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<i>E-mail address</i>	adalya@ku.edu.tr



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Abandonment, Continuity, Transformation: Setting Komana into Archaeological Context through the Middle Byzantine and Early Turkish Periods

MUSTAFA NURİ TATBUL*

Abstract

Historical sources indicate Turks came into Anatolia starting from the middle of the 11th century. This must have had critical short- and long-term impacts on various aspects of life in the region. Based on the archaeological evidence, it can be suggested that the settlement dynamics started to change during the period of confrontation between the Byzantines and Turks as a result of the shifting political authority on a regional scale. This article will try to identify changing settlement dynamics through the 11th-13th centuries at Komana and its territory with a comparison of other contemporary settlements in the inland Black Sea region and central Anatolia. Thus, archaeological data that shed light on our understanding of abandonment, continuity and transformation are discussed and categorized as indicators.

Keywords: Middle and Late Byzantine Anatolia, transition period, Black Sea region, Komana

Öz

Tarihi kaynaklar Türkler'in 11. yüzyılın ortalarından itibaren Anadolu'ya gelmeye başladıklarını aktarır. Bu hareketliliğin bölgede kısa ve de uzun vadede bir çok alanda etkisi olmuştur. Bizanslılar ve Türklerin etkileşimde bulunduğu ve siyasi otoritenin bölgesel ölçekte el değiştirmeye başladığı bu dönemde arkeolojik kanıtlara bakıldığında yerleşim dinamiklerinin Anadolu topraklarında değişmeye başladığı önerilebilir. Bu makalede 11.-13. yüzyıllar arasında Komana ve yakın çevresinde yerleşim dinamiklerinde meydana gelen değişimler arkeolojik verilere dayanarak tanımlanmakta, özellikle Karadeniz'in iç kesimleri ve Orta Anadolu'da bulunan çağdaş yerleşmeler ile karşılaştırmalı olarak incelenmektedir. Bu sayede terk, süreklilik ve dönüşümü anlamamıza ışık tutabilecek arkeolojik veriler ve belirteçler tartışılmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Orta ve Geç Bizans Anadolu'su, geçiş dönemi, Karadeniz, Komana

Introduction

Archaeological research and historical sources provide different scales of information about the Middle to Late Byzantine periods and the Early Turkish periods in Anatolia. On the one hand, historical sources mostly provide information on individual events with yearly based dates and descriptions of conditions in various terms. But the objectivity of that information and its transformation over time is problematic. On the other hand, the archaeological record represents the material evidence, and the time resolution of short-term individual events is difficult to

* Dr. Mustafa Nuri Tatbul, Bartın Üniversitesi, Edebiyat Fakültesi, Sanat Tarihi Bölümü, Kutlubey Kampüsü, Merkez, Bartın, Türkiye. E-mail: mtatbul@gmail.com ; <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-8890-480X>

determine if there was no momentary destructive event such as a fire, warfare or earthquake. Most of the time what remains can be related to the gradual abandonment and various natural and cultural post-abandonment processes that shaped the static archaeological record.

Information on settlement continuity, resettlement and transformation of sites with functional modifications of buildings and total or permanent abandonment patterns can be traced through the excavations¹ and surveys² representing the Middle to Late Byzantine and Early Turkish-period sites of Anatolia. Identification of continuity, transformation and abandonment history of the sites was made through the interpretation of architectural remains and contextual information.

During the transition period from Middle Byzantine to Early Turkish, inland Anatolia was gradually controlled by the Turks while the coastal areas remained under Byzantine control during the Komnenians.³ In the archaeological record, evidence for the transformation of Byzantine sites can be observed in the inland Black Sea and in central Anatolia, where some sites were either permanently abandoned or transformed after the Turkish presence in the region. In the pursuit of this survey of abandonment and continuity patterns of the period at Komana and the comparative sites, I focus on three aspects of archaeological evidence that might be helpful to understand the transition and geographical limits of settlement patterns: churches, contextual materials and fortifications.

Firstly, churches are very indicative structures for which demographic and functional conversions can be observed. Most of the time with their possible central position within rural settlements, they might be helpful in detecting potential rural sites. Also, churches are durable and long-lasting public structures when compared to domestic units constructed of stone, timber and mud. They have the potential to be identified on the surface through their identical architectural elements in the surveys. Their strong foundation remains, revealed in the excavations, may show reuse and modifications with other functioning structures such as workshops and domestic units. While the Byzantine Empire regained its power, rural areas played an important role in agro-pastoral production after two centuries of Dark Ages.⁴ Middle Byzantine rural churches started to flourish after the ninth century as rural life prospered.⁵ The villages were self-sufficient, in some cases with monastic establishments, where churches were the most plentiful public buildings.⁶ Therefore, their abundance could also be taken as an indicator of a vivid and dynamic rural life, political stability, peaceful conditions and economic prosperity. Middle Byzantine church remains are frequently observed on the surface of the rural areas and excavated layers. Therefore, they are very important to understand the transition patterns from the Byzantine to the Turkish periods. While their presence indicates the continuity of

¹ Mitchell 1980, 1998; McNicoll 1983; Özgüç 2009; Redford 2012; Cassis 2009, 2017; Böhlendorf-Arslan 2012, 2017, 2019; Lightfoot 2017; Alp 2010; Zanon 2013; Erciyas et al. 2015; Erciyas 2019.

² Haldon 2018; Haldon et al. 2015, 2017; Matthews et al. 1998, 2009; Vanhaverbeke and Waelkens 2003; Vanhaverbeke et al. 2009.

³ Belke 1990, 160.

⁴ During the 11th-12th centuries rural economic activities, population and agricultural lands increased. This is reflected in the increasing number of rural settlements within the empire. It also coincides with the abundant number of archaeological rural sites dated to this period; see Harvey 2008, 332.

⁵ Niewöhner 2017, 56. Building rural churches rather than investing in urban monumental projects was a trend started already in the Early Byzantine period; see Niewöhner 2017, 46-47.

⁶ In spite of political instability, the establishment of many domestic structures, monasteries and small-scale workshops along with the reuse of abandoned churches are indicators of the economic boom in this period; see Holmes 2008, 271-72.

Byzantine or Christian populations during the transition period, their alternative use might indicate the introduction of new settlement organizations. The rock-cut churches of Cappadocia represent a different quality of church construction in terms of architecture and building materials, but their abundance during the Middle Byzantine period and active use until the 14th century indicate the continuity of Christian communities in this geographical niche under Turkish rule.⁷

In many cases the churches are accompanied by cemeteries; therefore, ongoing burial practices may also be taken as an evidence for the continuity of the Byzantine communities during the transition period.

Secondly, to assess the fate of sites in terms of continuity, transformation or discontinuity, it is necessary to appeal to contextual features and materials such as ceramics, coins and ecofactual evidence such as zooarchaeological and archaeobotanical data. Therefore, the contextual material evidence at Komana is discussed by comparing it to other contemporary sites. While ceramics, metals and coins help to define the date of occupation and abandonment of the sites, ecofactual evidence mostly supported the functional shift of the structures where churches were converted to domestic units or stables. Ceramic, metal and glass production wastes and equipment also supported the suggestions for the conversion of church environs to industrial workshops.

Thirdly, in the heyday of the Middle Byzantine Empire⁸ both in socio-political and economic terms, Turkish groups started to enter Anatolia in the middle of the 11th century. Here instability and political shift took place in the areas of confrontation resulting in the construction of large fortifications or the reinforcement of older ones.⁹ Due to the political instability of the 11th-12th centuries, the Byzantine population focused on living close to fortified sites. Therefore, evidence of fortifications that continued to function might be taken as indicators for drawing settlement pattern boundaries between the Byzantines and Turks as frontier zones in western, southern and northern Anatolia.

In this article, I aim to explain the transformation of Komana from the Middle Byzantine period to the Early Turkish period in light of the archaeological evidence and the limited indirect written sources, considering various supporting and comparative archaeological evidences from other contemporary sites in the inland Black Sea region and central Anatolia, which were supposed to have been impacted by Turkish political acts.

Archaeological Evidence for Byzantine and Early Turkish Komana

Komana is located 10 km north-east of Tokat. The archaeological site is within the boundaries of the modern-day village of Gümenek at the junction of the Tokat-Niksar and Tokat-Almus highways. The site's location is important within the historical setting because of its position

⁷ For recent studies in Cappadocia see Ousterhout 1997, 2017a, 2017b; Öztürk 2017.

⁸ Complementary and comparative archaeological and historical research have developed, especially in the recent decade. Palynological studies focus on explaining the decline and revival of Medieval Anatolia by monitoring climatic fluctuations, agro-pastoral patterns and anthropogenic effects. Sufficient data has been collected to explain and support the idea of a Middle Byzantine revival by environmental conditions that increased agro-pastoral development. This "recovery period" was identified as the 10th-11th centuries by scholars who have researched different regions of Anatolia. For more information see Izdebski 2012; Haldon et al. 2014; Xoplaki et al. 2016; Roberts et al. 2018.

⁹ After Manzikert in AD 1071, fortifications in the northern Anatolia once more became crucial against Türkmen raids. In Paphlagonia local governors built new defensive structures besides older ones; see Crow 2009, 35.

on a major ancient road and on the bank of the Yeşilırmak (Iris) River (fig. 1). According to the pre-excavation survey results,¹⁰ traveler accounts from the 19th-early 20th centuries,¹¹ and the limited historical sources, the Hamamtepe mound was decided as having archaeological potential. Located at the center of Gümenek village, the mound has been excavated since 2009. While historical sources and the architectural survey of surviving structures provide very limited visibility for Middle Byzantine Komana and its territory, preliminary survey results and excavated contexts in the last decade has provided a substantial amount of evidence.

Historical Data

Ancient sources describe Komana as a temple state ruled by a priest in the Hellenistic period. It had 6000 temple servants, and the priest had the highest rank after the king.¹² Komana's economy was dependent on agricultural exploitation of its fertile lands. During the Roman period, Komana continued as a semi-autonomous imperial city.¹³ Middle Byzantine sources rather mention Neocaesareia and Sebasteia in more detail than Komana and Dokeia.¹⁴ Kinnamos reports that in the winter of AD 1139 (December), the emperor John Komnenos besieged Neocaesareia. However, due to the strong resistance of Turks and harsh winter conditions, the emperor had to cancel his campaign after several months.¹⁵ Kinnamos also reports that after John Komnenos departed from Neocaesareia, he marched into the adjacent Turkish territory, took immense booty, and saved the local Byzantines (*Romaioi*) who had become slaves to the Turks. However, the name of the territory is not specified. In another source, Niketas Choniates reports that the emperor took quarters in the Pontic city of Kinte in the winter of AD 1139 (December 21) before heading to Neocaesareia.¹⁶ Niketas Choniates explains that this was due to security reasons and the need to provision the army from his provinces. Bryer and Winfield also discuss the location of 12th-century Kinte (Limnia in the 14th century) and whether the emperor followed the route through the Pontic coastline from Kinte to Neocaesareia.¹⁷ These sources are important to better understand Komana's position and how it could have been affected by the campaign of John Komnenos during the siege of Neocaesareia. For Komana is located on one of the routes from the west to Neocaesareia. Such an important siege must have affected the local populations of the area, whereby thousands of soldiers passed by. Security, plunder and forced demands for army provisions must have affected the people in negative terms. However, the impact of this important event is difficult to assess in the archaeological record, since it has not left any significant sign.

¹⁰ Erciyas 2006, 2007; Erciyas and Sökmen 2009, 2010a, 2010b; Erciyas et al. 2008.

¹¹ For the mention of Komana in the accounts of travelers, see Cramer 1832, 1:305, 307-9; Hamilton 1842, 349-50; Hogarth and Munro 1893, 94-95; Anderson 1903, 63-64; Cumont and Cumont 1906; von der Osten 1929a, 35; 1929b, 132.

¹² Strabo 12.3.32.

¹³ Strabo 12.3.34, 36. While no Roman-period architectural phase has been identified yet at the excavations, various inscriptions, architectural and sculpture fragments such- as spolia, coins and ceramics were recovered from the foundation fill contexts at Hamamtepe. For the preliminary evaluation of survey and excavation data for Roman-period Komana, see Erciyas and Tatbul 2016.

¹⁴ For the early Christian history of Komana, see Erciyas and Sökmen 2010b, 124-25.

¹⁵ Brand 1976, 25.

¹⁶ Magoulias 1984, 20.

¹⁷ Bryer and Winfield 1985, 1:41, 99. Bryer suggests that the location of Limnia should be at the ruined village of Taşlıkköy in Çarşamba today; see Bryer 1975, 128-29.

In another textual source of the 12th century, Michael the Syrian presents various information on political, religious, economic matters and natural events in Anatolia in chronological order. He reports that in areas under Turkish rule where new churches were prohibited to be built, repairs and modifications were also prohibited and limited by the order of Turkish rulers.¹⁸ He reports that when the Danishmend ruler Melik Muhammed came to the throne (AD 1135), he applied Islamic laws by forbidding the drinking of wine, respecting Muslims and destroying the churches. He also reports that the Artuqid ruler Emir Kara Arslan (AD 1152) ordered the destruction of a church renovated by an Armenian priest (Joseph of Mantzit) in the village of Bargahis and enacted a law prohibiting the construction of new churches and repairs on Mesopotamian land. After Emir Kara Arslan's death, in the time of his son, the Christians of his states came together, offered a great deal of gold, and obtained permission to restore any old church that needed repair.¹⁹ During Nour ed-Din's rule (AD 1171), he ordered the dismantlement of all newly constructed and modified structures within the monasteries and churches (e.g. Mor Yakup/Saint Jacob church in Nuseybin) and appointed an official to inspect the constructions. He also notes that this official (Bar 'Azroun) behaved arbitrarily and took a bribe to approve that the repaired churches were old.²⁰ These sources indicate that the churches were still functioning during the 12th century with limited repairs and modifications. Even though these references are related to Danishmend and Artuqid lands (Hasankeyf and upper Mesopotamia) not directly associated with Komana, the attitudes of Turkish rulers to these church communities could be considered for other regions. Based on this historical reference, we might expect to have rural churches functioning at Komana in the 12th century, even if a political shift had happened from the Byzantines to the Turks.

The epic work of *Danişmendname* might have mentioned the events taking place at Komana. Melikoff in her work, "La Geste de Melik Danişmend," suggests that the site called "Sisya" could be Komana (Gümenek) based on the geographical and toponymic descriptions written in the version of Arif Ali.²¹ She suggests that Sisya was named "Gümenek" in the time of Arif Ali, while Greeks called it "Komanat."²²

If the place Sisya is Komana (Gümenek), then it might be an important literary source referring to the site's history. According to the narratives in *Danişmendname* about Sisya, the information provided is important in at least three aspects: 1) the description of the settlement and its close environment, 2) the sociopolitical atmosphere of the settlement, and 3) the natural events and their effects on the site.²³

According to the narrative, when the people of Dokeia (Tokat) complained about the harmful acts of the people of Sisya, the Danishmends went over to Sisya to capture the city. When the Muslims came to Sisya, they saw a huge city with a castle and a bridge under which flowed a wide river as well as a church as large as a castle.²⁴ According to the archaeological record and the environmental setting of the site today, there is a castle located by the Yeşilirmak (Iris)

¹⁸ Chabot 1905, 237.

¹⁹ Chabot 1905, 307-8.

²⁰ Chabot 1905, 340.

²¹ Melikoff 1960, 1:144, 151.

²² Melikoff 1960, 1:147. The text mentions multiple times that Sisya was called Gümenek in the time of the narrator; see Melikoff 1960, 2:15, 80, 92.

²³ For the comments of Sisya (Komana) in *Danişmendname*, also see Erciyas and Sökmen 2010b, 127; Demir 2012, 136, 140, 300; Erciyas 2013, 133-34.

²⁴ Melikoff 1960, 2:93.

River where a Roman bridge is located.²⁵ This was also described exactly the same by 19th and early 20th century travelers.

The narrative also reports that when the Muslims approached Sisya, they heard the ringing bells of 360 churches.²⁶ The narrative might be full of exaggeration, but the archaeological record suggests that there were many Middle Byzantine churches situated within the territory of Komana.

According to the narrative, the people of Sisya changed their loyalty multiple times between the Danishmends based in Dokeia and the Byzantines in Neocaesarea. Before the Danishmend Gazi's last attempt to capture the city, a disastrous flood destroyed Sisya with only one part of the city surviving. This was called Komanat (Gümenek).²⁷ Based on the archaeological record, the remains of the lower city by the Iris River were buried under a thick layer of alluvium. The lower city must have expanded to a large flat area under the modern village. Hamamtepe, where excavations have revealed the archaeological remains, is in an elevated position near the river on a flat plain.

Archaeological Data

In the region of Komana, the first set of preliminary data was collected during the extensive surveys between 2004 and 2008. Then 19 Byzantine sites were identified based on the surface materials. At 10 of the sites, the Middle Byzantine occupation based on the architectural fragments was identified.²⁸ All these 10 sites identified have strong evidence for the presence of a Middle Byzantine church, and are in a rural setting. The majority of the sites were in remote locations and at high elevations ranging from 750-1376 m. Several churches at ca. 600 m above sea level were also detected. The fertile valley of the Yeşilırmak that encompassed the territory of Komana is at ca. 600 m above sea level. Thus, it can be conveniently suggested that at Komana there were Middle Byzantine sites in a rural context both at lower elevations and at locations remotely accessible.

The second set of data representing Early Byzantine, Middle Byzantine and Early Turkish Komana comes from excavated contexts (fig. 2).²⁹ Archaeological excavations have been conducted since 2009. According to the archaeological data, the central settlement of Komana at Hamamtepe was probably functioning as a *kastron*, or fortified local center, during the Early Byzantine period. It also had domestic units within the fortification. The northwest part of the fortification, possibly built before the early seventh century, has been excavated (fig. 3). An Early Byzantine coin, a gold tremissis of the emperor Phocas (AD 602-610), and a glass weight equivalent to a solidus were found together. These contribute to estimating the construction date of the fortification wall at the latest to the early seventh century. However, the earliest coins found in the Early Byzantine architectural layers within the settlement were dated to the

²⁵ A modern dam was constructed over the bridge by the DSI (Governmental Water Management Organization). An inscription is visible on the bridge-dam that mentions the sacred Roman imperial city of Komana. Hogarth and Munro observed in their late 19th century travels that it was inscribed Ἱεροκαίσαρῶν Κομανέων on the bridge; see Hogarth and Munro 1893, 94-95. Anderson also described the inscription in his journey in the early 20th century, as if the inscription was installed to express the name of the Roman city; see Anderson 1903, 63-64. For the published inscription, see *IGRR* 3.106.

²⁶ Melikoff 1960, 2:94.

²⁷ Melikoff 1960, 2:253.

²⁸ Erciyas and Sökmen 2010b, 130.

²⁹ For the latest evaluation of the stratigraphy, see Erciyas 2019.

early sixth century (Justin I AD 518-527).³⁰ Ünal has also suggested the dating of an uncertain coin to the late fifth century (Anastasius I AD 491-518).³¹ Taking into consideration the Early Byzantine coins found in the settlement, we can suggest that the Early Byzantine occupation of the site dates at the earliest to the late fifth century to the early sixth century. However, a clear date for the construction of the fortification needs further data analysis. The latest Early Byzantine coin is dated to the mid-seventh century (Constans II AD 641-668).³² According to this evidence, the coin circulation at Early Byzantine Komana might have stopped in the mid-seventh century. But we still cannot offer a date for the abandonment of the site. Political crises and insecure conditions from the seventh until the ninth century caused limitations in coin circulation in Anatolia. The cessation of any later coin finds at Komana may not immediately mean total abandonment in the late seventh century.³³ But it should be noted that the earliest coin after Constans II (AD 641-668) was an anonymous follis dated to AD 976-1030 / 1035.³⁴ Therefore, an abandonment of the site might be expected in the earlier stage of this interruption.

In the Middle Byzantine period the inner part of the fortification, abandoned some time in the Early Byzantine period (earliest in the late seventh century), was used as a cemetery. It had dwellings in the lower and extramural areas of the settlement as well. In and around two adjacent churches 127 graves were recovered (figs. 4-5).³⁵ Some graves spread around the churches were disturbed by the Seljuks when they dug foundations. The archaeological assemblage comprises liturgic metal objects such as personal and ceremonial crosses and church lighting equipment. These represent the functional and decorative objects of these 11th-12th century churches (fig. 6).³⁶ Within the fortification wall no Middle Byzantine domestic architectural phase has yet been defined. That the strategically important and fortified sites were reserved for churches and cemeteries indicates that the population might have preferred to expand to the safe and fertile rural landscape.

Architecturally contextual finds of terracotta florets were found in the excavated Church A and Church B.³⁷ This makes it possible to establish the contextual ties between the Middle Byzantine church sites identified in the rural areas during the surveys³⁸ with the excavated contexts of central Komana. Terracotta florets are the most characteristic elements found on surface surveys and are strong indicators of the presence of Middle Byzantine churches in the identified sites.³⁹

³⁰ Ünal 2019, 234.

³¹ Ünal 2019, 241.

³² Ünal 2019, 236.

³³ In the Early Byzantine layers of Çadırhöyük the amount of African Red Slip ware and coins decreased in the late fifth-early sixth centuries. According to the indirect effect of the Arab raids, the population remained in the settlement through the seventh century with a small number; see Cassis 2017, 370.

³⁴ Ünal 2019, 237.

³⁵ Erciyas 2019, 10-16; Erciyas et al. 2015, 29-32.

³⁶ Acara Eser 2015, 2019. Parallels of the assemblage were seen at the nearby sites of Boğazköy and Beycesultan in the 10th-12th century Middle Byzantine layers; see Böhlendorf-Arslan 2012, 355-59; Wright 2007, 146, 167-68.

³⁷ Erciyas et al. 2015, 30; Vorderstrasse 2019, 49-52.

³⁸ Erciyas and Sökmen 2010b.

³⁹ Terracotta florets have also been found at some Anatolian sites such as Constantinople (Tekfur Saray) (Trkulja 2012, 156), Sardis (Church E) (Hanfmann 1983, 202; Buchwald 2015, 79), and Amastris (Crow and Hill 1995, 260). Other examples have been found in Byzantine churches of Northern Greece, Serbia, and Bulgaria. These were used as exterior decorations at Lazarica Monastery (Krusevac), Panagia Sikelia (Chios, Exo Didyma), Church of the Holy Archangels (Kuceviste), and Tekfur Saray (Constantinople) (Trkulja 2012, 146, 150, 155). The examples in

The coin sequence for the Middle Byzantine period is continuous from the late 10th to the 11th centuries,⁴⁰ which could also be in circulation until the early 12th century at the same time with Danishmend / Seljuk coins.⁴¹ Ivanova also suggested that the latest Byzantine coin found at Komana dated to Alexios I (AD 1081-1118).⁴²

In the Middle Byzantine / Early Turkish periods, Komana was ruled by Danishmends / Seljuks.⁴³ The central settlement functioned as a fortified local center where workshop and domestic activities were attested during the excavations.⁴⁴ Multiple ovens, storage features and refuse pits within the Danishmend / Seljuk phase (Area HTP01) represent intensive activities in the settlement (fig. 7).

The settlement was not confined within the fortification, but also domestic units expanded into the extramural areas. A test trench opened in the lower part of the mound (HTP04) at the same level with the river bed showed that Ottoman, Danishmend / Seljuk and Middle Byzantine architectural phases followed each other at a depth of four m. This sequence is at a depth of approximately one to two m in the upper part of the settlement. This clearly proves the effects of the alluvial activity of the Yeşilirmak in the lower levels of the site. Also, geophysical prospection during the pre-excavation surveys in the agricultural fields around Hamamtepe showed some rectangular structures having burnt spots and circular features.⁴⁵ The abundance of glazed Seljuk pottery, tripods, biscuits and imperfect wares such as bowls having tripod signs and production wastes supported the identification of Komana as a local production center. Also, slags found in burnt layers were signs of metal production in the Danishmend / Seljuk phase.⁴⁶ Besides industrial production, a rich variety of archaeozoological⁴⁷ and archaeobotanical⁴⁸ taxa were analyzed, an indicator of a prosperous life and economic activities during the Danishmend / Seljuk period. Based on the rich amount of food remains, it can be suggested that the central settlement was sufficiently supported by the rural settlements.

Danishmend / Seljuk workshop units at Komana were identified around two adjacent Middle Byzantine churches (Church A and Church B) (figs. 8-9).⁴⁹ The pastophoria of Church A

Western Anatolia and the Balkans are dated to the 13th-14th centuries. However, the assemblage from the Komana excavation was recovered from the Middle Byzantine context, which should be the early 12th century at the latest. The remains found during the surveys in a rural context might be date later than the ones found in the excavated context, if we consider the continuity of rural Byzantine communities after Turkish political control of the region. Terracotta florets found at Komana are not only the earliest but also the most eastern examples at hand with the examples found at Niksar (Ermiş 2019). It should be noted that the examples from sites other than Komana are all in regions where Byzantine authority lasted until the 13th-15th centuries.

⁴⁰ Ünal 2019, 234.

⁴¹ The circulation of 11th century coins was for about a century, and together with Islamic coins and glazed pottery were also considered at Aşvan Kale and Taşkun Kale; see Mitchell 1980, 53, 55; McNicoll 1983, 17. Also, Vorderstrasse states that when the Byzantines conquered Antioch in the 11th century, the local inhabitants continued to use the older coins. By the 1030s new Byzantine coin types had increased. This has also been interpreted as the periphery of the region being integrated into the economic system; see Vorderstrasse 2005.

⁴² Ivanova 2019, 255.

⁴³ At Komana, it is not possible to distinguish the Danishmend and Seljuk periods yet. In the archaeological record the architectural phase did not change; only the coins indicate this political shift. Therefore, the Turkish occupation of the settlement is suggested as Danishmend / Seljuk.

⁴⁴ Erciyas 2019, 5-10; Erciyas et al. 2015, 25-29; Tatbul 2017, 2020.

⁴⁵ Erciyas 2007.

⁴⁶ Erciyas 2019, 10; Erciyas et al. 2015, 28; Tatbul 2017.

⁴⁷ Pişkin 2015.

⁴⁸ Pişkin and Tatbul 2015.

⁴⁹ Erciyas 2019, 11-14; Erciyas et al. 2015, 29-32; Tatbul 2017.

was reused as spaces for daily functions following the orientation of the church walls. The re-used siderooms had compact soil floors, while the original church floor was paved with terracotta tiles just a few levels below. The nave of the church was never reused in the Danishmend / Seljuk period. A single oil lamp was found on the tile floor of the nave, where a thick layer of mortar and fresco remains were covered by the collapse of the ceiling.

Glazed Seljuk pottery studied from the excavated layers were dated between the second half of the 12th century and the first half of the 14th century (fig. 10).⁵⁰ This ceramic dating was both in accordance with the circulation range of Islamic coins found in the layers and the radiocarbon dates obtained from charred plant remains recovered from oven and refuse pit contexts.⁵¹

The earliest Danishmend coin is dated to the mid-12th century (AD 1143-1166 Nizam al-Din Yağibasan). The earliest Seljuk coin is dated to the second half of the 12th century (AD 1156-1192 Izzeddin Kılıç Arslan), while the latest is dated to the late 13th century (AD 1281-1287 Gıyaseddin Mesud II). Between the earliest and latest Seljuk coins, there is continuity in circulation, and it seems like the Mongol invasions starting in the middle of the 13th century did not strongly affect the sequence.⁵²

According to the coin sequence between the Byzantine and Danishmend occupations, there is a temporal gap of about a quarter century. However, based on this hiatus, it is not possible to suggest a date for the last use of the Middle Byzantine churches and the cemetery, their collapse and then the reoccupation of the site by Turks as a workshop area. It worth mentioning that this period also coincides with the John Komnenos' unsuccessful siege of Neocaesarea in AD 1139. We can consider a gap in the occupation of Komana during or shortly after this attempt. But still we should consider the possibility of the circulation of late 11th-century coins together at least with the 12th-century Islamic coins. Further, we should also expect that the Danishmend and Seljuk coins might have been in circulation for the same range of time. Therefore, the presence of the first Danishmend coin from the year AD 1143-1166 (Nizam al-Din Yağibasan) does not necessarily mean that the workshop was in operation at that time. It might have been established in the late 12th century, but the glazed Seljuk pottery dates from the second half of the 12th century onward. The typology of the church architecture and the metal finds are also dated by specialists roughly to the 10th century at the earliest and to the 12th century at the latest. Radiocarbon dating of the graves are also gives dates between the 10th and 12th centuries.⁵³ If the churches at Hamamtepe were in use during the 12th century and the burial practices continued, we should also expect that the rural churches were still functioning as well, since these were contemporaneous with those in the central settlement of Komana. Based on this interpretation and the lack of any destruction evidence at the site, we can conveniently suggest a gradual transformation from Middle Byzantine occupation to the Turkish-period workshop phase in the second half of the 12th century. The site in its final phase was occupied as an Ottoman village during the 17th-18th centuries.⁵⁴

⁵⁰ Karasu and Özkul Fındık 2019.

⁵¹ The glazed pottery assemblage recovered from a cesspit at Komana was dated to late 12th-early 13th century. For the article see Vorderstrasse 2015.

⁵² For an up-to-date catalogue of identified Seljuk coins, see Ivanova 2019, 258-60.

⁵³ Radiocarbon samples taken from both human skeletons and charred plant remains were analyzed by the Tübitak Marmara Research Center. The results have not been published, but are registered as Tübitak MAM Report No. 82325108-125.05-40 / 3593.

⁵⁴ Erciyas 2019, 3.

Comparison of Komana with Other Sites in the Period of Transition Based on the Archaeological Evidence

Archaeological data recovered from the inland Black Sea region and central Anatolia are promising for understanding the abandonment and transformation patterns of the Middle Byzantine sites from the late 11th to the 12th centuries. Sites cited as comparative materials were both under the political control of the Danishmend and Seljuk Turks and demonstrate that their political acts in the region had a common effect on the fate of the sites in the transition period. Abandonment of the Middle Byzantine sites and their reoccupation and transformation under Turkish political control can be read through the modification of churches and contextual data. Sites mentioned as having fortifications show a pattern that defines political boundaries between the Komnenians and Turks in the period of transition.

Functional Modifications and the Continuity of Churches

At Komana life in the Middle Byzantine churches - the range of the burials around them, grave finds and metal liturgical objects found in the associated layers - can be dated between the 10th and 12th centuries. The closest example of a Middle Byzantine site is at Boğazköy, which was dated not later than the early 12th century according to the given abandonment date of the settlement based on the inventories.⁵⁵ The evidence at Boğazköy has parallels with Komana in terms of date, form of church, type of graves and finds recovered.⁵⁶ The cemeteries and the related communities at Boğazköy were the last occupants of the sites just before the coming of Turks to the region. At Çadır Höyük metal objects of the Middle Byzantine period (9th-11th centuries) were found below the floor of the Seljuk phase. However, no church has been recovered yet. The date of these metal finds can be compared with those found at Komana where the occupation sequence looks similar to Çadır Höyük, as also in Boğazköy. Cassis comments that the metal finds, consisting also of pendant and ceremonial crosses, were deliberately buried under the floor of the later occupation. She takes this as a measure of population shift in the settlement.⁵⁷ At Komana religious metal finds were found in the layers both as stray finds and in group of objects at certain spots.⁵⁸ In these cases, if they were not buried under the floors, it is believed that these metal objects were collected to be recycled in metal production, a view supported by the slags and globules found in the burnt contexts of the Turkish workshop phase.⁵⁹

By the middle of the 12th century, the churches and related burials had ceased to function at Komana. Later modifications in and around the churches to workshop and domestic-related activities were dated to the occupation of the site by Turks, possibly in the late 12th century. The time between the abandonment of the churches and the transformation of the site to a Turkish occupation is still not clearly established. But the functional modification of the churches is taken as indicative of this transformation. Similar evidence is attested at the excavations at Amorium, Başara, Tyana and Binbirkilise. The Lower City Church and its nearby environment at Amorium were used for domestic purposes during the first half of the 13th century in the Seljuk period. This is suggested based on the plant samples taken from pits, hearths and layers,

⁵⁵ Böhlendorf-Arslan 2017, 367. Also see Böhlendorf-Arslan 2012, 2019.

⁵⁶ See Erciyas et al. 2015, 29-32.

⁵⁷ Cassis 2017, 373.

⁵⁸ See Erciyas et al. 2015, 32; Tatbul 2017.

⁵⁹ Also, for the identification of a 12th-century iron workshop at Kinet Höyük, see Redford 2012.

which provided the taxa of animal fodder besides human diet.⁶⁰ The later use of the Lower City Church area was determined to be a farmhouse and yard in the Seljuk period. Carbonized sheep droppings found in the sample were interpreted as fuel remains.⁶¹ The northern Church at Başara was used with dwelling and storage functions in the Seljuk period, where an oven with tile pavement were attested.⁶² Also, the southern Church, modified in the 12th century, was used for dwelling, storage and workshop purposes. A metal workshop was also suggested based on the metal finds, and a lime kiln was identified where marble was burned to produce lime. The baptistery at Tyana was dismantled in the 11th-12th century, and the marble remains were used for lime production. The presence of a furnace and production wastes indicated the later operation of the baptistery area as a glass workshop.⁶³ At Binbirkilise, Church 15 was converted to a mosque in the Seljuk period, and a Byzantine grave inscription was found on the west wall of the church dated to AD 1162-1171. Through this evidence, it was suggested that there was still a Christian community living in Madendağ in the late 12th century.⁶⁴ Also, Church 10 was converted to a bakery, and Church 25 was used as a mill or a house.⁶⁵

Contrary to these indications for the transformation of churches to secondary functions in the regions where Seljuk political control was established, a continuity pattern can be suggested in the Cappadocia area. The rural Christian community of Çanlı Kilise at Cappadocia continued to live in the settlement during the period of Turkish presence in the region. Çanlı Kilise was built in the early 11th century and renovated in the 13th century.⁶⁶ The free-standing and well-preserved masonry church was the central structure among the 30 churches and chapels spread in and around the 25 living units comprising a small prosperous Middle Byzantine rural community. The living units at the settlement consisted of kitchens, storage areas, cisterns, stables, dovecotes and refuge places. Ceramics recovered from the surface proved the occupation of the site until the 14th century. Recent studies of Öztürk in the Açıksaray rock-carved settlement at Cappadocia suggests a continuity pattern of Christian communities during the 13th century.⁶⁷ She mentions that there are several inscriptions and remains in the rock-carved churches, where the Christian communities expressed their relationship to the Nicaean empire during the early 13th century. She also points out that later in the 13th century, taken as the transition period, the Byzantine Christian community had a dual identity. Both Byzantine and Seljuk rulers were referred to in the inscriptions found at later churches. Research in Cappadocia focuses on explaining the transition to Seljuk rule through the late 11th-12th centuries. This is necessary to better understand the occupation history in the region. The fate of the rock-cut settlements is better known for the 10th-11th centuries and their continuity into the 13th century.⁶⁸

Earlier modifications in the churches frequently resulted as stables, domestic units, storage areas or workshops. In most cases where churches were converted to mosques, the Christian presence mostly continued at least until the Early Ottoman times. There are known exceptions

⁶⁰ Giorgi 2012.

⁶¹ Lightfoot and Ivison 1995, 125-27.

⁶² Alp 2010, 23, 27.

⁶³ Zanon 2013, 181.

⁶⁴ Ramsay and Bell 2008, 540; Jackson 2017, 317.

⁶⁵ Ramsay and Bell 2008, 11; Jackson 2017, 317.

⁶⁶ Ousterhout 1997; 2017a, 321-22, 325.

⁶⁷ Öztürk 2017, 138.

⁶⁸ See Ousterhout 2017b for his comprehensive research of the Byzantine Cappadocian landscape.

like Ani, where the cathedral church was converted to a mosque immediately after its occupation in the 11th century or the mosque converted from a church at Binbirkilise in the 12th century. There are many cases in which church sites kept their continuity later than the 11th-12th century. Since there was still Byzantine rule behind the frontiers (most of the coastline), the lifetime of the standing churches was longer than in the regions occupied earlier by the Turks in the 11th-12th centuries. There were also later churches built in the 13th century, when the capital was moved to Nicaea after the Latin invasion of Constantinople in AD 1204 (i.e. Church E at Sardis and the church at Myra).⁶⁹ Surveys conducted to discover the topography and monuments of the Pontic region have focused on the coastal Black Sea, where several Late Byzantine churches, chapels and monasteries have been identified and recorded. These were operational in the 12th-15th centuries.⁷⁰ Ballance suggests that when Trebizond was taken by Mehmet II in 1461, many of the churches in the city were converted to mosques immediately or sometime after the occupation (i.e. St. Sophia of Trebizond). She further states that in this way most of the churches were prevented from collapsing.⁷¹

Contextual Data

Other than the evidence indicating transformation of the churches, contextual finds such as coins, ceramics, and ecofactual remains along with contextual interpretations are helpful in understanding abandonment behavior and the reoccupation of the sites. While the Middle Byzantine occupation at Komana is seen as being gradually abandoned, the Middle Byzantine village at Boğazköy was reported to be abandoned rapidly in the late 11th-early 12th century based on the archaeological evidence.⁷² The buildings were exposed to fire, and the inhabitants fled leaving their valuable belongings behind (*de facto*). It was observed that there was no post-abandonment plunder, and most objects were in their context. Therefore, the dating of the abandonment was suggested as at the beginning of the 12th century based on the objects found. Based on this contextual interpretation, the method of abandonment can be taken as indicative of the level of tension between raiding Turks and local Byzantine communities. A rapid abandonment was also suggested at the Middle Byzantine rural site of Çadır Höyük. This fortified site with its defensive towers atop the mound is believed to have guarded the settlement below.⁷³ The site lost its function in the late 11th century due to Turkish raids in the region. The community left the settlement rapidly, and many artifacts were left behind (*de facto*). Only very valuable objects were taken (curate behavior), and even animals were left tied in the stable, therefore assuming a return was possible to the site.⁷⁴ A lead seal of the Byzantine general Samuel Aousianos and a hoard of bronze coins of Constantine X Doukas (AD 1059-1067) were also found. These were considered as evidence for the time of the site's rapid abandonment. An Islamic coin was recovered in the vicinity of Çadır Höyük, and recently a Seljuk phase was identified in the excavations. According to ceramic evidence and architectural remains, Çadır Höyük was abandoned at the end of 11th century and resettled in the 12th-13th centuries.⁷⁵

⁶⁹ Hanfmann 1983, 79; Akyürek 2015.

⁷⁰ Bryer and Winfield 1985; Winfield and Wainwright 1962; Ballance 1960.

⁷¹ Ballance 1960, 143.

⁷² Böhlendorf-Arslan 2017, 367.

⁷³ Cassis et al. 2018, 391-92.

⁷⁴ Cassis 2009, 5-6; 2017, 373.

⁷⁵ Cassis 2017, 369, 373; Cassis et al. 2018, 390.

The Seljuk-phase architecture is described as stones put together with packed mud.⁷⁶ This building technique is similar at Komana when it was resettled by the Danishmends / Seljuks.⁷⁷ An abandonment pattern is also suggested at Euchaita, a small rural, semi-urban settlement, which has been systematically surveyed.⁷⁸ Euchaita and its defensive structures behind the village were assumed to have been abandoned after the battle of Manzikert in the late 11th century and its resulting capture by the Danishmends.⁷⁹ Limited decontextualized surface materials from the site have been handed to archaeologists by local villagers,⁸⁰ such as a Constantine Doukas coin (AD 1059-1067).⁸¹ This stray find was taken as an evidence for the final period of Byzantine occupation of the settlement. Excavations have not been conducted at the site yet; therefore, there is no further contextual data. A few pieces of white glazed wares dating to the 10th century and small amounts of 13th-14th century sgraffito and monochrome glazed wares as well as various utility types were also found.⁸² These could be taken as evidence for the resettlement of the site after a hiatus. Also, a shift in the regional center was proposed for the period of transition from the Middle Byzantine to Turkish Medieval from Euchaita to Mecitözü in the mid-12th century.⁸³ According to the contextual finds at Middle Byzantine Amorium, the abandonment of the site was suggested in the late 11th century. Amorium began fading after Manzikert as evidenced by the decreasing number of coins minted after AD 1080.⁸⁴ The latest coin found at the site is dated to the reign of Alexios I (AD 1092-1118).⁸⁵ Lightfoot suggests that Amorium was abandoned after the 11th century when Byzantine authority weakened in central Anatolia and the population of Amorium moved west to safer locations.⁸⁶ Lightfoot also stressed that, if Amorium had survived and transitioned to Seljuk rule, the city would have developed and possibly still be present, just like the examples of Iconium and Ancyra.

Fortification Patterns

In western Anatolia and the Black Sea coastal region, Byzantine rule continued. Turkish control was not immediately established in the Seljuk period, as it had been in the inland Black Sea region and central Anatolia.⁸⁷ Archaeological research has frequently suggested that Byzantine fortifications were reinforced during the Turkish raids in Anatolia.⁸⁸ The defensive walls in the frontier zones were an indication of the need to resist Turkish raids and actually draw the boundaries between two political authorities. Based on the categorization of sites in this article, the inland central Black Sea region and central Anatolia included the sites that were abandoned or reoccupied and transformed during the transition period. Also, Byzantine

⁷⁶ Cassis 2017, 373.

⁷⁷ Erciyas et al. 2015, 25; Erciyas 2019, 5.

⁷⁸ Euchaita is also suggested as a semi-rural or semi-urban settlement, where annual fairs took place as a market center; see Haldon et al. 2015, 347.

⁷⁹ Haldon 2018, 251; Haldon et al. 2015, 344.

⁸⁰ Haldon et al. 2015, 347.

⁸¹ Haldon et al. 2015, 339; 2017, 380.

⁸² Haldon et al. 2017, 386.

⁸³ Cassis et al. 2018, 390.

⁸⁴ The number of coins dated to the late 11th century also decreased at Komana; see Ünal 2019, 232.

⁸⁵ Katsari et al. 2012, 158; Lightfoot 2017, 340.

⁸⁶ Lightfoot 2017, 341.

⁸⁷ Belke 1990, 160.

⁸⁸ Foss 1998, 363, 365-66; Niewöhner et al. 2017, 279; Stroth 2017, 330; Crow 2009, 35; Wright 2007, 148-49; Belke 1990, 160-63; Barnes and Whittow 1998, 351.

sites that were fortified during the transition period occupied western Anatolia and Black Sea coastal areas on the geographical landscape. This map of archaeological evidence (fig. 11) also accords with Haldon's political history map of the Komnenian Dynasty (fig. 12), on which Byzantine defensive boundaries separated western Anatolia and Black Sea coastal areas from the territories of Turkish occupation.⁸⁹

Discussion

Archaeological sites of the Middle and Late Byzantine periods in Anatolia are mostly identified with having churches. These included churches transformed to secondary functions and fortification walls built with durable materials and easy to identify through surface surveys. The identification of rural workshops / domestic structures constructed with perishable materials therefore mostly fade away and cannot be easily identified through surface surveys but depend only on the excavations. In the cases where Middle Byzantine sites were not permanently abandoned, later Byzantine and Turkish occupations cover the earlier remains. In many cases, Byzantine and Turkish remains could also be covered by the later Ottoman occupations. Thanks to the excavations at Komana, this stratigraphic order is well recorded and understood. While pre-excavation aerial photographs of the mound gave clues about the circuit of the fortification wall, it was almost impossible previously to estimate the Ottoman, Danishmend / Seljuk and Middle Byzantine phases by looking only at the surface materials. Moreover, the first phase of the fortification has been dated to the Early Byzantine period. It continued to function in the later phases until it lost its function when the Ottoman village was established, which extended on top the walls that had already lost their integrity. The recovery of the Middle Byzantine cemetery and two church foundations reused as Danishmend / Seljuk workshops along with the Early Byzantine walls that expanded under the Middle Byzantine church foundations help us to better understand the stratigraphy of Komana.

As already attested during the pre-excavation surveys by Erciyas (2004-2008), the rural territory of Komana had numerous Middle Byzantine churches in close proximity. Evidence for their density in the landscape proves a rural revival in the 10th-11th centuries. The Middle Byzantine period is also suggested through palynological data, historical sources and archaeological investigations in Anatolia. The durability of the surface architectural remains of churches is very helpful to detect potential Middle Byzantine villages, especially considering that each village or each monastery complex had at least one church within its borders. Multi-period occupation from the Early Byzantine to the Ottoman periods can be expected at those sites. There ruralization was a continuous trend, even through some intermediary periods of political crises existed. In the Sagalassos survey, Vanhaverbeke and Waelkens stress the possibility of consequent occupation of sites through the Medieval periods. Therefore, the number of Middle and Late Byzantine sites identified that might have been affected by the Ottoman sites was scarce.⁹⁰ They also emphasize the disappearance of perishable rural architectural elements as a factor that limits the visibility of rural Medieval and Ottoman sites. This argument could also be valid for the rural survey sites of Komana. For the easy disintegration of structures built of stone, timber and mud / clay has already been observed at the Danishmend / Seljuk and Ottoman layers at the excavations. In some spots especially the stratigraphic sequence is

⁸⁹ Haldon 2010, 129.

⁹⁰ Vanhaverbeke and Waelkens 2003, 303, 305, 307, 309.

compressed at an average of one meter deep between the Early Byzantine and Ottoman layers, which represents a time span of ca. 1200 years.

To understand the transition from the Middle Byzantine period to the Early Turkish period, the archaeological data can be integrated. Most Middle Byzantine sites were still functioning when the Turks started to occupy Anatolia at the middle of the 11th century. As a political consequence of this population move, Byzantine sites were abandoned permanently or temporarily, continued, modified or reoccupied during the Middle Byzantine / Medieval Turkish period. In other words, there is still a link between the two periods. A continuity of Byzantine presence also existed at the backdrop of the frontier zones as attested in western Anatolia and the coastal Black Sea areas after the Turkish presence in Anatolia and later during the period of the Early Turkish Principalities.

It is also historically and archaeologically attested that the churches continued to function during the 12th-15th centuries in Anatolia, even if new constructions, modifications and repairs were limited by the Turkish authorities in the inland Black Sea region and central Anatolia. Also, Turkish political control in the central Anatolia could be more effective in the *kastra* and their close vicinities, easily accessible locations and main road networks, while self-sufficient agro-pastoral Christian communities in the remote access rural areas continued. Settlement patterns of Middle and Late Byzantine / Medieval Turkish Anatolia can be evaluated together by considering it as a transition phase instead of only thinking before and after Turks.

Overall, there is an important gap in integrating archaeological data and historical sources. While historical narratives can differ in terms of objectivity, they provide an event-based chronologically high resolution of information. Archaeological evidence, other than coins, can mostly be dated within a range of a century; sometimes with extra effort the early, mid or late period of the century can be suggested. Even though there is a well-established corpus of numismatic evidence, dates obtained through coins represent the time of their minting. The duration of their circulation may vary, and they are dependent on the context in which they were found. Therefore, the dating of the contexts and sites are still in low resolution. Absolute chronology, even though dependent on the contextual relative dating (if from safe contexts), provide + / - ranging dates. But these are costly and difficult due to bureaucratic obstacles.

However, other than such exact dating limitations in archaeological evidence, historical data provide the general picture of the political, social, economic, religious atmosphere as well as the natural and climatic conditions of the periods. Also, it is not always possible to find direct historical evidence addressing the sites under investigation. In these circumstances, we can still appeal to the sources related to the closest sites within the micro-region of the site under study by questioning the indirect effects of the developments and then making generalizations. Historical sources rarely mention Komana during the Middle and Late Byzantine periods, but Neocaesarea and Sebasteia are more visible. As I have cited earlier, John Komnenos' campaign and siege of Neocaesarea in AD 1139 must have resulted in some indirect impact in the territory of Komana. Also, the Mongol invasions after the Battle of Köseadağ around Sebasteia in AD 1243 must have severe direct or indirect effects in the region, since its severe negative consequences in Anatolia have been widely accepted by scholars.

When we examine the historical records of Middle and Late Byzantine Anatolia, there is a complex series of events among the Danishmends, Seljuks, Byzantines and Crusaders. These report changing allies, short-term shifts of political control in micro-regions, sieges, captures and destruction of *kastra*. But the archaeologist can only suggest occupation, modification,

destruction or abandonment of the settlements and dating of pottery and architecture within a century based chronological resolution or can suggest a *terminus post quem* or *terminus ante quem*. It is almost impossible to identify transitory historical actions in the archaeological record if they did not result in the abandonment of a site.

Conclusion

Excavation data at Komana indicates site continuity for the central fortified settlement during the Middle Byzantine / Turkish Medieval transition period after a short hiatus of abandonment. Strategically important, Komana was intensively occupied by the Danishmends and the Seljuks by the mid-late 12th century. Its strategic importance can also be suggested through the archaeological evidence of earlier periods. After the disappearance of the Roman city in late antiquity, the Early and Middle Byzantine *kastron* was positioned at the central settlement. A short hiatus existed between its abandonment with the collapse of the churches and cessation of burial activities and then its reoccupation by the Danishmends / Seljuks. The archaeological record of some sites such as Boğazköy indicates permanent abandonment; however, this abandonment does not mean the permanent abandonment of the whole region by the local Byzantine communities. Also, it does not mean there was no occupation by the Turks afterwards. It might also be connected with a site preference; for instance, a settlement shift was suggested from Euchaita to Mecitözü. Also, Çadırhöyük was abandoned in the late 11th century but resettled during the Seljuk period. This means the site was strategically preferred for some reason.

The rural territory of Komana was densely settled during the Middle Byzantine period. This can be suggested based on the frequently identified materials of churches and the presence of glazed Seljuk pottery through surface surveys. These rural sites continued and functioned contemporaneously with the central settlement, based on the stratigraphic continuity from the Middle Byzantine period to the Turkish period identified through excavations. Also, the rich amount of archaeozoological and archaeobotanical data recovered at Komana proves that the site was sufficiently supported by agro-pastoral production for daily food consumption. Nevertheless, the majority of its excavated areas were used mostly for industrial production during the Turkish occupation (i.e. pottery, metals, glass, bone objects, tannery and wool processing). Therefore, occupation of the central settlement does not mean that the countryside was also immediately transformed into Turkish settlements. Agro-pastoral production by local Byzantines must have continued in the rural areas.

The transformation of Komana from a Middle Byzantine settlement to Turkish occupation can be considered as a settlement pattern particular to the central inland Black Sea region and inland Anatolia. The transformation can be clearly observed through church remains and contextual materials in comparison with other contemporary sites within the shared political environment. Therefore, a similar pattern can be expected at those sites under the umbrella of the Turkish political authority.

However, Çanlıkilise in Cappadocia bears a different settlement character wherein the continuity of a Byzantine community is attested. In general, Cappadocia - with the continuity of its abundant number of rock-cut church sites within the valleys - represents a different settlement patterning. There should have been some special niches occupied by some community clusters. Therefore, the location of a site within Turkish territory does not immediately mean that the site was also transformed into a Turkish settlement, or its local communities abandoned these sites and their lifestyles at all.

The increase in the number of fortifications during the 11th-12th centuries reveals a different settlement pattern in the archaeological record. The positioning of these fortified sites under Byzantine control clearly distinguishes their character from ones such as Euchaita, Boğazköy, Çadırhöyük, Başara, Tyana and Binbirkilise. These, like Komana, were located within the areas of Turkish occupation in the late 11th-late 12th centuries.

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FIG. 1 Location of Komana (KARP Archive).



FIG. 2 Komana excavation area (Hamamtepe) (KARP Archive).



FIG. 3 Early Byzantine fortification at Komana (NW) (KARP Archive).



FIG. 4 Middle Byzantine Church A at Hamamtepe (KARP Archive).

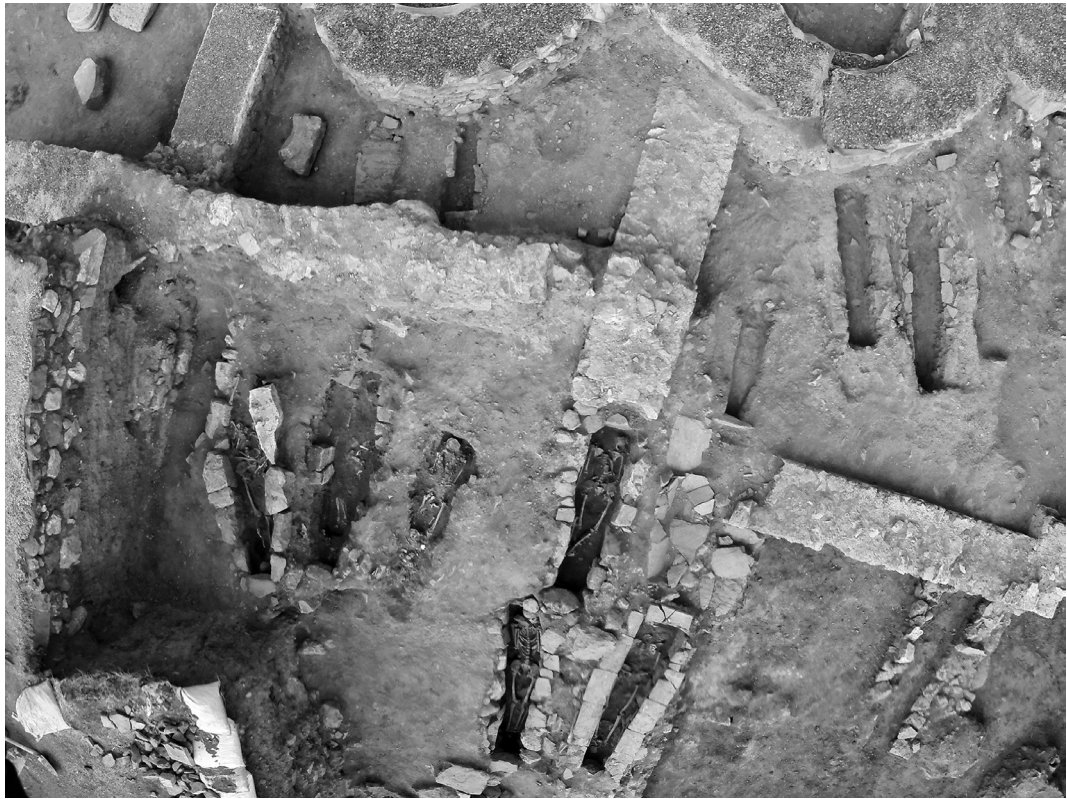


FIG. 5 Middle Byzantine graves around the Church B (KARP Archive).



FIG. 6 Bronze cross recovered from the Middle Byzantine layers at Komana (KARP Archive).

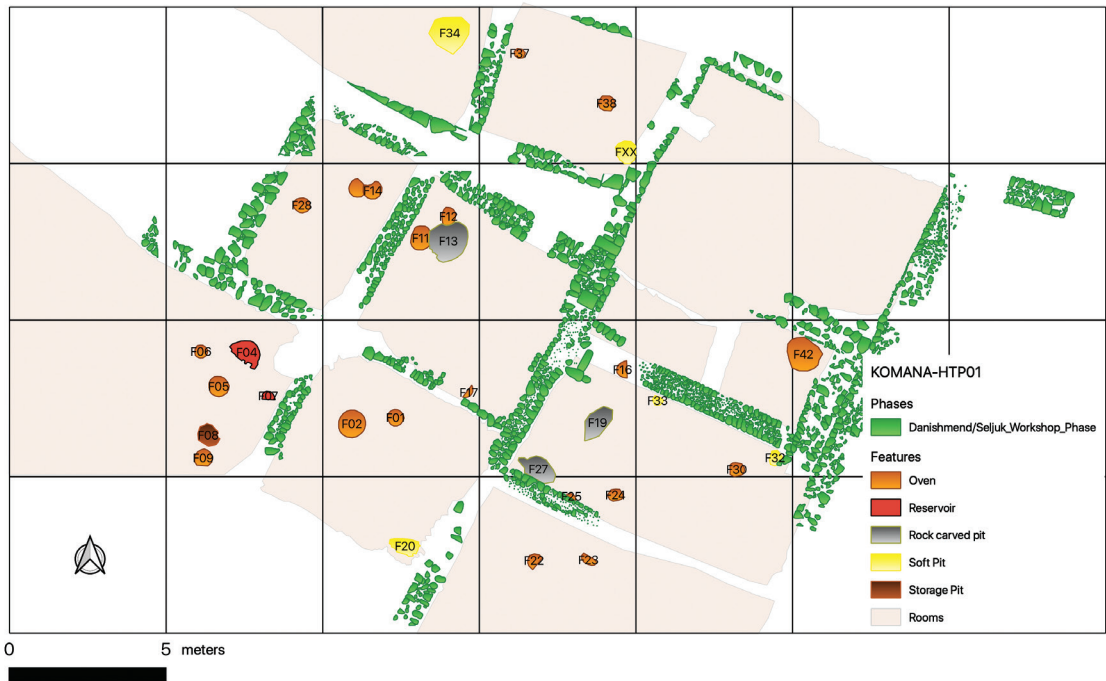


FIG. 7 Plan drawing of the Danishmend / Seljuk workshop phase (Area HTP01) (KARP Archive).



FIG. 8 Danishmend / Seljuk workshop context adjacent to the churches (KARP Archive).

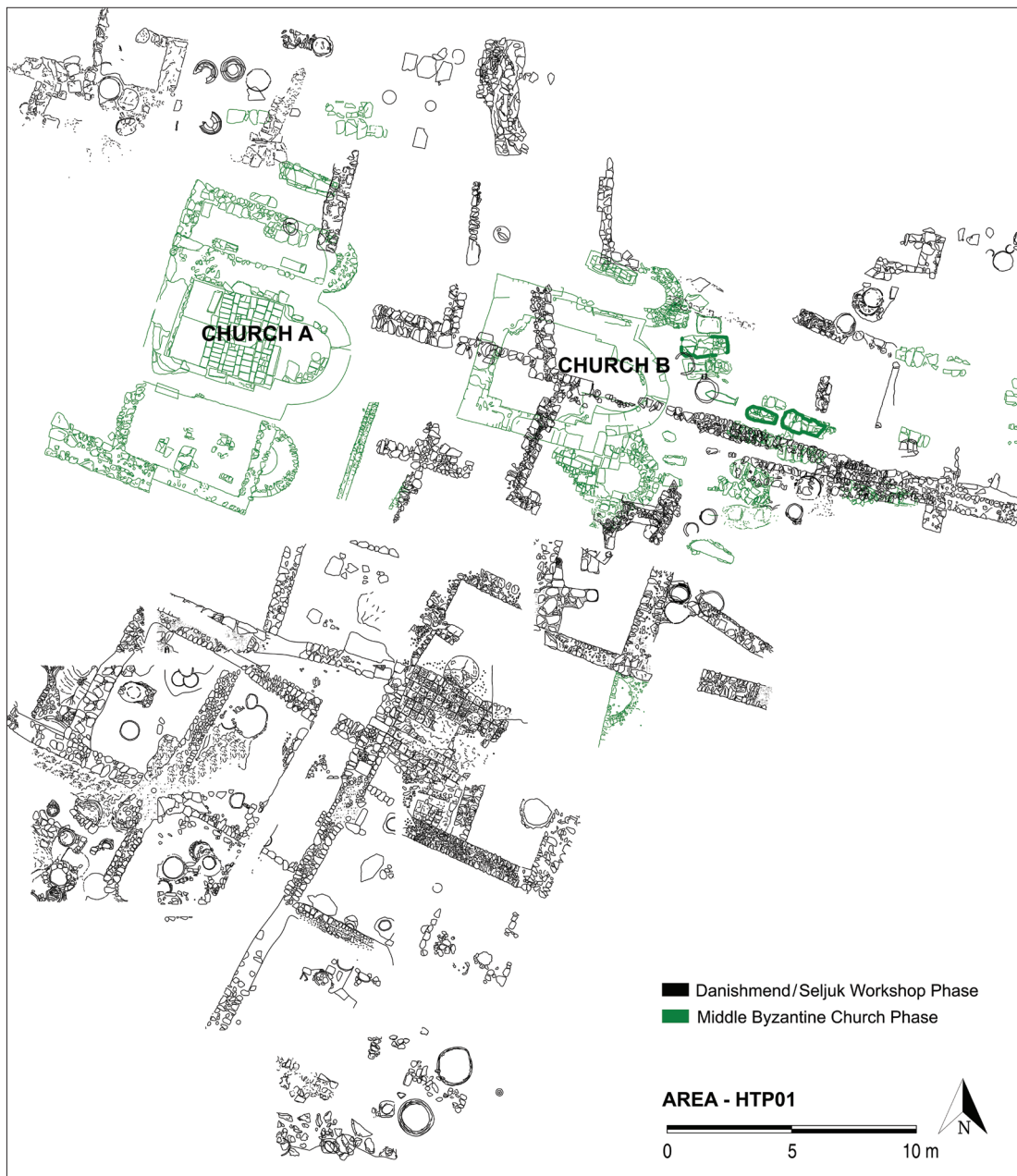


FIG. 9 Plan drawing of the Middle Byzantine and Danishmend / Seljuk workshop phase (Area HTP01) (KARP Archive).



FIG. 10
Glazed Seljuk pottery
from excavated context at
Komana (KARP Archive).

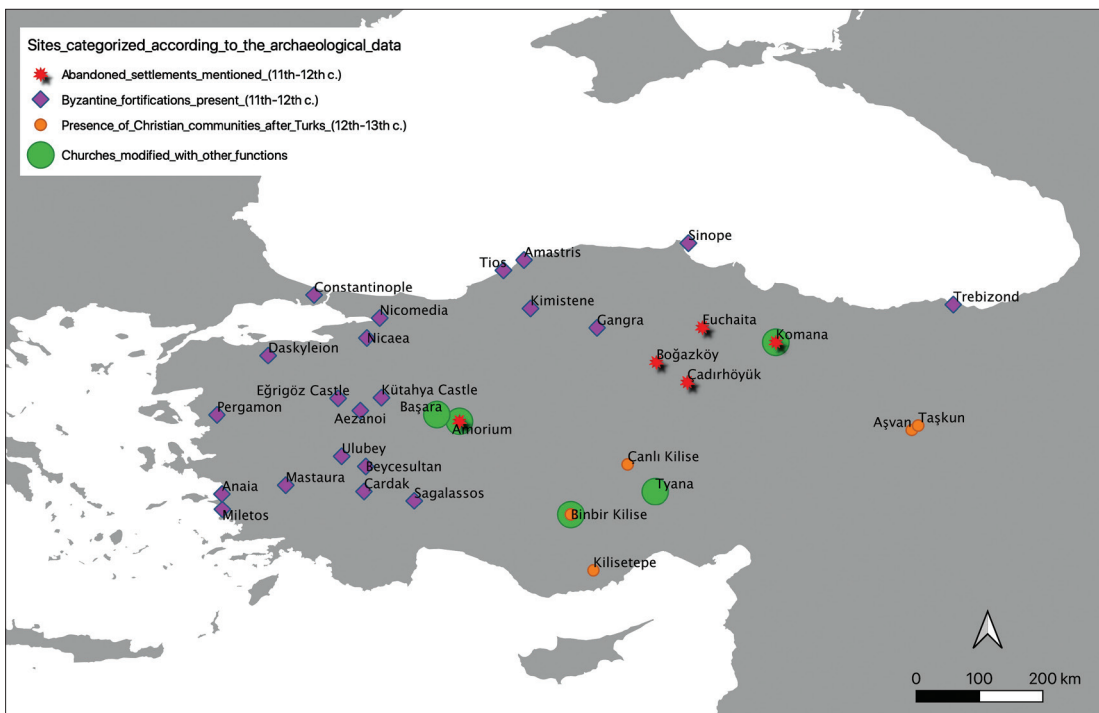


FIG. 11 Map of categorized sites in Anatolia (late 11th-late 12th centuries) mentioned in this article (KARP Archive).

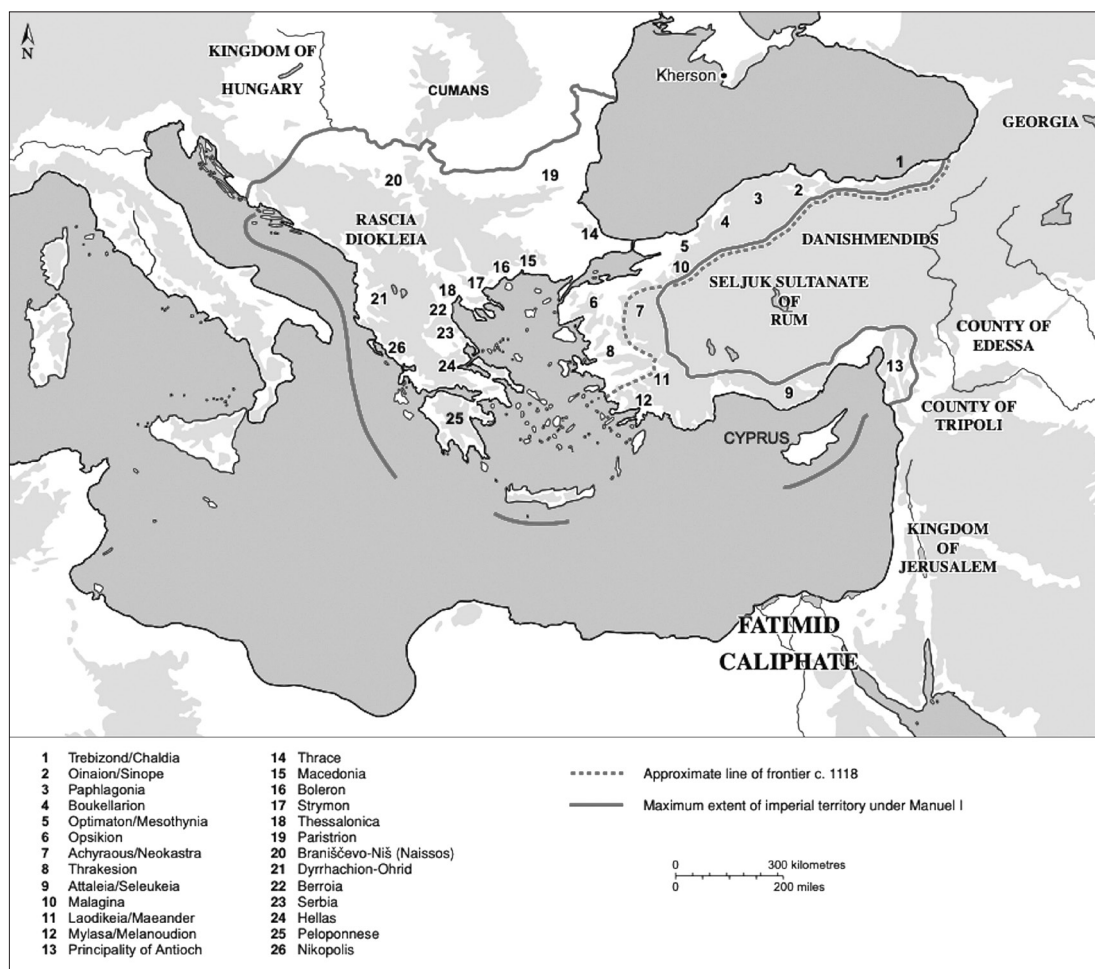


FIG. 12 Defense and administration: the Komnenian system (Haldon 2010, 129).

