared rubble laid out on top of the tephra mother soil. The retrieved pottery included sherds characteristic of the first half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century CE which provided a *terminus post quem* for the construction of the arch itself.

It is probably during the arrangement of this foundation that the upper fill deposits of the pit in the east part of Trench NEG2, consisting of yellow-greenish tephra with small limestone fragments and charcoal as inclusions, were reworked. This caused the Hellenistic material of the fill to be mixed with some early Roman Imperial pottery. The pit was sealed by a deposit of brown sandy silt and tephra with charcoal inclusions on top of which a walking level of beaten earth was arranged; pottery from its substrate was again mainly Hellenistic in date with some early Roman Imperial sherds.

In the west part of Trench NEG 2, the mortared foundation deposit of the arch and the tephra were covered by a levelling layer of compact sandy silt which equally served as substrate for a street level of beaten earth. Its ceramic material was characteristic for the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE.

Further west, in Trench NEG1, similar levelling layers were present on top of the mother soil of weathered ophiolitic *mélange* and against the foundation of the south wall of the Terrace Building. Immediately on top of the mother soil, a clayish deposit with limestone and ophiolite inclusions was found. On top, yellowish-brown, sandy layers of reworked tephra were arranged with limestone and tile fragments, mortar chunks and pieces of tuff as inclusions. The compact nature of its surface suggested that the latter deposits served as substrate for a walking level. The ceramics from these levelling deposits could be attributed to the start of our era but also included a large amount of residual Hellenistic pottery as well as one Classical/Hellenistic sherd.

Given that the limestone slabs of the street were laid out on top of these walking levels of beaten earth covering the foundation deposits of the arch, the pavement of the street occurred after the construction of the North-East Gate. This places the North-East Gate earlier than the two arches dedicated to Claudius marking the south-west and south-east entrances to the square. The earliest of the latter, the South-West Arch, which was built on top of (and therefore postdated) the stylobate of the West Portico, could be dated to 42/43 CE (Eich *et al.* in press). The mid-2<sup>nd</sup> century CE date of the North-East Gate originally suggested on the basis of its architectural decoration (Waelkens *et al.* 2000: 311) can therefore no longer be retained. A recently suggested Augustan date (Waelkens *et al.* 2014: 243) is possible.

### *Construction of the Tychaion*

Another monument that formed part of the building programme was the *Tychaion* on the south side of the square. This shrine of the city goddess of Sagalassos was situated in the centre of the southern edge of the agora, along a route that traversed the square on its southern side. It had a square canopy roof with four concave sides which were decorated with leaf motifs, carried by four columns on top of square pedestals. The interior frieze of the cornices was decorated with floral ornaments consisting of a central acanthus bush from which tendrils sprout in opposite directions. This suggested a date in the Augustan period (Vandeput 1997: 43-45, 195-196). The shrine originally housed a statue of the goddess on a centrally placed base of which only the plinth is preserved. On its north side, facing the agora, the location of its altar is indicated by a patch of chisel marks and the presence of a central dowel hole with a channel for pouring lead (Lavan 2013: 316). The importance of this baldachin monument for the identity of the city is proven by its appearance on civic coin issues and its continuing popularity into late antiquity. This resulted in the conversion of the pagan sanctuary in the late 4<sup>th</sup> century into a dynastic shrine for emperors Gratian and Valentinian II, and an unidentified empress, probably Constantia, the wife of Gratian (Talloon and Waelkens 2004: 188-191). Along the eastern border of Trench 4 of 2015, a trench had been carved into the limestone bedrock for the arrangement of the western foundation blocks of the shrine (Fig. 15). The fill of this trench, composed of silty soil and many limestone fragments, contained ceramics dating to the last quarter of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE, which established a *terminus post quem* for the construction of the *Tychaion*.



Fig. 15. Ortho-photo of the early Roman Imperial period foundation trench carved in the limestone bedrock on the west side of the *Tychaion* in Trench 4.

The results of the excavations in Trench 4 appear to corroborate the Augustan date proposed on the basis of the architectural decoration of the monument (Vandeput 1997: 45). Having said that, it does appear to belong to the end of this period as the north-eastern foundation blocks of the monument carried the mason marks AT (Fig. 16), which were also present on the slabs of the agora pavement in and around Trench 1 of 2014. This suggested that both were carved by the same mason, and were therefore part of consecutive operations, presumably close in time.

### *Construction of the West and East Porticoes*

In the space between the Upper Agora and the Bouleuterion, but also on the south and east side of the square, to the north of the Market Building, Doric porticoes with columns on top of square pedestals were built. Two of the porticoes were targeted by the control excavations.

The 5.95-6.25m wide and 42.20m long West Portico, bordering the square on its west side and preceding a series of rooms, consisted of columns placed 2.80m apart on top of pedestals. It is generally thought to originate in the Augustan period (Waelkens *et al.* 2011: 80), though clear evidence for this was lacking. It was investigated by Trench 1 of 2014, with a length of 1.60m (N-S) and a width of 1.50m (E-W), laid out immediately east of the

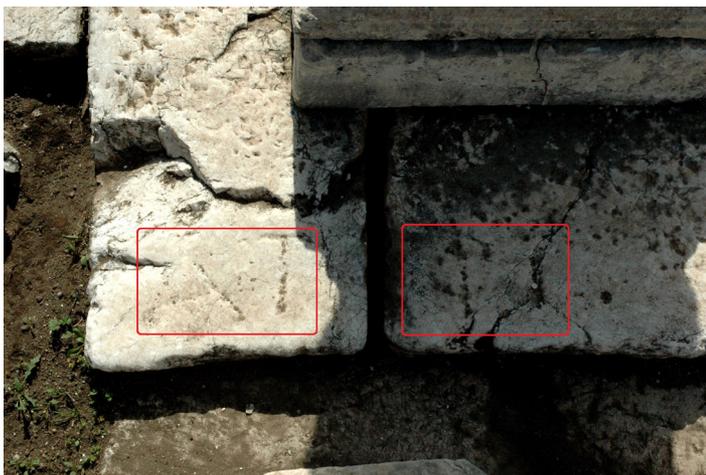


Fig. 16. Mason marks AT on the foundation stones of the north-east pedestal of the *Tychaion*.

portico. Its excavation revealed a layer of mortared rubble (Fig. 17) on top of the early Roman Imperial floor deposit covering the ophiolitic bedrock. It continued towards the west, underneath the stylobate of the West Portico, serving as its foundation. The mortared rubble did not contain any pottery, but the early Roman Imperial ceramics from the underlying deposit provided a *post quem* date for the construction of the portico. The South-West Arch dedicated to the emperor Claudius in 42/43 CE, on the other hand, was built on top of the southern end of the stylobate for the West Portico, providing a *terminus ante quem*<sup>2</sup>.



Fig. 17. Mortared rubble foundation (locus 21) of the stylobate of the West Portico in Trench 1 of 2014.

The East Portico was composed of columns on top of pedestals, as was the case in the west, but only appears to have been present over a length of maximum 21m, as it was bordered to the north by the North-East Building dated to the Augustan period (Waelkens *et al.* 2000: 304-311), and to the south by the Hellenistic Market Building. It was investigated by Trench 5 of 2015. Over a length of 2.90m, a

<sup>2</sup> Traces of an erased earlier inscription may even place the arch during the reign of Gaius (37-41 CE) (Eich *et al.* in press).



Fig. 18. Mortared rubble foundation (locus 134) of the East Portico on top of stone fills (loci 160 and 164) in Trench 5 of 2015.

ness of 1.20m. These mainly consisted of large amounts of medium-sized rubble stone, mixed with some dark brown silty soil. On top of these stone deposits the foundation of the portico made of mortared rubble was arranged (Fig. 18). The pottery from these fill deposits established a *terminus post quem* in the beginning of our era.

The fact that the foundation of the East Portico was much deeper than the western one is most probably related to the fact that it was built on top of a relatively unstable back-filled pit, rather than on top of the solid mother rock as was the case for the West Portico.

Soundings in the South Portico in 2013 (Waelkens *et al.* 2015: 38) produced a date in the early 1<sup>st</sup> century CE for the southern stylobate, suggesting that all three porticoes were built more or less at the same time. With the construction of porticoes on three sides, the square became formally defined and enclosed architecturally. This type of monumentalisation of public squares in Asia Minor enjoyed great popularity during the Roman Imperial period (Pont 2010: 181-186).

#### *The layout of terracotta water channels*

As part of the rearrangement of the Upper Agora, several water channels of terracotta pipes were laid out across the square, before it was covered with slabs. In the south part of Trench 3 of 2014, a NW-SE oriented trench was excavated over a length of 1.59m and a maximum width of 0.95m. It had been cut through the Hellenistic walking levels into the volcanic tephra to a depth of 0.50m for the construction of a water channel of terracotta pipes (Fig. 19). The exposed water channel consisted of three terracotta pipes



Fig. 19. Early 1<sup>st</sup> century CE water conduit of terracotta pipes (locus 44) in Trench 3 of 2014.

N-S oriented trench with a maximum depth of 0.80m and a maximum width of 1.07m was registered which cut through the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE levelling deposits. The arrangement of the foundation of the East Portico left some of the Hellenistic deposits in the south-western part of Trench 5 only. The deposits, filling this construction trench and raising the walking level with another 0.40m, had a total thick-

with a length of 0.55m and a diameter of 0.27m, which were connected with lime mortar. Ceramics from the cover and the fill of the trench of the water conduit could be attributed to the first half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century CE, providing a *terminus post quem* for the layout of the water system.

A similar, N-S oriented water channel of terracotta pipes identical to those of the channel in Trench 3, was exposed over a length of 2.15m on the east edge of Trench 4 of 2014 (Fig. 23). It was built on a deposit abutting the foundation fill of the honorific monument on its east side dating to the beginning of era (see above). The pottery from the lower fill of the construction trench of the channel could again be dated to the first half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century CE.

In the fill of the construction trench of the water channel evacuating the overflow of the Antonine Nymphaeum (see below) excavated in Trench 2 of 2014 (to the west of the channel) and Trench 3 of 2015 (to the east of the channel), numerous fragments of terracotta water pipes and lime mortar fragments were found which suggested the presence of an earlier terracotta conduit, similar to the ones mentioned above.

All these channels dating to the early Roman Imperial period originated on the northern side of the square, implying the presence of a water feature prior to the Antonine Nymphaeum dated to the reign of Marcus Aurelius (see also Waelkens *et al.* 2014: 243). The construction of the latter, however, removed all traces of such an earlier construction.

### *Paving the agora*

The building programme was completed by the pavement of the square with rectangular limestone slabs. The substrate of this pavement was revealed by all of the control excavations, except Trench 5 of 2014 where the original substrate had been removed in late antiquity. It generally consisted of compact silty soil including many small limestone fragments, which can be identified as refuse of stone carving, most probably related to the building activity on and around the square. The pottery from these deposits could consistently be dated to the first quarter of the 1<sup>st</sup> century CE, a *terminus post quem* for the flooring of the agora.

In Trench 1 of 2014, this substrate was present on top of the deposit of the mortared rubble which carried the stylobate of the West Portico. The absence of an intermediate floor level suggested that the construction of both portico and pavement were part of the same building project. In and around Trench 1, the inscribed marks of several masons could be recorded on pavement slabs: AT, C, N and Π. One of them, AT possibly to be identified as Attalos, a common name at Sagalassos (Waelkens *et al.* 2010: 37), was responsible for carving the slab in the south-east part of the trench (Fig. 20). The same mason was most probably also involved in the construction of the *Tychaion*, suggesting temporal proximity for the pavement and the monument.

In Trench 2 of 2014, the substrate of the pavement covered the walking level on top of the levelled ophiolitic clay (see above), while in Trench 3 of 2014 the substrate was present on top of the late Hellenistic floor level in the northern part of the trench, and on top of the stony deposit covering the water channel in the southern part.

In Trench 4 of 2014, the substratum of the slabs was revealed in the north part of the trench where it covered the walking level associated with the denuded monument, as well as part of the foundation blocks of the latter, indicating that the structure had been dismantled prior to the layout of the pavement. A similar situation was present in Trench 1 of 2015, where the substrate deposit of the slabs was also found on top of the foundation blocks of the monument and the adjacent walking level. This suggests that the monument was already removed during the first half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century CE.



Fig. 20. View of the pavement (locus 1) in Trench 1 of 2014, with the mason mark AT (bottom) and two postholes (top).

The late Hellenistic-early Roman Imperial walking level arranged on the surface of the excavated ophiolitic clay in Trench 3 of 2015 was covered by levelling deposits which served as a substrate for the arrangement of the limestone pavement of the agora. Their ceramic content, dating to the first quarter of the 1<sup>st</sup> century CE, provided a *terminus post quem* for this operation.

The fills of the construction trench for the *Tychaion* and the adjacent limestone bedrock



Fig. 21. Walking level of slabs and beaten earth (locus 86) to the west of the *Tychaion* in Trench 4 of 2015. Note how the pavement slab of the agora was carved to fit round the northwest foundation stone of the monument.

in Trench 4 of 2015 were covered with levelling deposits containing four late Hellenistic bronze coins, three of Sagalassos and one of Selge, as well as early 1<sup>st</sup> century CE ceramics. It was on top of this that the floor level to the west of the shrine, consisting of small irregular limestone slabs adjoining the west side of the shrine and beaten earth further west, was laid out (Fig. 21). The absence of regular limestone slabs in this area was probably due

to the proximity of the limestone bedrock, only 0.23m below the surface. Immediately north of the trench, slabs were present, which were arranged around the northern foundation blocks of the shrine, indicating their relative posteriority.

On top of the stony fills of the trench for the construction of the East Portico in Trench 5 of 2015, several levelling deposits of silty soil again containing large amounts of small limestone fragments, were arranged. The ceramics retrieved from these deposits could be dated to the first quarter of the 1<sup>st</sup> century CE. These deposits not only served as the substrate of the pavement of limestone slabs, but also covered the mortared foundation of the portico, without any intermediate floor level. As attested on the western border of the square, this situation again suggests that the construction of the portico and the pavement occurred almost contemporaneously. Also in and around this trench, mason marks were registered: K and Δ.

While previous research attributed the enlargement of the square and its pavement to the Augustan period (Waelkens *et al.* 1997: 130-136), the programme of control excavations separated both activities by several decades. Based on the recent results, the pavement can be dated after the reign of Augustus and before that of Claudius. To put things in a regional perspective, the pavement of the *Tiberia Plateia* – the square in front of the imperial sanctuary – as well as that of the *cardo* and *decumanus* by Titus Baebius Asiaticus at Pisidian Antioch took place in the second quarter of the 1<sup>st</sup> century CE (Mitchell and Waelkens 1998: 150-151 and 221).

Although the pavement of the Upper Agora has a number of different sections in terms of orientation and size of the slabs, these did not correspond with different dates of paving. One explanation may be the contemporaneous activity of different teams of stone masons.

Also the street leading to the Upper Agora from the north-east was paved at this time, using less regular slabs of limestone. The excavations of Trench NEG1 revealed a series of compact deposits arranged in preparation of the paving immediately underneath the street slabs. These layers were composed of dark brown silty soil, and held many limestone and tile fragments as inclusions. The pottery associated with these deposits was characteristic for the early 1<sup>st</sup> century CE, with a residual Hellenistic component.

In Trench NEG2, on top of the early Roman Imperial walking levels and against the foundation stones of the North-East Gate, a compact layer of brown silty soil with small limestone inclusions served as substrate for the pavement. Most of the pottery belonged to the Hellenistic period, but a significant amount of sherds was again indicative for the early 1<sup>st</sup> century CE.

The early Roman Imperial walking level associated with the South-East Honorific Column in Trench 2 of 2015 was covered by levelling deposits, which served as the substrate of the limestone slabs. The pottery, dating to the second quarter of the 1<sup>st</sup> century, provided a *terminus post quem* for the pavement of the agora that was somewhat later than the rest of the agora floor. It was possibly also at this time that the column-monument was largely dismantled and re-erected in a modified way. The blocks of its two-stepped substructure were clearly rearranged as could be established on the basis of the clamp holes and mason marks, and the reuse of some of these blocks as pavement slabs immediately west of the monument. The presence

of sherds dating to the first half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century CE in the mortared core of the monument provided a *terminus post quem* for this operation.

The fact that the honorific inscription for Admon, son of Arnestes, was inscribed on the pedestal of the column rather than on a panel on one of the drums as was the case on the South-West and North-West Columns for Ilagoas and Krateros, the sons of Kallikles, suggested a different practice of dedication, which was possibly related to the re-modification of the column during the second quarter of the 1<sup>st</sup> century CE. Such a later date of dedication is also corroborated by the honorific inscription for Arnestes, the son of Admon (and grandson of Arnestes), who was honoured as a victor in the wrestling contest of the Klareian games under the presidency of Tiberius Claudius Piso during the Flavian period (Devijver 1996: 133 n° 3). This ruled out the possibility that his father would have been an active citizen during the reign of Augustus.

At the beginning of our era, the open space of the agora became gradually filled in with free standing monuments, dedicated to emperors, imperial officials as well as worthy citizens (Waelkens *et al.* 2011: 80-82). It illustrates how, from the early Imperial period onwards, the agora (and the city at large) underwent a drastic transformation. The mainly functional and simple architecture of the Hellenistic period became superseded by opulent representative architecture turning the agora into a showcase for the status of the local elite and its ties with the Roman authorities, embodying the transition from a democratic to an oligarchic system. The city's Bouleuterion, the new seat of the oligarchic council, could be attributed to the same phase of monumental expansion.

The small canopy shrine of Tyche, on the other hand, can probably be seen as the result of local identity building, an increasingly important social paradigm in the globalising context of the Roman Empire (Revell 2009). To this end several sanctuaries for poliad deities – the distinguishing sign boards of every city and the sacred core of its identity – were constructed.

Shortly afterwards, during the second quarter of the 1<sup>st</sup> century CE, the Upper Agora received its limestone pavement and became surrounded by porticoes, giving the square a regular and monumental appearance. Together with the erection of honorific monuments on and around the agora, the porticoes transformed the character of the square into a closed space devoted to elite ideology and used for their representation.

### **Middle Roman Imperial period: an age of maintenance**

#### *Construction of a water channel*

A 52m long water channel evacuating the overflow of an unidentified fountain on the north side of the square crossed the west part of agora from north to south. Its interior had been cleaned out in 1999 and the conduit was provisionally dated to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century CE on the basis of its relation with the fountain (Waelkens *et al.* 2001: 166). The channel had a rectangular section which was 0.30m wide and c. 0.35m deep, and consisted of a tile floor and mortared rubble walls of which the inner faces were covered with pink hydraulic mortar.

In the eastern half of Trench 2 of 2014, situated immediately east of the channel, a 0.45m deep and 0.65m wide trench was dug through the substrate of the pavement and into the mother soil of weathered ophiolite bedrock for the construction of this water channel (Fig. 22). The lower part fill consisted of silty soil with limestone fragments, pieces of tile and terracotta water pipes, as well as remains of mortar as inclusions. It could be attributed to the 1<sup>st</sup> century CE on the basis of the retrieved pottery. The upper fill deposit was characterised by many rubble stones and could be dated to the late 1<sup>st</sup>-early 2<sup>nd</sup> century CE based on its ceramic material; this date constituted a *terminus post quem* for the construction of the channel.



Fig. 22. Late Hellenistic-early Roman Imperial walking level (locus 46) on top of the ophiolitic clay (locus 50) and late 1<sup>st</sup>-early 2<sup>nd</sup> century CE construction trench (locus 18) of the water channel filled by loci 20 and 32 in Trench 2 of 2014.

A similar construction trench was found along the western edge of Trench 3 of 2015, laid out immediately west of the water channel, where it again cut through the pavement substrate and partly into the ophiolitic clay. In this case, the east wall of the channel could be exposed over a length of 2.45m; it was 0.58m high. It proved to be built of mortared rubble stone and tile fragments, and covered with limestone slabs (south) and *spolia* (north). As in Trench 2 of 2014, fragments of an earlier water channel, composed of terracotta water pipes, were retrieved from the fill of the construction trench of the channel, as well as sherds belonging to the third quarter of the 1<sup>st</sup> century CE, which constituted a *terminus post quem* for the construction of the channel.

The late 1<sup>st</sup>-early 2<sup>nd</sup> century CE date of the water channel corroborated the existence of an older fountain at the north side of the square, prior to the construction of the Antonine nymphaeum in the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century CE, as already suggested by the early Roman Imperial conduits discussed above.

### *Repair of water channels*

In addition to the construction of this new channel, the existing water infrastructure present underneath the pavement of the agora also continued to be maintained. In the southeast corner of Trench 4 of 2014, deposits of loosely aggregated soil with a combined thickness of 0.30m were excavated, covering the early Roman Imperial water channel of terracotta pipes which displayed traces of repairs in the form of tile fragments and stones placed over holes in



Fig. 23. Foundation of the early Roman Imperial monument (locus 122) and the early 1<sup>st</sup> century CE water conduit of terracotta pipes (locus 129), repaired in two places (loci 130 & 131) in Trench 4 of 2014.

of antiquity, leaving only the blocks of its substructure connected by metal clamps (as indicated by the holes) and forming a square with a side of 3.40m. It appears to have been added to a previously existing structure situated towards the north, with a similar width and a length of 2.70m. Along the east side of Trench 3, bordering the *euthynteria* blocks of the dismantled monument, the row of pavements slabs proved to be c.0.05m lower than the western row of slabs, indicating that they had been repositioned. Underneath, the substrate for the pavement slabs, the Hellenistic walking levels, and the natural tephra had all been cut by a 0.52m deep and 0.33m wide foundation trench for the arrangement of the monument of which the foundation blocks were exposed over a length of 3.25m. During its construction, the presence of the early Roman Imperial terracotta water channel was noted and respected, resulting in the absence of a foundation block for the south-west corner of the monument (Fig. 24). The pottery retrieved from the fill of the construction trench was dated to the 1<sup>st</sup> century CE, providing a



Fig. 24. Foundation blocks (locus 38) and *euthynteria* of the monument on the east side of Trench 3 of 2014. Note how the foundation block is missing underneath the southwest corner of the monument.

two places (Fig. 23). Judging by the ceramics retrieved from these deposits, the repairs appear to have been executed sometime during the 2<sup>nd</sup> century CE.

#### *Erection of honorific monuments*

Also during the middle Roman Imperial period, freestanding monuments continued to be erected on the square, as indicated by the remains of such a monument immediately east of Trench 3 of 2014. This structure had been removed in the course

*post quem* date for the monument, but also contained a residual piece of pottery dating to the Classical-Hellenistic period (late 5<sup>th</sup>-early 3<sup>rd</sup> century BCE).

The southernmost of a series of honorific monuments in the centre of the agora took the form of a square socle with two steps (measuring 3m N-S and 2.90m E-W) which supported a square base carrying a polygonal pillar, one of two such stepped monuments currently present on the Upper Agora. While the richly decorated northern example was dated at the end of the 1<sup>st</sup>-beginning of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century CE on the basis of its architectural decoration (Waelkens 1993: 15), no date had been suggested for the southern monument. The foundation stones of the stepped monument carrying a hexagonal pillar present on the northern edge of Trench 1 of 2015 were laid out on top of the substrate deposit, an operation for which the original pavement slabs appear to have been removed. No exact date for this activity could be established other than the *terminus post quem* provided by the paving of the square. Having said that, 1) the N-S alignment of the structure with the other preserved stepped monument with an octagonal pillar on the north side of the square – a richly decorated monument featuring the bust of Perseus and head of Medusa dated to the late 1<sup>st</sup>-early 2<sup>nd</sup> century CE (Waelkens 1993: 15); 2) the E-W alignment of the latter with the substructure investigated by Trench 3 in 2014 which is held by L. Lavan to have carried another stepped monument (2013: 316-318); 3) as well as the presence of a fourth dismantled monument<sup>3</sup>, with foundation blocks connected by clamps, situated east of Trench 1 and south of Trench 3, all suggest a group of four similar but not identical monuments erected in the centre of the northern half of the square (Fig. 1)<sup>4</sup>. We consider such a planned effort to be indicative of a similar date of origin at the end of the 1<sup>st</sup>-beginning of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century CE.

As the placement of statues on public squares (and elsewhere) was regulated according to status (Ma 2013), this central group must have been reserved for the representation of figures of the utmost importance to the local community. The north-western monument with the depiction of Perseus mentioned above, for example, could have carried the statue of a mythical founder of the city (Talloe forthcoming).

### Late antique modifications

#### *Repair of existing water channels*

In late antiquity, water management remained an important communal concern. In the south-east corner of Trench 3 of 2014, a pit with a depth of 0.47m was dug through the earlier deposits in order to reach the early 1<sup>st</sup> century CE water channel. The pottery found in the fill of this pit could be dated to the 4<sup>th</sup>-5<sup>th</sup> centuries CE. The excavations also revealed how the middle one of the exposed pipes was maintained with a patch of hydraulic mortar, while the easternmost pipe was found breached (Fig. 19). The fill present inside the conduit and largely

<sup>3</sup> This structure was previously identified as a Hellenistic monument (Waelkens 1993: 15-16 and 35 Fig. 24) but the correlation between the levels of the *euthyteria* and the pavement of the agora rather indicates a Roman Imperial date.

<sup>4</sup> The identification of another two-stepped monument further south, as suggested by L. Lavan on the basis of alleged clamp holes in some of the pavement slabs (2013:316-317), is unfounded.

blocking the flow of water consisted of sandy soil with pebbles and mortar remains, as well as pottery dated to the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century CE. Together with the ceramics from the fill of the pit, they provided a *terminus post quem* for the attempt to repair it. The presence of a breached and unrepaired pipe indicated that the attempt was futile and the channel was given up.

The water channel evacuating the overflow of the Antonine Nymphaeum also required repairs to its cover. The cover stones on the west edge of Trench 3 of 2015 and immediately north of the trench were not regular slabs but later, spoliated elements. Given that these included several elements from a sanctuary of the *Hagnai Theai*, Demeter and Kore, including column fragments and a dedicatory inscription, ritually neutralised by the Christian εἰς θεοῦ ('(there is only) one god') inscription, this repair should be placed after the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century when this shrine is considered to have gone out of use (Talloon and Vercauteren 2011: 352-353). Another cover stone of the channel located further south was inscribed with a cross (Lavan 2013: 317 Fig. 8 and 335).

#### *New terracotta water channels*

It was probably as a result of the gradual loss of older conduits that new terracotta channels were arranged on the square. Along the eastern edge of Trench 5 of 2015, adjoining the step below the stylobate of the East Portico, the limestone slabs had been removed. This was done for the arrangement of a water channel consisting of terracotta water pipes which was exposed over a length of 2.90m. It consisted of eight pipes with a length of 0.38m and a diameter of 0.12m, joined with lime mortar (Fig. 25). For the construction of the channel a trench had been cut into the original substrate of the pavement. This trench was filled with a deposit of dark brown silty soil. The latter contained ceramics that could be dated to the 6<sup>th</sup> century CE, constituting a *terminus post quem* for the layout of the channel. It undoubtedly originated from a collecting basin in front of the Antonine Nymphaeum.

Also in the north-east street, along the south wall of the Terrace Building, a terracotta water channel was arranged at this time. The water channel was already partially excavated in 1996 and attributed to the late antique period (Waelkens *et al.* 2000: 298). In trench NEG1 of 2015, the remains of this channel were excavated in the 0.20m wide area between the south wall and the slabs of the street. Placed into a construction pit, it descended westwards along the wall and consisted of five terracotta pipes bonded with lime mortar. Each individual pipe had a length of 0.41m and a diameter of 0.14m.



Fig. 25. Ortho-photo of the 6<sup>th</sup> century CE water channel in Trench 5 of 2015.

The fill of the construction trench consisted of a loose, dark brown, sandy silt with tiny limestones, and brick and tile fragments as inclusions. The majority of its pottery could be attributed to the early Roman Imperial period, with a smaller late Hellenistic component. However, a few large sherds retrieved from the deposit belonged to a vessel characteristic for the late antique period.

### *Removal of monuments*

The late antique period witnessed the removal of several honorific monuments from the square and its immediate vicinity. If indeed the substructure of the freestanding monument investigated by Trench 3 of 2014 carried a polygonal statue base as did the preserved examples to the west, then the superstructure could have been removed prior to the middle of the 6<sup>th</sup> century CE. This operation is indicated by the finding of a square base for a hexagonal pillar as part of the water basin built in the north-west corner of the square by the middle of that century; another similar base was found in secondary display between the two standing examples without the stepped socle (Lavan 2013: 318-320). Many other parts of monuments ended up in the newly built north wall of the North-East Building, dated to the 6<sup>th</sup> century (Waelkens *et al.* 2000: 304-311; Lavan 2013: 294, 319-320). A smaller statue base could also have been installed on the pavement in Trench 1 of 2014, forming part of a series of such monuments placed in front of the West Portico, as suggested by rectangular patches of cracks and slight chisel points noted by Lavan (2013: 323-324 and Fig. 11a, Base 4).

Other monuments were allowed to remain in place, often after having been up-dated as was the case with the honorific columns in the corners of the square. The South-West Column was reconfigured to carry a statue of Constantius II as suggested by the new inscription on the base (Waelkens *et al.* 2011: 84). The South-East Column, originally dedicated to Admon, son of Arnestes, received a new inscription in the shape of an acclamation for the *Michaelitai*, the followers of the Archangel who were attested elsewhere on the square during the 6<sup>th</sup> century CE (Talloon forthcoming). Also the conversion of the *Tychaion* into a dynastic imperial monument at the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century CE ensured the survival of the structure on the public square until its eventual abandonment in the course of the 7<sup>th</sup> century CE. No traces of a major late antique building operation were found in the stratigraphical record of Trench 4 of 2015, suggesting that the structure was only slightly modified through the removal of its altar and the cult statue. The North-East Gate was equally modified by the removal of its upper storey during the late 5<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> century CE as demonstrated by L. Lavan (2013: 314-315), but the excavations of Trench NEG2 showed that the lower part of the arched gateway remained untouched during this process.

The uneven approach to earlier monuments suggests a carefully deliberated re-organisation of the square. The opening-up of the square as a result of this operation would have greatly enlarged the space available for social and commercial gatherings. The latter is also suggested by the measures taken to facilitate the setup of market stalls (see below).

### *Modifications to the agora floor*

In general, the original early 1<sup>st</sup> century CE pavement was retained throughout late antiquity. Yet, the north-west corner of the pavement appears to have been re-laid. In Trench 5 of 2014, situated in the western part of the agora with a length of 2.50m (N-S) and a width of 0.75m (E-W), the substratum for the pavement, consisting of compact dark brown silty soil, could be dated to the 6<sup>th</sup> century CE on the basis of its ceramic content. Underneath, two parallel, N-S oriented walls, built of mortared rubble and tile fragments, were exposed along the west and east edge of the trench, corresponding to the rows of slabs in this part of the square. The west wall had an exposed length of 2.51m, a width of 0.21m and a maximum height of 0.33m, while the east wall was excavated over a length of 2.53m, with a width of 0.32m and a maximum height of 0.26m. The construction of these walls had removed every trace of the original substrate of the pavement, except for some early Roman Imperial pottery found on top of the ophiolitic clay. Between the two walls a deposit of building debris was present, while at the northern end of the trench a deposit of mortared rubble and tile fragments was found (see Fig. 26). The ceramics found in these fill deposits could be attributed to the 6<sup>th</sup> century CE.



Fig. 26. The 6<sup>th</sup> century CE support walls (loci 68 and 71), mortared rubble (locus 77) and fill of building debris (loci 86 and 88) underneath the slabs in Trench 5 of 2014.

Further to the south-east, in Trench 2 of 2014, an E-W oriented alignment of medium-sized rubble stones was found underneath the north-western slab of the pavement. It corresponded to the southern edge of this limestone slab, indicating that it had been arranged to stabilise the overlying stone. Pottery found between the rubble stones could be dated to the 5<sup>th</sup> century CE and provided a *terminus post quem* for these stabilisation works.

Minor interventions in the pavement were more widespread. The removal of slabs in function of new water channels has already been mentioned. Another kind of intervention was the cutting of corners of slabs. This has been identified as the creation of postholes for the setup of wooden market stalls which generally consisted of four-post structures (Lavan 2013: 328-331).

In Trench 1 of 2014, the two north-western corners of the eastern two slabs had been removed (Fig. 20) for the creation of the postholes (measuring 0.18 by 0.20m and 0.18 by 0.15m) of a stall (Lavan 2013: 317 Fig. 8 and 11a Stall B). Ceramics

retrieved from the soil in these holes between the slabs ranged in the date between the 1<sup>st</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> century CE. A *topos* inscription on the north-western slab in Trench 1, τοπος χαλκο|τυπων,

suggests that it may have been the stall of coppersmiths, although L. Lavan associated the inscription with one of the shops arranged in the West Portico (Lavan 2013: 333). An alternative explanation would be that this was the place of gathering for the association of coppersmiths during socio-political and religious manifestations.



Fig. 27. Posthole in the southeast corner of Trench 3 of 2014.

The presence of a similar posthole (measuring 0.26 by 0.18m) in the south-east corner of Trench 3 of 2014 (Fig. 27) could be related to another posthole (measuring 0.18 by 0.21m) found in the south-east corner of the adjacent moment, suggesting the presence of a stall with a width of 2.90m, as proposed by L. Lavan (2013: 317 Fig. 8). The pottery from the fill of this posthole was dated to the 6<sup>th</sup> century CE. This in turn presents a *terminus ante quem* for the removal of the honorific monument.

As pointed out by L. Lavan (2013: 331), the regular alignment and size of the postholes suggested that these likely represented wooden market stalls in a regulated market. Given their coherence, they probably represented a single regulative regime across the market place, and would therefore be of the same date. The stalls are likely to date from the 6<sup>th</sup> or 7<sup>th</sup> centuries CE as in several places they cut through the foundations stones of a number of freestanding monuments which were probably removed in the early 6<sup>th</sup> century given the reuse of their architectural members in 6<sup>th</sup> century constructions around the square.

#### *Conversion of the Bouleuterion into a church*

The early Roman Imperial Bouleuterion retained its function as the seat of the local city council or *boule* at least until the late 4<sup>th</sup> century CE when it was considered to have been partly spoliated for building materials to be used in the construction of the nearby late antique fortifications (Waelkens *et al.* 2000: 231-240). Sometime after this event, the complex was reused for the establishment of what was accepted to have been the first early Christian basilica of the city. While the former council hall itself became an open air courtyard or *atrium*, its original forecourt came to house a two-storied tripartite basilica (19.60m long and 14.30m wide) with a semi-circular apse at its eastern end. A small rectangular service room for liturgical preparations or *pastophorion* was present at the eastern end of the southern aisle. This conversion was dated to the early 5<sup>th</sup> century CE, based on a stylistic analysis of the mosaics covering the floor of the basilica's nave and north aisle (Waelkens *et al.* 2001: 163-166; Waelkens *et al.* 2006: 220-221). The ecclesiastical building underwent extensive repairs in the course of the 6<sup>th</sup> century but remained in use until the 7<sup>th</sup> century CE when a massive earthquake badly damaged the church and caused much of the upper city of Sagalassos to be abandoned.

At some point, the water channel excavated in Trench BA1 in the south-east corner of the Bouleuterion forecourt, and possibly also the broken-out one in the northern part, were put out of use. The channel in the south-east part of the forecourt was filled with a 0.33m thick deposit of rubble, bricks and mortar fragments.

Possibly at the same time as the destruction of the water channel, the slabs of the Bouleuterion forecourt were broken out (except for some slabs in the southern part of the trench), leaving a deposit of mortar remains.

On top of this removed floor, a (floor?) level composed of tiles set in mortar was found as part of a bench-like structure built against the east wall of the forecourt. The latter was rebuilt at this time as a wall of spoliated blocks, possibly related to the construction of the church (Fig. 28).

Along the northern edge of Trench BA2, a row of E-W oriented rectangular limestone slabs was arranged in a 0.15m deep construction trench cut into the ophiolitic mélange and through the remains of the water conduit, as part of the floor of the northern aisle of the church. Sherds from the fill of that trench could be attributed to the 6<sup>th</sup> century CE.

Both in the northern aisle and in the south-eastern space, a levelling deposit of dark brown silty soil was arranged in the course of the 6<sup>th</sup> century CE on top of the broken out floor and the defunct channels, and abutting the slabs. It was on top of these levelling deposits in Trench BA2 that a preparatory layer or *statumen* was laid out which served as the substrate for the mortar bedding of the floor mosaics in the northern side aisle as well as the nave. The *statumen* consisted of medium-sized fragments of bricks, marble, rubble stone and pieces of mortar (Fig. 29). The pottery found within these deposits was characteristic for the second and third quarters of the 6<sup>th</sup> century CE.

The substrate of the floor of the *pastophorion* and the altar platform or *bema* in Trench BA1 was laid out on top of this levelling layer. The ceramics from these layers was again characteristic for the second and third quarters of the 6<sup>th</sup> century CE. Additionally, several marble parts of *opus sectile* were found within this deposit, along with many painted plaster and mortar fragments, and scores of *crustae*. This debris could allude to some kind of refurbishment of the *pastophorion* and/or nearby structures. The floor of *pastophorion* consisted of beaten earth and medium-sized rubble stone (Fig. 30), while the altar platform or *bema* constructed to the north of the sacristy was composed of reused moulded blocks.



Fig. 28. View of the bench-like structure (locus 11) and the east wall of the *pastophorion* (locus 7) from the west.



Fig. 29. View of the *statumen* (locus 214) in Trench BA2.

As part of the conversion of the complex into an early Christian basilica, an ablution fountain (2.80m N-S by 2.40m E-W) was constructed inside the former council hall, on top of the lower rows of the west seats. The excavations in Trench BO1 revealed how one row of pavement slabs was removed from west to east across the former hall, and replaced afterwards, to allow for the construction of a channel composed of terracotta water pipes for the evacuation of the water from its basin. A 0.35m deep and 0.80m wide construction trench was cut through the levelling deposits and even partly through the original mortar foundation of the pavement. The pottery from the fill deposits of this trench could be assigned to the second and third quarters of the 6<sup>th</sup> century CE, providing a *post quem* date for the construction of this water feature. The channel itself remained only partly *in situ* at the western edge of the trench, while numerous water pipe fragments belonging to the original conduit were found scattered throughout the fill deposits, indicating that it had been purposefully destroyed once the fountain went out of use.

In Trench BO4, a 0.14m deep trench was found, dug into the fill supporting the western rows of seats, for the construction of a water channel supplying the ablution fountain built at the bottom of those seats. This channel, composed of terracotta water pipes with a diameter of 0.11m, was still partly in place in the east part of the excavated area near the top of the seats over a length of 1.35m, but absent in the west part where fragments of water pipes indicated its destruction. The source of the conduit could therefore not be determined. Ceramics from the fill of its construction trench could be ascribed to the second to

third century CE. The floor substrate (locus 3) of the *pastophorion* with the *bema* on the left.



Fig. 30. Floor substrate (locus 3) of the *pastophorion* with the *bema* on the left.

third quarters of the 6<sup>th</sup> century CE, confirming the results from Trench BO1. On top of the west part of the water channel, abutting the west wall of the complex, several layers of sandy silt were present including discarded material such as faunal remains, glass fragments, *crustae*, metal objects, (metallurgic) production waste, as well as pottery typical for the second half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century CE.

The consistency of 6<sup>th</sup> century CE dates of different components of the church (northern aisle, mosaic floor of the nave, *pastophorion*, and *bema*), as well as the complete absence of 5<sup>th</sup> century ones, indicated that the early 5<sup>th</sup> century CE origin of the basilica can no longer be maintained. The water channels and ablution fountain constructed inside the former council hall (BO1 and BO4), now serving as forecourt or *atrium* of the church, proved to originate from the same period.

The newly established chronology of the early Christian basilica suggests that the Bouleuterion complex either served its original purpose much longer than was assumed, or had some intermediate function, as it is unlikely that this prominent building would have remained vacant for more than a century. The establishment of the church in this dominant location during the 6<sup>th</sup> century CE substantially altered the character of the agora. Through the contemporary construction of the monumental staircase over the West Portico leading up to the *atrium* of the church (Waelkens *et al.* 2001: 159-163) it had *de facto* become a forecourt of the Christian basilica. Together with the removal of traditional monuments it changed the ideological character of the square (Talloon forthcoming).

#### *Layout of a sewer*

In the area of the North-East Gate, the original limestone slabs of the early Roman Imperial street were almost entirely removed, leaving only one slab in the north-east corner of Trench NEG2. This was most probably the result of the construction of a new sewage system, laid out underneath the south part of the street, leading down towards the agora. There, it was joined with another sewer evacuating water from the 'tunnel' passing through the lower floor of Terrace Building and turned south to cross the square in its eastern part (Waelkens *et al.* 2000: 298).

Along the southern edge of Trench NEG2, the E-W oriented construction trench of the sewer, with a depth of 0.75m, was partly excavated. It was dug through the substrate of the pavement, a levelling deposit, and the fills of an earlier pit, into the underlying tephra. The fill deposits of this trench consisted of loose brown sandy silt with large amounts of limestone rubble, brick fragments, *crustae*, and mortar remains mixed with pottery and animal bones, identifying them as refuse. The ceramics recovered from these loci contained residual pottery from the Hellenistic period and the early Roman Imperial era, but could mainly be attributed to the second-third quarters of the 6<sup>th</sup> century CE. The upper part of the fill served as substrate of a beaten earth walking level that replaced the limestone pavement to the north of the sewer.

A second, N-S directed trench on the western edge of NEG2, extending 0.85m E-W and 0.60m N-S, was cut through the substrate of the early Roman Imperial street level, and into the tephra. It was related to the construction of a channel which emanated from the eastern extremity of the south wall of the Terrace Building, just west of the North-East Gate's

northern pillar, and connected to the main sewer mentioned above. The excavated fill deposits of the pit consisted of loose dark brown sandy silt with small limestone, brick fragments and mortar. The recovered pottery was reflective of the area's history. It contained material from the Hellenistic period, the Roman Imperial era and the 6<sup>th</sup> century CE, the latter providing a *terminus post quem* for the arrangement of the channel.

Together with a coin of the emperor Justinian (543-565 CE) found in a levelling deposit, covering the socle of the north-east Honorific Column, in which the sewer was laid out (Waelkens *et al.* 2000: 303), the results of the control excavations at site NEG situated its construction after the middle of the 6<sup>th</sup> century CE. For the cover of this sewage system numerous *spolia* were used, including columns and elements of Doric entablature that most probably originated from the porticoes surrounding the square. It also cut through several terracotta water channels, like the one excavated in Trench 5 of 2015.

The sewer was the last major construction on the agora, but it also signalled the beginning of the end of the square as the monumental city centre, as indicated by the dismantlement of the porticoes and the disruption of the water supply. Scenarios of abandonment were now taking place all around it with the filling of the 6<sup>th</sup> century CE water basin in the north-west corner of the square with refuse, and the dumping of refuse inside the rooms of the North-East Building during the late 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> centuries CE (Waelkens *et al.* 2006: 234-235; Poblome *et al.* 2010). The history of the Upper Agora as urban centre came to an end with the 7<sup>th</sup> century CE earthquake that ruined all of the monuments on and around the square, and covered much of it with debris.

### Post antique abandonment

At some point after antiquity, a couple of slabs of the *atrium* of the Bouleuterion Basilica were removed in order to dig a pit which even cut through the natural soil, as established in the north-western part of Trench BO2 (Fig. 12). The pit had a length of 3.10m (E-W), a width of 0.80m (N-S), and a maximum depth of 1.40m. It was filled by deposits including limestone fragments, pieces of volcanic tuff, fragments of brick and tile, charcoal and some mortar fragments. The pottery from this fill could be dated to the first half of the 7<sup>th</sup> century CE and to the Mid-Byzantine period (10<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> century CE). The purpose behind this operation remains unclear but it indicates activity in the area of the Upper Agora, most probably related to the community present within the former urban area at this time (Poblome, Talloen and Kaptijn in press). The former city square itself does no longer appear to have fulfilled any central role.

## CONCLUSIONS

The main goal of this paper was to present the preliminary results of the control excavations on and around the Upper Agora which still need to be analysed in further detail in order to realise their full meaning for our understanding of the urbanisation process at Sagalassos. Nevertheless, a first examination of the material traces of this process on the agora allow for initial statements to be made about the community that shaped it and was shaped by it.

In spite of the comprehensive nature of the programme of test excavations, the origins of Sagalassos are still somewhat elusive. Classical-Hellenistic pottery dating between the 5<sup>th</sup> and early 3<sup>rd</sup> century BCE was found in several locations in the area of the agora, but mainly as residual material. It indicates the presence of a settlement in the vicinity of the agora, but its nature and extent remain unclear.

The location of the clay pits rules out the use of the area as market place during this period. As no other area in the city appears to have served as a public square at this time, this would imply that there was no urban centre at this location prior to late 3<sup>rd</sup> century BCE. That Alexander's conquest was "followed by a rapid Hellenization in the use of Greek as an official language, in municipal institutions and in material culture" (Waelkens 2002: 314) is not borne out by the results of the control excavations. Processes of urban community formation, often described as the introduction of the *polis*, only achieved a tangible form from c. 200 BCE onwards through the layout of the first agora, an open square with a walking level of beaten earth. This was followed by the construction of the first public buildings in ashlar architecture in its immediate vicinity.

The urbanisation process was brought to the next level at the end of the Hellenistic period when the public square was substantially enlarged towards the west and north.

Around the beginning of our era, the first honorific monuments were constructed on the agora, which is rather late compared to cities in other Anatolian regions (Ma 2013). They included the honorific columns erected in the four corners of the square. Together with the remnants of other early Roman Imperial monuments found in the central part of the agora, they mark a significant evolution in the use of the square. The agora, a meeting place of the popular assembly, assumed a new socio-political role as a display case for the elite. The city council, dominated by the same elite, was housed in a newly built Bouleuterion, moving the political function partly away from the agora.

Sometime afterwards, during the second quarter of the 1<sup>st</sup> century CE, the square was paved over. Moreover, it also became formally defined and enclosed architecturally at this time through the construction of porticoes on three sides, a monumentalisation of public squares in Asia Minor that enjoyed a great popularity during the Roman Imperial period (Pont 2010: 181-186).

Another group of four monuments in the centre of the square was probably erected at the turn of the 1<sup>st</sup> century CE. Updating of the honorific landscape, however, did not only comprise the addition of new monuments, but the (selective) removal of earlier ones as well. This was established for the early Imperial period as indicated by two monuments that were denuded at the time of the paving of the agora, within a few decades after their construction.

Apart from the occasional honorific monument and the maintenance of (water) infrastructure, the square remained remarkable untouched until the 6<sup>th</sup> century. Other than the removal of some of these honorific monuments, no major alteration to the agora seems to have occurred in late antiquity. This testifies to the continued use and maintenance of the fabric of the public square well into the 6<sup>th</sup> century. Furthermore, it characterises Sagalassos as a city that choose to preserve its agora as an open space until the very end of the period. As such, it provides a contrast to cities which felt that at least one of their *agorai* could now be given over to other uses (Lavan 2013: 298). The newly available space was taken in by a group of market stalls that seem to be regular in design, size, alignment (and tenancy?), suggesting a degree of regulation.

Around the square, building activity was more extensive at this time. The test excavations inside the former Bouleuterion revealed a 2<sup>nd</sup> or 3<sup>rd</sup> quarter of the 6<sup>th</sup> century CE *terminus post quem* date for the conversion of the council building into a church. This not only means that the central basilica was built about a century later than so far assumed, it also calls into question when the council hall became inactive. In any case, it demonstrates the profound impact of Christianity on the urban centre, resulting in an ideological transformation of the square before its eventual demise in the course of the 7<sup>th</sup> century CE.

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