CHOICE AND CONTEXT IN THE LATE ANTIQUE ARCHITECTURE: QUESTIONING THE CILICIAN "DOMED BASILICAS"

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ABSTRACT

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This thesis reviews the architectural context of four churches in western Cilicia. These churches, namely the East Church at Alahan, the "Cupola Church" at Meryemlik, the "Domed Ambulatory Church" at Dağpazarı, and the "Tomb Church" at Corycus, have been tentatively grouped by Stephen Hill under the name of "Domed Basilicas" based on their resemblance to the early 6th century models in Constantinople, the most famous being the Hagia Sophia. However, the "dome" comes forward in the Constantinopolitan context mainly as a feature in the establishment of a new architectural scheme that integrates a vertical axis into the oblong horizontal axiality of the basilica. Firstly, this thesis suggests that a similar integration visible in the planning of the Cilician churches is the essential point that needs to be studied. This seems to have been ignored by previous research. Consequently, the analytical approach that has concentrated on the possibility of a dome is criticized and a spatial interpretation is attempted. Moreover, as some

scholars propose, these provincial examples might be the possible source of influence for the capital, if they are a local model dated to the end of the 5th century. Thus, issues pertaining to function, dating and patronage are overviewed, in order to obtain a wider perspective of interpretation. Finally, the general information concerning the Cilician examples was found to be based on surprisingly scanty and unverifiable physical testimony which points to the urgency and necessity of further fieldwork.

Keywords: Late Antique Period, Early Christianity, Church Architecture, Cilicia, Domed Basilica.

ÖZ

GEÇ ANTİK MİMARLIĞINDA TERCİH VE BAĞLAM:
KİLİKYA'DA "KUBBELİ BAZİLİKA"NIN SORGULANMASI

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Yüksek Lisans, Mimarlık Tarihi Bölümü

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Bu tez, batı Kilikya'da yer alan dört kilise yapısının mimari özelliklerini ve bağlamını incelemektedir. Bu kiliseler, Alahan'da yer alan Doğu Kilisesi, Meryemlik'te yer alan "Kubbeli Kilise", Dağpazarı'nda yer alan "Kubbeli (Ambulatory – Çevredalız) Kilise" ve Korikos'da yer alan "Mezar Kilisesi"dir. Bu dört yapı, Stephen Hill tarafından varsayımsal "Kubbeli Kiliseler" adı altında toplanmışlardır. Bu adlandırma en tanınmış örneği Ayasofya olan erken altıncı yüzyıl Konstantinopolis örnekleriyle benzerliklerine atfen kullanılmıştır. Ancak Konstantinopolitan örneklerde "kubbe", esasen yeni oluşturulan mimari şemanın bir öğesi olarak ortaya çıkar. Bu şema ise bazilikanın düz yatay aksına dikey bir aksın katılması olarak açıklanabilir. Bu tez, öncelikle, Kilikya örneklerinde de gözlenebilen bu modelin çalışılması gereken ana nokta olduğu halde, geçmiş çalışmalarda bu konuya yeterli ağırlığın verilmediğine dikkat çeker. Bu bağlamda, kubbenin muhtemel varlığına odaklanan analitik yaklaşımı eleştirir ve mekansal yoruma dayanan başka bir yaklaşım geliştirmeye

çalışır. Dahası, eğer Kilikya kiliselerinin bazı akademisyenler tarafından öne sürüldüğü üzere beşinci yüzyılın sonuna tarihlendirilebilen yerel modeller olduğu kabul edilirse, bu örneklerin başkent mimarlığını etkilemiş olması olasıdır. Bu çalışmada, bu olasılık da göz önünde bulundurularak, yoruma daha geniş bir bakış açısı kazandırmak amacıyla işlev, tarihleme ve hamilik gibi ilgili konular gözden geçirilir. Sonuç olarak Kilikya örneklerine ait genel bilginin şaşırtıcı ölçüde kıt ve gerçekliği kanıtlanamayan fiziksel delillere dayandığı fark edilmiştir ve buna bağlı olarak güncel bağlamsal tartışmaların temeli çok zayıf gözükmektedir. Bütün bu unsurlar bölgede arazi çalışmalarının acil ve gerekli olduğuna işaret eder.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Geç Antik Dönem, Erken Hıristiyanlık, Kilise Mimarisi, Kilikya, Kubbeli Bazilika.

To my parents, for their love and support.

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I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referred all material and results that are not original to this work.

Date: September 29th, 2003 Signature:

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INTRODUCTION

In a broad sense, the subject of this study is the church design by the 5th century AD, with an emphasis on a group of examples in Cilicia. The choice of a study on the architecture of this period is due to a personal interest that offers me not only the challenge of the "transformation" concept that I find highly appealing, but also an opportunity to focus on the architectural outcome of the period that I believe to have a special eclectic identity.

Late Antiquity is a period through which one may observe that while the system of the Roman Empire was disappearing, a new system was being formed. Yet, this transition is hard to identify with definite points of starting and ending. This is because several factors of change emerge at the same time; conflicting ideas appear side by side and there is still a continuity of concepts that can be pointed out in all fields of research, although these concepts lose their meanings from time to time. Neither definitely Roman, nor exactly Byzantine, the Late Antique period carries transitional characteristics. The ecclesiastical architecture of the new dominating religion, i.e. Christianity, presents an outlet through which the forms of the past were utilised in an experimental manner, with new meanings having been integrated into them, and thus traditional forms being re-defined.

Starting from the 4th century on, the basilica remained as the major type for ecclesiastical building activities not only in Asia Minor, but also all through the West and the East. The geographic limitation of Asia Minor gives a starting point for the investigation of the basilicas, yet it does not make it possible to include all of the examples in this geography, as they are so numerous. In addition to this, many churches of the period are not precisely dated, hence reduce the possibility of making efficient comparisons. This problem is mostly due to the lack of archaeological evidence and the fact that many churches, especially the provincial ones, have not been surveyed in detail. Although there are a variety of studies, the immense and detailed study of Hill on the early churches of Cilicia and Isauria needs to be extended to the other provincial regions in Asia Minor (Hill 1996).

1.1. The Requirements and Forms of a Flourishing Religion

A discussion considering the origin of the Christian basilica is a subject that exceeds the scope of this study. However, it should be stated that even as early as the second and first centuries BC onwards, the basilica was not a definite architectural formation, but a widespread concept of a meeting hall that was mainly set for secular functions; yet it was also associated with religious rites or funerary collaborations (Mathews 1993, 93-4). The popular type by the beginning of the 4th century was a rectangular structure with or without aisles; the strong longitudinal axis was emphasised by a terminating apse; the roof was usually of timber. However, there was vast experimentation and the variations of this type were numerous. For example, while St. Peter's at Rome was a five-aisled basilica with a transept in front of the nave, the basilica at Trier (Fig.2) was designed without any aisles. Moreover, the Basilica Nova of Maxentius at Rome, another lavish example dating from the beginning of the 4th century, indicates that neither this type, nor a strong longitudinal axis was a rule. This had cross vaulting over the nave, reminiscent of a Roman bath, while the longitudinal axis was not as emphatic (Krautheimer 1986, 41-67).

Christianity was officially legitimised after the Edict of Milan in 313 AD. This resulted in a new demand for a new religious building type different from the pagan religious buildings; the choice emerged in favour of the basilica. Moreover, the imperial support for the Christian building activities during the reign of Constantine, as well as the foundation of Constantinople by *c*. 330 A.D., encouraged local patronage for Christian ecclesiastical buildings.

By the fifth century, the basilica had become widespread both in the East and the West as a specific ecclesiastical form. Gough considers the basilica as "an imaginary type-specimen" for the fifth and early sixth centuries (Gough 1974, 61). Considering the variety of basilical forms by this period, which are with or without transepts, galleries, clerestories, secondary rooms, etc., this attitude to accept the basilica as a mental form, and not as a formulised design decision, is not surprising as the first step. However, there seems to be no consensus among scholars for the criteria through which this mental schema is formed.

Liturgy is a promising field for interpreting the architecture of the churches. Although liturgical differences could have been instrumental in the interior organisation of the basilica, it is hard to assume that this was the main reason that produced the architectural schemes. As Mango indicates, liturgical requirements and circulation could have been solved in other ways. Furthermore, the basilica was constituted through the same principle, regardless of the function – whether episcopal, parochial or monastic - of the building (Mango 1976, 42-4). Nevertheless, although a strict generalisation should be avoided considering a one-to-one match, it would not be wrong to indicate that the basilica emerged as the major form related to the Eucharist.

The variety in church design and its interchangeable character unrelated to the function is mentioned not only by Mango but also by Krautheimer (Krautheimer 1986, 97). While studying the liturgical planning of the Constantinopolitan churches, Matthews proposes that the liturgical differences might have caused the different architectural tendencies in Constantinople, Greece and Syria, by the 5th and 6th centuries. However, he also agrees that it is still hard to define accurate functional zones within the church. He also emphasises that the main difficulty in such an investigation is the lack of sources for the Early Byzantine liturgy, which appears to vary significantly from place to place (Mathews 1971, 118). It should also be taken into serious consideration that early Christian church service was determined through the active integration of the faithful, to which the basilical form must have offered geometrically simple, thus available spaces for circulation. The apse may be seen as a kind of spatial control providing the focus towards which this motion was directed and concluded. Moreover, the basilica provided the space for gatherings not merely related to the liturgy itself, but also for the funerary commemoration of ordinary Christians. Thus the basilica should be considered not as a scene of a ceremonial liturgy, but as a public space for active religious gatherings (Mathews 1993, 92-4).

Beside the oblong axiality of the main basilical scheme, centralised structures were also common by the 5th century; especially with regard to *martyria* that housed commemorative functions. Although the word "*martyrium*" directly recalls a

funerary context, the commemoration was not merely limited to a specific burial, but may also have defined a zone or point that had religious importance.

Baptism also had an initial role in the early Christianity, through which the individual, who might have been informed as a catechumen, would have established his/her rebirth as a Christian. It was a personal experience, a personal step, through which the soul was resurrected. Thus, it is not surprising that even from the beginnings of Christianity, baptism demanded an isolated space, which should have been closely related to the space where the Eucharist was held, which the individual would attend after the baptismal ceremony. Even in the very early example of Dura-Europos (Fig. 3), which is a Christian community house (*domus ecclesia*) and not a public church, these two characteristics can be observed very clearly. Gough states that the centralised designs of the baptisteries were due to the personal emphasis of the ceremony (Gough 1974, 58). The proposal is highly plausible regarding both the function and the religious context of the baptismal ceremony.

1.2. The End of Fifth Century: A Tendency Towards Integration?

The basilical form was not always an isolated design feature and it could be closely connected to a *martyrium*, especially as in the Constantinian examples in the Holy Lands, such as the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem and the Church of Nativity in Bethlehem. However, Krautheimer indicates that although the two functions were connected, they were not integrated (Krautheimer 1986, 59-64).

Mango indicates that this separation was not a tendency continued in the East after the second half of the 4th century, when the relics of the martyrs started to be venerated. These could have been housed in churches of any plan and no special design feature was required to surround the relic anymore (Mango 1976, 44-6).

During the first half of the 6th century some examples in Constantinople are known to show different versions of the same concept; i.e. the integration of a centralised space within a basilical planning. While the most famous examples of the type are surely Justinian's Hagia Sophia (537)[1] and St. Irene (began in 532), the churches

[1] Among the numerous publications about Hagia Sophia, the book by Mainstone (1988) stands out.

of St. Polyeuktos (524-527) and Sts. Sergius and Bacchus (before 536)[2] emerge as two slightly earlier variants of the same attitude (Fig. 4). The grandeur of St. Polyeuktus and the ambition of its architecture, scale and decoration have been mentioned various times. However, it is now well accepted that under the political conditions of the period, the construction of Hagia Sophia was a challenge against this existing church of Anicia Juliana[3].

One of the oldest of the churches that is known before the early 6th century churches in Constantinople is St. John of Studius (Fig. 5). This church, however, is a simple three-aisled basilica with galleries and an atrium. There are no side chambers or similar structures flanking the apse or the main building. The liturgical organisation is clear except the location of the *ambo* and the *solea*; there was a *synthronon* in the apse, and stairs to a cross-shaped crypt were located in the *bema*, bordered with a chancel screen (Mathews 1971, 19-27) (Fig. 6). Another example that can be given is the Church of Theotokos in Chalkoprateia (Fig. 7), which shows the same planning type and liturgical organisation[4]. Moreover, in Chalkoprateia, a centralised *martyrium* (or a baptistery) was located adjacent to the atrium, as an example of two solutions that was used together, yet not integrated architecturally.

Neither of these churches were ordinary examples, as the first was definitely dedicated by Studius, one of the consuls during the reign of Marcian (Mathews 1971, 19). The other was the most important shrine dedicated to the Virgin in Constantinople (Mathews 1971, 28). Hence, it can be proposed that there was a complete change of taste in the capital within half a century, about which the evidence remains silent. One possibility is that someday an unknown example will be discovered in the vicinity of Constantinople and will be dated prior to the

[2] The date of the construction is debatable, yet there is a *terminus post quem* of 536. For a proposal of an earlier date see, Mainstone (1988, 157-8), and for a later date see Mango (1975), Mango (1976, 58). Either as a model already standing before the construction of Hagia Sophia in 532, or as an experimentation almost contemporary with the latter example, this church still retains its position prior to Hagia Sophia.

[3] Especially, Harrison (1989, 33-44), Harrison (1986).

[4] The remains are fragmentary, while the date is disputed. Yet, the date can simply be given as the first half of the 5th century (Mathews 1971, 28-33, dating: 28). Two other early churches, the earlier Hagia Sophia and the church in the second court of Topkapı Sarayı, also studied by Mathews are not discussed here due to the problematical evidence (Mathews 1971, 11-9 and 33-9). However, although rejected by Mathews, Bittel suggests the existence of a transept for the church at Topkapı Sarayı (Mathews 1971, 37; Bittel 1939, 179). Two other churches in Constantinople are known merely from literary evidence (Krautheimer 1986, 105, 470.105).

beginning of the century, which will indicate a similar model of a centralised emphasis within a basilica. While some scholars still carry the hope[5], whether such a model has ever been created in the capital prior to the early sixth century is another question.

On the other hand, there were some examples from the early 6th century outside Constantinople that were centrally designed congregational churches, one of which was the cathedral of Bosra (512) (Fig. 8). Although Mango suggests that the utilisation of the centralised plans for congregation can be traced back to the period of Constantine (Mango 1976, 52), the examples he gives are debatable; the Golden Octagon of Antioch and the church of Nazianzus are merely known from the literary sources and both may have been *martyria*[6].

An earlier example that can be mentioned is the enlargement of the cross-planned martyrium of St. John the Apostle at Ephesus in the early 5th century with basilical elements. Yet in this church, the congregational space was still separated from the commemorative zone (Fig. 9). Another example of integrating basilical planning with centralised design is Qa'lat Sem'an (Fig. 10), which is set in a cruciform layout of four basilicas connected by a central octagonal space. The central space contains the column of St. Simeon Stylites; therefore it is again commemorative. Moreover, it is most probably dated to the period of Zeno, and the experimentation of an immense size that requires challenging construction again suggests an imperial patronage. The cruciform planning of the complex may be traced back to the Apostoleion at Constantinople, to the Constantinian period. However, rather than regarding this attempt in Qa'lat Sem'an as the "trouble to reproduce this plan on a larger scale, thus indicating its symbolic importance", as Mango proposes (Mango 1976, 51), bringing forward a question whether this size could be considered as a more eloquent attempt of a tendency to integrate public liturgy into a more ceremonial formation, seems more promising. This kind of an attempt

[5] See, Chapter 3, 25.

[6] The Golden Octagon (began in 327 and dedicated in 341 (Downey 1961, 342-50)) was called a "*martyrium*" by Grabar. Although it is now accepted to be a congregational church, the debate caused by the "palace church" identification of Krautheimer is up-to-date. One of the results of the debate, emerges as the correction of the term by Krautheimer in a note into "palatial churches", yet still with an emphasis that the centralised congregational churches were located close to palaces (Krautheimer 1986, 465.22). For Nazianzus, Mango states that there is no evidence to call it a "*martyrium*" (Mango 1976, 51). Although extremely significant, this subject is too complicated for inclusion in this study in greater detail.

would be highly plausible, when it is considered that the 'Transept Basilicas', contemporary with Qa'lat Sem'an revealed features of a similar inclination.

A highly interesting type of basilica emerges by the end of the 5th century, which is usually referred to as the "Domed Basilica". Hill places the examples of Alahan (the East Church), Meryemlik (Cupola Church), Corycus (Tomb Church), Dağ Pazarı (Domed Ambulatory Church) and Alakilise into the group of "Domed Basilicas" in Cilicia, a term that he describes as being "…used as a technical term to define a church in which the longitudinal nave was replaced by or incorporated a central square bay which was surmounted by a tower." (Hill 1996, 45). Apart from the superstructure of these churches, it is interesting to observe a central space usage in front of the apse, an attitude that was concentrated mainly in Cilicia.

Thus, as dated to the end of the 5th century, the "Domed Basilicas" emerge as significant architectural antecedents to the churches of Anicia Juliana and Justinian. Furthermore, the structures in the region do not only display skill in stone masonry, but also show remarkable expertise in vaulting and dome construction, in addition to adapting circular superstructures on a rectangular plan; ie. the usage of squinches and pendentives. These issues have been discussed by many scholars: the resemblances of planning have been shown not only from one to another, but attention has also been taken to the same planning scheme in the early sixth century churches in Constantinople, especially to St. Polyeuktos and St. Irene (Fig. 4). Moreover, while the central nucleus in St. Polyeuktos is surely the main characteristic that was compared with the Cilician examples, attention has also been taken by Hill to another feature: the appearance of the apsidal side chambers in St. Polyeuktos, which was not observed in the earlier churches of Constantinople, but which was a common feature of the Cilician churches (Hill 1996, 59).

Hill connects the development of these churches to the "Transept Basilicas" of the region, indicating that this new formulation developed from a funerary context, in which both types could be accommodated. The eastern passages behind the apse with an access to a *martyrium* or to a commemorative spot, as in the example of St. Thecla, were designed in order to establish the requirements of a peripatetic

service, while at the same time avoiding the disturbance of the main basilical formation used for the Mass on ordinary Sundays. The circulation flowing into the eastern passages must have constrained the usage of side chambers, and the sanctuary area would have been enlarged for finding a space for *prothesis*, pushing the focus of liturgy westwards, to a more central position in the nave. The new focus of the service established by the crossing of the transept and the nave had lost its architectural emphasis. However, this emphasis might have been retained by a vertical axis that was established by a tower constructed over this area (Hill 1996, 28-61).

Summarised very briefly, this assumption explains the origin of this new attitude of integrating the centralised solution within a basilica according to Hill. This process is proposed to have found a ground to flourish under the imperial support of Zeno. The probable influence from this provincial region to urban centres, and especially to Constantinople, may have been through the travelling groups of Isaurian stonemasons as Mango first observed (Mango 1966).

On the other hand, although Hill's proposal appears to be the only attempt to explain a local architectural development for these examples, his study is not clear at some points concerning the origin of the "Domed Basilicas". First of all, while he proposes that there is a connection between "Transept Basilicas" and "Domed Basilicas", this connection has not been clearly revealed. Moreover, the discussion of the possibility of a dome emerges to dominate the sections that investigate the examples from the latter group.

It seems noteworthy that while the "Domed Basilicas" were proposed to be a significant step in the formation of the early 6th century churches at Constantinople, the discussions were not focused on the interpretation of their architecture. In this regard, this study aims to overview the existing evidence and discussions, in order to get a better understanding of what awaits to be done for a more detailed interpretation.

These buildings cannot be isolated from the dynamics of their context, and how the evidence is interpreted is directly related with how this context is perceived by the scholars. Therefore, in order to establish a background through which the

evidence can be perceived, a brief discussion of the concepts and perspectives that are related to the subject matter will briefly be discussed as the first step.

On the other hand, it is not possible to go further than an abstract generalization, if the physical evidence at hand is not investigated in detail. Therefore, the next step will be an architectural review of the churches. Yet, instead of an analytical approach that studies the building feature-by-feature, disregarding its totality, the aim in this investigation is to interpret the overall spatial features of the churches, and also their circulation scheme in so far as possible.

The last step before conclusion will be an overview of the discussions on date, function and patronage. Firstly, it is a remarkable point that some scholars had dated these churches to the end of the fifth century, even before the imperial patronage of Zeno was under discussion. However, it cannot be claimed that there is a consensus among the scholars and it seems promising to review some of these proposals. Surely, the liturgical function of these churches is extremely important in order to identify the characteristics of the community that they served. These two issues, dating and function, will hopefully present a more detailed setting of circumstances, before the discussion of patronage.

The discussion of patronage for these examples embraces a complex historical context, which should be reviewed regarding various aspects: The primary two points are, as first proposed by Mango (1966), whether this scheme was a local creation that has flourished under the developing conditions in the region and whether the immense building activities would be related to the reign of Zeno. After this, the direct connection of Zeno to the mentioned four churches will be discussed, because such a connection is not certain except one site (Meryemlik). The last point is the possible impact of these examples to the architecture of the capital that includes the phenomenon of “Isaurian builders” (Mango 1966) and this phenomenon also needs to be discussed briefly before the conclusions can be presented.

CHAPTER 2

CONCEPTS AND PERSPECTIVES

It should seriously be considered that the tendencies and the vision of the people, who were the patrons, the constructors, the users and/or the viewers of any building, had evolved through a highly active context that is rather difficult to perceive from an isolated perspective of time and geography. On the other hand, although there are temporal and spatial interrelations in various scales, there are so many diverse responses that it is impossible to identify clear-cut major themes and/or periods. Generalisations are usually misleading, as the time span that has to be covered is too long for such a dynamic period. Moreover, although there are shared notions, it is hard to identify how they were perceived by the ancient mind. There are variations of not only attitudes and tendencies of the contemporary scholarly literature, but also of the ancient literature that can provide a wide range of sometimes highly conflicting perspectives.

This chapter aims to provide a brief background for the main discussions of the chapters to follow. The first subsection concentrates on the perspectives of Early Christianity, as the alteration of the perspective and the subject matters that the ancient mind concentrated upon may be said to have a more rapid expansion than their practical reflections. Christianity was surely the major notion that had flourished. However, the dynamics of the period were much more complex than to be limited to the expanding Christianity only; local elements and circumstances were also determining factors, resulting in a wide range and variation of response. Hence, the following sections overview the urban mentality and the role of the cities, in order to demonstrate that although life had not undergone a drastic change through these centuries, there were new factors that were getting integrated into the society. The last concentrates on the reign of Zeno, as there seems to have been an immense building activity during his reign in Cilicia, in his homeland. The impact of Zeno on this activity that has been discussed by some scholars will be treated in detail in Chapter 3; and the last subsection of this chapter aims to provide a background for these discussions.

2.1. Perspectives of Continuity

> In AD 391-2 legislation issued by the emperor Theodosius I officially declared pagan cults illegal, and from time to time his successors, notably Justinian in the sixth century attempted to purge suspected pagans from the higher ranks of society. But within the empire as without, pagan practice continued, often coexisting with Christian cult. In sixth century Lycia, a local holy man and bishop, Nicholas of Sion, found his rural flock devoted to tree cults and sacrifice. The collections of miracle stories attached to particular pagan shrines such as that of Saints Cyrus and John near Alexandria, or the Church of St. John Prodromos in the quarter of Oxeia at Constantinople, which possessed the relics of St. Artemios, witness to the continuing attraction of astrology and magic practices and the Christian adaptation of the pagan practice of incubation… We should imagine the period as one of immense variety; there was no clear dividing line (Cameron 1997, 98).

The studies on the social characteristics of this age point out that the social life did not undergo a radical change after the conversion of the majority of the society into Christianity. Moreover, it can be observed that the persistence of pagan worship continued under the name of Christianity.

The interrelation of Christianity with the pagan and Jewish elements was complex, and it carried traces from the both. Elsner studies the perspective of Romans towards the past in the period known as the Second Sophistic. This mode of thinking takes some image models from the past and invests them with new meanings, by carrying them out of their context, either by combination, collection or just by relocation. Elsner claims that the same attitude towards the past also continued into the early periods of Christianity, yet the image source under focus was less the mythology of Greeks, but more the scenes from the Old Testament. The difference of the Christian reinterpretation was that it was arranged and submitted under the control of hierarchically organised priests and theologians (Elsner 1998, 169-97; 199-325).

Another view of continuity belongs to Mathews, who deals with the continuation of images from paganism to Christianity. Mathews criticises the claims that the maintenance of the imperial images continued under the name of the Christ. He studies the people who formulated this theory, and posits that this formulation was a highly subjective reading. According to Mathews, all three founders of the theory, Kantorowics, Alföldi, and Grabar, regretted the fall of an imperial power by their

period; Kantorowics was moved by the collapse of Keiser Wilhelm II, Alföndi regretted the fall of the Hapsburg Empire, as did Grabar the fall of the Czar. The theme flourished through this nostalgia, and after the World War II it became a widespread, international phenomenon. Mathews, reviewing the reading and studying the themes of Christ and the emperor, concludes that the imperial imagery was totally different from the imagery of Christ (Mathews 1993).

However, this theory seems to have affected many studies dealing with the 2nd -6th centuries. As a study dealing with architecture, the work of Ward-Perkins on the origins of basilical planning can be given; Ward-Perkins states that the architecture of the basilical church derived a direct inspiration from the imperial palace architecture (Ward Perkins 1993). This approach and this statement are also shared by Krautheimer (Krautheimer 1986, 39-41).

Nevertheless, the statements of Elsner and Mathews are not in contradiction. On the contrary, they blend well with each other. While Mathews rejects a direct transformation of imagery, Elsner studies the dynamics of creating a new meaning with the elements that belong to the past. These statements seem remarkable for understanding the nature of the Jewish and pagan elements in Christian products.

Moreover, this attitude towards the past in the Early Christianity can not merely be observed in the process of image production. This aspect may also be detected in the Early Christian response to the existing concepts. MacCormack shows that although Christians changed the prexisting pagan concepts, they also gave them a new lease of life, while she studies how Christians produced and utilised the concept of sanctity in Late Antiquity (MacCormack 1990). These concepts appear to be related to a wide range of Early Christian phenomena; the conversion of temples, the attitudes towards graves, pilgrimage, relics and the like. According to MacCormack, Christianity had created a concept of physical space that was in itself neutral versus the inherent sacredness of space in the antiquity. However, the impact of human actions could make certain parts of this neutral space holy. Moreover, human actions were not limited to the actions of the living, and the dead bodies or past actions would inherit their merits and sins, passing them onto the space where they were kept.

Hence, following this perspective, it is easier to comprehend how the notions of the past were reinterpreted and adapted in the "Christian" way of life. Moreover, this approach did not necessarily require a change in the practical applications. However, the related "space" had to be transformed with a Christian touch, which would extend from a rather complicated application like a reconstruction program, to a simple one which would include a simple import of a relic, or the creation of a saint.

Cilicia had close cultural relationships with Syria[7]; and the culture of saints, which was highly active in Syria, may also be shown to have its impact in this region. Especially, as in the cult of St. Thecla and her cult centre at Meryemlik, the interpretation by Mango of the "Syrian piety" especially by the 5th century, establishes a significant basis for the subject (Mango 1992). Summarised briefly, Mango proposes that the extremist applications of the Syrian piety might derive from pagan predecessors. Yet the Syriac community can be seen more as the merchants who created cults of saints in these applications and exported these cults to abroad (Mango 1992, 105).

Among the many aspects that Mango presents, two stand out: Firstly, he reminds that although the locations of the pillars of the St. Simeon and St. Simeon the Younger seem as if in the middle of nowhere today, they were both in full view of the two main roads in their period, which would mean that they by no means had chosen a location for privacy. To the contrary, they had set their position to increase attraction. The other example is that of St. Daniel who had a more outstanding story. St. Daniel received the mantle of St. Simeon by chance from a monk who was on his way back from the imperial court. The monk had wished to present this holy relic, but was unable because the Emperor was busy. Hence, Daniel took over the mantle and erected a pillar in a spot that was in full view of the only harbour on the European side of the Bosporus, this was next to a popular shrine of St. Michael, close to a vineyard owned by another Mesopotamian, who was in the imperial court (Mango 1992, 103-4).

[7] The term "Syria" is not utilised in geographical terms here, but to define a more obscure cultural formation which may be proposed to have been centralised in Antioch. The borders of regions were surely not the borders of the cultural world, if it can ever be suggested that cultures have borders; affiliation is not a characteristic unique to Late Antiquity but was again highly active during this period.

Chadwick suggested a direct continuity in concepts when he proposed that the saints had come to fill a role that was played by local deities and heroes in the popular mind (Chadwick 1967, 282-3). Although this (and similar) statements can be considered to be correct up to a point as not much has changed in the practical applications, the afore mentioned examples suggest that Christianity not only produced a new concept of "holy" from the pagan aspects, but also merchandised this new product in the urban context and even in the capital. The location of St. Thecla is again no less remarkable with its considerable correlation with Seleucia:

> The fact that the cult-site of St. Thekla was not in the city itself, but one and a half kilometers to the south, does not detract from the relationship, any more than did the distance between Ephesus and the shrine of Diana, or Rome and the tomb of St. Peter (Whittow 1990, 22).

Thus, it may be proposed that the cult of the saints was an urban phenomenon; although the centres were not located directly in the urban settlements, the spots were chosen in a close interrelation with the urban community. However, how "urban" was perceived in the Late Antique context arises as another subject matter at this point, which will be examined briefly in the following sections.

2.2. Social Life and the Impact of Christianity

2.2.1. The Roman Empire Under Transition: The Beginnings

There was a huge number of multiple and diverse local identities throughout the vast geography that the Roman Empire embraced. Many studies on Roman art and architecture concentrate on the significance of visual signs as communicative and mnemonic instruments that injected a Roman identity into the local characteristics; these were the basis of cultural assimilation and the infusion of the imperial propaganda. The cities were important elements for the definition of the Roman identity. These were not only the activation zones for communication, but also had a significant role in this formation.

By the Late Empire, through the Romanization process already mentioned, a common ground was established on which especially the aristocrats could share equivalent notions (Brown 2000, 5-6). Consequently, the control and the administration of large territories could be achieved with a small number of imperial officers, since the political system was functioning fundamentally via the

curia, the civic city council consisting of members from the aristocratic class (Liebeschuetz 1999, 3-4). However, Elsner rightly warns that the Romanization process should not be exaggerated. Especially starting by the end of the second century onwards, the diversity and local identity were kept alive by various means whereby the visual communication had a twofold significance; while it was the grounds that the compromise with the political authority was presented, it could also act as an instrument of resistance against the imperial propaganda (Elsner 1998,117-26).

The rearrangement of the government and administration by Diocletian following the troublesome third century may be suggested to constitute the first visible sign of a transition, which was developed further by Constantine. The aim of this attempt was basically the reinforcement of the central authority in the provinces (Liebeschuetz 1987, 455-7). On one hand the number of the emperors was raised to four, containing two senior (Augusti) and two junior (Caesars) emperors, and on the other the number of the provinces was increased and almost doubled in number[8]. The diocese was a new institution forming the administrative bridge between the central authority and the provinces (Liebeschuetz 1987, 456).

At the same time, through the establishment of this new system, the responsibilities of the urban *decurion* had become obligatory, arduous and moreover hereditary. The prestige of establishing a civic task, the pride of being a part of the council was gradually diminishing (Mitchell 1993, 75-6). The council members were inclined to look for a solution to dismiss this heavy burden in order not to find themselves faced with the serious penalties put in action with the new legislation (Mango 1994, 35-6). Thus the individual concerns of the council members started to substitute their responsibility for the city. The most feasible and efficient two solutions were either to get an imperial court service that would be granted with the release from civic duties or to get integrated into the church system. Accordingly, it may be said that the curial class gradually deteriorated by the 6th century in favour of the increasing power of the imperial authority and the church (Cameron 1993a, 168).

[8] A detailed examination for the provincial borders of Anatolia is made by Mitchell (Mitchell 1993, 158-63).

The written sources that transmit information about the urban life are highly limited, especially from the third century up to the end of the fifth (Liebeschuetz 1999, 3-4). One of the main reasons was surely related to the process that has been summarised above, to the changing nature of the *curia* and to its gradual disappearance in the established cities. This was a process that reduced the investment of the wealthy citizens on the civic structures and also the prestige of establishing memorial dedications related to their donations. However, it should be kept in mind that "… the decline of the curial government was a consequence of the strengthening of the central administration, not of the physical decline of the cities and their population." [9], as Liebeschuetz rightly conveys. However, Whittow criticises him for putting too much emphasis in the decline of the *curia* as an explanation for the decline of urban life (Whittow 1990).

Any interpretation that would give the picture of a social trauma and a sudden change should be carefully reconsidered for this period. The effects of this new form of administration on everyday life and on the physical appearance of the city was usually a slow process, and the adaptation of the traditional perception to the changing needs and requests varied from one region to another (Cameron 1993b, 8-9). The following section aims to concentrate on some specific examples especially in Asia Minor for a more detailed investigation of the notions that were active in the design and perception of urban centres, especially on the effects and the nature of the gradual strengthening of the church.

2.2.2. The Classical Tradition and Christian Elements: An Overview of Urbanism in Asia Minor from the Fourth to the Sixth Centuries.

The urban context was by no means a crowded version of rural life for the ancient mind. A particular way of living was intended and thus related facilities had to be acquired (Mango 1994, 62). In some territories like Britain, where the classical tradition was not deeply rooted, the demand seems to have vanished much faster (Reece, 1999). However, in Asia Minor these facilities continued effectively well through the Late Antiquity. An emphasis on the related structures can be observed

[9] Liebeschuetz (1987, 467); this statement was also put forward by Jones (1964, 762).

through their restoration in many cities. There were also new building activities that had continued through the fourth century into the sixth as well[10].

It is hard to exemplify and discuss all these facilities within the limits of this section. Yet, it can at least be stated that it covered a wide range of civic social relations from entertainment to marketing and education. Structures such as the theatre, gymnasium and baths were the primary part of the urban life. The aqueducts, the road system and likewise supplementary elements could also not be separated from the urban context (Mango 1976, 20).

On the other hand, it is also not possible to say that there was a strict continuity. Cormack, who has concentrated on this subject by means of two cities, namely, Thessalonica and Aphrodisias, brings forth the question of whether the survival and the usage of the ancient buildings necessarily mean the concrete survival of ancient life and traditions (Cormack 1981). Cormack posits that the theatre in Aphrodisias had been redecorated in a Christian context by the beginning of the sixth century, which almost contradicts with its original function of entertainment (Cormack 1981, 107). Likewise, the gymnasium in Sardis had started to function as partly the bath, partly for municipal gatherings, and partly as a kind of a "public park" by the Late Antique period[11]. However, the assumption of Mansel (Mansel 1978, 208-12) that the theatre was used as an open-air Christian sanctuary is opposed by Foss. Foss states that this proposal was made because of the alleged chapels in the *cavea* and the crosses carved by inscriptions. Yet, neither the "chapels" were evidently proven to be carrying this function, nor the inscriptions can be regarded as sufficient evidence for such a proposal as their content was totally secular (Foss 1996, 60 n.171).

On the whole, however, the literary sources are limited for the scholarly overview of the civic life at a provincial level, essentially from the third to the sixth centuries. Moreover, the Christian written sources, which start to be active especially around

[10] Some examples will be mentioned when necessary. However, the study of Peshlow (Peshlow 1986) presents a collection of research in all cities of Asia Minor with a preliminary bibliography for each site.

[11] The functional changes, although attributed to the Late Antique period, are not more precisely dated by Foss (Foss 1976, 41).

the end of fourth century onwards, viewed the urban civic life from a completely different perspective. As Foss indicates, there is one example from Ancyra:

> The correspondence of Libanius provides valuable insight into the life of a class hardly mentioned in the other sources, the ruling aristocracy. These men, who served in the local senate or in government houses or who lived on their country estates, were almost all pagans and evidently had considerable wealth… A large upper class flourished, maintaining the pagan traditions and classical learning of its ancestors and sending its children to famous pagan teachers. The influence of these men probably accounts for Julian's favourable reception and the length of his stay; Ankara was by no means run by its bishops and saints, as it might have appeared if the letters of Libanius had not survived. When they cease, effectively after 365, the fortunes of this class are no longer known, and in the following century, when detailed information is again available, the social appearance of the city was totally different." (Foss 1977, 49) "…the contrast between Libanius and the pious asceticism of its descendants of sixty years later, when Christianity seems to have triumphed overwhelmingly in the region, is remarkable, though of course exaggerated by the differing nature of the sources (Foss 1977, 52).

By the turn of the fourth century, John Chrysostom was complaining about the full and indecent theatres and his approach towards theatrical performances was extremely negative. Mango, however, warns with regard to this example and similar attitudes that "historians have blindly followed the Church Fathers in denouncing the shameful licentiousness of the Late Antique theatre" and points out that the theatre by itself was a "dangerous competitor" for the church (Mango 1994, 63-4).

True, the above-mentioned ignorance and diatribe, which were directed not only towards the pagan structures but also towards the social structures of civic life, should not be exaggerated. Although these had emerged as an alternative, especially in this period, Christianity underwent the pains of seeking an identity and was still far from bringing forth a united, concrete and strong alternative to the existing system of life. MacMullen has a full chapter under the title "Assimilation" in his book *"Christianity and Paganism in the Fourth to Eighth Centuries"*, in which he deals with this subject in a detailed fashion (MacMullen 1997). The variations within Christianity and the survival of pagan and Jewish elements through Christianity have been subject to vast scholarly research. Hence, it is hard to refer to this period without mentioning these elements[12]. However, in addition to these points, MacMullen also brings forth the obscurity that he claims to exist in between the definitions of secular and religious. In this respect, he carefully argues that

[12] Besides many studies, Cameron (1997), Mitchell (1993 esp. II.11-108), Fowden (2001).

"ceremony, gesture, symbol, terminology, myth, or allusion" can be secular in one context and religious in another. He sums up by stating that "there will be things both (or partly, or to some people) religious *and* secular; and the impossibility of being more precise must inevitably blur the edges of our picture of the past." (MacMullen 1997, 148-9). On this obscurity, Christianity comes forward both through the rejection and conflict in the narration of the church leaders, and through the highly assimilated practices of the "nominal" Christians. Furthermore, the social network of the city was a promising instrument of propaganda for the sects within Christianity (Lim 2001, 209).

In a hypothetical manner, then, it can be proposed that daily life continued effectively well into the 6th century with its structures and practices in Asia Minor. The major cities flourished through these centuries, although mostly through the patronage of imperial officials, and the church. Surely the reinforcement of the fortifications emerges as the necessity in this age in various regions at various times and there were numerous church building activities within and outside the city walls in many cities, which came to prominence according to priorities resulting from the changing context of patronage. In addition, the pagan sanctuaries and temples may be said to have been usually neglected rather than having been abandoned or destroyed. Yet the approach also shows a variation from place to place even after the official end of both private and public pagan worship[13].

Even though the evidence at hand is vast and detailed, it is hard to interpret at what points new elements and notions were on stage and at what points lacking, especially in the urban context. It is even more problematical when the literature is concentrated on its own story, and the archaeological research has a history of not more than half a century.

2.3. The Isaurians and the Reign of Zeno

The reign of Zeno (474-91) emerges as an significant aspect for this study. Meryemlik is definitely known to have received imperial patronage during Zeno's reign and some scholars propose that his patronage was not limited to this site.

[13] Caseau (2001, 21-59); this article presents a detailed investigation of the approaches towards the pagan temple and shrines.

Although this subject will be discussed in more detail in the fourth chapter, it can be stated basically that these proposals had their grounds in the Isaurian origin of Zeno and the suggested relation of his *Henotikon* (unifier)[14] to the mosaics with the
"Peaceful Kingdom" theme that are usually dated to the end of 5th century. It is not easy to cover in detail the complex dynamics of the 5th century (and the period of Zeno as a part of it) within the limits of this study. Thus, this section merely aims to present an introductory display of some aspects that are related to the Isaurians by the end of the 5th century, as well as the life and the "Isaurian" origin of Zeno.

"Isaurians" are usually referred to as bandits in the ancient sources, and individual stories of some successful Isaurians might have been unnoticed until the end of the 5th century. The Isaurian identity begins to appear more frequently in some ancient sources, most possibly related to Zeno's ascent to the throne, starting from this date onwards. Elton discusses that the reputation of the Isaurians as fierce bandits that were utilised in the army to balance the German power had its grounds in the stereotype created by the ancient sources and had been carried to the modern literature[15] (Elton 2000b). In another article, he studies the groups of Isaurians that are mentioned in the 6th century sources: these groups emerge as bandits, soldiers, monks and builders (Elton 2000a, 298-9).

However, none of these reputations has a direct reference to the ethnical backgrounds. Shaw points out that banditry was a feature of not only the Isaurian-Cilician, but also the Armenian and Lebanon highlands; and although these areas became a source of man-power (Speidel 1983), when there was a loss of employed traditional Roman forces by the Rhine and Danube, the impact of origins in the army should not be exaggerated. The groups were identified as troops of Roman soldiers prior to their ethnic identity and this statement is also applicable to the "barbarian tribes" according to Shaw (Shaw 2001, 151-8).

Zeno is usually mentioned in the scholarly literature either as an example of the Isaurian dominance created in the army by Leo against the Germanic soldiers/chiefs, or as the emperor of the East in the discussions that suggest the

[14] A letter sent by Zeno to the Egyptian Church, as an attempt to solve the problems in the aftermath of the Council of Chalcedon.
[15] Also see the following note.

date of 476 for the separation of the West from the East. Zeno also appears in the sources as an arbitrator: he was one who tried to find a midway between the Monophysite doctrine and the decisions of the Council of Chalcedon (451), by sending a letter to the church of Egypt, which is usually referred to as the *Henotikon* (481)[16].

Zeno entered the court as an Isaurian officer named Tarasicodissa[17], who had provided an essential document to Leo. This showed that Aspar's son Ardabur was in contact with the Persians and had strengthened the position of the Emperor against Aspar. This officer, after changing his name to Zeno, was made the *magister militum* of Thrace and married Ariadne, the daughter of Leo. Zeno was the legal protector of Leo II, who was seven years old when his grandfather died leaving the throne to him. However, the child died within the same year and Zeno became the emperor (474). Shortly after, he had to flee from Constantinople to Cilicia, after a conspiracy planned and activated by the Empress Verina, Basilius (brother of Verina), Theoderic Strabo, and Illus (another Isaurian general). He stayed in Cilicia for one year and then regained the throne with the support of Illus, who changed sides (Jones 1966, 90-1).

Zeno had to deal with similar problems until 484, and as Cameron points out, his period became a long and uncertain one, that was marked by the "tendency of individuals to switch sides in the tangled network of alliances" (Cameron 1993a, 31). Moreover, the problems in the west had started when Odoacer claimed to be the *rex*. This has lasted until 488, when Zeno commissioned Theoderic, who had marched on Constantinople, to replace Odoacer (Jones 1966, 92).

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[16] All these three subjects are current discussions among scholars. Thus among many, some can be given as examples. Brooks is essential, as the interpretation of the 5th century based on the roles of Germanic and Isaurian groups depends mainly on his article "The Emperor Zenon and the Isaurians" (Brooks 1893). Jones refers to all these points with a historical approach. However, his title "The Revival of the East and the Fall of the West" is an exemplary attitude that conventionally accepts the date 476 as the "turning point" for the "fall" of the west (Jones 1966, 90-4). Grant is another example of this approach that carries these ideas into the recent literature (Grant 2000, esp. 37, 44, 67-8, 89 (*Henotikon*)). Cameron, although preserving the Germanic versus Isaurian interpretation of Brooks, rejects the concepts mentioned afore in quotes. She is significant for emphasising that this date did not cut the continuity of the social and economic life (Cameron 1993a, esp. 24-5 (*Henotikon*), 30-1). Two recent articles by Elton concentrate on the imperial court dynamics, and investigate the "Isaurian" identity with a criticism of the modern scholarly literature that reflects the "Isaurian" stereotype of the ancient writers (Elton 2000a; Elton 2000b).

[17] Harrison suggested that this name was Tarasis (Harrison 1981).

The disputes among Christian leaders were no less of a power struggle than that among the holders of high level imperial positions. Local diversities, the controversies and rivalry among the main centres, that were theological at the surface but had political characteristics underneath, and the attempts of the Emperors to overcome these problems, present one of the major characteristics of the period. In this regard, the conflict between the Chalcedonian and the Monophysite forces emerges to be more about authority than the doctrine (Frend 1988, 353). As Cameron points out, "Constantinople had emerged as a rival to the patriarchates of Antioch and Alexandria that had political prominence and were by no means willing to challenge it" (Cameron 1993a, 13). Hence, the *Henotikon* may be seen not as a religious attempt to combine the worlds of two Christian doctrines, but a short-lived pact between two forces of power.

Moreover, Elton posits that the Isaurian dominancy of end of 5th century was in fact based on the careers of Zeno and Illus, who became the two dominant figures in the imperial court. However, there were other factors that had defined their position and these factors had an equal degree of significance as their Isaurian origin. The power of the "Isaurians" in the imperial court should also not be exaggerated and should be perceived within the dynamics of the Roman aristocracy and court of the 5th century, which included other individuals or groups driven by an ambition for power (Elton 2000b).

Isaurians as builders is another subject that will be mentioned in Chapter 4. However, it should also be mentioned here that the fifth century builders were individual and mobile groups (Mango 1976, 15), and that this way of life suggests more profound loyalty to the other members of the group, rather than their kinship. Moreover, the Isaurians might have been regarded as "masters", yet the groups of builders were working together in the constructions (Kazhdan & Constable 1982, 49). Hence, again the exchange of knowledge and skills among these groups should not be disregarded, as well as considering that not all "Isaurian" builders would have been from Isauria/Cilicia[18].

As modern interest in the region increases, it will be easier to reconsider conventional generalisations, and perceive the region regarding its own varieties.

[18] Especially, Chapter 4, 73.

A recent example is from Desideri, who draws attention to the important figures of Cilicia in literature and medicine, by the first and second centuries AD, reminding us once again that the established traditions in the region were not limited to the “banditry” (Desideri 2003).

CHAPTER 3

THE PHYSICAL EVIDENCE

3.1. Introduction

Simply stated, the sites of Alahan, Dağpazarı, Corycus, Meryemlik and Alakilise (Fig. 1) are all located in Cilicia Tracheia, Rough Cilicia. This represents the western part of Cilicia, and is differentiated from the eastern part (Cilicia Pedias-Cilician Plain) by its mountainous topography, as indicated by its name. However, this region was also referred to in Late Antiquity as Isauria, which should not to be confused with the area that was located further to the northwest, from which the Isaurians originated and which was referred to as “Isaurika” by Ramsay (Ramsay 1967, 228-30) and “old Isauria” by Mango (Mango 1966, 364). The complexity of the terminology for the region is also discussed by Hill (Hill 1996, 3-4).

With similar inconsistency, the nomenclature of some churches in the region also varies from one study to another. In this study, it is generally preferred to use the names that are more neutral in nature, ie. the East and West Churches at Alahan. When the names are directly identified with the building, the widespread naming will be used. However, it should be also mentioned that some names reflect certain architectural features of the churches that were proposed by some scholars, yet are still highly debatable, for example the “Cupola Church” at Meryemlik, or the “Tomb Church” at Corycus. Although these names will be used in this study, but with some precaution, it is nevertheless highly essential to revise many of the terminological names in the region. That emerges to be a task of more detailed future surveys or excavations.

This chapter aims to present the architectural features of the churches that Hill grouped as “Domed Basilicas” (Hill 1996, 45-50). The design of the three churches of the five in total, namely the East Church at Alahan, the “Cupola Church” at Meryemlik and the “Domed Ambulatory Church” at Dağpazarı, are remarkably similar. In addition to these three, the “Tomb Church” at Corycus will also be

discussed due to its close resemblance to the other three examples. As for the fifth example in Hill's grouping, it is more difficult to deal with Alakilise in a detailed manner, as little research has been carried out on this building and even less has been published. Hill's comments on this church are mostly based on the notes of Guyer (Guyer 1909-10, 192-9; Hill, 1996, 83-4). Some of Hill's observations on the architecture, especially his grouping this church with the other four, are quite interesting. Yet, regarding the fact that the preliminary notes of Guyer dating from 1907 cannot be verified with recent research, it would be problematical to carry the discussion any further than this somewhat instinctive indication. In regard to these points, this example will not be discussed in this study.

Another aspect that should finally be emphasised is that these churches are not buildings isolated from their environment and appear to have strong links with other structures. Therefore, although not examined in detail, some of the relevant buildings and structures in these sites will also be included in the discussion.

3.2. The "Domed Basilicas"

3.2.1. The Problem of the "Domed" Basilicas: Different Views

Regarding these four examples, it is very easy to get lost in the discussion of whether the central towers in the naves of these churches were covered with a dome or not. Since the controversy between Strzygowski (Strzygowski 1903, 110-1) and Headlam (Headlam, Hogart and Ramsay 1892, 9-19) that dates to the beginning of the 20th century, this point seems to dominate many of the studies on the subject.

It is clear that Hill also had a special interest in the superstructure, as this subject is not only dominant in his book *The Early Churches of Cilicia and Isauria* (Hill 1996) but also in his brief publication about Dağpazarı in *Yayla*, where the only architectural feature he treats concerning the "Domed Ambulatory Church", emerges to be the tower and the possibility of a dome over the tower (Hill 1979, 9). Although he might very well be right in stating that the region had the potential to construct a masonry or timber dome, even his studies do not indicate the dome was a common feature of these churches (Hill 1996, 46): In this regard, Hill states that he is "sure" that there was a dome at Dağpazarı and that it is "probable" at

Meryemlik; "the possibility cannot be discounted" at Alahan[19], as for Corycus, he is "convinced that it cannot have had a masonry dome". Despite saying this, he was nevertheless finally inclined to group all the mentioned churches under this nomenclature.

Surely, a desire may be discerned at the basis of this interest to show that architectural creativity is not limited to the capital or the big centres, and that rural regions can produce models that are can be widespread and influential. The other opposing perspective is well evident in Herzfeld and Guyer's proposal of an architect from the capital, or somebody who had studied the architectural models of the capital, that clearly distrusts such a capability in the region (Herzfeld and Guyer 1930, 73). Krautheimer accepts this latter proposal and entertains the possibility that such a model had existed in Constantinople (or Thessalonica) and had been carried to Cilicia (Krautheimer 1986, 110 and 247)[20].

However, the design of these churches itself is already essential for the history of architecture, if it can be shown to present one of the earliest attempts to include a centralised focus in a basilica, which is the basic scheme of Hagia Sophia[21]. These churches already present a model that might have affected the architecture in the capital, with or without the dome, as also emphasised by Harrison:

> Whether the squinches carried a light dome or, as several scholars have recently argued, a low pyramidal roof of timber, the combination of longitudinal plan and central vertical axis was evidently now firmly established (Harrison 1989, 26).

Moreover, the squinches in the tower of Alahan remain *in situ,* and the *tetrapylon* in Corycus presents a combination of pendentives and squinches, which clearly display the high-level engineering skills of the local Cilician workers at this period. It is by no means necessary after this point to force the evidence to obtain a further step in the search for the prototype of the dome of the early 6th century Constantinople examples in this region, which seems to be the consideration (and also the weak point) in Hill's approach. The dome of Hagia Sophia might be

[19] However, elsewhere Hill concludes: "I am convinced that archaeology proved that Alahan did not have a [masonry] dome…" (Hill 1996, 214).
[20] Hill clearly presents his belief that this model was not imported and was created in Cilicia (Hill 1996, 50).
[21] An example for this attitude is Mainstone (1988), 159-60, and Harrison (1989), 26.

remarkable, yet these churches seem to have another remarkable feature, namely, their planning and circulation scheme; this should be investigated in more detail to consolidate their shared typological grouping.

3.2.2. Alahan

3.2.2.1. Research History

As MacKay wrote in 1971, the first record of a visit to the ruins of Alahan is by Evliya Çelebi by the 17th century (MacKay 1971, 173-4). Unfortunately, there is no record in the ancient literature prior to this visit. De Laborde followed Evliya Çelebi in 1826 (De Laborde 1847, 172-6), and gave an account of the ruins for the first time. Following his trip with Ramsay and Hogarth in 1890, Headlam produced a plan of the site that was accompanied with a descriptive article (Headlam, Hogarth and Ramsay 1892, 9-19).

Gough started excavations here in 1955, when he had been studying the site in detail for three years. Another team under the direction of Verzone arrived at Alahan in 1955, just a month before Gough. The detailed monograph of Verzone (Verzone 1955) and the article of Gough (Gough 1955) appeared almost simultaneously. Gough referred to the study of Verzone in various cases acknowledging his debt to this publication (Gough 1962). Meanwhile, Forsyth visited the site in 1954 as part of an architectural trip that he made in the region and published his observations in 1957 (Forsyth 1957, 228-33).

The excavations at the site lasted until the early death of Michael Gough in 1973. Although annual reports have been published, the final publication has been deferred[22]. A volume with chapters written by various scholars has been edited by Mary Gough and appeared in 1985 (Gough, Mary 1985). In this publication, the chapter written on architecture by Bakker (Bakker 1985, 75-196) is significant for the detailed analytical presentation of the architectural evidence. The churches and the baptistery were reconsidered by Hill in his publication mentioned previously, also including a brief description of the site. Hill also promises another publication based on the personal excavation notes of Gough (Hill 1996, 68-83). Unfortunately, however, this announced publication has not yet appeared. Another

[22] Gough (1958b, 6-7); Gough (1960a, 6-7); Gough (1962, 173-184); Gough (1963, 105-115); Gough (1964, 185-190); Gough (1967a, 95-100); Gough (1967b, 37-47); Gough (1968, 159-167); Gough, (1970, 95-8).

noteworthy review of the site analysis appears in one of the *Tabula Imperii Byzantini* series, prepared by Hild and Hellenkemper (Hild, Hellenkemper 1990). In this publication, Alahan is accepted to be the ancient "Apadnas", a site that is mentioned by Procopius as renovated by Justinian[23].

There are some other significant studies that deal with the patronage and the function of the site that will be treated in detail in the third chapter, thus not mentioned in this part.

3.2.2.2. Location and Architectural Layout

The building complex in Alahan is located east of the contemporary and ancient roads leading from Mut (Claudiopolis) to Karaman (Laranda), approximately 23 km from Mut (Fig. 1). The complex lies approximately 300 m high from the main road and the modern village, and is easily accessible by car using the road built during the 60's, in the course of excavations (Fig. 11).

There might be two attitudes for describing the site; either following the guidance of the layout of the complex from west to east, or by following the phases of construction, as was preferred by Bakker (Bakker 1985, 75). However, two reasons may be given to avoid a phase-based description. First is the point that the dating of the buildings is open to debate; furthermore, it is highly possible that the main planning of the first phase was the result of a building process of short duration. The second reason is the unavoidable orientation imposed by the architectural layout. The formation of the complex directs the visitor to follow a consciously designed axial route, emphasised by the colonnaded walkway (Fig. 17).

The complex is founded on a longitudinal terrace, partly carved on the mountainside and extending in a slight SE-NW orientation. However, concerning the disadvantages of the topography, this can reasonably be regarded as a rough W-E orientation. The southern side of the terrace is extended by the construction of a restraining wall and infilling.

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[23] Hild & Hellenkemper (1990, 193-4); Procopius, *Buildings*, 5, 9, 33. One of the translations available is by Cameron (Cameron 1967).

One of the possible entrances to the complex is from the westernmost edge of the terracing. The rock-cut cave complex is situated north of the area where the visitor would first arrive. Towards the east, the first building is the church that is usually referred to as the West Church or the Basilica (Fig. 12, 13). Gough also named the building as the “Church of the Evangelists”, due to the decoration on the central entrance doorposts, which will be described and discussed further in the third chapter. Just next to the West Church, a walkway that had colonnades on the south side starts taking a direct route, and comes to an end by another church located at the easternmost edge of the terracing (Fig. 14).

There is a range of different buildings along the northern side of the walkway, which give direct access to this route. The first one from the west is a two-storeyed building and is followed by the baptistery. Another entrance with stairs from the retaining wall is situated opposite this baptistery. Next to the baptistery is a longitudinal open area that is limited by a rock facade on the northern side. Along this area, there are caves that are posed in a range encasing sarcophagi, two of which belong to a Tarasis the Elder and a Tarasis the Younger (Fig. 15). These are the graves, whose the inscriptions are highly significant especially for the discussion of the dating and function of the Alahan Complex. Opposite the tomb of Tarasis the Elder, a shrine is located that is almost at the exact centre of the route (Fig. 16).

This route is connected to the forecourt of the East Church and comes to an end with this building. Verzone had stated that there had been another entrance at the south of the East Church (Verzone 1955, 10), yet the stone block that had given the impression of a tread turned out to be a pier that had fallen across a gap existing at this point (Gough 1967b, 41). This complex is also proven to be related to some water structures and buildings that are located east of the East Church. However, this feature and other water sources for the main complex will be discussed mainly in the following chapter, as these may be highly related to the function of the site (Bakker 1985, 142-7; Gough 1970, 96-7).

3.2.2.3. The East Church

As mentioned before, the East Church is located at the end of the colonnaded walkway (Fig. 14, 17). The rock at this spot was cut to house the building and utilised as the major part of the foundation and the lower part of the northern wall.

Although the *narthex* is demolished today, the excavations were able to define its shape and connection to the main building and other structures. The connection with the colonnaded walkway is of special interest. In order to establish a direct transition from the walkway into the church that was located slightly to the north, the *narthex* was given a skewed shape by the slight displacement of the southwest corner (Gough 1967b, 38-9) (Fig. 18). The skewing of the *narthex* and its irregularity may be due to the same reason in that the main body of the church was constructed while waiting for the walkway to be finished. The *narthex* was constructed afterwards, so that it would be established accordingly (Bakker 1985, 104). It is also visible from the remaining western facade that the *narthex* had a gallery level, through which access was possible from the southern gallery into the northern one and vice versa (Fig. 20). There was another entrance from the north by the upper level of the *narthex*.

The western entrance to the *narthex* was probably a triple colonnade (Gough 1964, 187). The entrance from the *narthex* into the church was through one central door that opened into the nave and through two secondary doors that led into the aisles. Three small niches were placed at the sides of the doors, the functions of which still remain unidentified. Bakker indicates that although these niches do not occur in the first phase of the West Church, similar niches are seen at its second phase (Bakker 1985, 109) (Fig. 19, 20).

A noteworthy aspect is the decoration of the south door emerging as the richest and the most detailed one, rather than the central door. Verzone interprets this point as an indication of hierarchy, which gives the south door the priority rather than the central one, due to the direct relation of the former with the walkway (Verzone 1955, 15). The central door, however, surely keeps its status with its size and decoration. The consoles of the central door that support the cornices reflect a different theme than the side ones; there are human busts in the central consoles, instead of the bird themes used on the cornices of the north and south doors.

However, it is also a noteworthy point that priority has been given to the south door with an effort to finish this part before the northern one and even the central doors (Fig. 22). Therefore it may be suggested that even though the central entrance from the *narthex* exhibited an architectural dominance, the southern door certainly had a priority of function.

The most striking feature of the church is surely the tower that has been placed over the east of the nave with dimensions of 7.6m by 8m (Fig. 21). According to Bakker:

> Inside the church the organisation is that of a basilica and although the presence of the tower might indicate some special significance to the space below, no signs remain to show that the subdivisions of the nave differed in any way from those of the Basilica (Bakker 1985, 109).

The essential misperception of this commentary is to disregard the architectural observation that the towering itself dissorts the linearity of the nave. Moreover, although Bakker might be right in stating that a separation of the eastern part of the nave with low benches and probably with wooden parapets in the East Church is similar to the West Church, the latter has the continuation of the column range all through the nave. The former also differentiates the eastern part from the west with triple arcades at the north and south, which break the regularity of the column range (Fig. 12, 13 and Fig. 23). All the evidence indicates that the design aims at more than a simple indication of "some special significance to the space below". In this regard, although the West Church might be seen simply as a variation of the conventional basilica, the space usage and most probably the circulation in the Eastern Church appears to be quite different. It emerges as a particular design that superimposes the necessities of a certain ceremony into the basilical form and thus creates an alternative usage within[24].

Four stone pedestals have been found in the area under the tower, and they have been relocated to the places that were thought to be their original position; two by

[24] The idea of a particular ceremonial aspect will be discussed especially in the following chapter. However, this chapter aims to demonstrate that all the churches mentioned share more than the tower feature and that a "U" shaped circulation seems to be another peculiarity of this design. This discussion will be presented in detail in the conclusion of this chapter.

the sides of the central entrance from the nave into the *bema*, and two by the southwest and northwest corners of the area below the tower (Fig. 24) (Gough 1967b, 43). These pedestals seem to be directly related to liturgy, yet their exact function is still unclear (Gough 1964, 186).

Two capitals with eagle depictions at the corners remain *in situ* on the westernmost column of the south aisle and on the northwest column of the tower. These suggest very strongly that similar capitals existed in symmetry. In support of this, fragments of these capitals have also been discovered (Gough 1964, 186) (Fig. 25).

The low benches that separate the nave from the aisles also continue between the eastern edge of the nave and the *bema*. There is an opening at the centre, from which the *bema* is reached by two steps. The northern bench has been slotted and the decorated stone slabs were found during clearance. Although the existing southern bench shows no trace of slots, it seems to be the result of a careless and quick repairing of a later date and a similar barrier originally existed on both sides (Gough 1964, 186).

There are two side chambers north and south of the apse. Both have entrances from the aisles, as well from the *bema*. Both chambers were divided into two zones by arches with almost the same alignment as the triumphal arch. Bakker mentions two holes by the arch of the southern chamber at a height of two meters, which indicated a separation either by timber fencing or merely by a curtain (Bakker 1985, 116). Therefore, it is possible to state that the western compartments of the chambers were related with the aisles, while the eastern parts emerge as more private spaces.

The apse does not extend outwards but is combined with the eastern walls of the side chambers within a single straight wall. Narrow twin windows lighted the apse area. Inside the apse, the *synthronon* that was cut from the rock base and consisting of three tiers was cleared. At the centre of the *synthronon,* is a base for a throne. This feature has been extended at a later date blocking the entrances that led into the side chambers. Yet, originally, it should have only extended till the triumphal arch. A stone was discovered during the excavations with the

dimensions around one and a half meters to one meter, on which possibly the altar was set (Bakker 1985, 116).

3.2.3. Meryemlik

3.2.3.1. Research History

Meryemlik, the ancient sanctuary of St. Thecla, has been mentioned in several ancient sources. Two of these sources, the notes of a pilgrim, Egeria[25], who had passed by the site and stayed there for two days by the end of the 4th century, and Basil, the bishop of Seleucia by the early 5th century (431-459), who wrote an account of the life and the miracles of St. Thecla are particularly significant. In particular, the analysis of Dagron concerning the work of Basil remains as an important source for an interpretation regarding this sanctuary, as well as its ancient perception (Dagron 1971). The other source of information comes from Evegrius who mentions the patronage of Zeno for at least one church at this site, although the extent of this patronage is not known (Evegrius III.8).

Guyer and Herzfeld conducted a series of sondages at this site in 1907, yet they did not publish their results until 1930 (Herzfeld and Guyer 1930, 1-88). As their methodology of excavation was far from a stratigraphical approach, and mostly following features that seemed important for that period, many questions regarding the site and the buildings are left unanswered. However, their publication and especially the detailed illustrations by Herzfeld, still remain as the main source for information, as no further excavation has been carried out.

This site is also included in the journey and publication of Forsyth, who mainly speaks about the Basilica and the “Cupola Church” (Forsyth 1957, 223-5). Two other already mentioned sources are again significant for this site; Hill studies the architecture of the churches, while Hild and Hellenkemper produce a general revision of the monuments and historical aspects (Hill 1996, 208-34; Hild and Hellenkemper 1990, 441-3).

[25] A translation is published by Wilkinson. (Wilkinson 1971).

3.2.3.2. Location and Architectural Layout

The site is located south of Silifke, and is around 2 km from this town (Fig. 1). In the north, the modern road leading to Silifke overlaps with the ancient road, which can still be recognised (Fig. 26). The site had been a major pilgrimage centre and was especially known for the miraculous healing of its enclosed water sources and its gardens full of birds mostly donated by the pilgrims, as indicated by Basil's notes that were studied by Dagron (Dagron 1971, 67-70). However, the fourth or early fifth century church and the martyrium that were mentioned in this text are still open to debate concerning their architecture, their interrelationships, and even their location (Hill 1996, 209-11).

The site stretches longitudinally in a rough N-S direction (Fig. 27). From Seleucia, the first building to be recognised must have been the North Church. The North Church was almost neglected by Herzfeld and Guyer except for some brief comments, and still remains unstudied. Under the light of the very few remains of architectural decoration that could be observed, a dating in the end of the 5th century is proposed by Feld[26] and also by Hill (Hill 1996, 234). Due to its location, this church seems to be far away from the main activities of the complex. Still, the position of the church is noteworthy and might be considered as a cross point adorning the entrance of the site from Seleucia.

Continuing southwards, the next stop is the complex that is dominated by the "Cupola Church". The bath and a dense concentration of cisterns are located west of the church. It is obvious that the cisterns served the bath, maybe the gardens as well, which would have been located in the vicinity of the bath as proposed by Hill (Hill 1996, 226). It would be interesting to locate these gardens. Yet by means of conventional surveying alone it seems rather hard to achieve a conclusive result. On the other hand, it might be promising to consider a survey in the area concentrating especially on this subject, using the developments in archeometry.

The Basilica of St. Thecla dominates the south end of the area, which is located over the cave church (Fig. 28). The south part of the apse is still visible but the

[26] Feld 1963-4, 88-107. (Hill refers to another publication of Feld (Feld 1965, 131-43), yet this must be a small publication error).

north part fell in 1942. However, it was still standing during the excavations of Guyer and Herzfeld (Fig. 29, 30). This area is surrounded by a *temenos*, which according to Hill, could have belonged to an earlier structure; either to the fourth century church that Egeria mentions (Wilkinson 1971, 121-2) or to a pagan sanctuary that would have been possibly standing at this location (Hill 1996, 225). Hill also believes that the small church that Guyer assigned to a late date and named "Armenian" (Herzfeld and Guyer 1930, 36-8), can in fact be the fourth century church that could not be located by the excavation (Hill 1996, 217-9). Dagron tries to locate the fourth century church in a different position (Dagron 1971, 62-3,163). Both Hill's proposal and such a continuity seem more convincing. Yet, the details presented by Hill just awaken a possibility. As he says, if it could have been possible to prove that the *spolia* that were used in the small church belonged to a pagan sanctuary, this whole problem could be settled. Moreover, this continuation could have been a very interesting point for the interpretation of the context of the site.

The St. Thecla church is grandiose in scale, *ca*. 81m to 43m, and can briefly be described as a three aisled basilica. Although the study of Guyer and Herzfeld produced a plan for the building (Fig. 31), many details are still open to debate. The *narthex* is reached by stairs and opens to the nave with a central door and to the aisles by side doors. The crypt could be reached from a corridor by the south wall of the church entered from the south aisle. There may be a possibility of a colonnade along this route similar to Alahan, as proposed by Guyer (Herzfeld and Guyer 1930, 30-1). The aisles led into the flanking side chambers that have eastern apses. There is no direct relation of the side chambers with the *bema*. The apse has a pair of double windows, and an eastern wall disclosed both the chambers and the apse. The north chamber opened to the area between the east wall and the apse with a door. There is a possibility that the north chamber was used for baptismal purposes (Herzfeld and Guyer 1930, 16-7; Hill 1996, 225). Yet the confirmation of this proposal is limited to an object that could be interpreted as a part of a fountain and is therefore quite suspicious.

It is as well known that Zeno patronised a building complex on the site. Yet it is not known exactly which were buildings that had been mentioned by Evegrius. It is quite possible that the main building under consideration would be the Basilica at

the south end of the site. Yet architecturally, the "Cupola Church" and the Basilica are accepted by scholars to be almost contemporary in date. It would not be misleading to follow Hill who regarded both churches to be the part of the very same program (Hill 1996, 213-4). The bath west of the "Cupola Church" can also be included in the same construction activity. As already pointed out by Herzfeld and Guyer, both bath and church have a similar *opus sectile* flooring, suggesting a contemporary construction (Herzfeld and Guyer 1930, 84-7). Hill accepts and extends this suggestion, stating that the masonry of both these buildings is identical (Hill 1996, 226).

3.2.3.3. The "Cupola Church"

This church, although smaller in scale than the Basilica, comes to prominence with its striking architectural design. Almost nothing survived from the church that could give direct information of its third dimension even at the beginning of the century. Yet the unconventional design is visible from its planning. Unfortunately, the excavation of Herzfeld and Guyer (Herzfeld and Guyer 1930, 46-74) seems to have been mostly concentrated on the features that could give them some clues for a plan, leaving some strategic points unexcavated and also disregarding its relations with the surrounding structures and buildings (Fig. 32).

This section inevitably follows the descriptions and comments of Guyer and Herzfeld, as it is not possible to make a direct observation of the building due to its ruinous contemporary state (Fig. 33).

The church was entered through a forecourt of a semi-circular shape. The rounded stairs and the carved bench following the curve of the wall must have defined a limited yet still a public area. The central entrance is noteworthy and one wonders what kind of path was connected to this forecourt from the east, and how the bath was related to this axis[27]. East of the forecourt, is a rectangular structure forming the passage into the *atrium*. The proposal of a *propylaeum*, as well as the colonnade that Hill assumes to have been located at the west side of this structure, seem quite convincing (Hill 1996, 227). Unfortunately though, this part was not cleared during the excavation. The traces of a chamber in the north (and a symmetrical one is thought to exist in the south) (Herzfeld and Guyer 1930, 47)

[27] Guyer also wondered about this fact (Herzfeld and Guyer 1930, 48).

has been brought to light. Although the inner side of this structure has not been excavated, it is quite possible that this was a tower containing a staircase as suggested by Hill (Hill 1996, 227) (Fig. 34).

There were entrances into the *atrium* located in the east wall of the *propylaeum*. The northern part of this section has been excavated and a colonnade north of the *atrium* has been brought to light, indicating a symmetrical order at the opposite side.The stone flags of the forecourt changed into *opus sectile* flooring in the *atrium* and the eastern wall of the *propylaeum* was adorned with high quality architectural decoration (Herzfeld and Guyer 1930, 49-52) (Fig. 35).

The northern half of the entrance from the *atrium* into the *narthex* has been excavated. Accordingly, the entire entrance has been restored by Herzfeld with a triple arcade at the centre and a side door leading from the north colonnade (Herzfeld and Guyer 1930, 37). However, Hill proposes five arches instead of three, considering the irregularity in the planning that was caused by the width of the structures west of the church. The forecourt, the *atrium* and maybe the *narthex* possibly extended the east wall of the church in order to provide an access to the structure that was located southwest of the church (Hill 1996, 228). Yet, the alternatives for this proposal can be easily generated. For example, the south part of the *atrium* can be restored along the alignment of the south wall of the church; and an outer colonnade at the south of the *atrium* can be placed; and an opening from the *narthex* can be proposed. This solution would conserve the symmetry and would find its parallel from a solution to a very similar problem by the south colonnade of the Basilica (Fig. 31). Whatever the organisation was, the south part of the *narthex* is highly interesting especially regarding the possibility of this south building to be a water related structure instead of a tomb, as Hill proposed (Hill 1996, 228). This possible function would increase the number of water structures related with this church to three, establishing “water” as an especially essential component of design.

The entrance from the *narthex* into the church was by a central door leading into the nave and two side doors leading into the aisles (Herzfeld and Guyer 1930, 65). The nave area was divided into two zones: the eastern part clearly indicates a central tower with dimensions of *ca*. 10, 60m x 10,65 m (Herzfeld and Guyer 1930,

59). The western section was also divided with a transverse arch. Four columns north of the tower area separate the central part from the north aisle. Yet whether any parapets were located at this point is never indicated nor discussed. The same range of columns was surely located likewise in the south. The marble blocks that Guyer had discovered at the west of the central area certainly belonged to an *ambo*[28] (Fig. 36 a, b). Except for these points, no other details are given regarding the organisation of this area.

The inner semicircular form of the apse takes the form of a half octagon on the outer face. A *synthronon* followed the inner curve of the apse and at the centre of this *synthronon*, was an extension that was most probably a base for the throne (Herzfeld and Guyer 1930, 66).

The side chambers are rather problematic, as these were not fully explored by Guyer and Herzfeld. It was seen during the excavations that the rooms were pushed aside, away from the apse. Yet these were thought to be symmetrical rectangular rooms that had an access both from the south and the north side chambers into the area between the apse and the chambers (Herzfeld and Guyer 1930, 66) (Fig. 34). However, some time after the excavation, the southeast part of the church became exposed as a result of some illicit digging, after which Kramer published the remains that had became visible (Kramer 1963, 304-7) (Fig. 37, 34).

There is only one feature that is corrected in the plan of Kramer, regarding the northern chamber. This room was proposed to be rectangular by Herzfeld, but the eastern wall of the room is shown to be not closing the room but turning east instead, following the northern wall of the structure underneath.

The southern chamber was divided into two compartments; the western part was more like a passage leading from the aisle into the area behind the apse, while the eastern section seems to have had no direct access into these spaces. Kramer discovered a block of Proconnesian marble at the centre of this chamber. Although

[28] Herzfeld and Guyer 1930, 68-70; see also Hild, Hellenkemper, and Hellenkemper Salies, 1984, 182-356; Feld 1989, 123-8 (Plate 15).

the block was half buried, it could be identified as a quatrefoil basin[29] (Fig. 38). Hill could later take a full photograph of this block, when this part became subject to illicit digging once again. He could also see that there were two steps in one of the conches[30]. As Kramer and Hill suggested (Hill 1996, 233; Kramer 1963, 304), this description clearly recalls a baptistery font, and the room may have been a baptistery.

The east wall of the chamber continues to the south and gives the impression that there was another rectangular room at this point. It is also possible that there was an entrance to the "baptistery" from this room that led outside via this area. Hill rightly points out that this possibility is a feature that can be compared to other churches, especially to the north corridor of the Necropolis Church at Anemurium and to the south chambers of the church at Demirciören[31].

Herzfeld and Guyer had discovered vaulted substructures below the southeastern and eastern parts of the church. Guyer believes that the purpose of this vaulting was merely structural, although he also brings forth the possibility that this part may have been used as a cistern. However, he dismisses the idea, saying that the edge of the hill would not have been a suitable location for a cistern (Herzfeld and Guyer 1930, 66-7). This possibility is surely worth reconsideration, regarding the font at the eastern chamber and the access that was possible into the vaulted superstructures.

3.2.4. Dağpazarı

3.2.4.1. Research History

The ruins at Dağpazarı entered modern scholarship for the first time after the visit of Davis in 1875 (Davis 1879, 322-6). Davis' notes, however, concentrate more on

[29] Kramer does not make any comments about the type of the marble. He simply describes it (Kramer 1963, 305-6). Hill rightly pointed out that this block is of Proconnesian marble (Hill 1996, 232).

[30] Hill 1996, 232 and figure 99. Although it is not stated by any scholar, on the site it can be seen that the conch with the steps is the western one.

[31] Although Hill already suggested that the south chamber of this church could have been a baptistery and that this aspect would be compared to the Basilica at Meryemlik and the "Tomb Church" at Corycus (Hill 1996, 146), another small addition can be made to this proposal: An arch base was visible at the west corner of the southern exterior wall at Demirciören and another one could be seen near the doorway that was almost at the centre (Fig. 39 and 40). Therefore there is a possibility of a south walkway which had been arched and leading into the "baptistery". Although quite speculative, this proposal of an emphasis on a route would have been interesting as it recalls an individual and ceremonial characteristic.

the village of the 19th century and the people living there, and less on the ruins of the ancient settlement. A decade and a half later, in 1890, the site welcomed other visitors, who unlike Davis, were mainly interested in the ruins. Headlam, Hogarth and Ramsay produced and published the first plan of the "Domed Ambulatory Church", accompanied by an external photograph and a few pages of commentary. Ramsay identified the site as "Coropissus", and this definition, although never definitely proven, is still accepted by many scholars (Headlam, Hogarth and Ramsay 1892, 20-1).

Forsyth's visit in 1954 is especially significant, because he pointed out the unconventional basilical design of the "Domed Ambulatory Church" for the first time (Forsyth 1957, 233-6). The excavations lead by Gough from 1955 to 1959 proved his foresight. Moreover, these have revealed that not only this particular church, but also the whole site is much richer than previously expected. Unfortunately, the notes and many essential, yet short, articles of Gough on Dağpazarı were not revised and republished after his early death[32].

Hill has a small article on Dağpazarı published in *Yayla*, in which a site plan, although sketchy, can be found (Hill 1979, 8-12). Hill revised the churches in his previously mentioned book, accompanied by a short introduction of the general aspects (Hill 1996, 149-62). Hild and Hellenkemper also evaluated the historical background and the monuments of Dağpazarı in a few pages in the *Tabula Imperii Byzantini* series mentioned above (Hild and Hellenkemper 1990, 313-4).

A final noteworthy aspect concerns the ancient name of Dağpazarı, which is accepted by some scholars to be Dalisandus. Hill refers to a personal conversation with Michael Balance for the recognition of the site with this name (Hill 1996, 150); Hellenkemper also uses the name Dalisandus in one of his publications (Hellenkemper 1994, 213), although he recognises Dağpazarı as Coropissus in his early work. For the time being, the proposals merely indicate possibilities. It is difficult to carry this subject into a more detailed debate until more evidence can be obtained. As for now, the name Coropissus seems to have more validity. In addition, although an inscription has been found in Mut that refers to the

[32] See Gough (1958a, 644-6); Gough (1958b, 6-7); Gough (1959a, 7-8); Gough (1959b, 5-6); Gough (1960a, 6-7); Gough (1960b, 23-4); Gough (1975, 147-163); Gough (1976, 256).

people in the neighbouring city Coropissus (Gough 1976, 256), no scholar has yet published an article presenting the grounds for the name Dalisandus.

3.2.4.2. Location and Architectural Layout

It is hard to provide a detailed description of the site at Dağpazarı, as there is almost nothing written except the preliminary report published by Hill based on the notes of Gough. Hence, not surprisingly, the site lacks a detailed site plan, except a preliminary one published by Hill (Hill 1979, 8-12) (Fig. 42).

The site is located southeast of Alahan, at an elevation of 1400m (Fig. 1). A new route gives easy and direct access to the site, starting *ca*. 15 km. from Mut following the main Mut-Karaman road. Dağpazarı rises between the two gorges of Kavaközü stream. It is a city surrounded by walls that are said to date from Late Antiquity (Hill 1979, 9; Gough 1976, 256). The citadel is located south of the site. A hippodrome has been discovered in the north, while in the east, the remains of the aqueduct and rock-cut chambers are still easily discernible (Fig. 41).

Wilson mentions a colonnaded road crossing the site from north to south and many other secular ruins (Wilson 1895, 181-2). Some traces of an ancient road are still visible and can be seen while walking around the contemporary village settled by migrants from Bulgaria around the 1860's (Fig. 43).

There are three churches at Dağpazarı that have been located and studied. From west to east, these churches are namely: the first the Basilica *extra muros*, the second the "Domed Ambulatory Church" and the third the Basilica that is adjacent to a baptistery. The Basilica *extra muros*, has been excavated by Gough[33] and is especially significant for preserving and presenting its liturgical organisation. This building is said to be related to the tombs northwest of the site, therefore in a funerary context[34].

The Basilica that is proposed to be the cathedral of the city (Gough 1976, 256; Hill 1996, 154) is located east of the "Domed Ambulatory Church". Although studied by

[33] An extensive report has been published by Gough (Gough 1975, 147-163); see also, Gough (1960a, 6-7); Gough (1960b, 23-4).
[34] Gough makes clear that there is no other reason for the proposal of a funerary context (Gough 1975, 148).

Gough, this church has unfortunately never been extensively published. It is in a totally ruinous state today (Fig. 44). Nevertheless, Hill draws a general picture of the church bringing together the excavation notes of Gough with the published material. According to Gough, the church had multiple phases of construction and repair. Hill proposes that this three aisled basilica might represent a conversion from a secular one. Gough had thought that the *narthex* that had a slight misalignment was a later addition. Hill considers this to be a feature constructed at the date of his proposed conversion, that is, either during the fourth or early fifth century[35]. The *paradiasos* mosaic inside the *narthex* has two phases as well: first by the construction, second as a repair, which can be dated to the end of the fifth century according to Gough (Gough 1958b, 645). The baptistery north of the *narthex* was a later addition with an octagonal limestone font (Gough 1959a, 8; Hill 1996, 154).

A fourth church, the church of the monastery, was mentioned by Gough without any further remarks (Gough 1976, 256), and may be related to the lintel that stands alone inside the citadel today, as proposed by Hild and Hellenkemper (Hild and Hellenkemper 1990, 314) (Fig. 45).

3.2.4.3. The "Domed Ambulatory Church"

This church has been proposed to stand on the site of a former temple by Davis, who visited Dağpazarı at the end of the 19th century (Davis 1879, 325). Headlam again mentions the temple and states that the *peribolus* wall was still visible (Headlam, Hogarth and Ramsay 1892, 20). Although the plan and the overall characteristics cannot be determined, a surrounding wall is indeed a high probability following Headlam and Davis. However, the suggestion of an earlier temple at this location has been very little discussed by Hill. Although not directly said, it may be assumed from Hill's statement that he regards the possibility of a temple as a misinterpretation of evidence:

> Some inconsistencies in the coursing of the surviving east end of the south wall lend credence to the suggestion made by both Davis and Headlam that the church may include spolia from an earlier building, but there is now no trace of a surrounding wall (Hill 1996, 155-6).

[35] Hill (1996, 152-3). Gough believes this date is not later than the end of 4th century; see Gough (1958a, 6).

Hill states that there was certainly an *atrium* west of the church, the western side of which was apsidal (Gough 1972, 207-8). The *narthex* was entered by a central opening and the west facade was adorned by buttresses. Fragments of a geometric mosaic were discovered west of the nave (Gough 1959a, 8). The eastern wall had the usual triple opening; the central one leading into the nave and two others leading in to the aisles. The east wall of the *narthex* includes niches that Hill presumes to be stoups (Hill 1996, 156). Yet when considered that there are similar niches both in Alahan and Meryemlik, which can hardly be said to be stoups, this proposal does not seem likely. Nevertheless, it would have been easier to discuss this point, if Hill had presented the grounds for his suggestion. There are two more openings into the *narthex*, one from the south and the other from the north (Fig. 46, 47).

Forsyth was the first who paid attention to the most remarkable aspect of the inner planning. He recognised that the plan scheme included a tower-like structure just in front of the apse (Forsyth 1957, 234-5). The pier that Gough had cleared at the west of the apse during his survey in 1957, has confirmed this observation (Gough 1958b, 6-7). It has been fully recognised since then that the planning scheme was hardly the small basilica that Headlam originally thought[36].

The western part of the nave thus emerges as a transverse corridor between the aisles and the east-west axis of a conventional basilica seems to be weakened by this north-south emphasis (Fig. 47). Therefore, the eastern part of the nave is spatially cut-off from the western part even at the eye level; and the two columns erected between the east and the west parts of the nave highlight this feature. The tower located over the east part must have given a vertical dimension. Overall, a central nucleus was created in front of the apse with dimensions of 11m to 7 m. The floor of this part was covered with a geometrically designed mosaic (Gough 1959a, 8)[37].

[36] Compare the plan of Headlam and Gough (Fig. 47). Yet Hill states that there is a high possibility of a medieval reoccupation of the site when the church was rebuilt, and that the visible remains that Headlam refers included this secondary phase (Hill 1996, 158-9).

[37] I could not find any indication of the flooring for the eastern part of the nave. Therefore it is not possible for me to state whether there was a difference between the eastern and western parts. Yet, such a distinction would appear to be noteworthy for interpreting the overall approach.

Gough postulated that the same double colonnade west of the central nucleus, must have also been located at the south and north sides that opened to the aisles (Hill 1996, 159) (Fig. 47). The south aisle can be traced fully, and the remains of the north aisle suggest an exact symmetry. There is an opening at the centre of the south facade, which was arched above the lintel and shows the trace of an outwards projection. Two niches are located at the inner wall, which were supported by buttresses from the outside. The buttresses frame the entrance, and the windows located on either side of the door at a higher level are also arched in contrast to the two rectangular windows that are located at the easternmost and westernmost edge of the wall (Fig. 48). Overall, these give an emphasis to the entrance of the aisle.

The aisles lead into the side chambers, which were both barrel vaulted (Fig. 49) The side chambers have openings into the apse and the eastern parts of these openings are narrower, each with two small niches at both sides and a window at their east wall.

Inside the apse, was a *synthronon* with two tiers; a triple window at the centre lighted this area. Gough discovered that the floor was covered with *opus Alexandrinum* with a geometric pattern in the apse (Gough 1959a, 8). The apse slightly projects beyond the side chambers, a feature that Hill regards as unconventional for the region (Hill 1996, 156) (Fig. 50).

3.2.5. Corycus

3.2.5.1. Research History

Herzfeld and Guyer were the first researchers to conduct a survey throughout the site. They also carried out excavations focusing especially on the churches in 1907. Their results were published in the same volume with Meryemlik in 1930 (Herzfeld and Guyer 1930, 90-194). Keil and Wilheim published their epigraphic survey in 1931, which mainly concentrated on the cemeteries (Keil and Wilhelm 1931, 120-213). Corycus is again one of the sites covered in Forsyth's article (Forsyth 1957), yet in this article, the "Tomb Church" emerges to be the main focus.

Although not very detailed, the notes of Hild and Hellenkemper (Hild and Hellenkemper 1990, 315-20; Hild, Hellenkemper and Hellenkemper Sallies 1984, 209-22) are essential. These are the only sources for an intact spatial and temporal overview of Corycus, except for the brief introduction of Herzfeld and Guyer (Herzfeld and Guyer 1930, 90-3). In addition, Hill also provides a detailed architectural survey of the churches (Hill 1996, 115-44). As his subject matter was limited to the Early Christianity, he skips the medieval churches. However, he does note the significance of these buildings as well (Hill 1996, 116).

Although the proliferation of building activities may blur the studies to a certain extent, Corycus still has a potential that can give a more clear idea of the organisation of a Cilician coastal multi-layered *polis*.

3.2.5.2. Location and Architectural Layout

Corycus represents another example of continuity in settlement that may be observed all through the coastline of the region. It is located *ca*. 25 km. from Silifke on the way to Erdemli (Fig. 1).

It is not possible to review all the known monuments of Corycus, not even all the churches, in this subsection. Therefore, it seems more appropriate to focus on the area where the "Tomb Church" was located. Yet, as a brief summary (Hild and Hellenkemper 1990, 315-7; Herzfeld and Guyer 1930, 91-93), it can be stated that the city most probably flourished around its natural harbour. Antique remains give evidence for a flourishing and expanding settlement with temples, colonnaded streets, baths and many other remains. There was a new city wall constructed by the late 4th century. The 5th and 6th centuries were a prosperous period for the site, as attested by the notable number of churches built by this period. There are around twelve churches of this period, five of which were built inside the city walls. The 11th century medieval land castle is located southwest of the settlement (Fig. 51).

The "Tomb Church" is located outside the city wall, *ca.* 600 m to the northeast. It is aligned on an ancient road that leads from west to east, along with two other churches, namely the Monastic Church at its east and the Transept Basilica at its west. This road was called "Via Sacra" by Guyer due to the dense burials flanking

the road, but especially concentrated in the west. A *tetrapylon* is located on the east end of the road, northeast of the Transept Basilica (Herzfeld and Guyer 1930, 110), which is considered to be contemporary with this church (Herzfeld and Guyer 1930, 124-6; Hill 1996, 124) (Fig. 52). According to Guyer, the *tetrapylon* indicates the entrance to the burial area. As such, it seems to be the last structure of Corycus in this direction.

The Transept Basilica requires a more detailed overview, for it was considered as a link by Hill between his group of “Transept Basilicas” and “Domed Basilicas” (Hill 1996, 38-44). It is again a three-aisled church that sits on a ground of approximately 20 m to 60 m (Fig. 54). It had a rectangular *atrium* at its west, which was colonnaded and had openings on each of the three sides. The *narthex* can be said to form the western element of the *atrium* at the ground level, following the same colonnaded pattern. It was almost certainly two storeyed (Hill 1996, 126).

The suggested type of the church originates from the two piers that were situated at a distance of around 7 m from the apse (Fig. 53). Forsyth suggests the high possibility of a triumphal arch between the inner sides of the piers, as he recognised that the blocks interpreted as part of the chancel screen by the excavators were in fact of an earlier date than the screen rails, and therefore were most probably intended in the original design as the base of a triumphal arch (Forsyth 1960, 136). Hill accepts this and includes the church in his group of “Transept Basilicas”, which he believes to be closely connected to “Domed Basilicas” (Hill 1996, 38-44). Moreover, he states the possibility of a tower-like structure at the centre of the transept for this church, and possibly even a wooden pyramid roof (Hill 1996, 128-31). Yet, although the possibility exists, this does not seem likely because no other examples appear to have, or indicate such a feature.

The aisles lead into side chambers, yet the centre of the transept is secluded within the chancel screen from the flanking areas. The side chambers are unusually large with eastern apses and were connected by an eastern passage behind the apse.

3.2.5.3. The "Tomb Church"

The "Tomb Church" (Fig. 59) was so named because Guyer believed that the central structure within the nave was originally a quatrefoil tomb, around which the church had flourished (Herzfeld and Guyer 1930, 127-8) (Fig. 56, 57). Although Forsyth discussed and rejected this suggestion (Forsyth 1957, 227), Hill continues to use the same appellation as sarcophagi had been found within the church and also because the church is close to the necropolis (Hill 1996, 131).

The *atrium* west of the church was quite large, measuring around 30 m to 30 m. Three sides of the *atrium*, except the eastern part joining the *narthex*, which had a peristyle (Herzfeld and Guyer 1930, 130) (Fig. 60). There were three entrances into the *atrium*, located in the middle of each side. All doorways of the church including those of the *atrium* had arched stone porches over the door lintels (Fig. 59). Except the five-arched central entrance, the north and south corridors of the *atrium* also opened into the *narthex* through individual doorways. This characteristic is interpreted by Hill as the result of possible auxiliary functions related to these openings: in the north to the staircase leading into the second floor, and in the south to a possible font that might have been used for ablutions (Hill 1996, 132).

Three doors lead from the *narthex* into the church. Yet, instead of a nave and two aisles that would have been conventionally associated with each doorway, there are two transverse aisles in a north-south alignment (Herzfeld and Guyer 1930, 131-2). These are separated by a colonnade; and while the western aisle only has doorways in the north and south, the eastern one is richly lit with extensive fenestration but has no opening to the exterior (Fig. 56).

It has already been said that there were no galleries along these aisles, since the surviving north wall shows no traces of beams until the roof level (Fig. 61). Nevertheless, Hill proposes that there was a gallery over the western part since the beams should have been put in the short direction in such an arrangement and the western openings at the second storey of the *narthex* were almost at the floor level. However, it is also perplexing that while he considers (probably referring to the absence of beam holes at the west face of this wall) that "…the evidence from

the east wall of the narthex is uncertain, since its top three surviving courses are different in character to the rest of the wall", at the same time he utilises the openings at the top of this part as evidence (Hill 1996, 132-3) (Fig. 62). Therefore, it seems more likely that a gallery did not exist. Thus, although this space might be considered to bear partly the characteristics of an exonarthex, it is less related to the *narthex* and emerges more as a part of the main spatial body of the church.

The eastern aisle includes the columnar western *exedra*, from where it is possible to pass into the central space. The central structure has chambers to the south and north that are also connected to the eastern aisle with double doorways. The connection of the central zone to these chambers is not clear. Guyer assumed that the colonnaded *exedra* was repeated at these points as well. However, he did not conduct any excavation to test his theory (Herzfeld and Guyer 1930, 132). Nevertheless, Forsyth concluded that such an arrangement was not possible, as it would have disturbed the circulation in the chambers, especially considering the point that the exterior doors of these chambers opened inwards. Moreover, it would have been more problematic considering that there were beam holes on the surviving north wall of the north chamber, which should be connected to the *exedra* accepting Guyer's proposal (Forsyth 1957, 226-7). Although Guyer proposed that these beam holes were a feature of the second phase[38], there is no evidence for this proposal (Fig. 64). Hence, if the reasonable suggestion of Forsyth that assumes the separation of these parts with a simple triple arcade is accepted, all the problems seem to disappear.

Guyer's proposal that the central structure predated the church, has already been mentioned. In this regard, he believed that the eastern *exedra*, which was of a solid character in contrast to the eastern part, had been used as the apse of the first phase of the church, which had then been transferred to a western position at a later date (Herzfeld and Guyer 1930, 133) (Fig. 65). Forsyth states that the different size of the stones in the walls forming the central area was due to structural reasons (Fig. 66). His statement regarding the similarity between the internal and external decoration is another strong evidence. Although it may be

[38] Herzfeld and Guyer (1930, 133); Forsyth (1957, 227). Regarding this aspect, Hill completely agrees with Forsyth (Hill 1996, 133).

claimed as another possibility that the pier capital had been placed during the first phase of the church, there seems no basis for such a proposal either. Therefore, it is quite reasonable to agree with Forsyth that the “eastern *exedra*” was in fact the apse of the original phase (Forsyth 1957, 227; Hill 1996, 132-3).

There were two side chambers flanking the original apse, each of which were longitudinally divided into two compartments. The inner rooms had small apses in the east (Fig. 65) and were connected not only through the central area, but also to the north and south chambers with individual doorways at their west. These chambers are believed to have galleries. Therefore, the narrow outer rooms are considered to house an access to the second level (Forsyth 1957, 227).

A cistern was discovered by Herzfeld and Guyer below the area in between the flanking side chambers. In addition, two fragments of a marble font were found in this cistern (Herzfeld and Guyer 1930, 145) (Fig. 66). Therefore, according to Hill, there is a possibility that one of the chambers were used for baptismal purposes. Moreover, as some traces of water pipes were found by the east end of the south wall, he suggests that it was the south chamber that was used for this purpose, instead of encompassing a staircase. Moreover, while there is a possible eastern passage behind the original apse of the church, which is believed to be two-storeyed, Hill argues that there was no necessity for a second staircase in the southern part and that this part might have been the actual baptistery. This statement follows the idea of Guyer who thought that this part had once been used as a curative bath (Hill 1996, 34; Herzfeld and Guyer 1930, 135). However, this space does not seem suitable for such a function. Furthermore, considering that there was such an organisation at the inner side chamber, where the space seems much more suitable, the traces of pipes discovered might be easily reconstructed as part of a drainage system that would drain the water out of the chamber.

It is again hard not to be speculative in describing this church. While the work that has been carried out gives some evidence, the information is obscure on many points. It is visible from the plan that even the *opus sectile* floor could have given a better idea of circulation, if more of it had been cleared. As an example, a geometric central figure draws the attention to the western aisle. Similarly, an *opus sectile* trace in front of the western *exedra*, although not totally surviving, obviously

defines a central frame following this pattern. The floor bands in between the columns of the western *exedra* form rays focusing the attention to the central space, to the marble covered square zone adorned with the tower which must have been a striking centre (Fig. 56). The strength of this axis could be asserted more confidently, if it could be shown that the central figure was really dominant, or if the schema followed at both sides could be known.

3.3. Surveying the Physical Evidence

3.3.1. The Surroundings and the Related Structures

Although it has been stated repeatedly that many of the features of these four churches have not been studied in detail, it is still possible to compare similarities and differences, which would refine the typological definition of the group. The outer body of the buildings, namely where they are located, to which structures or building they are related and how this relation is formed, are aspects as significant as the inner planning. And it can be seen that these four churches also point to parallel features leading out of their main walls.

Except for the “Domed Ambulatory Church”, all these churches are located out of the urban areas and are closely related to a funerary or martyrial context. There is a possibility of a pagan sanctuary predating the Christian buildings at Dağpazarı and Meryemlik. At Meryemlik and Alahan the churches are part of a defined complex, while in Corycus whether the “Tomb Church” was a part of a complex or just a church near the necropolis remains debatable. Yet, all three churches appear to be pairs with other basilicas always on a linear arrangement, namely with the West Church at Alahan, the Basilica of St. Thecla at Meryemlik, and the “Transept Church” at Corycus. The “Domed Ambulatory Church” at Dağpazarı presents a completely different approach and is located inside the city walls. No further remarks can be made about its context in addition to this, as the information is highly limited concerning the urban pattern inside the city walls. It is not even clear how it was related to the Basilica, which is the closest known building to the mentioned church, and highly interesting with its large baptistery, and *paradiosis* mosaics.

It is known definitely that Meryemlik and Corycus had forecourts; 19th century travellers mention one to have existed also in Dağpazarı. Moreover, the forecourt

at Dağpazarı was designed to include a semicircular western apse, which is a feature that can only find a parallel in Meryemlik[39] in the region.

The forecourt of Meryemlik is constructed to form a controlled circulation that leads the visitor from one main portal through various compartments and levels. Although the west-east axis is still dominant and directs the perception principally towards the central *narthex* entrance, the functions that this forecourt serves are not restricted to the main body of the church. The forecourt (and the *atrium* as its part), embraces not only the church proper but also the related structures and the connection of the southern structure adjacent to the church (maybe also an external connection to the south side chamber) was sufficiently significant to expand the north-south dimension of the whole western structure.

Alahan did not have a forecourt; neither could there have been place for one in front of the *narthex* due to topographical limitations. Instead, the *narthex* joins directly with another feature, which is the colonnaded walkway. This route has been interpreted by Bakker as an element "…the main function of which would merely have been one of protection and delight." (Bakker 1985, 129). On the other hand, Verzone states that it is an extremely essential architectural element that binds all sections of the complex, rather than being merely scenographical (Verzone 1955, 14). The approach of Verzone is more convincing when it is considered that the construction of the *narthex* was postponed for this element to be finished. During the building process, priority was given to the south door of the west facade that was the connection of the church with the colonnaded walkway; this route binds together the essential buildings of the complex quite efficiently.

It is also a tempting question to ask whether the colonnaded walkway in Alahan was somehow related to a forecourt function. The south side of the *atrium* in Meryemlik was a medium connecting the East Church and the south building that could be either a tomb or a water structure, as well the possible baptistery at the south chamber of the same church. This walkway in Alahan is again another medium connecting the baptistery with an individual entrance exactly in front of this building, and passes through the tombs and leads the visitor into the *narthex*

[39] The polygonal forecourt of the North Church at Öküzlü might also be regarded to reflect a similar tendency (Hill 1996, 54).

of the church. Moreover, the baptistery at Alahan still remains as the only freestanding example of its kind in the whole region (Hill 1996, 82). Hence it is hard not to wonder whether this is again simply due to the topographic limitations of the terracing that enforced this particular position for the baptistery. These are only speculative proposals as the information in Meryemlik is not enough for a valid comparison.

The forecourt of the “Tomb Church” in Corycus reveals a different attitude than Meryemlik. Although an *atrium* surrounded by a peristyle court also exists in Corycus, the organisation is not as sophisticated as in Meryemlik; in addition, the doors at the centre of the three facades of the former creates a completely different effect than the strong west-east axis of the latter example.

Another feature that relates Meryemlik and Alahan are the bath complexes close to these churches. While the example in Meryemlik is directly related to the church that was constructed to its east, the complex in Alahan is *ca*. 150 m north of the East Church and with a much smaller scale (Gough 1970, 96-7). Corycus is again differentiated from Meryemlik and Alahan, as so far no traces of a bath complex have been located nearby.

3.3.2. Inner Planning

The square central zone created below the tower is the common feature of all four. Hence, it is appropriate to start with this feature and investigate its effects on the overall scheme, as well as the difference of this inner organisation from a conventional basilica.

As mentioned before, this tower creates a vertical axis in the nave of the East Church at Alahan. Although this example is the only one that is still standing and visible, there is a consensus about all the other three having a similar feature. This feature and this axis surely dominate the east of the nave, and such a spatial definition is usually emphasised at the ground level by separations created with colonnades, parapets, or both.

This effect is much stronger in the “Domed Ambulatory Church”, where there is only one aisle at the west of this church, and especially in the “Tomb Church”,

which boasts two western aisles. In these two churches, the axis that leads the visitor forward from the *narthex* into the apse is completely modified. Instead, a basically central scene is created surrounded by aisles west, north and south. This scene-like space includes the east central zone below the tower, the *bema* and the apse. In the “Domed Ambulatory Church” the separation is achieved by a triple arcade, while in the “Tomb Church” a semi-circular colonnaded *exedra* performs the same function.

This effect is less obvious in the East Church and in the “Cupola Church”, as the west part of the central zone is not physically separated from the east and there are still columns and/or piers at the west part of their nave. In this regard, it is not possible to perceive in these examples a strong axis leading from the *narthex* towards the apse. One aspect is surely the different rhythms of the columniation at the east and west. The difference of identification is also emphasised in the East Church with the architectural decoration.

Spieser points out that in the early churches, the usage of decoration was as important as their actual themes or iconography (Spieser 2001). He clearly states that boundaries were marked with decoration, which indicates a hierarchy that is usually ignored by scholars, even within a simple basilica. In this regard, Spieser concentrates mainly on the decoration of the doors and the triumphal arch. From this point of view, however, the eagle capitals of Alahan gain another meaning. Their location marks the beginning and the end of the western column ranges, and this eastern edge is not defined by the chancel screen, but by the west edge of the central zone. Moreover, if the four stone pedestals are located correctly by Gough, two would appear to be located in a very significant position, by each side of the entrance from the nave into the *bema*. The location of the other two in the corners under the eagle capitals might as well indicate another important signal of a boundary. Even though this location is not definite, Gough’s tendency to choose this position would by itself suggest that the perception calls for something unusual at the west edge of this zone, either created by the impact of the tower and/or the eagle capitals.

Unfortunately, the “Cupola Church” reveals even less information. Several types of capitals are found, although their original locations are unknown and the debris inside the central zone has not been cleared. Moreover, Guyer tends to describe the examples of each type instead of presenting the find spots (Herzfeld and Guyer 1930, 57-65). Overall, it can only be mentioned in resemblance to Alahan that these different capitals might have delineated different zones in this church as well.

In Alahan, the floor is covered by stone slabs which create a homogenous effect. However, in Corycus, the small parts of *opus sectile* flooring that was cleared shows some patterns which indicate that with more information of this nature a promising source for interpreting of the circulation pattern in the church would be available. Unfortunately, it is not possible to comment upon the other two churches, since in Dağpazarı geometric *opus sectile* floor fragments are mentioned in some publications, yet no drawings have been published, while in Meryemlik only a very small part is visible in the excavated area.

Forsyth states that the “Tomb Church” suggests “a domestic complex” (Forsyth 1957, 227), as the church is composed of different compartments brought together. Although there is a degree of exaggeration in his claim that “No space, no axis dominates; there is no openness; and the group is enclosed by a forbidding wall like a compound” (Forsyth 1957, 228), he is also right to point out that the partition of space is an important aspect of the planning. Nevertheless, Corycus cannot be regarded as the only example reflecting such a feature.

In Alahan, although not emphasised like Corycus, the west part of the aisles is separated from the east, not only by piers but also by the different nature of the fenestration at this part. There are again central entrances into the aisles from north and south in Dağpazarı, and these openings are emphasised with buttresses and windows. The function of the large niches inside the wall is not known but they surely create a framing effect for the door in the inner part of the walls. The south wall of Meryemlik has not been cleared and the remains of the north wall are not enough to give an idea of the openings in this part. Yet, compared with the other examples at hand, it is hard not to question the accuracy of the rhythmic fenestration that Herzfeld posits for the south wall. Considering these aspects, the

planning in the aisles of Corycus can only be interpreted as a more detailed version of an attitude that also emerges to be a common tendency among the other three churches.

In addition to the aisles, some parts of the side chambers and the *narthex* also appear to have individual functions. At Meryemlik and Corycus, there is a possibility of a baptistery. Except for Meryemlik, the chambers are divided into two individual compartments. At Alahan there is a separation between these compartments either with a curtain or timber fencing; and a similar tendency can also be considered possible for Dağpazarı and Corycus. In Meryemlik, however, the organisation is much more complex and has not been adequately studied[40].

In sum, many details regarding the central zone are not known. Therefore, it is hard to compare the examples at hand. Yet it can simply be stated that the apse with a *synthronon* is a common feature except in Corycus where the original apse has been destroyed and replaced. In Dağpazarı and Alahan, there is an area in front of the apse for circulation and the side chambers open into this zone. There are chancel screen fragments in Alahan and Corycus; yet these screens are located at different spots. While the example in Alahan embraces the east quarter of the nuclei, the latter does not approach westwards any further than the easternmost edge of the central zone in Corycus.

3.3.3. Arising Questions

Scholars have pointed out stylistic resemblances among these churches. For example, Forsyth observed that the apse windows of Dağpazarı and Alahan are almost identical and that the pier capitals of the central zone at Dağpazarı and Corycus are very similar (Forsyth 1957, 234-6) (Fig. 67 a&b). Hill adds that the external canopies over the doors of Dağpazarı and Corycus are parallel features and that the buttresses of the facades of Dağpazarı and Alahan can be shown as further similarities (Hill 1996, 160). Hill rightly states that the “Domed Basilicas” share these kind of stylistic parallels with “Transept Basilicas”, one of most typical being the animal depictions of architectural sculpture that can only be seen in churches which constitute these two groups. Hill concludes that the stylistic similarities can indicate a local school of craftsmen and a more or less

[40] This aspect was formerly presented in more detail in this chapter; 36.

contemporary dating (Hill 1996, 52-3). However, although these are points that cannot be set aside, there is more than just a tower that groups the “Domed Basilicas” under a common name which differentiates them from the “Transept Basilicas”.

Hill’s proposal, which centers around the sanctuary area being pushed westwards in order to provide space for veneration of a martyrial spot was mentioned in the Introduction. This is the only attempted explanation for the schema except for a pre-existing model in Constantinople or Thessalonica. However, it is still problematical especially for the interpretation of the “Domed Basilicas”.

It should be made clear that this explanation was initially developed by Hill, mainly for the group of “Transept Basilicas”, while he remained unclear regarding the “Domed Basilicas”. However, the connection of the “Domed Basilicas” to this group is explained by Hill as follows:

> There is no need of course to argue that the ‘Domed Basilicas’ developed from the Transept Basilicas: it would have been possible to have erected a tower over the sanctuary of the West Church at Alahan, and it might even be argued that this was a likely explanation for the inclusion of the triumphal arch in that basilica, the builders of which were evidently not short of funding to support such elaborate schemes. The ‘Domed Basilicas’ could, therefore, be seen as the destination of an alternative turning taken just before the evolutionary route arrived at the Transept Basilicas. This would explain the closeness of the two groups in detailed terms, since they would be contemporary phenomena (Hill 1996, 43-4).

However, there is an essential difference between the Transept and the “Domed” Basilicas, which contradict the functional explanation that Hill offers to be applicable also for the “Domed Basilicas”. That feature involves the western aisles of the latter group that not only disturb the proposed zone of the congregation in the former group, but also encourage a reverse U-form circulation. Moreover, the essential eastern passages which are at the basis of this proposal, definitely do not exist in the East Church at Alahan and the “Domed Ambulatory Church” at Dağpazarı, while they are doubtful in the “Cupola Church” at Meryemlik and the “Tomb Church“ at Corycus.

Therefore it does not seem possible to relate these two groups on any evolutionary line, as they could even seem to have originated to serve different requirements. In the “Domed Basilicas” the longitudinal axis of the conventional

basilica is highly interrupted. Instead, the east part of the nave becomes a stage-like zone that creates a half-sacred space where the congregation seems to have only controlled entry. Compartments in the aisles, in the side chambers, even in the apse and the central zone can be interpreted to group people for specific actions of a certain ceremony, and there seem to be intervals in the eastern parts of the aisles during circulation towards the side chambers.

However, although the essential idea is the same, the East Church at Alahan and the “Cupola Church” at Meryemlik are closer to each other regarding their inner planning than the other two. The “Tomb Church” at Corycus seems to be carrying parallel features both from these two churches and the “Domed Ambulatory Church” at Dağpazarı. Therefore it can be stated that these churches also reflect variations of the same scheme. It is another noteworthy point that while Dağpazarı shares common inner planning features with Corycus; has a forecourt similar to Meryemlik; boasts concrete stylistic resemblances with Alahan in architectural decoration; it happens to be the sole church that is located inside the city walls.

Moreover, whether the more sophisticated compartmentalisation - despite the simplicity in the *atrium* in the “Tomb Church”, compared to the complexity of the outer structures in Meryemlik and Alahan - could be interpreted as the transformation of some outer actions inside the church proper, remains as a future question that could define the interrelation among these churches at a higher level. Yet, there is too little actual evidence even to pose this problem. A discussion which cannot leave speculative grounds concerning this aspect today, would turn into a more convincing point of view, if future research reveals more concrete evidence.

Whether this scheme was related to a function, and the variations of the plan type were due to the variations of this particular function or ceremony, or whether it was just an evolutionary plan of one particular function are questions that cannot be answered easily. These questions will be overviewed in the next chapter in more detail.

CHAPTER 4
FUNCTION, PATRONAGE AND DATING

4.1. Introduction

Despite the problematic gaps in the architectural evidence, this still constitutes the main source for research in the field. Some ancient literary sources have been mentioned in the previous chapter. Yet these are scarce in number and do not present a detailed story. The relative lack of scholarly interest in the region and the period has consequently resulted in a limitation of studied and published comparanda. Therefore, significant notions concerning the date, function and patronage of these buildings are hard to develop on secure grounds.

This chapter aims to review the discussions and proposals that have aimed to place the Cilician "Domed Basilicas" in a context. Proposals concerning the function, dating and the patronage of these churches will be overviewed, in order to reconsider the physical evidence at hand and see what can be gleaned. Published comparanda, where available, will be presented throughout the chapter, in order to construct a wider perspective.

4.2. Function

It is not easy to determine the exact liturgical function of the Early Christian churches. As mentioned in the introduction[41], the form did not necessarily reflect the precise liturgical function. Moreover, there existed variations in the related liturgies. Besides the fact that it is not always easy to distinguish among the ecclesiastical functions, it is even possible to confuse civil buildings or settlements with religious ones. While discussing the same problem, Mango cites an example indicating such a confusion: a quatrefoil building of 5th century date in the

[41] See chapter 1, 3.

courtyard of Hadrian's library at Athens, which was thought to be a church due to its plan, turned out to be a lecture hall, after the discovery of an inscription signifying its function (Mango 1976, 8).

Similarly, Ousterhout published an article in 1994, in which he showed that although the site of Çanlı Kilise was commonly referred to as a monastic complex, it was seen to have the characteristics of a town. Further investigation showed that it was mainly composed of family residences (Ousterhout 1994). Although the date of this settlement is much later than our examples, this study is still a valid caution against the typological approach based on function that tries to gather the examples at hand under particular (and often trendy) functional groups. This tendency usually acts through a bias that sometimes causes neglect or misinterpretation of the actual evidence, thus obscuring the real dynamics of the site in question. This seems to be the case for Çanlı Kilise, as Ousterhout showed that the residents of this "prosperous, agriculturally-based town" were the actual habitants, and there were only a few monastic units integrated into this community (Ousterhout 1994, 428). Prior to this study, the participation of the former group in all aspects of life had been overlooked because of the identification of the whole settlement as "monastic". Hence, it would not be erroneous to claim that there might be other examples of "monastic" settlements that need to be reconsidered not only throughout Cappadocia, but also all through the rural lands of Asia Minor, like Cilicia.

Another article published by Hill in the same volume (Hill, 1994), also criticises the loose utilisation of the term "monastic", whenever there are features on a site that meet one or more of the conditions below: a) A church with an unusual plan, b) A remote and inaccessible building (ideally on a top of a mountain), c) Presence of a precinct wall, d) Presence of a courtyard, e) Lots of little rooms, f) A structure hewn out of the native rock, g) Presence of caves nearby (Hill 1994, 138). A similar discussion is also valid for Alahan, as for years this site was called "Alahan Monastery", a nomenclature that still lingers in scholarly literature.

In the collective study on Alahan mentioned earlier (Gough, Mary 1985), there is a chapter by M. M. Sheehan entitled "Religious Life and Monastic Organisation" (Sheehan, 1985). However, Mango published a short yet essential article in 1991,

in which he actually asked the question “Was Alahan Manastırı a monastery?” (Mango 1991, 298). In this article, Mango refers to Sheehan’s article and questions the conviction that Alahan is a monastery, claiming that the architecture of this site was by no means monastic in character. Mango puts forward some ceremonial aspects such as the existence of a *synthronon* in both churches versus the privacy that would likely be favoured in a monastic community. This statement has been expanded upon by Hill, who emphasises the dimensions of the churches and the existence of the baptistery. These indicate contact with a considerable number of laity (Hill 1994, 141). Moreover, the linear architectural layout that is highlighted by the colonnaded walkway is already ceremonial in nature[42].

These aspects indicate Alahan to be a centre that was visited by vast numbers of people, which noticeably suggests the setting of a pilgrimage centre. In addition, besides its ceremonial character, Mango states that the reference to a “custodian” and “guest-houses” in the inscriptions also points to the facilities of a pilgrimage centre instead of a monastic establishment. Furthermore, one of the vital features of a monastic community is absent at the site, i.e. the communal refectory (Mango 1991, 299).

Sheehan indicates the division of the site into two sets of buildings in order to demonstrate the detachment of public space from the private. According to him, this division is formed from north to south by the east wall of the Basilica, followed by the entrance to the colonnaded walkway which is ended by the eastern retaining wall. Sheehan reserves the west of this separation to the visitors and states that “… the monks who lived in the Cave Complex must have suffered a serious loss of privacy” (Sheehan 1985, 204). However, according to Sheehan, the eastern part did not totally belong to the monks either; the area that was reserved for the monks was limited behind the north wall of the colonnaded walkway. Yet even this part included spaces such as the baptistery, the two storeyed building and the necropolis, which had access to the walkway (Sheehan 1985, 205)[43].

[42] My attention was first drawn to this aspect by Alessandra Ricci during her courses at Bilkent University.

[43] This division was first recognised by Verzone, who also reserves the west part of this division and the Basilica for the visitors (Verzone 1955, 10). Yet, Verzone was unaware of the fact that the building that seemed like another church was in fact a baptistery (Gough, 1963, 105 ff.).

Even if the existence of the monastic community in the remaining area is accepted, it is rather problematic to assume that the privacy could have been achieved behind a single wall; the private spaces cannot be created merely by a visual obstruction from the public zone. Other factors, such as noise, that would damage the intended atmosphere should certainly be taken into consideration.

The bath complex at the east of the site was a surprise for the excavation team. This was expressed by Gough as "Monasticism in the earlier centuries was never much associated with enthusiasm for bodily cleanliness, so our discovery of a well appointed bath house- apparently for the use of resident monks- was quite a surprise." (Gough 1970, 96). However, Mango suggests another context that embraces both this surprising element and explains the ceremonial nature of the site (Mango 1991).

The proposal is based on an analogy with another example in Galatia dated to *c*. 460[44], the church at Germia (Yürme/Gürme). This had been classified in the same typological group with the East Church at Alahan as early as 1903, by Stryzowsky (Stryzowsky 1903, 109-15). Although this church differs from our examples being a five-aisled basilica, it has the most noteworthy architectural resemblance of possibly having a central tower (Fig. 68). The architecture and related subjects have already been reconsidered in detail by Mango, again indicating a comparison with Alahan (Mango 1986). Following him, some architectural features that are parallel have also been briefly discussed by Hill (Hill 1996, 57-8).

The Church at Germia was demonstrated to be a healing shrine and the treatment was centered around a fishing pool (Mango 1986, 117). Mango points to the dominance of water in Alahan, as well as the widespread existence of fish depictions in the architectural decoration, which point to a similar function. Furthermore, Archangel depictions at the door of the West Church at Alahan might reveal the commemoration of this cult at this complex (Mango 1991, 300)[45].

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[44] The date is applicable, if the possible patronage of the patrician Studius is accepted (Mango 1986, 124).

[45] Hellenkemper believes that the patron saint of the complex was Konon, as he states that this site was the centre of the veneration for this saint. He also points to a graffiti of the name 'Konon' in the East Church. However, he also accepts the possibility that this might be a personal name (Hellenkemper 1994, 221). This proposal remains unconvincing with the lack of factual

Mango states that the cult of archangels and angels was a common ground for pagans, Jews and Christians, and the cult of the Archangel Michael is especially known to be widespread in Anatolia that has already claimed imperial patronage from Constantine onwards. Miracles of this saint concerning a spring, which he brought forth from the earth and cured people also attracted pagans into these centres (MacMullen 1997, 125; Mitchell 1993, 128-9). Mango also mentions a pagan donation for the church in Germia (Mango 1991, 298).

If Alahan is accepted to be a healing centre, it emerges to be the second among the examples that have been studied in this paper. Meryemlik is definitely another complex for pilgrimage that included curative facilities and was devoted to the cult of St.Thecla[46]. Therefore, the essential architectural similarities of these two churches are also enhanced by a common functional ground.

While these sites combine a commemorative function with a healing process, the specific individual functions of the churches can not be fully detected. At Meryemlik, the Basilica of Thecla was probably built at the same location where the early church and the martyrium once stood[47]. Therefore it surely had strong commemorative connotations. The West Church at Alahan suggests a similar function, while the space under the building was possibly a crypt[48]. It is a remarkable aspect that these two buildings are both Transept Basilicas according to Hill (Hill 1996, 39-40) and were also the examples that supported his proposal.

However, the integration of a commemorative activity within the basilica cannot be proposed for the “Domed Basilicas” of the same sites. Neither of the churches had a direct relation to a fixed martyrial spot and both convey a specific circulation scheme that is highly different than their pairs at the site as presented in the previous chapter. Moreover, it is rather problematic to assume that two branches of planning that originated from the same considerations would specifically be located side by side. Therefore, it seems more convincing that the planning of these churches originated from some other specific requirements.

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endorsement, when compared to the proposal of Mango, which is supported by a tangible corpus of evidence.

[46] See chapter 3, p. 33, for further references.

[47] For the proposal of Hill, see chapter 3, p. 35.

[48] The space below the church could not be cleared as a result of structural instability of the building. (Gough 1963, 106)

Yet, it is not possible to clarify what these “specific requirements” were, except than a vague proposal of a particular ceremony. At least for these two sites, the neighbouring bath complexes suggest the possibility that this ceremony would have been related to a healing process. Yegül mentions that the civilian and even the ecclesiastical sections of Late Antique society had by no means abandoned the communal tradition of bathing, despite the severe reactions of the Church elders. Instead, a compromise was achieved whereby the church authorities tolerated the bathing activity when there were “functional, hygienic and medical” overtones (Yegül 2003, 57-8). Thus, it might be expected that in these two sites, an existing bathing/healing activity was reorganised upon ecclesiastical notions, accompanied by a religious ceremony whereby a specific type of church was required.

Consequently, pagan associations may be considered to be extremely significant for Meryemlik and Alahan. The possibility of occasional attendance of the pagan (and maybe Jewish) community might explain the location of the baptistery preceding the entrance of the church at Alahan. Although the baptistery at Meryemlik is in the south side chamber of the church, this area possibly did not open directly into the church proper but might have been related to the forecourt. It was preferred by the church authorities that instead of celebrating the festivals of demons, the people could gather in the accustomed holy places to honour the anniversaries of the re-dedication and the commemoration of martyrs whose remains were sheltered in those former temples (MacCormack 1990, 15).

Moreover, the cult at Meryemlik, St.Thecla, was clearly an example of early Christian saints, which inherited the characteristics of the former pagan deities in order to emerge as a functional rival against them[49]. The location of the shrine was next to the tomb/temple of Sarpedon. This is just another example of the practices that became wide-spread in the Late Antiquity, whereby cults developed around former pagan shrines or holy places (Cameron 1997, 103).

[49] For the pagan connotations of St. Thecla, especially this figure as a rival for the oracles of Sarpedon and the possessor of the characteristics of goddess Athena, see Dagron 1978, 80-108.

Although archaeology does not reveal a pagan continuation at Alahan in the form of an altar, shrine or temple, this possibility cannot be dismissed totally. Besides the possibility that future research may reveal remains in the close vicinity, it should also be taken into consideration that for the pagan mentality, the sites of natural beauty, such as springs, hills, caves and forests, were often seen as spiritual, and nature had an inherent sacredness. There were spots, where offerings or springs tied to a tree could alone indicate that this was a place of worship (Caseau 2001, 24). Hence, if Alahan was a healing centre, it is more likely that it was first established under pagan rather than Christian notions; was then assimilated into the Christian world and thus established its continuity through a new interpretation of pilgrimage.

However, although the proposal of a healing and pilgrimage centre is seemingly applicable to the churches at Alahan and Meryemlik, there is no evidence at Dağpazarı and Corycus that may display a similar suggestion except the resemblance in planning. Almost nothing can be said regarding the context or the function of "Domed Ambulatory Church" at Dağpazarı, except that it was located within the city walls, and thus differed from the rest of the group. Yet, although there is a possibility of a pagan continuation on the site[50], the Christianisation of a pagan spot in these periods varied extensively in character and provided various outcomes, preventing a conclusive statement that may merely depend on this feature[51]. Nevertheless, a brief overview still seems feasible for Corycus, although there is again no conclusive evidence.

It was mentioned in the previous chapter that a funerary context was proposed for the "Tomb Church", due to its location in close proximity to the necropolis and to the *sarcophagi* that were discovered in the central zone of the church. However, as Forsyth states, the date of the *sarcophagi* is unclear and there is no evidence that they were located here during the first phase of the church proper, or prior to the construction (Forsyth 1957, 227). Hence, the suggestion of a funerary context, while not certain, cannot be totally dismissed. Although the church is far from the dense burials, if the *tetrapylon* is accepted to indicate the end of the burial area, it is still within the vicinity (Herzfeld and Guyer 1930, 124). On the other hand,

[50] See Chapter 3, 42.
[51] Caseau provides a relatively short yet highly essential study on the Christian and pagan attitudes towards the sacredness of space throughout the Late Antique period (Caseau 2001,21-59).

among the capitals found during the excavation, some that were decorated with snake depictions are noteworthy[52] (Fig. 69). This iconography may well be reminiscent of the cult of Asclepius in a classical context. Yet such suggestions of iconography should be carefully considered in their actual context and should be supported with other criteria that are completely lacking in this case.

4.3. Dating and Patronage

Mango published a significant article in 1966 on the subject of Isaurian builders where demonstrated through epigraphic evidence that some groups of workers from Isauria had played essential roles as building masters in some important constructions such as in Hagia Sophia, and at monasteries near Antioch and Jerusalem. This article has another extremely important outcome for our subject matter. In this regard, Mango proposed that the concentration of building activities in western Cilicia, especially the construction of the churches in Meryemlik, Alahan, Corycus and Dağpazarı, was the result of the Isaurian dominancy in the affairs of the Empire under the reign of emperor Zeno (474-491) who was Isaurian in origin. This proposal not only places our examples specifically at the end of the 5th century with a contextual background, but also suggests a patronage from the imperial court, if not from the emperor himself (Mango 1966, 364). Prior to this article, the dating was based mainly on stylistic criteria (in one case partly on epigraphic evidence, as in Alahan). Meryemlik was an exception, which was definitively mentioned in an ancient source to have benefited from the imperial patronage of Zeno (Evegrius, *Church History* III.8)[53].

It would be beneficial to examine the dating proposals of scholars site by site and to investigate the contextual basis of the patronage of Zeno and related issues accordingly. The sites would be reviewed starting from Meryemlik, where the evidence is relatively substantial. The discussions on Alahan, especially on the East Church, will inevitably embrace Dağpazarı, as the latter was dated solely on the close architectural resemblance that it conveys with the former. Corycus will be set aside as the last site, as it can be considered to be relatively less dominant in the discussions of dating.

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[52] Guyer reveals neither the number, nor the precise the locations of these capitals (Herzfeld and Guyer, 208-9)

[53] Translated and published by Bidez and Parmentier (1898).

The imperial patronage in Meryemlik gives a sound late 5th century date for at least one of the churches in the site. Although it is not known exactly which church is referred to by Evegrius, these two churches (and the bath complex) are architecturally accepted as contemporary[54]. Hence, the last quarter of 5th century dating based on the statement of Evegrius seems securely applicable also for the dating of the "Cupola Church".

When the team of Verzone visited Alahan prior to any excavation, they proposed a date of *c*. 440 for the whole site. They regarded the inscription, which was dedicated to the founder of the guesthouses (Tarasis the Elder) after his death in 462 as a '*terminus ante quem'* (Verzone 1955, 29). On almost the same grounds, Headlam had proposed the same date in 1892 (Headlam 1892, 18). In his fourth preliminary report, Gough discussed and rejected the former proposals, ie. the c. 400 dating of Stryzowsky (Stryzowsky 1903, 109-13) and the 6th century dating of Kautzsh (Kautzsh 1934, 96 and 221) and Forsyth (Forsyth 1957, 202-3). The suggestions of Stryzowsky and Kautzsh were based on the same "Corinthian" capitals of the East Church, yet they displayed a difference of two centuries, whereas the date proposed by Forsyth was established through a vague stylistic approach (Gough 1967, 45-6)[55].

In the same publication, Gough accepts the mid-fifth century date for the West Church like Verzone. Yet, he also presents a temporal chronology for the construction of the structures based on the excavation results, which assigns the East Church to a later date than the West Church. However, he also states that due to the stylistic resemblances, the date of the East Church cannot be put later than a generation following the construction of the former, which places the East Church in the late fifth century (Gough 1967, 46-7).

The "Domed Ambulatory Church" at Dağpazarı has always been dated by association with the East Church at Alahan. For example, Forsyth suggested a

[54] See Chapter 3, 35-6.

[55] Gough also mentions Krautheimer, who is undecided between a 5th and 6th centuries. In the 1986 edition of his *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, Krautheimer accepts the late 5th century date on the epigraphic evidence, although he still states that the decoration is suggestive of a 6th century date (Krautheimer, 1986, 245-7). Nevertheless, in a footnote he says that the arguments of Harrison (Harrison 1985) convincingly presented a late fifth century date and that an early 6th century date suggested in the first publication of the book seemed "less and less likely" (Krautheimer 1986, 489, 247.18).

sixth century date like the East Church, while Mango and Gough push back the date into the late 5th century as they believed that to be the date of Alahan. It is rather unfortunate that no other comparanda other than architectural features can be taken into consideration, as this church shares common features of inner planning with the "Tomb Church" at Corycus, the forecourt plan with the "Cupola Church" at Meryemlik, and architectural sculpture with the East Church at Alahan. If more could have been revealed considering its context, even though indicating dissimilarities with the other three, this example could play a key role in the interpretation of this group.

Guyer has proposed a late 5th century date for the first construction phase of the "Transept Church" at Corycus, as he suggested that the capitals had a "prejustinian" style (Guyer 1930, 124). On the other hand, he suggested that the "Tomb Church" was converted from the former tomb to a church[56] by the mid-sixth century (Guyer 1930, 148). However, Hill rightly states that there are architectural details that these churches share, such as the arrangements of the side chambers, which would suggest that these churches are very close in date, if not contemporary (Hill 1996, 134-5). Hill also states that the pier capitals of the "Tomb Church" find a parallel at Dağpazarı, while another point that these two examples share emerge to be the door canopies. Hence, and also based on the historical context that will be discussed below, Hill dates both churches to the end of the 5th century.

Gough published another article in 1972, that was based on and evaluating the initially mentioned article on the Isaurian builders (Mango 1966). In this article he excludes the "Tomb Church" at Corycus, as he was "in no position to discuss" it, as he had "seen it only from a distance and know it otherwise only from photographs and a plan" (Gough 1972, 204). Yet, he not only accepts that a patronage was originated from the capital and disseminated to the other three churches, but also states that there was another historical context besides the origin of Zeno, from which the suggested patronage might have flourished.

[56] It was mentioned in the previous chapter that Guyer believed that the central zone to be a former tomb, 47.

One of the problems that Zeno had to face after his succession to the throne was the aftermath of the Council of Chalcedon (451). This had created persistent and serious conflicts especially with the Monophysites who rejected the decisions of the council. A letter was written by Zeno to the church of Egypt in 481, in order to find a middle ground between the Monophysite doctrine and the decisions of the Council of Chalcedon, which is usually referred to as the *Henotikon* (the Unifier) (Cameron 1993b, 24-5). Gough proposed that the building policy of Zeno in Isauria was another demonstration of the same attitude, as the Isaurians mainly followed the Monophysite movement. Moreover, the theme of unification and peace was consistently represented through the depictions of the "Peaceful Kingdom" mosaics in the late 5th century, which Gough suggested to be related with the *Henotikon*[57].

Following this proposal, a focus on the patronage and personage of Zeno has been put forward by several scholars. Among these, the article of Harrison stands out (Harrison 1985). In this article, Harrison arrives at a late 5th date through the small finds recovered from the site. He presents a historical context that was based on the personal and political connections of Zeno to the region. Besides the acceptance of the patronage of Zeno that was suggested to be related with the *Henotikon*, Harrison further suggests that Alahan was closely connected with the emperor, either because of the possibility that the saint 'Tarasis' was the name of the Emperor before he changed it to Zeno after coming to Constantinople, or Roussoumblada, the birth place of Zeno was at or nearby Alahan. In addition, the unfinished construction at Alahan was explained by Harrison as the withdrawal of the financial sources, due to the end of the reign of Zeno, and to the civil disorder and wars in Cilicia at the very beginning of the 6th century. Harrison concludes his argument concentrating on the phenomenon of Isaurian workers, also touched upon by Mango, and suggesting that the exile and flight of the groups from the region had started the aspect of "Isaurian" influence that included the centrally planned design approaches and the vast usage of dome and vaulting features. He also claims that the influence can be traced not only in nearby regions such as Cappadocia, but also via the contemporary triconch churches of Lycia, that

[57] This theme is related with the prophecy of Isaiah (Gough 1972, 210-1).

reached the capital and resulted in the centrally planned Constantinopolitan basilicas of St. Polyeuktos and St. Sophia, by the first half of the 6th century (Harrison 1985, 21-34).

A significant criticism against this proposal has recently come from Elton (Elton 2002), who suggests that the site of Alahan had a rural character and does not convey any proof to propose an imperial or even a wealthy patronage. The first point that he brings forward is the lack of imported and expensive materials at Alahan, while even the local wealthy patrons adorned their buildings lavishly. His second point of criticism is related to the aspects that would have indicated Zeno's connection to the site. The first discussion surely emerges around the dating, and Elton thinks that an early 6th century date is also possible for the construction of the Eastern Church. Besides these points, Elton also reveals that the original name of Zeno was not Tarasis, and that the patronage in this site cannot be explained through connection with this name. Finally, related issues such as the suggestion that the site was left unfinished due to the end of Zeno's reign and thus of the financial resources, and the possible relation of the 'Peaceful Kingdom' theme with the *Henotikon* are reconsidered by Elton. Consequently, for the first aspect he concludes that although located east of the mentioned areas, there were still construction activities even in the 6th century. As for the second case, he disregarded the possibility saying that such an interrelation has never been directly proven (Elton 2002, 153-6).

These two articles that have been briefly summarised above produce two totally different contexts in which these churches can be perceived. Thus the points mentioned in this chapter will be reviewed considering both perspectives in the following subsection.

4.4. Conclusion: An Overview of the Context

Prior to any further discussion, it should be emphasised once again that that neither Mango nor Gough proposed an imperial patronage directly for the mentioned sites except Meryemlik. Mango simply stated that an "intense building activity" would be expected during the period of Zeno, "when the Isaurians attained their maximum importance in the affairs of the Empire" and gave the churches at Meryemlik, Dağpazarı, Alahan and Corycus as examples of these activities (Mango 1966, 364). Gough particularised this discussion stating that there were

grounds for believing that the churches at Meryemlik and Dağpazarı, and the extraordinary architecture of these examples, can be interpreted as resulting from imperial patronage, as the former had certainly benefited from an imperial patronage and the latter had been proposed to be a bishopric and possibly the old tribal capital of Coropissus. However, he also stated that Alahan had never been either a bishopric or a city and was located in the midst of a province that was by no means rich in usual circumstances. Thus, this site itself could not have established the means that enabled the construction. On the other hand, the region must have benefited from some specific support, which might have come from the Isaurians in the capital, gathered in the court of Zeno (Gough 1972, 208-9).

The suggestions of Harrison and Hill, on the other hand, show a significant discrepancy, as these two scholars have extended the notion of “support for the region” into a possible personal interest of the emperor in Dağpazarı and Alahan that implies an imperial patronage for both sites. Although the latter is originated from the former, these two perspectives should be dealt with separately, while reviewing the criticism that was expressed by Elton. It can be said as a last cautionary point that the article of Elton mainly deals with Alahan, although his results might be extended to include Dağpazarı and Corycus at certain points.

The first point is nevertheless the architectural character of the complex at Alahan. As mentioned above, Elton suggests that the complex had a rural character, as there was a lack of imported and expensive materials, while even the local wealthy patrons adorned their buildings lavishly (Elton 2002, 153-5). This statement, although still requiring consideration, should be approached cautiously. Although there was a lack of expensive materials at Alahan, the architecture and the building skills points to a group of workers of above average capability, and the architectural features such as the tower of the East Church and the colonnaded walkway surely indicates more ambition than which could be expected from a rural community. Moreover, although the aspects that do not exist are sometimes more indicative than the ones that do, it is harder to distinguish the unintended from the unfinished, unless the action is completed.

On the other hand, Elton rightly states that the suggestion for the personal interest of Zeno in Alahan was founded on a highly "speculative" basis. The name "*Tarasis*", which is mentioned in the inscriptions, was discussed by Harrison to be the earlier name of Zeno, before he changed it subsequent to his arrival to Constantinople (Harrison 1981). Elton rejects this proposal, and states that the original name of Zeno was "Tarasicodissa" (Elton 2002,155). It is an essential point that a proposal of an imperial patronage should have stronger grounds, although the discussion of this name is beyond the scope of this paper.

Although it is quite acceptable that the sources of the capital were directed in this region during the reign of Zeno, the nature of this patronage should also be studied in more detail. Unfortunately, there are few studies that concentrate mainly on this subject, as the reign of Zeno is at the heart of other dominant discussions. However, Elton refers to this issue in another article, stating that the Isaurians would have benefited directly or indirectly in the reign of Zeno, yet this was within the "Roman patronage system", and the activities showed "no conscious exploitation of being Isaurian" (Elton 2000a, 300). This statement can be taken as a caution not to take the interest of Zeno neither in his natives, nor in his homeland too directly. There were many active factors in the capital and Zeno had to secure his position in the altering scheme of his period and the competition of his courtiers[58].

Moreover, Cameron proposes that the "patronage" concept had changed throughout this period. There were more actors on the stage such as the bishops or state officers, and the interests of the poor, landlords and state diverged, resulting in a form of protection that could not have been controlled at all points and which weakened the authority of the central government (Cameron 1993, 93). Although this statement is connected with the example of protection that was offered by some churches to neighbouring villages, it also indicates that the power of local authorities within their vicinity could easily be expressed in all forms of "patronage". Hence, there is another possibility that the immense building activity was the result of the power struggle among the local patrons in the region, in order to take a share of the benefits offered by contact with the imperial court. However, in sum, it can merely be stated that the discussion on patronage surely cannot be

[58] The period and the conditions are overviewed in more detail in Chapter 2, 21-3.

isolated from the local dynamics of the region by this period, and should include a detailed focus on the socio-economic structures of Cilicia, of which we hardly have adequate evidence.

The "*Paradiasos Mosaics*" were introduced as another aspect of the discussion by Gough (Gough 1972, 210-2). Gough interpreted the "peace and harmony" connotations of the "Peaceful Kingdom" theme (Fig. 70) in relation with the *Henotikon* of Zeno, while he drew the attention to the North African influence (the depiction of elephants, ostriches and palm trees) in the local interpretation. On the other hand, Elton rejects the notion that the theme in Cilicia had a connection to *Henotikon* that was addressed to the church of Egypt, or that any of the mosaics had ever indicated an imperial patronage in Cilicia (Elton 2002, 156). This attempt of "unification", on the other hand, may be also regarded as an attempt to gain the goodwill of this part of the community, rather than a real attempt to solve the problems of the Christian Church (Frend 1988, 345-7). Moreover, as Mango says, "the appeal fell on deaf ears" (Mango1980, 96). It does not seem as a strong possibility that its impact was ever sound enough to find its reflections in Cilicia in an ecclesiastical context. On the other hand, the Cilician examples might have been appreciated with mundane considerations, since this short period of prosperity, peace and harmony must have been a long-desired hope for the community.

At any rate, even when the proposed historical context is disregarded, these examples can be dated to the end of 5th century. The patronage of Zeno for Meryemlik, from which both the "Cupola Church" and the Basilica of St. Thecla seems to have benefited, dates these examples to the end of the 5th century. Similarly, Gough has dated the East Church at Alahan to the end of the 5th century prior to the proposal of Zeno's involvement in Alahan. Although Elton does not wish to dismiss the possibility of an early 6th century date that was proposed by Krautheimer[59] and Hellenkemper, stating that the ceramic assemblage only indicates a Late Antique context, it is noteworthy that he did not include the epigraphic evidence in his discussion of dating (Elton 2002, 155). The "Domed Ambulatory Church" at Dağpazarı has stylistic and architectural resemblances to these two churches and suggests a similar date. Although there is even less

[59] However, Krautheimer does not seem to insist on this possibility, see this chapter 66, note 2.

evidence for Corycus and the proposed end of 5th century date has its grounds in a comparison with Dağpazarı, this example also seems to have a similar date of construction with the other examples.

However, although it is obscure whether the group emerged from the same functional concerns, at least Alahan and Meryemlik can be proposed to have served similar requirements. Nevertheless, a more detailed survey within the close vicinity of the "Domed Ambulatory Church" and the "Tomb Church" seems to have a priority of research, in order to reveal a more detailed interpretation of the activities and their interrelations with the neighbouring structures and buildings. The information that was revealed during the investigations at Alahan, especially the identification of the baptistery and the nearby bath complex, played essential roles for an alternative interpretation of the complex, reminding once again how essential and urgent these studies are. Furthermore, the contemporary village of Dağpazarı is located right at the heart of the ancient city, and each passing day might mean the loss of some strategic information[60].

The next issue in considering these churches is surely their possible impact on other regions. The afore-mentioned article of Mango already demonstrated the existence of Isaurian workers in constructions at Constantinople, Antioch and Jerusalem, by the first half of the 6th century (Mango 1966). Elton also mentions that the Isaurian troops in Italy had accomplished engineering tasks in 536-9, which did not necessarily involve specialized skills. According to Elton, this does not necessarily indicate that the group was distinguished with their skills; but rather points to the strong reputation of Isaurians in stone working (Elton 2000a, 299). Hence, it seems more appropriate not to perceive this group merely with their associations to Cilicia, but to regard the phenomenon as a dynamic one that interacted with the other building groups. Moreover, there is still a possibility that groups of Isaurian workers had gained their reputation as they were in many constructions and were by no means conventional, rather than claiming that this reputation came from the building activities in their homeland. Human societies create stereotypes for various reasons, regardless of the period or the conditions.

[60] Although Gough conducted a survey at the site, the survey was not concluded. Moreover, although there are some publications, they are mainly concentrated on the churches.

On the other hand, if the date of 460 is accepted for Gürme, it might be suggested that the Isaurian workers were active beyond the region already before the reign of Zeno. Moreover, these groups had a profound input in their portfolio by the beginning of the 6th century, for they had worked in an imperial construction at Meryemlik and had demonstrated their skills in vaulting. This impact can be seen in some Cappadocian examples as suggested by Hill (Hill, 1975, 163; Hill 1977, 16-20) (Fig. 71) and in the triconch churches of Lycia according to Harrison (Harrison 1985, 34). These Lycian countryside examples, especially Karabel (Fig. 72), show significant architectural similarities to the churches of mentioned examples, that extend from the material that was used (ashlar masonry of local stone that was not widespread in the coastline during the 6th century (Harrison 1963, 149)), into the planning that had integrated the substantial usage of vaulting.

Moreover, Harrison in a footnote reminds that the architects of Hagia Sophia were from southwest Asia Minor, although the relevance of Lycian churches in this context is not clear (Harrison 1963, 159.167). Yet, it would not be erroneous to claim that as the studies of the provincial regions in Late Antiquity expand, the contribution of the provincial architecture on the capital might be presented to be more powerful than conventionally expected.

CHAPTER 5
CONCLUSION

The present study has attempted to review the “Domed Basilicas” in western Cilicia, in order to evaluate various problems arising from previous research. The aim was to investigate the evidence and to pose questions, rather than producing answers that would be an attempt that would exceed the limits of this investigation.

The four discussed churches, namely the East Church at Alahan, the “Cupola Church” at Meryemlik, the “Domed Ambulatory Church” at Dağpazarı, and the “Tomb Church” at Corycus, all have the same feature of a central nucleus created by a tower over the eastern part of the nave. The vertical axis created by the impact of this nucleus and the display of a centralised formation integrated in the basilical design would seem to be a significant antecedent to the early 6th century churches, such as St. Sophia or St. Irene, if they are accepted to have been constructed by the end of 5th century, as proposed by some scholars[61].

On the other hand, immense activity during this period was not extraordinary, as emperor Zeno was an Isaurian, who was known for sure to have granted imperial resources to the shrine of St. Thecla in western Cilicia. This connection was first pointed out by Mango (Mango 1966), with an emphasis on the reputation of Isaurians as master builders who had worked on many sites by the early sixth century, as well as in the capital during the construction of Hagia Sophia. This proposal has been developed further by Gough, who states that the Isaurian origins of Zeno cannot be the only testimony for imperial patronage. According to Gough, this might also represent the architectural propaganda of the unification program of the emperor who aimed to find a midway between the decisions of the council of Chalcedon and the Monophysite doctrine with a letter to the church of Egypt, which is referred to as *Henotikon*. This context has been taken as a background for the studies by numerous scholars, among which the studies of Harrison (1985) and Hill (1996) are noteworthy.

[61] See Chapter 4 for a more detailed discussion of dating.

In architectural terms, the studies of Harrison are significant as they draw attention to the relation of the inland Lycian churches with the Cilician examples, which suggest the same tendencies not only in planning, but also in construction. Hill, on the other hand, studied the early Christian architecture of Cilicia with an emphasis on the examples that have specific architectural features which he grouped as "Transept Basilicas" and "Domed Basilicas" of Cilicia. This study had two significant results besides the catalogue he offered: On the one hand, he revealed that the buildings of the region displayed skilled solutions for vaulting, dome-construction, and especially for adopting a circular superstructure over a rectangular plan, and on the other, he proposed that the integration of the commemorative space into the congregational basilica was a local product of Cilicia.

However, although this proposal may be accepted to be applicable to the "Transept Basilicas"[62] and the stylistic relation that was suggested by Hill between this type and the "Domed Basilicas" is strong, some problematic points still remain. First of all, Hill is obscure about how the "Domed Basilicas" were related to the development that he proposes for the "Transept Basilicas" [63], although the suggestion seems to accept some kind of a parallel development. As there is an integration of commemorative and congregational actions at the origin of this proposal, a similar integration would seem to be offered also for the "Domed Basilicas".

On the other hand, such a proposal is rather problematic, when the planning and the location of the four examples studied in this paper are considered. Especially in the "Domed Ambulatory Church" and the "Tomb Church", but also in the two other examples, the central zone was separated from the western part of the nave.

First of all, this limitation would have disturbed an integrated celebration that included veneration and congregation, which seems possible in the "Transept Basilicas". The western aisles in the "Tomb Church" and the "Domed Ambulatory

[62] A general discussion of "Transept Basilicas", as well as a detailed discussion of the four "Transept Churches" located at the mentioned sites, is beyond the scope of this paper and this statement should merely be taken as a superficial acceptance of the proposals by Hill (Hill 1996).
[63] See Chapter 3, p. 51.

Church" are already an unnecessary disturbance in a zone where the laity would have gathered. This separation is less evident in the East Church and the "Cupola Church"; yet, then, another question arises: why should a commemorative celebration take place in these churches, as the East Church and the "Cupola Church" possibly were not directly related to a sacred spot, and as there were already other churches at these sites, in which Hill proposed that the congregation was integrated with the commemorational activity.

Nevertheless, these questions complicate the subject a great deal, because in the simplest terms, they require a specific local explanation of what the "Domed Basilicas" were and on which grounds they were developed. The other explanation for their planning is surely an imaginary prototype from the capital. Yet it does not seem possible that the region would have depended on imported models, since the local masters were qualified enough to respond the requirements with local solutions.

While the physical evidence emerges as the most promising source of interpretation at this point, the excavations of the "Cupola Church" and the "Tomb Church" date back to the beginning of the century. Many details remain unexplored, for the methodologies of this fieldwork, as well as the publication, are inadequate for presenting concrete data for more current discussions. Alahan and Dağpazarı are relatively more studied; yet especially for Dağpazarı, the results have not been sufficiently published, mostly due to the early death of Gough.

Nevertheless, a ceremony related to the healing process can be proposed on rather speculative grounds for the East Church and the "Cupola Church". Moreover, the scheme of the churches may also bring Alahan and Meryemlik together. On the other hand, although Corycus is proposed to be in a funerary context, this proposal is still uncertain[64]. As mentioned several times already, nothing is known about the layout of the "Domed Ambulatory Church" except its location within the city walls.

[64] During the trip in the region with Olivier Henry, we ran into some remains of a building which seemed like a bath complex somewhere in the southwest of the "Monastery Church" at Corycus that we could not locate on the map of Herzfeld and Guyer. Although there is still a possibility that these may be mentioned in another source, it is more likely that more than that was published awaits to be surveyed in the region (Figs. 74 and 75).

It seems also essential to recall that urban life had not been declining or taking a sharp down turn by this period, and that social life was being reinterpreted with Christian notions. Moreover, at least for Meryemlik and Dağpazarı, the interrelation of the urban settlement with the mentioned churches cannot be denied. A similar interrelation can be regarded as possible for Corycus, while the rural location of Alahan is quite extraordinary in the group. Hence, prior to scholarly comments related to this setting, such as the foundation of the church as a monastery, it should be certain that there was no active relationship of the complex with the urban community apart from the pilgrimage [65].

It certainly appears that there is a requirement for more fieldwork, before these churches may be interpreted in more detail. On the other hand, when these questions are pushed a little further, one cannot help but wonder whether these churches were aimed to serve a local liturgy that was more ceremonial in nature, which is suggested by the stops by the aisles and controlled entrances to the central zone. It is a possibility that the existing mentality of a centralised space usage for liturgy by the early 5th century would give another significance to these examples.

On the other hand, it is clearer that the impact of Isaurian architecture may be observed not only in Cappadocia as Hill revealed, but also in Lycia as proposed by Harrison. Moreover, this influence may be said to date back before the reign of Zeno, if the date of c. 460 is accepted for Gürme. On the other hand, this influence awaits to be studied in more detail considering the possible interactions of the "Isaurian" groups with the local builders of the regions, although it is quite possible that there was a dominance of workers from Cilicia, or at least of the local tradition.

The historical context has already been criticised by Elton, especially for the case of Alahan. Although it does not seem easy to dismiss this complex as a rural one, it is also right that especially the proposals that offer a direct patronage to Alahan and Dağpazarı should be reconsidered. This does not deny the fact that the region flourished during the reign of Zeno, but local factors have to be known in order to be certain about how the prosperity was shared: which part of the society (and related structures) benefited from this grant and how it was reflected are two

[65] See Chapter 2, especially 9-13 (Perspectives of Continuity).

points that await to be investigated for this period. Such an investigation would also establish a background, whereupon the mosaics with “Peaceful Kingdom” depictions would be discussed, as it would reveal more clearly the tastes and concerns of the people that produced and perceived them.

Hence, “locality” emerges as the most significant phenomenon in these studies. This is just one of the many cases, in which the local factors, traditions and people, and moreover the interrelations within these local groups, would produce a background so that the essential problems of the architectural history may be discussed on stronger grounds. Hence, this study mainly aimed to bring forward important questions especially about the architecture and the architectural context of the “Domed Basilicas” in western Cilicia. More than that, it aimed to show that surveys based on specific problems are a requirement for a better understanding of the Late Antique period of Cilicia. Only then can these examples be interpreted more profoundly. Moreover, if these regional studies extend to other regions for the Late Antique period, the debates in the scholarly literature may reflect the tones of the grey, rather than being strongly contrasting perspectives; henceforth, we might obtain a better understanding of the period.

For the time being, these questions are hard to pose, when it is considered that the matter of Late Antique socio-economic dynamics and interrelations is a relatively new research area. Furthermore, Cilicia is a not region that has benefited from these studies, when compared to regions such as Lycia and Pamphylia. Nevertheless, there seems to be an increasing interest in the region, and more is being investigated or published, during the preparation of this paper[66].

[66] The recent surveys that were presented in the “*Uluslararası Kazı, Araştırma ve Arkeometri Sempozyumu-2003”* are surely one important sign of this interest; such as a regional survey in the Göksu valley, conducted by Hugh Elton and a smaller scale investigation in Seyranlık Köyü that is concentrated on the Late Antique period conducted by Ayşe Aydın. On the other hand The foundation of Mersin University Research Centre of Cilician Archaeology in 1998, enriched the scholarly research especially by the publication of OLBA, a periodical that specifically concentrates on Cilicia.

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APPENDIX A

PLATES

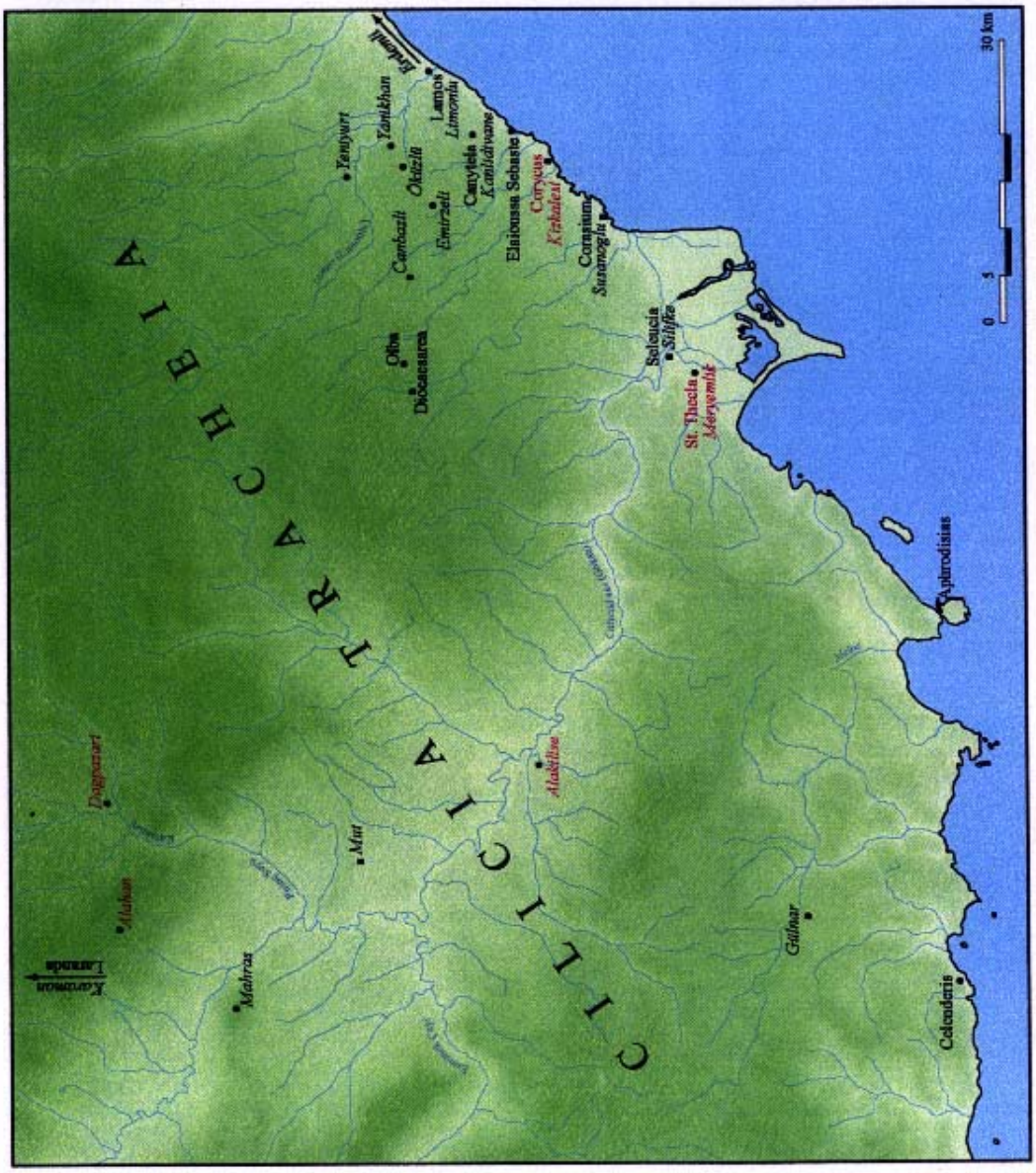


Fig. 1: Map of Western Cilicia

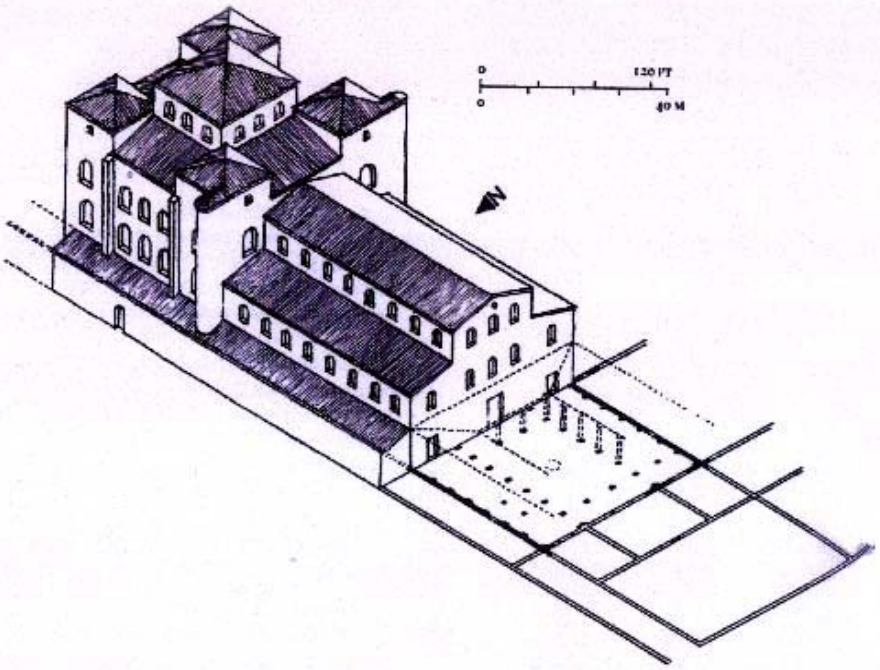


Fig. 2: Trier, north basilica, isometric reconstruction (c. 380).

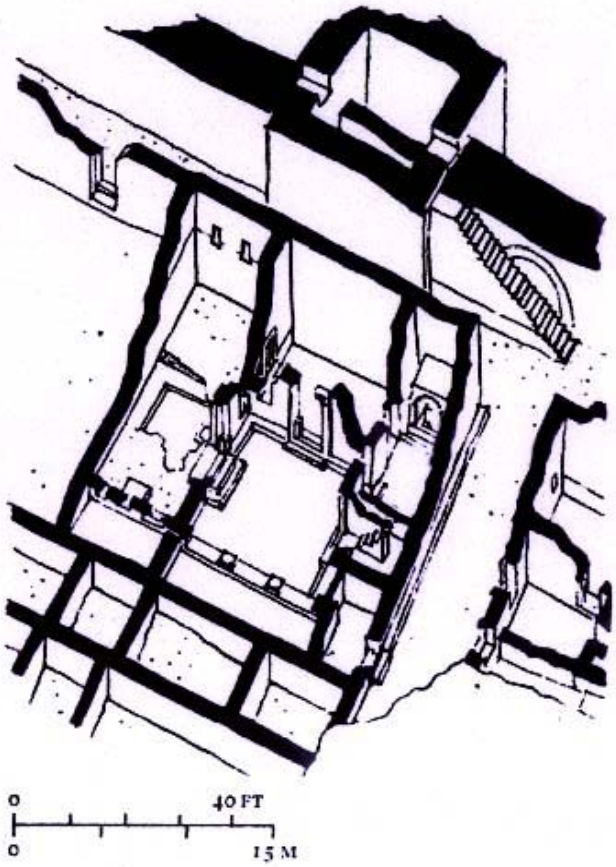
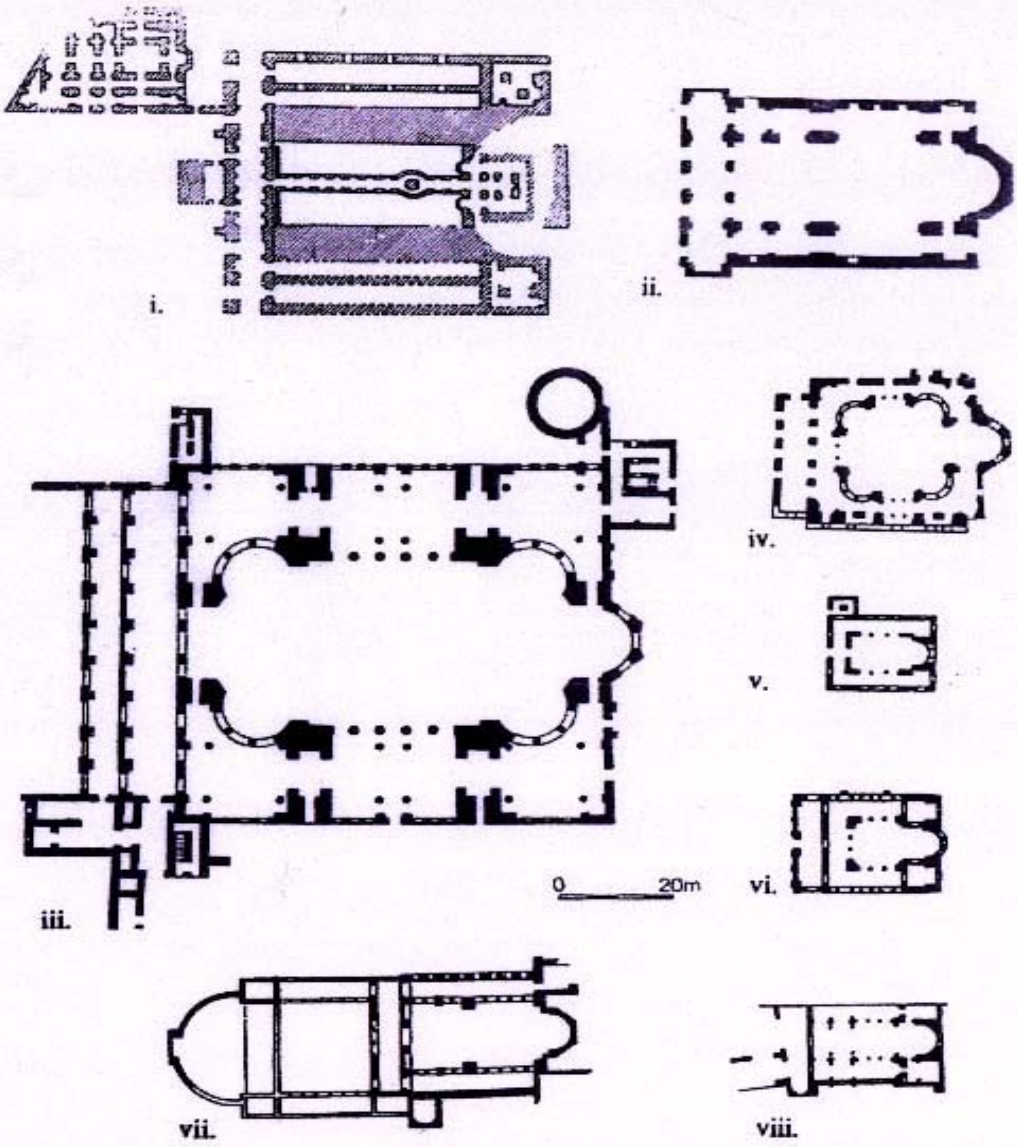


Fig. 3: Dura-Europos, Christian community house, isometric view (c. 230)



i) St. Polyeuktos, Constantinople. ii) St. Irene, Constantinople.
iii) St. Sophia, Constantinople. iv) Saints Sergius and Bacchus, Constantinople.
v) Kasr ibn Wardan, Syria. vi) Dağ Pazarı, 'Domed ambulatory Church'.
vii) Meryemlık, 'Cupola Church'. viii) Alahan, East Church.

Fig. 4: Comparative plans.

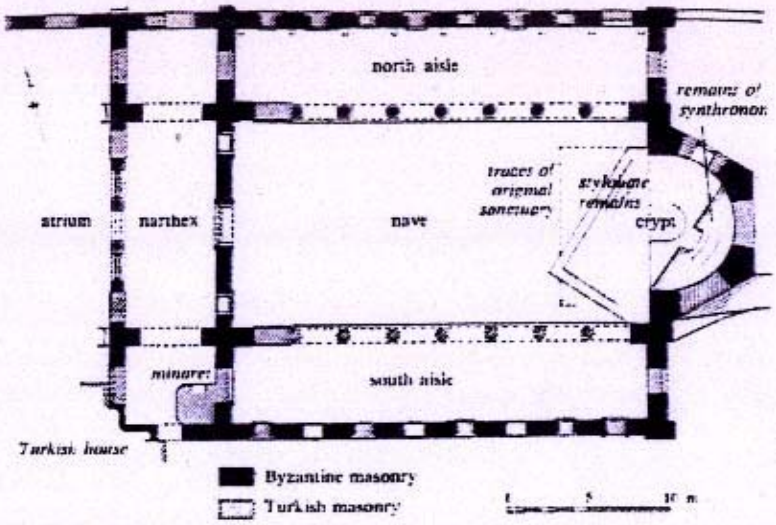


Fig. 5: Constantinople, St. John of Studius, plan (463).

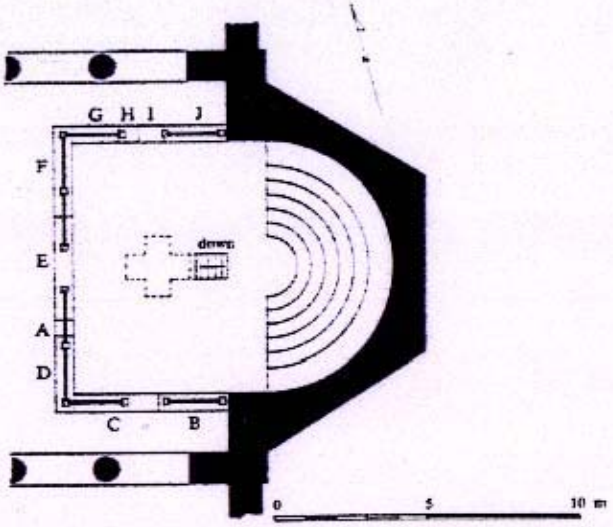


Fig. 6: Constantinople, St. John of Studius, reconstructed plan of chancel.

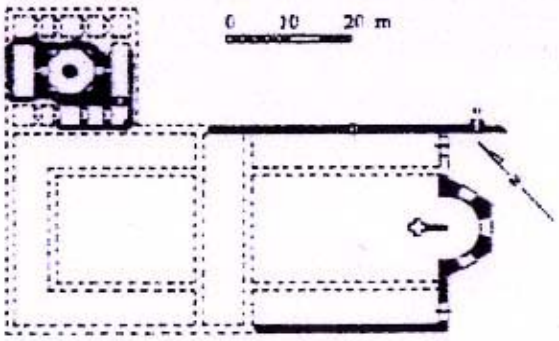


Fig. 7: Constantinople, Theotokos in Chalkoprateia, plan

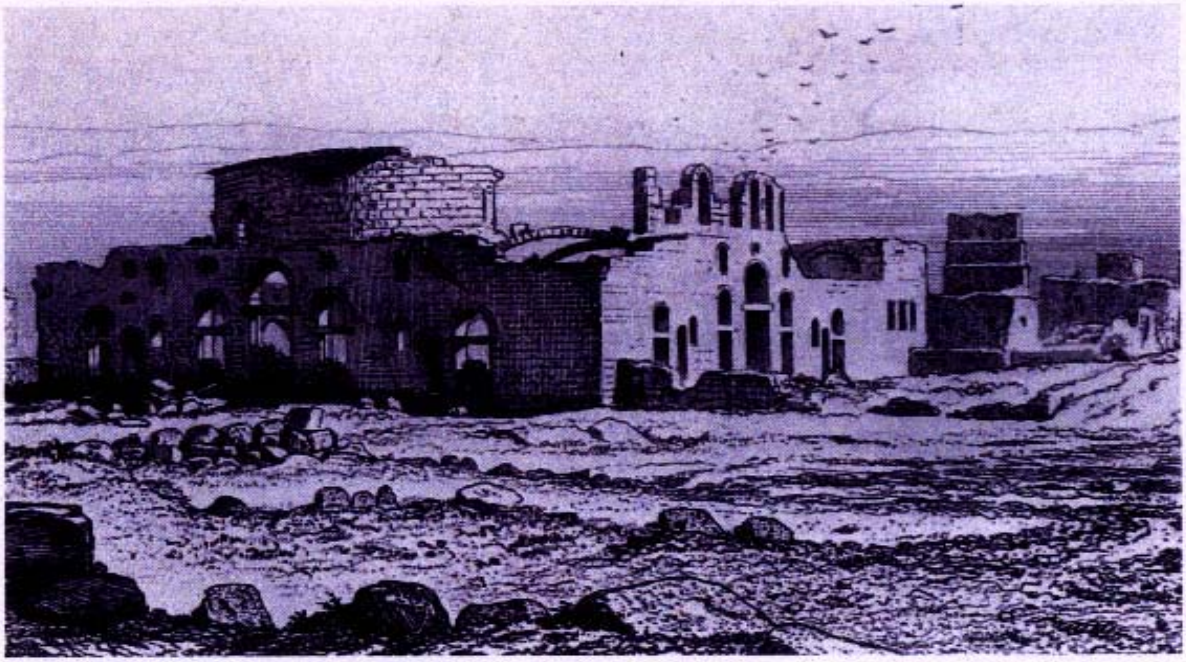


Fig. 8a: Bosra, cathedral exterior (19th century drawing).

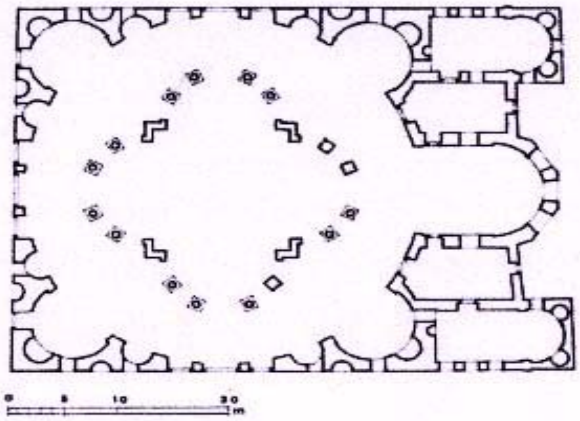


Fig. 8b: Bosra, cathedral, hypothetical plan.

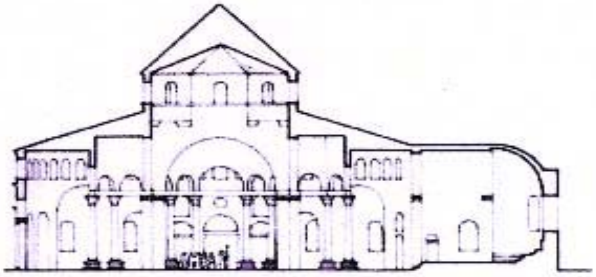


Fig. 8c: Bosra, cathedral, hypothetical longitudinal section.

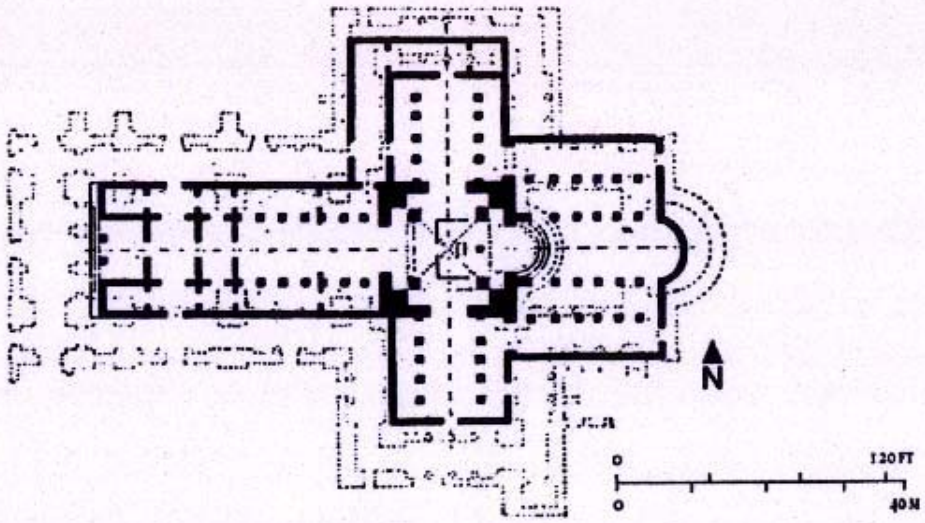


Fig. 9: Ephesus, St. John, plan.

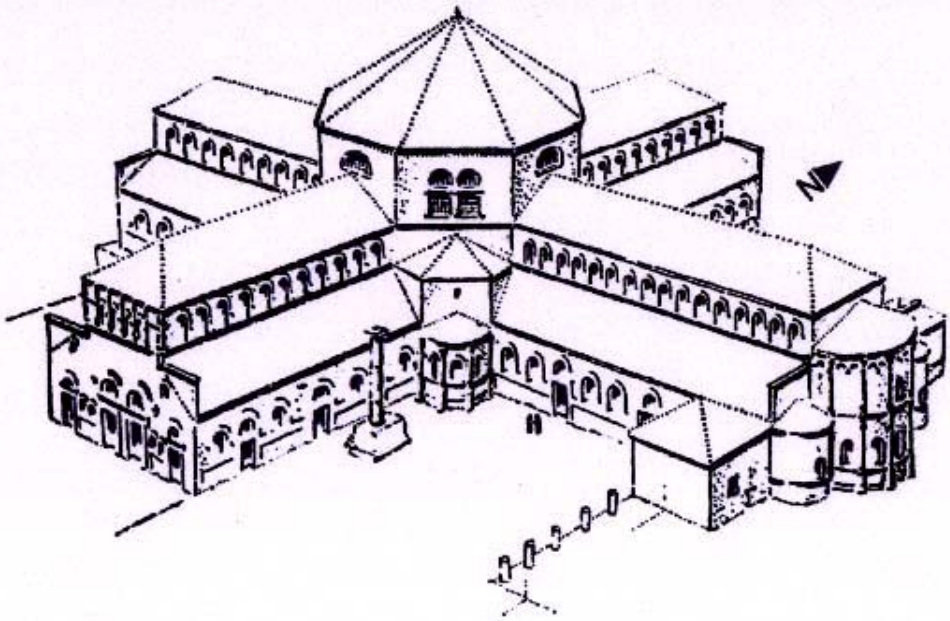


Fig. 10: Qa'lat Se'man, martyrium, isometric reconstruction.

Fig. 11: Alahan, general view from south.

Fig. 12: Alahan, Basilica (West Church), interior view from the apse.

Fig. 13: Alahan, Basilica (West Church), view from west.

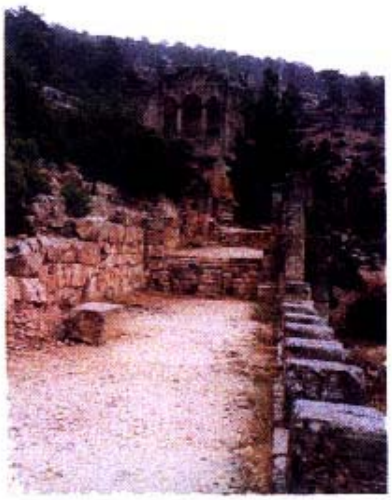


Fig. 14: Alahan, East Church and the Walkway, view from west.

Fig. 15: Alahan, the tomb of Tarasis the First.

Fig. 16: Alahan, the sanctuary.

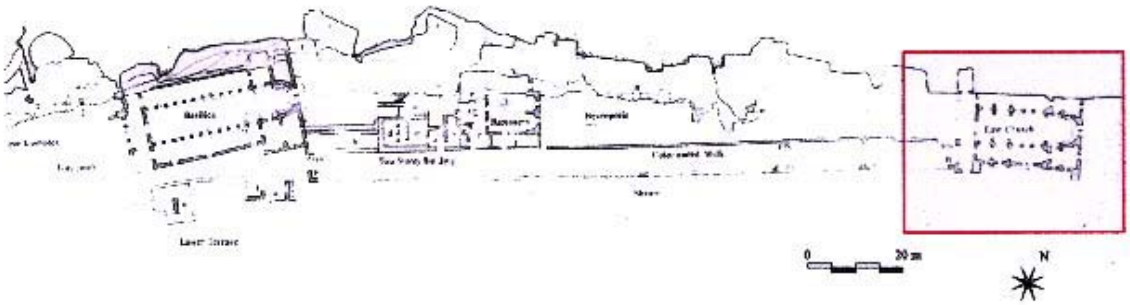


Fig. 17: Alahan, site plan.

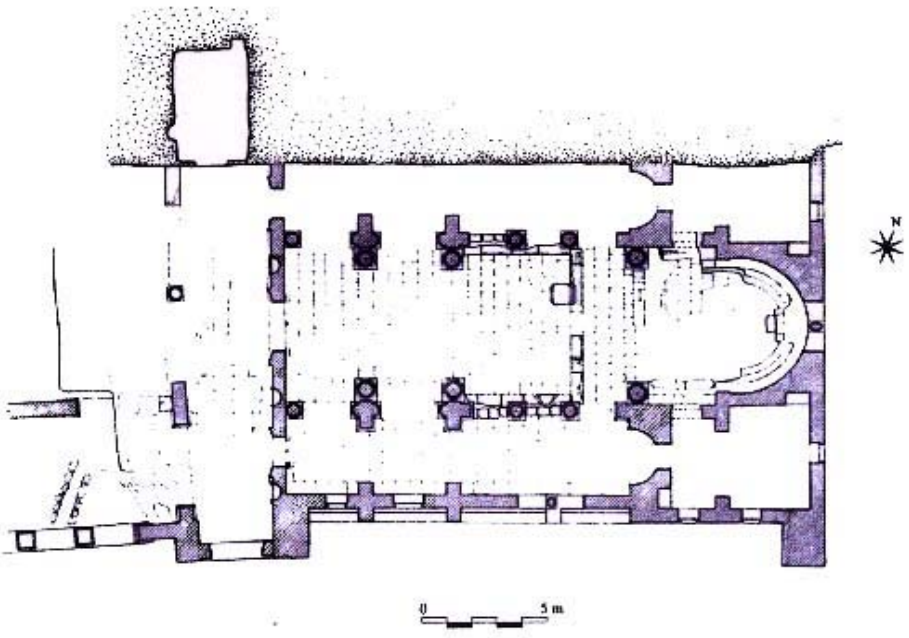


Fig. 18: Alahan, East Church, plan.

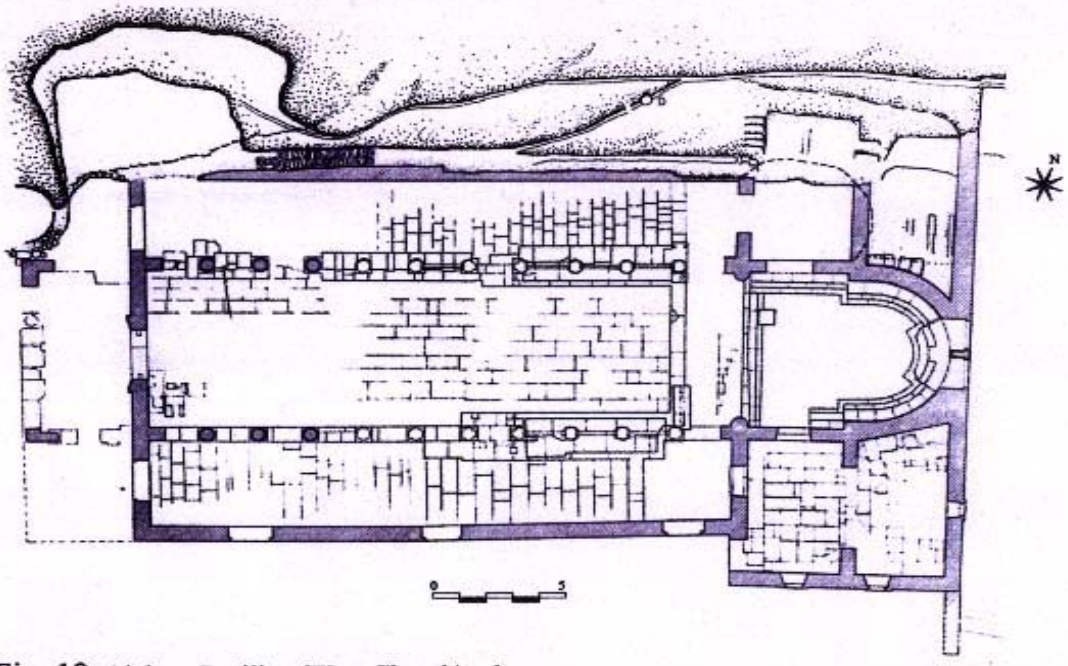


Fig. 19: Alahan, Basilica (West Church), plan.

Fig. 21: Alahan, East Church, the tower.

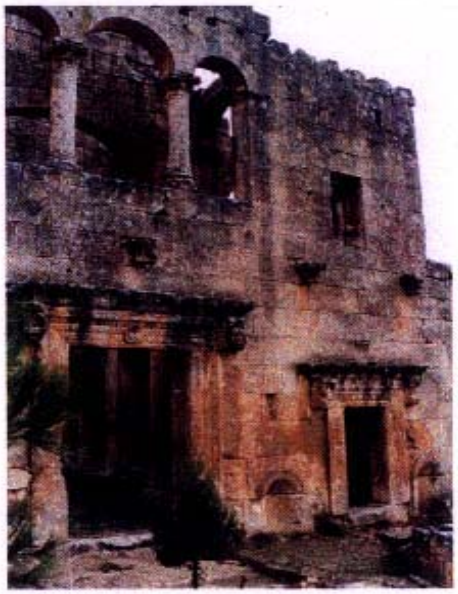


Fig. 20: Alahan, East Church,
the central and south entrances from the narthex.

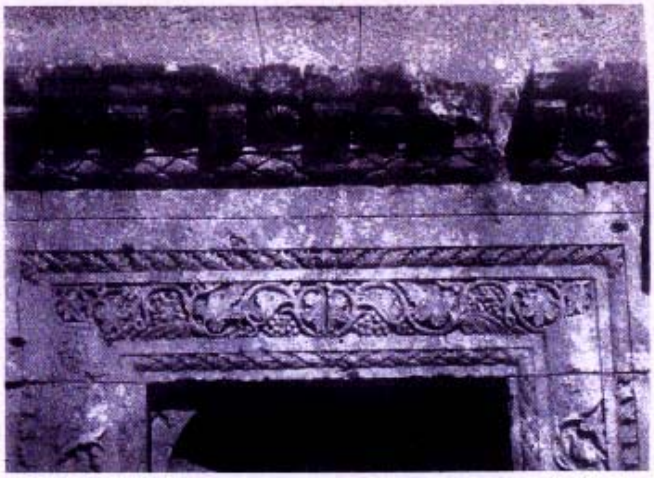


Fig. 22a: Alahan, East Church, detail of the south door.

Fig. 22c: Alahan, East Church,
view from the central door towards the apse.

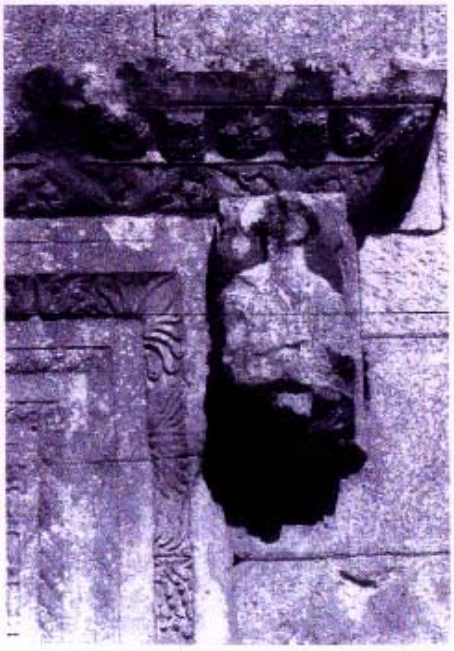


Fig. 22b: Alahan, East Church, detail of the central door.

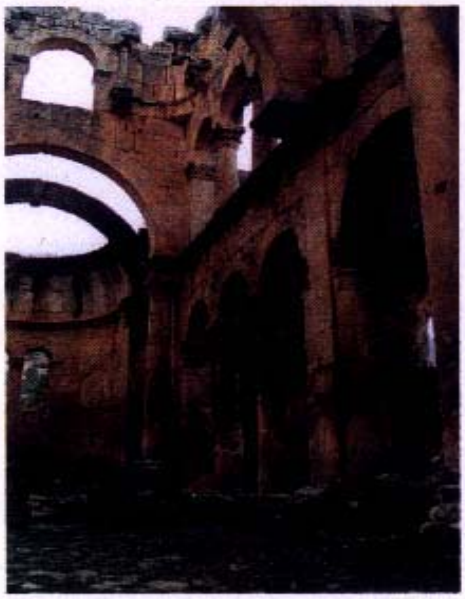


Fig. 23: Alahan, East Church,
interior view from the nave towards the southern aisle.

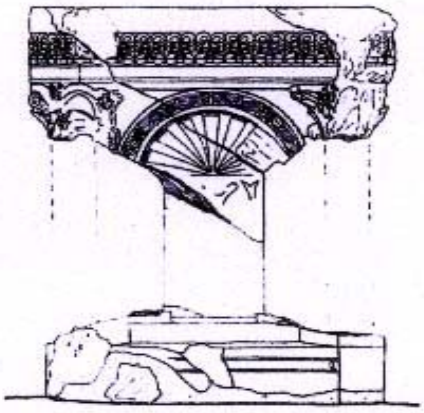


Fig. 24: Alahan, East Church,
the stone pedestal.

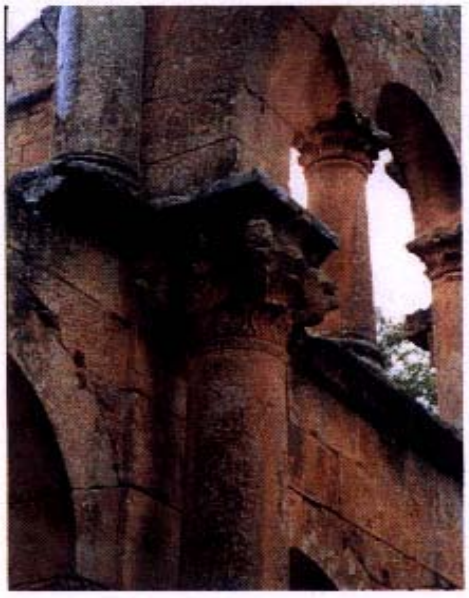


Fig. 25 a: Alahan, East Church,
the 'eagle' capital.

Fig. 25 b: Alahan, East Church,
the 'eagle' capital, detail.

Fig. 26: Meryemlik,
the modern and the ancient roads
from the site towards Silifke.

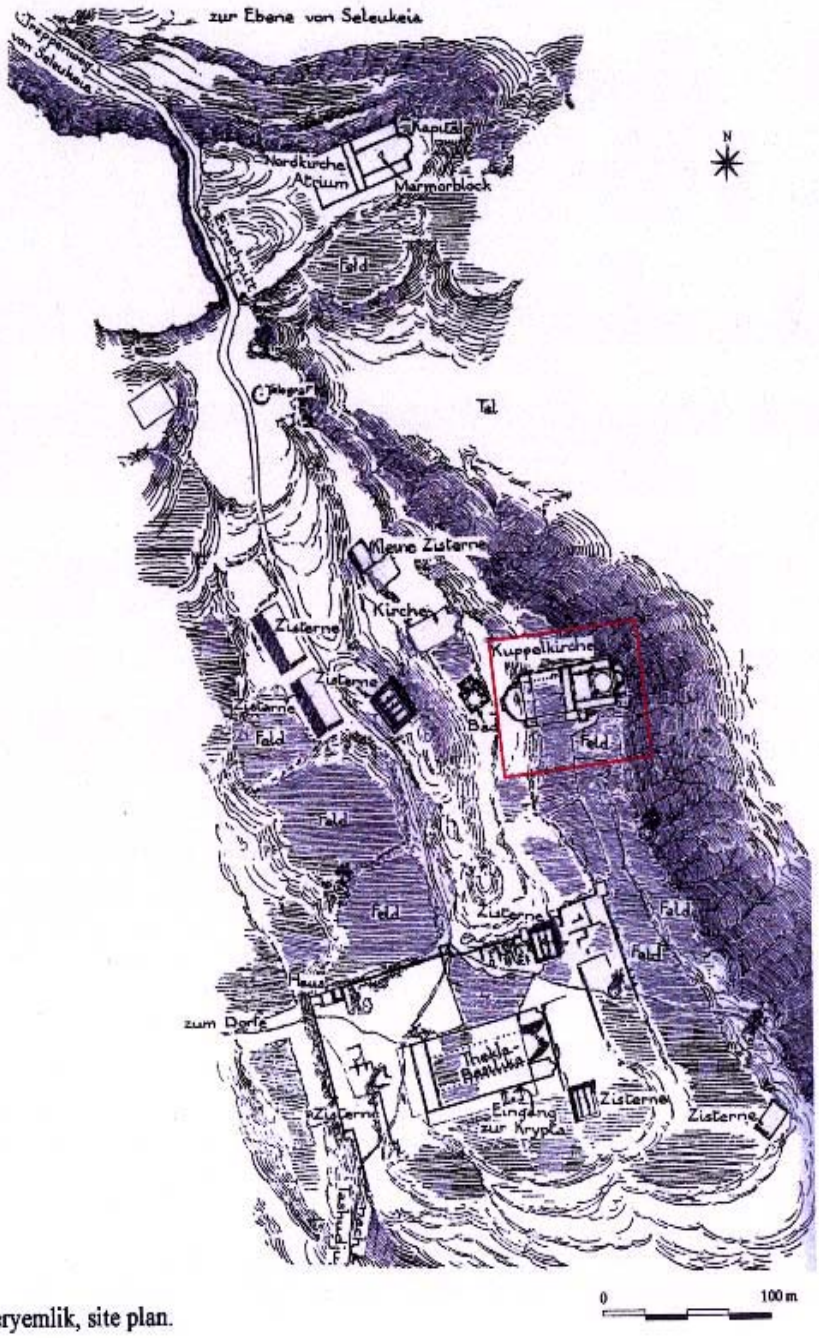


Fig. 27: Meryemlik, site plan.

Fig. 28: Meryemlik, Cave Church, view towards the apse

Fig. 29: Meryemlik, Basilica of St. Thecla, the remains of the apse in 2002.

Fig. 30: Meryemlik, Basilica of St. Thecla, the remains of the apse at the very beginning of the 20th century.

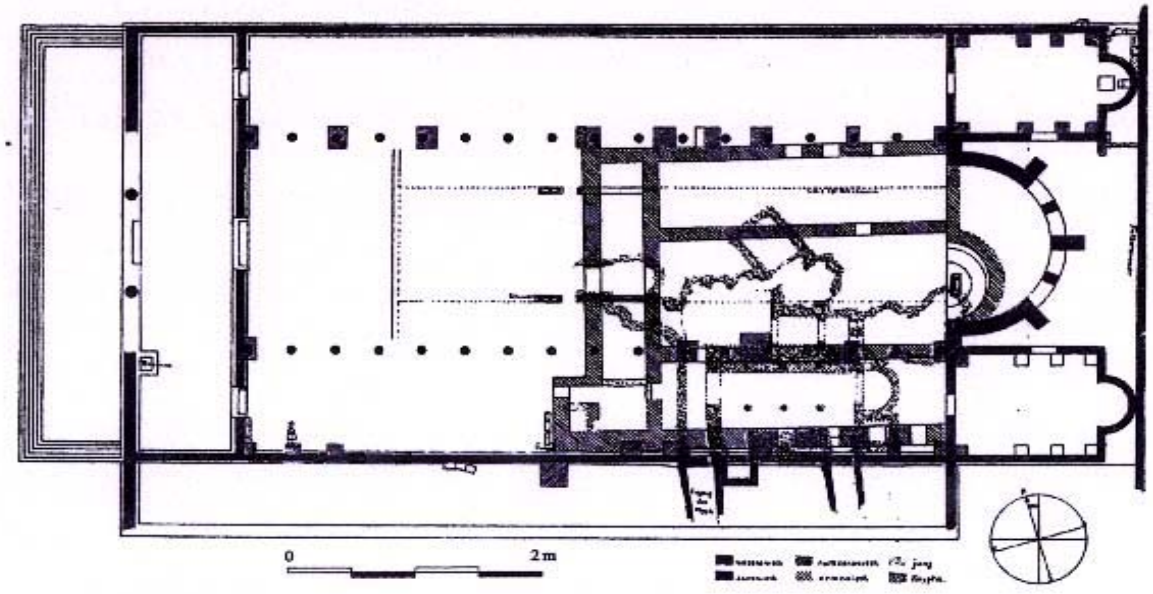


Fig. 31: Meryemlik, Basilica of St. Thecla, plan.

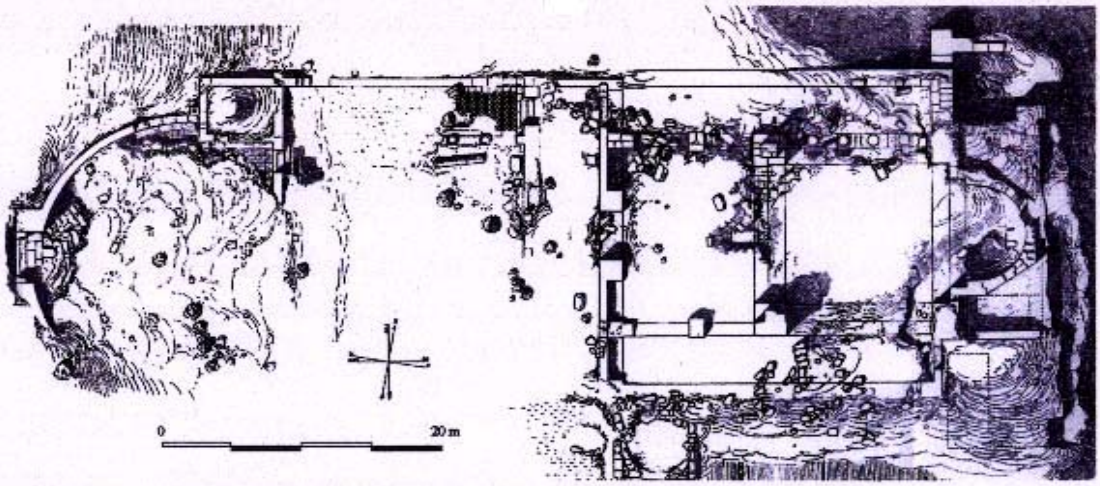


Fig. 32: Meryemlik, 'Cupola Church', excavation plan.

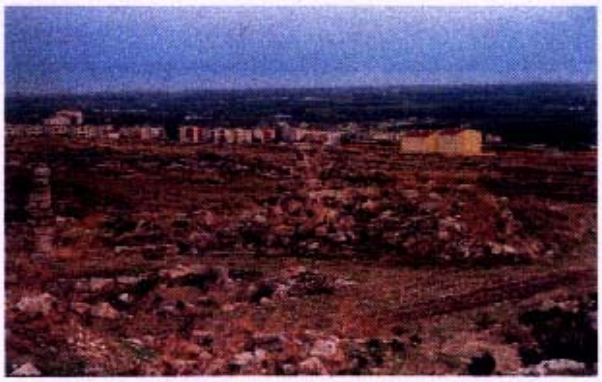


Fig. 33: Meryemlik, 'Cupola Church', view towards the apse.

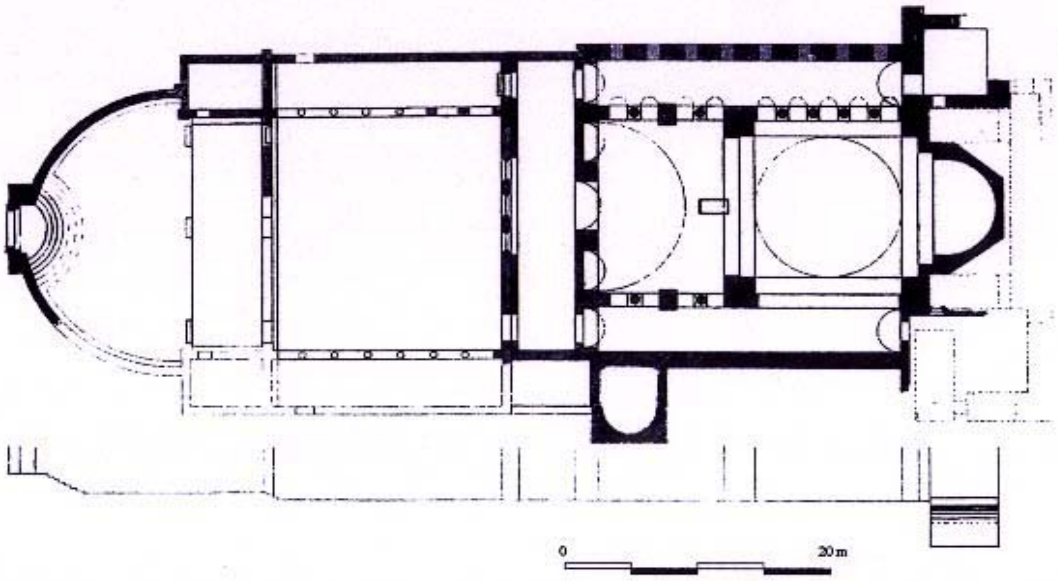


Fig. 34: Meryemlik, 'Cupola Church', reconstruction plan.

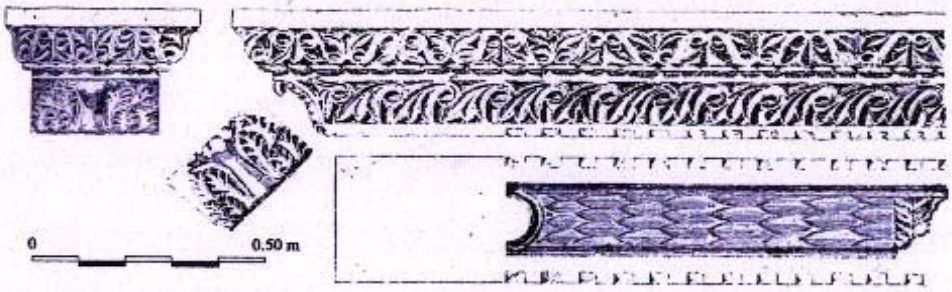
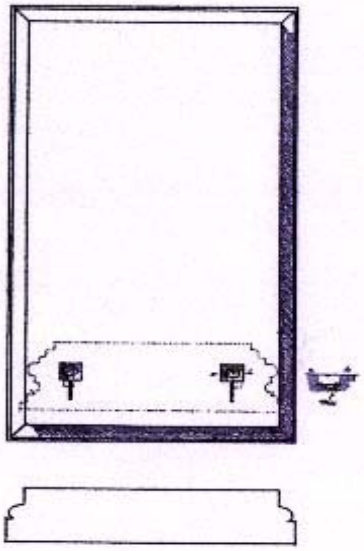


Fig. 35: Meryemlik, 'Cupola Church', console fragments from the atrium.



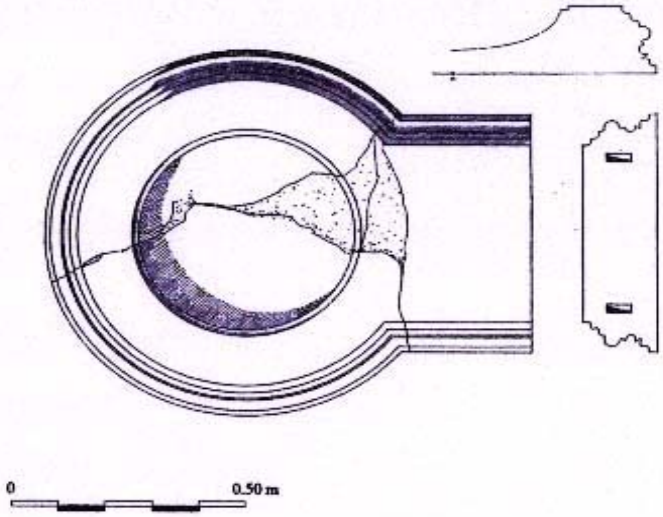


Fig. 36 b: Meryemlik, 'Cupola Church', ambo fragment.

Fig. 36a: Meryemlik, 'Cupola Church', base of the ambo.

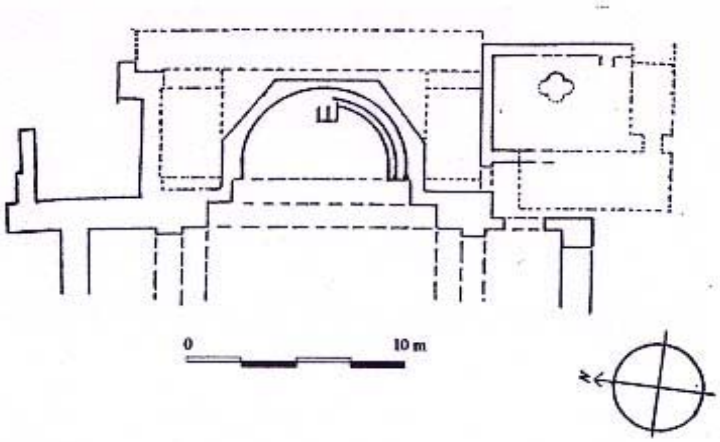


Fig. 37: Meryemlik, 'Cupola Church', plan of the eastern chambers.

Fig. 38: Meryemlik, 'Cupola Church', marble font.

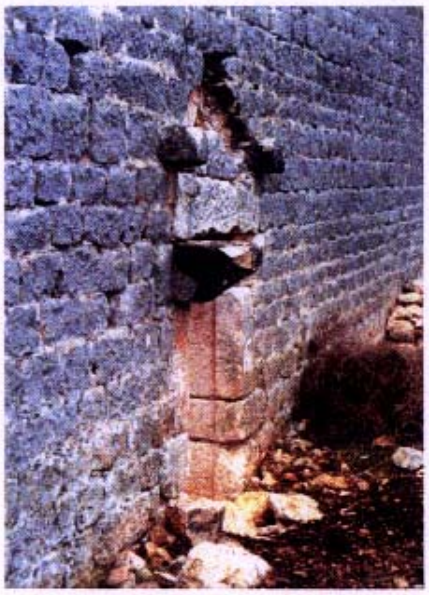


Fig. 39: Demirciören, arch base at the center of the south church wall.

Fig. 40: Demirciören, arch base at the south church wall.

Fig. 41: Dağpazarı, remains of the aqueduct and the rock cut chambers from the citadel.

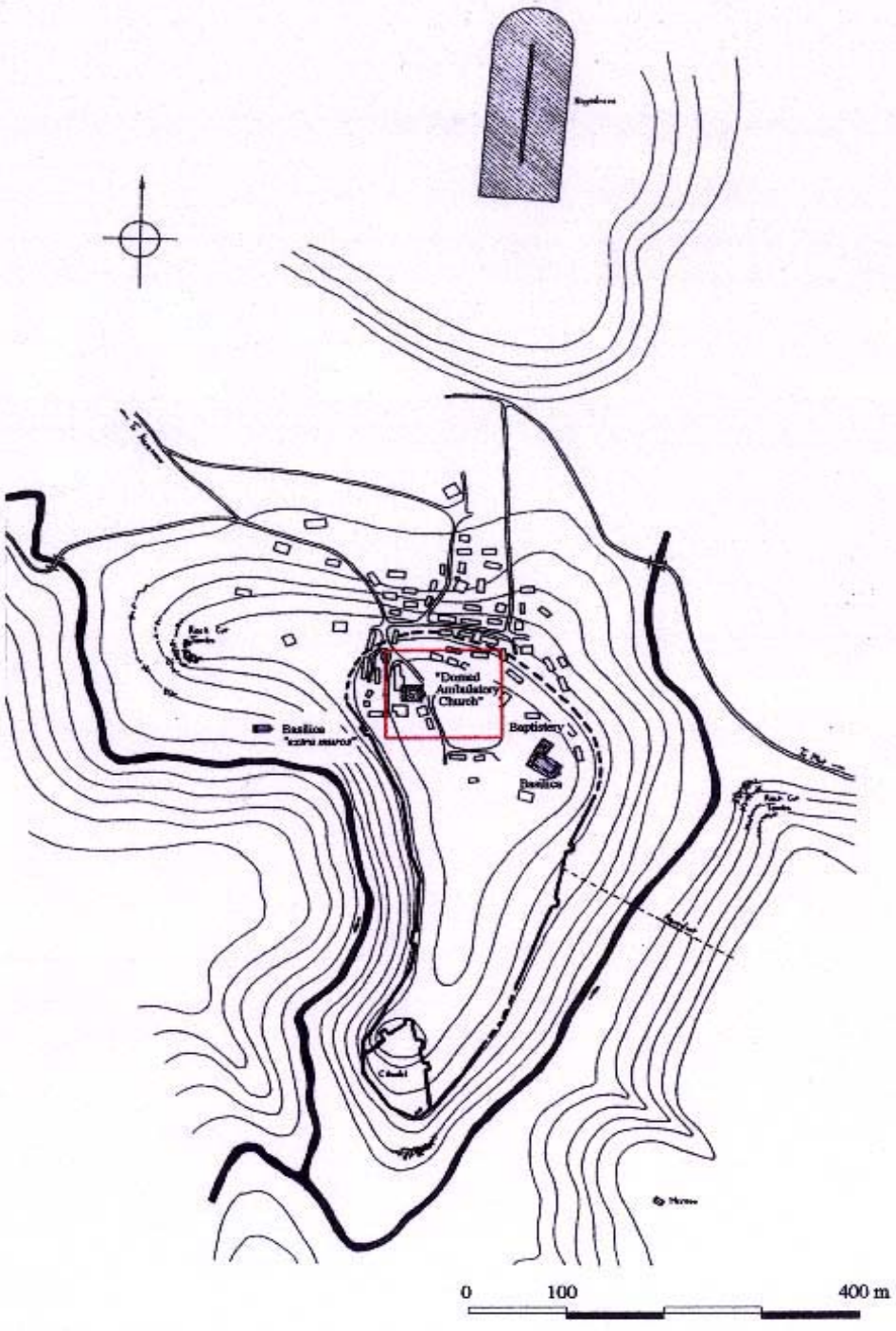


Fig. 42: Dağpazarı, site plan.

Fig. 43: Dağpazarı, traces of the ancient road.

Fig. 44: Dağpazarı, Basilica, view from south.

Fig. 45: Dağpazarı, lintel, view from east.

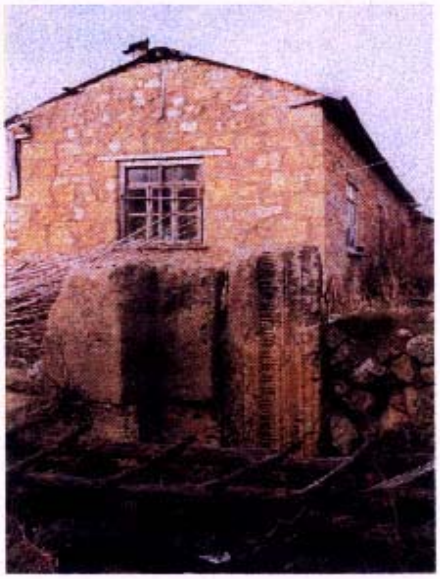
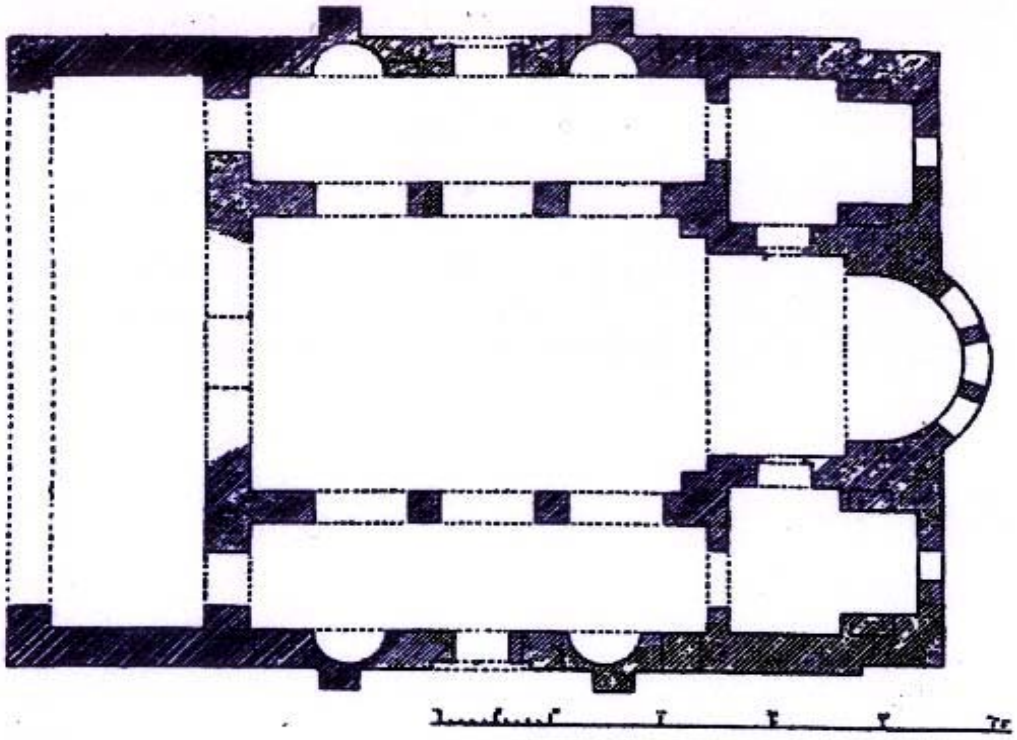
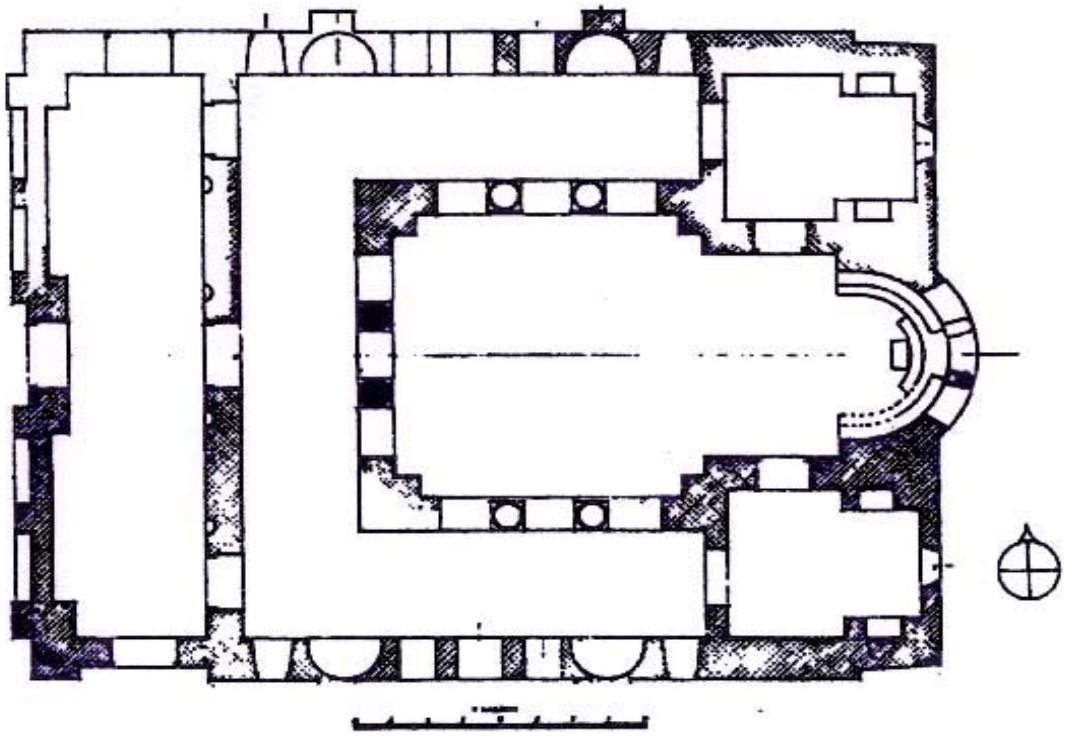


Fig. 46: Dağpazarı, 'Domed Ambulatory Church', south narthex lintel from exterior.



Plan of "Domed Ambulatory Church" as made by Headlam.



Plan of "Domed Ambulatory Church" as made in 1958.

Fig. 47: Dağpazarı, 'Domed Ambulatory Church', plans.

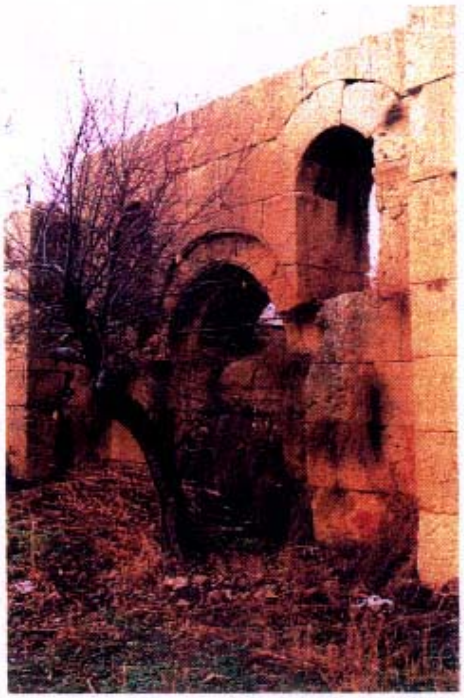


Fig. 48: Dağpazarı, 'Domed Ambulatory Church', central door of the south wall, view from exterior.

Fig. 49: Dağpazarı, 'Domed Ambulatory Church', north aisle and side chamber.

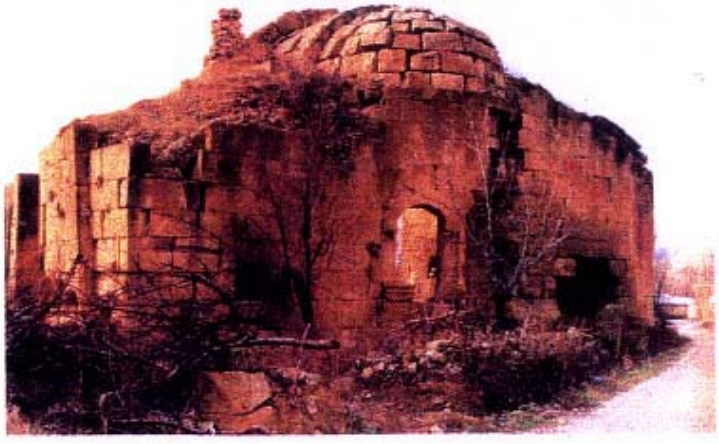


Fig. 50: Dağpazarı, 'Domed Ambulatory Church', view from east.

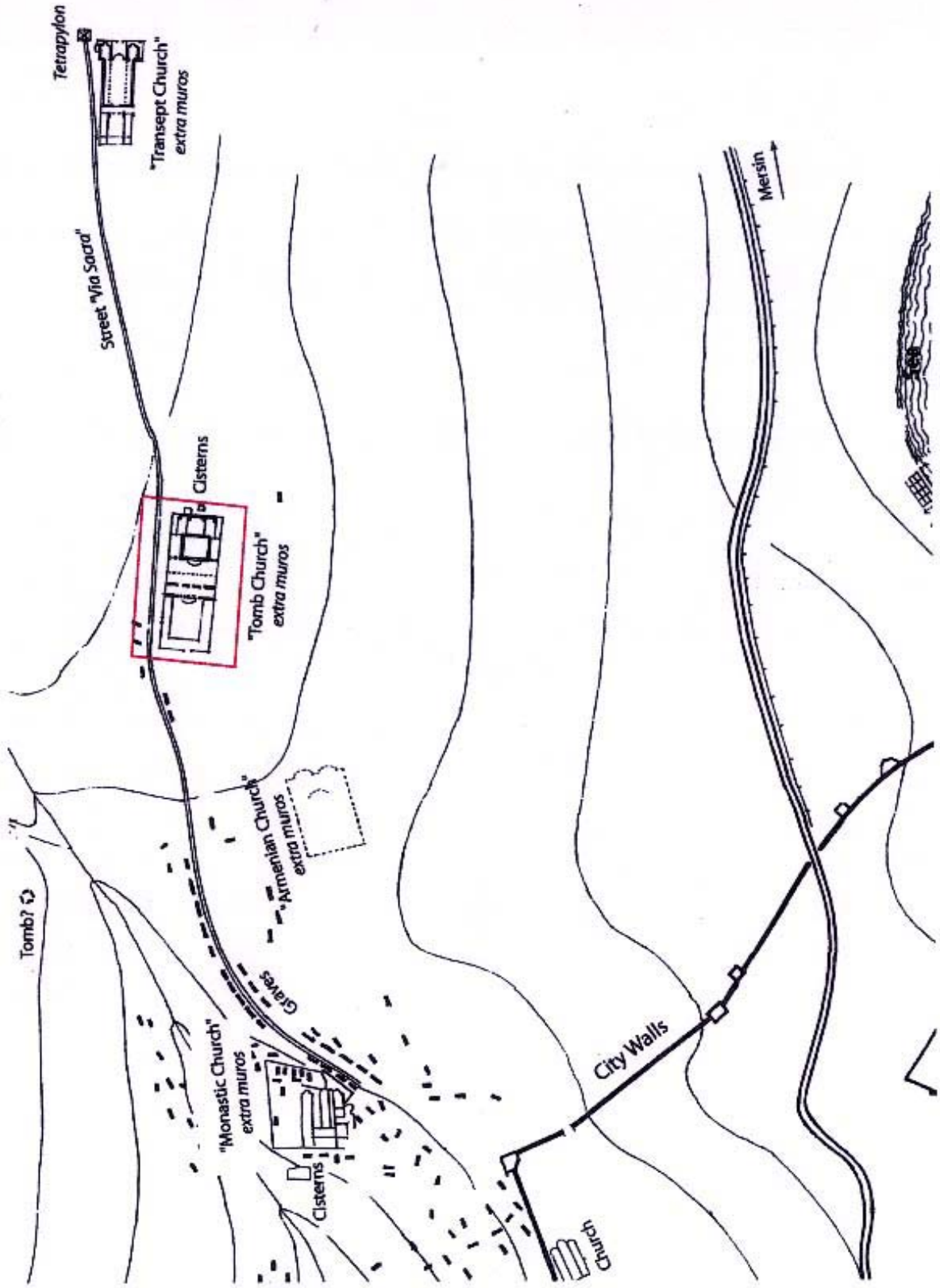


Fig. 51: Corycus, site plan.

Fig. 52: Corycus, Tetrapylon, view from northeast.

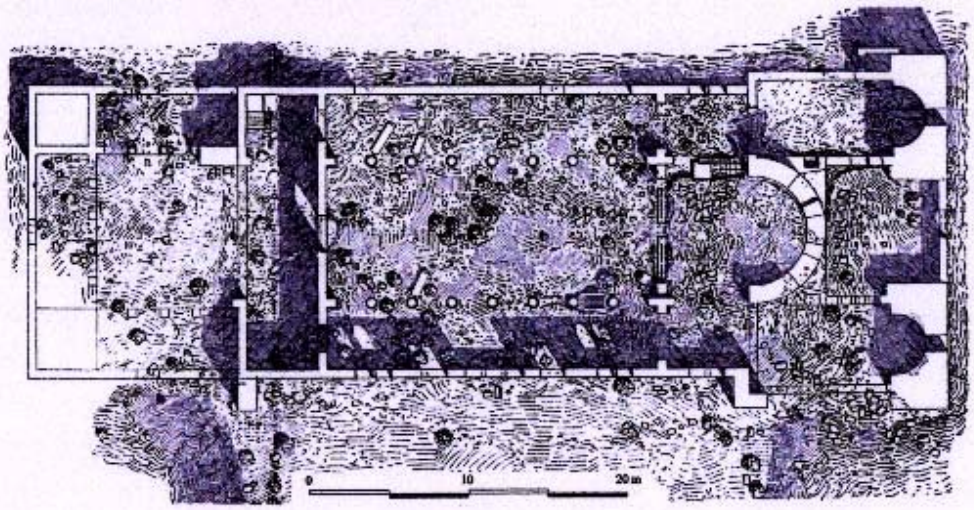


Fig. 53: Corycus, 'Transept Church', excavation plan.

Fig. 54: Corycus, 'Transept Church', exterior view from south.

Fig. 55: Corycus, 'Transept Church', the northern part of the apse and the north side chamber.

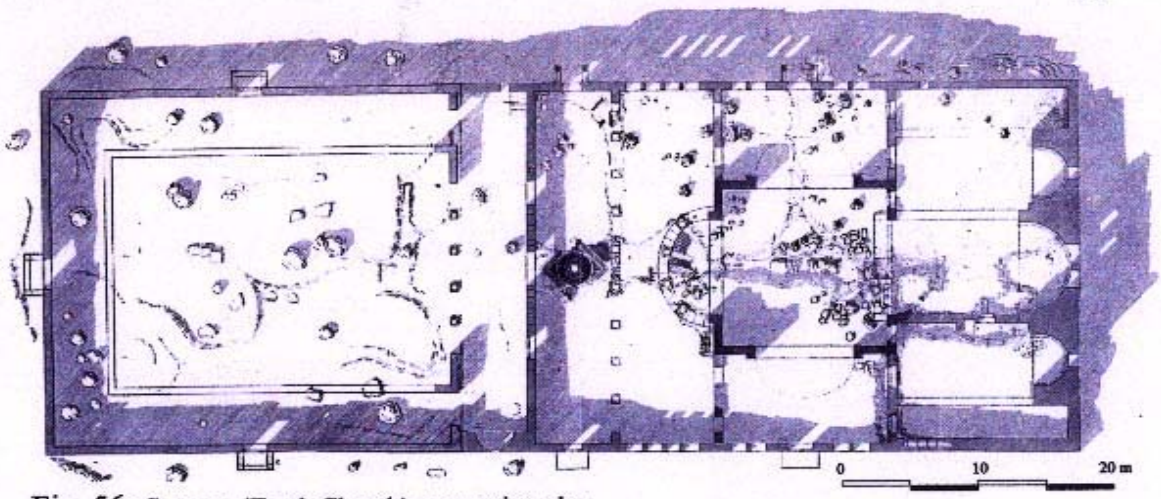


Fig. 56: Corycus, 'Tomb Church', excavation plan.

Fig. 57: Corycus, 'Tomb Church', southwest pier.

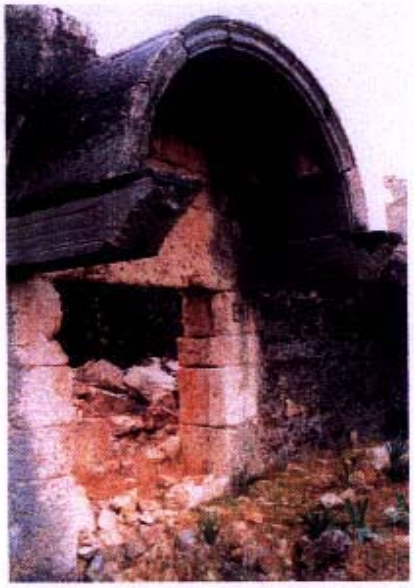


Fig. 58: Corycus, 'Tomb Church', an exterior door canopy.

Fig. 59: Corycus, 'Tomb Church', view from northeast.

Fig. 60: Corycus, 'Tomb Church', view from the atrium towards the narthex.

Fig. 61: Corycus, 'Tomb Church', northwest corner of the western aisle.

Fig. 62: Corycus, 'Tomb Church', northwest corner of the western aisle (2002).

Fig. 63: Corycus, 'Tomb Church', interior looking east.

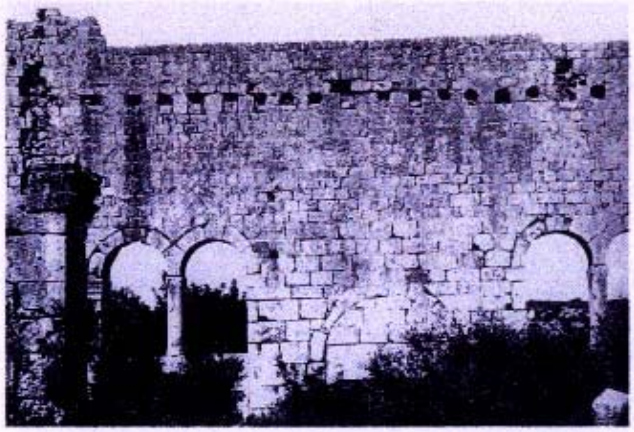


Fig. 64: Corycus, 'Tomb Church', east of the north aisle.

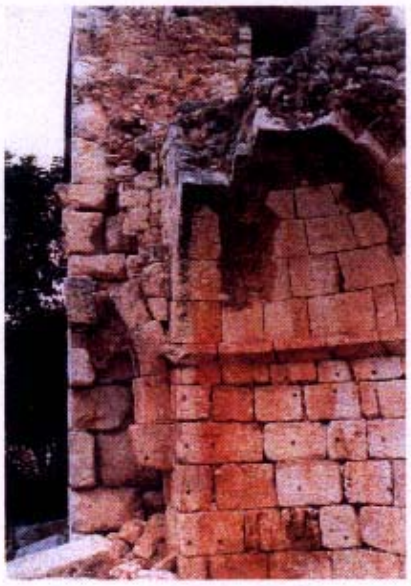


Fig. 65: Corycus, 'Tomb Church', the apse of the south side chamber.

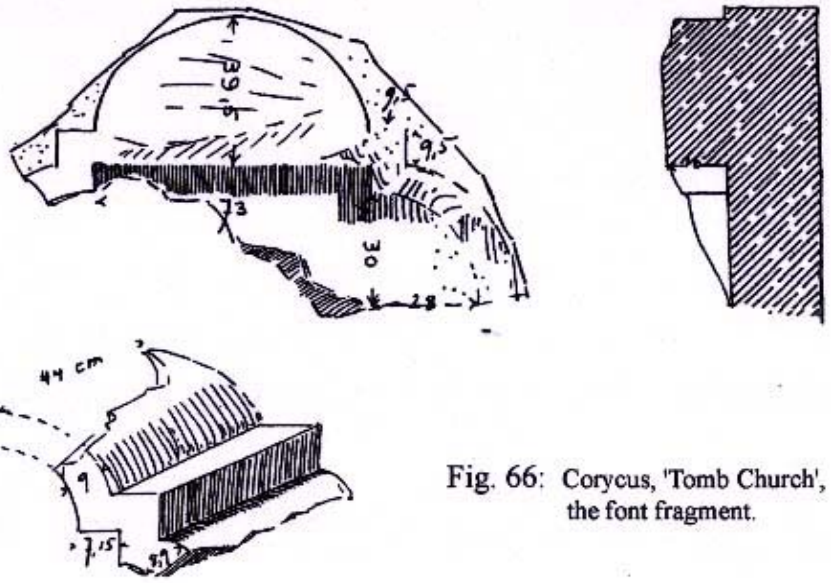


Fig. 66: Corycus, 'Tomb Church', the font fragment.

Fig. 67a: Alahan, East Church, apse window capital.

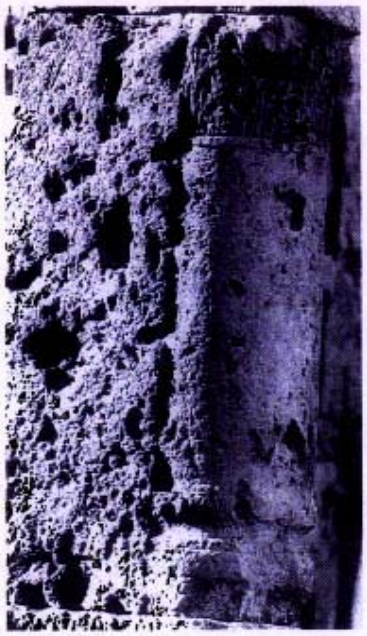


Fig. 67b: Dağpazarı, 'Domed Ambulatory Church', apse window capital.

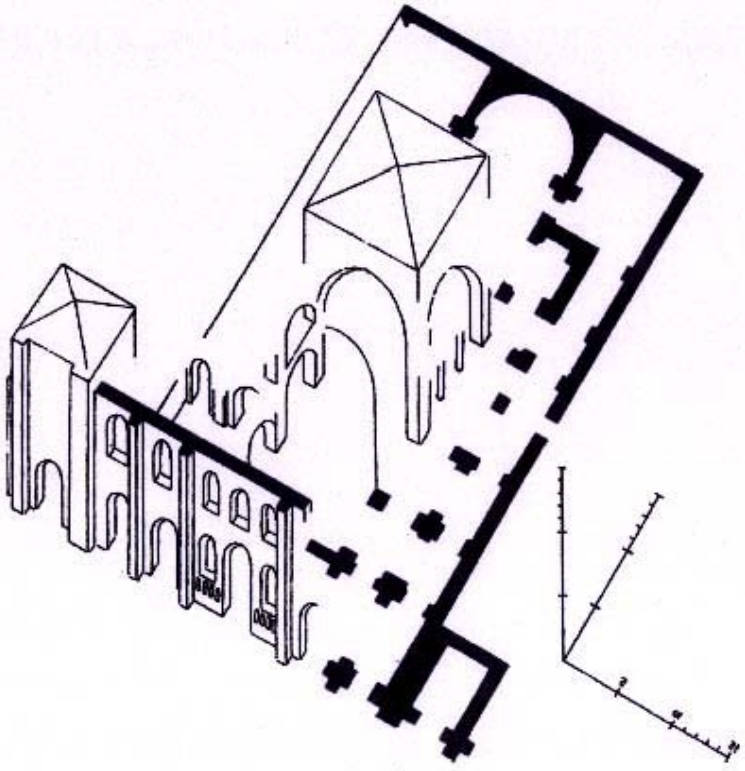


Fig. 68: Gürme, hypothetical reconstruction.

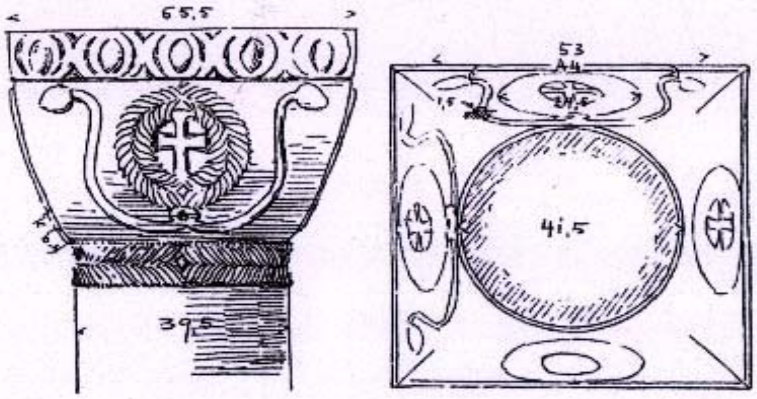


Fig. 69: Corycus, 'Tomb Church', capital.

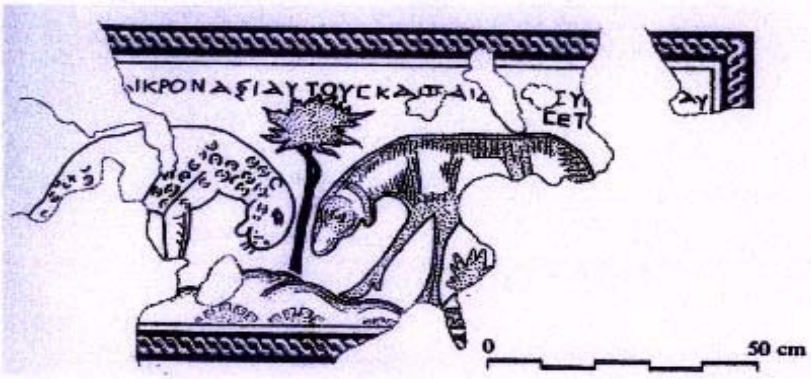


Fig. 70: Anemurium, Necropolis Church, mosaic of the Peaceful Kingdom of Isaiah.

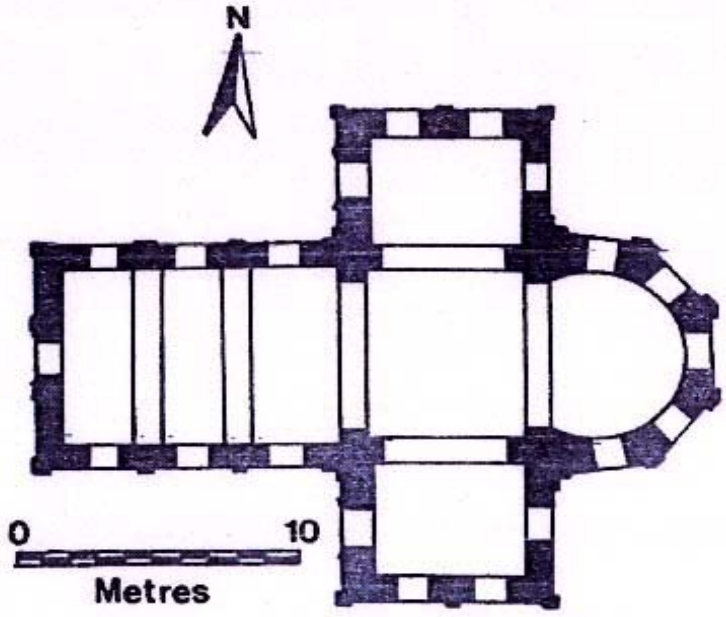


Fig. 71: Tomarza, church, plan.

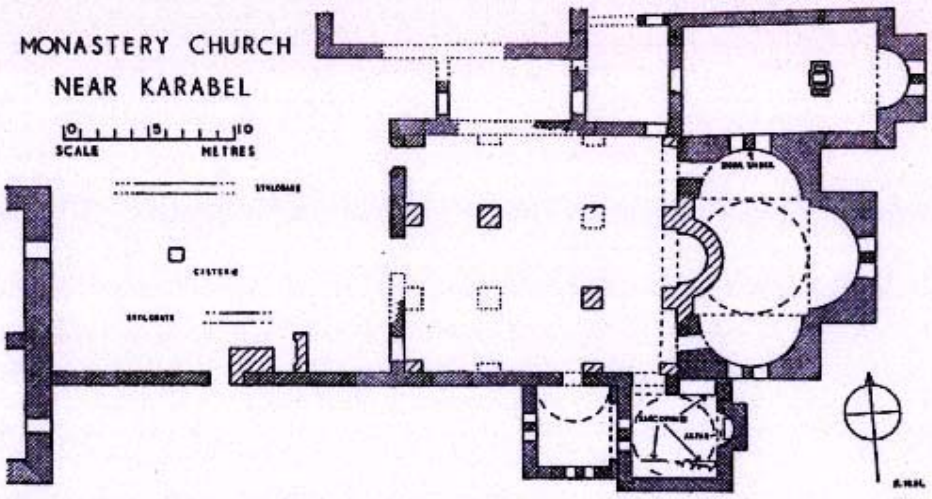


Fig. 72: Karabel, church, plan.

Fig. 73: Corycus, remains, inner view.

Fig. 74: Corycus, remains, outer view.