The Archaeology of Middle Byzantie Aphrodisias

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Volume 1 of 3

Abstract

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Abstract

Aphrodisias is an ancient settlement in the valley of the Morsynos, a tributary of the Maeander in southwest Asia Minor. Excavation at the site has been ongoing since 1961, but to date most research has examined its ancient and late antique remains. The following thesis represents the first detailed study of the site during the seventh through thirteenth centuries, over which period a small Middle Byzantine town adopted and transformed the ancient topography. The thesis integrates material already published with several major new corpora of archaeological evidence, drawing upon archival records, museum depots and targeted fieldwork. These allow for a reconstruction of the fabric of the settlement and the exploration of the relationships that structured the community. The thesis is an exercise in settlement archaeology as social history, and a contribution to the study of the Middle Byzantine Maeander.

The first chapter presents a brief introduction to the study of Middle Byzantine urbanism, and situates the early excavations at Aphrodisias in their twentieth-century intellectual context. The second chapter takes the form of a topographic gazetteer of archaeological evidence for medieval activity and occupation, concluding with a discussion of the shape and extent of the town. The following three chapters then present detailed studies of different categories of evidence, making reference to four descriptive catalogues appended to the thesis. Chapter three addresses the monetary economy of the Morsynos Valley on the basis of 712 coins recorded both at the archaeological site and in the collection of the local museum. The fourth chapter analyses the corpus of marble liturgical sculpture, reconstructing the barriers and canopies that articulated the Middle Byzantine interiors of the town's churches. The fifth and final chapter discusses the three major cemeteries, closing with a short essay on the social context of death and burial. A brief conclusion interrogates the results of the thesis.

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A Middle Byzantine Town

Around the turn of the seventh century the city of Aphrodisias was rechristened Stauropolis, City of the Cross.[1] On a gate in the city wall, the genitive "of the Aphrodisians" was carefully removed and new lettering incised. The citizens were now to consider themselves Stauropolitan.[2] The gateway inscription is significant because it implies that the change of name was effected in a period in which civic self-presentation was still of paramount importance. Stauropolitans of the later sixth century resided in a prosperous provincial centre. The latest repairs to the bathhouse erected under Hadrian were conducted during or after the reign of Phokas (AD 602-10).[3] Within a generation, a series of destructive events left much of the city in ruins, and its citizens unable or unwilling to restore its monumental grandeur.[4] Over the subsequent six centuries a medieval town grew within the ruins of the city. Churches, streets, fields and cemeteries adopted and transformed ancient topography. The town kept the name Stauropolis, at least as the official designation of the episcopal see and fiscal district. But it was more commonly known as Karia, an informal inheritance from the late antique province of which Aphrodisias had once been capital.[5] The toponym Geyre, a clear descendant of Byzantine Karia, appears for the first time

[1] **ala**2004, VI.49-54; Nesbitt (1983), 159-64; Roueché (2007); Jankowiak (2013), 440.
[2] Roueché (2007), 187.
[3] Wilson (2019), 212.
[4] Wilson (2019), 212-218.
[5] Nesbitt (1983), 159-60; BZS.1955.1.1360; *Ignatios the Deacon* Ep. 19-20; *Alexandros of Nikaia* Ep. 13-17; *Niketas Choniates* §400.

in the Ottoman cadastral survey of 1530.[6] The village of Geyre occupied the site of the ancient settlement until the twentieth century.

This thesis addresses the archaeology of the Byzantine town from the seventh through to the thirteenth century. I collate and integrate material already published, and present several new bodies of archaeological evidence. I reconstruct the fabric of the medieval settlement, considering both domestic contexts and medieval interventions in ecclesiastical architecture. I seek also to investigate the occupation history of the town, to explore the social relations between its inhabitants, and to situate this community within the wider region. The thesis is an exercise in settlement archaeology as social history, and a contribution to the study of the Middle Byzantine Maeander.[7]

Wilson has recently reviewed the destructive events that sealed the archaeological stratigraphy of late antique Aphrodisias. He identifies widespread destruction by fire, followed swiftly by an earthquake. He dates both events to the end of first quarter of the seventh century.[8] The chronological range of this thesis begins subsequent to these destructions. I follow Brubaker and Haldon in using the term "Early Byzantine" to refer to the period between the seventh and ninth centuries.[9] I am aware that same term is more often employed for the fourth through sixth centuries, for which I use "late antique", but I find it preferable to "Dark Age", "Iconoclastic Period", "Invasion Period" or

[6] Though Geyre does not appear in the first *defterler* of the 1460s: Howard (2017), 2.
[7] Whittow (1987), 264-65.
[8] Wilson (2019), 212-28.
[9] Brubaker – Haldon (2011), 453-54.

"Transitional Period".[10] An archaeological transition from "Early" to "Middle Byzantine" in the mid-ninth century is sometimes framed in terms of geopolitical transformation, as the eastwards expansion of Constantinopolitan military hegemony relieved the cities of western Asia Minor from the pressure of Arab raiding.[11] I prefer to consider the periodisation as one of archaeological visibility engendered by the accelerated circulation of copper alloy coinage, the emergence of recognisable supra-local ceramic forms, and the restoration of figural art in various media.

The sack of Constantinople in 1204 is usually constructed as the dividing line between "Middle" and "Late" Byzantium.[12] This date was of little relevance to the inhabitants of the upper Maeander. I allow my "Middle Byzantine" to extend into the thirteenth century. I introduce new terminology for the "Komnenian" end of this period only in the context of numismatics, when it becomes necessary to distinguish between monetary systems. By the later thirteenth century the Maeander region had been fully incorporated into the political economies of the Turkic Beyliks.[13] I set the later limit for my period somewhere in the early to middle decades of the thirteenth century.

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[10] "Transitional" was proposed by the architectural historian Robert Ousterhout, and works well in a purely architectural context, but defining any one period as transitional threatens to unduly stabilise the points to either side. Niewöhner's "Invasion Period" unhelpfully preempts historical interpretation: Ousterhout (1999), 3; Decker (2016); Niewöhner (2017a), cf. Thonemann (2018), 262.
[11] Niewöhner (2017b), 54.
[12] Eg. Bartusis (1997); Treadgold (2013).
[13] **ala**2004, VII.28.

The first section of this introduction provides an overview of the physical geography, administrative systems and major settlements of the Middle Byzantine Maeander. The nature of these settlements is addressed in the second section, which surveys recent models proposed for Byzantine urbanism in Asia Minor. I then return to Aphrodisias, briefly analysing the extent to which a history of the settlement might be written from literary sources and other textual media. The subsequent sections discuss the history of archaeological research at the site. The majority of the material I present in this thesis was unearthed in the early decades of the New York University excavations at Aphrodisias, which commenced in 1961. My research has therefore been mediated through excavation notebooks written during a period in which the aims of Classical Archaeology were understood in a very different manner. These excavations ought therefore to be considered in their historical and intellectual context, requiring an analysis of the relationship between Classical Archaeology and Byzantine Studies in the period immediately subsequent to the Second World War. I then survey research on medieval Aphrodisias conducted from 1961 to 2017, before presenting the methods and structure of the subsequent chapters of the thesis.

1.1. Physical and Administrative Geography

Aphrodisias is located in the Morsynos (Dandalas) Valley, a tributary of the Maeander (Büyük Menderes) in southwestern Asia Minor (Fig. 1.1). The settlement centres on a prehistoric höyük emerging above a gentle plain. The

Morsynos flows from southwest to northeast through the centre of the valley. The river offers very limited opportunity for riverine transportation, and carries little fluvial sedimentation to the valley bottom. The valley is bounded to the north, east and south by precipitous ridges. To the northeast, the barren peak of Mt. Kadmos dominates the horizon. The northern ridge of the valley is around 600m higher than the southern, and is the site of a great many more natural springs. Settlements are generally sited on these fertile northern slopes, often at the confluences of mountain streams. The Morsynos Valley forms a discrete ecological niche, and a spatial unit produced in antiquity as *chora* to the *polis* of Aphrodisias.[14]

At the eastern limit of the valley, a high pass leads over the southern flank of Mt. Kadmos and onto the Tabai Plain. To the west the Morsynos curves gently northwards until it emerges onto the floodplain of the Maeander beneath the ancient walls of Antioch (Fig. 1.2). The road west would have led past Mastaura, Nysa, Tralles, Magnesia, and Priene to the coastal site of Miletos. East of Antioch is a major fork in the Maeander. From here one may turn northeast to the town of Tripolis and the Banaz Ovası. Alternatively one might turn to the southeast and into the valley of the Lykos. Here one would find the towns of Laodikeia, Hierapolis, and Chonai. East of the Lykos, the Maeander continues into the Baklan Ovası and the fortress of Choma. The Maeander is the southernmost of three parallel river valleys traversing southwest Asia Minor. To the north is the Kaystros, which leads to the coastal city of Ephesos. Further north still is the

[14] Stearns (2012), 135-48.

Hermos, in whose valley are the cities of Philadelphia and Sardis. The Hermos emerges into the Aegean at the Gulf of Smyrna.

The major territorial division of the Early Byzantine state was the theme. The theme system was created in response to the fragmentation of previous administrative structures subsequent to the Persian War.[15] The theme was originally a military contingent, its territorial aspect being simply the geographic purview of the commander. As the Herakleian field armies came to be permanently settled on the land, the initial ambiguity between a geographic and a military division was resolved.[16] The Maeander was initially subject to the army of the Anatolikon. Around the end of the seventh century, the forces of the *magister militum per Thracias* were settled in the region, establishing the theme of the Thrakesians, or the Thrakesion.[17] The territory was administered by a *strategos*, in whose person both military and civil jurisdictions were combined.[18] In the more peaceful tenth and eleventh centuries the command of the Thrakesion came to be wielded by a civil *krites*. *Strategoi* and *kritai* served only for brief tours of three or four years and were almost always appointed to themes distant from their homeland. They were forbidden to acquire property or

[15] Lilie (1976), 61-64; Wassiliou-Seibt (2017), 802.
[16] Haldon (1997), 212-15.
[17] Haussoulier (1924); Zuckerman (2006), 129; Wassiliou-Seibt (2017), 799. Some ambiguity exists as to whether Aphrodisias would have fallen within the Thrakesion or the Kybyrrhaiotai, largely depending on the interpretation of the confused geography of *de Thematibus* §XIV, 31-37. I have recently identified a ninth-century seal of the *strategos* of the Thrakesians at Aphrodisias, and I suggest elsewhere that it is unlikely that the Morsynos ever fell within the purview of the Kybyrrhaiotai: Jeffery (2019a), No. 30.
[18] Wassiliou-Seibt (2017).

establish dynastic connections within the territory under their command.[19] Their position therefore depended entirely on the politics of the Constantinopolitan court.[20] The cities had no direct administrative function as corporate entities, though some might serve as a seat of administration for regional commanders. The *strategos* of the Thrakesion was probably resident at Ephesos.[21] Cities maintained some relevance as the nominal centres of the territories to which provincial tax collectors, known as *dioiketai*, were assigned. The Dumbarton Oaks collection includes four seals of a certain Arsavir, *dioiketes* of Stauropolis in the ninth century.[22]

The late antique provincial hierarchy was also preserved in the episcopal sees. Metropolitan bishops sat at Stauropolis/Karia, Ephesos, Smyrna, Sardis, Laodikeia, Hierapolis, and at Chonai. Miletos was an autocephalous metropolitan see without suffragan bishops.[23] Metropolitans of Stauropolis attended both the sixth ecumenical council in 680 and the council *in Trullo* in 692.[24] At the second council of Nikaia in 787 a deacon acted as *locum tenens* for the metropolitan.[25] Roueché assembles several signatures of metropolitans of Karia on documents of the Middle Byzantine period.[26] More bishops are known from their lead seals, both excavated at Aphrodisias and published in larger collections. These

[19] Noailles – Dain (1944), 282-5; Whittow (1987), 297.
[20] Whittow (1987), 308.
[21] Ladstätter (2017), 241; though Foss considers a capital at Laodikeia or Chonai, to be more likely: Foss (1979), 195-96.
[22] BZS.1955.690-693. A certain Anthemios performed the same function in the tenth century: BZS.1955.1.1360.
[23] Whittow (1987), 453.
[24] *PBE 1* Theodoros 30, Sisinnios 9.
[25] *PBE 1* Theophylaktos 20.
[26] **ala**2004, fasti:bishops.

frequently depict or invoke the archangel Michael, to whom the town's Cathedral was dedicated.[27] The local cult of the archangel represents an important continuity from late antiquity.[28]

1.2. Urbanism in the Early and Middle Byzantine Periods

In the 1970s the archaeological study of the Byzantine Asia Minor was ignited by the work of Clive Foss. Foss' ideas were first articulated in a 1972 doctoral thesis and disseminated through a series of highly influential publications over the following decade.[29] The key sites on which he based his analysis were Sardis, Ephesos, Miletos, Didyma, Pergamon and Hierapolis, with occasional reference made to Priene, Magnesia and Nysa. He argued that urban prosperity persisted throughout the fourth, fifth and sixth centuries. Late antique urbanism was brutally undone by the Persian invasion of Anatolia in 622, and sustained Arab raids throughout the seventh century ensured that ancient cities were either abandoned or remained little more than fortified refuges. Foss' archaeological paradigm was revolutionary. Not long previously, Ostrogorsky had claimed that the urban political economy of the provinces persisted throughout the eighth and ninth centuries.[30] However, many aspects of Foss' model have been critiqued or modified over the past two decades. That there was a dramatic simplification

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[27] Laurent (1963), Nos. 515, 516; Zacos – Veglery (1972), No. 1351; Laurent Nesbitt (1983), Nos. 2, 3. Cf. seals of the metropolitans of Hierapolis and at Athens advertising local cults: Laurent (1963), Nos. 585-607; Arthur (2006), 93; Kaldellis (2009), 137-41.
[28] Laurent (1963), 381; Jeffery (2019b), 218-27.
[29] Foss (1972), (1975), (1976), (1977a), (1977b), (1979).
[30] Ostrogorsky (1959), 54.

of the Byzantine economy in the seventh century remains undisputed, and a contraction of agricultural production has been confirmed through environmental studies of pollen data.[31] But critiques have been most significant with regards to urban transformations in the later sixth century, the role of the Persian War, and the nature of Byzantine towns in the Early and Middle Byzantine periods.[32]

Whittow's doctoral thesis, submitted in 1987, remains the fundamental text for the history of the Byzantine Maeander. He argued that the ancient settlements of the region were continuously occupied from the end of antiquity through to the later eleventh century.[33] In the same year, excavations began at Amorium. The Amorium Project was the first targeted and deliberate excavation of an Early Byzantine settlement in Asia Minor.[34] Located high on the Phrygian plateau, the town was the thematic capital of the Anatolikon and a strategically important stronghold on the road from Constantinople to the Caliphate. The sack of Amorium in 838 resulted in a massive destruction horizon across the settlement. The archaeological horizon permitted a clear view onto the ninth century, revealing both conditions prior to the catastrophe and subsequent reconstructions.[35] It has lately been demonstrated that Ankyra, another

[31] Izdebski (2013); Haldon et al. (2014); Haldon (2016), 232-37.
[32] Brandes (1982), (1989); Whittow (1987), (2001) (2003); Haldon – Brandes (2000); Greatrex (2018); Thonemann (2018); Haldon (2019), 241-46; Jeffery (2019c); Jacobs (Forthcoming).
[33] Whittow (1987), 245-265.
[34] Lightfoot (1998); Ivison (2007), (2012).
[35] Ivison (2012), 60-64.

strategically important stronghold, likewise continued to be occupied throughout the Early Byzantine period.[36]

Recent research in the Maeander has confirmed Whittow's hypothesis regarding continuous inhabitation in the Early Byzantine period. At Ephesos, destruction deposits that Foss attributed to the Persian War have been shown to date to the third quarter of the seventh century.[37] Moreover, a subsequent occupation horizon could be dated to the eighth and ninth century.[38] Early Byzantine seals attest to administrative practices taking place within a palatial complex equipped with a private bathhouse.[39] Karydis argues that the domed basilica at the *Marienkirche* was erected in this period.[40] Niewöhner now argues for a small but permanent occupation of Early Byzantine Miletos within a reduced of circuit wall constructed in the later seventh century.[41] Miletos was only abandoned once the threat of violence had receded, at which point numerous fragments of Middle Byzantine sculpture in rural contexts testify to a thriving rural economy.[42] Niewöhner therefore claims that towns became less important after the Early Byzantine period, and expects that future research will reveal the abandonment of many urban settlements after the ninth century.[43]

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[36] Peschlow (2015); Mitchell (2019) will be published in May of this year.
[37] Foss (1979), 103-5; Ladstätter (2017), 245-46.
[38] Ladstätter (2017), 246.
[39] Ladstätter (2017), 240-41.
[40] Karydis (2019), 188-92.
[41] Niewöhner (2016c), 69-72.
[42] Niewöhner (2017b), 54-56; Niewöhner (2017c), 260-61.
[43] Niewöhner (2016c). 76.

Niewöhner's publications resulting from his direction of the Miletos excavations are exemplary models for a twenty-first-century Byzantine archaeology. However, I'm not convinced that Miletos could ever be paradigmatic for Middle Byzantine urbanism, since its abandonment may well reflect local circumstances. The westwards progression of the Maeander floodplain left the Milesian peninsular vulnerable to annual flooding and its harbours liable to siltation.[44] Niewöhner suggests that a thick layer of fine sediment attested across the southern part of the peninsular accumulated during the period in which the settlement to the north was deserted.[45] Might not the town have been deserted on account of the flooding? The tenth and eleventh centuries at Ephesos are represented by an increasing volume of ceramic and coin finds across the entire site.[46] Hierapolis was occupied in the Middle Byzantine period.[47] Aphrodisias was too. Economic historians have stressed the role of towns and cities in this period as centres of artisanal production and light industry.[48]

Nevertheless, the very fact that new paradigms for Middle Byzantine urbanism are being vigorously debated testifies to the vibrancy of a subject that until recently had been marginal to mainstream archaeological research. Many invaluable contributions were published during the period in which this thesis was being prepared. In the Maeander region, the past four years have seen major publications of Early and Middle Byzantine material at Sardis, Ephesos, Priene,

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[44] Brückner et al. (2006), 76-77; Brückner et al. (2013), 87.
[45] Niewöhner (2016b), 233.
[46] Ladstätter (2017), 246.
[47] Arthur (2006); Travaglini – Camilleri (2010), 144-150.
[48] Laiou (2006); Laiou – Morrisson (2007), 93.

Miletos and Hierapolis.[49] Across Asia Minor the blurred outlines of Middle Byzantine communities are coming into focus.[50] New evidence from Aphrodisias will bring further contours to this emerging landscape.

1.3. Texts for Middle Byzantine Aphrodisias

Before presenting any archaeological evidence, it will be worth pausing to consider the few literary texts that refer to Karia. Literary evidence for the Byzantine Maeander falls into three principal genres: hagiography, epistolography, and historiography. To these one might add epigraphy and sigillography as textual media. The surviving hagiography of the Maeander region is concerned primarily with the coastal area, as may be inferred from the titles of the lives of Paul of Latros (Bafa Gölü), Nikephoros of Miletos, and Lazaros of Galesion (Alamandağ, north of Ephesos).[51] The initial passages of the life of Loukas the Stylite are set in a southwestern Phrygian context.[52] None of these texts make reference to Karia or the Morsynos.

Three distinct groups of extant texts illustrate the activities of metropolitans of Karia. The first perspective is that of Ignatios the Deacon. Ignatios is best known for his theologically flexible approach to ecclesiastical politics during the second period of Iconoclasm. Three of his surviving letters are addressed to a

[49] Buchwald (2015); de Giorgi (2016), (2018); Pedone (2016); Pülz (2017); Fildhuth (2017); Evans (2018); Karydis (2019).
[50] Erciyas – Tatbul (2015); Ousterhout (2017); Niewöhner (2017); Haldon – Elton – Newhard (2019).
[51] *Life of Paul of Latros; Life of Nikephoros of Miletos; Life of Lazaros*.
[52] *Life of Loukas the Stylite*.

Nikephoros, bishop of Karia. At some point after 815 Ignatios was ordained Metropolitan of Nikaia.[53] It was probably at this stage in his career that he first entered into correspondence with Nikephoros. Ignatios despatched a polite reply to what appears to have been a longer composition congratulating him on his investiture.[54] After the second council of Nikaia in 843, Ignatios returned to Constantinople. His second and third letters to Nikephoros date from this later period. They concern an ongoing property dispute in the capital. Nikephoros, having been appointed trustee of a dowry, was apparently attempting to divert the property away from a young bride and to bestow it on an illegitimate branch of her family.[55] Behind a rhetorical pretence of amity, Ignatios' letters are blunt and threatening. Nikephoros is instructed to cease his interference and warned against travelling from Karia to Constantinople.

The second group of texts are likewise letters. Their author was bishop Alexandros of Nikaia, a prominent intellectual of the tenth century.[56] Alexandros was exiled and imprisoned in 944 on account of an unknown transgression. Seventeen of his surviving letters attest to a sustained effort to persuade provincial metropolitans to advocate for his rehabilitation. Seven of these make reference to an anonymous metropolitan of Karia, with whom Alexandros appears to have enjoyed close relations prior to his disgrace.[57] The bishop of

[53] Mango (1997), 5-6.
[54] *Ignatios the Deacon*, Ep. 9.
[55] *Ignatios the Deacon*, Ep. 19-20.
[56] Darrouzès (1960), 27; cf. Kazhdan (2006), 172.
[57] *Alexandros of Nikaia*, Ep. 1, 6, 13-17.

Karia appears as Alexandros' chief champion and ally. His endorsement often arrives as a rhetorical *coup de grâce* near the end of Alexandros' petitions.[58]

Four synodical decrees of Alexios Stoudites, Patriarch of Constantinople 1025-1043, attest to a dispute between the Constantinopolitan synod and the metropolitan of Karia.[59] The metropolitan had unlawfully deposed one of his suffragan subordinates, the bishop of Tabai.[60] The synod ordered that the bishop be reinstated, but the metropolitan apparently ignored all decrees. The synod then attempted to enforce successively more severe punishments on the rogue metropolitan. At first the metropolitan's office was suspended and he was ordered to fast in penance. When this had no effect, the synod issued a command to the clergy of Karia to withdraw from communion with their metropolitan. The eventual outcome of the dispute is not recorded.

The texts are concerned exclusively with Karia the see, and reveal almost nothing of Karia the town. A metropolitan ignored in Constantinople is neatly balanced by a Patriarch ignored in the Morsynos. A tenth-century exile would have us believe that the endorsement of an Aphrodisian bishop carried considerable clout. The episodes are interesting as snapshots of ecclesiastical politics, but can offer only etic perspectives on the metropolitan bishop as imagined by contemporaries in Constantinople or the Constantinopolitan diaspora. The material condition of the settlement is irrelevant to their purpose.

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[58] E.g. *Alexandros of Nikaia*, Ep. 15, in which the bishop appears as *ὁ ἁγιώτατος μητροπολίτης Καρίας*.
[59] *Actes* Nos. 852-855; Moulet (2011), 392.
[60] For Tabai see Ramsay (1887b), 191.

Only when the Maeander region became a theatre for military campaigns against the Seljuks did it come to feature prominently in the narratives of Constantinopolitan historians. Karia appears twice in the chronicle of Niketas Choniates. The first occasion is in connection with the short-lived polity of Theodoros Mankaphas at Philadelphia.[61] Mankaphas was a member of a dynasty that had held high military rank since the eleventh century.[62] The family appears to have held lands in the Maeander region, and in the early thirteenth century minor members may be found in the hinterlands of Smyrna and Miletos.[63] Theodoros was proclaimed *basileus* at Philadelphia in 1188, establishing a polity that may have included most of the Thrakesion Theme.[64] Niketas narrates that Basil Batatzes, having been appointed *doux* of the Thrakesion, engineered the removal of Mankaphas from Philadelphia and the reduction of his territory to Constantinopolitan control. Mankaphas then fled to Ikonion, where he was granted permission to recruit a raiding party. He led this force into the Upper Maeander, plundering Laodikeia and Chonai before moving on to Karia. At Karia he allowed his barbarian followers to burn the great church of Michael.[65] Subsequent to the death of Kilij Arslan II he was surrendered to Constantinople by the Seljuks. While the narrative sequence is straightforward, Choniates does not give a precise chronology and historians have offered conflicting

[61] *Niketas Choniates* §400.
[62] Cheynet (1984), 45-46.
[63] MM IV, 61; MM VI, 151.
[64] Cheynet (1984), 47.
[65] *Niketas Choniates* §400.

reconstructions of events.[66] Mankaphas' raids in the Upper Maeander may have taken place any time between summer 1190 and c.1194.[67]

A little later in the chronicle, Choniates uses a diplomatic dispute as a means by which to contrast the moral characteristics of the Kay Khusraw and Alexios III Angelos.[68] In 1197, the emperor apparently seized the property of both Greek and Turkic merchants from Ikonion in response to an alleged slight. Rather than keep the proceeds in the imperial treasury, as would have been appropriate, Alexios distributes confiscated property to his courtiers. Kay Khusraw then leads an army into the Morsynos from the east, sacking the towns of Karia and Tantalos before making his way to Antioch. Roueché suggests that Choniates' Tantalos is likely the same site as the modern Dandalas, a village in the northern portion of the valley.[69] Choniates alleges that Kay Khusraw captured the entire able-bodied population, some five thousand people. He resettles these farmers at Philomelion in Phrygia. The sultan offers the new settlers five years of tax exemption, and promises that in future the tax levy will be less burdensome than that extracted by Constantinople. This episode must be read in the context of Choniates' overarching narrative, in which successive moral failures on the part of Byzantine emperors lead directly to the catastrophe of 1204. Choniates carefully constructs an ironic contrast between an indolent emperor and a barbarian sovereign devoted to the minutiae of government.[70] It would therefore

[66] Cheynet (1984), cf. ODB "Mankaphas, Theodore".
[67] The date of 1188 given by Foss and Roueché is probably too early: **ala**2004 VII.9; ODB "Aphrodisias".
[68] *Niketas Choniates* §495.
[69] **ala**2004, VII.27. Dandalas is also the modern name for the Morsynos river.
[70] Matheou (2014), 224-25.

be unwise to assume that Choniates' depiction of Seljuk policy is grounded in historical reality. Perhaps more revealing is the terminology that he employs. Karia is described as a *komopolis,* or village-city.[71] The term is intriguing but ambiguous.

Pachymeres lists Karia alongside Antioch as Maeander towns irrevocably lost to the Turks by 1278.[72] This is the final mention of the town in any medieval text.[73] Narrative historiography therefore provides very little information regarding the *komopolis* of Karia save that it was subject to hostile raids in the final decade of the twelfth century. A further insight into the twelfth century may be gleaned from a copper alloy cross now in the Ashmolean museum. The cross was purchased by William Buckler in Constantinople in 1926.[74] An inscription running across each arm commemorates the consecration by the bishop of Stauropolis of a church of H. Nikolaos. The date is given very precisely: 10 July 1172.[75] The dealer from whom Buckler purchased the cross claimed that it was discovered near Ainos in Thrace, now Enez immediately east of the border between Greece and Turkey. Roueché notes that Petit saw the same cross in the monastery church of Skaliotissa, near Ainos, around the turn of the twentieth century.[76] The cross was probably removed from the monastery in the course of

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[71] As noted by Rouché **ala**2004, VII.27.
[72] **ala**2004, VII.28; *Pachymeres* §468.
[73] It is clear that Michael VIII Palaiologos' reference to "Karia" in the context of military expeditions of 1261 is to the region, since it is paired with Phrygia: *BMFD*, 1245.
[74] Buckler (1928).
[75] Buckler (1928), 99.
[76] **ala**2004, VII.26, citing Petit (1908), 19. The connection was first made by Mango in discussion with Roueché.

the Greco-Turkish War or in its aftermath. This should place the metropolitan of Stauropolis well outside of his nominal diocese in the later twelfth century.

Roueché presents four inscriptions from Middle Byzantine Aphrodisias. A very simple epitaph on an ancient paving slab commemorates a certain Nikolaos.[77] Twenty-two pieces of a curving epistyle preserve fragments of a tenth-century dodecasyllabic verse.[78] A further dodecasyllabic verse is inscribed across the face of a *templon* epistyle in a twelfth-century script.[79] I reconstruct the architectural context of the epistyle inscriptions in the fourth chapter of the thesis. A final text is inscribed across an ancient lintel, recovered in fragments at the Theatre and Sebasteion.[80] The inscription attests to a church dedicated to the martyrs Barbara and Anastasia. This Middle Byzantine church, presumably located near the centre of the town, is otherwise completely unknown.

Lead seals supply further historical evidence. These coin-sized objects were formed by passing a thread between two circular blanks, which were then impressed by tongs cut with imagery or inscriptions unique to their owner. In this way they could ensure the integrity of documents in transit or in archives, or authenticate a legal record. Where seals are found in archaeological contexts they therefore offer a view onto communication networks and archival practices. The seals published by Nesbitt in 1983 were mostly found in the Bishop's Palace, and are discussed in the second chapter with regards to their archaeological

[77] **ala**2004, 173.
[78] **ala**2004, 99.
[79] **ala**2004, 110, 246.
[80] **ala**2004, 108.

context. I had planned to present editions of the twelve seals excavated 1984-2018 as a constituent chapter of this thesis. For lack of space they will be published separately in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*. They derive mostly from excavations in the eastern portion of the settlement. New seals of the Middle Byzantine period include a tenth-century *skeuophylax* of H. Sophia and an eleventh-century military official stationed at Charsianon in Cappadocia.[81] The eighth and ninth centuries are represented by a *patrikios*, an imperial *kandidatos*, a *tourmarch* and two *strategoi*.[82] The new seals demonstrate that Aphrodisias remained a seat of administration within the Early Byzantine Thrakesion.

1.4. Archaeology, Aphrodisias, and the Maeander, c.1700-1961

Late Ottoman Geyre was a rural village occupying the Theatre Hill and the northeastern quarter of the intramural area of Aphrodisias. The easy familiarity with which ancient marble elements were incorporated into vernacular architecture is captured in photographs made before the site was overtaken by the institutions of archaeology (Fig. 1.3). The first Western scholars to reach the Upper Maeander did so from the bustling and cosmopolitan port of Ottoman Smyrna.[83] In 1812 the architect John Deering, under the auspices of the Society of Dilettanti, arrived at Geyre.[84] He constructed the first plan of the city of Aphrodisias, and the only plan to incorporate the Ottoman village as well as

[81] Jeffery (2019a), Nos. 32, 34.
[82] Jeffery (2019a), Nos. 27-31.
[83] Crawford (2003), 88. A complete list of early travellers to Geyre is compiled by Roueché at http://insaph.kcl.ac.uk/bibliography/index.html#intro.
[84] Society of Dilettanti (1840).

ancient monuments (Fig. 1.4). A caption to the stadium notes its function as a cattle enclosure. The first traveller to address the Christian architecture of Aphrodisias was the French archaeologist Charles Texier, who arrived in 1835. He dated the Cathedral to the reign of Constantine, far too early, but correctly deduced the architectural mechanics of the transformation from temple to basilica.[85]

In 1856 work began on a project that would transform the human geography of the Maeander Valley. The first railway from Smyrna reached Aydin in 1866, and lines progressed further inland over the course of the subsequent decades.[86] With the railway came a new mode of archaeology. The Western engineers and architects charged with its construction would be the first excavators of ancient sites. They employed the same tools, techniques and even labourers in archaeological digs as they did on the railways.[87] Moreover, rail facilitated the transportation of heavy marble elements from rural contexts to the coast, where they might be shipped to Constantinople or to Europe. Ancient villages would now be subject to an acquisitive archaeology that would eventually enforce their evacuation. At Geyre the first archaeological excavations were led by the French railway engineer Paul Gaudin in 1904-05.[88] Further digs were directed by Boulanger in 1913.[89] These initial excavations were brought to an end by the outbreak of the First World War and subsequent Greco-Turkish War. The only

[85] Texier (1849), 160; Texier (1864), 88-89.
[86] Cobb (2017), 518.
[87] Cobb (2017), 523.
[88] Collignon (1904); Mendel (1906).
[89] Boulanger (1914).

excavation campaign at Geyre during the interwar period was undertaken by an Italian team in 1937.[90]

At the same time in Greece, preliminary steps were being made towards an archaeology of Byzantine settlements. Medieval remains at the Athenian Agora were championed by Alison Frantz.[91] At Corinth scholars developed a Byzantine archaeology inspired by the medievalist aesthetics of the contemporary avant-garde.[92] *Hesperia* published a major article addressing Byzantine archaeology almost every year between 1932 and 1945.[93] From 1945 to 1964 Byzantium disappears from its pages.[94] The Cold War exerted new pressures on the institutions of Classical Archaeology. The primacy of ancient Greece was reasserted over the Byzantine Commonwealth, whose cultural legacy uncomfortably spanned geopolitical blocks.[95]

A strong medievalist undercurrent runs through the works of the itinerant historical geographers of Asia Minor. Their research was primarily based on epigraphic documents, addressed *longue durée* questions of settlement pattern, and was often inspired by Christian faith.[96] Archaeological excavations on the other hand were generally concerned with an art historical agenda to which

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[90] Jacobi (1939).
[91] Frantz (1935), (1938), (1941a), (1941b), (1942), (1961), (1971), (1988); McCredie (2000).
[92] Kourelis (2007).
[93] Waagé (1933); Frantz (1935), (1938), (1941a), (1941b), (1942); Davidson (1937); Shelley (1943); DeWald (1944).
[94] Notopoulos (1964); Frantz – Travlos (1965). The exception, Weitzmann (1949) on "Euripides Scenes in Byzantine Art", only proves the rule.
[95] Kourelis (2007), 396; for "Byzantine Commonwealth": Obolensky (1971).
[96] Cumont (1895); Ramsay (1887b).

Byzantium was at best a coda.[97] The remains of vernacular medieval occupation were more likely to be considered an obstacle than an object of study. Churches received some attention from German scholars.[98] But the Christian Archaeology practised by Soteriou and Orlandos in Greece was informed by the irredentist *Megali Idea*, and had no purchase in the Republic of Turkey.[99] In his final publication on the Byzantine Maeander, Mark Whittow drew attention to Bean's archaeological guidebooks written between 1966 and 1978.[100] He suggested that the scholarly guides captured a critical moment in the history of Turkish archaeology. Bean's was a vision of ancient urbanism defined by temples and togate statues, conceptually innocent of the late antique revolution about to be set in motion by Peter Brown.[101]

1.5. Previous Research on Byzantine Aphrodisias

It was in this context that Erim commenced his excavations at Aphrodisias in 1961. His initial objective was to confirm the existence of a local school of marble sculpture. This he undoubtedly achieved, with results more spectacular than could have been anticipated. But the first ten years of Erim's project also saw the excavation of much of the Middle Byzantine settlement. Already by the end of the

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[97] Frend (1996) 141; Whittow (2018), 42.
[98] Wiegand (1913); Reisch (1932). Cf. francophone scholarship in the region of Trezibond: Baklanov – Grégoire (1927); Brounov (1927).
[99] Well illustrated by Soteriou's excavations at H. Ioannis at Ephesos in 1921 in the capacity of Ephor of Byzantine Antiquities: Soteriou (1940); Mango (1965), 40; Solomonidis (1984), 182; Frend (1996), 224-45; Hamilakis – Yalouri (1999), 129-30; Bowden (2009), 93-95.
[100] Whittow (2018), 42, citing Bean (1966), (1968), (1971), (1978).
[101] Brown (1971).

1960s, the Cathedral, the Bishop's Palace, the Triconch Church, and hundreds of inhumation burials had been brought to light.

During the subsequent decade Erim ensured that Byzantine finds were seen by some of the foremost experts in the field. In 1975 Hendy catalogued the large quantity of Byzantine coinage accessed in the site inventory. His notes were never published, though they are referenced in his *Studies in the Byzantine Monetary Economy* and are the source for Morrisson's published histograms.[102] Cormack came to Aphrodisias for two study seasons, in 1977 and 1978. His research resulted in the publication of sixth-century mural paintings at the Theatre, a preliminary study of the Cathedral, and two papers considering the Middle Byzantine settlement.[103] These last two publications are short historiographical essays in which Aphrodisias is adduced as a case study through which to reconsider paradigms of urban decline. In 1983 Nesbitt published the first twenty-five Byzantine lead seals excavated at the site.[104] The most significant work to ensue from this period is Roueché's *Aphrodisias in Late Antiquity*, first published in 1989.[105] This monumental study presented all inscriptions from the period AD 250-1200, alongside detailed commentary on the secular and ecclesiastical administration of the settlement. However, with the exception of epigraphy and sigillography there were no systematic publications of late antique or medieval material during this period.

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[102] Hendy (1981); Morrisson (2002a), Fig. 6.1.
[103] Cormack (1981), (1990a), (1990b), (1991).
[104] Nesbitt (1983).
[105] **ala**2004.

Research on Middle Byzantine Aphrodisias recommenced around the turn of the millennium with the doctoral theses of Hebert and Berenfeld.[106] These addressed the Cathedral and the Bishop's Palace, though preferring the nomenclature "Temple-Church" and "Triconch House". The terminology reflects the late antique focus of both theses. Hebert's was structured around the act of transformation of temple to basilica, while Berenfeld was concerned primarily with the earliest phases of the house. Nevertheless, both authors presented significant research on the medieval phases of their monuments.[107] Major developments have been made in the study of ceramics at the site. François' paper on Ottoman ceramics, published in 2001, included important qualifications of Tomory's 1980 study of medieval glazed wares from the Theatre excavations.[108] More recently, Öztaşkın has established a vital ceramic sequence for the ninth through sixteenth centuries.[109] Advances in the recognition of medieval ceramics have gone hand in hand with detailed stratigraphic excavation in the Place of Palms and on the Tetrapylon Street. The monographs that will ensue from these excavations will be testament to the site's commitment to the study of post-antique material.

The Aphrodisias Regional Survey, conducted from 2005 to 2009 under the direction of Ratté and de Staebler, also contributed to a better understanding of the medieval settlement. Dalgıç's reconstruction of the final phase of the extramural West Church added an important new monument to the Middle

[106] Hebert (2000); Berenfeld (2002).
[107] Hebert's thesis remains unpublished. Berenfeld's monograph on the Bishop's Palace is due for publication in 2019.
[108] François (2001), 149, commenting on Tomory (1980).
[109] Öztaşkın (2017).

Byzantine town. However, work on the rural landscape of the Morsynos Valley yielded ambiguous results. Though a mere 0.4% of ceramic sherds identified in the course of the intensive transect survey were described as "broadly Byzantine/Islamic", the fact that no coarsewares could be identified cautions against pessimistic conclusions.[110] Dalgıç identified five rural sites through finds of Middle Byzantine sculpture, mainly in more remote foothills of the valley. A series of frescoes in a rock-cut tomb on the southern edge of the valley may date as early as the ninth century.[111] Dalgıç notes that the sculptural fragments were found in fertile pockets of upland areas, but her suggestion that settlement here was motivated by concerns for security is difficult to square with continued occupation at the town itself.[112] As my fourth chapter will show, if one were to judge only by quantities of marble sculpture Middle Byzantine Aphrodisias would appear far more important than its hinterland. In truth there is little that can be concluded from these data.[113] It would be wiser to confess that we still understand very little of the economy of the rural Morsynos in the Middle Byzantine period.

1.6. The Archaeology of Middle Byzantine Aphrodisias

Literary texts give only the broadest outlines of the history of Byzantine Karia, and most of the archaeological evidence relating to the settlement remains unpublished. This thesis attempts to rectify this situation, drawing upon the

[110] Adkins (2012), 93; Lightfoot (2013), 842.
[111] Dalgıç (2012), 391-92.
[112] Dalgıç (2012), 387.
[113] Lightfoot (2013).

results of half a century of excavation. It has been primarily an archival project. My research arrives decades subsequent to excavation. It has therefore inevitably been mediated through the priorities of Classical Archaeology as practiced in the twentieth century. An archival archaeology at one step removed from its object of study must by necessity be omnivorous, searching for information wherever it is available. My primary resources have been field notebooks, inventory records and photographic negatives. I have examined standing remains in the field, and recorded artefacts in the depots of the excavation house and the Aphrodisias Museum. The results of this research may be found in four descriptive catalogues appended to the thesis. Interpretive discussion is organised into four chapters.

The second chapter is a topographic gazetteer of Early and Middle Byzantine activity at Aphrodisias. The chapter integrates information already published with new analysis of excavation notebooks and archive plans. Many important areas of occupation, such as the settlement in the Theatre *cavea*, are presented for the first time. Conclusions are drawn regarding the likely extent of medieval occupation and the nature of domestic and ecclesiastical architecture at the town. The third chapter addresses the monetary economy of the Morsynos Valley, offering an interpretation of a catalogue of 712 coins from Aphrodisias and eleven rural villages. A large numismatic catalogue is an inherently diachronic dataset, well suited to the analysis of long term developments. The catalogues for nearby rural sites allow the monetary economy of the town to be set against that of its rural hinterland, and for the Morsynos to be situated in the regional context of the Middle Byzantine Maeander.

The subsequent chapter analyses a corpus of over two hundred fragments of liturgical and architectural sculpture. The churches of Middle Byzantine Aphrodisias were first erected in Late Antiquity. The installation of medieval barriers, pulpits and canopies reconfigured interior space but had zero impact on the structural tectonics of the buildings they inhabited. Today these buildings stand as shells denuded of later alterations, and it is only through the study of marble sculpture that such interventions may be recognised. A concluding section discusses the technical processes of marble carving and places itinerant sculptors in their social context. The fifth and final chapter addresses the funerary archaeology of the town. Between 1961 and 2009, a total of 377 Middle Byzantine graves were recorded. Three major cemeteries are identified around the Cathedral, the Tetrapylon and the Triconch Church. The chapter presents these cemeteries in detail, before discussing the potential of funerary archaeology to contribute to the social history of the settlement.

Structural priority is given to the clear presentation of new evidence. Many monuments are revisited on multiple occasions from different perspectives. For example, the architecture of the Triconch Church is presented in the second chapter, its liturgical sculpture in the fourth, and its associated cemetery in the fifth. It is hoped that this structure will retain clarity while gently integrating diverse strands of evidence. The structure also moves from the general to the specific, from monetary economy through architecture to the intimate moment of the funerary ritual. In this way preceding chapters set the stage for subsequent discussion. A brief conclusion interrogates the results of the thesis.

Infrastructure and Occupation

The following chapter takes the form of a gazetteer of Middle Byzantine activity at Aphrodisias, establishing the topographical framework for subsequent analysis (Fig. 2.1). It is loosely structured according to an itinerary approaching the settlement from the west. The excavation and publication history of each sector is briefly given at the opening of the relevant section. Where monuments have received detailed study in other publications I offer a brief summary, while a more comprehensive treatment is reserved for remains that are presented for the first time. The weight of each section is also dependent to a large extent on the quality of available documentation. The chapter concludes with some general observations regarding the extent of the settlement, its chronological development and its domestic and ecclesiastical architecture.

2.1. The West Church

Roughly 50m east of the City Wall, to the south of the road leading through the ancient West Necropolis to the West Gate, the West Church was the first monumental structure that any traveller to Middle Byzantine Aphrodisias would have encountered. Though a particularly inhospitable thicket obscures its remains, Dalgıç was able to survey the standing masonry and to produce a detailed study of the architectural history of the church (Fig. 2.2).[114]

[114] Dalgıç (2012).

The rectangular outer dimensions are approximately 22 by 35m. A lateral narthex precedes a three-aisled basilica with an inscribed eastern apse. The outer walls are 0.75m thick. Their masonry is irregular and heavily mortared.[115] The inner walls are 1.65m thick and are bonded to four massive piers defining a square bay at the centre of the *naos*. The mortared rubble core of each pier is faced by ashlars. Small projections from the piers attest to the supporting arches of a vaulted upper elevation, and a dome of 7.3m diameter would have covered the square bay. Barrel vaults covered the nave and aisles.[116] A composite capital and several double-engaged columns were recorded within the thicket.[117]

Dalgıç identifies two building phases. The inscribed apse, narrow outer walls and composite capital suggest that the original structure was a late antique basilica with gabled wooden roof supported by a colonnade. The thicker inner walls belong to a Middle Byzantine restoration, during which the interior of the basilica was remodelled so as to support a much heavier series of vaulted roofs.[118] This was a fairly common transformation, also effected at Myra and Amorium.[119] Dalgıç draws attention to the arch projections on the piers of the central bay, which are also found on those of the Lower City Church in Amorium, constructed in the first half of the tenth century.[120]

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[115] Dalgıç (2012), 371.
[116] Dalgıç (2012), 371.
[117] Dalgıç (2012), 374.
[118] Dalgıç (2012), 374.
[119] Peschlow (1975); Ivison (2003), 21. In the case of Amorium, it is important to qualify that this was reconstruction by necessity since the existing church had been destroyed in the sack of 838.
[120] Dalgıç (2012), 375.

2.2. The West Gate and the City Wall

The City Wall of Aphrodisias, over 10m tall and enclosing 72 hectares, was erected in the fourth century (Fig. 2.1).[121] It was not maintained in the medieval period, but continued to mediate access to the settlement. The West Gate was the principal approach to the village of Geyre until its vaulted passageway collapsed in the 1950s. The earliest archaeological excavations in this area were conducted by Gaudin in 1904. In 1962 a trench was laid across the modern road surface around 10m to the east of the gate.[122] De Staebler carried out a sondage within the gateway in 2002 that clarified the post-antique stratigraphy.[123]

The West Gate consisted of two vaulted passageways flanked by four projecting towers (Fig. 2.3.). The wide central passageway admitted wheeled traffic, while pedestrians could pass through a narrower corridor immediately to the north. *Spolia* reliefs were incorporated on both the exterior and interior faces of the gateway – winged victories, a leaping lion and a series of cupids hunting wild beasts. A few crosses were also inscribed around the gateway in late antiquity. At least four would have been visible during the medieval period very slightly above ground level.

A thin, hard deposit composed of dark soil with gravel and brick inclusions covered the paved ancient road running through the passageway.[124] The latest ceramics from the fill immediately above this belonged to the late sixth or early

[121] de Staebler (2007), 280.
[122] *NBk*.005.
[123] *NBk*.416; de Staebler (2007), 12-27.
[124] *NBk*.416, 65.

seventh century.[125] The compacted deposit represents a dirt road surface dating to around this period. Within and immediately above this layer were iron bands and nails to a weight of 1.35kg.[126] Many ashlars from the gateway collapsed on top of these deposits. The loose fill around the blocks yielded ceramics that Outschar dates to the ninth or tenth centuries. The sherds give a *terminus post quem* for a new road surface of small stones that incorporated the upper elevations of the fallen ashlars.[127] Dalgıç suggests that the development of this road may be associated with the reconstruction of the West Church, a hypothesis that while plausible is impossible to corroborate.[128] The Middle Byzantine surface was later covered by a cobblestone road that remained in use until the twentieth century.

The 1962 trench measured 8.3 by 2.3m and was set perpendicular to the latest road surface, 9.3m to the east of the West Gate.[129] Only two road surfaces were identified. "Road 1" was the modern cobblestone track, and "Road 2" the ancient paved street. The intervening 1.75m were treated as a single stratum, and no distinct surfaces were recorded. However, from a depth of around 1m a great many compacted brick fragments were found. Such inclusions were not present north and south of the area covered by the modern road. Large architectural

[125] de Staebler (2007), 16.
[126] *NBk*.416, 66.
[127] A follis of Constantine VII (#77) was uncovered just to the west of the gate, but since it was south of the roadway there is no demonstrable stratigraphic relationship.
[128] Dalgıç (2012), 375.
[129] *NBk*.005, 10-12.

elements at all elevations were positioned north and south of this strip but never within it.[130] The route was likely in use in the Middle Byzantine period.[131]

De Staebler shows that four simple towers represent late additions to the City Wall.[132] Their consistent construction method and their positions in relation to each other demonstrate that they belong to a single phase. They are grouped in two pairs, one on the northern side of the circuit and the other at its southwestern corner. The northern pair is positioned at the northeast and northwest corners of the stadium.

The towers of the fourth-century phase are large, sophisticated structures with interior walking levels. The later towers are much smaller in plan and are built from mortared rubble with a solid core. The masonry abuts but does not join that of the City Wall. The date of the later towers is difficult to establish without excavation. They are clearly watchtowers, providing high platforms overlooking the western approaches to the settlement. It is equally clear that they could play no role in repelling a determined attack on the wall circuit. De Staebler suggests that they date to the period subsequent to the seventh century, reasoning that they would only be necessary should the ancient towers have already gone out of use.[133]

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[130] *NBk*.005, 15-16.
[131] An eleventh-century *follis* (#127) found on the road surface is likely an intrusive find.
[132] de Staebler (2007), 48, 134, 174, 192.
[133] de Staebler (2007), 92.

The two periods during which Aphrodisias might have been vulnerable to military attack are the Early Byzantine and Komnenian periods. Two phases of fortification on the Theatre Hill likely correspond to these two periods.[134] The construction of the City Wall towers shows no sign of cribwork or of the elaborate cloisonné masonry often associated with Komnenian projects.[135] An Early Byzantine date is perhaps more plausible.

2.3. The North Temenos House

The North Temenos House is an elite domestic complex constructed in late antiquity (Fig. 2.4). The principal entrance to the house was via a long lateral corridor to the east. An apsidal hall was approached through a small courtyard. There is no evidence for reoccupation subsequent to abandonment in the early seventh century, and by the eleventh century at the latest the Cathedral Cemetery extended over this area. There are, however, a few indications of activity in the intervening period. Two intentional deposits may be dated to the Early Byzantine Period.

A small hoard of gold and silver coins dating to the mid ninth century was uncovered in 1966 just outside the apse wall of the hall, at an elevation 146cm below its preserved height.[136] By this time the rooms of the house had filled with a natural accumulation of earth.

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[134] **2.13.**
[135] Foss (1982), 191; Crow (2017), 102**.**
[136] *NBk.*044, 124; **2.2.1.**

The second deposit was uncovered against the east wall of the lateral corridor in 1967.[137] It comprised three lamps and two ceramic ampullae, intact at the moment of burial. The lowermost stratum (IV) in this area was a fine alluvium layer around 70cm in depth, which likely represents natural accumulation above a tile floor. The cache was buried in the stratum immediately above this (III). There is no independent evidence for the date of this stratum, but analogy with the coin hoard to the west of the house suggests that the lamp cache was buried during the Early Byzantine Period.

The lamps and ampullae date to the sixth century.[138] One ampulla displays crosses flanked by palm branches, while the other shows standing saints.[139] The deposit represents an intriguing instance of ritual activity, and also attests to the potential for hardy artefacts of late antique material culture to remain in use for generations – a "dark age" illuminated by sixth-century lamps.

2.4. The Cathedral

The columns of the Cathedral of St. Michael have stood since antiquity, and its outlines were clearly legible to the antiquarian travellers who occasionally made the journey to Ottoman Geyre. The earliest study of its construction may be found in Texier's illustrated volume on Byzantine architecture published in 1864.[140] Excavation began in 1904-05 in a fruitless search for remnants of the

[137] *NBk*.049, 30.
[138] Lamps: Inv.67-093, 094, 095.
[139] Inv.67-096, 097. Published by Campbell, who erroneously associates them with a Middle Byzantine burial: Campbell (1988), Nos. 7 and 1.
[140] Texier (1864), 88-89.

Temple of Aphrodite beneath the medieval floors of the nave.[141] An Italian team returned to the Cathedral with similar objectives in 1937, and was similarly disappointed.[142] The interior of the Cathedral was therefore significantly disturbed before systematic excavations began in 1961 and continued throughout that decade. To date there has been no comprehensive publication of the Cathedral. Theodorescu addressed the architecture of the temple in two articles, and Cormack summarised the temple to church conversion and the later history of the cathedral.[143] The most detailed account of the structure is Hebert's unpublished 2000 PhD dissertation. Though primarily concerned with the late antique period, the thesis presents significant research on the Middle Byzantine phase of the Cathedral.[144] Coulton is currently preparing a detailed monograph on the Temple of Aphrodite and its later conversion.

2.4.1. The Construction of the Cathedral

The late antique Cathedral was constructed in two distinct phases.[145] The first of these was the transformation of the Temple of Aphrodite into a Christian basilica, sometime c. AD 450-525, while the second involved the addition of an atrium to the west (Fig. 2.5).

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[141] Collignon (1904); Mendel (1906).
[142] Jacopi (1939); Crema (1939).
[143] Theodorescu (1987), (1990); Cormack (1990a).
[144] Hebert (2000).
[145] Here I diverge from Hebert (2000), who considered the late antique Cathedral to be all of a single phase.

The first-century AD Temple of Aphrodite was octastyle and pseudo-dipteral, with a small central *cella* opening to the east. During the transformation the *cella* was entirely dismantled and the columns of the east façade relocated to extend the structure's longitudinal axis. New walls were constructed to the north and south, so that the colonnades now divided two aisles from a central nave. An apse was added to the east, flanked by chambers to north and south inscribed within a rectangular plan. This structure of 60m by 30.5m was one of the largest basilicas of Asia Minor.[146]

The Cathedral was enclosed within the temple temenos, defined to west, north and south by colonnaded porticoes. The eastern boundary of the temenos was articulated by an elaborate columnar façade. A gateway at the center of this façade gave access from an open forecourt to the east. The colonnade of the northern portico was dismantled, leaving only the rear wall intact.

The construction of two *narthexes* and an atrium to the west occurred subsequent to the initial transformation. Excavation in 1993 uncovered a hoard of eleven coins beneath the foundations of the outer *narthex*. Two issues of Leo I (457-74) provide a *terminus post quem* for this second phase.[147] The *narthexes* are constructed of *petit appareil* masonry that does not bond with the ashlars of the west wall of the first phase Cathedral. The western portico of the temenos was dismantled during their construction, and re-erected with slightly adjusted intercolumniations in order to divide the inner from the outer *narthex*. The

[146] Texier (1864), 89; Cormack (1990a), 76; Jeffery (Forthcoming/b).
[147] C.93.020-031.

western limit of the outer *narthex* was defined by another colonnade, following the line of the rear wall of the temenos portico. The longer inner *narthex* is on axis with the cathedral to the east, while the shorter outer *narthex* is on axis with the atrium to the west. Both *narthexes* terminate in small apses to north and south. Lateral doors in the eastern side of the apses of the inner *narthex* open into the temenos area.

The atrium is a slightly trapezoidal quadrangle, measuring 20-21m north-south by 28m east-west. Porticoes 2m deep line the western, northern and southern limits. It is shifted slightly north of the central axis of the cathedral. Worshippers entered from a street to the west. Invocations, monograms and crosses are inscribed on the jambs of the doorway.[148] Yet another columnar screen runs north-south across the centre of the atrium. Hebert argues that the series of colonnades served to disguise the awkward shift of axis between atrium and cathedral.[149]

The creation of the atrium re-oriented the principal approach to the cathedral from east to west. The gateway in the eastern façade of the temenos was no longer needed. It follows that a small chapel within this gateway must have been constructed subsequent to the addition of the atrium.

Three principal Middle Byzantine developments are documented by Hebert; the laying of new floors, the articulation of new spaces in the north aisle, and the

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[148] ala2004 **117**, **118**.
[149] Hebert (2000).

creation of mural painting in the *synthronon* passageway. I present here a summary of her research with a few additional observations of my own. A detailed discussion of the liturgical barriers in the Cathedral may be found in the fourth chapter of this thesis.

2.4.2. Middle Byzantine Floors

New marble floors were laid over the entirety of the inner *narthex*, aisles, nave and sanctuary. The floor of the *narthex* is lower than that of the nave. In late antiquity a set of three steps mediated between the two elevations. The Middle Byzantine floor here consisted of slabs cut from ancient sarcophagi, their decorated faces placed downwards.[150] It was 40cm above the late antique floor, at the level of the second step leading to the nave. New thresholds were also installed in the lateral eastern entrances to the north and south apses of the *narthex*. Hebert argues that this demonstrates a corresponding rise in the exterior ground level, and therefore that the repaving dates to the Middle Byzantine period.[151]

The new paving within the first phase cathedral was laid 12cm above the fragmentary remains of a late antique mosaic pavement. Excavations in the early twentieth century removed most of this floor in the nave. Extant patches employ a range of different types of marble slab, some small and octagonal, others large and rectangular. The most uniform floor is that of the south aisle. Here a mixture

[150] Collignon (1904), 706.
[151] Hebert (2000).

of small rectangular and octagonal pieces in white and grey marble form a variety of *opus sectile* patterns. Similar patterns are found around the centre of the northern aisle, though towards the east these gave way to large slabs cut from sarcophagi, removed during the 1960s excavations. In some places the north aisle was paved with pieces of wall revetment. The floor within the sanctuary was principally of white marble slabs, though there seems to have been some monochrome *opus sectile* around the center.

Consistency of elevation and material implies that all these floors belong to a single operation. The marble is entirely re-used. Floors of octagonal white marble tiles may be found in many late antique structures at Aphrodisias, including the Theatre, the Civil Basilica and the Hadrianic Baths. The paving within the Cathedral is much less regular than these examples. Hebert suggests that marble tiles were sourced from late antique structures in order to repave the Cathedral in the medieval period.[152]

The area within the nave immediately to the south of the sanctuary stands out for its use of coloured *opus sectile* in patterned bands and medallions. Only a few pieces are left *in situ*, but much more of the mortar bed is preserved, and this floor may well have covered the entire area between the south stylobate of the sanctuary and the south colonnade stylobate.

[152] Hebert (2000).

One further new floor was laid immediately to the east of the exterior east wall of the Cathedral.[153] At an early stage of the medieval development of this area, a water channel was installed against the exterior wall. At its north end a large stretch of marble paving was found at the same elevation as the top of the channel.[154] This paving was not found around the central portion of the channel since the 1904 excavations significantly disturbed this area. At the southern end of the channel the excavator recorded a floor of "geometric mosaic" or *opus sectile* at the same elevation. It is therefore probable that a single paved floor extended across this area. The funerary stratigraphy of the area enables the paving to be dated to the late eleventh or twelfth century.[155]

A large coherent fragment of the *opus sectile* is preserved in the Aphrodisias depots (Fig. 2.6). One side of the fragment forms a straight line, and a lower lip in the mortar bed suggests that it was laid against a marble slab. It employs a repeating pattern of overlaid circles, each formed from four ellipses crudely cut from blue/grey marble set into a bed of pinkish mortar.

2.4.3. Liturgical Spaces in the North Aisle and Northeast Chamber

The eastern portion of the north aisle and the chamber in the northeastern corner of the Cathedral form series of spaces divided by a succession of high *templon* barriers. These are described moving from west to east.

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[153] This floor is not mentioned by Hebert.
[154] *NBk.*031, 61.
[155] **5.1.1.4.**

The first barrier is located 14m from the eastern end of the aisle. Two steps, one of which is cut from a double-engaged column shaft, approach a stylobate of re-used marble blocks. Four tall columns carried a series of three epistyles across the width of the aisle. These were cut so that their front faces would display a series of ancient Maeander friezes (Fig. 4.10).

Rectangular paving slabs flanked by octagonal *opus sectile* tiles demarcate a path leading from the central gateway of the barrier towards a table, 1m high, formed by two column pedestals placed on top of each other (Fig. 2.7). The lowermost column pedestal is set quite deeply into the ground. It cuts the late antique mosaic, but is accommodated by the Middle Byzantine pavement. The table is flanked to both west and east by small steps.

From this table one approaches the entrance to the northeast chamber.[156] Within the chamber, an L-shaped stylobate defines a rectangular space against the northeastern corner (Fig. 2.8a/b). Columns above the stylobate supported another series of epistyles, stylistically distinct the first barrier (Fig. 4.13). Of the three epistyles on the western wing of the colonnade, that positioned in the centre was set with a much broader and more elaborate soffit panel.[157] This marked the gateway through which one might pass into the area enclosed by the barrier. Long rectangular slabs of white marble wall revetment are used to pave this space. Some are modeled as series of recessed rectangular panels. They are

[156] Hebert was not aware of any of the fixtures in this chamber, since its floor was obscured by a large quantity of marble blocks that were only removed during the 2017 season.
[157] Catalogue Two, **C.01.**

almost certainly of late antique manufacture. Near the centre of the space are the lower courses of a brick-built altar, covering the floor paving.

Behind the altar, against the eastern wall of the Cathedral, is a rectangular pit lined by unmortared stones.[158] Though the revetment floor does not survive immediately around this area, the excavator recorded that the pit was cut through the Byzantine floor level. It is likely a later addition to the space. At some point a body was interred at a shallow depth within this pit, but its original function was not funerary. Various artefacts, including a bronze candlestick, were excavated at lower elevations within the pit, and several iron nails from near the bottom may attest to wooden components.[159]

Phasing is a key consideration for the interpretation of these spaces. The pavement around the area of the pedestal table clearly relates both to the table and to the stylobate of the first barrier. It is made using the same materials as the Middle Byzantine floors found elsewhere in the Cathedral. The pedestal table itself must be later than the late antique floor, and like the barrier stylobate is composed of re-used architectural elements. I would therefore ascribe floor, table and stylobate to a single phase simultaneous with the broader renovation of the Cathedral.

The situation in the northeast chamber is a little more complicated. The altar and pit are both stratigraphically later than the floor within the area defined by the

[158] 1.42 by 0.77m in plan, 1.30m deep.
[159] **5.1.1.1.**

stylobate. The epistyles of the barrier, which should be contemporary with their stylobate, may be broadly dated to the Middle Byzantine period on stylistic grounds.[160] There is no stratigraphically demonstrable relationship between the features in the northeast chamber and those in the north aisle. The full suite of spaces, altars and barriers probably developed piecemeal.

The steps flanking both sides of the pedestal table have no parallel in extant liturgical arrangements. The pavement pathway guides participants from the barrier to the west towards the western step of the table. The eastern step presumes the presence of another person arriving from the chamber to the east. Both are equally worn from footfall. One would expect the figure from the east to be a member of the clergy. The altar within a sanctuary defined by a tall *templon* in the northeast chamber would appear to be a more standard liturgical arrangement, though the purpose of the rectangular pit is unclear.

Hebert suggested that the pedestal table might have been used for the ceremonial display of reliquaries. A lectionary of the eleventh century, now in the possession of the Vatican Library, includes a series of images representing the veneration of the relics of the Holy Cross. The reliquary is laid on a draped table. Clergy with censers stand to the right of the table, while laymen approach, bow and offer *proskynesis* from the left (Fig. 2.9).[161] The miniature representation closely matches the literary depiction of the same ritual found in

[160] **4.1.2.2**.
[161] Vat.gr. 1156, fol. 248r, 248v. Available online: https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.gr.1156

the fourth-century account of the pilgrim Egeria.[162] The image of the veneration of the Chains of St. Peter in the Menologion of Basil II perhaps offers another parallel. A bishop bows to the chain, which is set on a wooden table covered by a cloth. The table is set outside of the sanctuary. Perspective is awkwardly skewed in the illumination, but it is possible to infer an eastwards progression of relic table, low barrier, altar, *synthronon*.[163] The presence of a sanctuary with an altar in the northeast chamber therefore strengthens Hebert's reliquary hypothesis. This may even explain the rectangular pit behind the altar, situated at the culmination of eastwards divisions of increasingly holy space. Could this have been where the most sacred materials were kept?

The Cathedral's dedication to the archangel Michael is well documented.[164] Angel cult could produce no conventional relics, since the venerated beings were by definition bodiless and immaterial. In the Latin West, Michael's presence was materialised through a range of contact relics and miraculous images, most famously through his footprint at Monte Gargano in Apulia.[165] If one accepts that the pedestal table at Aphrodisias was used in the display of relics, then this must likewise have been a most peculiar angel cult. It may also be the case that angel cult in the Cathedral was restricted to the holy well in the principal sanctuary, and that the complex in the northern aisle was the site of an unknown secondary cult.[166]

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[162] *Egeria's Travels* §37.
[163] Vat.gr. 1613, fol. 324. Available online: https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.gr.1613 (accessed 15 May 2018).
[164] Jeffery (Forthcoming/b).
[165] Smith (2004), 115-177.
[166] Cf. Lidov (2006), 39.

2.4.4. Mosaic and Fresco Decoration

Many glass *tesserae* were found in the fill of the east apse and in the northern aisle above the level of the latest floor. No coherent pieces of mosaic survive. Greens, blues and gold leaf predominate. The *tesserae* demonstrate that mural mosaics remained in place throughout the Middle Byzantine period, though these might well have been executed in late antiquity. A small patch of fresco may also be found on the western wall of the *narthex*.

The most elaborate fresco decoration is found within a narrow corridor running beneath the *synthronon*. Though most of the images have since deteriorated beyond recognition, line drawings made shortly after their excavation in 1962 preserve their outlines.[167] The western wall of the corridor was painted with large jewelled crosses. On the east wall 22 standing figures are at least partially preserved, with compositional space for three more. They are between 1.5 and 1.6m tall, and are positioned above a dado of mock marble revetment (Fig. 2.10).

Christ stands frontally at centre holding an open Gospel. He is flanked by the Theotokos to the left and the Archangel Michael to the right. To the left of the Virgin is Gabriel, and to right of Michael is John the Baptist. These four figures all turn towards Christ extending their arms in intercession, while the figures fanning out at either side of this central composition face directly forwards. Cormack, who saw the frescoes when they were still relatively intact, suggested a

[167] Cormack (1990a), Fold-out 2.

date in the late tenth or the eleventh century.[168] Hebert also draws attention to a significant iconographic detail. Two saints in ecclesiastical costume wear the *epitrachelion*, the long stole placed around the neck when conducting the liturgy. This garment appears in both mural and manuscript depictions for the first time in the late tenth century.[169]

The composition is an idiosyncratic variant of the *Deisis* in which Michael has usurped John's customary position. The insertion of locally significant saints into this traditional composition is attested elsewhere – at S. Marco in Venice the evangelist similarly takes John's place.[170] I know of no extant variation including the archangel Michael. However, a literary depiction of exactly this iconography may be found in the eleventh-century *Life of Lazaros*, composed in the Galesion massif north of Ephesos. A monk lies down on his sleeping pallet in acceptance of death. He has positioned his pallet "at the spot where the images of the Theotokos and the archangel Michael extend [their hands] in intercession to the Savior."[171] The image at the Aphrodisias Cathedral may therefore have conformed to a local variant less unusual than the surviving material evidence would suggest.

John holds in his hands a scroll, on which a single word was legible; "behold". This is clearly the opening of John 1:29, "Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world". Cormack suggests that the prominence of this

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[168] Cormack (1990a), 87.
[169] Hebert (2000), citing Walter (1982), 13-14, 19-20.
[170] Demus (1984), 67-70; Cutler (1987), 151.
[171] *Life of Lazaros* §173.

inscription in the *synthronon* corridor alludes to its pronunciation during the *proskomide* rite for the preparation of the Eucharistic bread. He therefore suggests that during the Middle Byzantine period the *synthronon* passageway served as *prothesis*.[172] His conclusion is supported by the identification of the reliquary suite in the northeastern chamber of the Cathedral. The conventional position of a *prothesis* in the northeast would be impossible.

2.4.5. The Destruction of the Cathedral

Numerous deposits of charcoal were recorded in the interior of the Cathedral. Concentrations were noted in the south aisle, within the apse, and within the northeastern chamber.[173] A deposit approximately 10cm deep containing charcoal and crumbly, burnt marble was noted throughout the north aisle.[174] Most of the standing columns show considerable heat damage.[175] This is especially evident on the sides facing the interior of the nave, which have generally lost their fluting as a result. In the south aisle scatters of loose mosaic *tesserae* were recorded at a consistent level 30-45cm above the Middle Byzantine paving.

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[172] Cormack (1990a), 87.
[173] *NBk*.004, Trenches 2a, 4, 10; *NBk*.007, Trenches 12, 13. Their apparent absence from much of the nave may be attributed to the disturbances caused by earlier excavations.
[174] *NBk*.007, Trench 14.
[175] The damage to the pilaster columns of the Igreja de São Domingos in Lisbon, destroyed by fire in 1959, is comparable to that found at the Aphrodisias Cathedral.

The nature of the destruction of the Cathedral may be inferred from these indications. A catastrophic fire swept across the entirety of the building. The heat was most intense within the nave on account of many collapsed and burning roof timbers. The upper walls, with their mosaic decoration, began to collapse only after a layer of soil had accumulated within the ruined structure.

Dating this destruction on archaeological grounds is difficult, but there are some clues. A *terminus post quem* is given by the latest liturgical furniture to be carved for the Cathedral, which dates to the twelfth century.[176] Another clue may be found in the maintenance of the sacred well at the centre of the sanctuary, which could tentatively be considered a proxy for the overall condition of the Cathedral. Three *folles* of the early eleventh century were found at the very bottom of the well shaft, implying that soil was not permitted to accumulate during the Middle Byzantine period.[177] Within the fill, around a metre above the bottom of the shaft, were two *fulus* of Alaeddin Keykubad (H 616-34/AD 1219-37).[178] This gives a very approximate window for the point at which earth began to accumulate in the well between the mid-twelfth and mid-thirteenth centuries.

As noted in the introduction, Niketas Choniates alleges that the church of St. Michael at Karia was burnt by an army of Turkic nomads under the command of the renegade nobleman Theodore Mankaphas. His narrative situates the event sometime 1191-94.[179] Choniates also reports that Karia was subject to punitive

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[176] **4.1.2.8**, **4.1.2.9**.
[177] **3.3.3.**
[178] **3.4.2.**
[179] *Niketas Choniates* §400.

raids by the Sultan Kay-Khusrov in 1196.[180] The destruction event visible in the archaeological record may well be connected to the violence in Choniates' narrative. However, it should be noted that the burn layer representing the destruction of the nearby House in the North Agora Stoa may be dated on numismatic grounds to the first decade of the thirteenth century, and it may be safest to attribute the destruction of the Cathedral to a general period of violent upheavals at Aphrodisias around the turn of the thirteenth century.[181]

2.5. The Bishop's Palace

Located immediately to the south of the Cathedral, the Bishop's Palace was a large residential and ceremonial complex constructed within a late antique peristyle house. The palace was excavated over five seasons, 1963-68. Berenfeld's 2002 PhD thesis presents a detailed account of the architectural development of the complex.[182] A preliminary report followed in 2009, and a monograph is currently in press.[183] I briefly summarise aspects of Berenfeld's research pertinent to the complex's Middle Byzantine phase, before turning to evidence not presented in her monograph.

The late antique mansion that provided the architectural shell for the medieval Bishop's Palace centred on a triconch audience chamber preceded by a rectangular peristyle courtyard (Fig. 2.11). There is no evidence that the house served as an *episkopeion* in the earlier period. Whoever inhabited the late

[180] *Niketas Choniates* §495.
[181] **2.7.**
[182] Berenfeld (2002).
[183] Berenfeld (2009); (2019).

antique complex likely evacuated the property in the later seventh century. In the south apsidal hall, several *folles* of Constans II (641-88) were discovered on the floor beneath a dense collapse deposit of roof tiles, marble revetment and plaster.[184] Many other rooms were abandoned, and large deposits of earth accumulated before the collapse of the upper walls. At the opening of the Early Byzantine Period much of the house lay in ruins, though the vaulted apse of the north apsidal hall and the vaults of the triconch hall remained intact.

The construction of the Bishop's Palace was therefore a major renovation project. Inhabitable spaces were created either by laying new paving above the accumulated debris or by excavating collapse levels. New paving was cut from marble slabs sourced from derelict structures within the city. The vestibule of the northern chapel and the rooms to the west of the peristyle courtyard were raised 0.75-1m above the late antique level. In the late antique period the area south of the peristyle was occupied by bathing facilities and vaulted chambers. The collapse was therefore particularly dense here, and the renovators created a new level 2.65-3m above the original floor, at around the same height as the upper elevation of the vaulting. Some new rooms were also created, expanding the house across the street to the west and the North Agora Stoa to the south. Several staircases attest to an upper storey.

[184] Inv.66-347, 348, 349. Berenfeld (2019), 72-73.

2.5.1. Ceremonial and Liturgical Spaces

Berenfeld identifies four principal ceremonial/liturgical chambers that were restored in the Middle Byzantine period: the triconch hall, the north apsidal hall, the peristyle, and the south apsidal hall. The first three of these were originally articulated in a single phase around AD 400, while the last formed part of a sixth-century expansion.

The triconch hall (Room 6) was erected as an impressive space for reception and dining, opening directly onto the peristyle court to the west. In the Middle Byzantine period the late antique checkerboard floor was patched with octagonal and rectangular marble tiles. A lead seal discovered beneath one of these tiles dates to the tenth century.[185] This gives a *terminus post quem* only for an isolated repair operation. A water feature consisting of a freestanding basin connected to an under floor drainage channel also belongs to this phase. A door in the southern section of the east apse that had once opened to several service rooms was blocked with masonry, since those rooms were now filled with rubble collapse.

The north apsidal hall (Room 4) is located along the northeastern limit of the peristyle. In late antiquity it was likely a venue for ceremonial audiences. The Middle Byzantine renovation here was intensive. Excavators uncovered a striking *opus sectile* floor of red medallions integrated through strapwork bands. The marble pieces were laid onto a thin mortar bedding directly on top of an

[185] Jeffery (2019/a), No. 33.

earth layer. Since a small sondage revealed no late antique floor below, Berenfeld concludes that this had been demolished and the medieval floor occupied a lower elevation than its predecessor.[186] A narrow stylobate across the chord of the apse belongs to the same phase as the *opus sectile* floor. Cuttings attest to a low barrier, and a worn patch at centre indicates the position of a gateway. The arrangement probably represents liturgical fixtures for a small chapel.

The peristyle (Room 5) is situated at the centre of the Bishop's Palace. Grey-marble columns with simple Pergamene capitals articulate four aisles, leaving an open-air courtyard at centre. The intercolumniations were at some point blocked by low walls of rough masonry. The peristyle partially collapsed in the Early Byzanine Period, and the Middle Byzantine restoration required significant structural interventions. The south and east aisles were restored to their late antique floors. In the north aisle a new pavement was laid, though maintaining the late antique elevation. In the west aisle a new floor of marble slabs cut from ancient sarcophagi was installed above around a metre of fill. The southern wall of the peristyle was reconstructed as a series of vaulted spaces, and two double engaged columns were erected at the western end of the southern colonnade. One of these new columns may have been selected on account of a much worn ancient relief depicting two winged figures in an architectural frame. These may have been reinterpreted as an icon of the archangels Michael and Gabriel.[187]

[186] Berenfeld (2019), 69-70.
[187] Jeffery (2019/b).

The south apsidal hall (Room 26) is situated on the southern edge of the late antique house. Its construction blocked the passageway north of the rear wall of the North Agora Stoa. The upper structure collapsed in the seventh century, and rubble deposits filled its interior. Middle Byzantine builders were therefore confronted by solid lower walls demarcating the plan of an apsidal chamber. New walls were constructed above these in order to restore the original outline of the hall at a higher elevation. These walls are significantly thinner than their late antique foundations, and are characterised by rough, sloping courses. The interior of the hall was levelled to a flat surface roughly 3m above the original floor and paved with marble slabs. Four joining fragments of a marble screen with champlevé decoration were found in the chamber.[188] The screen divided the apse from a small *naos*. The base of a double-engaged column was positioned in the centre of the apse to support an altar table. Four coins of the tenth and eleventh centuries were also found in this space.[189] This was undoubtedly a small chapel.[190]

2.5.2. Glazed Ceramics

Sherds from the 1960s excavation of the Bishop's Palace were never studied in any detail, and no mention of them is made in Berenfeld's largely architectural assessment. François' study of Ottoman ceramics from Aphrodisias presents two bowls painted in metallic lustres from unspecified contexts in the palace that

[188] **4.1.4.**
[189] #67, 303, 376, 377.
[190] Erim (1968b), 57.

represent prestigious imports from Fatimid Egypt (969-1171).[191] One inventoried fragment and a key refuse deposit provide further hints of an important assemblage of finewares.

A large base fragment of a shallow bowl was found during excavation southeast of the Bouleuterion (Fig. 2.12).[192] It likely represents refuse from the Bishop's Palace immediately to the west. A short description and a black and white photo are preserved in the site archives. The maximum preserved diameter was around 10cm, while the diameter of the foot was 8.25cm. On the interior of the bowl, lines, dots and "tongue" motifs are framed within curving black lines. The inventory record reports motifs in gold and black elaborated over a matt white glazed background. The clay was described as a micaceous light buff. The fragment is likely an example of Polychrome Ware Group 1, produced in eleventh-century Constantinople.[193]

A great many more sherds of Middle Byzantine finewares were found from similar contexts immediately east of the Bishop's Palace during the 1968 and 1969 seasons. Thirteen boxes in the Aphrodisias depots contain ceramics from the uppermost strata of these excavations.[194] The contents of these boxes are truly extraordinary and deserve thorough specialist publication. I seek simply to draw attention to the existence of these sherds and to the range of types

[191] François (2001), 152, Pl. 2 Fig. 2.
[192] *NBk.*024, 61.
[193] Morgan (1942), 64-67; Hayes (1992), 35-37. For chronology see Sanders (2001), 98-101; for distribution, Laiou (2006), 9; Laiou – Morrisson (2007), 76.
[194] I am grateful to Ulrike Outschar and Muradiye Öztaskin for bringing these boxes to my attention.

represented. Especially predominant are the brown glazed chafing dishes, in a range of idiosyncratic forms typical of the ninth through eleventh centuries.[195] A simple sherd count identified at least seventy-three fragments, of which twenty were rims. Various White Wares are also attested. Glazes range from pale yellow to a saturated green. The predominant fabric is the smooth, pure white of Hayes' Glazed White Ware II, though the pinkish clay of Glazed White Ware III is occasionally found.[196] Highlights include the foot of a GWWII dish with an impressed medallion and three incised letters on the unglazed foot (Fig. 2.13).[197] Sketches of the bases of glass vessels in field notebooks are strongly reminiscent of Amorium Blue Coil ware, fragments of which have recently been identified on the Tetrapylon Street.[198]

2.5.3. Lead Seals

Nineteen lead seals have been found within the Bishop's Palace and the immediately surrounding area. Berenfeld maps their distribution within the complex.[199] Four were found in the westwards Middle Byzantine expansion of the complex over the street (Rooms 31-32), six in the vicinity of the peristyle (Rooms 4-6, 8), and nine from the southwest part of the house (Rooms 14, 26-28, and the area above the North Agora Stoa). No obvious archival suite may be inferred. Of those that may be dated, four belong to the eighth century, two to the ninth, eight to the tenth and four to the eleventh. Seals of the eighth and ninth

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[195] Morgan (1942), 36-40.
[196] Hayes (1992), 18.
[197] ΑΤΝ. Morgan interpreted similar graffiti at Corinth as the initials of the potter: Morgan (1942), 49.
[198] **2.9,** Lightfoot (2005), 176 cf. *NBk*.026, 8, 21.
[199] Berenfeld (2019), 73-76.

centuries are better represented outside of the Bishop's Palace, and no seals of the twelfth century have been found at Aphrodisias.[200]

Six seals belonged to Metropolitans of Karia.[201] Two anonymous invocative examples also reflect localised administrative practices. One appeals to the protective power of the cross, whereas the other calls upon the Archangel Michael to aid his servant John.[202] A further seal was struck in the name of the bishop of Brioulla, a settlement on the northern bank of the Maeander near the modern village of Kuyucak.[203] Many of the remaining seals belonged to men of high imperial rank.[204] Most of these seals also advertise administrative offices. Four are explicitly associated with the *Genikon Logothesion*, the bureau responsible for the collection of tax.[205]

2.6. The Oil Press behind the Bouleuterion

Excavation in 1962 partially uncovered *in situ* elements of a large oil press situated to the north of the Bouleuterion. These were fully uncovered in 1970, and in 2001 Ahmet published an article reconstructing the mechanical workings of the press.[206]

The press was enclosed within a rectangular structure of approximately 6 by 15m, oriented north-south. The rear wall of the Bouleuterion is studded by

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[200] **2.4;** Jeffery (2019/b).
[201] Nesbitt (1983), Nos. 1-3, 6.
[202] Nesbitt (1983), Nos. 20-21.
[203] Nesbitt (1983), No. 4; Ramsay (1887), 357.
[204] Nesbitt (1983), Nos. 8, 10, 18; Jeffery (2019a), No. 27.
[205] Nesbitt (1983), Nos. 9-11; Jeffery (2019a), No. 33; **2.3.2.**
[206] *NBk.*006, 080; Ahmet (2001).

massive buttresses that originally supported the roof of the ancient structure. The press was situated between the two buttresses immediately to the east of the Bouleuterion's central north-south axis. The eastern wall partially survives today, as does the northern. The western wall was completely removed in 1962 since it used as part of its foundation a huge marble copy of the cult statue of Aphrodite. A timber roof would have covered the space defined by these walls. Entrance was presumably from the west, since no doors are attested in the extant walls. The ground level of the oil press was approximately 3m higher than that of the time of the construction of the Bouleuterion.

Ahmet observed that the matrix of the soil visible beneath the northernmost wall of the structure indicated a gradual accumulation rather than a deliberate levelling dump.[207] The excavator in 1962 identified a stratum beneath that of the olive press floor. The finds recorded in a brief note include a boar's skull and sherds of a "green byzantine glaze".[208] Most of these sherds were immediately discarded, and so the vague reference to a green glaze remains the best index for dating the oil press.[209] These could be sgraffito types of the twelfth or thirteenth century, but the prevalence of GWW sherds in the equivalent strata to the immediate west of this area might suggest a Middle Byzantine *terminus post quem*.[210]

[207] Ahmet (2001), 166.
[208] *NBk.*006, 43.
[209] Contradicting the fourth/fifth-century date proposed by Erim (1970b), 60.
[210] **2.5.2.**

Most marble elements of the press were found *in situ* (Fig. 2.14). A storage vat could accommodate a 3m^3 volume of harvested olives. A crushing basin was positioned on a circular masonry base. The press operated according to the widespread "lever and screw" model. A vertical wooden screw was set into a weightstone. Turning this screw would pull a lever to crush olives set in a mesh stack above the pressbed. Two weightstones were uncovered, both of which were modified ancient column drums. The pressbed was carved from a dentilated cornice block, and positioned at a higher elevation between the two buttresses of the Bouleuterion. Oil flowed from the channels of the pressbed into an inverted sarcophagus lid that served as the settling tank. A large marble tile beneath one end of the tank could have accommodated a portable ceramic amphora into which oil would pour. A marble *pithos* embedded at one end of the platform caught any overspill. Four massive marble *pithoi* were used to store the oil. Ahmet calculated that the press might be able to produce 10,000 kg of oil in a good season – the harvest of a hectare of olive grove.[211]

2.7. The House in the North Agora Stoa

This structure provides an excellent case study for vernacular architecture in medieval Aphrodisias. It was excavated tin 1967. Since many medieval walls have partially survived to the present day it has been possible to arrive at a precise state plan by overlaying 1967 notebook sketches and orthorectified drone photographs (Fig. 2.15).[212]

[211] Ahmet (2001), 165.
[212] *NBk*.056; Erim (1968a), 35.

The house is located within the North Stoa of the North Agora, immediately to the east of the Bouleuterion. The rear, northern wall of the stoa was visible in 1967, and two trenches were laid out immediately south of it. These covered a combined length of 24m. In the western portion the north-south width was 4m. At a point 10.6m from the western limit of the trench the back wall of the portico jogs north for 2.4m, before once again continuing towards the east. The width of the trench in the eastern portion is therefore 6.4m.

The lowest excavated stratum was between 1.6 and 1.9m below a fixed point on the twentieth-century ground level. It contained a large quantity of broken tile fragments in soft earth representing the collapse of the tile roof of the North Agora portico, perhaps in the seventh century.[213] It is not clear for how long the space was abandoned subsequent to this collapse.

A long wall was subsequently constructed parallel to the back wall of the Roman portico, and approximately 4m distant from it. Only the lower courses survive. At least fourteen column drums, mostly fluted pieces from the colonnade of the portico, formed the lowest course. Where drums were not directly adjacent small stretches of *petit appareil* were inserted. The upper elevations the drums mostly lay between 0.7 and 0.9m below the ground level datum, though at least one was tall enough to protrude slightly above the twentieth-century surface. North of this wall at a depth of around 1.4 to 1.5m were several patches of roughly cut marble and ceramic tile floor. A north-south wall with a small doorway divided the interior space into two rooms. Several stones were removed from the

[213] C.f. Wilson (2019), 212-218.

interior corner of the ancient stoa wall in order to create a kind of niche. Two doorways, with thresholds at elevations of -1.4m, opened from the rooms into the area south of the column drum wall. Here there was no tile floor, but a level of hard-packed earth at the same -1.4m elevation. At least two 'walls', each comprising two aligned column drums, protruded perpendicular to the east-west wall towards the south.

It is possible to hazard a reconstruction of the upper portion of the building. McLaughlin recorded several finds of square mud bricks and fragments of charcoal in excess of 4 inches in length in the northern portion of the trench. The lower course of column drum and masonry therefore supported upper courses of mud-brick, with a wooden roof over the interior space. The column drum 'walls' protruding south were perhaps the bases for a wooden gable or lean-to roof covering part of an open yard.

Between 1.2 and 1.4m in depth was a dark and moist layer containing a large quantity of charcoal, indicating that the building was destroyed in a fire. The charcoal was particularly conspicuous in the northern portion of the trench, most likely due to the collapse of the roof. Above this charred layer was a dry, light brown earth fill. The building was abandoned subsequent to its destruction.

Associated with this destruction was a hoard of billon *stamena*, the composition of which indicates deposition in the first decade of the thirteenth century.[214] The coins were found at a depth of 1.6-1.8m against the southernmost column drum

[214] *NBk*.056, 54-55; Hoard Γ; **2.4.2**; #665-710.

of the western of the two protruding supports for the lean-to. The hole in which they were placed was therefore cut through the compacted earth floor of the yard to a depth of between 0.2 and 0.4m. While the elevation is clear enough, the stratigraphy is ambiguous. It is unclear whether the hole for the hoard was cut through both the destruction layer and the floor, or whether it was cut through the floor and subsequently covered by the destruction layer. Was the hoard deposited before or after the destruction event? The ceramic evidence discussed below is entirely in keeping with a date in the early thirteenth century for the destruction of the house.

McLaughlin noted that ceramics were concentrated within the interior of the house, with fewer finds in the open yard.[215] I was able to locate a wooden tray containing sherds from these excavations. The tray was marked with the same date as the discovery of the coin hoard, and should therefore contain finds from the destruction layer. It was labelled "Box E", implying that at least five trays were filled that day.

The tray contained ten sherds of large storage vessels, seven fragments of thin coarseware cooking vessels, seven fragments of amphora handle, and many unglazed body sherds. The handle fragments were intrusions belonging to earlier periods. Only two very small glazed sherds were present. One was a body sherd from a Fine Sgraffito Ware dish, and the other a fragment of the base of a bowl in either Green Painted or Slip Painted Ware. These glazed fragments

[215] *NBk*.056, 53.

belong to the later twelfth or early thirteenth century.[216] Together with the ceramic sherds was a large circular loom weight cut from an ancient tile. Several glass fragments were also present; a body fragment of a dark green bowl, a twisted goblet stem and a small section of a bracelet with interwoven black and red threads. The contents of the tray reflect a range of domestic activities: storage, cooking, weaving, and dining.

2.8. The Northeast Sector

The Northeast Sector designates the area of the Aphrodisias Museum, located to the north of the open plaza that was once the village square of Geyre. Archaeological investigation was conducted in 2006 immediately north of the museum buildings in anticipation of the construction of the Sebasteion Hall. The dimensions of the area to be evaluated followed the footprint of the planned rectangular structure; 12m by 72m oriented east-west. After the documentation and removal of walls belonging to the modern Geyre village, excavation proceeded in three principal areas, trenches 32, 35, and 39/40. De Staebler attributes several developments to a Middle Byzantine phase.[217]

Excavation in trench 35 revealed the intersection of several walls of an ancient residential complex (Fig. 2.16).[218] The only floor level identified was the paving associated with the walls. A threshold oriented east-west at this level was blocked to a height of approximately 1.10m, and a new structure unrelated to the ancient rooms constructed at this level immediately north of the doorway. The

[216] Öztaşkın (2017), 171-74.
[217] de Staebler (2016), 144.
[218] *NBk.*466, 107; de Staebler (2016), 145.

structure was roughly rectangular in exterior plan, with walls 0.45 to 0.74 m thick defining a circular interior space with a diameter of 1.70m. Its floor was of square terracotta tiles. De Staebler interprets the structure as an oven, and suggests that since there was no evidence for industrial waste it may have been used to produce bread.[219] Trench 32, a little to the east of the oven, uncovered an enormous ash deposit. In a traditional bread oven, wood is burnt within the domed structure and pushed aside to smoulder once the walls have reached the desired temperature. The process generates a large quantity of fine ash.

The fills beneath and behind the oven were not excavated. A comparable fill in a room a little to the west contained no datable materials, but did contain several mud bricks fallen from the upper storey.[220] The raised level of the oven floor therefore indicates that its construction followed a period in which the complex was abandoned and rooms filled with collapse and natural accumulation.

The oven opens to the south, and the fact that the doorway was blocked with a low partition wall may imply that the paved floor to the south was maintained at this time. This would bring the opening of the oven to around waist-height, a more convenient elevation for manipulating loaves using a wooden baking peel.

Trench 39/40 was the largest single area exposed during the course of the Northeast Sector excavations, covering 12.5 by 16.5m at the westernmost extent of the Sebasteion Hall (Fig. 2.17). The oldest feature of this area was a wall 0.8m

[219] de Staebler (2016), 144.
[220] de Staebler (*pers. comm.*).

thick, running north-south across the entirety of the trench. Several slightly later walls extend perpendicular to this original wall, partitioning the space to the east and west into rectangular units. The floors on both sides of the wall were at a similar elevation. In the rooms to the west these were of rough terracotta tiles and some patches of irregular white marble mosaic. The latest ceramics from a sondage beneath this floor level belonged to the Augustan period, while those from the fills above the floor were late antique.

The floors in the two rooms to the east of the dividing wall were of square terracotta tiles similar to those used in the construction of the oven in trench 35. The interface above this floor yielded a wealth of material attesting to medieval occupation. Two lead seals belonged to an eighth-century *strategos* and an eighth or ninth-century *tourmarch*.[221] Ceramics included fragments of a yellow-brown glazed chafing dish and sherds of non-metropolitan production Glazed White Ware, dated by Öztaşkın to the tenth through twelfth centuries. Several coins from the end of the sixth and early seventh century were discovered together with these fragments.[222]

This material was sealed beneath a dense layer of debris from the collapse of the upper walls and roof. The excavator inferred from the distribution of the rubble that the walls and roof likely fell simultaneously in a sudden collapse during an earthquake. The space was not subsequently reoccupied.

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[221] Jeffery (Forthcoming/a), Nos. 28, 29.
[222] **3.2.3.**

The seals and finewares uncovered in these small rooms attest to an elite Middle Byzantine presence in the Northeast Sector. A bundle of notecards in Hendy's personal archive record Byzantine coins found during the digging of foundations for the museum buildings in spring 1973.[223] These amount to some 97 specimens, and include issues of the eighth through thirteenth century. It is therefore likely the residential quarter glimpsed in the 2006 excavations extended beneath the area currently occupied by the museum.

2.9. The Tetrapylon Street

The Tetrapylon Street is one of the major north-south arteries of ancient Aphrodisias. The route continued to be an important axis within the settlement through to the twentieth century. Successive road surfaces and occupation layers have resulted in around 3m of stratigraphy above the late antique paving. Excavation began in 1963 with the initial investigations of the Tetrapylon, which continued in 1983-4 and 1987.[224] A new phase of excavations began in 2008, aiming to reveal the length of the street between the Tetrapylon and the Place of Palms. At the time of writing most of the street north of the Sebasteion Propylon has been exposed, and excavations are ongoing between the Propylon and the Place of Palms. Preliminary reports were published in 2016 and a book volume will follow subsequent to the completion of the project.[225]

The colonnaded street appears to have collapsed in two distinct events. A thick charred deposit extended for over 40m within the east portico in the northern

[223] Catalogue 1, **Mus.Foundation.**
[224] *NBk*.236, 248. 283.
[225] Öğüş (2016); Sokolicek (2016); Yıldırım (2016).

part of the street. The stratigraphic sequence indicates that buildings burnt while standing before an architectural collapse. The latest coins sealed beneath the burnt deposit were minted c. 613. A coin hoard found in the profile of the trench closes in 617/8. It is unclear whether the hoard fell from the upper floor of the houses behind the colonnade or whether it was deposited in the collapse layer after the destruction event.[226] The structures immediately opposite the Tetrapylon were likewise destroyed by fire. The final occupation of these units could be dated by ceramics sealed beneath the latest floor surface. These included various red slip wares and mould-made lamps of the later sixth and early seventh century, alongside a single sherd of a very early lead glazed ware.[227] The Tetrapylon collapsed around the same time, since many architectural elements fell directly onto the late antique street. However, some architectural fragments had been neatly stacked beside the Tetrapylon, indicating limited effort to clear the street prior to its eventual abandonment.[228] In the southern portion of the street, the upper storey of the colonnade fell westwards on account of an earthquake.

The earliest occupation subsequent to the collapse deposits was identified within the colonnades on the west side of the street. Rubble walls articulated a series of rooms in the colonnade just north of the Sebasteion Propylon. A great deal of crushed ceramic was incorporated into the earth floors of these units, perhaps to facilitate drainage.[229] The latest vessels identified in this assemblage

[226] Original (Öğüş 2016?) publication of the hoard, c.f. Wilson (2019), 213.
[227] Ivison (1996), 5.
[228] Ivison (1996), 6.
[229] Sokolicek (2016), 69.

were coarsewares dating to AD 600-1000. Since there were very few joining fragments, and the majority could be dated to the Early and High Imperial periods, Outschar suggests that the crushed ceramic fill was acquired elsewhere on the site before being used as construction material.[230] Unglazed sherds dating from the eighth and ninth centuries documented in this portion of the street demonstrate occupation in the Early Byzantine Period.[231] In the northern part of the street, a well shaft and a north-south field wall aligned with the western limit of the street stratigraphically precede Middle Byzantine occupation.[232]

In the Middle Byzantine period a series of mortared rubble walls were constructed above the early seventh-century destruction layers, frequently incorporating the standing remains of the colonnade.[233] They therefore reproduced the line of the late antique stylobate, and articulated a series of rectangular rooms that followed the orientation of the ancient grid. One rectangular platform utilised two togate statues in its foundations, set at right angles to each other (Fig. 2.18).[234] Two hearths were positioned immediately outside of rooms in the northern part of the street. The northernmost was a cylindrical brick-lined pit, while that a little further south was a simpler three-sided shelter.[235] The street itself was left clear of structures. An unpaved road surface was interrupted only by a series of drains. The drains employ a white architectural mortar to secure the outer masonry construction, and a pink

[230] Sokolicek (2016), 70.
[231] Öztaşkın (2017), 166.
[232] Yıldırım (2016), 43 Fig. 2.14.
[233] Sokolicek (2016), 70.
[234] Sokolicek (2016), 71; Yıldırım (2016), 42-43.
[235] Yıldırım (2016), 42; Öğüş (2016), 48.

hydraulic mortar in the channel.[236] A little north of the Sebasteion Propylon was a rectangular "water tower", incorporating a large basin feeding a series of pipes that led ultimately to the street drain. It was constructed against the western limit of the street, its foundations dug slightly into the destruction layer.

Fragments of glazed chafing dishes and a rim sherd of Polychrome Ware IIIa attest to an elite presence, and finds of Fine Sgraffito demonstrate that occupation continued until the end of the twelfth century.[237] Sokolicek suggests that the large quantity of glass finds, including much cullet and crushed fragments, might indicate glass production.[238] Several fragments of Amorium Blue Coil Ware are likely imports.[239] The excavations yielded 53 Middle Byzantine *folles*, but only a single *stamenon* of the Komnenian period.[240] The faunal assemblage contained a great many porcine bones and tusks.[241]

Though some fragments of late thirteenth to fourteenth-century Flecked Sgraffito were recovered from the Tetrapylon Street excavations, in general there is a noticeable decline in ceramics from the second quarter of the thirteenth century until the fifteenth.[242] Sokolicek asserts that no structures in the portion of the street immediately north of the Sebasteion Propylon date from the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries, and Yıldırım likewise reports a caesura

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[236] *NBk*.276, 14.
[237] Öztaşkın (2017), 169-70.
[238] Sokolicek (2016), 70.
[239] Sokolicek (2016), 71, c.f. Lightfoot (2005), 176.
[240] **3.3.1; 3.4.2.**
[241] Sokolicek (2016), 70.
[242] Öztaşkın (2017), 175, 186.

between the Middle Byzantine period and the later fourteenth century.[243] Ottoman buildings obstructed the street and were no longer aligned to the ancient grid.[244] A new Ottoman road surface in the northern part of the area diverged at an oblique angle from the line of the Byzantine street.[245] The clearest evidence for the abandonment of the Middle Byzantine structures is a canine skeleton, fully articulated and unburnt, placed above layers of ash in a pit hearth.[246]

2.10. The Place of Palms

The Place of Palms is a rectangular urban park lined by ionic colonnades, laid out in the early first century AD. A monumental pool, 170m in length, was flanked by rows of palm trees (Fig. 2.19). The park offered a shaded space for leisure and commerce amid a spectacular display of urban aesthetics, and was extensively restored following an earthquake around the turn of the sixth century.[247]

The first excavation in the area was conducted by the Italian team in 1937.[248] Erim subsequently exposed the colonnades and the short ends of the pool. Between 2012 and 2017, the Mica and Ahmet Ertegün South Agora Pool Project sponsored the excavation of the entirety of the pool. A detailed account of

[243] Sokolicek (2016), 72; Yıldırım (2016), 42.
[244] Öğüş (2016), 56.
[245] Yıldırım (2016), 41.
[246] Yıldırım (2016), 42.
[247] Wilson (2019).
[248] Jacopi (1939); Crema (1939).

medieval and modern occupation in the area will form part of a future edited volume.[249]

The destruction of the urban park is reflected in deposits within the pool representing the deliberate clearance of rubble collapse. The earliest such deposit directly covers the floor of the pool along its northern and southern edges, sloping from the edges towards the centre of the pool. It contained vast quantities of ceramic roof tiles and marble revetment, as well as charred and waterlogged wooden rafters. No major architectural elements were present. The roofs of the colonnades collapsed in a great fire, leaving the columns and entablature still standing. The latest coins sealed beneath this deposit were minted AD 642/3. It is possible that the destructive event preceded the clearance of the area by as much as a generation.[250]

Several small structures were created following the first clearance deposit. At the northeast corner of the pool, a cattle ramp was constructed from marble architectural blocks (Fig. 2.20). The seating of the pool was removed at the top of the ramp to facilitate access, and a rough grid was scored across the blocks to improve traction for hooved animals. Against the southern edge of the pool, three marble slabs taken from its inner ledge were positioned as the walls of a large basin.[251] A revetment slab was used for the basin's floor. A series of circular holes in the outer edge of the pool seating and built post supports are assigned to the same phase. They may reflect the erection of temporary wooden structures.

[249] Kidd – Russell – Wilson (Forthcoming).
[250] Wilson (2019), 217.
[251] 1.59m by 1.10m in plan, 0.82m deep.

After a brief period of siltation on the pool floor, a second clearance deposit was made from the southern edge of the pool. Like the first, this contained charred wood and roof tiles from the South Stoa. The excavators attribute all of these features and deposits to the later seventh century.

Layers of fine siltation subsequently accumulated to a depth of 30-45cm above the clearance deposits.[252] The silt was almost entirely sterile in terms of artificial material, and the few finds were generally residual in nature. But it was dense in ecofacts. Robinson infers from freshwater snail shells that during the period in which this layer formed, the pool was regularly filled with clean, slow moving water. The concentration of these shells indicates a relatively slow process of sedimentation.[253] He also establishes the presence of green algae and bulrush, an emergent reed that in summer grows to a height of 1-2m.[254] During the Early Byzantine period the pool was therefore an artificial lake, seasonally available for watering livestock in the ruins of the urban park.

Another clearance deposit along the northern and southern edges of the pool covered these siltation strata. It was principally made up of rubble and large architectural elements, including column drums and entablature blocks. It likely reflects the clearance of debris following the destruction of the colonnades in an earthquake. The associated ceramics were generally coarse wares that the

[252] Russell – Ward – Wilson (2016), 87 fig. 5.13.
[253] Robinson (2016), 95.
[254] Robinson (2016), 96.

excavators date to the Early Byzantine Period.[255] The layers of siltation above this deposit contained a reduced density of freshwater snail shells, indicating that the area was becoming a stagnant swamp.[256] By this time the cattle ramp lay submerged beneath rubble and siltation. Two built features in the siltation layer testify to the erection of structures at times at which the water level was low. Worked marble and schist blocks were arranged to create a rough circle around 4m in diameter, perhaps a temporary enclosure. Two parallel lines of blocks represent either a path or another small enclosure.

The earliest masonry walls over the pool were dated to the later thirteenth or fourteenth century. However, the clearance of heavy debris implies that the area was not totally abandoned during the Early and Middle Byzantine periods. Thirty-one Middle Byzantine *folles* and three twelfth-century *stamena* have been recovered, though generally in contexts much later than the period of their monetary circulation. Small finds include a copper alloy ring used to fasten the straps of a leather book-binding, dating to the tenth to twelfth centuries.[257] Though there was no permanent occupation in the former park, its monumental pool remained a major landmark in the topography of Middle Byzantine Aphrodisias.

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[255] Revising the tenth/eleventh-century date given by Wilson – Russell – Ward (2016), 87.
[256] Robinson (2016), 92.
[257] Jeffery – Penn (Forthcoming).

2.11. The Civil Basilica

The Civil Basilica was one of the most ambitious architectural projects of ancient Aphrodisias; a covered hall with a footprint of some 29 by 146.5m, constructed in the final quarter of the first century AD (Fig. 2.21).[258] The basilica was oriented north-south on the western edge of the Theatre Hill. Its northern façade opened onto the Place of Palms, while to the west and south it was bordered by wide streets. The northernmost 108m of the basilica were articulated as a long nave flanked by wide aisles. Major renovations in the fourth century saw the installation of new mosaic floors. The Civil Basilica fell out of use by the end of the fifth century. Architectural elements from its upper elevation were redeployed in the stylobate of the South Stoa of the Place of Palms, erected around AD 500.

Standing masonry is only preserved at the southeastern corner of the basilica, where a tall stretch of wall is known locally as the Kuşkale or "bird castle". Excavations here began in 1962, and were resumed 2005-2010. During the Middle Byzantine period this area formed part of the Triconch Church Cemetery.[259] The northern aisled hall of the Civil Basilica was excavated over the periods 1969-77, 1988, 1993-8 and 2018. Evidence for medieval occupation has been found in the east aisle and immediately west of the western wall.

[258] Stinson (2016), 2.
[259] **5.1.3.**

2.11.1. The East Aisle

Large architectural blocks are densely scattered throughout the interior of the basilica. In 1972, excavation in the northern portion of the east aisle uncovered ten blocks positioned so as to define a rectangular space against the eastern wall of the basilica (Fig 1.22). This area was re-exposed in 2018, and the stratigraphy of the house clarified (Fig. 2.23).[260]

The 2018 excavations exposed a large stretch of the fourth-century mosaic floor. Directly above this was a dense collapse of ceramic roof tiles, 15cm in depth. The uneven upper surface of the tile deposit was deliberately levelled with a loose sandy loam containing many small stones, before the architectural blocks were moved into position. The robbed remains of a single east-west dividing wall suggest that the ground floor of the structure was partitioned into two rooms.[261] The eastern end of the dividing wall partially covers the east wall of the basilica, and so the eastern limit of the house may have been an ancient buttressing wall constructed immediately east of the original basilica wall (Fig. 2.24).

The surviving walls of marble blocks were probably the foundation courses for walls in mud-brick.[262] The roof may well have been pitched against the standing masonry of the east buttress wall. Any floors or material relating to occupation within the house were removed during the 1972 excavation, and it is therefore difficult to establish a date. A single *stamenon* of Manuel Komnenos, minted

[260] Gronow (2018).
[261] Gronow (2018), 21-23.
[262] C.f. **2.4.**

1152-60, was discovered in 2018 in the northern vestibule of the basilica in a context that could represent back-fill from the 1970s excavations.[263]

The 1972 excavation photo shows a haphazard distribution of architectural elements in the nave of the basilica. There are no blocks in the aisle south of the structure. Another orthogonal arrangement of blocks is visible in the southeastern corner of the 1972 excavation area. The walls employ many erect column shafts, confirming their deliberate construction. The presence of this second structure implies that the small house studied in 2018 was not isolated in the ruins of the Civil Basilica.

2.11.2. The Basilica Street

In 1994 a long trench was laid perpendicular to the Civil Basilica across the western aisle, west wall and street.[264] The primary purpose of the trench was to locate the north-south street and any flanking structures. These were discovered beneath a dense destruction layer, dated on numismatic grounds to the early seventh century.[265] Above the destruction layer were a series of walls set against the western wall of the basilica (Fig. 2.25).[266] A north-south masonry wall ran parallel to the basilica wall, at a distance of a little over 4m from it. Around 1.5m beyond this was another north-south wall, composed of irregular large blocks with a few small stones in the interstices. A wide and irregular east-west wall of smaller stones abutted the basilica wall and ran slightly west southwest. This last

[263] #436.
[264] 6 by 16m, southwest corner at N475/E570: Smith – Ratté (1996), 16.
[265] *NBk*.337, 86.
[266] *NBk*.337, 20.

wall was constructed in relation to the north-south walls, and is of a later phase. The excavator deduced the presence of a hearth somewhere south of this wall from concentrations of charcoal and ash. The extant walls likely represent the lower masonry courses for a mud brick structure erected against the standing wall of the Civil Basilica. The complex is only partially uncovered, and it may have extended to the north and south.

The latest ceramics, constituting the "vast majority" of the assemblage associated with this structure, were attributed to the Middle Byzantine period.[267] The excavator described the sherds as "yellow and green incised" glazed wares, probably indicating sgraffito. One dish was apparently incised with a depiction of a fish.[268] The descriptions indicate that the ceramics were likely from the later end of this period, perhaps the twelfth century.

2.12. The Triconch Church

The Triconch Church occupies the crossroads immediately southwest of the Civil Basilica. It was excavated over the course of a single season in 1962, with further sondages carried out in 1993, 2000 and 2002.[269] This was the most important intersection in the southern part of the ancient city. At an unknown moment the crossroads was monumentalised through the construction of a Tetrakionion – four freestanding monolithic columns on octagonal bases spaced a little over 8m apart in a perfect square. Each column rose to a height of 10.42m, and likely

[267] Smith – Ratté (1996), 16.
[268] *NBk*.336, 11.
[269] *NBk*.010; 332; 403; 419.

carried an over life-size statue.[270] In the sixth century, the Tetrakionion was enveloped within a large Triconch Church (Fig. 2.26). I am currently preparing a detailed article on the architecture and later history of this church.[271] Here I present a brief summary of the first phase church before considering its Middle Byzantine afterlife.

The four columns now stood in the corners of a square *naos*, with large lateral apses to north and south (Fig. 2.27). Barrel vaults to the east and west extended the longitudinal axis of the church. An arcade supported by a miscellany of reused double engaged columns illuminated the east apse. Monumental doorjambs dating to the second century AD were employed as the principal entrance in the western façade. Two further entrances in the eastern sides of the lateral apses opened onto the street to the east. At each exterior corner of the *naos* was a quarter circle niche framing a single freestanding column. These four exterior columns replicated and represented those on the interior, resulting in a truly unique architectural configuration.

2.12.1. Middle Byzantine Renovation

The fate of the Triconch Church during the Early Byzantine Period is obscure, but it appears to have maintained its structural integrity. Several additions to the church attest to renovation(s) in the Middle Byzantine period.

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[270] C.f Wilberg – Heberdey (1906).
[271] Cormack briefly considered the church, which he considered to be of eleventh-century construction, in two articles: Cormack (1981), 114; (1990b), 34. Roueché presents the church's dedicatory inscription: ala2004, **100**.

A stepped stylobate was installed between the eastern bases of the Tetrakionion, behind which an earth fill raised the floor level of the east apse by around 60cm. The steps of the stylobate are the same width as the epistyles of a new *templon* barrier, and were probably cut from the same source blocks. This epistyle may be dated on stylistic grounds to the eleventh century (Figs. 3.26-28).[272]

The paving slabs of the ancient crossroads had served as the original floor in the *naos*. The floor as excavated is a patchwork of repairs, as much as 17cm above the ancient paving. This is especially pronounced in the south apse, which employs a haphazard collection of octagonal, square and rectangular tiles between larger paving slabs. The heterogeneity of the floor surfaces in the lateral apses reflects their repeated disturbance for the insertion of Middle Byzantine burials.[273]

The two small apsidal chapels flank the east apse. Their masonry does not bond with that of the first phase church. The chapels were reached through short passages in the eastern walls of the lateral apses, which had originally served as entrances from the exterior. The thresholds of the first phase open into the *naos*, and could be locked from the interior of the church. In the phase associated with the chapels new thresholds were crudely wedged into the passages, allowing for doors that opened into the chapels. The construction trench of the north chapel

[272] **4.1.3.1.**
[273] **5.1.3.1.**

was identified in 2002.[274] While the fill of this trench did not yield datable ceramics, it did truncate the southern wall of a cist grave, demonstrating that the chapels were added after burials had begun to be placed around the exterior of the church.[275]

The *narthex* is similarly a secondary addition, and does not bond with the original west façade. It is approached by a descending staircase from the west, which mediates between the higher elevation of the latest road level and the lower elevation of the *narthex* pavement. This pavement is similar in composition to those in the *naos*, which patched repairs of octagonal and rectangular marble tiles. However, in the *narthex* there is no ancient road paving beneath this floor. The *narthex* foundations are also significantly deeper than those of the first phase church. Multiple burials in tombs constructed from plastered marble panels were installed beneath the *narthex* floor.[276] The road surface may have been systematically removed in anticipation of these burials.

A Class A2 anonymous follis, minted 976-1028, was found in one of these tombs.[277] The coin provides a secure *terminus post quem* only for the second inhumation in the tomb, but confirms that the burials are generally Middle Byzantine rather than late antique. It is therefore possible that chapels, *narthex* and *templon* belong to a single renovation, perhaps, according to the style of the *templon* epistyle, in the eleventh century.

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[274] *NBk.*419, 123-127.
[275] **5.1.3.1.**
[276] **5.1.3.2.**
[277] #475.

2.12.2. Destruction and Afterlife

The collapse of the upper elevation of the Triconch Church was a dramatic event. The columns of the Tetrakionion shattered and fell – that at the northwestern corner crashed through the wall of the northern apse. There are no traces of fire anywhere within the interior of the church. The most likely culprit is an earthquake.

The 1962 excavation found no coherent sections of vaulting. Excavation photographs show broken column shafts stacked erect in the interior corners of the building, and the excavator inferred a "shuffle" of large architectural elements to the edges of the church.[278] A low wall of rubble and broken architectural elements was found running across the east apse (Fig. 2.28).[279] One of the sections of Tetrakionion column shaft had been rolled against the northern wall of the apse, and the rubble wall was constructed against it. At the centre of the wall was a gateway. Broken pieces of the *templon* epistyle were built into the low wall with their decorated soffits facing the *naos*. The wall therefore appears to have been a makeshift liturgical barrier.

The pavement of the *naos* was cut by a large number of burials. A few child burials were also cut into the raised earth fill in the east apse. The burials in the apse are positioned in relation to low wall, and all appear to be later. Ivison

[278] Bell (1962), 7-8.
[279] Bell (1962), 7-8. A sondage was dug immediately behind the southern portion of the wall, and it had disintegrated by the 1970s.

dated the ceramics associated with the burials in the *naos* to the thirteenth century.[280] The cemetery is discussed in the final chapter of this thesis.[281]

There are therefore two principal phases subsequent to the collapse of the upper vaulting. Following an earthquake, rubble collapse was cleared and the central *naos* and east apse freed from larger marble elements. The sanctuary was redefined with an improvised barrier, permitting the continued liturgical and congregational function of the ruined structure. At a later date the church interior began to be used as a cemetery, and the presence of graves in the east apse precludes the celebration of the Eucharist. While the relative chronology is clear, there are only two fixed absolute dates for the Middle Byzantine life of the Triconch Church: the creation of the *templon* epistyles in the eleventh century, and cemetery in the thirteenth.

2.13. The Theatre Hill

The Theatre Hill is an artificial höyük resulting from the accumulated debris of millennia of prehistoric occupation (Fig. 2.29). The *cavea* of the Theatre was cut into the eastern face of the höyük in the late Hellenistic period, and the stage buildings erected during the reign of Augustus (Fig. 2.30).[282] The aedicular façade collapsed into the orchestra as a result of an earthquake, likely in the early seventh century.

[280] Smith – Ratté (1995), 50.
[281] **5.1.3.3.**
[282] de Chaisemartin – Theodorescu (2016).

Erim's Theatre excavations began in 1965. Over the subsequent five years, a series of deep shafts exposed the northern half of the *cavea*, stage building and orchestra.[283] In 1970 three massive earth ramps enabled wheelbarrow access to the lower *cavea*.[284] In 1971 a large area of the southern *cavea* was excavated in phase.[285] Clearance of the *cavea* continued until 1973, after which excavation turned to the *analemmata*.[286] Between 1967 and 1973, deep trenches explored the prehistoric levels of the höyük west of the *cavea*. Reports mention several strata of "Turkish" or Ottoman occupation, beneath which were two strata of Middle Byzantine structures divided by a destruction deposit.[287]

The first redevelopment of the Theatre Hill subsequent to the earthquake was the construction of a defensive wall across the rear of the stage building. The wall was neatly built from large ashlars with courses of column shafts laid perpendicular to the face. Its mortared rubble core contained fragments of statues that had shattered when the stage building collapsed.[288] This wall predates the earliest occupation within the *cavea* and represents a fortified refuge of the seventh century.[289] Most remarkable is the use of mask and garland friezes in stringcourses, demonstrating a concern for the aesthetic coherence of the new fortifications and ancient cityscape.

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[283] *NBk*.033, 046, 048, 065, 066, 067, 073, 074.
[284] *NBk*.088-98.
[285] *NBk*.105-29.
[286] *NBk*.138-42, 146-51.
[287] Erim (1968c), 70; (1969), 44; Kadish (1971), 129; (1969), 53; Marchese (1976), 394. Five tenth/eleventh-century *folles* were recorded from these excavations, #101, 157, 164, 243, 380.
[288] Erim (1971), 27; (1980), 17.
[289] Ratté (2001), 139, Fig. 5.18; de Chaisemartin – Theodorescu (2016), Pls. 16b, 19b. C.f. seventh-century fortifications at Miletos: Niewöhner (2012).

The post-antique structures within the *cavea* may be assigned to three broad phases (Fig. 2.31). Phase one consists of features made prior to an artificial levelling of the lower *cavea*. Phase two incorporates structures above the levelling fill that are all sealed by a massive burnt deposit. Phase three includes all structures above the burnt deposit. Profile drawings and photographs demonstrate that the stratigraphy within the *cavea* did not slope steeply towards the centre.[290] Structures at higher elevations extend horizontally towards the centre of the *cavea*, completely covering structures at lower elevations (Fig. 2.32). Distinct phases therefore reflect diachronic accumulation.

2.13.1. Phase One

A natural earth accumulation covered collapsed architectural elements in the orchestra to a depth of around 2m.[291] The soil within the orchestra was waterlogged, and preserved pieces of timber and wooden artefacts, including three combs.[292] No glazed wares were recovered from these waterlogged contexts, but a *follis* of Leo VI (886-912) was found in the orchestra pit.[293]

Several artificial features were recorded immediately above this layer. A small lime pit lined with stones was cut over the stage building, just north of the south

[290] *NBk*.066, 25.
[291] *NBk*.066, 25: 094, 11.
[292] Erim (1972), 36; (1973b), 64-65, Figs. 17-18
[293] #16.

parodos.[294] Structures are represented solely by orthogonal arrangements of large architectural blocks, representing the foundation courses for construction in mud brick and timber. The best-documented example was uncovered in 1970 beneath the lowermost of the three excavation ramps leading to the orchestra.[295] Eight large marble blocks, including one inscribed statue base, were arranged in a rectangular formation, with a further four forming a line perpendicular to the rectangle (Fig. 2.33).[296] This could be reconstructed as a single room structure or enclosure accompanied by a lean-to shelter. A coarse ceramic bowl was discovered inverted in the ground immediately west of the line of blocks, associated with some "charcoal remnants".[297] The bowl may represent a placed deposit beneath the floor of a structure.[298] Excavation in the north *parodos* revealed a similar arrangement at an elevation 3m above the *parodos* floor. Photographs show an L-shaped formation of blocks defining a rectangle against the "archive wall" to the south and the seventh-century fortification wall to the east.[299] It is difficult to estimate dimensions from the notebook photographs, but this appears to be a large single room structure.

Throughout the Early Byzantine Period, occupation in the theatre was limited to a very few timber and mud brick structures nestled above collapsed architectural elements. The structures are not necessarily houses, and could well

[294] *NBk.*123, 52.
[295] *NBk.*088, 39.
[296] *NBk.*094, 70; Statue base, ala2004 **65**.
[297] *NBk.*094, 73.
[298] C.f. Segal – Hunter (2000); Shaked (2013).
[299] *NBk.*074, 81.

be agricultural pens and shelters. The area's poor drainage resulted in a swampy soil that would have made permanent occupation unattractive.

2.13.2. Phase Two

The natural accumulation in the orchestra was covered by a layer of rubble collapse with very little carbonised material.[300] Immediately above this deposit are the earliest masonry walls in the *cavea*, which are invariably associated with glazed ceramics.[301]

Erim's reports date all structures to the later eleventh and twelfth centuries on the basis of ceramics described as "sgraffito".[302] Tomory studied much of the medieval ceramics from the theatre, and identified large quantities of pseudo-Zeuxippos and St. Symeon wares of the later twelfth and early thirteenth century.[303] During the course of her study of Ottoman ceramics conducted in 1999, François was unable to identify these wares in extant boxes, but did identify some thirteenth-century vessels.[304] She noted a complete caesura in the fourteenth century, followed by an increasing number of fifteenth and sixteenth-century fragments.[305] It is therefore possible to infer the general outlines of the settlement history of the Theatre Hill. Occupation began in earnest in the later eleventh or twelfth century, continued into the thirteenth, ceased in the

[300] *NBk.*066, 25.
[301] *NBk.*065, 42.
[302] Erim (1970a), 87; (1972), 36; (1973b), 64-65.
[303] Tomory (1980), 73-76.
[304] François (2001), 149.
[305] François (2001), 188.

fourteenth, and resumed during the fifteenth. Thereafter the hill was continuously occupied until the inauguration of Erim's excavations. However, no attempt has been made to systematically relate the ceramic record to building phases, and such a task is likely impossible.

Here I briefly present the best-documented examples of early masonry structures in the *cavea*. The excavators labelled structures with reference to the *cuneus* – the wedge of seating – over which they were situated. I have chosen to retain this system, numbering *cunei* one through eleven anticlockwise from the north.

The northern quarter-circle of the *cavea* was excavated in a series of shafts. Inconsistencies in recording frustrate any attempt to align the walls recorded across the different trenches, though the general stratigraphy appears to be consistent.[306] The earliest structures were recorded at an elevation around 4-5m above the orchestra floor.[307]

The only walls recorded in any detail are those in 1968 trench VI, covering 12 by 8m oriented north-south over the first *cuneus* and the northernmost portion of the stage (Fig. 2.32). Masonry walls of a single construction phase define a rectangular structure. The longitudinal walls roughly follow the orientation of the *cavea*. They employ much larger foundations than the one exposed short wall, perhaps since they bore the weight of the roof. At the centre of the short

[306] *NBk.*032, 20 c.f. 066, 25.
[307] *NBk*.032, 12; 074, 79.

wall is a doorway with vertical jambs.[308] A large relief of a winged Nike was broken up to serve as building material.[309] Three large storage vessels were set into the interior floor.[310] Dimensions are only given for the westernmost (diameter: 46cm, H.: 52cm). Within this vessel was a smaller pot containing a few bones (diameter: 14cm). The storage vessel in the centre of the structure contained several eggshells, while that to the east was apparently empty. The upper rims of the vessels were destroyed by fallen stones and roof tiles, and large quantities of charred wood were recovered from their interiors. A blackened layer of burnt collapse, well over a metre thick, covered the entire structure.[311] Similar burnt layers were found at approximately the same elevation across the northern portion of the *cavea*.[312]

It is easier to reconstruct the outlines of distinct structures in the southern quarter circle of the *cavea*, since this was brought down in phase. Three principal units are identified, the Houses of the Ninth, Tenth and Sixth Cunei. No scale plans were made for these structures, but notebook sketches give a sense of their outlines and proportions.

The earliest unit is the House of the Ninth Cuneus (Fig. 2.34). A wall was constructed across the entire width of the twelfth row of seating on the ninth *cuneus*. The seating of the tenth and eleventh rows was removed in order to

[308] *NBk*.065, 36.
[309] *NBk*.065, 33.
[310] *NBk*.065, 40-41.
[311] *NBk*.065, 29; 066, 25.
[312] *NBk*.067, 10; 032, 12.

permit an undisturbed floor surface within the new structure.[313] A large rectangular space was subdivided into two rooms. To the north of this structure a long curving wall roughly followed the curvature of the *cavea*, though it was not constructed immediately above it. At least three perpendicular walls articulated bays that were enclosed on three sides but open to the east. The northernmost portion of the curving wall, designated "Wall A" by the excavator, stood to a height of around 2m and included two deep niches around 50cm above the lowest course.

Large quantities of animal bone were found immediately west of the dividing wall within the house.[314] In the northeastern corner of the same room, a marble life-sized head of a woman was found beneath the floor level.[315] An excavation photograph shows the head upright in its original context.[316] Since this is precisely the area in which theatre seats were removed, the position of a sculptural piece beneath the floor cannot be explained as chance, and likely represents a placed deposit.

The House of the Tenth Cuneus is likewise articulated with its rear wall along a row of theatre seating (Fig. 2.35). On the seventeenth row, it is at a significantly higher elevation than that of the House of the Ninth Cuneus. The stratigraphic relationship between the two units is unclear. The footprints of the structures do not overlap, and so it remains possible that they were inhabited

313 *NBk*.115, 44-45.
314 *NBk*.115, 45.
315 Inv.71-150.
316 *NBk*.115, 37.

simultaneously.[317] The rear wall was composed of *petit appareil* and large seating blocks laid directly on the *cavea*, extending across the entire tenth *cuneus* and a little way onto the eleventh.[318] A gap was left for a doorway corresponding with the staircase that divided the tenth and eleventh *cunei*. *Petit appareil* walls articulate an irregular quadrangle against the *cuneus*, with maximum dimensions of 6.80 by 2.99m. Another entrance is positioned in the western wall. Several more walls in the area belong to a secondary phase. They make use of many large blocks, and are generally more irregular. The walls are perpendicular to the *cavea*, and articulate a series of large open bays much in the same manner as the walls to the north of the House of the Ninth Cuneus.

An excavation photograph captioned "House of the Tenth Cuneus" shows the lower portion of a large storage vessel comparable to those found in the structure within trench VI.[319] Small finds included a copper alloy bracelet and a small blue bead.[320] A "kitchen area" was identified immediately to the east, in front of the eleventh *cuneus*.[321] The entire area was covered by a dense deposit of roof tile and charred collapse 0.4m in depth.[322] A complete glazed bowl was discovered in fragments in the burn layer.[323]

All walls in this phase are articulated roughly according to circumferential and radial lines of the Theatre. The settlement consisted of a few large enclosed

[317] The units are planned as if a single phase at *NBk*.116, 5.
[318] *NBk*.114, 3.
[319] *NBk*.119, 9.
[320] *NBk*.115, 22.
[321] *NBk*.114, 9.
[322] *NBk*.114, 61.
[323] *NBk*.115, 40.

spaces preceded by a radial arrangement of spaces open towards the centre of the *cavea* – perhaps a series of open animal barns with enclosed living spaces on upper storeys. The doorway in the rear of the House of the Tenth Cuneus demonstrates that the original stairways between the *cunei* were still the most obvious means by which to ascend the *cavea*. Large storage vessels were set into the floors of living spaces, kitchen areas were generally outdoors, and glazed tablewares were regularly used. Since these are the earliest structures above the leveling fill, they likely represent later eleventh/twelfth-century occupation.

The House of the Sixth Cuneus marks a major break in the settlement pattern (Fig. 2.36). It is a freestanding rectangular structure, measuring 19.5 by 5.8m and oriented east-west across the centre of the *cavea*.[324] Its western end covers the northernmost walls associated with the House of the Ninth Cuneus, but it is at roughly the same elevation as the House in the Tenth Cuneus. Walls survive to a maximum height of 1.39m, and are solidly constructed of mortared fieldstones. Interior walls articulate three rooms of roughly equal size. That to the west could only be reached from the exterior, while that at the centre opened into the easternmost room. An upper storey is likely. The walls were filled by a blackened destruction layer around 0.4m deep.

A variety of small finds were associated with this structure. A bone needle with two pierced holes was uncovered in the eastern room.[325] Half of a round hand

[324] Photo at *NBk*.115, 71.
[325] *NBk*.115, 66.

mill and a concave grinding stone attest to agricultural processing.[326] Many fragments were found of a spouted bowl or mortarium in blue marble, at least 40cm in diameter and 20cm deep, likely of late antique manufacture.[327] A copper alloy ring with a flat bezel was found in the westernmost room.[328]

The construction of the House of the Sixth Cuneus reflects a communal effort an order of magnitude more complex than that required for the relatively small and piecemeal structures previously erected in the Theatre. Its date is unclear, though it must be later than the House of the Ninth Cuneus. Massive charred destruction layers are found over the earliest structures in the *cavea* both in its northern and southern portions. The uniformity of this deposit across the entire area suggests a single catastrophic event. Since the burnt deposit covers the House of the Sixth Cuneus, I tentatively ascribe the latest occupation within this house to the same phase as the latest occupation of the earliest structures elsewhere in the *cavea* (Fig. 2.31). The date of the catastrophic destruction event is impossible to determine. One might speculate that the event anticipates the absence of fourteenth-century ceramics noted by François, but this remains an educated guess.[329]

[326] *NBk*.115, 74; 116, 28.
[327] *NBk*.116, 26-33.
[328] *NBk*.116, 4.
[329] François (2001), 188.

2.13.3. Phase Three

A great many structures were noted above the destruction levels that signal the end of phase two in the Theatre *cavea*. They extend over the entirety of the cavea, completely covering earlier occupation.[330] This phase principally consists of the structures around the level of the *diazoma* documented 1965 through 1969, but also the upper level of occupation in trench VI (Fig. 2.32) and the houses at higher elevations in the 1970 ramps.[331] Though the notebooks consistently refer to walls as "Byzantine", small finds and coins are frequently described as "Turkish".[332] Diagnostically early modern artefacts, such as tobacco pipe fragments, are common.[333] These structures likely correspond to the Ottoman ceramics studied by François, and constitute the fifteenth through twentieth-century settlement. Rooms are generally articulated according to the contours of the *cavea*, and there is no single structure on a scale approaching that of the House of the Sixth Cuneus.

2.13.4. The Kastron

The above discussion of occupation in the *cavea* has made no reference to the erection of fortification walls around the Theatre Hill in the Middle Byzantine period. Very little remains of these walls, save for a short stretch on the hill's western slope and a small bastion overlooking the Place of Palms to the north.

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[330] *NBk*.114, 9.
[331] In particular, *NBk*.088.
[332] *NBk*.046, 9; 088, 37, 38, 54.
[333] *NBk*.067, 3; 073, 19.

A key observation for the chronology of the fortifications derives from the reports of the prehistoric excavations. The construction of the walls on the western portion of the Theatre Hill was preceded by a massive levelling fill of loose rubble, which cut and covered prehistoric strata. Above the levelling fill was a stratum designated "Early/Middle Byzantine", which was in turn sealed by a massive destruction event. A further layer of "Middle Byzantine/Seljuk" occupation was found above the destruction deposits, and subsequent "Ottoman" and "Turkish" levels above that.[334] The stratigraphy here mirrors that of the *cavea*, and the "Early/Middle Byzantine" occupation on the hilltop may correspond to the phase two structures described above.

If so, it follows that the construction of the fortification walls immediately precedes phase two, and should be dated to the later eleventh or twelfth century. This is the same date that was suggested by Erim, who assumed that the fortification of the Theatre Hill was a response to Seljuk incursions around the final quarter of the eleventh century.[335] The erection of new fortifications has since been demonstrated to be a common phenomenon of the Maeander region in the Komnenian period.[336] Independent confirmation of Erim's dating may be found in the masonry construction of the surviving bastion. Fieldstones are framed between vertical and horizontal bricks according to the cloisonné technique typical of Komnenian fortifications.[337]

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[334] Kadish (1969), 53; Marchese (1976), 394.
[335] Erim (1969), 43; (1971), 27.
[336] **3.4.3.**
[337] Foss (1982), 191; Crow (2017), 102.

2.13.5. Summary

Subsequent to the collapse of the stage building, a wall was constructed across the eastern limit of the Theatre. This represents a fortified refuge of the seventh century. The wall is not associated with much permanent occupation within the *cavea* itself. Poor drainage ensured that this remained little more than a swampy hollow throughout the Early Byzantine Period, occupied only by a few small houses or animal pens. In the later eleventh or twelfth century, a rubble fill levelled the lowermost portion of the *cavea* and the western portion of the hill. This allowed for the construction of a new *kastron*, and domestic structures accumulated both in the *cavea* and on the hilltop. Within the *cavea*, these took the form of living chambers and open barns arranged according to the contours of the theatre. Subsequently a huge freestanding rectangular structure was erected across the *cavea*. All these buildings were destroyed in a catastrophic fire, the date of which is uncertain, but which likely precedes the fourteenth century. Occupation resumed in the fifteenth century at an elevation above the destruction deposits.

2.14. The Shape of the Settlement

I want to conclude by addressing three issues concerning the physical articulation of Karia/Stauropolis: chronological development, the topographic extent of occupation, and domestic and ecclesiastical architecture.

The most archaeologically visible period of Middle Byzantine Aphrodisias is the turn of the thirteenth century. This visibility is begotten of destruction and

abandonment. The Cathedral probably burnt to the ground around this time, and likewise the House in the North Agora Stoa. Ceramic evidence for occupation on the Tetrapylon Street significantly diminishes from the second quarter of the thirteenth century. The fourteenth century is barely represented in the ceramic assemblage from the Theatre Hill, where the earliest inhabitation layers are sealed by charred collapse. Prior to this unstable period, twelfth-century Aphrodisias was a prosperous regional centre importing and producing ceramics on a significant scale.[338] Constantinopolitan connections are best evidenced in the tenth and eleventh centuries. Within the Bishop's Palace various Glazed White Wares attest to a particularly Constantinopolitan material culture. But White Wares and chafing dishes are found across excavated sectors, suggesting that the import economy of the episcopal complex did not operate independently from that of the rest of the settlement.

Ceramics of the Early Byzantine Period are fewer and more difficult to identify. Öztaşkın has documented a sharp increase across the site around the end of the ninth century.[339] An absence of recognisable ceramics does not preclude inhabitation. Forms may simply have been extremely coarse, or more durable wooden or metal vessels may have been preferred to relatively labour-intensive and fragile ceramics.[340] Lead seals attest to the activities of military governors and their subordinates.[341] The city likely remained occupied during the eighth

[338] Öztaşkın (2017), 185.
[339] Öztaşkın (2017), 168.
[340] Vionis – Poblome – Waelkens (2009).
[341] Jeffery (Forthcoming/a) nos. 28, 29, 30.

and ninth centures, though the archaeological footprint of the population was very light.

Where exactly did this population live? Most previous studies have assumed that the Theatre Hill was the primary site of vernacular settlement, subordinate to a single elite residential complex at the Bishop's Palace.[342] The above analysis of the Theatre Hill suggests that there was little occupation of the höyük until the later eleventh century. Recent excavations have demonstrated dense occupation on the Tetrapylon Street and the existence of elite occupation beneath the museum. This lower settlement, occupying a similar area as the Ottoman village of Geyre, was the primary nucleus of Middle Byzantine occupation. The cemeteries around the Cathedral and Triconch Church likely marked the western limit of residential settlement, while the stadium and the pool in the Place of Palms provided readymade enclosures for livestock.

Middle Byzantine towns are often assumed to have been warrens of winding cul-de-sacs, following the model of twelfth-century Pergamon.[343] Likewise, the Pergamon-style "Courtyard House", in which a series of rooms are arranged facing a walled courtyard, is sometimes presented as archetypal.[344] So, for example, an eleventh-century courtyard house at Hierapolis stood independent of the ruins of the ancient city. Previous structures provided a source of building material, but did not determine the dimensions or orientation of the medieval

[342] Hebert (2000), 204-210; Caruso (2016), 353.
[343] Rheidt (1991), Türkoğlu (2004).
[344] Bouras (1982), 8; Türkoğlu (2004); Dark (2004), 94-95;

house.[345] Middle Byzantine Aphrodisias was constructed into and against the standing remains of the ancient city. Nothing that could be meaningfully described as a "Courtyard House" has yet been excavated. The House in the North Agora Stoa and the structures in the Civil Basilica exploited massive standing walls. New structures articulated rectangular spaces that were oriented to the points of the compass, reproducing the grid plan of the first century BC. Ancient roadways were followed, though with unpaved streets at a higher elevation. On the Theatre Hill the earliest residential structures followed the curvature of the *cavea*, and positioned doorways on the ancient stairways between the *cunei*. In the Bishop's Palace and the residential complex beneath the museum medieval feet trod repaired ancient floors. The situation is perhaps comparable to Middle Byzantine Athens, where the reuse of walls and floors occasionally resulted in approximations of the classical peristyle courtyard plan.[346]

The same principles apply to the settlement's ecclesiastical architecture. No new churches of the Middle Byzantine period have been identified at the site. The Cathedral and the Triconch Church maintained their structural integrity throughout the Early Byzantine Period. The reconstructed West Church provides the only example of a typically Middle Byzantine vaulted elevation, though set within the limits of a late antique plan. To these one should also add the martyrion of Barbara and Anastasia, whose existence is demonstrated by the

[345] Arthur (2006), 111-114.
[346] Travlos (1960), 159; Bouras (1982) 10-11.

Middle Byzantine inscription published by Roueché.[347] The location, form and date of this building remain a mystery. The inscription is found on an ancient lintel at least 1.50m in length, suggesting a large doorframe and perhaps by implication another major church. Three, perhaps four, large churches dominated the skyline, testifying to the monumental ambitions of a small but prosperous town.

[347] **ala**2004, 108.

Coinage and Monetary Economy

The descriptive catalogue that accompanies this chapter was assembled from a variety of sources. It combines the archives of previous scholars, most notably that of Michael Hendy, with the direct study of coins not previously recorded. Full details of these sources are given in the foreword to the catalogue. One of the most useful sources was the acquisitions register of the Aphrodisias Museum. This comprises dozens of bound volumes recording purchases of portable antiquities made by the museum from the early 1980s through to the present day. A photograph of each artefact was recorded with its alleged provenance, generally to the nearest modern village. This has allowed for the construction of catalogues of medieval coinage for eleven sites in the Morsynos Valley and Tabai Plain. The chapter sets the monetary economy of Aphrodisias within the context of its rural hinterland and the wider region. It thereby explores long term developments in the political economy of the Byzantine Maeander.

At a little over seven hundred coins, the catalogue for the Morsynos Valley is now one of the largest for any medieval Byzantine site. In simple terms of size, it compares favourably with those for coin finds at Saraçhane or Amorium, which include 481 and 427 medieval coins respectively.[348] The size and geographic range of the catalogue ought to ensure that it provides a representative view on

[348] "Medieval" here defined as Constantine IV through Michael VIII (668-1282). Hendy (1986), 278-373; Katsari – Lightfoot – Özme (2012), 136-65.

monetary developments in the region. But here it is important to ask what it is that is supposedly developing. Do fluctuations in the numbers of recorded coins reflect demography, the level of market complexity, or the subjection of a community to a fiscal/military complex? Or perhaps some messy triangulation between the three? Though sheer weight of data is striking, tables and graphs are by no means self-explanatory, and various interpretations could be offered for the same dataset. My aim in the following discussion is therefore not only to present the empirical results of my research, but also to explore how money structured social and economic realities for the inhabitants of medieval Aphrodisias.

This is a subject with a long history. In fact, it was the observation that Early Byzantine coinage was generally absent from provincial cities that first brought the nature of these settlements into controversy**.** The resulting numismatic debate produced many seminal articles of the early and mid-twentieth century that in later decades shaped the parameters of the developing field of Byzantine archaeology. The first section of this chapter surveys this historiographical background.

Discussion is then structured according to three broad chronological divisions, roughly corresponding to three different monetary regimes: the Early Byzantine (c.700-875), Middle Byzantine (c.875-1092) and Komnenian (1092-1204) periods. Through numismatics we may explore the complex and evolving relationships between local exchange, population growth and the demands of the fiscal apparatus. I consider the last of these to have been the most significant.

Especially during the earlier part of the period in question, the commercialised proportion of GDP was generally low, and money was distributed primarily according to the needs of the state. But the fiscal apparatus also fostered the monetisation that created the conditions for local commercial exchange.

The following pages will be incomprehensible without a brief overview of the Early and Middle Byzantine monetary system. This was a tri-metallic coinage, with denominations in duodecimal fractions. The highest denomination was the gold *solidus* or *nomisma*, valued at seventy-two to the pound. Twelve silver *miliaresia* equalled one *nomisma*, and twenty-four copper alloy *folles* were equivalent to one *miliaresion*.[349] The value of the lower denominations lay in their relation to the *nomisma*. The essentially fiduciary nature of the system set the legal value of the *miliaresion* at approximately twice its bullion value, and allowed for fluctuation in the weight of the *follis*.[350]

3.1. Coinage and the Medieval Byzantine Town

Monetised economy and medieval urbanism, though a potentially misleading equivalence, have a long and intertwined history within Byzantine studies. The major publications that would form the initial basis for debate were published prior to the outbreak of the Second World War. As I mentioned in the introduction to this thesis, the early decades of the twentieth century witnessed a first wave of Byzantine urban archaeology at Corinth and Athens. It was these

[349] Grierson (1982), 14-16.
[350] Morrisson (1979a).

excavations that produced the earliest archaeological catalogues of Byzantine coins. At Corinth, Edwards produced catalogues first of all coins recovered 1896-1929 and subsequently those found 1930-35.[351] The first Byzantine coins to be published from the Athenian Agora were 63 copper alloy issues dating between 711 and 741 in 1940.[352] A full catalogue would not emerge until 1954.[353] The controversy that erupted over the interpretation of these catalogues would have to wait until the post-war period.

Immediately apparent within the Corinthian corpus was a marked scarcity of *folles* beginning with the successors of Constans II (641-68) and continuing until the reign of Theophilos (829-42). As these coins were an almost unique resource when first published it is perhaps unsurprising that this gap was assumed to reflect circumstances unique to the city.[354] Setton argued that the Onogur Bulgars occupied Corinth late in the reign of Constans II, and that during the subsequent centuries the city was outside of Constantinople's direct control.[355] Bon proposed an alternative situation according to which this scarcity of coins existed throughout the region in his 1951 study of the Middle Byzantine Peloponnese.[356] However, it was Kazdhan's 1954 article on *Vizantiiskie Goroda VII-XI vv* that first indicated the true geographic extent of this phenomenon.[357]

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[351] Edwards (1933), (1937).
[352] Thompson (1940).
[353] Thompson (1954), 67-76.
[354] C.f Bell (1916), ix; when the same gap was identified in the sequence from the Temple of Artemis at Sardis it was naturally assumed to relate to quarry work at the temple site rather than to any broader pattern.
[355] Setton (1950); for the reception of this article within the context of the "Slavic Question" see Curta (2005).
[356] Bon (1951).
[357] Kazdhan (1954)

His study marshalled evidence not only from Corinth and Athens, but also from Asia Minor and the collections of the Hermitage and British Museum.[358] The results were uniformly bleak, suggesting that copper alloy coinage was in very short supply across the entire empire from the late seventh century until the early ninth. From Priene, for example, only two specimens dated between Constans II and the A2 anonymous *follis*.[359] Kazdhan argued for a general decline in urban economies and an associated deterioration of the material condition of the cities. Two further publications also supported this position; the complete corpus of Athenian coinage published in the same year and the English language article of Charanis published in 1955.[360]

Kazdhan's pessimistic appraisal provoked several responses seeking either to nuance or refute his central thesis. Perhaps the most influential of these was that of Ostrogorsky. Within Ostrogorsky's historical narrative the seventh and eighth centuries were a much-needed period of renovation from which the state emerged refreshed and restored in its Middle Byzantine form, the strength of the empire resting in the farmer-soldiers of the thematic armies.[361] The collapse of the late Roman system was not to be seen as precipitating a lengthy period of crisis but as providing the crucial opportunity for transformation.[362] He argued that Kazdhan had erred in ignoring the maintenance of the gold coinage

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[358] Kazdhan's key sources included Thompson (1940); Bon (1951); Wroth (1908); Tolstoy (1912-14); Edwards (1933), (1937); Butler (1922); Regling (1927); Mosser (1935); Newell (1945).
[359] Regling (1927), 185-86.
[360] Thompson (1954); Charanis (1955).
[361] Ostrogorsky (1956); for the twentieth-century context in which this model was advanced see Górecki (2009).
[362] Ostrogorsky (1959), 48.

throughout the period. In support he adduced both the evidence of hoards, such as the 102 *nomismata* dating from the reigns of Leo III to Theophilos found near Lagbe (Söğüt Gölü), and the fact that the number of gold coins in the Hermitage collection actually increases for this period.[363] Moreover, he believed that the *notitiae*, which list episcopal sees as *poleis*, implied the continued existance of urban centres. He therefore envisaged "the continued existence of a developed monetary economy", supporting settlements that were not mere *kasta* or refuge points but centres of trade and production.[364]

Haldon has since demonstrated that the precise terms used to describe settlements in Middle Byzantine texts do not differentiate between levels of urban complexity.[365] But Ostrgorsky's emphasis on the circulation of gold has proved a more enduring critique. In this he was supported by Vryonis, who argued from coin hoards found in the vicinity of Athens that a monetary economy based primarily on gold was a central feature of the provinces during the seventh through ninth centuries.[366]

While the conclusions of Vryonis and Ostrogorsky were radically different from those of Kazdhan, underlying all was the assumption that a more or less direct correlation existed between the degree to which an economy was monetised and the complexity of social structure it might support. The contribution of Zakythinos, published in a 1966 *festschrift* in memory of Anastasios Orlandos but

[363] Ostrogorsky (1959), 60-63; Newell (1945).
[364] Ostrogorsky (1959), 63.
[365] Haldon (1999a); Crow (2017), 298.
[366] Vyronis (1963).

first presented in London in 1961, is therefore of particular importance. He accepted widespread demonetisation but maintained that local *archontes* might preserve their ability to control agricultural surplus in a "parafeudal" system.[367] Zakythinos' *grande brèche dans la tradition de l'Hellénisme du septième au neuvième siècle* was framed in terms of administration and artistic style, not as a retreat to a subsistence economy.

Nevertheless the absence of copper alloy issues across the provinces of the eighth-century empire was becoming ever more clear. In 1960 Metcalfe found a similar gap in the coinage of the northern Balkans, with only a very few finds dating between 610 and 829.[368] The work of Clive Foss suggested a similar picture for Asia Minor. Over 1,200 coins were uncovered at Sardis between the years 1958 and 1968. Of these 121 were minted after AD 650, and only five during the period 668-815.[369] Since 1968 only two further examples from this period have been found at Sardis; a follis of Tiberius III minted in 698/9 and another of Nikephoros I minted 803-811.[370] When Foss published the Ephesos coins in 1979, copper alloy issues of the eighth and ninth centuries were represented by a single issue of Leo VI.[371] Two folles of Constantine V and one of Theophilos have since been discovered.[372] Similar gaps were found to exist in the coin finds from Xanthos and Limyra along the Lycian coastline.[373] At Pessinous

[367] Zakythinos (1966).
[368] Metcalfe (1960).
[369] Foss (1976).
[370] Evans (2018), 242.
[371] Foss (1979), appendix VII. At present only those Byzantine coins found before 1977 have been published.
[372] Morrisson (2001), 383.
[373] Foss (1994).

no medieval coins are found before those of the eleventh century.[374] Further data from the Peloponnese now supports the pattern first noticed at Corinth and Athens.[375] Recent publication of the numismatic material from Hierapolis shows that copper alloy coinage disappears between the late seventh century and the reign of Theophilos (AD 829-42).[376] The same break in copper alloy coinage is evident for Paphlagonia.[377] The universality of this coin gap can perhaps best be appreciated from the site histograms provided by Cécile Morrisson in the *Economic History of Byzantium*, and from Christopher Lightfoot's summaries in his recent publication of the Amorium catalogue.[378]

It has been suggested that one cause for the apparent scarcity of copper coins is that archaeologists have been looking in the wrong places. Very few excavations, especially in Asia Minor, have specifically targeted Middle Byzantine settlements, and the major administrative sites of the medieval empire are now obscured by the modern cities of Konya, Izmir, Ancyra, Kayseri and Antalya.[379] Against the prevailing orthodoxy of demonetisation, Whittow proposed that if early medieval fortifications were to be excavated the numismatic yield would be considerably more impressive than that of the classical cities. Moreover he claimed that within the private collections of local farmers coins of the eighth century, whilst hardly common, were less rare than site catalogues would

[374] de Wilde (1997).
[375] Penas (1996).
[376] Travaglini – Camilleri (2010), 40.
[377] Laflı – Lightfoot – Ritter (2016).
[378] Morrisson (2002a), figs. 6.1-6.15; Katsari – Lightfoot – Özme (2012), 112-15.
[379] Lightfoot (2002), 233.

imply.[380] The publication of many collections of regional Turkish museums has aided in the investigation of this hypothesis, as it may be tentatively assumed that these represent dispersed finds from a local catchment area. In the catalogue of the Amasra museum, coins of the eighth and early ninth century do occur in slightly greater numbers than might be expected.[381] However of the 489 coins dating between the late seventh century and the Komnenian reforms of 1092 in the Yalvaç Museum only 10 were minted before the reign of Leo VI (AD 886-912).[382] Likewise the Niğde and Kayseri museums, housing finds from the region of Cappadocia, possess very few medieval Byzantine coins minted before the eleventh century.[383] In general the museum catalogues do not seem to dispute the existence of the coin gap across Asia Minor, though of course one should keep in mind that neither perceived aesthetic merit nor quality of alloy have favoured the preservation of eighth-century *folles* in such collections.

A few urban centres, memorably described by Morrisson as "*pôles de résistance monétaire*", do defy the general trend.[384] Foremost among these is the capital itself. Martin Harrison's excavations of H. Polyeuktos at Saraçhane in Istanbul stand as a landmark in the history of Byzantine archaeology, and the coins from these excavations provided the first body of numismatic material from controlled excavations within the city. Issues of the eighth and ninth centuries are well represented.[385] That Constantinople was the site of considerable

[380] Whittow (2003), 411.
[381] Ireland – Ateşoğulları (1996).
[382] Gökalp (2009), 50.
[383] Prigent – Métivier (2018).
[384] Morrisson (2001), 387.
[385] Harrison, (1986); Hayes (1992); Hendy (1986).

monetary exchange was not so surprising, as Metcalfe in 1967 had estimated that the annual production of copper alloy folles under Leo IV (AD 775-780) to be in the region of four million.[386] This would admittedly have been fewer than were minted in the previous centuries, but this was also a time at which the population of the city has been estimated to have shrunk from around half a million to around seventy thousand, and so fewer coins in circulation need not imply an urban economy less dependent on monetary transactions.[387] In 1994 Oikonomedes argued that casual references to coinage in hagiographic sources implied a situation in which the Constantinopolitan economy was monetised to a much greater degree than that in the rural provinces.[388] The *Life of St. Philaretos The Merciful*, composed in the early ninth century and describing events of the eighth, relates how the author's grandfather Philaretos moved from his Paphlagonian estate to the court in Constantinople. Philaretos' exchanges in his hometown of Amnia are in the form of large quantities of agricultural goods, whereas in the capital he disperses small change as alms for the poor. [389]

Amorium provides another *pôle de résistance*.[390] Initial excavation of the upper city revealed few coins of the Middle Byzantine period. However trenches within the area within the lower city walls have yielded not only coins in significant quantities, but moreover many copper alloy issues of the end of the seventh and the eighth centuries. As of 2012, 44 coins from the usually barren period 668-

[386] Metcalfe (1967).
[387] Prigent (2014), 188, citing Magdalino (2002).
[388] Oikonomides (1994).
[389] *Life of Philaretos*, §1-2 cf. 6.
[390] Lightfoot (2002), (2009), (2010), Laflı – Lightfoot – Ritter (2016).

820 have been published.[391] Anomalous also is the situation in Byzantine Sicily, where copper alloy coinage continues to be found throughout this period. In fact, many of the scarce copper alloy issues found in Athens were minted on the island.[392]

Besides these exceptions, the late seventh-century inauguration of the "coin gap" is consistent across the empire. By contrast, the date at which the regular supply of small denomination coinage recommences varies according to region. In southern Hellas and the Peloponnese this seems to have been around the middle of the ninth century.[393] Thereafter the average supply of low denomination coins for a given year increases, reaching a peak during the Komnenian period. In Asia Minor the coin sequence resumes around a generation later. The first noticeable influx occurs during the reign of Leo VI (886-912). Supply increases until a peak during the first half of the eleventh century. The dramatic reduction that follows the Turkish incursions of the final quarter of the century is generally preceded by a steady attenuation in the third quarter.[394] Heading eastwards, the complex economies of tenth-century Cappadocia seem to have operated largely in the absence of small denomination coinage. Ousterhout's survey of the settlement around the Çanlı Kilise turned up only six coins, all of them post-Byzantine.[395] Museum collections show a reasonable number of copper alloy coins from the middle of the eleventh century, but not earlier.[396] The regular use of the

[391] Katsari – Lightfoot – Özme (2012), 169-170.
[392] Prigent (2003).
[393] Sanders (2003), 390.
[394] Demirel-Gökalp (2017), graph 2; Laflı – Lightfoot – Ritter (2016).
[395] Ousterhout (2005), 200-201.
[396] Prigent – Métivier (2010).

Constantinopolitan *follis* was an experience shared by perhaps as few as two generations of Cappadocian provincials.

3.2. Money and Economy in the Early Byzantine Period

3.2.1. Coin Finds in the Morsynos Valley, AD 668-867

We may now return for a moment to the Morsynos valley, where the coin gap first noticed at Corinth is entirely in evidence. No coin dating between Constans II and Leo VI was purchased by the Aphrodisias Museum from the surrounding countryside. Stray finds from the village of New Geyre follow a similar pattern, with the earliest medieval coins dating to the reign of Basil I. At the archaeological site itself, we do find several copper alloy *folles* of the late eighth and early ninth century: two of Leo IV, one of Leo V, and two of Theophilos. The issues of Leo IV were uncovered during the digging of foundations for the site museum in 1973. There is no documentation that might further clarify their find context. Of the three early ninth-century coins, only one issue of Theophilos was in a context that might allow for deposition shortly after minting, a little to the north of the Cathedral. But the stratigraphic precision that would be necessary to support such a claim is missing.[397] The follis of Leo V was found in a stratigraphic unit on the Tetrapylon Street that also yielded a *miliaresion* of Basil II (976-1025), an A2 class anonymous follis of the first period of issue (976-c.1002) and a possibly intrusive and currently unidentified Ottoman coin, suggesting that it

[397] #5.

was in circulation at least until the end of the tenth century.[398] The second *follis* of Theophilos was likewise found on the Tetrapylon Street, in the same stratigraphic unit as an issue of Leo VI (886-912).[399] It would therefore be prudent to envisage the gap in copper alloy coinage at Aphrodisias and the Morsynos valley as lasting until around the final quarter of the ninth century, a lacuna of some two hundred years.

The coin sequence is not entirely silent, since silver issues do not cease in the same manner as the copper. A *miliaresion* issued between 780 and 797 was found on the Tetrapylon Street in a context that did not contain any later coins that would prove long circulation.[400] Another *miliaresion* was found on the pavement of the theatre baths in 1987. [401] Though it disintegrated during the cleaning process, the cross on a stepped base that was initially visible indicates a date in the eighth or ninth century.

It is in this context that we may situate the earliest of the medieval coin hoards recorded on the site. Hoard A was discovered in 1966 during the excavation of the North Temenos House. It comprised a gold *nomisma* of Michael III minted during the regency of his mother Theodora (843-856), and eight *miliaresia* minted in the same period.[402] The coins were located slightly to the northeast of the exterior wall of the eastern apse of the house's audience chamber. Since they were at an elevation 146cm from the top of its preserved height, it may be

[398] #4.
[399] #6.
[400] #3.
[401] #470.
[402] *Nomisma*, #652; *Miliaresia* #653-660.

inferred that the walls of the house would have been standing at the time of the burial, and that the floors would have been obscured by a thick accumulation of earth. Graves of the Cathedral Cemetery at the level of the uppermost standing courses of the walls contained coins of the mid eleventh century.[403] The internal consistency of the issues constituting the hoard and its stratigraphic position suggest a date of burial shortly after the coins were minted.

The uniform dates of the coins do not suggest accumulation over an extended period of time. It is more tempting to interpret the hoard as a state payment. The total value of the hoard comes to 1⅔ *nomismata*. For context, a soldier's yearly wage was dependent upon his years of service: one *nomisma* for the first year, two for the second, three for the third, up to a maximum yearly payment of twelve *nomismata*.[404] Cash distributions were made regularly once every four years.[405] These payments were not expected to maintain a soldier and his family, since he was supported by the tenure of military land, but would have served the purpose of securing the soldier's loyalty to the reproduction of the state apparatus and would have enabled his participation in a monetary economy. Morrisson and Cheynet have assembled references to wages and prices in Byzantium. In terms of livestock, the coins of Hoard A could have bought a several ewes, but would likely have been insufficient to purchase cattle.[406] This does not constitute an enormous amount of money, certainly not so much as

[403] **5.1.1.5.**
[404] Treadgold (1988), 318.
[405] Hendy (1985), 645-51, c.f. Treadgold (1988), 318.
[406] Morrisson – Cheynet (2002), 839-44, cf. Treadgold (1988), 318.

could be invested in immovable property. But it was surely valid currency on the local market.

There is no historically attested local event that would explain why the owner of the hoard was motivated to bury the cash. Far enough inland to have been protected from seaborne raiding, and far west of the defensive lines of the eastern themes, one would not expect Aphrodisias to have been a target of organised violence in the mid-ninth century. However, there were many offensive campaigns launched in this period both in the Aegean against the Cretan Arabs and into the mountains of Asia Minor in search of religious dissidents.[407] Another possibility is that Hoard A represents part of a state payment stashed away prior to departure on a dangerous campaign.

3.2.2. Tax, Land and Gold

Having set out the patterns of circulation, both across the empire and in the Morsynos valley, we may now turn to problems of interpretation. What does the coin gap imply for realities on the ground?

Anglophone scholarly consensus maintains that the disappearance of copper alloy coinage was the result of a far-reaching reform of the tax system in the second half the seventh century. The first articulation of this model can be found

[407] Haldon (1999b), 173-83.

in Michael Hendy's 1985 *Studies in the Byzantine Monetary Economy*.[408] Scholars such as Haldon and Brandes have endorsed the central premise of this thesis with minor modifications.[409] Subsequent to the loss of the wealthy eastern provinces the field armies made an orderly retreat into Asia Minor. The state was left with an insufficient budget to sustain payment in coin and found a solution in dispersing and settling the soldiers onto plots of land, thereby creating the thematic armies. Tax was henceforth collected as levies in kind, with the *kommerkiarioi*, formerly responsible for monitoring and taxing the silk trade, acting as general quartermasters supplying troops through the institution of the *apotheke*. The term *synone*, which had previously denoted a forced purchase of goods on behalf of the state, was now applied more generally to these levies.[410] A political economy of localised requisition and redistribution did not require low denomination coinage for everyday exchanges. According to this model, the reappearance of copper alloy coinage on archaeological sites reflects the reintroduction of taxation in cash.

The Francophone school of Byzantine studies never endorsed Hendy's model.[411] Moreover, the notion that taxation was primarily in kind throughout the Early Byzantine period has been compellingly criticised by Prigent in a paper

[408] Hendy (1985), 619-661.
[409] Haldon (1993), (2016), 275; Brubaker – Haldon (2011); Brandes (1989). It is important to note however that Oikonomedes (1986), who considered monetization to be subject to market demands, also diverged from this view. He instead saw the *kommerkiarioi* as traders in luxury goods. This hypothesis has recently been revived in a slightly altered form by Montinaro (2013).
[410] Haldon (1994).
[411] Morrisson (2001); Laiou – Morrisson (2007), 51.

published in 2014.[412] Prigent's argument primarily concerns the eighth and ninth centuries, and has serious ramifications for how archaeologists ought to approach numismatic evidence for this period both with regards to copper alloy transactions and the circulation of precious metal. He argues that tax was paid in gold throughout the seventh, eighth and ninth centuries.

Even amongst scholars who would see a largely demonetised fiscal system in the eighth century there is little agreement on when exactly a levy in gold was reintroduced. An alleged incident of AD 769, reported by both the author of the *Short History* and by Theophanes, is frequently constructed as a turning point in this process. Both authors imply that Constantine V attempted to create a state reserve of gold by withdrawing *nomismata* from circulation. This caused rapid deflation, with the result that the now extremely scarce *nomisma* could apparently purchase 60 *modoi* of wheat or 70 of barley. The author of the *Short History* incisively notes that for those with ready capital this was a great opportunity, whereas peasant producers and taxpayers knew it as oppression.[413] This ought not to imply the introduction of tax in gold, but rather that this system was already operating in the middle of the eighth century, at least in the vicinity of Constantinople.[414] The crucial evidence for the continued taxation in gold during the Early Byzantine Period may be found in Franz Füeg's die study of *nomismata* minted between 713 and 976.[415] The median number of obverse dies changed very little over time, with no perceptible difference between the periods

[412] Prigent (2014).
[413] *Short History* §85; *Theophanes*, 446.
[414] Oikonomides (2002), 981; Laiou – Morrisson (2007), 52.
[415] Füeg (2007).

for which taxation was supposedly in kind and that for which we know it was certainly in gold. Prigent points out that this necessitates a state levy in gold during the earlier period, for the only alternative would be an endless supply of precious metal entering the capital at a suspiciously consistent rate.[416] Moreover, he points to the extended age structures of known gold hoards of the period, suggesting that this is indicative of circulation.[417] The Lagbe hoard contained gold issues of almost every ruler of the period 720-842.[418] Note that we have returned here to the evidence first adduced by Ostrogorsky and Vyronis.

Brubaker and Haldon consider the disappearance of the seals of the *kommerkiarioi* in the early ninth century as signalling the return to monetary taxation, as this coincides with the beginnings of the reappearance of copper alloy coinage in archaeological excavations.[419] This of course assumes that the role of the *kommerkiarioi* was to levy taxes in kind, and it is here that Prigent's critique is particularly incisive. He outlines four phases in the emergence of the *kommerkiarioi* in the seventh century beyond their traditional late antique function. The first is in Africa over the period 620-647, the second in Sicily around the middle of the century, and finally two stages in the eastern provinces, beginning in the 650s and accelerating after 673. Each of these corresponds to an increase in the production of coin at the mints of Carthage, Catania and Constantinople respectively.[420] This rhythm is completely at odds with the idea that the *kommerkiarioi* were agents of demonetisation. Prigent's solution is to

[416] Prigent (2014), 194.
[417] Prigent (2014), 194.
[418] Newell (1945).
[419] Brubaker – Haldon (2011), 710-13.
[420] Prigent (2014), 195-96.

make the *kommerkiarioi* responsible for not collection but expenditure. The state maintained a centralised tax system extracting and circulating gold whilst using public capital to run a monetised state monopsony, the *synone* keeping its original meaning as a forced purchase. Taxation was collected in gold by Constantinopolitan officials, physically transported back to Constantinople, and only then redistributed through salaries to thematic commanders and administrators.

3.2.3. A Monetary Economy in the Early Byzantine Period

Continued taxation in precious metal ought to imply transactions in a baser medium in order for producers to acquire the necessary high denomination coins. Prigent suggests that demographic decline coupled with an increase in silver coinage may have reduced the need for copper alloy issues in the eighth century.[421] The *miliaresion*, manufactured from Armenian silver and introduced by Leo III (717-41), assumed the role of the copper in facilitating lower value transactions.[422] It is intriguing that the only province of the empire for which no silver was minted, the anomalous case of Sicily, was also the only one in which new copper alloy issues were widely circulated.[423] From the ninth century onwards the Islamic Caliphate likewise operated a monetary economy based on a silver currency without a copper alloy coinage.[424]

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[421] Prigent (2014), 195.
[422] Morrisson (2001), 389. For the metal of the *miliaresion* see Gordes – Metcalfe (1972/1977).
[423] Prigent (2014), 195.
[424] Whittow (2003), 412.

The intermediary position of the *miliaresion* within the trimetallic system, too precious to be casually lost but rarely valuable enough to be deliberately buried, may have resulted in its underrepresentation in both archaeological excavations and hoards. Yet although the numbers are admittedly very small, *miliaresia* of the Early Byzantine Period are attested across Asia Minor - a point on which Morrisson has frequently insisted.[425] She cites from the Maeander region one *miliaresion* of Leo III from Priene, and issues of Constantine V at Magnesia and Ephesos. Further afield we find a *miliaresion* of Theophilos on Kythera, and an issue of Leo III from Hadrianoupolis in Paphlagonia. [426] To these we may now add the Aphrodisian coins described above.

Both Morrisson and Prigent argue that we should also revisit the copper alloy coinage in order to question whether the continued circulation of antique coinage in the eighth century might attenuate the apparent abruptness of the coin gap.[427] The site histograms assembled by Morrisson clearly demonstrate that large quantities of copper alloy coinage were injected into the provincial economy in the seventh century, and it is clearly wrong to suggest that these would immediately fall out of circulation in AD 688. Unfortunately archaeological evidence that would prove that these coins remained in use in the eighth century is very scarce. The excavations of the Crypta Balbi in Rome provide a rare case in which such continuity can be demonstrated. Of the coins found in eighth-century

[425] Morrisson (2001), 389; (2002a), 957; Laiou – Morrisson (2007), 85.
[426] Penas (1996), Laflı – Zäh (2008), 690.
[427] Morrisson (1983); (2001), 390; Laiou – Morrisson (2007), 87; Prigent (2014), 189.

contexts 28% were minted in the third to fifth century. As there were no Roman ceramic sherds in these contexts it seems that these coins were not residual in the soil fill but circulated until deposition in the medieval period.[428] Hoards provide the clearest evidence for this phenomenon in the Byzantine world. That found at Mardin, buried towards the end of the thirteenth century, included many copper issues minted between the late fifth century and the later seventh century.[429]

At this point it is important to remember that the value of the *follis* lay not in its metal content but in a legal relationship with the gold *nomisma*.[430] The weight of the *follis* had declined dramatically in the seventh century, save for a brief attempt to restore the Justinianic weight standards under Constantine IV.[431] At some unknown date in the Early Byzantine Period the fisc was able to reinstate the Justinianic ratio of 1:288 for *nomisma*:*follis*.[432] This is the phenomenon famously termed by Carlo Cippola as the "big problem of petty coins". In order to maintain a system in which different metals related to each other in fixed ratios, it was essential that the petty coinage should hold a value significantly higher than its bullion. Otherwise fluctuations in relative values would undermine the stability of the monetary system.[433] The detachment of legal and bullion values allowed for wild fluctuations in actual weight within individual issues. Grierson points to the Class 4 *follis* of Leo III, examples of which in the Dumbarton Oaks

[428] Rovelli (2000).
[429] Bendall – Lowick – Whitting (1977).
[430] Morrisson (1979a).
[431] Hendy (1985), 499.
[432] Prigent (2014), 190; Hendy (1985), 506.
[433] Cipolla (1956), 27-37.

collection range from 0.86 to 6.20g. He suggests that this indicates manufacture *al pezzo*, with a fixed number of coins made from a pound of metal, rather than *al marco*, which would entail the careful monitoring of individual coins to ensure that they fell within a predetermined weight limit.[434] Prigent argues that the absence of any fixed weight for newly minted coins would have facilitated the assimilation of a heterogeneous assemblage of antique issues into the monetary circuit. He further asks whence the massive metal stock, required to mint the large volumes of copper alloy coinage produced in the later ninth century, might have derived, if not from the flans of older coins still in circulation.[435]

There are a few archaeological contexts at Aphrodisias from which one might argue for the residuality of late antique copper alloy coins into the Early Byzantine period. The Tetrapylon Street provides some hints. Here a follis of Constans II dating to AD 644/5 was found in the same stratigraphic unit as three class 5 folles of Constantine VII (945-950) and a single A2 class anonymous follis of the final period of issue (1020/5-1028).[436] However the evidence is not conclusive since many similar contexts contain intrusive finds. A 1941 Turkish kuruş was discovered well below the level of the nineteenth-century street surface, in a stratigraphic unit alongside Medieval Islamic coins, Byzantine issues of the tenth century, issues of the early seventh century and even older examples.[437] A better case study may be located in the medieval residence partially exposed during test excavations for the construction of the Sebasteion

[434] Grierson (*DOC* 3.1), 69.
[435] Prigent (2014), 190.
[436] Constans II, C.2014.032; Constantine VII, Nos. 84-86; A2, No. 235.
[437] N.Ave 14.1 SU 1037.

Hall, immediately to the north of the site museum. The interface with the floor level yielded sherds of a yellow-brown glazed chafing dish, more sherds of non-metropolitan production Glazed White Ware, and two seals dating to the eighth-ninth centuries.[438] The same context also contained *folles* of Justinian I, Tiberius II, and Phokas.[439] These might be interpreted as residual circulation at Aphrodisias.

3.2.4. Summary

I have spent the majority of this chapter documenting and to some extent deconstructing the "coin gap" - the apparent absence of copper alloy coinage on almost all archaeological sites lasting from the reign of Constantine IV well into the ninth century. The pattern requires an explanation that accounts for the fiscal activities of the Constantinopolitan state across its territories. Taxation throughout this period was paid in gold, not in kind. Following Morrisson and Prigent, I believe that it is reasonable to envisage a limited monetary economy in the Early Byzantine Period. This was predicated on gold, the silver *miliaresion*, and a heterogeneous assemblage of antique folles.

[438] **2.8.**
[439] Justinian, C.2006.074; Tiberius II, C.2006.085; Phokas, C.2006.042.

3.3. The Middle Byzantine Monetary Economy

3.3.1. Coin Finds in the Morsynos Valley, AD 867-1092

The earliest Middle Byzantine *folles* that reached the Morsynos valley in any significant number are those of Basil I (867-886). One *follis* found in the area of the village of New Geyre was minted between 868-70.[440] Another five *folles* found at the archaeological site of Aphrodisias were minted over the course of the 870s.[441] This represents an average rate of coin loss at the site of 0.32 per annum for the reign. But the rate at which copper alloy coinage reached the valley rapidly accelerates around the turn of the tenth century. The average rate of coin loss rises to 0.84 *folles* per annum at Aphrodisias during the reign of Leo VI (886-912). Moreover, issues of Leo VI have also been documented from the vicinities of New Geyre, Ataeymir, Işıklar and Karacasu in the Morsynos valley, and from Tavas on the Tabai Plain. New copper alloy coinage reached the administrative centre and its rural hinterland roughly simultaneously. The crisp definition and lack of wear evident on many of these coins suggests that they arrived in the valley not long after minting. One example from the North Agora is in almost perfect condition (Fig. 3.1).[442]

Figure 3.2 displays the annual rate of coin loss at Aphrodisias and the Morsynos valley throughout the Middle Byzantine period. It may be stated with confidence that both town (Figs. 3.3, 3.4) and countryside (Fig. 3.5) show similar circulation

[440] #486.
[441] #7-12.
[442] #19.

patterns. The annual rate of loss increases over the course of the tenth century, reaching a peak around the middle of the eleventh century with the Class C *follis*, minted during the 1040s. Hereafter there is a steady attenuation before the Class I *follis*, minted c.1075-c.1080, makes a strong appearance. The catalogue contains a great many more coins from Aphrodisias than from the rural valley, though it is impossible to say whether this reflects a quantitative difference in circulating coinage since one cannot account for the different modes of acquisition.

Likewise, direct comparisons between different excavation sectors cannot be made with statistical significance. Some sectors have seen frequent excavation, with huge volumes of soil removed. Others have been subject only to limited test trenches. When the trenches were dug also matters. Excavation procedures in the 1960s were not so rigorous as today. Nevertheless there are some conclusions that may be drawn. Firstly, it must be noted that Middle Byzantine coins have been recovered from almost every excavated area of the site, from the South Wall trenches, to the Northwest Gate and the "Water Chanel House" at the northeast limit of the wall circuit. The Theatre Hill, an area with some domestic occupation in the Middle Byzantine period, has yielded twenty coins. Fifty-three coins were discovered during excavations on the Tetrapylon Street. The medieval road above the late antique destruction layers was muddy and unpaved, and many of these coins were presumably trampled into the surface. The Bishop's Palace and the inhabited area over and to the east of the Bouleuterion were similarly rich in coin finds, with 24 and 23 examples respectively. Particularly interesting are the Place of Palms and the North Agora, since with the exception of the North Agora Stoa there is no evidence for

permanent structures erected across these open spaces in the Middle Byzantine period. Yet a great many coins were found here, some 31 in the Place of Palms and 28 in the North Agora. It is possible that these open areas hosted regional markets, a topic to which I will return shortly.

3.3.2. The Middle Byzantine Fiscal Regime

The data from the Morsynos valley suggests that monetisation was not the preserve of market centres. The simultaneous appearance of coinage at the administrative centre of Aphrodisias and in the rural foothills of Kadmos may be explained through the observation that monetisation was enforced through taxation, which at least theoretically applied everywhere, as opposed to market demands, which did not.

The Middle Byzantine tax assessment was based on an inflexible ascribed value of the land, as opposed to the variable total product of a given year. One might expect that in a context of general inflation this might be to the advantage of peasant producers.[443] But this would mischaracterise the nature of agricultural exploitation from the perspective of a peasant household, which was simultaneously producer and consumer and which frequently skirted close to the breadline. The dangers of famine permeate the land legislation of the tenth century, and are also invoked in contemporary hagiography.[444] Peasant agriculture tends to be extremely risk-averse, prioritising the avoidance of

[443] Laiou – Morrisson (2007), 50.
[444] Svornos (1994); *The Life of Loukas the Stylite*.

disaster.[445] What matters most for the peasant is not increasing average production, but stabilising the median.[446] As Scott argues, the crucial issue for peasant exploitation is not the average surplus expropriated but whose income/subsistence is stabilised at the expense of whom.[447] The Middle Byzantine land tax stabilised state income while placing all risk in agricultural production onto the shoulders of the peasant. Moreover, since the tax was always collected in the medium of gold, moments of rapid deflation might induce significant hardship.[448]

Agricultural producers were forced to sell for coinage in order to amass as many copper alloy pieces as were needed to purchase gold *nomismata* from a moneychanger and thereby fulfil communal fiscal obligations.[449] Constantinopolitan officials escorted by armed retinues demanded the gold coins at regular intervals. In fact, by the eleventh century the taxpayer was expected to contribute to the maintenance of this escort through the surcharge known as the *elatikon*, which might vary from 1/24 of a *nomisma* to one *nomisma*.[450] Since the payment of tax on land was the only legal guarantee to property, failure to deliver effectively forfeited the possibility of legal recourse against the

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[445] Some richer peasants in late Byzantium did own vineyards, presumably for cash cropping: Laiou (2005), 45; (2011), 214.
[446] Sahlins (1972), 82-86; Scott (1976), 13-34.
[447] Scott (1976), 18-19.
[448] Cf. Constantine VII's attempt to expand the state gold reserve, discussed above **3.2.2.**
[449] Papadopoulou (2016a); For a literary example of an eleventh-century moneychanger see *Life of Lazaros*, §24.
[450] Oikonomides (2002), 996.

encroachments of local magnates.[451] The state might also confiscate land if it could be proven that the amount paid by the owner was less than the sum due for their estates.[452]

Monetary circulation was further enforced through the system of *charagma* and *antistrophe* as described in the *Palaia kai Nea Logarike*, "Old and New [Tax] Regimes", a twelfth-century text recording reforms of tax assessment instituted under Alexios I.[453] Though similar mechanisms had existed in late antiquity, the date at which the Middle Byzantine system was implemented is obscure. Hendy suggests that the *Palaia Logarike* ought to go back at least to the eighth century, since the ratios it employ imply an awareness of the *trimision*, a gold coin valued at one third of the *nomisma*.[454] The *charagma* enacted that should a tax assessment be reckoned larger than 2/3 of a *nomisma* (or between n+2/3n and 2n, or 2n+2/3n and 3n etc.), the payment ought to be delivered to the nearest round number of *nomismata*, and the tax collector would return change (*antistrophe*) in copper alloy folles. This could involve the distribution of large numbers of coins; 1/3 of a *nomisma* was equivalent to 96 folles.[455] Middle Byzantine taxation therefore essentially involved the coercive purchase of gold in exchange for copper.

[451] Laiou – Morrisson (2007), 50. For the legal context of encroachment see Svornos (1994).
[452] Oikonomides (2002), 997.
[453] Hendy (1985), 286; Morrisson (1979b).
[454] Hendy (1985), 288.
[455] Hendy (1985), 287.

Antistrophe greatly amplified the circulation of copper coinage in and out of state control. This helps to explain why we find such a high degree of overstriking on Middle Byzantine folles. Often it is very recent issues that are overstruck, implying brief periods of circulation before the coins find their way back into state ownership through moneychangers, are re-struck and redistributed. A great many examples can be cited from the Aphrodisias catalogue, though we may limit ourselves to three illustrative coins. A Class 5 follis of Constantine VII minted between AD 945 and c.950 is overstruck on one of Romanos I minted 931-944.[456] Similarly a Constantine VII Class 6, dating to 950-959, was overstruck on a Class 5.[457] In the late eleventh century an anonymous follis of Class I, minted c.1075-c.1080, was struck on the flan of a follis of Michael VII (1071-78). These overstrikes demonstrate the Middle Byzantine tax system in action.

The fiscal regime bound provincial communities into the Constantinopolitan state apparatus, but also served to reproduce local relations of domination. This was achieved specifically through the gold and copper alloy coinages. In order to pay taxes, a peasant farmer would need to make tens of small sales, collecting copper pieces in order to purchase the required gold. Those who received salaries in gold – administrative officials and, in greater number, soldiers – therefore wielded considerable economic power over their neighbours and dependents of whom the state demanded gold but who received no salary. Moreover, cycles of salary and taxation amounted to a series of ritual exchanges

[456] #70.
[457] #100.

of gold imprinted with the image of the emperor and of Christ. These exchanges enabled privileged provincial actors to participate in the material culture of the state, and the role of coinage in effecting the hegemonic acceptance of a Constantinopolitan ideology must also be recognised.[458]

3.3.3. Using Coins in the Medieval Morsynos

In 1994 Oikonomedes sought to investigate to what extent the Middle Byzantine economy was monetised.[459] This is a very valid question to ask, but if one were to consider monetisation merely as the commercialised percentage of GDP at any given moment, one would miss much of the social dynamics of money and monetised exchange. In addition to the extent of monetisation, it is important to ask when, and in what circumstances, the Middle Byzantine economy was monetised. Coin circulation in the territories of the medieval empire was not smooth and constant, but viscous, and to borrow an apt expression from Laiou, "lumpy".[460] The following section explores the seasonal and situational nature of coin supply in the medieval Morsynos. This is not something that may be inferred from the archaeological record, which simply indicates the number of coins lost in different localities, but must be gleaned from documentary and literary sources.

I would like to begin with one of the literary narratives cited by Oikonomedes as evidence for a highly monetised economy in the eleventh century. The episode is

[458] Neville (2004), 22-25.
[459] Oikonomides (1994), 363-70.
[460] Laiou (2001), 214.

found in the *Life of Lazaros of Galesion*. The text was probably written at Galesion, a rugged hill range just north of Ephesos, in the third quarter of the eleventh century.[461] It is an unusually lengthy hagiography, encompassing many anecdotal narratives that reveal the author's assumptions about the society of the eleventh-century Maeander. The episode in question occurs during the young Lazaros' journey to the Holy Land, which the text places in the 980s.[462] At the Chonai *panegyris* Lazaros meets a wandering Paphlagonian monk who supposedly shares his ambition to reach Jerusalem. However, the monk soon turns out to be crooked:

"He would thus turn aside from the direct route and go round on a detour to the villages where he would beg and collect bread and whatever else anyone offered him… Then, wherever they were when evening fell, they would go in, whether it was to a village (*κώμη*) or local market (*ἐμπόριον*), and he would sell these things and pocket the price [he got] for them."[463]

So far, so monetised. Moreover, the text was written in precisely the period for which archaeological coin finds are most plentiful. The narrative assumes that peasant villages would have access to small denomination cash, and that one could exchange these coins for bread and other simple foodstuffs. Similarly, the narrator of the *Life* of the monastic St. Cyril Phileotes has his protagonist carry with him three *nomismata* and a *miliaresion* so as to avoid having to beg on his own journey to Chonai, made about a generation later.[464]

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[461] *Life of Lazaros*, §52.
[462] Greenfield (2000), 53.
[463] *Life of Lazaros*, §8, trans. Greenfield (2000), 85.
[464] *Life of Cyril Phileotes*, §18.

However, the stories cannot demonstrate that monetised exchanges were the norm with regard to the distribution of foodstuffs. Cash exchanges are most useful in situations in which no party desires to construct or maintain reciprocal social relations with the other. The archetypal situation for which cash is useful is the one for which it was invented, namely the indirect provisioning of soldiers through purchases from agricultural producers. No peasant would extend credit, whether formally calculated or in general terms of anticipated reciprocity, to an armed man who might be present in the neighbourhood only briefly. A similar argument could be made with regard to wandering monks. Both Lazaros and Cyril are exactly the sort of people with whom one would only conduct transactions in cash or as charity, and their case cannot therefore be considered representative.

Within a peasant community exchange was probably less precisely balanced. Ongoing relations require reciprocity. Directly equivalent exchanges, such as those made through cash and the most straightforward versions of barter, are not desirable since it is the marginal imbalances that invite future exchanges and thereby foster relationships.[465] There is an immense anthropological literature on these kinds of exchanges.[466] A Middle Byzantine peasant community would have needed to structure some of its internal affairs through cash, since the fiscal system held villages collectively responsible for rendering taxes. Nevertheless, in a small agrarian community it is highly unlikely that monetised exchanges would predominate between neighbours. And those exchanges that were reckoned in

[465] In a peasant context see Scott (1976); (1985).
[466] E.g. Mauss (2011); Sahlins (1972); Humphrey (1985); Graeber (2011).

money might be chalked up on a credit ledger, and only paid at the time of year at which coin was plentiful.[467] Cash is most useful when dealing with strangers – the itinerant sculptors who carved the marble elements that will be discussed in chapter four were probably paid in coin.

Coin supply was also seasonal, fluctuating according to an annual rhythm of harvests and taxes. The land tax was collected semi-annually, in March and September.[468] Major landowners would also collect revenues in the early autumn. The typikon of Bachovo was codified in December 1083. Though it forcefully asserts the tax-exempt status of the monastery's estates, it assumes that "all revenues of every kind are gathered in the month of September".[469] Laiou, considering the documentary evidence for thirteenth-century Epiros, suggests that in the late summer and autumn the rural population is coin rich, but that "the payment of taxes, at approximately the same time, relieves the population of some or much of that coin, depending on the economic and social position of the people in question".[470] The return of *antistrophe* would to some extent mitigate the reduction in circulating copper brought on by the tax season. It should be noted that the gold coinage was also subject to cyclical patterns of supply. We have already seen how state payments to registered soldiers were made at four-year intervals. The distribution of salaries would immediately raise the volume of precious metal in circulation within the theme.

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[467] While a rich farmer in later eighth-century Paphlagonia, Philaretos supposedly purchased an ox on credit. The narrative reflects the potential for credit and debt to be reckoned in monetary terms despite the absence of coinage in a given locale: *Life of Philaretos*, §3.
[468] Hendy (1985), 160.
[469] *BMFD*, 535.
[470] Laiou (2001), 207-15.

The final monetary phenomenon that must be considered exemplifies both the seasonal and the situational in medieval monetisation. The term *panegyris* is broadly applied in ancient and medieval literature to a religious festival and commercial market held in honour of a local divinity or saint.[471] Christian *panegyreis* are known from late antiquity, and the institution continued throughout the medieval and modern periods. Despite their seeming ubiquity, there are relatively few texts that offer representations of a *panegyris* in action. Theophanes claims that around the end of the eighth century the commercial taxes imposed at the Ephesos *panegyris* amounted to some hundred pounds of gold.[472] Thonemann suggests that this ought to translate to a total value of sales of around a thousand pounds.[473]

Somewhat better documented is the *panegyris* of St. Michael at Chonai in the Lykos valley, held annually around the sixth of September. The journeys of Lazaros and Cyril to this town have already been mentioned.[474] More detail regarding the commercial fair is supplied by Michael Choniates in a laudatory speech addressed to Niketas, bishop of Chonai. Michael asserts that the *panegyris* attracted not only the residents of all the nearby cities but also those "from the territories over the mountains": Lydians, Ioannians, Carians, Pamphylians,

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[471] Vryonis (1981).
[472] *Theophanes*, 469-70.
[473] Thonemann (2011), citing Antoniadis-Bibicou (1963). The most famous literary representation of a *panegyris*, that in the twelfth century satirical dialogue *Timarion*, has recently been shown to be an elaborate literary *mimesis* of the festival of Delphi as narrated in Heliodorus' *Aithiopika*: *Timarion*, §5; MacDougal (2016).
[474] *Life of Lazaros*, §6-7; *Life of Cyril Phileotes*, §18.

Lycians and even Turkmen nomads from Iconium.[475] No doubt many residents of the Morsynos valley also attended the Chonai *panegyris*. The date in early September would have tied in perfectly with agricultural and fiscal cycles, and among throngs of strangers cash would be necessary for even minor transactions.

Thonemann situates the Chonai *panegyris* within the deep historical geography of the Maeander region. He argues that the medieval *panegyris* was a contingent Byzantine cultural projection of an ancient structuration of the agrarian economy of southwest Phrygia, according to which exchange was oriented towards *panegyris*-cities mediating between the western river valleys and the high plateau. In the ancient world, it had been the settlement of Apamea that had served this function.[476] He suggests that it would be a mistake to assume that a flourishing annual fair should imply a perennial urban population. He instead invokes Horden and Purcell's model of the "periodic city" – a grand architectural façade that only becomes population centre on special occasions that serve to affirm a regional identity.[477]

Could something similar, though on a much reduced scale, be true of Aphrodisias? Does a large number of archaeological coin finds indicate a constant rate of transaction within a settled community, or might it reflect the influx of visitors conducting a large number of monetised exchanges on an

[475] Michael Choniates, I, 56.
[476] Thonemann (2011), 129.
[477] Horden – Purcell (2000), 95.

occasional basis?[478] Middle Byzantine Aphrodisias was certainly home to a settled population. A "base layer" of monetisation, driven by taxation, is visible across the whole Morsynos valley. A quantitative comparison of coin finds *per capita* between town and countryside is impossible. Nevertheless, if one were to hold a market in medieval Aphrodisias, the obvious venue would be the open areas of the North Agora and Place of Palms, and the density of coin finds here could lend support to the hypothesis that markets did take place. Today the agrarian economy of the valley looks to the market town of Karacasu, to which produce is brought for sale every Monday. Paton provides an extensive list of all of the weekly bazars of the nineteenth-century Maeander.[479] Geyre was listed as a marketplace in the Ottoman *defter* of 1530.[480] It is perfectly plausible that temporary markets could have been held in eleventh-century Karia.

The role of coins as media of economic exchange should not erase their materiality and their participation in broader material culture. Coins as physical things become entangled in the social lives of their owners in myriad ways not directly related to exchange value. They may be used as personal adornment, contribute to ritual practice, or act as tangible reminders of other times, places or people.[481] In this final category one might place the medieval fascination with

[478] Paton, visiting the village of Dalman near the Karian coast in the late nineteenth century, noted that a weekly bazaar was held near to the village: "in fact, until the recent establishment of a cotton factory here, there was no village, but simply booths for the bazar": Paton (1900), 58-59.
[479] Patton (1900), 58.
[480] Howard (2017), 2.
[481] Laurent (1940); Maguire (1997); Bendall – Morrisson (2011).

coins of Constantine and Justinian.[482] Here I want to address only the first two categories, ornament and ritual.

It is the material qualities of coins – their precious metal and combination of image and text – that permit their use in social practices. However, the role of the coin as a store of abstract economic value is never irrelevant to its social function more broadly defined. The ability of the coin to buy and sell, and its implication in the state's violent expropriation, loads the metal with a power beyond itself that informs its perceived agency in ritual or apotropaic spheres.[483] Besides funerary ritual, a subject that I address in the fifth chapter of this thesis, the ritual use of coins is archaeologically visible in two manners: piercing and placed deposits. The piercing of a coin enables its use in costume at the intersection of adornment and ritual protection, either singularly as a pendant or in a composite arrangement of coins and jewellery. A placed deposit is an object or archaeological assemblage that has been deliberately positioned so as to produce a causal effect.

At Aphrodisias the only non-funerary placed deposits of coins are found in two wells, one in the area of the Water Channel House and the other in the east apse of the Cathedral. Deposits in wells are not accidental. Medieval peasants would have carried money in drawstring purses – the original meaning of the Greek

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[482] For Constantine see *Michael Italikos* Ep.33, and the late Byzantine pseudo-coin amulets showing Constantine and Helena collected by Bendall – Morrisson (2011), 228-234; for Justinian consider the Trier reliquary of St. Andrew's Sandal. One might also consider in this category the twelfth-century Seljuk coins reviving the iconography of the Seleucid monarchs: Spengler – Sayles (1992), 31-33, 76-80.

[483] Kemmers – Myrberg (2011), 93.

word *follis* – that would not have released coins by chance. The excavation of the Water Channel well uncovered one Class A2 and two Class C anonymous *folles*.[484] At the very bottom of the well in the Cathedral apse were three Class A2 *folles*.[485]

A total of nine medieval coins at Aphrodisias were recorded as having been pierced.[486] Two of these, a Latin issue and a *stamenon* of Manuel, are pierced more than once, and were likely embroidered into garments. [487] The remainder were pierced once for suspension. Bendall and Morrisson have studied the proportions of pierced gold coinage in the collections of Dunbarton Oaks and the Bibliothèque nationale de France. They find that while pierced coinage in late antiquity is very rare, the phenomenon rapidly proliferates subsequent to the restoration of icons in AD 843. Clear preference is given to gold coins with iconic representations of Christ and the Theotokos.[488] When it comes to the copper alloy coinage, their conclusion is quite different. They suggest that petty coinage was only "put to religious use" beginning in the reign of Isaac II Angelos (1185-95).[489]

Nevertheless, there are at least four examples of eleventh-century *folles* with single piercings at Aphrodisias.[490] This may be compared against three twelfth-

[484] A2 #479; #482-483.
[485] #476-478.
[486] Since I have not seen all coins in person it cannot be guaranteed that others are not pierced.
[487] #434, 712.
[488] Bendall – Morrisson (2011), 223-226.
[489] Bendall – Morrisson (2011), 224.
[490] #241, 370, 541, 711.

century *stamena*.[491] The earliest coins involved in three simultaneous phenomena – piercing, placed deposits and, as will be shown in chapter five, funerary ritual – are the anonymous *folles*. Now one might say that this ties in very neatly with the peak in monetisation already documented, and that ritual practices involving coins simply become more visible when there are more coins around. But this cannot explain why ritual practice is visible in the twelfth century but not the tenth. The answer, as in the gold coinage, may be found in the iconographic potential of the anonymous *follis* series. The A1 *follis* introduced the image of Christ Pantokrator onto petty coinage, and throughout the eleventh century *folles* continued to bear iconographic representations of Christ and the Theotokos, a practice that continued on twelfth-century *stamena*.

This conclusion adds another dimension to the increase in monetised exchange in the eleventh century. The influx of anonymous *folles* into the rural economy must also be recognised as an influx or figural iconography in a medium well suited to practices of personal veneration.

3.3.4. Summary

Over the course of the tenth and eleventh centuries, the volume of copper alloy coinage reaching the Morsynos valley increased year on year. Patterns of circulation were similar in town and countryside, and coinage is found in fairly remote parts of the valley. The fiscal regime required all peasant communities to

[491] #435, 439, 473.

monetise a portion of their agricultural produce in order to acquire the coinage necessary for the payment of taxes, a process that invested those persons paid a salary in gold with power over those who were not. The irreducible monetary demands of the state conditioned and disciplined peasant production towards market exchange. To some extent then, any dichotomy between the state and the market as drivers of Middle Byzantine monetisation is a false one. Local markets probably existed, and may have been of key importance for the commercial exchange implicit in the imported glass and ceramics noted in the previous chapter. But such markets did not arise in a purely spontaneous manner as a means to solve a "double coincidence of wants". Cash was not a constant in the lives of the eleventh-century peasantry. Its utility was more evident in some situations than others, and its availability waned and waxed with the seasons. Nonetheless, the eleventh century was the high-water mark for medieval monetisation in the region, and the political economy of subsequent decades would operate along different lines.

3.4. The Twelfth Century

3.4.1. The Komnenian Monetary Reform and Subsequent Developments

When Alexios I Komnenos was crowned emperor in 1081, the coinage was in crisis. The gold issues struck in the preceding years were struck from a dull, almost grey alloy that was in fact mostly silver and copper.[492] The eleventh century had witnessed a general devaluation across all denominations. Two clear phases emerge within this trend. Beginning in the reign of Constantine IX Monomachos (1042-55), the purity of the gold coinage gradually declined, and copper alloy *folles* were reduced in weight. However, Morrisson demonstrates that the devaluation was carefully managed. Silver rather than copper was used to compensate for lost carats, and the *miliaresion* remained at a very high purity. Moreover, since the copper alloy coinage was essentially fiduciary, weight standards were not strictly necessary. During the 1070s, and especially in the reign of Nikephoros III Botaneiates (1078-81) this measured devaluation accelerated out of control, resulting in the dire situation of the 1080s.[493]

Throughout much of the twentieth century it was held that the devaluation was symptomatic of a deep-seated decline in the Byzantine state throughout the eleventh century.[494] In 1976 Morrisson argued that the devaluation was in fact intended to facilitate commercial exchange in a context of economic expansion. Assuming an inelastic supply of precious metals and an absence of state credit

[492] Hendy (1985), 517.
[493] Morrisson (1976), 8; Laiou – Morrisson (2007), 149-152; Papadopoulou (2007), 81-82.
[494] e.g. Jenkins (1953).

mechanisms, devaluation would have been the only means of increasing coin circulation and state income.[495] Whether such a degree of macroeconomic understanding is plausible in the cultural context of the Middle Byzantine aristocracy is contentious.[496] Angold outlines an alternative scenario, according to which as dignities proliferated through Byzantine society it became difficult for the state to pay an increased number of salaries from the same inelastic reserve.[497] In either case, controlled devaluation is not indicative of crisis and may have been necessary in an expanding economy.

The same cannot be said of the rapid collapse of the 1070s, which must be the result of political turmoil and loss of imperial territory in Asia Minor.[498] The debased currency continued to be minted throughout the first decade of the reign of Alexios I, until a radical reform brought a series of entirely new denominations into existence. Though no textual source provides a date for the Komnenian coinage reform, the moment of its inauguration may be inferred from the iconography of the first issues. With the exception of the gold *hyperpyron* and the tiny copper half *tetarteron*, all denominations show the coronation of the young John II by Christ. John was anointed co-emperor in 1092, a date that coincides with the commencement of a new indiction cycle.[499] The new system would persevere throughout the twelfth century, and form the basis

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[495] Morrisson (1976, 17-20); Laiou – Morrisson (2007), 147-49.
[496] Though see Laiou – Morrisson (2007), 162-163 for a discussion of Byzantine intellectual engagement with economics.
[497] Angold (1984), 84. See also more recently Kaplanis (2003), who associates devaluation with the war against the Pechenegs in the reign of Constantine IX.
[498] Laiou – Morrisson (2007), 150.
[499] Hendy (1985), 513-17. Papadopoulou, amending Koutava-Delivoria, argues that the *hyperpyron* may have been introduced in 1090: Papadopoulou (2007), 84; Koutava-Delivoria (1995).

for the coinage of the Greek polities that emerged subsequent to the sack of Constantinople in 1204.

The anchor of the Komnenian currency was a new gold coin minted at 20½ carats - the *hyperpyron*. The name derives from the process of refining of metal through fire, a clear allusion to the purity of the new coin in contrast to its predecessors.[500] Valued at one third of the *hyperpyron* was an electrum-alloy coin, the *aspron trachy* or *trikephalon*. At one sixteenth of the *trikephalon* (1:48 to the *hyperpyron*) was a billon issue whose fabric was predominantly copper with around 6-7% added silver. The billon coin was, somewhat confusingly, also known as an *aspron trachy* or occasionally as the *stamenon*. All of these coins were struck on concave modules, a practice that had commenced late in the reign of Basil II (976-1025) for gold issues and which had been adopted for the silver under Constantine IX Monomachos (1042-55).[501] The lowest denomination coins in the Komnenian system were flat copper issues; the *tetarteron* and its half.[502]

Devaluation over the course of the century was limited. During Manuel's reign the purity of the electrum *trikephalon* decreased slightly, and subsequent to his death a more striking decline is evident.[503] Under Isaac II Angelos (1185-95) the *trikephalon* was valued at ¼ of the *hyperpyron*.[504] The billon *stamenon* was subject to two stages of devaluation. Between the second and third issues of

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[500] Laiou – Morrisson (2007), 151.
[501] Jarett (2017).
[502] Hendy (1985), 513-17; Papadopoulou (2007), 81-103.
[503] Morrisson et. al. (1985), 237.
[504] Morrisson (1979a), 446; Papadopoulou (2007), 91; c.f. Hendy (1969), 158-161, who suggested 1:6.

Manuel I's coinage, c. 1160, the silver content was reduced from 6-7% to 4.5-6%. The effect of this alteration of metal content on the legal value of the coin is unclear, though Papadopoulou suggests that it is unlikely that it slipped below 1:60 relative to the *hyperyron*.[505] The second devaluation of the *stamenon* occurred during the reign of Isaac II, when the silver content was reduced to a mere 2.5-3%. By 1190 the value of the *stamenon* stood at 1:120.[506]

Besides devaluation, the most significant development in Komnenian monetary policy was the institution of distinct zones of currency circulation. In the themes of Hellas and Peloponnesos the lowest denominations in circulation were the copper *tetarteron* and its half, with billon *stamena* completely absent. The situation is reversed in Asia Minor, where *stamena* are common and, with the exception of a few issues of Alexios I, *tetartera* are extremely rare. A similar pattern emerges for the higher denominations. On the western side of the Aegean the gold *hyperpyron* is found almost exclusively. The electrum *trikephalon* was the highest denomination circulating in Asia Minor.[507] Papadopoulou dates the creation of these distinct zones on documentary as well as numismatic evidence to the reign of John II (1118-43).[508] The regional division is clearly deliberate policy, though its purpose is unclear. It may indicate a greater number of small-scale exchanges in the economy of the western provinces.[509]

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[505] Papadopoulou (2007), 95; c.f. Hendy (*DOC* IV.1), 283.
[506] Papadopoulou (2007), 98.
[507] Papadopoulou, (2010), 197-199.
[508] Papadopoulou (2010), 209.
[509] Laiou – Morrisson (2007), 155.

3.4.2. Coin Finds in the Morsynos Valley, AD 1092-1204

The twelfth century at Aphrodisias is characterised by a striking decline in coin finds, followed by a gradual recovery accelerating in the final decades. Very few coins of the Komnenian century have been recovered as individual finds in archaeological excavations. The majority of such coins in the catalogue were either found in hoards or derive from the assemblage attributed to the construction of the site museum in 1972-73. The Aphrodisias Museum has never purchased a twelfth-century issue with an alleged provenance in the Morsynos valley.

The earliest issues that reached the site subsequent to the coinage reform were several copper *tetartera* minted late in the reign of Alexios I Komnenos, all of which belong to the museum foundations assemblage.[510] A single *stamenon* of John II was found in association with the medieval housing over the theatre *cavea*.[511] Figure 3.6 shows the annual rate of coin loss for billon *stamena* during the twelfth century. Though there is a slight increase during the reign of Manuel, issues of the final quarter of the century are far better represented, rising to a peak under Alexios III Angelos (1195-1203). Besides billon *stamena*, a single electrum *trikephalon* of Manuel was uncovered in the area of the Tetrapylon Cemetery and two copper issues of the same emperor are recorded in the museum foundations assemblage.[512] There are also few twelfth-century coins from mints other than Constantinople. From the Latin West, Lucca and perhaps

[510] #428-431.
[511] #432.
[512] *Trikephalon* #433; *Tetarteron* #440; *½ Tetarteron* #441.

Touraine are represented.[513] Closer to home, a rare *stamenon* of Theodore Mankaphas, declared Basileus at Philadelphia, was found in the Place of Palms.[514]

The topographical spread is similar to that of the Middle Byzantine period. Twelfth-century coins are attested at the Bishop's Palace, the Bouleuterion, the Tetrapylon Street, the Place of Palms and the Theatre Hill. The major exception is the Museum area, which is extremely rich in finds on account of the predominance of later twelfth-century issues in the foundations assemblage.

Three hoards may be dated to the later twelfth century. Two of these are true coin hoards (Β and Γ), while the third (Δ) is a cache of jewellery that included two pierced coins. Hendy published brief accounts of the coin hoards in 1981.[515] Caruso has discussed the forms and manufacture of the jewellery in the third hoard.[516]

Hoard Β was buried deep within one of the vaults that once supported the upper *cavea* of the theatre, but which in the twelfth century tunnelled below the walls of the *kastron*. By this time it must have been mostly filled with earth, and could only have been accessed from within the fortification. The hoard consists of four electrum *trikephala* of Manuel, three of the second coinage and one of the fifth.

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[513] Lucca #485, with further comments at **5.1.1.2**; Touraine #712; For a similar example of a surprising Latin coin in Asia minor see Katsari – Lightfoot – Özme (2012), 167.
[514] No. 446; Hendy (*DOC* IV), 392-395**;** Bendall – Morrisson (1994).
[515] Hendy (1981), nos. 242 (Β), 243 (Γ). Hendy's hoard 243 is missing coin #665 of Manuel I.
[516] Caruso (2016).

Hendy suggests a date of deposition of 1180-82.[517] The archaeological context of the hoard perhaps reflects the use of the *kastron* as a refuge site. If so, a tempting historical context would be the Turkmen raiding that swept the Maeander valley in the wake of the Byzantine defeat at Myriokephalon, or the subsequent efforts of the Byzantine state to reassert military control of the Baklan and Banaz Ovaları over the period 1176-9.[518]

Hoard Γ was uncovered in front of a column drum that supported a lean-to roof covering the front yard of the House in the North Agora Stoa.[519] Though the precise stratigraphic relationship is impossible to determine, the buried hoard was beneath a thick dark layer representing the final destruction of the house by fire. It consists of 47 billon *stamena*. One *stamenon* belongs to Manuel I's fourth coinage (1167-83), while the remainder are all issues of Isaac II or Alexios III with a few "Direct Imitative" issues.

The circumstances under which the direct imitatives were minted have been the subject of extensive and at times acrimonious debate.[520] The most detailed (and sober) appraisal of the evidence is that given by Papadopoulou.[521] The two varieties found in hoard Γ, Classes A and B, imitate the fourth *stamenon* of Manuel I and variant A of Isaac II's *stamenon* respectively. There are minor variations in iconography, the style is a little more naïve and the fabric contains

[517] Hendy (1981), no. 242.
[518] *Niketas Choniates*, §192; Hendy (1985), 129.
[519] See section **2.8.**
[520] Hendy (1969), 219-222, (*DOC* IV-1), 66-79; Metcalfe (1973a), (1973b), (2000); Touratsoglou (2002).
[521] Papadopoulou (2007), 266-74.

very little silver, meaning that the coins lack the white sheen of true *stamena*. These types do not appear in hoards before 1195. It is unclear at what point they ceased to be minted. Hendy's proposed Asenid Bulgarian mint has been conclusively dismissed on various grounds. The series is too geographically widespread, particularly in Asia Minor and the southeastern Aegean, and was produced in too great a volume to be plausibly attributed to the Asenids. But Papadopoulou also demonstrates that neither Metcalf's theory of a Byzantine austerity coinage, produced to fund the Balkan wars of the later twelfth century, nor Touratsoglou's attribution of the direct imitatives to the Latins, can be accepted. Several examples of Class C direct imitatives are overstruck on *fulus* of Alaeddin Keykubad (H. 616-34/AD 1219-36), implying both a long duration and a mint closer to Asia Minor for at least this class.[522]

The numismatic impasse has consequences for the date of hoard Γ, since the Class B direct imitative issues may well be the latest coins that it contains. Nevertheless, the lack of any C Class direct imitatives, Latin imitatives, Laskarid issues or Seljuk issues should preclude a date beyond the early thirteenth century. A range 1200-10 would be most plausible. The hoard's composition is typical for the region. The Bayındır hoard of 2,117 *stamena* found in the Kaystros valley presents a comparable assemblage. It contained predominantly issues of Isaac II and Alexios III, with fewer issues of Manuel (mostly late in the reign), and both Class A and B direct imitatives. The presence of a very few coins of Theodore I Laskaris in this hoard might imply a date slightly later than Aphrodisias Γ. I should also mention one further hoard in the possession of the

[522] Papadopoulou (2007), 273, citing Stefan Heidemann *pers. comm.*

Aphrodisias museum, allegedly from near Bozdoğan in the neighbouring Harpasos valley. I have not been able to study the coins in person, and the photographs in the acquisitions register were not of sufficient quality to distinguish between imitatives and true *stamena*. The 31 coins appear to be mostly issues of Isaac II and Alexios III, with some Manuel *stamena* that may or may not be Class A direct imitations. All of these hoards may be attributed to a general anticipation of organised violence across the Maeander region in the early thirteenth century.

The jewellery hoard Δ was excavated on the western side of the theatre hill in a medieval domestic context within the fortification walls. A simple copper alloy *pyxis* contained several copper and gold pendants alongside two coins – a *follis* of Constantine X (1059-67) and a silver Latin *denaro* – both of which were pierced for suspension.[523] No further archaeological evidence was recorded that might give any clue as to the date of deposition, save that it postdates the construction of the fortification wall in the twelfth century.[524] This is confirmed by the presence of Latin coinage and by the worn and pierced condition of the issue of Constantine X. The absence of Seljuk coinage cannot confirm a date prior to the thirteenth century, especially since the residual Christian coins appear to be performing an amuletic role for which an Islamic piece might not have been suitable. A broad date in the twelfth or thirteenth century seems most plausible.

[523] #711, 712.
[524] Erim (1976), 29.

Thirteenth-century coins minted by both Latin and Greek polities are also found at Aphrodisias, and even in the rural territories of the valley. A gold *hyperpyron* of John III Doukas Vatatzes, minted at Magnesia between 1222 and 1254, was discovered in the vicinity of the village of Ataeymir.[525] However, the monetary economy of the thirteenth-century Morsynos falls outside of the range of this thesis. The majority of coins in circulation during this period were Seljuk issues. The first copper alloy Seljuk coins were minted during the reign of Mas'ud I (c. H. 540-50/AD 1145-55), mimicking the *tetartera* of Alexios I.[526] Similar copper alloy pieces were minted by Mas'ud's son Kilij Arslan II (H. 551-88/AD 1156-92).[527] But in general the twelfth-century issues of these rulers are quite scarce.

It is only during the second reign of Kay Khusraw I (H. 601-08/AD 1203-11) that a more extensive copper coinage was introduced, much of which was minted at Sozopolis/Uluborlu on the route east from the Baklan Ovası towards Ikonion.[528] A single *fals* of this period has recently been identified at Aphrodisias.[529] It was found in a topsoil context in the Place of Palms, and so it is unclear quite when the coin reached the site. A major expansion of Seljuk minting subsequently occurred under Alaeddin Keykubad I (H. 616-634/AD 1219-1236).[530] Redford has kindly identified two copper alloy *fulus* of this sultan that were found in the well in the Aphrodisias Cathedral.[531] It is therefore likely that Seljuk coinage was

[525] #614.
[526] Broome (2011), 16.
[527] Broome (2011), 42; Izmirlier (2010), 40-51.
[528] Broome (2011), 48.
[529] Teoman – Teoman (forthcoming), No. 1; c.f. Broome (2011), No. 97 Type B; Izmirlier (2010), No. 152.
[530] Broome (2011), 91.
[531] Redford (*pers. comm.*).

in common use in the Morsynos by the second quarter of the thirteenth century at the latest. A similar sequence is found at Hierapolis, where the earliest Seljuk coin is a *fals* of the second reign of Kay Khusraw I, and a threefold increase occurs during the reign of Alaeddin Keykubad I.[532]

Christian thirteenth-century coins are therefore presented in the catalogue, but no commentary is offered on the economy of the valley in this period. It can only be hoped that a future comprehensive study of the Seljuk coinage from Aphrodisias and its territories will permit a holistic synthesis of coin circulation in the thirteenth-century Morsynos.

3.4.3. Money, Economy and Insecurity in the Komnenian Maeander

The sequence of coins accidentally lost at Aphrodisias during the twelfth century resembles those of several other excavated sites of western Asia Minor. At Priene, Wiegand's early excavations found no coins of Alexios I or John II, but during the second half of the twelfth century the annual rate of coin loss exceeded that of the eleventh.[533] A similar early twelfth-century gap followed by accelerating recovery is found at Pergamon.[534] At Hierapolis there are no intervening coins between Romanos IV Diogenes (1068-71) and a single *stamenon* of Isaac II Angelos (1185-95).[535] Morrisson's histogram for Ephesos shows a marked decline 1081-43, followed by only the most incremental of

[532] Travaglini – Camilleri (2010), 151.
[533] Morrisson (2002a), fig. 6.7; Regling (1927).
[534] Morrisson (1993), 9.
[535] Travaglini – Camilleri (2010), 150.

recoveries.[536] Here the lack of later twelfth-century coins may reflect the evacuation of the site of the ancient city in favour of the more secure Ayasoluk settlement. Sardis proves a more complicated case. Bates' and Buttery's catalogues of coins for the years 1958-72 present a single *stamenon* of John II, followed by four of Isaac II and five of Alexios III.[537] Evans' recent catalogue for the years 1973-2003 shows a similar pattern. A single *stamenon* of Alexios I is followed by a seven *stamena* of the later twelfth century, including two minted by Isaac I Komnenos on Cyprus.[538] The 1910-14 excavations of the Temple of Artemis revealed a quite different assemblage, in which *stamena* of Alexios I, John II and Manuel are better represented than those of the Angeloi.[539] In all cases we are dealing with no more than a handful of coins, and the example of Sardis is best considered a salient reminder of the varying degrees of representativeness of excavated coin assemblages. A slight diminution in coin losses in the early twelfth century is a phenomenon visible across the entire empire, but in Asia Minor the drop is particularly severe and slow to recover.[540]

In the case of the Early Byzantine Period "coin gap", I suggested that a limited monetary economy persisted despite the absence of newly minted copper alloy coins. The eleventh century saw a massive influx in coinage to southwestern Asia Minor, and one should consider whether much of this might have remained in circulation in the early Komnenian period. Some continuity of circulation may be envisaged for the higher denominations. The Komnenian 20½ carat *hyperpyron*

[536] Morrisson (2002a), fig. 6.8.
[537] Bates (1971), 139-40; Buttery (1981), 221.
[538] DeRose Evans (2018), 224-47.
[539] Bell (1916), ix.
[540] Papadopoulou (2007), 416.

was produced from the metal stock of *nomismata* of the same purity minted 1028-56, and the *trikephalon* perhaps from the "gold" issues of 1070-71.[541] This equivalence in alloy may have permitted the older *nomismata* to pass for *hyperpyra*, and the slightly more recent *nomismata* to be accepted as pseudo-*trikephala*.[542]A hoard buried 1130-35 near Safranbolu contained both *nomismata histamena* of the later eleventh century and *hyperpyra* of the twelfth.[543]

As for the lower denominations, there are no examples of eleventh-century *folles* residual in billon hoards of the twelfth century in Asia Minor, though admittedly the majority of these hoards date to the last decades of the century. Residual *folles* do appear in hoards from Greece and the Balkans.[544] Moreover, eleventh-century *folles* may well have been circulating in the twelfth-century Near East, since they were used as models for several early Seljuk types. A *fals* of Nur al-Din of the Zengid Atabegs of Aleppo (H. 541-569/ AD 1146-1174) presents a mirror image of the Class 1 *follis* of Constantine X Doukas (1059-67).[545] But I would argue that the *follis* continued in circulation only where it found an aesthetically similar, newly minted, coin officially recognised. In Byzantine territory west of the Aegean, antique *folles* were disguised among new flat copper *tetartera*. In the Near East they circulated alongside the flat Seljuq *fals*. For Komnenian western Asia Minor there are two possible models. Either the antique *follis* was the *de iure tetarteron* in a monetary system in which genuine *tetartera* were almost non-existent, a solution which flatly contradicts the circulation zone policies

[541] Laiou – Morrisson (2007), 151.
[542] Morrisson et al. (1985), 154-5; Papadopoulou (2007), 88.
[543] Hendy (1981), 69-70 no 232.
[544] Papadopoulou (2007), appendix.
[545] Spengler – Sayles (1992), 61.

demonstrated by Papadopoulou, or the *follis* fell out of use subsequent to the coinage reform. The latter option seems more plausible.

There are a few more factors to consider. Hendy suggests that an official recall of circulating *stamena* preceded the issue of Manuel I's slightly devalued third coinage in c.1160.[546] This may partially account for the absence of *stamena* of the preceding decades. Still, should there have been much circulating coinage during the first half of the century one would expect more chance losses than the archaeological record suggests.[547] The acceleration in *stamena* reaching western Asia Minor in the final quarter of the century should also be balanced against the declining value of each individual *stamenon*.

The gap in the coin sequence of the Maeander region in the early Komnenian period therefore attests to a real and dramatic contraction of the monetised portion of the economy. A slight recovery is evident subsequent to c.1160. Even then, the level of monetisation remained relatively low. This phenomenon may now be situated within the local agrarian and political economy more broadly defined.

Following Romanos IV Diogenes's defeat at Manzikert near lake Van in 1071 the Byzantine military apparatus in Asia Minor fragmented into a kaleidoscopic array of competing interests.[548] By the early 1080s Nikephoros Basilakios, Nikephoros Botaneiates, Nikephoros Byrennios and Nikephoros Melissenos

[546] *DOS* 12, 158-161.
[547] Papadopoulou (2007), 416.
[548] Beihammer (2017), 198-244.

were all at various points proclaimed as candidates for the imperial throne. Mercenary corps were a well-established feature of Byzantine armies by this time, and a wide array of groups that had no previous connection to the agrarian population, and which frequently proved difficult to control, were drawn into the conflict. These included the Norman forces of Russell de Balliol and large numbers of Turkmen from the Caucasus region. Moreover, urban communities and indigenous elites frequently sided with local powerbrokers rather than with distant Constantinople.[549] Turkmen were also immigrating independently, whether under the direction of the early Seljuk polities or as nomads beyond the control of any state. By the years 1073-75 Turkmen groups were traversing the roads and river valleys as far as the Propontis. By the end of the decade Turkish warlords were occupying towns and fortresses across Asia Minor.[550]

Many nomad groups took the valley routes from the Banaz and Baklan Ovaları to the Aegean. With the usurpation of Alexios I Komnenos in 1081 the Turkish commander Tzachas fled to Smyrna, having spent the preceding years as a partisan of Nikephoros III Boniates in Constantinople. From Smyrna he established a small independent polity with the aid of both nomadic Turkmen and the indigenous population. Ephesos was likewise occupied by Turkish warlords, and the entire Maeander region removed from Constantinopolitan control.[551] In the long term, the stable spaces, places and environments of the agrarian Maeander would be fundamentally disrupted by the seasonal migrations of itinerant pastoralists. More immediately, the ties of absentee

[549] Beihammer (2017), 213.
[550] Beihammer (2017), 223.
[551] Beihammer (2017), 272-75; Vryonis (1975), 44; *ODB* "Tzachas".

property ownership that had bound the region to Constantinople were severed.[552] At Aphrodisias the sequence of administrative lead seals abruptly ceases.[553]

Over the subsequent decades Constantinopolitan hegemony was gradually re-established in the Maeander region. The passage of the First Crusade allowed for the coastal areas to be reconquered and fortified during the reign of Alexios I.[554] In 1119 John II lead a campaign from the Kaystros into Phrygia. New fortifications were erected at Laodikeia (Denizli) and at Sozopolis (Ulubrolu), thereby establishing a frontier zone around the Baklan Ovası and the Lykos.[555] Byzantine efforts to secure the lowland valleys in the later twelfth century would concentrate on these Phrygian plains. Prior to the 1176 expedition that would end at Myriokephalon Manuel renovated the fortresses of Dorylaion (Eskişehir) and Soublaion in the Upper Maeander.[556] Thonemann suggests that these actions ought to be interpreted in the context of safeguarding the agrarian economy rather than as a prelude to a conquest of Konya.[557] An encomium delivered by George Tornikes commemorates reconstruction of Choma on the orders of Isaac II Angelos c.1192.[558] The fortress was likely situated atop a höyük in the eastern reaches of the Baklan Ovası.[559] Archaeological survey has revealed further

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[552] For Middle Byzantine property relations in the Lower Maeander see Whittow (1987), 362-432.
[553] Nesbitt (1983), Jeffery (2019a).
[554] Vryonis (1975), 44; Ragia (2007); Foss (1982), 157; Ahrweiler (1960).
[555] Vyronis (1971), 118-120; (1975), 45; Magdalino (1994), 36.
[556] Location of Soublaion: Ahrweiler (1964), 278.
[557] Thonemann (2011), 161.
[558] *Fontes* II, 259-261; Ahrweiler (1964), 282.
[559] H. Ahrweiler (1964); Thonemann (2011), 161.

evidence of Komnenian military infrastructure in this area in the form of watch points and castles.[560]

However, the linear state frontier in Phrygia could do very little to prevent the annual migrations of pastoralists. Every winter Turkmen and their flocks would descend from their highland pastures to the more temperate lowland regions. A large nomadic population was now a permanent feature of valley's human geography. Twelfth-century Crusader sources report the constant presence of nomadic bands well within the territory claimed by the Byzantine state. Odo of Deuil's history provides a vivid narrative of the progress of Louis VII's Frankish army through the Maeander valley in the winter of 1147/8, constantly shadowed by Turkmen warbands, some of which were allegedly led by Greeks.[561] Odo contends that when pressured by the Franks the nomads retreated into the *civitatula* of Antioch, where they were sheltered by the indigenous population.[562] Arriving at Laodikeia, they found that the Greek *dux* of the town had emptied it of provisions.[563] Odo ascribes this collaborative tendency to the treachery of Manuel Komenos, whose perfidy is a recurring theme. But if the narrative reflects any historical reality, then it surely speaks to the limits of Komnenian control over Maeander communities whose relations with their nomadic neighbours cannot have been exclusively characterised by conflict.[564]

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[560] Whittow (1987), 230-4; (1995), 23-25.
[561] *Odo of Deuil*, 108.
[562] *Odo of Deuil,* 112.
[563] *Odo of Deuil,* 114.
[564] Magdalino (1994), 51-2.

In a well-known passage Niketas Choniates describes the creation of the theme of Neokastra, literally "the new castles", around the region of Pergamon in the 1160s.[565] The emperor is praised for having gathered the inhabitants of scattered villages into secure fortifications, thereby ensuring the reproduction of an agrarian landscape and tax-paying subjects. At Priene the twelfth century is marked by a sudden growth in the population within the Hellenistic wall circuit.[566] At around the same time the ancient town of Mastaura, located further east on the northern foothills of the Maeander, was abandoned and the population relocated to a fortified premonitory high above the valley floor.[567] Elsewhere, ceramic scatters suggest populations retreated from the edge of the plain into the narrow valleys of the foothills.[568] New fortifications were erected at Antioch.[569] The *kastron* was constructed over the theatre at Miletos.[570] Hierapolis continued to be inhabited, but at least one monastic site on the northwestern limit of the Lykos valley appears to have been abandoned.[571] The settlement pattern likely reflects a climate of fear and insecurity, but a concentration of population does not necessarily indicate that fields were left untilled and crops unsown.

The impact of the nomadic presence on the agricultural environment is difficult to discern. It is undeniable that an agrarian landscape with crops ripening in exposed fields would be highly vulnerable to pastoralist aggression. Apocalyptic

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[565] *Niketas Choniates*, §150.
[566] Fildhuth (2017), 253.
[567] Barnes – Whittow (1993).
[568] Barnes – Whittow (1996).
[569] Barnes – Whittow (1998a).
[570] Niewöhner (2017c), 262.
[571] Arthur (2006), 174.

assessments based on historical analogy remain common.[572] The most detailed elaboration of the pessimistic view is that of Vryonis, who marshals comparative evidence from the Caucasus and northern Syria to illustrate the "timeless struggle of farmer and herdsman".[573] Pollen data from the high Anatolian plateau show a sudden reduction of cereal cultivation around 1100, with a corresponding increase in non-anthropogenic tree species.[574] Thonemann highlights the use of agricultural metaphor in Eustathios of Thessaloniki's Epiphany oration of 1176 extolling the fortification of Western Asia Minor. [575] The rhetor rejoices that the sons of Hagar have been initiated into the mysteries of Demeter, and suggests that the emperor must now sow fortifications across the frontiers to deny the fruits of the land to the nomads.[576] Eustathios' vocabulary suggests that some Byzantine administrators did conceptualise the campaign as one of farmers against herdsmen.

Similar palynological studies of the hinterland of Miletos reveal no change between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries.[577] The Turkish raids on the wealthy Latros monasteries that provoked Christodoulos' flight to Patmos did not fundamentally alter the agricultural practices of the peasant *paroikoi*.[578] Legal cases from these coastal regions in the early twelfth century imply that for at least some Maeander peasants political chaos was felt as an easing of domination in the absence of Constantinopolitan landlords. Documents from the

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[572] Armstrong (1998), 329; Thonemann (2011), 162.
[573] Vryonis (1975), 52.
[574] England et al. (2008), 1238; Haldon et al. (2014), 151.
[575] Thonemann (2011), 162.
[576] *Eustathios of Thessalonike*, Epiphany Oration of 1176, §3, 5.
[577] Izdebski (2016), 279.
[578] *BMFD* II, 580.

Latros and Hiera monasteries show that in the period 1127-43 the institutions were still in the process of reasserting lost property rights over agricultural producers.[579] On 18 July 1133, the Katepan of Smyrna and a number of local noblemen adjudicated against Nikolas Kazanes of the village of Mantaia. Nikolas was accused of having taken advantage of "the invasion of the godless Hagarenes" to take possession of thirty-one olive trees that had belonged to the Lembos monastery, a dependency of Hagia Sofia.[580] In this case the number of olive trees seems to have remained the same throughout, and it was ownership of the means of production that was most severely disrupted, not production itself.

Hendy suggests that winter grazing is not *per se* harmful to sedentary agriculture. Early autumn harvests could have been brought behind fortification walls before the arrival of the nomads. Winter grazing of young sprouts ought to cause tillering, the multiplication of cereal stalks through side shoots.[581] Moreover, the terms of treaty of 1161 conducted between Manuel I and Kilij Arslan may have notionally required Turkmen to pay for their pasturage.[582] The presence of nomads (though in the absence of warfare) in the fourteenth century Maeander certainly did not prevent the region from exporting vast quantities of cereals to Venetian Crete.[583]

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[579] Magdalino (1994), 128-9; Wilson – Darrouzès (1968), 31-4.
[580] MM IV, 62-63; Ahrweiler (1965), 128.
[581] Hendy (1985), 121.
[582] Though the evidence, an elliptical reference in *Eustathios of Thessaloniki*'s Epiphany Oration of 1176 (§3), is very meager.
[583] Zachariadou (1983), 163-164.

For the twelfth century one might suggest a spectrum of agricultural persistence, from devastation on the high plateau to continuity in the coastal river deltas. Of course one should not expect a steady westwards gradation. The decisive factor must have been ease of access for warbands seeking to inflict deliberate violence. It is unclear how the Morsynos should fit into this model. It was certainly not nearly so exposed as the Lykos, which was a major transit route towards the plateau and of such significance to nomadic pastoralism that by the thirteenth century it had become known as the Türkmenova.[584] The relatively sheltered geography of the Morsynos may have lessened the impact of nomadic migrations.

It will be useful at this point to contrast the numismatic and ceramic evidence for the settlements of the Komnenian Maeander. At Hierapolis the Komnenian monetary system is represented by a single *stamenon*, yet Arthur reports that "from the later eleventh and twelfth centuries imports of fine glazed tablewares become ever more common".[585] Whittow identified sgraffito and other finewares at the newly fortified town of Mastaura.[586] Öztaşkın has demonstrated that commercial links between Aphrodisias and the Aegean continued and perhaps intensified throughout the twelfth century.[587] High quality sgraffito wares with relief decoration find close parallels from the first quarter of the twelfth century at Corinth.[588] From the mid-century onwards the repertoire expands to include

[584] Vryonis (1975), 50.
[585] Arthur (2006), 80.
[586] Barnes – Whittow (1993), 130.
[587] Öztaşkın (2017), 169.
[588] Öztaşkın (2017), 170; Morgan (1942), 145-46.

large quantities of fine sgraffito and pseudo-Zeuxippos wares.[589] Coin finds appear to be a poor index of long distance exchange.

3.4.4. Summary

The abrupt cessation in new coinage reaching the Maeander coincides with the first incursions of nomadic Turkmen, but the return of a monetised economy lags significantly behind the reassertion of Constantinopolitan military hegemony. The question emerges of how representative these coin finds are for the economy as a whole, an issue that in turn requires an assessment of the economic impact of the nomadic presence. Settlement archaeology demonstrates that the indigenous population retreated to fortified locations. Many inhabitants of Aphrodisias may well have moved onto the fortified Theatre Hill.[590] A concentration of population may also explain the complete absence of coinage from the rural Morsynos in the twelfth century in stark contrast to the preceding period. Agrarian production in the coastal regions continued largely as before, while the agricultural economy of the Upper Maeander came under pressure from nomadic pastoralism and raiding. Nevertheless, it must have persisted to some degree in order to support the fortified towns. Ceramic evidence suggests that though their inhabitants possessed few coins, they were not necessarily impoverished.

[589] Öztaşkın (2017).
[590] **2.13.2.**

The Maeander region described by the Choniates brothers is a dangerous place, a wild frontier zone in which raiding was common. But their narratives also assume a degree of economic productivity. It is worth remembering that the best evidence for the Chonai Panegyris comes from this troubled time. Michael Choniates tells how a quarrel between a group of Greeks and Turks at the fair quickly escalated, forcing the Christians to seek protection in the church of the archangel Michael.[591] The story well illustrates the relationship between farmer and herdsman in the twelfth-century Maeander. Exchange was possible, but any balance was precarious and violence just around the corner.

[591] *Michael Choniates* I, 57-59.

Architectural and Liturgical Sculpture

The following chapter addresses the corpus of Middle Byzantine sculpture recorded at Aphrodisias. Discussion is divided into two sections. The first addresses ecclesiastical architecture, identifying the creation of medieval liturgical installations within the town's late antique churches. Marble elements offer one of the few means through which to reconstruct the articulation of interior space within these structures, and the best means by which to date Middle Byzantine restorations and interventions. The second section discusses both the working processes of the sculptors and the social context in which they operated. I argue for continuity in workshop organisation and technical procedure between the end of antiquity and the Middle Byzantine period. The reader may find photographs of all fragments discussed in this chapter in the third catalogue appended to the thesis.

4.1. The Corpus: Description and Analysis

The Cathedral of Aphrodisias retained its liturgical function until the later twelfth century. The excavated marble sculpture therefore represents the liturgical furnishings at this latest phase. It is a remarkably heterogeneous assemblage, exhibiting a wide range of motifs and stylistic modes. Almost all fragments are unpublished. Cormack presented some of the larger, intact epistyles with photographs in his 1990 article on the Cathedral.[592] Nine epistyles are presented by Hebert. Both suggest that the epistyles they discuss were produced by a single workshop. However, these constitute only a fraction of the medieval sculpture found in the Cathedral, represent two distinct barriers, and are products of two unrelated workshops (**B** and **C** below). The epistyles of the Triconch Church (**P**) have likewise been mentioned in passing by Cormack, but never systematically studied.[593]

A major difficulty in studying these fragments is the absence of recorded find spots. Very few of the fragments were recorded with accession numbers, and in general they are not mentioned in field notebooks. Since their exhumation these fragments have been stored in the southeast chamber of the Cathedral. During the 2016 season a large stack was disarticulated so that the smaller pieces might be catalogued. Larger elements were removed by crane in 2017. The following chapter presents the results of this fieldwork.

[592] Cormack (1990a), figs. 7a-d.
[593] Cormack Cormack (1981), (1990b).

4.1.1. Group A: The Principal Templon of the Cathedral

The first sanctuary barrier in the Cathedral was erected during the conversion of the Temple of Aphrodite. A brief description of this barrier will be necessary, since its stylobate and some of its upper elements remained in use throughout the Middle Byzantine life of the Cathedral. A low stylobate projects forwards from the east apse to define an area of 8.97m west-east by 13.53m north-south (Fig. 4.1). It is carved from a medium-grained grey marble that shows no signs of re-use. The late antique liturgy was intended to be visible to the congregation, who were separated from ordained celebrants by a low barrier of panels set between pillars.[594] Numerous rectangular pillars, panels, and mouldings in a blue/grey-veined marble may be found within the cathedral.[595] Dowel holes spaced 1.7m apart on the stylobate correspond to the combined width of the pillars and screens, demonstrating that these are contemporary. Four column bases attest to a *kiborion* situated above a wellhead in the centre of the sanctuary.

Around the beginning of the seventh century this low barrier was replaced by a taller installation incorporating a colonnade and espistyle, henceforth *templon*.[596] The first *templon* therefore falls slightly earlier than the stated chronological range of this thesis. Nevertheless, this *templon* formed the

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[594] Walter (1971), (1993).
[595] Cormack (1990a), figs. 6a-c.
[596] The Greek *templon* is first attested in the late seventh-century Miracles of H. Artemios, and was the standard Middle Byzantine term for the sanctuary barrier; see Mango (1979), 40-43.

essential framework of the sanctuary barrier throughout the Early and Middle Byzantine periods.

The extant fragments of this barrier are catalogued here as group **A.** Screens on late antique base mouldings were set between reused statue bases. Columns resting on the statue bases carried a series of epistyles with decorated soffit and front faces. On top of these was a course of cornice blocks. I first establish the late sixth/early seventh-century date of group **A** and then describe architectural elements in ascending order along a vertical elevation, beginning with the screens and pillars and culminating with non-marble paraphernalia such as lamps and icons.

4.1.1.1. The Date of the Principal Templon

Stylistically, group **A** is something of an anomaly. Some compositional elements, such as the frequent *clipeus*-in-lozenge frame, are reminiscent of Justinianic architectural sculpture. Yet they also show some affinity with later Middle Byzantine traditions, most notably in strapwork and rosettes.[597]

Screen **A.89** may be recomposed from eleven fragments. A cross is set within a frame of a quatrefoil within a circle. The arms of the cross flare slightly, terminating in small pendant triangles. Rosettes in circular frames occupy the outer corners of the composition, and vines fill the remaining space. Fragment

[597] C.f. Degasperi (2013), 58-60.

A.90 attests to another screen with an identical composition, executed on a slightly smaller scale. Close parallels for these screens have been recorded in the cathedral of H. Ioannis at Ephesos.[598] These closure slabs have identical cross-in-quatrefoil-in-circle devices, set within a bevelled square outer frame similar to those of the Aphrodisian examples. Pendent triangles at the corners of the cross arms are found on the Ephesian and Aphrodisian screens. The execution of the cross pattée at Ephesos recalls closely that of the same motif on the cornice pieces of group **A**. The most significant divergence is in the form of the central cross, which at Ephesos is set on four steps.

The full assemblage of architectural and liturgical sculpture from the church of H. Philippos at Hierapolis has yet to be published, though several papers have offered preliminary reports.[599] Of particular relevance are the pieces that di Giorgi assembles as her group B. These include the epistyles of the *templon*, several screens and the lower panels of the gallery balustrades. The parallels between Hierapolis group B and Aphrodisias group **A** are striking. We encounter the same circular framing devices with double concentric bands, the same slightly flared crosses with pendant triangles, the same distinctive rosettes with two registers of petals alternating between solid and recessed.[600]

The correspondences in motifs and stylistic execution indicate that these three sets of architectural sculpture – Ephesian, Aphrodisian and Hierapolitan – belong

[598] Büyükkolanci (2008), Nos. 5, 6.
[599] de Giorgi and Pedone are currently preparing a monograph study. For preliminary analyses see de Giorgi (2016), (2018); Pedone (2016); D'Andria (2016-17).
[600] De Giorgi (2016), 495; (2018), fig. 3b; D'Andria (2016-17), fig. 17.

to the same tradition, and are probably the products of a single itinerant workshop. However, a chronological problem emerges, since Büyükkolanci places the Ephesian screens in the eighth or ninth century while di Giorgi suggests that the Hierapolitan screens were carved around AD 600. Büyükkolanci's later date is predicated on the argument that the stepped crosses of the screens are inspired by those employed on silver *miliaresia*, first minted during the reign of Leo III (AD 717-741). There are two shortcomings to this hypothesis. The stepped cross made its first numismatic appearance on the gold issues of Tiberius Constantine (AD 578-82).[601] Moreover, the same motif is inscribed on the columns of the H. Ioannis. It is not clear when these graffiti were made, but the possibility remains that the screens were carved in response to graphic signs already present in the building. By contrast, there are convincing arguments independent of style to accept de Giorgi's chronology. The crucial pieces are the gallery balustrades, since these are integral to the structure of the basilica.[602] They are of the same phase as the gallery capitals, which are ionic imposts of clear late sixth/early seventh-century manufacture.[603]

4.1.1.2. The Lower Barrier

The late antique stylobate remained in use until the final destruction of the Cathedral. Patterns of wear suggest at least two gateways. These run over dowel holes from the original low barrier, and therefore represent activity subsequent

[601] **4.1.2.9**.
[602] De Giorgi (2018), 298.
[603] De Giorgi (2016), 491.

to c. AD 600. The first is at the eastern end of the stylobate's north wing. Across a length of approximately 80cm the stylobate is worn smooth from repeated footsteps. This entrance likely represents a route from the liturgical spaces at the northeast of the cathedral.[604] The second extent of worn stylobate extends for c.150cm on the west wing, across the central longitudinal axis of the Cathedral.[605] This marks the principal gateway of the sanctuary.

The dowel holes and pour channels relate only to the original low barrier of the sanctuary. The elements of the group **A** *templon* were not doweled in place but set on mortar, often above one or more courses of brick tile to ensure roughly consistent elevations between heterogeneous pieces. Today the only elements to remain certainly *in situ* are several statue bases on the northern wing of the stylobate. Several of these are set directly above the dowel holes of the low barrier. The bases are between 40 and 50cm in width, with heights that vary within a few centimetres of 115cm. Simple mouldings define a rectangular panel, with inscriptions that may be dated to the first and second centuries AD. A layer of plaster may have covered the inscriptions, which mention the city's former patron Aphrodite.

A photograph taken during the 1960s excavations shows late-antique base mouldings, set on two courses of brick tiles, running between two *in situ* statue bases (Fig. 4.2). These no longer exist, but evidently represent the arrangement

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[604] **2.4.3.**

[605] The length is approximate since a section of the stylobate is missing here.

in place at the date of the Cathedral's destruction. The mouldings were likely set here during the erection of the *templon*, c. AD 600.

Only two new screens may be securely attributed to this phase, and these are too narrow to fit into the spaces between the statue bases.[606] The sculptors of the *templon* must have redeployed the screen panels of the low barrier. This explains why the statue bases are situated directly above dowel cuttings despite not requiring a dowel. Along these longitudinal wings the new barrier preserved the intercolumnar spacing of the old, substituting the original pillars with statue bases.

No statue bases survive *in situ* on the west wing of the stylobate. The intercolumniation here was narrower than on the longitudinal wings. Since the cuttings on the stylobate do not relate to the *templon*, the only possible indication of intercolumnar distance is the length of the epistyle blocks and their soffit panels. The length of at least some of the epistyle blocks above this wing was 145cm. This corresponds well with a width of 90cm for the best preserved of the group **A** screens, assuming that it was placed between statue bases of approximately 50cm width each. This arrangement is reconstructed in figure 3.3.

4.1.1.3. Epistyles and Cornices

The statue bases supported columns with unfluted shafts. Large fragments of these columns are scattered throughout the Cathedral, though no complete

[606] **A.89** and **A.90**.

examples are attested. A fragment preserving the lower portion of a column, now lying just outside the southeast entrance, has a base diameter of 40cm, implying a total height of c.280cm. Numerous small Pergamene type capitals of late antique manufacture may be found in the interior of the Cathedral. They fit neatly above the column shafts. Their imposts provided a stable surface on which the epistyle blocks rested. The epistyle was mortared to the capital without a securing dowel. The epistyles of group **A** have uniform widths of 70cm. Their heights vary between 15 and 19cm. Since the epistyles were clamped to each other across their upper surfaces it follows that these upper surfaces were at a consistent elevation. The variance in the height of the epistyles compensated for the various heights of the statue bases and columns below.

The epistyle blocks produced for the principal *templon* were rectangular prisms. Front faces are decorated with various sequences of motifs. A cross pattée in a circular frame frequently marks the transition between two sequences. A single rectangular panel is carved on each soffit. These contain a wide variety of decorative compositions. Lozenges often frame a central circular motif, with rosettes or right-angled triangles in the corners of the frame. Common also are large rosettes set within two concentric circular bands, the outer of which may be interwoven with that of an adjoining rosette in a strapwork composition. Most motifs are executed on two low relief planes, with only a few instances of bevelling. Coils are entirely absent.

In some cases it may be determined whether a block was positioned on one of the longitudinal wings of the *templon* or on the western, frontal wing. The break

faces of epistyle blocks **A.03** and **A.04** do not join. But if they are positioned so as to create a perfect lozenge, the symmetry of the composition is apparent and it is clear that they form part of a single block (Fig. 4.4). The length of this block is 170cm, the same as the distance between the centres of the *in situ* statue bases, and so this block ought to be placed on one of the longitudinal wings. It is more difficult to determine the arrangement of epistyle blocks on the western wing of the *templon*.[607] A few blocks preserve soffit panels of a much-reduced length, containing single large rosettes within frames that are almost square. The full length of block **A.06** survives, giving an intercolumniation of 145cm. This is consistent with the widths of screen **A.89**. I would suggest that these shorter epistyle blocks were used on the western wing of the *templon* screen. Following these calculations, the longitudinal wings could each accommodate five epistyles, and nine more could fit onto the lateral wing. The 41 epistyle fragments attributed to group **A** may be combined to make roughly nineteen complete epistyles.

It is not possible to determine the order in which the blocks of the *templon* epistyle were arranged. The blocks are extremely fragmentary, their full lengths very rarely preserved, and there are no clearly corresponding clamp cuttings. There is no common-sense logic to the order in which decorative elements ought to appear. It is only possible to reconstruct the arrangement in elevation and to make a few generalisations about their overall configuration.

[607] Though **A.12** must be at the southwestern corner.

At least six epistyles may be paired to form mirrored compositions across a longitudinal axis. One may pair blocks **A.01** and **A.10**, **A.02** and **A.05**, **A.03/04** and **A.19**, **A.09** and **A.21**, **A.11** and **A.14**, and **A.32** and **A.41**. Epistyles **A.09** and **A.21** have identical soffit compositions. Their front faces both preserve a vegetal motif in which a tapering stem leads to a series of leaves, composed of elliptical petals diverging at 45° angles from the central axis. Unlike other motifs this vegetal pattern possesses a horizontal directionality. The leaves on epistyle **A.09** point towards the left, whereas on **A.21** they point to the right (Fig. 4.5). A similar phenomenon may be observed on **A.02** and **A.05**. Both of these blocks display on their front faces a series of frames containing circular motifs. On block **A.02**, from left to right; round boss, quatrefoil rosette, fanned rosette. On block **A.05**, again from left to right; quatrefoil rosette, round boss. In both of these cases the reflection in the longitudinal axis extends to the horizontal directionality of the motifs. Corresponding blocks ought to be placed opposite each other on each of the longitudinal wings of the *templon*. The symmetrical pattern must continue onto the front face of the barrier, since we have six matching pairs and the longitudinal wings could only accommodate five. A compositional focus would therefore be created above the central gateway to the sanctuary. Interestingly, the epistyles of the *templon* of the church of H. Philippos, which I have suggested were carved by the same workshop, conform to a similar mirrored composition.[608]

Very little effort was taken to ensure consistency in the upper surfaces of the epistyles. Where the surface was particularly rough or convex, a flattened shelf

[608] de Giorgi (2016), fig. 7.

of between 22 and 25cm width was cut along the front edge. This ensured that the cornice blocks could rest securely atop the epistyle (Fig. 4.6). The cornice blocks were of between 29 and 31cm in width. None are preserved to their full length. The length of the cornice blocks likely varied, since this would not have been structurally significant. They are all between 13 and 15cm in height, though this reflects different degrees of convexity in their upper surfaces. From the position of a viewer at ground level they would have presented a uniform elevation. A smooth margin of between 3 and 8cm width runs along the front edge of their lower surface. The cornice therefore projected slightly over the upper front edge of the epistyle block. The decorated face of the cornice slopes outwards and is topped by a narrow flat band. It is carved with a pattern of repeated circles, each composed of four elliptical petals placed at right angles. At the centre of each circle is a small rhomboid bud, picked out in red paint. Small patches of red were also painted between the circles.

4.1.1.4. Attachments and Illumination

Cuttings on the cornices attest to fixtures in metal and wood (Fig. 4.7). An analysis of these cuttings enables a richer description of the *templon* barrier, embellished by wooden icons and illuminated by lamps or candles. There are no cuttings for curtains that might have obscured the view between nave and sanctuary. Cuttings for lighting mechanisms are found on twenty of the cornice fragments of group **A**, and on all three of the Maeander epistyles of group **B**

discussed below.[609] The mechanisms all function according to the same structural principle. A channel running perpendicular to the front edge of the block accommodated a bracket projecting over the front of the barrier. A clamp positioned parallel to the front edge of the block was then used to secure this bar. To my knowledge such cuttings have not previously been considered by scholars seeking to investigate lighting arrangements in Byzantine churches. Publications of Middle Byzantine liturgical sculpture rarely give any information regarding clamp or dowel cuttings. There is however reason to believe that this precise type of cutting may be quite widespread. For example, several *templon* epistyles in the centralising church at Maximianopolis/Mosynopolis in Thrace, dating to the second half of the eleventh or to the twelfth century, present very similar cuttings on the upper surface.[610]

Projecting brackets might be quite elaborate. None survive from the Aphrodisias *templon*, but a Middle Byzantine copper alloy bracket in the Dumbarton Oaks collection provides a useful comparandum. Flattened foliate ornament fills the intervals between the peaks and troughs of an undulating rod.[611] Of course, the Aphrodisias brackets may also have been simple metal bars.

The brackets were used either to suspend lamps or as holders for candles. In monastic inventories and *typika* the brackets are generally termed *lamnai*.[612] A late Byzantine fresco in the southwestern funerary chapel of the Aphendiko

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[609] **A.44,52,53,54,55,58,61,62,66,68,70,74,75,76,78,79,80,81,82,86.**
[610] Zekos (2011) fig. 16α-δ.
[611] Bouras – Parani (2008), No. 19.
[612] Bouras (1982), nn. 28.

Church in the Hodegetria monastery of Mystras may depict *lamnai* in use. The Theotokos sits upon her deathbed as mourners grieve and Apostles deliver encomia. The bed is positioned within an apsidal epistyle, from which the *lamnai* project. The brackets undulate according to a *cyma reversa*, terminating in a single candle above a small dish for the collection of wax.[613] Alternatively a lamp might have been suspended from the bracket. Hanging lamps are more commonly depicted in medieval manuscript illustrations and are essential to the modern Orthodox *iconostasis*. Copper alloy chains would have supported either individual lamps in glass or metal or larger polycandela.[614] Illustrations frequently show chains with counterweight devices for adjusting the height of the lamp.[615]

Some lighting mechanisms were installed by the workshop responsible for the production of the epistyles. The mechanism of cornice fragment **A.55** is integrated into the cutting of the clamp that secured the block to the next cornice in the series (Fig. 4.8). However, the carving of the mechanisms varies significantly across the entire assemblage. The majority of channels, such as that of **A.77**, are rectangular and neatly cut. That on **A.86** is extremely rough, flaring towards the front edge. Cornice **A.68** has two rough channels, both covered by a single long clamp. A neatly cut suspension mechanism on **A.54** was replaced by a rather crude substitute positioned slightly to its right. Perhaps most unusual is the suspension mechanism of **A.80**. Two large square dowels suggest a hefty

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[613] Millet (1910), pl. 101.1; Bouras (1982), 480.
[614] See Olcay (2001) suspended glass lamps.
[615] E.g. Greek Patriarchate, *Taphou* 60, fol. 5v; Bouras – Parani (2008), fig. 5; Council of Europe (1964), fig. 293.

clamp for the suspension of a very heavy object. This variety and substitution reflects an evolving configuration of lighting brackets over the six centuries in which the *templon* was in use. Several cornice blocks attest to groupings of lamps or candles at particular points. Fragments **A.53**, **A.66**, and **A.86** all secured two adjacent brackets, and three tightly spaced brackets projected from **A.58**. The illumination of the barrier was markedly uneven, with punctuations of bright light from clusters of lamps or candles. Might these clusters correspond to icons attached to the barrier?

Directly behind a cutting for a projecting bracket on cornice block **A.62** is a long trench, parallel to the front edge of the block. It is 4cm wide, 6cm deep and preserved for a length of at least 36cm. As the cornice is the uppermost course this large cutting served no structural purpose. By the early ninth century it had become common practice to secure wood and tempera icons to the marble frame of the barrier. An anti-iconoclast tract of the ninth century composed by Patriarch Nikephoros implies that it was common to find icons pinned to the columns of the *templon* and erected over its epistyles.[616] Similarly, a narrative with its origins in the iconomachic period tells how the iconoclast Patriarch Ioannis Grammatikos ordered a servant to damage the eyes of an icon mounted on the roof of a *kiborion*.[617] The illustrated Madrid Skylitzes manuscript, produced in twelfth-century Sicily, provides a depiction of the *kiborion* in which

[616] *Antirrhelicus III*, (PG 100:466a); Grabar (1956).
[617] *John Skylitzes*, 85.

a series of icons is positioned above its arch.[618] There are a few extant architrave icons of the Middle Byzantine period, such as those of the Vatopedi on Mt. Athos dating to the eleventh century.[619] The long trench on cornice block **A.21** may have anchored such an icon. The frame of the icon could have been nailed to a wooden block hammered into the cutting in the marble. Similar deep trenches parallel to the front edge are partially attested on cornices **A.46**, **A.52**, **A.55**, **A.66**, and **A.83**. The relationship between the icon cutting and the cutting for the lighting bracket on cornice **A.62** is therefore significant. The bracket may have held a *lamna*, the light of the flickering candle animating the gold leaf and tempera of the icon.[620] A hypothetical reconstruction of the principal *templon* in the Middle Byzantine period is given in figure 3.8.

4.1.1.5. Summary

The principal *templon* was erected c. AD 600. The original low barrier was altered to include large statue bases in place of the pillars, and some new closure slabs were carved. These new slabs were likely deployed on the western wing of the *templon*. The statue bases carried tall columns supporting an epistyle on Pergamene capitals. The epistyles took the form of rectangular prisms with a cornice course placed on their front edges. Motifs on the soffit and front faces were reflected across a mirror line projected along the central longitudinal axis of the Cathedral. The workshop that carved the epistyles also installed a

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[618] Biblioteca Nacional de España, MS Graecus Vitr. 26-2, Fol. 65, v. UNESCO World Digital Library. https://www.wdl.org/en/item/10625/ (Accessed 13/10/2017).
[619] Walter (1971), 264.
[620] C.f. Pentcheva (2010), 121-154.

configuration of brackets for lamps and candles, with particular points on the barrier given special emphasis through illumination. This configuration was supplemented and altered over the ensuing centuries. In the Middle Byzantine period wooden icons came to be erected above the cornice blocks.

4.1.2. Middle Byzantine interventions in the Cathedral

4.1.2.1. Group B: The North Aisle Templon

Three epistyles excavated in the Cathedral employ ancient Maeander friezes on their front faces, while their soffit faces display much later decorative panels. A fourth may be attributed to the same workshop on stylistic grounds. It is much narrower and slightly longer. It therefore stood alone and will be considered separately from the first three.

The lengths of two Maeander epistyles are fully preserved, extending for 172 and 182cm (**B.01** and **B.02**). Only the left end of **B.03** now survives, though a photograph published by Cormack appears to show the right-hand soffit of this same epistyle.[621] The decorative soffit panel of **B.01** is shifted right-of-centre, leaving a blank expanse at the left side. Cormack's photo demonstrates a similar shift on **B.03**, though in this case the panel is shifted leftwards. These two must represent the left and right ends of the series. Epistyle **B.02**, with the widest and most elaborate soffit panel, takes the central position. This arrangement is confirmed by correspondences in clamp cuttings between **B.01** to **B.02**.

[621] Cormack (1990a), 84, fig.7a-d.

Assuming that **B.03** was of similar dimensions to **B.01**, the complete length of the series ought to be around 5.3m. This perfectly matches the width of the north aisle, which at a distance of 14m from its eastern limit is traversed by a stylobate (Fig. 4.1). The stylobate is in fact three inverted architrave blocks preceded by a low step cut from a double-engaged column. It is associated with the Middle Byzantine floor in the aisle, and this association gives a broad *terminus post quem* for the epistyles of group **B**. Fragments of large columns lie next to the stylobate, alongside a simple unfluted capital. Its dimensions match the upper diameter of the columns and the width of the epistyle soffits. On the upper surfaces of the epistyles three cuttings attest to lamps suspended in the intercolumniations. This barrier monumentalised the approach to a series of sacred spaces in the eastern portion of the north aisle and the northeast chamber.[622]

Three distinct Maeander friezes may be identified. That on **B.01** employs pairs of clockwise/anticlockwise swastikas, creating an undulating rhythm that is punctuated by an empty *tabula ansata* positioned a little left-of-centre. The original context of this block is enigmatic, but perhaps it was sourced from the ruins of an unidentified public monument of the ancient city.[623] The Maeander friezes of **B.02** and **B.03** are slightly taller and set small floral motifs in square frames between single swastikas. The swastikas of **B.02** rotate clockwise, those of **B.03** anticlockwise. These two friezes are likely derived from opposing sides

[622] **2.4.3.**

[623] The *tabula ansata* here intrudes into architectural relief from the sphere of public assembly and honorific statuary. It is likely that this *tabula* was never a support for a specific text but rather intended as an abstract symbol of civic honour: c.f. Smith (2008), 389.

of the same monument. Almost identical friezes were used on the first-century Temple of Aphrodite, and subsequently redeployed on the exterior east wall of the late antique Cathedral (Fig. 4.9). However, these are significantly taller than the friezes of our epistyles. The most likely context for these friezes would therefore be on a symmetrical rectangular structure, of the same phase as the temple but smaller than it. A monumental altar would be a likely candidate.

The diverse origins of the friezes were well concealed by the medieval sculptors, who cut their blocks so as to align the unfurling swastikas across the divisions between the epistyles (Fig. 4.10). They subsequently carved a rectangular decorative panel onto each soffit. The compositions and motifs employed on these panels are strikingly similar to those employed on the Cathedral's principal *templon* (group **A**), though the stylistic mode is quite altered and there are significant differences in technical execution.[624] The flanking epistyles **B.01** and **B.03** are set with lozenge compositions with rosettes in the corner positions. The circular bands of the rosettes are integrated with the lozenge in the same manner as on the equivalent panels of the group **A** epistyles. Frames of two concentric circles (**B.01**, **B.02**) and lozenges consisting of two parallel bands (**B.03**) supply further echoes. The soffit panel of epistyle **B.02** contains three rosettes with their frames integrated through a strapwork technique, a composition very similar to that of **A.05**. The flanking rosettes are made up of twelve elliptical petals radiating from the centre point. Petals alternate between bevelled and flat, as is the case for the rosettes of epistyles **A.05** and **A.30**. The

[624] Motifs on the epistyles of group **A** are rendered in flat bands. On the group **B** epistyles, the same motifs are often bevelled to sharp ridges.

rosettes on the outer soffit panels of **B.04** are of a similar form. The central motif of **B.02** is a Greek cross with flaring arms positioned within a quatrefoil-in-circle frame. Small triangles are attached to the corners of the arms and thin tangs link the quatrefoil to the centre of the cross. This motif is almost identical to those found on **A.24**, **A.89**, and **A.90.** I would therefore suggest that the soffit panels of group **B** deliberately imitate the decorative compositions of the principal *templon* barrier, carved perhaps centuries earlier.

The Maeander friezes and these soffit panels may at first seem entirely unrelated, but they do have one thing in common. Both make reference to sculpture already existing within the Cathedral. The sculptors of group **B** sought out ancient frieze blocks that echoed those on the exterior of the Cathedral, and then replicated on the underside of those same blocks the Christian ornament that they found on the *templon*. The effect would have been something like a material instantiation of the structuralist concept of intertextuality; the meaning of the Maeander epistyles derives from their position within the structure of the entire sculptural assemblage, which now appears as conversation rather than unreflective accumulation.

At 32cm in width and 202cm in length, **B.04** is longer and narrower than the Maeander epistyles already discussed (Fig. 4.11). A long vine scroll with cross pattée medallions extends along the angled front face. Lozenge compositions are used on the soffit panels of the central intercolumniation, while complex rosettes occupy the panels at each end of the soffit. The epistyle was freestanding, supported by two colonettes dividing three intercolumnar spaces.

Stylistic associations with the other fragments belonging to group **B** suggest that this epistyle was carved for the Cathedral. However, it was found in 1984 during the excavation of the Tetrapylon Cemetery. One of the two fragments was used as the cover slab for a cist grave.[625] The second fragment of the epistyle was found at a similar elevation nearby, unconnected to any burials. The grave belongs to the earliest phase of the cemetery, dating to the later eleventh or twelfth century.[626] This *terminus ante quem* may be applied to the entirety of group **B**.

4.1.2.2. Group C: The Northeast Chamber Templon

Group **C** encompasses three complete epistyles and two fragments that represent at least one further epistyle of the same type. They have remarkably flat profiles, and an acutely angled projecting face (Fig. 4.12). **C.01** is 1.84m in length and embellished with a broad and elaborate soffit panel. **C.02** and **C.03** are both 1.98m long, with more simple decorative panels on their soffits. The front face of **C.02** flares towards the left, as both the height of the epistyle and the angle of its front face gradually swell across the block. This flare is even more evident on **C.03**, though leading towards the right. We may therefore place **C.01** at centre, flanked by **C.02** to the left and **C.03** to the right. A cutting in the rear of **C.03** facilitates a right-angled anti-clockwise turn in the series. **C.04** is a fragment of a decorated front face, 0.90m in length but broken at both ends. The

[625] Tet.85.67.
[626] **5.1.3.1**; Ivison (1995), 8.

angle of this face is similar to that of **C.01**, i.e. relatively flat, and shows no sign of flaring. It follows that we are missing at least one epistyle that would have made a flaring transition between **C.04** and **C.03**.

An L-shaped stylobate exactly matching this configuration is found in the northeast chamber of the Cathedral (Figs. 1.8, 3.1). It defines a rectangular space against the northeast corner of the chamber.[627] Cuttings on the western wing align perfectly with the arrangement of columns that may be inferred from the positions of the decorative panels on the soffits of epistyles **C.01-3** (Fig. 4.13). The reconstruction of the south wing must remain hypothetical. Assuming a length of 1.98m for the missing flared epistyle, we find that a cutting on the stylobate is well-positioned for a column that would support the join between this and the epistyle attested by fragment **C.04.**

At the eastern end of the south stylobate is a rectangular monolithic marble support resting on a roughly cut base. A rough dowel cut into its upper surface indicates that a capital was secured above. There are no capitals currently in the northeast chamber, but these were likely of the same simple fluted late antique type used throughout the medieval cathedral. One complete column and several broken fragments indicate that the rectangular support is likely anomalous within the barrier. I reconstruct the west wing as a columnar façade, with columns resting on simple bases similar to that beneath the rectangular support.

[627] **2.4.3.**

The front faces of the epistyles were decorated with a continuous band of overlaid circular frames for geometric motifs. The chief imperative when drafting these compositions was variety. They employ compass-drawn arcs in addition to orthogonal lines in any possible combination. Compositions alluding to the form of the cross are common, and a cross pattée takes the central position on **C.01**, exactly half way across the series. Other motifs include vine tendrils and stars, and on **C.02** two frames contain elliptical motifs that resemble eyes. The soffit panels of **C.02** and **C.03** employ compositions similar to those to the front face though at a much larger scale; three overlaid circles frame rosettes and crosses. **C.01** displays a much more elaborate panel. The frame contains a cross pattée within a lozenge, around which various circles are overlaid in a complex symmetrical composition. To the right of the panel is a further rectangular relief carving, with four diagonal lines joining its corners and framing elliptical leaves.

It is difficult to ascribe a date on stylistic grounds. The epistyles deviate from the norms of Middle Byzantine sculpture, most notably through their rejection of strapwork. The stylobate belongs to the latest floor of the northeast chamber, and the barrier must therefore belong to the Middle Byzantine period.

4.1.2.3. Group D: A New Barrier

Seven fragments may be reassembled to a single large epistyle, **D.01**. The total length of the epistyle may be estimated at c.221cm. It ought to be noted that this is almost identical to the length of epistyle **B.04**. The epistyle stood alone and

was not a part of an extended series. This is implicit in the self-contained symmetry of the front face, and in the positions of the two blank panels for columns offset from the ends of the soffit. One of the fragments was recorded during excavation in 1962.[628] It was found in the north aisle between the third and fourth columns, counting from the east of the colonnade. The remaining fragments were documented in the Cathedral in 2016, with the exception of the left end of the epistyle. This fragment is exhibited alongside miscellaneous marble pieces in a courtyard adjacent to the museum and has no recorded provenance. The original position of the epistyle in the Cathedral is a mystery, and I have not been able to identify an appropriately sized space in which it could have fitted.

Rosettes composed of radiating teardrop petals occupy the flanking panels at each end of the soffit. Across the central intercolumniation the soffit is divided into three adjacent panels. At centre was a large curving fanned rosette. The side panels each set a large lozenge within a rectangular panel. A smaller lozenge-in-rectangle was then set within the principal lozenge, replicating the principal composition in a miniature *mise-en-abîme*. Medallions in the corner positions contain simple crosses pattées, and softly moulded vegetal motifs unfurl into acute angles. Strapwork bands on the soffit are integrated through tight coils with drill holes at their centres. The front face is correspondingly symmetrical. At each end are checkerboard panels of countersunk squares. Eagles above the column positions heraldically flank a central arcade. Arches are carried on

[628] Inv.62-179.

double-engaged spirally fluted columns topped by trapezoid imposts. A palm branch is framed beneath each arch.

Two screen fragments may be securely attributed to the same workshop. The depths of the fragments imply at least two distinct screens. **D.02** preserves the corners of two rectangular panels. The panel to the left contains a series of overlapping circles, and one could perhaps extrapolate a quatrefoil arrangement. The frame and the strapwork circles are integrated with a coil, which has at its centre the drilled hole familiar from epistyle **D.01**. The panel to the right presents a large curved fanned rosette. **D.03** is a small fragment preserving a section of a teardrop rosette similar to those found on the flanking soffit panels of **D.01** and the familiar coil with a drilled hole.

Arcaded epistyles are extremely well attested, particularly in southwestern Asia Minor and southern Greece. Buchwald documents the development of the motif from its first securely dated attestation at the Panagia Skripou in Boeotia (AD873/874) into the thirteenth century.[629] He argues that the arcades stood for the gates of the Heavenly Jerusalem as described in Revelations 21:12 – an interpretation that might explain the position of the arcade over the intercolumnar gateway of **D.01**.[630] An extensive list of examples is provided by Sodini, who notes that arcaded epistyles with epigraphically attested calendar dates cluster in the later tenth and eleventh centuries.[631] There is some variation within this group, which may indicate chronological or regional trends. Epistyle

[629] Buchwald (1995), (2015).
[630] Buchwald (1995), 239.
[631] Sodini (1980).

D.01 combines fairly deep relief within the arcades with rigid vegetal motifs and frequent use of a drill to enhance contrast. It finds its closest parallels in a group identified by Buchwald in southwestern Asia Minor and at Monemvasia. Diagnostic features include horseshoed arches, stepped bases, double columns, and a lack of capitals. Palmettes have coils beneath, bevelled leaves above and sharp triangular profiles.[632]

According to Buchwald, this group in southwest Asia Minor may represent some of the earliest of the arcaded epistyles; a development in liturgical sculpture that he suggests was indigenous to the region.[633] This could place them as early as the eighth century, though he suggests a ninth-century date for those of Sardis Church E.[634] Degasperi provides an alternative dating for a key member of this group. She argues that an arcaded epistyle in the Ephesos Marienkirche ought to be placed in the tenth or eleventh century.[635] This is supported by the epistyle's context within the overall assemblage of architectural sculpture at the Marienkirche. Like **D.01** at the Aphrodisias Cathedral, this was an additional smaller *templon* barrier within the *Pfeilerbasilika*, and so it would make little sense for it to antedate the principal *templon*. **D.01** displays many similarities with group **H**. Roueché has securely dated the fragments comprising group **H** to the tenth century on the basis of the letterforms of the inscription on their front face.[636] Group **D** likely represents one of the earlier interventions in the Cathedral, probably during the tenth century. Nevertheless, one cannot exclude

[632] Buchwald (1995), 252.
[633] Buchwald (1995), 245.
[634] Buchwald (1995), 246.
[635] Degasperi (2013), 64.
[636] Ala2004, **99**.

the possibility that the epistyle and associated screens were created in the eleventh.

4.1.2.4. Group E: The Kiborion

Kiboria are freestanding micro-architectural structures consisting of a canopy supported by four or more columns positioned so as to frame sacred objects or spaces.[637] They are most commonly found above the altar. The *kiborion* was an essential liturgical furnishing in Late Antique basilicas, and was also frequently used in Middle Byzantine churches. Little survives of the *kiborion* of the Cathedral at Aphrodisias, but the extant fragments suggest that the original late antique structure was subject to a medieval restoration.

At the centre of the Cathedral's projecting sanctuary, four *in situ* column bases are positioned on the corners of a square. The head of the holy well is located between and a fraction to the east of the two eastern column bases. Fragments of large, spirally fluted columns now rest in this area. Columns of this type were often used for *kiboria* since they recalled those of the tomb aedicule in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, a structure to which all altar *kiboria* symbolically alluded.[638] This is all that remains of the late antique *kiborion*. It must have had a wooden canopy, either domical or pyramidal, perhaps gilded in silver.

[637] Bogdanović (2017).
[638] Bogdanović (2017), 96, 274-86.

One must assume that the columns remained in place or were re-erected in the Middle Byzantine period. Four fragments probably represent the marble arch panels that would have been positioned in a square above the columns. The largest of these, **E.01** forms the bottom left portion of a large, flat archway. Two smaller fragments, **E.02** and **E.03**, preserve parts of the curve of one or more archways. **E.04** is broken on all sides and does not preserve any part of an arch, but may be associated with the preceding pieces on stylistic grounds.

On the extrados of **E.01** is a panel containing an acanthus scroll set within a simple frame of flat troughs. This type of wide, curving extrados panel is found on many *kiborion* and *proskynetarion* arches of the Middle Byzantine period. A number of extant *kiborion* arches from eleventh-century Croatia employ an extrados panel with knotted strapwork.[639] A panel containing twisted acanthus roundels crowns the extrados of a twelfth-century *proskynetarion* frame at H. Loukas.[640] Perhaps the best parallel for the extrados panel of **E.01** is the tenth- or eleventh-century arch of the *kiborion* at the Church of the Dormition at Kalabaka, near the Meteora monasteries. The panel contains integrated roundels of twisting acanthus leaves, with a cross in medallion at the apex.[641]

The extrados panel of **E.01** contains an undulating scrolled tendril from which half-acanthus leaves diverge to occupy the intervening spaces. The acanthus is very softly moulded against a faceted background. Each half-leaf consists of four

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[639] Bogdanović (2017)*;* Fig. 2.49 St. Thomas, Zadar; Fig. 2.59, St. Anastasia, Zadar; Fig 2.60, St. Martha, Bijaće, Dalmatia.
[640] Bogdanović (2017), Fig. 2.42.
[641] Bogdanović (2017), 152.

broad and slightly pointed lobes, the smallest of which coils around a small round button. Leaves and tendrils are noticeably irregular, the coils are poorly executed and very thick incised guidelines are clearly visible at the base of the arch. Nevertheless, the form of the acanthus clearly belongs to the Middle Byzantine repertoire. The architectural sculpture of the monastery of Constantine Lips, dedicated in AD 908, provides many parallels for such lobes splaying around a tight coil, though with much crisper definition.[642] Very similar acanthus is found on several screen fragments from the ninth-century church at Dereağzı. Morganstern dates these fragments to the later ninth or tenth centuries.[643] Further Middle Byzantine parallels may be cited from Corinth, Xanthos, and the Bursa Museum.[644]

The smaller fragments of Group **E** are linked through a chain of diagnostic motifs. **E.02** preserves a small section of the soft acanthus lobes found on **E.01**, as well as a section of herringbone border along the extrados. **E.03** represents the lower right portion of another arch. The curving extrados panel contains a series of rosettes integrated through strapwork bands with tight coils. A drilled hole is found at the centre of one of these coils. A bead-and-reel frames the extrados panel. **E.04** preserves a fanned rosette within a strapwork frame, which again features a drilled coil. Along one broken edge is a herringbone pattern very similar to that on **E.02**.

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[642] Mango – Hawkins (1964), figs. 21-28, 38-40.
[643] Morganstern (1983), 143-5, Pls. 34-40; (1986), 25-29, fig. 6.
[644] Scranton (1957), Nos. 13-16; Sodini (1980), 131, 147, Pl. XXXVIc-d; Grabar (1976), No. 85.

The sculptural imprecision of the *kiborion* was recompressed by the exuberant variety exhibited between each of the four arch panels. The sculptor deploys motifs and patterns that respond to the chronologically heterogeneous assemblage of architectural sculpture familiar to a medieval audience. The bead-and-reel of **E.03** echoes ancient ornament, while the herringbone of **E.02** and **E.04** and the concentric triangles of **E.01** call to mind Justinianic prototypes. The soft acanthus lobes and coiled strapwork belong entirely to the Middle Byzantine idiom.

A column carved in low relief defines the left limit of **E.01**. The shaft is represented atop an Attic-Ionic base on a short plinth. Presumably this was replicated eight times, once at every limit of each arch panel. These relief columns would have been set directly above three-dimensional columns of much greater size. This is a more common detail than one might expect. Column representations are found on the Justinianic *kiborion* of the Katapoliani on Paros, on a small monolithic *kiborion* canopy made in Syria between the sixth and eighth centuries, and on a reliquary box imitating an altar *kiborion* from the same region and period.[645] The structurally redundant additional columns contribute to an accumulation of architectonic detailing that alludes to the role of the *kiborion* as an architectural frame.

[645] Metsani (1997), 328; Bogdanović (2017), 153-164; Ćurčić – Chatzetryphonos – Saradi (2010), 248.

A note on Groups D and E

The *templon* represented by Group **D** and the *kiborion* represented by group **E** employ similar rosettes, and both exhibit the highly distinctive drilled coil. However, the general style of Group **E** is much cruder. Guidelines on the Group **D** fragments are all subtle and delicately carved, while those of Group **E** are heavy and rudimentary. It is conceivable that the two groups could be the products of different sculptors working within a single workshop.

4.1.2.5. Group F: A Commission for Screens

Group **F** comprises six screen fragments produced by a single workshop. There is no associated epistyle. Diagnostic features are easy to recognise. Moulding is extremely soft, giving an almost putty-like appearance to the strapwork motifs. Rosettes are concave and feature a raised spine at their centre, with the central pellet set at the highest relief elevation. Coils are chunky, curving around either a round pellet or a wide inverse cone. Simple frames of two parallel and incised lines define the borders of all the panels.

Close parallels for the rosettes of **F.01** and **F.02** may be found on several screens in the Byzantine Museum of Athens. These are dated securely to the eleventh century by comparisons to examples from the Church of the Holy Apostles in the Athenian Agora.[646] Eleventh-century closure slabs built into the phiale at the

[646] Sklabou (1999), No. 179; Frantz (1971), 15.

Megiste Lavra likewise feature concave rosettes with raised buttons at their centres.[647] Group **F** should therefore date to the eleventh century.

4.1.2.6. Group G: Two Screens Depicting Birds

Two screen fragments preserve representations of birds. **G.01** preserves the lower part of an eagle and remains of rosettes. The eagle's talons take the form of pointed crescents, while feathers on the upper legs and tails are depicted using teardrops departing from a central spine. **G.02** is a small fragment with the foot of a bird. Individual feathers are rendered as on **G.01**, though here they are arranged in groups radiating from a central point.

A note on Groups F and G

The rosette on the raised margin of **G.01** is severely chipped and abraded. It appears to be concave, with twelve petals and framed within a band with two bevelled incisions. Groups **F** and **G** may well therefore belong together, but the very poor preservation of the diagnostic motif makes the association necessarily tentative.

[647] Grabar (1976), No. 62, Pl. XXXIX.

4.1.2.7. Group H: A Funerary Monument

Thirty fragments of a curving epistyle represent a curious installation in the Cathedral. The epistyle was quite narrow, only 31cm in width and 16cm tall. The front face slopes slightly forward and is inscribed with a metrical epigram punctuated by sculpted bosses. Roueché places the ornate letterforms of the epigram in the tenth century.[648] Only one of the bosses along this face preserves its relief ornamentation, a domical cross pattée that finds an excellent parallel in an arcaded epistyle in the Konya Museum.[649] The soffits of the curved epistyle are carved with decorative panels. Only that on section **H.01** survives to its full length. This measures 98cm, though there is good reason to suppose that the lengths of the various panels were not equal. That of **H.01** frames a composition of interwoven circles and lozenges. The circles are integrated through tight coils with inverted cones at their centres. Similar coils are used to integrate a series of overlaid circles on section **H.02**. **H.03** partially preserves two panels; one employing elongated lozenges and the other a rosette in a strapwork frame. **H.04** and **H.05** both present rosettes flanking a central lozenge. The only panel to break from rigid geometric forms is that attested across **H.06-10**. Here very softly moulded acanthus lobes splay from an undulating scroll.

Twenty-two fragments were published by Roueché.[650] Hebert followed Roueché by briefly discussing these same fragments in her study of the Cathedral.[651] She

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[648] ala2004 **99**.
[649] **H.02**, Konya Museum Inventory: 2007.16.1. I would attribute the Konya piece to the eleventh century.
[650] ala2004 **99**.

speculated that the epistyle surrounded a freestanding funerary monument in the form of a *tholos* or *monopteros*. She even identified some blocks of a potential stylobate now within the South Temenos, though it is unclear whether she envisioned her aedicule within the cathedral or as part of the cemetery outside. Though I quite agree with the proposed funerary context, a more detailed investigation of the fragments reveals that Hebert's architectural hypotheses must be abandoned. The new reconstruction offered below clarifies the nature of the installation and resolves a few ambiguities in the order of the textual fragments.

Figure 3.14 demonstrates that the curve of the epistyle is not circular but elliptical. If an elliptical monument were freestanding one would expect to find a few fragments with very steep curves that could be placed at the vertices, but no such pieces are apparent. It follows that this is not a freestanding aedicule but a bowed, projecting epistyle. Curving epistyles are quite rare in Byzantine liturgical furniture. Two curving epistyles are known from the Lower City Church at Amorium.[652] However, bowed, almost apsidal epistyles were a common background device for mural painters.[653] Such epistyles were probably more common in two-dimensional representation than as real sculpture.

Between the decorated soffit panels are blank patches that mark the locations of the colonettes that supported the epistyle. Radial lines from the centre of a circle would always be perpendicular to the circumference. On this epistyle the limits

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[651] Hebert (2000).
[652] Hendrix (2002), 131 Pl. IX/11.
[653] E.g. Millet (1910), Pl. 101.1.

of the colonette patches rake to various degrees both clockwise and anticlockwise. Section **H.01** preserves the full length of a decorative soffit panel. Extrapolating these lines within the elliptical space behind the epistyle demonstrates that they originate from a common centre (Fig. 4.15).

The working geometry of the medieval sculptors may therefore be inferred (Fig. 4.16). A simple string compass must have been used to define an elliptical curve from two centre points. The guidelines for the colonette patches were then marked out from a new centre point equidistant between those of the ellipse. The text would be inscribed reading from left to right. If we assume a reader's eye view, looking upwards towards the epistyle from the outside, colonette patches to the reader's right rake clockwise on the soffit. Those to the reader's left rake anticlockwise. The raking angle becomes more acute approaching the vertices of the ellipse. Text inscribed on a block with a patch raking hard clockwise is to be found at the end of the metrical verse, hard anticlockwise at the beginning.

I therefore propose some slight alterations to the order of the inscription as reconstructed by Roueché. Roueché's fragments A3-A6, with the text ἄγγέλων πρωτστάτης, come close to the opening of the inscription.[654] Fragment A1 joins fragment F, and may be disassociated from the A series.[655] A2, preserving ΚΩΣ φύσιν ΓΕ, must be placed near the end of the verse.[656]

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[654] **H.06-10**.
[655] **H.05**.
[656] **H.03.**

The find locations of many of the epigraphic fragments excavated 1962-64 are recorded in the site inventory. One piece of the group **H** epistyle was found within the well in the Cathedral's east apse. All other recorded fragments were uncovered in the south aisle. This must be the architectural context for the epistyle. The width of the aisle is a little over five metres. It is not possible to be sure of the total length of the epistyle, since it is not guaranteed that the ends of the epistyle extend to the major axis of the ellipse. However, a gap of five metres seems far too long to judge from the preserved curvature. If the bowed epistyle did not traverse the aisle, perhaps it projected from the south wall in order to articulate a particularly important space.

Here we must turn to the contents of the inscription for guidance. As mentioned above, the opening phrase makes reference to a leader of the angels (ἄγγέλων πρωτστάτης), who must be Michael given the dedication of the Cathedral. Another section mentions a θυηπόλος; one who performs many sacrifices. This is presumably a classicising reference to the regular celebration of the Eucharist, so a priest or bishop is meant. Section **H.02** preserves the phrase "σῶμα νεκρῶν τῷ βίῳ". Lauxtermann amends Roueché's grammatical interpretation of νεκρῶν from a genitive plural to a present participle.[657] This has a major impact on the interpretation of the monument, since in place of the nebulously plural dead we now have a single body, "dying into [eternal] life".

I therefore interpret the fragments of group **H** as belonging to a tenth-century funerary monument in the south aisle of the Cathedral. The monument took the

[657] Lauxtermann (2003), 349.

form of a bowed, elliptical epistyle projecting from the south wall supported by narrow colonettes. This defined the area in which the body of a bishop of Stauropolis was laid to rest, most likely in a freestanding sarcophagus.[658]

4.1.2.8. Group I: A Twelfth-Century Templon

At least two epistyles may be ascribed to this group. **I.01**, consisting of two joining fragments, was recorded in the Cathedral. The soffit face preserves no decorative panels or motifs. The front face is carved with an elaborate vegetal pattern. Similar patterns are common during both the Middle and Late Byzantine periods. The tenth-century *templon* epistyle of the Panagia at Hosios Loukas follows a similar composition, which is again echoed in the *templon* of the fourteenth-century church of H. Nikolaos Orphanos at Thessaloniki.[659] It is therefore impossible to suggest any precise date for **I.01** except with reference to **I.02**.

There are five extant fragments of epistyle **I.02**, already published by Roueché on account of their epigraphic content.[660] Two joining fragments were recorded as a stray find. They form the right end of the epistyle.[661] A further two small fragments were uncovered during excavation of the Sebasteion and the Tetrapylon, both in late Ottoman contexts.[662] The fifth fragment of **I.02** was

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[658] **5.1.1.1.**
[659] Grabar (1976), No. 44c, Pl. XX; Xyngoupoulos (1952), 38; Melvani (2013), 45.
[660] ala2004 **110**, **246**.
[661] ala2004 **110c**.
[662] ala2004 **110a**, Inv.83-161, NBk.239, 28; ala2004 **110b**, Inv.84-081, NBk.246, 8.

discovered near the North Tetrapylon House in 1992 during a clearing of the area. It represents the left end of the epistyle.[663] Roueché suggested that the epistyle originally belonged to an as yet unidentified Middle Byzantine church in the settlement. I would suggest that **I.02** was erected in the cathedral. This hypothesis is supported by the fact that **I.01** and **I.02** share a very similar silhouette in section.

The front face of **I.02** displays a long dedicatory inscription. Elaborate accents, ligatures and breathings point to a date in the twelfth century.[664] This epigraphic evidence is invaluable for the dating of group **I**, since the motifs carved onto the soffit face of **I.02** are simple and executed without technical sophistication.

The soffits of **I.01** and **I.02** are roughly finished with easily visible marks of a flat chisel. Motifs are not framed within panels. At the far right of the block was a Latin cross. The fragment from the Tetrapylon preserves a section of a small cordate motif. A vegetal motif is found on the soffit of the Sebasteion fragment. A central spine is flanked by four pairs of curving leaves and terminates in an elliptical bud.

The longest preserved text fragment is the concluding phrase of the inscription. Roueché transcribes ἐμῶν ἐφευρεῖν ὀφλημάτων: "to find [remission?] for my sins".[665] The expression is formulaic and common, and Roueché suggests that it

[663] ala2004 **246**.
[664] ala2004 VII.25.
[665] ala2004 **110c.**

indicates an act of dedication.[666] The leftmost fragment was a late addition to Roueché's extensive catalogue, and its association with the other epistyle fragments was not noticed.[667] A little more of the text may therefore be reconstructed. Three letters are preserved: ΑΔϵ. The break surface appears to join a fragment recorded by Roueché, the text on which reads ΛΦΟ. The inscription therefore perhaps opens Αδελφος or Αδελφοι, though the singular ἑμῶν implies one dedicator.

4.1.2.9. Group J: A Second Commission for Screens

Group **J** comprises five screen fragments that may be associated through similarities in technical execution. Three are certainly decorated on both sides, and the remaining pieces are too small to refute the possibility that they might be likewise. Surfaces are very roughly finished. All compositional lines are unsteady and especially disjointed at the points at which distinct compass-drawn circles are integrated. Frames consist of a combination of bevelled lines and wide, flat troughs. Rosettes, both large and small, are surrounded by wide strapwork bands that are overlaid without coils. Vegetal motifs are also employed; a trefoil leaf within the central circular frame of **J.04**, and two adjacent curving leaves on the broken edge of **J.01**.

J.04 is by far the largest of the fragments and preserves enough of its decorative composition to suggest a date for the group. The reverse of this screen bears a

[666] ala2004 VII.25, citing comparable formulae listed in Foss – Drew-Bear (1969), 78-79.
[667] ala2004 **246**.

large curved fanned rosette within a circular frame. The remaining space is left blank. In contrast, the front face is packed with ornamentation, circular frames expanding to their maximum possible diameters within the available spaces. At centre is a large rosette taking the form of a wheel of eight spokes. A wide strapwork band weaves around three circular motifs and is contiguous with both this central rosette and the outer frame.

Strapwork of this sort first appears in Byzantine relief sculpture around the middle decades of the eleventh century. Early examples, all carved by sculptors trained in the heartlands of the Byzantine Empire, may be found at the eleventh-century churches of H. Sophia of Ohrid, H. Sophia of Kiev and the Transfiguration Cathedral at Cernigov.[668] Compositions are for the most part based around a central lozenge, and express a kind of *horror vacui* in their multiplication of coils. Similar configurations may also be found in several eleventh-century examples from central Greece and the Mani.[669] Wide strapwork screens that do not make use of any coils are most often attributed to the twelfth century. An intact screen from the basilica of H. Ioannis at Ephesos, dated by Büyükkolancı to this period, displays just such a composition. As on **J.04**, wide bands with bevelled borders envelop circular motifs, overlying one another to create the illusion of a single flowing ribbon. A screen in the (FYR) Macedonian church of H. Panteleimon at

[668] Grabar (1976), 71-72, No. 69, Pl. XLII. These are the products of several workshops and may not therefore all be associated with the original construction of H. Sophia of Ohrid; Grabar (1976), No. 76, Pls. LIX-LX.
[669] The Megiste Lavra Phiale: Grabar (1976), No. 62, Pl. XXXIX; the Byzantine Museum of Athens: Sklabou (Athens, 1999), Nos. 179-181; see also several later eleventh-century products of Niketas Marmaras: Dandrakis (2002), 87-92.

Nerezi, dating to AD 1164, provides a similar example, as does a twelfth-century screen from Crkvište, near the modern village of Morodviz in the same region.[670]

J.04 may therefore be attributed to a broad period from the middle eleventh century through to the end of the twelfth. Within this period I would prefer a date within the twelfth century.

A note on Groups I and J

Groups **I** and **J** have much in common. Both groups may be dated independently to the twelfth century. There are many shared technical features. Worked surfaces show the same rough finish with patches of lines incised by a wide flat chisel. In both groups this surface was created first and decoration subsequently defined through very gradual bevelling. Lines exhibit the same hesitancy, and there is even some correspondence in motifs; similar curving leaves may be found on both **I.02** and **J.01**. It is therefore very tempting to ascribe groups **I** and **J** to a single workshop that created a new barrier with both screens and epistyle.

4.1.2.10. Group K: Pillars and Colonettes

Many fragments of smaller pillars and colonettes of Middle Byzantine manufacture were recorded within the Cathedral. Among these were 16 fragments of narrow, octagonal colonettes, forming a coherent group and presumably representing a single commission. The shafts taper from a maximum

[670] Grabar (1976), No. 88 b, Pl LXXVIII; Filipova (2008), Fig. 1.

width of 17 to a minimum of 12cm. **K.01** and **K.02** both preserve the transition from octagonal colonette to a lower pillar that is square in plan. Pointed ellipsoid eggs effect a smooth integration of pillar and colonette. A rectangular panel elaborates the front face of the pillar of **K.01**.

Octagonal shafts are *de rigueur* for liturgical furniture of the Middle Byzantine period onwards. An early instance is provided by the ninth-century *templon* of church EA at Sardis.[671] Particularly large examples, carrying both ancient and medieval capitals, were used in the Panagia and the *katholikon* of Hosios Loukas.[672] Shafts of a similar size and form to those of group **K** are more frequently used for smaller *templa* of the type that take the form of a long tie beam supported by two central colonettes, such as the eleventh-century *templon* of H. Sophia of Ohrid.[673] One might also cite those of H. Meletios near Megara, the Holy Apostles in Athens and the much later H. Nikolaos Orphanos in Thessaloniki.[674] Very close parallels for the Aphrodisias colonettes may be found in the southern Peloponnese. Examples at Kaphiona in the western Mani and at Monemvasia employ similar pointed eggs at the transition from octagon to square.[675] These date to the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries respectively. However, the octagonal to square colonette is such a common form that I would be hesitant to ascribe **K.01-16** to any precise date within the broad Middle Byzantine period.

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[671] Buchwald (2015), 69.
[672] Grabar (1976), No. 44 Pls. XX, XXV.
[673] Grabar (1976), No. 69, Pl. XLI.
[674] Grabar (1976) No. 85, Pl. LXXIV; Frantz (1971), 15; Xyngoupoulos (1952), 38.
[675] Etzeoglou (2008), 399.

We may only speculate as to the epistyle that such colonettes might have supported. One candidate would be **B.04**, though this would only require two colonettes to support the tie beam epistyle. The funerary installation represented by the Group **H** epistyles is a further possibility.

A few more small pillars of different types were recorded within the Cathedral. **K.17** and **K.18** form a distinct pair. Both have on their front faces a recessed rectangular panel framing a complex guilloche. In both cases the spacing between compass holes is 5.8cm, the shared unit of measurement confirming a single workshop. A fragment from the Church of H. Nikolaos at Myra employs this same pattern, though with more pronounced relief.[676] As with the octagonal colonettes described above, the simplicity and popularity of this form cautions against a precise dating. One final pillar fragment seems also to belong to the Middle Byzantine period on stylistic grounds. **K.19** is a curious small pillar with a rectangular profile. A rectangular panel on the front face contains a motif of leaves projecting diagonally and symmetrically from a central stalk.

4.1.2.11. Group L: Ambo Panels

For most of the twentieth century it was assumed that few or no new ambos were created after late antiquity.[677] Kazhdan first challenged this assumption in 1987 on the grounds that certain medieval texts assumed the ambo to be a

[676] Peschlow (1975), 370.
[677] Grabar (1963), 87; Mango (1982), 302.

standard component of liturgical furniture.[678] There followed over the two years 1994/95 three articles from Peschlow, Sodini and Dennert assembling the archaeological evidence.[679] It is now recognised that ambos might be found across the territories of the Middle Byzantine Empire, and were particularly prevalent in Asia Minor.[680] This is reflected in both the high incidence of medieval ambo fragments in the *lapidaria* of Turkish museums and in the built foundations for ambos projecting from the sanctuaries of many ruined medieval churches.[681]

Three ambo fragments may be associated with the Aphrodisias Cathedral. They probably represent three distinct structures. Foundation, staircase, platform and parapet are all lacking. All three pieces represent the cladding of the staircase and the banister. The situation is therefore puzzling. **L.01** will be discussed in detail, since it is both the largest and that with the most complex decorative scheme. I then briefly consider fragments **L.02** and **L.03.**

L.01 preserves a cladding panel with a vertical joint to the right and a diagonal handrail to the left. The field is divided into two registers. Below is a rectangular panel containing a vertical lozenge composition. Above is a triangular panel. The principal motif is a cross on steps set within an architectural frame. The columns of the frame rest on similar stepped bases. They are spirally fluted and surmounted by a semi-circular dome recalling the form of the *kiborion*.

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[678] Kazhdan (1987).
[679] Peschlow (1994); Sodini (1994); Dennert (1995); For a very few examples missed by the above authors see Sodini – Özsait (1991); Jakobs (1987), 132-136.
[680] Sodini (1994), 304.
[681] Dennert (1995), 139-141; Böhlendorf-Arslan (2013), fig. 39.

An initial observation pertinent to the date of **L.01** is that the handrail is very steep, implying a narrow panel. This is a feature common to Middle Byzantine ambos, though there are exceptions.[682] Two further aspects of **L.01** support a date in this period - the lozenge composition and the cross on steps.

There are two principal means by which one might divide a large ambo panel into two registers. One could either position a parallelogram above a right-angled triangle, or a right-angled triangle above a rectangle. In Asia Minor the former arrangement was generally favoured during late antiquity. Phrygian ambos, carved from Dokimeian marble according to a distinctive regional tradition, featured a solid triangular lower panel with a parallelogram openwork panel above the line of the ascending staircase. This compositional model was adopted in other regions, even if a single solid slab replaced the upper section.[683] By contrast, the arrangement with a rectangular panel below is more typical of the Middle Byzantine period. The compositions employed on the lower rectangular panels resemble those used on rectangular screens, and lozenge compositions are therefore very common.[684]

[682] Sodini (1994), No. 3 Pl. 172_4 cf. No. 6, Pl. 173_7. Sodini's hypothesis that the general trend towards narrower ambos reflects the reduced proportions of contemporary churches ought to be rejected. Medieval ambos found *in situ* are most often in large basilicas.
[683] Niewöhner (2013a).
[684] Sodini (1994), Nos. 6-10, Pls. 173_7-11; Dennert (1995) Pl. 52_3.

The cross within an architectural frame is a common symbol in Byzantine visual culture from the sixth century onwards.[685] The cross on steps was first employed on the gold coinage of Tiberius Constantine (AD 578-82), and gained traction following its use on the *miliaresion* introduced in AD 720.[686] It is occasionally found on ambos of the Middle Byzantine period. An ambo fragment from the village of Gömü in the district of Emirdağ presents a cross on three steps. Above the cross is a palmette on a double coil stem typical of the tenth to eleventh centuries.[687] Further Middle Byzantine ambo panels with this motif may be seen in the Yalvaç Museum, at H. Christophoros at Pallantion in the Peloponnese, H. Donatos at Glyki in Epiros, and at the Katapoliani on Paros.[688]

Two fragments of **L.02** were recorded in the cathedral. They do not join, but it is a simple matter to infer the relative positions of each from the angle of the flare on the upper vertical arm of a large cross. The handrail rising from left to right suggests that like **L.01** this panel was set either on the southwest or northeast side of the ambo. This banister is much less steep than that of **L.01**. A wide parallelogram frames the upper part of the ambo panel. However, this is not so wide as to form a distinct panel covering the whole staircase as on the Dokimeian-type ambos of late antiquity. A large cross dominates the recessed

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[685] E.g. Swift (1940), 54, Pl. XXXVIc; Scranton (1957), Nos. 13-16; Melvani (2013), Figs. 37, 50, 64.
[686] DOC I, 226; DOC III.1, 251; **2.2.1.**
[687] Sodini (1994), No. 5, Pl. 173_6; Peschlow (1994) Pl.148_3; c.f. **D.01**.
[688] Jakobs (1987), 135-36, Pl. 20b; Peschlow (1994), Pl.148_7; Vanderheyde (1997), No. 12. The two Parian ambos were initially dated by Orlandos (1969) to the turn of the sixth century. This was revised by Jakobs to the beginning of the seventh century: Jakobs (1987), 210. To my mind the panels appear to be Early/Middle Byzantine. Their guilloche frames find ready parallels in later panels from Asia Minor: Sodini (1994), Nos. 3 and 10, Pls. 173_4 and 173_{11}; Peschlow (1994), Pl.148_5.

panel below. The overall impression is of great simplicity, which is something of an impediment when it comes to ascribing a date.

L.03 is a very small fragment, preserving a corner of a decorative panel. It was recorded in the Cathedral. The frame turns at an angle of around 45°. Such an angle would not make sense for any part of a *templon* barrier, and so it would seem that the most likely context for such a corner would be on a parallelogram section of an ambo. A peacock was depicted on the panel, though now all that remains is its long tail. The peacock was an ancient symbol for eternal life, since its flesh was widely believed to be invulnerable to decay.[689] This symbolism is made particularly clear on a Middle Byzantine panel in the Konya Museum, on which a peacock sips from a small chalice, representing the Christian drinking the waters of eternal life.[690] The iconography cannot give any indication of date. It is however worth noting that the uppermost plane is smoothly finished, while the lower relief levels display flat chisel marks. Some faint guidelines are visible on the smooth upper surface. The fragment seems therefore to be quite crudely carved from an already finished screen, a phenomenon that is explored in the commentary to group **M**.

4.1.2.12. Group M: Repurposed Late Antique Screens

The fragments attributed to group **M** do not represent the products of one workshop but a single phenomenon; the redeployment of already existing

[689] ODCA: "Birds, symbolic"; Ladner (1992), 138-143.
[690] Dennert (1997), Pl. 52_3.

screens in an ecclesiastical context. More or less simple cross designs were carved onto the faces of the screens. There are many telltale signs that the crosses were added subsequent to the production of the screen. The highest plane of relief may preserve the even finish of the original screen, while deeper planes are more roughly carved with a flat chisel. Guidelines are often incised directly into a finished surface. It is not possible to date the screens of Group **M**.

In some cases a central cross-in-circle resembles motifs carved onto the screens of the first late antique barrier. This is no indication that the group **M** screens are necessarily early in date. It was perfectly possible for sculptors to deliberately imitate compositions that they found already existing in the Cathedral. The screens might have been recut at any point from the sixth through twelfth centuries.

Within group **M**, screens **M.01** through **M.05** form a distinct sub-group no doubt executed by the same sculptor. It is possible to infer the complete composition from **M.01**, a long and unusually low screen recomposed from five fragments. Symmetrical tendrils of vine leaves flank a Latin cross set within a circular frame. The design is executed on a single flat plane. The surface of the raised motifs is perfectly smooth and is incised with visible guidelines. Chisel marks traverse the lower plane. Fragments **M.02-05** testify to at least four, and possibly five, screens with identical compositions. Red paint was probably applied across all raised motifs.

M.07 is an unusually long screen, with a central motif of a Greek cross in a circular frame. The motif might well be a deliberate imitation of those found on the first late antique barrier. **M.08** presents another interesting case of imitation. On the front face is the flaring end of a cross arm, smoothly polished and therefore likely made in late antiquity. The reverse preserves a similar cross arm, but here it is more crudely incised on a flat plane. It is impossible to estimate the period intervening between the polished relief cross and its rough imitation. **M.09** displays the most interesting replication of forms. A large Latin cross whose arms terminate in triangular flares was roughly cut onto the smooth surface of an undecorated screen. In the upper right angle is another, much smaller and very roughly hewn Latin cross. It looks to have been made with a point chisel without technical expertise. Nevertheless, its creator made an effort to imitate in miniature the triangular ends of the arms of the principal cross. A little to the right of these two crosses, an even smaller Latin cross is inscribed as two thin perpendicular lines.

4.1.2.13. Group N: Unfinished Strapwork Screens

This group assembles a set of screen fragments that date to the Middle Byzantine period, but cannot be securely ascribed to any of the workshops identified above. They show certain similarities in execution. On all fragments the surface is finished with a flat chisel though leaving many pockmarks of the point chisel still visible. All employ strapwork compositions, with some bands incised with a bevelled line and others left flat. It is unclear whether these represent a single commission or a miscellaneous collection.

Screen **N.01** preserves two decorative panels. That to the left is blank, while that to the right contains a lozenge composition with a six-petal rosette in the corner position. The lozenge and rosette are bevelled in a manner very similar to the screens of group **D**, though the distinctive drilled coil is missing. **N.02** presents another lozenge composition. The lozenge is a simple flat band, though the frame is bevelled in a similar manner to the lozenge of **N.01**. **N.03** and **N.04** represent two almost identical lozenge compositions, or perhaps two fragments of a single screen. While the lozenge of **N.03** is flat, that of **N.04** is bevelled along its central axis. Both pieces are roughly incised with several Greek characters. A cluster on **N.03** seems to be made up of at least three Greek characters. These may be read HωK, or possibly μιK. Might this be a reference to the Archangel Michael? The inscription on **N.04** is easier to read. Slightly to the left of the lozenge band is the word τεο. These graffiti might have been written as prayers or as personal names.

N.05 presents the corner of a recessed rectangular panel. The recessed edge is unsteady, with visible point chisel blows where the rectangle has been roughed out. The panel contains a strapwork composition with a small curved fanned rosette at centre. The strapwork bands are poorly defined and clearly unfinished, without the bevelled lines that would allow for the illusion of interwoven straps.

4.1.2.14. Group O: Miscellaneous Fragments from the Cathedral

Group **O** collects all the remaining medieval fragments recorded in the Cathedral. A brief commentary is offered on each fragment.

O.01 and **O.02** were carved by the same hand. Both pieces present distinctive vine scrolls, with a spine running down the centre of each pointed leaf. They are severely damaged. **O.01** appears to be a fragment of a screen, while **O.02** presents a band of decoration on the narrow side of a rectangular prism, perhaps a jamb or lintel.

In its current form **O.03** is a long bar. However, this seems to have been cut from a larger screen. A recessed panel across the centre preserves four adjacent concave rosettes and crosses pattées. All were sliced in half when the screen was cut into a bar, perhaps to serve as a decorative lintel or jamb.

O.04 is a long pillar with an almost square section. A series of three rosettes on the front face are integrated through strapwork coils with neat inverted cones at their centres. The reverse of the block is flat. One lateral side is completely broken, while the other is fashioned into an irregular corrugated relief. A similar composition of varied rosettes and coils, though executed in a very different style, may be found on a doorjamb at the cathedral of Bari and on the *templon*

colonettes of H. Sophia of Ohrid.[691] The motif is so common to Middle Byzantine carving that it is not possible to ascribe a precise date.

O.05 is a fragment of a screen showing a cross with rectangular arms that terminate in wide triangular flares. The composition is simple, but motifs are well executed. The fragment may have been carved in the Late Antique or Middle Byzantine periods. **O.06** could be either a particularly wide pillar or a particularly narrow screen. On its front is a Latin cross with slightly flaring arms mounted on a small globe. A moulded margin runs along the lower edge, which is deliberately cut so as accommodate a column base. **O.07** may be another small screen, since it is only 11cm in depth. Its front face displays a very simple lozenge composition. It is carved roughly on two flat planes, producing deep channels between the lozenge and triangles. **O.08** is a small screen fragment with a pattern of intersecting circles forming raised ellipses on both sides. On one side the negative space between ellipses is occupied by a flower motif.[692]

The remaining fragments of group **O** are so small that it is impossible to determine from what kind of architectural element they splintered. **O.09** preserves the corner of a rectangular relief panel. **O.10** is a broken fragment of a large curved fan rosette. **O.11** is a puzzling fragment with a corrugated series of parallel ridges. **O.12** is an otherwise quite unremarkable marble block with a series of incomplete rosettes along one edge – perhaps a sculptor's practice piece?

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[691] Grabar (1976), Nos. 69, Pls. XLI, LIV.
[692] Cf. **T.06.**

4.1.3. Medieval Sculpture from the Triconch Church

4.1.3.1. Group P: The Triconch Church Templon

The Triconch Church, constructed likely in the sixth century, was restored in the Middle Byzantine period.[693] The best evidence for the date of this restoration is the distinctive stylistic mode of the new liturgical barrier. Twelve fragments may be attributed to the restoration workshop: seven large epistyles (**P.01-07**), one small fragment of an epistyle (**P.08**), a possible cornice (**P.09**), a possible screen (**P.10**), and two small capitals (**P.11-12**).

The front faces of the epistyles are decorated with either arcades or rosettes. Epistyle **P.06** presents a Latin cross on its soffit and rosettes on the front face. The soffit of **P.05** likewise displays a Latin cross, and though the front face is now missing it is reasonable to assume that it was decorated with rosettes. The front faces of **P.01-04** and **P.07** display arcades framing vegetal motifs interrupted by projecting circular bosses each framing a cross pattée. The arms of each cross terminate in small globes, and at its centre is a small circle. Two distinct compositions are used for the soffits. **P.01** and **P.02** present rectangular frames containing a strap-work lozenge. Within the lozenge is a circular frame containing a rosette with eight sharp, rhomboid petals. In profile the centre of the rosette is an inverted cone, rising to a ridge at the widest point of the rhomboid petals. The soffits of **P.03**, **P.04** and **P.07** display a series of large circular frames linked by strapwork coils. They contain alternatively a rosette or

[693] **1.12.1.**

cross pattée. Six narrow ellipsoid petals radiate from the centre of the rosette, with the spaces between petals filled by flaring teardrop motifs. The soffit crosses pattées are of the same design as those on the front faces.

The arcaded epistyle is addressed in the commentary to group **D**. The type is particularly common in southwestern Asia Minor and the southern Peloponnese. However, while epistyle **D.01** belongs to this regional tradition, the Triconch Church epistyles demonstrate a much broader awareness of contemporary currents in architectural sculpture. Ancillary motifs and stylistic considerations therefore offer a more secure basis for the date of group **P** than does the simple presence of arcades. Of particular interest are the concave, pointed rosettes of the soffits, the distinctive form of the cross pattée, and the rosette with alternating elliptical and teardrop petals.

Concave rosettes of the type found on our soffits are frequently employed at H. Loukas in Phokis. The architectural sculpture of the monastic complex falls into two discreet assemblages; that of the *Panagia*, dated to the middle of the tenth century, and that of the *katholikon*, completed in 1011.[694] Our rosettes are found only in the latter assemblage. Several more eleventh-century examples may be cited from Grabar's catalogue of Byzantine sculpture. An arcaded epistyle in the collection of the Istanbul Archaeological Museum includes such a rosette in a series of motifs in circular frames linked through strap-work coils.[695] A capital from the Bursa museum replicates the motif in a circular frame on one of its four

[694] Grabar (1976), 52; Chadzidakis (1969), (1972).
[695] Grabar (1976), No. 43, PL.VIII; Mendel (1912-1914), 532.

faces.[696] At the Megiste Lavra, the Phiale outside the *katholikon* incorporates a panel with a strap-work lozenge frame around an identical rosette at centre.[697]

The medieval marbles recovered during the excavation of the Pergamon Athena Temple provide another comparable assemblage.[698] Rheidt reconstructs the Middle Byzantine church erected on the ancient terrace as a domed basilica with a single nave, projecting bema and longitudinal *narthex*. He places this architectural plan in the eleventh or twelfth century.[699] The Pergamon assemblage presents both the distinctive concave rosette and cross pattée found on the Triconch Church epistyles.[700] Further examples of this distinctive cross pattée may be seen on an ambo panel from the Afyon Museum, a screen in the *lapidarium* of the Serres Cathedral, and on a window frame at Hierapolis.[701] The rosette with petals alternating between ellipse and teardrop is found on **P.03**, **P.04**, **P.06** and **P.08**. It too has a wide distribution throughout the Byzantine world. One example geographically proximate to Aphrodisias is found on a Middle Byzantine capital from Hierapolis.[702] The motif is employed on several unpublished pieces in Turkish museums; two screens at Antalya, another screen at Karaman, an episcopal throne at Konya Museum. It may also be spotted on one of the medieval *spolia* built into the Little Metropolis at Athens.[703]

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[696] Grabar (1976), No. 13, PL.IX.
[697] Grabar (1976), No. 62, PL.XXXIX.
[698] Conze (1912), 309-319.
[699] Rheidt (1991), 229-30.
[700] Conze (1912), 313 No. 28; 316 No. 40.
[701] Sodini (1994), No. 13, Pl. 173_{14}; Pedone (2016), 508; I thank Efthymios Rizos for sharing with me his photograph of the Serres screen.
[702] To my knowledge this capital is unpublished.
[703] Kiilerich (2005), No. 8S fig. 7.

The Triconch Church epistyles may be associated with a particular sculptural tradition that appears to have emerged around the turn of the millennium across Western Asia Minor, the Aegean and Eastern/Central Greece. They may therefore be dated to the eleventh century. However, there are several major challenges to reconstructing the eleventh-century *templon*. Liturgical performance in the Triconch Church continued after the upper vaulting collapsed in an earthquake, an event that may have taken place at any point between the later eleventh and the thirteenth centuries.[704] The earthquake presumably also destroyed the tall *templon* barrier. A low wall with a central gateway was subsequently constructed across the east apse. Excavation in 1962 uncovered epistyles **P.01-06** positioned in or against this wall, their soffit faces providing suitable decoration for an improvised liturgical barrier (Fig. 1.28).

Unfluted ancient columns that may have supported the eleventh-century *templon* were discovered broken but standing upright in the interior corners of the church. It is uncertain what manner of ancient or late antique capitals were employed. **P.09**, recorded near the Civil Basilica north of the church, may have formed part of this *templon*. It is a narrow beam 210cm in length, undecorated on its soffit but with a series of rosettes in a rectangular panel on its front face (Fig. 4.17). The rosettes are of common forms and include the ellipse and teardrop type found on the Group **P** epistyles. The coiled strapwork that weaves around the rosettes is very similar to that found on **P.06**. To the left of the decorative panel on **P.09** is a short expanse of blank face, while the rightmost rosette in the series is cut by the joint face. The second half of this rosette must

[704] **2.12.2.**

have continued onto another block, indicating that **P.09** is only the leftmost in a series of two or more architectural elements with a common profile.

There is good reason to suppose that the series rested as a cornice course above epistyles **P.01-08**. The lack of soffit decoration may indicate that the underside of **P.09** was not intended to be visible. **P.09** was fashioned from the lid of a sarcophagus in such a way as to maximise its possible length – the gabled "roof" of the sarcophagus is visible at both ends of the beam. It follows that either the sarcophagus happened to be of exactly the length required, or that the medieval sculptors were not concerned with the exact length of their beam. If the series represented by **P.09** were a cornice, the length of its constituent sections would not be structurally relevant. Such a cornice would be unusual, but the obvious local inspiration would be the principal *templon* of the Cathedral.

A few more pieces discovered in the Triconch Church are products of this workshop, but not necessarily elements of the *templon*. **P.10** is a corner fragment from a rectangular panel with a cross pattée in a circular frame. It was carved onto the rear of a late antique pilaster capital. This may have provided enough marble for a very small *templon* screen but the shape hardly seems ideal.
P.11 and **P.12** are a pair of small capitals. The abaci measure around 15 by 15cm in plan. Each takes the same simple form: a circular band at the base with an impost above, its four facets flaring towards the abacus. The lower band of **P.11** is incised with a herringbone rope pattern, while that of **P.12** has two softly moulded *tori*. Each of the upper facets has a bud motif within a frame of three concentric circles. However, not all surfaces were sculpted. One face of **P.11** is

left blank, and likewise two adjacent faces of **P.12**. The original excavator therefore described them as pilaster capitals, and the possibility that they were set up against a wall remains attractive.

Dennert catalogues many examples of Middle Byzantine capitals with a round lower band surmounted by an elongated impost. These do not fall neatly into one type within his typology. They occur both as pilasters and in the round, with and without integrated colonettes.[705] The herringbone band of **P.11** is paralleled on an elaborate capital of this type in the Afyon Museum and another from Karaman.[706] Most of the examples assembled by Dennert were used to support smaller *templa*. The architectonic role of **P.11** and **P.12** is less obvious since they are far too small to carry the massive epistyles of the Triconch Church *templon*.

Both pieces were found in the southern apse. Set against a masonry wall they could have served as pilaster elements of a *proskynetarion* frame. The straight section of wall between the east apse and the entrance to the southern *pastophorion* would have provided a suitable location, both in terms of its architectonic surface and its position with regard to the principal sanctuary. It may well be the case that more capitals from this set are now missing. Four such capitals could have been used to support a small canopy. At the very least, the two small capitals attest to an installation distinct from the principal *templon* in the Middle Byzantine phase of the Triconch Church.

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[705] Dennert (1997), No. 154 (Miletos), No. 37 (Myra), No. 43 (*spolium* in the Ertokuş Medresesi of Atabey).
[706] Dennert (1997), Nos. 158, 167.

4.1.3.2. Group Q: A Miscellaneous Fragment from the Triconch Church

This group contains only one, rather puzzling little fragment. **Q.01** appears to be an unfinished relief sculpture. It is a small piece, with a smooth and flat rear surface. The front face preserves a cross in a circular frame. The design has been roughed out, but is very crude and in some parts clearly unfinished. Traces of mortar across the relief surface suggest that it was at one point used in masonry construction.

4.1.3.3. Group R: A Workshop Employing the Champlevé Technique

Group **R** comprises only two newly documented fragments. These were produced by the same workshop but were found in different locations, **R.01** in the Cathedral and **R.02** in the Triconch Church. A further two fragments that may be ascribed to this workshop were located and published by Dalgıç in the course of the Aphrodisias Regional Survey.

R.01 is a small fragment of a pillar. On one surface a panel frames a pattern of repeating circles, integrated through simple coils, overlaid with lozenges. The bands of the lozenges cross at the centre point of each circle, with four petals at right angles filling the remaining space. In the village of Gökçeler, around 10km southeast of Aphrodisias, Dalgıç recorded a very similar piece embedded high in

the wall of an early twentieth-century house.[707] While its position meant that no precise dimensions could be obtained, it appears to be similar in proportion to **R.01**. The decorative pattern is identical. Moreover, the survey team were told by residents of Gökçeler that it had been brought to the village over fifty years ago from the Cathedral at Aphrodisias. **R.01** and the Gökçeler fragment belong at the very least to the same set, and may well be pieces of the same post.

It is difficult to determine the original form of **R.02**. It preserves a right-angled intersection of two decorated panels, perhaps the lower left corner of a frame. It may therefore be part of a screen rather than a dividing pillar. The vertical band to the left is carved with the same pattern of circles, lozenges and cruciform petal arrangements as **R.01**, though at a slightly smaller scale. Very little survives of the lower, horizontal border to the right except for the image of a bird.

The final piece that may be associated with this workshop was recorded in the village of Yeniköy, in the foothills north of Aphrodisias.[708] It is a doorjamb associated with the remains of a small, single nave chapel, dated by Dalgıç to the Middle Byzantine period on the basis of this and one other carved marble fragment. The interior side of the jamb is given a moulded profile, while the front is carved with a decorative panel similar to those of **R.01** and **R.02**. Here however the lozenges are much more elongated, leaving no space for the cruciform petal arrangement.

[707] Dalgıç (2012), 392.
[708] Dalgıç (2012), 384.

All of these pieces are executed in exactly the same manner. Decorative motifs are defined on the upper surface of the block. The negative space is then chipped away leaving a rough surface at low relief. Any detail is incised onto the upper plane. This is typical of the champlevé technique in which coloured gum is inserted into the negative space. The resulting flat surface approximates *opus sectile* in appearance, though at a far reduced cost.[709] The gum was generally made from wax and marble powder to which a mineral or organic colourant could be added.[710] The most common colours were red and black. When champlevé is not preserved *in situ* the waxy gum is lost, revealing the roughly finished marble and generally leaving no trace of the colourant.

Champlevé sculpture was popular in late antiquity. The most extensive assemblage is that of the fifth-century episcopal basilica of Kourion on Cyprus, and a significant assemblage of fifth/sixth-century champlevé has recently been discovered at Hierapolis.[711] The technique continued to be used in the medieval period.[712] It is employed to impressive effect in the cornices of the early eleventh-century *katholikon* of Hosios Loukas, and on several epistyle fragments from the church of the Taxiarchs at Agnandi and on the cornices of the Daphni *katholikon*, both dating to around AD 1100.[713] However, not all Middle Byzantine champlevé was commissioned as part of prestigious and extensive programmes. Buchwald recorded one small fragment at Sardis, and Niewöhner another at

[709] Boyd (1981), 314.
[710] Melvani (2013), 36.
[711] Boyd (1981), (1986); Pedone (2016).
[712] Coden (2005).
[713] Grabar (1976), No. 49c Pl. XXXII; Pedone (2006).

Miletos.[714] These pieces are executed without any great technical sophistication, demonstrating that Middle Byzantine champlevé need not be exclusive to high status projects.

Dalgıç argued for a broad Middle Byzantine date for the Gökçeler pillar fragment on the basis of several pieces in Grabar's catalogue with similar interlaced circle and lozenge designs.[715] The architectural contexts of our pieces give a slightly more precise date for the group **R** workshop. The epistyles of group **P**, contemporary with the medieval renovation of the Triconch Church provide a *terminus post quem* in the early eleventh century. A *terminus ante quem* may be found in the destruction of the Cathedral. A date in the mid-eleventh to late twelfth century accords well with the general distribution of champlevé sculpture in the territories of the Middle Byzantine Empire.

4.1.4. Group S: Champlevé Screens from the Bishop's Palace

Middle Byzantine sculpture in the Bishop's Palace is limited to fragments of two champlevé screens from a chapel on the southern edge of the complex (Room 26).[716] The chapel was constructed above a collapse layer within an apsidal hall originally articulated in the sixth century. Several *folles* discovered above the Middle Byzantine paving date to the tenth and eleventh centuries. The screens are therefore broadly Middle Byzantine in date. The technique is very similar to that employed by the workshop responsible for group **R**, though since the

[714] Buchwald (2015), No. 11.17 fig. 375; Niewöhner (2013b), 205 No. 37.
[715] Grabar (1976), No. 11, Pl. IXb.
[716] **2.5.1.**

compositions are distinct it is not possible to say whether they are products of the same workshop.

Both screens set concentric circles around a central circular motif. **S.01** presents a small Greek cross at centre, while **S.02** exhibits a more intricate scene in which two birds perch heraldically upon the handles of a large amphora. Surviving traces of colourant demonstrate that these motifs were silhouetted against a bold red.

4.1.5. Group T: Medieval Sculpture Without Provenance

The pieces discussed here are stray finds, or else fragments recorded outside of their original context and lacking the paper trail that would reveal their provenance.

A cube capital and a fragment of a small epistyle were identified in a field of architectural fragments laid out to the east of the piazzas immediately east of the Theatre. They may represent an unidentified church, perhaps in the area of the Theatre Hill.

The capital (**T.01**) is 21cm tall with four faces each of 22.5cm width (Fig. 4.18). The vertices are absolutely vertical without any impost-like flare. Its circular base would suit a cylindrical column with an upper diameter of around 17cm.

The faces all have similar decorative compositions. Simple acanthus unfurls up each vertex, with two or three lobes drooping into the field. At centre is a large motif. On two opposing faces this is a Latin cross on a simple rectangular base. On one other side we find a cruciform knotted device comprising five tangent circles.

Cube capitals are relatively common for the Middle Byzantine period. Many similar capitals with integrated colonettes were documented at Corinth.[717] More may be found in Martin Dennert's catalogue.[718] Three cube capitals recorded in the village of Yeşilyuva (Byzantine Keretapa) around 70km east of Aphrodisias offer a useful parallel in terms of composition, if not so much in style.[719] Two cube capitals in the Bursa Museum are perhaps the best comparanda for **T.01**.[720] Twisted acanthus climbs up and around the vertices, while circular devices frame the motifs at the centre of each field. These motifs clearly belong to the eleventh-century sculptural trend explored above with regard to Group **P**. One frame contains exactly the same cruciform knotted device as is found on **T.01**, which should be dated to the eleventh or (less likely) the twelfth century.

Epistyle fragment **T.02** is a rather crude work. The soffit panel is mostly lost, but the arcs of two overlapping circular bands may be discerned. The sloped front face is crowded with incised decoration. Two rosettes to the left are framed

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[717] Scranton (1957), Nos. 29-39.
[718] Dennert (1997), Nos. 16-40 (*mit bandvoluten*); Nos. 180-199 (*mit floraler begrenzung der kanten*). I am not convinced that medieval sculptors ever thought in Dennert's rigid typological terms.
[719] Two published by Robert (1962), 327-8, PL. XXIII and the third by Dennert (1997), No. 186.
[720] Grabar (1976), No.13, Pl. IX.

within twisted bands. **T.01** and **T.02** were recorded in the same area and it is possible that they originally belonged together, though it is difficult to confirm this from stylistic features. It does seem that the width of the soffit of **T.02** would be enough to accommodate the abacus width of **T.01**. There is some similarity between the knotted motif on the capital and the incised lines of the front face of the epistyle.

T.03 is an intact screen with an integrated lower moulding. It was recorded within the marble field immediately east of the North Avenue in which many architectural elements are laid out. The Cathedral is the most likely original context. A recessed rectangular panel frames a large lobed cross. In the lower angles, curved fanned rosettes in circular frames are suspended from the transverse arm. Above, pendant leaves are connected on simple curving stems to the globes of the cross arm. This would be a more conventional composition were one to invert the screen and interpret the leaves as standing cypress trees. A small fragment of a medieval screen with a lobed cross and cypress motif was recorded by Dalgıç at the Yeniköy chapel.[721] But the lower moulding of the screen strongly suggests that the angle motifs of **T.03** were pendant. A late ninth- or early tenth-century screen from the Lower City Church at Amorium provides an excellent parallel.[722] Similar crosses are employed on several flanking panels for sarcophagi at H. Nikolaos at Myra.[723] A further example, again on a sarcophagus, may be found in the Bari Museum. Belting suggests that this is

[721] Dalgıç (2012), 385.
[722] Ivison (2010), 331 fig. 24.
[723] Peschlow (1975), 37 Pl. 120G; (1990), 235 fig. 6.

an import from the Greek mainland produced in the eleventh century.[724] A broad date between the ninth and eleventh centuries seems reasonable for **T.03**.

T.04 was acquired by the Aphrodisias Museum. It represents one half of a long rectangular slab, with a dodecasyllabic funerary inscription inscribed in the angles of a lobed cross. The inscription originally consisted of twelve lines. Odd numbered lines were written on the left side of the slab, now lost. This was the tomb of a certain Michael, who may have been a young man at the time of his death. His grieving mother commissioned the slab and the inscribed poem. Chaniotis suggests a date in the tenth century or later, judging by letterforms. The original context is unknown. The panel may have been a flat cover for a grave. Alternatively it could have formed part of a built sarcophagus or have been positioned as a pseudo-sarcophagus across the lower part of an *arcosolium*.

T.05 is a screen fragment, smoothly finished but preserving the simply incised arm of a cross. **T.06,** another screen fragment is decorated with a pattern of overlaid circles on both faces. The arcs define motifs of four ellipses around a rhomboid bud, in a composition identical to that employed on piece **O.08**. This strongly suggests that **T.06** was excavated in the Cathedral. **T.07** is visible in the background of an archive photograph of a togate statue, but is now lost. A simple cross pattée without frame and a six-petal rosette are carved on a large, roughly rectangular beam. **T.08** is a small pilaster element with a guilloche band.

[724] Belting (1974), 23, fig. 31.

4.2. Social and Technical Processes of Marble Carving

The *chaîne opératoire* of marble production for ancient Aphrodisias is well understood. Research at the site has generated pioneering studies of the working practices of ancient sculptors and the cultural context in which they operated.[725] This section attempts to extend this Aphrodisian approach into the medieval period, considering the Middle Byzantine sculptural assemblage as the product of social processes and relations.

Publications of Middle Byzantine sculpture have tended to focus on aesthetic and stylistic considerations. Morganstern, Vanderheyde and Ivison have offered site-specific and regional analyses of Middle Byzantine workshop practices.[726] Sodini's chapter in the Economic History of Byzantium on the economic aspects of stone carving remains an invaluable resource.[727] More recently, Melvani's synthesis of Late Byzantine sculpture explicitly addresses problems of workshop practice and social context for the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries.[728] The insights of these scholars may usefully be brought to bear on the corpus from Aphrodisias, and it is hoped that the Aphrodisian material may make some contribution to the study of Middle Byzantine sculptors more generally. I begin with the question of how marble was sourced before addressing the dynamics

[725] Roueché – Erim (1982); Rockwell (1991); van Voorhis (1998); (2012); Smith (2011); Russel (2016).
[726] Morganstern (1987); Vanderheyde (1998); Ivison (2008).
[727] Sodini (2002).
[728] Melvani (2013).

between local commissioner and itinerant workshop. I then turn to tools, techniques and the application of paint.

4.2.1. Sourcing Marble

Quarrying was extremely rare in medieval Byzantium.[729] Save for brief, targeted operations, quarries were abandoned and the most regularly exploited sources of marble were the monumental ruins of antique cities.[730] A ninth-century narrative of the construction of Hagia Sophia implies that after the Early Byzantine period the act of quarrying was largely removed from popular perceptions of carved marble:

[Justinian] wrote to all his generals, satraps, judges and the tax officials of the themes that they all should search for columns, revetments, parapets, slabs, chancel barriers and doors and all the other materials which are needed to build a church…[731]

No quarries needed to be opened in medieval Epiros since the ruins of Nikopolis could provide a ready supply of Prokonessian marble that had been imported in the sixth century.[732] Prokonessian marble was also frequently employed in the monuments of medieval Constantinople. However, rather than extracting stone

[729] Sodini (2002), 138-145; Laiou – Morrisson (2007), 64.
[730] Exceptional cases: Bouras (1981), 153; Melvani (2013), 29. I do not subscribe to the argument that the quarries of Dokimeion were operational in the tenth century (First suggested Waelkens (1992), 27, repeated Melvani (2013), 28; Greenhalgh (2009), 93).
[731] *Patria* Book 4 §2.
[732] Melvani (2013), 30.

from the island quarries, Middle Byzantine sculptors generally mined the ruins of the nearby city of Kyzikos.[733]

This harvest of ancient marble was seldom a project organised for commercial gain. Demand was often low, supply very high. With the exception of the Constantinople-Kyzikos axis, marble was rarely transported by ship.[734] One should rather envisage *ad hoc* searches conducted by parties recruited from local communities. The *Testament of Nikon* provides a literary representation of a marble hunt in tenth-century Sparta. The charismatic monk and a local archon enlist rival gangs in order to secure an ancient column. Though the archon can muster one hundred men, and Nikon only fifteen, divine favour permits the monk's gang to claim the column for his new church.[735]

During antiquity an estimated 90,000 cubic metres of marble were extracted from the quarries immediately north of Aphrodisias.[736] The quantity of marble brought from quarries in the surrounding territory was of similar order of magnitude, perhaps around 60,000 cubic metres.[737] Most of this ended up either within the city walls or in the *necropoleis*. There was no need to look far for ready material in the Middle Byzantine period.

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[733] Mango – Hawkins (1964) c.f. The *κολωνοὶ μεγάλοι στηλῶν* at Kyzikos invoked by *Theodoros of Kyzikos*, Ep. 1, lines 19-20 ed. Lampros (1925/26).
[734] Melvani (2013), 30. Export of marble from Constatinople to Preslav and Kiev was limited in scope: Sodini (2002), 138. Some Prokenessian marble at Dereağzı may have been shipped from elsewhere: Morganstern (1987), 489. Greenhalgh's notion that Miletos and Ephesos served as regular hubs for export cannot be maintained: Greenhalgh (2009), 119.
[735] *BMFD* 1, 317-318.
[736] Russel (2016), 267.
[737] Long (2012), 180-1.

Medieval sculptors particularly prized ancient sarcophagi since the chest offered five easily recoverable marble panels. One well-documented assemblage provides a neat snapshot of this process. In the late 1980s a farmer discovered several carved marble blocks in his field around 2.5km southwest of the village of Göksöğüt, near Yalvaç. Most were broken side panels of Sidamara type sarcophagi. Two fragments formed most of a large tenth- or eleventh-century ambo platform. A pair of feet, still visible on the outer edge of the piece, reveals that the platform was cut from the sarcophagus base.[738] Sarcophagi from Myra were employed at Dereağzı, and sarcophagus panels were used for both the paving and the imposing ambo of the Ayazma church at Assos in its eleventh-century restoration.[739] This fate might even await the casket of an emperor. Michael III supposedly had the sarcophagus of the iconoclast Constantine V removed from the Mausoleum of Justinian in the Holy Apostles. Its panels of luxurious Thessalian *verde antico* were put to use in the decoration of the palatine chapel.[740]

At least a thousand sarcophagi were created at Aphrodisias, mostly over the course of the third century.[741] These would have been displayed in extramural *necropoleis* conveniently spread out along the roads leading to the city. The workshop responsible for the principal *templon* of the Cathedral around AD 600 made extensive use of sarcophagus panels. The upper surface of epistyle **A.01**

[738] Sodini – Özsait (1991).
[739] Greenhalgh (2009), 243; Böhlendorf-Arslan (2017), 224.
[740] Downey (1959), 44. See Redford (2018) for the use of ancient sarcophagi in Seljuk monuments.
[741] Long (2012), 181; Öğüş (2018).

presents a long funerary inscription. The equivalent surface of **A.18** displays an unfinished relief of a columnar sarcophagus - to the left a column with a simple capital has been roughed out, and to the right the arc of an arcade is defined (Fig. 4.19). At Hierapolis the same workshop created six screens for the *prothesis* of the church of H. Philippos from a single sarcophagus, neatly retaining its decorative moulding.[742]

Several Middle Byzantine fragments were likewise worked from sarcophagi. The clearest example is the possible cornice **P.09**, cut from the entire length of a sarcophagus lid (Fig. 4.17). One of the short edges of Epistyle **C.03** retains the moulding of a sarcophagus base. A similar moulding is found on the reverse, long edge of **C.01**. A funerary inscription terminating in a Chi-Rho monogram reads across the central *fascia*. A circular band on the reverse of **T.04** testifies to the erasure of a garland. Much of the paved floor installed in the Cathedral in this period consisted of sarcophagus panels laid with their decorative faces downwards. Many small fragments of sarcophagi were also found in the area of the Cathedral, often as cover slabs for medieval graves.[743] These dispersed fragments are the detritus of medieval sculptors and construction workers.

Columns lent themselves to the creation of epistyles and other lengthy pieces. The quatrefoil baptistery of the late antique basilica at Xanthos was transformed into a liturgical church in the Middle Byzantine period. The epistyles and

[742] de Giorgi (2016), 496.
[743] **5.2.1.**

stylobate of the *templon* were carved from complete columns.[744] Epistyle **I.02** at Aphrodisias is the result of a similar transformation. The right joint face preserves the base of the column, with dowel and pour channel. The reverse face of the epistyle is not finished and a large patch of original column surface survives. The slight taper of Epistyle **B.04** suggests that it too was cut from a column shaft. In general, however, the column to epistyle transformation was rare at Aphrodisias for the simple reason that most epistyles at the site were very broad. Epistyle **D.01** preserves an ancient architectural moulding on its right edge. The full span of **D.01** may be estimated at 221cm, and this length of marble must have been perpendicular to the moulding. The epistyle is clearly cut from a very large architectural member.

Group **M** assembled all fragments representing late antique screens upon which simple crosses had been carved in later centuries. Such screens were widely used in all kinds of late antique architectural spaces. In the medieval period it would have been possible to retrieve screens from the ruins of churches or elite houses.[745]

4.2.2. Sculptors' Workshops

A Middle Byzantine sculptors' workshop would have comprised only a few individuals, perhaps three or four including assistants and apprentices.[746]

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[744] Sodini (1980), 127.
[745] E.g. the North Temenos House, c.f. Özgenel (2007), 242.
[746] Buchwald (1995), 241-3.

Contemporary terms designate stoneworkers of various degrees of skill, from the humble *λιθοξόος* to the more distinguished *μαρμαράς*.[747] A single master may have headed each workshop, as was the case for that of Niketas *μαρμαράς*.[748] An inscription at Korykos in Cilicia mentions a Stephanos *μαρμαράριος,* son of Konon *μαρμαράριος*, suggesting that this role may have been hereditary.[749] All workshops were itinerant to some degree because of the architectural nature of their products. Elements were carved for specific monuments, and work carried out in their immediate vicinity.[750] A workshop would presumably cart their tools from site to site and was likely recompensed in cash.

Case studies of workshops are few and are mostly located in mainland Greece. Some of these may be characterised as local workshops, whose known products cluster within ranges representing one to three days of pedestrian travel. Several relief fragments were uncovered alongside an inscription of AD 872 at the church of H. Gregorios at Thebes. The workshop responsible for these reliefs subsequently travelled around 37km north in order to create the *templon* for the Panagia Skripou, dedicated AD 873/74.[751] The best-known sculptors' workshop of the Middle Byzantine period is that of a certain Niketas, active in the late eleventh-century Mani. Niketas signed five of his pieces, and Dandrakis has identified many others that may be attributed to his *oeuvre*.[752] If one were to assume a place of residence for Niketas near the town of Areopolis the majority

[747] Vanderheyde (1998), 770; Ivison (2008), 487.
[748] Melvani (2013), 38.
[749] MAMA III, No. 721.
[750] Morganstern (1987), 493; Melvani (2013), 39.
[751] All distances cited follow modern road systems. Megaw (1966), 16.
[752] Dandrakis (1972), (1975-1976), (2002).

of his works would fall within a range of around 18km.[753] On a plaque now in the post-Byzantine church of H. Nikolaos at Milia, Niketas describes himself as *άπο χόρα Μαήνης,* suggesting a rural and regional identity for this traveling sculptor.[754]

Some sculptors made longer journeys. The late-twelfth century *templon* of H. Samarina at Androusa exhibits clear correspondences with several fragments re-used in the Metropolitan and H. Sophia churches of Mistras, around 70km away.[755] I would suggest that two tenth or eleventh-century ambo panels, one in the museum at Afyon and the other in the museum at Yalvaç, were produced by the same Phrygian workshop. Though the original provenance of that at Yalvaç is not published, the ambo now at Afyon was found in the village of Gömü, over 100km distant from Yalvaç.[756] Pazaras has identified an itinerant workshop in the region of Thessaloniki in the early fourteenth century. This workshop specialised in the production of elaborate champlevé, and produced elaborate ambos at the cathedrals of Veria and Ohrid, some 250km apart.[757] Vanderheyde distinguishes at least two ateliers working side-by-side within the church of H. Donatos at Glyki in Epiros in the later eleventh century. She attributes a group of less accomplished capitals, friezes, and ambo and sarcophagus fragments to local sculptors. A series of more sophisticated capitals and the *templon* barrier find very close contemporary parallels in Thessaloniki and its territory. [758] She

[753] Vanderheyde (1998), 769.
[754] Vanderheyde (1998), 768.
[755] Bouras (1977-1979), 68-72.
[756] Peschlow (1994); Pl.148$_3$ c.f. Pl.148$_7$; Sodini (1994) No. 5, Pl. 173$_6$.
[757] Pazaras (1994).
[758] Vanderheyde (1997), 705-707.

therefore concludes that a workshop from Thessaloniki executed the more prestigious elements of the sculptural programme.[759] The distance here is almost 400km along modern roads across the high Pindos Mountains, and it may have been easier to make the journey by sea.

The journeys of sculptors' workshops may have been directed or requested by ecclesiastical agents. Such a process may be reflected in a letter of Leo of Synada, likely addressed to a fellow metropolitan.[760] Leo was born c. AD 940 and held the Phrygian see of Synada at the end of the tenth century.[761] Practicalities are left for the final few lines – Leo claims that the *πρίσται* that were requested have been made ready to depart. The term has generated considerable philological controversy, but is generally accepted to indicate marble workers.[762] Sculptors might also operate according to the institutional networks of major monastic centres. Vanderheyde suggests that the workshop responsible for the execution of the reliefs in the *katholikon* of Hosios Loukas produced sculpture for at least four of the monastery's *metochia*.[763]

Around the turn of the seventh century, the workshop responsible for the *templon* in the Cathedral of Aphrodisias produced liturgical furnishings for churches of St. Philip at Hierapolis and St. John at Ephesos. The longest journey is that between Hierapolis and Ephesos, around 180km. In the light of the above survey of Middle Byzantine itinerant workshops this would be quite a wide

[759] Vanderheyde (1998), 771.
[760] *Leo of Synada*, Ep. 45.
[761] *ODB*: "Leo of Synada".
[762] Robert (1961).
[763] Vanderheyde (1998), 767.

range. It may also be significant that these are neighbouring metropolitan sees. It is possible to identify two discrete hands within this workshop, suggesting at least two sculptors working concurrently. One pair of epistyles, **A.11** and **A.14**, present vine scrolls on their front faces. These ought to be symmetrical, but are executed slightly differently. The tendrils of **A.11** terminate in tight coils, and the grape bunches are pear-shaped. The coiled tendrils are found on several other fragments at Aphrodisias and at Hierapolis.[764] On **A.14** tendrils lead to pointed leaves, and the grape bunches are circular. This hand was also responsible for fragment **A.91**.

Workshop **R** produced four elements of crude champlevé sculpture found at the Cathedral and the Triconch Church of Aphrodisias and near the village of Yeniköy. The fragment from Yeniköy is a doorjamb, an element structurally integrated into the chapel rather than a potentially portable piece of liturgical sculpture. This suggests that the extant fragments are unlikely to represent a single commission subsequently disaggregated and distributed. I prefer to envisage three discrete projects carried out in three distinct locations by a single workshop. It is possible that the same workshop is responsible for a champlevé console from the hinterland of Miletos.[765] If so, then this would likewise be a wide-ranging group of Maeander sculptors.

Epistyle **D.01** provides another opportunity to clarify some dynamics of workshop organisation. Buchwald suggested that a small group of arcaded

[764] **A.06**, **A.18**, de Giorgi (2016), 495.
[765] Niewöhner (2013b), 205 No. 37.

epistyles at Sardis, Ephesos and Monemvasia were produced by either a single workshop or a related group of workshops.[766] There are significant differences in technical execution between **D.01** and its closest parallel, the arcaded epistyle of the Marienkirche, most notably in the soffit panels.[767] The group identified by Buchwald is a regional school or tradition rather than a single workshop, lasting from the ninth arguably throughout the eleventh century. Even the arcaded epistyles of Niketas and his contemporaries in the Mani betray the influence of this tradition.[768]

4.2.3. Working Practices

The standard toolset for a Middle Byzantine sculptor was not so different from that of his classical predecessor, though lacking the tooth and claw chisels used to rough out three-dimensional shapes.[769] At Aphrodisias there is evidence for a range of point and flat chisels, various sizes of compass, and for occasional abrasive polishing implements.

Relatively little attention has been given to the working practices of Middle Byzantine sculptors, perhaps because their procedures were essentially formulaic but open to innumerable minor adjustments and improvisations. The most detailed case study is that conducted by Ivison on the basis of the

[766] Buchwald (1995), 252.
[767] Buchwald (1995), No. 16.1; Degasperi (2013), No. 128.
[768] E.g. Dandrakis (2002), 62.
[769] The tooth and claw chisels were reintroduced in the Palaiologan period in order to sculpt high relief figural forms: Melvani (2013), 32.

sculptural assemblage of the Lower City Church of Amorium, reconstructed in the later ninth or early tenth century.[770] He identifies four principal stages: [771]

1. The sculptor used a flat chisel and a mallet to prepare a roughly flat surface.
2. The layout of panels and motifs (*ordinatio*) was sketched with a compass and rule and incised with a mallet and fine point.
3. Negative space was removed to a flat lower relief plane.
4. Rosettes and strapwork were carved into the remaining blanks.

Ivison's study concerns only one workshop, whereas the Aphrodisian corpus represents the products of multiple workshops over many centuries. A great many minor variations on this schema are therefore encountered. Nevertheless, the essential framework holds true and I structure my analysis accordingly.

Once suitable ancient blocks had been brought to the worksite, the sculptor first fashioned the basic architectonic forms. A *templon* barrier could not be constructed *ad hoc* since the sculpted surfaces needed to be finished prior to its erection. The soffits of the epistyles of group **A** display incised guidelines marking the areas that would be obscured by column capitals. These were marked after the shape had been defined with a point chisel. Only the intercolumniation then needed to be levelled with a flat chisel.[772]

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[770] Ivison (2008).
[771] Ivison (2008), 492.
[772] See **A.01**.

The Amorium sculptors worked across their surfaces using flat chisels with heads of 1-2cm width, with parallel bands in sets of around 10cm width.[773] Bands of the flat chisel at Aphrodisias are most often parallel, though they do not form discrete sets. Chisels are for the most part within 1-2cm, but wider heads were occasionally employed. That used to prepare the surface of **M.07** was c.3cm in width, while the sculptor of screens **M.01-06** used a flat chisel of c.2.5cm width. The screens produced by group **D** have a rather rough finish. A wide chisel blade seems to have moved across the surface with little regard for distinct bands. At times the flat chisel bands are barely visible, such as on the soffits of the group **B** and **C** epistyles. The only workshop that did not establish a flat surface using long bands was that responsible for groups **I** and **J**. Here the sculptor worked in small patches with the blade of the chisel at an angle slightly oblique to the orthogonal frame. Various finishes are also found on single pieces. On colonette **K.19** the front face has been taken to a rough plane with a wide flat chisel. The area of the decorated panel was then worked with a narrower flat chisel to produce a more even surface prior to the scoring of the *ordinatio*.

The sculptor probably applied the *ordinatio* from memory with room for improvisation, without any need for a pattern book or similar material medium. The sculptors of the first *templon* frequently employed a quatrefoil-in-circle framing device at various scales and with different ancillary motifs.[774] A practiced eye could also infer how to replicate an *ordinatio* from examining a finished relief. Having made line drawings of the quatrefoil-in-circle frame with a

[773] Ivison (2008), 497.
[774] **A.24**, **A.89**, **A.90**; Büyükkolanci (2008), Nos. 5, 6.

compass, I now feel fairly confident that I could replicate it from memory at any given scale. I assume that medieval sculptors were capable of the same process of deduction and replication. When the sculptors of Group **B** arrived at the Cathedral, they were either already familiar with the quatrefoil-in-circle or were able to infer its *ordinatio* from the Group **A** pieces.

Guidelines might be neat and fine, as on Groups **D** and **H**, or crude and heavy, for example on Group **E** or fragment **K.19**. The sculptors of the Group **A** workshop deliberately minimised the visibility of incised guidelines on their finished products. The only soffit panels of this group that reveal traces of their *ordinatio* are those employing large overlaid circles on a flat plane (**A.01**, **A.29**). On these epistyles the limits of the panel were first defined and a series of parallel lines then scored along their longitudinal axis, as in the preparation of a manuscript page.[775] Compass holes were then evenly spaced along these parallel lines. Sculptors did not always feel compelled to realise all of the motifs planned at this stage. The flanking soffit panels of epistyle **D.01** were never completed. Faint, quickly incised sketches of leaves may be discerned in their corners. Occasional disregard for the *ordinatio* was also noticed by Ivison at Amorium and by Morganstern at Dereağzı.[776]

The sculptor would now begin to work negative space to a lower relief. This might be either faceted or a flat plane.[777] Only in Groups **I** and **J** do we encounter a significantly different procedure, according to which motifs were defined by

[775] Ivison (2008), 493.
[776] Ivison (2008), 495; Morganstern (1987), 494.
[777] Flat: **A**, **M.01-05**. Faceted: **E**, **F** and **G**. Combination: **C**.

gradual bevelling towards their edges. Once the negative space had been removed, the sculptor was left with a series of raised blanks that could be carved into rosettes, strapwork bands, and other ornaments. This stage is best attested in fragment **N.05**, which preserves a completed rosette nestled within a frame of blank straps.

4.2.4. Painted Polychromy

Middle Byzantine architectural sculpture was frequently intended to be polychromatic. However, paint is usually so deteriorated as to be imperceptible on excavated fragments, and when paint survives *in situ* the date of its application is often unknown. Altripp has collected a few examples of polychromatic Middle Byzantine sculpture from mainland Greece.[778] But the assemblage analysed in the most detail is again that of the Lower City Church of Amorium.

Sculptural fragments from the Lower City Church were subject to a range of physical and chemical techniques in order to reconstruct their original colours.[779] Both those fragments contemporary with the reconstruction of the basilica and those representing eleventh-century repairs were analysed. A roughly consistent palette was detected, with red-orange, black, yellow and blue attested. The paint was unlikely to have been applied by mural painters since the blue on the sculpture was derived from smalt, while that used for frescoes was

[778] Altripp (2002).
[779] Ivison – Hendrix (1997); Ivison (2003); Hendrix (2003).

true *lapis lazuli*.[780] Pigments were mostly inexpensive; ochres and siennas for reds and yellows, charcoal and bone black for darker hues. Hendrix also cautiously identified some yellows as gamboge, an exotic sap derivative that may have been imported from Southeast Asia.[781] There is a strong contrast in the manner in which paint was applied to the late ninth-/early tenth-century assemblage and to the later repairs. In both cases the paint is liberally applied across both background and raised motifs. On the earlier fragments paint sometimes disrupts rather than emphasises sculptural forms and accidental drips are common. The later phase exhibits greater discipline in following sculptural line, with colours isolated in blocks.[782]

My observations of painted polychromy on sculpture from Aphrodisias are only those of the naked eye. Nevertheless, it is quite evident that the approach taken was entirely different from that at Amorium. Traces of paint are found on fragments belonging to groups **A**, **H** and **M**. With the exception of **A.17**, the only visible colour is an iron oxide red.

The distribution of surviving paint on fragments **M.01-5** indicates that all of the raised motifs on these screens were coloured. This would have created three different types of surface on each screen; polished marble outside of the relief panel, rough chiselling on the lower plain and matt red on the raised motifs. A small but well-defined patch on the lower plane of **M.03** implies that paint may have been used to create additional motifs distinct from the sculpted forms. The

[780] Hendrix (2003), 131; Ivison (2003), 121.
[781] Elizabeth Hendrix Painted Polychromy on Carved Stones", pp.131-2.
[782] Hendrix (2003), 130.

epistyles of Group **H** employ paint to increase the legibility of the inscription that runs along their front surface. Red letters are bounded within a simple incised margin above and below, which was also picked out in red.

Painted elements on group **A** are limited to the front face and to the cornice. No traces were observed on the soffit panels. It is impossible to know at what date this paint was applied. To my knowledge none of the elements executed by the same workshop at Hierapolis were painted, perhaps implying that the sculptors themselves did not apply the paint at Aphrodisias. Thirteen cornice fragments preserve red paint in a consistent pattern. The central bud of each circular motif is painted, and half-ellipses are added in the intervening spaces between the circles. Two epistyle fragments preserve paint on their front surfaces. That of **A.02** displays a series of miniature rosettes. Paint is found on the blades of the curving fanned rosette, and on the inner quatrefoil frame of the four-petal rosette. The application was neat and quite thick, resulting in small blocks of colour that emphasised the geometric forms of relief motifs.

The best-preserved traces of paint are found on **A.17**. The front face of this epistyle employs a large cross pattée as a transition between two different patterns. Colour is found exclusively on the cross, which mediated between two zones of unpainted relief (Fig. 4.20). The arms were neatly painted in a bright yellow, while the intervening spaces were painted red. Both pigments are highly saturated and thickly applied, creating a striking contrast of primary colours. It is possible that the yellow here is used as a cipher for gold leaf, and the block red

might call to mind the glass inserts occasionally used in Middle Byzantine architectural sculpture.[783]

Polychromy in the Aphrodisias Cathedral served to emphasise text and discrete motifs against a general backdrop of unpainted marble. Dense, well-defined and saturated blocks of colour were very selectively applied. Paint tends to accentuate rather than override sculptural relief.

4.2.4. Conclusions

The production of a new sculptural installation was dependent on the labour of local residents and itinerant sculptors under the supervision of the ecclesiastical hierarchy. Sculptors and their apprentices, who might well include blood relatives, travelled long distances between commissions. The assistance of local people would have been required in the transportation of heavy marble sarcophagi from the *necropoleis* to the worksite. The conventions of Middle Byzantine sculpture left a great deal of room for creative ingenuity and improvisation on the part of the sculptor, who might select compositions and motifs in response to the assemblage already existing in the structure.

The dramatic economic simplification of the seventh century did not fundamentally alter the social and technical processes of marble sculpture at Aphrodisias. In AD 500, sculptors resident in the city were still crafting togate statues. By AD 600, the workshop represented by Group **A** was already itinerant, employed exclusively re-cut marble, and used tools and techniques

[783] Firatlı (1969), 161; James (1996), 31.

indistinguishable from those of medieval sculptors. The Middle Byzantine mode of sculptural production is fully formed in the first *templon* barrier.

The Archaeology of Middle Byzantie Aphrodisias

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Chapter 5

Closing Remarks

Bibliography

Descriptive Catalogue One:
Medieval Christian Coinage AD. 700 – c.1250

Descriptive Catalogue Two:
Inhumation Burials

The Living and the Dead

The final chapter of this thesis addresses the funerary archaeology of Middle Byzantine Aphrodisias. Across Asia Minor, Middle Byzantine graves have tended to be excavated only where they overlie the monuments of ancient cities or occupy the upper strata of prehistoric höyüks. They have therefore been incidental to the primary research aims of archaeological projects, and until recent decades were rarely published. As yet there exists no comprehensive published study of Middle Byzantine funerary culture in Asia Minor. The doctoral theses of Ivison (1993) and Moore (2013) remain key reference works.[784] Nevertheless, recent years have seen more detailed publications of Byzantine graves, for example at Amorium, Iasos, Elaiussa Sebaste, Sagalassos, Ilıpınar, Barcın and Çatalhöyük.[785] Full publication of the cemetery at Boğazköy/Hattusa is eagerly anticipated.[786] The turn to settlement archaeology in the study of Byzantine Cappadocia has revealed a new funerary landscape.[787] With the exception of a few intact burials at the Çanlı Kilise, this landscape consists of empty cuttings in the rock that supply a complex dataset quite different to that provided by excavation.[788] The cemeteries of Aphrodisias are discussed here primarily in their local context, in relation to the settlement archaeology and

[784] Ivison (1993); Moore (2013).
[785] Ivison (2005); Usman (2005); Paine et al. (2007); Roodenberg (2009); Berti (2012); Ferrazzoli (2012); Moore – Jackson (2014); Cleymans – Talloen (2017).
[786] Böhlendorf-Arslan is currently preparing a monograph study.
[787] Ousterhout (2017), 371-482.
[788] Ousterhout (2005), 203.

social history of the site. It is hoped however that the evidence presented in this chapter will contribute to this developing field.

In late antiquity the inhabitants of Aphrodisias continued to bury their dead in the extensive *necropoleis* beyond the City Wall. The kinds of intramural cemeteries attested at Iasos and Miletos by the sixth century were unknown at the larger cities of Ephesos and Aphrodisias.[789] Intramural burial was not entirely absent. Several infant burials excavated in a rear room of the Bouleuterion were placed in ceramic pots of sixth-century forms.[790] But this practice appears to be exceptional, and since the pot burials fall outside of the period under consideration in this thesis I will not discuss them further. It was not until the Middle Byzantine period that cemeteries developed within the monumental core of the settlement. The first section of this chapter presents these cemeteries in detail. Discussion then moves to individual burials, with commentary on grave structures, the articulation of the deceased and associated small finds. The chapter concludes with an interpretive essay on the social context of burial at Middle Byzantine Aphrodisias. A description of each grave may be found in the second descriptive catalogue appended to the thesis.

[789] Berti (2012); Steskal (2013) 253; Niewöhner (2016b), 235-36.
[790] *NBk*.047, 10; *NBk*.54, 52-3; *NBk*.060, 17.

5.1. The Cemeteries

Three major cemeteries may be identified at Middle Byzantine Aphrodisias: the Cathedral Cemetery, the Tetrapylon Cemetery and the Triconch Church Cemetery. This section presents each in turn. Where possible, relative phase chronologies are developed and absolute dates suggested. The only small finds mentioned in this section are those of significance for absolute chronologies. The section concludes with discussion of some chronological problems and considerations regarding the topographic development of the cemeteries.

5.1.1. The Cathedral Cemetery

Excavation of the areas immediately surrounding the Cathedral commenced in 1961 and continued throughout the subsequent decade. A few small sondages were made in 1983 and 1997, but the overwhelming majority of the 122 graves presented here were recorded during the first years of Erim's excavations. I first discuss burials within the Cathedral itself, before moving to the South Temenos, the North Bouleuterion, the East Temenos and the North Temenos. A number of burials uncovered within a trench in the eastern forecourt of the temple complex are then presented as a distinct group, since these are equidistant between the Cathedral and Tetrapylon Cemeteries.

5.1.1.1. The Cathedral

The Middle Byzantine pavement of the Cathedral was for the most part undisturbed by the insertion of burials. An exception may be found in the *exonarthex*, where two sondages conducted in 1997 exposed four burials. One sondage was located at the southern end of the exonarthex, the other a little north of centre (Figs. 5.1, 5.2). A total of four graves were exposed, all of which truncated the latest pavement. Three were cist graves, while the fourth was a pit burial with no built grave structure.[791] Two of the cist graves were opened.[792] They were solidly constructed with walls of bricks and squared stone blocks above tiled floors. One contained a single adult skeleton, while the other contained two distinct inhumations. The e*xonarthex* burials may broadly be dated to the period subsequent to the installation of the latest floor level and before the destruction of the Cathedral, perhaps the tenth through twelfth centuries.[793] Three graves were excavated in the atrium immediately west of the *exonarthex* in 1962.[794] One of these contained two distinct inhumations.[795]

Any Middle Byzantine funerary installations in the aisles were likely above ground in freestanding sarcophagi. An undecorated ancient sarcophagus was found at the far western end of the south aisle, positioned against the south wall.[796] In the previous chapter I suggested that a bowed epistyle with a metrical inscription represented a funerary installation of the tenth century. It likely

[791] Unopened cist: Cath.97.122; pit burial: Cath.97.119.
[792] Cath.97.120, Cath.97.121.
[793] **2.4.5.**
[794] Cath.62.24, Cath.62.25, Cath.62.26.
[795] Cath.62.25.
[796] *NBk*.004, 25. W.: 0.70, L.: 1.90 D.: 0.45m

marked the resting place of a bishop in the south aisle. In the absence of any disruption to the Middle Byzantine paving, I would propose that the epistyle framed a freestanding sarcophagus.

Two burials were made in the Northeast Chamber.[797] A cist grave was positioned against the northern wall in the area delimited by the L-shaped stylobate.[798] The notebook does not specify the elevation of the grave, and so its relationship with the paving is unclear. A second burial was placed in the rectangular pit positioned against the eastern wall of the chamber, behind the altar.[799] The pit is lined with stones to a depth of 1.30m. The burial is represented by a few human bones at the shallow depth of 0.12-0.22m. The fill beneath the burial yielded a copper alloy weighing scale, a small copper alloy candlestick, and eleven corroded iron fragments.[800] Since these finds were stratigraphically covered by the burial, they likely pertain to the previous function of the pit. The burial itself was made at a time when the pit no longer served its original purpose.

Only one burial within the Cathedral may be securely attributed to the period following its destruction. A small cist containing a neonate skeleton was found with a maximum elevation 0.22m above the pavement of the south aisle.[801] It

[797] **2.4.3**; **4.1.2.2.**
[798] Cath.62.21.
[799] Cath.62.21.
[800] *NBk*.007, 8-12; Scale Inv.62-040, L.: 67cm; Candlestick Inv.62-041, Lower Diam.: 6.0cm, Upper Diam.: 2.2cm, H.: 3.5cm.
[801] Cath.62.23.

was cut into the charred deposit documented throughout the aisle, and therefore ought to date to the thirteenth century.[802]

5.1.1.2. South Temenos

The South Temenos is located between the eastern end of the southern exterior wall of the Cathedral and the rear wall of the south colonnade of the temenos. In 1961-2 five trenches exposed an area of approximately 27m east-west by 14m north-south, and in 1970 a trench extended the excavated area a further 12m to the west (Fig. 5.3). Two water channels ran east-west in the intervening area between the south wall of the Cathedral and the southern colonnade. The stylobate of the colonnade is approached by two steps (Fig. 5.4). By the Middle Byzantine period the channels had ceased to carry water. The colonnade had collapsed, depositing broken shafts and architrave blocks. This was a very crowded area in which burials could only be inserted into the limited spaces intervening between existing features (Fig. 5.5).

Twenty-nine graves, all of which contained a single primary burial, were excavated in the South Temenos area (Figs. 4.6**,** 5.7). Eighteen cists were placed between the Cathedral and the colonnade stylobate.[803] Fourteen were positioned in rows flanking the channels, their lids at an elevation slightly above that of the channel cover slabs (Fig. 5.08). One of these may be slightly later in date, since it

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[802] **2.4.5.**

[803] Cath.61.01, Cath.62.06, Cath.62.07, Cath.62.08, Cath.62.09, Cath.62.10, Cath.62.11, Cath.62.12, Cath.62.13, Cath.62.14, Cath.62.17, Cath.62.18, Cath.70.110, Cath.70.111, Cath.70.112, Cath.70.113, Cath.70.114, Cath.70.115.

was set above the northern water channel, and used the channel cover slabs as its floor.[804] An approximate date for this group is indicated by a copper alloy reliquary cross produced in the eleventh century, found in one of the graves flanking the southern water channel.[805] Four small graves cluster at the base of the small stairway leading to the southeastern entrance to the Cathedral. To the south of the colonnade stylobate were ten further cists.[806] The lids were at an elevation around 0.50m below the stylobate. These were likewise arranged in east-west rows. Three temple ornaments in one of these graves were probably produced in the twelfth century.[807] It is unfortunate that the grave that offers the clearest dating evidence is the only one of the twenty-nine that cannot be located with any certainty.[808] It contained a silver denaro minted at Lucca, Tuscany, between 1039 and 1125.[809] This issue generally reached the eastern Mediterranean around the turn of the twelfth century, first as pay for the soldiers of the First Crusade and subsequently as the favoured currency of Pisan merchants.[810]

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[804] Cath.61.01.
[805] Cath.62.06, Inv.62-049, **Catalogue 4.1.**
[806] Cath.61.02, Cath.61.03, Cath.62.04, Cath.62.05, Cath.62.15, Cath.62.16, Cath.62.19, Cath.70.107, Cath.70.108, Cath.70.109.
[807] Cath.61.03, Inv.61-105/106/107.
[808] Cath.62.20, situated somewhere in South Temenos Trench 5.
[809] #485.
[810] Metcalf (1968/69), 446; (1996), 12; Dengate (1981), 178.

5.1.1.3. North Bouleuterion

The southern limit of the Cathedral Cemetery was located in the area north of the Bouleuterion, to the southwest of the South Temenos. Three trenches excavated in 1965 and 1969 defined a rectangle of approximately 32m east-west by 8.5m north-south, set against the rear wall of the Temenos colonnade above the area of the Sculptors' Workshop (Fig. 5.9). In the Middle Byzantine period the walls of the Sculptors' Workshop and a later cistern were mostly obscured by a deep accumulation of soil. The exceptions were the rear wall of the colonnade, and a right-angled projection at the western end of the rectangle that defined the eastern and southern limits of North Odeon Trench 3 (Fig. 5.10, cf. Fig. 5.11).

Thirteen graves were excavated in the North Bouleuterion area, and no graves were found in the trenches immediately to the south. Three were located in 1965 Trench 2, eight in 1969 Trench 2 and two in 1969 Trench 3.[811] Upper elevations ranged between 0.55 and 0.85m below the stylobate of the South Temenos stylobate. The range reflects a gradual slope to the south, and all the graves belong to one stratum. Twelve were standard cist graves containing a single skeleton. The remaining two were burials in sarcophagus cists.[812] One of these contained two successive primary burials. There were no small finds associated with any of the North Bouleuterion graves, but they may be broadly dated to the

[811] The documentation available for these trenches did not allow for the construction of a plan of the graves. 1965 North Bouleuterion Trench 2: Cath.65.71, Cath.65.72, Cath.65.73. North Odeon trench 2: Cath.69.97, Cath.69.98, Cath.69.99, Cath.69.100, Cath.69.101, Cath.69.102, Cath.69.103, Cath.69.104. North Odeon Trench 3: Cath.69.105, Cath.69.106

[812] Cath.69.97, Cath.69.105.

Middle Byzantine period on the basis of relative stratigraphy and grave construction.

5.1.1.4. East Temenos

In 1964 and 1965 a long strip, 42m north-south by 5-5.8m east-west, was excavated against the east wall off the Cathedral. Two 4m by 4m trenches were subsequently positioned immediately east of this strip in 1983, one towards the northern end and the other towards the southern (Fig. 5.12). However, Gaudin's team had already dug parts of this area in 1903.[813] The excavator of East Temenos Trench I, immediately east of the Cathedral apse, noticed that he was digging within an artificial depression filled by soft soil. He deduced that the upper strata of his trench represented the back fill of Gaudin's excavation.[814] This observation explains the uneven distribution of graves in the East Temenos area (Fig. 5.13). The concentration of graves at the southeast corner of the Cathedral, and their absence at the point most proximate to the apse, is the result of the undocumented removal of graves during the very first excavations at Aphrodisias.

Elevation measurements were taken from the top of the ancient Maeander frieze set in the exterior wall of the Cathedral (Fig. 4.10). Abutting the Cathedral wall at a depth 1.20m below the frieze was a masonry water channel. The exterior width of the channel structure was 0.90m, and the depth of the channel was 0.30m. The

[813] Boulanger (1914), 50.
[814] *NBk.*031, 34.

depth of the channel structure was much greater than this, but is not specified in the excavation notebooks and the channel has since been removed. The ancient and late antique paving of the Temenos was uncovered at an elevation around 2.20m below the Maeander frieze. The relationship between the paved floor and the water channel is unclear.

The East Temenos is the only area in the Cathedral Cemetery in which graves accumulated in multiple strata. Three distinct phases may be identified according to recorded elevations and stratigraphic relationships with other features.[815] Phase 1 consists of graves that cut the ancient paving of the Temenos (Fig. 5.14). Only four burials may be attributed to this phase, and since they are all at the western extent of the excavated area it may be the case that their lower elevations reflect a sloping ground level rather than diachronic accumulation. Three are cist graves located in Trench 1983 B, while the fourth is an infant burial placed within a triangular arrangement of brick tiles at the western limit of East Temenos Trench I.[816] One of the cist burials excavated in 1983 contained the lid of a reliquary cross of a type produced during the eleventh century.[817] This provides a *terminus post quem* for the earliest graves of the East Temenos area.

[815] All graves save for Cath.64.44, Cath.64.48 and Cath.65.70 may be attributed to one of these phases.
[816] Cath.64.27, Cath.83.116, Cath.83.117, Cath.83.118.
[817] Cath.83.118, Inv.84-237, **Catalogue 4.7**.

Phase 2 comprises nineteen cist graves in the area immediately east of the Cathedral, some of which abutted the water channel.[818] They were cut into an earth accumulation, with their lids approximately 0.50-60m below the water channel's uppermost course (Fig. 5.15). The graves of this phase are particularly well constructed – Cath.64.34 was furnished with a floor of stone slabs and plastered on the interior. Seventeen contained a single primary burial, while two contained two successive inhumations. Two graves contained the lids of reliquary crosses produced in the tenth or eleventh centuries, which were likely already very old at the moment of burial.[819] Three graves contained glass beakers of a type attested in graves of twelfth-century strata the Tetrapylon Cemetery.[820] The phase ought therefore to date to the late eleventh or twelfth century.

The burials of Phase 2 were covered by a pavement of marble slabs and *opus sectile* at the level of the uppermost course of the water channel.[821] This survived best in the northern portion of the East Temenos area, but its mortar preparation layer is also visible in excavation photographs that show the profiles of the southern trenches. Phase 3 consists of twelve graves that truncated this pavement or otherwise covered graves of Phase 2 (Fig. 5.16).[822] Cover slabs of the cists were at an elevation slightly above the water channel (Fig. 5.17). Almost

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[818] Cath.64.33, Cath.64.34, Cath.64.35, Cath.64.36, Cath.64.37, Cath.64.38, Cath.64.39, Cath.64.40, Cath.64.41, Cath.64.42, Cath.64.47, Cath.65.59, Cath.65.60, Cath.65.61, Cath.65.62, Cath.65.66, Cath.65.67, Cath.65.68, Cath.65.69.
[819] Cath.65.60, Cath.65.69, Inv.65-084/067, **Catalogue 4.4/5**.
[820] Cath.64.38, Cath.64.39, Cath.64.47; Inv.64-400/401/405.
[821] **2.4.2.**
[822] Cath.64.28, Cath.64.29, Cath.64.30, Cath.64.31, Cath.64.32, Cath.64.43 (?), Cath.64.45, Cath.64.46, Cath.65.58, Cath.65.63, Cath.65.64, Cath.65.65.

all graves belonging to this phase in the southern part of the East Temenos had been stripped of their cover slabs and looted. This may have occurred simultaneously with the robbing of the exterior pavement in this area. There is therefore little evidence for the date of this phase. However, the fact that many graves of Phase 3 were positioned immediately above graves of Phase 2 suggests that there were either visible markers or living memories of the locations of the earlier graves. I would therefore posit a date in the middle or later twelfth century for Phase 3.

5.1.1.5. North Temenos

The colonnade along the northern limit of the Temple Temenos was removed at the time of the construction of the Cathedral, leaving only its rear wall to delineate between the property of the Church and private property further north. This wall had collapsed by the Middle Byzantine period, and the North Temenos area for the present purposes extends from the northern wall of the Cathedral over the North Temenos House.[823] Thirty-two graves were excavated across this area.[824] They either abut or cover the uppermost courses of the walls of the late antique house, and do not form multiple strata. One cist contained

[823] **2.3.**

[824], Cath.65.50, Cath.65.51, Cath.65.52, Cath.65.53, Cath.65.54, Cath.65.55, Cath.65.56, Cath.65.57, Cath.66.74, Cath.66.75, Cath.66.76, Cath.66.77, Cath.66.78, Cath.66.79, Cath.66.80, Cath.66.81, Cath.66.82, Cath.66.83, Cath.66.84, Cath.66.85, Cath.66.86, Cath.66.87, Cath.66.88, Cath.66.89, Cath.67.90, Cath.67.91, Cath.67.92, Cath.67.93, Cath.67.94, Cath.67.95, Cath.67.96.

three successive burials, and another cist contained two successive burials.[825] The remaining graves each contained a single individual.

The available evidence by which to date the North Temenos graves is exclusively numismatic. All burials were at a significantly higher elevation than coin hoard A, buried against the exterior wall of the apsidal hall of the North Temenos House in the middle of the ninth century.[826] Three cists contained anonymous *folles* of the eleventh century. Two belonged to Class A2 (976 – 1028), while the third belonged to Class C (1042-50).[827] But these coins do not provide uncomplicated evidence for the dates of the burials. The A2 follis is a miniature icon of Christ Pantokrator, and the C follis depicts Christ Antiphonetes. One cannot assume that the type of Middle Byzantine coin present in a grave is a passive index of the date at which that burial was made. The religious iconography on the coin played an active role in funerary ritual, and certain issues were therefore more often chosen for ritual purposes than others.[828] These coins provide only a *terminus post quem*. Coins found in graves dating to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries around the later tenth-century Bema Church at Corinth were in some cases already three hundred years' old at the time of the funerary ritual.[829]

A further four eleventh-century coins were found outside of graves but at similar elevations. These were two Class A2 *folles*, a Class B *follis* (1028-42), and a *follis*

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[825] Three skeletons: Cath.66.78. Two skeletons: Cath.65.49.
[826] **3.2.1.**
[827] Cath.65.57, #480; Cath.66.76, #484; Cath.66.83, #481.
[828] **3.3.3.**
[829] Ivison (1993), 217.

of Constantine X Doukas (1059-67).[830] Since these represent accidental losses and not deliberate deposits they offer a more reliable indication of date. One should bear in mind that coins are most often discarded in the period immediately following their loss of monetary value, which in this case would be the Komnenian reforms at the end of the eleventh century.[831] Moreover, the absence of Komnenian coinage does not argue against a twelfth-century date since the economy of the Morsynos valley was monetised to a much lesser degree in the twelfth century than it had been in the eleventh.[832] The North Temenos graves were likely made in the later eleventh or twelfth century.

5.1.1.7. East Forecourt

The Temenos of the Temple of Aphrodite was approached from the east through an open forecourt, accessed through the Tetrapylon. The doorway between the East Temenos and East Forecourt was sealed by a small chapel in late antiquity, when the addition of the atrium redirected the approach to the Cathedral to the west. With the collapse of the rear wall of the East Temenos the distinction between these two courtyards would have become much less evident.

The East Forecourt has been subject only to limited excavation. In 1963 two trenches defined an L-shaped area in the northwestern corner of the forecourt (Fig. 5.18). The first trench covered 15m by 3m on an east-west orientation. The

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[830] #136, #150, #306, #412.
[831] **3.4.3.**
[832] **3.4.2.**

second trench was oriented north-south, and positioned at the northeastern corner of the first. It covered an area of 5m by 16.5m. The trenches exposed the southern and eastern walls of a rectangular structure within the forecourt. The northern colonnade of the forecourt was revealed in the northern portion of the second trench.

Nineteen graves were excavated in the two trenches (Fig. 5.19).[833] One grave contained two successive burials, while another two contained three.[834] Eleven graves were positioned around and abutting the lower courses of the rectangular structure. The lids of the cists were around 0.30m below the ground level, and their floors were around 0.10m above the paved floor of the East Forecourt. Seven graves were positioned above the colonnade. These graves abut fallen column shafts and partially cover the stylobate. The graves contained no small finds, but may be broadly dated to the Middle Byzantine period.

The location of these graves, roughly equidistant between the Cathedral and Tetrapylon, suggests that the cemeteries surrounding these excavated monuments are in fact the outer limits of one continuous burial ground. The density of burial in the East Forecourt trenches is remarkable, and implies that a great many Middle Byzantine cist graves lie beneath the unexcavated portion of the forecourt.

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[833] Court.63.01, Court.63.02, Court.63.03, Court.63.04, Court.63.05, Court.63.06, Court.63.07, Court.63.08, Court.63.09, Court.63.10, Court.63.11, Court.63.12, Court.63.13, Court.63.14, Court.63.15, Court.63.16, Court.63.17, Court.63.18, Court.63.19.

[834] Two inhumations: Court.63.08. Three inhumations: Court.63.09, Court.63.12.

5.1.2. The Tetrapylon Cemetery

The Tetrapylon Cemetery is located to the south of the Tetrapylon and west of the Tetrapylon Street. It is therefore at the southeast corner of the East Forecourt, and represents the easternmost limit of the burial ground east of the Cathedral. Ninety-seven graves were uncovered in this area over the course of three years, 1983-85 (Fig. 5.20). Excavation throughout this period was supervised by Gerhard Paul. He laid out trenches within a grid of 2 by 2m squares that was gradually expanded as excavation progressed (Fig. 5.21). The northern limit of the grid was at the southernmost column bases of the Tetrapylon. The squares of the north-south axis were allocated roman numerals I-XIII. The squares of the east-west axis were allocated letters running A-L from east to west. The western limit of square A was located at the southeastern corner of the southwest columns of the Tetrapylon. Subsequent expansions of the grid to the west were allocated letters Z-U from east to west.

In 1994 Ivison prepared a draft study of the Tetrapylon Cemetery, establishing a phase chronology and commenting on grave types and associated small finds.[835] The following overview reproduces the chronology presented in his report, which assigned the graves to three principal phases. I was therefore able to construct phase plans by following Ivison's chronology and Paul's notebook sketches, permitting analysis of the topographic origins and development of the cemetery. A brief account of relative stratigraphy, topographic distribution and absolute chronology is therefore given for each phase.

[835] Ivison (1996).

5.1.2.1. Phase 1

The earliest features exposed during the excavation of the Tetrapylon Cemetery were the northernmost extent of the Tetrapylon Street, flanked to the east by porticos. These were destroyed in a conflagration dated to the early seventh century.[836] Ivison identified an initial soil accumulation over the East Forecourt, the Tetrapylon Street and its colonnade. The fill was 0.50-60m thick, and contained no material that could be dated any later than the early seventh century.[837]

The nineteen cist graves of Phase 1 were cut into the initial fill once it had accumulated to a depth of around 0.50m, with their floors upon or just over the late antique pavement of the East Forecourt (Fig. 5.22).[838] The elevation of the grave floors varied from -0.40m at the northern limit of the cemetery to -1.00m at the southern limit, sloping with the natural topography of the area.[839] Four cists contained two burials, while the remaining fifteen contained a single individual.[840] Ivison assigned five graves at the western limit of the excavated

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[836] **2.9.**
[837] Ivison (1996), 5.
[838] Tet.83.02, Tet.83.11, Tet.83.12, Tet.83.13, Tet.83.16, Tet.83.18, Tet.83.26, Tet.83.29, Tet.83.30, Tet.83.31, Tet.83.32, Tet.83.33, Tet.83.34, Tet.85.67, Tet.85.76, Tet.85.79, Tet.85.83, Tet.85.85, Tet.85.86.
[839] Ivison (1996), 6-7.
[840] Tet.83.02, Tet.83.26, Tet.83.33, Tet.85.83.

area, in squares X, Y and Z, to a Phase 1A, since these were around 0.35-0.5m below those of Phase 1.[841] It is unclear whether the difference in absolute elevation reflects sloped ground or diachronic accumulation.

All burials are confined to the area of the East Forecourt, and do not intrude onto the path of the Tetrapylon Street (Fig. 5.23). The street continued to be used as an unpaved thoroughfare in the Middle Byzantine period, and a division between street and cemetery seems to have been maintained.[842] The cemetery lacks a central focus. Rather, at least two, perhaps three, distinct nuclei can be seen to emerge in this phase (Fig. 5.24). The first (α) consists of a cluster of five cists in squares A/B/C-XI/XII/XIII.[843] At the centre of this cluster are two adjacent adult burials.[844] A second (β) centres on square B-V. Here the focus is an extended cist grave, in which two adult individuals were interred in a single event.[845] Three burials were subsequently placed in the area adjacent to the extended cist.[846] A third nucleus (γ) is located just to the southwest of the second, around squares X/Y-V/VI. This group consists of eight cists, including both adult and sub-adult burials.[847] In addition to these emergent nuclei, several cist graves were positioned in relatively isolated spots in the intervening spaces.[848] These include

[841] Tet.83.35, Tet.85.94, Tet.85.95, Tet.85.96, Tet.85.97.
[842] **2.9.**
[843] Tet.85.76, Tet.85.79, Tet.85.83, Tet.85.85, Tet.85.86.
[844] Tet.85.85, Tet.85.86.
[845] Tet.83.26.
[846] Tet.83.11, Tet.83.12, Tet.83.13.
[847] Tet.83.18, Tet.83.29, Tet.83.30, Tet.83.1, Tet.83.33, Tet.83.34, Tet.83.35.
[848] Eg. Tet.83.67.

a tomb at the southwest corner of square B-I that would form the core of a fourth nucleus (*δ*) in later phases.[849]

A *terminus post quem* for the burials of Phase 1 is provided by a grave whose cover slabs include one half of *templon* epistyle **B.04**.[850] This epistyle was sculpted by the same workshop as produced the *templon* decorated with ancient Maeander patterns in the north aisle of the Cathedral.[851] The stylobate of this *templon* belongs to the same phase as the latest marble floor of the Cathedral. It follows that Phase 1 must be later than the repaving of the Cathedral in the Middle Byzantine period. A *follis* of Constantine X Doukas (1059-67) was found in square X-VI, at a depth of -0.70m.[852] This is just above the elevation of the lid of Tet.83.31, and therefore slightly above the surface level of Phase 1. The burials of this earliest phase may therefore date to a period between the tenth and eleventh centuries, though the twelfth-century date proposed for subsequent phases suggests that Phase 1 ought to be placed towards the later end of this bracket.

5.1.2.2. Phase 2

Phase 2 represents the busiest period of use for the Tetrapylon Cemetery.[853] The natural accumulation of soil over the area continued. The fill into which the

[849] Tet.85.02.
[850] Tet.85.67.
[851] **4.1.2.1.**
[852] #402.
[853] Ivison (1996), 8.

Phase 2 graves were cut was 0.40-50m thick. Ivison divides this phase into two stages, 2A and 2B. Though the allocation of some intermediate graves is somewhat approximate, this enables differentiation of earlier and later burials within a fairly long-lived phase.

The floors of the graves of Phase 2A ranged from -0.50-80m with the natural slope of the area. The group comprises eighteen cists, of which two contained two burials (Fig. 5.25).[854] Sixteen of the graves, including many child and infant burials, cluster around nucleus *α* in the southeastern portion of the excavated area (Fig. 5.26).[855] A cist grave, which received two successive burials, was added to the immediate west of the extended cist at the core of nucleus *β*.[856] Another cist grave, soon to be engulfed in a fifth nucleus (*ε*), was placed in square E-VI in the space between nuclei *α* and *β*.[857] Phase 2A sees the first slight encroachments of the cemetery over the area above the Tetrapylon Street.

There is only limited material through which to date the graves of Phase 2A. A temple ornament found in one of the graves is of a broad type generally ascribed to the twelfth century.[858]

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[854] Tet.83.27, Tet.84.37 (?), Tet.85.65, Tet.85.66, Tet.85.68, Tet.85.69, Tet.85.70, Tet.85.75, Tet.85.77, Tet.85.78, Tet.85.80, Tet.85.81, Tet.85.82, Tet.85.84, Tet.85.87 (?), Tet.85.89 (?), Tet.85.90 (?), Tet.85.91 (?). With two inhumations: Tet.83.27, Tet.85.66.
[855] Tet.85.65, Tet.85.66, Tet.85.68, Tet.85.69, Tet.85.70, Tet.85.75, Tet.85.77, Tet.85.78, Tet.85.80, Tet.85.81, Tet.85.82, Tet.85.84 Tet.85.87, Tet.85.89, Tet.85.90, Tet.85.91.
[856] Tet.83.37.
[857] Tet.83.47.
[858] Tet.85.78.

Phase 2B comprises graves with floor surfaces at -0.20-40m elevation.[859] Thirty-five graves may be ascribed to this phase, including two that contained two burials (Fig. 5.27).[860] Seven sub-adult and two adult burials were added to nucleus α (Fig. 5.28).[861] A tightly-spaced group of eight graves, one of which received two successive burials, was arranged in two parallel north-south rows in squares Z/A/B-VIII/IX.[862] These may be termed nucleus α_1. Nucleus δ witnesses a rapid expansion. Seven new cist graves centre on the original cist constructed in Phase 1.[863] Likewise the isolated burial in E-VI is now at the centre of nucleus ε, surrounded by nine graves.[864] These include one cist that received two successive burials and an extended cist in which two individuals were simultaneously buried.[865] Two burials are positioned independent of the existing nuclei. A child burial was placed in in square F-IX and an adult burial made anomalously far to the east in square K-IX, in the middle of the Tetrapylon Street.[866]

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[859] Ivison (1996), 22.
[860] Tet.83.01, Tet.83.03, Tet.83.04, Tet.83.05, Tet.83.06, Tet.83.07, Tet.83.10, Tet.83.23, Tet.84.36, Tet.84.38 (?), Tet.84.39, Tet.84.40 (?),Tet.84.46, Tet.84.47, Tet.84.48, Tet.84.49, Tet.84.50 (?), Tet.84.52, Tet.84.53, Tet.84.54 (?), Tet.84.55 (?), Tet.84.56 (?), Tet.85.58, Tet.85.62, Tet.85.64, Tet.85.71 (?), Tet.85.72, Tet.85.73, Tet.85.74, Tet.85.88, Tet.85.92 (?), Tet.85.93 (?). With two inhumations: Tet.83.28, Tet.84.41 (?), Tet.84.51.
[861] Tet.85.58, Tet.85.62, Tet.85.71, Tet.85.72, Tet.85.73, Tet.85.74, Tet.85.92, Tet.85.93. With two inhumations: Tet.84.51.
[862] Tet.84.48, Tet.84.48, Tet.84.52, Tet.84.53, Tet.84.54, Tet.84.55, Tet.84.56.
[863] Tet.83.01, Tet.83.03, Tet.83.04, Tet.83.05, Tet.83.06, Tet.83.10.
[864] Tet.83.23, Tet.83.28, Tet.83.36, Tet.84.38, Tet.84.39, Tet.84.40, Tet.84.46, Tet.84.47.
[865] Tet.83.28, Tet.84.41.
[866] Tet.84.50, Tet.85.64.

An electrum *trikephalon* of Manuel I Komneos' second coinage (1152-67) was found in square B-IV at an elevation of -0.10m.[867] Ivison points out that this is the approximate height of the cist lids, and therefore ground surface, of Phase 2B.[868] Ivison identified ten sherds of Middle Byzantine glazed ceramics from the fill into which the Phase 2 graves were cut. Though the sample is limited, all could be dated to the twelfth century.[869] Phase 2B should therefore date to the second half of the twelfth century.

5.1.2.3. Phase 3

The final phase during which the Tetrapylon Cemetery continued to be used is represented by just thirteen burials (Fig. 5.29).[870] All cists contained a single burial. Grave floors were at +0.10-30m above the elevation datum. Many graves were disturbed, either through deliberate looting or because they were truncated by the foundation trenches for Ottoman domestic structures.

Four graves were added to nucleus *δ* at the north of the excavated area (Fig. 5.30).[871] Two burials were positioned above nucleus *β*, one of which covered the original extended cist from which the nucleus had developed.[872] Three graves were placed in nucleus *ε*, and a further three graves were constructed in nucleus

[867] #433.
[868] Ivison (1996), 8.
[869] Ivison (1996), 8.
[870] Tet.83.08, Tet.83.09, Tet.83.14, Tet.83.15, Tet.83.19 (?), Tet.83.20, Tet.84.42 (?), Tet.84.44, Tet.84.45 (?), Tet.85.59, Tet.85.60, Tet.85.61, Tet.85.63.
[871] Tet.83.08, Tet.83.09, Tet.83.19, Tet.83.20.
[872] Tet.83.14, Tet.83.15.

α, covering Tet.85.65 in square E-X.[873] One grave was constructed directly above the child burial in square F-IX.

There is little dating evidence for Phase 3, and the cutting of later foundation trenches introduced much intrusive material. However, since there are few burials and they are all positioned in relation to graves of preceding phases it may be inferred that Phase 3 followed shortly after Phase 2B.

Seven graves could not be attributed to any phase (Fig. 5.31). The elevations of four cists in column F were not recorded, though they appear to belong to a single phase.[874] A grave in square W-II was constructed directly over a burial of Phase 1, and so may belong to either of Phases 2 and 3.[875] Likewise, a pit grave that may represent a secondary burial in square D-IX is situated above a cist of Phase 1.[876] No elevation was recorded for a grave in square G-VIII, at the eastern limit of the cemetery.[877]

5.1.3. The Triconch Church Cemetery

A total of one hundred and thirty-one graves have been recorded in and around the Triconch Church, all of which date to the Early and Middle Byzantine periods. Eighty-nine of these were recorded during the initial excavation of the structure

[873] *ε*: Tet.84.44, tet.84.45, Tet.84.42. *α*: Tet.85.59, Tet.85.60, Tet.85.61.
[874] Tet.83.21, Tet.83.22, Tet.83.24, Tet.83.25.
[875] Tet.83.17.
[876] Tet.84.57.
[877] Tet.84.43.

in 1962. Small sondages in 1993, 2000 and 2002 revealed more burials, as did investigations within the Civil Basilica to the immediate northeast of the church over the period 2005-2009. Medieval burials were also present in the upper strata of a trench to the east of the Triconch Church, excavated in 1966 by the team investigating prehistoric remains at Aphrodisias.

A relative chronology of associated burials may be inferred from the building phases of the Triconch Church. The burials may be assigned to three phases. Phase 1 is represented by a single burial that demonstrably precedes the Middle Byzantine expansion of the church, and three burials in the south apse that could stratigraphically precede the renovation. Phase 2 comprises burials made during the period in which the church functioned as a regular liturgical space. Burials made subsequent to the collapse of the upper elevation are attributed to Phase 3. The many graves located to the east of the church are briefly discussed as a distinct category, though it is not possible to securely determine the relative or absolute chronology of these burials. Index cards in the Aphrodisias archives record osteoarchaeological data for many of the burials excavated in 1962. This permits some conclusions about the age and sex of individuals interred in the Triconch Church Cemetery.

5.1.3.1. Phase 1

The key burial for Phase 1 was uncovered within a trench excavated in 2010 against the northeastern exterior of the church. The trench measured 6 by 3.2m

and was oriented east-west with its eastern limit against the west wall of the Civil Basilica (Fig. 5.32). The *parekklesia* of the Triconch Church are a late addition to the plan, likely belonging to the Middle Byzantine restoration.[878] A single cist grave stratigraphically precedes the addition of the northern *parekklesion*, since the construction trench for the chapel truncated its southern wall.[879] The grave therefore dates between the seventh and eleventh centuries.

In 1993 a sondage excavated the western quarter-circle of the south apse. A drain covered by a barrel vault ran from north to south beneath the paving of the late antique crossroads (Fig. 5.33). The construction of the apse wall did not truncate the barrel vault of the drain, since the wall was constructed with very shallow foundations. The vault was truncated for the first time by the construction of three cist graves, all of which contained a single skeleton. The burials are here attributed to a Phase 1A.[880] The upper elevations of the cist lids ranged between 515.98 and 516.05m a.s.l. Two of the cists were equipped with built floors, one of marble slabs and the other a patchwork of tile, stone and marble pieces. This makes for a significant distinction between these lowermost graves and later cists constructed within the ruined church, which were of uniformly crude construction without floors.

A deposit around 0.19m deep at the bottom of the drain contained a large quantity of animal bone, pottery, glass, metal fragments and charcoal. This represents the refuse deposited by the last flowing of the drain. The deposit also

878 **2.12.1.**
879 TrCh.02.111; *NBk*.419, 114-15.
880 TrCh.93.92, TrCh.93.93, TrCh.93.94; Smith – Ratté (1995), 50.

contained five coins, the latest of which were minted during the reign of Heraclius (610-41). The coins provide a *terminus post quem* for the construction of the cist graves.[881] All soil surrounding and covering the graves was assigned to a single stratigraphic unit. The latest ceramics in this unit date to the thirteenth century, but this cannot be a reliable *terminus post quem* for the graves since the unit was not sufficiently defined. The three burials may therefore date to any period from the seventh through to the thirteenth centuries, and could belong to any of Phases 1 through 3. Their high quality construction perhaps implies that they were made subsequent to the renovation of the church, and that they are contemporary with Phase 2.

5.1.3.2. Phase 2

The Middle Byzantine architects of the renovated Triconch Church may have anticipated a funerary function for the monument, since the paving of the late antique street was systematically removed from the interior of the new *narthex*. The lack of large, coherent marble slabs facilitated the construction of a series of large tombs beneath a patchwork floor of marble and terracotta tiles. Six burials have been recorded beneath the *narthex* floor, two in 1962 and four in 2000. The burials belong to a single phase, with lids at elevations between 0.50 and 0.60m beneath the western threshold of the *narthex*, 515.95-516.05m a.s.l. It is likely that more lie undisturbed beneath unexcavated portions of the floor.

[881] But not, as suggested by Smith – Ratté (1995), 51, for the construction of the church itself.

The first of the 1962 graves was not located within a planned sondage, and only investigated because the removal of a later grave cut through the floor level revealed many of the earlier tomb's cover slabs. It was located around 4m south of the central door in the *narthex*, and contained two successive burials.[882] The second tomb was uncovered in a sondage placed immediately north of the western central door of the *narthex*, the exact dimensions of which were not recorded.[883] It was an unusual, perfectly rectangular tomb with walls of mortared brick and a floor of marble tiles. This masonry sarcophagus also contained two successive burials, both of which were mature adult men. A Class A2 anonymous *follis* (976 – 1028) was found around the centre of the tomb. The coin provides a *terminus post quem* for the second inhumation. The tombs beneath the *narthex* floor were likely constructed in the eleventh or twelfth centuries.

A second 1962 sondage measured 2m north-south by 1m east-west, and was placed along east wall of the *narthex* at its northernmost extent. The excavator uncovered the eastern ends of two tombs, which he left intact and unexcavated.[884] In 2000 a trench was laid over the width of the *narthex* in order to relocate these two graves (Fig. 5.34). The trench uncovered the two large cists, and a third protruded slightly from the northern profile at the same elevation.[885] However, the earliest burial was the skeleton of an infant or neonate placed in a

[882] TrCh.62.54.
[883] TrCh.62.89 (1. M/40 2. M/50)
[884] *NBk*.010, 108.
[885] TrCh.00.98.

simple pit with a loose floor of marble chips.[886] The insertion of the first of the large cists truncated the pit, displacing the skeleton. The tomb was well constructed with a plastered interior and plaster applied over the cover slabs.[887] It contained the skeleton of an adult woman. The tomb adjacent and to the north of this was of similar construction and slightly later, since some of the plastering of its cover slabs overran onto the slabs of the first tomb.[888] Like the two graves excavated in 1962, this tomb contained two inhumations. The first, the length of which determined the dimensions of the cist, was the skeleton of a young adult man. The second was the smaller skeleton of an older adult woman.

Five graves to the northeast of the Triconch Church may be attributed to the same phase (Fig. 5.35). These may be divided into two stages. The lids of three cist graves, two of which were opened and excavated, were at elevations between 517.22 and 517.30m a.s.l.[889] The easternmost was a large tomb, the southern wall of which truncated the northern wall of the earlier cist of Phase 1. The graves were similar in construction to those excavated in 2000 beneath the *narthex* floor. One had a floor of marble revetment pieces and was plastered on the interior, while the other had a floor of mixed terracotta tiles and revetment fragments. Both contained a single inhumation. The first deposit to cover these graves was a natural accumulation of soil around 0.30m in depth. The excavator noted that the soil was much softer in the southwestern corner of the trench. This area was not designated as discrete context, but the presence of two

[886] TrCh.00.97.
[887] TrCh.00.95.
[888] TrCh.00.96 (1. M/young adult 2. F/older adult).
[889] TrCh.02.108, TrCh.02.109, TrCh.02.110.

adjacent tiny and crude graves here perhaps indicates that the soft earth was the fill of a cut made for their insertion. The upper elevations of the grave structures were at 517.30 and 517.44m a.s.l. Each grave contained a few bones of a very young infant, perhaps neonate.[890]

5.1.3.3. Phase 3

The upper elevation of the Triconch Church collapsed in an earthquake, and the interior was cleared of rubble prior to the construction of a makeshift liturgical barrier across the east apse.[891] It is unclear quite when the church collapsed or for how long the improvised liturgical solution endured, but ceramics in the earliest grave fills indicate that by the thirteenth century the interior of the church was being used as a cemetery.[892] This is the largest of the three principal phases, comprising at least sixty-three graves. No burials made subsequent to the destruction of the church contained more than one individual. Burials of this phase accumulated in multiple strata; two in the *narthex* and at least three in the *naos* and lateral apses. The grave structures frequently incorporate broken architectural elements, or abut the massive fallen columns of the Tetrakionion.

Six graves were cut through the floor of the *narthex*. Five were crude cist graves, and one consisted of a younger child or infant skeleton placed in a small stone

[890] TrCh.02.106, TrCh.02.107.
[891] **2.12.2.**
[892] Smith – Ratté (1995), 50.

tub.[893] Interred in the cist graves were one skeleton for which age and sex were not determined, two mature adult men, a young adult woman and an adolescent woman. The cist lids were at elevations between 0.00 and 0.05cm above the level of the outer threshold, around 516.55-60m a.s.l. It is likely that a layer of earth around 0.10-15cm thick covered the latest narthex floor at this time. One of the cists contained the lid of a copper alloy reliquary cross. It was produced in the tenth or eleventh centuries, and should therefore have been at least a hundred years old at the time of deposition.[894] A series of four graves for young infants or neonates were subsequently made in the *narthex* at a consistent level 0.40m above the western threshold, 516.95m a.s.l.[895]

Five small cists containing child and infant burials were cut into the earth fill of the raised floor in the east apse, to the west of the makeshift barrier.[896] These graves were at a higher absolute elevation than those cut through the floors of the *narthex* and *naos*, around 516.80m a.s.l. It is not possible to determine their relationship with the funerary stratigraphy observed in the *naos*.

The latest paved floor in the centre of the *naos* is at around 516.37m a.s.l. Eight burials in the *naos* and lateral apses were placed immediately below this level, with upper elevations around 516.12-27m a.s.l. Five of these cists were

[893] TrCh.62.50 (F/16), TrCh.62.51, TrCh.62.56 (M/40), TrCh.62.59 (F/30), TrCh.62.74 (M/50). Stone tub: TrCh.62.78.
[894] TrCh.62.59, **Catalogue 4.1.**
[895] TrCh.62.37, TrCh.62.46, TrCh.62.47, TrCh.62.57.
[896] TrCh.62.32 (10), TrCh.62.33 (7), TrCh.62.34 (1-2), TrCh.62.35 (5), TrCh.62.36 (1).

uncovered in the south apse.[897] They contained the remains of one neonate, three mature adult men and one older adult woman. Within the north apse only one grave was found at this level, and a further two were recorded in the central square of the *naos*.[898] These were adult burials, and the two for which sex and age were determined were both mature adult men.

The majority of the burials in the *naos* belong to a single stratum, with lids around 516.37-62m a.s.l., up to 0.25m above the latest floor level. This group includes twenty-one cist graves excavated in 1962 and two infant pit burials recorded in the south apse in 1993.[899] At least six adult men, four adult and adolescent women and nine children and infants are represented. Many cists employ broken architectural elements from the church, or are positioned against the fractured columns of the Tetrakionion. The construction of the cists is notably crude. However, the burials were particularly rich in small finds, with many precious metal dress ornaments and mantles of woven gold.[900]

One unusual burial in the southern *parekklesion* likely also belongs to this phase, though its elevation was not recorded.[901] It was a small cist in which the disarticulated skeleton of an older adult man had been placed, interpreted by the

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[897] TrCh.62.80 (M/40-50), TrCh.62.83 (M/50+), TrCh.62.84 (M/50), TrCh.62.85 (F/70+), TrCh.62.86 (neonate?).
[898] TrCh.62.72 (M/40), TrCh.62.58, TrCh.62.80 (M/40-50).
[899] TrCh.62.42, TrCh.62.44 (6), TrCh.62.45 (F/16), TrCh.62.48 (F/30), TrCh.62.49 (M/40), TrCh.62.52 (M/50), TrCh.62.53 (4), TrCh.62.55 (M/25), TrCh.62.65, TrCh.62.66 (5), TrCh.62.67 (F/25), TrCh.62.68 (M/50), TrCh.62.69 (F/35), TrCh.62.70, TrCh.62.71 (4), TrCh.62.73 (M/60+), TrCh.62.75 (4), TrCh.62.76 (<1), TrCh.62.77 (neonate), TrCh.62.79 (4), TrCh.62.81 (M/50), TrCh.93.90, TrCh.93.91.
[900] **4.2.3.1**; **4.3.**
[901] TrCh.62.87 (M/60+).

excavator as a secondary burial or ossuary. One possibility is that the grave represents the reburial of remains accidentally disturbed while constructing another cist grave in the church.

Graves were only found above the second layer in two locations. Four cists in the westernmost part of the naos were made at elevations from 516.87-517.02m a.s.l., around 0.40m above those of the preceding layer.[902] Several graves in the north apse were at even higher elevations. One grave against the centre of the apse's curvature was recorded at an elevation of 517.67m a.s.l.[903] Among small finds recovered from the cist was a reliquary cross of a type produced in Kiev and in the northern Balkans between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries.[904] Two further graves appear to have been constructed at an elevation of 518.05m a.s.l. An elevation is only recorded for one of the two, but they are numbered consecutively and contained very similar silver buttons.[905]

A further eight burials to the northeast of the Triconch Church may be attributed to Phase 3 (Fig. 5.35). A layer of dense rubble covered the earth deposit that lay above the graves of Phase 2. This deposit presumably represents the collapse of the upper elevation of the Triconch Church. Seven burials recorded in 2002 were cut into this rubble layer, while the eighth had been excavated in this area in

[902] TrCh.62.39, TrCh.62.40 (F/35), TrCh.62.41, TrCh.62.43 (2).
[903] TrCh.62.63. No elevation was recorded for grave TrCh.62.64, and since it is numbered between graves from upper and lower layers its elevation cannot be inferred.
[904] **Catalogue 4.3**.
[905] TrCh.62.61 (M/50), TrCh.62.62 (M/40).

1962.[906] The ground level in this trench was in fact lower in 2002 than it had been in the thirteenth century. In several cases the lower floors of empty cist graves were uncovered immediately below topsoil. The upper elevations of the burials range from 518.13-36m a.s.l., around a metre above the lids of the Phase 2 cist graves in the same area. One grave was slightly lower than this, with an upper elevation at 517.80m a.s.l. However, the rubble was much less dense in the area above the grave, indicating that it had been cut from above the rubble deposit.[907] The relationship between these graves and those at higher levels within the north apse is unclear, though they are in close proximity and at similar elevations.

5.1.3.4. Burial to the East of the Triconch Church

The first trench excavated in 1962 was positioned immediately south of the Civil Basilica and uncovered the northern portion of the street running east-west to the east of the Triconch Church. The excavated area covered around 12m east-west by 3m north-south. Twenty-nine graves were recorded in this strip.[908] The vertical trench walls eroded over subsequent decades, and a cleaning operation

[906] TrCh.62.82 (M/40), TrCh.02.99, TrCh.02.100, TrCh.02.101, TrCh.02.102, TrCh.02.103, TrCh.02.104, TrCh.02.105.
[907] Tr.Ch.02.105.
[908] TrCh.62.02 (F/30), TrCh.62.03, TrCh.62.04 (F/35), TrCh.62.05, TrCh.62.06 (F/40), TrCh.62.07, TrCh.62.08 (<1), TrCh.62.09 (1-2), TrCh.62.10 (M/50), TrCh.62.11 (8), TrCh.62.12 (3), TrCh.62.13, TrCh.62.14 (neonate), TrCh.62.15, TrCh.62.16, TrCh.62.17 (5), TrCh.62.18 (2), TrCh.62.19, TrCh.62.20 (4), TrCh.62.21 (neonate), TrCh.62.22 (6), TrCh.62.23 (F/18-20), TrCh.62.24 (M/25), TrCh.62.25 (5), TrCh.62.26, TrCh.62.27 (neonate), TrCh.62.29, TrCh.62.30 (F/50+), TrCh.62.31 (F/30).

in 1993 discovered many loose human bones.[909] These disarticulated finds are not included in the grave catalogue, but reinforce the impression that this was a particularly dense accumulation of burials.

The cist graves were all crudely constructed, with no floors or internal plastering. They were found at various elevations, but no clear stratigraphic layers may be determined. At all elevations they clustered close towards the church. The measurements recorded in the excavation notebook indicate that while the easternmost burial was 9.50m east of the apse, the median distance was 2.45m. Graves tended to be at a higher elevation in the western part of the trench, implying that the ground level sloped upwards towards the apse. By contrast, the late antique street sloped slightly downwards towards the crossroads over which the church was situated. The raising of the ground level in the vicinity of the apse was likely caused by the displacement of earth from the digging of graves, and perhaps by the deliberate deposition of earth to facilitate new burial.

It is not possible to assign a date for these graves more precise than Middle Byzantine. The field notebook indicates that glazed ceramics were found on every day of excavation, but equally makes clear that there was no attempt to maintain a uniform depth across the trench. The excavator considered that a stone block in one of the uppermost burials came from the wall of the apse. The apse blocks are not particularly distinctive, and so this observation ought to be treated more as anecdotal suggestion than as sound hypothesis. Nevertheless, it

[909] *NBk*.331.

is quite plausible that burials at the highest elevations belong to Phase 3. Of the adult burials, at least six were women and two men. At least twelve infant skeletons were recorded. Five infant or neonate burials were placed directly against the exterior of the apse.[910]

Another twenty-two burials have been recorded in the southernmost portion of the Civil Basilica. Two were opened in 1962, though they lay outside of the limits of any trenches, and twenty were located over the period 2005-2009.[911] The more recent excavations sought to investigate the architecture of the Civil Basilica. The medieval graves were therefore only incidental to the primary research objectives, and were left intact where possible. Twelve were opened. No graves contained more than one inhumation. The cists were all very close to the modern ground level, and contained no small finds.

In 1966 a trench was opened on the western slope of the Theatre Hill, to the southeast of the Triconch Church. The excavation was conducted by the archaeological team working on the prehistoric remains, and no documentation survives.[912] Caruso publishes several finds recovered within the graves that were subsequently recorded in the Aphrodisias site inventory, including a silver cross pendant and a copper alloy processional cross.[913] A single photograph of the

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[910] TrCh.62.12 (3), TrCh.62.13, TrCh.62.14 (neonate), TrCh.62.16, TrCh.62.21 (neonate).
[911] TrCh.62.01 (M/30), TrCh.62.28 (M/40), TrCh.05.112, TrCh.05.113, TrCh.05.114, TrCh.08.115, TrCh.08.116, TrCh.08.117, TrCh.08.118, TrCh.08.119, TrCh.09.120, TrCh.09.121, TrCh.09.122, TrCh.09.123, TrCh.09.124, TrCh.09.125, TrCh.09.126, TrCh.09.127, TrCh.09.128, TrCh.09.129, TrCh.09.130, TrCh.09.131.
[912] Kadish (1969), 51-53, Ill. 2.
[913] Caruso (2016), 363.

Middle Byzantine stratum of the trench survives in the site archive. It shows a dense concentration of at least thirteen cists, including both adult and infant burials (Fig. 5.36).

One final grave must be mentioned, situated outside of the Triconch Church to the west of the *narthex*.[914] It did not fall within the defined limits of any trench, and was encountered slightly below the twentieth-century ground level. The cist contained the remains of a mature adult woman.

5.1.3. The Stadium and the Hadrianic Baths

Outside of the three major cemeteries, Middle Byzantine cist graves have been uncovered in two locations: south of the stadium and within the Hadrianic Baths.

In 1995 a trench was opened in the northern district of the city, south of the stadium, in order to test the conclusions of the geomagnetic survey.[915] The trench uncovered the lowermost courses of a rectangular structure less than 0.20m below the ground level, with a maximum upper elevation of 524.02m a.s.l. The floor within this structure was at 523.08m a.s.l., and a dirt street to the south of the structure was identified at 523.50m a.s.l. Four cist graves were cut into the material accumulating over these features. This fill contained coins and artefacts of the later sixth/seventh centuries, and so it is possible that the graves were made as early as the Early Byzantine Period. However, they are so close to the

[914] TrCh.62.60 (F/40).
[915] Smith – Ratté (1997), 12, Fig. 10.

surface level that it is difficult to determine any *terminus ante quem*, and they may also be relatively late. They are oriented on an east-west axis, and of similar construction to Middle Byzantine graves found elsewhere on site. Graves with cover slabs intact were not opened, while the disturbed graves contained scattered and disarticulated bones.

Excavations in 1913 in the Hadrianic Baths uncovered an unspecified number of cist graves in the northern portion of the palaestra. The graves were oriented east-west, and were apparently constructed from brick courses with schist cover slabs. The excavators found no small finds that they were able to date, but noted that the graves were very similar to those they had encountered immediately east of the Cathedral.[916] In 1967 five cist graves were excavated around the pool in the Tetrastyle Court of the bathhouse.[917] They represent a northern portion of the cemetery revealed in 1913. The only *terminus post quem* for these burials is the destruction of the bathhouse in the early seventh century.

5.1.4. The Development of the Cemeteries

Several problems remain to be addressed, and conclusions drawn, regarding the chronological and topographical development of the cemeteries.

A striking problem is the apparent absence of burials prior to the eleventh or twelfth century. This phenomenon is not limited to Aphrodisias, but reflects a

[916] Boulanger (1914), 50.
[917] BHad.67.01, BHad.67.02, BHad.67.03, BHad.67.04, BHad.67.05.

general difficulty across much of Asia Minor.[918] The dating of cist graves close to ground level is often dependent on associated small finds, and the small finds uncovered in medieval Byzantine graves are almost always dated to the tenth through thirteenth centuries. Moore suggests that while it is possible that a genuine shift in mortuary practice from completely plain burial to the limited inclusion of ornament and artefacts did occur in the later ninth century, the chronology looks suspicious.[919] This is, after all, the moment at which Middle Byzantine material culture in general becomes archaeologically legible. Where burials are dated by coins, one must keep in mind the degree of monetisation evident for different periods in the general numismatic profile the site.

Aphrodisias was occupied during the Early Byzantine period.[920] Might it be that the eighth and ninth century deceased are simply hidden among their more archaeologically visible descendants? It's always tempting to make such claims about this period, but one should be cautious. At Sagalassos, radiocarbon dates for six skeletons from the cemetery around the church in the Temple of Apollo – once dated on stratigraphic grounds to the later seventh century – has suggested an eleventh through thirteenth-century span.[921] Still, the depth of soil between bedrock and surface here is less than half a metre, and it is quite likely that earlier phases were truncated and destroyed by later burials.[922] It is not impossible that the extramural *necropoleis* continued to be used at Aphrodisias

[918] Ivison (2017), 170-71.
[919] Moore (2013), 114.
[920] Öztaşkın (2017), 184.
[921] Waelkens et al. (1997), 212; Waelkens et al. (2000), 377-78; Ricaut – Waelkens (2008), 540; Cleymans – Talloen (2017), 2.
[922] Jacobs, *pers. comm.*

into the Early Byzantine Period, as has been suggested for Amorium.[923] I think it necessary to draw attention to this problem, but ultimately future excavations are more likely than archival studies to identify Early Byzantine burials.

To judge by the inscription on bowed epistyle **H**, elite burial within the Cathedral recommenced at least as early as the tenth century. In the surrounding cemetery it is often difficult to determine which are the earliest graves, since only in the East Temenos did they accumulate in multiple strata. The earliest coins associated with burials in the Cathedral Cemetery areas were minted around the turn of the millennium, but several coins and ornaments were produced in the twelfth century. A reliquary cross in the earliest layer of graves in the East Temenos provides an eleventh-century *teminus post quem* for the intense funerary activity in subsequent phases. In the twelfth century this area was paved, but the paving did not remain intact for long and burial quickly resumed. The majority of the burials in the Tetrapylon Cemetery are roughly contemporary with this development.

The area between the Cathedral and the Tetrapylon Street was likely one extensive burial ground. Ivison suggested that there ought to have been a church in the vicinity of the Tetrapylon, adducing the presence of a broken *templon* epistyle in support of the hypothesis.[924] The analysis of liturgical furniture in the preceding chapter demonstrated that this epistyle was produced by a workshop that also erected a major barrier in the Cathedral. While one cannot preclude the

[923] Yaman (2012), 340.
[924] Ivison (1996), 13.

possibility that the workshop produced furniture for two structures, in the absence of any remains of a church close to the Tetrapylon I think it likely that the epistyle was originally erected in the Cathedral. Besides, the Cathedral Cemetery and Tetrapylon Cemetery developed in different manners. In the former the most desirable locations seem to have been proximate to the east wall of the Cathedral. In the latter burials clustered in multiple nuclei that do not have any obvious architectural focus.

The northern limit of the extensive cemetery around the Cathedral has never been defined. It is possible that a sparse burial ground continued as far north as the burials identified near the stadium, but this would imply a huge number of unexcavated burials. The stadium burials may well be part of a smaller cluster, as appears to be the case in the palaestra of the Hadrianic Baths. There were no graves in the North Agora or the Place of Palms. Further to the south, burial in the area of the Triconch Church began prior to its Middle Byzantine reconstruction, and likely accelerated once the church was brought back into regular liturgical use. Large and well-constructed tombs were built beneath the *narthex* floor in the eleventh or twelfth century.

By the twelfth century a linear curtain of burial grounds had developed from the stadium in the north to the Triconch Church in the south (Fig. 5.37). In the second chapter I argued that the residential core of Middle Byzantine Aphrodisias was located in the northeastern portion of the intramural area. The cemeteries developed at the western limit of the town. While the burials were intramural *sensu stricto*, they were not intermingled with residential quarters.

The situation would have been similar to that at Nikaia, where the Theatre Cemetery was at the periphery of the medieval town but enclosed within the ancient walls.[925] This hypothesis will need to be continually examined in light of new excavations, but makes best sense of the evidence currently available. It would be interesting to know how excavations around the Northwest Church might alter present conclusions.

In the thirteenth century both the Cathedral and the Triconch Church were in ruins, and the settlement lacked intact monumental architecture for the first time in well over a millennium. The Cathedral Cemetery appears to have gone out of use. No artefacts from the surrounding graves may be dated to the thirteenth century, and the Cathedral's charred shell remained surprisingly free of later burial. Only one pit grave for a neonate was cut into the destruction layer. The situation at the Triconch Church could hardly be more different. After a period of improvised liturgical functionality, cist graves inundated the interior of the church. The graves were poorly constructed but contained striking quantities of precious metal ornament. Most of these burials belong to a single thirteenth-century layer. The construction of a few graves at much higher elevations indicates that the funerary function of the space was maintained for some time, perhaps as late as the fourteenth century.

[925] Ivison (1993i), 56.

5.2. The Burials

The following section outlines the range of burial practices found in the cemeteries. I discuss grave construction and the articulation of the body, before moving to ornament and costume for the deceased. Placed deposits, meaning artefacts that were not worn on the person, are then presented. The distinction between costume and placed deposits serves to distinguish between different stages of funerary ritual. Costume and ornament would have been visible during the *prothesis* and procession to the gravesite, whereas placed deposits were positioned in the grave in the final stages of the funeral ritual, usually only after the body had been lowered into the cist.

5.2.1. Grave Structures

The vast majority of Middle Byzantine burials at Aphrodisias were made in cist graves, long pits lined by one or more courses of stone blocks and covered by several large cover stones. The cists were of roughly anthropomorphic shapes, wider at the head and tapering towards the feet, or else "coffin-shaped", being widest at the shoulder. The cover slabs were at or just below ground level. The cist was the most common grave type in medieval Anatolia, though not so prevalent in mainland Greece.[926]

[926] Ivison (1993i), 83.

Individual cists at Aphrodisias might be subject to a wide array of structural variations. The walls might include tile and brick in addition to rough fieldstones, and in a few cases are built entirely of brick courses or upright tiles.[927] The graves of infants and younger children were especially open to variation. One cist in the Cathedral Cemetery constructed a "box" of marble paving slabs.[928] Cists for neonates at the Triconch Church might be improvised from a few vertical tiles.[929] In two cases a cist was separated into two compartments by a vertical division.[930] The most unusual of these compartment cists was found in the East Temenos area.[931] The western compartment was covered by horizontal slabs in the standard manner, while the eastern compartment was roofed with two pairs of tiles set at a gabled angle. This kind of gabled tile cover is common in many contemporary cemeteries in Anatolia, for example that at Barcın near İznik Gölü, but is otherwise unattested at Aphrodisias.[932]

Though most cists had no built floor, a small minority were paved. The simplest paved floors were of small stones with occasional tile inclusions.[933] More elaborate cists were paved with stone, bricks or terracotta tiles, and even in one instance broken fragments of marble wall revetment.[934] A very few cist graves were plastered across their interior, and occasionally also over the cover

[927] Tet.84.58, Cath.65.56.
[928] Cath.69.102.
[929] TrCh.62.46.
[930] Cath.65.68.
[931] Cath.64.35
[932] Roodenberg (2009), 157.
[933] Cath.65.51, Cath.65.59, Cath.65.63, Cath.65.64, Cath.65.65, TrCh.93.94.
[934] Cath.97.121, Tet.85.62, TrCh.62.89, TrCh.93.92, TrCh.02.101, TrCh.02.102, TrCh.02.103, TrCh.02.108, TrCh.02.109, TrCh.02.111.

slabs.[935] Paved and/or plastered cists were particularly concentrated against the east wall of the Cathedral, and among the graves at the Triconch Church made subsequent to its Middle Byzantine renovation.

Only four vertical grave markers are documented at Aphrodisias. They were simple stone or marble elements placed vertically at the eastern or the western limit of the cist.[936] One grave at the Cathedral Cemetery was marked by vertical stones at both ends (Fig. 5.38).[937] Markers were likely more widespread than these few examples would suggest.[938] Stone markers are particularly vulnerable to earthquakes, ground erosion and to deliberate removal for building material. The fact that graves are very rarely truncated by new burials, and the frequent positioning of new graves directly above those in lower strata, implies that the locations of the earlier cists were marked in some way. At an eleventh-century cemetery surrounding the church east of the agora at Hierapolis, infant burials were frequently marked by tile or stone markers incised with a cross.[939]

The ubiquity of carved marble at medieval Aphrodisias meant that much of the material available for the construction of cist graves was sculpted. In many cases there is good reason to suppose that such pieces were deliberately chosen for use as cover slabs. The *spolia* deployed in this manner belong to two broad

[935] Cath.64.34, Cath.64.37, Cath.64.38, Cath.64.39, Cath.69.97, TrCh.00.95, TrCh.00.96, TrCh.02.108.
[936] Cath.64.35, Tet.85.59, TrCh.02.108
[937] Cath.83.116.
[938] Ivison (1993i), 57.
[939] Arthur (2006), 68, 118-24.

categories: crosses or cruciform geometric motifs, and fragments from ancient sarcophagi.

A grave placed in the South Temenos area used as one of its cover slabs a broken fragment of a parapet or screen (Fig. 5.39).[940] The fragment may be dated on stylistic grounds to the sixth century. At centre is a knotted cruciform motif, sometimes known as Solomon's Knot. The motif was a popular ornament in mosaics of the Early Imperial period. Its cruciform structure, combined with the magical potency of its Solomonic connotation, underwrote its subsequent proliferation across the floors of late antique churches and synagogues.[941] It is unclear whether the knotted motif was placed face up or down over the cist. The use of the left-hand portion of epistyle **B.04** as a cover slab for a cist grave in the Tetrapylon Cemetery has already been mentioned (Fig. 4.13).[942] The right-hand portion of the epistyle was uncovered at a similar elevation nearby, though not incorporated into any grave structure. It is therefore possible that the epistyle was intentionally broken so as to facilitate its use in the funerary context. The cross pattée on the soffit of the epistyle was positioned over the centre of the grave, facing upwards. Another cist employed a fragment from an ancient parapet. The decorative panel of the parapet was divided into four squares, each of which contained a cruciform geometric pattern. Crosses were latent therefore both within and between the four squares. Unfortunately, the notebook does not specify whether the panel was placed with its decorative surface up or down.[943]

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[940] Cath.62.07 (Inv.62-069).
[941] Harvey (1935), Pl. XX; Madden (2012), 150, 182, Garipzanov (2018), 103.
[942] Tet.85.67.
[943] Tet.83.28; *NBk.*236, 55.

A third cist in the same cemetery used a fragment of a columnar sarcophagus as the central of three cover slabs, its sculpted face positioned upwards.[944] A draped figure, likely female, stands to the right of an arcade or niche. Details of the figure have been crudely erased, and a cross carved in relief over its centre. Several of the cist graves at Sardis Church E/EA likewise employed late antique closure slabs with crosses in their lids. Here the crosses were laid downwards so as to face the deceased.[945]

Ancient sarcophagus fragments were employed in the lids of nine graves at Aphrodisias. With the exception of two examples, they were placed with the sculpted face positioned upwards.[946] The kind of iconoclastic treatment mentioned above was rare. There is only one other possible case. The excavator of the Triconch Church suggested that a nude female figure was deliberately defaced on a slab employed for a cist in the interior of the church.[947] However, anecdotal claims of intentional damage ought to be treated with caution since excavators at Aphrodisias were often enthusiastic to identify deliberate acts of Christian vandalism.

A series of well-constructed tombs close to the east wall of the Cathedral employ large sarcophagus fragments in prominent positions.[948] On one a putto holds the bow of a garland, while another features a rosette in an acanthus scroll. A large

[944] Tet.83.10 (Inv.83-087).
[945] Ivison (1993i), 202; McClanan (2015), Nos. 62.20, 62.50.
[946] Cath.64.32 (Inv.64-429), TrCh.62-53 (Inv.62-224).
[947] TrCh.62.67 (Inv.62-358).
[948] Cath.64.39 (not catalogued), Cath.64.42 (Inv.64-434), Cath.64.47 (Inv.64-433), Cath.65.59 (Inv.65-077), Cath.64.35 (Inv.64-432).

fragment of garland sarcophagus covers the western end of a further tomb (Fig. 5.40). A naked putto supports a garland of vines and fruits, above which a sphinx is seated upon a pedestal. On a cist in the North Bouleuterion area a fragment of a columnar sarcophagus was placed around the centre of the tomb. It showed a togate figure beneath an arcade (Fig. 5.41).[949]

Two types of sarcophagus burial are attested at Aphrodisias: freestanding sarcophagi and sarcophagus cists. The second category is represented by two unusual cist graves in the North Bouleuterion area.[950] Undecorated ancient sarcophagi were sunk into the ground. A course of stones was positioned above the upper edges of the sarcophagus, and the cist thereby created was covered with horizontal slabs (Fig. 5.42). The use of sarcophagi in this manner is unusual, though an undecorated sarcophagus, possibly of ancient manufacture, was sunk into the late antique fill beneath the *narthex* of the Lower City Church at Amorium.[951] A tomb beneath the *narthex* of the Triconch Church was built as a rectangular chamber of mortared brick, and could be termed a masonry sarcophagus.[952]

The undecorated ancient sarcophagus uncovered in the south aisle of the Cathedral likely indicates that freestanding sarcophagi were used for burial in the aisles. Burial in sarcophagi was a common practice for Middle Byzantine

[949] Cath.69.101 (not catalogued).
[950] Cath.69.97, Cath.69.105.
[951] Usman (2003), 193.
[952] TrCh.62.89, cf. Ivison (1993i), 99.

elites.[953] In the capital the imperial deceased were placed in sarcophagi in the Holy Apostles, and later in the Myrelaion and the Pantokrator.[954] Freestanding ancient sarcophagi were positioned in a funerary ambulatory at H. Nikolaos in Myra, and within the basilica of St. John at Ephesos.[955] An undecorated Lydian sarcophagus was used in the construction of an *arcosolium* within Church E at Sardis.[956] Ivison argues that while ancient sarcophagi were widely used on account of their ready availability, there was a clear preference for undecorated examples.[957] An exception may be found at the Middle Byzantine funerary complex in the ruined interior of the Theatre Basilica at Hierapolis, where an elaborate garland sarcophagus with relief images of a woman and a bearded man was positioned in the former *narthex*.[958]

The placement of the deceased in unlined pits was rare at Aphrodisias.[959] Interestingly, two pit graves were found within church structures, where the majority of burials were made in well-built tombs. A neonate was placed in a pit burial beneath the *narthex* of the Triconch Church, and an adult skeleton was positioned in a narrow pit at the southern end of the *exonarthex* of the Cathedral.[960]

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[953] Feld (1970), Pazaras (1988).
[954] Downey (1959), Mango (1962), Grierson (1962); Striker (1981), 6-7.
[955] Peschlow (1975), 321; Ivison (1993ii), 14-16.
[956] McClanan (2015), No. 62.1.
[957] Ivison (1993i), 96.
[958] Gullino (2002), 207.
[959] Cath.65.50, Cath.66.82, TrCh.93.90, TrCh.93.91, TrCh.02.100, TrCh.08.119, TrCh.09.131.
[960] Cath.97.120, TrCh.00.97.

5.2.2. Burial Posture and Multiple Burials

The body of the deceased in the grave was laid out according to common conventions. The head was placed to the west, the feet to the east. In this way the person might rise to face Christ, who would come from the east at the eschatological climax of the *Parousia* (Matt. 24:27). The hands of the deceased were most often crossed over the ribcage, and less commonly across the lower spine or pelvis (Fig. 5.43). The posture was so standard that it could be employed as a literary *topos*. In the epic of Digenes Akritis the hero's wife prays to die before her husband, so that she might not "see his fair hands… clasped cross-wise".[961]

I distinguish between multiple primary burial and accumulative primary burial, following the terminology devised by Ivison.[962] The first term denotes a burial in which multiple individuals were interred in a single event, while the second indicates that individuals were added to the grave in a series of discrete events. Multiple primary burial is rare, since it requires that individuals for whom a single grave would be socially appropriate die almost simultaneously. The three examples at Aphrodisias are all found in the Tetrapylon Cemetery. All take the form of an extended cist grave for two individuals, the head of the second individual placed between the knees or at the feet of the first.[963] The extended cist is an unusual practice. Ivison cites one example at Antioch on the Orontes.[964]

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[961] *Digenes Akritis* §8, lines 175-78, cf. lines 195-96.
[962] Ivison (1993i), 6-7.
[963] Tet.82.26, Tet.84.41, Tet.85.83.
[964] Ivison (1993i), 83.

Several extended cists have also been excavated at Sagalassos, though they were exclusively used for the simultaneous burial of one adult and one child.[965] Elsewhere it was more common for a particularly wide cist to be made in such circumstances, and for two individuals to be laid side by side.[966]

Accumulative primary burial was more frequent. At Aphrodisias it was a practice reserved exclusively for adult burials. The cists utilised for accumulative primary burial do not differ from those used for single primary burial. Sixteen graves contained two individuals, while three contained three. Two types of accumulative burial are attested. The original skeleton might be disarticulated and stacked at the eastern end of the grave to make room for a new occupant.[967] Alternatively, new skeletons might be laid on top of the old.[968] The state of decomposition of the earlier burial dictated which practice was preferred. One cist grave contained three individuals; the remains of the first had been stacked at the east end, while the body of the second was rolled over to the south to make room to the third.[969]

The incidence of individuals interred in multiple burial contexts, including both simultaneous and accumulative burials, is 13.9%. However, this statistic is a little misleading. At the Triconch Cemetery the figure is 7.1%, since the burials made in the ruins of the church during the thirteenth century were exclusively

[965] Waelkens et al. (1997), 212.
[966] Moore (2013), 116, 203, 205.
[967] Cath.62.25, Cath.65.49, Cath.65.60, Cath.69.97, Cath.97.121, Court.63.08, Tet.83.27, Tet.85.66, TrCh.62.54, TrCh.62.89, TrCh.00.96.
[968] TrCh.00.96, Tet.83.28, Tet.83.33, Tet.84.51, Court.63.13, Court.63.09, Court.63.12.
[969] Cath.66.78.

individual. The combined figure for the Cathedral, East Forecourt and Tetrapylon Cemeteries is 18.3%, and this is likely representative of the general situation in the eleventh through twelfth centuries. Accumulative multiple burial is especially prevalent within church structures. 50% of individuals interred beneath the Cathedral *exonarthex* were placed in multiple burial contexts, and 75% of those beneath the *narthex* of the Triconch Church. Moore demonstrates that the incidence of multiple burial tends to be much higher in urban cemeteries.[970] 77% of individuals at the twelfth-century cemetery at Saraçhane were interred in multiple burial contexts, compared to just 25% of individuals at the sixth through eleventh-century rural cemetery at Barcın.[971] In this respect the cemeteries at Aphrodisias conform to a typically rural model, an observation with significance for the way in which we may envisage the settlement as a whole.

Secondary burial – the reburial of previously interred remains – only took place in exceptional circumstances. A secondary burial in the southern *parekklesion* of the Triconch Church may reflect the reburial of remains accidentally disturbed.[972] Likewise, a possible secondary burial in the Tetrapylon Cemetery may have been made in the Ottoman period subsequent to the truncation of a cist by the foundation walls of a domestic structure.[973]

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[970] Moore (2013), 121; (forthcoming).
[971] Moore (forthcoming), Table 1.
[972] TrCh.62.87.
[973] Tet.85.57; Ivison (1996), 24.

5.2.3. Costume and Ornament

The majority of burials at Aphrodisias yielded no trace of costume or ornament. This section will briefly comment on aspects of costume common to all deceased individuals, before commenting on the various types of ornament occasionally found in the graves. Many of the relevant artefacts have already been published in Caruso's 2016 study of Middle Byzantine jewellery at Aphrodisias.[974] In order to avoid repetition, I direct the reader to her paper for descriptions and photographs of some of these artefacts. Caruso presents useful parallels for many artefacts, and comments on the techniques employed in their manufacture.

However, it must be noted that there are omissions and chronological errors in Caruso's paper. It appears that only those artefacts that could be located for photography were included in her study, with the result that many ornamental objects found in graves are missing.[975] Caruso asserts that all of the artefacts from the Triconch Church Cemetery date to the eleventh or twelfth centuries on the grounds that the graves in which they were found were made during the period in which the church was in use.[976] This is incorrect – all of the artefacts were deposited in the thirteenth century, subsequent to the collapse of the upper elevation of the church. Since she does not distinguish between date of manufacture and date of deposition, she may still be correct in assuming an eleventh-twelfth century date of manufacture for some of the artefacts. Caruso

[974] Caruso (2016).
[975] For example, a pair of copper alloy earrings from one of the five graves at the Tetrastyle Court of the Hadrianic Baths is presented while a copper alloy pendant cross from another of these burials is not mentioned.
[976] Caruso (2016), 353-54.

does not present any material from the Tetrapylon Cemetery, which she suggests is significantly later than the Cathedral and Triconch Church Cemeteries.[977] This is likewise incorrect. Her dating for several graves in the Cathedral Cemetery derives from misunderstandings regarding the numismatic evidence.[978] Caruso's conclusion that the Triconch Church cemetery was the most high status burial ground at Aphrodisias cannot hold in light of her confused chronology.[979]

I distinguish here between dress accessories, which I take to be artefacts used to secure textile or leather, and jewellery, which I define as ornamental accessories independent of clothing. Cruciform pieces are considered as a separate category.

5.2.3.1. Shrouds, Clothing and Dress Accessories

Since archaeological textiles very rarely survive in Mediterranean conditions, there remains debate as to the normative costume of the deceased in Middle Byzantine funerary ritual. The principal issue is the relative incidence of shrouding as opposed to burial in clothes worn in life. Shrouding is the practice of tightly binding the body of the deceased in textile. An exceptional survival at Amorium is illustrative. In one of the tombs beneath the *narthex* of the Lower City Church, a mature man was wrapped mummiform in tight bandages around

[977] Caruso (2016), 353.
[978] Caruso (2016), 354; Incorrect attribution of the Class A anonymous *folles* to the reign of John I Tzimiskes, no distinction made between date of minting and date of coin loss/deposition.
[979] Caruso (2016), 362.

4cm wide, the parcel secured by a length of plaited cord.[980] In 1974 Kyriakakis had proposed that such shrouding was normative, drawing principally on iconographic depictions such as the Raising of Lazarus.[981] Ivison's doctoral thesis challenged this hypothesis, pointing to the occasional preservation of buttons and belts in later Byzantine graves as evidence for burial in clothes.[982] Moore suggests that shrouding was more widespread than Ivison admits, citing both the iconographic material and the general absence of any metal remains in the overwhelming majority of Byzantine burials.[983]

The evidence from Aphrodisias is similarly ambiguous. Since most burials contained no small finds, shrouding may well have been common. Dress accessories that would preclude mummiform shrouding are documented in several graves. Seven copper alloy buttons were found spaced at regular intervals over from pelvis to left collarbone of an elderly man buried in the South Temenos area.[984] The buttons were spherical, around 0.9cm in diameter and with a small loop for sewing to textile. Three thirteenth-century tombs in the Triconch Cemetery each contained a single button. Two of these were elaborate creations in silver, worked in filigree, while the third was a simpler copper alloy piece.[985] The buttons are mostly of a spherical or bi-conical type, with a loophole at one extremity and sometimes a small nipple on the underside.[986] An ornament

[980] Usman (2003), 194.
[981] Kyriakakis (1974), 48.
[982] Ivison (1993i), 174-76.
[983] Moore (2013), 133-39.
[984] Cath.61.02 (Inv.61-097); Caruso (2016), 355.
[985] TrCh.62.61 (M/60+) (Inv.62-460), TrCh.62.62 (M/40) (Inv.62-462), TrCh.62.69 (F/35) (Inv.62-352); Caruso (2016), Figs. 25.7, 25.9, 25.14.
[986] Ivison (1993), 178.

consisting of a faceted rock crystal in a silver setting with a prominent suspension or sewing loop is likely also a button.[987] While the clothes to which the buttons were secured were in all likelihood gendered, the buttons themselves may be found alongside both male and female skeletons. The most elaborate button at Aphrodisias was found in the cist of an older man.[988]

Other dress accessories from the Triconch Cemetery include a silver fibula with two birds heraldically flanking a circular frame. Caruso describes this as a buckle, but its small size and its location over the left collarbone of an adolescent woman suggest that it was a *fibula* used to fasten a garment.[989] Certain other small finds would argue against shrouding. It is unclear whether bracelets on the lower and upper arms could be compatible with a shroud. Fragments of textile adhering to corroded iron bracelets could be from clothing or shrouding.[990] The position of ceramic and glass vessels between the knees of several skeletons is likewise difficult to reconcile with a full shroud.[991]

The silver *fibula* was found in the grave of an adolescent girl, alongside a gold-plated ring and a large quantity of gold thread in the area of the head and shoulders.[992] Woven gold thread was found in seven burials made within the ruined interior of the Triconch Church. In all recorded cases the threads were associated with the head and shoulders, and in one instance threads had even

[987] TrCh.62.69 (F/35) (Inv.62-351); Caruso (2016) Fig. 25.15.
[988] TrCh.62.61
[989] TrCh.62.45 (F/16) (Inv.62-166); Caruso (2016), Fig. 25.17.
[990] Cath.62.01.
[991] Cath.64.47, Cath.65.72, Cath.70.114.
[992] Inv.62-169, Inv.62-170; Caruso (2016), Figs. 25.16/18.

fused with the skull.[993] The threads were braided or woven into zigzags. The gold is likely the only surviving element of sumptuously embroidered textiles, perhaps decorated mantles or veils.[994] In one of the tombs beneath the *narthex* of the Lower City Church at Amorium an adult man was interred in a long robe embroidered with gold thread.[995] High-ranking clergymen at H. Sofia in Thessaloniki were buried in garments of purple embroidered with gold.[996] However, I know of no parallels for gold threads over the skull. Moore suggests that elaborate mantles might occasionally have featured in Byzantine funerary clothing. She cites a fresco of the Raising of Lazarus in the twelfth-century Panagia Asinou on Cyprus in which the risen corpse wears a gold mantle draped over the head and tied at the neck.[997]

5.2.3.2. Jewellery

Finger rings are some of the most common items of jewellery found with burials. Simple copper alloy rings are most common, though several thirteenth-century graves in the Triconch Church contained more elaborate rings in silver and gold.[998] Rings were often found on the finger, or else the original position of the

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[993] TrCh.62.45 (F/16) (Inv.62-70), TrCh.62.55 (M/25) (not catalogued), TrCh.62.67 (F/25) (Inv.62-342), TrCh.62.68 (M/50) (Inv.62-343), TrCh.62.69 (F/35) (Inv.62-344), TrCh.62.75 (4) (Inv.62.392), TrCh.62.80 (M/40-50) (Inv.62-390).
[994] Moore (2013), 156.
[995] Ivison (2005), 245-6.
[996] Ivison (1993i), 176.
[997] Moore (2013), 156, citing Maguire (1977) Fig. 35.
[998] Cath.61.03 (Inv.61-108, Inv.61-112), Cath.66.86 (Inv.66-354), Tet.85.62 (Inv.85-021a-b), TrCh.62.32 (Inv.62-097), TrCh.62.45 (Inv.62-169), TrCh.62.50 (F/16) (Inv.62-254), TrCh.62.55 (M/25) (Inv.62-253), TrCh.62.62 (M/40)

ring could be inferred from sections of the phalanges that had developed a greenish tinge.[999] Men, women and children could be buried with rings, reflecting the various roles of finger rings as signifiers of marriage, signets of authority and personal ornament.[1000]

Glass bracelets in various colours were found in eight burials in the Cathedral and Tetrapylon Cemeteries.[1001] Bracelets in iron and copper alloy were found in five burials, often together with glass examples.[1002] Simple glass bracelets were produced from late antiquity onwards across Byzantine and Islamic territories, and were a particularly popular article of women's costume during the tenth through thirteenth centuries.[1003] Fragments are frequently found in domestic contexts at Aphrodisias, suggesting that they formed part of everyday costume.[1004] In Byzantine images of the eleventh and twelfth century, women performing manual labour are frequently shown with multiple dark blue bracelets around their wrists and upper arms.[1005] Patterns of abrasion on glass bracelets at Amorium lead Gill to suggest that multiple bracelets were worn

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(Inv.62-461), TrCh.62.63 (62-332), TrCh.62.71 (62-350), TrCh.02.103 (02-019); Caruso (2016), Figs. 25.5/6/8/10/16.
[999] E.g. TrCh.62.63.
[1000] Vikan – Nesbitt (1980); Vikan (1990).
[1001] Cath.61.01 (Inv.61-92/93), Cath.61.03 (Inv.61-98/99/100/101), Cath.64.29 (not catalogued), Cat.64.41 (Inv.64-397/99), Cath.65.61 (Inv.65-082a-d), Cath.66.86 (Inv.66-356-58), Tet.84.45 (Inv.84-114), Tet.85.71 (Inv.85-026).
[1002] Cath.61.01 (Inv.61-94/95), Cath.61.03 (Inv.61-102/03), Tet.83.31 (Inv.83-117/18), Cath.64.41 (Inv.64-396/98), Cath.65.61 (Inv.65-082e-f), Tet.84.65 (not catalogued); Caruso (2016), Fig. 25.1/2.
[1003] Whitehouse – Pilosi – Wypyski (2000), 93-95; Parani (2005), 152; Zanon (2013), 193.
[1004] Jeffery – Penn (forthcoming).
[1005] Parani (2005), 152-3.

together.[1006] This is precisely what is found in funerary contexts at Aphrodisias. In one grave in the East Temenos area, a young girl of around seven years was interred with five glass bracelets on her upper right arm, and four on her upper left, with copper and iron bracelets at the wrists.[1007] In almost all cases, the bracelets were interred with deceased children. In some instances the bracelets were small, with diameters in the range of 4-5cm, and could have been worn by the child in life.[1008] The burial of a very young child with bracelets of around 8cm diameter suggests that adult-sized jewellery could also be used in funerary ritual.[1009]

Fourteen graves contained earrings based on a circular or penannular wire.[1010] These were mostly in copper alloy, though three graves contained silver earrings.[1011] Of these, two were infant burials belonging to the thirteenth-century phase of the Triconch Church Cemetery. Most were very simple, though one pair was elaborated with mother of pearl pendants and another with glass beads and granulated triangles.[1012] Very similar granulated decoration may be found on earrings from the cemetery around the Marienkirche at Ephesos.[1013] The earrings were found both singularly and in pairs, and like the bracelets were

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[1006] Gill (2002), 184.
[1007] Cat.64.41.
[1008] Cath.66.86; cf. Pitarakis (2009), 191-92.
[1009] Cath 61.03; cf. Lauwers et al. (2010), 150.
[1010] Cath.64.36 (Inv.64-403), Tet.83.11 (83-104), Tet.84.36 (Disintegrated in cleaning), Tet.84.49 (Inv.84-115), Tet.85.61 (Inv.85-020), Tet.85.62 (Inv.85-021c/e), Tet.85.64 (Inv.85-023), Tet.85.73 (Inv.85-025), Tet.85.88 (Inv.85-028a), Tet.85.93 (not catalogued), BHad.67.05 (Inv.66-058).
[1011] Cath.66.86 (Inv.66-359), TrCh.62.19 (Inv.62-075), TrCh.62.76 (<1) (Inv.62-389).
[1012] Tet.84.49 (Inv.84-115), BHad.67.05 (Inv.66-058); Caruso (2016), Fig. 25.24.
[1013] Pülz (2017), 22 Nos. 27, 28.

mostly worn by children. Pitarakis marshals an array of Byzantine literary sources and images to demonstrate that both male and female children wore earrings.[1014] Christ Emmanuel wears a particularly elaborate pair on a *hyperpyron nomisma* minted during the reign of Manuel I Komnenos.[1015]

More complex are several crescent-shaped ornaments with hinged suspension wires above and hooks below for pendants. These are not necessarily earrings, and may instead be temple ornaments suspended from a headdress or diadem. Such temple ornaments are known in the Slavic tradition as kolty.[1016] At Aphrodisias eight graves contained temple ornaments, all but one of which were located in the Tetrapylon Cemetery.[1017] Seven of these burials were those of infants or young children. All were of copper alloy, often with filigree decoration and occasionally with silver plating or gilding. The best-known temple ornaments are those in museum collections, but comparable forms have been excavated at Sparta, Corinth, Sardis and Ephesos.[1018] Though the type originates in the eleventh century, most date to the twelfth or thirteenth.[1019]

[1014] Pitarakis (2009), 188.
[1015] DOC IV-1, 289.
[1016] Ivison (1996), 26; Ristovska (2010). For the etymology see Pekarska (2010), 218 .
[1017] Cath.61.03 (Inv.61-107/08), Tet.83.03 (Inv.83-043), Tet.83.09 (Inv.83-044), Tet.83.31 (83-119), Tet.85.62 (85-021e), Tet.85.63 (Inv.85-22b/c), Tet.85.68 (Inv.85-024, silvered), Tet.85.78 (Inv.85-027).
[1018] The Cleveland Museum of Art (1958), No. 77; Ross (2005), 220-226, No. 201A; Brown (1980), 6-9; Pülz (2017), 23 No. 31; Ivison (1996), 26, citing Dawkins (1929), 49 Pl. VI; Davidson (1952), 254 Nos. 2045-47; Waldbaum (1984), 125 Nos. 752-59.
[1019] Ross (2005) No. 135, 94; Ivison (1996), 26; Pekarska (2010), 213.

Two beads were found in graves in the Cathedral Cemetery, one of glass paste and the other carnelian.[1020] Similar beads have been found in twelfth and thirteenth-century funerary contexts at Iasos, Sardis and Antioch.[1021]

5.2.3.2. Crosses

The two principal types of cruciform device found in Middle Byzantine burials are pendant and reliquary crosses. The former category encompasses cruciform pendants with a small eyelet on the upper vertical arm for suspension around the neck.

Nine graves contained pendant crosses.[1022] The most common form, attested in both copper alloy and in silver, consists of two cylindrical bars with knobs at the extremities and four knobs positioned around the junction of the arms (Fig. 5.44). Four such crosses are recorded, and Caruso publishes another from a grave for which documentation is no longer extant.[1023] A related type set a circle or square at the junction of the arms. An example is recorded from the Cathedral Cemetery, and a second is illustrated by Caruso.[1024] An interesting mould-cast copper alloy cross from a grave in the North Temenos area has two spherical

[1020] Cath.64.34 (Inv.64-377), Cath.66.86 (Inv.66-355).
[1021] Ivison (1993i), 184; Mc
[1022] Cath.64.36 (Two pendant crosses; Inv.64-379/80) Cath.65.61 (Inv.65-083), Cath.65.66 (Inv.65-182), Cath.65.67 (Inv.65-183), Cath.66.89 (Inv.66-436), Tet.83.10 (Inv.83-045), Tet.85.63 (Inv.85-022a), TrCh.62.32 (Inv.62-091).
[1023] Inv.65-183, Inv.83-045, Tet.85.63, TrCh.62.32, Inv.62-091; Caruso (2016), Fig. 25.23. The grave in which the cross published by Caruso was found was apparently located in the Cathedral Cemetery, but I have been unable to locate any record of its excavation.
[1024] Cath.65.66 (Inv.65-182); Caruso (2016), 25.20.

knobs on the splayed ends of each of its arms (Fig. 5.45).[1025] It conforms to Type 5 of Cleymans' typology for pendant crosses from the cemetery at the Temple of Apollo at Sagalassos.[1026] Comparanda from excavated contexts at Sagalassos, Boğazköy and Herakleia Perinthos suggest a date in the eleventh and twelfth century.[1027] A simple plate cross from one of the cist graves within the Tetrastyle Court of the Hadrianic Baths has circles at the extremities of each arm and at the junction. The type is well known and possibly very long lived. Two examples from Elaiussa Sebaste were made in the seventh century at the latest, while another was found in an eleventh-century grave at Hierapolis.[1028] More locally, a very similar pendant example of this type was found in a seventh-century deposit on the floor of the pool in the Place of Palms.[1029] A copper alloy cross from the Cathedral Cemetery is very close in size and form to a type of reliquary cross manufactured in Anatolia in the eleventh century. It is cast as a single flat piece and has a large eyelet above the vertical arm (Fig. 5.46).[1030] A small steatite pendant in a tomb in the East Temenos area is the only example of Byzantine ornament in this material yet known at Aphrodisias.[1031]

The pendants were generally found in the area of the ribcage or skull, suggesting that they were worn by the deceased in the same manner as by the living. However, in one example in the Triconch Church Cemetery a silver cross

[1025] Cath.66.89 (Inv.66-436).
[1026] *NBk*.044 vol. ii, 15 cf. Cleymans – Talloen (2017), 11-12.
[1027] Böhlendorf-Arslan (2012), 365 Fig. 13.20; Westphalen (2012), 132-133 Figs. 5-6.
[1028] Arthur (2006), 92 fig. 35.2; Ferrazzoli (2012), 294.
[1029] Inv.12-023; Jeffery – Penn (forthcoming).
[1030] Cath.65.61 (Inv.65-083), cf. Pitarakis (2006), 30 Fig. 12 Type I.
[1031] Cath.64.36 (Inv.380).

pendant was placed between the legs of a deceased child.[1032] In all but one burial, cross pendants were interred with children or infants.[1033] At Sagalassos, pendant crosses were exclusively found with children under the age of five.[1034]

Reliquary crosses are cruciform boxes around eight to twelve centimetres in height. Two symmetrical bronze lids are joined through riveted hinges at the top and bottom of the vertical arm. A hollow bead is positioned above the upper hinge for suspensions. Iconographic representations of Christ, the Theotokos or the saints are frequently found on the box-lids. Commentary on the iconography employed on the reliquary crosses from Aphrodisias may be found in Catalogue Four of this thesis.

Seven reliquary crosses were found in funerary contexts.[1035] Most are of varieties manufactured at Constantinople and in Anatolia, though one example found in the Triconch Church Cemetery may be an import from Kiev or the northern Balkans.[1036] The crosses were complete in only two cases, and only one contained a relic in its hollow cavity – a small quantity of hair, possibly

[1032] TrCh.62.32.
[1033] Tet.83.10 appears to have been an adult burial.
[1034] Cleymans – Talloen (2017), 13-14.
[1035] Cath.62.06 (62-049, 5.1), Cath.65.61 (Inv.65.084, 5.4), Cath.65.69 (Inv.65-184, 5.5), Cath.69.106 (Inv.69.397, 5.6), Cath.83.118 (Inv.84-237, 5.7), TrCh.62.69 (62-236, 5.2, F/30), TrCh.62.63 (62-331, 5.3).
[1036] Inv.62-331 **Catalogue 4.3**; Pitarakis makes the attribution to Kiev or the northern Balkans on the basis of the distribution of examples of this type with known archaeological contexts: Pitarakis (2006), 238-40. The type is common in Southern Russia, the Ukraine, Romania, Hungary, Bulgaria and Serbia, but is to my knowledge unknown in Asia Minor. The two examples of the type at Aphrodisias (**Catalogue 4.3/8**) are therefore highly significant.

human.[1037] A cross uncovered during the excavations of the Martyrion of St. Philip at Hierapolis contained fragments of bone in each arm, but wood, perfumed cloth or pebbles from sacred locations could also be housed within the cavity.[1038] In five instances only a single lid was interred with the deceased individual. Many lids are worn smooth from repeated touching, a reminder of the tactile nature of the veneration offered to the reliquary. Crosses of types generally attributed to the eleventh century were found in funerary contexts dating to the twelfth or thirteenth, likely indicating that they circulated for several generations prior to their funerary use.[1039]

Pitarakis demonstrates that reliquary crosses in funerary contexts were most often suspended from the neck of the deceased, or else held in the hand.[1040] Both positions are attested at Aphrodisias, revealed in both the locations of the crosses in the tombs and by copper staining on skeletal remains.[1041] Unlike the smaller pendant crosses, the majority of the cross reliquaries were found in adult burials. Broken lids could still be suspended in the manner of a cross pendant.[1042] An example from a twelfth-century burial in the vicinity of the church of the Theotokos Proseuxi in a dilapidated quarter of the Great Palace at Constantinople was placed in a linen bag that was hung from the neck of the

[1037] 62-049, 5.1; Inv.69.397, 5.6.
[1038] Pitarakis (2006), 115-16 Fig. 76.
[1039] **Catalogue 4.4/5.**
[1040] Pitarakis (2006), 141-42.
[1041] Ribcage: Inv.65-184, **Catalogue 4.5**; Inv.69.397, **Catalogue 4.6**; Inv.62-236, 5.2. Right hand: 62-331, **Catalogue 4.3.**
[1042] Ivison (1993i), 203.

deceased.[1043] Ivison suggests that similar solutions may have been found for the great many detached lids that have been found in Middle Byzantine graves.[1044]

The lower vertical arm of a copper alloy cross found alongside an adult burial in the Tetrapylon Cemetery terminates in a tang for insertion into a staff.[1045] In his preliminary report on the cemetery, Ivison suggests that the cross may have been the finial of the staff of office carried by bishops, archimandrites and *hegoumenoi*.[1046] In his doctoral thesis, Ivison argued that two iron crosses from burial in a vault belonging to the first phase of the Bema Church at Corinth were likewise staffs of office.[1047] In the Corinthian case, the recorded position of the two crosses and the architectural context of the tomb make such an interpretation plausible. The cist grave in the Tetrapylon Cemetery is not in any obviously privileged position. A cross might circulate for a long time after it had been detached from the object of which it was once a component. The pronged cross could plausibly have circulated without its original wooden staff. I would therefore be hesitant to interpret the burial in the Tetrapylon Cemetery as that of a senior clergyman.

There are several graves at Aphrodisias in which multiple crosses are deployed. One child's burial contained both a large cross pendant and the lid of a reliquary cross.[1048] Another contained three crosses; one in copper alloy, another in

[1043] Stevenson (1947), 98 Pl. 58.2.
[1044] Ivison (1993i), 203.
[1045] Tet.83.29 (Inv.83-116).
[1046] Ivison (1996), 26, citing Walter (1982), 26-28.
[1047] Ivison (1993i), 196; Davidson (1952), 198.
[1048] Cath.65.61.

steatite and the third as a tiny pendant on a copper alloy hoop earring.[1049] A grave in the Tetrapylon Cemetery both contained a cross pendant and employed a cover slab marked by a relief cross.[1050] Cases of multiplication are especially remarkable given the normative absence of crosses in Byzantine graves. The phenomenon is noted by Ivison, who points to a tomb at the Late Byzantine cemetery on the Temple Hill at Corinth that contained three crosses.[1051]

5.2.4. Placed Deposits in Graves

I define placed deposits as artifacts found in burials but which could not have been worn on the person of the deceased. The principal categories are coins and vessels in ceramic and glass, though some more unusual objects, such as eggs, are also attested.

Coins were found in twelve graves.[1052] A broken fraction of an Islamic coin in a looted grave in the Tetrapylon Cemetery is likely to be intrusive.[1053] The five medieval coins found in funerary contexts were either anonymous *folles* showing Christian iconography or a silver dinar minted at Lucca featuring a large cross at centre. One follis with an image of Christ Pantokrator was found clenched in the

[1049] Cath.64.36.
[1050] Tet.83.10.
[1051] Ivison (1993i), 201.
[1052] Cath.61.01 (not catalogued); Cath.62.20 (Inv.62-334 and Inv.62-354/#485), Cath.65.57 (Inv.65-508/#480), Cath.65.68 (not catalogued), Cath.66.76 (Inv.66-190/#484), Cath.66.83 (Inv.66-352/#481), Cath.70.110 (Inv.70-145), Tet.83.14 (Inv.83-107), TrCh.62.14 (Inv.62-073), TrCh.62.81 (Inv.62-388), TrCh.62.89 (Inv.62-442/#475), TrCh.02.102 (C.02.076).
[1053] Tet.83.14.

right hand of a skeleton in the North Temenos area.[1054] Coins were also found close to the hands of the deceased at the Temple Hill cemetery of Corinth and at H. Achilleios on lake Prespa.[1055] At the tumulus of Parapotamos in northwest Epiros one grave contained two anonymous folles. Copper staining on the skeletal remains suggested that at least one had been placed in the hand of the young woman for whom the grave was constructed.[1056]

The remaining coins were copper alloy pieces, usually illegible. They appear to have been primarily smaller late antique issues minted prior to the Anastasian reforms. In three instances the find location of the coin was recorded as directly beneath or next to the skull.[1057] The placing of coins around the head of the deceased was a common practice at Middle Byzantine cemeteries.[1058] At Hierapolis a coin was found in close proximity to the mandible of one individual, and may have been positioned between the teeth.[1059]

Fourteen glass and ceramic vessels were found in the graves. No grave contained more than one vessel. The most common type of glass vessel was a small beaker or tumbler, five of which were found in the East Temenos area of the Cathedral Cemetery and in the Tetrapylon Cemetery (Figs. 5.47, 5.48).[1060] The beakers were blown from a translucent pale blue/green glass, with rims between 6.5 and

[1054] Cath.66.83.
[1055] Ivison (1993i), 225.
[1056] Preka (1992-93), 175-76.
[1057] Cath.61.01, Cath.70.110, TrCh.62.14.
[1058] Ivison (1993), 225.
[1059] Anderson (2007), 475. Moore (2013), 198 suggests that the burial is more likely to be medieval than ancient.
[1060] Cath.64.38 (Inv.64-401), Cath.64.39 (Inv.64-400), Cath.64.47 (Inv.64-405), Tet.84.48 (84-116), Tet.85.73 (Inv.85-035).

8cm in diameter. A thick bottom rises to a low kick with a pontil mark. The walls are thin, and rise almost vertically to a slightly thickened rim. Two graves in the Cathedral Cemetery contained small glass unguentaria, around 8cm in height. A rounded bottom slims towards a long neck, with a slightly thickened rim and a pinched spout.[1061] A similar vessel, 7.5cm in height, was found in a grave in the Tetrapylon Cemetery.[1062] A pontil mark is preserved beneath a small kick at bottom. The lower body is pear-shaped, leading to a long neck toped by trefoil mouth. A handle, likely broken before the moment of deposition since it was not recovered from the grave, was once applied between the lower body and the side of the neck. Four ceramic vessels were of simple closed forms and of similar size and proportion to the glass examples.[1063] The shapes are sometimes skeumorphic, imitating blown glass prototypes. A ceramic phial from a grave in the Tetrapylon Cemetery has a pear-shaped body, long neck and trefoil mouth with a strap handle, differing only from the glass example in its flat base.[1064]

The forms of the vessels indicate that they were designed to hold liquid. Indeed, the remains of some unspecified substance was reported within two of the glass beakers.[1065] The pouring of blessed oil over the body of the deceased was the one of the final acts of the Middle Byzantine funerary ritual.[1066] The spouts on many of the vessels imply that this may have been their role. The vessels were found

[1061] Cath.66.80 (Inv.66-338), Cath.66.87 (not catalogued).
[1062] Tet.85.91 (Inv.85-034).
[1063] Cath.62.06 (Inv.62-050), Cath.64.48 (Inv.64-406), Cath.65.72 (Inv.65-080), Cath.70.114 (not catalogued), Tet.83.32 (Inv.83-120).
[1064] Inv.83-120.
[1065] Inv.64-400, Inv.64-405.
[1066] Velkovska (2001), 35-36.

exclusively at the east end of the graves, either at the feet or placed directly between the knees or upper legs (Fig. 5.49).[1067]

Fragments of eggshell were discovered in two graves: a neonate burial beneath the *narthex* of the Triconch Church and an adult burial in the East Temenos area.[1068] The adult burial also contained an iron knife blade and a glass beaker. Hens' eggs have been documented in several Byzantine burials. A young man buried in a masonry sarcophagus within the monastic complex constructed within the Roman Stoa at Sparta held a hen's egg in his right hand.[1069] A hen's egg was placed in the corner of a tomb beneath the *narthex* of the Lower City Church at Amorium.[1070] Eggs have been found in association with infant graves at Corinth.[1071] The practice has also been documented in the late antique Levant.[1072] An egg in a funerary context might allude to resurrection and the renewal of life.[1073]

A grave in the North Temenos contained an iron object identified by the excavator as a key.[1074] The legs of a mature man buried in one of the latest graves in the interior of the Triconch Church were bound together with iron bands.[1075]

[1067] Cath.64.47, Cath.65.72, Cath.70.114.
[1068] TrCh.00.97, Cath.64.47.
[1069] Waywell – Wilkes (1994), 388.
[1070] Ivison 2005 (245-46).
[1071] Williams et al. (1998), 241.
[1072] Kogan-Zehavi (2006), 160; Segal (2007), 16.
[1073] Ivison (1993i), 197; Moore (2013a), 155.
[1074] Cath.66.74 (not catalogued); See Ivison (1993i), 193 for keys in funerary contexts.
[1075] TrCh.62.62.

This is a most peculiar find. A silver ring and silver button from the same grave suggest that the man was not clothed in the manner of an ascetic.

5.3. The Living and the Dead

So far this chapter has considered the topographical development of the cemeteries and the articulation and costume of the deceased. Though discussion has focused on the dead, the living have been implicitly present – developing, articulating and clothing. This final section brings the living to the foreground. Each of the funerary rituals discussed above was an event during which the grief, fears and aspirations of multiple participants found material expression. Discussion here attempts to draw some social-historical inferences in line with the aims of the thesis. I explore the ways in which claims to hierarchical status were made through funerary ritual, and how burial contributed to the confirmation of group identities.

This is just one of many ways in which one might approach the evidence presented in this chapter. Moore's 2013 doctoral thesis sought to engage with the archaeological record at the level of individual experience and to explore the affective qualities of Middle Byzantine mortuary practice.[1076] Her study draws upon archaeologies of emotion as developed by Tarlow and by Harris and Sørensen, in conversation with research on Byzantine conceptions of sorrow and

[1076] Moore (2013), i.

penthos by Maguire, Hinterberger and Hunt.[1077] Moore's discussion therefore allows for a more complex understanding of funerary ritual than a purely social-historical framework would permit. One might likewise explore the ritual function of placed deposits and amuletic dress accessories in graves, relating these to contemporary beliefs concerning death, afterlife and malevolent forces. This is the approach taken by Cleymans with regard to child burials at Middle Byzantine Sagalassos.[1078] The Aphrodisian material provides a wealth of evidence through which to develop these models, but for lack of space such approaches must be omitted from the present discussion.

Burial was the culmination of a process that began in immediate anticipation of death. After death, the body of the deceased was washed and perhaps anointed with wine or oil.[1079] The corpse would then be dressed, and perhaps shrouded. This activity would likely have taken place in the home of the deceased and would likely have been carried out by relatives.[1080] It is at this stage that the dress ornaments encountered in the archaeological record were introduced to the funerary assemblage. The body remained in the home for the *prothesis*, during which time the dressed or shrouded body remained on view while the home received visitors.[1081] The body on display was positioned with the head to the west, arms crossed, as it would be in the grave. Icons, psalters, or Eucharistic

[1077] Maguire (1977); Tarlow (2000); (2012); Hunt (2004); Hinterberger (2010); Harris – Sørensen (2010).
[1078] Cleymans – Talloen (2017).
[1079] Kyriakakis (1974), 44.
[1080] Moore (2013b).
[1081] Kyriakakis (1974), 55-56.

bread might be placed around the hands of the deceased.[1082] It is possible that it was at this moment that the crosses and coins found in the hands of skeletons in the Aphrodisias cemeteries were first introduced. The body would then be carried to its final resting place in a funerary procession.[1083] Funerary rites might vary for monks, hierarchs and laypersons, but generally consisted of a litany followed by two prayers, the last of which would call for the consolation of the assembled mourners.[1084] The deceased would then be anointed for a final time and the cover slabs of the grave moved into place.

Such was the ideal model for funerary ritual, but in practice the process must have varied significantly in number of participants, observance of *prothesis* and procession, costume of the deceased and location of burial. It is variability in mortuary practices that provides the basis for any social-historical interpretation. Funerary archaeology has frequently sought to illuminate the structure of a given society, and to distinguish the social identity of deceased individuals in relation to that structure. However, the theoretical frameworks underwriting the validity of such inferences have often been contested. It will therefore be worth quickly reviewing these debates in order to clarify the potentials and limitations of funerary archaeology for writing social history.

In 1936 the anthropologist Ralph Linton divided the composite social persona of an individual into a series of roles and identities.[1085] Linton was keen to frame

[1082] Kyriakakis (1974), 57.
[1083] Abrahamse (1984), 130.
[1084] Velkovska (2001), 27.
[1085] Linton (1936), 113-132.

archaeology as a scientific exercise, and it was in this empirical spirit that the New Archaeologists of the 1960s sought to identify these roles in the archaeological record. It was expected that the degree of mortuary variability found within cemetery sites would reflect the complexity of a society, and thereby determine its position within a social evolutionary framework.[1086] Such analyses explicitly assumed a systematic and predictable relationship between role performed in life and treatment accorded in death, even to the point of statistical correlation.[1087]

The flaws of this empiricist project have long been recognised by archaeologists in the post-processual tradition. The expectation of direct correlation between mortuary record and social identify frames that record as a passive reflection or representation of an exterior category. It fails to accommodate that funerary ritual might be another arena in which status was actively claimed and negotiated.[1088] The post-processual critique was largely developed with prehistoric archaeology in mind, addressing the extent to which rank and hierarchy might have existed in societies without literary production or state apparatus.[1089] When studying the archaeology of Byzantium there can be no doubt that hierarchy existed, especially at sites such as Aphrodisias where the Constantinopolitan state was locally reproduced. But the insights of the post-processual critique still have significant implications.

[1086] Binford (1972), 226; Tainter (1978).
[1087] O'Shea (1984).
[1088] Parker-Pearson (1999), 84.
[1089] E.g. papers in Miller – Tilley (1984).

Firstly, there can be little secure basis for any quantification of the relative degree of hierarchical differentiation within or between mortuary populations. For example, the question of whether inequality at Aphrodisias was more pronounced before or after the twelfth century cannot be answered from an analysis of the cemeteries. Secondly, the funerary ritual is just one moment in an ongoing negotiation. Weber defined status as "an effective claim to social esteem".[1090] The archaeological record cannot testify to the efficacy of the claim in particular cases. Nevertheless, it can reveal how past populations formulated claims to status – the rules of the game. The question of how populations at Aphrodisias formulated claims to status through funerary ritual is therefore a valid one. Moreover, a comparative exercise considering how claims were formulated in different periods is equally valid.

Hierarchy and social status are at the core of Ivison's analysis of funerary archaeology. Ivison's arguments are most convincing regarding the positions of tombs in relation to ecclesiastical architecture.[1091] A key text for his analysis is the Symeon of Thessaloniki's *On the Hierarchy of Tombs*. Written in the early fifteenth century, it provides an explicit graded scale of tomb locations relative to social status. Symeon however admits that his ideal model only needed to be set down in writing on account of the sacrilegious pretences of the lay nobility, who Ivison suggests were contesting for inordinately prestigious burial spots within the churches of Constantinople.[1092]

[1090] Webber (1968), 305.
[1091] Ivison (1993i), 73-78.
[1092] Ivison (1993), 77; *On the Hierarchy of Tombs* (PG 155:680).

Ivison's survey demonstrates a consistent model according to which tombs in the immediate vicinity of a church cluster around the exterior of the eastern apse.[1093] Sometimes, as at Boğazköy, the graves immediately surrounding church structures are of significantly more elaborate construction than those found elsewhere in the cemetery.[1094] A desire for physical proximity to liturgical space is particularly evident in the rock-cut architecture of Byzantine Cappadocia. Burial chambers were frequently excavated from the east so as to be physically close to the apse, but not visible or accessible from within the church, as at the Tahtalı Kilise in the Soğanlı valley.[1095] However, the most prestigious burial locations were those within the structure of the church. The *narthex* was considered the most appropriate location for burial, though aisles, ambulatories and *parekklesia* could also serve a funerary function.[1096] Tombs beneath the *narthex* were often well constructed, and frequently received accumulative primary burial.[1097] Demand for burial in these spaces must have been high, though available space was highly restricted.

Prior to the thirteenth century, privileged burial at Aphrodisias conforms perfectly to this model. The most well constructed tombs, often with tiled floors and plastered interiors, were positioned beneath the *narthexes* of the Triconch Church and the Cathedral and against the exterior east wall of the Cathedral. The incidence of multiple burial was most pronounced in the tombs below the *narthexes*. Within the *narthex* of the Triconch Church, the placement of an older

[1093] Ivison (1993i), 59.
[1094] Ivison (1993i), 59; citing Wittwer-Backofen (1986), 382-84.
[1095] Ousterhout (2017), 311-13.
[1096] Ivison (1993), 73.
[1097] Ivison (1993i), 51, 62.

woman in a tomb originally constructed for a younger man suggests that these burials were neither clerical nor monastic.[1098] The pairing is reminiscent of that within a large tomb beneath the *narthex* of the Lower City Church at Amorium, where a man aged 34-44 was buried alongside a woman aged 35-45.[1099] In both cases the relationship between the two individuals may well be marital. None of the privileged burials within the Cathedral or Triconch Church contained dress ornaments. Claims to status in the eleventh and twelfth centuries were formulated through the architectural context of the tomb, and not through the display of sumptuous costume.[1100]

Proximity to liturgical space was not the only consideration when selecting a burial location. Burials at the Tetrapylon Cemetery developed in a series of nuclei as mourners positioned new graves proximate to existing ones. In successive phases new cists were deliberately positioned directly over the cover stones of older graves in spite of the availability of undisturbed soil. Such nucleation was likely informed by the same values of group identity as accumulative multiple burial. Similar nucleation or pairings may be observed in the other cemeteries of Aphrodisias. In the South Temenos area a neonate burial was placed immediately south of an adult cist.[1101] Ivison noted the distribution of graves in clusters at Boğazköy, on the acropolis of Sardis, at Saraçhane, and at

[1098] TrCh.00.96.
[1099] Ivison (2005), 245-6.
[1100] Chapin (1999) makes a similar argument for the contemporary Latin West, suggesting that burial emplacement in relation to architectural space was of far greater importance in claiming social status than any grave goods.
[1101] Cath.62.15, Cath.62.16.

the Marienkirche in Ephesos.[1102] Within the ruins of the Marienkirche, small walls delimited irregular burial areas.[1103] Ivison plausibly interprets these as family plots, and familial relations may well have informed the clustering of burials at Aphrodisias.[1104] The spatial development of the Tetrapylon Cemetery proceeded independent of any ecclesiastical architecture, and a desire to confirm group identities trumped concerns regarding the proximity of liturgical space.

A small number of child burials made at Aphrodisias during the tenth through twelfth centuries were equipped with an extraordinary array of ornamentation.[1105] Uniquely spectacular was a grave in the South Temenos area, in which the deceased was interred with two glass bracelets on each arm, an iron and a copper bracelet on the wrists, three silver temple ornaments, and two finger rings, one copper alloy and the other silver.[1106] Most other ornamented child burials contained large numbers of glass bracelets, or copper alloy temple ornaments. A larger group of child burials contained only one or two ornamental artefacts.[1107] Ornamented child burials are common throughout Byzantine territories.[1108] Some of the most spectacular instances have been recorded at the eleventh and twelfth-century cemetery at Djadovo, near Plovdiv in Bulgaria.

[1102] Ivison (1993i),
[1103] Ivison (1993i), 48; Reisch (1932), Taf. 1.
[1104] Ivison (1993i), 48.
[1105] Cath.61.01, Cath.61.03, Cath.64.36, Cath.64.41, Cath.65.62, Cath.66.86, Tet.83.31, Tet.85.62, Tet.85.63.
[1106] Cath.61.03.
[1107] Cath.65.61, Cath.65.66, Cath.65.67, Tet.83.03, Tet.83.09, Tet.84.45, Tet.84.49, Tet.85.61, Tet.85.64, Tet.85.68, Tet.85.73, Tet.85.78, Tet.85.88, Tet.85.93.
[1108] Pitarakis (2009), 193-94.

Here many children were interred wearing necklaces consisting of tens of thousands of glass beads, as well as bracelets and earrings.[1109]

Ivison suggests that such burials reflect high social status, and that the financial value of the ornaments reflect the circumstances of the deceased.[1110] Ornamented child burial might not be possible for the poorest of the poor, but I think it unlikely that this practice constituted a strong claim to status. The ornamented graves are not necessarily in highly desired locations. Moreover, one should not overestimate the financial value of the ornaments in question, which are mostly glass or copper alloy pieces. Thirteenth-century burials in the Triconch Church contained significant quantities of silver and gold. It is probable that the eleventh and twelfth-century population of Aphrodisias also had access to similarly luxurious costume but chose not to employ valuable pieces in funerary ritual. The explanations of the excavators at Djadovo, who ascribe any and every non-normative practice to "pagan anachronism", are even less compelling.[1111] The ornamented burials could perhaps be more fruitfully explored within the context of emotion, perhaps in conversation with the accounts of parental grief in Byzantine literature discussed by Talbot.[1112]

Different interpretive models are required for mortuary practice in thirteenth-century Aphrodisias. The monumental architecture that had provided the stage for funerary performance in previous generations was now in ruins. The only

[1109] Kantincarov et al. (1989), 388.
[1110] Ivison (1993i), 204-05.
[1111] Kantincarov et al. (1989), 332-339.
[1112] Talbot (2009).

cemetery that remained in use was that around the Triconch Church. Burials within the derelict interior of the church were placed in crude individual cists that frequently incorporated broken architectural elements. The growth of cemeteries within the ruins of churches was a common phenomenon, attested both archaeologically and in contemporary literature.[1113] More extraordinary is the fluorescence in luxurious dress accessories in precious metals in the thirteenth-century graves of the Triconch Church. Only two artefacts in silver were recovered from graves outside the ruins of the church. Thirteenth-century burials in the *narthex* and the rear of the *naos* were similarly unornamented. 75% of individuals interred within the central *naos* were equipped with precious metal accessories. Elaborate buttons in silver and rock crystal were likely attached to high quality textiles. Individuals were interred wearing gold and silver rings. The heads of seven individuals – men, women and one child – were shrouded in veils of woven gold. The burial costume would likely have been on display in a domestic context during the *prothesis*, and also during the procession of the body to the burial site. Arriving through the dilapidated western gateway of the Triconch Church, the contrast between sumptuous costume and derelict setting must have been striking.

An illuminating analogy may be drawn from an example of sumptuous display in a prehistoric funerary context – the chalcolithic cemetery at Varna, Bulgaria. The cemetery was first discovered in 1972, and over the subsequent twenty years almost three hundred graves were excavated. Over three thousand gold artefacts

[1113] Reisch (1932), 11-12; Sodini – Buchet (1996), 368-78; Gullino (2002), 208; Veikou (2012), 68-72; *Life of Symeon the New Theologian* §34.

were found in the graves, together representing more than six kilograms of raw metal. The gold was used as an adornment to the body of the deceased, particularly in the areas of the face and genitals. The graves were dated to the second half of the fifth millennium BC. Varna is therefore the site of the earliest substantial occurrence of worked gold anywhere in the world.[1114] There were enormous disparities in the distribution of gold within the cemetery. The four richest graves contained over two thousand gold artefacts, and only ten to fifteen burials were described as lavish.[1115] In 1986 Renfrew concluded that "prominent status, reflected in conspicuous burial, raises the possibility that the Varna society should be considered a chiefdom".[1116]

Reappraisals in both the chronology of the site and theoretical models for funerary archaeology have since provoked alternative readings of the Varna cemetery. Radiocarbon dating of skeletal remains has demonstrated that the cemetery was only in use for around 125 years. Moreover, the richest grave assemblages are among the earliest at the site, representing a sudden fluorescence of mortuary theatre within one generation.[1117] Childe, in a 1945 survey of mortuary practice in prehistoric Europe, had suggested that the most elaborate funerary monuments seem to correlate with periods of instability rather than hegemonic hierarchy.[1118] In place of Renfrew's stable chiefdom,

[1114] Renfrew (1986), 147-150.
[1115] Chapman et al. (2006), 170.
[1116] Renfrew (1986), 150.
[1117] Chapman et al. (2006), 169.
[1118] Childe (1945), 19.

Chapman et al. therefore posit a "Childean scenario" indicative of the dynamic negotiation for status between different groups using the cemetery.[1119]

Analysis of destruction layers and coin hoards has demonstrated that Aphrodisias witnessed a period of political instability and organised violence around the turn of the thirteenth century. Thonemann employs legal records to illustrate the chaotic contest to enforce property claims over the Lower Maeander subsequent to the fall of Constantinople in 1204.[1120] At the same time, Manuel Maurozomes controlled the Lykos and the Upper Maeander. Scion of a Byzantine dynasty with close ties to the Komnenian court, Maurozomes was an outsider to the region who held power at Laodikeia as a vassal of his father-in-law, the sultan Kay-Khusrov.[1121] The militarised landscape that had been imposed by the Komnenian state now facilitated the establishment of independent territorial units around local strongholds, and many fortified monastic sites were co-opted by the same Turkmen warlords against whom they had been erected.[1122] The place of the Morsynos within this shifting constellation of frontier polities is unclear, but innovation in the funerary sphere ought to be situated within this tumultuous historical context. Church structures collapsed, and the rules of the funerary game were adapted accordingly. Ostentatious mortuary clothing was used to formulate claims that could no longer be implicit in monumental architecture.

[1119] Chapman et al. (2006), 169.
[1120] Thonemann (2011), 271-79.
[1121] Métivier (2009).
[1122] Arel (2004), 84; Thonemann (2011), 277-78.

Closing Remarks

The previous chapters have investigated the fabric of the town, its monetary economy, its ecclesiastical architecture and its cemeteries. Individually, each chapter has presented an important new body of archaeological evidence. Collectively they offer new perspectives on the development of Byzantine Aphrodisias. In the introduction to this thesis I stated my intention to reconstruct the physical articulation of the settlement and explore the social dynamics of the community. It is time to interrogate those aims, and to draw together disparate threads and persistent themes.

Disaster in the seventh century was followed by economic simplification and demographic decline. The destructive events that precipitated the collapse of the late antique urban infrastructure may mostly be dated to the earlier part of the century.[1123] However, numismatic evidence suggests that the mansion that would become the medieval Bishop's Palace was occupied until the century's later decades.[1124] Occupation did not cease. There are frequent indications of attempts to clear collapsed architecture. Huge clearance deposits were found on the floor of the pool in the Place of Palms, and architectural elements were stacked next to the collapsed Tetrapylon.[1125] The erection of fortifications betrays an increased concern for security. It is likely in this period that high watchtowers were established on the dilapidated City Wall, overlooking the

[1123] Wilson (2019), 212-18.
[1124] **2.5.**
[1125] **2.9, 2.10.**

western approach from the Maeander.[1126] A wall was constructed across the rear of the Theatre stage building, establishing a small refuge at the core of the ancient city. The *cavea* was little more than a swampy hollow, secure in times of emergency but not suitable for permanent occupation.[1127] Early Byzantine Aphrodisias was likely a small village within the ruins of the ancient settlement. In the former Place of Palms the population brought their livestock to water among the high bulrushes of the monumental pool, still surrounded by a roofless ionic colonnade.[1128]

The absence of copper alloy coinage reflects widespread monetary developments rather than a lacuna in the occupation of the site. A limited monetised economy may have continued, predicated on the silver *miliaresion*.[1129] Seals of bishops, tax collectors and military commanders attest to the operation of the Constantinopolitan state apparatus.[1130] Research on the Cathedral has also contributed to a more detailed picture of the Early Byzantine period. The principal *templon* was erected at the turn of the seventh century, and stood until the final destruction of the building.[1131] This in itself is significant. The barrier was a relatively flimsy piece of post-and-lintel construction. That it stood throughout the eighth and ninth centuries is testament to the maintenance of the Cathedral as a liturgical space.

[1126] **2.2.**
[1127] **2.13.1.**
[1128] **2.10.**
[1129] **3.2.3.**
[1130] **1.3, 2.5.3.**
[1131] **4.1.1.1.**

Copper alloy coinage began to reach the Morsynos from Constantinople around the turn of the tenth century. The phenomenon occurs simultaneously at the town and in the remote foothills of the valley.[1132] Such a pattern does not suggest sudden demographic expansion. If anything, it implies the existence of archaeologically illegible populations across the valley during the immediately preceding period. Rather it calls for an interpretation that accounts for the role of taxation in distributing and enforcing monetisation.[1133] Seals of the agents of taxation, officials of the *genikon logothesion*, have been found in the Bishop's Palace.[1134] The *episkopeion* was the channel through which the social relationships that constituted the Middle Byzantine state were reproduced throughout the surrounding landscape. It is in this light that one should consider both the imposing architecture of the Bishop's Palace and the strikingly Constantinopolitan material culture employed within its confines.[1135] These different categories of archaeological evidence are linked though their material structuring of particular kinds of hierarchical social relations; coins, ceramics and audience chamber each contributing to the production of state space in the Morsynos.

The economy of the Bishop's Palace did not operate in isolation from that of the Middle Byzantine town. Imported White Wares and glazed chafing dishes have been discovered across excavated sectors.[1136] The sheer volume of copper alloy coinage of the tenth and eleventh century speaks to an economy in which a

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[1132] **3.3.1.**
[1133] **3.3.2.**
[1134] **2.5.3.**
[1135] **2.5.2.**
[1136] **2.8, 2.9.**

significant proportion of the agricultural product was monetised, the monetary demands of the fisc fostering market exchange.[1137] There was considerable investment in the town's churches. The West Church was gutted and restored as a vaulted structure at the forefront of contemporary architecture.[1138] The Triconch Church, a large and structurally intact building that was already the focus of some funerary activity, was renovated in the eleventh century.[1139] The Cathedral was repaved and new liturgical furniture erected.[1140] Previous research had assumed a narrative of dereliction followed by one major restoration, principally based on the repaving of the interior. This narrative cannot stand in light of the heterogeneous assemblage of liturgical sculpture. Developments in the interior of the Cathedral were multiple and piecemeal. Prominent members of the local community were buried in plastered cists adjacent to the east wall of the Cathedral and beneath the *narthex* of the Triconch Church.[1141]

How to classify such a settlement? Urbanism is a tricky category for comparative investigation, inherently subjective and heavily dependent on one's frame of reference.[1142] Defining the cluster of qualities that together make for an urban settlement, as opposed to a village or a more specialised site, is notoriously difficult. An influential set of criteria was proposed by Biddle in the context of

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[1137] **3.3.3.**
[1138] **2.1.**
[1139] **2.12.1.**
[1140] **2.4.2, 4.1.2.**
[1141] **5.1.1.4, 5.1.3.2.**
[1142] Ward-Perkins (1997).

Anglo-Saxon England.[1143] His urban ideal consisted of twelve key elements: military defences, a planned street system, a market, a mint, legal autonomy, a relatively large or dense population, a diversified economy, houses of an "urban" type, social differentiation, complex religious organisation, a judicial centre, a role as a central place. According to Biddle, three or four of these traits might represent the minimum level of complexity required to differentiate town from village.

It will be worth pausing the diachronic narrative to compare Aphrodisias, circa AD 1050, against this checklist. The site had defences in the fortified refuge on the Theatre Hill and the watchtowers on its ancient walls.[1144] Its streets followed an orthogonal plan, though this may be attributed to the affordances of inherited structures rather than to any deliberate imposition.[1145] I suggested in my third chapter that Aphrodisias might well have hosted local markets.[1146] A civic mint and legal autonomy are criteria proper to the Anglo-Saxon context, irrelevant in the political economy of the Middle Byzantine state. Population is a difficult question. It appears to have been quite a small settlement. If the cemeteries represent the western extent of domestic occupation, Byzantine Karia did not exceed the footprint of Ottoman Geyre.[1147] One needn't assume that there were so many inhabitants as to simultaneously fill the naves of all of the major churches. In terms of the incidence of multiple burial, the cemeteries conform to

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[1143] Biddle (1976), 100.
[1144] **2.2, 2.13.**
[1145] **2.14.**
[1146] **3.3.3.**
[1147] **2.14, 5.1.4.**

an entirely rural pattern.[1148] The diversification of the economy is likewise difficult to gauge, but the apparently low density of glazed ceramics in the countryside contrasts sharply with their routine presence at the town. Glass finds in funerary contexts may well represent local production.[1149] Not all of the site's inhabitants can have been farmers or clergy. As Wickham notes, Biddle's category of "urban" type houses is rather open to circular argumentation.[1150] The Bishop's Palace is obviously a cut above, but the tiled floors and ancient walls of the structure beneath the Aphrodisias Museum are also unlikely to find close parallels in rural contexts. Social differentiation, religious organisation and judicial function may all be located in the episcopal complex. As Laiou has shown, a metropolitan bishop might exercise significant jurisdiction over the affairs of the local peasantry, especially in matters of family law.[1151] Given all of the above considerations, I believe it would be very reasonable to posit Karia as the central place of the eleventh-century Morsynos. The site therefore achieves nine of the ten relevant criteria proposed by Biddle, and well deserves to be called a town.[1152]

The significant exception is in the size of the settlement. Karia was a small settlement whose status as the central place of the surrounding valley translated into an exaggerated ecclesiastical infrastructure, just as the capacity of the

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[1148] **5.2.2.**
[1149] **5.2.4.**
[1150] Wickham (2005), 594
[1151] Laiou (2009), 48-53.
[1152] However, that the most useful framework is one developed for Anglo-Saxon England, rather than for the contemporary Italian peninsular or the Levant, is perhaps telling enough!

stadium of ancient Aphrodisias had far exceeded its citizen population.[1153] How to account for this? In her study of authority in Middle Byzantine provincial society, Neville argues that wealthy households preferred to build small household chapels rather than contribute to communal catholic churches.[1154] Matthews cites the example of Kastoria, with its small and inexpensively constructed churches, as an example of urban infrastructure catering to a private liturgy.[1155] Aphrodisias clearly offers a different model. The mixed sexes of the skeletons beneath the *narthex* of the Triconch Church would argue against a monastic attribution.[1156] Imperial sponsorship of provincial building projects was generally limited to fortification, and appears to have extended to churches only where ecclesiastical and military considerations coincided.[1157] So can Karia's ecclesiastical infrastructure be attributed entirely to its episcopal apparatus? Or might the provincial elite of the Morsynos have considered the ancient settlement to be the most appropriate venue in which to deploy their wealth? Such a conclusion would imply the existence (or persistence) of an urban ideal, though it may be best to admit the limits of archaeological interpretation. We cannot know who sponsored medieval interventions into the site's monumental landscape.

Migrations of nomadic Turkmen in the final quarter of the eleventh century dramatically reconfigured the political economy of the Maeander.[1158] At

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[1153] Welch (1998), 547.
[1154] Neville (2004), 126-28.
[1155] Mathews (1982), 127.
[1156] **5.1.3.2.**
[1157] Ivison (2000), 7-8.
[1158] **3.4.3.**

Aphrodisias the series of lead seals abruptly ceases.[1159] The monetised portion of the economy witnessed a dramatic contraction, with only the most marginal of recoveries towards the end of the century. Moreover, the recovery is only visible at the town itself, and Komnenian coinage appears to be completely absent from the rural valley.[1160] Again, monetary developments cannot be employed as a quantitative index of occupation. Glazed ceramics reached the site in ever-greater volumes.[1161] The latest liturgical barrier erected in the Cathedral was carved in the twelfth century, and the external paving to the east of the structure may be dated to the same period.[1162] Funerary practices continued much as they had done in the eleventh century.[1163]

Constantinopolitan hegemony over the Komnenian Maeander was secured through the militarisation of the landscape. Populations were concentrated at readily defendable sites, and new fortifications were erected.[1164] The Theatre Hill at Aphrodisias was levelled, and a new *kastron* erected above the höyük.[1165] Coin hoards and destruction deposits attest to political instability and organised violence around the turn of the thirteenth century.[1166] The Cathedral was destroyed by fire, possibly by the troops of Theodoros Mankaphas.[1167] Thirteenth-century Aphrodisias lacked intact monumental architecture, though it retained a Christian population, some of whom buried their dead with

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[1159] Nesbitt (1983); Jeffery (2019a).
[1160] **3.4.2.**
[1161] Öztaşkın (2017), 185-86.
[1162] **4.2.1.8, 5.1.1.4.**
[1163] **5.1.1.2, 5.1.2.2, 5.1.3.2.**
[1164] **3.4.3.**
[1165] **2.13.4.**
[1166] **3.4.2.**
[1167] **1.3, 2.4.5.**

extravagant ornament in a significant break from previous traditions of funerary ritual.[1168]

This thesis has illuminated its topography, architecture and social dynamics of Middle Byzantine Aphrodisias in unprecedented detail. Needless to say, there is still much to be done. The detailed investigation of ceramic and glass sherds could explore the town as a centre of consumption and production, qualifying the extent to which it was integrated in regional networks of exchange. Archaeobotanical studies and the analysis of faunal remains could illustrate diet and agricultural labour. Over the past two decades the study of post-antique remains has become a key element of programmes of excavation, and ongoing work will continue to refine stratigraphic sequences for the Early and Middle Byzantine periods.

I would like to conclude by briefly considering the place of the material past in medieval Aphrodisias. The town was saturated with ancient material culture. The seventh-century fortification wall at the Theatre incorporated stringcourses of mask and garland frieze.[1169] Similar garlands could be seen draped across the entablatures of standing colonnades and on the hundreds of sarcophagi in the extramural *necropoleis*. East of the Cathedral, several fragments of garland sarcophagi were set in prominent positions over cist graves.[1170] Immediately above these graves, a Maeander frieze traversed the Cathedral wall. This pattern of repeating swastikas has a long history in Hellenic material cultures,

[1168] **2.12.2, 5.1.3.3, 5.3.**
[1169] **2.13.1.**
[1170] **5.2.1.**

originating in the decorative repertoire of Geometric ceramics. Thonemann shows how during the Hellenistic period the pattern was widely recognised as an allusion to the winding course of the Maeander River, and was employed by various city-states as a symbol of a regional identity in opposition to the arbitrary territorial divisions of Roman imperialism.[1171] During the first centuries after Christ, the Maeander pattern came to permeate the monumental and funerary landscapes of Aphrodisias.[1172] In the Middle Byzantine Cathedral an itinerant workshop of marble sculptors sought out blocks decorated with this pattern so as to recreate a Maeander frieze across the front of a *templon* barrier.[1173] This was not an act of classical reception. The worldview of the inhabitants of the medieval Morsynos was innocent of the metanarratives of European history. It is perhaps better read as a gesture of affinity with the local artifactual environment, weaving the remains of the past into contemporary practice. The same could be said of a later Maeander frieze on the elaborate gateway of the Ak Han Caravanserai in the Lykos Valley, completed in 1254.[1174] The Maeander, unique in Seljuk architectural sculpture, is confidently deployed alongside the stars and angular strapwork diagnostic of a Turkic artistic mode. As it was in twentieth-century Geyre, the past was a fundamental and inseparable component of the material culture of Middle Byzantine Karia.

[1171] Thonemann (2011), 31-48.
[1172] E.g. Smith (2013), 202-250.
[1173] **4.1.2.1.**
[1174] Erdman (1961) 68, Fig. 87**;** Thoneman (2011), 127.

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Abbreviations

AA	Archäologischer Anzeiger
ABME	Ἀρχεῖον τῶν Βυζαντινῶν Μνημείων τῆς Ἑλλάδος
Actes	*Les Regestes des Actes du patriarcat de Constantinople (381-1206)*, 2nd ed. J. Darrouzès (Paris: 1989)
AJA	American Journal of Archaeology
***ala**2004*	C. Roueché, *Aphrodisias in Late Antiquity: The Late Roman and Byzantine Inscriptions,* revised second edition (London: 2004) http://insaph.kcl.ac.uk/ala2004
AphPapers	*Aphrodisias Papers: Recent Work on Architecture and Sculpture* eds. C. Roueché and K. T. Erim (Ann Arbor: 1990)
AphPapers2	*Aphrodisias Papers 2: the theatre, a sculptor's workshop, philosophers and coin-types* eds. R. R. R. Smith and K. T. Erim (Ann Arbor: 1991)
AphPapers4	*Aphrodisias Papers 4: New Research on the City and its Monuments* eds. R. R. R. Smith and C. Ratté (Portsmouth RI: 2008)
AphPapers5	*Aphrodisias Papers 5: Excavation and Research at Aphrodisias, 2006-2012* eds. R. R. R. Smith, J. Lenaghan, A. Sokolicek, K. Welch (Portsmouth RI: 2016)
BMFD	*Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents* eds. J. Thomas and A. C. Hero Laiou (Washington DC: 2000)
BMGS	Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies
BZ	Byzantinische Zeitschrift
BZS	Byzantine Seals in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection https://www.doaks.org/resources/seals
CRAI	Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres
ΔΧΑΕ	Δελτίον της Χριστιανικής Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας

DOC	Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection
DOP	Dumbarton Oaks Papers
DOS	Dumbarton Oaks Studies
EHB	*The Economic History of Byzantium* ed. A. E. Laiou (Washington DC: 2002)
Fontes	*Fontes rerum byzantinarum*, two vols. ed. W. Regel (St. Petersburg, 1892-1917; reprint Leipzig: 1982)
GOTR	Greek Orthodox Theological Review
Inv.	Aphrodisias Finds Inventory
Ist.Mitt.	Istanbuler Mitteilungen
JHS	Journal of Hellenic Studies
JÖB	Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik
JRA	Journal of Roman Archaeology
MAMA III	*Denkmäler aus dem Rauhen Kilikien (Monumentaie Asiae Minoris Antiqua III)* eds. J. Kiel and A. Wilhelm (Manchester)
MM	*Acta et diplomata graeca medii aevi sacra et profana*, six vols. eds. F Miklosich and J. Müller (Vienna: 1860-90)
NBk	Aphrodisias Excavation Notebook Series
ODB	*The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* eds. A. P. Kazhdan, A-M. M. Talbot, A. Cutler, T. E. Gregory, N. P. Ševčenko (Oxford: 1991)
ODCA	*The Oxford Dictionary of Christian Art*, eds. P. and L. Murray (Oxford: 2004).
PBE	*Prosopography of the Byzantine Empire (641-867)* ed. J. Martindale et al. (London: 2001, 2015). http://www.pbe.kcl.ac.uk
Patmos	*Βυζαντινὰ Ἔγγραφα τῆς Μονῆς Πάτμου* eds. E. Vranousi and M. Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou (Athens, 1980)
PG	*Patriologia Graeca* 162 vols. ed. J.-P. Migne (Paris: 1857-1886)
REB	*Revue des Etudes Byzantins*
RN	Revue Numismatique
TM	Travaux et Mémoires
Vatopedi	*Archives de l'Athos* xxi. *Actes de Vatopedi* I: *des origins à 1329*, two vols. eds. J. Bompaire, J. Lefort, V.Kravari and C. Giros (Paris, 2001)

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Catalogue One: Medieval Christian Coinage AD. 700 – c.1250

Sources, Abbreviations and Caveats

The compilation of this catalogue has been by necessity rather unorthodox. I have not myself seen all of the coins listed. As with many aspects of this thesis, the loss or dispersal of material over the past sixty years has required a balance of archival research with more direct fieldwork. Individual coins have been brought together from numerous sources, including the site inventory, the museum's inventory, the personal archives of Michael Hendy and several collections of stray finds. The level of detail in the catalogue us therefore variable. There is no possibility of duplicate specimens within the catalogue. I have taken a cautious attitude to combining material, and have deliberately excluded several small groups that could conceivably represent coins already accessed elsewhere.

Each coin is identified first by an abbreviated reference to the source documentation. A short glossary of these terms, and any necessary caveats, is provided here.

Inv.; C.

"Inventory"; "Coin". Until 1988 coins excavated on site were recorded alongside all other artefacts in a single inventory system using the formula "Inv.Date-Number". Beginning in 1989, a distinct coin inventory was introduced. Coins were henceforth recorded as "C.Date.Number", the numerical sequence being unrelated to that of the main site inventory. These two abbreviations therefore primarily represent coins retrieved from excavation trenches, though some stray finds were also entered into the site inventories.

Coins were initially recorded on paper index cards stored in an inventory cabinet in the Aphrodisias site library. These cards were the principal source of data for the compilation of "Inv." coins. In some cases secure attributions were written by anonymous hands on the cards. I suspect that among these hands are those of Kenan Erim, Michael Hendy and Eric Ivison. In many cases however I found a detailed description with no attribution. Attributions were then made on the basis of iconography, an especially orthography. It later became possible to check the results of this enquiry against the catalogue compiled by Michael Hendy covering coins inventoried 1962-1974. This clarified attribution for certain coins whose notecard descriptions were lacking precision. I am indebted to previous scholars for their sustained efforts on this collection. Any errors of attribution are of course my own.

Coins inventoried from 1989 to 2018 were available to be directly recorded on site. Tolga Ahmet Tek provided me with his provisional catalogue of Byzantine coins recorded from 2000 to 2013, which accelerated the study of these particular specimens.

Mus.Inv.

"Museum Inventory". These represent the coins purchased by the Aphrodisias Museum, beginning in the early 1980s and continuing until the present day. Purchases were logged in accession books, with accompanying measurements and pasted photographs of obverse and reverse. Also recorded was the alleged find spot of the coin at the level of the nearest modern village. It was therefore a relatively simple matter to read through the many volumes and record all medieval Byzantine coinage, making attributions on the basis of the photographs. I am very grateful to the directors and staff of the Aphrodisias museum for their assistance and hospitality.

Many entries in these books were recorded as having been placed in the *etütlük* collection, largely on the basis of the condition of the specimen in question. These are stored in small drawstring bags containing groups of coins of roughly similar periods. I decided to record from the accession books rather than the *etütlük* coins, since this allowed for the inclusion of more battered and worn examples and for the provenance of each coin to be securely recorded. This resulted in several bags being excluded from the catalogue for fear of duplication.

A further caveat ought to be noted. Though the precise payments authorised by the museum fluctuate according to the value of the Turkish lira over the course of the later twentieth century, medieval coins were consistently valued at around a third of the price given for Roman and Hellenistic issues. Coins with crisper definition also fetched higher prices. The frequently poor condition of issues of both the Early Byzantine Period and the twelfth century may have dissuaded valley residents from brining such coins to the museum.

Mus.WSt.

"Museum Workmens' Strays". Also in the possession of the Aphrodisias Museum were several small drawstring bags containing the personal collections of local residents and site workmen. The bags contained ancient, medieval and early modern coins and various metal finds, such as fixtures for ancient furniture. These had been sold to the museum as small job lots, and had never been disarticulated or inventoried. It was therefore safe to record and add these to the "New Geyre Village" section of the catalogue without danger of duplication.

Byz.Stray.

"Byzantine Strays". Michael Hendy documented these coins during a study season at Aphrodisias in 1974, and I simply typed up the notecards from his personal archive in 2018. The strays include both chance finds made by archaeologists outside of excavation trenches and coins purchased by Kenan Erim from local residents. They were not inventoried, and their current location is unknown.

Byz.Str.1974-78.

"Byzantine Strays 1974-78". All coins preceded by this abbreviation are kept in a single drawstring bag in the possession of the Aphrodisias Museum and were recorded by myself in 2017. They were not entered into the Museum's inventory system. I presume that the coins were acquired in a similar manner to the preceding "Byz.Stray" category. They arrived at the museum subsequent to the creation of Michael Hendy's provisional catalogue but prior to the establishment of the protocol reflected in the acquisition volumes mentioned above.

Mus.Foundation

"Museum Foundation". Within the box file marked Aphrodisias in Michael Hendy's archives were four groups of notecards, bound together with elastic bands. Three of these were quite straightforward; Aphrodisias inventory, Aphrodisias strays, and Aphrodisias hoards. The fourth had a more enigmatic title, "The Great Disaster (behind the Museum)".

The coins in this bundle were found on various dates ranging from 15 Februrary through 6 March 1973. They were numbered according to a running accession system that reached at least 97 entries. However, there were only 45 coins catalogued in the bundle, all postdating the monetary reforms of Anastasius. It follows that Hendy only catalogued the Byzantine coins from an assemblage that originally included coins of other periods. Some of these coins are rather odd appearances that are not found elsewhere on site. These include eighth century folles, twelfth century copper tetartera, and thirteenth century Latin immative issues.

The package at first appears a little suspect, and there is nothing written on these cards that could confirm that the coins are Aphrodisian. However, the association is overwhelmingly likely for several reasons. Firstly, they were filed in a box alongside Hendy's other Aphrodisias notes in a very well ordered archive. The date in spring 1973 fits perfectly since foundations for the on site museum at Aphrodisias began to be dug in late 1972. Though the construction work was apparently preceded by some "preliminary investigations", no records of these were kept.[1] It was during the course of the construction that the famous God-fearers inscription was unearthed, whose original context is now lost. When

[1] Erim (1973), 24.

detailed excavations were made in 2006-2007 in anticipation of the Sebasteion Hall extension to the north (i.e. behind) the museum, test trenches revealed clear evidence for elite occupation in the Middle Byzantine period.[2] It is likely that the 1972/3 digging of the museum foundations uncovered more of this complex, and that the coins were kept and set aside rather than listed in the site inventory.

On this evidence I believe that Michael Hendy recorded these coins during his study season at Aphrodisias in the summer of 1974.

Summary Tables

Table I: Aphrodisias Archaeological Site (AD c.700-1092)

Reign/Class	AU	AR	AE	Years issued	AE average per annum
Leo IV (775-780)	-	-	2	5	0.40
Constantine VI (780-797)	-	1	-	17	0.00
Irene (797–802)	-	-	-	5	0.00
Nicephorus I (802–811)	-	-	-	9	0.00
Michael I (811–813)	-	-	-	2	0.00
Leo V (813–820)	-	-	1	7	0.14
Michael II (820–829)	-	-	-	9	0.00
Theophilos (829–842)	-	-	2	13	0.15
Michael III (842-867)	-	-	-	25	0.00
Basil I (867–886)	-	-	6	19	0.32
Leo VI (886–912)	-	-	22	26	0.84
Alexander (912–913)	-	-	-	1	0.00
Constantine VII (913-920)	-	-	1	7	0.14
Romanos I	-	-	27	24	1.13

[2] **2.8.**

Lekapenos (920-944)					
Constantine VII (944-959)	-	-	40	15	2.67
Nicephorus II Phocas (963–969)	-	-	10	6	1.67
Basil II (976-1025)	-	2		Anonymous Issues	
Class A1 (970-976(?))			13		See below
Class A2 (976-1028(?))			156		See below
Class A1 or Class A2			19	58	3.24
Class B (1028(?)-1042(?))			23	14	1.64
Class C (1042(?)-c.1050)			40	8	5.00
Class D (c.1050-c.1060)			8	10	0.80
Constantine X Ducas (1059-1067)	-	-	18	8	2.25
Class E (c.1060)			-	1	0.00
Class G (c.1065-c.1070)			17	5	3.40
Romanos IV Diogenes (1068-1071)	-	-	4	3	1.33
Michael VII (1071–1078)	-	-	3	7	0.43
Class I (c.1075–c.1080)			12	5	2.40
Illegible	-	1	-		
Unidentified	-	1	1		

Table II: Aphrodisias Archaeological Site (AD 1092-1261)

Reign/Class	AU	El.	Bill.	AE	½ AE	Years issued	Bill. average per annum
Alexios I Komnenos (1081-1118)	-	-	-	3	1	37	0
John II Komnenos (1118-1143)	-	-	1	-	-	25	0.04
Manuel I Komnenos (1143-80)	-	1	6	1	1	37	0.16
Isaac II Angelos (1185-1195)	-	-	4	-	-	10	0.40
Theodore Mankaphas (1188-89(?))	-	-	1	-	-	1	1.00
Alexios III Angelos (1185-1204)	-	-	12	-	-	19	0.63
Theodore I Komnenos Laskaris (1205-21)	-	-	1	-	-	16	0.06
Latin Imitative Issues (1204-1261(?))	-	-	9	-	-	57	0.16
Illegible	-	-	3	-	-		

Table III: Coins by Excavation Sector (AD c.700-1092)

Sector	Total Coins
Atrium House	3
Basilica	5
Bishop's Palace	24
Bouleuterion	23
Cathedral	3
Hadrianic Baths	4
Museum	22
North Agora	28
North Temenos	13
Northeast Nymphaeum	0
Sebasteion	21
South Agora	31
South Wall	2
Stadium	2
Tetrapylon	11
Tetrapylon Street	53
Theatre Baths	9
Theatre Hill	19
Triconch Church	1
Water Channel House	8
West Gate	2

Table III: Coins by Excavation Sector (AD 1092-1261)

Sector	Total Coins
Atrium House	0
Basilica	1
Bishop's Palace	2
Bouleuterion	2
Cathedral	0
Hadrianic Baths	0
Museum	29
North Agora	0
North Temenos	0
Northeast Nymphaeum	1
Sebasteion	0
South Agora	3
South Wall	0
Stadium	0
Tetrapylon	1
Tetrapylon Street	1
Theatre Baths	1
Theatre Hill	3
Triconch Church	0
Water Channel House	0
West Gate	0

Table V: Medieval Coins as Ritual Deposits

Reign/Class	AE
Class A2 (976-1028(?))	7
Class C (1042(?)-c.1050)	3
Luca Dinar (1039-1125)	1

Table VI: New Geyre Village

Reign/Class	AU	AR	AE	Years issued	AE average per annum
Basil I (867–886)	-	-	1	19	0.05
Leo VI (886–912)	-	-	1	26	0.04
Alexander (912–913)	-	-	-	1	0.00
Constantine VII (913-920)	-	-	-	7	0.00
Romanos I Lekapenos (920-944)	-	-	2	24	0.08
Constantine VII (944-959)	-	-	3	15	0.20
Nicephorus II Phocas (963–969)	-	-	2	6	0.33
Basil II (976-1025)	-	-		Anonymous Issues	
Class A1 (970-976(?))			6	6	1.00
Class A2 (976-1028(?))			42	52	0.81
Class B (1028(?)-1042(?))			5	14	0.36
Class C (1042(?)-c.1050)			10	8	1.25
Class D (c.1050-c.1060)			8	10	0.80
Constantine X	-	-	1	8	0.13

Ducas (1059-1067)					
Class E (c.1060)			1	1	1.00
Class G (c.1065-c.1070)			6	5	1.20
Romanos IV Diogenes (1068-1071)	-	-	2	3	0.67
Michael VII (1071–1078)	-	-	-	7	0.00
Class I (c.1075–c.1080)			4	5	0.80
Illegible			4		

Table VII: The Morsynos Valley and Tabai Plain

Ataeymir

Reign/Class	AU	AR	AE	Years issued	AE average per annum
Leo VI (886–912)	-	-	1	26	0.04
Constantine VII (944-959)	-	-	1	15	0.06
Class A1 (970-976(?))			2	6	0.33
Class A2 (976-1028(?))			19	52	0.37
Class B (1028(?)-1042(?))			4	14	0.29
Class C (1042(?)-c.1050)			3	8	0.38
Constantine X Ducas (1059-1067)	-	-	1	8	0.13
Class G (c.1065-c.1070)			2	5	0.40
Romanos IV Diogenes (1068-1071)	-	-	1	3	0.33
Class I (c.1075–c.1080)			4	5	0.8
John III Doukas Vatatzes (1222-1254)	1	N/A	N/A	N/A	
Illegible Issues	-	-		4	

Çamarası

Reign/Class	AU	AR	AE	Years issued	AE average per annum
Class A2 (976-1028(?))			1	52	0.02

Dedeler

Reign/Class	AU	AR	AE	Years issued	AE average per annum
Class D (c.1050-c.1060)			1	10	0.10

Işıklar

Reign/Class	AU	AR	AE	Years issued	AE average per annum
Leo VI (886–912)	-	-	1	26	0.04

Karacasu

Reign/Class	AU	AR	AE	Years issued	AE average per annum
Leo VI (886–912)	-	-	2	26	0.08
Romanos I Lekapenos (920-944)	-	-	1	24	0.04
Nicephorus II Phocas (963–969)	-	-	1	6	0.17
Class A1 (970-976(?))			1	6	0.17
Class A2 (976-1028(?))			7	52	0.13
Class B (1028(?)-1042(?))			2	14	0.14
Constantine X Ducas (1059-1067)	-	-	1	8	0.13
Class I (c.1075–c.1080)			1	5	0.20

Karahisar

Reign/Class	AU	AR	AE	Years issued	AE average per annum
Class B			1	14	0.07

(1028(?)-1042(?))

Medet

Reign/Class	AU	AR	AE	Years issued	AE average per annum
Class A2 (976-1028(?))			1	52	0.02

Palamutçuk

Reign/Class	AU	AR	AE	Years issued	AE average per annum
Romanos I Lekapenos (920-944)	-	-	1	24	0.04
Class A2 (976-1028(?))			1	52	0.02
Class I (c.1075–c.1080)			2	5	0.40

Tavas

Reign/Class	AU	AR	AE	Years issued	AE average per annum
Leo VI (886–912)	-	-	1	26	-

Yenice

Reign/Class	AU	AR	AE	Years issued	AE average per annum
Romanos I Lekapenos (920-944)	-	-	1	24	0.04
Constantine VII (944-959)	-	-	1	15	0.06
Class A2 (976-1028(?))			1	52	0.02
Class I (c.1075–c.1080)			1	5	0.20

AE average per annum, comparative table for sites in the Morsynos Valley and Tabai Plain

Reign/Class	AE average per annum									
	Ataeymir	Çamarası	Dedeler	Işıklar	Karacasu	Karahisar	Medet	Palamutçuk	Tavas	Yenice
Leo VI (886–912)	0.04	0.00	0.00	0.04	0.08	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.04	0.00
Alexander (912–913)	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Constantine VII (913-920)	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Romanos I Lekapenos (920-944)	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.04	0.00	0.00	0.04	0.00	0.04
Constantine VII (944-959)	0.06	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.06
Nicephorus II Phocas (963–969)	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.17	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Class A1 (970-976(?))	0.33	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.17	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Class A2 (976-1028(?))	0.37	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.13	0.00	0.02	0.02	0.00	0.02
Class B (1028(?)-1042(?))	0.29	0.02	0.00	0.00	0.14	0.07	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Class C	0.38	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00

(1042(?)-c.1050)										
Class D (c.1050-c.1060)	0.00	0.00	0.10	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Constantine X Ducas (1059-1067)	0.13	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.13	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Class E (c.1060)	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Class G (c.1065-c.1070)	0.40	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Romanos IV Diogenes (1068-1071)	0.33	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Michael VII (1071–1078)	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Class I (c.1075–c.1080)	0.8	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.20	0.00	0.00	0.40	0.00	0.20

Table VIII: Hoards

	Hoard A		
Reign/Class	AU	AR	AE
Michael III (842-867)	1	8	-
	Hoard B		
	AU	El.	Bill.
Manuel I Komnenos (1143-80)	-	4	-
	Hoard Γ		
Manuel I Komnenos (1143-80)	-	-	1
Isaac II Angelos (1185-1195)	-	-	8
Alexios III Angelos (1185-1204)	-	-	27
Bulgarian Imitative *Type A*	-	-	4
Bulgarian Imitative *Type B*	-	-	4
Uncertain	-	-	2
	Hoard Δ		
	AU	AR	AE
Constantine X Ducas (1059-1067)	-	-	1
Latin Mint (Touraine?)	-	1	-

Aphrodisias Archaeological Site

Leo IV

14 September 775 – 8 September 780
Colleague: Constantine VI (From 14 April 776)

AE Follis, *Class 1 or 2*.
AD 776-780. DOC III-1, pp.331-333, nos.4, 6.
Obv: To l., bust of Leo IV bearded, to r., bust of Constantine VI beardless, both facing. Each wears chlamys and crown with cross. Above, cross.
Rev: On horizontal line, to l., bust of Leo III, to r., bust of Constantine V, each facing, bearded, and wearing loros and crown with cross. To l., B, to r. A (replaced by pellets on *Class 2*), Above, cross. Below line, M,. To l. and r., X N, beneath, A.

1. Mus.Foundation.80.
2. Mus.Foundation.95.

Constantine VI

8 September 780 – 19 August 797

AR Miliaresion.
AD 780-797. DOC III-1, p.342 no. 4a.
Obv: [CONS/ƬAⲚƬIⲚO/SSIRIⲚIE/CΘEЧЬA/SILIS] within a triple circle of dots.
Rev: [IhSЧSXRIS ƬЧSⲚICA] Cross potent on base and three steps, within a triple circle of dots.

3. C.2009.107; N.Ave 09.3 SU 5; 22mm.; 12; 1.35g.

Leo V

11 July 813 – 25 December 820
Colleague: Constantine (from 25 December 813)

AE Follis, *Class 2*.
AD 813-20. DOC III-1, p.378 no. 7a.
Obv: [LEON SC O ⲚSƬ´] Two busts facing, Leo on l., bearded, wearing chlamys and crown with cross, Constantine on r., beardless, wearing crown and loros. Hands not shown.
Rev. M Above, cross. To l. , X/X/X To r., X/X/X Beneath, A

4. C.2014.039; N.Ave 14.1 SU 1031; 21mm; 6; 4.16g.

Theophilos

2 October 829 - 20 January 842

AE Follis, *Class 3*.
AD 830/1-842. DOC III-1, p.435 no. 15a.
Obv: [ΘEOFIL bASIL] Half-length figure decorated with pellets, holding in r. hand labarum with cross and streamers, in l. gl. cr.
Rev: [+ΘEO/FILEAVS/OVSƬESV/ⲚICAS]

5. Inv.67-260; T.Aph N.Temenos; 26mm; 6.3g
6. C.2012.190; N.Ave 12.3, SU 24; 27 mm; 6; 7.24g.

Basil I

24 September 867 – 29 August 886
Formally from 26 May 866
Colleagues: Constantine (November 86/February 868 – 3 September 879)
Leo VI (From 6 January 870)

Alexander (from September/November 879)

AE Follis, *Class 3*.
AD 870-879. DOC III-2, p.496 no.10.
Obv: [+LEONbASILSCONSTAYSS'] Three half-figures, facing, Basil in centre, bearded, wearing loros and crown with cross, Leo and Constantine to l. and r. respectively, smaller, beardless, each wearing chlamys and crown with cross.
Rev: [+bASIL/CONSTAN/TSLEONEN/ΘObASILS/ROMEON]

7. Inv.67-355; Bou. 2 Stratum 1; 23mm; 4.3g.
8. C.2003.075; N.Ag 03.2, East B20; 19 mm; 6; 6.00g.
9. Byz.Stray.100.
10. Byz.Stray.101.

AE Follis, *Class 5*.
AD 870-879. DOC III-2, p.500 no. 12.
Obv: [+bASILIO S bASILEVS*] Basil seated facing on lyre-backed throne, bearded, wearing modified loros and crown with cross, holding in r. hand labarum, resting l. on lap.
Rev: [+bASIL/IOSENΘEO/bASILEVS/ROMEON]

11. Inv.84-202; P.Tib N Corner -0.6m; 25mm.
12. Inv.84-238; P.Tib SW area East; 25mm.

Leo VI

29 August 886 – 11 May 912
Titular Augustus from 6 January 870
Colleagues: Alexander (From September/November 879)
Constantine VII (From 15 May 908)

AE Follis, *Class 1*.
AD 886-908. DOC III-2, p.515 no.5.
Obv: [+LEONbA S ILEVSROM´ *] Leo VI, with short beard, seated facing on lyre-backed throne, wearing modified loros and crown with cross. In r. hand, labarum, l. rests on lap.
Rev: [+LEON/ENΘEObA/SILEVSR/OMEON]

13. Inv.63-649; Stray find; 26mm; 4.8g.

AE Follis, *Class 2*.
AD 886-912. DOC III-2, p.516 np.6.
Obv: [+LEON SALЄƟANGROS] to l., figure of Leo VI, with short beard; to r., shorter figure of Alexander, beardless. Both seated facing on double throne, wearing modified loros and crown with cross. Between them they hold labarum with r., Alexander hols akakia in l.
Rev: [+LEON/SALЄƟAN/GROSbASIĹ/ROMEON]

14. Byz.Stray.243.
15. Mus.Foundation.9.

AE Follis, *Class 3*.
AD 886-912. DOC III-2, p.518 no.8.
Obv: [+LEONbAS ILEVSROM´] Bust of Leo VI with short beard, facing, wearing chlamys nd crown with cross. On r. shoulder, roundel with central pellet. In l. hand, akakia.
Rev: [+LEON/ENΘEObA/SILEVSR/OMEON]

16. Inv.71-449; Theatre Orchestra; 24mm; 5.93g.
17. Inv.73-199; Bou A -1.00m; 25mm.
18. Inv.83-111; S. Tetra III F -0.60m; 24mm.
19. C.1995.120; N.Ag 3 SU 3; 27mm; 6; 6.34g.
20. C.2003.066; N.Ag 03-2 east B23; 28 mm; 6; 6.93g.
21. C.2012.174; N.Ave 12.2 SU 24; 26 mm; 6; 4.15g.
22. C2014.063; N.Ave 14.1 SU 1037; 23 mm; 6; 3.92g.
23. C2014.092; N.Ave 14 SU 1037; 26 mm; 6; 6.06g.
24. C2014.134; N.Ave 14.1 SU 1046; 28 mm; 5; 11.20g.
25. C.2015.045; S.Ag 15.1 SU 4048; 24mm; 6; 3.33g.

26. Byz.Stray.102.
27. Byz.Stray.103.
28. Byz.Stray.104.
29. Byz.Stray.105.
30. Byz.Stray.106.
31. Byz.Stray.244.
32. Byz.Stray.245.
33. Mus.Foundation.45.
34. Mus.Foundation.77.

Constantine VII

6 June 913 – 9 November 959
Formally Augustus from 15 May 908
Colleagues: Zoe (Regent February 914 – March 919)
Romanos I (17 December 920 – 16 December 944)
Christopher (20 May 921 – August 931)
Stephen and Constantine (25 December 924 – 27 January 945)
Romanos II (6 April 945 onward)

AE Follis, *Class 2*.
AD 920-931. DOC III-2, p.560 no.23.
Obv: [+CONSTANT'bASIL'ROM'] Bust of Constantine VII facing, beardless, wearing traditional loros and crown with cross. In r. hand, labarum; in l., gl. cr.
Rev: [+CONS/TANTIN' /ЄNӨӦbAS/IL'ROM']

35. Byz.Stray.107.

AE Follis, *Class 4*.
AD 931-944. DOC III-2, p.562 no.25.
Obv: [+RωMAN·bASILEVSRωM'] Bust of Romanos I facing, bearded, wearing chlamys with tablion and heavy crown with cross. In r. hand, labarum sceptre topped by trefoil ornament; in l. gl. cr.
Rev: [+RωMA/N'ENΘEωbA/SILEVSRω/MAIωN]

36. Inv.62-036; SWC 1; 27mm; 6.4g.
37. Inv.65-351; B.Had Central Gallery; 25mm; 4.2g.
38. Inv.65-413; B.Had sondage IV; 28mm; 5.5g.
39. Inv.70-159; Theatre S Level; 25mm.
40. C.1995.122; N.Ag 3 Su 3; 27mm; 5; 6.21g. Overstruck on Leo VI *Class 3* AE follis.
41. C.1996.225; Stad. cleaning; 26mm; 6; 5.48g.
42. C.1998.28b; T.Aph cleaning; broken fragment; 6; 2.57g.
43. C.2004.130; N.Ag 4.3 SU 49; 25mm; 12; 3.70g.
44. C.2005.012; Bou. Surface find; 26mm; 6; 5.68g.
45. C.2006.051; NES 39 SU 17; 27mm; 6; 6.59g.
46. C.2008.926; N.Ave 8.3 SU 38; 26mm; 6; 7.56g.
47. C.2011.352, N.Ave 11.5 SU 31; 27mm.; 6; 5.28g.
48. C.2014.005; N.Ave 14.1 SU 1003; 24 mm; 6; 3.96g. Var. DOC III-2, no. 25b.11. Broken.
49. C.2014.067; N.Ave 14.1 SU 1037; 26mm; 6; 7.76g.
50. C.2014.128; N.Ave 14.1 SU 1046; 28mm; 4; 4.72g.
51. C.2014.128; N.Ave 14.1 SU 1046; 28mm; 4; 4.72g.
52. C.2014.188; N.Ave 14.1 SU 1059; 26mm.; 12; 4.90g.
53. C.2014.196; N.Ave 14.1 SU 1052; 28mm; 6; 3.34g.
54. C.2014.197; N.Ave 14.1 SU 1052; 26mm; 6; 7.26g.
55. C.2014.199; N.Ave 14.1 SU 1061; 26mm; 6; 5.56g.
56. C.2016.035; S.Ag 16.1 SU 4251; 27/26mm; 6; 6.29g.
57. Byz.Stray.108.
58. Byz.Stray.109.
59. Byz.Stray.110.
60. Byz.Stray.111.
61. Mus.Foundation.3.
62. Mus.Foundation.57.

AE Follis, *Class 5*.
AD 945-c.950. DOC III-2, p.565 no.26.
Obv: [+CONST´bA SIL´ROM´] Bust of Constantine VII facing, bearded, wearing modified loros and crown with cross. In l. hand, gl. cr.; in r., akakia.
Rev: [+CONST´/ENΘEObA/SILEYSR/OMEON]

63. Inv.64-137; B.Pal 7 stratum 3; 26mm; 7.6g.
64. Inv.64-455; SW Bou 3-B stratum 2; 26mm; 6.05g.
65. Inv.65-456; SW Bou 3-B stratum 2; 24mm; 7.8g.
66. Inv.65-484; SW Bou 3-B stratum 4; 24mm; 5.1g.
67. Inv.66-177; B.Pal Apsidal Room stratum 1; 24mm; 5.6g.
68. Inv.73-341; S. Parados Surface find.
69. Inv.77-131; S.Ag 5 stratum 5; 24mm; 7.7g.
70. Inv.77-132; Basilica Surface find; 28mm; 7.7g. Overstruck on Constantine VII *Class 4* (Romanos) follis.
71. Inv.85-076; S.Tetra 85-II; 25mm.
72. Inv.85-178; Seb. cleaning; 26mm.
73. C.1988.127; N.Ag 88.1-A; 28mm; 6.60g.
74. C.1998.009; T.Aph cleaning, from the chapel constructed into the doorway of the east temenos wall; 25mm; 6; 4.23g.
75. C.1999.122; N.Ag cleaning; 25mm; 6; 5.27g.
76. C.2000.224; Stray find; 22mm; 6; 3.60g.
77. C.2002.001; W.Gate 0.45m below Byzantine road level; 29mm; 6; 5.72g. Overstruck on Constantine VII *Class 4* (Romanos) follis.
78. C.2002.096; Stad. 18 SU 14; 25mm; 6; 6.82g.
79. C2004.085; N.Ag 4.2, SU 48; 26 mm; 6; 4.35g.
80. C.2006.015; Stray find; 26mm; 6; 7.29g. Overstruck on Constantine VII *Class 4* (Romanos) follis.
81. C2008.019; N.Ave 8.1 SU 1; 26 mm; 6; 7.04g. Overstruck on Constantine VII *Class 4* (Romanos) follis.
82. C2008.755; N.Ave 8.1 SU 6; 26 mm; 5; 5.38g
83. C2012.170; N.Ave 12.2 SU 23; 25 mm; 6; 5.94g.
84. C2014.027; N.Ave 14.1 SU 1030; 25mm; 6; 4.98g
85. C2014.033; N.Ave 14.1 SU 1030; 24mm; 6; 5.21g.
86. C2014.036; N.Ave 14.1 SU 1030; 23mm; 6; 5.13g.
87. C2014.047; N.Ave 14.1 SU 1037; 28mm; 6; 4.11g. Overstruck on Constantine VII *Class 4* (Romanos) follis.
88. C2014.139; N.Ave 14.1 SU 1053; 24mm; 12; 4.10g.
89. Byz.Stray.113.
90. Byz.Stray.114.
91. Byz.Stray.115.
92. Byz.Stray.116.
93. Byz.Stray.117.
94. Byz.Stray.118.
95. Byz.Stray.119.
96. Byz.Stray.120.
97. Byz.Stray.121.
98. Byz.Stray.122.
99. Mus.Foundation.5.

AE Follis, *Class 6*.
AD c.950-959. DOC III-2, p.568 no.27.
Obv: [+CONST´CEROMAN´b´ROM´] To l., bust of Constantine VII facing, bearded, wearing loros and crown with cross. To r., slightly smaller bust of Romanos II facing, beardless, wearing traditional loros and

crown with cross. Between them the hold globus surmounted by patriarchal cross with × in centre.
Rev:
[+COnST´/CEROMAn/EnXRISƆ´/Ь´ROMEO]

100. Inv.67-247; T.Aph, N.Temenos; 23mm; 4.5g. Overstruck on Constantine VII *Class 5* follis.
101. Inv.72-254; Acr. 9; 21mm; 2.58g.
102. Byz.Stray.112.

Nikephoros II

15 August 963 – 10 December 969
Colleagues: Basil II and Constantine VIII

AE Follis, *Class 1*.
AD 963-969. DOC III-2, p.586 no.7.
Obv: [+NICIFRЬ ASILEVRW] Bust facing, bearded, wearing robe with V-shaped opening and crown with cross and pendilia. In r. hand, cross sceptre; in l., globus surmounted by trefoil.
Rev:
[+NICHF/EnΘEWЬA/SILEVSRW/MAIWn]

103. Inv.62-477; Stray find; 26mm; 7.0g.
104. Inv.63-508; Stray find (W. Necropolis); 22mm; 5.0g.
105. C.2004.136; N.Ag 4.2 SU 76; 27mm; 6; 5.54g. Overstruck on Constantine VII *Class 4* (Romanos) follis.

AE Follis, *Class 2*.
AD 963-969. DOC III-2, p.587 no.8.

Obv: [+NICIFRЬ ASILEVRW] Bust facing, bearded, wearing modified loros with collar piece, crown with cross and pendilia, holds labarum in r. hand, gl. cr. In l.

Rev:
[+NICHF/EnΘEWЬA/SILEVSRW/MAIWn]

106. C.2011.205; N.Ave 11.5 SU 26; 24mm.; 6; 4.90g.
107. C.2004.003; N.Ag 04.2 SU 3; 24mm; 6; 5.24g.

AE Follis, *Class 1 or 2*.

108. Inv.63-548; B.Pal peristyle cleaning; 24mm; 4.4g.
109. Inv.70-107; N.Bou. 5; 25mm.
110. Byz.Stray.123.
111. Byz.Stray.124.
112. Byz.Stray.125(a).

Basil II

11 January 976 – 15 December 1025
Nominally from 22 April 960
Colleague: Constantine VIII

AR Miliaresion, *Class IIA*.
AD 977-989. DOC III.2, p.628 no.17.
Obv: [EnƆOVƆWnICAƆ´ЬASILEICCWnSƆ´]
Cross crosslet, with × at intersection, on base, globus and four steps. In field l., facing bust of Basil, bearded, wearing loros and crown with cross and pendilia. In field r., facing bust of Constantine, beardless, wearing chlamys and crown with cross and pendilia. Triple linear border.
Rev:
[+ЬASIL`/CCWnSƆAn`/ΠORFVROϚ´/ΠISƆOI ЬAS´/RWMAIW´]

113. C.2014.029; N.Ave 14.1 SU 1031; 23mm; 6; 1.87g (broken); Var. 17.e.
114. Byz.Stray.125(b). Var.17.f.

Anonymous Folles

AE Follis, *Class A1*.
AD 970-976(?). DOC III-2, p.648.
Obv: [+EMMA NOVHA] Bust of Christ (Type VIIb) facing, bearded, with nimbus having two pellets in each arm, wearing tunic and himation; r. hand raised in blessing in sling of cloak, l. holds book with ornate cover (central pellet in border of dots) from beneath. In field, IC̄ XC̄.
Rev: [+IhSYS/XRISTYS/bASILEY´/bASILE´]
Form of A variable.

115. Inv.62-127; Stray find; 22mm; A; 4.7g.
116. Inv.71-120; P.Tib Sector B4; 29mm; 6.09g.
117. Inv.82-005; Seb. North Portico (grid: C VII); 26mm; 5.9g. Overstruck on Constantine VII Class 4 (Romanos) follis.
118. Inv.83-113; S.Tetra (grid: VII 2) -0.30m; 24mm. Var. A1.3.
119. C.1988.220; N.Ag 88.1; 23mm; A; 5.61g.
120. C.1988.288; S. Tetra 88.1; 25mm; 11; 7.14g. Overstruck on follis of Nikephoros II.
121. C.1989.38; P.Tib SW Stratum 7; 26mm; 12; 4.1g.
122. C.2011.034; N.Ave 11.5 SU 16; 25mm; 4.48g. O Overstruck on follis of Nikephoros II. Reverse illegible.
123. Byz.Stray.140.
124. Byz.Stray.143.
125. Byz.Stray.144.
126. Byz.Stray.146.

AE Follis, *Class A2*.
AD 976(?)-1028(?).[3] DOC III-2, p.649.

Obv: [+EMMA NOVHA] Bust of Christ (Type VIIb) facing, bearded, with nimbus having various ornaments, wearing tunic and himation; r. hand raised in blessing in sling of cloak, l. holds book with variously ornamented cover from beneath. In field, IC̄ XC̄.
Rev: [+IhSYS/XRISTYS/bASILEY´/bASILE´]
Form of A variable, usually with ornament above and beneath.

127. Inv.62-068; W.Gate; 27mm; 7.9g.
128. Inv.62-191; WaCh II Stratum 3; *diameter not recorded*; 18.7g.
129. Inv.62-412; WaCh II Stratum 2; 30mm; 13.0g.
130. Inv.62-445; Museum Field 1-B; 29mm; 6.8g. Overstuck on Romanos I (Constantine VII *Class 4*) or Nikephoros II follis.
131. Inv.62-458; Bou 1 Stratum 4; 28mm; 9.3g.
132. Inv.62-483; Museum Field 8 Stratum 2; 26mm; 8.2g.
133. Inv.63-004; Stray find; 26mm; 13.7g.
134. Inv.63-215; B.Pal 5 Stratum 2; 30mm; 11.5g.
135. Inv.63-286; B.Pal 5 Stratum 2; 28mm: 8.8g.
136. Inv.63-318; T.Aph N. Temenos 17 Stratum 1; 29mm; 7.6g.
137. Inv.63-511; Stray find (W. Necropolis); 28mm; 9.9g.
138. Inv.63-512; Stray find (W.Necropolis); 28mm; 11.6g.
139. Inv.64-037; W.Bou Chamber 2; 38mm; 14.8g.
140. Inv.65-059; N.Bou 1 Stratum 1; 29mm; 10.2g.
141. Inv.65-062; N.Bou 2 Stratum 2; 28mm; 6.4g.

[3] Following Ivanisevic rather than Grierson.

142. Inv.65-150; SW.Bou 1 Stratum 2; 26mm; 10.6g.
143. Inv.65-322; SW.Bou 2 Stratum 3; 30mm; 13.0g.
144. Inv.65-327; B.Pal 1 Stratum 2; 31mm; 17.6g.
145. Inv.65-344; SW.Bou 4 Stratum 1; 32mm; 11.7g.
146. Inv.65-404; T.Aph N.Temenos 1 Stratum 1; 29mm; 10.8g.
147. Inv.65-498; T.Aph N.Temenos 6; 25mm; 9.1g.
148. Inv.65-507; T.Aph N.Temenos 7 Stratum 1; 29mm; 9.0g.
149. Inv.66-053; P.Tib B Stratum 2; 34mm; 15.6g.
150. Inv.66-060; T.Aph N.Temenos 9; 25mm; 8.3g.
151. Inv.66-192; B.Pal 14 Room 2; 31mm; 13.5g.
152. Inv.66-313; B.Pal Precinct Room 10 Stratum 2; 28mm; 10.0g.
153. Inv.66-350; B.Pal 14 Room 2; 30mm; 15.2g.
154. Inv.66-363; T.Aph N.Temenos 20 Stratum 1; 27mm; 7.5g.
155. Inv.66-493; Stray find; 27mm; 8.2g
156. Inv.67-047; T.Aph N.Temenos A Stratum 1; 28mm; 11.1g.
157. Inv.67-123; Acr. 3 Stratum 4C; 32mm; 13.7g.
158. Inv.67-271; T.Aph N.Temenos F Stratum 2; 32mm; 11.9g.
159. Inv.67-355; SE Bou. Stratum 1; 28mm; 6.6g.
160. Inv.67-345; NW Bou 2 topsoil; 31mm; 11.7g.
161. Inv.67-345; SW B.Pal A Stratum 1; 28mm; 9.5g.
162. Inv.67-372; B.Had N. Gallery Stratum 1; 32mm; 13.8g.
163. Inv.68-386; B.Pal 68.2 Stratum 2; 30mm; 8.65g.
164. Inv.68-409; Acr.5 SU 4B; 27mm; 9.1g.
165. Inv.69-345; E.Tetra 1; 29mm; 7.0g.
166. Inv.71-060; Theatre Walls; 29mm; 11.7g.
167. Inv.71-095; P.Tib Sector B4; 30mm; A; 14.32g.
168. Inv.71-386; Basilica, on mosaic floor in the W. aisle; 24mm; 8.96g.
169. Inv.72-115. Theatre SPS Stratum 1; 27mm; 7.22g.
170. Inv.74-109; B.Th E. Aula Thermae Stratum 4; 33mm; 11.64g.
171. Inv.75-252; S.Ag Gate W. Façade; 32mm; 14.75g.
172. Inv.76-163; B.Th SE Piazza Surface find; 27mm; 8.60g.
173. Inv.76-171; B.Th NE Piazza -1.80m; 36mm; 16.7g.
174. Inv.76-176; S.Wall Stratum 1; 30mm; 9.25g.
175. Inv.80-192; Seb. 80.3; 34mm.
176. Inv.81-011; Seb NE Portico I (grid 1A); 28mm.
177. Inv.81-026; Seb N Portico II (grid C1); 32mm.
178. Inv.81-035; Seb NE Portico I (grid B4); 29mm.
179. Inv.81-046; Seb NE Portico I; 34mm.
180. Inv.82-001; Seb SW Sector (grid 1C); 34mm; 11.3g.
181. Inv.82-025; Seb NW Portico I; 27mm; 9.2g.

182. Inv.82-039; Seb NW Portico I; 26mm; 8.4g.
183. Inv.82-049; Seb NE Portico 1; 31mm; A; 20.2g.
184. Inv.82-194; Seb NC Portico 2; 29mm.
185. Inv.83-031; S.Ag 1 Surface find; 29mm; 9.4g.
186. Inv.83-101; B.Th II; 25mm.
187. Inv.83-110; S.Tetra; 32mm.
188. Inv.83-210; S.Ag Gate; 29mm.
189. Inv.84-146; WaCh 1; 13mm; 10.1g. Broken?
190. Inv.84-206; P.Tib NW Surface find; 33mm.
191. Inv.84-206; P.Tib NW Surface find; 30mm.
192. Inv.84-239; P.Tib Surface find; 30mm.
193. Inv.85-071; S.Tetra 85.1; 28mm.
194. Inv.85-160; WaCh 85.1 -2.50m; 28mm.
195. Inv.86-097; WaCh 86.1 -2.50m; 30mm.
196. Inv.86-113; P.Tib S; 33mm.
197. Inv.87-005; Atrium House 87.1 -105cm; 30mm.
198. Inv.87-006; Atrium House 87.1 -30cm; 30mm.
199. Inv.87-007; Atrium House 87.1 -60cm; 27mm.
200. Inv.87-425; S.Ag Gate Basin 87.1; 29mm.
201. C.1988.299; N.Ag 88.2 SU 10; 31mm; 14.17g.
202. C.1988.323; P.Tib W; 31mm; 12; 14.76g.
203. C.1994.004; T.Aph N.Temenos Cleaning; 28mm; 12; 5.10g.
204. C.1994.056; Stray find; 25mm; 6; 6.81g. Var. 24; clipped around the edges.
205. C.1999.344; B.Pal Cleaning; 30mm; 6; 11.29g.
206. C.1999.345; B.Pal Cleaning; 29mm; 6; 16.54g. Var. 3.
207. C.2000.226; N.Ag 00.1 SU 32; 27mm; 6; 7.44g. Var. 32.
208. C.2002.015; N.Ag 02.3 SU 3; 32mm; 6; 10.04g; Var. 24 or 14b.
209. C.2002.016; N.Ag 02.3 SU 3; 31mm; 6; 16.41g.
210. C.2002.107; Bou 02.5 SU 1; 31mm; 8; 15.52g. Var. 4.
211. C.2004.008; N.Ag 04.2 SU 22; 28mm; 6; 8.59g.
212. C.2004.047; Basilica (SWC) cleaning; 29mm; 6; 14.37g. Var. 40b.
213. C.2004.144; N.Ag 4.2 SU 84; 28mm; 6; 12.33g. Var. 35.
214. C.2004.153; N.Ag 4.3 SU 70; 26mm; 6.47g.
215. C.2005.003; Seb. 05.1 SU 29; 35mm.; 6; 15.35g. Var 5.
216. C.2006.023; Seb. Surface find; 29mm; 6; 10.01g. Var. 4.
217. C.2006.032; NES 30 SU 4; 31mm; 6; 14.30g. Var 5.
218. C.2007.003; Stray find; 29mm; 6; 8.68g. Var. 45.
219. C.2007.007; Mu. Foundations; 27mm; 6; 10.12g. Var. 14b.
220. C.2007.014; Mu. Surface find; 31mm; 6; 14.93g.
221. C.2008.009; N.Ave Stray find; 26mm; 5; 7.69g. Var. 14.
222. C.2008.158; N.Ave 8.2 SU 17; 32mm; 12; 7.48g.

223. C.2011.261; N.Ave 11.5 SU 28; minimum 20mm; 3.55g. Cut quarter of a follis.
224. C.2013.010; N.Ave 13.1 SU 1007; 33mm; 6; 13.07g. Var. 1 or 2.
225. C.2013.040; N.Ave 13.2 SU 2003; 34mm; 6; 12.82g. Var. 27.
226. C.2013.057; N.Ave 13.3 SU 3007; 32mm; 6; 13.84g. Var. 8.
227. C.2013.116; N.Ave 13.1 SU 1035; 31mm.; 6; 12.03g. Var. 5, 20 or 24.b.
228. C.2013.117; N.Ave 13.1 SU 1035; 33mm.; 11; 14.01g. Var. 24 or 14b.
229. C.2013.124; N.Ave 13.3 SU 3020; 30mm.; 6; 10.98g. Var. 5, 20 or 24b.
230. C.2014.004; S.Ag 14.1 SU 1000; 30mm; 6; 9.81g. Var.32.
231. C.2014.013; N.Ave 14.1 SU 1013; 26mm; 6; 7.44g. Var.24.
232. C.2014.022; S.Ag 14.1 SU 4000; 32mm; 6; 14.27g. Var.24b.
233. C.2014.030; N.Ave 14.1 SU 1031; 32mm; 6; 14.14g. Var. 2.
234. C.2014.037; N.Ave 14.1 SU 1036; 28mm; 12; 10.81g. Var.2.
235. C.2014.041; N.Ave 14.1 SU 1030; 26mm; 6; 7.89g. Var.32.
236. C.2014.104; N.Ave 14.1 SU 1040; 29mm; 12; 4.38g.
237. C.2015.050; N.Ave 15.1 SU 1090; 32mm; 6; 14.76g. Var.24.
238. C.2015.056; N.Ave 15.1 SU 1103; 32mm; 10; 12.99g.
239. C.2015.105; S.Ag 15.1 SU 4076; 32 mm; 10; 10.44g. Var.20.
240. C.2016.014; S.Ag.16.1 SU 4247; 21mm; 12; 4.70g. Var. 42A.
241. C.2016.105; S.Ag 16.1 SU 4200; 30mm; 11; 8.50g. Broken; Pierced for suspension.
242. C.2018.065; B.S.Ag.18.1 SU 036; 31mm; 12; 7.88g.
243. Pre.Hist.; Acr. 7; 29mm; 6; 7.2g. Var.43.
244. Byz.Str.1974-78; 30mm; 12.57g.
245. Byz.Str.1974-78; 31mm; 11.47g. Var.24a, 39 or 40.
246. Byz.Str.1974-78; 32mm; 11.44g.
247. Byz.Str.1974-78; 29mm; 12.00g. Var.41.
248. Byz.Str.1974-78; 29mm; 11.03g.
249. Byz.Str.1974-78; 29mm; 10.05g.
250. Byz.Stray.126. Var. 47.
251. Byz.Stray.127. Var. 34-40.
252. Byz.Stray.128. Var. 41.
253. Byz.Stray.129. Var. 5.
254. Byz.Stray.130. Var. 41.
255. Byz.Stray.131. Var. 47.
256. Byz.Stray.132. Var. 5.
257. Byz.Stray.133. Var. 24.
258. Byz.Stray.134. Var. 14b or 24.
259. Byz.Stray.135. Var. 39 or 40.
260. Byz.Stray.136. Var. 25.
261. Byz.Stray.137. Var. 45?
262. Byz.Stray.138. Var. 41.
263. Byz.Stray.139. Var. 5.

264. Byz.Stray.141. Var. 8.
265. Byz.Stray.142. Var. 8.
266. Byz.Stray.145. Var. 5.
267. Byz.Stray.160(b).
268. Byz.Stray.160(c).
269. Byz.Stray.248. Var. 45.
270. Byz.Stray.249. Var. 5.
271. Byz.Stray.161. Var. 6.
272. Byz.Stray.162. Var. 26.
273. Byz.Stray.162. Var. 25.
274. Byz.Stray.164. Var. 9.
275. Byz.Stray.165. Var. 5.
276. Byz.Stray.166. Var. 8.
277. Byz.Stray.167. Var. 20.
278. Byz.Stray.168. Var. 7.
279. Byz.Stray.169. Var. 5.
280. Byz.Stray.170. Var. 2.
281. Byz.Stray.171.
282. Byz.Stray.172.

AE Follis, *Class A1 or A2.*

283. Byz.Stray.147.
284. Byz.Stray.148.
285. Byz.Stray.149.
286. Byz.Stray.150.
287. Byz.Stray.151.
288. Byz.Stray.152.
289. Byz.Stray.153.
290. Byz.Stray.154.
291. Byz.Stray.155.
292. Byz.Stray.156.
293. Byz.Stray.157.
294. Byz.Stray.158.
295. Byz.Stray.159.
296. Byz.Stray.160(a).
297. Byz.Stray.250.
298. Byz.Stray.251.
299. Mus.Foundation.8.
300. Mus.Foundation.14.
301. Mus.Foundation.66.

AE Follis, *Class B*.
AD 1028(?)-1042(?). DOC III-2, p.676.
Obv: [+EMMA NOVHΛ] Bust of Christ (Type VIIb) facing, bearded, with cross nimbus having □ in each arm and pellet in each upper quarter, wearing tunic and himation; r. hand raised in blessing in sling of cloak, l. holds book, with ⁘ on cover, from beneath. In field, $I\overline{C}$ $X\overline{C}$.
Rev: [$I\bar{S}$ $X\bar{S}$/bAS ILE/bAS ILE] Cross on base and two steps, pellet at each end of upper arms.

302. Inv.63-510; Stray find (W. Necropolis); 29mm; 12.0g.
303. Inv.66-180; B.Pal Room 6 Stratum 1; 27mm; 10.5g.
304. Inv.66-186; B.Pal Precinct Stratum 1; 29mm; 9.3g.
305. Inv.66-188; B.Pal Room 14; 29mm; 14.0g.
306. Inv.66-325; T.Aph N.Temenos 17 Stratum 2; 30mm; 10.0g.
307. Inv.70-105; P.Tib. S; 29mm.
308. Inv.70-044; B.Th E. Aula Thermae; 26mm; 9.0g.
309. Inv.70-162; B.Th. SE Piazza Surface find; 28mm; 12.9g. Var. B.11.
310. Inv.83-100; Seb. Surface find; 30mm.
311. Inv.85-049; WaCh 85.1 -2.50m; 31mm.
312. C.2004.015; N.Ag 4.2 SU 7; 28mm; 6; 11.50g.
313. C.2004.039; N.Ag 4.2 SU 37; 29mm; 6; 10.00g.
314. C.2004.052; N.Ag 4.3 SU 4; 30mm.; 6; 6.58g.
315. C.2018.012; S.Ave 18.2 SU 008; 29mm; 6; 9.88g.
316. Byz.Str.1974-78; 31mm; 8.55g.
317. Byz.Stray.173.
318. Byz.Stray.174.
319. Byz.Stray.175.
320. Byz.Stray.176.
321. Byz.Stray.177.
322. Byz.Stray.178.

323. Byz.Stray.179.
324. Byz.Stray.252.

AE Follis, *Class C*.
AD 1042(?)-c.1050. DOC III-2, p.681.
Obv: [+EMMA NOVHΛ] Three-quarter length figure of Christ Antiphonetes (Type IVc) facing, bearded, with cross nimbus having pellet in each arm, wearing tunic and himation; r. hand raised in blessing in front of body; l. holds book with nine pellets in outer border of cover, two in centre (usually obscure). In field, IC̄ XC̄.
Rev: [IC̄ XC̄/NI KA] in angles of jewelled cross with pellet at end of each arm.

325. Inv.62-469; Museum Field Surface find; 26mm; 6.7g.
326. Inv.63-640; B.Had 2 Stratum 1; 28mm; 8.9g.
327. Inv.63-687; E. Bou. Room EG Floor level; 30mm; 8.9g.
328. Inv.63-688; E.Bou. Room EG Floor level; 31mm; 11.7g.
329. Inv.63-689; E.Bou DE Room; 28mm; 8.7g.
330. Inv.65-375; B.Pal 13 Stratum 2; 26mm; 8.8g.
331. Inv.66-373; B.Pal Precinct Stratum 2; 27mm; 6.4g.
332. Inv.70-166; Theatre S Level; 26mm.
333. Inv.71-212; Theatre Surface find; 26mm; 8.73g.
334. Inv.71-387; Theatre Post Scaenam II; 26mm; 8.05g.
335. Inv.73-188; Theatre NPS 1; 31mm.
336. Inv.74-066; Theatre SPS; 25mm; 8.34g.
337. Inv.77-129; S.Ag Gate 5; 23mm; 7.8g.
338. Inv.82-237; Seb. NC Port 82.3; 29mm.
339. Inv.84-171; N.Tetra (grid J6); 26mm.
340. C.1988.079; SW Seb. 88.2 SU 1; 25mm; 12; 5.23g. Broken.
341. C.2004.014; N.Ag 04.2 SU 5; 28mm; 7; 3.31g.
342. C.2011.262; N.Ave 11.5 SU 28; 31mm; 12; 9.03g. Overstruck on *Class A2*.
343. C.2012.133; N.Ave 12.2 SU 23; 30mm; 6; 8.33g.
344. C.2013.113; S.Ag 13.2 SU 4024; 29mm; 6; 8.10g.
345. C.2017.013; S.Ave 17.1 surface; 25mm; 12; 5.1g. Double struck.
346. Byz.Stray.180.
347. Byz.Stray.181.
348. Byz.Stray.182.
349. Byz.Stray.183.
350. Byz.Stray.185.
351. Byz.Stray.186.
352. Byz.Stray.187.
353. Byz.Stray.188.
354. Byz.Stray.189
355. Byz.Stray.190.
356. Byz.Stray.191.
357. Byz.Stray.192.
358. Byz.Stray.193.
359. Byz.Stray.194.
360. Byz.Stray.195.
361. Byz.Stray.196.
362. Byz.Stray.253.
363. Byz.Stray.154.
364. Byz.Stray.255.

AE Follis, *Class D*.
AD c.1050-c.1060. DOC III-2, p.685.
Obv: No Inscription. Christ seated on square-backed throne (Type IIb) facing, bearded, with cross nimbus having pellet in each arm, wearing tunic and himation; r. hand raised in blessing in sling of cloak; l. holds book with ⁖ on cover, by spine on knee. In field, IC̄ XC̄.
Rev: [−+−/IXSX/bASILE/bASIL/−ᴗ−]

365. Inv.65-250; SW Bou. 2 Stratum 1; 29mm; 7.3g.
366. Inv.70-120; N. Bou; 26mm.
367. Inv.84-162; S. Tetra (grid J2); 29mm; 5.8g.
368. C.2004.066; N.Ag 04.3 SU 22; 28mm; 6; 8.75g.
369. C.2012.051; S.Ag 12.1 SU 1007; 31mm; 6; 7.60g.
370. C.2015.044; S.Ag, 15.1 SU 4048; 32mm; 6; 7.56g. Pierced for suspension.
371. Byz.Stray.197.
372. Byz.Stray.198.

AE Follis, *Class G.*
AD c.1065-1070. DOC III-2, p.692.
Obv: No inscription. Bust of Christ (Type IXa) facing, bearded, with cross nimbus, wearing tunic and himation; r. hand blessing inwards in sling of cloak , scroll held in l. In field, $\overline{\text{IC}}$ $\overline{\text{XC}}$. Border of large pellets.
Rev: No inscription. Bust of the Virgin facing, nimbate, wearing tunic and maphorion. In field, $\overline{\text{M}}\overline{\text{P}}$ $\overline{\Theta}\overline{\text{V}}$. Border of large pellets.

373. Inv.63-105; Seb. Propylon Surface find; 27mm; 10.4g.
374. Inv.63-229; WaCh 61 Surface find; 28mm; 7.9g.
375. Inv.66-054; P.Tib W Portico Stratum 2; 28mm; A; 7.6g.
376. Inv.66-178; B.Pal Apsidal Room Stratum 1; 28mm; 3.8g.
377. Inv.66-179; B.Pal Apsidal Room Stratum 1; 27mm; 4.4g.
378. Inv.70-566; Theatre S Level; 28mm.
379. Inv.71-240; Theatre PS; 27mm; 7.52g.
380. Inv.71-465; Acr. 9; 25mm; 7.63g.
381. Inv.74-148; B.Th N.E.Ana 74.1 Stratum 1; 25mm; 4.27g.
382. Inv.76-161; B.Th. SE Piazza Surface find; 28mm; 4.4g.
383. Inv.81-033; Seb. N. Portico (grid 1C); 27mm.
384. Byz.Stray.199.
385. Byz.Stray.200.
386. Byz.Stray.201.
387. Byz.Stray.202.
388. Byz.Stray.203.
389. Byz.Stray.256.

AE Follis, *Class I*.
AD c.1075-c.1080. DOC III-2, p.696.
Obv: No inscription. Bust of Christ (Type VIIb) facing, having long, slightly forked beard and cross nimbus with one pellet in each arm of cross, wearing tunic and himation; r. hand blessing inwards in sling of cloak, l. holds book with ⁘ on cover, from beneath. In field, $\overline{\text{IC}}$ $\overline{\text{XC}}$.
Rev: No inscription. Latin cross with one large and two small pellets at each extremity, small cross at intersection, and pellet with floral ornaments to l. and r. at base. Above, crescents to l. and r.

390. Inv.63-446; B.Pal Stratum 2; 26mm; 8.4g.
391. Inv.66-059; P.Tib W. Portico B Stratum 2; 24mm; 4.7g.
392. Inv.72-331; E.Bou. IV Surface find; 22mm; 4.77g.
393. Inv73-218; Theatre NPS 1; 25mm.
394. Inv.75-210; South Wall Stratum 3; 25mm; 4.65g.
395. Inv.85-074; S.Tetra 85.2 CXII; 37mm; Overstruck on follis of Michael VII (AD 1071-78).
396. C.2008.188; N.Ave 8.2 SU 18; 23mm; 6; 2.83g.

397. C.2013.027; N.Ave 13.4 SU 4014; 24mm; 8; 3.70g.
398. C.2013.056; N.Ave 13.4 SU 2013; 23mm; 6; 2.78g.
399. Byz.Stray.204.
400. Mus.Foundation.47.
401. Mus.Foundation.62.

Constantine X Ducas

23 November 1059 – 23 May 1067
Colleagues: Eudocia Macrembolitissa, Michael IV and Constantius

AE Follis, *Class 1*.
AD 1059-1067. DOC III-2, p. 774 no.8.
Obv: [+EMMA NOVHΛ] Christ standing on square souppedion (Type IVb) facing, bearded, with cross nimbus having pellet in each arm, wearing tunic and himation; r. hand raised in blessing in sling of cloak, l. holds book by lower edge. In field, I$\overline{C}$ X$\overline{C}$.
Rev: [+KѠNTΔK] On r., [EVΔKΑVΓO] On l. To l., Eudocia standing, facing, wearing modified loros with kite-shaped lower panel and crown with cross and pendilia. To r., Constantine standing, facing, wearing modified loros and crown with cross and pendilia. They hold between them labarum, with cross-piece on shaft, standing on base and three steps, and each places one hand on heart.

402. Inv.83-112; S. Tetra 83 (grid VI-X); 25mm.
403. C.2003.048; N.Ag 03.2 NE SU 12; 27mm; 6; 8.89g.
404. C.2004.073; N.Ag 04.2 SU 50; 30mm; 6; 8.32g.
405. C.2004.083; N.Ag 4.2 SU 50; 27mm; 6; 9.26g.
406. C.2013.060; N.Ave 13.1 SU 1010; 26mm; 6; 7.53g.
407. C.2015.049; N.Ave 15.1 SU 1092; 29mm; 6; 8.31g.
408. Byz.Stray.205.
409. Byz.Stray.206.
410. Byz.Stray.246.

AE Follis, *Class 2*.
AD 1059-1067. DOC III-2, p.777 no.9.
Obv: [+EMMA NOVHΛ] Bust of Christ (Type Vf) facing, with long beard and cross nimbus having pellet in each arm, wearing tunic and himation; r. hand raised before breast in blessing, l. holds book with ⁘ and ⁙ overlaid on cover, from beneath. To l., I$\overline{C}$. To r., X$\overline{C}$.
Rev: [+KѠNRΛCI ΛEVCOΔOVK] Bust of emperor facing, bearded wearing modified loros and crown with cross and pendilia. In r. hand, cross held vertically; in l., akakia.

411. Inv.63-230; WaCh Surface find; 23mm; 8.5g.
412. Inv.66-175; T.Aph N.Temenos 12 Stratum 2; 27mm; 6.9g.
413. Inv.66-606; B.Pal Precinct tr. 3; 28mm; 8.3g.
414. Inv.81-009; Seb. N. Portico II (grid CI); 34mm.
415. C.2003.045; N.Ag 03.2 NE SU 12; 32mm; 6; 5.19g.
416. C.2006.031; NES 32 SU 2; 31mm; 6; 10.77g.
417. Byz.Stray.207.
418. Byz.Stray.208.
419. Byz.Stray.247.

Romanos IV Diogenes

1 January 1068 – September 1071
Colleagues: Eudocia Macrembolitissa, Michael IV, Andronicus and Constantius.

AE Follis.
AD 1068-1071. DOC III-2, p.796 no.8.
Obv: No inscription. Bust of Christ (Type VIIb Var.) facing, bearded, with dotted cross behind head, wearing tunic and himation; r.

hand raised in blessing in sling of cloak, l. holds book with ⁝⁝ on cover, from beneath. In field $\overline{IC}$ and $\overline{XC}$ over $\overline{NI}$ and $\overline{KA}$.
Obv; [C/R/P/Δ] In angles of Latin cross, with X at intersection and one large and two small pellets at end of each arm. To l. and r. of pellets at base horizontal teardrop ornaments.

420. Inv.70-170; Theatre; 27mm.
421. Inv.71-214; P.Tib Sector E; 24mm; 4.83g.
422. C.1988.78; Seb SW 88.2 Stratum 2; 27mm; 6; 6.46g.
423. C.2004.129; N.Ag 04.3 SU 49; 26mm; 6; 6.83g.

Michael VII Ducas

October 1071 – 31 March 1078
Augustus from c.1060
Colleagues: Andronicus (to 1074/77) and Constantius, his brothers, and Constantine (from 1074), his son.

AE Follis.
AD 1071-1078. DOC III-2, p.818 no.14.
Obv: No inscription. Bust of Christ (Type Ve) facing, bearded, with cross behind head, wearing tunic and himation; r. hand raised in blessing, l. holds book with various ornament from beneath. In field $\overline{IC}$ and $\overline{XC}$ above lateral arms of cross, six-pointed stars between them.
Rev: [+ϺIX ȺHΛ RȺCIOΔ] Bust facing, bearded, wearing modified loros with collar-piece and crown with cross and pendilia, holding in r. hand labarum, in l., gl. cr.

424. Inv.62-035; T.Aph 3 Stratum 2; 28mm; 5.5g. Overstruck on Constantine X *Class 1* follis.
425. Inv.65-315; B.Pal 12 Stratum 1; 26mm; 4.6g.
426. Inv.67-178; B.Pal (SW) Stratum 1; 26mm; 4.8g.
427. Mus.Foundation.63.

Alexios I Komnenos

April 1081 –August 1118
Colleagues: Constantine Ducas (to ca. 1088) and John II Komnenos (From 1092)

Mint of Thessalonica
AE Tetarteron of the Fourth Coinage
Third in succession of four issues AD 1093-1118.
DOC IV-1, p.236 no.40.
Obv: [C Φ M Δ] in angles of jewelled, radiate cross, decorated at end of each limb with one large globule and two smaller, all on two steps.
Rev: [TѠK O ϺH] Bust of emperor wearing stemma, divitision, and jewelled loros of traditional type; holds in r. hand sceptre cruciger, and in l., gl. cr.

428. Mus.Foundation.61.
429. Mus.Foundation.65.
430. Mus.Foundation.83.

Uncertain Mint (Greece?)
AE ½ Tetarteron
AD 1093-1118. DOC IV-1, p.240 no.45.
Obv: [Ⱥ Ⱥ K Φ] in angles of patriarchal cross on two steps.
Rev: [ΛΛЄ ⊐I] Bust of emperor wearing stemma, divitision, and jewelled loros of traditional tyoe; holds in r. hand jewelled sceptre, and in l., gl. cr.

431. Mus.Foundation.39.

John II Komnenos

August 1118 – April 1143
Colleague: Alexios Komnenos

Bill. Aspron Trachy of the Second Coinage.
AD 1137-1143. DOC IV-1, p.226 no.10b.

Obv: $\bar{I}\bar{C}$ $\bar{X}C$ in field. Bust of Christ, bearded and nimbate, wearing tunic and kolobion, holds Gospels in l. hand. Pellet in each limb of nimbus cross.
Rev: Bust of emperor wearing stemma, divitision, collar-piece with five jewels, and panelled loros of simplified type; holds in r. hand sceptre cruciger with transverse stroke on shaft, and in l., gl. cr.

432. Inv.71-448; Theatre "S" Level; 32/31mm; 5; 3.9g Var. B

Manuel I Komnenos

April 1143 – September 1180
Colleague: Alexios Komnenos (1171-80)

El. Aspron Trachy of the Second Coinage.

AD 1152-67 (?). DOC IV-1, p.297 no.3.
Obv: : $\bar{I}\bar{C}$ $\bar{X}C$ in field. Christ, bearded and nimbate, wearing tunic and kolobion, seated upon throne without back; r. hand raised in benediction, holds Gospels in l. Pellet in each limb of nimbus cross.
Rev: [MΛNȣHΛ ΔECΠOTH ˙] $\bar{M}$ $\bar{\Theta}\bar{V}$ in upper field. Full-length figure of emperor, bearded, on l., and of Virgin nimbate, holding between them patriarchal cross on long shaft at the base of which as small globe. Emperor wears stemma, divitision, collar-piece, and jewelled loros of simplified type; holds akakia in r. hand. Virgin wears tunic and maphorion.

433. Inv.83-181; S.Tetra 83 IV-B -0.10m; 35mm. Var.3b

Bill. Aspron Trachy of the Second Coinage.

AD.1152-ca.60 (?). DOC IV-1, p.307 no.11.
Obv: $\bar{I}\bar{C}$ $\bar{X}C$ in field. Christ, bearded and nimbate, wearing tunic and kolobion, seated upon throne with back; holds Gospels in l. hand. Pellet in each limb of nimbus cross.
Rev: [MΛNȣHΛ ΔEC ΠOTH] Full length figure of emperor, bearded, wearing stemma, divitision, collar-piece, jewelled loros of simplified type, and sagion; holds in r. hand sceptre cruciger and in l., gl. cr.

434. Inv.71-124; P.Tib Sec.E Toposoil; 29mm; 6; 3.5g. Var. A. Pierced twice for embroidery.
435. Inv.74-045; B.Th. EAT Stratum 2; 30mm; 2.5g. Pierced for suspension.
436. C.2018.024 B.S.Ag 18.2 SU 010; 28mm; 6; 3.54g.

Bill. Aspron Trachy of the Fourth Coinage.

AD 1167-83 (?). DOC IV-1, p.312 no.13.
Obv: $\bar{I}\bar{C}$ $\bar{X}C$ in field. Christ, bearded and nimbate, wearing tunic and kolobion, seated upon throne without back; holds Gospels in l. hand. Pellet in each limb of nimbus cross.
Rev: [MΛNȣHΛ ΔECΠOT ˙ $\bar{M}\bar{P}$] $\bar{M}$ $\bar{\Theta}\bar{V}$ in upper r. field. Full-length figure of emperor, bearded, on l., crowned by Virgin nimbate. Emperor wears stemma, divitision, collar-piece, and jewelled loros of simplified type; holds in r. hand labarum-headed sceptre, and in l., gl. cr. Virgin wears tunic and maphorion.

437. Inv.64-148; B.Pal Trench 8 Stratum 1; 30mm; 6; 3.3g. Var.A.
438. C.2008.949; N.Ave 08 Scarp B13; 31mm; 5.26g. Obv. Illegible.
439. C.2013.022; S.Ag 13.2, SU 4000; 29mm; 6; 4.43g; Pierced for suspension.

AE Tetarteron of the Fourth Coinage.

AD 1167-83 (?). DOC IV-1, p.327 no.16.
Obv: $\bar{I}\bar{C}$ $\bar{X}C$ in field. Full-length figure of Christ, standing on dais, bearded and nimbate, wearing tunic and kolobion; holds Gospels in l. hand. Pellet in each limb of nimbus cross.
Rev: [MΛNȣHΛ ΔЄCΠOTH] Full-length figure of emperor, bearded, wearing stemma, divitision, collar-piece, and jewelled loros of simplified type; holds in r. hand labarum on long shaft, on which X, and in l., gl. cr.

440. Mus.Foundation.12.

Uncertain Greek Mint
AE ½ Tetarteron, *Type B*.
AD 1152-ca.60 (?). DOC IV-1, p.337no.23.
Obv: [vertical, in two descending lines: ΟΓЄ ⳑΡΓΙΟS] Bust of St. George, beardless and nimbate, wearing tunic, breastplate, and sagion; holds in r. hand spear, and in l., shield.
Rev: [ΜΑΝЧ ΗΛ ΔЄСΠΟΤ] Bust of emperor, bearded, wearing stemma, divitision, collar-piece, and jewelled loros of simplified type; holds in r. hand labarum-headed sceptre, and in l., gl. cr.

441. Mus.Foundation.94.

Isaac II Angelos

September 1185 – August 1195

Bill. Aspron Trachy.
AD 1185-95. DOC IV-1, p.377 no.3.
Obv: [M͞P Θ͞V͞] In upper field. Virgin nimbate, wearing tunic and maphorion, seated upon throne with back; holds beardless, nimbate head of Christ on breast.
Rev: [ICΛΛKIOC ΔЄСΠΟΤΗС] in two columnar groups. Full-length figure of emperor wearing stemma, divitision, collar-piece, jewelled loros of simplified type, and sagion; holds in r. hand sceptre cruciger, and in l., anexikakia. Manus Dei in upper r. field.

442. Inv.64-344; B.Pal 10, Stratum 1 at -0.98m; 28mm; 6; 4.0g; Var. B.
443. Mus.Foundation.50. Var. B.
444. Mus.Foundation.86. Var. B.
445. Mus.Foundation.29. Var. C.

Theodore Mankaphas

Proclaimed Basileus in Philadelphia ca. 1188-89 and again ca. 1204-06.

Mint of Philadelphia (?)
Bill. Aspron Trachy.
AD 1188-89 (?). Aphrodisias specimen published as DOC IV-1, p.396 no. 2.1.
Obv: in field. Full length figure of Christ, bearded and nimbate, wearing tunic and kolobion, standing on dais; r. hand held in benediction, holds Gospels in l.
Rev: Full length figure of emperor wearing stemma, divitision, collar-piece, jewelled loros of simplified type (?), and sagion (?); both hands open at sides, in upper left field, over right shoulder, an oblique patriarchal cross on stem as if held by figure.

446. Inv.71-239; P.Tib Surface; flan 29mm, die 15mm; 4; 5.1g.

Alexios III Angelos

April 1185 – November 1204

Bill. Aspron Trachy of the First Indiction.
AD.1195-97. DOC IV-1, p.407 no.3a.
Obv: I͞C X͞C in field. Beardless, nimbate bust of Christ, wearing tunic and kolobion; holds scroll in l. hand. Pellet, or pellets, normally in each limb of nimbus cross.
Rev: Full length figure of emperor on l., and of St. Constantine nimbate, holding between them gl. cr. Emperor and saint wear stemma, divitision, collar-piece, and jewelled loros of simplified type; both hold labarum-headed sceptre.

447. Mus.Foundation.7. Var. A.
448. Mus.Foundation.23. Var. A.

Bill. Aspron Trachy of the Second Indiction.
AD 1197-1203 DOC IV-1, p.407 no.3b-i.
Obv: [K͞ЄRO ΗΘЄI.] Otherwise, as above.

Rev: As above, variations to loros and collar piece.

449. Inv.67-347; SE Odeon 1 St. 1; 26/24mm; 6; 2.8g.
450. Mus.Foundation.46. Var. B.
451. Mus.Foundation.48. Var. B.
452. Mus.Foundation.6. Var. C.
453. Mus.Foundation.25. Var. C.
454. Mus.Foundation.36. Var. C.
455. Mus.Foundation.64. Var. C.
456. Mus.Foundation.41. Var. D.

Bill. Aspron Trachy, Indiction Illegible.
AD.1195-1203. DOC IV-1, p.407 no.3.

457. Mus.Foundation.22.
458. Mus.Foundation.97.

Theodore I Komnenos Laskaris

First acclaimed 1205; crowned Basileus 1208-21.
Colleague: Nicholas Comnenus-Lascaris (ca. 1208-12?)

Mint of Nikaia
Bill. Aspron Trachy of the First Coinage.
AD 1205-12 (?). DOC IV-2, p.459 no.5.
Obv: M͞P Θ͞V in field. Virgin nimbate, wearing tunic and maphorion, seated upon throne without back; holds beardless, nimbate head of Christ on breast.
Rev: [ΘЄOΔWPOC ΘΘЄOΔWPOC] Full length figure of emperor on l., and of St. Theodore, bearded and nimbate, holding between them patriarchal cross on long shaft. Emperor wears stemma, divitision, collar-piece, and panelled loros of simplified type; holds labarum-headed sceptre in r. hand. Saint wears short military tunic and breastplate; holds spear in l. hand, resting over shoulder.

459. Inv.72-061; Theatre S. ramp II; 27mm.

Latin Imitative Issues

1204-1261 (?)

Bill. Aspron Trachy
Constantinople Type D or E.
DOC IV-2, p.675-6, nos. 4 and 5.
Obv: I͞C X͞C in field. Beardless, nimbate bust of Christ, wearing tunic and kolobion; holds scroll in l. hand. Pellet in each limb of nimbus cross.
Rev: [MAOVHΛΔЄCΠOTHC] Full-length figure of emperor wearing stemma, divitision, collar-piece, jewelled loros of simplified type, and sagion; holds in r. hand sceptre cruciger, and in l., gl. cr. (*Type E holds in r. hand labarum-headed sceptre, and in l., globus surmounted by patriarchal cross.*)

460. Mus.Foundation.21. In three small pieces.

Bill. Aspron Trachy
Constantinople Type H.
DOC IV-2, p.678, no.8.
Obv: M͞P Θ͞V in upper field. Virgin nimbate, wearing tunic and maphorion, seated upon throne with back, holds beardless, nimbate head of Christ on breast.
Rev: [ΑNΔPONIKOC ΔЄCΠOTHC] I͞C X͞C in upper r. field. Full-length figure of emperor on l., crowned by Chirst, bearded and nimbate. Emperor wears stemma, divitision, collar piece, panelled loros of simplified type, and sagion; holds in r. hand labarum-headed sceptre, and in l., gl. cr. Christ wears tunic and kolobion; holds Gospels in l. hand.

461. Mus.Foundation.19.

Bill. Aspron Trachy
Constantinople Type P.
DOC IV-2, p.683 no.16.

Obv: IC XC in field. Bust of Christ, beardless and nimbate, wearing tunic and kolobion; holds scroll in l. hand. Pellet in each limb of nimbus cross.
Rev: [In two vertical columns: X A / X M] Full-length figure of archangel Michael nimbate, wearing short military tunic, breastplate, and sagion; holds in r. hand jewelled, trifid sceptre, and in l., gl. cr.

462. Mus.Foundation.24.
463. Mus.Foundation.27.
464. Mus.Foundation.35.

Bill. Aspron Trachy
Constantinople Type T.
DOC IV-2, p.686, no.20.
Obv: [In two columnar groups: MP OV H AΓIOCOPITICA] Full-length figure of Virgin Hagiosoritissa nimbate, orans, wearing tunic and maphorion. Manus Dei in upper r. field.
Rev: [In two columnar groups: O AΓIOC ΠЄTPOC O AΓIOC ΠAVΛOC] Full-length figures of Saints Peter (on l.) and Paul (on r.), nimbate, wearing tunic and kolobion, embracing each other. St. Peter has short beard, St. Paul a long one.

465. Mus.Foundation.78.

Bill. Aspron Trachy
Thessalonica Type B.
DOC IV-2, p.691, no.25.
Obv: [in two columnar groups, reading first horizontally and then vertically: IC O EM MA / XC NO HΛ] Bust of Christ Emmanuel, bearded (*sic*) and nimbate, wearing tunic and kolobion; holds scroll in l. hand.
Rev: [TѠKOMN] Full-length figure of emperor wearing stemma, divitision, and chlamys; holds in r. hand labarum-headed sceptre, and in l., gl. cr.

466. Mus.Foundation.1.

Bill. Aspron Trachy
Thessalonica Type C.
DOC IV-2, p.692, no.26.
Obv: IC XC in field. Christ, bearded and nimbate, wearing tunic and kolobion, seated upon throne without back; r. hand raised in benediction, holds Gospels in l. Cross above cushion of throne, to r.
Rev: [HAΓIAЄΛЄNH ΘKOTANT] Full-length figures of St. Helen (on l.) and Constantine (on r.), holding between them patriarchal cross on long shaft and step. Both wear stemma, divitision, collar-piece, and jewelled loros of simplified type; St. Helen holds jewelled sceptre, St. Constantine; sceptre cruciger.

467. Mus.Foundation.49

Bill. Aspron Trachy (Small Module)
Type F
DOC IV-2, p.697, no.35.
Obv. and rev. as *Thessalonica Type C (Large Module)*.

468. Mus.Foundation.16.

Issues for which a reliable attribution is impossible

AE Follis

469. C.2018.23; B.S.Ag 18.1 SU 013; 26mm; 6; 4.27g. Obverse is worn and illegible bust, and the first of four lines on the reverse is missing. Either a Constantine VII *Class 4* (Romanos) or a Nikephoros II issue.

AR Miliaresion

470. Inv.87-041; B.Th 87.1. Measurements not recorded. Found on pavement. Coin broken in two pieces, with a cross on stepped platform faintly visible on the reverse.
471. Inv.63-094; Stray find; 21mm; 1.9g.

Bill. Scyphate issues.

472. Inv.64-565; E.Bou Chamber 4 Stratum 3; 25mm; 1.8g.
473. Inv.68.415; NE Nymphaeum; ⅔ preserved and pierced for suspension.
474. Inv.70-144; Theatre R1; disintegrated during cleaning.

Coins as Ritual Deposits

Anonymous Folles

AE Follis, *Class A2*.
AD 976(?)-1028(?). DOC III-2, p.649.

475. Inv.62-422; Tomb TrCh.62.89; 35mm; 13.7g.
476. Inv.64.191; T.Aph Apse Well; 27mm; 8g.
477. Inv.64-192; T.Aph Apse Well; 32mm; 16.2g.
478. Inv.64-194; T.Aph Apse Well; 31mm; 13.8g.
479. Inv.64-265; WaCh IV Well; 27mm; 8.6g.
480. Inv.65-508; Tomb Cath.65.57; 30mm; 16.6g.
481. Inv.66-352; Tomb Cath.66.83; 30mm; 13.75g.

AE Follis, *Class C*.
AD 1042(?)-c.1050. DOC III-2, p.681.

482. Inv.64-322; WaCh IV Well; 25mm; 9.1g.
483. Inv.64-338; WaCh IV Well; 29mm; 8.2g.
484. Inv.66-190; Tomb Cath.66.76; 32mm; 8.1g.

Western Medieval

Mint of Lucca
AR Denero
AD 1039-1125.

485. Inv.62-354; Tomb Cath.62.20; 18mm; 0

New Geyre Village

Basil I

AE Follis, *Class 2*.
AD 868-70. DOC III-2, p.494 no.9.
Obv: Two figures seated on double throne, facing, Basil to l., bearded, Constantine to r., smaller, beardless, each wearing modified loros and crown with cross, holding between them labarum ornamented with X and streamers.
Rev: [+ƀASILIO/SCOПSƬAП/ƬIПOSEПθ̄Ō/ƀASILE ISR/OMAIOП]

486. Mus.Inv.4902; *diameter not recorded*.

Leo VI

AE Follis, *Class 1*.
AD 886-908. DOC III-2, p.515 no.5.

487. Mus.Inv.4039; 27mm.

Constantine VII

AE Follis, *Class 4*.
AD 931-944. DOC III-2, p.562 no.25.

488. Mus.Inv.0193; 23mm.
489. Mus.Inv.3001; 25mm.

AE Follis, *Class 5*.
AD 945-c.950. DOC III-2, p.565 no.26.
Obv: [+COПST´ƀA SIL´ROM´] Bust of

490. Mus.Inv.2791; 25mm.
491. Mus.Inv.2803; 24mm.
492. Mus.Inv.5140; 24mm.

Nikephoros II

AE Follis, *Class 1* or *Class 2*.
AD 963-969. DOC III-2, p.586 no.7/p.587 no.8.

493. Mus.Inv.2981; 26mm.
494. Mus.Inv.3008; 26mm.

Anonymous Folles

AE Follis, *Class* A1.
AD 970-976(?). DOC III-2, p.648.

495. Mus.Inv.0194; 25mm.
496. Mus.Inv.2804; 22mm.
497. Mus.Inv.3305; 25mm.
498. Mus.Inv.4064; 27mm. Overstruck on a Romanos I (Constantine VII *Class 4*) or Nikephoros II follis.
499. Mus.WSt; 29mm; 6; 7.16g.
500. Mus.WSt; 25mm; 6; 3.56g.

AE Follis, *Class A2*.
AD 976(?)-1028(?).DOC III-2, p.649.

501. Mus.Inv.2125; 32mm.
502. Mus.Inv.2848; 29mm.
503. Mus.Inv.2872; 33mm.
504. Mus.Inv.2873; 31mm.
505. Mus.Inv.2975; 30mm. Var. 8.
506. Mus.Inv.2982; 32mm.
507. Mus.Inv.2983; 35mm. Var. 8.
508. Mus.Inv.2985; 31mm.
509. Mus.Inv.2986; 31mm.
510. Mus.Inv.2987; 31mm.
511. Mus.Inv.2992; 32mm.
512. Mus.Inv.2295; 32mm.
513. Mus.Inv.2296; 30mm. Var. 7.

514. Mus.Inv.3003; 34mm. Var. 9, 48 or 49.
515. Mus.Inv.3171; 28mm.
516. Mus.Inv.3255; 33mm.
517. Mus.Inv.6734; 30mm.
518. Mus.Inv.3765; 27mm. Var. 24a, 39 or 40.
519. Mus.Inv.3767; 26mm. Var. 24a, 39 or 40.
520. Mus.Inv.4358; 26mm.
521. Mus.Inv.4375; 34mm.
522. Mus.Inv.4724; 29mm.
523. Mus.Inv.4904; 28mm.
524. Mus.Inv.4933; *diameter not recorded*.
525. Mus.Inv.4969; 28mm.
526. Mus.Inv.4970; 25mm.
527. Mus.Inv.5052; 28mm.
528. Mus.Inv.5102; 31mm.
529. Mus.Inv.5133; 28mm.
530. Mus.Inv.5138; 29mm.
531. Mus.Inv.5139; 27mm.
532. Mus.Inv.5206; 28mm. Var.47.
533. Mus.Inv.5217; 32mm.
534. Mus.Inv.5237; 34mm.
535. Mus.Inv.5238; 32mm.
536. Mus.Inv.5315; 32mm.
537. Mus.Inv.5326; 29mm.
538. Mus.Inv.5929; 27mm. Var. 45.
539. Mus.WSt; 29mm; 6; 7.20g. Var. 43.
540. Mus.WSt; 26mm; 6; 9.63g.
541. Mus.WSt: 29mm; 6; 12.75g. Pierced for suspension.

AE Follis, *Class B*.
AD 1028(?)-1042(?). DOC III-2, p.676.

542. Mus.Inv.6088; 30mm.
543. Mus.Inv.2979; 27mm.
544. Mus.Inv.3044; 29mm.
545. Mus.Inv.5137; 31mm.
546. Mus.Inv.5321; 28mm.

AE Follis, *Class C*.
AD 1042(?)-c.1050. DOC III-2, p.681.

547. Mus.Inv.2647; 30mm.
548. Mus.Inv.2802; 30mm.
549. Mus.Inv.2998; 27mm.
550. Mus.Inv.3254; 30mm.
551. Mus.Inv.3447; 27mm.
552. Mus.Inv.3766; 28mm.
553. Mus.Inv.3768; 26mm.
554. Mus.Inv.3769; 30mm.
555. Mus.Inv.6303; 30mm.
556. Mus.WSt; 27mm; 6; 3.44g.

AE Follis, *Class E*.
AD c.1060. DOC III-2, p.688.
Obv: Bust of Christ (Type VIIb) facing, bearded, with cross nimbus having one pellet in upright arm and two in each lateral arm, wearing tunic and himation; r. hand raised in blessing in sling of cloak, l. holds book, with ⁘ on cover, from beneath. In field I$\overline{C}$ X$\overline{C}$.
Rev: [−+−/IXSX/ƀASILE/ƀASIL/−◡−]

557. Mus.Inv.5797; 30mm.

AE Follis, *Class D*.
AD c.1050-c.1060. DOC III-2, p.685.

558. Mus.Wst;27mm; 7; 9.02g.

AE Follis, Class G.
AD c.1065-1070. DOC III-2, p.692.

559. Mus.Inv.2988; 29mm.
560. Mus.Inv.2990; 24mm.
561. Mus.Inv.3259; 28mm.
562. Mus.Inv.4977; 27mm.
563. Mus.Inv.5239; 29mm.
564. Mus.Inv.5338; 25mm.

AE Follis, *Class I*.
AD c.1075-c.1080. DOC III-2, p.696.

565. Mus.Inv.2831; 22mm.
566. Mus.Inv.2847; 27mm.
567. Mus.Inv.2976; 23mm.

568. Mus.Inv.3007; 26mm.

Constantine X Ducas

AE Follis, *Class 2*.
AD 1059-1067. DOC III-2, p.777 no.9.

569. Mus.Inv.5134; 30mm.

Romanos IV Diogenes

AE Follis.
AD 1068-1071. DOC III-2, p.796 no.8.

570. Mus.Inv.2984; 30mm.
Overstruck on a *Class C* Anonymous Follis.

571. Mus.Inv.3258; 24mm.

Illegible Issues

572. Mus.Inv.3252; 33mm.
Middle Byzantine AE Follis. Faint nimbate bust visible on obverse.

573. Mus.Inv.3270; 25mm.
Middle Byzantine AE Follis. Four lines of illegible text on reverse.

574. Mus.Inv.3390; 25mm.
Middle Byzantine AE Follis. Faint busts on obverse and reverse.

575. Mus.Inv.5107; 21mm.

The Morsynos Valley and Tabai Plain

Ataeymir

37°42′17″N 28°46′14″E

A village of the central Morsynos valley, on the main road leading from Karacasu to the Tabai Plain. 4km east of Aphrodisias.

Leo VI

AE Follis, *Class 1*.
AD 886-908. DOC III-2, p.515 no.5.

576. Mus.Inv.0139; 21mm.

Constantine VII

AE Follis, *Class 5*.
AD 945-c.950. DOC III-2, p.565 no.26.
Obv: [+CONST′bA SIL′ROM′] Bust of

577. Mus.Inv.0227; 25mm.

Anonymous Folles

AE Follis, *Class* A1.
AD 970-976(?). DOC III-2, p.648.

578. Mus.Inv.2191; 27mm.
579. Mus.Inv.3171; 23mm.

AE Follis, *Class A2*.
AD 976(?)-1028(?).DOC III-2, p.649.

580. Mus.Inv.0086; 33mm.
581. Mus.Inv.0131; 26mm.
Var. 23.
582. Mus.Inv.0133; 27mm.
583. Mus.Inv.0140; 29mm.
584. Mus.Inv.0296; 25mm.
585. Mus.Inv.2189; 27mm.
586. Mus.Inv.2190; 30mm.
587. Mus.Inv.2192; 32mm.
Var. 39 or 40.
588. Mus.Inv.2193; 30mm.
589. Mus.Inv.2203; 25mm.
Var. 24a.
590. Mus.Inv.2594; 30mm.
Var. 8.
591. Mus.Inv.2664; 30mm;
Var. 39 or 40.
592. Mus.Inv.2666; 30mm.
593. Mus.Inv.3139; 30mm.
594. Mus.Inv.3980; 34mm.
595. Mus.Inv.3981; 27mm.
596. Mus.Inv.4038; 35mm.
Var. 26.
597. Mus.Inv.4537; 29mm.
598. Mus.Inv.5092; 34mm.

AE Follis, *Class B*.
AD 1028(?)-1042(?). DOC III-2, p.676.

599. Mus.Inv.0136; 25mm.
600. Mus.Inv.0137; 28mm.
601. Mus.Inv.3407; 25mm.
602. Mus.Inv.3408; 27mm.

AE Follis, *Class C*.
AD 1042(?)-c.1050. DOC III-2, p.681.

603. Mus.Inv.3085; 27mm.
604. Mus.Inv.3443; 30mm.
605. Mus.Inv.4025; 31mm.

AE Follis, Class G.
AD c.1065-1070. DOC III-2, p.692.

606. Mus.Inv.
0130; 25mm.
607. Mus.Inv.
0141; 27mm.

AE Follis, *Class I*.
AD c.1075-c.1080. DOC III-2, p.696.

608. Mus.Inv. 0241; 25mm.
609. Mus.Inv. 2141; 25mm.
610. Mus.Inv. 2195; 25mm.
611. Mus.Inv. 3982; 23mm.

Constantine X Ducas

AE Follis, *Class 2*.
AD 1059-1067. DOC III-2, p.777 no.9.

612. Mus.Inv.4352; 25mm.

Romanos IV Diogenes

AE Follis.
AD 1068-1071. DOC III-2, p.796 no.8.

613. Mus.Inv.0132; 27mm.

John III Doukas Vatatzes

Mint of Magnesia
AU Hyperpyron, *First Coinage*.
AD 1222-1254. *Coinage and Money in the Byzantine Empire*, p.237/*Byzantine Coins and their Values* 264/2029.
Obv: KЄRO HΘЄI. ĪC XC in field. Christ, bearded and nimbate, wearing tunic and colobion, seated upon throne without back; right hand raised in benediction, holds Gospels in left.
Rev: +IѠΔЄCП. ΘV MP in upper right field. Half-length figure of emperor on left, and of Virgin nimbate, holding between them patriarchal cross on long shaft. Emperor wears stemma, divitision, collar-piece, and panelled loros of simplified type; holds anexikakia in right hand. Virgin wears tunic and maphorion. *Manus Dei* in upper left field.

614. Mus.Inv.5130; 29mm.

Illegible Issues

615. Mus.Inv.2604; 23mm. Middle Byzantine AE Follis. Four lines of heavily overstruck and worn text on reverse. Diameter of flan suggests a tenth century date.
616. Mus.Inv.2605; 26mm. Middle Byzantine AE Follis. Four lines of worn text on reverse. Only the third line is legible: SILЄVS. The coin may be attributed to the reigns of Leo VI, Constantine VII (Romanos I) or Nikephoros II.
617. Mus.Inv.6322; 25mm. Middle Byzantine AE Follis. Four lines of worn text on reverse. The use of an omega as opposed to omicron in the ending of the genitive RѠ/MAIѠN indicates an issue of either Romanos I (Constantine VII *Class 4*) or Nikephoros II.
618. Mus.Inv.3086; 24mm. Middle Byzantine AE Follis. Four lines of heavily overstruck and worn text on reverse. Diameter of flan suggests a tenth century date.

Çamarası

37°39′5″N 28°42′9″E

Çamarası is a hamlet in the hills 7km south of Aphrodisias, at the end of a small arable valley whose stream is a tributary of the Morsynos.

Anonymous Folles

AE Follis, *Class A2*.
AD 976(?)-1028(?).DOC III-2, p.649.

619. Mus.Inv.0208; 28mm.

Dedeler

37°45′57″N 28°41′15″E

Dedeler is a hamlet in the hills north of the Morsynos Valley, 7km northwest of Aphrodisias.

Anonymous Folles

AE Follis, *Class D*.
AD c.1050-c.1060. DOC III-2, p.685.

620. Mus.Inv.2614; 32mm.

Işıklar

37°44′60″N 28°44′5″E

Işıklar is a village in the hills north of the Morsynos Valley, located between Dedeler and Palamutçuk at a distance of 5km from Aphrodisas.

Leo VI

AE Follis, *Class 3*.
AD 886-912. DOC III-2, p.518 no.8.

621. Mus.Inv.4031; 27mm.

Karacasu

37°43′51″N 28°36′22″E

Formerly known as Yenişehir, Karacasu is the largest modern town of the Morsynos valley. It is situated around 10km west of Aphrodisias.

Leo VI

AE Follis, *Class 3*.
AD 886-912. DOC III-2, p.518 no.8.

622. Mus.Inv.0162; 25mm.
623. Mus.Inv.0163; 22mm.

Constantine VII

AE Follis, *Class 4*.
AD 931-944. DOC III-2, p.562 no.25.

624. Mus.Inv.0328; 27mm.

Nikephoros II

AE Follis, *Class 1* or *Class 2*.
AD 963-969. DOC III-2, p.586 no.7/p.587 no.8.

625. Mus.Inv.4149; 24mm.

Anonymous Folles

AE Follis, *Class* A1.
AD 970-976(?). DOC III-2, p.648.

626. Mus.Inv.4910; 21mm.

AE Follis, *Class A2*.
AD 976(?)-1028(?).DOC III-2, p.649.

M 627. Mus.Inv.0024; 28mm.
Var. 2 or 4.
628. Mus.Inv.0164; 22mm.
Var. 39 or 40.
629. Mus.Inv.0324; 25mm.
630. Mus.Inv.4909; 32mm.
631. Mus.Inv.4911; 29mm.
632. Mus.Inv.2065; 27mm.
633. Mus.Inv.2068; 26mm.

AE Follis, *Class B.*
AD 1028(?)-1042(?). DOC III-2, p.676.

634. Mus.Inv.0323; 30mm.
635. Mus.Inv.0326; 28mm.

AE Follis, *Class I*.
AD c.1075-c.1080. DOC III-2, p.696.

636. Mus.Inv.4908; 20mm.

Constantine X Ducas

AE Follis, *Class 1*.
AD 1059-1067. DOC III-2, p. 774 no.8.

637. Mus.Inv.0160; 29mm.

Illegible Issues

638. Mus.Inv.1987; Middle Byzantine AE Follis. Four lines of illegible script on the reverse.

Karahisar

37°36′47″N 28°57′27″E

The town of Karahisar is situated at the northwestern limit of the Tabai plain, at the base of the pass between the plain and the Morsynos valley to the west. It is 23km east of Aphrodisias.

Anonymous Folles

AE Follis, *Class B.*
AD 1028(?)-1042(?). DOC III-2, p.676.

639. Mus.Inv.3136; 30mm.

Medet

37°30′31″N 28°0′56″E

Medet village is at on the southwestern limit of the Tabai plain, 34km southeast of Aphrodisias. It is the site of the ancient city of Apollonia. The only remnants of this city are a few rock-cut sarcophagi and the ashlar platform of a large temple, now the site of the local mosque. The medieval history of the site is obscure.

Anonymous Folles

AE Follis, *Class A2*.
AD 976(?)-1028(?).DOC III-2, p.649.

640. Mus.Inv.0097; 33mm.

Palamutçuk

37°44′2″N 28°45′17″E

A small village in the hills north of the Morsynos valley, located 4km to the northeast of Aphrodisias just beyond the city's ancient quarries.

Constantine VII

AE Follis, *Class 4*.
AD 931-944. DOC III-2, p.562 no.25.

641. Mus.Inv.5765; 26mm.

Anonymous Folles

AE Follis, *Class A2*.
AD 976(?)-1028(?).DOC III-2, p.649.

642. Mus.Inv.4973; 30mm.

AE Follis, *Class I*.
AD c.1075-c.1080. DOC III-2, p.696.

643. Mus.Inv.0268; 20mm.
644. Mus.Inv.2684; 24mm.

Constantine X Ducas

AE Follis, *Class 1*.
AD 1059-1067. DOC III-2, p. 774 no.8.

645. Mus.Inv.0245; 25mm.

Romanos IV Diogenes

AE Follis.
AD 1068-1071. DOC III-2, p.796 no.8.

646. Mus.Inv.0265; 25mm.

Tavas

37°34′16″N 29°4′17″E

The modern town of Tavas lies on the northeast limit of the Tabai plain. It ought not to be confused with the ancient city of Tabai at the far south of the plain, now known as Davaskale or simply Kale. Tavas is 34km east-southeast of Aphrodisias.

Leo VI

AE Follis, *Class 3*.
AD 886-912. DOC III-2, p.518 no.8.

647. Mus.Inv.0105; 25mm.

Yenice

37°82’95”N 28°57’07”E

The village of Yenice is located in the northwestern region of the Morsynos valley, on the road towards Başaran (ancient Antioch). Yenice is 19km northwest of Aphrodisias.

Constantine VII

AE Follis, *Class 4*.
AD 931-944. DOC III-2, p.562 no.25.

648. Mus.Inv.3954; 28mm.

AE Follis, *Class 5*.
AD 945-c.950. DOC III-2, p.565 no.26.

649. Mus.Inv.3784; 24mm.

Anonymous Folles

AE Follis, *Class A2*.
AD 976(?)-1028(?).DOC III-2, p.649.

650. Mus.Inv.0429; 27mm.

AE Follis, *Class I*.
AD c.1075-c.1080. DOC III-2, p.696.

651. Mus.Inv.0427; 25mm.

Hoards

Hoard A

Context: slightly to the northeast of the exterior wall of the eastern apse of the audience chamber of the North Temenos House, at an elevation 146cm below its preserved height.
Date of deposition: AD 843-ca.860 (?)
Composition: AU Solidus (1), AR Miliaresion (8).

Michael III

20 January 842 – 23 September 867
Co-emperor since 840 (probably 16 May)
Colleague: Basil I (from 26 May 866)

AU Solidus, *Class 2*.
AD 843(?)-856. DOC III-1, p.463 no.2.
Obv: [IhSYSX RISƬOS∗] Bust of Christ (Type Vc) facing, bearded, with cross behind head, wearing tunic and himation; r. hand raised in blessing in front of body, book held from beneath in l.
Rev: [+MIXAHLSΘE OƬORA] Two busts facing, Michael on l., beardless, wearing chlamys and crown with cross; Theodora on r., larger, wearing loros and crown with pendilia, two pinnacles, and cross. Above, cross.

652. Inv.66-505; T.Aph N.Temenos Trench 20 Stratum 3; 20mm; 4.47g.

AR Miliaresion, *Class 1*.
AD 842-856. DOC III-1, p.464 no.5.
Obv: [+MIXA/HLΘEOƬORA/SΘECLAECΘ′/bASILIRO/MAION] within triple circle of dots.
Rev: [IhSYSXRI ƇYSNICA] Cross potent on base and three steps, within triple circle of dots.

653. Inv.66-506; T.Aph N.Temenos Trench 20 Stratum 3; 24mm; 2.07g.
654. Inv.66-507; T.Aph N.Temenos Trench 20 Stratum 3; 24mm; 2.09g
655. Inv.66-508; T.Aph N.Temenos Trench 20 Stratum 3; 24mm; 2.05g
656. Inv.66-509; T.Aph N.Temenos Trench 20 Stratum 3; 24mm; 1.92g
657. Inv.66-510; T.Aph N.Temenos Trench 20 Stratum 3; 24mm; 1.86g
658. Inv.66-511; T.Aph N.Temenos Trench 20 Stratum 3; 24mm; 2.02g
659. Inv.66-512; T.Aph N.Temenos Trench 20 Stratum 3; 24mm; 1.87g
660. Inv.66-512; T.Aph N.Temenos Trench 20 Stratum 3; 24mm; 2.00g

Hoard B

Context: Within the theatre/kastron. The four coins are recorded as a single find within the easternmost of the vaults that supported the upper cavea on its northern side. This large vault is oriented north-south, opening just above the level of the diazoma.
Date of deposition: AD 1167-ca.1190 (?)
Composition: El. Aspron Trachy (4).

Manuel I Komnenos

El. Aspron Trachy, Second Coinage.
AD 1152-67(?). DOC IV-1, p.297 no.3.

661. Inv.69-237; 34/34mm; 6; 3.8g; Var. A.
662. Inv.69-238; 35mm. Var. A. Broken.
663. Inv.69-240; 34/33mm; 6; 3.6g; Var. B.

El. Aspron Trachy, Fifth Coinage.
AD 1167-83(?). DOC IV-1, p.303 no.6.
Obv: : $\overline{\text{IC}}$ $\overline{\text{XC}}$ in upper field. Christ, bearded and nimbate, wearing tunic and kolobion, seated upon throne without back; holds Gospels in l. hand. Pellet in each limb of nimbus cross.
Rev: in upper field. Full length figure of emperor, bearded, on l., crowned by Virgin nimbate. Emperor wears stemma, divitision, and chlamys; holds in r. hand labarum on long shaft, and in l., gl. cr. Virgin wears tunic and maphorion.

664. Inv.69-239; 33/32mm; 6; 3.6g; Var.B

Hoard Γ

Context: In the exterior 'yard' of the medieval house in the North Agora Stoa (See Chapter 1, Section **XXX**). The coins were positioned against the southernmost column of one of the protruding walls that I interpret as the supports for a lean-to roof. The hole in which they were placed was cut through the hard-packed earth floor of the yard to a depth of between 20 and 40cm. A thick burnt layer attests to a conflagration that destroyed the house and marked the final occupation of the space. It is unclear whether the cut for the deposition of the coins penetrated through this layer, or whether the destruction layer sealed the deposit.
Date of deposition: AD 1200-1210.
Composition: Bill. Aspron Trachy (47).

Manuel I Komnenos

Bill. Aspron Trachy of the Fourth Coinage.
AD 1167-83 (?). DOC IV-1, p.312 no.13.

665. Inv.67-427; 29mm; 6; 3.0g. Var. C.

Isaac II Angelos

Bill. Aspron Trachy.
AD 1185-95. DOC IV-1, p.377 no.3.

666. 67-399*; 28mm; 6; 3.4g.
667. Inv,67-400*; 32mm; 6; 2.6g.
668. Inv.67-402; 26mm; 6; 3.0g. Var. A.
669. Inv.67-403; 26mm; 6; 3.1g; Var. A.
670. Inv.67-405*; 6; 3.5g.
671. Inv.67-406*; 5; 2.7g.
672. Inv.67-429; 27mm; 6; 2.8g. Clipped.
673. Inv.67-695; 30mm; 6; 3.7g. Var. A.

Alexios III Angelos

Bill. Aspron Trachy.
AD 1195-1203 (Second Indiction Issue AD 1197-1203).
DOC IV-1, p.407 no.3.

674. Inv.67-389; 24mm; 6; 2.1g. Clipped; Second Indiction Issue.
675. Inv.67-391*; 26mm; 6; 3.1g. Second Indiction Issue.
676. Inv.67-392*; 29mm; 6; 2.6g. Second Indiction Issue.
677. Inv.67-393*; 28mm; 6; 3.3g. Second Indiction Issue.
678. Inv.67-394*; 27mm; 12; 2.9g.
679. Inv.67-395*; 28mm; 6; 3.6g.
680. Inv.67-396*; 31mm; 6; 2.7g. Second Indiction Issue.
681. Inv.67-408*; 25mm; 6; 2.9g. Second Indiction Issue.
682. Inv.67-409*; 30mm; 6; 2.9g.

683. Inv.67-410*; 28mm; 6; 3.4g.
684. Inv.67-411*; 30mm; 6; 3.4g.
685. Inv.67-412*; 29mm; 6; 3.3g.
686. Inv.67-413*; 27mm; 6; 1.9g.
687. Inv.67-414; 26mm; 6; 3.3g. Clipped; Second Indiction Issue.
688. Inv.67-415; 25mm; 6; 2.8g.
689. Inv.67-416; 26mm; 6; 2.7g.
690. Inv.67-417*; 27mm; 6; 1.7g.
691. Inv.67-418; 23mm; 6; 2.4g; Clipped; Double Struck; Second Indiction Issue
692. Inv.67-419; 25mm; 2.9g. Obverse illegible; Second Indiction Issue.
693. Inv.67-420; 26mm; 6; 2.9g. Clipped; Second Indiction Issue.
694. Inv.67-421; 27mm; 6; 2.9g. Clipped; Second Indiction Issue.
695. Inv.67-422; 27mm; 6; 2.9g. Clipped; Double Struck; Second Indiction Issue.
696. Inv.67-424; 25mm; 6; 3.0g. Clipped; Second Indiction Issue.
697. Inv.67-426; 26mm; 6; 2.8g. Second Indiction Issue.
698. Inv.67-430; 29mm; 6; 3.1g. Clipped; Second Indiction Issue.
699. Inv.67-431; 28mm; 6; 3.0g. Clipped.
700. Inv.67-432; 25mm; 6; 2.9g. Clipped; Double Struck.

Direct Imitative Issues

Unknown Mint
Bill. Aspron Trachy, *Type A*.
AD ca.1195-ca.1200 (?), DOC IV-1, p.437 no.1.
Obv: As Manuel I Komnenos, Bill. Aspron Trachy of the Fourth Coinage, Var. C. Asterisks to l. and r. of Christ's throne.
Rev: As Manuel I Komnenos, Bill. Aspron Trachy of the Fourth Coinage, Var. A(b). Three pellets on the loros panel and six or more on the collar piece.

701. Inv.67-397*; 29mm; 6; 2.8g.
702. Inv.67-398*; 27mm; 6; 2.7g
703. Inv.67-423; 29mm; 5; 2.8g. Clipped.
704. Inv.67-428; 29mm; 6; 2.4g.

Unknown Mint
Bill. Aspron Trachy, *Type B.*
AD ca.1200-1202 (?), DOC IV-1, p.440 no.2.
Obv. and Rev. as Isaac II Angelos, Bill. Aspron Trachy Var. A. Five pellets in emperor's waistband, various numbers of pellets on loros panel and collar-piece.

705. 67-401*; 6; 2.3g.
706. 67-404*; 29mm; 6; 2.4g.
707. 67-407*; 6; 2.9g.
708. 67-425; 27mm; 5; 2.6g.

Coins for which no secure attribution may be made

709. 67-355*.
710. 67-390*.

Hoard Δ

Context: On the western side of the theatre hill a stretch of fortification wall and several smaller walls belonging to medieval domestic structures were removed in order to facilitate excavation of the höyük's prehistoric strata. The pyxis in which the hoard was deposited was uncovered below floor level within the domestic area enclosed by the fortification.
Date of deposition: twelfth/thirteenth century (?)
Composition: AE follis (1), AR denero (1), jewellery.
Container:
H.: c.12cm, Diameter: 6cm.
A simple cylindrical pyxis of copper alloy sheet. The domed lid slots over the top of the cylinder.

Constantine X Ducas

AE Follis, *Class 1*.
AD 1059-1067. DOC III-2, p. 774 no.8.

711. 74-169a; 30mm. Pierced for suspension.

Latin Mint (Touraine?)

AR Denero,
Obv: [...+TV...] within outer border of two concentric beaded bands, inner border of one beaded band. At centre a Maltese cross, arms terminating in short bars, round pellet in each angle.
Rev: Unknown.

712. 74-169b; 21mm. Pierced four times for embroidery.

Jewellery (All Inv.74-169):

- One copper alloy bracelet.
- An unspecified number of coloured beads, unspecified material.
- Six earrings, each consisting of a simple loop of copper alloy wire; at one end a small loop, at the other a hook.
- Nine gold crescent pendants on short gold chains. Each crescent is bordered with a filigree twisted wire.
- Three gold-washed copper alloy globular pendants that seem to have once served as collets for stone/glass paste inserts.
- A gold filigree lattice ornament (broach?) consisting of superimposed arcades of twisted wire.

Catalogue Two: Inhumation Burials

The following catalogue presents Middle Byzantine inhumation burials excavated at Aphrodisias between 1961 and 2009. Burials are presented according to the cemeteries discussed in the fourth chapter of the thesis. Within each cemetery, graves are listed in chronological order of excavation.

The Cathedral Cemetery

Tomb number: Cath.61.01.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.004, 55-56: Grave A.
Trench: South Temenos 1.
Location: Set immediately above the water channel traversing the South Temenos area.
Elevation: Min: -1.04m below the temenos colonnade stylobate.
Dimensions: Int. L.: 1.40, W.: 0.50 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs. The marble covering slabs of the water channel were used as the cist floor.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton. Bones disordered.
Sex/Estimated age: ?/7.
Costume and ornament:

1. Pair of glass bracelets (Inv.61-092/93).
   Diam.: c. 6 cm.

Light blue glass, circular section. Found in the area of the left wrist.

2. Copper alloy bracelet (Inv.61-094).
   Diam.: 5.0, W.: 0.5 cm.

Open bracelet, consisting of a flat strip of copper alloy. Fragments of textile adhere to the surface. Found in the area of the pelvis.

3. Iron bracelet (Inv.61-095).
   Diam.: 5.4, W.: 0.8 cm.

Iron bracelet, badly corroded and in several fragments. Fragments of textile adhere to the surface.

Placed deposits:

1. Coin, material not specified (not catalogued).

Found beneath the skull.

Tomb number: Cath.61.02.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.004, 58: Grave B.
Trench: South Temenos 1.
Location: Adjacent to Cath.61.03, 1.50m south of the colonnade stylobate (?).
Elevation: Not recorded.
Dimensions: Int. L.: 1.83, W.: 0.49 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs. A stone positioned as a "pillow" at the western end.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton.
Sex/Estimated age: M/65.
Costume and ornament:

1. Severn copper alloy buttons (Inv.61-097).
   Average H.: 1.1, W.: 0.9 cm.

Buttons rounded in shape, with small loops for sewing. Spaced at regular intervals over the left shoulder.

Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Cath.61.03.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.004, 60-61: Grave C.
Trench: South Temenos 1.
Location: Adjacent to Cath.61.02.
Elevation: Not recorded.
Dimensions: Int. L.: 0.90, W. at west: 0.86, W. at east: 0.21 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs of re-used marble revetment.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton.
Costume and ornament:

1. Glass bracelet (Inv.61-98).
   Diam.: 8.0, W.: 0.6 cm.

Black glass with a red thread in a serpentine pattern, circular in section. Found on the left arm.

2. Glass bracelet (Inv.61-99).
   Diam.: 8.1, W.: 0.5 cm.

Dark glass, circular in section. Found on the left arm.

3. Glass bracelet (Inv.61-100).
   Diam.: 8.3, W.: 0.8 cm.

Dark glass, circular in section. Found on the right arm.

4. Glass bracelet (Inv.61-101).
   Diam.: 7.9, W.: 0.4 cm.

Heavily encrusted, possibly blue glass. Circular in section. Found on the right arm.

5. Iron bracelet (Inv.61-102).
Diam.: 7.8, W.: 0.6 cm.
Heavily corroded iron circlet, formed out of hollow tube. Section missing or omitted for fitting onto wrist. Found on the left wrist.

6. Copper alloy bracelet (Inv.61-103).
Diam.: 4.9, W.: 0.4 cm.
Flattened tube with extremities flaring to spatula-like ends; these ends do not meet, leaving an opening for fitting onto wrist. Found on the right wrist.

7. Pair of silver κολτι type (?) head ornaments (Inv.61-105/06).
Diam.: 2.6 cm.
Each ornament is crescent shaped, composed of two joined hollow concave shells. Front decorated with filigree work, with five nodules at the outer circumference. An unspecified number of rings to suspend pendants (?) on the lower edge. On one ornament, traces of a copper alloy U-shaped upper loop.

8. Silver κολτι type (?) head ornament (Inv.61-107).
H.: 3.3, W.: 2.7 cm.
Crescent shaped object, composed of two joined hollow concave shells. Front decorated with filigree work. One end of the crescent is missing.

9. Copper alloy finger ring (Inv.61-108).
Diam.: 2.0, W. bezel: 0.9 cm.
A simple copper alloy band, flaring to a flat oval bezel.

10. Silver finger ring (Inv.61-112).
W. bezel: 0.9 cm.
Four fragments of a silver ring, badly tarnished and corroded. Round bezel with a monogram (?) or design.

Placed deposits: none.

Tomb number: Cath.62.04.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.006, 5-6: Tomb 1.
Trench: South Temenos 2.
Location: Inside the portico of the temenos, approximately 2m from the south stylobate.
Elevation: Min: -0.90, Max: -0.45 m below the temenos colonnade stylobate.
Dimensions: Not recorded.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs.
Disturbed – several slabs had been removed, and the cist had filled with earth.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton, bones very disordered.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Cath.62.05.
Notebook Reference: *NBk***.**006, 18-19: Tomb 2.
Trench: South Temenos 2.
Location: At the southwest corner of the trench.
Elevation: Not recorded.
Dimensions: Not recorded.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton. Skull and torso disordered.
Sex/Estimated age: M/35.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Cath.62.06.
Notebook Reference: *NBk***.**006, 20: Tomb 1.
Trench: South Temenos 1/South Temenos 3.
Location: To the immediate north of the steps to the portico. Its eastern end projected into South Temenos Trench 1.
Elevation: Not recorded.
Dimensions: Not recorded.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton.
Sex/Estimated age: M/30.
Costume and ornament:

1. Copper alloy reliquary cross (Inv.62-049).
   See Descriptive Catalogue Four, Number 1.

Placed deposits:

1. Ceramic pitcher (Inv.62-050).

Tomb number: Cath.62.07.
Notebook Reference: *NBk***.**006, 18, 24: Tomb 2.
Trench: South Temenos 3.
Location: Immediately west of Cath.62.06.
Elevation: Not recorded.
Dimensions: Not recorded.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs. One cover slab was a broken fragment of a parapet or screen with a knotted cruciform motif in relief (Inv.62-069). The screen may be dated on stylistic grounds to the sixth century.
Orientation: On an east-west axis.
Burial articulation: Not recorded.
Sex/Estimated age: ?/30.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Cath.62.08.
Notebook Reference: *NBk***.**006, 24: Tomb 3.
Trench: South Temenos 3.
Location: Immediately west of Cath.62.07.
Elevation: Not recorded.
Dimensions: Not recorded.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton. Upper body missing.
Sex/Estimated age: M/30.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Cath.62.09.
Notebook Reference: *NBk***.**006, 24: Tomb 4.
Trench: South Temenos 3.
Location: In the southern part of the trench, approx. 5m from the south cathedral wall. Immediately north of the water channel.
Elevation: Not recorded.
Dimensions: Not recorded.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs.
Orientation: On an east-west axis.
Burial articulation: Not recorded.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Cath.62.10.
Notebook Reference: *NBk***.**006, 24: Tomb 5.
Trench: South Temenos 3.
Location: In the southern part of the trench, approx. 5m from the south cathedral wall. Immediately north of the water channel.
Elevation: Not recorded.
Dimensions: Not recorded.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs.
Orientation: On an east-west axis.
Burial articulation: Not recorded.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Cath.62.11.
Notebook Reference: *NBk***.**006, 24: Tomb 6.
Trench: South Temenos 3.
Location: In the southern part of the trench, approx. 5m from the south cathedral wall. Immediately north of the water channel.
Elevation: Not recorded.
Dimensions: Not recorded.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs.
Orientation: On an east-west axis.
Burial articulation: Not recorded.

Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Cath.62.12.
Notebook Reference: *NBk***.**006, 34: Tomb 1.
Trench: South Temenos 4.
Location: Southeast of the steps leading to the Cathedral's southeastern door.
Elevation: Not recorded – Stratum 3.
Dimensions: Not recorded.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton, bones disordered.
Sex/Estimated age: M/60+.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Cath.62.13.
Notebook Reference: *NBk***.**006, 34: Tomb 2.
Trench: South Temenos 4.
Location: Immediately south of the steps leading to the Cathedral's southeastern door.
Elevation: Not recorded.
Dimensions: Not recorded.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton.
Sex/Estimated age: ?/30.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Cath.62.14.
Notebook Reference: *NBk***.**006, 35: Tomb 3.
Trench: South Temenos 4.
Location: Immediately north of the steps to the colonnade, in the eastern portion of the trench.
Elevation: Not recorded.
Dimensions: Not recorded.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton, missing from the pelvis upwards.
Sex/Estimated age: M/25.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits:

1. Several links of a copper alloy chain terminating in a hook (Inv.62-084).

Tomb number: Cath.62.15.
Notebook Reference: *NBk***.**006, 38-39: Tomb 4.
Trench: South Temenos 4.
Location: Parallel to the colonnade stylobate, 0.20m to its south. The foot of the grave is c. 1m from the eastern edge of the trench. The insertion of the grave truncated the water pipe running south of the stylobate.
Elevation: -0.50m below the colonnade stylobate.
Dimensions: Not recorded.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits:

1. Iron cross (Inv.62-112).
   H.: 8.0, W.: 6.8 cm.

Heavily encrusted iron cross with flaring arms.

2. Iron horseshoe (Inv.62-113)
   H.: c. 9, W.: c. 8 cm.

Heavily encrusted crescent-shaped horseshoe. No nail holes visible.

Tomb number: Cath.62.16.
Notebook Reference: *NBk***.**006, 41: Tomb 5.
Trench: South Temenos 4.
Location: Immediately south of Cath.62.15.
Elevation: -0.30m below the colonnade stylobate.
Dimensions: Not recorded – small.
Grave structure: Simple cist grave lined with roughs stones, without any cover slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton.
Sex/Estimated age: ?/5.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Cath.62.17.
Notebook Reference: *NBk***.**006, 47: Tomb 1.
Trench: South Temenos 5.
Location: 2m to the south of the northern edge of the trench (the cathedral wall) and 0.5m east of the western edge.
Elevation: No recorded – stratum 4.
Dimensions: Not recorded.
Grave structure: Simple cist grave lined with stone blocks and covered by slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton.
Sex/Estimated age: ?/4.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Cath.62.18.
Notebook Reference: *NBk***.**006, 47: Tomb 2.
Trench: South Temenos 5.
Location: "Next to" Cath.62.17 .
Elevation: No recorded – stratum 4.
Dimensions: Not recorded.
Grave structure: Not recorded.
Orientation: Not recorded.
Burial articulation: Single supine infant skeleton.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Cath.62.19.
Notebook Reference: *NBk***.**006, 50: Tomb 3.
Trench: South Temenos 5.
Location: South of the colonnade stylobate.
Elevation: No recorded.
Dimensions: Not recorded.
Grave structure: Not recorded.
Orientation: Not recorded.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Cath.62.20.
Notebook Reference: *NBk***.**006, 51: Tomb 4.
Trench: South Temenos 5.
Location: Not recorded.
Elevation: No recorded.
Dimensions: Not recorded.
Grave structure: Simple cist grave lined with stone blocks and covered by slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits:

1. Copper alloy coin (Inv.62-334).

Illegible cut fraction.

2. Silver coin (Inv.62-354/#485)

Diam.: 1.8 cm.
AR Denero, mint of Lucca (AD 1039-1125).

Tomb number: Cath.62.21.
Notebook Reference: *NBk***.**007, 7: Tomb 1.
Trench: T.Aph XIII.
Location: Against the north wall of the northeast chamber, 1m from the northeast corner.

Elevation: Not recorded – cut through Middle Byzantine floor?
Dimensions: Ext. L.: 1.54, W.: 0.84 m.
Grave structure: Not recorded. Sketch implies a cist grave lined by stones, unclear whether there were any cover slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: A few bones at the west end of the grave.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits:

1. A few fragments of glass (not catalogued).

Found at the eastern end of the grave.

Tomb number: Cath.62.22.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.007, 8-12: Tomb 2.
Trench: T.Aph XIII.
Location: Along the east wall of the northeast chamber, with its northern limit 1.23m from the north wall.
Elevation: Not recorded.
Dimensions: Ext. L.: 1.42, W.: 0.77 m.
Grave structure: The burial was laid at a shallow depth (0.12-0.22m) within a rectangular stone-lined pit constructed at the rear of the northeast chamber. The pit itself is 1.30m deep, and is likely an integral feature of the liturgical complex in the northeast chamber, only later used for burial.
Orientation: Disordered.
Burial articulation: A few human bones.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Cath.62.23.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.007, 29: Tomb 1.
Trench: T.Aph XV.
Location: In the south aisle, 0.19m from the stylobate. The east end of the grave is 0.29m from the south east corner of the base of column 5.
Elevation: 0.22m above the latest floor level.
Dimensions: Ext. L.: 0.65, W.: 0.19 m.
Grave structure: Not recorded – a cist grave?
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Neonate skeleton.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Cath.62.24.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.007, 46: Tomb I.
Trench: T.Aph Atrium I.
Location: In the Atrium, 0.85m from the exonarthex colonnade and 5.50m south of the north atrium wall.
Elevation: Not recorded.
Dimensions: Not recorded.
Grave structure: Not recorded – a cist grave?

Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single, adult supine skeleton. Arms folded across chest.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Cath.62.25.
Notebook Reference: *NBk***.**007, 47: Tomb II.
Trench: T.Aph Atrium I.
Location: Adjacent and south of Cath.62.24.
Elevation: Not recorded.
Dimensions: Not recorded.
Grave structure: Not recorded – a cist grave?
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Two inhumations. 1. A stack of bones at the eastern end of the grave. 2. A supine skeleton, arms folded across chest.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Cath.62.26.
Notebook Reference: *NBk***.**007, 47-48: Tomb III.
Trench: T.Aph Atrium I.
Location: Not recorded.
Elevation: Not recorded.
Dimensions: Not recorded.
Grave structure: Not recorded – a cist grave?
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton. Arms folded across chest.
Sex/Estimated age: M/30.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Cath.64.27.
Notebook Reference: *NBk***.**031, 37: Tomb 1.
Trench: East Temenos I.
Location: Near the northeast corner of the Trench.
Elevation: 2.20m beneath the bottom of the Maeander frieze in the cathedral east wall.
Dimensions: Not recorded – small.
Grave structure: A triangular arrangement of large bricks set vertically.
Orientation: Not recorded.
Burial articulation: Not recorded.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Cath.64.28.
Notebook Reference: *NBk***.**031, 67: Tomb A.
Trench: East Temenos III.
Location: Near the northern limit of the trench, approximately 2m from the east wall of the Cathedral.

Elevation: Not recorded.
Dimensions: Not recorded.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks. The cover slabs have been removed.
Orientation: On an east-west axis.
Burial articulation: No skeleton.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Cath.64.29.
Notebook Reference: *NBk***.**031, 67: Tomb B.
Trench: East Temenos III.
Location: Near the southern limit of the trench, approximately 2m from the east wall of the Cathedral.
Elevation: Not recorded.
Dimensions: Not recorded.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks. The cover slabs have been removed.
Orientation: On an east-west axis.
Burial articulation: No skeleton.
Costume and ornament:

1. Fragment of glass bracelet (not catalogued).

Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Cath.64.30.
Notebook Reference: *NBk***.**031, 67: Tomb C.
Trench: East Temenos III.
Location: Immediately north of Cath.64.29.
Elevation: Not recorded.
Dimensions: Not recorded.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks. The cover slabs have been removed.
Orientation: On an east-west axis.
Burial articulation: No skeleton.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Cath.64.31.
Notebook Reference: *NBk***.**031, 67: Tomb D.
Trench: East Temenos III.
Location: Immediately north of Cath.64.30.
Elevation: Not recorded.
Dimensions: Not recorded.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered by slabs. The tomb may have been disturbed since the excavator described the finds as from "the debris".
Orientation: On an east-west axis.

Burial articulation: Not recorded.
Costume and ornament:

1. A crushed piece of gold (Inv.64-361a).

2. A green glass bead (Inv.64-361b).

Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Cath.64.32.
Notebook Reference: *NBk***.**031, 70: Tomb E.
Trench: East Temenos III.
Location: Immediately north of Cath.64.31.
Elevation: Not recorded.
Dimensions: Not recorded.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered by slabs. On slab was a fragment of a columnar sarcophagus, its sculpted side facing downwards (Inv.64-429).
Orientation: On an east-west axis.
Burial articulation: Not recorded.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Cath.64.33.
Notebook Reference: *NBk***.**031, 70: Tomb F.
Trench: East Temenos III.
Location: In the north part of the trench, with its head resting directly against the water channel and around 1m from the east wall of the cathedral.
Elevation: 90cm (below the Maeander frieze?). "Still essentially stratum II".
Dimensions: Ext. L. 2.38 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered by slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton, L.: 1.80m. Arms crossed over chest.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Cath.64.34.
Notebook Reference: *NBk***.**031, 70: Tomb G.
Trench: East Temenos III.
Location: Immediately north of Cath.64.33, with its head resting directly against the water channel and around 1m from the east wall of the cathedral.
Elevation: 90cm (below the Maeander frieze?). "Still essentially stratum II".
Dimensions: Ext. L. 1.92 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered by slabs. A floor of stone slabs. The interior was plastered.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton, L.: 1.80m. Arms crossed over chest.
Costume and ornament:

1. Glass bead (Inv.64-377).

A fragment of a glass paste bead with white inlaid circles.

Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Cath.64.35.
Notebook Reference: *NBk***.**031, 78-79: Tomb H.
Trench: East Temenos III.
Location: In the northern portion of the trench, approximately 4m from the east wall of the Cathedral.
Elevation: Not recorded.
Dimensions: Not recorded.
Grave structure: A cist grave, lined with stone blocks, divided into two compartments. Compartment A was at the western end of the grave. It was covered by horizontally laid slabs with an erect corner fragment of columnar sarcophagus at the western limit (64-432). Compartment B at the eastern end of the grave was covered by two pairs of bricks set upright at a gabled angle. A vertical brick divided the two compartments.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: The burial in compartment A consisted of the bones of a young adult male disarticulated in the manner of a small ossuary. Compartment B contained a single articulated skeleton.
Costume and ornament:

1. Thin copper alloy strip (Inv.64-383).

Found with the disarticulated bones in compartment A.

Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Cath.64.36.
Notebook Reference: *NBk***.**031, 78-79: Tomb i.
Trench: East Temenos III.
Location: At the southern limit of the trench, approximately 1m from the Cathedral. Covered by Cath.64.28.
Elevation: Not recorded.
Dimensions: Not recorded.
Grave structure: A cist grave, lined with stone blocks. Disturbed – several cover slabs missing.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton. Bones disordered.
Costume and ornament:

1. Copper alloy cross pendant on chain (Inv.64-379).
   H.: 4.0, W.: 2.3, L. chain: 14 cm.

A double hooked chain with a cross pendant at one end. The arms of the cross are circular in section.

2. Steatite cross pendant (Inv.64-380).
   H.: 1.8, W.: 1.2, D.: 0.4 cm.

Small pendant cross with broad but uneven arms. Hole priced at the upper extremity of vertical arm, lower extremity of the vertical arm is pointed.

3. Copper alloy earring with cross pendant (Inv.64-403).
H.: 3.4, Diam. Circle: 1.9 cm.

A circular thin band from which a cross is suspended.

Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Cath.64.37.
Notebook Reference: *NBk***.**031, 74-77: Tomb J.
Trench: East Temenos III.
Location: Immediately north of Cath.64.36.
Elevation: Not recorded.
Dimensions: Not recorded.
Grave structure: A cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered by slabs. Plastered interior.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton. Arms crossed on chest.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Cath.64.38.
Notebook Reference: *NBk***.**031, 74-77: Tomb K.
Trench: East Temenos III.
Location: Immediately north of Cath.64.37.
Elevation: Not recorded.
Dimensions: Not recorded.
Grave structure: A cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered by slabs. Plastered interior.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton. Arms crossed over pelvis.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits:

1. Glass beaker (Inv.64-401).

Several fragments of a glass beaker similar to Inv.64-400 in Cath.64.39.

Tomb number: Cath.64.39.
Notebook Reference: *NBk***.**031, 74-77: Tomb L.
Trench: East Temenos III.
Location: Immediately north of Cath.64.38.
Elevation: Not recorded.
Dimensions: Not recorded.
Grave structure: A cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered by slabs. A fragment of a columnar sarcophagus was used as the westernmost cover slab. Plastered interior.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton. Arms crossed over pelvis.

Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits:

1. Glass beaker (Inv.64-400).
   Rim Diam.: 7.4, Base Diam.: 4.7, H.: 6.0 cm.

Complete profile (?), cracked from base to rim. Colourless glass with tint ofaqua green. Thick bottom, walls rising almost vertically to rim. Heavily encrusted. Substance (?) inside preserved. Found at the east end of the grave.

Tomb number: Cath.64.40.
Notebook Reference: *NBk***.**031, 83: Tomb M/N.
Trench: East Temenos III.
Location: Projecting from the east profile in the southern portion of the trench.
Elevation: Not recorded.
Dimensions: Not recorded.
Grave structure: A cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered by slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Cath.64.41.
Notebook Reference: *NBk***.**031, 83: Tomb O.
Trench: East Temenos III.
Location: Projecting from the east profile in the southern portion of the trench.
Elevation: Not recorded.
Dimensions: Not recorded.
Grave structure: A cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered by slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton.
Costume and ornament:

1. Five glass bracelets (Inv.64-397).
   Diam. between 7.0 and 8.5cm.

Five glass bracelets, of which three amber-coloured, one blue and one light green. Found on upper right arm.

2. Iron and copper alloy bracelet (Inv.64-398).
   Diam.: 8 cm.

Bracelet consisting of a heavily corroded circular band of iron. A copper alloy pendant is attached by a short copper alloy chain of four or five rings. Disintegrated during cleaning. Small textile fragments originally adhering to corroded iron. Found on the upper right arm, below glass bracelets.

3. Four glass bracelets (Inv.64-399).
   Diam. between 7.0 and 8.5cm.

Four glass bracelets, of which two aqua green, two blue/brown. Found on upper left arm.

4. Copper alloy bracelet (Inv.64-396).
Diam.: 5.9, W. band: 0.5 cm.
Rectangular band cent into incomplete circle with slightly flared ends. Incised geometric decoration. Found at left wrist.

Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Cath.64.42.
Notebook Reference: *NBk***.**031, 90: Tomb P.
Trench: East Temenos III.
Location: Found while removing the ramp between the north and south sections of the trench.
Elevation: 0.78m below the top moulding of the cathedral east wall, c. 0.48m below the preserved upper portion of water channel 1.
Dimensions: Not recorded.
Grave structure: A cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered by slabs. One cover slab was a fragment of a garland sarcophagus, placed sculpted face up. A naked eros figure holds the bow of a garland (Inv.64-434).
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Cath.64.43.
Notebook Reference: *NBk***.**031, 50-51: Tomb II.
Trench: East Temenos II.
Location: Not recorded, though around the centre of the trench. This grave was removed by Pick before Erim returned to the trench to excavate the remaining tombs, and therefore does not feature on Erim's sketch plan.
Elevation: Not recorded.
Dimensions: Ext. L.: 2.00, W.: 0.95. Int. W.: 0.45 m.
Grave structure: A cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered by slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton. Arms crossed over chest.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Cath.64.44.
Notebook Reference: *NBk***.**031, 86: Tomb α.
Trench: East Temenos II.
Location: At the southeast corner of the trench, protruding from the east profile.
Elevation: Not recorded.
Dimensions: Not recorded.
Grave structure: A cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered by slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton. Arms crossed over chest.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Cath.64.45.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.031, 86: Tomb β.
Trench: East Temenos II.
Location: In the centre of the trench, with the head (west end) resting against the surviving strip of late paving level.
Elevation: Not recorded – cut through late paving level.
Dimensions: Not recorded.
Grave structure: A cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered by slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton. Arms crossed over chest.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Cath.64.46.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.031, 86: Tomb γ.
Trench: East Temenos II.
Location: In the northern part of the trench.
Elevation: Not recorded – cut through late paving level.
Dimensions: Not recorded.
Grave structure: A cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered by slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton. Arms crossed over chest.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Cath.64.47.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.031, 87-89: Tomb δ.
Trench: East Temenos II.
Location: Parallel to Cath.64.46 and slightly to the north.
Elevation: Not recorded – beneath the late paving level.
Dimensions: Not recorded.
Grave structure: A cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered by slabs. Fragment of a sarcophagus (?) frieze placed face up across the centre of the tomb. The frieze features a rosette within a vegetal scroll (Inv.64-433).
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton. Arms crossed over chest.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits:

1. Glass beaker (Inv.64-405).

Thick bottom, rising at centre in a low kick. Walls rise with barely perceptible flare to a rounded, dull rim. Some irregularity in shape. Found between upper legs. Contents (?) preserved.

2. Iron knife blade (Inv.64-404).

3. Fragments of eggshell (not catalogued).

Tomb number: Cath.64.48.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.031, 87-89: Tomb ε.
Trench: East Temenos II.
Location: Beneath the access ramp in the northern portion of the trench. This ramp ran along the western limit, but it is not clear exactly where the tomb was located.
Elevation: Not recorded.
Dimensions: Not recorded.
Grave structure: A cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered by slabs.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton. Arms crossed over chest.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits:

1. Ceramic phial (Inv.64-406).

A crude, handmade spouted phial. Found by the left foot.

Tomb number: Cath.65.49.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.037, 9: Tomb A.
Trench: North Temenos 2.
Location: Immediately north of the back wall of the north temenos, with the east end of the tomb beneath the eastern limit of the trench,
Elevation: Not recorded.
Dimensions: Ext. L.: 2.00 (in trench), W.: 0.50 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks. Cover slabs broken.
Orientation: Head to west, feet to east.
Burial articulation: Two inhumations. 1. Stack of disarticulated bones at the eastern end of the cist. 2. Supine skeleton, bones disordered.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Cath.65.50.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.037, 11: Tomb B.
Trench: North Temenos 2.
Location: In the southwestern corner of the trench, 0.88m north (?) of the corner.
Elevation: Not recorded.
Dimensions: Not recorded.
Grave structure: Simple bit burial.
Orientation: Head to southwest, feet to northeast.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Cath.65.51.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.037, 12: Tomb C.
Trench: North Temenos 2.
Location: Approximately 1m south of the back wall of the north temenos, around the centre of the trench.
Elevation: 1.20m below the temenos wall (?).
Dimensions: Ext. L.: 2.05, W.: 0.45 m.

Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered by slabs. A floor of small stones and pieces of tile.
Orientation: Head to west, feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Cath.65.52.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.037, 14: Tomb D.
Trench: North Temenos 2.
Location: projecting from the western profile.
Elevation: Not recorded.
Dimensions: Ext. L.: 0.40 (in trench), W.: 0.45 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered by slabs.
Orientation: Head to west, feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Cath.65.53.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.037, 15: Tomb E.
Trench: North Temenos 2.
Location: Projecting from the western profile of the trench at its southwest corner.
Elevation:
Dimensions: Ext. L.: 1.25 (within trench), W.: 0.40 (east) m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered by slabs.
Orientation: Head to west, feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Cath.65.54.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.037, 21: Tomb F.
Trench: North Temenos 3.
Location: Immediately south of the wall of the North Temenos House running east-west across the northern portion of the trench. Eastern end beneath the east profile of the trench.
Elevation: Not recorded.
Dimensions: Ext. L.: 1.50 (within trench), W.: 0.51 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks. Cover slabs missing.
Orientation: Head to west, feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton. Bones disordered.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Cath.65.55.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.037, 27: Tomb G.
Trench: North Temenos 4.
Location: Immediately south of the small section of wall in the southern portion of the trench, projecting from the western profile.
Elevation: Not recorded.
Dimensions: Not recorded.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered by slabs.
Orientation: Head to west, feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Cath.65.56.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.037, 31: Tomb H.
Trench: North Temenos 6.
Location: 1.10m north of the east-west wall in the northern portion of the trench.
Elevation: Not recorded.
Dimensions: Ext. L.: 0.46, W.: 0.35 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with tile.
Orientation: On an east-west axis.
Burial articulation: No recorded.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Cath.65.57.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.037, 33: Tomb i.
Trench: North Temenos 6.
Location: Close to the northeast corner of the trench, 1.15m from the northern limit. East end beneath the eastern profile.
Elevation: Not recorded.
Dimensions: Ext. L.: 1.55 (within trench), W.: 0.50 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered by slabs.
Orientation: Head to west, feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits:

1. Copper alloy coin (Inv.65-508/#480).
   Diam.: 3.0 cm.

A2 Class anonymous follis (AD 976(?)-1028(?)).

Tomb number: Cath.65.58.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.036, 8.
Trench: East Temenos IV.
Location: In the northern portion of the trench. Partially covering Cath.65.60.
Elevation: -0.30m below twentieth century ground level.
Dimensions: Not recorded.
Grave structure: Six stones remaining from the walls of a cist.

Orientation: On an east-west axis.
Burial articulation: No skeleton.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Cath.65.59.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.036, 9: Tomb A.
Trench: East Temenos IV.
Location: Around the centre of the trench.
Elevation: -0.82m below twentieth century ground level.
Dimensions: Not recorded.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered by slabs. The westernmost cover slab was a large fragment of a garland sarcophagus, showing a putto figure and a sphinx (Inv.65-077). Floor of small stones.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton. Arms crossed over chest.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Cath.65.60.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.036, 10-11: Tomb B.
Trench: East Temenos IV.
Location: In the northern portion of the trench. Partially covered by Cath.65.58.
Elevation: -1.09m below twentieth century ground level.
Dimensions: Not recorded.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered by slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Two inhumations. 1. Disarticulated bones stacked at the east end of the grave. 2. Supine skeleton.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Cath.65.61.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.036, 12: Tomb C.
Trench: East Temenos IV.
Location: At the northern limit of the trench.
Elevation: Not recorded – similar to Cath.65.60.
Dimensions: Not recorded.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered by slabs. Floor of small stones. Many cover slabs missing
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton – child (?). Arms folded across the chest.
Costume and ornament:

1. Copper alloy pendant cross (Inv.65-083).
H.: 4.0, W.: 6.0 cm.

A solid cast copper alloy cross. Arms flare very slightly. At the extremity of each arm is are two parallel incised lines. At the intersection of the arms four diagonal incisions point towards the centre. Loop for suspension on upper vertical arm.

2. Lid of a copper alloy reliquary cross (Inv.65-084)

See Descriptive Catalogue Four, Number 4.

Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Cath.65.62.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.036, 13: Tomb D.
Trench: East Temenos IV/Temenos V.
Location: Projecting from the east profile.
Elevation: Not recorded – similar to Cath.65.60.
Dimensions: Not recorded.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered by slabs. Floor of small stones. Many cover slabs missing
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton.
Costume and ornament:

1. Glass bracelet (Inv.65-082a).
   Diam.: 6.3, W.: 0.5 cm.

Blue glass bracelet.

2. Glass bracelet (Inv.65-082b).
   Diam.: 5.8, W.: 0.4 cm.

Blue glass bracelet.

3. Glass bracelet (Inv.65-082c).
   Diam.: 6.3, W.: 0.5cm.

Blue glass bracelet.

4. Glass bracelet (Inv.65-082d).

Blue glass bracelet, broken in four fragments.

5. Iron bracelet (Inv.65-082e-f).

Iron bracelet, heavily corroded in two fragments.

Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Cath.65.63.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.036, 19: Tomb E.
Trench: East Temenos V.
Location: Close to the northern limit of the trench. Partially covering Cath.65.66.
Elevation: -1.00m below twentieth century ground level.
Dimensions: Ext. L.: 1.23 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered by slabs. Floor of small stones.

Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton. Only a very few remaining bones.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Cath.65.64.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.036, 19: Tomb F.
Trench: East Temenos V.
Location: In the centre of the trench, partially covering Cath.65.67.
Elevation: Not recorded – similar to Cath.65.63.
Dimensions: Ext. L.: 1.70 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered by slabs. Floor of small stones.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton (?). Only five remaining bones.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Cath.65.65.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.036, 19: Tomb G.
Trench: East Temenos V.
Location: Protruding from the eastern profile of the trench, partially covering Cath.65.69.
Elevation: Not recorded – similar to Cath.65.63.
Dimensions: Not recorded.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered by slabs. Floor of small stones.
Orientation: On an east-west axis.
Burial articulation: No skeleton found.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Cath.65.66.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.036, 21: Tomb H.
Trench: East Temenos V.
Location: Close to the northern limit of the trench. Partially covered by Cath.65.63.
Elevation: Not recorded.
Dimensions: Int. L.: 1.08, W.: 0.25 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered by slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton, infant.
Costume and ornament:

1. Copper alloy cross pendant (Inv.65-182).
H.: 1.7, W.: 1.2 m.

Small pendant with arms of equal length and an eyelet for suspension at one extremity. Flat nodules at other extremities, and a circular disk at the intersection of the arms.

Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Cath.65.67.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.036, 21: Tomb I.
Trench: East Temenos V.
Location: In the centre of the trench, partially covered by Cath.65.64.
Elevation: Not recorded – similar to Cath.65.66.
Dimensions: Int. L.: 1.45, W.: 0.40 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered by slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton (?). Arms crossed above chest.
Costume and ornament:

1. Copper alloy cross pendant (Inv.65-183).
H.: 2.1, W.: 1.8 m.

Eyelet for suspension on the upper vertical arm. Knobs at other extremities, four knobs at the intersections of the arms. Found by the skull.

Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Cath.65.68.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.036, 21: Tomb J.
Trench: East Temenos V.
Location: In the southeastern portion of the trench.
Elevation: Not recorded – similar to Cath.65.66.
Dimensions: Not recorded.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered by slabs. Two upright stones divided the cist into an eastern and a western compartment.
Orientation: On an east-west axis.
Burial articulation: A few bones in the western compartment, none in the eastern.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits:

1. Coin, material not specified (not catalogued).

Tomb number: Cath.65.69.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.036, 21: Tomb K.
Trench: East Temenos V.
Location: Protruding from the eastern profile of the trench, partially covered by Cath.65.65.
Elevation: Not recorded – similar to Cath.65.66.
Dimensions: Not recorded.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered by slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton. Arms by sides.
Costume and ornament:

1. Lid of a copper alloy reliquary cross (Inv.65-184)

See Descriptive Catalogue Four, Number 5. Found by the ribcage.

Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Cath.65.70.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.036, 21: Tomb L.
Trench: East Temenos V.
Location: Slightly beyond the southern limit of the trench.
Elevation: Not recorded.
Dimensions: Ext. L. 2.00, W.: 0.50 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered by slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton. Arms crossed over chest.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Cath.65.71.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.039, 8: Tomb I.
Trench: North Bouleuterion 2.
Location: In the southern portion of the trench.
Elevation: Not recorded – stratum 2.
Dimensions: Ext. L. 2.05, W.: 0.93 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered by slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Cath.65.72.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.039, 9-10: Tomb II.
Trench: North Bouleuterion 2.
Location: In the northeastern portion of the trench.
Elevation: Not recorded – stratum 2.
Dimensions: Ext. L. 1.93, W.: 0.92 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered by slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits:

1. Small ceramic jug (Inv.65-080).

Flat bottomed, with pear-shaped body and short neck flaring slightly to mouth. A strap handle is attached to the middle of the body and joins the mouth just beneath the lip (?). Found between the knees.

Tomb number: Cath.65.73.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.039, 11: Tomb III.
Trench: North Bouleuterion 2.
Location: In the middle of the trench.
Elevation: Not recorded – stratum 2.
Dimensions: Ext. L. 1.91, W.: 0.63 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered by slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton. Only a few bones recorded.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Cath.66.74.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.044, 5-9, 9: Tomb a.
Trench: North Temenos 8.
Location: At the southeast corner of the trench. The tomb projected into the trench only as far as the skeleton's knees.
Elevation: -0.35m below twentieth century ground level.
Dimensions: Ext. L. 1.50, W.: 0.90 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered by slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton. Left arm folded across chest, right lies extended to the right of the body.
Costume and ornament:

1. "Thin sliver" of copper alloy sheet (not catalogued).
L.: 4.5, W.: 0.8 cm.

Placed deposits:

2. Iron key (?) (not catalogued).
L.: 5.0, W.: 0.5, Diam. loop: 2.0 cm.

A heavily corroded piece of iron with a loop at one end. Identified by the excavator as a key.

Tomb number: Cath.66.75.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.044, 74: Tomb I.
Trench: North Temenos 14.
Location: Approximately 2.70m from the southern limit of the trench..
Elevation: -0.36m below twentieth century ground level.
Dimensions: Ext. L. not recorded, W.: 0.30 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered by slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Cath.66.76.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.044, 79-80: Tomb II.
Trench: North Temenos 14.
Location: In the southwest corner of the trench. Its southern limit seems to have been the back wall of the temenos colonnade.
Elevation: Not recorded.
Dimensions: Ext. L. 1.22, W.: 0.48 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered by slabs. Built against the Temenos wall, which formed the southern boundary of the grave. Floor of flat tiles.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton. Only the lower bones from pelvis downwards survived.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits:

1. Copper alloy coin (Inv.66-190/#484).
   Diam.: 3.2 cm.

C Class Anonymous Follis (AD 1042(?) – c. 1050).

Tomb number: Cath.66.77.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.044, 93: Tomb A.
Trench: North Temenos 16.
Location: In the centre of northern portion of the trench. Parallel and immediately north of Cath.66.78.
Elevation: Not recorded.
Dimensions: Ext. L. 2.32, W.: 0.34 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered by slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton. Arms crossed over pelvis.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Cath.66.78.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.044, 94: Tomb B.
Trench: North Temenos 16.
Location: In the centre of northern portion of the trench. Parallel and immediately south of Cath.66.77.
Elevation: Not recorded.
Dimensions: Ext. L. 2.35, Int. W.: 0.53 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered by slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Three inhumations. 1. Stack of disarticulated bones at the east end of the grave. 2. Supine skeleton pushed to the southern side of the grave. 3. Supine skeleton at the centre of the grave.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Cath.66.79.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.044, 95: Tomb C.
Trench: North Temenos 16.
Location: At the southwest corner of the trench, with its southern limit against the back of the temenos colonnade wall.
Elevation: Not recorded.
Dimensions: Ext. L. 2.10, Int. W.: 0.33 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered by slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Cath.66.80.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.044, 106-107: Tomb D
Trench: North Temenos 16.
Location: Not recorded.
Elevation: Not recorded.
Dimensions: Ext. L. 1.90, Int. W.: 0.30 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered by slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton, arms crossed over pelvis.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits:

1. Glass bottle (Inv.66-338).
H.: 7.8 cm.

Colourless glass with a hint of aqua green. Recomposed from several fragments. A small "tear" bottle. Rounded bottom slimming towards a long neck. Rim turned outwards with a pinched spout. Found at the feet of the skeleton.

Tomb number: Cath.66.81.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.044, 100: Tomb 1.
Trench: North Temenos 17.
Location: At the southern limit of the trench- an extension of 0.50m was made in order to fully uncover the grave. The floor runs over a wall of the North Temenos House, to the south of a doorway.
Elevation: Not recorded.
Dimensions: Not recorded.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered by slabs. Sketch implies a floor of stone or tile.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single infant skeleton. Arms crossed over pelvis.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Cath.66.82.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.044, 101: Tomb 2.
Trench: North Temenos 17.
Location: Against the east profile of the trench, near to the southeast corner.
Elevation: -1.23m below the twentieth century ground level (?).
Dimensions: Not recorded.
Grave structure: Pit grave (?) with a cover of tile.
Orientation: Not recorded.
Burial articulation: Not recorded.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Cath.66.83.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.044, 110: Tomb A.
Trench: North Temenos 18.
Location: Cath.66.83, 84, 85 are all located directly over and perpendicular to the wall running north-south through North Temenos Trenches 17 and 18.
Cath.66.83 is the northernmost of these.
Elevation: Not recorded.
Dimensions: Ext. L. 2.10, Int. W.: 0.56 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered by slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton. Arms folded over lower spine.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits:

1. Copper alloy coin (Inv.66-352/#481).
   Diam.: 3.0 cm.

A2 Class Anonymous Follis (AD 976(?)-1028(?)). Found clasped in right hand.

Tomb number: Cath.66.84.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.044, 110: Tomb B.
Trench: North Temenos 18.
Location: Parallel and south of Cath.66.83.
Elevation: Not recorded.
Dimensions: Ext. L. 2.10, Int. W.: 0.56 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks. Cover slabs removed.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton. Bones very disordered.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Cath.66.85.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.044, 110: Tomb C.
Trench: North Temenos 18.
Location: Parallel and south of Cath.66.84.
Elevation: Not recorded.
Dimensions: Ext. L. 2.15, Int. W.: 0.44 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered by slabs.

Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton. Arms crossed above chest.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Cath.66.86.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.044, 113: Tomb D.
Trench: North Temenos 18.
Location: In the southwest corner of the trench- the east end of the tomb is positioned against the north-south wall.
Elevation: Slightly below the preceding graves, since it abuts rather than covers the north-south wall.
Dimensions: Ext. L. 1.90, Int. W.: 0.50 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered by slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Fragments of a child's skull.
Costume and ornament:

1. Copper alloy finger ring (Inv.66-354)
   Diam. 2.0 cm.

Plain band.

2. Carnelian bead (Inv.66-355)
   Diam. 1.7 cm.

A pierced bead of red carnelian, with a small extent of copper alloy wire attached.

3. Glass bracelet (Inv.66-356)
   Diam. 4.4 cm.

Blue glass.

4. Glass bracelet (Inv.66-357)
   Diam. 4.2 cm.

Translucent green glass.

5. Glass bracelet (Inv.66-358)
   Diam. 4.5 cm.

Colour not recorded.

6. Silver earring (Inv.66-359)
   Diam. 2.5 cm.

A thin circular wire.

Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Cath.66.87.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.044, 120-21: Tomb 1.
Trench: North Temenos 21.
Location: In the northeast corner of the trench. Above the southern portion of the apse in the North Temenos House.
Elevation: Just below the topsoil. The wall of the apse was not visible.
Dimensions: Ext. L. 1.70, Int. W.: 0.30 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered by slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton. Left arm across chest.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits:

1. Glass bottle (not catalogued).

A small "tear" bottle found by right leg.

Tomb number: Cath.66.88.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.044 vol. ii, 9: Tomb 1.
Trench: North Temenos 24.
Location: South side of the grave is against the wall in the south of the trench, with the east end of the tomb abutting a buttress in the wall.
Elevation: -0.05m below twentieth century ground level.
Dimensions: Not recorded.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered by slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Cath.66.89.
Notebook Reference: NBk.044 vol. ii, 16: Tomb 1.
Trench: North Temenos 22.
Location: Sketch implies that it is a little to the north of the wall at the south end of the trench, roughly parallel to it.
Elevation: Not recorded.
Dimensions: Not recorded.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with tile.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton. Arms crossed over pelvis.
Costume and ornament:

1. Copper alloy cross pendant (Inv.66-436).
   H.: 3.0, W.: 2.3.

Greek cross pendant, with flaring arms that terminate in raised nodules. Found in the area of the ribcage.

Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Cath.67.90.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.049, 9-10: Tomb 1.
Trench: North Temenos 1967 A.
Location: South of the southernmost column of the colonnade immediately east of the North Temenos House.
Elevation: Not recorded.
Dimensions: Not recorded.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered by slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton. Arms crossed over chest.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Cath.67.91.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.049, 10-13: Tomb 2.
Trench: North Temenos 1967 A.
Location: South of the second column from the south of the colonnade immediately east of the North Temenos House.
Elevation: Not recorded.
Dimensions: Not recorded.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered by slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton. Arms crossed over chest.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Cath.67.92.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.049, 14: Tomb 3.
Trench: North Temenos 1967 A.
Location: North of the third column from the south of the colonnade immediately east of the North Temenos House.
Elevation: Not recorded.
Dimensions: Not recorded.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered by slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton. Arms crossed over chest.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Cath.67.93.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.049, 13: Tomb 4.
Trench: North Temenos 1967 A.
Location: Immediately north of Cath.67.92.
Elevation: Not recorded.
Dimensions: Not recorded.
Grave structure: At least two semi-cylindrical roof tiles positioned inverted in the ground to receive infant burial.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Infant skeleton (?).

Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Cath.67.94.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.049, 25: Tomb I.
Trench: North Temenos 1967 C.
Location: Projecting from the east profile of the trench, around 3m from the southern limit.
Elevation: -0.66m below twentieth century ground level.
Dimensions: Not recorded.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered by slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton (?).
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Cath.67.95.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.049, 27: Tomb II.
Trench: North Temenos 1967 C.
Location: Projecting from the east profile of the trench, around 4.5m from the southern limit.
Elevation: -0.64m below twentieth century ground level.
Dimensions: Not recorded.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered by slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton. Arms crossed over chest.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Cath.67.96.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.049, 29: Tomb III.
Trench: North Temenos 1967 C.
Location: Projecting from the east profile of the trench, around 7m from the northern limit.
Elevation: Not recorded.
Dimensions: Not recorded.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered by slabs.
Orientation: Head to east feet to west (*sic*).
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Cath.69.97.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.079, 12: Tomb South-I.
Trench: North Odeon 2.
Location: Perpendicular to and with its west end against the wall running north-south that forms to western boundary of the trench. 1.98m from the southern edge of the trench.
Elevation: -0.47m below the South Temenos stylobate.

Dimensions: Ext. L.: 2.26, W.: 0.95 m.
Grave structure: A undecorated marble sarcophagus was sunk into the ground, with a lid of cover slabs similar to those used for regular cist graves. The cover slabs were sealed with plaster, and a stone erected vertically as a marker at the east end.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Two inhumations. 1. A stack of disarticulated bones at the east end of the grave (inferred from notebook photo). 2. Supine skeleton, arms crossed over chest.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Cath.69.98.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.079, 15: Tomb South-II.
Trench: North Odeon 2.
Location: East of Cath.69.98. South of the rear wall back of the Sculptors' Workshop complex.
Elevation: Not recorded – similar to Cath.69.97.
Dimensions: Ext. L.: 1.80, W.: 0.78 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined by stone blocks and covered by slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton. Arms crossed over chest.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Cath.69.99.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.079, 16: Tomb South-III.
Trench: North Odeon 2.
Location: Parallel to Cath.69.97, but unclear whether to north or south.
Elevation: Not recorded – similar to Cath.69.97 (?).
Dimensions: Ext. L.: 1.96, W.: 0.75 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined by stone blocks and covered by slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Cath.69.100.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.079, 16: Tomb South-IV.
Trench: North Odeon 2.
Location: Not recorded. Somewhere south of the rear wall of the Sculptor's Workshop.
Elevation: Not recorded – similar to Cath.69.97 (?).
Dimensions: Ext. L.: 1.75, W.: 0.50 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined by stone blocks and covered by slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Cath.69.101.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.079, 53: Tomb North-I.
Trench: North Odeon 2.
Location: In the northwest corner of the northern extension to North Odeon 2.
Elevation: -0.55m below the South Temenos stylobate.
Dimensions: Ext. L.: 2.00, W.: 0.75 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined by stone blocks and covered by slabs. Cover slabs include a sarcophagus fragment showing a togate figure beneath an arcade, positioned with its sculpted face upwards.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Cath.69.102.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.079, 54: Tomb North-II.
Trench: North Odeon 2.
Location: Not recorded. In the northern extension to North Odeon 2.
Elevation: -0.55m below the South Temenos stylobate.
Dimensions: Ext. L.: 1.25, W.: 0.54 m.
Grave structure: A cist grave in the form of a "box" constructed of marble paving slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Cath.69.103.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.079, 54: Tomb North-III.
Trench: North Odeon 2.
Location: In the southwest corner of the northern extension to North Odeon 2.
Elevation: -0.55m below the South Temenos stylobate.
Dimensions: Ext. L.: 0.66, W.: 0.54 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and tile and covered by slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Cath.69.104.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.079, 54-55: Tomb North-IV.
Trench: North Odeon 2.
Location: Covering the rear wall of the Sculptor' Workshop. Slightly northeast of Cath.69.97.
Elevation: -0.55m below the South Temenos stylobate.
Dimensions: Not recorded – small.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and tile and covered by slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.

Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Cath.69.105.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.079, 41-42: Tomb I.
Trench: North Odeon 3.
Location: In the eastern portion of the trench.
Elevation: -0.69m below the South Temenos stylobate.
Dimensions: Ext. L.: 1.92, W.: 0.78 m.
Grave structure: The inverted lid of a sarcophagus was sunk into the ground, with a small hole in one of the narrow sides for drainage of bodily fluids. At least one course of rough stone blocks was laid above this, and the structure was then covered by slabs in the manner of a cist grave.
Orientation: On an east-west axis.
Burial articulation: Not recorded.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Cath.69.106.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.079, 43: Tomb II.
Trench: North Odeon 3.
Location: In the southeastern portion of the trench.
Elevation: -0.85m below the South Temenos stylobate.
Dimensions: Ext. L.: 2.00, W.: 0.33 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered by slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton.
Costume and ornament:

1. Copper alloy reliquary cross (Inv.69-397)
   See Catalogue Four, Number 6.

Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Cath.70.107.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.081, 7-8: Tomb 1.
Trench: Northeast Odeon 5.
Location: A the southeast corner of the trench, south of the colonnade stylobate. 0.30m from the southern limit, 0.43m from the eastern limit.
Elevation: -0.32m below the South Temenos stylobate.
Dimensions: Ext. L.: 1.97m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered by slabs of marble revetment.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Cath.70.108.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.081, 29: Tomb 2.
Trench: Northeast Odeon 5.
Location: South of the colonnade stylobate. Around 6m from the western limit, 2.75m from the southern limit.
Elevation: -0.48m below the South Temenos stylobate.
Dimensions: Ext. L.: 2.20, W.: 0.78 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered by slabs. Disturbed, with several cover slabs removed.
Orientation: On an east-west axis.
Burial articulation: Bones of a single skeleton, disarticulated and scattered around and outside of the grave.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Cath.70.109.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.081, 31: Tomb 3.
Trench: Northeast Odeon 5.
Location: Projecting from the eastern profile, south of the colonnade stylobate.
Elevation: -0.32m below the South Temenos stylobate.
Dimensions: Not recorded.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered by slabs of marble revetment. Disturbed, several cover slabs missing.
Orientation: On an east-west axis.
Burial articulation: Only a few human bones, alongside animal bones and fragments of glass and ceramics.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Cath.70.110.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.081, 45: Tomb 4.
Trench: Northeast Odeon 5.
Location: North of the stylobate, 0.25m from the northern limit of the trench about 5m from its northeast corner.
Elevation: Not recorded – similar to Cath.70.111.
Dimensions: Ext. L.: 2.00, W.: 0.45 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered by slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits:

1. Copper alloy coin (Inv.70-145).
   Diam. 0.8 cm.

Illegible coin. Found next to the first cervical vertebra.

Tomb number: Cath.70.111.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.081, 52: Tomb 5.
Trench: Northeast Odeon 5.
Location: Around 4m from the east limit, 1.5m from the northern limit.
Elevation: -0.62m below the South Temenos stylobate.
Dimensions: Ext. L.: 2.10, W.: 0.45 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered by slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Cath.70.112.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.081, 52: Tomb 6.
Trench: Northeast Odeon 5.
Location: Near the base of the steps of the South Temenos stylobate, less than 1m from the eastern limit of the trench.
Elevation: Not recorded – similar to Cath.70.111.
Dimensions: Ext. L.: 0.90, W.: 0.45 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered by slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Cath.70.113.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.081, 52: Tomb 7.
Trench: Northeast Odeon 5.
Location: To the north of the stylobate steps, around 1m from the western limit of the trench, 1.5m from the northern limit.
Elevation: Not recorded – similar to Cath.70.111.
Dimensions: Ext. L.: 0.90, W.: 0.45 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered by slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Cath.70.114.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.081, 60: Tomb 8.
Trench: Northeast Odeon 5.
Location: To the north of the stylobate steps, around 1.5m from the western limit, 1.5m from the eastern limit. Immediately north of Cath.70.115.
Elevation: Not recorded – similar to Cath.70.111.
Dimensions: Not recorded.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered by slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton.
Costume and ornament: None.

Placed deposits:

1. Ceramic jug.
H.: 7, Diam.: 6 cm.

Found positioned between the knees of the skeleton.

Tomb number: Cath.70.115.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.081, 60: Tomb 9.
Trench: Northeast Odeon 5.
Location: Immediately north of the stylobate steps, around 1.5m from the western limit. Immediately south of Cath.70.115.
Elevation: Not recorded – similar to Cath.70.111.
Dimensions: Not recorded.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered by slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Cath.83.116.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.232, 22-23: Tomb 1.
Trench: East Temenos 1983 B.
Location: Near the northeast corner of the trench.
Elevation: Not recorded – Cut through the pavement of the temenos.
Dimensions: Not recorded.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered by slabs. A vertical grave marker at both ends of the cist.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton. Arms crossed over chest.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Cath.83.117.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.232, 22-23: Tomb 2.
Trench: East Temenos 1983 B.
Location: Projecting from the eastern profile of the trench, around the centre.
Elevation: Not recorded – Cut through the pavement of the temenos.
Dimensions: Not recorded.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered by slabs.
Orientation: On an east-west axis.
Burial articulation: Not excavated.
Costume and ornament: Not excavated.
Placed deposits: Not excavated.

Tomb number: Cath.83.118.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.232, 22-23: Tomb 3.
Trench: East Temenos 1983 B.
Location: Projecting from the eastern profile of the trench, close to the southeast corner.

Elevation: Not recorded – Cut through the pavement of the temenos.
Dimensions: Not recorded.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered by slabs.
Orientation: On an east-west axis.
Burial articulation: Not recorded.
Costume and ornament:

1. Lid of copper alloy reliquary cross (Inv.84-237)
   See Descriptive Catalogue Four, Number 7.

Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Cath.97.119.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.364, 66-67.
Trench: Atrium trench 4.
Location: At the southwest corner of the exonarthex.
Elevation: Floor at 519.07 m a.s.l. Beneath the pavement of the exonarthex.
Dimensions: Not recorded.
Grave structure: Simple pit burial.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton, arms crossed over chest. Disturbed from pelvis down.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Cath.97.120.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.364, 90-91.
Trench: Atrium trench 4.
Location: At the southeast corner of the exonarthex.
Elevation: Cover slabs at 519.39m a.s.l. 0.25m beneath the top of the mortar preparation layer for the exonarthex floor.
Dimensions: Not recorded.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined by courses of roughly squared brick and stone, with a tile floor. Covered by slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton, most bones disintegrated.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Cath.97.121.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.364, 108-09.
Trench: Atrium trench 5.
Location: In the centre of the exonarthex, a little to the south of the fourth temenos column pedestal counting from the north.
Elevation: The cover slabs were 25cm below the exonarthex floor.
Dimensions: Int. L.: 2.08, W. west: 0.43, W. east: 0.30 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined by courses of roughly squared brick and stone, with a brick floor. Covered by slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.

Burial articulation: Two inhumations. 1. Stack of disarticulated bones at the east end of the grave. 2. Supine skeleton.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Cath.97.122.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.364, 108-09.
Trench: Atrium trench 5.
Location: Projecting from the south profile, south of Cath.97.121.
Elevation: The cover slabs were 25cm below the exonarthex floor.
Dimensions: Not recorded.
Grave structure: Cist grave, covered by slabs.
Orientation: Not excavated.
Burial articulation: Not excavated.
Costume and ornament: Not excavated.
Placed deposits: Not excavated.

The East Forecourt

Tomb number: Court.63.01.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.021, 21: Tomb I.
Trench: Northeast Temenos I.
Location: North of the wall running east-west through the centre of the trench, at its east end.
Elevation: Not recorded – similar to Court.63.06.
Dimensions: Not recorded – from sketch Ext. L.: c. 2.00, W.: c. 0.50m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered by slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton. Arms crossed over chest.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Court.63.02.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.021, 21: Tomb II.
Trench: Northeast Temenos I.
Location: Over the threshold in the doorway at the eastern end of the wall running east-west through the trench.
Elevation: Not recorded – similar to Court.63.06.
Dimensions: Not recorded – from sketch Ext. L.: c. 0.60, W.: c. 0.60 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks. The eastern half of the grave is missing and the cover slabs appear to have been removed.
Orientation: On an east-west axis.
Burial articulation: No skeleton.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Court.63.03.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.021, 21: Tomb III.
Trench: Northeast Temenos I.
Location: South of the wall running east-west through the centre of the trench, towards its east end.
Elevation: Not recorded – similar to Court.63.06.
Dimensions: Not recorded – from sketch Ext. L.: c. 1.80, W.: c. 0.60 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks. The western portion of the grave is missing and the cover slabs appear to have been removed.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton. Only legs remain.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Court.63.04.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.021, 21: Tomb IV.
Trench: Northeast Temenos I.
Location: South of the wall running east-west through the centre of the trench, around the centre.
Elevation: Not recorded – similar to Court.63.06.
Dimensions: Not recorded – from sketch Ext. L.: c. 2.10, W.: c. 1.00 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered by slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton. Arms crossed over chest.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Court.63.05.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.021, 21: Tomb V.
Trench: Northeast Temenos I.
Location: Directly against the north side of the wall running east-west through the centre of the trench, around the centre.
Elevation: Not recorded – similar to Court.63.06.
Dimensions: Not recorded – from sketch Ext. L.: c. 2.10, W.: c. 1.00 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered by slabs. The masonry of the wall in the trench serves as the southern limit of the cist.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton. Arms crossed over chest.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Court.63.06.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.021, 21: Tomb VI.
Trench: Northeast Temenos I.
Location: South of the wall running east-west through the centre of the trench, around the centre, around 0.50m west of Cath.
Elevation: -0.33m below the twentieth century ground level.
Dimensions: Not recorded – from sketch Ext. L.: c. 1.00, W.: c. 0.50 m.

Grave structure: rectangular cist (?).
Orientation: On an east-west axis.
Burial articulation: Single disarticulated skeleton (?).
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Court.63.07.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.021, 21: Tomb VII.
Trench: Northeast Temenos I.
Location: North of the wall running east-west through the centre of the trench, at its western end. Northern limit of the cist is slightly beneath the northern profile of the trench.
Elevation: Not recorded – similar to Court.63.06.
Dimensions: Not recorded – from sketch Ext. L.: c. 2.20, W.: c. 0.50 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered by slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton. Arms crossed over chest.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Court.63.08.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.021, 21: Tomb VIII.
Trench: Northeast Temenos I.
Location: South of the wall running east-west through the centre of the trench, at its western end. Southern limit of the cist is slightly beneath the Southern profile of the trench.
Elevation: Not recorded – similar to Court.63.06.
Dimensions: Not recorded – from sketch Ext. L.: c. 2.00, W.: c. 0.40 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered by slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Two inhumations. 1. Stack of disarticulated bones at the eastern end of the grave. 2. Supine skeleton, bones a little disordered.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Court.63.09.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.021, 23: Tomb IA.
Trench: Northeast Temenos IA.
Location: Projecting from the east profile at the southeast corner of the trench.
Elevation: Not recorded.
Dimensions: Not recorded – from sketch Ext. L.: c. 1.20, W.: c. 0.90 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered by slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Three inhumations, each skeleton laid on top of the previous (?).
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Court.63.10.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.021, 23: Tomb IIA.
Trench: Northeast Temenos IA.
Location: Immediately west off Cour.63.11.
Elevation: Not recorded.
Dimensions: Not recorded – from sketch Ext. L.: c. 2.00, W.: c. 1.00 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered by slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton. Arms crossed over chest.
Costume and ornament:

1. Copper alloy finger ring (Inv.63-079).
   Diam.: 2.1, W. band: 0.3 cm.

A simple flattened band, turned on itself and soldered into a circle. A slight protuberance in the band at the join.

Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Court.63.11.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.021, 23: Tomb IIIA.
Trench: Northeast Temenos IA.
Location: Projecting from the west profile in the southwest of the trench.
Elevation: Not recorded.
Dimensions: Not recorded – from sketch Ext. L.: c. 0.80 (in trench), W.: c. 0.70 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered by slabs.
Orientation: On an east west axis.
Burial articulation: Not excavated.
Costume and ornament: Not excavated.
Placed deposits: Not excavated.

Tomb number: Court.63.12.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.021, 23: Tomb IVA.
Trench: Northeast Temenos IA.
Location: Projecting from the east profile, south of the colonnade stylobate.
Elevation: Not recorded.
Dimensions: Int. L.: 2.50, W.: 0.40 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered by slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Three inhumations, each skeleton laid on top of the previous (?).
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Court.63.13.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.021, 23: Tomb VA.
Trench: Northeast Temenos IA.
Location: Projecting from the east profile, partially covering the colonnade stylobate.
Elevation: Not recorded.

Dimensions: Int. L.: 0.90, Int. W.: 0.30 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered by slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Two inhumations (?), since two skulls were found among disarticulated bones.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Court.63.14.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.021, 23: Tomb VIA.
Trench: Northeast Temenos IA.
Location: Immediately north of the stylobate, in the western portion of the trench.
Elevation: Not recorded.
Dimensions: Int. L.: 2.30, Int. W.: 0.50 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered by slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton. Arms crossed over chest.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Court.63.15.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.021, 23: Tomb VIIA.
Trench: Northeast Temenos IA.
Location: North of the stylobate, in the eastern portion of the trench.
Elevation: Not recorded.
Dimensions: Int. L.: 1.20, Int. W.: 0.50 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered by slabs. A fallen column shaft serves as the northern wall of the cist.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton. Boones disordered.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Court.63.16.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.021, 23: Tomb VIIIA.
Trench: Northeast Temenos IA.
Location: In the centre of the trench, around 1.8m north of the colonnade stylobate.
Elevation: Not recorded.
Dimensions: Not recorded – from sketch Ext. L.: c. 1.40, W.: c. 0.40 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered by slabs. Cover slabs removed, and the eastern end of the tomb is missing.
Orientation: On an east-west axis.
Burial articulation: No skeleton.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Court.63.17.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.021, 23: Tomb IXA.
Trench: Northeast Temenos IA.
Location: The insertion of the cist truncates a wall running around 2.40m north and parallel to the stylobate. On the eastern side of the trench.
Elevation: Not recorded.
Dimensions: Not recorded – from sketch Ext. L.: c. 2.30, W.: c. 1.20 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered by slabs. A fallen column shaft serves as the northern wall of the cist.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton. Arms crossed over chest.
Costume and ornament:

1. Two copper alloy finger rings (Inv.63-078).

Found on fingers, hand not specified.

Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Court.63.18.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.021, 23: Tomb XA.
Trench: Northeast Temenos IA.
Location: North of the wall cut by Court.63.17, projecting from the western profile.
Elevation: Not recorded.
Dimensions: Not recorded – from sketch Ext. L.: c. 2.10, W.: c. 0.90 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered by slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton. Arms crossed over chest.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Court.63.19.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.021, 23: Tomb XIA.
Trench: Northeast Temenos IA.
Location: south of the wall cut by Court.63.17, projecting from the western profile.
Elevation: Not recorded.
Dimensions: Not recorded – from sketch Ext. L.: c. 1.00, W.: c. 0.30 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered by slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

The Tetrapylon Cemetery (Following Ivison)

Tomb number: Tet.83.01.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.236, 17.
Trench: South Tetrapylon I-83.
Location: N C II
Elevation: -0.20 m.
Dimensions: Int. L.: 1.80, W.: 0.40m. Ext. L.: 2.60, W.: (west) 0.80 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine extended skeleton. Skull disintegrated but teeth present.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Tet.83.02.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.236, 17.
Trench: South Tetrapylon I-83.
Location: NW B II/SW B I
Elevation: -0.40 m.
Dimensions: Int. L.: 1.75, W. 0.40. Ext. L.: 1.75m, W.: (west) 0.75m, W.: (east) 0.60 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Two supine, extended skeletons. Stratigraphic relationship between the two is unclear.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Tet.83.03.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.236, 18.
Trench: South Tetrapylon I-83.
Location: SW A I
Elevation: -0.20 m.
Dimensions: Int. L.: 1.10, W.: 0.30. Ext. L.: 1.25m, W.: (west) 0.60, W.: (east) 0.50 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Adolescent? Smaller bones only, no skull.
Costume and ornament:

1. Copper alloy head ornament of κολτι type, perhaps silver plated (Inv.83-043).

H.: 2.2, W.: 1.8, D. 1.2 cm.
Crescent-shaped object, composed of two hollow, concave shells joined together. Edges decorated with twisted wire. Ring at bottom to suspend pendants (missing). Two parallel suspension rings on each horn of crescent for attachment of upper wire hoop. Upper hoop U-shaped and circular in section, terminating in loops, hinged with fastening pins (missing).

Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Tet.83.04.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.236, 18.
Trench: South Tetrapylon I-83.
Location: A II
Elevation: -0.30 m.
Dimensions: Int. L.: 1.60, W.: 0.35. Ext. L.: 0.70, W.: (west) 0.70 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine, extended skeleton. Arms crossed on stomach. Skull disintegrated.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Tet.83.05.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.236, 18.
Trench: South Tetrapylon I-83.
Location: B II
Elevation: -0.20 m.
Dimensions: Int. L.: 1.20, W.: 0.35. Ext. L.: 1.45, W.: (west) 0.70 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Smaller bones only, no skull.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Tet.83.06.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.236, 19.
Trench: South Tetrapylon I-83.
Location: N B III
Elevation: -0.10 m.
Dimensions: Int. L.: 0.75, W.: 0.25. Ext. L.: 1.00, W.: (west) 0.45m, W.: (east) 0.30 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine, extended skeleton.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Tet.83.07.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.236, 19.
Trench: South Tetrapylon I-83.
Location: N A III
Elevation: -0.20 m.
Dimensions: Int. L.: 1.00, W.: 0.35. Ext. L.: 1.10, W.: 0.60 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.

Burial articulation: Single supine, extended skeleton.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Tet.83.08.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.236, 20.
Trench: South Tetrapylon I-83.
Location: SE C II
Elevation: +0.20 m.
Dimensions: Int. L.: 0.55, W.: 0.25. Ext. L.: 0.75m, W.: (west) 0.60 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Smaller bones only, no skull.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Tet.83.09.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.236, 20.
Trench: South Tetrapylon I-83.
Location: A I
Elevation: +0.30 m.
Dimensions: Int. L. 0.75, W.: 0.30. Ext. L. 0.80, W.: (west) 0.60 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Smaller bones only, no skull.
Costume and ornament:

1. Copper alloy head ornament of κολτι type (Inv.83-044).
H.: 2.2, W.: 1.8, D. 1.2 cm.

Complete, except for one suspension ring and fastening pins. Semi-circular object, square in section, composed of two hollow shells joined together. Edges decorated with twisted wire, sides with applied wire rings. Nodules decorate underside, and suspension ring for pendant (0.2cm wide; pendant missing). Two parallel suspension rings on each horn of crescent for attachment of upper wire hoop. Upper hoop U-shaped and circular in section, terminating in loops, hinged by fastening pins (missing).

Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Tet.83.10.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.236, 20.
Trench: South Tetrapylon I-83.
Location: B III/ C III
Elevation: -0.30 m.
Dimensions: Int. L.: 1.70, W.: 0.40. Ext. L.: 2.00, W.: 0.70 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with three spolia slabs. One cover slab is a fragment of a columnar sarcophagus (Inv.83-087). Recessed niche contains one female draped figure. The figure is completely eradicated, and a relief cross carved over its centre.

Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine, extended skeleton.
Costume and ornament:

1. Copper alloy pendant cross (Inv.83-045).
   H.: 2.7, W.: 1.9 cm.

Arms circular in section, terminating in knobs. Four pellets at the junction of the arms. Found in the middle of the grave.

Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Tet.83.11.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.236, 22.
Trench: South Tetrapylon I-83.
Location: E A IV
Elevation: -0.80 m.
Dimensions: Int. Int. L.: 1.35, W.: 0.35m. Ext. L.: 1.35m, W.: (west) 0.50 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine, extended skeleton. Arms folded on stomach.
Costume and ornament:

1. Copper alloy earring (Inv.83-104).
   W.: 4 cm.

Twisted wire hoop with closure loop and band of wrapped wire at one end and hook at other. Found at west end of the grave.

Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Tet.83.12.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.236, 22.
Trench: South Tetrapylon I-83.
Location: SW B IV
Elevation: -0.70 m.
Dimensions: Int. L.: 1.80, W.: 0.50. Ext. L.: 2.00, W.: 0.50 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine, extended skeleton.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Tet.83.13.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.236, 32.
Trench: South Tetrapylon I-83.
Location: C V
Elevation: -0.70 m.
Dimensions: Int. L.: 1.40, W.: 0.35 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.

Burial articulation: Single supine, extended skeleton.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Tet.83.14.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.236, 40.
Trench: South Tetrapylon I-83.
Location: A V/ B V, above Tet.83.26.
Elevation: +0.20 m.
Dimensions: Int. L.: 1.85, W.: 0.50. Ext. L. 2.20, W.: 070 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and once covered with slabs, now missing. Disturbed in the Ottoman period.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Some smaller bones only.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits:

1. Fragment of Islamic coin (Inv.83-107). Likely intrusive.

Tomb number: Tet.83.15.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.236, 41.
Trench: South Tetrapylon I-83.
Location: S B V
Elevation: +0.10 m.
Dimensions: Int. L.: 1.65, W.: 0.55. Ext. L.: 1.70, W.: 0.60 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and once covered with slabs, now missing. Disturbed in the Ottoman period.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Some smaller bones only.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Tet.83.16.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.236, 41.
Trench: South Tetrapylon I-83.
Location: Y I
Elevation: Not recorded, on late antique pavement.
Dimensions: Int. L. 1.25, W.: 0.40. Ext. L.: 1.40, W.: (west) 0.65m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs. Built on surface of late antique pavement.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine, extended skeleton. Arms folded on stomach.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Tet.83.17.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.236, 43.
Trench: South Tetrapylon I-83.
Location: W IV
Elevation: Not recorded.
Dimensions: Int. L.: 1.10, W.: 0.40. Ext. L.: 0.40, W.: 0.75 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Smaller bones only.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Tet.83.18.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.236, 43.
Trench: South Tetrapylon I-83.
Location: X V
Elevation: -1.00 m.
Dimensions: Int. L.: 1.85, W.: 0.45. Ext. L.: 1.85, W.: 0.80 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine, extended skeleton. Arms folded on stomach.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Tet.83.19.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.236, 46.
Trench: South Tetrapylon I-83.
Location: N D III
Elevation: +0.10 m.
Dimensions: Int. L.: 1.80, W.: 0.40. Ext. L.: 1.90, W.: 0.75 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine, extended skeleton. Arms folded on stomach.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Tet.83.20.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.236, 46.
Trench: South Tetrapylon I-83.
Location: SE D II/SW E II
Elevation: +0.80 m, over mound of Tetrapylon collapse?
Dimensions: Int. L.: 0.55m, W.: 0.20. Ext. L.: 0.75, W.: (east) 0.50 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Some smaller bones only.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Tet.83.21.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.236, 46.
Trench: South Tetrapylon I-83.
Location: N F II
Elevation: Not recorded.
Dimensions: Int. L.: 1.00, W.: 0.35. Ext.: L. 1.40, W.: 0.65 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine, extended skeleton. Arms folded on stomach.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Tet.83.22.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.236, 47.
Trench: South Tetrapylon I-83.
Location: S F II
Elevation: Not recorded
Dimensions: Int. L.: 0.75, W.: 0.25. Ext. L.: 1.00m, W.: 0.50 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Some small bones.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Tet.83.23.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.236, 47.
Trench: South Tetrapylon I-83.
Location: D V/E E V
Elevation: -0.20 m.
Dimensions: Int. L.: 0.90, W.: 0.40. Ext. L.: 1.10m, W.: 0.60 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine, extended skeleton. Arms folded on stomach.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Tet.83.24.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.236, 51.
Trench: South Tetrapylon I-83.
Location: N F III
Elevation: Not recorded.
Dimensions: Int. L.: 1.30, W.: 0.30. Ext. L.: 1.50, W.: (west) 0.70 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine, extended skeleton. Arms folded across chest.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Tet.83.25.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.236, 51.
Trench: South Tetrapylon I-83.
Location: F IV
Elevation: Not recorded.
Dimensions: Int. L.: 1.40, W.: 0.40m. Ext. L.: 1.50m, W.: (west) 0.70 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine, extended skeleton. Arms folded across chest.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Tet.83.26.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.236, 54.
Trench: South Tetrapylon I-83.
Location: W A V/ B V, beneath Tet.83.14.
Elevation: -0.80 m.
Dimensions: Int. L.: 2.65, W.: 0.50. Ext. L.: 2.50, W.: (west) 0.70 m.
Grave structure: Extended (or double) cist grave, narrow and twice the length of usual cist grave. Lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs.
Burial articulation: Two inhumations. 1. Single supine, extended skeleton. Arms folded on chest. Head at extreme west end of grave. 2. Single supine, extended skeleton, arms folded on chest, laid with head between and just below knees of first.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Tet.83.27.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.236, 54.
Trench: South Tetrapylon I-83.
Location: SW A IV/NW A V
Elevation: -0.55 m.
Dimensions: Int. L.: 1.60, W.: 0.45. Ext. L.: 1.25, W.: 0.85m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Two inhumations. 1. Disarticulated bones of mature individual at east end. 2. Adult supine, extended skeleton. Arms folded on stomach.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Tet.83.28.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.236, 55.
Trench: South Tetrapylon I-83.
Location: N D VI.
Elevation: -0.35 m.
Dimensions: Int. L.: 1.65, W.: 0.40. Ext. L.: 1.25, W.: 0.70 m.

Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs. One slab is a fragment of an ancient parapet, decorated with four panels each containing geometric patterns (M.23).
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Two inhumations. 1. Adult supine, extended skeleton. Arms folded on stomach. 2. Adult supine, extended skeleton. Arms folded on stomach. Laid directly on top of first.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Tet.83.29.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.236, 58.
Trench: South Tetrapylon I-83.
Location: SE W IV
Elevation: -1.05 m.
Dimensions: Int. L.: 1.75, W.: 0.40.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine, extended skeleton. Arms folded on stomach.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits:

1. Copper alloy finial in the shape of a cross (Inv.83-116).
H.: 8.1, W.: 5.9, D.: 0.7 cm.

Finial in shape of cross, formed of round metal rods. Arms are of unequal length. Lower arm has moulded extremity and tang for insertion into a staff (decayed, presumably wood).

Tomb number: Tet.83.30.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.236, 59.
Trench: South Tetrapylon I-83.
Location: NE X VI/SW Y V
Elevation: -1.00 m.
Dimensions: Int. L.: 1.80, W.: 0.50 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs.
Orientation: Head to southwest feet to northeast.
Burial articulation: Single supine, extended skeleton. Arms folded on stomach.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Tet.83.31.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.236, 60.
Trench: South Tetrapylon I-83.
Location: E X VI
Elevation: -1.00 m.
Dimensions: Int. L.: 0.70m, W.: 0.40 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Some smaller bones only.

Costume and ornament:

1. Copper alloy bracelet with traces of gilding (Inv.83-118).
   Diam.: 5.9, D.: 0.4 cm.

Open, irregular hoop with pointed terminals shaped like pen-nibs and decorated with two parallel incised lines.

2. Copper alloy bracelet with traces of gilding (Inv.83-117).
   Diam.: 6.0, D.: 0.4 cm.

Identical to above.

3. Pair of copper alloy κολτι type head ornaments (Inv.83-119).
   H.: 1.8, W.: 2.0, D.: 1.6 cm.

Crescent shaped object, composed of two hollow concave shells joined together. Front decorated with filigree and circular wire-work, edged by crescent of five circular raised bosses. Edges decorated with twisted wire. Lower edge has three rings to suspend pendants (?). Underside framed with twisted wire and filled with wire ring-work. Back is decorated with wire rings. Two parallel suspension rings on each horn of crescent for attachment of upper wire hoop. Upper hoop U-shaped and circular in section, terminating in loops, hinged by fastening pins (missing).

Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Tet.83.32.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.236, 62.
Trench: South Tetrapylon I-83.
Location: SE Y VI
Elevation: -1.00 m.
Dimensions: Int. L.: 0.65, W.: 0.33 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with six bricks and covered with a stone slab. The bricks are reused – mortar still adheres to flat sides.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Some smaller infant bones.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits:

1. Ceramic jug (Inv.83-120).
   Lower diam.: 4.0, H.: 8.5 cm.

Red micaceous fabric. Handle broken and missing. Flat bottomed with pear-shaped body, short neck with trefoil, pinched mouth. Strap handle attached to middle body and joins to lip of mouth.

Tomb number: Tet.83.33.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.236, 63.
Trench: South Tetrapylon I-83.
Location: SE Y VII/SW Z VII
Elevation: -1.00 m.
Dimensions: Int. L.: 1.90, W.: 0.50 m.

Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Two inhumations. 1. Adult skeleton, much disturbed. Arms folded on stomach. 2. Adult supine, extended skeleton. Arms folded on stomach. Laid directly on top of first.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Tet.83.34.
Notebook Reference: *NBk.*236, 63.
Trench: South Tetrapylon I-83.
Location: Z VI, partially covering N-S Wall.
Elevation: -1.00 m.
Dimensions: Int. L.: 1.80, W.: 0.40 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine, extended skeleton. Arms folded over chest.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Tet.83.35.
Notebook Reference: *NBk.*236, 64.
Trench: South Tetrapylon I-83.
Location: NE Y VI
Elevation: -1.35 m.
Dimensions: Int. L.: 0.90, W.: 0.45 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone block and covered with slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine, extended skeleton in poor condition.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Tet.84.36.
Notebook Reference: *NBk.*246, 18.
Trench: South Tetrapylon I-84.
Location: SE D VI
Elevation: -0.30 m.
Dimensions: Int. L.: 0.90, W.: 0.30. Ext. L.: 1.30, W.: (west) 0.70 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with four slabs, one of which displaced. Disturbed in Ottoman period.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Few bones only.
Costume and ornament:

1. Pair of earrings (not catalogued – disintegrated during cleaning).

Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Tet.84.37.
Notebook Reference: *NBk.*246, 19.
Trench: South Tetrapylon I-84.
Location: N E VI
Elevation: -0.60 m.
Dimensions: Int. L.: 0.90, W.: 0.30. Ext. L.: 1.30, W.: (west) 0.70 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine, extended skeleton. Skull disintegrated.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Tet.84.38.
Notebook Reference: *NBk.*246, 19.
Trench: South Tetrapylon I-84.
Location: F VI
Elevation: -0.30 m.
Dimensions: Int. L.: 1.80, W.: 0.40. Ext. L.: 1.90 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine, extended skeleton. Skull disintegrated.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Tet.84.39.
Notebook Reference: *NBk.*246, 20.
Trench: South Tetrapylon I-84.
Location: NE E VII
Elevation: -0.30 m.
Dimensions: Int. L.: 1.90, W.: 0.40. Ext. W.: (west) 0.70 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine, extended skeleton.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Tet.84.40.
Notebook Reference: *NBk.*246, 20.
Trench: South Tetrapylon I-84.
Location: E VII
Elevation: -0.30 m.
Dimensions: Int. L.: 1.25, W.: 0.45. Ext. L.: 1.70, W.: 0.70 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs. Disturbed, but lid replaced.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine, extended skeleton. Skull and west end destroyed.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Tet.84.41.
Notebook Reference: *NBk.*246, 21.
Trench: South Tetrapylon I-84.
Location: S E VII/S F VII
Elevation: -0.20 m.
Dimensions: Int. L.: 3.10, W.: 0.5. Ext. L.: 3.30, W.: 0.80 m.
Grave structure: Extended (double) cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs. Disturbed in Ottoman period.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Two inhumations, much disturbed. Bones broken up, disarticulated and pushed to west end of grave. Originally likely to have been laid supine and extended head to toe.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Tet.84.42.
Notebook Reference: *NBk.*246, 22.
Trench: South Tetrapylon I-84.
Location: G VII
Elevation: +0.10 m.
Dimensions: Int. L.: 1.80, W.: 0.40. Ext. L.: 2.00, W.: 0.85 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine, extended skeleton. Arms folded on chest.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Tet.84.43.
Notebook Reference: *NBk.*246, 22.
Trench: South Tetrapylon I-84.
Location: E G VIII
Elevation: Not recorded.
Not excavated

Tomb number: Tet.84.44.
Notebook Reference: *NBk.*246, 23.
Trench: South Tetrapylon I-84.
Location: C VII
Elevation: +0.10 m.
Dimensions: Int. L.: 0.90, W.: 0.25. Ext. L.: 1.15, W.: (west) 0.75 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, coffin-shaped type, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Some smaller bones only.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Tet.84.45.
Notebook Reference: *NBk.*246, 23.
Trench: South Tetrapylon I-84.
Location: F VII
Elevation: +0.20 m.
Dimensions: Int. L.: 0.90, W.: 0.25 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, trapezoidal-shaped type, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Some smaller infant bones.
Costume and ornament:

1. Greenish yellow glass bracelet (Inv.84-114).
   Diam.: 5.5 cm.

Thick rod of glass, circular in section, turned into a close circle.

Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Tet.84.46.
Notebook Reference: *NBk.*246, 31.
Trench: South Tetrapylon I-84.
Location: S C VI
Elevation: -0.40 m.
Dimensions: Int. L.: 1.15, W.: 0.25 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs.
Disturbed.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Some smaller bones only.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Tet.84.47.
Notebook Reference: *NBk.*246, 31.
Trench: South Tetrapylon I-84.
Location: SE C VI/SW D VI
Elevation: -0.40 m.
Dimensions: Int. L.: 1.20, W.: 0.27 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs.
Disturbed.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Some smaller bones only.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Tet.84.48.
Notebook Reference: *NBk.*246, 34.
Trench: South Tetrapylon I-84.
Location: S B VIII
Elevation: -0.30 m.

Dimensions: Int. L.: 1.55, W.: 0.27 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs. Disturbed.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Some smaller bones only.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits:

1. Glass beaker (Inv.84-116).
   Rim Diam.: 8.0, Base Diam.: 4.0, H.: 6.0 cm.

Complete profile; fragment of upper wall and rim lost. Colourless glass with tint of pale yellowish green. Generally fine fabric, containing occasional small air bubble. Walls only 0.5mm in thickness. Exterior and interior covered with ivory iridescent crust. Blown glass, with traces of diagonal ripple marks on exterior, perhaps from rolling when blown.

Thick bottom, rising to centre into a low kick with pontil mark on underside. Rounded floor and slightly flattened walls, rising almost vertically to slightly out-turned and thickened rim.

Tomb number: Tet.84.49.
Notebook Reference: *NBk.*246, 35.
Trench: South Tetrapylon I-84.
Location: SW A VIII
Elevation: -0.35 m.
Dimensions: Int. L.: 0.86, W.: 0.26 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs. Disturbed.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Some smaller bones only.
Costume and ornament:

1. Copper alloy and shell (?) earring (Inv.84-115).
   Diam.: 1.0 cm.

Thin wire hoop, with attachment loop at one end, hook once at other (broken and lost). Shell, perhaps mother of pearl attachments (beads?).

Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Tet.84.50.
Notebook Reference: *NBk.*246, 35.
Trench: South Tetrapylon I-84.
Location: Unclear, photo implies south of X.
Elevation: -0.15 m.
Dimensions: Int. L.: 1.70, W.: 0.50 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs. Double engaged column fragment used for cist wall.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: At least one mature skeleton, some bones disarticulated.
Costume and ornament: None.

Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Tet.84.51.
Notebook Reference: *NBk.*246, 37.
Trench: South Tetrapylon I-84.
Location: N B IX
Elevation: -0.30 m.
Dimensions: Int. L.: 1.90, W.: 0.30 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Two inhumations, both supine, extended skeletons. Arms folded on chest.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Tet.84.52.
Notebook Reference: *NBk.*246, 37.
Trench: South Tetrapylon I-84.
Location: B IX
Elevation: -0.30 m.
Dimensions: Int. L.: 1.95, W.: 0.35 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine, extended skeleton. Arms folded on chest.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Tet.84.53.
Notebook Reference: *NBk.*246, 37.
Trench: South Tetrapylon I-84.
Location: W A IX
Elevation: -0.40 m.
Dimensions: Int. L.: 1.90, W.: 0.50 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine, extended skeleton. Arms folded on chest.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Tet.84.54.
Notebook Reference: *NBk.*246, 37.
Trench: South Tetrapylon I-84.
Location: A IX
Elevation: -0.45 m.
Dimensions: Int. L.: 0.85, W.: 0.30 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Infant skeleton.
Costume and ornament: None.

Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Tet.84.55.
Notebook Reference: *NBk.*246, 38.
Trench: South Tetrapylon I-84.
Location: NW A IX
Elevation: -0.40 m.
Dimensions: Int. L.: 1.85, W.: 0.40 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine, extended skeleton. Arms folded on chest. Well preserved.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Tet.84.56.
Notebook Reference: *NBk.*246, 38.
Trench: South Tetrapylon I-84.
Location: SW A VII
Elevation: -0.45 m.
Dimensions: Int. L.: 1.60, W. 0.30 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Not recorded.
Costume and ornament:

1. Bracelet fragment, unspecified material (not catalogued).

Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Tet.84.57.
Notebook Reference: *NBk.*267, 5.
Trench: South Tetrapylon II-84/South Tetrapylon I-85.
Location: SW D IX
Elevation: -0.10 m.
Dimensions: Not recorded.
Grave structure: Earth-dug pit grave. Disturbed by building of walls in Ottoman period.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Few crushed bones and skull.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Tet.84.58.
Notebook Reference: *NBk.*267, 5.
Trench: South Tetrapylon II-84/South Tetrapylon I-85.
Location: N D X, partially covering Tet.85.66.
Elevation: -0.30 m.
Dimensions: Int. L.: 0.80, W.: 0.35 m.

Grave structure: Cist grave, entirely built of bricks. Disturbed.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Few bones.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Tet.85.59.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.267, 5.
Trench: South Tetrapylon II-84/South Tetrapylon I-85.
Location: W E X, on top of Tet.85.65.
Elevation: +0.10 m.
Dimensions: Int. L.: 0.65, W.: 0.25 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs. Gravestone still stands erect at west end of grave. Gravestone is an uninscribed *spolia* slab set in ground.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Infant skeleton.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Tet.85.60.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.267, 5.
Trench: South Tetrapylon II-84/South Tetrapylon I-85.
Location: S E X, on top of Tet.85.65.
Elevation: +0.10 m.
Dimensions: Not recorded.
Grave structure: Not recorded – a cist grave?
Orientation: Not recorded.
Burial articulation: Not recorded.
Costume and ornament: Not recorded.
Placed deposits: Not recorded.

Tomb number: Tet.85.61.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.267, 5.
Trench: South Tetrapylon II-84/South Tetrapylon I-85.
Location: W F X, on top of Tet.85.65.
Elevation: +0.10 m.
Dimensions: Int. L.: 0.65, W.: 0.30. Est. L.: 1.00, W.: (east) 0.50 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Infant skeleton.
Costume and ornament:

1. Copper alloy earring (Inv.85-020).
   Diam.: 1.8 cm.

Open hoop of thin wire. Found at west end of grave.

Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Tet.85.62.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.267, 6, 37.
Trench: South Tetrapylon II-84/South Tetrapylon I-85.
Location: F XI, beneath Ottoman wall (?).
Elevation: -0.30 m.
Dimensions: Int. L.: 1.65, W.: 0.50. Ext. L.: 1.70, W.: (west) 0.75 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, well constructed of stone blocks and covered with slabs. Floor is also lined with slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine, extended skeleton, skull disintegrated.
Costume and ornament:

1. Silver finger ring (Inv.85-021a).
   Diam.: 1.7 cm.

Plain band. Found at west end of grave.

2. Copper alloy finger ring (Inv.85-021b).
   Diam.: 2.0cm.

Plain band. Found at west end of grave.

3. Three copper alloy earrings (Inv.85-021c)
   Diam.: not recorded.

Plain wire hoops. Found at west end of the grave.

4. Pair of copper alloy κολτι type head ornaments, partly gilded (Inv.85-021e).
   Diam.: not recorded.

Crescent shaped object, composed of two hollow, concave shells joined together. Decorated with applied wire-work, granulation and raised bosses. Lower edge has rings to suspend pendants (?). Two parallel suspension rings on each horn of crescent for attachment of upper wire hoop. Upper hoop U-shaped and circular in section, terminating in loops, hinge by fastening pins.

5. Copper alloy/silver gilt earrings (Inv.85-021e).

Several fragmentary earrings (?) of indeterminate type, and other fragments termed “miscellaneous bits”.

Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Tet.85.63.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.267, 7.
Trench: South Tetrapylon II-84/South Tetrapylon I-85.
Location: N F IX, covering Tet.85.64.
Elevation: +0.20 m.
Dimensions: Int. L.: 0.85, W.: 0.30. Ext. L.: 1.10, W.: 0.50 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Infant skeleton.
Costume and ornament:

1. Copper alloy pendant cross (Inv.85-022a).
W.: 3.5 cm.
Arms terminate in knobs, with four knobs at the junction of arms. Loop-hole for suspension at top of upper arm.

2. Pair of copper alloy and silver (?) earrings or temple ornaments (Inv.85-022b).
H.: (lower parts) c.2 cm.
Incomplete. Upper hoops for suspension lost. Lower part heart-shaped and divided by ribs into three compartments filled with copper alloy or silver inlay. Not located by Ivison in 1994.

3. Pair of copper alloy gilded (?) earrings or temple ornaments (Inv.85-22c).
H.: 1.4 cm.
Badly broken. Lower hoop hollow and box-like, with two attached semi-circular elements. Upper wire for suspension missing. Not located by Ivison in 1994.

Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Tet.85.64.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.267, 15.
Trench: South Tetrapylon II-84/South Tetrapylon I-85.
Location: N F IX, covered by Tet.85.63.
Elevation: -0.20 m.
Dimensions: Int. L.: 0.60, W.: 0.35. Ext. L.: 0.80, W.: 0.50 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, of poor construction, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Infant skeleton.
Costume and ornament:

1. Copper alloy earring (Inv.85-023).
Diam. 2.5 cm.
Broken. Plain wire hoop.

Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Tet.85.65.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.267, 16.
Trench: South Tetrapylon II-84/South Tetrapylon I-85.
Location: E X, covered by Tet.85.59, 60, 61.
Elevation: -0.60 m.
Dimensions: Int. L.: 1.90, W.: 0.45 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: “Many bones”, i.e. at least one individual.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Tet.85.66.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.267, 16.
Trench: South Tetrapylon II-84/South Tetrapylon I-85.
Location: E C X/W B X, partially covered by Tet.85.58.
Elevation: -0.60 m.
Dimensions: Int. L.: 1.65, W.: 0.40 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Two burials. 1. Disarticulated bones at east end. 2. Supine, extended mature skeleton.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Tet.85.67.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.267, 17, 20, 45.
Trench: South Tetrapylon II-84/South Tetrapylon I-85.
Location: C IX
Elevation: -1.00 m.
Dimensions: Int. L.: 2.00, W.: 0.45 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs. One cover slab is on half of epistyle **B.04**, positioned with the cross upwards.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Few bones (disintegrated?). Skull at west end.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Tet.85.68.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.267, 17, 45.
Trench: South Tetrapylon II-84/South Tetrapylon I-85.
Location: N C IX
Elevation: -0.50 m.
Dimensions: Int. L.: 0.65, W.: 0.25 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Infant skeleton, bones disintegrated.
Costume and ornament:

1. Pair of copper alloy, silvered, earrings or head ornaments (Inv.85-024). Diam.: c. 1.5, H.: 3.1 cm.

Fragments of hollow lower parts of κολτι type (?) head ornaments and ribbed bead. Upper suspension hoops missing. Not located by Ivison in 1994.

Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Tet.85.69.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.267, 17, 46.
Trench: South Tetrapylon II-84/South Tetrapylon I-85.
Location: S C VIII
Elevation: -0.50 m.

Dimensions: Int. L.: 0.66, W.: 0.25 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Infant skeleton. Few bones (disintegrated).
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Tet.85.70.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.267, 46.
Trench: South Tetrapylon II-84/South Tetrapylon I-85.
Location: SW D VIII
Elevation: -0.50 m.
Dimensions: Int. L.: 0.54, W.: 0.20 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Infant skeleton. Few bones (disintegrated).
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Tet.85.71.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.267, 47.
Trench: South Tetrapylon II-85
Location: NE G XI/NW H XI
Elevation: -0.40 m.
Dimensions: Int. L.: 1.50, W.: 0.40 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: At least one, perhaps two individuals. Bones badly disintegrated. Skull at feet, but originally oriented with head to west.
Costume and ornament:

1. Two coloured glass bracelets (Inv.85-026).
Diam.: a) 7.7, b) 7.0 cm.
a) Four fragments of a ribbed band of blackish and red striped glass.
b) A plain band of dark blue glass, three quarters preserved.

Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Tet.85.72.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.267, 47.
Trench: South Tetrapylon II-85
Location: N B XI
Elevation: -0.20 m.
Dimensions: Int. L.: 1.90, W.: 0.50 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and once covered with slabs. Disturbed and filled with earth in Ottoman period. Cover slabs missing.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Empty.
Costume and ornament: None.

Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Tet.85.73.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.267, 47.
Trench: South Tetrapylon II-85
Location: SE B XI
Elevation: -0.30 m.
Dimensions: Int. L.: 0.80, W.: 0.25 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Infant skeleton.
Costume and ornament:

1. Pair of copper alloy earrings (Inv.85-025).
   Diam.: a) 2.6, b) 1.6 cm.

Plain wire hoops, with loop and hook clasp at extremities.

Placed deposits: None.

1. Glass Beaker (Inv.85-035).
   Rim Diam.: 6.7 cm.

Complete profile. Lip and side broken and lost. Colourless glass. Thick bottom, rising at centre to low kick. Rounded floor and globular body. Shoulder narrowing to neck with flaring, almost vertical rim. Not seen by Ivison in 1994.

Tomb number: Tet.85.74.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.267, 48.
Trench: South Tetrapylon II-85
Location: S C XI, partially covering Tet.85.86.
Elevation: -0.30 m.
Dimensions: Int. L.: 0.90, W.: 0.30 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Infant skeleton. Badly disintegrated, only few bones.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Tet.85.75.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.267, 48.
Trench: South Tetrapylon II-85
Location: N C XI
Elevation: -0.70 m.
Dimensions: Int. L.: 1.70, W.: 0.43 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine, extended skeleton. Well preserved.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Tet.85.76.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.267, 48.
Trench: South Tetrapylon II-85
Location: SW B XI
Elevation: -1.05 m.
Dimensions: Int. L.: 1.70, W.: 0.43 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine, extended skeleton. Poorly preserved.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Tet.85.77.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.267, 48.
Trench: South Tetrapylon II-85
Location: N B XII
Elevation: -0.70 m.
Dimensions: Int. L.: 0.65, W.: 0.25 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Infant skeleton, poorly preserved with only a few bones.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Tet.85.78.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.267, 49.
Trench: South Tetrapylon II-85
Location: S B XII
Elevation: -0.80 m.
Dimensions: Int. L.: 1.15, W.: 0.30 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine, extended skeleton. Poorly preserved.
Costume and ornament:

1. Copper alloy head ornament of κολτι type (Inv.85-027).
H.: 3.8, W.: 2.1 cm.

Complete. Crescent shaped object, composed of two hollow, concave shells joined together. Decorated with applied wire-work, with applied wire cross with curled terminals on one side. Two parallel suspension rings on each horn of crescent for attachment of upper wire hoop. Upper hoop U-shaped and circular in section, terminating in loops, hinged by fastening pins.

Placed deposits:

1. Glass jug or perfume bottle (Inv.85-027).

Fragment only (possibly intrusive). Crescent shaped handle from small jug or perfume bottle.

Tomb number: Tet.85.79.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.267, 49.
Trench: South Tetrapylon II-85
Location: SE A XII
Elevation: Not recorded, c. -1.00 m.
Dimensions: Int. Not recorded.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single, supine extended skeleton.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Tet.85.80.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.267, 50.
Trench: South Tetrapylon II-85
Location: NW B XIII
Elevation: -0.70 m.
Dimensions: Int. L.: 0.90, W.: 0.20 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Infant skeleton, poorly preserved. Only a few bones.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Tet.85.81.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.267, 50.
Trench: South Tetrapylon II-85
Location: S B XIII
Elevation: -0.60 m.
Dimensions: Int. L.: 0.63, W.: 0.18 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Infant skeleton, poorly preserved. Only a few bones.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Tet.85.82.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.267, 50.
Trench: South Tetrapylon II-85
Location: SW C XIII
Elevation: -0.55 m.
Dimensions: Int. L.: 1.00, W.: 0.23 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Infant skeleton, poorly preserved. Only a few bones.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Tet.85.83.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.267, 50.
Trench: South Tetrapylon II-85
Location: NE C XIII
Elevation: -0.95 m.
Dimensions: Int. L.: 2.10, W.: 0.45 m.
Grave structure: Extended (or double) cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Two inhumations. 1. Single supine, extended skeleton, laid with head at extreme west end of grave. 2. Single supine, extended skeleton, arms folded on chest, laid with head at feet of fist.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Tet.85.84.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.267, 51.
Trench: South Tetrapylon II-85
Location: S C XII
Elevation: -0.70 m.
Dimensions: Int. L.: 1.75, W.: 0.45 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine, extended skeleton. Well preserved.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Tet.85.85.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.267, 51.
Trench: South Tetrapylon II-85
Location: NE C XII/NW D XII
Elevation: -1.00 m. (?)
Dimensions: Int. L.: 1.70, W.: 0.35 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine, extended skeleton. Well preserved.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Tet.85.86.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.267, 51.
Trench: South Tetrapylon II-85
Location: SE C XI/SW D XI
Elevation: -1.00 m. (?)
Dimensions: Int. L.: 1.70, W.: 0.35 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine, extended skeleton. Well preserved.
Costume and ornament: None.

Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Tet.85.87.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.267, 51.
Trench: South Tetrapylon II-85
Location: NW E XI
Elevation: -0.60 m.
Dimensions: Int. L.: 0.90, W.: 0.27 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Few bones.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Tet.85.88.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.267, 52.
Trench: South Tetrapylon II-85
Location: NW E XI
Elevation: -0.40 m.
Dimensions: Int. L.: 0.65, W.: 0.25 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Infant skeleton.
Costume and ornament:

1. Copper alloy earring (Inv.85-028a).
Diam.: 2.3 cm.

Plain wire hoop with closure loop and hook clasp at ends. Found near skull.

Placed deposits:

1. Glass fragment (Inv.85-028b).
L.: 2.1, W.: 2.0 cm.

Fragment, roughly leaf shaped, from a vessel (?). Found near skull.

Tomb number: Tet.85.89.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.267, 52.
Trench: South Tetrapylon II-85
Location: NE E XI
Elevation: -0.70 m.
Dimensions: Int. L.: 0.85, W.: 0.40 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs.
Burial laid on late antique street pavement as floor of cist.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Infant skeleton. Poorly preserved, only a few bones.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Tet.85.90.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.267, 52.
Trench: South Tetrapylon II-85
Location: S E XI
Elevation: -0.65 m.
Dimensions: Int. L.: 1.50, W.: 0.30 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs. Burial laid on late antique street pavement as floor of cist. The curb of the street used for the east end of the tomb.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine, extended skeleton. Poorly preserved, only a few bones.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Tet.85.91.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.267, 52.
Trench: South Tetrapylon II-85
Location: E XII
Elevation: -0.65 m.
Dimensions: Int. L.: 1.00, W.: 0.30 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs. Broken double-engaged capital used to line northeast corner of the cist. Burial laid on the late antique street pavement as floor of cist.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Infant skeleton. Poorly preserved, only a few bones.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits:

1. Glass jug (Inv.85-034).
   Base. diam.: 2.8, Mouth diam.: 2.8, H. 8.0 cm.

Incomplete profile, handle missing. Colourless glass with tint of pale green. Blown with applied handle, walls average 0.5mm in thickness. Flattish bottom with shallow dimple kick at centre, with prominent pontil mark, 6mm in diameter. Pear-shaped lower body with slender neck rising to flaring trefoil mouth. Spout is 0.012m wide, and has a thickened, rounded lip. Rod handle (missing) applied to shoulder and joined at lip.

Tomb number: Tet.85.92.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.267, 53.
Trench: South Tetrapylon II-85
Location: S F XI
Elevation: -0.20 m.
Dimensions: Int. L.: 0.85, W.: 0.35 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Infant skeleton. Poorly preserved, only a few bones.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Tet.85.93.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.267, 53.
Trench: South Tetrapylon II-85
Location: N F XII
Elevation: -0.30 m.
Dimensions: Int. L.: 0.70, W.: 0.25 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Infant skeleton. Poorly preserved, only a few bones.
Costume and ornament:

1. Earring, unspecified material (not catalogued).

Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Tet.85.94.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.267, 76.
Trench: South Tetrapylon III-85
Location: NW Z X
Elevation: -1.35 m.
Dimensions: Int. L.: 1.85, W.: 0.40 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine, extended skeleton.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Tet.85.95.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.267, 76.
Trench: South Tetrapylon III-85
Location: X IX
Elevation: -1.47 m.
Dimensions: Int. L.: 2.00, W.: 0.50 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine, extended skeleton. Poorly preserved, few bones.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Tet.85.96.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.267, 76.
Trench: South Tetrapylon III-85
Location: SW X VIII
Elevation: -1.40 m.
Dimensions: Not recorded.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.

Burial articulation: Not excavated.
Costume and ornament: Not excavated.
Placed deposits: Not excavated.

Tomb number: Tet.85.97.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.267, 76.
Trench: South Tetrapylon III-85
Location: NW X VIII
Elevation: -1.50 m.
Dimensions: Not recorded.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Not excavated.
Costume and ornament: Not excavated.
Placed deposits: Not excavated.

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Tomb number: TrCh.62.01.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.10, 5, 7-8, 29.
Trench: Unknown.
Location: Position recorded in relation to a pear tree, no longer extant.
Elevation: Twentieth century ground level.
Dimensions: Ext. L.: 2.00, W.: (east) 0.55 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Sing supine skeleton, L.: 1.95m. Arms crossed over chest.
Sex/Estimated age: M/30.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: TrCh.62.02.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.10, 18.
Trench: SWC 3.
Location: Projecting from the western limit of SWC 3, 1.60m from the southern limit.
Elevation: -1.60m.
Dimensions: Not recorded.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Sing supine skeleton. Arms crossed over chest.
Sex/Estimated age: F/30.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: TrCh.62.03.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.10, 15.
Trench: SWC 3.
Location: Adjacent to the southern edge of TrCh.62.02.
Elevation: -1.60m.
Dimensions: Ext. L.: 0.55, W.: 0.23 m.
Grave structure: Small cist grave of vertical stones, cover slabs missing.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Only fragments from one leg.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: TrCh.62.04.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.10, 23, 44.
Trench: SWC 3/4.
Location: Head and shoulders in SWC4, lower body in SWC3.
Elevation: Two different methods recorded: -1.60m and -2.00m .
Dimensions: Ext. L.: 1.80, W.: 0.45 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton. Skull missing, bones in place.
Sex/Estimated age: F/35.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: TrCh.62.05.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.10, 36.
Trench: SWC 3.
Location: Along the northern limit of SWC3, 1.50m from the northwest corner. The grave only extends 0.25m into the trench.
Elevation: -1.60m.
Dimensions: Ext. L.: 0.95.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Not excavated.
Sex/Estimated age: Skeleton not studied.
Costume and ornament: Not excavated.
Placed deposits: Not excavated.

Tomb number: TrCh.62.06.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.10, 38.
Trench: SWC 4.
Location: In the southeast corner of SWC4.
Elevation: -2.5m.
Dimensions: Ext. L.: 1.75, W.: 0.48 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton, L.: 1.60m. Arms folded over upper pelvis.

Sex/Estimated age: F/40.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: TrCh.62.07.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.10, 36.
Trench: SWC 4.
Location: 0.50m from the eastern limit, 1.00m from southern limit.
Elevation: -2.4m.
Dimensions: Ext. L.: 0.90, W.: 0.49 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton. Arms folded over chest.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: TrCh.62.08.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.10, 36.
Trench: SWC 4.
Location: 2.00m from the eastern limit, 0.20m from the northern limit.
Elevation: -0.8m.
Dimensions: Ext. L.: 0.82, W.: 0.28 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton.
Sex/Estimated age: ?/ <1.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: TrCh.62.09.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.10, 39.
Trench: SWC 4.
Location: 0.15m from the northern limit, 2.5m from the eastern limit.
Elevation: -2.10m.
Dimensions: Ext. L.: 0.76, W.: 0.26 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton.
Sex/Estimated age: ?/1-2.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: TrCh.62.10.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.10, 43.
Trench: SWC 4.
Location: 0.40m from the northern limit, 1.20m from the exterior wall of the east apse.
Elevation: -0.8m.
Dimensions: Ext. L.: 1.95, W.: 0.46 m.

Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton, arms crossed over lower spine.
Sex/Estimated age: M/50.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: TrCh.62.11.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.10, 47.
Trench: SWC 4.
Location: 0.20m from the southern limit, approximately 1.80m from the exterior east apse wall.
Elevation: -1.20m.
Dimensions: Ext. L.: 1.28, W.: 0.42 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton.
Sex/Estimated age: ?/8.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: TrCh.62.12.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.10, 38.
Trench: SWC 4.
Location: Against the exterior wall of east apse, 0.10m from the southern limit.
Elevation: -0.80m.
Dimensions: Ext. L.: 0.57, W.: 0.19 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton.
Sex/Estimated age: ?/3.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: TrCh.62.13.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.10, 39.
Trench: SWC 4.
Location: Against the exterior wall of the east apse, 0.25m from the southern limit.
Elevation: -0.75m.
Dimensions: Ext. L.: 0.85, W.: 0.37 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton.
Sex/Estimated age: Skeleton not studied.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: TrCh.62.14.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.10, 37.
Trench: SWC 4.
Location: Against the exterior wall of the east apse, 1.50m from the southern limit.
Elevation: -0.65m.
Dimensions: Ext. L.: 0.72, W.: 0.31 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave lined with re-used brick and covered with slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton.
Sex/Estimated age: ?/neonate.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits:

1. Copper alloy coin of the fourth century AD (Inv.62-073).
Diam.: 1.8 cm.

Tomb number: TrCh.62.15.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.10, 38.
Trench: SWC 4.
Location: 1.70m from the northern limit. Sketch implies approximately 7m from the east apse wall
Elevation: -1.80m.
Dimensions: Not recorded. Sketch implies Ext. L.: c. 0.50, W.: c. 0.50 m.
Grave structure: Not recorded.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: TrCh.62.16.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.10, 40.
Trench: SWC 4.
Location: Against the exterior wall of the east apse, 1m from the northern limit.
Elevation: -0.65m.
Dimensions: Ext. L.: 0.66, W.: 0.19 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave lined with re-used brick and covered with slabs. No east wall to the cist.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: TrCh.62.17.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.10, 40.
Trench: SWC 4.
Location: 0.30m from the northern limit, 1m from the exterior wall of the east apse.
Elevation: -0.65m.

Dimensions: Ext. L.: 1.05, W.: 0.28 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton.
Sex/Estimated age: ?/5.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: TrCh.62.18.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.10, 39.
Trench: SWC 4.
Location: Sketch implies immediately north of TrCh.1962.21.
Elevation: Not recorded.
Dimensions: Ext. L.: 1.30, W.: 0.52 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Not recorded.
Sex/Estimated age: ?/2.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: TrCh.62.19.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.10, 41.
Trench: SWC 4.
Location: 3.75m from the eastern limit of SWC4, 0.35m from the southern limit.
Elevation: -2.4m.
Dimensions: Ext. L.: 0.85, W.: 0.28 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton.
Costume and ornament:

1. Two silver wire earrings (Inv.62-075).
   Diam.: 1.9 cm.

Pair of earrings, one broken during cleaning. Thin silver band terminating in a small ball, at the extremity of which is a hook, inserted into a loop at the other lip of the bend. Found to left and right of skull.

Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: TrCh.62.20.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.10, 41.
Trench: SWC 4.
Location: Sketch implies approximately 1m from southern limit, 6.5m from the exterior wall of east apse.
Elevation: -2.00m.
Dimensions: Ext. L.: 1.30, W.: 0.38 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.

Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton. Bones disordered, left leg missing.
Sex/Estimated age: ?/4.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: TrCh.62.21.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.10, 41.
Trench: SWC 4.
Location: Against the exterior wall of the east apse, 0.50m from the north wall
Elevation: Not recorded.
Dimensions: Ext. L.: 0.61, W.: 0.17 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Bones disintegrated.
Sex/Estimated age: ?/neonate.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: TrCh.62.22.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.10, 42.
Trench: SWC 4.
Location: 0.75m from northern limit, 6.50m from eastern limit.
Elevation: -2.20m.
Dimensions: Ext. L.: 1.38, W.: 0.34 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton, right arm missing.
Sex/Estimated age: ?/6.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: TrCh.62.23.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.10, 43.
Trench: SWC 4.
Location: In the centre of the trench, 6m from the exterior wall of the east apse.
Elevation: -1.25m.
Dimensions: Ext. L.: 1.95, W.: 0.82 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with multiple courses of stone blocks and covered with slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton. Many bones displaced.
Sex/Estimated age: F (?)/18-20.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: TrCh.62.24.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.10, 44.
Trench: SWC 4.
Location: 4.00m from exterior wall of the east apse, against the northern limit of SWC4.
Elevation: -1.50m.
Dimensions: Ext. L.: 1.85, W.: 0.40 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton. Bones disturbed.
Sex/Estimated age: M (?)/25
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: TrCh.62.25.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.10, 45.
Trench: SWC 4.
Location: Adjacent to the southern edge of TrCh.62.24. 0.65m from the northern limit, 1.75m from the exterior wall of the east apse.
Elevation: -1.35m.
Dimensions: Ext. L.: 0.87, W.: 0.32 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton. Arms crossed over chest.
Sex/Estimated age: ?/5.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: TrCh.62.26.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.10, 45-46.
Trench: SWC 4.
Location: Against the northern limit, 1.75m from the east apse wall.
Elevation: -1.00m.
Dimensions: Ext. L.: 0.72, W.: 0.30 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton.
Sex/Estimated age: Skeleton not studied.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: TrCh.62.27.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.10, 40.
Trench: SWC 4.
Location: Sketch implies approximately 1.80m from the exterior wall of the east apse, against the southern limit of SWC4.
Elevation: -1.35m.
Dimensions: Ext. L.: 0.58, W.: 0.23 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs.

Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton.
Sex/Estimated age: ?/neonate.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: TrCh.62.28.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.10, 46.
Trench: West of SWC 2.
Location: Not recorded.
Elevation: Not recorded – close to twentieth century ground level (?).
Dimensions: Not recorded.
Grave structure: Not recorded.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Supine skeleton.
Sex/Estimated age: M/40
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: TrCh.62.29.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.10, 49.
Trench: SWC 4.
Location: Against the northern limit of the trench, just to the east of Tr.Ch.62.26.
Elevation: -1.90m
Dimensions: Ext. L.: 1.90, W.: 0.49 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: TrCh.62.30.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.10, 48.
Trench: SWC 4.
Location: 1.50m from southern limit of the trench, 2.00m from exterior wall of east apse.
Elevation: -1.90m
Dimensions: Ext. L.: 1.91, W.: 0.49 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton. Arms crossed over chest.
Sex/Estimated age: F/50+.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: TrCh.62.31.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.10, 48.
Trench: SWC 4.
Location: Directly beneath TrCh.62.17, 0.75m from the northern limit.
Elevation: -2.00m
Dimensions: Ext. L.: 2.05, W.: 0.43 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton. Skull missing.
Sex/Estimated age: F/30.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: TrCh.62.32.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.10, 53-54, 58.
Trench: SWC 5 East Apse.
Location: Against the interior surface of the apse, 1.05m form its southwest corner.
Elevation: -1.95m.
Dimensions: Ext. L.: 1.55, W.: 0.33 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined several courses of brick with occasional stone inclusions and covered by slabs.
Orientation: Head to southwest feet to northeast.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton. Arms folded over chest.
Sex/Estimated age: ?/10
Costume and ornament:

1. Copper alloy finger ring (Inv.62-097).
   Diam.: 1.5, W. of gem: 1.0 cm.

Ring with an inserted square gem or glass-stone. Ring broken into three fragments; a fourth included the stone. Found between the knees.

2. Silver cross pendant (Inv.62-091)
   H.: 3.2, W.: 2.3 cm.

Arms terminate with trefoil points, with four knobs at the junction of the arms. Loop for suspension at the upper arm is broken.

Placed deposits:

1. Three iron nails and remnants of “charcoal” (not catalogued)

Perhaps the remains of a bier or other wooden furniture.

Tomb number: TrCh.62.33.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.10, 55-56.
Trench: SWC 5 East Apse.
Location: 2.10m from the northern limit of the apse, 1.50m from the eastern limit (centre) of the apse.
Elevation: -2.10m

Dimensions: Ext. L.: 1.03, W.: 0.36 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave dug into the raised floor of the apse, line by five brick courses. Covered by slabs (?).
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton. Skull missing.
Sex/Estimated age: ?/7.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits:

1. Three iron nails and remnants of "charcoal" (not catalogued)

Perhaps the remains of a bier or other wooden furniture.

Tomb number: TrCh.62.34.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.10, 57.
Trench: SWC 5 East Apse.
Location: 1.00m from north corner of the apse, foot 0.80m from the curve.
Elevation: -1.90m
Dimensions: Ext. L.: 1.15, W.: 0.42 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave dug into the raised floor of the apse, line by brick and stone courses. Covered by slabs (?).
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton. Bones disordered.
Sex/Estimated age: ?/1-2.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits:

1. Three iron nails and remnants of "charcoal" (not catalogued)

Perhaps the remains of a bier or other wooden furniture.

Tomb number: TrCh.62.35.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.10, 57.
Trench: SWC 5 East Apse.
Location: Against the interior surface of the apse, 1.50m form its northwest corner.
Elevation: -1.95m
Dimensions: Ext. L.: 1.05, W.: 0.40 m.
Grave structure: Not recorded.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton. Bones disordered.
Sex/Estimated age: ?/5.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits:

1. Three iron nails and remnants of "charcoal" (not catalogued)

Perhaps the remains of a bier or other wooden furniture.

Tomb number: TrCh.62.36.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.10, 57.
Trench: SWC 5 East Apse.
Location: 2.25m south of the northwest corner of the apse. Eastern edge in line with the corners of the apse.
Elevation: -2.00m
Dimensions: Ext. L.: 0.85, W.: 0.35 m.
Grave structure: Not recorded.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton. Bones disordered.
Sex/Estimated age: ?/1.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits:

1. Three iron nails and remnants of "charcoal" (not catalogued)

Perhaps the remains of a bier or other wooden furniture.

Tomb number: TrCh.62.37.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.10, 65-66.
Trench: SWC 5 *Narthex*.
Location: Against the east wall of the *narthex*, 1.10m south of the southern jam of the door to the *naos*.
Elevation: +0.40m.
Dimensions: Ext. L.: 0.62, W.: 0.33 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with upright brick tiles and covered by brick tiles.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton.
Sex/Estimated age: ?/<1.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits:

1. Ceramic coarse ware pot (Inv.62-156).
   Max. Diam.: 16, H.: 18 cm.

Wheel-thrown pot with a globular body beneath a narrower, slightly flaring neck. Positioned immediately north of the grave. Upper rim fragmented, but sherds recovered from immediate environment. Many snail shells recorded within the pot, presumably accruing in the months following the burial.

Tomb number: TrCh.62.38.
This grave does not appear in the excavation notebook. It is unclear whether this grave ever existed, or simply represents a numbering mistake on the part of the excavator.

Tomb number: TrCh.62.39.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.10, 67.
Trench: SWC 5 *Naos* (west).
Location: 0.25m from the north *naos* wall, 1.00m from the west wall of the *naos*.
Elevation: -1.50m
Dimensions: Ext. L.: 1.82, W.: 0.57 m.

Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and brick tiles and covered with slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single skeleton, bones very disordered.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: TrCh.62.40.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.10, 68.
Trench: SWC 5 *Naos* (west).
Location: 0.25m from west wall of the *naos*, 0.25m from south wall of the *naos*.
Elevation: -1.60m
Dimensions: Ext. L.: 1.96, W.: 0.59 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single skeleton, bones very disordered.
Sex/Estimated age: F/35.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: TrCh.62.41.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.10, 68.
Trench: SWC 5 *Naos* (west).
Location: Against the west wall of the *naos*. 0.90m south of the entrance.
Elevation: -1.55m
Dimensions: Ext. L.: 0.77, W.: 0.28 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton.
Sex/Estimated age: Skeleton not studied.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: TrCh.62.42.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.10, 68-69.
Trench: SWC 5 *Naos* (west).
Location: Not recorded. Rough sketch implies approximately 0.20m from the west wall of the *naos*, just to the south of the entrance.
Elevation: -1.85m
Dimensions: Ext. L.: 1.97, W.: 0.52 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and brick tiles and covered with slabs. The cist is placed against a fallen Tetrakionion column.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton.
Sex/Estimated age: Skeleton not studied.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: TrCh.62.43.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.10, 69.
Trench: SWC 5 *Naos* (west).
Location: 1.00m from the south wall of the *naos*, 0.75m from west wall.
Elevation: -1.60m
Dimensions: Ext. L.: 1.20, W.: 0.41 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs. Employs floor tiles and architectural fragments in the walls of the cist.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton. Bones very disordered. Skull missing.
Sex/Estimated age: ?/2.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: TrCh.62.44.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.10, 70.
Trench: SWC 5 *Naos* (west).
Location: Head against the west wall of the *naos*. 1.50m from the southern wall.
Elevation: -2.00m
Dimensions: Ext. L.: 1.42, W.: 0.45 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton. Bones disordered.
Sex/Estimated age: ?/6.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: TrCh.62.45.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.10, 72-73.
Trench: SWC 5 *Naos* (centre).
Location: Against the northern edge of the southeast octagonal *Tetrakionion* stepped base.
Elevation: -2.20m
Dimensions: Ext. L.: 1.80, W.: 0.45 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton. Arms crossed over lower pelvis.
Sex/Estimated age: F/16.
Costume and ornament:

1. Silver pin (Inv.62-166)
H.: 3, W.: 3.5 cm.

A circular frame with the silhouette of a bird placed heraldically to each side. At the top of the frame is a triangular projection, below a heart-shaped projection. The pin is hinged behind the body of the right hand bird, and extends behind the circular frame. Found just below the left collarbone.
Caruso (2016), Fig. 25.17.

2. Gold-plated copper alloy finger ring (Inv.62-169).

Diam.: 2.4 cm.
A thin band with three parallel grooves. The bezel takes the form of a six-pointed star, with a small collet hole at centre. Stone is missing. Found in the vicinity of the right hand.
Caruso (2016), Fig. 25.16.

3. A large quantity of fine gold thread (Inv.62-70).
Gold thread of various lengths. Some of the threads are intertwined in a braid. Found beneath skull and shoulders.
Caruso (2016), Fig. 25.18.

Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: TrCh.62.46.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.10, 75.
Trench: SWC 5 *Narthex*.
Location: Within the angle immediately north of the first projection in the eastern wall of the narthex, south of the door to the *naos*.
Elevation: +0.40m.
Dimensions: Not recorded. Sketch implies Ext. L.: c. 0.50, W.: c. 0.50m.
Grave structure: Small cist defined by placing two large bricks in a right-angle against the a masonry projection.
Orientation: Head to south feet to north.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton.
Sex/Estimated age: Skeleton not studied.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: TrCh.62.47.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.10, 75.
Trench: SWC 5 *Narthex*.
Location: Perpendicular to TrCh.62.46 and abutting its west wall.
Elevation: +0.40m.
Dimensions: Not recorded. Sketch implies Ext. L.: c. 0.30, W.: c. 0.15 m.
Grave structure: Not recorded.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton (?).
Sex/Estimated age: Skeleton not studied.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: TrCh.62.48.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.10, 76.
Trench: SWC 5 *Naos* (centre).
Location: Foot is against the lowermost step leading to the east apse. 5.25m north of the southern wall of the east apse barrel vault.
Elevation: -2.25m.
Dimensions: Ext. L.: 1.90, W.: 0.56 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs.

Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton. Upper body disordered.
Sex/Estimated age: F/30.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits:

1. Lead plaque (Inv.62-207).
   H.: 4.2, W.: 4.3 cm.

Small rhomboid lead plaque. Relief floral design on one surface. Perhaps from a box or wooden furniture?

2. Fragments of iron, possibly nails (not catalogued)

Found in the area of the left leg.

Tomb number: TrCh.62.49.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.10, 78.
Trench: SWC 5 *Naos* (west).
Location: Against the south wall of the western barrel vault of the naos. 0.80m from the west wall. Covered by Tr.Ch.62.40.
Elevation: -2.25m.
Dimensions: Ext. L.: 1.80, W.: 0.48 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton. Arms folded over chest.
Sex/Estimated age: M/40.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: TrCh.62.50.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.10, 78-79.
Trench: SWC 5 *Narthex*.
Location: 1.00m from the west wall of the *narthex*, 2.10m south of the southern door jams.
Elevation: +0.05m.
Dimensions: Ext. L.: 1.63, W.: 0.40 m.
Grave structure: Not recorded. Cut through *Nathex* floor. An earlier grave was visible below, but was not excavated.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton.
Sex/Estimated age: F/16.
Costume and ornament:

1. Copper alloy finger ring (Inv.62-254).
   Diam.: 1.8, W. bezel: 1.2, W. band: 0.5 cm.

Thick band flaring to a round bezel. Found beneath the left side of pelvis.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: TrCh.62.51.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.10, 79.
Trench: SWC 5 *Narthex*.
Location: Against the east wall of the *narthex,* 4.00m south of the door jam.
Elevation: +0.05m.
Dimensions: Ext. L.: 1.80, W.: 0.49 m.
Grave structure: Not recorded. Cut through *narthex* floor. Partially covering Tr.Ch.62.51.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton. Arms crossed over pelvis.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: TrCh.62.52.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.10, 80.
Trench: SWC 5 *Naos* (centre).
Location: Adjacent and with its foot against the same stone as TrCh.62.48. Unclear whether to north or south.
Elevation: Not recorded, presumably -2.25m.
Dimensions: Ext. L.: 2.05, W.: 0.44 m.
Grave structure: Very crude cist, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton.
Sex/Estimated age: M/50.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: TrCh.62.53.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.10, 81.
Trench: SWC 5 *Naos* (centre).
Location: Foot against the lowermost step leading to the east apse. 3.10m south of a line measured between the corners of the north apse.
Elevation: -2.18m.
Dimensions: Ext. L.: 1.23, W.: 0.44 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs. The cover slabs include two fragments of sculpted relief from an ancient sarcophagus (Inv.62-224). Sculpted elements face down.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton. Bones very disordered.
Sex/Estimated age: ?/4.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: TrCh.62.54.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.10, 83.
Trench: SWC 5 *Narthex*.
Location: 4.00m south of the narthex door. Partially covered by TrCh.62.51.
Elevation: -0.50.
Dimensions: Ext. L.: 1.72, W.: 0.45 m.

Grave structure: Not recorded. Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs (?).
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Two inhumations. 1. Skull and disarticulated bones stacked at the east end of the grave. 2. Supine skeleton.
Sex/Estimated age: Skeletons not studied.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: TrCh.62.55.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.10, 84.
Trench: SWC 5 *Naos* (centre).
Location: 2.50m from line between corners of the north apse, 3.10m from the steps to the east apse.
Elevation: -2.25m.
Dimensions: Ext. L.: 1.93, W.: 0.51 m.
Grave structure: Not recorded. Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs (?).
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton. Bones disordered.
Sex/Estimated age: M/25.
Costume and ornament:

1. Silver finger ring (Inv.62-253).
Diam.: 1.7, W. bezel: 0.7, W. band: 0.3 cm.
Thin band, flaring to oval bezel.

2. Gold braid (Not catalogued)

Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: TrCh.62.56.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.10, 85.
Trench: SWC 5 *Narthex*.
Location: 0.60m from the west wall of the *narthex* and 0.85m north of the north door jam.
Elevation: +/-0.00.
Dimensions: Ext. L.: 1.81, W.: 0.50 m.
Grave structure: Not recorded. Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs (?).
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton.
Sex/Estimated age: M/40.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: TrCh.62.57.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.10, 85.
Trench: SWC 5 *Narthex*.
Location: Against the northern side of one of the projections flanking the door to the *naos*. The excavator did not specify whether the north or south projection.
Elevation: Not recorded.
Dimensions: Ext. L.: 0.32, W.: 0.14 m.
Grave structure: Simple cist of upright bricks.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Not recorded.
Sex/Estimated age: ?/premature infant, c. 6 months.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: TrCh.62.58.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.10, 86.
Trench: SWC 5 *Naos* (centre).
Location: In the centre of the *naos*, 4.35m from the west wall.
Elevation: -2.40m.
Dimensions: Ext. L.: 1.73, W.: 0.56 m.
Grave structure: Not recorded. Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs (?).
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Bones very disordered.
Sex/Estimated age: Skeleton not studied.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: TrCh.62.59.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.10, 86.
Trench: SWC 5 *Narthex*.
Location: 1.20m from the west wall, 0.76m north of the north door jam.
Elevation: +/-0.00.
Dimensions: Ext. L.: 1.63, W.: 0.42 m.
Grave structure: Not recorded. Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs (?).
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton. Several ribs stained green mark the original position of the pectoral cross.
Sex/Estimated age: F/30.
Costume and ornament:

1. Lid of copper alloy reliquary cross (Inv.62-236).
   See Descriptive Catalogue Four, Number 2.

Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: TrCh.62.60.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.10, 88.
Trench: West of SWC 5 *Narthex*.
Location: Unspecified location, exterior to and west of the Triconch Church.
Elevation: Not recorded – a little beneath twentieth century ground level (?).
Dimensions: Ext. L.: 1.84, W.: not recorded.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton.
Sex/Estimated age: F/40.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: TrCh.62.61.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.10, 89.
Trench: SWC 5 North Apse.
Location: Not recorded.
Elevation: Not recorded.
Dimensions: Ext. L.: 2.00, W.: 0.56.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton.
Sex/Estimated age: M/50.
Costume and ornament:

1. Silver button (Inv.62-460).
   H.: 2.0, W.: 1.7 cm.

Hollow globe with a small eyelet. Dividing band around equator line, and filigree grains joined by threads across surface.
Caruso (2016), Fig.25.7.

Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: TrCh.62.62.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.10, 90-92.
Trench: SWC 5 North Apse.
Location: In the centre of the north apse, 2.70m from the northernmost (central) point.
Elevation: -0.55m.
Dimensions: Ext. L.: 1.95, W.: 0.53.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton. Upper body disturbed.
Sex/Estimated age: M/40.
Costume and ornament:

1. Copper alloy button (Inv.62-462).
   H.: 1.6 cm.

Hollow globe with a small eyelet. Dividing band around equator line. Corroded.

Caruso (2016), Fig. 25.9.

2. Silver finger ring (Inv.62-461)
   Diam.: 2.1 cm.

Thin band flaring to an oval bezel. Faintly incised with geometric pattern.
Caruso (2016), Fig. 25.8.

3. Iron ankle bindings (Inv.62-278)
   L.: 8, W.: 5.5 cm.

Two similar iron hoops, horseshoe shaped. Found around the ankles of the skeleton. The excavator interpreted the hoops as a binding device.

Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: TrCh.62.63.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.10, 95.
Trench: SWC 5 North Apse.
Location: In the centre of the north apse, 2.70m from the northernmost (central) point.
Elevation: -0.95m.
Dimensions: Ext. L.: 1.95, W.: 0.58.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton. Left arm crossed over chest, right arm by side. A finger on the left hand was stained green from the two rings, as was one finger on the right hand, possibly by the copper alloy cross.
Costume and ornament:

1. Copper alloy finger ring (Inv.62-332)
   Diam.: 2.2, W. bezel: 1.5 cm.

Band flares towards the bezel. Lozenge bezel with nodules at corners.
Caruso (2016), Fig. 25.10.

2. Gold finger ring (not catalogued)

Twisted gold finger ring (?).

3. Lid of a copper alloy reliquary cross (Inv.62-331)
   See Descriptive Catalogue Four, Number 3. Held in right hand of deceased?

Caruso (2016), Fig. 25.12.

Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: TrCh.62.64.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.10, 97.
Trench: SWC 5 North Apse.
Location: Not recorded.
Elevation: Not recorded.
Dimensions: Ext. L.: 2.00, W.: 0.55.

Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs. Incorporates a broken fragment of a double engaged column base.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Only a very few bones.
Sex/Estimated age: Skeleton not studied.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits:

1. Iron nails (unspecified number, not catalogued)

Tomb number: TrCh.62.65.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.10, 98.
Trench: SWC 5 North Apse.
Location: 0.40m north of a line between the corners of the apse. No more details given.
Elevation: -2.00m.
Dimensions: Not recorded.
Grave structure: Not recorded.
Orientation: Not recorded.
Burial articulation: An infant skeleton (?).
Sex/Estimated age: Skeleton not studied.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: TrCh.62.66.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.10, 99.
Trench: SWC 5 North Apse.
Location: Against the northwest edge of the northeast octagonal Tetrakionion base.
Elevation: -1.85m.
Dimensions: Ext. L.: 1.24, W.: 0.47.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs. Incorporates a broken fragment of a double engaged column base.
Orientation: Head to southwest feet to northeast.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton.
Sex/Estimated age: ?/5.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: TrCh.62.67.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.10, 99.
Trench: SWC 5 North Apse.
Location: 0.25m from the northwest octagonal Tetrakionion stepped base.
Elevation: Not recorded.
Dimensions: Ext. L.: 2.15, W.: 0.55.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs. One cover slab is an ancient sarcophagus fragment with a depiction of a nude female figure, details perhaps deliberately defaced (Inv.62-358).
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.

Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton. Right arm across pelvis, left arm lying by side.
Sex/Estimated age: F/25.
Costume and ornament:

1. Gold braid (Inv.62-342).

Gold threads woven into bands of zig-zag and other patterns. Found in the area of the shoulders.

Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: TrCh.62.68.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.10, 99-100.
Trench: SWC 5 North Apse.
Location: Eastern edge is 0.35m from the western surface of the northeast octagonal Tetrakionion stepped base. The grave is in line with both corners of the apse.
Elevation: -2.10m.
Dimensions: Ext. L.: 2.01, W.: 0.54.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton. Arms lying by sides.
Sex/Estimated age: M/50.
Costume and ornament:

1. Gold braid (Inv.62-343).

Gold threads woven into bands of zig-zag and other patterns. Found over skull, and in places gold thread had fused with the skull.

Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: TrCh.62.69.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.10, 100.
Trench: SWC 5 *Naos* (centre).
Location: Not recorded.
Elevation: Not recorded.
Dimensions: Ext. L.: 1.76, W.: 0.49.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton. Arms folded over pelvis.
Sex/Estimated age: F/35.
Costume and ornament:

1. Gold braid (Inv.62-344).

Gold threads woven into bands of zig-zag and other patterns. Found in sifted earth.

2. Rock crystal pendant (Inv.62-351).

H.: 2.7 cm.

Copper alloy and part silver pendant consisting of a ring flaring to a floral motifs at top and bottom. A faceted rock crystal is inserted between top and bottom.
Caruso (2016), Fig.25.15.

3. Silver button or pendant (Inv.62-352).
H.: 3.7 cm.

A hollow, biconical pendant suspended from a small eyelet. The surface is divided into longitudinal sections, each of which is worked in a grenetis technique.
Caruso (2016), Fig.25.14.

Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: TrCh.62.70.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.10, 100.
Trench: SWC 5 North Apse.
Location: 2.10m from the east wall of the north apse.
Elevation: -2.05m.
Dimensions: Not recorded.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs. The grave incorporates a fallen monolithic Tetrakionion column.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine infant skeleton.
Sex/Estimated age: Skeleton not studied.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: TrCh.62.71.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.10, 101.
Trench: SWC 5 *Naos* (centre).
Location: Roughly in the centre of the *naos*, 3.85m from a line drawn between the corners of the south apse. No more details given.
Elevation: -2.20m.
Dimensions: Ext. L.: 1.35, W.: 0.41.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton.
Sex/Estimated age: ?/4.
Costume and ornament:

1. Silver finger ring (Inv.62-350).
Diam.: 1.7 cm.

Simple ring of twisted silver wires. Found above the left collar bone.

Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: TrCh.62.72.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.10, 101.
Trench: SWC 5 North Apse.
Location: Head is 1.30m from the northwest octagonal Tetrakionion stepped base. Covered by TrCh.62.67.
Elevation: -2.65m.
Dimensions: Ext. L.: 2.05, W.: 0.45.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton. Arms crossed over chest.
Sex/Estimated age: M/40.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: TrCh.62.73.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.10, 102.
Trench: SWC 5 North Apse.
Location: 0.24m from the northwest octagonal Tetrakionion stepped base. Parallel to the line between corners of the north apse.
Elevation: -2.20m.
Dimensions: Ext. L.: 1.81, W.: 0.47.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton. Bones disordered.
Sex/Estimated age: M/60+.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: TrCh.62.74.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.10, 103-04.
Trench: SWC 5 *Narthex*.
Location: 0.55m from the east wall of the *narthex*, 3.00m to the north of the north door jam.
Elevation: Not recorded.
Dimensions: Not recorded.
Grave structure: Cist grave of rough stones and bricks.
Orientation: Head to southwest feet to northeast.
Burial articulation: Not recorded.
Sex/Estimated age: M/50+.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: TrCh.62.75.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.10, 105.
Trench: SWC 5 *Naos* (centre).
Location: 1.16m east of the southwest octagonal Tetrakionion stepped base. 0.45m north of a line drawn between the corners of the south apse.
Elevation: -2.00m.
Dimensions: Ext. L.: 0.97, W.: 0.35.

Grave structure: “Very crude” cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton.
Sex/Estimated age: ?/4.
Costume and ornament:

1. Gold braid (Inv.62-392).

Twisted gold threads. Found beneath skull and shoulders.

Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: TrCh.62.76.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.10, 105.
Trench: SWC 5 *Naos* (centre).
Location: 0.32m northwest of the southwest octagonal Tetrakionion stepped base. 1.00m north of a line drawn between the corners of the south apse. To the north of TrCh.62.75.
Elevation: -2.05m.
Dimensions: Ext. L.: 0.76, W.: 0.29.
Grave structure: “Very crude” cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton. Bones disordered.
Sex/Estimated age: ?/<1.
Costume and ornament:

1. Gold button (Inv.62-391).
   Diam.: 1.3 cm.

Round gold ornament, described by excavator as a button. Found in sifted earth.

2. Silver earring (Inv.62-389).
   Diam.: 2.1 cm.

Earring consisting of a round bead-like head from which stems a circular wire band. On returning the wire fits into a hole on the other side of the bead.

Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: TrCh.62.77.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.10, 105.
Trench: SWC 5 South Apse.
Location: On the top surface of the southwest octagonal Tetrakionion stepped base.
Elevation: Not recorded.
Dimensions: Ext. L.: 0.70, W.: 0.26.
Grave structure: “Very crude” cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton. Bones disordered.

Sex/Estimated age: ?/neonate.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: TrCh.62.78.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.10, 105.
Trench: SWC 5 *Narthex*.
Location: 0.04m from the east wall of the *narthex*, 1.20m south of the small door in the northeast.
Elevation: Not recorded.
Dimensions: See grave structure.
Grave structure: Skeleton in a re-used stone tub with a small hole in its base, dimensions 0.96 x 0.45 x 0.29m (Inv.62-408).
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton. Bones very disordered.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: TrCh.62.79.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.10, 105-06.
Trench: SWC 5 South Apse.
Location: Against the wall of the apse, 20cm from the western corner of the apse.
Elevation: -2.00m.
Dimensions: Ext. L.: 1.16, W.: 0.39.
Grave structure: "Very crude" cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton.
Sex/Estimated age: ?/4.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: TrCh.62.80.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.10, 105-06.
Trench: SWC 5 South Apse.
Location: Feet against the southeast octagonal Tetrakionion stepped base.
Elevation: -2.40m.
Dimensions: Ext. L.: 2.09, W.: 0.52.
Grave structure: Cist grave, relatively well constructed in brick and stone courses and covered with slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton. Right arm over pelvis, left lying straight.
Sex/Estimated age: M/40-50.
Costume and ornament:

1. Gold braid (Inv.62-390).

Gold thread woven into decorative braid and knot design. Three fragments, location within grave not recorded.

Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: TrCh.62.81.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.10, 106.
Trench: SWC 5 South Apse.
Location: Against the wall of the south apse, 1.15m from the west corner.
Elevation: -1.97m.
Dimensions: Ext. L.: 1.95, W.: 0.67.
Grave structure: Cist grave, relatively well constructed in brick and stone courses and covered with slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton. Arms crossed over pelvis.
Sex/Estimated age: M/50.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits:

1. Copper alloy coin (Inv.62-388).
   Diam.: 1.6 cm.

Ancient copper alloy coin, illegible. Found in sifted earth.

Tomb number: TrCh.62.82.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.10, 108-09.
Trench: In the area that would be designated SWC 10 in 2002.
Location: In the space between the east exterior wall of the north apse and the west exterior wall of the north *parekklesion.* Oriented north-south.
Elevation: Not recorded – immediately below the ground level (?).
Dimensions: Not recorded.
Grave structure: Not recorded.
Orientation: Head to north feet to south.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton. Bones disordered.
Sex/Estimated age: M/40.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: TrCh.62.83.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.10, 109-10.
Trench: SWC 5 South Apse.
Location: In line with both corners of the apse, 1.00m east of the southwest octagonal Tetrakionion stepped base.
Elevation: -2.35m.
Dimensions: Ext. L.: 1.85, W.: 0.37.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton. Arms crossed over pelvis.
Sex/Estimated age: M/50+.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: TrCh.62.84.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.10, 111.
Trench: SWC 5 South Apse.
Location: Against the west wall of the south apse, 2.05m north of the southernmost (central) point.
Elevation: -2.45m.
Dimensions: Ext. L.: 1.98, W.: 0.51.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton. Arms crossed over pelvis.
Sex/Estimated age: M/50.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: TrCh.62.85.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.10, 113.
Trench: SWC 5 South Apse.
Location: Head against the eastern edge of the southwest octagonal Tetrakionion stepped base.
Elevation: -2.43m.
Dimensions: Ext. L.: 2.02, W.: 0.45.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton. Left arm crossed over chest, right arm over pelvis.
Sex/Estimated age: F/70+.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: TrCh.62.86.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.10, 114.
Trench: SWC 5 South Apse.
Location: 0.50m south of the southern edge of the southwest octagonal Tetrakionion stepped base, 15cm west of a line between the western corners of the north and south apses.
Elevation: -2.40m.
Dimensions: Ext. L.: 0.75 m., W.: not recorded.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton. Bones displaced and deteriorated.
Sex/Estimated age: ?/neonate to 6 months.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: TrCh.62.87.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.10, 114.
Trench: SWC 5 South *Parekklesion*.
Location: Against the north wall of the south *parekklesion,* 0.25m from the west wall.
Elevation: Not recorded.
Dimensions: Ext. L.: 0.67, W.: 0.30 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs.
Orientation: On an east-west axis.
Burial articulation: The small cist contained a disordered secondary burial of an adult individual. Skull, pelvis, vertebrae and arms were represented, but no legs.
Sex/Estimated age: M/60.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: TrCh.62.88.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.10, 114.
Trench: SWC 5 *Naos* (centre).
Location: Foot against steps to east apse. 2.80m north from a line drawn between the corners of the south apse.
Elevation: -2.50m.
Dimensions: Ext. L.: 2.05, W.: 0.60 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered with slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton. Bones disordered.
Sex/Estimated age: M/50.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: TrCh.62.89.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.10, 115-16.
Trench: SWC 5 *Narthex*.
Location: 1.15m from the west wall of the *narthex*, 0.30m north of a line between the north jams of the main entrances to the *narthex*.
Elevation: -0.55m.
Dimensions: Ext. L.: 1.86, W.: 0.59 m.
Grave structure: Built rectangular tomb of mortared brick, with a floor of marble tiles.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Two inhumations. 1. Stack of disarticulated bones at the east end of the tomb. 2. Supine skeleton. Arms crossed over chest.
Sex/Estimated age: 1. M/40. 2. M/50.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits:

1. Copper alloy coin (Inv.62-442/#475)
   Diam.: 3.5 cm.

A2 Class anonymous follis (AD 976(?)-1028(?)). Found around the centre of the tomb.

Tomb number: TrCh.93.90.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.332, 88: Tomb 93/1.
Trench: SWC 5 South Apse.
Location: Sketch implies that the burial was against the wall of the south apse, just to the east of the southernmost (central) point.
Elevation: Not recorded.
Dimensions: Not recorded, sketch implies Ext. L.: c. 0.60, W.: c. 0.40 m.
Grave structure: Simple pit cut through the latest floor layer of octagonal tiles in the south apse.
Orientation: Head to west, other bones very disordered.
Burial articulation: Infant bones in poor condition scattered throughout the pit.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: TrCh.93.91.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.332, 104-07: Tomb 93/2.
Trench: SWC 5 South Apse.
Location: Sketch implies that the burial was against the wall of the south apse, just to the west of the southernmost (central) point.
Elevation: Min: 516.05, Max: 516.45 m a.s.l.
Dimensions: Ext. L.: 0.60, W.: 0.85 m.
Grave structure: Simple pit cut through the latest floor layer in the south apse, with the lid of Tr.Ch.93.92 used as a pavement.
Orientation: Head to north, other bones very disordered.
Burial articulation: The disordered bones of one adult (?) individual.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: TrCh.93.92.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.332, 116, 142-43, 155-56: Tomb 93/3.
Trench: SWC 5 South Apse Sondage.
Location: 0.15m from the wall of the south apse, 0.40m west of the centre. The insertion of this tomb truncated the vaulted drain running beneath the ancient street.
Elevation: Min: 515.83, Max: 516.05 m a.s.l.
Dimensions: Ext. L.: 2.03, W.: 0.45 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, line by stone blocks and covered by slabs. Floor of large stone slabs and compacted earth.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton. Arms by sides.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: TrCh.93.93.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.332, 116, 142-43, 155-56: Tomb 93/4.
Trench: SWC 5 South Apse Sondage.
Location: Adjacent and to the north of TrCh.93.92. East edge 0.60m from the east limit of the sondage (a line perpendicular to the apse at its southernmost (central) point).

Elevation: Min: 515.86, Max: 516.04 m a.s.l.
Dimensions: Ext. L.: 2.00, W.: 0.35 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, line by stone blocks and covered by slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton. Arms by sides.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: TrCh.93.94.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.332, 116, 142-43, 155-56: Tomb 93/5.
Trench: SWC 5 South Apse Sondage.
Location: Adjacent and to the north of TrCh.93.93. North edge is against the mortared rubble foundation of the Tetrakionion.
Elevation: Min: 515.73, Max: 515.98 m a.s.l.
Dimensions: Ext. L.: 2.12, W.: 0.60 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined by stone blocks and brick tiles, covered by slabs. The northern wall incorporates part of the brick vaulting of the ancient drain. Floor is a patchwork of small tile, stone and marble slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton. Arms crossed over pelvis.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: TrCh.00.95.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.403, 23-31: Tomb 2000.01.
Trench: SWC 5 *Narthex* Sondage.
Location: Approximately 0.50m north of the southern limit of the trench, 1.25m to the east of the west wall of the *narthex*. Immediately south of TrCh.00.96.
Elevation: -0.60m (using 1962 datum).
Dimensions: Int. L.: 1.78, W.: 0.47 m.
Grave structure: Built tomb, walls of large stones placed vertically and covered by stone and marble slabs. Plastered interior.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton. Arms crossed over chest.
Sex/Estimated age: F/adult.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: TrCh.00.96.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.403, 33-42: Tomb 2000.02.
Trench: SWC 5 *Narthex* Sondage.
Location: Immediately to the north of TrCh.00.95. Approximately 1m from the west wall of the *narthex*.
Elevation: -0.60m (using 1962 datum).
Dimensions: Not recorded. From plan, Ext. L.: c. 2.50, W.: 0.60 m.
Grave structure: Built tomb, walls of smaller stones placed vertically with tle fragments used to fill interstices. Covered by four large marble slabs. Plastered interior, and plaster over cover slabs. The plaster over the slabs of TrCh.00.96

covers the northern edge of TrCh.00.95, demonstrating that the secondary burial in TrCh.00.96 must be later than the construction of tomb TrCh.00.95.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Two inhumations. 1. Stack of disarticulated bones at the east end of the tomb. 2. Supine skeleton. Arms crossed over chest. The tomb was originally planned for the length of the first skeleton.
Sex/Estimated age: 1. M/Young Adult. 2. F/Older Adult.
Sex/Estimated age:
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: TrCh.00.97.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.403, 19-21: Tomb 2000.03.
Trench: SWC 5 *Narthex* Sondage.
Location: On southern limit of the trench, just to the south of TrCh.00.95.
Elevation: -0.60 to -0.70m (using 1962 datum).
Dimensions: Not recorded.
Grave structure: Pit grave with loose floor of marble chips.
Orientation: Very disordered.
Burial articulation: An infant skeleton in poor condition, most bones seem to have been displaced by TrCh.00.95 to the north.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits:

1. Fragments of chicken egg shell (not catalogued).

Tomb number: TrCh.00.98.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.403, 10.
Trench: SWC 5 *Narthex* Sondage.
Location: Projecting slightly from northern limit of the trench.
Elevation: Not recorded.
Dimensions: Not recorded.
Grave structure: Cist grave covered by stone or marble slabs.
Orientation: On an east-west axis.
Burial articulation: Not excavated.
Costume and ornament: Not excavated.
Placed deposits: Not excavated.

Tomb number: TrCh.02.99.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.419, 32: Tomb 2002.01.
Trench: SWC 10.
Location: Oriented east-west in the centre of SWC10.
Elevation: Min: 517.83, Max: 518.36 m a.s.l.
Dimensions: Ext. L.: 2.13, Int. W.: 0.53 m.
Grave structure: Walls of brick and rough pieces of re-used marble (no schist). Floor of compact earth. No cover slabs survive. Southwest corner of the grave structure missing.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton. Skull missing, arms by sides.

Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: TrCh.02.100.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.419, 32: Tomb 2002.02.
Trench: SWC 10.
Location: Alongside the north edge of TrCh.02.102.
Elevation: 517.99 m a.s.l.
Dimensions: Not recorded.
Grave structure: Simple pit grave (?).
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: One skull fragment alongside three vertebrae, the left humerus, a few left ribs, the left side of the pelvis and the left femur.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: TrCh.02.101.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.419, 32: Tomb 2002.03.
Trench: SWC 10.
Location: Projecting into SWC10 from its west profile and cutting TrCh.02.102 on its northern edge.
Elevation: Max: 518.01 m a.s.l.
Dimensions: Ext. L.: 0.68 (in trench), W.: 0.28 m.
Grave structure: Only the floor of brick tiles survives as it is very close to the twenty-first century ground level.
Orientation: On an east-west axis.
Burial articulation: No skeleton.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: TrCh.02.102.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.419, 32: Tomb 2002.04.
Trench: SWC 10.
Location: Projecting from the west profile of the trench at a distance of 1.02m from the northwest corner.
Elevation: Min: 517.99, Max: 518.14 m a.s.l.
Dimensions: Ext. L.: 1.70 (in trench), W.: 0.56 m.
Grave structure: A brick and tile floor laid in a herringbone pattern, with a very few surviving stone blocks of the cist walls.
Orientation: On an east-west axis.
Burial articulation: No skeleton.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits:

1. Copper alloy coin (C.02.076).
   Diam.: 1.0 cm.

Illegible copper alloy coin, dating to the fourth or fifth century AD. Found on the tile floor towards the eastern end of the grave.

Tomb number: TrCh.02.103.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.419, 46, 65, 74: Tomb 2002.05.
Trench: SWC 10.
Location: To the north of TrCh.02.100, its northern edge extending just beyond the north limit of the trench.
Elevation: Min: 517.74, Max: 518.13 m a.s.l.
Dimensions: Ext. L.: 1.90, W.: 0.60 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, line with stone block in two courses and covered by slabs. A floor of compacted red clay with mortar inclusions.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton. Skull disturbed by a tree root.
Costume and ornament:

1. Silver finger ring (Inv.02-019).
   Diam.: 2.4, W. bezel: 1.4, L. bezel: 2.2 cm.

Narrow band with a prominent rhomboid bezel. Nodules at the corners of the bezel.

Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: TrCh.02.104.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.419, 49: Tomb 2002.06.
Trench: SWC 10.
Location: Over the cover slabs of TrCh.02.103.
Elevation: Not recorded. Min presumably 518.13 m a.s.l.
Dimensions: Not recorded.
Grave structure: Simple pit cut above TrCh.02.103.
Orientation: Disordered.
Burial articulation: Single disordered skeleton.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: TrCh.02.105.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.419, 68: Tomb 2002.08.
Trench: SWC 10.
Location: Projected from west profile of the trench, just to the south of graves TrCh.02.101 and TrCh.02.102.
Elevation: Max: 517.80 m a.s.l.
Dimensions: Not recorded.
Grave structure: Cist grave, cut into surrounding rubble. Lined by rough stone blocks and covered by slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: TrCh.02.106.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.419, 82-85: Tomb 2002.09.
Trench: SWC 10.
Location: In the southwest corner of SWC 10, adjacent to TrCh.02.107.
Elevation: Min: 517.18, Max: 517.44 m a.s.l.
Dimensions: Ext. L.: 0.65, W.: 0.33 m.
Grave structure: Crude cist built from stones and tiles with no cover slabs.
Orientation: Disordered.
Burial articulation: A few pieces of human bone from a very young infant, perhaps neonate.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: TrCh.02.107.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.419, 87: Tomb 2002.10.
Trench: SWC 10.
Location: In the southwest corner of SWC 10, adjacent to TrCh.02.106.
Elevation: Max: 517.30 m a.s.l.
Dimensions: Ext. L.: 0.46, W.: 0.42 m.
Grave structure: Crude cist built from stones and tiles with no cover slabs.
Orientation: Disordered.
Burial articulation: Disarticulated skeleton of a very young infant, perhaps neonate.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: TrCh.02.108.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.419, 94-95: Tomb 2002.11.
Trench: SWC 10.
Location: North of the exterior wall of the north apse of the Triconch Church.
Elevation: Min: 516.60, Max: 517.22 m a.s.l. Headstone reaches 517.69 m a.s.l.
Dimensions: Ext. L.: 1.83, W.: 0.57 m.
Grave structure: Deep and well-constructed cist grave, lined by courses of mortared stone and brick and covered by large slabs. Floor of broken marble revetment. Plastered on the interior. At the west end of the grave a marble slab was positioned vertically as a marker or headstone.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: TrCh.02.109.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.419, 96-97: Tomb 2002.12.
Trench: SWC 10.
Location: In the southeast corner of the trench. The insertion of TrCh.02.109 truncated the northern wall of TrCh.02.11.
Elevation: Min: 516.81, Max: 517.24 m a.s.l.
Dimensions: Ext. L.: 1.95, W.: 0.60 m.

Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with two to three courses of rough stone with bricks at western and eastern ends. Floor of terracotta tiles with a few marble revetment fragments. Covered by slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: TrCh.02.110.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.419, 118: Tomb 2002.13.
Trench: SWC 10.
Location: Only the easternmost edge of the lid was visible as the grave was almost entirely covered by TrCh.02.101, which was not removed by the excavator.
Elevation: Max: 517.28 m a.s.l.
Dimensions: Not recorded.
Grave structure: Cist grave, covered by slabs.
Orientation: On an east-west axis.
Burial articulation: Not excavated.
Costume and ornament: Not excavated.
Placed deposits: Not excavated.

Tomb number: TrCh.02.111.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.419, 114-15: Tomb 2002.14.
Trench: SWC 10.
Location: In the southeast corner of the trench, 1.22,m from the exterior north wall of the north *Parekklesion*. Truncated to the north by TrCh.02.109. Truncated to the south by the construction trench for the *Parekklesion*.
Elevation: Max: 517.11 m a.s.l.
Dimensions: Not recorded.
Grave structure: Cist grave, of which only the tile floor survives. Large broken tile fragments immediately above were retrospectively recognised as broken cist wall.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton, L.: 1.24m.
Costume and ornament:

1. Copper alloy ornament (Inv.02-021)

Found to the left of the uppermost vertebra.

Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: TrCh.05.112.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.447, 22: Tomb 2005.01.
Trench: SWC 11.
Location: Projecting from the eastern limit of the trench, 8.00m south of the northeast corner.
Elevation: Max: 519.00 m a.s.l.
Dimensions: Not recorded.

Grave structure: Cist grave, covered by slabs.
Orientation: On an east-west axis.
Burial articulation: Not excavated.
Costume and ornament: Not excavated.
Placed deposits: Not excavated.

Tomb number: TrCh.05.113.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.447, 22: Tomb 2005.02.
Trench: SWC 11.
Location: Projecting from the eastern limit of the trench, c.1m to the north of 2005.01.
Elevation: Max: 519.00 m a.s.l.
Dimensions: Not recorded.
Grave structure: Cist grave, covered by slabs.
Orientation: On an east-west axis.
Burial articulation: Not excavated.
Costume and ornament: Not excavated.
Placed deposits: Not excavated.

Tomb number: TrCh.05.114.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.447, 98-110: Tomb 2005.03.
Trench: SWC 11.
Location: Just to the east of SWC11; E 589.00-591.65, N 460.50-462.0.
Elevation: Min: 517.70, Max: 518.10 m a.s.l.
Dimensions: Ext. L.: 2.00, W.: 0.58 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with brick and marble fragments. A large architectural block from the Civil Basilica served as part of the floor.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: TrCh.08.115.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.483, 46-47: Tomb 2008.01.
Trench: SWC 12.
Location: On the southern limit of the trench; E 600.5 N 451.0.
Elevation: Min: 518.60, Max: 518.99 m a.s.l.
Dimensions: Ext. L.: 2.00, W.: 0.50 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with rough stone blocks and covered by slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton.
Sex/Age estimate: M/Older Adult.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: TrCh.08.116.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.483, 50-51: Tomb 2008.02.
Trench: SWC 12.
Location: Across the southwest corner of SWC 12; E 599.0 N. 450.5.
Elevation: Min: 519.24, Max: 519.54 m a.s.l.
Dimensions: Ext. L.: 0.90, W.: 0.40 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with rough stone blocks and covered by slabs.
Orientation: No skeleton found.
Burial articulation: No skeleton found.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: TrCh.08.117.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.483, 50: Tomb 2008.03.
Trench: SWC 12.
Location: Projecting slightly from the western limit at N 453.0.
Elevation: Max: 518.90 m a.s.l.
Dimensions: Not recorded.
Grave structure: Cist grave, covered by slabs.
Orientation: On an east-west axis.
Burial articulation: Not excavated.
Costume and ornament: Not excavated.
Placed deposits: Not excavated.

Tomb number: TrCh.08.118.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.483, 50: Tomb 2008.04.
Trench: SWC 12.
Location: Projecting slightly from the western limit of the trench at N 452.0.
Elevation: Max: 518.90 m a.s.l.
Dimensions: Not recorded.
Grave structure: Cist grave, covered by slabs.
Orientation: On an east-west axis.
Burial articulation: Not excavated.
Costume and ornament: Not excavated.
Placed deposits: Not excavated.

Tomb number: TrCh.08.119.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.483, 29-30: Tomb 2008.05.
Trench: SWC 12.
Location: In the northeast corner of the trench; E 607.0 N 456.5.
Elevation: Max: 518.75 m a.s.l.
Dimensions: Not recorded.
Grave structure: Pit grave (?).
Orientation: Disordered.
Burial articulation: Loose human bones.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: TrCh.09.120.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.498, 55: Tomb 2009.01.
Trench: SWC 13.
Location: Against the west wall of the north-south corridor in the southwest corner of he basilica; E 605 N 449.
Elevation: Min: 518.18, Max: 518.51 m a.s.l.
Dimensions: Ext. L.: 1.20, W.: 0.70 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered by slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: TrCh.09.121.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.498, 57: Tomb 2009.02.
Trench: SWC 13.
Location: Against the west wall of the north-south corridor in the southwest corner of he basilica; E 605 N 449.
Elevation: Min: 518.04, Max: 518.57 m a.s.l.
Dimensions: Ext. L.: 2.00, W.: 0.94 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered by slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: TrCh.09.122.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.498, 57: Tomb 2009.03.
Trench: SWC 13.
Location: Against the west wall of the north-south corridor in the southwest corner of he basilica; E 605 N 448.
Elevation: Min: 517.84, Max: 518.36 m a.s.l.
Dimensions: Ext. L.: 1.92, W.: 0.74 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered by slabs. Easternmost portion truncated by later feature or animal burrow.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton, feet and lower legs missing.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: TrCh.09.123.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.498, 52: Tomb 2009.04.
Trench: SWC 13.
Location: South of the south wall of the basilica, west of the threshold; E 606 N 443.
Elevation: Max: 518.02 m a.s.l.
Dimensions: Ext. L.: 1.39, W.: 0.74 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered by slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.

Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton, feet and lower legs missing.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: TrCh.09.124.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.498, 44: Tomb 2009.05.
Trench: SWC 13.
Location: Against the west wall of the north-south corridor in the southwest corner of the basilica; E 606 N 440.
Elevation: Max: 517.45 m a.s.l.
Dimensions: Ext. L.: 1.05, W.: 1.10 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined with stone blocks and covered by slabs.
Disturbed – only around half of the grave structure extant.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton, bones very disordered.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: TrCh.09.125.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.498, 44: Tomb 2009.06.
Trench: SWC 13.
Location: On the northwest corner of the trench; E 599 N 499.
Elevation: Max: 518.70 m a.s.l.
Dimensions: Ext. L.: 0.40, W.: 0.40 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, covered by slabs.
Orientation: On an east-west axis.
Burial articulation: Not excavated.
Costume and ornament: Not excavated.
Placed deposits: Not excavated.

Tomb number: TrCh.09.126.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.498, 44: Tomb 2009.07.
Trench: SWC 13.
Location: On the northwest corner of the trench; E 599 N 499.
Elevation: Max: 518.85 m a.s.l.
Dimensions: Ext. L.: 0.40, W.: 0.40 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, covered by slabs.
Orientation: On an east-west axis.
Burial articulation: Not excavated.
Costume and ornament: Not excavated.
Placed deposits: Not excavated.

Tomb number: TrCh.09.127.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.498, 44: Tomb 2009.08.
Trench: SWC 13.
Location: Against the south side of the south wall of the basilica; E 605 N 440.
Elevation: Max: 517.73 m a.s.l.
Dimensions: Ext. L.: 1.50, W.: 0.50 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, covered by slabs.

Orientation: On an east-west axis.
Burial articulation: Not excavated.
Costume and ornament: Not excavated.
Placed deposits: Not excavated.

Tomb number: TrCh.09.128.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.498, 44: Tomb 2009.09.
Trench: SWC 13.
Location: Against the south side of the south wall of the basilica; E 603 N 439.
Elevation: Max: 517.73 m a.s.l.
Dimensions: Ext. L.: 1.20, W.: 0.50 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, covered by slabs.
Orientation: On an east-west axis.
Burial articulation: Not excavated.
Costume and ornament: Not excavated.
Placed deposits: Not excavated.

Tomb number: TrCh.09.129.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.498, 44: Tomb 2009.10.
Trench: SWC 13.
Location: Against the north side of the south wall of the basilica; E 603 N 442.
Elevation: Max: 518.37 m a.s.l.
Dimensions: Ext. L.: 1.00, W.: 0.50 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, covered by slabs.
Orientation: On an east-west axis.
Burial articulation: Not excavated.
Costume and ornament: Not excavated.
Placed deposits: Not excavated.

Tomb number: TrCh.09.130.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.498, 44: Tomb 2009.11.
Trench: SWC 13.
Location: Against the north side of the south wall of the basilica; E 602 N 442.
Elevation: Max: 518.37 m a.s.l.
Dimensions: Ext. L.: 1.20, W.: 0.50 m.
Grave structure: Cist grave, covered by slabs.
Orientation: On an east-west axis.
Burial articulation: Not excavated.
Costume and ornament: Not excavated.
Placed deposits: Not excavated.

Tomb number: TrCh.09.131.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.498, 44: Tomb 2009.12.
Trench: SWC 13.
Location: On the western side of the west wall of the north-south corridor in the southwest corner of he basilica; E 605 N 449.
Elevation: Max: c. 518.76 m a.s.l.
Dimensions: Not recorded.
Grave structure: Simple pit grave (?).

Orientation: Disordered.
Burial articulation: Loose infant bones.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Stadium

Tomb number: Stad.95.01.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.AN123, 28.
Trench: North Aphrodisias 95.1.
Location: Immediately south of the wall defining the northern limit of the dirt street.
Elevation: Not recorded.
Dimensions: Not recorded.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined by stone blocks and covered by slabs. The grave is severely disturbed, with most of its cover slabs missing.
Orientation: On an east-west axis.
Burial articulation: Human bones were scattered in the vicinity of the grave. A skull was recovered outside and to the east of the cist.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Stad.95.02.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.AN123, 42.
Trench: North Aphrodisias 95.1.
Location: Immediately north of the wall defining the northern limit of the dirt street.
Elevation: Cist floor at 523.44m a.s.l.
Dimensions: Not recorded.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined by stone blocks, The cover slabs were missing and the grave severely disturbed.
Orientation: On an east-west axis.
Burial articulation: No skeleton.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: Stad.95.03.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.AN123, 64.
Trench: North Aphrodisias 95.1.
Location: Projecting from the eastern profile due east of Stad.95.1.
Elevation: Not recorded.
Dimensions: Not recorded.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined by stone blocks and covered by slabs.
Orientation: On an east-west axis.
Burial articulation: Not excavated.
Costume and ornament: Not excavated.
Placed deposits: Not excavated.

Tomb number: Stad.95.04.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.AN123, 121.
Trench: North Aphrodisias 95.1.
Location: In the southeastern corner of the trench, to the south of the dirt street.
Elevation: Cover slabs at 524.06m a.s.l.
Dimensions: Not recorded.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined by stone blocks and covered by slabs.
Orientation: On an east-west axis.
Burial articulation: Not excavated.
Costume and ornament: Not excavated.
Placed deposits: Not excavated.

Hadrianic Baths

Tomb number: BHad.67.01.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.052, 4: Tomb A.
Trench: North Gallery.
Location: Slightly to the west of the pool in the Tetrastyle Court.
Elevation: Not recorded.
Dimensions: Ext. L.: 1.79, W.: 0.40 m
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined by stone blocks and covered by slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton.
Sex/Age estimate: Child.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: BHad.67.02.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.052, 5: Tomb B.
Trench: North Gallery.
Location: Slightly to the west of the pool in the Tetrastyle Court, north of BHad.67.01.
Elevation: Not recorded.
Dimensions: Not recorded.
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined by stone blocks and covered by slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: BHad.67.03.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.052, 8: Tomb C.
Trench: North Gallery.
Location: Immediately south of the northwest column of the pool in the Tetrastyle Court.
Elevation: Not recorded.

Dimensions: Ext. L.: 2.25, W.: 0.75 m
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined by stone blocks and covered by slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton.
Costume and ornament: None.
Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: BHad.67.04.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.052, 16: Tomb D.
Trench: North Gallery.
Location: 3.5m to the north of the northwest column of the pool in the Tetrastyle Court.
Elevation: Not recorded.
Dimensions: Ext. L.: 1.40m, W.: 040 m
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined by stone blocks and covered by slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton.
Costume and ornament:

1. Copper alloy pendant cross (Inv.67-055).
   H.: 4.2, W.: 2.5 cm.

A pectoral cross with an eyelet for suspension above the vertical arm. Decorated on one face with circles on each arm and at the junction of the arms.

Placed deposits: None.

Tomb number: BHad.67.04.
Notebook Reference: *NBk*.052, 18: Tomb E.
Trench: North Gallery.
Location: Above the pool in the Tetrastyle Court, 0.60m to the south of the northern parapet.
Elevation: Not recorded.
Dimensions: Ext. L.: 1.65m, W.: 040 m
Grave structure: Cist grave, lined by stone blocks and covered by slabs.
Orientation: Head to west feet to east.
Burial articulation: Single supine skeleton.
Costume and ornament:

1. Pair of copper alloy earrings (Inv.66-058).
   H.: 3.0 cm.

A circular band, incomplete to allow for threading through pierced ears. At lower extremity is a complex design with two glass beads framed within copper allow circles. To left and right of these are triangular motifs composed of multiple granules, giving the impression of grapes.
Caruso (2016), Fig.25.24.

Placed deposits: None.