The Thousand and One Churches

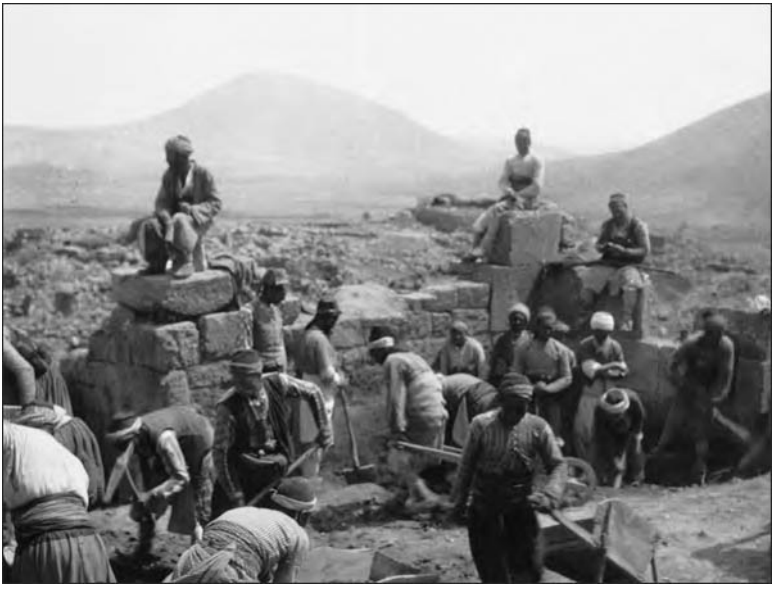
William M. Ramsay & Gertrude L. Bell



with a new Foreword by

Robert G. Ousterhout and Mark P. C. Jackson

THE THOUSAND AND ONE CHURCHES



Workers at Church no. 15 at Madenşehir, May–June 1907.
(Photo: Gertrude Bell Archive, H-048)

The Thousand and One Churches

BY

SIR W. M. RAMSAY

AND

MISS GERTRUDE L. BELL

Foreword by Robert G. Ousterhout & Mark P.C. Jackson

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA MUSEUM OF
ARCHAEOLOGY AND ANTHROPOLOGY
PHILADELPHIA

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Publication of this book has been generously supported by a grant from The Joukowsky Family Foundation.

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First published by Hodder and Stoughton, New York and London, 1909.

ORIGINAL DEDICATION

To Professor Josef Strzygowski
whose book "Kleinasien ein Neuland der Kunstgeschichte" was our constant companion during many weeks at Maden Sheher.

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS CATALOGING-IN-PUBLICATION DATA

Ramsay, William Mitchell, Sir, 1851-1939.
The thousand and one churches / by W.M. Ramsay and Gertrude L. Bell ; foreword by Robert G. Ousterhout & Mark P.C. Jackson.
p. cm.
Originally published: London : Hodder and Stoughton, 1909.
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN 978-1-934536-05-6 (hardcover : alk. paper)
1. Architecture, Early Christian--Turkey--Konya. 2. Church architecture--Turkey--Konya. 3. Christian antiquities--Turkey. 4. Turkey--Antiquities. I. Bell, Gertrude Lowthian, 1868-1926.. II. Title.
NA5871.K66R36 2008
726.509564--dc22
2008025328

Printed in the United States of America on acid-free paper.

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Sir William and Lady Agnes Ramsay before their tent at Binbirkilise in 1907. (Photo: Gertrude Bell Archive, H-233)



Gertrude Bell and her majordomo Fattuh before her tent at Binbirkilise in 1907. (Photo: Gertrude Bell Archive, H-239)

EDITORS' FOREWORD

Robert G. Ousterhout
Mark P. C. Jackson

THE 1909 publication of *The Thousand and One Churches* brought together two of the most remarkable figures of the early 20th century, the unlikely couple of Sir William M. Ramsay and Miss Gertrude Bell. Professor Ramsay, a scholar who uniquely combined the study of Classical archaeology and the New Testament, was then the foremost authority on the topography, antiquities, and history of Asia Minor. He held professorships at Oxford and Aberdeen, traveled, lectured, and published widely, and was showered with academic honors. Miss Bell, by contrast, was something of an upstart, known outside aristocratic circles in 1909 as an eccentric female explorer and travel writer. Their serendipitous collaboration produced one of the most enduring works of scholarship on the Byzantine monuments of Asia Minor. Long out of print (and a sought-after commodity among antiquarian booksellers), this book preserves their rich and careful documentation of the Byzantine churches, many of which vanished in the subsequent century. The republication of this important work was long overdue.

The focus of the book was an out-of-the-way mountain site, known in Turkish as Binbirkilise—the evocatively named Thousand and One Churches—located on the Karadağ (Kara Dagh),* in the region known in antiquity as Lycaonia, southeast of Konya in south-central Turkey. As Ramsay explained its significance, "Nowhere else can one find Church development through so many centuries exhibited on one ruined site in such clear and well-preserved examples," with remarkable architecture dating between the 5th and 11th centuries. While the actual number of

* This Foreword carries site and place names in modern Turkish usage (and orthography), followed parenthetically by the phonetic spellings used by Ramsay and Bell throughout their text.

churches is no more than several dozen, the rather romantic Turkish name conveys the richness of the physical remains at the site, referring to the many hundreds of ancient structures found on the mountain. These include houses, public buildings, fortifications, aqueducts, tombs, and cisterns, as well as churches. The architecture ranges from small chapels to great basilicas, from anonymous isolated buildings to multi-phase ecclesiastical complexes.

Preserved because of their remoteness, the ancient churches fascinated early travelers. Ramsay had visited the site in the 1880s, and in his *Historical Geography of Asia Minor* (1891) he suggested its identification as the Byzantine bishopric of Barata, comprising the modern villages of Madenşehir (Maden Shehir) and Değle (Deghile). He subsequently expressed his hope that the site could be examined by an archaeologist and an epigrapher working together. His wish was fulfilled when Bell, after her visit to the site in 1905, proposed collaboration. Their publication combines the results of intensive work on site by both scholars with the remarkable investigations of Bell, who traveled across Anatolia on horseback in 1907 to examine every related site she could get wind of. Her inclusion of the latter in the study provides us with an unsurpassed overview of the development of Byzantine architecture in Anatolia.

The book was unusually richly illustrated for its day, and this is one of its great legacies. With changing demographics and rapid development, the authors witnessed the disappearance of the monuments almost as they were examining them. Recognizing the fragility of their subject, they insisted upon the documentary value of photography. As Bell wrote to her stepmother in June 1907, "It will be a very dull book, you understand, but I intend it to be magnificently illustrated." A more conservative and less prescient reviewer dismissively called their study a "picture book." Today no one doubts the value of photography, and the more than 6,000 photographs Bell took during her years of research and travel are now regarded as precious and irreplaceable documents. In preparing the present facsimile edition, we have benefited from the cooperation of the Gertrude Bell Photographic Archive at Newcastle University. Wherever possible we have replaced the illustrations with higher-resolution scans made from the same negatives or reshot from Bell's original photographs.

A word about the two authors is in order. Today Gertrude Bell is *hot*. A veritable cottage industry churns out new biographies of Bell, the "Queen of the Desert," fueled recently by her diplomatic role in the foundation of modern Iraq. By contrast, Sir William Ramsay has faded almost into obscurity—so much so that he is regularly confused with a similarly named Nobel Prize–winning scientist. While his work on the topography of Roman Asia Minor is known within limited academic circles and is still regarded as essential, much of his New Testament scholarship may not have withstood the test of time. It is worth noting, however, that the original edition of *The Thousand and One Churches* began with an advertisement for *ten* of his books on sale from the same publisher (Hodder and Stoughton). Clearly, his name, and not Miss Bell's, was the big attraction at that time.

Sir William Mitchell Ramsay (1851–1939) was born in Glasgow and educated at Aberdeen, Oxford, and Göttingen. At Oxford he was awarded First-Class Honors in Classical Moderations (1874) and in *literae humaniores* (1876). He was an Oxford University traveling scholar (1880–82), subsequently a research fellow of Exeter College, Oxford, and a fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford, before becoming the first Professor of Classical Art and Archeology in the University of Oxford (1885–86). In 1886 he became Regius Professor of Humanity at the University of Aberdeen, a post which he held until his retirement in 1911. On the occasion of the 400th anniversary of the founding of the University of Aberdeen in 1906, he was knighted in recognition of his many contributions to scholarship. He was elected honorary fellow of Exeter College (1898), Lincoln College (1899), and St. John's (1912), all at Oxford, and he received honorary doctorates from nine universities. He traveled three times to the United States to lecture. He was awarded the gold medal of Pope Leo XIII (1893), as well as the Victoria gold medal of the Royal Geographical Society (1906), and the L. W. Drexel gold medal for archaeological exploration from the University of Pennsylvania (1906).

A traveling fellowship from Exeter College set Ramsay and his wife on their way to Asia Minor for the first time in 1880. At Izmir (Smyrna) he met Sir Charles Wilson, the British Consul General and a noted explorer, who encouraged him to investigate the relatively unknown inland regions of Roman proconsular Asia—Phrygia, Lycaonia, Cap-

padocia, and Galatia. Together with Wilson, Ramsay made two long inland journeys in 1881–82. This began an exploration that was to be continued, with one hiatus (1891–99), until the outbreak of World War I in 1914 and that formed the foundation of his research for the rest of his career. As he explained, from his student days,

> The borderland between Greece and the East, the relation of Greek literature to Asia, had already a vague fascination for me; and this was to be the direction of the life that I imagined in the future. As it turned out that thought of the relation between Greece and the East was an anticipation of my life; but the form developed in a way that I did not imagine until many years passed. I thought of work in a room or a library, but it has lain largely in the open air and on the geographical frontier where Greek-speaking people touched the East. I thought of Greek literature in its relation to Asia; but the subject widened into the relation between the spirit of Europe and of Asia through the centuries. (*The Bearing of Recent Discovery on the Trustworthiness of the New Testament* [London, 1914], p. 10)

Important for Ramsay's early development as a scholar was the study of Sanskrit at Göttingen under Theodor Benfey. There, for the first time, he "gained some insight into modern methods of literary investigation," and his "thoughts ever since turned towards the borderlands between European and Asiatic civilization."

At Oxford he seems to have been influenced by the post-Darwinian developments in the study of comparative religions championed by Max Müller, as well as the new interest in Oriental cultures. The intellectual rationale for European Orientalism was biblical, but the discovery of the connection between English and Sanskrit created a new "scientific" basis in the search for the Indo-European ("Aryan") language. This discovery ignited Indo-European studies, as well as the search for the Aryan homeland—in India, Persia, the Russian steppes, and the Caucasus. Müller had posited a connection between the spread of language and religion and thus saw Asian precedents to the pagan religions of the Mediterranean. His attempts to formulate a philosophy of religion contributed to a large extent to the formation of Comparative Religion as a field of study. And although he set Aryan traditions in opposition

to Semitic religion, he was distressed when what he saw as a religious-linguistic distinction became interpreted in racial terms, as for example by H. S. Chamberlain and J. Strzygowski (about whom, more later).

Like Müller, Ramsay looked eastward for an antidote to the hegemony of Greco-Roman classicism, but in his case he focused on Anatolia—on the continuity and syncretism of its religious beliefs—and he was frankly willing to situate early Christianity within this larger picture.

The ideas in J. G. Frazer's *The Golden Bough: A Study in Magic and Religion* (first published in 1890) were very much in the air at about the same time. Frazer had attempted to define the shared elements of religious belief by viewing the similarities in both ancient and modern religions, including Christianity. His study seems to have scandalized the general public but found a more receptive audience in scholars like Ramsay. One of the leitmotivs in Ramsay's work is the role of early Anatolian religions and the survival of pagan cults on the development of early Christianity, such as the possible relationship between the cult of the Anatolian Mother Goddess and the veneration of the Virgin Mary at Ephesus.

Perhaps as an outgrowth of this, incidences of religious syncretism continued to fascinate him. Ramsay explained these phenomena in terms of *religious awe* associated with special localities—that is, a sacred presence at certain holy places that was recognized by more than one religion and at more than one period in history. These latter ideas may be linked to William James, whose book, *The Varieties of Religious Experience: A Study in Human Nature*, explored the psychological dimensions of religious experience. Ramsay's ideas colored his impressions of Binbirkilise and inspired similar views in Bell: one may note the similarity of her introductory comments in Part III here to Ramsay's views expressed in Part I of *The Historical Geography of Asia Minor*.

Ramsay was an enthusiastic if perhaps bumbling adventurer, who eschewed the comforts of civilization and often lacked a firm grasp of the practical necessities of travel. As he wrote in 1882, "I could not imagine a more delightful way of spending the summer than an excursion... with a tent and some appliances for examining properly the rock-tombs. The idea has been spread by various recent books that travel in Asia Minor is accompanied by terrible hardships, but such has not

been my experience. With a little knowledge of the possibilities of the situation and a little prudence, a party travels with great comfort at an exceedingly moderate rate." His camp equipment was minimal; his local servants were few and often incompetent. Moreover, Ramsay seems to have been a classic absentminded professor, prone to lose himself, his notes, luggage, and camp equipment. Famously in 1888, his sole manuscript of *The Historical Geography of Asia Minor* disappeared on the train while Ramsay was on his way to deliver it to the publishers, and it had to be completely rewritten from memory. His notes in *The Thousand and One Churches* recall similar if less significant incidents of forgetfulness, losses, and oversights.

Nevertheless, Ramsay appreciated the value of combining detailed study on site with the historical record, out of which he developed a new method for the study of ancient geography. When he began his investigations in Asia Minor, very few historical places could be fixed with any degree of certainty, particularly in the interior, and he was thus concerned with the problem of geographical identification. To this end, he formulated a broad approach, taking into consideration sites from all periods, including the Byzantine, and he employed evidence that had been previously neglected or underutilized, such as local coin types, the writings of Christian authors, and legends. To interpret the ancient geography of Asia Minor, he began by noting the relative positions of points on roads and then applying the method of exclusion to administrative groups of towns, of which some members were already fixed with certainty on the map. Most of the earlier scholars had limited their explorations to the library, but as Ramsay realized, this sort of study only made sense with a profound knowledge of the land itself. As he wrote, "Topography is the foundation of history."

Gertrude Margaret Lowthian Bell (1868–1926), born in County Durham, was the daughter of a wealthy industrialist. Precocious by all accounts, fiercely intelligent, unshakably self-confident, and indomitably energetic, she did everything in a hurry. She entered Lady Margaret Hall at Oxford at age 17, completing her studies just over two years later, shortly before her 20th birthday, and was awarded First-Class Honors in Modern History. She never received a degree, however, because although Oxford grudgingly admitted women in the 1880s, they

would not award a degree to a woman until 1920. Still, she was the first woman to be given First-Class Honors. Her self-confidence bordered on arrogance, and not only was she irrepressible, she was usually correct. However, as sex, class, and family expectations prevented her from having a proper career or spending her talents in any structured way, she spent much of her adult life setting her own rigorous challenges.

In spite of her outspokenness, Gertrude Bell remained politically conservative, at one point serving as honorary secretary of the Women's Anti-Suffrage League. She also at age 24 broke off her engagement without protest at her father's insistence, because her fiancé did not have a private income. And into her 30s she would not make a move without the prior consent of her father. Such behavior is all the more remarkable considering that her moves frequently involved mountain climbing—a peak in the Swiss Alps is named after her—or desert explorations no woman and few men had attempted before.

Following her distinguished graduation from Oxford, her family sent her off to visit friends in the diplomatic corps in Romania and, a few years later, to Persia, as they explained, "to get rid of her Oxfordy manner." The trip to Persia marked the beginning of Bell's life-long love affair with the East and resulted ultimately in two books—one of her impressions of Persia and the other her translation of Persian verse. In 1899 and again in 1900, she traveled to the Middle East, spending time in Jerusalem to study Arabic with a tutor. She traveled widely, at first with companions and later alone. She made two trips into the desert of Syria, accompanied only by local guides and her pack train. She recounted the second journey (in 1905) in her third and most popular book, *The Desert and the Sown*, first published in 1907 and still in print.

The trip broke new barriers in desert exploration, and it involved both competition and quarrels with another British explorer, Mark Sykes (later co-author of the Sykes-Picot Agreement of 1916), whom she met in Jerusalem and whose proposed journey into the Syrian Desert she apparently pre-empted. In addition to taking his proposed route, Miss Bell was alleged to have told the Wali of Damascus that Sykes's brother-in-law was the Prime Minister of Egypt, resulting in his being denied permission to enter the desert. His response, in a letter to his wife, was, "Confound the silly chattering windbag of conceited, gushing,

flat-chested, man-woman, globe-trotting, rump-wagging, blethering ass!" And he henceforth referred to Bell as "the terror of the desert."

Terror though she might have been, Gertrude Bell seems to have been more comfortable among exotic peoples in exotic locations than she was back in England. During these travels she was rapidly developing a keen archaeological eye and was beginning to publish respected scholarly articles on her observations. She extended her Syrian trip of 1905 into Anatolia, where she examined early Byzantine architecture, including the site of Binbirkilise, which had already caught Ramsay's attention. She met up with Sir William in Konya to discuss an inscription she had discovered. She believed that, though it was poorly preserved and difficult to decipher, it might hold the key to the dating of the site. Ramsay subsequently reexamined the inscription *in situ* and agreed with her. Bell then proposed a collaboration, offering to finance the expedition–an offer few academics could refuse, then or now.

They joined forces two years later in 1907 for a campaign at the site. It was a fortunate alliance for both. Bell's self-taught knowledge of Byzantine architecture complemented Ramsay's historical and epigraphic skills. With Ramsay's absentmindedness, it may have been Miss Bell's organizational skills—as well as her money—that brought their study to rapid fruition. The on-site work was followed by Bell's intensive travel through Anatolia. This was perhaps her most prolific survey of Byzantine architecture, for which she developed a quick and efficient method of documentation. At Çanlı in western Cappadocia, for example, she noted upon arrival, "My heart sank when I saw it, for I knew I could do nothing at it under three hours." But in that brief amount of time, she ate her lunch, took no fewer than 21 photographs, prepared a measured plan of the building, and recorded several pages of notes—and it was the third major site she had visited and documented that day!

In subsequent years Bell ventured into northern Syria and to what is now Iraq, where she excavated the Abbasid fortress at Uqhaidir, and into what is now Turkish Mesopotamia, where she studied the monasteries of the Tur Abdin. The result was two more major scholarly publications and another travelogue. Her last significant exploration was into Arabia Deserta, where she visited the Rashid capital of Ha'il. This would probably have resulted in another publication had not World

War I intervened, bringing about a dramatic change in her life.

After initial work with the Red Cross in France, Bell was summoned to Cairo in 1915 by David Hogarth in the office of Military Intelligence to work in the Arab Bureau. The following year Military Intelligence sent her to Basra to advise the British Chief Political Officer, Sir Percy Cox, and to convince the Arab tribes to cooperate with the British, because no one knew the Mideast as she did. She did more than negotiate; thanks to the maps she drew, British forces were able to reach Baghdad safely two years later. Although at first she was not offered an official position, her talents rapidly became evident, and she was given the title "Liaison Officer, Correspondent to Cairo," as the only female political officer in the British forces. With the capture of Baghdad in 1917, she was named "Oriental Secretary," and as such she participated in the Cairo Conference of 1921. She was named Commander of the Order of the British Empire in 1917.



In her role as Director of Antiquities, Gertrude Bell examines the pottery at Kish, with Ernest Mackay looking on and dog in foreground, ca. 1924–26. (Photo: Father Leon Legrain; University of Pennsylvania Museum Archives, no. 148740)

Following the breakup of the Ottoman Empire, Bell helped to determine the new national boundaries, and she was instrumental in establishing Faisal as the king of the new state of Iraq in 1921. In her last years she settled in Baghdad, where she served as Honorary Director of Antiquities and was responsible for establishing the Baghdad Archaeological Museum and its laws governing antiquities. Weakened in health, she died in Baghdad on July 12, 1926, leaving in her will funds to establish the British School of Archaeology in Iraq. Perhaps only her friend and close associate T. E. Lawrence could claim to have made such a combined impact on politics and archaeology as Gertrude Bell had done.

While her diplomatic career has come under careful scrutiny, her contribution as an archaeologist has not been properly evaluated—indeed, it is all but absent from most of her biographies. At best, her interest in archaeology is attributed to an unhappy love life. Whatever her inspiration, her happiest days in the prewar years were devoted to exploration and archaeology, something made clear by a perusal of her letters and diaries. After World War I she never returned to fieldwork, bringing to an end her archaeological career. In her correspondence after the war, she repeatedly notes the great transformation the world has undergone and expresses a longing for the life she once knew.

Gertrude Bell was self-taught as an archaeologist. Binbirkilise marked her initiation into the field, and she began to dig even before Ramsay arrived. Much of their efforts were restricted by their official permit and would not be termed archaeology today. They cleaned around the foundations and the exposed ruins to clarify ground plans. They did not confront issues of stratigraphy, burials, or small finds. As Ramsay put it, "In our excavations, never deep, we did not find any article worth picking up." (Elsewhere he notes the inadvertent loss of pottery samples as they moved camp but seems not particularly bothered by it.) The chronology and relative chronology they developed for the site depended on the physical analysis of standing remains, rooted in building typology, construction techniques, architectural details such as molding profiles, and the limited information provided by the inscriptions—the last analyzed by Ramsay to slightly different conclusions. Bell's subsequent archaeological ventures at Uqhaidir and Tur Abdin were similar,

relying for conclusions on a taxonomy of evident details.

Surprisingly, Ramsay rarely has a positive thing to say about Binbirkilise, despite his broad view and new approach toward historical geography. For any classicist of his day, inscriptions were the bread and butter of fieldwork, and those at Binbirkilise were disappointing at best. He found the ruins "slight, discontinuous, and complicated," the historic inhabitants "poorly educated and rustic," the inscriptions often "barbarous in the extreme." While championing the Oriental over the Hellenic in characterizing Anatolia, he nevertheless expected more from the inscriptions and from the site in general.

Ultimately, Ramsay falls back on his theories of the Oriental and of religious awe, as he had expressed in earlier works, to interpret the site. He notes a certain sacred character to the site that harked back to earlier Anatolian times and postulates that the whole mountain had been venerated. This, he believed, was confirmed by the mountaintop shrines: "We may also regard it as certain that this awe was an inheritance from ancient Anatolian religious feeling."

Bell was somewhat more positive and positivist, and Ramsay recognized that the merit of their study would rest on the chapters she wrote. Bell's approach to the architecture at Binbirkilise was systematic and disciplined. She worked with great zeal and with large numbers of men. "I haven't told you half enough what gorgeous fun it's being!" she wrote to her stepmother in May 1907. "You should see me directing the labour of 20 Turks and 4 Kurds! We are going to get something out of it you'll see." Together they exposed the walls of numerous structures, which Bell subsequently recorded in detail in photographs, plans, and additional architectural drawings.

Bell held the anonymous Binbirkilise masons in high regard. "There is no end to the imagination of the architects, and whether their workmanship be rough or fine they exhibit the same resource and boldness in grappling with structural problems," she writes, attributing to the buildings the "creativity of the Oriental architect." Her enthusiasm for "Oriental" architecture, as well as her method of analysis and her organization of the material owe much to the work of Josef Strzygowski (1862–1941), who is something of an *éminence grise* behind the work at Binbirkilise: Ramsay and Bell dedicated the book to him. The con-

troversial Austrian art historian is remembered today primarily for a racist ideology that foreshadowed the rise of National Socialism (which he embraced) and for a type of art history that relied on comparative formal analysis at the expense of historical context.

Strzygowski published several books whose tone was overtly polemical, challenging the primacy of Greco-Roman classicism in art history. His *Orient oder Rom: Beiträge zur Geschichte der spätantike und frühchristliche Kunst* [Orient or Rome: contributions to the history of late antique and early Christian art] (1901) credited stylistic change in Late Antiquity to the overwhelming influence of the Oriental or the Semitic—that is, viewed it in racial and often blatantly racist terms. The controversy generated by the publication polarized scholars for decades to come. This opening salvo was followed in 1903 by *Kleinasien ein Neuland der Kunstgeschichte* [Asia Minor, a new land of art history]. Although it was less polemical and thus had a less far-reaching impact than *Orient oder Rom*, in it Strzygowski further developed his ideas of the Oriental origins of the medieval arts by looking at the hitherto neglected monuments of Anatolia. His thesis seems to have found a receptive audience in Ramsay, who was already a champion of the Orient, and the book motivated Gertrude Bell's venture into Anatolia in 1905.

Whatever we might think of Strzygowski as a scholar—for he certainly advocated a variety of bizarre ideas—he inspired a generation of researchers, and without him one wonders if *The Thousand and One Churches* would have been written. Bell corresponded with Strzygowski and he in turn refers frequently to her in his later publications; Bell's work at the Tur Abdin was published as an appendix to his study, *Amida* (co-authored with M. von Berchem). Moreover, her advocacy of Asia Minor as the "great birthplace of architectural motives" (by which she means plans, typology, and formal development) and her building typology clearly derive from Strzygowski and from the architectural categorizations he developed in *Kleinasien*.

The classification of buildings by their attributes offered a new and exciting approach in the emerging field of archaeology at the end of the 19th and early 20th centuries. This methodical approach promised to rescue archaeology from the rather haphazard recording methods of earlier travelers, who tended to note unsystematically only a few details

of the most intact structures. By contrast, the work of scholars like Bell aimed at a more comprehensive analysis of the evidence. Because so many of the buildings were experiencing rapid decay and destruction, Bell's detailed recording remains the best surviving record of them.

Following the detailed descriptions, the architectural phases and their decorative elements needed interpretation. Relative building sequences and stylistic aspects of form and decoration could be given absolute dates by epigraphic evidence when present, but for sites such as Binbirkilise, where monumental inscriptions were rare, agents for changes in the architecture tended to be sought in historical sources. The historical narrative which Ramsay and Bell ultimately produced pivots on the dramatic period of Arab incursions into central Anatolia in the 8th and 9th centuries. They linked the chronology of the structures to the periods before, during, and after the Arab raids. Indeed, the raids themselves were given a primary role as agents for the changes evident in the archaeological record.

Factors such as the settlement duration and the length of use of church buildings are difficult to interpret without the aid of the portable material culture often found in the vernacular buildings around the more impressive monumental structures. While the ceramic evidence from the Byzantine period was not particularly useful in this respect, the evidence of older civilizations helped to give the site a new dimension. Archaeologists from Cornell University who visited the excavation at Binbirkilise in 1907 were able to classify potsherds collected from the surface at the Upper City as "Mycenaean in character." Ramsay recognized the potential of the artifacts, albeit in a very general way. Moreover, Bell's architectural analysis often records additions, modifications, reconstructions, and evidence of later use, as it was clear to her that these phases were crucial for a complete interpretation of the site.

One of the great omissions of *The Thousand and One Churches* is a real conclusion; what was published simply rehearses Ramsay's arguments for the identification of the site as Barata but says little about the architecture beyond the typology Bell provided. For the thorny questions of chronology, comments are buried in her discussion of details. For the dating, Bell tended to rely on a typology of molding profiles, adapting Howard Crosby Butler's generalizations on the moldings

of Syrian churches, which had just been published by the Princeton expedition to Syria. Ramsay in turn privileged the epigraphic evidence.

In general they charted the development of the site as follows:

1. The city of Madenşehir had both upper and lower portions. The upper plateau produced evidence of earlier, pre-classical pottery but not a street system; the lower portion had no trace of earlier settlement and was late Roman and Byzantine in its development, with its major churches dating to the 5th and 6th centuries.
2. With the Arab incursions there was widespread destruction and a shift of the population to the upper town of Değle. Several monasteries were founded in the glen, perhaps beginning as humble structures in the 5th century. By the end of the 7th century, Değle had come to be the main center and was fortified by walls built to connect existing churches and other buildings. The circle of mountaintop fortresses was developed at the same time.
3. The site (both Değle and Madenşehir) witnessed a period of restoration ca. 850–1070, before general abandonment with the arrival of the Seljuks.

Within the larger development, they defined three classes of churches, with others dated by analogy.

While attempting to situate the churches of the Karadağ within the larger context of the architecture of central Asia Minor, Bell enumerated the distinctive characteristics of the region. Perhaps most distinctive is the regular occurrence of vaulting for roofing the buildings—usually barrel vaults and occasionally domes. The arches, apses, and semi-domes of the structures tend to be horseshoe in shape. This has resulted in buildings of fine quality, many of which have survived the tests of time extremely effectively, even in an area repeatedly shaken by earthquakes.

The churches took a variety of forms; in terms of planning, variations of the basilica are most common, almost always with a chambered narthex; the atrium is almost unknown. In her classification of the aisled churches into two types—the "basilica" with two aisles and a clerestory, and the "barn church" with the nave lit by windows in the

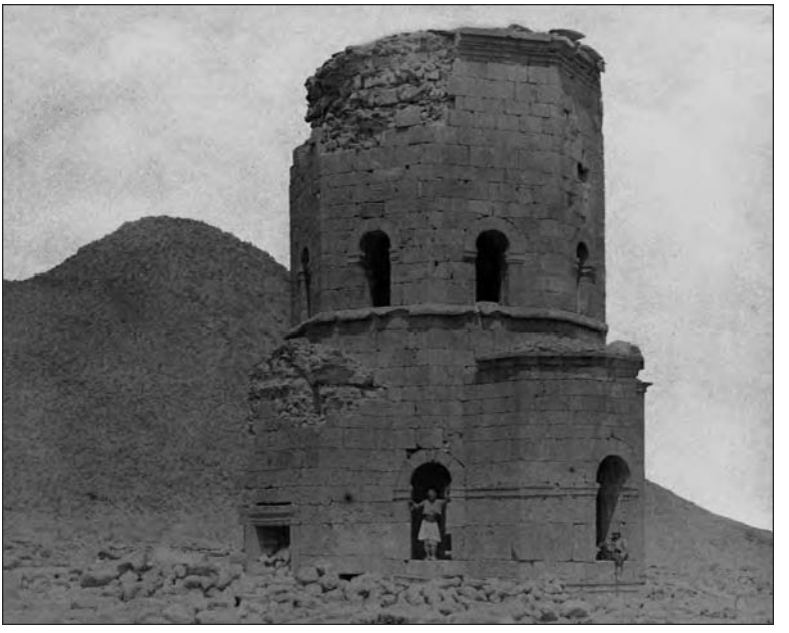
aisles—Bell followed the system of Carl Holtzmann, a German engineer who had visited the site and published a folio of his drawings in 1904. She refined the analysis to note that the naves tended to have been divided from the two aisles by rows of double columns, with a single horseshoe apse at the east.

The distinctiveness of the local tradition is perhaps clearest when viewed against that of other provinces in central Anatolia. For example, these structures do not have side chambers, eastern passageways, or transepts, and are therefore quite different in form from those in neighboring Cilicia. Decoration typical of the exterior of the structures consisted of string courses and moldings. Occasionally the color of stone was varied, as in the keystone of the apse of Church no. 1 and on the north and west façades of the same building. The keystones were also frequently decorated with crosses, although the walls were typically covered in plaster. "Colour, and not the plastic arts, was counted on to adorn these buildings." wrote Bell. "There are traces of fresco in the interior of almost every church in the Kara Dagh."

Bell's comments are all the more intriguing since in spite of the great attention paid to the details of moldings, she made no drawings and took no photographs of the frescoes. While we must presume that the frescoes were badly damaged, the privileging of the architectural ornamentation over the painting is characteristic of Bell's approach and particular interests.

Several buildings at Binbirkilise are unique in design and construction. The exedra at Madenşehir is perhaps the best example of vaulted construction from the Karadağ. The large apsidal building is constructed from very finely cut and fitted blocks. Immediately to the west of the structure were two large, apparently detached column bases, and running to the north and south sides was apparently a less well-constructed wall enclosing the area to the west. The exedra seems to have had no structural connection with the basilica of Church no. 7, but clearly they were related. The presence of cist burials immediately to the west of the exedra is important as is the fact that Bell uncovered no graves within the exedra itself.

The design of Church no. 8 employs the ground plan of an octagon combined with a cruciform, with the central space topped by a dome;



View of Church no. 8, Madenşehir, seen from the southeast, 1887. (Photo: J. H. Haynes, University of Pennsylvania Museum Archives, no. 174632)

the interior was plastered and frescoed. The masonry and decoration of Church no. 8 were similarly high in quality, comparable to that in nos. 1 and 7. In Part III, in the section on the octagon church type, Bell compares no. 8 with the martyrium described in a well-known 4th century letter written by St. Gregory of Nyssa to St. Amphilochius of Konya. Although no longer surviving, Gregory's structure was one of the few churches from Anatolia recorded in detail. And whereas its plan similarly combined the elements of cross and octagon, it was not identical to no. 8. Sadly, Bell was about two decades too late in her visit to Church no. 8. In 1887, J. H. Haynes passed through the region and photographed the church fully standing.

Cruciform churches were found on "every hill" of the Karadağ, and similar cruciform buildings were found on nearby mountains at Hasan Dağı (Hassan Dagh), Karacadağ (Karadja Dagh), and Ali Suması Dağı

(Ali Sumassi Dagh). Bell emphasized the importance of the cruciform church type to Asia Minor: "there, and apparently there only, was the plan universally adopted at a very early period, and there it received its first developments."

Following Strzygowski again, she viewed the cruciform as a memorial church or martyrium, originating in the East. Bell used two funerary inscriptions, from Church no. 37 and Mahalaç (Mahalatch), to support this interpretation. The well-preserved cruciform church at Mahalaç lies on the highest point above the volcanic crater. It was connected by a short passageway to the small funerary chapel dedicated to a certain Leo. A longer vaulted passage runs from the exonarthex of the church west to a series of buildings interpreted as accommodations. In winter, of course, the summits of the mountain would be covered in deep snow, and the vaulted passageways would have provided a necessary means of communication between buildings.

Ramsay and Bell recognized that the site of the church at Mahalaç had been used in antiquity. Close to the building Bell uncovered the remains of an ancient hieroglyphic inscription apparently walled over during the Byzantine period. This Hittite text, carved into the rock immediately to the north and below the church, testifies to the importance of the mountain peak in earlier periods. The construction of the church with its martyrium would in turn have represented a physical expression of the triumph of Christianity in the Byzantine period, one that would have been visible from a great distance.

Ramsay and Bell suggested the veneration of shrines and their use as memorials as a possible explanation for the function of certain churches at the Karadağ. In addition to the churches, there are a variety of tombs and mausolea at the site, including one with a pyramid roof, published by Smirnov, and others at Değle with gabled roofs built into the hill. These latter may represent the shrines of individuals important to the site.

The largest buildings at Binbirkilise were basilicas with clerestories. Bell used the moldings and stonework on nos. 1, 7, 8, and the exedra to suggest that they were all of similar date, and epigraphic evidence was used to suggest construction in the 5th or 6th century. As Bell noted, other similarities of construction could link buildings of

the early Byzantine period. Churches nos. 21 and 8, for example, both employ courses of stones that were taller than they were wide.

Bell realized that most of the basilicas had long and difficult histories. All of the vaults of the large basilicas had collapsed and were reconstructed on a scale similar to that of their primary phase but with considerable alteration in design. The reconstructions often incorporated *spolia* from other structures, as new arcades and barrel vaults were built.

In the aisles the orientation of the vaults was often altered so that in their second phase, transverse arches and barrel vaults ran perpendicular to the vaults of the nave. The chronology of the destruction of the primary phase of these buildings and their reconstruction was not securely established. Ramsay and Bell attributed the destruction to the Arab incursions, though there seems to be no independent physical evidence for this conclusion. Clearly, the roofs of the large basilicas (Churches nos. 1, 6, 7, and 21) had collapsed and had been repaired; moreover, inscriptions mention the wars. The fact that reconstruction of the large basilicas maintained a scale similar to the original suggests that there had been no major changes in the perceived functional requirements from the time of their initial construction to that of the repairs. It also suggests that significant resources were available to make the repairs.

The long Transitional Period of the 7th through 9th centuries, corresponding to the period of Arab incursions, is characterized by major societal changes throughout the Byzantine Empire, and securely dated buildings after this time seem to have been constructed on a considerably smaller scale than their predecessors. This makes dating the reconstructions to the period after the Arab incursions seem to be no more than wishful thinking. Indeed, such mono-causal explanations for cultural change as this are tempting but may ultimately be too simplistic. Similarly they saw the construction of new churches continuing as late as the 11th century—that is, until the conquest of the region by the Seljuk Turks. There is no real independent evidence for dating the archaeological remains, and the authors present another historically determined interpretation of the chronology.

The upper area of settlement at Değle posed different challenges.

Located on a promontory projecting from the mountain high above Madenşehir, the settlement lies near the volcanic crater toward the summit. In the center of this dense collection of buildings is Church no. 32, in form quite different from the rest of the basilican architecture on the mountain. This unusual building was furnished with galleries that envelop the nave on three sides and side chambers that project from both ends of the aisles to the north and south. Bell linked its form to the "domed basilicas" and suggested it as a precursor of this type. The authors were also able to identify complexes of buildings at Değle (such as nos. 39 and 43, 44, 35, and 45), as well as numerous dedicatory inscriptions. Enhanced by Ramsay's epigraphic study, the authors present an intriguing discussion of a family's patronage of the ecclesiastical foundation at Değle over several generations. Here they noted evidence for a very different kind of "monastery" from that suggested for other parts of the mountain.

Bell and Ramsay both saw the development of the site primarily in religious terms and thus identified complexes of buildings as monasteries. In this respect, they found themselves confronted with a lack of proper material, as central Anatolian monasticism had not (and still has not) been studied. They assumed that monasticism was interwoven in Byzantine life and that at Karadağ a large proportion of the inhabitants must have been in holy orders. "The people seem to have been wholly dominated by ecclesiastic interests... One is impelled to ask whether the inhabitants were not all monks or church officials; and whether the houses with the cross over many of the doorways were not simply the homes of ecclesiastics, deacons, presbyters and the like."

Noting the presence of the early Church Fathers in the region, they assumed that Cappadocia and Lycaonia were "the first areas to catch the infection of the time." Ramsay further insisted that communities of monks would have been necessary to oversee the memorial sites. They suggested that the smaller scattered establishments may have been clerical (*monasteria clericorum*) rather than purely monastic. Although they were unable to find a standard plan for the complexes, they looked to northern Syria for comparisons, where early scholars identified complexes as monastic if they included a church or chapel. More recent scholarship identifies the same sites as domestic, both in Syria and in Cappadocia. It seems

more likely that these buildings were the homes of people who identified themselves as Christian and perhaps used the cross as an apotropaic symbol to ward off evil and to "protect" the way into the house.

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The first decade of the 20th century was a particularly fruitful time for the investigations of Byzantine Asia Minor, when it was genuinely "ein Neuland der Kunstgeschichte." With the outbreak of the Balkan Wars in 1912, World War I in 1914, and the Turkish War of Independence in 1919, however, subsequent decades were turbulent and considerably less conducive to exploration and scholarship. Oddly, as the new Turkish Republic shifted the capital to Ankara, in the heart of Anatolia, Byzantine research in turn shifted to Istanbul. Serious investigations in central Asia Minor did not begin again until the 1950s, by which time Strzygowski had been discredited and his "Orient" no longer held sway. Current handbooks on Byzantine architecture begin with Rome, not with the East. While we may have achieved a more balanced approach to the study of Byzantine architecture, one may wonder if it is in part simply an anti-Strzygowskian backlash reasserting the primacy of Rome. Nevertheless, our picture of central Asia Minor—with the exception of the rock-cut monuments of Cappadocia and the standing churches of Cilicia—has advanced little since the early 20th century.

Just as we believe the work of Ramsay and Bell needs to be reassessed, so too the rich architectural heritage of Asia Minor needs to be reexamined. With the republication of *The Thousand and One Churches*, it is our hope to encourage both.

PREFACE

EVER since visiting the Thousand and One Churches along with the late Sir Charles Wilson in 1882, I hoped that some attention might "be given to these ruins, which are perhaps the most interesting in Asia Minor for church antiquities"; but I had not the knowledge of architecture needed for the task, and therefore did not revisit the spot. It was only when Strzygowski's Kleinasien ein Neuland der Kunstgeschichte drew attention to the site, that my old hope had any chance of fruition. In 1905 Miss Gertrude Bell was impelled by that book to visit Bin Bir Kilisse ; and, when I met her at Konia on her return, she asked me to copy an inscription on one of the churches, in letters so worn that she could not decipher it, which she believed to contain a date for the building. Her belief proved well founded, and the chronology of the Thousand and One Churches centres round this text. I sent her a copy of the text, the imperfect result of four hours' work, but giving the date with certainty ; longer study was prevented by a great storm ; and I printed in the *Athenæum* the impression made on me by a hurried inspection of the ruins, mainly in order to reiterate in more precise form my old hope that an important

architectural and historical investigation might be performed by an architect and an epigraphist, combining their work for a month or two on the site. This letter attracted her attention; she wrote suggesting that we should undertake the task; and as no one else seemed likely to do so, my wife and I arranged to join her in 1907.

We were just in time to do the work. The site was entirely deserted when Hamilton visited it in 1836; now there are small villages in both the city of the valley and the city of the hill; and the process of ruin, which formerly proceeded at the easy pace set by Nature, is now beginning to be accelerated by man. There is a melancholy difference between the facts of 1907 and the facts of 1909. We have therefore multiplied the number of photographs, many of which show what is now lost.

The site is one of unique interest. As stated in my letter in the *Athenæum*, the city is late Byzantine, but the churches are of all ages, from the fifth to the eleventh; and our work has fully justified the words there used "that the proper exploration of Bin Bir Kilisse and Deghile (the city of the valley and of the hill) is urgently needed in the interests of Byzantine history and of Christian architecture". Nowhere else can one find Church development through so many centuries exhibited on one ruined site in such clear and well-preserved examples.

Parts II. and III. are the work solely of Miss Bell, and it is by them that the value of the whole book must be gauged. I am responsible for Parts I. and IV. But all the buildings of the two cities except No. 29, and those on the summit of the mountain, were

studied in common; and divergence of opinion either was eliminated in discussion on the spot, or is noted in the text; No. 29 was excavated by me in 1908, and seen by her in 1909, when already much had been again covered. The buildings on the other hills I have not seen, except those on the col of Bash Dagh.

The attempt is made to arrange the inscriptions on the churches in chronological order: but this can be done only in a rough and approximate way. The principle of order lies in the growing degeneracy of education and spelling, which I assume to have been intensified in the post-Arab time. By long study on one site one acquires a certain feeling for the sequence of history there; and I have followed this acquired instinct. The epigraphic copies which are given do not always reproduce faithfully the rudeness of the letters: one's hand unconsciously makes the forms and the alignment too regular. The first epigraphic copies which I prepared for reproduction were accidentally left in Konia with our camp equipment in July, 1909 (see p. 521); and new copies had to be made with less advantages.

To facilitate reference to former travellers, we retain as far as possible the numbers by which they designated the churches, though the arrangement is arbitrary. One church at Deghile was included by Crowfoot and others in Maden Sheher, and numbered 2; this is now 32, and the other buildings at Deghile, 1, 14, etc., appear as 31, 44, etc. As No. 2 we have taken the mosque at Maden Sheher, which stands on the site of a church; in 1908 it was rebuilt as a school.

The accounts of the Thousand and One Churches published by Laborde, Hamilton, Texier, Holtzmann, Crowfoot and Smirnov (the last two in Strzygowski)

deserve mention. I had hoped that Sir C. Wilson would add important material, as he has done in some other places; but although Lady Wilson kindly allowed us to see his notes, taken on the very hurried visit of a few hours in 1882, they proved to be in a sort of architectural shorthand, which only he himself could understand.

We had hoped that the upper mountain might be the haunt of some characteristic animals; but one of my sons, who investigated this subject amid many difficulties, found that the fauna is similar to, though more varied than, that of the Lycaonian plain. He caught several examples of Meriones blackleri, of which the first known specimen was recently discovered near Smyrna. He also found the hedgehog (Erinaceus concolor), the wolf, a species of mouse (Apodemus mystacinus), the hare (Lepus syriacus), and the skull of a badger, but not the living animal: these are characteristic of the Lycaonian mountains in general, but not of the open plains. No field mice or voles were found; but beside Konia the former (both Micromys sylvaticus and M. meridionalis) were trapped, as well as several jerboas (all belonging to a new species of the genus Alactaga). Other mountain animals were common to the plains. As might be expected, birds are found in much greater variety on the mountain than in the arid plains; but I need not reproduce here the list.

Many notes for the three plans, and all our careful facsimiles of inscriptions, were accidentally left at Konia with our camp equipage. I planned both Maden Sheher and Deghile in 1907 and again in 1908 by compass and pacing; and the sketches (which agreed well) came home

with me, but not the numbers needed to give an exact scale. The plan of the Kara Dagh had to be done largely from memory, assisted by some rough sketches. The map of Lycaonia is mainly after Kiepert; my own map disagrees, but it did not cover the extreme southern part of the country, and I merely altered Kiepert's Boz Dagh district. The name of the Karadja Dagh (on which Thebasa stands) has been omitted by my forgetfulness. In the plan of the Kara Dagh, p. 294, the western half of the path to Deghile from Maden Sheher has been omitted by the draftsman; the entire road, which winds very much in the western half, was indicated in the plan which I gave him to re-draw.

It may be explained that the proper form of the name Deghilé is very doubtful: in the spelling that we adopt the word is to be pronounced as a dissyllable, and gh is to be understood as almost silent, so that ghi approximates in some degree to the sound of v. The spellings Daoule and Devle seemed sometimes to express better the sound that we heard.

For many suggestions and ideas, which cannot be mentioned in detail, I was indebted to my wife.

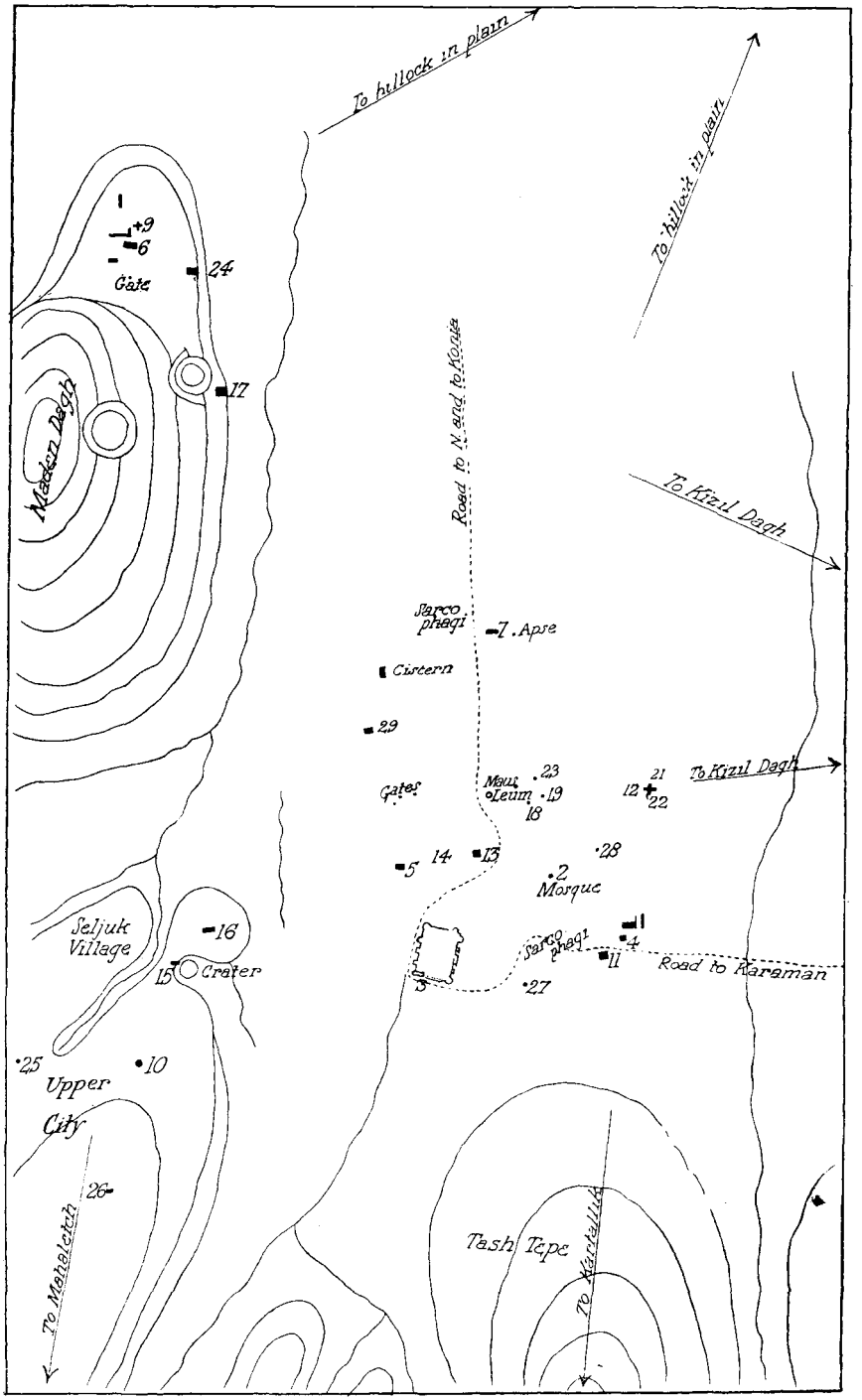
The view which I have maintained from 1905 onwards is that several of the late churches were built on the lines of early churches, though their style is later. At the last moment Mr. Lethaby sends me a theoretical restoration of a doorway in an eleventh-century church at Anazarba. The door has a pointed arch, and each stone bears a Greek letter. He finds that by completing the curve and adding the required stones and letters, he gets a semi-circular arch bearing the inscription εὐλόγητος θεός, and advances the theory that a

round-headed door of the fourth or fifth century was rebuilt with a pointed arch in the eleventh century by the Armenians. This exemplifies, from a totally different point of view, the theory which appears to suit several of the late churches at Maden Sheher, such as No. 10 and No. 5.

W. M. RAMSAY.

PART I

SITUATION AND HISTORY



Map of Maden Sheher

PART I

SITUATION AND HISTORY

(Maps, pp. 2, 294, 296 and 502.)

FIFTY to sixty miles south-east of Iconium (which under the name Konia is still the capital of a great Province, with a railway station) there rises from the level Lycaonian plain an island of volcanic mountains, oval in outline, with the longer axis nearly north and south, called Kara Dagh (Black Mountain). The plain around is approximately 3,300 feet above sea level: Mahaletch, the highest peak of the Kara Dagh, rises to a height of nearly 7,000 feet.[1] The mountain contains two parts, each with a great crater. Bash Dagh is the highest point of the southern part, and seems from a distance to be higher than Mahaletch. The natives consider it to be the summit of the whole mountain, and hence give it the name "Head-Mountain"; but Miss Bell, who has ascended both, feels no doubt that this is a mistake, and my reading on the aneroid, at a height which I guessed to be about 500 feet below the summit of Bash Dagh, confirms her view. Snow lies much later on the western side of Mahaletch than on any other part of the mountain.

[1] Dr. Olmstead, of the Cornell Archæological Expedition, visited us in 1907. He ascended Mahaletch before I did, and mentioned that, according to his aneroid, which he regarded as a perfect instrument and absolutely reliable, the peak of Mahaletch was barely 6,000 feet above the sea. I ascended once from Bin Bir Kilisse, and twice from Deghile, in 1907; and the readings on an aneroid, lent (and tested before and after the journey) by the Royal Geographical Society, were uniform in making the height round about 7,000 feet. In 1908 I was at a point above 6,000 feet on the east side of the mountain. We had the same base from which to estimate differences, *viz.*, the altitude of the German Railway and the level plain, and it is quite possible that 6,000 is the true altitude: it is a question of aneroids.

The Kara Dagh is a mass of volcanic rock, porphyritic in structure, thrown up through the limestone which in perfectly horizontal stratification composes the plain of Lycaonia. Hamilton observed on the eastern side of the pass, which leads from Maden Sheher across the ridge direct eastwards, "a good section of the limestone rocks, much broken and disturbed, resting against porphyritic trachyte, which both in colour and in texture resembles that near Smyrna".

Mahaletch (often pronounced by the natives Mahlutch in the oblique cases) is a peak in the rim of the large northern crater, a great oval hole, nearly three miles long from north to south (so far as one can estimate by eye and by the time occupied in going round it). It is crowned by the great church dedicated probably to Michael,[1] with a small monastery and a memorial chapel of Leo attached. From it one has a wonderful view, embracing on the south the front wall of Taurus with its long line of snow lying as late as June and July, the still loftier ridge of Ala Dagh, Karadja Dagh (over 6,000 feet), and the twin peaks of Hassan Dagh on the east, the low bare ridge of Boz Dagh on the north, and the Pisidian mountains on the west, with a vast stretch of dead level plain on every side of the island-mountain. The Kara Dagh was once literally an island, for the plain of Konia was a great fresh-water sea in an earlier geological period: later, as the water sank, it was divided into several lakes; and there still remain a number of small ponds, and several lakes and marshes of moderate size, besides the great marshes formed in the spring by the Tcharshamba Su, which pours the waters of the Isaurian mountains into the plain.[2]

Bash Dagh is a peak on the northern rim of the southern crater, and opposite to it on the southern rim is a similar peak of approximately the same height. Each peak is crowned with a castle, and there are several other buildings on the eastern rim (described p. 280 ff.). In the centre of the crater is a spring

[1] Taking Mahaletch as a reminiscence of the name Michael, see Part IV., 59.

[2] The regulation and distribution of this water is a great enterprise, which the German Railway Company has contracted to perform for the Turkish Government, and is now engaged upon. See p. 32.

of good water and a circular pond surrounded by a built margin. This series of buildings shows that the southern half of the Kara Dagh was an important military station in the Byzantine period, and perhaps even at an earlier time. These southern peaks, however, are not suited to support a city, and can hardly have had importance except from a military point of view. Great part of the southern foot of Bash Dagh is a wilderness of black rock and gravel, where nothing green can grow, and this part of the Kara Dagh is mostly too steep to permit the growth of anything beyond grass and scrub and saplings.

Far more important as a centre of human life and work is the mass of mountain round the much larger northern crater, dominated by Mahaletch. The hills and peaks are more numerous and more scattered. Between them are high glens and glades. There are tracts of more gently sloping hill-side, with several springs of good water, and by the application of care and skill considerable use was made in ancient times of these parts of the mountain. The vine was once cultivated abundantly, and even at the present day some few grapes are produced. Many fruit trees were grown in ancient times; and still there are on the hills wild fruit trees, apple, pear, two kinds of plum, almond, peach, apricot, etc., the untended degenerate offspring of the formerly cultivated trees. In the northern part of the great crater a small lake gathers in the spring; but it seems to discharge its water rapidly through one or two springs, and is dry before the end of June, when these springs also cease to flow. In a sheltered vale under the north side of Mahaletch is a small forest, where the trees grow to a moderate size and height, in marked contrast with the slender saplings that are found on the inner parts of Bash Dagh and on Karadja Dagh (so far as I have seen the latter). One of the trees, no bigger than the rest, supported in the top an eagle's nest. The sight of this forest is refreshing in the treeless Lycaonian country; it is unique in my experience in the land, and this was confirmed by the information which the natives of Kara Dagh and Karadja Dagh gave me on the subject. The existence of this forest has some bearing on ancient topography (see the concluding chapter).

The northern foot of the Kara Dagh presents a marked contrast to the southern. It offers a considerable extent of fertile soil, which is in part still cultivated, and here lay the principal centre of population, an ancient city evidently once large, rich and prosperous. This city, with its outlying subsidiary settlements, forts, monasteries and churches, is our subject in this volume.

The city was situated in a rounded opening on the northern edge of the mountain,[1] a little valley sloping up to the south, bounded east and west by two projecting spurs, Kizil Dagh and Maden Dagh, having on the north a front valley slightly larger and also hemmed in by outlying hills, while on the south it is overhung by the great peak of Mahaletch, flanked by smaller peaks, Kartallik (Eagle's-haunt), Djandar, etc. This valley is dotted over with the ruins of an ancient city, which is now called by its few inhabitants Maden Sheher, and by the people of the surrounding country Bin Bir Kilisse (Thousand and One Churches), from the large number of great buildings which stand high above the field of ruins. These buildings are almost all ecclesiastical, and the picturesque name is suitable; but in actual fact the Turks often use the name Kilisse for a ruin which was never a church. The number is an Oriental fancy:[2] there are about twenty-eight churches in the valley, with several hundred houses, cisterns, etc.

The place is far from any of the modern centres of population, and the access has not been good in modern times, since

[1] This position is typical in Lycaonia. Savatra, Laodiceia and Isaura Nova look out similarly to N. from little valleys flanked and backed by hills.

[2] The Turks have four typical numbers, used commonly in local names, 3, 7, 40 and 1001. There are two places in Lycaonia called Utch Kilisse, one a village, one a ruin, both about ten hours S.-E. or S. of Konia. Yedi-Kizil Serai (Seven Red Mansions) in Phrygia and Kirk Agatch (Forty Trees) in Lydia may be quoted. A Turkish officer, who had visited Kara Dagh and Karadja Dagh, told me with characteristic looseness as to details that there was a wonderful ruin Kirk Kilisse in Karadja Dagh: he meant Bin Bir Kilisse in Kara Dagh, as I found out by a toilsome exploration in the direction which he named; 40 and 1001 were to him practically of the same import, a vague large number.

the roads fell into disorder. Moreover, the stone of the valley, though an excellent building material,[1] is not counted valuable.[2] Hence there has been no exploitation of the ruins for purposes of building in Konia and Karaman, as Savatra and other cities have suffered. Maden Sheher is the one ancient site known to me[3] whose chief buildings practically have been left to the hand of Nature and the gradual decay caused by wind, rain, earthquakes, etc. The population is so small and so ignorant, and stone from the old houses is so abundant and so much more easily procured than it is from the greater ruins, that the churches have been little touched by man. Some of them were devoted to new purposes in the period when there was a Christian town side by side with a Turkish town; but the Christian population seems to have gradually disappeared during the Seljuk period, while the Turkish town also dwindled away.

The destruction of this ancient city has proceeded comparatively slowly, but it goes on steadily. Every year produces its effect. Church No. 8 was standing in 1907 to a considerable height, and was one of the most interesting and picturesque monuments of the city. In 1908 I observed no change in it: in 1909 all the higher parts had fallen, and the structure had become a ruin, deprived of its most striking features. In 1908 the little porch on the north side of church No. 1 was nearly complete: in 1909 most of the concrete summit of the vault had fallen. In 1907 the great church on the summit of Mahaletch was still so nearly complete that the entire structural design from basement to dome was clear: in 1908 the dome

[1] It is a felspar porphyry, ruddy in hue, hard and durable: the ruddy tinge is sometimes paler, inclining to grey. It is, however, not good for epigraphic purposes, because it is too hard, and the large crystals make it variable in the grain.

[2] The Turks distinguish *mermer* (including both marble and good limestone) from *kara tash* (black stone): the former is habitually transported great distances for building purposes, but the latter remains neglected generally.

[3] Perhaps Pambuk Kalessi (Hierapolis of Phrygia), which is also built almost wholly of *kara tash*, may be placed in the same class: any marble used there has been carried away to build Denizli.

and the south wall had fallen.[1] In 1905 the whole line of upper arches in the north arcade of No. 32 was standing: in 1907 they had all fallen. In 1882 great part of the north arcade and clerestorey of No. 3 was standing: before 1897 all this part had fallen, and even the ruins had been cleared away to leave the soil free for a melon garden within the outer walls of the church. The drawings of Laborde show how seriously the churches had suffered in the sixty years preceding our examination of the ruins. On p. 93 a photograph which was taken in 1907 from the same point as a drawing by Laborde shows the ruin that had been wrought in the interval.

It is needless to multiply examples of the rapid rate at which the churches are decaying. Already much of the work which we did in 1907 has become the record of a vanished past; and therein lies its value. We were just in time to save the memory and the outward appearance of churches which can never now be studied except in our photographs.

The site of this ancient city is double, and the relation between the two parts is obscure. Our work in 1907 has thrown no light on this matter; and we are reduced to an estimate of probabilities based on the general and obvious facts of the situation. There are two sites almost completely separate from one another. The larger and apparently more important site lies in the middle of the gently sloping vale between Kizil Dagh and Maden Dagh. Here is the largest group of churches, and here are the scanty remains of many houses and probably of several public buildings that are not ecclesiastical. Here also are a large number of cisterns. Here two aqueducts at least can be traced under the surface of the ground, and here is far the most elaborate series of agricultural preparations in the form of terraces and barriers to hold up the water that flows from the hills. This site is so large that excavation would be useless unless it were done on a very great scale. We began to dig at various points, where the lines of ancient streets seemed traceable,

[1] In this case the destruction was due to the hand and the folly of man. The natives learned in conversation with us that the chapel was the memorial of Leo; and they dug on the south side of the church, hoping to find his grave with treasure in it.

or where gateways of size too large for private houses seemed to indicate the former existence of public buildings. But in every case the remains proved slight, discontinuous, and complicated by the appearance of other walls crossing the first obliquely and evidently belonging to a different age. The now ruined city was built on and across an older ruined city; and to disentangle the confused plan would have required long work, more efficient instruments than we had at our disposal, and an expenditure of at least £5,000, probably a good deal more.[1] Even if we had had the money, there was no apparent prospect that a thorough excavation would produce any results commensurate with the outlay. The city was inhabited by a poorly educated and rustic population, and there was no hope of any important epigraphic, still less of artistic discoveries, while almost all the buildings except the churches and the doorways had been destroyed down close to the original level of the soil as shown by the thresholds of the doors. The fact that so many doorways, with their monolithic side-posts and lintels, remain standing, while the walls have almost or quite disappeared, suggest that the structures of which the doorways formed part were humble and unpretentious in architecture.

Our investigation was therefore confined to what was on the surface, clearing the lines of buildings by excavation, and making sometimes deeper trials, to disclose the character of an accumulated heap of earth and to test the possibilities of the situation.

The other part of the city lies south-west of the part just described: it is situated on a high narrow elongated plateau, projecting northward from the main mass of Mahaletch and Djandar, and terminating in a blunt indented point. This higher part is divided from the city of the valley, not merely by marked difference of elevation, but also by a stretch of soil devoid of apparent remains, by a deep circular depression (probably an old crater) under the eastern side of the plateau, and by considerable traces of fortified walls round the edge of the

[1] Moreover, our permission from the Turkish Government did not grant the right to make elaborate excavations; but all the officials were very well disposed to us, and not inclined to make too careful scrutiny of the extent of our work.

plateau. These traces are most numerous on the western lip of the crater. They are built in a series of lines one above another, and I hesitated at first whether to class them as terraces for agricultural purposes or as defensive walls; but after careful examination the former supposition seemed untenable. At intervals for a long distance on the eastern and northern edges of the plateau remains of these walls can be traced by careful observation; but they are very slight, and are not likely to last. On this plateau there are only five churches, Nos. 10, 15, 16, 25 and 26.

These two parts of the city may conveniently be distinguished as "Lower City" and "Upper City". The relation between them we must now attempt to determine.

In the Upper City were found the only certain traces of pre-Hellenic life which we met with. These were two scraps of pottery, found in a field in the indentation of the northern point of the high plateau, near the mediæval fountain (on which see p. 37). One of these was picked up by the Cornell explorers, who visited us about the beginning of our residence, and whose work in Asia Minor has been distinguished by a careful and systematic collection of the terra-cotta fragments on every ancient site. Later in the same day my wife picked up a fragment of similar character. Both were classed by Dr. Olmstead, who has long devoted himself to this study, as "Mycenæan" in character; and I think that Mr. A. J. Evans, if he had seen them, would have classed them as "late Minoan"; and their pre-Hellenic date may be regarded as a safe fact to start from in our investigation. Subsequently we bought part of the crop growing in the field and dug some trenches, but found nothing except late and coarse ware. These two fragments remained to the end the sole traces of the early Anatolian period which we found on this site. Unfortunately, they were lost in shifting camp to the mountain site of Deghile some weeks later.[1]

[1] It was to have been my task to superintend the orderly removal of various groups of pottery and other things; but in the early morning I went off with a villager to see some inscriptions reported at an hour's distance, expecting to return in good time. It took five hours of very exhausting travel to reach the inscriptions (which included the Hittite monument on Kizil

Great part of the surface of the Upper City is absolutely bare, and has apparently been under cultivation at some comparatively recent period. But towards the northern end there are considerable remains of a confused mass of buildings, and some sarcophagi presenting no features of interest. The buildings probably belong to the Seljuk period, and are the remains of a Mohammedan village that arose here after the country passed into the hands of the Seljuk Turks about 1072. Church No. 10 was then converted into a bakery, No. 25 into a mill or a house, and No. 15 into a mosque. Apart from the churches, the remains on this site that can be dated with certainty belong to the pre-Hellenic and the early Turkish period. Though the remains of the earlier class are so scanty, yet there can be no doubt that there was a considerable settlement here in what we may call the "Anatolian" period, *i.e.*, the age prior to Hellenic influence; and I should conjecturally assign the fortifications also to that period. The evidence of Hittite inscriptions and sculpture on the rocks of the Kara Dagh [1] shows beyond question that there must have been an important centre of population in some part of the mountain at a very early time; and the natural conditions leave no room for doubt that Bin Bir Kilisse must inevitably be the centre.

On the other hand, the remains on the surface in the Lower City belong entirely to the late Roman and Byzantine period. Nothing was found which gave any hope of finding traces of Hellenic or pre-Hellenic life at any determinable place. Systematic and thorough excavation would, without doubt, disclose pre-Hellenic remains, but (as stated above) the site was too vast for work of that kind.

The question then is, what was the relation between the Lower and the Upper City. If we may advance a conjecture, founded on the analogy of other cities, we must regard it as in the highest degree probable that the Upper City was the early

Dagh, along with meaner things); and our servants left all despised scraps of pottery on the ground or threw them away. The task of moving so large a camp with inadequate transport was really difficult, and the servants could not fairly be blamed.

[1] See Part IV., 1-3.

centre. This site is naturally strong, and easily defended on all sides except against an attack coming from the mountain above on the south. The city, however, belonged to the lords of the mountain; and there was no reason to dread attack on that side, as the hills are steep and easily defended. Both mountain and city were held by a compact population, and would resist or be conquered together.

The Lower City grew up in the Hellenistic or the Roman period. Originally sepulchral and religious monuments had probably been placed in this position in front of the original city (*πρὸ πόλεως*); but trading convenience and the peaceful conditions of the Roman period drew the population from the Upper City more and more to the Lower. In the early Byzantine period this Lower City was extensive and probably undefended; and it occupied most of the ground between the two water-courses (now dry except after heavy rain) which flow northwards on the east and the west side of the open valley. This space is crowded with ruins from church No. 7 southwards.

A defenceless city like this must have fallen an easy prey to the Arab invaders, who began to overrun Asia Minor soon after A.D. 660. In the terrible centuries which followed, when every year one or more raids swept over Anatolia, such a city was necessarily deserted. Not even the Upper City was defensible against the dreaded assault of the Arabs, and the population sought refuge in the higher parts of the mountain, especially at Deghile, which was the chief centre of population from A.D. 700 to 900.

Deghile is a site high on the north-western spur of the Kara Dagh, about 1,500 feet above, and about three miles west of, the city.[1] It occupies a small glen, stretching from south to north between two parallel lines of pointed hills. The ground falls very sharply away outside these hills on the west and south and part of the east side. On the north the glen is shut in by a much loftier ridge of hills running east and west, and forming the extreme elevation of the Kara Dagh in this direction: they fall

[1] The road winds much, and the distance by road is more than, but in an air-line less than, three miles.

sharply off into the plain on the north, except where they are united by a very low neck with an outlying ridge of hills running away northwards.

In this glen several monasteries were gradually formed. Beginning perhaps on a humble scale as early as the fifth century, they increased in size, and buildings on a great scale were erected. It may be conjectured that when the city of the lower valley was ravaged by the Arabs in the end of the seventh century, Deghile came to be the main city of the Kara Dagh, and was fortified by walls. The new walls were not continuous, but were merely built to connect the existing churches and monasteries, so as to form a complete line of defence, which took advantage of the peaks and the very steep slopes on the west, south and east sides. On the north the walls and city seem not to have reached so far as the higher ridge, and thus there was apparently a gap in the defences; but the situation isolates the valley in such a way that attacks from Arab raiders could hardly be apprehended on that side, and not much indeed at any part. The walls were an additional precaution; but the true defence of Deghile lay in its elevation, in the roughness of the approaches and its distance from the plain.

From about A.D. 850 conditions became ameliorated in Central and Western Anatolia. The semicircle of fortresses which crown high points in Kara Dagh, Karadja Dagh, Arissama Dagh, Hassan Dagh, with "the Mother of Castles" (Zengibar Kale, Kyzistra) on the plains of Erjish,[1] and others, seem to have been nearly sufficient to restrict the range of the Arab raids which came through the pass of the Cilician Gates; and the population of the Kara Dagh began to resume courage and to reoccupy the exposed site of Bin Bir Kilisse. The abandoned churches were gradually restored or rebuilt, and the fallen houses reconstructed. It is to the period A.D. 850-1070 that the town whose ruins are now conspicuous belongs; but if the church buildings were exclusively of this period, their interest would be comparatively slight. Their importance lies largely in the considerable traces of older work that remain in them;

[1] See Ramsay: Lycaonia, in Oesterr. Jahreshefte, 1904, Beiblatt, p. 128.

and the most serious part of our task consisted in distinguishing the old from the new. The churches of Bin Bir Kilisse, I think, may be divided into three classes :—

1. Churches which survived the Arab inroad about A.D. 700. While there can be no doubt that the raiders, who captured at some time or other almost every city in Anatolia as far west as Ephesus and Pergamon, must have taken a city so near their basis of operations and their line of march, and so little able to defend itself, as Bin Bir Kilisse, yet there is no proof that they burned the town, or destroyed it in any thorough-going way. The probability is that the Arabs merely ravaged and pillaged it, and that the holy buildings, desecrated and plundered, were left to decay. This later city of the period 850-1070 was smaller than the early Byzantine city. The difference of size is most perceptible on the north-west side; and here, outside the later city, is No. 29, which was certainly pre-Arab, and not subjected to any restoration in the period 850-1070. When it decayed we cannot judge; possibly it fell into ruin before A.D. 850, and for some unknown reason was not restored. No. 8 also was probably of pre-Arab time, and was still standing fairly complete about 850. It may have needed some repairs, but the structure seems to have been sound. Possibly the churches of this class were for some reason maintained in repair even during the period 700-850.

2. Churches of pre-Arab time, which had fallen into serious disrepair before 850 and required restoration, but not rebuilding. These were restored by erecting subsidiary columns and aisle-vaulting; but the outer walls remained either intact or moderately high. The mode of restoration is fully described in No. 1, No. 6 and No. 7; and No. 12 may belong to this class.

3. Churches which were built, or rebuilt from the ground, after A.D. 850. It is quite possible, and even probable, that some of these may have been rebuilt on the lines of older buildings, which had decayed too much to permit of restoration, but whose general plan was still evident; and among these I should be disposed to class No. 3, and perhaps No. 10. Others were entirely new buildings; but the distinction between the two

groups of this class is largely conjectural. The old architectural tradition remained, and new forms and style were not introduced. The details will not bear examination. The work was coarse, though the plan was old and good. The measurements were always rough and inaccurate. In no case does any side correspond exactly to the opposite side. No real love for the work as such appears, no desire to make the architecture as beautiful as possible. The mouldings are flat and commonplace, the lintels and other parts where ornate character was specially required show poor designs or are perfectly plain. The ornament in the interior was in painted plaster or in mosaic, and has almost entirely disappeared, so that we cannot judge of its character. Yet with all their faults the buildings have a dignity and simplicity which are very effective. The great tradition of Byzantine architecture was preserved in this remote part of the Empire to the last. It did not decay and die out gradually; it merely came to an end when the Christian Empire expired and there ceased to be any theatre for its activity. It could not survive the loss of liberty. It was the latest expression of the free Hellenic spirit, and the church building under the Turkish domination lost the old character completely.

The name Maden Sheher, City of Mines, which is the proper appellation of the modern village, furnishes some not unimportant evidence, and calls for careful investigation.

There are some minor craters in the northern part of the mountain, besides the great crater, of whose rim Mahaletch forms a part. One of these, between the Upper and the Lower City, has been mentioned. The most remarkable, however, are two deep holes in the east flank of Maden Dagh (the hill which hems in Maden Sheher on the west side). The holes are called by the natives Maden, and from them is derived the name of the hill. The upper and much deeper of the two Madens is a circular hole in the rock, with almost perpendicular sides, several hundred feet deep, and 200 or 300 yards in diameter at the top. There cannot be any question that this is a natural hole, never used as a quarry or as a mine. At the bottom there are cuttings in the rock, which once served as places of abode or cells of hermits; and various graffiti have