

ADALYA



SUNA - İNAN KIRAÇ AKDENİZ MEDENİYETLERİ ARAŞTIRMA ENSTİTÜSÜ
SUNA & İNAN KIRAÇ RESEARCH INSTITUTE ON MEDITERRANEAN CIVILIZATIONS

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Palamutdüzü: A Medieval Byzantine Village Settlement in the Bey Mountains

Engin AKYÜREK*

About 25 km. west of Antalya, and north of Aşağıkaraman village is the Palamutdüzü area which contains the remains of a house settlement and a monastic group from the Byzantine period. Also known as Palamutluk or Palamut Gediği, Palamutdüzü is reached via Doyran district and lies 5.5 km. northeast of it (Fig. 1). The road passing through the centre of Doyran extends north, passes through the Roman period settlement at Kartınpınarı and 3 km. later reaches the western skirts of Palamutdüzü.

Palamutdüzü is a flat area of 1.5-2 km. length in the east-west direction and of 200-250 m. width, formed by fault lines. It extends slightly curving and bounded by sheer cliffs on the north and south (Fig. 4) while it rests on mountains on the east and west sides. Its west end joins the east slopes of the Andızlıyürek mountain range. Doyranın Keldağ, on the southwest side of which is located Neapolis, is in the southeast part of the same range. The east side terminates at the western slopes of Karamanın Keldağ in the Aşağıkaraman village. The only way from Doyran passes along the west end of the flat area where it joins the mountains. Here the way forks into two: One crosses the flat area along its south side and terminates at the east end while the other continues north from here, then descends and extends parallel to the flat area but at the bottom of the sheer north side. These are firebreaks opened for facilitating the fight against forest fires. The south side of Palamutdüzü faces the Gulf of Antalya and is in the form of a very steep cliff reaching a height of 25-30 m. at places. Only the road on the west end of the south slope allows access to the flat area. The north side of Palamutdüzü looks over the wide flat area extending to the Güver Canyon through which the Karaman Stream flows. This flat area extends further past the canyon up to Düzlerçamı. The north side of Palamutdüzü is not as steep as its south side; yet, a rocky slope along the north side falls sheer for 3 to 5 m. and reaches the forest road extending parallel to the Palamutdüzü flat area above. Here a simple defensive line was formed in part by cutting the bedrock and in part by building stretches of wall. The settlement is located in the west part of the flat area. In the area with the houses are about twenty houses most of which have multiple rooms. To the east of the houses is a monastic complex (Fig. 2).

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As a medieval Byzantine settlement Palamutdüzü bears importance for both Antalya and environs and the Byzantine history and archaeology in overall because archaeological information available regarding Byzantine villages or rural settlements is scarce. It is well-known that at the turn of the seventh century the cities fell into a decline while on the other hand rural settlements with different organisations and of a smaller scale increased¹. However, archaeological evidence supporting this and providing information about the qualities of such rural settlements is very restricted despite the much-higher number of field surveys in the recent years. In the region, mainly the splendid cities of Late Antiquity and their medieval successors have been investigated but little to date has been done about the medieval rural settlements. Another reason for the scarcity of data regarding medieval Byzantine rural settlements is the fact that they were built with materials of less durability and with poorer workmanship, thus they fell into ruin easier over time. The villages did not contain strong monumental structures capable of resisting the passage of time; the churches, too, are relatively modest.

Archaeological studies on Byzantine period village settlements have mainly covered the Early Byzantine period up to the seventh century, and lands outside Anatolia². Some research work covering later periods were conducted in Greece and some other Balkan countries³. Research investigating the Byzantine rural settlements and villages in Anatolia is almost non-existent. Yet, especially Hirschfeld's study on early Byzantine rural settlements in Palestine showed that the basic characteristics of these villages did not change much through the Middle Ages: The villages are not encircled with walls; the settlement did not follow a ready-plan; simple houses were built very close to each other and narrow alleys formed in between the houses are seen instead of a regular street network; apart from the church, no other squares or public structures are seen⁴.

The names of the Byzantine settlement and monastery at Palamutdüzü are not known. As this settlement was not studied in the modern period, it was unknown in the literature until our study. The site was first visited and surveyed in 1997 within the frame of Trebenna and Environs Survey Project led by N. Çevik. As this survey was conducted right after a forest fire, the survey team was able to identify the remains clearly and the settlement was noted by the team members as a Byzantine house settlement and a church⁵. However, as there was no Byzantinist member in the team at that time, the detailed study of the remains was postponed to the next season. Two years later, in 1999, a team from Istanbul University, Department of Art History-Byzantine Art led by the author of these words visited and surveyed the site and prepared a sketch plan of the monastery and later published the Palamutdüzü monastery in a short article⁶. In 1999, the house settlement

¹ A. E. Laiou, "The Byzantine Village (5th-14th century)", in: J. Lefort - C. Morrison - J. P. Sodini (eds.), *Les villages dans l'Empire byzantin (IV^e-XV^e siècle)* (2005) 31-54, see especially p. 38.

² It is worth citing two publications here: Y. Hirschfeld, "Farms and Villages in Byzantine Palestine", *DOP* 51, 1997, 33-72; J. P. Sodini, "La contribution de l'archéologie à la connaissance du monde byzantin (IV^e-VII^e siècles)", *DOP* 47, 1993, 138-184.

³ A. E. Laiou-Thomadakis, *Peasant Society in the Late Byzantine Empire* (1977); M. H. Jameson - C. N. Runnels - T. H. van Andel (eds.), *A Greek Countryside: The Southern Argolid from Prehistory to the Present Day* (1994).

⁴ Hirschfeld, 61-64.

⁵ N. Çevik - İ. Kızgut - Ş. Aktaş, "1997 Yılı Trebenna ve Çevresi Yüzey Araştırmaları", *AST XVI.II* 1999, 401-421. For evaluation on Palamutdüzü see pp. 408-409.

⁶ E. Akyürek - A. Tiryaki - G. Kızılkayak, "Antalya'nın Doyran ve Aşağıkaraman Köylerindeki Bizans Mimari Varlığı", *ASanat* 112, 2003, 13-26.

could not be investigated. Later, the Tabula Imperii Byzantini team summarised what we had published about this site in the eighth volume covering Lycia and Pamphylia⁷. In 2003, within the frame of Bey Mountains Surveys Project under the direction of Prof. Dr. Nevzat Çevik, a more comprehensive study was conducted in the region⁸. In 2005, the team in charge of Byzantine part of the Beydağları Surveys Project worked at site for two weeks; the monastic remains and houses were studied in detail for the first time; plans of preserved houses were drawn; and a general layout sketch plan was prepared for the house settlement area⁹. In 2006, the team was supplemented with the contributions of a cartographer and an architect and the settlement was mapped (Fig. 2).

Late Antiquity was still an 'urban civilisation' that dominated over the rural settlements. The differences between the city and the countryside were in quality and big. However, Late Antiquity was also a transformation process that witnessed the gradual decline of the great cities on the coast and their civilisation. Especially the Arab raids coming from the sea targeted these cities on the coast and they could not retain their power as centres of civilisation, some retained their existence by shrinking, yet they could not maintain their former importance. As of the seventh and eighth centuries, villages as rural settlement units gained in importance. The sources of the period also reveal that the rural settlements became an important object of all the social production and life, thus the state's financial policies¹⁰. Indeed, when we look at the Middle Ages, i.e. after the 7th-8th centuries, it is not possible to talk about a 'city' in real sense of the word other than the large metropolises like Konstantinopolis, Thessaloniki and Nikaia. The existing cities had already become villages indeed¹¹. The Byzantine cities do not look like anything like the splendid cities of Antiquity at all. In legislation, the Byzantines called a settlement a *polis* when it had a bishopric¹². However, there were some bishopric cities whose population was only in hundreds in the Middle Ages¹³. On the other hand some settlements with a status of a village had a population in thousands when the numbers of their houses are taken into consideration¹⁴. In other words, the differences between the 'city' and the 'countryside' faded in the Middle Ages¹⁵ and the cities ruralised both in the physical, cultural and institutional senses. The typical and the most common settlement type of the Middle Ages was thus the village.

⁷ H. Hellenkemper – F. Hild record in Tabula Imperii Byzantini 8, Lykien und Pamphylien (2004) Teil: 1, 154 that there exists a Middle Byzantine monastery at Keltepe/Palamutdüzü. In Teil 2, 622, short information on the monastery is given as a summary from our publication cited in note 6 above.

⁸ N. Çevik - B. Varkıvaç - S. Bulut - İ. Kızılgut - E. Akyürek - İ. Pimouget Pedarros, "Bey Dağları Yüzey Araştırmaları 2003: Neapolis, Kelbessos ve Çevreleri", AST 22.1, 2005, 101-114.

⁹ N. Çevik, "Bey Dağları Yüzey Araştırmaları 2005 / Surveys in the Bey Mountains in 2005", ANMED 4, 2006, 85-92, see especially p. 86.

¹⁰ Laiou, 53.

¹¹ Trebenna sets a close example for this point, see N. Çevik - B. Varkıvaç - E. Akyürek (eds.), Trebenna, Tarihi, Arkeolojisi ve Doğası / Its History, Archaeology and Natural Environment (2005) 128-130.

¹² A. Kazhdan, "Polis", ODB 1991, 3, 1692; A. Bryer, "The Late Byzantine Monastery in Town and Countryside", Studies in Church History, 16, 1979, 219-241, see especially p. 221.

¹³ For example, based on a calculation on the number of houses on the acropolis, the population of medieval Trebenna, which was the seat of a bishopric, was less than that of the settlement at Palamutdüzü (see Çevik - Varkıvaç - Akyürek, 245 Fig. 9).

¹⁴ Especially in the Early Byzantine period there were villages with a population between 1000 and 5000 (Laiou, 38; Hirschfeld, 39). For more information on this topic see G. Dagron, "Entre village et cité: la bourgade rurale des IV^e - VII^e siècles en Orient", Koinōnia 3, 1979, 29-52. However, the number of houses suggests that there existed large villages also during the Middle Ages; see Laiou, 44. Also see A. P. Kazhdan, "The Peasantry", in: G. Cavallo (ed.), The Byzantines (1997) 43-73, especially 45 ff.

¹⁵ Laiou, 53.

Medieval Byzantine rural settlements, or villages, were agricultural settlements with their own land and economic zones. The Byzantines called such settlements *khorion*¹⁶. These rural settlements varied greatly in size: They could have only 13-14 houses or hundreds¹⁷. On the other hand, Hirschfeld named the big villages as *bourgades* and the rural settlements with a population over 1000 as *kome* or *metrokomia*¹⁸. Such large rural settlements gained in importance when the 'urban civilisation' on the coasts started to decline about the end of the Late Antiquity. These rural settlements whose economy depended on agriculture¹⁹ - e.g. olives, vine and animal husbandry for the Mediterranean - were usually established in places difficult of access and away from the coasts and the main roads, for security reasons.²⁰ Self-sufficient to a great extent and existing within their economic areas, these rural settlements did not need to get into contact with the outer world much.

These villages were different from the cities in terms of their physical aspects and social and cultural lives. Contrary to many urban settlements, rural settlements were not usually encircled with fortifications. As most of them were located in a place difficult to reach, they made use of such natural protection; and many others provided a simple protection through the means of the outer walls of the houses. Typically, medieval Byzantine villages were not surrounded with walls²¹. It is plausible to suggest that these settlements were not as rich as the cities and thus did not become targets for serious military powers. The simple defensive measures taken should have been meant against the bandits and gangs, rather than big armies. Different from the cities, the village settlements were not planned and thus grew organically as need arose. These settlements did not contain any public structures other than churches, having no regular water and street networks, wide streets, monuments or public squares. Lack of public buildings may be interpreted as follows: the central or the local authority did not interfere with the development of the rural settlements; these settlements were left on their own; and thus, they enjoyed a wide autonomy²². In the Byzantine Empire, which had a strong centralised administration system, theoretically villages were subordinate to a city centre and under its control. However, especially as of the seventh century, these settlements left the control of the central authority and became independent by themselves²³. It is possible that the central authority tolerated this autonomy for they were an important source for the army and taxing. Contrary to the urban way of life, although some of these settlements were more populated than some cities, they did not have a lively cultural and social life. Most of the inhabitants were related to each other; they were involved in agriculture and led an introverted way of life, closed to the outer world.

¹⁶ Through the entire Byzantine history the terms *kome* and *khorion* were used to equally define a village settlement; see M. C. Bartisius, "Chorion", ODB 1991, 1, 431.

¹⁷ According to Kazhdan, the number of households in a village settlement could vary from 50 to 150 in the 11th century; see Kazhdan, "The Peasantry", 45 ff.

¹⁸ Hirschfeld, 39.

¹⁹ J. Lefort, "Rural economy and social relations in the countryside", DOP 47, 1993, 101-113, see p. 106.

²⁰ Laiou, 41. Similar problems of security were valid also for the farmstead settlements in the region and some measures were thus taken. See N. Çevik - S. Bulut, "The Belen and Kelbessos farmsteads with towers on the border of Pisidia - Lycia and some thoughts on security in the countryside", Adalya X, 2007, 105-130.

²¹ Laiou, 37.

²² Hirschfeld, 64.

²³ M. C. Bartisius, "Village", ODB 1991, 3, 2168.

The physical aspects of Palamutdüzü settlement show that it was a typical medieval Byzantine village. Instead of settling on the advantage of being on trade routes, it was located on a site that was easy to defend and hard to spot. A separate fortification was not built. Looking at the settlement pattern, it becomes clear that it was not pre-planned and that it developed organically in time as needs arose. Instead of regular streets, there are narrow alleys formed in between the houses. The only public structure of the settlement is the monastery to the east. House layouts and remains of workshops identified, indicate that the households were involved in agriculture.

The settlement's location is very advantageous in terms of defence; therefore, no fortifications were needed. It is not possible to climb up the south side, whose steep and rocky cliff formation provides a natural defence system. Today, the only way to access the site from the south is through the western end of the south side. Despite the lack of archaeological evidence for the position of the access from the south to the site during the Middle Ages, the topography of the site allows only this choice. The south side of the flat area of the settlement could not be accessed in case of an attack coming from the sea. On the other hand, the chances for an attack from the north side are very little. The enemy would normally approach from the sea direction and this meant they had to go round the Karamanın Keldağ, within the borders of Aşağıkaraman, on which the eastern end of the flat area rests, and then cross the deep Güver canyon in order to reach the north side. This slope, which was not as inaccessible as the south side, was made into a simple defensive line by cutting the bedrock in part and by building stretches of walls in part. Nevertheless, as far as we understand, the basis of the defensive line in the north was formed mainly by the north walls of the houses located on the north edge of the site. The north walls of these houses were in part cut into the bedrock and their doors opened to the south. Such a defensive line could work against small predatory bands, although not against a regular army. Such a small and not-wealthy settlement would probably not attract the attention of serious military powers. Another advantage of the Palamutdüzü settlement in terms of defence is that the site could not be besieged entirely because, as mentioned above, there would be no physical connection or contact between the troops on the north and the troops on the south.

It is possible that the settlement was in more constant contact with the wide flat area to the north. Possibly, the main access to the site was also from the north, not from the south. The settlement was more interested in safe agriculture, rather than in trade and harbour facilities. A gate that opened toward the wide and safe agricultural land on the north is still standing (Fig. 8). This gate provides contact between the flat area on the north and the eastern part of the house area closer to the monastery. The gate was built with masonry in part and hewn in part from the bedrock (Fig. 2). This gateway of 0.90 m. in width is the only gateway identified in the simple defence line in the north. It is inferred from here that the inhabitants of medieval Palamutdüzü used the flat area on the north extending up to the Güver Canyon for agriculture and perhaps for interaction with the wider world. This hypothesis is further supported by the facts that there exists not enough agricultural land within Palamutdüzü itself and that the settlement had no other means for subsistence. This flat area is concealed behind the Palamutdüzü ridge itself and could not be seen by potential attackers coming from the sea; thus, this area was much safer for agriculture though less fertile compared to the agricultural land of Doyran plain to the south of the settlement.

The domestic quarter starts about 30 m. east of the forest road in the west of Palamutdüzü and extends about 250 m. east (Figs. 2, 5). The houses extend over an area of 250 m. long and 150 m. wide. The flat area on top of Palamutdüzü has a very mild overall inclination descending from the north to the south and the pattern of the settlement follows this topographic feature. Rooms attached to each other constitute long house groups stretching from north to south. The settlement pattern, which is irregular, contains some irregular and narrow alleys in between the houses. The alley most easily discernible is the one between the first row of houses in the north and the second row of houses immediately down from it. Most of the houses contain a few connected quadrangular rooms. In the northernmost row of houses, some rooms have their back north walls hewn partially from the bedrock. Many walls still stand to a height of 1 to 1.5 m. but in most cases only the foundations have survived either entirely buried in the ground or concealed under heaps of wall rubble (Fig. 5). The walls were built with local limestone or travertine. Although door jambs and some walls are built with roughly dressed stones the walls are mainly built with rubble and white lime mortar. No reused worked architectural piece has been identified. This indicates that the settlement was not built over an earlier one and that there exist no other settlements in the nearby areas that could be exploited as a source for building materials. The closest ancient city is Neapolis on the west slope of Doyranın Keldağ to the west²⁴. However, three chamasonry in the rocks immediately to the northeast of the monastery may suggest the presence of a Roman farmstead here. The gate partially hewn from the bedrock in the north of the houses could date to the Roman period as well²⁵.

Within the overall layout of the settlement about 20 house-groups can be identified (Fig. 2). About ten to twelve of them are large houses or house-groups comprising more than five rooms. Others are smaller groups of two or three rooms. The rooms usually share a common yard. Especially the houses in the south part of the settlement were heavily destroyed; therefore, some of the houses in the south could not even be mapped. Thus, we can say there were more houses in the settlement than that can be identified today. As most of the walls have fallen down, it was not always possible to identify the doorways, windows and the interconnection between the rooms.

The most important source of information for medieval Byzantine houses is archaeological evidence. Not much information about the simple houses in the countryside is available in the sources. These houses were relatively simple and built with poorer materials; thus, there are only very few that have survived. Rural settlements in poor condition have therefore not attracted the scholars and thus not examined well. Although archaeological evidence is limited we still have some general information about the medieval Byzantine

²⁴ For epigraphic work on Neapolis see B. İplikçioğlu - G. Çelgin - A. V. Çelgin, "Termessos ve Egemenlik Alanı Epigrafik - Tarihi Coğrafi Yüzey Araştırmaları 1997", AST XVI.1 1999, Vol. 1, 381-385; B. İplikçioğlu, "Zum Territorium von Termessos in Pisidien", in: Steine und Wege. Festschrift für Dieter Knibbe zum 65. Geburtstag (P. Scherrer - H. Taeuber - H. Thür (eds.), Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut, Sonderschriften Bd. 32 (1999), 309-314; A. V. Çelgin, "Research in Termessos", in: O. Belli (ed.), İstanbul University's Contributions to Archaeology in Turkey, (2000), 384-391, especially see 387-388. For archaeological work covering the entire site see Çevik - Kızılgut - Aktaş, 409 ff.; Akyürek - Tiryaki - Kızılkayak, 15-17; Çevik - Varkıvanç - Bulut - Kızılgut - Akyürek - Pedarros, 101-105; Çevik - Varkıvanç - Bulut - Kızılgut - Akyürek - Pedarros - Kunze - Özdilek, "Bey Dağları 2004 Yılı Yüzey Araştırmaları", AST 24.1, 2006, 141-154, in: 146-149, 151; T.I.B., 744-745.

²⁵ N. Çevik - S. Bulut - İ. Kızılgut - E. Akyürek, "Bey Dağları Yüzey Araştırmaları 2005", AST 24.1, 2007, 85-98, see especially 86.

houses: These were simple construction in the vernacular style, not employing monumental architectural pieces or a pre-planned layout or a conscious architecture but they were rather shaped according to the needs in time. Small quadrangular rooms usually open to a yard with no peristyle. Although most buildings are single-storeyed sometimes some parts of the house can be two-storeyed. In that case the rooms opening directly unto the yard were probably served as work-areas and storerooms, while those upstairs were meant for living. These buildings are usually of lower standard and incorporated the remaining walls or stones of former buildings²⁶.

Many houses at Palamutdüzü are connected with a yard. There are cisterns with well-mouths and some workshop elements in these yards or nearby some rooms (Fig. 2). Today 21 cisterns can be identified. It is possible that some cisterns were destroyed in time and thus disappeared. The Palamutdüzü flat area with long north and south sides in cliff formation and the short east and west sides leaning on to mountains do not contain any fresh water source. The settlement's water was supplied by rain water collected in these cisterns. The cisterns have a more or less common form: round in plan with pear-like cross-section and well-mouth; thus they flare right under the well-mouth. Although many of them are full of rubble today some others were seen to contain water, even at the end of July. Some cisterns have a depth of 5-6 m. as measured by rope. Their widest middle parts should be 3-4 m. according to our observations. Their interiors are entirely plastered with a layer of pink coloured water-proof mortar. Some cisterns do have simple curbs (nos. 7 and 11) at their mouths while the mouths of some others are framed with cut stones (Fig. 6). Some cisterns (nos. 10 and 18) are amorphous due to the difficulty of hewing out the bedrock. Usually every house had at least one cistern. As there exists no other water source at the site, each cistern had to supply its house throughout the year. In years with very low precipitation levels, every house could survive on these cisterns for about 4-5 months, for each cistern's capacity is estimated to be around 45-50 cubic meters.

There are traces and remains of workshops inside many houses, yards or nearby. The second house-group from the west of the northernmost line contains the traces of a workshop in the north. It comprises only the remains of walls hewn from bedrock and a hole for a beam in the wall; yet this is enough to identify it as a workshop. This hole in the wall must have been used for the press arm of an olive or grape press. Besides, nine stones for various work purposes were also identified inside the settlement (Fig. 2). To the east of the houses, only 5-6 m before the monastic complex another workshop element was found. Carved from a column capital, this workshop element resembles a large mortar and does not bear any decoration at all. Most of the workshop elements are like mortars (Fig. 7). It is known that wine or olive oil was produced in other workshops identified in the Beydağları region²⁷. Possibly, the flat area of Palamutdüzü east of the monastery and the one in the north extending up to the Güver Canyon had either vineyards or olive groves. These areas are suitable for vineyards and olive groves, rather than grains, as they are not as fertile as the plain further south around Doyran. It is known that agriculture of vine and olive was widespread in the region also in the Roman period.

²⁶ C. Bouras, "Houses in Byzantium", *DChAE*, 11, 1983, 1-26, see especially 22; S. Mojsilović-Popović, et al, "Houses", *ODB* 1991, 2, 953-954. Similar features are also observed in the houses of Trebenna's in-wall settlement, located to the southwest of Palamutdüzü: see Çevik - Varkıvanç - Akyürek, 106-113, Figs. 188-195.

²⁷ For instance, the workshops at Trebenna constitute a good example for this; see Çevik - Varkıvanç - Akyürek, 51-53; S. Bulut, "Likya - Pamfilya - Pisidya Sınır Bölgesinde Sıradışı İki Zeytinyağı İşliği", *Adalya* 8, 2005, 191-210.

A church or a chapel is a must for every Byzantine village. This is a temple usually dedicated to the patron saint of the village. The church is usually found in the middle of the village, in between the closely-built houses. However, the location of the church is dictated by the function of the church. Communal churches were inside the villages in between the houses whereas cemetery churches for commemoration or monasteries were outside, right on the skirts of the settlements²⁸. The monasteries were built outside the villages in order to segregate the spiritual area from the daily village life but in close proximity due to safety concerns.

It is known that founders (*ktetor*) or some aristocrats endowed fertile agricultural land to monasteries in the Byzantine period²⁹. When it is also taken into consideration that usually the most fertile land in the countryside was owned by the monasteries it seems inevitable that a feudal serf-lord relation existed between the villagers and the monasteries owning the land³⁰. In this relation, either the land was owned by the monastery and the villagers cultivated it in return for a half-share of the produce, or the villagers, in addition to their own land, had to work the land of the monastery for a certain time without any payment (*angaria*). That is, monasteries acted like a feudal landlords in many rural settlements.

The monastery at Palamutdüzü is located about 50 m. east of the houses (Figs. 2 and 3). The complex includes a central church in the middle, monks' cells lined along the north and east sides, a funerary chapel in the east and the foundation remains belonging to buildings of unclear function located to the north and northwest of the central church. The complex is encircled with a wall³¹. This wall comprises the back wall of the monks' cells along the north and east sides of the complex whereas on the south and west sides, there is an encircling wall without a large courtyard. The south wall is difficult to follow on the surface. Here the wall is not for defensive purposes but rather to separate the spiritual world of the monastery from the worldly life in the village. The monastery complex forms an almost square layout excluding the funerary chapel in the east and some other buildings in the north. The main entrance to the complex must have been located in the area to the west of the church. The monks' cells in the north and the funerary chapel in the east are the best-preserved structures in the complex. The church, the monks' cells in the east, the buildings in the northeast and northwest are so poorly preserved that their plans could not be drawn clearly.

The remains of the church are found in the middle of the square court (Fig. 9). The building measures approximately 20 m. long and only the apse, some of the walls and piers of the narthex, the western part of the southern wall and the eastern part of the northern wall have survived in parts. The best preserved part of the church is the apse

²⁸ S. E. J. Gerstel, "The Byzantine village church: Observation on its location and on agricultural aspects of its program", in: J. Lafort - C. Morrison - J-P. Sodini (ed.), *Les villages dans l'empire byzantin (IV^e-XV^e siècle)* 2005 165-178, see especially p. 166.

²⁹ Sometimes the land was bequeathed together with the people living in it. An example for this is found in Laiou-Thomadakis, 34-35: Mikhael VIII donated an entire village together with its inhabitants, mill and land to the Esphigmenou Monastery in 1258-1259.

³⁰ A similar relation is examined by Laiou-Thomadakis (pp. 32-33 ff.) for a later settlement in a different geography - 14th century southern Macedonia.

³¹ In our work at Palamutdüzü during the 1999 campaign we could not identify the southern part of the encircling wall; thus, we had said that the complex was not encircled with a wall (Akyürek - Tiryaki - Kızılkayak, 22-24 Fig. 18). Our comprehensive work in 2005 and 2006 proved the existence of an encircling wall also on the south and west sides of the complex.

which is still standing to a height of 3.5 to 4 m. The apse is three-sided on the outside and semicircular on the inside. There is a 1.2 m. wide window tapering outward and as its arch has not survived as a whole, its form could not be determined. However, the turning of the broken arch suggests a twin window separated with a mullion in the middle. The western wall also stands to a height of 2 to 2.5 m. in places (Fig. 10). The narthex is accessed through a triple-door. The middle doorway, which is 1.60 m. wide, is wider than the lateral ones and its jambs are still standing. Access from the narthex into the naos is via three doors each opening into an aisle. The southern doorway had an arch as inferred from the springing point that has survived. The walls were built with rubble and white lime mortar. The stones used are of local travertine and limestone. Between the stones, roof tile fragments were inserted here and there in the mortar. Due to the properties of travertine and regional conditions, some stones have fused to each other, thus masonry pattern is hardly discernible at places.

Extant wall remains of the church do not allow us to propose a plan restitution. However, it is understood that the church has at least two construction phases. When the shape of the apse and its position in regard to other walls, narthex walls, and especially the corner fragment in the northeast which we believe belongs to the north wall is taken into consideration together with the south wall, the three-aisled basilical layout seems to be the more plausible (Fig. 3). This is possibly the first phase of the church. However, the wall starting from the south of the apse and extending westward without widening the hall, the location of the doorway opening into the nave, and, the wall starting north of this doorway and heading towards the apse belong to the second phase of the church, when it was converted to a single-nave church encompassing only the central nave of the previous church. The heap of rubble in the naos indicates that the structure was covered with a vault (the pit dug by illicit diggers shows that the heap of rubble has a thickness of 1.5 to 2 m.). In the rubble heap are also cut voussoirs of arch and vault. However, this hypothesis based on extant wall remains needs to be reinforced further by other data. Although it is not always possible to date the structures in the region according to their masonry, and almost no potshards or other small finds have been found on the surface, it may be suggested that the last phase of the church is certainly medieval.

To the north of the main church is a row of monks' cells starting about the line of the narthex and extending about 10 m. past the apse. These cells constitute a relatively well-preserved part of the monastery complex. Although the walls are hardly followed under the rubble at places, they reach a height of 1 m. at other places. There are seven cells identified in the west-east direction. The row forms a corner in the northeast, continues southward bordering the east side of the church. The cells in the north (Fig. 11) are better preserved, thus their features are easier to note: The first five rooms from the west all measure 3.10x2.60 m. and open into the courtyard of the monastery via a doorway in their south walls facing the main church. The doorways are located in the southwest corner of the rooms. The first and the fourth cells have a niche in their north walls, almost at the same position. Possibly the other cells also had niches which have not survived. The sixth and seventh cells are slightly larger, 3.65x2.85 m. The north row of cells adjoin a large room of 10x3.75 m. extending in the north-south direction which further leads to the eastern row of cells. This large room in the corner opened toward the church through an arched doorway of 0.90 m. width. The masonry patterns flanking this doorway differ slightly from

other walls: The mortars between the courses of stones are filled more densely with brick and tile fragments. This indicates the presence of either a second construction phase or some repairs. The east row of cells is not as well-preserved as the north row, thus its cells could not be identified individually. It is understood that these cells were standardised especially in the north row. These were built for the monks of the monastery³². The back walls of the cells formed a straight lined wall constituting the northern and eastern parts of the encircling wall. The traces indicate that each cell was roofed over with a barrel vault in the east-west direction. Although it is difficult to determine the number of cells in the east, seven such cells have been identified in the north. The east flank could have had a minimum of six and a maximum of ten cells. Based on the number of monks' cells, it can be conjectured that 13-17 monks lived here, which is a typical population for a medieval Byzantine monastery³³.

About 25 m. east of the main church is the best preserved structure of the monastery complex - the funerary chapel (Fig. 12). Standing almost to the level of the superstructure, this single-nave building measures 5.40x3.8 m. on the exterior. The springing line of the vault indicates that it was covered with a barrel vault in the east-west direction. The apse is semicircular both on the interior and exterior. From the outside, the apse does not join to the east wall of the chapel. The apse may have fallen down and been renovated at some point. The interior of the apsidal curve was filled in for about 1 m. in thickness forming a platform which possibly served as an altar or a platform on which candles were lit. The apse is flanked with a niche on either side. The southern niche, which is slightly easier to discern, is 0.56 m. wide and 0.75 m. height whereas the northern niche, which is in poorer condition, is *ca.* 0.80 m. wide and 0.55 m. in height. The niches are estimated to be about 0.40 m. deep (Fig. 13). In churches, niches flanking the apse have liturgical functions and were used for the placement of liturgical items. As the chapel did not serve the regular Eucharist, and due to the fact that these niches are not located within easy reach, we can conjecture that icons or candles were placed in them. Having icons and candles in a funerary monument was a common practice.

The only window in the apse is the arched loophole window of 0.20 m. width. The small arch is carved from the lintel block. The only other opening that allowed light inside was the doorway on the west and a possible window above it. There are no windows on the north and south walls. Thus, the building was dimly lit which suits its function as a funerary chapel for it probably did not serve any other function. This is further reinforced with the facts that there are two arcosolia tombs in the north and south walls each. Although the arches of the arcosolia are badly damaged, traces in the walls allow us to identify their position (Fig. 14).

The arcosolia niches are located 1.30 m. above the present ground level and are 0.90-0.95 m. high. The space left as the 'nave' in between these pairs of niches is only 1 m. wide and is poorly lit (Fig. 15); thus, it becomes clear that the building served only for the commemoration ceremonies of the deceased with the participation of a few people.

³² A few kilometers northwest of Palamutdüzü as the crow flies is a Middle Byzantine monastery complex at Kisleçukuru. The Kisleçukuru Monastery, which has been studied in detail as a PhD thesis by our team member A. Tiryaki, also includes monks' cells. See A. Tiryaki, *Kisleçukuru Manastırı, Antalya'nın Doyran Beldesi'nde Bir Ortaçağ Yapı Topluluğu* (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, İstanbul 2007), see especially 165-175, Pl. 1

³³ For this see P. Charanis, "Monk as an element of Byzantine society", *DOP*, 25, 1971, 63-73, see especially p. 72.

According to the general layout of the monastery, this funerary chapel stands outside the encircling wall. Also at Kisleçukuru monastery, the funerary chapel lies outside the encircling wall³⁴.

There are four holes of 55-60 cm. depth and 27x27 cm in the south and north walls each, located between the arcosolia's floors and the present floor level of the nave. A total of eight such holes at first recall holes for beams or scaffolding, but they are too large for beams. They might be niches for burning lamps or candles which were lit during the commemoration services carried out in the funerary chapels³⁵.

The masonry employed local travertine with only occasional use of tile fragments stuck in between the stones. The mortar is white lime mortar.

It is understood that there are some large rooms in the northwest and northeast of the monastery; however, as their walls are hardly discernible above the ground level, excavations are necessary to be able to draw their plans precisely. The Byzantine monasteries comprised not only church, funerary chapel, monks' cells and an encircling wall but also a refectory (*trapeza*) was a must as well as some rooms for daily life, such as workshops. Thus, these rooms must have assumed such functions complementing the monastic complex.

The only finds of architectural sculpture came from the main church. In our 2005 work, we identified two pits opened by treasure hunters. One pit was close to the apse and some large marble pieces were exposed (Fig. 16). One column fragment of pinkish stone and of 20 cm. length and 23 cm. diameter has a 5 cm. long profile at the bottom. Other pieces are of white marble and as they are broken their function could not be identified but they may belong to a templon. The other pit opened by treasure hunters is found just before the doorway opening into the narthex and measures 3 m. in diameter and 1.5 to 2 m. deep. In the rubble heap from this pit were numerous roof tile fragments and about 12 pieces of opus sectile flooring. These marble pieces have a thickness of 2.5 to 4 cm. and are cut in the triangular, curving, rectangular and square forms (Fig. 17). The bottom sides of these pieces were chamfered to facilitate adequate fixing. These marble pieces bear residue of mortar on their bottom sides. The largest piece is rectangular and measures 20x9 cm. A curving piece measures 18x10 cm. Two isosceles triangular pieces have their short sides curved to fit on to a circle and measure 13x15 and 9x8 cm. The three square pieces measure 7x7 cm and two are intact while the third is broken. Another square piece is found together with a triangular piece on the same mortar fragment. The triangular piece has a side length of 7 cm. just like the square piece. These pieces indicate that the floor of the church was paved in opus sectile technique at a certain time. The flooring is damaged at least where the pit was opened. Opus sectile technique is observed in churches as of the ninth century and was very popular from the eleventh through the thirteenth century³⁶.

³⁴ Akyürek - Tiryaki - Kızılkayak, 22. For more detailed information about this funerary chapel see Tiryaki, 125-129 Pl. 1, 25-27, Figs. 217-266.

³⁵ G. Galavaris, "Some aspects of symbolic use of lights in the Eastern Church. Candles, lamps and ostrich eggs", BMGS, 4 1978, 69-78; R. F. Taft - A. P. Kazhdan, "Candles", ODB 1991, 1, 372.

³⁶ See Y. Demiriz, Örgülü Bizans Döşeme Mozaikleri / Interlaced Byzantine Mosaic Pavements (2002) 115, 120. The chronological table presented by Demiriz (p. 117) indicates an increase in the employment of opus sectile in the Byzantine churches during this period. The Hagia Sophia at Iznik (Nicaea) and the Studios Monastery Church in Istanbul, both from the Early Byzantine period, have opus sectile floors executed in the Middle Ages.

The rubble heap also contained numerous roof tile fragments. One roof tile with few fractures is in the shape of a groove, rectangular and its intact short side measures 38 cm. The concave sides have small lugs to allow holding. The tiles bear s-shaped decoration made by fingers (Fig. 18).

In the rubble heap before the interior wall of the apse were some very small frescoed mortar fragments with red and blue paint on them. Some other frescoed mortar fragments were also attested in the rubble heap in the west and also on the northwest wall of the naos. All these indicate that the church interior was decorated with frescoes.

No small finds such as potshards, metal or glass have been found in the entire area. This may be due to a recent forest fire the region has suffered.

It is difficult to determine the total number of houses at Palamutdüzü settlement, hence its population. Perhaps the number of cisterns may help determine the number of houses but possibly some cisterns have disappeared. Angeliki Laiou in her research on the 14th century Macedonia proposes 3.6 to 4.7 persons per household on the average³⁷. However, most of the houses at Palamutdüzü are large complexes with multiple rooms. Such large houses with sometimes ten rooms opening into a common courtyard should have housed large families³⁸. If we do our calculations based not on the number of houses but rather on the number of rooms, then taking into consideration that about sixty rooms have survived and possibly 20 to 30 have disappeared, we can conclude that the settlement had a population of 200 to 250 people, which is typical and average for a rural settlement in the Byzantine Middle Ages³⁹.

The Palamutdüzü settlement is not a small village in terms of medieval Byzantine period's criteria. When compared with Trebenna, which was a city, it is seen that Palamutdüzü has more houses than the Byzantine settlement at the acropolis of Trebenna⁴⁰. At Neapolis, on the other hand, which is located immediately to the southwest on the slope of Doyranın Keldağ, there are slightly more houses⁴¹. However, the basic difference between these two settlements and the one at Palamutdüzü is that Trebenna and Neapolis were 'cities' and Palamutdüzü was a 'village'.

The Palamutdüzü settlement is located far from the coast, fertile land and important trade routes. This is a typical situation for the 7th-8th century rural settlements when security was the main concern. Although its land was not fertile, the settlement depended on agriculture. Especially the flat and safe area on the north seems suitable for vineyards, olive groves and animal husbandry. The farmsteads in the nearby settlements indicate cultivation of olives and vines and production of olive oil and wine in the region⁴².

³⁷ Laiou-Thomadakis, 225.

³⁸ For the Byzantine rural settlements, it can be conjectured that most of the inhabitants were related to each other through marriages etc. as was the case in all the villages. Those who were closely related should have lived in the same house. Laiou points in this direction for the 14th century (see Laiou-Thomadakis, 107).

³⁹ In her research on the 14th century south Macedonia Laiou identified a total of 32 villages and presented in a table their statistics regarding the surface area, number of houses, and population (see Laiou, 39-41, Tab. II-2). According to this research, the average number of houses for a settlement is 30 - 40 houses and the population is about 200 - 250, which fits well with the Palamutdüzü settlement.

⁴⁰ Cf. the house-area at Trebenna's acropolis (Çevik - Varkıvaç - Akyürek, 245 Fig. 9) and the house-area at Palamutdüzü (Fig. 2 in this article).

⁴¹ The house-area at Neapolis has been mapped and is being prepared for publication.

⁴² For more information on the workshops in the region see Çevik - Varkıvaç - Akyürek, 51-53; Bulut, 191-210.

It is observed that the number of monasteries inside or connected to the settlements increased rapidly during the Middle Ages⁴³. Monasteries were sometimes founded on the fringes of the settlements. With their independent functions, the monasteries became an important feature of medieval Byzantine rural settlements⁴⁴. Considering that the first phase of the Palamutdüzü monastery church was an early period basilica, we may assume that there was a monastery here before the civil settlement started. In the beginning of the Middle Ages, the village was established and possibly the church somewhat in ruins was restored turning it into a single-nave small church. This hypothesis can be verified by data to be obtained only after excavations.

The monastery church also served the needs of the village. There are no other remains in between the houses that could be identified as a church. As temples were built with higher quality and more durable materials, it is not expected that a church within the house-area would have disappeared while the houses have survived in pretty good shape. Thus, the monastery church also served the general communal services. The western entrance to the church is located very close to the western part of the encircling wall; thus, the laity could access the church without disturbing the rest of the complex (Fig. 3). The chapel is a funerary chapel and possibly was dedicated to the patron saint of the village. We may suggest that the monks held regular commemoration services here.

It is difficult to propose any date for the Palamutdüzü settlement without conducting excavations. In spite of remains indicating a Roman period farmstead, there is no sign for a larger settlement of the same period. Neither the layouts nor the masonry techniques of the houses point to a clear date. For the monastery complex, we can say that, at least the second phase dates to the Middle Byzantine period in general. The remains also suggest that the first phase was an Early Byzantine basilical church of the 5th-6th centuries, from which only the apse has remained and then reused integrated into the new construction. It is possible that there was a monastery here before the village settlement. Considering the overall trend in this region, it is plausible to suggest that the Palamutdüzü settlement was founded essentially in the 7th-8th centuries when the important cities in the region were affected by the Arab raids. This period should be the time when Neapolis was abandoned as well. Neapolis, a Roman and Early Byzantine city, could not retain its existence into the Middle Ages and thus was abandoned. The appearance of Palamutdüzü overlaps somewhat with the decline of Neapolis. This also conforms to the trend when the cities in the region disappeared and rural village life flourished. Neapolis was probably abandoned before the 9th century, possibly due to an earthquake, epidemic or water shortage⁴⁵. It is difficult to answer satisfactorily why Neapolis was abandoned in the beginning of the Middle Ages. The first thing that comes to mind is that it was abandoned after an earthquake or following destruction by a war. However, the well-preserved status of the church

⁴³ Following the Iconoclasm, construction of monasteries flourished, especially during the 9th century. See P. Charanis, 67.

⁴⁴ C. Bouras, "City and village: Urban design and architecture", *JbÖByz* 31/2, 1981, 611-654, see 646-647.

⁴⁵ Our surveys at Neapolis conducted within the frame of Surveys in the Bey Mountains project have not brought to light any medieval finds. The only important Christian structure in the city is an Early Byzantine period basilical church (Akyürek - Tiryaki - Kızılkayak, 15-17). Neapolis was abandoned possibly before the 8th century due to a reason unknown to date. See E. Akyürek, "The Bey Dağları in the Byzantine Period: Trebenna, Neapolis and their territories", in: K. Dörtlük - V. Varkıvaç - T. Kahya, et al., (eds.), *The IIIrd International Symposium on Lycia*, 07 - 10 November 2005, Antalya, Symposium Proceedings (2006) 1-11, see especially p. 11.

at Neapolis⁴⁶ minimises the probability of an earthquake or war. Another chance is that the city was abandoned after losing an important part of its population due to plague. The great plague of the 6th-7th centuries is considered the reason for the decline of some cities and the loss of more than %30 of their population⁴⁷.

The Palamutdüzü settlement was inhabited possibly until the late 12th century when the Byzantines lost their control over Antalya, as well as its rural hinterland. The surface finds from Trebenna has shown that the city was revived for a while in the 12th century and retained its existence until the early 13th century when Antalya was decisively lost by the Byzantines, then it was abandoned⁴⁸. The Palamutdüzü village may have shared a common fate. However, the fact that we could not gather any surface finds here hinders our dating attempts.

The evidence available at hand regarding the Middle Ages of Antalya and environs and regarding village settlements is scarce; thus, Palamutdüzü is an important settlement and the questions regarding it can be clarified and our hypotheses proposed here based on limited evidence can be tested against only after excavations.

⁴⁶ This structure was the scope of a master's thesis by G. Kızılkayak, a member of our team: G. Kızılkayak, Antalya'da Neapolis Bazilikası (Unpublished Master's Thesis, İstanbul 2002).

⁴⁷ For important earthquakes and epidemics that affected the region deeply see T. M. P. Duggan, "A Short Account of Recorded Calamities (earthquakes and plagues) in Antalya Province and Adjacent and Related Areas Over the Past 2,300 Years - an Incomplete List, Comments and Observations", *Adalya* VII, 2004, 123-170. For the earthquakes and epidemics of the 6th and 7th centuries see especially pp. 125-126, 134. For supplementary information about the topic see also T. M. P. Duggan, "Supplementary Data to be Added to the Chronology of Plagues and Earthquakes in Antalya Province and in Adjacent and Related Areas", *Adalya* VIII, 2005, 357-398.

⁴⁸ Çevik - Varkıvanç - Akyürek, 128-130.

Öz

Palamutdüzü: Antalya Beydağları'nda Bir Ortaçağ Bizans Köy Yerleşimi

Antalya'nın Doyran beldesi sınırları içerisindeki Palamutdüzü mevkiinde Bizans Dönemi'ne ait yirminin üzerinde konuttan oluşan bir köy yerleşimi ile bir manastır kompleksinin kalıntıları bulunmaktadır. Yer aldığı topografyanın mükemmel bir koruma sağladığı yerleşme, tipik bir Ortaçağ Bizans köy yerleşmesi özellikleri göstermektedir. Köy, önemli ticari yollar üzerinde bulunmanın avantajı yerine, kolay savunulabilir ve gözlerden uzak bir alanda kurulmuştur. Hem bu topografik avantajı, hem de güçlü orduların ilgisini çekecek bir zenginliğe sahip olmadığından, yerleşme surlarla çevrilmemiştir. Yerleşimin belirli bir kentsel tasarım planına göre kurulmuş olmadığı, zamanla ortaya çıkan gereksinimler doğrultusunda organik bir biçimde gelişmiş olduğu görülmektedir. Konutların arasından dar ve düzensiz sokaklar geçmekte, yerleşimin içinde herhangi bir meydan, kamusal alan ya da kamu yapısı bulunmamaktadır. Konutların birçoğu birbiri ile bağlantılı, tek katlı birkaç dörtgen mekandan oluşmaktadır ve çoğu konut grubunun bir avlusu bulunmaktadır. Hiçbir su kaynağının bulunmadığı bu mevkide, evlerin su gereksinimleri tamamen avlularda ya da yakınlarında bulunan, yuvarlak planlı, kuyu ağızlı sarnıçlarla karşılanmaktaydı. Evlerin avlularında ya da yakınlarında bulunan ışık kalıntıları ve ışık taşları da yerleşimin tarımla geçindiğini göstermektedir. Mekan sayısı esas alınarak bir tahmin yürütecek olursak Palamutdüzü'ndeki köyün nüfusunun 200-250 civarında olduğunu öne sürebiliriz ki, bu da Bizans Ortaçağ'ı için ortalama ve tipik bir kırsal yerleşimin nüfusudur.

Yerleşimin tek kamusal yapısı konutlar bölgesinin 50 m kadar doğu tarafındaki manastır kompleksidir. Manastır, ortada bir kilise, kiliseyi kuzey ve doğu taraflarından çevreleyen ve aynı zamanda arka duvarları ile manastırı çevre duvarı olarak sınırlayan keşiş hücreleri dizisi, çevre duvarı dışında doğu taraftaki bir mezar şapeli ile işlevi tam anlaşılamamış olan bazı mekanlardan oluşmaktadır. Bu manastır yirmiden az keşişi barındıran küçük, tipik bir Ortaçağ manastırıdır. Kilisede nefin batı tarafında açılmış bir kaçak çukurun molozu içinde bulunan opus sectile zemin döşemesi parçaları yapının son evresinin büyük olasılıkla 12. yüzyıla ait olduğunu göstermektedir. Yerleşimin kuruluşunun genel olarak Ortaçağ'ın başlarına, olasılıkla da kıyılardaki önemli ve zengin kent yerleşmelerindeki yaşamın Arap akınları sonucunda olumsuz etkilendiği 7. - 8. yüzyıllarda olduğunu düşünebiliriz. Bu dönem bölgede kentsel yaşamın parlaklığını yitirip büyük köyler biçimindeki kırsal yerleşmelerin önem kazandığı dönemdir. Palamutdüzü'nün hemen 1-2 km güney-batısında yer alan Neapolis kentinin, arkeolojik bulgular değerlendirildiğinde, bir nedenle 8. - 9. yüzyıllardan önce terk edilmiş olduğu anlaşılmaktadır. Neapolis kentinin terkedilmesi ile Palamutdüzü'ndeki köy yerleşmesinin ortaya çıkmasının tarihsel olarak örtüşmesi, kenti terk edenlerin bugün adını bilemediğimiz bu büyük köyü kurmuş olabileceği ihtimalini araştırmaya değer kılmaktadır.



Fig. 2 Palamutdüzü, general layout (E. Akyürek – F. Okatan)



Fig. 3 Palamutdüzü, plan of the monastery (E. Akyürek – F. Okatan)



Fig. 4 Aerial photo of Palamutdüzü area, looking from northeast (N. Çevik)

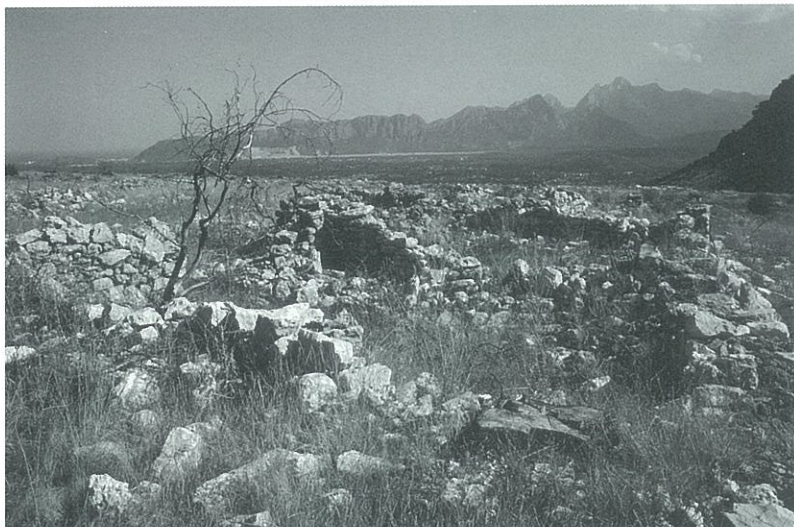


Fig. 5
General view of the houses
(E. Akyürek)



Fig. 6
Mouth of a cistern
(E. Akyürek)

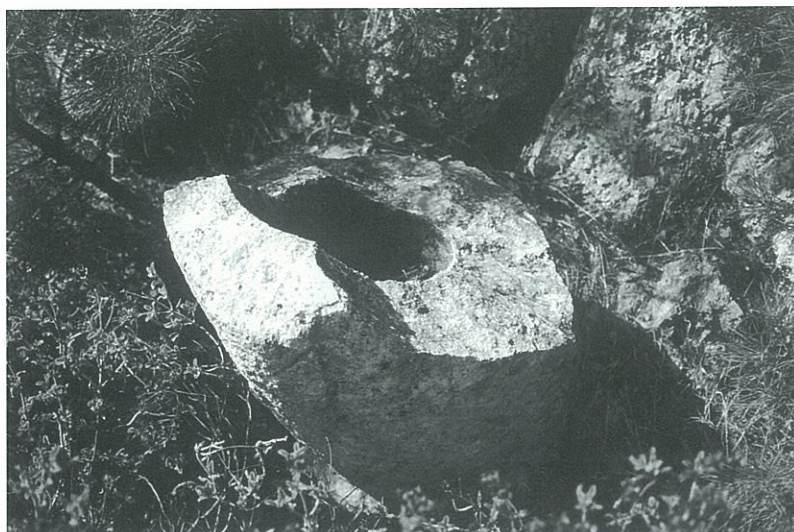


Fig. 7
A workshop element
(E. Akyürek)



Fig. 8
The gate of the settlement
opening northward
(E. Akyürek)

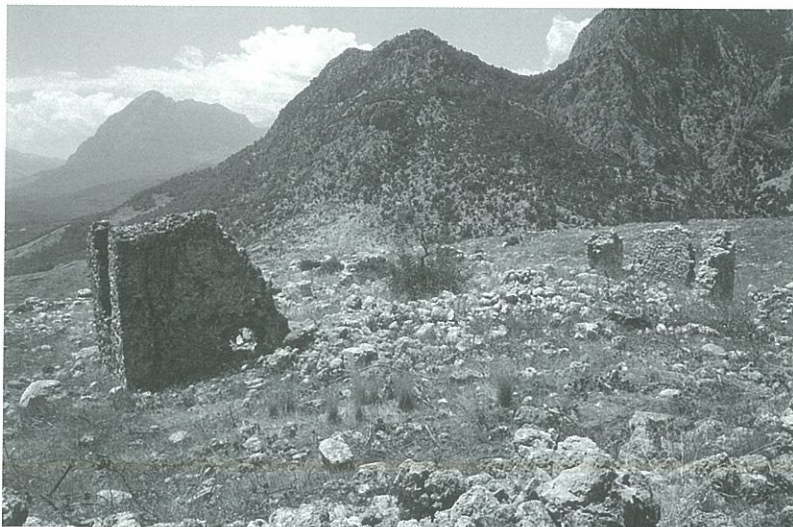


Fig. 9
Church, general view from
the north (E. Akyürek)



Fig. 10
Church, western wall
(E. Akyürek)



Fig. 11
Monastery,
north row of cells
(E. Akyürek)



Fig. 12
Chapel, general view from
the north (E. Akyürek)



Fig. 13
Chapel, view of the
interior, looking to the apse
(E. Akyürek)

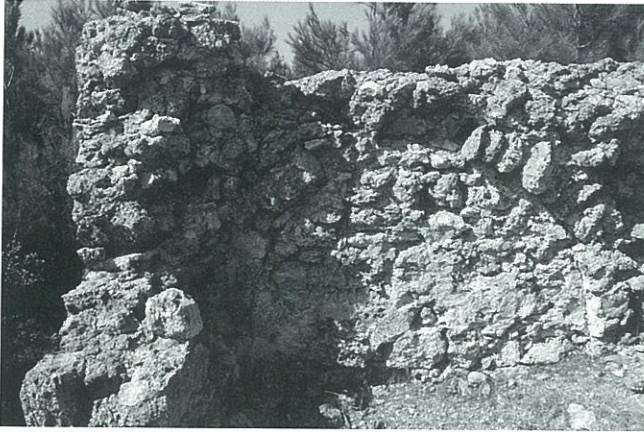


Fig. 14 Chapel, arcosolia niches (E. Akyürek)



Fig. 15 Chapel, view of the interior, looking from the apse (E. Akyürek)

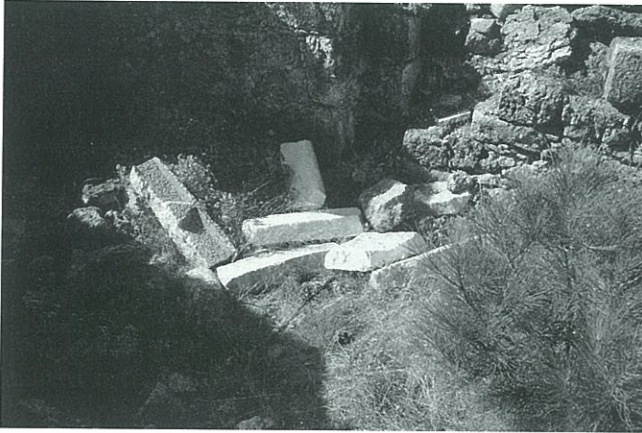


Fig. 16 Church, marble blocks exposed during illicit digs by the apse (E. Akyürek)



Fig. 17 Church, opus sectile pieces exposed during illicit digs in the west (E. Akyürek)



Fig. 18 Church, roof tile exposed during the illicit digs in the west (E. Akyürek)