

THE CHURCH AT CHOMA
(HACIMUSALARÇ ELMALI- ANTALYA)
AND ITS MATERIALS

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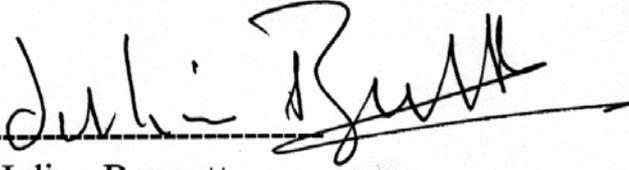
To the memory of my mother,
who, although not physically,
is forever spiritually with me.

I certify that I have read this thesis and have found it is fully adequate, in scope and in quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts.



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ABSTRACT**THE CHURCH AT CHOMA
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August 2001**

This thesis evaluates the evidence for the churches that have been excavated between 1998 and 2000 on the mound of Hacimusalar Höyük in the Elmalı plain in northern Lycia, a site that has been identified with the Choma known from ancient documentary sources. Three churches have been identified, constructed consecutively in the same location on the mound, the first a basilica with a triconch chapel, the second a triconch church, and the third a small church that has basically a cross-in-square plan. The plans of the churches are discussed, as well as their architectural decoration, wall paintings, mosaics, liturgical objects and pottery, using comparative material from other sites in Lycia and elsewhere to attempt to date the structures and place them within their context in Byzantine Anatolia. Of particular significance are the wall paintings and mosaics, which rarely survive in provincial churches. Despite the limitations posed mainly by the lack of published comparanda and the fact that the excavation is not yet completed, it is hoped that the presentation and discussion of this material will be a step towards a better understanding of the Byzantine period and Christianity in Choma, Lycia and the provinces in general.

ÖZET**CHOMA KİLİSESİ (HACİMUSALAR HÖYÜK, ELMALI- ANTALYA)
MİMARİSİ VE BULUNTULARI ÜZERİNE BİR ÇALIŞMA**

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Ağustos 2001

Bu çalışmada 1998-2000 Hacimusalar Höyük (antik kaynaklara göre Choma) kazı sezonlarında günışığına çıkarılmış olan kilise yapılarından bahsedilmektedir. Höyükte, aynı alanda üstüste inşa edilmiş olarak saptanmış üç kilise yapısı bulunmuştur. Bunlardan kronolojik olarak erken olanı üç konçlu bir şapel yapısına sahip olan bazilikadır. Bu yapıyı üç konçlu bir kilise yapısı izlemektedir. Sonuncusu ise kare içinde haç planına sahip olan küçük bir kilisedir. Yapıların planları değerlendirilirken tartışmaya kazılar sonucunda ele geçirilen buluntular ki bunlar mimari parçalar, duvar resimleri, mozayik taban ve parçaları, liturji malzemeleri ve seramik parçaları da dahil edilmiştir. Bu malzeme aynı zamanda gerek Likya gerekse başka bölge ve şehirlerden gelen malzemelerle kıyaslanmış, değerlendirilmiş ve bu bulgular ışığı altında tarihlenerek Anadolu'da Bizans döneminde ait olduğu bütünlüğe oturtulmaya çalışılmıştır. Tartışma ve değerlendirmeler esnasında kırsal veya küçük kent kiliselerinde saptamaya alışkın olmadığımız duvar resimleri ve mozayik tabanların çalışmamızda önemli bir yer tuttuğunu eklemeliyiz. Çalışma esnasında gerek değinilen konular üzerine yayımlanmış malzemenin azlığı, gerekse sahadaki kazının hala sürmesinden kaynaklanan güçlükler olsa da bu çalışmanın Choma şehrinin ve Likya Bölgesinin Hrisyanlık döneminin daha iyi anlaşılmasına katkıda bulunacak bir adım olması ümit edilmiştir.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The aim of this thesis is to present and evaluate the evidence for the churches that have been uncovered during excavations from 1998 to 2000 at the multi-period mound site of Hacimusalar, in the Elmalı plain in northern Lycia. Three major building periods have been identified, represented by three churches constructed consecutively on the same site at the central part of the mound. The earliest evidence is of a church of basilical plan, with a triconch chapel. This was succeeded by a triconch church. The final building was a smaller church that appears to have had a cross-in-square plan. The first church can be dated broadly within the Early Byzantine period, and the latest church within the Middle Byzantine period.¹ The excavation of the church site is still in progress, and so the information presented in this thesis is very much in the nature of an interim report.

¹ There is no standard definition for Early and Middle Byzantine (see, for example, Kazhdan 1991: 347, 350-352; Rodley 1994: 2-3 and 132; Mango 1987: 422). For the purpose of this thesis, I am taking Early Byzantine to cover the 4th-6th centuries, and Middle Byzantine the mid 9th-11th centuries. The period in between, i.e. the 7th-mid 9th centuries, I refer to as the Dark Age. It is impossible at present to be much more precise about the dates of the churches, and all that can be said about the triconch church is that it was constructed at some time between the early basilica and the Late Church; the dates are discussed in greater detail below (p. 22-32 for the first two churches, and p.59-69 for the latest).

The thesis consists of five chapters. The first chapter, the Introduction, gives an account of the history of scholarly research carried out at and around the site of Hacimusalar, in the Elmalı Plain and in Lycia as a whole, particularly for the Late Roman and Byzantine periods. It concludes with a brief report on the excavations on the mound that have been conducted since 1993. The second chapter gives a history of the region, using evidence from documentary sources and archaeological studies. The third chapter discusses the plans and architecture of the churches of the Early Byzantine period and the related material: architectural sculpture, wall paintings, mosaics, liturgical vessels and pottery. This same scheme is followed in the fourth chapter, which discusses the Late Church and its related material. The final chapter recapitulates the evidence and attempts to locate the churches and their materials within the published material of Byzantine Anatolia.

A. Identity of the Site, and Scholarly Research Carried Out on the Mound, in the Elmalı Plain and in Lycia as a Whole (Fig. 1, Map 1 and 3)

The site of Hacimusalar has been securely identified as the site of ancient Choma, recorded in the ancient sources.² Epigraphic evidence, in the form of an honorary inscription containing the name of Choma, was first recorded by Bean and Harrison,³ but as this was not found on the site itself, but in the nearby village of Hacimusalar, there still remained an element of uncertainty about the identification. During the 2000 excavation season, however, a Roman honorific statue base was discovered on the mound, which bore a badly worn inscription in which the citizens of Choma, the council and the assembly were

² Pauly-Wissowa 1995: 2370.

³ Bean and Harrison 1967: 41, Pl. I: 2-4.

mentioned.⁴ This is the same formula as that attested on the inscription that had been recorded by Bean and Harrison. This new inscription now provides us with solid evidence of the identification of the mound site as Choma.

European travellers and scholars, starting with the mid 19th century, began to be interested in the region of Lycia. In the late 1830s, Sir Charles Fellows explored the region, commenting on some ruins in Eskihisar, which he associated with ancient Podalia.⁵ In 1842, Lieutenant T.A.B. Spratt, a natural scientist, visited the Lycian plain along with Professor Forbes and Rev. Daniell. In their accounts they identified a mound on the way to a place called Armutlu. Although they gave no names from the immediate vicinity, this mound must be the Hacimusalar Höyük, which stands out as a significant landmark in the plain.⁶ In the same year of the visit by Spratt, Forbes and Daniell, J. Augustus Schönborn and a student of Professor Carl Ritter made an extensive trip into the mountains of Lycia, including Elmalı in their itinerary.⁷ In 1882, Eugen Petersen and Felix von Luschan mentioned the site that had already been noted by Fellows, possibly Hacimusalar.⁸ In 1884, we see the identification of the Hacimusalar Höyük as the ancient site of Choma being made by Benndorf.⁹ Woodward and Ormerod visited Elmalı in 1910. They

⁴ I would like to express my gratitude to Dr. Gary Reger, of Trinity College, for giving me this unpublished material.

⁵ Fellows 1852: 284-286.

⁶ Spratt and Forbes 1847: 280-291.

⁷ His accounts were summarized by Ritter 1847: 809-840.

⁸ Petersen and von Luschan 1889: 156-157.

⁹ Benndorf and Niemann 1884.

recorded three mounds, one of which was that mentioned by Spratt and Forbes. Woodward and Ormerod give a more accurate location of the mound, as being situated at the foot of the low hill of Çataltepe, denoting the exact location of Hacimusalar Höyük.¹⁰

An important series of surveys and excavations were conducted by Bryn Mawr College with regards to the Prehistoric periods and Iron Age of the Elmalı plain between 1963 and 1989;¹¹ however, no full-scale study has been done to compile the existing evidence, although a first step to do so was taken by Y. İlseven with an M.A. thesis in which she localized the Hacimusalar Höyük in an historical and environmental setting to add more pieces to our understanding of Hacimusalar-Choma in particular and North Lycia in general from Prehistoric times to the Byzantine period.¹²

While the research was going on for Upper Lycia, travellers were also interested in the rest of Lycia, such as C. Texier, who recorded two monumental religious structures. These were the church of St. Nicholas at Myra and the church at Dereağzı.¹³ H. Rott discussed these two buildings from an historical point of view in 1908.¹⁴

¹⁰ Woodward and Ormerod 1909-1910: 76-135.

¹¹ Eslick 1992, for the Neolithic and Chalcolithic periods; annual reports by Mellink in AJA from 1963 onwards.

¹² İlseven 1999 (unpublished M.A. thesis).

¹³ Texier 1849: 203 (Dereağzı), 205-208 (Myra).

¹⁴ Rott 1908: 300-315 (Dereağzı), 324-341 (Myra).

W. Tomaschek, in a book that compiles the geographical evidence for Anatolia, studied the geography of the Medieval Ages in Lycia.¹⁵ R. Martin Harrison wandered around the upland settlements of Lycia, beginning in 1959. His studies mainly include the collection and recording of available data to find out more about the 5th and 6th century settlements and ecclesiastical structures. In his first article dealing with this region, he recorded 37 churches and chapels that were located at coastal sites between Finike and Kaş and inland sites in the Alakilise valley.¹⁶ In 1967, Harrison worked with George Bean on the epigraphic material from the Elmalı plain. As a result of this work, as mentioned above, the mound of Hacimusalar was more securely identified with the ancient city of Choma.¹⁷ Until 1980, Harrison continued working on the recording and analysis of the settlements in Central Lycia, particularly those in the Elmalı plain: Ovacık, Arif, Dikmen and Alakilise, which are abundant in ecclesiastical buildings.¹⁸ F. Abrahamse referred to the settlements dated to the 6th -10th centuries by using the hagiographic sources,¹⁹ while C. Foss used a particular reference, the Vita of St. Nicholas of Sion, in order to locate the settlements in their geographical position.²⁰ Foss also researched the history of

¹⁵ Tomaschek 1975: 43-53.

¹⁶ Harrison 1963: 117-151.

¹⁷ Bean and Harrison 1967: 38-43.

¹⁸ Harrison 1980: 109-118.

¹⁹ Abrahamse 1967.

²⁰ Foss 1991: 303-339. Although the usage of Holy Zion with a “Z” is correct in English, in this study I use the form with an “S”, despite the fact that this conceals its connections with the site at Jerusalem (Anrich 1913-1917: 228-240). Although Foss (1991: 303, n. 3) favours the usage of “Z”, most scholars (Sevčenko and Sevčenko 1984) prefer to use the “S”.

the region,²¹ as well as making a detailed study of the religious and military structures of coastal Lycia.²²

H.G. Severin worked at Alacadağ,²³ while O. Feld focused on Myra and its port Andriake.²⁴ P. Grossmann and H. G. Severin recorded the churches and other Byzantine structures at Andriake, Sura, Demre, Kökburnu, Alacadağ and Susuz Dağ.²⁵ U. Peschlow concentrated on the architecture of the Church of St. Nicholas at Myra and its history in Lycia, and in particular he analyzed the Middle Byzantine structures.²⁶ J. P. Adam published the architecture of the basilica at Kydna,²⁷ and the basilica at Dereağzı was published in a monograph by J. Morganstern.²⁸

R. M. Harrison also studied the architectural sculpture of Lycia, focusing on the finds from Myra and its environs,²⁹ while J. Morganstern analyzed the Middle Byzantine architectural sculpture of the region.³⁰ J. P. Sodini published

²¹ Foss 1993: 5-25. S. Y. Ötüken (1996: 73-85) recapitulates the history of scholarship for Lycia and says that Foss makes a limited discussion of this very long period of time and some of the information lacks references.

²² Foss 1987: 212-255.

²³ Severin 1976: 97-99.

²⁴ Feld 1975: 398-424.

²⁵ Grossmann and Severin 1981: 101-109.

²⁶ Peschlow 1975: 303-359; 1990: 207-257; 1993: 57-59.

²⁷ Adam 1977: 53-78.

²⁸ Morganstern 1983.

²⁹ Harrison 1972: 187-197.

³⁰ Morganstern 1986: 25-29.

the templon structure at Xanthos.³¹ O. Feld and U. Peschlow discussed and analyzed the architectural sculpture of the Church of St. Nicholas at Myra,³² which was later reviewed and re-evaluated by S. Alparslan.³³ J. Morganstern evaluated groups of finds from Dereağzı,³⁴ and R. Jakobek published a certain decorated panel in Limyra.³⁵

In terms of frescoes, the ones from the church of St. Nicholas in Myra are the best documented. The first attempt to study these frescoes was made by Feld,³⁶ and N. Çorağan studied them in more detail in 1998.³⁷ The frescoes in Xanthos have also been studied,³⁸ and the results and analysis of the wall painting remains on the Karacaören Island have been published.³⁹

However, although some sites have had their Byzantine material studied and published in detail, there are others which, even though the sites are being excavated, do not have good published accounts of the late material. Although the excavators of cities such as Arycanda, Limyra and Patara, for example, do pay attention to the structures dating to the Byzantine period, the published discussions reserved for such structures have not gone beyond a few sentences

³¹ Sodini 1980: 119-128.

³² Feld 1975: 360-378; Peschlow 1990: 216-240.

³³ Alparslan 1995 (unpublished Ph.D thesis).

³⁴ Morganstern 1993: 79-86.

³⁵ Jakobek 1993: 197-200.

³⁶ Feld 1975: 378-394.

³⁷ Çorağan 1998 (unpublished Ph.D thesis).

³⁸ Jolivet-Levy 1982: 78-84.

of an explanatory nature and some architectural sketch drawings.⁴⁰ The archaeological and art historical analyses of the materials excavated in the Church of St. Nicholas at Myra remain so far the most comprehensive.⁴¹

B. The Hacimusalar Excavations (Fig. 1)

The survey and excavation project of Hacimusalar Höyük has been carried out since 1993 under the directorship of Assoc. Prof. İlknur Özgen by the Department of Archaeology and History of Art of Bilkent University, with the participation of the Associated Colleges of the South and De Pauw University⁴². The project promises to be an important one that will shed more light not only on the periods that have been investigated by the Bryn Mawr College excavations but also the later periods, i.e. Classical, Hellenistic, Roman, Byzantine and Islamic.

The excavations on the mound have focused on five main sectors (Fig. 2). The opening of the trenches on the west slope in 1997 revealed Early Bronze Age architecture and pottery. The trench opened at the top of this slope exposed an architectural unit with a distinctive mosaic floor fragment of a vase with

³⁹ Asano 1992: 155.

⁴⁰ The best examples are: for Arycanda, Bayburtluoğlu, 1984: 175-179; for Patara, Işık 1991; Uluçam 1991: 37-38; Effenberger and Kunze 1995: 257-258; Kunze *et al.* 1995: 281-282; Kunze 1996: 167-170; Effenberger 1996: 170-171. The Byzantine structures in Limyra have been studied in more detail than the others: Peschlow 1984: 409-421; Jakobek 1987: 329-333; Peschlow 1996: 141-142.

⁴¹ Discussions on the architecture and the material of the Church of St. Nicholas have been published by Ötüken (1991: 291-303; 1992: 179-192; 1993, 102-117; 1994a: 475-486; 1994b: 115-123; 1995: 115-123; 1996: 227-238; 1997: 541-566; 1998: 481-504; 1999: 351-366; 2000: 345-358), with contributions from her students, S.Alparslan, M.Acara, Y. Olcay and N. Çorağan and A. Güngören, from 1995 onwards, who further studied the material from the church over the following years and discussed them in their unpublished Ph.D theses.

⁴² Özgen 1998.

flowers. The excavations on the north side of the mound, carried out since 1995, have uncovered a wall of sandstone and mud brick, although the wall has not been securely dated. The ceramic assemblage ranges from Early Bronze to Roman. The excavations on the east side of the mound, conducted in 1993, 1994 and 1995, were re-commenced in the 2000 season. This area has yielded a wall of a similar nature to that found at the north, as well as a gateway structure, suggesting a continuous fortification around the edge of the top of the mound. The ceramic assemblage is similar to that found at the north side of the mound. The Central Area is the fourth major sector, excavated since 1994. It has revealed a series of architectural levels with secure stratigraphic levels dating from Classical to Late Roman and Byzantine, with a wealth of ceramic finds. The fifth major sector, excavated since 1998, is the one in which were discovered the churches that are the subject of this thesis.⁴³

Other areas on the mound have been excavated for only one season. These include two trenches lying between the church area and the east side of the mound, in both of which were found burials that seem to indicate that this part of the site was used as a cemetery at some point in the Byzantine period.⁴⁴

⁴³ This area had previously been referred to as the 'Death Pit'. It was a squarish pit, rich in spolia, that had been illegally excavated by the villagers. It was given this name because each year at the beginning of the season the area was given to a group of students to be cleaned and to collect the spolia. In 1998, excavation in the 'Death Pit' had started under the direction of Sinan Kılıç and was continued by Halford Haskell, Suna Çağaptay, Bülent Arıkan and Dinç Saraç. In 1999 the excavation team in this area consisted of Ben Claasz Coockson, Suna Çağaptay, Pamela Haskell, Dinç Saraç, Yasemin Bakan, Efe Erel, Jena Balton, David Shonts and Miranda Moore. In the 2000 season the excavation was divided into two areas, the inner areas supervised by Suna Çağaptay, with trench masters İlke Aykanat Çam and Yasemin Bakan, and the outer area excavated under the supervision of Ben Claasz Coockson, with trench supervisors Efe Erel, Idil Ergün, Kerem Uğurel, A. Fuat Köseoğlu, Whitney S. Prince, Kına Yurdayol, Lindsay Dobrovolny and Sarah Campbell.

⁴⁴ The significance of these burials is briefly discussed in the final chapter of this thesis, p. 91.

CHAPTER II

THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT DURING LATE ANTIQUITY AND THE BYZANTINE PERIOD (Maps 1 and 3)

Our knowledge of the history of the Elmalı Plain, and indeed of Lycia as a whole, for Late Antiquity and the Byzantine period is scanty in terms of evidence from documentary sources. Although the literary evidence can be supplemented with evidence from the archaeological remains, scholars who have worked on the history of the region sometimes disagree in their interpretation of the evidence; consequently, their opinions and conclusions about what was happening in Lycia during this period in terms of issues such as prosperity versus decline, continuity versus discontinuity, coastal versus inland developments, can differ. Quite clearly, this is a result of the paucity of the evidence, which is still open to discussion, and further archaeological data is needed in order to clarify the picture. Nonetheless, this chapter reviews the documentary evidence for Lycia from Late Antiquity until the advent of the Turks, and briefly considers the archaeological evidence within the historical context.⁴⁵

⁴⁵ This evidence is reviewed in some detail by İlseven 1999: 137-156. The other major sources I have relied on for the information in this chapter are Foss 1993 and 1994, and Hellenkemper 1993.

Lycia had lost its independence in AD 43, when it was joined with Pamphylia to form the Roman province of Lycia-Pamphylia. The two provinces were separated in the late 60s, but were joined once again under Vespasian. This arrangement continued until Late Antiquity, as Lycia is seen during the reign of Constantine to be a separate province governed by a *praeses*, with Myra as the ecclesiastical and civil metropolis, probably the result of Diocletian's provincial reorganisation. The governor became *consularis* during the reign of Theodosius II. When Heraclius organized the empire into military themes in the 7th century, Lycia was included with the rest of southwest Asia Minor and the Aegean islands under the *strategus* of the Carabisiani, but in the early 8th century it came under the *strategus* of the newly formed Cibyrraeotic theme.⁴⁶

Several of the documentary sources for Late Antiquity and the Byzantine period comprise lists, one of which is the list of Hierocles Syncedemus, which is dated to a period before AD 535, believed to have been based on an administrative document from the mid 5th century, with later additions made during the reign of Justinian.⁴⁷ Hierocles records the names of the cities of the Eastern Roman Empire, which have been organised by province in a rough geographical order. For the province of Lycia, a total of 32 places are listed, comprising 30 cities, with Myra as the metropolis, one region and one village. Podalia and Choma are mentioned immediately after Limyra and Arycanda, which agrees more or less with a geographical order, although Komba and Nisa are listed after Xanthos, further down the list.

⁴⁶ Jones 1937: 106; Ostrogorsky 1969: 119, 140; Foss 1994: 2.

⁴⁷ Gregory 1991: 930; Jones 1937: 520.

Another documentary source is the Notitiae. There are two types of Notitiae we know of. The first is Basil II Notitia, which was recorded by a geographer by the name of George of Cyprus who lived in the 7th century.⁴⁸ Like Hierocles' list, his list was a compilation of secular and administrative documents and it follows a rough geographical order, although less so than Hierocles'. It bore the title of "Eparchia Lycia", having the city of Podalia listed between Apillon and Arycanda, Choma between Oenoanda and Kandanon, and Komba grouped with Patara and Nysa.

The next group of Notitiae is known as Notitiae Episcopatum.⁴⁹ These are lists consisting of the names of the ecclesiastical dioceses, arranged in a hierarchical order. Metropolitan sees are followed by autonomous archbishoprics, which in turn are followed by bishoprics clustered under a metropolis. These Notitiae began to be compiled during the reign of Heraclius and were continued into the advent of the Turkic tribes. Choma, Podalia and Komba were mentioned as bishoprics in the lists from the 7th to 12th centuries, under the metropolitan bishopric of Myra.

The initial spread of Christianity is little known for Lycia.⁵⁰ However, the Council lists from the 4th century indicate that many of the Lycian cities must already have had ecclesiastical establishments that were represented by their

⁴⁸ Kazhdan 1991a: 837-838; Gelzer 1890. This list was re-compiled by Armenian Basil II of Lalimbana in the 9th century.

⁴⁹ Kazhdan 1991b: 1496; Darrouzès 1981.

⁵⁰ Harrison 1963: 118-124 gives a detailed history of Christianity in Lycia, based on the literary sources.

bishops at the Council meetings. Choma was represented at the Councils of AD 325, 359, 381, 431, 451 and 457.

During the time of the Arian controversy, the Lycian bishops supported Arius. Despite the fact that the doctrine of Arius was condemned by the Council of Nicaea in AD 325, the records of the Seleucian Council of 359 show that the Lycian bishops continued to support Arianism. This is confirmed by the letter sent to the bishop of Iconium in 375 by Basil of Caesareia, who strongly supported Orthodoxy. From this letter it is seen that the bishops of Corydalla, Phellus, Patara and Telmessus and one presbyter from Limyra and three from Myra would be willing to accept Orthodoxy, implying that others, including the bishop of Myra, still were inclined to support the Arian heresy.⁵¹ However, during the Council of Constantinople in AD 381, a total of nine Lycian bishops voted for Orthodoxy.⁵² This number included the bishops of Choma and Podalia. Orthodoxy seems to have been universally accepted in Lycia by the 5th century, during which time the Councils of Ephesus (431) and Chalcedon (451) were planning to eradicate Monophysitism, whose belief found its origins in Syria and Palestine. However, close contact with Egypt and Palestine indicate that Monophysite influence may have been important in Lycia, and Harrison wonders if the increasing number of rural monasteries might have been a reason for the Lycian bishops to oppose Monophysitism.⁵³

⁵¹ Basil *Ep.* 218; see Harrison 1963: 119.

⁵² Mansi III 570.

⁵³ Harrison 1963: 119-120.

An important source for the 6th century in Lycia is the Vita of St. Nicholas of Sion.⁵⁴ This source not only narrates the Saint's life in an anecdotal fashion, but also is a guide to understanding life both in cities and in the rural society of villages at that time.⁵⁵ The historical value of the Vita is enhanced by the fact that it was written little after the Saint's death, which can be dated with a great degree of possibility to the year 564. The author must have been a person from his entourage who may have joined in his travels. An interesting point concerning rural life is that all the villages (around 20 in number) recorded in the Vita seem to have had their own churches, yet not been isolated from neighbouring settlements, monasteries and the metropolitan seat of Myra.

There is no doubt about the prosperity of Lycia during the period of the *pax Romana*, but the question of whether and how this might have continued or changed from the 3rd century onwards is one of the instances of scholars' differences of opinion, and illustrates the paucity of the evidence. There is also a difference of opinion about whether there might have been any significant difference in prosperity between the coastal areas and their immediate hinterland, and the upland areas. Harrison, for example, argues for a decline in cities in Late Antiquity, but a growing prosperity of village life,⁵⁶ while Foss believes that the coastal cities were not in decline and that it is not possible to

⁵⁴ This St. Nicholas lived in the first half of the 6th century. Like the other St. Nicholas who, according to the tradition, had been a contemporary of the emperor Constantine the Great and transformed into Santa Claus as time went on, he was also active in Lycia. We have more reliable information about the St. Nicholas of Sion who was a historical figure (Sevčenko and Sevčenko 1984: ii -11). The account is roughly chronological.

⁵⁵ Sevčenko and Sevčenko 1984: 11; İlseven 1999: 27-28, 139-140.

⁵⁶ Harrison 1963: 120, 148.

argue for a flourishing of villages and their ecclesiastical buildings,⁵⁷ Hellenkemper believes there is not enough evidence to prove this one way or the other.⁵⁸ Harrison and Foss particularly disagree concerning the intensity of building activities during the reign of Justinian.⁵⁹ However, it is not unlikely that coastal Lycia benefited from trade activities because of its strategic location on the shipping route between Constantinople and the Levant and Egypt. Foss notes the continuous threat of brigandage suffered by northern Lycia from the late 3rd to the 6th-7th centuries,⁶⁰ although just how adversely this might have affected the inland regions is not certain.

There is no documentary evidence indicating that the Persian attacks of the early 7th century had any direct impact on Lycia; although it is not unlikely that the coastal cities were under threat during the attacks on Samos and Rhodes,⁶¹ there is no direct archaeological evidence to suggest that this was the case.

There is some documentary evidence to suggest that Lycia did not escape the Arab attacks from the 7th century onwards. The Arab incursion into Central Anatolia in 644 took a route through Lycia, and the second sea expedition in 653 under Mu'awiya, whose main purpose was to attack the islands of Cos, Crete and Rhodes, possibly also included coastal Lycia, and it has been

⁵⁷ Foss 1994: 46 n. 185.

⁵⁸ Hellenkemper 1993: 106.

⁵⁹ Harrison 1963: 120; Foss 1994: 2.

⁶⁰ Foss 1993: 20.

⁶¹ Foss 1993: 26; 1994: 49; İlseven 1999: 144-145. Foss (1993: 26; 1994: 2, 49) suggests that the evidence for the burning of the basilica at Xanthos, apparently during the reign of Heraclius,

suggested that the inhabitants of coastal Lycia might have migrated inland to protect themselves from the Arab raids.⁶² The coast may also have suffered as a result of the Byzantine fleet being defeated by Mu'aviya's fleet at the battle of Phoinix (modern Finike) in 655.⁶³ Foss maintains that with this defeat Lycia suffered from a total disappearance of the maritime culture that had played a crucial life in her history for the purpose of maintaining food and goods.⁶⁴ In 672, the Arab fleet wintered in Lycia and Cilicia, and Foss is no doubt correct in remarking that the inhabitants of these regions would have had to provide provisions and would have been subjected to looting.⁶⁵

In 677 and 717 the Arab fleet was defeated by the Byzantine fleet.⁶⁶

Theophanes records an Arab fleet that had sailed from Alexandria *in Phoenicem* in search of cedar wood in 717.⁶⁷ It is, however, uncertain if this reference is to Phoinix on the Lycian coast or to the Phoenician coast. The Arab fleet was again defeated by the Byzantine fleet in 790, under the command of Theophilus, *strategus* of the Cibyrraeotic theme, who sailed from Myra and defeated the Arabs at Attalia. In 808, however, the Church of St. Nicholas at Myra was looted by the fleet commanded by Harun al Rashid on its

abandonment of the church at the Letoon, and similar evidence from Limyra were a result of the wars with the Persians. It should be there is no secure dating evidence for the last two.

⁶² Hellenkemper 1993: 100. Hellenkemper also talks about the attack that took place in 649 in Cyprus and resulted in the death and slavery of 120,000 people, news of which had probably terrified the inhabitants of the coastal regions.

⁶³ Hellenkemper 1993: 101-102.

⁶⁴ Foss 1994: 49.

⁶⁵ Foss 1994: 3.

⁶⁶ Hellenkemper 1993: 102-103.

⁶⁷ Theophanes *Chronographia* I 384, see Turtledove 1982.

way to Rhodes. Towards the middle of the 9th century, the Arab threats decreased, although they did not stop completely.⁶⁸ A particular period of respite began in 961 when, under the Macedonian dynasty, Crete was taken back from the Arabs who had established a state there in 823.⁶⁹

Following the Battle of Manzikert in 1071, this relatively peaceful and prosperous period was stopped by the Turks, and despite a period of recovery during the Comnene period (1081-1185), the interior was overrun by Turkish nomads, who had reached the coast from the upland plains of northern Lycia by 1191. This infiltration of the Turkish nomads into northern Lycia had resulted in the loss of the fortress of Phileta or Philetas in the Elmalı region in 1158. By the 13th century the whole region of Lycia was outside the limits of the Byzantine empire.⁷⁰

When one looks at the archaeological evidence, it can be seen that there is a change in prosperity in the urban and rural life of Lycia from the 7th century. Neither coastal nor inland Lycia shows any kind of prosperity and flourishing except for short periods of recovery under the Macedonian Dynasty and the during the Comnenian period. The raids of the Persians and Arabs⁷¹ have always been claimed as a reason for this deurbanization.⁷² This may be true in

⁶⁸ Hellenkemper 1993: 103.

⁶⁹ Foss 1994: 3

⁷⁰ Foss 1993: 26; 1994: 3.

⁷¹ Foss 1993: 26.

⁷² Foss 1994: 2-4.

the sense that these attacks cut the commercial activities going on in the East Mediterranean well into the tenth and eleventh centuries.⁷³

The biggest problem in relating the archaeological data to specific events, or sometimes even centuries, is the lack of firm dating evidence. The basilica at Xanthos was apparently burned in the 7th century, in the time of Heraclius, but whether this can be related to the Persian attacks or not cannot be confirmed, although Foss believes that it is a reasonable assumption to relate this event and the apparent abandonment of the church at Letoon with the Persian wars.⁷⁴

Foss also associates the fortifications around the Lycian acropolis at Xanthos with this period, on the style of the masonry, which would suit a 7th century date, and suggests that other cities in the region in which there is evidence for new fortification walls of a small circuit were fortified during the Dark Ages. These cities include the coastal sites of Patara, Telmessos, Limyra, Phoinix, Myra, Andriake and Phaselis, as well as the more isolated inland sites of Tlos, Pinara and Oenoanda.⁷⁵

While this practice of fortifying or refortifying settlements can certainly be attributed to defensive reasons, it cannot, however, be argued that a smaller circuit of walls indicates a decrease in population. Many people in any case lived outside the city walls even before contraction. Moreover, a smaller

⁷³ Hellenkemper 1993: 99-100.

⁷⁴ Foss 1993: 26-27.

⁷⁵ Foss 1993: 27-29.

fortification circuit was much easier to defend, and it could be used as a refuge in times of trouble.

A piece of archaeological evidence that cannot safely be seen as an indication of a decrease in population is the replacing of large churches by smaller ones. There are other explanations, such as a change in the liturgy of the church. The implications of this phenomenon is especially relevant to Choma, where the Late Church of the Middle Byzantine period is quite a lot smaller than the early basilica on the site.

Foss argues for the case that there were fewer people on the coast than there had been in the 6th century.⁷⁶ One possible explanation for this is that they moved towards more protected places in the interior. However, there is not enough evidence to comment on this any further.

Not all sites show signs of a significant reduction in prosperity. Myra, being close to the harbour at Andriake and an important place of pilgrimage, always remained an important centre. When the church of a basilical plan was destroyed, possibly in an attack, it was rebuilt on its original scale with a different form, the cross-domed basilica, maybe in the 8th century.⁷⁷ Alakilise is an example of a site in the hinterland that was continuously occupied without any major hiatus. Even the settlers managed to rebuild their churches in the early 9th century. The great Church of the Archangel was rebuilt in 812 on the

⁷⁶ Foss 1993: 29.

⁷⁷ Foss 1993: 28.

same plan and at the same scale as the old one, and in the 8th-9th centuries a new chapel was added.⁷⁸

There is evidence for some growth and recovery in coastal Lycia during the relative peace of the 11th century.⁷⁹ The basilica of Xanthos was rebuilt, and its former baptistery became a church, with iconostasis⁸⁰ and paintings.⁸¹ At Myra the church and the acropolis were rebuilt.⁸² There is also evidence for rebuilding or expansion of fortresses at sites such as Telmessos, Xanthos, Patara, Limyra and Lebissos (Gemiler Adası). However, these signs of regrowth appear to have been restricted to the coastal sites.⁸³

The archaeology of Lycia under the Turks can only be seen in outline and is beyond the scope of this thesis. The reason for the scanty evidence is partly because of occupation by nomads, who have left few traces.

⁷⁸ Harrison 1963: 126.

⁷⁹ Foss 1993: 29.

⁸⁰ Sodini 1980: 147.

⁸¹ Jolivet-Levy 1982: 73-74.

⁸² Peschlow 1975: 209-211.

⁸³ Foss 1993: 29-30.

There are, however, signs that, as a result of their advent through the Lycian mountains, the first major settlements were to the north of Elmalı and its immediate vicinity, There was occupation by Ladik and Honoz Emirates in the early 11th century.⁸⁴ The bishop lists, however, do continue beyond this date, suggesting that the presence of the Turks did not eradicate Christianity.

⁸⁴ Flemming 1964: 96.

CHAPTER III

THE EARLY CHURCHES (Fig. 3)

A. Introduction

The earliest of the churches identified at the site is a basilica with a triconch chapel. On top of this was built what appears to have been a triconch church. Although these are clearly two different buildings, they are discussed in the same chapter here because it is not yet possible to attribute certain features and finds to one or the other. When more excavation has been carried out it might be possible to say more about these two churches, including being more positive about the plans, distinguishing any major sub-phases, and being more certain about attributing certain features and finds to particular buildings or phases. The fact that the Late Church, which will be discussed in the next chapter, was constructed over the earlier churches has caused a certain amount of confusion, as has the illegal excavation that has taken place in this part of the site in the past.

The organization of this chapter is as follows: first, these two major buildings are described and discussed; secondly, the decorated architectural pieces that

might be attributable to one of these early buildings; thirdly, the wall paintings, followed by the mosaics, the liturgical objects and, finally, the pottery.

B. Disposition of the Early Structures

a. Basilica with *Triconchos* Chapel (Fig. 3):

A nave and two aisles form this plan. There is a large enclosed apse at the east end of the nave. The north aisle terminates in a small room, measuring c. 2.70 x 2.70 m, which is externally rectangular, with an internal apse at its east end. Within the apse is a feature which was first thought to have been the remains of a cruciform font (Fig. 4a-b). It is formed by blocks, which were plastered. The south and west parts of this feature are obscured by the apse at the end of the north wall of the Late Church, but the south part would have mirrored the north part. It would have measured 1.20 m from north to south, and would have measured around 80 cm from east to west, if it were symmetrically cruciform. Cruciform fonts are known from other churches, among them Xanthos and Karabel in Lycia (Fig.4 c-d).⁸⁵ Although these fonts are at the north sides of the churches to which they belong, the Xanthos baptistery is situated beyond the main apse, to its northeast, and the Karabel baptistery is an apsed chamber that projects beyond the main apse. The Karabel font measures 96 cm from east to west and 58 cm from north to south. Another argument against identifying this feature in the Choma basilica as a font is its situation in relation to the surrounding walls. It is placed against the apse and there is very little space between its north and

⁸⁵ For Xanthos, des Courtils *et al.* 2001: 237-239, Fig. 24; for Karabel, Harrison 1963: 132-135, Fig. 11-12.

south ends, which would have restricted access, whereas other fonts of this nature are more centrally placed, with plenty of space around them. An alternative interpretation of this feature is that it may have been a niche such as seen in some Cappadocian churches, for preparation of the eucharist or storage of related equipment.⁸⁶

The foundations of the two stylobates that separate the nave from the aisles were excavated in the 2000 season, revealing some pottery, which provided a dating criterion for the phasing of the church. The pottery found in this fill dates to the 6th century at the latest.⁸⁷ The lower part of the north wall of the basilica has been revealed by excavation, but there is no clear evidence for the south side.

The south aisle terminates in a small *triconchos* chamber, probably a chapel, which is externally rectangular. The east and south conches have been identified, but the north conch has been obscured, and possibly destroyed, by the later construction of the apse at the end of the south aisle of the Late Church. This chamber projects little beyond the main apse. It is not strictly aligned with the rest of the basilica, and its east wall is even more out of alignment. It is difficult to tell whether or not this *triconchos* chamber was a later addition or modification to the basilica. The poor alignment is also not easy to explain; there does indeed seem to have been some subsidence at the south side of the church site, possibly a result of earthquake damage, but this

⁸⁶ I would like to acknowledge my gratitude to Julian Bennett for pointing out this alternative possibility.

⁸⁷ For a discussion of the pottery, see below p. 55-58 .

would not explain why the east wall of the chamber does not form a perfect right angle with its south wall.

According to Harrison, the wooden-roofed three-aisled basilica with an atrium, narthex and single projecting apse is the typical and traditional church form for Lycia.⁸⁸ However, in terms of the plan of the Choma basilica, with its *triconchos* chamber, I know of only two comparisons, one being the basilica at Kökburnu (Fig. 5), a few kilometres south of Finike on the Lycian coast,⁸⁹ the other being Church A at Andriake (Fig. 6),⁹⁰ both of which have a triconch chapel at the end of the south aisle that projects a little beyond the main apse. A further point that needs to be made is that, unlike these two other Lycian examples, the Choma basilica has an inscribed apse, for which the closest comparisons are to be found in 6th century churches in the Levant.⁹¹ In addition, it needs to be stressed here that, since the excavation in the church area has not yet been completed, particularly the immediately surrounding areas, it is not known whether or not this basilica had an atrium.

b. *Triconchos* Church (Fig. 7):

⁸⁸ Harrison 1963: 148.

⁸⁹ Harrison 1963: 138, 139 Fig. 15; Harrison suggests no date for this basilica.

⁹⁰ Grossman and Severin 1981: 102-103.

⁹¹ For example, the three inscribed tri-apsidal basilicas of Bishop Isaiah, Saints Peter and Paul, and Procopius at Jerash, dated to AD 520-550 (Piccirillo 1993: 358), and the Church of the Lions at Umm al Rasas, dated to AD 574 or 589 (Piccirillo 1993: 364).

The structure that appears to have been a *triconchos* church has two conches whose remains have been excavated. The main apse of the early basilica was retained as the east conch of the triconch church. To the north is a feature that is known as the “Monumental Structure”, since it was referred to as such when it first appeared, because its purpose and its relation to the church was at first unknown. The niche-like appearance in the so-called Monumental Structure can now be attributed to the north conch of the *triconchos*. Unfortunately, excavation has not uncovered anything of the south conch or any remains of the body of this church.⁹²

There are four examples of plans from Lycia comparable to this *triconchos* church. These are Karabel, Devekuyusu, Alacahisar and Dikmen. Harrison was of the opinion that Karabel (Fig. 8) was probably the earliest of these four churches, and was the prototype for Devekuyusu and Alacahisar, and probably also Dikmen.⁹³ His only suggestion of an absolute date depends on whether or not the Karabel monastery-church was indeed the Sion monastery of Nicholas, in which case it would date to the third decade of the 6th century at the latest.⁹⁴ His reluctance to propose absolute dates for the early churches in Lycia is partly because there exists very little in the way of firmly dated comparative material and partly because one should be cautious about applying general theories of development to churches in such isolated areas

⁹² Since so little of this church survives, and the diameters of the conches are not the same (see below), there might be some doubt that it was indeed a triconch church. However, I can suggest no other possible explanation for the function of the so-called Monumental Structure.

⁹³ Harrison 1963: 150, n. 163.

⁹⁴ Harrison 1963: 150.

as this.⁹⁵ However, he does say that a relative chronology is possible for the Lycian churches, and that the basilica plan churches, such as Alakilise and Muskar, pre-date the triconch churches. Choma demonstrates this same relative chronology, in that the basilica is earlier than the triconch church.

The three conches of the Karabel monastery-church are externally rectangular, with a semicircular apse within. The masonry is finished by fine architectural carving using chisel and drill.⁹⁶ The second *triconchos* church noted by Harrison is the church at Devekuyusu (Fig. 9).⁹⁷ The east and north conches are standing and a cistern at the west marks the centre of the atrium, but the south conch has collapsed and the body of the church no longer survives, making it difficult to make assumptions about the nave and aisle arrangement. In terms of size, it is very close to the Karabel *triconchos*, although its masonry is not as elaborate. The *triconchos* church at Alacahisar (Fig. 10) has a nave and two aisles.⁹⁸ The east part of the church, including the conches, is carved out of a rocky outcrop. Much of the masonry has disappeared, but like Karabel, it has fine architectural carving. In the

⁹⁵ Harrison 1963: 150, n. 164. According to Harrison (1963: 148-150), the origin of the three-aisled *triconchos* churches can be linked to the South Mediterranean, specifically to Egypt and Palestine. Whether or not this supposition is correct for the *triconchos* churches in Lycia, Harrison illustrated the considerations which are necessary for the analysis of this type of church. These are the plan of the central bay, the roofing and its approach. Basically, the scheme of the *triconchos* type is a rectangular structure whose three walls are broken each by an apse. There is an elongated transeptal area, which is sheltered by a pitched roof, made of timber. It is also possible to see a similar plan whereby three apses formed a square bay and directly support first a square tower then a dome. Harrison also discusses how and why the domed structure began to be used as an alternative to the square tower, as well as the possibility of whether or not they were both in common use.

⁹⁶ Harrison 1963: 132.

⁹⁷ Harrison 1963: 137, Fig. 10.

⁹⁸ Harrison 1963: 136, 137 Fig. 14.

triconchos church at Dikmen (Fig. 11), the central area of the church housed the main apse and the *synthronon* of the Late Chapel phase.⁹⁹ This church has large ashlar masonry.

One difference between the other four Lycian examples of triconch churches and the Choma one is that all three conches of the other four are equal in diameter (ranging from 8 m for Karabel and 4.5 m for Dikmen), whereas the east conch of the Choma triconch has a diameter of 6 m and the north conch measures 4 m in diameter.¹⁰⁰ It is unfortunate that no further evidence for the triconch church at Choma has been found to indicate whether the triconch stood by itself, perhaps fronted by an atrium, or whether it was at the east end of a basilica-like structure, in which case the north and south conches may have in effect been the extremities of a cross-transept element.

There is no firm evidence concerning the dating of the early basilica and the triconch church at Choma. All that can be said is that the stratigraphy shows that the basilica pre-dates the triconchos; this is seen most clearly at the north side, where the north conch (the “Monumental Structure”) was built over and partly destroyed the north wall of the basilica. Most of the comparisons for the architectural pieces that can be attributed to one or other of these two early churches date to round about the 6th century, but this confirms an absolute date for neither of the two. At present, we have to be satisfied with accepting the relative chronology and placing the basilica

⁹⁹ Harrison 1963: 130, Fig. 8.

within the broad range of the Early Byzantine period, i.e. some time within the 4th to 6th centuries. All that can be said about the *triconchos* church is that it stands chronologically between the early basilica and the Late Church, and possibly dates to the Dark Age, i.e. some time between the 7th and the 9th centuries.

¹⁰⁰ I am grateful to Alessandra Ricci for pointing out that differences in conch diameters can in fact be seen in some churches in the West, particularly ones that seem to have served as centres of pilgrimage.

C. Architectural Decoration of the Early Churches (Findspot Plan 1)¹⁰¹

During the course of the excavations a large number of fragments of architectural sculpture were found within the church and around it. The material is the Local limestone and the technical use of chisel and drill and a wide range of motifs are evident. The ecclesiastical pieces belong to the Early to Middle Byzantine periods, i.e. the 6th-11th centuries.

Although this group of material bears a disparate nature, a categorization of the pieces is attempted in this chapter. According to this categorization there are three sub-divisions:

- 1- Pieces found reused in the Late Church, datable to the Early Byzantine Period.
- 2- Pieces found in the fill, datable to the Middle Byzantine Period.¹⁰²
- 3- Pieces found in the fill, that may belong either to the Early or Middle Byzantine Period.

The pieces in the first category pre-date the Late Church and most likely can be attributed to one of the two early churches. These pieces are included in this chapter. Those in the second category can be attributed to the Late Church, and are discussed in the next chapter. The dating range of comparisons for the pieces in the third category make it difficult to attribute these pieces securely to a particular building period; these are also examined

¹⁰¹ 'Findspot' is abbreviated as FSP.

¹⁰² It needs to be stressed here that the "fill" has no secure context; most of the earth that was excavated down to the floor level had already been disturbed as a result of the illegal excavation.

in the next chapter following the discussion of the pieces that can more confidently be attributed to the Late Church, but the reader should be aware that some of them may have belonged to one of the two earlier churches.¹⁰³

Pieces found reused in the Late Church, datable to the Early Byzantine Period

1. No inventory number.¹⁰⁴ Architectural block with a Latin cross (Fig. 13), inserted in the pier leading from narthex to the nave and at the same time dividing the north aisle from the nave (FSP 1.1). Uncovered in 1998 and left in place. Damaged in winter 1999 or spring 2000. Local limestone. Length 45 cm, width 30 cm, thickness 21 cm. Height of cross 35 cm, width of cross 25 cm, length of tang 10 cm.

This chiselled piece is decorated on one of the two visible sides with a Latin cross. Three arms of the cross are approximately equal in length, flaring to form triangles at the ends. Their shapes suggest that these three arms might have terminated in pairs of ovoid serifs, but this is unclear because, although the lines that indicate the cross are deeply carved, the carving at the ends is shallow and there has been subsequent weathering. The longer arm repeats the same design as the short arms. It touches a tang that is signified by a thin line. At the intersection of the four arms a square pattern is visible.

¹⁰³ See below, p. 74-80 for the pieces in the second category.

¹⁰⁴ Pieces that were reused in the Late Church and have not been removed have not been assigned inventory numbers.

So far, one comparable piece has been found, in the Church of St. Nicholas at Myra, where a Latin cross decoration is carved on the wall at the entrance hall leading to Grave 10 (Fig. 14). Feld dates this piece on the basis of style to the 6th century.¹⁰⁵ The scheme of the pattern is basically the same as on the Choma example, except for certain features; first, it is not as deeply carved as the Choma example; second, a *fleur-de-lis* is attached to its upper arm; thirdly, the cross stands on a stepped base that is interpreted as a representation of the Golgotha Hills. It is of course possible that the cross on the Choma stone originally stood on a similar stepped base, but this part has been lost because the stone was later recut.

It might be suggested that the reused stone at Choma might have originally been used as a mould to produce metal crosses. The presence of the tang may lead us to think that such crosses might have been for processional use.¹⁰⁶

Another suggestion that can be made is that the stone was perhaps used as a *chrismon*.¹⁰⁷

Although the cross from Myra has been dated to the 6th century, because the Choma stone is broken, there is no certainty of the purpose of the tang and the same date cannot be proposed with confidence. However, the stone clearly pre-dates the Late Church, since it was reused there and most probably can be associated with one of the two earlier buildings on the church site.

¹⁰⁵ Feld 1975b: 426.

¹⁰⁶ This suggestion is made with some help from Cotsonis (1994: 50) "Processional crosses were produced from various media and by different techniques."

¹⁰⁷ i.e. Christ's monogram, bearing apotropaic power; Čurčić 1992: 17-20.

2. No inventory number. Triangular ambo stone fragment (Fig. 15) that would have been a side piece of the stairs leading up to the pulpit. Used as a step on the southern staired entrance into the narthex of the Late Church (FSP 1.2). Uncovered in 1999 and left in place. Local marble. Length 55 cm, width 55 cm, thickness 28 cm.

The side attached to the steps is broken, and the edge facing the west wall of the narthex of the Late Church is broken. The design is simple, consisting of a series of grooves outlining a central triangular space.

There are two comparable pieces from Constantinople in respect of the grooving. One of these belongs to the Church of St. Euphemia, dating to the 6th century (Fig. 16), although this piece is more elaborately decorated, having a palmette pattern, ivy leaves and a *fleur-de-lis* design within the space outlined by the grooves.¹⁰⁸ The second example comes from the Odalar Camii (Fig. 17), dated to the Middle Byzantine period.¹⁰⁹

3. Inv. No. 07686. Templon post (Fig. 18), found in 2000 in the *bothros*¹¹⁰ and left at the depot. Local marble. Length 40 cm, width 23 cm, thickness 23 cm.

¹⁰⁸ Belting and Naumann 1976: 75-76.

¹⁰⁹ Westphalen 1998: 146.

¹¹⁰ The *bothros* is a pit to the northwest of the bema of the Late Church, in which several architectural pieces were found.

This complete piece is decorated on one side with a recessed panel with a raised central moulding, while the other three sides are left plain. The top part of the post has a shallow recess to accommodate a column base, which must have been attached to the post with an iron dowel.

There are comparable templon posts from the Middle Byzantine Church of St. Nicholas at Myra (Fig. 19), but which were reused and must originally have belonged to an earlier building of the church.¹¹¹ Other examples of templon posts are also found in the Middle Byzantine Kalenderhane Camii (Fig. 20 a-b), one of which (Fig. 20a) is very similar to the Choma example.¹¹²

4. No inventory number. Upper templon post element (Fig. 21) found in 1999, reused in the bema complex of the Late Church, where it functioned as a threshold stone (FSP 1.4). Local limestone. Length 150 cm, width 22 cm, thickness 24 cm.

This upper templon post element has no decoration at all. It is very smoothly chiselled. Its capital is carved in the shape of a square.

As we are not able to find any comparisons for this plain templon post, no dating can be proposed. However, one should keep in mind that it was reused and therefore must be earlier in date than the Late Church, and that the dimensions of its cross-section are equivalent to those of No. 3.

¹¹¹ Feld 1975a: 360; Peschlow 1990: 219-220.

¹¹² Peschlow 1998: 107.

5. Inv No. 04678. Chancel screen slab (Fig 22), reused in the construction of the southern staired entrance in the narthex of the Late Church (FSP 1.5). In the 2000 season it was dismantled from the wall and taken to the depot. Local limestone. Length 35 cm, height 30 cm, thickness 12 cm.

Only one face of this piece is decorated; the stone is broken at both ends. A cross pattern is carved which is inserted into a floral, lily and architectural arcade design. The carving is very shallow and rather dry. The architectural feature is rendered by double grooves. Behind the arch-like feature a floral branch with stems was carved.

It is hard to identify the type of the cross. Pieces that can be cited as rough comparisons are known from Myra and Constantinople. The Myra example, dated to the 6th century, has a Maltese cross encircled in a disc and adorned with serif-like decoration (Fig.23).¹¹³ The examples from Constantinople both bear Latin crosses. The piece from the Church of St. Euphemia, also dated to the 6th century, is an altar top table decorated with a Latin cross that is sheltered by an *acrosolia* of laurel wreaths (Fig. 24).¹¹⁴ The third example was reused in the Odalar Camii, a very large fragment of marble, originally dated to the 5th-6th centuries, featuring a Latin cross within an aedicula (Fig. 25).¹¹⁵ On the basis of current opinion, a comparison of the depth of carving would

¹¹³ Feld 1975a: 367 identifies the floral pattern as a rosette. For the design on the Choma example “lily” is preferred.

¹¹⁴ Belting and Naumann 1976: 49.

¹¹⁵ Westphalen 1998: 147.

suggest that the Choma piece, which has shallower carving, was later in date than the comparanda. But it is difficult to give a precise date and this piece must pre-date the Late Church since it was reused in its construction.

6. Inv No. 09921, 09924.¹¹⁶ Chancel Screen fragment, in three pieces (Fig.18). Two of them found in 2000, in the *bothros*, and one reused in the staired south entrance into the narthex of the Late Church (FSP 1.6). The first two pieces were left at the depot. Local limestone. Length 36 cm, height 32 cm, thickness 10 cm.

These pieces are joinable. They are decorated on both sides. One side has deeper carving, in the middle of which is a Maltese cross, surrounded by a diamond pattern. The whole surface is nicely chiselled. The other side is decorated with a Latin cross, which is carved in a very shallow manner.

In Myra, there is a particular chancel screen fragment which was originally executed in the 6th century and reused in the 12th century (Fig. 26).¹¹⁷

7. Inv. No. 09759, 09761, 09762. Small column (Fig. 18) found in three pieces in the *bothros* in the 2000 season and left at the depot (FSP 1.7). The column is complete apart from one missing piece. Local limestone. Diameter 24 cm, extant height 150 m.

¹¹⁶ Only two pieces have inventory numbers; the third piece was left in place in the staired south entrance to the narthex of the Late Church.

The column bears no decoration. It has been included in this section because the pieces were found in the same context as Nos. 3, 6 and 8 and may have belonged to the templon structure.

8. Inv. No. 09765. Epistyle fragment (Fig. 18). Found in the *bothros* in the 2000 season and left at the depot (FSP 1.8). Local limestone. Length 32 cm, width 16 cm, thickness 16 cm.

One side of this piece is decorated. One side has a space to hold the panels for the templon structure, and the other sides are chiselled. Acanthus leaves are used for the decoration. The carving is very dry and shallow. So far, I have been unable to find any comparable piece.

If the pieces Nos. 3-8 all belong to the same templon structure, there are a number of clues to indicate that this was part of one of the early churches. Firstly, there is enough evidence to reconstruct the minimum width of such a templon structure as 2.60 m and to be able to say that the measurements of the bema of the Late Church are just too small to fit this collection. Secondly, Nos. 4 and 6 and one piece of No. 5 were reused in the Late Church and thus must have had their primary use in one of the earlier churches. Also, several of these pieces were found together in the *bothros*, which, although not conclusive, may indicate that they had originally belonged together.

¹¹⁷ This detail is first mentioned by Feld (1975a) and Peschlow (1990) and repeated by Alparslan (1995).

D. Wall Painting Fragments of the Early Byzantine Period

Introduction to the Wall Painting Fragments

The condition of the wall paintings is very fragmentary. In addition to the several pieces remaining *in situ*, there are other pieces buried in the earth fill, ranging in size from less than a centimetre to as large as 15 cm. Of these hundreds of pieces, more or less half could be attributed to the larger assemblages, which can be patched together and assigned to specific locations. The identifiable designs include figurative, floral and geometric. The pieces with geometric decoration consist of a plain blue background or patterns executed in red, black and white. These fragments are so small and nondescript that they should be eliminated from consideration in the process of discussion.

Techniques and Materials¹¹⁸

In the wall plasters of the Roman period, lime was the main ingredient.¹¹⁹

Pliny, in his *Natural History*, said that the formula consisted of sand and lime.¹²⁰ Pliny's formula was repeated in the Byzantine sources, such as the

Lucca Manuscript of the 8th century,¹²¹ the *Mappae Clavicula* of the early 9th

¹¹⁸ Talbot-Rice (1967: 185-230), Winfield (1968: 63-139) and Restle (1969: 197-234; 1997: 1237-1274) give crucial information about wall painting methods and materials.

¹¹⁹ Vitruvius in *de Architectura* said that slaking lime was the most important ingredient in the plaster formula. It was also said that six layers of plaster were coated over the rough-cast lime. The first three were to consist of lime and sand. The last three were lime and marble dust in layers of diminishing thickness towards the surface layer (Granger 1934: 90-95).

¹²⁰ According to Pliny, the formula should have included one part lime to three parts of fine sand or one part lime and two parts of fine sand. If a one-third part of crushed pottery were added, the mixture would be at its best (Eichholz 1962: 136-141).

¹²¹ *Lucca Manuscript*, Winfield 1968: 65-70.

century,¹²² the *Craftsman's Handbook*, written in the 14th century by Cennini Cennini,¹²³ and *The Painter's Guide*.¹²⁴ As it can be understood from the Byzantine sources, lime remained the main ingredient¹²⁵ and it was accompanied by powdered marble, crushed pottery and brick pieces as the filler. Lax, hemp, straw, animal fat and chaff were used as binding elements. Other binding elements were whole egg or egg white, honey, wax, snail, saliva, garlic juice, gum, oil and resin.¹²⁶

The chemical analysis of the plaster fragments found in the Church of Choma has demonstrated that the formula consisted of lime, straw, chaff, flax and small amounts of sand.¹²⁷ The artists at Choma must have applied the plaster formula by making a series of layers each 2-3 cm thick. Then, the first outlines of the patterns would have been highlighted, followed by the painting itself. It is very difficult to understand whether the paintings were done when the plaster was wet (*fresco buono*) or dry (*fresco secco*) in the church of Choma. However, it is likely that the painting was executed in *fresco secco* technique, since the surface painting was lost.¹²⁸ For the colours, ochres were used.

¹²² *Mappae Clavicula*, Winfield 1968: 64-65.

¹²³ Text translated by Thompson (1956: 42-44), who comments on each practice.

¹²⁴ Winfield (1968: 67) and Hetherington (1974) demonstrate the methods that were applied by Panselinos, a Late Byzantine painter. Hetherington especially gives identification clues.

¹²⁵ Although lime was the most important ingredient, in the rock-cut churches of Cappadocia sand was used in great quantities (Winfield 1968: 132).

¹²⁶ Winfield 1968: 68, 107.

¹²⁷ I would like to express my gratitude to J. Doerner of the University of Colorado, who gave the information on the plaster formula.

¹²⁸ In order to be sure about the way in which the paintings were executed, there is a need for pigment analysis. Concerning the techniques, detailed accounts written by Winfield (1968: 69-70) and Underwood (1966 III: 304) have been used.

Mainly black, white, dark grayish blue, light blue, olive green, red, reddish brown and yellow have been identified. A combination of yellow and white was preferred to paint skin. Reddish brown was used to render the facial features and drapery folds.

1. Inv. No. 05664. A dressed block found in the debris during the excavation of the apse at the end of the south aisle of the Late Church in 1998 (FSP 1.9). Left at the depot. Length 100 cm, width 60 cm, thickness 45 cm.

Description:

This block (Fig. 27) had two layers of painting on it, which fact implies two different programs for the fresco decoration. The upper layer (Fig. 28 a) has a pattern with flowers and fruits depicted in green, brown, red, white, yellow and black. The fruit design can be associated with the pomegranate. On the layer below, the design resembles marble veneer. The design was applied by the use of yellow, brown and beige colours, imitating the architectural features (Fig 28 b). Very small similar fragments have been found.¹²⁹

Dating and Discussion:

The flower and fruit pattern of the upper layer can be compared in respect of thickness of brush strokes to a piece from Constantinople, dated to the 5th century.¹³⁰ On this wall painting we see a floral and fruit arrangement (Fig. 29)

¹²⁹ Painted panels imitating marble was a common practice in Late Antiquity.

¹³⁰ This wall painting and the *cryptoporticus* to which it belonged were found during the excavations held by the Istanbul Archaeological Museum in the garden of the Four Seasons Hotel. In a newspaper report (Turkish Daily News, 07.31.1998) the discovery was discussed with the director of the excavation, A. Pasinli, and R. G. Ousterhout.

that adorns the arch of a civic structure. The quasi-pomegranate feature on the Choma painting resembles the heart and chevron patterns (Fig.30) that were identified at the Cappadocian churches. Thierry discusses the fact that this type of pattern was very common in the 4th-7th centuries.¹³¹ On the basis of the comparable evidence, we can say that the Choma piece probably belongs to one of the two early churches.

2a. Inv. No. 07372. Fresco fragment (Fig. 31) found in the fill at the west end of the Monumental Structure (FSP 1.10) in the 1998 season. Left at the depot. Height 22 cm, width 23 cm.

Description:

On this fresco a man with red tears was depicted. Only about a quarter of his face survives. The man is balding, with a receding hairline and a high forehead. The face has an oval shape and the eyes are almond-shaped. A space is left between the outer edges of the upper and the lower eyelids. The ‘cauliflower’ ear is depicted by three brushstrokes, hemispherical in shape, one stroke for the top part of the ear, the other two for the lower part. The face has yellowish-beige colour.¹³² The sorrow and pain was depicted and highlighted by additional brushstrokes in reddish brown, indicating the ‘tears of blood’, and usage of other colours like yellow and black lines that were placed on his

¹³¹ Thierry 1995: 302. She adds that this pattern must be accepted as the continuation of the graeco-oriental taste.

¹³² According to Talbot- Rice (1967: 218) the faces of the figures in Byzantine art were executed in two ways. First, the whole face was painted in green and eyes, eyelashes, mouth and nose were added with reddish brown brushstrokes. After that, the rest of the face was re-painted in skin colour. In the second method the face was painted in skin colour then the facial features were added in reddish brown.

eyeballs and around his lips. The background was done in blue, which was common for 11th century paintings.¹³³

2b. Inv. No. 07372. Fresco fragment(Fig. 31) on which some hair and a very small portion of the face was represented. Found in the fill at the west end of the Monumental Structure (FSP 1.10) in the 1998 season. Left at the depot Length 11 cm: Width 14 cm. This piece has joinable edges with fragment 2a.¹³⁴

Description:

The representation of the curly hair was provided by thick brush strokes in reddish brown and black. A very small part of the cheek survives. Behind the man a nimbus is observable.

Dating and Discussion:

The identification of the man in fragment 2a is problematic. Having found only one portion of the face affects the whole process of stylistic and iconographic analysis. I have compared the example from Choma with published representations and identifications of saints, martyrs and holy men,¹³⁵ but the man with ‘tears of blood’ has not been attributed to any religious or historical figure. Crying in tears of blood should have been

¹³³ Winfield 1968: 100-101.

¹³⁴ Also found, possibly belonging to this figural programme, was a tiny fragment on which part of a finger can be identified.

¹³⁵ Hetherington 1974; Butler 1956; Sevčenko and Sevčenko 1984.

attributed to the notion of contrition or *πενθος*. According to Utheman¹³⁶ this term does not stand for the vale of tears but a real weeping and shedding of tears. Byzantine believers must have kept the importance of weeping as a part of their worshipping through “Blessed are they who mourn , for they shall be comforted.”¹³⁷ Furthermore, the contrition maybe related with the idea of hesychia that involves the denial of the human senses and passions.¹³⁸

The depiction of sorrow and pain on the Choma figure can be compared to the 6th century Vienna Genesis, where figures are represented dark and pessimistic, executed by thick black brushstrokes. The best scenes are the Death of Deborah and the Entombment of Rachel. Black lines under the eyes pointed out the sorrow, as seen, for example, in the Death of Jacob. Portraying a pessimistic appearance with thick brushstrokes continued into the Middle Byzantine period, as can be observed in the Visitation of Mary scene of the Paris Gregory.¹³⁹ Sorrowful rendition can be compared with Nerezi examples (Fig. 32).¹⁴⁰ The sorrow and the crying themes can be related to the Passion Cycle, as discussed by Weyl Carr and Podskalsky, who say that the first examples of this theme can be observed on a 4th century sarcophagus and that it

¹³⁶ Utheman 1991: 528.

¹³⁷ Mt. 5.4.

¹³⁸ Podskalsky 1991: 924.

¹³⁹ Maguire 1977: 169. The “Passion Cycle” means the Last days of Jesus Christ. In Turkey two churches near modern Niğde have well represented Passion Cycles: Akhisar Çanlı Kilise (Ötüken 1980) and Eski Andaval Hagios Konstantinos Kilisesi (Ötüken 1987).

¹⁴⁰ Connor 1991: 14-20; Maguire 1977: 125-171; Miljkovic-Peppek 1966: 36-37.

continued well into the 14th century.¹⁴¹ However, Maguire thinks that this theme only appears in the Middle Byzantine period.¹⁴²

In general our figure can be compared to the almond-eyed representations of the medallion figures from Hosios Loukas in Greece (Fig. 33). All of the Hosios Loukas figures have ‘cauliflower ears’, and some of them, in particular St. John the Theologian, St. Paul, St. Matthew and St. Simon, have a broad and/or high forehead, with sparse hair and a receding hairline.¹⁴³ It is unknown whether or not the Choma figure was bearded, like the Hosios Loukas saints, because the lower part of his face does not survive, although it is clear that the face was elongated. The depiction of the face in an elongated fashion was one of the characteristics of the 11th century, as a result of the impetus given to have a tranquil life.¹⁴⁴ The stern look bears a similarity to figures of the Menologion of Basil II (Fig. 34). Another comparison for the Choma figure is a saint’s face represented on 12th century wall paintings in the diaconicon complex of the main church of the Kalenderhane Camii (Fig. 35).¹⁴⁵ The Choma figure, however, may well have been a saint of local origin, but as very

¹⁴¹ Weyl Carr and Podskalsky 1991: 1593.

¹⁴² Maguire 1977:169-170.

¹⁴³ Hetherington 1974: 52; Connor 1991: 18-19, 21.

¹⁴⁴ Weitzmann 1967: 224. The heavenly and tranquil representations from Hosios Loukas, some of the best examples of this type, were called “hierarchical” by Diez and Demus (1931: 24-36). The Church of St. Sophia in Kiev enjoyed this style as well. According to Mouriki (1980: 87), depiction of tranquility and sorrow was demonstrated by the facial expression. This style, in the first half of the 11th century, was called by Mouriki “archaic” (1985: 231). Lazarev (1966: 61) thinks that “archaic” features could be easily seen in faces that were depicted in a tranquil and serious fashion. Mouriki (1985: 219) states that the emotions are conveyed through the intentional use of colours and deliberate brushstrokes.

¹⁴⁵ Striker and Kuban 1997: Pl. 164.

few rural saints are represented in the hagiography, this suggestion cannot be substantiated by any firm evidence.¹⁴⁶

Comparative evidence for the curly-haired figure on fragment 2b is represented by the figures with rich curly hair detail found on the north-east corner of the nave of the church on Tavşan Adası dating to the first half of the 7th century.¹⁴⁷ Similar representations are also recorded in the Church of St. Nicholas at Myra, dating to the 11th century (Fig. 36).¹⁴⁸ Hair detail can also be compared with an example from Odalar Camii, also dating to the 11th century, where the head of Mercurios (Fig. 37) is represented with curly hair and an incipient beard and is rendered in full military costume.¹⁴⁹ Another example would be the head of Mercurios shown as a young man with curly dark hair and incipient beard and moustache from the north soffit of the great western arch of the naos of Hosios Loukas (Fig.38). This is also dated to the 11th century.¹⁵⁰

Stylistically speaking, our fragment 2b can only be compared with the head of Mercurios, who is described by Hetherington, in the *Painter's Guide*, as a

¹⁴⁶ For a brief discussion of local saints, see Kazhdan and Wharton-Epstein 1985: 2-3; S. Gerstel is working on a study of saints living in small provincial towns, which will appear in "Word, Image, Number" edited by S. Casciani and J Contreni (forthcoming).

¹⁴⁷ Andaloro, 1999: 87-88. Andaloro says that the representations on this (second) layer had been mostly destroyed and disguised by the plaster of the third layer. I would like to express my gratitude to Alessandra Ricci who introduced me to the material from Tavşan Adası.

¹⁴⁸ Çorağan 1998: 328. Çorağan (p. 325) discusses the dating problems of the panels in detail. In this unpublished Ph.D. thesis on the basis of stylistic analysis she re-dates the panels to the 11th and 12th centuries by discussing and evaluating the previous dating assumptions, where Feld proposed the 11th century (1975a: 318) and Thierry the 14th century (1975: 110).

¹⁴⁹ Westphalen 1998: 88-92.

¹⁵⁰ Connor 1991:15-16.

young man with an incipient beard and moustache and rich, curly hair.¹⁵¹

Because of the fragmentary nature of our fragment, however, a secure comparison with the Mercurios heads is not possible. Besides this, St. Mercurios has always been associated with Sts. George, Theodore and Procopius, and none of these holy men share similar characteristics with our man with tears of blood.

Other figural representations that are from the region of Lycia come from Xanthos and have been dated to the 11th century.¹⁵² The fresco fragments at Gürses (Trebendai) were dated to the 10th –11th centuries.¹⁵³ The Church at Karabaş in Cappadocia had figural representations also. These figurative representations were dated to 1060-1061.¹⁵⁴ However, no close comparisons can be made between any of these figures and those on the Choma wall painting fragment.

Without the recent study of the paintings from Tavşan Adası, the comparative evidence would lead us to date our pieces to the 11th century. However, stratigraphic analysis demonstrates that the fragments would have been a part of a decorative program of a much earlier date. Although these pieces were not found *in situ*, the part of the church where they were found was blocked during the construction of the Late Church and must therefore have adorned a

¹⁵¹ Hetherington 1974: 57.

¹⁵² Jolivet-Lévy 1982: 79. Likewise, the conditions of the fragments at Xanthos were very fragmentary. The fragments here were compared with the examples from Panagia ton Khalkeon in Thessalonike, Hosios Loukas, Nea Moni in Chios and St. Sophia in Kiev.

¹⁵³ Feld 1975a: Pl. I.4; 1975b: 417-418, Pl. 318 a, c, d.

building on the site that pre-dates the Late Church. The church to which they belonged may have been the triconch church, whose date is unknown, but could have been as late as the early part of the Middle Byzantine period. Should they be from a church of a significantly earlier date than the majority of the comparisons, this would be an important addition to our knowledge of the dating and development of figural iconography. The evidence from Tavşan Adası is important in this respect, and the Choma paintings can be compared more favourably with these in that they display a softness in rendering that is not apparent in the harsher lines that are used in the execution of the later paintings, such as those from Hosios Loukas and Nerezi.

¹⁵⁴ Thierry 1967:170.

E. Mosaic Floors (Fig. 39, Findspot Plan 2)

During excavation in the narthex area of the Late Church in 1998, quite large sections of mosaic floor were uncovered. In the following year, two further patches of mosaic were identified, one on either side of the so-called Monumental Structure. In 2000, some other sections of mosaic were identified in the nave area of the Late Church. Another section was found in the area of the south aisle of the Late Church, and a further section in the side chapel attached to the north wall of the narthex of the Late Church. On the basis of the stratigraphy and the relative plans of the churches, it is now clear that all these patches of mosaic floor originally belonged to the first building, i.e. the basilica, although at least some parts may have been retained as floor decoration for the Late Church. The sections located in the areas of the narthex and nave of the Late Church decorated the floor of the nave of the early basilica. The section west of the Monumental Structure and that in the side chapel decorated the north aisle of the early basilica, and the section to the east of the Monumental Structure decorated the small apsed chamber at the east end of the north aisle of the basilica. The section found in the south aisle of the Late Church was part of the flooring of the south aisle of the basilica. All the mosaic floors were badly damaged. In the narthex and nave area of the Late Church, large areas of tesserae had pulled away from their plaster bed and the layers beneath it were frequently rutted by water. The tesserae and the setting-bed were covered by a layer of sinter, sometimes more than 1 cm thick.

i. The Mosaic Floor in the Nave of the Early Basilica

This mosaic floor does not contain any figural pattern, but rather it consists of geometric patterns, which are composed of cones, a three-strand guilloche pattern, a cross-like pattern, a checker-board pattern, interlooped bands forming circles, and finally Solomon knots in blue, black, yellow, green and white colours (Fig. 40 a-b). A very close comparison for this mosaic is the mosaic floor (Fig. 41) that was excavated by Hill at Çiftlik and which is almost identical to the Choma one. Hill thinks that this mosaic floor was originally a part of the pavement of an Early Christian house.¹⁵⁵

What is interesting about the Solomon knots is the fact that they form an oval shape, whereas the knots that have been studied so far from Anatolian sites such as Aphrodisias in Caria,¹⁵⁶ Antioch-on-the-Orontes,¹⁵⁷ Aphrodisias in Cilicia,¹⁵⁸ Ephesus¹⁵⁹ and Anemurium,¹⁶⁰ are rounded or squarish in shape. All these floors have been dated to the Late Roman period and are thought to have been retained in Early Byzantine buildings. A further correlation can be made with the Solomon knots in the Vienna Dioscorides, a manuscript probably written about AD 512, showing the benefactress of the Church of St. Polyeuktos, Anicia Juliana, seated between

¹⁵⁵ Hill 1998: 288.

¹⁵⁶ Campbell 1991: 5-6.

¹⁵⁷ Campbell 1991: ii-x.

¹⁵⁸ Budde 1969-1972: 4-8.

¹⁵⁹ Parrish 1995: 146-148.

¹⁶⁰ Campbell 1995: 124-134.

personifications of Magnanimity and Prudence, framed by Solomon knots that are circular in form.¹⁶¹

It is not certain how the Lycians regarded these geometric patterns, but for the Solomon knots one can think of a magical power that these knots hold.¹⁶²

The relationship between the patterns and objects and magic has long been studied by Dautermann- Maguire¹⁶³ and I feel no hesitation in assuming that Solomon knots have an apotropaic or prophylactic function and this power very well fits the space it belongs to, i.e. the church.¹⁶⁴

The interlooped bands which twine into circles (Fig. 40 a-b) have broadly similar comparisons from Antioch-on-the-Orontes; for example, the mosaic floor in the House of Phoenix (Fig.42).¹⁶⁵ There is also a Cypriot example, from the baptistery part of Basilica A of Hagios Georgios in Pagia (Fig. 43). These two comparanda, however, although belonging to the same group, are not as sophisticated as the Choma mosaic.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶¹ Harrison 1989: 36.

¹⁶² Kalavrezou-Maxeiner (1985: 96-97) deals with the terminological confusion between the Herculanean and Solomonic knots.

¹⁶³ Dautermann-Maguire *et al.* 1989: 2 evaluate the notion of the Solomonic knots as being protective, in both non Christian and Christian contexts. Both classes serve for adorning an object in order to make it effective spiritually and physically.

¹⁶⁴ Demiriz, in an unpublished Ph.D. thesis (1969-1970a: 282-283) discusses the origins of the Solomon knots. She argues that the origins were the zoomorphic motifs representing snakes or dragons, enclosed in medallions, that appear in media other than mosaics (such as textiles and tapestries) in Mesopotamia up to Roman times. This basic scheme was used in mosaics of the Middle Ages/Byzantine period, where the medallion motif was retained, but the zoomorphic motifs had become abstract and geometric.

¹⁶⁵ Levi 1947: Pl. CXXXV.

The origin of the interlooped pattern is believed to be tied to the Near East and the Levant.¹⁶⁷ A design that is particularly similar to that on the Choma mosaic is from the Monastery of Martyrius at a site called Khirbet-al Murassas (Fig.44), located between Jerusalem and Jericho, in the Levant.¹⁶⁸ The carpet-like floor decoration is formed by interlooped bands which twine into circles and pointed ovals. Panels that were placed in the intercolumnations contain another kind of looped motif and knots that are also seen on the Choma mosaic. Dunbabin, who has studied the issue of decorating church floors with mosaics, dates the floor at Khirbet-al Murassas to the second half of the 6th century.¹⁶⁹ An interesting point made by Dunbabin is that the interlooped pattern appeared in Italian cities at the same time as it was being used in the Syro-Palestine region.¹⁷⁰ The popularity of this design can be explained by the circulation of pattern books (Fig. 45).¹⁷¹

ii. The Mosaic in the North Aisle of the Early Basilica

This mosaic is represented by the section unearthed on the west side of the Monumental Structure and the mosaic found in the side chapel of the Late Church. The design shows intersecting circles forming quatrefoils, overlapping

¹⁶⁶ Michaelides 1989: 288. Quite mistakenly, in comparing the Antioch example with the Cypriot one, Michaelides identifies the loops as cables without following the terminology of Levi (1947).

¹⁶⁷ Dunbabin 1999: 295-296.

¹⁶⁸ Magen and Talgam 1990: 120-124.

¹⁶⁹ Dunbabin 1999: 196. Dunbabin says that the 6th century churches in Palestine and Jordan have more richly decorated mosaics than those of the 5th century; the same designs are used, but simpler designs are confined to secondary spaces, whereas the main decoration is more complex and sophisticated.

¹⁷⁰ Dunbabin 1999: 196. One of these Italian cities is Ravenna (Balmelle *et al.* 1985: 126).

octagons made up of hexagons, and an intersecting scale pattern (Fig. 46). The mosaic cubes are yellow, white and brown.

This section of mosaic can be compared in particular with the mosaic floors from Xanthos in Lycia and Knidos in Caria. The mosaic in the south aisle of the east basilica at Xanthos is formed by intersecting circles forming quatrefoils, overlapping octagons made up of hexagons, and an intersecting scale pattern very similar to the Choma example (Fig. 47). Moreover, the scheme is completed by a meander pattern encircled by a set of beads that runs all around the floor. These Xanthos mosaics were dated by Metzger to the 6th century.¹⁷² The mosaics from Church E at Knidos have geometric ornamentation (Fig. 48). The narthex floor has intersecting circles forming hexagons and octagons, comparable to the mosaic of the north aisle of the Choma basilica.¹⁷³ Geometric mosaic patterns have been found also at Aphrodisias in Caria¹⁷⁴ and Antioch–on-the-Orontes¹⁷⁵ especially in a parochial context. Both these comparisons have been dated to the Late Roman – Early Byzantine period.

iii. The Mosaic in the Apsed Chamber at the East End of the North Aisle of the Early Basilica

¹⁷¹ Dunbabin 1999: 295-296.

¹⁷² Metzger 1973: 119.

¹⁷³ Love 1972: 88. Love does not make any attempt to date the mosaic floors, but suggests a 5th-6th century date for the church (1972: 86).

¹⁷⁴ Campbell 1991: 42-43.

¹⁷⁵ Campbell 1988: 88, 95, 98.

The mosaic floor (49) on the east side of the Monumental Structure was decorated with an ivy scroll or leaf scroll, with colours of black, red, yellow and white. The scene was framed by a two-strand guilloche pattern, forming eyelets. Colours used in this pattern were red and yellow.

Comparisons again come from Xanthos and Knidos, as well as from Limyra (50 a) in Lycia. The western area of the Xanthos basilica (Fig. 50 b) has a floor that contains ivy scroll and a band of meander alternating with squarish motifs, and the north aisle is decorated with a set of lozenges and ivy scroll. The mosaics are dated to the 6th century.¹⁷⁶ In the church of Limyra, fragments of a mosaic floor have been exposed in the area leading to the north apse. This floor has geometric patterns, varying from the guilloche, to knots and triangles.¹⁷⁷ The frame of the mosaic floor mentioned above in Church E at Knidos is formed by an ivy scroll.¹⁷⁸

In conclusion, most of the comparanda leads us to suggest a 6th century date for the mosaic program of the basilica, although this is not conclusive evidence for the date of the basilica itself, which may have been standing for some time before the mosaic floor was laid.

¹⁷⁶ Metzger 1973: 119.

¹⁷⁷ Borchhardt 1977: 94-96.

¹⁷⁸ Love 1972: 88.

F. A Liturgical Object from the Early Churches

The only liturgical object found in the excavation that can be attributed to the Early Byzantine period on the basis of comparanda is a bronze polycandelon. Also found were copper strings to hang the polycandelon.

1. Inv. No. 05432. Bronze polycandelon (Fig. 51). The disk of the polycandelon is decorated with a Maltese cross pattern in the centre, inscribed in a circle which is enclosed by a band of circles alternating with *fleur-de-lis* motifs. The frame is plain and circular in shape. Left at the depot (FSP 1.11). Diameter 25 cm.

The polycandelon would have been used to light the church. A comparable piece to the one at Choma is a bronze example from a 6th Constantinopolitan context (Fig. 52).¹⁷⁹ The only difference between them is that the latter one had an open-work Maltese cross pattern and *fleur-de-lis* motif. Also, the outer circle is not plain, but had a smaller version of circles and lily flower design.

¹⁷⁹ Ross 1961: 42. Ross does not give any further information about its provenance.

G. Pottery Evidence for the Early Churches

The excavated material in the church was not abundant. Also, the sherds are very small in size and most of them tell us very little about the type of the pottery. Since pottery is one of the less well studied types of archaeological material and publications of late pottery are not prolific, particularly for Lycia itself, here I am able to present only some of the wares/types found during the excavation of the church which can be compared and contrasted with the published pottery studies.

The pottery discussed in this section is from the loci that were excavated in parts of the early churches, following a chessboard pattern where alternating 2.5 x 2.5 m trenches were opened. The contents of each bag were examined and the most significant pieces were selected for comparison with examples from the available pottery studies.

1. Rim fragment from D5-i4 (FSP 1.12) Locus 27-6 (Fig 53)¹⁸⁰ with outspread convex walls and protruding rim. It is horizontally flattened on the exterior. It is difficult to know the type of the base. However, by looking at the comparable pieces there are three possibilities: ring base, deepened base and disc base. Likewise, it is difficult to identify the shape of the vessel, which could have been dish-like or bowl-like. No decoration has been identified

¹⁸⁰ Locus 27 is assigned to the sediment that just lies beneath the Late Church. This phasing assumption is based on the analysis of the discovery of the wall that separates the nave of the early basilica from its north aisle.

other than the wavy line that runs all around the rim. The clay is homogenous.

Fine ware. Two different slips are observable.

Measurements: width 6 cm, length 4/5 cm.

Munsell Colour: From the end of the rim to the interior: 2.5 YR 5/4 Weak red. The rest is 10 YR 5/6 Red.

Similar pieces have been found in Sagalassos (Fig 54) under the category of African Red Slip Ware. In relation with this comparison we can date our piece to the first half of the 5th century, or possibly slightly earlier.¹⁸¹

2. A small fragment with a distinctive profile from E5-a2, (FSP 1.13) Locus 10-1 (Fig 55).¹⁸² It is a container with convex walls and a significant rim thickened at the exterior. It is triangular in section. The rim is sharply angled. It may have been an open or closed form. No grooves have been identified. Fine ware. The clay is homogenous.

Measurements: width 9 cm, length 7 cm.

Munsell Colour: 2.5 YR 4/6 Dark red (interior/ exterior/ clay)

Comparable pieces have been found in Amathos, dating to the mid 2nd century AD,¹⁸³ and Sagalassos (Fig 56).¹⁸⁴ The pieces in Sagalassos have been

¹⁸¹ Poblome 1996: 536, Fig: 49-50.

¹⁸² This locus is assigned to the sediment layer that sits on the mosaic floor which runs against the wall that separates the nave of the early basilica from the north aisle.

¹⁸³ Burkhalter 1987: Fig: 25-212.

¹⁸⁴ Fulford 1981:71.

categorised either as African Red Slip Ware or Sagalassos Red Slip Ware.

Poblome dates those pieces somewhere between AD 475/500 and 500/525.¹⁸⁵

3. A small bowl fragment (Fig 57), with convex walls from E5-b1 (FSP 1.14) Locus 14-17.¹⁸⁶ It has outspread carinations towards the ring base. No grooves occur. The body is plain. The thickening on the walls can have a round finish or cut edges. Open form. Fine ware.

Measurements: width 9 cm, length 12 cm.

Munsell Colour: 5 YR 5/6 Yellowish red (interior/ exterior/ clay)

Similar pieces are found in Chios, Salamis and Sagalassos (Fig 58).¹⁸⁷ The pieces from Sagalassos in particular have been dated to the second half of the 4th century AD - ca. AD 400.

4. A small bowl (Fig 59) from D5-j3 (FSP 1.15) Locus 19-17,¹⁸⁸ with a steep wall and plain thickened rim. It is decorated with a coarse rouletting. The rouletting is applied in an erratic fashion and interrupted by the ridges and hollows resulting from careless turning.

Measurements: width 13 cm, length 7 cm.

Munsell Colour: 2.5 YR 5/8 Red.

¹⁸⁵ Poblome 1996:534, Fig: 95-96.

¹⁸⁶ This locus is a sediment locus that is located just underneath the Late Church floors.

¹⁸⁷ Poblome 1996: 536, Fig: 27-28-134.

¹⁸⁸ The same stratigraphical consideration with no. 3 can be applied to this locus.

Similar pieces are found in the Athens Agora, dating to the late 5th and early 6th century AD.¹⁸⁹ Antioch (Fig 60) also has similar pieces, dating to AD 526.¹⁹⁰ Our piece looks like an imitation of African Red Slip Ware or Cypriot Red Slip Ware. If it is an imitation of African Red Slip Ware, then we can say that the rouletting is a copy of the feather rouletting of African Red Slip Ware forms 82-84. However, if it is an example of Cypriot Red Slip Ware, we can associate our piece with pieces from Xanthos, Letoon (Fig 61)¹⁹¹ and Myra.¹⁹² We should add that the rouletting on those examples is short and lightly applied to the wall. They all have a wavy line that appears on the exterior of the rim as a regular feature. Those examples are dated to a period between AD 640-660`s, following Hayes` methodology.¹⁹³

The representative types that are discussed in this chapter indicate that, despite the fact that no complete vessels have been identified, they all serve as a good clue for the dating of the early churches.

¹⁸⁹ Waagé 1933: 308, Pl. X-290.

¹⁹⁰ Waagé 1933: 53, Pl. 35.

¹⁹¹ Delougaz 1960, Pl. 53-43.

¹⁹² Ötügen 1995: 381.

¹⁹³ Hayes 1972:373.

CHAPTER IV

THE LATE CHURCH (Fig. 3)

A. The Architecture of the Late Church

a. Form and Dimensions

The latest of the churches at Choma has a basilical plan with a nave, two aisles and a narthex . At the east is a main apse that is flanked by two smaller apses, one at the end of each aisle. The nave is divided from the aisles by a total of six piers, three down each side. Despite the illegal excavations, this church is in a fair state of structural preservation. Its walls are preserved to a height of up to 2.5 metres at the north, and 1.50 metres at the south. Its construction uses large stone slabs, some nicely cut and reused architectural fragments, as well as tile fragments. The building is oriented 19° off true east, towards the north.

Including the narthex and the apse, the church measures 19 m in length and 11.80 m in width. Excluding the narthex, the length is 15.20 m.

b. Narthex (Fig. 62)

The south wall of the narthex is 2.70 m long, the north wall 2.90 m, and the west wall 10.6 m long. It is worth mentioning the fact that the narthex slopes down from north to south, probably a result of the subsidence that is evident in

general at the south side of the church. This subsidence adds to the difficulty of knowing whether or not the sections of mosaic floor discovered during the 1998 and 2000 seasons that belonged to the floor decoration of the nave of the early basilica were retained as floor decoration for the narthex of the Late Church.¹⁹⁴

The church could be entered through three doorways into the narthex. The doorway in the west wall, identified in the 1999 excavation season, would most likely be the main doorway. However, its alignment, which is off the axis, might suggest that this doorway was not the original main entrance and that it was a later modification. Alternatively, and more likely, the fact that this doorway is off the axis may just be a result of careless planning. One door-post remains standing, a large vertically placed block. In the 2000 season we removed the fill in the doorway which enabled us to see its whole layout clearly. Its maximum reconstructed width is 1.4 m.

A second entrance, probably functioning as a lesser doorway, is located in the southern wall of the narthex. This entrance is from an upper level and a staircase made of large stone slabs and some spolia leads down into the narthex.¹⁹⁵

In the north wall of the narthex is a blocked doorway that originally provided access to a side chapel. Since the side chapel was apparently not a later

¹⁹⁴ These floor fragments are discussed in the mosaic section in Chapter III; see p. 48-54.

¹⁹⁵ There are three spolia pieces identified and discussed in Chapter III so far: an ambo fragment (see p. 33) and two chancel screen fragments (see p. 34 and 35).

addition to the church and had no other means of access (see below), the only function of this door would have been to enter the side chapel.

c. Nave (Fig. 63)

A central doorway leads from the narthex to the nave of the church which is about 14-15 m in length and 3.35 m in width. It is separated by three piers on each side from the aisles. Two of the piers in each row are free standing. The third pair juts out from the wall dividing the narthex from the nave. The piers on the south row are less well preserved than the ones on the north. In the construction of these piers, large stone blocks and some spolia which are levelled by large pieces of red tile were used. The piers divide the nave lengthwise into three spaces. The most westerly and easterly of these, against the narthex and the apse, measure 2.65 m in length, while the central space measures 3.40 m. As the width is 3.35 m, the central free standing piers form a square with virtually equal sides, which might provide some clues about the roofing of the structure.¹⁹⁶

d. Bema

The *bema* structure (Fig. 64 a) has been identified between the main apse and the *naos*. This part functions as the chancel part of the Byzantine church, which contained the altar and is also referred to as the *presbyterian*.¹⁹⁷ The bema that we identified in the church of Choma was raised on a podium, about

¹⁹⁶ This detail is discussed later in this chapter, see p. 64-67.

¹⁹⁷ Johnson 1991: 281.

a step high, and was enclosed by a chancel barrier, that is the *templon*,¹⁹⁸ that ran between the most easterly pair of piers. No pieces were identified as a part of the *templon* in-situ. On the floor survive the grooves (Fig.64 b) to accommodate the hinges for the chancel barrier slabs. Unfortunately the excavations did not enable us to retrieve the chancel barrier that might have belonged to the *templon* structure of this late phase of the church. A *templon* post was found which was used as a threshold stone in the *bema*.¹⁹⁹ In the 2000 season we identified one more step belonging to the *bema* structure, which was a nicely cut block just west of the threshold. To the west of this there are traces of where the altar once stood.

On the floor of the *bema* an *opus-sectile* floor was uncovered (Fig. 65). This floor is made from pieces of marble arranged to form a sunburst, or a Medusa shield. In the middle is a circular piece made of low quality local marble, white and pinkish in colour; this is surrounded by rows of triangular-shaped pieces of white marble alternating with a greyish-black local stone. The tiles and flat stones that were found at the north and east sides of this *opus sectile* circle make it clear that the pattern was confined in a square. Comparable *opus sectile* floor arrangements in respect of the sunburst pattern are found at the Bishop's Palace in Aphrodisias, of the Early Christian period (Fig. 66),²⁰⁰ and the Church of St. Nicholas in Myra, of the Middle Byzantine period (Fig.67).²⁰¹

¹⁹⁸ Bouras 1991: 2023-2024.

¹⁹⁹ See Chapter III, p. 33.

²⁰⁰ Campbell 1991: 14.

²⁰¹ Feld 1975a: 397; Peschlow 1990: 212-214.

e. Main Apse (Fig. 68)

The *bema* leads us to the main apse. In this part of the church we identified a *synthronon* (Fig. 69), of which only the two lowest tiers of seats survive.

Between the *synthronon* and the apse wall is now an open space. This can lead us to two explanations: firstly, it is possible to think that a few more tiers of seats would have existed, or, secondly, the *synthronon* only had two tiers of seats and there was a space between the apse wall and the second tier of the seats, which is a common feature for an apse.²⁰²

f. North Apse (Fig. 70)

The north apse, located at the east end of the north aisle, is made of medium-sized blocks and bricks and seems to contain large blocks of an earlier structure. These blocks were part of the main apse of the basilica phase of the Early Church; they had been reshaped to fit the layout of the latest church. The lower part of this apse had a lining of red tiles. At floor level, the tiles run over large blocks which belonged to an earlier structure. Both the exterior and interior of the apse is semi-circular in shape. The floor of the apse is covered with stone slabs.

g. South Apse (Fig. 71)

The south apse is bigger than the north one and has a better rounded shape. Like the north apse it is made of medium-sized blocks and bricks, and its floor is covered with stone slabs. Incorporated into the floor is a reused rectangular

²⁰² Johnson and Cutler 1991: 1996.

stone which has a round hole in the middle with a rim around it. This stone might have originally functioned as the top of an altar table (Fig. 72 a).

Kalenderhane Camii in Istanbul has a similar altar table top, although with a rectangular central hole (Fig. 72 b), which is dated to the 12th century.²⁰³

h. Side Chapel (Fig. 73)

The side chapel, or *parekklesion*, identified in the 1999 season, is a long rectangular chamber measuring 8 x 4 m, with a small internal apse at its eastern end. The western half of the chapel juts out beyond the narthex. It is clear from looking at the two points where the side chapel walls join the narthex walls that the side chapel was contemporary with the narthex and not a later addition. The only access to the side chapel was through a doorway in the north wall of the narthex. The fact that this doorway (Fig. 74 a-b) was blocked indicates that the side chapel ceased to function at some later date.²⁰⁴

i. Inner Face of the Walls and Masonry and Construction Techniques

The north wall (Fig. 75) is the best preserved of all the walls so far uncovered, and survives to a height of up to 2.50 m. This wall partly incorporates an earlier structure “Monumental Structure” which has a small apse; the north wall fills the niche completely. In the construction of this wall a great amount

²⁰³ Striker and Kuban 1997: 125.

²⁰⁴ It was in the side chapel that the base bearing the honorific inscription mentioning the name of Choma was found (see Chapter I, p.3). Unfortunately, the stone was dislodged at some time after the 1999 excavation season had ended, and it was not possible to see in what capacity this stone had been reused in the side chapel during renewed excavation here in the 2000 season.

of spolia was used, varying from column bases to a fragment of an inscription.²⁰⁵ The inner face of the north wall is made of bigger stones, whereas the outer face is made of rough stones.

The south wall (Fig.76) is less well preserved. The upper part of the construction does not resemble the north wall. The five upper courses are made of medium-sized stone blocks. The inner wall face shows stones which are organised in courses, and the remaining open spaces are filled with stones and tiles. Beneath the fifth course the composition of the masonry changes; here, like the north wall, column pieces were used. The other stones in these rows are larger than the ones in the upper five courses. The outer face of the wall of the upper part is made of squared blocks of different sizes, lined up with the help of tiles. This wall face has a neat appearance.

Along the lower part of the north and south walls, there survives a row of large stone blocks. The south row is 4.40 m long and the north row is 4.30 m long. The two rows face each other, and they stop at the same point, at the beginning of the eastern piers. These could have been used as sitting benches (Fig. 77).

j. Discussion of Plan, Roofing and Date

The ground plan of this church suggest that it was basically of the type often referred to as cross-in-square, although, as Ousterhout points out, this is one of the terms that fail to express the importance of the three-dimensionality of

²⁰⁵ This piece has a height of 21 cm and width 29 cm. It bears the letters HΘI. According to Gary Reger, this could be part of a longer inscription or perhaps it was mason's marks. No dating can be assumed for the lettering.

Middle Byzantine churches.²⁰⁶ Another term that is sometimes used interchangeably with cross-in-square is ‘cross-domed’. Rodley, while mentioning the confusions caused by terminology, makes a distinction between the cross-domed basilica and the cross-domed church, depending on the relationship of the lateral arches to the outer walls.²⁰⁷ As a result of this distinction, she places the church of St. Eirene in Constantinople (Fig. 78), the church at Dereağzı (Fig. 79) in Lycia, the Church of St. Sophia in Vize (Fig. 80) and the Church of St. Nicholas in Myra (Fig. 81) in the category of cross-domed basilicas, and the church of St. Sophia in Thessalonike (Fig. 82), the Church of the Koimesis at Nicaea (Fig. 83), and St. Clement in Ankara (Fig. 84) in the category of cross-domed churches.

The term cross-domed cannot strictly be applied to the Choma church, however, because there is no clear indication of how the church may have been roofed. The four free-standing piers in the church form virtually a square, and could have supported a dome constructed of small stones, brick and tiles, as finds of this sort were discovered during the excavation. It could also have been covered by a pitched roof construction. In Cilicia, the East Church of the Alahan (Fig. 85) may have had a wooden roof and the so-called domed church at Dağ Pazarı (Fig. 86) may have had a wooden roof over the central unit.²⁰⁸

There is also the possibility that an original timber roof may have been

²⁰⁶ Ousterhout 1999: 15-16.

²⁰⁷ Rodley 1994: 118.

²⁰⁸ Headlam 1893:14; Gough 1955: 115; Hill 1996: 79. Headlam made the assumption that a timber roof would have been preferred to a domed roof. Hill is more confident that this church would have had a wooden roof. The reason for a wooden roof is that Cilicia is a well-wooded country.

replaced at some later date by a domed unit.²⁰⁹ The best way to describe the Choma church, based on the plan, is that it is basically a cross-in-square that retains the axial basilical accent of a third set of piers that abut the rear wall of the nave and aisles.

The two churches (Fig. 87 a-b) at Selcikler near Uşak can be compared to the church at Choma in terms of the architectural layout. The earlier church, dating to the 7th century, had been transformed into a cross-domed church probably by the 10th century, with the addition of thick internal walls and vaulting.²¹⁰ A similar process has been observed at the large basilica (Fig. 88) at Amorium, which had the vaulting structure added in the 9th or 10th centuries.²¹¹ The basilica (Fig. 89 a) at Kydna in Lycia has also taken part in this architectural process. A basilical church dating to the 6th century was built adjacent to the eastern part of the city walls. In the course of time this church fell into ruin and was rebuilt on a new plan, as a cross-domed church (Fig. 89 b).²¹² The church (Fig. 90) at Patara underwent a similar architectural transformation, where the original large basilica, measuring 33 x 43 m, was replaced by a small chapel.²¹³ The basilica at Xanthos (Fig. 91) with its remarkable size, 74 x 30 metres, and basilical plan with an atrium and narthex, a main apse and two aisles had been followed by a small church that rose from

²⁰⁹ Ousterhout (1995: 125-126) uses the writings of Theoph. Cont. (translated by C. Mango 1986: 193), which deal with the Res Gestae of Basil: "He (Basil) also repaired, ... by substituting a stone for a wooden roof and adding other admirable ornaments." This age was known as the age of "made more solid", "made anew" or "rebuilt from their foundations".

²¹⁰ Firatlı 1969: 153-154.

²¹¹ Lightfoot 1994: 22-25.

²¹² Adam 1979: 54, 72.

its ruins and was re-modified by the addition of a new apse and two aisles.²¹⁴

Two examples from Constantinople that must have undergone a similar transformation process are the Odalar Camii (Fig. 92) and the church known as the Atik Mustafa Pasa Camii (Fig. 93).²¹⁵

Dating of churches of this type is clearly a problem. Dates for St. Clement in Ankara, for example, vary from Mango's suggestion of the 6th or 7th century,²¹⁶ Buchwald's 7th century,²¹⁷ Rodley's more tentative 8th century²¹⁸ and Krautheimer's mid 9th century.²¹⁹ The only church of this type that is securely dated, from an inscription, is St. Sophia in Thessalonike, which is dated to the 8th century.²²⁰ The church of the Kariye Camii (Fig. 94),²²¹ the Kalenderhane Camii (Fig. 95)²²² and the Gül Camii (Fig. 96)²²³, originally dated to the Dark Ages, have now been attributed to the 11th and 12th centuries. Cyril Mango uses the first two of these churches as examples to express that caution should be exercised in attempting to date to the Dark Ages a church that has characteristics suggesting it was built between the 7th and 9th centuries,

²¹³ Foss 1994: 15-16. No dating has been established for those churches by the excavators.

²¹⁴ Metzger 1980: 148.

²¹⁵ Ousterhout 1995: 126.

²¹⁶ Mango 1976: 96.

²¹⁷ Buchwald 1984: 288.

²¹⁸ Rodley 1994: 121, Fig. 90.

²¹⁹ Krautheimer 1986: 289.

²²⁰ C. Mango 1976: 89; Rodley 1994: 118, 120.

²²¹ Ousterhout 1986: 12.

²²² Striker and Kuban 1997: 15-18.

²²³ Schäfer 1973: 6-8.

particularly when the main criterion for this is comparison of ground plans.²²⁴

It is clear that these smaller more compact churches evolved during the Dark Ages, but there is not enough evidence to trace the origins or to see a neat chronological evolution for this period, and the type continued well into the Middle Byzantine period.²²⁵ Moreover, we should also be aware that there was a great deal of variation and individuality.

The Choma church, then, cannot be dated on plan alone. The comparanda for the architectural pieces and the wall paintings indicate a Middle Byzantine date, but one must also take into account the possibility that the decoration may represent later modifications to an earlier structure.

²²⁴ C. Mango 1976: 89. The main church of the Monastery of the Chora had been dated to the early 7th century, when in fact it was not built until the 11th century; and the church known by its Turkish name of Kalenderhane Camii, originally attributed to the mid 9th century, has turned out to be of the late 12th century.

²²⁵ See, for example, Krautheimer 1986: 285-286; Rodley 1994: 117, 120-121; Ousterhout 1999: 7, 16-17, 32-33.

B. Architectural Decoration of the Late Church (Fig. 97, Findspot Plan 3)

a. Pieces found in the fill belonging to the Middle Byzantine Period.

1. Inv. No. 06172. Fragment of a post, possibly a post-top (Fig. 98). Found in 1999 (FSP 3.1). Left at the depot. Local limestone. Height: 14 cm, length: 10.5 cm, thickness: 8.5 cm.

The piece has four faces, three of which are badly damaged. Hence it is not possible to see the dry carved decoration. The only face which preserves its decoration is adorned by a Maltese cross with faceted arms ending in serifs, placed against the chip-cut background²²⁶ and encircled by a furrowed ring that consists of little pyramids or hip-roof carvings.

The closest parallels for this cross suggest a date between the 9th and 11th centuries. A templon post piece from Dereağzı (Fig. 99) has a cross with faceted arms encircled in a furrowed ring, set against a chip-cut background, dating to the second half of the 9th and early 10th century.²²⁷ Another comparison is a cross with faceted arms set against a similar chip-cut background that decorates an epistyle from Selçikler (Sebaste) of 10th / 11th century date (Fig. 100).²²⁸

Another similar piece, with arms inserted in a furrowed ring, ornaments the throne from the Church of Theodore at Derinkuyu (Melegob) in Cappadocia,

²²⁶ As Morganstern (1983: 141) and Grabar (1976: 92) say, chip cut is a common motif in Byzantine art. It appears as early probably as the late 8th / early 9th century and continues as late as the 12th century (Grabar 1976: 109), although this style is especially common in the second half of the 9th and early 10th centuries (Morganstern 1983: 41).

²²⁷ Morganstern 1983: 147-149, Pl. 39:2. The main difference between our piece and the others is the fact that our piece has serifs.

²²⁸ Fıratlı 1969: Fig. 20; Grabar 1953: 41, Pl. IVb.

dating to c. 1000 AD.²²⁹ Another possible comparison is a cross with faceted arms and serifs enclosed within a furrowed ring (Fig. 101) on an ambo from Alakilise near Elmalı.²³⁰ This piece is probably to be dated to the 6th century. However, this example has lace-like deep carving, whereas the Choma piece has shallow carving.

2. Inv. No. 04358. Fragment of a chancel slab (Fig. 102). Found in 1998 (FSP 3.2) and left at the depot. Local limestone. Height: 13.5 cm, length: 15 cm, thickness: 4 cm.

This piece has four faces, of which one side is decorated. Two other sides are broken and no sign of decoration is observed. The back side is chiselled plain. The face with the decoration is ornamented with a braid set composed of four strands, each subdivided by two furrows and separated by drill holes. The relief of the face is shallow and the carving is dry.

This piece is similar to a piece from Dereağzı (Fig. 103), dated to the 9th-10th centuries, which is three-braided.²³¹ Stones with braid decoration appear elsewhere in Lycia in the 11th century church of St. Nicholas at Myra (Fig. 104).²³² Stones that are similarly decorated, that is composed of four strands with double evenly spaced furrows and drill holes, are found from the 10th to the

²²⁹ Rott 1908: 287, Fig:104.

²³⁰ Harrison 1979a: 237, Fig. 12.

²³¹ Morganstern 1983: 144-145, Pl. 37.3.

²³² Feld 1975a: 376, Pl. 122c.

12th centuries at sites not in Lycia.²³³ The comparanda suggests that our piece should be dated to the Middle Byzantine period.

3. Inv. No. 04359. Templon piece/chancel slab (Fig. 105). Found in 1999, left at the depot. (FSP 3.3) Local limestone. Length 28 cm, width 20 cm, thickness 14 cm.

One of the four sides of this piece is chiselled and left plain, two other sides are broken and the other face is decorated with a Maltese cross whose arms are flanked by petal spaces. They and their background are faceted or chip-cut. The whole is enclosed in a semi-ovoid band.

This piece has several parallels for the Maltese cross. The shape of the cross is similar to that on the post fragment described above (No. 1), although it does not have the serifs. The band that surrounds the cross is plain, whereas on the post fragment the band is formed by pyramidal motifs. The other parallels cited above for the post fragment, from Dereagzı (Fig. 99) and Selçikler (Fig.100) also serve as parallels for this piece.²³⁴ A piece from Church A1 at Andriake (Fig. 106), a small fragment decorated with a Maltese cross around which the outline

²³³ Grabar (1953: Pl. XXIIa-XXXII) gives several examples - a cross fragment from the Church of Theotokos at Hosios Loukas, of the second half of the 10th century; a post fragment from the Katholikon of the Hosios Loukas of the 11th century; an iconostasis fragment from the church of St. Pantelemeion of Nerezi dating to AD 1164; and a part from the bishop's throne in the İzmir Museum, of the 11th century. Another parallel comes from the church of Constantine Lips in Istanbul, dating to the early 10th century. This piece is attributed with reservations by Mango and Hawkins (1964: 180, Fig. 31) to the Palaeologan period. Morganstern (1983: 145) dates the piece to the 10th century. He remarks that four-stranded, double-furrowed braids do appear as late as the 13th century (the date of the south church of the Fenari İsa Camii), but in these cases the pattern is modified, such as the furrows are not evenly spaced and the carving is more rounded, as it is attested by some mid-13th century pieces from the Church of Blachernai at Arta.

²³⁴ See p. 70-71 above.

of the cross is repeated with an incised carving, is dated to the Middle Byzantine Period.²³⁵ Based on the comparative material, the dating for this piece ranges from the 9th to the 11th century.

4. Inv. No. 07376. Chancel slab fragment with floral motifs (Fig. 107). Found in 1999 and left at the depot (FSP 3.4). Local limestone. Length 10 cm, width 10cm, thickness 6.5 cm.

This small diagonal piece is rather battered. Only one face is decorated. The decoration consists of a pair of multi-lobed leaves that follow a diagonal axis. These not very deeply carved acanthus leaves are arranged in groups and house a rosette pattern. Chip cuts are observable.

Comparisons from Dereagzi (Fig. 108 a-b) include a piece decorated with a pair of triple-lobed leaves as well as pointed lobes, enclosed in a “S” shaped tendril set within an oblong frame. It is dated to the late 9th / early 10th centuries.²³⁶ The Church of Panagia at Skripou in Greece has a similar sort of floral carving whose nature is shallow and dry. These pieces are dated to 873-874.²³⁷ On the basis of the comparanda, our piece can be dated to a period between the second half of the 9th and the early 10th centuries.

²³⁵ Feld 1975b: 402, Pl. 131-d.

²³⁶ Morganstern 1983: 141.

²³⁷ Megaw 1967: 6, 12, 30.

b. Pieces found in the fill belonging to the Early Byzantine or Middle Byzantine Period

These pieces are described in a separate section because there is less certainty than there is with those described above about their date.

1. Inv. No. 07248. Fragment probably from a lintel, a post, a cornice or frieze (Fig.109). Found in 1999 and left at the depot (FSP 3.5). Local limestone. Length 35.5 cm, width 13 cm, thickness 12.3cm.

One face of the fragment is decorated with a stylised vine scroll, carved in low relief, within a frame. The stem of the scroll is short, thick and grooved. Since the edges of the decorated part are gone it is difficult to perceive the whole scheme of the vine leaves and the bunch of the grapes. However, it is evident that the vine scroll is interlaced in a complicated fashion. The bunch of grapes is not realistically rendered. The leaf that issues from it and goes along the grape bunches is divided into two lobes with circular-shaped centres. The grapes are arranged in a circular-shaped cluster. The opposite face and the two sides of the stone are chiselled and left plain; one of these sides is worked to make a central recessed space, which would have helped keep the piece attached to the surface it had been attached to.

Our fragment can be compared to three pieces from Dereagzı, found in the area near the church. One of the Dereagzı fragments is decorated with a vine scroll, carved in high relief and surrounded by an overhanging egg and dart moulding

(Fig. 110 a), dated to the 5th and 6th centuries.²³⁸ The second example is one of several pieces belonging to a 9th/10th century epistyle (Fig. 110 b). This piece has an undulating grapevine, carved in low relief and framed by a fillet to the right. The tendril of the vine is furrowed, and the grapes which hang from a short stem are small, irregular and rather closely clustered.²³⁹ The third example has a grapevine, also carved in low relief (Fig. 110 c).²⁴⁰ This motif is found in a wide area, stretching from the Balkans to the Mesopotamia. The Choma piece is particularly analogous with some corbel pieces from the Panagia at Skripou in Greece, dated to 873/4.²⁴¹ Similar pieces from Mesopotamia are from Dara (Fig. 111 a), dating to 505-518, the Tetraconch Church of Rusafa (Fig. 111 b), dating to 520, and the Habsenas Mar Symeon Church (Fig. 111 c), dating to 700-734.²⁴² However, the grapes of the Choma piece are more condensely carved, fuller and in lower relief than those of pieces dated to the 5th and 6th centuries, and a date between the 9th and 10th centuries would seem most likely on the basis of the more closely similar example from Dereagzi.

2. Inv. No. 04379. Small fragment of a (?) chancel slab with eye shaped motif (Fig. 112). Found in 1998 and left at the depot (FSP 3.6). Local limestone.

Length 8.5 cm, width 5 cm, thickness 2.5 cm.

²³⁸ Morganstern 1983:136, Pl. 34.2. This fragment was reused in a modern building southwest of the church.

²³⁹ Morganstern 1993: 125, Pl. 25.2. This piece was found in the fort.

²⁴⁰ Morganstern 1983: 136, Pl. 40.2. This piece was found northeast of the octagon.

²⁴¹ Grabar 1976:91.

²⁴² Mango 1982: 124.

This small fragment is a part of a larger slab decorated with square panels framed by a richly carved border as it is made clear by the plain border. The piece is chip-cut, with an eye-shaped motif, marked in the centre by a prominent drill hole. A triple skein surrounds the eye. The back of the piece is broken, but seems to have been worked with a chisel.

The twisted skein with a drill hole recalls that of the piece discussed above, No. 2 of the pieces attributed to the Late Church (Fig. 102).²⁴³ In respect of the “eye” motif, the fragment is similar to a piece from Dereagzı (Fig. 113) decorated with a double skein inserted within a basket like arrangement.²⁴⁴ A closer comparison comes from Yalvaç (Fig. 114), of uncertain date. The “eye” motif inserted within the triple skein also recalls the pieces from the bishop’s throne in the Izmir Museum.²⁴⁵ Tight skeins with three furrowed strands and a prominent drill hole imitating the eye shape appear also in San Marco in Venice, of the late 10th century.²⁴⁶ Similar pieces are attested at the Church of St. John at Ephesus.²⁴⁷ Moreover, there are similar examples from Selçikler dating to the 10th-11th centuries.²⁴⁸ The broad date range of the comparanda makes it difficult to propose a date for the Choma piece.

²⁴³ See p. 71-72.

²⁴⁴ Morganstern 1983: 150.

²⁴⁵ Orlandos 1937.

²⁴⁶ Morganstern 1983: 150.

²⁴⁷ Keil 1951: 256-275.

²⁴⁸ Grabar 1976: 41, Pl. IVc.

3. Inv. No. 05302, 07878. Open-work screen fragments (Fig. 115). Found in 1999 and left at the depot (FSP 3.7). Local limestone. There are eleven pieces identified (one found in the 2000 season, the rest from the 1999 season) which join each other. Seven of the pieces are more or less the same size, 15 x 15 or 20 x 20 cm. The actual dimension of the screen, however, cannot be determined.

The decoration of the screen pieces consists of grooved lines, with knots at the intersecting parts.

The only comparable pieces I can find are open screen fragments from the Kalenderhane Camii (Fig. 116), which are decorated with a laurel foliage, out of which a vine leaf grows up and down. These pieces are dated to the 6th century.²⁴⁹ The Kalenderhane pieces, however, are much more elaborate than the Choma examples. The rough decoration of the Choma screen might be indicative of a Middle Byzantine date, but may also be the result of less proficient “provincial” craftsmanship.

4. Inv. No. 05677. Altar piece/chancel slab fragment/ambo parapet piece (Fig. 117). Found in 1999 and left at the depot (FSP 3.8). Local marble with white and pink veins. Length 20 cm, Width 20 cm, Thickness 10 cm.

This piece is decorated on one side and the back side is chiselled and left plain. The other two sides are broken and damaged. It is difficult to ascertain exactly what this piece actually belonged to. The extant decoration shows one short and

²⁴⁹ Peschlow 1997:107.

one long arm of a Latin cross. Both arms flare as they extend from the centre of the cross and end in serifs that take the shape of flat, circular discs. The surviving two-stepped raised border is diagonal, suggesting that the cross was enclosed within a diamond-shaped frame. Outside this frame can be seen a small part of another stepped raised band. The carving is done in high relief.

The dates of comparisons that might be cited for this piece vary. The closest parallel for the cross is an ambo fragment (Fig. 118) at the Yalvaç Museum. The piece, dating to the 9th-12th centuries has the cross stemming from a disc in the middle and ending in serifs, encapsulated in a frame and surrounded by floral motifs.²⁵⁰ Another comparison belongs to a chancel slab (Fig. 119) from Konya. One side has a cross pattern and the other has with floral and animal patterns of the Seljuk period. Here the cross is surrounded by a squarish frame of which the horizontal parts were decorated with Solomon knots. The cross is carved in Greek fashion ending in serifs, quite similar to our piece. At the centre there is a disc. It is dated to the 10th -11th centuries.²⁵¹

Two pieces that serve as good comparanda, one an altar piece (Fig. 120) and the other a templon fragment,²⁵² both dating to the 6th century, from the Church of St. Euphemia in Constantinople, bear a cross carved in a similar fashion.

²⁵⁰ Barsanti (1988: 284) states that the cross with serifs carved in relief is attested more frequently between the 9th and 12th centuries.

²⁵¹ Demiriz 1969-70b: 221-222.

²⁵² Naumann and Belting 1966: 61.

5. Inv. No. 05987. (?) Vault piece (Fig. 121). Found in 1999 taken to the depot (FSP 3.9). Local limestone. Length 24 cm, Width 17 cm, Thickness 6.5 cm.

This fragment is open-work, with two curving bands back-to-back, each formed by two grooves between three raised lines. The carving for the grooves is very shallow and dry. A lot of architectural pieces of this kind were found in the fill of the church. They may have functioned as arcading elements for the piers and the roofing structure, or were perhaps window decoration.

Broadly similar pieces, identified as vault pieces, come from the church at Sura (Fig. 122) in south Lycia²⁵³ and Odalar Camii (Fig. 123).²⁵⁴ The Sura example is attributed to the Early Byzantine period and the Odalar Camii example is given a Middle Byzantine date. Since there is no decoration of a significant nature and no thorough dating discussion of the parallels has been made so far, it is difficult to propose a date for the Choma fragment.

²⁵³ Feld 1975a: 415-416.

²⁵⁴ Westphalen 1998:149.

C. Wall painting Fragments of the Late Church

1. No inventory number. Fresco fragment showing drapery detail, (Fig. 124) *in situ* in the main south wall, near the south apse of the church (FSP 3.10).

Description:

On this fragment is represented the upper part of a tunic. The tunic was painted white and folds were shown by reddish brown and black brushstrokes.

Dating and Discussion:

A good comparison comes from the north wall of the basilica in Xanthos, found *in situ*. This piece (Fig. 125 a-b) also showed drapery detail and the style of painting is very similar. It bore the name ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΣ and has been dated to the Middle Byzantine period.²⁵⁵

In the Church of St. Nicholas at Myra, the drapery details are rendered in linear style. According to Çorağan, the use of the linear style gave two-dimensionality to the figures.²⁵⁶ The folds were shown by reddish brown brushstrokes and highlighted with white touches, which was a common practice for the 11th century.²⁵⁷ Since the painting from the Choma church was found *in situ* and has very reliable comparable pieces, it may be dated to the 11th century.

²⁵⁵ Metzger (1970: 171) first dated this piece to the 10th-11th centuries. In the following years he said that the same fragment might have belonged to a period between the 10th and 12th centuries.

²⁵⁶ Çorağan 1998: 330. She says that this two-dimensional approach makes figures look static and motionless.

2. Inv. No. 07456. A dressed block with a fresco of floral pattern (Fig. 126). Found in the 2000 season and left at the depot (FSP 3.11). Length 30 cm, width 22 cm, thickness 22 cm.

Description:

On this stone, alternating bands with geometric and floral patterns were drawn. In these alternating bands a *fleur-des-lis* or acanthus leaf like pattern is followed by a square which was divided into four triangles by a cross. Each triangle was filled with hemispherical dots. Green, yellow, red, black and white are used.

Dating and Discussion:

A similar colour palette, depicting stylised leaves, concentric circles and fruit, especially grapes, was found at Cappadocia, on the vaults of the Church of St. Nicetas the Stylite in Kizil Cukur (Figs. 127 a-b), dated some time between the late 7th and 9th centuries.²⁵⁸

3. Inv. No. 07458. A dressed block with a fresco of floral patterns (Fig. 128) Found in the 2000 season and left at the depot (FSP 3.12). Length 24 cm, width 25 cm, thickness 23 cm.

²⁵⁷Mouriki 1985: 225.

²⁵⁸Thierry (1995: 300-302) associates this ornament with the vegetal decoration program that was common in a very wide geographical horizon from Asia Minor to Armenia. She dates this program to the second half of the 7th and 8th centuries. For her, the origin of that particular type of pattern must be sought in the textile ornaments of Sassanids and Byzantines. Schiemenz (1969: 240-242) dates this pattern to the late 9th century. Hild and Restle (1981: 214) also supported the 9th century as the

Description:

The pattern on this stone is composed of triangles and chevrons. The colours are black, white, yellow and green. The chevrons were painted in a curvilinear pattern.

Dating and Discussion

The wall painting at Karşibucak (Fig. 129) of the 9-10th centuries may illustrate a nice comparison for our piece. This particular painting comes from the south apse. The pattern was formed by chevrons and triangles.²⁵⁹

beginning of the execution of this type of pattern. Jolivet-Levy (1991: 56) dates it to the 8th-9th centuries.

²⁵⁹ The dating of the decoration is a matter of debate. Jerphanion (1925-1942: 504) says that the pattern must have been during the pre-iconoclastic period. Lafontaine-Dosogne (1987:330) dates it to the first half of the 9th century. Thierry (1995:304) says that this type of pattern must date to some time between the 7th and 8th centuries. Jolivet-Levy (1991: 71) dates it to the 9th century.

D. Liturgical Objects

The liturgical objects that have been found so far are of a lower quality than comparable pieces of the Early Byzantine period in terms of the artisanship and the preference of bronze, iron and copper as the material. Generally it was in the Middle and Late Byzantine periods that liturgical vessels, though often in size and shape similar to those of the earlier periods, were made of inferior materials, i.e. copper or bronze.²⁶⁰ This was in part the fact that silver, which had not been used for coinage in earlier periods, was now used for minting coins and accordingly was less plentiful in supply.²⁶¹

The two metal objects that can be attributed to the Late Church on the basis of comparisons are an almost complete bronze processional cross and fragments of a second.

1. Inv. No. 05690. Bronze processional cross with three surviving arms (Fig. 130). Found in 1999 and left at the depot (FSP 3.13). Length 12 cm, Width 6cm.

The arms flare as they extend from the centre of the cross and end in serifs that take spherical bulbs. This cross had a tang that might have functioned as a handle to hold the cross during the processions.

²⁶⁰ Boyd 1992: 180. M. Mango 1994: 221-227.

²⁶¹ Boyd 1992: 30-34.

2. Inv. No. 05833. Fragment of a large iron processional cross (Fig. 132). Found in 1999 and left at the depot (FSP 3.14). Extant length of the arm 25 cm, height of the tang is 30 cm, width is 22 cm.

The arms also flare to end in serifs. The present arm has a tang, which is broken. There are circular traces for holding the serifs.

Dating and Discussion:

Cotsonis says that most processional crosses are of Latin shape, the vertical axis being longer than the horizontal axis.²⁶² Looking at the crosses of the Choma church, it is possible to say that the shape of both is of Latin standards. In the one with three surviving arms, we also see that tooled edging was also applied. Questions such as whether or not the crosses were decorated and inscribed, since their surfaces are not well preserved, need to be analysed in a wider perspective. The majority of processional crosses were not decorated with religious figures, but rather they were studded with precious stones and metals.²⁶³ Inscriptions were believed to provide more power to the sign of the Cross.²⁶⁴ The importance of adding the names of the archangels and martyrs was first mentioned by Michael Psellos in the 11th century, saying that this was done to remind the worshipper of the victorious symbol of the Cross and the grace of the name of the saint or angel.²⁶⁵ Although no appropriate chemical treatment has been carried out so far to see whether or not the Choma examples

²⁶² Cotsonis 1994: 40; See also Ross 1961: 55.

²⁶³ Cotsonis 1994: 90; Sandin 1992: 126-128.

²⁶⁴ Cotsonis 1994: 40; See also Kurtz 1936.

were decorated or inscribed, it is possible to see with the naked eye the traces of some geometric patterns i.e. concentric circles. The crosses from Choma can be compared with 10th century examples from Constantinople (Fig. 133 a-b).²⁶⁶

²⁶⁵ Sandin 1992: 12-13.

²⁶⁶ Ross 1961: 59.

E. Pottery Evidence for the Late Church

From the floors of the Late Church, a homogenous group of pottery was found. The pottery specialists of the excavation have named this ware “Church Ware”. This ware has been found in abundance. Its basic characteristics are thin walls and a dark red colour (2.5 YR 4/8), and the application of rouletting is evident. Like the material of the early churches, no complete vessel has been found. However, there are joinable sherds. By looking at the profiles, it is possible to say that closed forms are common. Since the pieces are fragmentary, it is difficult to estimate original dimensions.

1. Small body fragment (Fig. 132) with non-distinctive profile from D5-i4, Locus 12- 8.²⁶⁷ Its profile gives little indication of the shape. Thin-walled, with crusty surface. Rouletting is applied. Red glazed.

Measurements: width 9 cm, length 8 cm.

Munsell Colour: 2.5 YR 4/8 Dark Red.

No similar pottery type has been found. Probably it is a local ware, produced using local clay.

2. Small body fragment (Fig. 133), from D5-j2, 11-8. Like the previous example it is thin-walled, with a crusty surface and rouletting. Red glazed.

Measurements: width 11 cm, length 10 cm.

²⁶⁷ Locus 12 was assigned to the sediment feature that belongs to the Late Church. This locus was located in the sediment that has the traces of an altar in front of the bema structure of the Late Church.

Munsell Colour: 2.5 YR 4/8 Dark Red.

Again, no similar pottery type is known. Probably it is a local ware, produced using local clay.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

The present work has presented the evidence for the churches built on the mound of Hacimusalar, and attempted to draw parallels for the plans, the architectural sculpture and other decorative features. It is clear, however, that the excavation of this part of the site has to be completed before some of the questions that remain can be answered, and that more of the site as a whole needs to be excavated before the church can be given a firmer context within its immediate setting.

The historical evidence for the region of Lycia in general is scanty and the sources at hand do not say much about the site of Choma. The archaeological evidence for Lycia seems to be closely related to the social and economic picture provided to us through the Vita. The extensive survey starting in the early 1960s has demonstrated that there is abundant evidence for churches, monasteries and village settlements with agricultural activities, especially in Central Lycia.

The evidence from Choma enables us to say that a settlement of some sort existed on the mound in the Byzantine period. However, the nature of this

settlement has yet to be determined. The area known as the “Central Building Area” on the mound is an area of 375 square metres that has been excavated for six years. The upper layers of building quite clearly belong to a post Imperial Roman period, and there is speculation that this area may have born a relationship with the church. One problem here is that there is a distance of 15-20 metres unexcavated area between the “Central Building Area” and the church that does not allow us to see the possibility of a more direct relationship between the two. If there is a connection, the question then arises of whether any of these buildings suggest a monastic function. However, an analysis of the architectural features and finds of the “Central Building Area” provide no significant clues to comment on this possibility any further, and this is a suggestion that should be treated with caution.

Although there were more monastic complexes from the 9th century onwards, and in the 10th century, several decrees were passed for reserving more land for the monasteries,²⁶⁸ Hill has commented that to have a church or chapel included within an well-organised complex of spaces does not necessarily means that the site had functioned as a monastic settlement.²⁶⁹ He also says that in a lot of studies the criteria to give the label ‘monastery’ have been as follows: a church with an unusual plan, with lots of little rooms and a courtyard, with an isolated and remote location. It should have a precinct wall. The structure is cut out of native rock and there are caves nearby. Hill claims

²⁶⁸ Mango 1986: 192-199.

²⁶⁹ Hill 1994: 137-138. If I repeat Hill verbatim: “Buildings may have been ‘monastic’, but they were not necessarily ‘monasteries’”.

that meeting one criterion is often implicative, and meeting one criterion has often been taken as conclusive. Hill evaluates his thinking by re-identifying some of the well-known ‘monasteries’ in Anatolia. Ousterhout,²⁷⁰ following the same trend, and using literary evidence, questions the function of Çanlı Kilise which previously has been identified as a Middle Byzantine monastery,²⁷¹ ‘an architectural complex with fairly well-defined qualifications’. Ousterhout thinks that there was no reason to build monasteries side by side. Rather, these spaces may have been utilised as family sized units. The site of Çanlı Kilise was a town, or *kome*, composed of large, single family residences.²⁷² Moreover, Ousterhout thinks that sites with a church and houses should not necessarily be identified as monasteries. It is also noted that it is common for a residence to have a chapel with a household priest.²⁷³ Further examination of the monastic planning can be closely associated with the domestic planning.²⁷⁴

In the Middle Byzantine period the church was rebuilt as a cross-in-square church, which follows a pattern observed in other parts of the empire, including Constantinople. This pattern of change does not necessarily reflect a decrease in the number of devotees or population in general, but is believed to relate to changes in the liturgy, and there is also believed to be a relationship with a

²⁷⁰ Ousterhout 1997: 420-421.

²⁷¹ Mango 1976: 198.

²⁷² Ousterhout 1997: 422.

²⁷³ Ousterhout 1997: 428; Noailles and Dain 1944: 21; Mango 1980: 82.

²⁷⁴ Ousterhout 1997: 429; Magdalino 1994: 92-111. The following sources also talk about the conversions from secular into monastic units: Gorecki 1984: 209-210; Charanis 1948: 115.

change in patronage.²⁷⁵ In its broadest terms it is difficult to name the Late Church a “cathedral” (*megalē ekklēsia*), which is attended by clergy, monk, laity, men and women of different classes and occupations. It is much easier to associate the Late Church at Choma with a parish church (*katholikē ekklēsia*) which is maintained by the bishop for public worship and private chapel. Such a church is owned and operated by a private person. Moreover, baptism and celebration of church festivals seem to have been eradicated during the Middle Byzantine period.²⁷⁶ This may have resulted in the usage of private family chapels rather the parish church or the cathedral.²⁷⁷ Another change in ecclesiastical life worth mentioning is the advent of “personal liturgy”²⁷⁸ and / or “personal monastery”.²⁷⁹ These two terms mean a monastic foundation, which was founded by an individual or family, was an important characteristic of the period, which may be explained as another reason for the scaling down of churches.²⁸⁰

During the excavations of the church, a number of burials were excavated in the close vicinity.²⁸¹ The levels at which they were found and the burying practices indicate that some of the burials were Islamic. Others, however, may

²⁷⁵ See Ousterhout 1999: 9-16 discusses the change in liturgy and patronage in the Middle Byzantine period.

²⁷⁶ Wharton-Epstein 1988:10.

²⁷⁷ Ousterhout 1997: 429.

²⁷⁸ Krautheimer 1986:293.

²⁷⁹ Mathews 1982: 128.

²⁸⁰ Rodley 1994:117.

²⁸¹ Although some of these burials lay within the limits of the early basilica, they were outside the limits of the Late Church. They clearly do not relate to the early church.

well have been Christian, but there is no indication that any of these relate to a time when the church was still functioning. Some other burials found in earlier excavation seasons some 35-40 metres east of the location of the church were also considered to be Christian burials. This would bring up the question of whether the church may have functioned as a cemetery church, but again this is a possibility that can only be put forward and cannot be supported by any specific evidence.

The material that is excavated at Choma meets the “provincial and Constantinopolitan paradigms” also. By looking at the material in general we can say that it is not easy to equate the “provincial” with poor quality, derivativeness and artistic insignificance.²⁸²

The architectural sculpture evidence that is discussed in this thesis, I think adds a valuable piece to the understanding of the architectural sculpture decoration work in the region of Lycia. Harrison talks about the emergence of a local workshop in the vicinity of Alakilise, whose products have been attested in the villages of Lycia.²⁸³ However, the architectural sculpture collection of the Choma church shows that rather than it displaying a homogenous character suggestive of a single local workshop, each site had produced its own sculpture.

²⁸²Wharton-Epstein 1985: 1.

²⁸³ Harrison 1972: 197. In this article Harrison states that this workshop had served for the ecclesiastical buildings in the countryside, which may be a sign for the shift of the well-off patrons from the classical sites to the monastic countryside.

The wall paintings which have been attributed to the early and late phases of the church are a good indication of how a decorational program was important even in a rural church of modest measurements. In a comparison with the available evidence in the provinces and the capital, we see that the wall paintings at the Church at Choma represented a taste and touch of local artisanship.

The mosaic floors, which are exclusively dated to the Early Church phase, are also an indication of a well-thought-out decorational program. By looking at the comparable mosaic floors in secular and religious contexts, both specifically in the region and generally in the Mediterranean, we are able to say that the mosaic floors are a good manifestation of the emergence of pattern books, since we are able to find comparable finds from places as far afield as Antioch, Cyprus, Sinop, Ravenna and Khirbet al Murassas in Palestine.

The liturgical objects are complimentary objects that help us out to figure out how the ceremonies were held, for example the use of the processional cross, and how the church was lighted, for example the use of the polycandelon.

Pottery evidence is a helpful tool to confirm the phasing of the church. While the pottery of the Early Churches seems to follow the general trend of manufacture and design, taking into account the limited amount of pottery studies, the Late Church has a different choice of manufacture and design whose counterparts are not found so far.

There are a number of limitations to this thesis, some of which are posed by the fact that the church site has not yet been completely excavated, some by the size of the site and the overall goals to gain evidence for all occupation periods and not just the Byzantine period, others by the lack of published comparanda. Despite this, however, it is hoped that this thesis has been able to successfully present the kinds of materials that have been found relating to the church site and to show that more studies of ecclesiastical structures are necessary in order for us to have a better understanding of the Byzantine period in Lycia.

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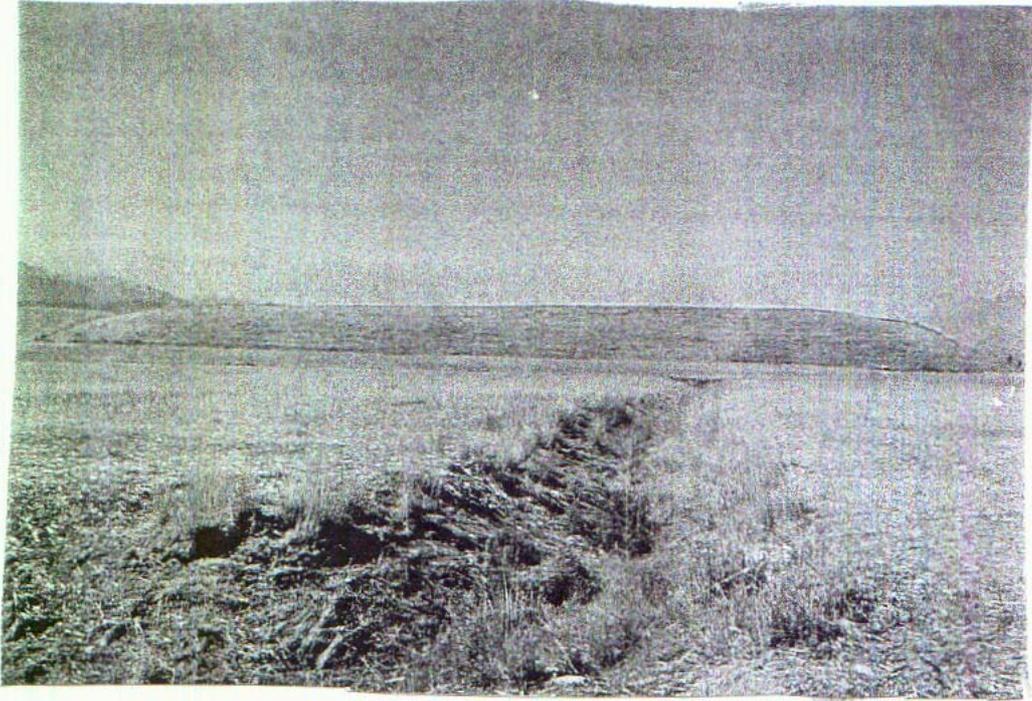


Fig.1 The Hacimusalar Mound

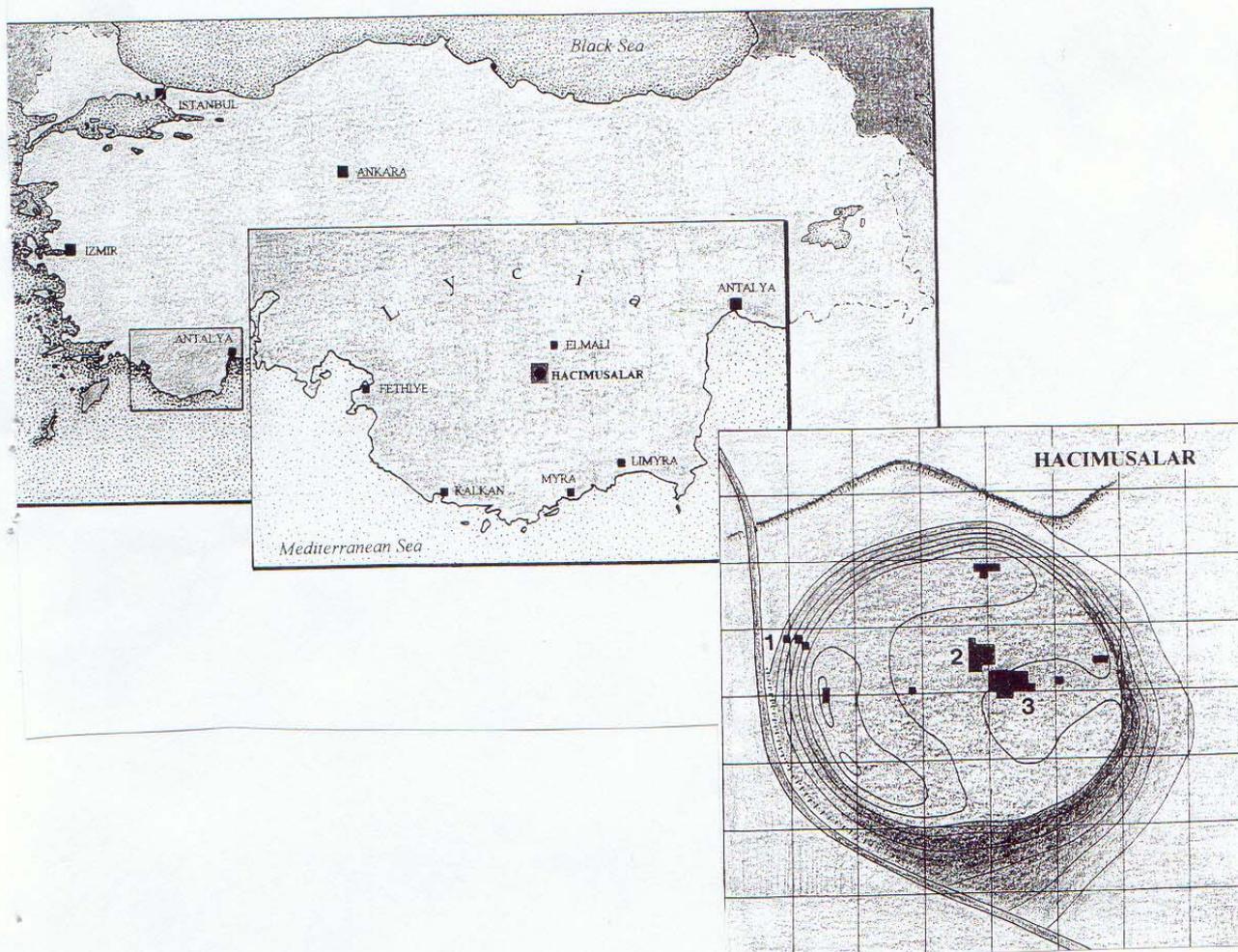


Fig. 2 Hacimusalar Mound, excavated areas

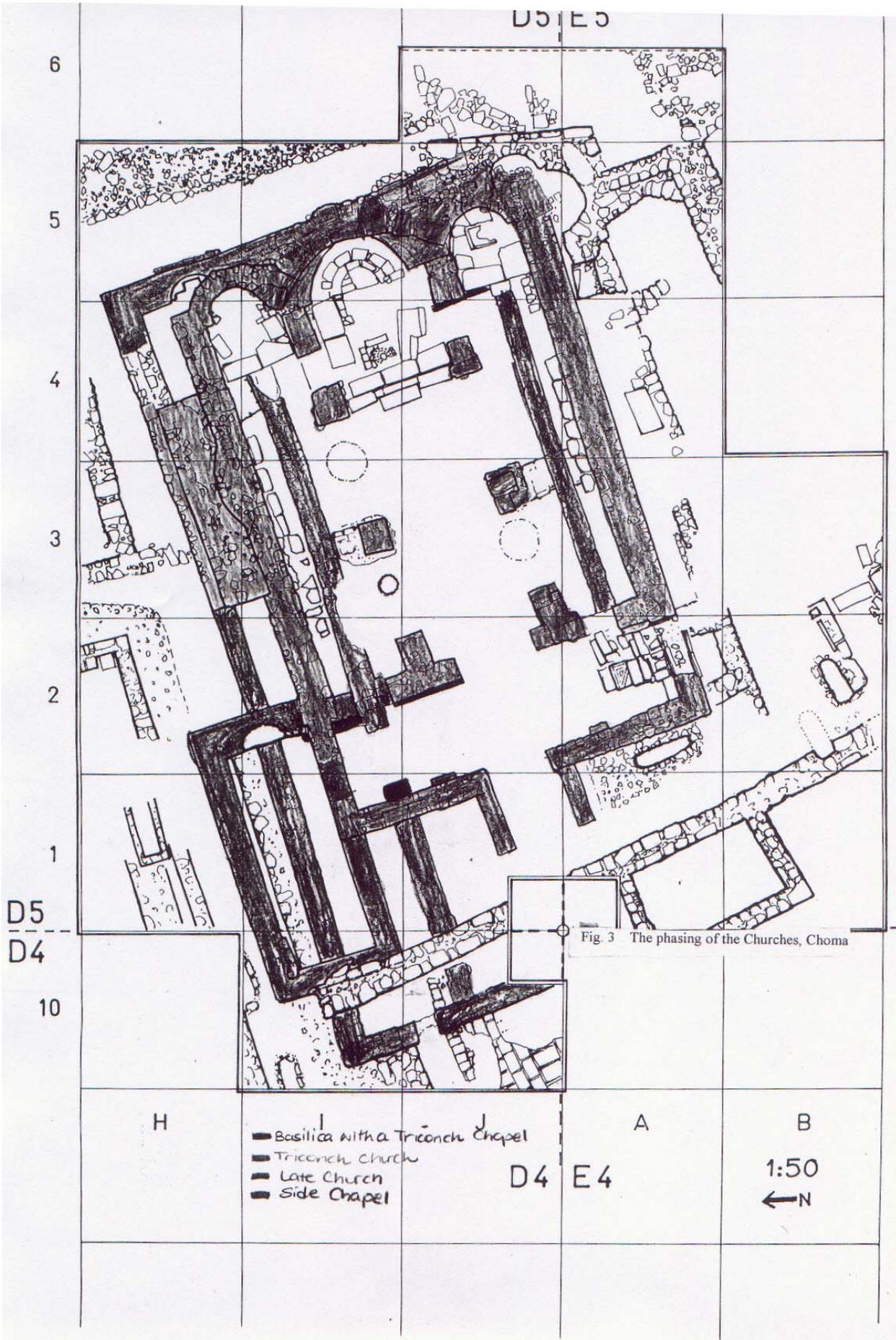
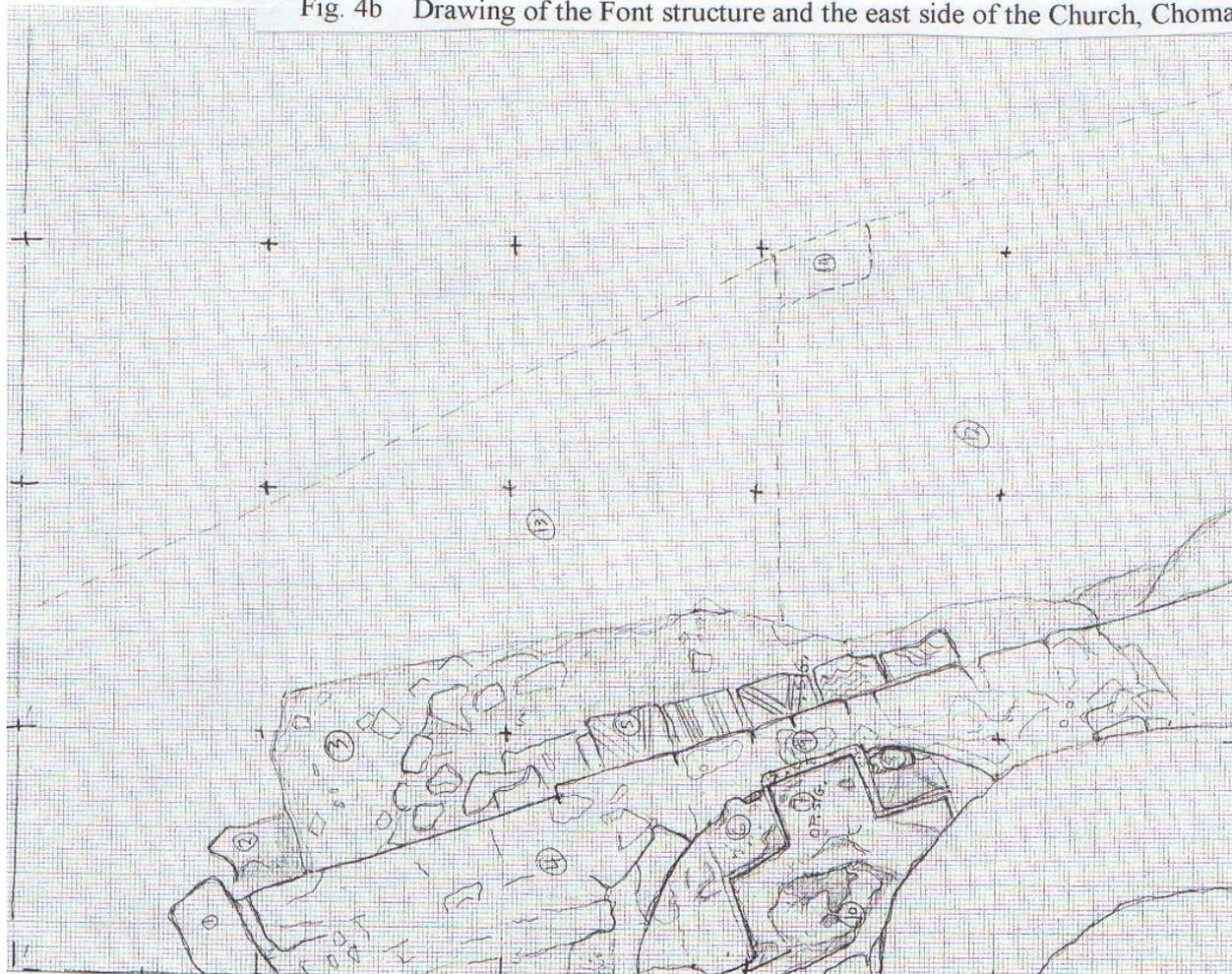




Fig. 4a Font structure in the baptistery, Choma

Fig. 4b Drawing of the Font structure and the east side of the Church, Choma



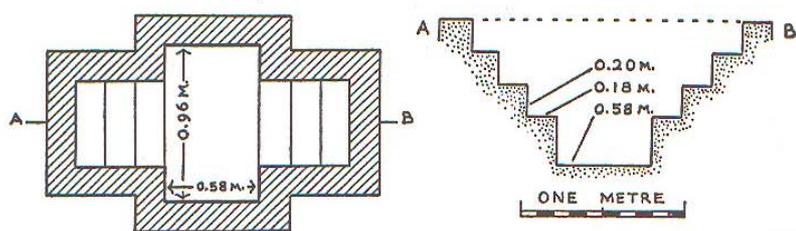
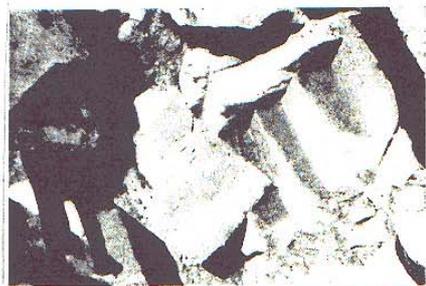


Fig. 4c-d Font structure, Karabel

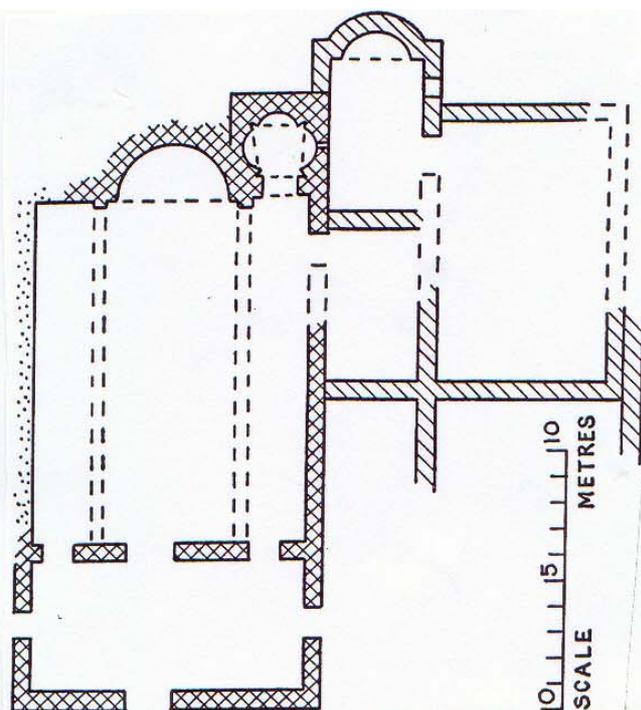


Fig. 5 Basilica with a *Triconchos* Chapel at Kökburnu

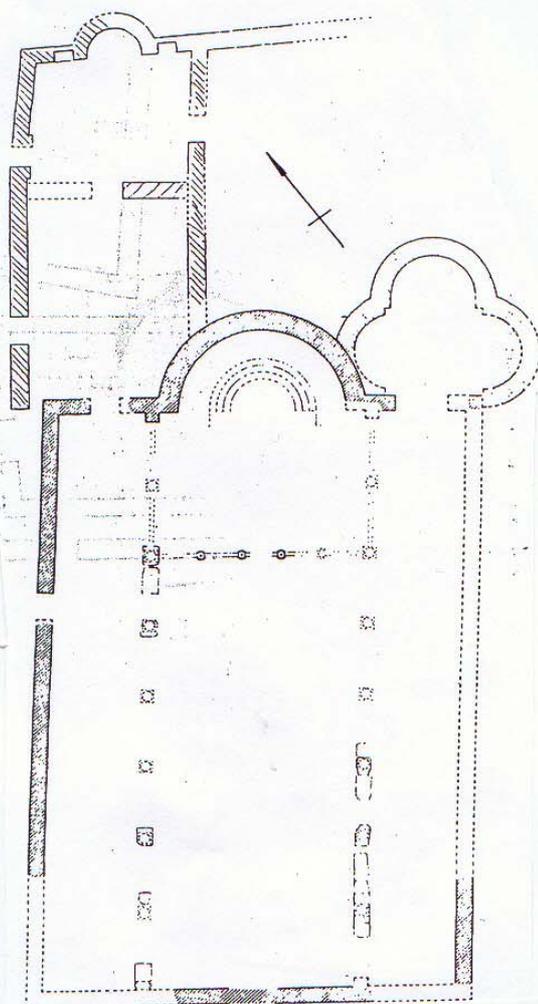


Fig. 6 Basilica with a *Triconchos* Chapel at Andriake (Church A)

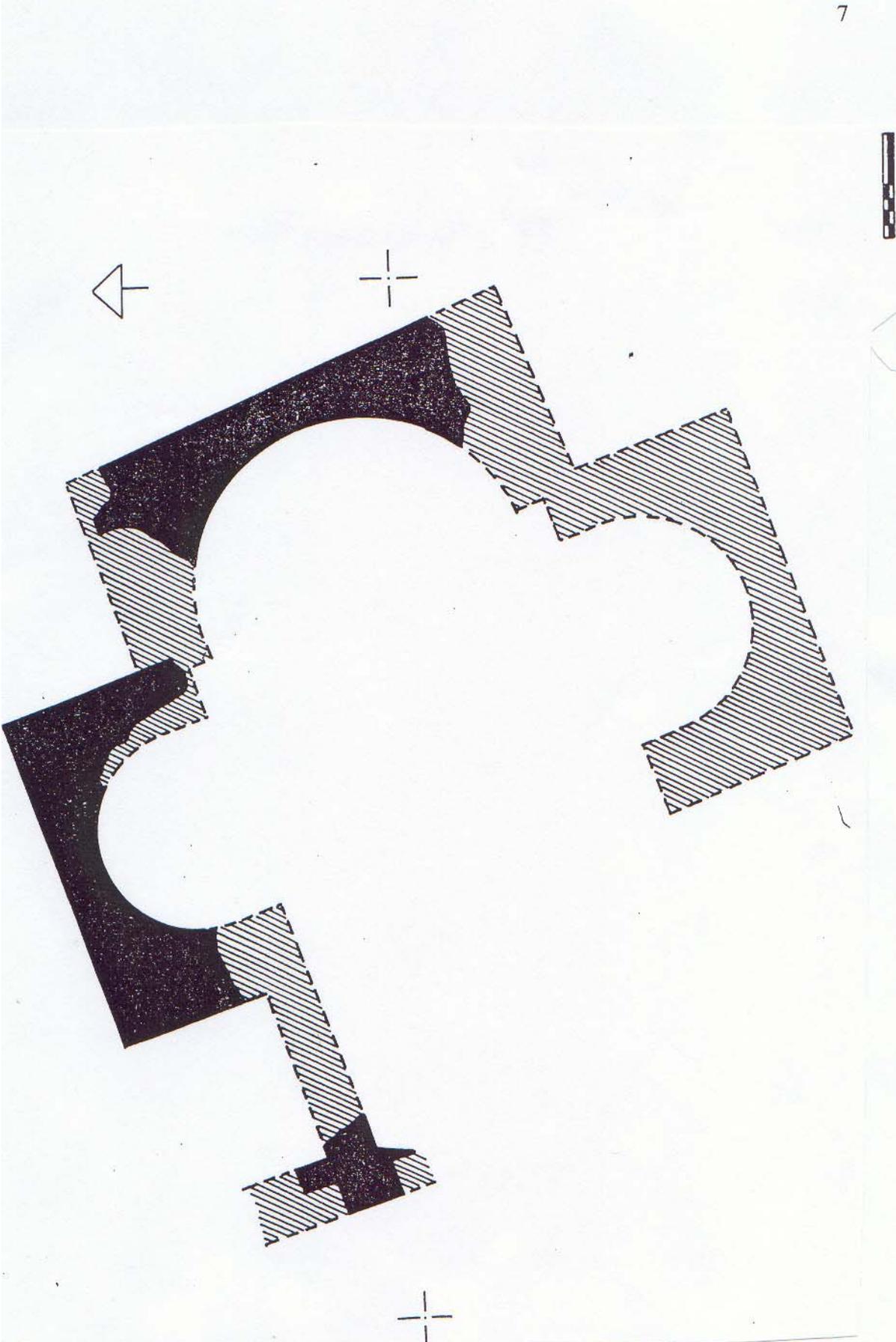


Fig.7 Plan of the *Triconchos* Church

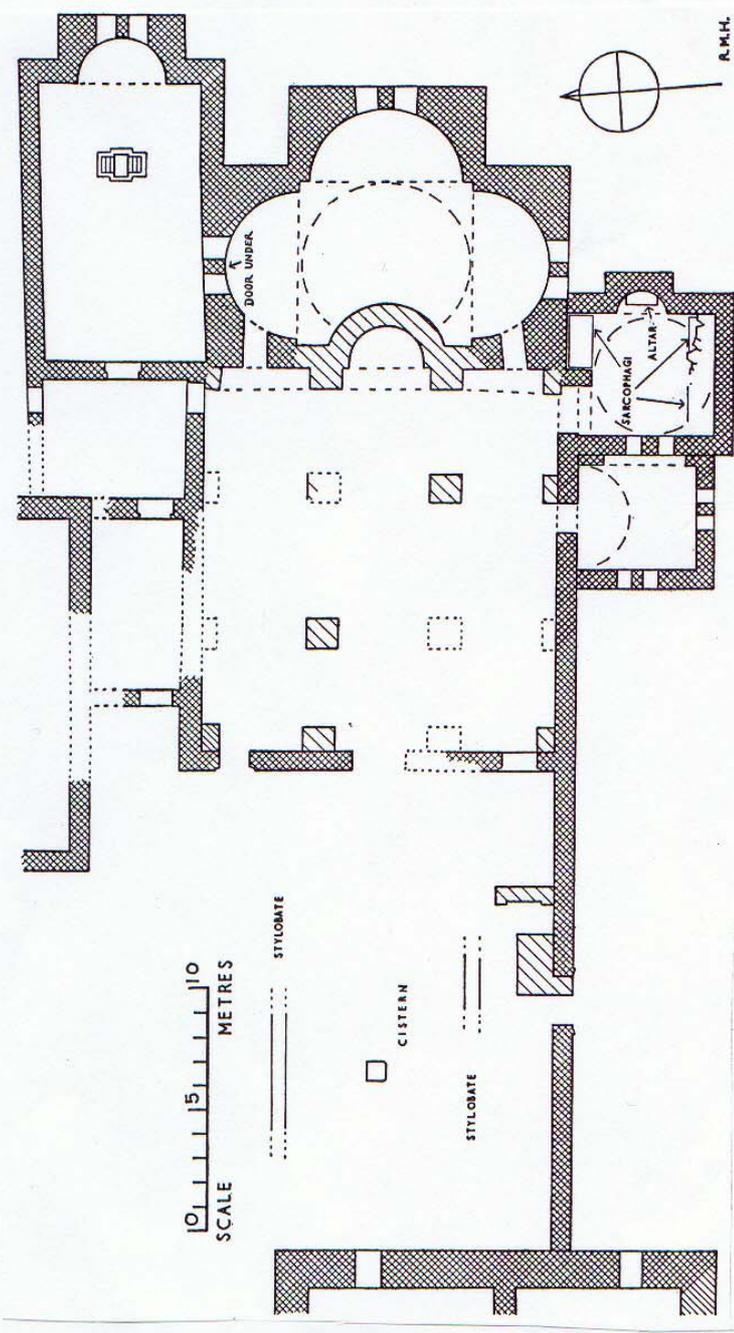


Fig. 8 *Triconchos* Church at Karabel

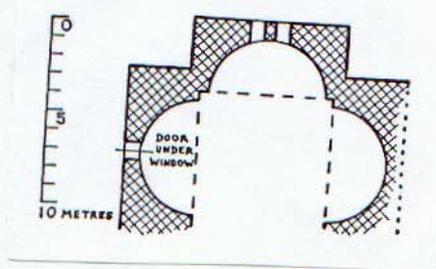


Fig. 9 *Triconchos* Church at Devékuyusu

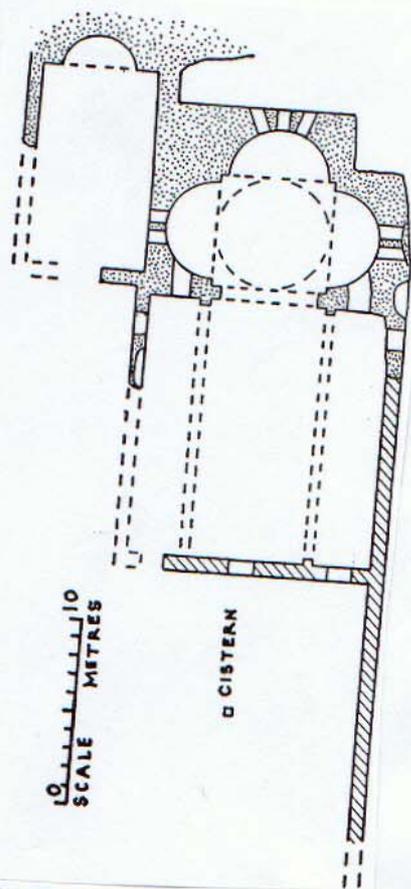


Fig.10 *Triconchos* Church at Alacahisar

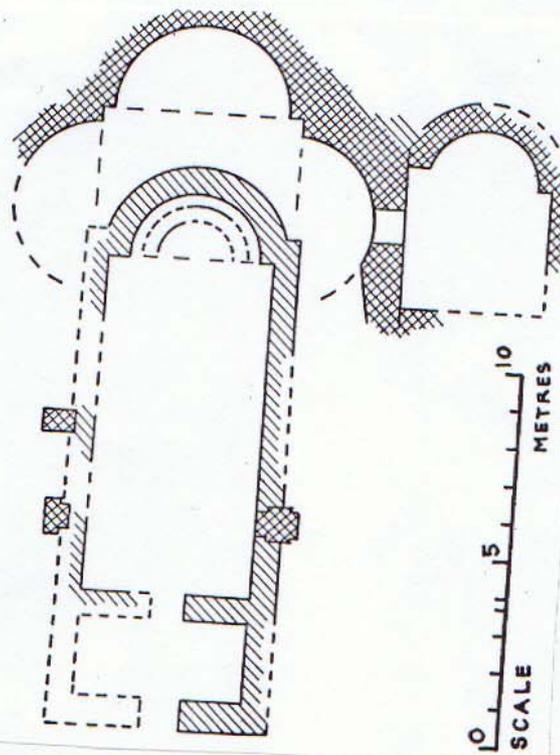
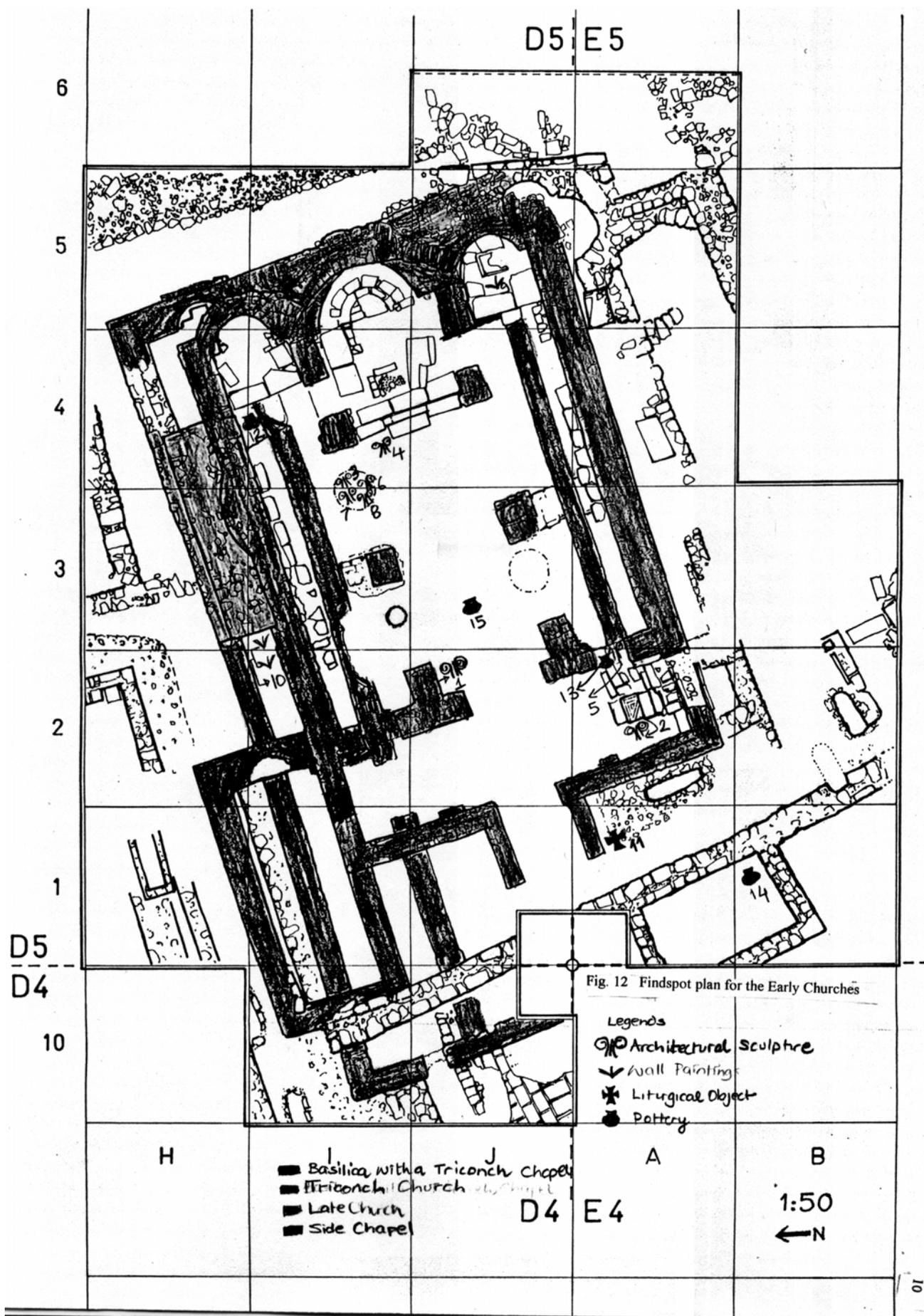


Fig.11 *Triconchos* Church at Dikmen



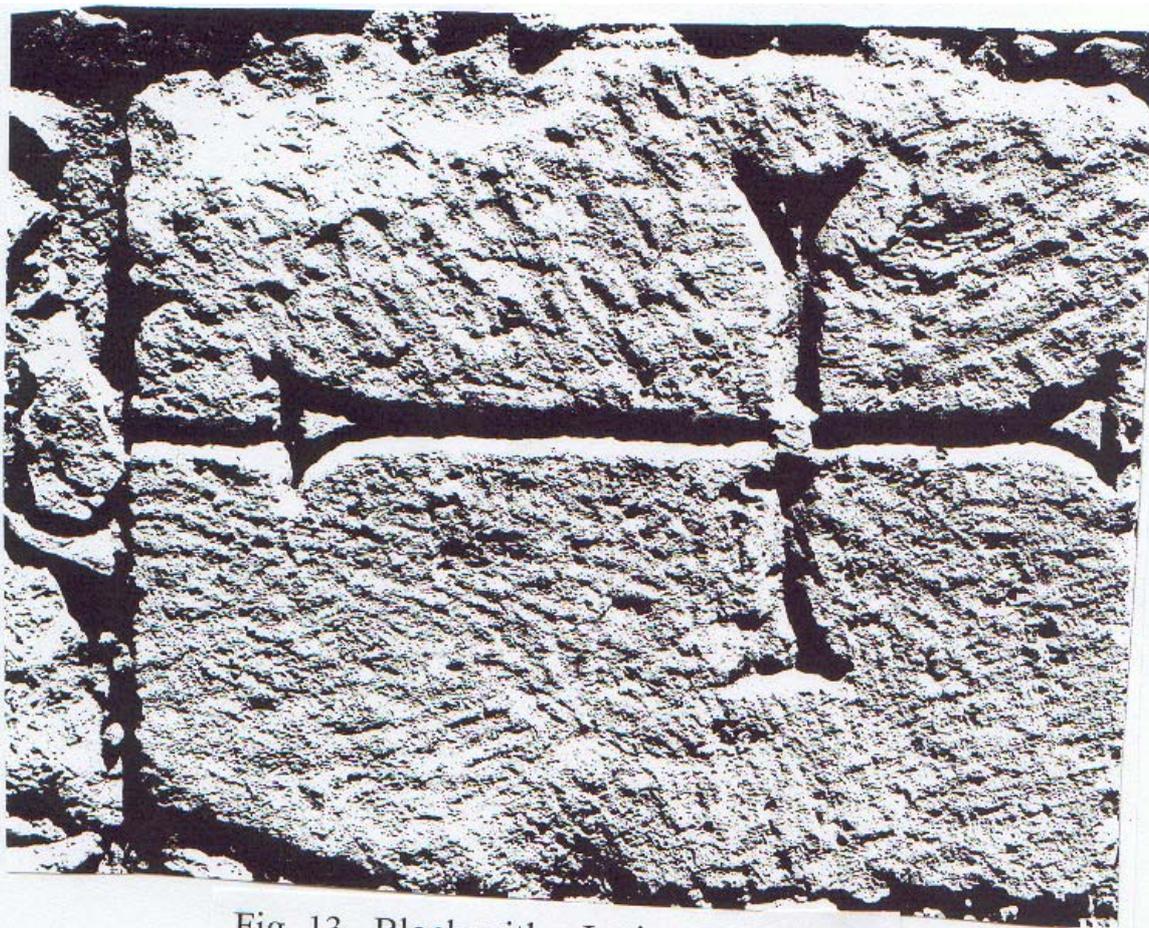


Fig. 13 Block with a Latin cross, Choma



Fig. 14 Latin cross pattern at the Grave 10, Myra



Fig. 15 Ambo stone fragment, Choma

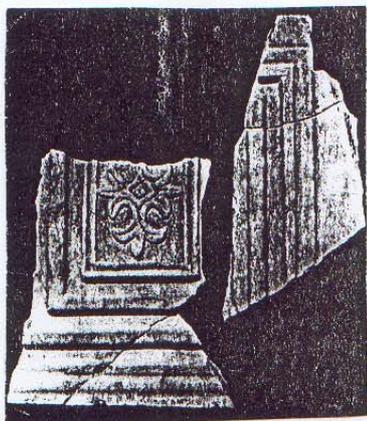


Fig. 16 Ambo stone fragment, St. Euphemia,
Constantinople

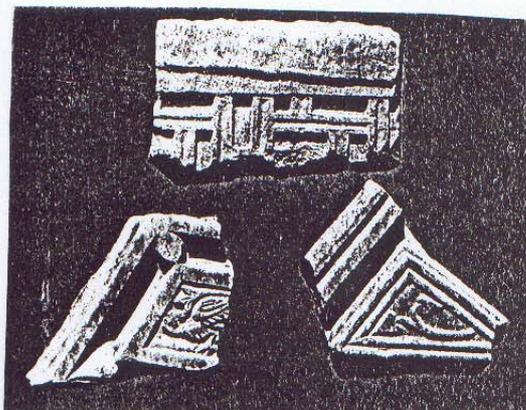


Fig. 17 Ambo stone fragment, Odalar Camii,
Constantinople



Fig.18 Reconstructed Templon structure
Templon post, chancel screen fragments, column fragments and epistyle
fragment, Choma.



Fig.19 Templon post, Myra

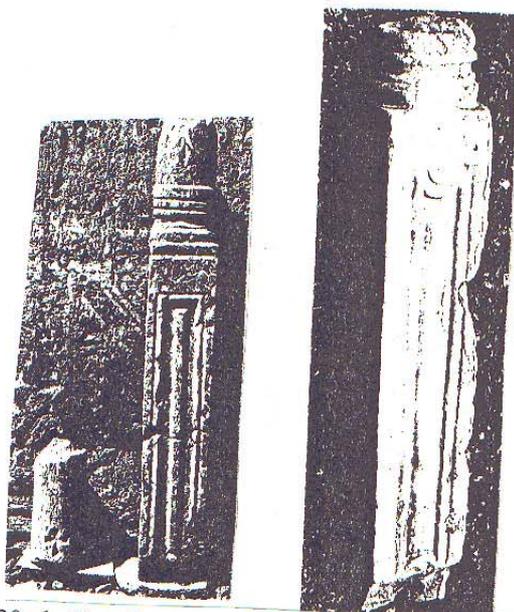


Fig. 20a-b Templon posts, Kalenderhane Camii, Constantinople

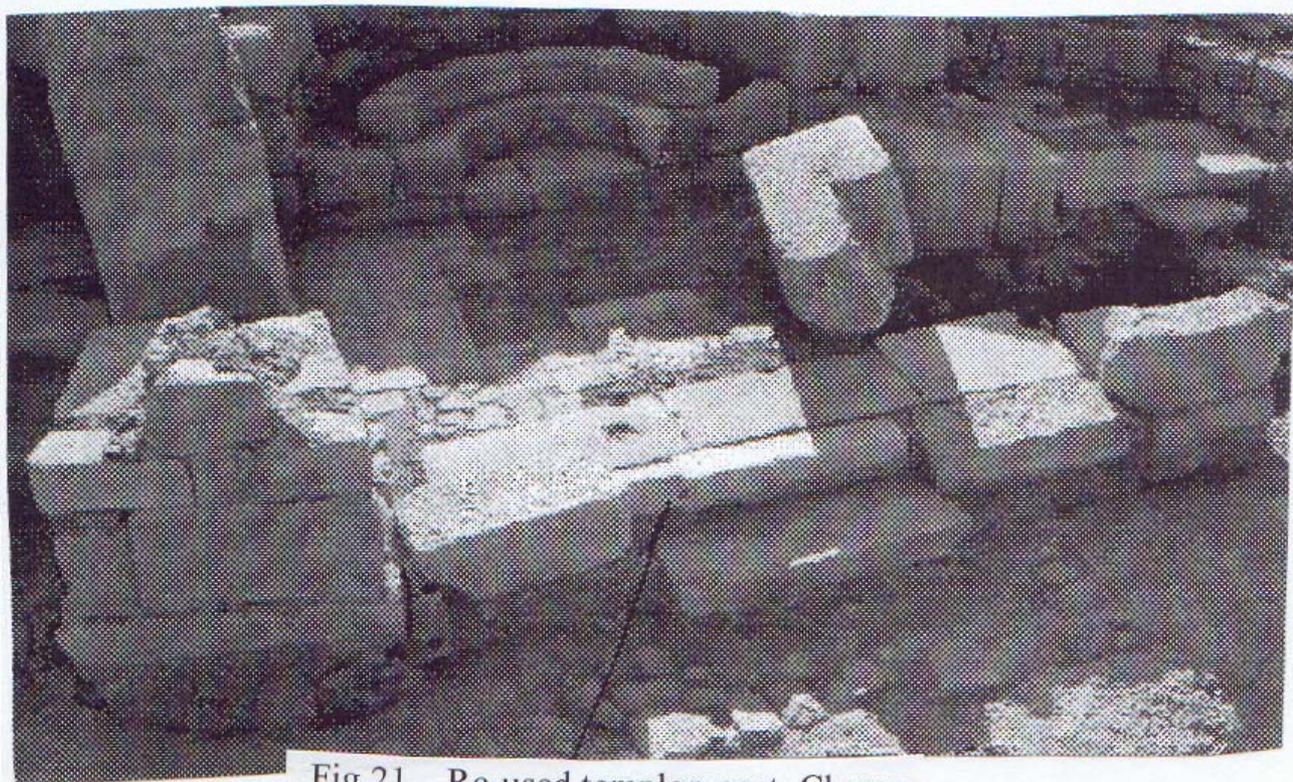


Fig.21 Re-used templon post, Choma



Fig.22 Chancel Screen Slab, Choma

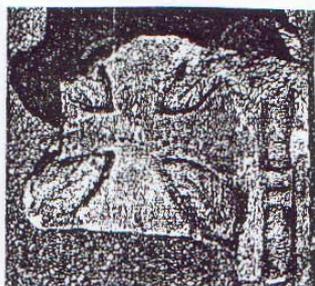


Fig. 23 Chancel Screen Slab, Myra



Fig.24 Chancel Screen Slab, St. Euphemia,
Constantinople

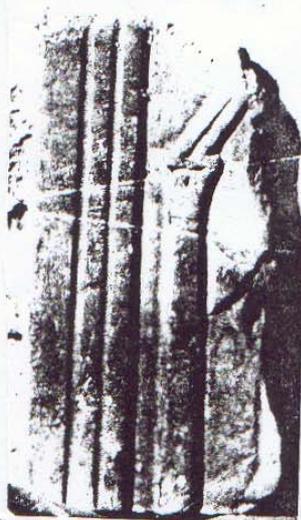


Fig. 25 Chancel Screen Slab, Odalar Camii, Constantinople

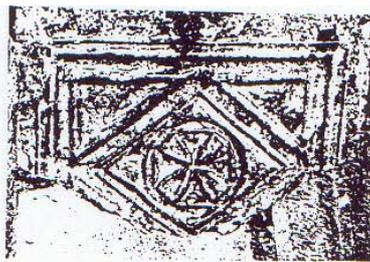


Fig.26 Chancel Screen fragment, Myra



Fig. 27 Fresco fragments dressed block Choma

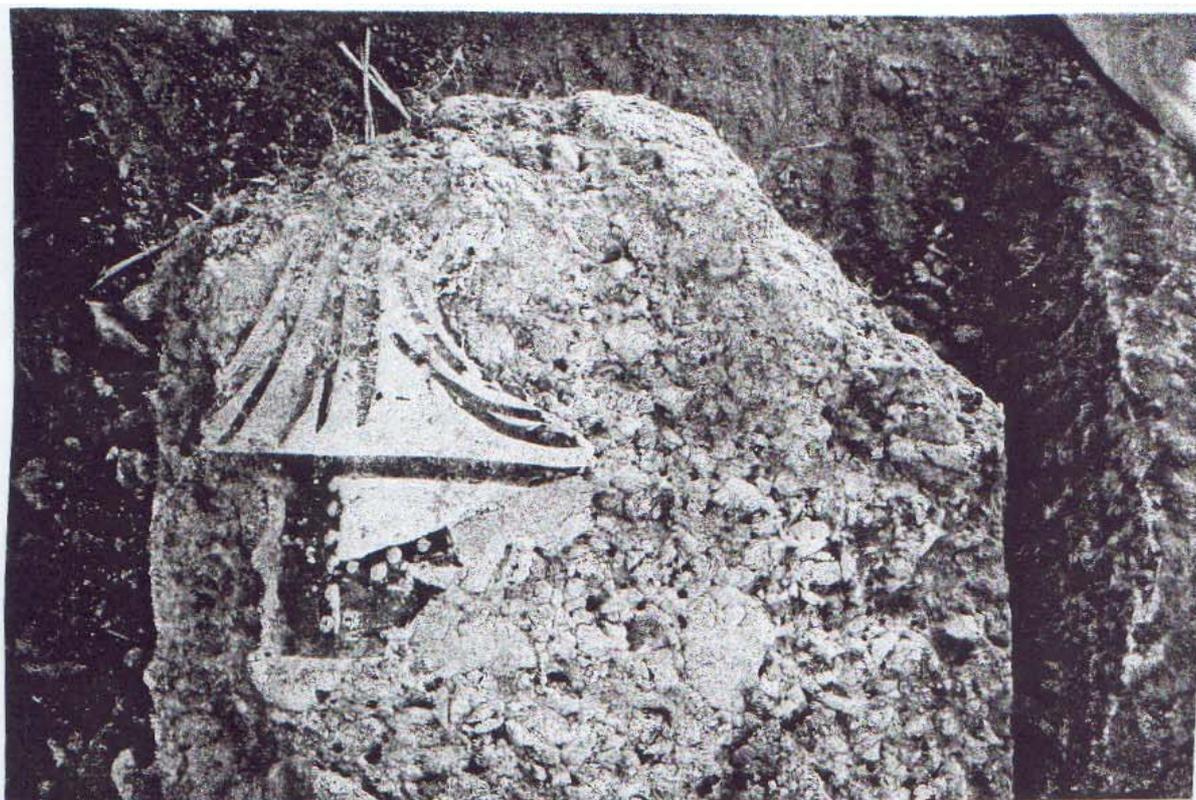


Fig.28a Fresco fragments (upper layer of the dressed block), Choma



Fig.28b Fresco fragments (lower layer of the dressed block), Choma

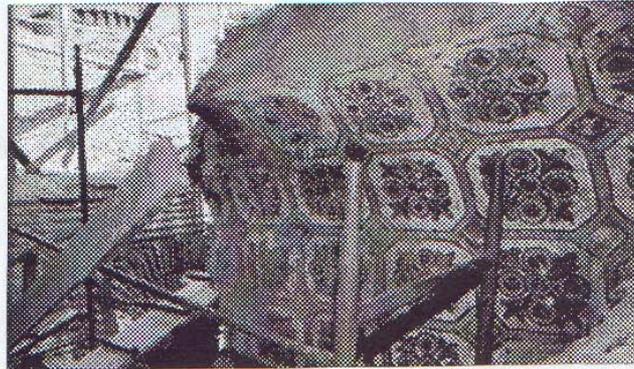


Fig.29 Fresco with floral motifs, Constantinople

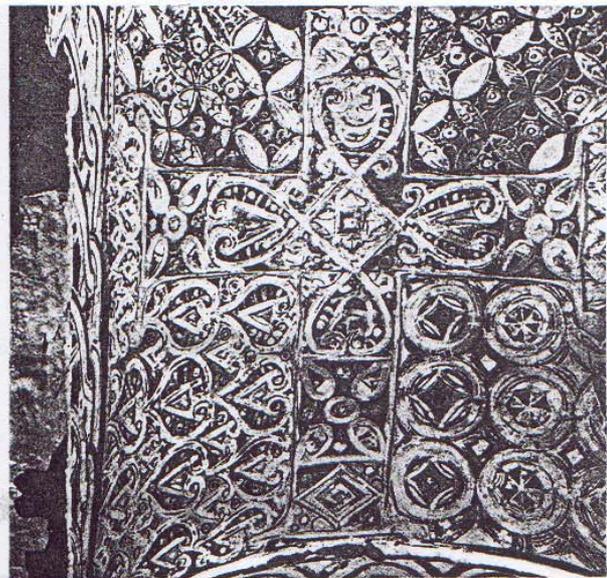
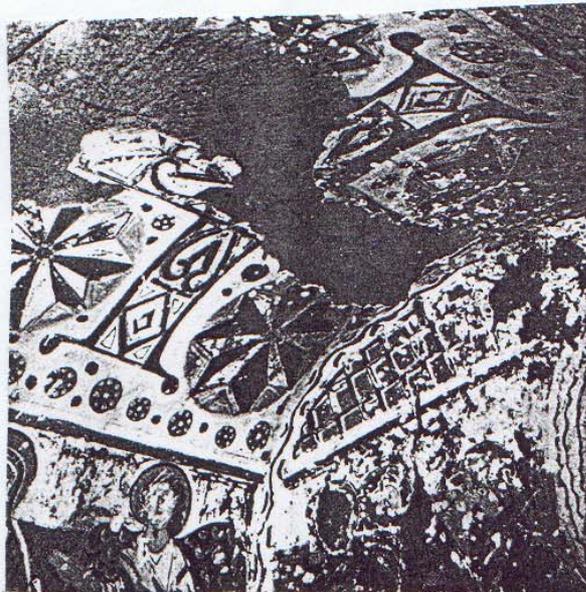
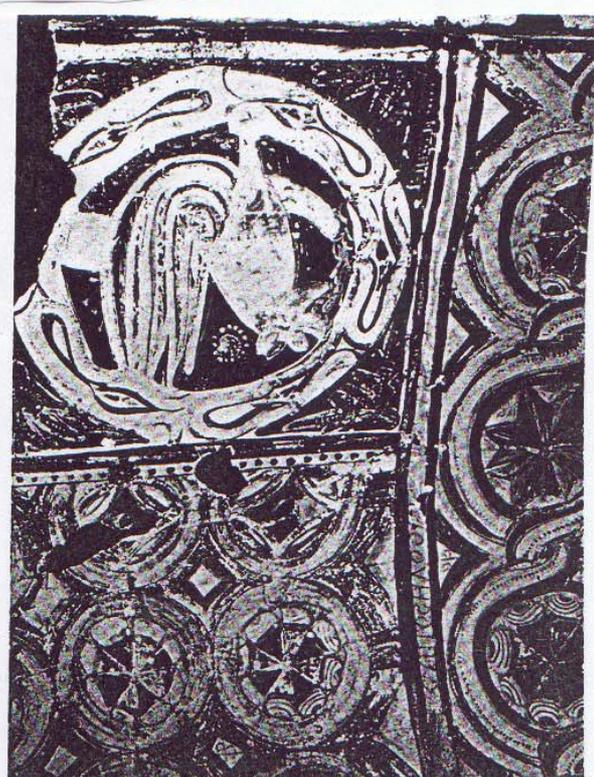
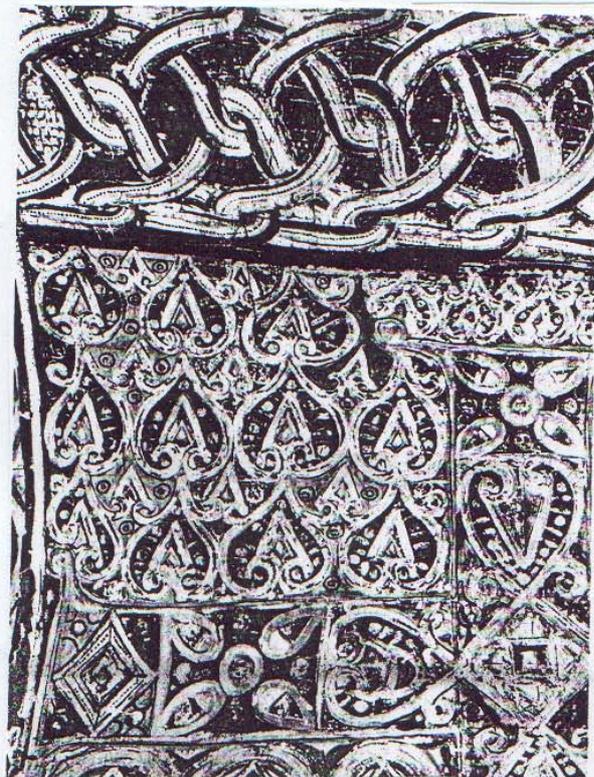


Fig.30 Frescoes from Cappadocia



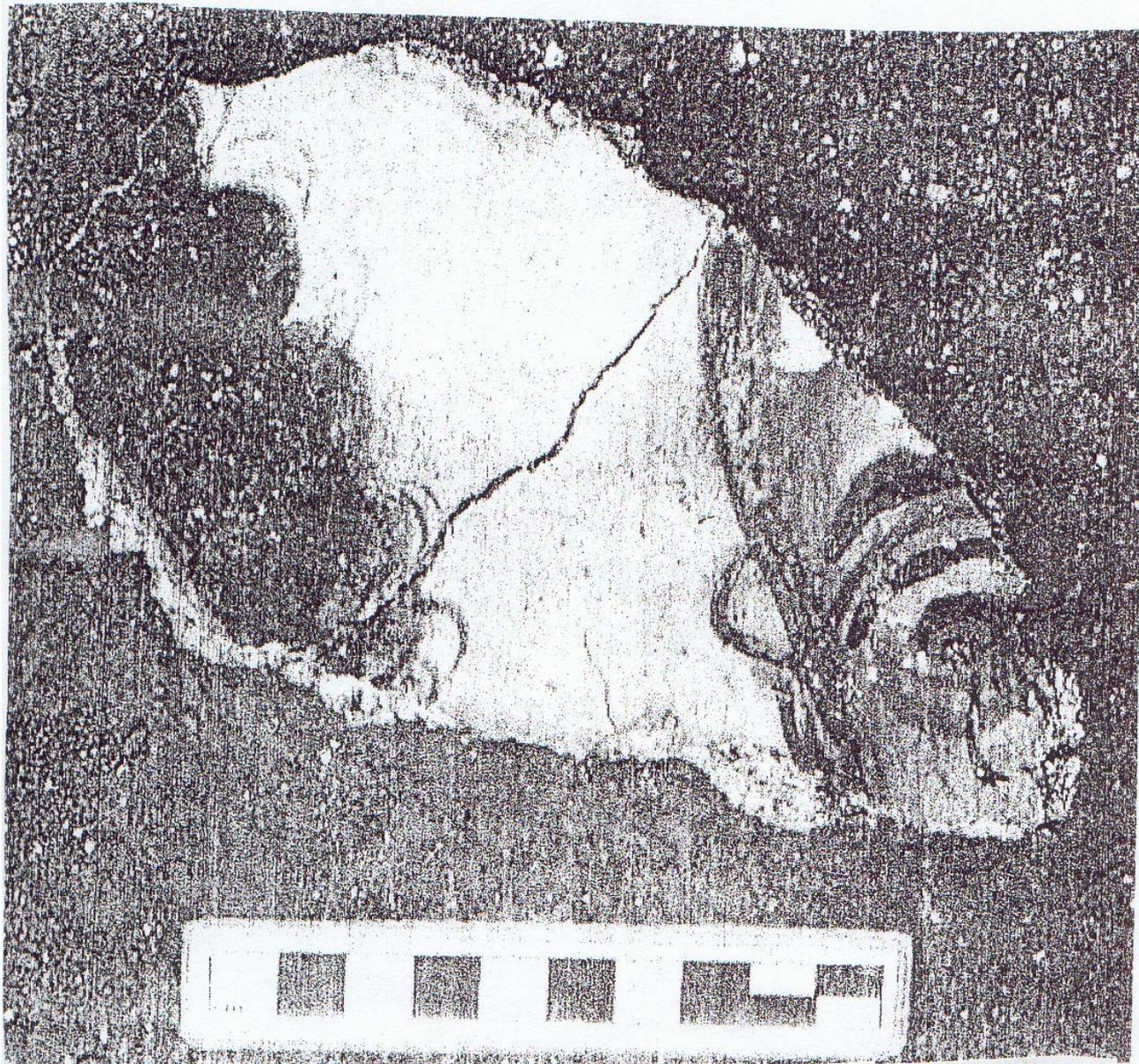


Fig. 31 Fresco fragments showing the figures with tears of blood and curly hair, Choma



Fig.32 Representations from Nerezi Church



Fig.33 Representations from Hosios Loukas, Greece



Fig.34 Menologion of Basil II

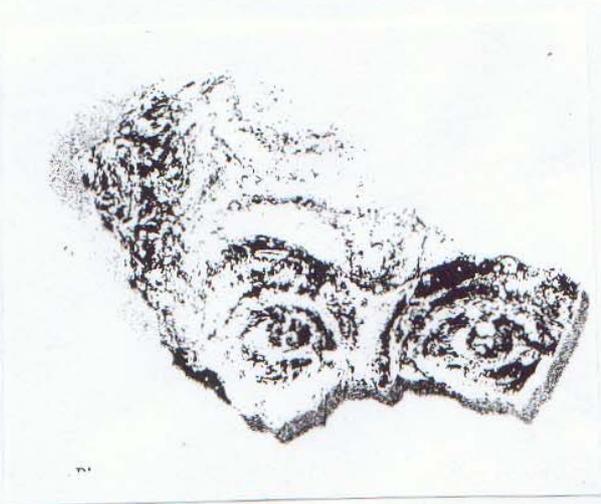


Fig.35 Saint's face, Kalenderhane Camii, Constantinople



Fig.34 Menologion of Basil II

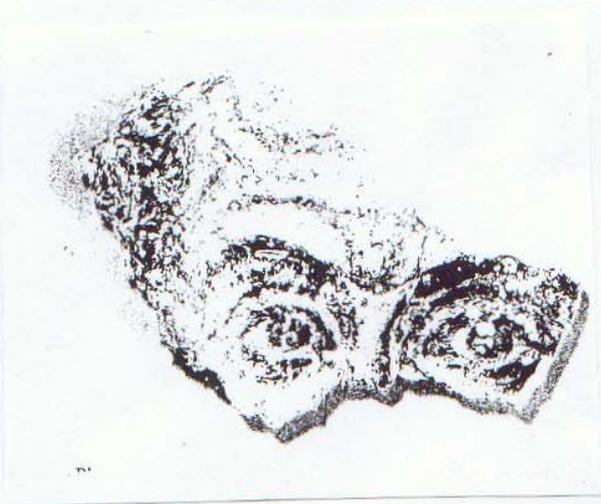


Fig.35 Saint's face, Kalenderhane Camii, Constantinople



Fig.37 Head of Mercurios, Odalar Camii, Constantinople



Fig.38 Head of Mercurios, Hosios Loukas, Greece

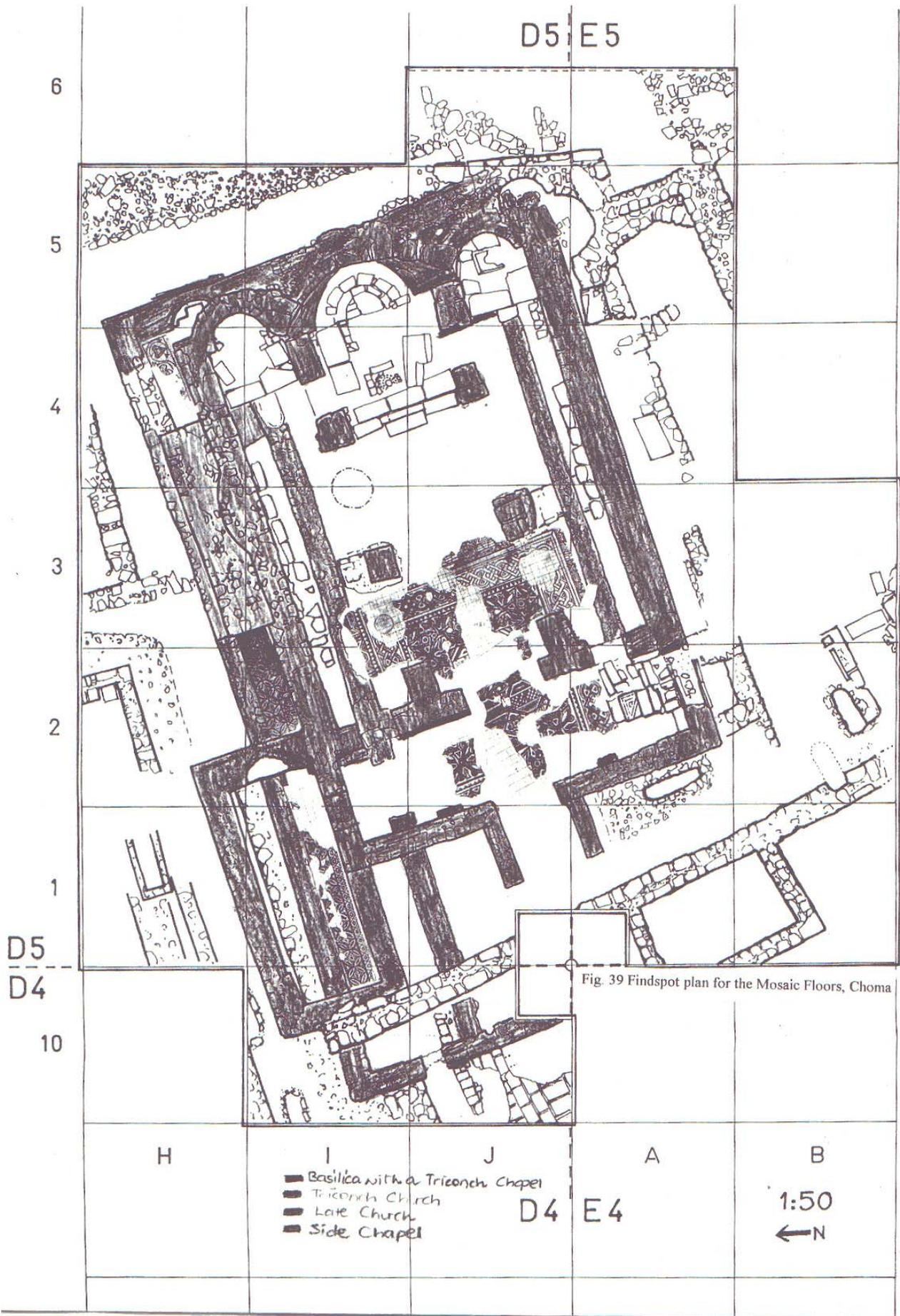


Fig. 39 Findspot plan for the Mosaic Floors, Choma

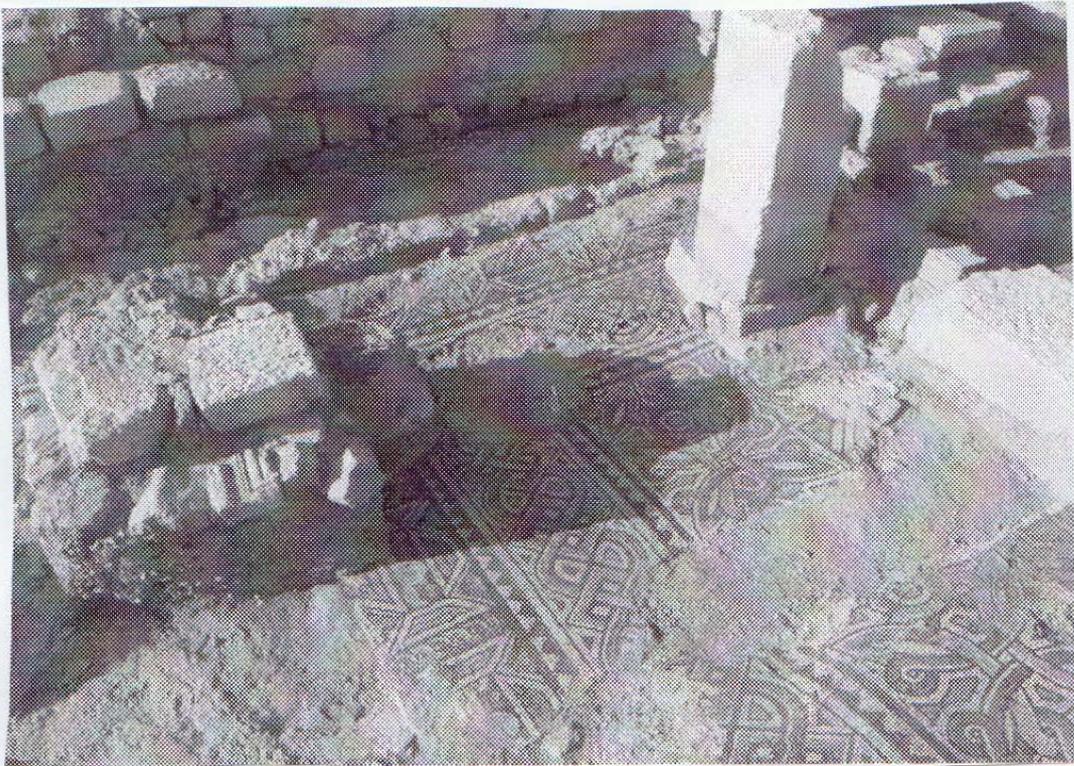


Fig. 40a-b Mosaic Floor, Choma

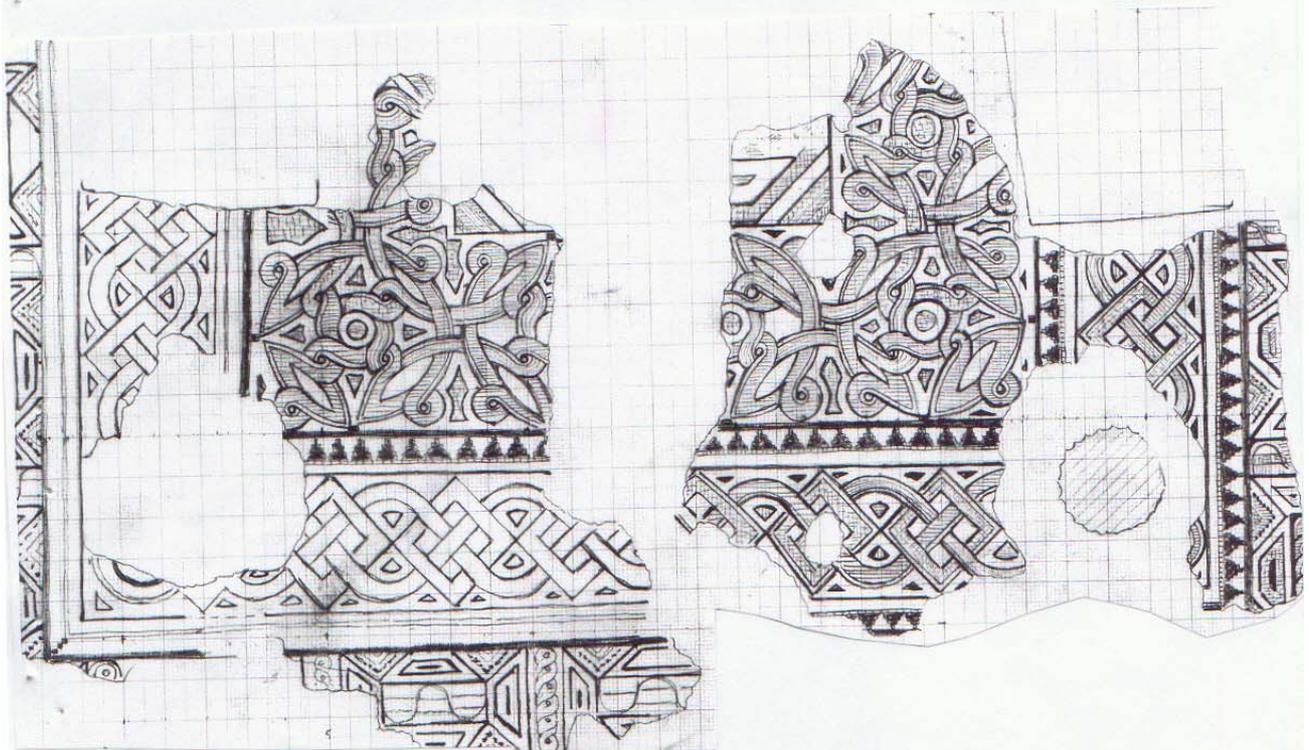




Fig.41 Mosaic Floor, Çiftlik, Sinop

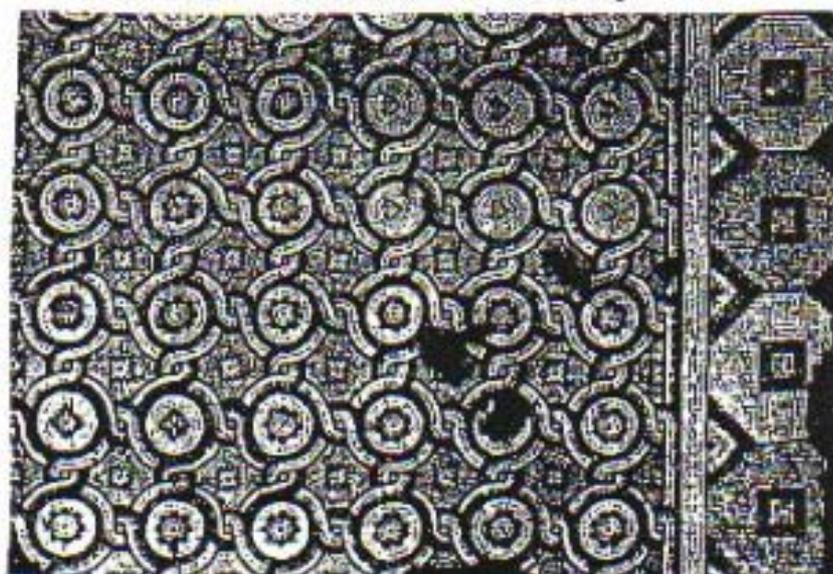


Fig.42 Mosaic Floor, House of Phoenix, Antioch



Fig.43 Mosaic Floor, Basilica A, Church of Hagios Georgios, Cyprus

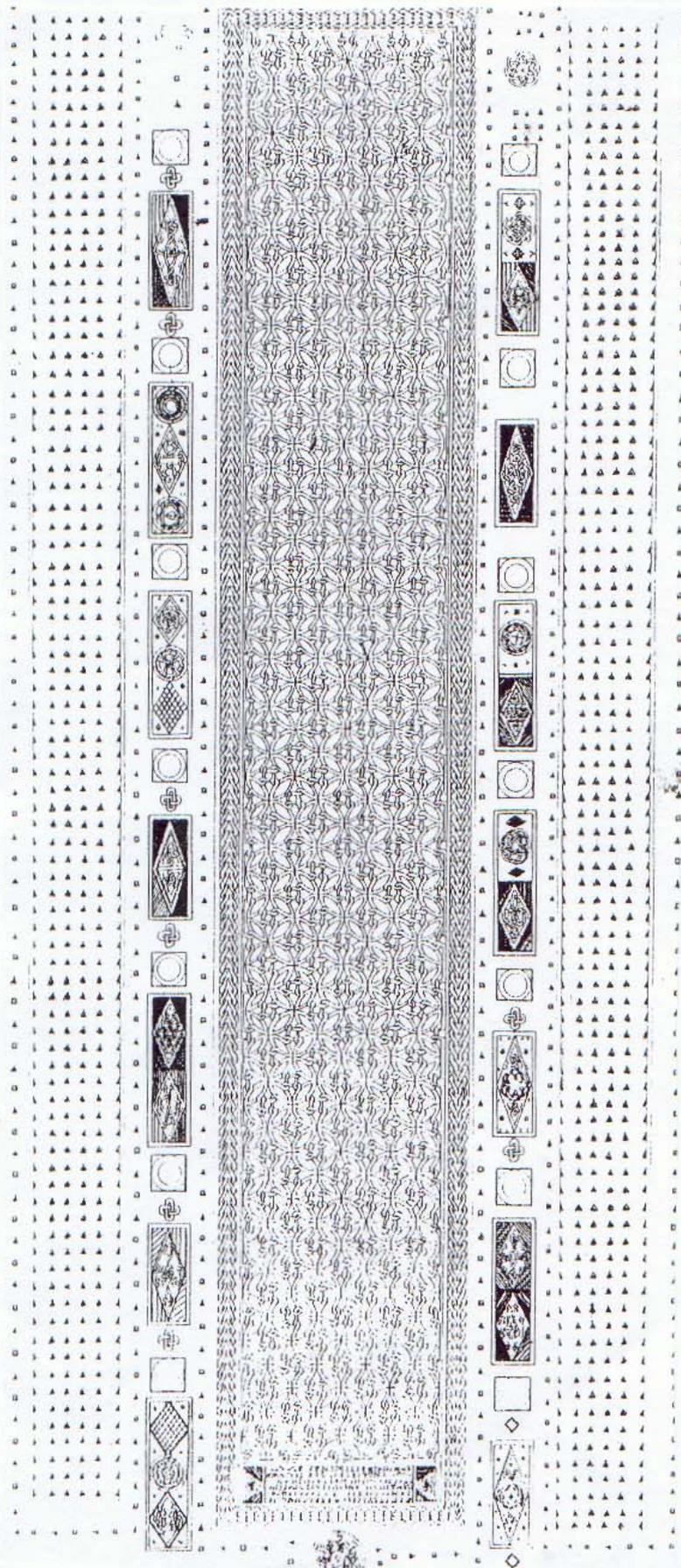


Fig.44 Mosaic Floor, Monastery of Martyrius, Khirbet- al Murassas

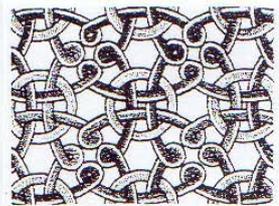
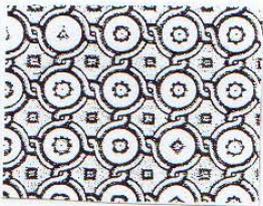
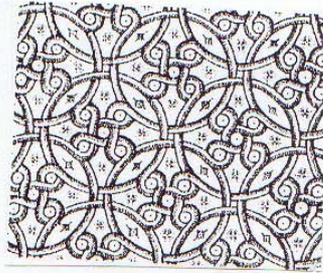
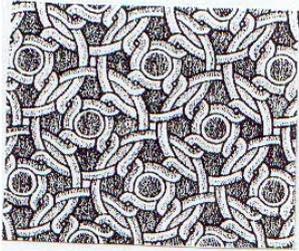


Fig. 45 Common Knot Patterns

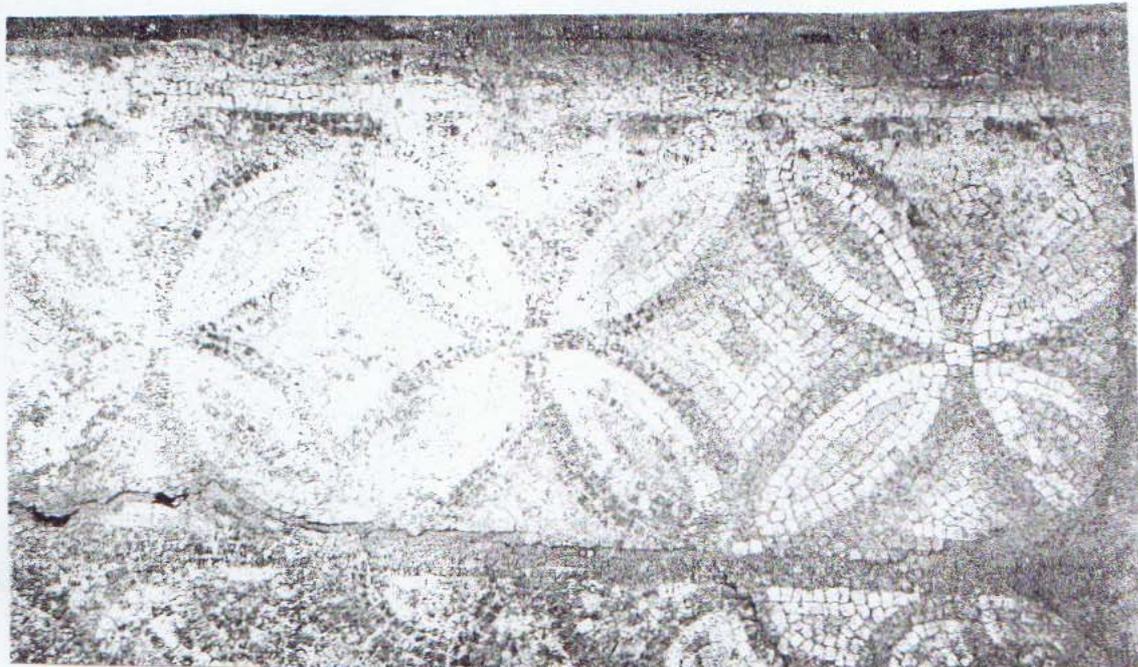


Fig.46 a-b Mosaic Floors, the North Aisle, Choma

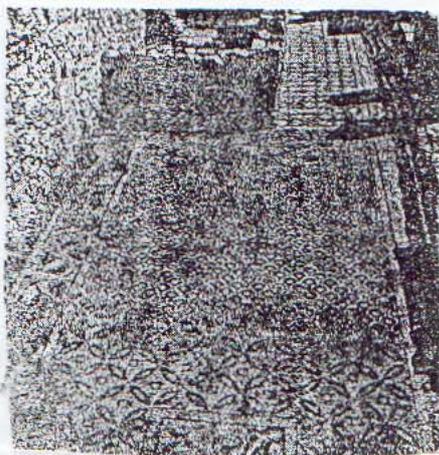
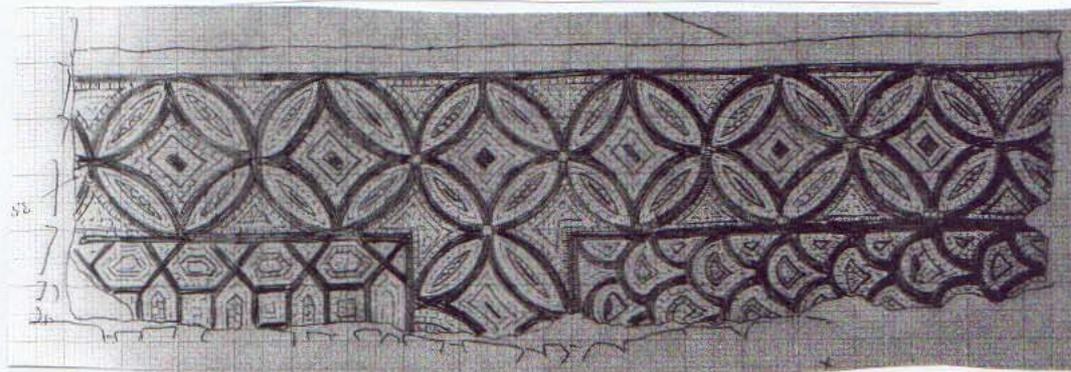


Fig.47 Mosaic Floor, Basilica at Xanthos



Fig.48 Mosaic Floor, Church E at Knidos

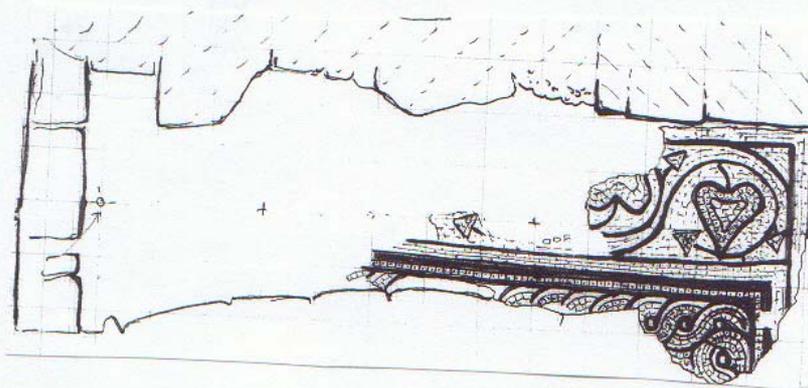


Fig. 49 Mosaic Floor, at the East end of the North Aisle

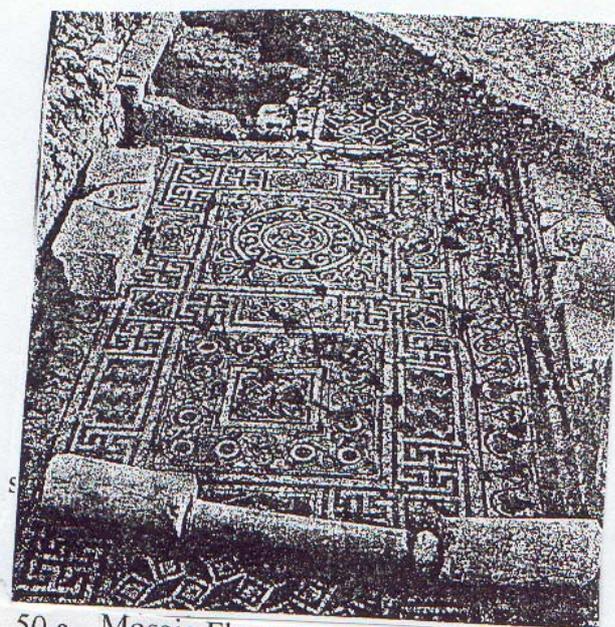


Fig. 50 a Mosaic Floor, Basilica at Xanthos

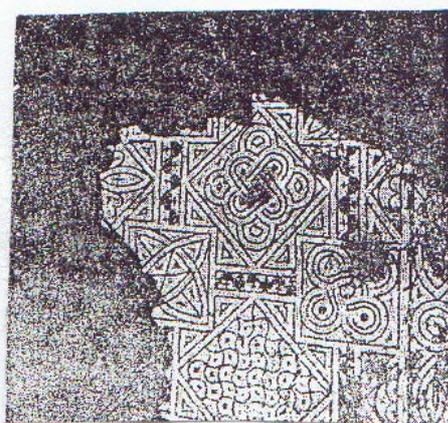


Fig. 50 b Mosaic Floor, Church at Limyra

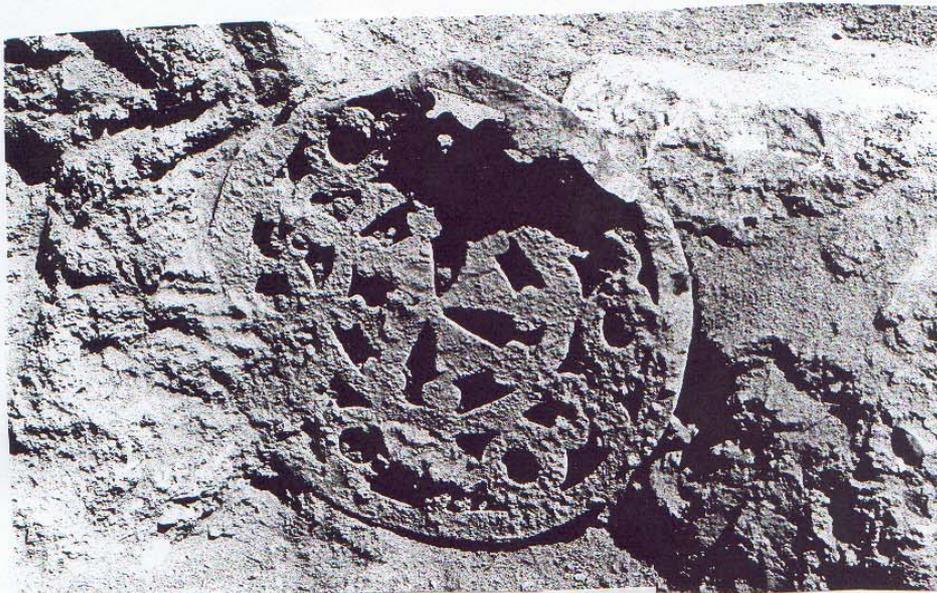


Fig.51 Polycandelon, Choma

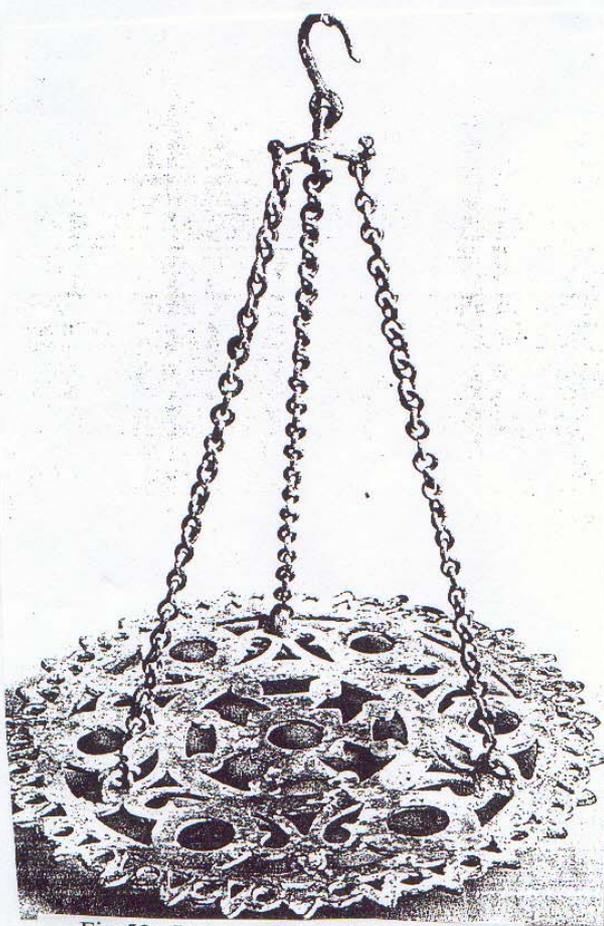


Fig.52 Polycandelon, Constantinople

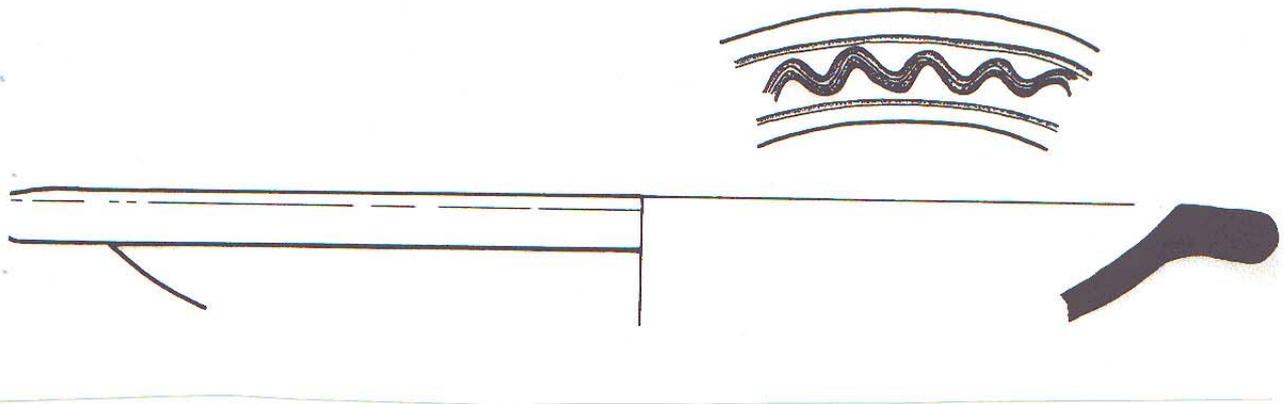


Fig.53 African Red Slip Ware, Choma

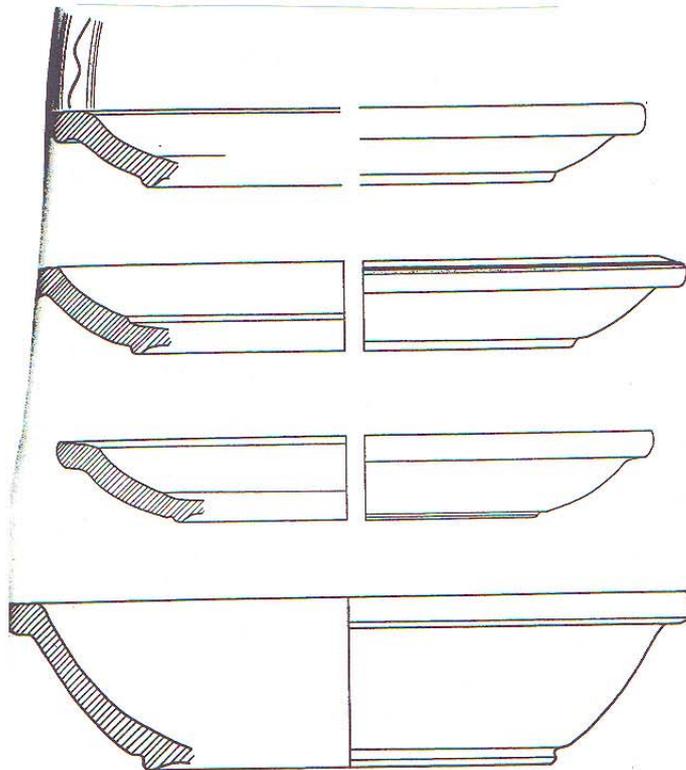


Fig.54 African Red Slip Ware, Sagalassos

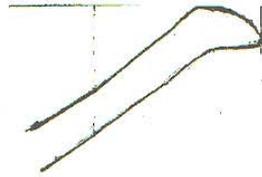


Fig.55 African Red Slip Ware, Choma



Fig.56 African Red Slip Ware, Sagalassos

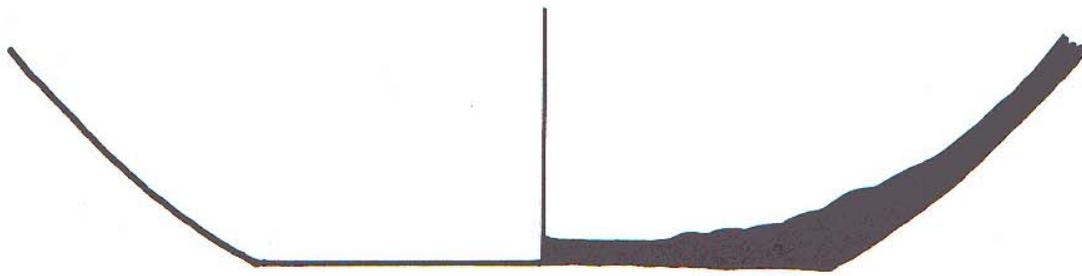


Fig.57 African Red Slip Ware, Choma

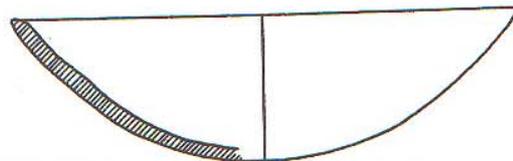
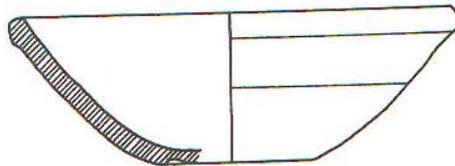
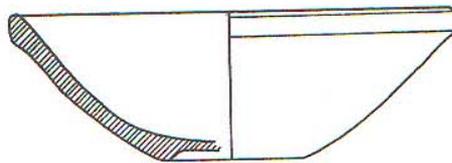
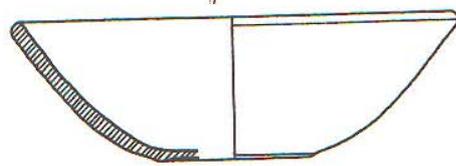


Fig.58 Pottery fragment, Sagalassos

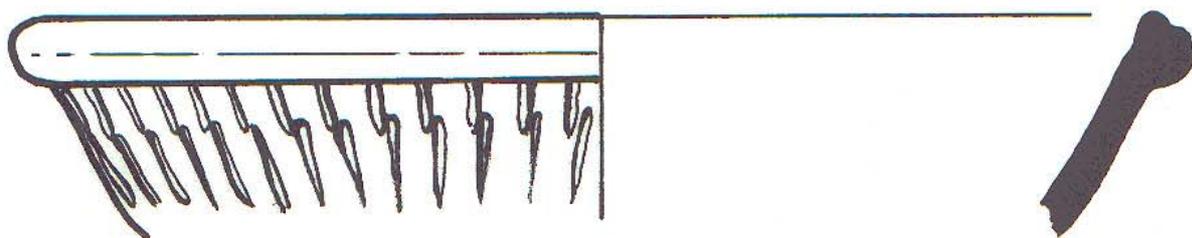


Fig.59 African Red Slip Ware (?) Cypriot Red Slip Ware (?),Choma

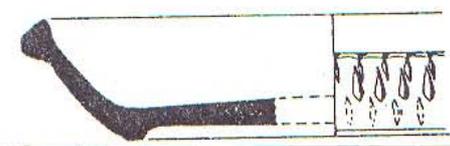


Fig.60 African Red Slip Ware, Antioch



Fig. 61 Cypriot Red Slip Ware, Leto

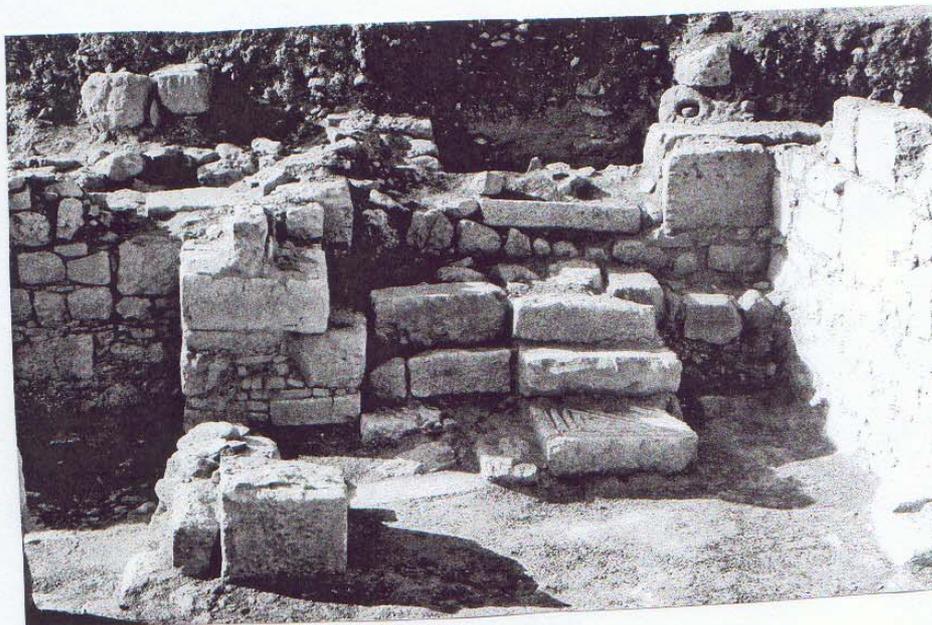


Fig.62 Narthex, Choma



Fig.63 Nave, Choma

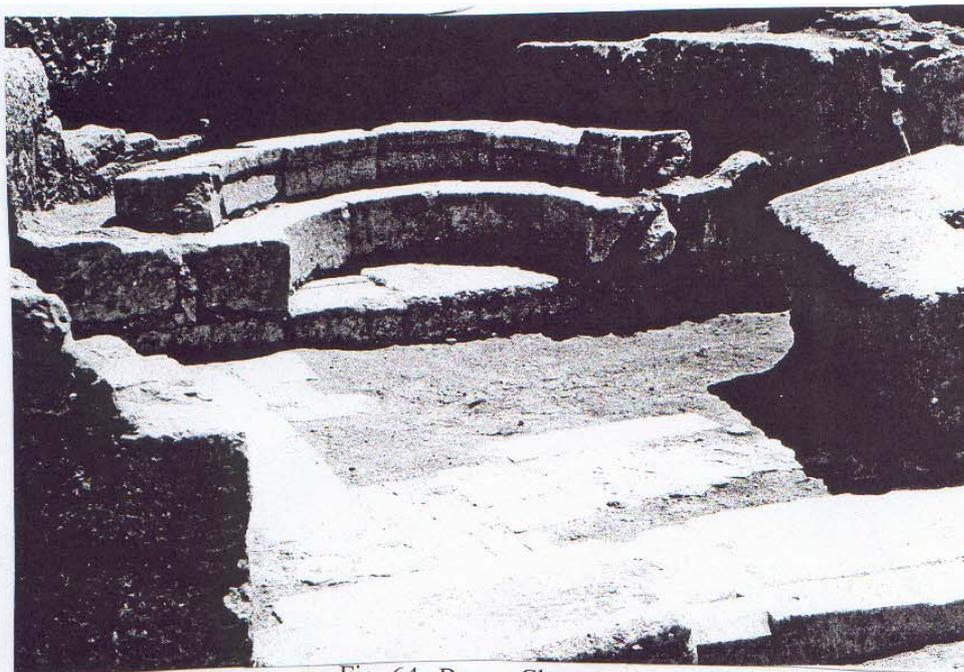


Fig. 64a Bema, Choma



Fig. 64b Bema, holes for the chancel slabs

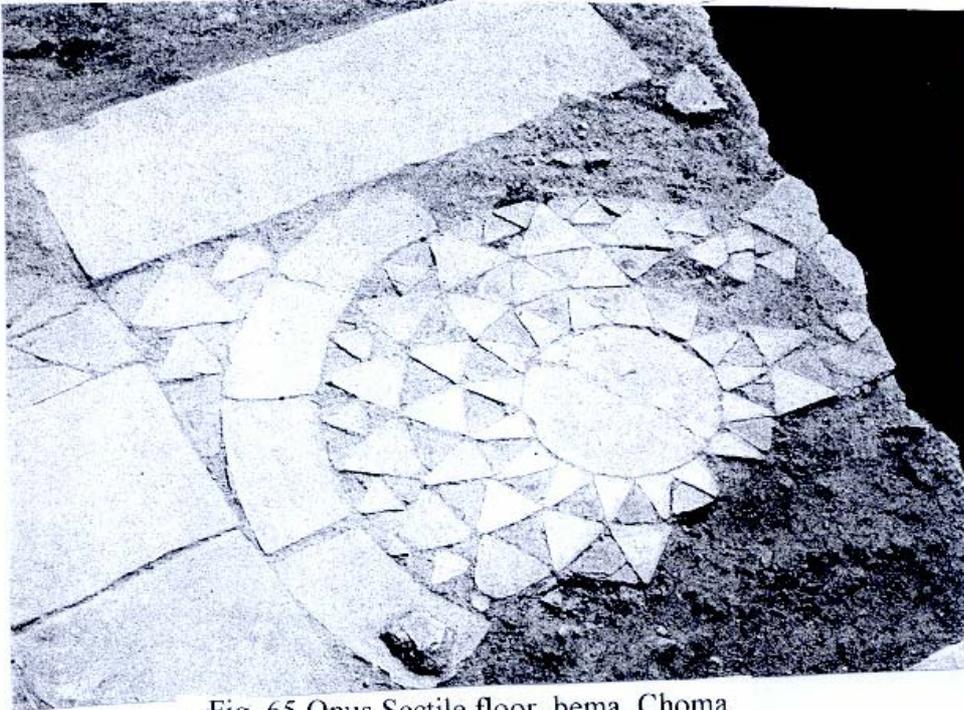


Fig. 65 Opus Sectile floor, bema, Choma

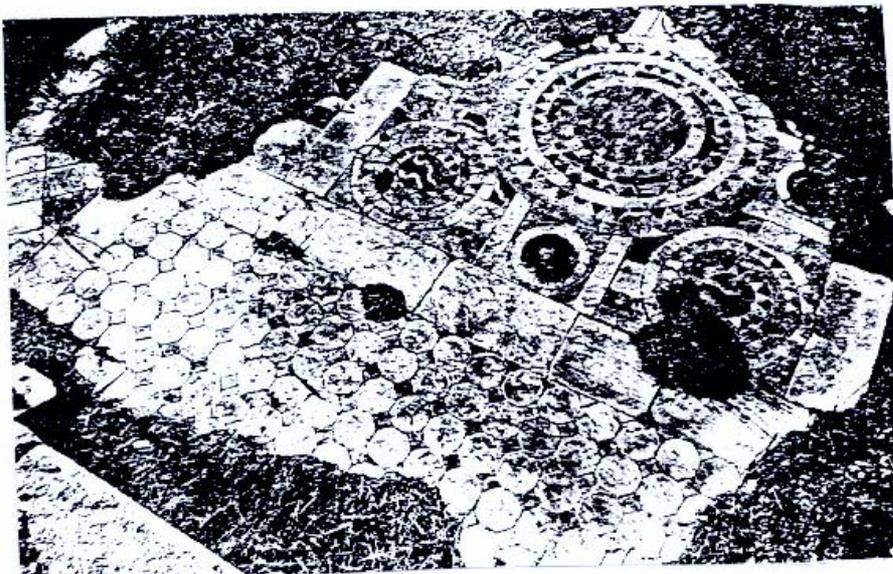


Fig.66 Opus Sectile Floor, Bishop's Palace, Aphrodisias in Caria

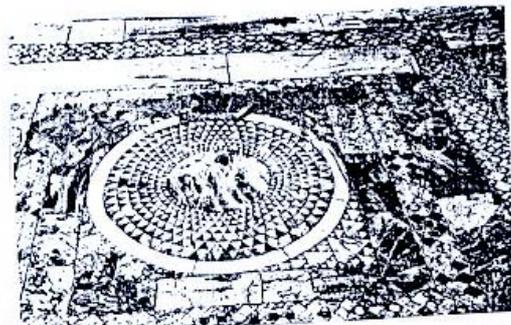


Fig. 67 Opus Sectile Floor, Church of St. Nicholas, Myra



Fig.68 Main Apse, Choma



Fig.69 Synthronon, Choma



: North aisle of late church and wall of early church

Fig.70 The North Apse, Choma



South aisle of late church and wall of early church
Fig. 71 The South Apse, Choma



Fig.72a Re-used altar table top, Choma

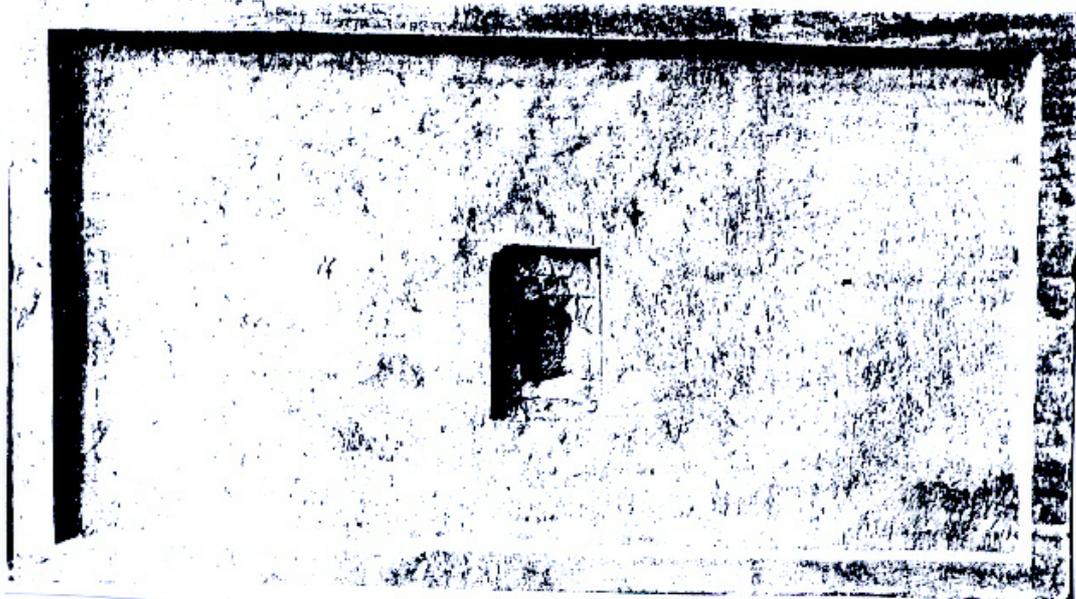


Fig.72b Altar table top, Kalenderhane Camii, Constantinople



Fig. 73 Side Chapel, Choma

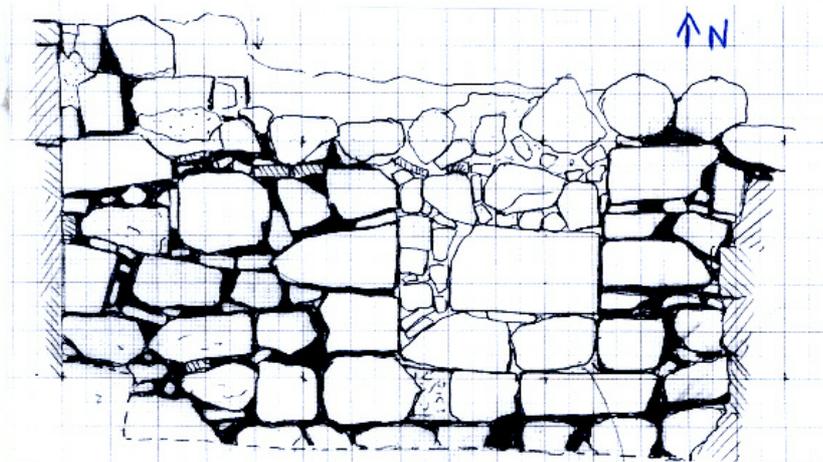


Fig. 74 Blocked Doorway, Choma



Fig. 75 North Wall, Choma



Fig. 76 South Wall, Choma

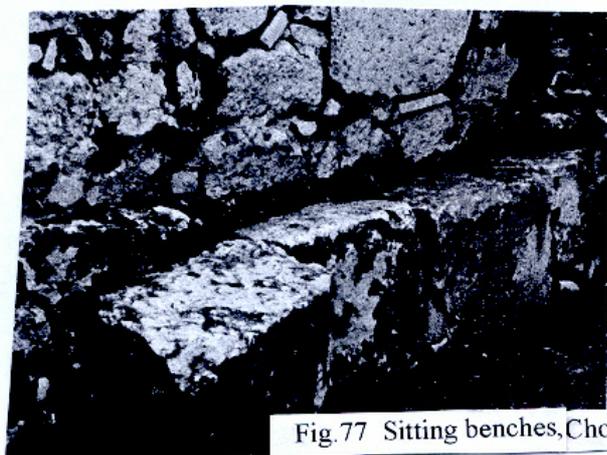


Fig. 77 Sitting benches, Choma

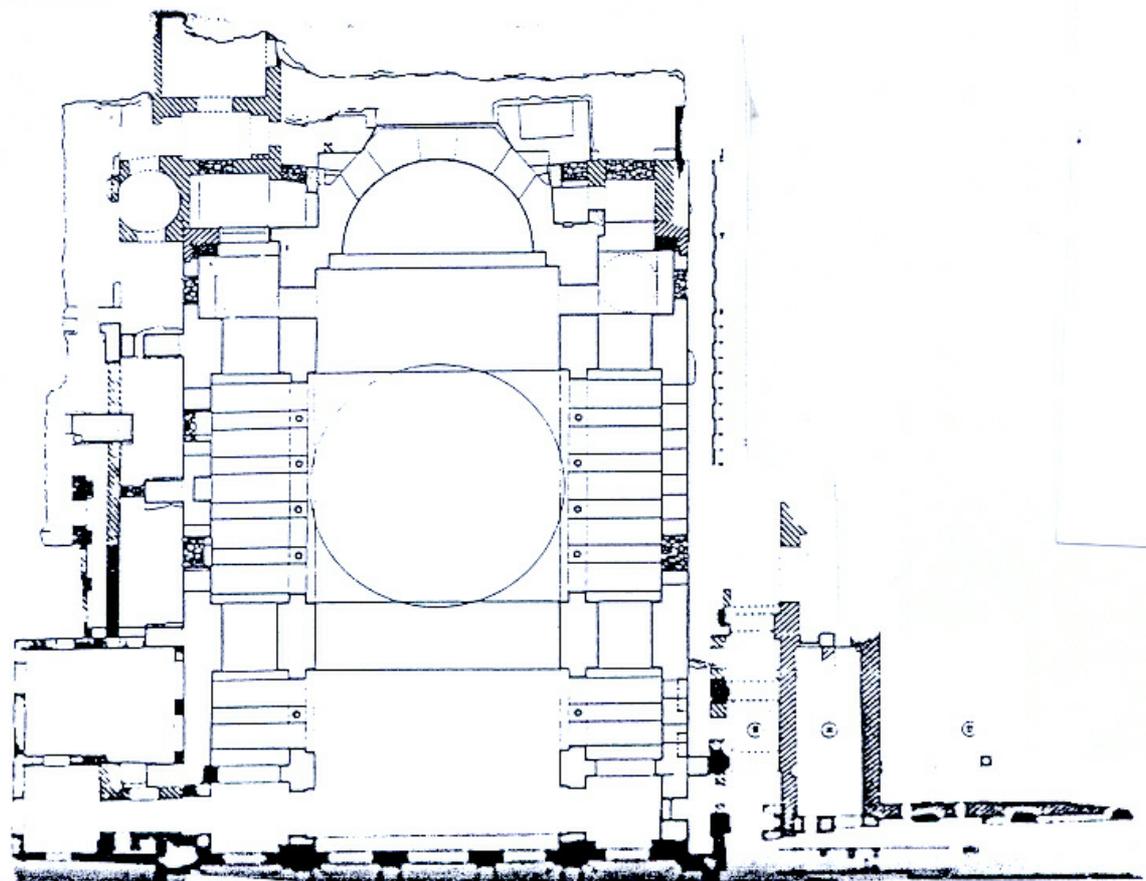


Fig. 78 St. Eirene, Constantinople

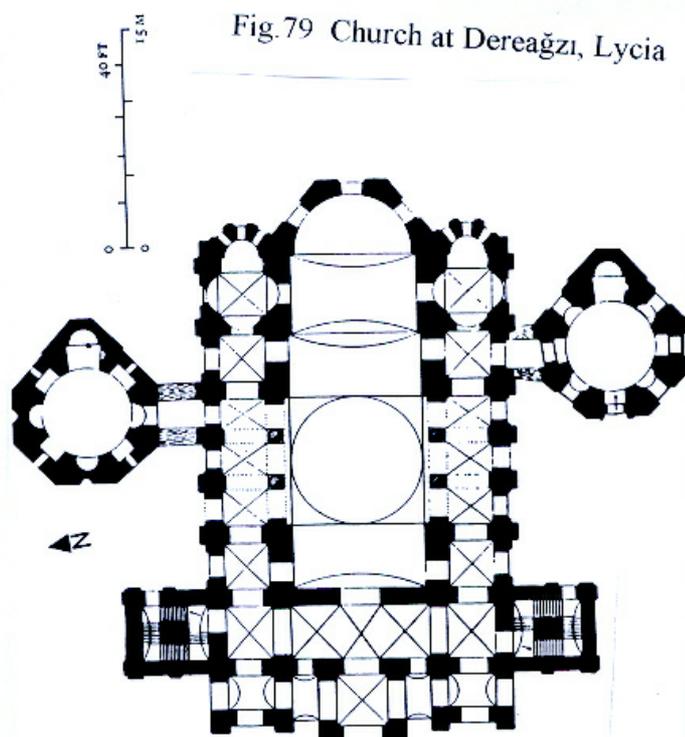


Fig. 79 Church at Dereagzi, Lycia

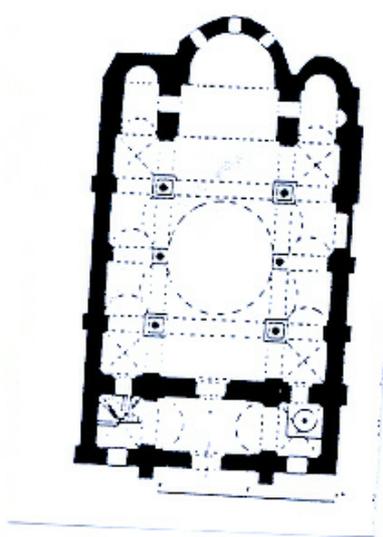


Fig.80 Church of St. Sophia, Vize

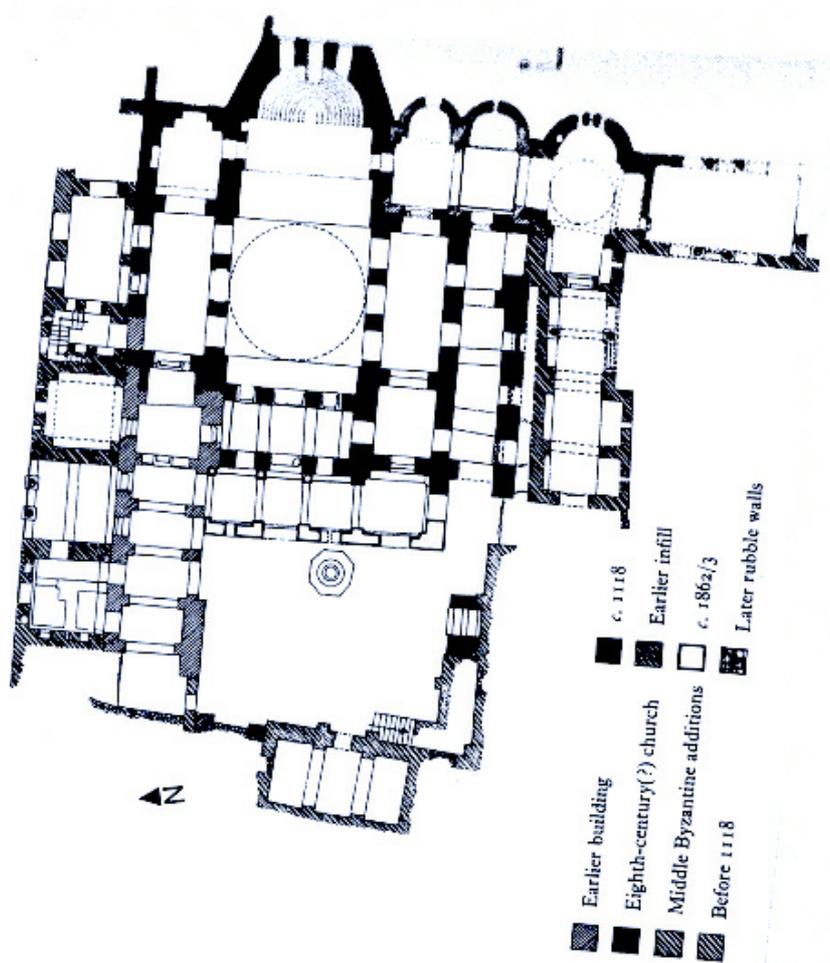


Fig.81 Church of St. Nicholas, Myra

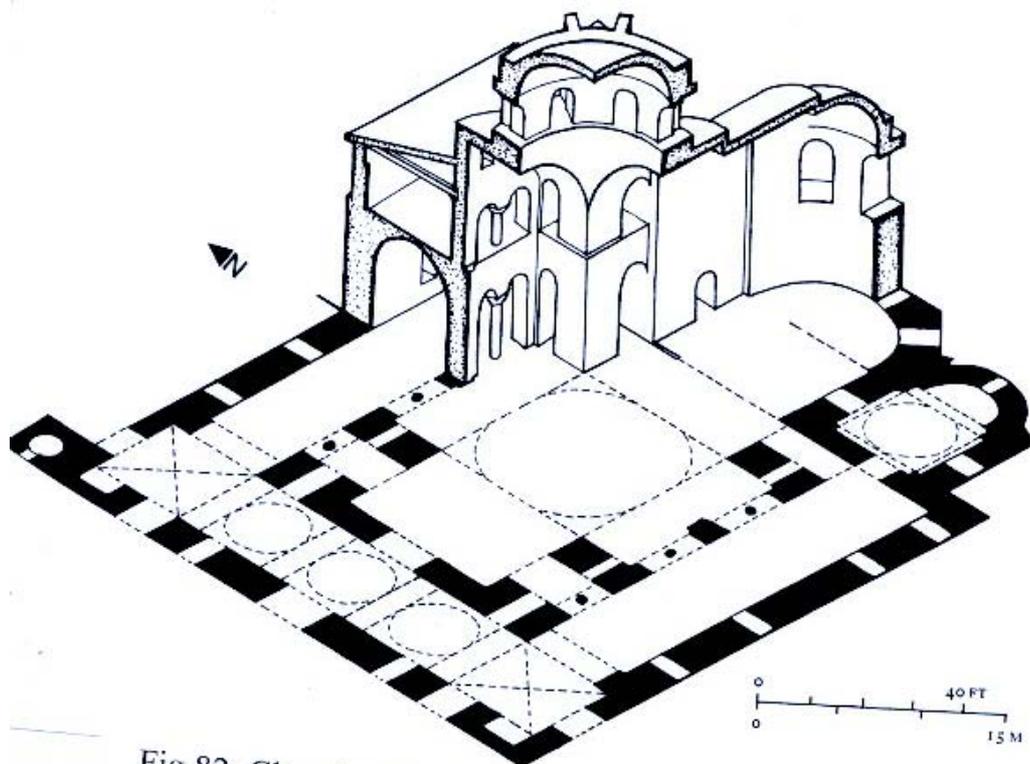


Fig.82 Church of St. Sophia, Thessalonike

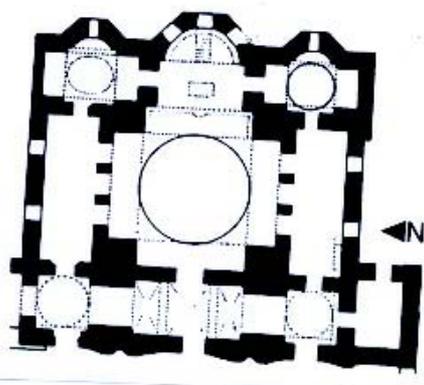


Fig.83 Church of Koimesis, Nicaea

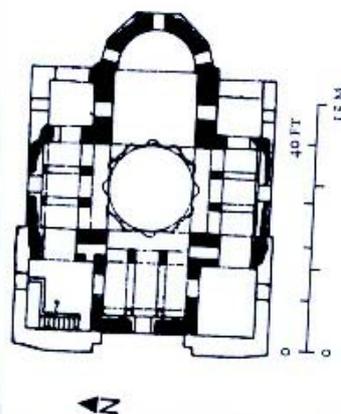


Fig.84 Church of St. Clement, Ankara

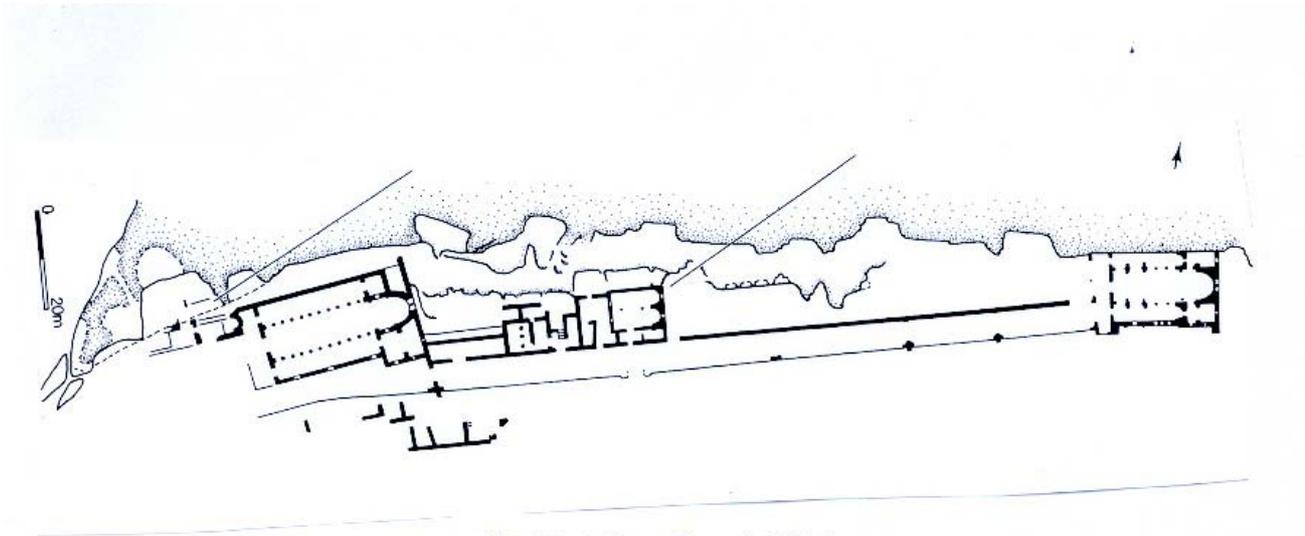


Fig.85 Alahan Church, Cilicia

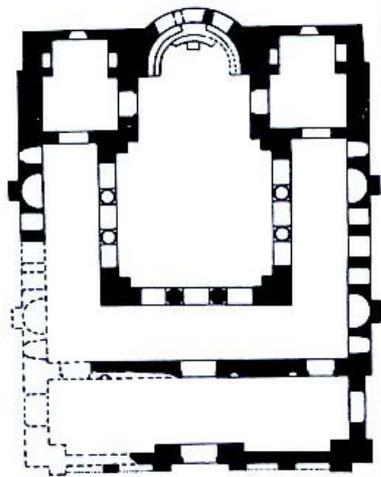


Fig.86 Domed Church at Dağ Pazarı, Cilicia

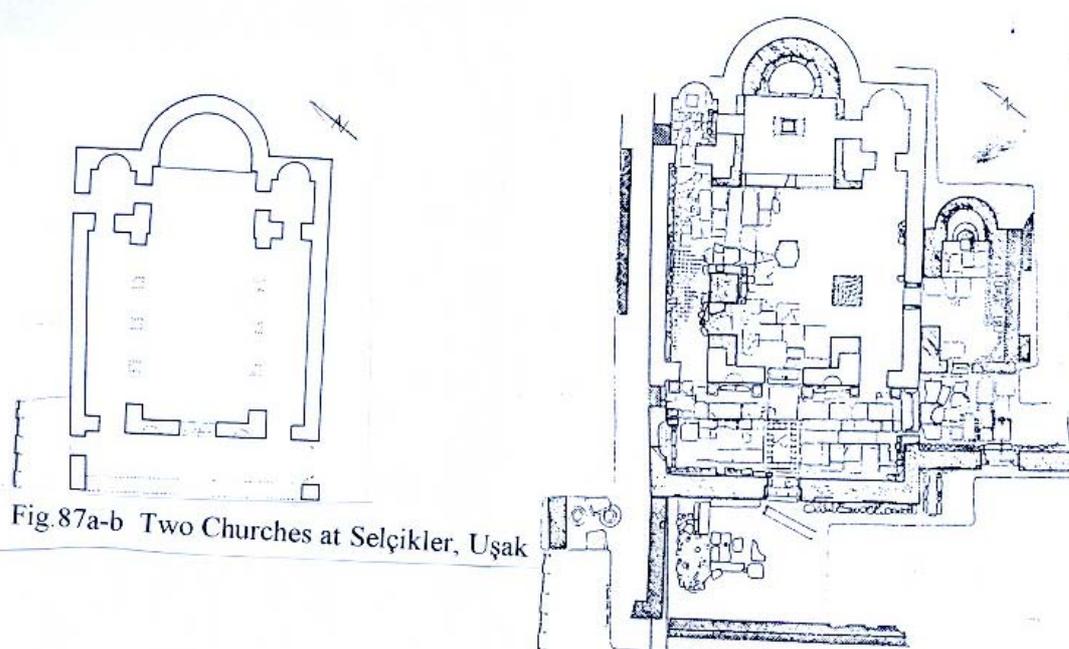


Fig.87a-b Two Churches at Selçikler, Uşak

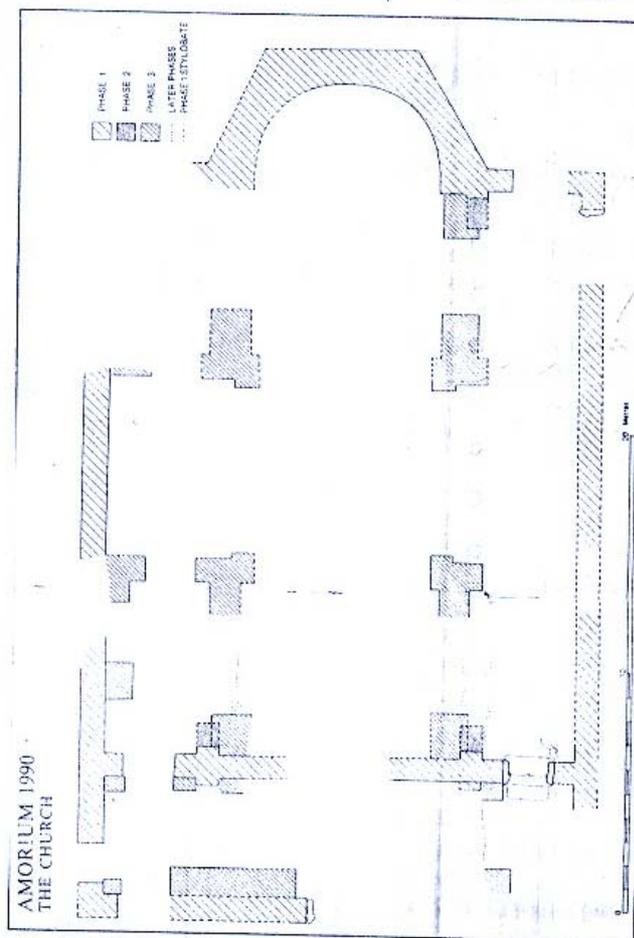


Fig 88 Basilica at Amorium, Afyon

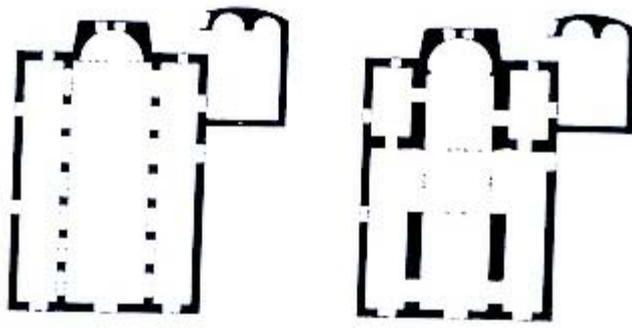


Fig.89 Basilica at Kydna, Lycia
a-b

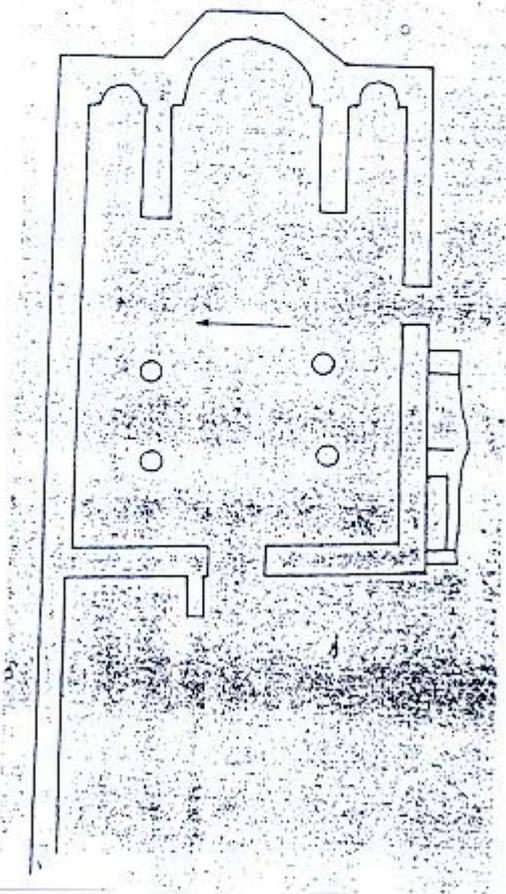


Fig.90 Church at Patara, Lycia

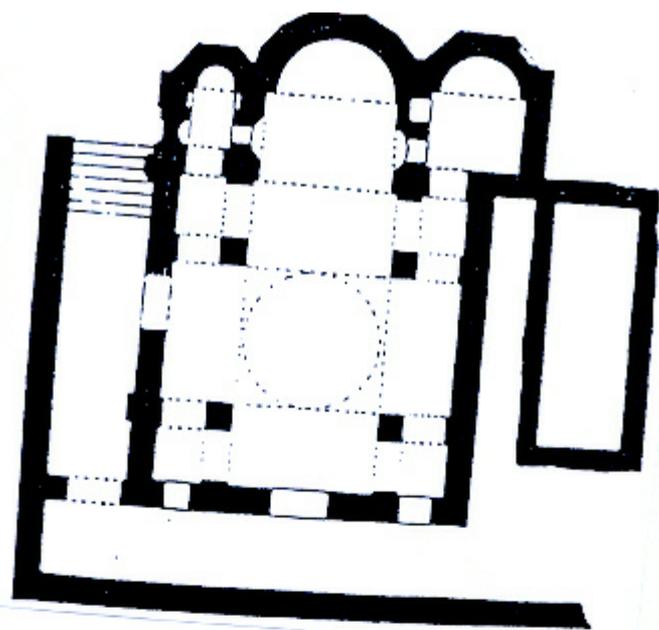


Fig.92 Odalar Camii, Constantinople

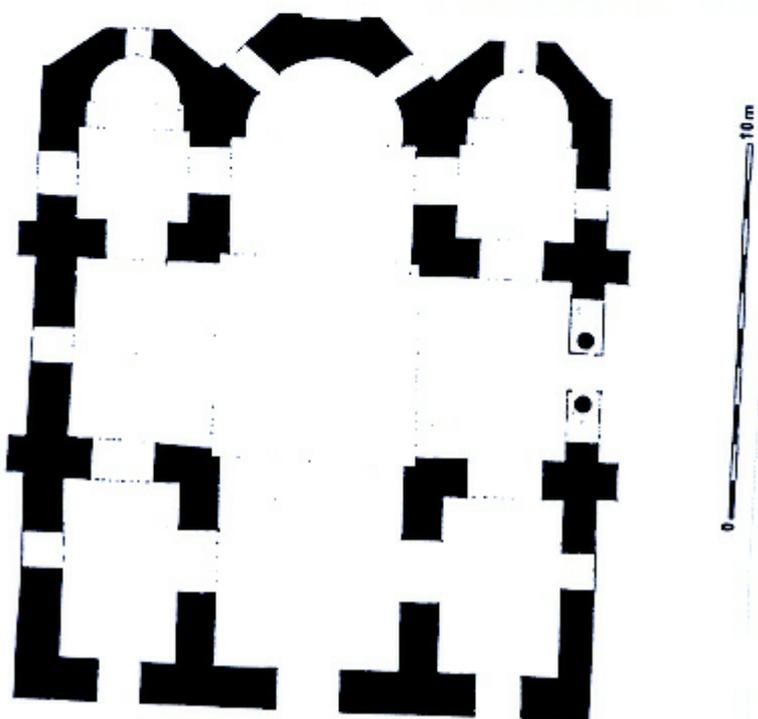


Fig. 93 Atik Mustafa Paşa Camii, Constantinople

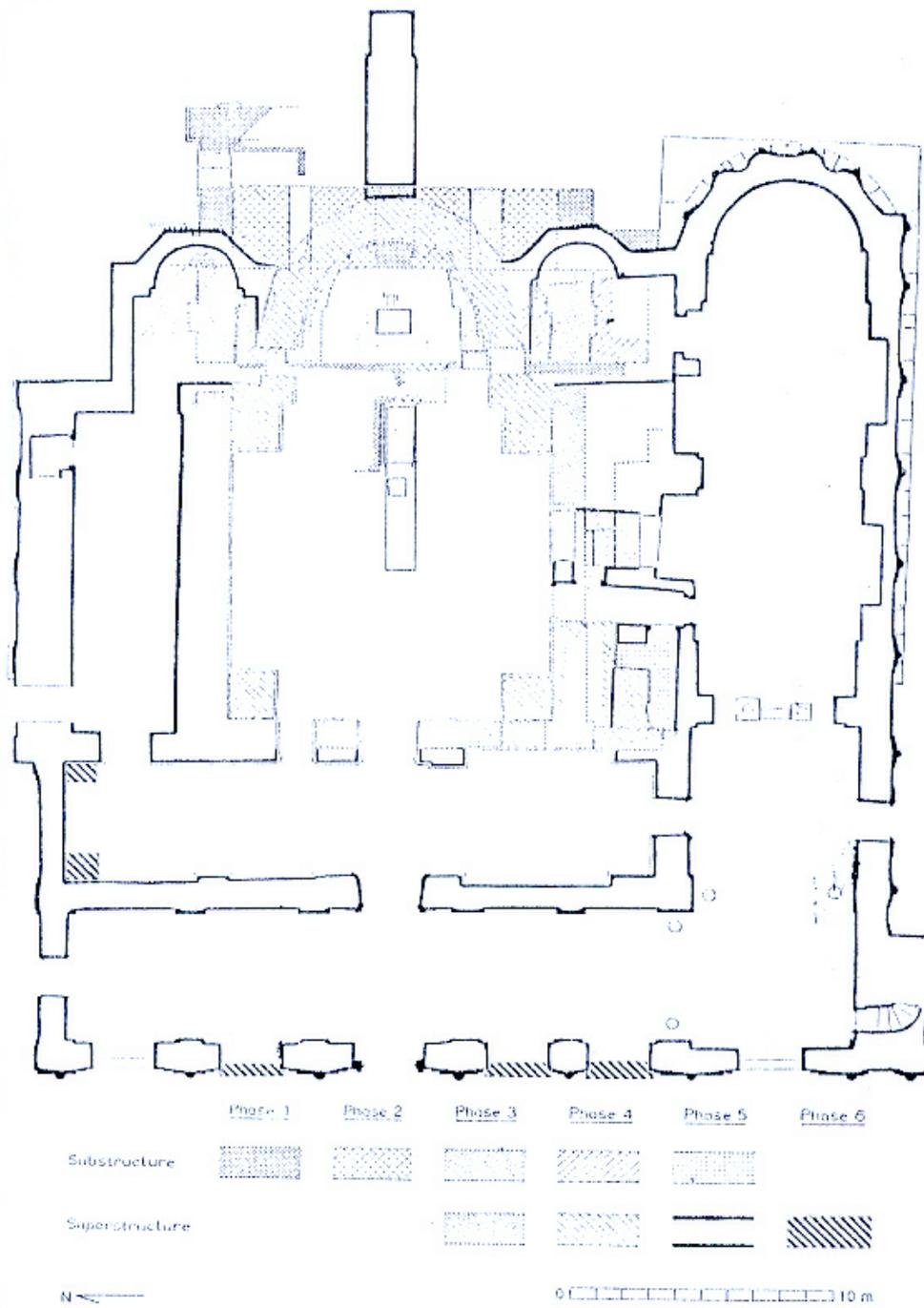


Fig.94 Kariye Camii, Constantinople

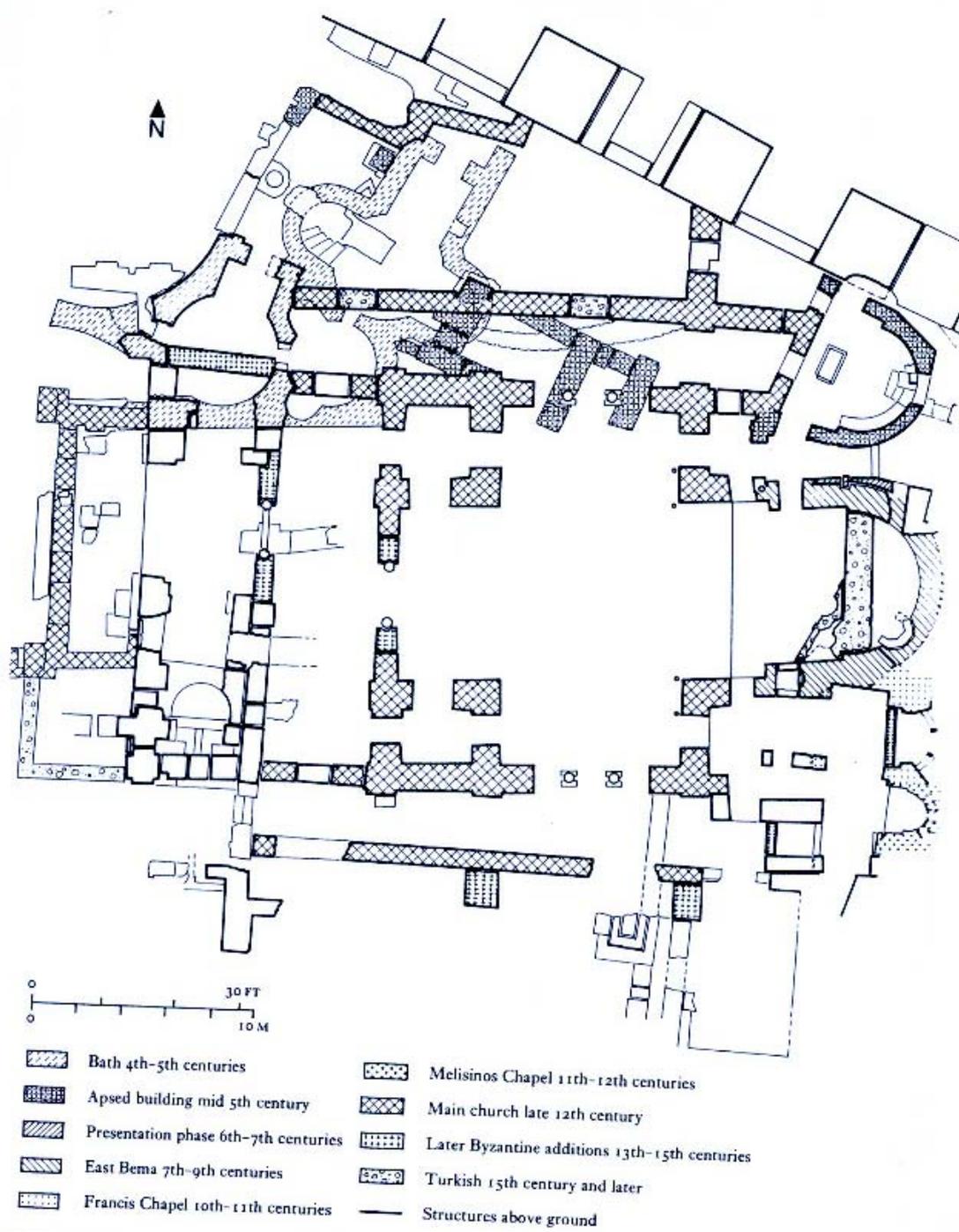


Fig.95 Kalenderhane Camii, Constantinople

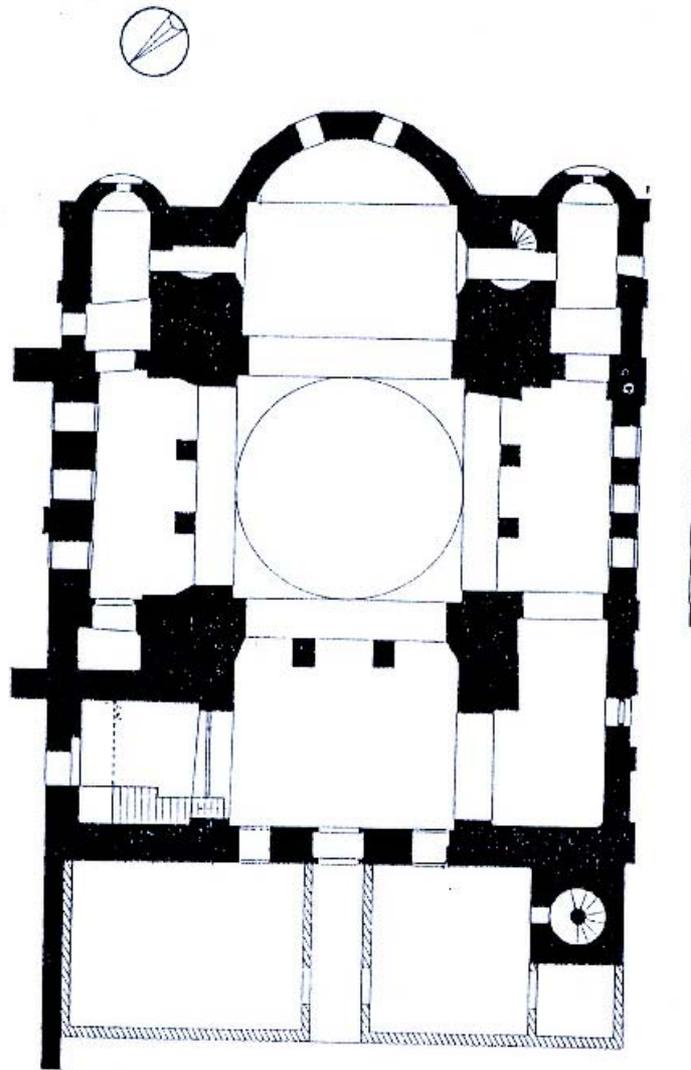


Fig.96 Gül Camii, Constantinople

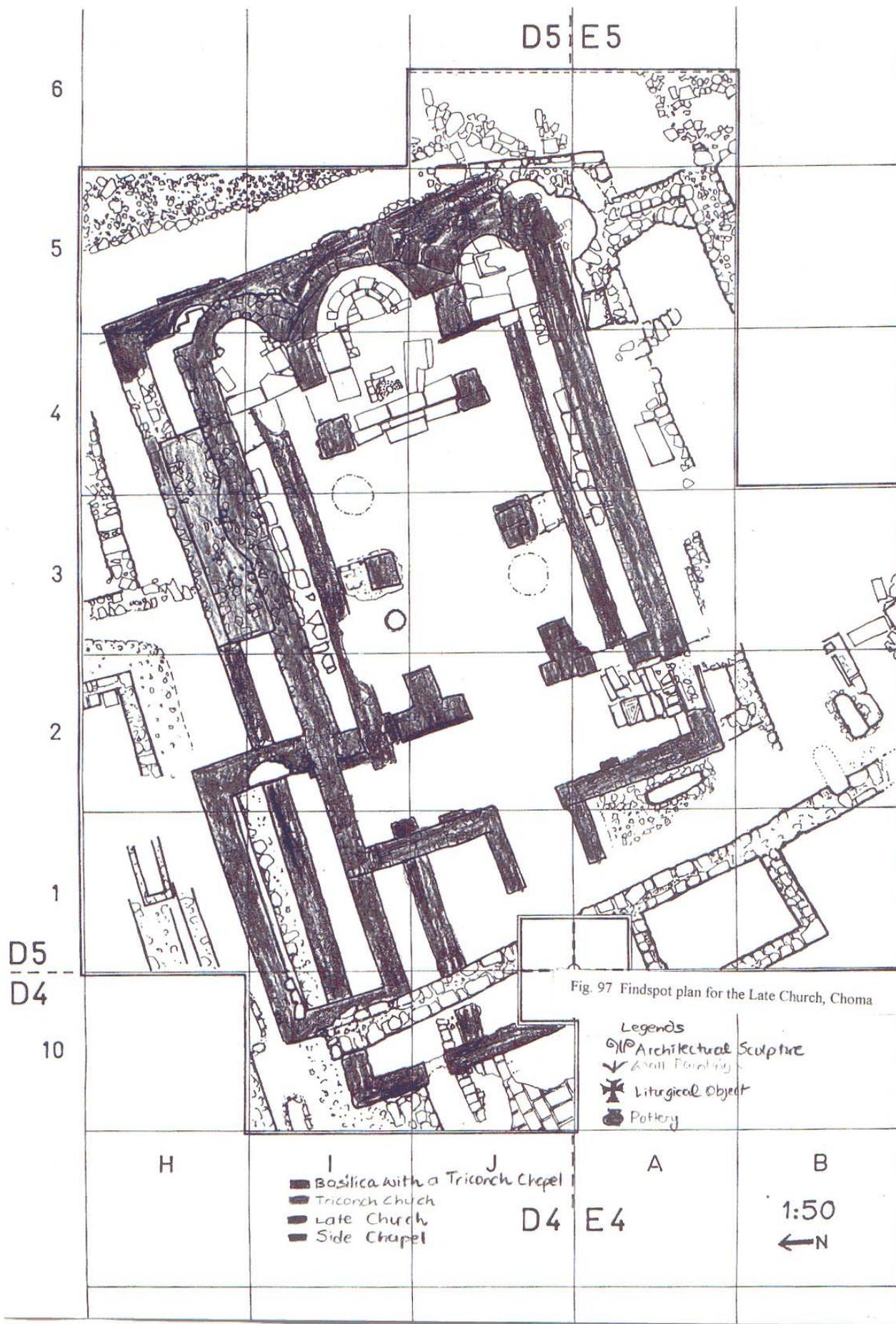


Fig. 97 Findspot plan for the Late Church, Choma

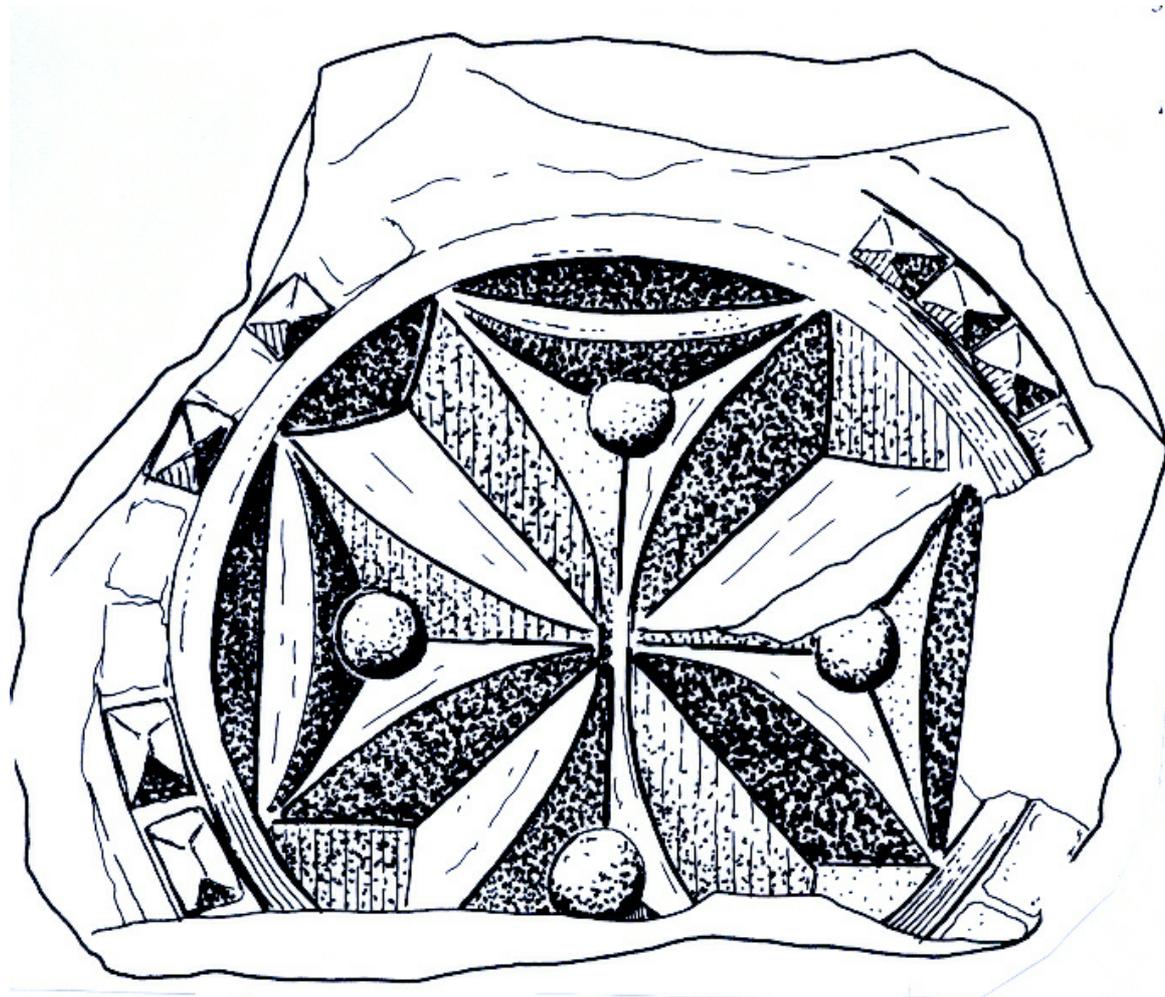


Fig.98 Fragment with a Maltese cross, Choma



Fig.99 Fragment with a Maltese cross, Dereagzi

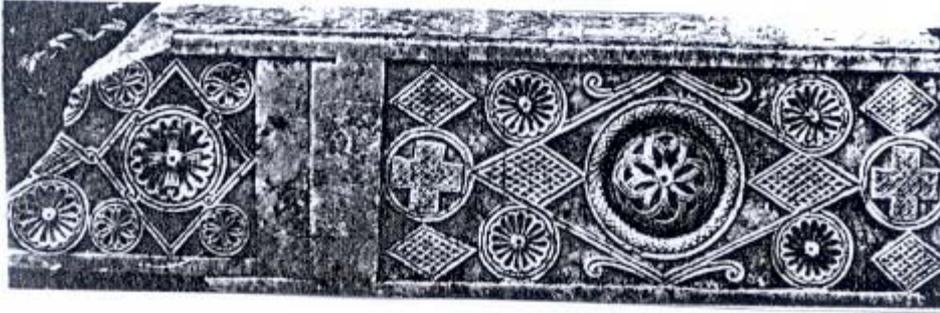


Fig.100 Fragment with a Maltese cross, Selcikler, Uşak



Fig.101 Fragment with a Maltese cross, Alakilise, Lycia

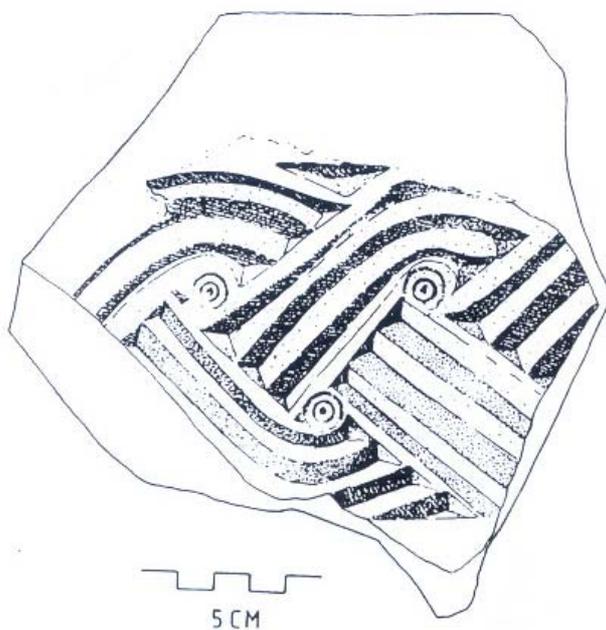


Fig. 102 Closure panel with braids, Choma

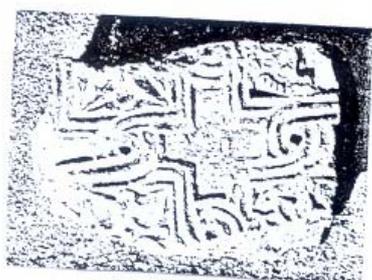


Fig. 103 Closure panel with braids, St. Nicholas, Myra



Fig. 104 Closure panel with braids, Dereagzi



Fig.105 Fragment with a Maltese cross, Choma

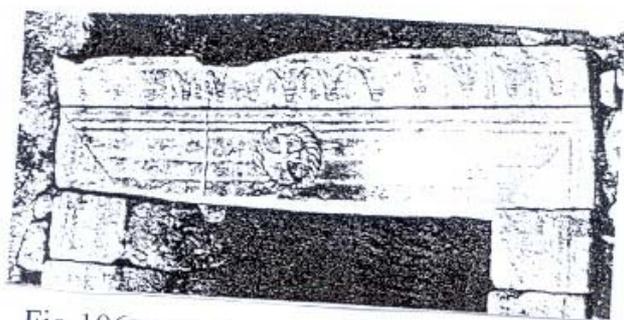


Fig.106 Maltese cross, Church A1, Andriake, Lycia

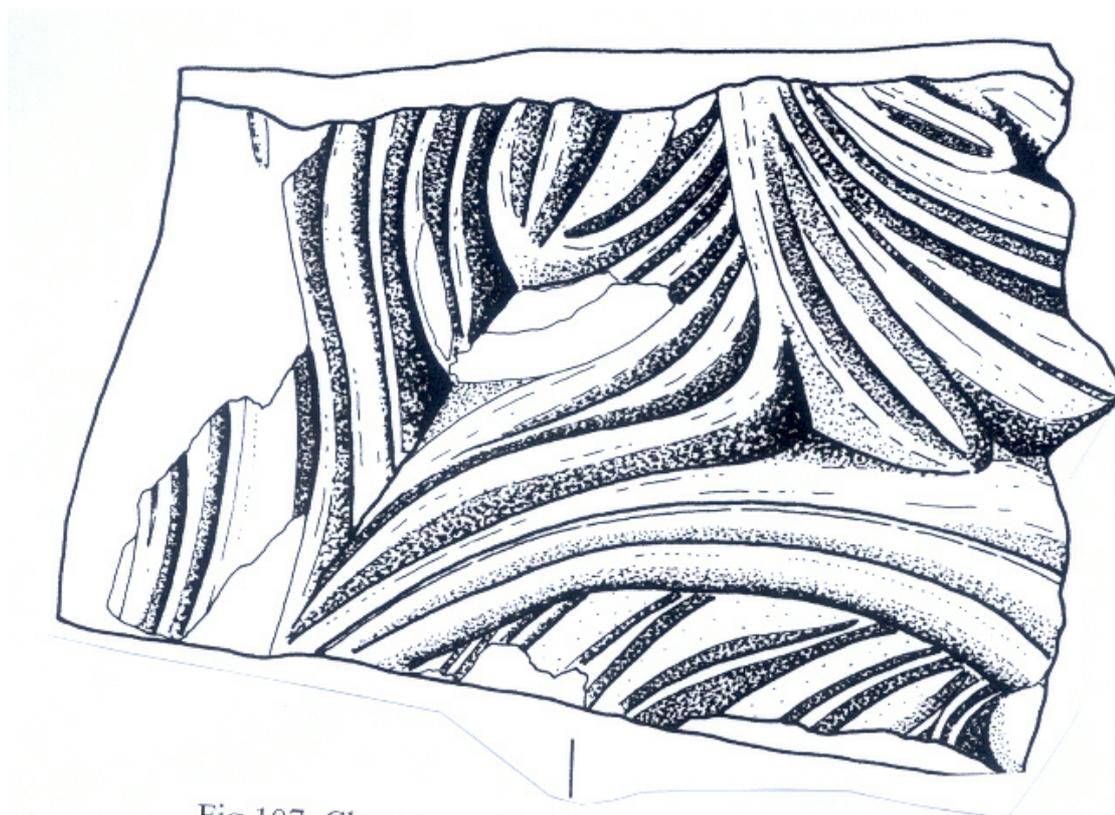


Fig.107 Closure panel with floral motifs, Choma

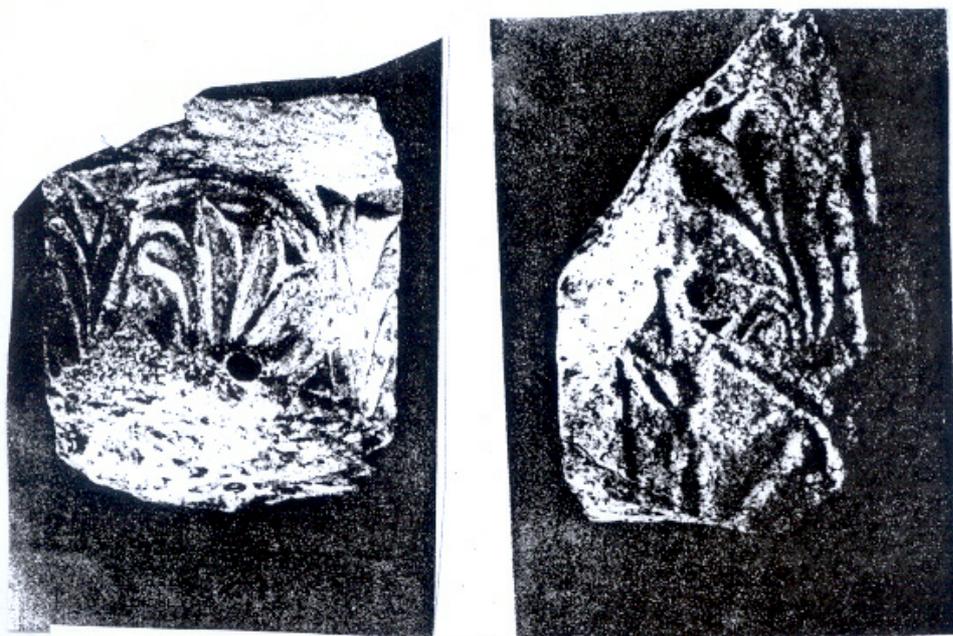


Fig.108 Closure panel with floral motifs, Dereagzi

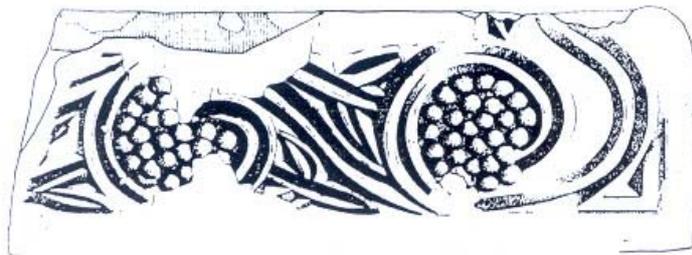


Fig.109 Fragment with vine scroll, Choma

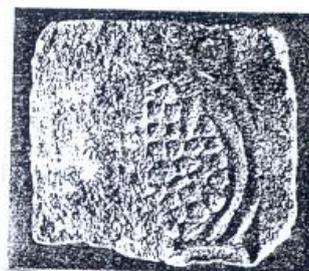


Fig.110 a-b-c Fragment with a vine scroll, Dereagzi

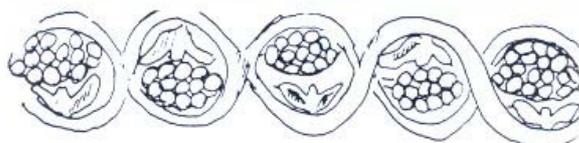
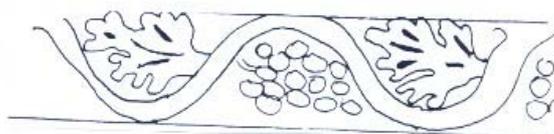


Fig.111 Fragments with vine scrolls, Syria

a-Dara, b-Rusafa, c-Habsenas Mar Symeon



Fig.112 Fragment with eye shaped motif, Choma



Fig. 113 Fragment with eye shaped motif, Dereagzi



Fig.114 Fragment with eye shaped motif, Yalvaç, Pisidian Antioch

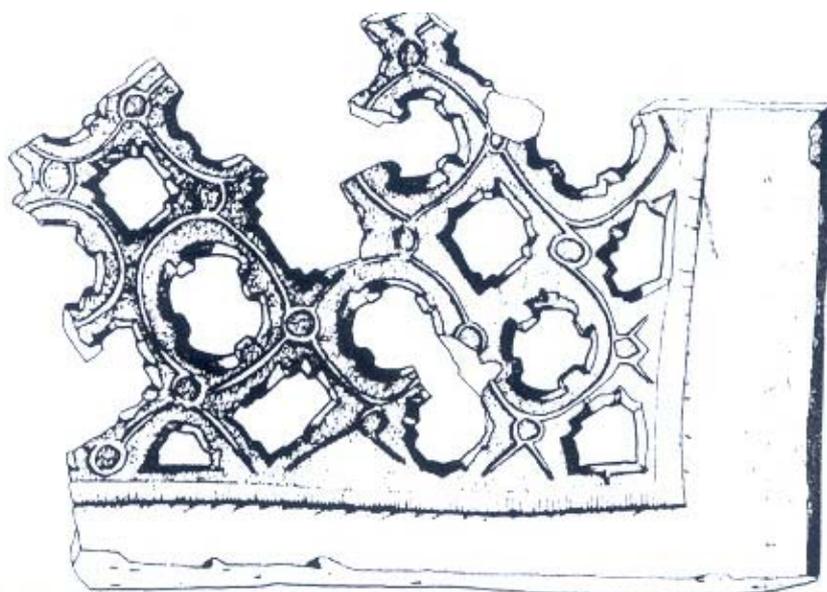


Fig.115 Open- work screen fragments, Choma



Fig.116 Open- work screen fragments, Kalenderhane Camii, Constantinople



Fig.117 Fragment with Latin cross, Choma

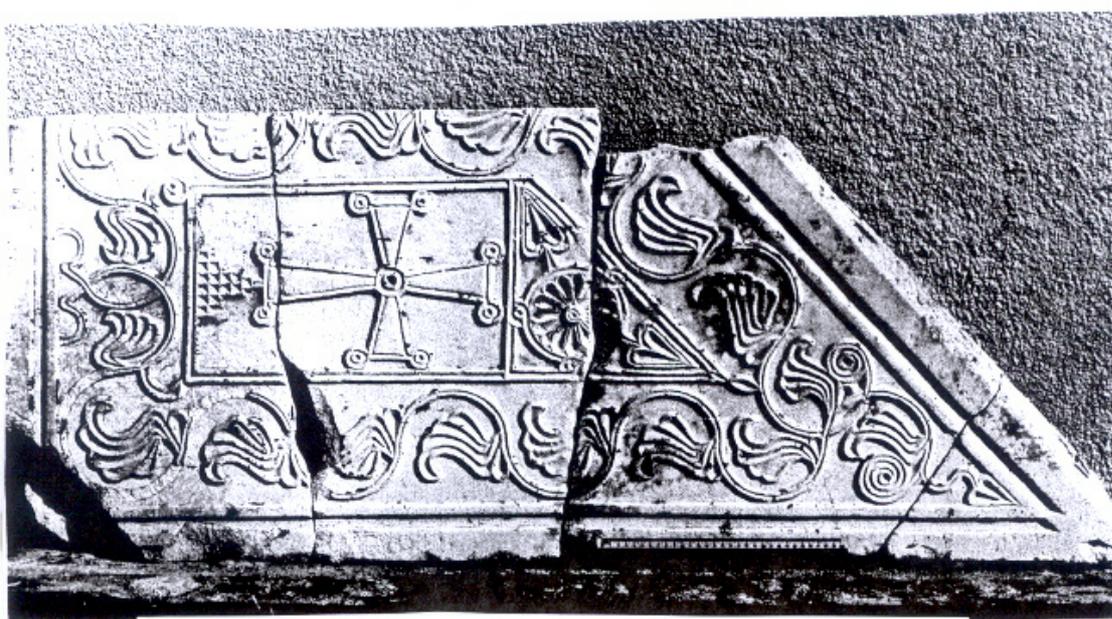


Fig.118 Ambo stone with Latin cross, Yalvaç Museum



Fig.119 Chancel slab with Latin cross, Konya Museum



Fig.120 Fragment with Latin cross St. Euphemia, Constantinople

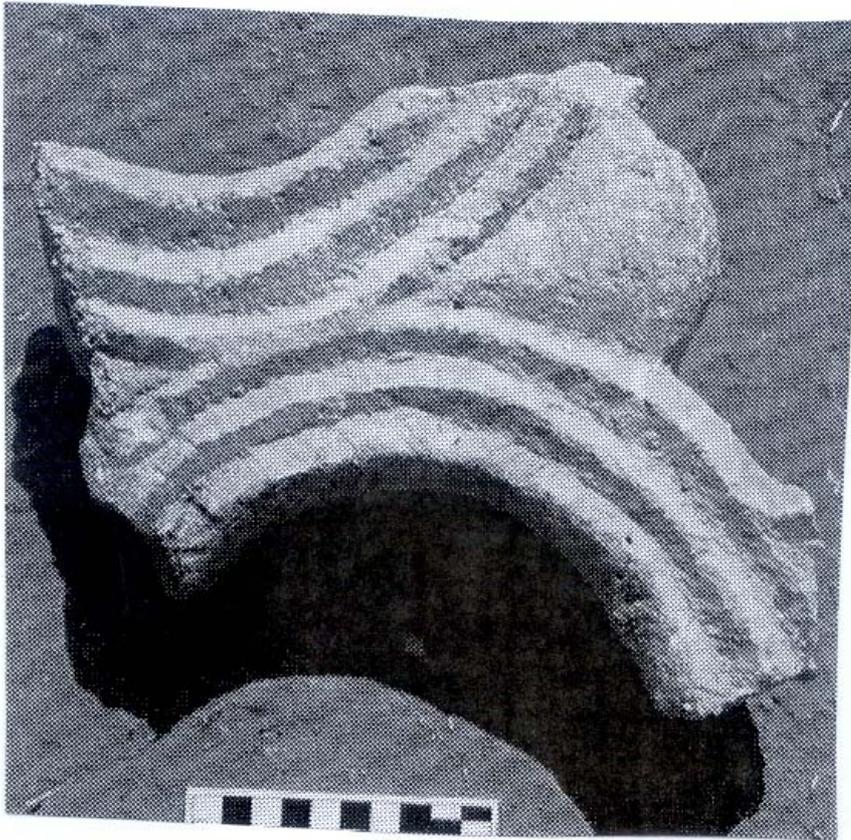


Fig.121 Vault piece, Choma



Fig.122 Vault piece, Sura, Lycia



Fig.123 Vault piece, Odalar Camii, Constantinople



Fig. 124 Fresco fragment showing drapery, Choma

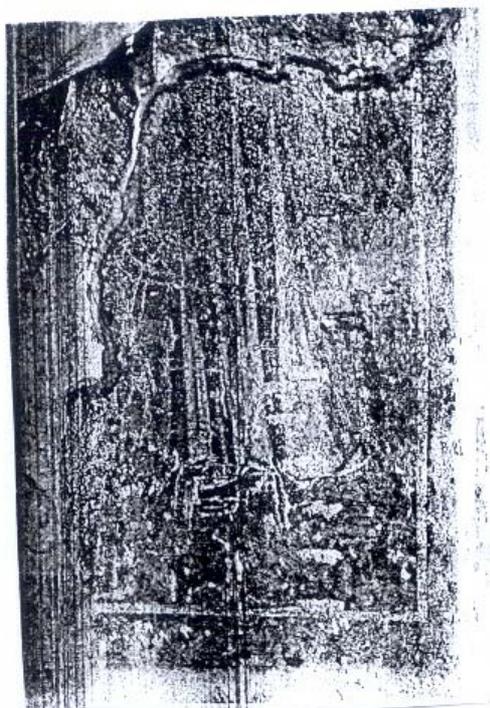


Fig. 125a-b Fresco fragment showing drapery, Xanthos

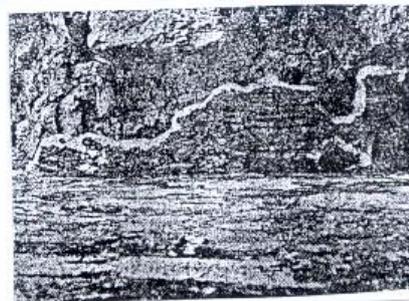




Fig. 126 Fresco with floral patterns, Choma

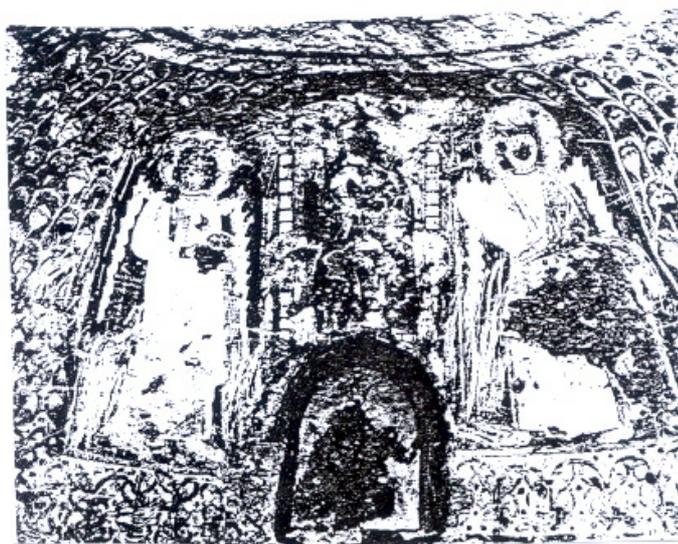
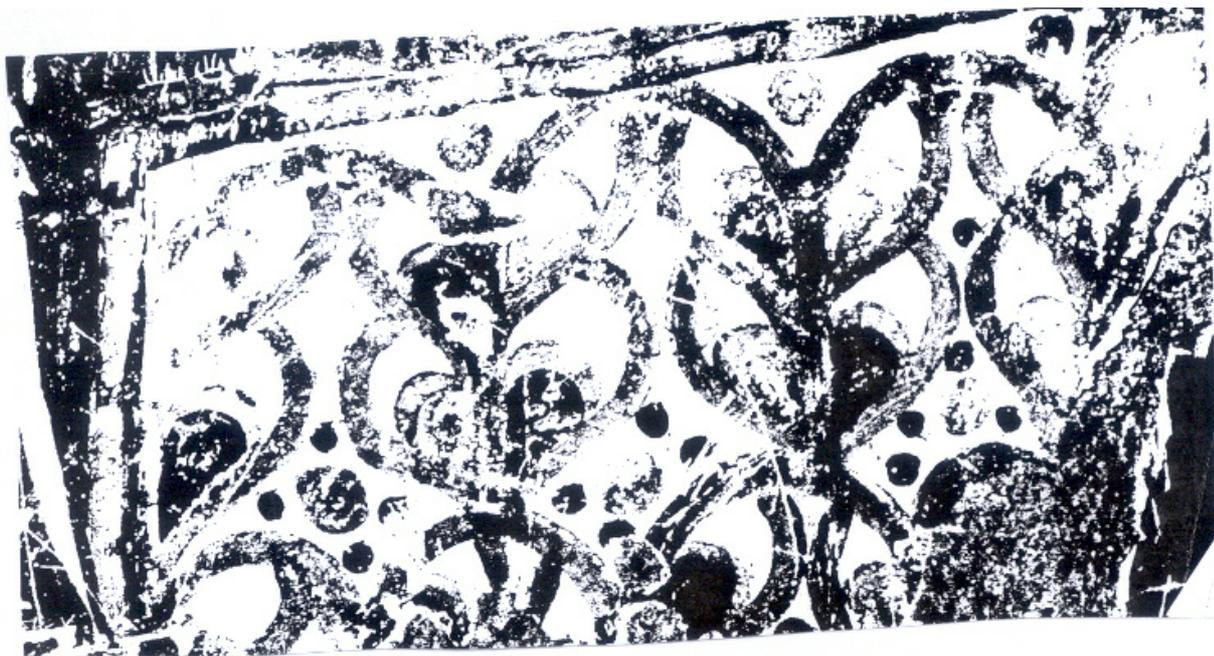


Fig. 127a-b Fresco with floral patterns in the Church of St. Nicetas the Stylite in Kızıl Çukur, Cappadocia

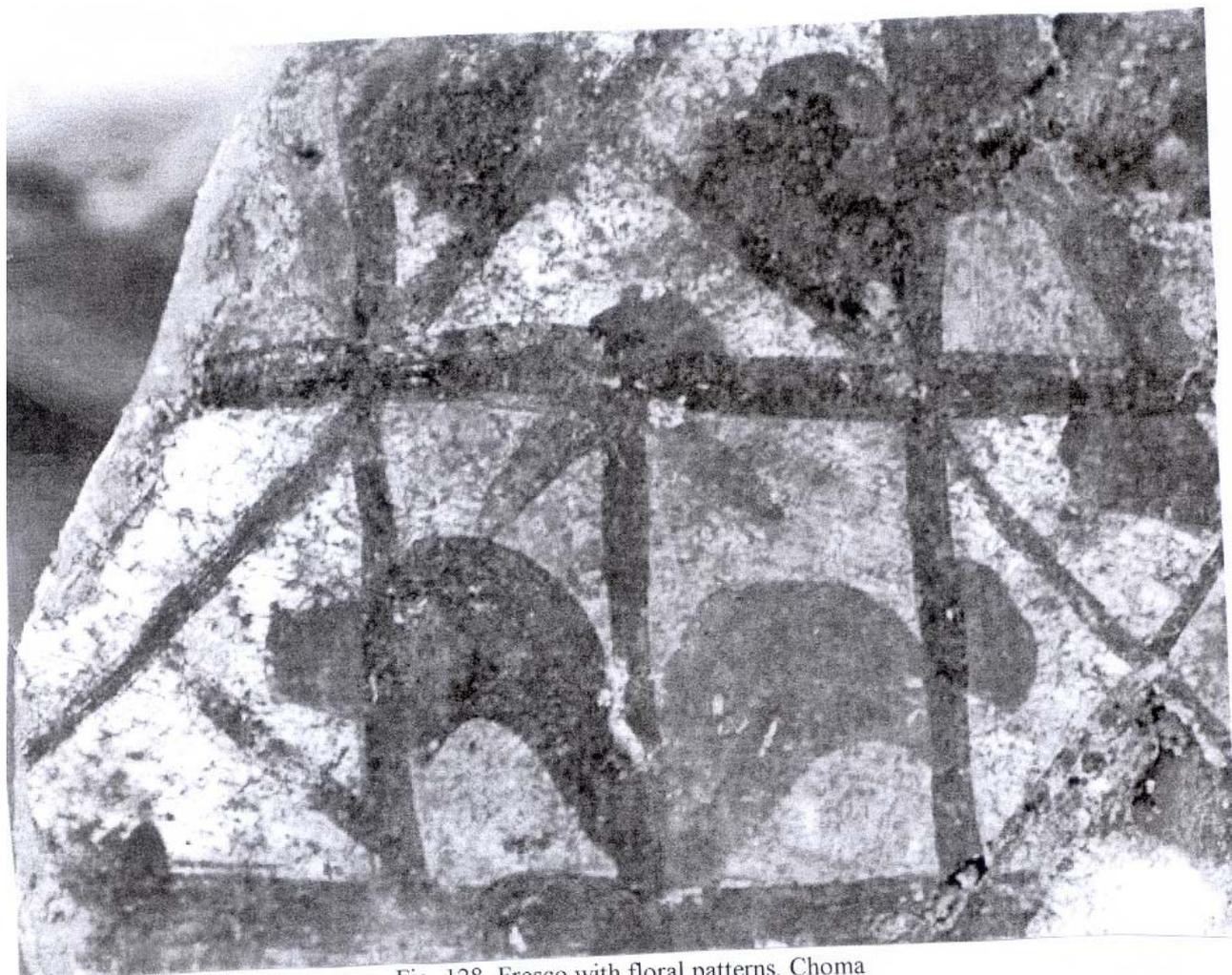


Fig. 128 Fresco with floral patterns, Choma



Fig. 129 Fresco fragments at Karşibucak, Cappadocia

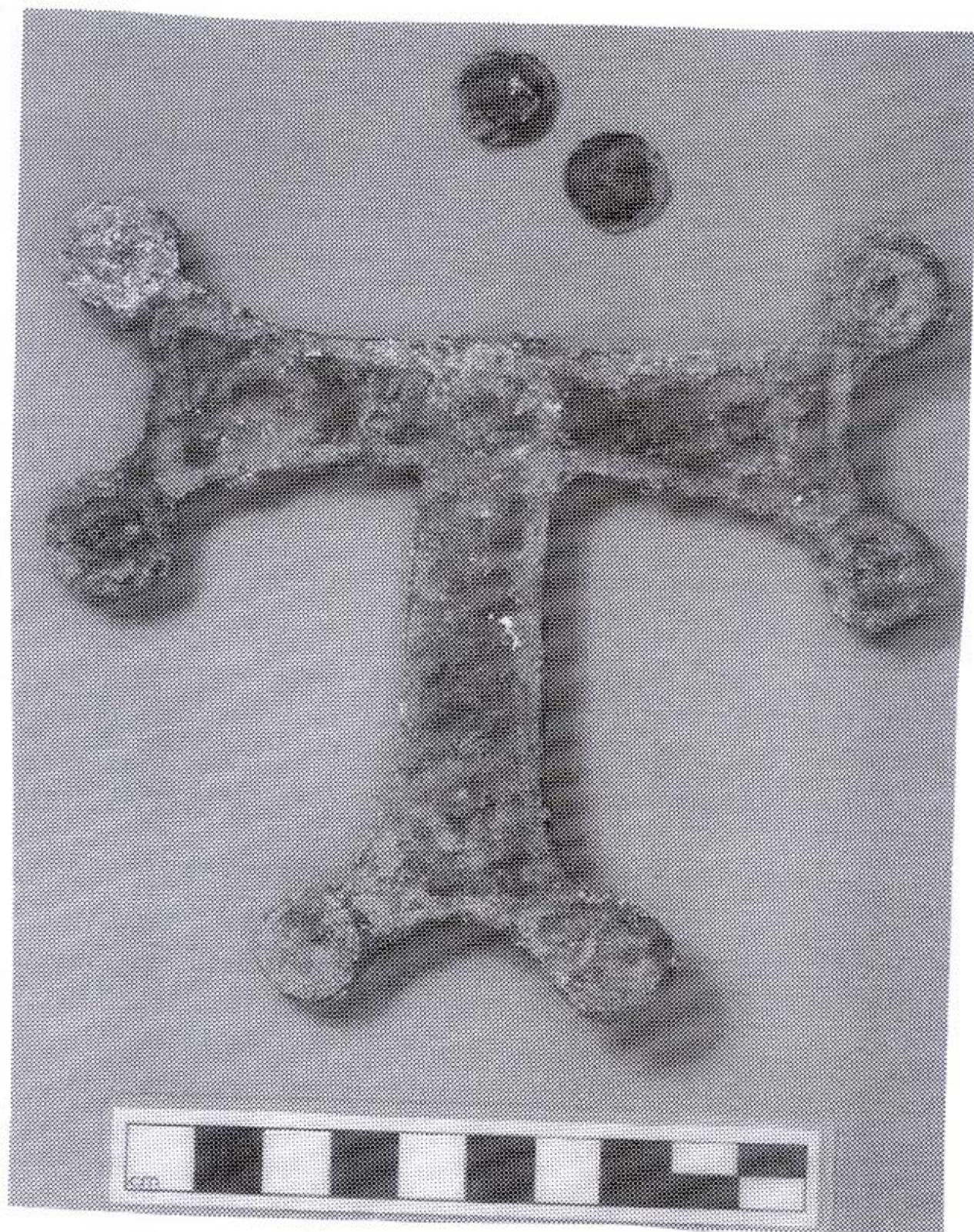


Fig. 130 Bronze Cross, Choma

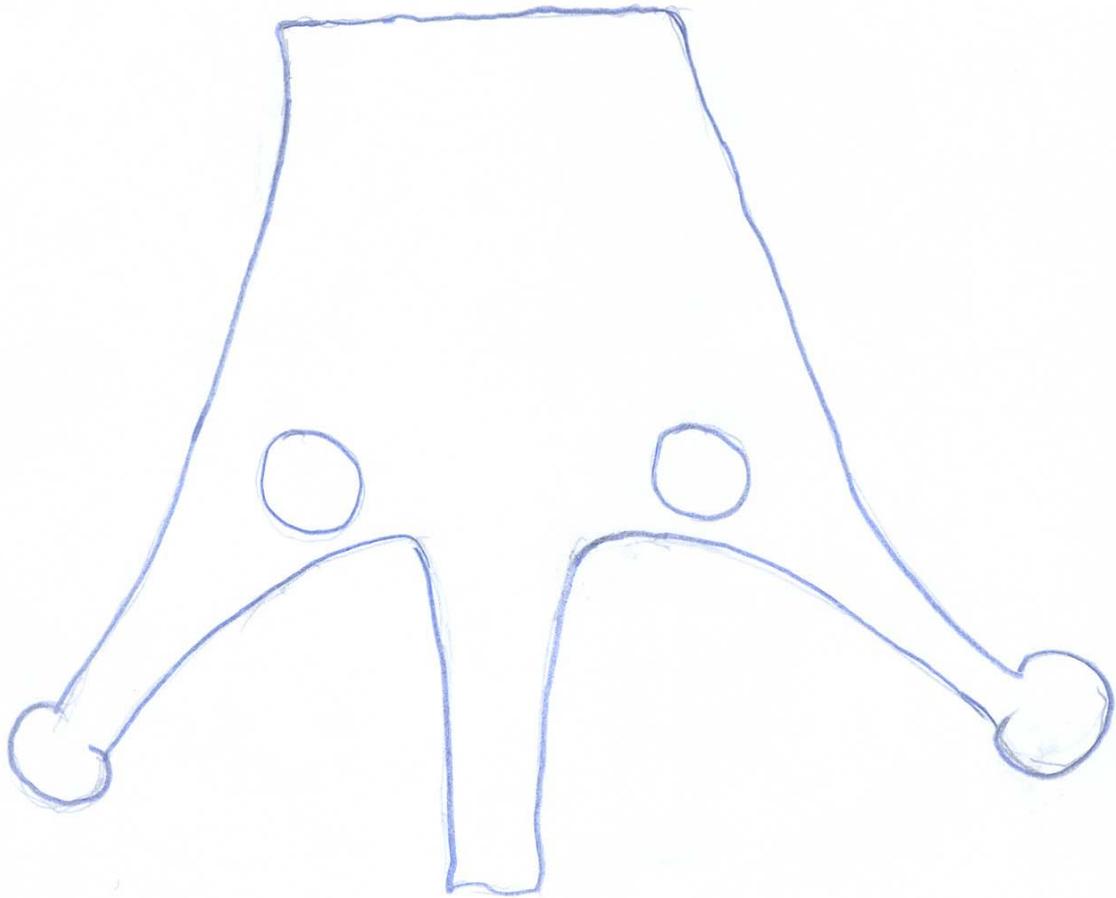


Fig. 131 Iron Processional Cross, Choma

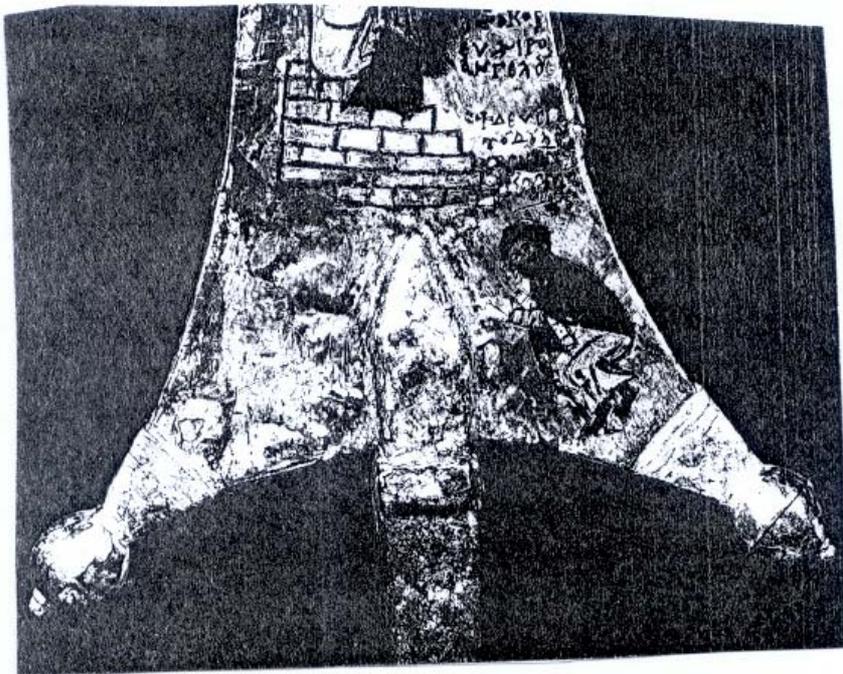
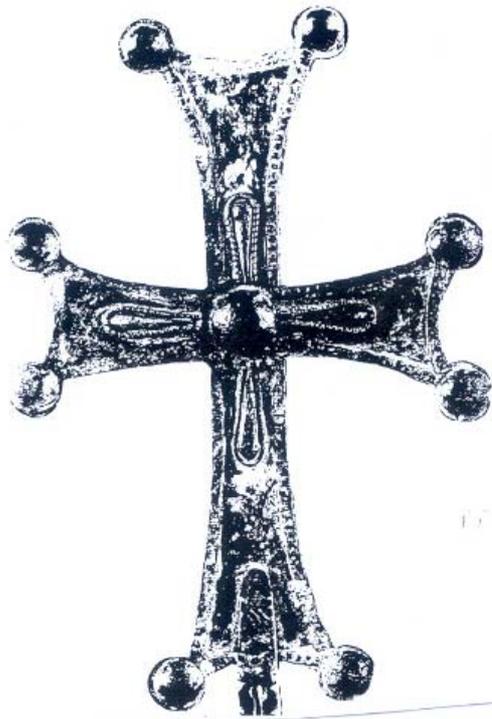


Fig. 132 a-b Crosses, Middle Byzantine Period



Fig. 133 Church Ware, Choma

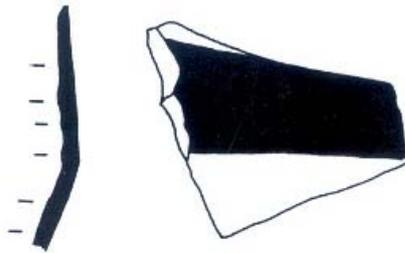
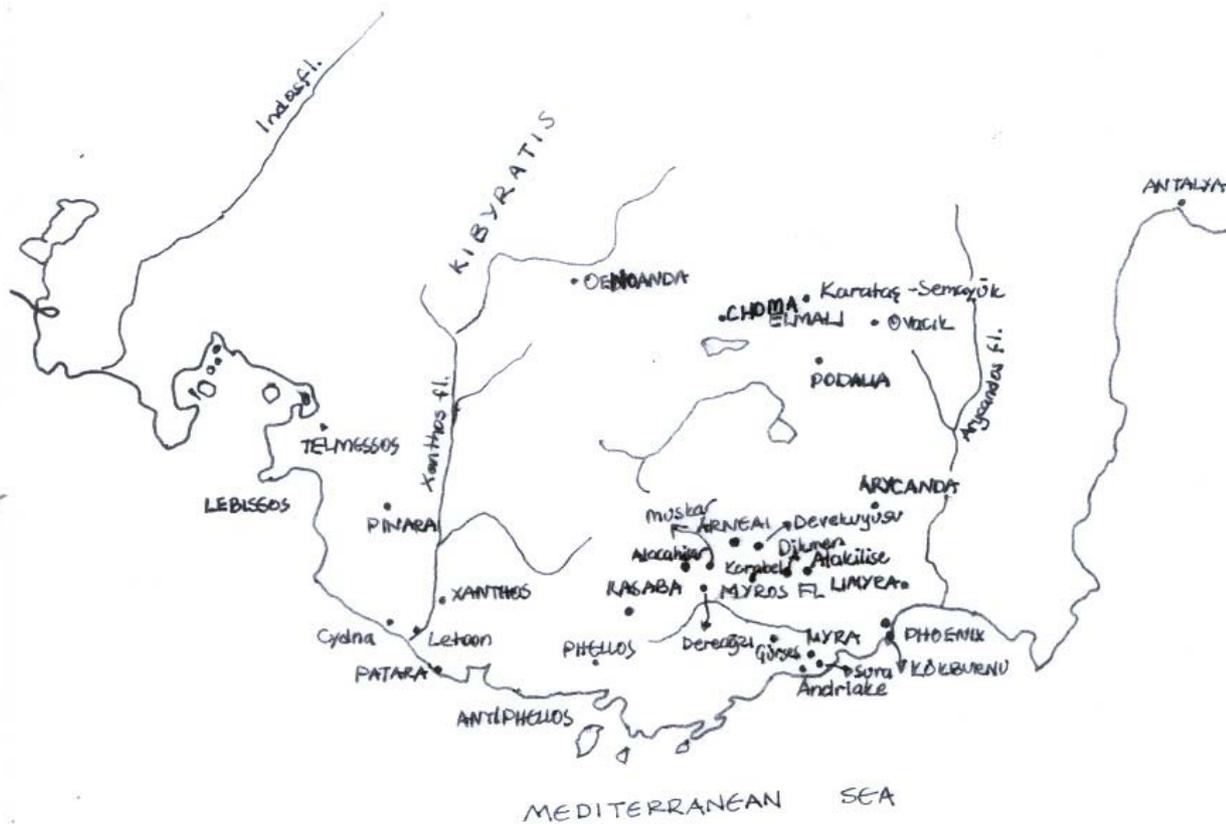
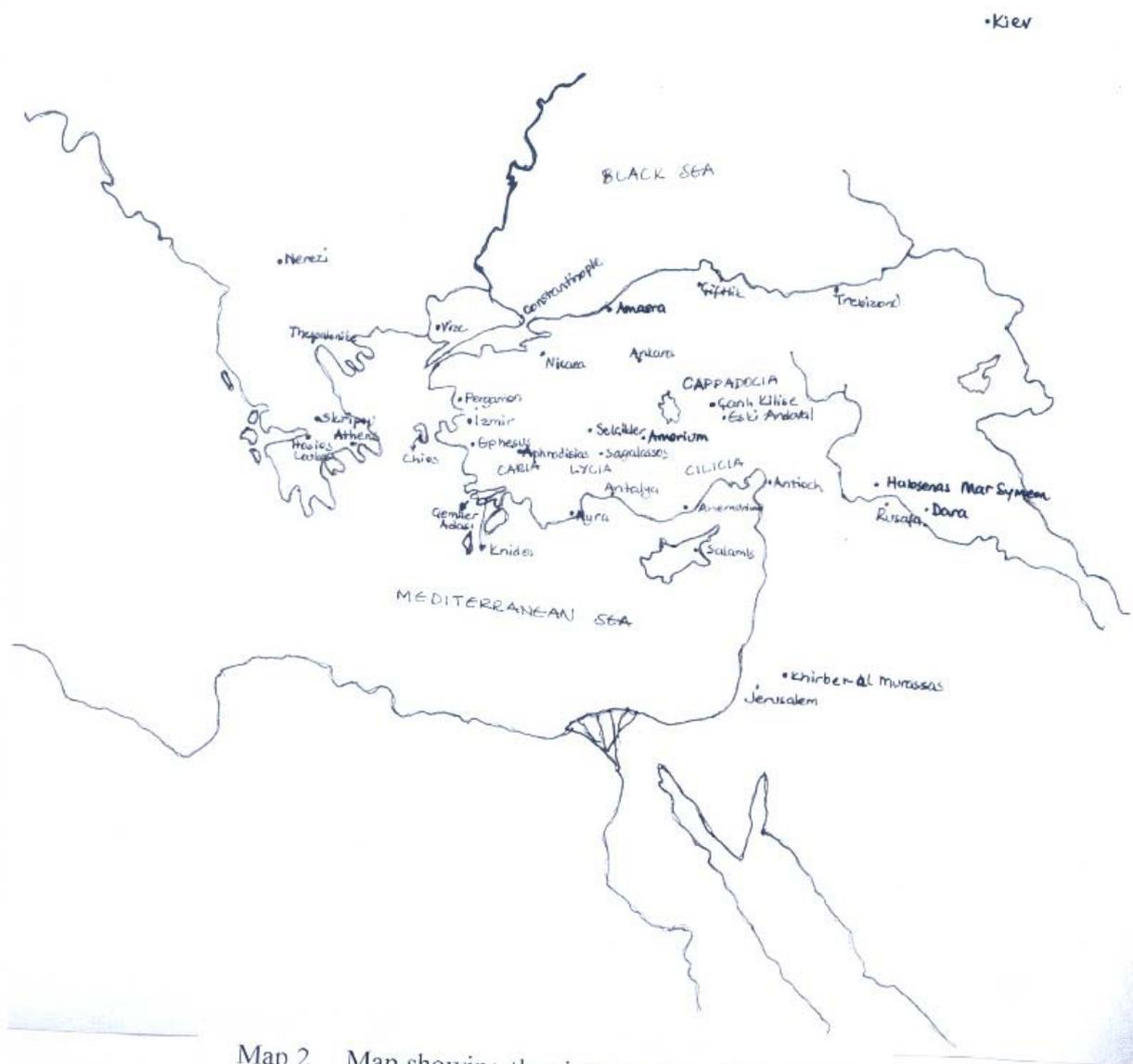


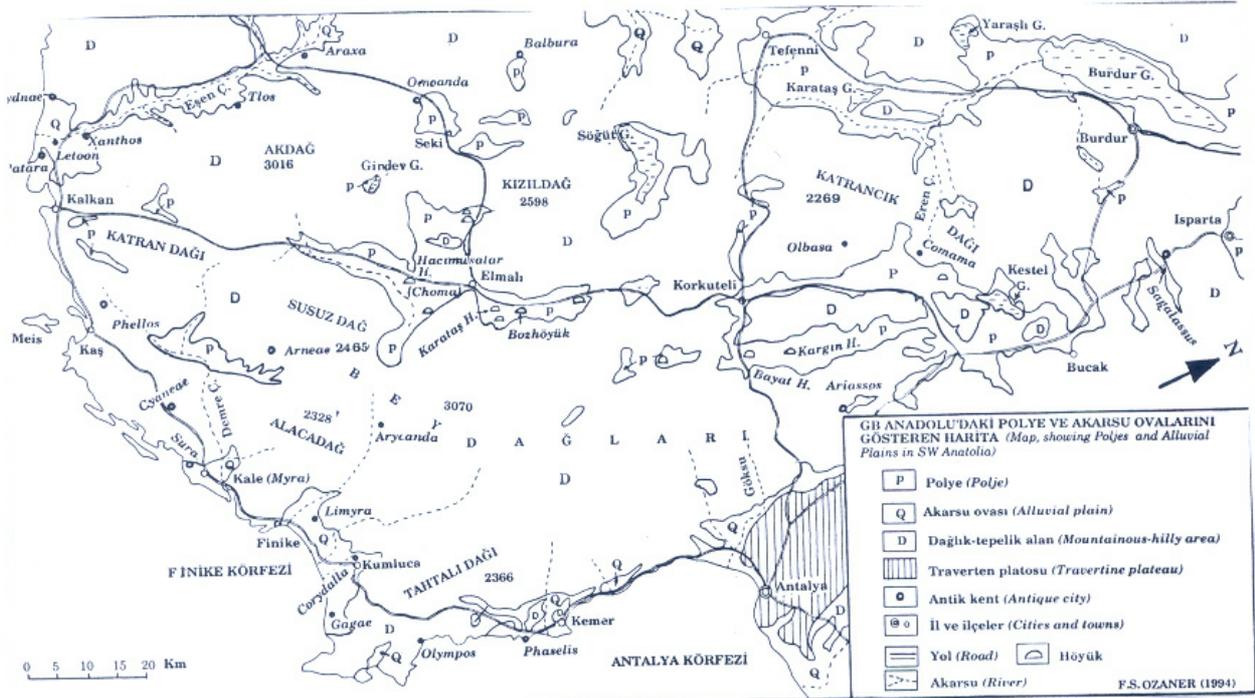
Fig. 134 Church Ware, Choma



Map 1 Map of Lycia



Map 2 Map showing the sites mentioned in the text



Map 3 Hacimusalar Höyük (Choma) and its environs