

SPACE AND IMAGE: THE MEANING OF THE WALL PAINTINGS

AT THE HERMITAGE OF IOANNES

by

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(Under the Direction of Asen Kirin)

ABSTRACT

Ayvali Church at Güllüdere Valley in Nevşehir, Turkey, is one of the structures that exemplify monastic life in Cappadocia. Carved into an isolated rock formation, the space is divided into two levels, with two chambers in the lower level and one second-story room. An opening in the floor of the upper room connects to the first floor's north chamber. The lower level is extensively adorned with frescoes, the second phase (913-920) of which was commissioned by Ioannes (John), whereas the upper room shows no signs of painted decoration. A close examination of the wall paintings reveals that while the south chamber was used by the monk for personal prayer, the north chamber functioned as a funerary place. The architecture and the iconographic program of the wall paintings suggest that the structure functioned as a hermitage rather than a church.

INDEX WORDS: Byzantine art, Cappadocia, Rock-cut architecture, Monasteries, Hermitages, Ayvali Church, Wall paintings

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DEDICATION

In loving memory of my father, Yucel Turker,
who I love and miss immeasurably

Babacigim,

I hope you are somewhere out there always watching us closely

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INTRODUCTION

Ayvali Church is located at Güllüdere Valley in Nevşehir, in central Turkey (Plate 1, Figures 1-2).¹ This structure is one of the many rock-cut establishments that exemplify monastic life in Cappadocia.² Almost every survey of Cappadocia includes Ayvali, identifying it as an “Archaic group church” due to the date of its wall paintings.³ The majority of these publications focus on the wall painting program and examine the iconography and style, whereas the architecture receives little attention.

Only three scholars relate the wall paintings to the spatial components of the first floor’s chambers that they adorn. In their monographic article on Ayvali Church, N. and M. Thierry discuss the iconographic program and the individual figures and relate particular scenes and individual figures in the north chamber, asserting that the chamber was for burial.⁴ L. Rodley’s book on the Cappadocia monasteries provides a complete list of the scenes and individual figures

¹ Ayvali Church (Ayvali Kilise) is also known as Church of St. John. In his seven-volume publication on Cappadocia (1925-1942), De Jerphanion assigns numbers to five structures at Güllüdere Valley, giving Ayvali Church the name Chapel No. 4. Guillaume de Jerphanion, *Les Églises Rupestres de Cappadoce* (Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1932), 594-595. The architecture and the wall paintings of the lower level of Ayvali Church were described in my previous master’s thesis. The study examines the iconographic features of the narrative scenes in the chambers and the passageway and compares them with the other examples in Cappadocia, especially those in “Archaic group churches.” Alev Turker, “Ayvali Church at Güllüdere Valley and Its Wall Paintings,” MA thesis, Hacettepe University, Ankara, 2008. For the “Archaic group churches” see fn. 3.

² As a geographic region Cappadocia encompasses about sixty-two square miles, bordered to the north by the Hals River, to the east by the Salt Lake, and to the southwest by the Taurus mountain range.

³ “Archaic group churches” in Cappadocia, which were first classified and named by De Jerphanion in 1925, were thought by scholars to have been painted between the years 850 and 950. For more information about these churches see De Jerphanion, 1925, 67-94; Robin Cormack, “Byzantine Cappadocia: The Archaic Group of Wall-Paintings,” *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 30 (1967): 19-36; Nicole Thierry, “The Rock Churches,” in *Arts of Cappadocia*, ed. Luciano Giovannini (Geneva: Nagel Publishers, 1971), 151-155; Spiro Kostof, *Caves of God: Cappadocia and Its Churches* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1989), 265-268.

⁴ Nicole and Michel Thierry, “Ayvali Kilise ou Pigeonnier de Güllüdere Eglise Inedite de Cappadoce,” *Cahiers Archéologiques* 15 (1965): 97-154, esp. 128.

and a brief description of the architecture.⁵ N. Teteriatnikov, in her publication on the architectural survey of Cappadocia, discusses the architectural features of the north chamber and the passageway that connects the chambers, identifying their liturgical roles through particular scenes depicted in them.⁶ Although N. and M. Thierry and Teteriatnikov mention that Ayvali Church was used by a monk, only Rodley asserts that the structure was a hermitage. Moreover, none of these publications mention the second-story chamber, which has no wall paintings, or the opening in its floor and the resulting visual relationship with the north chamber.

The architectural features of the three chambers, their spatial and pictorial connections, in particular the one between the north chamber and the upper room, and the iconographic program of the wall paintings reveal that Ayvali Church was a hermitage. The goal of the present study is to re-examine the function of the structure by considering the three chambers, their architecture and the wall paintings. Since this research focuses on the function of the Hermitage of Ioannes as a hermitage, not every aspect of “Ayvali Church” will be examined.

History of Monasticism in Cappadocia:

A fair number of Christians must have settled in Cappadocia by the end of the second century, since it is known that two dioceses existed in the region – Caesarea (Kayseri) and Melitene (Malatya).⁷ Within a short period of time, Cappadocia became an important monastic center, since the mountainous topography of the region provided naturally protected areas for monks and the deserted valleys were ideal for seclusion and isolation. By the mid-fourth century,

⁵ Lyn Rodley, *Cave Monasteries of Byzantine Cappadocia* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 207-213.

⁶ Natalia B. Teteriatnikov, *The Liturgical Planning of Byzantine Churches in Cappadocia*, *Orientalia Christina Analecta* 252 (Roma: Pontificio Istituto Orientale, 1996), 194-195.

⁷ For more information about the early Christian communities in Cappadocia see Umberto Neri, “The Early Christians in Cappadocia (1st-6th Centuries),” in *Arts of Cappadocia*, ed. Luciano Giovannini (Geneva: Nagel Publishers, 1971), 121-128; Engin Akyürek, “Fourth to Eleventh Centuries: Byzantine Cappadocia,” in *Cappadocia*, ed. Metin Sözen (İstanbul: Ayhan Şahenk Foundation, 1998), 232- 233.

the main monastic systems, communal (*koinobion*) and anchoritic (*lavra*), were well established in Cappadocia.⁸

The early church fathers – Basil the Great (Basil of Caesarea; 330-370), his brother Gregory of Nyssa (334- c. 395) and Gregory of Nazianzus (329-389) – had significant influence on the development of Byzantine monasticism and thus on monastic life in Cappadocia.⁹ Basil the Great, who lived as an anchorite for five years during his early monastic life, formalized a new monastic vision which encouraged monks to live together and thereby inspire each other in their spiritual journeys.¹⁰ In communal monasteries monks dwelled in dormitories and worked together; they met daily in the church and the refectory.¹¹ Cappadocian coenobitic monasteries housed small groups of monks, probably accommodating anywhere from five to twenty monks, since the refectories of these monasteries are very small and intimate.¹²

Most of the monks in Cappadocia dwelled in monastic establishments of anchorites, where a smaller group of hermits lived and prayed in solitude. Dwelling in separate cells (*kellia*) and hermitages located in close proximity to each other, monks prayed in seclusion on weekdays and gathered on Saturdays and Sundays for the liturgy.¹³ The Hermitage of Niketas Stylites at Kızılçukur Valley and the Hermitage of Simeon Stylites at Paşabağı, Zelve, exemplify the

⁸ For discussion of the main types of monasteries and their subgroups see Yizhar Hirschfeld, *The Judean Desert Monasteries in the Byzantine Period* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992), 18-58; Joseph Patrich, *Sabas, Leader of Palestinian Monasticism: A Comparative Study in Eastern Monasticism, Fourth to Seventh Centuries* (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1995), 3-10.

⁹ For a brief survey of Cappadocian monasticism and early ascetics from the region see William Harmless, *Desert Christians: An Introduction to the Literature of Early Monasticism* (Oxford, N.Y.: Oxford University Press, 2004), 428-432.

¹⁰ Basil the Great searched for ways to include eremites in communities and encouraged them to join communal monasteries, but he never imposed communal life on them. See Gregory Nazianzus, *Panegyric*, Oration 43.62.

¹¹ Patrich, 3.

¹² Veronica Kalas, "Cappadocia," in *Encyclopedia of Monasticism*, ed. William M. Johnston (Chicago and London: Fitzroy Dearborn Publishers, 2000), vol. I, 238-39.

¹³ Hermitages were designed for a single monk, usually an elderly leader of the community, or in some cases for a few monks who joined the leader. Patrich, 84, 95; Natalia Teteriatnikov, "Architecture: Eastern Christian Monasticism," in *Encyclopedia of Monasticism*, ed. William M. Johnston (Chicago and London: Fitzroy Dearborn Publishers, 2000), vol. I, 66-72, esp. 66.

eremitic style of life in the region.¹⁴ Carved into isolated rock formations, these hermitages include a chapel and a dwelling room within the same formation (Figures 3-4).¹⁵ Similarly, Güllüdere Valley must have housed a small group of monks who lived in separate chambers carved within large rock formations or in single cones; it is very likely that the Hermitage of Ioannes was part of the anchoritic complex at the valley.¹⁶ Hollowed from a discrete rock formation, the Hermitage of Ioannes was arranged in two stories, for prayer and dwelling, as were the hermitages at Kızılçukur Valley and Paşabağı.

Secular and Religious Architecture in Cappadocia:

Cappadocia had been a desirable area for both secular and religious establishments since the Late Roman period. The lack of written sources, in particular *typika* (monastic rules) about the Cappadocia monasteries, make it difficult to date the structures and determine their precise functions. In the past, scholars classified almost all of the rock-cut complexes in Cappadocia as monastic settlements; however, since the 1990s, several publications drawing on research on surviving domestic complexes across the empire have argued that secular and religious establishments in Cappadocia are so similar as to be indistinguishable.¹⁷ Yet while some

¹⁴ For the Hermitage of Niketas Stylites see Schiemenz, Paulus Günter, "Die Kapelle des Styliten Niketas in den Weinbergen von Ortahisar," *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 18 (1969): 239-258. For the Hermitage of Simeon Stylites see Rodley, *Cave Monasteries of Byzantine Cappadocia*, 184-189.

¹⁵ The two-story arrangement of these hermitages in Cappadocia is similar to the other hermitages in other regions of the empire such as Egypt and Palestine. For example, some hermitages contain a chapel and a dwelling room in the Great Lavra of St. Sabas in Palestine. See Patrich 94, figure 39.

¹⁶ From the monastery complex at the valley only four painted structures (Chapel No.1-3 and 5) near the Hermitage of Ioannes have survived. There are many small-scale rock-cut rooms in the area which might have been used as dwellings by monks. Architectural features of Chapel No. 3 (Üç Haçlı Kilise, Three Crossed Church, 9th-11th c.), the largest church in the valley, suggest that it might have served as the *katholikon* of the monastery. For more information see Jacqueline Lafontaine-Dosogne, "L'église aux Trois Troix de Güllü Dere en Cappadoce: et le problème du passage du décor 'iconoclast' au décor figure," *Byzantion* 35 (1965): 175-207.

¹⁷ For discussion of similarities between secular and religious architecture in Byzantium see Paul Magdalino, "The Byzantine Aristocratic *Oikos*," in *The Byzantine Aristocracy IX to XIII Centuries*, ed. Michael Angold (Oxford: B.A.R., 1984), 92-111. For the secular architecture of Cappadocia see Thomas F. Mathews and Annie-Christine Daskalakis Mathews, "Islamic-Style Mansions in Byzantine Cappadocia and the Development of the Inverted T-Plan," *The Journal of Architectural Historians* 56, no. 3 (1997): 294-315; Robert Ousterhout, *A Byzantine Settlement in Cappadocia* (Washington: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2005); Veronica Kalas,

utilitarian rooms, such as kitchens and stables, and water systems are found in both domestic and monastic complexes, particular rooms help to differentiate the two types. Refectories and wineries are indicative of a monastic establishment, whereas the presence of dining rooms and reception halls suggest domestic use.¹⁸

The existence of chapels and churches in both domestic and monastic settlements is the most complex problem in the classification of the establishments in Cappadocia. Especially during the ninth and tenth centuries, the aristocratic and military classes of Cappadocia grew as the military administration was reorganized to strengthen the defense of the eastern borders against steady Arab onslaughts.¹⁹ As a result of these security concerns and the prosperity of the aristocracy, the non-monastic population of the region carved not only their dwellings but also private chapels into the pinnacles of peculiar rock formations in the region.²⁰

Government administrators and military officers also funded the ecclesiastical communities.²¹ Wealthy patrons provided financial support for monastic establishments and commissioned the decorations of religious foundations, in particular communal churches and

“Cappadocia’s Rock-Cut Courtyard Complexes: A Case Study for Domestic Architecture in Byzantium,” in *Housing in Late Antiquity: From Palaces to Shops*, ed. Luke Lavan et al. (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2007), 393-414.

¹⁸ For secular architectural components of monasteries see Hirschfeld, 148-212. For the organization of Cappadocian secular establishments see Kalas, “Cappadocia’s Rock-Cut Courtyard Complexes,” 396-402.

¹⁹ For more information on how the Arab raids changed the “frontier” regions’ demographic, political and cultural composition and how the militarized population affected socioeconomic life see John F. Haldon and Hugh Kennedy, “The Byzantine-Arab Frontier in the Eighth and Ninth Centuries: Military Organization and Society in the Borderlands,” *Zbornik Radova, Vizantološkog Instituta* 19 (1980): 79-116.

²⁰ The surviving descriptions of Byzantine houses demonstrate that the upper class built private chapels for themselves and their families and maintained household priests if they could afford them. For discussion of private chapels in domestic establishments see Magdalino, 102-103; John Philip Thomas, *Private Religious Foundations in the Byzantine Empire* (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1987), 133-136.

²¹ Family and political connections, the associations of a family with its place of origin, and gratitude for prosperous periods or a victorious campaign by a member of the military from the region were important motives for supporting ecclesiastical communities as well as providing private donations to churches. Rosemary Morris, “The Byzantine Aristocracy and the Monasteries,” in *The Byzantine Aristocracy IX to XIII Centuries*, ed. Michael Angold (Oxford: B.A.R., 1984), 112-129. For example, the wall paintings of Büyük Güvercinlik refer to Nicephoros Phocas’s military success and commemorate the Phocas family. See Lyn Rodley, “The Pigeon House Church, Çavuşin,” *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 33 (1983): 301-339, esp. 323-324.

hermitages.²² These structures contain tombs for the patrons and their families, and therefore had funereal and commemorative functions for the family.²³ The wall paintings of hermitages were an important pious endowment since the patrons and their families spiritually benefited through the prayers of monks. A painted inscription in the lower chamber of the Hermitage of Niketas Stylites reveals that the wall paintings were commissioned by a military officer who wished to be protected by the hermit's prayers.²⁴

Part of the monastic complex at Güllüdere Valley, the Hermitage of Ioannes was used by a single monk as his dwelling and prayer place, as the hermitages at Kızılçukur Valley and Paşabağı were. The other monks of the community in the valley also used the prayer space during particular ceremonies. The Hermitage of Ioannes was a religious structure that was commissioned and financially supported by private patrons in Cappadocia; it served as the burial place of the patron and his family as well as the place in which commemorative ceremonies were held.

²² Clerics and monks were also allowed to found or patronize religious institutions as private owners of land. It was common for a prospective monk to donate all or part of his fortune as an "entrance gift" when he joined a monastery. Benefactors' rights were determined by the founder or by his or her heirs who were the financial supporters of the foundation. Thomas, 3-4, 143-148, esp. 145.

²³ Some of the tombs are small in size, suggesting infants and children burials. For the sepulchral functions of private foundations see Natalia B. Teteriatnikov, "Burial Places in Cappadocian Churches," *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 29, no. 2 (Summer, 1984): 141-176. For a brief discussion of donors and their representations in Cappadocia churches see Kostof, 153-155; Akyürek, 392-395.

²⁴ The inscription on the east tympanum reads: "*For the glory of the Holy Hierarchy, Eustratios, divinely inspired, offered this service, the famous Kleisourarch of Zeugos and Klados. Protect him. Amen.*" The donor is Eustratios the Kleisourarch, who was the commander of a mountain pass (*kleisoura*) in the region. Rodley, *Cave Monasteries of Byzantine Cappadocia*, 187. The prayers of hermits were also important for members of the military, especially during times of war, since monks were seen as important mediators and sources of spiritual support for both the military and society. See Rosemary Morris, "Monasteries and their Patrons in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries," *Byzantinische Forschungen* 10 (1985): 185-231, esp. 223-224.

CHAPTER 1

DATE AND PATRONAGE OF THE HERMITAGE OF IOANNES THROUGH THE ORIGINAL SOURCES

It is difficult to date and establish a chronology for rock-cut establishments. They offer limited information, unlike erected buildings, which can be dated through construction materials and building techniques. Although particular architectural features of rock-cut religious structures, such as plan types, can help to determine an approximate date, it still can be challenging to trace different stages of renovation and addition.²⁵ Most of the painted religious structures have been dated by the iconography and style of their wall paintings. In some instances an original inscription has provided important information, such as the date of the wall paintings and the donor's name.²⁶

The date of the rock-cut architecture of the Hermitage of Ioannes cannot be defined precisely; nevertheless, two fresco inscriptions on the second layer of the wall paintings in the lower chambers reveal the dates of the renovations and the structure's service as a private foundation.²⁷ Both inscriptions are written with white paint in the same calligraphic style, indicating that they belong to the same phase. They are only partially preserved, but, when

²⁵ For a general discussion on the problems about dating rock-cut architecture see Natalia B. Teteriatnikov, "A Group of Early Churches of Cappadocia: Evidence of Dating," *Byzantine Vremennik* 55, no. 2 (1998): 232-237.

²⁶ For a brief survey of religious architecture and the wall paintings in Cappadocian churches see Thierry, "The Rock Churches," 129-175; Akyürek, 226-395.

²⁷ The architecture of the Hermitage of Ioannes will be discussed in Chapter 2.

combined, the historical information from the inscriptions allows a comprehensive examination of the wall paintings and provides a definitive chronology of the structure.

Each chamber features one inscription. The one on the apse wall of the south chamber reads: “*The Church of St John was decorated in the reign of Constantine ...from love and faith built the Monastery of the Panagia and All [Saints]. May he who reads this, pray for him through the Lord*” (Figures 6a-b).²⁸ Another inscription on the rim of the arcosolium in the north chamber states: “*I, John, gave this holy [place?] as a thank offering, in the year of the world 64..., in the month of November, on the fourteenth [day]*” (Figure 7).²⁹ The first inscription indicates that the church was decorated in the reign of Constantine, and the second inscription provides an incomplete date. A year of the world (*Annus Mundi*) between 6400 and 6499 would fall between 891 and 990 A.D.³⁰ There is only one emperor named Constantine within this range; Constantine VII *Porphyrogennetos* (913-959) was the sole emperor from 7 June 913- 17 December 920, 28 January 945-6 April 945 and during the spring of 959.³¹ The only period during which Constantine was the emperor in November was his first reign, 913-920.

The incomplete inscription in the south chamber creates two problems. The first relates to the foundation of the “church”: Did the patron build the “Church of John” or only redecorate it? Even though the inscription is translated as “*from love and faith built the Monastery of the*

²⁸ Rodley, *Cave Monasteries of Byzantine Cappadocia*, 211. Also see Marcell Restle, *Byzantine Wall Painting in Asia Minor* (Greenwich, CT: New York Graphic Society, 1967), 141-142. The original inscription reads: “ANICTOICTI O NAOC TOY AΓIOY HOANOY EΠI BA[CIA] EOC KON[CTANTINOY...] TOY EX ΠO[ΘOY KΕ ΠI[C]TEOC YKO[ΔO]MONTA TI[N] MONHN TIC ΠANAΓIA[C] KΕ ΠANTON TON [AΓIO]N — O ANAΓINOCKON EYXETE YΠEP AYTOY ΔIA TON KN” (completions are taken from the inscription in Restle 1967, 141).

²⁹ N. and M. Thierry, “Ayvalı Kilise,” 102; Rodley, *Cave Monasteries of Byzantine Cappadocia*, 212. The original inscription is as follows: “[EΓO IO] ANNI[C EXA]PICTICAMHN AYTON AΓION ETOC KOCTMOY SY..EN MINH NOEMBPIOY HC TA CIA” (completions are taken from the inscription in Restle 1967, 141); re-read by Asen E. Kirin.

³⁰ N. and M. Thierry, “Ayvalı Kilise,” 102. For more information about *Annus Mundi*, a dating system which Byzantines began to use in the eighth century, see A. Cyril Mango, *Byzantium: The Empire of New Rome* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1980), 189-200, esp. 190-193; Anthony Bryer, “Chronology and Dating,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Byzantine Studies*, ed. Elizabeth Jeffreys et al. (Oxford: N.Y.: Oxford University Press, 2008), 31-36.

³¹ Cormack, “Byzantine Cappadocia,” 20-21.

Panagia and All [Saints]” in publications on the Hermitage, the Greek verb “oikodomeo” (οικοδομέω; to build) can also be translated as “to renovate,” “to expand,” or “to found upon.” Considering the use of the word “anistoristi” (ανιστοριστή), meaning “decorated,” in the inscription and the dating of the first phase of the wall paintings to the seventh or eighth century, it is clear that the patron Ioannes renovated the Hermitage of Ioannes.³²

The second problem is whether the “Church of John” was part of the Monastery of Panagia and All [Saints] or of another establishment in a different location founded by the same patron. N. and M. Thierry propose that the monastery mentioned in the inscription might have been close to the “Church of St John.” According to them, since the Church of Joachim and Anna at Kızılçukur Valley was decorated with the cycle of the Virgin, it might have “inspired” the patron of the “Church of John” who founded the Monastery of Panagia and All [Saints] at Kızılçukur Valley.³³ Rodley suggests that the monastery mentioned in the inscription was another establishment, and the reference to this monastery must have been included to emphasize the patron’s previous pious endowment.³⁴

The Monastery of Panagia and All [Saints] was clearly in Cappadocia, and it was familiar to the community since the name of the monastery was specifically mentioned in the inscription. Could the Monastery of Panagia and All [Saints] be located in Güllüdere Valley? Although some of the essential architectural components of a monastery do not appear in the valley today, there

³² For discussion of the first phase of the wall paintings of the Hermitage of Ioannes see N. and M. Thierry, “Ayvalı Kilise,” 102; Catherine Jolivet-Lévy, *Les Églises Byzantines de Cappadoce: Le Programme Iconographique de l'abside et de ses abords* (Paris: Presses du CNRS, 1991), 44.

³³ N. and M. Thierry, “Ayvalı Kilise,” 100. For more information about the Church of Joachim and Anna, ninth century, see Restle, vol. I, 144-145. Kızılçukur Valley is to the south of Güllüdere Valley; see Plate 1.

³⁴ Rodley does not suggest any particular establishment or region in Cappadocia that might have housed the Monastery of Panagia and All [Saints]. *Cave Monasteries of Byzantine Cappadocia*, 213.

is evidence for the presence of a monastic establishment around the Hermitage of Ioannes.³⁵ First, four additional painted churches and chapels are within walking distance of the Hermitage of Ioannes. Second, both Chapel No. 3 and the Hermitage of Ioannes have wineries that are carved into the same rock formations as the structures. Third, there are numerous small-scale rock-cut rooms which might have served as dwellings for the monks; these rooms are in immediate proximity to not only the Hermitage of Ioannes but also other chapels. Moreover, the first phase of the wall paintings of the Hermitage of Ioannes has been dated to the same period as the wall paintings of Chapel No. 2 and Chapel No. 5, as well as a few scenes in the naos of Chapel No. 3.³⁶ Thus, the group of structures in Güllüdere Valley could plausibly have constituted the Monastery of Panagia and All [Saints], and the Hermitage of Ioannes was a part of the complex when “John” commissioned the wall paintings.

The Hermitage of Ioannes was dedicated to the patron’s name-saint, who was either St. John the Baptist or St. John the Evangelist.³⁷ There is no direct reference to or individual representation of either of these saints, but both of them appear in several of the narrative scenes. Since the structure is carved into a rock formation, the Hermitage of Ioannes may be seen as an allusion to the “caves” that are significant in both saints’ lives. Although there is no written source mentioning that St. John the Baptist lived in a cave while he was preaching in the wilderness, he was considered a model in Byzantine monastic literature since he chose the solitary life.³⁸ The allusion to a “cave” might also be interpreted as the cave of St. John the

³⁵ Rodley and N. and M. Thierry argue that there is no evidence remaining of a monastic establishment or any cave complexes close to the “Church of St John.” N. and M. Thierry, “Ayvalı Kilise,” 100; Rodley, *Cave Monasteries of Byzantine Cappadocia*, 213.

³⁶ For the dates of the wall paintings in Chapels 2 and 5 see Jolivet-Lévy, 30-31, 45-46. For Chapel No. 3 see fn. 16.

³⁷ Rodley suggests that the Hermitage of Ioannes might have been dedicated to St John the Baptist, but she does not provide a further explanation (*Cave Monasteries of Byzantine Cappadocia*, 212).

³⁸ Johannes Irmscher, Alexander Kazhdan, Robert F. Taft and Annemarie Weyl Carr, “John the Baptist,” in *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, ed. Alexander P. Kazhdan et al., vol. 2 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 1068.

Evangelist on Patmos. He saw the Divine Vision in a cave on the island, as recounted in Revelation 1:9-10.³⁹ Given that the apses of the chambers display the depictions of the Divine Vision and that the rock-cut hermitage resembles a natural cave, the Hermitage of Ioannes might have been named after St. John the Evangelist.

No feast day related to the possible name-saints of John falls on the dedication date of the wall paintings, November 14. However, an examination of the wall paintings of the south chamber reveals that the dedication date might be linked to pre-Christmas feasts and the Incarnation. By the middle of the 380s, December 25 had been adopted in Constantinople as the date of the birth of Christ, and Cappadocia monasteries celebrated the Nativity of Christ on that day beginning ca. 386.⁴⁰ Rituals to commemorate Christmas started forty days before the feast, on November 15; therefore, the second layer of wall paintings was dedicated to St. John a day before the pre-Christmas fasting began.⁴¹ The depictions of the prophets *Daniel* and *Habakkuk*, who foretold the Incarnation, in medallions on the soffit of the apse arch and the *Enthroned Virgin and Christ Child*, as a representation of the Incarnation, on the east tympanum of the south chamber might be seen as references to the pre-Christmas celebrations and, therefore, to the dedication date of the wall paintings (Appendix 2).

Although the inscription on the rim of the arcosolium provides the donor's name, no donor portrait has survived. If Ioannes was a monk or a priest, his occupation would have been

³⁹ A cave near the Monastery of St. John the Theologian on Patmos is associated with St. John, and a fresco in the cave shows John as he dictates to Prochoros. For more information about the Monastery see Timothy E. Gregory and Nancy P. Ševčenko, "Patmos," in *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, ed. Alexander P. Kazhdan et al., vol. 3 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 1596-1597.

⁴⁰ The churches in the East celebrated Christ's birth and baptism on the same day, January 6. Jill Burnett Comings, *Aspects of the Liturgical Year in Cappadocia (325-430)* (New York: Peter Lang Publishing Inc., 2005), 61-94, esp. 62-63.

⁴¹ For the liturgical celebrations and fasting forty days before Christmas see John Baldovin, *The Urban Character of Christian Worship: The Origins, Development, and Meaning of Stational Liturgy*, *Orientalia Christiana Analecta* 228, ed. Robert Taft. (Rome: Pontifical Institute of Oriental Studies, 1987), 209-226; Graham Woolfenden, "Eastern Orthodox Liturgical Traditions," in *The Blackwell Companion to Eastern Christianity*, ed. Ken Parry. (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2007), 333.

mentioned in the inscription, and it would be possible to suggest that the image of Ioannes in the arcosolium, along with his invocative inscription, was destroyed due to the extension of the arcosolium northward at a later time. The lack of a donor portrait may be explained through comparison with another example, the wall paintings of the Church of Barbara in a monastic complex in Soğanlıdere Valley, in southeastern Cappadocia. The paintings of the church, dated to 992-1025, were commissioned by a lay patron whose donation was recorded in the inscription above the entrance, yet his portrait is not included in the wall painting program.⁴² Similarly, even though the inscription in the north chamber of the Hermitage of Ioannes is damaged, and, therefore, the title of Ioannes has been lost, he, too, may have been a lay patron.

The portraits of three individuals, along with their invocative inscriptions, are painted in the north chamber. The niche in the west of the arcosolium displays a female image, without a halo, standing on the west side of the soffit with an inscription: “*For the forgiveness of sins of the servant of God, Semnis*” (Figure 8).⁴³ An equestrian image appears on the wall of the same niche with the inscription of “*Lord, help thy servant Theodoros*” (Figure 9).⁴⁴ The third inscription is written next to an orans monk with a pointed hood and a long beard on the west side of the soffit of the arcosolium. The inscription on his side reads: “*For the prayer of the servant of God, Makar[ios?], monk of...*” (Figure 10).⁴⁵

Theodoros’s representation, riding a white horse, wearing a military uniform, holding a spear in his right hand and extending his left arm, is reminiscent of warrior saints. His image especially evokes the depictions of the military saint Theodore Tiron, who rides a white horse in

⁴² Rodley, *Cave Monasteries of Byzantine Cappadocia*, 203-207, esp. 206.

⁴³ The original inscription near the female figure reads: “[Υ]πέρ [ά]φέσεος [ά]μα[ρτί]ον τίς δούλις τοῦ θ(εο)ῦ σεμνίς.” Rodley, *Cave Monasteries of Byzantine Cappadocia*, 211; re-read and corrected by Asen E. Kirin.

⁴⁴ The original inscription of the male figure reads: “[Κ(ύρι)]ε βοήθι τό σου δούλου Θεόδορον.” Rodley, *Cave Monasteries of Byzantine Cappadocia*, 211; re-read and corrected by Asen E. Kirin.

⁴⁵ The original inscription as follows: “Υπέρ ευχίς του δουλου του Θ(εο)υ Μακαρ[υ] μοναχου του ΕΝ[.....] ΒΟΝ[.]” Rodley, *Cave Monasteries of Byzantine Cappadocia*, 212; re-read and corrected by Asen E. Kirin.

his portraits and whose cult was popular in Cappadocia.⁴⁶ Theodoros's depiction without a halo and the absence of an inscription of his name next to the image contradict the fixed iconography of saints, although he is described as a saint in various publications.⁴⁷

The figure of Makarios has a halo, and his cloth, hair and beard are similar to those of the other monk saints' images in the wall paintings of the north chamber (Figure 11). Rodley discusses whether the image of Makarios represents St. Makarios. Since the inscription next to the image does not mention sainthood, she argues that the image might be another individual.⁴⁸ According to her, the workshop that painted the Hermitage of Ioannes probably had a scheme for each "type" of figure (old man, young man, bishop and so on), and use of this template would explain the similarities between the monk saints and the image of Makarios. However, the halo clearly marks him as a saint. Thus, as N. and M. Thierry suggest, St. Makarios is probably depicted as a holy figure protecting the monk who is buried in the arcosolium.⁴⁹

Despite the lack of a donor portrait, the presence of two non-monastic figures with their invocative inscriptions, the arcosolium and many graves in the floors of both chambers suggest lay patronage and the use of the structure as a private burial place (Plate 2). The patron Ioannes wished to commemorate his family members, including Semins and Theodoros, and to benefit from the prayers of the monk by commissioning the wall paintings of the Hermitage of Ioannes.

⁴⁶ For more information about St. Theodore Tiron see Christopher Walter, *The Warrior Saints in Byzantine Art and Tradition* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2003), 44-66, esp. 55-56.

⁴⁷ N. and M. Thierry and Rodley identify the image of Theodoros as a saint image. N. and M. Thierry, "Ayvali Kilise," 128; Rodley, *Cave Monasteries of Byzantine Cappadocia*, 211. In Byzantine art, saints are represented by their names, which are also considered sacred and therefore inscribed next to their images. For the sanctity of writings in Byzantine art see Gilbert Dagron, "Holy Images and Likeness," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 45 (1991): 23-33, esp. 25-28.

⁴⁸ Rodley, *Cave Monasteries of Byzantine Cappadocia*, 213.

⁴⁹ N. and M. Thierry, "Ayvali Kilise," 128.

CHAPTER 2

THE ROCK-CUT ARCHITECTURE AND THE WALL PAINTINGS OF THE HERMITAGE OF IOANNES

The Rock-cut Architecture of the Hermitage of Ioannes:

Carved into a conical rock formation, the Hermitage of Ioannes was abandoned by its monastic community and used as a pigeon house until the 1980s.⁵⁰ Located approximately five meters above the valley floor, the structure originally had two entrances, one in each chamber's west wall, but only the south entrance is in use today (Plate 2, Figures 1-2).⁵¹ Considering the height of the thresholds and their distance from ground level, both chambers were originally reached by a single step, as they are now.

The lower level of the structure consists of two longitudinal rectangular chambers which are connected through a passage in the east end of the dividing wall (Plates 2-3, Figure 12).⁵² Each chamber is covered by a barrel vault and ends with a horseshoe-shaped apse, which is

⁵⁰ The date of the abandonment is uncertain, but the Hermitage of Ioannes probably did not serve as a religious structure after the mid-fourteenth century, considering the increasing authority of the Turks in the region. For a brief discussion on Turkish authority in Cappadocia see Kostof, 29-31. Its use as a pigeon house may have begun in the mid-nineteenth century, given the proliferation of dovecotes in Cappadocia. The dovecotes are seen in the west tympanum of the lower-level chambers and in the west wall of the upper room of the Hermitage. For the importance of dovecotes in the region see Murat Gülyaz, "Pigeon Houses in Cappadocia," in *Cappadocia*, ed. Metin Sözen (İstanbul: Ayhan Şahenk Foundation, 1998), 548-559.

⁵¹ The plans, cross-sections and isometric drawings of the Hermitage of Ioannes were prepared by Cigdem Yılmaz and Aykut Fenerci in 2007 and 2010. The north entrance was closed with rubble and cement in 1962, and the present door was placed at the south entrance in 1984. This information was provided verbally by Ahmet Doğan, the warden of the Hermitage of Ioannes, in 2007.

⁵² The south chamber is 4.50x1.75 m, the north chamber is 4.25x2.30 m, and the passage is 1.12x0.75 m. For other structures that consist of two chambers see Yıldız Ötüken, "Zweischiffige Kirchen in Kappadokien und in den angrenzenden Gebieten," *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 32, no. 4 (1982): 543-552.

separated by a templon.⁵³ Both chambers feature niches, on the south and north walls, which might have been used as seats for the other monks during ceremonies (Plate 2). A niche on the axis of the apse wall in the south chamber might have been used as an altar (Plate 3). Substantial damage has made it difficult to determine whether there was a niche on the axis of the north apse as well (Plates 2-3). On the north wall of the north chamber is an arcosolium that was extended northward at a later time, probably for another burial (Plates 2-4). The continuous molding that runs through the chambers is almost identical in both, suggesting that the whole first floor was carved at the same time, including the arcosolium. The barrel-vaulted passageway links the chambers, houses a grave carved into the floor and features two niches, one on each wall, which might have had liturgical functions (Plates 2-3, Figure 12).

The rectangular room on the second floor extends above the north chamber and slightly towards the passageway (Plate 5).⁵⁴ Approximately one meter above the ground, the original entrance to the room, which is now blocked, is carved into the east side of the rock formation (Plate 6, Figure 5).⁵⁵ Today the opening in the floor is the only way to reach the upper chamber, via a portable ladder (Plates 7-8).⁵⁶ The ceiling of the chamber features a large carved cross as an architectural sculpture (Plate 6). Among the numerous small niches on the walls, a larger niche in the south wall might have been used as the monk's bed, and the small shelf-like projection in the same niche might have been used to hold personal belongings (Plates 6-7).⁵⁷ It is uncertain whether the second-story room was a part of the original phase of the architectural history of the

⁵³ All of the templon plaques are damaged except the one on the north part of the south chamber's templon (Plate 3).

⁵⁴ The upper-level room is approximately 5.50x3.80 m.

⁵⁵ Since the east surface of the rock formation shows no signs of beam holes, which would indicate the use of a wooden ladder, either a set of rock-cut stairs were used, or the original ground level was slightly below the entrance.

⁵⁶ The opening is approximately 0.60 m in w. and 1.20 m in h.

⁵⁷ The niche in the south wall is 1.62 m in w., 1.00 m in d. and 1.80 m. in h.

Hermitage. If it was not, it is plausible that the room was carved during the renovations of Ioannes and that the opening in its floor was created at a later time.

The dwelling cells of monks in Cappadocia are among the simplest structures in terms of their architecture and are barely distinguishable from natural cavities. Featuring humble rock-cut furniture, living spaces contain carved niches which serve as beds, seats, tables, and shelves for monks, as in the second-story room at the Hermitage of Ioannes. These rooms are usually situated near chapels or churches or carved into the same rock formations.⁵⁸ The Hermitage of Simeon Stylites and the Hermitage of Ioannes exemplify the second category, with dwelling rooms close to the peaks of isolated rock formations (Plate 9a-b, Figure 4).⁵⁹ The monk of the Hermitage of Simeon Stylites would leave the first floor chamber on the south side and walk to the west side of the rock formation for access to the two upper-level chambers (Plate 9a-b). The living space of the monk is on the top story, which was reached by narrow steep rock-cut stairs, almost like a shaft, that are carved through the inside of the rock formation. Similarly, the monk of the Hermitage of Ioannes would leave the lower level chambers on the west side and walk east around the rock formation, where the original entrance of the upper room is located, to reach his dwelling chamber (Figure 5).

Although the first-floor chambers of the Hermitage of Ioannes have separate entrances, suggesting that they might have been used independently and had different functions, the passageway indicates the unified use of the lower level. If the niches on the south and north walls of the south chamber and the niche on the axis of the apse were used as seats, the chamber might have been used occasionally for ceremonies by the other monks of the valley. The northward

⁵⁸ There is another small-scale chapel in close proximity to the Hermitage of Simeon Stylites, which might have been used by another monk of the community in Paşabağı, Zelve. For the unnamed chamber and the hermitage at Zelve see De Jerphanion, 1932, 570-580; Rodley, *Cave Monasteries of Byzantine Cappadocia*, 192.

⁵⁹ For the Hermitage of Simeon Stylites see fn. 14.

extension of the arcosolium and the presence of the other graves carved into the floors of the chambers, which might have been for the patron's family, suggest that the chambers might have been used by more than one generation of family members (Plate 2). Nevertheless, both chambers of the first floor mainly served the monk of the Hermitage who dwelled in the second-story room, especially the south chamber, which was used for his long hours of prayer and meditation.

The Wall Paintings of the Hermitage of Ioannes:

The wall paintings of the lower level of the Hermitage of Ioannes reveal a great deal about the function of the chambers. This evidence, in turn, supports the facts provided by the architecture. The ways in which these chambers served the monk of the Hermitage of Ioannes, the monastic community of the valley and the pious hopes of the hermitage's patron for himself and his family are reflected by the wall paintings throughout the lower level. The deliberately chosen narrative scenes and saintly figures, as well as the specific symbolic depictions, emphasize the themes of salvation, monastic behavior, and lay patronage. The function of the chambers is even demonstrated outside the structure, by the images at the entrances, which display an abbreviated form of the iconographic program of the first floor.

The depiction of *Christ Pantokrator*, the Ruler of the Universe, occupies the apex of the soffit of the north entrance arch (Figure 13). His placement on the threshold of the chamber, as if he is gazing upon the earth from the heavens, soteriologically presents Christ as the judge. The invocative inscriptions of the individuals, especially Semnis and Theodoros, and the graves in the chamber indicate that the appearance of Christ as the judge not only serves as a reminder of the end of time and the Judgment Day but also gives hope for salvation.⁶⁰

⁶⁰ For the invocative inscriptions see p. 12.

Surrounding the image of Christ, martyrs and monks illustrate the celestial and earthly hierarchies and encourage the monk spiritually.⁶¹ One of the two monk figures on the soffit is identified by an inscription as Pachomius, the paragon of ascetic behavior, whose teachings encouraged the monks in his community to undertake long hours of prayer and meditation to achieve salvation. Over a year in seclusion, Pachomius prayed for many hours for the redemption of his community, ultimately experiencing a vision and hearing the voice of the angel of God.⁶² His image would provide spiritual encouragement for the monk of the Hermitage of Ioannes as he contemplated his salvation.

On each side of the soffit of the entrance arch of the south chamber, Constantine and Helena are painted holding a medallion in which a bejeweled cross appears (Figure 14). Depicting the first imperial female patron and her son with a cross image, as an allusion to the True Cross, is a clear reference to the patronage of the donor Ioannes, since Constantine and Helena are prototypical donors. They are represented on the thresholds of the sacred space, leading to the chamber. This placement refers to the protective roles of Constantine and Helena, as does the True Cross.⁶³ The presence of the warrior saints on the entrance wall also underscores the symbolic protection of the chamber by the holy figures.⁶⁴

Immediately above the entrance of the south chamber, two cypress trees are depicted (Figure 14). The image that these trees originally flanked is lost; however, a composition of a

⁶¹ See Vasiliki M. Limberis, "Cult of the Martyrs and the Cappadocian Fathers," in *Byzantine Christianity*, ed. Derek Krueger. (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2006), 39-58.

⁶² For more information about Pachomios and his visions see Philip Rousseau, *Pachomius: The Making of a Community in Fourth-Century Egypt* (Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 1985), esp. 57-76.

⁶³ For the popularity of depictions of Helena and Constantine in Cappadocia and their protective roles see Carolyn L. Connor, *Women of Byzantium* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2004), 182-207, esp. 194-197, 353, fn. 54.

⁶⁴ For the protective and inspirational roles of warrior saints see Walter, 33-38; Vasiliki M. Limberis, *Architects of Piety: The Cappadocian Fathers and the Cult of the Martyrs* (Oxford, N.Y.: Oxford University Press, 2011), 47-50.

cross flanked by two cypress trees has a fixed iconography, symbolizing the garden of paradise.⁶⁵ The placement of this image on the threshold is an explicit reference to the chamber's sacredness. In addition, as Theodore Metochites writes, cypress trees might be seen as bridges between the earthly and heavenly realms, since trees reach toward the skies, as do the prayers of monks.⁶⁶

From the earliest years of monasticism, representations of divine visions were used as encouragement and inspiration for monks as they prayed and meditated for long hours in their cells and prayer rooms.⁶⁷ In the apse of the south chamber, the *Prophetic Vision*, in which Christ in Majesty (*Maiestas Domini*) appears, is represented in its traditional iconographic arrangement, fusing verses from the Old Testaments and the Book of Revelation (Figures 15-16).⁶⁸ The Enthroned Christ is shown in a mandorla surrounded by the symbols of the four evangelists. On each side of the mandorla, seraphs, cherubs and thrones represent the Celestial Hierarchy.⁶⁹ The prophets Ezekiel and Isaiah are on each side of Christ, and the composition is enclosed by the two Archangels.

As the monk knelt in prayer before the apse, viewing the *Prophetic Vision*, in the presence of the “first” celestial hierarchy, he would be inspired throughout his meditation. The depictions of saints on the wall of the apse and the Old Testament prophets on the soffit of the

⁶⁵ Besides mural paintings, numerous portable objects depict a composition featuring a cross flanked by two cypress trees, as in the Harbaville Triptych from the tenth century. For a brief discussion on the Harbaville Triptych see Ioli Kalavrezou, “The Harbaville Triptych,” in *Glory of Byzantium: Art and Culture of the Middle Byzantine Era, A.D. 843-1261*, ed. Helen C. Evans and William D. Wixom, exh. cat., Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1997), cat. no. 80, 133-134.

⁶⁶ Theodore Metochites relates cypress trees to the meditation of monks in his writings from the fourteenth century; see Clive Foss, *Nicaea: A Byzantine Capital and Its Praises* (Brookline, MA: Hellenic Collage Press, 1996), 181.

⁶⁷ Ann Warthon Epstein, “The Problem of Provincialism: Byzantine Monasteries in Cappadocia and Monks in South Italy,” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 42 (1979): 28-46, esp. 40; Elizabeth S. Bolman, “The Medieval Paintings in the Cave Church, Phase One,” in *The Cave Church of Paul the Hermit at the Monastery of St. Paul, Egypt*, ed. William Lyster (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2008), 163-177, esp. 170-171.

⁶⁸ Verses from Isaiah 6:1-4, Ezekiel 1:4-28 and Revelation 4:2-9, as well as various liturgical texts and hymns, are the sources of the iconographic elements of the Prophetic Vision depictions.

⁶⁹ For more information about the Celestial Hierarchy see Dionysius the Areopagite, *The Celestial Hierarchies*, esp. chapter VII.

arch are spiritual connections with the heavenly realms since they serve as witnesses to the divinity of Christ. The monk would be honored by being among the saints and prophets, and their company would encourage him as he prayed.

The chamber mainly functioned as a private space for the monk as he prayed on behalf of the patron and his family, but both pictorial and architectural features of the chamber suggest that the space also had liturgical functions. On the right part of the *Prophetic Vision*, a seraph holds out the burning coal to Isaiah, an allusion to the body of Christ.⁷⁰ Immediately below the Vision, three priest figures, Joachim, Zechariah and the proto-deacon Stephen, are presented in the north niche of the apse. The act of receiving the burning coal, as a symbolic representation of the Eucharist, the use of the north niche as a prothesis, on which the bread and wine are prepared for the Divine Liturgy, and the presence of a niche on the axis of the apse, which might have been used as an altar, indicate that the south chamber was also used for liturgical rituals.

The south chamber is adorned with individual figures and a narrative cycle from the life of Christ. The lower parts of the walls and niches display saintly figures (Appendix 2). The majority of the saints represent a group called the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste, warrior saints whose cult was popular in Cappadocia.⁷¹ This group is depicted both to commemorate the local saints and to protect the chamber spiritually. They are arranged as if forming a shield against the “outer world” on the south wall and guarding the graves in the north chamber.

The Christological cycle starts in the upper register of the east part of the vault with the *Annunciation* and proceeds clockwise around the east part of the vault (Figures 17a-b, 18; Appendix 1). The *Ascension* occupies the whole west part of the vault (Figure 18). The scenes that are related to the mission and Passion of Christ are placed on the walls. The positioning of

⁷⁰ Bolman, “The Medieval Paintings in the Cave Church,” 189.

⁷¹ For the cult of the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste and other local saints see Limberis, *Architects of Piety* 41-46, 137-140.

the scenes from the Passion and Resurrection cycles on the north wall of the chamber, especially the *Anastasis*, emphasize concepts of salvation and resurrection which are closely related to the scenes in the passageway and north chamber (Figure 12, 19).

The *Sacrifice of Abraham* and the *Ascension of Elijah*, referring to the sacrifice and resurrection, occupy the west niche and the vault of the passageway, respectively (Figures 20-21).⁷² Both scenes would be an inspiration for the monk considering that the biblical stories were used for moral and spiritual guidance. The *Sacrifice of Abraham* foreshadows the sacrifice of Christ, and the *Ascension of Elijah* offers hope for achieving salvation and being taken to the heavens as Elijah, the first monk and ascetic, and Christ were.⁷³ Metaphorically, both scenes have strong liturgical symbolism specifically relating to the Eucharist. In the episode “Elijah gives his mantle to Elisha,” Elijah’s cloak may be interpreted as the Eucharistic body (*sarx*) of Christ.⁷⁴ The image of the ram in the *Sacrifice of Abraham* represents Christ on the cross, and Isaac refers to Christ in the Eucharist.⁷⁵

Teteriatnikov suggests that the east niche was used as an altar, whereas the west niche served as a seat during the ceremonies.⁷⁶ Both the architectural features and the painting program of the passageway deliberately allude to the concept of resurrection and the Eucharist. The *Sacrifice of Abraham* in the west niche faces the east niche in the passageway, which features the

⁷² The three episodes of the Prophet Elijah’s story cover the vault. In the center, “Elijah is taken to heaven in a fiery chariot.” On the lower south part of the vault, “Elijah gives his mantle to Elisha,” and across from this scene is the episode of “Praying for rain.”

⁷³ Alison Moore Smith, “The Iconography of the Sacrifice of Isaac in Early Christian Art,” *American Journal of Archaeology* 26, no. 2 (April - June, 1922): 159-173; Isabel Speyart Van Woerden, “The Iconography of the Sacrifice of Abraham,” *Vigiliae Christianae* 15, no. 4 (December, 1961): 214-255.

⁷⁴ In his homilies on John 6:51, 55-56, John Chrysostom draws an analogy between the mantle of Elijah and the body of Christ. See John H. Lowden, Anthony Cutler and Catherine Brown Tkacz, “Elijah,” in *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, ed. Alexander P. Kazhdan et al., vol. 1 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 687-688.

⁷⁵ Smith, 168.

⁷⁶ Teteriatnikov, *The Liturgical Planning of Byzantine Churches in Cappadocia*, 179.

image of the bishop St. Nicholas, who was endowed with divine powers of intercession.⁷⁷ The *Anastasis*, especially the placement of Solomon and David rising from their tombs immediately above the passage, is placed in close proximity to the grave in the passageway (Figure 12, 19). Accordingly, the soul of the individual who was buried in the passageway would be saved by Christ and rise towards the heavens; the monk of the Hermitage would be reminded as he devoted himself to God that he, too, would achieve salvation. Moreover, the location of the passageway close to the apses reinforces the theory that liturgical ceremonies were performed in the passage. The depiction of Isaiah as he is being given the burning coal in the south apse and a painted inscription on the molding of the north apse arch refer to the Eucharist.⁷⁸

The walls of the north chamber are adorned with saintly figures, mostly martyrs and monks, again intended to inspire the monk of the Hermitage (Appendix 2). On the west wall, Archippus is represented in prayer with the Archangel Michael as a reminder of the Miracle at Chonae (Figure 22).⁷⁹ Archippus was considered the ideal hermit and a perfect exemplar for those who chose ascetic life. The presence of his image with the angel would encourage the monk and remind him of the possibility of salvation if he pursued a righteous life.

The *Dormition* on the west part of the north wall underlines the idea of salvation and represents it visually (Figure 23). The scene is close to the tombs and to the images and invocative inscriptions of the individuals who were buried in the chamber: Semnis and

⁷⁷ Henry Maguire, *Icons and Their Bodies: Saints and Their Images in Byzantium* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1996), 168-170.

⁷⁸ The inscription reads “Remember the dreadful miracle in which the body and blood of Christ were.... In faith and fear come to the Kudos ceremony.” In Greek the word “kudos” (κῦδος) means glory, renown in war, especially of a single person. For the original inscription and its translation see N. and M. Thierry, “Ayvalı Kilise,” 125; Jolivet-Lévy, 42.

⁷⁹ For the Miracle at Chonae see Glenn Peers, *Subtle Bodies: Representing Angels in Byzantium* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 2001), 43-51. For the representation of Archippus with the Archangel Michael, within the discussion of the Miracle, at the Hermitage of Ioannes see Smiljka Gabelić, “From the Painted Program of Saint John (Ayvalı Kilise), Cappadocia,” *Zograf* 33 (2009): 33-41 (in Serbian with an introduction in English).

Theodoros. Their prayers would be carried up to God as the incense rose from the censer held by John in the *Dormition*, and, as the Virgin's soul ascended into heaven, their souls could rise through the symbolic act of swinging the censer.⁸⁰ Mortal yet sanctified, the Virgin Mary achieves salvation. Its pictorial demonstration represents the wishes of the patron for his salvation and that of his family and reminds the monk of the possibility of his own.

The apse, vault and tympana of the north chamber feature scenes related to the Judgment Day. The earliest structure in Cappadocia that displays a Last Judgment composition with multiple episodes and themes, the north chamber of the Hermitage of Ioannes features two *Deesis* scenes, the *Second Coming of Christ* and the *Sea and Earth Giving up Their Dead* (Appendix 1). Although all of these themes and episodes refer iconographically to the Last Judgment and can be substituted for each other without any loss of meaning, this redundant representation of the Judgment Day is a strong emphasis on the function of the chamber as a funerary place and the patron's hope for salvation.

One of the two *Deesis* representations is in the apse of the chamber, combined with the *Prophetic Vision* (Figure 24). The vision is almost identical to the one in the south apse iconographically and compositionally, except that the angels are replaced with the Virgin and St. John the Baptist. Witnesses to the divinity of Christ, the intercessors mediate for the monk, the patron and his family members. Beginning in the tenth century, as private foundations and commissions proliferated in the region, collective representations of the Prophetic Vision and the *Deesis* became important components of burial chambers and parekklesia in Cappadocia.⁸¹ The

⁸⁰ For different practices in rituals of death and the symbolic use of censers in images see Dorothy Abrahamse, "Rituals of Death in the Middle Byzantine Period," *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 29, no. 2 (Summer, 1984): 125-134; Maria Evangelatou, "The Symbolism of the Censer," in *Images of the Mother of God: Perceptions of the Theotokos in Byzantium*, ed. Maria Vassilaki (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing, 2005), 117-131, esp. 119.

⁸¹ Natalia B. Teteriatnikov, "Private Salvation Programs and Their Effect on Byzantine Church Decoration," *Arte Medievale* VII, no. 2 (1993): 47-63. Although the *Deesis* alone began to occupy the semi-dome of apses during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, usually in private foundations, some monastic churches continued to depict the

combined representation of the *Deesis* and the *Prophetic Vision* in the apse of the north chamber at the Hermitage of Ioannes create complex meanings in light of the other themes in the chamber that are related to salvation and the Judgment Day.

The Last Judgment composition consists of three episodes, occupying the west and the east tympana and almost the entire surface of the vault: the *Sea and Earth Giving up Their Dead*, the second depiction of *Deesis* and the *Second Coming of Christ*, respectively (Appendix 1; Figures 25-27). Although the *Sea and Earth Giving up Their Dead* was destroyed by the carving of the pigeon houses, the sides of the representation still provide limited visual material. In the south of the scene a woman without a halo, who might be a personification of the sea, sits before an enclosure which is filled by several human heads (Figure 25a). In the north of the tympanum are the tails of four fish (Figure 25b). A few words of an inscription on the molding of the west wall, below the *Sea and Earth Giving up Their Dead*, reads “*for resurrection...for judgment,*” which clearly refers to the impending Judgment Day and hope for salvation.⁸² A symbolic representation of the raising of the dead, the *Sea and Earth Giving up Their Dead* faces the *Deesis*, on the east tympanum, where the Virgin and St. John plead for compassion on behalf of mankind.

The *Second Coming of Christ* is shown on the east part of the vault, between the *Deesis* on the tympanum and the *Pentecost* (Figure 27). Two angels who hold a medallion containing a large cross are on the east end of the vault, and directly to the west of the angels Christ is seen in another medallion. He holds a scroll in his left hand and blesses. To the north of the medallion, an inscription summarizes the Second Coming of Christ and also refers to the Pentecost: “*God is*

combined version of the *Deesis* due to the role of the visions in monastic practices. A twelfth-century church in a monastic complex in Gümüşler, Niğde, in the region, displays the collective version of the *Deesis* and *Prophetic Vision*. Michael Gough, “The Monastery of Eski Gümüş: A Preliminary Report,” *Anatolian Studies* 14 (1964):147-161, fig. 4.

⁸² For the original inscription see N. and M. Thierry, “Ayvalı Kilise,” 125.

coming in the clouds to judge all of the nations and tongues and the cross is before him.”⁸³ This demonstration of the Second Coming is witnessed by the enthroned apostles who hold open books on their laps, acting as judges.

The *Pentecost* is placed between two episodes of the Last Judgment composition, the *Second Coming of Christ* and the *Sea and Earth Giving up Their Dead* (Figures 27-28). Almost half of the scene, including the center of the composition, is damaged due to the carving of the opening; however, some iconographic details can be identified. The rays emanating from the heavens, the “tongues” symbolizing the nations, are indicated by the flame. The only flame depiction that can be seen today is above Thomas’ head at the western corner of the vault (Figure 28). The enthroned apostles are shown holding scrolls bearing their names and the names of the cities in which they began to speak in tongues.⁸⁴ Visually the apostles in the *Pentecost* scene are reminiscent of those in the *Second Coming of Christ*, in terms of their arrangements and representations (Figure 27). The apostles in the *Pentecost* on the sides of the vault are depicted as if they were in a continuous line with the apostles on either side of Christ.

The placement of the *Pentecost* between scenes related to the raising of the dead and the judgment establishes the symbolic meaning of the scene, which foreshadows the Second Coming of Christ and thus the Judgment Day. A broader view reveal that the position of the *Pentecost* above the tombs and the *Dormition* is iconographically tied to the *Sea and Earth Giving up Their Dead* and the *Deesis* on the tympana. Facing each other, the latter two scenes allude to resurrection and supplication respectively and refer to the hope for salvation, a representation of the desire to be saved by Christ at the end of time.

⁸³ For the original inscription see N. and M. Thierry, “Ayvalı Kilise,” 131. Also see Nicole Thierry and Ann Tenenbaum, “Le Cénacle apostolique à Kokar Kilise et Ayvalı Kilise en Cappadoce: Mission des apôtres, Pentecôte, Jugement Dernier,” *Journal des Savants* (October-December, 1963): 228-241.

⁸⁴ For a detailed description of the apostles and the inscriptions in their books see N. and M. Thierry, “Ayvalı Kilise,” 134-137.

The iconographic program of the wall paintings of the Hermitage of Ioannes reveals the function of the structure as a private foundation which expressed the desire of the patron to achieve salvation and as a hermitage which visualized anchoritic monastic behavior as an encouragement for the monk. Picturing the dual nature of Christ, the scenes in the south chamber and the depiction of the Divine Vision would have spiritually inspired the monk as he contemplated and prayed for his own salvation and that of the patron and his family. As he walked through the passageway, as the threshold between realms, the monk was reminded of the upcoming Judgment Day. The north chamber was the place where the monk was visually reminded of the end of time and that if he pursued a pious life and devoted himself to God as previous monks had, he would achieve salvation as they did. All of the thematic and symbolic scenes in the north chamber envision the hope of salvation for the monk of the Hermitage as well as for Semnis and Theodoros, who wait to be judged and saved at the end of time. The *Dormition* and the *Pentecost*, referring to the Second Coming of Christ, and the duplicate imagery of the *Deesis* in the complex multi-figured composition of the Last Judgment is an explicit promise of salvation. Proclaiming the upcoming Judgment Day, the rays emanating from the heavens descend upon the apostles in the *Pentecost* through the opening, which connects the earthly and heavenly realms.

CHAPTER 3

CONNECTING THE EARTHLY AND HEAVENLY REALMS

The opening between the second-story room and the north chamber of the Hermitage of Ioannes spatially ties the two rooms together, providing both visual and acoustic connections. The pictorial effect of the opening within the iconographic program of the wall paintings of the north chamber and the elevated position of the second-story room allow examination of the secondary function of the upper room in ascetic monastic life.

Envisioning Salvation on the Judgment Day:

As a result of the creation of the opening through the *Pentecost*, some details have been lost, but the iconography of the scene is fixed. Rays of light emanate from the heavenly segment onto the seated apostles.⁸⁵ One of four images appears in the center: the throne prepared for the Second Coming of Christ (*hetoimasia*), an Enthroned Christ, a dove symbolizing the Holy Spirit, or a cross. In the Hermitage of Ioannes, one of these iconographic elements must have been painted in the apex of the vault.

The shaft through the *Pentecost* scene indicates deliberate consideration of the effect of the opening on the existing wall painting program. Considering the iconographic features of complete Pentecost representations, the monk's location in the chamber was adjacent to the center of the scene. As the monk looked down, he was next to the central image in the

⁸⁵ Robert F. Taft and Annemarie Weyl Carr, "Pentecost," in *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, ed. Alexander P. Kazhdan et al., vol. 3 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 1626-1627.

composition. When the other monks looked up during the rituals, the eremite of the Hermitage of Ioannes would appear near the representation of the Holy Spirit descending from the heavens and would look as if the divine light also glided over him. The monk would have seemed to be one of the icons of the chamber – a living icon – for the other monks of the valley.

Considering that the opening is on the edge between the *Pentecost* and the *Second Coming of Christ*, the monk might have also appeared to be part of the multi-figured composition of the Last Judgment. The enthroned apostles in both the *Pentecost* and the *Second Coming of Christ* are painted as if they sit in a continuous row, since the figures are the same size and the thrones are similar in style. In this fused arrangement that runs through the north and south sides of the vault, the disciples upon whom the Holy Spirit descends and those who witness the Second Coming of Christ are visually unified (Figure 27). As he looked down, the monk would become one of the apostles who are filled with the Holy Spirit in the earthly realm, foreshadowing the Last Judgment, and who will be present in the celestial court in the heavenly realm, accompanying Christ as he judges souls at the end of time. The monk would be perceived as a mediator and a saintly figure, part of the celestial hierarchy, by the other monks.

The reason for the creation of the opening in the second-story chamber can be sought among the necessities of the eremitic way of life, which required isolation and seclusion. Although the Hermitage of Ioannes was intended to serve a single monk, as part of the *lavra* at Güllüdere Valley, it was used by the other monks of the community and by the patron and his family for liturgical rituals and commemorative ceremonies. The upper chamber, as the dwelling room of the monk, therefore, also functioned as his private prayer room when the lower chambers were occupied. As the most distinguished monk of the community, and probably the

oldest, the monk could use the opening to follow the rituals held in the north chamber while sustaining his privacy and privilege.

The Hermitages in Kızılçukur Valley and at Paşabağı also allowed monks to maintain a solitary existence in a community, but the connection between the dwelling room and the north chamber of the Hermitage of Ioannes remains the only example in the region. A twelfth-century hermitage in Paphos, Cyprus, however, displays a similar spatial arrangement. An opening in the ceiling of the naos of the Church of the Holy Cross at the Monastery of Neophytos connects the dwelling chamber of Neophytos to the church.⁸⁶

Neophytos, who lived in seclusion for years in a natural cave in the cliffs of Paphos, was joined by other monks over the course of time.⁸⁷ As the population of the community increased, he carved a new chamber, *Hagiosterion*, for himself above the naos of the church in which he could live in privacy and pray in seclusion without being completely isolated (Plate 10). The opening was created in the *Ascension* scene on the ceiling of the naos which features the figure of Christ in a medallion carried by the surrounding angels (Figure 29a). According to Mango and Hawkins, the only possible way to place the figure of Christ in this restricted space is to suppose that the upper part of the figure was projected into the shaft (Figure 29b).⁸⁸ Whenever Neophytos looked down through the shaft, the monks in the naos saw him framed within the composition as if he were being taken to Heaven with Christ by the angels. His “image” was seen next to Christ’s depiction as part of the scene; thus he seemed to be “with Christ,” surrounded by the mandorla and the angels.

⁸⁶ For more information about the Monastery of Neophytos see Cyril Mango and Ernest J. W. Hawkins, “The Hermitage of St. Neophytos and Its Wall Paintings,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 20 (1966): 119-206; Robin Cormack, *Writing in Gold: Byzantine Society and Its Icons* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 215-251; Catia Galatariotou, *The Making of a Saint: The Life, Times, and Sanctification of Neophytos the Recluse* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

⁸⁷ For the life of St. Neophytos see Mango and Hawkins, 122-129.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 141, 200-201.

In his *Sign of God*, Neophytos discusses the inaccessibility of the upper chamber and explains the reason for his retreat as “the destruction of the visitors.”⁸⁹ The opening in the floor of the chamber allowed him to access his room via a portable ladder and to follow the rituals through the shaft.⁹⁰ The niche, featuring a painted cross, and the alcove on the west wall of the *Hagiasterion* were probably used for liturgical purposes as Neophytos used the opening to participate in the rituals.

The painted cross in the niche of the *Hagiasterion* of Neophytos and the carved Latin cross in the upper room of the Hermitage of Ioannes indicate the eremitic monastic practice of both hermits and the function of both rooms as places for prayer. As the material expression of the monastic life and the reminder of the constant battle against earthly passions and other distractions, cross images, as the symbolic representation of a divine vision, were inspirational during long hours of prayer.

Since the early years of Christianity, hermit cells, oratories and prayer rooms were decorated with images of crosses as well as Maiestas Domini and Enthroned Virgin and Christ depictions as manifestations and reminders of the upcoming Judgment Day.⁹¹ The *Prophetic Vision* depiction in the apse of the south chambers at the Hermitage of Ioannes provided spiritual encouragement for the monk as he prayed; the combined representation of the *Prophetic Vision* and *Deesis* in the north apse was a clear reference to the concept of salvation and a symbol of supplication at the end of time.

⁸⁹ Galatariotou, 171-172.

⁹⁰ Neophytos describes the *Hagiasterion* as follows: “the room for my sanctification and holy attendance wherein I am hallowed by partaking of Christ’s sacraments and by the chanting of holy hymns.” The original text is in the *typikon*, fols. 48r-50v. Mango and Hawkins, 134, 190.

⁹¹ Elizabeth S. Bolman, “Depicting the Kingdom of Heaven: Paintings and Monastic Practice in Early Byzantine Egypt,” in *Egypt in the Byzantine World: 300-700*, ed. Roger S. Bagnall. (Cambridge, N.Y.: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 408-433, esp. 412-418, 424-425; idem., “The Medieval Paintings in the Cave Church,” 170-171.

The iconographic program of the wall paintings of the Hermitage of Ioannes creates a spiritual path for the monk as he devotes himself to God. Beginning in the south chamber, continuing through the passageway, the north chamber and the opening, and ending in the second-story room, the structure visually emphasizes eremitic monastic ideals and provides spiritual encouragement for the monk. The elevated location of the upper room and the Hermitage of Ioannes itself above the valley floor emphasize ascension physically and symbolically.

Reaching for the Heavens:

The tall rock formation into which the Hermitage of Ioannes is carved and the placement of the second-story room close to the peak accentuate the notion of proximity to God, as do the other hermitages in Cappadocia, such as the Hermitages of Niketas Stylites and Simeon Stylites. Carving hermit cells, private prayer rooms and secluded living spaces into isolated rock formations derives from ascetic monastic practice in Egypt and Palestine, where the monks lived and prayed in elevated chambers.

As early as the fifth century, many *lavrae* in Palestine had towers, located at the highest point of the monastery, which contained the cells of the monastic founders and later of distinguished monks.⁹² As dwellings, monastic towers provided isolated rooms for spiritual practices, fulfilling the ideals of anchorite monastic life. These spaces were carved into a cliff, encompassed the edge of a cliff, or were constructed separately.⁹³ Despite scant knowledge about the early towers, the middle and late Byzantine examples reveal that monk cells were included in church towers and provide information about their functions.

⁹² Towers are generally situated at the beginning of the valley, since they define the boundaries of a monastery and mark the path to its center, as in the case of the tower of St. Saba in the Great Lavra in Palestine. For more information about monastic towers see Hirschfeld, 171-176; Patrich, 126-133.

⁹³ While the dwelling room of Saba was carved into a rock formation, the rock face of a cliff was used as one of the walls of the cells in Khirbet ed-Deir. Hirschfeld, 172; Patrich, 126.

An analogy between the Hermitage of Ioannes and the tower at Žiča Monastery might be drawn in terms of the spatial arrangements and symbolic meanings of the structures (Plate 11). The tower of the Church of Ascension at Žiča Monastery, consisting of four stories, was situated above the exonarthex on the west side of the building.⁹⁴ A chamber on the second level, used by the Archbishop Sava, is an example of a solitary monastic cell (*katechoumena*), where he could live in private but also follow the celebrations.⁹⁵ A chapel on the third level is spatially linked to the undecorated small chamber of Sava through a wooden ladder, which might have been placed on the floor of the chapel and was probably the only way to reach the chamber. The chapel's wall painting program, accentuating the concept of salvation, reveals that, although the chapel had liturgical functions, it mostly served as a private prayer room, isolated and placed above the dwelling chamber.⁹⁶

The elevated locations of the cells and the towers were seen as ideal places for isolated life, since they are far from worldly concerns, and the monks seemed closer to the heavenly realm in symbolic terms. Leading secluded lives in elevated sites, Byzantine ascetics emulated the lifestyle of the monastic fathers, such as St. Simeon the Elder, who lived on a *stylos* (constructed pillar), and St. Saba, whose dwelling tower was constructed above the cave church. Every arduous physical act, walking long distances and climbing cliffs or mountains to reach prayer rooms, was a step that brought the ascetic closer to God, as if climbing the Heavenly Ladder of St. John Klimakos and nearing the "end" of their journeys, both physically and metaphysically.

⁹⁴ For more information see Slobodan Ćurčić, "Monastic Cells in Medieval Serbian Church Towers: Survival of an Early Byzantine Monastic Concept and Its Meaning," in *Sofia: Sbornik Statei po Iskusstvu Vizantij i Drevnei Rusi v Chesti*, ed. A. I. Komecha (Moscow: Severnyĭ Palomnik, 2006), 491-512, esp. 492-493.

⁹⁵ Slobodan Ćurčić, "What Was the Real Function of Late Byzantine Katechoumena?" in *The Nineteenth Annual Byzantine Studies Conference Abstracts* (New Jersey: Princeton University Princeton, 1993), 8-9.

⁹⁶ For a brief discussion of the wall paintings in the chapel see Ćurčić, "Monastic Cells in Medieval Serbian Church Towers," 493-494.

Located high above the floor of Güllüdere Valley and carved into one of the tallest rock formations, the highest among the rocks into which the other four painted structures of the valley are carved, the Hermitage of Ioannes is reminiscent of a monastic tower. Close to the center of the deserted valley, the Hermitage was an ideal place for the monk to live and pray in seclusion. Its second-story room, accessed by a ladder, reinforced the physical and spiritual meanings of elevation. Withdrawal confirmed the spiritual perfection of the monastic ideals of the monk of the Hermitage of Ioannes, since solitude distanced him from the distractions of the world and the elevated space symbolized his heavenly ascent.

CONCLUSION

Güllüdere Valley housed a monastic establishment of anchorites, and the Hermitage of Ioannes was part of it. Considering the age of the first phase of the wall paintings, the monks of the valley must have used the lower level of the hermitage for more than two centuries, although the date of the creation of the structure is uncertain. It is not clear whether the lower chambers were originally used as a private foundation, but the structure was definitely private after the renovations of Ioannes.

Functioning as a hermitage for the monk who prayed on behalf of his patron Ioannes and his family, the south chamber served as a private prayer room for the monk, even though it had liturgical functions. The invocative inscriptions of Ioannes, Semnis, and Theodoros indicate that the north chamber served as the burial place of the family and probably also of the monk. The passageway not only connected the chambers spatially but also served as a “transcending” threshold on the way to salvation for the monk, connecting the secular and celestial realms through his prayers. The upper room served as space for both his secluded living and devotional practice. The opening in the floor of the room connected the lower and upper stories visually and acoustically and acted as a physical and symbolic bridge between the earthly and heavenly realms.

Scenes from the life of Christ display symbolic continuity as they progress chronologically from the south chamber to the north. These narratives of Christ’s humanity and divinity provided spiritual inspiration to the monk as he devoted himself to God and

contemplated the promise of his salvation. The choice of both the scenes and the individual figures in the lower level are consistent with the function of the three chambers of the hermitage. Through the Old Testament scenes, in particular those depicting Elijah and Elisha, and figures such as Ezekiel and Hosea, as well as the anchorites, a secluded way of life is emphasized throughout the iconographic program of the wall paintings.

Situated high above the valley floor, the Hermitage of Ioannes resembles a monastic tower. The upper room, carved near the peak of the rock formation, evokes the placement of living quarters in those towers. The placement of the hermitage within the rock and the upper room within the hermitage illustrate the lauritic ideals of seclusion and physical and symbolic proximity to God. The architectural features that reveal the private use of the lower chambers and similar examples from both Cappadocia and other regions of the empire indicate that the “Ayvali Church” was used as a hermitage.

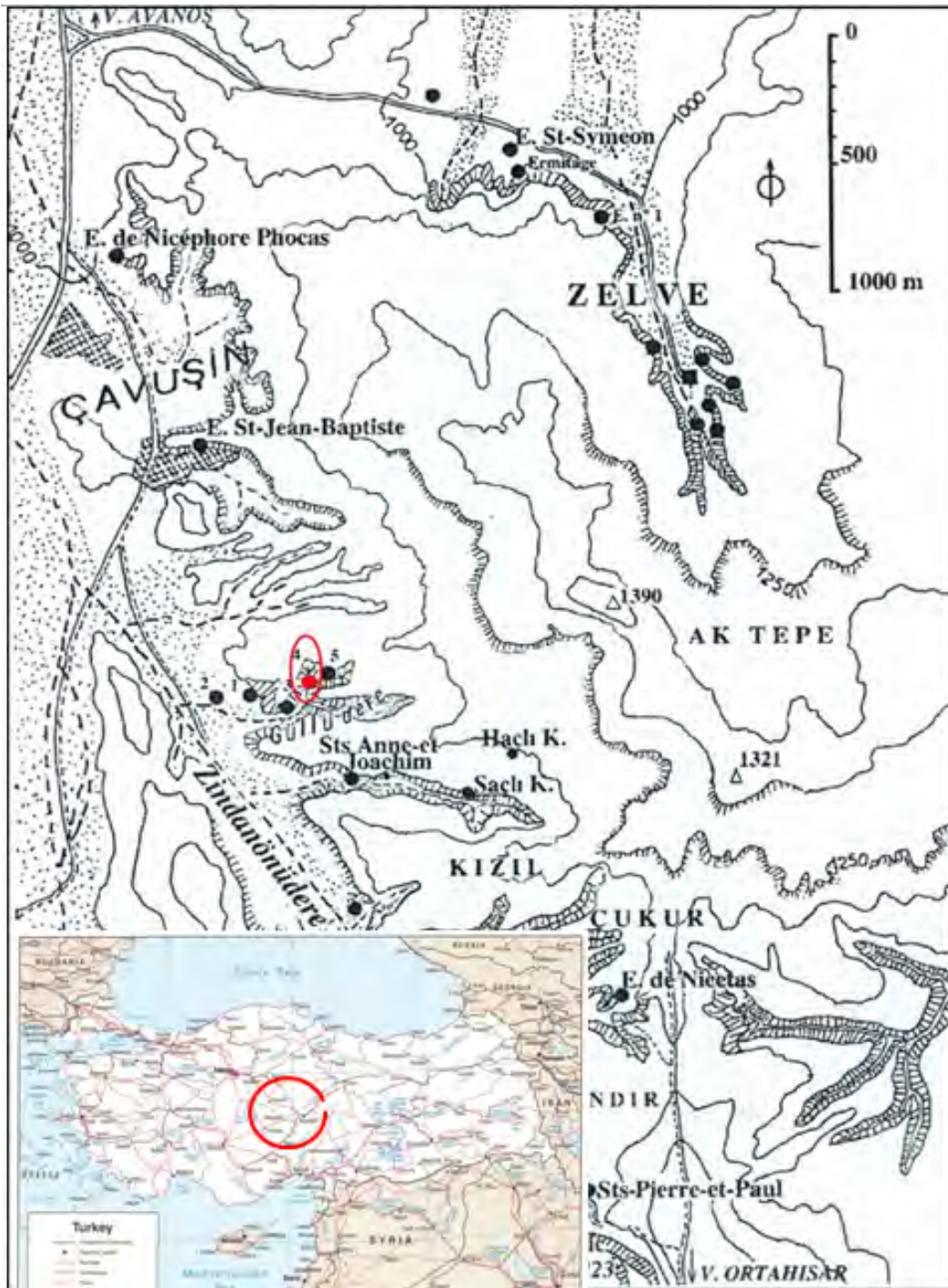


Plate 1: Map of Turkey (via <http://www.lib.utexas.edu>, accessed December 1, 2011) and Güllüdere Valley with the surrounding valleys around Çavuşin (Thierry 2002, p. 288)

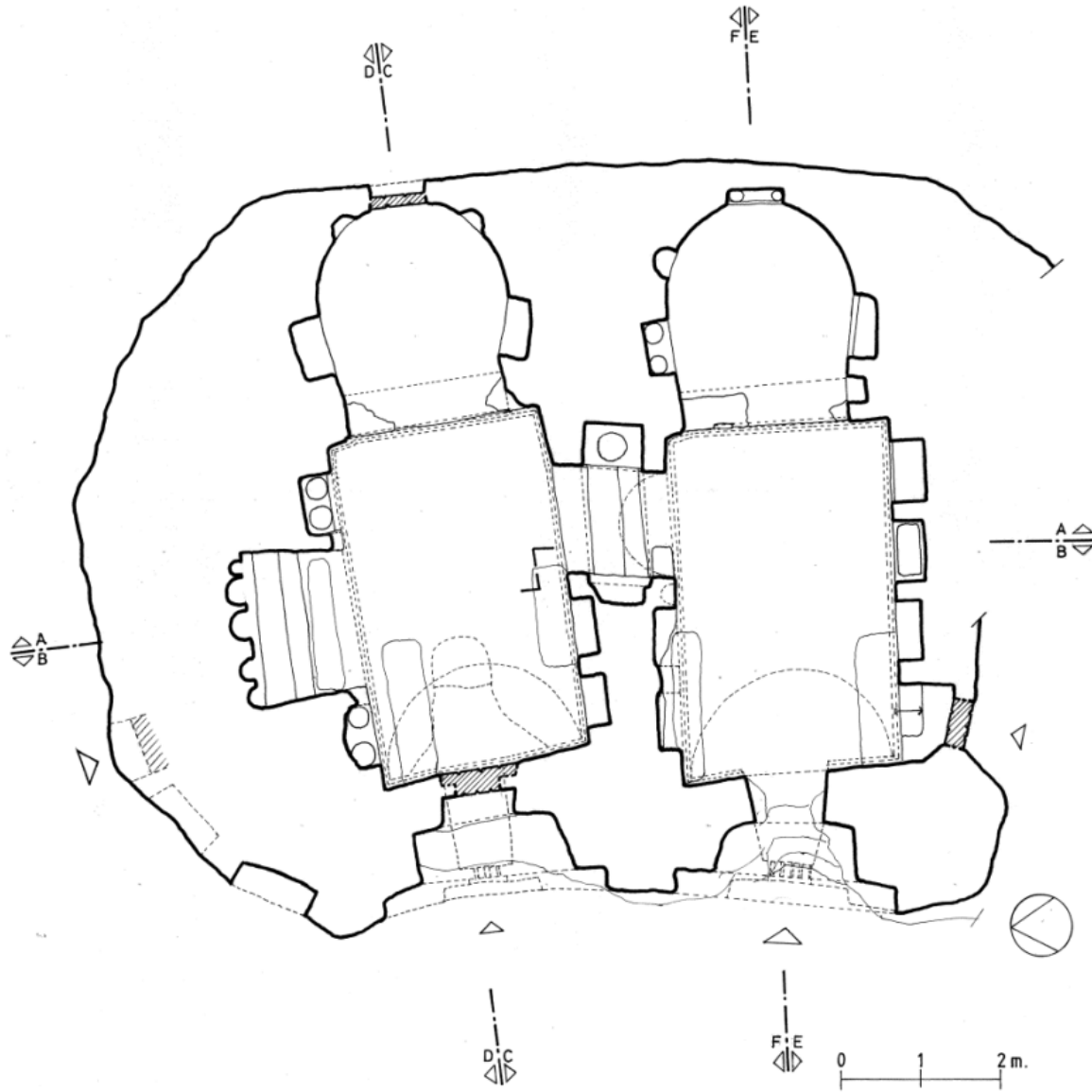


Plate 2: Plan the Hermitage of Ioannes, lower level
(by Çiğdem Yılmaz and Aykut Fenerci, 2007)

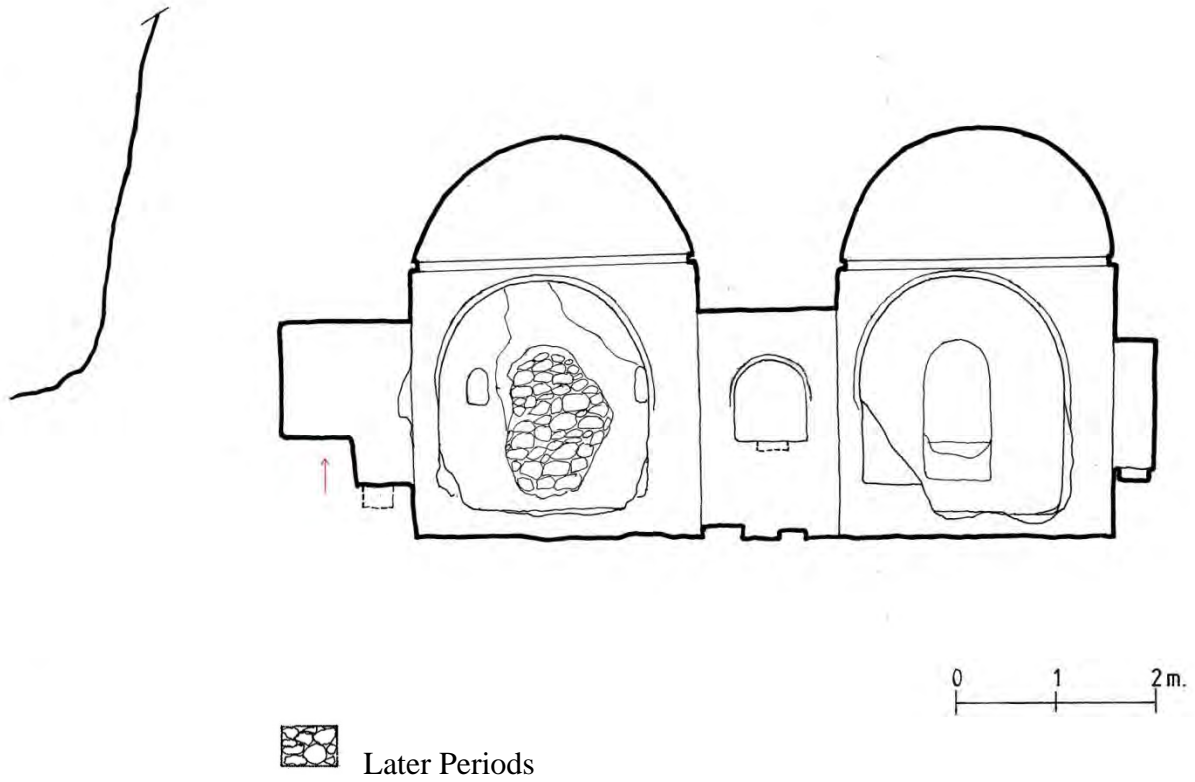


Plate 3: Cross-section of the Hermitage of Ioannes, lower level,
along the main north-south axis, looking east (by Aykut Fenerci, 2007)

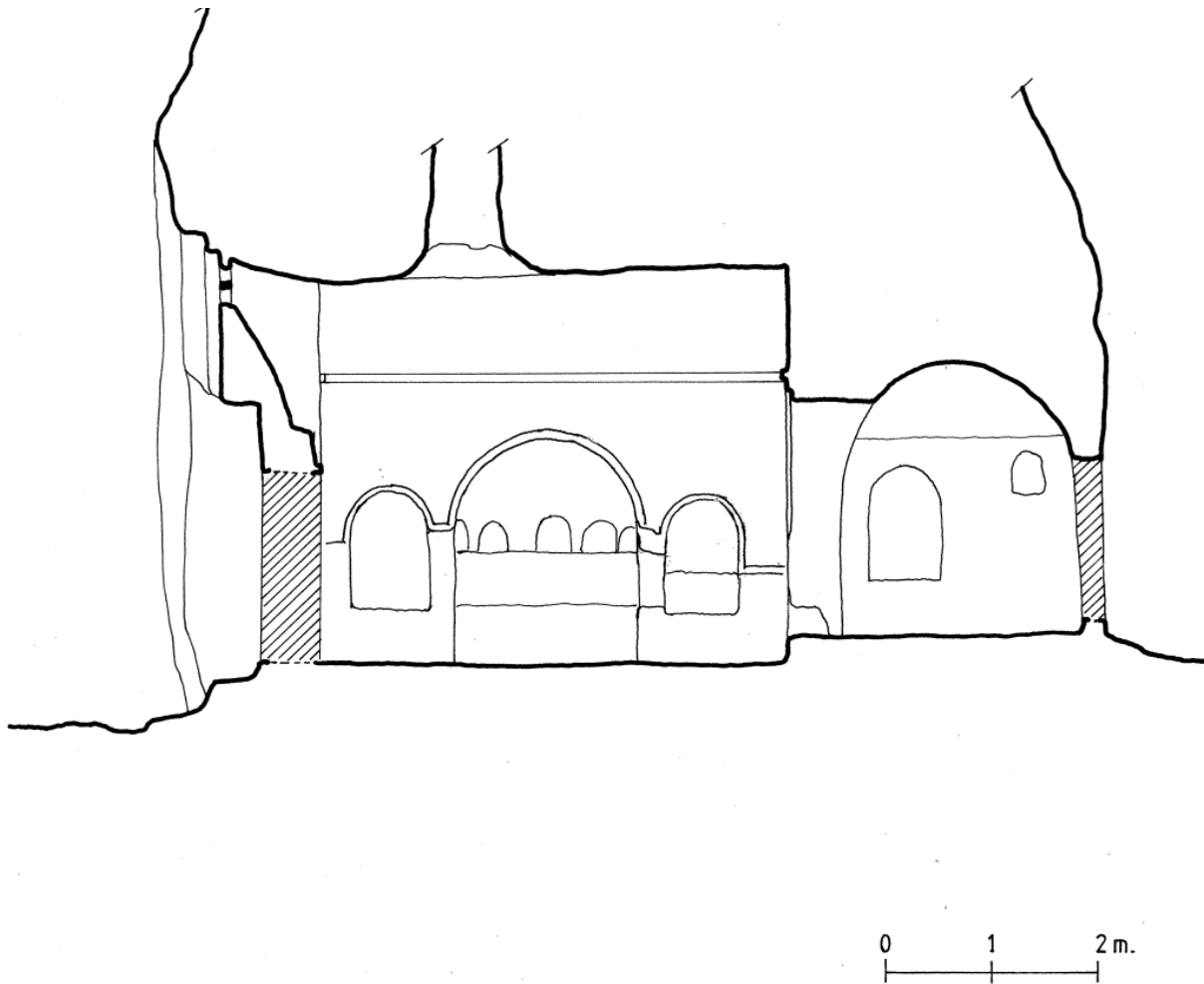


Plate 4: Cross-section of the Hermitage of Ioannes, North Chamber,
along the main east-west axis, looking north wall (by Aykut Fenerci, 2007)

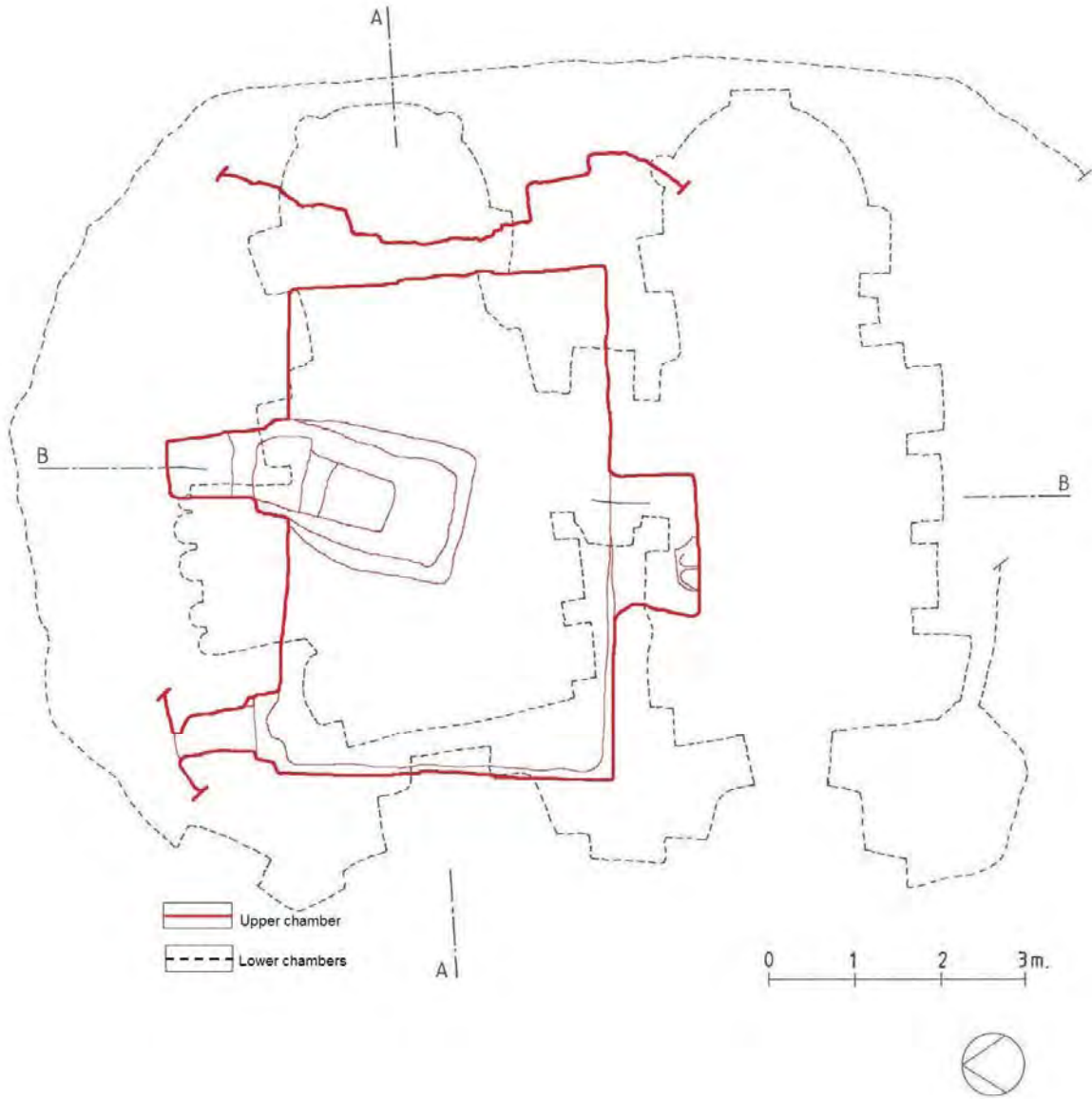


Plate 5: Plan of the Hermitage of Ioannes, lower and upper levels
(reworked after Çiğdem Yılmaz and Aykut Fenerci, 2007)

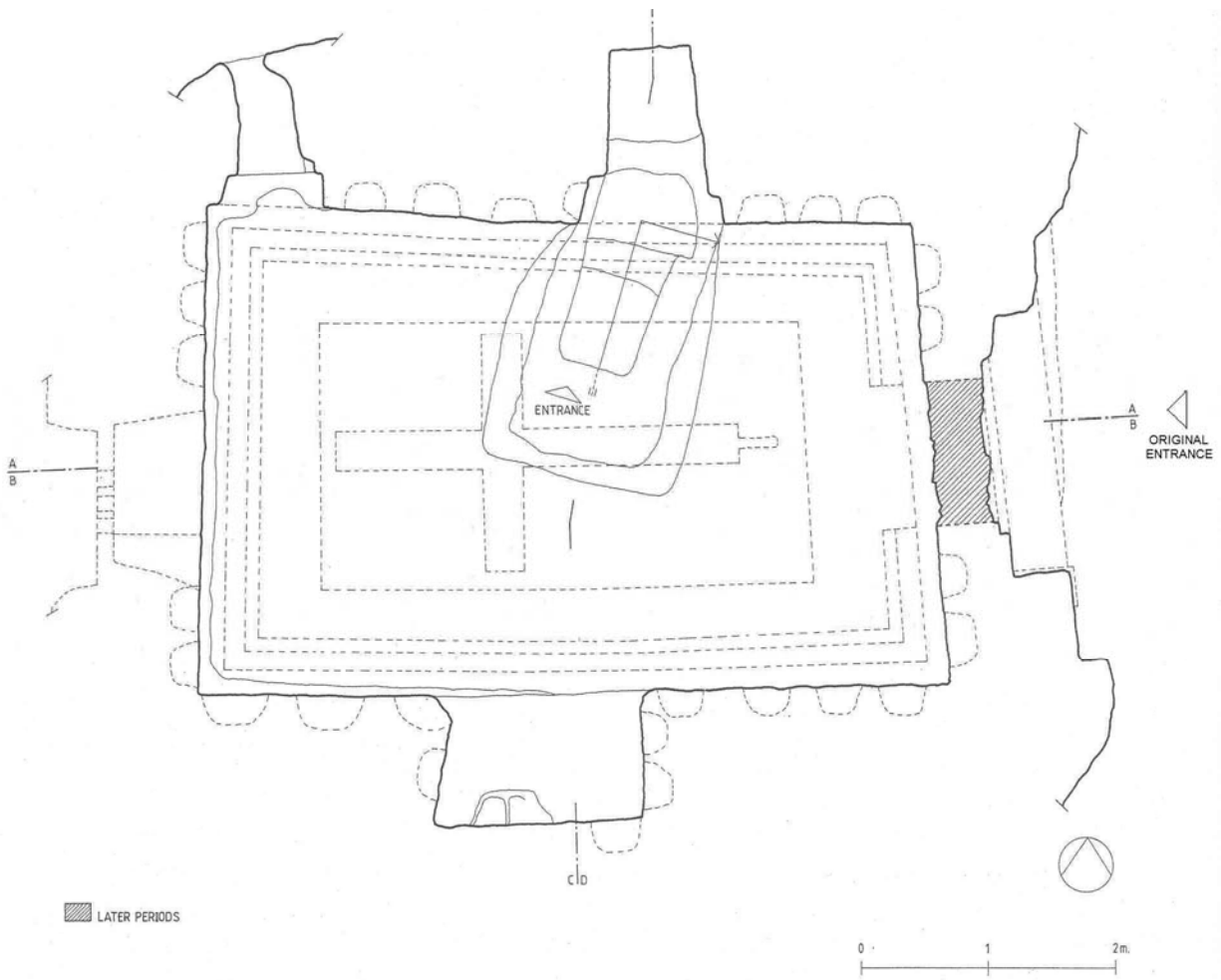


Plate 6: Plan of the upper level of the Hermitage of Ioannes (by Aykut Fenerci, 2010)

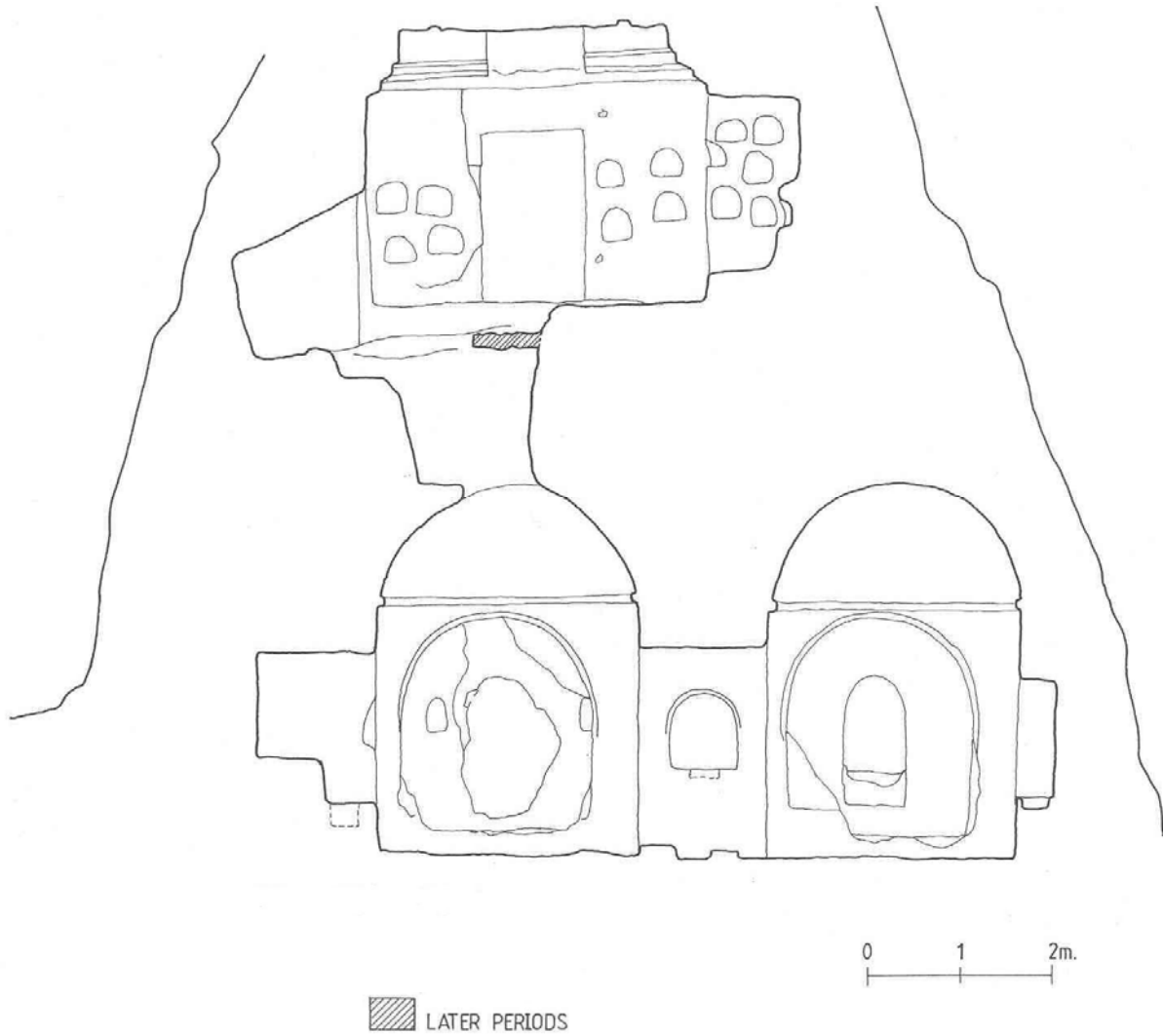


Plate 7: Cross-section of the Hermitage of Ioannes,
along the main north-south axis, looking east (by Aykut Fenerci, 2010)

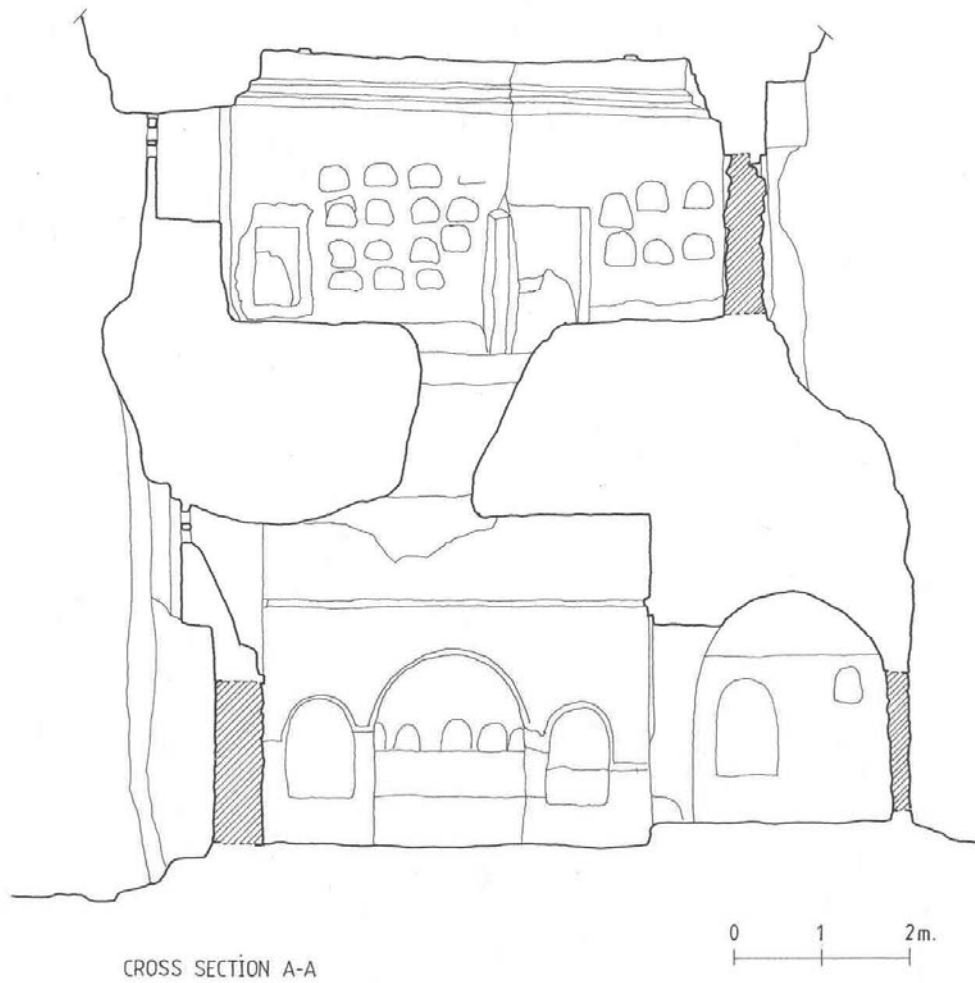


Plate 8: Cross-section of the Hermitage of Ioannes,
along the main east-west axis, looking north (by Aykut Fenerci, 2010)

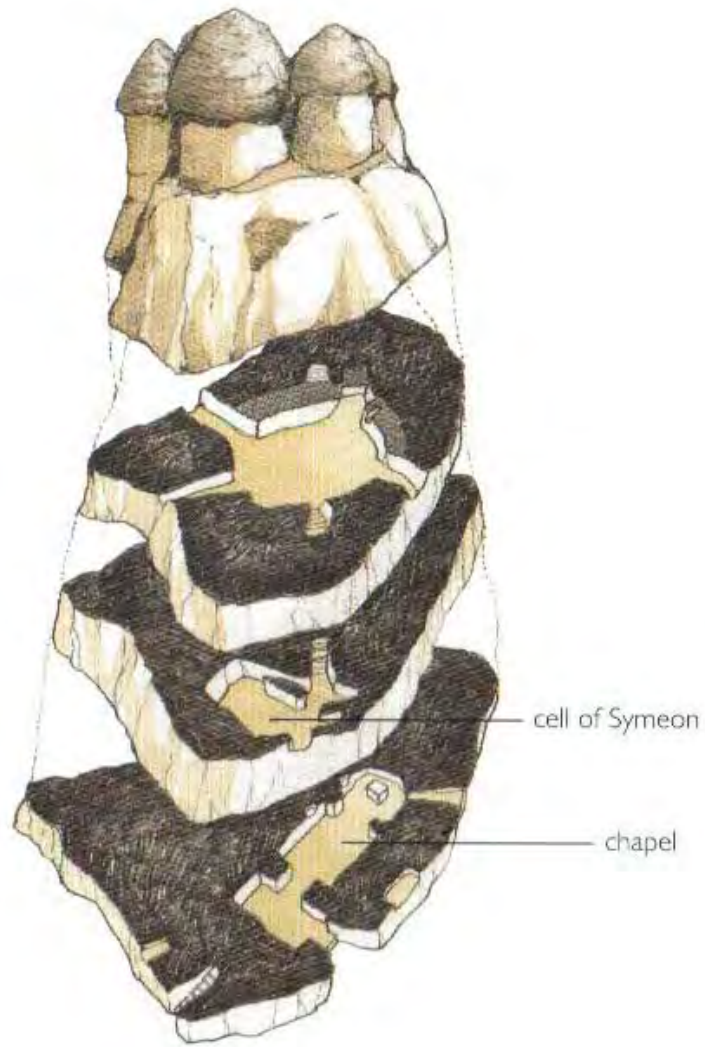


Plate 9a: Isometric drawing of the Hermitage of Simeon Stylites, Paşabağı, Zelve,
10th century (Sözen 1998, p. 254)

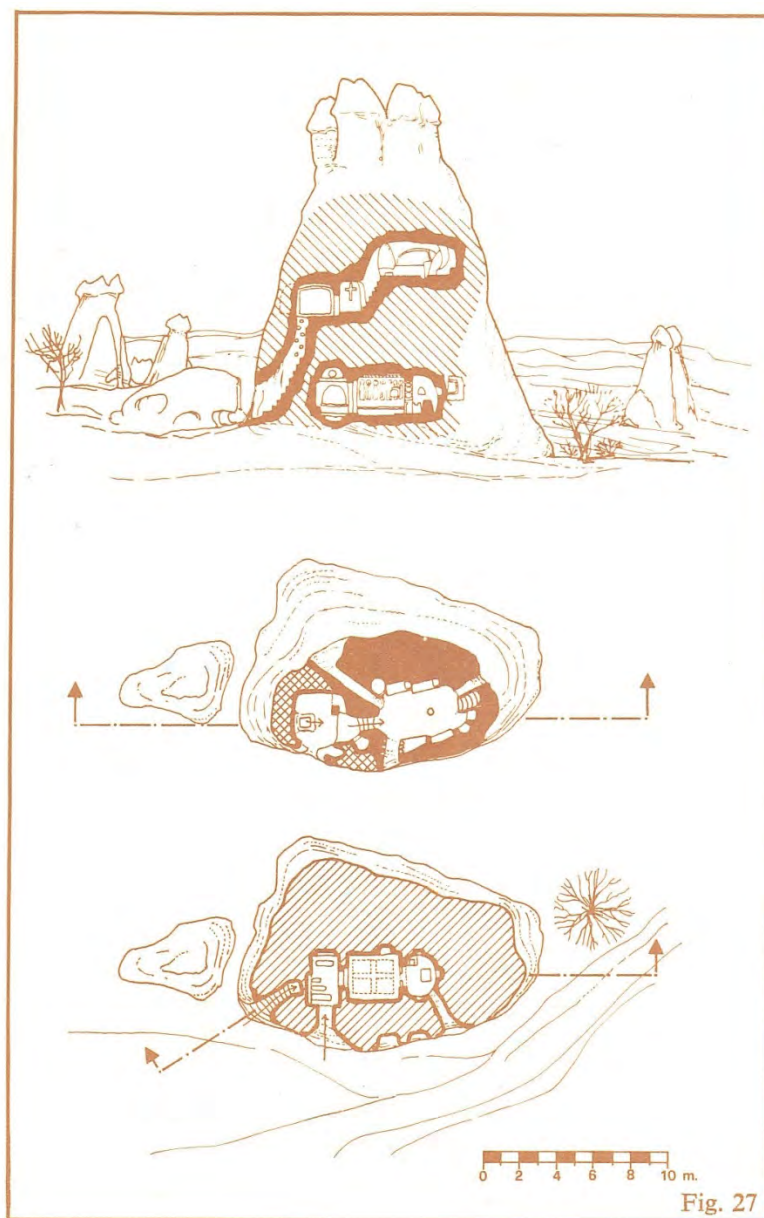


Plate 9b: Plan and cross-section of the Hermitage of Simeon Stylites, Zelve, 10th century
(Giovannini 1971, fig. 27)

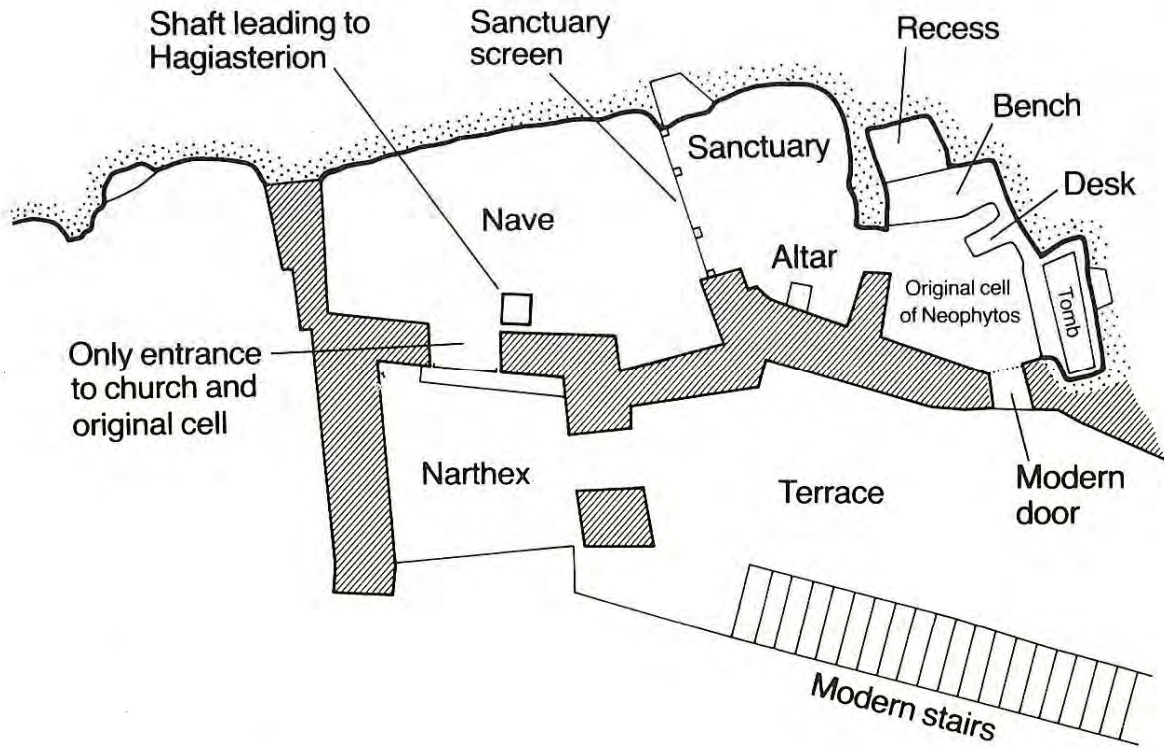


Plate 10: Plan of the Monastery of St. Neophytos, Paphos, Cyprus, 12th century
(Cormack 1985, p. 221)

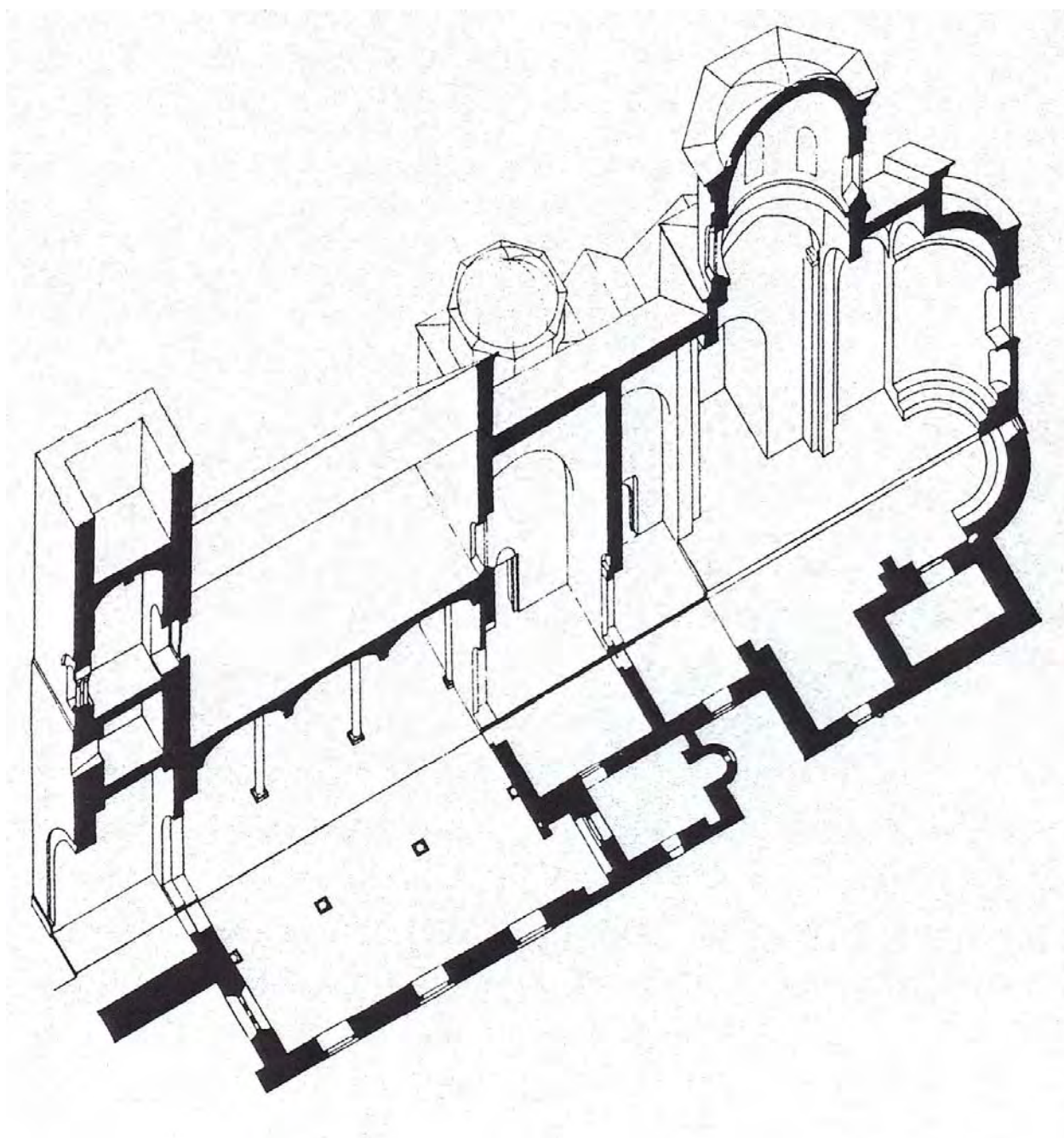


Plate 11: Isometric drawing of the Church of Ascension, Žiča Monastery, Kraljevo, Serbia, church, 1206-1217; tower, after 1219-before 1233-1234 (Ćurčić 2006, fig. 1)



Figure 1: The Hermitage of Ioannes and surrounding cavities at Güllüdere Valley (2009)



Figure 2: The Hermitage of Ioannes, looking towards the northwest of the rock formation (2007)



Figure 3: The Hermitage of Niketas Stylites, Kızılçukur Valley, the west of the rock formation, 10th century (photo courtesy Aykut Fenerci, 2008)

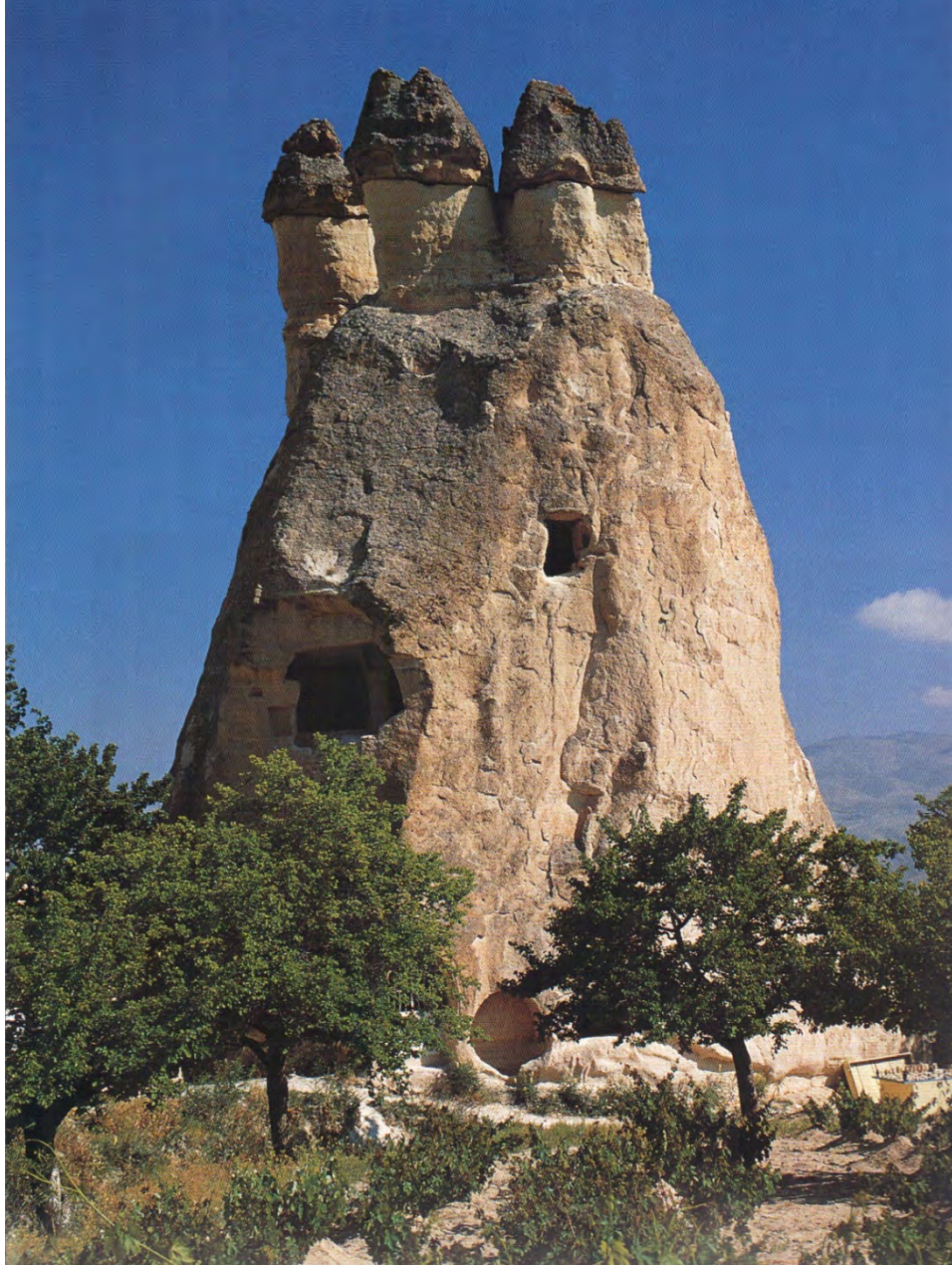


Figure 4: The Hermitage of Simeon Stylites, Paşabağı, Zelve, 10th century (Sözen 1998, p. 253)



Figure 5: The Hermitage of Ioannes, the original entrance of the second-story chamber
(photo courtesy Sacit Pekak, 2007)



Figure 6a: The Hermitage of Ioannes, South chamber, apse, north part of the inscription (2007)

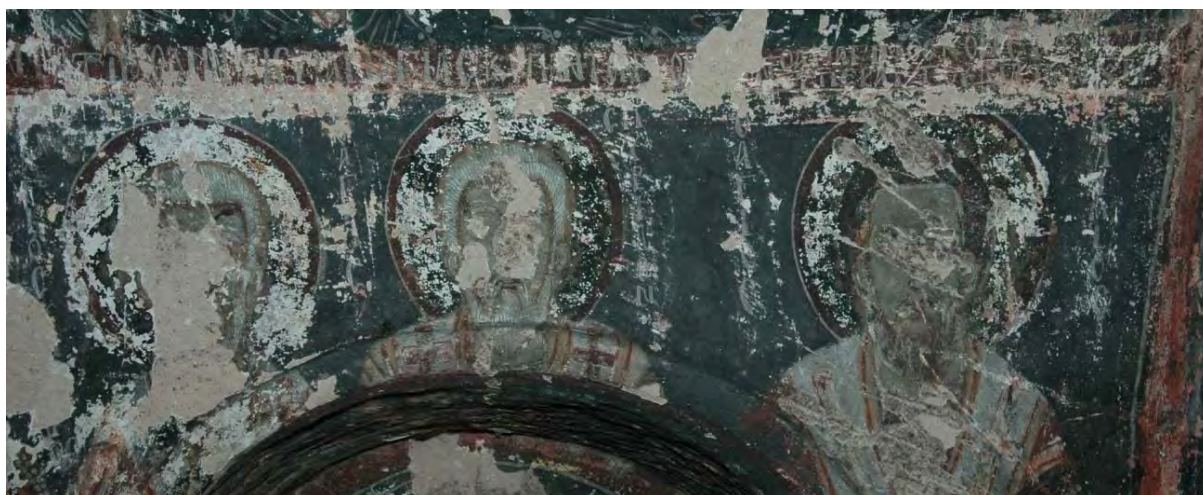


Figure 6b: The Hermitage of Ioannes, South chamber, apse, south part of the inscription (2007)

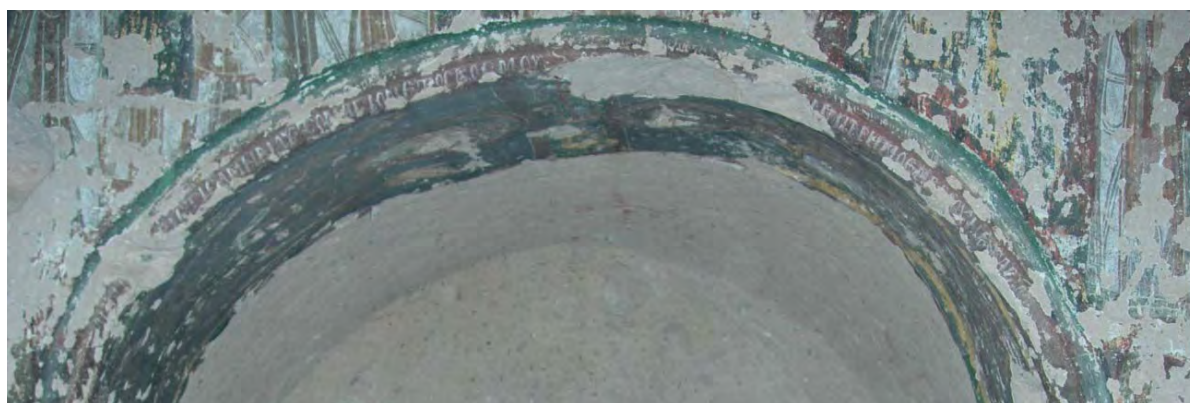


Figure 7: The Hermitage of Ioannes, North chamber, inscription on the molding of the arcosolium (2007)



Figure 8: The Hermitage of Ioannes, North chamber, north wall, west niche, west part of the soffit, *Semnis* (2007)



Figure 9: The Hermitage of Ioannes, North chamber, north wall,
west niche wall, *Theodoros* (2007)



Figure 10: The Hermitage of Ioannes, North chamber, arcosolium,
west part of the soffit, *Makar[ios]* (2007)



Figure 11: The Hermitage of Ioannes, North chamber, south wall, above the passageway,
Antonios and Arsenios (2007)



Figure 12: Hermitage of Ioannes, South chamber, looking northeast towards the passageway (2007)



Figure 13: The Hermitage of Ioannes, North chamber, entrance (2007)



Figure 14: The Hermitage of Ioannes, South chamber, entrance (2007)



Figure 15: The Hermitage of Ioannes, South chamber, apse (2007)



Figure 16: The Hermitage of Ioannes, South chamber, apse semi-dome, *Prophetic Vision* (2007)

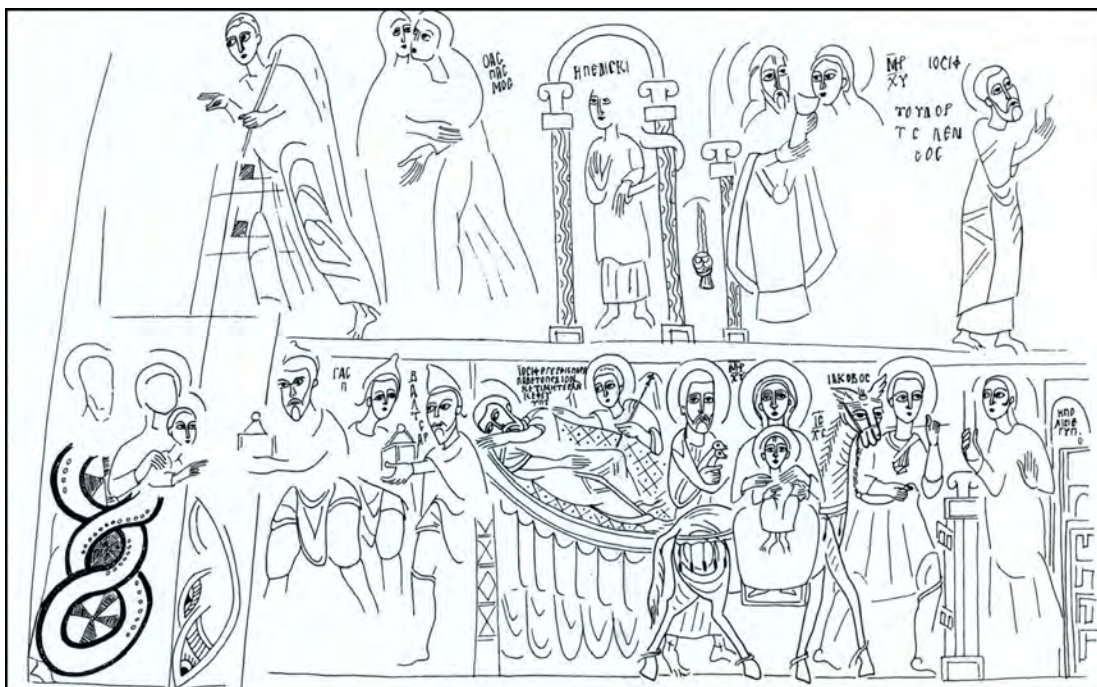


Figure 17a: The Hermitage of Ioannes, South chamber, south part of the vault
(Thierry and Thierry 1965, fig. 4)



Figure 17b: The Hermitage of Ioannes, South chamber,
north part of the vault (Thierry and Thierry 1965, fig. 5)



Figure 18: The Hermitage of Ioannes, South chamber, vault (2007)



Figure 19: The Hermitage of Ioannes, South chamber, north wall, *Anastasis* (2007)



Figure 20: The Hermitage of Ioannes, Passageway, west niche, *Sacrifice of Abraham* (2007)



Figure 21: The Hermitage of Ioannes, Passageway, vault, *Ascension of Elijah* (2007)



Figure 22: The Hermitage of Ioannes, North chamber, west wall,
Archippus and the Archangel Michael (2007)



Figure 23: The Hermitage of Ioannes, North chamber, north wall, *Dormition* (2007)



Figure 24: The Hermitage of Ioannes, North chamber, apse, *Deesis* – combined with *Prophetic Vision* (2007)



Figure 25a: The Hermitage of Ioannes, North chamber, west tympanum, south part, *Sea and Earth Giving up Their Dead* (2007)



Figure 25b: The Hermitage of Ioannes, North chamber, west tympanum, north part, *Sea and Earth Giving up Their Dead* (2007)



Figure 26: The Hermitage of Ioannes, North chamber, east tympanum, *Deesis* (2007)



Figure 27: The Hermitage of Ioannes, North chamber, vault,
Second Coming of Christ and Pentecost (2007)

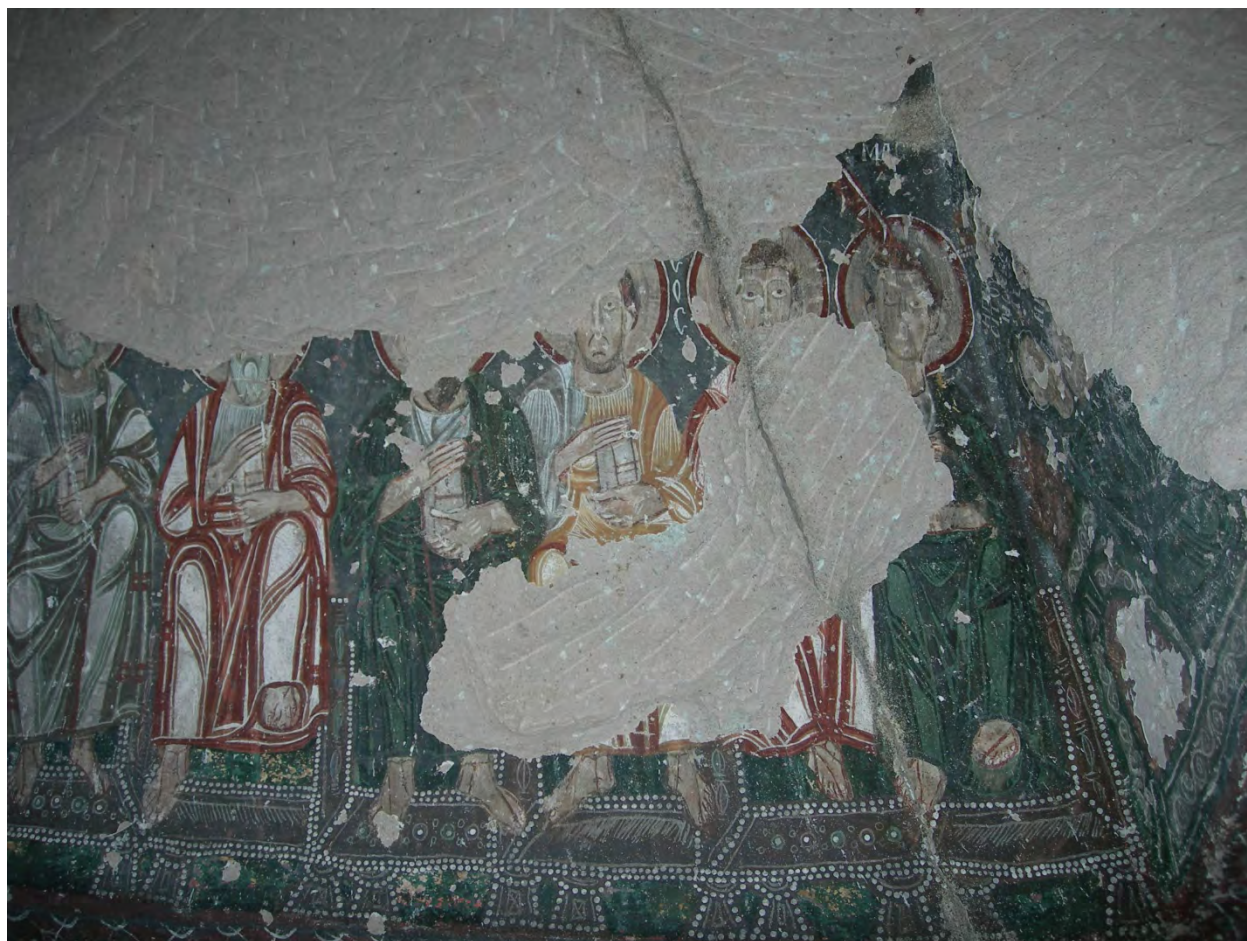


Figure 28: The Hermitage of Ioannes, North chamber,
the southwest side of the vault, *Pentecost* (2007)



Figure 29a: Monastery of St. Neophytos, the Church of the Holy Cross, naos,
(Mango and Hawkins 1966, fig. 18)



Figure 29b: Monastery of St. Neophytos, the Church of the Holy Cross, naos,
“retouched photograph showing the probable position of Ascending Christ”
(Mango and Hawkins 1966, fig. 19)

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APPENDICES

INTRODUCTION TO THE APPENDICES

The following appendices display the scenes and the individual figures in the lower level of the Hermitage of Ioannes. The depictions are marked in isometric drawings of the Hermitage with corresponding numbers. In order to facilitate comparison of the wall painting program of the Hermitage of Ioannes with those found at other structures in Cappadocia, the numbering is based on Marcell Restle's *Byzantine Wall Painting in Asia Minor* (1967), in which the author lists scenes and figures frequently depicted in Cappadocian churches and assigns a specific number to each within isometric drawings.¹ In Restle's numbering system, the scenes are given Roman numerals, and the individual figures are marked with Arabic numbers.

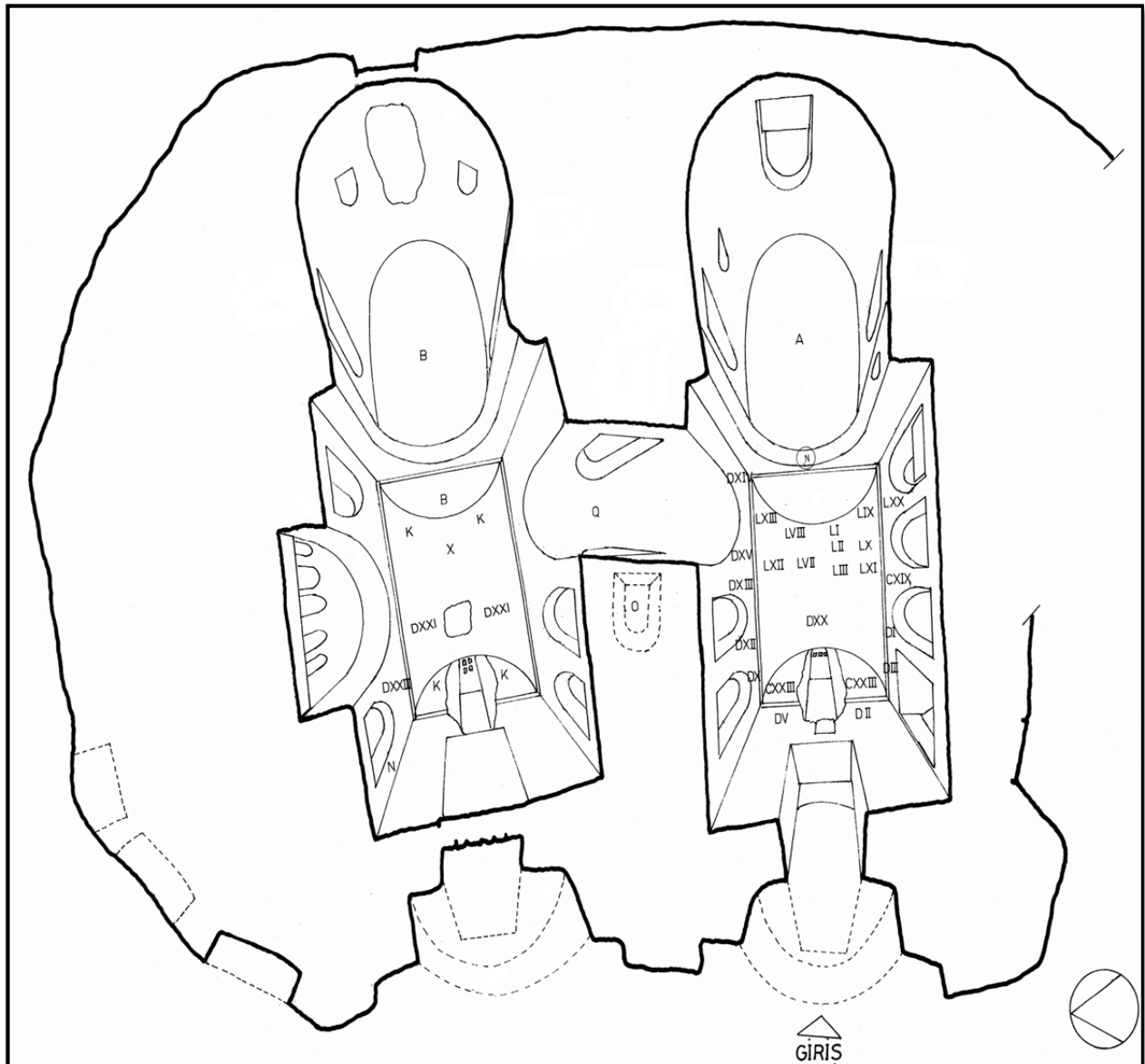
Appendix 1 displays the scenes from the Old and New Testaments as well as the symbolic scenes in the Hermitage of Ioannes. Appendix 1A shows the narrative scenes and symbolic depictions in the isometric drawing. The table in Appendix 1B lists the narrative scenes in chronological order and the symbolic depictions with their corresponding numbers in the drawing. Although Restle does not include the *Second Coming of Christ* since it is an episode in the *Last Judgment* scenes, the current study marks it as "X" in the three-dimensional drawing in order to simplify the visualization of the distribution of the *Last Judgment* episodes and their

¹ Restle's numbering system, with corresponding scenes and figures, is given in lists at the respective ends of the second and third volumes of his publication.

relationships to other scenes, since the themes of all of the episodes are contextually connected with the *Last Judgment* in the north chamber.

Appendices 2B.1 and 2B.2 list the individual figures on the walls and in the niches of the Hermitage of Ioannes, including the walls and soffits of the entrances. The figures that are numbered with an “x” (x1, x2, etc.) are not included in Restle’s lists. If a figure’s inscription is lost or the remaining letters are not sufficient to complete a full name, the figures are classified as “unidentifiable.” These “unidentifiable” figures are numbered as in Restle’s publication: 25 is used for prophets, 199 for male martyrs, 250 for female martyrs, 350 for bishops, 409 for monks and hermits, and 520 for saints. The inscriptions in the table are based on the actual inscriptions in the wall paintings; their grammar mistakes, including lack of accents, are not corrected and are given as they appear. The missing letters in the inscriptions are inserted in parentheses to avoid confusion. Under the “denotation” column, each figure’s status or title is as apostle, prophet, monk, bishop or saint. More specific information, if available, such as whether the saint or the prophet is an ascetic, a martyr or warrior, is also given. The denotation of an “unidentifiable” figure is determined on the basis of the iconographic features of the figure (i.e., wearing an omophorion or holding a cross or a shield) or its relationship with the surrounding images (i.e., being a member of a particular martyr group). The last column gives the locations of the images in the structure to simplify tracing the number in the isometric drawing.

APPENDIX 1A. DISTRIBUTION OF THE SCENES OF THE HERMITAGE OF IOANNES



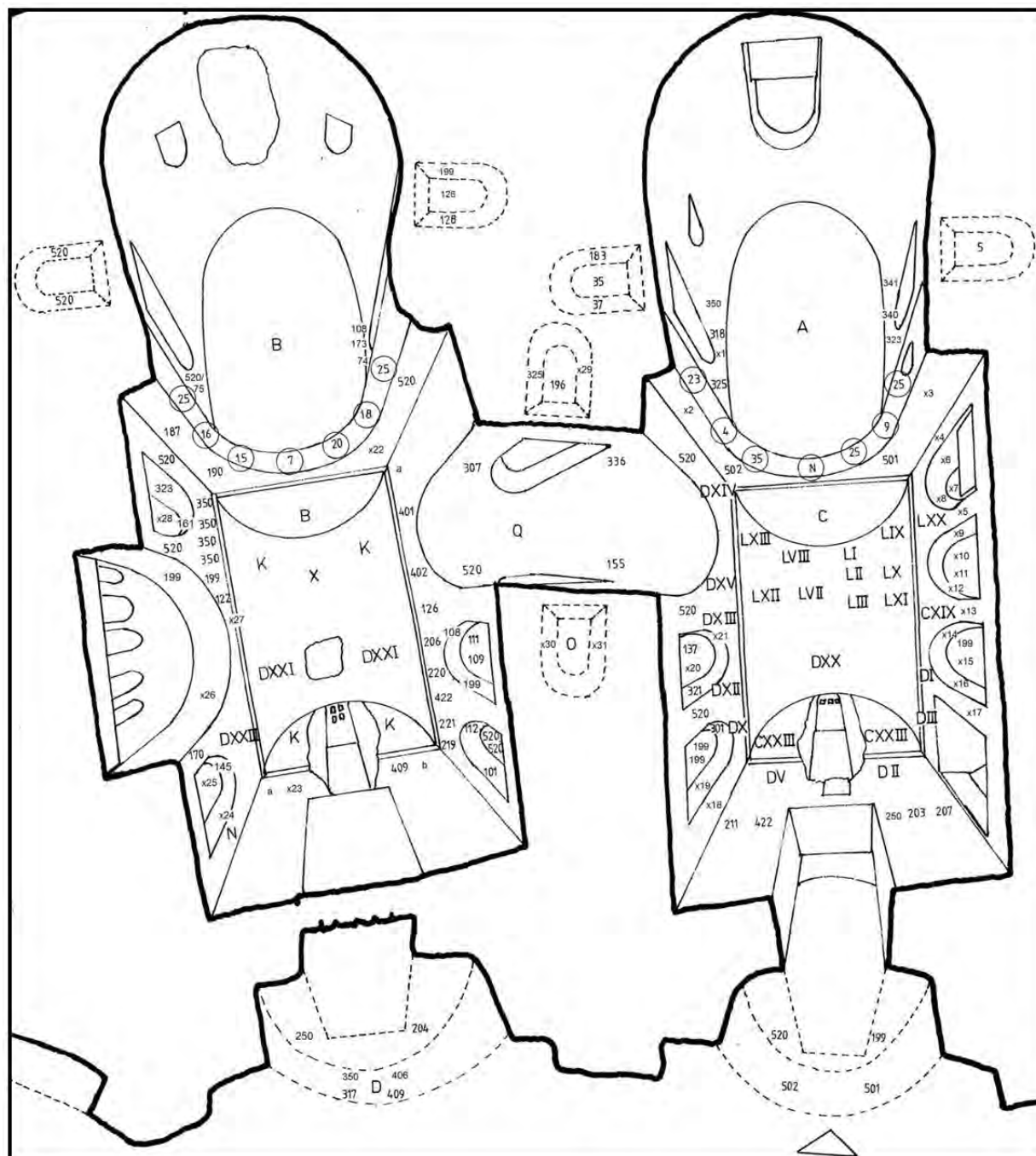
Isometric Drawing of the Lower Level (by Aykut Fenerci, 2007)

APPENDIX 1B. THE LIST OF THE SCENES OF THE HERMITAGE OF IOANNES

	List no.	Scene name
		Old Testament
1	O	Sacrifice of Abraham
2	Q	Ascension of Elijah (Elijah and the Chariot/ Elijah and the Fire/ Elisha and the Mantle)
		New Testament
1	LI	Annunciation
2	LII	Visitation
3	LIII	Proof of the Virgin
4	LVII	Journey to Bethlehem
5	LVIII	Nativity
6	LIX	Adoration of the Magi
7	LX	Second Dream of Joseph
8	LXI	Flight to Egypt
9	LXII	Massacre of the Innocents
10	LXIII	Presentation to the Temple
11	LXX	Baptism
12	CXIX	Raising of Lazarus
13	CXXIII	Transfiguration
14	DI	Entry into Jerusalem

	List no.	Scene name
15	DII	The Last Supper
16	DIII	Washing of the feet
17	DV	Judas' Betrayal
18	DX	Crucifixion
19	DXII	Deposition
20	DXIII	Entombment
21	DXIV	Anastasis
22	DXV	Myrophores at the Tomb
23	DXX	Ascension
24	DXXI	Pentecost
25	DXXIII	Dormition
26	X	Second Coming of Christ
27	K	Last Judgment
		Symbolic
1	A	Prophetic Vision
2	B	Deesis
3	B	Deesis
4	N	Christ the Lamb
5	N	Christ the Lamb

APPENDIX 2A. DISTRUBITION OF THE INDIVIDUAL FIGURES OF THE HERMITAGE OF IOANNES



APPENDIX 2B. THE LIST OF SAINT, MONK AND PROPHET FIGURES

No	List No	Name	Inscription	Denotation	Location
1	325	A(f)ilokhios (Amphilachius)	O AΓIOC A(Φ)ΦΙΛΑΧΙOC	Bishop Saint (Ascetic)	South Chamber - Apse Wall -North
2	x1	Evsebios (Eusebios)	O AΓIOC ΕΥΣΕΒΙOC	Bishop Saint (Martyr)	South Chamber - Apse Wall- North
3	318	Petros (Peter)	O AΓIOC ΠΕΤΡOC	Bishop Saint	South Chamber - Apse Wall- North
4	350	Unidentifiable		Bishop Saint	South Chamber - Apse Wall- South
5	341	Hypatios ¹		Bishop Saint	South Chamber - Apse Wall- South
6	340	Spyridon	O AΓIOC CΠΥΡΙΔON	Bishop Saint	South Chamber - Apse Wall- South
7	323	Klamios (Clement)	O AΓIOC ΚΛΑΜΙOC	Bishop Saint (Martyr)	South Chamber - Apse Wall- South
8	37	Ioakim (Joachim)	ἸΟΑΚΙΜ	Martyr	South Chamber - Apse Wall (North Niche)
9	35	Zakharias (Zechariah)	ΞΑΧΑΡΙΑC	Prophet	South Chamber - Apse Wall (North Niche)
10	183	Stefanos	CΤΕΦΑΝOC	Martyr Saint	South Chamber - Apse Wall (North Niche)

¹ The inscription of the figure cannot currently be read, but Rodley lists Hypatios' name in her 1985 publication. Rodley, *Cave Monasteries*, 211.

No	List No	Name	Inscription	Denotation	Location
11	5	Ezek(iel)	Ο ΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ ΕΖΕΚ(ΙΕΛ)	Prophet (Ascetic)	South Chamber - Apse Wall (South Niche)
12	23	Mala(kion) (Malachi)	Ο ΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ ΜΑΛΛΑ(ΚΙΟΝ)	Prophet	South Chamber - Apse Arch- Soffit
13	4	Iremias (Jeremiah)	Ο ΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ ἸΡΕΜΙΑΣ	Prophet	South Chamber - Apse Arch- Soffit
14	35	Zakharias (Zechariah)	Ο ΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ ΞΑΧΑΡΙΑΣ	Prophet	South Chamber - Apse Arch- Soffit
15	25	Unidentifiable ²		Prophet	South Chamber - Apse Arch- Soffit
16	9	Ambakum (Habakkuk)	Ο ΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ ΑΜΒΑΚΟΥΜ	Prophet	South Chamber - Apse Arch- Soffit
17	25	Unidentifiable		Prophet	South Chamber - Apse Arch- Soffit
18	502	Eleni (Helena)	ΗΑΓΙΑ ΕΛΕΝΙ	Saint	South Chamber - East Wall
19	501	Konstantinos (Constantine)	Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ CONSTANTINOC	Saint	South Chamber - East Wall
20	x2	Mozoos (Moseus) (?)	ΜΟΖΟΟΣ	Martyr Saint	South Chamber - East Wall
21	x3	Omitianos	ΟΜΙΤΙΑΝΟΣ (?)	Saint	South Chamber - East Wall
22	x4	Kyrilos (Cyril)	ΚΥΡΙΑΟΣ	Martyr Saint (of Sebaste)	South Chamber - South Wall
23	x5	Evnoikos (Eunoikos)	ΕΥΝΟ(ΙΚΟΣ)	Martyr Saint (of Sebaste)	South Chamber - South Wall

² Jolivet-Lévy identifies the figure as the Prophet Daniel since he is depicted as young as the prophet Habakkuk. *Les Églises Byzantines de Cappadoce*, 40.

No	List No	Name	Inscription	Denotation	Location
4	x13	Aetios	AETIOC	Martyr Saint (of Sebaste)	South Chamber - South Wall
25	x17	Klios	KΛIOC (?)	Martyr Saint (of Sebaste) (?)	South Chamber - South Wall
26	x6	Ioalis	IOYAAIC (?)	Martyr Saint (of Sebaste) (?)	South Chamber - South Wall (East Niche)
27	x7	Krispos ³	O AΓIOC KPICΠOC	Martyr Saint (of Sebaste)	South Chamber - South Wall (East Niche)
28	x8	Evtykhios (Eutychios)	ΕΥΤΥΧΙOC	Martyr Saint (of Sebaste)	South Chamber - South Wall
29	x9	Klardios (Claudius) (?)	ΚΛΑΡΔΙOC	Martyr Saint (of Sebaste)	South Chamber - South Wall (Niche on the axis)
30	x10	(S)maragdos	(S)ΜΑΡΑΓΔOC	Martyr Saint (of Sebaste)	South Chamber - South Wall (Niche on the axis)
31	x11	Zanthios (Xantheos)	ΞΑΝΘΙOC	Martyr Saint (of Sebaste)	South Chamber - South Wall (Niche on the axis)
32	x12	Sisinios	ΣΙΣΙΝΙOC	Martyr Saint (of Sebaste)	South Chamber - South Wall (Niche on the axis)
33	x14	Leon(tios)	ΛΕΟΝ(TIOC)	Martyr Saint (of Sebaste)	South Chamber - South Wall (West Niche)

³ Not all of the members of “the Frothy Martyrs of Sebaste” are depicted in the south chamber. Rodley thinks that some errors were made in naming the figures since Eutychios appears twice (no. 28 and no. 52) and Krispos is probably a confusion of Priskos. Rodley, *Cave Monasteries*, 211, fn. 60.

No	List No	Name	Inscription	Denotation	Location
34	199	Unidentifiable		Martyr Saint (of Sebaste) (?)	South Chamber - South Wall (West Niche)
35	x15	Filo(ktemon) (Philoktemon)	ΦΙΛΟ(ΚΤΕΜΟΝ)	Martyr Saint (of Sebaste)	South Chamber - South Wall (West Niche)
36	x16	Angi(os)	ΑΓΓΙ(ΟC)	Martyr Saint (of Sebaste)	South Chamber - South Wall (West Niche)
37	207	Thekla	ΗΑΓΙΑ ΘΕΚΛΑ	Martyr Saint	South Chamber - West Wall
38	203	Anastasia	ΗΑΓΙΑ ΑΝΑΚΤΑΚΙΑ	Martyr Saint	South Chamber - West Wall
39	250	Unidentifiable		Martyr Saint	South Chamber - West Wall
40	422	Efrosyn (Euphrosyne)	ΕΦΡΟCΥΝ (?)	Martyr Saint	South Chamber - West Wall
41	211	Hulita (Joulitta)	ΗΟΥΛΙΤΑ	Martyr Saint	South Chamber - West Wall
42	x18	Ilias (Elijah)	ΙΛΙΑC (?)	Martyr Saint (of Sebaste)	South Chamber - North Wall
43	520	Unidentifiable		Saint	South Chamber - North Wall
44	520	Unidentifiable		Saint	South Chamber - North Wall
45	x19	Sakerdon	ΣΑΚΕΡΔΑΟΝ	Martyr Saint (of Sebaste)	South Chamber - North Wall (West Niche)

No	List No	Name	Inscription	Denotation	Location
46	199	Unidentifiable		Martyr Saint (of Sebaste) (?)	South Chamber - North Wall (West Niche)
47	199	Unidentifiable		Martyr Saint (of Sebaste) (?)	South Chamber - North Wall (West Niche)
48	301	Athanasios	AΘANACIOC	Martyr Saint (of Sebaste)	South Chamber - North Wall (West Niche)
49	321	Ignatios ⁴	ἸΓΝΑΤΙΟC	Saint (Deacon)	South Chamber - North Wall (East Niche)
50	x20	Priskos	ΠΡΙCΚΟC	Martyr Saint (of Sebaste)	South Chamber - North Wall (East Niche)
51	137	Theofilos	ΘΕΟΦΙΛΟC	Martyr Saint (of Sebaste)	South Chamber - North Wall (East Niche)
52	x21	Evtykhios (Eutychios)	ΕΥ(Τ)ΥΧΙΟC	Martyr Saint (of Sebaste)	South Chamber - North Wall (East Niche)
53	502	Eleni (Helena)	ΗΑΓΙΑ ΕΛΕΝΙ	Saint	South Chamber - Entrance (North Soffit)
54	501	Konstantinos (Constantine)	Ο ΑΓΙΟC CΟΝCΤΑΝΤΙΝΟC	Saint	South Chamber - Entrance (South Soffit)

⁴ Ignatius the Deacon might have been painted among the Forty Martyrs' portraits since he mentions the popularity of the cult of the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste in his *Life of the Patriarch Tarasios*, written around 847.

No	List No	Name	Inscription	Denotation	Location
55	520	Unidentifiable		Warrior Saint	South Chamber - Entrance - Wall
56	199	Unidentifiable		Martyr Saint	South Chamber - Entrance - Wall
57	520 / 75	Unidentifiable ⁵		Saint / Apostle (?)	North Chamber Apse Wall- North
58	108	A(ki)ndynos	A(KI)NΔYNOS	Martyr Saint	North Chamber Apse Wall- South
59	173	Orestios (Orestes)	OPECTIOC	Martyr Saint	North Chamber Apse Wall- South
60	74	Thomas	ΘΟΜΑC	Apostle	North Chamber Apse Wall- South
61	126	Evstasios (Eustathios)	O AΓIOC CYCTACIOC	Martyr Saint	North Chamber Apse Wall (South Niche)
62	199	Unidentifiable ⁶		Martyr Saint	North Chamber Apse Wall (South Niche)
63	128	Agapios	O AΓIOC ΑΓΑΠΙΟC	Martyr Saint	North Chamber Apse Wall (South Niche)
64	25	Unidentifiable		Prophet	North Chamber - Apse Arch- Soffit
65	16	Ioil (Joel)	O ΠΡΟΦΗΤΙC ΪΟΙΑ	Prophet	North Chamber- Apse Arch-Soffit

⁵ According to Jolivet-Lévy, the first figure on the apse wall in the north should display an apostle as a counterpart of the apostle Thomas. She suggests that the figure would have been Philip with his young and beardless appearance. *Les Églises Byzantines de Cappadoce*, 41.

⁶ Considering that Eustathios is depicted with one of his sons, Agapios, in the same niche, the unidentifiable figure might be his second son, Theopistus (numbered 127 in Restle's list).

No	List No	Name	Inscription	Denotation	Location
66	15	Osion (Hosea)	Ο ΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ ΟCΙΟΝ	Prophet (Ascetic)	North Chamber - Apse Arch- Soffit
67	7	Ionas (Jonah)	Ο ΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ ΙΟΝΑC	Prophet	North Chamber - Apse Arch- Soffit
68	20	Naum (Nahum)	Ο ΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ ΝΑΥΜ	Prophet	North Chamber - Apse Arch- Soffit
69	18	Abdium (Obadiah)	Ο ΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ ΑΒΔΙΥΜ	Prophet	North Chamber - Apse Arch- Soffit
70	25	Unidentifiable		Prophet	North Chamber - Apse Arch- Soffit
71	190	F(ok)as	Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ Φ(ΟΚ)ΑC	Martyr Saint	North Chamber - East Wall
72	x22	Ieron	Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ ΙΕΡΟΝ	Martyr Saint	North Chamber - East Wall
73	187	Tryfon	Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ ΤΡΦΥΟΝ	Martyr Saint	North Chamber - East Wall
74	401	Antonios	(ΟCΙΟC) ΑΝΤΟΝΙΟC	Monk (Ascetic)	North Chamber - South Wall
75	402	Arsenios	ΟCΙΟC ΑΡCΕΝΙΟC	Monk (Ascetic)	North Chamber - South Wall
76	126	Evstathios (Eustathios)	Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ ΕΥCΤΑΘΙΟC	Martyr Saint (Warrior)	North Chamber - South Wall
77	206	Theopisti (Theopiste)	ΗΑΓΙΑ ΘΕΟΠΙCΤΙ	Martyr Saint	North Chamber - South Wall
78	220	Evfimias (Euphemia)	ΗΑΓΙΑ ΕΥΦΙΜΙΑ	Martyr Saint	North Chamber - South Wall
79	422	Eprazias (Euphrasia)	ΗΑΓΙΑ ΕΠΡΑΞΙΑ	Martyr Saint (Ascetic)	North Chamber - South Wall

No	List No	Name	Inscription	Denotation	Location
80	221	Oympea (Olympias)	ΗΑΓΙΑ ΟΛΥΜΡΗΑ	Martyr Saint	North Chamber - South Wall
81	219	Khri(stinia)	ΗΑΓΙΑ ΧΡΙ(CTINA)	Martyr Saint	North Chamber - South Wall
82	108	Ak(i)ndynos (Acindynus)	ΑΚ(Ι)ΝΔΥΝΟC	Martyr Saint (of Sapor Massacare)	North Chamber - South Wall (East Niche)
83	111	Afthomios (Aphtonius)	ΑΦΘΟΜΙΟC	Martyr Saint (of Sapor Massacare)	North Chamber - South Wall (East Niche)
84	109	P(e)gasios	Π(Ε)ΓΑCΙΟC	Martyr Saint (of Sapor Massacare)	North Chamber - South Wall (East Niche)
85	199	Unidentifiable ⁷		Martyr Saint (of Sapor Massacare) (?)	North Chamber - South Wall (East Niche)
86	112	Elpidifo(s) (Elpidephorus)	ΕΛΠΙΔΙΦΟ(C)	Martyr Saint (of Sapor Massacare)	North Chamber - South Wall (West Niche)
87	101	Abibos	ΑΒΙΒΟC	Martyr Saint	North Chamber - South Wall (West Niche)
88	520	Unidentifiable		Saint	North Chamber - South Wall (West Niche)

⁷ Considering that the figure is flanked by other members of the Sapor Massacare, it might be suggested that the unidentifiable figure is Anempodistus (numbered 110 in Restel's list), who is the fifth member of this particular martyr group.

No	List No	Name	Inscription	Denotation	Location
89	520	Unidentifiable		Saint	North Chamber - South Wall (West Niche)
90	409	Unidentifiable		Monk	North Chamber - West Wall
91	x23	Arkipas (Archippus)	OCIOC APXIIIAC	Monk (Ascetic)	North Chamber - West Wall
92	170	Nik(e)tas	O AΓIOC NIK(Ε)TAC	Martyr Saint	North Chamber - North Wall (Lower Level)
93	520	Unidentifiable		Saint	North Chamber - North Wall (Lower Level)
94	520	Unidentifiable		Saint	North Chamber - North Wall (Lower Level)
95	x27	Thuthail	O AΓIOC ΘΥΘΑΙΑ	Martyr Saint	North Chamber - North Wall (Upper Level)
96	122	Dimitrios	O AΓIOC ΔIMITPIOC	Martyr Saint (Warrior)	North Chamber - North Wall (Upper Level)
7	199	Unidentifiable		Martyr Saint	North Chamber - North Wall (Upper Level)
98	350	Unidentifiable		Bishop Saint	North Chamber - North Wall (Upper Level)

No	List No	Name	Inscription	Denotation	Location
99	350	Unidentifiable		Bishop Saint	North Chamber - North Wall (Upper Level)
100	350	Unidentifiable		Bishop Saint	North Chamber - North Wall (Upper Level)
101	350	Unidentifiable		Bishop Saint	North Chamber - North Wall (Upper Level)
102	x24	Cemnis (Semnis)	CEMNIC	Donor (?)	North Chamber - North Wall (West Niche)
103	x25	Theodoron (Theodoros)	ΘΕΟΔΟΡΟΝ	Donor (?)	North Chamber - North Wall (West Niche)
104	145	Hustos (Justus)	Ο ΑΓΙΟC ΗΟΥΚΤΟC	Martyr Saint (Warrior)	North Chamber - North Wall (West Niche)
105	x26	Makar(ios)	ΜΑΚΑΡ(ΙΟC)	Monk (Ascetic)	North Chamber - North Wall (Arcosolium)
106	199	Unidentifiable		Martyr Saint	North Chamber - North Wall (Arcosolium)
107	323	Klimios (Clement)	Ο ΑΓΙΟC ΚΛΙΜΙΟC	Bishop Saint	North Chamber - North Wall (East Niche)

No	List No	Name	Inscription	Denotation	Location
108	x28	Karterios (Carterios)	O AΓIOC KAPTEPIOC	Martyr Saint	North Chamber - North Wall (East Niche)
109	161	Lukianos (Lucian)	O AΓIOC LOYKIANOC	Martyr Saint	North Chamber - North Wall (East Niche)
110	317	Prokl(on)	O AΓIOC ΠΠΟΚΛ(ON)	Bishop Saint	North Chamber - Entrance (North Soffit)
111	350	Unidentifiable		Bishop Saint	North Chamber - Entrance (North Soffit)
112	409	Unidentifiable		Monk	North Chamber - Entrance (South Soffit)
113	406	Pauumios (Pachomios)	OCIOC ΠΑΥΟΥΜΙΟC	Monk (Cenobite - an eremite formerly)	North Chamber - Entrance (South Soffit)
114	204	Barbara	HAΓIA BAPBAPA	Martyr Saint	North Chamber - Entrance -Wall
115	250	Unidentifiable		Martyr Saint	North Chamber - Entrance - Wall
16	307	Nikolaos	O NIKOΛAOC	Bishop Saint	Passage - East Wall
117	336	Nikan(d)rios	NIKAN(Δ)PIOC	Martyr Saint	Passage - East Wall
118	325	Affilokhios (Amphilochius)	O AΓIOC AΦΦΙΛOXIOC	Bishop Saint	Passage - East Wall (Niche)

No	List No	Name	Inscription	Denotation	Location
119	196	Konon	Ο ΑΓΙΟC ΚΟΝΟΝ	Martyr Saint (Bishop)	Passage - East Wall (Niche)
120	x29	Ho Homologitis Pavlos ⁸	ΠΑΒΛΟC Ο ΟΜΟΛΟΓΗΤΙC	Bishop Saint	Passage - East Wall (Niche)
121	155	Damaskos (Damian)	Ο ΑΓΙΟC ΔΑΜΑΚΚΟC	Martyr Saint	Passage - West Wall
122	x30	Hisykhios (Hesychios)	Ο ΑΓΙΟC ΪCΥΧΙΟC	Martyr Saint	Passage - West Wall (Niche)
123	x31	Flabios (Flavius)	Ο ΑΓΙΟC ΦΛΑΒΙΟC	Martyr Saint	Passage - West Wall (Niche)

⁸ The only two bishops listed with this epithet in *Synaxarium of Constantinople*, from the tenth century, are Paul of Nicaea and Paul of Constantinople. Rodley, *Cave Monasteries*, 211, fn. 61.

APPENDIX 2B. THE LIST OF THE VIRGIN, CHRIST AND
THE ARCHANGEL FIGURES

No	List No	Name	Inscription	Location
1	C	Enthroned Virgin and Christ Child	MHP XY (?) (damaged) IC XC	South Chamber - East Tympanum
2	D	Christ Pantokrator	IC XC (damaged)	North Chamber - Entrance - Soffit
3	a	Gabriel	ΓΑΒΡΙΕΛ	North Chamber - South Wall
4	a	Gabriel	ΟΜΕΓΑC ΓΑΒΡΙΕΛ	North Chamber - West Wall
5	b	Michael	MIXAIA ΟΜΕΓΑC Ο ΕΤΥC ΧΟΝΥC	North Chamber - West Wall