

A COMPARATIVE ARCHITECTURAL INVESTIGATION OF THE MIDDLE  
BYZANTINE COURTYARD COMPLEXES IN AÇIKSARAY - CAPPADOCIA:  
QUESTIONS OF MONASTIC AND SECULAR SETTLEMENT

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Approval of the Graduate School of Social Sciences

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## ABSTRACT

### A COMPARATIVE ARCHITECTURAL INVESTIGATION OF THE MIDDLE BYZANTINE COURTYARD COMPLEXES IN AÇIKSARAY - CAPPADOCIA: QUESTIONS OF MONASTIC AND SECULAR SETTLEMENT

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This dissertation investigates a middle Byzantine (10<sup>th</sup>-11<sup>th</sup> c.) typology, the rock-cut Courtyard Complexes, spread throughout Cappadocia in central Turkey, with a special focus on the Açıksaray Group. Usually organized around three sided courtyards, these complexes stand either within an ensemble or in isolation. Nevertheless, the concentration of complexes is remarkable on strategic points near fortresses or military roads. Courtyard Complexes have large receptional suites as well as utilitarian spaces such as kitchens, stables and apparently multi-functional rooms all carved around a courtyard. The majority of the complexes have their own churches also carved in the rock mass. High decorated façades adorn the Courtyard Complexes and make them visible from a considerable distance. Because of the distinctive elaborate design, and the large number of still standing examples, as well as the communal life style that they indicate, these Cappadocian complexes have attracted scholarly attention in both monastic and secular Byzantine studies. Consequently, it was necessary for the dissertation to reconsider both religious and secular communities and their physical expressions in the form of monasteries and various dwelling types of the era. On the other hand, the idiosyncratic volcanic landscape and carved architecture required an extensive comparative architectural investigation of all Courtyard Complexes known so far in Cappadocia. Based on

the results coming out from the contextual studies and architectural analysis this dissertation proposes aristocratic families with a military function on this border land of Byzantine as the initial inhabitants of the Courtyard Complexes. The Açıksaray Group in particular, with the paucity of its churches contrasting its elaborate stables, bears the traces of a secular medieval community of some importance.

Keywords: Byzantine Cappadocia, Courtyard Complexes, Rock-cut Architecture, Byzantine Monasticism, Byzantine Dwelling

## ÖZ

### AÇIKSARAY - KAPADOKYA'DA ORTA BİZANS DÖNEMİNE AİT AÇIK AVLULU KOMPLEKSLER ÜZERİNE KARŞILAŞTIRMALI BİR MİMARİ ARAŞTIRMA: MANASTIR YAŞAMI VE SEKÜLER YERLEŞİMLERİN SORGULANMASI

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Bu tez orta Bizans dönemine (10.-11.yy.) ait bir tipoloji olan ve Kapadokya bölgesinde bulunan kayaya oyma Açık Avlulu Kompleksleri, Açicksaray Grubu odaklı olarak incelemektedir. Genellikle bir tarafı açık bir avlunun çevresinde kurgulanan bu kompleksler bir grup halinde ya da tek başına bulunmaktadır. Dikkat çekici olan bu komplekslerin kale veya askeri yollara yakın stratejik konumlarda yoğunlaşmasıdır. Açık Avlulu Kompleksler büyük ve gösterişli salonları ile yerine göre mutfak, ahır ve çok amaçlı diğer mekanlardan oluşur. Bu komplekslerin çoğunluğunun kendine ait yine kayaya oyma kiliseleri vardır. Yüksek ve işlemeli cepheler Açık Avlulu Kompleksleri süslerken onların uzaktan fark edilmesini sağlar. Özenli tasarımlarıyla günümüze ulaşmış çok sayıdaki örnek ve bunların işaret ettikleri komünal yaşam dolayısıyla, Kapadokya'ya özgü bu kompleksler hem manastır sistemi hem de seküler yerleşim üzerine çalışan araştırmacıların ilgisini çekmiştir. Bu nedenle, bu tez dönemin dini ve seküler toplulukları ile bunların üretimi olan manastır yapıları ve çeşitli konut tiplerini yeniden sorgulamaktadır. Diğer yandan kendine özgü volkanik doğal çevre ve kayaya oyma mimari bugüne kadar bölgede bilinen bütün Açık Avlulu Kompleksleri kapsayan karşılaştırmalı bir mimari çalışmayı gerektirmiştir. Bağlamsal çalışmalar ve mimari analizlerden çıkan sonuçlar doğrultusunda bu tez, Açık Avlulu Komplekslerin Bizans'ın bu sınır

bölgesinde yaşayan ve askeri özellikler taşıyan soylu ailelerin evleri olduğu önerisini getirir. Özellikle Açksaray Grubu kiliselerinin azlığına karşın özenli ahırlarının çokluğuyla belli bir öneme sahip seküler bir Ortaçağ topluluğunun izlerini taşımaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Bizans-Kapadokya, Açık Avlulu Kompleksler, Kayaya Oyma Mimari, Bizans Manastır Kurumu, Bizans Konutları

To My Family

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## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

This is an architectural historical study of the so-called Courtyard Complexes in Cappadocia, central Turkey with a special focus on the Açıksaray Group. First, this study aims to strengthen the arguments for the Cappadocian rock-cut Courtyard Complexes being a distinctive middle Byzantine typology. Furthermore, under this typology the study defines for the first time two sub-categories: Ensemble of Courtyard Complexes and Isolated Courtyard Complexes. The study also argues that whether within an ensemble or in isolation Courtyard Complexes were usually self-sufficient secular establishments. It is also shown that the group of Açıksaray differs from the rest in some ways. Thus, this study aims to combine the particular architectural examination of the Açıksaray Group with the general comparative study of Courtyard Complexes.

Over forty Courtyard Complexes have been discovered within the area occupied by the modern cities of Aksaray, Nevşehir, Kayseri and Niğde. Besides Açıksaray, a concentration of similar complexes is noticed in two other sites: Çanlı Kilise and Selime-Yaprakhisar. Other complexes are spread out within the volcanic valleys (fig. 1.1.). Usually carved around three-sided courtyards, these complexes differ from other rock-cut cavities in the region at first glance. Repetitive sequences of spaces are organized behind decoratively carved high façades according to a common layout (fig. 1.2.-3.). The large number of complexes that have survived with their plans and full elevations supports the distinctive typology, which in turn has been differently identified as monastic and secular. Nonetheless, scholars are generally in agreement in dating these complexes from the tenth to the eleventh centuries.

Açıksaray<sup>1</sup> which is a protected natural and archaeological heritage site<sup>2</sup> today is located west of the present Nevşehir- Gülşehir road, 2 km south of Gülşehir. The site once housed a lively middle Byzantine settlement and bears several Courtyard Complexes carved in the volcanic tuff.<sup>3</sup> Stuck to the inordinately generalized monastic identity of Cappadocia, scholars had initially categorized these carved complexes in Açıksaray also as monasteries.<sup>4</sup> However, parallel to the recent shift in the scholarship<sup>5</sup> of the region, the function of Açıksaray has been reconsidered; it is now regarded as a secular settlement by several scholars.<sup>6</sup>

Despite the high degree of erosion, archaeological evidence in the form of carved structures is still abundant in Cappadocia. Like Pompeii, but in a different way entire settlements have been preserved in and under the volcanic tuff. When one recalls the relative lack of scholarship on surviving Byzantine architecture outside of Cappadocia, except for specific ecclesiastical structures, still standing rock-cut architecture becomes highly important. Moreover, Courtyard Complexes not being typical of the rural Byzantine dwelling are testimonies to more sophisticated architectural traditions for which we have almost nothing left in larger cities. Yet, unfortunately, the archaeological evidence cannot be supplemented by textual evidence in Cappadocia. More surprising is the fact that despite the

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<sup>1</sup> Açıksaray is sometimes spelled as “Açık Saray” in the sources. Rodley (1985) who first surveyed the area in detail writes “Açık Saray.” In this study, “Açıksaray” will be used as it is written in the catalogues of the regional conservation committee for the cultural and natural heritage in Nevşehir.

<sup>2</sup> Since 1999 the site has been declared as a natural and archaeological heritage site of 1st grade.

<sup>3</sup> The settlement is mistakenly dated to the 4-5<sup>th</sup> centuries in the catalogues of the regional conservation committee for the cultural and natural heritage in Nevşehir.

<sup>4</sup> Oberhummer and Zimmerer (1899); Jerphanion (1925, 1942); Verzone (1962); Schiemenz (1973); Kostof (1989); Report (02.05.1997) of the Regional Conservation Committee for the Cultural and Natural Heritage in Nevşehir underlines the initial monastic identity while disregarding the recent shift in scholarly approaches. For scholarship on Açıksaray in general see Table 1.

<sup>5</sup> For a history of scholarship see Kalas, Veronica. “Early Explorations of Cappadocia and the Monastic Myth,” *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 28, (2004), 101-119.

<sup>6</sup> Rodley (1985); Bryer (1986); Mathews and A. Daskalakis-Mathews (1997); Kalas (2000); Korat (2003); Ousterhout (2005); Tütüncü (2008); Grishin (2002), proposes a mixed function of both secular and monastic settlement.

widespread “monastic myth”<sup>7</sup> written sources to verify this are almost entirely lacking.<sup>8</sup> In fact, for monastic or secular architecture in or outside of Cappadocia there is not enough physical *and* textual evidence that corroborate each other.<sup>9</sup> Consequently, studies in general often tend to separate the architecture from its context. Thus, the same Courtyard Complexes, numerous and well preserved, are alternately identified as monasteries by some scholars<sup>10</sup> and as manors of landed local aristocracy by others.<sup>11</sup> While arguing for the latter this study also challenges the arguments of the former. Furthermore, it strengthens existing arguments for secular use also formulating new ones in this regard. Yet, without overlooking the fact that the Byzantine monastic and secular life probably merged into one another more than initially envisaged.

Indeed, while studying any Cappadocian structure one needs to be aware of two problems: firstly concepts of monasticism and secular life in the eastern world differed from those in the West; and secondly carved architecture means “subtraction” instead of “addition” whereby this idiosyncratic way of “building” requires a unique approach and a different set of questions (fig. 2.17.). Therefore, the comparative architectural investigation in this study focuses mainly on the carved architecture from the same era with a similar layout and within a limited area. In addition, a wide range of historical background supplements the architectural analyses in order to overcome the shortcomings of direct textual evidence. The fact that there was not always a strict division between monastic and secular life in Byzantium also necessitates a broader discussion concerning the medieval society.

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<sup>7</sup> See Kalas (2004)

<sup>8</sup> Rodley (1985) 237; Ousterhout (2005) 177, highlights that no *typika* for Cappadocian monasteries survive, nor are there *vitae* of Cappadocian holy men, nor accounts of pilgrimage in the region.

<sup>9</sup> See Rodley (1985) 2 and Kalas (2000) 36.

<sup>10</sup> Kostof (1989); Rodley (1985), defines Courtyard Complexes except for the Açıksaray Group as “cave monasteries.”

<sup>11</sup> Mathews and Daskalakis-Mathews (1997); Kalas (2000); Ousterhout (2005); Tütüncü (2008); for other related works of Kalas and Ousterhout see References.

Motivations for selecting the Açıksaray Group (fig. 6.1.) as the focus of the present study are summarized as follows: When for the first time Lyn Rodley attempted to classify apparently monastic establishments under the title “cave monasteries” she could not place Açıksaray into any one of her three categories, namely, hermitages, refectory and “courtyard monasteries.” However, the density and elaboration of the complexes in Açıksaray unpublished until then led her to add the ensemble as a distinctive group of its own in her book titled *Cave Monasteries of Byzantine Cappadocia*.<sup>12</sup> Surprisingly however, although pointed out by Rodley already in 1985, Açıksaray has not been the focus of any comprehensive study since then. On the other hand, the group of complexes in Çanlı Kilise (fig. 5.1.1.2.) and Selime-Yaprakhisar (fig. 5.1.2.2.) have been recently surveyed and documented, but without a comparative approach. Further, the scarcity of attached churches on the one hand and proximity to military roads on the other, make Açıksaray a particularly promising case for questions on monastic and secular settlement. In addition, the fact that Açıksaray is an officially protected heritage site allows unhindered access to the complexes there. Not all Courtyard Complexes spread throughout Cappadocia are easily accessible; some are being reused and locked up by locals.

This study is divided into two main parts covering eight chapters all together. The first part, which follows the Introduction, is devoted to background information necessary to juxtapose aspects of medieval life and society with the physical evidence of settlements in Cappadocia. It is divided into three chapters. The first one, Chapter Two focuses on the physical and conceptual boundaries of medieval Cappadocia. Here, on the one hand, the volcanic province of Cappadocia is outlined, while on the other, the strategic position and military function of this border province is highlighted. Further, the uniqueness of carved architecture as a result of the idiosyncratic geomorphology of the region is emphasized in this part where the techniques and processes of traditional rock carving are also presented. Accordingly, the first chapter of Part I aims to unfold the motivations for *carving to dwell*. In Chapter Three, different forms of monasticism and the state of the

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<sup>12</sup> Rodley (1985)

evidence are presented; attention is drawn to the inadequacy of prototypes. Subsequently, the meshed concepts of monastic and secular Byzantine life are brought to attention. Further, by discussing the classification of the so-called cave monasteries,<sup>13</sup> the initial monastic identity of Cappadocia is questioned. This central chapter of Part I aims to examine the degree of interaction between monasticism and medieval society. The third and last chapter of Part I is devoted to Byzantine dwelling in general. The fragmented character of archaeological and textual evidence requires examining a wide spectrum of dwellings ranging from the simple shelter to the imperial palace in this era. Hence, the position of Cappadocian rock-cut architecture within this spectrum, including both the crude cavity and elaborate Courtyard Complex typology imitating *built* architecture, is discussed in a comparative way. At the end of Chapter Four, different scholarly approaches and recent discussions on the function of the Courtyard Complexes are presented and new questions asked. Following this, the landed local aristocracy with military character as the proposed inhabitants of the Courtyard Complexes in general and of the Açıksaray Group in particular are inserted in the more general Cappadocian context.

Part II, covering Chapters Five, Six and Seven constitutes the backbone of this study, namely the comparative architectural investigation of Courtyard Complexes with a special focus on the Açıksaray Group. Chapter Five highlights the Courtyard Complex typology as a distinctive architectural solution to the strategic and geomorphologic problems of Cappadocia. Here a new differentiation of complexes is proposed based on density. Accordingly, the complexes are divided into two categories: Ensemble of Courtyard Complexes and Isolated Courtyard Complexes.<sup>14</sup> In all over thirty complexes are examined in Chapter Five.

Chapter Six consists of three main sections completely devoted to the Açıksaray Group. In the first section, the topographical setting and overall layout are introduced. In addition, a new nomenclature is proposed based on a detailed architectural description of eight complexes. The study proposes three separate

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<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

<sup>14</sup> Kalas (2009b) 81, already points out that some Courtyard Complexes are found in isolation while others are concentrated in one location.

workshops or carving stages in Açıksaray for the first time. The second section of the chapter illustrates these three groups with a special focus on the so-called *Group II- The Main Settlement*. In the last section of Chapter Six theories of dating and function of Açıksaray are challenged.

Chapter Seven aims to highlight physical and conceptual similarities and differences between the Açıksaray Group and other Courtyard Complexes. Accordingly, spatial sequences and architectural concepts deriving from the previous two chapters are charted and closely examined (Table 2). Here, themes deduced from the vernacular nature of Cappadocia are also tested on their applicability to the context presented in Part I. In sum, Chapter Seven attempts to envision the nature of medieval life in the frame of Courtyard Complexes in general and the Açıksaray Group in particular.

Finally, in the conclusion, problems traced throughout the study are re-evaluated and indigenous solutions specially tailored to the unique setting of Cappadocia are highlighted. Possible answers to the question of monastic and secular settlement are outlined here with respect to the results coming from contextual Part I and architectural Part II. Consequently, the initial function of Courtyard Complexes and identity of their first inhabitants are reconsidered, while differentiating between the Isolated Courtyard Complexes and Ensemble of Courtyard Complexes as well as differentiating between the Açıksaray Group and the rest.

As for the research process, I first examined aerial photographs and existing plans and then went out to the sites for observation in the field. An official permit was received from the Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism, Department of Monuments and Museums, to work in Açıksaray in years 2007, 2008, 2009 and 2010. My field work in Açıksaray involved extensive photographic recording and some in *situ* measurements for verification. During my visits to other sites including Çanlı Kilise, Selime-Yaprakhisar, Eski Gümüş, Soğanlı Han, Şahinefendi, Aynalı Kilise, Hallaç, Kılıçlar and Bezir photographs were also taken.

My first visit to Açıksaray, Çanlı Kilise and Selime-Yaprakhisar was during a field trip organized by Veronica Kalas in Spring 2006 for her graduate seminar on Byzantine Cappadocia. Thanks to this exciting seminar and Dr. Kalas' valuable

comments I became aware of the Courtyard Complexes. During my second visit to Açıksaray, on 27 July 2007 I paid a visit to the Regional Conservation Committee for the Cultural and Natural Heritage in Nevşehir. Following this, an archaeologist from the committee and the watchman of the site guided me in Açıksaray. Between 2007 and 2010 I was in Açıksaray five more times accompanied either by a family member or a friend. During my last visit, a local craftsman Ahmet Zengin, who still practices carving with traditional methods in Cappadocia, walked with us throughout Açıksaray and shared his extensive topographical and technical knowledge. My visit to other sites in September 2009 was accompanied by my father Harun Öztürk. Together, we followed the order which is proposed in this dissertation starting from the north, in Çanlı Kilise. During this trip we visited all the sites presented in this study except for Direkli Kilise, Karanlık Kale and Erdemli. Thus, for the former two I utilized the descriptions, plans and photographs of Rodley.<sup>15</sup> For the latter I utilized the descriptions, plans, and photographs of Nilay Karakaya and Nathalie Aldehuelo.<sup>16</sup> In addition, I was in Nevşehir and its peripheries several more times in order to conduct interviews with the director of the conservation committee, local craftsmen and architects, the mayor of the town Nar, the archaeologist of Nevşehir Museum and the government office where cadastral records are kept in Gülşehir.

Aerial photographs used in the plans are taken from the Google-Earth Images. For Açıksaray, I have redrawn, corrected and completed the plans of Rodley.<sup>17</sup> The adaptation of plans into the aerial photograph of Açıksaray (fig. 6.6) is the first work of this kind in general in Cappadocia. This is one of the major contributions of the dissertation. When compared with previous simple site diagrams, my new plans enable an excellent understanding of how the complexes were organized within the settlement and natural settings (fig. 6.1 and 6.2). This method also allowed me to investigate a large number of complexes in a broader area without having a survey team and appropriate equipment. Furthermore, except

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<sup>15</sup> Rodley (1985)

<sup>16</sup> Karakaya (2006) and (2008); Aldehuelo (2003)

<sup>17</sup> Rodley (1985)



for the façade of Area 1 surviving façades of Açık Saray are reconstructed by myself based on observations *in situ* and photographs.<sup>18</sup> Plans of other sites are from Rodley, Kalas, Aldehuelo and Robert Ousterhout.<sup>19</sup> Yet, I completed some of them by adding spaces such as kitchens, stables, funerary chapels newly discovered by me or other scholars.<sup>20</sup>

Attention was paid to have an overall layout while presenting the complexes. The aim was to ease the comparison within the same framework. Therefore, all plans are scaled and put side-by-side. They are complemented with drawings or photographs of façades and interior spaces in a similar manner. Aerial photographs are used for the Ensemble of Complexes, in order to understand better the integration of settlements with natural settings and to be able to compare different settlements each other. A3 is chosen as the handy paper format, which allows both readability of the individual plans and an overview.

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<sup>18</sup> Façade of the Area 1 was already reconstructed by Kostof (1989). Nevertheless, I have redrawn and corrected it.

<sup>19</sup> Rodley (1985); Kalas (2000), (2006) and (2007); Aldehuelo (2003); Ousterhout (2005).

<sup>20</sup> Grishin (2002) and Tütüncü (2008), already pointed out the stable in Area 1 in Açık Saray, which was not recorded by Rodley (1985). All other spaces added to the original plans have been discovered by myself.

## **PART I**

### **NATURE OF MEDIEVAL LIFE AND SOCIETY: ASPECTS OF SETTLEMENT IN CAPPADOCIA**

## CHAPTER 2

### CAPPADOCIA

#### 2.1 Physical and Conceptual Boundaries

Cappadocia is a geographic and historical term that commonly indicates an area in central Anatolia whose boundaries were not constant and frequently redrawn. The “Greater Cappadocia,” as it was known in ancient times, corresponds to the territory extending from the Salt Lake (Tuz Gölü/ ancient Lake Tatta) in the west to the Euphrates in the east. It was bordered to the south by Cilicia and to the north by Pontus.<sup>21</sup> From the ninth to the eleventh century the ancient region was divided into four Byzantine themes; one was Cappadocia, the others being Charsianon, Sebasteia and Lykandos (fig. 2.10.). From the twelfth century onwards, the name Cappadocia was used again but to describe a primarily geographical area.<sup>22</sup> In the beginning of the twentieth century, influenced by the evidence of painted churches, Cappadocia as a Byzantine province has been regarded as the periphery under the influence of the centre, the capital Constantinople.<sup>23</sup> Subsequently, abundant frescoes in the carved churches of the region have attracted a large public. Today, the name prevails in international tourism, which focuses mainly on the province of Nevşehir with its two satellites: Ihlara (Peristrema) valley in the west and Soğanlı valley in the south.<sup>24</sup> However,

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<sup>21</sup> Rodley (1996) 673

<sup>22</sup> Hild and Restle (1981) 41; In a conversation Assoc. Prof. Dr. Sacit Pekak asserted that from an art historical point of view it would be more appropriate to differentiate between the eastern, western and central Cappadocia.

<sup>23</sup> Scholars have recently challenged this colonialist model of centre/ periphery and prefer to use the term “regional” which suggests “greater autonomy and creativity in the provinces” and does not eliminate a mutual influence. For a detailed discussion on this see Eastmond (2008) 770-6.

<sup>24</sup> Göreme National Park and the Rock Sites of Cappadocia have been inscribed as “mixed property” which means cultural and natural heritage site by Unesco since 1985. According to the World

the area of interest to this study with its peculiar landscape, unique geological formations and carved settlements corresponds to a broader territory within the area marked by the contemporary cities Aksaray, Nevşehir, Kayseri and Niğde (fig. 1.1), all within the Cappadocian volcanic province (fig. 2.2.).

The large plateau occupied by Cappadocia has an altitude of approximately 1000 meters above sea level.<sup>25</sup> Volcanic activity of several now dormant mountains such as Mt. Erciyes (3917 m), Mt. Hasan (3268 m)<sup>26</sup> and Mts. Melendiz (2963 m) and the continuing process of erosion are responsible for the uniqueness of Cappadocia's *unearthly* appearance and abundant rock-cut architecture in the region.<sup>27</sup> When the weather is clear one can see from several locations in western and eastern Cappadocia all of the following: Mt. Hasan with Mts. Melendiz in the west and Mt. Erciyes in the east as well as the Anti-Taurus mountain range (Aladağlar) with its several peaks rising above 3000 meters in the southeast (fig. 2.2). Thus, in ideal weather conditions all geographical boundaries and natural barriers that frame the area of study are within sight. Morphological formations varying from low mountains to flood plains form the territory spanning between these marking points (fig.2.4.-6.). Table-like outcrops (mesa) dominate the landscape (fig. 2.1., 2.3.). Kızılırmak River (ancient Halys) in the north also forming a natural boundary has enabled the continuation of life under the harsh conditions of continental climate for millennia. Friedrich Hild and Marcell Restle emphasize the importance of the hydrographic system as a part of the landscape that

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Heritage List the site is located within the coordinates N38 40 E34 51 and covers 9576.0000 ha in Nevşehir Province (Cappadocia) in Central Anatolia. The following locations are covered in the list: Göreme National Park, Karain Site, Karlık Site, Yeşilöz Site, Soğanlı Site, Subterranean city of Kaymaklı, Subterranean city of Derinkuyu. This information is taken from UNESCO World Heritage Centre- Official Site, <http://whc.unesco.org/>, accessed: 01.02.2010.

<sup>25</sup> For a detailed discussion on the physical setting of Cappadocia see Andolfato and Zucchi (1972) 51-66 and Hild and Restle (1981) 47-61.

<sup>26</sup> Both Mt Erciyes and Mt Hasan were known as Mount Argaeus in ancient times.

<sup>27</sup> Sevindi (2003) 1, explains the relation between the distribution of volcanic tuff and rock-cut settlements: "There are several ignimbrite layers [tuff] each having a considerable amount of thickness. Minimum thickness is about 5m in the central part of Cappadocia where rock settlements are common. Although the thickness can drop to cm at distal parts, it can reach a thickness of 80 m in Ihlara valley and in Selime village."

forms a natural ground for settlement.<sup>28</sup> All of the northern part of Cappadocia belongs to the river system of Halys. The erosion zone fed by small inflows along the river is often flooded during the wet seasons creating convenient conditions for settlement and agriculture. Therefore, along both sides of the river there were ancient as well as Byzantine cities and settlements stretching from Sebasteia (Sivas) over Caesarea (Kayseri), Venasa (Avanos) and Zoropassos (Gülşehir) to Nyssa and Parnassos (fig. 2.8.).<sup>29</sup>

Scholars generally agree that the name Cappadocia derives from the old Persian word *Katpatuka* which is first seen in a Persian inscription from the late sixth century BC.<sup>30</sup> However, the well known assumption that it means “the Land of Fine Horses” has been challenged by recent etymological studies.<sup>31</sup> Yet, it is true that horses had been bred here from as early as the middle of the second millennium BC as well as throughout the classical period.<sup>32</sup> In addition, it is known that Arabs referred to Cappadocia as al-Qabaduq. Within al-Qabaduq, they used another name Matmura (al-Matamır, pl.) meaning “underground grain storages” that denotes the area of underground cities between Niğde and Nevşehir.<sup>33</sup>

## 2.2 Strategic Position

### *A Brief History*

Cappadocia has been inhabited continuously since prehistoric times. During the second millennium BC it was part of the Hittite empire. In 585 BC the area was

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<sup>28</sup> Hild and Restle (1981) 49

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., 49; There were two cities in Asia Minor called Nyssa, one in Cappadocia and the other in Lycia. The Nyssa in Cappadocia was located northwest of Caesarea. See Rosser (2001) 300.

<sup>30</sup> Tütüncü (2008) 8, explains that the inscription was carved on the cliffs of Mt. Bisitun (Behistun) in Persia listing the tribes and countries conquered by Darius I in the late sixth century BC.

<sup>31</sup> For a useful summary of the recent etymological discussions on the origin of the word Cappadocia see Tütüncü (2008) 8-10.

<sup>32</sup> Öztan (1996) 10; Haldon (2009) Map 6 and Map 7, present “Land use and resources in the 5<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> century” and “Land use and resources in the middle Byzantine period” where central Anatolia is marked by *Horses*. See fig. 2.12.

<sup>33</sup> Hild and Restle (1981) 45-46

conquered by Persians. Between the fourth and first centuries BC. it was ruled by the descendants of the Satrap Ariarathes. Cappadocia became a Roman province with Caesarea as its capital in 17 AD. It was converted to Christianity very early so that already in the second century there were numerous Christian communities there.<sup>34</sup>

At the beginning of the Byzantine period Cappadocia was situated within the empire and on the main roads leading from Constantinople to the East. By the seventh century, the Byzantine frontier retreated westwards due to the Arab invasions and Cappadocia became an insecure border zone frequently changing hands until the second half of the ninth century. Accordingly, Hild and Restle highlight three events that have influenced the history of Cappadocia during the Byzantine era:<sup>35</sup>

1. Beginning of Arab invasions from the seventh century onwards
2. Byzantine reaction: Installation of system of themes
3. Reconquest of the East border by Nikephoros II Phokas in the tenth century

Shortly after the ultimate loss of Egypt and Syria in 636, Armenia was also taken by the Arabs, which meant that Cappadocia was now the eastern border of the empire.<sup>36</sup> Annual incursions into Asia Minor continued until 740 without a break, wherein in Cappadocia especially the districts of Melitene (Malatya), Caesarea and al-Matamir were affected.<sup>37</sup> Decentralizing the military administration by creating “regions,” or themes that were commanded by a general (*strategos*), allowed autonomy which was necessary for rapid responses to sudden but brief attacks of Arabs.<sup>38</sup> The earliest themes were Armeniakon, Opsikion, Anatolikon, and Thrace whereby the region in question (the area between Aksaray-Nevşehir-Kayseri-Niğde)

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<sup>34</sup> Rodley (1996) 673

<sup>35</sup> Hild and Restle (1981) 62

<sup>36</sup> See *Ibid.*, 70

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, 73, means here the “Greater Cappadocia” extending from the Salt Sea to the Euphrates.

<sup>38</sup> Thierry and Thierry (1963) 10; for scholarly disagreement about the contribution of the theme system to defense against the Arabs see Kazhdan (1991) 2035.

was partly within Anatolikon, partly in Armeniakon (fig. 2.9.).<sup>39</sup> The *strategos* was not only the military governor of a theme but he also directed local financial and judicial matters. The *strategoï* of major themes became so powerful at the beginning of the eighth century that they fought each other for the throne.<sup>40</sup> Consequently, in the eighth and ninth centuries, in order to diminish the power of large themes, the central government divided them into smaller groups, which included the theme of Cappadocia (fig. 2.10).<sup>41</sup>

Asia Minor was open to the attacks of Arabs in the eighth and ninth centuries.<sup>42</sup> The second half of the eighth century was marked with the balance of forces belonging to Byzantium and Abbasids. However, Arab invasions reached a peak at the beginning of the ninth century.<sup>43</sup> In the second half of the ninth century changes concerning the relation of forces began when the Abbasid caliphate was diminished. The Byzantine Empire recovered and was able to mobilize more efficient and numerous troops. Yet, Arab attacks did not stop but they occurred on a regional base (fig. 2.11.).<sup>44</sup>

In response to attacks, a system of early warning was established within the population of villages. Spies and guards on the communication routes were alert to the signs of an enemy expedition in preparation such as the gathering of enemy troops.<sup>45</sup> Michel and Nicole Thierry refer to a system of luminous signals from high towers, which could convey from the Taurus Mountains to Constantinople within an hour that troops were needed.<sup>46</sup> Indeed, the hilly landscape of Cappadocia dotted by high volcanic peaks offers wide panoramic views from many points, which must

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<sup>39</sup> See Kazhdan (1991) 2035

<sup>40</sup> See Kazhdan (1991a) 1964

<sup>41</sup> See Kazhdan (1991b) 2035; yet, the eastern part of the area of our concern including Caesarea remained within the theme Charsianon.

<sup>42</sup> Cheynet (2003) 42

<sup>43</sup> See Hild and Restle (1981) 74

<sup>44</sup> Cheynet (2003) 42

<sup>45</sup> Ibid.

<sup>46</sup> See Thierry and Thierry (1963) 11-12

have allowed easy communication with signs and control over the valleys; both of which were highly valuable for defense in ancient and medieval times (fig. 2.13.-15.). In addition, in south Cappadocia, the massive of Mt. Hasan with Mts. Melendiz formed a barrier against aggressors approaching from the south. Several Byzantine fortresses along this natural blockade (al-Agrab, Koron, Antigus, Nakida) secured the entrance to the district of al-Matamir.<sup>47</sup>

A turning point in the history of the Byzantine Empire and especially Cappadocia was the reconquest of Melitene in 934. The empire extended its boundaries to the Euphrates and Tigris. Consequently, from 934 onwards Cappadocia was a borderland no more.<sup>48</sup> During the three hundred years that it was a borderland, Cappadocia had been preyed upon and depopulated. Thus, one of the most important concerns for Byzantium in the tenth century was to repopulate the area.<sup>49</sup> In the eleventh century a considerable part of Cappadocia was populated by Armenians.<sup>50</sup>

Eventually, following the Seljuk invasion in 1071 Cappadocia was lost for Byzantine rule forever.<sup>51</sup> In the eleventh century civil governors replaced military ones and by the end of the twelfth century the thematic system collapsed.<sup>52</sup> At the end of the twelfth century and especially in the thirteenth century, a symbiosis was formed between Christianity and Islam, where the former had a subordinate role. However, Christian communities in Cappadocia were still oriented towards the Byzantine Empire with its center in Constantinople. In fact, the name of the

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<sup>47</sup> See Hild and Restle (1981) 129

<sup>48</sup> Ibid., 86

<sup>49</sup> Ibid., 91

<sup>50</sup> Ibid., 98, assert that it did not cause a problem in eastern Cappadocia, where the depopulated land had been recolonized by Armenians and Syrians since the tenth century onwards. However, it was a problem in western Cappadocia, where first free spaces had to be created for newcomers. The westernmost area that was inhabited by Armenians was Caesarea.

<sup>51</sup> See Ibid., 105

<sup>52</sup> Kazhdan (1991b) 2035



emperor Theodoros was depicted in the Karşı Kilise near Zoropassos (Gülşehir) in 1212.<sup>53</sup> As such, cultural connections are revealed by inscriptions:

It has been common to end the discussion of Byzantine Cappadocia with the arrival of the Seljuks in the 1070s, but the presence of dated churches from the thirteenth century in Tatlarin, Gülşehir, Şahinefendi, and nearby in the Ihlara Valley recommend reconsideration of the cultural connections of the region. Several inscriptions mention both the Seljuk ruler and the Byzantine emperor, and would suggest an association with both major powers.<sup>54</sup>

Yet, in the Ottoman period the religious communities became stagnant. But in the nineteenth century tolerance and a moderate increase in wealth led to new foundations. However, in 1924 the exchange of population put an end to the Greek presence.<sup>55</sup>

#### *Network of Roads*

Concerning the ancient road system, following the foundation of Constantinople in 330 “a steady and progressive change” occurred in whole Asia Minor. Roads that had served Roman traffic fell into neglect. By the time of Justinian I the new system of roads superseded the old one completely. Although we do not have much evidence giving a complete account of Byzantine roads, their network can be reasonably reconstructed with the aid of historical hints and the natural features of landscape. Indeed, for the most part the same system of roads has continued to be used throughout the Turkish period until our own time.<sup>56</sup>

William Mitchell Ramsay in the *Historical Geography of Asia Minor* describes the military road forking east of the Halys to Caesarea and to Sebasteia as the most important part of the system (fig. 2.7.). He writes:

Much of the Byzantine military history in the east depends on the recognition of this great road. At intervals there were standing camps in convenient places near it, and as the emperor passed along towards the seat of war, he was joined by the contingents of troops from the different provinces which had concentrated at these camps. A march in spring from Constantinople along the military road, a summer campaign on the eastern frontier, a return march to the capital along the same road at the approach of winter, and a few months in Constantinople before the next

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<sup>53</sup> See Hild and Restle (1981) 121

<sup>54</sup> Ousterhout (2005) 175

<sup>55</sup> See Rodley (1996) 673

<sup>56</sup> Ramsay (1890/ 2005) 74; for information on the historians see *Ibid.*, 62-74.

campaign began such was the life year after year of many of the vigorous emperors.<sup>57</sup>

According to Ramsay, the importance of this road must have been due to its military character, since it was not the shortest, but the most convenient one for an army marching through.<sup>58</sup> This road starting from Chalcedon went by Nicaea and Dorylaion, crossed the Sangarios (Sakarya River), and the Halys, and then forked to Sebasteia and Armenia, to Caesarea and Commagene, and to the Cilician Gates (fig. 2.7.).<sup>59</sup> Attention was paid to the maintenance of this great military road for many centuries and certainly until the eleventh century.<sup>60</sup> Ramsay also considers Justinian I responsible for the whole system of *aplekta*, which accompanied the road system.<sup>61</sup> He writes:

In the emperor's progress from Constantinople, he found the contingent of troops furnished by the different provinces awaiting him at stated points near the roads. These stated points were called ἀπληκτα: they were no doubt large standing camps, such as the old Romans called *Stativa*.<sup>62</sup>

*Aplekta* provided suitable camping ground for great armies, as well as water and food supplies for both men and horses.<sup>63</sup> In general, natural centers directly on the road or easily accessible must have been favored as gathering places for an army.<sup>64</sup> Saniana was the place where all the eastern *themata* including Cappadocian troops met the emperor on his march towards Cilicia. However, if he was going towards Commagene, Cappadocian, Armeniac, and Sebasteian troops met at Caesarea.<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> Ibid., 75

<sup>58</sup> Ibid., 76

<sup>59</sup> Ibid., 199

<sup>60</sup> Ibid.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid., 76

<sup>62</sup> Ibid., 199

<sup>63</sup> For instance, Ramsay (1890/ 2005) 202-203, mentions Malagina, which was the first great station of the military road starting from Chalcedon and was also the great horse-station of Asia Minor with its royal stables.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid., 210

<sup>65</sup> Ibid., 219

At Saniana the military road forked, and one branch went straight east through Sebasteia towards Armenia. The other branch of the road, going southeast from Saniana, passed through Justinianopolis-Mokissos (Kırşehir), where the road again forked. Here one branch went south by Zoropassos (Gülşehir), Soanda, to Tyana (Kemerhisar/ Niğde) and the Cilician Gates.<sup>66</sup> The military road between Mokissos and Soanda passing through Zoropassos seems to have existed also in the Roman period. Soanda was known as a station between Archelais (Aksaray) and Caesarea and must have been near modern Nevşehir. According to Ramsay the route from Mokissos to Soanda must certainly have gone by Dogra (Hacıbektaş) and Zoropassos.<sup>67</sup> At this point, it is worth noting that Açıksaray, the focus of this study, is located just 2 km south of Gülşehir, the ancient Zoropassos.

### 2.3 Motives for Going Underground

The strange feeling of moving on top of a settlement, even when driving for kilometers on a plain, without any sign of habitation, is peculiar to Cappadocia. The following words of geographer Luc Daels evoke no other place on earth better than Cappadocia: “We can consider landscape as the collective memory of human kind. The successes and the failures of mankind are written on the skin of Mother Earth [...]”<sup>68</sup>

#### *Tradition of Carving to Dwell*

Rock-cut architecture seems to appear in any region having rock both soft enough for easy carving and strong enough after carving. From southwest America to China “sculptured architecture” as Spiro Kostof calls it, is plentiful and its

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<sup>66</sup> Ibid., 220-1; Hild and Restle (1981) 238, disagree with the identification of Mokissos as Kırşehir. Instead, they suggest Viranşehir as Mokissos, the ecclesiastical Metropolis of Cappadocia II; “Mokissos” in *the Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*. ed. 1991, 1390, identifies Mokissos as Viranşehir; Thierry and Thierry (1963) 11-12, mention additional new roads built from Caesarea to Tyana during the Arab threat to facilitate reinforcement.

<sup>67</sup> Ramsay (1890/ 2005) 269

<sup>68</sup> This quote is taken from Brackman, Knockaert and Pauwels (1996) 12.

application “universal.”<sup>69</sup> As for Cappadocia, although it gained fame for its cave churches from the middle Byzantine period, the region was inhabited much earlier.<sup>70</sup> Indeed, during the Hittite era, slaves sought refuge in the hidden valleys of Cappadocia, which was always a place of retreat from the ruling authorities. One of the reasons for Christians coming to Cappadocia was to flee persecution. However, protection cannot have been the only reason for carved dwellings, since settling in such cavities continued long after the region became secure. In fact, many of the carved structures date from the post-Byzantine period; some have been used as peasant dwellings, storage rooms or shelters with an agricultural function until now.<sup>71</sup> To Dr. Sitlington Sterrett’s astonishment people were still living in rock-cut dwellings when he visited Cappadocia at the end of the nineteenth century. He expressed his sentiments as “[t]here is no earthly reason why they should live there, as the country is safe and land abundant [...]”<sup>72</sup>

Nonetheless, the soft tuff which is easy to carve using simple tools has the special property of hardening upon contact with air and presents itself as an ideal “self supporting” construction material in the region (fig. 2.16.).<sup>73</sup> Furthermore, the microclimate of the carved spaces is highly favorable in a region where it is freezing with precipitation during winter while hot and dry in the summer. A relatively constant temperature around 12 to 15 degrees Celsius prevails throughout the year in the burrowed spaces. In addition, the lack of building materials such as

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<sup>69</sup> Kostof (1989) 18; see Stea and Turan (1993) for a comparative case study of two historically and spatially distanced cultures that had carved to dwell.

<sup>70</sup> Rodley (1985) 8; Hild and Restle (1981) 47; yet, there are no historical reports pointing to any number of inhabitants of the land in ancient times and the Byzantine period. In fact, the number of inhabitants changed parallel to the history of the land.

<sup>71</sup> On the other hand, a considerable number of cavities are not planned for human occupation but as pigeon houses, where droppings are gathered for use as fertilizer to supplement the poor nutritive content of the dusty soil. See Rodley (1983) 304 footnote 9 and Rodley (1985) 5-6. See also Ousterhout (2005) 153-4.

<sup>72</sup> Sterrett (1888) 229

<sup>73</sup> See Erguvanlı and Yüzer (1977) 15-17

timber and the need to save labor as well as fertile valley bottoms for agriculture have also been significant reasons for rock settlements.<sup>74</sup>

Hence, when a rock-cut cavity threatened to collapse, its inhabitant carved new cavities next to it and abandoned the former (fig. 2.18.-19.). Rodley has identified three stages of occupation in Çavuşin: an abandoned carved village; rock-cut spaces together with built extensions – hybrid spaces – and a built village established a short distance from the original rock-cut settlement.<sup>75</sup> Nevertheless, to work out a chronology for these “carved villages” is quite difficult. In most cases, an archaeological study of carved structures is impossible, since one has to deal not with a rising mound but with an extending cavity.

The tenth-century historian Leo the Deacon mentions the “people” of Cappadocia using the word “*ethnos*” meaning inhabitants in general and not only monks, when he recounts a journey of Nikephoros II Phokas shortly before he became emperor. Deacon calls the *ethnos* “troglodytes” because “they went underground in holes, clefts, and labyrinths, as it were in dens and burrows.”<sup>76</sup> The etymology of the word *troglodyte* may be explained as follows:

The term *troglodyte* is a Greek compound word, whose first element, *troglo* means “hole,” while its accord element is derived from the verb *duo*, which means “to go, get, dive or plunge into.” Hence, a troglodyte is a man who goes into a hole-lives in a hole.<sup>77</sup>

Trogloditic existence has sometimes been regarded with considerable contempt:

It is a curious paradox in the history of human migrations and human development that in that very land which historians and geographers characterize as “the cradle of civilization” there is to be found today a people whose mode of living is, in one of its basic principles, more primitive than that of the most benighted tribes of Africa or the South Pacific, remote from the warming and enlightening influence of modern thought and progress [...] at the very threshold of ancient Greece, with its unrivaled culture and political advancement, the Troglodytes of Cappadocia still retain toward their fellow-men an attitude of mind akin to that which obtained in

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<sup>74</sup> See Giovannini (1972) 75; see Stea and Turan (1993) 170

<sup>75</sup> See Rodley (1985) 6

<sup>76</sup> Rodley (1985) 1, highlights this referring to Leonis Diaconi. *Historiae*. III col. 713: 117.

<sup>77</sup> Sterrett (1919) 283

the Stone Age, when there was no such thing as human society, but every man was his own law and the mortal enemy of his neighbor.<sup>78</sup>

### *Subtractive Architecture*<sup>79</sup>

In the simplest words, building material is any material which is used for construction and building construction is the process of adding structure to real property. It is exactly here where building differs from carving. More specifically, building means “addition” while carving implies “subtraction.” Kostof differentiates between the “builder-architect” and the “carver-architect,” for the latter’s structure stood as a “monolith” in front of him (fig. 2.16.-17.).<sup>80</sup> Overall, carving implies an irrecoverable process.<sup>81</sup> Nonetheless, it also allows more individuality for inhabitants who become active and permanent carvers shaping their home according to their spontaneous needs. Hence, carving allows sustainability.

According to Kostof, however, the obvious aim of the carver was to create spaces, which resembled built architecture. Ousterhout too emphasizes the carvers’ intention of associating their work with *built* architecture. Interestingly, donor portraits in Cappadocia are sometimes depicted holding built models of churches, although the architecture itself is rock-cut.<sup>82</sup> Indeed, carvers used often elements of the built architecture such as vaults, domes, pendentives, columns, blind arcades and cornices, which were reproduced not by inserting or adding but by subtracting. On the other hand, the use of columns and vaults often demonstrates the aesthetic concern or desire to give a sense of security concerning the stability of the

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<sup>78</sup> Ibid., 281; for “the mechanisms of legitimation in architecture” with regard to carved architecture see Nalbantoğlu (1997).

<sup>79</sup> Stea and Turan (1993) 172, emphasize the “subtractive” quality; Nalbantoğlu (1997) 90, mentions Abdullah Ziya who officially classified Turkish villages into topographical groups in 1933. Accordingly, one of the sub-categories is called “negative villages” covering rock-cut settlements; see for a discussion on carved spaces with respect to design Önür and Özkan (1974) 10-15.

<sup>80</sup> Kostof (1989) 45

<sup>81</sup> See Stea and Turan (1993) 172; see Önür and Özkan (1974) 12.

<sup>82</sup> Kalas (2000) 154-5; Ousterhout (2005) 151 footnote 53, points to Thierry and Thierry (1963) fig. 49, which shows the donor portrait at the rock-cut Kırk Dam Altı Kilise in the Ihlara valley. Here, interestingly “the donors are depicted presenting a masonry church to St. George.”

architecture rather than structural necessity.<sup>83</sup> However, doubts may be raised about Kostof's statement where he indicates that the "Cappadocian carver-architect was not inhibited (as was the *builder*-architect here and elsewhere in Anatolia) by statics or the nature of materials" and that "loads and thrusts were negligible."<sup>84</sup> Another question is whether there was any plan or drawing of the design executed and whether the carving process was based on the improvisation of individual craftsmen. A balanced view concerning this is given by Kalas:

Overall, the architecture of the settlement demonstrates that strong local traditions of engineering a living environment merged with external artistic influence. Carvers worked within a particular design repertoire, which they could manipulate and change with great flexibility and virtuosity as they sculpted the landscape.<sup>85</sup>

#### *Process of Carving*

David Stea and Mete Turan emphasize that the beginnings of *carving to dwell* in Cappadocia extend back to the proto Hittite period.<sup>86</sup> The continuity of rock-cut architecture in the region constitutes the continuity of age-old techniques and methods of carving.<sup>87</sup> Thus, working with this same *substance*, the modern carver has to deal with the same age-old problems.

Excavation for structures above ground began with digging a rough tunnel into the cliff or cone, which was then enlarged beginning on its far end.<sup>88</sup> Without a scaffold a worker can carve a space of maximum 2.25 m in height.<sup>89</sup> When higher spaces were required work had to be carried out from the upper to the lower part. Rodley assumes that by boring vertical chimneys upwards from the ceilings of cavities, starting at ground level, further rooms could be created at successively higher levels with no need to touch the rock-face from the outside. Several storied

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<sup>83</sup> See Kostof (1989) 18-24

<sup>84</sup> Kostof (1989) 45; for difficulties and risks involved in carving, see Öztürk (2009).

<sup>85</sup> Kalas (2006) 292

<sup>86</sup> Stea and Turan (1993) 169

<sup>87</sup> Giovannini (1972) 70; Stea and Turan (1993) 169; Öztürk (2009) 49

<sup>88</sup> See Stea and Turan (1993) 169-170

<sup>89</sup> Öztürk (2009) 55

structures can be observed in section, when erosion occasionally strips away the rock-face, as in the case of “honeycomb” of cavities.<sup>90</sup>

Continuity of *carving to dwell* is often explained with the “fact” that carving was “quicker,” “easier” and “cheaper” than building, since quarrying and hauling are not required. Accordingly, Luciano Giovannini argues that “[h]ere the nature of the environment is the determining factor, and the “constructors” of the dwellings were content to tunnel through the rock as natural conditions dictated rather than take the trouble to build up a structure from separate blocks of stone.”<sup>91</sup> Yet, rock-cut architecture, as the name suggests, requires also hewing; indeed the quarry itself becomes architecture. As for transport, it requires no transport of building materials to the building site but what is required is the transport of the hewn rock *out* of the cavity.

Written accounts generally do not question where all the hewn rock dust and debris are transported and whether they are reused elsewhere. During an interview,<sup>92</sup> Ahmet Zengin, a local master craftsman, explains that most of the excavated materials carved out of the rock are reused on the site of carving itself, either as blocks in masonry extensions or as inlay in order to create terraces for gardening along the slope. Zengin further informs us that excavated materials are also used to increase the thickness and fertility of the agricultural fields in valleys. Most of the contemporary hybrid settlements in the region began with carved spaces within the rock-mass. First, with the increase in the number of family members and income, locals added masonry extensions to their originally carved houses. Hence, the study of actual praxis is important to understand the nature and sequence of settlement in Cappadocia.

Rodley claims that “[a] small church might have been completed in a few weeks by only two or three workers.”<sup>93</sup> Kostof also emphasizes the supposed

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<sup>90</sup> Rodley (1983) 304-5 footnote 9

<sup>91</sup> Giovannini (1972) 75

<sup>92</sup> For this interview and application demonstrating the process and methods of carving with traditional tools, see Öztürk (2009).

<sup>93</sup> Rodley (1996) 673



*effortlessness* and *speed* of carving.<sup>94</sup> In contrast, in his historical geography of Asia Minor in the late nineteenth century Charles Texier writes that he was impressed by the effort involved in carving:

We cannot suppose that the Christian community would undertake the difficult task of cutting out a church from the rock at a time when they were at liberty to erect places of worship, and to practice freely their rites of the religion [...] the labor for forming them must have been immense [...] a work of great difficulty to people poor and without resources.<sup>95</sup>

More precisely, Kostof suggests it would take a single man about a month to carve out a large room of two to three thousand cubic feet which makes approximately 55 to 85 cubic meters.<sup>96</sup> Similarly, Sterrett thinks it takes one person about 30 days to carve circa 85 cubic meters.<sup>97</sup> In a partly excavated empty cavity, Zengin, a master craftsman, demonstrated the traditional methods to us which were used prior to mechanization and only partly at present.<sup>98</sup> In contemporary praxis, rock-cut spaces are carved removing large stone blocks of 1 to 2 m<sup>3</sup> consecutively. Zengin removed approximately 1.5 m<sup>3</sup> stone mass by using the *külünk*, a pickaxe with two sharp ends,<sup>99</sup> wedges and a sledge in the course of two days. David Stea and Metin Turan suggest that digging in ancient times must have been done also with pickaxes and iron bars.<sup>100</sup> Indeed, one can still observe marks of the pickaxes on worked surface ranging from simple dovecotes to carved large complexes. With the age-old methods as demonstrated by Zengin, a worker can excavate approximately 50 cm<sup>3</sup> a day. Under the best conditions, when the rock is neither too hard nor too soft, a

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<sup>94</sup> Kostof (1989) 45

<sup>95</sup> Texier and Pullan (1864) 38, this quote is taken from Kalas (2004) 107.

<sup>96</sup> Kostof (1989) 45

<sup>97</sup> Sterrett (1919) 318, mentions a report without giving any reference where it is stated that, "one man excavated a chamber 23 feet [ca 7 meters] long, 13 feet [ca 4 meter] broad and 10 feet [ca 3 meters] high within the space of 30 days."

<sup>98</sup> See Öztürk, 2009

<sup>99</sup> This is taken from Türk Dil Kurumu, <http://www.tdk.gov.tr>, accessed: 19.01.2008.

<sup>100</sup> Stea and Turan (1993) 169; Ayhan (2004) 29, recalls that metal tools have been in use in Anatolia since the third millennium BC.

worker might excavate up to 1 m<sup>3</sup>. This would mean 30 cubic meters in a month.<sup>101</sup> As the actual praxis shows, the duration of carving using traditional methods is twice to three times longer than initially assumed in various sources.<sup>102</sup> Indeed, the material and carving process have their own limitations and difficulties. Thus, the practice of the “modern” carver gives us clues about how the medieval carver worked too. Accordingly, the suitability of rock, formations and microclimate all affected the final design of the carved space. Zengin emphasizes that morphology and rock formations control site selection as well as the direction and dimension of the carved space.<sup>103</sup> Recent geological studies corroborate this.<sup>104</sup> Indeed, rock settlements are highly affected by the specific characteristics of the hosting rock-mass.

After figuring out and realizing the rough size and shape, refinement and work on architectural details proceeded, starting with the ceiling, followed with the walls and floor. Wooden scaffolding was used as far as needed. The most common carved motif is the horseshoe-shaped blind niche which decorates the interior of many halls and facades of numerous complexes. Yet, refinement of the carved decoration was limited due to rock characteristics whereby the granular rock did not support intricate or fine carving. Rodley describes the simple decoration of Byzantine rock-cut architecture in Cappadocia as “[c]arved decoration is largely confined to simple cornices and mouldings with occasional scroll or foliage ornament. Capitals are usually slabs or tapering blocks, sometimes decorated with incised geometric ornament.”<sup>105</sup>

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<sup>101</sup> Öztürk (2009) 55

<sup>102</sup> Sterrett (1919) 318, claims ca 85 cubic meters; Kostof (1989) 45, claims ca 55 to 85 cubic meters.

<sup>103</sup> If readable from the outside formations within the rock affect the site selection. But more often the nature of the rock is first encountered during the carving process. In such cases the direction of the room to be carved might be changed afterwards. In addition to the control of site selection and direction, rock formations can also control the dimensions of the space. If a layer presents a risk of collapsing, it will be taken away even if this would mean an unnecessary high section of the carved space.

<sup>104</sup> See Sevindi (2003) and Ayhan (2004).

<sup>105</sup> Rodley (1996) 673-4

*Troglodytic Settlements: Representatives of Byzantine Rural Dwelling or Special Responses to the Peculiar Landscape?*

Leo the Deacon's contemporary, the Arab geographer Ibn Hauqal, obviously referred to Cappadocia when he claimed that the Byzantine Empire consists mostly "of troglodytic villages, and of small towns with houses cut into the rocks or dug underground."<sup>106</sup> More recently, Semavi Eyice pointed to the other carved villages which are found in different parts of Anatolia (in Kırşehir, Karaman, etc.), outside Cappadocia. Hence, he asserts that we cannot talk about the Byzantine dwellings in Turkey without reserving an important place to the *troglodytic* settlement whose form and location suggest a "communal" life style.<sup>107</sup> Klaus Belke goes even further and differentiates two forms of village settlements found in central Anatolia: the "normal" built settlement and the cave settlement.<sup>108</sup> However, Uğur Tanyeli warns us that "the cave-residence areas in the Nevşehir-Göreme region" cannot be seen as "a typical representative of the Byzantine provincial."<sup>109</sup>

The "troglodytes" who carved these [cave-residence] utilized the potential offered by the special topography of the region. These cave dwellings supplied advantages at all times that no other housing could provide to the inhabitants in terms of security [...] Moreover, it is certain that this was a solution appropriate to the climate of the region.<sup>110</sup>

Instead, Tanyeli points to the rural housing in Boğazköy, consisting of single-room units of shelter with an open hearth, as a better representative of the general situation than Cappadocia's carved dwellings.<sup>111</sup>

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<sup>106</sup> Ibn Hauqal, *Configuration de la Terre*, 2. vols. transl. J.H.Kramer and G. Wiet (Beirut: Commission Internationale pour la Traduction de Chefs d'Oeuvre, 1964), 1:194. This quote is taken from Mathews and Daskalakis-Mathews (1997) 296.

<sup>107</sup> It is remarkable while Eyice (1996) 212, emphasizes the communal life, Sterrett (1919) 281, states "[...] every man was his own law and the mortal enemy of his neighbor."

<sup>108</sup> Belke (2005) 426, reports on Byzantine villages based on his observations gathered during his travels conducted for the *Tabula Imperii Byzantini* (TIB).

<sup>109</sup> Tanyeli (1996) 411

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid.*, 411-2 footnote 12

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*, 412

Therefore it needs to be acknowledged that the rock-cut architecture of Cappadocia is more sophisticated and varied than sometimes stated. Sure enough, the task of bringing scholarly order to the numerous rock-cut cavities in the region is as necessary as it is difficult. In this respect, it is not accurate to categorize all as houses of “primitive people.” Nor is it accurate to identify all better organized carved structures as monasteries. In this sense, not only “ecclesiastical foundations in Cappadocia” as Natalia Teteriatnikov states but also settlements “acquired their own character and distinct function owing to their specific geographic setting and long-lasting local architectural traditions.”<sup>112</sup>

### *Courtyard Complexes*<sup>113</sup>

In this sense, the so-called Courtyard Complexes deliberately formed and organized to resemble built architecture differ from other cavities in Cappadocia at first glance. Even though carving allows more individuality for the user to shape and extend his environment according to spontaneous needs, Courtyard Complexes demonstrate common features. It is exactly at this point that these complexes differ from other numerous irregular underground and above ground carved structures in the region. Also distributed throughout the volcanic valleys, they either stand in isolation or form an ensemble following the topography.

These complexes distinguish themselves with well-organized spaces around a courtyard, usually three-sided, and with their elaborately decorated façades (fig. 1.2.-3.). Indeed, the main façade opposite the opening of the courtyard can be seen from a considerable distance. When one recalls that many cave houses in the region do not even have any readable openings and have access only via ladders, mainly for security reasons, this insistence on visibility is remarkable.<sup>114</sup> The façade is ornamented with horseshoe-shaped blind niches and arcades organized in two or three registers which often does not even reflect the inner spatial division.<sup>115</sup>

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<sup>112</sup> Teteriatnikov (1996) 26

<sup>113</sup> Rott (1908) 242-5, uses for the first time the term *Felsenhöfe Anlagen* which means “rock-cut courtyard facilities” in German.

<sup>114</sup> Belke (2005) 430

<sup>115</sup> Kalas (2007) 290, claims that the rather personal design of the main façade suggests that it might be a “status marker for individual household owners.”

Indeed, contrary to other cavities in the region, which make use of all the height of the rock-mass, in Courtyard Complexes the main organization often occurs on a single level, above the ground. Usually a vestibule and a hall perpendicular to the former, both voluminous, are located behind the main façade. Occasionally a chapel, a kitchen, a stable, a tomb chamber and other apparently multi-functional rooms accessible directly from the vestibule or courtyard are carved in the outlining rock-mass.

Courtyard Complexes are commonly dated to the middle Byzantine period. Because of the distinctive elaborate design, and the large number of still standing examples, as well as the communal life style that they indicate, these Cappadocian complexes have attracted scholarly attention in both monastic and secular Byzantine studies. Hence, before going into the detailed comparative architectural investigation of this particular typology it is necessary to reconsider both religious and secular communities and their physical expressions in the form of monasteries and various dwelling types. Accordingly, the rest of Part I is reserved for a broad discussion on Byzantine Monasticism and Dwelling.

## CHAPTER 3

### BYZANTINE MONASTICISM

Monasticism, although etymologically deriving from the Greek word *μονάζειν* meaning “living in solitary,” affected the life of every Byzantine man and woman. Indeed, it was an essential part not only of the religious but also “social fabric” of the empire.<sup>116</sup> For the first hundred years of this “initially lay movement”<sup>117</sup> accurate knowledge is scarce. It is generally admitted that it began in Egypt. Yet, Palestine, Syria and Mesopotamia were also involved after a short time. Cyril Mango claims that in northern Asia Minor monasticism was established before 340 and by about 350 some monks were already in western Europe. By the middle of the fourth century, monasticism had spread to many parts of the Roman Empire and had tens of thousands of adherents.<sup>118</sup>

#### 3.1 Different Forms of Monasticism in the East

Solitude differed in its meaning from monk to monk. For some it meant absolute seclusion without any human contact, but for many it meant living alone for most of the time but occasionally joining others in specific places. Thus, the two main monastic branches, namely the solitary and the communal (cenobitic) as well as their combinations were already seen in the early stages and became classical forms which continued to be practiced throughout the Byzantine period.<sup>119</sup>

##### *Hermitages*

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<sup>116</sup> Talbot (1987/ Turkish transl. 1999) 163; Talbot (1991) 1392

<sup>117</sup> Talbot (1991) 1392

<sup>118</sup> Mango (1980) 106

<sup>119</sup> Ibid.

The earliest form of monasticism, the anchoritic type, was based on the seclusion of hermits, who lived in solitude. Their living conditions and extreme diets were so shaped that “the importance of the flesh” would have been diminished. St Antony of Egypt (d. 356) who has been regarded as “the father of monasticism” was the model for the solitary form which was reduced to isolation, prayer and fasting.<sup>120</sup> From 313 onwards, Antony lived in solitude at the edges of the desert for twenty years. Yet, his followers also living in seclusion accompanied the “spiritual father.” In the following two centuries, the Nile valley was inhabited by many hermits living in caves located in semi-desert areas.<sup>121</sup> In the desert near Esna, such hermitages consisting of few small rooms and a small oratory have survived. On the other hand, in Syria and Mesopotamia, the anchoritic type took some extreme forms. For instance, standing upright on a pillar, St Symeon Stylites (d. 459) won international renown.<sup>122</sup>

#### *Lavra*

A later form of hermitage called *lavra* emerged in Palestine at the beginning of the fourth century where a development similar to Egypt took place. This was developed by St Hilarion who was a disciple of St Antony. The term *lavra* defines “a scatter of cells” which was occupied by the solitary hermits but within the reach of a church and kitchen where the anchorites gathered weekly for the communal worshipping (fig. 3.1.).<sup>123</sup>

#### *Koinobion*

Communal religious life as an alternative form to the *lavra* appeared in Egypt, Palestine and Asia Minor in the second half of the fourth century. A permanent settlement, called *koinobion*, was the place where monks lived and

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<sup>120</sup> Ibid., 105-6

<sup>121</sup> Ibid., 106-7

<sup>122</sup> Ibid., 110; Baumeister, Roos and Saner (2007) 672, point to the contradiction between this extreme type requiring complete withdrawal from worldly life on the one hand and conscious presentation of this life style by its adherents on the other. Accordingly, small cenobitic monasteries with traces of a pillar in their courtyard, where once a *stylites* might have stood, are found in Syria (ex. complex in Kafr Derian); for more information on *Stylite* Saints see Aykanat (2003).

<sup>123</sup> See Mango (1980) 109 and Rodley (1985) 237

worked together (fig. 3.2.). They provided agricultural and other activities for the community. The *koinobion* was actually a natural development of followers' gathering around a spiritual ascetic.<sup>124</sup> St Antony's younger contemporary Pachomios (d. 346) had set-up the communal, cenobitic form of monasticism in Upper Egypt. Pachomios, who had served in the imperial army before he became a hermit, recognized that "the military model was best suited for monastic life."<sup>125</sup> The establishment, which was set up after his formulation in Tabennesi, on the right bank of the Nile, consisted of several houses within a walled camp, each under a commanding officer. Here, monks were assigned to the houses where they worked, worshiped and ate together according to their occupation.<sup>126</sup> Rodley describes the internal organization as follows:

The fourth-century [koinobion] of St Pachomios at Tabenesis, on the Nile north of Thebes, had an enclosing wall, a gatehouse and a guest house, an assembly hall for worship, a refectory, a kitchen and bakehouse, a hospital and a number of houses, each holding between twenty and forty monks, housed in individual cells.<sup>127</sup>

By the time Pachomios died, a dozen (men's) monasteries and three nunneries inhabited by thousands were under his leadership.<sup>128</sup>

#### *St Basil the Great*

In Asia Minor *koinobion* took its "definitive form" with St Basil the Great of Caesarea. During his journey to Mesopotamia, Syria, Palestine and Egypt in 357, he observed various forms of monasticism. Without denying the importance of personal solitude, St Basil saw the *koinobion* as the most suitable form of monasticism, since he believed that "every man stood in need of correction by example or advice –something that could not be achieved in isolation."<sup>129</sup> However, he also judged that the cenobitic form as introduced by Pachomios was too big to

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<sup>124</sup> Rodley (1985) 237

<sup>125</sup> Mango (1980) 106-7; for an example of Byzantine encampments see figure 3.3 which depicts a military camp within a rectangular enclosure near Silifke.

<sup>126</sup> Mango (1980) 107

<sup>127</sup> Rodley (1985) 237-8

<sup>128</sup> Mango (1980) 107

<sup>129</sup> Ibid., 110



supervise. Thus, he proposed a more modest formulation and advocated a “self-sufficient” community, which later became the norm throughout the Byzantine period.<sup>130</sup> St Basil’s status as one of the major Church Fathers allowed a widespread acceptance of his monastic ideal as presented in his work *The Longer* and *The Shorter Rules*.<sup>131</sup> The rules of Basil defined the lifestyle and behavior of the monk as “simplicity of dress, and of diet, the shedding of personal property, restraint and compassion when dealing with others, the necessity for labors.”<sup>132</sup> Yet, unlike in the West, each Byzantine monastery was a unique foundation whose administrative and organizational structure was determined by its own rules, later specified in the *typikon*, foundation documents of the monastery.<sup>133</sup>

The “monastic movement” in the East reached its peak by the fifth and sixth centuries.<sup>134</sup> Following the models of Antony and Pachomios, monasticism expanded geographically and developed in a rather unplanned fashion according to local adaptations where solitary and cenobitic forms were combined in various ways.<sup>135</sup> Indeed, both forms co-existed throughout the Byzantine period and they often complemented each other. Usually a monk began his religious life in a community and after proving himself for the solitary, only then, he became an anchorite.<sup>136</sup>

### *Monastic Centers*

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<sup>130</sup> Mango, M. M. (2002) 209, highlights the similarity between these usually land-based monasteries, which were involved in the agricultural activities and the independent Roman villa described by Palladius in the fourth century.

<sup>131</sup> Mango (1980) footnote 9

<sup>132</sup> Rodley (1985) 238

<sup>133</sup> Talbot (1991) 1393; Rodley (1985) 238; Talbot (1990) 128, warns that *typika* were theoretical rules of monasteries, which presented *ideals*. Thus, they need to be supplemented with other evidence such as historical narratives, lives of saints, monastic acts and archeological evidence in order to have “a more complete picture of how monasteries functioned in reality.”

<sup>134</sup> Mango (1980) 112-3

<sup>135</sup> *Ibid.*, 109

<sup>136</sup> Rodley (1989) 238

The development seen in early monasticism is also seen in the history of monastic centers of the middle Byzantine.<sup>137</sup> Through the eleventh and twelfth centuries, nothing had changed concerning the ideals, disciplinary canons, forms and definition of monastic life. As before, solitaries, *stylites*, *koinobia*, and *lavrai* continued as different forms of monasticism. But now, the monasteries had spread throughout the Byzantine lands including cities. Besides, the monastic centre as a single geographically isolated area, where monasteries were concentrated, became an important feature of the Byzantine world. Accordingly, Mt Olympos, Latmos, Athos and Meteora were important centers where a variety of monastic institutions coexisted such as hermitages, *lavrai* and *koinobia* (fig. 3.18).<sup>138</sup>

Interestingly, however, Peter Charanis suggests that Constantinople might have been the greatest monastic center of the empire. Accordingly, 325 monasteries (including nunneries) have been identified, at one time or another in the course of the empire, in the capital and its European suburbs.<sup>139</sup> However, as it was generally the case, in Constantinople too, early monasteries were established outside the walls. Already in the fourth century, emperor Theodosius I prohibited the presence of monks in the city by the law that was repealed two years later. Nevertheless, “a general feeling that monks had no place among the temptations and bustle of a city” remained while in the countryside the monk was “a familiar figure” playing a social role.<sup>140</sup>

### 3.2 Monasticism and Society

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<sup>137</sup> Ibid.

<sup>138</sup> Ibid.; Mango (1980) 118, asserts that the most important center from the eighth century onwards was the Bithynian Olympos (modern Uludağ). From the late tenth century onwards Mt Athos followed it. Mt Latmos became prominent before the tenth century, Mt Galesion near Ephesus in the eleventh century; Charanis (1971) 64, reports that in Europe the great monastic centers have been seen beginning with the second half of the tenth century. Among them were at first Mt Athos, and then came other high places such as Ganos, Papikion, Cithaeron. Beginning with the fourteenth century, the Meteora in Thessaly was also an important center. See fig. 3.18.

<sup>139</sup> Charanis (1971) 64, refers to R. Janin, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'Empire byzantin* (Paris, 1953) 4; see also Rodley (1989) 238.

<sup>140</sup> Mango (1980) 112

### *The Number of the Monasteries and the Monks*

Charanis emphasizes “[t]hat monastic establishments in the Byzantine Empire throughout the duration of its existence were very numerous is a matter which admits of no doubt.”<sup>141</sup> Roughly 700 monasteries whose history is known to us are involved in diverse lists, yet their number surely varied from time to time. Monasteries, however, continued to be established throughout the centuries up to the end of the Empire. At least eighteen monasteries were in use in Constantinople prior to its fall in 1453.

A total of 540 monks were associated with these eighteen monasteries while the population in the Capital at the time was 50, 000. If these numbers are assumed to be correct a ratio of approximately one monk per one hundred inhabitants comes out.<sup>142</sup> Accordingly, Charanis concludes:

In the course of the centuries the Byzantine Empire underwent many changes -in territorial extent, size of population, economic power, and administrative machinery. But throughout these centuries its world view, its general intellectual style, sustained no fundamental change. This was particularly true [...] of its attitude toward monastic life. It is not unreasonable to suppose, therefore, that the ratio of monks to the general population remained more or less the same throughout the centuries.<sup>143</sup>

Consequently, a decline in population and a decline in the number of monasteries seem to have some parallels.<sup>144</sup> However, according to Charanis, “to the question of how many monks may have existed in the Byzantine Empire at any one period after the sixth century no final or definite answer can be given.”<sup>145</sup>

In addition to large monasteries a number of smaller monasteries existed in the same general region housing only eight to twelve monks.<sup>146</sup> Indeed, the vast majority of the Byzantine establishments housed between ten to twenty monks.<sup>147</sup>

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<sup>141</sup> Charanis (1971) 63

<sup>142</sup> Ibid., 73

<sup>143</sup> Ibid.

<sup>144</sup> Ibid., 69

<sup>145</sup> Ibid.

<sup>146</sup> Ibid., 71

<sup>147</sup> Ibid., 72

Establishments bearing a lesser number of monks were usually not called a monastery.<sup>148</sup> Few had more than fifty and larger monasteries with hundreds of monks were exceptional.<sup>149</sup>

*Who were the Byzantine Monks?*

Mango asks “[w]hat, we may well wonder, was the attraction of this regimented life to which thousands of men and women flocked?”<sup>150</sup> Similarly, Charanis questions “[w]hat was it that turned a Byzantine away from the world to embrace monasticism?”<sup>151</sup> Certainly, monasticism was an established way of life, yet each individual had his/ her special reason for embracing it.<sup>152</sup> Byzantine men and women could enter monastic life in every stage of their life. However, most of the Byzantine monks were within the age group of twenty-five to forty-five, in the most productive period of their life.<sup>153</sup> Their motivations varied from the purest wish for self-devotion to the most selfish ones. Correspondingly, some followed the saying of the Lord: “[a]nd everyone who has left houses or brothers or sisters or father or mother or children or lands, for my name's sake will receive a hundred fold and inherit eternal life.”<sup>154</sup> Others were criminals, runaway slaves who sought “anonymity behind the conventual walls.”<sup>155</sup> Peasants entered the monastery to make better use of their land. In general, disappointments in life might have led others to retreat into monastic institutions.<sup>156</sup> Beside those who decided freely to

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<sup>148</sup> Mango (1980) 117

<sup>149</sup> Charanis (1971) 69-72; Rodley (1985) 238; Charanis (1971) 69, highlights that the number of monks in the Monastery Studium rose from twelve to a thousand under the direction of Theodore who became its abbot in 799. Yet, it is not clear whether the number thousand covers also inmates from other houses in relation with the Studium.

<sup>150</sup> Mango (1980) 107

<sup>151</sup> Charanis (1971) 79

<sup>152</sup> Ibid.

<sup>153</sup> Ibid., 74

<sup>154</sup> Ibid., 79-80, refers to Petit, L. “Vie et office de Saint Euthyme de jeune,” *Revue de l’Orient chrétien*, 8 (2) (1903) 177, 181.

<sup>155</sup> Charanis (1971) 77

<sup>156</sup> Ibid., 79

enter the monastery there were also those who were forced to spend the rest of their life in the monastery, most often for political reasons.<sup>157</sup> Accordingly, the ethnic diversity of the Byzantine Empire was reflected in the population of monasteries.<sup>158</sup>

Yet, in spite of changing biographies, there was the commonly accepted image of the monk. Charanis describes it as follows:

His aggregate number, some degree of organization, occasional articulate leadership, a philosophy which emphasized simplicity, kindness, love- these were the factors which made the monk an influential element in Byzantine society. But it was another, mystical quality that gave him special status and formed his image. By the condition of his life he had come very close to the Lord; had, so to speak, touched His garments, and thereby absorbed certain powers which the Lord possessed and which He alone could transmit. The monk's prayers thus became much more effective than the prayers of ordinary folk [...]<sup>159</sup>

Moreover, Symeon the New Theologian (ca. 949-1022) goes even further and claims that “[b]ishops and priests had altogether lost their unworthy conduct the gift of grace they had received from the apostles and become no better than laymen [...] the spiritual gift had passed to monks [...] they were the only true Christians, the successors of the apostles.”<sup>160</sup> Therefore, it is not a surprise that from approximately ninety inhabitants of the Byzantine Empire between the seventh and the fifteenth centuries who achieved sainthood at least seventy-five were monks.<sup>161</sup>

As a matter of fact, the monk constituted an important part of the Byzantine society, whereby his position was too strong to have been altered. According to Charanis, the monk was “respected and admired” by the populace who often consulted him for help and was “loved” by emperors who took his advice for some important undertaking. Charanis even goes further and asserts that “[m]onks were

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<sup>157</sup> Ibid., 77

<sup>158</sup> Charanis (1971) 78

<sup>159</sup> Ibid., 74

<sup>160</sup> Mango (1980) 119

<sup>161</sup> Charanis (1971) 63, takes these numbers from the list of *Biblioteica Hagiographica Graeca*. For this Charanis refers to the revised and enlarged third edition by Halkin, François. *Biblioteica Hagiographica Graeca*. 3 vols. Brussels, 1957.

considered to be a spiritual force upon which the very safety of the Empire depended.”<sup>162</sup>

*Monasticism and Family Ties*<sup>163</sup>

The monastic ideal was to break off ties with the past. Hence, monastic communities replaced the biological family and often discouraged the contact of nuns and monks with their relatives. Nevertheless, members of the same family who decided to enter into monastic life often lived in the same institution. Even next to the monasteries on holy mountains there was often one convent that housed kinswomen of the monks living in the monastery. Double monasteries which meant male and female monasteries under a superior institution were officially forbidden but did exist in rarity in Byzantium.<sup>164</sup> Yet, contact with the outside and visits of relatives were arranged according to the *typikon* of each monastery and could differ from institution to institution.<sup>165</sup> Moreover, a survey of six surviving *typika* of convents indicates that nuns were more likely to maintain relationships with their families. Women were more likely to remain in their birthplace and stay in the same monastery for life. They only moved to distant monasteries when forced to leave by enemies or in order to be near a male relative who had already entered a distant monastery.<sup>166</sup>

In addition, Alice-Mary Talbot argues for “a change over time towards stronger connection between the families and monastic institutions.” Accordingly, many monasteries had strong bonds with the founders’ and benefactors’ family. Monasteries were sometimes used as burial sites for aristocratic and imperial

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<sup>162</sup> Charanis (1971) 84

<sup>163</sup> For a detailed discussion on the relation between the Byzantine family and monastery see Talbot (1990) 119-129.

<sup>164</sup> See Talbot (1990) 121-3

<sup>165</sup> See *Ibid.*, 123-4

<sup>166</sup> Talbot (1990) 128, refers to Rosenqvist, J. (ed.), *The Life of St. Irene of Chrysobalanton*, Uppsala, 1986. Accordingly, Irene of Chrysobalanton left her home in Cappadocia and went to the capital where she maintained contacts with her relatives, members of the patrician Gouber family, and with her sister, the wife of Ceasar Bardas.

families. In this sense, Talbot points to the differentiation between aristocratic and non-aristocratic *typika* from which the former indicate stronger family ties.<sup>167</sup>

### *Charity*

Although they generally sought isolation, monasteries did not exclude charity, which was indeed frequently defined in their *typika*.<sup>168</sup> Charity of the monasteries was more than “giving alms to the poor or offering shelter to the weary travelers.”<sup>169</sup> Throughout the history of the Byzantine Empire, a great many of the establishments, which were designed to take care of the needy, were associated with monasteries. Most of the monasteries were shelters for the needy, the traveler, the elderly and orphans. These were hostels and hospitals maintained, managed, and directed by monks.<sup>170</sup> Indeed, the monastery was often the only place where a peasant could get medical treatment.<sup>171</sup> However, monasteries were of interest not only for the poor but also to the wealthy. Patrons founded monasteries for various reasons, among them, the guarantee of treatment in their old age, a place for burial and assurance of prayers.<sup>172</sup> On the other hand, unlike in the West none of the Byzantine monasteries ever became “a major educational center.” Monastic schools mentioned from time to time were for young boys and elementary in nature.<sup>173</sup>

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<sup>167</sup> Talbot (1990) 128, refers to Galatariotou, G. “Byzantine Ktetorika Typika: A Comparative Study” *Revue des études byzantines* 45 (1987): 77-188.

<sup>168</sup> Rodley (1985) 238-9

<sup>169</sup> Charanis (1971) 82

<sup>170</sup> Ibid.

<sup>171</sup> Ibid., 76; Ibid., 82-3, mentions the Pantokrator founded by the Emperor John II in Constantinople in the twelfth century which had an attached hospital. The remarkable institution with fifty-odd beds was divided into five sections for specific types of cases including a section reserved for treatment and services to women. The institution included also a pharmacy, a mill, a bakery, a kitchen, a laundry, and bathing houses.

<sup>172</sup> See Talbot (1990) 124 and Rodley (1985) 239

<sup>173</sup> Yet, it was expected that a monk should read. If he was not literate by the time he became a monk he had to learn to do so in the monastery. This obligation to read led monasteries to establish their own libraries where reading materials were religious books. Special time was allocated for reading in the daily program of the monastery. However, from this entire one should not infer that all the Byzantine monks were always literate. In some monasteries, there was a differentiation between the “liturgical service” and “manual tasks.” From this, one may suggest that monks who were assigned various manual tasks were probably illiterate. Moreover, literacy does not necessarily mean being

### *Regulations and Prohibitions*

Already in the early ages, conflict occurs between the monks and clergy. In its strictness and belief that physical withdrawal is required for salvation, monasticism in both forms, solitary and cenobitic, posed a threat to the church.<sup>174</sup> St Athanasius, the Bishop of Alexandria, was one who offered a compromise between monastery and the church. In his *Life of Antony* he highlighted the respect paid by Antony to the secular clergy.<sup>175</sup> Consequently, as Mango expresses “[...] there developed an acceptance of “two ways”: monasticism was the high road to Heaven, but life in the world, if properly regulated by the Church, offered a possibility of reaching the same destination, though in a less direct fashion.”<sup>176</sup>

Yet, already from the fifth century onwards, attempts were made to regulate and control the monastic life and administration by the church and state. The Council of Chalcedon (451) prohibited secular affairs for monks including entering the army and marriage.<sup>177</sup> Justinian I in the sixth century tried to enforce regulations concerning the foundation and administration of monasteries by law but in time monasticism became “too fluid, too dispersed and too influential to submit to such regulations.” It also came to have a considerable economic wealth.<sup>178</sup> Justinian I, in a series of novellas, determined “standards for the domestic conditions of a koinobion” yet acknowledging the right of anchorites to live alone. Accordingly, double monasteries having sections for women and men were prohibited. The Council of Trullo (692) determined ten years as the minimum age to enter a monastery. Extreme asceticism at the level of self-injury was generally rejected. Thus, in the council of Trullo it was also specified that for going into the solitary

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educated. Indeed, with some exceptions, the Byzantine monk was “essentially an uneducated man.” See Charanis (1971) 80-2.

<sup>174</sup> Mango (1980) 108

<sup>175</sup> Ibid., 108-9

<sup>176</sup> Ibid., 109

<sup>177</sup> Rodley (1985) 238

<sup>178</sup> Mango (1980) 113



life at least three years in a koinobion was required.<sup>179</sup> The Council of Nicaea (787) put regulations to control the migration of monks from one monastery to another. In addition, appointment of the superior within the community as well as the foundation of new monasteries was regularized.<sup>180</sup>

Perhaps the most direct and radical approach towards monasticism was undertaken by Constantine V (741-75) who aimed to put an end to it. The fact that the monks did not serve as soldiers and that they did not contribute to the increase of the population was criticized from time to time.<sup>181</sup> This might have been one of the reasons why Constantine V was after “the eradication of monasticism from the Empire.” Consequently, monasteries were destroyed, sold or transformed for other uses and books relating to the monastic life were burned.<sup>182</sup> This “anti-monastic” approach of Constantine V can also be explained with his iconoclastic policy, for it was the monks rather than the secular clergy who reacted strongly against Iconoclasm. However, no sooner than the death of Constantine, the monastic establishment had multiplied as never before.<sup>183</sup>

#### *Financial*

Monasteries presented a real threat to the state in that they possessed large lands. Indeed, donations were made to monasteries primarily in order to have monks and nuns pray for one’s salvation. In addition, individuals who decided to enter a monastery often donated all or much of their property.<sup>184</sup> Some scholars

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<sup>179</sup> Rodley (1985) 239

<sup>180</sup> Ibid.

<sup>181</sup> A statement of Zosimus, the fifth-century “pagan” historian, summarizes hostile intents against the monasticism: “Monks are of service for neither war nor any other necessity [...] they have appropriated the greater part of the earth. On a pretext of giving everything to the poor they have, so to speak, made everyone poor.” This quote is taken from Charanis (1971) 82-3.

<sup>182</sup> Charanis (1971) 66

<sup>183</sup> Ibid., 66-7; Mango (1980) 114 and 116, asserts that among all the social classes the monks were the most resistant to the catastrophe of the seventh century. Following iconoclastic periods monasticism became stronger, as Mango states: “it had also established itself as the religious conscience whenever bishops were forced to compromise on matters of doctrine or discipline.” The monks were not as vulnerable as the bishops were since the former due to their connections from Palestine to Italy could migrate easily in case of political pressure.

<sup>184</sup> Talbot (1990) 125

estimate that “at the end of the seventh century, about one-third of the usable land of the Empire was in the possession of the church and the monasteries.”<sup>185</sup> In fact, in spite of regulations and prohibitions, following the iconoclastic period the possession of monasteries had increased so much that “the peasant proprietors and eventually the State itself suffered.”<sup>186</sup> Rodley asserts that “[f]rom at least the eighth century, possibly earlier, monasteries could be bought and sold, bequeathed and inherited [...] the monastery became a significant element in Byzantine materialism.”<sup>187</sup> Alexander Kazhdan and Giles Constable summarize the process as follows:

Monasteries gradually became landed proprietors and received lavish imperial grants only after the ninth century. Their position in the Byzantine establishment thus changed from a form of social retreat into an indispensable element of the Byzantine ruling class. Monks functioned as the counselors of emperors and patriarchs, and many monasteries were founded by nobles as a convenient way of arranging and governing their lands and chattels.<sup>188</sup>

In the tenth century the imperial government became alarmed by the loss of peasant’s lands to the monasteries. Accordingly, Constantine VII barred monasteries from acquiring the lands of peasants. They were even not allowed to accept donations. Nikephoros II Phokas and later Basil II went even further and did not allow new monasteries to be established.<sup>189</sup> In this regard, Charanis writes:

Nikephoros II Phokas, in his famous novel prohibiting new monastic establishments, speaks of *myriades* of monasteries already in existence, and Basil II, in his, conveys the idea that in many of the villages located in every theme of the Empire there existed establishments which could be called monasteries.<sup>190</sup>

Still, towards the end of the tenth century the monastery was assigned to a lay patron who had complete control over the estate and profit for his lifetime and could

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<sup>185</sup> Charanis (1971) 83

<sup>186</sup> Ibid., 83

<sup>187</sup> Rodley (1985) 239; Mango (1980) 118, asserts that “[t]he most splendid religious buildings of the Middle Byzantine period happen to be monastic.” Correspondingly, in Greece all the major surviving churches from the second half of the ninth century onwards belong to the monasteries.

<sup>188</sup> Kazhdan and Constable (1982) 131

<sup>189</sup> See Charanis (1971) 67 and Mango (1980) 116

<sup>190</sup> Charanis (1971) 73

pass it on to his heir, an act that was limited with the third generation. This system was open to abuse such as the complete despoiling of the monastery by the patron.<sup>191</sup> Consequently, Charanis posits:

As the Empire approached its end, much of its usable land was in the possession of monasteries. The monks did not bring about the decline of the Byzantine Empire; they did, however, create economic and social conditions which helped to bring it about.<sup>192</sup>

Due to their long tradition and financial expertise, the Byzantine monasteries were well prepared to survive under foreign occupation. The monasteries that survived the conquest continued following five centuries under the Turkish occupation. As Mango underlines, “Byzantine monasticism thus outlined the Byzantine Empire.”<sup>193</sup> Ironically, the monk beloved by the poorest *and* the richest went into the conflict with both and the monk who had been seen as the safeguard of the empire assisted in preparing its end.

### 3.3 Architecture

#### *State of Evidence*

Svetlana Popović argues that “[t]here is a very close relationship between the monastic way of life and its architectural setting. Building forms and their spatial arrangement often have symbolic meaning, sometimes not immediately recognizable.”<sup>194</sup> Yet, although as Mango emphasizes “[no] other aspect of Byzantine life is as amply documented as monasticism,” it is still a hard task to give an account of its material expression.<sup>195</sup> Written evidence, such as Saint’s lives and

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<sup>191</sup> Mango (1980) 117

<sup>192</sup> Charanis (1971) 83

<sup>193</sup> Mango (1980) 124

<sup>194</sup> Popović (1998) 281

<sup>195</sup> Mango (1980) 105, mentions “hundreds of biographies of holy monks, countless meditations, epistles, sermons, exhortations and justifications dealing with the monastic condition [...] a number of rules, disciplinary canons, imperial edicts, even a considerable body of archival material”; Yet, among the most important primary resources are the documents found in the archive of Mount Athos and *typika* of monasteries.

*typika* do not specifically inform us about the physical characteristic of monasteries.<sup>196</sup> As for archaeological evidence, on the one hand, monasteries that continued to be used in the post-Byzantine period (mostly in Greece) had alterations and rebuilding over centuries. Hence, their original forms are often uncertain. On the other hand, those that lost their function with the end of the Empire either fell into ruin or were lost entirely.<sup>197</sup> Concerning small monasteries, remains are even fewer.<sup>198</sup> As Rodley states, the monastic tendency for simplicity must have discouraged architectural refinement and subsequently affected their chance to survive.<sup>199</sup> Moreover, scholars do not always agree on the identification of ruins,<sup>200</sup> not to mention structures subsequently converted from secular establishment into monasteries.<sup>201</sup> Consequently, monastic communities varying from a few to hundreds of monks, regional settings, differences between urban and rural institutions as well as difference in wealth of the foundations and the organic

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<sup>196</sup> Rodley (1985) 240; furthermore, Ousterhout (2005) 178, asserts that surviving *typika* belong primarily to aristocratic or imperial foundations and they may not reflect the organization of small monasteries established by the middle or lower class. In this sense, he highlights that “the rock-cut monasteries of Cappadocia were neither large nor wealthy”; see also Ousterhout (2005) 178-9 footnote 38.

<sup>197</sup> Ousterhout (2005) 178 footnote 36, criticizes Orlandos, A. *Monasterial Architecture* (in Greek). Athens, 1958 and others who “have focused almost exclusively on post-Byzantine monuments, such as the monasteries of Mount Athos, assuming that they preserve the appearance of their predecessors.”

<sup>198</sup> Rodley (1985) 240, underlines Cappadocian cave monasteries as example for small monasteries.

<sup>199</sup> *Ibid.*, 241

<sup>200</sup> *Ibid.*, 241-2, points out that in Değle, contrary to Bell’s and Ramsay’s (1909) initial monastic identification Eyice suggests a secular use for the ruins; Ousterhout (2005) 176-7 footnote 25, refers to Hill who questions the monastic identity of Alahan Monastery and some other complexes in Hill, Stephen. “When is a Monastery Not a Monastery?” *The Theotokos Evergetis and Eleventh-Century Monasticism*. Belfast Byzantine Texts and Translation. ed. Margaret Mullet and Anthony Kirby (Belfast: The Queen’s University of Belfast, 1994), 137-45; Baumeister, Roos and Saner (2007) 623-74, is not certain about the function of the so-called Keloş Kale, ruins found near modern Birecik. See figure 3.4. The scholars stress two possible functions for the complex founded in 5-6<sup>th</sup> century: “The group of building is probably best described as *villa rustica*, that is, a residence and farming entity with an agricultural function. Its similarity to the numerous cloisters of the north Syrian limestone massif would certainly intimate, however, that it may well have served as a convent.”

<sup>201</sup> Ousterhout (1997a) 430, asserts that there are “numerous recorded instances of palaces being converted to monasteries, apparently without significant change.” Accordingly, the tenth-century palace Myrelaion was converted into a nunnery shortly after it had been completed. See fig. 4.12.

character of monasteries that were in use over centuries hinder us from pointing to a common architectural layout in the East.<sup>202</sup>

Moreover, attempts to develop “a typological framework for Byzantine monasticism” initially based on “Western European models” fail, since monasteries in the East were neither as rigidly organized nor as well preserved as their western counterparts.<sup>203</sup> From the ninth century onward, western monasteries followed “a carefully constructed typology” which responded to the requirements of monastic life set by the Rules of St. Benedict. Accordingly, “a standard organization of church, cloister, and refectory” which was first used in the plan of St. Gall became established.<sup>204</sup>

Consequently, from the western point of view, until recently a church or chapel included within a relatively well-organized Byzantine complex was indiscriminately identified as monastic.<sup>205</sup> However, Thomas Mathews paved the way for questioning this evidence especially when he examined the privatization of the church. Mathews discussed the evolution of the Byzantine church from open to closed forms and pointed to the parallels between the reduction in scale and the tendency towards private liturgy.<sup>206</sup> Hence, a single attached church on a complex does not definitely point to monastic use. On the other hand, the chapel was a common component of Byzantine houses. Indeed, as Ousterhout asserts “[i]t was

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<sup>202</sup> Ousterhout (2005) 178-9 footnote 38, referring to Thomas, J. and A.C. Hero (eds.), *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents*, 5 vols. (Washington, D.C., 2000) reports that “[a] document from the period of Romanos I lists six different types of monasteries: imperial, patriarchal, archiepiscopal, metropolitan, episcopal, and *autodespotan* or independent.”

<sup>203</sup> Ousterhout (2005) 178, points to new excavations, such as those on Mount Papikion in northern Greece and at numerous medieval Serbian sites which according to him “only serve to emphasize the lack of an established system of organization for Eastern monasticism”; for monasteries in the West see Braunfels, W. *Monasteries of Western Europe* (Princeton, 1972).

<sup>204</sup> Ousterhout (2005) 178

<sup>205</sup> *Ibid.*, 176-7 footnote 25

<sup>206</sup> Mathews (1982) 125-38; see also Mathews and Daskalakis-Mathews (1997) 294-315 (esp. 295, 298).

common for a residence of any consequence to have a chapel, complete with a household priest, as Byzantine legislation indicates.”<sup>207</sup>

### *Plans*

The most familiar middle Byzantine monastery plan seen in many of the monasteries in Greece is the one consisting of an enclosed courtyard whose perimeter wall is lined with cells, storage units, and offices that are organized in one or two stories.<sup>208</sup> The monastery church occupies the center of the courtyard whereas the refectory is often located at the west side, opposite the church entrance. The courtyard which might contain also a fountain and a well is entered by a gatehouse. The plan of the Monastery of St Meletios, near Megara, constitutes an example of this (fig. 3.5.).<sup>209</sup>

Yet, in general, earlier monasteries in the East were not as regular in their organization. For instance, the church of the monastery of St Euthymios, in Palestine, is built against the eastern enclosing wall (fig. 3.6.).<sup>210</sup> Rodley highlights the so-called Coptic monasteries of the Wadi’n Natrun founded between the late fourth and mid sixth centuries as “virtually villages” within enclosures (fig. 3.7.). They contain blocks of cells and other rooms either free-standing or set against the walls. Interestingly, early monasteries in Syria cover churches and residential buildings nearby. Occasionally symmetrical plans as in the Monastery of Id-Dêr in Syria are also found (fig. 3.8.).<sup>211</sup> Several monasteries, some founded in the fourth

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<sup>207</sup> Ousterhout (2005) 179-180 footnote 42, refers to Noailles. P. and A. Dain. (eds.) *Les Nouvelles de Léon VI. Le Sage* (Paris, 1944), 21 ff (Novel 4), 59ff (Novel 15) and to Mango (1980) 82; Patlagean (1987) 569, claims that “[e]ach great house had a chaplain to celebrate religious services”; Patlagean (1987) 576, asserts that “[p]rivate worship services were held in oratories of great houses”; Kuban (1995) 30, asserts that private chapels were part of more luxurious mansions and every house had an *iconostasis*; See also Kalas (2007) 395 and (2009) 162; Private chapels were also found in late antique houses. See Ellis (1988) 569 and Özgenel (2007) 246.

<sup>208</sup> For a summary on architectural schemes see Rodley (1985) 240-7

<sup>209</sup> Rodley (1985) 241

<sup>210</sup> Ibid.

<sup>211</sup> Ibid., 242

century, have survived in Tur Abdin, in Mesopotamia. They consist of a cluster of buildings surrounded also by walls.<sup>212</sup>

As for Asia Minor, in a few surviving monasteries “lack of formal planning” is attested, as is the case in fifth/ sixth century buildings of Alahan Monastery on a hill side south of Karaman (fig. 3.9.). In Değle 35/45 the church is detached from the rest of the complex with zigzag shape (fig. 3.10.). On the other hand, Değle 32/39/43 is organized around a three-sided courtyard with a free-standing basilical church northeast of it (fig. 3.11.).<sup>213</sup> Gertrude Bell reported a complex known as the *Han* on Mt Hasan as “the single instance of the square plan in central Asia Minor.” It consists of a square courtyard with a single naved church on its southeast corner and a rectangular room in the center. The rest of the structure is lost (fig. 3.12.).<sup>214</sup> The original plans of the monasteries found in Bithynia are indistinguishable. However, one of them, the monastery of St John of Pelekete had a central church within a rectangular courtyard framed by rooms.<sup>215</sup> The monasteries of Latmos also often have free-standing churches within enclosed sites. Blocks containing cells and other buildings do not show any formal arrangement.<sup>216</sup> The Armenian Monastery of Hogeac‘vank‘ near Van which was probably in existence by the second half of the ninth century shows a concentration of buildings including the church on the one corner of an enclosed area (fig. 3.13.).<sup>217</sup>

Based on above mentioned examples, Rodley draws the following conclusion:

Fragmentary though the evidence is, it seems that there was no standard plan for the early monasteries of Asia Minor, nor, perhaps for early monasteries in general. For the Middle Byzantine monastery in Asia Minor there is even less evidence [...] In

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<sup>212</sup> Ibid., 244

<sup>213</sup> There is a disagreement about the function of these complexes. See also footnote 200; Rodley (1985) 242 footnote 93, refers to Eyice (1971). Accordingly, Eyice suggests that 39/43 might be an episcopal palace and 45 might be a house.

<sup>214</sup> Rodley (1985) 242 footnote 90, refers to Ramsay and Bell (1909) 183-93.

<sup>215</sup> Rodley (1985) 244

<sup>216</sup> Ibid.

<sup>217</sup> Ibid.

view of the lack of architectural formality in the early monasteries of the east, however, it seems likely that the scheme found in the Greek monasteries was not ubiquitous, but was a development of the western part of the empire.<sup>218</sup>

### *Refectory (Trapeza)*

Although - as it has been outlined so far - there is not a common typology to trace, and a church attached to a complex alone does not prove the monastic identity, consistency of a group of architectural elements might still indicate a monastic use. As Popović emphasizes the enclosure wall (“holy enclosure”), the main church and the refectory (Greek *trapeza*) all together are “prominent physical features” of the cenobitic community, the *koinobion*.<sup>219</sup> They remained constant even when complexes have been altered through the years.<sup>220</sup> Popović suggests that “[t]he reason for the continuity of the spatial design is that the monastic way of life was governed by strict rules that did not change substantially for centuries.”<sup>221</sup>

In addition, Popović outlines three functional zones within a complex: for religious worship; for dwelling; and for economic activity. Emphasizing the symbolic meaning of the communal meal for the first Christians, he includes also the refectory within the zone of worship. The position of this second most prominent building of the monastery is determined after the position of the church within the complex.<sup>222</sup> Accordingly, this coexistence can be described as follows: “[t]he monastery church was the place where the liturgy was performed and the Eucharist celebrated. The *koinobion* refectory, on the other hand, was the place where commemorative meals were served [...] two buildings provided a joint setting for an integral monastic ritual that began in the church and ended in the *koinobion trapeza*.”<sup>223</sup> Indeed, even by anchoritism, hermits assembled twice a week for the communal worship in the church and for the communal meal which

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<sup>218</sup> Ibid., 242, 244

<sup>219</sup> Popović (1998) 281

<sup>220</sup> Ibid., 282

<sup>221</sup> Ibid.

<sup>222</sup> Ibid.

<sup>223</sup> Ibid., 303



followed the former.<sup>224</sup> The location of the refectory within the complex varies as follows: refectory incorporated into a group of buildings next to the main church (Egypt); refectory as a free-standing building without physical connection to the church (Palestine, Syria, the Balkans, Armenia); independent refectory building attached to the enclosure wall of the monastery (Palestine, the Balkans). The Mount Athos tradition, probably deriving from the Great Lavra (10<sup>th</sup> c.), was the free-standing refectory in the centre of the complex opposite the church on its west side.<sup>225</sup> Yet, Popović emphasizes that “[w]hether freestanding or not, the refectory was always related to the church or the relevant sacred space of the monastery.”<sup>226</sup>

In addition to the location of the refectory relative to the church, the plan of the former also shows common characteristics which have not changed much. Accordingly, Popović outlines three main types of plans for the refectory building: a single-aisled elongated hall, a basilical plan, and a vast rectangular room divided into bays. The apse was a common element of refectories in the central regions of Asia Minor and in the Balkans, especially in the middle Byzantine period.<sup>227</sup> In addition to the plan, the arrangement of tables and frescoes defines the interior. In some refectories masonry tables have been preserved. A strict hierarchy was observed in seating.<sup>228</sup> Two different table arrangements were employed: either two rows of tables were set parallel to the main axis while three others were added in

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<sup>224</sup>Ibid., 282-3, explains that the communal meal derives from the *agape*, “a religious meal performed by the first Christians, with its roots in Judaism.” *Agape* “was different from the Eucharist whose liturgical source was the Last Supper”; On the other hand, Ibid., 285-6, argues that the reason for the material absence of *lavra* refectories in Egypt and Palestine could be that the communal meal might have held in the courtyard in front of the church.

<sup>225</sup> Popović (1998) 297

<sup>226</sup> Ibid., adds that in some cases refectory was related to a burial cave or funerary chapel.

<sup>227</sup> Ibid., 296, mentions the cruciform refectories of the Great Lavra on Mount Athos and of the Holy Archangels in Serbia as well as the triconch refectory of the medieval monastery near ancient Apollonia in Albania as main exceptions; Ibid., 297, remarks that, the cruciform and T-shaped plans were unusual and rather peculiar to Mount Athos (See fig. 3.14.), and probably to Mount Latros in Asia Minor and to the Balkans.

<sup>228</sup> Popović (1998) 302

front of the apse; or a single elongated table was set along the central axis (fig. 3.15.).<sup>229</sup>

Interestingly, Popović points to the palace architecture of the same era that must have had an impact on refectory architecture. For instance, the Dekannenakoubita, the banqueting hall within the Great Palace, which was restored in the tenth century, was a long hall with nine vaulted niches on either side and with an apsidal end.<sup>230</sup> Some scholars trace the origin of the refectory even back to the late antique and early Byzantine *triclinium*, the dining Room.<sup>231</sup> Yet, Popović highlights the difference between a refectory and *triclinium* regarding their connection with the outside. In this respect, he writes:

The dining space of late antique triclinia was often visually connected, even physically open, to the neighboring *nymphaea*, garden settings or atria, which formed an integral part of the environment in which a meal took place. Just the opposite was true of the *koinobion trapeza*: it was a closed space, focused exclusively on its interior setting, with hardly any communication with the external environment. A limited number of windows on refectory walls admitted a scant amount of light.<sup>232</sup>

### 3.4 Questioning the Monastic Identity of Cappadocia

#### 3.4.1 State of the Evidence

Cappadocia was introduced to the western world in the early eighteenth century as a Byzantine monastic centre. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, western travelers and explorers sponsored by European royal governments and societies on their way to Armenian or Mesopotamian sites passed through Cappadocia.<sup>233</sup> Paul Lucas who visited Cappadocia in the early eighteenth century

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<sup>229</sup> Ibid., 299

<sup>230</sup> Ibid., 298

<sup>231</sup> Ibid., footnote 122

<sup>232</sup> Ibid., 300; However, changes also seem to have occurred towards a more introverted dining room in late antique houses of Asia Minor which will be discussed in Chapter 4.

<sup>233</sup> Kalas (2004) 101-2

introduced it to the western world for the first time with an engraving in 1714. On this engraving, busts of Christian figures are pictured on the top of “built” cones, which Lucas described as “pyramidal houses” (fig. 3.16.-17.).<sup>234</sup> Lucas claimed that the harsh volcanic wilderness must have attracted a large monastic community and the “strange” carved spaces in the volcanic cones were the hermitages of Byzantine monks.<sup>235</sup> Ever since the region in central Anatolia known with its peculiar landscape and its carved structures carries this monastic identity with which it was initially stamped.

As a matter of fact, in the fourth century Cappadocia was the area of ministry of three of the Church Fathers: St Basil the Great, Gregory of Nyssa and Gregory of Naziansos.<sup>236</sup> Moreover, it was St Basil who had formulated the main rules for cenobitic life. As it can be assumed, their connection with Cappadocia played an important role in the emergence of the initial monastic veil. However, as Ousterhout highlights, the so-called carved monasteries in Cappadocia must have been five or six centuries later in date than the period of the Church Fathers.<sup>237</sup>

Yet, representing the more common view regarding Cappadocia Kostof writes:

From the seventh century onward, however, we have countless hermitages, monasteries, and independent chapels to prove that the land had become by then as holy as Mount Sinai or the desert of Sohag, and one of the most concentrated regions of Eastern monasticism.<sup>238</sup>

Like Lucas, Kostof believed that the unique landscape of Cappadocia had attracted the hermits. He asserts that “[t]he hermit and the monk in Cappadocia did not have far to travel to get away from the worldly scene.”<sup>239</sup> Similarly, Charanis lists the

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<sup>234</sup>Kalas (2009a) 149-50; Since the nineteenth century, it has been known that the so-called “pyramidal houses” of Paul Lucas are actually not built forms but natural formations of soft volcanic rock shaped by human actions.

<sup>235</sup> Lucas (1712)

<sup>236</sup> Rodley (1985) 4, 8

<sup>237</sup> Ousterhout (1997a) 422, 425; Kalas (2007) 394-5; Kalas (2009a) 155-6.

<sup>238</sup> Kostof (1989) 19

<sup>239</sup> Ibid., 9

major monastic centers in the Empire by the loss of the eastern provinces in the seventh century as follows: “[...], the rugged terrain of Cappadocia, the mountains of Auxentios, Olympus, Sigriane, Galesion, and Latros - all located on the western coastal regions of Asia Minor - became great monastic centers.”<sup>240</sup> On the other hand, Hans-Georg Beck’s list covering 160 monasteries, which existed in the Empire at one time or another after the sixth century, does not include Cappadocia. According to Charanis, by excluding Cappadocia Beck “apparently restricted himself to monasteries about which something definite can be said.” In this respect, he argues:

Beck’s list is admittedly and necessarily incomplete, and to it can be added a considerable number of known monasteries located in every region of the Empire, including Cappadocia, where, according to one scholar, the number of rock-cut monasteries astonishes the traveler.<sup>241</sup>

Indeed, the high density of cave churches in the region is remarkable.<sup>242</sup> Kalas mentions the estimated number as four hundred; however some sources assume the number to be more than twice.<sup>243</sup>

Yet, surprisingly, documents referring directly to monasteries in the region are entirely lacking.<sup>244</sup> According to Mango, what is remarkable is that “central and eastern Asia Minor (except for Pontus) figure very little in the annals of Byzantine monasticism.” Nevertheless, he still asserts that “[m]any monasteries doubtless existed in Cappadocia, but they have left practically no written record.”<sup>245</sup> As Kalas emphasizes, although it is a mountainous region, “Cappadocia does not appear among Byzantium’s famous holy mountains, for which ample evidence exists.”<sup>246</sup>

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<sup>240</sup> Charanis (1971) 64

<sup>241</sup> Charanis (1971) 63 footnote 2, refers to Beck, H.-G., *Kirche und theologische Literature in byzantinischen Reich*, (Munich, 1959), 207-27. Yet, he does not explain who the “one scholar” is reporting from rock-cut monasteries.

<sup>242</sup> Rodley (1985) 8

<sup>243</sup> Kalas (2007) 395

<sup>244</sup> Rodley (1985) 5, 237

<sup>245</sup> Mango (1980) 118

<sup>246</sup> Kalas (2000) 4 footnote 7; Kalas (2007) 394 footnote 4, posits that Cappadocia is not mentioned in this respect in Janin (1975).

Indeed, most recently, John Haldon published a map showing the monasteries in the ninth century and afterwards in the East (fig. 3.18.). In it, monasteries and monastic locations are marked in the Marmara region, along the Aegean coast and in Trebizond while not a single monastery was assigned to central Anatolia including Cappadocia.<sup>247</sup> Similarly, Ousterhout points out that “[n]o texts from the period after the Arab invasions refer specifically to monks or monasteries in the region. No *typika* for Cappadocian monasteries survive, nor are there *vitae* of Cappadocian holy men, nor accounts of pilgrimage in the region.”<sup>248</sup> This is significant when one recalls the existence of documents for the Byzantine monastic centers outside Cappadocia.<sup>249</sup> Ousterhout goes even further and emphasizes that the Byzantine texts of the period refer to wealthy landowners and military governors, rather than to monks or monasteries.<sup>250</sup>

In sum, Ousterhout and Kalas assert that it is rather the early western travelers’ “romantic” notion and the tendency at the end of the nineteenth century to idealize Christian monuments in the East, which played an important role in misinterpreting the settlements in Cappadocia all together as monastic.<sup>251</sup> Because of this monastic stamp and abundant Christian iconography, Cappadocia has been intensively studied since the turn of the last century mostly from an art historical perspective.<sup>252</sup> In *Caves of God: Cappadocia and its Churches* Kostof places

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<sup>247</sup> Haldon (2009) Map 14

<sup>248</sup> Ousterhout (2005) 177

<sup>249</sup> Rodley (1985) 8-9

<sup>250</sup> Ousterhout (2005) 178 footnote 34, refers to Kaplan, M. “Les grands propriétaires de Cappadoce.” *Le aree omogenee della civiltà rupestre nell’ambito dell’Impero Bizantino: la Cappadocia*. ed. C.D.Fonseca. (Galatina, 1981), 125-58 and to Cheynet, C. *Pouvoir et Contestations à Byzance (963-1210)*. (Paris, 1990), 20-77.

<sup>251</sup> Ousterhout (1997a) 425; Kalas (2007) 394; see also Kalas (2004) and Ousterhout (2005) 176-181; Kalas (2004), challenges the notion of Cappadocia populated by monks. Kalas refers to the remarkable literature of European architectural historians and historical geographers at the end of the nineteenth century. She emphasizes the importance of the entirely new body of documentation of the late twentieth century, which encourages scholars to study domestic architecture and settlement patterns on Byzantium’s eastern frontier. Kalas points to the recent shift in the interpreting of the so-called Courtyard Complexes from monastic to domestic settlements.

<sup>252</sup> For art historical approaches see Ramsay and Bell (1909); Jerphanion (1925, 1942); Thierry and Thierry (1963); Restle (1969); Kostof (1989); Ötügen (1989); Jolivet-Lévy (1991).

Cappadocia's paintings explicitly in the religious context.<sup>253</sup> In this respect, Ousterhout criticizes studies that focus primarily on frescoes, which neglect the architecture.<sup>254</sup> Moreover, he emphasizes Cappadocia as “an untapped resource for the study of domestic architecture, urban, and regional planning, settlement patterns, and agrarian life” though without denying that “monasticism was a part of the picture.”<sup>255</sup>

### 3.4.2 “Cave Monasteries”

In her trail-blazing work *Cave Monasteries of Byzantine Cappadocia*, Rodley propagates the monastic identity and investigates a wide range of surviving structures in the region.<sup>256</sup> She offers a classification that distinguishes particular architectural layouts and evaluates spatial organization, degree of elaboration, rock-cut furniture and chronology. Rodley points to the diversity of monastic establishments, which varies from the single cell with an attached chapel to the complexes including alternately spacious halls, refectory, kitchen, church, and tomb chamber. Accordingly, she divides the so-called cave monasteries into three main groups: hermitages, refectory monasteries and courtyard monasteries.

#### *Hermitages*

There is only vague evidence for hermitages, since they are not easily distinguished from simple cavities that have been continually used by the local peasants for agricultural purposes. There are few chapels, some with inscriptions that may be associated with hermitages. Yet, Rodley describes only six of them without denying that there may be more.<sup>257</sup> She identifies hermitages as

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<sup>253</sup> Rodley (1985) 2, states that Kostof (1989) attempts to interpret the cave church material “in the light of the principles of monastic life propounded by Basil the Great.”

<sup>254</sup> Ousterhout (1997a) 431; Ousterhout (2005) 181; See also Kalas (2009a) 151.

<sup>255</sup> Ousterhout (1997a) 431

<sup>256</sup> Rodley (1985); This title of Rodley and the title of Kostof (1989) *Caves of God* are misleading, since as Kalas (2009a) 153, already pointed they strengthen the image of ascetics living in the caves, although Cappadocian structures are not natural caves but man-made.

<sup>257</sup> Rodley (1985) 239

establishments of anchorites.<sup>258</sup> In keeping with the Desert Fathers' notion of withdrawal from the world, "wilderness" continued to attract monastic institutions.<sup>259</sup> The earliest hermitages are datable from the late ninth to the early tenth century in the region. Nevertheless, evidence such as "repainting and structural alteration" points to their long occupation, so that some continued to be used even into the eleventh century.<sup>260</sup> Some of the Cappadocian hermits were *stylites* after St Symeon who lived on top of a column in the fourth century Syria. St Symeon's habit was adopted by others in later centuries as it seems to have been adopted in Cappadocia by Niketas of Güllü Dere and by Symeon of Zelve who both lived in a cell on top of separate cones.<sup>261</sup>

#### *Refectory Monasteries*

Several carved complexes having a special room, often with an apsidal end and a long rock-cut table (*trapeza*) with benches are found densely grouped in Göreme Valley (fig. 3.19-23.).<sup>262</sup> These spaces containing a *trapeza* are generally identified as refectory rooms where monks gathered for the communal meal and which are well known from monasteries elsewhere. The refectory was the second most important architectural element after the church within a Byzantine monastery. Cappadocian rock-cut refectories also seem to have been parts of monastic establishments (fig. 3.24-26.). Correspondingly, Rodley classifies all complexes including a rock-cut *trapeza* under refectory monasteries. She highlights the

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<sup>258</sup> Ibid.

<sup>259</sup> Ibid., 238

<sup>260</sup> Ibid., 223

<sup>261</sup> Ibid., 239

<sup>262</sup> They now constitute the Göreme Open Air Museum; Rodley (1985) 151, also mentions two more examples located near the villages of Avcılar and Cemil. An additional refectory opposite the "Kılıçlar Monastery" was identified during our field trip on 07.09.2009. Rodley (1985) 118, mentions its façade in the appendix of her "courtyard monasteries" without recognizing that it was the same refectory mentioned near Kılıçlar by Jerphanion (1925, 1942) I. i 254 and plate 25.3. Rodley (1985) 43, was not able to relocate it; Kalas (2000) 42, mentions another refectory near Geyikli Kilise in the Soğanlı Valley. Hence, it is likely that, there might be more refectories still awaiting discovery.

refectory type as a loose grouping without any formal arrangement of elements.<sup>263</sup> Complexes which fall into this group consist of a refectory, a church and one or two roughly carved rooms (fig. 3.25.).

The number and size of rooms belonging to refectory monasteries suggest a small number of monks, perhaps fewer than ten in most cases. However, this number does not match the higher number of monks deduced from the size of the refectory. Theoretically, thirty to forty people can sit around a *trapeza*. Visitors or travelers may be counted among them.<sup>264</sup> In this case, the problem of the lack of accommodation would then be even greater!<sup>265</sup> More surprisingly, as Kalas emphasizes, not a single kitchen can be identified based on the architecture.<sup>266</sup> In addition, refectory monasteries usually do not have an elaborate tomb chamber. Burials in larger numbers are found in the narthexes.

#### “Courtyard Monasteries”

Rodley classifies a group of well-organized complexes, often around a courtyard and marked with a high and decorated façade, including large halls, a church,<sup>267</sup> occasionally having a kitchen and a stable as well as apparently multifunctional rooms but no rock-cut refectories also as monastic, labeling them as courtyard monasteries (fig. 1.2.-3.).<sup>268</sup> However, in 1905 Hans Rott already designated these complexes as *Felsenhöfe Anlagen*, a general term meaning “rock-cut courtyard facilities” without indicating any specific function.<sup>269</sup> Similarly, since

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<sup>263</sup> Rodley (1985) 9; Mathews and Daskalakis-Mathews (1997), Kalas (2000) and Ousterhout (2005) seem to agree with Rodley’s definition concerning refectory monasteries. They all see the narrow but long rock-cut table and flanking benches as a strong proof for monastic function. However, unlike Rodley, where the refectory is lacking they tend to identify the complexes as secular establishments.

<sup>264</sup> Rodley (1985) 248

<sup>265</sup> Ibid., 249, proposes that pilgrims might have been accommodated in tents.

<sup>266</sup> Kalas (2000) 41; the room which is identified as the “kitchen and storage” of one of the monasteries in Göreme has a flat ceiling without chimney but possessing merely a *tandır*, a circle dug in the ground for heating, cooking. See fig. 3.23. *Tandır* is also found in one of the refectory rooms in Göreme, dug in the ground next to the *trapeza*. See fig. 3.22.

<sup>267</sup> Only the so-called “Kılıçlar Monastery” from Rodley’s examples for the courtyard type does not have a church.

<sup>268</sup> Rodley (1985) 9, 11

<sup>269</sup> Rott (1908) 242-5



this courtyard type in Rodley's classification is challenged by this study and there are scholars who disagree with the monastic identity of these structures, they have been already described as Courtyard Complexes in Chapter Two.

#### *Comparative Review*

In Greek monasteries, monks were housed in small cells. However, nothing of the sort has been traced in any of Rodley's cave monasteries. It is unlikely that cells were built structures now lost when even churches were carved.<sup>270</sup> In support of this, Rodley suggests that the cave monasteries might be *lavrai* where monks led a solitary existence and used the monastery for "occasional assembly." If so, a collection of hermitages in the vicinity of each monastery should be present, which is not the case. Another explanation for the lack of cells could be that the small rooms functioned as dormitories. Pointing to the monasteries of Asia Minor where cell blocks of the Greek type seem to be absent, Rodley suggests that "there may indeed have been a difference of tradition in this respect between the monasteries of the western part of the empire and those of central and eastern Anatolia."<sup>271</sup>

Rodley sees some parallels between Greek monasteries and the Cappadocian courtyard type although she admits to the scarcity of evidence:

Conceivably the currents that brought the inscribed-cross church to Cappadocia carried the regular monastery plan also. This is, however, only speculation, since [...] so little is known of the architecture of the Middle Byzantine monastery in central Anatolia that no assessment of the architecture of the cave monasteries in this context is possible.<sup>272</sup>

Indeed, unlike Greek monasteries, the church in Cappadocia is located not in the center of the courtyard but on *one side* of it, which might be explained with technical difficulties involved in carving.<sup>273</sup> Most of the Courtyard Complexes - perhaps for the same reason - are three-sided.<sup>274</sup>

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<sup>270</sup> Rodley (1985) 252

<sup>271</sup> Ibid., 247-8

<sup>272</sup> Ibid., 247

<sup>273</sup> Ibid., 244

<sup>274</sup> Ibid., 247; whether the fourth side was enclosed with masonry wall or not will be discussed later.

Rodley's refectory type differs from her courtyard type primarily in having a rock-cut table and benches. Therefore, Rodley suggests the large halls existing in all Courtyard Complexes to be refectories which might have been once supplied with wooden rather than rock-cut furniture.<sup>275</sup> In addition, both categories differ in their sophistication. The courtyard type is wealthier based on more elaborate organization as well as higher quality paintings in their churches.<sup>276</sup> On the other hand, refectory monasteries consist simply of a room with a rock-cut *trapeza*, a church and some crude cavities. They do not have elaborate tomb chambers although burials – some of them in the narthexes - are found in larger numbers than in the “courtyard” type. Thus, Rodley argues that the lack of funeral architecture speaks against the memorial purpose of refectory monasteries.<sup>277</sup> Yet, tomb chambers housing a small number of burials are attached to some churches of the courtyard type. Consequently, Rodley suggests that these places were designed to receive the remains of the founder's family or those people whose memory was of importance for the founders of the “monastery.” Rodley then concludes that her category of the so-called courtyard monasteries was intended to act as the memorials of their patrons who commissioned their eternal resting place.<sup>278</sup>

#### *Nature of the Relationships*

The chronology of Cappadocia does not match the middle Byzantine acceptance that “anchoritism was largely an adjunct of the cenobitic system,” since hermitages in the region pre-dated monasteries, sometimes as much as a century.<sup>279</sup> In this respect, Rodley suggests that hermits might have come from elsewhere.<sup>280</sup> Yet, unlike the hermitages, the “monasteries” seem to have appeared for “a much

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<sup>275</sup> Ibid.

<sup>276</sup> Ibid., 250

<sup>277</sup> Ibid., 249

<sup>278</sup> Ibid., 248-9

<sup>279</sup> Ibid., 252; There is also no evidence of built monasteries which might have existed before the carved ones.

<sup>280</sup> Ibid., 252

shorter period.” Both the refectory and courtyard type were probably occupied mainly during the eleventh century.<sup>281</sup>

Painted inscriptions and donor images give some information concerning the patrons of Cappadocian “cave monasteries.” Still not numerous, most of them are found in the hermitage group of monuments. Only three donor images or inscriptions are found among the courtyard type.<sup>282</sup> Rodley asserts that “[w]ith the exception of the family represented in Selime Kalesi Church (fig. 4.24.), who may have been aristocratic, the patrons of monasteries in the volcanic valleys would appear to belong to the gentry, rather than the upper ranks.”<sup>283</sup> Consequently, the lack of documents may be explained with the identity and status of the patrons. According to Rodley, they belong to “a generally unchronicled Byzantine class” that includes ordinary monks and officials as well as soldiers from the low rank who did not attract the attention of historians.<sup>284</sup>

The context for rock-cut monuments proposed by Rodley in her conclusion is “one of a rapidly developing center of minor pilgrimage.” In the late ninth century under the regained control of Byzantium, Cappadocia became a secure place once again, a situation which apparently attracted the so-called “transient patrons.”<sup>285</sup> Rodley suggests that they visited holy men, the hermits, and commissioned carved churches “as acts of piety.” Indeed, the large number of solitary churches in the region and the short period of use, which is assumed based on their cleanliness, strengthen Rodley’s proposal of pilgrimage.<sup>286</sup> According to her, the growth of a series of refectory monasteries in the Göreme valley may be also explained as a result of this development in the region, in that they were

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<sup>281</sup> For a discussion on the chronology of cave monasteries see *Ibid.*, 223-4.

<sup>282</sup> *Ibid.*, 250-251

<sup>283</sup> *Ibid.*, 252

<sup>284</sup> *Ibid.*, 254

<sup>285</sup> *Ibid.*, 254

<sup>286</sup> *Ibid.*, 253; It is unlikely that built structures were next to the solitary churches.

probably catering places for visitors.<sup>287</sup> The scenario concerning cave monasteries may be summarized as:

The courtyard monasteries were probably established by wealthy patrons, primarily as their own memorials; they were probably sited in the volcanic valleys because of the existence there of hermitages and small monastic communities, but were not directly associated with such establishment. The refectory monasteries, on the other hand, seem to have had a direct connection with venerated sites, particularly the site of Tokalı Kilise in Göreme, probably acting as custodians and providing for visitors.<sup>288</sup>

Yet, unlike other areas of the Byzantine Empire - for which evidence may exist - evidence for such a sequence of events is lacking for Cappadocia.<sup>289</sup>

Once again, it should be noted that there is a shift in the interpretation of some better organized complexes from monastic to secular. Therefore, in the other extreme, recent studies focusing on the functional analysis and typological interpretation rashly identify the courtyard type of Rodley's cave monasteries where a refectory is lacking as manors. Consequently, before going into a more detailed and comparative analysis of the Courtyard Complexes, the uncertainty concerning their function requires us to reconsider Byzantine dwelling as well.

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<sup>287</sup> Ibid., 253

<sup>288</sup> Ibid., 250

<sup>289</sup> Kalas (2000) 41 footnote 33, gives the hermitage of St. Neophytus on Cyprus as an example for such a development.

## CHAPTER 4

### BYZANTINE DWELLING

#### 4.1 State of the Evidence

Our knowledge of housing in the Byzantine period has a very fragmented nature.<sup>290</sup> As Tanyeli stated fifteen years ago “[h]ousing as a topic almost entirely escapes notice in surveys covering a thousand years of Byzantine civilization.”<sup>291</sup> In 1996, Klaus Rheidt was still complaining that “the archaeological investigation of dwellings and settlement structures of middle and late Byzantine Anatolia is at its very beginning.”<sup>292</sup>

Eyice asserts that while recent developments in some important cities such as in Hadrianopolis (Edirne) or Nicaea (İznik) have completely eradicated Byzantine structures, such ancient cities as Ephesus, Miletos, Aphrodisias, Priene, and Side present very little information on Byzantine dwelling in general.<sup>293</sup> Even the house of royalty, the Byzantine palace, in Constantinople for the most part has not survived to the present day.<sup>294</sup> Moreover, until recently, Byzantine archaeological deposits were unfortunately cleared in order to make way for excavations of Hellenistic, Classical, or pre-Classical layers.<sup>295</sup> Yet, existing material evidence also presents problems, which require a critical approach:

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<sup>290</sup> For a summary on Byzantine dwelling in Turkey see Eyice (1996).

<sup>291</sup> Tanyeli (1996) 405

<sup>292</sup> Rheidt (1996) 222

<sup>293</sup> Eyice (1996) 209

<sup>294</sup> Kalas (2007) 395, emphasizes that not a single middle Byzantine house has survived in the capital.

<sup>295</sup> Eyice (1996) 209; Kalas (2007) 395

The antique cities of eastern Thrace and Asia Minor cannot furnish precise data on Byzantine dwellings since the Byzantine life style was in fact a continuation of the ancient life style and the Byzantines continued living in houses built in ancient times.<sup>296</sup>

On the other hand, little work has been done to evaluate the recorded archaeological evidence of Greece and Asia Minor and even then publication has usually focused on elements such as city walls or better preserved churches.<sup>297</sup> The data presented in *L'habitation Byzantine*, the book of General Beylié published in 1903 focuses mainly on mosaic, frescoes and miniatures. It does not cover any material of inland Anatolia; it even mistakes some masonry houses in Istanbul from the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries as Byzantine ones.<sup>298</sup> Thus, Rheidt points to Robert L. Scranton as the pioneer who reported on dwellings for the first time while studying medieval Corinth in the 50s.<sup>299</sup>

While archaeological knowledge of everyday life in Byzantine towns has been growing recently, archeological studies of rural agricultural settlements where most of the Byzantine population lived are still lacking.<sup>300</sup> The situation is worse for low-status rural settlements of the eighth and ninth century Byzantine Empire.<sup>301</sup> As Angeliki E. Laiou highlights “[archaeological evidence] is not available to the same degree for all of territories of the Byzantine empire, and certainly it is distributed differently in terms of chronology as well.”<sup>302</sup> Christos Bouras noted in 1983 that seeking general typologies and stylistic characteristics of the Byzantine houses might not lead to tangible results.<sup>303</sup> More than twenty years later Lefteris Sigalos claimed that despite the growing number of excavated and surveyed

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<sup>296</sup> Eyice (1996) 209

<sup>297</sup> Rheidt (1990) 195

<sup>298</sup> Eyice (1996) 206, refers to Beylié (1903).

<sup>299</sup> Rheidt (1990) 195, points to Scranton (1957).

<sup>300</sup> Dark (2004a) 1, points to the works of Rheidt (1990) and Laiou (2002).

<sup>301</sup> Dark (2004a) 2; for a discussion on this see Eyice (1996) and Ousterhout (1997b).

<sup>302</sup> Laiou (2005) 32-3

<sup>303</sup> Sigalos (2004) 53, refers to Bouros (1982-1983)

settlements of the Byzantine period, Bouros' observation is still valid.<sup>304</sup> Hence, "having a collection of houses from a limited number of sites allows us to draw conclusions relating to the housing patterns of these particular settlements, rather than providing a representative range of sites in the Byzantine region."<sup>305</sup> Similarly, Nicolas Oikonomidès underlines the importance of specifying the time period and type of house when dealing with domestic architecture.<sup>306</sup> Belke emphasizes the difficulty of talking of a "typical" Byzantine house, since geographical and climatic factors caused regional differentiations whereas Doğan Kuban confirms the common view that there was not a single Byzantine house tradition.<sup>307</sup>

In addition to all, there are no concrete criteria for the evaluation of ruins. Problems encountered in the identification of monastic establishments as already mentioned in Chapter Three are also present here. Not only are there scholars who disagree about the function of some ruins such as Değle or Alahan "Monastery" (fig. 3.9.-11.), but there are also scholars who cannot decide with certainty for the monastic or secular character of ruins that they survey, as it was the case in Keloş Kale (fig. 3.4.).<sup>308</sup> Indeed, Byzantine monastic organization might have features that are more common with the Byzantine domestic household than with European monastic institutions.<sup>309</sup> Hence, "[w]ithin a Byzantine monastery, spiritual relationships resembled those found in a family group, and they employed the same vocabulary as that of the family."<sup>310</sup> Similarly, Paul Magdalino has noted the similarities between a Byzantine household and monastic organization.<sup>311</sup> Ousterhout also adds that "[a]t the upper levels of society; both consisted of a

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<sup>304</sup> Sigalos (2004) 53

<sup>305</sup> Ibid.

<sup>306</sup> Oikonomidès (1990) 205

<sup>307</sup> Belke (2005) 426; Kuban (1995) 28-9

<sup>308</sup> Rodley (1985) 241-2; Ousterhout (2005) 176-7; for Keloş Kale see Baumeister, Roos and Saner (2007) 623-74; see also footnote 200.

<sup>309</sup> Ousterhout (1997a) 428

<sup>310</sup> Ousterhout (2005) 180; see also Morris (1995) 92.

<sup>311</sup> Ousterhout (2005) 180, refers to Magdalino (1984).

closed social group, hierarchically organized, with servants, retainers, properties, and economic interests.”<sup>312</sup> Consequently, it was common for secular properties to have been converted to the monastic institutions without a significant change.

Ousterhout writes:

Conversions seem to have occurred at all levels of society, resulting in an attempt to provide a legal definition of a monastery, and to protect the small landowner from the threat of takeover. The Council of Constantinople of 861, for example, spoke against the founding of monasteries in private houses, although it may not have had much effect.<sup>313</sup>

Indeed, the tenth century Myrelaion palace in Constantinople was converted into a nunnery shortly after its completion (fig. 4.12.).<sup>314</sup> The so-called Hormisdas Palace immediately outside the Great palace in Justinian I’s reign was partly converted into a monastery including cells.<sup>315</sup>

## 4.2 Byzantine Dwelling

It is seen that the scarce *and* debated material evidence varies from the simple shelter to the imperial palace. Consequently, talking about Byzantine housing in general is not easy and above all controversial. Nevertheless, this study still attempts to draft a sketch of Byzantine dwelling, although fragmented, in order to be able to discuss the position of Cappadocian Courtyard Complexes within it.<sup>316</sup> This should be rather understood as a presentation of distinctive recent studies on particular examples rather than a comprehensive outline of Byzantine housing history.

### *Early Byzantine Houses*

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<sup>312</sup> Ousterhout (2005) 180

<sup>313</sup> Ibid.

<sup>314</sup> Ousterhout (1997a) 428

<sup>315</sup> Kostenec (2004) 24-5

<sup>316</sup> There is a brief entry in *the Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (Mojsilovic- Popović, Karpozilos and Kazhdan (1991) 953-4) titled “Houses” which is, however, silent concerning Cappadocia.



House forms of the late Roman Empire are generally divided into two groups: the *domus* or private residence and the *insula* or multi-storey apartment house. The *domus* was usually a single storey building consisting of rooms organized around an inner courtyard, the *atrium*.<sup>317</sup>

Studying late antique houses in Athens, Allison Frantz points to the architectural layout formed by a few rooms organized around a small courtyard (fig. 4.1.). In crowded and poorer districts in a city courtyards were smaller whereas in more spacious areas houses became larger and a peristyle was added to the courtyard. Frantz emphasizes this as the typical model which has been continued to be used throughout antiquity in the Mediterranean world with little change. The “only striking innovation” which is highlighted by Frantz was the addition of an apse to the end of the largest room in the house in the first century BC. This was used increasingly frequently in the succeeding centuries.<sup>318</sup>

Focusing on late antique houses in Asia Minor, Özgenel underlines the difference in organization between the domestic architecture of Roman Italy and the former. Unlike houses in Italy with multiple courtyards, which had a “linear scheme,” a “strong axial emphasis” and a “sequential flow of spaces,” houses in Asia Minor were rather “compact and introverted” with rooms facing the central courtyard.<sup>319</sup> Within her sample of Asia Minor, Özgenel differentiates between three distinctive spaces based on location, form, size and function: apsidal rooms (audience halls), dining rooms (banqueting rooms) and “day rooms” (fig. 4.2.).

Apsidal rooms were usually the largest space in the house preceded with a separate vestibule and located in a lateral location, which allowed direct access from the street and respect to the privacy of the rest of the house. These audience halls were presumably used by the male head of the household for business meetings. The apse was designed to emphasize the hierarchy between him and his clients. It had often an elevated floor, and in many cases, an extra opening in the

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<sup>317</sup> Mojsilovic-Popović, Karpozilos and Kazhdan (1991) 953, point out that by the seventh century the receptional area shifted from the ground floor and atrium to the gallery on the second floor.

<sup>318</sup> Frantz (1988) 34-5

<sup>319</sup> Özgenel (2007) 262

apse allowed separate access to the patron. It was, indeed, typical for an audience hall that it “could be reached by different routes from different parts of the house.”<sup>320</sup>

Dining rooms were also receptional spaces some with multiple apses, though the majority of the sample in Asia Minor did not have any apse. They were also often larger than the rest of the rooms in the house. Nevertheless, unlike the audience room, they were located far from the entrance, in a central position, adjacent to the courtyard. Dining was an important part of social as well as political activities for which “in every house at least one substantial room around the courtyard was reserved” throughout Roman Antiquity and it “remained at the heart of the house in Late Antiquity” as well.<sup>321</sup> Özgenel emphasizes that “viewing a water element placed opposite the dining room in a courtyard was a common feature in ancient Roman houses, and water elements found within dining rooms themselves clearly indicate the desirability of the view of a fountain.”<sup>322</sup> On the other hand, much narrower doorways found in the late antique examples of Asia Minor indicate a change occurred towards more introverted dining rooms. However, unlike audience halls dining rooms still had windows.<sup>323</sup>

The third group includes rooms which are smaller than audience halls but larger than remaining rooms. They were often rectangular and usually found on one side of the courtyard. These might have opened into the courtyard via multiple entryways. In Roman *atrium* houses, rooms of similar location and size are identified as *cubiculum*, or bedrooms, though they could also have been used for various activities even including private receptions. Nevertheless, Özgenel, in pointing to the larger size and multiple accesses of those found in Asia Minor prefers to identify them as multi purpose “day rooms.”<sup>324</sup> They might have accommodated more private receptions for a limited number of guests, where men

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<sup>320</sup> Özgenel (2007) 254

<sup>321</sup> Ibid., 269, 270

<sup>322</sup> Ibid., 260 footnote 66

<sup>323</sup> Ibid., 270

<sup>324</sup> Ibid., 271-2, 264

and women might have dined together; and/ or they might have used as a day room by the household members.<sup>325</sup>

In addition, Özgenel emphasizes the central position of the “domestic courtyard” within the daily life and at the same time its significance of displaying status and wealth of the owners. In this respect, it was given priority to its size, for even in small and inappropriate plots large areas were reserved for courtyards. Furthermore, their floors and surrounding walls were decorated richly. Even the smaller courtyards had columns or colonnades in order to display monumentality. Although all these features indicate a public use, the courtyard was still a private sphere requiring “supervision and control” of the outsiders by means of varying the routes and multiple entrances.<sup>326</sup>

Simon Ellis proposes four types of early Byzantine housing covering mainly private urban houses built between 400 and 700 AD, without a territorial limitation.<sup>327</sup>

- I. The peristyle house
- II. The “Byzantine” courtyard house<sup>328</sup>
- III. The “native” or “provincial” house<sup>329</sup>
- IV. Subdivision

By the mid fourth century peristyle houses were a common expression of aristocracy from Britain to Syria though no new peristyle houses were built after 550 AD.<sup>330</sup> The decline of public meetings led aristocrats to conduct their business from home. Thus, the peristyle houses of late antiquity had several receptional areas that differed in their functions (fig. 4.3.). Accordingly, the *triclinium* was an apsidal

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<sup>325</sup> Ibid., 259, 264

<sup>326</sup> Ibid., 263

<sup>327</sup> Ellis (2004) 38, recalls the lack of evidence for rural housing in Anatolia that remained the same by 2004, twenty years after he completed his doctoral thesis on Byzantine housing.

<sup>328</sup> Ibid., calls type 2 also “the early Byzantine house.” Though he notes that the term “Byzantine” might be better replaced with the term “late antique.”

<sup>329</sup> Ellis (2000), argues that the type 3 is the “vernacular of the Roman period.”

<sup>330</sup> Ellis (2004) 38; Ellis (1988) 565; Ibid., 573, emphasizes that peristyle houses which were built in the fourth century and later and adopted a richer architectural style coincided with the emergence of poor districts. This points to “the concentration of wealth and power in the hands of a few aristocrats, and a change in the form of personal patronage.”

hall located on the far side of the house opposite the main entrance. It was used for informal dining with friends and family. In addition, another hall, called the *grand dining hall* by Ellis, was immediately located to the right of the *triclinium* where it was connected directly to the street by means of a corridor. This hall with three or more apses was reserved for major formal dinners for the majority of the local aristocracy. A third variation was a single apsed hall located close to the main entrance of the house while separated from the street by a vestibule. This was the *audience hall* where the *dominus* received clients of lower status that waited in the vestibule. Consequently, many of the lower status clients did not see much of the house beyond the vestibule and audience hall.<sup>331</sup> Yet, in the majority of houses it was only the *triclinium*<sup>332</sup> which was used also as the *grand dining hall* and *audience hall* covering all three functions.<sup>333</sup> According to Ellis, the courtyard house (type 2) whose owner was often a “relatively wealthy tradesman” covers a much wider range of houses, which can be placed between the peristyle house (type 1) and provincial house (type 3). Furthermore, he asserts that the courtyard house “becomes the source of much later Byzantine houses.”<sup>334</sup> Ellis divides this into two sub-categories: one is organized around a central yard whereas the other consists of two blocks of rooms flanking a corridor.<sup>335</sup> Type 3 of Ellis covers mostly wooden houses of the northern and western provinces, and some village houses from

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<sup>331</sup> Ellis (1988) 569-70; Ellis (2004) 39; Ellis (1988) 575, asserts that the existence of audience halls indicate that patronage was becoming more ceremonial and more important in the lives of aristocrats from the later fourth century on; Ellis (2004) 44-5, notes that benches are usually not found in the rooms of regular houses but that they were found in the vestibules of aristocratic ones. Thus, he interprets the vestibule as a waiting area for clients. Yet, Ellis makes no comment regarding the nature of these benches, whether were they built-in or removable.

<sup>332</sup> Ellis (1988) 567, underlines that “there is no sign that use of the *triclinium* was in decline in late antiquity.” On the other hand, Sigalos (2004) 59, warns that despite some publications referring to the main living space of Byzantine house as *triclinium*, this relationship has not yet been supported by the archaeological data.

<sup>333</sup> Ellis (1988) 570; Ellis (2004) 39, notes that the *triclinium* and the audience hall both had a raised floor; however the latter was “truly centralized.” In addition, the *stibadium*, a semicircular dining couch, or a central “throne”, or *cathedra* might have been placed in the audience hall; for furniture see also Ellis (2004) 50.

<sup>334</sup> Ellis (2004) 38

<sup>335</sup> *Ibid.*, 43

Anatolia.<sup>336</sup> Concerning type 4, Ellis writes that “[t]here is a definite attempt to use the earlier architecture to create a new context, and in housing terms new living space.”<sup>337</sup> Correspondingly, following the decline of public life, public buildings were reused for different purposes, subdivided into small houses, or their interior was ransacked by aristocrats looking for art works for their own houses. Interestingly however, the façades of these late antique monuments were maintained as witnesses of the cities’ past greatness, while their interior was of less concern. Porticoes were always divided whereas small houses were built into large courtyards.<sup>338</sup>

In her survey of early Byzantine houses in Cilicia, Ina Eichner reports on the campaign of 2000. In general, houses here were two-storied and of the courtyard type. Courtyards, which were not sizeable, were used for both, for household animals as well as for circulation. Different ground plans still demonstrate common features such as the compartmental organization of rooms where access to the rear room was only possible by passing through the rooms at the front. On the other hand, Eichner points to neighboring North Syria where rooms were organized side by side all having a separate opening into a portico which was a typical component of these houses. Instead of this, some Cilician houses had a vaulted structure attached to the façade, which similarly forms a transitional zone between the interior and exterior.<sup>339</sup>

Sema Doğan sees parallels between the architectural data gathered on early Byzantine houses in and around Alanya and the Roman tradition in the capital and elsewhere. Yet, houses in Alanya, installed with presses that indicate the production of olive oil or wine, show the peculiar characteristics shaped by local conditions.<sup>340</sup>

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<sup>336</sup> Ibid., 45

<sup>337</sup> Ibid., 47

<sup>338</sup> Ellis (1988) 567, sees “subdivision” as something more than a social development, namely as an architectural style; Ellis (2004) 48.

<sup>339</sup> Eichner (2001) 171-2

<sup>340</sup> For the report on field surveys that have been conducted since 2004 in Alanya see Doğan (2008); Doğan (2008) 1, emphasizes that although houses found in Alanya show characteristics of early Byzantine period, they were in use from the fifth to the twelfth century; Doğan (2008) 7.

Indeed, studies conducted in settlements in mainland Greece and the islands, Syria, Palestine, North Africa, western and southern shores of Anatolia have revealed that the local climate and flora played an important role on life styles.<sup>341</sup> Nevertheless, in Alanya too, rooms are organized in two stories around a courtyard or inner garden. Rooms where *pithoi* are found might be interpreted as storage areas, whereas ceramics found in the courtyard and in some rooms might point to cooking spots. However, archaeological evidence is not enough to differentiate specific functions related to specific spaces within the house. Accordingly, no room could be identified with certainty as a kitchen by the survey team. Yet, the apsidal space of the house in Akkale in Alanya is identified as the *triclinium*.<sup>342</sup>

#### *Middle Byzantine Houses*

Excavated Byzantine town houses dating from 1000 onward present several building types (fig. 4.4.).<sup>343</sup> Nevertheless, in studying middle and late Byzantine houses in Greece Sigalos points to the continuity of arrangement and use of the courtyard as it was in the Classical and Roman periods:

The courtyard was once more the focal point of the household, at least as far as communication between rooms or activities was concerned. In a similar fashion to Classical examples, most of the cooking and household production- even small-scale manufacturing- would take place there. At the same time, the courtyard arrangement provided the required privacy and security for the household [...]<sup>344</sup>

Yet, Sigalos suggests that extant ruins and the Greek environment more likely determined this organization rather than the continuity of the Classical culture.<sup>345</sup> One of the common plans found at Corinth, Athens, Pergamon and Thebes is still the courtyard type though without a peristyle.<sup>346</sup> However, contrary to the Classical

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<sup>341</sup> Doğan (2008) 1; for villages and houses in Greece see Sigalos (2004), for Syrian examples see Gatier (2005) and Rousset and Duvette (2005), for Palestine examples see Hirschfeld (2005), for North Africa see Ellis (2005).

<sup>342</sup> Doğan (2008) 3-4

<sup>343</sup> Mojsilovic-Popović, Karpozilos and Kazhdan (1991) 953

<sup>344</sup> Sigalos (2004) 56

<sup>345</sup> Ibid.

<sup>346</sup> Mojsilovic- Popović, Karpozilos and Kazhdan (1991) 953

or Hellenistic period, no conclusions concerning the function and location of the rooms around the courtyard can be drawn from the excavation reports.<sup>347</sup> Even the main living space cannot often be identified; Instead, multifunctional spaces are suggested.<sup>348</sup> Similarly, Kalas too emphasizes “the principal characteristic” of houses excavated in such classical and pre-historic sites as Athens, Corinth, Boğazköy and Pergamon is “a courtyard surrounded by rooms.”<sup>349</sup> The majority of these medieval houses, which she calls “non-elite residences” are small in scale and the organization of rooms does not demonstrate any distinctive character or spatial hierarchy.<sup>350</sup> In addition, Belke also refers to the middle Byzantine remains excavated in Boğazköy that were in use until the late eleventh century. Here, larger houses had courtyards around which living and manufacturing spaces as well as the house chapel were organized.<sup>351</sup> Courtyard houses in Boğazköy did not belong to a densely occupied settlement; rather they were free-standing large farms.<sup>352</sup>

From the middle Byzantine period, in addition to the courtyard houses the “single space” houses are observed. These simple houses with one or two rooms were arranged in a line or in two wings (L shaped).<sup>353</sup> Sigalos describes their interior organization as follows:

“Single space” houses would have concentrated all activities under the same roof. The single, in most cases long room would have been used for household manufacture, cooking, sleeping, and storage all at the same time and in a linear way. This means that since the activities were housed in the same room, they would need to be arranged either spatially or temporally.<sup>354</sup>

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<sup>347</sup> Sigalos (2004) 57

<sup>348</sup> Ibid., 58-9; Ibid., 57, mentions that whereas built or ceramic (*piθοι*) storage facilities are found, a particular room reserved for storage is absent; Ibid., 59, notes that sanitary facilities, in most cases were also located in the courtyard.

<sup>349</sup> Kalas (2007) 395 footnote 10, points to Scranton (1957), Bouras (1974), Neve (1986), Frantz (1988), Rheidt (1991), and Eyice (1996); see also Rheidt (1990), (1999) and Neve (1991).

<sup>350</sup> Sigalos (2004) 57; Kalas (2007) 395-6

<sup>351</sup> Belke (2005) 429

<sup>352</sup> Rheidt (1996) 228

<sup>353</sup> Sigalos (2004) 60

<sup>354</sup> Ibid., 60-1

In his account of simple houses in Greece Sigalos recounts that only in a single example (in Veira) could a hearth be identified. In two other cases (in Palaiochora near Maroneia), areas indicating a hearth and storage were separated from the main living area.<sup>355</sup> Yet, in the majority of houses in Greece no hearths but various braziers and chafing dishes were found which suggest the area of front door as the cooking place.<sup>356</sup> On the other hand, Clive Foss reports on middle Byzantine houses in Sardis, consisting of one or more rooms about five meters square, many of which contained a semi-circular brick hearth.<sup>357</sup> Houses of irregular form and poor quality, without a courtyard or only with a narrow one in front of the main façade, found at Pergamon and Euripos, where they were erected along narrow alleys without any apparent organization.<sup>358</sup>

Courtyard houses are usually found where the public areas of Classical cities once were. In most cases, these areas have continued to have a central position in the urban life of later periods. In this respect, Sigalos writes:

The proximity to central commercial areas and the larger storage facilities of the courtyard houses could indicate that these houses may have belonged to a thriving local merchant class of people, who - being located close to the centres of commercial and industrial activity - could act as intermediaries between those centres and the larger cities of the Empire.<sup>359</sup>

As a matter of fact, in the tenth century local aristocratic families owned large lands especially around urban centers. These landed families needed larger storage spaces within the courtyard houses and played a crucial role in the food supply of cities.<sup>360</sup> On the other hand, linear planned houses apparently lacking extensive storage rooms were mainly found further from city centers.<sup>361</sup> Consequently Guillou

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<sup>355</sup> Ibid., 61

<sup>356</sup> Ibid., 58

<sup>357</sup> Foss (1976) 70

<sup>358</sup> Mojsilovic-Popović, Karpozilos and Kazhdan (1991) 953

<sup>359</sup> Sigalos (2004) 62, refers to Guillou, A. "Oikismoi sti Byzantini Italia (ST-IA ai.)" *Byzantina* 8 (1976): 167-83.

<sup>360</sup> Kazhdan and Epstein (1985) 94

<sup>361</sup> Sigalos (2004) 63



suggests that simpler houses might have belonged to the group, which was involved in agricultural and other activities and provided services to merchants and to the local aristocracy who lived in courtyard houses.<sup>362</sup>

*Middle and Late Byzantine Houses in Pergamon*

Excavations undertaken between 1973 and 1993 by the German Archaeological Institute in Pergamon have yielded a Byzantine living quarter in western Asia Minor (fig. 4.4.-5.). By 1990 it was the largest Byzantine settlement that had been systematically excavated and investigated so far.<sup>363</sup> Indeed, at the end of the 90s Rheidt still complained about the lack of publications of other excavations of middle Byzantine settlements in Asia Minor as comparanda.<sup>364</sup> Nevertheless, Rheidt points to the farmyard in Arsameia from the thirteenth/fourteenth century as a comparison for Pergamon's courtyard houses, whereas Corinth and Athens present examples for smaller houses in dense settlements (fig. 4.4).<sup>365</sup> The middle and late Byzantine settlement in Pergamon still indicates a poor agricultural one, which, as Rheidt points out, can be reflected in many provincial Byzantine cities.<sup>366</sup> Yet, houses in Pergamon show also some hierarchical differentiation based on their size and on the use of spaces. Not all were small peasant dwellings. Some even belonged to the Bishop and probably great landholders.<sup>367</sup>

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<sup>362</sup> Ibid., refers to Guillou (1976)

<sup>363</sup> Rheidt (1996) 222; Rheidt (1990) 195-6

<sup>364</sup> Rheidt (1999) 350

<sup>365</sup> Rheidt (1996) 228

<sup>366</sup> Rheidt (1990) 204; like Sigalos (2004) 71, who compares the modern village houses in Greece with older traditions, Rheidt (1990) 203, looks at present Turkish village houses in order to understand Byzantine organization. According to him, the Byzantine family and household did not differ much from the structure of the actual rural houses. Rheidt (1996) 228-9, highlights the "great" similarity in general layout between the medieval houses in Pergamon and those in modern villages such as in Hasanâbad in western Iran and in Aşvan in Anatolia. They all have courtyards and a similar arrangement of living and economic spaces.

<sup>367</sup> Rheidt (1999) 351

Here, more than thirty houses, dated between the eleventh and fourteenth century are identified from which the majority was the courtyard type.<sup>368</sup> The courtyard was identified as opening up, living and manufacturing area. Mudbrick was the material of the houses. Walls were not plastered and the floor was mostly not paved. Windows were not found and according to Rheidt, only small openings located at the upper part of the walls might have existed.<sup>369</sup> Only a few houses had upper stories.<sup>370</sup> Big pots up to 1.50 m high were found. In some parts of the rooms benches were built in. In addition, contrary to the majority of houses excavated in Greece, one of the rooms in every house in Pergamon had a hearth built on one of its walls. Thus, these particular rooms containing fragments of pottern and bones were identified as kitchens. Additional rooms for storage or stables are also identified in bigger courtyard houses. However, in smaller houses living, cooking and storing were within the same room.<sup>371</sup>

#### *The Byzantine Village*

Although “the real center of society and productive activity was the countryside,” until recently evidence on Byzantine housing was rather urban based.<sup>372</sup> Underlining the change in this respect, Ellis reports on the results of excavation of rural settlements coming from Jordan, Israel and parts of the Balkans whereas the picture still remains poor for Anatolia and much of North Africa.<sup>373</sup> Accordingly, simple, single space houses densely built and opening into a common courtyard seem to have been typical for Byzantine village settlements. Rooms were not designated for any specific function. On the contrary, several activities such as

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<sup>368</sup> Rheidt (1990) 196

<sup>369</sup> Ibid., 198

<sup>370</sup> Rheidt (1996) 226

<sup>371</sup> Rheidt (1990) 199

<sup>372</sup> Patlagean (1987) 558; Ellis (2004) 38

<sup>373</sup> Ellis (2004) 38; Laiou (2005) 33, mentions northern Syria providing information on late antique, early Byzantine villages, Jordan and Palestine providing information on villages, farmhouses, manor houses of Byzantine period and central Lycia, central Anatolia and parts of Cyprus providing information on villages primarily in the early period. She emphasizes that evidence for the middle Byzantine period “becomes much slimmer.”

production, sleeping, eating took place in the same room. Usually cooking seems to have occurred outdoors.<sup>374</sup> Indeed, most people lived in villages, in houses of modest construction and form. However, in border regions such as in central and eastern Anatolia there were also large estates established in isolation.<sup>375</sup> These mansions of wealthy landowners (like Digenes Akritas) with their apparently rich interiors, surrounding gardens, defense walls and towers presented a noticeable difference.<sup>376</sup>

In the Fiscal Treatise of the Marciana<sup>377</sup> the Byzantine village (*chorion*) is defined as a nucleated settlement where “the houses of the villagers are all in the same place, neighboring each other.”<sup>378</sup> In addition, Laiou points to a probably late seventh century text, which provides information on a “typical” village. Accordingly, the village with its marked territory was usually situated near a road in close connection to the water source. Fields were suggested to be outside the village. There were also gardens, woods as well as uncultivated lands. Vineyards were beyond the arable land. Cattle were taken out to pasture lands by special cattle herders.<sup>379</sup> According to Laiou, this “very general and generalized picture” of a village matches well with villages known from the middle Byzantine period, from the ninth century.<sup>380</sup> On a different note, Belke differentiates between the “normal” built villages and the cave villages in central Anatolia, whereby he asserts that the former belong mostly to the late Roman or early Byzantine period.<sup>381</sup> He

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<sup>374</sup> Doğan (2008) 5

<sup>375</sup> Patlagean (1987) 558

<sup>376</sup> Mojsilovic- Popović, Karpozilos and Kazhdan (1991) 954; for Digenes Akritas see Jeffreys and Jeffreys (1991) 622-3 and Mavrogordato (1956). Digenes Akritas which is an epic poem compiled perhaps in the 12<sup>th</sup> c. is about the heroic life of Digenes. Digenes meaning two genes indicate the Arabic and Byzantine parents of our hero, whereas Akritas means people living in the frontier land.

<sup>377</sup> Laiou (2005) 36 footnote 29, refers to Oikonomidès, N. *Fiscalité et exemption fiscale à Byzance (IXe-XIe siècle)*. Athens, 1996, 44-45, who dates this text to the early 12<sup>th</sup> c.

<sup>378</sup> Laiou (2005) 39

<sup>379</sup> Ibid.

<sup>380</sup> Ibid.

<sup>381</sup> Belke (2005) 426

emphasizes cave settlements as a typology seen often in central Anatolia, especially in Cappadocia but also in some parts of Phrygia, Lykaonia, and south Paphlagonia.<sup>382</sup>

In medieval Byzantine, villages were often situated at the foot of mountains and in Asia Minor they were usually near roads.<sup>383</sup> The Byzantine village was in general unwalled whereas the exterior walls of houses offered some kind of protection as was the case in the villages of late antique Syria.<sup>384</sup> Within the predominantly nucleated villages independent ownership was marked by surrounding walls.<sup>385</sup> Not all but most of the villages had a church. The village church was usually located in a central, prominent place within the settlement. Already in the fourth to the sixth centuries, the church was a dominant element in the village.<sup>386</sup> There were silos, wine-presses and oil-presses, mills and water mills belonging either to the village, to individual peasants or to the landlords.<sup>387</sup>

An early Byzantine settlement was found in Viranşehir (Mokissos) on the slopes of Mt. Hasan south of Aksaray, had an irregular network of streets, and the density of houses was higher in the centre. Along the external slopes, some houses with courtyards were identified. Most of the dwellings were free standing single room houses.<sup>388</sup> Albrecht Berger highlights this as a common typology that is seen in the countryside of Cappadocia until the present.<sup>389</sup> Berger asserts that at least a thousand houses and a series of churches existed in Viranşehir. Only two

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<sup>382</sup> Ibid., 430

<sup>383</sup> Laiou (2005) 42; Ibid., 43, notes that the size of villages was highly varied and refers to Lefort, J. "Population et peuplement en Macédoine orientale IXe-XVe siècle." *Hommes et Richesses* II (1991): 72, who estimates the average territory of 10<sup>th</sup> c. villages in Macedonia as 15-20 km<sup>2</sup>. 4-5 km distance between the villages is assumed.

<sup>384</sup> Laiou (2005) 37

<sup>385</sup> Ibid.; Kazhdan and Constable (1982) 31

<sup>386</sup> Laiou (2005) 48; for village church see Gerstel (2005)

<sup>387</sup> Ibid., 45

<sup>388</sup> Belke (2005) 427-8

<sup>389</sup> Berger (1998) 349; Mokissos has been alternately identified as Kırşehir. See Ramsay (1890/2005) 220-1. See also footnote 66.

monasteries are identified within the settlement whereas several monasteries belonging to the early and middle Byzantine were found outside.<sup>390</sup>

The decline of towns in the seventh century corresponds to the increased prominence of the village network.<sup>391</sup> In addition, Laiou lists the increase in population, slow establishment of security and geographical expansion in the tenth century that played a role in the development of the Byzantine village from the ninth to the early or middle of the fourteenth century.<sup>392</sup> The complex village society consisted of “free proprietors, dependent peasants (*paroikoi*), agricultural laborers and artisans.”<sup>393</sup> In the ninth and tenth centuries the village community was “more than a fiscal unit.” It consisted mostly of landholders and taxpayers with “communal rights over certain resources, such as water and mills.”<sup>394</sup> Subsequently, powerful individuals played a more crucial role in the organization of the countryside. Landlords, including the state, got more involved in the organization of production.<sup>395</sup> According to Laiou, in the course of the tenth century, changes led to a transformation and this economical shift had been completed by the mid or late eleventh century. The village community was eroded and villages turned into estates owned by ecclesiastical and lay landlords.<sup>396</sup> Joint ownership of property was common among the members of the provincial elite.<sup>397</sup> Although well integrated into the society, the clergy also created its elites. The church became a

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<sup>390</sup> Berger (1998) 355, 375, 413

<sup>391</sup> Laiou (2005) 38

<sup>392</sup> Ibid., 40; Ibid., 41, mentions the situation in the eastern frontier of Asia Minor before the conquest of Nikephoros II Phokas in the 960s as the constant warfare forced people to seek refuge in fortified cities or in Cappadocia in the underground “villages.”

<sup>393</sup> Laiou (2005) 46; for a critical review of agrarian history of Byzantium see Lefort (1993).

<sup>394</sup> Laiou (2005) 46

<sup>395</sup> Ibid., 42-3

<sup>396</sup> Ibid., 43, 47

<sup>397</sup> Ibid., 51

landowner. After the eleventh century great monasteries had a number of villages and their production under their control.<sup>398</sup>

*Constantinople and Imperial Dwelling*

Ken Dark laments that archaeologists neglected Istanbul like almost no other ancient or medieval capital city for over a quarter of a century. Moreover, the few archaeologists working on Byzantine Constantinople since 1975 have focused on monumental rather than everyday architecture.<sup>399</sup> For this reason, scholars have been limited with textual data.

In this respect, Magdalino questions what textual evidence can tell us of non-imperial upper class housing in Constantinople. The tenth/ eleventh century Palace of Botaneiates based on a twelfth-century inventory presents the most detailed description of an upper class house. Accordingly, a complex of buildings seem to have been set around courtyards, among which one contained an elaborate church.<sup>400</sup> Although not certain, Eyice points to remains identified as parts of the palace of Botaneiates which indicate a large hypostyle hall and another hall with an apse perpendicular to the former (fig. 4.6.). Beside elite houses, the city had high-rise apartments, *insulae* similar to Rome and Ostia. Interpreting textual evidence, Dark suggests that multi-storey apartment blocks and private houses still co-existed as late as 1200.<sup>401</sup> In addition, textual sources report the irregularity of houses in Constantinople.<sup>402</sup> Accordingly, Attaleiates' mansion in the capital consisted of several buildings arranged around a common courtyard. This two-storey mansion had its own chapel as well as a donkey-driven mill.<sup>403</sup>

On the other hand, nothing substantial has survived from the original palace of Constantine the Great, later known as the Daphni Palace. According to textual

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<sup>398</sup> Ibid., 48, mentions the church as the mediator between the state and the village.

<sup>399</sup> Dark (2004b) 84

<sup>400</sup> Ibid., 85; see Magdalino (1984) and (2001).

<sup>401</sup> Dark (2004b) 85-6

<sup>402</sup> Mojsilovic- Popović, Karpozilos and Kazhdan (1991) 953

<sup>403</sup> Mojsilovic- Popović, Karpozilos and Kazhdan (1991) 953-4; Kazhdan and Constable (1982) 50

evidence, this fourth century palace was in the center of a huge palatial complex stretching from the Hippodrome to the Marmara shore by the tenth century (fig. 4.7., 4.9.).<sup>404</sup> Jan Kosteneč reconstructs Daphni as a “winged corridor villa” depending on the *De Ceremoniis*.<sup>405</sup> It seems that the semicircular (sigma) forecourts were common features within the early Byzantine palaces excavated in Istanbul whereby Roman and late Roman architecture might be considered as the ancestry of these U shaped forecourts.<sup>406</sup> Some Byzantine texts imply the existence of another courtyard, a large one in Daphni. Indeed, Kosteneč emphasizes that “the co-existence of a portico villa and courtyard is unexceptional in Roman architecture.”<sup>407</sup> Consequently, he suggests a possible connection between the Palace of Constantine and Tetrarchic palace architecture:

If one takes these palaces as a guide to its possible form, Constantine’s architects might have built the Daphni complex either as a very grand modified portico villa (as at Split, Cordoba and possibly Antioch) or as a multi-peristyle structure (as at the Domus Augustana and perhaps at Thessaloniki).<sup>408</sup>

Furthermore, Kosteneč underlines that “a semicircular portico and a large central-plan hall were distinctive features of fourth-fifth century houses of nobility”(fig. 4.8., 4.10.).<sup>409</sup> In the Daphni Palace three separate rooms shared the function of a throne room.<sup>410</sup> These were the two apsed halls<sup>411</sup> at the ends of the portico and another room across the courtyard where a throne was placed under a canopy.<sup>412</sup>

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<sup>404</sup> Kosteneč (2004) 4

<sup>405</sup> Kosteneč (2004) 5-6; in full, *De ceremoniis aulae byzantinae*, the *Book of Ceremonies*, is the 10th c. treatise of Constantine VII. It describes major and minor court ceremonies in minute details. See *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (1991) 595-7

<sup>406</sup> Ibid., 6

<sup>407</sup> Ibid., 9, points to Cologne, Aquincum, Dura Europos and Montmaurin as possible examples.

<sup>408</sup> Ibid., 5

<sup>409</sup> Ibid., 26

<sup>410</sup> Ibid., 9; Ibid., figure 1.1 and 1.2

<sup>411</sup> Nr. 4 and 5 in Ibid., figure 1.2; Nr. 4 is the *Triklinos* with 19 couches.

<sup>412</sup> Nr. 17 in Ibid., figure 1.1

The Octagon<sup>413</sup> was “where the emperor, empress or patriarch waited and changed during ceremonies [...] Thus, [it] may be regarded as the vestibule of the Daphni Palace.”<sup>414</sup> In addition, Kosteneč remarks on similarities between the Daphni and Maximian’s palace at Cordoba (fig. 4.11.). Indeed, in Cordoba too “[a]n apsed hall adjoined the portico on the main axis and other rooms were set radially along the rear wall of the portico. Two smaller multi-apsed structures, parallel with the axis of the main hall, were added to the ends of the semicircular portico.”<sup>415</sup> As for façades, Kosteneč suggests analogies between the Daphni Palace and the façade that was depicted in a mosaic at Sant’ Apollinare Nuovo in Ravenna. He emphasizes that both faced open spaces.<sup>416</sup> Based on the mosaic at Ravenna and the text relating to the north façade of Daphni, Kosteneč highlights some common architectural features including “rows of columns and a palace gate in the middle of the façade- a central entrance porch with four front columns carrying a gable.”<sup>417</sup>

Another building, a domed triconch hall, called the Justinianos, was erected near Daphni after the sixth century.<sup>418</sup> According to *De Cerimoniis*, “guests at a banquet there were amused by the singers and by organ-players standing under vaults facing in different directions.”<sup>419</sup> Interestingly, Kosteneč recalls the function of monastic churches with triconch plan where choirs of monks also “sang antiphonally across the central space” standing in the two lateral apses.<sup>420</sup>

Furthermore:

The triconch formed part of Roman palace architecture from as early as the first century. Although such structures became gradually more isolated, enlarged and

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<sup>413</sup> Nr. 8 in *Ibid.*, figure 1.2

<sup>414</sup> Kosteneč (2004) 9

<sup>415</sup> *Ibid.*, 6, 7; *Ibid.*, figure 1.3

<sup>416</sup> Kosteneč (2004) 5; for Ravenna see Johnson (1988) 73-96.

<sup>417</sup> Kosteneč (2004) 5

<sup>418</sup> *Ibid.*, 13; Nr. 28 in *Ibid.*, figure 1.1

<sup>419</sup> *Ibid.*, 14

<sup>420</sup> *Ibid.*, gives Egyptian fifth century Red- and White-monasteries as well as the later Mount Athos as examples.



elaborate, they never lost their original function as dining rooms. The Justinianos was no exception to this rule: both audiences and banquets took place here [...] The same architectural form also passed into Byzantine monastic architecture for both churches and refectories.<sup>421</sup>

A middle Byzantine palatial building also of interest was the Kainourgion<sup>422</sup> which was built under Basil I in the Great Palace. It had a nave and two aisles separated by means of colonnades. This area was followed by a central-plan bed-chamber. Kosteneč emphasizes that, despite “ecclesiastical analogies, Kainourgion was a wholly secular structure, combining the functions of an audience and dining-Room with a private bedRoom.”<sup>423</sup>

On the other hand, the only surviving material evidence from the tenth century palatial architecture in Constantinople comes from the Myrelaion palace (fig. 4.12.). It also indicates a U-shaped plan, with a portico opening to a courtyard; the palace chapel, the present Bodrum Camii, lay on one side of the complex.<sup>424</sup>

Nevertheless, the only imperial dwelling from the capital surviving in its elevation is the late Byzantine Tekfur Palace (fig. 4.18.). Also known as the palace of Porphyrogenete, it was located on the land walls of Constantinople. It is a three storied rectangular building where the ground floor is vaulted. An oratory and balcony on the second floor suggest a use as the main hall.<sup>425</sup> Eyice notes that Tekfur Palace and the palace of Nymphi (Kemalpaşa) near Izmir, a small replica of the former, demonstrate “the application of the principle of multi-storey dwellings with window openings.”<sup>426</sup>

#### *Byzantine Household and its Objects*

Evelyn Patlagean points to the distinction made in Greek between *oikos*, household and *oikia*, the house itself. The former covers family members as well as servants and slaves living and working in the latter. Furthermore, differentiation

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<sup>421</sup> Ibid., 14

<sup>422</sup> Nr. 53 in Ibid., figure 1.1

<sup>423</sup> Ibid., 24

<sup>424</sup> Kalas (2007) 395; Ousterhout (2005) 142.

<sup>425</sup> Eyice (1996) 207

<sup>426</sup> Ibid., 210

was made according to the character of the *oikos*. For instance, the so-called “military household” was required to send a fully equipped family member to the army for combat.<sup>427</sup> Interestingly, the brotherhood of monks living under the authority of a father was also seen as an *oikos*, a “monastic household.”<sup>428</sup>

Yet, the house was not entirely private; in some respects it was even a public space where guests were received.<sup>429</sup> Nevertheless, Patlagean asserts “[t]he segregation of women was the first principle of interior design” and usually, regardless of social classes, “outsiders were not allowed to frequent the women of the house.”<sup>430</sup> Kazhdan and Constable might exaggerate while claiming that it must have been a “tragedy” for a Byzantine person to receive a stranger in the house.<sup>431</sup> Still, Kekaumenos even advised not to let a friend stay in one’s house where he would seduce one’s wife and discover family secrets.<sup>432</sup> As a matter of fact, Kazhdan and Constable believe that Byzantium had weak social ties above the level of family when compared with the municipal society of antiquity and hierarchical society of the West.<sup>433</sup>

In studying the components of the Byzantine house, Oikonomidès focuses on the middle-class households from the eleventh to the fifteenth centuries that interestingly cover all of the following: “those of affluent landowners, church or

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<sup>427</sup> Patlagean (1987) 567

<sup>428</sup> Ibid., 609

<sup>429</sup> Ibid., 567

<sup>430</sup> Ibid., 573, refers to Michael Psellus’ *Chronography* which confirms that *gynaikonitis*, woman’s apartment was found in both in the palace and private homes of the eleventh century; for a critical approach to *gynaikonitis* see Ousterhout (2005) 150.

<sup>431</sup> Kazhdan and Constable (1982) 50

<sup>432</sup> Kazhdan and Constable (1982) 26; for Kekaumenos, the eleventh century author of a moralistic book of advice, known as *Strategikon*, see “Kekaumenos” in *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*. (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 1119.

<sup>433</sup> Kazhdan and Constable (1982) 29-30; Ibid., (1982) 30, emphasize the “undeveloped” vertical and horizontal links in the Byzantine society. They define the vertical links within the hierarchy between lord and vassals while horizontal links are defined between the family, the village community, trade guilds, etc. However, they add that some vertical ties existed from at least the eleventh century onwards; Kazhdan and Constable (1982) 34, define the characteristic feature of the Byzantine society, as “individualism without freedom.”

state officials of various levels, and monks and founders of small monasteries, living mostly in the provinces.”<sup>434</sup> Oikonomidès refers to the list of objects that are “contained in wills, in acts of transfer of authority over a household or a monastery, or the list drafted after one’s death in order to establish certain rights of succession.”<sup>435</sup>

Results are surprising since while items of small value are listed, basic furniture such as beds, tables, chairs are lacking in the fourteen documents covering four centuries and a vast region.<sup>436</sup> Accordingly, the most common sleeping items were rugs, pillows whereas beds were seldom mentioned. Oikonomidès argues that the poor and ascetic monks lay out mats or animal skins to sleep on, while the better-off used a mattress or sleeping rug. Yet, sleeping directly on the floor was something exceptional that was only practiced by monks. Interestingly, Oikonomidès assumes similarity between the rules of imperial banquets, banquets of high society, and the rules of monastic refectories. However, where middle- and lower class households are concerned, tables and furniture for seating appear seldom in the lists.<sup>437</sup> Hence, Oikonomidès suggests two styles of interior organization, both inspired by ancient types, for the average house in the middle and late Byzantine periods, in villages and cities. On the one hand, in the affluent model no built-in structure was installed within the room. Consequently, tables, chairs or stools, beds or couches were required as furnishing. On the other hand, the more “medieval” model contained a permanent wooden or stone-built couch covering three sides of the room. Indeed, from late antiquity onward the dining room had been called mainly “three-couch room” or *triconch*. According to Oikonomidès, the type with permanent furnishing was characteristic of housing of the poor and reflected the simpler way of life in the Middle Ages.<sup>438</sup> Similarly, he

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<sup>434</sup> Oikonomidès (1990) 206

<sup>435</sup> *Ibid.*, 206

<sup>436</sup> *Ibid.*, 207-8 table 1; they were only fourteen documents ranging from eleventh to fifteenth century known to the scholar by 1990.

<sup>437</sup> *Ibid.*, 212

<sup>438</sup> Oikonomidès (1990) 213

explains the lack of beds in the lists with probable existence of non-movable, built-in furniture.<sup>439</sup>

As for tools, since the landowner was usually not directly involved in agricultural activities, tools for this purpose do not appear in the lists. Yet, they existed in the monasteries where monks worked the land themselves. Large jars and barrels for storing oil, wine or wheat are found in the households of laymen or monks living in countryside where people had to store the harvest for all year.<sup>440</sup> Many households included chests, which might have been used also as storage for foods.<sup>441</sup>

### **4.3 Rock-cut Courtyard Complexes**

Beside nucleated villages, the Byzantine countryside was also occupied by free-standing houses of “both ends of the social spectrum” covering huts of slaves and tenant farmers on the large estates and splendid countryside seats of great magnates.<sup>442</sup> Courtyard Complexes combining grandiose halls and courtyards with rural context as well as their existence as a single unit or as a part of an ensemble lead our study to consider village settlements and manors at the same time. In this respect, some recent studies filling gaps were summarized above whereby the position of Cappadocian complexes in this corpus is investigated below.

#### **4.3.1 Different Scholarly Approaches**

Questioning the function of Cappadocian Courtyard Complexes began as a result of the awakened interest in their architectural investigation towards the end of the century. Before, Cappadocia had been studied mainly from an art historical perspective. The communal life that these complexes suggest and the monastic

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<sup>439</sup> Ibid., 209-10

<sup>440</sup> Ibid., 211

<sup>441</sup> Ibid., 208-9

<sup>442</sup> Patlagean (1987) 569

“myth” of Cappadocia led scholars to identify them as monastic settlements. However, new accounts emerging from recent surveys conducted in the region challenge this initial identification proposing a more secular one. Moreover, Thomas Mathews and Annie-Christine Daskalakis-Mathews pointing to the lack of material evidence of the middle Byzantine domestic architecture underline the importance of rock-cut architecture in Cappadocia: “if instead many of them are great mansions of the wealthy landowners of the province, they would begin to bridge an important gap in architectural history.”<sup>443</sup> Kalas referring to the recent studies on Cappadocia’s rock-cut Courtyard Complexes even announces “[a] whole new chapter in the study of the Byzantine habitat has been opened.”<sup>444</sup>

Interestingly, Eyice believes that the troglodytic settlement deserves an important place under the Byzantine dwelling whereas Tanyeli asserts that Cappadocian “cave-residence” cannot be seen as “a typical representative of the Byzantine provincial.”<sup>445</sup> Moreover, Cappadocian rock-cut Courtyard Complexes as already mentioned do not only differ from well-known Byzantine settlements elsewhere such as in Pergamon or Corinth, they also differ from other cavities in the region. Ousterhout underlines the “stark contrast” between Çanlı Kilise and such “more typical Cappadocian rock-cut settlements” as at Zelve and Viranşehir (Mokissos). Instead, he proposes to look at other Courtyard Complexes for comparison such as the Açksaray Group and Selime Kalesi. Interestingly, he also suggests a look at Binbirkilise at Karaman.<sup>446</sup> Indeed, the façades of the latter, which were depicted in engravings of Laborde, show striking similarities with the façades of Cappadocian examples (fig. 4.17., 4.19.).<sup>447</sup> In any case, Courtyard Complexes, although located in the countryside, certainly cannot be categorized under the simple rubric of Byzantine rural housing. Nor were their inhabitants

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<sup>443</sup> Mathews and Daskalakis-Mathews (1997) 295

<sup>444</sup> Kalas (2007) 396

<sup>445</sup> Eyice (1996) 212; Tanyeli (1996) 411

<sup>446</sup> Ousterhout (2005) 182

<sup>447</sup> For Binbirkilise see Eyice (1971).

simple peasants.<sup>448</sup> Voluminous interrelated spaces used apparently for formal occasions speak against this. Accordingly, Kalas asserts that they “likely belonged to the local, landed aristocracy and military elite of the tenth and eleventh centuries.”<sup>449</sup> Upon this Kalas highlights Cappadocia’s rock-cut Courtyard Complexes which have survived in plan and elevation as complementary evidence for the middle Byzantine housing between the non-elite houses and palaces.<sup>450</sup>

Following the question of Stephen Hill “When is a monastery not a monastery?”<sup>451</sup> and conducting architectural surveys, scholars establish their arguments in favor of secular settlements primarily through disproving their initial monastic identity. Hence, the absence of carved features and spaces such as the *trapeza*, or refectory and monks’ cells are emphasized as the main evidence against the monastic function of Courtyard Complexes.<sup>452</sup> Consequently, complexes where these carved furnitures are lacking have been rashly identified as domestic.<sup>453</sup> Certain functions have been suggested for some of the rooms based on their form, decoration and location. For instance, the room with an opening in its conical vault and closer connection to the main hall of the complex is usually identified as the kitchen while the stable is recognized due to the “manger carved on its walls.”<sup>454</sup> Where nothing points to a fixed function, a multi-functional use is proposed. Hierarchical arrangement of rooms in relationship to each other within each unit, as

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<sup>448</sup>Ousterhout (2005) 182, instead, proposes “people of some social standing” as inhabitants.

<sup>449</sup> Kalas (2009a) 147

<sup>450</sup> Kalas (2007) 396; Ellis (2004) 50, however, points to Nyssa and Side for the study of “developments in domestic architecture through the middle Byzantine Period” and *not* to Cappadocia.

<sup>451</sup> Hill (1994)

<sup>452</sup> Mathews and Daskalakis-Mathews (1997) 299; Kalas (2007), similarly sees such features as carved pit looms within the room as support to the domestic character.

<sup>453</sup> Mathews and Daskalakis-Mathews (1997); Ousterhout (1997a), identifies at Çanlı Kilise from twenty-five complexes only a single one as monastic, which is far less organized, but includes a chapel and rock-cut table and benches.

<sup>454</sup> Kalas (2007) 277; Eyice (1996) 209, similarly suggests “a small room with a rectangular opening in the middle of its vault” found in a house in Side as the kitchen. For more information on rock-cut stables in Cappadocia see Tütüncü (2008).

well as hierarchical arrangement of units situated in more or less prominent places within the landscape has been chosen as a method to discuss the social ranks in the settlement.<sup>455</sup>

Contrary to their otherness within the corpus of Byzantine dwelling, there seems to have been some common acceptances concerning the way of life including the expression of status among the Cappadocian Courtyard Complexes. Indeed, the Hallaç Complex near Ortahisar has been exemplified as the ideal layout of a Courtyard Complex (fig. 1.3.).<sup>456</sup> Here, the so-called inverted T-plan consists of two elements: a vestibule (now lost) forming the horizontal part of the T parallel to the decorated main façade (also lost) and a hall forming the vertical part of the T perpendicular to the former.<sup>457</sup> Occasionally sacred and utilitarian spaces accessible from the vestibule or directly from the courtyard are added in this usually single storey plan, in various complexes. Consequently, this particular layout has encouraged scholars to search after typologies also beyond Byzantine boundaries.

*A Mediterranean Layout: The Inverted T-Plan*

Kuban in his book “The Turkish Hayat House”<sup>458</sup> published in 1995 discusses the origin of the most conspicuous elements of the housing type developed in Anatolia in the sixteenth century:<sup>459</sup> the semi-open portico, the so-called *hayat*, and the roofed recess, the so-called *eyvan*. As Kuban emphasizes, their combinations with each other and with a courtyard had shaped the residential architecture in Anatolia and the Balkans for four centuries. Yet, their roots go even earlier. Kuban emphasizes this T-shaped semi-open space as “almost an archetype in Middle Eastern architecture.”<sup>460</sup> According to Kuban, the Hittite *hilani*, the

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<sup>455</sup> Kalas (2004), emphasizes it as the methodology of her study.

<sup>456</sup> Hallaç and other Courtyard Complexes are marked as monasteries by the Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism in *situ*.

<sup>457</sup> See Mathews and Daskalakis-Mathews (1997) 300

<sup>458</sup> Kuban (1995)

<sup>459</sup> *Ibid.*, 14

<sup>460</sup> *Ibid.*, 24

Arabian *bayt*, the Mesopotamian *tarma*, the Iranian *talar*, and the Turkish *hayat* are all variations of the same pattern.<sup>461</sup>

Kuban recalls the *bayt* as a conspicuous element seen in some Umayyad palaces such as Mshatta (fig. 4.13.) and in the early Abbasid palaces as well as in Fustat houses and in many house forms, from Egypt to Central Asia in early and medieval Islam.<sup>462</sup> Indeed, in the eighth century the palace known as Ukhaider in Syria, the inverted T-plan is repeated four times in two of its four *bayts* covering “independent and self contents” apartments that belonged probably to the owner’s wives (fig. 4.15.). Three rooms were entered through the transverse hall where the central room with the wide archway suggests a receptional function.<sup>463</sup> In the sixth century, at Qasr-i Shirin now located in the modern Iraq-Iran border, a horizontally transverse space is located between the open court and the central hall in similar independent apartments (fig. 4.14.).<sup>464</sup> On the other hand, the tenth century houses in Fustat in Egypt where “the basic inverted T-plan reappears with great regularity from house to house” are characterized by a “prominent central hall, the *majlis* that opens onto a transverse portico” (fig. 4.16.).<sup>465</sup>

Similarly, the inverted T-plan of the Cappadocian Courtyard Complexes and their decorated main façade, both distinctive and repetitive, have led scholars to examine their derivation. Interestingly, Mathews and Daskalakis-Mathews proposed the same origins as the above mentioned for the inverted T-plan of the Cappadocian Courtyard Complexes.<sup>466</sup>

Yet, for the possible connection between Turkish and Byzantine housing, Ernst Kirsten previously claimed that to find Byzantine precedence to the Turkish

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<sup>461</sup> Ibid., recalls that the Hittite *hilani* “was a symmetrically disposed colonnaded gallery before a central hall between two side rooms.”

<sup>462</sup> Ibid., 26

<sup>463</sup> Mathews and Daskalakis-Mathews (1997) 306

<sup>464</sup> Ibid., 305

<sup>465</sup> Ibid., 307-8

<sup>466</sup> Ibid., (1995) and (1997)



house is uncertain.<sup>467</sup> Kuban agrees with this without denying that the housing stock continued to be used in conquered cities by the Turks.<sup>468</sup> Regarding the Byzantine house in general terms Kuban writes:

As we know from written sources and from a few remaining larger mansions, the central hall was characteristic of large Byzantine residences. The narrow open gallery appended to it was sometimes *in antis*, which formally came closer to the *tarma* and *hayat* house, sometimes as a simple balcony. The long gallery along the whole facade facing an enclosed courtyard was also found in larger Roman mansions of Syria.<sup>469</sup>

At the same time, Kuban emphasizes the north Syrian influence on the early phase of the Turkish Hayat House, which apparently can be still traced in surviving examples in Turkey. Highly interestingly, he points to Cappadocia's "strong cultural ties with Syria"<sup>470</sup> but, does not give any temporal or territorial details.

Kuban suggests that because of its connection to the ruling class and symbolic meaning, the Arabian *bayt* might have been first adopted in the princely residences subsequently becoming transformed into vernacular architecture.<sup>471</sup> Similarly, the fact that the inverted T-plan was not seen in the traditional monastery planning but that it was a familiar layout used in the broader Mediterranean domestic architecture, particularly in Islamic palaces as well as in upper-class houses led Mathews and Daskalakis-Mathews to argue for an aristocratic domestic function of the Courtyard Complexes.<sup>472</sup>

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<sup>467</sup> Kuban (1995) 29, refers to Kirsten, E., D. Zakythinos and P. Lemerle. "Die byzantinische Stadt." ed. F. Dölger and H.G. Beck, *Discussion Beiträge zum XI. Internationalen Byzantinisten Kongress*, Munich, 1958.

<sup>468</sup> Kuban (1995) 29

<sup>469</sup> Ibid.; Ibid., footnote 20, refers to Brehier, C. *La Civilisation Byzantine*. (Paris: Albin Michel, 1970), 35, who mentions the mosaic of Yakto in Antakya (Antiocheia) found in 1932 and depicts the architecture of Antiocheian houses in the early Byzantine period.

<sup>470</sup> Kuban (1995) 52

<sup>471</sup> Ibid., 26; As a part of the inverted T-plan, porticos were architectural expressions of the age-old aristocratic manner that even continued to be used in the Ottoman period. For instance, the Sultan's lodge, the mosque of Yeniciami (17th c.) and Fatih Köşkü (Kiosk) at Topkapı Palace in Istanbul (15th. c), both demonstrate the imperial use of portico on the ground floor in the Ottoman architecture (Kuban (1995) 58-59). In the Çinili Köşk (Kiosk) of Mehmet the Conqueror at Topkapı Palace a semi open gallery with *eyvan* both facing the garden were "motif of established status" (Kuban (1995) 138).

<sup>472</sup> Mathews and Daskalakis-Mathews (1997) 305

Scholars, furthermore, also claim an Islamic origin for the horseshoe shaped decorative elements of the Cappadocian façades. Mathews and Daskalakis-Mathews highlight the similarity between Cappadocian rock-cut façades and the East portal of the Great Mosque of Cordoba (fig. 4.21-22).<sup>473</sup> Kalas also sees parallels between the “style and execution” of Cappadocian façades and the “palaces and gatehouses from the Sassanian and Early Islamic Near East.” She points to the façade of the Sassanian palace, Taq-i Kisra in Ctesiphon as one of many examples and one probable source of influence for Cappadocian façades.<sup>474</sup> Indeed, the border between the Byzantine and the Islamic world was not only permeable for products, customs and ideas but also for architects and construction crews that moved freely around the Mediterranean. On the other hand, Ousterhout emphasizes that both Byzantine and Islamic cultures shared “a common ancestry in Roman architecture, which utilized both porticoed façades and ceremonial halls” in palatial buildings.<sup>475</sup>

In addition:

In the East the emergence of Byzantium managed to maintain Roman traditions for a century longer, but, as we have observed, very few sixth-century peristyle houses are known. Classical Roman culture was narrowly elitist when Justinian tried to resurrect it. The Arabs took over the elitist culture that they found in the seventh century, as attested by the Ummayyad palaces [...]<sup>476</sup>

Yet, Ousterhout asserts that “the provincial elite of Cappadocia” might have seen “the cosmopolitan court culture of Constantinople” as “the most immediate source of inspiration” in order to highlight “their relationship to the center.”<sup>477</sup> He adds:

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<sup>473</sup> Ibid., 299; Mojsilovic-Popović, Karpozilos and Kazhdan (1991) 954, state that the architectural decoration of Byzantine houses was usually simple but noble mansions and palaces might have polychrome façades, arcades and balconies as at Tekfur Palace, in Constantinople. Columned front (as on the site of the Seraglio) and niches and blind arcades (as in Mistra) were also used as ornament. Window openings were mostly semicircular whereas those in the ground floor were narrower.

<sup>474</sup> Kalas (2007) 404

<sup>475</sup> Ousterhout (2005) 148-9

<sup>476</sup> Ellis (1988) 576

<sup>477</sup> Ousterhout (2005) 148-9

The courtyard complexes may best resemble Byzantine urban palaces, such as the Myrelaion Palace in Constantinople [...], it seems to have shared many common components. It was similarly pi-shaped, with a portico along the main façade, opening to a courtyard, with a chapel set off to one side.<sup>478</sup>

Indeed, as discussed previously in this chapter, semicircular (U-shaped) forecourts were common features within the early Byzantine palaces excavated in Istanbul. Kostenec, reconstructing the Daphni as a “winged corridor villa,” points to the Roman and late Roman architecture as an ancestry of these U-shaped forecourts. Further, he reminds that “a semicircular portico and a large central-plan hall were distinctive features” of the fourth-fifth century houses of nobility” such as in the Palace of Antiochus in Constantinople.<sup>479</sup> Yet, Eyice claims that a ground floor found on the Asian side of Istanbul, probably the remains of the summer Bryas Palace built in the ninth century, indicates the attempt to build after “Islamic palace models.” Eyice points to the similarity of this plan scheme of a basilical hall opening onto a large central “audience” hall with the plans of the palaces of Ukhaidir and Mshatta in Syria and Samarra in Iraq.<sup>480</sup>

The complex character of influences is best summarized by Ousterhout:

Still, considering the level of cultural interchange across the Mediterranean that had been achieved by the Middle Byzantine period, we might suggest that a sort of architectural *lingua franca* had developed among the elite. As has been emphasized in the shared tastes for luxury goods, textiles, and even ceramic production, it would seem that forms associated with prestige architecture were recognizable and similar across the Mediterranean, probably with influences going in more than one direction. In fact, rather than speaking about architectural borrowings and appropriations, it may be more correct to speak of the development of a common “language of power” among the mobile elite is ultimately reflected in the rock-cut architecture of Cappadocia.<sup>481</sup>

Indeed, as Oleg Grabar once emphasized, two palaces deriving from different cultural and religious grounds and times may sometimes share more common features than the contemporary secular and religious architecture of the same

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<sup>478</sup> Ousterhout (2005) 179

<sup>479</sup> Kostenec (2004) 24

<sup>480</sup> Eyice (1996) 208

<sup>481</sup> Ousterhout (2005) 148-9; for a similar view Ousterhout points to Redford (2000) 87-90.

culture.<sup>482</sup> Underlying this shared aristocratic life style in any religious or ethnic sense Mathews and Daskalakis-Mathews assert that the surviving structures of Cappadocia can bridge the gap in the material culture of middle Byzantine civilization. They highlighted the fact that “[i]n their habitations Byzantines shared fully the living style of their neighbors around the Mediterranean”<sup>483</sup> and that “this sharing in an aristocratic life style should be seen as nonideological in any religious or ethnic sense.”<sup>484</sup>

### 4.3.2 Questions of Inhabitants: Military Aristocracy

Pointing to the rock-cut Courtyard Complexes Mathews and Daskalakis-Mathews state:

These dwellings, [...] have an important story to tell of the life style of the Byzantine aristocracy that has been neglected by the religious orientation of Byzantine art history and by a reluctance to look at the broader Mediterranean –and therefore Islamic- context of domestic life.<sup>485</sup>

The introduction of the theme system in the seventh century caused the restructuring of the provincial administration and reorganization of the military. Yet, as Ostrogorsky emphasizes “the most decisive change” occurred in the social structure.<sup>486</sup> In the late sixth and early seventh centuries, the internal crisis “undermined the position of old aristocracy” and led the small landholders, peasants living in communes and the soldiers to “become the bulwark of medieval Byzantium.” This process of renewal lasted until the ninth century. This “transitory homogeneity” concerning the social structures ended when large tracts of lands

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<sup>482</sup>Regarding the loss in Byzantine art, Grabar (1987) 132, underlines the importance of studying Islamic secular art, which have preserved the “aesthetic changes”. Grabar states that there are more parallel between “the functions and inspirations of secular art of different cultures than of religious art”

<sup>483</sup> Mathews and Daskalakis-Mathews (1997) 309

<sup>484</sup> Ibid., 310

<sup>485</sup> Ibid., 295, highlight the period of prosperity from the mid-ninth to the mid-eleventh century and the strategic importance of Cappadocia at the boarder between the Empire and the caliphate.

<sup>486</sup> Ostrogorsky (1971) 3

passed into fewer hands of the upper ranks of the theme organization.<sup>487</sup> Accordingly, Ostrogorsky asserts that “[t]he growing importance of the aristocracy is undoubtedly the most significant phenomenon in the internal history of Byzantium in the tenth century.”<sup>488</sup> Big landholders gaining power had the peasants and mercenaries, or *stratiotai* under their control as dependents, which caused a struggle between the central authority and the landed aristocracy. Yet, the former which “lost its soldiers and its most reliable taxpayers” could not hinder but merely slow down the rise of the latter.<sup>489</sup> Finally, the aristocracy won while it “split into two opposing factions, the military nobility of the provinces and the civil nobility of the capital.”<sup>490</sup> Accordingly Kazhdan and Constable write:

Nonetheless, the aristocracy was a real presence in society from at least the tenth century. A few families, especially those of the military aristocracy, maintained a high position from the reign of Basil II until the end of the twelfth century [...]<sup>491</sup>

In this respect, “most of the aristocratic families of the eleventh and twelfth centuries originated in the frontier zones, either in Asia Minor or in the North Balkans.”<sup>492</sup> Alexander Kazhdan and Ann Wharton Epstein state:

The military aristocracy originated primarily in the frontier regions: Cappadocia, Armenia, and Syria in the east, Bulgaria and Macedonia in the northwest. Even when settled in Constantinople and embedded in the imperial hierarchy, these aristocrats preserved connections with their homelands. There they possessed estates (*oikoi* or *proasteia*) or even palaces and small fortresses to which they could retire in case of imperial disfavor.<sup>493</sup>

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<sup>487</sup> Ibid.

<sup>488</sup> Ibid., 6

<sup>489</sup> Ibid.

<sup>490</sup> Ibid.,7; Kazhdan and Constable (1982) 170, assert that civil nobility seem to have had more connection with crafts and trade and with the capital than the military aristocracy has. On the other hand, the latter seem to have more closely related to small provincial sites.

<sup>491</sup> Kazhdan and Constable (1982) 144

<sup>492</sup> Ibid., 40

<sup>493</sup> Kazhdan and Epstein (1985) 63

Ostrogorsky also points to the wealth of Cappadocian magnates.<sup>494</sup> A few powerful families owned extensive land in the region where a significant part of the Byzantine army was raised.<sup>495</sup> The names of such aristocratic Cappadocians are cited in the chronicles from the end of the ninth century onwards as Phokas (Phokades), Maleinos (Maleinoi), Skleros (Skleroi), Doukas (Doukai), Kourkouas.<sup>496</sup> Further, the Cappadocian houses of Phokas and Maleinos are cited in the addendum of the Novel of Basil II of the year 996 “as the representatives of the inordinate growth of the landholding aristocracy.”<sup>497</sup> These military families became popular and even the subjects of epic poems, such as *Digenes Akritas*.<sup>498</sup>

According to Ostrogorsky, a “powerful” man was both a landholder and a government official. Coming from powerful families, Nikephoros II Phokas (963-969) and John I Tzimiskes (969-976) even became emperors.<sup>499</sup> Patrons who married from their milieu lived in impressive manors, which unfortunately cannot be reconstructed based on archaeology. Nevertheless, the text of *Digenes Akritas*, although might have been exaggerated, gives an idea:

Amid this wondrous pleasant paradise  
The noble Borderer raised a pleasant dwelling,  
Of goodly size, four-square of ashlar'd stone,  
With stately columns over and casements;  
The ceilings with mosaic he all adorned,  
Of precious marbles flashing with their gleam;  
The pavement he made bright inlaid with pebbles;  
Within he made three-vaulted upper chambers,

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<sup>494</sup> Ostrogorsky (1971) 7

<sup>495</sup> Rodley (1985) 4, 8; Mathews and Daskalakis-Mathews 295, underline the strategic importance of the province at the border between the Empire and the Islamic caliphate.

<sup>496</sup> Vryonis (1971) 24-5 footnote 132, lists the “estates and domiciles of the Anatolian magnates” in the eleventh century. He distributes them to twelve themes where, as Kalas (2000) 2 already emphasized, half of the families are listed under the neighboring themes Cappadocia and Anatolicon. See fig. 4.25; Cheynet (2003) 44, asserts that some of them had an Armenian or Georgian origin, since the occupation of Caucasus by Arabs led to immigration; see also Patlagean (1987) 593.

<sup>497</sup> Ostrogorsky (1971) 7, states also that their power and wealth were by the time already a century old.

<sup>498</sup> Patlagean (1987) 554, asserts that the “policy of reconquest” lasted until the death of Basil II in 1025 gave an important role to play to the generals whose families dated no earlier than eighth century; for *Digenes Akritas* see footnote 376.

<sup>499</sup> Ostrogorsky (1971) 7

Of goodly height, the vaults all variegated,  
And chambers cruciform, and strange pavilions,  
With shining marbles throwing gleams of light.<sup>500</sup>

As seen in the epic poems, they possessed pieces of Byzantine and Arabic gold, jewelry, and silk in their treasury. They distributed their wealth freely to their loyal people and sponsored numerous churches and monasteries as testimonies to their devotion.<sup>501</sup> As a matter of fact, during his march along the Byzantine military road via Tyana to the Cilician Gates, Nikephoros II Phokas traversed Cappadocia in 963 where he left his wife Theophano and children behind.<sup>502</sup> According to Hild and Restle, the fresco presenting the Phokas family in the church of Çavuşin was probably created during the mentioned stay of the emperor's family (fig. 4.23.).<sup>503</sup>

Yet, according to Jean-Claude Cheynet, despite their achievements, Cappadocian officers did not have a good reputation in Constantinople. They were accused of being too independent and in too close relations with their enemy with whom they shared the mode of life. Indeed, as Patlagean formulates “[t]he eastern frontier of the empire had a life of its own, remote from the cultural and political forces of the capital and in contact with the periphery of the Islamic world.”<sup>504</sup> Interestingly, many of them, such as Constantine Doukas and Bardas Skleros even sought refuge with the Arabs where they were received excellently during the rebellion against the central authority.<sup>505</sup> In addition, although the public opinion of the capital was against the military saints, the Islamic model of *djihad* met growing fascination in Cappadocia.<sup>506</sup> In fact, when Nikephoros II Phokas became emperor,

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<sup>500</sup> Mavrogordato (1956) 219 lines 3350-3360

<sup>501</sup> Cheynet (2003) 46, asserts that Tokalı Kilise in Göreme was also attributed to the family Phokas.

<sup>502</sup> Ramsay (1890, 2005) 293

<sup>503</sup> Hild and Restle (1981) 91; Patlagean (1987) 570, mentions Nikephoros II Phokas and his wife Theophano that were depicted together with Nikephoros II Phokas' father Bardas Phokas and his brother Leo Phokas; Rodley (1983) 301-39, asserts that this seems to be an exceptional example, since inscriptions in other churches do not necessarily point to aristocratic patrons.

<sup>504</sup> Patlagean (1987) 557; see also Kalas (2005) 160

<sup>505</sup> Cheynet (2003) 47

<sup>506</sup> *Ibid.*, 48

he proposed the status of martyr for the soldiers killed in combat, which was however rejected by the patriarch and the higher clergy.<sup>507</sup>

On 15<sup>th</sup> August 987 Bardas Phokas, the nephew of Nikephoros II Phokas, declared himself as emperor in Caeseraï, in the palace of magistros Eustathios from the Maleinos family.<sup>508</sup> Eustathios Maleinos also received Emperor Basil II (976-1025) and his whole army returning from an expedition from Syria on his estates of immense size in the province of Charsianon and Cappadocia. The emperor was so impressed by the wealth of this Cappadocian magnate that he invited him to Constantinople.<sup>509</sup> Indeed, Basil II and his successors “domesticated” the aristocracy by offering them positions in the capital and by the implantation of new lineage in Asia Minor. Ancient Armenian kings with their nobles were settled in Cappadocian provinces where they had been offered land, titles and posts.<sup>510</sup> On the other hand, Bardas’ death on a campaign in 989 transformed the destiny of Cappadocian aristocrats.<sup>511</sup> Finally, under the Comnenid dynasty which primarily relied on its relatives, the old noble families such as Phokas, Skleros, Maleinos lost importance. New families of “more humble origin” appear.<sup>512</sup>

The Cappadocian military aristocracy emerged from the resistance against the Arabs due to its ability to mobilize the local population which continuously supported it. Yet, according to Cheynet, the military aristocracy had not been understood in the capital and failed to adapt to the new conditions of the eleventh century. Eventually, the Cappadocian military aristocracy weakened, and retreated to the capital where some ancient families survived or disappeared upon the appearance of Turks.<sup>513</sup>

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<sup>507</sup> Ibid., 47-8

<sup>508</sup> Ibid., 48

<sup>509</sup> Ostrogorsky (1971) 7; Kazhdan and Constable (1982) 135 footnote 52; Patlagean (1987) 568, mentions Eustathios’ “private army massed nearby, as a sign of subversive intentions.”

<sup>510</sup> Cheynet (2003) 49

<sup>511</sup> Ibid., 48-9

<sup>512</sup> Ostrogorsky (1971) 11

<sup>513</sup> Cheynet (2003) 49



Ostrogorsky argues that “the wider bases on which the newly-created system rested was provided by the middle and lower gentry, from whose ranks emerged the class of the *pronoïars*.”<sup>514</sup> Following “the collapse of the old class of soldiers” in the eleventh century foreign mercenaries were needed once again. In addition, local armies created by the system of *pronoïa* appear under the Comneni.<sup>515</sup> They received landed property in return for the supply of military service. According to Ostrogorsky, “*pronoïars* were knights and masters of the *paroikoi* who tilled their lands.”<sup>516</sup>

Ostrogorsky seeks the probable origin of an army of knights which later replaced “the peasant militia” at the time of Nikephoros II Phokas. Indeed, as Kazhdan and Constable write:

[Nikephoros II Phokas] contributed greatly to the introduction of heavy armed cavalry by raising the required value of a soldier’s property from four gold pounds to twelve, thus ensuring that a *stratiotes* would have sufficient means to support a horse and proper arms. The armed and mounted knight, or *kataphraktes*, of the tenth century was largely responsible for the remarkable victories on both the eastern and the western frontiers of the empire.<sup>517</sup>

Accordingly, Ostrogorsky argues that “[t]hese heavily armed warriors to whom Nikephoros II Phokas wished to guarantee estates of such value could not obviously have been simple peasants. They must have belonged to the lower nobility- the same class from which later sprang the *pronoïars*.”<sup>518</sup>

The size of the *pronoïar*’s estate must have been determined according to the number of household members including dependents accompanying him on the campaign. Ostrogorsky recalls the rather heterogeneous composition of the household of a Byzantine nobleman.<sup>519</sup> Kekaumenos cited by Ostrogorsky provides

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<sup>514</sup> Ostrogorsky (1971) 11

<sup>515</sup> Ibid.

<sup>516</sup> Ibid.

<sup>517</sup> Kazhdan and Constable (1982) 152

<sup>518</sup> Ostrogorsky (1971) 11 footnote 35

<sup>519</sup> Ibid., 12-3, states that its members “correspond completely to *homo, familiaris* or *domesticus familiaris* in current western feudal society.”

advice concerning the amount of provision needed in the event of a rebellion that should “be sufficient for yourself, your family, your slaves and the freemen who will have to mount horses together with you and go into battle.”<sup>520</sup> Ostrogorsky comments about these people as follows :

Particularly indicative is the testimony of [Kekaumenos] whose work reflects a situation that was normal and, indeed, common. In speaking of feudal retinue, he has in view not the great magnates who attracted the attention of the chroniclers, but that middle aristocracy to which he himself belonged and which he addressed in his admonitions.<sup>521</sup>

To sum up, the “art of war was really the principal occupation of the aristocracy [...] As a rule, the Byzantine nobleman was a landowner, and landholding was the economic foundation of the aristocracy’s position.”<sup>522</sup>

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<sup>520</sup> Ibid., 14 footnote 51

<sup>521</sup> Ibid., 14

<sup>522</sup> Ibid., 29

## PART II

### COURTYARD COMPLEXES: A COMPARATIVE ARCHITECTURAL INVESTIGATION

[...] we must begin to ask different set of questions about Cappadocia [...] The churches and chapels that house the frescoes have been given only a minimal discussion with generalized plans. Larger issues of architecture and planning are almost never discussed, nor properly illustrated [...] There are, in fact, no irrefutable criteria for identifying a living unit as a house or as a *lavra*, or for identifying a settlement as a village or as a monastery [...] Neither the Çanlı Kilise settlement nor any other rock-cut settlement in Cappadocia has been subjected to an intensive archaeological analysis; none has produced significant artifacts or domestic assemblages, or a text.<sup>523</sup>

Kalas' paper "Cappadocia's Rock-Cut Courtyard Complexes: a Case Study for Domestic Architecture in Byzantium" covers the middle Byzantine period in *Housing in Late Antiquity: From Palaces to Shops*. Kalas mainly discusses the settlement at Selime-Yaprakhisar, which will be introduced later in the following chapter (Section 5.1.2.).<sup>524</sup> Ellis writing the introduction to the same book assumes that Courtyard Complexes exhibiting reception rooms with galleries "may not be typical of contemporary houses constructed on level ground."<sup>525</sup> However, the mentioned hall with gallery at Selime Kalesi actually displays the exception within our sample of Courtyard Complexes where the majority is organized on a single level. This misconception underlines once again the urgent need for a comparative architectural investigation of these complexes, as this part of the study attempts.

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<sup>523</sup> Ousterhout (2005) 181

<sup>524</sup> Kalas (2007)

<sup>525</sup> Ellis (2007) 15, 17

## CHAPTER 5

### COURTYARD COMPLEXES AS A DISTINCTIVE ARCHITECTURAL FORM

Chapter Five examines Courtyard Complexes in a comparative and analytical way and aims to highlight this typology as a distinctive architectural response to the strategic and geomorphologic problems of Cappadocia. Here a new differentiation of complexes is proposed based on density (see fig. 1.1.). Accordingly, the complexes are divided into two categories: Ensemble of Courtyard Complexes and Isolated Courtyard Complexes. In all over thirty complexes are examined in Chapter Five. Under the sub-sections each individual complex is described using both my own and other scholars' observations, plans and photographs. A summary follows this part, which also lists the previously described spaces in a comparative manner. In addition, Table 2 in the Appendix presents all of the complexes including the Açıksaray Group with their components. To the end of each section, the scholarship to date and proposals concerning the function and the inhabitants are added.

Under her category called courtyard monasteries Rodley describes eleven complexes. Following her list, they are Hallaç Monastery, Bezir Hane, Şahinefendi Monastery, Kılıçlar Monastery, Soğanlı Han, Karanlık Kilise Monastery, Aynalı Kilise Monastery, Selime Kalesi, Direkli Kilise Monastery, Karanlık Kale, and Eski Gümüş Monastery.<sup>526</sup> Two things are awkward in the list. The first one is that Karanlık Kilise Monastery, despite the existence of a large rock-cut *trapeza* and benches, is placed under courtyard monasteries instead of refectory monasteries. Indeed, it does not have any characteristics of courtyard monasteries except for elaborate painting programme of its church.<sup>527</sup> Moreover, it is located in Göreme

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<sup>526</sup> Rodley (1985) 11-120

<sup>527</sup> Ibid., 48, notes that the church is the one of three churches known as the Column group.

valley in the vicinity of other refectory monasteries. Rodley makes no explanation concerning this “misplacement.” However, in her conclusion, she suggests a probable “dual role” for Karanlık Kilise when she summarizes “general difference of function” between the refectory and courtyard type monasteries.<sup>528</sup> The second striking feature in her list is that Rodley adds the title Monastery only to *some* of the complexes and not to all. There is no explanation for this either. Here, Rodley might have relied on common local names.

Rodley mentions some other complexes probably being also courtyard monasteries, though which could not have been investigated by her, in the appendix.<sup>529</sup> In this respect, she mentions the complex opposite Kılıçlar Kilise, which was inaccessible to her in 1980. Yet, this complex that we could enter<sup>530</sup> also bears a rock-cut *trapeza* and benches and it is most probably the refectory mentioned by Guillaume de Jerphanion in the vicinity.<sup>531</sup> Furthermore, Rodley referring to the drawing published by Charles Texier and Popplewell Pullan mentions a carved façade in Ürgüp.<sup>532</sup> She adds Ala Kilise<sup>533</sup> and Sümbüllü Kilise into the appendix too. She also points to the façades in Yaprakhisar. Rodley apparently did not visit Çanlı Kilise since she mentions the site merely referring to Rott, Bell and Thierry.<sup>534</sup> As mentioned before, although housing some of the best examples of Courtyard Complexes Rodley categorizes the units in Açıksaray as a separate group, for she could not attribute a monastic identity to them.<sup>535</sup>

On the other hand, Mathews and Daskalakis Mathews classify nine complexes from Rodley’s corpus - including the Açıksaray Group -, which have neither refectory nor cells, as mansions. They are Hallaç, Bezir Hane, Şahinefendi,

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<sup>528</sup> Ibid., 250

<sup>529</sup> Ibid., 118

<sup>530</sup> We visited it during our field trip on 07.09.2009.

<sup>531</sup> Rodley (1985) 43, refers to Jerphanion (1925, 1942) I. i 254 and plate 25.3.

<sup>532</sup> Rodley (1985) 118

<sup>533</sup> For Ala Kilise see Kalas (2009c)

<sup>534</sup> Rodley (1985) 120

<sup>535</sup> Ibid.

Kılıçlar, Açıksaray 1, 2, 3, 5 and 6.<sup>536</sup> According to Mathews and Daskalakis-Mathews, an additional seven complexes without refectories, namely Soğanlı Han, Aynalı, Selime Kalesi, Direkli Kilise, Karanlık Kale and Açıksaray 2 and 7 are probably mansions too, even though they are not as well-organized as the aforementioned nine.<sup>537</sup>

As already stated this study proposes two categories. The first category, the Ensemble of Complexes, indicates the complexes which were carved side by side on a definable and topographical bounded area. The series of complexes forming dense settlements at Çanlı Kilise, Selime-Yaprakhisar and Açıksaray belong in this category. The Açıksaray Group is the focus of this study and will be discussed in Chapter Six. The second category is the so-designated Isolated Complexes. Each of these dominates a broad territory independently with no other Courtyard Complex in its proximity. Nine of the eleven complexes from Rodley's category of the courtyard monastery as listed above correspond to our definition of Isolated Complexes. Selime Kalesi is examined under the Ensemble of Complexes in Selime-Yaprakhisar, whereas the aforementioned Karanlık Kilise Monastery belongs among the refectory monasteries and is not included in this study. The complex in Erdemli which was apparently unknown to Rodley is also added to our list which covers ten Isolated Complexes all together.

Whether they belong to an ensemble or whether they exist in isolated form Courtyard Complexes are spread throughout Cappadocia (fig. 1.1.), within a perimeter of 100 km in diameter. The Açıksaray Group is the northernmost while the isolated complex in Eski Gümüş is the southernmost. The complexes will be introduced following the imaginary line beginning from the northwest going to the southeast and then turning again to the north. Therefore, we will begin with Çanlı Kilise group and end with The Açıksaray Group.

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<sup>536</sup> Mathews and Daskalakis-Mathews (1997) 299; this nomenclature given after Rodley corresponds to the re-defined Areas 5, 4, 8, 6 and 7 by the author. See fig. 6.1-2 and Table 1.

<sup>537</sup> Mathews and Daskalakis-Mathews (1997) 299; this nomenclature given after Rodley corresponds to the re-defined Area 4 and 1 by the author; Here, Mathews and Daskalakis-Mathews must have meant Açıksaray 4 (Area 2 by the author) instead of Açıksaray 2 (Area 4 by the author), since the latter is already mentioned by them in the first group. See fig. 6.1-2 and Table 1.

To date, no excavation but various surveys field have been conducted in these aforementioned sites. For this reason, our study focuses on an architectural and spatial discussion rather than an archaeological one. The brief overview below will concentrate on the following architectural features: i) plan layout (axial alignment of the courtyard, vestibule and the main hall); ii) distinctive receptional spaces (axial emphasized longitudinal halls and centrally planned halls<sup>538</sup>); iii) churches<sup>539</sup>; iv) multifunctional rooms<sup>540</sup>; v) distinctive utilitarian spaces (kitchen, stable, etc.).

## 5.1 Ensemble of Courtyard Complexes

### 5.1.1 Çanlı Kilise Group

#### *The Site*

The site of Çanlı Kilise is located on the land road between the villages Akhisar and Çeltek, south of Aksaray. It is named after the masonry church that still stands out (fig. 1.1. and 5.1.1.4.).<sup>541</sup> Although it is a densely carved settlement not far from the better known Selime Kalesi and Ihlara Valley, it is now a forgotten district off the main routes of tourism. Even Rodley reduces this extensive settlement into “a rock-cut monastery near Çeltek.”<sup>542</sup>

Complexes in Çanlı Kilise are carved along a table-like outcrop. Mt. Hasan dominating the horizon can be seen from every corner of the slope (fig. 5.1.1.3). According to Ousterhout, although “loosely related to one another” the complexes

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<sup>538</sup> The terms “longitudinal halls” and “centrally planned halls” are borrowed from Ousterhout (2005).

<sup>539</sup> Scholars use alternately the word church and chapel, yet, their differentiation is sometime confusing. Ousterhout (2005), even uses both for the same space differently in the text and plans. For the sake of clarity, this study will use the word church for all, except for side chapels adjacent to the main church of the complex and except for funerary chapels.

<sup>540</sup> The term “substantial Rooms” are borrowed from Özgenel (2007)

<sup>541</sup> For a detailed description on the masonry church Çanlı Kilise see *Part I: The Church of the Çanlı Kilise* in Ousterhout (2005) 17-76.

<sup>542</sup> Rodley (1985) 120

were so organized to take “maximum advantage” of the topographical setting (fig. 5.1.1.1-2.) Hence, they are oriented toward the south and west in order to “benefit from natural daylight and the view.”<sup>543</sup> In fact, the slope does not allow carving in any other direction. Thus, owing primarily to the potential of its topography and the convenient south/ west orientation, Çanlı Kilise has a high density of Courtyard Complexes on a *single* spot. Within the district extending for more than a kilometer, twenty-three rock-cut areas, - at least eleven of which were organized around courtyards – may be counted. There is no doubt that there were more Courtyard Complexes. Yet, due to natural and human alterations, some remain buried (fig. 5.1.1.5.). Their decorated façades, which are now also buried up to more than half of their original height, once proudly advertised their presence. Ousterhout identifies the settlement as “residential” in general, while he identifies only a single area (Area 17) as monastic. The latter was less well organized, but included a church and a rock-cut *trapeza* (refectory) with benches (fig. 3.25-26).<sup>544</sup>

Many of the complexes in Çanlı Kilise reveal distinctive architectural features in the sequential order of courtyard, main façade, horizontal vestibule along the main façade and the perpendicular hall behind it. Other spaces, were probably kitchens, stables and storages. Many of the complexes included a church carved around the courtyard in accordance with the east orientation.<sup>545</sup> Nine of Ousterhout’s areas possessing common organizational schemes around courtyards (Areas 1, 4-7, 12-13, 15-16) and Area 17, which is identified as a “refectory monastery,” are briefly described below (fig. 5.1.1.1-2.).<sup>546</sup> The reason for including the latter in this study is to facilitate the discussion of monastic and secular facilities within the same settlement.

### 5.1.1.1 Architectural Examination

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<sup>543</sup> Ousterhout (2005) 170-1

<sup>544</sup> Ousterhout (2005)

<sup>545</sup> Ousterhout (1997a) 421

<sup>546</sup> The nomenclature of Çanlı Kilise Group is after Ousterhout (2005); Areas 14 and 19 also have courtyards, but they are almost entirely buried, so we could not investigate them.



### *Area 1*

Ousterhout identifies Area 1 (fig. 5.1.1.7.-8.) with numerous components including a wide outdoor passage, which communicated with a number of spaces on both sides, as the largest complex in the site.<sup>547</sup> He mentions along this “street like corridor” a large barrel-vaulted stable with carved mangers on lateral walls similar to those of Areas 10 and 14.<sup>548</sup> A common feature on the site was also the rock-cut cemetery, above the rooms flanking the corridor (fig. 5.1.1.6.).

Area 1 has a well-defined deeply carved three-sided courtyard facing southeast. Remains suggest that a masonry wall once enclosed its fourth side.<sup>549</sup> The complex has lost its main façade and vestibule.<sup>550</sup> If the scant traces can be trusted, the vestibule seems to have been flat-ceilinged. Its inner long wall displays gabled horseshoe arches carved side by side, which indeed were the most popular elements of decoration in the Çanlı Kilise group.

The complex was initially organized on a single level. Cavities, which open into the vestibule above the ground level contain numerous dovecotes. Most likely, these are recently carved. Grown vegetation and landslide, now make it impossible to enter the spaces that opened into the vestibule, at the ground level. Nevertheless, during his survey, Ousterhout identified a longitudinal rectangular hall with a flat-ceiling and a centrally planned cross-in-square hall with a dome. The former had an axial and a lateral niche. According to Ousterhout, it might have been the main hall of the complex. Its commanding position along the central axis of the courtyard and the vestibule supports this. The centrally planned hall shows great care in carving. Hence, Ousterhout suggests a receptional function. It was carved next to the main

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<sup>547</sup> Ousterhout (2005) 79

<sup>548</sup> Due to grown vegetation and erosion, we were not able to find a stable here. Personal observations are based on a visit to the site on 05.09.2009; Tütüncü (2008), had relocated the stable here. See Tütüncü (2008) fig. 39; for the plans of Areas 1, 10 and 14 see Ousterhout (2005) fig. 70: Areas 1-4, plan and fig. 72: Areas 10-14, plan.

<sup>549</sup> Rubble stone walls enclosing the fourth side of some of the courtyards seem to have been the side-product of the carving process. Here the quarry itself became the primary architecture. See Section 2.3. in Chapter 2.

<sup>550</sup> Although Ousterhout (2005) uses the word “portico,” the word “vestibule” is used throughout the thesis for the sake of consistency.

hall, to the east. Two other rooms were entered from the western part of the long wall of the common vestibule. The one next to the main hall was connected with the former. A large rectangular room with a niche facing the entrance opened off the vestibule in the eastern short wall. In Area 1, Ousterhout further mentions a church, probably a later addition, and a square room with a hemispherical dome, probably the kitchen. The latter communicated with the courtyard and the vestibule through a porch.<sup>551</sup>

#### *Area 4*

Area 4 is also highly damaged and difficult to recognize (fig. 5.1.1.9.). The complex was organized around an L-shaped courtyard facing southeast. Remarkable here are two distinctive halls (fig. 5.1.1.10.). One of them was a longitudinal rectangular space with a flat-ceiling that opened into the destroyed vestibule. This hall is presumably the main hall of the complex; its axial and lateral niche is identical to the hall in Area 1 in terms of form and commanding central location. On the western side of the courtyard is the other hall, a centrally planed cruciform space with a dome. A narrow but long room and two interconnected rooms were also entered from the long wall of the vestibule. Although, they flank the main hall, they did not communicate with one another. Ousterhout also mentions several refuges here; these were blocked by rolling-stones.<sup>552</sup> In addition, on the other side of the road, opposite Area 3 and 4, he notes a large cemetery.<sup>553</sup>

#### *Area 5*

Area 5 was organized around a three-sided courtyard facing south (fig. 5.1.1.13.). Remains of a masonry wall at the fourth side suggest that the courtyard

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<sup>551</sup> Ousterhout (2005) 80-1

<sup>552</sup> *Ibid.*, 87-9

<sup>553</sup> *Ibid.*, 89-90, refers to Rott (1908) 262, who while noting a cemetery in the same location mentioned an inscription from one of the tombstones. Rott noted that it was the burial of a monk called Pankratios. However, during his survey here, Ousterhout could find neither an inscription nor any other evidence for dating. Interestingly though, he points to resemblance between the tombstones here and those from Seljuk tombs without denying the existence of many crosses. Accordingly, Ousterhout speculates a late date for this cemetery.

was once entirely enclosed (fig. 5.1.1.12.).<sup>554</sup> The main façade and the vestibule have been destroyed. A central door now opening directly into the courtyard once connected the vestibule and the large rectangular hall lying parallel to it. It was not possible to us to go in. According to Ousterhout's description, this flat-ceilinged main hall had three barrel-vaulted recesses of different sizes on its northern long wall and an additional arched recess on its western short wall.<sup>555</sup> Two spaces were carved in the western and four spaces in the eastern wing of the complex, facing each other. A domed cruciform hall identical to that in Area 4 was similarly carved at the core of the complex (fig. 5.1.1.11.). This centrally planned hall, probably entered from the eastern short wall of the fallen vestibule, had supposedly a connection with the cruciform hall of the Area 4. A domed church of an "atrophied-cross"<sup>556</sup> design was located at the farthest end of the eastern wing. Here too, a cemetery was carved into the bedrock above the church. Ousterhout counts here thirty rock-cut tombs, many of which belonged to infants.<sup>557</sup>

#### *Area 6*

Area 6 has a three-sided courtyard opening towards the south where remains of a masonry wall can be observed on its fourth side (fig. 5.1.1.14.-15.). The main façade and the vestibule of the complex have fallen, yet, based on the evidence, Ousterhout believes that the vestibule was covered by groin vaults.<sup>558</sup> It had a niche carved on its western short wall. A barrel-vaulted rectangular hall was positioned on the centre of the complex, perpendicular to the vestibule. The niche facing its entrance emphasized the axial alignment of courtyard, vestibule and the main hall, and it highlighted the sequential procession, as it was the case in Areas 1 and 4. Moreover, the entrance into this central hall was marked with a carved Maltese cross into a horseshoe arch with dentil moldings. Ousterhout identifies the room to

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<sup>554</sup> However, it could also have been a latter addition like the secondary partition walls in the interior.

<sup>555</sup> Ousterhout (2005) 92

<sup>556</sup> This terminology is from *Ibid.*, 91

<sup>557</sup> *Ibid.*, 91

<sup>558</sup> *Ibid.*, 92

its west, “covered by a cloister vault and a chimney” as the kitchen.<sup>559</sup> The kitchen and another smaller room east of the hall were both entered from the vestibule. They did not communicate with the main hall. The western side of the courtyard is highly damaged. Here, Ousterhout suggests a domed square room. He also mentions rooms equipped with rolling-stone doors. On the opposite site of the courtyard is a well preserved domed, cross-in-square<sup>560</sup> church preceded with a narthex. There are traces pointing to its façade decoration with gabled keyhole arches. A similar decoration, as seen all over the settlement is also found in the narthex. Again, Ousterhout notices at least ten graves cut in the bedrock above the church.<sup>561</sup>

#### *Area 7*

Area 7 was also oriented towards the south and organized similar to Area 6 around a three-sided courtyard (fig. 5.1.1.18.). Here Ousterhout identifies a narrow vestibule with flat ceiling. However, the “fallen” lower part of the façade indicates an extreme narrow long corridor of half a meter wide, which makes no sense. Instead, it rather seems that the main façade springing above its lower part, which was decorated with plasters of seven gabled keyhole arches, formed merely a projection over the entrance (fig. 5.1.1.17.).<sup>562</sup> Accordingly, the large horizontal hall with a flat ceiling must have been the actual vestibule positioned parallel to the façade (fig. 5.1.1.16.). Its western short wall had an arched niche. Three spaces of different sizes opened into it on its northern long wall. The largest space in the centre with an oversized opening was a flat-ceilinged hall. This main hall of the complex was also aligned with the central axis of the courtyard and the vestibule (horizontal hall). In the western wing of the complex, Ousterhout reconstructs a small square room opening into the courtyard; this had arched niches on its two walls. The centrally planned room was similar to the cruciform rooms seen in Area

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<sup>559</sup> Ibid., 93

<sup>560</sup> Alternatingly named in various sources as *inscribed cross* plan or *nine-bay* plan.

<sup>561</sup> Ousterhout (2005) 93

<sup>562</sup> Ibid., 94, ignores this possibility and makes no remarks on the peculiarity of such a narrow corridor as a vestibule.

4 and 5, in terms of form and location at the core of the complex.<sup>563</sup> A cross-in-square church, carved in the eastern wing facing the square hall, opened into the courtyard under the projection mentioned above. It was preceded by a narthex, which in turn, had an adjacent tomb chamber containing four rock-cut tombs. Although not certain, Ousterhout suggests much smaller apparently single-nave church directly south of the main church.

#### *Area 12*

Area 12 was not accessible to us (fig. 5.1.1.20.). Thus, the following remarks are based only on Ousterhout's observations and his plan of the complex (fig. 5.1.1.21.).<sup>564</sup> The complex was organized around a three-sided courtyard facing southwest. Here, Ousterhout notices a flat-ceilinged longitudinal hall with an axial niche and a domed square hall with recesses on two walls both carved behind the fallen vestibule. The former, which was on the central axis of the courtyard and vestibule, must have been the main hall. Its walls were divided into two registers: the upper parts were decorated with blind keyhole arches, whereas the lower parts contain large blind arcades (fig. 5.1.1.19.). The centrally planned hall next to it communicated with the common vestibule through a separate anteroom. Nevertheless, it is still similar to the other centrally planned halls on the site, in terms of form, size and location at the core of the complex. Another room on the other side of the main hall also opened into the vestibule. Spaces, some interconnected, were carved on both sides of the courtyard. An "unusual number of churches" carved and built in several levels destroyed the original plan layout. Ousterhout points to several carving phases on different levels in Area 12, and suggests functional transformations during its occupation. He supposes that "[...] if the courtyard unit did not begin its life as monastery, it was subsequently transformed into one. The similarity of the formal spaces to those elsewhere at the site, however, may indicate that this was originally a residence."<sup>565</sup>

#### *Area 13*

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<sup>563</sup> Ibid., 94

<sup>564</sup> Ibid., 98-101

<sup>565</sup> Ibid., 101

Area 13 was also organized around a three-sided courtyard facing southwest (fig. 5.1.1.24.). Large keyhole-shaped window like openings preserved at the north of the partly surviving façades, on the ground level, are unusual (fig. 5.1.1.23.). Four spaces opened off the wide vestibule with a flat ceiling (fig. 5.1.1.22.). One of them was entered from the northern short wall. The other short wall of the vestibule had a carved arched recess. A small barrel-vaulted hall with an axial arched recess was carved on the central axis of the courtyard and vestibule. This being the main hall of the complex had arcade walls. Ousterhout noticed a Maltese cross and masonry patterns here.<sup>566</sup> Two spaces flanked the central hall. The one at the south was a cruciform hall with a small dome. Based on its conical vault and high ventilation hole the one at the north was certainly the kitchen (fig. 5.1.1.31.). It had an additional entrance, probably secondary, from the main hall. Some cavities on lateral wings of the complex were directly entered from the courtyard. Yet, they have been highly damaged. On the north side of the courtyard a large vaulted hall has survived despite numerous alterations. Ousterhout questions if it is the stable. It might indeed have been used as a stable at some point; however, this does not seem to have been its original function. Nothing pointing to a church could be found.<sup>567</sup>

#### *Area 15*

The complex, organized around a three-sided courtyard facing west, is in a poor condition (fig. 5.1.1.27.). Its façade has not survived. The surviving inner walls of the vestibule had stepped pilasters and gabled horseshoe arches, similar to those of Areas 1 and 7 (fig. 5.1.1.26.). A flat-ceilinged large longitudinal hall was located perpendicular to the vestibule being on the central axis of the courtyard and the latter. This sequential procession was emphasized, in that an axial niche and transept wings were carved on the farthest end of this main hall of the complex (fig. 5.1.1.25.). Ousterhout defines this scheme as a Latin cross.<sup>568</sup> The lateral walls of the hall had similar decoration like those of the vestibule. Two rooms entered also from the vestibule flanked the central hall. Several cavities opened off the

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<sup>566</sup> Ibid., 102

<sup>567</sup> Ibid., 101

<sup>568</sup> Ibid., 105

courtyard, yet they are now indistinguishable. In the north, in immediate neighborhood of the complex, but not related to the courtyard, was a large barrel-vaulted hall, presumably a stable, with remains of mangers (fig. 5.1.1.32.).<sup>569</sup>

#### *Area 16*

Area 16 was organized around an L-shaped courtyard facing west (fig. 5.1.1.30). Its well preserved main façade was formed in two registers (fig. 5.1.1.29). Following the reconstruction of Ousterhout the lower part had five arches from which the one in the middle was an opening. The upper part consisted of panels and pilasters that were “decorated with variations of the keyhole niche.”<sup>570</sup> Behind the façade and parallel to it was a large barrel-vaulted vestibule with a niche on its southern short wall (fig. 5.1.1.28). Three spaces entered from the vestibule were, however, “surprisingly small and dull.”<sup>571</sup> The central one was a barrel-vaulted hall. Because of its location on the central axis of the courtyard and vestibule, it might have been the main hall. The complex is also remarkable for its impressive church on a higher level than the courtyard. The domed church had a cross-in-square plan and was preceded by a narthex, which in turn, had *arcosolia* containing tombs at its both short ends.<sup>572</sup>

#### *Area 17*

Area 17 comprises irregular spaces including a small church, and a *trapeza* side by side around an L-shaped courtyard facing west (fig. 3.25.-26). Ousterhout proposes a monastic function to the area.<sup>573</sup> The small single-nave church was preceded by a narthex, which in turn, housed an *arcosolium*. The walls of the narthex were decorated with gabled arches, as seen often in Çanlı Kilise. Ousterhout identifies the next room carved deeper in the rock as a storage room. He identifies the pits in the floor as storage pits and a cistern.<sup>574</sup> Next to it, U-shaped benches and

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<sup>569</sup> Ibid., 106; Tütüncü (2008) 79

<sup>570</sup> Ousterhout (2005) 107

<sup>571</sup> Ibid.

<sup>572</sup> Ibid., 108

<sup>573</sup> Ibid., 108

<sup>574</sup> Ibid., 109

a table in their center were cut out of the rock. Unlike the *trapeza* seen elsewhere, this one had no emphasized end for the abbot. Ousterhout mentions another unfinished refectory in the next room. He also identifies a second church in the vicinity and some rock-cut graves in the bedrock above the church mentioned previously.

### **5.1.1.2 Summary**

Despite human and natural alterations some principles of design are recognizable within all nine Courtyard Complexes in Çanlı Kilise. Most remarkable is the coexistence of two distinguishable types of halls: the longitudinal hall and the centrally planned hall. The longitudinal hall, perpendicular to the preceding vestibule, and located in a commanding position on the central axis of the courtyard/ vestibule, was presumably the main hall of the complex. The majority of longitudinal halls had a carved niche at the farthest end, which in turn, emphasized the axial and sequential procession. Moreover, in all cases the central position of the longitudinal hall was emphasized by being flanked by other spaces on both sides. On the other hand, the majority of the complexes had a centrally planned hall in addition to the main longitudinal hall. They were also positioned at the core of the complex, either behind the vestibule, on a lateral side of the main hall, or on one of the sides of the courtyard. Only a single complex had a horizontal main hall parallel to the fallen vestibule instead of a longitudinal one. Each complex had a vestibule, whereas half of those had a niche carved on one of its short walls. Substantial churches too were carved at the core of the complexes. These, were cross-in-square churches demonstrating considerable size and elaboration like the masonry church, Çanlı Kilise. Other numerous smaller simple churches spread out through the settlement.

Burials are found in the narthexes and adjacent tomb chambers. Noteworthy are the groups of graves, including those of infants, cut in the rock at the top of the complexes, especially above the churches. Refuges blocked with millstones are found in some areas. The most favored wall decorations were gabled arches, zigzag patterns and Maltese crosses, which were alternately used on exterior façades, on



the inner walls of the vestibules, narthexes and main halls. Interestingly, between the defined areas were also several large halls that could not be attributed to any of the complexes. Nevertheless, based on their voluminous size and articulation similar to the main halls of the complexes, they seem to have been contemporary with the original settlement. Ousterhout suggests several spaces throughout the settlement as storerooms and stables; however, he does not provide a particular argument for many of them.<sup>575</sup> The only example with storage pits in the ground is found in Area 17. Stables with barrel-vault or flat-ceiling had partly carved mangers on their lateral walls.<sup>576</sup> Ousterhout mentions some spaces with a lower floor level and a hole in the ceiling as probable cisterns. He also mentions a few springs in the vicinity; however these were not easily accessible to the complexes.<sup>577</sup> Yet, in such a dry environment, there must have been plenty of cisterns within the settlement. Nevertheless, partial or entire burial and collapse hinder closer examination of the site.

Orientation (11):<sup>578</sup>

- 3 of 11 complexes faced south
- 2 of 11 complexes faced southeast
- 4 of 11 complexes faced southwest
- 2 of 11 complexes faced west

Courtyard (11):

- All (11) complexes had a courtyard
  - 2 of 11 complexes had an L-shaped courtyard
  - 9 of 11 complexes had a three-sided courtyard

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<sup>575</sup> Ousterhout (2005)

<sup>576</sup> See (Tütüncü) 75-80

<sup>577</sup> Ibid., 153

<sup>578</sup> The numbers in parentheses refer to the estimated total number of spaces in consideration. However, this should be treated with caution, since the site is highly damaged, which in turn, makes an exact study impossible; The orientation shows the courtyard direction of the central axis of courtyard/ vestibule/ main hall.

- 5 of 9 had a rubble stone wall on the fourth side

#### Decorated Main Façade (3):<sup>579</sup>

- 3 of 11 complexes have partly surviving façade

#### Inverted T-plan (8):

- 8 of 9 complexes had layout of the vestibule/ main hall in form of inverted T-plan

#### Vestibule (9):

- 4 of 9 complexes probably had a vestibule
- 5 of 9 complexes had a vestibule
  - 3 of 5 had a flat ceiling
    - 2 of 3 had a niche on one of the short walls
  - 1 of 5 had a barrel-vault and a niche on one of the short walls
  - 1 of 5 had a groin vault and a niche on one of the short walls

#### Longitudinal Hall (Main Hall) (8):

- 8 of 9 complexes had a longitudinal hall
  - 5 of 8 had a flat ceiling
  - 3 of 8 had a barrel-vault
- All (8) longitudinal halls were on the central axis of the courtyard
- All (8) longitudinal halls were entered through a preceding vestibule
  - 2 of 8 also had entrance from a lateral room
- 6 of 8 longitudinal halls had an axial niche
  - 3 of 6 also had at least one lateral niche

#### Centrally Planned Hall (6):

- 6 of 9 complexes had a centrally planned hall

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<sup>579</sup> In Çanlı Kilise the majority of façades have completely collapsed. Thus, this number only indicates complexes with partly surviving façades.

- 3 of 6 had a domed cruciform plan
- 2 of 6 had a domed “abridged”,<sup>580</sup> cruciform plan
- 1 of 6 had a domed cross-in-square plan
- 3 of 6 centrally planned halls were entered through the vestibule; they were lateral to the longitudinal (main) hall
  - 1 of 3 also had a separate vestibule
- 3 of 6 were entered directly through the courtyard; they were lateral to the courtyard

#### Horizontal Hall (1):

- 1 of 9 complexes had a flat-ceilinged horizontal (main) hall; it was entered through the vestibule; niches were cut on one of the short walls and on the long wall facing the entrance

#### Churches (8):

- 6 of 9 complexes having at least one church had all together 8 churches
  - 4 of 8 churches had domed cross-in-square plan attached to the complex
    - 3 of 4 were entered from the courtyard; were preceded by a narthex
      - 1 of 3 contained burials in the narthex
      - 1 of 3 had a tomb chamber adjacent to the narthex
    - 1 of 4 was upstairs
  - 4 of 8 churches were small/ simple chapels
    - 3 of 4 were entered from the courtyard
    - 1 of 4 was upstairs

#### Multifunctional Rooms:<sup>581</sup>

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<sup>580</sup> This terminology is from Ousterhout (2005) 149.

<sup>581</sup> Due to the high degree of erosion any given number as the total would be misleading.

- 17 rooms were entered from the courtyard
- 4 rooms were entered from one of the short walls of the vestibule
- 9 rooms were entered from the long wall of the vestibule
- 1 room was entered from the long wall of the vestibule *and* the main hall; was on one of the lateral sides of the main hall

#### Distinctive Rooms (3):<sup>582</sup>

- 1 of 9 complexes had a large flat-ceilinged rectangular room with decorated walls; was entered from the long wall of the vestibule
- 1 of 9 complexes had a large flat-ceilinged rectangular room with an axial niche; was entered from one of the short walls of the vestibule
- 1 of 9 complexes had a domed room; was entered from the courtyard

#### Kitchen (3):

- 3 of 9 complexes had a kitchen with a high conical chimney-vault<sup>583</sup>
  - 2 of 3 were entered from the long wall of the vestibule
    - 1 of 2 had an additional entrance from the main hall
  - 1 of 3 was entered from the courtyard *and* vestibule

#### Stable (2):

- 2 of 9 complexes had a longitudinal barrel-vaulted stable with lateral mangers

### **5.1.1.3 Conclusions**

#### *Scholarship*

Çanlı Kilise has been known to western scholars since the turn of the last century as a monastic settlement. Bell who visited the area in 1907 clearly states “I

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<sup>582</sup> Distinctive rooms are also included under the parameter “Multifunctional Rooms”

<sup>583</sup> This terminology is borrowed from Ousterhout (2005) 152.

have no doubt the whole side is monastic.”<sup>584</sup> Rott had come to a similar conclusion,<sup>585</sup> and the monastic identity of the site has been more recently underscored by Rodley.<sup>586</sup> Likewise, Ousterhout also thought that he was going to examine a monastic settlement at Çanlı Kilise. Nevertheless, after a year of work on the site, somewhere between 1994-1996, he felt that he had to change the title of the project from “A Byzantine Monastic Settlement in Cappadocia” into “A Byzantine Settlement in Cappadocia,” in the light of the evidence coming out from his surveys.<sup>587</sup>

On the one hand, Ousterhout recalling Hill’s warning that “a church or chapel included within a well-organized complex of spaces does not necessarily have to be a monastery”<sup>588</sup> states:

[...] what would be the purpose of so many monasteries set side-by-side? Is there evidence for the subdivision of monastic communities into, shall we say, family-sized units? I believe that the settlement at Çanlı Kilise- and probably many others like it- was instead a town, or *kome*, composed primarily of large, single-family residences [...]<sup>589</sup>

Yet, Ousterhout does not deny the possibility that some of the initially secular residences in Çanlı Kilise too might have been converted into monasteries at a latter stage as was common in Byzantine times.<sup>590</sup> On the other hand, Ousterhout suggests that the *oikos*, the household unit at Çanlı Kilise, has been “the most important element in the development of the settlement,” no different than some other cities as in medieval Constantinople.<sup>591</sup>

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<sup>584</sup> Ramsay and Bell (1909) 404-18

<sup>585</sup> Rott (1908) 257-262

<sup>586</sup> Rodley (1985)

<sup>587</sup> Ousterhout (1997a) 420

<sup>588</sup> Ibid., 422, refers to Hill (1994)

<sup>589</sup> Ousterhout (1997a) 422

<sup>590</sup> Ousterhout (2005) 180

<sup>591</sup> Ibid., 170, refers to Magdalino (1984).

Here, Ousterhout observes a hierarchical arrangement in the organization of the complexes in accordance with the Byzantine daily life centering around the household. He identifies spaces at the core as more formal whereas spaces at the farther ends were more utilitarian and less well organized. The formal spaces at the core replacing public architecture respond to the “ceremonial, spiritual, and material needs of the inhabitants.”<sup>592</sup> Ousterhout adds that the irregular cavities in the vicinity might have been dwelling units of dependents. Furthermore, he mentions “fields and grazing areas” as “the economic holdings of the *oikos*.”<sup>593</sup> In this sense, he concludes:

In sum, the settlement might be best identified as a prosperous village, with large and small houses- many with private chapels, as well as barns, stables, storerooms, dovecotes, places of refuge, cemeteries, churches- both built and rock-cut, even a few monasteries, all mixed together [...]<sup>594</sup>

When verified with more supportive evidence, this comprehensive survey claiming a domestic character in Çanlı Kilise will reveal an important view of daily life in Byzantine Cappadocia.

#### *Chronology*

The only inscription found in the settlement is discovered in Area 2, in a rock-cut church situated in the north. According to Ousterhout its “orthography suggests a date in the early middle Byzantine period.”<sup>595</sup> The masonry church of cross-in-square plan (in Area 3) and the settlement called after it are both estimated in the tenth century.<sup>596</sup> Based on different construction phases Ousterhout asserts that the masonry church must have been in use for three centuries.<sup>597</sup> Likewise, according to him, although “cultural and economic connections with Constantinople

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<sup>592</sup> Ousterhout (2005) 170

<sup>593</sup> Ibid.

<sup>594</sup> Ibid., 179

<sup>595</sup> Ibid., 82

<sup>596</sup> Ibid., 174

<sup>597</sup> Ibid., 61-2

and other major centers were curtailed” the settlement continued to exist “at least two centuries after the Seljuk conquest.<sup>598</sup>”

Except for secondary masonry partitions, some crude cavities, refuges and numerous dovecotes, spaces mentioned above seem to have been used contemporaneously. Gabled arches and zigzag patterns were the most favorite decorative elements throughout the settlement. Indeed, their consistency supports the same workshop and the contemporaneousness of the main areas. Interestingly, for the wall decoration of the narthex of Area 17, the monastic unit, carvers used the same vocabulary, which might also suggest coexistence of secular and monastic settlement, side by side.

On the other hand, numerous secondary dovecotes and other irregular cavities in between the Courtyard Complexes changed the face of the settlement drastically. These alterations indicate continuous use of the areas in accordance with the change in the community and its social structures. Ousterhout sees neither a “linear” nor a “sequential” growth in the development of the settlement.<sup>599</sup> Indeed, many of the areas underwent a “gradual process of transformations.”<sup>600</sup> The road leading to Çanlı Kilise might have been maintained during the Seljuk period, yet it never became as important as the well-known trade route marked by caravanserais further north.<sup>601</sup> In this respect, rock-cut spaces in Çanlı Kilise seem to have been “gradually abandoned or converted to agricultural purposes.”<sup>602</sup> Ousterhout’s following evaluation of transformations in Area 12 is applicable to the entire settlement:

The addition of a place of refuge behind the hall may be the result of a change in the security of the settlement. Finally, the transformation of formal rooms to utilitarian or agricultural functions- with the insertion of a cistern in the hall and a manger in the cruciform room- and the subdivision of spaces with rubble walls

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<sup>598</sup> Ibid., 175

<sup>599</sup> Ibid., 174-5

<sup>600</sup> Ibid., 174

<sup>601</sup> Ibid., 183; Aksaray on this trade road was developed as a regional center. For more information concerning the trade road see Hild (1977) 66-71.

<sup>602</sup> Ousterhout (2005) 183

suggest a considerably lower standard of living in the final phase of the site's occupation.<sup>603</sup>

Furthermore, Ousterhout points to the retaining walls above the courtyards which were structural measures against the growing threat of erosion. Likewise, he also points to the construction of rubble walls and towers throughout the site in addition to refuges related to the individual complexes as "security measures" indicating "more difficult times."<sup>604</sup>

#### *Function/ Inhabitants*

Ousterhout, points to the strategic position of Çanlı Kilise, which he associates with the fortress at Akhisar (identified as Hisn Sinan in the Arab sources) standing "at a critical point in the defense of Cappadocia against the Arabs."<sup>605</sup> Accordingly, Hisn Sinan must have been a part of the Byzantine early warning system communicating with other fortresses.<sup>606</sup>

Thus, in reexamining the possible strategic relation between Çanlı Kilise and the fortress at Akhisar Ousterhout questions the identity of the first owners. Formal and ceremonial spaces within the complexes in Çanlı Kilise deny regular peasants as initial inhabitants. Instead, Ousterhout proposes "people of some social standing."<sup>607</sup> Accordingly, he suggests army officers that were stationed at the fortress, their families and dependents as inhabitants of Çanlı Kilise.<sup>608</sup> Army officers moving with their families to their posts in the provinces must have been a common practice. In addition, Ousterhout includes other "wealthy and powerful occupants of Cappadocia" such as landowners, civil and ecclesiastical officials<sup>609</sup> as

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<sup>603</sup> Ibid., 101

<sup>604</sup> Ibid., 79, 174-5

<sup>605</sup> Ibid., 172-3

<sup>606</sup> Ibid., 182-3; see also Pattenden, P. "The Byzantine Early Warning System." *Byzantion* 53 (1983): 258-99.

<sup>607</sup> Ousterhout (2005) 182

<sup>608</sup> Ibid., 183, refers to Laiou, Angeliki E. "Life of St. Mary the Younger." *Holy Women of Byzantium*. ed. A.-M Talbot. (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1996), 239-89.

<sup>609</sup> Ousterhout (2005) 183. See also footnote 250.



the possible inhabitants. Moreover, he asserts that “the commanders of the forces may also have been members of the local elite as well as landowners.”<sup>610</sup> In this respect, Ousterhout concludes:

The association of the settlement with the fortress is encouraged by the identification of the founder of the Çanlı Kilise as a *strategos*. Recent examinations of the settlements of Açıksaray and Selime have attempted to place them into the context of the military presence in the region well. In both these settlements, one finds a cluster of formally organized residential complexes, and at Selime they are set close to a prominent fortress.<sup>611</sup>

### 5.1.2 Selime-Yaprakhisar Group

#### *The Site*

Selime-Yaprakhisar is located at the northern opening of the Ihlara Valley, on both sides of the river called Melendiz Çayı (fig. 5.1.2.1.). The table-like outcrop and high cones below it where among others the Selime Kalesi (Area 2<sup>612</sup>) was carved dominate the view (fig. 5.1.2.3.). Narrow stripes of farmland lay between the river and rock-cut settlement along the slopes (fig. 5.1.2.5.-6.).

Surprisingly, however, like Çanlı Kilise, this presumably ideal location for settlement has not yet been extensively explored, except for Selime Kalesi. The area is better known for the numerous rock-cut churches along the gorges of the Ihlara valley.<sup>613</sup> Furthermore, complexes in Güllükkaya and Yaprakhisar are located within the actual villages. Many of them have been used as agricultural utilitarian spaces by locals and are presently locked up.

Most recently, intensive work has been carried by Kalas who surveyed the site on both sides of the Melendiz Çayı. Kalas notes fifteen rock-cut areas and the masonry fortification wall built atop of the settlement (fig. 5.1.2.2.).<sup>614</sup> Among

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<sup>610</sup> Ibid.

<sup>611</sup> Ibid.; for the discussion on the function of Açıksaray see Chapter 6; for the strategic situation of Selime Kalesi and the fortification see the section 5.1.2 in this Chapter and Kalas (2000) 156-59.

<sup>612</sup> Nomenclature of Selime-Yaprakhisar Group is after Kalas (2007) and (2009b).

<sup>613</sup> Kalas (2006) 274; Kalas (2005) 254

<sup>614</sup> Kalas' survey began in 1997. Her PhD Thesis on the Byzantine Settlement at Selime-Yaprakhisar was completed in 2000. For the works of Kalas see the References.

them, Area 1 and Area 6 do not show any characteristics of Courtyard Complexes, while Area 10 seems to have actually consisted of two complexes (Areas 10.1 and 10.2)<sup>615</sup> around two separate courtyards carved side by side (fig. 5.1.2.23.). Accordingly, fourteen Courtyard Complexes are taken into consideration in the examination that follows. Nevertheless, neither Kalas nor we could enter the majority of complexes. Thus, only four Courtyard Complexes (Area 2, 5, 7 and 8) can be investigated on all parameters, whereas the rest is examined only with regard to orientation, courtyard and the main façade.

### 5.1.2.1 Architectural Examination

#### *Area 2: Selime Kalesi*

Concerning the articulation of spaces, Selime Kalesi seems to have been “the largest and most elaborate” complex in Selime-Yaprakhisar (fig. 5.1.2.2.).<sup>616</sup> Consequently, among all the complexes in the vicinity, like Rodley (fig. 5.1.2.4.), Kalas also examined this “double-courtyard complex” at Selime in more detail (fig. 5.1.2.10.).

Selime Kalesi standing high up above the valley was reached via a finely carved spacious passageway that contained rock-cut stairs in some parts (fig. 5.1.2.8.-9.). The natural concave lines of the cones formed two courtyards facing south, around which the complex was organized. Kalas differentiates between the western L-shaped one (Courtyard I)<sup>617</sup> and eastern three-sided one (Courtyard II).<sup>618</sup> She identifies the latter including a large church as more public. Indeed, multiple courtyards were not unusual for large and complex late antique houses where the secondary courtyard being more modest and private had limited view of the main

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<sup>615</sup> This differentiation is added by the author.

<sup>616</sup> Rodley (1985) 65; Kalas (2007) 404

<sup>617</sup> Nomenclature of Selime Kalesi is after Kalas (2006); It is the “Courtyard B” after Rodley (1985). See fig. 5.1.2.4.

<sup>618</sup> It is the “Courtyard A” after Rodley (1985). See fig. 5.1.2.4.

courtyard.<sup>619</sup> However, in this case, one must be careful, since courtyards here were set side by side without any physical/ visual boundary (fig. 5.1.2.7.). Moreover, coming out from the tunnel/ passageway one first reaches the western, supposedly private courtyard.

Probably because of its morphology, the complex had neither a typical vestibule nor evidence for a monumental façade. The nature of the cones does not seem to have been appropriate to carve elaborate façades. Nevertheless, the halls, church and the kitchen were preceded with barrel-vaulted porches similar to an *eyvan* (fig. 5.1.2.16., 5.1.2.18., 5.1.2.20.). As a matter of fact, these nicely articulated large halls, the elaborate large three-aisled basilica church and the kitchen being the largest one known so far in Cappadocia were the most remarkable components in Selime Kalesi.

Both of the halls laid on the central axis of their respective courtyards/ *eyvans*, while they were also connected each other via a tunnel (fig. 5.1.2.10.).<sup>620</sup> Hall 1 (Room 12) of the western courtyard with a gallery is exceptional within the Courtyard Complexes (fig. 5.1.2.15.).<sup>621</sup> It was a two storey high rectangular room with a flat ceiling. Arched recesses were carved in lateral walls in the ground level where traces indicate rock-cut benches.<sup>622</sup> A wide arched recess and two flanking narrower niches, which were carved on the wall facing the entrance, emphasized the sequential procession. The stairs leading to the U-shaped gallery surrounding the hall could be reached from both the hall and a separate entrance from the porch. The latter allowed a direct access to the gallery without entering the hall and seems to be original. The gallery was framed by arcades wherein only the western side was closed by rock-cut parapet slabs.<sup>623</sup> Kalas argues that they must have been installed

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<sup>619</sup> Özgenel (2007) 248

<sup>620</sup> This connection seems to be original. See Kalas (2007) 410.

<sup>621</sup> Rodley (1985) 80 footnote 68, referring to Jerphanion (1925, 1942) II 187-8, mentions the “only” other example of a gallery that was known to her, a more modest form at the Triconch Church, Tağar.

<sup>622</sup> Kalas (2007) 408

<sup>623</sup> Rodley (1985) 80

for a private purpose, since they blocked the view from the hall up. Accordingly, she proposes this hall with gallery as the daily living area.<sup>624</sup>

Hall 2 actually consisted of two engaged halls, a longitudinal one (Room 22) and a centrally planed one (Room 23), laying on the same axis (fig. 5.1.2.17.). Kalas emphasizes the “deliberate procession” through the spaces.<sup>625</sup> The former was a voluminous barrel-vaulted rectangular hall, which in turn, was divided into two equally large bays by means of an arch. The difference in floor level and in wall decoration emphasized this division.<sup>626</sup> Benches left over along the lateral walls of the first part were at the same level with the floor of the second part. Kalas identifies a “tri-lobed basin” carved out of the lower floor in the center where she suggests visitors were sitting on flanking benches.<sup>627</sup> Walls were divided into two unequally high registers, whereas the top register of the second part was decorated with deep blind arcades. Unlike similar though flatter wall ornamentation seen in other Courtyard Complexes, this one had a real three dimensional effect. A wide axial opening at the end of the barrel-vaulted hall (Room 22) led into the cruciform hall (Room 23) at the rear. A Latin cross was carved on its flat ceiling.<sup>628</sup> Kalas

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<sup>624</sup> Kalas (2007) 409; Kalas (2000) 142-3, connects “the superimposed alcoves and galleries” found here and “the interior courtyards of *hans*” which were developed by Seljuks in Anatolia in the thirteenth century. She writes, “[t]he interior courtyards of these *hans* parallel the design of Hall 1, especially in the split-level arrangement, the alcoves and galleries, and the barriers in the upper-level arcade.” Accordingly, Kalas proposes that Hall 1 might have functioned as a hostel within the complex. Surprisingly, however, while comparing a single hall of Selime Kalesi with Seljuks’ *hans* she does not explain the differences in scale and time.

<sup>625</sup> Kalas (2007) 410

<sup>626</sup> Kalas (2000) 147-8, puts parallels between the organization of Hall 2 in Selime Kalesi and *eyvans*. She writes:

The vaulted entrance porch, the lower half of the hall [Selime Kalesi, Hall 2] with benches and basin, and the upper half of the hall with the elaborate wall decoration constitute three independent parts that, when taken together, could be conceived as a tripartite, extended *iwans*, or three attached, consecutive *iwans* [...]

However, the resemblance between Hall 2 and *eyvan/iwan* as claimed above makes no sense. Since, in a similar manner, almost every divided space can be defined as an *eyvan*.

<sup>627</sup> Kalas (2007) 410

<sup>628</sup> Rodley (1985) 78; Kalas (2007) 411, writes:

This grand cross, adorning the most notable space of the most illustrious complex of the entire settlement, loudly signals the firm allegiance of the secular and the ecclesiastical spheres of the owner’s dominion. The cross was positioned for the privileged view of the

identifies it as the dining or sleeping chamber while she points to the *triclinium* like arrangement of this part at the farthest end, being “the most exclusive Room of the entire complex.”<sup>629</sup> Indeed, the unusual wide opening could have allowed a view to the water basin (if we would accept it as such as) and occasional performances in the preceding large longitudinal hall, which were characteristics of the Roman *triclinium*.<sup>630</sup> Kalas further identifies a latrine attached to it and claims that this was “the private latrine of the lord of the household and his intimate dining companions.”<sup>631</sup>

A square room (Room 26), between the Hall 2 and the church, is remarkable “with a flat ceiling and ample wall decorations, including overhanging cornices and a series of repeating, arched niches on the upper walls.” Kalas suggests that it might have been either “the church treasury or the priest’s quarters” because of its decoration and private access to the church.<sup>632</sup> Kalas emphasizes the church (Room 27) with the basilica plan uncommon for both the region and the period as “one of the largest rock-cut churches in Cappadocia” (fig. 5.1.2.19.). Interestingly, it is also the only church in the settlement with a painted programme.<sup>633</sup> An aristocratic family, perhaps the founder of the complex, was depicted on the west wall. Here, Kalas identifies “at least eight anonymous members of an aristocratic family” while emphasizing that they “are among the most richly-clad donors depicted in Cappadocia.”<sup>634</sup> The church was preceded by a barrel-vaulted porch, where a single grave is found. Teteriatnikov points to a semicircular chair cut into the central pillar

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aristocrat who, sitting in his chamber facing his audience, could gaze upward and see it correctly oriented.

<sup>629</sup> Kalas (2000) 148 and (2007) 411

<sup>630</sup> See Section 4.2 in Chapter 4 and Özgenel (2007).

<sup>631</sup> Kalas (2000) 149-50, points to the similar arrangement of latrines that were linked to a main room in late Roman villas.

<sup>632</sup> *Ibid.*, 153

<sup>633</sup> *Ibid.*, 152; Kalas (2007) 412

<sup>634</sup> Rodley (1985) 227; Kalas (2007) 412; for more information on the church and its donor images see Lafontaine-Dosogne, J. “La kale Kilisesi de Selime et sa représentation des donateurs.” *Zetesis: Album Amicorum E. De Strijcker*. (Antwerp: De Nederlandse Boekhandel 1973), 741-53.

of the north arcade facing the central apse in the naos. She suggests this unique chair, which was also plastered and painted, to be the seat “reserved for some of the highest ranking clergy or lay donors.”<sup>635</sup>

Interconnected rooms (Rooms 29 and 30) were carved in a single cone facing north, opposite Hall 2. Kalas, reminding seasonal arrangements of rooms around a courtyard as a well-known practice in the Mediterranean domestic architecture, proposes a probable summer quarter here.<sup>636</sup> However, given the climatic advantages of rock-cut architecture, a seasonable arrangement of rooms might not have been necessary.<sup>637</sup>

The square kitchen with a huge pyramidal vault and a smoke hole on top, was carved on the west of the first courtyard (fig. 5.1.2.21).<sup>638</sup> It communicated with two smaller rooms, which might have been storages. Niches on the walls show similarities to those of other kitchens belonging to the Courtyard Complexes. Some possess hearths while others were simple shelves. Likewise, Kalas found in different rooms (Rooms 4, 12 and 22) four examples, which might be identified as pit looms.<sup>639</sup> Further down, closer to the valley bottom and the lower end of the passageway, was a flat-ceilinged stable with carved mangers on its lateral walls, which can be put in relation with the complex above (fig. 5.1.2.22).<sup>640</sup>

Kalas notes two other complexes (Areas 3 and 4), each around an L-shaped courtyard and including a church, in Selime.

#### *Area 5*

Area 5 was organized around an L-shaped courtyard facing south (fig. 5.1.2.2., 5.1.2.11.). A barrel-vaulted vestibule with a central dome and a niche on its long wall as well as a rectangular flat-ceilinged hall perpendicular to the former

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<sup>635</sup> Teteriatnikov (1996) 117

<sup>636</sup> Kalas (2000) 151

<sup>637</sup> A relatively constant temperature around 12 to 15 degrees Celsius can be measured throughout the year in burrowed spaces.

<sup>638</sup> Kalas (2007) 407, measured 8.30 m at the summit of the ventilation hole/ chimney.

<sup>639</sup> Kalas (2006) 288

<sup>640</sup> Rodley (1985) 82; Kalas (2000) 95; Tütüncü (2009) 82-3

constituted the core of the complex. The courtyard, vestibule and hall were on axis. A square Room opened from the western short wall of the vestibule. A kitchen, a cross-in-square church preceded by a porch and a side chapel, and another room were carved on the east of the courtyard, one after another. Burials are found in the porch and side chapel.<sup>641</sup>

#### *Area 7*

Area 7 had two courtyards one being three-sided and facing south while the other was four-sided (fig. 5.1.2.2., 5.1.2.12.). A barrel-vaulted rectangular hall, probably the main hall was preceded by an *eyvan*. Both were positioned on the central axis of the three-sided courtyard and together they formed the inverted T-plan. Two additional rooms opened from both the short walls of this common *eyvan*. Another barrel-vaulted hall preceded by a small porch was carved west of the courtyard also at the core of the complex. South of this, Kalas identifies a conical kitchen, several utilitarian rooms and a barrel-vaulted stable with mangers carved on one of its lateral walls. A cross-in-square church had a prominent position between the two courtyards. Preceded by a narthex, the church opened into the three-sided courtyard. Burials are found in the narthex. Kalas suggests that the four-sided courtyard was rather used for agricultural purposes.<sup>642</sup>

#### *Area 8*

Area 8 was organized around a four-sided courtyard. Yet, due to the topography, the fourth side of the courtyard wall was considerably lower than the remaining three sides (fig. 5.1.2.2., 5.1.2.13.-14.).<sup>643</sup> A horizontal hall was located parallel to the northern long wall of the inner courtyard. Its flat-ceiling, including carved crosses and geometrical figures, is remarkable. It had two niches on its long wall, one of which lead to stairs going up. The western short wall of this horizontal hall opened into another room. A barrel-vaulted upstairs hall was carved parallel to the western façade of the inner courtyard. Similar to the ground level vestibules,

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<sup>641</sup> See Kalas (2000) 84-9

<sup>642</sup> See Ibid., 91-100; for the stable see Tütüncü (2009) 84

<sup>643</sup> Kalas (2007) 397, differentiates between courtyards which are naturally-formed and those which are carved out of the rock. She claims the latter are generally four-sided. However, surviving examples speak against this. The nature of courtyards is discussed in Chapter 7.

this too functioned as a transverse hall communicating with other rooms. Back to the ground level, a kitchen was placed in the south, whereas the cross-in-square church, preceded by a narthex, was in the west. Both of them opened into the inner courtyard.<sup>644</sup>

### *Yaprakhisar*

On the other side of Melendiz Çayı, in Yaprakhisar, Kalas maps six more complexes (Areas 10-15), all of which, except for the unfinished Area 13, included churches. Areas 13 and 14 had four-sided courtyards similar to that of Area 8, with a lower wall on the fourth side where also the entrance to the inner courtyard was (fig. 5.1.2.2., 28.).<sup>645</sup> Unlike Selime Kalesi, most of the complexes in Yaprakhisar had elaborately carved monumental main façades that were visible from a considerable distance all the way, from the opposite site of the valley (fig. 5.1.2.6.). Indeed, this area preserves the most impressive examples of monumental façades up to four registers decorated with blind horseshoe arches (with and without gable ornament) side by side (fig. 5.1.2.23.-28.). The courtyard of Area 11 was a very well defined large square area. Not only its main façade but also its side façades have survived where a two-register high true *eyvan* was carved (fig. 5.1.2.25.-26.).

### **5.1.2.2 Summary**

In the “double courtyards” of Selime Kalesi (Area 2) each courtyard had its own receptional areas in accordance with the sequential procession of the courtyard, vestibule and the longitudinal hall lying on the same axis (fig. 5.1.2.10). Nevertheless, sharing the same passageway, the church, the kitchen and other service areas, together they constitute a single complex. The fact that the halls were connected via a tunnel support this. The only centrally planned hall in the so far surveyed areas of Selime-Yaprakhisar is also found in Selime Kalesi. Yet, here, unlike the separate centrally planned halls of Çanlı Kilise, the cruciform hall of Area 2 was axially attached to the longitudinal hall of the second courtyard. Indeed,

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<sup>644</sup> See Kalas (2000) 101-5

<sup>645</sup> Ibid., 108



both halls formed a horizontally engaged space (fig. 5.1.2.17.). Likewise, the longitudinal hall of the first courtyard with a surrounding gallery was a vertically engaged space (fig. 5.1.2.15.). The articulation and multiple entrances of receptional areas of Selime Kalesi are remarkable within our sample of Courtyard Complexes.

Kalas proposes an imaginary diagonal line for Areas 7 and 8 in Güllükkaya, which divides private and public spheres within the house. The additional second courtyard in Area 7 allows the separation of farming activities from primary living areas. Correspondingly, this might have allowed visitors to take part in receptions and ceremonies without crossing through the household activities and production.<sup>646</sup> Furthermore, Kalas asserts that “[t]his organizational principle points once again to the elite status of the families lived here.”<sup>647</sup>

On the other hand, deeply carved courtyards and high façades of the complexes in Yaprakhisar are noteworthy. Among them, the well preserved true *eyvan* of Area 11 is unique (fig. 5.1.2.26.). Except for the complex in Eski Gümüş, the only examples of four-sided Courtyard Complexes in our sample are from Selime-Yaprakhisar. Yet, unlike the former, the ones here had their fourth side much lower (fig. 5.1.2.13., 5.1.2.28.). As photographs show, the morphology of the natural cones forming a triangle in section did not allow the carving of true four-sided courtyards with all four walls at the same height. Even in the three-sided courtyard of Area 11 lateral walls were not parallel to the ground, since the cone goes down (fig. 5.1.2.26.). Similarly, in Areas 8, 13 and 14, which are identified as four-sided courtyards by Kalas, the fourth side seems to have been a low enclosure without carved rooms on that side.

The frequency of churches throughout the site also needs to be highlighted. Indeed, almost all the complexes in Selime-Yaprakhisar include a church carved in accordance with the required east orientation on the one side of the courtyard. They usually contained burials in the narthex or porch. Kalas states, “[e]ach manor house at the Selime-Yaprakhisar settlement includes a church, which occupied a

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<sup>646</sup> Kalas (2007) 402

<sup>647</sup> Ibid., 403

significant locus within the household as the most prestigious space reserved for ceremonial worship.”<sup>648</sup>

Orientation (14):<sup>649</sup>

- 5 of 14 complexes faced south
- 1 of 14 complexes faced southeast
- 2 of 14 complexes faced west
- 1 of 14 complexes faced east
- 5 of 14 complexes faced north

Courtyard (16):

- All (14) complexes had at least one courtyard
  - 4 of 14 complexes had an L-shaped courtyard
  - 5 of 14 complexes had a three-sided courtyard
  - 3 of 14 complexes had a four-sided courtyard
  - 1 of 14 complexes had an L-shaped *and* a three-sided courtyard
  - 1 of 14 complexes had a three-sided *and* four-sided courtyard

Decorated Main Façade (10):

- 10 of 14 complexes have partly surviving façade

Inverted T-plan (3):

- 3 of 4<sup>650</sup> complexes had the layout of the vestibule (*eyvan*)/ main hall in form of inverted T-plan

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<sup>648</sup> Kalas (2000) 117; for “outlying chapels” which are not directly related to the complexes in Selime-Yaprakhisar see Kalas (2009b).

<sup>649</sup> The numbers in parentheses refer to the estimated total number of spaces in consideration. However, this should be treated with adequate care, since not all areas were accessible, which makes an exact study impossible; The orientation shows the courtyard direction of the central axis of courtyard/ vestibule/ main hall. By the four-sided Courtyard Complexes it is the direction that the main façade faces.

<sup>650</sup> Parameters except for “orientation,” “courtyard” and “façade” are merely tested on four complexes including: Areas 2, 5, 7, 8.

#### Vestibule (2) / Eyvan (4):

- 2 of 4 complexes had a barrel-vaulted vestibule
  - 1 of 2 had a dome in the central bay and a niche on its long wall
  - 1 of 2 was *upstairs*
- 2 of 4 complexes had all together 4 *eyvans* instead of a vestibule
  - 3 of 4 preceded the main hall
  - 1 of 4 preceded the kitchen

#### Longitudinal Hall (Main Hall) (4):

- 3 of 4 complexes had all together 4 longitudinal halls
  - 2 of 4 had a flat ceiling
  - 2 of 4 had a barrel-vault
- All (4) longitudinal halls were on the central axis of the courtyard
- All (4) longitudinal halls were entered through a preceding vestibule (*eyvan*)
  - 2 of 4 also had multiple entrances
    - 1 of 2 also led to an axial room
- 1 of 4 longitudinal halls had an axial niche *and* lateral niches; had a gallery
- 2 of 4 longitudinal halls had a lateral niche

#### Centrally Planned Hall (1):

- 1 of 4 complexes had a cruciform hall with a flat ceiling (with a carved motif of Latin-cross); it was entered through the longitudinal (main) hall; it was behind the longitudinal hall (on axis)

#### Horizontal Hall (1):

- 1 of 4 complexes had a flat-ceilinged horizontal (main) hall (with motif of carved cross/ geometrical figures); it was entered through the courtyard; niches were cut on one of the short wall and on long walls

#### Churches (4):

- All (4) complexes had a church attached to the complex
  - 3 of 4 were entered from the courtyard
  - 1 of 4 was entered from the courtyard *and* a side room
- 3 of 4 churches had a domed cross-in-square plan; were preceded by a narthex/ or porch containing burials
  - 1 of 3 had a side chapel containing a single grave
- 1 of 4 churches was a three-aisled basilica (three supports); was preceded by a barrel-vaulted porch containing a single grave

Multifunctional Rooms:<sup>651</sup>

- 11 rooms were entered from the courtyard
- 4 rooms were entered from one of the short walls of the vestibule (*eyvan*)
- 1 room was entered from the one of the short walls of the *eyvan and* the main hall; was on one of the lateral sides of the main hall
- 2 rooms were entered from the main hall *and* a preceding room; were on one of the lateral sides of the main hall

Distinctive Rooms (4):<sup>652</sup>

- 1 of 4 complexes
  - had a flat-ceilinged square room with decorated walls; was entered from the main hall *and* a preceding room
  - had a barrel-vaulted room; was entered from the main hall *and* one of the short walls of the *eyvan*
- 1 of 4 complexes had a large barrel-vaulted room; was entered from the courtyard
- 1 of 4 complexes had a flat-ceilinged (carved crosses on the ceiling) upstairs room; was reached from the main hall

Kitchen (4):

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<sup>651</sup> Due to the high degree of erosion any given number as the total would be misleading.

<sup>652</sup> Distinctive rooms are also included under the parameter “Multifunctional Rooms”

- All (4) complexes had a kitchen with a high conical chimney-vault; were entered from the courtyard

Stable (2):

- 2 of 4 complexes had a longitudinal stable with lateral mangers
  - 1 of 2 stables had a flat ceiling
  - 1 of 2 stables had a barrel-vault

### 5.1.2.3. Conclusions

#### *Scholarship/ Chronology*

Thierry and Thierry were the scholars who first documented the region of Selime-Yaprakhisar. The authors identified Selime with its “castle” as an important monastic settlement. They described the site, location and group of “chambers” and “cells” in the rock mass. Thierry and Thierry also mentioned Yaprakhisar in the opposite side. They wrote about living spaces and described churches, halls, cells, and rock-cut façades.<sup>653</sup> Selime Kalesi was one of the eleven sites, which were categorized as courtyard monasteries by Rodley. While ignoring several other complexes in the vicinity, Rodley offers a detailed description and drawing of this.<sup>654</sup> Most recently, following the scholars who paved the way for challenging the monastic identity of Cappadocia’s rock-cut settlements, Kalas investigated arrangements, common patterns, as well as functions and typologies of miscellaneous spaces in the area, wherein she emphasizes that the settlement here provides extensive information about the “Byzantine house” in general.<sup>655</sup>

The frequency of churches with cross-in-square plan and painted inscriptions of the funerary chapels, all found on the site, allow a dating of the tenth

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<sup>653</sup> Thierry and Thierry (1963) 33; it is not clear which spaces in Selime and Yaprakhisar were identified as “cells.” Since, there is no such consistency of small rooms, which would constitute cells of monks.

<sup>654</sup> Rodley (1985) 63-85; Rodley (1985) 120, merely mentions a façade in Yaprakhisar that is apparently similar to that fronting Ala Kilise. For the façade of Ala Kilise see Kalas (2009c) fig. 2.

<sup>655</sup> Kalas (2000); for other related works of Kalas see the References.

to eleventh century.<sup>656</sup> The complexes and their parts demonstrate similar layout and design so one can assume that they were contemporary to one another.<sup>657</sup>

#### *Function/ Inhabitants*

Selime Kalesi took its name from the ruins of a fortification wall built “across the high limestone plateau directly above Selime” (fig. 5.1.2.1.-2.). Only a large, rectangular cistern is found within the enclosed area. According to Kalas, the wall neither enclosed nor protected the settlement below. Kalas argues that it merely “crowns the glory of Selime Kalesi and the entire settlement as well.”<sup>658</sup> However, it is still possible that the wall had indeed a more direct defensive purpose. Specifically, it could protect the cave dwellers from unexpected threat coming from the plateau above. The location of the settlement allows a controlled view of the valley below but it does not allow control over the plateau above. Furthermore, as Kalas also admits, the fortification was probably part of the warning system communicating with other castles in case of oncoming raids.<sup>659</sup> In addition, Kalas suggests that the enclosed plateau between the wall and the cliffs might have been used “for pitching tents and temporary encampments.”<sup>660</sup> According to her, the large cistern might support this.<sup>661</sup> In sum, Kalas suggests here “a stationing point for rallying troops” where an army might have met “local contingents, the so-called farmer-soldiers.”<sup>662</sup> She writes:

Perhaps the aristocratic owners of this remarkable, residential complex, who also may have been the lords of the entire settlement, built this wall on the limestone plateau above their habitation as a territorial status symbol and regional control

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<sup>656</sup> Kalas (2005) 255 and (2007) 397-8, mentions a painted inscription in the chapel associated with the Area 9 which refers to Eustathius who died and was buried in 1035. Based on the uncial script Kalas assumes an elite status of the deceased; Kalas (2005) 255 footnote 8, also notes four chapels in the vicinity, at Güvercinlik which cover painted funerary inscriptions dated 1023 and 1024.

<sup>657</sup> Kalas (2006) 278

<sup>658</sup> Kalas (2000) 156-7

<sup>659</sup> Kalas (2007) 413

<sup>660</sup> Rodley (1985) and Kalas (2000) do not propose any date for the fortification wall.

<sup>661</sup> However, the large cistern might have also been for the settlement below given the lack of sufficient cisterns there.

<sup>662</sup> Kalas (2000) 158

point. By building this wall they do not only guarded the entrance to the entire valley but also connected themselves to the outside world.<sup>663</sup>

Assuming military aristocrats as the initial inhabitants, Kalas argues that the survey of Selime-Yaprakhisar has the potential to offer “new insights into the architectural legacy of Byzantium’s famous Anatolian warlords of the tenth to eleventh centuries.”<sup>664</sup> She proposes a function as “the palatial and administrative center of the settlement” to Selime Kalesi because of its “rock-cut architecture at the highest level,” as well as because of its “large scale, complexity, and spaciousness.”<sup>665</sup> The military installation is taken as evidence by Kalas for suggesting a local warlord as patron of the “domestic residence.”<sup>666</sup> On the other hand, on the opposite side of the river, complexes in Yaprakhisar face undesirably the north.<sup>667</sup> Mainly because of this disadvantage, they are categorized as “intermediate category of manor houses” by Kalas.<sup>668</sup>

## 5.2 Isolated Courtyard Complexes

Ten complexes, which stand as a single unit and not as a part of a group (unlike Çanlı Kilise, Selime-Yaprakhisar and the Açıkсарay Group), are spread out through Cappadocia (fig. 1.1.). They are categorized as Isolated Courtyard Complexes in this study and are briefly introduced below. Yet, these complexes are not entirely isolated. On the contrary, they often act like an anchor for irregular cavities concentrated around them, which may be contemporary, earlier or later. Given the age-old tradition of carving, all three suggestions may be simultaneously valid.

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<sup>663</sup> Ibid., 159

<sup>664</sup> Kalas (2006) 271-2

<sup>665</sup> Kalas (2000) 167

<sup>666</sup> Kalas (2006) 281

<sup>667</sup> Kalas (2000) 108

<sup>668</sup> Ibid.

## 5.2.1 Architectural Examination

### 5.2.1.1 Direkli Kilise

Direkli Kilise was carved in the western slope of the Ihlara valley, opposite the village Belisırma (fig. 5.2.9.). Due to the nature of the straight line of the steep cliff, it does not have any courtyard. Nevertheless, the layout of the vestibule and the main hall forming an inverted T-plan shows characteristics of the Courtyard Complexes. The façade divided into four unequal bays by heavily projecting piers was unusually less organized (fig. 5.2.8.). Three separate openings led to the vestibule, to the narthex and to the naos of the church.

The vestibule (Room 1<sup>669</sup>) was barrel-vaulted. Rodley suggests that a timber floor here once divided the space into two stories.<sup>670</sup> Indeed, traces of beam-holes in the wall half the height and traces of a rock-cut stairs support this. Nevertheless, this may also be a secondary alteration. The vestibule had an arched recess carved in the ground level in the western short wall and two arched recesses carved at the upper level in both the short walls. A shallow but two storey-high recess was carved in the southeast corner of the long wall. A barrel-vaulted perpendicular hall (Room 2) opened into the vestibule. This main hall of the complex also had an arched niche in the center of its lateral east wall. A small barrel-vaulted room (Room 3), off axis, was accessible from the farthest end of the main hall.<sup>671</sup>

The narthex (Room 4) opening directly outside was barrel-vaulted and led to the naos (Room 6) of inscribed-cross plan with a central dome. A side chapel (Room 7), linked with a tomb chamber (Room 5) behind it, opened into the naos. The narthex, side chapel and the tomb chamber in its rear, all contained graves. According to Rodley, the polychrome painting of the church was of high quality. Furthermore, Rodley mentions an inscription in the apse indicating a date bracket

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<sup>669</sup> Unless it is marked otherwise nomenclature in Section 5.2 is after Rodley (1985).

<sup>670</sup> Rodley (1985) 85-7

<sup>671</sup> Ibid., 87



976-1025.<sup>672</sup> Based on uncompleted painting program, Rodley suggests a brief use of the complex and proposes the Seljuk threat of the mid to late eleventh century as probable reason for its abandonment.<sup>673</sup>

### 5.2.1.2 Karanlık Kale

Karanlık Kale was cut in the north cliff of the Ihlara valley near Ihlara (fig. 5.2.11.).<sup>674</sup> It has *neither* a courtyard *nor* a façade. Similar to Direkli Kilise also carved along the Ihlara valley, the nature of the gorge here did not allow to carve a courtyard. Only a modillion frieze was used to decorate the openings on the façade (fig. 5.2.10.) and in the interior. A short arched passageway, which was atypical for Courtyard Complexes (except for the cruciform passage that led into the four-sided courtyard of Eski Gümüş), led to the barrel-vaulted vestibule (Room 1). This passageway, the vestibule and the hall perpendicular (Room 2) to the former were all on axis as it was common by Courtyard Complexes.

The vestibule had two arched recesses, one in the western short wall and another in the northeast corner of its long wall. The vestibule communicated with the longitudinal hall (Room 2) of the complex through a central opening. This main hall had a flat-ceiling decorated with “splayed-armed crosses.”<sup>675</sup> Each of the lateral walls had three deep horseshoe shaped blind niches as it was in the Hall 1 of Selime Kalesi. Likewise, it also had an emphasized end occupied by a similar but larger niche rimmed by modillions. Above the arch was a “small relief cross with splayed arms and stem.”<sup>676</sup> The northernmost niche in the eastern wall led to a

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<sup>672</sup> Ibid., 94

<sup>673</sup> Ibid., 95

<sup>674</sup> Due to the high degree of erosion and related dangers, we were not able to find the complex during our visit of area on 06.09.2009. The descriptions, thus, are based on Rodley’s notes and photographs. See Rodley (1985) 95-103.

<sup>675</sup> Rodley (1985) 95

<sup>676</sup> Ibid., 95

domed cruciform Room (Room 3) being off axis. Two of its arched niches contained a grave.

The western short wall of the vestibule led directly into the naos of the main church (Room 9) of the complex. The domed cross-in-square plan church had an additional entrance via an elaborately decorated high tunnel porch (10) that led to outside by passing a side chapel. The simple chapel (Room 11) had an *arcosolium*.<sup>677</sup> The church has no painting and decoration, which makes dating difficult. However, as Rodley emphasizes, it resembles the church of other complexes such as Bezir Hane and Soğanlı Han. It apparently was finely plastered but never painted. Thus, like Direkli Kilise and Hallaç, here too Rodley proposes a brief occupation and abandonment corresponding to the arrival of Seljuks in the mid to late eleventh century.<sup>678</sup>

A smaller barrel-vaulted room (Room 4) also opened into the vestibule, in the west of the main hall. This rectangular room had two recesses occupying its north and west walls. The recess in the west contained a basin, which according to Rodley might be secondary. A tunnel from the south end of the west wall led to a trapezoidal Room, which is identified by Rodley as the kitchen (Room 5).<sup>679</sup> Its northern half was barrel-vaulted while the southern part had a conical chimney-vault. A bench run along the southern part of the east wall. The kitchen had another opening, probably the major access, in the south. This led to an anteroom (Room 6) opening outside. It is reminiscent of the *eyvan* marking and protecting the entrance of the kitchen in Selime Kalesi, Area 2.

A barrel-vaulted Room (Room 8) was located directly west of the complex without any connection with remaining spaces.

### 5.2.1.3. Eski Gümüş

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<sup>677</sup> Ibid., 103

<sup>678</sup> Ibid.

<sup>679</sup> Ibid., 98

The southernmost complex within our sample is located in the village Gümüşler near Niğde. The complex having a true four-sided courtyard was cut within a single huge block of rock where an entire village was carved (fig. 5.2.1.-2.). The courtyard was reached through a cruciform passageway in the south (fig. 5.2.14.). The façade facing the entrance had a two-storied blind arcade (fig. 5.2.13.). Projecting pilasters divided the façade into nine vertical bays. They were deeply carved giving the façade a more three dimensional appearance. A Maltese cross was carved in one of the bays. An arched opening in the center of this main façade led to the narthex of the church. The remaining three façades were undecorated.

A barrel-vaulted rectangular hall (Room 1) and an irregular large cavity (Room 3) occupied the eastern part of the complex. The former, probably the main hall of the complex, had an emphasized end by means of a recess leading to an axial small square room (Room 2) at the rear, facing the entrance (fig. 5.2.12.). A Latin cross was carved above the recess. There are many irregular holes and forms carved in the floor of this longitudinal main hall. Rodley mistakenly suggests that they probably were remains of a refectory.<sup>680</sup> However, they rather seem to have been graves and/ or secondary works. The domed cross-in-square church (Room 19) preceded by a narthex had a commanding position behind the main façade, across the entrance to the inner courtyard. The narthex (Room 18) was a rectangular barrel-vaulted room with arcade decoration similar to that of the façade. The central opening on the façade seems to have been the major access to it. The naos of the church had recesses containing graves. A tiny side chapel containing a single grave was added to the naos.<sup>681</sup> Rodley points to high quality paintings of the church and the narthex.<sup>682</sup> Based on the comparison of architecture, painting and the program of other churches, an eleventh-century date is proposed for the complex.<sup>683</sup>

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<sup>680</sup> Ibid., 109

<sup>681</sup> Ibid., 112; Teteriatnikov (1996) 176 and fig. 18.

<sup>682</sup> Rodley (1985) 116

<sup>683</sup> Ibid., 116-8; Wharton (1991); Teteriatnikov (1996) 58, 147-8; for more information on Eski Gümüş see Gough (1964) and (1965).

A small barrel-vaulted Room (Room 17) opened into the narthex (Room 18). Its irregular opening into the courtyard as well as *pithos* in the floor seem to be secondary.<sup>684</sup> Upstairs, directly above the narthex was a rectangular Room (Room 21) with a flat ceiling. Unlike numerous irregular cavities around the courtyard, this one had a careful finishing and must have been an original part of the complex. It contained two deep arched recesses with bases about 40 cm above floor level.<sup>685</sup> In the south of the complex, above the entrance, an upstairs kitchen (Room 7) with a conical vault and a smoke hole is identified (fig. 5.2.40.).<sup>686</sup> The unusual position in an upper level is explained as “to minimize the difficulty of cutting a smoke hole to the top of the rock mass.”<sup>687</sup> In the small room (Room 4) from where stairs led to the kitchen were two carved pits, probably for storage.<sup>688</sup> At the southern corner of the west façade, an irregular opening, which could have been blocked with a millstone, led to an irregular room (Room 11), a refuge.

*Pithoi* were burried and graves were cut in the courtyard floor (fig. 5.2.41.). However, since the complex is located in the middle of a carved village, which was in use until recently, it is more likely that some of these and other irregular cavities were secondary.<sup>689</sup> It has also to be noted that two rectangular stables with carved mangers on the walls are found in the vicinity (fig. 5.2.42). Yet, it is difficult to judge whether they were initially related to the complex or not.

#### 5.2.1.4 Soğanlı Han

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<sup>684</sup> Rodley (1985) 111

<sup>685</sup> Ibid.

<sup>686</sup> Ibid., 110

<sup>687</sup> Ibid.

<sup>688</sup> Ibid., 109

<sup>689</sup> Ibid., 116

Soğanlı Han, which is known for its numerous painted cave churches is located at the end of the Soğanlı Valley.<sup>690</sup> It was carved into a steep hillside overlooking the valley (fig. 5.2.3.). Its impressive façade and dominating position make it visible from a broad angle far away. The complex was not accessible when Rodley visited it.<sup>691</sup> Now as part of the open-air museum at Soğanlı Valley all its components are accessible. The complex was organized around a three-sided courtyard facing south (fig. 5.2.17.). Nothing points to a vestibule. Instead, there are two longitudinal halls of similar size and form directly behind the façade, which in turn, has seven horseshoe-shaped deep blind niches occupying two registers. Relying on the fragmented traces, the third register was decorated with a row of small arched blind niches (fig. 5.2.16.).<sup>692</sup>

The long barrel-vaulted halls perpendicular to the façade are almost identical (fig. 5.2.15.). Both are divided into three bays by means of transverse arches. Nevertheless, only the hall on the west (Hall 1) has an emphasized end by means of an axial recess with a flat ceiling. A cross-in square church was carved in the eastern side of the courtyard, on a slightly higher level. It was preceded by a porch. According to Rodley it resembles the church in Hallaç as well as another small complex in Soğanlı Valley, St. Barbara. The painting of the latter is dated as 1006 or 1021.<sup>693</sup>

Here, we recognized two additional spaces, a funerary chapel and a kitchen (fig. 5.2.38.). Although they were certainly part of the main complex, they have not yet been mentioned elsewhere.<sup>694</sup> The funerary chapel having several cut graves in the floor and arcosolia in the walls was carved on an upper level, on the west of the courtyard, opposite the main church. The kitchen with a conical chimney-vault was

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<sup>690</sup> Ibid., 45

<sup>691</sup> Rodley's descriptions base on a sketch plan drawn by Smirnov in 1895 and published by Strzygowski. Rodley (1985) 45, refers to Strzygowski, J. *Kleinasion, ein Neuland der Kunstgeschichte, Kirchengeschichte, Kirchenaufnahmen*. ed. J.W. Crowfoot and J.I. Smirnov. (Leipzig, 1903), 149-50.

<sup>692</sup> Rodley (1985) 45

<sup>693</sup> Ibid., 48

<sup>694</sup> Field trip on 08.09.2009; accordingly, Rodley (1985) fig. 8, is completed by the author. See fig. 5.2.17.

carved at ground level, next to the latter. Its initial direct opening into the courtyard is now blocked due to erosion. The cavities in its walls including the semi-circular hearth show similarities in general with kitchens of other complexes.

### 5.2.1.5 Erdemli

The complex located southeast in the Erdemli valley near the village Yeşilhisar is called *Saray Monastery*.<sup>695</sup> Although, not included in Rodley's cave monasteries, it has been identified as a monastery by Nicole Thierry, Aldehuelo and Karakaya.<sup>696</sup> However, the complex organized behind an unusual long façade on three stories rather shows characteristics of the Isolated Courtyard Complexes (fig. 5.2.4.).<sup>697</sup>

Although the complex had a central courtyard at the rear, the distinctive spaces were carved forming a linear layout immediately behind the long façade, without having any direct connection to the backyard (fig. 5.2.19.). The western outcrop projecting toward the north formed a narrow L-shaped front door space. The long façade facing north actually consisted of two separate façades of usual size carved side by side. The eastern half is highly damaged while the western half divided into two high registers shows elaborate design (fig. 5.2.18.). The first register contained seven alternating horseshoe arched niches of blind and open. Above, a series of very small horseshoe blind niches framed them. The second register was divided into three bays by means of heavy pilasters. In each bay a large horseshoe shaped opening was flanked by two smaller keyhole shaped blind niches.

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<sup>695</sup> *Saray* means palace in Turkish; a Byzantine fortress is mentioned in Yeşilhisar, Byzantine Kyzistra. See Karakaya (2008) 33.

<sup>696</sup> N. Thierry (1989); Aldehuelo (2003) ; Karakaya (2006) and (2008).

<sup>697</sup> Introduction of this complex bases on the plan, photographs and descriptions of Karakaya (2006), (2008) and Aldehuelo (2003); for the site see Karakaya (2008) fig. 1. Karakaya has been surveying the site since 2002. She notices other cavities in the valley, on both side of the river, among which are apparently two more monasteries, houses and agricultural facilities. Confusingly, however, still calling them "monasteries," Karakaya (2008) 33, suggests that spacious meeting halls and churches, kitchens as well as stables indicate that extended families might have lived in these three complexes.

The main church of the complex occupied the place at the first floor behind this more elaborate half of the long façade. In the ground floor, directly below the church, each of the three openings led to separate rooms. The room in the center (Room 5<sup>698</sup>) was rectangular. Its walls were divided into two registers, which in turn, were decorated with blind arcades.<sup>699</sup> The square room on the east (Room 4) also communicated with the barrel-vaulted vestibule (Room 3) carved parallel to the eastern half of the façade. The south wall of the vestibule was elaborately decorated with deep horseshoe arched blind niches and geometric forms. A barrel-vaulted hall (Room 3') perpendicular to the vestibule was connected via an opening in the center of the long wall of the latter. An axial niche was carved at the farthest end of this longitudinal hall. The vestibule and this presumably main hall of the complex formed the inverted T-plan that is typical for Courtyard Complexes. Based on structural remains, Karakaya suggests that a gallery parallel to the southern long wall of the vestibule once connected the main hall, the vestibule and a small room upstairs (Room 2) on the east, above the vestibule.<sup>700</sup> Karakaya identifies the easternmost space (Room 1) in the ground level as the only mill of the settlement.<sup>701</sup> It did not communicate with any space and opened directly outside. At the opposite end, the westernmost space (Room 7) was a flat-ceilinged stable with carved mangers in lateral walls.

Karakaya emphasizes the double-nave church at the first floor preceded by a narthex and a gallery as the largest church in the settlement (fig. 5.2.36.).<sup>702</sup> It was reached through the exterior stairs leading to a terrace that was located between the narthex and a barrel-vaulted room. The narthex contained burials. The ceiling of the naos had not survived.<sup>703</sup> In the south, the terrace was connected to the backyard.

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<sup>698</sup> Nomenclature of the Section 5.2.5: Erdemli is after Aldehuelo (2003).

<sup>699</sup> Karakaya (2006) 502

<sup>700</sup> Ibid.

<sup>701</sup> Ibid.

<sup>702</sup> See also Ibid., fig. 2

<sup>703</sup> Based on structural remains, Ibid., 503-4, suggests a central dome here.

Karakaya mentions a funerary chapel around the latter.<sup>704</sup> Thierry speculates on the function of spaces around the courtyard that were under the present floor level; she suggests here kitchen and dormitory, which lacked elsewhere in the complex.<sup>705</sup> A series of wine presses are located on the second floor in the east of the courtyard.<sup>706</sup>

Karakaya emphasizes that the only mill and wine presses in the valley were concentrated around this main complex, the *Saray Monastery*, south of the river. On the other hand, living quarters and churches occupied the site north of the river. Thus, it is highly likely that the complex controlling agricultural production was the administrative hub of the settlement in Erdemli valley.<sup>707</sup> The common architectural layout suggests contemporaneity of the main components within the complex.<sup>708</sup> Upon study of the church and painting program Thierry dated the complex to the eleventh century.<sup>709</sup> Karakaya points to similar examples in the valley and elsewhere and agrees with this date.<sup>710</sup>

#### **5.2.1.6 Şahinefendi<sup>711</sup>**

The complex is located high on the hill. It can be seen from the valley through which the modern road passes. The dominating position and isolation is reminiscent of Soğanlı Han (fig. 5.2.5.). The partly broken main façade had unusual heavy pilasters and horseshoe arched blind niches between them.<sup>712</sup> These heavy

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<sup>704</sup> Ibid., 504

<sup>705</sup> Ibid., refers to Thierry (1989) 9

<sup>706</sup> Karakaya (2006) 504-5

<sup>707</sup> Ibid., 505

<sup>708</sup> Ibid. and Karakaya (2008) 34

<sup>709</sup> Karakaya (2006) 501, refers to Thierry (1989); Karakaya (2006) 501, underlining that the work was undertaken without a permission, also refers to Aldehuelo (2003).

<sup>710</sup> Karakaya (2006) 505 and (2008) 34

<sup>711</sup> Hild and Restle (1981) 285, identified Şahinefendi as Sobesos; Rodley (1985) 33, mentions the church of the Forty Martyrs which is 500 meters away.

<sup>712</sup> Rodley (1985) 33



pilasters supported an architrave containing a row of very small blind niches. The original façade was divided into seven bays by means of pilasters and had a central opening (fig. 5.2.21.).<sup>713</sup>

The sloping hillside did not allow the carving of an appropriate courtyard but an L-shaped front door place (fig. 5.2.22.). On the other hand, the vestibule was wider than usual and it is the only one with two sections (Room 1a/ 1b) known so far in Cappadocia. The front part had a flat ceiling while the back was barrel-vaulted (fig. 5.2.20.). Rodley suggests that an arcade once separated the two sections. The inner façade of the vestibule was decorated with five deep arched recesses. The central one had an opening to the only hall (Room 2) of the complex. It is surprisingly small compared with the large vestibule. This rectangular room had a flat ceiling and engaged columns on the lateral walls. Although it was much smaller than the usual main halls of other Courtyard Complexes, it also had an emphasized end in the form of an arched recess. Rodley identifies a Latin cross here.<sup>714</sup> Both the vestibule and the hall perpendicular to it formed an inverted T-plan.

There was a rectangular flat-ceilinged room (Room 3 and 4) at each short end of the vestibule. Room 4 also communicated with the kitchen (Room 5), which partly survives in the west of the main façade. Its ground level is raised due to erosion, but the conical chimney-vault typical for these kitchens is easy to recognize.

The domed cross-in-square church is now almost completely buried. It occupied a separate cone situated at southeast end of the façade. A cruciform porch containing graves preceded it.

A number of interconnected rooms were carved in another cone next to the church further south across the main façade. Since they showed architectural features similar to the rest, Rodley concludes that they belonged to the original complex.<sup>715</sup> We found a barrel-vaulted stable with mangers on the lateral walls on

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<sup>713</sup> Ibid.

<sup>714</sup> Rodley (1985) 38

<sup>715</sup> Ibid., 39

the other side of the same cone, further east (fig. 5.2.43.).<sup>716</sup> It had not been noticed by Rodley.

Rodley noticed the similarities between the plans of Şahinefendi, Hallaç and Bezir Hane. However, the vestibule with two sections and the façade with high pilasters of Şahinefendi are unique within our sample. Rodley also mentioned the resemblance between the main halls of Şahinefendi and Kılıçlar. Base on this, she suggests the same eleventh-century period for the Şahinefendi complex.<sup>717</sup> Teteriatnikov pointing to the cruciform porch dates the church into eleventh century, when this type of small domed porch seems to have been developed.<sup>718</sup>

### 5.2.1.7 Aynalı Kilise

Aynalı Kilise (Göreme Chapel 14) is located just 1 km southeast of Göreme. Its main façade and narrow courtyard face the north (fig. 5.2.6.). The façade was divided into three bays and three registers by means of heavy pilasters and cornices. Each bay at the ground register had a horseshoe-arched blind niche housing an opening. Upper registers were also decorated with smaller arched niches (fig. 5.2.24.). The opening in the east led to the domed cruciform porch (Room 6) preceding the church.<sup>719</sup> The other two led to the largest space (Room 1) of the complex. This barrel-vaulted horizontal hall was similar to vestibules seen in other Courtyard Complexes, but it did not precede any hall (fig. 5.2.23.). It is not certain whether the entrance to the church naos on its eastern short wall was original or not. A recess containing burials (Room 7) was attached to the porch. The naos (Room 5) itself was a three-aisled basilica with two supports. The nave was barrel-vaulted whereas the aisles had a flat ceiling (fig. 5.2.39.).<sup>720</sup>

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<sup>716</sup> Field trip on 08.09.2009; accordingly, Rodley (1985) fig. 6, is completed by the author. See fig. 5.2.22.

<sup>717</sup> Rodley (1985) 39

<sup>718</sup> Teteriatnikov (1996) 141

<sup>719</sup> Nomenclature is after Rodley (1985).

<sup>720</sup> Rodley (1985) 61

A simple barrel-vaulted rectangular room (Room 2) and a flat-ceilinged room (Room 3) were carved west of the courtyard. On the opposite side, another flat-ceilinged room (Room 4) is seen. There were secondary irregular cavities (b, c, d) in the upper storey, above the main hall and the church. Tunnels leading to them were protected by millstones.

Rodley emphasizes the “extensive red-paint decoration” of the church and the hall.<sup>721</sup> On the one hand, she points to similar decoration, which was found chiefly in Göreme valley, such as in Chapel 20 (St Barbara), Chapel 21 belonging to Yılanlı group and Chapel 25. On the other hand, she classifies the Yılanlı group in connection with Hallaç and Bezir Hane. Thus, a probable date of the mid to late eleventh century is suggested for Aynalı Kilise.<sup>722</sup> Teteriatnikov also dates the church to the eleventh century, based on the cruciform porch, which seems to have developed in this period.<sup>723</sup>

#### **5.2.1.8 Hallaç**

Although its vestibule and main façade are now lost, Hallaç Monastery appears to be free from major alteration or destruction. Consequently, the finely carved complex is usually designated as an ideal form of Courtyard Complexes by scholars (fig. 5.2.29). In Hallaç, rooms were organized around a well-defined three-sided large courtyard, whereas the main façade and the vestibule have collapsed. The lost vestibule (Room 1)<sup>724</sup> had a barrel-vault.<sup>725</sup> Rodley reconstructs its partly eroded inner façade.<sup>726</sup> According to this reconstruction, five wide horseshoe-arched blind niches were flanked by two smaller arches. In the center, an opening

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<sup>721</sup> Ibid., 63

<sup>722</sup> Ibid.

<sup>723</sup> Teteriatnikov (1996) 141

<sup>724</sup> Nomenclature is after Rodley (1985)

<sup>725</sup> Rodley (1985) 14

<sup>726</sup> See Ibid., fig. 3

led to a basilical hall (Room 2).<sup>727</sup> Columns carrying arcades separated the hall into three aisles. The centre aisle was barrel-vaulted while the narrow side aisles had a flat ceiling. An axial rectangular recess with a barrel-vault marking the end of the hall was carved opposite the entrance (fig. 5.2.26.).<sup>728</sup> This longitudinal hall, which was obviously the main hall of the complex, was perpendicular to the fallen façade. Together, they formed the inverted T-plan.

Two square rooms with flat-ceilings (Room 3 and 4) flanked the hall. Both could be accessed only through the main hall. Thus, Mathews and Daskalakis-Mathews identified these lateral rooms indicating more privacy as probable bedrooms.<sup>729</sup> The main hall and flanking rooms all had interior walls decorated with blind niches.

A domed cross-in-square hall (Room 5) was accessible by means of an opening in the western short wall of the lost vestibule (fig. 5.2.27.).<sup>730</sup> Details of a human figure carved in its northeast corner is unique within the Cappadocian examples.<sup>731</sup> A “kind of pass-through window”, which allowed communication but no circulation between the cross-in square hall and the square room (Room 4) may suggest a women’s quarter.<sup>732</sup> To the south was a large kitchen (Room 6) that directly opened into the courtyard.

Across the kitchen, on the other side of the courtyard were roughly cut rooms (7) in two levels. Next to them was the church (Room 8) of cross-in-square plan with a central dome (fig. 5.2.37.).<sup>733</sup> A large tomb chamber (Room 9) of irregular form was attached to the south of the church.<sup>734</sup> The openings into the

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<sup>727</sup> Ibid., 14

<sup>728</sup> Ibid., 15

<sup>729</sup> Mathews and Daskalakis-Mathews (1997) 301

<sup>730</sup> Rodley (1985) 17

<sup>731</sup> Ibid., 19

<sup>732</sup> Mathews and Daskalakis-Mathews (1997) 302

<sup>733</sup> Rodley (1985) 20

<sup>734</sup> Ibid., 22

irregular room (Room 7) as well as into the church were emphasized by the large gabled decoration on the courtyard façade (fig. 5.2.28.).

The “uniform appearance” of the complex suggests that it was carved in one phase.<sup>735</sup> However, there is no direct evidence for its date. The cross-in-square church might indicate a date in the middle Byzantine period.<sup>736</sup> Rodley points to a probable relation between the Hallaç church and a group of churches in Göreme Valley, the Yılanlı group. The latter is dated from the mid to the late eleventh century.<sup>737</sup> Further, Rodley points to the tenth century Armenian and Georgian parallels concerning the figurative decoration seen in Hallaç. She mentions the major population movement from Armenia to other parts of Anatolia occurring in the eleventh century.<sup>738</sup> Hence, she speculates that an Armenian mason might have worked in Hallaç. The high degree of preservation as well as unfinished rooms suggest that the complex had a brief occupation. According to Rodley, it is more likely that Hallaç was abandoned in the late eleventh century due to the Seljuk incursion. In the light of these arguments, a mid eleventh-century date is proposed for the Hallaç complex.<sup>739</sup>

### 5.2.1.9 Kılıçlar

Kılıçlar Complex is located about 50 meters north-northwest of Kılıçlar Kilise (Göreme Chapel 29) in Göreme.<sup>740</sup> Although small and without a well defined courtyard, with its partly surviving façade and rooms opening into a vestibule Kılıçlar complex, reveals the identifying characteristics of Courtyard Complexes (fig. 5.2.7.). The remaining fragments point that the original façade

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<sup>735</sup> Ibid., 24

<sup>736</sup> Ibid., 25

<sup>737</sup> Ibid.

<sup>738</sup> Nevertheless, as mentioned previously, the westernmost area that was inhabited by Armenians was Caesarea. See Chapter 2.

<sup>739</sup> Rodley (1985) 26

<sup>740</sup> Ibid., 39

facing southwest once housed arched openings,<sup>741</sup> which in turn, were flanked by shallow horseshoe-arched blind niches similar to that of Şahinefendi (fig. 5.2.31.).

The vestibule (Room 1)<sup>742</sup> is a rectangular hall with a flat ceiling (fig. 5.2.30.). The surviving walls were also decorated with horseshoe arched blind niches. The entrance into the main hall (Room 2) has been blocked for years. Rodley's drawing is an interpretation of photographs taken by Jerphanion (fig. 5.2.32).<sup>743</sup> Accordingly, the hall was rectangular and barrel-vaulted with engaged columns on the lateral walls. It shows similarities with the hall at Şahinefendi complex with respect to small size and architectural detail.<sup>744</sup>

The opening in the western short wall of the vestibule led into a small rectangular room (Room 3) with a flat ceiling. It contains graves that might be secondary. The opening in the eastern short wall of the vestibule has also been blocked. The complex had none attached church, unless the latter was behind this blocked opening. But, as Rodley reminds the complex was not far from the cross-in-square church of Kılıçlar Kilise.<sup>745</sup> Furthermore, we found a conical kitchen at the southeast corner of the vestibule, in a slightly higher level, which Rodley failed to notice.<sup>746</sup> Consequently, it is more likely that the blocked opening in the western short wall of the vestibule once led into this kitchen.

An eleventh-century date is proposed for Kılıçlar complex based on its proximity to Kılıçlar Kilisesi and on the resemblance between its architecture and that of other complexes, such as Bezir Hane, Hallaç and Şahinefendi.<sup>747</sup>

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<sup>741</sup> Ibid., 40

<sup>742</sup> Nomenclature is after Rodley (1985)

<sup>743</sup> Rodley (1985) 41, refers to Jerphanion (1925, 1942) plate 21.1.

<sup>744</sup> Rodley (1985) 45

<sup>745</sup> Ibid., 43

<sup>746</sup> Field trip on 09.09.2009; accordingly, Rodley (1985) fig. 7, is completed by the author. See fig. 5.2.32.

<sup>747</sup> Rodley (1985) 45; Teteriatnikov (1996) 50, however, asserts that Kılıçlar Kilise being the earliest cross-in-square church in Göreme valley, dates ca. 900.

### 5.2.1.10 Bezir Hane

Bezir Hane is located in Avcılar.<sup>748</sup> A refectory monastery called Yusuf Koç Kilisesi and a basilical church called Durmuş Kilisesi were also in the vicinity.<sup>749</sup> Bezir Hane is in the neighborhood of modern village houses and not easily noticeable. The complex facing southeast did not have any courtyard (fig. 5.2.35.). But it had a barrel-vaulted vestibule (Room 1), which was high but not very long. The main façade is entirely lost (fig. 5.2.34.). The inner long wall of the vestibule was divided into three registers and bays by means of cornices and pilasters. Three two-register high, large horseshoe arched blind niches dominated it. The niche in the center had an opening that led into a large basilical hall (Room 2). The hall was divided into three aisles by columns flanking the barrel-vaulted center and forming arcades (fig. 5.2.33.).

A cross-in-square church (Room 6), once entered through the vestibule, was on the eastern short end. Its initial access from the vestibule into the preceding porch (Room 5) is now blocked by masonry. On the opposite site was a small barrel-vaulted room (Room 3) also entered from the vestibule. Both Bezir Hane and Yusuf Koç Kilisesi are dated to the eleventh century.<sup>750</sup>

### 5.2.2 Summary

Comparison of the isolated complexes may differ from the comparison of the complexes within an ensemble such as in Çanlı Kilise, Selime-Yaprakhisar and Açıksaray. For the complexes belonging to the same group, we suggest not only an architectural connection but also a communal one. Yet, Isolated Courtyard Complexes displaying common architectural and decorative features indicate that some ideas and their expression were rather “standardized.” Therefore, it is plausible to say that some teams of craftsmen might have traveled across

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<sup>748</sup> Rodley (1985) 26, remarks that it was known as Maçan until the 1920s.

<sup>749</sup> The Durmuş Kilisesi has the only known example of a rock-cut *ambo* in Cappadocia.

<sup>750</sup> Rodley (1985) 33, 156

Cappadocia and applied variations of an overall design wherever it was required (fig. 1.1.).

Due to the topography, less than half of the complexes had a definite three-sided courtyard. However, the majority had a decorated main façade, vestibule and a longitudinal main hall. The latter two formed an inverted T-plan as usual, while the sequential possession was emphasized by an axial niche facing the entrance of the main hall. Interestingly, only two of the vestibules had niches on the walls. It is also remarkable that the majority of the vestibules as well as main halls were barrel-vaulted. Only two complexes had centrally planned halls in addition to the main halls. The cruciform hall in Karanlık Kale was similar in form and location to that of Selime Kalesi (fig. 5.1.2.10. and fig. 5.2.11.). Yet, the former was off-axis.

All complexes except for Kılıçlar had at least one church in a prominent position. Indeed, it is highly remarkable that half of the churches communicated directly with the common vestibule. The majority had a domed cross-in-square plan and was preceded by a narthex or porch (fig. 5.2.37.). Burials in the form of tomb chambers or *arcosolia* are found in the majority of the complexes. In addition, there was a separate funerary chapel in Soğanlı Han (fig. 5.2.38) and three side chapels adjacent to the main churches, in Direkli Kilise, Karanlık Kale and Eski Gümüş. While the funerary chapel contained numerous graves, side chapels had only a few. Indeed, the tiny side chapel in Eski Gümüş was tailored to bear just one grave, which obviously belonged to someone of high importance. Not a single refectory could be noticed in and around the Isolated Courtyard Complexes.

More than half of the complexes had kitchens with large conical chimney-vaults (fig. 5.2.40.). Three of the complexes have barrel-vaulted rooms. On the other hand, the lack of stables is remarkable. Only two complexes had stables, which certainly belonged to them. There were two stables near Eski Gümüş, which might have been related to the complex (fig. 5.2.42.-43.). Likewise, Aynalı Kilise is the only complex, which communicated directly with refuges that were blocked by millstones.



Orientation (10):<sup>751</sup>

- 4 of 10 complexes faced south
- 2 of 10 complexes faced southeast
- 1 of 10 complexes faced southwest
- 2 of 10 complexes faced north
- 1 of 10 complexes faced northeast

Courtyard (6):

- 6 of 10 complexes had a courtyard
  - 2 of 6 complexes had an L-shaped courtyard
  - 3 of 6 complexes had a three-sided courtyard
  - 1 of 6 complexes had a four-sided courtyard

Decorated Main Façade (7):

- 7 of 10 complexes have partly surviving façade

Inverted T-plan (7):

- 7 of 10 complexes had layout of the vestibule/ main hall in form of inverted T-plan

Vestibule (7):

- 7 of 10 complexes had a vestibule
  - 1 of 7 had a flat ceiling
  - 5 of 7 had a barrel-vault
    - 2 of 5 had niches on the short and long walls
    - 2 of 5 had probably a gallery
  - 1 of 7 was two-partite: flat-ceilinged and barrel-vaulted

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<sup>751</sup> The numbers in parentheses refer to the estimated total number of spaces under consideration. However, this should be treated with care, since some of the sites are highly damaged and not all areas are accessible; the orientation shows the courtyard direction of the central axis of courtyard/ vestibule/ main hall. In the four-sided Courtyard Complexes it is the direction that the main façade faces.

#### Longitudinal Hall (Main Hall) (10):

- 9 of 10 complexes had all together 10 longitudinal halls
  - 2 of 10 had a flat ceiling
  - 6 of 10 had a barrel-vault
  - 2 of 10 were a three-aisled basilica
- 7 of 10 longitudinal halls were on the central axis of the courtyard
- 7 of 10 of longitudinal halls were entered through a preceding vestibule
  - 1 of 7 led to an axial room
  - 1 of 7 led to a lateral room
  - 1 of 7 led to two flanking lateral rooms
- 3 of 10 longitudinal halls were entered directly through the courtyard
  - 1 of 3 also had entrance from a lateral room and led to an axial room
- 6 of 10 longitudinal halls had an axial niche
  - 1 of 6 also had six lateral niches
- 1 of 10 longitudinal halls had a lateral niche

#### Centrally Planned Hall (2):

- 2 of 10 complexes had a centrally planned hall
  - 1 of 2 had a domed cruciform plan; it was entered through the longitudinal (main) hall; it was lateral to the longitudinal hall (off axis)
  - 1 of 2 had a domed cross-in-square plan; it was entered through the vestibule; it was lateral to the vestibule

#### Horizontal Hall (1):

- 1 of 10 complexes had a barrel-vaulted horizontal (main) hall; it was entered through the courtyard; it also had entrance from the church naos

#### Churches (11):

- 9 of 10 complexes all together 11 churches attached to the complex
  - 7 of 11 churches had domed cross-in-square plan

- 4 of 7 were entered from the courtyard
  - 1 of 4 was preceded by a narthex; had a side chapel containing a single grave
  - 2 of 4 were preceded by a porch
    - 1 of 2 porches contained burials
- 1 of 7 was entered from the one of the short walls of the vestibule; was preceded by a porch
- 2 of 7 were entered from the one of the short walls of the vestibule *and* the front door space
  - 1 of 2 was preceded by a narthex containing burials; had a side chapel containing burials; had an adjacent tomb chamber
  - 1 of 2 was preceded by a porch; had a side chapel containing a single grave
- 1 of 11 churches was a three aisled basilica (two supports); was entered from the one of the short walls of the horizontal hall *and* the courtyard; was preceded by a porch containing burials
- 1 of 11 churches was a double-nave church (upstairs); was preceded by a narthex containing burials
- 2 of 11 were separate funerary chapels (upstairs)

Multifunctional Rooms:<sup>752</sup>

- 14 rooms were entered from the courtyard
- 3 rooms were entered from one of the short walls of the vestibule
- 1 room was entered from the long wall of the vestibule
- 4 rooms were entered from the main hall
  - 2 of 4 were on the axial end of the main hall
  - 2 of 4 were on one of the lateral sides of the main hall
- 2 rooms were upstairs

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<sup>752</sup> Due to the high degree of erosion any given number as the total would be misleading.

- 1 room was entered from the courtyard *and* one of the short walls of the vestibule

#### Distinctive Rooms (2):<sup>753</sup>

- 1 of 10 complexes had a flat-ceilinged large rectangular room with decorated walls; was entered from the courtyard
- 1 of 10 complexes had 2 square, flat-ceilinged rooms with decorated walls; were only accessible from the main hall
- 1 of 10 complexes had a barrel-vaulted room; was entered from the axial end of the main hall
- 1 of 10 complexes had a barrel-vaulted room with an axial and a lateral niche; was entered from the vestibule and the lateral kitchen

#### Kitchen (6):

- 6 of 10 complexes had a kitchen with a high conical chimney-vault
  - 4 of 6 were entered from the courtyard
    - 2 of 4 had an additional entrance from a room connected with the vestibule
  - 1 of 6 was entered from one of the short walls of the vestibule
  - 1 of 6 was upstairs

#### Stable (2):

- 2 of 10 complexes had a longitudinal stable with lateral mangers
  - 1 of 2 stables had a flat ceiling
  - 1 of 2 stables had a barrel-vault

### **5.2.3 Conclusions**

#### *Chronology*

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<sup>753</sup> Distinctive rooms are also included under the parameter “Multifunctional Rooms”

In general, a brief occupation and abandonment following the arrival of Seljuks in the mid to late eleventh century is proposed for the Courtyard Complexes.<sup>754</sup> By 1985, only a single direct dating evidence was known to Rodley in her classification of the “courtyard” type, namely the inscription in Direkli Kilise, which she dated between 976 and 1025.<sup>755</sup> The rest of the complexes may be dated by the paintings in their churches. Accordingly, stylistic analysis suggests a date in the late tenth or eleventh centuries for Selime Kalesi and the first half of the eleventh century for Eski Gümüş.<sup>756</sup> Because of “the overall uniformity” of layout, architectural detail and room type which is consistent among the Courtyard Complexes all of them may be placed in a same short period extending from the first quarter to the second half of the eleventh century.<sup>757</sup> When one thinks of the close chronology, the same teams of masons may have been responsible for several projects.<sup>758</sup> No instance of repainting or of planned secondary excavation strengthens the brief occupation of the Courtyard Complexes. Indeed, it seems that most of them were carved shortly before the Seljuks’ arrival and abandoned afterwards. This brief occupation may also explain the lack of documents.<sup>759</sup>

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<sup>754</sup> Rodley (1985) 103

<sup>755</sup> Ibid., 223

<sup>756</sup> Ibid.

<sup>757</sup> Ibid.

<sup>758</sup> Ibid., 227

<sup>759</sup> Ibid., 224

## CHAPTER 6

### AÇIKSARAY GROUP

This Chapter consists of three sections and is completely devoted to the Açıksaray Group. In the first part, following the information on the topographical setting and overall layout, each complex is separately presented. Here, a new nomenclature is proposed based on the detailed architectural description of eight complexes. A summary is also added at the end of this first section which also includes a comprehensive list of spaces. Furthermore, Table 2 in the Appendix shows the Açıksaray Group and its components in relation to other Cappadocian Courtyard Complexes. This study proposes three separate workshops or carving stages in Açıksaray for the first time. Accordingly, the second section illustrates these three groups with a special focus on the part *Group II- The Main Settlement*. In the last section of Chapter Six existing theories concerning the dating and function of Açıksaray are challenged. In addition, Table 1 in the Appendix offers a summary of the scholarship on Açıksaray.

#### *The Site*

Açıksaray means “open palace” in Turkish. It is one of the numerous archaeological sites from the middle Byzantine period in Cappadocia. Bearing some of the best-preserved examples of the Courtyard Complexes, Açıksaray was initially identified as a monastic settlement. It lies west of the present Nevşehir-Gülşehir road, 2 km south of Gülşehir (ancient Zoropassos), which is located directly on the Kızılırmak River (Red River- ancient Halys). Zoropassos was known as a town in the Cappadocian Strategia Morimene in antiquity and might have continued as a settlement during the Byzantine period.<sup>760</sup> Many ancient roads passed through

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<sup>760</sup> Hild and Restle (1981) 308-9

Açıksaray and the settlement was located directly on the Byzantine military road, which still operates as the highway route between Nevşehir- Gülşehir (fig. 1.1.).<sup>761</sup>

The rock-cut architecture of Açıksaray was carved within the volcanic outcrops flanking a narrow valley, which continues seven kilometers further south to the modern village Çat. Although it is often a difficult task to define the exact boundaries of any rock-cut settlement, definable carved structures in Açıksaray are concentrated within an area of 250,000 square meters, where outlining outcrops offered considerable rock-mass in depth and height for carving spacious complexes (fig. 6.1.-3.).

The Kızılırmak River flows just 1.5 km north of Açıksaray crossing the volcanic plateau from west to east. A stream which is completely dry during the summer months and which floods in the spring flows through the valley. Because of the high difference between the water level during winter and summer, the unstable valley soil was unsuitable for building. While a dense growth of poplars and willows along the waterside creates a shady, enclosed space, the treeless plateau above the outcrops allows an unhindered vista all around (fig. 6.4.-5.).

The original name of the settlement is unknown. The name Açıksaray, open palace, must have been given much later by locals when the rock surfaces were already eroded uncovering spaces behind them. Indeed, there are many small towns and villages all called *saray*, palace, in Anatolia.<sup>762</sup> Thus, the name does not necessarily point to its initial function. In a recent publication, Açıksaray is presented as a town with monasteries and houses carved side by side which could have accommodated 10,000 people.<sup>763</sup> However, natural and man made modifications make it difficult to estimate the number of inhabitants at any one time. The area seems to have been inhabited by modern Greeks until the population

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<sup>761</sup> See Section 2.2 in Chapter 2.

<sup>762</sup> Mathews and Daskalakis-Mathews (1997) 298, have mistakenly written that the settlement is “named after the valley in which it is located.”

<sup>763</sup> It is a booklet including diverse information (economic and social data, cultural heritage, etc.) related to Gülşehir (published by the administration of the province Gülşehir. Date of publication is unknown).

exchange in the 1920s. In 1976 when it was declared as a natural heritage site Açıksaray was still in use as a summer meadow by locals.<sup>764</sup>

## 6.1 Architectural Examination

In Açıksaray, suitable landform and closeness to the main roads must have been the most significant determinants in site selection. The western outcrop that followed many curves was ideal to form a chain of complexes organized around courtyards. While concave curves turned into natural courtyards, convex ones separated them. Thus, in spite of natural and human modification eight main complexes with elaborate façades and orderly spaces differ from the rest of the carved spaces in the site. All of them except one were carved in the western outcrop (fig. 6.6.-11.).

We abandoned the confusing nomenclature of Rodley, who published the first detailed survey of Açıksaray in 1985, and re-numbered the complexes from Area 1 to Area 8, beginning with the northernmost one and ending with the only one in the east of the valley (fig. 6.2.). Additional spots with concentrated irregular cavities in the vicinity are numbered according to the next definable unit, for instance as Area 1a, Area 1b, etc.

7 to 13 meters high volcanic rock seems to have allowed a maximum of two storied carving (fig. 6.3.). Five of the complexes have surviving monumental façades (fig. 6.12., 6.15., 6.22., 6.27., 6.30.) and another one has remains that suggest an elaborate façade (fig. 6.20.). Half of the complexes have three-sided spacious courtyards with receptional and utilitarian rooms around. A high number of attached stables (fig. 6.68.-73.), in contrast to the paucity and insignificance of churches (fig. 6.49.-55.) make Açıksaray unique within the Courtyard Complexes and weakens the initial monastic identification by early scholars.<sup>765</sup>

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<sup>764</sup> Since 1999 the site has been declared and protected as a natural *and* archaeological heritage site of the first grade by the regional conservation committee for the cultural and natural heritage in Nevşehir.

<sup>765</sup> Kalas (2007) 277



### 6.1.1 Area 1

Area 1 is the closest complex to the Gülşehir-Nevşehir road and to the official entrance of the archaeological site. Rooms are carved around a narrow three-sided courtyard that opened towards the southeast (fig. 6.6., 6.10.). Floods coming through the narrow pass from the southwest and seasonal high water have been responsible for erosion.

#### *Façade*

Area 1 has a remarkable main façade (fig. 6.12.-13.), which offers the most varied decoration of all the surviving façades in the site. It consisted of four registers divided by heavily projecting cornices running throughout the façade and three bays defined by prominent pilasters. Although the lateral bays have been badly eroded, a reconstruction is possible due to the surviving remains.<sup>766</sup> At the top of the central bay a row of narrow keyhole-shaped blind niches are carved in a rectangular recess. Here, the decoration of lateral bays is entirely lost. The centre bay of the third register had the motif of a recessed rectangle with a lunette above it, which was flanked by a pair of double- recessed keyhole-shaped blind niches on each side. The bays on right and left, each had five double- recessed keyhole-shaped blind niches. Vertical pilasters flanking the central bay was linked with an unusual cornice below the third register. It was formed by two horizontal grooves that end with a cross on the right side. In the centre of the second register, a large horseshoe arched- recess outlined a rectangular door-like opening and two keyhole-shaped windows above the former. A gabled molding was carved over the arched niche. A cornice above the opening and below the spring of the keyhole-shaped arch and gable run across the whole façade. The pilaster on the right had a cross with a square basin carved just under the cross in the cornice described above. Each lateral bay had a horseshoe-arched niche housing a window. These lateral niches had the same size as the niche in the central bay. Each of them was flanked by small double-recessed keyhole blind niches. On the top register, irregular secondary openings reveal spaces behind the façade. However, there was no connection from

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<sup>766</sup> See also Kostof (1989) fig. 8

the inside leading upwards. These were also not accessible from the top. Thus, these openings are more likely secular cavities carved to gather doves for agricultural purposes and only accessible by climbing.

#### *The Main Hall (Room 1)*

The entrance in the central bay led directly to a rectangular hall (Room 1<sup>767</sup>) which was placed parallel to the façade (fig. 6.14., 6.39.). The flat ceiling had a relief of an equal-armed cross with circular bosses in the center of each arm and at their intersection. The size of the cross was equal to the size of the short end of the ceiling (fig. 6.40.). Bosses are found on several flat ceilings on the site, but Area 1 is the only example where bosses were combined with the carved cross arms. A ventilation hole was carved off axis. A cornice framed the ceiling. A horizontal molding divided the walls into two registers, whereas the upper part was one-third the height of the entire wall. Two pilasters divided each of the long walls into three bays. In addition, there were L-shaped pilasters on corners. Pairs of keyhole niches in square recesses occupied the upper register. There were three pairs in each of the short walls and two pairs in each bay of the long walls. The central bay of the south wall was an exception. A pair of confronted animals was carved here above the entrance.<sup>768</sup> Their heads were lost when the keyhole windows had been cut as a later work above the entrance. The windows in the lateral bays of the façade seem to have been secondary too, since they damaged the decorated upper register of the hall.

#### *Flat-ceilinged (Rooms 2) Room and Barrel-vaulted Room (Room 3)*

Two rectangular Rooms (2, 3) were carved in the west wall of the courtyard (fig. 6.14.). Room 3, which was slightly bigger than one third of the main hall (Room 1), had a barrel-vault springing from a cornice. In each short wall, an arched central blind niche was flanked by two shorter and narrower ones. Its entrance must have been in its damaged east wall opening directly into the courtyard (fig. 6.56.). Room 2 was placed north of this and next to the façade. It was roughly cut and

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<sup>767</sup> The spatial nomenclature of the complexes in Açksaray Group follows Rodley (1985). Spaces newly discovered by the author are added in the redrawn/ corrected original plans of Rodley and numbered accordingly. They are underlined.

<sup>768</sup> See Rodley (1985) fig. 26

slightly smaller than Room 3. It had a flat ceiling. Large boulders fallen east of the courtyard have exposed a flat-ceilinged room (5) in an upper level. Remains of small flat-ceilinged rooms (a, b, c) are recognizable in the ground level further southeast of the façade.

#### *Stable (Room 4)*

Proceeding along the west wall of the courtyard few meters further south one comes upon a large stable (Room 4) (fig. 6.14., 6.68.). This had a high barrel-vault springing from a cornice. A ventilation hole was opened in the vault. At least 14 mangers were carved into the recesses cut along its long walls.<sup>769</sup> Two smaller rooms (4a, 4b), also highly damaged, flanked the entrance of the stable. It is more likely that they were used as storage for fodder. The stable, barely recognizable from the outside, was not noticed by Rodley.<sup>770</sup> It has been buried with earth carried by floods. Now mangers are at the same level with the raised ground.

### **6.1.2 Area 2**

Area 2 was planned around a large and well-defined three-sided courtyard, which faces southeast (fig. 6.6.-7.). It is remarkable with its decorated main façade and its several halls of different size and form. A stable of considerable size was carved in the end of the west wall of the courtyard. The present ground-level of the courtyard has risen at least one meter higher than the original level.

#### *Façade*

The façade was divided horizontally into three registers by two stepped-cornices and vertically into three bays by pilasters (fig. 6.15.-16.). Although highly damaged, it can be reconstructed by comparing it with the similar but better surviving façade of Area 1. Accordingly, at the top register of flanking bays five double-recessed horseshoe-arched blind niches were carved. Likewise, in the center bay were six of them. Blind niches stood on a two-steeped cornice, which continued around the main pilasters. The middle register contained pairs of small niches of

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<sup>769</sup> See Tütüncü (2008) Table 1

<sup>770</sup> Grishin (2002) and Tütüncü (2008), mention this stable.

similar form. In each bay, two pairs flanked a large horseshoe-arched double recessed niche. Pairs stood similarly on a continuing two stepped-cornice. The large central niche had two small keyhole-shaped windows carved in its lunette; and below them, a door-like opening led to the central hall behind the façade. The large niche on the right also had keyhole-shaped windows but no other openings. The large niche on the left was completely blind.

#### *The Main Hall (Room 1)*

The only opening in the main façade led into a flat-ceilinged rectangular hall (Room 1), which lay perpendicular to the façade, on the central axis of the latter and the courtyard (fig. 6.17.). Damage on lower parts of its walls reveal traces of flood. A bench was carved along the west wall facing the entrance (fig. 6.41.). A cornice outlined the flat ceiling where five bosses formed a cross. A ventilation hole was carved off axis. The walls were divided into two registers by a wide horizontal molding. The upper register was half the height of the lower. In addition, vertical pilasters divided long walls into three bays. L-shaped pilasters formed corners. Along the upper register, each bay on the long walls was decorated with a pair of horseshoe-arched niches. Three of these niches were carved on the short walls. Only an arched blind niche was carved in the centre bay of the lower part of the southern long wall. This main hall of the complex was connected with a smaller side hall (Room 2) via an opening in the east of the north wall, next to the entrance. A molding formed a gable above it.

#### *Barrel-vaulted Room (Room 2)*

Room 2, a narrow rectangular space, was slightly larger than half the size of the main hall (Room 1) (fig. 6.59.). Its barrel-vault was divided into two bays by a transverse arch. As is usual in Açıksaray, wall arches outlined the lunettes and all sprang from a cornice. There were circular bosses at the crest of the vault, one in each bay and one on the transverse arch. Additional square bosses were carved at the wall arches. A ventilation hole was carved off axis. The keyhole-shaped windows, which have been enlarged to a square by a secondary work, correspond on south end of the eastern wall.

#### *Barrel-vaulted Room (Room 3)*

The northern wing of the complex is highly damaged. Here, a barrel-vaulted rectangular Room (3) opening directly to the courtyard was carved next to the main façade. A square window was carved above its entrance. Room 3 was slightly bigger than Room 2. Likewise, the barrel-vault of Room 3 was also divided into two bays by a transverse arch.

*Barrel-vaulted Room (Room 4)*

Two flat-ceilinged rooms (a, b) also along the north wall of the courtyard are barely recognizable. In a higher level, slightly north of Room 3, remains indicate another barrel-vaulted Room (4) of similar size and form (fig. 6.57.). The access to this room might have been via a staircase.

*Flat-ceilinged Room (Rooms 5) and Barrel-vaulted Room (Room 6)*

Spaces carved on the opposite site of the courtyard are also highly damaged. Here, a barrel-vaulted rectangular Room (6) lost its north wall and is situated about one meter above the raised ground (fig. 6.58). Room 6 was almost identical to Rooms 3 and 4. Yet, it had three bays divided by transverse arches. Again, wall arches outlined the lunettes. As usual, all sprang from a cornice. A rectangular opening in the west wall of Room 6 led into a flat-ceilinged room (5). The lunette, above the opening, was decorated with a shallow rectangular recess flanked by two shallow horseshoe-arched blind niches. The latter two were twice as high as the former. Room 6 and Room 5 were initially placed on a higher level above the original courtyard ground. The latter was only accessible through the former. Thus, they must have been reached using a staircase. Below Room 6, two crudely carved interconnected rooms (c, d) with flat ceilings can be seen through the fallen part of the floor.

Room 5 and 6, which were carved perpendicular to each other, formed the southwest corner of the complex. Room 5, also flanking the main hall (Room 1) was slightly smaller than Room 2. However, unlike the latter it was parallel to the façade, on a higher level, and not linked with the main hall. Three rectangular recesses with calottes were carved on the flat ceiling. As in Room 1, the walls were divided into two unequal registers by means of a horizontal molding. The upper part was half the size of the lower one. While the latter was undecorated, the upper part was divided into square bays by pilasters. Its location and ceiling decoration make

Room 5 exceptional within the Courtyard Complexes. A secondary hearth and window carved through the façade decoration point to a much more recent reuse of the complex.

It is highly remarkable that rooms 1-2 and rooms 5-6 formed pairs of interconnected spaces. In both cases, only one room had access to the courtyard, whereby to reach the room at the rear one had to turn right after entering the first room. However, while the pair of rooms 1-2 opened directly to the courtyard on the central axis of progression, rooms 5-6 were off-axis and on a higher level than the courtyard. This hierarchical differentiation might point to a spatial differentiation based on gender.

#### *Stable (Room 7)*

A large rectangular stable (Room 7), similar in form and size to that of Area 1, was carved south of Room 6 at the corner of the courtyard (fig. 6.69.-70.) A shallow barrel-vault covering most of the space met narrow stripes of flat ceiling at the each end. Along each long wall, at least 10 mangers were carved side by side forming a longitudinal niche.<sup>771</sup> Two deep arched recesses, probably for water or extra fodder, were cut on the long walls, flanking the entrance.

### **6.1.3 Area 3.1**

South of Area 2, supposedly irregular spaces occupied the outcrop that extends like a peninsula towards the valley (fig. 6.6.). However, by a closer look one notices that two temporally separated complexes, Area 3.1 and 3.2 constitute this group. Area 3.1 on the north was rather organized around an L-shaped narrow courtyard facing north/ northeast (fig. 6.18.). There is no evidence for a decorated façade.

#### *The Main Hall (Room 1)*

A horizontal rectangular hall (Room 1) with a flat ceiling occupied the core of the complex. Its entrance wall is almost completely damaged (fig. 6.18.-19.). A broad plain molding was placed about a quarter of the way down from the ceiling

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<sup>771</sup> See Tütüncü (2008) Table 1

horizontally dividing walls into two unequal pieces (fig. 6.42.). The upper part contained pairs of horseshoe-shaped blind niches sitting directly on the molding. Each pair was separated from the next by a broad pilaster. In addition, two floor-to-ceiling pilasters divided the surviving long wall vertically into three bays. L-shaped pilasters on the corners complete them. Interestingly, the ground level of the hall lay a meter lower than courtyard level, which seems to be original.

#### *Flat-ceilinged Rooms (Rooms 2, 3 and 4)*

Three small flat-ceilinged rooms (2, 3 and 4), half the size of the main hall, formed the long arm of the L-shaped courtyard. The walls of Rooms 2 and 3 along the courtyard have partly collapsed down. The entrance of Room 2 was certainly on this wall.

#### *Passage (a)*

A long and high passage (a) leading deep into the rock mass opened onto the courtyard. This finely cut passage, which was longer than 10 meters and about 3.5 meters high, differs from other roughly carved and low-ceilinged secondary tunnels found in the broader area (fig. 6.62.). Its entrance between Room 3 and 4 was marked with an arched recess. Room 4 opened towards the passage. The northeast corner of Room 3 has collapsed. Yet, it seems that the entrance of Room 3 faced that of Room 4 and both flanked the entrance of the passage. Consequently, it is more likely that the passage was contemporary with Area 3.1 and was part of the initial design.

#### *Kitchen (Room 5)*

The long passage (a) led directly to a large kitchen (Room 5), which in turn, had a pyramidal vault rising above a cornice, with a smoke hole at its apex (fig. 6.63.). An L-shaped low bench occupied its north and east walls. A pit loom was carved in the floor on its northwest corner. This unusual location of the kitchen and efforts made to link it with the courtyard can be explained with limitations of the topography. More specifically, the low rock, which outlines the courtyard, has not allowed carving a kitchen with a high conical chimney-vault directly on the courtyard. For this reason the carver first opened a passage leading deeper in the rock until it was high enough to carve the kitchen. The fact that the passage was not

straight but curved indicates that Area 3.2 was already there before Area 3.1 and high probably prior to the rest of the all settlement in Açıksaray.

#### *Stable (Room 8)*

Between Area 3.1 and Area 3.2, in a lower level, closer to the valley bottom is a large but crudely carved stable (Room 8) (fig. 6.71). Unlike other stables in Açıksaray and elsewhere, this flat-ceilinged stable was horizontally positioned with its entrance in the middle of one of its long walls. About 16 mangers were cut only along the long wall facing the entrance.<sup>772</sup> Whether this stable belonged to Area 3.1 or Area 3.2 is not clear.

### **6.1.4 Area 3.2**

Area 3.2 is the most intriguing and modified part of the whole settlement. It was placed between a well-organized, ornamented complex (Area 4) and the most modest one (Area 3.1), apparently from lesser importance (fig. 6.6.). It does not show any of the known characteristics of Courtyard Complexes.

#### *Room 7 (Main Hall?/ Church?)*

Area 3.2 had two substantial rooms (6 and 7), one preceding the other (fig. 6.19.). Rodley identifies one of them as a church (Room 7) (fig. 6.50.), which had access from the other, the slightly curved longitudinal room (6) (fig. 6.49.).<sup>773</sup> Room 7 also had a secondary opening to the secondary cavities (a wine-press) on its north wall. Its east and south walls are mostly fallen. However, remains of the south point to another opening, which directly led outside. Here, steps carved on the rock went down to the common place where the courtyards of Area 4 and Area 5 also opened. The awkward “church” has an unusually crude form and looks alien. The main apse of the supposed church is oriented toward the west. It had a side apse containing a probable rock-cut altar. Room 7 might have served as a church at some point but this seems to have been a later transformation. We do not know its initial function. On the north, there were three holes, probably graves of one adult and two

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<sup>772</sup> See Tütüncü (2008) Table 1

<sup>773</sup> Rodley (1985) 131



infants, cut in the ground.<sup>774</sup> Behind them a secondary opening led to a neighboring wine-press (e, f) and from there outside.

#### *Room 6 (Vestibule?/ Narthex?)*

Room 6, which formed an inverted T-plan with Room 7, functioned like a vestibule, yet, in an unusual way. It connected two separate Areas (Area 3.1 and Area 4) instead of spaces within the same complex. Room 6 communicated with Area 3.1 and its L-shaped courtyard through the long elaborate passage (a) mentioned above. In addition, it communicated with Area 4 through a rock-cut staircase going down (c). This now broken staircase was reached through a crude room (b) across the opening to Room 7. The conical vault of this small room contained dovescotes.

Room 6 consisted of two unequal halves, both having a flat ceiling (fig. 6.49.). Its northern part, which was closer to the passage, was crudely carved, when compared with the decorated southern part. On the other hand, there was a difference on the floor- and ceiling-level, whereby the southern part was slightly higher. Only the ceiling of the southern half was framed by a cornice and had five carved circular bosses that formed a Latin cross.<sup>775</sup> Again, in the southern half, next to the door opening into the “church” a pair of keyhole-shaped blind niches was carved in a rectangular recess. A larger and deeper niche of similar shape was cut next to them. Remarkable are the two painted bulls in red in this area. All these differences indicate that Room 6 was extended in a later phase. Secondary cavities such as a hearth in the wall as well as a *tandır* and some storage pits in the floor indicate a later use as kitchen.

#### *Cemetery*

We noted for the first time a rock cut cemetery of a considerable size in Açıksaray, at the top of the Area 3.2 (fig. 6.74.-76.).<sup>776</sup> Despite the grown

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<sup>774</sup> Ibid., identified here graves of two adults and an infant. Yet, it is also likely that these holes were the work of treasure seekers.

<sup>775</sup> Smaller circles on bosses indicate that carving of Maltese crosses was intended, but has been left unfinished.

<sup>776</sup> It was mentioned neither in any of previous sources nor in the catalogues of the regional conservation committee for the cultural and natural heritage in Nevşehir.

vegetation, ca. 120 graves including those of infants can be estimated. Interestingly, the location above the probable church (Room 7) is reminiscent of the rock-cut graves found on top of the churches of several Courtyard Complexes in Çanlı Kilise. Yet, in this case, the large number of graves indicates the common cemetery of the settlement.

#### **6.1.5 Area 4**

Area 4 was positioned southwest of Area 3.2. It opened into a large central area, which was formed by the concave line of the slope and which was also connected with Area 3.2 and Area 5. The L-shaped narrow courtyard, fallen façade and the main hall of Area 4 were all on a west-east axis, whereby the courtyard faced east, towards the valley (fig. 6.6.).

##### *Façade*

Only a fragment of the north corner of the façade has survived (fig. 6.20). It was originally a common element, a double-recessed blind niche, highly probably horseshoe shaped. The façade was framed vertically by a corner pilaster.

##### *Vestibule (Room 1)*

Part of the barrel-vaulted vestibule (Room 1) has collapsed with the façade (fig. 6.21., 6.34.). However, there are enough surviving elements to reconstruct it. Accordingly, the barrel-vault sprang from heavy cornices. Three transverse arches divided the vault into four unequal bays. In addition, there were wall arches on the both end of the vault. Transverse arches and cornices bear traces of ornaments in red paint. A splayed-arm cross was carved and painted on the north lunette. Opposite this, in the south lunette, only some traces of a similar carved cross has survived. A large cruciform hall opened into the vestibule through a single arched door, centered also on the west-east axis. Although different in form, the hall had about the same size as the vestibule.

##### *Hidden Gallery*

In the western long wall of the vestibule, above the entrance to the hall, three window-like openings were carved. These openings belonged to an inaccessible narrow gallery on the upper level between the vestibule and the hall. The gallery

had openings also into the hall. However, there are no stairs or tunnel leading up to this kind of hidden gallery, which was also not accessible from the top of the rock mass, from the plateau above. Thus, it could be reached only climbing a ladder. Interestingly, yet, the wall separating the hall from the vestibule was designed with a considerable thickness, which allowed the accommodation of a gallery there. Thus, except for some later enlargements of the openings mentioned above, the gallery seems to have been an original part of the design. The gallery most likely offered gender seclusion as is proposed for the gallery of Hall 1 in Selime Kalesi. Indeed, this high up place could allow females to follow the ceremony without being seen. However, it is not very large nor easy to reach.

#### *The Main Hall (Room 2)*

The cruciform hall (Room 2) has a central bay framed by four columns with short tapering capitals and square bases (fig. 6.43.). The central bay has a flat ceiling with a rectangular recess and a calotte in the middle, whereas the arms of the cross are barrel-vaulted (fig. 6.44.). Columns are linked by arches. Similarly small arches spring between walls and columns in all directions, meeting wall pilasters in the west and east and corbels in south and north. In the northwest corner of the west arm, Rodley identified a carved basin.<sup>777</sup> The grave- like large pit carved in the ground of the west arm is probably later.

#### *Kitchen (Room 3)*

Two lateral square rooms, each about half the size of the vestibule opened into it. The southern room (Room 3) had also a window- like opening above its entrance. A pyramidal vault rising from a cornice points to its initial use as a kitchen. A smoke hole on the vault supports this.

#### *Barrel-vaulted Room (Room 4)*

The room on the opposite side (Room 4) is slightly smaller. It has a barrel-vault above a cornice. The vault is divided into two bays by a two stepped arch in the center. Above the entrance, on the left (seen from the vestibule) is a window. In the interior, each lunette of the barrel-vault is framed by a wall arch and decorated with an incised splayed- armed cross of the type seen above the entrance, on the

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<sup>777</sup> Rodley (1985) 125

north lunette of the vestibule. Room 4 communicates with another room (Room 5) through a rectangular opening in the center of its east wall. This connection seems to have been original.

*Barrel-vaulted Room (Room 5)*

Room 5 is also accessible from the courtyard; it was a large barrel-vaulted room on a north/ south axis (fig. 6.60.). A cornice marks the end of the wall and beginning of the vault. A transverse arch in the center divides the vault into two bays. Again, wall arches outline the lunettes. Irregular niches, some in keyhole-shape were carved on the longitudinal walls. At the northwest corner, a rectangular opening, which is outlined with a lunette above it, opened into a small cavity (Room 6). This has a flat ceiling and three rough recesses cut into the walls. A break in the floor of Room 5 reveals a rough cavity below it. Other irregular cavities, which might not have been contemporary with Area 4, are also noticeable in the level below towards north.

*Stable (Room 8)*

Towards the northeast where the ground slopes downward lies a stable (Room 8) on a lower level. The rectangular stable had a very shallow barrel-vault (fig. 6.73). The long lateral walls contained cut mangers, each 8 to 9 of them. The base of mangers lay one meter above the existing ground level. The stable was reached passing an open-fronted flat-ceilinged cavity (Room 7) (fig. 6.72.). Above the opening to the stable, on flanking walls, beam holes indicate that here was once a wooden construction forming a mezzanine. This might explain the broken rock-cut stairs ("c" of Area 3.2) starting above the entrance of the stable, namely from the mezzanine. The mezzanine itself must have been reached using a ladder or a simple wooden staircase integrated in it. The rock-cut stairs, which are now not accessible, led to the longitudinal hall (Room 6) of the Area 3.2. The stable might have been either prior to the stairs and mezzanine, which connected Area 4 and Area 3.2, or later. As long as the structure of the mezzanine allowed unhindered access to the stable, they could have even co-existed. This might also explain the need for a mezzanine. Thus, it is more likely that Area 3.2 was carved prior to Area 4 and Area 3.1, but integrated into the latter two afterwards. Three small rooms

(Rooms 7a, 7b, 7c) flanked the entrance of the vestibule. They were probably to keep fodder.

### 6.1.6 Area 5

Area 5 also occupied the western outcrop (fig. 6.6.). Centers of the courtyard, façade and the main hall are on a SW-NE axis, whereas the courtyard faces northeast, towards the valley (fig. 6.24.). Area 5 was carved at the summit of the concave line of the slope that created a large central place around which also were the aforementioned Area 4 and Area 3.2. Area 5 makes it noticeable from a considerable distance due to its prominent position and its large decorated main façade that occupied the rock surface across the opening of this large central place (fig. 6.8.). In other words, the façade attracts one passing through the valley and welcomes one entering into the common place.<sup>778</sup>

#### *Façade*

The double recessed horseshoe-arched blind niche was the most favorite decoration in all of the façades in Açıksaray. The façade of Area 5 was horizontally divided into three registers (fig. 6.22.-23.). A band of approximately one meter high undecorated rock extended above the top register. The top register was divided into ten bays. Flanked with pilasters each bay contained a pair of double recessed horseshoe-arched blind niches. Although the register in the middle is highly eroded one can still reconstruct a series of horseshoe shaped blind niches without any vertical interruption. Those were half of the size of the niches above. The ground-level register is almost completely broken down. Nevertheless, two door-size blind niches at the eastern corner give an idea of the original design. Accordingly, the reconstruction suggests seven bays divided with pilasters (fig. 6.22.). Each bay contained horseshoe shaded arches of which three in the middle were not blind but open. The fact that most of the erosion occurred in the middle part supports the suggestion of a door-like openings here. On the top register, irregular openings allowed the visibility of spaces behind the façade. However, there was no

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<sup>778</sup> Rodley (1985) 122-5, named this complex “Açıksaray Nr. 1,” probably because of its dominant position and large façade in a good state of preservation.

connection from the inside leading upwards. Hence, these openings are more likely secular cavities carved to gather doves for agricultural purposes and only accessible via a ladder or by climbing.

#### *Vestibule (Room 1)*

Behind the façade and parallel to it, was a horizontal vestibule (Room 1) (fig. 6.35.). Its barrel-vault was divided into five bays by four transverse arches. Additionally two arches were carved at both ends of the barrel-vault. A circular boss marked the center of the vault. Arches rested on a heavy plain cornice, which encircled the space. The main hall (Room 2) and a small room opened into the vestibule. The southern short wall of the vestibule contained a gabled rectangular niche (fig. 6.36.), which is a later intervention, in fact thought to be a *mihrab*, a niche in a mosque wall indicating the direction of Mecca, by the conservation committee.<sup>779</sup> However, arched niches carved in one of the short walls of vestibules were common within the Courtyard Complexes, as it was numerous in Çanlı Kilise. However, the niche in Area 5 was the only known gabled example.

#### *The Main Hall (Room 2)*

A longitudinal barrel-vaulted hall (Room 2) perpendicular to the vestibule and similar in size was carved on the axis aligning the center of the courtyard, façade and vestibule (fig. 6.45.). The only entrance to the hall was also on this axis. As a matter of fact, the main hall together with the vestibule formed an obvious inverted T-plan. Its barrel-vault springing from plain cornices was divided into two equal bays by a transverse arch, which in turn, was met by wall pilasters. A circular boss was carved in the crest of the vault, at the furthest end opposite the entrance. Other bosses once forming a cross together may have disappeared due to erosion. Yet, it is also possible that this was the only boss emphasizing the end of

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<sup>779</sup> Thus, in the catalogues of the regional conservation committee for the cultural and natural heritage in Nevşehir, Area 5 has been named as “Manastır Mescit/ Cami” which means “monastery *masjid*/ mosque” in Turkish; the booklet published by the administration of the province Gülşehir (date of publication is unknown) refers to Gölpınarlı, A. *Menâkıb-ı Hacı Bektaş-ı Veli* (1963), who tells a story about Hacı Bektaş Veli, the founder of the Bektashi Sufi order in the 13<sup>th</sup> century. Accordingly, Hacı Bektaş-ı Veli visited the village Açıksaray where he also performed the *namaz*, the ritual prayer. Therefore, locals still believe that a small mosque including a *mihrab* (yet, it is not the vestibule mentioned in Area 5) near the Courtyard Complexes in Açıksaray was the place where Hacı Bektaş-ı Veli once worshiped.

the sequential procession. The short walls contained a central horseshoe-arched niche flanked by two smaller niches. Niches on the wall facing the entrance were blind whereas the central niche on the northern wall was turned into the door. In addition, a window-like opening was carved above the door in the center.

*Barrel-vaulted Room (Room 3)*

The room (Room 3) entered from the short wall of the vestibule facing the gabled niche, had about the third of the size of vestibule. It also had a barrel-vault that sprang from cornices. A chimney and a tunnel now leading outside where the kitchen once was, were carved as later additions.

*Kitchen (Room 7)*

Other spaces were entered directly from the courtyard. On the right, in the southwest, a section of a huge conical ceiling has survived (fig. 6.64.-65.). The form suggests function as a kitchen. Because this side of the complex has almost completely broken down there are no more recognizable spaces.

*Church (Room 6)*

On the southeast, there were three spaces also directly entered from the courtyard. The one next to the vestibule was a single naved, barrel-vaulted church (Room 6) (fig. 6.51.). It was slightly smaller than the central hall. As usual, the barrel-vault sprang from the cornices. The single apse of the church was separated by a rock-cut chancel screen, which consisted of a central arched opening and lateral arches flanking it. On the northeast corner, the church was connected with a square barrel-vaulted room (5).

*Barrel-vaulted Room (Room 5)*

Room 5 was slightly smaller than room 3 which was entered from the vestibule. On the wall next to the church three horseshoe-arched niches were carved just under the cornice. The central niche was the opening to the church whereas flanking niches were blind. Its wall along the courtyard has been almost completely eroded, thus it is not clear if room 5 initially had a direct opening into the courtyard.

*Barrel-vaulted Room (Room 4)*

Next to room 5, there was another square room (4). This also had a barrel-vault divided into two bays by a single transverse arch. The north and south walls had a decoration of blind niches, one in each bay. The wall along the courtyard has

been completely broken down. Since there are no entrances on the surviving walls, the entrance to room 4 must have been directly from the courtyard.

*Other barrel-vaulted Rooms (Rooms 8, 9)*

Towards the valley, on the edge of the rock forming Area 5, we have noted two other barrel-vaulted rooms (8, 9) with plan cornices for the first time (fig. 6.61.). They were similar in size and form to rooms 4 and 5. To find five almost identical barrel-vaulted rooms (3, 4, 5, 8, and 9) with a modest size but with a high degree of refinement, which belonged to a single complex is something unique within the Courtyard Complexes.

### **6.1.7 Area 6**

Area 6 is located about 100 meters south of Area 5 where the topography first follows a straight line southwards and then slightly turns to the west (fig. 6.6.). This formation seems not to have allowed the carving of an appropriate courtyard, hence a narrow front door space facing east was formed.

*Vestibule (Room 1)*

The façade is completely lost. Thus, one enters directly into a rectangular vestibule (Room 1) (fig. 6.25.-26.), where a simple cornice outlined the flat ceiling from which only fragments have survived. The surviving long wall of the vestibule had a grooved molding running across it one-third of the way down the wall. A double recessed horseshoe arched central opening in it led to the basilical hall (Room 2). A central window above the door and two others flanking the central one lit the hall.

*The Main Hall (Room 2)*

The basilical hall (Room 2) perpendicular to the vestibule was almost a square and occupied an area one third larger than the area of the latter. This main hall was divided into three aisles by arcades, each including five arches. The central aisle had a flat ceiling whereas flanking aisles were barrel-vaulted. Although none of the columns have survived structure is still intact (fig. 6.46.). Running hood moldings rimming the arches of the arcade bear traces of red hatching. Irregular niches on walls indicate a later use different from the initial one.



### *Room 3*

The east end of the south wall of the main hall, next to the entrance, had an opening leading to an unfinished irregular room (Room 3). This flat-ceilinged space was carved about one meter above the floor level of the hall.

### *Room 4, Cavities 5 and 6*

The northern side of the vestibule has been entirely lost. Nevertheless, Rodley mentions a flat-ceilinged room (4) here entered from the vestibule.<sup>780</sup> On the opposite side, fragments of a probably secondary irregular cavity, half the size of the vestibule is recognizable (5). This one too has lost its front wall. There was also another flat-ceilinged room (7), probably secondary, in a higher level above the vestibule.

## **6.1.8 Area 7**

Area 7 was carved just on the other side of the rock, which outlines the south border of Area 6. Area 7 lies 8-10 meters higher than Area 6, to the southwest. It did not have a definite courtyard. Yet, projections of rock on each side of the façade point to a narrow front door space that has now disappeared. The façade faces southeast (fig. 6.6., 6.9.). Because of its prominent position and elaborate deeply carved façade, Area 7 is easily recognizable from a considerable distance. Interestingly, though, the crude and unfinished spaces belonging to Area 7, ranging from the main hall to the kitchen differed from those of the better organized and more elaborate examples seen in rest of the settlement.

### *Façade*

Although most of the façade has fallen away, surviving fragments allow a reconstruction (fig. 6.27.-28.). Accordingly, the façade was horizontally divided into two main registers by a plain molding, whereby the upper register occupied about a quarter of the total height of the façade. The upper register contained a deep blind arcading with horseshoe arches resting on pilasters with crude capitals. A rectangular recess framed them. Prominent pilasters (probably 6 of them) divided

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<sup>780</sup> Rodley (1985) 141

the register below into vertical bays. Deeply cut, horseshoe-arched blind niches (probably 5 of them) were carved between the pilasters, while their arches were rimmed by running hood moldings. At least one rectangular opening, most probably in the center and below the blind niche must have led into the vestibule. A rectangular window at the north end of the façade was probably secondary.

#### *Vestibule (Room 1)*

The complex was planned along the SE-NW axis. The vestibule and the perpendicular main hall behind the vestibule were so organized that this axis was emphasized (fig. 6.29.). Like the vestibule of Area 6, the vestibule (Room 1) of Area 7 also had a flat ceiling (fig. 6.37.). The only decoration was a plain cornice below the ceiling and a molding separating the walls into two registers. The upper register was about one third of the entire height. Entry into the main hall (Room 2) was through a rectangular opening carved in an arched recess in the center of the northern long wall. A rectangular window was carved above the entrance.

#### *The Main Hall (Room 2)*

The longitudinal hall (Room 2) perpendicular to the vestibule was about one third larger than the vestibule. An opening in a wide horseshoe arched niche led into a much smaller room (3) opposite its entrance on its northern short wall (fig. 6.47.). Two additional rooms (4, 5) flanked the central hall and were only communicated through this connective space. Their openings were near the entrance. A deep arched recess was carved at the north end of the western long wall of the hall. Opposite it was a smaller niche that led to an irregular secondary cavity. Next to the opening of Room 4 was a shallow blind niche. All the rooms (3-5) opening into the hall and the hall itself had flat ceilings without any decoration.

#### *Flat-ceilinged Room (Room 3)*

Room 3, which was on the main axis, was slightly trapezoidal, tapering towards the north. Its size was about a quarter of the size of the main hall. A staircase leading upwards to a dead end was carved opposite its entrance. The planned excavation seems to have been abandoned.

#### *Flat-ceilinged Rooms (Room 4 and 5)*

Room 4 was larger than half the size of the main hall. It was rectangular and placed parallel to the latter. Room 5 was crudely carved and had an irregular form.

Both rooms were carved slightly higher than the hall and were reached via two steps. Both were undecorated, whereby each was lit from the vestibule through a window- like opening.

#### *Room 6*

A rectangular opening in the northern short wall of the vestibule led into a small room (6). This was a roughly cut rectangular room with a low flat ceiling. It opened southeast into a secular rough cavity (b). Another crude cavity (8) in the upper level can be seen above the vestibule through the fallen part of the ceiling.

#### *Kitchen*

A highly damaged cavity (7) with a slightly concave ceiling and a central ventilation hole opened into the narrow front door southwest of the vestibule. This might have been the kitchen of the complex.

### **6.1.9 Area 8**

Area 8 is the only complex carved in the east of the valley. The aerial photograph shows that a considerable amount of rock had to be removed in order to create a true three-sided courtyard (fig. 6.6.). From the outside it looks like a usual Courtyard Complex with a main decorated façade (fig. 6.11.). However, its inner organization shows some peculiarities (fig. 6.32.). Most remarkable among them is the fact that the vestibule was located on an upper floor.

#### *Façade*

A two-registered façade welcomes those coming up from the valley. It is so damaged (probably never finished) that only a limited reconstruction is possible (fig. 6.30.-31.). Accordingly, a band of about a meter high undecorated rock extends above the top register. The top register was divided into eight bays by vertical pilasters, whereas three of them had large horseshoe arched windows opening into the vestibule in the upper floor. Three other bays contained two smaller horseshoe-arched blind niches. They flanked the bays with windows. A horizontal piece of flat rock projecting from the façade occupied the second bay from the south. It had some traces of a cornice on its upper part. Its lower part was cut away. The first bay from the south had a rectangular window with an arched recess opening into the

upstairs room next to the vestibule. Three rectangular door-like openings each with a recessed lunette were carved in the ground register. Each of them led to a separate room whereas the room in the center was the largest. Unlike the upper register, the ground register was designed symmetrically, as was the common characteristic of these decorated main façades.

*Flat-ceilinged Rooms (Rooms 1, 2 and 3)*

A roughly cut flat-ceilinged room (Room 1) was accessible through the central opening in the façade. A single rough pier was placed in the northeast quarter of the room (fig. 6.48). Room 1 was connected with two other smaller and roughly cut rectangular rooms (2, 3) with flat ceilings. Room 3 was carved to the north of Room 1, also behind the façade. Room 3 also had direct access from the courtyard, via the northern opening in the façade. Room 2 was carved behind Room 1 and was only accessible through it. A small irregular cavity leading to a tunnel was added to Room 2. Room 1 might have intended for use as the main hall of the complex.

*Barrel-vaulted Room (Room 4)*

The third opening at the façade, the southernmost one, led into a small rectangular barrel-vaulted room (4). As usual, there are traces of a cornice and wall arches outlining the lunettes. Room 4 was slightly smaller than half of the size of the Room 1. The other two rooms (2, 3) that communicated with the Room 1 have about the same size as Room 4.

*Flat-ceilinged Room (Room 7)*

Side façades that outlined the three-sided courtyard have broken down. The spaces behind them are now completely open. On the north, next to the façade was a flat-ceilinged rectangular room (7) entered from the courtyard. It was slightly smaller than Room 1. It contained a roughly carved staircase, which led to the upper floor, directly to the vestibule above. At present, one has to climb about a meter in order to reach the first step. Although this connection seems to be secondary, it is the only way to reach the upper floor from the courtyard.

*Church (Room 8)*

A small cross-in-square plan church (Room 8) was carved west of Room 7, parallel to the courtyard wall (fig. 6.52.-53.). Most probably, it had a lateral

entrance allowing access to its domed cruciform porch. In the naos, a shallow central dome was rose above four columns. The fact that these columns are now broken with only their upper parts surviving clearly shows that they were not carved for sake of structure. The four arms of the cross had slightly concave vaults with calottes cut into them. This kind of arrangement is very similar to the arrangement in Hallaç Monastery.<sup>781</sup> Pilasters with simple capitals were carved on the walls on the axis of columns. Between them sprang horseshoe arches. The western corner bays were cross-vaulted whereas the eastern ones were flat-ceilinged. The single apse of the church was originally separated by a tall screen, which had arched openings. Different forms and sizes of horseshoe- and keyhole-shaped blind niches were caved on the walls, lunettes and entablatures. The most intriguing decoration is of the entablature over the central opening of the screen. A row of very small keyhole-shaped blind niches (ca 20 cm high), interrupted by a pair of medallions containing quatrefoils were carved on the entablature here. The secondary connection between Room 7 and the apse of the church indicates a later use of the complex by non-Christian. On the north of the narthex, a rectangular entrance opened into a small barrel-vaulted room (9). Being slightly larger than the narthex, Room 9 was the smallest room of the complex. It was accessible only through the narthex, and can be seen as an extension of it. Hence, its location suggests that it was a tomb chamber attached to the church, yet, the risen floor level does not allow a definite conclusion.

#### *Flat-ceilinged Room (Room 5)*

On the opposite side of the courtyard were two other spaces. The one next to the façade (Room 5) was a flat-ceilinged irregular room that was roughly cut. It was slightly smaller than the Room 7.

#### *Kitchen (Room 6)*

Next to Room 5, there was the largest room (6) of Area 8. It occupied almost the same area as the upstairs vestibule. This was obviously a huge square kitchen with a domed vault rising above an overhang. A smoke hole was opened in the centre of the dome (fig. 6.66.-67.).

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<sup>781</sup> Rodley (1985) 134

### *Upstairs Vestibule (Room 10)*

The barrel-vaulted vestibule (fig. 6.38.) on the upper floor was accessible from the courtyard passing through Room 7 and after climbing the staircase mentioned already. The vestibule (Room 10) was carved as usual directly behind the façade and functioned as an anteroom. It occupied a place above Rooms 3 and 1. The barrel-vault rising above cornices was divided into five equal bays by four transverse arches. Again, complementary wall arches on the short ends framed the lunettes. Three arched windows on the upper register of the façade corresponded with openings in three central bays of the vestibule.

### *Room 11*

Room 11 carved perpendicular to the vestibule formed an inverted T-plan. Accordingly, the entrance to this flat-ceilinged room was in the center of the long wall of the vestibule. Curiously, the central axis of the T and the central axis of the façade/ courtyard do not correspond. Thus, giving the unusual asymmetry and unfinished appearance of the façade, a later enlargement toward the south may be suggested. Although not as elaborate or large as the usual main halls, the prominent location indicates that Room 11 might have intended for use as a main hall. Its size was about half the size of the vestibule.

### *Room 12*

Another room (12) was accessible from the short wall of the vestibule facing the staircase. Its original square form seems to have been extended by a secondary work. The original size was slightly smaller than Room 11. This flat-ceilinged room was without any decoration. The rectangular window on the upper register of the façade, on its south end, lit this room.

### *Room 13*

Room 12 led into a larger flat-ceilinged room (13) through an opening in its south wall. Room 13 was carved above the Room 5. It had a rough opening leading outside in its partly broken south wall. Indeed, because of the topography, it was directly accessible from the upper level of the rock mass in which the complex was carved. Yet, it is not certain whether this connection is original or not. We noted a previously unrecorded wine-press southwest of Room 13, above the kitchen (Room 6).

## 6.2 Summary

Courtyards seem to have been the main design generator in Açıksaray (fig. 6.6, 6.33.). Even when the topography was not suitable for forming spacious courtyards, the carvers took care to indicate a partly bounded outdoor space such as in Areas 6 and 7. On the other hand, the large place in front of Area 5 must have functioned as a public “plaza”, since three complexes, Areas 3.2, 4 and 5 shared this exceptionally huge courtyard formed along the natural line of the outcrop. Interestingly, Areas 4 and 5 occupying prominent positions around this plaza were the most organized complexes with the largest receptional zones in the all settlement. Indeed, Area 4 had the large cruciform hall with its unique prominent position and hidden gallery. Moreover, it was the largest one and only example in our sample where the cruciform hall was the main hall per se. In addition, one of the two churches in Açıksaray was also here adjacent to Area 5. Furthermore, the concentration of barrel-vaulted rooms opening directly to this plaza is also highly remarkable.

Half of the complexes had vestibules preceding main halls. An additional one, namely Area 8, had an upstairs vestibule instead of the usual vestibule on ground level. The large central hall was the most decisive space in all areas. These apparently receptional halls were marked with high elaborate façades, which transformed the complexes into magnetic spots visible from far away. This means that the inhabitants of Açıksaray targeted not hiding and seclusion but contact with people beyond their boundaries. Spaces located on the main axis; the vestibule and the central hall had to be for public circulation while spaces flanking the courtyard, vestibule or hall occupied zones that were more private. Nevertheless, spaces opening directly to the courtyard or vestibule cannot claim to be truly private zones. On the other hand, interconnected pairs of rooms/ halls such as in Areas 2 (Rooms 5-6; Rooms 1-2); 4 (Rooms 4-5-6); 7 (Rooms 3-4-2-5-a; Rooms 6-b); and 8 (Rooms 2-1-3; Rooms 12-13) offered retreat. In Areas 4 (Room 4); 7 (Room 6); and 8 (Room 3; Room 12) rooms entered from the vestibule or the main hall also communicated with the courtyard or the outside through another room in between. Highly remarkable is that only two of the complexes had attached churches.

More than half of the complexes had large conical kitchens. Half of the complexes had stables each housing up to twenty mangers. Distinctive rooms, half the size of the main halls, apparently multifunctional, were numerous throughout Açıksaray.

Above the areas, on the plateau, numerous hollows varying from 10 to 100 cm in diameter are spotted. All of them opened into a carved space several meters below, which indicates that they were ventilation holes. Indeed, in order to hinder humidity ventilation was certainly required. Nevertheless, openings below the rooms were not in accordance with the ceiling decoration and were not always as large as the opening in the plateau above. Rather, some holes in the ceiling seem to have been broken accidentally in a later stage. In addition, some of the hollows look as if they were plastered.<sup>782</sup> Occasionally, natural or carved channels led to them, presumably indicating run-off rain water. All this points to the possible use of some hollows as cisterns. On the other hand, few (in Areas 3.2 and 8) which were large enough for a man to go through had a side opening leading to a hidden upstairs room just below the plateau. These awkward places between the complex and the outside world may be watchtowers. However, it is also likely and more plausible that they indicate to the hidden dovecotes behind the façades.

Due to the natural settings, complexes in Açıksaray presumably communicated with one another through hidden underground tunnels. When one imagines the long winters with snow rising a few meters, an internal connection would certainly have facilitated communication and daily life.<sup>783</sup>

In the comparative list below, Area 3.2 (which does not show any characteristics of a Courtyard Complex) is excluded.

#### Orientation (8):<sup>784</sup>

- 3 of 8 complexes faced southeast

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<sup>782</sup> Archaeological analyses are needed here for further discussion.

<sup>783</sup> I have to thank Ahmet Zengin for this “speculation.” Nevertheless, due to erosion and resulting danger, it was not possible for us to notice such a connection.

<sup>784</sup> The numbers in parentheses refer to the total number of spaces in consideration; the orientation shows the courtyard direction of the central axis of courtyard/ vestibule/ main hall.



- 1 of 8 complexes faced southwest
- 2 of 8 complexes faced east
- 2 of 8 complexes faced northeast

#### Courtyard (6):

- 6 of 8 complexes had a courtyard
  - 2 of 6 complexes had an L-shaped courtyard
  - 4 of 6 complexes had a three-sided courtyard

#### Decorated Main Façade (6):

- 6 of 8 complexes have a partly surviving façade
  - 5 of 6 surviving façades can be reconstructed

#### Inverted T-plan (5):

- 5 of 8 complexes had a vestibule/ main hall in form of inverted T-plan
  - 1 of 5 inverted T-plan was upstairs

#### Vestibule (5):

- 5 of 8 complexes had a vestibule
  - 2 of 5 vestibules had a flat ceiling
  - 3 of 5 vestibules had a barrel-vault
    - 1 of 3 had a niche on one of the short walls
    - 1 of 3 was upstairs

#### Longitudinal Hall (Main Hall) (6):

- All (8) complexes had all together 6 longitudinal halls
  - 4 of 6 had a flat ceiling
  - 1 of 6 had a barrel-vault
  - 1 of 6 was a three-aisled basilica
- 5 of 6 longitudinal halls were on the central axis of the courtyard

- 1 of 6 longitudinal halls (upstairs) were on the central axis of the upstairs vestibule
- 4 of 6 longitudinal halls were entered through a preceding vestibule
  - 1 of 4 led to an axial and three lateral rooms
  - 1 of 4 led to a lateral room
- 2 of 6 longitudinal halls were entered directly through the courtyard
  - 1 of 2 also had entrance from a lateral room and led to an axial room
  - 1 of 2 also led to a lateral room
- 1 of 6 longitudinal halls had a lateral niche

#### Centrally Planned Hall (1):

- 1 of 8 complexes had a domed cruciform (main) hall; it was entered through the vestibule; it was on the central (main) axis of the vestibule; it probably had a corner basin

#### Horizontal Hall (2):

- 2 of 8 complexes had a flat-ceilinged horizontal (main) hall with decorated upper walls; were entered through courtyard
  - 1 of 2 horizontal halls had carved cross on the ceiling

#### Churches (2):

- 2 of 8 complexes had an attached church
  - 1 of 2 had domed cross-in-square plan; was entered from the courtyard; was preceded by a domed cruciform porch, which also led to a barrel-vaulted room
  - 1 of 2 was a single-nave church; was entered from the courtyard *and* a side room

#### Multifunctional Rooms:<sup>785</sup>

- 21 rooms were entered from the courtyard

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<sup>785</sup> Due to the high degree of erosion any given number as the total would be misleading.

- 2 rooms were entered from one of the short walls of the vestibule
- 7 rooms were entered from the main hall
  - 2 of 7 were on the axial end of the main hall
  - 5 of 7 were on one of the lateral sides of the main hall
- 9 rooms were upstairs
- 1 room was entered from the courtyard *and* the main hall
- 2 rooms were entered from one of the short walls of the vestibule *and* another room

Distinctive Rooms (14):<sup>786</sup>

- 1 of 8 complexes had a horizontal upstairs room behind the main façade; had a flat-ceiling with calottes and decorated upper walls; was entered through a preceding barrel-vaulted room
- 5 of 8 complexes had all together 14 barrel-vaulted rooms
  - 12 of 14 barrel-vaulted rooms were on ground floor
    - 1 of 12 was entered from the main hall
    - 2 of 12 were entered from the vestibule
      - 1 of 2 also had entrance from another room
    - 8 of 12 were entered from the courtyard
      - 7 of 8 were on one of the lateral sides of the complex
        - 1 of 7 also had entrance from the church
      - 1 of 8 was behind the main façade
    - 1 of 12 was entered from the church porch
  - 2 of 14 barrel-vaulted rooms were upstairs

Kitchen (5):

- 5 of 8 complexes had a kitchen with a high conical chimney-vault
  - 4 of 5 kitchens were entered from the courtyard
    - 1 of 4 was communicated through a long passage

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<sup>786</sup> Distinctive rooms are also included under the parameter “Multifunctional Rooms.”

- 1 of 5 kitchens was entered from one of the short walls of the vestibule

Stable (4):

- 4 of 8 complexes had a stable
  - 3 of 4 stables were longitudinal barrel-vaulted with lateral mangers
  - 1 of 4 stables was horizontal flat-ceilinged with mangers on the long wall facing the entrance

## **6.3 Differentiation and Use of Spaces**

### **6.3.1 Carving Stages**

Closer scrutiny reveals differentiation in the degree of elaboration and architectural organization within the different areas. Indeed, there appear to have been at least three separate workshops. In this respect, complexes in Açıkсарay can be divided into three groups according to design quality and location (fig. 6.6., 6.33.).

The irregular cavities (Area 3.2) carved within the peninsula-like formation on the western outcrop must have been prior to all groups in Açıkсарay and will be discussed under the Group I. Group II contains five of the Courtyard Complexes carved in the north of the western outcrop. Here, complexes numbered from Area 1 to 5, with the most elaborate design and organization occupied the most convenient topographical settings. Following the natural line of the outcrop, they made maximum use of the physical contours. Thus, Group II must have been carved also in an early stage when the site was mostly untouched. As expected, this group also covers complexes, which come up next to the “ideal” layout of the Courtyard Complexes, as exemplified in Hallaç.

Group III contains the two southernmost complexes, namely Area 6 and Area 7, again in the western outcrop. Located side by side they were less organized and crudely carved compared with Group II. Here, the contour of the rock does not form a natural courtyard. Fragments of partly eroded side façades, however, point to

the original intention of their planners to form a definable front door space in that they carved deeper in the rock. Abandoned work and sloppy finish point to a shorter use than Group II. In other words, Group III must have been carved by a different team of craftsmen after Group II and in more haste. Nevertheless, with its surviving parts the impressive façade of Area 7 still proudly proclaims itself to outsiders from far away. Therefore, groups II and III, despite some differences in their articulation, seem to have had common intentions.

Area 8, the only complex carved at the opposite side of the valley possesses qualities that belong partly in Group II and partly in Group III. The large three-sided courtyard and decorative elements of the unfinished façade resemble those of Group II, while the crude spaces and abandoned works link it with Group III. Thus, Area 8 seems to have been carved by the second workshop (Group II) and altered by the third one (Group III), though never finished. Surprisingly, however, Area 8 contains the more elaborate of the two attached churches on the site. Not far from Area 8 three small churches all different in form were carved in solitary cones in south. None was linked to any complex or to one another (fig. 6.54.-55.).<sup>787</sup>

Back to the Group I, Area 3.2 was probably carved by the first workshop and altered by the second one, in order to use it as a service area and to circulate between Area 3.2 and Area 4. Its original entrance might have been in the south wall of the room 7, from where rock-cut stairs led down to the large common courtyard. On the other hand, as Rodley suggested room 7 might have been used as a church at some point of time but this seems not to have been its original function.<sup>788</sup>

Using traditional techniques a worker could carve daily up to 1 m<sup>3</sup>, which means that he must have spent ten months to carve only the crude volume of a single hall alone.<sup>789</sup> Since spaces were entered through narrow doors, not more than 3-4 workers could have worked at one time. Moreover, work must have been

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<sup>787</sup> The most remarkable is the church with the inscribed-cross plan (Church Nr. 1). Its narthex and naos were once fully painted with scenes of Christ's life, which makes it unique within the unpainted settlement.

<sup>788</sup> Rodley (1985) 129-32

<sup>789</sup> For more information on traditional carving techniques see Öztürk (2009) and Section 2.2 in Chapter 2.

conducted by a single carver until he could open enough working space for others. A high number of carvers had to be available for complexes to be carved simultaneously. However, given the similarities in the final design, the finishing must have been done by a few more distinguished craftsmen. If this framework is accepted, it would emerge that Açıksaray had to be carved in the course of several years.

### **6.3.2 Group II: The Main Settlement**

Because of their common design, location and connection with one another, Courtyard Complexes belonging to Group II seem to have constituted the main settlement in Açıksaray (fig. 6.6., 6.33.). Owners of Group I must have found the site practically untouched when they came to choose the right place to settle. Accordingly, settlers chose the peninsula-like massive rock in the western outcrop, which was suitable for carving three stories, but not suitable to outline a courtyard. On the other hand, contrary to Group I, site selections of Group II demonstrate the primary intention of carvers to organize spaces around courtyards. Especially complications that must have been involved in the organization of Area 3.1 around a narrow L-shaped courtyard next to the Group I support the importance of definable outdoor spaces as well as the demand for proximity to the complexes. Indeed, the rock outlining the courtyard of Area 3.1 was not high enough to carve a kitchen with a huge conical chimney-vault. Thus, carvers used their improvisation in that they carved the kitchen (Room 5) deep in the rock, at the rear of the outcrop where it was high enough, and connected it to the courtyard and rest of the complex by means of a long passage (a). The height and fine finishing of the passage separate it from secondary tunnels. The fact that the passage had to be curved suggests that the irregular cavities of Group I (Area 3.2) behind it and behind the kitchen were already there when Area 3.1 began to be carved.

Concerning the monumental façades, surviving sections enable reconstruction. Only Area 3.1 has nothing remaining to suggest a façade. The way in which keyhole- and horseshoe- shaped double recessed niches were organized on

façades with three registers proves that relevant complexes in Group II belong together.

As for vestibules, two of the complexes in Group II, Area 4 and Area 5 have identical large rectangular vestibules lying parallel to their façades. These barrel-vaulted vestibules differed from the flat-ceilinged ones of Group III. The flat-ceilinged halls of Area 1 and Area 3.1, which were carved parallel to the cliff, were certainly not vestibules for latter halls. Since their architecture and proportions differ from all vestibules known so far.

All of the complexes in the main settlement had large halls hierarchically emphasized with their central position, size and decoration. In Area 4 and Area 5, they were perpendicular to the vestibules forming the ideal plan of an inverted T. The cruciform hall with its prominent position in Area 4 was not unique only in Açıksaray, but also among the Courtyard Complexes in Cappadocia. The barrel-vaulted hall in Area 5 was the largest among all halls on the site. The flat-ceilinged central halls of Area 1, Area 2 and Area 3.1 were almost identical in dimension, form and style. The former two had marked crosses on their ceilings. All three had walls where the upper parts were decorated with keyhole-shaped niches. Regardless of their form all of the halls were about 5 meters high, which means that scaffolds were required to decorate them.<sup>790</sup> Three of the halls (Areas 1, 2 and 5) had ventilation holes in their ceilings, which destroyed the initial ceiling decoration.

Three complexes in the north, Area 1, Area 2 and Area 3.1 had halls directly accessible from the courtyard without any anterooms. Owing to topographical limitations, the rock-mass seems to have been not large enough to carve deeper. If this is true, it would mean that the users of these complexes preferred having a main hall as large as the halls of usual complexes to having a smaller hall with a preceding narrow vestibule. Indeed, the fact that the most modest complex of the main settlement, namely Area 3.1 had neither a monumental façade nor a vestibule but a large hall identical to those of Areas 1 and 2, underlines the importance of these central spaces for their inhabitants. Moreover, in order to correspond with the

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<sup>790</sup> Carving proceeded from ceiling to floor, so a scaffold was not required. Yet, decoration must have been done by another team of craftsmen after the crude space was carved. Thus, it required a raised stage to work.

usual height of other halls, the floor of the hall in Area 3.1 seems to have been carved about a meter lower than the courtyard level and probably was reached by descending few stairs.<sup>791</sup>

Surprisingly, Area 5 had the only church in Group II. The single- naved, barrel- vaulted naos opened directly into the three-sided courtyard, next to the vestibule. The unpainted church was slightly smaller than the main hall of the complex.

Smaller barrel-vaulted rooms either entered from the vestibule or directly from the courtyard were integrated into the complexes. Indeed, their consistency separates the complexes in the main settlement from the rest.<sup>792</sup> Their number varies from a single one up to five in a complex. The forced unity in their design, size and height about 4 meters is striking. Only one of these barrel-vaulted rooms had a chimney carved in one of its walls, which was certainly a later addition. There were no other elements, which could point to a distinctive function of these barrel-vaulted rooms.

As for utilitarian rooms with an identifiable function, three kitchens with high conical ceilings and smoke holes were attached to Area 3.1, Area 4 and Area 5. The kitchen in Area 3.1 communicated with the courtyard through a long passage. The one of Area 4 was the only kitchen in Açıksaray that opened into the vestibule. The kitchen in Area 5 opened into the courtyard, yet it was still at the core of the complex facing the church. On the other hand, three barrel-vaulted large stables with carved mangers in their lateral walls were added in the furthest ends of the wings of Area 1, Area 2 and Area 4. All together more than 60 horses could be housed at one time. The flat-ceilinged stable between Areas 3.1 and 3.2 may be a later addition.

In the light of the architectural investigation above, it appears that the main settlement (Group II) comprises a chain of contemporaneously carved Courtyard Complexes, which supplemented one another within the framework of an overall

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<sup>791</sup> Yet, this requires a closer investigation, since changes in ground level due to erosion can easily lead misinterpretation.

<sup>792</sup> Area 3.1 is the only exception with exclusively flat-ceilinged simple rooms, owing to physical limitations. Except for the complexes in the main settlement only Area 8 had a small barrel-vaulted room (4).



design concept. It is a remote possibility that all complexes possessed churches, kitchens and stables in their initial form, prior to natural and human modification. Rather, the distribution of spaces with a specialized function throughout the settlement points to the integrated character of the complexes. Consequently, the areas here cannot be read in isolation but should all be read in connection with communal and neighbourly needs.

## 6.4 Conclusions

### *Scholarship<sup>793</sup> / Chronology*

On 25 October 1896, Roman Oberhummer and Heinrich Zimmerer visited the Açıksaray Group. They note Açıksaray's cheerless emptiness (*trostlosen Leere*), where neither inscriptions nor paintings were to be found, as a disappointment.<sup>794</sup> For them, the surrounding of Açıksaray by caves is reminiscent of a large amphitheater, obviously because of spacious courtyards! Here, it should also be noted that their records of the site include the earliest mention of churches.<sup>795</sup>

Two decades after Oberhummer and Zimmerer, Rott visited Açıksaray on November the 3<sup>rd</sup> 1906 when he mentions churches and so-called *Felsenhöfe Anlagen*. Although, the latter means "rock-cut courtyard facilities" in German without indicating any special function, Rott believed Açıksaray to be a monastic settlement.<sup>796</sup> Rott records three façades numbered I, II, III (respectively corresponding to Areas 8, 5 and 1).<sup>797</sup>

Jerphanion also identifies the Açıksaray Group as monastic, but he never visited the site. Instead, he visited Karşı Kilise, a thirteenth century church 2 km

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<sup>793</sup> See Table 1

<sup>794</sup> Oberhummer, R. and H. Zimmerer. *Durch Syrien und Kleinasien, Reiseschilderungen und Studien* (Berlin 1899), 144-5, referred by Shiemenz (1973-4) 233.

<sup>795</sup> Oberhummer and Zimmerer (1899) 144-5

<sup>796</sup> Rott (1908) 242-5, referred by Shiemenz (1973-4) 233-4 and Rodley (1985) 121 footnote 2-3.

<sup>797</sup> Rodley (1985) 121 footnote 3

north of Açıksaray, on 23 August 1912.<sup>798</sup> Açıksaray, from which he heard that it only had “*quelque fragments de peinture,*” clearly did not attract him.<sup>799</sup>

In 1954, some decades later, Paolo Verzone studied the façades which were afterwards discussed and presented in detail by Jacqueline Lafontaine-Dosogne, when she reported her travels during 1960 and 1962.<sup>800</sup> According to Rodley, Verzone’s “Gli Monasteri de Acik Serai in Cappadocia” was the first useful publication of the site.<sup>801</sup> Indeed, this was the first time some of the complexes constituting the Açıksaray Group were architecturally investigated apart from isolated churches, paintings or façades. Verzone calls them “monasteries” and describes five complexes A, B, C, D, and E (respectively corresponding to Areas 7, 6, {4, 5}, 2, {1, 2, 5})<sup>802</sup> one after another by defining the arrangement of rooms and suggesting functions. He also points to a common decorative vocabulary, such as the horseshoe shaped arches and carved crosses, which he identifies as iconoclastic. Accordingly, Verzone dates the complexes sometime between the eighth and ninth centuries.<sup>803</sup>

The article published by Günter Paulus Schiemenz in the 70s is mainly about the rock-cut cruciform church.<sup>804</sup> Although he does not describe the complexes in general, Schiemenz also proposes a monastic function to the Açıksaray Group calling it a cave monastery complex (*Höhlenkloster-Komplex*).<sup>805</sup> He points to parallels between the church in Açıksaray and other rock-cut churches in Cappadocia. In particular, he underlines similarities with the column-churches in

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<sup>798</sup> For more information on Karşı Kilise see Jolivet-Lévy (1991) 229-30, who dates the paintings to 1212 based on an apsidal inscription.

<sup>799</sup> Jerphanion, (1925, 1942) vol. I, i, 27, quoted from Schiemenz (1973-4) 234.

<sup>800</sup> Verzone (1962) and Lafontaine-Dosogne, J. (1963), referred by Schiemenz (1973-4) 234.

<sup>801</sup> Verzone (1962), referred by Rodley (1985) 121 footnote 3.

<sup>802</sup> Verzone (1962), mistakenly used the same numeration for different areas. See Rodley (1985) 121 footnote 3.

<sup>803</sup> Verzone (1962) 134

<sup>804</sup> It is the Church Nr. 1 of Rodley (1985). See Table 1.

<sup>805</sup> Schiemenz (1973-4) 233

Göreme and points to the same origin whereby Açıksaray might have been the earliest but not earlier than the twelfth century. Moreover, Schiemenz asserts that the master of the church felt free in using common Cappadocian themes in different variations. Accordingly, the master also reached out to more unusual themes, while using common ones in new combinations.<sup>806</sup>

Hild and Restle do not propose any specific function to Açıksaray in their catalogue of sites in Cappadocia, which was published in 1981. They merely mention groups of cave ensembles with richly decorated façades and the isolated cruciform church.<sup>807</sup> In general, Hild and Restle date the complexes as not older than eleventh to twelfth centuries, while they date the isolated cruciform church similarly not before the twelfth century.<sup>808</sup>

On the other hand, in her comprehensive book, *Cave Monasteries*, published in 1985, Rodley differentiates between the Açıksaray Group and the rest of the complexes in her sample. For the first time, she emphasizes the “paucity and apparent lowly status of churches” in Açıksaray. Consequently, she suggests a secular use, which explains the concentration of complexes on a single site. The architecture of the cruciform church (Room 8) of Area 8 (fig. 6.32., 52.-53.) and the uniformity of architectural form and style of the complexes in Açıksaray with other “courtyard monasteries” led Rodley to date the Açıksaray Group similarly from the tenth to eleventh century. Likewise, Teteriatnikov points to the cruciform porch of the church in Area 8, which indicates a date in the eleventh century.<sup>809</sup> Rodley adds that the probable twelfth to thirteenth century date of the isolated cruciform church (Church Nr. 1) does not change this, since the mentioned church has a connection with neither of the complexes.<sup>810</sup>

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<sup>806</sup> Ibid.

<sup>807</sup> It is the Church Nr. 1 of Rodley (1985). See Table 1.

<sup>808</sup> It is the Church Nr. 1 of Rodley (1985). See Table 1; Hild and Restle (1981) 135, point to affinities of this church with neighboring Karşı Kilise along the Nevşehir-Gülşehir road.

<sup>809</sup> Teteriatnikov (1996) 141

<sup>810</sup> Rodley (1985) 148-50, points to the common decorative vocabulary of Açıksaray group with Karşı Kilise, Karanlık Kale and Selime Kalesi; Jolivet-Lévy (1991) 227, names Rodley's (1985) Church Nr. 1 as Church of Saint George and believes that nothing speaks against an earlier date in

In his book, *Caves of God*, first published in 1972, Kostof considers Açıksaray within “four principal monastic centers,” the others being Peristrema (Ihlara), Soğanlı Dere and Göreme; here, he highlights and illustrates the façade of Area 1 in Açıksaray.<sup>811</sup> In the preface of the second edition in 1989, Kostof is critical of the proposed secularity and date for Açıksaray by Rodley.<sup>812</sup>

#### *Function/ Inhabitants*

According to Rodley, each complex might have been a summer palace of elites or a caravanserai as seen by Seljuks, or all together, might have formed a military camp. The fact that apparently no original chimneys are found except for those in kitchens may support the seasonal use of the complexes. Nevertheless, braziers could have been used for heating instead of open fire. In addition, the microclimate of carved architecture, which provides a constant temperature ranging between 12 to 15 degrees Celsius throughout the year, should not be underestimated. It should also be taken into consideration that cold was perceived and experienced differently in the past than it is today.<sup>813</sup> Hence, as Mathews and Daskalakis-Mathews point out, the conditions of winter temperature did not apply to Açıksaray Group only but was faced by all monastic or residential cave architecture.<sup>814</sup> On the other hand, having more than one caravanserai on a single spot contradicts the known practice of distributing inns at intervals of a day’s journey along the main road.<sup>815</sup> Interestingly, Anthony Bryer also favors a temporary use. He claims that Açıksaray was a site of annual fair along the lines of the nearby Seljuk one of Yabanlu at Pazarören.<sup>816</sup> As for the possibility of a military

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the eleventh century. See Table 1; The Açıksaray group is mistakenly dated to the 4-5<sup>th</sup> centuries in the catalogues of the Regional Conservation Committee for the Cultural and Natural Heritage in Nevşehir.

<sup>811</sup> Kostof (1989) 58

<sup>812</sup> *Ibid.*, xvi-xvii, refers to Rodley (1985)

<sup>813</sup> Kuban (1995) 138

<sup>814</sup> Mathews and Daskalakis-Mathews (1997) 298

<sup>815</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>816</sup> Bryer, A. “Candle-lit Common Rooms” *Times Literary Supplement* (14 Nov. 1986): 1288, referred by Grishin (2002) 167.

camp, Rodley's suggestion is supported by Alexander Grishin who published his observations on Açıksaray in 2002. Grishin divides the settlement into two temporary and functional distanced parts.<sup>817</sup> According to him, all complexes in the western outcrop were hastily excavated to house part of the imperial Byzantine cavalry in the second half of the tenth century. Grishin suggests that the only complex in the eastern outcrop, Area 8, having solitary churches and supposedly numerous burials in its proximity<sup>818</sup> was a monastic institution carved a century later than the complexes in the western outcrop (fig. 6.6.). Remembering the original meaning of Cappadocia as "the land of beautiful horses," the high number of stables is in keeping with a concentrated activity of breeding and sheltering horses.<sup>819</sup> However, as explained before, the carving of complexes in Açıksaray must have taken several years, which weakens the possibility of a hasty excavation.<sup>820</sup> As for the separation of areas, there were at least three different workshops and specific evidence concerning monasticism exists for none (fig. 6.33.).<sup>821</sup>

According to Mathews and Daskalakis-Mathews who disagree with Rodley's identification as summer palaces or caravanserais, Areas 4, 5, 6, 7, 8 were mansions and Areas 1, 2 were probably mansions too. Their arguments for the domestic use of Courtyard Complexes in general are based on: the elaborate organization; common presence of house chapels following the privatization of the church; growing prosperity and strategic importance of the region; and evidence of lay presence contrasted with the absence of a refectory and any cells for monks.<sup>822</sup> Furthermore, Mathews and Daskalakis-Mathews emphasize that the majority of Açıksaray complexes had an inverted T-plan, which was a familiar form in

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<sup>817</sup> Grishin (2002)

<sup>818</sup> We could not find the mentioned burials. Instead, we found an extensive cemetery in the west, at the top of Area 3.2. See Section 6.1.4. in this Chapter and fig. 6.74.-76.

<sup>819</sup> For the meaning of Cappadocia see Chapter 2 Section 2.1.

<sup>820</sup> See Section 6.3.1. in this Chapter and Section 2.2 in Chapter 2.

<sup>821</sup> See Section 6.3 in this Chapter.

<sup>822</sup> Mathews and Daskalakis-Mathews (1997) 295; see Section 4.3.1. in Chapter 4.

domestic architecture around the Mediterranean in Islamic territories.<sup>823</sup> On the other hand, Kalas, who surveyed the Selime-Yaprakhisar group, similarly asserts that Açıksaray was “a secular establishment that functioned as a stationing point at the intersection of the two frequently traveled routes.”<sup>824</sup> More recently, the idea is reiterated by Filiz Tütüncü who also thinks that Açıksaray complexes were elite houses having large stables.<sup>825</sup> She also proposes them to be the houses of military aristocrats, who bred horses for the military in the tenth to eleventh centuries. Among all settlements in Cappadocia, Açıksaray, Özkonak and Belha demonstrate “differentiation in logic” according to Gürsel Korat who also sees villages and not monasteries in these settlements. According to him, they are more related to the village Zelve.<sup>826</sup>

Rodley, herself, could not decide on one or the other of her suggestions with certainty. Nevertheless, she concludes that Açıksaray was a secular manifestation of the increased monastic activity in the volcanic valley in the eleventh century and adds, “it is necessary, therefore, to look for a function that requires a group of complexes on a single site.”<sup>827</sup>

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<sup>823</sup> Ibid., 304

<sup>824</sup> Kalas (2000) 65; see Section 2.2. in Chapter 2.

<sup>825</sup> Tütüncü (2008) 97

<sup>826</sup> Korat (2003) 48-9, mentions Göreme, Soğanlı and Ihlara, which are monastic settlements. In contrast, he mentions the following sites as secular settlements: Özkonak, Avanos, Zelve, Güzelöz (Mavrunca), Derinkuyu, Kaymaklı, Acıgöl, Mazıköy and Gülşehir.

<sup>827</sup> Rodley (1985) 149

## CHAPTER 7

### DIFFERENTIATION OF ARCHITECTURAL ELEMENTS

Chapter Seven emphasizes physical and conceptual similarities and differences between the Açıksaray Group and other Courtyard Complexes. Accordingly, results deriving from the architectural investigation of the two previous chapters are charted, re-evaluated and compared under sub-sections each covering a particular space, such as halls. In addition, Table 2 in the Appendix allows an overview of distribution and frequency of these spaces within the corpus of Courtyard Complexes. The discussions and descriptions in this chapter serve to strengthen the premise of the scholarship, which favors the secular use of the Courtyard Complexes. Consequently, in this penultimate chapter before the Conclusion, themes deduced from the vernacular nature of Cappadocia are also tested on their applicability to the context presented in Part I. In other words, Chapter Seven attempts to envision the nature of medieval life in the frame of Courtyard Complexes in general and the Açıksaray Group in particular.

Ousterhout and Kalas both point to the need of a sociological approach in interpreting the Cappadocian Courtyard Complexes.<sup>828</sup> Nevertheless, evidence coming from social studies is still scarce. On the other hand, “[i]t is always worth repeating that houses tell the story of the individual owners and their families” as stated by Ellis.<sup>829</sup> Likewise, this study is interested in the story of the first inhabitants of the Courtyard Complexes, whose needs and expectations, as well as requirements of social status were expressed in the form and appearance of their own houses. The geographical and chronological proximity of complexes in our sample indicate a similar physical and social context (fig. 1.1.). Therefore, the

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<sup>828</sup> Ousterhout (2005); Kalas (2007); for other related works of Ousterhout and Kalas see the References.

<sup>829</sup> Ellis (2007) 1

results from this study shed light on a shared life style of a particular social class in the middle ages.

Courtyard Complexes are among rare examples of the middle Byzantine period, which have reasonably survived. As Kalas points out, these complexes with preserved complete floor plans and full elevations allow us to assess room types and their function better than any other secular architecture from the same era. Yet, terminological and functional difficulties persist. As Rodley warns:

The terms “vestibule” and “hall” are used here for convenience and do not carry precise implications of function. It is not usually possible to know exactly what functions were served by the individual elements of a complex, except in the obvious cases of churches and kitchens.<sup>830</sup>

Nevertheless, I believe that the potential offered by the extant architecture has not yet been exhausted.<sup>831</sup> Elevations complete with doors, windows, and passages can indicate the nature of circulation and other relationships within the complex, which in turn, allow to differentiate between private and public spheres. Moreover, besides having consistency in form, size and location, spaces apparently serving similar purposes also had consistency in their heights. Likewise, within the Ensemble of Courtyard Complexes, the position, dimension and elaboration of each complex in relation to the rest of the settlement and landscape provide clues on how the society was structured. Moreover, thanks to their carved nature, these Cappadocian complexes possess preserved rock-cut furniture, devices and niches *in situ*, which reduce functional misinterpretation.<sup>832</sup>

While creatively adapted to the topographical settings and despite the uniqueness of specific solutions, there seems to have been a shared acceptance concerning the way of life and the expression of power. Fortunately, the large

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<sup>830</sup> Rodley (1985) 11

<sup>831</sup> Yet, any comparative architectural investigation needs to be carefully structured. For instance, the following comparison proposed by Kalas (2000) 165, goes too far to be reasonable: “Significantly enough, a side apartment at Mshatta comprises about one-third of the space of the central tract. Similarly, the Hallaç complex in Ortahisar, at 1030 square meters, also comprises about one-third of the space of the Selime Kalesi, at 3000 square meters.” Here, the proportion given for Mshatta demonstrates the relation of spaces within the same building whereas the latter proportion is between the two entirely separated Cappadocian complexes, which makes no sense.

<sup>832</sup> Kalas (2007) 396-7; yet, the problem in Cappadocia is the intensive “afterlife” of carved spaces and secondary works related to it.



number of extant complexes (43) in our sample allows us to talk about some overall architectural concepts (fig. 1.1.). Accordingly, in the examination below the aim is to underline common features and/ or differences concerning choice of site and spatial organization in the Courtyard Complexes where consistencies in the appearance of specific spaces and their decorations will be highlighted. The discussion will follow the same course as in the preceding two chapters, beginning with the plan layout of the complexes, moving on to receptional areas and ending with utilitarian spaces.

## 7.1 Plan Layouts

### *Topographical Settings/ Orientation*

It is remarkable that more than half of all complexes in our sample faced south:<sup>833</sup>

- 12 of 43 complexes faced south
- 6 of 43 complexes faced southwest
- 8 of 43 complexes faced southeast
- 7 of 43 complexes faced north
- 3 of 43 complexes faced northeast
- 4 of 43 complexes faced west
- 3 of 43 complexes faced east

In Çanlı Kilise, a large outcrop facing south and west presented the ideal location to settle (fig. 5.1.1.1. -2.). Such a desirable site could not be dismissed by any community of importance. Consequently, most of the 23 areas noticed by Ousterhout<sup>834</sup> in Çanlı Kilise were oriented towards the south. Their similar architecture and design suggest households with common interests. In Açıksaray the

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<sup>833</sup> It also includes southwest and southeast orientation.

<sup>834</sup> Ousterhout (2005)

most elaborate complexes (Areas 1-5) constituting Group II were carved in the topographically and directionally most convenient part of the settlement in an early stage (fig. 6.6.). Group III was carved just next to Group II where the topography was still suitable in a later stage. Yet, the architectural organization of both groups still indicates common interests. On the other hand, irregular cavities concentrated between the definable Courtyard Complexes in Çanlı Kilise and Açıkсарay may be identified as the contemporary houses of dependents (fig. 5.1.1.2. and fig. 6.6.).<sup>835</sup>

Although it faced south, the slope where Selime Kalesi was carved was not as suitable as that of Çanlı Kilise or Açıkсарay to contain a large group of Courtyard Complexes (fig. 5.1.2.1.-2.). All complexes in Yaprakkisar and some in Açıkсарay (fig. 6.1.-2.) faced the undesirable north. Consequently, mainly because of this disadvantage, Kalas categorized the complexes in Yaprakhisar as an “intermediate category of manor houses.”<sup>836</sup> However, the effort invested in their elaboration suggests that other factors determined site selection here rather than the compass point. In Yaprakhisar and Açıkсарay, the intended proximity must have come before the ideal south orientation. On the other hand, the majority of the Isolated Courtyard Complexes open to the south. This supports the fact that when a large outcrop was needed to carve an ensemble of related complexes the south orientation was not the priority.

Furthermore, it is obvious that the potential of the topography was utilized in order to impress and control others. Interestingly, distant complexes such as Soğanlı Han (fig. 5.2.3.) and Şahinefendi (fig. 5.2.5.) were nearly identical in their dimension, commanding position and isolation. Each leaned back on a rising hill that overlooked the valley below where an ancient road probably passed through.

The creativity of carvers in adapting the same plan layout to varying morphologies is remarkable. Courtyard Complexes were usually carved into table-like morphological forms (mesa) (fig. 2.1., 2.3.). Despite this, Selime Kalesi carved within a large group of cones was not an exception (fig. 5.1.2.7.). Kılıçlar was also

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<sup>835</sup> Sigalos (2004) 76, asserts that in the Greek islands, houses were arranged around the central residence of the feudal lord. Such an obvious hierarchical arrangement, however, cannot be seen in the linear organization of the Courtyard Complexes, which had to follow the natural line of the slope; see Section 4.2 in Chapter 4.

<sup>836</sup> Kalas (2005) 108

carved into inter-connected cones (fig. 5.2.7.). In Soğanlı Han and Şahinefendi, cones formed the wings of the complexes (fig. 5.2.3., 5.2.5.). The organic courtyards and lack of monumental façades and vestibules in the double complex of Selime Kalesi (Area 2) in Selime-Yaprakhisar indicate that here the morphology of cones was not convenient for the “ideal” plan layout as often exemplified by the isolated complex Hallaç (fig. 5.2.29.). Nevertheless, by using porches, or *eyvans*, instead of vestibules in Selime Kalesi carver architects demonstrated their creativity in adapting to topographical settings (fig. 5.1.2.16., 5.1.2.18., 5.1.2.20.). Ousterhout corroborates this in the case of the Çanlı Kilise Group (fig. 5.1.1.1.-2.):

At first, it seemed a matter of limitation that the restrictions imposed by the physical setting resulted in the haphazard organization of the settlement. Gradually, however, certain principles of planning emerged, creatively adjusted to the vagaries of the Cappadocian topography.<sup>837</sup>

#### *Single Storey*

With the late antique houses in Asia Minor in mind, Özgenel states:

It is known from earlier periods that regulation of boundaries, and hence the operation of privacy, was related to status, and manifested by spatially segregating people according to different categories. These included “household member” and “outsider,” “invited” and “uninvited,” “inferior” and “superior.”<sup>838</sup>

Similarly, in Patlagean’s view too, “the segregation of women was the first principle of [Byzantine] interior design.” The principle must have been based on avoiding contact between outsiders and the women of the house. It was achieved in palaces and private homes in the eleventh century by means of a *gynaikonitis*, a woman’s apartment.<sup>839</sup> However, we do not know to what degree this was true for different social classes.<sup>840</sup>

Probably the easiest way to spatially distinguish public and private spaces is by adding an upper storey.<sup>841</sup> However, although there was often the possibility to

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<sup>837</sup> Ousterhout (2005) 170

<sup>838</sup> Özgenel (2007) 273, refers to Wallace-Hadrill, A., *Houses and Society in Pompeii and Herculaneum* (New Jersey 1994) 8-16

<sup>839</sup> Patlagean (1987) 573

<sup>840</sup> Ousterhout (2005) 150

<sup>841</sup> Özgenel (2007) 263

carve a second story, Courtyard Complexes were usually single storey with all receptional and service areas on the ground floor. Area 8 in Açıksaray was the only exception in our sample where the inverted T-plan was exercised on the second floor. This seems to have been the *piano nobile* constituting the more private sphere of the complex. In the remaining complexes, spaces of truly private character were not so obvious. Indeed, many of them opened into the common courtyard. Nevertheless, the results coming from the comparative study here reveal ingenious solutions which similarly allowed retreat and seclusion. One of the simplest ways to achieve this was to use wooden doors between various spaces regardless of their function and location. Sure enough, none of the doors but only the installation channels carved along the openings have survived. Consistency and standardization of details indicate once again, the contemporaneousness of the Courtyard Complexes. Other solutions allowing control of access are enumerated as follows.

#### *Courtyards*

The courtyard as the main design generator is an age-old device that has shaped the plan layouts of various architectural types, both in crowded cities and in the countryside; belonging to the poorest and the richest alike.<sup>842</sup> Studying late antique houses in Athens Frantz points to the courtyard house as the typical model, which continued to be used throughout antiquity in the Mediterranean world without a major change.<sup>843</sup> In her study of late antique houses in Asia Minor, Özgenel underscores the priority that was given to the size of the courtyard; large areas were reserved even in small plots.<sup>844</sup> The early “Byzantine” courtyard house too, whose owner was often “relatively wealthy tradesman,” became “the source for much later Byzantine houses” according to Ellis.<sup>845</sup> Concerning middle and late Byzantine houses in Greece and Asia Minor, Sigalos and Kalas both point to the continuity of the courtyard arrangement as it was in the Classical and Roman periods. Yet, the majority of these medieval houses were small in scale, while the

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<sup>842</sup> See Section 4.2 in Chapter 4

<sup>843</sup> Frantz (1988) 34-5

<sup>844</sup> Özgenel (2007) 263

<sup>845</sup> Ellis (2004) 38

function and location of the rooms around the courtyard were not obvious.<sup>846</sup> On the other extreme, U-shaped forecourts seem to have been common features within the early Byzantine palaces in Constantinople.<sup>847</sup> Here, the tenth century Myrelaion palace had a pi-shaped plan, with a portico opening to a courtyard (fig. 4.12.).<sup>848</sup>

Back to our sample, an open courtyard or at least a definable front door space determined the plan for the majority of Cappadocian Courtyard Complexes. Indeed, 37 of 43 complexes had at least one courtyard:

- 10 of 43 complexes had an L-shaped courtyard
- 21 of 43 complexes had a three-sided courtyard
  - 5 of 19 had a rubble stone wall on the fourth side
- 4 of 43 complexes had a four-sided courtyard
- 1 of 43 complexes had an L-shaped *and* a three-sided courtyard
- 1 of 43 complexes had a three-sided *and* four-sided courtyard

More than half of the complexes in our sample had a three-sided courtyard. This constitutes an intermediate form between two types of the early Byzantine courtyard houses: one organized around a central yard and the other consisting of two blocks of rooms flanking a corridor.<sup>849</sup> Yet, in Cappadocia, the size and form of the courtyard was rather determined by the available rock mass and its morphology. Indeed, craftsmen here aimed not at perfection but variation and adaptation to unique topographical setting tested over time.

Kalas differentiates between courtyards, which were naturally formed, and those which were carved out of the rock and claims that the latter were generally four-sided.<sup>850</sup> However, extant examples speak against this. Our only example with

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<sup>846</sup> Kalas (2007) 395-6; Sigalos (2004) 57

<sup>847</sup> Kostenec (2004) 6

<sup>848</sup> Kalas (2007) 395; Ousterhout (2005) 142.

<sup>849</sup> Ellis (2004) 43; see Section 4.2 in Chapter 4.

<sup>850</sup> Kalas (2007) 397; Kalas (2000) 105, 117

a true four-sided courtyard is the complex in Eski Gümüş (fig. 5.2.1.). Due to the peaked form of the cones in Selime-Yaprakhisar, the fourth sides of the courtyards were lower than the remaining ones. Hence, they usually did not house rooms but were merely linear enclosures (fig. 5.1.2.28.). On the other hand, it makes no sense to go through the hard work of creating a true four-sided courtyard and then using it primarily for agricultural activities as Kalas claimed for Area 7 in Selime-Yaprakhisar (fig. 5.1.2.12.).<sup>851</sup> Furthermore, this goes against the adaptation of the settlement to the topography. Indeed, the aerial photograph of Açıksaray demonstrates the sensitivity in the choosing the appropriate site and how carvers made use of natural contours to locate the complexes side-by-side (fig. 6.6.). In addition, building a rubble stone wall on the fourth side must have been another and certainly easier possibility to close the open courtyard. By doing so, the “blocks” and debris excavated by carving could also have been recycled, which in turn would explain where all the carved material went.<sup>852</sup> In Çanlı Kilise there are several examples bearing evidence for such a wall, which was probably contemporary with the original settlement (fig. 5.1.1.12., 5.1.1.14., 5.1.1.17.). It is certain that a high enclosure on the fourth side would have hindered looking outside from the complex and at the same time the admiration for the decorated main façade from far away. Indeed, such a high wall, would have worked against the owners’ desire to impress. As for security, any kind of wall enclosing the fourth side would have been insufficient for defense, since, in almost all cases topography allowed entry to the courtyard from the top (roof) of the complex.

In offering direct access to a large number of rooms the courtyard plan allowed compactness and control. Two complexes with double courtyards, Areas 2 and 7 in Selime-Yaprakhisar group, were exceptions. On the other hand, three-sided open courtyards were both introverted and extroverted as they were private and public, since they allowed access to inhabitants as well as to visitors. Yet, the courtyard lying on the main axis of the receptional areas such as the vestibule and the main hall was a rather public area. Likewise, Özgenel emphasizes the dual

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<sup>851</sup> Kalas (2000) 97-8

<sup>852</sup> See Section 2.3. in Chapter 2.

character of courtyards in late antique houses in Asia Minor, where multiple entrances and routes were used to separate the private and the public.<sup>853</sup> Nevertheless, the nature of carving often did not allow multiple access. Instead, designers organized receptional areas following a linear scheme, which would only gradually have revealed the house to a visitor. As in late antique houses, the courtyard was a “domestic piazza,” the center of daily life and public presentation, where “status and wealth could be displayed to an audience.”<sup>854</sup> Correspondingly, impressive rock-cut façades surrounding the courtyards were a translation of this ancient manner for expressing power through carved architecture.

## 7.2 Façades

High decorated façades of the Cappadocian Courtyard Complexes enable them to appear as *built* architecture and turned them into attractions seen from far away (fig. 6.12., 6.15., 6.22., 6.27.). More than half of the complexes still proudly display their partly surviving façades. In this respect, 26 of 43 complexes had a partly surviving façade.

Kalas emphasizes the individual design of the façades using the same vocabulary and suggests that they might have been “status markers for individual household owners.”<sup>855</sup> She claims that these monumental façades do not indicate “monastic modesty but an intent to advertise the material resources of the patrons.”<sup>856</sup> Indeed, it was probably on the façade where the expression of status became the loudest. Therefore, it is hardly surprising that the decorative elements of the Cappadocian façades rely on a common architectural language, which has been used in the Mediterranean since late antiquity.<sup>857</sup> More surprising is the seldom appearance of such Christian decorations as crosses on the façades.

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<sup>853</sup> Özgenel (2007) 263

<sup>854</sup> Ibid.

<sup>855</sup> Kalas (2006) 290; see also Kalas (2009a) 168-9.

<sup>856</sup> Kalas (2009a) 165

<sup>857</sup> See Sections 4.2. and 4.3. in Chapter 4.

Nevertheless, the obvious aim was that the complexes appear like multi-storey built houses, since they did not refer to the inner spatial division. Tekfur Palace,<sup>858</sup> the twelfth century three-storied imperial dwelling in Constantinople is a later but good example, which might point to one of the sources of inspiration for the carver of the Courtyard Complexes (fig. 4.18.).<sup>859</sup> Furthermore, scholars highlighting the most favorite motive, the horseshoe shaped arch that was used in all the complexes, point to an Islamic origin. Indeed, similarities between the East portal of the Great Mosque of Cordoba and the rock-cut façade of Area 1 in Açıksaray is striking (fig. 4.21.-22.).<sup>860</sup> Yet, the latter is also reminiscent of Sassanian gatehouses,<sup>861</sup> the façade of the fourth century Daphni Palace and the one depicted in a mosaic at San Apollinare Nuovo in Ravenna (fig. 4.20.).<sup>862</sup>

Kalas differentiates between two types of façades in Yaprakhisar, which can be translated for the rock-cut façades of the Courtyard Complexes in general. The first type exemplified in Yaprakhisar Area 11 (fig. 5.1.2.25.) consisted of pilasters dividing registers into an odd number of bays, each of which in turn was decorated by blind niches. In the second type, as exemplified in Yaprakhisar Area 14 (fig. 5.1.2.28), registers were not divided into bays but were decorated by a blind arcade also consisting of an odd number of arches. In both cases, the principal entrance was set in the central bay or central arch of the lowest register, on the ground floor. The same number of bays or arches on each side flanked the door, so façades were symmetrically designed.<sup>863</sup> Areas 5 and 7 in Açıksaray are better examples of the second type (fig. 6.22., 6.27.). Vertical pilasters were used on the majority of the façades. Yet, they were not always continuous through all the registers. In some cases, additional entrances flanked the central entrance (fig. 6.22., 6.30.). Yet, since

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<sup>858</sup> See Eyice (1996) 210 and Section 4.2 in Chapter 4.

<sup>859</sup> Kalas (2000) 115

<sup>860</sup> Mathews and Daskalakis-Mathews (1997) 299

<sup>861</sup> Kalas (2007) 404

<sup>862</sup> Kostenec (2004) 5

<sup>863</sup> Kalas (2007) 403-4



the ground register of most of the façades have been lost, we cannot trust the reconstructions with certainty. In the majority of façades, central entrances were carved in a horseshoe-shaped recess while window-like small openings were cut above some of them (fig. 5.1.1.17.; fig. 6.12., 6.15.).

### 7.3 Vestibules<sup>864</sup>

The vestibule, parallel to the main façade, attracts notice with its prominent location and consistency within the Courtyard Complexes. Indeed, 23 of 31 complexes, which were recorded either by us or by other scholars had vestibules. Both vestibules and main halls constituted the so-called “inverted T-plan,” which in turn determined the majority of Courtyard Complexes.

#### Inverted T-Plan (23):

- 4 of 31 complexes probably had a layout after the inverted T-plan
- 19 of 31 complexes had a layout after the inverted T-plan
  - 1 of 19 was *upstairs*

#### Vestibule (23):

- 4 of 31 complexes probably had a vestibule
- 19 of 31 complexes had a vestibule
  - 6 of 19 had a flat-ceiling
    - 2 of 6 had a niche on one of the short walls
  - 11 of 19 had a barrel-vault
    - 2 of 11 had a niche on one of the short walls
    - 2 of 11 had niches on the short and long walls
    - 1 of 11 had a dome in the central bay and a niche on its long wall
    - 2 of 11 had probably a gallery
    - 2 of 11 were *upstairs*

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<sup>864</sup> It is varyingly named the transverse hall by Kalas (2000) and the portico by Ousterhout (2005).

- 1 of 19 was two-partite: flat-ceilinged and barrel-vaulted
- 1 of 19 had a groin vault and a niche on one of the short walls

Similar to the courtyard, the vestibule, which is alternately called portico or transverse hall, served as an intermediary space between the exterior and interior in different contexts and times.<sup>865</sup> Vestibules were not only spatial connectors but also living spaces. Primarily because of its practicality, the variously named vestibule was “almost an archetype in Middle Eastern architecture,”<sup>866</sup> which can be seen in the porticoed villa as well as in the simple rural house across the Mediterranean.

It is highly remarkable that all the vestibules within our sample had the same long and narrow rectangular plan parallel to the main façade, regardless of what their ceilings were like. The majority of the surviving vestibules had a barrel-vault, whose height ca. 4.5-5 meters was also standardized. Alternative to the barrel-vault was the flat ceiling. Only the isolated complex in Şahinefendi had a unique vestibule consisting of two parallel sections with a narrow flat ceiling and a barrel-vault (fig. 5.2.20., 5.2.22.). Also remarkable is that almost half of the vestibules had a carved niche in one of their short walls emphasizing the long axis of the vestibule, which was parallel to the façade and perpendicular to the courtyard/ main hall axis:

- 7 of 19 surviving vestibules had a niche on one of the short walls
  - 2 of 7 had additional niches on the long walls
- 1 of 19 surviving vestibules had a niche on its long wall

There is no consistency in the direction of the walls where niches were carved. The majority of vestibules terminating with an “apse” at one end are found in Çanlı Kilise (fig. 5.1.1.15., 5.1.1.18., 5.1.1.24., 5.1.1.30.). In Açıksaray, Area 5 (fig. 6.24.) had the only vestibule with an emphasized end. Interestingly, however, the niche on its southeast wall has been identified as a secondary addition, apparently

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<sup>865</sup> See Sections 4.2. and 4.3.1. in Chapter 4.

<sup>866</sup> Kuban (1995) 24

constituting a *mihrap*,<sup>867</sup> by the regional conservation committee for cultural and natural heritage in Nevşehir (fig. 6.36.). Accordingly, the committee listed Area 5 under the strange appellation of “monastery-mosque”!

Structural remains in the vestibules of Direkli Kilise (fig. 5.2.9.) and Erdemli (fig. 5.2.19.) indicate that they once contained galleries. Rodley underlines the infrequent appearance of a timber floor within the “cave monuments.”<sup>868</sup> In Direkli Kilise, the second floor was probably a secondary addition. On the other hand, the *upstairs* vestibule as part of the *upstairs* inverted T-plan in Area 8 in Açıksaray (fig. 6.32., 6.38.) was unique within the Courtyard Complexes. Its height of ca. 3.5 meters was lower than usual.

According to Kalas, the vestibule must have functioned as “a foyer and a light-court” allowing access as well as extra light and air to the inner rooms of the complex.<sup>869</sup> However, had the rooms directly opened into the courtyard, they would have had more light and air, since the vestibule actually hindered direct light and air reaching the spaces behind. On the other hand, the vestibule formed a climatic buffer during the harsh winter and hot summer. Therefore, vestibules suggest that spaces opening to them were closely related in terms of function. Kalas, further asserts that this transverse hall provides “the maximum amount of circulation of people.”<sup>870</sup> Indeed, they might have functioned as a foyer, a waiting area for visitors who intended to see the head of the complex, the patron. Visitors waiting in the vestibule could be called one after the other or in groups into the main hall opening into it. Vestibules terminating with an “apse” indicate a hierarchical order similar to that of the main halls. Correspondingly, besides being a connector and waiting lounge, in some complexes the vestibule could also serve as a secondary audience

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<sup>867</sup> The apses of a mosque indicating the South, namely the direction of the worship.

<sup>868</sup> Rodley (1985) 87 (referring to Thierry (1963) 39), gives Eđri Taş Kilise also in Ihlara valley as only other example with such a second floor known to her beside Direkli Kilise.

<sup>869</sup> Kalas (2000) 86

<sup>870</sup> *ibid.*

hall, for receiving clients of lower status or ranks. Such a distinction of receptional areas is well known from late antiquity.<sup>871</sup>

*Porch/ Eyvans (Iwans)*

*Eyvans* were cleverly used where the morphology of the rock was not appropriate to carve large vestibules, such as in Selime Kalesi and Area 2 in Selime-Yaprakhisar (fig. 5.1.2.10, 5.1.2.16., 5.1.2.18.). This insistence on placing an intermediary space between the courtyard and the main hall underlines the importance of a strong axial emphasis and the sequential flow of spaces for the owners/ inhabitants of the Courtyard Complexes.

On the other hand, a high *eyvan* leading nowhere but forming a protected and defined outdoor space was carved on one of the wings of Area 11 in Yaprakhisar (fig. 5.1.2.26). Since many of the Courtyard Complexes have lost their lateral walls, the western side wall of Area 11 containing a true *eyvan* gives us highly valuable clues about the possible use of the courtyards also as receptional and / or recreational zones. Indeed, the *eyvan* here was reminiscent of the *cubiculum* of the Roman atrium house, whose fourth side facing the courtyard was also rather open.<sup>872</sup>

Where no vestibules exist there seems to have been a substitute in the form of an additional hall as large as the main hall or in the form of smaller interconnected rooms. Both solutions allowing access to the main hall could have fulfilled the functions of the vestibule. For instance, in Soğanlı Han where the complex lacked a vestibule, there were two identical large halls instead of a single main hall (fig. 5.2.17.). On the other hand, in Selime Kalesi halls were preceded just by a porch (*eyvan*) had multiple entrances. Besides the major entrance on the central axis of the courtyard, they were also indirectly accessible passing through interconnected rooms (fig. 5.1.2.10.). Likewise, in Selime-Yaprakhisar Area 7, which was also preceded by a porch, a rectangular barrel-vaulted room as large as the main hall communicated with the latter through another room (fig. 5.1.2.12.).

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<sup>871</sup> See Section 4.2. in Chapter 4

<sup>872</sup> See Section 4.2. in Chapter 4

#### 7.4. Halls

The location rather than the size determines whether a space was meant to be a hall or not. Accordingly, in this study, spaces on the main axis of approach, which were carved behind the horizontal vestibule or directly behind the main façade, are called halls. Nevertheless, as mentioned previously, many of the complexes had multiple receptional spaces, as was common in the late antique houses. Thus, the definition above indicates the main hall, which usually was also the largest and most elaborate room of the complex. Furthermore, the main hall was often longitudinal and had an apse emphasizing the end of the sequential procession along the main axis. This points to a hierarchy between the people occupying the same room. On the other hand, the centrally planned spaces – usually cruciform – that were either varyingly carved behind the main façade or on one of the lateral wings of the complex are also called halls in this study because their articulation and frequency is remarkable. Yet, they were usually smaller than the longitudinal halls. In addition to the longitudinal and centrally planned halls, large spaces located parallel to the main façade, without a preceding vestibule are called horizontal halls in this study. Except for secondary halls and some simple halls in small complexes, halls were voluminous in general and their height varied from 4.5 to 6 meters.

Ousterhout, who first differentiated between longitudinal and centrally planned halls while surveying Çanlı Kilise, attributes a “central importance” to the former within the daily activities and proposes a receptional function with “the head of the household” sitting at the emphasized end.<sup>873</sup> Mathews and Daskalakis-Mathews assume that the Byzantine might have called the longitudinal main hall of the Courtyard Complexes *triclinium*, the dining room, but according to them, it might rather have functioned like the Islamic qa’a, that served multiple purposes such as dining, leisure and business.<sup>874</sup> On the other hand, as Ousterhout writes, “[...] our evidence for formal dining in the Middle Byzantine period is limited, and

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<sup>873</sup> Ousterhout (2005) 145-51

<sup>874</sup> Mathews and Daskalakis-Mathews (1997) 300

it is normally suggested that the ancient *triclinium* disappeared during the Dark Ages.”<sup>875</sup> Hence, Ousterhout prefers to link Cappadocian longitudinal halls with the halls that late antique houses began to acquire when public architecture declined and public affairs took place within the house.<sup>876</sup> Indeed, Frantz considers that the addition of an apse to the end of the largest room in the house in the first century BC was the “only striking innovation” that was increasingly frequently used in the succeeding centuries.<sup>877</sup> Correspondingly, Ousterhout claims that “the apsidal audience hall emerged as a common feature in the residences of powerful set with easy access to the street. The prominent halls in the Cappadocian mansions might be viewed as their descendants.”<sup>878</sup> In addition, Ousterhout also points to similar organization of such audience halls of Arabs as the apsidal hall at Qusayr Amra.<sup>879</sup>

However, unlike the late antique apsidal halls, which were positioned on a lateral side of the house, the main hall in Cappadocia occupied a commanding position at the core of the complex. In addition, due to the difficulties related to carving, Courtyard Complexes often lacked the multiple entrances that were typical of late antique audience halls.<sup>880</sup> Unlike the late antique apsidal halls, elevated platforms are also seldom found in the Courtyard Complexes. There was an obvious elevated platform and benches in Hall 2 of Selime Kalesi (fig. 5.1.2.17). In the main hall of Açıksaray Area 2 (fig. 6.41.), this was a carved bench rather than an elevated platform. Sure enough, now raised floors render their study incompleting. On the other hand, carved niches were numerous in the main halls. While axial niches were designed to emphasize hierarchy, lateral niches allowed a human scaled retreat within the voluminous halls.

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<sup>875</sup> Ousterhout (2005) 150

<sup>876</sup> Ibid., 147

<sup>877</sup> Frantz (1988) 34-5

<sup>878</sup> Ousterhout (2005) 147

<sup>879</sup> Ibid.

<sup>880</sup> See Section 4.2 in Chapter 4.

As for centrally planned halls, Ousterhout speculates that the cruciform halls might have served as bedchambers with niches containing beds. Nevertheless, in the light of the evidence available he could not assign “a specific function” to them. Therefore, he designates the centrally planned halls as “secondary formal spaces.”<sup>881</sup> In the peristyle houses of late antiquity, Ellis differentiates the hall “with three or more apses, lying immediately to the right of the *triclinium*,” as a *grand dining hall*. This was used for major formal dinners given by local aristocracy.<sup>882</sup> Centrally planned halls of the Courtyard Complexes might be seen as more formal dining rooms in this perspective. Nevertheless, unlike late antique examples usually they were not “isolated from the main body of the house.”<sup>883</sup> Rather, they were at the core of the complexes.

#### **7.4.1 Longitudinal Halls**

The majority of complexes in our sample had at least one longitudinal hall that constituted the main hall. Interestingly, there was an equal preference for the flat ceiling or barrel-vault. Only three complexes had a three-aisled basilica as the main hall. The majority of the longitudinal halls were located on the main axis of the courtyard and were preceded by a vestibule. Half of them had either a niche or a room carved on its farthest end facing the central entrance. This and the fact that only few halls had more than one entrance, emphasize the main long axis of the complex and support the deliberate arrangement for the sequential flow of spaces that delayed and dramatized the approach to the apse. On the other hand, more than one third of the halls were connected with at least one lateral room. Less than one third of the halls had at least one lateral niche.

##### Longitudinal Hall (Main Hall) (28):

- 25 of 31 complexes had 28 longitudinal halls all together

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<sup>881</sup> Ousterhout (2005) 150-1

<sup>882</sup> Ellis (2004) 39, 50

<sup>883</sup> Kuban (1995) 84, emphasizes the aristocratic status of the cruciform hall, which is found in many imperial buildings and rich mansions of Ottoman period in Istanbul.

- 13 of 28 had a flat ceiling
- 12 of 28 had a barrel-vault
- 3 of 28 was a three-aisled basilica
- 24 of 28 longitudinal halls were on the central (main) axis of the courtyard
- 1 of 28 longitudinal halls (upstairs) were on the central axis of the upstairs vestibule
- 23 of 28 longitudinal halls were entered through a preceding vestibule
  - 4 of 23 also had at least one entrance from a lateral room
    - 1 of 4 also led to an axial room
  - 1 of 23 led to an axial room
  - 4 of 23 led to at least one lateral room
    - 1 of 4 also led to an axial room
- 5 of 28 longitudinal halls were entered directly through the courtyard
  - 2 of 5 also had entrance from a lateral room and led to an axial room
  - 1 of 5 led to a lateral room
- 13 of 28 longitudinal halls had an axial niche
  - 5 of 13 also had at least one lateral niche
- 4 of 28 longitudinal halls had a lateral niche

#### *Flat- ceilinged Halls*

Each of the Areas 1, 4, 12 and 15 in Çanlı Kilise had a large flat-ceilinged hall located perpendicular to a preceding vestibule (fig. 5.1.1.8., 5.1.1.10., 5.1.1.21., 5.1.1.27.). Taken together, they formed the inverted T-plan. It is remarkable that, each of these obviously main halls had an axial emphasized end facing the entrance. In Areas 1 and 4, the hall had an additional side niche. In Area 15, transept wings also at the end of the hall flanked the central niche. The decoration of the lateral walls (blind arcading on two unequally high registers) of the main hall in Area 12 (fig. 5.1.1.19) bears a remarkable resemblance to that of the similarly flat-ceilinged halls of Areas 1, 2 and 3.1 in Açıksaray (fig. 6.39., 6.41.-42.). Yet, in Açıksaray except for the longitudinal hall in Area 2, the other two were horizontal halls, and they will be discussed under the relevant section. On the other hand, the flat-



ceilinged longitudinal hall of Area 7 in Açksaray, which was preceded by a vestibule as usual, was crudely carved. Interestingly, this obviously main hall of the complex led into an axial room at its short end. This in turn included unfinished rock-cut stair that would have led to the top (roof) of the complex. (fig. 6.29., 6.47.). The flat-ceilinged longitudinal hall of Karanlık Kale had a deeply carved axial niche and three deep niches on each lateral side (fig. 5.2.11.). What makes it unique is the cruciform hall added behind one of its side niches. Likewise, the flat-ceilinged rectangular main hall in Şahinefendi with an emphasized end had heavy pilasters on its lateral walls instead of niches (fig. 5.2.22.). Although it appears to be too small to constitute the main hall of the complex, its location and decoration support identification as the main hall. Interestingly, the unique vestibule with two parallel sections preceded this small hall (fig. 5.2.20.).

#### *Barrel-vaulted Halls*

Simple longitudinal halls with a barrel-vault are found in Area 16 in Çanlı Kilise (fig. 5.1.1.30.) and in Soğanlı Han (fig. 5.2.15, 5.2.17.). The former although small and crude was preceded by a large vestibule. The latter, on the other hand, had two large almost identical barrel-vaulted halls entered directly through the courtyard. Interestingly, yet, only one of these double halls had an axial niche facing the entrance. The hall in Kılıçlar is the only example with a barrel-vault and engaged columns (fig. 5.2.32). It shows similarities with the flat-ceilinged hall of Şahinefendi, whereby the latter had an axial niche (fig. 5.2.22.).<sup>884</sup> Besides Soğanlı Han, barrel-vaulted halls with an axial emphasized end are found in Çanlı Kilise Areas 6 and 13 (fig. 5.1.1.15., 5.1.1.24) and in Eski Gümüş (fig. 5.2.12., 5.2.14). By the latter, the longitudinal hall led to a small room at its farthest end. A barrel-vaulted hall with a side niche is found in Direkli Kilise (fig. 5.2.9). This too led to a small room facing the entrance. In Selime Kalesi the large barrel-vaulted hall led to an axial cruciform hall (fig. 5.1.2.17.). Area 5 had the only barrel-vaulted main hall in Açksaray (fig. 6.24). It did not have an axial niche, interestingly yet, it was preceded by a large vestibule, which in turn was the only one in Açksaray that contained a niche on one of its short walls (fig. 6.36).

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<sup>884</sup> Rodley (1985) 45

### *Three Aisled Basilical Halls*

Three aisled basilical halls were seldom within our sample. Only three of them are found in Bezir Hane (fig. 5.2.35), Hallaç (fig. 5.2.29) and in Area 6 in Açıkсарay (fig. 6.26). The hall in Hallaç had an axial deep recess facing the entrance. All of them were preceded by a vestibule. Ousterhout recorded another basilical hall with an emphasized niche in Area 14 in Çanlı Kilise.<sup>885</sup> Nevertheless, it did not belong to any of the recorded Courtyard Complexes.

### *Hall with a gallery*

Within our sample, the only hall with a true surrounding gallery is Hall 1 in Selime Kalesi (Area 2) in Selime-Yaprakhisar (fig. 5.1.2.10., 5.1.2.15). Kalas suggests that women may retreat here only during certain times of the day for instance when a male client came to visit the head of the household.<sup>886</sup> Indeed, the gallery had separate accesses that support the intended seclusion. Yet, Kalas also suggests that Hall 1 was rather a daily living area. On the other hand, Area 4 in Açıkсарay had a hidden gallery between the main hall and the vestibule for which we could not find the access (fig. 6.21.). Nonetheless, it seems to have been wide enough to house several people, probably women, who could observe ceremonial gathering in the hall without being seen.

## **7.4.2. Centrally Planned Halls**

One third of the Courtyard Complexes had a centrally planned hall. Except for that of Açıkсарay Area 4 (fig. 6.21.), which was the main hall per se, centrally planned halls were secondary receptional spaces complementing the longitudinal main halls. The majority had a domed cruciform plan. Similarity in their form, size and location at the core of the complex is striking. Indeed, they were positioned either behind the vestibule or next to it on a lateral wing of the complex. The majority of these halls were independent while half of them were entered through the vestibule. In Area 12 in Çanlı Kilise (fig. 5.1.1.21.) even an additional separate

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<sup>885</sup> Ousterhout (2005) 103; we could not relocate the Area 14 during our field trip on 07.09.2009.

<sup>886</sup> Kalas (2007) 409, 411

vestibule was placed between the cruciform hall next to the main hall and the common vestibule. The cruciform halls in Selime Kalesi (fig. 5.1.2.10.) and Karanlık Kale (fig. 5.2.11.) were directly connected to the main longitudinal hall and communicated only through them. Kalas identifies the former as the probable *triclinium*.<sup>887</sup> Secluded locations of the cruciform halls of Area 12 in Çanlı Kilise, in Selime Kalesi and Karanlık Kale indicate that only selected / invited outsiders were welcome to join activities, which required more privacy than longitudinal main halls. Only in Area 4 in Açıksaray (6.21., 6.43.-44.), the cruciform hall, which was also the largest one in our sample had a commanding position. This elaborate hall was on the main axis of the complex behind the common vestibule. More interestingly, it included a hidden gallery and probably a water basin on one corner.

#### Centrally Planned Hall (10):

- 10 of 31 complexes had a centrally planned hall
  - 6 of 10 had a cruciform plan
    - 5 of 6 were domed
    - 1 of 4 was flat-ceilinged with a carved motive of cross
  - 2 of 10 had a domed “abridged”<sup>888</sup> cruciform plan
  - 2 of 10 had a domed cross-in-square plan
- 5 of 10 centrally planned halls were entered through the vestibule
  - 3 of 5 were lateral to the longitudinal (main) hall
    - 1 of 3 also had a separate vestibule
  - 1 of 3 was lateral to the vestibule
  - 1 of 3 was on the central (main) axis of the vestibule
- 3 of 10 centrally planned halls were entered directly through the courtyard; they were lateral to the courtyard
- 2 of 10 centrally planned halls were entered through the longitudinal (main) hall
  - 1 of 2 was behind the longitudinal hall (on axis)

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<sup>887</sup> Kalas (2000) 148 and (2007) 411

<sup>888</sup> This terminology is from Ousterhout (2005) 149.

- 1 of 2 was lateral to the longitudinal hall (off axis)

### 7.4.3. Horizontal Halls

Horizontal halls set parallel to the cliff were seldom features within the Courtyard Complexes, where halls were usually organized after the inverted T-plan. Nevertheless, unlike the centrally planned halls, horizontal halls were not complementary halls. 4 of 5 horizontal halls in our sample were entered directly through the courtyard. In Çanlı Kilise, in Area 5 and 7, Ousterhout recorded two horizontal halls, which were supposedly preceded by vestibules (fig. 5.1.1.13., 5.1.1.18).<sup>889</sup> Yet, the latter seems to have been a vestibule itself, for it did not have a fallen portico in front but merely a projection parallel to the façade. Moreover, it led to the small perpendicular rooms carved behind its long wall. In addition, both of the supposedly horizontal halls in Çanlı Kilise had carved niches in their western short wall, just like vestibules seen here. The hall in Aynalı Kilise is the only barrel-vaulted hall that was carved parallel to the main façade (fig. 5.2.25.). The connection between it and the church seem to be secondary (fig. 5.2.23.). If so, this horizontal hall unlike a vestibule did not lead to any other room. On the other hand, two horizontal halls found in Açıksaray were certainly the main hall leading nowhere. The horizontal hall of Area 1 in Açıksaray (fig. 6.12.-14., 6.39.-40.) was carved directly behind the main decorated façade. The entrance to it was carved in the centre of its long wall, which in turn, corresponded to the central bay of the façade. The only hall of Area 3.1 in Açıksaray was also carved horizontally. Both had a flat-ceiling, whereas that of Area 1 was decorated by a large cross. In addition, the upper walls of both had an identical horseshoe-shaped blind niche decoration (fig. 6.18.-19., 6.42.).

In this sense, only the halls in Açıksaray were horizontal halls with certainty and not vestibules. Indeed, they might have been responses to the topographical limitations that did not allow deeper carving to carry out the inverted T-plan constituted by the combination of a horizontal vestibule and a perpendicular hall.

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<sup>889</sup> Ousterhout (2005) 92, 94

Kalas defines the hall in Area 1 as a “multi-purpose hall.”<sup>890</sup> Nevertheless, the central entrance on the long wall of the horizontal hall dividing the space into two equal parts as well providing direct access from the courtyard indicate a different spatial perception and behavior which is certainly not as hierarchical and secluded as the longitudinal halls with emphasized ends. Here, the kinds of activities that required or accepted the equality of the occupants needs to be determined. In this respect, these horizontal halls could not have been refectories or audience halls, for both made use of spatial hierarchy. On the other hand, these decorated halls were too spacious to be a simple multifunctional room or a “day room.”

#### Horizontal Hall (5):

- 5 of 31 complexes had a horizontal (main) hall parallel to the cliff
  - 4 of 5 had a flat ceiling
  - 1 of 5 had a barrel-vault
- 4 of 5 horizontal halls were directly entered through the courtyard
  - 1 of 5 also had entrance from the church naos
- 1 of 5 horizontal halls was entered through the vestibule
- 2 of 5 complexes had niches carved on one of the short wall
  - 1 of 2 also had niches on the long wall facing the entrance
  - 1 of 2 also had niches on the long walls

## **7.5 Churches<sup>891</sup>**

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<sup>890</sup> Kalas (2009a) 166

<sup>891</sup> For the Byzantine church architecture in general see: Ramsay and Bell (1909); Mathews (1982); Krautheimer, R. and S. Ćurčić. *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*. New York: Viking Penguin, 1986; Safran, L. *Heaven on Earth. Art and the Church in Byzantium*. Pennsylvania: State University Press, 1988; Ousterhout, R. “An Apologia for Byzantine Architecture.” *Gesta* 35 (1) (1996): 21–33.

For church architecture of Cappadocia see Jerphanion (1925-42); Thierry and Thierry (1963); Thierry, N. “The Rock Churches.” *Arts of Cappadocia*. ed. Giovannini, L. (Geneva, 1972), 129-75; Epstein, A. W. ed. “Cappadocia.” *Art of Empire: Painting and Architecture of the Byzantine Periphery: a Comparative Study of Four Provinces*. (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1988), 13-51; Kostof (1989); Ötügen (1989); Jolivet-Lévy (1991); Teteriatnikov (1996); Akyürek, Engin. “Fourth to Eleventh Centuries Byzantine Cappadocia.” *Cappadocia*. ed. Metin Sözen. Istanbul: Ayhan Şahenk Foundation, 1998.

Two thirds of the complexes in our sample had an attached main church, whereas the majority had a cross-in square plan.<sup>892</sup> This plan type was typical for the middle Byzantine and appeared in Cappadocia during this period.<sup>893</sup> Almost all churches were at the ground floor, often on one of the lateral wings of the complex. In addition to four upstairs churches, only two were slightly above the courtyard level. While the majority were entered only from the courtyard through a single entrance, at least five complexes had an additional entrance from the vestibule or another space, which was atypical for Cappadocian churches. Indeed, Teteriatnikov asserts that Cappadocian churches differed from the Constantinopolitan ones in that they predominantly had a one-door access and no galleries. Consequently, various ranks of clergy, monks and laity used the same entrance and the same undivided naos in Cappadocia. Clergy must have been closer to the sanctuary followed by the monk and laity, whereas women might have stood near the entrance (if they were allowed to participate in the ceremony).<sup>894</sup> On the other hand, side spaces linked with the church naos in some Courtyard Complexes indicate private access for the patron and/ or might have served in the same way as a women gallery does.

A narthex or a porch preceded the majority of the churches in our sample. Due to the limitation of the topography, the location of these “entrance compartments” in relation to the naos was inconsistent. According to Teteriatnikov, the porch was continuously developed from the early throughout middle Byzantine period whereas narthexes were increasingly used in the middle Byzantine.<sup>895</sup> Only the entrance to the church in Karanlık Kale was formed as a “tunnel porch.” According to Teteriatnikov, the few example of this type are found in churches dated to the ninth and early tenth century.<sup>896</sup> Domed cruciform porch substituting for the narthex is found in several complexes in our sample including Açıksaray

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<sup>892</sup> Rodley (1985) describes this type as the “inscribed cross” plan, while Kalas (2000) describes it as “four support, nine bay” plan.

<sup>893</sup> Teteriatnikov (1996) 50

<sup>894</sup> Ibid., 227-8

<sup>895</sup> Ibid., 228-9

<sup>896</sup> Ibid., 139

Area 8. This was also rare among the types of “entrance compartments” and as Teteriatnikov emphasizes, are only found in the middle Byzantine churches.<sup>897</sup> More than half of the entrances contained burials in the form of arcosolia or graves cut in the floor. Two of the narthexes had attached tomb chambers. Four complexes had an adjacent side chapel containing graves. Burials related to the complexes point to the importance given to the commemorative places.<sup>898</sup> Graves of infants and children indicate private burials of families. On the other hand, in addition to burials found at entrances and the naos, some side chapels tailored to cover a single grave as in Eski Gümüş highlight patronage (fig. 5.2.14.). Interestingly, the unique chair carved in a central pillar in the church of Selime Kalesi (Area 2) in Selime-Yaprakhisar and the single grave in its porch might have belonged to the same person, namely the patron of the complex (fig. 5.1.2.10.). Both marked his dominant position when he was alive and after his death.<sup>899</sup>

#### Churches (25):

- 21 of 31 complexes having at least one church had 25 churches all together
  - 15 of 25 churches had a domed cross-in-square plan
  - 2 of 25 churches were three aisled basilicas
    - 1 of 2 was with two supports
    - 1 of 2 was with three supports
  - 1 of 25 was a single nave church; led to a lateral barrel-vaulted room
  - 1 of 25 was a double-nave church (upstairs)
  - 4 of 25 churches were small/ simple
  - 2 of 25 were separate funerary chapels (upstairs)
- All (25) churches were attached to the complex
  - 14 of 25 were entered from the courtyard/ or front door place
  - 1 of 25 was entered from the one of the short walls of the vestibule

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<sup>897</sup> Ibid., 140, mentions that one of the earliest example was the church of St. Barbara in Soğanlı (ca 1006).

<sup>898</sup> Ibid., 178

<sup>899</sup> See Section 5.1.2. in Chapter 5.

- 2 of 25 were entered from the one of the short walls of the vestibule *and* front door space
- 1 of 25 was entered from the one of the short walls of the horizontal hall *and* courtyard
- 2 of 25 were entered from the courtyard *and* a side room
- 4 of 25 were upstairs
- 16 of 25 were preceded by a narthex/ or porch
  - 9<sup>900</sup> of 16 contained burials
  - 4 of 16 had an adjacent tomb chamber
  - 1 of 16 led to a lateral barrel-vaulted room
- 4 of 25 churches had an adjacent side chapel containing burials<sup>901</sup>
  - 3 of 4 contained a single grave

In Açıksaray only two of eight complexes, Areas 5 and 8 had a church (fig. 6.24., 6.32.). This is highly remarkable when compared with the frequency of attached churches in the rest of our sample. Indeed, within the category of Isolated Courtyard Complexes only one complex, Kılıçlar lacks an attached church. Once again this indicates that complexes in Açıksaray were not independent but belonged together, where inhabitants worshipped in shared churches. In addition, Teteriatnikov who mentions the “prohibition against celebrating the liturgy twice on the same altar in the same day” points to the widespread presence of multiple sanctuaries in the church in the Christian East.<sup>902</sup> Likewise, in Cappadocia she interprets the “increased multiplication of sanctuaries in a single church [...] as a monastic phenomenon of the non-urban environment.”<sup>903</sup> In this sense, the fact that attached churches in Açıksaray had single apses and that they lacked side chapels also denies the initial monastic identity. Moreover, as mentioned in Part I, a church

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<sup>900</sup> It might be more than this but due to the high degree of natural and human destruction we were not able to enter all the narthexes/ porches.

<sup>901</sup> In general, these are chapels that were adjacent to the naos or narthex/ porch of the main church; Teteriatnikov (1996), uses the word subsidiary chapel instead of side chapel.

<sup>902</sup> Teteriatnikov (1996) 73

<sup>903</sup> Ibid., 78



adjacent to a complex alone does not indicate a monastic use, since private chapels were common from the late antiquity onwards. However, there were no burials in the churches in Areas 5 and 8.<sup>904</sup> Instead, we found a large rock-cut cemetery above Area 3.2 (fig. 6.74.-76.).

## 7.6. Multifunctional Rooms/ Distinctive Rooms

### *Multifunctional Rooms*

Besides the main public areas consisting of the vestibule, halls and the church, as well as utilitarian spaces such as the kitchen and the stable, a series of rooms without an obvious function were also attached to the Courtyard Complexes. Yet, due to the degree of destruction, it is not possible to give a precise number for these. Nonetheless, it is sure enough that the great majority were much smaller than the main receptional spaces and were entered directly from the courtyard. A series of other rooms as much as half of the rooms opening into the courtyard are found behind the receptional core. They were accessed either through the vestibule or the main hall. Also it is highly remarkable that only a minority of the rooms had multiple entrances, while almost all had purely interior links without a courtyard connection. This might indicate on the one hand, that the majority of rooms carved around the courtyards were somewhat independent units and on the other hand, that rooms located at the core, behind the main façade were part of the reception suite. Besides, there is usually no evidence for rock-cut furniture or carved hearts and chimneys, which could point to a particular function. In general, therefore we characterize the rooms that were located either on a lateral wing of the complex or behind the main façade as multifunctional rooms. Although they were usually not secluded from the rest of the complex, their number allowed retreat for individuals. In the Roman *atrium* house, rooms connected to a similar courtyard location and

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<sup>904</sup> Of course, we might not have seen graves due to the increased floor level. Indeed, small barrel-vaulted room opening into the porch of the church in Area 8 could have been a tomb chamber.

size are identified as *cubiculum* (pl. *cubicula*), or bedrooms. Nevertheless, these could also have served various other purposes including private receptions.<sup>905</sup>

#### Multifunctional Rooms:<sup>906</sup>

- 63 rooms were entered from the courtyard
- 13 rooms were entered from one of the short walls of the vestibule (*eyvan*)
- 10 rooms were entered from the long wall of the vestibule
- 11 rooms were entered from the main hall
  - 4 of 11 were on the axial end of the main hall
  - 7 of 11 were on one of the lateral sides of the main hall
- 11 rooms were upstairs
- 6 rooms had multiple entrances from different interior spaces
- 2 rooms had multiple entrances from the courtyard and an interior space

#### *Distinctive Rooms*

Nonetheless, some of the rooms being closer to the “public” core of the complex differed from others in that they were larger and/ or distinctively decorated. In Area 1 in Çanlı Kilise an apsidal room almost as large as the main hall was entered from one of the short ends of the vestibule. Here the longitudinal hall and a centrally planned side hall both perpendicular to the vestibule already formed an extensive receptional suite (fig. 5.1.1.8.). The basilical main hall in Hallaç was flanked by two small but heavily decorated square rooms. Interestingly, here too, the complex had an additional centrally planned hall entered from one of the short ends of the vestibule (fig. 5.2.29.). Likewise, in Karanlık Kale, in addition to the main hall and the cruciform hall behind it, a large barrel-vaulted room with an axial and a side niche was set next to the main hall perpendicular to the vestibule (fig. 5.2.11.). In this sense, these substantial rooms at the core of the complex may have been a supplementary reception space, whereas some were reserved for women. In a similar way, Özgenel points to a group of rooms, which were smaller than the

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<sup>905</sup> Özgenel (2007) 271-2, 264

<sup>906</sup> Due to the high degree of erosion any given number as the total would be misleading.

audience halls but larger than other usual rooms in the late antique houses in Asia Minor. She defines them as multi purpose “day rooms” where more private receptions might have taken place for a limited number of guests, possibly for both men and women together.<sup>907</sup>

On the other hand, barrel-vaulted rooms constitute the largest group within the distinctive rooms. Indeed, 9 of 31 complexes had at least 18 rooms covered by a barrel-vault all together. Except for two, all were on the ground floor. It is noteworthy that from 18 barrel-vaulted rooms recorded in our sample 14 rooms similar in size, location and design were in Açıksaray, especially in the main settlement (fig. 6.14., 6.17., 6.21., 6.24., 6.32.). These had approximately half the size of the usual size of the main halls. The great majority in Açıksaray had a single entrance from the courtyard. Here, the forced unity in such architectural details as barrel-vaults springing from cornices, transverse arches dividing vaults into bays, as well as the unity in the size and height (about 4 meters) is striking. Other barrel-vaulted rooms comparable with those in Açıksaray are found in Selime Kalesi (fig. 5.1.2.10.) and Bezir Hane (fig. 5.2.35.), both connected from the short end of the vestibule or *eyvan*. The barrel-vaulted room with an axial and a side niche found in Karanlık Kale is just mentioned above (fig. 5.2.11.). In Direkli Kilise (fig. 5.2.9.), a small barrel-vaulted room added to the main hall at its short end, yet slightly off axis.

Barrel-vaulted rooms either entered from the vestibule or directly from the courtyard were certainly an integral part of the complexes. Their number varies in Açıksaray depending on topographical settings and obviously on the size of the household, from single one up to five in a complex. It is more plausible that these barrel-vaulted rooms were “day rooms,” for the majority would not have met the architectural requirements of a large social gathering.

#### Distinctive Rooms

- 1 of 31 complexes had a domed room; was entered from the courtyard

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<sup>907</sup> Özgenel (2007) 259, 264

- 1 of 31 complexes had a horizontal upstairs room behind the main façade; had a flat-ceiling with calottes and decorated upper walls; was entered through a preceding barrel-vaulted room
- 2 of 31 complexes had 3 flat-ceilinged square rooms with decorated walls all together
  - 1 of 3 was entered from the main hall *and* a preceding room
  - 2 of 3 were only accessible from the main hall
- 9 of 31 complexes had all together 18 barrel-vaulted rooms
  - 16 of 18 barrel-vaulted rooms were on ground floor
    - 9 of 16 were entered from the courtyard
      - 8 of 9 were on one of the lateral sides of the complex
        - 1 of 8 also had entrance from the church
      - 1 of 9 was behind the main façade
    - 3 of 16 were entered from the vestibule
      - 2 of 3 also had entrance from another room
        - 1 of 2 had an axial and a lateral niche
    - 2 of 16 was entered from the main hall
      - 1 of 2 was on the axial end of the main hall
      - 1 of 2 was on a lateral side of the main hall
    - 1 of 16 was entered from the main hall *and* one of the short walls of the *eyvan*
    - 1 of 16 was entered from the church porch
  - 2 of 18 barrel-vaulted rooms were upstairs

#### *Interconnected Rooms in Vicinity*

A number of interconnected rooms in Selime Kalesi (fig. 5.1.2.10.) and Şahinefendi (fig. 5.2.22.) were carved in an individual cone next to the church further south across the main façade. In both cases, the architecture including barrel-vaulted rooms and similarities in details indicates that they belonged to the original complex.<sup>908</sup> Their identical position within each complex and the striking

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<sup>908</sup> Rodley (1985) 39

similarity in their organization are highly remarkable. In addition, a comparable layout is attested in Area 12 in Çanlı Kilise (fig. 5.1.1.21.). Here, a series of interconnected rooms were added on a lateral side of the courtyard. In the case of Selime Kalesi, Kalas proposes a summer quarter as is typical of Mediterranean domestic architecture.<sup>909</sup> Yet, the constant temperature within the carved spaces throughout the year makes a seasonal arrangement needless. Therefore, it is more likely that these interconnected rooms were living quarters of dependent/ servants of the patrons living in the main complex.

## **7.7 Utilitarian Spaces**

### **7.7.1 Kitchens**

Cappadocian Courtyard Complexes differ from simple middle Byzantine houses in that they consist of several rooms varying in form and function. Especially remarkable in our sample is the high frequency of a room with a huge conical chimney-vault, which has been identified as the kitchen of its own (fig. 5.1.1.31.; fig. 5.1.2.21.; fig. 5.2.40.; fig. 6.62.-67.). This is rather extraordinary since cooking and household production even in the ancient period took place in the courtyard.<sup>910</sup> Similarly, in the majority of houses in Greece, which did not include hearths, braziers set close to the front door constituted the kitchen.<sup>911</sup> On the other hand, Foss reports from middle Byzantine houses in Sardis, which contained one or more rooms including a semi circular brick hearth.<sup>912</sup> Likewise, one of the rooms in every house in Pergamon had a hearth built on one of its walls.<sup>913</sup> Nevertheless, besides containing hearths, these rooms had nothing architecturally different from

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<sup>909</sup> Kalas (2000) 151

<sup>910</sup> Sigalos (2004) 56

<sup>911</sup> Ibid., 58

<sup>912</sup> Foss (1976) 70

<sup>913</sup> Rheidt (1990) 199

the rest of the house. Moreover, in smaller houses living, cooking and storage were within the same room.

On the other hand, almost two thirds of the complexes in our sample had spaces specially designed for cooking for a mass of people. While two thirds of the kitchens opened directly into the courtyard or a front door space, less than one third were accessed communicated through the vestibule. Only the kitchen in Eski Gümüş was upstairs.

#### Kitchens (18):

- 18 of 31 complexes had a kitchen with a high conical chimney-vault
  - 12 of 18 were entered from the courtyard
    - 1 of 12 was communicated through a long passage
    - 2 of 12 had an additional entrance from a room connected with the vestibule
  - 2 of 18 were entered from one of the short walls of the vestibule
  - 2 of 18 were entered from the long wall of the vestibule
    - 1 of 2 had an additional entrance from the main hall
  - 1 of 18 was entered from the courtyard *and* vestibule
  - 1 of 18 was upstairs

Carver architects here seem to have used their creativity in shaping a unique form while utilizing the opportunity given by the topography. Still, it is more surprising that conical kitchens found in Courtyard Complexes also differ from simple kitchens identified in the so-called refectory monasteries and in rock-cut villages in the broader region. For instance, the kitchen in Area 3.1 in Açıksaray was carved deep in the rock where it was high enough to form the conical chimney-vault typical of kitchens in our sample (fig. 6.19.). Hence, it had to be connected to the courtyard and rest of the complex via a long tunnel. Another example of topographical adaptation is the kitchen in Eski Gümüş, which was carved upstairs in order to facilitate the opening of a chimney (fig. 5.2.14.).

Interestingly, each kitchen in our sample had at least one elongated and a few smaller niches constituting shelves and a semicircular niche as a hearth. Some also had a *tandır* carved in the floor. Another feature typical of these kitchens is the adjacent smaller rooms that might have provided extra space for storage and food preparation.<sup>914</sup> Furthermore, some of the kitchens had carved benches such as in Karanlık Kale and in Area 3.1 in Açıksaray, which might have facilitated the preparation of meals.

Kalas noticed that in general the kitchen and the church often have similar proportions in the Courtyard Complexes. Following this, she suggests that “the number of people found worshipping in the church at any given moment could also be found in the kitchen.”<sup>915</sup> However, on the one hand, this would mean that men also took part in the activities in the kitchen. On the other hand, an approximate proportion can also be suggested between the church or kitchen and several other spaces. Therefore, it is more likely that the kitchen was rather a communal room serving the daily gathering of women, where the latter also carried out their duties related to household manufacture. This would also explain the unexpectedly large volume as well as carved benches and pit-looms found in some examples. Likewise, Kalas uses the existence of pit-looms to emphasize the domestic function of the complexes.<sup>916</sup>

There is not a single complex in our sample, which had a rock-carved table (*trapeza*). Oikonomidès interprets built-in furniture as a sign of lesser status.<sup>917</sup> Thus, a wooden table and benches might have been used in the Courtyard Complexes, which are commonly identified as elite houses. However, one must be careful in transporting this symbolic element to the Cappadocian examples, since the entire complex is rock-cut in the latter. On the other hand, if there was really such a difference of meaning between the built-in and mobile furniture in the

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<sup>914</sup> Kalas (2007) 400

<sup>915</sup> Kalas (2000) 88

<sup>916</sup> Kalas (2006) 288

<sup>917</sup> Oikonomidès (1990) 213; see Section 4.2 in Chapter 4.

Middle Ages, the owner of carved houses might have borrowed this just as they borrowed the vocabulary of *built* architecture.

### 7.7.2 Stables

Because of their practicality rock-cut stables are still in use for such household animals as sheep, goats, cattle, donkeys, mules and horses in Cappadocia. Yet, stables found in Courtyard Complexes with separate high mangers and rings to tie the animals individually indicate the presence of tall transport animals such as horses.<sup>918</sup> Accordingly, while studying the stables in Çanlı Kilise, Selime-Yaprakhisar and Açıksaray, Tütüncü measured the height of the majority of mangers above 80 cm.<sup>919</sup> The number of mangers varied from five to twenty, while the majority had more than fifteen mangers indicating fifteen horses.<sup>920</sup> Large niches other than mangers were carved in the entrances of stables. These and small, crude rooms next to the entrances indicate a use as storage for extra fodder. As far as there was not a second story above, stables had a ventilation hole in the ceiling.

Scholars associate stables related to the Courtyard Complexes with the “tradition of horse breeding in Cappadocia.”<sup>921</sup> Kalas proposes to look at stables in order to judge the nature of the households. Accordingly she writes:

One way to assess the relative scale of Cappadocia’s complexes is to compare the sizes and shapes of their stables [...] if the number of mangers could be seen to indicate the number of transport animals owned by each household, five horses still demonstrate an elite household status.<sup>922</sup>

As a matter of fact, Alexander Kazhdan and John Nesbitt point to the late Byzantine *praktika* suggesting that “only the richest peasants could afford horses.”

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<sup>918</sup> Kalas (2000) 137; Ousterhout (2005) 153; Tütüncü (2008) 62.

<sup>919</sup> Tütüncü (2008) 2; a comprehensive account of Cappadocian rock-cut stables was recently given by Tütüncü (2008).

<sup>920</sup> Kalas (2000) 137-8; Kalas (2007) 407; See Tütüncü (2008) 87 Table I.

<sup>921</sup> Ousterhout (2005) 153; see also Kalas (2000) 137-8 and Tütüncü (2008); see Section 2.2 in Chapter 2 and footnote 31.

<sup>922</sup> Kalas (2007) 407, refers to Kazhdan, A. P. “The Peasantry.” *The Byzantines*. ed. G. Cavallo. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), 53 and Kazhdan and Nesbitt (1991) 948.



Accordingly, less well-to-do villagers probably had “half of a horse.”<sup>923</sup> Consequently, stables in Courtyard Complexes housing up to twenty horses have led scholars to insist on the “elite status” of their owners. Hence, Kalas asserts that horses were raised by “Cappadocia’s great landowning class of aristocratic families [...] to supply the imperial army and to supply the landowners’ own local contingents as well.”<sup>924</sup> Indeed, already by the beginning of the seventh century the cavalry was the backbone of the elite troops. Besides war and agriculture, nobles used horses also for hunting.<sup>925</sup> On the other hand, monasteries possessed horses too, as the Anthonite monastery in Xenophon, which according to Kazhdan and Nesbitt “had 100 dray horses and donkeys” in the eleventh century.<sup>926</sup> Sure enough, horses were still much more “expensive” and “luxurious” than other animals.<sup>927</sup>

Back to our sample, one third of the complexes had stables usually at the outermost location. From them almost half were in Açıksaray. Indeed, the high density of elaborate stables in Açıksaray is noteworthy. Here, more than 60 horses at least could be housed at one time.

#### Stable (10):

- 10 of 31 complexes had a stable
  - 9 of 10 stables were longitudinal with lateral mangers
    - 2 of 9 had a flat ceiling
    - 7 of 9 had a barrel-vault
  - 1 of 10 stables was horizontal flat-ceilinged with mangers on the long wall facing the entrance

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<sup>923</sup> Kazhdan and Nesbitt (1991) 948

<sup>924</sup> Kalas (2000) 138; Tütüncü (2008); see Section 4.3.2. in Chapter 4

<sup>925</sup> Kazhdan and Nesbitt (1991) 948; for sources providing information on horse breeding in Roman and Byzantine Cappadocia see Tütüncü (2008) 41-9; for Byzantine warhorses and cavalry see Tütüncü (2008) 49-52; for the everyday use of horses see Tütüncü (2008) 54-6.

<sup>926</sup> Kazhdan and Nesbitt (1991) 948

<sup>927</sup> Tütüncü (2008) 5

Ousterhout mentions several stables in Çanlı Kilise. He noticed stables with a barrel-vault and high mangers, which he highlights as the “standard form” in Areas 1, 10, 14, 15 and 16 (fig. 5.1.1.32.).<sup>928</sup> There is yet another, flat-ceilinged stable in Area 20 (fig. 5.1.1.33.). Nevertheless, some stables indicate a later addition by locals, for only two of them, those in Areas 1 and 15, were directly related to a Courtyard Complex. Şahinefendi and Erdemli are the only Isolated Courtyard Complexes, which included stables. The stable that we discovered in Şahinefendi was small and had a rough vault (fig. 5.2.43.). Stables are found near Selime Kalesi and Eski Gümüş (fig. 5.2.42.). Nevertheless, none of the above mentioned stables apart from the stable in Area 15 in Çanlı Kilise was as elaborate as the barrel-vaulted stables of Açıksaray (fig. 6.68.-73.). Three of the four large stables found in Açıksaray were with certainty contemporary with the main settlement (Group II). They had identical barrel-vaults springing from heavy cornices as seen in vestibules, in the main hall of Area 5 and in numerous barrel-vaulted rooms throughout the site.

### **7.7.3. Other Utilities**

#### *Storages*

Today Cappadocia is famed for its modern storage facilities as much as for its rock-cut churches. The rediscovery of ideal climatic conditions in carved spaces for storing food products for a long period is the reason for this newly development. Certainly, this unique character of Cappadocia’s rock-cut spaces was known also in the middle ages and earlier. As a matter of fact, the Arabs called the area of underground cities between Niğde (Nakida) and Nevşehir Matmura (al-Matamır (pl.)) which means “underground grain storages.”<sup>929</sup> On the other hand, Kazhdan and Epstein point to local aristocratic families in general, who owned large lands especially around urban centers in the tenth century. These landed families who played a crucial role in the food supply of cities needed larger storage spaces within

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<sup>928</sup>Ousterhout (2005) 152-3; see Ousterhout (2005) fig. 70-74.

<sup>929</sup>Hild and Restle (1981) 45-6; see Section 2.1 in Chapter 2.

their courtyard houses.<sup>930</sup> In this sense, the relative closeness of the settlement in Açıksaray to the multiple storey granaries of the village Çat located few kilometers south of the same valley is worth investigating further. However, Cappadocia has probably never been productive enough to support a large population<sup>931</sup> and Açıksaray was not near an ancient urban center, though it was at the crossing of important roads.

In investigating items of middle-class households from the eleventh to the fifteenth century, Oikonomidès discovered large jars and barrels for storing oil, wine or wheat in the households of both laymen and monks living in countryside where people had to store the harvest for all year.<sup>932</sup> As for Cappadocian Courtyard Complexes, it is often hard to define a room as an exclusively storage space, for architectural features indicating this purpose directly are often lacking. Indeed, the only complex in our sample where *pithoi* were found is the complex in Eski Gümüş.<sup>933</sup> Apart from niches in kitchens, small rooms added to them in some examples, and very few pits, which could be interpreted as storages, there is a paucity of recognizable storage facilities within the complexes. Yet, carved rings on ceilings of many rooms (though some appear to be secondary) suggest hanging as an alternative way of storing. This practice must also have been a precaution against animals. Consequently, it seems that each household stored according to its own need. Larger storages such as silos might have been somewhere near, though collapsed spaces do not allow closer survey. Probably for the same reason, the only mill recorded within our sample was in the isolated complex in Erdemli, which apparently was also the only mill of the entire settlement there.<sup>934</sup>

#### *Wine Production*

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<sup>930</sup> Kazhdan and Epstein (1985) 94

<sup>931</sup> Foss (1991) 378

<sup>932</sup> Oikonomidès (1990) 211

<sup>933</sup> Sure enough, raised ground levels hinder a closer investigation in general. Moreover, we were not able to enter all complexes, and the spaces belonging to them.

<sup>934</sup> Karakaya (2006) 502

Wine presses are found near all of the Ensemble of Courtyard Complexes in Çanlı Kilise, Selime Kalesi and Açık Saray, as well as in the Isolated Courtyard Complex in Erdemli. Whether they were contemporary with the complexes or not is not easy to decide. On the one hand, Ousterhout points to the transformation of many formal interior spaces, which were subdivided by rubble walls and were recut to be used among others for wine production, as in Area 5 in Çanlı Kilise.<sup>935</sup> On the other hand, according to Kazhdan and Constable, wine was part of the normal Byzantine menu.<sup>936</sup> Wine was available in the households of both laymen and monks living in countryside.<sup>937</sup> Houses of different contexts are mentioned in connection with wine cellars or presses.<sup>938</sup> In a Byzantine village, besides silos, oil-presses, mills and water mills, wine presses also belonged either to the village, to individual peasants or to the landlords.<sup>939</sup>

#### *Dovecotes*

Prior to the introduction of chemical fertilizers, agricultural societies in the region were dependent on the collection of pigeon dung, a common practice wherever the soil was poor in nitrogen.<sup>940</sup> For this reason, dovecotes are found in many of the Courtyard Complexes. While some of them were contemporary with the medieval settlements, others were secondary extensions.<sup>941</sup> Nevertheless, as Ousterhout claims, “the majority of the dovecotes were integral components of the Byzantine courtyard complexes.”<sup>942</sup> Accordingly, in Çanlı Kilise in the formally

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<sup>935</sup> Ousterhout (2005) 174

<sup>936</sup> Kazhdan and Constable (1982) 55

<sup>937</sup> Oikonomidès (1990) 211

<sup>938</sup> Kuban (1995)30, mentions Theodor Karabas, who had six houses of one or two stories. Among them, a single story building with a domed roof and portico is mentioned in connection with a courtyard and a wine cellar; according to Doğan (2008), houses in Alanya, which were used from the fifth to the twelfth century were installed with presses that indicate production of olive oil or wine.

<sup>939</sup> Laiou (2005) 45

<sup>940</sup> Ousterhout (2005) 154; Amirkhani et al. (2009) 177

<sup>941</sup> Kalas (2000) 98-9

<sup>942</sup> Ousterhout (2005) 153

arranged Courtyard Complexes dovecotes were carved behind the façades while there was apparently no direct access from the rooms below.<sup>943</sup> This also can explain the hidden upstairs spaces behind the façades in Açık Saray Areas 1, 5 and 7 (fig. 6.13., 6.23., 6.28.) and the awkward access from the plateau above. The latter must have been to protect pigeons from wild animals such as snakes or foxes.<sup>944</sup> Such an indirect and difficult access must not have been a problem, for it is known that manure was collected at most once a year.<sup>945</sup> In this sense, according to Ousterhout, Courtyard Complexes housing dovecotes were reminiscent of “the Palladian villas of the Italian Renaissance, where similar agricultural spaces were arranged symmetrically and set behind a classical portico in a unified complex.”<sup>946</sup> Nevertheless, dovecotes within the complexes seem to have served only their own “backyard.” Being further away, larger plains must have required larger amounts of fertilizer, which in turn would have been collected in cavities closer to them. Otherwise, a greater number of dovecotes at the core the complexes would have destroyed the impressive façades. Therefore, many of the dovecotes, especially in Çanlı Kilise, point to a later development, where the entire settlement was transformed into agricultural spaces by adding partition walls, wine presses, by converting halls into stables, and obviously by carving numerous dovecotes.<sup>947</sup>

#### *Cisterns*

Water supply must have been crucial for the inhabitants of the Courtyard Complexes living in a climate hot and dry during the summer months. In Çanlı Kilise there are some springs in the vicinity. Courtyard Complexes in Selime-Yaprakhisar flank the *Melendiz* River. Interestingly, Isolated Courtyard Complexes Direkli Kilise and Karanlık Kale were carved in the gorge of Ihlara valley, further south where they also flank the *Melendiz* River. A stream floods the valley of

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<sup>943</sup> Ibid. 154

<sup>944</sup> Amirkhani et al. (2009) 181, mention similar arrangement in the dovecotes in Isfahan in order to reduce the danger of snakes.

<sup>945</sup> Ousterhout (2005) 154; Amirkhani et al. (2009) 181

<sup>946</sup> Ousterhout (2005) 155

<sup>947</sup> Ibid., 174

Açıksaray every spring, while it completely dries up during the summer. Among the Isolated Courtyard Complexes, those in Soğanlı Han and Erdemli also have access to a stream or river because they were part of a larger settlement. On the other hand, the rest of the Isolated Courtyard Complexes did not have an apparent water supply. Because of the unstable water level and the relative distance of the streams or river, settlements in Cappadocia also must have had water reservoirs such as cisterns and cool spaces where the snow of freezing winters could be stored longer.<sup>948</sup> Ousterhout recognized some spaces with apparently a lower floor level and including a hole in the ceiling as probable cisterns. Likewise, in Açıksaray, we found carved hollows having a diameter up to a meter in several locations directly above the complexes. In some cases natural or carved channels led to the hollows. These apparently plastered<sup>949</sup> hollows had smaller holes at the bottom opening into a room underneath. These few meters deep hollows either might have broken accidentally or have been part of a larger drain system including the spaces below.<sup>950</sup>

### *Refuges*

The existence of impressive façades which were visible from far away and the large reception areas on the ground floor exclude the defensive purpose of the Courtyard Complexes. Ousterhout mentions two refuges, each blocked by a rolling stone (millstone), in Çanlı Kilise Area 4. Yet, as Ousterhout warns us, they were more likely later additions to the initial settlement.<sup>951</sup> In Karanlık Kale Rodley mentions seeing a millstone in one of the irregular cavities above the complex, which she assumes to be post-Byzantine.<sup>952</sup> The only isolated complex having direct contact with refuges that were blocked by millstones is Aynalı Kilise (fig. 5.2.25.).

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<sup>948</sup> Ibid., 153

<sup>949</sup> Archaeological analyses are needed here for further discussion.

<sup>950</sup> Ousterhout (2005) 153, refers to a “more elaborate hydrological systems, with water channels and collectors” which was studied by Bicchi, A.R. et al. “Evidences for Hydrogeological Planning in Ancient Cappadocia.” *Le Città sotterranee della Cappadocia*. ed. G. Berrucci, R. Bixio, and M. Traverso (Genova: Erga Edizioni, 1995), 78-86.

<sup>951</sup> Ousterhout (2005) 88-9

<sup>952</sup> Rodley (1985) 100

Refuges subsequently attached to the original complexes indicate a change in security. Therefore, the apparent lack of refuges blocked by millstones in Açıksaray might point to a short habitation. The abandoned works in Areas 7 and 8 also support this (fig. 6.29., 6.32.). Indeed, compared with other Courtyard Complexes, the minor alterations in the main settlement in Açıksaray is noteworthy.

## 7.8 Decorative Elements

Consistency in some decorative elements is remarkable within the Courtyard Complexes. Besides the limitation based on the nature of the rock and carving, a shared lifestyle not only between the occupants of Courtyard Complexes but also between the Christian, Muslim and pagan neighbors in a broader perspective, must have contributed to the appearance of a common design.<sup>953</sup> Accordingly, the most frequent elements were horseshoe- or keyhole-shaped blind arches and openings; carved or painted crosses; zigzag and checkerboard patterns; and figurative elements.

Ousterhout highlights the “blind arcades with horseshoe-shaped arches” as “the norm,” which appeared “in varying levels of complexity throughout Cappadocia.”<sup>954</sup> Indeed, horseshoe-shaped elements varied from few centimeters high blind arcades as at the entablature of the church in Area 8 in Açıksaray (fig. 6.53.) to entrances in the main façades also exemplified in Açıksaray (fig. 6.12., 6.15., 6.22., 6.30.). The horseshoe arcade seen everywhere in Çanlı Kilise differed from those of other complexes, in that it was frequently combined with the gable.<sup>955</sup> In Açıksaray, Area 1 was the only façade including an arch pierced by a gable (fig. 6.12.-13.). In the lateral façade in Hallaç, a gabled arch also decorated the entrance to the church (fig. 5.2.28.). Yet, unlike those in Çanlı Kilise (fig. 5.1.1.17.) which were used in series those in Açıksaray and Hallaç were in isolation.<sup>956</sup> Moreover,

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<sup>953</sup> See Section 2.3 in Chapter 2 and Section 4.3 in Chapter 4.

<sup>954</sup> Ousterhout (2005) 151

<sup>955</sup> Ibid.

<sup>956</sup> Ibid.

walls of distinctive spaces usually were divided into two unequal registers, whereas the upper part was commonly decorated by horseshoe-shaped arcades (fig. 5.1.1.19.; fig. 5.1.2.17.; fig. 5.2.36.; fig. 6.39., 6.41.-42.).

The Maltese cross, Latin cross or cross with splayed arms and stem were used in the decoration of main façades as well as the interior walls and ceilings of the various spaces (fig. 5.2.23. and fig. 6.12.). In Çanlı Kilise the Maltese cross was preferred, while in Açıksaray, the splayed arms and stem were the favorite. The horizontal hall in Area 1 in Açıksaray (fig. 6.40.), the cruciform hall in Selime Kalesi (Area 2) as well as the horizontal hall in Area 8 in Selime-Yaprakhisar (fig. 5.1.2.10., 5.1.2.14.), were all adorned by large crosses carved on their flat-ceilings.<sup>957</sup> As for barrel-vaults, they usually sprang from cornices (fig. 6.34.-36., 6.59.-60.), while domes were rather symbolic features, usually left as hemispheres without elaborate transitional element (fig. 5.1.1.11.; fig. 5.2.27.; fig. 5.2.37., fig. 6.44.).<sup>958</sup>

Complexes in Çanlı Kilise also differ from others in displaying abundantly zigzag patterns. Interestingly, Scott Redford suggests a link between the zigzag and checkerboard patterns that were ubiquitous in Cappadocian churches of the eleventh century (fig. 5.2.23.) and those found in the Seljuk buildings associated with the sultan. In this regard, he points to spaces which were decorated with these special patterns serving diverse ceremonies and political receptions in the Seljuk court and similar ceremonies in Byzantium. Consequently, he suggests Byzantium as a possible source of this particular design.<sup>959</sup> Yet, Redford acknowledges that “[a]mple opportunity existed for imitation on both sides” and sees the “Rûm Seljuk influence on Byzantine secular art and architecture consonant with Islamic influences on that area of Byzantine art beginning as early as the ninth century.” Accordingly, he concludes that “the cultural borrowing must have gone two ways, especially when one considers the well-known Byzantine paramountcy in

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<sup>957</sup> Verzone (1962) 134, mistakenly identified the geometric vocabulary such as the horseshoe shaped arches and carved crosses in Açıksaray as iconoclastic.

<sup>958</sup> Ousterhout (2005) 151

<sup>959</sup> Redford (2000) 89, 104; Redford (2000) 89, underlines that “painted plaster imitations of more costly marble panelling” was an “established Byzantine practice.”



craftsmanship, celebrated throughout the medieval world.”<sup>960</sup> Therefore, it hardly comes as a surprise that “[t]he Rūm Seljuk appropriation of the double-headed eagle as a symbol of state sovereignty is its best known borrowing from Byzantium.”<sup>961</sup> As for figure depictions found in Courtyard Complexes, Rodley points to some tenth century Armenian and Georgian parallels when considering the unique figure in Hallaç. Rodley suggests this might be the work of an Armenian mason who migrated during the major population movement from Armenia to other parts of Anatolia in the eleventh century.<sup>962</sup> Likewise, animals were depicted in Selime Kalesi Area 2 and in Açıksaray Areas 1 and 3.2.

## 7.9. Cemeteries

In addition to the limited number of burials found in the churches, side chapels, funerary chapels (fig. 5.2.38.) or tomb chambers, groups of rock-cut graves are found on the top of several complexes in Çanlı Kilise (fig. 5.1.1.6.) and above Area 3.2. in Açıksaray (fig. 6.74.-76.). It is plausible that other Courtyard Complexes also had burials carved in a similar way on their “roof,” yet this requires closer investigation *in situ*. Interestingly, in Çanlı Kilise the location of these small cemeteries usually coincide with the bedrock covering the church of the respective complex below. Likewise, in Açıksaray the large cemetery containing ca. 120 graves was carved above the supposed church of Area 3.2. This might support the suggestion of a later transformation of the irregular spaces here into a church (Rooms 6 and 7). In Çanlı Kilise and in Açıksaray, graves of infants point to the women and their children among inhabitants of the Courtyard Complexes. The identical form and execution of graves in both sites indicate contemporaneity with the initial settlements. Since burials in other locations seem to have lacked in Açıksaray, the cemetery above Area 3.2 was probably the main cemetery of the

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<sup>960</sup> Redford (2000) 89

<sup>961</sup> Ibid.; see also Brand, C. M. “The Turkish Element in Byzantium, Eleventh-Twelfth Centuries.” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 43 (1989): 1-25.

<sup>962</sup> Nevertheless, as mentioned previously, the westernmost area that was inhabited by Armenians was Caesarea (Hild and Restle (1981) 98). See Chapter 2.

settlement. As for Çanlı Kilise, Ousterhout mentions an extensive cemetery, which he calls “south cemetery,” across the road, opposite Areas 3 and 4 (fig. 5.1.1.2.). He refers to Rott who also noted a cemetery in this direction, where he found a burial of a monk Pankratos. Nevertheless, neither Ousterhout nor we were able to relocate his tombstone.<sup>963</sup> Moreover, Ousterhout emphasizes the awkwardness of this south cemetery. Interestingly, he also noted crosses here beside tombstones reminiscent of those of Seljuks. Therefore, he speculates a late date for this unusual cemetery.<sup>964</sup>

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<sup>963</sup> Ousterhout (2005) 89, refers to Rott (1908) 262.

<sup>964</sup> Ousterhout (2005) 90

## CHAPTER 8

### CONCLUSION

Based on the results outlined so far, especially from the comparative architectural investigation in Chapter Seven, we conclude with certainty that there is a distinctive architectural typology that we call the Cappadocian Courtyard Complex. Furthermore, the study affirms that this typology possesses two sub-categories: Ensemble of Courtyard Complexes and Isolated Courtyard Complexes. This classification proposed here for the first time, proved itself as highly reliable. Thirdly, either within an ensemble or in isolation Cappadocian Courtyard Complexes emerge as self-sufficient secular establishments belonging to people of similar social rank. Finally, the contention that the Açıksaray Group -although having some of the best examples of Courtyard Complexes – bears idiosyncratic features has been verified by architectural evidence.

More generally, after Rodley's recognition of Courtyard Complexes in *Cave Monasteries of Byzantine Cappadocia*<sup>965</sup> this is the first comprehensive study, which has attempted to discuss all so-far known Courtyard Complexes with a special focus on their architecture. Within this framework, the study also tested the combined impact of the otherness of carved architecture and the Cappadocian landscape on the emergence of Courtyard Complexes. An important finding is that the carving process with traditional methods in medieval Cappadocia took from twice to three times longer than initially assumed. On the other hand, the close study of aerial photographs and in *situ* investigation revealed the highly underestimated role played by the topography in the rise and development of the settlements.

Based on inscriptions found in some of the funerary chapels related to the complexes, styles of painting programs of the attached churches and architectural

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<sup>965</sup> Rodley (1985), does not include the Çanlı Kilise group and the Isolated Courtyard Complex in Erdemli.

development, it is possible to date the Cappadocian Courtyard Complexes from the late tenth to eleventh centuries. Consistent architectural solutions and similar decorative elements in different topographical settings and locations throughout Cappadocia support this chronological range proposed in general for all the complexes in our sample. Hence, besides the physical settings of the Courtyard Complexes and the idiosyncratic environment, the medieval context was also probed in the study, in order to acquire a practical understanding concerning the nature of medieval life and society. It was shown that Cappadocia was not only a geographical border zone between the Christian and Islamic worlds but it also constituted a conceptual interface feeding both monastic and secular communities.

Yet, until recently the tendency to categorize all simple cavities as the houses of “primitive people” while categorizing all better organized or more sophisticated structures as monasteries had led Cappadocian studies into a cul-de-sac. Without doubt, the famous Cappadocian church fathers - although they lived five or six centuries prior to the emergence of the Courtyard Complexes - also affected the initial monastic identity.<sup>966</sup> Nevertheless, so-far not a single written document refers to Cappadocia as a monastic center, although the latter were numerous in other parts of the Byzantine empire. The study emphatically demonstrates the fallacy of this perceptual problem of the “monastic myth.”

Ousterhout identified Courtyard Complexes in general as houses of landowning military aristocrats. According to him, these were reminiscent of the self-sufficient Palladian villas. In reverse, Marlia Mundell Mango pointed to parallels between the latter and the monastic model of St. Basil. Hence, it is not surprising that scholars excavating Keloş Kale (fig. 3.4), near modern Birecik, were unsure about the function of the complex there, which could have been a monastic establishment or a villa rustica just as well.<sup>967</sup> Hence, the difficulty in determining the function of a self-sufficient establishment is not peculiar to Cappadocian Courtyard Complexes. In addition, the well-known practice of converting secular settings into monasteries complicates the situation. Indeed, the scholarship on

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<sup>966</sup> Ousterhout (1997a) 422, 425; Kalas (2007) 394-5.

<sup>967</sup> Ousterhout (2005) 155; Mango, M. M. (2002) 209; Baumeister, Roos and Saner (2007) 623-74.

Byzantine monasticism and Byzantine dwelling faces similar problems of diffuse evidence. Because of this, there is frequently an overlap. Moreover, when it is recalled that the military camp (fig. 3.3) was taken as a model for the cenobitic form of monasticism (fig. 3.2),<sup>968</sup> it is not surprising at all that the complexes in Açıksaray have been interchangeably identified as monasteries, houses of wealthy landowners, and all together as military staging camps. Nonetheless, since Courtyard Complexes are found both in isolation as well as within an ensemble, besides the self-sufficiency also their complementary character was tested in this study. The topographical and functional investigation in this regard has conclusively proven that in the Açıksaray Group, the complexes forming the main settlement were deliberately planned as an entity and not piecemeal.

Concerning questions of monastic settlement, unlike western models it is difficult to talk of a standard plan for the Byzantine monastery. Nevertheless, consistency in the appearance of some elements facilitates their identification. According to Popović for example, the coexistence of an enclosure wall, a church and a refectory, all together indicate a monastic establishment.<sup>969</sup> However, this study showed that a church attached to a complex alone does not prove the monastic identity. On the other hand, the frequent presence of churches in Isolated Courtyard Complexes contrasts sharply with their extreme paucity in the Açıksaray Group. As for refectories in general, despite minor variations they had a fairly consistent design.<sup>970</sup> Yet, interestingly, not even one of the complexes in our sample had a rock-cut *trapeza* nor flanking benches, although this type was numerous elsewhere in Cappadocia. This is remarkable, since even hermits gathered twice a week for communal worship, which was followed by the communal meal.<sup>971</sup> Therefore, we agree with Rodley's formal differentiation of Cappadocian "cave monasteries" into the "courtyard monasteries" and the "refectory monasteries,"<sup>972</sup> though without

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<sup>968</sup> Mango (1980) 106-7

<sup>969</sup> Popović (1998)

<sup>970</sup> Ibid.

<sup>971</sup> Ibid., 282-3

<sup>972</sup> Rodley (1985)

agreeing with the monastic identity of the “courtyard” type. Rodley attributes “transient patrons” for the commissioning of numerous cave churches in Cappadocia during the late ninth century under the regained control of Byzantium.<sup>973</sup> She asserts that the so-called courtyard monasteries were probably a later development of this turning into memorials of wealthy patrons.<sup>974</sup> According to Rodley, refectory monasteries on the other hand were directly related with venerated sites, probably acting as host for visitors.<sup>975</sup> Yet, interestingly they are also alternatingly found in isolation or within an ensemble as in the Göreme valley. Moreover, the identical wall decorations used in the Courtyard Complexes and the only refectory monastery in Çanlı Kilise, suggest the contemporaneity of these two distinctive typologies side by side. Likewise, the Isolated Courtyard Complexes of Bezir Hane and Kılıçlar were each in the neighborhood of refectory monasteries. Nevertheless, there is nothing strange about this, for monastic formations in several forms indisputably found place in the Byzantine daily life. Some of these refectory monasteries, especially those in the close neighborhood of Courtyard Complexes might even have been commissioned by the patrons of the latter. This act of “piety” would not only have “ensured” salvation for patrons after death and an eternal resting place but also furnished them with a good reputation while living. Furthermore, monasteries were profitable investments, so much that they contributed to preparing the financial end of the empire.

Concerning questions of secular settlement, the attested communal life led us to review medieval forms of dwelling and villages elsewhere. It was found that Cappadocian Courtyard Complexes isolated or within an ensemble differed considerably from the simple rubric of Byzantine rural housing. Nor were their inhabitants simple peasants. Indeed, Rheidt asserts that the Byzantine family and household did not differ much from Turkish rural households.<sup>976</sup> On the other hand, Courtyard Complexes were not at all typical of Byzantine village settlements where

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<sup>973</sup> Ibid., 254

<sup>974</sup> Ibid., 250

<sup>975</sup> Ibid.

<sup>976</sup> Rheidt (1990) 204

usually single space houses were densely built opening into a common courtyard. Although rock-cut settlements are found in other areas like Phrygia, Lykaonia and South Paphlagonia,<sup>977</sup> there is no report of a distinctive typology resembling Cappadocian Courtyard Complexes. Yet, interestingly, Courtyard Complexes also differ from the other carved settlements in Cappadocia. In contrast to entire settlements carved underground or hidden behind blind walls in the region, Courtyard Complexes adorned with impressive façades loudly pronounce their existence. In this respect, they are more reminiscent of large estates usually established in isolation in border zones.<sup>978</sup> On the other hand, a series of complexes in our sample were carved next to one another forming the settlements in Çanlı Kilise, Selime-Yaprakhisar and Açıksaray. This raises one of the most important questions in our study: How is it that the Courtyard Complexes functioned in isolation as well as side-by-side? This is actually the re-formulation of questions already asked by Rodley and Ousterhout. On the one hand, with the Açıksaray Group in mind Rodley felt the need “to look for a function that requires a group of complexes on a single site.”<sup>979</sup> On the other hand, Ousterhout who challenges the initial monastic identity of Çanlı Kilise questions “the purpose of so many monasteries set side-by-side.”<sup>980</sup> Our comparative architectural investigation revealed that differences in scale and design between the complexes in our sample are often negligible. This points to equality of status among the patrons of Courtyard Complexes. On the other hand, the simpler cavities between neighboring complexes in ensembles and in the vicinity of isolated complexes must have been the dwellings of dependants/ servants from lower ranks.

As for the strategic role of the Courtyard Complexes, the ensemble in Çanlı Kilise and Selime-Yaprakhisar were in close connection with fortresses. Yet, these were not protective enclosures but rather marking points. Kalas had assumed that the fortress in Selime-Yaprakhisar was “a stationing point for rallying troops”

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<sup>977</sup> Belke (2005) 430

<sup>978</sup> Patlagean (1987) 558

<sup>979</sup> Rodley (1985) 149

<sup>980</sup> Ousterhout (1997a) 422

where an army might have met “local contingents, the so-called farmer-soldiers.”<sup>981</sup> It is also plausible that these fortresses were part of an early warning system controlled by the inhabitants of the settlements here. Indeed, under ideal weather conditions the entire Cappadocian plateau including volcanic peaks and expanses of hilly terrain is visible (fig. 2.13-15). On the other hand, the Açıksaray Group is directly located on the crossing of important roads, one of them being the well-known Byzantine military road leading to the Cilician Gates (fig. 2.7-8).<sup>982</sup>

Indeed, a location close to the road network was characteristic of medieval Byzantine villages in Asia Minor.<sup>983</sup> Yet, the emergence of Courtyard Complexes coincides with the change that occurred during the re-organization of the countryside from the tenth to the middle or late eleventh century. Accordingly, during this period the village community was eroded and villages turned into estates owned by ecclesiastical and lay landlords.<sup>984</sup> Likewise, in the tenth century the growing aristocracy had extensive estates, peasants and soldiers under its control, whereby it was organized as “two opposing functions,” namely the military aristocracy dominating the provinces and the civil nobility stationed in the capital.<sup>985</sup> Accordingly, a few aristocratic Cappadocian families owned extensive lands in the region where a significant part of the military was raised.<sup>986</sup> Such powerful Cappadocian families as Phokas even claimed the throne. Following the text of Digenes Akritas, these families must have lived in impressive manors surrounded by extensive gardens adorned with shining marbles and mosaics.<sup>987</sup> These patrons also commissioned numerous churches and monasteries as

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<sup>981</sup> Kalas (2000) 158

<sup>982</sup> Ousterhout (2005) 172-3, 183; for the strategic situation of Selime Kalesi and the fortification see section 5.1.2 in Chapter 5 and Kalas (2000) 156-59; for the function of Açıksaray see section 6.4 in Chapter 6.

<sup>983</sup> Laiou (2005) 42

<sup>984</sup> *Ibid.*, 43, 47

<sup>985</sup> Ostrogorsky (1971) 6-7

<sup>986</sup> Rodley (1985) 4, 8

<sup>987</sup> Mavrogordato (1956) 219



testimonies to their devotion.<sup>988</sup> In the eleventh century the class of *pronoiers* emerged from the ranks of the lower and middle gentry who received landed property in return for the supply of military service.<sup>989</sup> Subsequently, under the Comnenid dynasty, the old noble Cappadocian families were replaced by new families of “more humble origin.” The historical study of part I and the architectural study of part II together indicate that the inhabitants of Courtyard Complexes presumably came from the ranks of these lower and middle aristocracy. The fact that they did not attract the attention of chroniclers may support this. On the other hand, there is no archaeological evidence of the estates of the Cappadocian magnates. Furthermore, the impressive manor described by Digenes Akritas might have been a work of rather fanciful imagination. Consequently, some of the Courtyard Complexes might have belonged to these great families. As a matter of fact, there will probably never be a concrete answer to the question of inhabitants. Yet, due to the detailed and comparative investigations conducted by this study, we know now with certainty more about their lifestyle.

Accordingly, similar households, whose power and property depended upon their capability to supply military service such as armed soldiers and horses, might explain the appearance of Courtyard Complexes in isolation *and* as part of an ensemble. Not all patrons were as powerful as the great Cappadocian magnates possessing enormous estates, though they acted as if they were, in that they adorned their houses with monumental façades displaying their desire and perhaps illusion for higher status. Yet, where the topography was suitable to accommodate several complexes side-by-side and where the strategic position required such a concentration of forces, they had to coexist within a community and could not claim an entire slope for themselves.

The creativity of carvers who obviously upon the insistence of patrons adapted the same plan layout to varying morphologies is remarkable. Accordingly, high decorated façades displayed their pride and signified the large receptional/ceremonial suites behind. Courtyards were carved wherever the topography

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<sup>988</sup> Cheynet (2003) 46

<sup>989</sup> Ostrogorsky (1971) 11

allowed. Consistency on the inverted T-plan and additional secondary halls offered multiple receptional spaces where outsiders were differently received according to their status. Indeed, each household most likely had its own dependents and clients. Consequently, many of the outsiders might not have been seen beyond the vestibule. On the other hand, the main façade and the sequential flow of spaces along the main axis of the approach as well as the emphasized end in the main hall, all delayed and dramatized the meeting with the head of the house. This arrangement once again indicates the desire to impress and control. Except for the settlement in Açıkсарay usually a church was attached to the complexes, though they were rarely painted. On the other hand, such Christian decoration as carved crosses adorning flat-ceilings indicate that religion was integrated within the domestic sphere, especially in ceremonial areas.<sup>990</sup> Yet, interestingly, Christian symbols are hardly ever found on the monumental façades (fig. 6.12, 6.15, 6.22, 6.30). Besides, utilitarian spaces such as huge kitchens and interconnected rooms out of sight and indirectly accessible allowed retreat and seclusion for the remaining members of the family. Irregular cavities in the vicinity and occasional large stables as those in Açıkсарay suggest that the family was accompanied by dependents, probably slaves and freemen. The latter would have worked in the house, or the field and would occasionally have mounted horses with the head of the house in combat.

Finally, the comparative study showed that Açıkсарay was neither a monastery nor a military staging camp. The hidden gallery in Area 5 (fig. 6.24), the *piano nobile* in Area 8 (fig. 6.32), neatly decorated interconnected upstairs rooms in Area 2, large kitchens and rock-cut graves of infants are among the evidence for the presence of families here. Furthermore, Açıkсарay lacked wall enclosures and refectories, while the settlement had only two attached churches of small scale. However, there were carefully designed receptional areas, large secondary halls, numerous elaborate but identical rooms and several stables, which could house at least 60 horses at one time.

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<sup>990</sup> Kalas (2009a) 170

Beyond all this, architectural and topographical investigations in Açıksaray revealed different carving stages. Similar to the Selime Kalesi (Area 2) in Selime-Yaprakhisar (fig. 5.1.2.10), the main settlement, Group II in Açıksaray seems to have housed patrons, who probably dominated the rest of the settlement. Nevertheless, the inhabitants of Group III who settled in a later stage also claimed their independence while carving their presumably self-sufficient complexes. Hence, we conclude that inhabitants of the complexes in Açıksaray in particular and Courtyard Complexes in general seem to have had shared interests.

As for the main settlement itself, Areas 1, 2 and 3.1 (fig. 6.14, 6.17, 6.19) lacked the spatial hierarchy, which was deliberately created in Areas 4 and 5 (fig. 6.21, 6.24). This again supports the fact that Group II like the double courtyards of Selime Kalesi was deliberately designed as a unified entity. While Areas 4 and 5 which opened into the large common courtyard formed the receptional/ ceremonial center of this entity, Areas 1, 2 and 3.1 were probably reserved for daily activities, for resting, and probably for accommodating guests. To conclude, it is likely that instead of being a permanent military staging camp, since Açıksaray was on the line of Çanlı Kilise and Selime-Yaprakhisar, it housed military aristocrats and their families of lower ranks. Because of its direct access to the military road, the patrons of the settlement in Açıksaray might still have received army troupes from time to time, to whom they provided accommodation, food and water for both soldiers and horses. Here, in addition, households themselves must have supplied armed and mounted soldiers to the army.

Although carving allows more sustainability to enlarge one's house in accordance with changing needs, the overall design of the Courtyard Complexes was "standardized." Accordingly, principles were enforced, although adaptations to topographical setting were not avoidable. This means that there was a well-known plan type at least in the mind of the carver-architects and patrons when not in their hands. Therefore, it is possible to say that teams of craftsmen might have traveled across Cappadocia and applied variations of an overall design wherever it was required. Furthermore, it is obvious that the potential of the topography was exhausted in order to impress and control others. Accordingly, the carver-architects not only imitated the *built* architecture but also the life style of the aristocracy as

well as their neighbors. Presumably, the owners of the Courtyard Complexes were not as rich and powerful as the heroic Digenes Akritas. Therefore, they not only reached to the common practice of painted plaster imitations of more costly marble paneling but they made use of the natural resources in cutting out whole “palaces” out of the rock.<sup>991</sup> The fact that they used the common pattern seen in aristocratic housing regardless of religion, region and time highlights the desire of the patrons of the Courtyard Complexes not only to live like an aristocrat in rural Cappadocia but also to demonstrate it. Consequently, the inverted T-plan, whose roots go back to the Hittites<sup>992</sup> and traditionally seen in the Middle East, was one of the distinctive features of the Courtyard Complexes. Yet no doubt, Constantinople was also a dominant source of inspiration.<sup>993</sup> Hence, it may be said that the patrons of military aristocracy in provinces wished to live in houses reminiscent of those of the civil aristocracy in the capital. Ironically though, while almost nothing has survived from the palaces of the high aristocracy in the capital, the Cappadocian Courtyard Complexes imitating them, are still standing and awaiting further research.

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<sup>991</sup> See footnotes 376 and 959.

<sup>992</sup> Kuban (1995) 24; Mathews and Daskalakis-Mathews (1995) and (1997).

<sup>993</sup> Ousterhout (2005) 148-9

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## **APPENDIX A**

### **TABLES**

Table I  
Scholarship on Açıksaray

		SCHOLARS														
By the author	RODLEY (1985)	Regional Conservation Committee for the Cultural and Natural Heritage in Nevşehir	OBERHUMMER and ZIMMERER (1899)	ROTT (1908)	JERPHANION (1925, 1942)	VERZONE (1962)	SCHEMENZ (1973)	BRYER (1986)	KOSTOF (1989)	JOLIVET-LÉVY (1991)	MATHEWS and DASKALAKIS-MATHEWS (1997)	KALAS (2000)	GRISHIN (2002)	KORAT (2003)	OUSTERHOUT (2005)	TÜTÜNCÜ (2008)
PROPOSED FUNCTION	secular	monastic	monastic	monastic	monastic	monastic	monastic	secular	monastic		secular	secular	secular/ monastic	secular	secular	secular
NOMENCLATURE	Area 1	church with lion motif <i>or</i> refectory		III*		E										
	Area 2	double-naved monastery				D, E										
	Area 3.1-3.2	palace														
	Area 4	two-storey church														
	Area 5	monastery <i>masjid/ mosque</i>		II												
	Area 6	monastery with six columns														
	Area 7	two-storey monastery (50,587)														
	Area 8	two-storey monastery (50,583)		I			A									
	Church No. 1	painting church					cruciform church (Kreuzkirche)			Church of Saint George						
	Church No. 2															

\* Numbers given by Rott correspond to the figures.



## **APPENDIX B**

### **FIGURES**

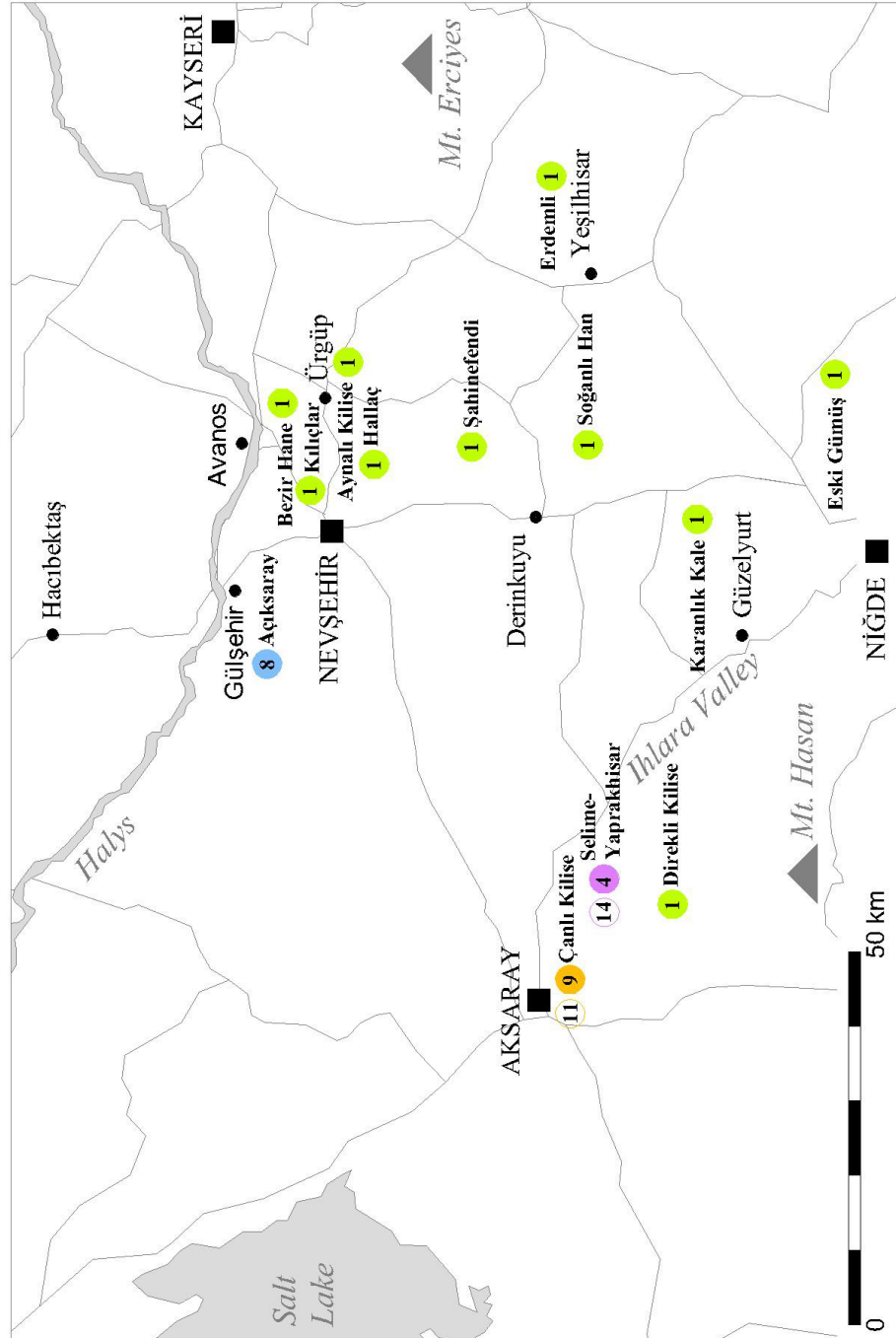


Fig. 1.1:  
Map of Cappadocia showing the distribution of Courtyard Complexes  
(by the author)

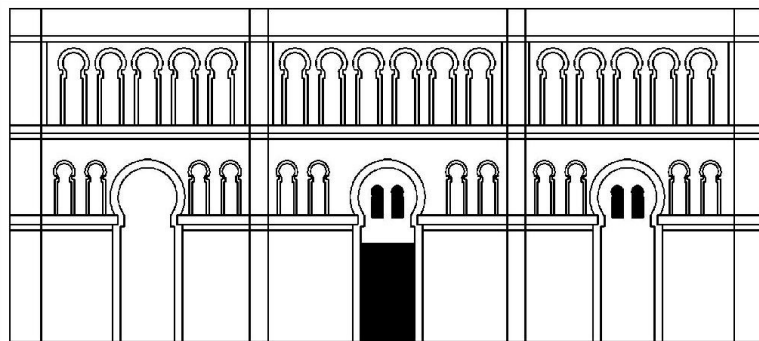


Fig. 1.2 (above):  
Açıkсарay Area 2: the main façade  
(reconstructed by the author)

Fig. 1.3 (below):  
Hallaç: plan  
(Ousterhout 2005 fig. 238 (after Rodley (1985) fig. 2))

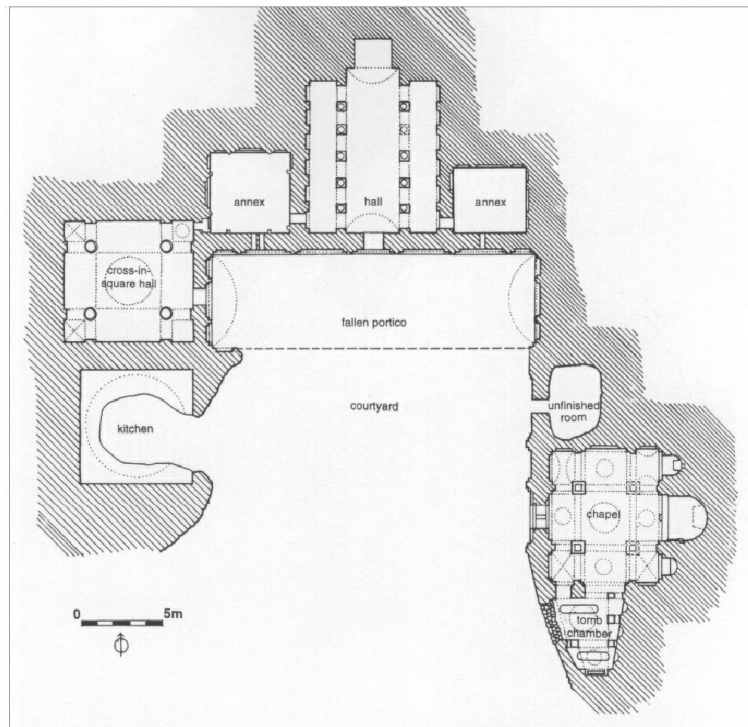




Fig. 2.1 (below):  
Looking at Selime Kalesi  
(Ertan Turgut)



Fig. 2.2 (below):  
Cappadocia: Geological 3-D map  
(Giovanini (1971) fig. 12)

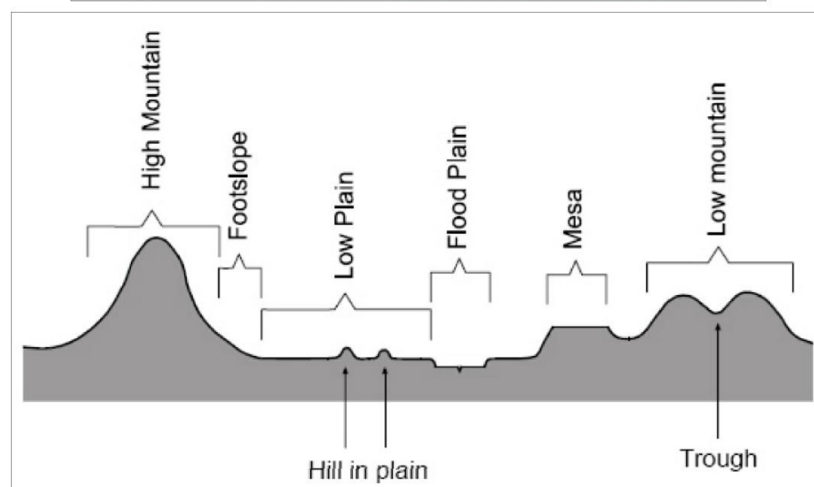
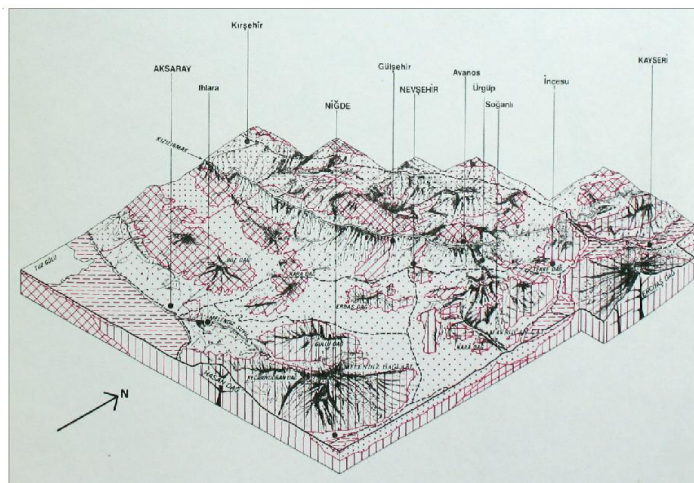


Fig. 2.3 (above):  
Cappadocia: morphological section  
(Ayhan (2004) fig. 4.7)

Fig. 2.4 (below):  
Looking at Mt. Hasan  
(by the author)



Fig. 2.5 (above):  
Looking at Mt. Erciyes  
(by the author)



Fig. 2.6 (above):  
Looking at Anti-Taurus Mountains (Aladağlar)  
(by the author)



Fig. 2  
Cappadocia

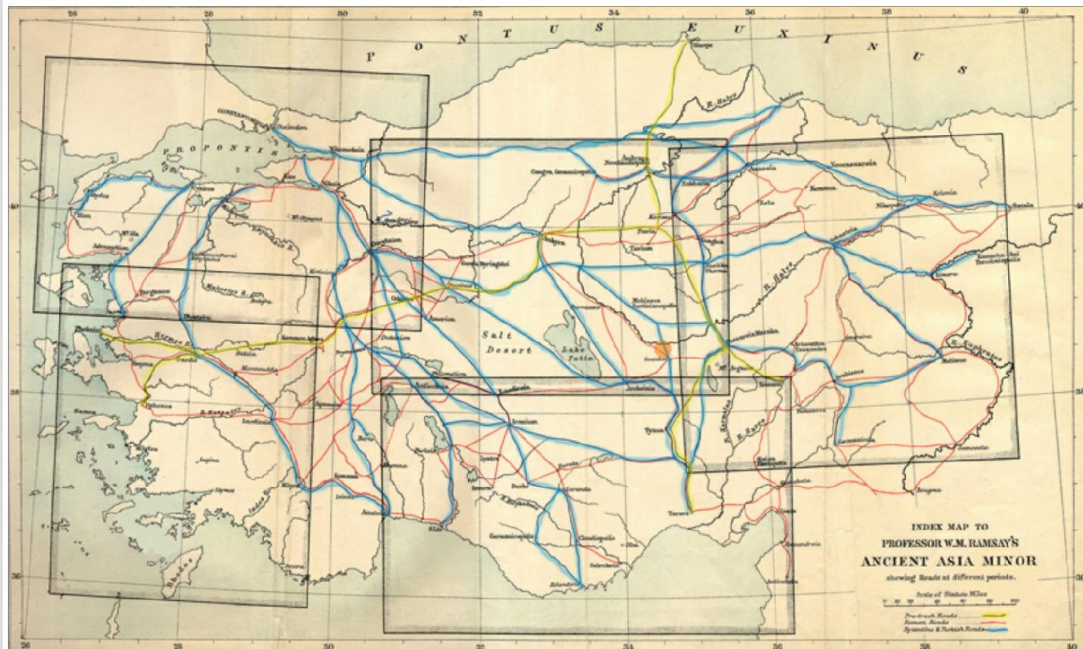


Fig. 2.7 (above): Ancient Asia Minor  
(Byzantine roads are marked by blue, Açıksaray is marked by a dot)  
(after Ramsay (1890/ 2005) "Index Map")

Fig. 2.8 (below): Byzantine Roads  
(Açıksaray is marked by a dot)  
(Hild (1977) Map 4)

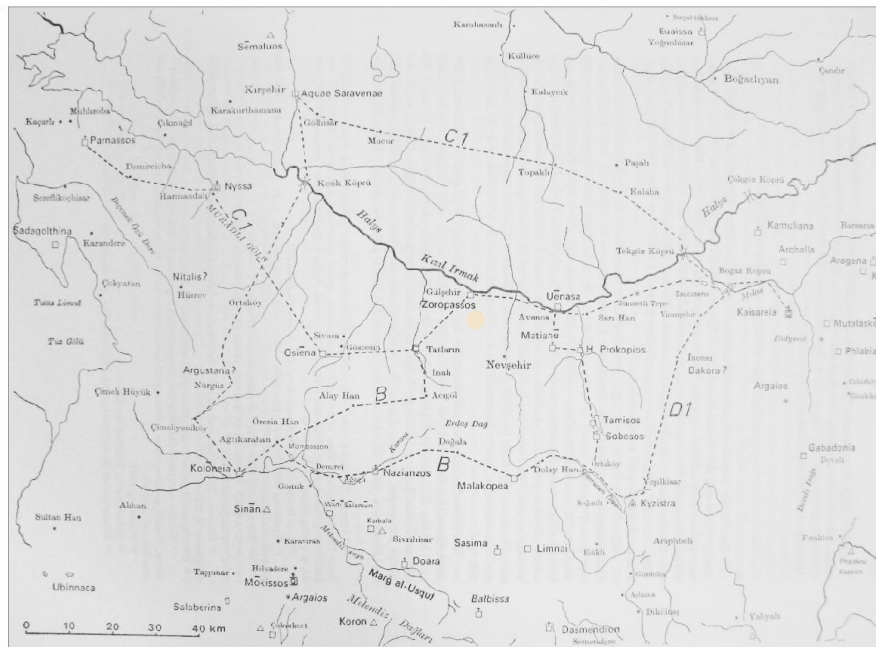


Fig. 2  
Cappadocia

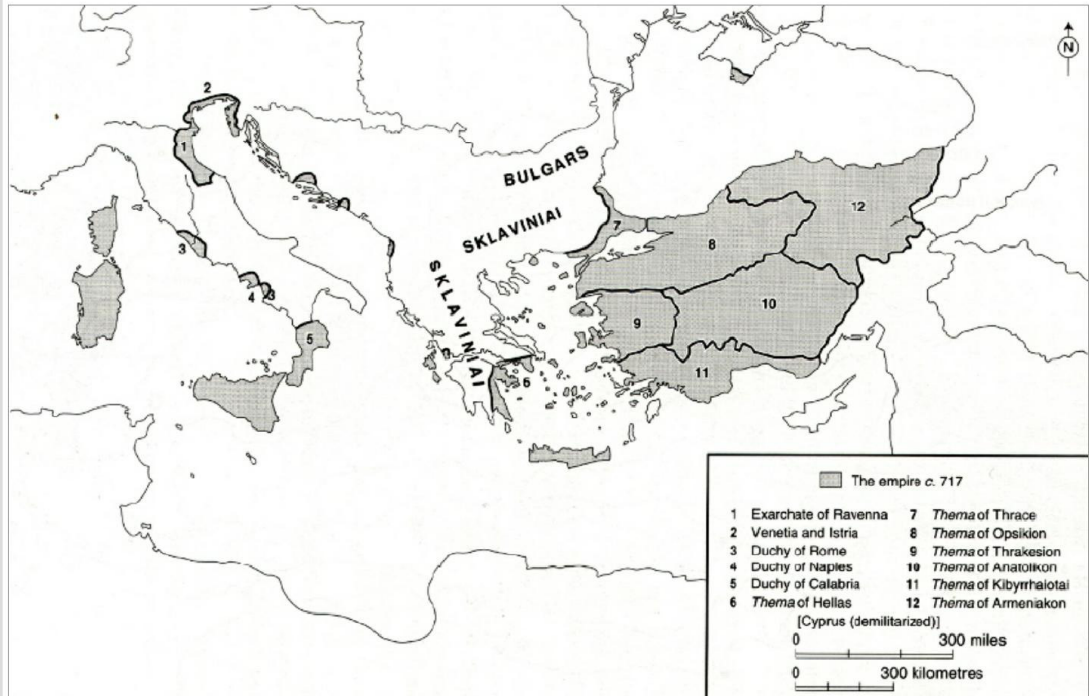


Fig. 2.9 (above):  
The empire and *themas* in the 8th c.  
(Haldon (1999) Map IV)

Fig. 2.10 (below): The *themas* c. 920  
Bv: Charsianon; Ci: Anatolikon; Cii: Cappadocia  
(Haldon (1999) Map VII)

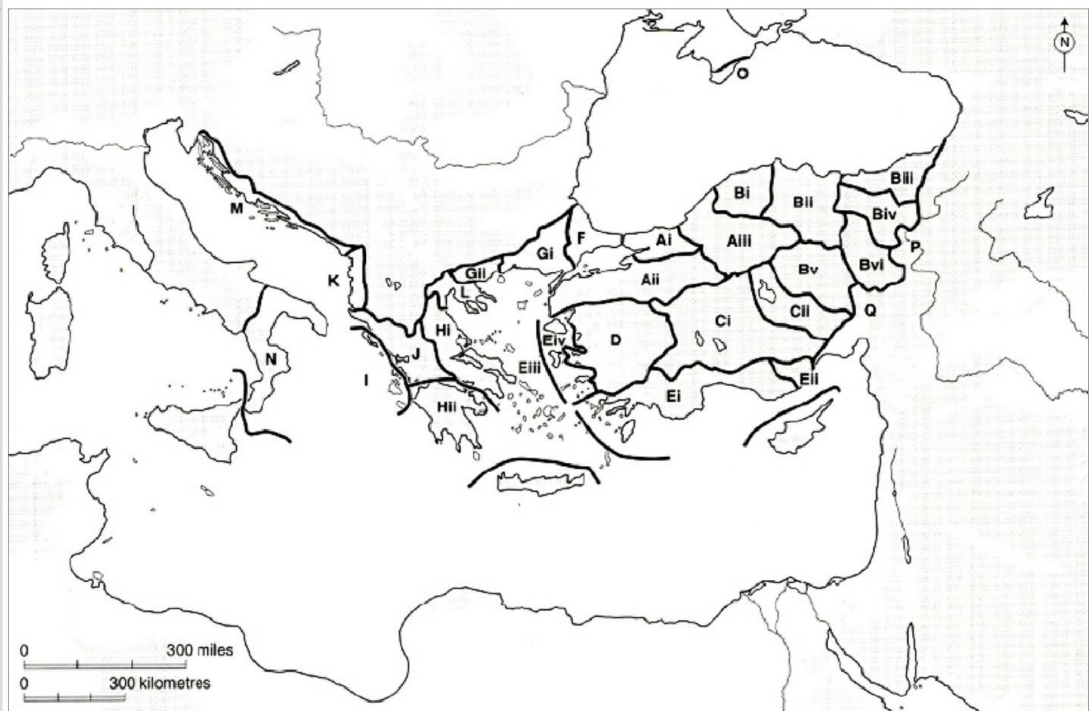


Fig. 2  
Cappadocia



Fig. 2.11 (above):  
Byzantine-Arab border of 860 and 1025  
(Mathews (1997) fig. 1)

Fig. 2.12 (below):  
Land use and resources in the middle Byzantine period  
(Haldon (2009) Map 7)

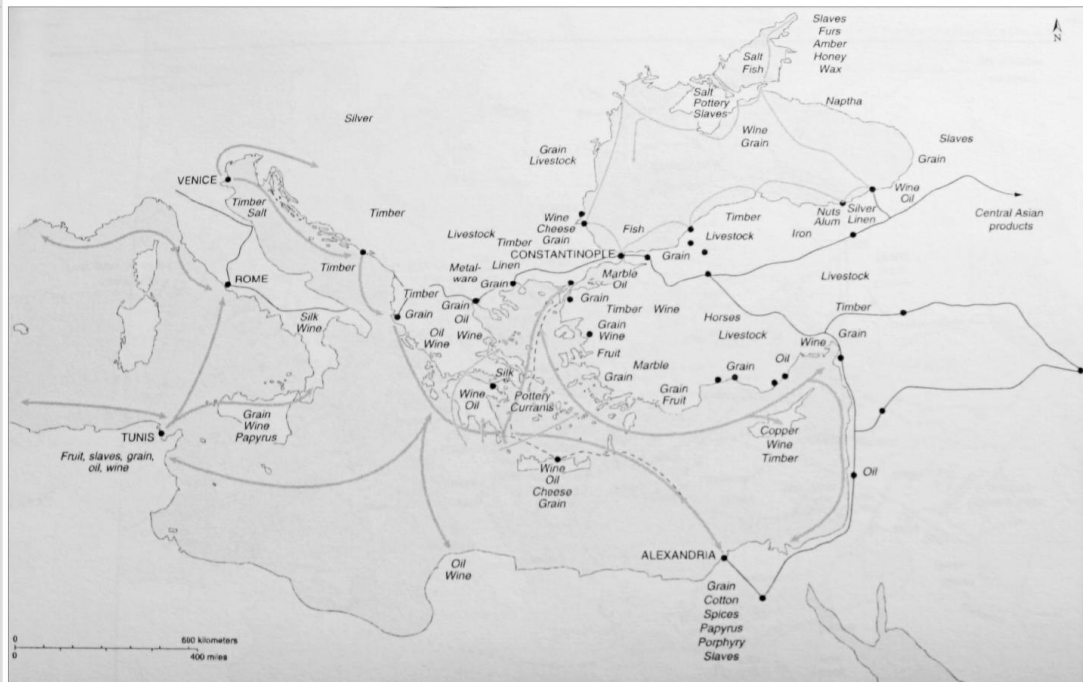




Fig. 2.13 (below):  
Looking at Mt Hasan  
(Ertan Turgut)



Fig. 2.14 (below):  
View from Uçhisar  
(by the author)



Fig. 2.15 (above):  
View from Uçhisar  
(by the author)

Fig. 2.16 (below):  
The 'substance'  
(by the author)



Fig. 2.17 (above):  
Selime  
(Ertan Turgut)

Fig. 2.18 (below left):  
Uçhisar  
(by the author)



Fig. 2.19 (above right):  
Across Göreme valley  
(by the author)

Fig. 3.1 (below):  
Lavra Monastery of Kellia in Egypt 6-8th c.  
(M. M. Mango (2002) page 211)

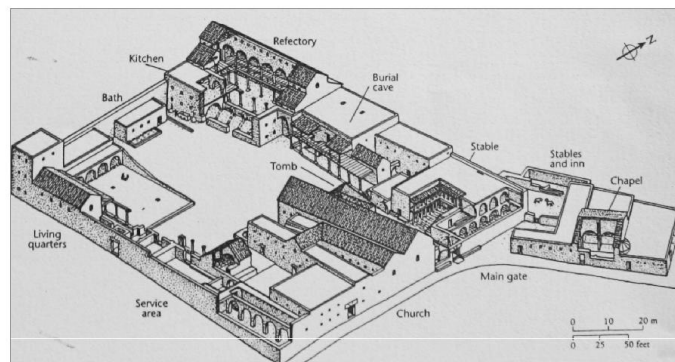
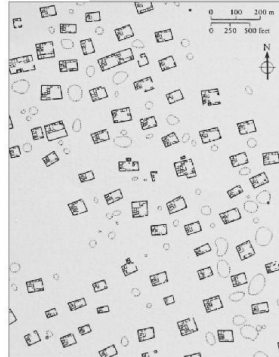


Fig. 3.2 (above):  
Cenobitic Monastery of St Martyrius founded c. 474  
(M. M. Mango (2002) page 211)

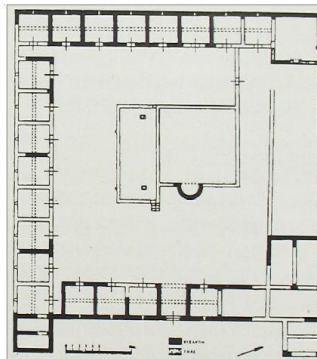


Fig. 3.3 (below):  
Byzantine encampment near Silifke  
(Eyice (1996) fig. 16)

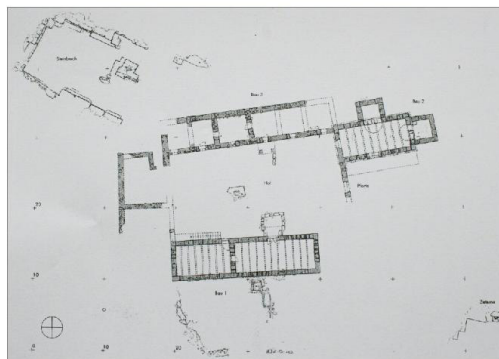


Fig. 3.4 (above):  
Keloş Kale near Bilecik  
(Baumeister, Roos and Saner (2007) fig. 40)



Fig. 3  
Byzantine Monasticism

Fig. 3.5 (below left):  
Monastery of Meletios near Megara  
(Rodley (1985) fig. 48 (after Orlandos))

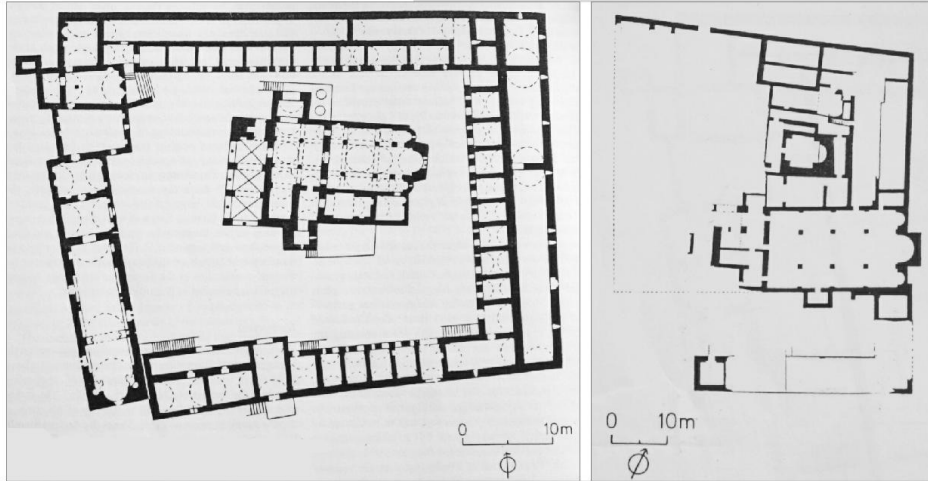


Fig. 3.6 (above right):  
Monastery of St Euthymios, Palestine  
(Rodley (1985) fig. 50 (after Chitty))

Fig. 3.7 (below):  
Monastery of Baramus-Wadi' n Natrun, Egypt  
(Rodley (1985) fig. 51 (after Evelyn-White))

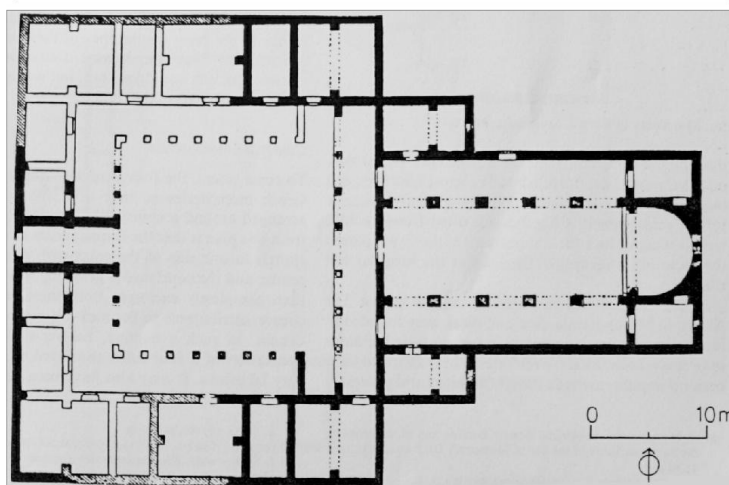
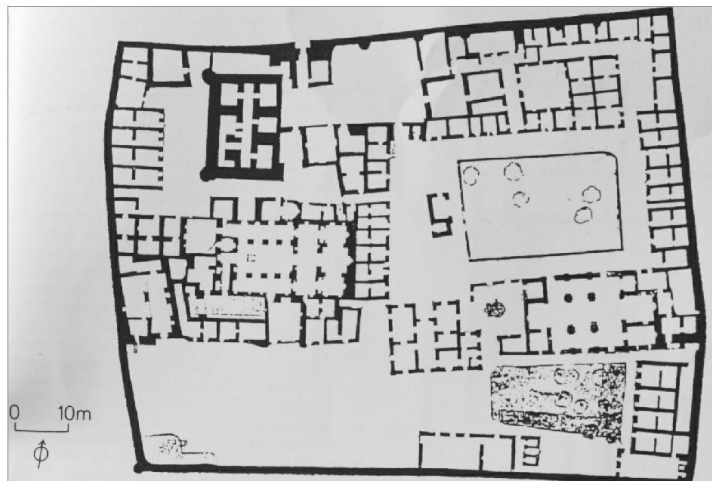


Fig. 3.8 (above):  
Monastery of Id-Der, Syria  
(Rodley (1985) fig. 52 (after Butler))

Fig. 3.9 (below):  
Alahan Monastery  
(Rodley (1985) fig. 54 (after Gough))

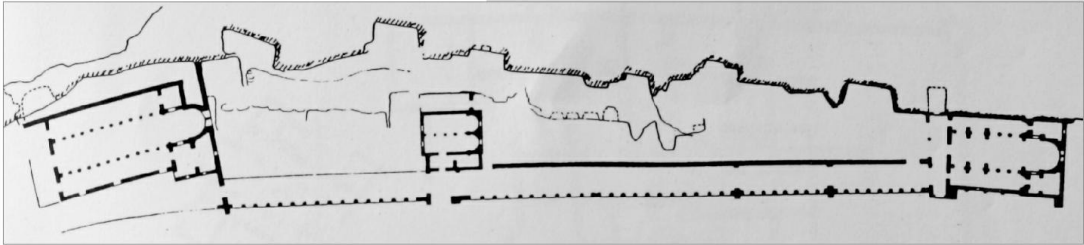


Fig. 3.10 (below):  
Değle 35/45  
(Rodley (1985) fig. 55 (after Bell))

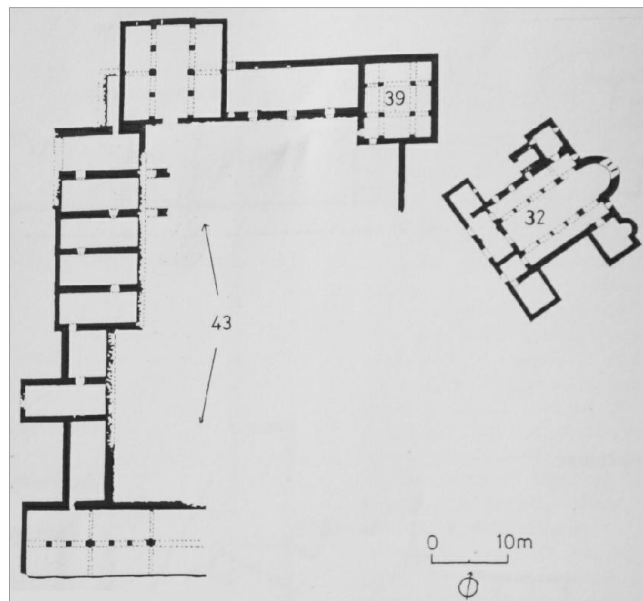


Fig. 3.11 (above):  
Değle 32/39/43  
(Rodley (1985) fig. 56 (after Bell))



Fig. 3.12 (below left):  
The Han-Kara Dağı  
(Rodley (1985) fig. 58 (after Bell))

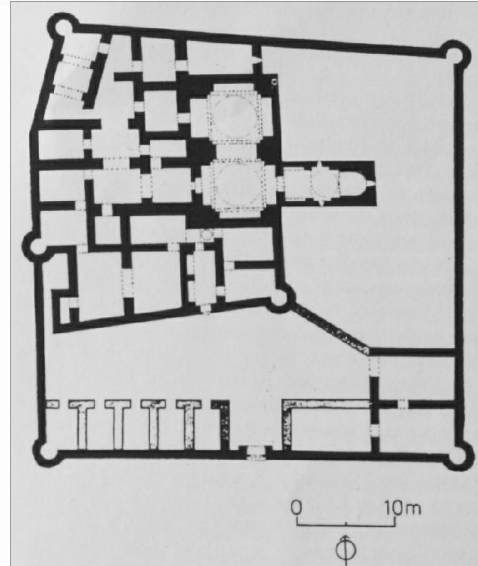
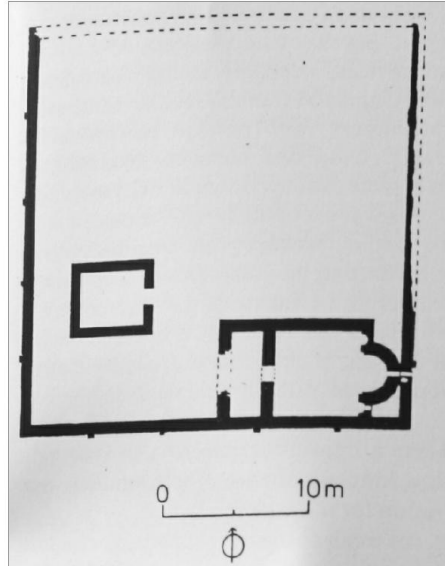


Fig. 3.13 (above right):  
Monastery of Hogeac'vank' near modern Van  
(Rodley (1985) fig. 59 (after Thierry))

Fig. 3.14 (below):  
Mt Athos Great Lavra monastery refectory  
(Popovic (1998) fig. 18 (reconstruction after Mylonas))

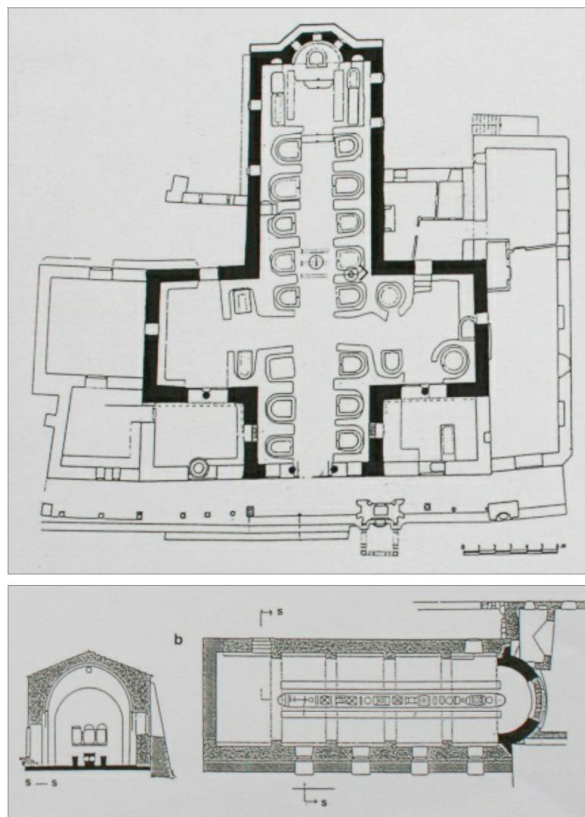


Fig. 3.15 (above):  
Nea Moni monastery refectory  
(Popovic (1998) fig. 19(b) (after Bouras))

Fig. 3.16 (below):  
'Fairy chimney'  
(by the author)

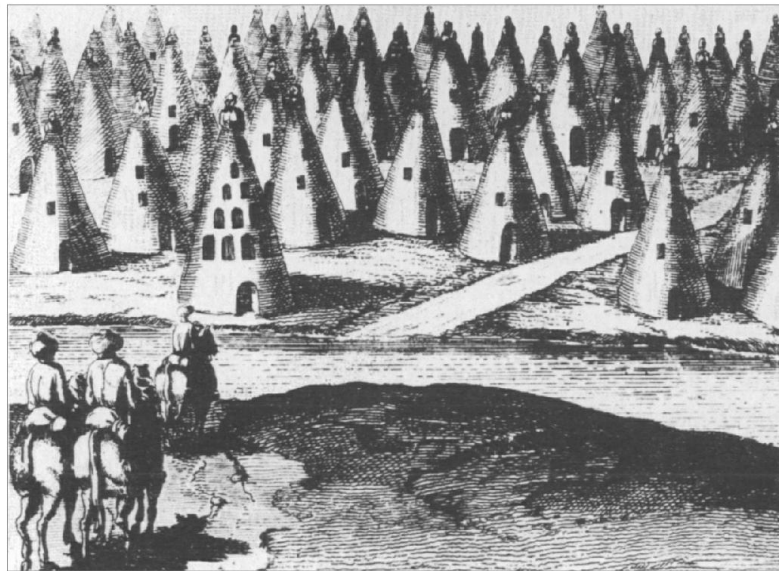


Fig. 3.17 (above):  
Lucas' engraving of Cappadocia (1712)  
It shows busts of Christian figures on 'pyramidal houses'

Fig. 3  
Byzantine Monasticism

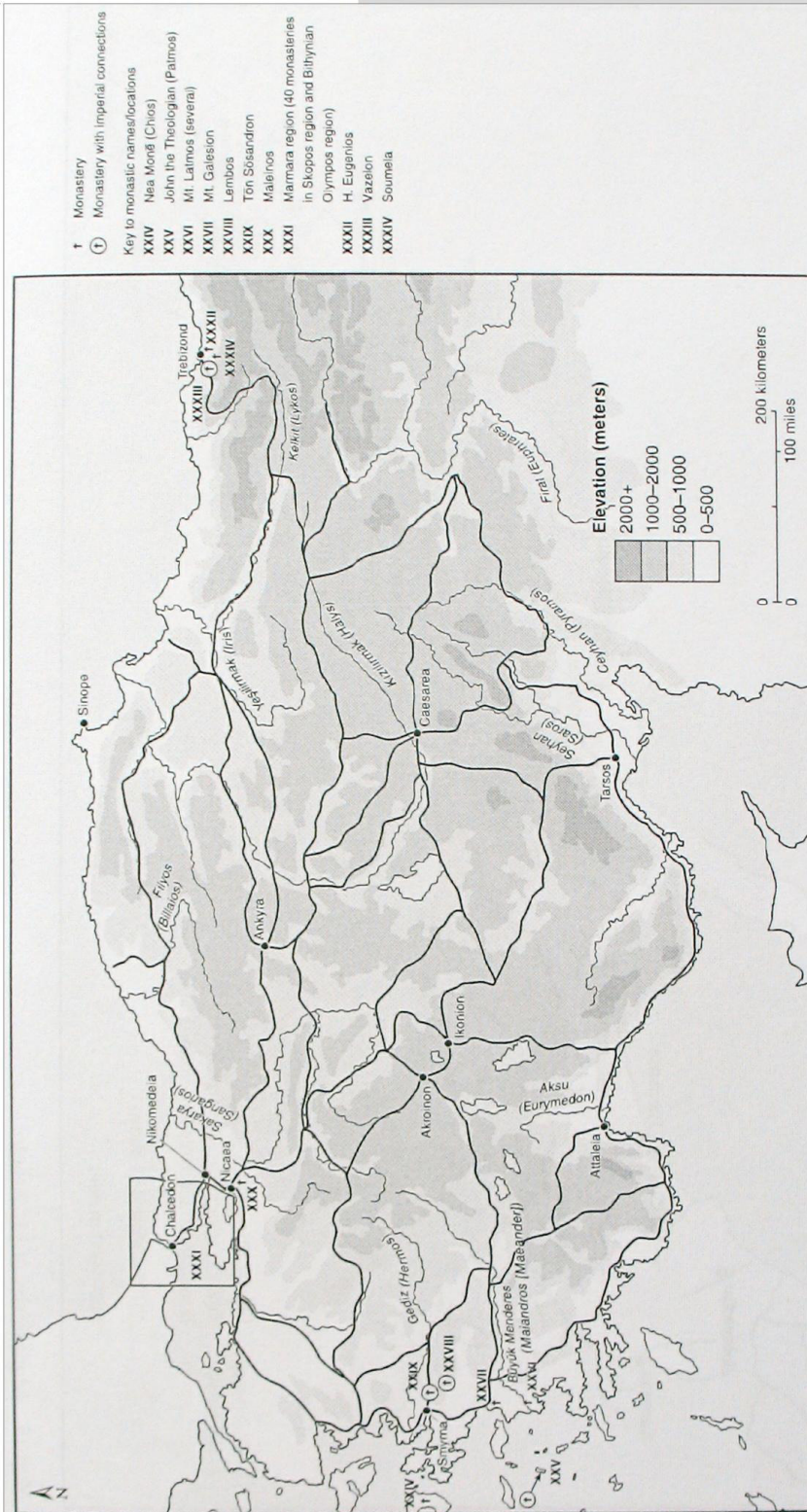


Fig. 3.18:  
Monasteries in the 9th c. and afterwards in the east  
(Haldon (2009) Map 14)



Fig. 3.19 (below):  
Looking at Göreme Open Air Museum  
(by the author)

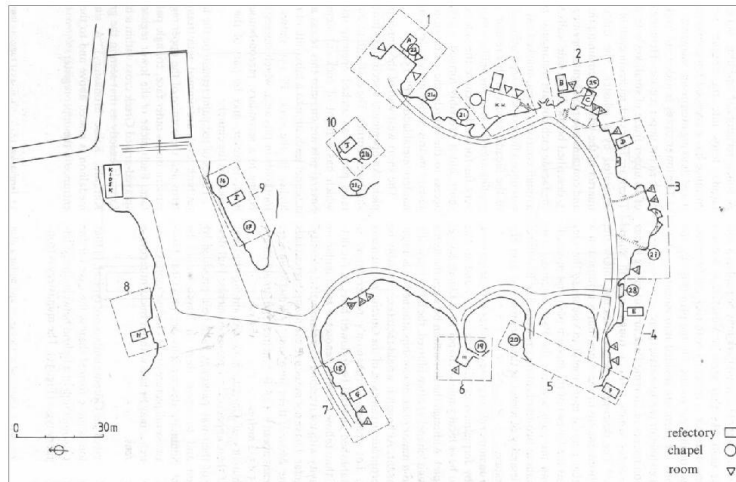


Fig. 3.20 (above):  
Göreme: Sketch-map of the site  
(Rodley (1985) fig. 30)



Fig. 3.21 (above):  
Çarıklı Kilise monastery refectory (Göreme Unit 1 after Rodley (1985))  
(by the author)

Fig. 3.22 (below left): Monastery refectory and  
Fig. 3.23 (below right): Kitchen in Göreme  
(by the author)



Fig. 3.24 (above):  
The Archangel Monastery refectory, Cemil  
(by the author)

Fig. 3.25 (below left):  
Çanlı Kilise Area 17: 'refectory monastery' plan  
(Ousterhout (2005) fig. 176)

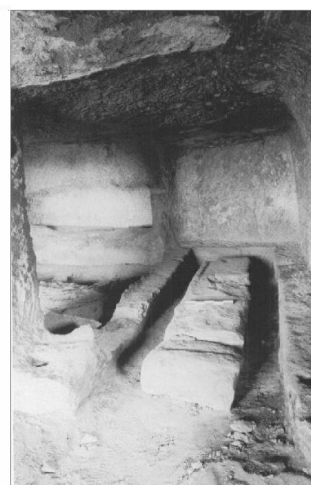
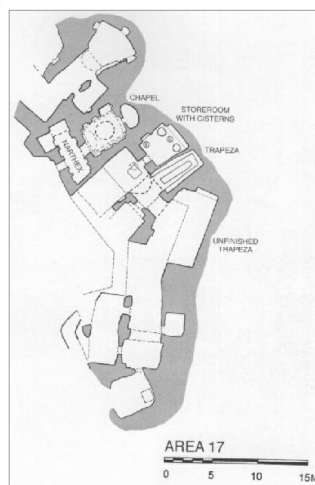


Fig. 3.26 (above right):  
Çanlı Kilise Area 17: refectory  
(Ousterhout (2005) fig. 180)

Fig. 4.1 (below): Courtyard Houses  
 Athenian Agora: 'A' 5th c. BC and 'B' 12th c. AD  
 (Sigalos (2004) fig. 3.3)

Fig. 4  
 Byzantine Dwelling

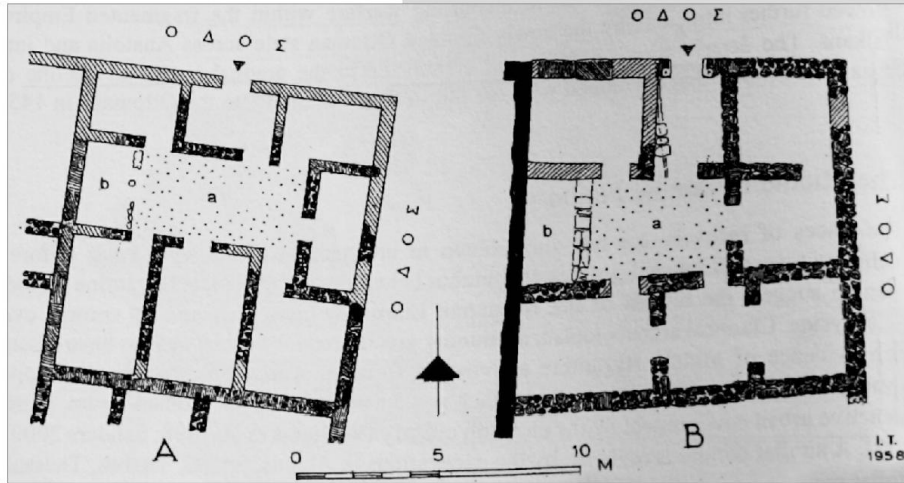


Fig. 4.2 (below):  
 Bishop's House, Aphrodisias  
 (Özgenel (2007) fig. 1a (after Berenfeld 2002))

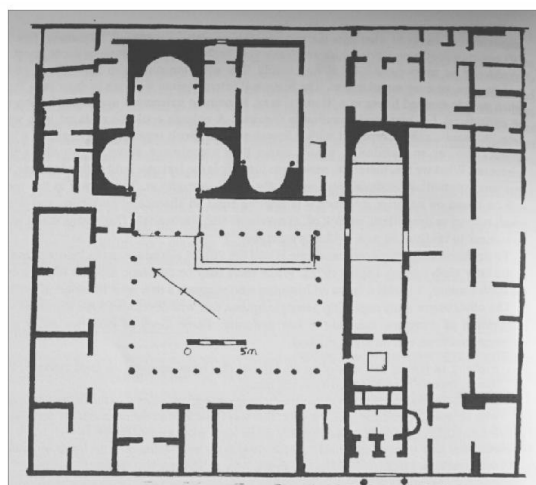
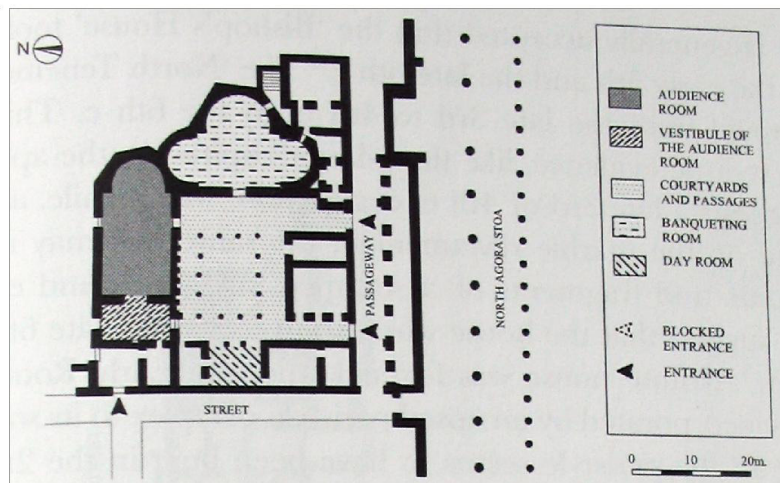


Fig. 4.3 (above):  
 The house of the Tri-apsidal Hall, Ptolemais  
 (Ellis (2004) fig. 2.1)

Fig. 4  
Byzantine Dwelling

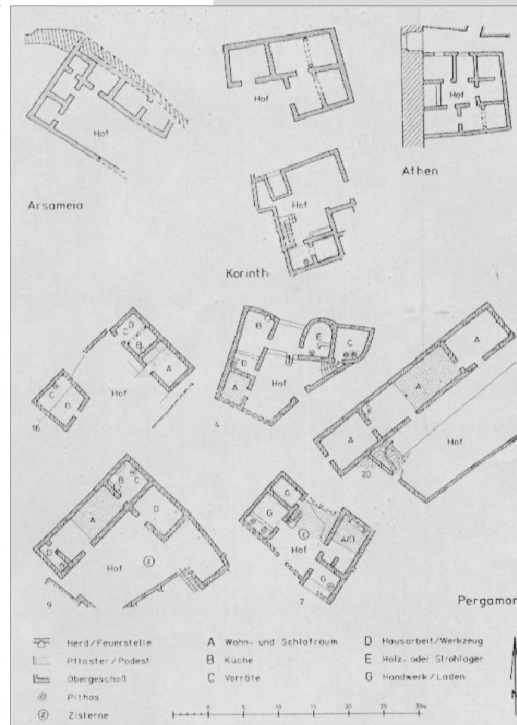


Fig. 4.4 (above):  
Byzantine houses 11-14th c.  
(Rheidt (1990) fig. 9)

Fig. 4.5 (below):  
Byzantine town: Pergamon  
(Rheidt (1990) fig. 12)

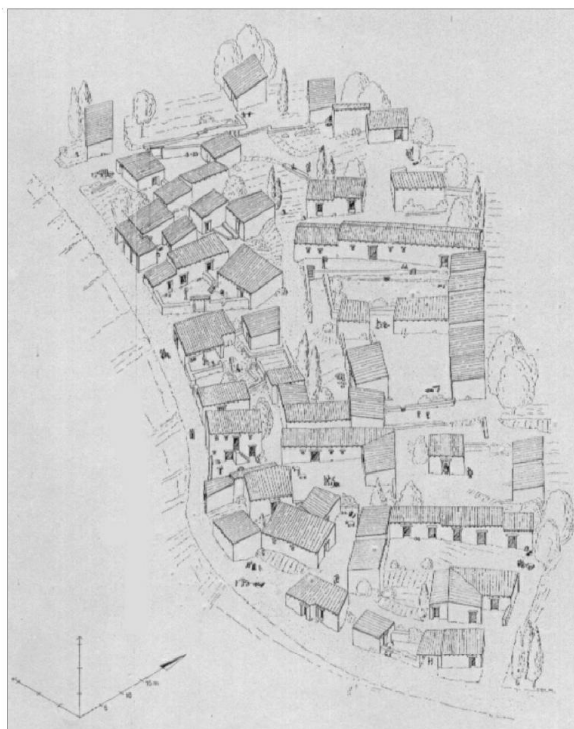




Fig. 4  
Byzantine Dwelling

Fig. 4.6 (below): 10-11th c. house, Constantinople (said to be the palace of Botaneiates) (Mathews (1997) fig. 25 (from K. Wulzinger))

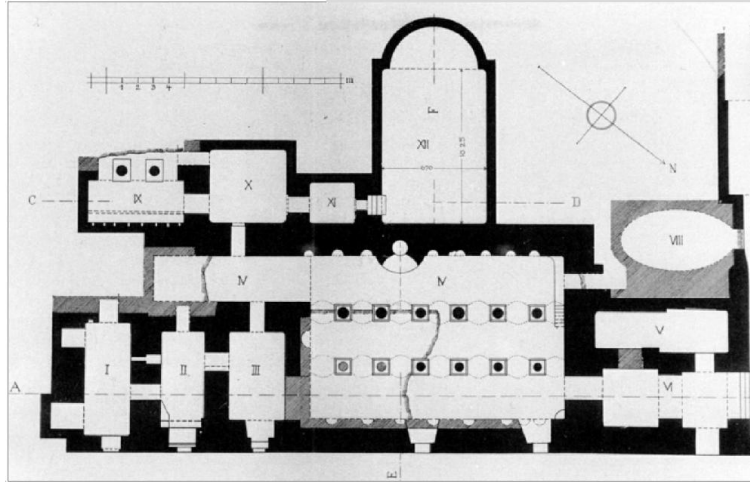


Fig. 4.7 (below left): Upper and lower palace, with the walls of Nikephoros Phokas (The Oxford Handbook of Byzantine Studies (2008) fig. 1, page 507)



Fig. 4.8 (below right): Palace of Antiochus (portico and hall are marked by the author) (after Tanyeli (1999) fig. 65)

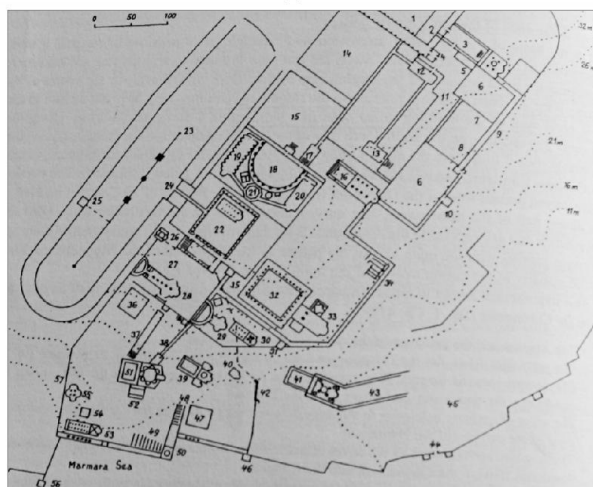
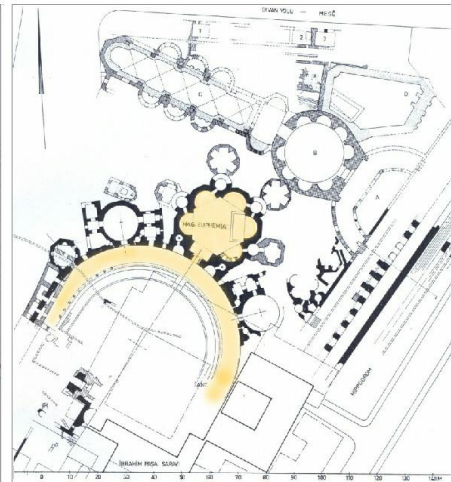


Fig. 4.9 (above): 'The heart of the empire' (Kostenec (2004) fig 1.1)



Fig. 4.10 (below): Piazza Amerina, Sicily, Italy  
late Roman country villa, late 4th c.  
(Ward-Perkins (1990) fig. 312)

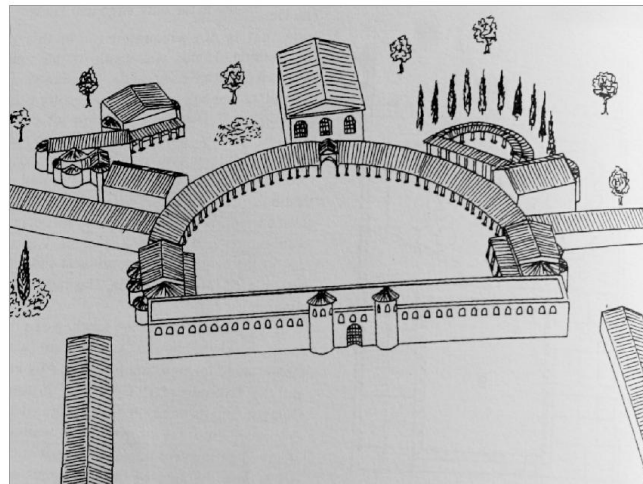
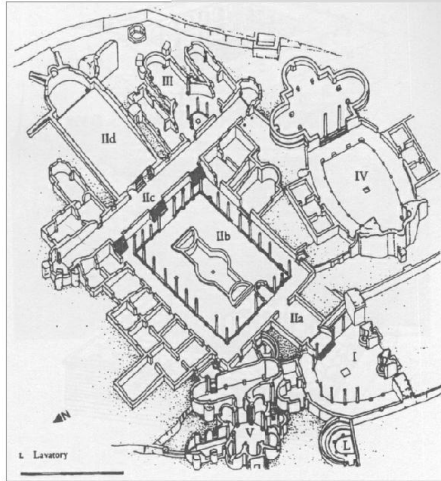


Fig. 4.11 (above):  
Reconstruction of Maximian's palace  
(Kostenec (2004) fig 1.3)

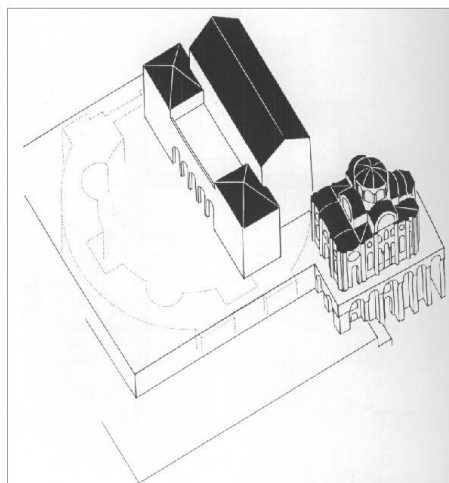


Fig. 4.12 (above):  
Myrelaion Palace, Constantinople (hypothetical reconstruction)  
(Ousterhout (2005) fig. 239 (after Striker))

Fig. 4.13 (below): Mshatta, 8th c.,  
(the main axis is marked by the author)  
(after Ettinghausen and Grabar (1987) fig. 21)

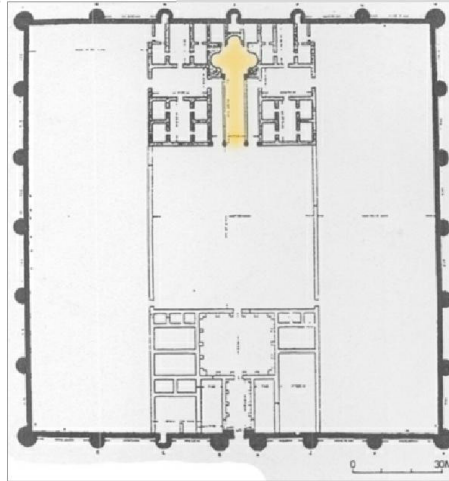


Fig. 4.14 (above left): Qasr-i Shirin, 6th c.,  
(the 'inverted T plan' is marked by the author)  
(after Mathews (1997) fig.17)

Fig. 4.15 (above right): Ukhaidir, 8th c.,  
(the 'inverted T plan' is marked by the author)  
(after Mathews (1997) fig.19)

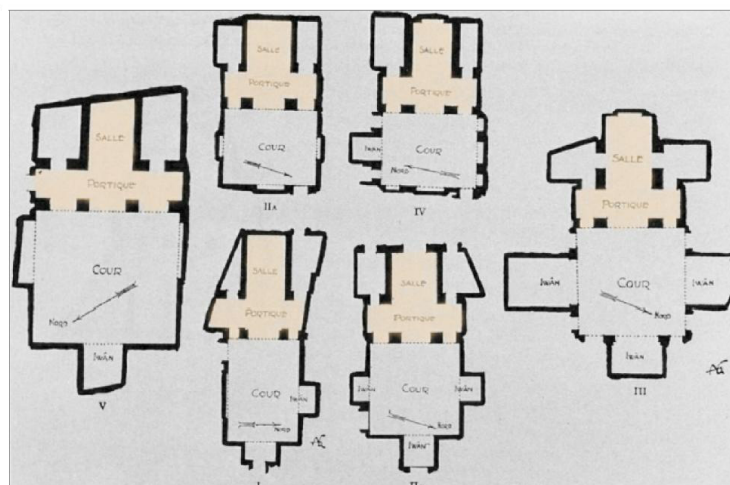


Fig. 4.16 (above): Houses in Fustat, 10th c.,  
(the 'inverted T plan' is marked by the author)  
(after Mathews (1997) fig. 21)

Fig. 4.17 (below):  
Laborde's engraving of Binbirkilise  
(Eyice (1971) fig. 1)



Fig. 4.18 (below):  
Tekfur Palace, 12th c.  
(taken from: [www.fatih.bel.tr](http://www.fatih.bel.tr), accessed: 30.11.2009)

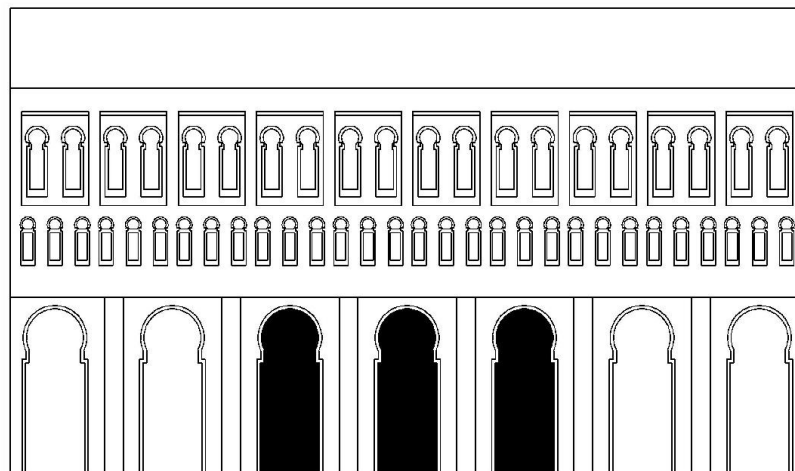


Fig. 4.19 (above):  
Açıksaray Area 5: the main façade  
(reconstructed by the author)

Fig. 4.20 (below): Ravenna  
Sant Apollinare Nuovo Palatium, Mosaic  
(Johnson (1988) fig. 8 (photo Alinari))

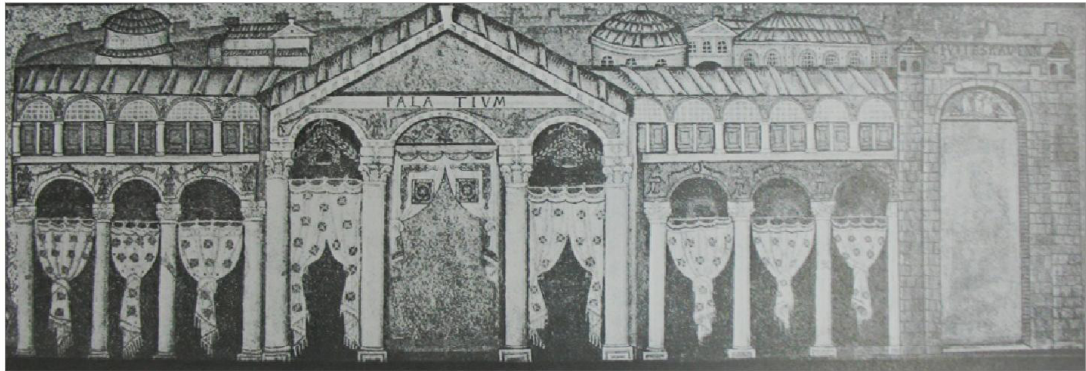


Fig. 4.21 (below):  
East portal of the Great Mosque of Cordoba, 987  
(Mathews (1997) fig. 5)

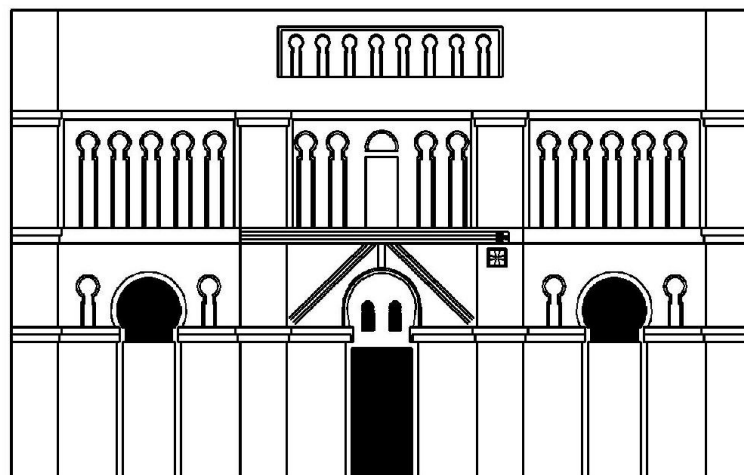
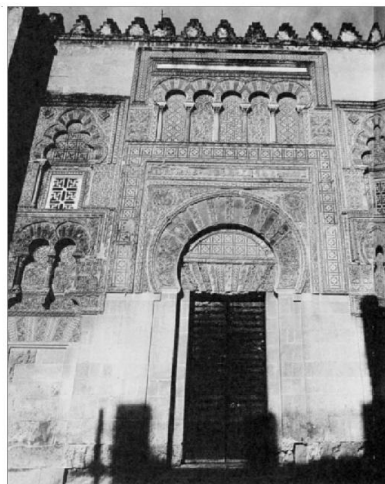


Fig. 4.22 (above):  
Açıksaray Area 1: the main façade  
(redrawn by the author after Kostof (1989) fig. 8))



Fig. 4.23 (below):  
Phokas Family depicted in the church of Çavuşin  
(Giovannini (1971) fig. 70)

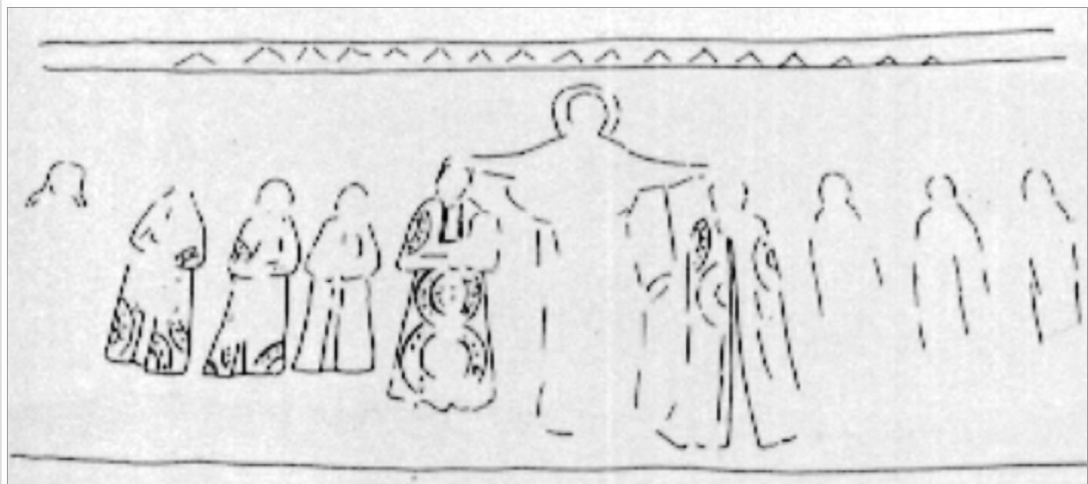


Fig. 4.24 (above):  
Selime Kalesi: donor panel in the church  
(Rodley (1985) fig. 14)

<sup>132</sup> The following representative list of the estates and domiciles of the Anatolian magnates is drawn from a study in progress on the internal history of Byzantium in the eleventh century. I have not gone into the problem of the relation of this landlord class to the Anatolian towns.

<i>Cappadocia</i>	<i>Anatolicon</i>	<i>Paphlagonia</i>
Alyattes	Mesanactes	Doceianus
Ampelas	Radenus	Souanites
Goudeles	Argyrus	Theodora (wife of Theophilus)
Scepidus	Botaniates	Ducas
Lecapenus	Maniaces	Curcuas
Diogenes	Musele	Comnenus
Ducas	Sclerus	Galocyres
Maleinus	Synnadenus	
Phocas	Bourtzes	<i>Chaldia</i>
Boilas	Straboromanus	Xiphilenus
	Leichudes	Gabras
	Melissenus	
<i>Colonia</i>	Ducas	<i>Mesopotamia</i>
Cecaumenus		Palaeologus
	<i>Charsonianon</i>	
<i>Bithynia</i>	Argyrus	<i>Iberia</i>
Maurix	Maleinus	Boilas
Ducas		Pacurianus
Maleinus	<i>Lycandus</i>	Apocapes
	Melias	
<i>Cibyrrhoeote</i>		<i>Armeniacon</i>
Screnarius		Dalassenus
Ducas		
Maurus		

Fig. 4.25 (above):  
Anatolian magnates  
(Vryonis (1971) footnote 132)

Fig. 5.1.1.1 (below):  
 Çanlı Kilise: Aerial Photograph  
 (Google Earth image, accessed: 25.11.2009)

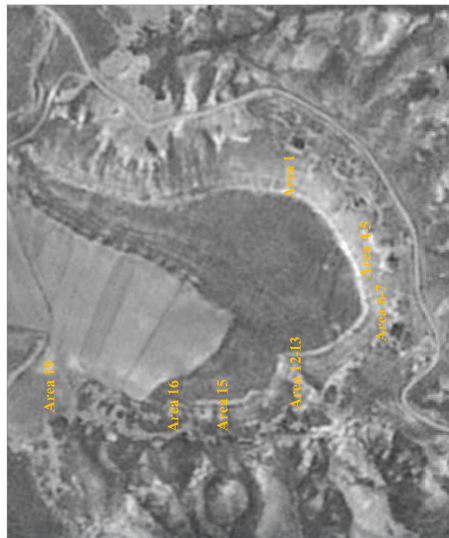


Fig. 5.1.1.3 (below):  
 Area 5: courtyard, looking south to Mt. Hasan  
 (by the author)

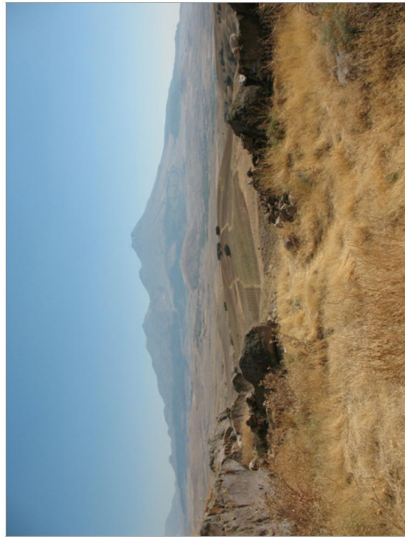


Fig. 5.1.1.4 (above):  
 Area 3: "Çanlı Kilise," the masonry church  
 (by the author)

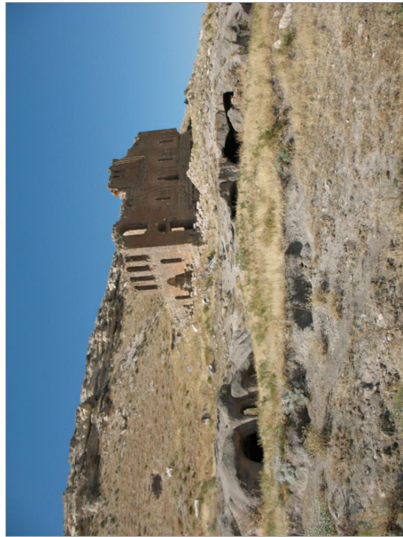


Fig. 5.1.1.2 (below):  
 Çanlı Kilise: General Plan  
 (Ousterhout (2005) fig. 69)

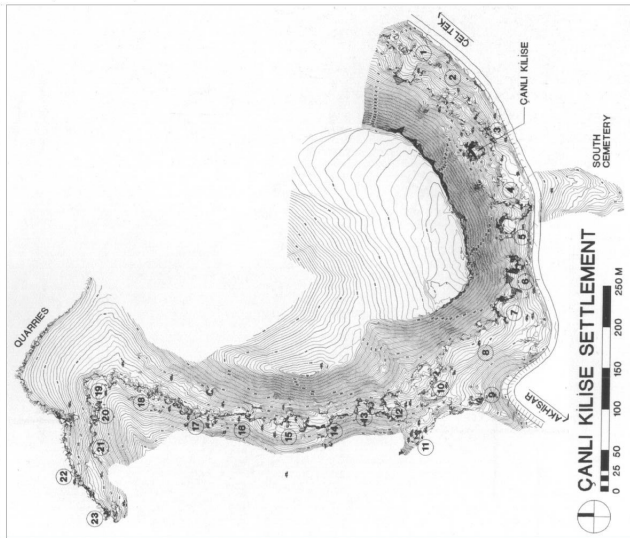


Fig. 5.1.1.2 (above):  
 Area 19: courtyard  
 (by the author)

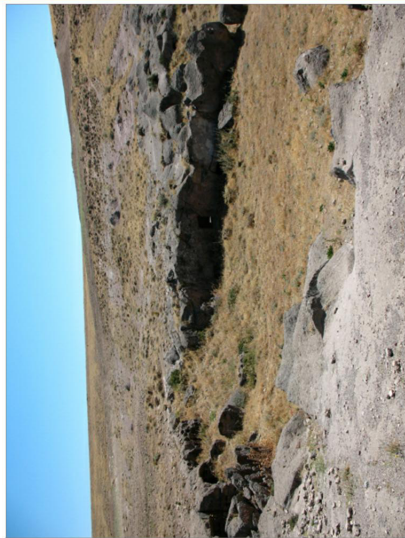


Fig. 5.1.1.5 (above):  
 Area 5: rock-cut graves  
 (by the author)



Fig. 5.1.1.6 (above):  
 Area 3: "Çanlı Kilise," the masonry church  
 (by the author)



**Fig. 5.1.1.1**  
**Çamlı Kilise**  
**Courtyard Complexes**

Fig. 5.1.1.7 (below):  
 Area 1: courtyard, fallen vestibule  
 (by the author)

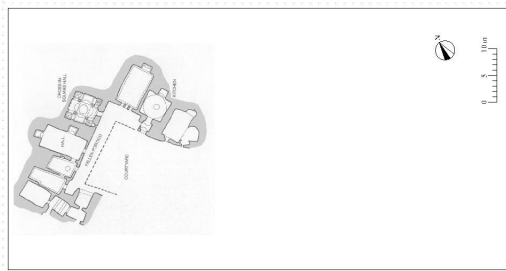


Fig. 5.1.1.9 (below):  
 Area 4  
 (by the author)

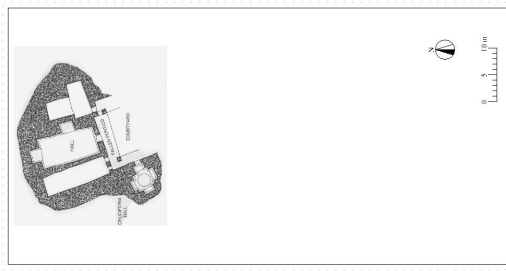


Fig. 5.1.1.11 (below):  
 Area 5: cruciform hall  
 (by the author)

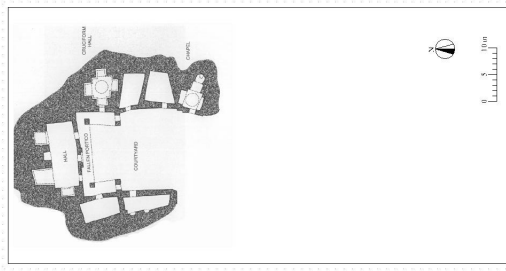


Fig. 5.1.1.14 (below):  
 Area 6  
 (by the author)

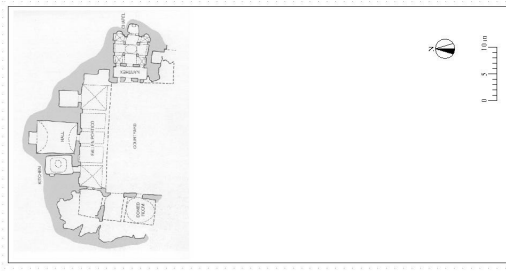


Fig. 5.1.1.16 (below):  
 Area 7: horizontal hall (vestibule?)  
 looking east (by the author)



Fig. 5.1.1.17 (above):  
 Area 7: main façade  
 (fallen vestibule?) (by the author)

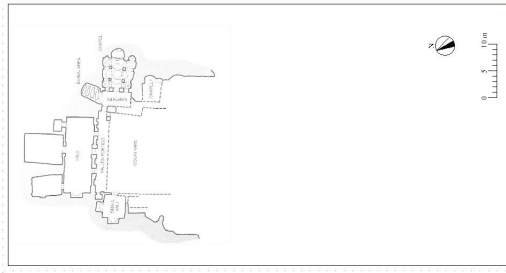


Fig. 5.1.1.8 (above):  
 Area 1: Plan  
 (Ousterhout (2005) fig. 79)

Fig. 5.1.1.10 (above):  
 Area 4: Plan  
 (Ousterhout (2005) fig. 95)

Fig. 5.1.1.13 (above):  
 Area 5: Plan  
 (Ousterhout (2005) fig. 114)

Fig. 5.1.1.15 (above):  
 Area 6: Plan  
 (Ousterhout (2005) fig. 122)

Fig. 5.1.1.18 (above):  
 Area 7: Plan  
 (Ousterhout (2005) fig. 130)

**Fig. 5.1.1.1  
Çamlı Kilise  
Courtyard Complexes (continued)**

Fig. 5.1.1.19 (below): Area 12: main hall, looking west towards the entrance (Ousterhout (2005) fig. 146)



Fig. 5.1.1.20 (above): Area 12-13 (by the author)

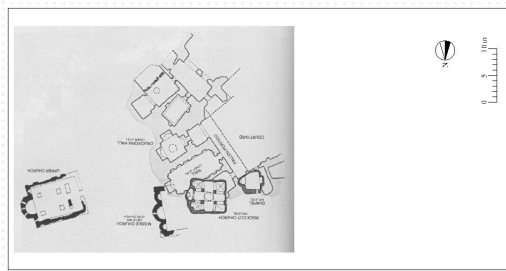


Fig. 5.1.1.21 (above): Area 12: Plan (Ousterhout (2005) fig. 143)

Fig. 5.1.1.22 (below): Area 13: vestibule, looking east (by the author)



Fig. 5.1.1.23 (above): Area 13: courtyard, looking north to vestibule (by the author)

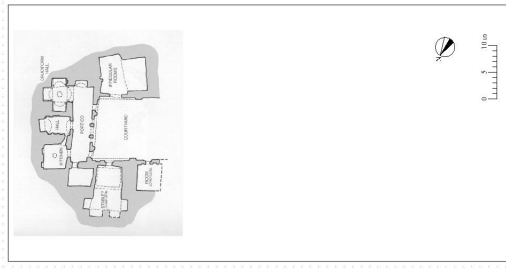


Fig. 5.1.1.24 (above): Area 13: Plan (Ousterhout (2005) fig. 155)

Fig. 5.1.1.25 (below): Area 15: main hall, looking east towards the emphasized end (by the author)



Fig. 5.1.1.26 (above): Area 15: courtyard, looking east to vestibule (by the author)

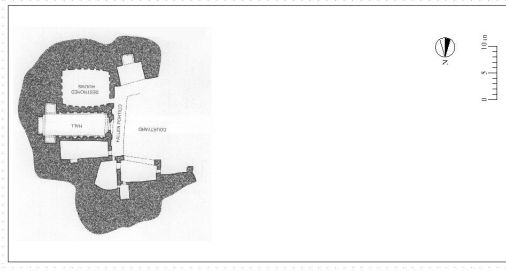


Fig. 5.1.1.27 (above): Area 15: Plan (Ousterhout (2005) fig. 163)

Fig. 5.1.1.28 (below): Area 16: vestibule, looking southeast (by the author)



Fig. 5.1.1.29 (above): Area 7: main facade, looking southeast (by the author)

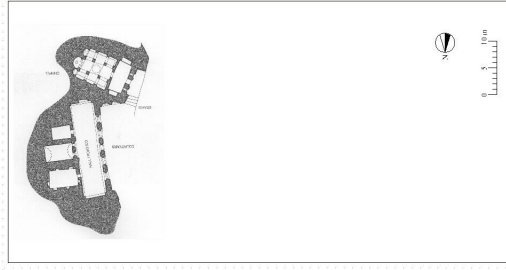


Fig. 5.1.1.30 (above): Area 16: Plan (Ousterhout (2005) fig. 170)



Fig. 5.1.1.31 (below left):  
Area 13: kitchen with a chimney  
(by the author)

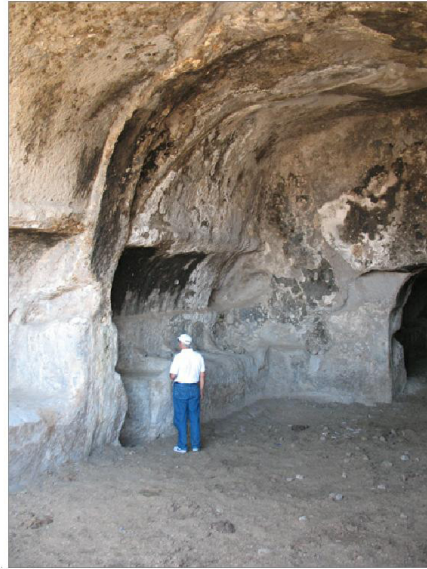


Fig. 5.1.1.32 (above right):  
Area 15: stable, barrel vaulted with carved mangers on lateral walls  
(by the author)

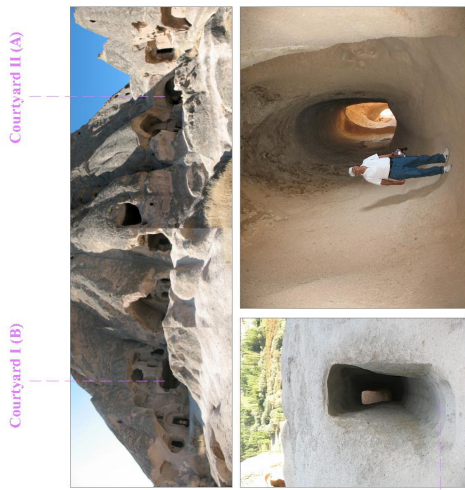


Fig. 5.1.1.33 (above):  
Area 20: stable with carved mangers on lateral walls  
(Tütüncü (2008) fig. 55)





Fig. 5.1.2.7 (below):  
Selime Kalesi, Area 2: 'double courtyards'  
(by the author)



Courtyard I (B)

Courtyard II (A)

Fig. 5.1.2.8 (above left) and Fig. 5.1.2.9 (above right):  
Selime Kalesi, Area 2: passageway and stairs leading to the first courtyard  
(by the author)

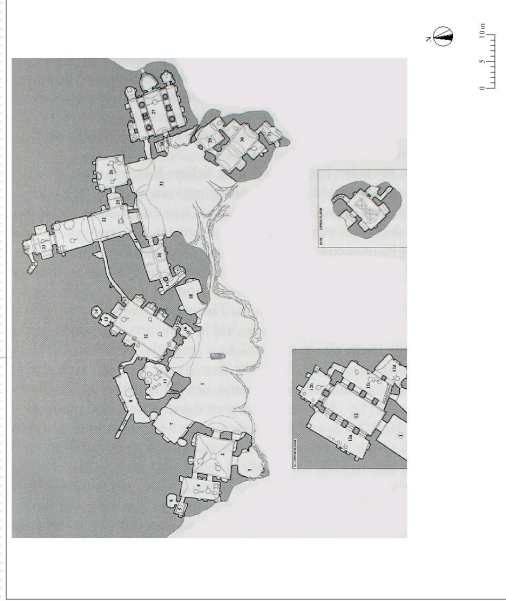


Fig. 5.1.2.10 (above):  
Selime Kalesi, Area 2: Plan  
(Kalis (2006) fig. 9)

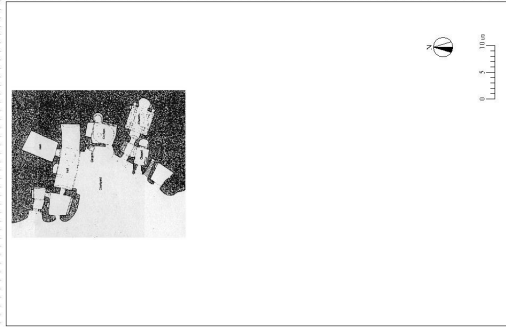


Fig. 5.1.2.11 (above):  
Güllükkaya, Area 5: Plan  
(Kalis (2000) pl. 52)

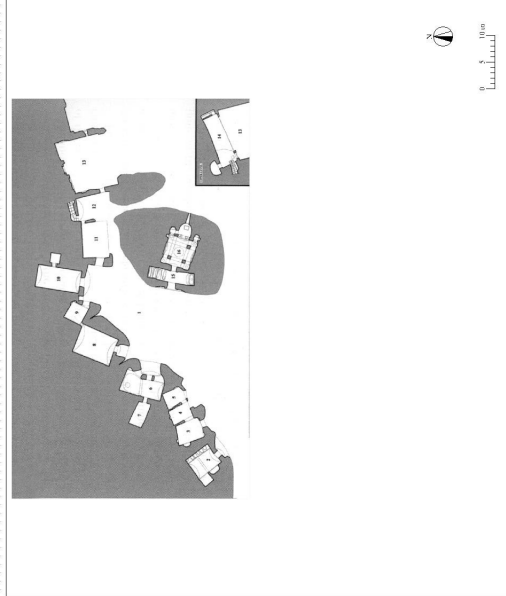


Fig. 5.1.2.12 (above):  
Güllükkaya, Area 7: Plan  
(Kalis (2007) fig. 2)

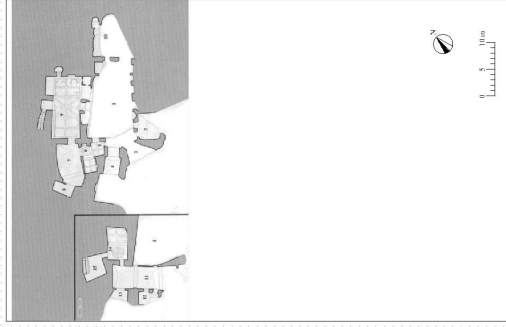


Fig. 5.1.2.14 (above):  
Güllükkaya, Area 8: Plan  
(Kalis (2007) fig. 3)

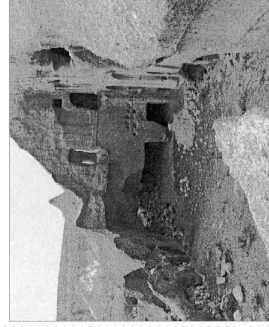


Fig. 5.1.2.13 (above):  
Güllükkaya, Area 8: four-sided courtyard,  
looking southwest (Kalis (2007) fig. 6)

Fig. 5.1.2.15 (below):  
Selime Kalesi, Area 2: main hall 1, looking northeast  
(Kaldas (2007) fig. 6)

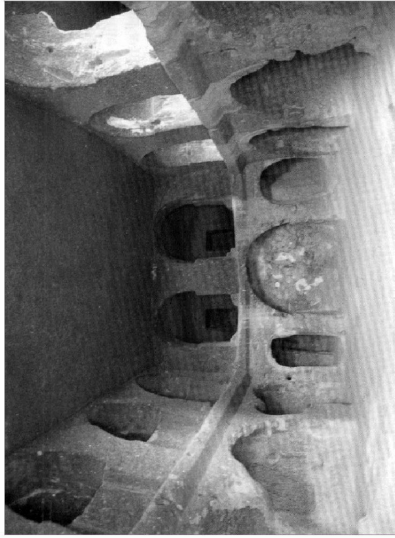


Fig. 5.1.2.17 (below):  
Selime Kalesi, Area 2: main hall 2,  
looking north to the cruciform hall (Kaldas (2009a) fig. 6.18)



Fig. 5.1.2  
Selime-Yaprakhisar  
Selime Kalesi

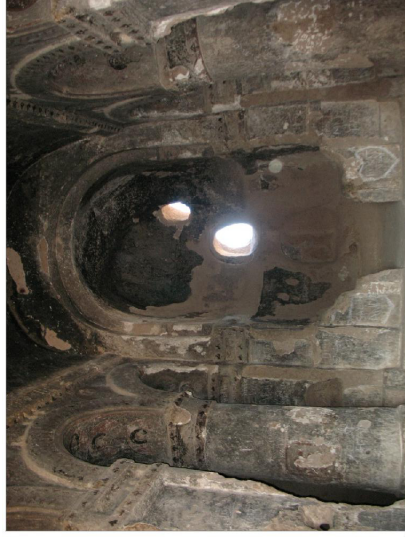


Fig. 5.1.2.19 (above):  
Selime Kalesi, Area 2: cross-in-square church  
(by the author)



Fig. 5.1.2.18 (above):  
Selime Kalesi, Area 2: porch of the hall 2  
(by the author)

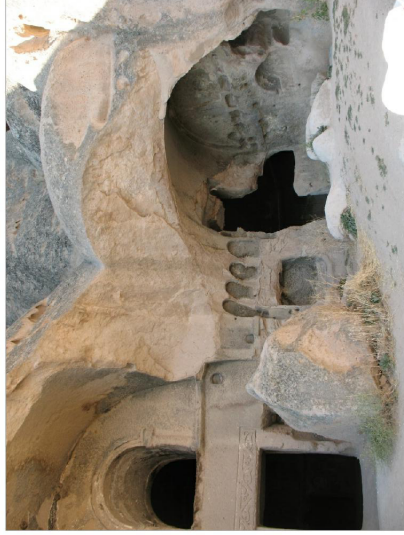


Fig. 5.1.2.16 (above):  
Selime Kalesi, Area 2: porch of the hall 1  
(by the author)



Fig. 5.1.2.20 (above):  
Selime Kalesi, Area 2: porch of the church  
(by the author)







Fig. 5.1.2.21 (above):  
Selime Kalesi, Area 2: kitchen with a huge conical chimney  
(by the author)

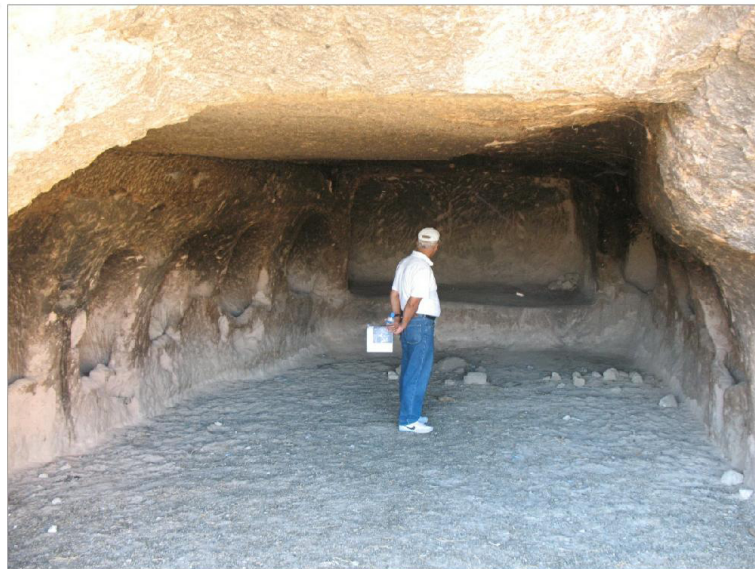
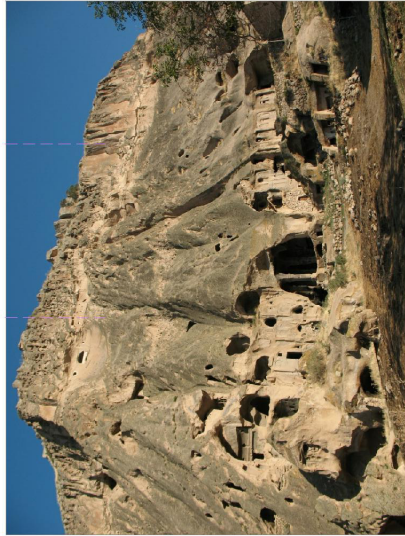


Fig. 5.1.2.22 (above):  
Selime Kalesi, Area 2: stable with carved mangers on lateral walls  
(by the author)

Fig. 5.1.2.25 (below):  
Yaprakhsisar, Area 11: main façade  
(by the author)



Fig. 5.1.2.23 (below):  
Yaprakhsisar, Areas 10.1 and 10.2  
(by the author)



Area 10.1

Area 10.2

Fig. 5.1.2.27 (above):  
Yaprakhsisar, Area 12: main façade  
(by the author)

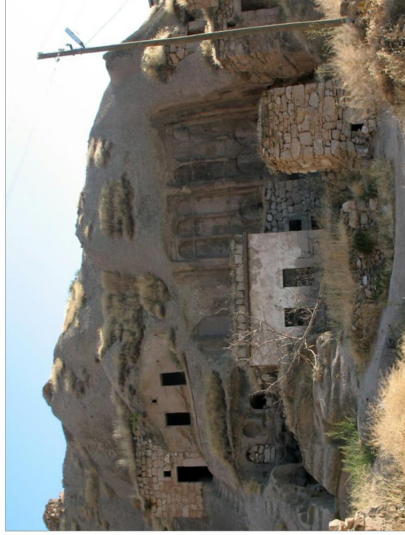


Fig. 5.1.2.26 (above):  
Yaprakhsisar, Area 11: courtyard with *eyvan*  
(by the author)



Fig. 5.1.2.24 (above):  
Yaprakhsisar, Area 10.2: main façade  
(by the author)

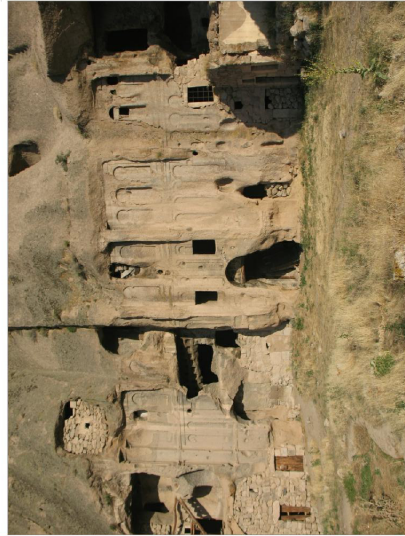
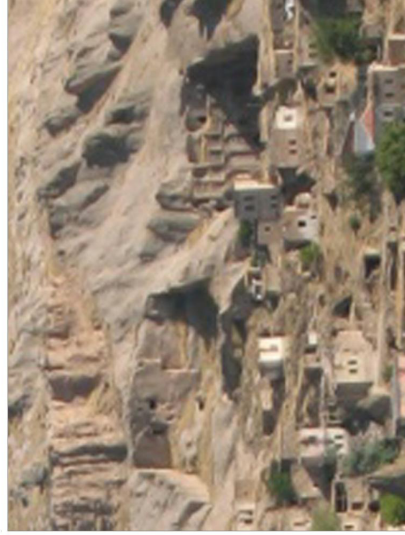


Fig. 5.1.2.28 (above):  
Yaprakhsisar, Areas 13 (left, unfinished) and 14  
(by the author)





**Fig. 5.2**  
**Isolated Courtyard Complexes**  
**Sites**

Fig. 5.2.1 (below left): Eski Gümüş; four-sided courtyard (taken from the flyer published by Republic of Turkey, Government of Niğde, 2009)

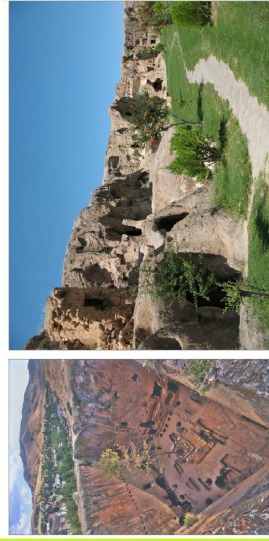


Fig. 5.2.2 (above right): Eski Gümüş; rock-cut village where the four-sided courtyard complex is carved (by the author)

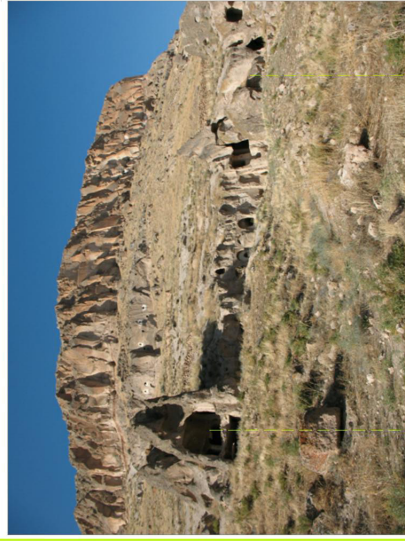


Fig. 5.2.3 (above): Soğanlı Ham; general view (by the author)

Fig. 5.2.4 (below): Erdemli; general view (Aldehuelo (2003) page 72)

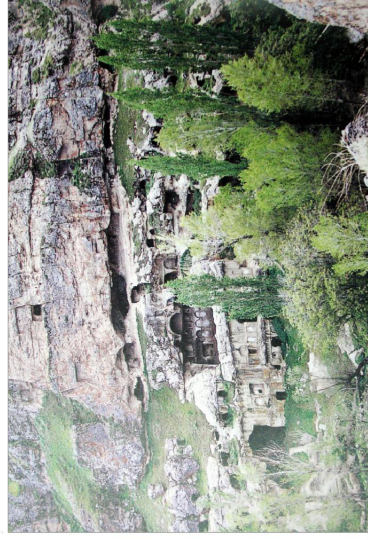
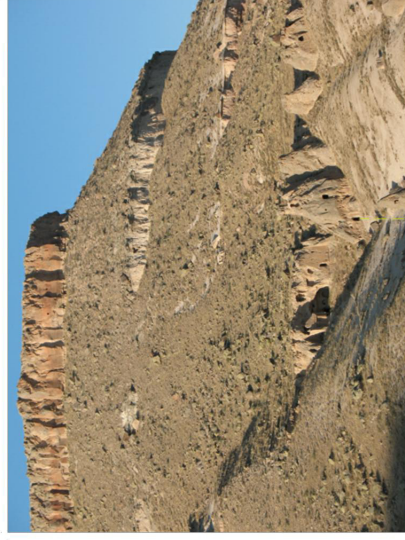


Fig. 5.2.5 (above): Şahinefendi; general view (by the author)



**Fig. 5.2.6**  
**Aynalı Kilise**  
**general view**  
**(by the author)**

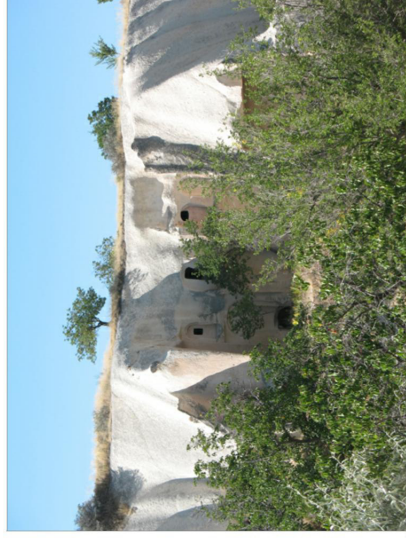


Fig. 5.2.7 (above): Kılıçlar; general view (by the author)

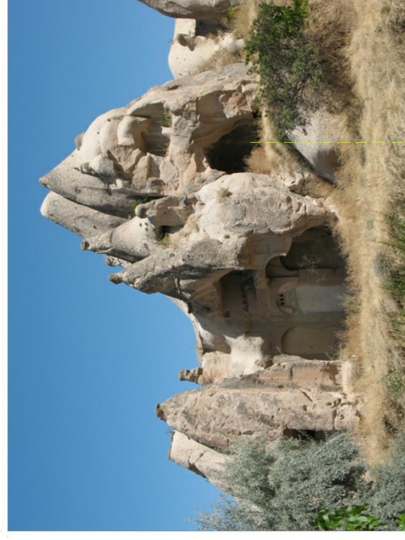


Fig. 5.2.7 (above): Kılıçlar; general view (by the author)

**Fig. 5.2**  
**Isolated Courtyard Complexes**  
**Courtyard Complexes**

Fig. 5.2.8 (below):  
Drekli Kilise: façade  
(Rodley (1985) plate 76)

Fig. 5.2.10 (below):  
Karamlık Kale: façade  
(Rodley (1985) plate 90)

Fig. 5.2.12 (below):  
Eski Gümbüş: main hall, looking  
to emphasized end (by the author)

Fig. 5.2.15 (below):  
Soğanlı Han: hall,  
looking to entrance (by the author)

Fig. 5.2.18 (above):  
Erdemli: main façade  
(Aldehuelo (2003) page 73)

Fig. 5.2.16 (above):  
Soğanlı Han: main façade  
(fallen vestibule?) (by the author)

Fig. 5.2.17 (above):  
Eski Gümbüş: main façade  
(by the author)

Fig. 5.2.13 (above):  
Eski Gümbüş: main façade  
(by the author)

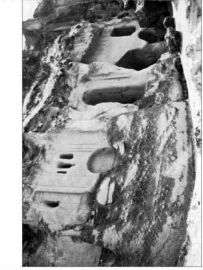
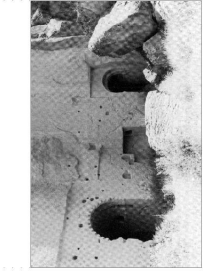
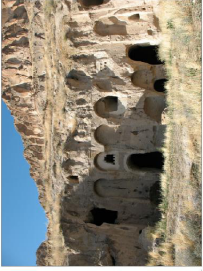
Fig. 5.2.11 (above):  
Karamlık Kale: Plan  
(Rodley (1985) fig. 16)

Fig. 5.2.9 (above):  
Drekli Kilise: Plan  
(Rodley (1985) fig. 15)

Fig. 5.2.14 (above):  
Eski Gümbüş: Plan  
(Rodley (1985) fig. 17)

Fig. 5.2.17 (above):  
Soğanlı Han: Plan  
(Rodley (1985) fig. 8)

Fig. 5.2.19 (above):  
Erdemli: Plan  
(Aldehuelo (2003) page 78)



(Fig. 5.2.17, 5.2.22 and 5.2.32 are completed  
by the author; here spaces added to  
the original plans are discovered by the author)

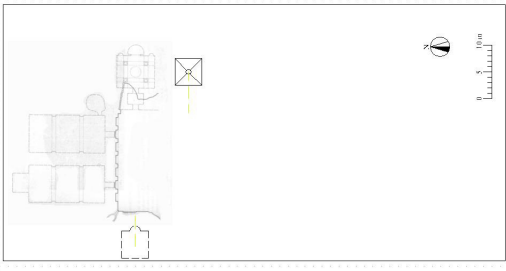
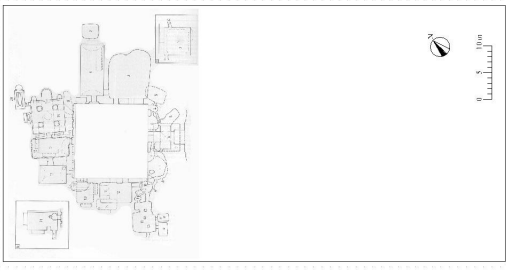
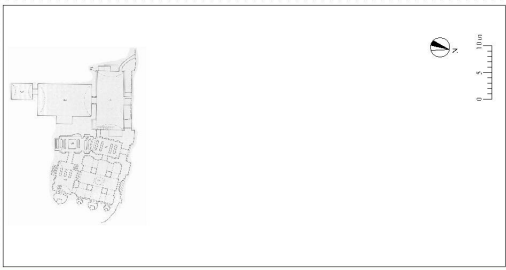


Fig. 5.2.9 (above):  
Drekli Kilise: Plan  
(Rodley (1985) fig. 15)

Fig. 5.2.11 (above):  
Karamlık Kale: Plan  
(Rodley (1985) fig. 16)

Fig. 5.2.14 (above):  
Eski Gümbüş: Plan  
(Rodley (1985) fig. 17)

Fig. 5.2.17 (above):  
Soğanlı Han: Plan  
(Rodley (1985) fig. 8)

Fig. 5.2.19 (above):  
Erdemli: Plan  
(Aldehuelo (2003) page 78)



**Fig. 5.2**  
**Isolated Courtyard Complexes**  
**Courtyard Complexes (continued)**

Fig. 5.2.20 (below):  
Şahinefendi: two-partied vestibule,  
looking west (by the author)



Fig. 5.2.21 (above):  
Şahinefendi: façade and  
fallen vestibule (by the author)

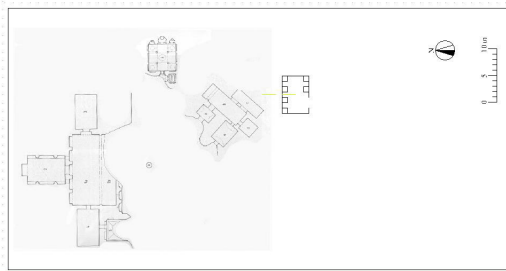


Fig. 5.2.22 (above):  
Şahinefendi: Plan  
(Rodley (1985) fig. 6)

Fig. 5.2.23 (below):  
Aynalı Kilise: main hall (vestibule?),  
looking east (by the author)



Fig. 5.2.24 (above):  
Aynalı Kilise: main façade  
(by the author)

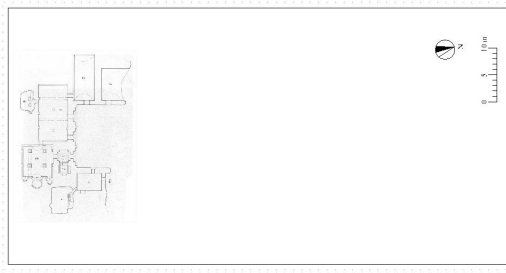


Fig. 5.2.25 (above):  
Aynalı Kilise: Plan  
(Rodley (1985) fig. 11)

Fig. 5.2.26 (below left) and  
Fig. 5.2.27 (below right):  
Hallaç: halls (Ertan Turgut)



Fig. 5.2.28 (above):  
Hallaç: side (east) façade  
(Ertan Turgut)

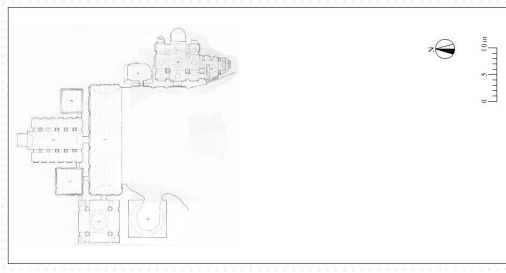


Fig. 5.2.29 (above):  
Hallaç: Plan  
(Rodley (1985) fig. 13)

Fig. 5.2.30 (below):  
Kılıçlar: vestibule, looking east  
(by the author)



Fig. 5.2.31 (above):  
Kılıçlar: fallen main façade and  
vestibule (by the author)



Fig. 5.2.32 (above):  
Kılıçlar: Plan  
(Rodley (1985) fig. 7)

Fig. 5.2.33 (below):  
Bezir Hane: main hall  
(by the author)

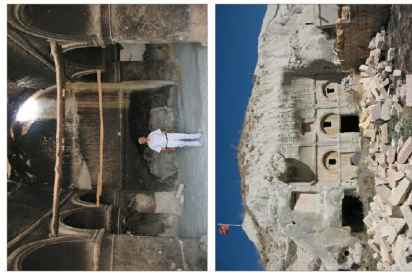


Fig. 5.2.34 (above):  
Bezir Hane: fallen vestibule  
(by the author)



Fig. 5.2.35 (above):  
Bezir Hane: Plan  
(Rodley (1985) fig. 5)

Fig. 5.2  
Isolated Courtyard Complexes  
Churches

Fig. 5.2.36 (below):  
Erdemli: church on the first floor  
(Karakaya (2006) fig. 4)

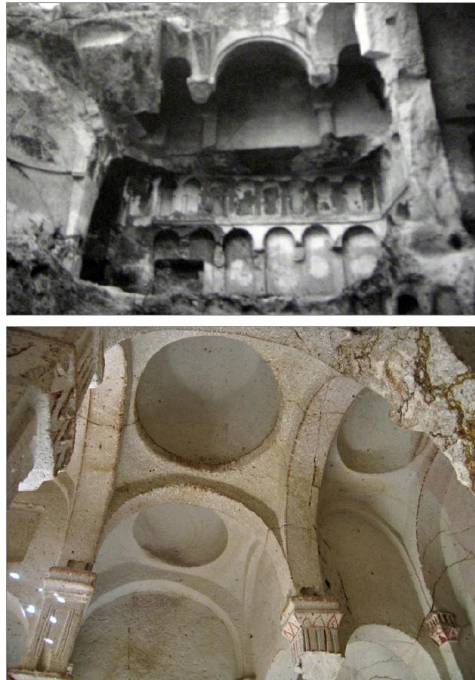


Fig. 5.2.37 (above):  
Hallaç: cross-in-square church  
(Ertan Turgut)



Fig. 5.2.38 (below):  
Soğanlı Han: funerary chapel  
(by the author)

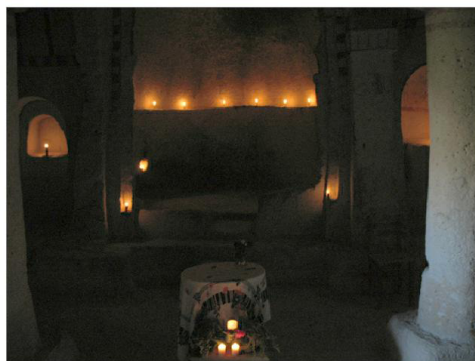


Fig. 5.2.39 (above):  
Aynalı Kilise: basilical church, showing use of niches for candles  
(by the author)

Fig. 5.2  
Isolated Courtyard Complexes  
Utilities

Fig. 5.2.40 (below left):  
Eski Gümüş: kitchen with a chimney  
(by the author)

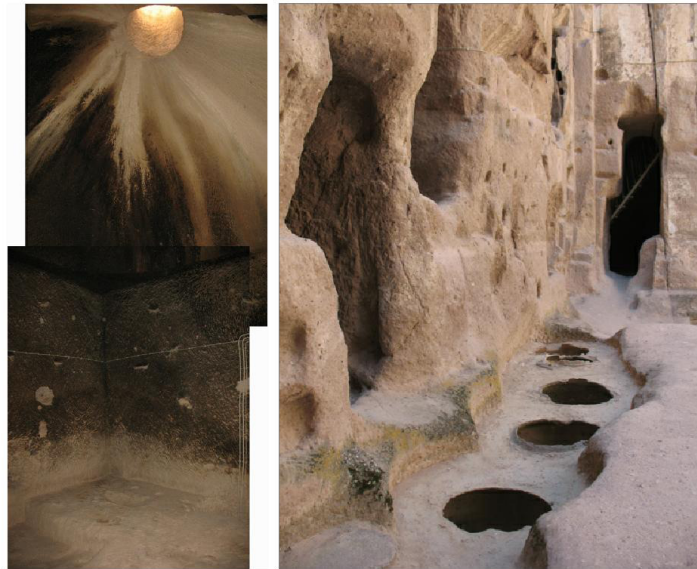


Fig. 5.2.41 (above right):  
Eski Gümüş: *pitthoi* buried in the  
four-sided courtyard (by the author)

Fig. 5.2.42 (below):  
Eski Gümüş: stable with carved mangers  
on lateral walls (by the author)



Fig. 5.2.43 (above):  
Şahinefendi: stable with carved mangers on lateral walls  
(by the author)



Fig. 6.3 (below):  
Açıksaray: general view, looking northwest  
(by the author)

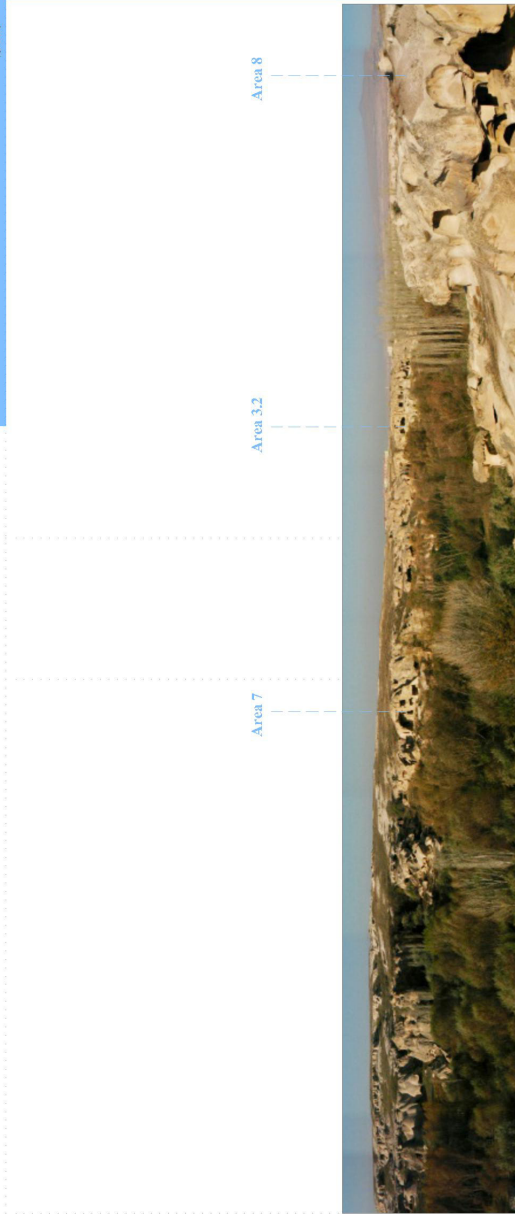


Fig. 6.1 (below): Açıksaray: General Plan  
(Plans redrawn/ corrected and adapted to topography by the author  
(after Rodley (1985) fig. 19-27); Google Earth image, accessed: 19.03.2009)

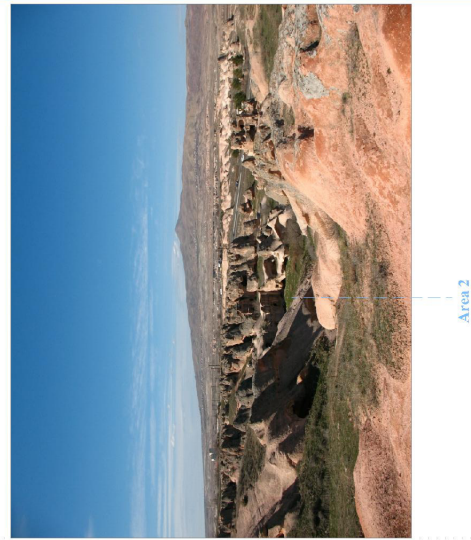
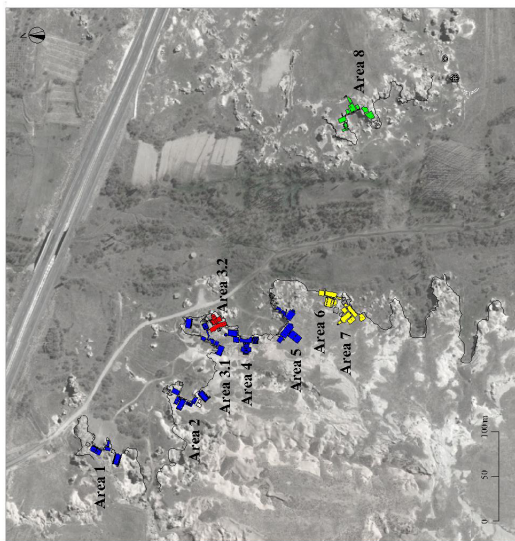


Fig. 6.5 (above):  
Açıksaray: view from the top of Area 3 looking north at Area 2  
(by the author)

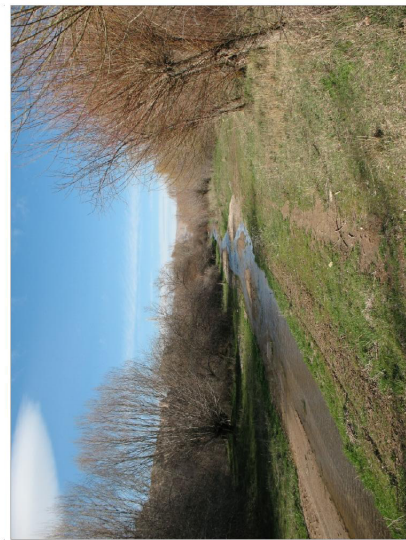


Fig. 6.4 (above):  
Açıksaray: the valley ground  
(by the author)

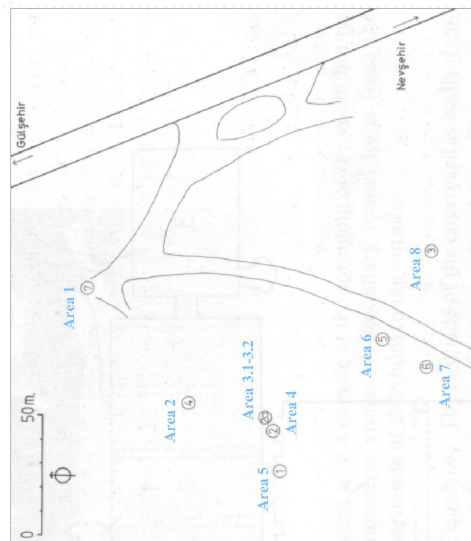


Fig. 6.2 (above):  
Açıksaray: Site Diagram (Rodley (1985) fig. 18)  
(Areas defined by the author (in blue) are added to the original figure)

Fig. 6.6 (below): Açıkсарay: General Plan  
 (Plans redrawn/ corrected and adapted to topography by the author  
 (after Rodley (1985) fig. 19-27); Google Earth image, accessed: 19.03.2009)

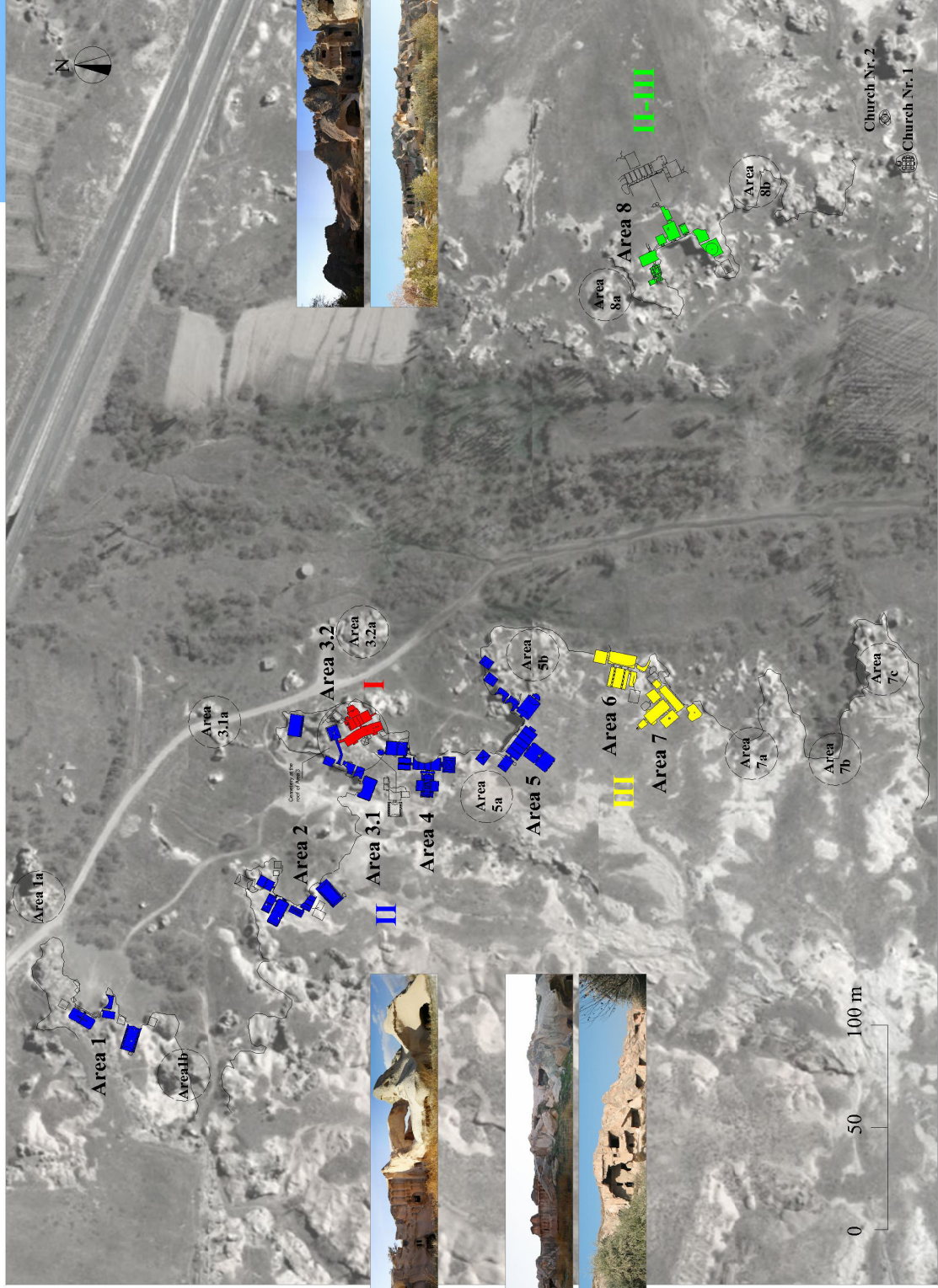


Fig. 6.10 (below):  
 Area 1  
 (Başar Öztürk)



Fig. 6.11 (above):  
 Area 8  
 (by the author)

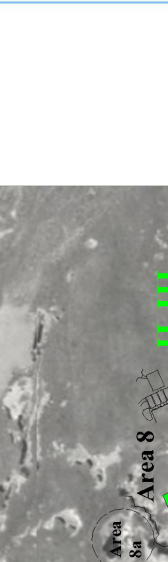


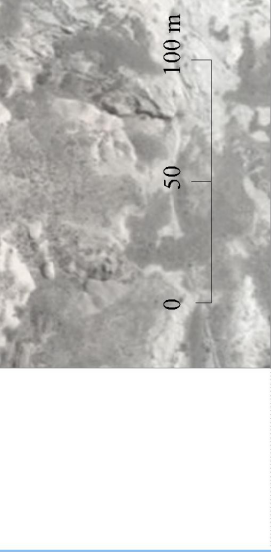
Fig. 6.7 (below):  
 Area 2  
 (Başar Öztürk)



Fig. 6.8 (below):  
 Area 5  
 (Başar Öztürk)



Fig. 6.9 (above):  
 Area 7  
 (by the author)



CARVING STAGES:  
 (proposed by the author)

- I [Red square]
- II [Blue square]
- III [Yellow square]
- II-III [Green square]



Fig. 6.15 (below): (not to scale)  
 Area 2: the main façade  
 (reconstructed by the autor)

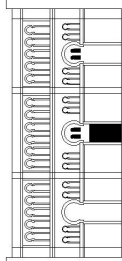


Fig. 6.16 (above):  
 Area 2: the main façade  
 (by the autor)

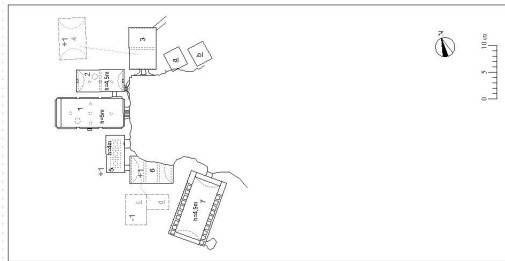


Fig. 6.17 (above): Area 2: Plan  
 (redrawn/ corrected by the autor  
 (after Rodley (1985) fig. 22))

Fig. 6.12 (below): (not to scale)  
 Area 1: the main façade (redrawn by  
 the autor (after Kostof (1989) fig. 8))

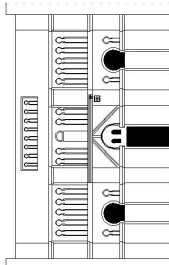


Fig. 6.13 (above):  
 Area 1: the main façade  
 (Sami Karadas)

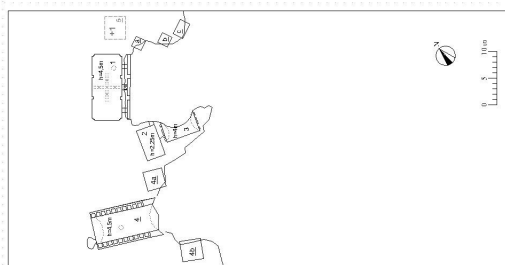


Fig. 6.14 (above): Area 1: Plan  
 (redrawn/ corrected by the autor  
 (after Rodley (1985) fig. 25))

Fig. 6.20 (above):  
 Area 4: the main façade  
 (by the autor)

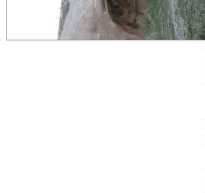


Fig. 6.18 (above):  
 Area 3.1: the main façade  
 (by the autor)



Fig. 6.21 (above): Area 4: Plan  
 (redrawn/ corrected by the autor  
 (after Rodley (1985) fig. 20))

Fig. 6.19 (above): Area 3.1-3.2: Plan  
 (redrawn/ corrected by the autor  
 (after Rodley (1985) fig. 20))

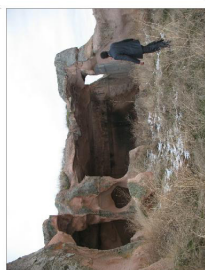


Fig. 6.16 (above):  
 Area 2: the main façade  
 (by the autor)

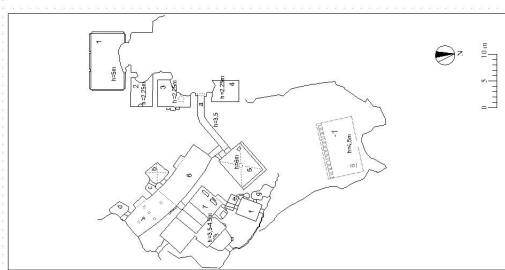


Fig. 6.17 (above): Area 2: Plan  
 (redrawn/ corrected by the autor  
 (after Rodley (1985) fig. 22))

**Fig. 6**  
**Açıksaray**  
**Courtyard Complexes (continued)**

Fig. 6.22 (below): (not to scale)  
Area 5: the main façade  
(reconstructed by the autor)

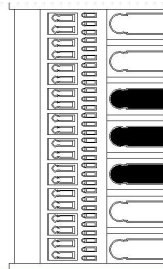


Fig. 6.23 (above):  
Area 5: the main façade  
(Başar Öztürk)

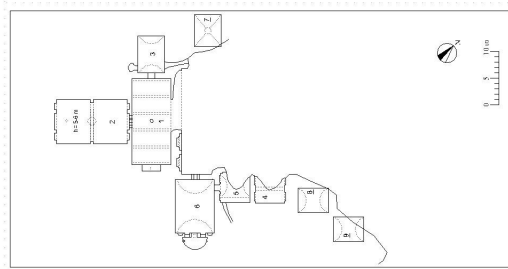


Fig. 6.24 (above): Area 5: Plan  
(redrawn/ corrected by the author  
(after Rodley (1985) fig. 19))

Fig. 6.27 (below): (not to scale)  
Area 7: the main façade  
(reconstructed by the autor)

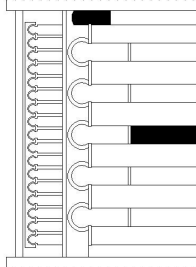


Fig. 6.28 (above):  
Area 7: the main façade  
(by the autor)

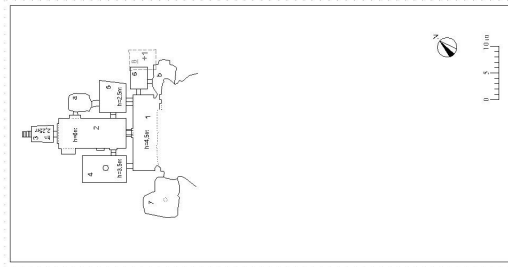


Fig. 6.29 (above): Area 7: Plan  
(redrawn/ corrected by the author  
(after Rodley (1985) fig. 24))

Fig. 6.30 (below): (not to scale)  
Area 8: the main façade  
(reconstructed by the autor)

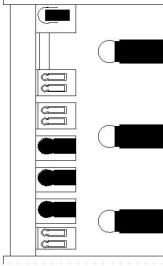


Fig. 6.31 (above):  
Area 8: the main façade  
(Başar Öztürk)

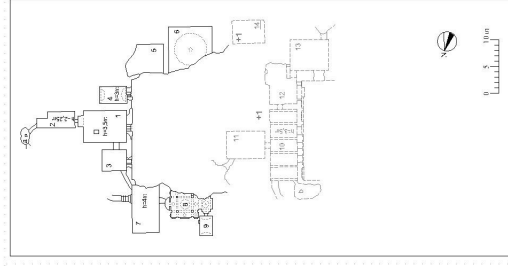


Fig. 6.32 (above): Area 8: Plan  
(redrawn/ corrected by the author  
(after Rodley (1985) fig. 21))

Açıksaray  
Comparative Table

Carving Stages

II	I	II	III	II-III	Area 1	Area 2	Area 3.1-3.2	Area 4	Area 5	Area 6	Area 7	Area 8	Courtyard Complexes	

Fig. 6.33 (above):  
Açıksaray: Comparative table showing carving stages, Courtyard Complexes and their components  
(plans are redrawn/ corrected by the author (after Rodley (1985) fig. 19-25); reconstruction of façades by the author)



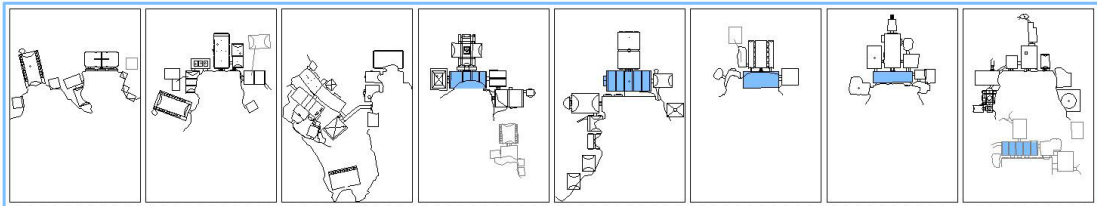


Fig. 6.34 (below):  
Area 4: vestibule (room 1)  
(Ertan Turgut)

Fig. 6  
Açıksaray  
Vestibules

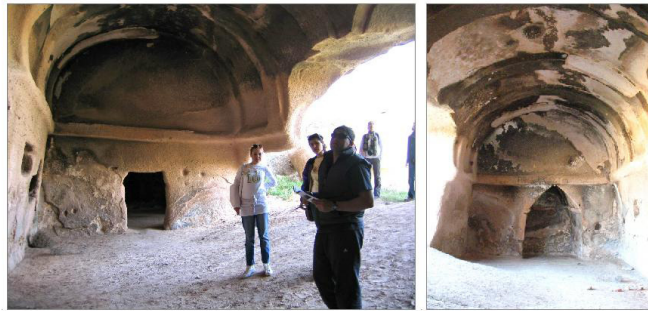
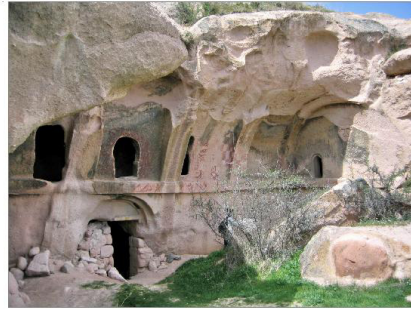


Fig. 6.35 (above left):  
Area 5: vestibule (room 1)  
(Ertan Turgut)

Fig. 6.36 (above right):  
Area 5: vestibule (room 1)  
(by the author)

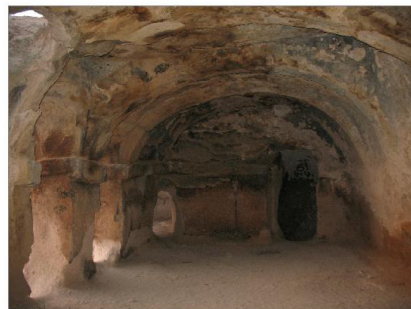


Fig. 6.37 (above top): Area 7: vestibule (room 1) (by the author)

Fig. 6.38 (above): Area 8: upstairs vestibule (room 10) (by the author)

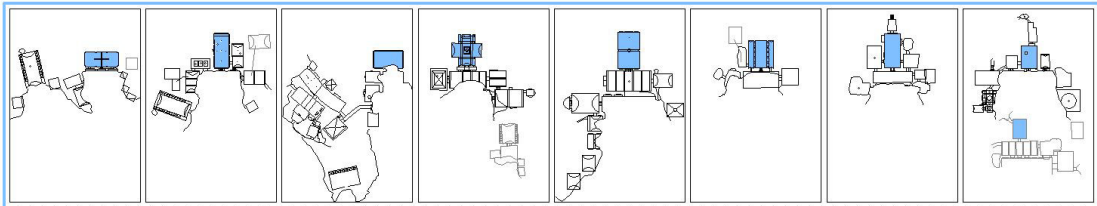


Fig. 6.39 (below):  
Area 1: main hall (room 1)  
(Ertan Turgut)

Fig. 6  
Açıksaray  
Main Halls



Fig. 6.40 (above):  
Area 1: main hall (room 1) detail  
(Ertan Turgut)

Fig. 6.41 (below):  
Area 2: main hall (room 1)  
(by the author)



Fig. 6.42 (above):  
Area 3.1: main hall (room 1)  
(Sami Karadaş)

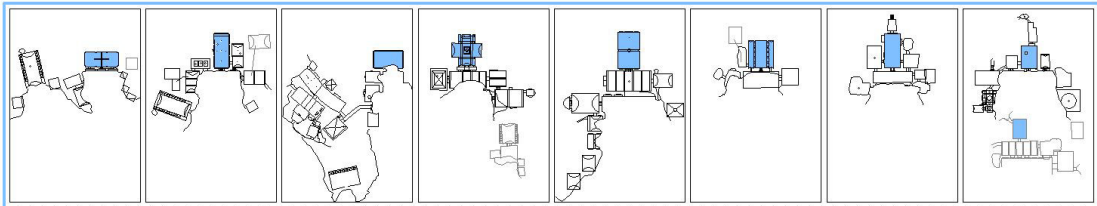


Fig. 6.43 (below top): Area 4: main hall (room 2) (Ertan Turgut)  
 Fig. 6.44 (below): Area 4: main hall (room 2) detail (Ertan Turgut)

**Fig. 6**  
**Açıksaray**  
**Main Halls (continued)**

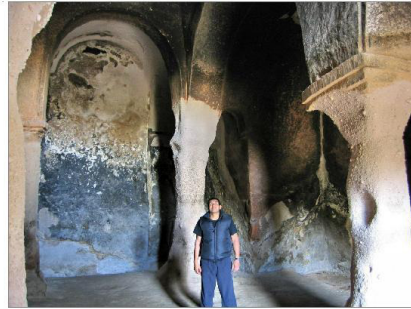


Fig. 6.45 (below left):  
 Area 5: main hall (room 2)  
 (Ertan Turgut)

Fig. 6.46 (below right):  
 Area 6: main hall (room 2)  
 (Ertan Turgut)



Fig. 6.47 (above left): Area 7: main hall (room 2) (by the author)

Fig. 6.48 (above right): Area 8: probably main hall (room 1) (by the author)



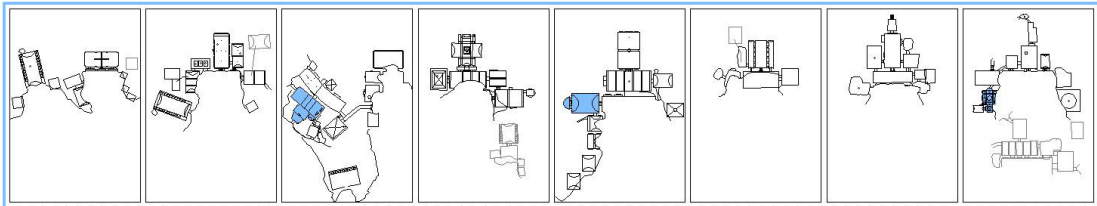


Fig. 6.49 (below left): Area 3.2: anteroom of the supposed church (room 6) and  
 Fig. 6.50 (below right): Area 3.2: supposed church (room 7) (by the author)

**Fig. 6**  
**Açıksaray**  
**Churches**



Fig. 6.51 (above):  
 Area 5: church (room 6)  
 (Ertan Turgut)

Fig. 6.52 (below left): Area 8: church (room 8) (by the author)  
 Fig. 6.53 (below right): Area 8: church (room 8) (Grishin (2002) ph. 10)

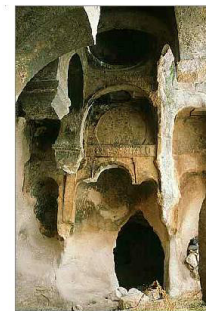
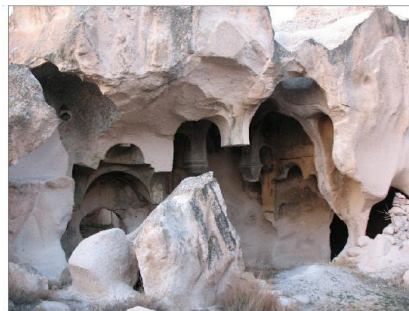


Fig. 6.54 (above left): South of Area 8: Church Nr. 1 (by the author)

Fig. 6.55 (above right): South of Area 8: probably Church Nr. 2 (by the author)

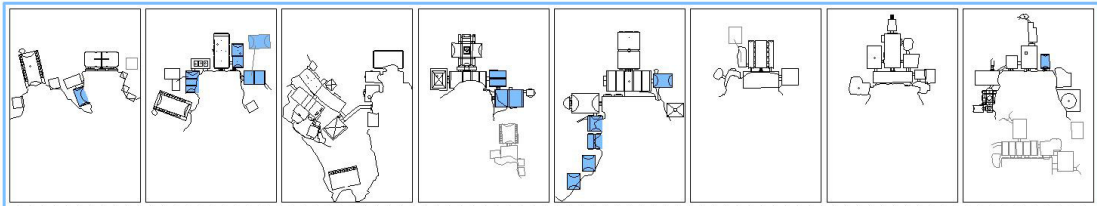


Fig. 6.56 (below left): Area 1: room 3 (by the author)  
 Fig. 6.57 (below right): Area 2: room 4 (by the author)

**Fig. 6**  
**Açıksaray**  
**Barrel-vaulted rooms**



Fig. 6.58 (above left):  
 Area 2: room 6  
 (Başar Öztürk)

Fig. 6.59 (above right):  
 Area 2: room 2  
 (by the author)

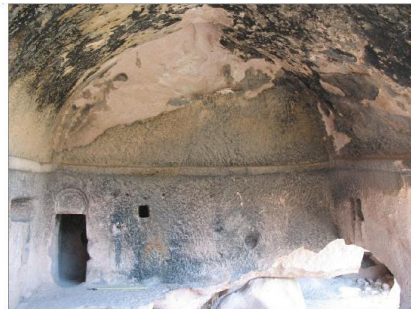


Fig. 6.60 (above top): Area 4: room 5 (by the author)  
 Fig. 6.61 (above): Area 5: room 9 (by the author)

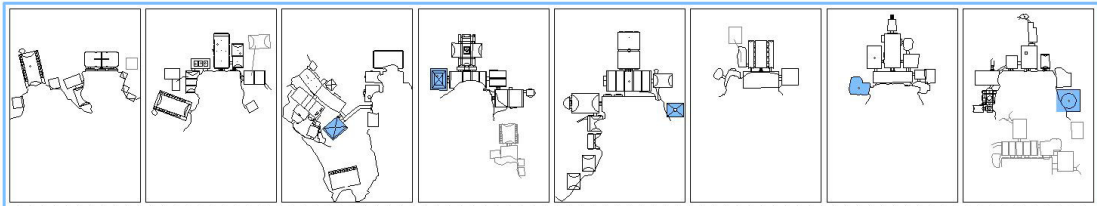


Fig. 6.62 (below left): Area 3.1.: corridor (a) leading to the kitchen (by the author)  
 Fig. 6.63 (below right): Area 3.1.: kitchen (room 5) (by the author)

**Fig. 6**  
**Açıksaray**  
**Kitchens**

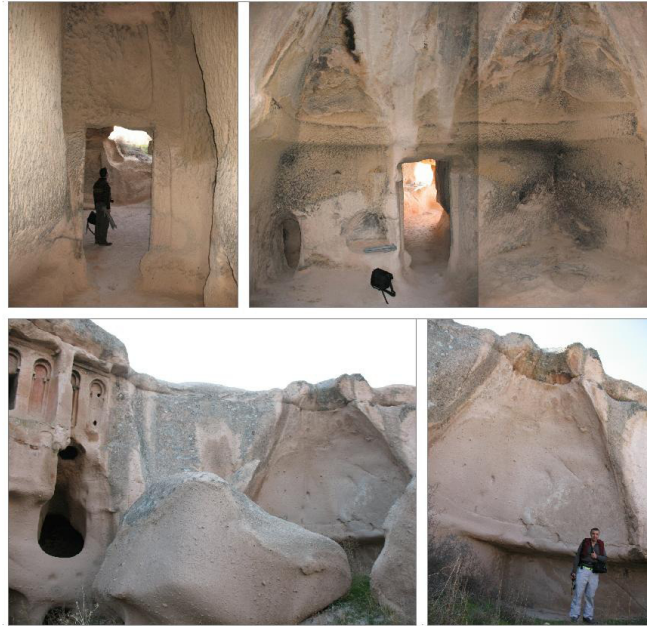


Fig. 6.64 (above left) and Fig. 6.65 (above right):  
 Area 5: kitchen (room 7)  
 (by the author)

Fig. 6.66 (below):  
 Area 8: kitchen (room 6)  
 (by the author)

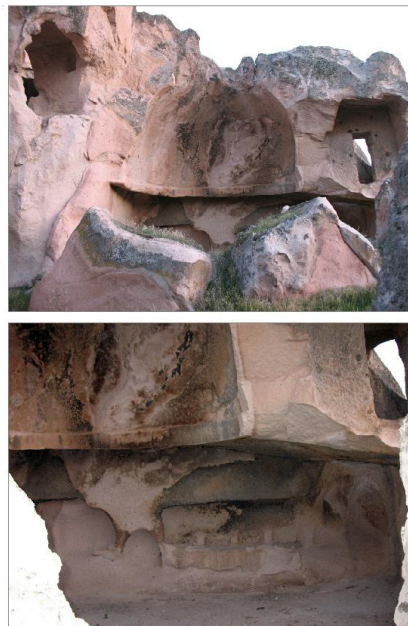


Fig. 6.67 (above):  
 Area 8: kitchen detail (room 6)  
 (by the author)



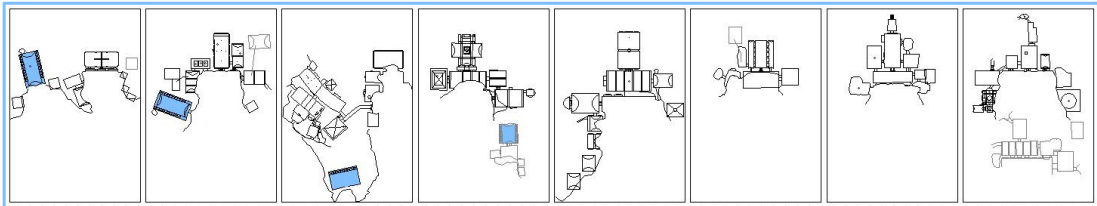


Fig. 6.68 (below):  
Area 1: stable (room 4)  
(Tütüncü (2008) fig. 34)

Fig. 6  
Açıksaray  
Stables

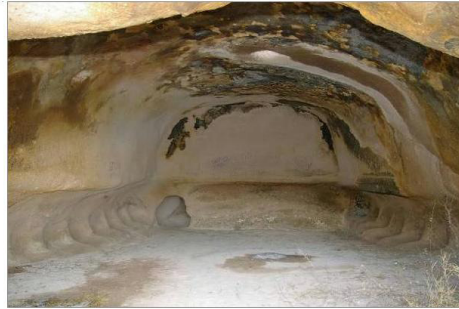


Fig. 6.69 (above left): Area 2: stable (room 7) (Tütüncü (2008) fig. 30)  
Fig. 6.70 (above right): Area 2: stable (room 7), detail of mangers  
(Tütüncü (2008) fig. 31 )

Fig. 6.71 (below):  
Area 3: stable (room 8)  
(Tütüncü (2008) fig. 23)



Fig. 6.72 (above left): Area 4: anteroom of the stable (room 7) (by the author)  
Fig. 6.73 (above right): Area 4: stable (room 8) (Tütüncü (2008) fig. 21)

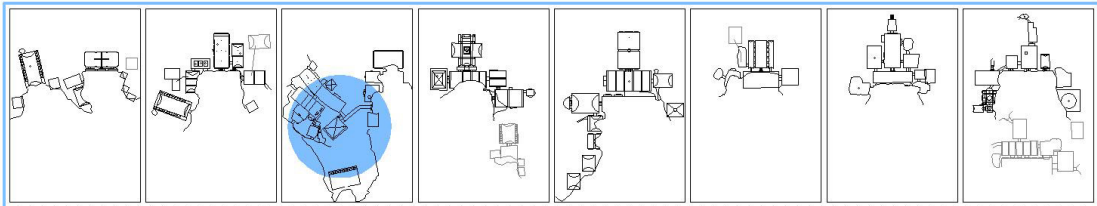


Fig. 6  
Açıksaray  
Cemetery



Fig. 6.74 (above left):  
Area 3: rock-cut graves including those of children  
(by the author)



Fig. 6.75 (above right):  
Area 3: rock-cut grave detail  
(by the author)



Fig. 6.76 (above):  
Area 3: rock-cut cemetery  
(by the author)



## APPENDIX C

### TURKISH SUMMARY

Bu çalışma, İç Anadolu Bölgesinde yer alan Kapadokya'da Açık Avlulu Kompleksler olarak adlandırılan yapıları mimari açıdan ve tarihsel açıdan incelemekte ve Açıksaray Grubunu ayrıntılı olarak ele almaktadır. Temelde, bu inceleme Kapadokya kayaya oyma Açık Avlulu Komplekslerinin özgün bir orta Bizans tipolojisi olduğu yönündeki savı desteklemeyi amaçlamaktadır. Ayrıca, bu tipoloji kapsamında, inceleme ilk kez iki alt kategori tanımlamaktadır: Açık Avlulu Kompleksler Topluluğu ve Tek Açık Avlulu Kompleksler. İnceleme ayrıca ister bir grup içinde olsun, ister tek başına olsun Açık Avlulu Komplekslerin genelde tam teşekküllü seküler yerleşimler olduğunu ileri sürmektedir. Açıksaray grubunun, bazı yönlerden diğerlerinden ayrıldığı kanıtlanmıştır. Böylelikle, bu çalışma Açıksaray Grubunun mimari incelemesinin yanı sıra Açık Avlulu Komplekslerin genel karşılaştırmalı bir incelemesini de sunmayı amaçlamaktadır.

Aksaray, Nevşehir, Kayseri ve Niğde şehirlerini içine alan bölgede kırkın üzerinde Açık Avlulu Kompleks bulunmuştur. Açıksaray'ın yanı sıra, iki farklı alanda daha benzer kompleksler topluluğuna rastlanmıştır: Çanlı Kilise ve Selime-Yaprakhisar. Diğer kompleksler volkanik vadiler arasına dağılmıştır (çizim. 1.1.). Genelde bunlar üç tarafından oyulmuş avlulardır, bu kompleksler daha ilk bakışta bölgedeki diğer kayaya oyma mekanlardan ayrılırlar. Ortak bir plana uygun olarak işlemeli biçimde oyulmuş yüksek cephelerin arkasında bir örnek izleyen mekan sekansları yer almaktadır (çizim 1.2.-3.). Planlı ve tam boyutuyla ayakta kalmış olan çok sayıdaki kompleks bu özel tipolojisi desteklemektedir, bu da farklı araştırmacılar tarafından ya manastır ya da seküler olarak tanımlanmıştır. Ancak, araştırmacılar genelde bu komplekslerin onuncu ile onbirinci yüzyıllar arasına tarihlendiği konusunda görüş birliği içindedir.

Açıksaray<sup>1</sup> koruma altında olan doğal ve arkeolojik bir mirastır<sup>2</sup> ve Nevşehir- Gülşehir yolunun batısında, Gülşehir'in 2 km güneyinde yer almaktadır. Alan geçmişte çok canlı bir orta Bizans yerleşimine ev sahipliği yapmıştır ve alanda volkanik tüfe<sup>3</sup> oyulmuş birkaç Açık Avlulu Kompleks bulunmaktadır. Kapadokya'nın genelleştirilmiş manastır kimliğine bağlı kalan araştırmacılar başlangıçta Açıksaray'daki bu oyma kompleksleri de manastır<sup>4</sup> olarak sınıflandırmıştır. Ancak, bölge ile ilgili çalışmalar yapan araştırmacıların<sup>5</sup> görüşlerindeki değişime paralel olarak, Açıksaray'ın işlevi yeniden ele alınmıştır; günümüzde birçok araştırmacı tarafından seküler bir yerleşim olarak değerlendirilmektedir.<sup>6</sup>

Yüksek oranda erozyona karşın, oyma yapı biçimindeki arkeolojik bulgulara Kapadokya'da hala sıkça rastlanmaktadır. Tıpkı Pompeii gibi, ancak farklı bir biçimde yerleşimlerin tamamı volkanik tüf altında kalarak korunmuştur. Belirli eklesiastik yapılar hariç, Kapadokya dışında ayakta kalan Bizans mimarisi ile ilgili araştırmaların göreceli olarak az olduğu düşünüldüğünde, mevcut kayaya oyma mimari büyük önem kazanmaktadır. Ayrıca, kırsal Bizans yerleşiminin tipik örneği olmayan Açık Avlulu Kompleksleri, büyük kentlerde artık izine rastlayamadığımız daha sofistike mimari geleneklerin kanıtlarıdır. Ancak, ne yazık ki, arkeolojik bulgular, Kapadokya'daki metinsel kanıtlarla desteklenememektedir. Daha da

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<sup>1</sup> Açıksaray bazı kaynaklarda 'Açık Saray' olarak yazılmaktadır. Bölgeyi ilk kez ayrıntılı olarak inceleyen Rodley (1985) 'Açık Saray' olarak yazar. Bu incelemede, 'Açıksaray' kullanılacaktır, çünkü Nevşehir Kültür ve Tabiat Varlıklarını Koruma Bölge Kurulu kataloglarında bu şekilde kullanılmaktadır.

<sup>2</sup> 1999 yılında alan 1. sınıf doğal ve arkeolojik miras alanı olarak ilan edilmiştir.

<sup>3</sup> Nevşehir Kültür ve Tabiat Varlıklarını Koruma Bölge Kurulu kataloglarında yerleşim yanlışlıkla 4-5. yüzyıla tarihlenmiştir.

<sup>4</sup> Oberhummer and Zimmerer (1899); Jerphanion (1925, 1942); Verzzone (1962); Schiemenz (1973); Kostof (1989); Nevşehir Kültür ve Tabiat Varlıklarını Koruma Bölge Kurulu raporu (02.05.1997) başlangıçtaki manastır kimliğinin altını çizer ve araştırmalardaki son dönem yaklaşımlarını göz ardı eder. Genel olarak Açıksaray ile ilgili çalışmalar için bakınız Tablo 1.

<sup>5</sup> Araştırmaların tarihi için bakınız Veronica Kalas, "Early Explorations of Kapadokya and the Monastic Myth", *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 28, (2004), 101-119.

<sup>6</sup> Rodley (1985); Bryer (1986); Mathews and A. Daskalakis-Mathews (1997); Kalas (2000); Korat (2003); Ousterhout (2005); Tütüncü (2008); Grishin (2002), hem seküler hem de manastır yerleşiminden oluşan karma bir işlevi önermektedir.

şaşırtıcı olan ise “manastır mitinin”<sup>7</sup> yaygın olmasına karşın bunu doğrulayacak yazılı kaynaklar bulunmamasıdır.<sup>8</sup> Gerçekte, Kapadokya bölgesinin içinde ve dışındaki manastır ve seküler mimari için, birbirini destekleyen yeterince fiziksel ve metinsel kanıt bulunmamaktadır.<sup>9</sup> Sonuç olarak, genelde incelemeler mimariyi bağlamından ayırma eğilimindedir. Böylelikle, farklı sayıdaki iyi korunmuş olan aynı Açık Avlulu Kompleksler bazı araştırmacılar<sup>10</sup> tarafından manastır olarak nitelendirilirken bazıları tarafından ise yerel aristokratların malikanesi olarak nitelendirilmektedir.<sup>11</sup> Bu çalışmanın ikinci seçeneği desteklemesinin yanı sıra, ilkinin savlarını da yeniden sorgulamaktadır. Ayrıca, seküler kullanım ile ilgili mevcut savları desteklerken, bu konuda yeni savlar ileri sürmektedir. Ancak, Bizans manastır ve seküler hayatının muhtemelen başlangıçta öngörüldüğünden çok daha fazla iç içe geçtiği gerçeğini göz ardı etmemek gerekir.

Gerçekten de, herhangi bir Kapadokya yapısı incelenirken iki sorunun farkında olmak gerekir: ilk olarak, doğu dünyasındaki manastır ve seküler hayat kavramları, batıdaki kavramlardan farklıdır; ikinci olarak, kayaya oyulmuş mimari ‘ekleme’ yerine ‘çıkarma’ anlamına gelir, bu özel ‘yapım’ şekli özgün bir yaklaşım ve farklı soruların yöneltilmesini gerektirir. Bu nedenle, bu incelemedeki karşılaştırmalı mimari araştırma, temelde benzer plana sahip ve sınırlı bir alan içinde aynı dönemin oyma mimarisi üzerine odaklanmaktadır. Ayrıca, doğrudan metinsel kanıtların eksikliği sorununu aşmak için, geniş bir tarihi arka plan çalışması mimari çözümlere eklenmiştir. Bizans’ta manastır ve seküler hayat arasında her zaman kesin bir ayırım olmaması, ortaçağ toplumu ile ilgili daha geniş kapsamlı bir tartışmayı gerektirir.

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<sup>7</sup> Bakınız Kalas (2004)

<sup>8</sup> Rodley (1985) 237; Ousterhout (2005) 177, Kapadokya manastırlarının hiçbir *typika*’sının mevcut olmadığını, Kapadokyalı kutsal adamların *vitae*’sının kalmadığını, bölgede hac ile ilgili herhangi bir kayıt bulunmadığını belirtir.

<sup>9</sup> Bakınız Rodley (1985) 2 ve Kalas (2000) 36

<sup>10</sup> Kostof (1989); Rodley (1985), Açıksaray Grubu dışındaki Açık Avlu Komplekslerini “mağara manastırları” olarak tanımlar.

<sup>11</sup> Mathews and A. Daskalakis-Mathews (1997); Kalas (2000); Ousterhout (2005); Tütüncü (2008); Kalas ve Ousterhout’ın konuyla ilgili diğer çalışmaları için Kaynakçaya bakınız.

Açıksaray Grubunun (çizim. 6.1.) bu çalışmanın odak noktası olarak seçilmesinin nedeni aşağıdaki gibi özetlenebilir: İlk kez Lyn Rodley “mağara manastırları” başlığı altında manastır binalarını sınıflandırmaya çalıştığında, Açıksaray’ı kendi önerdiği zaviye, yemekhaneli ve avlulu manastırlardan oluşan üç kategoriye yerleştiremedi. Ancak, Açıksaray’daki komplekslerin yoğunluğu ve özenli işlenmişliği ile ilgili herhangi bir yayın olmaması nedeniyle *Cave Monasteries of Byzantine Cappadocia*<sup>12</sup> başlıklı kitabında grubu kendine özgü farklı bir grup olarak ele aldı. Şaşırtıcı olan ise, Rodley tarafından daha 1985’te vurgulanmasına karşın, Açıksaray’ın, o tarihten itibaren, hiçbir kapsamlı çalışmanın odağı olmamasıdır. Öte yandan, Çanlı Kilise’deki kompleksler grubu (çizim. 5.1.1.2.) ve Selime-Yaprakhisar’daki (çizim. 5.1.2.2.) kompleksler grubu yakın geçmişte incelenmiş ve belgelenmiştir, ancak bu, karşılaştırmalı bir yaklaşımdan uzaktır. Ayrıca, hem kiliselerin azlığı hem de askeri yollara yakınlığı Açıksaray’ı manastır ve seküler yerleşim sorgulamasında özellikli bir yere getiriyor. Ayrıca, Açıksaray’ın resmi olarak korunan bir miras alanı olması, buradaki komplekslere sınırsız erişim sağlamaktadır. Kapadokya bölgesine dağılmış olan Açık Avlulu Komplekslerin tamamına erişim kolay değildir; bazıları yerli halk tarafından yeniden kullanılmıştır ve kapatılmıştır.

Bu araştırma toplam sekiz bölümü içeren iki Ana Bölümden oluşmaktadır. Giriş bölümünden sonra gelen ilk Ana Bölüm ortaçağ hayatının ve toplumunun özellikleri ile Kapadokya’da yerleşimlerin fiziksel kanıtlarını bir araya getirmek için gerekli olan bilgilere ayrılmıştır. İlk Ana Bölüm Üç alt bölüme ayrılmıştır. Birincisi olan Bölüm İki ortaçağ Kapadokya’sının fiziksel ve kavramsal sınırlarına odaklanmaktadır. Burada, bir yandan, Kapadokya’nın volkanik bölgesinin ana hatları çıkartılırken, öte yandan, bu sınır bölgesinin stratejik konumu ve askeri işlevi vurgulanmaktadır. Ayrıca, bölgenin kendine özgü jeomorfolojisinin bir ürünü olarak oyma mimarisinin eşsizliği geleneksel kaya oymacılığının teknikleri ve süreçleriyle birlikte bu bölümde vurgulanmıştır. Benzer bir biçimde, Birinci Ana Bölümün ilk bölümü yerleşim amaçlı olarak oymacılığa başvurma nedenlerini açığa çıkarmayı amaçlamaktadır. Bölüm Üç’te, monastik özelliklerin farklı biçimleri ve

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<sup>12</sup> Rodley (1985)

kanıtların durumu sunulmuştur; prototiplerin yetersizliği vurgulanmıştır. Sonrasında da, manastır ve seküler Bizans hayatının iç içe geçmiş kavramlarının altı çizilmiştir. Ayrıca, “mağara manastırları”<sup>13</sup> olarak adlandırılan yapıların sınıflandırması tartışılarak, Kapadokya’nın başlangıçtaki manastır kimliği sorgulanmıştır. Bu bölüm, manastır ve ortaçağ toplumu arasındaki etkileşimin derecesini saptamayı amaçlamaktadır. Birinci Ana Bölümün üçüncü ve son bölümü genel olarak Bizans yerleşimlerine ayrılmıştır. Arkeolojik ve metinsel kanıtların parçalı yapısı bu dönemde basit sınıflardan imparatorluk sarayına kadar geniş bir yelpazedeki yerleşimlerin incelenmesini gerektirmektedir. Bu nedenle, bu yelpaze çerçevesinde, hem basit oyuntu hem de inşa edilmiş mimariyi taklit eden Açık Avlulu Kompleksi içeren Kapadokya’daki kayaya oyma mimarinin konumu karşılaştırmalı bir biçimde tartışılmıştır. Dördüncü Bölümün sonunda, Açık Avlulu Komplekslerin işlevleriyle ilgili farklı bilimsel yaklaşımlar ve yakın dönemde yapılan tartışmalar sunulmuştur ve yeni sorular sorulmuştur. Bunun ardından, genelde Açık Avlulu Komplekslerin, özelde de Açıksaray grubunun sakinleri olarak önerilen askeri özellikler taşıyan toprak sahibi yerel aristokratlar daha genel Kapadokya bağlamına yerleştirilmiştir.

Bölüm Beş, Altı ve Yediyi içeren İkinci Ana Bölüm’de, Açıksaray Grubuna özel vurgu yapılarak Açık Avlulu Komplekslerin karşılaştırmalı mimari incelemesi, bu çalışmanın belkemiğini oluşturmaktadır. Bölüm Beş, Açık Avlulu Kompleks tipolojisini Kapadokya’nın stratejik ve jeomorfolojik sorunlarına özel bir mimari çözüm olarak ele almaktadır. Burada yoğunluk temelinde komplekslerde yeni bir farklılık önerilmiştir. Buna göre, kompleksler iki kategoriye ayrılmıştır: Açık Avlulu Kompleksler Topluluğu ve Tek Açık Avlulu Kompleksler.<sup>14</sup> Otuzun üzerinde kompleks Bölüm Beş’te incelenmiştir.

Bölüm Altı tamamen Açıksaray Grubuna ayrılan üç alt bölümden oluşmaktadır. Birinci alt bölümde, topografik ortam ve genel plan tanıtılmaktadır. Ayrıca, sekiz kompleksin ayrıntılı bir mimari tanımlamasını temel alan yeni bir adlandırma önerilmiştir. Çalışma Açıksaray’da ilk kez üç farklı atölye ve oyma aşamalarını önermektedir. Bölümün ikinci alt bölümü bu üç grubu göstermektedir

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<sup>13</sup> a.g.y.

<sup>14</sup> Kalas (2009b) 81, bazı Açık Avlulu Komplekslerin tek başına olduğunu, diğerlerinin ise tek bir yerde toplandığını vurgulamıştır.

ve Grup II- Ana Yerleşim - özel olarak odağa alınmıştır. Bölümün son bölümü olan Bölüm Altıda tarihlendirme ve Açıksaray'ın işlevi ile ilgili teoriler sorgulanmıştır.

Bölüm Yedi, Açıksaray Grubu ile diğer Açık Avlulu Kompleksler arasındaki fiziksel ve kavramsal benzerlikleri ve farklılıkları vurgulamayı amaçlamaktadır. Buna uygun olarak, önceki iki bölümden alınan mekansal sekanslar ve mimari kavramlar çıkartılmış ve ayrıntılı olarak incelenmiştir. Burada, Kapadokya'nın vernaküler yapısından alınan temalar Ana Bölüm I'de sunulan bağlama uygunlukları açısından test edilmektedir. Özetle, Bölüm Yedi, genelde Açık Avlulu Kompleksler, özelde de Açıksaray Grubu çerçevesinde ortaçağ yaşamının yapısını ortaya çıkartmayı amaçlar.

Son olarak, sonuç bölümünde, inceleme boyunca ele alınan sorunlar yeniden değerlendirilmiştir ve Kapadokya'nın eşsiz ortamına özgü olarak üretilen özel çözümler vurgulanmıştır. Manastır ve seküler yerleşim sorusuna yönelik muhtemel yanıtlar burada, bağlamsal Ana Bölüm I ve mimari Ana Bölüm II'den elde edilen sonuçlar çerçevesinde ele alınmıştır. Sonuç olarak, Açık Avlulu Komplekslerin başlangıçtaki işlevi ve bunların ilk sakinlerinin kimliği yeniden ele alınarak hem Tek Açık Avlulu Kompleksler ile Açık Avlulu Kompleksler Toplulukları arasında ayırım hem de Açıksaray Grubu ile diğerleri arasındaki farklar ortaya konmuştur.<sup>15</sup>

Araştırma süreci olarak, ilk önce uydu fotoğrafları ve mevcut planlar incelenmiş, sonra da yerinde gözlemler yapmak üzere alanlara gidilmiştir. Kültür Varlıkları ve Müzeler Genel Müdürlüğü Açıksaray'da 2007, 2008, 2009 ve 2010 yıllarında çalışmak üzere resmi izin alınmıştır. Açıksaray'daki saha çalışmam yoğun olarak fotoğraf kayıtlarının alınmasını ve doğrulama açısından yerinde ölçümler alınmasını kapsıyordu. Çanlı Kilise, Selime-Yaprakhisar, Eski Gümüş, Soğanlı Han, Şahinefendi, Aynalı Kilise, Hallaç, Kılıçlar ve Bezir Hane dahil diğer alanlara yaptığım ziyaretler sırasında da fotoğraflar çekilmiştir.

Açıksaray, Çanlı Kilise ve Selime-Yaprakhisar'a gerçekleştirdiğim ilk ziyaret, Veronica Kalas tarafından 2006 Baharında Bizans Kapadokya'sı üzerine hazırladığı seminer çerçevesinde düzenlediği saha gezisi ile gerçekleşti. Bu eşsiz seminer ve Dr. Kalas'ın değerli yorumlarıyla, Açık Avlulu Kompleksler hakkında

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<sup>15</sup> Bkz. Tablo 2

bilgi sahibi oldum. Açıksaray'a 27 Temmuz 2007 tarihinde gerçekleştirdiğim ikinci ziyarette, Nevşehir Koruma Kurulunu ziyaret ettim. Bunun ardından, kuruldan bir arkeolog ve alanın bekçisi bana Açıksaray'da eşlik etti. 2007 ile 2010 arasında, Açıksaray'ı beş kez daha arkadaşlarımla ya da aile fertlerinden biriyle birlikte ziyaret ettim. En son ziyaretimde, Kapadokya'da geleneksel yöntemlerle oyma işlemini hala sürdüren yerel bir usta olan Ahmet Zengin Açıksaray'da bize eşlik etti ve sahip olduğu kapsamlı topografik ve teknik bilgileri bizimle paylaştı. Eylül 2009'da diğer alanlara yaptığım ziyarete babam Harun Öztürk eşlik etti. Birlikte bu tezde önerilen sırayı takip ettik, kuzeydeki Çanlı Kilise'den başladık. Bu gezi esnasında, Direkli Kilise, Karanlık Kale ve Erdemli dışında bu çalışmada sunulan bütün alanları ziyaret ettik. Böylece, ilk ikisi için Rodley'in tanımlarını, planlarını ve fotoğraflarını,<sup>16</sup> sonuncusu için ise Nilay Karakaya ve Nathalie Aldehuelo'nun<sup>17</sup> tanım, plan ve fotoğraflarını kullandım. Ayrıca, Nevşehir Koruma Kurulu müdürü, yerel ustalar ve mimarlar, Nar kasabasının belediye başkanı, Nevşehir Müzesi arkeologları ve Gülşehir'de kadastro kayıtlarının tutulduğu devlet dairesi ile görüşmeler yapmak üzere birkaç kez daha Nevşehir ve çevresine gittim.

Planlarda kullanılan uydu fotoğrafları Google-Earth Images'dan alınmıştır. Açıksaray için, Rodley'in planlarını<sup>18</sup> yeniden çizdim, düzelttim ve tamamladım. Planların Açıksaray'ın uydudan çekilmiş fotoğraflarına uyarlanması (çizim 6.6) Kapadokya'da genelde bu tür yapılan ilk çalışma olup, bu, doktora tezinin yaptığı en büyük katkılarından biridir. Önceki yalın alan çizimleriyle karşılaştırıldığında, çizdiğim yeni planlar komplekslerin, yerleşim içinde ve doğal ortamlarda nasıl organize edildiğinin kolaylıkla anlaşılmasını sağlamaktadır (çizim. 6.1 ve 6.2). Bu yöntem ayrıca, araştırma ekibi ve gerekli ekipman olmaksızın daha geniş bir alanda daha çok sayıda kompleksi incelememi sağlamıştır. Ayrıca, Alan 1'in cephesi dışında, Açıksaray'ın mevcut cephelerini, yerinde ve fotoğraflardan edindiğim

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<sup>16</sup> Rodley (1985)

<sup>17</sup> Karakaya (2006) ve (2008); Aldehuelo (2003)

<sup>18</sup> Rodley (1985)

gözelemler ile yeniden çizdim.<sup>19</sup> Diğer alanların planları Rodley, Kalas, Aldehuelo ve Ousterhout'dan alınmıştır.<sup>20</sup> Ancak, bunların bazılarını benim ya da başka araştırmacıların yeni keşfettiği mutfak, ahır ve şapelleri ekleyerek tamamladım.<sup>21</sup>

Kompleksleri sunarken ortak bir tasarım gözetilmiştir. Amaç aynı çerçeve içinde karşılaştırma yapılmasını kolaylaştırmaktı. Bu nedenle, bütün planlar ölçeklendirilmiş ve bir araya getirilmiştir. Benzer bir biçimde cephelerin ve iç mekanların çizim veya fotoğraflarıyla tamamlanmıştır. Yerleşimlerin doğal ortamlar ile bütünleşmesini daha iyi anlamak ve farklı yerleşimler arasında karşılaştırmalar yapabilmek için kompleksler topluluğu için uydu fotoğrafları kullanılmıştır. Kağıt formatı olarak A3 seçilmiştir, bu format hem planlara okunma kolaylığı hem de genel bir bakış sağlamaktadır.

Şu ana kadar elde edilen sonuçlar, özellikle Bölüm Yedi'deki karşılaştırmalı mimari araştırmadan elde edilen sonuçlar temel alındığında, Kapadokya Açık Avlulu Kompleksi olarak adlandırdığımız özel bir mimari tipolojisi olduğunu kesinlikle ileri sürebiliriz. Ayrıca, bu çalışma bu tipolojinin iki alt kategorisi olduğunu onaylamaktadır: Açık Avlulu Kompleksler Grubu ve Tek Açık Avlulu Kompleksler. Burada ilk kez önerilen bu sınıflandırmanın çok güvenilir olduğu kanıtlanmıştır. Üçüncü olarak, ister grup içinde olsun ister tek başına, Kapadokya Açık Avlulu Kompleksleri, benzer toplumsal sınıfa ait insanlara ait kendi kendine yeten seküler kurumlar olarak ortaya çıkmaktadır. Son olarak, Açıksaray Grubu - Açık Avlulu Komplekslerinin en iyi örneklerine sahip olmalarına karşın- mimari olarak kanıtlanmış kendine özgü özellikler taşır.

Daha da genel olarak, bu Rodley'in Açık Avlulu Kompleksleri *Cave Monasteries of Byzantine Capadocia*<sup>22</sup> başlıklı kitabında tanınmasının ardından, ilk kapsamlı çalışmadır ve şu ana kadar bilinen tüm Açık Avlulu Kompleksleri özellikle mimariye odaklanarak tartışmayı amaçlamıştır. Bu çerçeve dahilinde,

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<sup>19</sup> Alan 1'in cephesi Kostof (1989) tarafından çizilmiştir. Ancak, ben bunu yeniden çizdim ve düzelttim.

<sup>20</sup> Rodley (1985); Kalas (2000), (2006) ve (2007); Aldehuelo (2003); Ousterhout (2005).

<sup>21</sup> Grishin (2002) ve Tütüncü (2008), Rodley'in (1985) kaydetmediği Açıksaray'da Alan 1'deki ahırları belirtmişlerdir. Orijinal planlara eklenen diğer bütün mekanlar tarafımdan keşfedilmiştir.

<sup>22</sup> Rodley (1985), Çanlı Kilise grubunu ve Erdemli'deki Tek Açık Avlulu Komplekse yer vermez.



çalışma oyma mimarisinin özelliği ve Kapadokya manzarasının Açık Avlulu Komplekslerin ortaya çıkması üzerindeki etkisini de sınamıştır. Ortaçağ Kapadokya'sında geleneksel yöntemlerle yapılan oyma işleminin, başlangıçta tahmin edildiğinden iki ila üç kat daha uzun zaman aldığı saptanmıştır. Öte yandan, uydu fotoğraflarının yakından incelenmesi ve yerinde araştırma yerleşimlerin ortaya çıkmasında ve gelişmesinde topoğrafyanın göz ardı edilen rolünü ortaya koymuştur.

Komplekslerle ilgili olan cenaze şapellerinin bazılarında bulunan yazılara, ekli olan kiliselerin resim program stillerine ve mimarilerine dayanarak, Kapadokya Açık Avlulu Komplekslerini onuncu yüzyılın sonu ile onbirinci yüzyıla tarihlemek olanaklıdır. Kapadokya'da farklı topoğrafik alanlarda ve yerlerde görülen tutarlı mimari çözümler ve benzer işlemeli öğeler örneğimizdeki bütün kompleksler için genel olarak önerilen kronolojik alanı desteklemektedir. Bu nedenle, Açık Avlulu Komplekslerin fiziksel ortamının ve kendine özgü ortamın yanı sıra, ortaçağ yaşamı ve toplumunun yapısını anlamak için ortaçağ bağlamı bu çalışmada ele alınmıştır. Kapadokya'nın Hıristiyan ve İslam dünyaları arasında coğrafi bir sınır bölgesi olmasının yanı sıra, hem manastır hem de seküler toplumlara besleyen kavramsal bir ara yüz oluşturduğu da gösterilmiştir.

Ancak, yakın zamana kadar, bütün basit oyukların 'ilkel insanlara' ait evler olduğu konusundaki kategorileştirme ve daha iyi organize olmuş ve daha kapsamlı yapıların manastır olarak sınıflandırılması eğilimi Kapadokya çalışmalarını çıkmaza sokmuştur. Kuşkusuz, ünlü Kapadokyalı kilise rahipleri - Açık Avlulu Kompleksleri ortaya çıkmadan beş ya da altı yüzyıl yaşamış olmalarına karşın-başlangıçtaki manastır kimliğini etkilemiştir.<sup>23</sup> Ancak, şu ana kadar tek bir yazılı doküman bile Kapadokya'dan bir manastır merkezi olarak söz etmemektedir, ancak bu sonuncusu Bizans imparatorluğunun diğer bölgeleri için çok sayıda bulunmaktaydı. Çalışma 'manastır miti' konusundaki algı sorununun yanlış olduğunu empatik olarak göstermektedir.

Ousterhout Açık Avlulu Kompleksleri genelde toprak sahibi askeri aristokratların evleri olarak tanımlamıştır. Kendisine göre, bunlar kendi kendine yetebilen Palladia villalarına benziyordu. Bunun tersine, Marlia Mundell Mango

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<sup>23</sup> Ousterhout (1997a) 422, 425; Kalas (2007) 394-5

sonraki ve St. Basil'in manastır modeli arasındaki koşutluğa işaret etmektedir. Bu nedenle, Birecik yakınlarındaki Keloş Kale'de kazı yapan araştırmacılar buradaki kompleksin işlevinden emin olmamaları şaşırtıcı değildir, bu bir manastır yerleşimi ya da bir kırsal villa olabilir.<sup>24</sup> Bu nedenle, kendi kendine yetebilen bir yapının işlevinin kararlaştırmasının zorluğu Kapadokya Açık Avlulu Komplekslerine özgü değildir. Ayrıca seküler ortamları manastırlara çevirme yönündeki çok iyi bilinen uygulama durumu daha da karmaşık hale getirmektedir. Gerçekten de, Bizans manastırları ve Bizans yerleşim ile ilgili araştırmalar benzer sorunlarla karşı karşıyadır. Bu nedenle, genelde bir çakışma söz konusudur. Ayrıca, askeri kampın manastırların senobitik biçimi için bir model oluşturduğu düşünüldüğünde<sup>25</sup> Açıksaray'daki bütün komplekslerin sırasıyla manastır, zengin toprak sahiplerinin evi, ve hep birlikte askeri kamp olarak tanımlanması şaşırtıcı değildir. Ancak, Açık Avlulu Kompleksleri hem tek başlarına hem de grup içinde bulunabilir, bu nedenle kendi kendine yeterliliğe ek olarak bunların tamamlayıcı karakteri de bu çalışmada sınanmıştır. Bu konudaki topoğrafik ve işlevsel araştırmalar gösteriyor ki Açıksaray Grubunda, ana yerleşimi oluşturan kompleksler bir parça olarak değil bir bütün olarak planlanmıştır.

Manastır yerleşimleriyle ilgili sorular açısından bakıldığında, batı modellerinden farklı olarak, Bizans manastırları için standart bir plandan söz edilemez. Ancak, bazı öğelerin ortaya çıkma konusundaki tutarlılığı tanımlamayı kolaylaştırır. Örnek olarak Popović'e göre, bir çevre duvarının, bir kilisenin ve bir yemekhanenin var olması, hep birlikte düşünüldüğünde bir manastır yerleşimini göstermektedir.<sup>26</sup> Ancak, bu çalışma bir komplekse eklenen bir kilisenin tek başına manastır kimliğini kanıtlamadığını göstermiştir. Öte yandan, kiliselerin sık sık Tek Açık Avlulu Kompleksler ile birlikte yer alması Açıksaray Grubu ile bir zıtlık oluşturur. Genel olarak, küçük değişkenlere karşın oldukça tutarlı bir tasarımı vardır.<sup>27</sup> Ancak örneğimizdeki komplekslerin bir tanesinde bile kayadan oyulma

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<sup>24</sup> Ousterhout (2005) 155; Mango, M. M. (2002) 209; Baumeister, Roos and Saner (2007) 623-74.

<sup>25</sup> Mango (1980) 106-7

<sup>26</sup> Popović (1998)

<sup>27</sup> A.g.y.

*trapeza* –uzun masa ve sıraların- olmaması ilginçtir, oysa bu tür Kapadokya'nın başka yerlerinde çok yaygındı. Bu oldukça dikkat çekicidir, çünkü keşişler bile haftada iki kez komünal ibadet için toplanırlardı, bunu komünal yemek izlerdi.<sup>28</sup> Bu nedenle, Rodley'in Kapadokya “mağara manastırlarını” “Açık Avlulu manastırlar” ve “yemekhaneli manastırlar”<sup>29</sup> olarak ayırmasını anlıyoruz, ancak ‘Açık Avlu’ türünün manastır kimliğini kabul etmiyoruz. Rodley, Bizansın yeniden yönetimi ele geçirdiği dokuzuncu yüzyılın sonlarında Kapadokya'da çeşitli mağara kiliselerinin “gezici patronlar” tarafından yaptırıldığını ileri sürmektedir.<sup>30</sup> “Açık Avlulu manastırlar” olarak adlandırılan yapıların muhtemelen zengin patronların anıtlarının daha sonraki bir gelişmesi olduğunu iddia etmektedir.<sup>31</sup> Rodley'e göre, öte yandan yemekhaneli manastırlar doğrudan kutsal alanlarla ilişkilendirilmiştir, muhtemelen ziyaretçilere ev sahipliği yapmıştır.<sup>32</sup> Ancak Göreme vadisinde olduğu gibi, tek başlarına ya da topluluk halinde bulunması ilginçtir. Ayrıca Çanlı Kilise'deki Açık Avlulu Kompleksler ve tek yemekhaneli manastırında kullanılan aynı tür duvar işlemleri, bu iki farklı tipolojinin yan yana aynı dönemde yer aldığını göstermektedir. Keza, Bezir Hane ve Kılıçlar Tek Açık Avlulu Komplekslerinin her biri yemekhaneli manastırların yakınında yer almıştır. Ancak, bunun tuhaf bir yanı yoktur, çünkü farklı biçimlerdeki monastik oluşumlar Bizans günlük hayatında kendisine yer edinmiştir. Bu yemekhane manastırlarının bazıları, özellikle Açık Avlulu Komplekslerin hemen yanında bulunanlar, bunların patronları tarafından yaptırılmış olabilir. Bu tür bir ‘merhamet’ eylemi patronlar için ölümden sonra kurtuluşu ‘sağlamakla’ ve ebedi bir istirahat yeri sunmakla kalmaz aynı zamanda onlara hayatta iken itibar kazandırır.

Seküler yerleşim ile ilgili sorulara gelince, kanıtlanmış komünal yaşam bizim başka yerlerdeki yerleşim ve köylerin ortaçağdaki biçimlerini gözden geçirmemizi gerektirdi. Ne var ki, Açık Avlulu Komplekslerin, tek başına ya da

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<sup>28</sup> A.g.y.282-3

<sup>29</sup> Rodley (1985)

<sup>30</sup> A.g.y., 254

<sup>31</sup> A.g.y., 250

<sup>32</sup> A.g.y.

grup içinde, basit Bizans kırsal ev kategorisinden büyük ölçüde farklılık gösterdiği saptanmıştır. Buralarda yaşayanlar da basit köylüler değildi. Gerçekten de, Rheidt Bizans ailesi ve ev halkının, kırsal kesimdeki Türk ailelerden pek farkı olmadığını ileri sürmüştür.<sup>33</sup> Öte yandan, Açık Avlulu Kompleksler, tek mekanlı evlerin ortak bir Avluya açıldığı Bizans köy yerleşimlerinin tipik örneği değildir. Kayaya oyulan yerleşimlerin Frigya, Lykaonia ve Güney Paphlagonia gibi bölgelerde bulunmasına karşın,<sup>34</sup> Kapadokya Açık Avlulu Komplekslerine benzeyen özel bir tipolojiyle ilgili herhangi bir belge yoktur. Ancak Açık Avlulu Komplekslerin aynı zamanda Kapadokya'daki diğer oyulmuş yerleşimlerden farklılık göstermesi de ilginçtir. Tamamı yeraltında oyulan ya da sağır duvarların arkasına oyulan yerleşimlere zit olarak, göz kamaştırıcı cephelerle süslenen Açık Avlulu Kompleksler varlıklarını belirgin bir biçimde ortaya koymaktadır. Bu konuda, sınır bölgelerinde tek başlarına kurulmuş olan büyük yapıları andırırlar.<sup>35</sup> Öte yandan, örneğimizdeki bir dizi kompleks yan yana oyulmuştur ve böylelikle Çanlı Kilise, Selime-Yaprakhisar ve Açık Saray'da yerleşimler oluştururlar. Bu, çalışmamızın en önemli sorularından birini ortaya çıkartır: Nasıl oluyor da Açık Avlulu Kompleksleri hem tek başlarına hem de grup olarak yan yana işlev görebiliyorlardı? Bu, Rodley ve Ousterhout'ın daha önce sorduğu soruların yeniden yorumlanmasıdır. Bir yandan, Açık Saray Grubunu düşünürken Rodley "bir kompleksler grubunun tek bir alanda bulunmasının işlevini saptanmasının" <sup>36</sup> gerektiğini hissetti. Öte yandan, Çanlı Kilise'nin başlangıçtaki manastır kimliğine karşı çıkan Ousterhout "bu kadar çok manastırın yan yana bulunmasının amacını" sorgulamaktadır.<sup>37</sup> Yaptığımız karşılaştırmalı mimari araştırma örneğimizdeki kompleksler arasında ölçek ve tasarım açısından farkların genelde göz ardı edilebileceğini göstermiştir. Bu, Açık Avlulu Komplekslerin patronların statüsü arasında eşitlik olduğuna işaret eder. Öte

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<sup>33</sup> Rheidt (1990) 204

<sup>34</sup> Belke (2005) 430

<sup>35</sup> Patlagean (1987) 558

<sup>36</sup> Rodley (1985) 149

<sup>37</sup> Ousterhout (1997a) 422

yandan, komşu kompleksler arasında kalan basit mekanlar ve tek başına bulunan komplekslerin çevresindeki basit yerleşimler daha alt sınıftan hizmetlilerin evleri olabilir.

Açık Avlulu Komplekslerin stratejik rolüne gelince, Çanlı Kilise ve Selime-Yaprakhisar'daki grup hisarlarla yakın ilişki içindeydi. Ancak, bu hisarlar koruma alanlarından çok işaret noktalarıydı. Kalas Selime-Yaprakhisar'daki hisarın ordunun yerel güçler, yani çiftçi-askerler ile buluşabileceği, savaşan askerler için bir konuşlanma noktası olduğunu varsaymıştır.<sup>38</sup> Bu hisarların, buradaki yerleşimlerin sakinleri tarafından kontrol edilen erken uyarı sistemi olduğunu düşünmek de mantıklıdır. Gerçekten de, ideal hava koşullarında, volkanik zirveler ve tepeler dahil bütün Kapadokya platosu görülebilmektedir. Öte yandan, Açıksaray Grubu önemli yolların kesişme noktasında bulunmaktadır, bunlardan biri Kilikya Kapılarına kadar giden ünlü Bizans askeri yoludur.<sup>39</sup>

Gerçekte, yol şebekesine yakın bir konum Küçük Asya'da ortaçağ Bizans köylerinin temel özelliği idi.<sup>40</sup> Ancak, Açık Avlulu Komplekslerin ortaya çıkması, onuncu yüzyıl ile onbirinci yüzyılın ortaları veya geç dönemi arasında kırsal bölgelerin yeniden yapılanması esnasında meydana gelen değişikliklere denk gelir. Buna uygun olarak, bu dönemde, köy toplumu yıpranmış ve köyler kilise ve toprak sahiplerinin elinde özel mülke dönüşmüştür.<sup>41</sup> Keza, onuncu yüzyılda büyümekte olan aristokrasinin çok sayıda mülkü vardı, köylüler ve askerler onların denetimi altındaydı. Aristokrasi kırsal bölgeleri denetleyen askeri aristokrasi ve başkentte yerleşik sivil aristokrasi olarak organize olmuştu.<sup>42</sup> Buna uygun olarak, birkaç aristokrat Kapadokyalı aile, bölgede geniş araziye sahipti, burada ordunun önemli bir bölümü eğitiliyordu.<sup>43</sup> Phokas gibi bu tür güçlü Kapadokyalı aileler tahta bile

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<sup>38</sup> Kalas (2000) 158

<sup>39</sup> Ousterhout (2005) 172-3, 183

<sup>40</sup> Laiou (2005) 42

<sup>41</sup> A.g.y., 43, 47

<sup>42</sup> Ostrogorsky (1971) 6-7

<sup>43</sup> Rodley (1985) 4, 8

göz dikmiştir. Digenes Akritas'ın metnine dayanarak, bu aileler parlak mermer ve mozaiklerin bulunduğu uçsuz bucaksız bahçelerle çevrili göz kamaştırıcı malikanelerde yaşıyor olmalıydılar.<sup>44</sup> Bu patronlar aynı zamanda kendi inançlarının bir kanıtı olarak çeşitli kiliseleri ve manastırları maddi olarak destekliyorlardı.<sup>45</sup> Onbirinci yüzyılda, *pronoiar* sınıfı, askerlik hizmeti karşılığında arazi ve mülk edinen alt ve orta sınıftan ortaya çıkmıştı.<sup>46</sup> Sonuç olarak, eski soylu Kapadokya ailelerinin yerini “daha alçakgönüllü kökenlere sahip” yeni aileler aldı. Tarihsel çalışma içeren birinci Ana Bölüm ve mimari çalışma içeren ikinci Ana Bölüm Açık Avlulu Komplekslerinin sakinlerinin muhtemelen bu alt ve orta sınıf aristokratlardan geldiğini göstermektedir. Vakayinüvislerin dikkatini çekmemiş olması bu savı desteklemektedir. Öte yandan, Kapadokyalı büyük ailelerin mülkleri ile ilgili arkeolojik kanıtlar bulunmamaktadır. Ayrıca, Digenes Akritas'ın aktardığı göz kamaştırıcı malikane oldukça canlı bir düş gücünün ürünü olabilir. Sonuç olarak, Açık Avlulu Komplekslerinin bazıları bu büyük ailelere ait olabilir. Gerçekte, bu komplekslerde kimlerin yaşadığı sorusuna muhtemelen hiçbir zaman kesin bir yanıt bulunmayacaktır. Ancak, bu çalışma ile gerçekleştirilen ayrıntılı ve karşılaştırmalı araştırma nedeniyle, hayat tarzları ile ilgili kesin bilgilere sahibiz.

Buna göre, güçleri ve sahip oldukları, silahlı askerler ve atlar gibi askeri hizmet sunma kapasitelerine bağlı olan bu aileler tek başına ya da grubun bir parçası olan Açık Avlulu Komplekslerin ortaya çıkmasını açıklayabilir. Bütün patronlar, muazzam mülke sahip büyük Kapadokya aileleri kadar güçlü değildi, ancak bu şekilde davranıyorlardı, daha yüksek bir statü isteklerini gösteren ve belki de bu hayallerini belirten anıtsal cephelerle evlerini süslüyorlardı. Ancak, topoğrafinin birkaç kompleksi yan yana bir arada bulundurmaya uygun olduğunda ve stratejik konumun bu tür bir güç birliğine ihtiyaç duyması durumunda, bir topluluğun içinde bir arada varlıklarını sürdürmek zorundaydılar ve kendileri için bütün bir alanı işgal edemiyorlardı.

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<sup>44</sup> Mavrogordato (1956) 219

<sup>45</sup> Cheynet (2003) 46

<sup>46</sup> Ostrogorsky (1971) 11

Muhtemelen patronların ısrarı üzerine, ustalar büyük bir yaratıcılıkla farklı morfolojilerde aynı mimari planı uygulayabilmiştir. Buna göre, yoğun olarak işlenmiş cepheler duyulan gururu gösterir ve bunların arkasındaki büyük resepsiyon / tören odalarını göstermektedir. Açık Avlular, topoğrafinin izin verdiği ölçüde oyulmuştur. Ters T-planı ve ek ikinci salonların uyumu, dışarıdan gelenlerin statülerine göre farklı biçimde kabul edildiği çoklu resepsiyon mekanları sunmuştur. Gerçekten de, her bir evin büyük olasılıkla kendi hizmetlileri ve müşterileri vardı. Bunun sonucu olarak, dışarıdan gelenlerin çoğu girişin dışında görülmemiş olabilir. Öte yandan, ana cephe ve ana eksen üzerinde birbirini izleyen mekanlar ve ana salonun ön plana çıkartılan bölümü, evin reisi ile görüşmeyi geciktirir ve dramatik hale getirir. Bu düzenleme bir kez daha etkileme ve denetleme isteğini göstermektedir. Açıksaray'daki yerleşim dışında, genellikle bir kilise komplekslere eklenmiştir, ancak bunlar nadiren boyanırdı. Öte yandan, düz tavanları süsleyen oyulmuş haçlar gibi bu tür Hıristiyan işlemler, dinin, özellikle de tören alanlarında ev hayatıyla bütünleştiğini göstermektedir.<sup>47</sup> Ancak, Hıristiyan sembollerinin anıtsal cephelerde neredeyse hiç görülmemesi ilginçtir. Bunun yanı sıra, büyük mutfaklar ve gözden uzak birbirine bağlantılı odalar doğrudan erişim sunmaz ve ailenin diğer fertleri için dinlenme ve çekilme alanı sunar. Çevredeki düzensiz oyuklar ve Açıksaray'dakiler gibi zaman zaman görülen büyük ahırlar ailenin hizmetçilere sahip olduğunu, muhtemelen bunlar arasında köle ve serbest olanların bulunduğunu ortaya koymaktadır. Serbest olanlar evde ya da tarlada çalışır, ve savaşlarda evin reisi ile birlikte atına biner.

Son olarak, karşılaştırmalı inceleme Açıksaray'ın ne bir manastır ne de bir askeri kamp olmadığını göstermiştir. Alan 5'teki gizli galeri, Alan 8'deki *piano nobile*, Alan 2'de özenle işlenmiş birbiriyle bağlantılı üst kat odaları, büyük mutfaklar ve kayaya oyma çocuk mezarları burada aileler olduğunun bir göstergesi arasındadır. Ayrıca, Açıksaray'da çevre duvarlar ve yemekhaneler bulunmuyordu, yerleşimde iki küçük ölçekli yan yana kilise bulunuyordu. Ancak, özenle tasarlanmış resepsiyon alanları, geniş ikincil salonlar, çeşitli işlenmiş ancak aynı özellikte odalar ve aynı anda en az 60 atın yer alabildiği birkaç ahır vardı.

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<sup>47</sup> Kalas (2009a) 170

Bütün bunların ötesinde, Açıksaray'daki mimari ve topoğrafik araştırmalar farklı oyma aşamalarını ortaya koymuştur. Selime-Yaprakhisar'da Selime Kalesi (Alan 2) gibi Açıksaray'da Grup II'nin yerleşimin kalan bütün kısmını yöneten patronları barındırdığı anlaşılıyor. Ancak daha sonraki bir dönemde yerleşen Grup III'ün sakinleri, kendi kendilerine yeten kompleksler oyarken bağımsızlıklarını talep ettiler. Böylece, özelde Açıksaray'daki komplekslerin sakinlerinin genelde de Açık Avlulu Komplekslerin sakinlerinin ortak çıkarları olduğu sonucunu çıkartabiliriz.

Grup II'de ise, Alanlar 1, 2 ve 3.1'de mekansal hiyerarşi bulunmuyordu, bu özellikle Alanlar 4 ve 5'te oluşturulmuştu. Bu, Grup II'nin, tıpkı Selime Kalesi'ndeki çift Açık Avlulu Kompleks gibi, birleşik bir yapı olarak bilinçli olarak tasarlandığı savını desteklemektedir. Büyük ortak Açık Avluya açılan alanlar 4 ve 5, bu yapının resepsiyon/ tören merkezini oluşturmasıyla birlikte, Alanlar 1, 2 ve 3.1 muhtemelen günlük etkinlikler, dinlenme ve muhtemelen misafirlerin ağırlanması için ayrılmıştır. Sonuç olarak, Açıksaray'ın Çanlı Kilise ve Selime-Yaprakhisar gruplarına benzerliği nedeniyle, sürekli bir askeri kamp olmaksızın, askeri aristokratları ve daha düşük sınıftan ailelerini ağırlaması geçerli olabilir. Askeri yola doğrudan erişim sağlaması nedeniyle, Açıksaray yerleşiminin patronları zaman zaman askerleri ağırlamış olabilir, ve bu askerlere ve atlarına konaklama, yiyecek ve su temin etmişlerdir. Burada, ayrıca, aileler de orduya silahlı ve atlı asker sağlamış olmalıdır.

Kaya Oymacılığı, değişen ihtiyaçlara göre, kişiye evini genişletme olanağı tanısa da, Açık Avlulu Komplekslerin genel tasarımı 'standartlaşmıştır.' Buna göre, topoğrafya ile ilgili uyarlamalar kaçınılmaz olmasına karşın, prensipler uygulanır. Bu, oyma ustası-mimarların ve patronların, ellerinde bir plan olmadığında, en azından zihninde iyi bilinen bir plan olduğu anlamına gelir. Bu nedenle, ustalardan oluşan ekiplerin bütün Kapadokya'yı dolaşmış olabileceği ve gerektiğinde farklı dizayn örnekleri uyguladılar. Ayrıca, başkalarını etkilemek ve yönetmek için topografinin bütün olanaklarının kullanıldığı görülmektedir. Buna göre, oyma ustaları- mimarlar sadece mimariyi inşa etme konusunda taklit etmekle kalmadılar, aynı zamanda aristokrasi ve komşularının yaşam tarzlarını da taklit ettiler. Muhtemelen, Açık Avlulu Komplekslerin sahipleri kahraman Digenes Akritas



kadar zengin ve güçlü değildi. Bu nedenle, sadece, daha pahalı olan mermer panel kaplamayı boyalı alçı ile taklit etmekle kalmadılar, ayrıca kayaya ‘saraylar’ oyma konusunda doğal kaynakları kullandılar. Din, bölge ve zaman ayrımı yapmaksızın aristokratların evlerinde görülen ortak örnekleri kullanmış olmaları Açık Avlulu Komplekslerin patronlarının Kapadokya’nın kırsal kesiminde sadece aristokratlar gibi yaşamakla kalmayıp aynı zamanda bunu göstermek istediklerini göstermektedir. Sonuç olarak, kökeni Hititlere<sup>48</sup> dayanan ve geleneksel olarak Orta Doğu’da görülen ters T-planı Açık Avlulu Komplekslerin ayırt edici özelliklerinden biri idi. Ancak hiç kuşkusuz ki, Konstantinopolis de güçlü bir ilham kaynağıydı.<sup>49</sup> Böylelikle, askeri aristokrasinin kırsal kesimdeki patronlarının, başkentteki sivil aristokratların evlerini hatırlatan evlerde yaşamak istedikleri söylenebilir. Ironik olsa da başkentte yüksek aristokrasi saraylarından hiçbiri ayakta kalmamasına karşın, bunları taklit eden Kapadokya Açık Avlulu Kompleksler hala ayakta ve araştırılmayı bekliyor.

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<sup>48</sup> Kuban (1995) 24; Mathews and Daskalakis-Mathews (1995) ve (1997)

<sup>49</sup> Ousterhout (2005) 148-9

## APPENDIX D

### CURRICULUM VITAE

#### PERSONAL INFORMATION

Surname, Name: Öztürk, Fatma Gül  
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Date and Place of Birth: 1 October 1975, Ankara  
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#### EDUCATION

Degree	Institution	Year of Graduation
MS	Uni. Stuttgart Architecture	2000
BS	Uni. Stuttgart Architecture	2000
High School	Ankara Anadolu High School, Ankara	1993

#### WORK EXPERIENCE

Year	Place	Enrollment
2006- 2009	Başkent Uni. Faculty of Fine Arts, Design and Architecture	Research Assistant
2005	HOL-TUR İnşaat, Alanya	Architect
2004-2005	KOLEKSIYON Mobilya, İstanbul	Assistant Art Director
2003 May	Alan Seymour Architect, Toronto	Architectural Assistant
2000-2002	Hoppe-Sommer & Partner, Stuttgart	Architect

#### FOREIGN LANGUAGES

English: excellent, German: excellent, French: good

#### PUBLICATIONS

1. Öztürk, Fatma Gül. *Kapadokya'da Diünden Bugüne Kaya Oymacılığı.* [Rock Carving in Cappadocia From Past to Present.] İstanbul: Arkeoloji ve Sanat Yayınları, 2009.