Beate Böhlendorf-Arslan

Where are the Inns in Byzantine Asia Minor?

Archaeological Evidence of Mansiones, Pandocheia, and Tavernae

Palam quaestum facere dicemus non tantum eam, quae in lupanario se prostituit, verum etiam si qua (ut adsolet) in taberna cauponia vel qua alia pudori suo non parcit.
Ulpianus 1 ad l. iul. et pap. (Dig. 23.2.43pr.)

Travelers, traders and pilgrims need accommodation on their journeys and at their destinations. Pilgrims spent the night in monasteries and inns on their way.[1] Long-distance travelers especially needed not only overnight accommodation but also places for washing, and sick people needed hospitals.[2] Traders without friendly business contacts also needed a place to stay in foreign towns. Of course, travelers also needed to be fed during their jouneys. In addition to foreign visitors, the residents of cities also stayed in canteens and taverns. Poorer people especially often had no opportunity to cook indoors. There must have been a large number of taverns in the cities and in the countryside.[3]

Nonetheless, taverns and inns in Byzantium had a bad reputation.[4] The innkeeper (πάνδοχος) generally had the reputation of a coupler, who gave not only female staff but also his wife and daughters to customers for money.[5] Notably, the Apostolic Constitutions of the 4th century state that clerics should be excluded from the Lord's Sup-

1 Ewald Kislinger, *Gastgewerbe und Beherbergung in frühbyzantinischer Zeit: Eine realienkundliche Studie aufgrund hagiographischer und historiographischer Quellen*, PhD thesis (Vienna, 1982), 40–41; Olivia Remie Constable, *Housing the Stranger in the Mediterranean World: Lodging, Trade, and Travel in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2003), 18–22.

2 Separate *xenodocheia* for pilgrims and for the sick are presumed in Abu Mena: Peter Grossmann, "Pilgerunterkünfte in Abū Mīnā," in *Für Seelenheil und Lebensglück. Das byzantinische Pilgerwesen und seine Wurzeln*, eds. Despoina Ariantzi and Ina Eichner, Byzanz zwischen Orient und Okzident 10 (Mainz, 2018), 201–210.

3 Correspondingly, there are many source documents on the hospitality industry. A basic study here is Kislinger, *Gastgewerbe*. See also Constable, *Housing the Stranger*, 22–39; Otto Hiltbrunner, *Gastfreundschaft in der Antike und im frühen Christentum* (Darmstadt, 2005), 157–210.

4 See Kislinger, *Gastgewerbe*, 39–43; Hans-Georg Severin, "Pilgerwesen und Herbergen," in *Akten des XII. Internationalen Kongresses für Christliche Archäologie*, vol. 1, ed. Josef Engemann (Münster, 1995), 329.

5 The close connection between the hospitality business and prostitution existed since ancient times. See the fundamental publication of Kislinger, *Gastgewerbe*, 25–39; Despoina Ariantzi, "Byzantinische Prostituierte. Zwischen Marginalisierung und Reintegration in die Gesellschaft," *Byz* 91 (2021): 1–45, at 20: the case of the mother of St. Theodore of Sykeon. See also the essay by Ewald Kislinger and Despoina Ariantzi in this volume.

Note: The manuscript was finished in 2021. Any inns in Asia Minor identified after this date are excluded.

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per if they have been in a tavern, except when they are forced to stop at a *pandocheion* while travelling. The Council of Laodicea prohibited clerics from visiting taverns altogether.[6] Interestingly, the Church's canonical prohibition of the clergy from visiting taverns was not followed very strictly. Moreover, there were people from the lower clergy who earned money by running a tavern. For instance, a church gravedigger named Romanus ran an inn in Korykos on the side,[7] and the monk Symeon Salos was a water-bearer in a tavern.[8] Moreover, the vita of St. Theodore Sykeon from the middle of the 7th century shows that religious beliefs also brought changes to the hospitality industry.[9] Not every tavern was disreputable. There must have been ordinary inns for hungry people and travelers that could provide a bed for the night.

According to Roman tradition, even in Byzantine times there were rest stops (*mansiones*) or road stations (*mutationes*) at more—or less—regular intervals along the important roads.[10] The public hostels, the *mansiones* or *pandocheia* along the way or in the cities, offered only the most necessary amenities. They were used for overnight stays and meals.

From the 4th century onwards, private individuals and the community accommodated early Christian pilgrims on their journeys and at the pilgrimage destinations. The bishops were responsible for special care of guests; hospitality was one of the highest Christian values.[11] From the 6th century onwards, the house of the bishop or deacons in the cities could not cope with the increase of pilgrimages and the subsequently large number of pilgrims.[12] Only certain special guests could be accommo-

6 Canon 24 of the Council of Laodicea, in *Discipline Générale Antique (IIe–IXe)*, vol. 1/2: *Les Canons des Synodes Particuliers*, ed. Périclès-Pierre Joannou (Grottaferrata, 1962), 140. See also Canon 54 of the Apostles and the Commentar of Zonaras, Balsamon, and Aristenos on this Canon in *Σύνταγμα τῶν θείων καὶ ἱερῶν κανόνων τῶν τε ἁγίων καὶ πανευφήμων Ἀποστόλων καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν οἰκουμενικῶν καὶ τοπικῶν συνόδων*, eds. Georgios Rhalles and Michael Potles, 6 vols. (Athens, 1852–1856), 2:71–72. Cf. Albert Francis Norman, "Gradations in Later Municipal Society," *The Journal of Roman Studies* 48 1/2 (1958): 80–81.

7 Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua (= MAMA), vol. 3: *Denkmäler aus dem rauhen Kilikien*, eds. Josef Keil und Adolf Wilhelm (Manchester, 1931), 196–197, no. 677.

8 Lennart Rydén, *Bemerkungen zum Leben des Heiligen Narren Symeon von Leontios von Neapolis*, Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis 6 (Uppsala, 1970), 92–93; Derek Krueger, *Symeon the Holy Fool: Leontius's Life and the Late Antique City* (Berekely, 1996), 152–154.

9 *Life of Theodore of Sykeon* ch. 3, ed. André-Jean Festugière, *Vie de Théodore de Sykéon*, 2 vols., Subsidia Hagiographica 48 (Brussels, 1970), vol. 1.

10 Klaus Belke, "Verkehrsmittel und Reise- bzw. Transportgeschwindigkeit zu Lande im Byzantinischen Reich," in *Handelsgüter und Verkehrswege. Aspekte der Warenversorgung im östlichen Mittelmeerraum (4. bis 15. Jahrhundert)*, eds. Ewald Kislinger, Johannes Koder, and Andreas Külzer (Vienna, 2010), 51.

11 Hiltbrunner, *Gastfreundschaft*, 161–174; Severin, "Pilgerwesen," 329–330; Edward David Hunt, *Holy Land Pilgrimage in the Later Roman Empire AD 312–460*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1984), 67.

12 Ewald Kislinger, "Pilger und Panegygreis. Zwischen Kult und Kommerz," in *Für Seelenheil und Lebensglück: Das byzantinische Pilgerwesen und seine Wurzeln*, eds. Despoina Ariantzi and Ina Eichner, Byzanz zwischen Orient und Okzident 10 (Mainz, 2018), 359–366, at 360.

dated in the palaces of the clergy.[13] Therefore, the construction of special hostels for Christians became an urgent necessity. These hostels were called *xenodocheia*, from the Greek word for host, "*xenoi*."[14] Around the middle of the 4th century, the bishops in the east of the Empire probably built inns, *xenodocheia*, in all large cities. Epiphanius' heresiological catalogue the *Panarion* states that these inns were built to shelter strangers and to accommodate the sick and lepers. Thus, *xenodocheia* functioned as both hostels and hospitals.[15] Nearly every pilgrimage site had to provide a suitable infrastructure, meaning food and lodging facilities, in order to supply the needs of pilgrims.[16] A good example of this is the pilgrim sanctuary of Qal'at Sim'an in northern Syria with its *xenodocheion*, and the nearby village of Deir Sim'an, where the pilgrims' inns and hostels were located.[17]

1 How Can Byzantine Guesthouses Be Identified in Archaeological Contexts?

But where are the *pandocheia* in main cities such as Nicaea or Amorium with their strategically important position as supra-regional traffic junctions? Where are the *xenodocheia* in great pilgrimage destinations like Myra, Germia, and Euchaita? Where is the *taverna* of Romanos[18] in Korykos? All these towns had hotels and restaurants, but they are not visible in the townscape or archaeological contexts.[19] Even in the case of the larger excavations in ancient cities that continued to exist in Byzantine

13 The building plan of the bishop's palace of Olympos was designed for the reception of (higher-ranking) guests. See on its architecture and facilities: Gökçen Kurtuluş Öztaşkın, "Olympos Antik Kenti Episkopeion Yapı Topluluğu," in *2000–2014 Araştırma Sonuçları*, Olympos 1, ed. B. Yelda Olcay Uçkan (Istanbul, 2017), 49–78; Gökçen Kurtuluş Öztaşkın, *Olympos Antik Kenti Episkopeion Yapı Topluluğu*, PhD Thesis (Eskişehir, 2013).

14 Kislinger, *Gastgewerbe*, 47. See the essay by Max Ritter in this volume.

15 Michaela Dirschlmayer, "Xenodocheia – Reception Camps for Refugees? About Clerical and Imperial Patronage for the Xenoi," in *Mobility and Exile at the End of Antiquity*, eds. Dirk Rohmann, Jörg Ulrich, and Margarita Vallejo Girvés, Early Christianity in the Context of Antiquity 19 (Frankfurt, 2018), 161–73; Max Ritter, *Zwischen Glaube und Geld. Zur Ökonomie des byzantinischen Pilgerwesens (4.–12. Jh.)*, Byzanz zwischen Orient und Okzident 14 (Mainz, 2019), 93–96, Hiltbrunner, *Gastfreundschaft*, 182–207; Ewald Kislinger, "Kaiser Julian und die (christlichen) Xenodocheia," in *Byzantios. Festschrift für Herbert Hunger zum 70. Geburtstag*, eds. Wolfram Hörandner, Johannes Koder, Otto Kresten and Erich Trapp (Vienna, 1984), 171–184.

16 Kislinger, *Gastgewerbe*, 39–41; Severin, "Pilgerwesen"; Ritter, *Glaube und Geld*, 93–103.

17 Georges Tchalenko, *Villages antiques de la Syrie du Nord*, Le Massif du Bélus a l'époche Romaine I + II (Paris, 1953), 205–222. Most recently: Ritter, *Glaube und Geld*, 100.

18 See n. 7.

19 Mapping of the few inscriptionally-known inns is available in Constable, *Housing the Stranger*, map 1. See also: Toon Putzeys and Luke Lavan, "Commercial Space in Late Antiquity," in *Objects in*

times, only rarely have facilities for guests been identified so far. In Pergamon, still the landmark of Byzantine urban research, Klaus Rheidt could not identify an inn or a tavern.[20] The rich tradition in Byzantine written sources about hospitality is therefore diametrically opposed to the archaeological findings.[21]

Taverns and inns must be recognizable to strangers. In Pompeii, the facades of some houses had references to the trade painted on them.[22] This made the store or tavern discernible from the outside. Inscriptions on the lintels of three hostels in Deir Sim'an show another way of identifying them.[23]

The better-researched Roman inns can help to determine the appearance and furnishings of Byzantine taverns, even if the cityscape changes significantly from Late Antiquity onwards, when the changing infrastructure and changes in the otherwise common furnishings of an inn become apparent.[24] In Pompeii, Herculaneum, and Ostia numerous taverns have been excavated. In Pompeii alone, a large number of taverns (163) and hostels is recorded.[25] Anna Kieburg and Steven J. R. Ellis have designated the objects and architectural elements that were necessary in a tavern and could be used for service.[26] In terms of function, Byzantine taverns required, like Roman taverns, a bar or counter, storage facilities for drinks (and possibly also food) as well as dishes, a stove, water supply, and seating.[27] According to Ellis, fixed counters became rare from Late Antiquity onwards.[28] This does not seem to be true, but rather is a sign of the still insufficiently researched infrastructure of late antique and Byzantine cities. Notably, there are some firmly installed counters dating to middle Byzantine times. Moreover, Ellis mentions that most of the shops/taverns in Pompeii have double door thresholds, indicating that this was one of their characteristics.[29]

Context, Object in Use. Material Spatiality in Late Antiquity, eds. Luke Lavan, Ellen Swift, and Toon Putzeys, Late Antique Archaeology 5 (Leiden, 2008), 97–100.

20 Klaus Rheidt, *Die byzantinische Wohnstadt: Die Stadtgrabung* 2, Altertümer von Pergamon 15 (Berlin, 1991).

21 Ellis identifies five locations with archaeologically documented *tavernae* for the Roman period: Steven J. R. Ellis, *The Roman Retail Revolution. The Socio-Economic World of Taberna* (Oxford, 2018), 18, tab. 1.1.

22 Björn Gesemann, *Die Straßen der antiken Stadt Pompeji. Entwicklung und Gestaltung* (Bern, 1996), 246; Anna Kieburg, *Römische Gastronomiebetriebe in Pompeji, Herkulaneum und Ostia*, PhD Thesis (Hamburg, 2014), 35.

23 Tchalenko, *Village antiques de la Syrie*, 209.

24 For the standardization of Roman taverns, see Ellis, *Socio-Economic World of Taberna*, 212–219. For changes in stores and restaurants beginning in Late Antiquity, see Ellis, *Socio-Economic World of Taberna*, 219–226.

25 Ellis, *Socio-Economic World of Taberna*, 18.

26 Kieburg, *Römische Gastronomiebetriebe*, 33–189; Ellis, *Socio-Economic World of Taberna*, 29–83.

27 For the functionality and design of taverns, which are identical over long distances, see Ellis, *Socio-Economic World of Taberna*, 29–30.

28 Ellis, *Socio-Economic World of Taberna*, 222.

29 Ellis, *Socio-Economic World of Taberna*, 211–219.

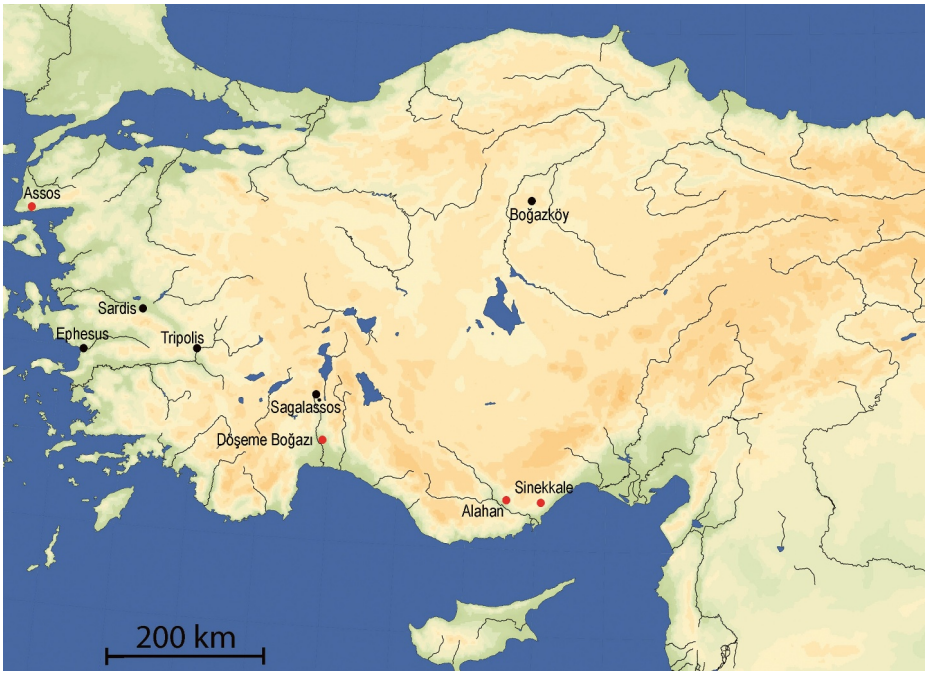

Fig. 1: Map of the archaeologically documented guesthouses (red) and taverns (black) in late Antique and Byzantine Asia Minor. © Beate Böhlendorf-Arslan.

Possibly this element was rare in Asia Minor.[30] The difference between a tavern and a bakery or butchery was that in the tavern the main function was the sale of prepared food, as opposed to the sale of raw foodstuffs in bakeries or butcheries.[31]

Inns (*pandocheia*) are buildings built or converted to provide accommodation and meals.[32] They are usually divided into a public catering area, the restaurant, and a separate or not generally accessible accommodation area. The dining area would be easily accessible from the outside and was often recognizable as such from the street. It was equipped with a counter or a larger number of tables, similar to the taverns. In addition to a dining room and a kitchen (or at least a stove), a *pandocheion* also needed a supply of water, a store for food, sleeping quarters, and possibly a stable for

30 Ellis also notes that the shuttered thresholds are not distributed across the entire country and points out that they are lacking in the cities he visits in Asia Minor (Ellis, *Socio-Economic World of Taberna*, 212). This can perhaps be explained by the state of research, since the tavern in Assos could be entered through a double-wing door.

31 Ellis, *Socio-Economic World of Taberna*, 8.

32 For the origin of *pandocheia*, see Constable, *Housing the Stranger*, 11–18.

horses. In the case of a *xenodochion*, a hostel built for pilgrims or maintained by the church, a church or chapel was also required.[33]

Regarding catering establishments, the divisions can be fluid. All kinds of variations can occur: from a simple bar without seating, to a tavern with benches, an inn with a few simple rooms adjoining the dining room, or a large hospitality establishment consisting of a complex of buildings with bedrooms and lounges, a dining room, a kitchen with stoves, and workshops.

If the above-mentioned features are missing, identifying the buildings as an inn is difficult. Small rooms, so-called shops, may also have been used as bars. Multiple usage of a single establishment is also possible.[34] Even in the absence of a counter, the rest of a building's inventory may point to a bar. Among such found objects would be cups, wine amphorae, dolia for food, and/or other significant findings such as a stove, meat waste, etc.

2 Late Antique and Byzantine Taverns in Asia Minor: The Archaeological Evidence

There is a lack of comprehensive and coherent studies on hospitality in settlements in Asia Minor. Ellis visited southern Asia Minor to study the socio-economic component of Roman taverns.[35] He could only find counters as indicators of taverns in five of the twenty ancient cities he visited.[36] In contrast to Ellis, who searched for Roman inns in Asia Minor, this essay focuses on host establishments in Asia Minor from the 4th to the 11th century.[37] However, the guesthouses that have been archaeologically identified so far can only be understood as a snapshot of the current state of research; more taverns will certainly be located in the coming years (Fig. 1).

The distribution of taverns in Pompeii offers clues regarding the location of inns in late Antique and Byzantine cities. In Pompeii, they were all located on streets, piled up along the major thoroughfares, often at crossroads, and around important public buildings.[38]

33 For *xenodochia* see Ritter, *Glaube und Geld*, 93–103.

34 Simon P. Ellis, "Early Byzantine Housing," in *Secular Buildings and the Archaeology of Everyday Life in the Byzantine Empire*, ed. Ken Dark (Oxford, 2004), 47; Simon P. Ellis, "The Seedier Side of Antioch," in *Culture and Society in Later Roman Antioch*, eds. Isabella Sandwell and Janet Huskinson (Oxford, 2004), 126–127; Ellis, *Socio-Economic World of Taberna*, 9–11.

35 Ellis, *Socio-Economic World of Taberna*, 13–18, fig. 1.3, tab. 1.1.

36 Ellis, *Socio-Economic World of Taberna*, 18 tab. 1.1.

37 In some places, the tavern, founded in the Roman Empire, continued into the early Byzantine period. Late Byzantine taverns have not yet been archaeologically recorded.

38 Ellis, *Socio-Economic World of Taberna*, 88, fig. 3.2.

The late antique/early Byzantine shops of Sardis (Fig. 1) are located on the north side of a portico lined street (the so-called Marble Street) along the southern wall of the Roman baths.[39] The row of shops consisted of rectangular, multi-story buildings, which had different uses.[40] In the early Byzantine period, the two building complexes flanking the side entrance to the bath functioned as dining establishments. Until the seventh century, the personnel directed the visitors to the shops and the bath.[41]

The restaurant (W1–2) to the west of the entrance to the bath consisted of two rooms forming a single unit (Fig. 2). The food could have been prepared in room W2 on two fireplaces. One of them was a hearth made of bricks. In room W1 there was a table or counter where the food was sold. There was also a latrine with a marble seat on a low platform which was connected to the canal at the back of the shop. The restaurant was probably two stories high, with the owner's living area possibly on the top. Outside, in front of the shop, an L-shaped bench invited customers to sit down. In the two rooms, animal bones were found as the remains of meals, drinking goblets and bottles made of glass, and ceramic drinking utensils.[42] The immediately adjacent room W3 was probably used as a kitchen in the last phase of the building.[43]

The opposite rooms E1 and E2 are also dining spaces (Fig. 2). The two connected rooms were equipped with a hearth and benches on the walls. In the north-eastern corners of the two rooms there are washing facilities; a basin covered with marble slabs and a basin recessed in the floor with a hole in the floor as a drain. Both basins are connected to the sewer. The large window in the southwest corner may have served as a sales counter to the outside, serving the public both in the street and in the passageway to the bath. The bench in room E1 could have been an additional sales counter. In both rooms were found storage vessels, ceramics, glass crockery, animal bones, and shells. The owner of the restaurant, according to the inscriptions carved in two vessels, was Kyriakos, who was probably a Christian, since pig bones, shells, and a pottery fragment with an incised cross were found in the room. The rooms were two-storied, and the upper floor was equipped with glass windows. It is possible that the upper floor comprised the lodgings of the owners, who may have kept their cash box here.[44]

39 John Stephens Crawford, *The Byzantine Shops at Sardis*, Archaeological Exploration of Sardis 9 (Cambridge, MA, 1990), 1–3.

40 Crawford, *Byzantine Shops at Sardis*, 7–11.

41 Crawford, *Byzantine Shops at Sardis*, 33–51; Anthea Harris, "Shops, Retailing and the local Economy in the Early Byzantine World: The Example of Sardis," in *Secular Buildings and the Archaeology of Everyday Life in the Byzantine Empire*, ed. Ken R. Dark (Oxford, 2004), 92–94.

42 Crawford, *Byzantine Shops at Sardis*, 37–43, fig. 126–159; Harris, "The Example of Sardis" 93–94.

43 Crawford, *Byzantine Shops at Sardis*, 34–37, fig. 111–125.

44 Crawford, *Byzantine Shops at Sardis*, 43–49, fig. 160–185; Harris, "The Example of Sardis" 92–93. According to Crawford, *Byzantine Shops at Sardis*, 17–18, the other two neighboring *tavernae* also belonged to Christians.

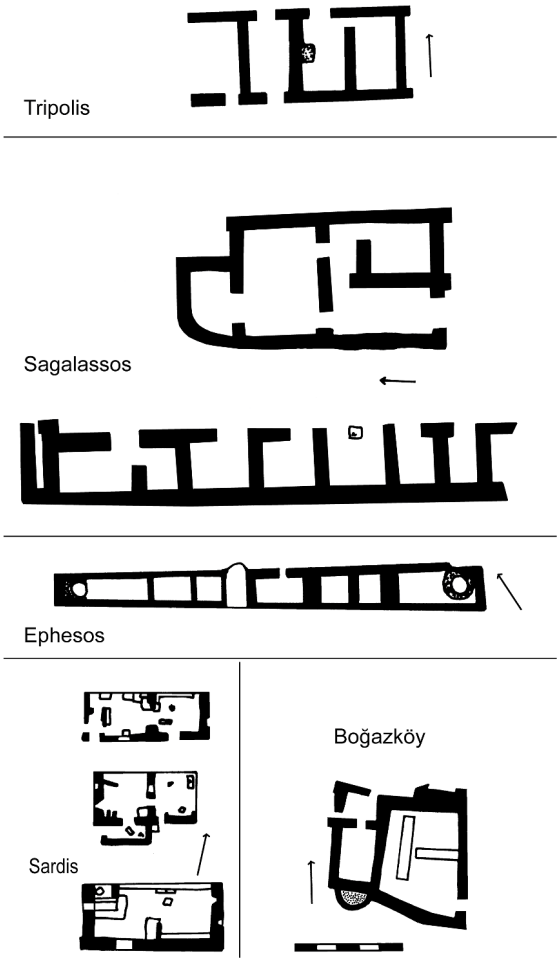

Fig. 2: Late Antique and early Byzantine taverns from Asia Minor in comparison. © Beate Böhlendorf-Arslan and Uta Jordans, after Duman, "Tabernae in Tripolis," 141, fig. 36; Putzeys, "Shops and Retail," 203, Fig. 3; Waldner, *Kuretenstrasse Ephesos*, 15, fig. 1b, Crawford, *Byzantine Shops at Sardis*, fig. 110, fig. 126, fig. 160; Böhlendorf-Arslan, *Die mittelbyzantinische Siedlung in Boğazköy*, 38, fig. 30.

In Ephesus, the late antique/early Byzantine taverns were located on the middle and upper Kuretenstraße. From the Alytarchos Stoa onwards, the ascending Kuretenstraße was lined with colonnades, behind which there were shops. These shops were used as taverns, small shops, and workshops from the first century AD onwards.[45] In Late An-

45 Alice Waldner, *Die Chronologie der Kuretenstrasse. Archäologische Evidenzen zur Baugeschichte des unteren Embolos in Ephesos von der lysimachischen Gründung bis in die byzantinische Zeit*, Forschungen in Ephesos XI/4 (Vienna, 2020), 31–43; Sabine Ladstätter, "Ephesos from Late Antiquity until the Middle Ages: An Archaeological Introduction," in *Ephesos from Late Antiquity until Late Middle*

tiquity the shops were generally preceded by a portico, into which taverns were then built in the 6th century. These were rebuilt again and were used until the 7th century.[46] The three taverns on the upper Kuretenstraße (Fig. 2) were equipped with benches on the walls, shelves as storage space for dishes, and washing facilities. In the rooms where storage containers were found, parts of bowls and dishes were still on the tables. In two of the taverns from the middle section of the Kuretenstraße near the Alytarchos stoa, the walls were decorated with Christian motifs, a cross in the Garden of Paradise and a psalm.[47] An earthquake in the second quarter of the 7th century destroyed the taverns on Kuretenstraße.[48]

In Tripolis ad Maeandrum, an ancient town about 25 km northwest of Hierapolis in Ionia (Fig. 1), several rectangular rooms were excavated in the city center. The excavators identified these rooms as a taverna based on their accessibility from the colonnaded street and their rich decoration with wall paintings.[49] It seems that these rooms had three phases. The first phase dates to the early 3rd century, the second to the late-4th century, and the third to the 5th century. The city wall, which forms the southern wall of the taverns, dates to the late-4th century. The first tavern consists of two rooms, which have walls decorated with frescoes. The floor was made of tamped lime mortar, onto which a brick floor was applied in parts during the 5th century. The rooms were supplied with water from the west wall through interlocking clay pipes. Due to the water supply, remains of a hypocaust system, and strigili between the finds, the excavator interpreted room A as a small bath for the taverns. The excavator argues that the immediately adjacent large room B, almost 32 square meters in size, which had a second floor, was used as a tavern (Fig. 2).[50] So far, no taverns have been found that had an adjoining bathroom for personal hygiene. This room therefore appears to have been an apodyterium decorated with frescoes.

Ages: Proceedings of the International Conference at the Research Center for Anatolian Civilizations, Koç University, Istanbul 30th November – 2nd December 2012, eds. Sabine Ladstätter and Paul Magdalino, Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut 58 (Vienna, 2019), 37, fig. 30–31; Jasmin Ableidinger, "Eine spätantike Tabernenflucht an der oberen Kuretenstraße in Ephesos," in *Veränderungen von Stadtbild und urbaner Lebenswelt in spätantiker und frühbyzantinischer Zeit: Assos im Spiegel städtischer Zentren Westkleinasiens*, ed. Beate Böhlendorf-Arslan, Byzanz zwischen Orient und Okzident 23 (Mainz, 2021), 225–234.

46 Waldner, *Kuretenstrasse Ephesos*, 183–185; Ableidinger, "Tabernenflucht Ephesos."

47 Andreas Pülz, "Selected Evidence of Christian Residents in Late Antique Ephesos," in *Religion in Ephesos Reconsidered: Archaeology of Spaces, Structures, and Objects*, Supplements to Novum Testamentum 177, eds. Daniel Schowalter, Sabine Ladstätter, Steven J. Friesen, and Christine Thomas (Leiden, 2020), 84–85, fig. 4.10.

48 Ladstätter, "Ephesos," 37; Waldner, *Kuretenstrasse Ephesos*, 184.

49 Bedrettin Duman, "Tabernae in Tripolis," in *Landscape and History in the Lykos Valley: Laodikeia and Hierapolis in Phrygia*, eds. Celal Şimşek and Francesco D'Andria (Newcastle upon Tyne, 2017), 109.

50 Duman, "Tabernae in Tripolis," 111–116.

A second room, similarly frescoed and measuring 7 × 4.5 m, which the excavator called the second tavern, has a brick and mortar bench on three walls of the room (Fig. 2). The bench is 50 cm high and 50 cm wide, and therefore too low to be used as a counter; moreover, it is leaning against the wall. This bench was refurbished after the 4th century. Finds of a large number of ceramics and shells imply that it was used as a dining room.[51]

In the first half of the 6th century, a row of stores with seven rooms, some of which are connected to each other, was built in the western portico of the lower agora in Sagalassos (Fig. 3 right). Simple wooden walls covered with clay and straw separated the individual stores and rooms (Fig. 2). The floors consisted of compacted earth, with partially pressed limestone slabs and floor tiles. Two rooms were equipped with hearths.[52] One of the adjacent rooms was connected to the water supply of the Nymphaeum to the north.[53] In many of the rooms, narrow niches covered with arches, some with nails in their surroundings, imply that wooden shelves were once fitted here, which served as storage for dishes. In the southern part of a centrally located room, five pithoi are standing on a low, brick-clad platform. This room was probably two-storied. The basement served as a storage room, possibly for grain. The other rooms also contained storage vessels, various kitchen and tableware, kitchen utensils such as mortars, knives, etc. as well as animal bones and the remains of wheat and wild herbs.[54] The lack of benches indicates that this room was used as a kitchen and storage area to sell food and beverages to walk-in customers.[55]

To the northeast, the square of the lower agora in Sagalassos is framed by additional rooms (Fig. 3 left). The largest room, in the center, measured around 50 square meters (Fig. 2). On the northeast side of this room, from the north wall to the center, a counter was built. The two windows in the east wall, one of which is vaulted with an arch, could have served as a sales counter that could be closed with a wooden shutter.[56] A large number of storage vessels and tableware was found in the room. The handle of an authepsa indicates the consumption of spiced wine.[57] The kitchen was located in the adjacent room, which was equipped with a hearth in the east wall. In addition to kitchen ceramics and animal bones, numerous archaeobotanical remains

51 Duman, "Tabernae in Tripolis," 116–117.

52 Toon Putzeys, Marc Waelkens, Jeroen Poblome, Wim Van Neer, Bea De Cupere, Thijs Van Thuyne, Nathalie Kellens, and Philip Bes, "Shops and Retail in Late Antiquity. A Contextual Approach to the Material Evidence from Sagalassos," in *Thinking about Space: The Potential of Surface Survey and Contextual Archaeology in the Definition of Space in Roman Times*, ed. Hannelore Vanhaverbeke, Studies in Eastern Mediterranean Archaeology 8 (Turnhout, 2008), 173.

53 Putzeys, "Shops and Retail," 176.

54 Putzeys, "Shops and Retail," 176–178. The meat for the preparation probably came from the "butcher's store" built into the eastern portico: Putzeys, "Shops and Retail," 191–193.

55 Putzeys, "Shops and Retail," 178–180.

56 Putzeys, "Shops and Retail," 185–186.

57 Putzeys, "Shops and Retail," 186.

Fig. 3: Taverns in Sagalassos. © Beate Böhlendorf-Arslan.

were recovered from this room, which shows that food was prepared here. Two other rooms are considered to have been private rooms, while the passage was open to the public. This *taverna* with adjoining private rooms in the northeast of the square was built after the 5th century and was in use until the first half of the 7th century.[58]

The section of a building in the Byzantine village of Boğazköy in central Anatolia (Fig. 1) can be also addressed as a *taverna*. In the 10th century, a village was built above the temples of the former Hittite capital Boğazköy. This village consisted of a monastery, a cemetery with a burial chapel, and at least 25 buildings, including a centrally located courtyard house to which an inn was apparently attached. The inn was probably a tavern, a kind of pub, and served as a guesthouse for the villagers or individual travelers. The building consists of three units grouped around a central courtyard with a total of 16 rooms. The wing to the south consists of a corner room of over 60 square meters (Fig. 2), which only opens outwards into the village square. There is no connecting door to the interior of the building; the room is separated from the main structure. This corner room, which is about 9.2 × 6.6 m in size, is the largest room in the courtyard house complex (Fig. 4). Two benches made of quarried stone

58 Putzeys, "Shops and Retail," 188–189.

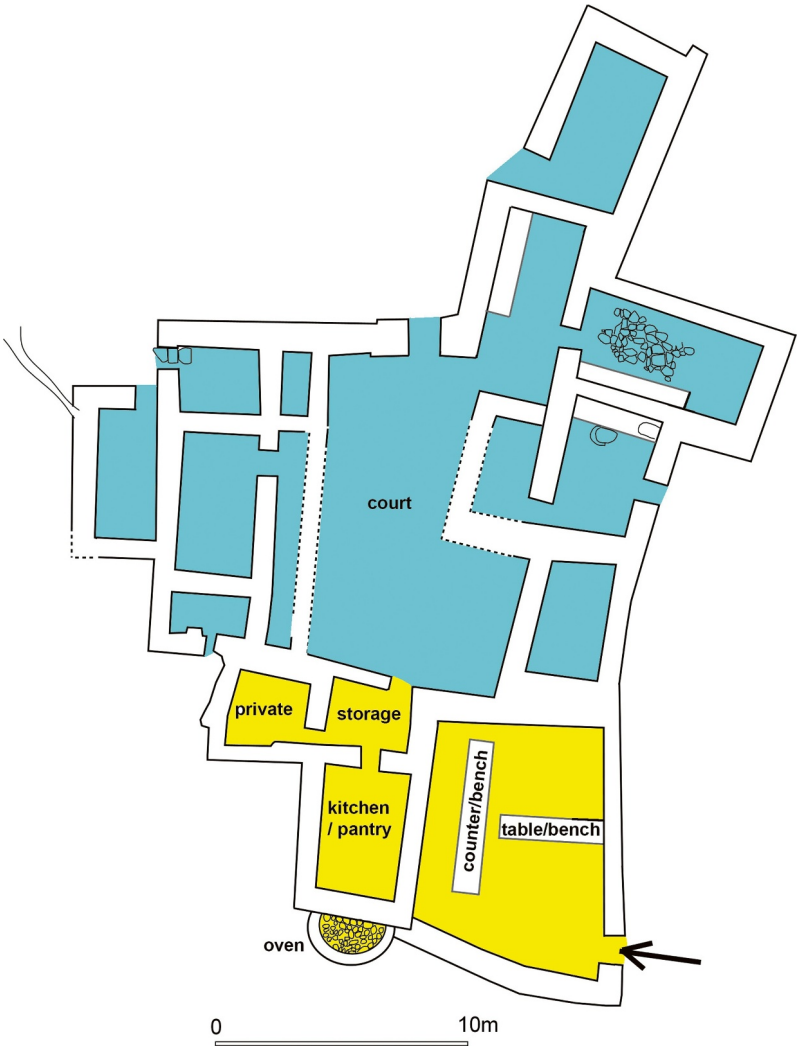

Fig. 4: Courtyard house with taberna in Boğazköy. © Beate Böhlendorf-Arslan and Uta Jordans.

were permanently installed in the room.[59] Behind the bench (counter?) in the west, a concentration of nails and staples was found that probably belonged to a wooden shelf. Behind the pedestal, near the wall, was a large artificially-smoothed stone, which probably functioned as a cutting board.[60] In this room, a large number of ce-

59 Beate Böhlendorf-Arslan, *Die Oberstadt von Ḫattuša: Die mittelbyzantinische Siedlung in Boğazköy: Fallstudie zum Alltagsleben in einem anatolischen Dorf zwischen dem 10. und 12. Jahrhundert. Boğazköy-Ḫattuša*, Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen 26 (Berlin, 2019), 39–40, fig. 30–31.

60 Böhlendorf-Arslan, *Die mittelbyzantinische Siedlung in Boğazköy*, 423, Sg. 3, pl. 147.

Fig. 5: Reconstruction of the taberna in Boğazköy. © Beate Böhlendorf-Arslan and Uta Jordans.

ramic vessels were found. These storage vessels may have contained wine or other beverages, which were ladled out and served with jugs from this room. Many of the jugs are typical table vessels with painted or burnished surfaces.[61]

Together with the unusually large number of high-quality drinking vessels, the size and design of the room makes one think of it as a public tavern (Fig. 5). Moreover, the room was only accessible from the outside. The two pedestals, which could have served as a counter or table, also point to usage as a tavern. A baking oven is attached to the room to the west (Fig. 4). In this room, mainly storage vessels and pots were found, so this is where cooking and baking took place. It is possible that there once was a kind of pass-through, a wall opening between this baking room and the taproom, through which one could pass food prepared in the baking room over to the inn.[62]

The taverns in Tripolis, Ephesus, and Sardis have one thing in common; they are all located in the center of early Byzantine cities. It is quite conceivable that the localities here served as dining rooms during the day but as wine taverns for a more colorful audience in the evening, especially near the bath. The central Byzantine tavern of Boğazköy was also in the center of the village. In all these small gastronomic estab-

61 Böhlendorf-Arslan, *Die mittelbyzantinische Siedlung in Boğazköy*, 86–88, ware 10–13.

62 Böhlendorf-Arslan, *Die mittelbyzantinische Siedlung in Boğazköy*, 184–86, fig. 110, 117–119.

lishments, visitors did not stay overnight; in other words, the facilities served as restaurants or drinking establishments only (Fig. 2).

3 Late Antique and Byzantine *Pandocheia* in Asia Minor: The Archaeological Evidence

In addition to these smaller taverns, there were also guesthouses with overnight accommodation along major travel routes and in individual towns. The roads constructed by the Romans that comprised the so-called Cursus Publicus, which connected Rome with its provinces, were still largely intact in Late Antiquity. It was still relatively easy to travel. The paved roads were marked at intervals with sentries, horse-changing stations, and rest stops, and the distance was marked by milestones.[63] A little later, the road network deteriorated and the facilities supplying travelers fell into disrepair until Emperor Justinian stopped funding the facilities altogether in the 6th century.[64]

However, even in Byzantine times there were still way stations along the major connecting roads, but these were now in private hands. They continued the tradition of the Roman *mansiones* and were forerunners of the Seljuk *caravanserai*. At the rest stops, animals and people were provided with food, and simple sleeping places were also available.

Some of these way-stations can still be identified as such today. However, the total number of preserved *mansiones* has never been systematically recorded.[65] Moreover, no Byzantine road station has ever been excavated; hence we do not know whether they differ typologically and functionally from the Roman *mansiones* or what the characteristics of road stations in the Byzantine Middle Ages are.

On the road from Komama to Attaleia, a section of the Via Sebaste leading from Pergamon to Side (Fig. 1), there are still the remains of an early Byzantine *mansio* on

63 David H. French, Roman Roads and Milestones of Asia Minor 1: *The Pilgrim's Road*, British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, Monograph 3; BAR International Series 105 (Oxford, 1981); David H. French, *Roman Roads and Milestones of Asia Minor*, vols. 3–4 (Ankara, 2012, 2014, 2016); Klaus Belke, "Von der Pflasterstraße zum Maultierpfad? Zum kleinasiatischen Wegenetz in mittelbyzantinischer Zeit," in *Η Βυζαντινή Μικρά Ασία (6ος–12ος αι.)*, ed. Stylianos Lampakes (Athens, 1998), 267–271; Belke, "Verkehrsmittel"; Stephen Mitchell, Robert Wagner, and Brian Williams, *Roman Archaeology in a South Anatolian Landscape: The Via Sebaste, the Mansio in the Döşeme Boğazı, and Regional Transhumance in Pamphylia and Pisidia*, Akmed Series Mediterranean Studies 4 (Istanbul, 2021).

64 *Prokop, Anekdota, Geheimgeschichte des Kaiserhofs von Byzanz*, ed. Otto Veh (Düsseldorf, 2005), 30, 1–11.

65 See the brief description of the late antique/early Byzantine horse-changing stations and rest stops on the so-called pilgrim trail: French, *The Pilgrim's Road*, 29–32.

the roadside at the southern exit of the gorge of Döşeme Boğazı.[66] Built of quarry stones, typical for the 5th-6th century, the complex on the northern edge of the city of Maximianopolis was quite extensive, with over ten rooms and two stories. The rooms were arranged around an inner courtyard with a fountain.[67] The building complex was accessible from the road with three entrances, and the largest middle one leads into the courtyard through a two-meter wide gate. The individual rectangular rooms are equipped with windows on the courtyard side, while on the outside they have only slit windows.

Fig. 6: Guesthouse (?) in Sinekkale. © Ina Eichner.

On the road from Diokaisareia (Olba) to Korasion, near the town of Seleukeia (Silifke) (Fig. 1), was a large complex of buildings that has been interpreted as a hostel.[68] Ina Eichner concludes that the building was more like a manor house, which offered limited accommodation for travelers (Fig. 6).[69] The building is two-storied with five rooms in the basement and six rooms on the upper floor. On the upper floor were three latrines with sewers. One latrine belonged to a separate room and was again

66 Mitchell, Wagner, and Williams, *Ronan Archaeology*, 32–37, fig. 53–64; David H. French, "1993 Yılı Küçük Asya Roma Yolları ve Miltaşları," in *12. Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı*, eds. İsmail Eroğlu, Fahriye Bayram, Handan Eren, Nurhan Ülgen, Filiz Kaymaz, and Ahmet Hamdi Ergürer (Ankara, 1995) 34, fig. 1, 35, fig. 3–4, 36, fig. 5; Hansgerd Hellenkemper and Friedrich Hild, *Lykien und Pamphylien*, Tabula Imperii Byzantini 8 (Vienna, 2004), 274, fig. 240; Friedrich Hild, "Verkehrswege zu Lande: Die Wege der Kreuzfahrer des Ersten und Zweiten Kreuzzuges in Kleinasien," in *Handelsgüter und Verkehrswege: Aspekte der Warenversorgung im östlichen Mittelmeerraum (4. bis 15. Jahrhundert)*, eds. Ewald Kislinger, Johannes Koder, and Andreas Külzer (Vienna, 2010), 112, fig. 16.

67 Mitchell, Wagner, and Williams, *Ronan Archaeology*, 32–35; Hellenkemper and Hild, *Lykien und Pamphylien*, 274, fig. 240; Mustafa Adak and Marc Wilson, "Das Vespasiansmonument von Döşeme und die Gründung der Doppelprovinz *Lycia et Pamphilia*," *Gephyra* 9 (2012): 1–40, here 5. They compare the layout of the *mansio* with Seljuk *caravanserais*.

68 Gilbert Dragon and Olivier Callot, "Les bâtisseurs Isauriens chez eux: Notes sur trois sites de environs de Silifke," in *ΑΕΤΟΣ: Studies in Honour of Cyril Mango*, eds. Ihor Ševčenko and Irmgard Hutter (Stuttgart, 1998), 58–61.

69 Ina Eichner, *Frühbyzantinische Wohnhäuser in Kilikien. Baugeschichtliche Untersuchung zu den Wohnformen in der Region um Seleukia am Kalykadnos* (Tübingen, 2011), 309–13; Ina Eichner, "Sinekkale – Herberge, Kloster oder Gutshof?," *Olba* 16 (2008): 338–360.

separated by a door in a small chamber. The location of the building on a main overland road and the high number of latrines on the upper floor leads to the assumption that in the 5th and 6th century a hostel was being run here on a modest scale. In the basement, animals were cared for, and three of the rooms on the upper floor could have been used for overnight stays. It is likely that the chamber with the private latrine was rented to wealthier guests.[70]

At Alahan Monastery near Seleukia (Fig. 1) in Cilicia, the inscription on a sarcophagus mentions a *taverna*.[71] The proposed location is a two-story building in the center of the monastery.[72] Given its location on a colonnaded street between two churches, the ground plan, and the description of the rooms, the complex could have been a place of accommodation for pilgrims and travelers. However, this can only be narrowed down conclusively by precise analysis of the architecture, find context, and salient archaeological finds.

A large building complex at the western gate of the city of Assos on the west coast of Asia Minor (Fig. 1) is also considered to be a *pandocheion/xenodocheion*.[73] Assos was a trading city in Late Antiquity and Byzantine times with a supra-regional harbor.[74] In the 6th and 7th centuries, pilgrims travelled to Assos, making it necessary to supply essentials and accommodate foreign guests. The pilgrims' destination in Assos was the grave of a venerated person, a saint not known by name, over which a church was built in the late-5th or early-6th century. The church was located outside the city

70 Eichner, *Frühbyzantinische Wohnhäuser in Kilikien*, 309–310; Eichner, "Sinekkale," 347.

71 Martin Harrison, "The Inscription and Chronology of Alahan," in *Alahan: An Early Christian Monastery in Southern Turkey. Based on the Work of Michael Gough,* ed. Mary Gough (Toronto, 1985), 22–23. See for Cilicia Friedrich Hild and Hansgerd Hellenkemper, *Kilikien und Isaurien*, Tabula Imperii Byzantini 5 (Vienna, 1990).

72 Harrison, "Inscription Alahan"; Gerard Bakker, "The Buildings at Alahan," in *Alahan: An Early Christian Monastery in Southern Turkey, Based on the Work of Michael Gough*, ed. Mary Gough (Toronto, 1985), 138–139.

73 Nurettin Arslan, Beate Arslan, Caner Bakan, Klaus Rheidt, and Julia Engel, "Assos Kazısı 2015 Yılı Sonuçları Raporu," *38. Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı 3* (2017): 55–56, fig. 4–5; Nurettin Arslan, Beate Arslan and Caner Bakan, "Assos Kazı 2016 Yılı Çalışmaları," *39. Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı 3* (2018): 393–394, fig. 7–9; Nurettin Arslan, Caner Bakan, Beate Böhlendorf-Arslan, Eva-Maria Mohr, and Klaus Rheidt, "2017 Yılı Assos Kazı Çalışmaları," *40. Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı 3* (2018): 157–158, fig. 3–5; Nurettin Arslan, Caner Bakan, and Beate Böhlendorf-Arslan, "2018 Yılı Assos Kazı Çalışmaları," *41. Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı 3* (2019): 529–531, fig. 7; Beate Böhlendorf-Arslan, "The Glorious Sixth Century in Assos: The Unknown Prosperity of a Provincial City in Western Asia Minor," in *Asia Minor in the Long Sixth Century: Current Research and Future Directions*, eds. Ine Jacobs and Hugh Elton (Oxford, 2019), 238–249, fig. 13.12; Beate Böhlendorf-Arslan, "Transformation von Stadtbild und urbaner Lebenswelt: Assos in der Spätantike und in frühbyzantinischer Zeit," in *Veränderungen von Stadtbild und urbaner Lebenswelt in spätantiker und frühbyzantinischer Zeit: Assos im Spiegel städtischer Zentren Westkleinasiens*, ed. Beate Böhlendorf-Arslan, Byzanz zwischen Orient und Okzident 23 (Mainz, 2021), 63–73.

74 Nurettin Arslan, Beate Böhlendorf-Arslan, Eva-Maria Mohr, and Klaus Rheidt, "Der Hafen von Assos," in *Hamburger Beiträge zur Archäologie und Kulturgeschichte des antiken Mittelmeerraumes*, eds. Martina Seifert and Leon Zimmer, Gateways 3 (Hamburg, 2018), 52.

in the middle of the ancient necropolis (Fig. 7). Inside the tomb, votive offerings were made by pouring liquids into the grave of the deceased, demonstrating the importance of the site for the cult of veneration.[75]

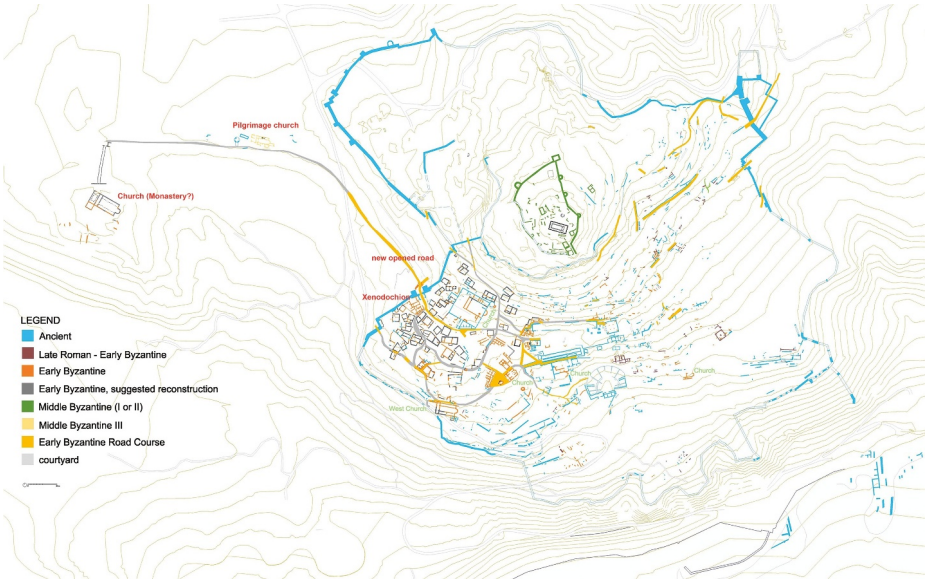

Fig. 7: Detail of the city map of Assos with the pilgrim church, the large extra-urban complex (monastery?) and the connecting road to the west gate with the xenodochion. © Assos excavation archive.

A street with a representative gate connected the sanctuary with a large complex on a hill to the west of the church. A wall surrounds the complex. In the center a three-nave basilica is situated, about 56 m in length with annexes in the west and south (Fig. 7).[76] To the south of the area, several large buildings are located. This complex may have been a monastery that was responsible for the operation of the pilgrimage church and which may also have been able to accommodate guests.

75 Beate Böhlendorf-Arslan, "Die Ayazmakirche in Assos: Lokales Pilgerheiligtum und Grabkirche," in *Assos: Neue Forschungsergebnisse zur Baugeschichte und Archäologie der südlichen Troas*, eds. Nurettin Arslan, Eva-Maria Mohr, and Klaus Rheidt, Asia Minor Studien 78 (Bonn, 2016), 205–220; Beate Böhlendorf-Arslan, "Pilgerdevotionalien aus Assos?," in *Contextus: Festschrift für Sabine Schrenk*, eds. Sible De Blaauw, Elisabeth Enß, and Petra Linscheid, Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum 41 (Bonn, 2020): 446–451, pl. 67.

76 Böhlendorf-Arslan, "Pilgerdevotionalien," 447; Martin Dennert, "Außerstädtische Kirchen in Assos in frühbyzantinischer Zeit," in *Veränderungen von Stadtbild und urbaner Lebenswelt in spätantiker und frühbyzantinischer Zeit: Assos im Spiegel städtischer Zentren Westkleinasiens*, ed. Beate Böhlendorf-Arslan, Byzanz zwischen Orient und Okzident 23 (Mainz, 2021), 158–163.

Inside the city was another accommodation option. The complex was located precisely at the western gate within the ancient city walls and was connected to the pilgrims' church at that time by a specially restored direct road connection. For this purpose, the late-4th or early-5th century gate was relocated. The Archaic burial street, no longer used in use in Late Antiquity, was restored at that time (Fig. 7). This enabled visitors to reach the pilgrims' church directly from the *pandocheion/xenodocheion*.[77] The late-5th or early-6th century building apparently served to supply pilgrims and other guests. It was in use until the late 7th century.

Fig. 8: Pandocheion/Xenodochion of Assos, photo taken 2021. © Assos excavation archive.

The building complex is equipped with a chapel (1) and various rooms, not all of which have been uncovered (Fig. 8).[78] The access and inventory of the rooms show

77 Böhlendorf-Arslan, "Pilgerdevotionalien," 447–448, fig. 2; Böhlendorf-Arslan, "The Glorious Sixth Century in Assos," 230–234, fig. 13.4–6.

78 Arslan, Arslan, Bakan, Rheidt, and Engel, "Assos Kazısı 2015 Yılı," 54–55, fig. 4–5; Arslan, Arslan, and Bakan, "Assos Kazı 2016 Yılı," 393–394, fig. 7–9; Arslan, Bakan, and Böhlendorf-Arslan, "2018 Yılı

that the complex was well adapted to guests' needs. The entrance for overnight guests was via the courtyard (5) on the south side. The stable for animals was most likely the annex directly on the western wall, which could be entered from outside. The kitchen (2), depots (4, 6), sleeping quarters (18, possibly also 14–16), and upper floor could all be reached via the courtyard. The entrance to the chapel (1) and a taproom (11) directly next to it could be accessed from the street by the west gate (Fig. 8–9). Both rooms were entered through double doors about 2 m wide, as their large thresholds are exposed.

In the entrance to the chapel a guard may have once stood, as a lost dagger has suggested. The chapel was used for prayer and devotion, but liturgical celebrations were also held in it. It was equipped with an altar, behind which once hung a small cross in the apse. Guests were served refreshments in the guest room or tavern (11). This room was furnished with benches on the walls and a table in the center (Fig. 10). A counter or another bench protruded into the middle of the room. Room 10 is located at the back and close to the guest room and was connected to a cistern in courtyard 12 by a balustrade. In this room some tools were found, suggesting the existence of a workshop, possibly for repairing items used for travel, such as saddles.

Fig. 9: Entrance to the taproom of the Pandocheion/Xenodochion. © Assos excavation archive.

Assos," 529–530, fig. 7; Böhlendorf-Arslan, "The Glorious Sixth Century in Assos," 238–249, fig. 13.12; Böhlendorf-Arslan, "Transformation," 63–73, fig. 54–64.

Directly next to the workshop, a staircase (9) led to the upper floor. A second staircase was located in the large room (7) (Fig. 9). This room served as a storage and utility room on the first floor. Here was a grain silo and several troughs for washing. The floor above the utility room was a gallery, which allowed a view down into the room. The gallery floor was used as a dining room. At least four large marble tables stand here, signifying that guests gathered here for dinner. The food itself was cooked in the kitchen (2) or baked in the adjacent oven (3). The finds (personal items like belt buckles or jewelry, pottery and glass) from this building indicate an international clientele. Even if the objects only reflect a snapshot of the time when the building was derelict or no longer in use, they provide insights into the activities of the complex and the origin and social status of the guests. The *xenodochion/pandocheion* was apparently destroyed in a devastating earthquake in the late-7th century. This earthquake was so violent that cracks formed in the smoothed rock floor. The building collapsed and buried the inventory. After that event the inn was never rebuilt after, although at least the well in the courtyard was visited and used at least until the 11th century.[79]

Fig. 10: Taproom with benches and table. © Assos excavation archive.

79 Arslan, Bakan, and Böhlendorf-Arslan, "2018 Yılı Assos," 529–530.

As it currently appears, after this catastrophe the city shifted places to the northwest outside the city walls or to the northern slope of the hill.[80] Archaeological remains and written sources show that Assos continued to exist into the middle and late Byzantine period. The pilgrimage church had a middle Byzantine reconstruction phase, and the city of Assos is also documented in several middle Byzantine sources.[81] One of them also mentions an inn; the vita of the Symeon Metaphrastes from the 10th century describes the fate of Mary, the niece of St. Abraham.[82] The latter settled in Assos after fleeing from a village near Lampsakos. In Assos she worked as a prostitute in a hostel. Where the hostels were located in the 8th to 12th centuries is not known. Also, we do not yet know for sure where the city of Assos was located in the 10th and 11th century. The kastron on the acropolis was probably built in the 12th or 13th century.[83]

4 Conclusion

The use and function of large building complexes in late antique and Byzantine cities are often discussed, but disagreements remain as to their identities and functions. Many of these large buildings were excavated decades ago, so the finds and contexts are no longer comprehensible, making it difficult, and in some cases impossible, to reconstruct the exact function of a particular domestic complex and the use of each room. According to Andreas Pülz, the so-called bishop's palace near St. Mary's Church in Ephesus could well have been a *xenodocheion* or deacon's residence.[84] During major events such as the Third Ecumenical Council in Ephesus in 431 AD, not only the bishops but also the accompanying monks and servants had to be accommodated. In addition,

80 Beate Böhlendorf-Arslan, "Assos," in *The Archaeology of Byzantine Anatolia. From the End of Late Antiquity until the Coming of the Turks*, ed. Philipp Niewöhner (Oxford, 2017), 224–225; Böhlendorf-Arslan, "The Glorious Sixth Century in Assos," 243.

81 Beate Böhlendorf-Arslan, "Die Ayazmakirche," 207–216; Beate Böhlendorf-Arslan, "Nothing to Remember? Redesigning the Ancient City of Assos in the Byzantine Era," in *Cityscape and Monuments of remembrance in western Asia Minor*, eds. Eva Mortensen and Birte Poulsen (Oxford, 2017), 26; Nurettin Arslan and Klaus Rheidt, "Assos. Bericht über die Ausgrabungen und Forschungen zur Stadtentwicklungsgeschichte 2006 bis 2011," *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 1 (2013): 234–238.

82 Symeon Metaphrastes, *Vita et conversatio Abramii confessoris et Mariae*, in *PG* 115, 44–77, at 68. I owe this reference to Despoina Ariantzi.

83 Beate Böhlendorf-Arslan, "Assos in byzantinischer Zeit," in *Vom Euphrat bis zum Bosporus. Kleinasien in der Antike: Festschrift für Elmar Schwertheim zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Engelbert Winter, Asia Minor Studien 65 (Bonn, 2008), 121–122; Nurettin Arslan and Beate Böhlendorf-Arslan, *Assos. Living in the Rocks* (Istanbul, 2010), 141; Arslan and Rheidt, "Assos," 238; Böhlendorf-Arslan, "Assos," 224.

84 Pülz, "Christian Residents in Late Antique Ephesos," 79–80; Andreas Pülz, "Some Remarks on Late Antique and Early Christian Ephesos," in *Geç Antik Çağ'da Lykos Vadisi ve Çevresi/The Lykos Valley and Neighbourhood in Late Antiquity*, eds. Celal Şimşek and Turhan Kaçar, Laodikeia Çalışmaları 1 (Istanbul, 2018), 392–393.

such an event attracted peddlers and spectators who also needed a place to sleep. This is probably why many of the large buildings were multi-functional in Late Antiquity and the Byzantine period. Monasteries and city palaces also welcomed travelers. Private individuals probably rented out rooms to merchants and pilgrims. And there were certainly also canteens, which offered food and drink from a mobile counter.

Starting in Late Antiquity, colonnade streets and porticoes were converted to stores.[85] Back walls, columns, and paved surfaces were used as a practical guideline for the arrangement of rooms. In places where there existed stands for selling in public spaces, provisions for physical needs also had to be ensured. Therefore, stores are often located in the immediate vicinity of taverns and taprooms. Early Byzantine pubs are similar in their functionality across long geographical distances; the bars in Scythopolis and Corinth are comparable to the taprooms in Sardis, Sagalassos, and Ephesus.[86] In contrast, the middle Byzantine *taverna* in the village of Boğazköy shows a different structure, even though functional elements such as benches and shelves are still present. *Pandocheia* and *xenodocheia* have been found in great numbers not only in Syria (Qal'at Sim'an), but also in other areas such as Egypt (Abu Mena) and Israel (Jerusalem).[87] Almost all of them date back to the 5th or 6th century.

In Asia Minor, Greece, and the rest of southern Mediterranean, far too few structures that provided food, drink, and accommodation have been excavated up to the present, and even fewer buildings that allow for the determination of their rooms' various functions through their in situ finds. In 2004, Anthea Harris wrote: "..Sardis is almost the only site from which both the finds and the architecture of (what the excavators labeled) "Byzantine stores" have been recorded stratigraphically and published in detail."[88] In the last 15 years, some cities that have produced a wide range of data, such as Sagalassos, Ephesus and Assos, were added, but in general nothing has changed re-

85 Helen G. Saradi, *The Byzantine City in the Sixth Century: Literary Images and Historical Reality* (Athens, 2006), 272. For a selection of late antique and early Byzantine stores, see Luke Lavan, "From Polis to Emporion? Retail and Regulation in the Late Antique City," in *Trade and Markets in Byzantium*, ed. Cécile Morrisson (Washington, D.C., 2012), 366–377.

86 S. Agady, M. Arazi, Benny Arubas, Shulamit Hadad, Elias Khamis, and Yoram Tsafrir, "Byzantine Shops in the Street of Monuments at Bet Shean (Scythopolis)," in *What Athens has to do with Jerusalem: Essays on Classical, Jewish, and Early Christian Art and Archaeology in Honour of Gideon Foerster*, ed. Leonard V. Rutgers (Leuven, 2002), 423–506; Elias Khamis, "The Shops of Scythopolis in Context," in *Objects in Context, Objects in Use. Material Spatiality in Late Antiquity*, eds. Luke Lavan, Ellen Swift, and Toon Putzeys, Late Antique Archaeology 5 (Leiden, 2007), 439–472; Charles K. Williams and Orestes H. Zervos, "Corinth 1985: East of the theatre," *Hesperia* 55 (1986): 129–175; Charles K. Williams and Orestes H. Zervos, "Corinth 1986: Temple E and east of the theatre," *Hesperia* 56 (1987): 1–46.

87 Tchalenko, *Village antiques de la Syrie*, 205–222; Grossmann, "Pilgerunterkünfte in Abū Mīnā," 201–210; Yitzhak Magen and Rina Talgam, "The Monastery of Martyrius at Ma'ale Adummim (Khirbet el-Muraşşaş) and its Mosaics," in *Christian Archaeology in the Holy Land: New Discoveries, Essays in Honour of Virgilio C. Corbo*, eds. Giovanni Claudio Bottini, Leah Di Segni, and Eugenio Alliata, Studium Biblicum Franciscanum 36 (Jerusalem, 1990), 333–342.

88 Harris, "Shops Sardis," 84.

garding the limited archaeological data. Further detailed research is needed to re-evaluate the archaeological literature of the last few years—the preliminary excavation reports and the summaries of rescue excavations—in order to arrive at a more exact functional analysis of building complexes and thus to determine the location of *tavernae* and *pandocheia* in Byzantium.

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