



MERSİN ÜNİVERSİTESİ KILIKIA ARKEOLOJİSİNİ ARAŞTIRMA MERKEZİ  
YAYINLARI  
MERSIN UNIVERSITY PUBLICATIONS OF THE RESEARCH CENTER OF  
CILICIAN ARCHAEOLOGY



# OLBA XXXI





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# OLBA XXXI

# KAAM YAYINLARI

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**BİLİMSEL SÜRELİ YAYINI ‘OLBA’**

**YAYIN İLKELERİ**

**Amaç**

Olba süreli yayını; Anadolu, Akdeniz dünyası ve ilişkili bölgelere dair orijinal sonuçlar içeren Arkeolojik çalışmalara yer verir; ‘Eski Çağ Bilimleri’ni birbirinden ayırmadan ve bir bütün olarak benimseyerek bilim dünyasına değerli çalışmalar sunmayı amaçlar.

**Kapsam**

Olba süreli yayını Mayıs ayında olmak üzere yılda bir kez basılır.

Yayınlanması istenilen makalelerin her yıl 31 Ağustos - 31 Ekim tarihleri arasında gönderilmiş olması gerekmektedir.

Yayın için değerlendirmeye alınacak makalelerde aşağıdaki kriterler gözetilir:

- Prehistorya, Protohistorya, Klasik Arkeoloji, Klasik Filoloji (ile Eskiçağ Dilleri ve Kültürleri), Eskiçağ Tarihi, Nüvizmatik ve Erken Hıristiyanlık Arkeolojisi (İS 7. yüzyıla kadar) alanlarında yazılmış makaleler, yayın için değerlendirmeye alınır.
- Makaleler tanıtım veya katalog niteliklerinin ötesinde, araştırma sorusuna/ problemine dayanmalı, somut kanıtlar ve tartışmalarla desteklenen, verilerin tartışıldığı ve bağlantıların kurulduğu içeriklere sahip olmalıdır. Tartışma içermeyen ve kontekstlerinden kopuk şekilde ele alınan arkeolojik malzemeler, kataloglar, buluntu raporları, derleme yazılar değerlendirmeye alınmaz.
- Olba Dergisi, Arkeoloji bilim dalını temsil eden bilimsel bir süreli yayındır. Bu sebeple, verileri farklı bilim dallarının (Harita Mühendisliği, Mimarlık, Arkeometri, Jeofizik ve Antropoloji vb.) işbirliği ile oluşturulan çalışmaların makalelerinde, arkeolojik değerlendirmenin ön planda tutulması beklenir.

**Yazım Kuralları**

1. a- Makaleler, Word ortamında yazılmış olmalıdır.  
b- Metin 10 punto; özet, dipnot, katalog ve bibliografya 9 punto olmak üzere, Times New Roman (PC ve Macintosh ) harf karakteri kullanılmalıdır.  
c- Dipnotlar her sayfanın altına verilmeli ve makalenin başından sonuna kadar sayısal süreklilik izlemelidir.

d- Metin içinde bulunan ara başlıklarda, küçük harf kullanılmalı ve koyu (bold) yazılmalıdır. Bunun dışındaki seçenekler (tümünün büyük harf yazılması, alt çizgi ya da italik) kullanılmamalıdır.

2. Noktalama (tireler) işaretlerinde dikkat edilecek hususlar:

a) Metin içinde her cümlelin ortasındaki virgülden ve sonundaki noktadan sonra bir tab boşluk bırakılmalıdır.

b) Cümle içinde veya cümle sonunda yer alan dipnot numaralarının herbirisi noktalama (nokta veya virgül) işaretlerinden önce yer almalıdır.

c) Metin içinde yer alan “fig.” ibareleri, parantez içinde verilmeli; fig. ibaresinin noktasından sonra bir tab boşluk bırakılmalı (fig. 3); ikiden fazla ardışık figür belirtiliyorsa iki rakam arasına boşluksuz kısa tire konulmalı (fig. 2-4). Ardışık değilse, sayılar arasına nokta ve bir tab boşluk bırakılmalıdır (fig. 2. 5).

d) Ayrıca bibliyografya ve kısaltmalar kısmında bir yazar, iki soyadı taşıyorsa soyadları arasında boşluk bırakmaksızın kısa tire kullanılmalıdır (Dentzer-Feydy); bir makale birden fazla yazarlı ise her yazardan sonra bir boşluk, ardından uzun tire ve yine boşluktan sonra diğer yazarın soyadı gelmelidir (Hagel – Tomaschitz).

3. “Bibliyografya ve Kısaltmalar” bölümü makalenin sonunda yer almalı, dipnotlarda kullanılan kısaltmalar, burada açıklanmalıdır. Dipnotlarda kullanılan kaynaklar kısaltma olarak verilmeli, kısaltmalarda yazar soyadı, yayın tarihi, sayfa (ve varsa levha ya da resim) sıralamasına sadık kalınmalıdır. Sadece bir kez kullanılan yayınlar için bile aynı kurala uyulmalıdır.

**Bibliyografya (kitaplar için):**

Richter 1977 Richter, G., Greek Art, New York.

**Bibliyografya (makaleler için):**

Corsten 1995 Corsten, Th., “Inschriften aus dem Museum von Denizli”, Ege Üniversitesi Arkeoloji Dergisi III, 215-224, lev. LIV-LVII.

**Dipnot (kitaplar ve makaleler için)**

Richter 1977, 162, res. 217.

**Diğer Kısaltmalar:**

age.	adı geçen eser
ay.	aynı yazar
vd.	ve devamı
yak.	yaklaşık
v.d.	ve diğerleri
y.dn.	yukarı dipnot
dn.	dipnot
a.dn.	aşağı dipnot
bk.	Bakınız

4. Tüm resim, çizim, tablo ve haritalar için sadece “fig.” kısaltması kullanılmalı ve figürlerin numaralandırılmasında süreklilik olmalıdır. (Levha, Resim, Çizim, Tablo, Şekil, Harita ya da bir başka ifade veya kısaltma kullanılmamalıdır).
5. Bir başka kaynaktan alıntı yapılan figürlerin sorumluluğu yazara aittir, bu sebeple kaynak belirtilmelidir.
6. Makale metninin sonunda figürler listesi yer almalıdır.
7. Metin yukarıda belirtilen formatlara uygun olmak kaydıyla 20 sayfayı geçmemelidir. Figürlerin toplamı 10 adet civarında olmalıdır.
8. Makaleler Türkçe, İngilizce veya Almanca yazılabilir. Türkçe yazılan makalelerde yaklaşık 300 kelimelik Türkçe ve İngilizce yada Almanca özet kesinlikle bulunmalıdır. İngilizce veya Almanca yazılan makalelerde ise en az 300 kelimelik Türkçe ve İngilizce veya Almanca özet bulunmalıdır. Makalenin her iki dilde de başlığı gönderilmelidir.
9. Özetin altında, Türkçe ve İngilizce veya Almanca olmak üzere altı anahtar kelime verilmelidir.
10. Metin, figürler ve figürlerin dizilimi (layout); ayrıca makale içinde kullanılan özel fontlar ‘zip’lenerek, We Transfer türünde bir program ile bilgisayar ortamında gönderilmelidir; çıktı olarak gönderilmesine gerek yoktur.
11. Figürlerde çözünürlük en az 300 dpi; format ise tif veya jpeg olmalıdır; bunlar Microsoft Word türünde başka bir programa gömülü olmamalıdır.
12. Dizilim (layout): Figürler ayrıca mail ekinde bir defada gelecek şekilde yani düşük çözünürlükte pdf olarak kaydedilerek dizilimi (layout) yapılmış şekilde yollanmalıdır.

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**JOURNAL ‘OLBA’**

**PUBLISHING PRINCIPLES**

**Scope**

The Journal ‘Olba’, being published since 1998 by the ‘Research Center of Cilician Archeology’ of the Mersin University (Turkey), includes original studies on Prehistory, Protohistory, Classical Archaeology, Classical Philology (and ancient languages and cultures), Ancient History, Numismatics and Early Christian Archeology (up till the 7<sup>th</sup> century AD) of Asia Minor, the Mediterranean and related regions.

Articles should present new ideas and not only have catalogues or excavation reports as their contents. The articles of archaeological studies undertaken together with other disciplines such as geophysics, archaeometry, anthropology etc should give more emphasis to the archaeological part of the work as the Journal Olba is an archaeological journal.

Olba is printed once a year in May. Articles can be sent from 31 August - 31 October each year.

**Submission Criteria**

1. a. Articles should be written in Word programs.  
b. The text should be written in ‘Times New Roman’ in 10 puntos; the abstract, footnotes, catalogue and bibliography in 9 puntos (for PC and for Macintosh).  
c. Footnotes should take place at the bottom of the page in continuous numbering.  
d. Titles within the article should be written in small letters and be marked as bold. Other choises (big letters, underline or italic) should not be used.
2. Punctuation (hyphen) Marks:
  - a) One space should be given after the comma in the sentence and after the dot at the end of the sentence.
  - b) The footnote numbering within the sentence in the text, should take place before the comma in the sentence or before the dot at the end of the sentence.
  - c) The indication fig.:

\* It should be set in brackets and one space should be given after the dot (fig. 3);

\* If many figures in sequence are to be indicated, a short hyphen without space between the beginning and last numbers should be placed (fig. 2-4); if these are not in sequence, a dot and space should be given between the numbers (fig. 2. 5).

d) In the bibliography and abbreviations, if the author has two family names, a short hyphen without leaving space should be used (Dentzer-Feydy); if the article is written by two or more authors, after each author a space, a long hyphen and again a space should be left before the family name of the next author (Hagel – Tomaschitz).

3. The ‘Bibliography’ and ‘Abbreviations’ should take part at the end of the article. The ‘Abbreviations’ used in the footnotes should be explained in the ‘Bibliography’. The bibliography used in the footnotes should take place as abbreviations: Name of writer, year of publishment, page (and if used, number of the illustration). This rule should be applied even if a publishment is used only once.

#### **Bibliography (for books):**

Richter 1977      Richter, G., Greek Art, New York.

#### **Bibliography (for articles):**

Corsten 1995      Corsten, Th., “Inschriften aus dem Museum von Denizli”, Ege Üniversitesi Arkeoloji Dergisi III, 215-224, pl. LIV-LVII.

#### **Footnotes (for books and articles)**

Richter 1977, 162, fig. 217.

#### **Miscellaneous Abbreviations:**

op. cit. : in the work already cited

idem : an author that has just been mentioned

ff : following pages

et al. : and others

n. : footnote

see : see

infra : see below

supra : see above

4. For all photographs, drawings and maps only the abbreviation ‘fig.’ should be used in continous numbering (remarks such as Plate, Picture, Drawing, Map or any other word or abbreviation should not be used).
5. Photographs, drawings or maps taken from other publications are in the responsibility of the writers; so the sources have to be mentioned.
6. A list of figures should take part at the end of the article.

7. The text should be within the remarked formats not more than 20 pages, the drawing and photographs 10 in number.
8. Papers may be written in Turkish, English or German. Papers written in Turkish must include an abstract of 300 words in Turkish and English or German. It will be appreciated if papers written in English or German would include a summary of 300 words in Turkish and in English or German. The title of the article should be given in two languages.
9. Six keywords should be remarked, following the abstract in Turkish and English or German.
10. Figures should be at least 300 dpi; tif or jpeg format are required; these should not be embedded in another program such as Microsoft Word.
11. The article, figures and their layout as well as special fonts should be sent by e-mail (We Transfer).
12. Layout: The figures of the layout, having lesser dpi, should be sent in pdf format.

## LATE ANTIQUE PERIOD IN CAPPADOCIA: ŞAHİNEFENDİ (SOBESOS) IN THE LIGHT OF HISTORICAL SOURCES AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL REMAINS

Can ERPEK\*

### ÖZ

#### Kappadokia'da Geç Antik Dönem: Tarihi Kaynaklar ve Arkeolojik Kalıntılar Işığında Şahinefendi (Sobesos)

Şahinefendi köyü Nevşehir ili Ürgüp ilçesi sınırları içerisinde yer almaktadır. Arkeolojik kalıntılar köyün güneyinde, Damsa Çayı'nın kaynak noktasına yakın, köylülere "Örencik" olarak adlandırılan mevkide bulunmaktadır. Şahinefendi yerleşimi (Sobesos) mimari yapıların özellikleri, süsleme detayları bakımından Roma İmparatorluğu'nun diğer kısımlarında karşılaşılan nitelikleri sergilemekle birlikte bu bölge kapsamında özel olarak değerlendirilebilir. Yerleşim yerinde konutlar, hamam, dini yapılar ve mezarlar bulunmaktadır. Arkeolojik kalıntıların saptandığı bölge Sobesos olarak adlandırılmakla birlikte, bu yerleşimin Sobesos olduğuna dair yazılı bir veri bulunmamaktadır. Sobesos yapmış olduğumuz tarihlendirmeye göre ilk evresinde MS 4. yüzyılda yerleşim görmüştür. İlk evreye tarihlendirdiğimiz ve villa I olarak adlandırdığımız yapı yerleşimin güneyinde bulunmaktadır. İki katlı olan yapı dönemin üst sınıf konutlarında bulunan özelliklere sahiptir. Yapı ikinci evresi ile birlikte kilise olarak kullanılmış, aynı dönemde yapının etrafında bir mezarlık alanı oluşmaya başlamıştır. Üçüncü ve son evrede ise yapının atriumuna tek nefli bir şapel inşa edilmiştir. I numaralı villanın güneyinde mezarlık şapeli olarak adlandırdığımız avlulu tek nefli bir başka şapel daha bulunmaktadır. Yerleşimde I numaralı villanın kuzeyinde II numaralı villadan günümüze avluya ve doğusundaki mekanlara ait kalıntılar ulaşmıştır. II numaralı villa ile aynı dönemde Geç Antik Çağ'da yaygın olarak uygulanan sıra tipi bir hamam inşa edilmiştir. II numaralı villa ve hamam daha sonraki evrelerde çeşitli değişikliklere uğrayarak kullanılmıştır. Bu yapıların dışında yerleşimde yeni mekanların inşa edilmiş olduğu da görülmektedir. Sobesos'un

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This article has been prepared on the basis of the doctoral dissertation, titled "Archeological Remains Belonging To Late Antiquity And Later Periods in Sahinefendi Village (Nevsehir)" accepted by Social Sciences Institute, Art History Department, Hacettepe University in 2019. The research behind it would not have been possible without the exceptional support of my supervisor, Macit Tekinalp. His enthusiasm, knowledge and exacting attention to detail have been an inspiration and kept my work on track from my first encounter with the archaeological site of Sobesos to the final draft of this paper. Tolga Uyar has also looked over my text and answered with unfailing patience numerous questions about Byzantine Cappadocia. Maria Xenaki, not only transcribed and read some of the inscriptions in Greek, but shared also the invaluable information on their epigraphy and their historical context.

tam olarak ne zamana kadar yerleşim gördüğü bilinmemektedir. 10. yüzyılın başlarında VI. Leon dönemine ait piskoposluk listesinde görülen Sobesos hakkında elimizde yazılı başka bir kayıt bulunmamaktadır. Bugünkü arkeolojik kalıntıların kuzeybatısında olasılıkla 11. yüzyılda inşa edilmiş olan avlulu kompleks, ilk evresi 9-10. yüzyıla tarihlendirilen Kırk Martyrler Kilisesi, şarap ışıkları ve şapeller, arkeolojik kalıntıların olduğu alanda olmasa da yakınlardaki sosyo-ekonomik sürekliliğin devamlılığı olarak değerlendirilebilir. Makalede amaçlanan, Geç Antik Çağ'da yaşanan siyasal, toplumsal ve dini dönüşümün Kapadokya'daki bir kırsal yerleşim yeri arkeolojisine nasıl yansıdığını tartışmaktır. Bu nedenle öncelikli olarak arazi çalışmalarında elde ettiğim yayınlanmamış arkeolojik veriler ışığında Sobesos'ta bulunan üç evreli villa yapısı incelenmiştir. Ardından Geç Roma ve Erken Bizans dönemlerinde bölgenin idari yapısı ve bununla ilgili olarak Kapadokya'ya has bir kurum olan ve imparatorluk mülklerinin idaresini sağlayan Comes domorum per cappadociam ile bölgede Hristiyanlık'ın yayılması ile ortaya çıkan khorepiskopoiik kurumları hakkında bilgi verilmiştir. Sonuç bölümünde ise Sobesos, Kapadokya'nın Geç Antik Dönem idari yapısı, yöneticileri, imparatorluk mülkleri ve khorepiskopoiik kurumları ile ilişkilendirilerek tarihi bağlamında değerlendirilmiştir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Kappadokia, Geç Antik, Sobesos, İmparatorluk Mülkleri, Khorepiskopoi.

### ABSTRACT

The Şahinefendi Village is located within the borders of the Ürgüp district of the Nevşehir province. The archaeological remains are at the south of the village, close to the springhead of the Damsa Stream, at a point called "Örencik" by the villagers. Although the Şahinefendi settlement (Sobesos) exhibits the characteristics of architectural structures and ornamental details encountered in other parts of the Roman Empire, it can be considered special for this region. There are residences, bath, religious buildings, and tombs in the settlement. Although the area where the archaeological remains were found is associated with antique Sobesos, there is no written data to confirm this identification. Concerning our dating, Sobesos was settled in the 4th century A.D. during its first phase. The building, which we have dated to the first phase and named Villa I, is located in the south of the settlement. The two-story building has the features of the upper-class residences of the period. The building was used as a church during its second phase, and a cemetery began to form around the building in the same period. In the third and final phase, a single-nave chapel was built in the atrium of the building. There is another chapel with a courtyard and a single nave, which we call the cemetery chapel, to the south of Villa I. The remains of the courtyard and structures in the east of the villa numbered II, which is to the north of the villa I, have survived to date. A row-type bath, widely used in Late Antiquity, was built in the same period as Villa II. The villa II and the bath were used in later phases with various changes. Apart from these structures, also new spaces were built in the settlement. It is not exactly known how long Sobesos was inhabited. Sobesos is seen on the list of dioceses belonging to the reign of the Byzantine emperor Leon VI, dated to the beginning of the 10th century. This is the only written record we have about the settlement. The rock-carved courtyard complex, from the 11th century, the Church of the Forty Martyrs, with its first phase dated to between the 9th and 10th centuries, the agricultural installations and chapels, all located to the northwest of today's archaeological remains, can be considered as the evidence of the nearby socio-economic continuum. This article aims to discuss how the political, social and religious transformation experienced in Late Antiquity was reflected in the archeology of a rural settlement in Cappadocia. For this reason, firstly, the three-phase villa structure in Sobesos is examined in the light of the unpublished archaeological data I have obtained during my field survey. Then, information is given about the administrative structure of the region in the Late Roman and Early Byzantine periods, and about the "Comes domorum per cappadociam", an institution specific to Cappadocia, providing the administration of



imperial properties, furthermore about the chorepiscopal institutions that emerged with the spread of Christianity in the region. In the conclusion part, Sobesos is evaluated in the historical context of Cappadocia by associating it with the administrative structure of Late Antiquity, its rulers, imperial properties and chorepiscopal institutions.

**Keywords:** Cappadocia, Late Antiquity, Sobesos, Imperial Estates, Chorepiskopoi.

## Introduction

Located in the center of nowadays Turkey, Cappadocia was a province of the Roman Empire after 17 A.D., and its capital was the city of Caesarea (Kayseri). The region had a unique administrative system during the Roman and Early Byzantine Periods. Known as *Comes domorum per cappadociam*, this system of government was associated with the administration of the emperor's private estates. With the division of the region into two by emperor Valens (364-378 A.D.), Cappadocia Prima consisted entirely of imperial properties, with no city apart from Caesarea. And the officials organized under the name of "holy houses" provided the management of the imperial properties.

The character and development of Şahinefendi settlement, located within the borders of Cappadocia Prima and widely accepted as Sobesos in the literature, can be read from the villa, which we think was built in the 4th century. The villa was used as a residence in its first phase and was converted into a church in its second phase. Considering the architectural features in the first phase of the house, it is understood to be built by one of the powerful figures of the region. Following the building's conversion to a church, the owner of the house must have built a second house and a bath for himself. Given the information that Basil the Great, the bishop of Caesarea, controlled 50 *chorepiskopoi* in the region, it would not be wrong to assume that the clergy in charge of the church might have taken part in the religious administration system that was sought to be established in Cappadocia. By the 4th century, the chorebishops along with their bishops were influential in the administration of the region.

## Archaeological Remains in Şahinefendi (Sobesos ?)

Although written documents of the Late Antiquity of the Cappadocian region have survived, the archaeological remains of the cities of this period are almost non-existent, except for a few cities. Almost no archaeological remains have survived from the important cities of the period. Based on the sources of the period, some information can be obtained about the situation of the cities in the Late Antiquity. The settlements whose locations can be determined by the researches do not generally get beyond the village or sometimes the town scale. In the Cappadocia region, three settlements where the remains of this period have survived are particularly striking. Of these, Mokissos and Tyana were settlements with city status and served as capitals, while Sobesos was a small-scale settlement that became a bishopric under the reign of Leon VI.

### Toponymy and Location Problem

The archaeological remains of Şahinefendi village, which is within the borders of Ürgüp district of Nevşehir province, are located in the southeast of the village (fig. 1), close to the source point of the Damsa Stream, in a location called “Örencik” by the villagers. Unearthed as a result of the excavations carried out by Nevşehir Archeology Museum in 2002-2005 and 2010-2011, these archaeological remains consist of religious buildings, residences, tombs, and a bath (fig. 2-3). Sobesos architectural style and ornamentation details are typical of those encountered in other parts of the Roman Empire but are unique as far as this region is concerned.

The only record we have of the existence of a settlement called Sobesos is the lists of dioceses dated to the reign of Leon VI. In the diocesan lists (*Notitiae Episcopatum, Notitia 7*)<sup>1</sup>, it is noted that the number of dioceses was increased from time to time. During the reign of Emperor Leon VI (886-912 A.D.), the number of dioceses in Cappadocia was increased from five to fifteen, and a settlement called Sobesos is seen as an episcopacy center on this diocese list. During the reign of Konstantinos Porphyrogeniotos (913-955), the son of Emperor Leon VI who succeeded Leon, the number of dioceses was reduced to eight. With this period, the name of Sobesos is not seen on the episcopal lists. In terms of etymology, the word Sobesos is not of Greek origin, as in many toponyms in the Cappadocia region, and it can be associated with the Hittites or Luwis, one of the ancient peoples of Anatolia. However, unfortunately, no data pointing to such a name similarity has been found among the written sources of this period.

The gap in the Ottoman archival records in the Ürgüp region during the 15th and 16th centuries does not allow an evaluation of the phonetic changes of the settlement names. It is known from the records in the 19th century that the entire population of Şahinefendi consisted of Muslims. Structures such as mosques, madrasahs, and tombs built in Taşkınpaşa (Tamsa) in the 14th century show that the Greek-Orthodox population and Muslims lived together in Tamisos, which began to appear on the lists of dioceses in the 14th century since 1368. It is difficult to comment on the settlement in Şahinefendi for the same period<sup>2</sup>. The most important record we have regarding the construction activities in Şahinefendi is the inscription of the Forty Martyrs Church. According to the inscription, a study was made on the wall paintings here in 1216/1217 and the murals were renewed. It is not known whether the Şahinefendi continued to be settled during this period. In the Armenian translation of the Byzantine dioceses dated to 1270, the name Sobesos was changed and used as Samesos. Jerphanion evaluated the use of the name of the settlement as Samesos as a combination of the names Tamisos and Sobesos<sup>3</sup>.

Another problem other than the toponymy concerns the localization of Sobesos. The most comprehensive research on the Late Antiquity and Medieval historical topography of Cappadocia to date is the work titled *Tabula Imperii Bizantini / Byzantium, Imperial*

1 Darrouzés 1981, *Notitia 7*, 67, 274 no. 115.

2 Uyar 2011, 609-611

3 Uyar 2011, 610-611.

Maps, Das Byzantinische Strassensystem in Kappadokien / Byzantine Period Road Network in Cappadocia, realized by the Austrian Academy of Sciences. In these studies, Sobesos was shown by Hild on a road of regional importance from Venasa (Avanos) to Kyzistra (Yeşilhisar) and was localized to Şahinefendi village. L. Zgusta also refers to F. Hild and agrees that the settlement is located in Şahinefendi village. The settlement was known as Süveşe, Süveş, and Söviş until the first periods of the Republic. The fact that these names were used for Şahinefendi village in the past must be related to the phonetic change of the name Sobesos over time.

### High-Level Residences in Şahinefendi (Sobesos ?)

Villa I in Şahinefendi, which we think was a residence during its first phase, is unique for the region (fig. 4-5). The building can be considered as an upper class residence with its mosaics, wall paintings, *atrium*, and two floors. It is known from the sources that elite residences were found in the rural areas of Cappadocia in the 4th century A.D. According to the evaluation we have made based on the mosaics, the house is dated to the 4th century.

15.25 x 26.50 meters in size, the two-story residence is in the east-west direction. The main facade of villa I is facing north, while the *atrium* is positioned to the southeast. The fact that the *atrium* is located in the southeast must be for better use of sunlight.

In the literature review we have done, no other residence has been found that exactly overlaps with the villa in terms of plan features. The building, which can be evaluated within the courtyard houses, shows plan features more similar to inner-city residences rather than rural villas. Spaces such as kitchens, toilets, workshops, and storage areas could not be reached during the excavations. There are wall remains that can be associated with the early phase by looking at the masonry on the north and south of the building. However, it cannot be determined to which places these walls belong.

The north of the building has a front facade, reached by five rows of *crepis* and arranged in the form of a *portico*, under the topographical features of the area where it was built. Five column bases of the *portico* have survived to the present day. There may have been a balcony arrangement above the *portico*. Balcony arrangements on the portico can be seen in this style in Roman residential architecture. It is understood from the remains at the west end that the floor of the *portico* was paved by using paving stones.

The entrance of the villa in the northwest is reached by three steps from the *portico*. 1.72 meters wide, the double-winged door is the only entrance to the residence. The bolt hole in the door sill shows that the door had two wings. While the width of the doors can be linked to their functional features, it is possible that they were kept wider for the visual features of the house.

Through the door, you enter a space of 2.53 x 3.33 meters in size, which we can consider as a *vestibulum*. *Vestibulums* could be used as waiting areas in large residences. The space, which can be considered as a hallway (*fauces*) after the *vestibulum*,

provides the connection to the mosaic room and *atrium* in the southwest corner. In Roman residential architecture, the spaces associated with this type of *vestibulum* can be called *fauces*. Apart from this, the corridors used for the transition from the *atrium* to the *tablinum* and the spaces connecting the entrance door of the house to the *atrium* can also be called *fauces*<sup>4</sup>. The staircase infrastructure in the southwest corner of the space shows that there is a second floor. The fact that the only room on the first floor is a room with mosaics necessitates a second floor to be used for daily needs. The bedrooms were apparently located on the second floor of the building.

The room in the southwest corner, whose floor is paved with mosaics, seems too small to be the *triclinium*, which is the dining room in Roman residences. The room can be considered as a reception room or study room rather than serving a daily function (fig. 6). In Roman townhouses, dining rooms can be found on the second floor. The largest area on the first floor of the building is reserved for the *portico* and *atrium*. It is understood from the surviving remains that the floor of the *atrium* was completely covered with mosaics (fig. 7). We do not know what kind of flooring the floors of the *porticoes* had<sup>5</sup>. *Portico* and *atrium* had an important function in Roman residences. Meetings and receptions organized at homes were held in the *atrium* and the spaces connecting to it.

It is difficult to make an assessment about the upper floor of the building. However, considering the lack of space on the first floor and the strong carrier columns around the courtyard, it is likely that there was an L-shaped second-floor arrangement that continued over the spaces to the west of the house and the *porticoes*. The second floor must have contained the bedroom or rooms, the dining room, and the space or spaces used for daily routine.

In the middle of the *atriums*, there were pools called *implivium*, used to meet the water need. The absence of cisterns to satisfy the water need of the *implivium* and its surroundings in the villa raises the question of how the water need was met<sup>6</sup>. The proximity of Şahinefendi settlement to the Damsa Stream source point, and the fact that the pipes, which we think were used to carry clean water for the bath, were unearthed during the excavations, bring to mind that the water needs of the house were also supplied from here.

Courtyards with *atriums* or *porticoes* are important elements in benefiting from sunlight. Especially in regions where the winters are harsh, it becomes much more important to position the living spaces accordingly. The fact that the *atrium* is on the southeast facade in Şahinefendi must have been for benefiting from the daylight as much as possible. The wall height that has reached our day is 1.60 meters at most, and the remains of the windows on the facades have not survived.

4 Regarding the measurements of the *fauces*, In Greenough 1890, 1st Vitruvius states that the width of the *tablinum* should be two-thirds in small *atriums* and half in large ones (Vitruvius VI, III).

5 Spaces such as *tablinum* and *ala*, which are connected with the *atriums*, are not found in the residence in Şahinefendi.

6 Although there is no pool in the middle of the *atrium* today, it should also be taken into account that the *implivium* was removed when the building was converted into a church in the second phase.

Since the first floor is used as a warehouse for agricultural products in the farmhouses in the Cilicia region, the openings on the first floors are almost non-existent. Windows can be seen especially on the second and third floors of these houses. Although the residence in Şahinefendi is built in a rural area, it is clear that it does not have spaces related to agriculture. The spaces in the areas that have been unearthed or that have not been excavated yet may have served such purposes.

During the excavations, console fragments of the upper cover were unearthed. The consoles, which we think were used under the roof eaves, are S-curved, and having grooves and volutes and being painted, they were used for decorative purposes on the exterior. It is known that especially dentils were used extensively in church architecture in the Cappadocia Region in the periods after classical architecture. No example of a console used in civil architecture in the region has survived.

The villa II in Sobesos is located in the area between the villa I and the bath in the north. Belonging to the house's courtyard in the east-west direction, the stylobate of neat cut stone which is 7.29 x 10.08 meters in size and has survived to the present day, and the L-shaped pedestal preserved at the corners on this stylobate are important in terms of showing that there was a second residence here. To the east of this approximately 72 square meter courtyard, the spaces we have named Building 10, 11, and 12 were used as the rooms of this house in the first phase. The distance between the section in front of the rooms and the courtyard is about 4.50 meters. The same distance can be measured on the courtyard and the north wall, which shows that there was a *porticoes* that surrounded the courtyard from at least two directions. Behind the north wall, the walls of some places have survived to the present day. Since the western part of the courtyard has not been fully excavated and new spaces have been built in the southern part, it is difficult to evaluate. However, it would not be wrong to say that there were *porticos* in these sections, since there is no masonry that would prevent the courtyard from opening to the *porticoes* in these sections. The building must have had a portico dwelling type that surrounded the courtyard from four directions.

In general, there is a direct relationship between the baths and the residences in planning. While the *balnae* and large public baths in the cities met the needs, the baths were built either inside the dwelling or as an independent structure in the dwellings built in the rural areas. It is a well-known practice that private baths belonging to a residence were rented to the public when not in use. Considering the road passing near Şahinefendi settlement and the size of the building, the bath was possibly used in an income-generating commercial activity (fig 8). The distance between the villa I and the bath suggests that these buildings were not built in the same period and that the villa I may have been built before the villa numbered II and the bath. Villa II and the bathhouse are closer together, so the two buildings must have been built at the same time. Our opinion is that the villa numbered II and the bath may have been built with the conversion of villa I into a church.

Features such as floor mosaics, wall paintings, and painting of architectural elements in Villa I are among the ornamental elements that can be seen in upper class residences. There are no architectural decoration remains from the villa numbered II. The fact that

the decoration elements in building I have survived to the present day must be related to the fact that the building used as a church was preserved due to its function. With its decorative decoration features, villa I in Şahinefendi can be evaluated among the upper class residences of the Cappadocia Region. Apart from these decorative features, the use of building materials such as marble, which are rare in the region, is also influential in this evaluation. The features of the villa we have mentioned above indicate that both villas belonged to an economically strong person or persons. When the villas and the bath are evaluated together, it is understood that a high-level complex was built in a rural area. The location of the villa, its proximity to the source point of Damsa Stream, and the fertile lands of the valley are the answers to why this place was chosen for the construction of the villa.

### Villa I Church Phase

It is known that certain parts of the house could be used as a church or converted into a church in the Early Christian Period. The main source for the existence of house churches is seen as the New Testament. The meeting of Jesus and the Apostles on the upper floor of a house and eating the Last Supper there form the basis of house churches<sup>7</sup>. M. White defined the development of church architecture in four phases in the early stages of Christianity in his study in 1990. The first of these is the house churches, the second is the *domus ecclesias*, the third is the *aula ecclesias*, and the fourth is the basilicas of the reign of emperor Constantine the Great<sup>8</sup>.

The first meeting places of Jesus's were houses. These houses, where Christians gathered, did not have different features from other houses in terms of architecture. Part of the house was organized for gathering. The meetings were held in the *triclinium*, the largest part of the houses. These meetings are known to have continued in houses until the end of the 2nd century. During the first years of Christianity, there were several house churches in big cities, where meetings were held that, did not have close relations with each other. In the time of Paulus, there were six house churches in Corinth. The names of some of these hosts can be identified from the letters of Paul. Prisca, Aqulia, Stephanos, Crispus, Phoebe, Gaius, and Chloe are known hosts<sup>9</sup>.

The first known example of *Domus ecclesias* is found in Dura Europos. The building was converted from a house to a *domus ecclesia* after the change. According to archaeological data, the house was built in 232/233 AD and transformed into *domus ecclesia* in 240/241<sup>10</sup>. Unlike the house churches in the first stage, some changes were made in some parts of the houses with the increase in the number of the congregation in the *domus ecclesias* and with the liturgical effects, and the house was dedicated to Christians<sup>11</sup>.

The *aula ecclesias*, the third stage defined by M. White, were either built from scratch or emerged by converting an existing house or public building into a church.

7 Petersen 1969, 264; Mccray 1995, 13-16.

8 White 1990, 102-148.

9 Barnes 2007, 226; Balch 2004, 28.

10 Fitzgerald 2009, 1-10; Peppard 2016, 15.

11 Beesley 2010, 9; Billings 2011, 545.

In comparison to *domus ecclesias*, *aula ecclesias* were larger and more formal structures<sup>12</sup>. Until the end of the 3rd century, the existence of churches in many cities can be determined from the census and court records<sup>13</sup>. In Eusebius's comments on the History of the Church, he mentions ancient structures that were built and expanded. Based on these data, M. White defined this stage in the form of a meeting room as *aula ecclesia*. However, these structures still do not have the architectural elements and scale seen in Christian basilicas<sup>14</sup>.

On the other hand, basilicas, which were the fourth stage and were the public buildings of the Roman Empire during the reign of Emperor Constantine the Great, were used as churches by adapting them to the Christian liturgy. With this period, basilicas became the monumental religious buildings of cities. Although it varies from region to region from city to city, the use of house churches dates back to 50-150 AD, *domus ecclesias* to 150-250 A.D., whereas *aula ecclesias*<sup>15</sup> were used between the years 250-313 AD<sup>16</sup>. With the reign of Emperor Constantine the Great, basilicas began to be used as Christian religious buildings.

It is understood from the archaeological remains that the villa in Şahinefendi was used as a church in its second phase. The templon and the courtyard, which we think were added to the atrium part of the building during this period, began to be used as a church. The extant templon stylobate continues from the south wall to the north wall of the chapel built in the third phase. On the south and north walls of the chapel, the templon stylobate has remained under the chapel walls. Although it is not clear whether it continues in the north *portico*, it can be assumed that the templon stretched out to the north *portico*.

The fact that the templon stylobate is under the chapel walls from the second phase indicates that there was a *bema* arrangement in this section in the second phase. The thickness of the templon plate found broken in the west of the southern part of the templon stylobate is consistent with the stylobate. The bema is separated from the naos by these plates. The fact that the swastika meander motif is seen on the side border of the plate suggests that it may have been inspired by floor mosaics.

The structure with similar transformation characteristics to those of the villa in Şahinefendi in Anatolia was unearthed during the Erzincan Altintepe excavations. During the 2003 excavations carried out in the Üzümlü District of Erzincan, a structure of 11,30x19,60 meters in size and with a floor covered with mosaics was found in the east-west direction. By looking at the mosaics decorated with figurative, floral, and geometric ornaments, the building was dated to the beginning of the 6th century. Apart from the floor mosaics, it is understood from the remains that there are gilded wall mosaics and wall paintings in the building. Its function in the first phase of the

12 White 1990, 127; Billings 2011, 545.

13 For detailed information about the church records found in Cirta in Egypt and Numidia, see White 2000, 717.

14 White 2000, 718.

15 According to M. White, *aula ecclesias* continued to be used from the second half of the 3rd century to the 4th century (White 2000, 717).

16 Billings 2011, 545.

building could not be established exactly<sup>17</sup>. Although its function is not known exactly, the building, built for a different function in the Late Antique-Early Byzantine Period, was later converted into a church and the presence of Christian tombs around it shows parallelism with the development in Şahinefendi.

It is understood that the apse and the platform on which the apse was added later to the building, which had similar transformation features with the villa in Şahinefendi in Anatolia, rested on the mosaic floor belonging to the first phase on the ground. The platform thus created also has a mosaic floor. While there is no mosaic in the *diaconicon*, mosaic flooring was used in the north of the apse. According to the bone analysis, burials have been carried out since the 7th century around the building, which was dated to the 6th century by looking at the mosaics. In the examinations in the tombs it is observed that the burials continued so long as the Byzantine settlement continued<sup>18</sup>.

Although it is not an example from Anatolia, a Roman Period villa located in Albania, Tirana (the rural settlement of the Dyrachium nobles), which is considered to have been used between the 1st century and the 5th century A.D., was transformed into a *domus ecclesia* with the additions made after the first phase of use (Omari, 2018, p. 155). The villa was unearthed in the middle of the modern center of Tirana. Evaluated to be a *villa rustica* in its first phase, it was built between 1st and 2nd centuries. It is seen that there are mosaic floors on the floor of the building. It is understood that some changes were made in the building about two centuries later, in the 4th century. The changes made in this second phase are related to the production activities and the living areas of the house. Considering the spread of Christianity in Albania in the 4th century A.D., the owners of the villa are thought to have also been Christians. The situation that led to this idea is the apse added to the east wall of the main room of the villa. The changes made suggest that the Christians gathered and started to use this main room of the villa for worship. The mosaic room on the west side of the main room formed the narthex of the Christian building<sup>19</sup>.

The structures unearthed in Altuntepe and Tirana show that a civil structure could be converted into a church with the changes made, depending on the spread of Christianity in the Late Antiquity or the increase in the number of the congregation in that region. It would not be wrong to say that it was a well-known practice for Late Antiquity to transform a room or an entire building for use in religious ceremonies, as in the houses we have mentioned earlier.

In the second usage phase of the villa in Şahinefendi, it began to be used as a church, as in the examples given above. A four-leaf clover-shaped baptismal vessel was found in the middle of the room during the excavations in the mosaic room in the southwest corner of the building. This place was possibly used as a baptistery in the second and third phases. In addition, a pedestal was carved on the door opening to the west *portico*. The plate placed on this pedestal has not survived. The only door to the building is located in the northwest corner. The western *portico*, entered after the

17 Karaosmanoğlu 2004, 129-131.

18 Karaosmanoğlu 2004, 129; Ca 2009, 7.

19 Omari 2018, 157.



western section where the door was opened during the church phase, can be evaluated as a narthex<sup>20</sup>.

While the dating we have made by looking at the mosaics related to the residential phase of the building is the 4th century AD, we do not have any definite data about when the building was converted into a church. Although the changes made in the villa converted into a church in the second phase are similar to the *aula ecclesias*, it is open to debate whether to call the church phase of the villa *aula ecclesia*, since the date of conversion of the building to the church is not accurate.

The graves in the cemetery formed around the church were opened during the excavations, and except for the samples taken for examination<sup>21</sup> the graves were examined and closed again. The burial forms in the tombs, where multiple burials were carried out, show similarities with the tombs in Topaklı Höyük and the Early Byzantine Period cemeteries in Avanos Kuşçin<sup>22</sup>.

Three inscriptions found in the tombs are important in that they contain some concepts encountered in the Late Antiquity tomb inscriptions. The first of the inscriptions reads (Fig. 9):

“† Θήκη Καρτερίου διακ(όνου).”

Tomb of Diacon Karterios

The term “Θήκη” appears frequently in Late Antiquity tomb inscriptions in Anatolia<sup>23</sup>. In the Cappadocia region, a few examples were identified in Maçan, Süveş and Pancarlık Church<sup>24</sup>.

The name Karterios, on the other hand, is not a name frequently encountered in the inscriptions of the period<sup>25</sup>. There are two martyrs known from Sivas and Kayseri named Karterios. Karterios from Sebasteia (Sivas) is a soldier martyr, while Karterios from Kayseri is a hieromartyr. Both martyrs lived during the reign of Emperor Diocletian.

The second of the tomb inscriptions belongs to a deacon, and the inscription is as follows (fig. 10):

20 The basilica unearthed in Horvat Zikhrin in Palestine shows similarities with the structure in Şahinefendi in terms of plan features. According to the ceramic and coin finds unearthed, the building is dated to the middle of the 5th century. There is a section called the narthex by the researchers in front of the spaces in the western part of the building. The entrance to the basilica, which is arranged as three naves, is provided from this section (Taxel 2013, 156-157). The main entrance of the building opens to the narthex on the north and south facades. The building, which is said to have been built as a basilica, differs from traditional basilica plan schemes. The building, whose floor is paved with mosaics, has pastaphoria rooms on both sides of the inner circular apse, and the prothesis section was used as a baptistery.

21 Since no report has been written about the samples taken, we do not have information such as the gender, age, and cause of death of the people in the graves.

22 Karapınar 2006, 128.

23 For examples see, MAMA III (Korykos).

24 Jerphanion 1908, 461; Jerphanion 1936, 21.

25 For examples see MAMA IV (Kara Adili) no: 120a; IGUR I no:246; O Masson, Kyprika XIX, BCH 119 (1995) p. 413, note 55. For Late Antiquity Era sources see, PLRE I, p. 182; PLRE II p. 262-263; PLRE III, p. 274.

“Θήκη Ἀνδιόχου διακόνου.”

Tomb of Diakon Antiochos.

The name Antiochos is a very common name during and after pagan antiquity<sup>26</sup>. Antiochos was one of the martyrs of Sebastia and lived during the reign of Emperor Hadrian<sup>27</sup>. The last inscription from Şahinefendi was not engraved on the tombstone but on one of the cut stones on the north exterior of the residence. The inscription reads:

Grave Inscription on the North Front

† Μνήμη Εὐγενί[ου --- Ἐτελεύτησεν ἡμ]-  
 ἐρα ἔνεακεδ[εκάτη ---]  
 [... ]ΤΗ[--- ?]

It reads, “The Monument (Tomb) of Eugenios ... He died on the nineteenth day...”

The term “μνήμη” is a term frequently encountered in Late Antiquity tomb inscriptions<sup>28</sup>. The name mentioned in the inscription is the same as that of the famous Martyr Eugenios, one of the five martyrs of Sebasteia<sup>29</sup>.

As with the Christians in other regions, the Cappadocian Christians of the 4th century gave importance to the martyr cults, and with this century, the basic celebrations for the martyrs also took shape. Gregory of Nazianzos, one of the church fathers, reminded that the feast should be organized for each martyr, revealing how important the martyr cult was for them<sup>30</sup>. The fact that the clergy chose the names of martyrs is also related to the importance given to the martyrs.

All three names mentioned in the tomb inscriptions are associated with the martyrs of the Cappadocia region. The frequent occurrence of terms such as “Θήκη” and “μνήμη” in Late Antiquity funerary inscriptions suggests that burials would have been carried out starting with the 4th and 5th centuries.

The fact that the villa number I is located in the fertile Damsa Valley, that it is close to the source point of the Damsa Stream, that the house is an upper class residence, suggest that the person living here was one of the strongest of the region, possibly an imperial manager who controlled the fertile lands in the region within the administrative structure of the period. As we mentioned, with the second phase of the house, it began to be used as a church as a whole. An important factor facilitating this change was that the church institution grew and became active in during the Late Antiquity. Also, the possibility that the landlord was an imperial officer may have facilitated this transformation.

26 For examples see MAMA III (Korykos), no: 248-250, 436, 468, 500, 529, 653; Yon, 2018, p. 120. For the Late Antiquity sources see PLRE I pp. 71-73; PLRE II pp. 101-106; PLRE III pp. 90-91. For the Early and High Middle Age sources see PmbZ 1, 504-519; PmbZ 2 20471-20474.

27 Delehay 1902, 789.

28 For examples of Cappadocia tomb inscriptions, see Grégoire 1909, no: 79,106; Thierry 1977, no: 5-6, 8-9; Berges 2000, no: 17, 19-20, 102, 110, 112-113.

29 Five Martyrs of Sebasteia are Eustratios, Auxentios, Eugenios, Mardarios and Orestes.

30 Limberis 2011, 9.

The existence of the *chorepiscopal* institution from the late 3rd century, and the fact that it had no less than fifty rural bishops affiliated with Basil the Great, the Bishop of Caesarea (Kayseri) in the 4th century, suggests that Şahinefendi settlement, located in the Caesarea (Kayseri) hinterland, may have been a rural bishopric in this period. Due to the insufficiency of available data, it is not possible to reach a definite conclusion on this subject. The fact that a high-level residence in this style was converted into a church and a new residence and bath was built in the north leads to the conclusion that the character of the settlement may have changed.

A three-nave chapel was built in the third and final phase of Villa I. It has a single nave and longitudinal rectangular plan. The chapel has two entrances, one in the west and the other in the north. The entrance section is entered through the door on the west and the nave is passed from there. The northern door opens directly to the naos. The apse has a pentagonal shape from the outside and a horseshoe shape, common in the Cappadocia region, from the inside.

Another change that took place in the third phase of the building is that a platform was built to the north and south of the apse. Excavation photographs show floor coverings above the templon stylobate of the second phase and just below the north wall of the apse. However, these flooring elements have not survived. While the templon stylobate in the north and south of the apse lost its function, the fact that the stylobate was preserved *in situ* in the interior of the apse indicates that the *templon* application continued in the chapel apse in the third phase.

Although burials in the church were prohibited by an imperial decree published in 381 AD, the burial of clergy, emperors, important people, and their families in the church continued<sup>31</sup>. One of the burials in Şahinefendi is in the east-west direction to the west of the entrance door, and the other is located in front of the entrance door of the room with mosaics, with a tomb cover embossed with a Latin cross. Apart from these, there is a tomb adjacent to the exterior of the northern wall of the chapel in the 3rd phase and a sarcophagus formed by carving a stone block in the northern *portico*. Considering the dimensions of the sarcophagus, it is understood to be a child's grave.

Apart from these burials, there are burials in the north outer portico, in the east of the villa, and most intensely in the south. As we mentioned before, two of these tombs belong to the deacons. The tombs buried inside the building, especially in front of the door entrance and the room with mosaics, must have belonged to the clergy. The cover stones of the tombs have forms such as rectangular or arched top, and there are various types of cross reliefs on them. In addition to the Latin cross relief, arched crosses<sup>32</sup> were also used on tombstones. Regarding the fact that there are multiple burials in the graves, it has been suggested that the burials may have been carried out

31 Teteriatnikov 1992, 340.

32 Arched crosses appear in the East, in liturgical objects and church architectural elements. An arched cross can be seen on a caliche of Syrian origin today at the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore. The chalice is dated to the 6th century. In architecture, the arched cross motif was also embroidered on the bronze doors in the outer narthex of Hagia Sophia. While both examples given are dated to the 6th century, it is seen that the motif has been used since the early Byzantine period (Nordhagen 1983, 5).

as a result of a war or an epidemic disease<sup>33</sup>. Although it is probable, the fact that men are buried in all of the graves and the absence of female skeletons indicates that these possibilities are low. In addition, in terms of burial customs, it is a known practice to open the graves after the first burial and make new burials. The fact that all the burials in the graves are male raises the question of whether a monastic organization may have emerged here with the second phase in which the villa in Şahinefendi was turned into a church. We have also stated before that we think that Şahinefendi settlement could be a rural diocese. Although it is not known whether the settlement survived or not, if Şahinefendi settlement was Sobesos, its name was mentioned in the diocese lists at the beginning of the 10th century.

### Administrative Structure during the Late Antiquity

Cappadocia was strategically very important because of the roads passing through the region. The roads coming from Western Anatolia, the Black Sea coast, and Cilicia intersected here<sup>34</sup>. In the 3rd century A.D., the repairs made in the road network in the region, the bridges, and milestones built made the roads more useful for military purposes<sup>35</sup>. While the Roman and Byzantine Emperors used the main road that cut Asia Minor from northeast to southwest to reach Cappadocia, they sometimes reached the region from the middle road that crossed from west to east<sup>36</sup>. These roads from Chalcedon to Syria started from Parnassos in the Cappadocia region and continued up to Podandos<sup>37</sup>. As a stop on the eastward journey of the emperors, Cappadocia had a different structure and importance from other regions in terms of administration, with the imperial properties densely located in the region.

Shortly before the Cappadocia region was conquered by the Roman Empire, it was governed by a bureaucratic system similar to that in Egypt, which was not practiced in Asia Minor<sup>38</sup>. During the era of the Cappadocia Kingdom, the region consisted of ten *strategias*<sup>39</sup>. The Romans maintained administration in the region by appointing the rulers of the dynasty or kingdom as governors<sup>40</sup>. With the death of Archelaos<sup>41</sup> in 17 A.D., the last king of Cappadocia, Emperor Tiberius made the Cappadocia region a

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33 Yenipınar 2006, 125.

34 Baydur 1970, 19.

35 Magie 1950, 491.

36 Stewart 1887, 15; Parthey – Pinder 1848, 67.

37 French 2016, 10. Besides sources such as *Itinerarium Burdigalense* and *Itinerarium Antonini*, these road networks can be followed from *Tabula Peutingeriana*.

38 Jones 1971, 177. Nezahat Baydur deems it more appropriate that the system might have been taken from Armenia, which is more in contact with the region and is governed by being divided into *strategias*, rather than from Egypt.

39 Strabon XII, I. We know very little about the organization of the *strategias*. It seems that the country was organized in a feudal order, and each *strategia* was ruled by one or more feudal lords (Gwatkin 1930, 18).

40 Magie 1950, 495.

41 Archelaos reigned for nearly half a century. The region held by Archelaos was very important in providing communication between the provinces of Galatia and Syria. In addition, the east of Cappadocia had to be used to reach Armenia directly from Syria. (Gwatkin 1930, 16)

Roman province. From this period on, the region began to be ruled by a *procurator*<sup>42</sup>. Commissioned by Emperor Tiberius with the title of *maius imperium* to organize the region, Germanikus appointed Quintus Veranius as the governor of the Cappadocia State<sup>43</sup>. Since 72 A.D., the provincial administration was given to the governor of the emperor<sup>44</sup>. During the reign of Emperor Traianus and starting from 113/114 AD, Cappadocia province began to be governed not by a *procurator*, but by *legati* appointed from among the former *consuls*, and in this period, Cappadocia became the consul province of the emperor<sup>45</sup>.

At the end of the 3rd century AD, Emperor Diocletian divided Cappadocia, which was a very large province, into four small provinces. These are the provinces of Helenopontus, Pontus Polemaniakus, Armenia Minor and Cappadocia. The largest of these four provinces is the province of Cappadocia<sup>46</sup>. The properties owned by the emperor in the region led to the emergence of an imperial institution in this period, called *Comes Domorum Per Cappadociam*. The imperial properties under the control of the *Comes Domorum Per Cappadociam* institution in Cappadocia reveal the importance of the region both during the Hellenistic and Cappadocia Kingdoms Period, and when it was a Roman province.

The last Cappadocian Kings had many cities and castles in the region. According to Strabo, the Nora and Kodena Castles belong to Archelaos Sisinnes in the westernmost region of the empire. However, the dams and many castles built by King Ariarathus on the Melas and Karmalas rivers were considered imperial property<sup>47</sup>. Among the slaves of Emperor Tiberius and Livia, there were also slaves of King Archelaos of Cappadocia. We do not have precise information about the properties of Archelaos in the region. According to the written sources, the properties of Archelaos were located in the west of Cappadocia<sup>48</sup>.

Apart from the estates of the kings, Strabo mentions the existence of two of the great temple estates. Of these, Zeus Dekienos in Venasa has three thousand servants and an annual income of 100 *talatons*<sup>49</sup> is procured from their land<sup>50</sup>. The Ma Temple

42 Cook – Adcock – Charlesworth 1936, 608.

43 Tacitus, 107; Magie 1950, 499. In the Anisa inscription, it is seen that there was a ruler with the title of archihidioecetes, who had very broad authority in the administrative system adopted in Egypt (Jones 1971, 177).

44 Starting with Quintus Veranius, those who were governors in the region until 253 AD are known from the coins, milestones, inscriptions and letters (Baydur 1970, 108). Two procurators who worked in the region between 12 and 72 AD are known (Gwatkin 1930, 17).

45 Kaya 2005, 25. During the Roman Republican Era, all provinces were under the responsibility of the Roman Senate on behalf of the Roman people. The establishment of the provinces, the appointment of senators to establish the province, the appointment of the governor and his assistants were decided in the Roman Senate. In the Roman Empire, the provinces were divided into two as consul provinces and praetor provinces according to their size and importance. The governors and deputies of all provinces, the legatus and quaetores were appointed for one year by the senate (Taşdöner 2017, 111-112).

46 Kopecek 1974, 320.

47 Métiévier 2005, 130.

48 Gwatkin 1930, 20.

49 “15 talents” income is equivalent to 119 lb gold (8571 nomismata). See Eric-Cooper 2012, 51.

50 Strabon XII, I.

in Komana is one of the most important temples in Anatolia with its more than six thousand servants. Starting with the reign of Constantine the Great, the pagan temples were closed and their properties were transferred to the empire. Emperor Valentinian made the arrangement regarding the transfer of temple properties to *res privata*. Similar arrangements were made under Theodosios and Honorius<sup>51</sup>.

With the disappearance of the Kingdom of Cappadocia and the transformation of the region into a province, the Roman Emperor made all these lands his property. Historians have never mentioned the transfer of Archelaus' possessions to Emperor Tiberius, and the annexation of the Kingdoms of Galatia and Cappadocia to Rome in 25 BC and 17 AD did not lead to the inclusion of the kingdom's lands into the *Patrimonium*. Although not included in the *Patrimonium*, the legacy of the Hellenistic Kings was most likely the starting point for imperial possessions in the region<sup>52</sup>. Although it is known that the riches of the Cappadocian kings and temples were later transferred to the Roman Empire, very few period sources mention them. From the third quarter of the 4th century AD on, with the division of Cappadocia by Emperor Valens, more detailed information can be obtained from the sources of the period about the imperial properties and the administration of the region. In 371-372, Cappadocia was divided into two as Prima and Secunda, the capital of Cappadocia Prima became Caesarea (Kayseri), and Secunda became Tyana (Kemerhisar). Other cities in Cappadocia Secunda are Kybistra, Arkhelais, Caesarea (Kayseri), Faustinopolis, Nyssa, Parnassos, Sasima, and Podandos.

Researchers hold various opinions concerning Valens' dividing Cappadocia into two in 372. The first of these views is the division of Cappadocia into two to reduce the power of Basil the Great in the region<sup>53</sup>. Texier, on the other hand, argues that Emperor Valens divided Cappadocia into two to take revenge on Basil the Great<sup>54</sup>. Raymand Van Dam believes that especially the second view is quite wrong and that the situation cannot be so simply evaluated. By dividing Cappadocia into two, it was aimed to strengthen Cappadocia in terms of administrative and financial aspects<sup>55</sup>. Métivier, on the other hand, thinks that it emerged with the division of the imperial estates under the authority of the governor and the imperial estates under the rule of

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51 Monks 1957, 750.

52 Métivier 2005, 131.

53 Ramsay 1890, 311. In Cappadocia, where urban traditions were weak in the 4th century, bishops had an active role in political affairs. It is known that Basil the Great's congregation sent letters to the Imperial rulers to obtain tax exemptions and other privileges. This effective policy made Basil the Great the most important figure of the region. In the process of Valens' dividing Cappadocia into two, Basil the Great was the most important representative of the protest in the region. The workers of the arms and ammunition workshops and the women working in the weaving looms in Caesarea (Kayseri) supported their bishop Basil the Great in the conflict between Basil the Great and Emperor Valens and the praefectus praetorio Modestus. Along with his position in the church, his family's being one of the wealthy landowners in the east of Anatolia was also effective in Basil the Great's becoming an influential figure in Cappadocia. In addition, his education, which made him one of the elite of the empire, also played an important role in the relations he established (Mitchell 2016, 401-407).

54 Texier 2002, 63.

55 Van Dam 2016, 55.

the count of the houses<sup>56</sup>. The narrowing of the dominance areas by increasing the number of provinces, initiated by Emperor Diocletian and continued by the emperors of the in the 4th and 5th century, increased the power of the provincial governors, while reducing the administrative and bureaucratic burden on the governors due to the continuous growth of the empire.

It can be said that Emperor Valens's aim was to separate the urbanized part of the region by placing all the imperial lands, Caesarea and half of the province under the administration of a separate governor. In order to create the Cappadocia Secunda, Valens tried to transform Podandus, an isolated region in the imperial lands, into a city. With this, he wanted to make the Cappadocia Secunda a normal state consisting of only cities<sup>57</sup>. Cappadocia Prima consisted of only one city, Caesarea (Kayseri), and many imperial estates and farms<sup>58</sup>. All of the imperial estates and farms in Cappadocia were called *domus divina*<sup>59</sup>. The management of the imperial properties gathered in the capital Caesarea (Kayseri) was left to a special authority named *comes domorum*. *Comes domorum* first became accountable to *comes rei privatae*<sup>60</sup> and later to *praepositus sacri cubiculi*<sup>61</sup>.

Private estates (*Res Private*)<sup>62</sup> were organized by Septimus Severus, and the high-ranking official holding the title of *praepositus sacri cubiculi* in Constantinople had strict control over the imperial estates in Cappadocia, the source of the emperor's private revenues<sup>63</sup>. This official is important since he was first mentioned in 379, several years after the state seceded. *Comes domorum* was responsible for the administration of the private property of the emperor, as well as managing the finance office. They also had parallel powers with the state governor. As can be understood from the thirtieth *novella* of Justinian<sup>64</sup>, this institution is unique to Cappadocia<sup>65</sup>.

It is understood that the imperial lands in the Cappadocia Region covered more than half of the region. The *comes domorum* took care of the administration of the imperial estates in the region, while the *praeses* were responsible for administrative affairs such as the administration of justice within the provinces, the collection of taxes, the administration of the province, the maintenance of public buildings and the provision of the city's needs<sup>66</sup>. Apart from the provincial administrators, information

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56 Métivier 2005, 150-151.

57 Jones 1970, 184.

58 Van Dam 2002, 29.

59 Van Dam 2002, 78.

60 It is known that two Cappadocian people from the 4th century, Evagrius and Arkadius, were responsible for the imperial revenues with their title *comes rei privatae* (Van Dam 2002, 59).

61 Jones 1970, 184-185.

62 During the reign of Constantine I, the state finances were supervised and managed by three units. These are praetor general governorships, *sacrae largitines* (sacred donations), *res privata* (private finance office). See Haldon 2017, 59.

63 Bury 1923, 20; Jones 1964, 411.

64 The *novella* contains provisions on the arrangement of the Imperial estates, as well as the reorganization of the administrative divisions of the Empire. In *Novella*, the two provinces of Cappadocia were united under one *proconsul*.

65 Jones 1970, 184-185.

66 Kearley 2009.

can also be obtained about some civil servants in charge of the management of the imperial properties in Caesarea. The *dispensator* was an officer who worked under the *procurator*'s administration<sup>67</sup>. Their task was to manage the farms and similar properties of the emperors. *Arcarius* was a cashier, working under the *dispensator* and *procurator*. In the reign of Anastasius, a *patrimonium* institution separate from *privata* was established, and this institution was given to the control of the administrator named *sacrae largitiones*. In 566, the *res privata* was divided into five parts; *res privata*, *patrimonium*, *domus divina per Cappadociam*, *domus dominicae* and *patrimonium Italiae*<sup>68</sup>.

With organization that gathered the imperial properties under the same roof, which was independent of the provincial hierarchy, Cappadocia did not have a homogeneous administrative structure. While Hierokles states the administrative double-headedness in *Synekdemos*, he sets apart the cities from each of the names of the holy houses and states that these holy houses are of the same importance as the cities. However, it is also known that *regiones* such as Podandos, Doara, and Mokissos were ruled by the count of the holy houses<sup>69</sup>. In the city lists, Hierocles counts the *regiones* in Cappadocia, Bythinya, Pamphylya, Lycia, and two *regiones* in Galatia. It is understood from both Saint Basil the Great and the 30th *novella* that they were taxpayers of their holy houses. Before and after 536, the holy houses were subject to a different system, although they paid taxes<sup>70</sup>.

### Imperial Estates

Although the Roman Emperors had possessions such as palaces, villas, hippodromes, mines, quarries, brick factories, one of the most important of these was the land. These lands were not only important to the emperors, but the revenues from them were important to the entire empire. Lands could be used as an important element in the empire's agricultural policy<sup>71</sup>. There were also large farms and factories where clothing and armor were produced on these lands<sup>72</sup>. Although it is known that significant revenues were obtained from these properties, we do not have any record of the amount of income<sup>73</sup>.

Another important imperial property in the region was stud farms. It is known that horse breeding has been very common in the region since early times. During the Roman Period, Cappadocia was one of the three regions where horse production was

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67 Baydur 1970, 112.

68 Haldon 2003, 174.

69 Anastasius of Nicaea expressed the opposite with what he said at the council of Chalcedon. While summarizing the history of the city, Anastasius Basilinoupolis states that this city is a *regios* (singular of *regiones*) of Iznik and says that he accepted the *bouleuteria* of Iznik. Accordingly, the loyalty of Basilinoupolis to Iznik is both administrative and religious. For detailed information, see Métivier 2005, 149.

70 Métivier 2005, 140.

71 Crawford 1976, 36.

72 Van Dam 2002, 9.

73 Bury 1923, 21.



done<sup>74</sup>. Vegetius, one of the 4th-century historians, also lists Cappadocia among the main horse breeding centers<sup>75</sup>. The imperial farms in Caesarea (Kayseri) raised horses for the army along with racehorses. Especially the pastures around Mount Argaios (Erciyes) were quite suitable for raising horses<sup>76</sup>. It is known that the properties of Palmatius, one of the important horse breeders of the region, were confiscated by Emperor Valerian (253-260) in Andabalis in the 3rd century. H. Grégoire thinks that the land and properties of the Roman colony in Cappadocia belonged to Palmatius of Cappadocia<sup>77</sup>. Métivier, on the other hand, disagrees and finds this quite unlikely<sup>78</sup>.

Racehorses, produced in the imperial farms in Cappadocia and later known as the “Palmatian” breed, ran in horse races, one of the most important events in Rome<sup>79</sup>. In addition, according to the information given by the Pilgrims of Bardeaux, it is known that the *curule* horses came from the stud farm of Palmatius. It was necessary to have economic power to raise a good horse. Successful horse breeders in Cappadocia could have titles such as *magistrate*, *general*, and *rhetorician*. In the 4th century AD, Gregory of Nyssa, one of the church fathers, grew up with horses and was known to be a good horse rider<sup>80</sup>. The church fathers’ mention of horses and horse racing in their analogies showed that they were close to them<sup>81</sup>.

We can obtain information about *Macellum*, found in Cappadocia and considered as an imperial property by researchers, from the letters of Julian. *Macellum* is important in terms of the six years of compulsory residence of Julian, and Gallus between the years 342 and 348<sup>82</sup> A.D. and references its characteristics in the period resources. Julian was exiled to Cappadocia with his half-brother Gallus, who was studying in Ephesus, on the orders of Emperor Constantin II. In his letter to the Athenians, Julian mentions that they were imprisoned on a farm in Cappadocia; they were expelled from school even though he was a child; no one was allowed to visit them, and he did not know how to describe the six years they spent there. He narrates that on the farm they were staying in, they lived and were watched as if they were on the property of a foreigner, or in a Persian garrison. During their days there, they participated in exercises with their slaves<sup>83</sup>. He also mentions that he met with Emperor Constantin II once during his stay in Cappadocia<sup>84</sup>.

74 Drummond 1994, 88. The other two regions are Thrace and Spain (Drummond, 1994, p. 88). As the horse breeds in the Roman world were generally light and small, the horses needed for the heavy cavalry were obtained from the imperial stud farms in Cappadocia. (Anderson 1961, 18).

75 Toynbee 1973, 168.

76 Jones 1970, 178.

77 Grégoire bases this idea on the inscription he studied. For detailed information see Grégoire 1909, 135-140.

78 Métivier 2005, 131.

79 Van Dam 2002, 23.

80 Van Dam 2002, 23.

81 Basil the Great, 283.

82 While Baynes, Van Dam, and Bowersock postulate that Julian stayed in Macellum between the years 342 and 348, Hadjinicolaou claims those years to be between 341 and 347, and Festugiere claims that he stayed in Macellum between the years 345 and 351 (Baynes 1925, 252; Van Dam 2002, 98; Festugiere 1957, 54).

83 Page 1913, 251.

84 Page 1913, 257.

While Sozomenos called the estate *Macellum*<sup>85</sup>, where the two brothers stayed, Ammianus called Marcellinus *Magelli Fundo*<sup>86</sup>, and Ramsay called it *Demakella* or *Macellon*<sup>87</sup>. With an impressive palace, baths, gardens, and springs within its boundaries, *Macellum*<sup>88</sup> was an imperial estate on the slopes of Mount Argaios, not far from Caesarea (Kayseri). It is mentioned here that the two brothers were educated and brought up befittingly their status, that they were given academic and physical education by linguists and holy book commentators fitting their age, and that they were recorded among the clergy, and that they read passages from the Bible to people<sup>89</sup>. Julian also made use of the library of Georgius, who later became bishop of Alexandria; and he read books on philosophy and eloquence that he found in this very rich library. His native language was Greek, and he was deeply interested in Greek literature<sup>90</sup>. It is told that their actions and habits conformed to religion; that they respected the clergy and other good people; and that they regularly took part in the church's repair activities and they show the necessary dignity to the graves of the martyrs<sup>91</sup>. They were also engaged in a rivalry in the construction of the tomb of St. Mamas. In this competition, while Gallus successfully carried out the construction activity, a part of the section that Julian made was destroyed. After six years, Julian went first to Constantinople, then to Nicomedia and Pergamon. After Gallus' execution in 354, Constantin II summoned Julian to Mediolanum and accused him of leaving *Macellum* and meeting with Gallus without his permission<sup>92</sup>. Based on the information in ancient sources, A. Hadjinicolaou suggests that the location of *Macellum* may be in present-day Hisarcık and the farm extends to the tomb of St. Mamas, 7 kilometers from here<sup>93</sup>.

Another example of imperial possessions appears in Caesarea (Kayseri) in the 4th century A.D. emperor Valens donated his imperial estates to Basil the Great, to be used for the care of the poor and sick<sup>94</sup>. Basil the Great finished the construction of the *ptochotropheion* by 372, but it is not known for certain whether he accomplished this with the support of Emperor Valens<sup>95</sup>. Theodoret Cyrus describes the lands donated by Emperor Valens as beautiful lands<sup>96</sup>. Métivier states that these houses mentioned by Theodoret Cyrus may belong to a holy house and that the terms Basil the Great used in

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85 Schaff, 725.

86 Page 1936, 114. The Latin and Greek terms used by the ancient writers for this property describe a property but do not indicate that it is a "house" oikos or domus (Métivier 2002, 136).

87 Ramsay 1960, 339.

88 Sozomenos describes *Macellum* as an Imperial headquarters (Sozomenos, 725).

89 Sozomenos, 725.

90 Marcellinus, 19; Baydur 1999, 19; Van Dam 2002, 98; Cameron 2008, 44. Regarding the period that Julian spent in Cappadocia, it is understood from the information he gave in his Letters to the Athenians that he had a life of exile, and from the sources of the period, he was sent to *Macellum* for education. David Hunt thinks that this was not exile due to the location of Cappadocia and Emperor Constantin's visit to *Macellum* (Cameron 2008, 44).

91 Theodoret of Cyrus mentions that Julian and Gallus received a religious education and they internalized it (Theodoret, 157).

92 Marcellinus, 85.

93 Hadjinicolaou 1951, 21.

94 Theodoret, 216; Van Dam 2002, 51.

95 Holman 2001, 75.

96 Theodoret, 216.

the letter he wrote to Modestus in 372 support this idea. It is seen that the term *domus nostra* has been used many times in law texts after 358<sup>97</sup>. The term “Imperial Houses in Cappadocia” appears in the laws of Theodosios II<sup>98</sup>.

Around 370 B.C., the imperial properties inherited from the Hellenistic Period and enriched during the Roman Period began to be organized as houses. These lands and properties in the region, the revenues of which were allocated to the needs of the emperor or his family, led to the emergence of house counts. Although many ancient laws spoke of holy houses, none of them spoke of the earl of the houses. Although it remains unverified, Akakios, with whom Libanios corresponded between 363 and 365, was assigned to manage the herds in Cappadocia after he became the governor of Galatia and Phrygia, that is, the administration of the imperial properties in the region, a large part of which also carried out livestock activities. With Akakios, an official of *comes rei privatae* can be mentioned for the first time, although he does not have the title of Count of Cappadocia Houses. Although we know the institutions *Comes domorum* and *comes domorum per cappadociam* as terms, we know only a house count in Cappadocia. Called Paulus, he was tasked with reclaiming imperial property illegally used by civilians<sup>99</sup>.

Although it is not known whether it was an imperial property, the Latin inscription on the mosaics unearthed in the excavations carried out in the Örenşehir district of Kayseri in 2010 and 2012 is important in that it gives the name of a ruler named Hyakinthos. The inscription is as follows:

«*Votis XXX multis XX bis XX /  
curante Yacintho comite /  
fabrica ad summum per/ducta es culmen*»

“On the occasion of its 30th anniversary and with our prayers for it to reach its 40th anniversary!

This building (*factory*) was built under the leadership of his friend (*comes*) Hyakinthos.

You, O building, have now reached the most glorious level!”<sup>100</sup>

The inscription celebrates a ruler’s thirtieth year and even his next tenth year with prayers. Researchers who have published the inscription state that such celebrations are more common on Late Imperial period coins than on inscriptions, and based on that fact they have claimed that the person celebrated might be one of the Emperors who had been on the throne for more than thirty years, namely Konstantinos (306-337), Konstantios II (324/337-361), or Theodosios II (402/8-450)<sup>101</sup>. As the prayer

97 Métivier 2005, 136.

98 Pharr 1952, 147; CTh 6,30,2

99 Métivier 2005, 137-140.

100 During the excavations, in addition to the Latin inscription, a Greek inscription was also unearthed.

The inscription on the floor mosaic reads: ὑγεῖνων / εἴσελθαι = ὑγιαίνων εἴσελθε «Enter well!» or “Enter if you are healthy!”. For detailed information, see Yıldız – Claus – Petzl 2013, 166-168.

101 Yıldız – Claus – Petzl 2013, 167.

in the inscription may have been addressed to the emperor, it is also possible that it was addressed to Hyakinthos. The translation of the inscription *comes* (comite)<sup>102</sup> is a title given to a high-ranking administrator in the imperial service, and Hyakinthos must have been one of the high-ranking administrators of the region. However, no administrator with this name was found in the sources.

In a letter written by Gregory of Nyssa, he gives information about the villa of his friend Adelphios. There is no information concerning that Adelphios' villa and lands were imperial property. This letter is very important because of the details that can be reached about the properties of an official in the imperial service. The villa was located on the slopes of a forested mountain of the Halys River. There were cultivated fields, vineyards, orchards on the land. The villa had impressive architecture and a rich interior made with the use of precious materials. The building was partially fortified, and there were towers at the entrance. When you entered the door, a portico and a deep pool greeted you. Fish were swimming in the triangular pool. The portico had a very high ceiling, and the walls were decorated with paintings or mosaics<sup>103</sup>.

Adelphios was an official in the imperial service, called a *scholasticus*, and had been governor of the province of Galatia from 392 on. Gregory of Nyssa mentions that the properties of Adelphios were in a place called Vanesa, west of Caesarea (Kayseri), on the banks of the Halys River<sup>104</sup>. Although Vanota is a Galatian name, the city is located in Cappadocia, not Galatia. Thierry and Hild-Restle suggested that Vanesa was the same place as Venasa and that the settlement should be localized to today's Avanos district<sup>105</sup>.

After the Cappadocia region became a Roman province, the previously mentioned arrangements were made in the lands. Some of the empire's property and temple lands must have been annexed to cities, while the remaining lands must have been privately owned. Although some of the lands in Cappadocia were the property of Rome, local powers and especially large landowners continued to exist under the Roman administration, thanks to the lands given to the private property. In short, the fact that the region was a state did not reduce the effectiveness of local forces. These powers continued to rule the lands they previously held under Roman law. Some even claimed to be royalty, citing their ancestry. Some nobles further increased their power in the region by assuming official duties<sup>106</sup>. The main resources of this powerful segment were properties, farms, the animals on these farms and the goods produced<sup>107</sup>.

In the areas that came under Roman rule, they made significant changes in the land ownership structure, including the increase of rural estates and new types of

102 *Comes*, used for comites in the Late Imperial Period, is a high military or civil title (Berger 1953, 397).

103 Silvas 2007, 182-187; Van Dam 2002, 22.

104 Silvas 2007, 181-182.

105 Thierry 1981; Hild – Restle 1981.

106 It is known that very powerful aristocratic families existed in Cappadocia during the Middle Byzantine Period. Aristocratic families such as Alyattes, Skepides, Maleinos, Boilas, and Phokas are among the most recognizable representatives of the provincial noble class. (Vryonis 1971, 25; Ostrogorsky 2011, 284). The sources of the period also mention that these aristocratic families gained strength in terms of economy and property.

107 Van Dam 2002, 20.

landholdings. This administrative structure created provided a development towards the consolidation of land ownership and the emergence of medium and large-scale mansions. While this phenomenon reinforced the authority of the rich in the states, it supported the agricultural landed property of elite and middle-class families and the flourishing life of the cities<sup>108</sup>.

### Chorebishopsal Institution

Apart from the administrative administration in the Cappadocia region, religious administration began to be effective with the Late Antiquity. It is observed that the bishops played an important role in the administrative structure of Cappadocia. While there was a bishop in the city of Caesarea (Kayseri), these bishops needed assistants at their disposal to maintain their authority in the largely rural areas of the region. Called *Khorepiskopoi*, these assistants ruled small rural settlements in the immediate vicinity of the city<sup>109</sup>. Basil the Great controlled no less than 50 chorebishops<sup>110</sup>. These rural bishops were appointed to many villages, settlements, and imperial estates around the city, assisting in the administration of his ecclesiastical province<sup>111</sup>.

Basil the Great addresses the chorebishops in his letters 53, 54, and 231. He states that it is a great mistake for the chorebishops to take money from the candidates in the appointment of priests, and their punishment should be doubled. Although their autonomy and responsibilities were unclear, these rural clergies were certainly more authoritative than priests because they held the rank of “bishop”. It is known that among those who participated in the Councils of Ankyra and Neo Caesarea, there were also chorebishops<sup>112</sup>. In the Councils of Ankyra in 314 and NeoCaesarea in 319, the power and status of the rural bishops were sought to be restrained. It was decided that the *presbyters* and deacons in their regions should not make their elections without the approval of the city bishop they belong to and should obey them. The same issue was also brought up at the Antiocheia Council in 341 and it was emphasized that the chorebishops should abide by the decisions of the Ankyra Council, and priests were banned from signing documents concerning their transfer to another diocese. It can be followed that two chorebishops from Cappadocia, five from Isauria, two from Bithynia, and two from Cilicia attended the Council of Neo caserea, and the Council of Nikea, which was held in 325<sup>113</sup>.

In the first half of the 4th century, Basil the Great of Caesarea and Gregory of Nazianzos introduced some of the chorebishops in the region to us by name. One of the chorebishops under Basil the Great is Timotheos of Eulalius. In the following decades, Paladios and Sozomenos mention two chorebishops in Cappadocia, Timotheos, and Prapidios. Looking at the correspondence of Firmos from Kayseri with the chorebishops named Alypios and Pergamios, it is seen that the institution was active in the second quarter of the 4th century. However, after 431, in the letter written by the two churches

108 Mitchell 2016, 447.

109 Cooper-Decker 2012, 143; Baydur 1970, 112.

110 Storin 2012, 36.

111 Madeleine 1960, 135.

112 Basil the Great, 337.

113 Mitchell 2003, 70.

in Cappadocia to Emperor Leon in 458, no chorebishop's signature is seen. On the other hand, the institution continues to exist in Armenia II. The chorebishop of a settlement named Arkha attended the Ephesus council in 431. A chorebishop named Adelphios was sent by Arabissolu Adolios to the Kadıköy council in 451<sup>114</sup>.

While Basil the Great mentions more than fifty chorebishoprics, Gregory also mentions the mediocrity of the Sasima church handed over to him and even the unnecessaryness of such a church. It is also seen that there were conflicts between the rural bishops under the control of Basil the Great and the metropolitans of Kayseri from time to time. Basil the Great took the side of the chorebishops in this dispute. The reason for the emergence of the problem was a rivalry between the two institutions, and the chorebishops opposed the authorities of the metropolitans. Depending on what happened, Basil the Great complained about the close bond between chorebishops, provincial priests, and communities, and stated that this pushed the bishop, the religious authority in the city, aside. He also mentioned that as a result of this, there was a serious break in the Caesarea (Kayseri) church. The dispute between Firmos of Caesarea and Alypius is similar to those experienced by Basil the Great<sup>115</sup>. Although the decisions taken by the church councils definitely subordinated the chorebishops to the city bishops, the above-mentioned disagreements show us their solid position in the provinces.

### High Level Residences in Cappadocia

During the Roman Imperial Period, aristocrats lived in traditional peristyle houses. This plan type, which began to be applied in Anatolia during the Hellenistic Period, continued to be employed in the Roman Imperial Period as well. The courtyard in these houses is surrounded by porticoes on four sides, and the porticoes are surrounded by rooms on three sides. In this period, the houses belonging to the governors and bishops and also described as palaces were upper class residences. Upper-class residences were quite remarkable, with reception halls, large dining rooms, monumental fountains, floor mosaics, murals, and sculptures<sup>116</sup>.

The aristocrats' spending their wealth on themselves instead of the public, which had a significant impact on the transformation of cities in Late Antiquity, led to the emergence of ostentatious, high-end residences. Among the reasons why the houses were ostentatious was that they were used as an indicator of their political, social, and economic status<sup>117</sup>. Although some information about the residences in Cappadocia can be obtained from the sources of the period, it is difficult to make a detailed regional evaluation of upper class residential architecture. In this respect, Şahinefendi settlement is important.

Although not from archaeological data in the Cappadocia Region, we can have information about a few buildings that can be considered as upper class residences of the period from the written sources. Archaeological remains of Late Antiquity residential architecture were unearthed in Şahinefendi and Kayseri İncesu. The floors

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114 Métivier 2005, 178-290

115 Métivier 2005, 178-290.

116 Ellis 2005, 415; Lewit 2003, 260; Türkoğlu 2004, 95.

117 Mitchell 1996, 201.

of the spaces unearthed in İncesu were paved with mosaics, but the function of the building has not been determined yet.

When we look at the residential architecture in the Cappadocia Region, it is known from written sources that there had been large and ostentatious farms in the region since the Kingdoms Period. During the Kingdoms Period, kings were known as livestock breeders and would choose regions suitable for livestock breeding as their settlements. After the Cappadocia region became a Roman province, many of these royal properties turned into imperial properties and public properties. Local aristocrats continued their existence under Roman rule. In the late Roman period, the main source of wealth and power of these local aristocrats was the farms they controlled and the livestock they produced. During the 4th century AD, nobles owned large farms and ostentatious residences in the countryside to show off their wealth. The floors of these houses were decorated with mosaics, the walls with frescoes, and the ceilings with gold leaves. Some aristocrats had baths decorated with marble and bronze statues on their estates. Some aristocrats owned seasonal residences for use during the summer and winter periods<sup>118</sup>.

Palmatius, a Cappadocian horse breeder in the middle of the 3rd century, was among the wealthy of the region. Palmatius' farm is located in Andabalis, near Tyana (Kemerhisar). It is known that the residence in this palace, belonging to Flavius Palmatius, was as large and rich as an imperial palace. However, there is no detailed information about the architecture of the building<sup>119</sup>.

Church Fathers also depicted some estates and houses. Although there were many imperial properties in central Cappadocia, there were private properties in the region, and some of them belonged to members of the church. Their own families were also respected landowners of the region<sup>120</sup>. Basil the Great' family-owned properties in Pontus and Cappadocia, while Gregory of Nazianzos' family-owned properties in southwestern Cappadocia. Gregory' cousin owned properties in a nearby area at Amphilokhios. Although the families of Basil the Great and Gregory of Nazianzos were wealthy, they were not among the wealthiest in the region. The properties owned by Olympia, a wealthy widow in Constantinople, in Cappadocia were only a part of her properties spread all over Anatolia. Another woman named Selekia owned properties and a residence, protected with a perimeter wall, near Caesarea (Kayseri)<sup>121</sup>.

The villa belonging to Adelfios, a friend of Gregory of Nyssa in Vanesa, is very well depicted. Although not as detailed as Adelfios' villa, the information about Macellum, where Julian stayed for six years near Caesarea (Kayseri), provides us with information about the upper class residences of the period. St. Basil the Great mentions in his letters that hunting parties were organized in his properties in Pontus. Based on

118 Van Dam 2002, 21-22.

119 Van Dam 2002, 23; Cooper-Decker 2012, 88. It would not be wrong to say that the farm of Palmatius, one of the most important horse breeders in the region, had many stables and large lands.

120 There are various opinions regarding the social class of the families of the Church Fathers. The first is that they were descended from the Persian aristocracy. Second, the families of the Fathers, especially Basil the Great of Caesarea (Kayseri) and Gregory of Nyssa, belonged to the Roman senatorial class. Third and lastly, families belonged to the *crucia* class of Cappadocia (Kopecek 1973, 453).

121 Van Dam 2002, 22.

this, we can estimate it to be in a rural area, though we do not have any information about the physical appearance of the villa. The only information we know about the property is that the building had a courtyard and a chapel.

The farmhouse where Julian and his brother Gallus stayed for six years was located on the slopes of Mount Argaios (Erciyes). Located not far from Caesarea (Kayseri), it was an imperial estate with an impressive villa (Palace), baths, gardens, and springs. It is mentioned here that the two brothers were educated and brought up befittingly their status, that they were given academic and physical education by linguists and holy book commentators fitting their age, and that they were recorded among the clergy, and that they read passages from the Bible to people<sup>122</sup>. We do not have any information about residential architecture. However, given the detention of exiled Julius and Gallus, it would not be wrong to say that it was a fortified structure. It can be surmised that a fortification with a tower seen in the Roman Period surrounded the farm. The fact that Julian felt like he was living in a Persian garrison indicates that the farm had high-security measures.

The most detailed information about the examples we have mentioned above comes from the villa of Adelphios in modern Vanesa. Located in the settlement where the Halys River passes, the villa is in a partly wooded area. Gregory mentions a chapel in front of the main building. The roof of the chapel, which was being built when Gregory visited the place, had not been completed yet. It is a practice seen in chapels near wealthy residences in this period. It is known that there was a chapel built in this period in front of the residences of Gregory's family in Pontus Anissa. In both structures, the chapel is seen as an independent structure and is located at a certain distance from the residence<sup>123</sup>. Next to the chapel, in front of the main entrance of the villa, there is a pergola built for dining, under the shade of the trees<sup>124</sup>. What Gregory meant here is evaluated to be a *stibadium* made of stone or wood. The most striking feature of the main building is the entrance of the villa. These architectural elements seen in late Rome had a decorative or symbolic meaning. However, the construction of the towers was largely for safety. Upon entering the main gate, there is a courtyard and a pool in the center. The pool's being deep and the presence of fish is a feature seen in upper class residences in Rome. In the narrative of Gregory, a row of columns with a triangular plan in the courtyard is mentioned. The triangular courtyard arrangement is extremely rare in Roman architecture. Such arrangements are seen to be made only depending on the necessities in the city. For this reason, it may be more accurate to consider what Gregory meant to say as a peristyle section that surrounds a rectangular courtyard from three directions<sup>125</sup>. Hall-like examples with two columns in front of the courtyard at the end of the Gregory courtyard are seen in Roman peristyle houses. Information given includes that the interior of the villa is very ostentatious, with high ceilings, mosaics, wall paintings, and sculptures. Although the owner of the house was Christian, it is understood that it was richly decorated with Pagan wall paintings and opus sectile floor coverings. In the villa, gilded bronze statues, paintings, ivory

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122 Sozomenos, 725.

123 Rossiter 1989, 104-105.

124 Silvas 2007, 184-185.

125 Rossiter 1989, 104-106.



ornaments on the doors, and column capitals provide important details about the upper class residences of the period<sup>126</sup>.

John Chrysostom also mentions a fortified villa while passing through Caesarea (Kayseri) in Cappadocia during his exile in 404 (Krysostomos, ep. 14. 2-3). Although its architectural details are not clear, it is possible that a villa with a tower is mentioned here, similar to the villa of Adelphius in Vanesa. There are also aristocratic residences carved into the rock following the architectural tradition of the Cappadocia Region. It can be assumed that this style of rock-cut upper-class dwellings existed in the region during the Late Antique and Early Byzantine Periods. However, the only complex that has survived is the Saray-Belha building complex in Özkonak.

The building was first evaluated as a monastery by Thierry. Ousterhout states that the building is dated to the 6th century, based on its similarities with the Durmuş Kadir Church. In later studies, it was understood that the complex, which Thierry described as a monastery, was an elite residence. The church's not being on the main axis of the complex, the presence of the reception hall on the main axis, and the absence of the refectory of the complex make one think that the church is not a monastery but an elite residence. The original entrance of the building is located in the southeast corner. Two rooms to the west of the middle courtyard surrounded by spaces in the east, west, and north directions may have been arranged for men and women. There is a kitchen on the second floor to the north of these two rooms, and a connection is provided between the reception room and the kitchen in the north. There is a single-nave church in the south of the courtyard. Apart from these spaces, there are spaces whose function has not been exactly established, and other spaces that can be associated with production and agriculture. While there are independent rooms on the upper floor of the building, organized as two floors, these rooms are considered as places where the servants stayed and which were also used for storage<sup>127</sup>.

## Conclusion

Although the settlement, located within the borders of Şahinefendi village of Nevşehir province in the Cappadocia region, is generally referred to as Sobesos in the scientific literature today, we could not find any data to prove this in our studies. Therefore, in the historical and anthropological theoretical approach we have applied, we have focused on the assumption that Söveşe, the old name of Şahinefendi village with the name of the settlement, may have derived from the evolution of the Greek name Sobesos. It is a known practice to try to explain the origin of names, called Toponymy, based on etymological, geographical, and historical information. In cases where there are no written sources and inscriptions in the determination of the settlements, the sound harmony of the place names in the sources and the place names in the modern period has been used as a common method for localization. Jerphanion, who worked on the Church of the Forty Martyrs, thinks that the name of the region may be Sobesos. Later, researchers working in the region continued to use the name Sobesos.

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126 Silvas 2007, 184-185.

127 Thierry 2002, 98; Ousterhout 2017, 275; Decker – Cooper 2002, 188.

Şahinefendi settlement has been inhabited since the 4th century A.D. In addition to the dating we have made based on the mosaics, the fact that similar examples of the bath complex in Şahinefendi are attributed to the Late Antiquity is the supporting argument for our dating of the first phase. Apart from these, the terms used in the tomb inscriptions, which we have mentioned before, do not give a precise date, but they are still important for showing that the second phase of villa I is also dated to the Late Antiquity.

The region, which was divided into two by Emperor Valens in the 4th century A.D. and called Cappadocia Prima, consisted of imperial properties rather than private properties. It is possible that the aristocrat or civil servant(s) who we claim to have lived in the first phase of the Şahinefendi settlement was an official in *comes domorum per cappadociam* system, which was a regional administrative system.

The materials used in the construction of the villa and bath, mosaic floors, wall paintings, decorative elements on the exterior, and the use of materials such as marble, which are rare in the region, are also features that require economic power. The bath, which was built independently of the house, is also an ostentatious and large building for a rural settlement. For this reason, it is understood that the person who lived here in the first phase had economic power.

The church phase, which is the second phase of the building, shows that there was a Christian community in Şahinefendi. In the 4th century, it is known that there were khorebishops who served under the bishop in the administration of rural areas. It is part of the information given by Gregory of Nazianzos that there were more than fifty *chorebishops* affiliated to the Kayseri Diocese, which was ruled by St. Basil the Great. *Chorepiscopism* was a practice seen not only in the Cappadocia region but also in other regions. These rural bishops administered the areas under their control under the bishop.

It is known from the sources that with the spread of Christianity and the bishops becoming active in the administration, the nobles with economic power tried to take part in the religious class. Our suggestion regarding the second phase of the settlement is that this may be a *chorebishopric*. It is understood from the council lists that the institution of the *chorebishopric* still continued in Armenia II in the middle of the 5th century.

If Sobesos, mentioned in the diocese lists at the beginning of the 10th century in line with our argument, is the name of the settlement within the borders of today's Şahinefendi village, it is understood that the settlement in the region continues. Archaeological findings do not provide data on the continued settlement of the Şahinefendi archaeological remains after the Late Antiquity. For this reason, we could not determine the exact period when the settlement was abandoned. There is no doubt that the Arab raids since the 7th century also affected the settlements in this region. The chaos that began to be experienced in the Eastern Roman lands with the 7th century caused the population of the cities to decrease, and the people living in rural areas to withdraw to safe areas. It is highly probable that the region was abandoned during this period due to these events.

The most important finds we have regarding the period of the existence of the settlement are the coins of the reign of the Emperor Justin II found inside the villa

and dated to the 6th century A.D. These coins show that the settlement was still in use in the second half of the 6th century. The coins do not allow us to precisely date the chapel phase, which is the third phase of villa I. The area where the coins were found is problematic for the 3rd phase. Because these coins found in the atrium were carried during the construction of the chapel while the surrounding area was filled with soil.

The ceramics unearthed in the excavations were dated to the 6th and 7th centuries A.D. the latest. Apart from these ceramics, which mostly belong to pots for daily use, there are no glazed ceramics used in the centuries, during the later periods, in the 10th and 11th centuries. The absence of these ceramics indicates that the settlement ended before these dates. Because the settlement is in a rural area, the possibility that this type of ceramics did not reach here should also be taken into consideration. However, this latter possibility is lower due to the proximity of the settlement to Caesarea (Kayseri) and its being on a road.

The fact that the chapel was built in the 3rd phase shows that the second floor and atrium roof of villa I had been destroyed. Therefore, a chapel was built in the atrium. The fact that the building was destroyed and became unusable may be related to the Arab raids in the 7th century. In this process, the possibility of re-settlement after the threat of Arab invasions of the abandoned settlement and the continuation of use of the residences and other structures located here should also be considered.

Even though Şahinefendi settlement was abandoned before the 10th and 11th centuries, the rock-carved aristocratic residence, churches, chapels and other related rock spaces dated to the 11th century in the southeast of the settlement show that life/settlement continued in the region. The dating of the first painting phase of the Forty Martyrs Church to the end of the 9th century or the beginning of the 10th century is associated with close socio-economic continuity, even if it is not in the Şahinefendi settlement. The fact that the diocese known as Sobesos is included in the *Notitiae Episcopatumum* lists at the beginning of the 10th century (if Şahinefendi settlement is Sobesos) should indicate the presence of a Christian community in the region at that time.

Mentioned on the lists of the dioceses at the beginning of the 10th century, during the reign of Leon VI, Sobesos is not found on the lists of the later period. With the 14th century, Tamisos, a settlement neighboring Şahinefendi, was seen on the lists as a diocese. In the 14th century, Turks and Orthodox people lived together in the region. Structures such as mosques, tombs, and madrasas built in Tamisos are dated to the beginning of the 14th century. The murals of the Forty Martyrs Church are dated to the 9th or the 10th centuries in the first phase, to the 11th century in the second phase, and to the years 1216/1217, which we know exactly from the inscription found in the third and final phase. Dated to the beginning of the 13th century, this inscription is important in terms of showing that Christians lived in the region. The lack of records about the 15th and 16th centuries about the Ürgüp region does not allow us to evaluate the status of the settlements in these areas. However, since the beginning of the 14th century, the structures in Tamisos are an indication that Turks settled in the region<sup>128</sup>.

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128 Uyar 2011, 609-611.

## Bibliography and Abbreviations

### Abbreviations:

IGUR I: Inscriptiones Graecae Urbis Romae.

MAMA III: Denkmäler aus dem rauhen Kilikien

MAMA IV: Monuments and Documents from Eastern Asia and Western Galatia.

PLRE I: The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire, Vol. I, A.D. 260-395.

PLRE II: The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire, Vol. II, A.D. 395-527.

PLRE III: The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire, Vol. III, A.D. 527-641.

PmbZ 1: Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit.

PmbZ 2: Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit.

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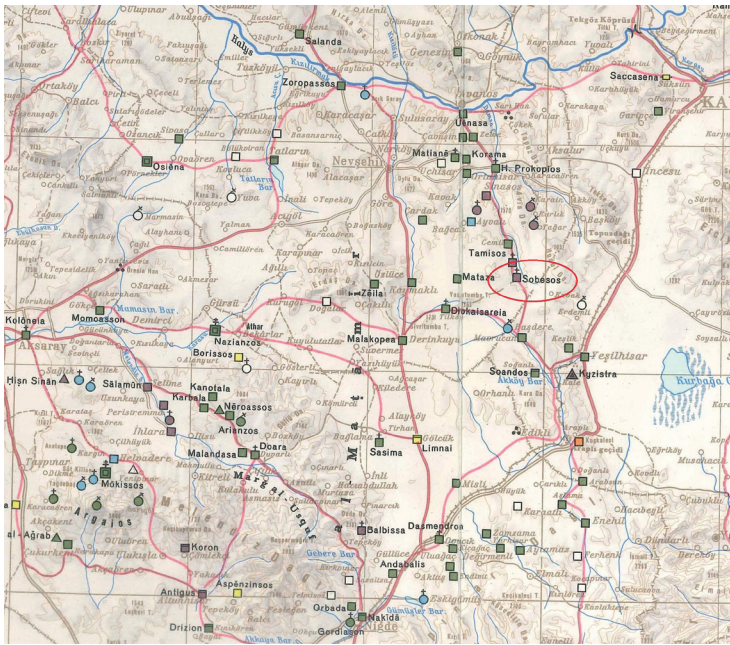


Fig. 1 Localization of Şahinefendi Settlement (Hild-Restle, 1981).



Fig. 2 Aerial Photo of Şahinefendi Settlement

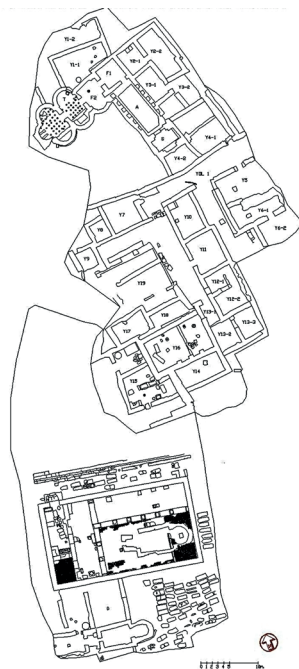


Fig. 3 Settlement Plan





Fig. 4 Aerial Photo of Villa I

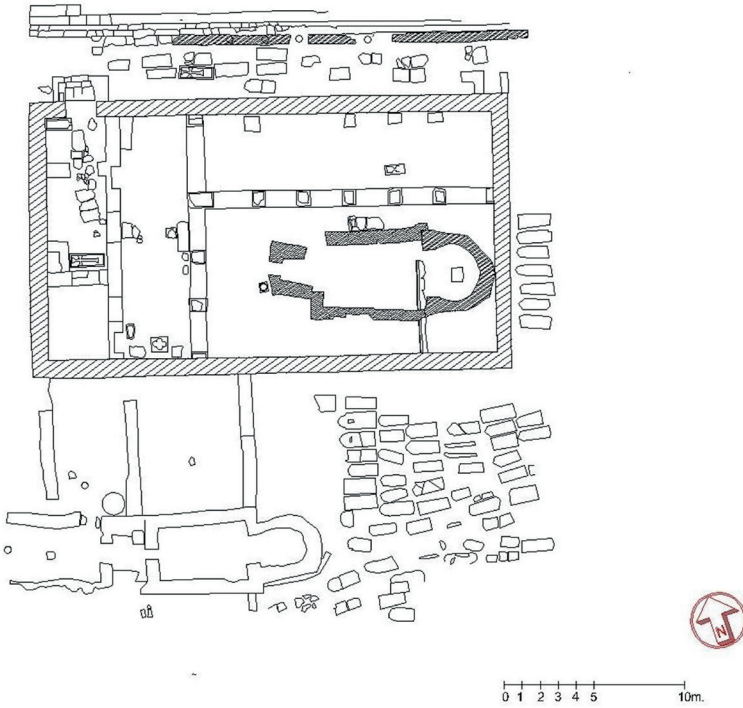


Fig 5 Plan of Villa I



Fig. 6 Villa I, Mosaic Space  
(Nevşehir Archeology Museum Archive)



Fig. 7 Villa I,  
Mosaics of Southeast Corner  
Space



Fig. 8 Bath, Aerial Photo

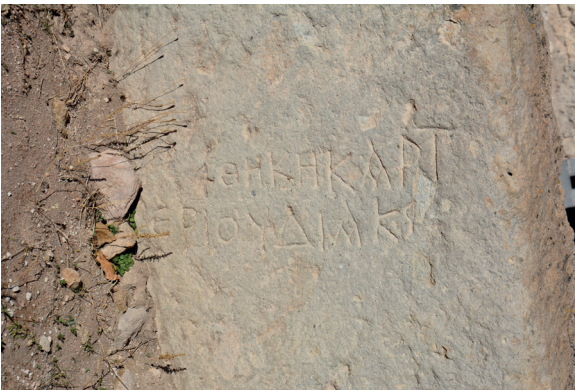


Fig. 9 Tomb Inscription



Fig. 10 Tomb Inscription