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## The Bouleuterion Court of Aphrodisias in Caria: A Case Study of the Adaptation of Urban Space in Asia Minor from the Roman Imperial Period to Late Antiquity and Beyond

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The Bouleuterion Court of Aphrodisias in Caria. A Case Study  
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URSULA QUATEMBER

## The Bouleuterion Court of Aphrodisias in Caria. A Case Study of the Adaptation of Urban Space in Asia Minor from the Roman Imperial Period to Late Antiquity and Beyond

*Keywords:* Aphrodisias, Council House, Urbanism, Square, Functional Change

*Schlüsselwörter:* Aphrodisias, Rathäuser, Urbanistik, Platzanlagen, Funktionswandel

*Anahtar sözcükler:* Aphrodisias, Belediye Binası, Şehircilik, Meydan, Fonksiyon Değişimi

Archaeological research in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and the 20<sup>th</sup> centuries on the cities of Asia Minor was mainly concerned with the Roman Imperial period and earlier times. Lesser attention was paid to Late Antiquity and the subsequent phases of urban development in the Eastern Mediterranean. During the last decades, interests have evolved and changed. A paradigm for this new approach to the later phases of urban development is the excavation of the ancient city of Aphrodisias in Caria<sup>1</sup>. Various research projects in different areas of the city have altered our understanding of its transformation from Antiquity to the early Middle Ages<sup>2</sup>.

Aphrodisias was probably founded in the 2<sup>nd</sup> or early 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C. through a *sympolitia* or *synoikismos* with the neighboring city of Plarasa<sup>3</sup>. Except at the Sanctuary of Aphrodite, where finds date as early as the late 7<sup>th</sup> or early 6<sup>th</sup> century B.C.<sup>4</sup>, archaeological evidence for the pre-Roman periods is scarce. The city experienced a first heyday during the Augustan period, when C. Iulius Zoilos, a freedman in the service of Octavian, returned to his native city and

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*Sources of illustrations:* Fig. 1 = Aphrodisias Excavations, H. Mark. – Fig. 2 = Aphrodisias Excavations / Drone Adventures. – Figs. 3. 8 = Aphrodisias Excavations, L. Bier. – Figs. 4. 7. 10. 11. 12. 15. 17 = Aphrodisias Archive. – Fig. 16 = Aphrodisias Excavations, U. Outschar. – Fig. 18 = Aphrodisias Excavations, K. Ahmet (Ahmet 2001, fig. 11).

<sup>1</sup> I would like to thank the excavation director R. R. R. Smith and my colleagues on the Bouleuterion project, Christopher H. Hallett and Andrew K. Y. Leung. Ulrike Outschar provided invaluable help with her analysis of the pottery from the excavations. Additional thanks go to Julia Lenaghan, Muradiye Öztaşkın, Christopher Ratté, Veronika Scheibelreiter-Gail und Andrew Wilson. This article is dedicated to the memory of Marjorie S. Venit.

<sup>2</sup> On the urban development, see Ratté 2001; Ratté 2002. For a summary of more recent results, see Smith 2016a.

<sup>3</sup> Reynolds 1982, 1–6; Reynolds 1985; Chaniotis 2004, 378–386, esp. 382f.; Chaniotis 2010, esp. 461–463; for a summary with further references, see also Ratté 2008, 10f.

<sup>4</sup> De La Genière 1987, 54–56; Brody 2001, 94; see also Eren 2015.

commissioned several buildings, including the North Stoa of the Agora, the *scaenae frons* of the theater, and a marble cella for the Temple of Aphrodite<sup>5</sup>. The city with an estimated population of 6.500 to 15.000 inhabitants remained of moderate size<sup>6</sup>, but continued to flourish during the Roman Imperial period. Benefactors from the local élite endowed its center with monumental public buildings, mostly constructed from local marble extracted from its vicinity<sup>7</sup>. Aphrodisias was particularly famed for its sculptors and their high-quality production of statuary<sup>8</sup>. No later than the early 4<sup>th</sup> century A.D., Aphrodisias rose above its status as a local center and became the seat of the governor for the newly established province of Caria<sup>9</sup>. Its prosperity endured well into Late Antiquity<sup>10</sup>, also represented by the conversion of the Sanctuary of Aphrodite into one of the largest churches of Asia Minor<sup>11</sup>. The city fell into decline in the early 7<sup>th</sup> century, probably connected to the waning of Constantinople's control over the territory in combination with Persian and Arab raids as well as earthquakes<sup>12</sup>. Except for a short period of prosperity during the Middle Byzantine period that saw a renovation of the Temple-Church<sup>13</sup>, the area of Aphrodisias, although occupied well into the 20<sup>th</sup> century, never rose beyond a rural settlement again.

The city plan essentially displays an orthogonal grid in most of its parts to which many of the public monuments are aligned. The urban center, on the one hand, is marked by the Temple of Aphrodite and its temenos. On the other hand, the city is characterized by its large open public spaces, namely the Agora and the urban park to its south. The so-called Bouleuterion Court – a rectangular open space framing the Council House – is located in the center also<sup>14</sup>. This article aims to present the archaeological and architectural evidence of the Bouleuterion Court and its phasing in the light of the history and evolution of the other areas and monuments of the city.

<sup>5</sup> On Zoilos: Reynolds 1982, 156–164; Smith 1993, esp. 4–13. For the North Stoa of the Agora, see IAph2007, 3.2; Reynolds 1996, 43 (inscription); Smith – Ratté 1998, 233–235 (architecture). On the *scaenae frons* of the theater, see de Chaisemartin – Theodorescu 2017 (architecture); Reynolds 1991 (inscription). For Zoilos' contribution in the Temple of Aphrodite: IAph2007 1.2; Reynolds 1990, esp. 37f. The location of Zoilos' tomb is unknown; on the reliefs see Smith 1993.

<sup>6</sup> Similar numbers are given by: Bier 2008, 162 (approx. 15.000 persons, based on an estimate by Ch. Ratté; Wilson 2016b, 189 (10.000–15.000 people); Ratté – Comitto 2017, 54f. (6.500–12.000 inhabitants).

<sup>7</sup> Rockwell 1996; Ponti 1996; Long 2012a; Long 2012b; Russell 2013, esp. 53–55. 63. 73. 148f. 248f.

<sup>8</sup> Smith 2006 on the sculpture from Aphrodisias. Inscriptions from outside of Aphrodisias seem to use the epithet »Aphrodisian« as a sign of quality, cf. e.g. the inscription from a tomb in Hypaipa in Lydia, SEG 19,856; Altınoluk 2013, 62f. Two statues of centaurs were found in Hadrian's Villa in Tivoli and bear inscriptions from Aphrodisian sculptors, see: Smith 1991, 1 32; Morawietz 2000, 89–95. Generally, cf. also Floriani Squarciapino 1943. On the excavation of a sculptor's workshop, see below.

<sup>9</sup> These events can be dated to the years between 301 and 306. It is also possible that Aphrodisias was the seat of a governor before then, as the capital of the province of Caria and Phrygia from the middle of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century onward. See ala2004, I.5 and II.3; cf. also Gerhardt 2008, 698f.; Wesch-Klein 2016, 115.

<sup>10</sup> Ratté 2001; Smith 2016c on Late Antique sculpture.

<sup>11</sup> Cormack 1990; Smith – Ratté 1995, 44–46; Hebert 2000; a publication on the temple and its conversion into a church is under preparation by J. J. Coulton.

<sup>12</sup> Smith 2016c, 145; for further discussion see below.

<sup>13</sup> Cormack 1990, 84–87; Hebert 2000, 212–258.

<sup>14</sup> The Bouleuterion project is carried out by Ch. H. Hallett (sculpture) and U. Quatember together with A. K. Y. Leung (architecture). For a first summary, see Hallett – Quatember 2018.

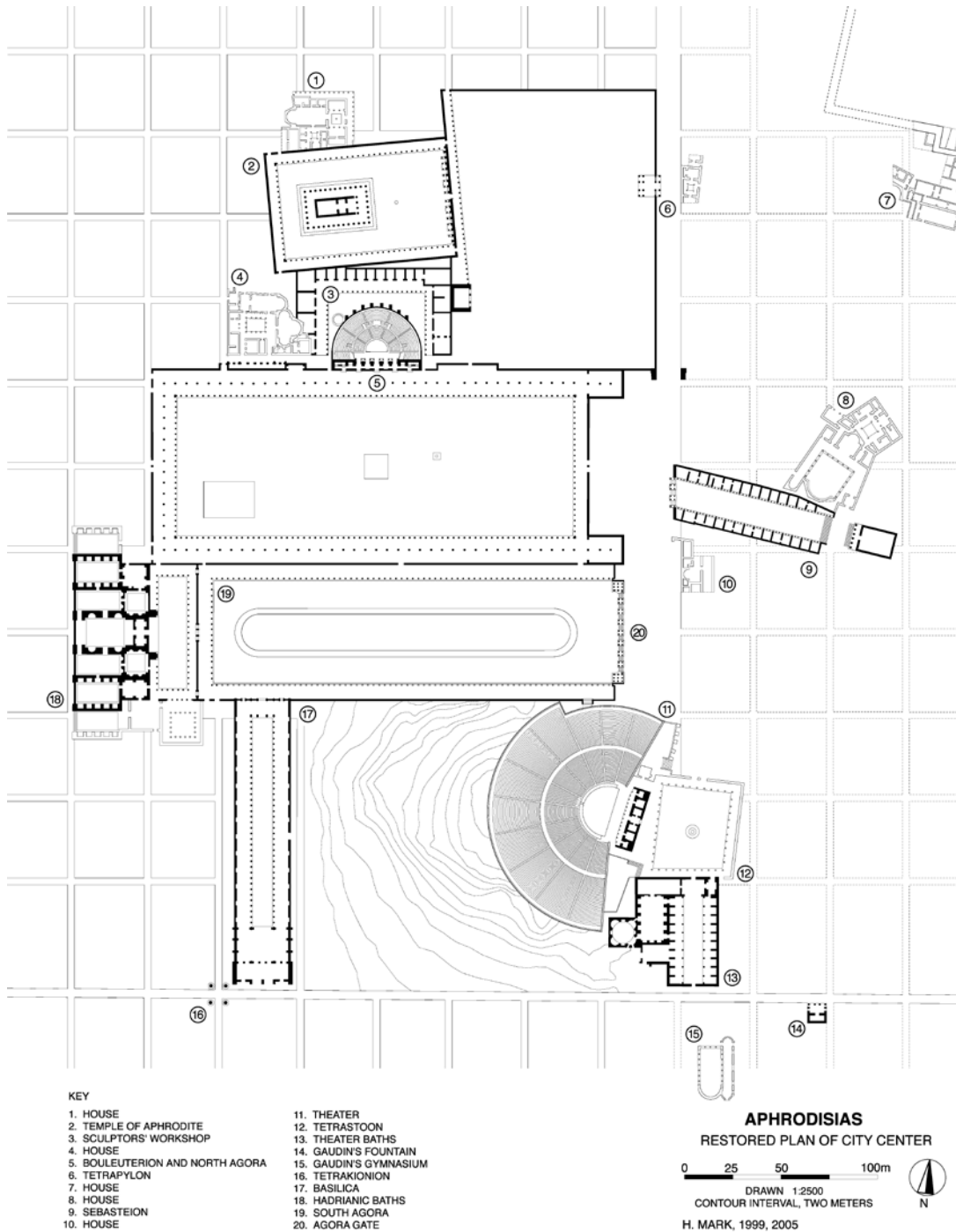


Fig. 1 Restored plan of city center





Fig. 2 Bouleuterion Court and surrounding areas 2014

#### THE BOULEUTERION COURT: AN OVERVIEW

The Bouleuterion Court measures approximately 50 m in a west-east and 30 m in a north-south direction. It is centered on the north side of the Agora (*fig. 1*). The back wall of the Agora's North Stoa constitutes its southern limits. The west, north and east sides were originally defined by porticoes (*figs. 2, 3*). To the west, the space adjacent to the Bouleuterion Court is now occupied by the so-called Bishop's palace (Triconch House, *fig. 1* no. 4). This structure is preserved in its Late Antique layout, though excavations have shown an earlier rectangular building with a peristyle courtyard occupying this site. The Sanctuary of Aphrodite is located to the north, on a level approximately 3 m higher. The rear wall of the chambers behind the north portico of the Bouleuterion Court served as the retaining wall for the temple area. The site to the east has not been excavated yet. In most schematic plans of the city center, it is considered as part of the outer sanctuary of Aphrodite (*fig. 1*).

The Bouleuterion Court provided the architectural framework for the city's council house that was located in its center. With its different phases of usage and the alteration of its monuments over time it represents a microcosm that reflects the urban development of the city.

From the late Hellenistic until the Medieval period, we can summarize the main phases of the area as follows (see also *table 1*): The three-sided stoa framing the Bouleuterion Court can be dated to the late Hellenistic or early Imperial period. Results from the excavations inside the extant council house might allow us to reconstruct a first Bouleuterion that goes back to the initial phase of the monumentalization in the city center of Aphrodisias during the late

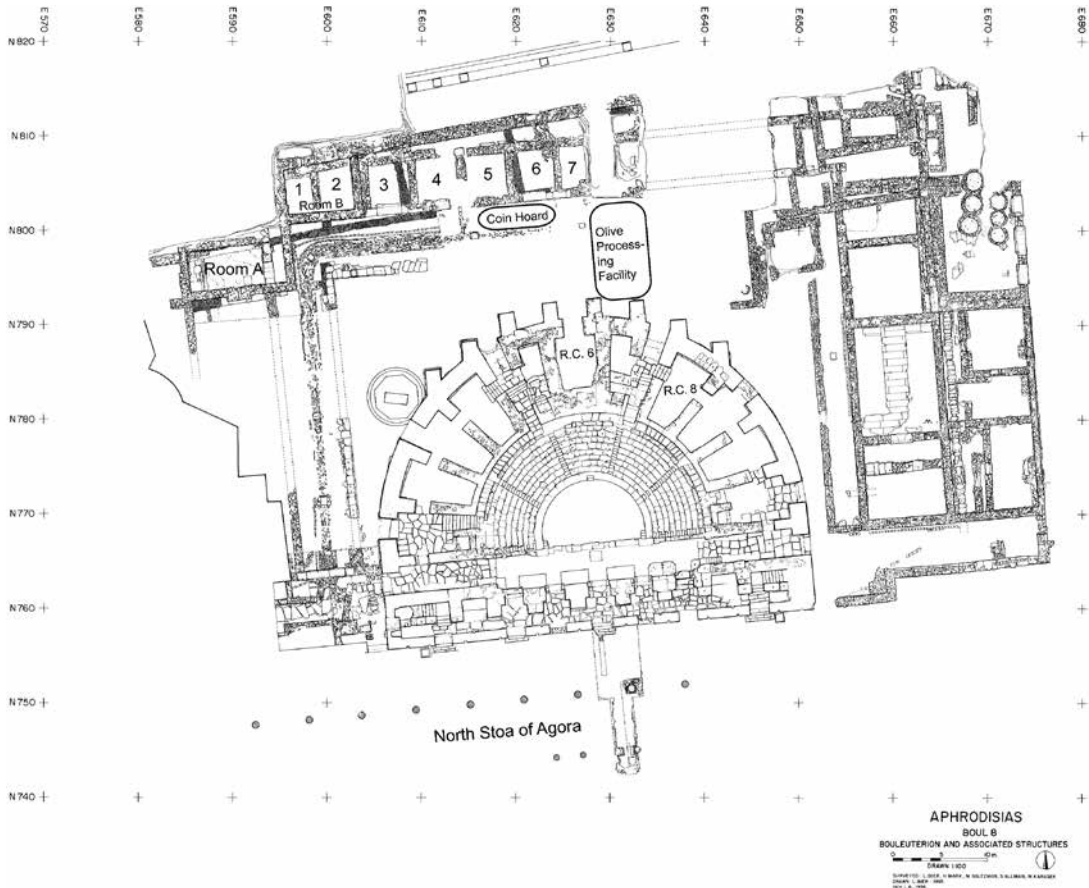


Fig. 3 Bouleuterion Court, state plan

stoa and retaining wall for Sanctuary of Aphrodite in the north	Hellenistic
three-sided stoa framing the Bouleuterion Court	late Hellenistic/early Imperial
first Bouleuterion	late Hellenistic/early Imperial
Bouleuterion of Attalos and Diogenes	late 2 <sup>nd</sup> /early 3 <sup>rd</sup> century A.D.
sculptor’s workshop and »downgrading« of area	early 5 <sup>th</sup> century A.D.
conversion of Bouleuterion into a »palaistra« by Flavius Ampelius	around 500 A.D.
reorganization and raising of ground level in the Bouleuterion Court	around 500 A.D.
infant burials in pots and bowls	2 <sup>nd</sup> half of the 6 <sup>th</sup> century A.D.
modest fountain and water depot	6 <sup>th</sup> or 7 <sup>th</sup> century A.D.
Middle Byzantine burials	10 <sup>th</sup> or 11 <sup>th</sup> century A.D.
olive processing plant	14 <sup>th</sup> to mid-16 <sup>th</sup> century A.D.

Table 1 Phasing of the main features in the Bouleuterion Court

Hellenistic and early Imperial period. The present council house in the center of the Bouleuterion Court was erected by the senator and local benefactor Attalos in the late 2<sup>nd</sup> or early 3<sup>rd</sup> century A.D.

Following this use as the city's civic center, probably in the later part of the 4<sup>th</sup> century, the area experienced a certain »downgrading« as an urban space with sculptors' workshops in the northwest of the Bouleuterion Court. The workshops were destroyed or abandoned at the end of the 5<sup>th</sup> century A.D., when the council house was repurposed as a *palaistra*, and the area around it was reorganized and its ground level was raised. Subsequently, the space was abandoned and later served as a burial place, presumably for the Medieval church in the area of the former Temple of Aphrodite, and as a production facility for olive oil.

#### A SHORT HISTORY OF RESEARCH AND THE NATURE OF ITS DOCUMENTATION

The excavation of the area was carried out in several phases: From 1962 until 1964, research focused on the interior of the Bouleuterion. Its exterior was excavated during the years 1967 (west), 1968–1970 (north and northwest) and 1972–1973 (east) under the direction of the then excavation director Kenan T. Erim. Different trench supervisors<sup>15</sup> documented the progress with notebooks, sketches and photographs. In addition, Kenan Erim created filing cards of the most important finds at the end of each season<sup>16</sup>. Preliminary results were released in short annual excavation reports<sup>17</sup>, but Kenan Erim's death in 1990 impeded a final publication. Christopher Ratté resumed work in the area during his research on the urban development of the site. Soundings were carried out in 1994 and 1995 under his direction in order to clarify the phasing of the Bouleuterion Court<sup>18</sup>. Concurrently, Christopher H. Hallett and Lionel Bier initiated a publication project on the council house. During its detailed documentation, Lionel Bier (2000, 2002–2003) and Jeremy Ott (2004) excavated trenches in search of a predecessor to the Bouleuterion<sup>19</sup>. Unfortunately, this project also did not see its completion due to the premature death of Lionel Bier in 2004. In 2012 the project on the Bouleuterion was resumed by Christopher H. Hallett (sculpture) and U. Quatember, in collaboration with Andrew K. Y. Leung (architecture).

In the light of a new understanding for the urban development of Aphrodisias it is imperative to analyze the excavation record in order to establish the phasing of the Bouleuterion Court during the Roman Imperial and later periods. A review of the almost 50 years of documentation is necessary. Yet the results from different years and different excavators provide a homogeneous picture of the overall situation. It allows us to draw conclusions about the history of the Bouleuterion Court from the Roman to the Middle Byzantine period and therefore provides an important source for the history and development of the city.

<sup>15</sup> Notebook no. 6, 1962 (B. Turner); no. 15, 1963 (J. Coleman); no. 16, 1963 (J. Coleman); no. 18, 1963 (H. Jaffee/M. Bell); no. 19, 1963 (M. Bell); no. 24, 1964 (T. A. Patrick); no. 26, 1964 (B. Hesse/B. Kadish); no. 27 1964 (J. C. Carter); no. 28, 1964 (J. C. Carter); no. 47, 1967 (E. Şevki Balkan); no. 60, 1968 (J. McLaughlin); no. 61, 1968 (J. McLaughlin); no. 62, 1968 (A. Kiliçkaya); no. 78, 1969 (C. White); no. 79, 1969 (C. White), no. 80, 1970 (J. Pollini); no. 81, 1970 (J. Pollini).

<sup>16</sup> Generally, certain categories of finds, such as coins, or particularly well-preserved specimens, such as whole vessels, are nowadays housed in the museum depot, while the other finds are located in the excavation house storage rooms.

<sup>17</sup> Erim 1962, 16 f. figs. 2–4. 8–15; Erim 1964, 87–89; Erim 1965, 137–139; Erim 1966, 61 f.; Erim 1967, 68 f.; Erim 1968, 46; Erim 1969, 90–92; Erim 1970, 59 f.; Erim 1974, 41 f.; Erim 1975, 77 f.

<sup>18</sup> Notebook no. 341, 1994 (B. Chipok); no. 345, 1995 (L. Hebert); no. 346, 1995 (L. Hebert); no. 347, 1995 (L. Hebert). Published report: Smith – Ratté 1996, 9–13.

<sup>19</sup> Notebook no. 402, 2000 (M. Hertzog/L. Bier); no. 402a, 2000 (M. Hertzog); no. 420, 2002 (L. Bier); no. 431, 2003 (L. Bier); no. 438, 2004 (J. Ott). Published reports: Ratté – Smith 2008b, 724–728; Bier 2008, 166–168.

## ARCHITECTURE AND ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE BOULEUTERION COURT

*The Late Hellenistic and Early Imperial Periods*

The earliest architectural remains in the area of the Bouleuterion Court are the foundations of a structure which is aligned with the orientation of the Temple of Aphrodite that is located on a higher level – approximately 3 m above – towards the north. The remains of three walls running from southwest to northeast, and three perpendicular walls from northwest to southeast deviate from the orientation of all the later structures in the area (*fig. 3*, marked in gray). Their reconstruction and function is also not certain from the extant remains, but the evidence might be cautiously interpreted as a stoa in combination with a retaining wall for the terrace of the sanctuary<sup>20</sup>. Its absolute chronology is not clear, but the walls of the three-sided stoa of the later Bouleuterion Court should provide a *terminus ante quem* in the late first century B. C. (see below). The older building might therefore be addressed as a late Hellenistic stoa. Its location on a level below the Temple of Aphrodite, oriented towards the south, implies the existence of an urban space in the civic center of Aphrodisias before the design and re-organization of the city center in the Augustan period.

This earlier building was replaced with a three-sided stoa that framed the Bouleuterion Court on its north, west and east side, measuring approximately 50 m in its west-east dimension and 30 m in its north-south direction.

In the present state, the original architectural layout of the stoa can be understood best on the west side and in the northwest corner of the Bouleuterion area (*figs. 2. 3*). Eight stylobate blocks of the western colonnade have been preserved in situ on top of a foundation that also consisted of large blocks. These stylobate blocks vary in length, and three of them show pairs of dowel holes on their top surface (5 × 5 cm to 6 × 6 cm, approx. 5 cm deep). Another 12 blocks of the stylobate are preserved on the north side (*fig. 4*). In addition, two column bases were found in situ on this stylobate during the excavation. The west one is of the regular Attic-Ionic type<sup>21</sup>, while the eastern specimen is unfinished<sup>22</sup>. The distance between their axes measures 2,60 m, approximately. The early phases of the east side of the Bouleuterion Court are less well preserved. Here, existing structures were built over and new ones were erected well into the Middle Byzantine period<sup>23</sup>. For the initial phase, a low rubble wall at the western limits of the East Bouleuterion Area can probably be identified as the location of the stylobate for the Bouleuterion Court's east colonnade. Even though the stylobate blocks are missing today, this is indicated by the distance from the existing council house which is equal to the stylobate on the west side. This building was added later to the Bouleuterion Court, and was presumably centered onto the available space. Based on this evidence, we can reconstruct a colonnade with 19 columns on the north and 15 on both flanks, counting the corners twice (*fig. 5*).

<sup>20</sup> Smith – Ratté 1996, 11 fig. 6 (phase 1).

<sup>21</sup> Attic-Ionic base: upper diameter 0,64 m; side of plinth 74,5 cm; height 27,5 cm; two dowel holes with pour channel, 4 cm × 4 cm, 4 cm deep.

<sup>22</sup> Unfinished base with a roughed out lower torus below a plain cylinder: upper diameter: 62,5 cm; side of plinth 73,5 cm; height 29,5 cm; two dowel holes without pour channel, 5 cm × 5 cm, 4,5 cm to 5 cm deep.

<sup>23</sup> Smith – Ratté 1997, 3–5.



Fig. 4  
Northwest corner of Bouleuterion Court during excavation, 1968

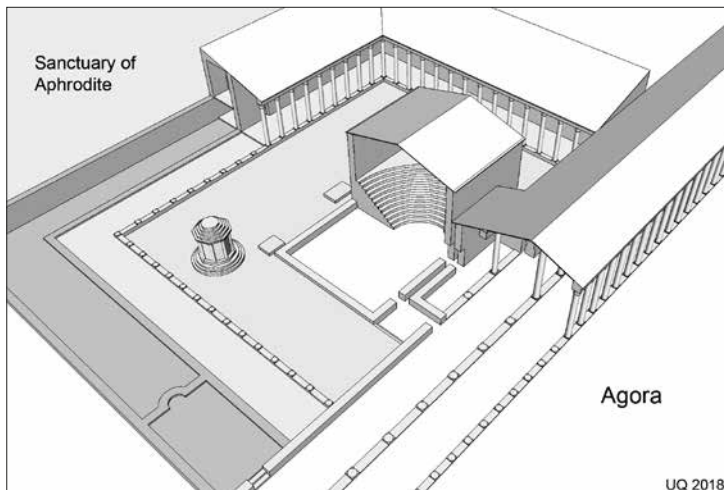


Fig. 5  
Reconstruction of the Bouleuterion Court in the early Imperial period

Neither capitals nor any other architectural members apart from the two column bases can be attributed to the stoa. The column bases in the northwest corner exclude a regular Doric order<sup>24</sup>. Similar contemporary buildings at Aphrodisias, such as the colonnades of the North Agora<sup>25</sup> or the Portico of Tiberius in the so-called South Agora<sup>26</sup>, use Ionic capitals; Corinthian ones only appear in the interior of Early Imperial stoas in Aphrodisias. The elevation of the stoa therefore remains hypothetical. The floor of the three-sided stoa was unpaved, which is also the case in other instances within the city<sup>27</sup>. This lack of stone flooring also explains why the individual

<sup>24</sup> An uncanonic version of the Doric order, of course, cannot be ruled out. Cf. e.g. the lower story of the Sebasteion porticoes, see Smith 2013, 30–36.

<sup>25</sup> Jacopi 1939, 260–263; Waelkens 1987; Smith – Ratté 2000, 235–238; Ratté 2002, 12 f. fig. 8.

<sup>26</sup> Jacopi 1939, 281–303; Waelkens 1987.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. e.g. the evidence in the North Stoa of the North Agora. Only Late Roman floors are preserved, but the treatment of the stylobate blocks indicates that it had an earthen floor from the beginning onwards. Smith – Ratté 1998, 233. 235.

stylobate blocks not only vary in length, but also why their depth ranges from 0,65 m to 0,90 m. The area behind was only filled with soil and did not require a proper face for the laying of a stone-slab or mosaic floor. Inside the north and west portico, a vaulted channel constructed of rubble ran parallel to the stylobate. Manholes at regular intervals in the floor of the stoa must once have been covered with stone slabs that have now disappeared. In addition, a terracotta pipe ran parallel to the channel in both wings of the stoa. Neither the pipes nor the vaulted channel were excavated over the longer stretch outside the stoa. The vertex of this vaulted channel was approximately level with the top of the stylobate, at a height of 517,40 m a. s. l.

The chambers behind the stoa cannot be reconstructed in detail. Large parts were built over during the long history of the area, particularly on the west side where the Triconch House interferes with the rear chambers<sup>28</sup>, and on the east side where later structures were built over the early Imperial walls. At the north, a west-east oriented wall was set in front of the older retaining wall. A parallel wall approximately 6 m to the south is connected to it by several walls running north-south and indicates chambers of slightly varying size. Thresholds in three places mark the position of entrance ways to the lower story from the North Stoa. It is probable that they belong to the original phase of the building.

Two thresholds in the north retaining wall on the level of the sanctuary area have been interpreted as an entrance to the upper story from the temenos<sup>29</sup>. This would indicate that at some point in time the North Stoa was a two-storied building with chambers in the upper floor opening onto the temple terrace<sup>30</sup>.

On the west side two parallel north-south walls spaced approximately 8,5 m apart probably indicated the existence of chambers on this side also. In the southern part of the west side, an apse opening to the south was dated by M. Berenfeld to the early Imperial period. With a diameter of 2 m, this apse seems suited for the display of a statue. Probably at a later point in time, this room was enlarged and the apse moved to the north<sup>31</sup>. The space might have been accessible from the south, through an opening in the back wall of the Agora's North Stoa<sup>32</sup>, but was probably integrated into the rooms behind the West Stoa, and likely was not an independent building, as M. Berenfeld has suggested. A pillar in the northwest corner (now inside the Late Antique room A, *fig. 3*) marks either the entrance to a chamber or an opening towards the area outside the Bouleuterion Court.

In the eastern part, the reconstruction of the early Imperial period is more ambiguous because subsequent building phases extended into the Middle Byzantine period (*fig. 2*), and involved massive alterations of the original<sup>33</sup>. The extant walls and foundations, however, do not support the reconstruction of rooms symmetrical to the west side. In the southwest corner, two rooms denominated as an »early Roman *oikos*« could also have been accessible from the south

<sup>28</sup> Berenfeld 2009, 208 f.

<sup>29</sup> Smith – Ratté 1996, 11–13.

<sup>30</sup> Smith – Ratté 1996, 12 suggest to putting these »split-level structures of at least two stories« into the third phase of the stoa, i. e. in the Hadrianic period.

<sup>31</sup> Berenfeld 2009, 207.

<sup>32</sup> The back wall of this stoa was subsequently altered and rebuilt during the construction of the Bouleuterion of Attalos (see below).

<sup>33</sup> Smith – Ratté 1997, 3–5. Excavation reports: Erim 1974, 41 f.; Erim 1975, 77 f.



Fig. 6  
Northeast corner of Bouleuterion Court seen from the outer sanctuary

side through an opening in the back wall of the North Stoa of the Agora<sup>34</sup>. In the northeast corner, three doorways might mark a passage between the Bouleuterion Court and the Outer Sanctuary of Aphrodite (*fig. 6*). But also in this case phasing and reconstruction are awaiting further research in the area.

Summarily it can be said that, during the early Imperial phase, the Bouleuterion Court chambers and rooms of various layout and function were lying behind the front colonnade, probably on all three sides. The rooms in the south section probably opened onto the North Stoa of the Agora. Other rooms opened onto the Bouleuterion Court. Connections to the neighboring structures in the northwest and northeast corners might also have existed in the early Imperial period. All these features were incorporated into a U-shaped stoa of uniform appearance. This architectural layout seems to fit well with the tradition of Hellenistic urban planning<sup>35</sup>.

Excavations have not yielded finds that would allow us to date the erection of this stoa with certainty. Therefore, we have to refer to the re-orientation of the city grid for its chronology. While the predecessor of the north portico is in alignment with the Temple of Aphrodite, the new, U-shaped stoa is in accordance with the city grid, suggesting that it was part of a new master plan for the city center. Ch. Ratté proposed a date in the late Hellenistic or early Imperial period for the city grid's shift to a north-south orientation<sup>36</sup>. Recently the stratigraphy from test trenches in the northern and southern parts of the city helped to confirm a date of the late 1<sup>st</sup> century B. C. or the early 1<sup>st</sup> century A. D.<sup>37</sup>.

The southern limits of the Bouleuterion Court and the first Council House in its center probably go back to the same time. The back wall of the North Stoa of the Agora most likely once

<sup>34</sup> Between the »early Roman *oikos*« and the extant Bouleuterion, a group of four marble portrait statues from the first century A. D. was excavated, see Hallett 1998.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. the Bouleuterion of Miletos with a U-shaped stoa in front: Knackfuß 1908; Krischen 1941, 7–12; most recently on the subject Emme 2013, esp. 109–113 (on Miletos). For a continuation of this design principle into the Roman period cf. e.g. the Gerontikon in Nysa, see Kadioğlu 2014.

<sup>36</sup> Ratté 2002, 7–10; Ratté 2008, 30–32.

<sup>37</sup> Eren 2016.



Fig. 7 Base for an octagonal honorific monument during excavation, 1967

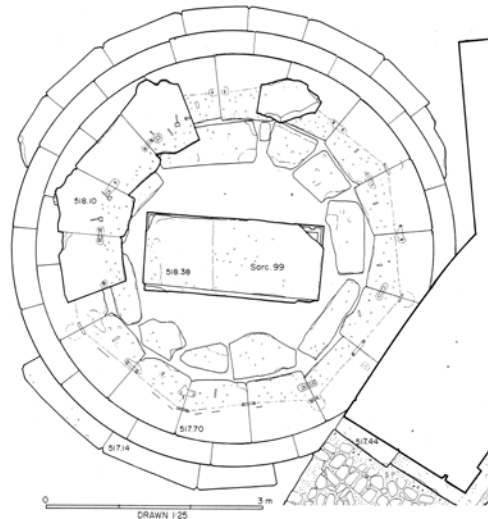


Fig. 8 Plan of octagonal honorific monument

constituted the southern limit of the Bouleuterion Court. Excavations from the early 2000s revealed two parallel walls running in a west-east direction. They can probably be interpreted as the back wall of the Agora Stoa and the South Wall of the structure in the Bouleuterion Court. Together with a curved wall that is bonded to a radial wall, this archaeological evidence can be combined to reconstruct an early council house with a semicircular seating area and a rectangular outline (fig. 5)<sup>38</sup>. This earlier Bouleuterion from the late 1<sup>st</sup> century B. C. or the early 1<sup>st</sup> century A. D. was surrounded by honorific monuments of various types whose existence we can only deduce from their foundations. The best-preserved example is located in the western half of the Bouleuterion Court (figs. 7, 8). Its extant remains include a round podium of 6,70 m maximum diameter with three steps and several blocks of an octagonal bench that was set on top of it. The rest of the octagonal superstructure can only be inferred from cuttings and set lines. The lowest step possesses a height of 517,14 m a. s. l. (fig. 8).

The level of the Bouleuterion Court during the Imperial period must have been slightly below this, at around 517,00 or 517,10 m a. s. l. This correlates quite well with the stylobate of the stoa in the northwest corner at 517,40 m a. s. l. or roughly a step higher. Like the other structures in the Bouleuterion Court, this honorific monument can probably also be dated to the late Hellenistic or early Imperial period<sup>39</sup>. Due to the lack of architectural members, little can be said about

<sup>38</sup> For an extended discussion of the archaeological evidence, see Quatember 2019.

<sup>39</sup> Due to the lack of stratified finds, the chronology has to rely on stylistic analyses of the features within the tomb, including the feline legs of the bench, an ostothea and the sarcophagus. Berns 2003, 177 (cat. 5A1) on the lion feet (2<sup>nd</sup> or 1<sup>st</sup> century B. C.); Berges 1986, 34, 39f. 124, 127–129 on the ostothea (first quarter of the 1<sup>st</sup> century A. D.). Işık 2007, 16f. 105 (cat. 1) proposed a Trajanic date for the sarcophagus based on his assessment that the sarcophagus of Ti. Iulius Celsus Polemaeanus in Ephesus was the oldest representative of the group of semi-finished sarcophagi (*Halbfabrikate*). But semi-finished garland sarcophagi occur as early as the Augustan period, see Thür 1995, 49–54; cf. Strocka 1996, 464 with n. 45. For a summary of the discussion, see also the review by S. Böhm, BJB 207, 2007, 451–454. Summarily on the monument as an intramural burial, see also Schörner 2007, 242 (cat. A19).



the reconstruction. On the one hand, an open columnar arrangement above the burial chamber seems possible<sup>40</sup>. Considerations of the structural integrity of the building most likely rule out the existence of a solid core in the center of the upper story. It is more probable that columns were aligned on the periphery, above the orthostat blocks, forming an open baldachin architecture such as the Hexagon in Ephesos<sup>41</sup>. Alternatively, a closed construction with attached half-columns seems possible, such as a pseudo-monopteros in Termessos<sup>42</sup>. Other foundations located in the center of the Bouleuterion Court probably also once belonged to honorific monuments and indicate the northern limits of the early council house (*fig. 5*).

An inscription can be associated with the Bouleuterion Court and its honorific monuments during this period: An honorary inscription for a certain Adrastos<sup>43</sup> was found detached from its original context during the demolition of a modern house close to the theater, but it contains information that is relevant for the Bouleuterion Court: Adrastos was granted the right to be buried »in the city, in the public workshops which are opposite the bouleuterion«. He declined these honors, »not wishing that any revenue of the city be reduced and preferring the advantage of the city, he came forth during a meeting of the council and requested that the place of his burial be moved [to his own?] workshops«<sup>44</sup>. This apparently was not the end of the matter: fragments of another inscription indicate that Adrastos' granddaughter Tatia Attalis was subsequently also granted the right to be buried in her grandfather's tomb<sup>45</sup>. A date for Adrastos to the third quarter of the 1<sup>st</sup> century A.D. and for Tatia Attalis to the first quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century is based on further inscriptions as well as prosopographic considerations<sup>46</sup>.

Both the contents of the inscriptions and the identical surface treatment of the blocks imply that they were once elements of the same structure. Naturally, it seems tempting to connect a burial close to the public workshops and the Bouleuterion to the remains of the Heroon in the Bouleuterion Court; but as Angelos Chaniotis has pointed out, the honors of Adrastos state exactly the opposite: the offer was declined by him. While we might take this as an act of ostentatious modesty that was subsequently ignored, the architectural evidence also does not allow

<sup>40</sup> See also Schörner 2007, 242 (cat. A19). Two fluted columns of identical size were found during the excavation, but their belonging to the Heroon, however, is all but certain. One fluted column found next to the Heroon was considered to come from its architecture because of its findspot (*fig. 7*, in the foreground); on a comparable column found under terracotta pipes in the northwestern area and due to its similarities also associated with the Heroon, see notebook no. 60, 1968 (J. McLaughlin) p. 29.

<sup>41</sup> Thür 1996, 14–16; Berns 2003, 194 (cat. 11A2). On a date in the second half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C., see Waldner 2009, 123 f.

<sup>42</sup> Lanckoroński 1892, 105–107; Seiler 1986, 137–146; on a date in the Augustan period, see Rumscheid 1994, vol. 1, 169–170; vol. 2, 87–88. The building in Termessos has a round plan with a solid base. It should not be considered a direct parallel to the Aphrodisian Heroon, but might give a hint on its overall modelling.

<sup>43</sup> IAph2007, 11.16; see also Reynolds 1996, 121–126; Chaniotis 2008a, 78 (no. 12 source a). The inscription is written on an ashlar block. The face of the block has a drafted margin at the bottom. Dimensions (following IAph2007): width 0,91 m; height 0,37 m; depth 0,46 m. On the origin of the name »Adrastos«, see also Van Bremen 2010.

<sup>44</sup> Translation: Chaniotis 2008a, 78.

<sup>45</sup> IAph2007, 12.205; see also Reynolds – Roueché 1992; Jones 1999, 591. 597–600; Chaniotis 2008a, 78 (no. 12 source b). The inscription is written on two ashlar blocks, one of which is broken into two pieces. Both blocks have drafted margins along the bottom, one also on the side edges.

<sup>46</sup> For a *stemma*, see Chaniotis 2004, 411.

us to make a connection of Adrastos and Tatia Attalis with the octagonal monument<sup>47</sup>. Both their inscriptions were written on ashlar blocks. For the construction of the octagon, we would expect building members that were dressed for their specific position within the architecture, rather than ashlar masonry<sup>48</sup>. The blocks could have been part of an honorary monument based on a rectangular foundation, such as the one in the center of the Bouleuterion Court<sup>49</sup>, but the findspots of the blocks scattered over the city do not allow us to establish such a connection.

Nevertheless, the inscriptions provide valuable information and imply that a bouleuterion with a »public workshop« nearby must have existed in Aphrodisias already in the later 1<sup>st</sup> century A.D. The architectural remains in the Bouleuterion Court make it highly likely that this was indeed already the site of the city's council house in the late Hellenistic and early Imperial periods, and not the site of the city's gymnasium<sup>50</sup>. Particularly, the curved wall in the center of the Bouleuterion Court seems incompatible with such an interpretation. Some of the rooms behind the porticoes around the early bouleuterion could have served as offices for the administration of the city, some could even have been used for dinners at public expense<sup>51</sup>.

How should we envision the *ergasteria* mentioned in Adrastos' inscription? The term is usually translated as »workshop« and does not necessarily refer to working with marble or sculpting activities. However, the prominent role of sculptors and quarries in the civic life of Aphrodisias makes such a connection rather likely. Nevertheless it is hardly plausible that actual work with all its noise, dust and debris – either stonemasons' or any other production activity – was carried out immediately next to the meeting place for the city's officials<sup>52</sup>. At the same time, a space enclosed by stoas on four sides – the U-shaped stoa on the west, north and east, and in the south, if nothing else, the North Stoa of the Agora – seems highly unsuited for the delivery of workpieces or for the disposal of scrap. Also, the archaeological evidence implies that the actual sculptors' workshops were installed in the Bouleuterion at a later point in time (see below). Therefore, we should consider these earlier *ergasteria* mentioned in the Adrastos-inscription rather as show-

<sup>47</sup> While Reynolds 1996, 124 assumes that Adrastos was buried in his own workshops, Jones 1999, 599f. and more recently Kuhn 2017, 205–210, esp. 207f. suppose that the original honors for Adrastos were reconfirmed and he was indeed buried in the Bouleuterion area.

<sup>48</sup> See above for suggestions on the reconstruction.

<sup>49</sup> One might think of small structures such as altar tombs known from Alinda, cf. Berns 2003, 172–174 (cat. 2A2–2A4).

<sup>50</sup> A second inscription surviving in two copies was connected to the Bouleuterion Court by A. Chaniotis: IAph2007, 12.103 and IAph2007, 12.402; see Chaniotis 2008a, 69f. (no. 6). It names an anonymous military commander, according to Chaniotis perhaps a certain Kallikrates, son of Pythodoros, whose burial in the city's gymnasium was restored by his relative Kallikrates, son of Molossos. Based on this information, we can assume that Aphrodisias already possessed a gymnasium in the Hellenistic period, and Chaniotis hypothesizes that this might be the original function of the Bouleuterion Court, with the Heroon being the tomb of Kallikrates, son of Pythodoros.

<sup>51</sup> IAph2007, 12.1202 mentions honors for Menekrates that included a dinner at public expense. Chaniotis 2008a, 63 concludes that this »requires a dining hall, probably an annex to the bouleuterion«. The inscription can only be dated roughly to the first or second centuries A.D. according to the lettering.

<sup>52</sup> Also, in other cities due to dirt and maybe also noise, production facilities were deliberately kept outside of the city center, which is e.g. implied by an edict from Ephesos probably from the middle of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century A.D., banning stonework from the Ephesian harbor area. See IvE 23. On the date of the proconsul L. Antonius Albus who issued the edict, see Halfmann 1979, 148 no. 58.

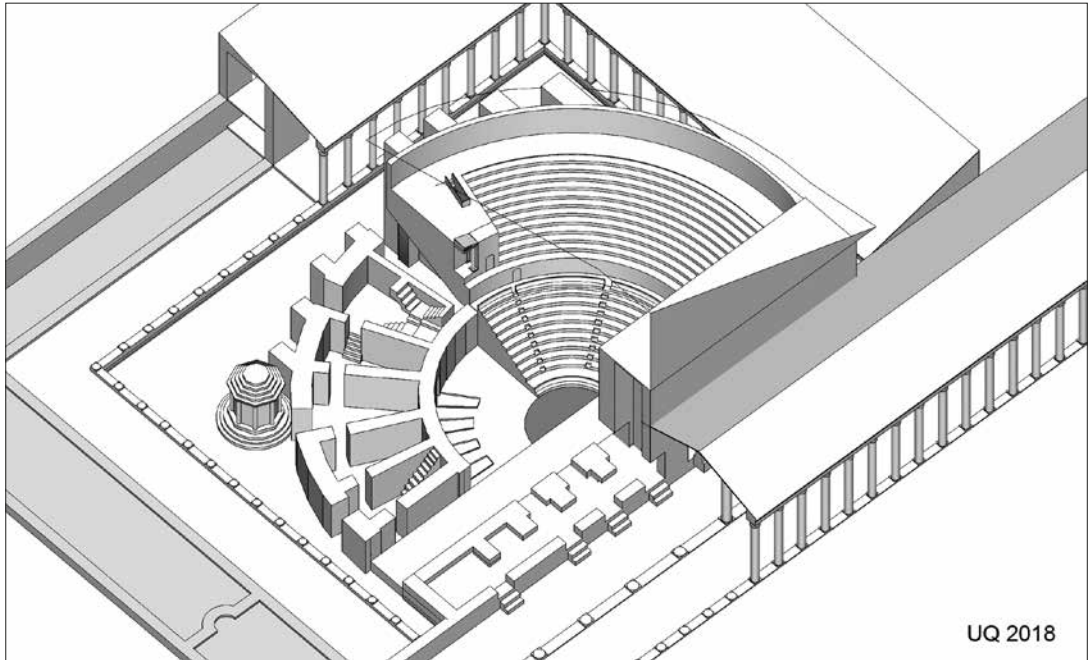


Fig. 9 Reconstruction of the Bouleuterion Court around A.D. 200

rooms or offices with administrative function than as a real workplace for the production of sculpture<sup>53</sup>.

#### *The Late Antonine and Severan Periods and the Bouleuterion of Attalos*

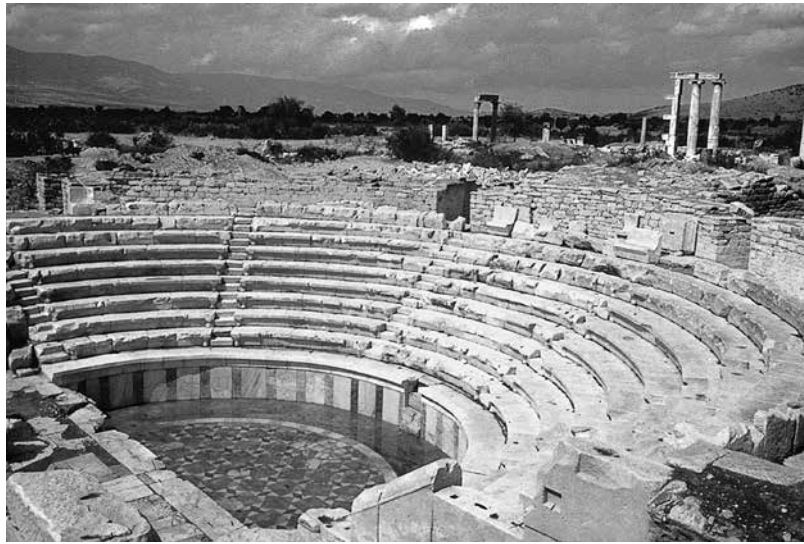
The center of the Bouleuterion court is occupied by a large building with a semicircular plan constructed over what was probably an earlier council house (*figs. 2. 3. 9*)<sup>54</sup>. According to inscriptions at the end of the analemma walls, this odeion-like structure was commissioned by Attalos, a senator and member of a family of Aphrodisian benefactors, in his brother's and his own name. Based on this evidence, the completion of the monument can be put in the late 2<sup>nd</sup> or early 3<sup>rd</sup> century A.D.<sup>55</sup>. The northern part of the building (*fig. 2*) contained two tiers of an

<sup>53</sup> Reynolds 1996, 125 on the meaning of *ergasterion* and its Latin equivalent »*tabernae*«: »apparently, to judge by actual usage, any work ranging from manufacturing, through retail shopkeeping, to administration«. Cf. also Robert 1984, 496–499 on *ergasteria* in Pergamon which he interprets as »ateliers-boutiques«. Unfortunately, the archaeological evidence regarding the production and subsequent display of sculpture in a showroom setting is scarce. This question, thus, awaits further research.

<sup>54</sup> Bier 2008; Hallett – Quatember 2018. The architecture of the Bouleuterion will be presented in a monograph currently under preparation.

<sup>55</sup> IAph2007, 216a. b; Reynolds 2008, esp. 170f. For a summary on the date from the inscriptions and the sculpture, see Bier 2008, 156f.; Hallett – Quatember 2018.

Fig. 10  
The Bouleuterion of At-  
talos after the excavation  
in the 1960s



auditorium (*fig. 10*). Only the seats of the lower one still exist; of the upper one only the supporting chambers have survived. The southern part contained a stage-building adorned with an *aedicular* façade and a corridor for distributing visitors to various parts of the council house. The interior was once roofed: eight piers at the north and their counterparts in the backstage corridor supported the large trusses (*fig. 3*). The backstage corridor opened onto the North Stoa of the Agora through seven doorways, and five doors gave way onto the stage. On both ends, staircases led to the upper part of the auditorium, which was connected to the stage-building by means of vaulting over the *parodoi*. From the Bouleuterion Court these *parodoi* provided lateral access onto the stage. Additionally, all parts of the auditorium could be approached through doors in the chambers of the substructure. Thus, in addition to the North Stoa of the Agora, also the Bouleuterion Court – probably also by means of entrance ways from the Sanctuary of Aphrodite – served as a crucial point of access to the new council house.

The identification of this structure as the city's Bouleuterion is based on its position within the urban fabric and its character: an assembly building with an auditorium considerably smaller than the city's theater. Generally, the poleis of Asia Minor possessed a building for gatherings of their city council. At Aphrodisias, there is both evidence for the *boule* as an urban institution from the Roman Imperial period and epigraphic testimony for the existence of a building for this council<sup>56</sup>. It seems only logical to locate such a building in the center of the city, and the structure between the Agora and the Sanctuary of Aphrodite not only matches the requirements for such a location. It is also the only edifice that could possibly have held assemblies besides the large, unroofed theater, which was ill-equipped for gatherings in winter or in bad weather<sup>57</sup>. Nevertheless, the approximate size of the auditorium should be taken into consideration: the seating capacity of both tiers can be estimated as about 1.700 persons<sup>58</sup>. The exact number of council

<sup>56</sup> IAph2007, 11.16, the so-called Adraos-Inscription. See above.

<sup>57</sup> On the use of the theater for public assemblies and impromptu meetings see Roueché 1991, 102 f.

<sup>58</sup> For this approximation see Bier 2008, 162. Sear 2006, 40 table 4.2 gives an estimate of 1700 to 2100 persons.

members at Aphrodisias is unknown, but the so-called Salutaris-Inscription from Ephesos provides reference for the Trajanic period when the number of councilors was 450<sup>59</sup>. Naturally, this evidence only allows an approximation. The size of the *boule* varied from city to city, not necessarily correlating with the city's size, but with a minimum of 50 members for a city to achieve the status of a polis<sup>60</sup>. Generally, this discrepancy between the approximated number of city councilors and the size of the auditorium can be explained by its additional uses for other public meetings and committees, and perhaps as well for small theatrical plays or recitals<sup>61</sup>.

The late Antonine or early Severan date of Attalos' Bouleuterion implies that it was installed in the Bouleuterion Court approximately two centuries after the space was created, and it replaced a predecessor with a smaller footprint. The new building was integrated into the back wall of the Agora's North Stoa and maximized its diameter taking into account the older octagonal honorific monument (see above). At the same time this meant that the area of the Bouleuterion Court was seriously impeded insofar as its original function and layout were restricted due to the new massive structure in its center.

Despite its limited accessibility, it seems that the Bouleuterion Court was not devalued in its function as an urban space. This is also evident from the organization of the staircases within the substructure of the Bouleuterion: the entry to the auditorium relies largely on an approach from the rear, and as a consequence it seems unlikely that the Bouleuterion Court was »downgraded« from a public area to a space for commercial or industrial activities. The deposits of marble chips from sculptor's workshops, based on the associated pottery, can rather be attributed to later periods (see below). We consequently should also assume that the stoas framing the Bouleuterion courtyard remained intact and also the west side was not destroyed, as M. Berenfeld has suggested<sup>62</sup>. On the contrary, Ch. Ratté's assessment of the phasing in the area indicates that the colonnade was still intact during the High Imperial period<sup>63</sup>. This notion should be stressed: even if building activities in connection with the rectangular building on the site of the Triconch House were carried out, this does not mean that the colonnade of the Bouleuterion Court had to be dismantled. In short, the architectural evidence generally indicates the continued importance of the area until the third or fourth century.

*The 3<sup>rd</sup> to the late 5<sup>th</sup> centuries A. D.:*

*Maintenance, Sculptors' Workshops and the Building Measures by Flavius Ampelius*

It is difficult to ascertain for how long the Bouleuterion functioned as a council house, but inscriptions and statuary can provide a terminus post quem. Two bases for statues set up by the governor Antonius Priscus, roughly dated between 388 and 392, imply that he concerned himself with the building<sup>64</sup>. These dedications might be connected to the erection of statues for Demos and Boule as well as the repairs on other sculptures from the statuary display in the *scaenae*

<sup>59</sup> IvE 27. See Rogers 1991, 60 Table 8.

<sup>60</sup> Marek 2010, 528.

<sup>61</sup> On the dual purpose of smaller theatrical buildings, Odeia and Bouleuterion, see also Sear 2006, 28–42.

<sup>62</sup> Berenfeld 2009, 208.

<sup>63</sup> Ratté 2008, 16 fig. 10; Cf. also Smith – Ratté 1996, 12. For the east colonnade cf. also Smith – Ratté 1997, 4 fig. 4, where the stylobate is marked as »earlier phase, still in use«.

<sup>64</sup> IAph2007 2.110 i and ii; ala2004, III.30. See also Reynolds 2008, 169. 177f. (9 a. b).

*frons*<sup>65</sup>. Particularly the personifications of the people and the council imply that the building was still used as a meeting place of the *boule* until the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century A.D. During this period, no new structures were erected in the Bouleuterion Court. Due to maintenance and cleaning there was no build-up of debris or accumulation of archaeological strata during this time.

For the subsequent periods, stratigraphic excavations from the 1960s and 1970s provide valuable information even 50 years afterwards. First and foremost, they revealed a conspicuous lack of architectural elements on the floor level of the Imperial period (*figs. 4, 7*). One would expect the debris from the destroyed colonnade if the building had stayed intact until its final destruction and abandonment. But this is not the case, and it is evident that this urban space received a profound change in function.

This is indicated by two strata identified during the excavations (*figs. 11, 12*): the trench supervisors from 1968 to 1970, John McLaughlin, Charles White and John Pollini, documented a massive layer or fill, referred to as »stratum 2«. Its top can be reconstructed at approximately 519 m a.s.l.<sup>66</sup>, 2 m above the floor level of the Imperial period (*fig. 4*). This stratum cannot be considered a natural build-up, as the excavator Kenan Erim already ascertained in his preliminary excavation report from 1969: »It is possibly in the early part of that century (the 5<sup>th</sup> century A.D., U. Qu.) that for reasons still obscure (an earthquake or a sudden shift in the water-table are likely theories) the level around the back of the odeon was raised. This is attested to by several terracotta water-pipes found around here in higher ground than some monuments such as the heroon found in 1967 nestled against the western part of the odeon«<sup>67</sup>. In the notebook from 1968, the fill is referred to as stratum 2 and described as »finely textured?, thickly packed clay, medium brown with a high pebble content«<sup>68</sup>. The water-pipes mentioned by Erim were recorded in the section drawing by J. McLaughlin (*figs. 11, 12*). The fact that he did not show a ditch or trench supports the interpretation that they were brought in contemporaneously with this fill.

According to a survey of the pottery carried out in 2017, the finds are mostly coarse ware, mainly basins, carinated bowls, storage vessels, simple rim bowls and cooking pots. Furthermore, the fragments are characterized by almost no or few traces of usage and fresh, sharp breaks. The material can be dated to the 3<sup>rd</sup>–5<sup>th</sup> centuries A.D., with no finds later than approximately A.D. 500<sup>69</sup>.

Below this massive stratum 2, the excavations from 1967 to 1969 also revealed remains of what was subsequently identified as a sculptor's workshop in the western and northern part of the Bouleuterion Court<sup>70</sup>. Unfinished sculpture, trial pieces, and tools were found mainly in the

<sup>65</sup> I owe these observations to Ch. Hallett, who will publish these results in the forthcoming monograph on the Bouleuterion. See Smith 2006, 60–65, 162–164 (cat. 44). Hallett – Quatember 2008.

<sup>66</sup> Notebooks from the excavation of the Bouleuterion court do not contain absolute measurements in height, but refer to an arbitrary datum line in the vicinity of the respective trench. For 1968, 1969 and 1970 these datum points could be reconstructed based on the excavation record.

<sup>67</sup> Erim 1969, 90; cf. also Erim 1967, 69.

<sup>68</sup> Notebook no. 60, 1968, NW Odeion (Bouleuterion) I (J. McLaughlin), p. 16.

<sup>69</sup> Stratum 2: Altogether 57 wooden find boxes in standard size from the excavations between 1968 and 1970 were analyzed by U. Outschar during the campaigns of 2016 and 2017. Despite the shortcomings mentioned in the introduction, these large amounts of findings seem statistically significant in order to eliminate potential sources of error and give a reliable date.

<sup>70</sup> Rockwell 1991; Van Voorhis 1999; Van Voorhis 1998; Van Voorhis 2012; Van Voorhis 2018. On the archaeology of the sculptor's workshop, see esp. Van Voorhis 2018, 7–23 with an interpretation partly different from the one presented here.



Fig. 11  
Excavation with stratigraphic section, 1968

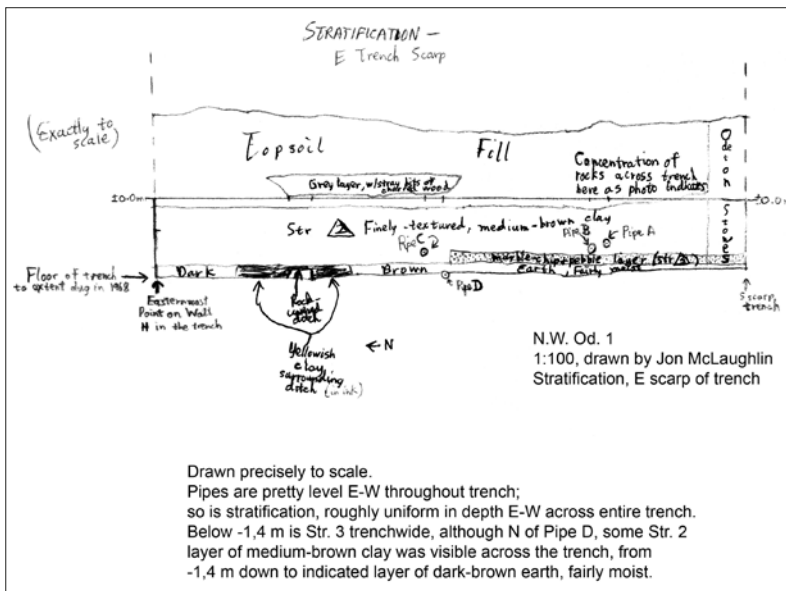


Fig. 12  
Section drawing by J. McLaughlin, 1968

area of rooms 3 and 4 of the northern wing of the stoa (fig. 3)<sup>71</sup>, while the actual workplace probably extended farther to the south, where dumps of marble chips were found in several areas. This layer is identical with stratum 3 of the stratigraphy established by J. McLaughlin (figs. 11, 12) and described as »marble-chip + pebble layer«. A layer of marble chips was also found on the »floor« level just above the stylobate of the colonnade with a height up to 30 cm, i. e. to 517,70 m a. s. l. and in certain areas up to 518,25 m a. s. l.<sup>72</sup> A further amount of marble chips was found in the area outside of the Bouleuterion in the northwest, close to the circular base of the honorary

<sup>71</sup> For a findspot plan, see Van Voorhis 2018, 26 fig. 8.

<sup>72</sup> Notebook no. 69, 1969 (C. White) p. 22, referring to parts of rooms 4 and 5 of the sculptor's workshop.

Fig. 13  
Late Antique Lamps  
from the context of the  
sculptors' workshops



monument on the west side of Attalos' Bouleuterion<sup>73</sup>. This suggests that the sculptor's workshop extended into this area and that activities were carried out here in what might be called a sculptor's yard. Obviously, flakes and other waste from marble-working were not taken away, but deposited in the court, in small heaps of varying heights and starting on the floor level of the Imperial period.

J. Van Voorhis generally attributed the sculpture from the workshop to the late 4<sup>th</sup> and early 5<sup>th</sup> centuries based on the portraits as well as on the style and technique of the later statuettes from the same context<sup>74</sup>. These dates can now be confirmed and slightly expanded with our new understanding of the stratigraphy in the area: the spectrum of pottery types from the marble chips layer (stratum 3 in the excavation notebooks) is mainly coarse ware and similar to stratum 2 above, but can be distinguished because of its more fragmentary status. It has traces of usage and has been moved around<sup>75</sup>.

In addition to the pottery, a small coin hoard found in 1969 supports the dating for the abandonment of the sculptor's workshop. According to an analysis by O. Hoover, its 11 pieces range from Constantius II (Period IV, A. D. 347–348) to Theodosius II (Nicomedian AE 4, A. D. 425–450)<sup>76</sup>. Based on the excavation record, this small hoard was found at a level of approximately 518,00 m a. s. l. in the area of the northern part of the stoa approximately in front of room 5<sup>77</sup>. The threshold to the neighboring room 6 was recorded at a level of 517,80 m a. s. l.<sup>78</sup> We may therefore

<sup>73</sup> Erim 1969, 90: »In its lower levels, the stratigraphy of the soil near the buttresses [of the Bouleuterion, UQ] showed a heavy concentration of marble chips, all below the water-pipes. These may stem from building and stone-cutting activities or may have been dumped here from the nearby sculptors' workshops«.

<sup>74</sup> Van Voorhis 2012, esp. 41. Van Voorhis 2018, esp. 22f. is more ambiguous. Earlier dates (functioning from the first half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century onward, destruction in the 4<sup>th</sup> century A. D.) were given by Rockwell 1991.

<sup>75</sup> Stratum 3: Altogether 12 wooden find boxes in standard size from the excavations between 1968 and 1970 were analyzed by U. Outschar during the campaigns of 2016 and 2017. These finds also provide a reliable date.

<sup>76</sup> Hoover 2000, 296 f.

<sup>77</sup> Notebook no. 78, 1969, p. 29 on the findspot »just immediately below the 2 m level at the edge (northern) of sector 3 in the middle portion of the sector«. This description roughly corresponds to the area defined above; find numbers: 69–332 to 69–442.

<sup>78</sup> Smith – Ratté 1996, 9 f. fig. 4.



assume that the coins were lost or deposited on the floor level of the room before the fill (stratum 2) was brought in, but unfortunately the documentation of the archaeological record is inconclusive and does not permit us to make a definitive interpretation. Additionally, several lamps were recorded as coming from the same context as some of the sculpture from the workshop. Altogether six items relevant for the date of this find context could be identified in the museum storage (*fig. 13*)<sup>79</sup>. They belong to the group of Late Antique lamps from Asia Minor and can be dated to the late 4<sup>th</sup> to early 6<sup>th</sup> centuries A.D.<sup>80</sup>

Probably during the use of the Bouleuterion Court as a sculptor's yard, the rooms behind the west colonnade were altered and partly taken down, and the Triconch House was expanded. The eastern part of the newly constructed triconch room was built over the western rooms of the court's West Stoa after the late 4<sup>th</sup> century A.D. This terminus post quem is given by two coins found in the packing of the floor<sup>81</sup>. In the north-west corner two rooms, room A in the west colonnade, and room B, a space over the former rooms 1 and 2 (*fig. 3*), were also constructed directly on the preexisting walls of the Bouleuterion Court. Their function is not clear, they might have formed part of a so far unknown service area of the Triconch House. The face of their exterior walls was meant to be seen from the Bouleuterion Court, suggesting they are contemporaneous with the sculptor's workshop, before the massive fill (stratum 2) of more than 2 m was brought in. All this implies that the Bouleuterion and its surrounding architecture had lost their grand civic function by the late 4<sup>th</sup> and early 5<sup>th</sup> century. This coincides with the historical decline of the city council as an urban institution. Consequently, the space could be used for industrial purposes, and the boundary areas taken over by neighboring buildings.

The evidence does not allow us to explain why the workshops were given up. Either an earthquake or a deliberate abandonment seems possible. Stratum 2 sealed the vacated sculptor's workshops and itself represents drastic changes that occurred in the Bouleuterion Court during the course of the later 5<sup>th</sup> century A.D.: the ground level was raised considerably – about 1,30 m – bringing it up to approximately 519,00 m a. s. l. The octagonal honorific monument and the stoas of the Bouleuterion Court were certainly taken down – at the latest – when the fill was deposited, since no fragments of their architecture were found. Stratum 2 extended into the substructure of the former council house, where some of the chambers were partly filled up and visitors could reach the staircase into the upper parts of the auditorium from a level that used to be the first landing (*fig. 14*).

The Bouleuterion itself also faced architectural changes (*fig. 14*)<sup>82</sup>: at some later time, seats were removed from the lower part of the auditorium in order to enlarge the orchestra, which could now be entered through newly installed steps from the stage and the auditorium. Cut-

<sup>79</sup> They were recorded by K. T. Erim on index cards in 1969 and 1970 respectively and handed over to the Aphrodisias Museum: Inv. 69–131 (find no. 2, August 1 1969, at approx. 518,00 m a. s. l. »at base of seated statue«, see Van Voorhis, in print, cat. 2; Inv. 69–132 (find no. 16, August 3 1969, at approx. 517,80 m a. s. l. »floor level«); Inv. 69–133 (August 3 1969, at approx. 518,00 m a. s. l.); Inv. 69–134 (August 6 1969, »beneath the West Wall in the middle room«, i. e. room 3 at approx. 517,75–518,50 m a. s. l.); Inv. 69–135 (find. no. 11, August 7 1969, »below east end of middle room«, i. e. room 3/4 at approx. 518,00 m a. s. l.); cf. also Inv. 70–53 (find no. 13, August 13 1970, 517,60 m a. s. l. = stratum 2, south of room 6 and 7).

<sup>80</sup> Miltner 1937, 100–105. 112–172. 187–197; Ladstätter 2008, 117–120. (5<sup>th</sup>/6<sup>th</sup> century A.D.); Mitsopoulos-Leon 2007, 64–113, esp. 87. 111–113.

<sup>81</sup> Berenfeld 2009, 211 f.

<sup>82</sup> Hallett – Quatember 2018.

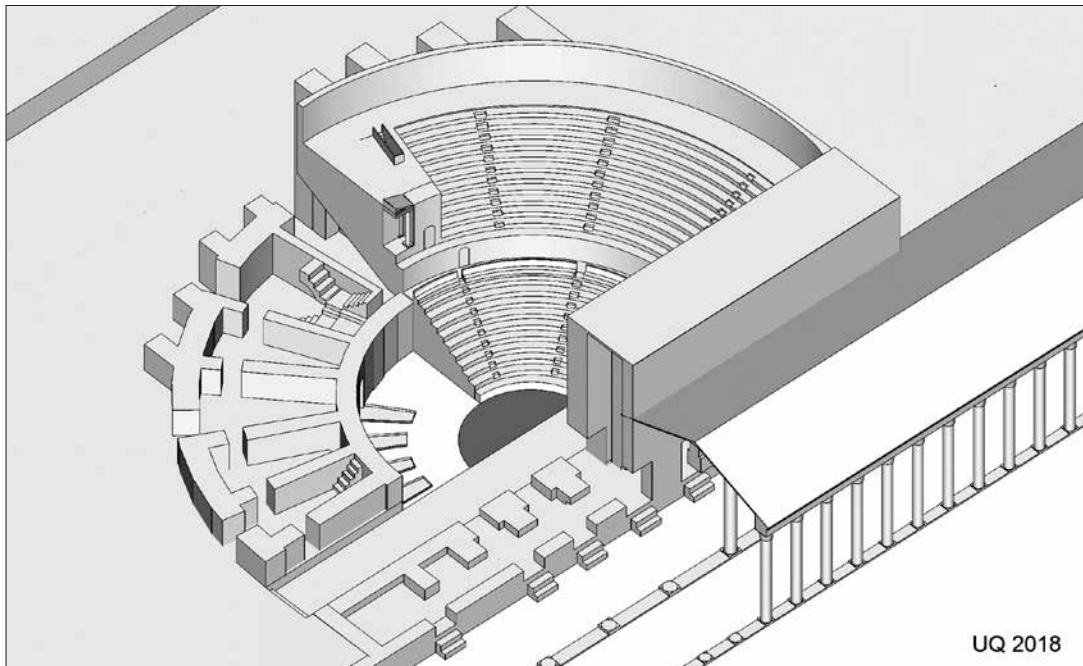


Fig. 14 Reconstruction of the Bouleuterion Court around A.D. 500

tings in the surviving seats indicate the existence of *vela* or awnings, which imply that the roof over the structure was dismantled concurrently. Seat inscriptions, referring to the Blue Faction and – according to their letter form – rather late in date, indicate that the building was now used for some kind of competitive display<sup>83</sup>. Based on an inscription on the edge of the stage, works on the building were probably carried out under a certain Flavius Ampelius, whose name was destroyed but – according to Ch. Roueché – should be restored based on the titles mentioned<sup>84</sup>. Ampelius can be dated to the late 5<sup>th</sup> or early 6<sup>th</sup> century<sup>85</sup>. This epigraphic testimony refers to a »*palaistra*« and can probably be linked to these changes in the architecture. Diverging from earlier interpretations, results from the current research project imply that we should take the term »*palaistra*« literally and understand the building's new function in the context of wrestling and similar activities. The date for the conversion is strikingly consistent with the chronology of the fill in the west and north of the Bouleuterion Court. Moreover, the strata seem to extend into the

<sup>83</sup> Reynolds 2008, 169. 174; cf. IAph2007 2.8; Roueché 1989, 220–222 (cat. 180); Roueché 1993, 117–119 (cat. 47).

<sup>84</sup> IAph2007 2.19; ala2004, 43; Reynolds 2008, 176 f. (no. 8): ἐπὶ εὐτυχίᾳ τῆς λαμπρᾶς Ἀφροδισιαίων μητροπόλεως καὶ [το]ῦτο τὸ ἔργον τῆς παλέστρας ἐγέν[ετο ἐπι?Φλαβίου Ἀμπελίου] τοῦ ἐλλογιμ[ωτάτου] σχολαστικοῦ καὶ π[ατρ]ός ἰνδ[ικτιών] ἰ' εὐτυχ[εστάτη] – »For the good fortune of the splendid metropolis of the Aphrodisians, this work of the *palaestra* also took place [under Flavius Ampelius] the most eloquent *scholasticus* and *pater*, in the tenth indiction. With good fortune.« (Translation: IAph2007 2.19).

<sup>85</sup> On Flavius Ampelius and his date, see ala2004, IV.21–IV.23; Wilson 2016a, 133 f. The term »indiction« refers to a 15 year tax cycle. The »indiction« year, starting on September 1<sup>st</sup>, was also used for dating purposes. For Ampelius and his inscription in the Bouleuterion, we should consider A.D. 471/72, A.D. 486/87 or A.D. 501/02 cf. the tables in RE 9, 2 (1916) 1327–1332 s. v. indictio (O. Seeck); Grotfend 2007, 8 f.

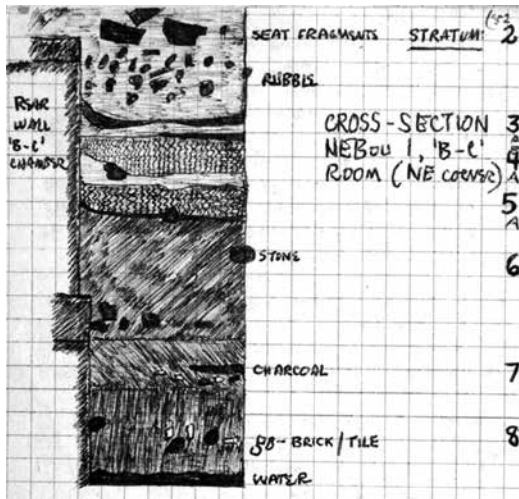


Fig. 15 Stratigraphy in RC 8 of the Bouleuterion, M. Bell, 1963

rear chambers of the Bouleuterion substructure, as indicated in a section drawing in the northeast corner of RC 8 (fig. 3) by the excavator Malcolm Bell from 1963 (fig. 15, strata 6–8)<sup>86</sup>. The top of the filling at 519 m a.s.l. concurs with the level of the first landing of the staircases in the rear chambers 5 and 7 of the Bouleuterion. This would allow visitors to enter the building on a level consistent with the exterior.

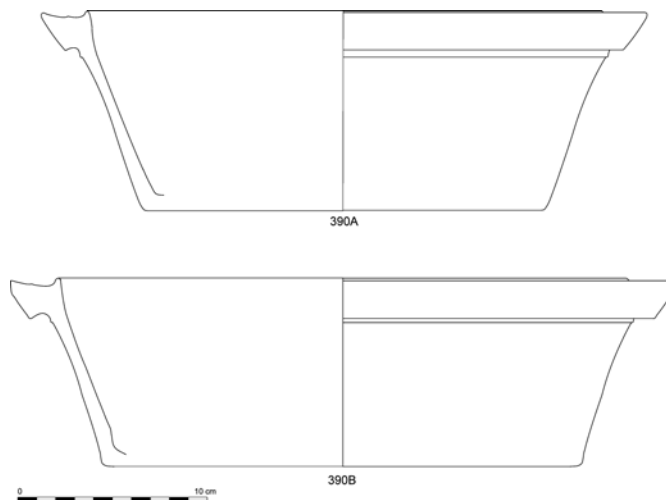
Drawing all this information together, we can provide an overall picture of the Bouleuterion Court during Late Antiquity: it served as the political center of the city during the Imperial period until the late 4<sup>th</sup> century A. D., judging from the sculptural display which, even at this point in time, included personifications of Demos and Boule. Subsequently, the area experienced some kind of downgrad-

ing as an urban space. Rooms behind the northern part of the stoa were occupied by a sculptor's workshop, which carried out its actual production activities and carving on the site, as testified to by trial pieces as well as tools and marble chips disposed in piles all over the west and northwest Bouleuterion area. This devaluation of the Bouleuterion Court probably happened during the (early?) 5<sup>th</sup> century A. D. Parts of the west colonnade and the north-west corner were destroyed and built over: The spectrum of finds from the context of the sculptors' marble deposits does not differ from the fill above, which was brought in around A. D. 500 during Ampelius' building measures<sup>87</sup>. This most likely implies that both events – installation of the sculptor's workshop and its abandonment – happened in a rather short succession, presumably in the same century. However, it is hard to imagine that the Bouleuterion still served as a meeting place of the *boule* when the workshop was operating, that the councilors stepped over the heaps of dumped marble chips, and that their voices were drowned by the noise of constant chiseling and hammering. And indeed, the downgrading of the Bouleuterion Court seems to mirror the political development of the time. The city council, like elsewhere, probably also in Aphrodisias lost executive control during the late 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> century, when the *boule* was replaced by committees of high-ranking members of the public under the direction of the bishops, whose residence probably now also served as their meeting place (see below). This left the council house without a purpose and allowed the (partial) dismantling of the West Stoa as well as allowing the sculptors' workshops to move into the surrounding porticoes and dump their residue in the open area of the court.

<sup>86</sup> Notebook no. 18, 1963 (M. Bell) p. 82. The stratigraphic evidence also implies that the seating of the upper *cavea* was still intact during this period. Fragments of seats were found only on a much higher level (stratum 2 in M. Bell's section drawing).

<sup>87</sup> It should be noted that, according to the data given in the notebook, the distribution of marble chips is too uneven to be considered part of the fill (stratum 2).

Fig. 16  
Bowls from the sarcophagus in  
the honorific monument



At the end of the 5<sup>th</sup> century, the Bouleuterion was affected by the urban renewal of the local grandee Flavius Ampelius, probably following problems with the water table in the city (see below). Ampelius repurposed the former council house as a venue for sporting events and raised the level of the Bouleuterion Court around the building as well as inside the chambers. The staircases leading to the upper part of the auditorium could now be reached from the level that originally constituted the first landing of the staircase.

During these measures, the architecture of the Bouleuterion Court and the honorary monument in its center were apparently taken down and moved elsewhere, since almost nothing of the original building members was present during the excavation. This makes sense considering the fact that only a part of the standing structures could have risen above the level of the fill, and this should have seemed strange to the onlooker. Furthermore, this conjecture is also supported by the presence of two pieces of fragmentary basins found in the sarcophagus that can be dated to the 4<sup>th</sup> or 5<sup>th</sup> century A. D. (*fig. 16*; no. 67–390 A and B).

#### *The Subsequent Periods of the Bouleuterion Court: A Place of Burial and Production*

The stratigraphic evidence implies that the new height of 519 m a. s. l. remained the level of usage for the area throughout the 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> centuries A. D. Some of the sculptures associated with the sculptor's workshop and its yard were found reused in later walls on a higher level, above 519 m a. s. l. which represents the ground level. This is most obvious in the so-called »water depot«. A water settling tank was installed above the northern parts of room 4 and 5 (and thus partly on top of the sculptor's workshop) with a »modest fountain« to its east (*fig. 17*). The excavator's photograph clearly shows a rectangular fountain basin resting on the »new« ground level of ca. A. D. 500, while the foundations of the water settling tank behind it were set into the ground approximately 50–60 cm deep<sup>88</sup>. It is probably also during the work on its foundation that sculp-

<sup>88</sup> This coincides quite well with the levels indicated for this area in notebook no. 79, 1969 (C. White) p. 27. Also, this allows us to establish the bottom of the foundation at 518, 45 m a. s. l.



Fig. 17 Modest fountain in the northwest Bouleuterion Court

tures from the workshop were found and then subsequently reused for the construction of later walls in the area. Unfortunately, a date for the water depot cannot be established with certainty. Based on general considerations for the history and stratigraphy of the area, it probably was in use some time in the 6<sup>th</sup> or 7<sup>th</sup> century<sup>89</sup>.

Ampelius' new purpose for the former council house was probably a short-lived one. It seems that the stage building collapsed and the interior fell out of use some time during the 6<sup>th</sup> century<sup>90</sup>. During the excavations in early 2000, at least three, but possibly six or more infant burials could be identified in the central rear chamber of the Bouleuterion (R.C. 6, *fig. 3*). They consisted of pots or bowls, several of them with an overturned bowl acting as a lid. Four more burials of a similar kind were excavated in the rear chamber 8 (R.C. 8, *fig. 3*) in 1963<sup>91</sup>. Based on the types of these vessels, N. Hudson cautiously suggested a late 6<sup>th</sup> century date for these burials<sup>92</sup>. This use of the area for burials – tentatively connected by N. Hudson to outbreaks of the Justinianic plague in the second half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century<sup>93</sup> – implies also that the *palaistra* of Ampelius was probably not in use any more. Evidence for the subsequent usage of the area remains scarce.

The picture only becomes clearer during the Middle Byzantine period, when burials were carried out in the area of the former Bouleuterion Court. These graves were probably part of a cemetery connected to the basilica on the site of the former Temple of Aphrodite (see below)<sup>94</sup>.

<sup>89</sup> Altogether, 13 wooden find boxes in standard size from the excavations between 1968 and 1970 were analyzed by U. Outschar during campaign of 2017 and dated to the 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> centuries A.D. They can probably be connected with a level of usage above the fill of 519 m a. s. l. and therefore with the water basin and its settling tank.

<sup>90</sup> Based on the finds from the excavations of 1963 in the interior.

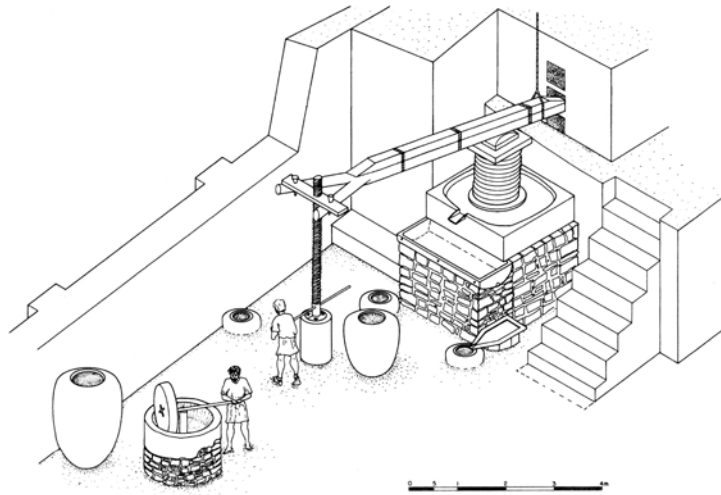
<sup>91</sup> Notebook 18, 1963 (M. Bell) p. 81 f., finds nos. 63–334 to 63–341.

<sup>92</sup> Hudson 2008, 322–324, 340–342.

<sup>93</sup> Hudson 2008, 324; on the plague, see also Rouché 1987, 157 f. According to Liebeschuetz 2001, 53 f. this might also be one of the reasons for the decline of urban centers in Asia Minor.

<sup>94</sup> E. Ivison, A Preliminary Report on the Byzantine Cemeteries at Aphrodisias (unpublished report 1988) p. 8.

Fig. 18 Reconstruction of olive processing plant according to K. Ahmet



None of the burials dates earlier than the 10<sup>th</sup> or 11<sup>th</sup> centuries A.D.<sup>95</sup>. A few more graves were located in the southwest area of the Bouleuterion Court. According to E. Ivison they can probably also be dated from the 11<sup>th</sup> century A.D. onwards<sup>96</sup>.

The analysis of finds from the Bouleuterion Court in 2017 revealed also high-quality pottery from the Middle Byzantine period, among them a chafing dish imported from Constantinople or Corinth<sup>97</sup>. Their presence can probably be explained from the neighbouring church and particularly the Bishop's Palace (see below).

The last datable feature installed in the Bouleuterion Court is an olive processing facility north of RC 7 (*figs. 3, 11*, background). During the excavation in 1962 and 1970 respectively, almost all the technical features for the production were discovered (*fig. 18*)<sup>98</sup>. In his study of the facility<sup>99</sup>, K. Ahmet could reconstruct the original floor level at approximately 520 m a. s. l., i. e. approximately 1 m above the ground floor of c. A.D. 500<sup>100</sup>. He assumed that the installation of the olive processing facility might have been connected to a renovation of the Basilica in the Middle Byzantine period and suggested potential ownership by the church. In 2018, a re-examination of the pottery from the 1962 excavation showed that the stratum below the floor level of the olive press room includes finds from the Byzantine and Beylik period as well a few sherds from Classical Ottoman times<sup>101</sup>. Therefore, the date proposed by K. Ahmet should be corrected from the 14<sup>th</sup> to the mid-16<sup>th</sup> century A.D.

<sup>95</sup> Hudson 2008, 324 (with reference to pers. comm. with E. Ivison).

<sup>96</sup> Ivison 1988, 11.

<sup>97</sup> I owe this information to M. Öztaşkın.

<sup>98</sup> Erim 1970, 60.

<sup>99</sup> Ahmet 2001.

<sup>100</sup> However, his assessment of the so-called »water settling tank« above the rooms of the sculptors' workshops as a cistern for »the various industrial plants in the vicinity« during the Middle Byzantine period (Ahmet 2001, 166) is certainly not correct. The fountain and its settling basin rest on the 519 m a. s. l. level from Late Antiquity.

<sup>101</sup> On the stratigraphy, see the section drawing notebook no. 6, 1962 (B. Turner). Cf. also boxes 1902 and 1937 from stratum 5 in excavation house depot 2. I would like to thank Ulrike Outschar and Muradiye Öztaşkın for the analysis of the pottery. In the excavations of 1960, glazed pottery was generally considered as »Byzantine«. This probably led to the misdating of the olive processing facility by K. Ahmet.

For later phases of history, the archaeological evidence of the former Bouleuterion Court as well as the interior of the council house becomes blurred. Finds date up to the Beylik and Ottoman periods, and certain features such as lime kilns were identified during excavations. Some walls indicated the existence of vernacular buildings. Nevertheless, the lack of larger architectural structures does not allow us to trace the function or usage of the area.

THE BOULEUTERION IN CONTEXT: URBAN DEVELOPMENT IN APHRODISIAS  
FROM THE LATE 1ST CENTURY B. C. UNTIL THE BYZANTINE PERIODS

The urban development of Aphrodisias has been subject to several studies, mainly by Ch. Ratté<sup>102</sup>. Results from the research on the Bouleuterion Court broaden our understanding for the phases of the city, but at the same time it is also necessary to put the area into its context in order to trace a general picture of the site.

For the early Imperial period, the possibility of reconstructing a bouleuterion in the center of the Bouleuterion Court implies that this area was the designated place for the government of the city from its early history onwards. This is not surprising, but was doubted by an earlier interpretation of the archaeological evidence that initially ruled out the existence of an original council house in this position. Following the new interpretation, we can assume that the first bouleuterion was part of a master plan that was developed during the initial phase of the city plan in the early Imperial period. This is exactly the time when the freedman C. Iulius Zoilos returned from Rome to his native city and endowed it with monumental buildings in its center<sup>103</sup>. It is tempting to assume also that new place for the assembly of the *boule* – located in between the agora and the temple – would have been financed by Zoilos, but this has to remain a mere speculation. We can only hypothesize that privileges granted in the *senatus consultum de Aphrodisiensibus*, among them the exemption from all taxes and the rights of asylum for the Temple of Aphrodite<sup>104</sup>, also led to a valorization of the city council and hence maybe also to the construction of a new meeting place.

The rooms in the stoa of the Bouleuterion Court might be connected to various functions of the government of the city. Among these were, according to the epigraphic testimony, maybe showrooms or offices in connection with the marble industry of Aphrodisias. Considering the importance that the quarries had for the city and its building activities<sup>105</sup>, it would not be surprising that these *ergasteria* occupied such a prominent position in the civic center.

Furthermore, the area west of the Bouleuterion Court might also have had a function related to the governing of the city. Changes during Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages in the area of the so-called Triconch House or Bishop's Palace (*fig. 1*, no. 4) immediately to the west of the Bouleuterion Court largely impede our understanding of its function during the Imperial period, but following the analysis by M. Berenfeld, the first building on the site of the later Bishop's palace was a rectangular structure with an open courtyard in its center<sup>106</sup>. In terms of function

<sup>102</sup> Ratté 2001; Ratté 2002; Ratté 2008; cf. also Eren 2016.

<sup>103</sup> See above n. 5.

<sup>104</sup> IAph2007, 8.27; Reynolds 1982, 54–91 (doc. 8). See also Chaniotis 2003, 253 f.

<sup>105</sup> Most of the marble was probably quarried for local use, see Long 2012, esp. 180 f.

<sup>106</sup> Berenfeld 2009, 207–209.

we might therefore hypothesize that this was the *prytaneion* of the city. Not many *prytaneia* have been identified based on the archaeological record, either in the cities of Asia Minor or in the eastern Mediterranean in general<sup>107</sup>. Among the secure examples are buildings in Ephesos, Priene, and Magnesia on the Meander. Even though there is apparently no fixed plan or building type, it seems that the plan of *prytaneia* from the Roman Imperial period often follows that of a peristyle house. In the case of Ephesos and Priene the *prytaneion* is also directly adjacent to the Bouleuterion<sup>108</sup>. Therefore, in Aphrodisias the building directly west of the Bouleuterion Court – a rectangular building with a peristyle courtyard, preceding the Triconch House – seems a good candidate for the office building of the governing body of the city as well as the place for dinners at public expense<sup>109</sup>.

On the east side, the Bouleuterion Court was probably bordered by the so-called »Outer Sanctuary« of Aphrodite (*fig. 1, no. 2*)<sup>110</sup>. This area formed the forecourt of the actual temenos and Temple of Aphrodite, which is located north of the Bouleuterion Court. The Outer Sanctuary has not been fully excavated and is consequently not well understood, but it seems clear that it provided access to the Sanctuary from a street running east of the Agora through the so-called Tetrapylon from the Severan period<sup>111</sup>. Apparently a second entrance provided access from the Bouleuterion Court, and it is noteworthy that it did not lead directly into the temenos on the north side, but served as a connection to the outer sanctuary.

For the further development during the Imperial period it is important to recognize that the construction of a new Bouleuterion during the late 2<sup>nd</sup> century A. D. did not lead to a devaluation of the area around it, let alone to the demolishing of the West Stoa. On the contrary, we should assume that the space still functioned as the city's political center and provided access to the chambers in the substructure of the council house from which the upper parts of the auditorium could be reached.

It is indeed true that, more or less, no new buildings were erected in the city center after the Severan period. However, we should be careful not to interpret this as a sign of crisis. Even though Gothic invasions paired with economic and administrative difficulties certainly posed problems for the cities of Asia Minor<sup>112</sup>, it seems that this did not really interfere with the urban development of Aphrodisias. The city center was already equipped with monumental buildings, and only a little space was left for new ones. Probably the decision for the construction of Attalos' new Bouleuterion around A. D. 200 was influenced not only by the desire for a grander council house, but also by the lack of other major building lots in the heart of the city. At this point in the urban history, all prominent positions in the center were occupied, and if Attalos wanted to leave a mark in his native city, he had to replace an existing monument.

<sup>107</sup> For a summary, see Steskal 2010, 223–231.

<sup>108</sup> In Ephesos the *prytaneion* was built in the last decade of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century B. C., see Steskal 2010, 78 f. For a potential predecessor of the extant bouleuterion directly adjacent to the east, see Alzinger 1988, 21–29. Alzinger's hypothesis was more recently questioned by Bier 2011, 29. For the bouleuterion and *prytaneion* in Priene, see Wiegand – Schrader 1904, 219–234.

<sup>109</sup> See already Gros 1996, 118; Ratté 2002, 12.

<sup>110</sup> Smith – Ratté 1995, 45 f.

<sup>111</sup> Outschar 1996; on the building, see also Paul 1996.

<sup>112</sup> On the Gothic Invasions in Asia Minor: Goltz 2008, 453–464, esp. 458 f. with n. 65. For a general discussion of the disputed crisis of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century A. D., see Körner 2011, 87–123; for its impact on the cities, Gerhardt 2008, 691–712.



At the latest in the early 4<sup>th</sup> century, Aphrodisias became the capital of the province of Caria and the seat of a governor<sup>113</sup>. After the middle of the century, the construction of the city wall began, instigated by a governor, partly using spolia from funerary monuments outside of the city<sup>114</sup>. The actual function of this huge undertaking has been discussed controversially<sup>115</sup>; according to P. DeStaeblér, its main purpose was the projection of an »aura of strength, prosperity and a long history«<sup>116</sup>, and a potential defensive nature seemed rather a prospect for the future. It is the northeast gate of the wall where we can find the last datable reference to the *boule* and the *demos* honoring Flavius Constantius for its construction<sup>117</sup>.

Under Antonius Tatianus, governor from A.D. 361–364, the so-called Tetrastoon (*fig. 1*, no. 12) was refurbished as an urban space and equipped with an elaborate display of statues<sup>118</sup>. K. Erim assumed that this was a reaction to the rising water table after an earthquake in the 4<sup>th</sup> century, rendering the Agora unusable<sup>119</sup>. It seems unlikely that the rising water level already led to the abandonment of the Agora at this point in time. Stratigraphic evidence rather implies that the Agora was in use until the 6<sup>th</sup> or 7<sup>th</sup> century A.D.<sup>120</sup>. The Bouleuterion Court and its adjacent areas also remained a functional urban space. The statues set up by the governor Antonius Priscus, as well as repairs and the augmentation of the sculptural display, including statues repurposed as *demos* and *boule*<sup>121</sup>, should be seen in this context as measures of maintenance in the city's council house and a continuous appreciation for the urban institutions until the late 4<sup>th</sup> century A.D.<sup>122</sup>.

The building west of the Bouleuterion Court was largely rebuilt around 400 and received its characteristic shape as a »Triconch House« (*fig. 1*, no. 4) for the luxurious dwelling of a member of the urban élite<sup>123</sup>. The apsidial arrangement on its east side could now extend into the chambers of the West Stoa of the Bouleuterion Court. Because of its location within the urban fabric, K. T. Erim suggested that the house might have been the seat of the governor during this period<sup>124</sup>. According to the phasing plan of M. Berenfeld, entrances to the house during this period were located on the south and west side<sup>125</sup>. This means that access points and visitor traffic were kept away from the area of the workshops in the former Bouleuterion Court.

<sup>113</sup> See above with n. 9.

<sup>114</sup> De Staebler 2008.

<sup>115</sup> E.g. Erim 1986, 50–54 followed by Roueché (for an updated assessment see ala2004, III.19f.) assumed that an earthquake in the earlier 4<sup>th</sup> century might have led to the decision for constructing the city wall in order to get rid of the spolia. For a discussion, see also Ratté 2001, 125 f. 140 f.

<sup>116</sup> De Staebler 2008, 318.

<sup>117</sup> ala 2004, no. 22 and the discussion at III.16. On the date of Flavius Constantius in the 350s A.D., see Smith – Hallett 2015, 45 f., n. 66.

<sup>118</sup> ala2004 20.21. III.10–15; on the display of statues, see Smith 2016c, esp. 155 f.

<sup>119</sup> See e.g. Erim 1986, 91. This idea was already rejected by Ratté 2001, 126.

<sup>120</sup> Smith – Ratté 2000, 237 f.; Ratté 2001, 135.

<sup>121</sup> See above.

<sup>122</sup> Maintenance and renovation and reuse of sculptural displays is also seen elsewhere in the city during the 4<sup>th</sup> century A.D. e.g. on the Basilica, see Stinson 2016, 75–82; Smith – Hallett 2015.

<sup>123</sup> Berenfeld 2009, 211–224.

<sup>124</sup> Erim 1986, 73. More recently, with critical remarks: Lavan 1999, 149–151. Berenfeld 2009, 221 f. prefers to avoid this question in absence of clear evidence.

<sup>125</sup> Berenfeld 2009, 221 fig. 6.

The later fifth century building measures in the Bouleuterion Court and inside the Council House itself, which can be connected to Flavius Ampelius, are characterized by two points: by the raising of the ground level, and by the repurposing of the Bouleuterion into a *palaistra*. Both have to be analyzed in the context of the city history and its urban development.

The reconstruction of the archaeological record with its raised ground level has striking parallels elsewhere in other public squares of the city, mainly in an urban park previously often called »South Agora« (fig. 1, no. 19). This major public space, located directly south of the city's main Agora, was equipped with a 175 m long pool with two curved ends<sup>126</sup>. The ground level of this park was also raised about 30–45 cm in Late Antiquity. A trench (SAg 12.2) in the western half on the northern side of the long pool revealed such a dumped deposit into which three terracotta pipelines were contemporaneously laid parallel to the *euthynteria* course of the Portico of Tiberius. The pottery from this stratum can be dated mainly to the late 5<sup>th</sup> or early 6<sup>th</sup> century A.D.<sup>127</sup>.

According to recent research under the direction of Andrew Wilson, this dump has to be understood in the context of restorations and renovations in this urban park after an earthquake, presumably in A.D. 494<sup>128</sup>. This natural disaster would have damaged the ring drain around the pool that served for the disposal of the local ground water. In order to avoid the subsequent flooding of the square, the entire area of the »South Agora« had to be raised by 30–45 cm up to a level of 516,20 to 516,30 m a. s. l.<sup>129</sup>. These measures can also be connected to Flavius Ampelius, the high-ranking official who was probably responsible for the conversion of the Bouleuterion into a *palaistra*, and to Dulcitus, governor of Caria, who – like Ampelius – can be dated to 460–518<sup>130</sup>.

Similar observations were already made by K. Erim during his excavations, not only in the Bouleuterion Court, but also in the area of the Tetrastoon. His tentative date for the latter in the 4<sup>th</sup> century A.D. might have to be disassociated from the sculptural display set up by the governor Antonius Tatianus (361–364) and instead shifted to the 5<sup>th</sup> century A.D. We might then assume that all these measures in different areas of the city represent one master plan for the upkeep of urban space in the city, probably instigated by Dulcitus and Ampelius<sup>131</sup>.

The newly adapted *palaistra* has to be discussed in its historical as well as in its urban context. The mansion next to the former Council House continued to be in use, maybe still as the governor's palace. Immediately to the north, the temple was converted into a church, in approximately A.D. 500<sup>132</sup>. Together with the still functioning Agora, this area continued to serve as the city center. One might suppose that the area of the former Bouleuterion Court was turned into an urban garden or park, similar to the measures the governor Flavius Ampelius undertook with the palm grove on the South Agora<sup>133</sup>.

<sup>126</sup> On most recent research, see Wilson – Russell – Ward 2016; Wilson 2016a with further references.

<sup>127</sup> Wilson et al. 2016, 78–83. 89 f.

<sup>128</sup> Wilson 2016a, esp. 130–135.

<sup>129</sup> Calculation based on information from Wilson – Russell – Ward 2016, 81.

<sup>130</sup> IAph2007, 4.202; ala2004, 38–40; see also Wilson 2016a, 129–134.

<sup>131</sup> On Aphrodisias in the 6<sup>th</sup> century A.D., see Wilson 2019.

<sup>132</sup> Cormack 1990; Hebert 2000; on the date of the conversion based on numismatic data, see Smith – Ratté 1995, 44–46; cf. also Roueché 1989, 153 f.; Chaniotis 2008b.

<sup>133</sup> IAph2007, 4.202; ala2004, 38; Wilson 2016a, 129 f.

For the former Council House itself, Ch. Roueché initially had rejected an interpretation as a venue for sporting events: »wrestling-school, or wrestling-ground, makes no sense here [...]. The gymnasia – which had included the true *palaestrae* – had largely disappeared from civic life over a century before«<sup>134</sup>. More recently, S. Remijsen, has offered a more nuanced view on the end of Greek Athletics<sup>135</sup>. While previous scholarship has frequently argued that Christian influence and an imperial »ban« were the main reasons for this decline, according to Remijsen these were not the deciding factors<sup>136</sup>. Generally, the cause seems to lie in a combination of »bottom-up transformations«, represented by changes in political culture and the urban élites as well as the professional organization and the social status of athletes. Also shrinking financial resources posed a problem; particularly as hyperinflation threatened the survival of games that primarily relied on cash funds<sup>137</sup>. An exception from this »rule« might be larger cities and provincial capitals, where benefactors still possessed the resources from liturgies to provide financing for athletic games. This certainly is the case for Syrian Antioch, where the Olympic games persevered until a general prohibition of games of all types by Justin I in 524<sup>138</sup>. Antioch, not only a prosperous city but also one of the largest within the Roman Empire, certainly had the potential to attract money and visitors for its Olympic games. Aphrodisias operated on a much smaller scale, not only in terms of the size of the city and its resources, but also considering the competitions in the *palaistra* and the number of their spectators. Finances, however, must have also been available for the Aphrodisian élite. This is suggested not only by large-scale maintenance projects such as the measures by Ampelius and Dulcitus, but also by the continuous erection of expensive honorary statues in the public realm<sup>139</sup>. Archaeologically, the persistence of cultural traditions is testified by the maintenance and use of the large public baths, which functioned at least until the early 7<sup>th</sup> century A.D.<sup>140</sup>. Nevertheless, a general trend in the organization of public events of shifting from athletic games to spectacles – beast hunts and gladiatorial combats – is also evident in Aphrodisias, from the construction of an arena in the stadium<sup>141</sup>.

A certain level of continuity of cultural traditions and – to a certain degree – a determination to preserve and maintain urban space, represents one aspect of Aphrodisian society at this time. Nevertheless, literary and epigraphic records as well as the archaeological evidence bear witness

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<sup>134</sup> ala2004 IV.34.

<sup>135</sup> Remijsen 2015; see also the review by Lambrecht 2016.

<sup>136</sup> Remijsen 2015, esp. 181–197. 214–217.

<sup>137</sup> Remijsen 2015, 343–348.

<sup>138</sup> Remijsen 2015, 93–104. 217–219; cf. Ioh. Mal., *Chronographia*, 17, 12–13, ed. by J. Thurn (Berlin 2000).

<sup>139</sup> Smith 2016c, 145–149.

<sup>140</sup> Hadrianic Baths: McDavid 2016, 209 with n. 3. On altogether 14 inscriptions related to restoration work between the 4<sup>th</sup> and the 6<sup>th</sup> century, see McDavid 2016, esp. 212f. The Theater Baths might have been turned into smaller so-called Winter Baths, Wilson 2016 b, esp. 193. See also Erım 1976, 27f.

<sup>141</sup> Welch 1998, 565–569; cf. also Puk 2014, 277. On the late antique use of the theater, a third venue for performances of various kinds in the southeast of the city, see Roueché 1991, esp. 103–105. Archaeological evidence implies that the upper part of the *cavea* was destroyed during an earthquake in the 4<sup>th</sup> century, and not rebuilt subsequently. See de Chaisemartin – Theoderescu 2017, 10. However, according to Roueché 1991, 107, the theater remained an important public building until the late 6<sup>th</sup> or early 7<sup>th</sup> century. The orchestra shows traces of mortar which have been interpreted as late antique adaptations for aquatic spectacles (*kolymbethra*), see de Chaisemartin – Theoderescu 2017, 47.

to conflicts of different religious and social groups<sup>142</sup>. It is probably a climate of striving for a balance, in which the transformation of the former Council House into a *palaistra* should be seen: most likely, in Aphrodisias like elsewhere, athletic events were stripped of their religious context and provided a cultural reference point for the citizens of the polis in a changing society<sup>143</sup>. This might also explain why we find the new sporting venue in the city center, adjacent to the newly established Christian church.

The end of the *palaistra* in the former Bouleuterion can probably be dated to the later part of the 6<sup>th</sup> century A.D. Subsequently, the entire area of the Bouleuterion Court fell into decline, and archaeological evidence suggests that large parts of the city were severely damaged at some point in the early 7<sup>th</sup> century<sup>144</sup>. The exact cause for this destruction, an earthquake or belligerent events, is still a matter of ongoing debate<sup>145</sup>.

After a hiatus, the area was used again during the Middle Byzantine period. The former Triconch House was renovated during the late 8<sup>th</sup> or early 9<sup>th</sup> century A.D. and put back into use, partly on a much higher level, up to 3 m above the Late Antique floors. This was probably connected to a refurbishment of the church<sup>146</sup>. According to M. Berenfeld, the mansion during this time can be identified as the bishop's palace, with possible additional space for the accommodation of pilgrims<sup>147</sup>. Notably, the Bouleuterion Court area was used as a graveyard. Subsequently, an olive oil production facility was installed in the area north of RC 7.

Finds from the area of the Bouleuterion Court extend beyond the Middle Byzantine period into the Ottoman era and in some cases into the 20<sup>th</sup> century, but do not indicate any specific use of the space. This is not surprising because of the site being continuously populated until the 1970s.

In summary, it can be said that the Bouleuterion Court reflects the political and urban history of Aphrodisias throughout the Roman Imperial period and Late Antiquity, represented by two major characteristics: a long and stable period as the political center of the city from the late 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C. or the early 1<sup>st</sup> century A.D. until probably the late 4<sup>th</sup> century as is evident from monumental buildings. Not surprisingly, there is only limited archaeological evidence for the Imperial period, because the space was maintained without any refuse dumping or build-up of debris. Following a decline of the political institutions, the former council house was repurposed as a venue for sporting events. This constitutes a second characteristic: the pursuit of upkeep and maintenance in a changing environment. Traditions such as athletic games persevered and

<sup>142</sup> Chaniotis 2002; Chaniotis 2008b with further references. In the material evidence, this is visible e.g. in the defacing of pagan gods depicted on the Sebasteion reliefs, probably in the 5<sup>th</sup> century A.D., see Smith 2013, 45–49.

<sup>143</sup> Remijsen 2015, 181–197. On honorary statues for athletes from the late second and third century, including the portraits of the boxers Piseas and Candidianus from the theater (late 3<sup>rd</sup> century), see Smith 2006, 136–136. 145–149 (cat. 39. 40).

<sup>144</sup> For example, the Triconch House was given up by the middle of the 7<sup>th</sup> century A.D. and parts of it collapsed, see Berenfeld 2009, 224. Recent archaeological evidence shows that the colonnade of the connecting street between the Sebasteion and the Tetracyllon burnt down in the early 7<sup>th</sup> century, see Sokolicek 2016, esp. 69.

<sup>145</sup> E.g. for the destruction of the so-called »South Agora« and the Agora Gate by an earthquake, see Erim 1990, 18. 20; Ratté 2001, 144–146 expresses doubt about the destructive force of an earthquake in the early 7<sup>th</sup> century and cautiously suggests »Persian invasions and the accompanying collapse of Greco-Roman civic life« as the main cause for the decline of the city. Wilson 2019 argues for a Persian attack.

<sup>146</sup> Cormack 1990, 84–87; Hebert 2000, 212–258.

<sup>147</sup> Berenfeld 2009, 224–226.

coexisted in the city center, alongside new political, religious and social trends, represented by the governor's seat, a monumental Christian basilica, and a venue for *spectacula* in the stadium.

SUMMARY:

THE CONVERSION OF THE BOULEUTERION COURT IN APHRODISIAS IN THE CONTEXT OF LATE ANTIQUE ASIA MINOR

The development of public space in the cities of Asia Minor during Late Antiquity has received increasing attention during recent years. Many studies have emphasized the maintenance of urban space and its monuments. The urban development of Aphrodisias is in concordance with the overall picture described by W. Liebeschuetz and others<sup>148</sup>.

A desire for upkeep is evident well into the late 5<sup>th</sup> and even in the middle of the 6<sup>th</sup> century A.D. from poleis in Asia Minor and the Greek East in general<sup>149</sup>. This seems to be particularly true not only for large centers like Ephesos<sup>150</sup> and Antioch<sup>151</sup>, but also for provincial capitals like Corinth<sup>152</sup> or Aphrodisias, where governors and local benefactors tried to maintain the monumentality of urban space and received honors for their efforts<sup>153</sup>. At the same time, administration and civic institutions underwent a profound change: the city councils in the East lost control over the poleis during the 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> centuries A.D.<sup>154</sup>. The *boule* was replaced by committees of high-ranking notables. They usually met in the residence of the local bishop, who presided over their gatherings. The exact date for these events is hard to pinpoint, but some information comes from epigraphic evidence. In Aphrodisias, the latest epigraphic reference to Boule and Demos is connected to the erection of the city wall in the 350s or 360s (see above)<sup>155</sup>. In Ephesos, the city council is last mentioned on two statue bases for Aelia Flaccilla, wife of Theodosius I, proba-

<sup>148</sup> See the overview in Liebeschuetz 2001; Lavan 2003; Lavan 2007; Jacobs 2013. Yet, we have to be careful to avoid circular arguments: Due to the good state of research, Aphrodisias frequently serves as a model for a medium size city and governor's seat in Late Antique Asia Minor (e.g. Liebeschuetz 2001, 36 f. fig. 4 on urban development; Remijsen 2015 81–84 on athletics; Smith 2016c on statuary display). Drawing conclusions from an overall view back to the situation in this city might bring us right back to the initial evidence for our generalizing inference.

<sup>149</sup> Liebeschuetz 2001, 30–43. Esp. on p. 37 Liebeschuetz argues for maintenance of the »classical monumentality« into the mid-sixth century and beyond. But this might not be the case everywhere, e.g. for Corinth Ivison 1996, 101.104 puts the end of the Roman agora as a civic center at some point in the 5<sup>th</sup> century. According to Brown 2016, 177–182 the agora remained in use as a central public space at least until the mid-fifth century. For an overview on various maintenance work in the cities of Asia Minor see Jacobs 2013, 655–662.

<sup>150</sup> On Late Antique and early Byzantine Ephesos see Thür 2003; Ladstätter – Pülz 2007; Daim – Ladstätter 2011.

<sup>151</sup> On Late Antique Antioch see Brands 2016, esp. 37–58 on attempts of rebuilding the city under Justinian I., following a series of earthquakes and the capture by the Persians.

<sup>152</sup> On Late Antique Corinth see Scranton 1957, 6–26; Ivison 1996, 99–125; Saradi 2006, 239–242; Brown 2016, 174–189.

<sup>153</sup> Concurrently with the general development in the cities, honorary statuary shows a shift from local benefactors to emperors and governors: Smith 2016b, 4 f.

<sup>154</sup> Liebeschuetz 2001, 104–124; Lavan 2003, 318–321; Lavan 2007, 122–124. On the literary sources see esp. Saradi 2006, 151–163.

<sup>155</sup> ala 2004, no. 22 and the discussion at III.16. On the date of the city wall also De Staebler 2008, 308–311.

bly in 383<sup>156</sup>. As W. Liebeschuetz has pointed out, this loss of control by the city councils was a gradual process, and the point in time when council houses in the poleis of Asia Minor were abandoned<sup>157</sup>, or put to a new use<sup>158</sup>, might vary.

The repurposing of the Aphrodisian Bouleuterion as a venue for sporting events is – so far as is known – unique. But its underlying purpose is more universal: it shows a desire for the upkeep of traditions in a changing world.

*Abstract:* The so-called »Bouleuterion Court« is located in the city center of Aphrodisias immediately to the south of the Temple of Aphrodite. It encloses the city's Bouleuterion which was built around A. D. 200. This article covers the history of this area from the late Hellenistic and early Imperial periods to the Middle Byzantine era, based on the most recent research on its architecture, archaeology, and inscriptions. It becomes evident that a thorough evaluation of archival materials from the 1960s would yield new valuable insight into the stratigraphy and the finds of this important area of the site.

From the early Imperial period to the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century, the »Bouleuterion Court« served as the urban center and the meeting place of the *boule*. During the late Antonine or Severan period, the senator Attalos erected a new Bouleuterion for the city council within its confines. Following the decline of traditional urban institutions, the north stoa of the »Bouleuterion Court« housed a sculptor's workshop. According to an inscription from around A. D. 500, the Bouleuterion was repurposed as a *palaistra*, and was probably used for sporting events such as wrestling and boxing. Probably due to the rising water table in the city in Late Antiquity, the ground level of the entire court was raised. From the second half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century onwards, archaeological evidence implies that the area fell into decline. Graves in the area can be dated to the Middle Byzantine period followed by the installation of an olive press. The latter are connected to the conversion of the Temple of Aphrodite into a church. In all, the history of the Bouleuterion Court does not only provide new knowledge on the development of the city center of Aphrodisias, but it is also a valuable mirror in tracing the political and cultural development of Asia Minor.

DER SOG. »BOULEUTERION COURT« VON APHRODISIAS IN KARIEN. EIN FALLBEISPIEL FÜR DIE ANPASSUNG DES STÄDTISCHEN RAUMS IN KLEINASIEN VON DER RÖMISCHEN KAISERZEIT BIS ZUR SPÄTANTIKE UND DARÜBER HINAUS

*Zusammenfassung:* Der »Bouleuterion Court« liegt im Zentrum von Aphrodisias unmittelbar südlich des Aphrodite-Tempels und umfasst das um 200 n. Chr. errichtete Bouleuterion. Der vorliegende Beitrag behandelt die Geschichte dieses Areals vom späten Hellenismus bzw. der

<sup>156</sup> IvE 314 and 315. Cf. also Roueché 2002, 531 (no. 4). 540 f.

<sup>157</sup> For example, in Priene the Bouleuterion was destroyed by a fire, presumably before the Christianization of the city. The area remained deserted until a Christian chapel was constructed probably in the 12<sup>th</sup> or 13<sup>th</sup> century A. D. on a much higher level. See Wiegand – Schrader 1904, 219–221. 486; Fildhuth 2017, 51–53.

<sup>158</sup> For example, the Bouleuterion of Patara was integrated as a bastion into the city's fortification during the reign of Justinian (527–565) or maybe even a bit earlier. The massive walls of the former council house were ideally suited as reinforcement for a corner of the Early Byzantine city wall. See Korkut – Grosche 2007, esp. 74 f.; İşkan et al. 2016, 68–72. On the city wall, see also Bruer – Kunze 2010, 49–77, esp. 57 f.

frühen Kaiserzeit bis in die mittelbyzantinische Zeit anhand von Architektur, Archäologie und Inschriften. Es zeigte sich, dass durch eine sorgfältige Auswertung von vorhandenen Archivunterlagen der 1960er Jahre wertvolle Erkenntnisse zu Stratigraphie und Funden gewonnen werden können.

Von der frühen Kaiserzeit bis in die zweite Hälfte des 4. Jhs. n. Chr. diente der »Bouleuterion Court« als städtisches Zentrum und Treffpunkt der *boule*. In spätantoinisch-severischer Zeit wurde der städtischen Ratsversammlung vom Senator Attalos ein neues Bouleuterion errichtet. Auf den Niedergang der politischen Institutionen in der Polis folgte eine Nutzung der nördlichen Stoa als Bildhauerwerkstatt. Das Bouleuterion wurde einer Inschrift zufolge um 500 n. Chr. in eine *palaistra* umgewandelt und diente wohl für sportliche Wettbewerbe wie Ring- und Faustkämpfe. Eine Erhöhung des Bodenniveaus der Platzanlage ist wahrscheinlich auf den steigenden Grundwasserspiegel im Stadtgebiet zurückzuführen. Ab der zweiten Hälfte des 6. Jhs. sprechen die archäologischen Befunde für eine eingeschränkte Nutzung des Bereiches. In mittelbyzantinischer Zeit lassen sich Gräber datieren, die in Zusammenhang mit der Kirche stehen, in die der ehemalige Aphrodite-Tempel umgewandelt wurde. Anschließend wurde im Areal eine Olivenpresse eingerichtet. Die Nutzungsgeschichte dieses städtischen Zentrums spiegelt nicht nur die Stadtgeschichte von Aphrodisias wider, sondern lässt sich auch mit der politischen und kulturhistorischen Entwicklung des westlichen Kleinasien verbinden.

KARYA APHRODISIAS'TAKI »BOULEUTERION COURT« DENEN YAPI, ROMA İMPARATORLUK DÖNEMİ'NDEN GEÇ ANTİK VE ÖTESİNE ANADOLU'DAKİ KENTSEL MEKÂNLARIN ADAPTASYONUNA BİR ÖRNEK

**Özet:** »Bouleuterion Court« Aphrodisias'ın merkezinde, Aphrodite Tapınağı'nın hemen güneyinde bulunmakta ve MS 200 yıllarında yapılan Bouleuterion'u çevrelemektedir. Bu makalede, mimarisi, arkeolojisi ve yazıtlarından yola çıkılarak Geç Hellenistik dönemden yani İmparatorluk döneminin başlarından Orta Bizans dönemine kadar olan sürecin tarihçesi incelenmektedir. 1960'lı yıllardan kalan arşiv malzemesinin dikkatlice incelenmesi sayesinde stratigrafi ve buluntular hakkında değerli bilgiler elde edileceği görülmüştür.

Erken İmparatorluk döneminden MS 4. yüzyılın ikinci yarısına kadar, »Bouleuterion Court« kent merkezi ve *boule*'nin buluşma yeri olarak işlev görüyordu. Antoninler dönemi sonlarından Severius dönemine kadar olan zaman diliminde kentsel meclis toplantıları için senatör Attalos tarafından yeni bir Bouleuterion yaptırılmıştır. Kentte politik kurumların gerilemesiyle kuzey stoa yeni bir işlev edinmiş ve heykel atölyesi olmuştur. MS 400 yılından bir yazıtın gösterdiği gibi Bouleuterion, bir *palaistra*'ya dönüştürülmüş ve olasılıkla güreş ve boks yarışmalarına hizmet etmiştir. Meydanların zemininin yükselmesi, yeraltı sularının kent bölgesinde yükselmesi nedeniyle olmalıdır. 6. yüzyılın ikinci yarısından ele geçen arkeolojik buluntular, bölgenin sınırlı kullanımına işaret etmektedir. Orta Bizans dönemine ait, o zamanki Aphrodite Tapınağı yerinde bulunan kilise ile bağlantılı olarak ele geçen mezarlar, tarihlendirilmektedir. Aynı alanda, mezarlardan hemen sonrasına tarihlendirilen bir zeytinyağı presi bulunmaktadır. Bu kent merkezinin kullanım tarihi, sadece Aphrodisias şehrinin tarihini yansıtmakla kalmaz, aynı zamanda Batı Anadolu'nun siyasi ve kültürel-tarihsel gelişimi ile de bağlantılıdır.

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