

THE INSCRIBED-CROSS CHURCHES IN GÖREME

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ABSTRACT

THE INSCRIBED-CROSS CHURCHES IN GÖREME

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This thesis reviews the general characteristics of rock-cut churches with an inscribed-cross plan in Göreme. These churches, namely Chapel 17, St. Barbara, Çarıklı, Karanlık, Elmalı, Chapel 25, Chapel 32, Kılıçlar, Bezirhane and Yusuf Koç, date from the ninth to the eleventh century of the Middle Byzantine period. Firstly, this study aims to identify the general features of these churches. It also attempts to examine their liturgical planning. While doing so, architectural developments in the inscribed-cross churches in Byzantine İstanbul will also be used for comparison, in order to highlight provincial characteristics in the inscribed-cross churches of Göreme.

Keywords: Middle Byzantine Period, Church Architecture, Göreme, Inscribed-cross plan

ÖZ

GÖREME'DEKİ KAPALI HAÇ PLANLI KİLİSELER

ARI, Meltem

Yüksek Lisans, Mimarlık Tarihi Bölümü

Tez Yöneticisi: Prof. Dr. Suna GÜVEN

Haziran 2004, 127 sayfa

Bu tez Göreme'de bulunan kapalı haç plana sahip kaya kiliselerinin mimari özelliklerini incelemektedir. Bu kiliseler, Chapel 17, St. Barbara, Çarıklı, Karanlık, Elmalı, Chapel 25, Chapel 32, Kılıçlar, Bezirhane and Yusuf Koç'tur ve 9-11 yüzyıl Orta Bizans dönemine tarihlenmektedir. Bu çalışma öncelikle bu kiliselerin genel özelliklerini belirlemeyi amaçlamaktadır. Ayrıca, çalışma bu kiliselerin ayinsel planlarını incelemektedir. Ayinsel planlar incelenirken, yerel özelliklerini belirleyebilmek için, Bizans İstanbul'unda bulunan kapalı haç planlı kiliselerin mimari gelişimleri karşılaştırma için kullanılacaktır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Orta Bizans Dönemi, Kilise Mimarlığı, Göreme, Kapalı Haç Plan

To my mother, for her endless love and support

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

For any traveler, traveling from the west or east, the journey to Cappadocia is a remarkable experience in itself. This extraordinary region in central Anatolia spreads out along the skirts of Erciyes Dağ, an extinct volcanic mountain (figure 1). In this region, “the most striking feature of the landscape is the vulcanism, which has created dramatic morphological contrasts and produced a wide range of features” (Andolfato and Zucchi 1971, 51). The volcanic dust and lava which in the past have covered the land to a depth of hundreds of feet have been eroded by water and wind to show bare escarpments of white, yellow or pinkish rock from which, as one goes further, free standing pinnacles, cones and buttresses detach themselves in increasing numbers (Mainstone 1958, 1). Beyond Ürgüp, Göreme and neighboring valleys, these cones become so numerous that they make the landscape quite fantastic (figure 2).

In Cappadocia, with regards to these geological features, people carved homes for themselves by tunneling rather than quarrying and building in the more usual way. This was partly for the purpose of security and partly out of a desire for seclusion. Apart from rock-cut dwellings, they carved, countless churches and

chapels away from the towns and villages, long before Cappadocia became Turkish and Moslem. Especially in Göreme region, which has usually been studied as a religious center rather than a settlement, we see some particularly spectacular examples of these formations, which date from the ninth to the eleventh century of the Byzantine period. The protective camouflage of the exterior of the rock cut churches is in striking contrast to the often rich and varied carving of the interiors. Many of these carved edifices were painted inside and were probably used as churches, although the presence of dwellings should not be underestimated.

From a typological point of view, we can say that some of the most common architectural types encountered in Göreme are basilicas with one, two or three aisles, and cruciform churches or churches with inscribed-cross plans (figure 3). Among these architectural types, “the one-aisle basilica or single or double ones were the simplest and most enduring types in the rock cut architecture of Cappadocia from the close of the early Christian phase to the advent of the Seljuk Turks” (Kostof 1989, 120). “The inscribed-cross church plan appeared in Cappadocia only in the Middle Byzantine period but it became very popular in this area as it was elsewhere in Byzantium” (Teteriatnikov 1996, 50). There are many churches of this type found in Cappadocia dating from the tenth to the eleventh century. Göreme, where some of the best-preserved inscribed-cross churches are found, becomes extremely important in the context of showing the complete development of inscribed-cross church type.

Hence, this study attempts to examine the liturgical planning of the inscribed-cross form, highlighting the context of Göreme. It aims to identify the general

characteristics of these churches and to search for their architectural origins, and also to illustrate their development from the ninth to the eleventh century, the final active period of inscribed-cross churches. This study will also treat the question of changes in liturgical planning that occurred throughout this period. Owing to its physical situation close to the eastern border of the Byzantine Empire, Cappadocian church architecture was connected with architectural and liturgical developments in both Byzantium and the Christian East. In order to identify their provincial characteristics, rock-cut churches of this area will therefore be examined against architectural developments in other areas of the Byzantine Empire, the capital in particular. At the end of this study, we hope to establish the evolutionary sequence of these Byzantine structures in relation to contextual factors.

1.1 Terminology

The term “inscribed-cross church” is used to define a plan type that includes a system of nine bays of which the center one is covered by a high dome. Nevertheless, in many of the studies, a different terminology is used to describe this same plan type such as “quincunx”, “four-column type”, and “domed inscribed-cross” or “cross-in-square”. Among the terms that are used to define the same church type, however, none of them seems to illustrate this plan type thoroughly.

In this regard, the term “quincunx” describes a two-dimensional geometric figure, which is difficult to relate to the three-dimensional features of a church. It also refers to a scheme with five objects in a square or rectangle, one in the center

and one in each corner, an arrangement which is descriptive of only a limited number of the buildings, such as those with a dome in the corner bay.

On the other hand, the “four-column type” refers to relatively inconsequential features and may be misleading because examples with two or six columns, as well as other forms of support also exist. There may be two or six columns, or piers without changing the architectural configuration. Hence the number of columns does not appear to be an essential feature of these churches.

Similarly, the term “cross-in-square” may also be misleading because many of the churches do not have square plans. Furthermore, “cross-in-square” fails to take into account the fact that most of these churches are adapted to their site in plan. On the other hand, the term “domed inscribed-cross” would be more accurate, but is unnecessary because examples without domes are rare.

In this thesis, the rather old-fashioned term “inscribed-cross church” type will be used because it is simple and describes distinctive features more effectively than the other designations. Hence, the writer of this thesis is of the opinion that none of the other terms that are regularly –but confusingly- encountered in the scholarly literature seem to be as brief and at the same time as correctly and succinctly descriptive.

1.2 Methodology

As it has been pointed out at the beginning, this study’s main intention is to investigate the evolution of the inscribed-cross churches in Göreme. Hence, the

study consists of three main parts: In Chapters 2 and 3, respectively, the descriptive information will be given in detail about the historical context of Byzantine Cappadocia first, to be followed by the basic architectural characteristics of the inscribed-cross type.

In order to provide detailed information about the historical background in Cappadocia, the thesis will begin with the 4th century, the time of the three Cappadocian fathers and will be limited by the 11th century, because the latest painted churches in Göreme are dated to this time. In Chapter 3, the origin and development of the inscribed-cross type will be described with its basic features. In addition, its evolutionary sequence in Byzantine Istanbul (Constantinople) will also be partially examined in order to provide a further aspect of comparison. This examination will help to draw the lines not only of the chronological framework, but also the special context for this type of church.

Chapter 4 constitutes the second part of the study, in which the ten inscribed-cross churches in Göreme will be catalogued with their plans, inscriptions and decoration programmes. All three chapters are structured to construct a logical background to the other main subject of the study that will be treated in Chapters 5 and 6.

Chapters 5 and 6 belong in the third part of the study. Concerning the liturgical planning of the inscribed-cross churches in Göreme, a variety of details emerge. Hence, for reasons of convenience, the study will be limited to specific parts of buildings that have liturgical import, such as sanctuaries, the *naos* and entrance compartments. First of all, the sanctuary will be investigated with its liturgical

furnishings. Secondly, the identification of the *naos* and its furnishings will be examined as a clue for understanding the use of the *naos*. Later, the design and the planning of entrances in inscribed-cross churches will be examined. An analysis of their planning and function can clarify the understanding of their origin, their relationship to one another, and their specific use in this area. Following this, the presence of burial places in the entrance compartments will be examined in order to show not only their architectural form, but also their liturgical function. In this regard, it will be shown that the presence of a burial place immediately changed the nature of the site. Investigations of these aspects of inscribed-cross churches reveal that they functioned in quite a different way from the great churches of the capital. And finally, the part on patronage will help to understand how economic conditions and financial support constitute a key factor in explaining the high number of the inscribed-cross churches in Göreme.

CHAPTER 2

HISTORY OF BYZANTINE CAPPADOCIA

In this chapter, the history of Byzantine Cappadocia will be introduced with the related and detailed information of Constantinople, the capital. Although the Byzantine period is known not to have ended until 1453 when the Ottoman Empire conquered the capital, the time period in the thesis will be limited between the 4th century, the time of foundation of the new capital-Constantinople, and the war of Manzikert in the 11th century, that was important in the evolution of Byzantine Cappadocia.

The significance of the fourth century as a creative period is seen no less in the administrative and legal system of the Byzantine Empire. This bore to its last days, despite fundamental reforms carried out by later rulers, the stamp of the autocratic pattern introduced by Diocletian and remodeling by Constantine. But the most decisive of all features was Constantine's personal designation of the new capital (Moss 1966, 4). The formation of the East Roman Empire in relation to the Byzantine Empire began in the fourth century (330). Actually, the East Roman Empire did not evolve into any other empire than itself yet some of the

characteristic features of the Byzantine Empire began to appear immediately after Constantinople was founded (figure 4).

Like the Roman Empire, the Byzantine Empire was defined by its capital (Magdalino 1993, 109). Byzantium, as Constantine¹ founded it, resembled in general appearance those numerous Hellenistic cities of the Asian coast, which despite temporary setbacks had grown up to prosperity under the Roman peace (Moss 1966, 6). Constantinople (New Rome) was the place where the emperor resided, where metropolitan bishops were consecrated, tax officials appointed, tax-receipts collected, and where people could order the best that money could buy, from a silver dish to an education. It also was the *polis* and its importance only increased as Byzantine society became less Roman in character (Magdalino 1993, 109).

In the fourth century, one of the basic features of the Byzantine Empire that gave its character throughout its history was Christianity.

In no state, with the possible exception of ancient Egypt, did religion play a more essential part in determining not only the nature of the people's lives but also the course of history than in Byzantine. In no state did the affairs of the church or the business of the dogmatic theologian enter so universally into the life and at times also political events, on the way in which the faith itself developed. Indeed, it was to a great extent the influence of the locality that was responsible for making Byzantine Christianity (and with it the faith of the Orthodox world) distinct from Roman Christianity (and with it the faith of Roman Catholicism)(Rice 1962, 124).

¹ For the whole list of Byzantine Emperors see Appendix A.

Beginning from this period, the position of the emperor also changed. The emperor became the ultimate judge and his interpretation of the law was absolute. Hence in the history of Byzantium, the emperor came to be described as 'priest and king'. Changes are seen regarding the church also. The church also became a state church; it was within the state and remained a part of the organization of the state (Ensslin 1966, 10-11). The Emperor was raised above the Church, a position that gave him a number of prerogatives. In this regard, he gave his own judgment on matters of discipline or liturgy and had a predominating influence in the election of Patriarchs (Herman 1966, 105).

Much of the character of Byzantine religion was determined by the rapidity of the growth of Christianity in the eastern provinces of Asia Minor during the fourth and fifth centuries. Especially in Cappadocia, where long centuries of war had caused major demographic changes, Christianity had deeply influenced the region's culture even long before Constantine the Great had acknowledged Christianity as the official religion of the Empire in 313 (Akyürek 1998, 230). And from the early third century on Cappadocia became a major religious center.

Firstly, it turned into a center where annual synods were held. In addition, Roman persecution of the Christians gave rise to the concept of martyrdom, which was to play a major role in the development of Christianity, too. The other important development in the history of Cappadocia occurred during these years when it became an influential center for Christian theology: Early Christians persecuted and killed by the Romans in Cappadocia, such as Hyacinthus, Cyrillus and Marcirius, Eustratius, Auxentius, the nuns Chreste and Calliste, and the Forty Martyrs of Sebastia are still remembered by Orthodox Christians (Akyürek 1998, 229). These saints figured widely in theology and Byzantine art, and were revered

by the ordinary people. According to Hagios Basileios (St Basil the Great) the Forty Martyrs of Sebasteia were soldiers killed by the Romans for converting to Christianity (Akyürek 1998, 232). With respect to these evolutions, it is apparent that an important cult grew up around these martyrs in Cappadocia which also inspired many art works in eastern Christendom.

During the fourth and fifth centuries, a series of Christian fathers transmitted to later Byzantine Christianity the common conceptions of the educated class from which they came and by so doing gave them an ecclesiastical authority (Mathew 1966, 46-47). During these years, the Cappadocian fathers were of notable importance in the Eastern Christianity. St Basil of Caesarea (329-79), St Gregory of Nazianzus (c. 329-c. 390) and St Gregory of Nyssa (c. 335-c. 395), completed their conventional higher education and were moulded by it. Basil was born at Caesarea in Cappadocia and studied rhetoric and philosophy at Athens for six years under the masters Himerius and Prohaeresius. Before he became a monk, he had taught as a rhetorician at Caesarea. His young brother, Gregory of Nyssa, was a professional rhetorician also, while their common friend Gregory of Nazianzus had studied not only at Athens but also at Alexandria and Constantinople. It may be that both the closeness of their friendship and the unity of their theological thought have been over-stressed. However, the character of their contribution to East Christian theology was determined by the fact that they were trained rhetoricians. Through their rhetorical analysis of the exact meaning of words they created a theological terminology, which made possible the exact formulation of the Trinitarian doctrine and provided the setting of the Christological controversies of the next century. Their use of rhetorical images led to the development of the Christian conception of theological analogy (Mathew 1966, 48-49).

These three Cappadocian fathers, with their works and idiosyncratic characteristics, brought to Byzantine Christianity a cosmic conception of the nature and the destiny of man and of the purpose and process of the Incarnation. "All of those three men make Cappadocia one of the well-known literary centers and they exerted great influence far beyond the limits of their native province of Cappadocia" (Vasiliev 1952, 117).

After the influence of the Cappadocian fathers for over two centuries, in the seventh century, the Byzantine Empire had to face the incursions of the new religion, Islam.

The first Arab raid came in 642, and from then on Cappadocia became the embittered frontier between two rival faiths. Islam now defined the new East, Byzantium the beleaguered West. The capital, Constantinople, seemed impregnable by two sieges, stood fast at the very tip of Christian Europe, and Anatolia became the battleground for the Western cause (Kostof 1989, 25).

After the successful campaigns against the Arabs, the Byzantine Empire achieved the re-establishment of its power in there. Nevertheless the sporadic attacks of the Arabs continued to be a serious threat for Byzantium in Asia Minor and particularly for Cappadocia until well into the eleventh century (figure 5).

As the wars against Arabs continued, the Byzantine Empire underwent a period – Iconoclasm that was formulated as a doctrine. When the Emperors took action against the use of images in two different periods (726-75, 815-42), they did not do so in order to increase their prerogatives or to assert the authority of the state over the Church, as some have maintained, but for the sake of what they thought

to be theological propriety, with which they concerned themselves in the exercise of their formal functions, as understood by Constantine the Great or Justinian, and in the Byzantine imperial tradition as a whole. Other objectives might become involved in an Emperor's decision to oppose icons or to favor them, but the decisive factor was of theological origin (Anastos 1966, 62).

Leo III (717-41), who won prestige after winning his Arab wars, was the originator of Byzantine Iconoclasm. It is now commonly agreed that official iconoclasm as a matter of imperial policy began in 726 (Anastos 1966, 66). Furthermore, It has been argued that objections on biblical grounds are insufficient to explain the iconoclast movement as a whole, and that the Muslims, whom the iconoclasts hoped to conciliate by launching an attack upon idolatry in fact directly inspired it (Anastos 1966, 67). With the death of Constantine V, however, the first iconoclastic period comes to an end.

The second iconoclastic controversy was begun with the rule of Leo V, the Armenian (813-20) (Mathew 1966, 98). The second period of iconoclasts advanced no new doctrine and only repeated the principal arguments of their predecessors. During this period, Asia Minor had its greatest damage from the achievement of the iconoclasts. The provinces became more insecure and were often abandoned. In Cappadocia, the situation is no different than elsewhere. Until the mid-seventh century Cappadocia had served as a fairly secure buffer region on the empire's eastern frontier. Through the eighth and first half of the ninth century, the iconoclast movement shattered religious and cultural life in Cappadocia. "Construction of churches and fresco painting came to halt and thousands of monks from the Cappadocian monasteries fled to Italy" (Akyürek

1998, 229). On the whole, the results of the iconoclastic period were highly damaging for Cappadocia, and were felt rather deeply.

With the restoration of the images that was celebrated on the first Sunday of Lent (11 March 843) as the Feast of Orthodoxy, the second iconoclastic period finished. The iconoclasts did not disappear from the Church until the end of the ninth century, but they were never strong enough to secure a revival of the dogmatic decrees of 754 - 815 (Anastos 1966, 104).

After the iconoclastic periods, the empire began to be ruled by Leo VI, the Wise (886-912), with Alexander as co-emperor. Economically this was an age of prosperity, while it was outstanding artistically. But it was also saw the beginnings of a gradual increase in power of the aristocracy, which was eventually to prove the ruin of the state (Rice 1962, 56). The earliest signs of such important developments and changes are the appearance of a group of eastern military families who would come to dominate Byzantine politics in the tenth century: the Phokades, the Maleioni, the Argyroi, the Skleroi, the Kourkuai and the Doukai to name only the leading representatives of a wider phenomenon. These families were the principal local beneficiaries as the balance of warfare swung in favor of the Byzantines, both in terms of the tangible benefits of annual inflows of booty and estates newly secure from enemy raids, and the more intangible but equally important advantages of the growing confidence and sense of identity among the inhabitants of the frontier zone (Whittow 1996, 337).

The new world that these families occupied can be illustrated by looking at Cappadocia, the heartland of the related Phokas and Maleinos clans. By the ninth and the early tenth century, the military aristocracy gained more power. A small

number of powerful families holding great tracts of land began to provide a significant part of the Byzantine army (Rodley 1985, 4). These years were the wealthiest times in the history of Cappadocia. As it will be seen in the following chapters, most of the churches were built during this time.

Throughout most of this period, monks dominated the church hierarchy. The monks' influence became stronger as they formed larger communities (Treadgold 1997, 555). This was no different in the province of Cappadocia. Monks took a leading role not only in determining theology but also in shaping the general view of Christian life in there.

The half-century that followed, covered by the reign of Basil II (976-1025), was one of the most prosperous in Byzantine history (Rice 1962, 59) (figure 6). In 1025, the emperor's power was so great that few neighboring powers would risk antagonizing it. In fact the most of those that were Christian looked up to it (Treadgold 1997, 542). The years between the death of Basil II in 1025 and the accession of Alexius I Comnenus in 1081² were at once fruitful and disastrous. In this regard, while historiography, poetry, spirituality and religious life, painting and architecture flourished, imperial authority dwindled. Similarly, reduction in military defenses to some extent is observed while considerable incentive was given to separatism. It thus proved impossible to take any effective stand against rising

² With the beginning of Comnenus' reign, toward the middle of the eleventh century the real and the final break between Rome and Byzantium occurred. Relations between Rome and Byzantium had long been strained, because they were both struggling for influence in Southern Italy. But this was insufficient to cause a schism. Ultimately, what brought it about was the arrogance and ambition of two men opposed to all concessions: a papal legate, Cardinal Humbert and a patriarch of Constantinople, Michael Cerularius. The latter, authoritarian and brutal, was unafraid of promoting a personal policy at variance with the one being followed toward the West by Constantine IX. For more detail see Lemerle (1964, 98-100).

forces on every front. Particularly threatening were the Seljuks to the East, the Balkan principalities and the Pechenegs and other Turkic raiders to the North, and the Normans to the West, while added complications were to arise from the crusading movement led by a reinvigorated Papacy and Latin barons moved by secular ambition as well as Christian devotion (Hussey 1966, 193). One of the most striking contrasts between the Empire of this period and the middle Byzantine state was the observed weakening of the central authority, and the loosening of its links with the periphery (Hussey 1966, 240).

Once the last of the Macedonian dynasty was gone, the elements of discord seemed unchained, and the double scourge of civil war and foreign invasion began to afflict the empire (Owan 1892, 249). In these years, the Seljuk Turks forced Cappadocia for a long time. After the decisive battle of Manzikert (1071), which was a turning point in the history of Asia Minor, Cappadocia was defeated by Seljuk Turks. After this battle, Byzantines would not have the province again.

It was probably in the spring of 1073 when the young ruler of the East, Isaac Comnenus, who was the nephew of the last emperor of the same name, led a small army to drive the Turks from Cappadocia. Russell of Bailliev, leader of the Norman mercenaries since Crispin's death, accompanied him (Treadgold 1997, 606). Yet he was not to be successful in gaining the region again (figure 7).

After 70 years, between 1143-1180, there was an attempt to reconstruct the Anatolian provinces of the empire. Whereas recovery in the European provinces began fairly quickly after the restoration of political control, in Anatolia it was delayed because of the need to create a new frontier with the Turks who had occupied central Anatolia (Angold 1997, 289).

In sum, after Constantine the Great had declared Byzantium as the eastern capital in 330, the period of the Byzantine in Cappadocia began. By the fourth century, the Cappadocian Fathers affected the culture of the region and gave a new shape with their theological thoughts. By the end of the sixth and the seventh centuries, the conflict between the Arabs and Byzantium caused confrontations in Cappadocia. The Arabs were the first threat for the region of Cappadocia, which continued with breaks until well into the eleventh century. Through the eighth and first half of the ninth century the iconoclast activity caused great problems and made the region more inhabited. Relative peace was restored in the second half of the ninth century and lasted until 1071. The overthrow of the iconoclasts with the help of the Cappadocian monasteries, which defended their icons with fierce desperation, played its part in maintaining peace. From the second half of the ninth century until 1071 Byzantine Cappadocia enjoyed a golden age, and most of the churches and frescoes of the region date from this period.

CHAPTER 3

THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE INSCRIBED-CROSS CHURCH TYPE

The Byzantine style of architecture in the Middle Ages shows a remarkable unity. Throughout this long period, building forms from older times were transformed or newly created ones shaped the Middle Byzantine architecture (Grabar 1966, 328). During these years, military architecture remained unchanged. On the other hand, domestic architecture continued to use age-old traditions. While the military and domestic architecture seemed relatively unchanged in the Middle Byzantine period, church planning became highly established and evolved. Between the ninth and the twelfth centuries the proportions of the buildings progressively changed, and certain details of construction and decoration became modified. Around the middle of the ninth century, in general the church plans prior to Justinian disappeared from the architectural centers of the Empire. "New types, widely differing among each other in plan; replace their places yet closely related in stylistic concept" (Krautheimer 1986, 335,344). Among these types, the inscribed-cross was the most widely spread Middle Byzantine church plan.

The inscribed-cross church dominated Byzantine ecclesiastical construction for several centuries, and appear to have had profound influence on Western

medieval architecture. After the aisled basilica, it was the most prominent church type. However, the most important aspect of this plan type is to know when the first inscribed-cross church was conceived and how it became the most prominent type. In this respect, the present chapter will deal with some of the important features of this plan type. First of all, the defining characteristics of the plan type will be outlined. Then, its origins and the possible evolution of the inscribed-cross church type will be discussed with its simple and fully developed examples both from Constantinople and Asia Minor. This background will provide a base for understanding the examples of this plan type in Göreme, which will be treated the Chapter 4.

3.1 Type

The features of the inscribed-cross church are complex, but easily grasped when examined from inside the building (figure 8). Its perimeter walls (without the *narthex*) usually contain a simple rectangular space, the longer axis oriented east-west, with one or more exedral apses projecting to the east. The vaulting solution gives the church its distinctive form and most prominent characteristics³ (Buchwald 1999, 303).

At the center, a dome is supported and elevated by a drum, which rests upon four pendentives and four-barrel vaults. The pendentives provide the transition between the drum and the barrel vaults, which are disposed in the form of a cross with the dome at its center. The barrel vaults have approximately the same diameter as the dome, and continue in the four primary directions to the perimeter walls of the church.

³ According to Buchwald, “in the geometry of the inscribed-cross church, all three axial directions and the secondary diagonals are emphasised, carefully balanced, but not equated. The vertical is emphasised by the drum and dome; the longitudinal by the vault of the nave and the apse; the lateral by the vaults of the cross arms. All axial directions, including the diagonals, are fused in the four columns under the dome; they accent the vertical in their upright forms, emphasise the longitudinal by framing the apse when seen

According to Buchwald (1999, 309), architectural space (and space in general) may be described in terms of the directional awareness of the standing human body, which is reducible to three major axes passing through it: The vertical, the longitudinal and the lateral. The vertical axis reflects the human body in upright position; the longitudinal reflects the direction of binocular vision when looking forward; the lateral is at right angles to the vertical and longitudinal.

The eastern barrel vault is closed at the east by the exedral vault of the major apse. The barrel vaults are carried by arches supported at one end, underneath the dome, by capitals or imposts on columns or, rarely, on piers. The four corner spaces between the barrel vaults and the exterior walls are covered either by smaller, lower barrel, groined or domical vaults or, more rarely, by domes on pendentives, occasionally with drums (Buchwald 1999, 303).

The geometry of these churches is clear, simple, and immediately apparent. Among its symbolic geometric elements, such as the dome and the cross are clear and distinguishing features of the architecture. The dome is usually a hemisphere, the conch of the apse a quarter sphere, the drum a cylinder; barrel vaults and the walls of the apse are half cylinders; groined vaults are two half cylinders which intersect at right angles. Pendentives are derived from the geometry of the hemisphere. They are usually cut away horizontally at the top and vertically in each cardinal direction. Arches are narrow half cylinders. Sometimes, domes or other vaults were built in an elliptical form.

There are several varieties of the inscribed-cross church:

from the entrance, and define lateral and diagonal directions when seen from the centre of the building.” (1999, 309)

1. The two-column variety: The dome is supported by two columns (or piers) on the west, and on the *antae* of the apse on the east. Thus, the apse follows directly on the eastern arm of the cross, which forms part of the *bema*. This type prevails in Greece (Hamilton 1933, 22).

2. The four-column variety: Four columns or piers support the dome. There are also two more varieties:

A. An additional bay is intercalated between the eastern arm and the apse.

There are corresponding bays before the side-apses. The eastern arm is thus outside the *bema*. This solution prevails in Constantinople (Hamilton 1933, 23).

B. In this variety, there is no additional bay. This type is common in Sicily and Serbia (Hamilton 1933, 24).

The forms of the inscribed-cross church are inseparable from the monumental images, which go together with the architecture that reflected in space the symbolism and the hierarchy of Byzantine religious, social and political structures in space. The inscribed-cross church amalgamated geometric and earlier architectural forms in a complex, yet immediately comprehensible and completely harmonious composition. As such, the type found almost universal recognition within the empire for several centuries and was, apparently, used for all purposes by all levels of society (Buchwald 1999, 29).

Stylistically equally monumental paintings and mosaics became integral parts of the buildings. The mutual adaptation between architecture and monumental painting became inseparable. The iconographic plane is at the same time the surface of the architecture. This remains visually unbroken, thereby creating a unique, completely balanced and harmonious relationship between architecture and painting (Buchwald 1999, 8).

The images were displayed by necessity as requirements of Middle Byzantine theology. The geometric details of church building, with the representations were the common ground for meeting these requirements. In this respect, the images and their hierarchical relationships were most realistically displayed and best understood at the architectural scale of the inscribed-cross church building. It is more important that the configuration of the architecture, connected with the images, represents the physical realization of the theological system in a form, which could hardly have been stated in a different way. The entire unit i.e. the architecture together with the images, required greater attention than the sum of the parts. With its monumental decoration the inscribed-cross church is far more than a place of worship. It is an image and symbolic statement concerning the fundamental doctrines and beliefs of Middle Byzantine civilization.

Hence, the design of the inscribed-cross church reflects great ingenuity and inventiveness. This plan type, together with its integral figural decoration, was one of the primary achievements of Byzantine architecture and of Byzantine civilization. Moreover, it dominated Byzantine church construction probably from the 9th century to the 12th.

3.2 Origin

An origin of this plan either in the Byzantine provinces or beyond the borders of the Empire has been frequently suggested (Krautheimer 1986, 341). In this respect, the origin of the inscribed-cross church type has always confused scholars and there are different views on this subject. Many suggest that

inscribed-cross churches might be understood as reflections of earlier building types.

According to Grabar (1972, 166-167, 199-200, 202), for example, the inscribed-cross plan derives from the ancient imperial *mausolea* and *heroa*. In this view, the antique mausoleum yields various examples also incorporating cruciform and inscribed-cross arrangements, which evoke the forms of later Christian *martyria* and churches. With its centrally planned form and the circular domed structure arrangement, it could have reflected the plan types of cruciform and also inscribed-cross. Consequently, the inscribed-cross church of the Middle Byzantine period has its antecedents in the ancient Christian *martyria*, which adopted the pagan mausolea to Christian use.⁴

The other hypothesis for the origin of the inscribed-cross plan is derived from Iranian architecture, either by way of Armenia⁵, or directly from Sassanian fire temples (Krautheimer 1986, 341). The building represented on the bronze salver in the State Museum in Berlin supports the hypothesis that the Sassanian fire temple was a square domed building surrounded by a vaulted corridor with four corner domes. The square sanctuary which houses the fire altar is covered by a dome on squinches, and the arches and vaults carry and transfer the thrust of the dome to the exterior walls (Sülüner 1998, 27). As seen in this example, the main features of the fire temples i.e. the barrel vaults at the side of the corridor, the squinches occupying the corner spaces, the entrance portico and the dome on

⁴ For more detail about the importance of antique *mausolea* in the evolution of the inscribed-cross plan see Sülüner (1998, 10-14).

⁵ The fire temples are also connected with the Armenian churches, which have a central domed unit instead of the Syrian basilica style. It has even been claimed that the church of Bagaran built about 630 represents a Persian fire temple turned into a church and a fire temple did exist at Bagaran. Therefore, there might have been a relation between the fire temples and church design in Armenia (Reuther 1964, 557-58).

squinches over the square *cella* all correspond to features of the inscribed-cross church (Sülüner 1998, 27). However, the resemblances to Iranian building are but superficial. The so-called 'cross arms' of the fire temples are part of an ambulatory covered by longitudinal barrel-vaults. Furthermore, the dates of the fire temples are rather vague (Krautheimer 1986, 341-342). On the other hand, Mango finds this kind of origin quite fantastic. He believes that the Byzantine architects who, toward the end of the eighth or the beginning of the ninth century, introduced the inscribed-cross plan had never heard of these fire temples. Besides, the idea was very simple and based entirely on structural elements deeply rooted in the Byzantine tradition (Mango 1978, 96).

The two other hypotheses about the origin of the inscribed-cross church are rooted on cross-domed churches and the transept basilica. According to Buchwald, the first inscribed-cross church could well have been inspired by cross domed basilicas, which have some familiar features and are more similar than the other earlier churches. The earliest cross-domed basilica was probably built in the 6th century, before the first inscribed-cross churches, and certainly long before inscribed-cross churches became common (Buchwald 1999, 30).

St. Sophia must also have inspired churches built on the inscribed-cross scheme directly or indirectly. The domes of the latter, however rise on high drums, providing a more vertical emphasis. Their major lateral arches are even wider than in cross domed basilicas, "and are clearly the arms of a cross, and the piers supporting the major arches have been elegantly organized and reduced, usually to four columns or piers" (Buchwald 1999, 45-46).

The strongest similarity between cross-domed basilicas and inscribed-cross churches is the central location of their domes, which are supported by four pendentives and four barrel vaults. The differences between them are also apparent. Firstly, the lack of the ingenious four column solution underneath the dome in crosses domed basilicas; secondly, the limited width of the lateral barrel vaults in crosses domed basilicas, which are not clearly legible as the arms of a cross and the lack of full flanking aisles and galleries in inscribed-cross churches (Buchwald 1999, 26).

The other view is based on the domed transept basilica. Scholars investigating the origin of the inscribed-cross church type in the development of the basilica, put the oriental basilica into the picture earlier (Dalton 1925, 91). According to this theory, the inscribed-cross model would have been born following the addition of a dome to the vaulted nave of the basilica (Sülüner 1998, 61). In the inscribed-cross church type, the individual of the basilica, such as side aisles, arcades, and clerestory windows, are eliminated or reduced until the original form cannot be recognized any longer. In an entirely new conception, the major barrel vaults which support the more or less centrally located dome are extended and designed to clearly and visually express a symbolically and structurally coherent cruciform both on the interior and the exterior (Buchwald 1999, 224).

According to Krautheimer (1986, 342), especially the last two views are not satisfactory to explain the origin of the inscribed-cross church successfully. In this regard, both depend on vague resemblance in plan and disregard essential differences in size and proportion.

Consequently, it can be seen that no series of buildings, which steadily develop to the full and mature solution, can be demonstrated. On the other hand, the Byzantine architect, who invented the inscribed-cross scheme, was able to

visualize the form based upon previous buildings. It seems reasonable to suppose that the inscribed-cross scheme is a harmonious amalgamation. It has some features of basilican, domed or cruciform churches while it also has some of the features of the early Christian, Armenian and Iranian architecture. In the inscribed-cross church, these building types, each sanctified by time and common in the Early Byzantine period were integrated into a single complex.

3.3 Development

The origins of this type remain in dispute, both as to its antecedents and the time and place of its first appearance. General consensus lists the Nea, consecrated in 881, as the first known inscribed-cross church in Constantinople (Krautheimer 1986, 341; Mango 1978, 108-109; Ousterhout 1998, 118-119). The Nea Ecclesia, which is also known as The New Church, The New Imperial Church, The New Great Church or The Great New Church, is considered to be the earliest inscribed-cross church in Constantinople. It was built during the period of the emperor Basil I (figure 9).

Five domes covered the building. An atrium preceded the western part of the church where there was a *narthex*. The *gynaceum* occupied the left side of the church, which was the northern aisle. There were barrel vaulted porticoes to the north and south which extended beyond to the enclose a long courtyard which reached to the polo ground of the palace (Sülüner 1998, 85).

Although the Nea Ecclesia was thought to be the first example of the inscribed church type, this is less than certain according to many scholars. The comments on this issue are generally based on two points: First, the possibility of earlier

examples means that the construction time may be before 881 and suggests problems about the actual plan, whether inscribed-cross or cross-domed.

According to Slobodan Curcic (1980, 11-12), there is no specific information on the spatial articulation of the Nea, which could lead to the conclusion that it was actually an inscribed-cross church. The general idea about the church is that the church had five domes. For that reason, he thinks that it could have been a cross-domed type where the corner spaces between the arms of the cross would have been packed by four additional chapels.

The other idea about the plan type of Nea Ecclesia comes from Buchwald. He believes that not only the Nea Ecclesia, but also the other earliest example of the inscribed-cross churches such as the Monastery of Constantine Lips and the Myrelaion Church, which are both in Constantinople and datable to the early 10th century, are probably not the earliest of their kind. Several buildings survive, some only as ruins, which cannot be dated by documentary evidence, but which may be earlier (Buchwald 1999, 27-28).

Hence, Buchwald prefers to use three criteria that are particularly useful in identifying inscribed-cross churches which may have been built before the 10th century: Firstly, parts of the church, for instance the spaces flanking the major apse, do not match standard solutions of the 10th –11th centuries, but rather, those of earlier buildings. Secondly, outer surfaces are unarticulated without the lower-level arcades and other features typical of most Byzantine churches from the 10th century onwards. And finally, the exterior masonry is stratified in alternating layers of brick and ashlar. Using these three criteria, Buchwald groups the church of St. John in Istanbul that is usually assigned to the 11-12th centuries, with the

inscribed-cross church (Fatih Camii) in Tirilye (Zeytinbağı) on the south shore of Marmara, the ruin of St. John's Church of the Pelekete Monastery near Zeytinbağı and the ruin of Church H in Side in Pamphylia. In the light of these examples, he believes that the first inscribed-cross church may have been invented in the late 6th century, and may have been further elaborated in the 7th, 8th or possibly 9th (Buchwald 1999, 28-30).

In similar way, Krautheimer thinks that the Nea Ecclesia cannot be the first example of this type. He posites that none of the inscribed-cross churches so far known in Greece and Balkans are earlier. But the inscribed-cross church (Fatih Camii) in Tirilye (Zeytinbağı) has been dated tentatively between 780-813. Certainly forerunners do exist outside the capital and the core provinces of the Middle Byzantine Empire. In this respect, as early as the eighth and throughout the ninth century, the inscribed-cross plan was known in the West: at Germigny-des-Prés on the Loire after 800; at S. Satiro in Milan in 868, and apparently at the same time at S. Miguel at Tarrasa in Spain; finally, as early as the late eighth century at S. Maria delle Cinque Torri at S. Germano near Cassino (778-97) in an unvaulted variant with triple arcades supporting the four walls of the center bays (Krautheimer 1986, 341). With all these examples, the author raises the question as to whether the type originated in Constantinople long before the Nea Ecclesia or not.

In the development of the inscribed-cross church type in Byzantine İstanbul, the Nea seems to have had a great influence on the architecture of the capital. In Constantinople, half a dozen churches are clearly influenced from the Nea. All are closely linked in plan, style and details, and all date roughly from between 900-1200. But few can be identified beyond question with churches known from

documents, and thus dated. However, some of the evidence assigns at least two churches to the first half of the tenth century: the north structure of the Fenari Isa Camii as the church of the monastery of Constantine Lips (figure 10), the Bodrum Camii as that of the Myrelaion (figure 11). Both are the representatives of an early phase of Middle Byzantine Church building.

The church of Myrelaion is preceded by a *narthex* and ends in three apses. The two extremities of the *narthex* are curved in the form of niches. The side bays of the *narthex* are covered with groin vaults while the central bay has a dome. Transverse arches separated the bays. The *narthex* communicates with the main church interior by three doors. The *naos* itself is narrow and tall. Four piers carry the barrel vaults and the dome. The three apses communicate with each other by a passage in the chancel. The pastophories are covered by domes and carved with niches (Sülüner 1998, 92-93).

The church of Constantine Lips (Fenari Isa Camii) is one of the earliest surviving examples of the inscribed-cross type in Istanbul.⁶ Three parts at present compose the ruin of this church: along the entire front and extending south, an *exonarthex* and a *parekklesion* probably of early-fourteenth-century date; in the middle and slightly earlier, the Paleologue South Church; and finally, the original Middle Byzantine North Church. This original core is close to the church of Myrelaion in plan, style, and detail. It also complements its missing parts. It has three bases and the remains of four columns that carried the center bay. In the Constantine Lips, the *esonarthex* terminates in shallow niches at either end; small lateral bays flank the apse and its barrel-vaulted forechoir (Krautheimer 1986, 358).

⁶ Some scholars have rejected this. For instance, Arthur Megaw believes that its architecture and ornament are the clear evidences that it was constructed in 907 or 908 AD (Megaw 1964, 279).

The other inscribed-cross church example is the Church of St S. Peter and Mark (Atik Mustafa Paşa Camii) (figure 12). Its date is generally accepted as the second half of the 9th century (Mathews 1995, 127-128). In the Church of St S. Peter and Mark, the arms of the cross and the angle spaces are covered with barrel vaults. The nave is in the form of a cross with a dome in the center bay. The western arm of the cross is no longer than the other three. With its general form, this church is considered to be one of the precursors of the later inscribed-cross churches.

After the church of Constantine Lips, the Myrelaion and the church of St S. Peter and Mark, the inscribed-cross churches continue in Constantinople throughout the eleventh and twelfth centuries. St Theodosia (Gül Camii) - 1100, St. Theodore (Kilise Camii) - 1100, the Church of Pantepoptes (Eski İmaret Camii) - 1081-1087, the Church of St Mary Diaconissa (Kalenderhane Camii) - 12th century and the church of Pantokrator (Zeyrek Camii) - 12th century continue or revive the type of inscribed-cross plan.⁷ These are the best preserved and the fully developed inscribed-cross churches in Constantinople.

What is seen in the later structures both from the exterior and the interior are further refinements; the interplay of blind arcading with saw-tooth friezes and cornices which decorate the tall drums supporting small domes with narrow windows intensifying the perpendicular, lithe appearance of the domes. The use of slender columns instead of piers, which previously obstructed the interior buildings, consequently gave freedom and space to the interiors. Also in this respect the use of four columns is important for the sake of spacious disposition, and differs greatly from the eastern domes on squinches where the multiplicity of the supporting elements in such constructions fill the interior and obstruct the spaces, the great size of the domes in such buildings notwithstanding. Consequently, this eastern formula contrasts with the four-point support system of the

⁷ For the plan of these churches see Mathews (1971; 60,74,129).

churches in the capital, where the dome on pendentives is used as a rule (Sülüner 1998, 114).

While the inscribed-cross churches emerged and constantly developed in Constantinople, there are a number of inscribed-cross churches in Asia Minor which may, perhaps, be attributed to the period before the 9th century either for historical reasons, or because they appear to be transitional, combining earlier characteristics with those of the new church type. In Asia Minor, the inscribed-cross churches appear to bridge the break between the fully developed inscribed-cross churches of Constantinople and earlier developments. It is, of course, possible that these buildings were constructed not as antecedents to the fully developed inscribed-cross churches. However, they seem to reflect the designs of the churches that were in Constantinople or in other provinces.

From the aspect of showing the development of the inscribed-cross type in Asia Minor, three churches excavated in Side, on the southern coast of Asia Minor become important. These were probably also designed using the principle of the inscribed-cross, although there is not sufficient evidence to be certain concerning the vaulting solutions. In this respect, Church H has rooms flanking the *bema* without *exedrae*; a feature, which would be unusual in fully, developed inscribed-cross churches. A relatively early date for the church has therefore been postulated, and it has been suggested that all of the churches in Side were constructed before the final destruction of the city, probably in the late 9th century (Buchwald 1999, 226; Krautheimer 1986, 341).

Similarly, the ninth, tenth and eleventh century middle Byzantine churches were employed in the cliff chapels, which, from the eighth and ninth centuries, had

been followed by monastic congregations from the rock cones in Cappadocia. With the other obsolete plans, middle Byzantine forms are also used in their planning, and the inscribed-cross plans are frequent. Many of the churches may date from the tenth or the eleventh century. But one group, which is in Göreme, is clearly dated to the late-ninth and tenth century and shows a remarkable unity. In this respect, there are a number of inscribed-cross churches in Göreme and this situation "raises the question as to whether the type originated in Constantinople before the Nea and was transmitted to the provinces, or whether at the time the Nea was built, the inscribed-cross plan was imported from the provinces into the capital" (Krautheimer 1986, 341).

Having the best-preserved examples of the inscribed-cross type, Göreme seems to play a very important role in the development of the inscribed-cross church type. The present state of knowledge implies that the role it played may have been an instrumental one. Moreover, Göreme may have had only a minor or an insignificant place in the construction of major monuments that are in Byzantine Istanbul. But at the same time, it may become the strong indication to fill the gap between the simple and the fully developed inscribed-cross churches both in Asia Minor and particularly those in Constantinople. In this respect, Göreme with its inscribed-cross churches may demonstrate the missing part in the development sequence of the type in Asia Minor and also Constantinople.

CHAPTER 4

THE INSCRIBED-CROSS CHURCHES IN GÖREME

The inscribed-cross church with its quite simple structure and ease of construction emerged as a standard type in the Middle Byzantine Period. It is obvious from the background, which is provided by Chapter 3, that it is not possible to say whether it first appeared in the provinces or in the capital. But it may be supposed that it was the metropolitan use of the form that caused it to become widespread by the 10th century in the provinces.

Although the precise sequence of development remains unknown, in certain parts of the Cappadocian region of Anatolia, it is clear that by nearly 900, a new system seems to dominate church architecture completely. In this respect, Göreme stands out. The administrative area known as Göreme, in fact, includes two historical sites: Matiane (Maçan, Avcılar), a small town known since antiquity; and Korama (Göreme), a neighboring valley initially inhabited and then the site of monastic establishments from the ninth-tenth to the eleventh centuries. These two names appear in the *Passio Prior* of St Hiero, which probably dates from AD 515.⁸

⁸ St Hiero lived in Matiane; he was a winegrower who enlisted in the Roman army, and was martyred in Matiane. His severed hand was sent to his mother and probably deposited as a relic in the Basilica of Çavuşin (De Crussol 1993, 7).

The existence of Göreme could therefore probably be postulated for this early date (Ötüken 1987, 13).

Göreme, which is one of the most important religious centers in Cappadocia, has the best-preserved examples of inscribed-cross churches. So far, thirty-five inscribed-cross churches⁹ have been discovered in Cappadocia.¹⁰ What is important for the purpose of this study is that the inscribed-cross church type and its highly stylistic religious decoration penetrated into Cappadocia in a number of ways and had its well-known examples in Göreme as early as 900. In Göreme, there are ten inscribed-cross churches, which are easily identifiable and therefore have an important part in the evolution of this type in Cappadocia. These are Chapel 17, 19, 20, 22, 23, 25, 29, 32, Yusuf Koç and Bezirhane Church (figure 13). In this chapter, all of these churches will be explained in sequence with their architectural features and decoration programmes.

4.1 Chapel 17 (Kızlar Church)

Among the inscribed-cross churches in Cappadocia, only two can be dated from their inscriptions: Direkli Church at Ihlara built during the reigns of Basileios II and Konstantinos VIII, 976-1025 and Chapel 17 in Göreme dating from the first half of the eleventh century (1055) (Akyürek 1998, 278; Kostof 1989, 123). Chapel 17 is

⁹ For the whole list of inscribed-cross churches in Cappadocia see Appendix B.

¹⁰ There are also a number of small 11th century chapels on an inscribed-cross plan with a dome, in which the carefully wrought paintings found elsewhere give place to simple linear drawings and images of Christ and various saints enclosed in frames like icons. At present, however, many of them are closed to public.

situated outside of the Göreme Open Air Museum. Today, it is closed to the visitors because of its highly damaged condition.¹¹

Chapel 17 is an inscribed-cross church with a central dome. A tiny dome is carried on very wide barrel-vaulted arms and columns (Jerphanion 1930, 488-491). There are four thick columns with tapering block capitals. The church shows capitals with an abacus (Ötüken 1987, 17). "The cross-arms are barrel vaulted. The northeast corner bay has a flat ceiling; the other three are covered by calottes. Blind niches decorate the walls of the four corner bays. The church has a rectangular *narthex* with a barrel vault" (Rodley 1985, 182).

Before entering to the *naos*, there is a rectangular *narthex* with a barrel vault. There are three apses. The central one closed by a tall screen, with a central horseshoe-arched entrance flanked by small horseshoe-arched openings. Above these, there are two more such openings and above the entrance, a small horseshoe-arched lunette and a larger lunette open above the top of the screen. The later apses have narrow chancel slabs (Rodley 1985, 182). Kızlar Church contains a completely preserved *iconostasis* decorated with cross reliefs and polychrome (Ötüken 1995, 18).

In its decoration programme, the linear painting is noteworthy. The columns are painted red. On the north wall of the north cross arm, there is a picture of Christ standing and holding the Holy Book in his left hand while giving a blessing with his right (Restle 1967, 122-123). Apart from the picture of Christ, there are a number

¹¹ I could not see the church for the same reason.

of dated graffiti, especially on the front left-hand column. These have been scratched into the red paint of the column and linear decoration, but they have no reference to the depiction of Christ. In the invocations the years 1055, 1058, 1065, 1074, and 1129 are mentioned. In the last date the two middle figures are now unreadable (Jerphanion 1930, 489).

4.2 Chapel 19 (Elmalı Church)

Chapel 19 (Elmalı Church) is situated in the Göreme Open-air Museum. It is one of the most famous inscribed-cross churches in Göreme (figure 14). According to Jerphanion, the reason for having the name of 'apple' stems from the apple tree, which happened to be in front of the church (Jerphanion 1930, 484). Elmalı Church is generally categorized within the 'column group', together with Çarıklı and Karanlık churches. The cavities through which Elmalı Church is now approached have no original connection with it, so the church is not part of a refectory. It is dated to the 11th century.

There are four slender columns forming the center bay, with squat tapering block capitals. Arches spring between the columns, framing the center bay (figure 15). These frame the corner bays between the columns and wall pilasters. The arches between the crossing supports make a frame for the vaulting of the center bay. Behind these arches, the cross arms are domed. All eight secondary bays are domed.

This church has three apses. The central one is larger than the side apses. A tall screen with open lunette and a single entrance closed the main apse, as at Çarıklı Church (figure 16). The lateral apses have keyhole-shaped entrances formed by

low chancel slabs (figure 17). The *naos* entrance which is in the center bay of the west wall, provides access to the church. However, this is not the original entrance. In fact, Elmalı Church has a rectangular *narthex* on the north wall of the church that is closed today.

As mentioned in Chapter 3, the architecture of the inscribed-cross plan scheme provides a specialized conception that enables holding images in prescribed relationships to one another and to the celebration of the liturgy. In Chapel 19, the aristocratic art of 11th century is effectively illustrated.

The arrangement of the subjects and the repertoire of ornament show high artistic competence. In the representation of certain themes like the Apostles watching the Ascension the artist's verve is expressed in virtuoso exercises, which look forward to mannerism of the 12th century (Thierry 1971, 159).

In Elmalı Church, the paintings are notable for the skill with which the form and movement of the figures are adjusted to the surface to be covered in the vaulting, dome or lunette. This great decorative scheme also seen in the other two churches i. e. Karanlık and Çarıklı Church is a demonstration of the flourishing state of the monasticism in Cappadocia in the years preceding the arrival of the Turks.

The extensive painted programme in Elmalı Church consists of various representations. Christ Pantokrator is on the central dome (figure 18). Minor domes have the images of archangels. In the main apse, a Deesis (conch) scene and bishop saints (wall) are represented. While the Virgin and Child are represented on the north apse; on the south apse, the Archangel Michael is seen. Different subjects cover the cross arm vaults with independent lunettes and upper

wall areas: Nativity, Adoration of the Magi, Baptism, Transfiguration, Raising of Lazarus, Entry into Jerusalem, Last Supper, Betrayal, Way of the Cross, Crucifixion, Entombment, Anastasis, and Ascension. The two Old Testament subjects are seen on the wall panels i.e. The Hospitality of Abraham and the Three Hebrews (Rodley 1985, 176).

The decoration programme in Elmalı Church is very similar to that in Çarıklı and Karanlık Church, the other two members of the Column group.

4.3 Chapel 20 (St. Barbara Church)

Chapel 20 (St Barbara Church) is also in Göreme Open Air Museum. It has the same architectural form as Çarıklı Church. It has a shortened inscribed-cross plan (figure 19). St Barbara is dated “fifty years later in the reign of Constantine VIII and Basil II; the mention of a specific indication would yield 1006 or 1021” (Kostof 1989, 210).

Chapel 20 has seven bay plans, which may be regarded as an incomplete inscribed-cross plan (figure 20). Two columns support the central bay. Its seven bays are domed and the cross arms are barrel-vaulted. It has three apses and the central one is larger than the side ones. Each apse has its own altar. Despite their damaged condition, all apses are flanked by tall screens (figure 21).

Its lines are more regular than those of Çarıklı Church, and probably not the result of incomplete cutting. Instead, Chapel 20 was probably a copy of Çarıklı Church (Epstein 1975, 122). The entrance is lateral.

In Göreme, there is a group of churches of various architectural types, decorated with isolated panels of paintings rather than with full programmes. One of these is Chapel 20.¹² In St Barbara, a rich variety of unusual designs have recently been identified to be Byzantine military standards and scepters (Kostof 1989, 146). The primary decoration consists of elaborate red-paint ornament. There are masonry lines in the barrel vaults (figure 22). Triangle and chequer patterns frame arches. There are also hatching lines and circles below the dome. On the walls, there are medallions, pillar ornaments, stemmed armed crosses and strange animals (figure 23).

Several polychrome panels have been painted over this primary scheme: Christ is installed in the apse; St Barbara is seen on the west arm and two more female saints are on the north arm. An inscription stretches between these two saints: 'Lord help thy servant, Falibon (?), Priest (rest uncertain)' and 'Lord help thy servant, Leon Marulines'. The end of the inscription is uncertain. Jerphanion suggested, very tentatively 'priest and foreigner'. The traces that remain of the name are also so fragmentary as to make the restoration 'Falibon' uncertain (Rodley 1985, 176-177).

4.4 Chapel 22 (Çarıklı Church)

Chapel 22 (Çarıklı Church) is in Göreme Open Air Museum. It lies above the refectory and room 2 (figure 24). Çarıklı Church means 'the Church of Sandal'.

¹² These churches are Chapel 10,17 (Kızlar Church), 18, 21, 27 and 28. (Rodley 1985, 25)

The name refers to two depressions in the floor; these 'holy footprints' provide the name of the church (Rodley 1985, 164).¹³ It also belongs to 11th century.

Çarıklı Church has an adapted inscribed-cross, with only two columns, instead of four.¹⁴ Barrel-vaulted arms support the central dome on the north, south and west sides. The east arm of the cross has a dome cut into a flat ceiling. The eastern corner bays are also domed. The domes rise above the rudimentary pendentives. The existing slender columns with slab capitals are modern replacements (figure 25).

The church has three apses, all of which are horseshoe-shaped in plan; each has a rock-cut altar and a seat at the south side. The side apses have narrow chancel slabs, which are substantially complete (figure 26). The *iconostasis* is in damaged condition.¹⁵ A low bench runs around the *naos*, along all walls except those of the west bay and where broken by the church entrance in the north wall.

The unusual form of the church is probably the result of an accident (or error of judgment) during the excavation, which eliminated the area of rock that should have been left for the western pair of columns (Epstein 1975, 122). The entrance

¹³ According to Rodley (1985, 164-165), this obviously cannot be the case. The church is a cave monument, and was excavated rather than built, so it follows that marks in the floor must have been a product of excavation. They are depressions left by the mason's chisel; dozens of similar, but rather smaller marks cover the floor. Furthermore, Rodley adds that the holy footprint is a feature of Islamic tradition; it is probable that marks on the floor gathered their significance in the post-Byzantine period, from an interpretation supplied by the local Muslim population.

¹⁴ The inscribed-cross churches with two columns instead of four, as seen in St. Barbara and Çarıklı churches, is unknown in Constantinople. Having two columns at the center, constructed churches such as St. Eustathias in Meram and St. Ampilochos in Konya, which is non-existent today, seem to be the nearest parallels to Göreme examples in Middle Anatolia (Ötügen 1987, 33-34; Rodley 1985, 236).

¹⁵ Upon seeing the three column churches –Elmalı, Çarıklı and Karanlık– in 1953, Yorgo Seferis (2001, 59), says that even during his visit there, their *iconostasis* was not in good condition.

is in the north cross-arm. This is a requirement of the site because the church was placed parallel to the façade in order to give the apse an eastern direction (Rodley 1985, 164).

Like Chapel 19, the church has an extensive decoration programme. Christ Pantokrator appears on the central dome. Below this, six medallions contain the busts of Archangels. On the pendentives, the figures of the four evangelists are represented while sitting and writing their gospels. Subsidiary domes also have the representations of Archangels (figure 27).

A narrative cycle in thirteen scenes begins with the Annunciation on the chancel screen of the main apse and continues on the barrel vaults and adjacent lunettes: Nativity, Adoration of the Magi, Baptism, Transfiguration, Raising of Lazarus, Entry into Jerusalem, Betrayal, Way of the Cross, Crucifixion, Anastasis, Myrophores, Ascension. One episode of the narrative cycle, the Last Supper, is painted in the refectory. A single Old Testament scene, the Hospitality of Abraham, occupies the lunette above the north apse (Rodley 1985, 166).

In the main apse, six bishop saints and the Deesis are depicted. On the north apse, Virgin and Child; on the south apse, Archangel Michael is represented (Rodley 1985, 166).¹⁶ What is remarkable in the painted decoration in Çarıklı Church is the representation of Constantine and Helena on the west wall. Here, a donor panel stands out: It contains a standing figure carrying a cross-staff, inscribed with the Holy cross. Three donors flank this central figure. Next to the figure, an inscription proclaims 'Entreaty of the servant of god, Theognostos'. Two

¹⁶ For the fully description of the painted programme in Chapel 22 see Jerphanion (1930, 455-73).

additional male figures stand to the right of the nimbed figure. An inscription is seen towards the figures: 'Entreaty of the servant of God, Leon'. And near the third donor, similar words are discerned once more: 'Entreaty of the servant of God, Michael'. Unfortunately, the status of these three donors and their relationship to each other is unclear, for they lack titles (Rodley 1985, 166-167).

4.5 Chapel 23 (Karanlık Church)

Chapel 23 is close to the entrance of the Göreme Open air Museum. It is well known for its elaborate painted decoration. It was also one of the well-known monasteries in Göreme. The name 'Karanlık-Dark' is a later appellation and the result of the dim atmosphere against which the decoration programme of the church was seen.

Karanlık Church monastery has a small courtyard with an open-fronted vestibule along one side. Behind this, there is a refectory with rock-cut furniture and two rooms. Above the vestibule, there is also a room with four vaulted bays. And behind, two further rooms stand out. The church is at an upper stage at the east side of the courtyard, reached by a stairway. It has an inscribed-cross plan, a *narthex* and a tomb chamber (figure 28).

There is no doubt that the church and the monastery rooms are a part of a single phase of excavation. The church is an integral part of the monastery plans, and its entrance from the courtyard is identical in form to that of the refectory.¹⁷ Since there is no layer of polychrome painting in Karanlık Church earlier than the one

¹⁷ The Church and the refectory are in fact the only obvious spaces in the layout of the monasteries, the latter because of a long table and benches, fashioned from the same continuous rock as the hall itself (Kostof 1989, 51).

described above, it is reasonable to suppose that this decoration was applied soon after the excavation of the complex. The date of the monastery therefore depends upon the date assigned to the column-group of churches, of which Karanlık Church is a member. A date in the mid eleventh century is generally accepted for this group, based on the style of the paintings, the content of the programme and its relationship to other datable programmes in Göreme valley (Rodley 1985, 56).

On the east wall of the courtyard, there is an area of undecorated smooth rock. This façade contains the church entrance, which has the same form as the refectory. This entrance leads into a short stairway, which makes a right-angle turn and then opens into the narthex.¹⁸ The *narthex* has a barrel vault on a roughly north-south axis, rising above a rudimentary cornice. The northern lunette is decorated with three horseshoe-arched blind niches. Just to the left of the lunette, an arched window opens to the façade. Also the south lunette has a decoration of three blind niches. A low bench runs across the south wall, and above it, there is a horseshoe-arched that leads into a small tomb chamber. “There is also a small *arcosolium* cut into the west wall of the tomb chamber, with a grave pit of infant size, but this is roughly cut and is probably secondary” (Rodley 1985, 52).

The rectangular entrance in the east wall of the *narthex* opens into the *naos*. This is of inscribed-cross plan (figure 29). Accordingly, four slender columns with tapering block capitals carried the central dome. Only one of these columns, the

¹⁸ There are many other examples of artificial facades of this kind, just in Chapel 23, in the Peristrema Valley in the monastery of Yaprakhisar, the Ala Church or Sümbüllü Church (Cueno 1971, 93).

southwest one, remains intact. Arches spring between the columns to frame the central bay. The eastern cross-arm is also domed while the other three are barrel-vaulted. Small arches spring from the columns to wall pilasters framing small domed corner bays (figure 30). There are also attached columns in each corner of the *naos*. A low bench circuits the *naos*, extending slightly forward of the pilasters. Four seats are cut into this bench, two flanking the *naos* entrance in the west wall and two more flanking the entrance to the main apse.

The church has three apses. The main apse is larger than the lateral ones and was originally closed by a tall, rock-cut screen, fragments of which remain at each side (Rodley 1985, 52). There is a rounded rock-cut altar and a seat in the southwest corner. Each apse has an attached, rounded, rock-cut altar with a small arched blind niche above it. In the south apse, there is also a small seat in the southwest corner. An arched opening links the north and central apses.

The painting programme of the church displays a remarkable unity with its decoration and colors. Above the *narthex* and *naos*, a New Testament cycle begins on the east wall of the *narthex*, with the Annunciation scene flanking the entrance to the *naos*. The cycle continues in the *naos*, in the barrel vaults of north, south and west cross-arms, an adjacent wall lunettes: Journey to Bethlehem, Nativity, Adoration of the Magi, Baptism, Raising of Lazarus, Transfiguration, Entry into Jerusalem, Last Supper (figure 31), Betrayal, Crucifixion, Anastasis, Myrophores are the main cycles in its decoration programme. The cycle finishes in the *narthex* vault, with a combined Ascension and Benediction of Apostles (Rodley 1985, 53). According to Kostof (1989, 224), in the three inscribed-cross churches in Göreme –Elmalı, Çarıklı and Karanlık- the so-called classical Middle Byzantine solution makes its appearance.

The painting programme of Chapel 23 also includes several images of the donors. Altogether, there are seven such images in the church (almost certainly eight originally). The four figures shown in the apse and *narthex* would appear to have higher status than the tiny figures in the archangel panels. According to Rodley (1985, 55), there is a link between the donor images and the tomb chamber in the *narthex*. This chamber is certainly an original element of the monastery, for the painting of the *narthex* south wall acknowledges the tomb chamber entrance.

Between the images of donors, there are also inscriptions, which were translated by Jerphanion (Jerphanion 1930, 393-400). On the *narthex*, above the figures, there is an inscription that means 'Entreaty of the servant of God, John, Entalmatikos' (left), 'Entreaty of the servant of God, Ge(nenth)lios' (right). In the Deesis of the main apse, above the two additional figures of donors, is the inscription: 'Entreaty of the servant of God, Nikephoros, priest' (left), 'Entreaty of the servant of God, Bassianos.' (right) (Rodley 1985, 54-55). Yet a further inscription that might have clarified the relationship of the donors and the nature of their patronage was originally painted in the *narthex*, above the entrance to the *naos*. More probably, this is a dedicatory inscription, the loss of which would doubtless have irritated the donors as much as it does the historian today (Rodley 1985, 55-56).

4.6 Chapel 25

Chapel 25 is a part of one of the refectory monasteries in Göreme Open Air Museum. Today, it is in damaged condition. The time period for this church is about 11th century.

Chapel 25 has a small façade that is decorated with an upper frieze of seven small horseshoe-arched blind niches. Below these seven blind arches, there are three horseshoe-arched niches. The side ones are blind niches and slightly smaller than the central one. The main entrance is large and horseshoe-arched. The carved ornament of the façade is decorated with red paint. There are borders of triangles above the frieze and around the niche arch; and a border with a chequer pattern outlines the church entrance and flanking bays. The cross medallions are seen in each blind niche. All of them are colored by red paint.

Behind the façade, there is a well-preserved entrance compartment. A domed-*narthex* originally provided passage through the *naos*; it also has a bench on the right. In addition, there are burial-places in its left side. Zigzags, cross-medallions and red, linear drawings are the main elements of the decoration programme (figure 32).

Above the inscribed-cross plan of the church (figure 33), the central dome is carried on four slender columns with tapering block capitals and square bases (figure 34). Arches framing the corner bays spring from the walls to the columns. The cross-arms are barrel-vaulted and small domes cover each of the corner bays. A low bench runs right around the *naos* and across the east end; it has a step cut into in front of the entrance to the main apse. A tall screen closes this main apse with horseshoe-arched central entrance flanked by a pair of small arched openings with recessed panels below them (figure 35). Above the screen, there is a large horseshoe-arched open lunette. The apse contains a rock-cut altar, a seat at the right side and a small niche in the back wall, to the left of the altar. There are small side apses, closed by low chancel slabs; the south apse has a rock-cut altar, seat and niche, as does the main apse; the north apse has a

niche only. The *naos* is reached through a small square domed *narthex*, with blind niches cut into each wall. The floor contains one grave pit. "It has the most elaborate example of pierced-high *iconostasis*" (Ötüken 1995, 18).¹⁹

Decoration of the church consists of red-painted geometric ornament. Zigzag, triangle and simple borders rim the main lines of the vaulting (arches, domes). Imitation masonry lines in the barrel vault recall those in St Barbara Church (fig. 36). Cross-medallions are seen in subsidiary domes and on the walls (figure 37). On the chancel screen, there is a painted entablature of chequer pattern.

4.7 Chapel 29 (Kılıçlar Church)

Chapel 29 (Kılıçlar Church)²⁰ is in Kılıçlar Valley, which is near Göreme Open Air Museum. Chapel 29 has always confused scholars because of its painting programme. Hence, there are different views about the date of this church. According to several authors, however, Kılıçlar Church is the earliest inscribed-cross church with the Church of Direkli²¹, which is in Ihlara, in Cappadocia (Teteriatnikov 1996, 111; Rodley 1994, 140; Kostof 1989, 123).

In defining the date of the church, scholars generally use the decoration programme of Chapel 29. For instance, Restle (1967, 17-30) draws a stylistic parallel with the illuminated manuscript of 905, known as the Paris Gregory and this is the date generally given for Kılıçlar Church. The church is something of a curiosity in that it has a very long narrative cycle, stylistically and iconographically

¹⁹ The others are St Barbara, Katherine, Çarıklı Church and Chapel 27.

²⁰ During my research in Göreme, unfortunately I could not see Chapel 29, because it is closed to the visitors. Since Yorgo Seferis visited the church with a special permission in 1950 (Seferis 2001, 55), it appears that the church has been closed for many years.

²¹ For more information about Direkli Church see Ötüken (1990; 25,33,46).

compatible with Jerphanion's 'archaic' group churches, but placed in an inscribed-cross church instead of in barrel-vault registers as is usual in churches of this group. A tenth century date seems highly probable, although not certainly as early as 905 (Rodley 1985, 43).

Although Kılıçlar Church is not directly associated with the Kılıçlar monastery complex, the name of Kılıçlar obviously comes from the name of Kılıçlar Valley. Kılıçlar Church is an inscribed-cross church fronted by small, domed-*narthex* (figure 38). It has a different entrance compartment. A rectangular portico with an oblong room opens to the outside through a single archway. In terms of its planning, this type of entrance compartment is similar to the *narthex*. The only feature fundamentally different is that the entrance provides an access (figure 39).

As in the other inscribed-cross churches, it has three apses of which the main apse is larger than the side ones (figure 40). In front of the small apses, there are small subsidiary domed places. "Benches are cut along the walls including the area in front of the three sanctuaries at the eastern end" (Teteriatnikov 1996, 111). Four columns support the central dome but the northeast and southwest columns are completely destroyed. The cross-arms are barrel-vaulted (fig. 41).

The *naos* has a full painted decoration of high quality, described in detail by Jerphanion (Jerphanion 1930, 243-53). Christ in Majesty (conch) and Bishop Saints Leontios, Athanasios, Blaisios, Gregory of Nyssa, Gregory of Nazianzos is placed on the main apse but others are lost. The scenes of Virgin and Child and Divine Liturgy on the northern apse are visible today. On the south apse, the decoration is lost. The cross-arm barrel vaults, lunettes and walls are covered by narrative cycles: Annunciation, Visitation, Proof of the Virgin, Joseph and Virgin,

Joseph and Mary, Nativity, Adoration of the Magi, Dream of Joseph, Flight into Egypt, Presentation, Angel appearing to John the Baptist, John Meeting Christ, Baptism, Christ and Zaccheus, Healing the Blind, Raising of Lazarus, Entry into Jerusalem, Last Supper, Washing the Feet, Betrayal, Christ before Anaias and Caiaphas, Denial by Peter, Christ before Pilate, Way of the Cross, Crucifixion, Deposition, Entombment, Myrophores, Anastasis, Benediction of Apostles, Pentecost and Dormition (Rodley 1985, 43).

4.8 Chapel 32

Chapel 32 is one of the most interesting examples in Göreme Valley. It is rather far from the Göreme Open Air Museum and has been closed to visitors for a long time. Its date may have been the 11th century like the others in the area.

In most studies on either Cappadocia or Göreme, there is no detailed information about Chapel 32. The limited information about it may be found in Ötügen. Ötügen classifies the church under the cross-in-square churches. According to her, the church definitely has an inscribed-cross plan. Accordingly, it has nine bays where asymmetrical arrangements may be observed. The western corner bays are flat ceilinged, and the east corner bays are domed as in Chapel 29 (Ötügen 1995, 26). There is no information on whether the church had any decoration programme or not. But there is a list in Giovannini, which includes the Göreme valleys churches. In this list, it is explained that Chapel 32 has a typical 11th century decoration programme as in the others (Giovannini 1971, 203).

4.9 Yusuf Koç Church

In the valley near the village of Avcılar (Maçan), there is a monastery linked with the church known as Yusuf Koç Church. The rooms of this monastery are grouped around the edges of a large cone and may extend into two more cones to the south. The cavities in this monastery are all carefully cut rooms with flat ceilings and have no decoration (Rodley 1984, 151).

Thierry attributes the church to the mid-eleventh century, on grounds of style, iconography, epigraphy and programme (Thierry 1974, 198). For the same reason, a date in the first half of the eleventh century is proposed for the monastery as a whole. However, it may be slightly earlier than the Göreme development (Rodley 1984, 183).

Yusuf Koç Church lies on the west side of the cone. It is fronted by a recessed façade decorated with three horseshoe-arched blind niches, of which only traces remain. The rock at the front of the church has been eroded considerably so that the entrance today is about two meters above the present ground level. An *arcosolium* is cut into the rock at the right of the entrance.

The church has an irregular form whereby a doubled inscribed-cross plan with two domes at the center is surrounded by ten bays (figure 42). Its six cross-arms are barrel-vaulted and the corner bays have flat ceilings (figure 43). The arches of the twin center bays spring from the walls. Apses open from each of the two eastern bays opposite the domes; but combine to form a single irregular recess. Today, the columns are not extant except for their bases and capitals (figure 44). There are no chancel screens, however the apse walls are damaged and there may

originally have been low slabs. A horseshoe-arched blind niche is cut in the east wall of the northeast bay but the walls are otherwise undecorated.

The church has a fully decorated programme²² that has been described by Rodley. The Deesis and the Virgin and child are seen on the south and north apse, respectively. Bishop saints Gregory the Theologian, Basil, John Chrysostom are represented on the wall of the northern apse. The four Archangels (two in each dome) are seen on the domes. Luke and Matthew (east vault), Peter and Paul (lunette), Mark and Andrew, John, Simon and Bartholomew (west vault) are represented on the barrel vaults and lunettes. Mishael (one of the three Hebrews), deacon, male saint and Prokopios with the donor is placed on the walls, reading left to right. On the west wall, the representations of Constantine and Helena have survived with the military saints (Rodley 1984, 193-206). Thus, the programme consists of apostles in the vaults of south part of the church, martyrs in the barrel vaults of the north part, a number of military saints in the northwest corner bay. The only narrative image on the north wall is the Annunciation, and the three Hebrews the only Old Testament subject (Rodley 1984, 156).

The decoration programme of the church also includes three donor figures. The first one is in the Annunciation panel, above the head of the small male figure. It is inscribed with 'Entreaty of the servant...' The second one is in the Prokopios panel. Again, there is a small figure to the left of the saint kneels and grips the saint's foot. And the last figure stands in the Demetrios panel. Here, the name of

²² For the new approaches about the painting programme of Yusuf Koç Church see Lévy (1998, 913-917).

the donor is inscribed: 'Entreaty of the servant of God, Theodoros' (Rodley 1984, 156).

4.10 Bezirhane Church

The monastery known as Bezirhane is in Avçılar (Maçan). The complex has a large basilical hall opening off a barrel-vaulted vestibule; the latter decorated with a series of large horseshoe-arched blind niches (figure 45). The front of the complex is lost. The complex was used as an oil press after the Byzantine period. The name 'bezirhane' derives from this use.

The date of the monastery is unknown. Its church may date the whole monastery. The inscribed-cross plan, as we know, supplies a general Middle Byzantine bracket. Therefore, the date of eleventh century be proposed for the paintings of the church and hence for the monastery as a whole.

The church is placed at the east side of the complex (figure 46). It was once entered by means of an opening in the east wall of the vestibule but this area is blocked by rough masonry today. The original entrance to the *naos* is in the center bay of the west wall, placed slightly off-center, towards the south. This is a rectangular entrance with an arched window. According to Jerphanion's plan, the church has a small rectangular *narthex* with a decoration of blind arcading. This is inaccessible since both its entrances are blocked (Jerphanion 1930, 502).

The church has an inscribed-cross plan. The cross arms are barrel-vaulted. These arms spring from a plain cornice, which circuits the *naos*. Four-square piers are very simple. Two-step slab capitals carry a tall central dome. Four

corbels project from the rim of the dome. Arches spring from the piers to the walls and they meet shallow pilasters, and then frame small corner bays. Each corner bay has a barrel vault on an east west axis.

The main apse is slightly horseshoe-shaped and there are signs of low chancel slabs at its openings. There are two arched blind niches in the apse wall. The first one is at the north side and the other one is at the back. There is no sign of an altar. The side apses are apparently smaller than the main apse and are slightly horseshoe-shaped. There are no marks for the chancel slabs or altars.

This church has a painting programme also. In the *naos*, a red and white chequer pattern outlines the arches while there is red hatching around the rim of the dome. A red masonry pattern decorates the arches springing from the west wall to the crossing piers. There are also a series of polychrome panels on the piers and on the pilasters flanking the apse. The panels are rectangular, extending across the faces of the piers. Each bears a standing figure with a name inscribed to left and right of the head. The palette includes red, green, blue, and yellow, brown, black and white. There is no trace of painting in the apses (Rodley 1984, 30-31).

Overall it appears that the inscribed-cross churches are the dominant type in 11th century Göreme. In this regard, the churches are uniform in plan but vary in detail. The *naos* generally consists of a nine-bay square. Central domes tend to be rather small, often with their sides rising steeply to meet a shallow cap. Rudimentary pendentives are often cut in the triangular spaces left in the corners of the center bay ceiling. The cross arms are generally barrel-vaulted and the corner bays are frequently domed. The center-bays are usually columns. Capitals

are always simple, usually slabs or tapering blocks. All of them have three apses and the central one is larger than the side ones.

Apart from the architectural details, many of these churches have a complete decoration programme. Sometimes pictorial style and iconography traveled without architecture, and sometimes the reverse happened. Particularly, the three column churches Elmalı, Karanlık and Çarıklı provide the best-preserved examples of this type in Göreme; not only having similar painting, but also parallel architectural qualities.

The choice of using the inscribed-cross plan certainly continued in Cappadocia until the twelfth century. The other inscribed-cross churches, which are close to the area of Göreme, also have the same overall architectural features. These churches suggest that they are probably contemporary with the churches described above and therefore likely to be associated with the monastic development seen in the Open-Air Museum area today. One of these inscribed-cross churches is in Kızılcukur between Göreme and Çavuşin. It has most of the same features of inscribed-cross church with some additional places, which are hardly seen in Göreme examples.²³

In general, the identification of basic architectural features in the churches and liturgical patterns in this Byzantine province shows that the inscribed-cross churches in Göreme have features common with those of in Constantinople. Particularly, in almost every detail, the liturgy was an important factor, and it maintained its characteristics through architectural design. Conversely, in many

²³ For more detail about this church see Appendix C.

cases, the church plans show different approaches in terms of applying the capital's plan type. These changes affect not only the general view of the inscribed-cross church, but also the function of it. Therefore, the following chapter will attempt to elucidate these differences in the liturgical church planning of inscribed-cross churches in Göreme.

CHAPTER 5

THE LITURGICAL PLANNING OF INSCRIBED-CROSS CHURCHES IN GÖREME

The inscribed-cross churches in Göreme are highly revealing examples that not only have a typical Middle Byzantine architectural plan, but that also show the changes in liturgical planning of churches, which occurred throughout this period. Regarding church planning, the inscribed-cross church architecture in Göreme appears to share some of the characteristics with the capital. However, this area presents a different liturgical pattern, which can be explained by the necessities of the area and that were the outcome of the local social-economic factors. Furthermore, the arrangement and setting of liturgical planning and also the furnishings in the church created a more specific use of the form. Hence, it may be said that the function affected and reshaped these churches.

Concentrating on changes in Göreme churches, this chapter will deal with the functional differentiation of the inscribed-cross churches in the context of liturgical needs. The sanctuary, which was the center of the liturgical drama; the *naos*,

which was a kind of gathering place for the clergy and laity; the *narthex* that was the entrance section of the church; as well as burial places and the domes and their characteristics, will be analyzed against the fully developed inscribed-cross churches in Constantinople.

5.1 Sanctuary

The sanctuary is one of the most important parts in the Byzantine church. It is the place where the main part of the liturgy was executed, hence it was the place for clergymen. Its design and elements reflect the specific requirements of the ceremony. In this regard, it has a crucial position in the design of the church.

A fully developed Byzantine church has generally three apses: In the center, there is a large apse with a *bema* or presbytery. On the right, there is a secondary kind of apse of the *prothesis*, where the sacrament was prepared. And on the left, the apse of the *diakonikon* is placed. The sacred vessels were kept in there. Three apses can usually be recognized from the east wall of the church. But the two lateral apses are sporadically sunk in the wall, and only the central apse can be shown from the outside of the church.

As a rule the apses are circular within and polygonal, it is rare to find them circular on both the interior and the exterior. An octagonal plan, in which three sides of the octagon appear, sometimes with short returns to the wall, is the most common; but in later churches polygons with more sides are used, especially for the central apse, and these are often very irregularly set out. Some of the churches of Constantinople show five and seven sides (Van Millingen 1974, 11).

The surviving evidence of the inscribed-cross churches in Constantinople becomes important to delineate the common features of the sanctuary. Significantly, for understanding the evolution and changes of sanctuary planning

in Göreme, Constantinopolitan churches seem to be the ones with continuous sequence throughout the Middle Byzantine period.

5.1.1 Liturgical planning of sanctuaries in the churches of Constantinople

With the appearance and the development of the inscribed-cross churches, the Middle Byzantine Constantinople shows a clear picture of the multiple sanctuary arrangement at the eastern end of churches. The remarkable growth of richness and the variety of planning in these churches suggest a new trend in the design of the sanctuary. In this regard, many of the Middle Byzantine churches in Constantinople provide a good example of a sanctuary with three apses and the liturgical furnishing of the side rooms near the central sanctuary.

In most Middle Byzantine churches, the sanctuary is both more complex and more intimate than it was during the sixth century or earlier. Apart from being divided into three parts, each area terminated in a semicircular apse. The central area was called the *bema*, and its main feature was the altar, often topped by a canopy. Within the curve of the apse, there was sometimes a bench for the clergy to sit, but the stepped *synthronon* had been abandoned; the number of concelebrating clergy was apparently reduced. The elimination of the bishop's throne may reflect the decline in spontaneous preaching, which was replaced by readings. To the left, or north, of the *bema* was the *prothesis*, where the communion was prepared and where the Eucharistic vessels were stored. To the south was the *diakonikon*, which housed liturgical vestments and sacred texts. These were actually functional extensions of the *bema*. Architecturally the three spaces were similar; they were interconnected, and normally all three opened into the main worship space as well. Visually the sanctuary was cut off by a *templon* or *iconostasis*, which gradually became more opaque visually as the sacred nature of the liturgy was emphasized. In later centuries this screen held the major icons of the church (Ousterhout 1998, 92).

From the examination of the Middle Byzantine churches in Constantinople, it is clear that their sanctuary furnishing underwent a significant change during the middle Byzantine period. The three-apse arrangement at the eastern end of the church was commonly used in church planning. In this regard,

three chambers were placed side by side and the *synthronon* was omitted. But one feature in both periods of Constantinopolitan church architecture remains consistent: an apse plus an additional *bema* space. This is also characteristic of the sanctuary arrangement in Greece. It is the particular pattern, which makes the liturgical sanctuary arrangements in Greece and Constantinople today totally different from those of Cappadocia. The difference in the sanctuary planning in Constantinople and Cappadocia imply a different pattern in the performance of the liturgy in both places (Teteriatnikov 1996, 67).

These three-apse arrangements in the sanctuary are seen in almost every Middle Byzantine church in Constantinople. For instance, in the church of Myrelaion, the three apses are placed at the eastern end of the church as usual. In this arrangement, the three apses communicate with each other by passages in the chancel. The apse of the sanctuary is three sided (figure 11). Thus it seems reasonable to suggest that the sanctuary arrangement in Constantinopolitan churches followed a kind of standard pattern which continued throughout the Middle Byzantine period.

5.1.2 Function of Cappadocian Sanctuaries

In Cappadocian church architecture, there is variety of planning as has already been shown: one, two or three aisle basilicas, cross and inscribed-cross plans. All of these church types, however, utilized similar architectural models for their sanctuaries. The essential pattern of the Cappadocian sanctuary is well illustrated

by the single nave church. In Cappadocia, the sanctuary of this type of church is horseshoe-shaped and completely furnished for the act of the liturgy.

Apart from the single-nave churches, there are also several types of multiple sanctuary arrangements that can be identified in Cappadocian rock-cut church architecture. The inscribed-cross churches in Göreme demonstrate this kind of sanctuary planning. In this type, the eastern end of the church was altered to accommodate the local multi-sanctuary design. For instance, Kılıçlar Church already shows that instead of *pastophoria* rooms, as in the churches of Constantinople, there are three apses similarly designed and furnished for the liturgy with altars. Although the altar of the central apse is now destroyed, those in the lateral apses are *in situ*. The *prothesis* niche is set in the eastern part of the north wall and might have served all three sanctuaries. Corresponding to the plan, the central apse facing the central nave is larger than the side ones, and thus, as in most Cappadocian churches, it served as the main sanctuary (Teteriatnikov 1996, 50).

In the other inscribed-cross churches a similar arrangement was applied. In Chapel 19 (Elmalı Church) (figure 14) and Chapel 25 (figure 33), like the others, have the three apses and each one is furnished with altars. Generally all of the inscribed-cross churches in Göreme demonstrate this kind of sanctuary planning.

The arrangement of sanctuary planning in the inscribed-cross churches indicates local trends in terms of both architectural design and function. One is the horse-shaped apse. It is usually furnished as a sanctuary and served as a single *bema*. This apse-sanctuary concept makes inscribed-cross church planning totally different from that of Constantinople, where the apse was the eastern end of the

sanctuary. The other distinguishing feature is the location of the *prothesis* niche outside the *bema*. The location of the *prothesis* niche outside the *bema* finds no parallel in the churches of Constantinople or elsewhere in Byzantium. In the majority of Byzantine churches the *prothesis* niche is found in the sanctuary itself.

According to Teteriatnikov (1996, 68), the change in the design of the sanctuary belongs to the Cappadocian understanding of Byzantine liturgy. In general, the Byzantine liturgy consists of two parts: The Liturgy of the Catechumens, in which the liturgy began with reading the litany and the second part, the Liturgy of the Faithful, in which the final part of the Eucharist was performed. During this procession, after the preparation of bread and wine, these gifts were carried to the altar and since these actions no longer took place outside of the church, but rather in a special table, there is a special *prothesis* room near the sanctuary. Thus, the process of the gifts started in the *prothesis* room and then continued in the *naos* for the faithful, and finally continued to the central altar. Therefore, the procession made a semicircular progression from one sanctuary to another. This outline of the *prothesis* rite might be realized in churches with multiple sanctuaries.²⁴

In conclusion, it appears that the sanctuaries of the inscribed-cross churches in Göreme had an architectural development, which seems to be rather independent of Constantinople in their planning. The horseshoe-shaped apse-*bema* was used consistently in the churches of this provincial area and it had a local origin and continuous development from the early throughout the Middle Byzantine period. Some elements of the sanctuary furnishings, however, such as altars, presbyters'

²⁴ For more detail about the changes in Byzantine Liturgy see Mathews (1982, 125-138).

seats and sanctuary screens find their parallels in Constantinople and elsewhere in Byzantium, arguing for a similar custom of having several sanctuaries in a church (Teteriatnikov 1996, 78). The Cappadocian sanctuary pattern suggests a somewhat different outline for the liturgical procession of the transformation of the gifts. Instead of a separate *prothesis* room, a *prothesis* niche is found in very few examples to the north of the altar inside the apse. It seems to us that the sanctuary planning of inscribed-cross churches in Göreme was rearranged by Cappadocian architects according to their own liturgical and architectural traditions.

5.2 Naos

The *naos* is the place for both clergy and laity. The various ceremonial rites take place in the *naos*. In there, all the prayers witness the liturgy and attend the burial and memorial services. For these reasons, the *naos* is a fundamental place for understanding the performance of the liturgy. In general, the function of the *naos* in the Byzantine architecture is a complex question concerning the archeological and literary evidences. Although there are various studies, which have been undertaken especially on churches of Constantinople, more research is still required. This is because only a few of them survive. Therefore, the knowledge about the features and the function of the *naos* is especially restricted. In this regard, concerning the Cappadocian *naos*, the research on its function is more complicated than the Constantinopolitan ones.

In Göreme, many of the inscribed-cross churches still have their original *naos* section and its furnishings. Among its furnishings, the *prothesis* niche, the water basin and the seating places still exist in these churches and can give information

about the local *naos* function. Hence, the use of liturgical furnishing will be examined together with the function of the *naos*.

5.2.1 Prothesis Niche

The *prothesis* is the room, which is attached to or enclosed with in the church. The *prothesis* room and the niche serve for the preparation and storage of the species of the Eucharist. According to Teteriatnikov (1996, 94), the *prothesis* niche has also another function in the church due to its location. After entering the church, the prayers had to stop near the *prothesis* niche in order to make an offering. In that sense, it was an important stopping point before the start of the liturgy.

The *prothesis* niche in the inscribed-cross churches in Göreme is usually in the shape of a semicircle. It is generally placed in the eastern part of the north wall. In many of the churches, it is close to the sanctuary. This kind of arrangement provides an easy visibility for the faithful when the clergy proceeded with the offerings (Teteriatnikov 1996, 82).

Apart from the location of the *prothesis* niche, its decoration is the other important aspect, which provides information about its significance in the church. The decoration of the *prothesis* niche is the part of the general church decoration programme. According to Teteriatnikov, the selection of specific decorative themes was relevant to its specific function. The decoration programme in the

prothesis niche in general consists of well-known images such as the Cross, Christ²⁵, Virgin Mary²⁶, saints, and bishops or selected other scenes.

Among the decorative elements in the *prothesis* niche, the Cross is one of the major images in the painting programme. Generally, it is painted in red. This is no different in the inscribed-cross churches in Göreme. On the other hand, in some of the examples the image of cross in the *prothesis* niche is integrated into the figurative programme as in St. Barbara Church (figure 21).

In the decoration of the *prothesis* niche, it may be seen that certain subjects are chosen for their symbolic significance to the performance of the *prothesis* niche. One of these is the scene of Anastasis. The scene of Anastasis represents the meaning of the feast of Easter, which is the focus of the liturgical year. This scene was widely used in rock-cut churches of Cappadocia (Teteriatnikov 1996, 91). It can also be found in the *prothesis* niche of Kılıçlar Church (Teteriatnikov 1996, 92).

According to Walter (1982, 235), the chosen subjects for the decoration of the *prothesis* niche are purposely restricted. He believes that the explanation for the selection of these images is found in the Eucharist rite. When the holy bread was

²⁵ The image of Christ was the major element in the decoration of the *prothesis* niche. It was found only in the Middle Byzantine churches. Most of the images of Christ are found in the Middle Byzantine Cappadocian churches with its various examples such as in Yılanlı Church in Ihlara (11th c.) and Saklı Church in Göreme (11th c.). Despite its varieties, no image of Christ can be seen in the *prothesis* niche of the inscribed-cross churches in Göreme.

²⁶ A number of the images of Virgin Mary can be found in the *prothesis* niches of Cappadocia such as in Karabaş Church in Soğanlı or New Tokalı Church in Göreme. As in the example of Christ, there is no representation of Virgin Mary in the *prothesis* niche of inscribed-cross churches in Göreme.

prepared for the Eucharist, a small part of it was only put for Christ, Virgin Mary and for the saints and bishops. In that sense, it is not a surprise to be faced with no other images.

To sum up, it seems reasonable that the location and particularly the decoration programme of the *prothesis* niche are used to express particular messages in the function of the inscribed-cross churches in Göreme.

5.2.2 Water Basin

The water basin in the rock-cut churches of Cappadocia also appears in the church *naos*. The water basins are generally found in two parts of the church: In the western part of the church or in the eastern part of the south wall (Teteriatnikov 1996, 95). Generally their shapes are rock-cut and curved like a vessel or a round basin, which is carved into the bottom of a rock-cut niche. Many of the water basins, including round ones, are the imitation of the real vessels and generally do not have any decoration programme (Teteriatnikov 1996, 96).

The water basins are rarely found in the inscribed-cross churches of Göreme,. Instead they are carved into the walls and small in size. Their shape and decoration vary in each case. One of the examples is in Göreme in Chapel 17. The water basin in Chapel 17 appears as part of the wall. Being a part of the wall, it is elevated to a height convenient for reaching by hands (Teteriatnikov 1996, 98-99).

Apart from Chapel 17, none of the inscribed-cross churches in Göreme seem to have a water basin.

5.2.3 Seating Places

The rock-cut seating places can be seen in almost all of the inscribed-cross churches in Göreme. There are two types of seats in this section. The first one is a bench and the other one is the individual seat. Both types are integrated into the plan of the church.

“Rock-cut benches appear as the earliest and most widely used seating in churches, owing to their simplicity of design and use” (Teteriatnikov 1996, 109). This kind of bench is easy to carve from the wall and it can be adapted to any church plan. Their sizes are very narrow, generally ranging from 35 to 40 cm in width, and 50-60 cm in height.

In the inscribed-cross churches of Göreme, benches with this architectural type follow a similar arrangement. The arrangement is simple and depends on the plan type, particularly the length of the wall. Benches are arranged around the walls. In the earliest inscribed-cross church, Kılıçlar has benches that were cut along the walls including the area in front of the three sanctuaries at the eastern end (Teteriatnikov 1996, 111). This kind of arrangement can be seen in St. Barbara, Chapel 17, Karanlık, Yusuf Koç (figure 47) and Çarıklı Churches.

Apart from the benches, there are a great number of churches in Göreme, which were furnished with individual seats. The presence of these individual seats suggests that they were intended for a certain number of people who attended worship in the service of each church. Like benches, their arrangement is also dependent on the existence of a continuous length of the church walls. There

were several variations in the placement of this type of seating (Teteriatnikov 1996, 113).

The types of individual seating are also varied. In the inscribed-cross churches, variations of the individual seat, which is near the sanctuary, can be seen. These individual rock-cut seats are usually found on both sides of the apse. For instance, in Karanlık Church, the rectangular seats are carved in front of the sanctuary. This church has also two more seats, which were added near the western wall on both sides of the entrance. The individual rock-cut seats in the inscribed-cross churches near the *bema*, in each case, cannot be reserved only for ordinary monks. They were probably be used for the bishop's seat, and particularly during the ceremony for the consecration of bishops (Teteriatnikov 1996, 122).

Examining the seating places in the inscribed-cross churches, it is notable that the clergy were assigned to seats on both sides of the church. It seems that these seats were reserved for numbers of the clergy. These examples point out that the clergy was placed closer to the sanctuary. The laity, then, probably had their place following the clergy and monks. Finally, being closer to the entrance, women were separated from men due to the limited space of the *naos*.

5.2.4 Function of the Cappadocian *naos*

With its known components, the function of the *naos* in Cappadocia with respect of the inscribed-cross churches of Göreme, can practically give a rather complete picture of its use. First of all, having a single-door opening into the nave in the inscribed-cross churches of Göreme is different from that of Constantinopolitan

churches, which usually had the multi-door arrangement.²⁷ In Göreme, the single access to the *naos* implies that the clergy and monks, then laymen and then laity (including women and children) proceeded into the nave, respectively. (Teteriatnikov 1996, 124) This reveals a difference in the social classification between Göreme and Constantinople.

After investigating the *naos*, it is understood that not only the type, but also the furnishing of the *naos* affected the location of the faithful. It was different from the Constantinopolitan churches. Placed closer to the sanctuary, the *prothesis* niche meant that the clergy needed to be nearer. Whereby they were the closest to the sanctuary. The monks and laymen occupied the space behind the *naos*. This appears to be a general rule in Byzantine churches (Teteriatnikov 1996, 125).

In the case of Göreme, the material evidence is rather limited. Because of this, it is still hard to give a complete picture about the function of the *naos* in this area. In dealing with the *prothesis* niches, seating places and water basins; it becomes obvious that the form of liturgical furnishing presents evidence for the evolutionary planning of the *naos* and the particular church rites associated with them.

5.3 Entrances

The entrance compartment is a distinctive feature in Byzantine architecture. It is the place that allows access to the *naos*. Especially in the Early Byzantine liturgy, the celebration begins with the First Entrance. And then the ceremony of the

²⁷ For the use of the multi-door arrangement in the Constantinopolitan churches see Mathews (1971; 13,14,21,35, 55,64,71,81).

Entrance opens the liturgy that was also a ceremony of great importance (Mathews 1977, 138).

In Cappadocia, the entrance thus becomes a distinctive feature, which generally shows a variety in planning and design. There are two types of entrance compartments in Cappadocia: the *narthex* and porch. These architectural units seem to reflect architectural planning and the liturgical rites of Cappadocians. This situation is no different in Göreme where many of the inscribed-cross churches have a *narthex* or porch. In that sense, both kinds of entrance will be examined in terms of understanding the function and role in the development of the inscribed-cross plan type in Göreme.

5.3.1 Porch

The porch is a kind of hall which neighbors the *naos* or in some cases the *narthex*. It directly opened to the outside. As it has been pointed out at the beginning of the thesis, some of the inscribed-cross churches in Göreme are closed to the visitors due to erosion. For the same reason, a great number of them also do not have their original entrances. Unfortunately, many churches in this area have also lost their porches. The only surviving examples come from the Middle Byzantine times that show sufficient number of porch compartment.

In spite of a variety of vaulting systems in Göreme churches, the rectangular entry with a doorway seems one of the most stable porch types in Göreme. In the church of Kılıçlar (figure 38), Çarıklı (figure 24) and Bezirhane, the similar arrangement of porch is seen. In these churches, the porch is located on the north side of the church. These have a rectangular portico with a rectangular room that

opened to the outside. At first sight, this looks similar to the *narthex* with its planning but the difference between them is that the porch provides an access (Teteriatnikov 1996, 133).

It is significant that the architectural unit of the porch was used throughout the Middle Byzantine period in Göreme (Teteriatnikov 1996, 143), where a variety of the porch types may be observed. The rectangular barrel-vaulted porch version, as in the church of Kılıçlar and Çarıklı, seems to come from local tradition. What is remarkable in this situation is to see that the Cappadocians did not restrict themselves with one or two kind of types. They also invented new types of porches.

5.3.2 Narthex

In general, the *narthex* compartment is not frequently used in Cappadocian architecture. Its frequent use can be seen during the Middle Byzantine period (Teteriatnikov 1996, 144), particularly in Göreme. In the churches of Constantinople, the placement of the *narthex* on the west side of the *naos* is standard. But in Göreme, these sections can be seen on the north, west or south side of the churches.

The *narthex* in the inscribed-cross churches in Göreme becomes one of the prominent parts of the architecture. Its size and form vary according to the church *naos*. Although its entrance is lateral, the original access was provided by a rectangular *narthex* in Elmalı Church. It was larger in size. The similar narthex arrangement is seen on the north-south side of the Karanlık Church (figure 29). It has a barrel-vault and a rectangular entrance that opens to the *naos*.

The other example of a rectangular *narthex* is in Chapel 17 which has a rectangular *narthex* with a transverse barrel vault. In this chapel, there is a water basin in the northwest corner of the *narthex*. The presence of water basins in these *narthexes* suggests that the holy water was placed in these areas for use by the faithful (Teteriatnikov 1996, 154). Apart from its vaulting system, to see some of the furnishing elements in the design of *narthex* is important. It is rarely found but it gives different intentions regarding the function of the *narthex*.

The variations of *narthex* are not only seen in their arrangement but also in their planning. There is also a different form of *narthex* unlike rectangular barrel-vaulted ones. The first kind of *narthex*, which seems to be a new solution, is the domed-*narthex* (Teteriatnikov 1996, 150). The earliest domed-*narthex* is found in Kılıçlar Church, where there is only one dome in the *narthex*, that covers a space between the entrance to the *narthex* and the entrance to the *naos*. “Architecturally and visually, the dome in the *narthex* emphasized the importance of the place between the two entrances. Unfortunately, in Kılıçlar Church only the eastern portion of dome still stands” (Teteriatnikov 1996, 150). A parallel arrangement is also seen in Chapel 25. The dome in the *narthex* is covered with red-painted decoration as in the *naos*. Apart from its dome section, there is also a burial place on the north wall (which will be examined in the following chapter) and opposite to the burial place; there is a bench (figure 48). This bench is carved from rock and hence it may indicate that the *narthex* here could have a different function.

To sum up, the *narthex* or porch part in the inscribed-cross churches of Göreme suggests that they were usually used as porches. Aside from some of the features, these units generally share the similar planning and orientation. The

presence or absence of some of the changes like domes, do not seem to express any specific meaning.

5.3.3 Function of Cappadocian entrances

Establishing the specific function of the entrance compartments in Cappadocia is rather difficult to trace in the *naos*. Because many of them are destroyed and the few surviving examples can give only limited information with their planning and decoration. In general, however, the *narthex* and the porch have their own characteristics. Whether it is a *narthex* or porch, from the aspect of aesthetic values, the striking feature of the facade is the rich organization. As in the case of Chapel 25, Karanlık or Bezirhane Church, the decorative façade consists of barrel-vaulted or horseshoe-shaped blind niches and arches. These elements also constitute the part of the entrance vestibule and they give the notion of the architectural language of the carver-architect.

Besides the decorative characteristics of the entrances, these units also serve practical purposes. In this regard, considering the topographical and climatic qualities of the region, there was a need for protection during the cold and hot or even rainy days. In this respect, the entrance compartments are also the result of the necessity for sheltering (Teteriatnikov 1996, 155).

In some of the examples, the decorative character of the façade continues inside of the entrance unit. Generally, the symbolic representation was the preferred one. In this regard, one of the most widely used images is the cross and Virgin Mary. According to Teteriatnikov (1996, 163), what seems to distinguish the

Cappadocian usage of entrance is to see only the one door access. This one-door arrangement indicates the different position of the women and the children during the liturgical ceremony. Similar to the situation in the *naos*, after the clergy and monks, the women and children must have followed. With regard to the size of the porches or *narthexes*, it seems too doubtful that during the cold or rainy weathers they would probably stand outside of the porch or *narthexes*.

As a conclusion, the entrances in the inscribed-cross churches of Göreme demonstrate the variety of porch or *narthex* types. This feature suggests that there was not a standard type for the size or plan of these units. The single door usage seems to reflect the tradition in the area. Because, “according to surviving Byzantine monastic rules, the entrance by women was prohibited in male monasteries” (Teteriatnikov 1996, 163). Apart from this special organization, the functional and liturgical aspects of the porch and *narthex* appear to resemble those in Constantinople as well.

5.4 Ceilings

In Chapter 3, it has been shown that the central and the highest feature of an inscribed-cross church is the dome. The simplest version is a dome over a cross-shaped ground plan. In addition, the dome is an important part of the church not only architecturally, but also visually and symbolically (Mathews 1998, 109). Comparing the dome section of inscribed-cross churches both in Constantinople and Göreme, there are some differences from the aspect of architectural detail. These differences seem to be the outcome of this rural area.

In the inscribed-cross churches in Constantinople, the dome was normally raised on a drum, to allow the windows around its base, which helped to focus on the natural light at the center of the church (Ousterhout 1998, 96). In addition, the dome also provided a vertical emphasis as well. In spite of their non-structural aspect, the same system was applied in the inscribed-cross churches in Göreme. Although the proportions are squat, both the central and corner bays as well as the cross arms were covered by domes. This application is not possible in a constructed building, but easy in a cave (Krautheimer 1986, 398).

Some of the inscribed-cross churches in Göreme offer another solution, which was also impossible to achieve in a masonry building. For instance in Kılıçlar and Kızlar Church, a shallow dome was integrated into a flat-roofed ceiling or barrel-vault (Ötügen 1995, 17). On the other hand, the connecting elements were copied from brick architecture such as the dome on pendentives or on formed triangles as in the Chapel 25 (figure 49). These triangles are also used to connect to the flat roof or barrel vaults as in the case of Elmalı, Karanlık and St Barbara Church. Generally the arms of the cross form are covered by barrel or cross vaults. But in Elmalı, Kızlar and Çarıklı Churches, these are vaulted by domes. As a result, the nine-domed interior is created.

Consequently, the dome is the principal component of the design of the inscribed-cross church. Carried on four columns, partitioned into sections of three, five or nine, the dome becomes the focus of the entire design. But establishing the symbolic meaning of this form is somewhat more difficult. In the Middle Byzantine church decoration, the image of Christ called 'Pantokrator' was placed within the dome. Being at the highest point of the *naos*, the Pantokrator was also at the top of the decorative programme. What is important in the context of this thesis is to

understand how the viewer regarded this image, after entering the church even in the rock-cut church.

Demus, in dealing with this problem, turned from the iconographic method to a formal examination of the figure. In this regard, he proposed that the Pantokrator image in the dome is an abbreviation of the Ascension subject, which dominated pre-iconoclast illustrations. He argued that this new image fitted better in the spatial system of the Middle Byzantine church (Demus 1976, 19-22).

However, the more significant question to ask is what this image involves in terms of understanding both the image and the architectural space to which it belongs in Göreme. In many of the inscribed-cross churches, the image of Christ is seen in the central dome as in Elmalı, Çarıklı and Karanlık Church. Sometimes the inscriptions that were placed with the Pantokrator can be revealing. In this regard, in the Karanlık Church, one encounters a unique Pantokrator imagery where in the central dome, the image is encircled by the verse (figure 50): "God looks down from heaven upon the sons of men to see if there are any that are wise, that seek after God. Psalm 53.2" (Mathews 1995, 209).

This psalm is about the ignorance and darkness of evildoers (Mathews 1995, 209). There is a Pantokrator imagery in a second dome, which is before placed the sanctuary. In this dome, Christ opens his book to show the text: "I am the light of the world; he who follows me will not walk in darkness, but will have the light of life" (Mathews 1995, 210).

With this imagery, being in the dome, the Christ Pantokrator becomes the Illuminator who leads his followers to the way of light. In the case of inscribed-

cross churches in Göreme, the function of the dome with this image in terms of liturgical planning is not different from this context.

Apart from the Pantokrator Christ, the image of the cross is the other figure that can be seen in the dome. In Chapel 25 and St Barbara, the red-painted cross encircled the central dome. Unlike the image of Christ Pantokrator, it can be seen not only in domes, but also in the other parts of the church. On the other hand, the function of this image is not different from the Pantokrator.

The dome creates a very special kind of space and it defines a magical atmosphere in which one encounters the divine. In Middle Byzantine church architecture, it is generally accepted that the depiction of subjects, which were thought to be in heaven such as the Pantokrator in domes, involves the symbolism of the dome of heaven (Buchwald 1999, 16). It is still uncertain whether it has that kind of symbolism or not, but the domes in Göreme, which are covered with the image of Christ or with the sacred images, have a direct symbolism related to the form of the church. Although the domes in the inscribed-cross churches in Göreme are unnecessary for architectural stability, their iconographic function does not appear to be different from those in Constantinople.

5.5 Burial Places

The last aspect, which needs to be examined in the liturgical planning of the inscribed-cross churches, involves the burial places. Several of these churches have burials in their architectural arrangement. Unfortunately, some of the burial

sites have been destroyed or damaged by people. All these reasons limit a comprehensive study and only a small group of churches can provide useful information with their architectural details.

In the inscribed-cross churches, the burials are generally placed in the churches of *narthexes*. Although the design of the *narthexes* varies, their burial arrangements and functions are similar. In Göreme, the surviving examples of burials are in Chapel 25 and Karanlık Church. In Karanlık Church, there is a small tomb chamber that is attached to the *narthex* of the church (figure 29). This tomb chamber may have been derived from Roman tombs (Teteriatnikov 1996, 171). The floor of the chamber is higher than the *narthex* floor. It has three grave pits. Furthermore, there is an *arcosolium* that cuts into the west wall of the tomb chamber.

The other burial place is in the *narthex* of Chapel 25. At the back of the façade, there is a domed-*narthex* compartment. It originally contained a single grave pit opposite to the bench (figure 51). The common feature for the two burials in Chapel 25 and Karanlık Church is that both are rather small and narrow to allow the proper placement of a body.

The use of *narthex* for burials in these churches suggests that the arrangement of the burial sites is conscious and not accidental. Since there was a considerable choice in their planning, the presence of this part indicates that liturgical services may have been held. These graves also imply that some sort of commemorative services took place within this particular area.

The use of *narthex* for burials in Middle Byzantine Cappadocian churches demonstrates a parallelism with those of Constantinople. However, the Cappadocian *narthexes* are distinguished by the greater density and variety of their burials (Teteriatnikov 1996, 173). For instance, the thirteenth century *typicon* for the monastery of Constantine Lips in Constantinople makes it apparent that the Empress Theodora intended to place her own grave and those of her family in a variety of spots in the *narthex* and nave of the church (Teteriatnikov 1996, 178).

While Constantinopolitan examples suggest a similar arrangement in terms of burial sites, the presence of these places in the *narthex* recalls the other examples from outside of Anatolia. For instance, in some of the churches of Cyprus, the grave pits are located in the *narthex* of the church.²⁸

Beside their importance for architectural history or liturgical practice, the study of burials may also provide a better understanding of the role of monks and the laity in the church communities of Cappadocia. Observations on graves reveal that these areas may have belonged to donors, monks, clergy, laymen or their families. This kind of evidence points to the significance of both monks and laity in local communities.

Despite its rarity, the analysis of burial sites in the inscribed-cross churches in Göreme indicates that burial places were a part of daily liturgical life. In this regard, the *narthexes* were important as places providing a special spot where commemorative functions were intended. The burials for the donors, monks, clergy, and laymen or of their families seemed to plan the choice of selecting a

²⁸ Prof. Suna Güven informs me about the presence of burial places in the *narthex* of some of Cypriot churches.

burial place. It is this particular selection that provided an important aspect for the development of liturgical planning of the church.

CHAPTER 6

PATRONAGE

The economic conditions and financial implications of patronage appear to have been considerable in the shaping of the numerous rock-cut churches in Göreme. Understandably, the construction of a church or a large monastery, as well as the provision of the painted decorations, requires a great deal of wealth. Additionally, the liturgical planning of these churches incorporated the specific requirements of their patrons. Therefore, the importance of patronage as a major economic resource for monastic foundations is a key factor to understand the incredible churches and monasteries in this Byzantine province. In that sense, this chapter will examine how these economic conditions, together with the social and economic conditions, affected the size, decoration and also the liturgical planning of the inscribed-cross churches in Göreme.

The economic background of the laity from the ninth to the eleventh century depended upon several basic administrative, political and social economic tendencies that emerged in Byzantium after Iconoclasm. Since it has been notable from the seventh ninth century onwards, the rise of the provincial nobility

during the time of the Middle Byzantine period had its effect on the architecture of aristocratic establishment. In Cappadocia, the same condition may be observed. The sponsored by the aristocratic families gained more authority and thus shaped tendencies in this provincial area. Particularly in the eleventh century, the monasteries multiplied and grew larger. Most new churches were painted and some of these paintings point to a comparison with those in Constantinople.

At this time, Cappadocia also had a powerful family, called Phokas. The Phokas family was the most powerful and renowned family of Cappadocia. Their period appears to have been between the middle of the ninth and the beginning of the eleventh centuries. The Phokas' patronage in Cappadocia and for some churches in Göreme seems enough to explain the financial backing for the high quality iconographical programmes as in the New Church of Tokalı (Thierry 1995, 9).

However, although the Phokas was the most powerful family in Cappadocia, there is no direct evidence that this family was also responsible for the establishment of some of the inscribed-cross churches in Göreme. Concerning these churches, some information about their patronage is generally based on painted inscriptions or donor images. Further observation of the dedicatory inscriptions and donor portraits show that monks and clergymen frequently appeared with laity. For instance, there is a picture of Priest and Bassianos, Nikephoros in the conch of the central apse of Karanlık Church (Jerphanion 1925, 398). In the *narthex* of Karanlık Church, the portrait of John the *Entalmatikos*, who was a minor official or agent of the Patriarchate, is represented. In addition, six other persons are also represented. Chief among the latter is John, while the others are Genethlios and four young people. These young people may have been the members of the Priest's family or that of a community (Rodley 1984, 251).

As the painted programme in Karanlık Church indicates, the tenth and eleventh centuries were the period of greatest activity among clerical patrons. This period is usually characterized as a time of the highest artistic production. Good examples of aristocratic Byzantine works and the portraits of the donors display their social ranks i.e. a priest and the owner of the local aristocracy. For example, in the church of Çarıklı, there is a donor panel on the west wall of the bay. This donor panel is part of a full painted programme of high quality. In this church, the three donors were clearly represented. These donors were probably the founders of this complex. The important feature for both in the case of Karanlık and Çarıklı Churches is to see the social representations of the donors, although the inscriptions rarely contain information about this. On the other hand, the rich clothes of these donors give evidence of their aristocratic origin, such as John in the Karanlık Church and Theognostos in Çarıklı Church (Ötüken 1995, 19).

In the other church, Yusuf Koç, the decoration programme includes three donor figures. Similar to those in Çarıklı Church, these donor images, Theodoros and two others, are again part of a full programme. These donor images, which were integrated into the high-quality painting programme of these inscribed-cross churches, reveal the local family's power as usual. With this example, it has to be understood that the clear distinction between the painted churches such as Elmalı, Karanlık or Çarıklı Church and others depended on the wealth of the local families to a very large extent.

In this regard, it seems that local families supported most church foundations. Hence, the relationship between the laity and the monks and clergy was generally based on economic and social factors. Living near monastic communities, the laity had close contacts with the local clergy and monks. Family events, births and

deaths had to be celebrated in the churches and monasteries. By giving money for his own church foundation or simply to the monastic community, the supporter of the church gained recognition and prestige.

In every period, architecture has never been isolated from the social, political and economic conditions. In the inscribed-cross churches of Göreme too, the social structures of the patrons and the society cannot be placed aside from the study of liturgical planning. It was obviously the local people who provided an active influence during the significant growth of church architecture.

In this regard, the presence of inscriptions, personal invocations, and burial sites of the clergy, monks, and laity points to the complexity of the social structure of local communities. It is clear that local families and individual donors supported these churches. Not only the size of monastic communities, but also the arrangement of the inscribed-cross churches were often dependent on economic factors. For instance, the sanctuary arrangements, apart from the factor of the region's specific needs, which in some cases included two or three altars, were also dependent on the requirements of a particular community. The same can be applied to the arrangements of burial sites. The study of the social structure of local communities, then, is very closely connected with understanding the liturgical planning of the sanctuaries, *naos*, *narthexes* and porches, as well as the burial places. Thus it was the local clergy, monks and laity who shaped the projects of church construction. All these point to the fact that the laity participated in the social, spiritual and economic life of the church. Monasticism in this region gained considerable support from these local wealthy families.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

The distinctive characteristics of the geographical setting and the unique facilities it has offered for human habitation make Cappadocia one of the most interesting settlements in Anatolia. Many of the structures hewn from the heart of the rock have survived and still preserve the natural features of the region. Thus, geological circumstances have made Cappadocia a kind of open-air museum with material remains from the prehistoric periods continuously to the present.

Among these well-preserved monastic establishments, hermitages and rock-cut churches and dwellings are seen all over Cappadocia. Göreme, which seems to develop immediately after the iconoclastic movement, has some spectacular examples of these structures, which generally date to the Byzantine period. There are numerous churches and chapels in Göreme dating from the second half of the ninth and the first half of the tenth century. These churches and chapels are generally decorated with painting and carved architectural features. Although different plan types are used, the inscribed-cross church appears to be a widely used one throughout the Middle Byzantine period.

The inscribed-cross church plan emerges in Göreme only in the Middle Byzantine period. There are many churches and chapels of this type found there. During the 11th century, in particular, a number of these inscribed-cross churches appear with decorations. In Göreme, the inscribed-cross church generally follows a similar arrangement, but varies in details. For instance, the variety of two, four and six columned churches can be seen. The two columned churches like Çarıklı and St. Barbara are generally regarded as incomplete inscribed-cross churches. These have only two columns to support the central dome. Similar to this, Yusuf Koç Church, which has a doubled inscribed-cross plan with two central domes, differs from those which have four columns instead of six. The other inscribed-cross churches like Chapel 17, Elmalı Church, Karanlık Church, Kılıçlar Church, Chapel 25, Chapel 32 and Bezirhane Church in Göreme have four columns at the center of the *naos* as usual.

Our study reveals that apart from the variations in the plan scheme in Göreme, there are also different applications in the design of *narthex*, *naos* and the furnishings which belong to the different part of the churches. These noteworthy treatments help to highlight the unusual and also special design of inscribed-cross churches in Göreme.

In general, it may be said that all these inscribed-cross churches have three apses, of which the central one is generally larger than the side ones. Only in Karanlık Church, there is an opening between the main and the north apses. In all cases the apses open from the three eastern bays of the nine-bay inscribed-cross. Additionally, in every church, each apse has also its own altar.

In the *naos*, the cross arms are usually barrel-vaulted as in the churches of Bezirhane, Yusuf Koç, Kılıçlar and Kızlar. In some cases, arches spring between the crossing supports that make a border for the vaulting of the center bay. Behind these arches, the cross arms may be barrel-vaulted as in the churches of St. Barbara and Karanlık Church or domed like in Elmalı Church.

In these inscribed-cross churches, the corner bays are commonly domed as seen in Karanlık, Çarıklı, Elmalı, Kızlar, St. Barbara Churches and Chapel 25. Other treatments include a flat ceiling as seen in Yusuf Koç Church and barrel vaults like in Bezirhane. While the corner bays show differences, the central bay supports are usually columns. In Karanlık, Elmalı, Çarıklı, St. Barbara churches and also in Chapel 25, these columns are slender, while in Kızlar Church the columns are heavy. The supports are piers only in Bezirhane Church. And the capitals are usually slabs as in the churches of Bezirhane, Elmalı and Çarıklı Church. In some cases, tapering blocks can be seen as in Karanlık Church and Chapel 25.

The other feature in these churches is the chancel screen, which appears to be a common feature in the great majority of the inscribed-cross churches. However, there are variations in this feature, too. Firstly, the low slab becomes a main part in some of the inscribed-cross churches. For example, a pair of low slabs that flank the central apse entrance is found in Bezirhane Church. The other variation is the tall screen. Tall screens with a central entrance, flanked by lateral openings, are present in Karanlık, Çarıklı, Elmalı, St. Barbara, Kızlar Church and in Chapel 25. Having the tall screen, it seems reasonable that the appearance of it in these churches is quite unique in design. Because, in most cave churches, the apse

entrances are too narrow for a full screen with entablature and columns to be cut successfully.

Concerning the inscribed-cross churches, three of them have long been grouped together. These are Karanlık, Çarıklı and Elmalı Church. This sub-grouping is primarily caused due to the similarity in their paintings. Their architecture also makes them a closely linked group, having common features such as the tall screen, domed corner bays, slender columns and center bay arches, although Çarıklı Church has only one center-bay arch. Since two other churches share these kinds of features; firstly the earliest inscribed-cross church, Kılıçlar, which is also notable for the high quality of its painting, and St. Barbara and Chapel 25 may be added this sub-grouping. Although the dates of these churches vary between the ninth to the eleventh century, the common features in their planning and painting make them closely linked with each other. With the addition of the latter, the new expanded sub-grouping of Göreme churches can display the line of beginning and the evolution of the inscribed-cross churches better than the previous one.

Apart from the common architectural features of the inscribed-cross churches in Göreme, the liturgical use of these churches also makes them unique. In this respect, the various components of furnishings and paintings give a further definition to the interior of the church. The richness and complexity of church planning in this area stems from private, social and economic factors. The requirement for multiple sanctuary arrangement of furnishings in the *naos*, the design of entrance compartments and the burial places closely relied on these same factors.

A number of characteristics in the inscribed-cross churches in Göreme also reveal the local trends in terms of both architectural design and function. For instance, in their sanctuary design, the horse-shaped apse is quite unique. It is usually furnished as a sanctuary and served as a single *bema*. This apse-sanctuary concept in Göreme makes these churches totally different from those in Constantinople.

The other distinguishing feature in these churches is the function of the *prothesis* and *diakonikon* rooms, which normally border the sanctuary of Byzantine churches. No inscribed-cross churches in Göreme present any evidence for the existence of such rooms. The design of the sanctuary in these churches raises the question concerning the functional use of the side rooms near the central sanctuary in Constantinopolitan churches. In Göreme, instead of separate ones, the side apses are used also for the *prothesis* and the *diakonikon* room. This usage implies that in spite of certain changes in the design of the sanctuary, the liturgical practice continues in its basic essentials.

The planning of the *naos* is one other feature, which makes these inscribed-cross churches different from those in Constantinople, in which the *prothesis* niche is commonly found in the sanctuary itself. In particular, liturgical furnishings such as the water basin or the seating places seem to affect the movement of the faithful. The presence of individual seats or benches in the *naos* of these churches provides the strong evidence for a tradition of using them during the ceremonies. In dealing with *prothesis* niches, benches or water basins, it becomes apparent that the presence of these elements presents the evidence for their function.

Concerning the design of the *naos*, the single access to it points to the fact that various ranks of clergy, monks and the laity had to enter through one and the same door; and that all had to wait in one undivided space in the *naos*. Furthermore, the presence of the *prothesis* niche, which is close to the sanctuary as in the church of Karanlık, suggests that the clergy were placed closer to the sanctuary. The laity probably had their place following the monks. Since the space of the *naos* was limited, these people might have stood closer to the entrance of the church. Accordingly, this spatial restriction in the *naos* of the church would require a different treatment of some basic rules of more typical Byzantine churches. As a result, the function of the *naos* in these inscribed-cross churches has a certain distinction in their planning compared with Constantinopolitan churches.

The entrance compartment is the other distinguishing feature in the liturgical planning of the inscribed-cross churches in Göreme. The entrance schemes in these churches seem to be arranged more freely than the inscribed-cross churches in Constantinople. But the overall function remains the same as in Constantinople, which means that both of them provide access to the *naos* and also prepare the people for the main liturgy. Both the elaboration of the porch and *narthex* can be observed in these churches. Particularly, the presence of the burial places of the clergy, monks or the laity in the entrances obviously affects the functional use. The existence of these burial sites at such a strategic location points to the fact that the clergy, monks or the laity were required to be in the proximity of daily commemorative prayers and services. This phenomenon adds a new function to the entrance of the *naos*. It is this particular choice that provided an important impetus for the development of liturgical planning.

All these features above, in fact, depend on two main factors: the requirements of the region and most importantly the actual preference of the local society. It is clear that the local families and the individual donors supported these churches so that the size and the arrangement of the compartments in these churches heavily depended on their economic means. Obviously it was the local clergy, monks or laity who determined the projects of church construction. Regarding the church planning and the decoration, it is not a surprise to be faced with widely differing levels of accomplishment in the quality of painting or the application of new parts in the design of the churches.

In general, it may be said that the inscribed-cross church type in the Middle Byzantine period has a specific and symbolic meaning both with its decoration and plan. For that reason, it may be supposed that the inscribed-cross church and its decoration function together. And the form, in its every sense, seems to have a certain sanctity. This may be an explanation for its consistent usage throughout the middle Byzantine period. This also can be a reasonable answer for questions such as why a certain plan type was used in Göreme, where the churches were carved from rock. Although the province was far removed from the developments of the empire, it is understood that it was not totally isolated from the central policy or even from Constantinopolitan style. Because, being carved rather than built, Cappadocians could take any form of church. Moreover, the structural elements like columns and domes were unnecessary for stability. But the form was sacred. In some cases, like in the church of St. Barbara, the artist painted the vaults to look as if they were constructed of blocks of stone. This also supports the idea

that Cappadocians wanted to have their churches look like original as much as possible.²⁹

In conclusion, the specific characteristics of the inscribed-cross churches in Göreme do present a liturgical pattern that can be recognized as Cappadocian. The technical circumstances of building in this region compelled the architect to develop a novel approach and create carved structures, thus, imitating architectural features free from their original structural function. Concerning these Göreme churches in the general development of the inscribed-cross churches in Anatolia, the examples here offer a highly revealing scheme developed under its own circumstances.

²⁹ See Güven (2004) for further information on the creation of sacred space in Cappadocian rock-cut churches in general.

FIGURES



Figure 1 The Region Of Cappadocia



Figure 2 General View Of The Standing Pinnacles

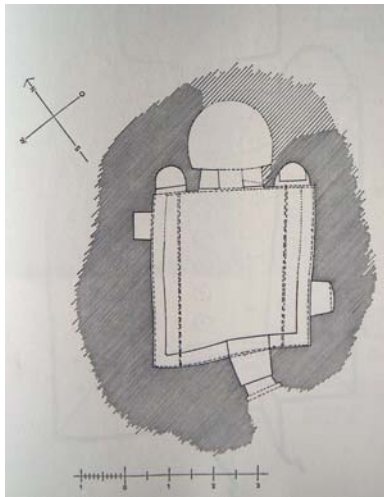


Figure 3a One-aisle Basilica
(Chapel 9, Göreme)

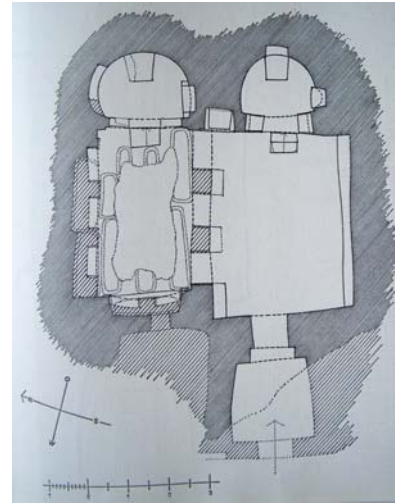


Figure 3b Two-aisle Basilica
(Chapel 11, Göreme)

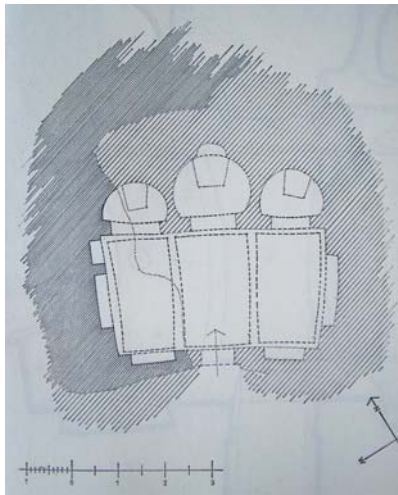


Figure 3c Three-aisle Basilica
(Chapel 6, Göreme)

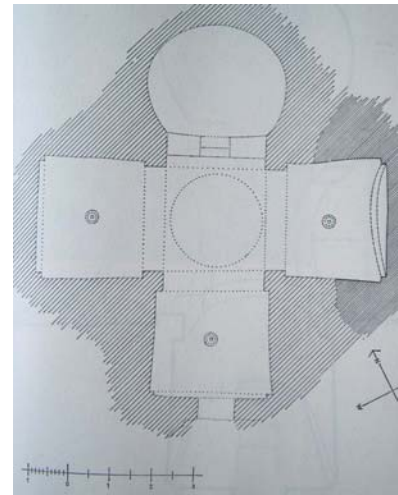


Figure 3d Cruciform Church
(Chapel 6a, Göreme)

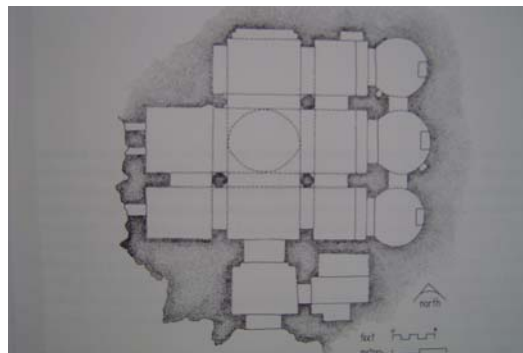


Figure 3e Inscribed-cross Church
(Church A, Soğanlıdere)



Figure 4 East Roman Empire In 406



Figure 5 Byzantine Empire, From The Seventh To The Ninth Century



Figure 6 Byzantine Empire In 1025



Figure 7 Byzantine Empire In 1092

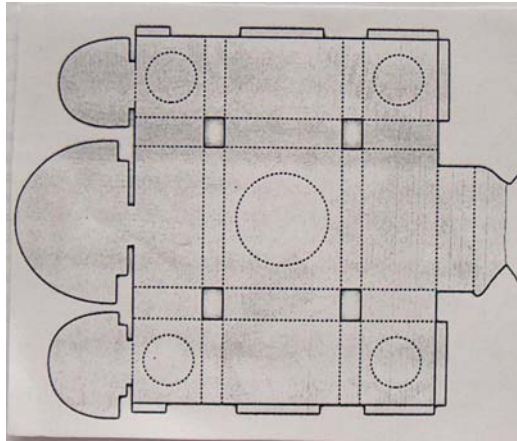


Figure 8 Incribed-cross Plan

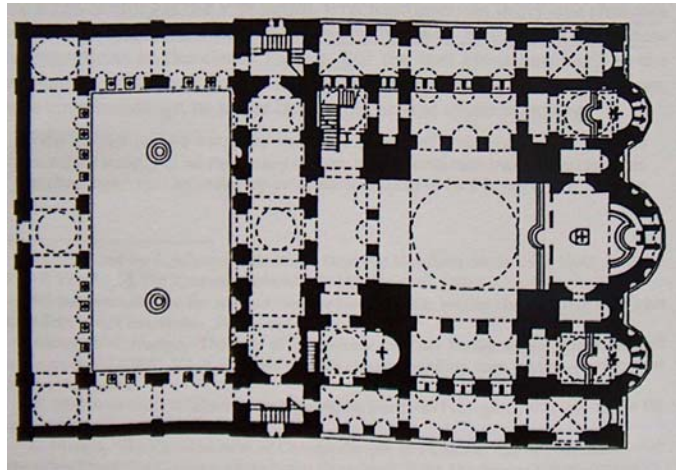


Figure 9 Plan Of Nea Ecclesia Church

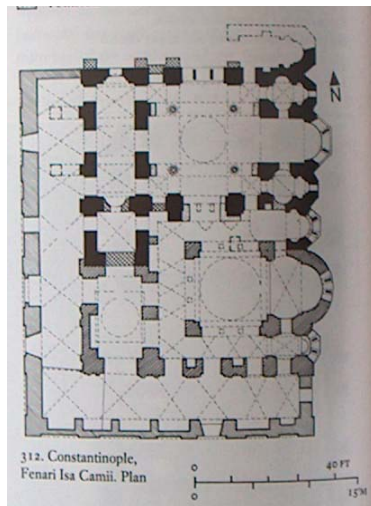


Figure 10 Plan Of The Monastery Of Constantine Lips

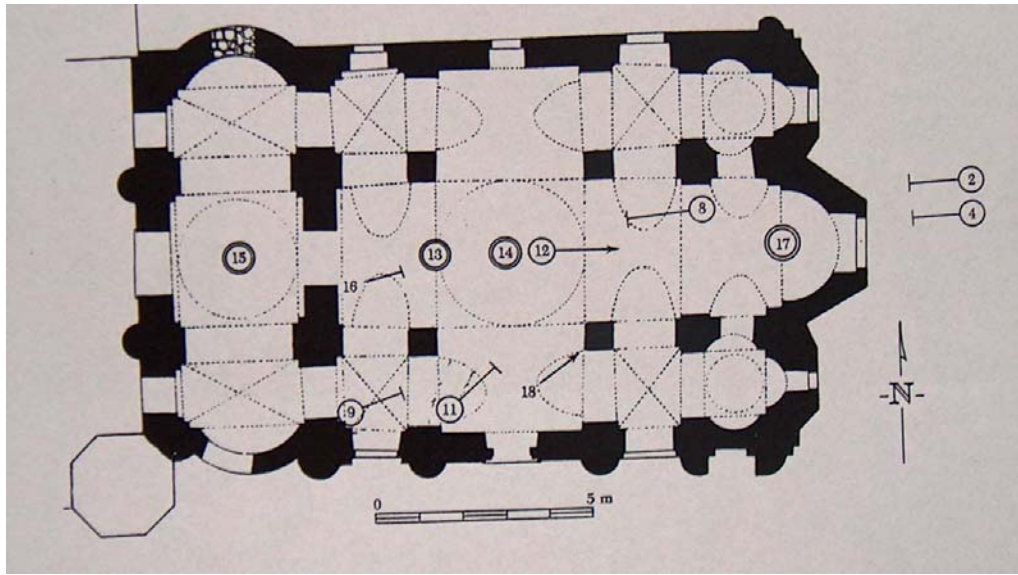


Figure 11 Plan Of Myrelaion Church

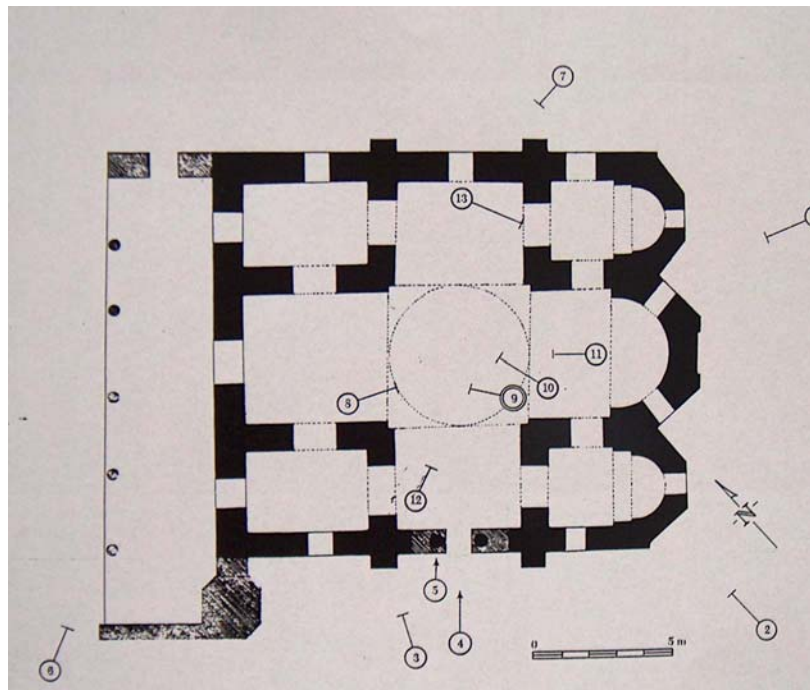


Figure 12 Plan Of St S. Peter And Mark Church



Figure 13 The Location Of Inscribed-cross Churches In Göreme Valley (According To Their Chapel Numbers)

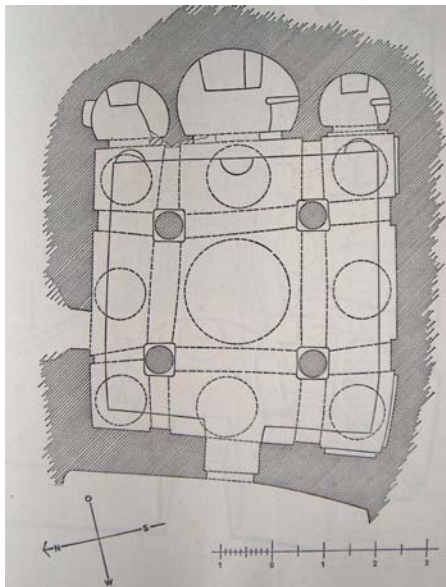


Figure 14 Plan Of Elmalı Church



Figure 15 The Vaulting System Of Elmalı Church



Figure 16 Main Apse Of Elmalı Church



Figure 17 Right-side Apse Of Elmalı Church



Figure 18 Central Dome Of Elmalı Church

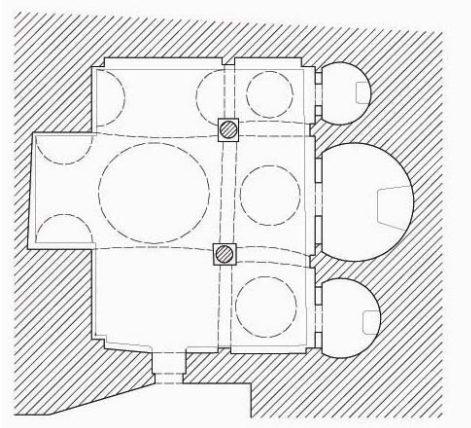


Figure 19 Sketch Plan Of St. Barbara Church



Figure 20 The Main Apse And Naos Of St. Barbara Church



Figure 21 a & b Left And Right-side ApSES Of St. Barbara Church



Figure 22 Masonry Lines In The Barrel Vaults Of St. Barbara Church



Figure 23 One Of The Strange Animals In St. Barbara Church

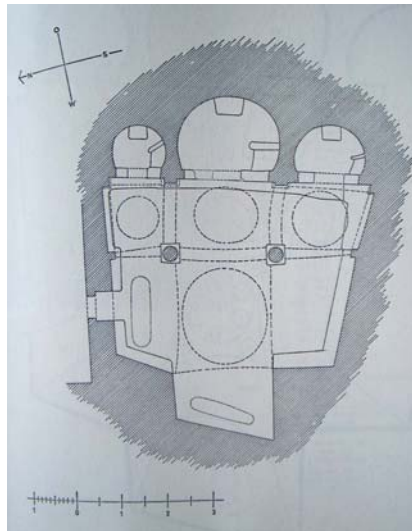


Figure 24 Plan Of Çarıklı Church



Figure 25 The Vaulting System Of Çarıklı Church



Figure 26 Main Apse Of Çarıklı Church



Figure 27 Archangel On The Subsidiary Dome In Çarıklı Church



Figure 28 Facade Of Karanlık Monastery

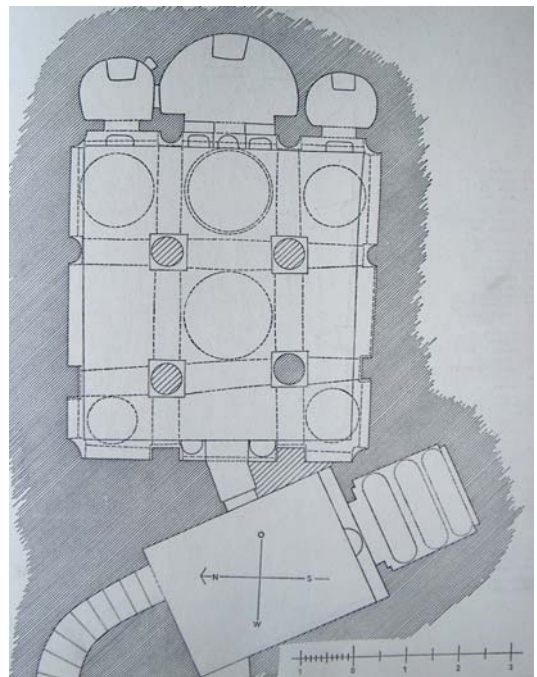


Figure 29 Plan Of Karanlık Church



Figure 30 The Naos And The Vaulting System Of Karanlık Church



Figure 31 The Scene Of Last Supper In Karanlık Church



Figure 32 Cross Medallions In The Narthex Of Chapel 25

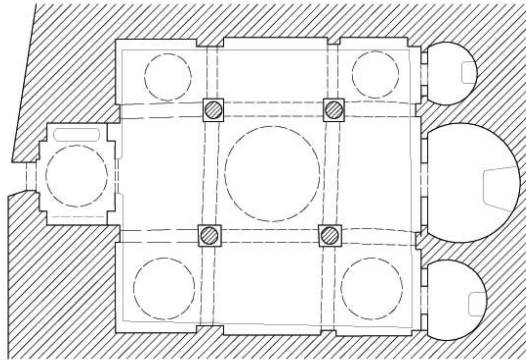


Figure 33 Sketch Plan Of Chapel 25



Figure 34 Columns In Chapel 25



Figure 35 Chancel Screen Of Chapel 25
(The Main Apse)



Figure 36 Masonary Lines In The
Barrel Vaults Of Chapel 25



Figure 37 Cross Medallions On The
Walls Of Chapel 25

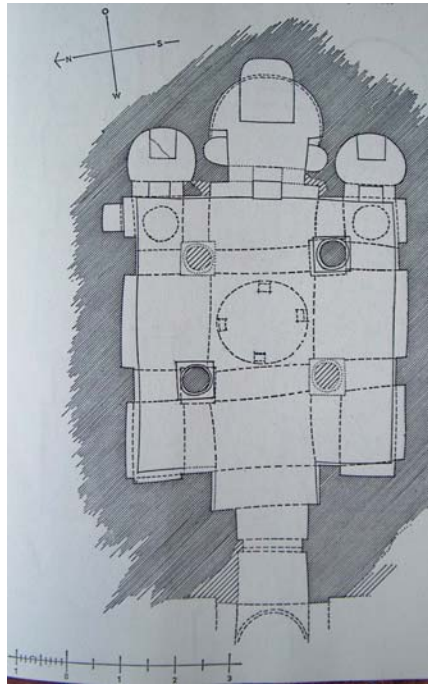


Figure 38 Plan Of Kılıçlar Church

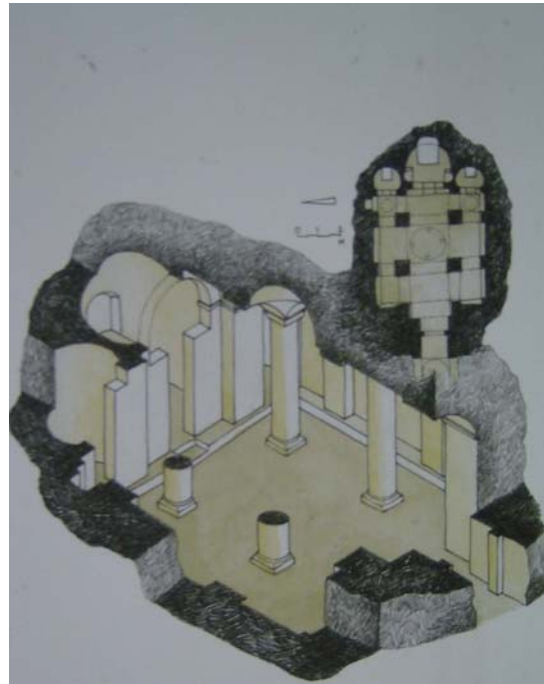


Figure 39 Three-dimensional Drawing Of Kılıçlar Church



Figure 40 Main Apse Of Kılıçlar Church



Figure 41 Central Dome Of Kılıçlar Church

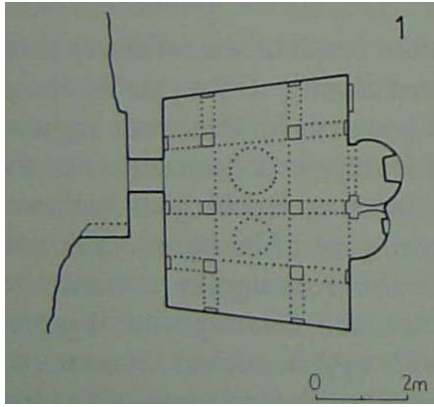


Figure 42 Plan Of Yusuf Koç Church **Figure 43** The Naos And The Central Domes Of Yusuf Koç Church



Figure 44 Capital Of The Column In Yusuf Koç Church



Figure 45 Facade Of Bezirhane Monastery

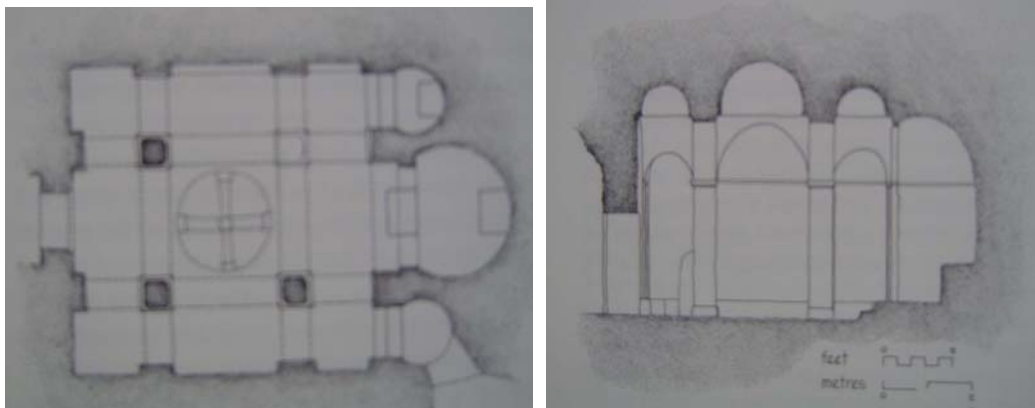


Figure 46 a & b Plan And Section Of Bezirhane Church

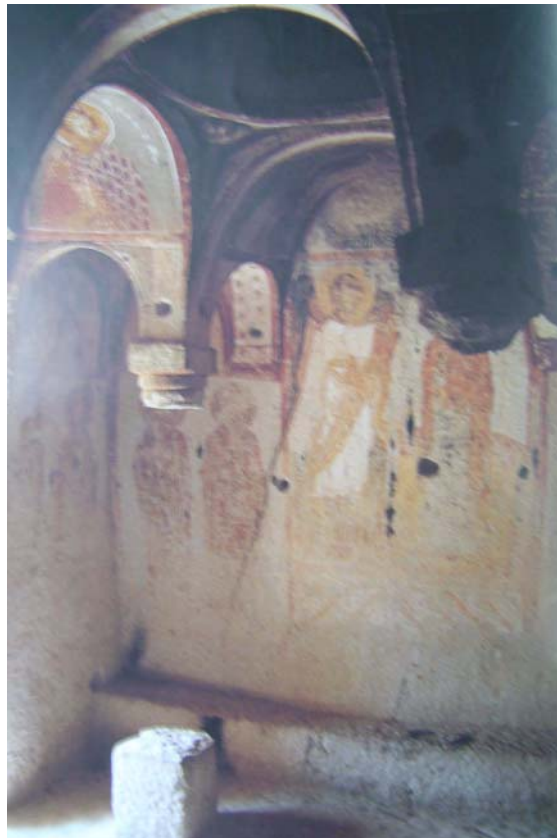


Figure 47 Bench In The Naos Of Yusuf Koç Church



Figure 48 Bench In Chapel 25



Figure 49 Central Dome Of Chapel 25



Figure 50 Christ Pantokrator On The Central Dome Of Karanlık Church



Figure 51 Grave Pit In Chapel 25

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

LIST OF THE BYZANTINE EMPERORS

In this part, the list of Byzantine Emperors is arranged according to the dynasties.

The list will begin with Constantine-I and finish with Constantine –XI.³⁰

Constantinian Dynasty

Constantine-I the Great (306 - 337)

Constantius-II (337- 361)

Julian the Apostate (361 - 363)

Jovian (363 -364)

Theodosian Dynasty

Valens (364 - 378)

Theodosius-I the Great (379 - 395)

Arcadius (395 - 408)

³⁰ This list has been adopted from Runciman (1966, 301-305).

Theodosius-II (408 - 450)

Marcianus (450 - 457)

Leo-I the Great (457- 474)

Leo-II (474)

Zeno-I Tarasius (474 - 491)

Basiliscus (rival emperor) (475 - 476)

Anastasius-I (491 - 518)

Justinian Dynasty

Justin-I the Great (518 - 527)

Justinian-I the Great (527 - 565)

Justin-II (565 - 578)

Tiberus-II Constantine (578 - 582)

Maurice-I Tiberius (582 - 602)

Phocas the Tyrant (602 – 610)

Heraclian Dynasty

Heraclius (610 - 641)

Constantine-III Heraclius (641)

Heraclonas Constantine (641)

Constans-II Heraclius Pogonatus (641 - 668)

Constantine-IV (668 - 685)

Justinian-II, Rhinotmetus (685 - 695)

Leontius-II (695 - 698)

Tiberus-III Apsimar (698- 705)

Justinian-II, Rhinotmetus (second rule 705 - 711)

Philippicus Bardanes (ruled 711 - 713)

Anastasius-II, Artemius (713 - 715)

Theodosius-III (715- 717)

Isaurian Dynasty

Leo-III the Isaurian (717 - 741)

Constantine-V Copronymus (741)

Artabasdos (rival emperor) (741 - 743)

Constantine-V Copronymus (second rule 743 – 775)

Leo-IV the Khazar (775 - 780)

Constantine-VI the Blinded (780 - 797)

Irene the Athenian (797 - 802)

Nicephorus-I the general Logothete (802 - 811)

Stauracius (811)

Michael-I Rhangabe (811 - 813)

Leo-V the Armenian (813 - 820)

Amorian (Phrygian) Dynasty

Michael-II the Amorian (820 - 829)

Theophilus-II (829 - 842)

Michael-III the Drunkard (842 - 867)

Macedonian Dynasty

Basil-I the Macedonian (867 - 886)

Leo-VI the Wise (886 - 912)

Alexander-III (912 - 913)

Constantine-VII Porphyrogenitus (913 - 959)

Romanus-I Lecapenus (co-emperor) (919 - 944)

Romanus-II Porphyrogenitus (959 - 963)

Nicephorus-II Phocas (963 - 969)

John-I Tzimisces (969 - 976)

Basil-II Bulgaroktonus (the Bulgar-slayer) (976 - 1025)

Constantine-VIII Porphyrogentius (1025 - 1028)

Romanus-III Argyrus (1028 - 1034)

Michael-IV the Paphlagonian (1034 - 1041)

Michael-V Calaphates (the Caulker) (1041 - 1042)

Zoe Porphyrogenita (1028 - 1050)

Constantine-XI Monomachus (1042 - 1055)

Theodora Porphyrogenita (1055 - 1056)

Michael-VI Stratioticus (1056 - 1057)

Proto-Comnenan Dynasty

Isaac-I Comnenus (1057 - 1059)

Constantine-X Ducas (1059 - 1067)

Michael-VII Ducas (1067 - 1078)

Romanus-VI Diogenes (co-emperor) (1067 - 1071)

Nicephorus-III Botaniates (1078 - 1081)

Comnenan Dynasty

Alexius-I Comnenus (1081 - 1118)

John-II Comnenus (1118 - 1143)

Manuel-I Comnenus (1143 - 1180)

Alexius-II Comnenus (1180 - 1183)

Andronicus-I Comnenus (1183 - 1185)

Angelan Dynasty

Isaac-II Angelus (1185 - 1195)

Alexius-III Angelus (1195 - 1203)

Alexius-IV Angelus (1203 - 1204)

Isaac-II Angelus (1203 - 1204)

Alexius-V Ducas Murzuphlus (1204)

Lascaran Dynasty (in exile as the Empire of Nicaea)

Theodore-I Lascaris (1204 - 1222)

John-III Ducas Vatatzes (1222 - 1254)

Theodore-II Lascaris (1254 - 1258)

John-IV Lascaris (1258 - 1261)

Palaeologan Dynasty

Michael-VIII Palaeologus (1259 - 1282)

Andronicus-II Palaeologus (1282 - 1328)

Andronicus-III Palaeologus (1328 - 1341)

John-V Palaeologus (1341 - 1376)

John-VI Cantacuzenus (co-emperor) (1347 - 1354)

Andronicus-VI Palaeologus (1376 - 1379)

John-V Palaeologus (second rule 1379 - 1391)

John-VII Palaeologus (rival emperor) (1390)

Manuel-II Palaeologus (1391 - 1425)

John-VII Palaeologus (rival emperor) (1399 - 1402)

John-VIII Palaeologus (1425 - 1448)

Constantine-XI Palaeologus (1449 - 1453)

APPENDIX B

THE LIST OF INSCRIBED-CROSS CHURCHES IN CAPPADOCIA*

PLACE	NAME	DATE
Açıksaray	Church 1	11 th century
	Açıksaray rooms no. 3	11 th century
Ihlara	Derviş Akın Church	11 th century
	Square Church	10-11 th century
	Karanlık Kale Church	9-10 th century
	Karagedik Church	end of 10 th century
	Direkli Church	976-1025
	Ala Church	11 th century
Yaprakhisar	(No name)	10-11 th century
	Koyunogul Church	11 th century
Soğanlı	St. Nicholas Church	10-11 th century
	Tokalı Church	11 th century
	Soğanlı Han	11 th century
Soğanlıdere	Church A	11 th century
Between Ürgüp - Soğanlı	Şahinefendi Church	11 th century

* This list has been prepared based on Kostof (1989), Rodley (1985), Teteriatnikov (1996), Korat (2003), Giovannini (1971), Ötüken (1987 and 1990).

	Kubbeli Church	end of 9 th century
Ortahisar	Canbazlı church	10-11 th century
	Hallaç Church	late 11 th century
Ürgüp	Church 1(Çökek)	10-11 th century
	Aynalı Church	late 11 th century
Güzelyurt	St. Gregorios Church	11 th century
	St. Anargirios Church	11 th century
Selime	Derviş Akın Church	11 th century
Mamasun	Köy Ensesi Church	10 th century
Kızılçukur	Church of Columns	10-11 th century
Göreme	Chapel 17	1055
	Elmalı church	11 th century
	St. Barbara Church	first half of 11 th century
	Çarıklı Church	11 th century
	Karanlık Church	mid 11 th century
	Chapel 25	11 th century
	Kılıçlar Church	10 th century
	Chapel 32	11 th century
	Yusuf Koç Church	11 th century
	Bezirhane Church	11 th century

APPENDIX C

CHURCH OF COLUMNS IN KIZILÇUKUR

The church of Columns is placed in Kızılçukur, which is between Göreme and Çavuşin. It has no inscription panel so that the name of 'columns' caused by supporting four columns at the center of the church. The date of this church is still unknown but having an inscribed-cross plan, it indicates the general Middle Byzantine category. Therefore, the date of tenth or eleventh century can be proposed for the church.

The church has three apses and the central one is slightly bigger than the side ones (figure 52). The side apses have keyhole-shaped and formed by low chancel slabs. And each apse has its own altar. Two steps provide the access to the main apse. In spite of being damaged, it has a three-portioned entrance.

There are four columns forming the center bay, with squat tapering block capitals. A high dome covers the central bay. The entire cross arms have barrel vaults. Only two subsidiary bays, which are in front of the side apses, are domed. In the naos, each wall has three niches. On the west side of the church, there is a narthex compartment that provides to access to the naos. However, this narthex seems to be used not only as an entrance, but also as a meeting hall. At the

center, there is a circular hole, which provides to be sit face to face. On the ceiling, there are ten curved-half columns as a decorative feature (Korat 2003, 189).

Near the narthex compartment, there is a big niche and at the end of this niche, there is a single grave pit. (Korat 2003, 191) With all of these parts and different arrangement in its design, the church of Columns seems to be a unique example among the inscribed-cross churches in Cappadocia. Furthermore, concerning all of these connected rooms, this church has a communal characteristic in itself.

Except some of the red linear contours, the church has no painting programme.

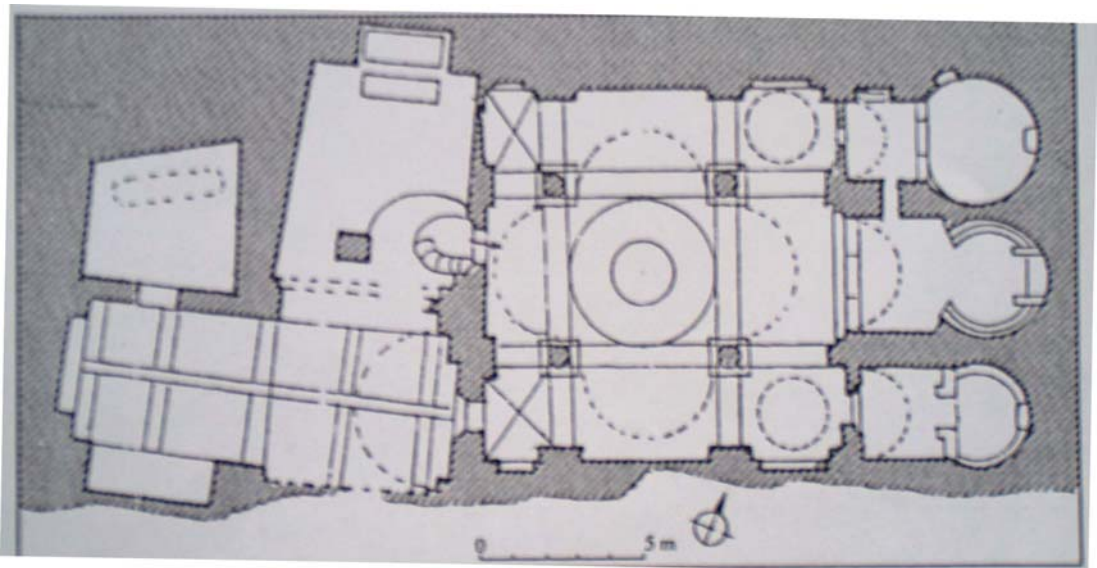


Figure 52 Plan Of The Church Of Columns

APPENDIX D

GLOSSARY*

Ambo: It is a type of pulpit in the form of a raised platform in the part of a church. It is principally used to deliver the biblical readings of the liturgy.

Antae: The projections of the temple walls.

Arcosolium: Arched tomb recess housing a sarcophagus or grave pit.

Bema: The area in a church around the altar. It is often raised one step and enclosed by a chancel barrier.

Cella: It is the main part of the church including the core and the sanctuary, naos.

Diakonikon: The usual Byzantine church has a main apse flanked by smaller apses. The space to the right was called the diakonikon, which was used primarily as a sacristy.

Esonarthex: It is the inner narthex that followed the exonarthex.

Exedrae: A large niche.

Exonarthex: The entrance or portal of a church.

Gynaceum: The part of a church reserved for women. It is usually placed over the esonarthex.

Heroa: It is a monument, which erected for the memory of a martyr or king.

* In compiling the glossary, the major references depend on Krautheimer (1986), Lowden (1998) and Rodley (1994).

Iconostasis: It refers to a tall wooden structure covered with icons that separates the congregation from the bema of a church.

Martyrium: A shrine or building at a site associated with the life of Christ or with the life or cult of a saint. It often has a symmetrical plan.

Mausoleum: A mausoleum is a large and impressive tomb, usually constructed for a deceased leader.

Naos: This part of the Byzantine church is occupied by the congregation and separated from the bema by a chancel or templon screen.

Narthex: It is an entrance hall that precedes the naos. Narthex usually runs the full width of the church on its western side.

Pastophoria: these are rooms serving as a diakonikon or prothesis that generally flank the apse of the church.

Parekklesion: It is a subsidiary chapel, which flanks the church, narthex or both.

Polis: A polis is a city, or a city-state. The word originates from the ancient Greek city-state, which developed in the Hellenic period and survived with decreasing influence well into Roman times.

Prothesis: It is the room, attached to left side of the main apse. It served for the preparation and storage of the species of the Eucharist before Mass.

Synthronon: It is a bench or benches reserved for the clergy. It is arranged either in a semicircle in the apse or in straight rows on either side of the bema.

Templon: It is a version of the chancel screen in which high marble slabs with columns supporting an epistyle divided.