

FROM HELLENISTIC NEIGHBOURHOOD TO BATH-GYMNASIUM AND
BEYOND

The archaeology east of the Upper Agora of Sagalassos

BAS BEAUJEAN, JOHAN CLAEYS, DRIES DAEMS, FRANS DOPERÉ, PETER TALLOEN &
JEROEN POBLOME*

Abstract

Thirty years of excavations and research have turned the Upper Agora area of Sagalassos into one of the best-studied public spaces and political civic centers of Roman poleis in Asia Minor. The area to its east was the last remaining piece of the puzzle to be studied. Between 2015-2021, a series of large-scale excavations obtained a wealth of archaeological evidence, ranging from a Hellenistic neighbourhood to the main gymnasium of the Roman polis, and its rearrangement in Late Antiquity. As a result, these excavations provided information about a wide range of aspects of life in Hellenistic, Roman Imperial, and Early Byzantine Pisidia. This paper presents the relevant evidence and discusses its possible interpretations, so that it can be used to contribute to larger debates and themes within Classical and Anatolian Archaeology.

INTRODUCTION

The settlement of Sagalassos was located in SW Anatolia, in the rugged Western Taurus, and was occupied between the 5th c. BCE and 13th c. CE. During Hellenistic times (c. 350-25 BCE), Sagalassos gradually matured into a regional player. Its heydays took place during Roman Imperial times (25 BCE-300 CE). The Upper Agora area of Sagalassos (Fig. 1) is one of the most thoroughly excavated public spaces of Late Hellenistic and Roman Imperial Asia Minor.¹ In the west, this square was bordered by several political, religious and civic buildings (e.g. Bouleuterion, 'Prytaneion')², while the Tychaion presided over its southern side³. To the north, initially a 1-25 CE fountain⁴, and later the 160-180 CE

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¹ Talloen and Poblome 2016; Poblome *et al.* 2022a.

² Talloen *et al.* 2016; Talloen and Poblome 2016: 124-127; Uytterhoeven and Poblome 2019.

³ Talloen 2019a.

⁴ Talloen and Poblome 2021.



Fig. 1. Map of Sagalassos. © *Sagalassos Archaeological Research Project*.

Antonine Nymphaeum provided an aquatic spectacle⁵. The only agora-adjacent area which up to now remained archaeologically untouched was located directly to its east. As large-scale excavations in this area have reached a point of completion, this paper brings the archaeological evidence together, clarifying past and present interpretations for the benefit of the wider academic community.

A first detailed map and description of the area-in-question was provided by the Pisidia Survey Project in 1987. Several unfluted Doric columns and some heart-shaped variants were documented at the surface, and described as part of a large rectangular or π -shaped structure with Doric porticoes around a rectangular courtyard (22.5×27 m, Fig. 2).⁶ The authors observed that little remained of the building(s) to the west and south of this courtyard, while the northern area remained buried, and the eastern side had eroded. Because of these limitations, the function of this porticoed courtyard remained undetermined.⁷ Despite these intriguing observations, it was not until the 1996 excavations of the NE corner of the Upper Agora (Fig. 3), that attention again focused on the area east of the agora. This fieldwork revealed an ashlar wall, argued to be part of a public building

⁵ Vandeput 1997.

⁶ Mitchell and Waelkens 1988: 64.

⁷ Mitchell and Waelkens 1988: 63-64.

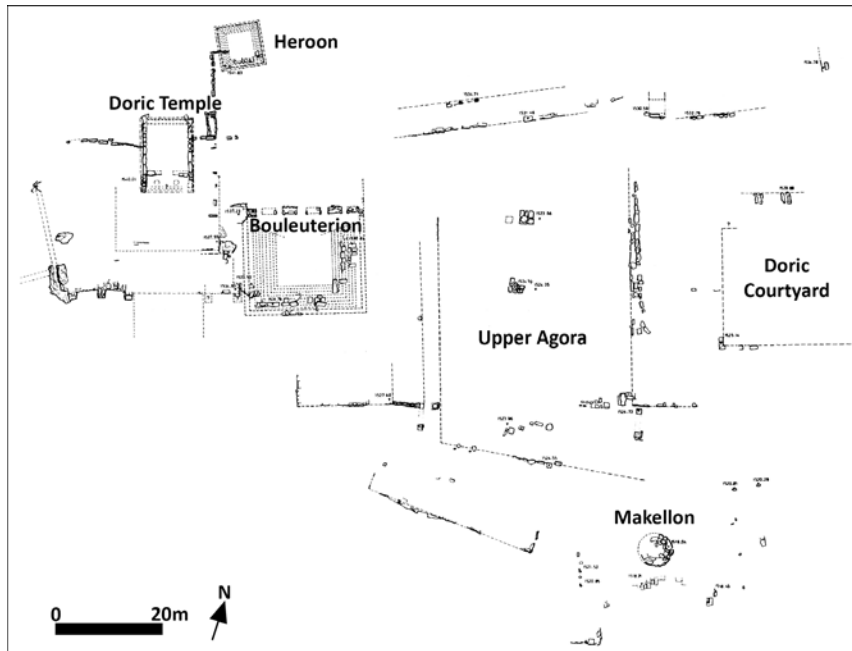


Fig. 2. The 1987 map of the Pisidia Survey Project. The Doric Courtyard east of the agora was already indicated (adapted from Mitchell and Waelkens 1988, 64).

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Fig. 3. SW view of the NE corner of the Upper Agora. Indicated are (1) the 150-100 BCE Terrace Building, (2) the 1-50 CE Northeast Gate, (3) the 350-400/450 CE northern wall of the late antique Agora Building, and (4) the western ashlar segment. © Sagalassos Archaeological Research Project.

designated as the Northeast Building (Fig. 4).⁸ Between 2001-2004, excavations further exposed the Northeast Building, mostly revealing late antique phases (*c.* 350-650/75 CE).⁹ While we no longer follow this dating (*infra*), the aforementioned corner wall was initially argued to belong to 1-25/50 CE based on its neat ashlar masonry construction (Fig. 3).¹⁰ To facilitate conservation programmes on the Upper Agora, the Northeast Building excavations only resumed in 2015-2016¹¹, and were concluded in 2021. In 2014-2015, 2017-2019 and 2021, excavations further exposed large parts of the area between the Northeast Building area and the Southeast Street (Fig. 4), which provided information about Hellenistic, Roman Imperial, and Byzantine times.¹² Last, excavations along the Southeast Street in 2014-2015, 2018-2019 and 2021 exposed a continuous wall, which originally belonged to a complex north of the street, and included (a) monumental, inscribed



Fig. 4. Map indicating the archaeological subdivision of the area east of the Upper Agora based on excavations: Southeast Street (UASE/SES), Northeast Building (NEB), and Upper Agora East (UAE). © *Sagalassos Archaeological Research Project*.

⁸ Waelkens *et al.* 1998: 263.

⁹ Waelkens 2005: 271-272.

¹⁰ Waelkens 2005: 271.

¹¹ Poblome *et al.* 2017: 214-215.

¹² Poblome *et al.* 2018: 491-494; 2019: 621-623; Poblome *et al.* 2022b: 514-515.

gateway(s) (Fig. 4).¹³ Together, these excavations revealed one of the longest histories of an area at Sagalassos, ranging from the rubble-and-mudbrick remains of a 300-150/100 BCE neighbourhood, its partial removal for the 200/150-100 BCE construction of the ashlar Agora Building, the latter's 25-1 BCE transformation into the Agora-Gymnasium, the 75-125 CE modification of this Agora-Gymnasium into a bath-gymnasium, the 350-400 CE destruction of the Agora-Gymnasium, the 350/400-450 CE construction of the late antique Agora Building, which was eventually re-arranged into a series of 550/75-650/75 CE housing, workshop and storage units, before the area was abandoned, and subsequently destroyed by the mid-7th c. CE earthquake.¹⁴ This paper will discuss the archaeology of these phases in detail.

Archaeological legacies, dating and geology

Archaeological evidence was obtained between 1996-2021, and much has already been discussed in previous publications. Some of these published hypotheses and information are adjusted in this paper in the light of recent results. A legacy we have to deal with off the bat is the term 'Northeast Building'. What was thought to be an independent rectangular building¹⁵, in fact was part of the western wing of a larger complex which was situated along the eastern border of the Upper Agora (Fig. 1). As 'Northeast Building' is no longer archaeologically meaningful beyond demarking an area of excavation (Fig. 4), the term will henceforth be dropped, and its archaeological evidence included within the results of the Agora-Gymnasium and late antique Agora Building. In addition, excavation areas identified as rooms and spaces were given numerical designations (e.g. Room 1, Space 1). To keep this paper in accordance with earlier publications, we adhere to these designations (see Fig. 4). Unless specified otherwise, dating is based on the chronologies rooted in the pottery studies of Sagalassos.¹⁶

Further, the local geology is fundamental to understanding this area's history and relation with the Upper Agora. Between the Mesozoic (252.2-66 million years ago) and Paleogene (66-23 million years ago), a tectonic stack of carbonate platforms, seamounts and small interjacent oceanic basins formed the geological basis of most of modern Turkey.¹⁷ Below Sagalassos, the nappe complexes of the Isparta Angle consist of carbonate platforms, seamounts, ophiolitic complexes, and flysch complexes.¹⁸ In addition, the Gölçük volcano – situated 8km north of Sagalassos – deposited volcanic material during its most recent eruptions between 200,000 and 22,000 or 13,000 years ago.¹⁹ Because of aeolian erosion, this volcanic tephra is more likely to remain in pits and other sunken features. Ideally, from bottom to top, the natural stratigraphy of Sagalassos thus consists of flysch, the ophiolitic

¹³ Poblome *et al.* 2015: 86-88; 2019: 619-621; Poblome *et al.* 2022b, 515-517.

¹⁴ Waelkens *et al.* 2000.

¹⁵ Waelkens 2005: 271-272.

¹⁶ See: Poblome 1999; Poblome and Bes 2018.

¹⁷ Poisson *et al.* 2003; Degryse *et al.* 2008: 17.

¹⁸ Degryse *et al.* 2008: 19-20.

¹⁹ Platevoet *et al.* 2008: 16-17; Schmitt *et al.* 2014: 26-28; Guillou *et al.* 2017: 17-20. Discussions regarding the reliability of dating methods are ongoing, and lean towards the younger dating.

mélange, a beige to pink limestone, and the Gölçük tephra.²⁰ Below Sagalassos, the flysch is situated beyond the depth of archaeological excavations. For human activities at the Upper Agora area, the ophiolite is important, as it forms an impermeable synclinal layer, forcing water to drain in a direction which facilitates its weathering into a red clay-rich vertisol.²¹ As this clay was used to produce Hellenistic and Roman Imperial pottery, slip and building materials²², the absence of the red vertisol at a location where it should be present, is considered indicative of clay quarrying. Clay pits have been identified at several locations below the (later) Upper Agora.²³ Because the last eruption of the Gölçük volcano occurred before this clay quarrying, when the tephra associated with this eruption is encountered during an excavation, it means that clay quarrying did not occur in that location.

A HELLENISTIC NEIGHBOURHOOD (C. 300-150/100 BCE)

Some of the earliest structural remains of Sagalassos were in part built in the former clay pits below the (later) Upper Agora. These buildings consisted of dry-laid rubble masonry walls and substructures (Fig. 5). Based on ceramics in foundational and abutting deposits these walls could be dated to 300-250/200 BCE.²⁴ Similar masonry constructions at the nearby settlement of 450-250 BCE Düzen Tepe likely supported mudbrick superstructures.²⁵ As such, below the Upper Agora we are dealing with 300-250/200 BCE rubble-and-mudbrick buildings situated near and in clay pits. East of the agora, three comparable walls in dry-laid rubble masonry provide the earliest evidence of human occupation in the area under discussion (Fig. 4).

The archaeological evidence

The largest of these walls was exposed below Space 1A over a length of 5.65 m. It was oriented SW-NE and was 0.6-0.8 m wide (Fig. 5). The presence of later buildings above did not allow for the excavation of its foundations. As the wall's trajectory continued below and was subsequently interrupted by a 200/150-100 BCE ashlar wall (*infra*), we can set a *terminus ante quem* for its construction and use in 200/150-100 BCE. The lowest exposed layer abutting the wall concerned the reworked Gölçük tephra, which suggests that this structure was not erected in a former clay pit. The 200/150-100 BCE *terminus ante quem*, the masonry-based similarities with nearby 300-250/200 BCE buildings, and its stratigraphic positioning, allow us to ascribe this wall to 300-150/100 BCE.

Further east, two NW-SE oriented walls in dry-laid rubble masonry were present (Fig. 4-5). Based on their alignment, these were part of the same structure. The western

²⁰ Degryse *et al.* 2008: 19-20.

²¹ Degryse *et al.* 2003: 263.

²² Viaene *et al.* 1993: 222-223; Degeest *et al.* 1997: 529; Degryse *et al.* 2003: 262.

²³ Degryse *et al.* 2003, 266-268; Talloen and Poblome 2016: 115-116; Poblome *et al.* 2022a: 442.

²⁴ Poblome *et al.* 2022a; Beaujean and Daems, forthcoming.

²⁵ Poblome *et al.* 2022a; Poblome *et al.* 2022b.



Fig. 5. (above) The 300-150/100 BCE wall in Space 1A. (left) One of the 300-250/200 BCE walls below the Upper Agora. (right) The 300-150/100 BCE western wall.

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and eastern wall were respectively preserved up to 0.6 m and 0.4 m in height. As they were mostly obstructed from view below later water infrastructure (*infra*), the length and width could not be determined. While the foundation deposits of the eastern wall were removed by later activities, those of its western counterpart remained partially intact, and consisted of partially reworked tephra (Fig. 6). This suggests that no clay was extracted here. The few ceramics associated with these layers could only be ascribed a generic Hellenistic date (300-25 BCE). However, the foundation trench of the 200/150-100 BCE ashlar wall cut through foundation deposits associated with the western wall (Fig. 6), providing a *terminus ante quem* for the latter's construction and use during 200/150-100 BCE. Based on their alignment and masonry-based similarities, this dating argument also applies to the eastern wall. As such, we can ascribe this building to 300-150/100 BCE as well.

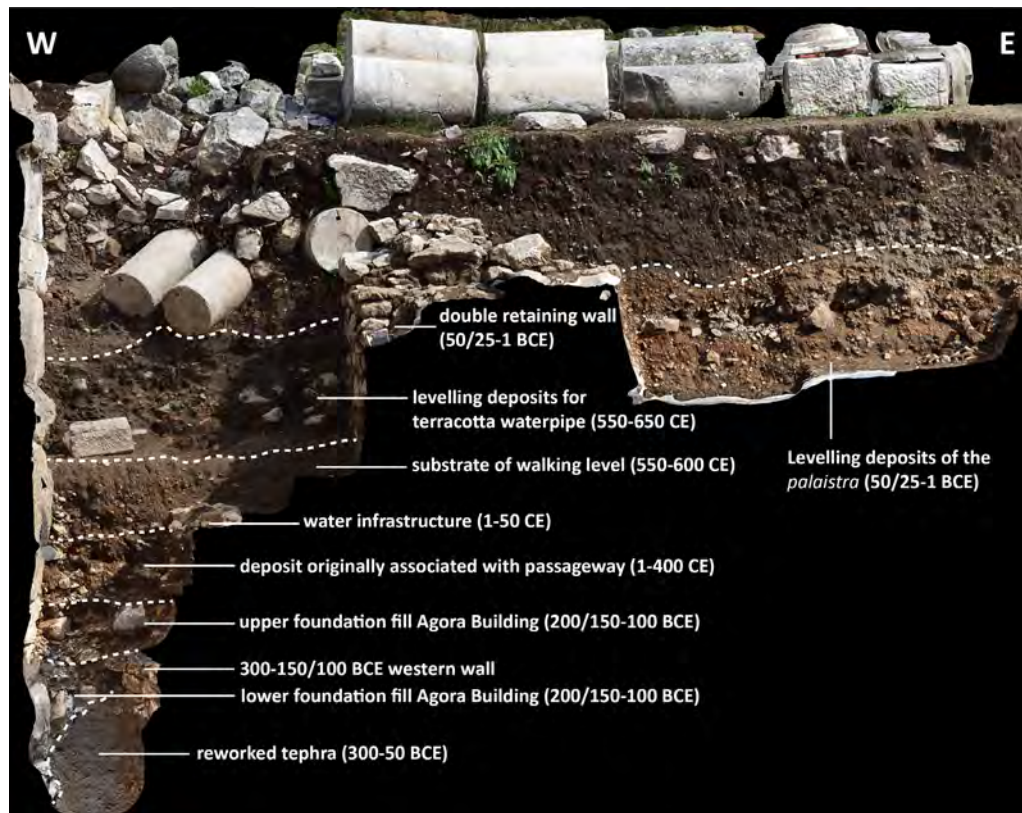


Fig. 6. The northern profile of the passageway and *palaistra* immediately east of the Agora Building/western wing of the Agora-Gymnasium. The western profile consists of the 200/150-100 BCE ashlar wall. © *Sagalassos Archaeological Research Project*.

Discussion

During 300-150/100 BCE, various rubble-and-mudbrick structures formed a neighbourhood²⁶ extending below the later agora and the area to its east. While the westernmost structures were set in former clay pits, and clay quarrying continued in their vicinity, the presence of volcanic tephra suggests that quarrying activities did not occur more eastwards, and that the core of the neighbourhood may have been located in that direction. Unfortunately, Late Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine activities have removed most information about the plan and functions of these structures. Looking to the 450-250 BCE palimpsest of nearby Düzen Tepe – reconstructed on the basis of geophysics, archaeological mapping and surveys, and excavations – we observe an irregular settlement plan extending over a plateau (Fig. 7). This plan includes single- and multiple-room structures, as well as some possible courtyards or small, open (public?) spaces.²⁷ While we know little of the building

²⁶ We understand the concept of neighbourhood as rooted in building-related and functional similarities (e.g. clay quarrying) representative of comparable social dynamics.

²⁷ Vanhaverbeke *et al.* 2010: 113-118; Medarič *et al.* 2011.



Fig. 7. The settlement plan of Düzen Tepe based on the interpretation of linear anomalies generated by drystone walls during magnetometric geophysical research (Medarič et al. 2011, 39). © *Sagalassos Archaeological Research Project*.

density at 300-150/100 BCE Sagalassos, we do know that buildings and activities were already spread out.²⁸ It is within such a rubble-and-mudbrick type of settlement that we can imagine our neighbourhood. These Early to Middle Hellenistic communities of Düzen Tepe and Sagalassos largely focused on basic subsistence strategies exploiting a (sub) regional catchment area²⁹, and remained relatively isolated inland mountain settlements³⁰ as was the *modus vivendi* in contemporary Pisidia.

²⁸ See: Cleymans *et al.* 2022; Poblome *et al.* 2022a.

²⁹ Daems and Poblome 2016.

³⁰ Monsieur *et al.* 2017.

THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE AGORA BUILDING (200/150-100 BCE)

The aforementioned 200/150-100 BCE ashlar wall (Fig. 8) is oriented N-S, and connects to an E-W oriented wall at its southern extremity (Fig. 9), forming the eastern and southern extent of a (likely) rectangular structure. Further on, we will discuss the options for the northern and western extent of this building. While initially interpreted as a Market Building³¹, recent questions regarding the validity of market buildings as a supra-regional building-type³² led to this building being renamed as the more functionally neutral Agora Building³³.



Fig. 8. SE view of the passageway and associated features. Indicated are (1) the eastern wall of the 200/150-100 BCE Agora Building, (2) the 50/25-1 BCE double retaining wall of the *palaistra*, (3) the associated passageway, (4) the 350/400-450 CE continuation of the eastern wall, and (5) the stylobate of the western portico of the *palaistra*.

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³¹ Poblome *et al.* 2018: 493.

³² Leder-Slotman 2021. For the older reasoning: Köse 2005.

³³ For instance: Poblome *et al.* 2022a.

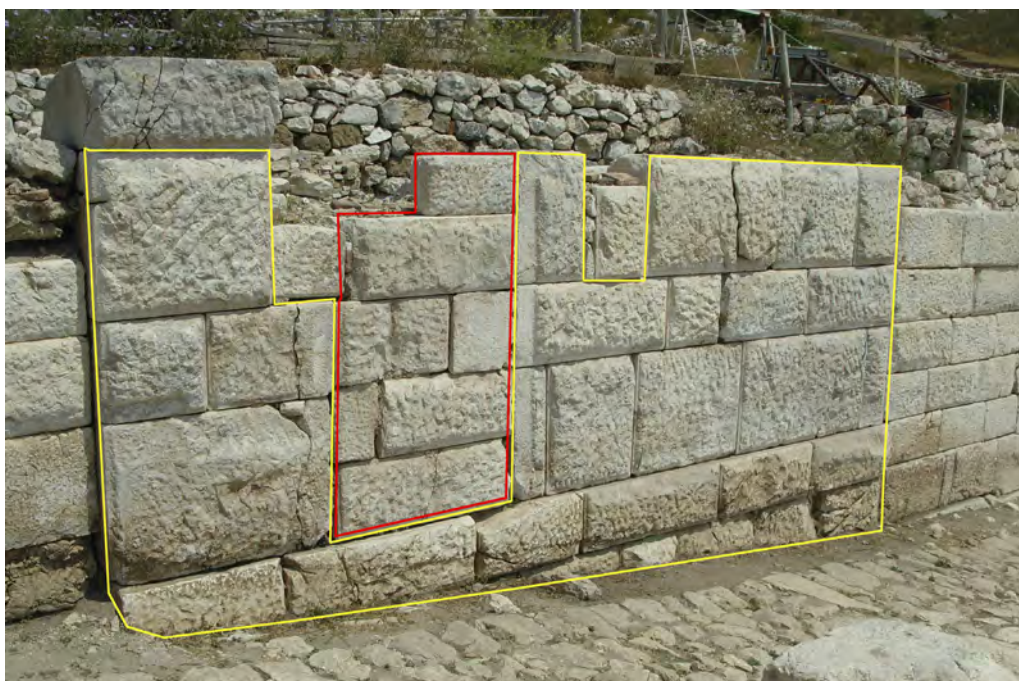


Fig. 9. Part of the southern wall of the Agora-Gymnasium, which incorporated the southern wall of the 200/150-100 BCE Agora Building (yellow). A door opening (red) was constructed at a later date.

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The eastern and southern wall

The eastern wall of this Agora Building was exposed over 5.6 m and varied between 0.80-0.85 m in width. Its preserved height from the exposed foundations is 6.15 m (Fig. 10). This meant that the eastern façade stood at least 4.1 m tall, and that the foundations were set 2.05 m deep into the reworked tephra (Fig. 6). The northern extent of the eastern wall can no longer be determined, because of later damages and modifications (Fig. 8, *infra*). The southern extent likely continued all the way to the southern wall of the Agora Building, making it at least 15.6 m long. During Roman Imperial times, the southern wall was integrated into an at least 63 m long wall extending from the SE corner of the Upper Agora to (an) inscribed, arched gate(s) (Fig. 4). The minimal western extent of the Agora Building's southern wall was determined on the basis of a pronounced SW angle with a visible joint indicative of the westernmost segment being a later addition (Fig. 9). The eastern extent is indicated by its connection to the eastern wall. As such, the southern wall was at least 6.5 m long, and shows a width of 0.85-0.90 m. While a filled-in doorway is present in this wall segment (Fig. 9), this entrance was not Hellenistic in origin, and did not belong to the Agora Building. The external faces of the eastern and southern wall are set in a pseudo-isodomic ashlar masonry construction (Fig. 8-10). These ashlar show pronounced rustications with a distribution of broached and punched dressings. The comparable relative

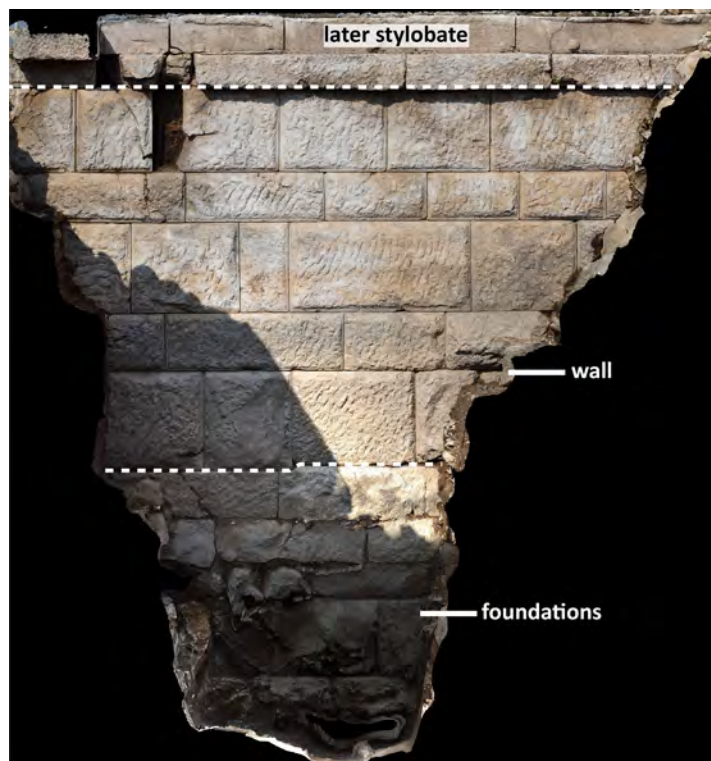


Fig. 10. The eastern face of the Agora Building's eastern wall.

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distributions of these dressings on both the eastern and southern wall confirms that they were constructed simultaneously, and that both were part of the original construction phase. Most ashlars are further characterised by a double drafted margin, which forms a frame around the rustication, facilitating the jointing together of ashlars through *anathyrosis*. While the internal facing of the eastern wall also consists of rusticated ashlars, they are not set in a pseudo-isodomic arrangement, and display no drafted margin (Fig. 11). Furthermore, where the pointed claw chisel and hammer were the most-used tools used to dress the external faces, the dressings of the internal face were almost entirely produced by the pick. These differences create a contrast in technical and aesthetic qualities, as well as time and resources invested, indicating that more attention was paid to the external faces. This suggests that the eastern façade of the Agora Building was intended to be seen and admired.

The western and northern wall

While the eastern and southern extent of the Agora Building are partially known, later activities make it difficult to determine its western and northern extent. For the western wall, there are two options. A first hypothesis is that the western wall was positioned where the pronounced SW angle with joint is located (Fig. 9). If correct, this means that the S-N



Fig. 11. The eastern profile of Space 1A, indicated are the 50/25-1 BCE beaten earth walking level (below), and the 75-125 CE *opus spicatum* floor (above). This is also the western facing of the eastern wall of the Agora Building. © Sagalassos Archaeological Research Project.

oriented western wall of the Agora Building was situated immediately east along the trajectory of a later division wall, which subdivided the western wing of the 75-125 CE Agora-Gymnasium in a western and eastern aisle (Fig. 4, # i). In this scenario, the western wall was dismantled during 50/25-1 BCE. Possibly its ashlar blocks were reused, as blocks comparable to those of the Agora Building have been identified in later structures nearby. The second option is that the western wall already defined the eastern border of the Upper Agora. This is based on the result of a 2015 control excavation along the SE corner of the Upper Agora.³⁴ Herein, a foundation trench cut through a 250-150 BCE beaten earth walking level. The fill of this pit contained ceramics which could be ascribed to 200-150/100 BCE. The only remains directly associated with this trench concern a dry-laid rubble masonry construction, but it was reasonably assumed that the masonry construction on top was directly linked to the foundation trench as well (Fig. 12). However, recent analyses indicated that several blocks and a possible slab all displayed evidence of reuse, and that none were specifically constructed for this wall. For example, about 25% of the

³⁴ Talloen and Poblome 2016: 118-119.



Fig. 12. The western profile in the 2015 control excavation in the SE corner of the Upper Agora. Indicated are (1) the 250-150 BCE walking level, (2) the 200-100 BCE trench and rubble masonry construction, (3) the wall largely consisting of *spolia*, and (4) the thick Roman Imperial stratum composed of mortared rubble.

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ashlars were worked with the pointed claw chisel with 4 teeth, a tool limited to Roman Imperial times at Sagalassos. Furthermore, a fragment of a rusticated ashlar with a single drafted margin, and two courses of ashlars with a punched dressing and sloping drafted margin, suggest that these blocks were first used to construct something in 50/25 BCE-50 CE. In addition, up to the lowest possibly reused block in this masonry construction, a thick substrate of mortared rubble is present (Fig. 12), which can be dated to the Roman Imperial period (*infra*).³⁵ Finally, control excavations further north also did not provide evidence for an ashlar western wall. In conclusion, depending on the first or second scenario, the width of the Agora Building measured approximately 6.5 or 16 m (Fig. 13).

Regarding the northern extent, we also consider two options. The first hypothesis is that the NE corner of the Agora Building is gone because the northern wall collapsed. This fits the observation that the (current) northern extremity of the eastern wall, and hypothetical NE corner of the Agora Building, collapsed eastwards at some point, and is hidden by later repairs (Fig. 8). A second option is that the northern wall was integrated into a W-E oriented wall of the later Agora-Gymnasium, which in part carried the northern portico of the *palais-tra* (Fig. 4, # ii). The location of this wall is indicated by a heart-shaped corner column, which linked the northern to the western portico. Depending on the first or second

³⁵ Talloen and Poblome 2016: 123-124.

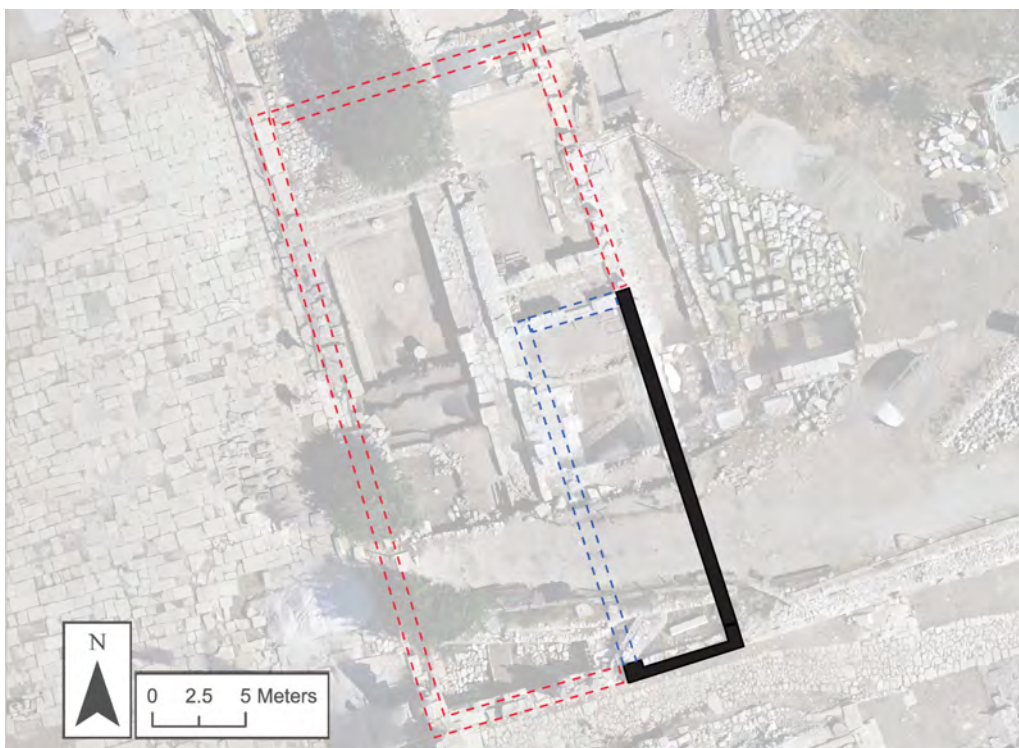


Fig. 13. The minimal (blue) and maximum (red) western and northern extent of the Agora Building.
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hypothesis, the Agora Building was either 20.5 or 35 m long. As such, we arrive at the minimum (20.5×8 m) and maximum (35×16 m) dimensions of the Agora Building (Fig. 13). To be clear, it also remains possible that later activities did not make use of the western and northern wall. In such a case, the dimensions can no longer be reconstructed.

Dating the Agora Building

To date the Agora Building, we look at the stratigraphy associated with the eastern wall. The layers we are interested in are situated below 1-400 CE deposits linked to a 1-50 CE water channel (Fig. 6). Here, a foundation trench to construct the Agora Building was cut through the tephra. Its upper and lower fill respectively presented a yellow/grey-brown and grey-brown gravelly matrix of reworked tephra. As both strata abutted the eastern wall, the associated ceramics provide a *terminus ante quem* for its construction. The upper part of the fill contained numerous diagnostic Hellenistic types, including unguentaria (I200), Achaemenid cups (A120), mastoid cups (A130), plain rim (B150) and incurving rim bowls (B170), rounded rim dishes (C170), folded rim jars (H130), and almond rim jars (H140). All of these types were common in 200-50/25 BCE Sagalassos. In addition, some uncommon types like the downward folded rim plate (C280) and a few fragments of imported

Rhodian amphorae suggest a 200-100 BCE origin.³⁶ The diagnostics from the lower fill present a similar assemblage. Notable exceptions are a flattened rim jar (H160) and some fragments of blocked rim jars (H170) which could be placed slightly earlier, but can also fall within the same chronological bracket. Taken together, we can ascribe a *terminus ante quem* of 150-100 BCE to the construction of the eastern wall, and by association its southern counterpart. Consequently, the construction of the Agora Building occurred in 200-100 BCE, with the ceramological arguments favouring 150-100 BCE.

Discussion

During 200/150-100 BCE part of the Hellenistic neighbourhood was dismantled to make way for and support the ashlar foundations and walls of the Agora Building. To the north-west, another ashlar building set in a pseudo-isodomic arrangement was constructed during 150-100 BCE (Fig. 1).³⁷ Initially, this building was also interpreted as a Market Building³⁸, but because of the aforementioned deconstruction of this building-type, it was re-named the Terrace Building.³⁹ The Agora and Terrace Building are the earliest known ashlar buildings of Sagalassos, and represent a 200/150-100 BCE shift in local construction techniques, resource investment, civic organisation and monumentality.⁴⁰ They were built to stand out, not only amongst the extant rubble-and-mudbrick structures, but they were also visible from the valley below. Strikingly, comparable buildings have been found at other Pisidian settlements (e.g. Selge, Pednelissos) suggesting regional similarities in the onset of petrification and monumentalization.⁴¹ In addition, 150/100-50 BCE levelling activities filled-in a significant height differential between the Agora Building and the area to its west, turning the latter into a continuous beaten earth Upper Agora.⁴² Considering their proximity, and the fact that the Agora and Terrace Building controlled access to this early agora, their (likely) functional synergy was instrumental in the agora's development.⁴³ As such, it is in 200/150-100/50 BCE that the later political heart of Roman Sagalassos finds its origins.

THE AGORA-GYMNASIUM (c. 50/25 BCE – 50 CE)

During 50/25 BCE-50 CE, geopolitical shifts, imperial incorporation (c. 25 BCE) and an influx of social groups in part facilitated the expansion of Sagalassos' cityscape and the further ashlar petrification of its urban centre. This building boom initially focused on the Upper Agora area, and the Agora Building was impacted significantly as it was modified into the Agora-Gymnasium (Fig. 22).

³⁶ See: Monsieur *et al.* 2017; Daems and Poblome 2022.

³⁷ Talloen and Poblome 2016: 119-120.

³⁸ Waelkens *et al.* 1997: 127-130; Waelkens 2002: 315.

³⁹ Talloen and Poblome 2016: 119-120; Poblome *et al.* 2022: 445.

⁴⁰ Poblome *et al.* 2022a.

⁴¹ Poblome *et al.* 2022a: 446; Beaujean 2022, 188-91.

⁴² Poblome *et al.* 2022: 444.

⁴³ Poblome *et al.* 2022a: 446-447.

The passageway

In parallel with the Agora Building's eastern wall, a N-S oriented mortared rubble wall ($13.5 \times 1.05 \times 1.8$ m) was constructed to the east, creating a 2.1-2.6 m wide passageway (Fig. 8). The lowest part of this wall included *spolia*, which were hidden from view. Against its eastern facing, a comparable mortared rubble wall was set, indicating we are dealing with a double wall. In between this double wall and the Agora Building's eastern wall, a W-E oriented wall in mortared rubble, but also including smaller ashlar, was constructed (Fig. 14 and 22), and formed the southern extent of the passageway. The foundation of this wall consisted of dry-laid rubble masonry, and abutted one of the 300-150/100 BCE walls, as well as the 200/150-100 BCE ashlar wall (Fig. 14). The 1.2 m-thick fill of the foundation trench was composed of a loose grey rubble- and gravel-rich, reworked tephra. The associated potsherds allowed to set a *terminus ante quem* of 50/25-1 BCE for the wall's installation. Additionally, the wall contained a doorway (0.95 m) which facilitated access to the passageway from the south (Fig. 14). As the rubble foundations of this wall are bonded with those of the double wall, all of these walls were constructed simultaneously in 50/25-1 BCE. Based on a protruding layer of mortar, and associated imprints, the

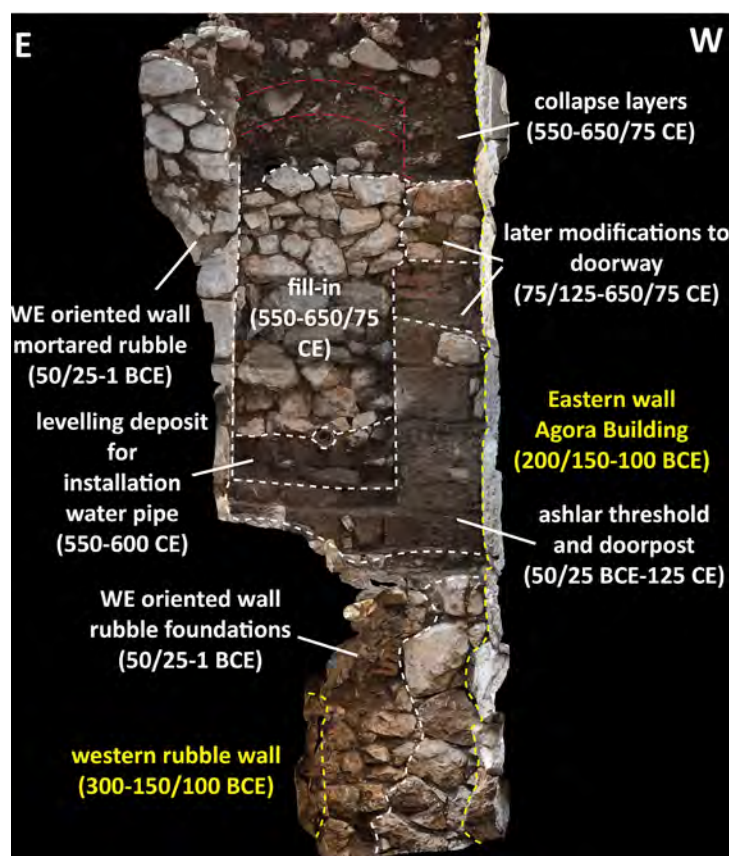


Fig. 14. The southern profile of the passageway of the Agora-Gymnasium. The collapsed vault supporting the southern portico is indicated in red.
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passageway was paved. In addition, the geophysical results (Fig. 16) suggest a comparable, unexcavated passageway was located to the east of the courtyard/*palaistra* (Fig. 22).

After the (western) passageway was constructed in 50/25-1 BCE, a N-S oriented water channel (*c.* 13 × 0.7 m) was constructed, and consisted of mortared rubble walls, a brick floor, and limestone cover stones (Fig. 15). The 0.30 m-thick loose gravel- and sand-rich foundation fill of this channel provided a *terminus ante quem* for its construction of 1-50 CE. In the middle of the passageway, another E-W oriented water channel (0.50 × 0.55 m) connects to it via an opening constructed in the double wall. This suggest that this smaller channel was built first. Based on structural similarities, trajectory, and a comparable 1-50 CE date, the continuation of the main water channel (Fig. 15) was exposed immediately south of Southeast Street, descending along the eastern wall of the 50/25-50 CE building(s) in the Makellon area (Fig. 1). As such, the channel was at least 39.4 m long.



Fig. 15. (left) Bird's eye view of the passageway, including the 1-50 CE NS oriented water channel, and the EW oriented channel connecting to it. (above) View of the southern part of the passageway, including the terracotta pipes installed on top of 550-600 CE levelling deposits. (below) Likely the same 1-50 CE water channel south of Southeast Street, as well as a 550-600 CE terracotta channel constructed on top. © *Sagalassos Archaeological Research Project*.



Fig. 16. The geophysical results informing about the extent of the courtyard/palaistra, the eastern passageway, and the eastern wing. The continuation of (1) the southern wall concerns (2) a SW-NE oriented retaining wall which bordered a comparably oriented street to its east. This street eventually hits (3) another crossroads, and delineates the maximum eastern extent of the Agora-Gymnasium.

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The palaistra

Based on the small amount of debris below its western face (Fig. 6), the 50/25-1 BCE double wall did not stand much taller than it is preserved today. Its eastern face was abutted by an at least 1.7-1.8 m thick series of levelling deposits, composed of a dark grey to brown silt, at times rich in gravel (Fig. 6). These deposits are situated in the area which the Pisidia Survey Project identified as a courtyard. The limited height in combination with these levelling deposits allow it to be identified as a retaining wall, as well as the western border of this courtyard. The southern border of this courtyard is still indicated by a row of limestone paves (Fig. 4, # iii). On some, stonemasons' marks were present, including 'BΔ', 'Σ', 'B', and 'Δ'-shaped marks. On top of the double retaining wall (western border), only a single pave remains *in situ*, but the negative imprints of three removed paves were documented. As no paves were found in the collapse west of the retaining wall, the paves were removed for reuse elsewhere. A control excavation along the

eastern segment of the double wall and the southern paves (Fig. 6) retrieved plenty of associated ceramics, which could be dated to 50/25-1 BCE. This confirms the *terminus ante quem* for the double wall and provides a *terminus post quem* for the arrangement of the contemporary courtyard and surrounding paves. Based on geophysical results, the rectangular courtyard is estimated to have at least covered a surface area of 20 × 22 m (Fig. 16 and 22).

As already documented by the Pisidia Survey Project, columns visible at the surface suggested that this was a porticoed courtyard. Whilst excavating 550-650/75 CE collapse layers west and south of the courtyard, many more elements belonging to Doric porticoes were recovered (Fig. 6). Based on the presence of heart-shaped corner columns in the NW and SW corner of the courtyard (Fig. 22), these porticoes were continuous in design. To support the western portico, a stereo- and stylobate composed of oblong limestone blocks was installed upon the eastern wall of the Agora Building (Fig. 8 and 10). Based on stone-carving specificities, these blocks were produced between 50/25 BCE-50 CE at the earliest. While we have no information about the original height and roofing of the Agora Building, the latter needed to be removed or adjusted. For the western portico, a total of 10 columns (Ø: 0.55 m, height: 3.30 m, ratio: 6:1) and 1 heart-shaped column were documented. These columns were composed of two drums. Furthermore, most of the (fragmented) capitals, architraves (c. 0.43 m), friezes (c. 0.43 m) and cornices (c. 0.43 m) making up the Doric entablature (c. 1.30 m) were recovered. Taken together, the western portico stood approximately 4.6 m tall. We assume a similar superstructure and dimensions for the other porticoes.

The southern portico (Fig. 22) was partially constructed on top of the 50/25-1 BCE W-E oriented mortared rubble southern wall, which provides us with a *terminus post quem* for the porticoes. In contrast to the western portico, its columns were composed of three drums. Based on the geophysics, the southern portico either consisted of 11 or 13 columns in-between the heart-shaped corner variants, depending on if it was placed on the western wall of the eastern wing or along the eastern border of the *palaistra* (Fig. 23). Regarding the northern portico, only a comparable stylobate is preserved, as the colonnade was removed for the installation of a later mortared rubble-and-brick wall (*infra*). In all likelihood, it was comparable to the southern portico. No physical evidence of the eastern portico has been found. The geophysical results indicate its unexcavated remains (Fig. 16). We assume it was similar in construction and composition to the western portico. Such a porticoed courtyard surrounded by elongated structures is typical for gymnasia, suggesting we are dealing with a porticoed *palaistra*. While we have confirmation that the porticoes were installed during or after 50/25-1 BCE, the material evidence allows for two hypotheses regarding the dating when they were actually built. The first hypothesis is that the porticoes were built during the original arrangement of the courtyard in 50/25-1 BCE. The main arguments for a 50/25-1 BCE date are that porticoed courtyards or *palaistrai* were already a staple of contemporary gymnasia⁴⁴, and that all known original Doric constructions at Sagalassos (e.g. Doric Temple, Doric Fountain House, the Upper Agora

⁴⁴ See: Gilman Romano 2016: 320–324.

porticoes) belong to 50/25 BCE–50 CE.⁴⁵ The second hypothesis is that the Doric portico was added to a pre-existing courtyard during the 75–125 CE rearrangement of this area (*infra*). The main argument for this later date is an ashlar and brick segment, which narrowed the southern entrance to the passageway. This included an arch in fired bricks, which crowned the doorway (Fig. 14). In the current situation, the southern portico is placed on top of this brick support. As such brickwork only became common in buildings during 75–125 CE at Sagalassos, it could not have supported a 50/25–1 BCE portico. However, this could of course be a later adjustment for which part of the southern portico was temporarily dismantled and reset.

The western wing

The interior of the Agora Building – situated west of the (western) passageway and *palaistra* – was also modified. In Space 1A (Fig. 4 and 23), the northernmost part of a room was situated, still delimited in the east by the Hellenistic wall (Fig. 11). The western wall of this room is mostly obstructed by later modifications, but the visible part consisted of mortared rectangular ashlar of varying sizes (Fig. 17). The use of lime-based mortars in ashlar masonry is rare at Sagalassos. In all likelihood, this was done to even out the

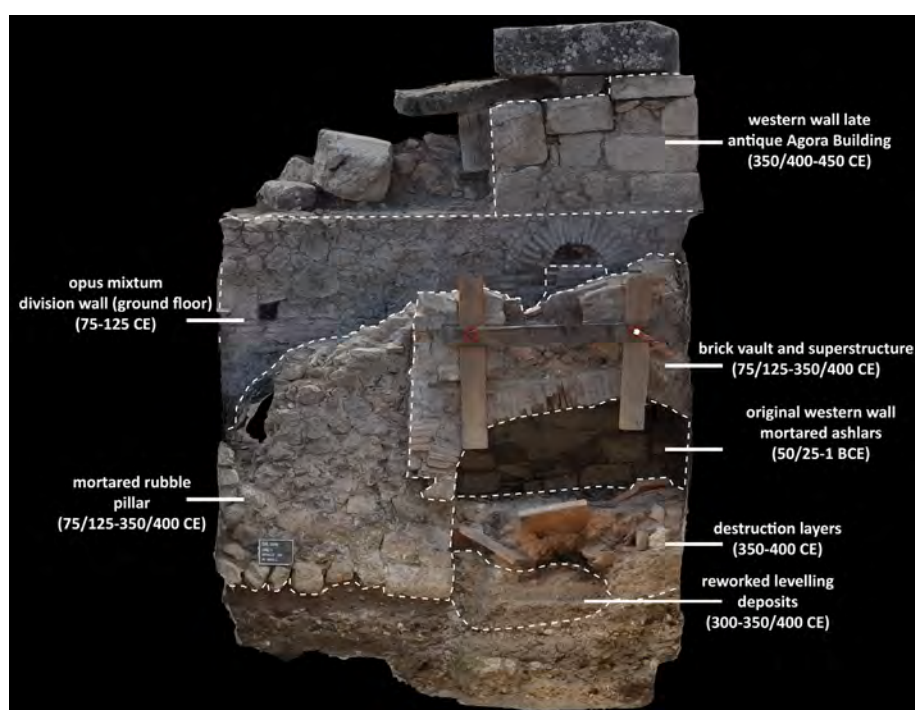


Fig. 17. The western profile of Space 1A. © Sagalassos Archaeological Research Project.

⁴⁵ Waelkens *et al.* 1992: 82–83, 88–90; Talloen and Poblome 2016: 129–131.

irregular surfaces of the ashlar to ensure a proper joint. This western wall is abutted by a comparable northern wall, which was placed on foundations in dry-laid rubble masonry (Fig. 18). The dating of these walls is based on a partially preserved walking level, which had been hardened by a fire, and abutted the northern wall (Fig. 18). The substrate of this walking level, which was deposited on top of the 300-150/100 BCE rubble wall (Fig. 5), contained pottery, which could be dated to 50/25 BCE-25 CE. This provides a *terminus ante quem* for the mortared ashlar northern and western wall, and a *terminus post quem* for the walking level. Strikingly, the northern wall was plastered above the 50/25 BCE-25 CE walking level up to the height of the 75-125 CE walking level. As the threshold of the northern doorway of Space 1A was aligned with the 75-125 CE walking level (Fig. 18), and the plaster indicates a continuous 50/25 BCE-25 CE wall, originally there was no northern doorway in Space 1A. Finally, as a wide vaulted opening was constructed in 75-125 CE, and there is no evidence of an earlier southern doorway, this room originally extended further southwards (Fig. 19). Beyond Space 1A, the extent of the facilities

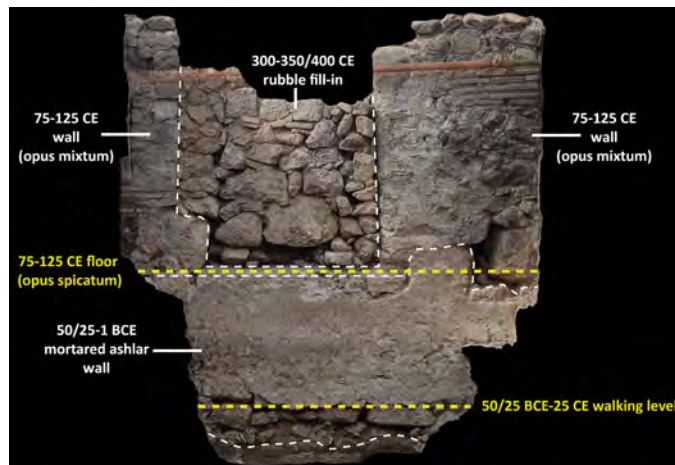


Fig. 18. The northern profile of Space 1A. © Sagalassos Archaeological Research Project.

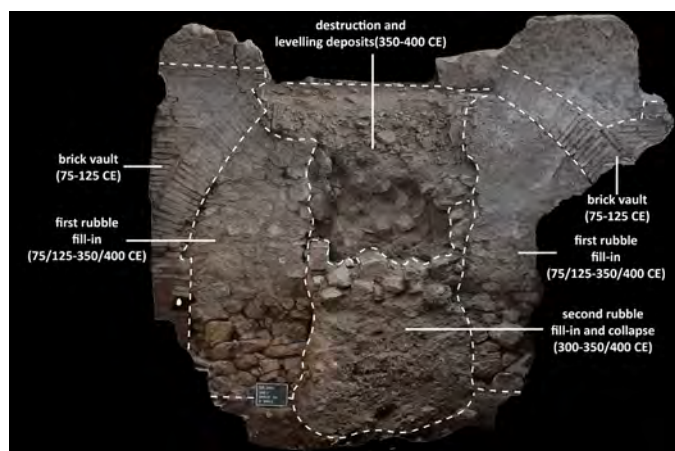


Fig. 19. The southern profile of Space 1A. © Sagalassos Archaeological Research Project.

west of the *palaistra* – including the Agora Building – is difficult to determine because of later modifications (*infra*). For the northern area, the only possibilities for 50/25 BCE–75 CE remains concern three walls in dry-laid rubble masonry below NEB Room 7 (Fig. 4), which were set into the tephra, and dismantled during the installation of a new floor in 75–125 CE floor (*infra*). As in NEB Room 9 (Fig. 4) the tephra is present in close proximity to the modern surface, the 50/25–1 BCE western wing never reached that far north. For the southern extent, possible modifications are the already mentioned doorway constructed in the southern wall of the Agora Building, and the western extension of that wall (Fig. 9).

The southern wing

In addition to a possible westward extension, the southern wall of the Agora Building, and by association the structure behind it, was extended eastwards along Southeast Street (Fig. 23). The superstructure of this wall is a complex patchwork of 75/125–350/400 CE repairs and modifications. However, two control excavations exposed older foundations, which indicate at least two initial extensions. A first control excavation exposed foundations immediately east of a 2.46 m-wide entrance. Below 550/75–650 CE and 300–400 CE deposits (*infra*), the foundation trench was exposed (Fig. 20). The upper fill was composed of an extremely loose gravel-rich sand, and presented a mixed assemblage of Hellenistic

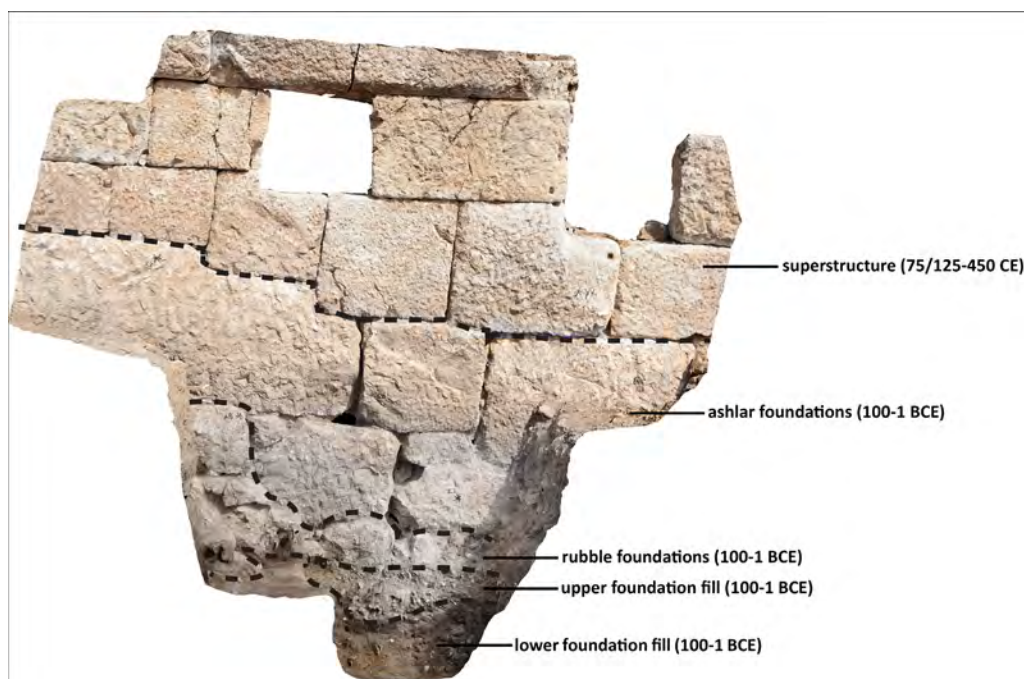


Fig. 20. The control excavations along the Agora-Gymnasium's southern wall.

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and Roman Imperial sherds. This could be a result of bioturbation, which cannot be distinguished in such loose and permeable deposits, and limits this layer's value as a chronological marker. Regarding the Hellenistic material, the majority can be assigned a generic Hellenistic date (300-50 BCE), while 39 diagnostic sherds included a strong presence of small mastoid cups (A130), incurving rim bowls (B170), thickened incurving rim bowls (B172), and smaller variants of the dishes with rounded (C170) and protruding rims (C171). All suggest a 200-1 BCE date.⁴⁶ Taking the Roman Imperial material into account, a *terminus ante quem* around 50/25 BCE is proposed. Despite little evidence of bioturbation, the more compact loamy lower fill also produced a mixed assemblage. The few diagnostics include the Achaemenid cup (A120), mastoid cup (A130), protruding rim dish (C171) and almond rim jar (H140). Although the cup fragments (A120) tend towards the smaller versions typical for 100-1 BCE, the others can be placed in a general bracket from 150 BCE onwards. Another control excavation was placed 7.8 m east of the first one. Below 550/75-650 CE and 1-400 CE deposits, a series of compact clay-rich layers were reached, which abutted the foundations (Fig. 20), and were present on top of the ophiolitic bedrock. These layers contained little Hellenistic material, and most of the ceramics could be attributed to 1-100 CE. Taken together, a first eastern extension of the southern wall – at least 13.5 m long – occurred during 150-50/25 BCE. A second extension – at least 15.4 m long – took place during 1-100 CE. Based on the other evidence, the 50/25-1 BCE construction phase makes the most sense for the first extension. The second extension suggests that the southern wing of the Agora-Gymnasium was (re)built in phases, and possibly belongs to the 75-125 CE rearrangement into a bath-gymnasium. In the end, these extension resulted in a longitudinal structure south of the courtyard along Southeast Street (Fig. 4). Based on the SE corner, this wall reached a maximum W-E extent of *c.* 57 m, and included multiple doorways.

The eastern wing

Based on geophysical results, another passageway was likely situated east of the *palaistra*, and in part defined by the western wall of the eastern wing (Fig. 22). As we know the maximum extent of the southern wall of the Agora-Gymnasium, we can estimate that the eastern wing was at most 10 m wide. As such, it was narrower than the 16 m-wide western wing, and more comparable to the southern wing. To its east, a SW-NE oriented retaining wall possibly already defined the trajectory of a street travelling in that direction more or less along the eastern wing (Fig. 22).

Discussion

During 50/25-1 BCE, the Agora Building was modified and integrated into a new building. Based on the combination of a porticoed courtyard surrounded by longitudinal structures, we can identify this structure as a gymnasium. As such, from 50/25-1 BCE onwards, we no longer refer to the building east of the Upper Agora as the Agora Building,

⁴⁶ Daems and Poblome 2022.

but as the Agora-Gymnasium. The Agora-Gymnasium was part of considerable efforts to transform the Upper Agora area into the civic political heart representative of its *polis*. In addition to political and religious buildings (e.g. Bouleuterion, Tychaion), this included three Doric porticoes to the west, south and east of the agora.⁴⁷ In contrast to its western and southern counterparts, the Eastern Portico of the Upper Agora was poorly preserved. Its 50/25 BCE–25 CE existence was confirmed by three control excavations along the eastern border of the agora, which exposed its mortared rubble foundations.⁴⁸ As the Eastern Portico was present in front of the western part of the Agora-Gymnasium – and is thus relevant for this paper – we will discuss its architecture and extent based on the little evidence available.

Immediately south of the ashlar wall making up the NE corner of the agora (Fig. 4 and 22), for about 29 m, the lowest course of the border stones and (former) stylobate of the portico is comparable to that of the Western and Southern Portico, including neatly aligned joints (Fig. 21). The partially preserved colonnade on top concerns 350/400–550/650 CE modifications. After this segment, there is a 10 m gap in the stylobate; its blocks were either removed at some point or never present. The final stretch of 6 m



Fig. 21. The in situ stylobate segments of the western (left), southern (right) and eastern (below) portico of the Upper Agora. © *Sagalassos Archaeological Research Project*.

⁴⁷ Talloen and Poblome 2016.

⁴⁸ Talloen and Poblome 2016.

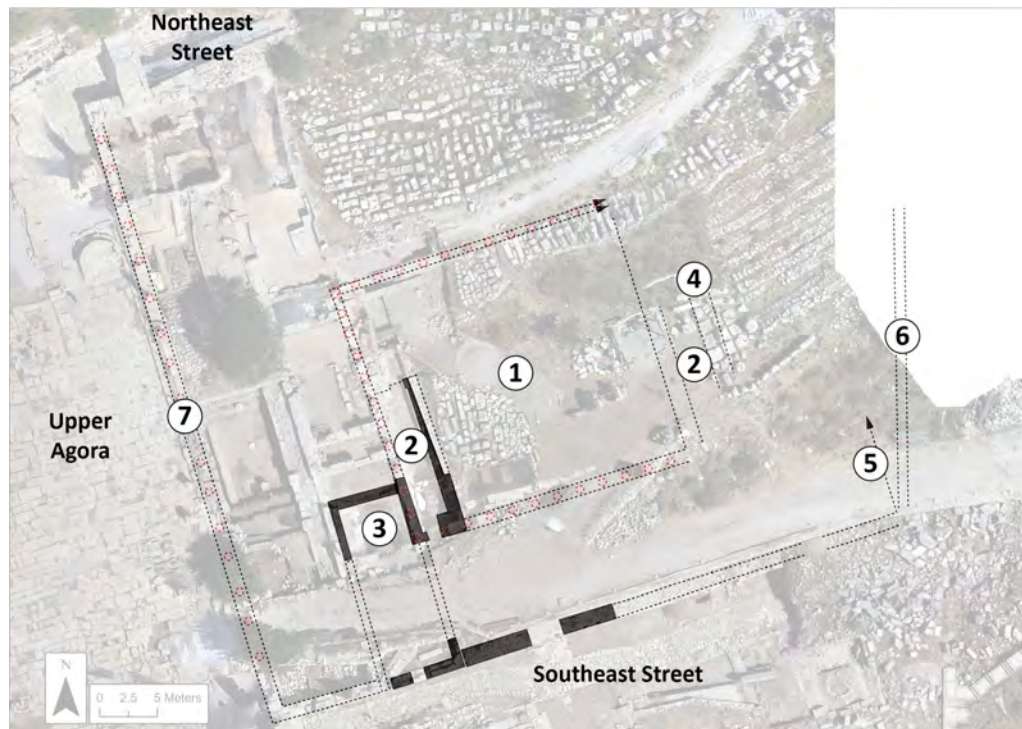


Fig. 22. The 50/25-1 BCE Agora-Gymnasium. Indicated are (1) the *palaistra* surrounded by four porticoes, (2) the western and eastern passageway, (3) Space 1A (western wing), (4) the western wall of the eastern wing (possibly supporting the eastern portico of the *palaistra*), (5) SE corner of the Agora-Gymnasium indicating the eastern wall of the eastern wing, (6) the retaining wall of a N-S oriented street east of the Agora-Gymnasium, and (7) the Eastern Portico of the Upper Agora.

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concerns an ashlar wall making up the SE corner of the agora. In addition to this *in situ* evidence, Doric elements were used to construct parts of a latrina during the 75-125 CE rearrangement of the Agora-Gymnasium. Similarly, part of a Doric frieze was reused in the NE corner of the agora. Taken together, while a Doric portico was built in 50/25 BCE-25 CE, and formed some kind of transition between the agora and gymnasium, this portico was partially dismantled and its components reused during later construction activities. The two options are that the 50/25-1 BCE gymnasium only consisted of a ground floor, and that the portico provided direct access to the *palaistra*, or that a first floor already existed and was fronted by a portico. In addition, the original situation of the northern wall of the Agora-Gymnasium – along Northeast Street descending towards the agora – is also obscured by later modifications. The current double wall is a 350/400-550/650 CE construction, all the way up to its foundations (*infra*). As such, the Northeast Gate – a monumental arch – could have been a freestanding monument at its southern end (Fig. 3), and Northeast Street might have opened onto the gymnasium (Fig. 22).

THE REARRANGEMENT OF THE AGORA-GYMNASIUM (C. 75-125 CE)

During 75-125 CE, the cityscape of Sagalassos was once again transformed, as large-scale construction projects included an *odeion*⁴⁹, at least 3 *nymphaea*⁵⁰, the Neon Library⁵¹, the renovation of the Temple of Apollo Klarios⁵², and the modification of the Old Baths into the Bath-Gymnasium⁵³. These efforts can be linked to Sagalassos fulfilling its ambitions as a regional centre, which would result in it being awarded a neokorate during 100-150 CE.⁵⁴ As a gymnasium was an important educational institution, fundamental to the future of a *polis*, unsurprisingly such modifications also had a significant impact on its arrangement (Fig. 23).

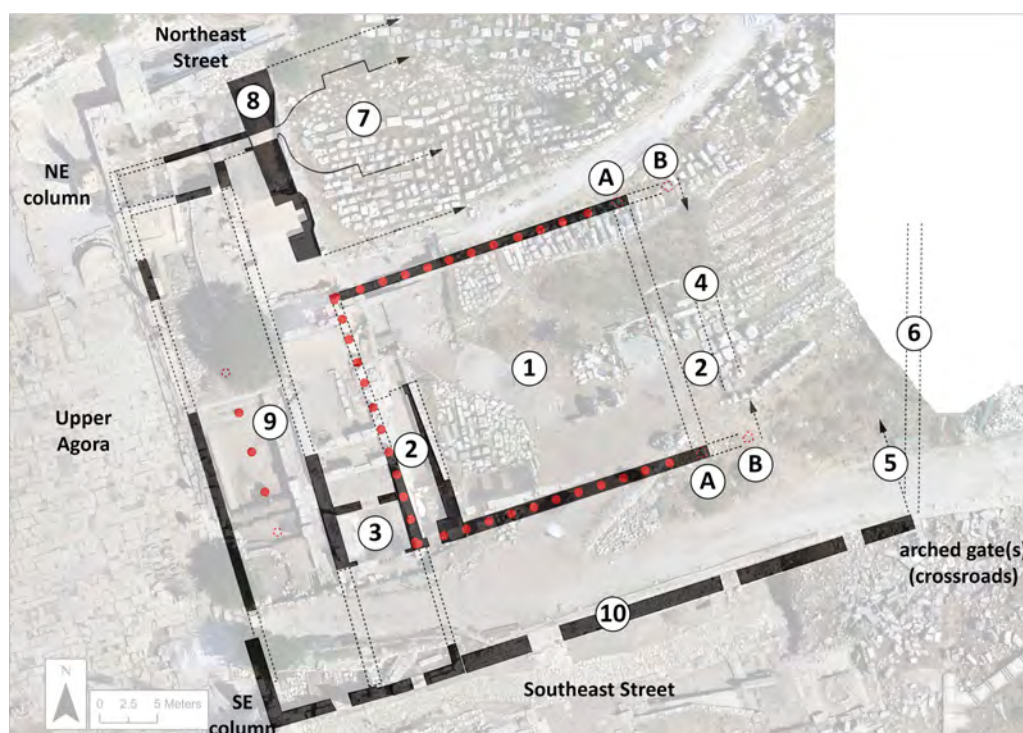


Fig. 23. The ground floor of the 75-125/200 CE Agora-Gymnasium. Indicated are (1) the *palaistra*, (2) western and eastern passageway, (3) Space 1A (eastern aisle, western wing), (4) western wall of eastern wing, (5) SE corner of the Agora-Gymnasium, (6) the retaining wall of a N-S oriented street, (7) the hypocaust of the northern wing, (8) western wall of the northern wing, (9) latrina (western aisle, western wing), (10) southern wall of the Agora-Gymnasium. A and B indicated the possible eastern extent of the northern and southern porticoes of the *palaistra*. © Sagalassos Archaeological Research Project.

⁴⁹ Waelkens *et al.* 2008: 434.

⁵⁰ Mägele *et al.* 2007; Richard and Waelkens 2013.

⁵¹ Waelkens 2015a.

⁵² Talloen and Waelkens 2004.

⁵³ Beaujean *et al.* 2023.

⁵⁴ For a summary of these discussions: Waelkens 2015b; Eich *et al.* 2018: 69-70.

The western aisle (western wing)

During these modifications, the western wing was subdivided in a western and eastern aisle (Fig. 23). As we remain uncertain about the western extent of the 200/150-100 BCE Agora Building or 50/25-1 BCE Agora-Gymnasium, the western aisle of the Agora-Gymnasium was either newly built or demolished up to its foundations and completely rebuilt. Considering that elsewhere pre-existing walls were reused, including during the 75-125 CE renovation of the eastern aisle (*infra*), the first option is the most likely one. In either scenario, the Eastern Portico and SE honorific column needed to be (temporarily) dismantled, as the construction trench for the western aisle undermined the stability of these structures.⁵⁵ The presence of tephra in close proximity to the agora surface near the NE honorific column, suggests it was not impacted, which means the ground floor did not extend this far north.

After dismantling adjacent structures, a large foundation trench was dug 3-4 m deep and extended at least 30.5 m along the agora. Constructed at the western edge of this trench, the new western wall of the Agora-Gymnasium was predominantly exposed in the central area (Fig. 24), but a control excavation identified its minimum northern extent (30.5 × 1.95 m, width unknown) immediately southeast of the NE honorific column (Fig. 23 and 25). To support the first floor, the western wall needed to be constructed simultaneously with the central colonnade of the western aisle, which was stratigraphically dated to 75-125 CE (*infra*). Along the western wall a sewer (width: 0.85 m) was constructed, and bordered by slabs into which a narrow drainage channel (width: 0.12 m) was cut (Fig. 26). These features can be linked to a latrina, and make it impossible to reach the western wall's foundations. As mentioned above, some of the bases (gutter) consisted of reused building elements, including Doric cornices and architraves which likely came from the Eastern Portico. From bottom to top, the masonry construction of the western wall consisted of a mortared rubble band, on top of which five rows of bricks were placed, which extend through the wall. In this brick segment, recesses (0.47 × 0.85 m) were provided at regular intervals (1.20 m), and can be associated with (wooden?) toilet seats (Fig. 24). On top of this brick section, another mortared rubble band is present, which is succeeded by a brickwork section consisting of 20 rows. This type of masonry is designated a local variant on *opus vittatum mixtum* (descriptive term, we do not suggest a direct technological link with Rome). At regular intervals, cross-shaped openings are present (Fig. 24), which were later filled-in with loose rubble, bricks and *spolia* (*infra*). In all likelihood, these openings served multiple functions, including fixation of the timber superstructure, as well as ventilation and illumination of the latrina. Because of a later wall (*infra*), the eastern wall (min. 30.5 × 1.20-1.25 × 1.00 m) of the western aisle and the eastern toilets of the latrina are obscured. However, a visible segment of the eastern wall also set in *opus vittatum mixtum* was identified in Space 1A, where it was placed on top of the 50/25-1 BCE mortared ashlar wall (Fig. 17 and 23). This wall divides the western wing into a western and eastern aisle.

Centrally between these *opus vittatum mixtum* walls a colonnade was constructed. For its foundations, a N-S oriented row of oblong limestone blocks was placed. These formed the

⁵⁵ Talloen and Poblome 2016: 134-135.



Fig. 24. The western wall of the Agora-Gymnasium's ground floor.
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Fig. 25. The control excavation which exposed (1) the northern part of the Agora-Gymnasium's western wall, (2) a 75/125-350/400 CE mortared rubble wall, (3) the easternmost line of agora slabs, (4) a 75/125-650/75 CE brick modification, (5) 550-650/75 CE water infrastructure, (6-8) the 550-650/75 CE eastern portico and its support. © *Sagalassos Archaeological Research Project*.



Fig. 26. The latrina of the Agora-Gymnasium. © Sagalassos Archaeological Research Project.

stylobate for a series of plain limestone columns (Fig. 27). The stylobate was supported by mortared rubble, and in between the stylobate and columns a lime-based mortar was applied. Subsequently, the foundation trench was backfilled with loam-rich levelling deposits, which based on the amount of faunal remains were brought in from dump sites. The associated ceramics indicate a *terminus post quem* of 75-125 CE. On top of these levelling deposits, a thick layer of mortared rubble was arranged. The few sherds observed in this matrix also belong to 75-125 CE, which provide a *terminus ante quem* for the entire operation. Finally, a mortar setting bed was applied on top of this mortared rubble substrate. Into this setting bed, *tesserae* (1 × 1 cm) were placed, and formed a dichromatic mosaic with meandering, diamond and swastika motifs (Fig. 26). Along the edge, the *tesserae* were bigger (1.5-2 × 1.5-2 cm), forming monochromatic white borders. This mosaic also included figurative panels, including one representing a prancing ibex (Fig. 26). These columns are set approximately 2.5 m from each other, indicating that we are dealing with an araeostyle intercolumniation, and thus a timber support for the first floor. This is confirmed by the documentation of burnt wooden beams in 350-400 CE destruction layers (*infra*), and the absence of evidence for a vault. Three of these columns were completely excavated. Both in terms of diameter (Ø: 0.55-0.66 m), as well as (preserved) height (1.25-1.37 m) there is some variation, and the central one in particular seems to have been smaller. While installed at this location during 75-125 CE, there are additional indications that these columns were in fact reused, and that their production occurred earlier. Stone carving analysis documented traces



Fig. 27. The control excavation exposing the foundation of the central colonnade of the western aisle. Indicated are the (1) undisturbed parent material, (2) the foundations, (3) the stylobate, (4) the column, (5) the lower backfill of the foundation trench, and (6) the mortared rubble substrate of the mosaic on top. © *Sagalassos Archaeological Research Project*.

of pointed claw chisels with respectively 6, 7, and 10 teeth on the northern and southern column, and 5 and 10 teeth on the central one. In addition, the pointed chisel was used posterior to the pointed claw chisel with 10 teeth. This is an indication of reuse, as usually only one type of tool was used per building element. Currently, the use of the 10-toothed version has only been identified on the 200/150-100 BCE Agora and Terrace Building, while the 5- and 7-toothed variations are typical for Roman Imperial times (50/25 BCE-300 CE). As all stone carving traces were present below the mortared rubble floor, this reworking of the columns occurred before their 75-125 CE placement. This suggests the columns came from elsewhere. The time range for their original production ranges from 200/150-50/25 BCE, based on the first attested use of the 10-toothed pointed claw chisel, and a lack of excavated ashlar buildings up to 50/25 BCE (when this tool is no longer used).

While most information for the western aisle, including the latrina, comes from the central area, additional evidence was encountered in control excavations carried out in the northern part. First, below the western part of NEB Room 3 (Fig. 4), a foundation fill associated with a wall contained a ceramic assemblage indicative of 75-125 CE. On top of it, chunks of a polychromatic geometric mosaic were documented.⁵⁶ In NEB Room 7

⁵⁶ Waelkens 2005: 271.

(Fig. 28), the aforementioned dry-laid rubble walls were dismantled, after which 0.7 m thick levelling deposits raised the floor. Based on a partially preserved section in the SE corner of NEB Room 7, a marble tile floor was arranged on top of these levelling deposits. As the ceramics retrieved from these levelling deposits could be dated to 75-125 CE, they are part of the rearrangement of the Agora-Gymnasium. Based on comparable heights, this floor is associated with brick western and southern walls which are abutted by the levelling deposits, and possibly align with a doorway constructed in the rubble and *spolia* segment built on top of these brick walls (Fig. 28). However, the presence of reused ashlar in these mortared rubble walls suggests that these walls might be later (re)constructions. Nevertheless, the bonded brickwork sections are indicative of the 75-125 CE subdivision of the western aisle (Fig. 23). The difference in floor – mosaic *versus* marble tiles – and the W-E oriented division wall demonstrate that the latrina did not extend this far north, and that the ground floor of the western aisle consisted of multiple rooms with different functions. For the southern area, excavations mostly exposed later modifications (*infra*). As mentioned, the dismantling and reconstruction of the SE honorific column can likely be

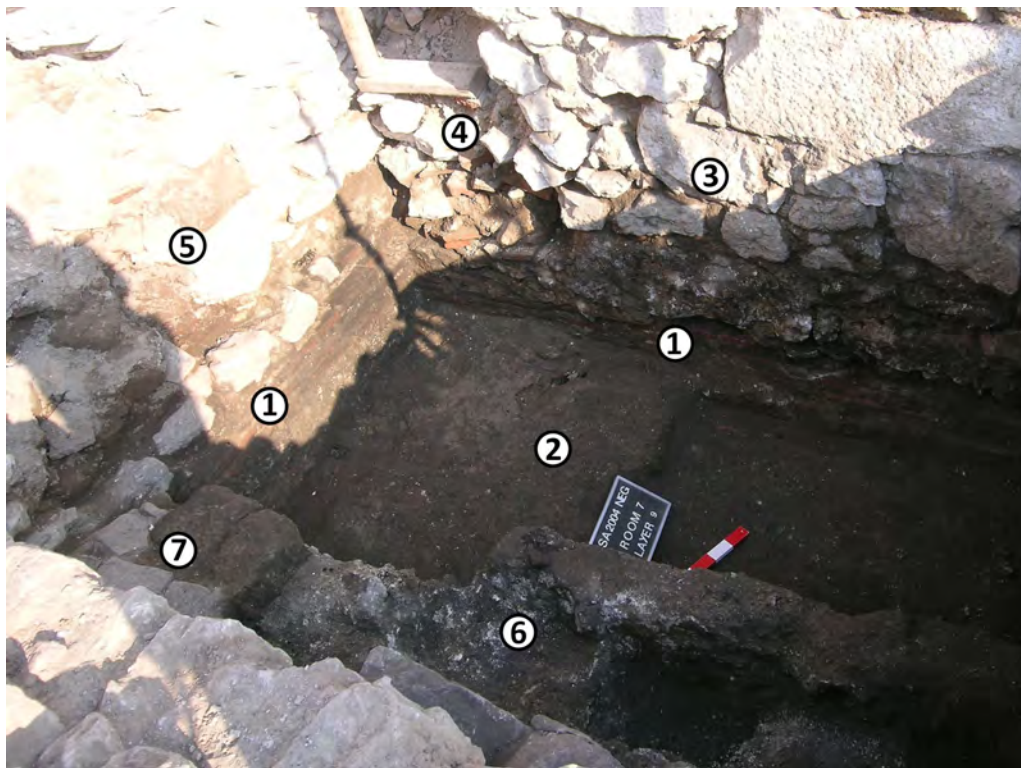


Fig. 28. The control excavation in NEB Room 7. Indicated are (1) the 75-125 CE brick wall segments, (2) the 75-125 CE levelling deposits abutting the brick walls, (3) the rubble and *spolia* segment placed on top of the brick segments, (4) the doorway in the southern wall, (5) the 550-650/75 CE doorway in the eastern wall, (6) the 350/400 to 550/75 CE slaked lime deposit/floor, and (7) the 550-650/75 CE brick floor. © Sagalassos Archaeological Research Project.

associated with the foundation trench for the western aisle. To this operation, the already discussed wall segment consisting of reused building blocks can likely be attributed (Fig. 12). This means that the southwestern corner of the Agora-Gymnasium was rearranged during 75-125 CE as well.

The eastern aisle (western wing)

The eastern wall of the western aisle is the division wall subdividing the western wing in a western and eastern aisle (Fig. 23). As discussed, during 50/25-1 BCE, Space 1A formed the northern part of a larger room. On top of its walking level, a series of levelling deposits, containing 50-100 CE and 100-200 CE materials were deposited. Based on butchery-related faunal remains, we are dealing with repurposed refuse dumps comparable to those used in the foundations of the western aisle. As such, these activities likely occurred more or less simultaneously with the 75-125 CE (re)construction of the western aisle. Based on a preserved segment in the profile of the eastern wall, a floor was laid out in *opus spicatum* on top of these levelling fills, approximately 1.1 m above the earlier walking level (Fig. 11). Associated with the installation of this floor is a 75-200 CE feature indicative of mortar preparation, which can be linked to lime traces on *opus spicatum* pieces. To accommodate for the increase in floor level, the walls were raised as well. First, on top of the 50/25-1 BCE mortared ashlar western wall, a segment in *opus vittatum mixtum* was installed (bricks c. 40 × 40 cm). In the upper courses, a series of smaller arched openings – filled-in at a later date – connected to the western aisle (Fig. 17). Secondly, on top of the mortared ashlar northern wall, a comparable *opus vittatum mixtum* segment was set. In contrast to the 50/25-1 BCE situation, this wall included an entrance (1.5 m) at the level of the *opus spicatum* floor (Fig. 18), which provided access to the unexcavated room(s) to the north. Third, the eastern wall remained unmodified. Possibly, as previously discussed, the oblong blocks forming the stereo- and stylobate of the *palaistra*'s western portico were only now installed. Lastly, while we have no information about a 50/25-1 BCE southern wall, a vaulted entrance in brickwork (40 × 40 cm) was constructed (Fig. 19). As its threshold aligned with the *opus spicatum* floor, it was likely constructed at the same time. Taking into account the comparable levelling deposits, the chronological overlap as indicated by the pottery, and the shared division wall, we argue that the (re)construction of the western and rearrangement of the eastern aisle occurred during 75-125 CE. As discussed, if the Doric porticoes of the *palaistra* were not built in 50/25-1 BCE, they were installed in 75-125 CE, during which the southern portico was at least modified. This brings up a discussion if some construction spanned the passageway in between the western portico and the *palaistra* (Fig. 8). After all, the 75-125 CE adjustments to the southern entrance of the passageway indicates it was not yet backfilled. In the 200/150-100 BCE ashlar wall above, no (later) recesses to fixate beams were cut, and there are no other indications for any kind of support structure. In addition, the double retaining wall was not as tall as the Hellenistic wall, making it difficult to construct a platform across the passageway. However, during the final collapse in the mid-7th century (*infra*), the portico fell on top of a beaten earth floor which aligned with its stereobate (Fig 65), indicating that by then the western passageway was backfilled. Any kind of vaulted structure was removed at

that point, explaining the lack of any evidence of a platform or its support in the collapse. While the archaeology provides no evidence for the construction of a platform across the western and by extension the unexcavated eastern passageway, we suggest that a platform, likely supported by a vault, was originally present.

The bathing facilities (northern wing)

For 75-200 CE, we obtain our first evidence for a longitudinal structure bordering the *palaistra* to the north (Fig. 23). The only argument for an earlier structure is a mortared ashlar wall (Fig. 29) comparable to the original western wall of Space 1A (Fig. 17), which



Fig. 29. (upper left) The mortared ashlar wall in the hypocaust of the northern wing. (upper right) The vaulted entrance and service corridor leading to the hypocaust. (lower left) The northern wall of the hypocaust. (lower right) The column which crashed through the ceiling of the hypocaust.

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would have been integrated into this 75-200 CE building. While most of the northern wing remains buried, the western wall ($16.60 \times 1.40\text{--}2.66 \times 4.50$ m) was fully exposed, and was located in the NW part of the Agora-Gymnasium (Fig. 23). For the construction of this wall, a foundation trench was cut into the tephra, which is present at a higher level than below the western aisle, indicating that the eastern aisle did not reach as far north. Unfortunately, this foundation trench was disturbed during later activities (*infra*). The lowest courses of the western wall were abutted by mortared rubble foundations, in which a vaulted entrance and service corridor ($2.30 \times 1.20 \times 1.80$ m) were constructed (Fig. 29). From bottom to top, the masonry construction of the western wall (Fig. 30) was composed of 5 rows of bricks, followed by a band of mortared rubble and blocks, which abut the double vaulted entrance of the aforementioned service corridor. Above this entrance, we observe successive bands of 5 rows of bricks and mortared rubble, followed by alternating bands of 4 rows of bricks and mortared rubble (Fig. 30). The bricks extend through the wall. In its southern segment, this wall included a large rectangular recess (3.10×1.50 m), which in itself contained a narrower recess (1.10×0.80 m) (Fig. 29). The orientation of these recesses aligns with the positioning of the only exedra monument situated on the Upper Agora (Fig. 23). This suggests that the unknown monument and/or statue displayed in this recess was visible from the agora and perhaps part of some processional route. To explain the function of the northern wing, we look at what is situated at the other end of the service corridor: a



Fig. 30. The southern extremity of the western wall of the northern wing, including the recess.

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hypocaust. At its western side, this hypocaust had an apsidal shape (Fig. 4 and 23). Except for the entrance area, these northern and southern walls were constructed in a local variant on *opus caementicium*, with irregular fragments of bricks and rubble as facing (Fig. 29). Eastwards, a N-S oriented wall in mortared ashlar (Fig. 29) narrowed the hypocaust, obstructing further exploration. At the intersection between the service corridor and the hypocaust, the floor transitions from a plain mortar substrate to square bricks ($40 \times 40 \times 7$ cm) pressed into said substrate. On top of this floor the rounded *pilae* were set at more or less regular distances with four *pilae* forming rectangles of 51×59 cm, which deviated within the apsis. From bottom to top, these *pilae* consisted of a square brick ($40 \times 40 \times 7$ cm), on top of which mortared brick discs ($\varnothing$: 25 cm, thickness: 6-7 cm) were stacked. Two square bricks of respectively $30 \times 30 \times 5$ cm and $40 \times 40 \times 7$ cm concluded the stack (total height: c. 1.30 m). Four *pilae* supported one larger brick ($80 \times 80 \times 10$ cm), and each individual *pilae* supported four of these bricks, which constituted the ceiling of the hypocaust (Fig. 31). As the central area had collapsed, it could be documented that on top of this ceiling a layer of *opus caementicium* was applied. This was followed by a pinkish hydraulic lime-based mortar, into which a white marble floor was set (Fig. 31). In addition to the floor, the debris also indicated that the roofing of the ground floor consisted of brick vaults, and that some of the veneering consisted of a polished yellow-brown volcanic stone. Furthermore, a plain limestone column comparable to those used in the latrina (western wing) had crashed through the ceiling, indicating the presence of a colonnade above (Fig. 29). Additionally,

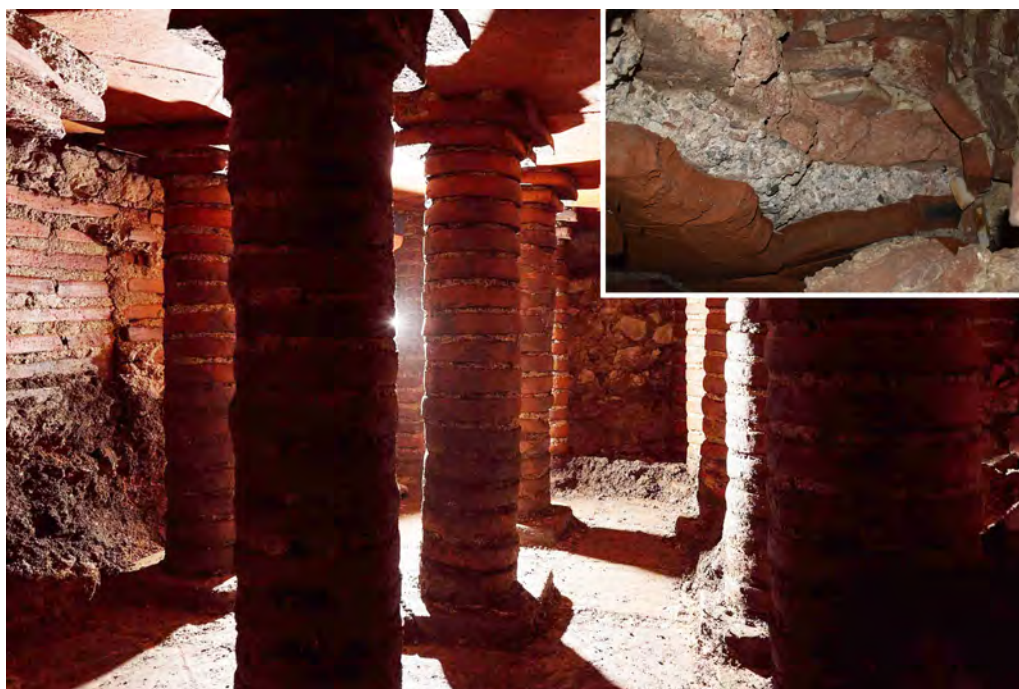


Fig. 31. The hypocaust of the northern wing and the make-up of its ceiling.

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along the northern wall, a brick water channel was constructed as part of the floor. It connected to a ceramic distribution vessel, which was fed by a vertical connecting pipe linked to the ground floor above. This channel connected to terracotta pipes in the service corridor, and is partially present below the northern wall, indicating it was part of the original building. Regarding dating, based on the limited ceramics of the strata abutting the western wall's foundations, as well as the entrance to the service corridor, and taking into account the construction technique, we can set a construction date during 75-200 CE. However, considering the 75-125 CE (re)construction of the western wing, it is very well possible that the northern wing was (re)constructed during that period as well. The presence of a hypocaust – particularly in combination with a *palaistra* and the comparable make-up of the ceiling/floor – suggests bathing facilities above, but a heated space without bathing facilities remains possible. Finally, based on the western wall of the eastern wing (geophysics) the maximum W-E extent of the northern wing was *c.* 32-34 m.

The southern wing

Immediately east of the SW corner of the southern wing (a) large gateway(s) was positioned where the N-S oriented street from the Bath-Gymnasium formed a crossroads with the W-E oriented Southeast Street ascending towards the Upper Agora (Fig. 23). Along the eastern extent of the Agora-Gymnasium, a street leading northwards was situated at a much lower level than the *palaistra*. On the voussoirs of one of the gates, an inscription read: “ΣΑΓΑΛΑΣΣΟΣ ΦΙΛΕ ΚΑΙ ΣΥΜΜΑΧΟΣ ΡΩΜΑΙΟΝ ΠΡΟΤΕΣ ΤΑΣ ΠΙΣΙΔΙΑΣ.”⁵⁷ As the *polis* only began terming itself ‘First of Pisidia, Friend and Ally of Rome’ in the 2nd c. CE, gateway can be given a *terminus post quem* in that century.

Discussion

In summary, during 75-125/200 CE, bathing facilities were constructed north of the *palaistra*, and a western aisle was either added to the western wing, or the latter was subdivided (Fig. 23). The interior design of the western wing (ground floor) was varied, as we have at least three types of floor (mosaic, marble tiles, and *opus spicatum*), and a variety of older and newer walls in respectively ashlar, mortared rubble and brickwork. In addition, chunks of mosaic whose patterns do not match those of the latrina, and at times situated in the destruction layers on top (*infra*), provide arguments that part of the first floor was provided with mosaics as well.⁵⁸ Similarly, the many pieces of painted plaster point to frescoed rooms. Function-wise, we know that the western aisle (ground floor) was partially a public toilet, which likely not only serviced visitors to the gymnasium, but the Upper Agora as well. During the same time range, the Bath-Gymnasium (Fig. 1) was also provided with a latrina at ground floor level along the Lower Agora. This set-up seems to have been common practice throughout the Empire.⁵⁹ While it is possible that a first floor

⁵⁷ “Sagalassos, friend and ally of Rome, First of Pisidia.”

⁵⁸ Poblome *et al.* 2018: 492-494.

⁵⁹ For instance: Koloski-Ostrow 2015.

already existed, it was definitely constructed as part of the 75-125 CE western wing. Because of its destruction and collapse (*infra*), we know little of this first floor and the civic and educational facilities associated with the Agora-Gymnasium. Nevertheless, there is some indirect evidence. Firstly, two blocks of a likely wall frieze, with finely carved reliefs of Theseus and Procrustes, and Ajax the Lesser and Cassandra were respectively found amongst the collapse and in a later wall (*infra*) (Fig. 32). Secondly, a variety of statue bases with honorific inscriptions have been found within the collapse layers of the building, and some were even incorporated in later walls. For example, in the collapse of NEB Room 8 (Fig. 4), the hexagonal base of a 1-300 CE honorific monument was found. Its



Fig. 32. (left) The relief of Theseus and Procrustes. (right) The honorific monument dedicated to Neon. (below) The relief of Cassandra and Ajax the Lesser reused in a later wall.

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well-preserved inscription read: “Ο ΔΗΜΟΣ ΝΕΩΝΑ ΕΞΑΚΙΣ ΟΣΑΕΙ ΝΕΩΤΕΡΟΝ”⁶⁰ (Fig. 32). While some originally stood on the Upper Agora, it is likely that the gymnasium did house several honorific monuments as well.⁶¹ Third, two fragments belonging to the only known Hellenistic inscription of Sagalassos were found in the street north of the Agora-Gymnasium. This historical, legal text was likely a legacy object for the local community, and such important artefacts were often kept in gymnasia.⁶² Fourth, the inscription of a honorific monument found nearby at the Upper Agora, and dedicated to the likely governor of Pisidia in the 370s, Panhellenion, mentions that it stood in the proximity of the ‘*temenos* of all the gods’, as well as within the sight of Tyche.⁶³ As the western and northern side of the Upper Agora can be excluded on the basis of known contemporary buildings (Bouleuterion, Early Imperial Fountain), and the southern side was occupied by the Tychaion (‘within the sight of Tyche’), the Agora-Gymnasium remains the only option for the ‘*temenos* of all the gods’. This indirect evidence colours in a bit of the former glory of the Agora-Gymnasium, evidencing the multifunctional character of the western wing. The co-presence of hot bathing facilities (northern wing) and a palaistra indicate that the 75-125 CE rearrangement of the gymnasium transformed it into a so-called bath-gymnasium. This building-type became increasingly popular in 2nd c. CE Asia Minor⁶⁴, and Sagalassos clearly updated its facilities according to contemporary standards of Roman urbanism. As such, Sagalassos included (at least?) two bath-gymnasia from the 2nd c. CE onwards, as the Old Baths near the Lower Agora were transformed into the Bath-Gymnasium of Sagalassos (Fig. 1) during 75-125 CE as well.⁶⁵

THE AGORA-GYMNASIUM (C. 125-350/400 CE)

After 75-125/200 CE, modifications can rarely be linked to stratigraphically datable units, complicating dating efforts. In most cases, the 75-125/200 CE renovations act as a general *terminus post quem*, while a *terminus ante quem* can usually be set in 350-400 CE, when the Agora-Gymnasium burned down (*infra*). While the 125-350/400 CE modifications will be discussed per area, these are not necessarily part of the same event(s).

The western aisle (western wing)

In the latrina, we have indications for a functional change. First, in the western sewage, the upper fill’s ceramics were attributed to 275-325 CE. This provides a *terminus ante quem* for when this channel silted up or was filled in, and was no longer cleaned. Secondly, against the eastern toilets and wall, a support wall (18.15 × 1.7 × 2.72 m) was placed. This

⁶⁰ “The people honour Neon the Younger, who was six times *Osaei*.”

⁶¹ See: Mania 2017.

⁶² Waelkens 2003: 217; Mania 2017.

⁶³ Eich *et al.* 2018: 117-119.

⁶⁴ Yegül 2010.

⁶⁵ Beaujean *et al.* 2023.

wall was built with mortared rubble and reused building elements, including column drums, socles and capitals (Fig. 33). At Sagalassos, the visible reuse of such elements in buildings appears from 250/275-325 CE onwards. Before, reused non-ashlar elements were usually integrated into features which were obscured from view, like foundations and toilet bases.⁶⁶ Together, this evidence suggests that the public toilets in the western aisle were put out of use during 275-325 CE. The installation of the support wall required adjustments to the support of the first floor, suggesting that these were relatively invasive modifications. This might also be indicated by the observation that one of the column drums reused in the wall has dimensions comparable to those of the central colonnade. More than a century of intensive use was impacting the structural integrity of the western aisle, and the local community invested considerable efforts to deal with these issues.

In the northern part of the western aisle, the upper courses of a mortared rubble wall were exposed, which had been set perpendicular against the 75-125 CE western *opus mixtum* wall (Fig. 25). This mortared rubble wall was abutted by 350-400 CE destruction and levelling deposits, and the associated subdivision thus occurred between 75-125 CE and the 350-400 CE destruction of the Agora-Gymnasium. During the same time range, the marble tile floor was mostly removed for reuse elsewhere. Southwards of the former latrina, articulated concentrations of wall veneering (Fig. 34) were interpreted as part of clearing activities before the western wing was destroyed in 350-400 CE.⁶⁷ One way or the other, at least part of the ground floor of the Agora-Gymnasium was being stripped for reusable materials.

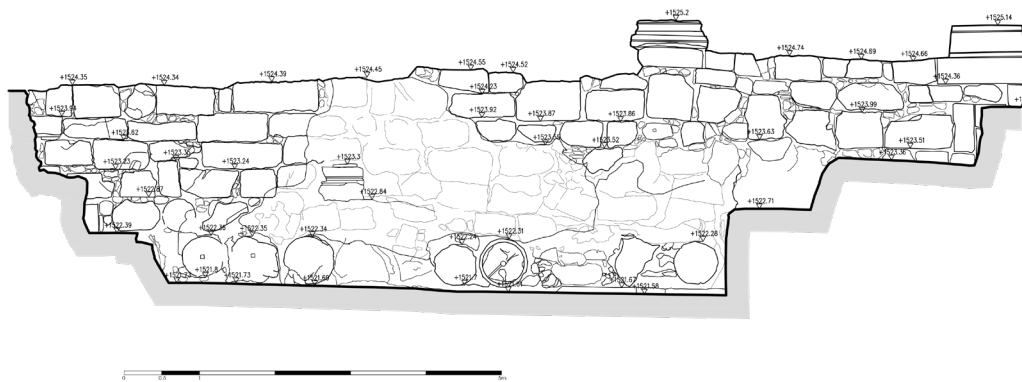




Fig. 34. The concentrations of wall veneering exposed in the latrina area.

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The eastern aisle (western wing)

Between 125-350/400 CE, the ground floor of Space 1A was modified several times. These modifications can be put into a relative sequence. First, the 75-125 CE vaulted opening defining the southern extent of Space 1A was narrowed twice by mortared rubble fill-ins (Fig. 19). Secondly, a mortared rubble pillar was constructed in the SW corner, partially against the first fill-in of the southern entrance (the second fill-in could have occurred later). This pillar served as the southern support of a brick vault (Fig. 17). This vaulted structure was also supported by the 75-125 CE western and northern wall of the room (Fig. 17). In turn, the vault supported a superstructure consisting of a brick floor (1.95×1.25 m), and two brick-and-rubble pillars (Fig. 35). On top of these pillars, two arches (bricks: 28×28 cm) were installed, forming an opening towards the east. Based on the expected height of the first floor – which is believed to have aligned with the agora – this would have created a narrow crawl space in between the ground and first floor. The function of this structure remains enigmatic. Secondly, one of the openings in the western wall was filled in with bricks (Fig. 17). This could be associated with the vaulted structure, as the opening was present at the height of the platform. Possibly, all of the aforementioned modifications are related, and in part addressed issues of structural integrity.⁶⁸ Fourth, in the vaulted space below the platform, a recess was carved in the northern wall. In it, a set of ceramic vessels were placed, and included a large drinking cup with an upside

⁶⁸ Poblome *et al.* 2019: 621-623.



Fig. 35. The 75/125-350/400 CE vaulted superstructure in Space 1A, and several of the 300-350/400 CE storage pots in Space 1A. © *Sagalassos Archaeological Research Project*.

bowl inside, as well as three large bowls stacked on top of each other. In the bowl situated at the bottom of the stack, fragments of a glass vessel and parchment sheets were found. The other bowls contained mixtures including chalk and eggshell. Based on medieval recipes⁶⁹, these ingredients could evidence parchment preparation. As the vessels can be dated to the 300-400 CE, and the room was filled in during 350-400 CE, these activities can be ascribed to 300-350/400.

Fifth, as discussed, the 75-125 CE *opus spicatum* floor was only preserved along the eastern wall. This poor state of preservation is a result of it being broken out for the installation of at least seven storage vessels (Fig. 35). Stylistically, the storage pots can be dated to 200-350/400 CE, indicating that this functional change into a storage room occurred during that time frame. Archaeobotanical analyses of the contents of one vessel were suggestive of In addition, smaller ceramic vessels were documented, some stacked on top of each other, others placed within one another like the bowls used for parchment preparation. These vessels range from cooking and storage jars, to dishes and tableware. Quite a few vessels were repurposed, in part as lids for storage pots, while others were modified as their necks were purposefully removed, and replaced with a lid. A unique specimen concerns a ceramic lantern with diamond-shaped incisions (Fig. 36). Furthermore, an eclectic selection of glass items (e.g. *unguentaria*, flask), metal tools (e.g. knife, spoon, scissors), a marble disc

⁶⁹ Reed 1972; Yusupova 1980.



Fig. 36. Various objects found on top of the floor level and below the destruction contexts of Space 1A (western wing). (left) Copper alloy statue of Alexander Doryphoros. (upper right) Ceramic lantern. (lower right) Marble disc with face relief and a copper alloy spoon.

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with a face carved in relief (Fig. 36), several leaden pipe segments, an iron wedge and crow-bar, and even a crab's pincer were once stored in this room. Some of the metal objects were found in well-defined burnt spot, indicating their storage in wooden chests. Considering their size, similar evidence for a bronze figurine of Alexander (Fig. 36), a bronze candle holder, and an iron meat hook, might represent the wooden shelves on which they were placed. While it is possible that some of these objects fell into this room during the 350-400 CE destruction of the Agora-Gymnasium, most seem to have belonged to it. During its final phase of use, Space 1A was a storage room. The nature and variety of the stored objects suggests it can be associated with something larger than a household or (work)shop, and parchment and beer preparation could be in function of storage administration. A final modification in Space 1A concerns the fill-in of the southern entrance, which occurred during 300-350/400 CE, as storage pots were placed in front of the infill (Fig. 19). As the northern entrance was filled-in at some point as well, during its final phase of use, the room seems to have only been accessible from above, and became a cellar.

While the areas north and south of Space 1A remain mostly unexcavated (Fig. 4), a small part beyond the northern entrance was exposed (the subdivision Space 1/2/3 pertains to later phases). This (partial) room was defined by the same western wall, to the south by the northern wall of Space 1A, and to the east by the (unknown) extension of the Hellenistic wall. In the NW corner of the excavated area, an opening was carved through the 75-125 CE *opus vittatum mixtum* division wall. Partially in this opening a W-E oriented wall was constructed in an irregular mix of mortared rubble, brick, tuff rock and *spolia* (Fig. 37), which is abutted by 350-400 CE levelling deposits. There are three possibilities for these modifications. First, the opening was carved to improve the connectivity between the western and eastern aisle. As the 275-325 CE support wall is present on the opposite end in the western aisle, this would have occurred before this time range, as no hole was cut through said support wall. If true, there was no connection with possible ground floor rooms to the north. The second option is that the support wall in the latrina and the W-E oriented wall in the eastern aisle were built simultaneously, as they are comparable in masonry construction. In this scenario, the opening was carved to construct the wall, and both walls were placed to improve structural integrity during 275-325 CE. A third option is that this wall is associated with the 350/400-450 CE construction of the Late Antique Agora Building (*infra*).



Fig. 37. The excavated area immediately north of Space 1A.
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Discussion

Considering the spoliation, functional repurposing and increasing subdivision of rooms from 275-325 CE onwards, it is clear that the original arrangement of the Agora-Gymnasium no longer served the needs and ambitions of the local community. While we cannot fully determine the social processes behind these modifications, they did occur during a time range when the construction of large civic buildings, honorific and funerary monuments came to a stop. A complex series of political, economic, and religious processes, as well as natural events gradually undermined the sustainability of the civic *status quo* which had characterised 50/25 BCE-300 CE. As a reaction, the local community adapted structures for more contemporarily useful purposes, which impacted the organisation of the cityscape and the buildings therein, including the Agora-Gymnasium.⁷⁰

THE DESTRUCTION OF THE AGORA-GYMNASIUM (350-400 CE)

While the ground floor underwent structural and functional modifications, part was likely still used in function of the gymnasium until 350-400 CE, when evidence indicates that the Agora-Gymnasium (was?) burned down.

The western wing

In the western aisle, remains of burnt wooden beams were found on top of the mosaic of the former latrina (Fig. 38). Extreme temperatures are also implied by the partial liquefaction of *tesserae*, and fire-damage on a variety of features. For instance, cracks in the walls suggest prolonged exposure to an inferno. Furthermore, a concentration of architectural fragments – mostly columns – were present in close proximity to the mosaic (Fig. 38). Based on their arrangement, they either fell down from the agora/first floor, or were thrown in after the first floor had partially collapsed. Either way, this occurred during the fire, as evidenced by the brittleness of these fragments caused by extreme temperatures. Parts of honorific monuments were amongst this debris as well, including a partially legible inscription reading HBOYAH KAIOΔHMOΣ⁷¹. All of these contexts are present upon the mosaic or 350-400 CE destruction layers, and *all* are covered by 350-400 CE destruction and levelling deposits. As mentioned, the same is applicable to the northern part of the western aisle (Fig. 25), which indicates that the fire extended throughout this part of the Agora-Gymnasium. After the fire had badly damaged the timber support, the first floor above the western aisle could no longer be upheld, and collapsed into the ground floor.

In the eastern aisle we find evidence of an intense fire as well. For example, below the vaulted structure in Space 1A there are burnt spots and soot marks, and the stone has cracked in places (Fig. 38). Similarly, on the eastern wall, cracks are indicative of intense heat, likely associated with a large fire (Fig. 11). As already discussed, various burnt spots

⁷⁰ Beaujean 2022: 559-565.

⁷¹ “The council and the people...”



Fig. 38. Evidence of the destruction of the western wing. (upper left) The burnt remains of wooden beams upon the mosaic in the western aisle. (upper right) The collapse of several columns. (lower left) Evidence of a fire below the vaulted space in Space 1A. (lower right) Evidence of a fire amongst the storage pots and finds in Space 1A. © *Sagalassos Archaeological Research Project*.

around finds were likely associated with wooden chests and shelves, and the storage pots also show evidence of a fire (Fig. 38). While the northern parts of the eastern aisle have not been excavated, a burnt wooden beam was documented in the 350-400 CE collapse in the small part of the ground floor exposed north of Space 1A. This indicates that the fire extended beyond that room. Like in the western aisle, these 350-400 CE destruction contexts are covered by 350-400 CE levelling deposits. For both the western and eastern aisle, these levelling deposits are believed to represent activities to douse the fire, as well as the backfilling required to begin constructing the late antique Agora Building (*infra*).⁷² In comparison to the lower fill, which presented a loose compaction, the upper fill contained larger materials, but now mixed in a denser matrix of soil and finer waste, and suggests that it took longer to accumulate. As such, there seems to have been some time between the destruction of the building, the initial fill-in, and the subsequent levelling activities which prepared the area for a new construction.

⁷² Poblome *et al.* 2018: 492-494.

The northern wing

For the northern wing, while there is no evidence for a destructive fire, there is considerable evidence that the hypocaust became inactive. Stratigraphically, the oldest deposit upon the floor of the hypocaust was a thin light brown sand, which was the result of the gradual erosion of the wall. Its minimal extent suggests active maintenance up to 350-400 CE. On top and extending through the hypocaust, was a 0.56-0.72 m thick layer of loose dark grey sand. In it, lots of broken ceramic vessels, faunal remains, and oil lamps were present (Fig. 39). These ceramics were attributed to 300-400 CE. In addition, a few coins were found as well. Most of these were minted during the 3rd c. CE, but the two latest could be dated to *c.* 360 CE and 355-361 CE (Fig. 39). Taken together, at some point before or during 355-400 CE, staff stopped maintaining the hypocaust, and refuse started being dumped. During these dumping activities, plain oil lamps were used to lit one's way in the dark. Subsequently, the gradual accumulation of sediment covered these dumps. Finally, the entrance between the service corridor and hypocaust itself was closed off with two dry-laid rubble and tuff rock walls (Fig. 39). The western one was eventually knocked down because of a small collapse from above. The corridor itself was not backfilled, and its entrance closed off by another dry-laid tuff



Fig. 39. Evidence of the abandonment of the hypocaust. (upper left) The refuse dumps in the hypocaust. (lower left) The 255-261 CE coin found in this refuse. (right) The dry-laid rubble blockage wall in the service corridor. © *Sagalassos Archaeological Research Project*.

rock wall, which was abutted by a 0.82-0.96 m pack of levelling layers mostly containing 300-400 CE ceramics, but also including some 500-600 CE material. As the upper blocks of the blockage wall were removed at a later date, someone entered the abandoned corridor. Possibly, this explains the presence of some later material in the backfill. After the closing of the hypocaust, part of the corridor outside of the northern wing (i.e. the connection with the ground floor of the western wing) was destroyed. Based on the abutting deposits, this occurred during 350-400 CE. These deposits consist only of building debris (e.g. bricks, mortar chunks), are present upon the undisturbed tephra, and extend through the area west of the western wall (Fig. 40). This building debris of the Agora-Gymnasium was thus repurposed as backfill for a new construction trench towards the west to install or repair a series of brick piers, placed upon the remaining part of the (former) N-S division wall (*infra*).

The southern wing

With regard to the southern wing, at some point a thick layer of mortared rubble was poured on top and behind most of the eastern extension of the southern wall of the (former) Agora-Gymnasium. The fact it was present behind part of the wall, and that the rooms behind and below the mortared rubble were completely filled with debris, suggests



Fig. 40. Southern view of Room 13. In the profile the 350-400 CE backfill of building debris is visible.
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that these parts of the southern wing were abandoned. However, behind some of the westernmost entrances, the mortared rubble was not present, indicating that these parts remained in use (Fig. 9). While no date can be assigned to these activities, the 350-400 CE destruction of the gymnasium and the subsequent reconstruction are the most likely option.

Discussion

During 350-400 CE, the western wing burned down, and the hypocaust of the northern wing was closed, indicating that the bathing facilities lost their function. Additionally, a significant part of the southern wing's ground floor was likely abandoned as well. What caused the destruction and partial abandonment of the Agora-Gymnasium? While it is possible that the fire was accidental, there is considerable evidence for the intentional destruction of the Agora-Gymnasium. First of all, in the 350-400 CE destruction contexts, inferences of iconoclasm were found, which most likely occurred immediately before the fire. For instance, there are intentionally broken fragments of a kithara player (likely Apollo), a burned marble statue of Aphrodite and Eros, a left hand holding a cornucopia (likely Tyche), as well as a variety of cut-off genitalia. Also, a head of Aphrodite which was split through the middle (Fig. 41). Secondly, the 350-400 CE time range was one of religious tensions at Sagalassos, which culminated in the increasing dominance of Christianity during 375-425/450 CE.⁷³ The latter is indicated by temples and shrines losing their original



Fig. 41. Some of the evidence for iconoclasm. © *Sagalassos Archaeological Research Project*.

⁷³ Talloen 2019b.

function⁷⁴, fundamental shifts in burial practices⁷⁵, as well as the destruction or transformation of various buildings associated with paganism⁷⁶. We have argued elsewhere that we should not necessarily see these destructive events as part of a single event⁷⁷, though the contemporary fire destruction of the Neon Library, another institution of pagan learning, was most probably no coincidence.⁷⁸ The transition from paganism to Christianity was likely a gradual, non-linear process. In addition to destruction, this also involved construction, as suggested by the renovations of the Bath-Gymnasium and Odeion during 375-425/450 CE.⁷⁹ However, while bathing remained a popular activity amongst most Christian communities, gymnasium-related practices (e.g. *paideia*) mostly disappeared, and gymnasia across Asia Minor and beyond were abandoned, destroyed, exorcised and/or repurposed.⁸⁰ Considering the evidence, comparable developments took place at 350-400 CE Sagalassos.

THE LATE ANTIQUE AGORA BUILDING (350/400-450 CE)

After the destruction of the Agora-Gymnasium, a variety of construction activities resulted in the arrangement of the late antique Agora Building.

The passageway

The rebuilding activities likely began with the 350-400 CE backfilling of the ground floor of the western and possibly southern wing. As mentioned, differences in the compaction between the destruction and levelling contexts suggest that some time passed between these (series of) events. Another early activity associated with the new building involved an emergency, possibly (in)directly caused by the fire. The (preserved) northern extension of the Hellenistic eastern wall was a later addition, and composed of mortared rubble, brick fragments and *spolia* (Fig. 8). This extension was placed against the eastern wall, exactly where the latter displays an eastwards collapse in the form of outwards projecting blocks, as well as a widening of the joints (Fig. 42). In contrast, this extension does not form a straight line along a N-S axis, suggesting it was placed against an irregular surface like an earthen wall or backfill. We know that the passageway was not filled in during 350-400 CE, and remained in use until 550/75-650 CE. Clearly, the local community saw a purpose for this corridor. However, the fire in the western wing seems to have damaged the original eastern wall beyond repair. To (re)ensure its stability, a makeshift wall was constructed after levelling deposits provided temporary support. A smaller mortared rubble wall was subsequently installed against it (Fig. 42). As part of these support walls, a series of limestone slabs were installed, which formed a stairway connecting to the western

⁷⁴ Waelkens 2005: 278; Waelkens *et al.* 2006: 327-330; Talloen and Vercauteren 2009.

⁷⁵ Cleymans and Beaujean 2022.

⁷⁶ For instance: Waelkens 2015a; Talloen 2019b.

⁷⁷ Beaujean *et al.* 2023.

⁷⁸ Talloen 2019b.

⁷⁹ Beaujean *et al.* 2023.

⁸⁰ Yegül 2010: 205-206.



Fig. 42. (upper left) Eastern view of the location where a makeshift extension was placed against the Hellenistic wall. Indicated are the widening of the joints and eastwards protruding blocks indicative of the collapse of the original continuation or extension of the wall. (right) Southeastern view of the same situation, clearly displaying the mortared rubble support wall. (lower left) Top down view of the northern extremity of the extension, including the stairway.

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pavement of the former *palaistra* (Fig. 42). This suggests that the courtyard remained in use, though no longer as part of gymnasium-related activities. To facilitate its construction, part of the (vaulted) platform likely spanning the passageway had to be removed as well. The fact that only 550-650/700 CE material was found on top of the 50/25-1 BCE levelling deposits, indeed suggests regular cleaning of the courtyard. We have already discussed the positioning of the western portico on top of the eastern wall of the western wing. As the latter's northern part was likely rebuilt in 350-400 CE, this portico was most likely temporarily removed, including its stereo- and stylobate. This is also suggested by the fact that the four *in situ* circular columns and one angular variant display different stone dressings, which were already in vogue during 50/25 BCE-50 CE. This suggests that we are not dealing with the original arrangement of the colonnade.

The main entrance, northern arcade and western forecourt

The northwestern extent of the late antique Agora Building was defined by a northern W-E oriented double wall, set against a N-S oriented western wall (Fig. 3 and 43). The northern wall was composed of an inner and outer face and incorporated the southern

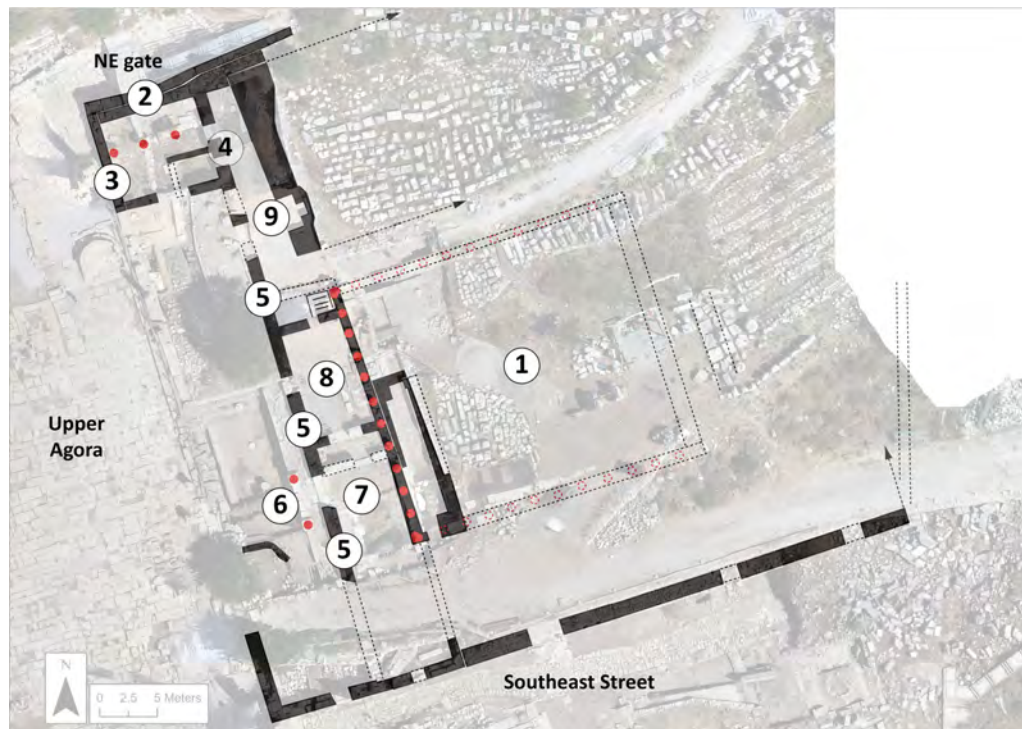


Fig. 43. The 350/400-450 CE late antique Agora Building. Indicated are (1) the courtyard, (2) the double northern wall, (3) the northwestern wall, (4) the N-S oriented brick piers, (5) the western wall, (6) the main western entrance, (7) Space 1/2, (8) Space 3, (9) Space 5/Room 8.

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support of the 1-50 CE Northeast Gate. The outer face was built with reused ashlar and other *spolia*, including elements of honorific monuments, and a bench with sculpted lion paws. The fact that inscriptions were not placed upright indicates that they no longer held meaning, and their presence amongst the lowest visible courses – partially abutted by 550/75-650 CE street slabs – demonstrates that this wall was an entirely new construction. Currently, the inner face is a patchwork of different construction techniques, but this is the result of repair works. Originally, the western segment of the northern wall was mostly composed of reused ashlar in dry masonry. This is indicated by horizontally aligned rows of holes associated with wall veneering, which continue across repair-related patches of mortared rubble. Some holes are cut along the joints between ashlar courses, confirming that the inner wall was intended to be clad in a protective, ornamental stone facing (Fig. 44). In addition, a row of beam holes aligns with the makeshift columns to the south. Likely, these were for joists carrying the first floor (Fig. 44). Regarding the repairs, they can be linked to the partial sagging of the wall immediately south of NE Gate. For reasons unknown, part of the wall collapsed southwards, and the resulting gaps were filled in with mortared rubble, bricks and *spolia* (Fig. 44). The segment of the inner face east of where the northernmost brick pier abuts it displays at least four phases, two of which can be



Fig. 44. Southern view of the western segment of the northern wall. Indicated are the area where the wall sags (arrow), the continuous line of clamp holes (white rectangles), and the clamp carved in between two blocks (green rectangle). © *Sagalassos Archaeological Research Project*.

associated with the 350-400 CE late antique Agora Building (Fig. 45). The earliest phase concerns a 75-125/200 CE *opus vittatum mixtum* segment, which is bonded with the western wall of the bathing facilities. Likely during the 350-400 CE destruction of the Agora-Gymnasium, this wall was severely damaged. During the construction of the inner wall, the damaged parts were removed from east-to-west and bottom-to-top, as large pieces of rubble and roughly worked blocks were stacked against it. This wall section was placed on top of two sand-rich layers present in close proximity to the tephra (Fig. 46). The associated ceramics provide a *terminus ante quem* for the destruction of the 75-125/200 CE wall and a *terminus post quem* for the inner face of the new northern wall of 350-400 CE. A second phase – likely placed immediately afterwards – concerns reused ashlar placed on top of these repair works. These courses extend westwards based on similar dimensions. Considering that a (likely) 350-400 CE brick pier abuts the northern wall, the latter's construction can be ascribed to 350-400 CE or shortly thereafter. Strikingly, only the part west of the pier (NEB Room 1/2, Fig. 4) seems to have been clad in stone veneering, reinforcing the argument that the construction of the northern inner wall and brick piers were part of the same operation.

As the inner face of the northern wall abuts the northwestern wall (Fig. 46), the latter can be assigned a *terminus ante quem* of 350-400 CE. For a long time, the northwestern wall was ascribed to 1-50 CE based on its ashlar construction and a reported lack of reused blocks.⁸¹ However, a new analysis did find evidence of reuse. First, variations in stone

⁸¹ Waelkens *et al.* 1998.



Fig. 45. Southern view of the eastern segment's lower part of the northern wall.
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Fig. 46. (left) The profile where the easternmost part of the northern wall's inner face was placed on the WE oriented segment of the 75-125 CE wall. (right) The north-western corner of the late antique Agora Building, where (1) the double northern wall and (2) northwestern wall connect. © *Sagalassos Archaeological Research Project*.

carving tools between blocks indicate reuse, with characteristics forwarding a *terminus post quem* for this reuse in 100-200 CE. Secondly, the fact that almost half of the ashlar have no drafted margin, while the other half only displays a drafted margin at one side, points to blocks undergoing a modification during which part of the drafted margin was carved away. This is also reinforced by some blocks showing a flat and others an oblique drafted margin. Third, at its western side, the wall's foundations include a reused Doric frieze fragment. If we assume that this came from the Eastern Portico of the Upper Agora, this already suggests a 75-125 CE date at the earliest. In summary, to the NW ashlar wall can respectively be ascribed a *terminus post* and *ante quem* of 75-125/200 CE and 350-400 CE respectively.

On top of the former division wall of the Agora-Gymnasium's ground floor, the new western wall of the late antique Agora Building was built in mortared rubble, reused ashlar and other *spolia* (Fig. 43 and 47). In front, a stepped structure in mortared rubble and *spolia* – including part of an Aphrodite statue – was set on the 275-325 CE support wall, which could have functioned as an elongated bench (Fig. 47). While there is no direct stratigraphic evidence, the western wall is abutted by various 350-400 CE structures, which together with the destruction of the Agora-Gymnasium, allows situating its construction around 350-400 CE. The division wall included at least three entrances, which facilitated access from the agora, possibly via a new portico, and a western forecourt, to the late antique Agora Building (Fig. 43). The largest of these entrances (2.30 m) led to Space 1 (Fig. 43) and consisted of a still *in situ* ashlar door threshold and posts with features indicative of a double-hinged door. The area leading up to it included a step, followed by repurposed limestone paves, which must have transitioned into a beaten earth or otherwise paved walking level which ran up to the agora (Fig. 48). In front of this entrance, two reused bases were positioned in alignment with the doorposts, and carried columns, creating an imposing entrance area which stood at least 3.15 m tall (Fig. 48). At the transition of the agora to the western forecourt, two honorific monuments stood in alignment with



Fig. 47. Part of the 350-400 CE western wall of the late antique Agora Building, and the 275-325 CE support wall in front of it.

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Fig. 48. Western view of the main western entrance to the late antique Agora Building.
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this main entrance.⁸² Because of their similar dimensions and mode of production, these monuments were probably produced simultaneously. One was dedicated to Emperor Constantius II (337-361 CE) and could be epigraphically dated between 346-361 CE.⁸³ Initially, it was assumed that the second monument honoured the same emperor⁸⁴, but recent analyses favour Emperor Constans (337-350 CE).⁸⁵ This suggests that these monuments were produced before news of the latter's death in 350 CE reached Sagalassos. As the late antique Agora Building did not yet exist then, these monuments originally stood somewhere else, and were moved at a later date. A smaller, second entrance (1.50 m) was situated approximately 7.6 m northwards and facilitated access to Space 3 (Fig. 43). Lastly, about 12.2 m northwards, a limestone threshold (1.61 m) evidences another entrance at the northernmost extremity of the division wall as it transitions into a series of piers. This entrance was located opposite the double rectangular recess in the western wall of the former bathing facility (*supra*) and provided access to Space 5 (Fig. 43).

To the north, the western wall thus transitions into a N-S oriented series of *opus vittatum mixtum* piers, which extend to the discussed northern wall, and subdivide the northern part of the late antique Agora Building (Fig. 43). Three remain *in situ*, while the

⁸² [Α]ύτο[κ]ράτορα Σεβαστόν Ν[ε]κ[η]τὴν Κωνσταντῖον [μέγισ]τον Αύγουστον ἡ λαμπρά Σαγαλασσέων [μ]ητρόπολις [τον τῆς] οἰκουμένης δεσπότην.

⁸³ DeVijver and Waelkens 1995: 116-117.

⁸⁴ DeVijver and Waelkens 1995: 117-118.

⁸⁵ Eich *et al.* 2018.

southernmost one has collapsed westwards. The dating of these piers requires some elaboration. Their foundations consisted of a continuous stack of mortared rubble, which to the east was placed on the undisturbed tephra (Fig. 49), and to the west on either the mortared rubble or brick courses of the 75-125 CE division wall (Fig. 28). From an eastern perspective, the mortared rubble segment transitioned into mortared blocks (Fig. 49). This eastern face was abutted by 300/350-400 CE deposits of loose building debris (Fig. 40), providing a *terminus ante quem* for these foundations. A *terminus post quem* for the western face is provided by the 75-125 CE brick section, as the mortared rubble segment on top is abutted by 350-450 CE levelling fills, and the 350-400 CE northern wall of Room 7 (Fig. 28). The evidence allows us to conclude that the foundations were built between 75-125 CE and 350-400 CE. That at least the brick piers on top were built during 350-400 CE is established by the fact that the northernmost pier abuts the inner face of the 350/400-450 CE northern wall (Fig. 50). Furthermore, at its southern extremity this pier included a spring towards a W-E oriented series of makeshift piers with a *terminus post quem* of 350-400 CE (Fig. 50, *infra*). In addition, as discussed, a 350-400 CE trench – backfilled with building debris (Fig. 40) – cut through the foundation trench of



Fig. 49. Northern view of Room 12/13. Indicated are (1) the tephra, (2) the 75-125/200 CE foundations of the northern wing's western wall, (3) the western wall and vaulted service corridor, (4) the broken western extension of this corridor, (5) the mortared rubble foundations of the brick piers, (6) the mortared rubble and ashlar foundations of the brick piers, (7) a brick pier, (8) the 350-400 CE tuff rock blockage wall of the service corridor, (9) the 550/75-650/75 CE division wall of Room 9 and 10. © Sagalassos Archaeological Research Project.



Fig. 50. (upper left) The (2) northernmost brick pier abuts (1) the 350/400-450 CE inner face of the northern wall. (upper right) The spring in the brick pier connecting to the WE oriented arcade. (lower left) Eastern view of the northernmost entrance in between two piers, including (3) the threshold, (4) the brick piers, and (5) a 550-650/75 CE blockage wall. (lower right) Western view of the southernmost entrance in between two piers, including the 350/400-450 CE threshold (upper arrow), and the 550-650/75 CE threshold aligning with the later floor (lower arrow).

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the 75-125/200 CE western wall of the bathing facilities. Beyond the piers, there is no structure that this trench can be associated with. This suggests that at least the eastern part of the foundations was modified. Third, the continuous mortared rubble foundations suggest that during their final arrangement there was no connection between the western and eastern aisle along the piers' trajectory. However, the stratigraphic differences between the layers immediately west of the hypocaust's service entrance, and its southern profile can only be explained by a now lost wall which once continued westwards. In all likelihood, this lost wall defined the westwards continuation of the service corridor, as suggested by its protruding part pointing westwards in the same profile (Fig. 49). To the north this

corridor was confined by a mortared rubble wall set against the partially cut-out tephra. As there is no evidence or space for a stairway, making a westwards connection with the western aisle – which we know extended this far north – was the most likely route connecting to the hypocaust (Fig. 23). This would mean that the current mortared rubble foundations of the piers likely do not represent the 75-125 CE division wall, and were at least modified during 350-400 CE. Fourth, the northernmost threshold of a doorway was constructed as part of the substructure upon which two of the piers rested, and was composed of reused wall veneering and ashlar (Fig. 50). Furthermore, in all piers reused ashlar as well as rubble is present (Fig. 50). Such reuse is more typical for 250-400 CE. Taken together, the brick piers were constructed in 350-400 CE, installed upon the former division wall, which apart from the lowest brick course was significantly modified for this purpose. Originally, there seem to have been two entrances constructed as part of these piers (Fig. 43). A first one was situated between NEB Room 7 and Space 5, as indicated by a threshold in brickwork, which was partially cut during 550-650/700 CE (Fig. 50). As mentioned, a second one was situated to the north, providing access between Room 5/6 and Space 5 (Fig. 50). The height of these thresholds are our only indications of the 350-400/450 CE walking levels, as these were removed at a later date.

As mentioned, a W-E oriented row of piers – installed in parallel to the northern wall (Fig. 43) – connected to the northernmost N-S oriented pier (Fig. 50). The eastern and central of these piers were each composed of a plain column, crowned by a repurposed ashlar, which in turn carried the brick vaults from which the arches sprang east- and westwards (Fig. 51). The western pier consisted of *opus vittatum mixtum* – including tuff rock blocks – and was placed against the NW ashlar wall (Fig. 51). This pier was the southern support of a N-S oriented double vault situated in the NW corner of the building ($0.66 \times 0.68 \times 2.53$ m). Based on its placement against the western and northern wall, it can be ascribed a *terminus post quem* of 350-400 CE, and was likely built during that time range (Fig. 51). The foundations of the western pier were exposed between NEB Room 1 and 5/6, and were built in a comparable masonry, and set upon a mortar floor (Fig. 51). Possibly, this floor can be linked to a similar context in Room 7 which was dated between 350-400 CE and 550-650/700 CE (Fig. 28). Initially, Room 5 and 6 formed one L-shaped room. Depending on the uncertain dating of a N-S oriented division wall, there might have been no direct connection to Room 7 (Fig. 4 and 43).

Based on the evidence, the arrangement of Room 7 (2.4×3.4 m) could have been part of the late antique Agora Building. Its northern wall (2.4×0.7 m) consists of mortared rubble placed in relatively neat courses, and was set on top of and partially abutted by 350-400 CE levelling fills (Fig. 50). Stratigraphically, the dating of the western wall (3.4×0.7 m) is difficult. As it abuts both the northern and southern wall, it could have been inserted later. Regarding the southern wall, it can thus be given a *terminus ante quem* of 350-400 CE, and a *terminus post quem* of 75-125 CE, as it was placed on a W-E oriented division wall associated with the 75-125 CE western aisle (Fig. 28). While the current masonry consists of *spolia* and mortared rubble, it also includes a doorway, and we have argued elsewhere that this wall was a modification of the western aisle before it was destroyed and backfilled. The eastern wall of Room 7 concerns the (modified) foundations of the piers. Taken together, these walls formed a central room or space, likely already



Fig. 51. (upper left) The 350/400-450 CE eastern and central supports of the WE oriented colonnade, and the 550-650/75 CE mortared rubble wall in between. (lower left) Southern view of Room 5. Indicated are (1) the mortar floor, (2) the northwestern wall of the late antique Agora Building, (3) the division wall subdividing Room 5 and 6, (4) the western support of the WE oriented colonnade, and (5) a later fill-in when the floor was raised. (right) The double vaulted structure in the NW corner of Room 1, which is linked to the WE oriented colonnade.

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during 350-400 CE considering the abutting deposits (Fig. 43). The southern wall of Room 7 was part of a W-E oriented wall, which included the original central entrance (2.75 m) to Room 5/6, as well as the arcade beyond (Fig. 52). The outer face indicates that the entrance was narrowed twice. However, the presence of the 350-400 CE western wall of Room 7 abutting the inner face exactly between these fillings suggests we are dealing with separate entrances to Room 5/6 and 7 respectively (Fig. 52).

To the south, one of the first activities concerned the installation of up to five N-S oriented terracotta pipelines in the 350-400 CE levelling deposits (Fig. 53). While exposed above the former latrina, these pipelines likely extended across most of area west of the division wall, and south of the arcade. The westernmost one was placed on top of the rubble fill-in of the (former) western wall of the western aisle, while the easternmost channel was situated along the support wall built against the eastern wall. In between, the three other



Fig. 52. Southeastern view of the southern wall. Indicated are (1) the remaining segments of the 350/400-450 CE southern wall, (2) the 350/400-450 CE entrance to Room 5/6 and 550-650/75 CE fill-in, (3) the 350/400-450 CE entrance to Room 7 and 550-650/75 CE fill-in, (4) the 550-650/75 CE entrance to Room 5 and 1 (independent unit), and (5) the associated walking level with part of a storage pot.

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Fig. 53. The three easternmost water pipes descending southwards along the western main entrance of the late antique Agora Building. (upper left) The connecting basin linked to the westernmost pipeline.

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pipes were located. The westernmost, central and east-central pipes displayed the standard diameter of 11-12 cm, while the easternmost and west-central pipes had one of 17-19 cm. The west-central pipe also connected to a terracotta settling basin (Fig. 53). All of these elements display evidence of later maintenance. To avoid a mortared rubble-and-brick wall, the three westernmost channels turned southeast. The wall-in-question was thus built before the water channel in 350-400 CE, and directed visitors to the western main entrance of the late antique Agora Building (Fig. 48). After the water infrastructure was installed, construction-related materials (mostly bricks) accumulated on top of the levelling deposits and water infrastructure (Fig. 54) which suggests that we are dealing with recuperated material intended for reuse, but not selected during the construction of the late antique Agora Building. The ceramics associated with this accumulation of bricks could be dated to 375-425 CE. On top, a now lost walking level must have developed, which formed a forecourt in between the agora and main entrance of the late antique Agora Building (Fig. 43).

The central building

Like its western counterpart, the former eastern aisle was backfilled during 350-400 CE. On top, an elongated structure connected to the arcade was built. The western extent was defined by the already discussed wall placed on top of the former division wall (Fig. 47),



Fig. 54. Orthophotographic image of (1) the 375-425 CE accumulation of building debris near (2) the (former) 275-325 CE support wall, (3) the western wall of the late antique Agora Building, and (4) the bench-like structure in front of it. © *Sagalassos Archaeological Research Project*.

including at least three western entrances (Fig. 43). To the east, this part of the late antique Agora Building was delineated by the Hellenistic ashlar wall, and the already discussed makeshift extension continuing northwards, as well as the western portico on top (Fig. 8). Initially, a series of W-E oriented walls subdivided this structure in three larger and one smaller room (Fig. 43). Entering from the west through the main entrance (Fig. 48), one would arrive in the southernmost excavated room designated Space 1/2 (Fig. 43, $10.2 \times 5.7-5.8$ m). The southern extent of this room remains unexcavated. However, to the north it was distinguished from Space 3 by a wall consisting of a western and eastern segment mostly constructed in mortared rubble and reused ashlars (Fig. 55, 5.8×0.75 m). At its eastern extremity, the eastern segment incorporated one of the columns of the western portico (Fig. 55). A wide entrance (3.05 m) in between these segments facilitated access between Space 1/2 and 3. Based on the presence of 11 voussoirs at the modern surface, this entrance was defined by a stone arch (Fig. 55). The threshold consisted of five elongated limestone slabs, which displayed no evidence of a door being affixed to it. To the north, Space 3 (5.3×9.5 m) was defined by another wall constructed in two segments of mortared rubble, reused ashlars and tuff rock blocks, which incorporated another column of the portico in its masonry. In the centre of this wall, another door opening provided access to Space 4 (Fig. 56). Most of the floor of Space 3 consisted of bricks (28×28 cm), which were arranged on top of the 350-400 CE levelling deposits (Fig. 57). However, the northern part was composed of a mortared floor.⁸⁶ As mentioned, a small entrance provided direct access to the western forecourt. Space 4 (5.5×2.2 m) was the northernmost room of this part of the



Fig. 55. (1) The 350/400-450 CE entrance between Space 1/2 and 3, and (2) the later segments narrowing its width. In the background, the (likely) later division wall between Space 1 and 2 is visible.

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⁸⁶ Poblome *et al.* 2018: 492-494



Fig. 56. Eastern view upon the central part of the late antique Agora Building. Indicated are (1) the western wall, including (2) an entrance which was filled in at a later date. (3) Space 3, and (4) its northern wall providing access to (5) Space 4. (6) The northern wall of the latter is poorly preserved, and its eastern wall incorporated the NW heart-shaped column of the palaistra's portico. To its east, (8) Space A2 is situated. Finally, in the western wall – which incorporated the western portico – a (9) doorway and (10) window were present. © *Sagalassos Archaeological Research Project*.



Fig. 57. The 350/400-450 CE brick floor of (1) Space 3, and the final phase of use of (2) the passageway. © *Sagalassos Archaeological Research Project*.

late antique Agora Building, and incorporated the NW heart-shaped column in its eastern wall, while its northern wall was mostly constructed in mortared rubble and *spolia* (Fig. 58). Possibly, it was built at a later date, and there was originally a connection between Room 3 and Space 5. In the eastern half of Space 4, a stairway was situated, and was composed of large limestone slabs, as well as *spolia*, and brick fragments (Fig. 58). Considering the fact that the stairway was set in the 350-400 CE deposits, and the northern and southern wall of Space 4 were installed on top of it, it was part of, and possibly preceded the construction of the late antique Agora Building. The steps descend towards the south, suggesting that part of the former ground floor was reused as a basement.

Discussion

Sometime after the destruction of the Agora-Gymnasium a new building – the late antique Agora Building – was constructed east of the Upper Agora. From north to south, the western part of this complex consisted of a L-shaped structure with an arcade, set against a central building with at least four rooms. Respectively to the south and west of these structures, a forecourt seems to have been present. Via the central building, the former *palaistra* – now a courtyard – could be reached. Despite the inactivity of its hypocaust, the ground and first floor of the northern wing could have been repurposed as well. Based



Fig. 58. Western view of Space 4. Indicated are (1) the staircase and associated limestone paves, (2) the 550-650/675 CE division wall, (3) the 550-650/675 CE brick floor, and (4) the 550-650/675 CE water pipe. © Sagalassos Archaeological Research Project.

on the efforts involved, the location near the Upper Agora, and the alignment of the honorific monuments with the main western entrance, some kind of civic function for the late antique Agora Building is proposed.

THE REARRANGEMENT OF THE LATE ANTIQUE AGORA BUILDING (550/75-650/700 CE)

The modifications to the late antique Agora Building are often referred to as encroachment, and involved the increasing subdivision and functional rearrangement of the building. While these modifications are presented together, they are not necessarily the product of a single event.

The passageway

In the western passageway, a series of silt- and sand-rich levelling deposits created a southward sloping surface, which contained ceramics datable to 550-600 CE. In these fills, a terracotta pipeline was installed with a standard diameter of 11 cm (Fig. 57). To facilitate this process the 50/25-1 BCE southern doorway of the passageway was filled in with rubble and tuff rock (Fig. 14). As the 50-1 CE water channel was covered by these levelling fills, its likely continuation south of Southeast Street was filled in, and possibly the same terracotta pipeline was arranged on top of a 550/75-650 CE deposit (Fig. 15), these activities can be associated with water management. It also means that the passageway and associated stairway remained in use until 550-600 CE. Eventually, the walking level was raised to the level of the stereobate (Fig. 65). This meant that any support for a platform spanning the passageway was completely removed.

The northern area with arcade

A 0.70 m-thick N-S oriented division wall in rubble and *spolia* subdivided the entrance hall into Room 5 (2.6 × 3.3 m) and 6 (1.3-5.0 × 4.3 m). This wall is abutted by a comparably constructed W-E oriented wall extending to the foundation of the western pier (Fig. 51). Against both of these walls, a dark brown levelling fill was present, which contained 550-650/75 CE ceramics, providing a *terminus ante quem* for these operations, and the new floor level. Likely during the same event, a new entrance (0.96 m) was created in the southern wall of Room 5/6/7 and was preceded by two steps. The threshold aligned with the aforementioned levelling deposit (Fig. 52). In addition, the vaulted arcade was now subdivided in Room 1 (c. 2.90 × 2.50 m) and 2 (c. 5.30 × 2.35 m) by a mortared rubble division wall (2.45 × 1.63 m). Furthermore, the opening between Room 2 and 6 was narrowed into a doorway (1.05 m) by a dry-laid wall of brick, rubble, tuff rock and *spolia* (Fig. 51).⁸⁷ These walls were placed on top of deposits with ceramics dating to 550-650/700 CE. Based on different types of plaster – some lime-based, others using an organic paste – these walls underwent several modifications. While the relative succession of these subdivisions cannot be established, they resulted in independent units consisting of Room 1 and 5, and Room 2 and 6 (Fig. 59).

⁸⁷ Poblome *et al.* 2017: 214-15.

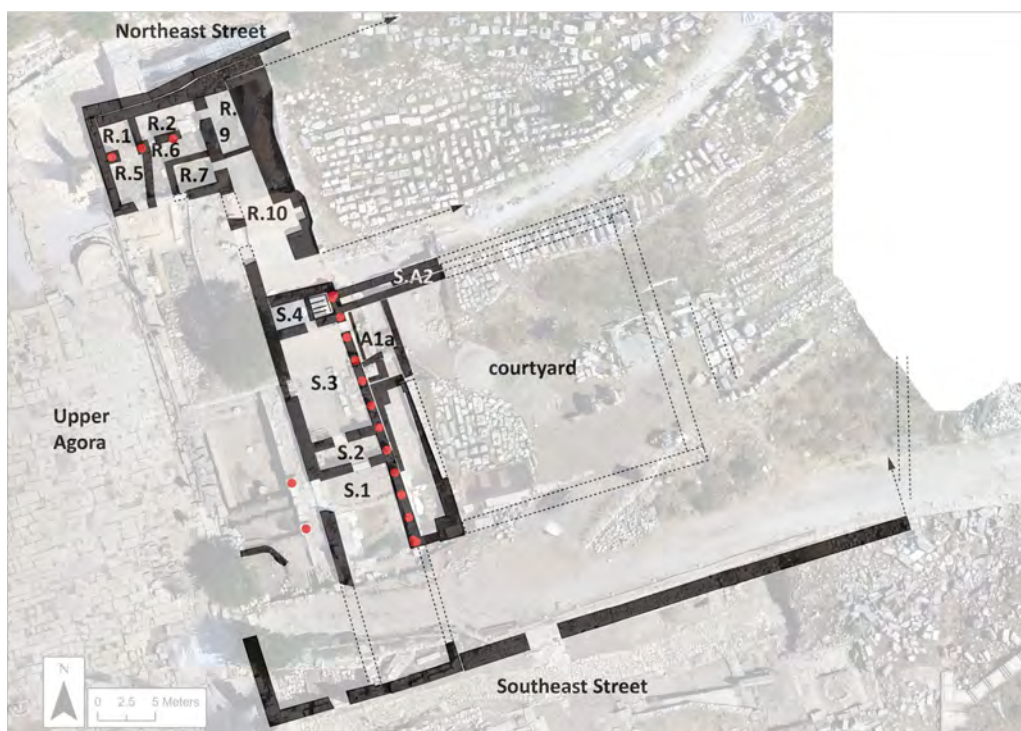


Fig. 59. The rearrangement of the late antique Agora Building. Rooms (R.#) and Spaces (S.#) are indicated. © *Sagalassos Archaeological Research Project*.

While the extent of Room 7 did not change (unless the western wall was only added now), the (unknown) 350-400/450 CE floor and part of the associated levelling fill were removed, and a thick layer of lime-based mortar was poured on top between 350-400 CE and 550-650/700 CE (Fig. 28). This was either a floor or a remnant of lime-based mortar production. On top, a dark brown silt-rich stratum with burnt material formed the substrate of a floor set in brick and tile fragments, pieces of tuff rock, and rubble (Fig. 28). Based on the ceramics in the substrate, as well as the deposits on top, we can date this floor to 550-650/75 CE. This floor corresponds to the threshold of a doorway in the NE corner of the room, for which part of the 350-400 CE northern wall was dismantled (Fig. 50). As a result, Room 7 was now directly connected to Room 6 (Fig. 59). In all likelihood, these activities also included the carving of the 350-400 CE entrance between the brick piers, lowering its threshold (1.10 m) to the new floor level (Fig. 50). As a result, Room 7 still provided access eastwards to Room 10 (Fig. 59). Subsequently, a dark brown clay-rich levelling fill raised the floor level in Room 7 once more, on top of which at least one storage pot was situated. Inside this storage pot mortar, bone and wood inclusions were found, which are to be associated with the final collapse of Room 7 (*infra*). In addition, loom weights, oil lamps, a knife, a ring and a bone hairpin were deposited upon this beaten earth floor. It cannot be determined if this deposition can be associated with domestic/artisanal or dumping activities. The ceramics of the substrate as well as the

collapse layer on top could be attributed to 550/75-650/75 CE, providing a *terminus post* and *ante quem* for this operation and the room's function as a storage space. Despite the raising of the floor level, both the NE and eastern entrance could have been used during this final phase of occupation.

Room 9 and 10 were the result of the subdivision of Space 5 by a W-E oriented mortared rubble, brick and tuff rock wall ($2.53 \times 0.20\text{--}0.26 \times 1.21\text{--}1.31$ m) installed on top of 550-650/75 CE levelling deposits (Fig. 49). Possibly at the same event, the doorway between Room 6 and Room 9 was filled in with rubble, brick and tuff rock (Fig. 50). Based on the discovery of sherds of glass on both sides, it might have been turned into a window. In all likelihood related to these changes, an opening was carved through part of the northernmost pier, linking Room 2 to Room 9. As there was no direct access between Room 9 and 10, this meant that Room 2 and 9, and Room 7 and 10 could have functioned as independent units, with Room 6 serving as a hallway (Fig. 59).

What was once an arcade preceded by an entrance hall was thus turned into a series of independent units during 550-650/75 CE. Rooms 2, 7 and 9 provide *in situ* information about their final use. In Room 2, below 550-650/75 CE collapse layers, and on top of a 550/650/75 CE substrate, a beaten earth walking level was present, which was subdivided in a western and eastern area by a rubble threshold ($1.02 \times 0.20\text{--}0.32$ m) (Fig. 60). On top of this walking level a series of features were arranged (Fig. 60). In the eastern part, these include a limestone block used as a seat ($0.37 \times 0.38 \times 0.22$ m) and a triangular tuff rock



Fig. 60. Orthophotographic image of 550-650/75 CE NEB Room 2. Indicated are (1) the basin used for mortar production, (2) the U-shaped structure, (3) the tuff rock feature, (4) the rubble threshold, (5) the limestone bench and (6) seat, (7) the NW and NE slaked lime deposits, the entrance to (8) Room 6 and (9) Room 9.

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feature with three postholes (0.56×0.56 m). Considering the heat retention of tuff rock, the latter served to fixate something to be heated. Furthermore, we find a brick disc repurposed as a support for something, a vertically placed terracotta water pipe immediately south of a slaked lime concentration, and a U-shaped structure (0.95×1.05 m) partially stabilized by a reused lid (Fig. 60). For the western segment, another concentration of slaked lime was situated in the NW corner, while a large limestone block was reused as a bench along the northern wall, and a rectangular basin (1.3×1.25 m) was used for lime-based mortar production (Fig. 60). As such, the final use of Room 2 indicates activities in part associated with mortar production (e.g. repairs, plastering). To the east, a stairway of limestone blocks descended to Room 9 (Fig. 61). In its final phase, at least seven storage pots were situated along the western, eastern and southern wall, and various other ceramic objects – like a water jug and plates – stood on shelves. The associated floor level mostly consisted of beaten earth, but also included three limestone paves, as well as part of the mortared rubble foundations of the former bathing facilities (Fig. 61). The floor substrate could be dated to 550-650/75 CE. In addition, a NW-SE oriented structure (2.06×0.28 - 0.37×1.27 - 1.32 m) was built against the stairway and the northern wall, and consisted of reused ashlar, bricks and tuff rock (Fig. 62). The central part was situated more westwards, creating a small platform or alcove, which presented soot marks, charcoal fragments, and



Fig. 61. Orthophotographic image of 550-650/75 CE NEB Room 9. Indicated are (1) the 550-650/75 CE beaten earth walking level and storage pots, which included (2) the foundations of the 75-125/200 CE northern wing, (3) the stairway ascending to Room 2, (4) the tuff rock feature (see fig.62), (5) the 350/400-450 CE doorway (a likely 550-650/75 CE window), and (6) the 550-650/75 CE division wall with Room 10.

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Fig. 62. The tuff rock, rubble and spolia feature in the NW part of Room 9 (see fig.61). Note the soot marks in the central platform. © *Sagalassos Archaeological Research Project*.

some vitrified faunal remains. The function of this feature remains undetermined. Based on beam holes in the piers and opposing wall, as well as the presence of another storage pot on top of the western wall (Fig. 61), we can argue that multiple floors remained in use into 550-650/75 CE. In its final phase Room 9 was in part a storage room, but also facilitated other activities. Considering Room 2 and 9 together, we are possibly dealing with a domestic unit. Finally, as mentioned above, a storage pot was present upon the final walking level of Room 7, suggesting a function as a partial storage room.

On top of the northern wall of the late antique Agora Building, a reused cornice, architrave, and two door lintels – one of which collapsed southwards – were placed (Fig. 45). Possibly, the reused lintels framed a window. Along the northern face of this eclectic masonry, a mortared rubble wall ($4.80 \times 1.14.1.17$) was constructed, and concerns the fourth and final phase of the northern wall (Fig. 45).

The western forecourt

In the western forecourt, the water infrastructure was maintained and in part modified. Regarding the latter, the northern border stones of the agora were temporarily removed to install terracotta water pipes which descended south along the exedra monument (Fig. 63), and were guided south-eastwards through openings in the reinstalled border stones. This water infrastructure included another settling basin. Based on the ceramics found in the associated deposits, these activities can be ascribed to the 550-650/75 CE. As pedestals and columns were placed on top of this reset section, we can demonstrate that the forecourt was at least partially fronted by a portico in the west during 550-650/75 CE.



Fig. 63. The 550-650/75 CE water pipes installed in between the border stones. In addition, the pedestals of the 550-650/75 CE colonnade on top can be observed.

The central building

Like in the northwestern area, the 550-650/75 CE evidence for the central building demonstrates an increasing subdivision. In Space 1/2, a W-E oriented wall (6.05×0.75 - 0.85 m) was constructed in mortared rubble and tuff rock, subdividing the larger room in Space 1 (width: 6.2 m) and 2 (5.9×1.85 m) (Fig. 59). The 1.5 m-wide entrance in between was framed by reused ashlar, and materialised in a monolithic threshold with carvings indicative of a hinged door (Fig. 55). The foundations of the wall consisted of dry-laid rubble set into the 350-400 CE levelling deposits. Because of its rather crude insertion, it is considered a later addition to the late antique Agora Building. However, it cannot be ruled out that it was constructed shortly after the original building in 350-400/450 CE.

The entrance between Room 2 and 3 was narrowed by extending the wall segments with mortared rubble (Fig. 55). Considering the nature of these fill-ins, this is unlikely to be related to problems with structural integrity, but rather seems to define Room 2 and 3 more as independent units. Furthermore, the western entrance of Room 3 was filled in, which created a shallow niche (Fig. 56, 1.6×0.6 m), and leaves the main entrance as the only known option to enter the central building from the west. This fill-in consisted

of a mortared rubble back wall, as well as bricks along its southern and roughly worked ashlar along its northern face.

A small N-S oriented rubble wall subdivided Space 4 into a western (4a) and eastern (4b) half (Fig. 58). This subdivision was reverted later on as the division wall was dismantled to facilitate the arrangement of a floor set in brick and tile fragments (Fig. 58). On top, a hearth delineated by rubble was located in the eastern part of the room, and could be linked to an associated *in situ* cooking vessel. The layer on top contained material dating to 500-600/650 CE, providing a *terminus ante quem* for all of these activities.

At some point, small walls (c. $1.5 \times 0.75 \times 1$ m) were built between the columns of the western portico, which had already been integrated in W-E oriented division walls. It is thus possible that this occurred shortly after the central building had been built. This created a continuous wall consisting of mortared rubble, brick, tuff rock, and *spolia* set between the columns (Fig. 8). While the western portico remained standing, the northern portico was dismantled up to its stylobate, on top of which a wall made of mortared rubble, brick, and *spolia* was installed. Amongst the *spolia* was the aforementioned wall frieze block depicting Ajax the Lesser and Cassandra (Fig. 32). As it was placed upright at eye level, at least its aesthetic qualities could still be valued. Immediately south, a smaller mortared rubble wall was constructed in parallel, creating a channel-like structure (0.65 m). The area in between makes up Space A2 (Fig. 4). In Space 3, a section between two columns was left open, and based on the height of a tuff rock arch functioned as a window. Immediately north, part of the stylobate was removed to create a door opening eastwards (Fig. 56).

Space A2 – an elongated channel-like structure – is situated between the wall installed on top of the northern stylobate and the parallel wall to the south, while its eastern extent remains unexcavated. The interior of Space A2 is subdivided, which limits the channel's width towards the west. This narrow part was set in a mortar floor, as well as bricks, and gradually inclines to the SW, diverting water and/or waste to another channel along the western wall of Space A1(a) (Fig. 4). Beyond ceramics, the finds amongst the sediment of the channel included faunal remains, a bronze clasp, and multiple oil lamps. The latter are often encountered in latrines, which is suggested as a function for this structure.

The NE entrance in Space 3 led to Space A1a (Fig. 4), which was further defined by a mortared rubble wall to the north and the passageway to the south. Before the passageway was backfilled, a rectangular doorway in the eastern part of the south wall also afforded access to it. The eastern extent of this room consisted of a small wall in mortared rubble, brick, and *spolia*, which linked the eastern wall of the passageway to the aforementioned northern wall. Based on scores of tile fragments in combination with plenty of iron nails and charcoal, this room was covered by a timber truss supported tile roof. In the SW corner, a sill was placed in parallel to the south wall, which likely facilitated access to a small square structure (Fig. 4). The brick water channel covered by mortared tiles – which descended along the western wall of Space A1a – acted as drainage for this structure, which received its flow from the proposed sewage in Space A2. Based on this connection it has been suggested that this structure was a latrine as well. Because of large amounts of pig remains, and an arrowhead, it has also been argued that this space was used for meat processing. However, these remains could also be the result of later dumping activities.

Discussion

During 550-650/75 CE, the late antique Agora Building was increasingly subdivided in more independent units, while connectivity between rooms decreased (Fig. 59). In addition, we have evidence throughout the building for storage rooms, often linked to a single other room. Furthermore, even when taking into account that later phases leave more evidence than earlier ones, it is striking that the intensity of modifications increases. This is more characteristic for domestic than public spaces. Taken together, we argue that the late antique Agora Building lost its civic function, and was subdivided in a series of domestic units, including latrines and associated sewage. In a sense, it became a neighbourhood once more. Both for the late antique Agora Building and the later domestic units, the interior was more aesthetically pleasing than its preservation implies, as painted plaster has been found throughout the area. The presence of painted plaster in earlier and later phases of Room 1/2 and 2 consisted of an older red panel, which had been painted over with a brighter red, yellow and blue (Fig. 64). In contrast, only plain white plaster remained on the western and southern wall. In Space 3, the small walls between the columns were plastered as well, and decorated with red bands as well as some yellow/black/green floral motifs (Fig. 64). Space 4A was damaged by the vault's collapse, and seemed to have been decorated with painted plaster present on at least some of the tuff rock blocks. In addition to floral motifs, a figure can be observed (Fig. 64).



Fig. 64. Several examples of the painted plaster belonging to multiple phases of the late antique Agora Building and its later subdivision.

ABANDONMENT AND COLLAPSE (550-650/75 CE)

The area east of the Upper Agora presents one of the longest archaeological records of Sagalassos, ranging from 300-150 BCE to 650/75 CE. While the abandonment and ruin-ation of the buildings is but a paragraph in its rich history, all good things must come to an end.

Dumping activities

In the northern area, a variety of dumping activities have been attested. In NEB Room 2, the rectangular basin (Fig. 60) was used to dump misfired ceramics, eggshell, seashells, and lentils. Outside of the basin, a variety of metal objects (e.g. knives, a ring) and other refuse was deposited. Based on the ceramics, this occurred during 625-675 CE. Likely after the dumping activities, the doorway to Room 2 was filled-in with limestone rubble. In NEB Room 5, refuse including pottery, a variety of metal objects (e.g. knives, keys), and bone hairpins was deposited. The collapse on top can be dated to 550-650/75 CE. While NEB Room 1 was not excavated up to a walking level, it could only be reached via Room 5, making it likely was abandoned as well. Similarly in Room 6, a refuse heap was situated against the western wall, and included lots of pottery, faunal remains, and some other objects (e.g. oil lamps, horse figurine, flasks). The ceramics could again be dated to 550-650/75 CE. Archaeozoological analyses suggest that most faunal remains concerned domestic consumption. However, the bones in the dump presented a dominance of ovicaprines possibly indicative of a nearby butchery. In close proximity to the 550-650/700 CE walking level of Room 9, large amounts of cow and goat horns, as well as some deer's antlers were found. These dumps seemed to be linked to bone-working activities. In addition, a small bell for animals, various knives, and a metal object likely used to process cattle were amongst the refuse. A final modification in the northern area was the filling in of the central entrance with rubble (Fig. 52). This is associated with the construction of a cistern in front of it. This N-S oriented structure was composed of a mortared rubble wall (2.53 × 0.86 m), a pier (1.27 m), and was covered by a barrel vault (Fig. 52). Taken together, dumping activities across all northern rooms, and the filling-in of entrances indicate the gradual abandonment of the northern area during 550-650/75 CE. This also explains why macro-botanical analyses of the 550-650/700 CE *in situ* storage pots provided little result, as most of the contents of the room were probably taken along when they were abandoned. The increasing evidence of crude repairs and construction activities suggests that structural instability was one of, if not the main, reason for this abandonment. A general lack of maintenance for the surrounding area is also indicated by Northeast Street being gradually covered by a dark brown to blackish layer of silt. However, the construction of the cistern does suggest that the area was not entirely abandoned. To the south, the partial collapse of the western wall of the late antique Agora Building might also have begun before a mid-7th c. CE earthquake hit Sagalassos. This is indicated by loose debris in small 575-625 CE collapse layers west of it, below the larger 550-650/75 CE collapse. The only activities which have been documented in the forecourt include the positioning of various larger blocks along the border of the agora.

Discussion

The abandonment and declining maintenance facilitated the destruction by a mid-7th c. CE earthquake. The NE honorific column – constructed in 25 BCE-25 CE – toppled eastwards, its column drums and capital were sent crashing down through the central part of the northern area (Fig. 65). Along the northern and western wall, the 4 m-thick collapse layers included lots of bricks, tiles and mortar fragments, as well as countless nails representing the destruction of multiple floors and a tile roof. The eastern wall of the central building – including the western portico – collapsed eastwards as well, in part destroying the likely abandoned Space A1a. In the collapse layers covering the former passageway, most of the column drums and entablature could be documented (Fig. 65), indicating that it stood up to the very end. Similarly, parts of the southern portico collapsed northwards, suggesting that at least part of this colonnade remained standing. In all likelihood, it is the same seismic event which caused the central vaults to collapse in the northern wing, bringing down columns as well (Fig. 29). While the earthquake did not cause the abandonment of the area east of the agora, after c. 800-950 years of a colourful range of activities, it was the final nail in the coffin for human occupation and use. The next attested activity concerns the construction of a large 650-700 CE water channel, which was laid out across the



Fig. 65. (upper left) The collapsed NE honorific column. (right) The collapse of the western portico into the passageway. (lower left) The Byzantine water channel constructed on top of collapse layers, emerging from the southern wall of the former Agora-Gymnasium and crossing Southeast Street.

upper and lower city of Sagalassos, crossing various parts of the former Agora-Gymnasium (Fig. 65). This water channel descended towards the new centre of the town, situated at the former location of the Temple of Antoninus Pius (Fig. 1).

CONCLUSION

From a Hellenistic to an Early Byzantine neighbourhood, via an extended period as the educational centre of the Roman *polis*, the area east of the Upper Agora demonstrates a surprisingly varied history of use. Considered within the wider developments of Sagalassos' cityscape, it represents the emergence of Sagalassos as a Hellenistic town, and its gradual development into a regional centre during Roman Imperial times. Beyond the Roman heydays, the community continued to thrive, reusing the area as one of the civic linchpins in its organisation, before becoming part of a wider trend toward the appropriation of former political and religious buildings for domestic and mundane uses.

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