



Some Recent Finds at Alahan (Koja Kalessi)

Michael Gough

Anatolian Studies, Vol. 5. (1955), pp. 115-123.

Stable URL:

<http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0066-1546%281955%295%3C115%3ASRFAA%28%3E2.0.CO%3B2-I>

Anatolian Studies is currently published by British Institute at Ankara.

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of JSTOR's Terms and Conditions of Use, available at <http://www.jstor.org/about/terms.html>. JSTOR's Terms and Conditions of Use provides, in part, that unless you have obtained prior permission, you may not download an entire issue of a journal or multiple copies of articles, and you may use content in the JSTOR archive only for your personal, non-commercial use.

Please contact the publisher regarding any further use of this work. Publisher contact information may be obtained at <http://www.jstor.org/journals/biaa.html>.

Each copy of any part of a JSTOR transmission must contain the same copyright notice that appears on the screen or printed page of such transmission.

JSTOR is an independent not-for-profit organization dedicated to and preserving a digital archive of scholarly journals. For more information regarding JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

SOME RECENT FINDS AT ALAHAN (KOJA KALESSI)

By MICHAEL GOUGH

INTRODUCTION

OF THE MANY Byzantine churches in Cilicia which have survived, in a greater or lesser state of ruin, to the present day, there can be no doubt that the best known and most remarkable is the monastery church at Alahan in Isauria. During July, 1890, Professor W. M. Ramsay, D. G. Hogarth and A. C. Headlam visited the site, and in 1892 published their results under the title "Ecclesiastical Sites in Isauria (Cilicia Trachea)" in *Supplementary Papers No. II* of the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies. This publication completely superseded that of Laborde¹ who had been at Alahan in 1826, and to-day it is still the only authoritative work on the subject of the architecture and relief sculpture of the monastery.

Headlam's description of the site is brief and accurate.² "The ruins of Koja Kalessi (i.e. Alahan) are situated about 3,000 feet above the Calycadnus valley and 4,000 feet above the sea, facing south and south-west and looking over the junction of the two great river valleys through which the branches of the ancient Calycadnus run. They consist of a large monastery with buildings of various characters too much destroyed to be easily identified, and a church in very good preservation. They are built on a terrace running due east and west, partly cut out of the side of the hill, with the ground falling away very steeply below and rising almost precipitously above." (Pl. IX, b).

It might be added that Alahan lies above the main road between Mut (Claudiopolis) and Karaman (Laranda), and that the whole district forms part of a huge limestone belt that stretches in Western Cilicia from the Taurus range to the sea. On the slopes of the hill fir trees grow, while amongst the ruins of the monastery small bushes of myrtle and thorn push their way up through the jumble of fallen masonry. Beyond the church, some few hundred metres to the north-east, is a perennial spring of water which probably served the monks for a drinking supply.

INSCRIPTIONS

Headlam devoted pp. 9-17 of his report to a detailed description of the monastery church, and on p. 18 discussed evidence relevant to the dating of the site. Important in this respect was the inscription (hereafter for convenience called Y) from the so-called Tomb of Tarasis, indicated on Pl. I of *Supplementary Papers No. II*. This inscription, first published by Laborde,³ was re-copied by Hogarth and published with a commentary by Headlam on pp. 24, 25 of the report. (Pl. IX, c).

¹ Laborde, *Voyage en Orient*, pp. 124, 126 ; Pls. 68, 69. Headlam's account is the sole source of practically all that has ever been written on the subject of the monastery at Alahan, with the exception of an interesting article published by E. Peck, British Consul at Alexandretta, in *ILN*.

² Op. cit., p. 9.

³ Laborde, *Revue Archéologique*, IV, 1847, p. 175.

Y

- † ἐνθάδε κατὰκίτε
 Τάρασις δις γενόμενος
 πρεσβ(ύτερος) καὶ παραμονάριος
 παροικήσας ἐν τῷ τόπῳ
 5 τούτῳ ἀπὸ ὑπατίας Γαδα-
 λ[α]ίππου ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ιδ' (?) ἕως ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος)
 ὑπατίας Ζήσας τὰ
 πάντα ἔτη

On 14th September, 1952, I visited the monastery in the company of my wife and Bay Fahir Arkan, *Kaymakam* of Mut, in whose *kaza* Alahan is included. There I made a squeeze of an inscription (to be called Z), which was carved in a *tabula ansata* between two crosses on a rock-cut sarcophagus in a shallow cave some 80 m. west of the church and 20 m. west of the "Tomb of Tarasis". The dimensions of the inscription, which in places overlaps the frame of the *tabula ansata*, are as follows :—H. 0·42 ; w. 1·10 ; letters 0·047–0·017 m. (Fig. 1).

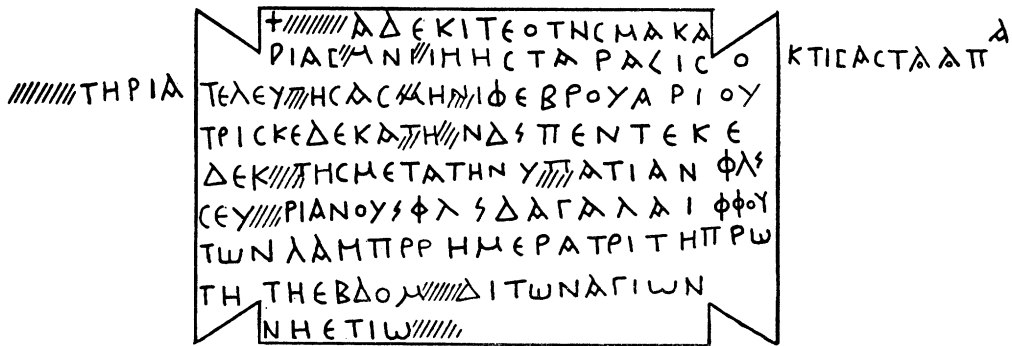


FIG. 1. Inscription Z.

Z

- † [ἐνθ]άδε κίτε τῆς μακα-
 ρίας μνήμης Τάρασις ὁ κτίσας τὰ ἀπα[ντη]-
 τήρια, τελευτήσας μηνὶ Φεβρουαρίου
 τρισκεδεκάτῃ ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) πεντεκε-
 5 δεκ[ά]της μετὰ τὴν ὑπατίαν Φλ(αίου)
 Σευ[η]ρίανοῦ Φλ(αίου) Δαγαλαίφρου
 τῶν λαμπροτάτων, ἡμέρα τρίτη πρῶ-
 τη(τη) ἑβδομ[ά]δι τῶν ἀγίων
 νη(ε)τεῶ[ν]†.

Both Y and Z, although carved by different hands, evidently refer to the same person,⁴ and it can only be supposed that for some reason or other

⁴ That the same Tarasis is the subject of both epitaphs seems fairly clear, though certain difficulties do arise. In Y, ll. 5/6, T is stated to have begun his residence at the monastery during the first eight months of the year 461 (see below, p. 117), while from Z, ll. 3/7, he is known to have died in February 462. He cannot, therefore, have lived at the monastery for more than thirteen and a half months at most—with a minimum of five and a half months—during which time he founded the ἀπαντητήρια and worked in the capacity of παραμονάριος (see below, p. 117, n. 9). On the other hand, it is most

the site originally prepared as a burial place for Tarasis was later found unsuitable, and that his body was consequently interred in the shallow cave slightly to the west of Y. It is more than likely that after the death of Tarasis it was found impossible to fill in the lacunae which had been left in ll. 5-7 of the epitaph.

From both the squeeze and photograph of Y (Pl. IX, c), it is clear that there can be no doubt of the indiction numeral (which Headlam queried) in l. 6.⁵ It reads ΙΔ. Headlam's hesitation was due to the fact that the lapicide, in carving the Δ, extended the two oblique strokes beyond their point of junction, so producing a letter shaped like a chi with the lower extremities of the two strokes joined by a horizontal bar. The now certain reading confirms the generally accepted belief that the name recorded in ll. 5-6 as Γαδολαίππος [*sic*] is, in fact, that of the consul Dagalaiphus who held office in 461. The earlier magistrate of the same name was consul during the latter part of the ninth, and earlier part of the tenth year of the indiction. Y therefore was inscribed during the first eight months of 461, since the fifteenth year of the indiction began on 1st September.

Although Z is weathered in places, the reading is never in any real doubt.

In ll. 2-3, ὁ κτίσας τὰ ἀπα[ντη]τήρια was apparently an afterthought, since the whole phrase was inscribed outside the *tabula ansata*, which makes it seem that the simple epitaph, as originally carved and without any mention of T's special claim on posterity, was later thought insufficient. While the word κτίστης is frequently used as a synonym for εὐεργέτης in the early Byzantine period,⁶ the participle κτίσας is used here, more probably, in its literal sense of "founder" or "builder". Examples of the use of the word ἀπαντητήρια are unknown before the fifth century A.D. and infrequent thereafter; T. Mitford, in an interesting discussion of the word,⁷ suggests that ἀ. was a rest-house supplied for travellers on official government business. In several instances the clergy are mentioned in connection with ἀπαντητήρια, and it is not unlikely that the tedious and expensive business of entertaining official guests was made in part the work of the ecclesiastical authorities.⁸ Tarasis is described in Y as παραμονάριος, a title which, as Headlam suggests,⁹ might well be translated as "guest master"; it may be that he acted in that capacity in the ἀπαντητήρια. It is unlikely that an official rest-house should have been situated, like the

improbable that two different men, both called Tarasis, should have been buried so close to each other with epitaphs so similar that each man might have used the other's.

⁵ Op. cit., p. 25. Hogarth, who copied it, was in no doubt.

⁶ See T. B. Mitford, "New Inscriptions from Early Christian Cyprus," *Byzantion*, Vol. XX, 1950, p. 153, n. 1. I quote this source since the subject of the inscription with which Mitford deals is not dissimilar from that of Z.

⁷ Ibid., pp. 153-4.

⁸ This is suggested by the Kom Ombo inscription in the British Museum, which is quoted by Mitford, *ibid*.

⁹ Headlam, op. cit., p. 25, discusses the possible meanings of παραμονάριος in this connection. For more recent instances of the same word, see Keil and Wilhelm, *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua*, Vol. III, 1931, p. 191, No. 538, and p. 196, No. 590.

monastery, at the top of a steep hill. May we perhaps allow ourselves to imagine that the need for a permanent shelter on this wild and exposed stretch of road was no less fifteen hundred years ago than it was to the builders of the *han* from which Alahan (*alaca han*) takes its name,¹⁰ or of the still more recent snow refuge. Sarcophagi beside the modern road indicate the existence in antiquity of a permanent community, however small, at the foot of the hill.

Ll. 3-9 are taken up with the date of T's death, according to both the civil and ecclesiastical reckoning. From ll. 3-7, T's death is established as having taken place on 13th February, 462; it is, however, curious that the names of Fl. Dagalaiphus and Fl. Severinus, consuls of 461, should have been recorded in preference to those of the magistrates who began office on 1st January, 462.¹¹

In l. 9, $\nu\eta\sigma\tau\epsilon\iota\omega\nu$ must be read for $\nu\eta\langle\epsilon\rangle\tau\epsilon\omega\nu$, as the third letter, inscribed as an epsilon, was surely intended for a sigma. The observance of Lent was first enjoined on the Church in 325 at the Council of Nicea,¹² so that Z is not particularly early evidence for the fast. We do learn, however, that 13th February, 462, was Tuesday in the first week in Lent.

The monastery church at Alahan is of prime importance for the history of early Christian art and architecture.¹³ The evidence afforded by Y has been used to support the theory that the church was built in the middle of the fifth century. Z does nothing to invalidate this; it may even be thought to suggest an earlier date for the foundation, since the rest-house, though it might well be contemporary with the monastery, would be unlikely to antedate it.

¹⁰ Headlam, op. cit., p. 9, n. 2, quotes Laborde's description of the ruins at the foot of the hill. He thought it exaggerated or that the buildings had been "much destroyed since his time". The latter would not be surprising, for sixty-five years separated the visits of Headlam and Laborde. L's words are particularly interesting with reference to the theory of the survival of a staging post at Alahan from Byzantine until comparatively modern times. "Nous trouvons un monument qui doit avoir été une chapelle et un vaste édifice qui sera notre khan; et qui était une église." Even to-day, a great heap of masonry still exists at the site, but this has not so far been examined.

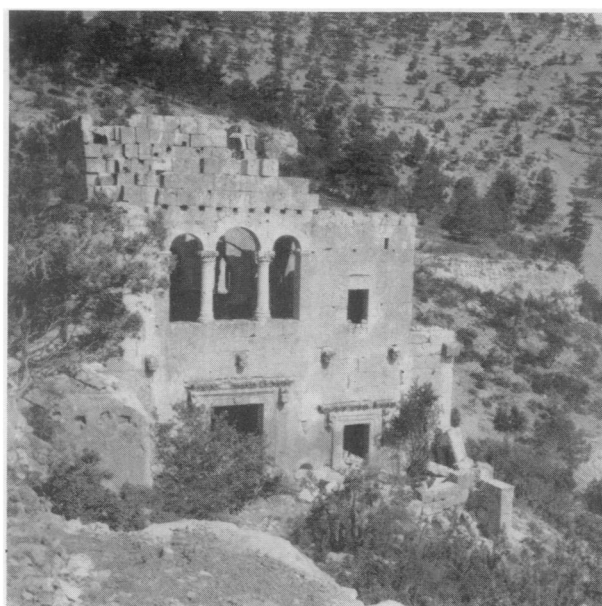
¹¹ The consuls for the year 462 were the Emperors Leo II and Libius Severus Augustus. The Fifteenth Indiction had, however, begun in September 451, when Dagalaifus and Severinus were still in office. See A. Degraffi, *I Fasti Consolari dell' Impero Romano*, Rome, 1952, p. 92.

¹² Before the Fourth Century no document is known in which the Lenten fast is specifically mentioned. By the fifth canon of the Council of Nicea, however, bishops were recommended to hold two synods a year, the first $\pi\acute{o}\tau\eta\varsigma\ \tau\epsilon\sigma\sigma\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}\kappa\omicron\sigma\tau\eta\varsigma$. Thereafter, examples are frequent.

¹³ Its architectural importance was recognized from the first, and in this connection it is perhaps enough to say that it has played no inconsiderable part in the *Orient oder Rom* controversy. Strzygowski's *Kleinasien, ein Neuland der Kunstgeschichte*, 1903, pp. 109-112, claimed it as the earliest known example of a domed basilica and wanted to push back its date from the Fifth to the Fourth Century, while Rivoira, *Moslem Architecture*, 1918, p. 151, dismissed it—rather conveniently (it has to be admitted) for his argument—as possessing "no indications of date". It must be stressed, however, that much of the argument since has been "about it and about", since Headlam's account is not quite detailed enough to be the starting point for new theories. Furthermore, the artistic importance of the sculpture at Alahan, particularly of the reliefs, on the doorway at the western end of the monastery, has never yet been sufficiently appreciated.



(a) Alahan : Tetramorph Relief below Lintel Block of W. Gate into Monastery.



(b) Alahan : Monastery Church.



(c) Alahan ; Inscription Y from so-called " Tomb of Tarasis ".



(a) Alahan ; W. Gate of Monastery.



(b) Relief of S. Michael on W. Gate.



(c) Bust on W. Gate and ornamental mouldings.

One difficulty that has to be faced consists in the possibility that the church had a predecessor and was not the first to be built at the site. Headlam suggests that Alahan might be identified with Apadna,¹⁴ a Byzantine monastery restored under Justinian.¹⁵ There is as yet no certain evidence for this identification, nor does the church show signs of structural alterations which might suggest a restoration ; nevertheless, the possibility of an older church at Alahan cannot be ignored. In this connection, the apsidal building, marked A on Pl. I, fig. 1 of Headlam's report, is worth further study. It lies on a slightly different axis from the rest of the monastery, and was approached by a narthex-like porch.

There is, however, no reason to suppose that the epitaphs of Tarasis have a greater bearing on the date of this or of any other building than on that of the monastery church at the eastern end of the whole site. They do, of course, provide a *terminus ante quem* for the original monastic foundation at Alahan.

RELIEF SCULPTURE (Pls. IX, a, X, a, b, c).

During September, 1953, I returned to Alahan to record various architectural and sculptural features which Headlam had either omitted from his report or mentioned only briefly.¹⁶ The reliefs on the central door of Building A, at the extreme west of the monastery enclosure, appeared to be of outstanding interest, and it is this sculpture that forms the subject of the second half of this paper.

As already noted above, Building A was apsidal with a narthex-like porch, which was approached in the normal fashion through an arcade. The solitary door as it stands to-day (Pl. Xa), relatively undamaged, was originally the central unit of three openings into Building A, and was crowned by a cornice of the Corinthian type, with crossed fish substituted in some cases for the usual rosettes and other "Classical" motifs found between the horizontal modillions. Only the eastern side of the door is left plain ; every other surface is richly carved with relief sculpture of a high quality not yet found elsewhere in Isauria. On the underside of the lintel block is a composition of which the centre piece is a tetramorph of the four beasts of Ezekiel's vision,¹⁷ while the inner side of each doorpost carries the full length figure of an archangel, Gabriel to the north and Michael to the south. In the centre of the western face of the lintel block is a medallion, enclosing the head of Christ with supporting seraphim to either side. At each end of the lintel, where it rests on the jambs, is a human bust, repeated about 0.60 m. lower down on each of the doorposts which

¹⁴ Op. cit., p. 18.

¹⁵ Procopius, *De Aedificiis*, V, 9.

¹⁶ The immediate objectives were (i) to study the construction of the tower and associated squinches, to determine, if possible, how the tower was roofed ; (ii) to record more fully the reliefs of the doorway marked O on Pl. I, Fig. 1, of Headlam's report, which contains only a summary description of them. Laborde, *Voyage en Orient*, p. 124, was the only traveller to observe the important relief on the underside of the lintel block (see Pl. IXa), but failed to understand its significance.

¹⁷ *Ezekiel*, Ch. I, v. 10 ; *Apocalypse*, Ch. IV, v. 7.

are otherwise decorated with degenerate "Classical" mouldings treated in the coloristic manner of the East.

The overall dimensions of the lintel block are : H. 0.50 m. ; w. 3.00 m. ; th. 0.40 m. The visible height of the doorposts is 3.25 m., the width 0.50 m. and the thickness 0.40 m. Damage to the sculpture is chiefly confined to the heads of the human figures, while wear from weathering has been relatively slight.

The composition on the underside of the lintel block (Pl. IX, a) ¹⁸ is a masterpiece of religious art, in which the mystical quality of the Apocalyptic vision is admirably expressed ; indeed it may be doubted whether this essentially Oriental subject has ever been treated in a way more completely acceptable to a Western mind. In the figure of the angel which centralizes the composition, of the watchful lion, of the ponderous ox, of the flying eagle which covers the junction of the other three, is a solid foundation which emphasizes to the full the fine sweep of the wings to which the viewer's attention is irresistibly drawn. The effect is of immense power sustained by a transcendental inner life. The rest of the composition, though necessarily subordinate, enhances the strength of the great central theme by its very subordination. On either side of the tetramorph is a tree, perhaps those trees that stand on either side of "the pure river of the water of life," and outside each tree is a human figure dressed in a pallium.¹⁹

This relief contains all the ingredients to be found in the developed Byzantine art of the age of Justinian. The Hellenistic tradition is apparent in the plastic treatment of the figures ; at the same time Syrian inspiration stands behind the sculptor's greater emphasis on the underlying idea than on the forms through which that idea was expressed, while the formal element of the East proper ²⁰ is represented in the coloristic treatment of contrasting areas of light and dark, of the heavily shadowed wings as opposed to the lighter surfaces of the two larger beasts. It is precisely because all these elements are so distinct that an early date appears likely, a date before the fusion of the three traditions that, in Constantinople at least, was the hallmark of the First Golden Age of Byzantine art.

The four beasts were recognized as the symbols of the four Evangelists very early in the history of the Church,²¹ and are found frequently in the

¹⁸ My most grateful thanks are due to my wife for her accurate drawing of this relief and for all her other help to me. I am also indebted to Mr. Michael Ballance, who collaborated with me in my work at Alahan in 1953, and to Mr. David Wilson for his excellent squeezes of inscription Y and of the architectural mouldings on the south door of the church.

¹⁹ It is not clear who these two figures are, though it is perhaps likely that they represent local saints.

²⁰ The penetration of "colourism" is a feature of the Late Antique period. Always strong as an element in the sculpture of the Eastern Roman provinces, it rapidly gained ground in the West from the beginning of the Third Century A.D. ; e.g. the reliefs on the Arch of Septimius Severus in Rome.

²¹ Irenaeus, *Adv. haereses*, III, xi, 11, identifies the man with St. Matthew, the eagle with St. Mark, the ox with St. Luke and the lion with St. John. Irenaeus is known to have made use of the works (now lost) of Papias, a disciple of St. John, so that this identification, made late in the Second Century, carries the greatest weight of authority.

iconographical repertoire of the West. The first known examples occur in the apse mosaic of Santa Pudenziana in Rome (Fourth Century), and they are found again in the mosaic decorating the Mausoleum of Galla Placidia in Ravenna (c. 440). The tetramorph arrangement is, however, unknown in the West and the beasts are represented as complete figures or as separate *protomai*. In the Christian East they appear later, and it is an interesting fact that in the miniature of the Ascension in the Rabula Gospels (dated precisely to the year 586)²² they are arranged as a tetramorph. There is no earlier example known in the Orient, and even later the symbols were never in common use. There is indeed a fresco of a tetramorph in the church of St. Barbara in a valley leading out of the Soğandere in Cappadocia,²³ but it is dated comparatively late, between 976 and 1028.

The reliefs of SS. Michael and Gabriel on the inner surfaces of the doorposts are less spectacular than the tetramorph and, owing to their relatively exposed position, are more weathered. They are, however, noteworthy both technically and iconographically. The better preserved of the two is St. Michael who, like his companion, is represented frontally, standing at full length below a scalloped niche (Pl. X, b). He is dressed in a short military tunic of which only the lower part carries incised details. The upper part of the figure is (apart from what appears to be a semicircle of medallions on his chest), like the wings, devoid of detail. In his right hand he holds an orb, while his left grasps a rod held obliquely across the body. At first glance there is a superficial resemblance in pose and attributes to the ivory of St. Michael in the British Museum, now usually dated to the Sixth Century.²⁴ The Alahan archangels, however, lack the finesse of the ivory and represent a school in which the Hellenistic tradition of naturalism was fast losing ground to impulses from Syria and lands farther to the east. Indeed, the sculptor in cutting the figures sharply from their backgrounds, so that they almost resemble silhouettes, displays far less interest in modelling that he did in the case of the tetramorph, and his conception of form here seems confined to two dimensions. The details on the wings of St. Michael and on the upper part of his body may have been rendered in paint. It is also interesting, as denoting the sculptor's indifference to the

The identification more generally accepted later, and the one with the greatest popularity to-day, was that of Jerome, *In Apocal.*, IV, 4, who suggested St. Mark for the lion and St. John for the eagle. On the other hand, Ambrose took the view that Christ was indicated by the beasts, in that the principle for unity for the four Gospels was that they were just so many aspects of Christ. It may be admissible to suppose from this that Ambrose was familiar with a tetramorph rather than with separate representations of the four beasts. For this and other most helpful suggestions I am indebted to the Rev. J. H. Crehan, S.J., Professor of Patristic Studies at Heythrop College.

²² The Rabula Gospels, in the Laurentian Library in Florence, since they are precisely dated in the colophon, are of the greatest importance for the early Christian iconography of the East. Unfortunately, the miniatures have never been adequately reproduced. C. R. Morey, *Early Christian Art*, 1942, p. 215, n. 227, lists the works in which these reproductions may best be studied.

²³ H. Roth, *Kleinasiatische Denkmäler*, 1908, pp. 147, 207, 232.

²⁴ For an interesting discussion of this work, see R. Hinks, *Carolingian Art*, 1935, pp. 41-2; also E. Kitzinger, *Early Mediaeval Art*, 1940, p. 24.

correspondence of the figure with its architectural background, that while the archangel's head is directly below the niche, the feet appear to be nearer to the spectator and on a different plane.

It is the niche, with its utter disregard of spatial illusionism, which most suggests the influence of the East. The two acanthus capitals are suspended in space with no supporting columns below them. As capitals they are remarkably unsubstantial, and the acanthus leaves, of which they are composed, are treated solely as stylised ornament with barely a reminiscence of the vegetable forms from which they are ultimately derived. Above each shoulder of the niche is a small bird of the partridge type facing inwards.

The reliefs on the western side of the door are perhaps less striking than those so far described ; they are no less interesting, for once again the three elements characteristic of developed Byzantine art are all present and readily distinguishable. The place of honour in the centre of the lintel block is taken by the head of a bearded Christ included in a circular frame and supported by two six-winged angels (Pl. X, a). It is an arrangement which, as Headlam noted, recalls the winged sun-disc, the symbol of kingship amongst the people of ancient Egypt, which was transmitted to the East and appeared in Syria during the Hellenistic period.²⁵ It has survived to the present day in ecclesiastical use in a modified version of the form found at Alahan, though nowadays the disc will usually enclose a chi-rho monogram or the letters IHS.

The four human busts (one at each end of the lintel block and the two others on the doorposts) are in very high relief. Only one (Pl. X, c) is fairly well preserved, the others having been deliberately damaged in the past. Each bust consisted originally of a head and the upper part of the shoulders. The one relatively sound example is of a bearded man whose long hair falls in symmetrical waves on either side of the face, and it is possible that the four busts represent the four Evangelists whose symbols are below the lintel block.

The ornamental mouldings of the door (Pl. X, c) are treated in an essentially Eastern manner, in which deep under-cutting produces the maximum contrast of light and shade, and further evidence that the sculptor was concerned more with overall decorative effect than with emphasizing the head of Christ with its two supporting angels or the four human busts, may be gathered from the fact that the areas which they occupy are in no case clearly defined or set apart. The ornamental mouldings are continued to a point where they may be thought to have disappeared under the figures and then re-emerge.

²⁵ A. Gardiner, "Horus the Behdetite," *JEA*, Vol. 30, 1944, pp. 46-7, discusses the origin and meaning of the symbol, and quotes a First Dynasty example. K. Bittel, *Grundzüge der Vor u. Frühgeschichte Kleinasiens*, 1945, p. 52, comments on the Hittite borrowing of the sun-disc from Hurrian sources. D'Alviella, *The Migration of Symbols*, 1891, Ch. VI, discusses the spread of the symbol's use outside Egypt, as also does O. Gurney, *The Hittites*, 1952, pp. 211-12. The winged sun-disc is also found at the Late Hittite sites of Domuztepe and Karatepe, on orthostat reliefs of the Ninth and Eighth Centuries B.C. respectively.

That the relief sculpture of the central door into Building A at Alahan is representative of a single period is beyond reasonable doubt. One important problem that does arise concerns its relationship in time to the architectural sculpture of the monastery church. It is important if, as has been suggested above, Building A might possibly be shown to be a church, on a slightly different axis from and earlier than the church at the eastern end of the terrace. Unfortunately a comparison of the sculpture from the two buildings is not particularly helpful. Without going into very great detail, it may be noted that the eagle of the tetramorph (Pl. IX, a) strongly resembles the eagles which are substituted for angle volutes on a column capital inside the church,²⁶ while the decorative mouldings on the central gate of Building A are paralleled by examples from the three doors of the monastery church. There is, in fact, no apparent reason why the two sets of sculpture should not be co-eval.

The two epitaphs of Tarasis provide a *terminus ante quem* for the foundation of a monastery at Alahan ; they do not, of course, supply us with a date for our sculpture, and where so little comparative material exists, the probability or otherwise of a fifth-century date can only be discussed in the most general terms. A few points can, however, be made. In a remote province like Isauria, a strong local flavour in art is only to be expected,²⁷ and the whole style of the work just described is in fact, markedly individual. Equally it is plain that while the influence of Antioch and of centres farther to the East is fast imposing itself on outworn and decadent Classical formulae, there is no apparent fusion of the three elements. There is, in fact, a lack of balance between the various elements which would appear to be inconsistent with, and probably earlier than, the developed art which characterizes the period always associated with the name of the Emperor Justinian.

²⁶ Headlam, *op. cit.*, p. 15. An interesting parallel is to be seen in the Fifth Century domed basilica at Meryemlik, near Silifke (Seleucea on the Calycadnus). See Herzfeld and Guyer, *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua*, Vol. II, 1930, pp. 59-60, Pl. 59.

²⁷ This is very marked in the case of numerous grave-reliefs found near the ruined towns and villages of Cilicia Trachea. Many of these reliefs date from a period before the Roman occupation and betray little dependence on the contemporary sculptural canons of the Hellenistic world ; e.g. Keil and Wilhelm, *MAMA*, Vol. III, Taf. 37, No. 114 ; Taf. 45, Nos. 144-5.