Shrines and Schools in Byzantine Cappadocia

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ABSTRACT
This article has two distinct sections: the first discusses churches and the second schools in Byzantine Cappadocia. Between the fifth and the eleventh centuries the churches in this province of the empire were not only the places where the liturgy was performed, but also the social and spiritual centres of villages, towns, army garrisons, monastic complexes, etc. They fulfilled the same specific functions regardless of the purpose and scale concerning the settlements in which they were located. The article provides evidence to illustrate what these functions were and, to some extent, by which means they were accomplished. It also makes some suggestions with respect to the physical appearance of schools in the area. In so doing it allows plausible generalisations regarding the layout of other educational establishments throughout the empire. As known, there has not been substantial material published on this subject in the field of Byzantine Studies and any contribution made on this topic should be welcome.

Keywords: Byzantine Cappadocia; Basil of Caesarea; churches; schools; Byzantine iconography; Byzantine frescoes; Theodore Metochites; Constantine IX Monomachos

Introduction
As a consequence of various debates regarding the paintings in the cave-churches of Cappadocia, these shrines “were eventually disassociated from their wider social and physical context.”¹ One needs to examine them within their environment, so if the above statement is true, an intellectual “re-association,” i.e. a re-contextualisation, is necessary. I hope this article can contribute towards such a studious process; it intends to emphasise the way churches—but also schools—in this region of Anatolia were a part of their milieu and to fathom the functions they played in their communities between the fifth

¹ V. G. Kalas, “Early Explorations of Cappadocia and the Monastic Myth,” Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies 28 (2004): 101.
and the eleventh centuries, the time when the area was under Byzantine governance. By doing so, it seeks mainly to suggest a different systematisation of the information about Cappadocia published so far; to communicate some of the ideas amassed during a visit I made in the area; to publish several photographs from those I took while there; and, perhaps most importantly, to offer some intimations about what the physical setting of schools in this province of the empire would have been like.

The text refers in its first part to Cappadocian shrines and comments on schools in its second.

**Churches**

The main thesis of this article is that, regardless of the purpose of the settlements to which they belonged (villages and towns, monasteries, military bases, etc.), the churches in Cappadocia maintained their role as community hubs throughout the Byzantine presence in the land. They were the most stable element within a changing landscape and this fact was instrumental in the survival of the people who inhabited it. These shrines were either centres of monasteries or parochial churches. I tend to think that at least some of them were simultaneously both: based on the scarce information provided by the literature (we shall expand on this topic later) and on present-day practice, one can assume that a church belonging to a monastery could have served the needs of the closest town(s) and village(s) as well. I have included military chapels in the category of parochial/lay places of worship.

To facilitate the discussion about churches in Cappadocia, a map of this area and of its complexes of habitation has been inserted below (Figure 1).

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2 As is known, Caesarea was conquered by the Seljuks in 1082. We find this information, for instance, in N. Thierry, _La Cappadoce de l’Antiquité au Moyen Age_. Bibliothèque de l’Antiquité tardive 4 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2002), 315–316. Even after this moment, the churches, especially in villages, still kept their roles—though manifested on a smaller scale—until most or all of them were closed on the occasion of the exchange of population between Greece and Turkey in 1923.

3 A. Markopoulos, “Education,” in _The Oxford Handbook of Byzantine Studies_, ed. E. Jeffreys et al., Oxford Handbooks in Classics and Ancient History (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 788.
A good example to prove such a situation of multi-functionality is the church within Selime Kale Kalesi (Castle/fortress; locally also called “the cathedral within the fortress”) in Peristrema/Belisırma Valley, Western Cappadocia. This is described by, among others, Robert G. Ousterhout, Lyn Rodley, and Catherine Jolivet-Lévy. The large settlement was a religious site (it has, indeed, only a church, but this is vast), a place of rest for merchants who operated as far afield as trade clusters along the Silk Road, and also an administrative and military centre; it was founded in either the eighth–ninth centuries or tenth–eleventh centuries (sources differ as to the date). The

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4 R. G. Ousterhout, Visualizing Community: Art, Material Culture, and Settlement in Byzantine Cappadocia, Dumbarton Oaks Studies 46 (Washington D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2017), 81, 163, 179–180; 335–341, 490, and R. G. Ousterhout, A Byzantine Settlement in Cappadocia, Dumbarton Oaks Studies 42, rev. ed. (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2011), 142, 149, 151–153, 162, 165, 167–168.
5 L. Rodley, Cave Monasteries of Byzantine Cappadocia (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).
6 C. Jolivet–Lévy, Les églises byzantines de Cappadoce: Le programme iconographique de l’abside et de ses abords (Paris: Editions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1991), 331–332.
7 Ousterhout, Visualizing Community, 335–341, 490. He provides information about the military presence in Cappadocia in a few places throughout the book.
8 N. Thierry, La Cappadoce de l’Antiquité.
9 This is maintained, for instance, by Ousterhout; Visualizing Community, 335; there he mentions L. Rodley’s dating without any critical comment, so it is to be assumed that he agrees with it. Rodley states that “Selime Kalesi was probably in use for longer than most of the courtyard monasteries,
spacious church at the east of the site (the actual “cathedral” that gave its name to the place itself) would have welcomed the local inhabitants as well as people involved in trade, soldiers, believers from other neighbourhood, travellers (most of them on the way to Caesarea), pilgrims, diplomats, and everyone else who wanted to participate in the services carried out within; therefore, the attendees would have been numerous. It is known that: “Byzantine Christians went to church as a matter of course.”

An image showing the west side of what Rodley has called Room 13 within the structure at Selime is shown in Figure 2.

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**Figure 2:** Selime basilica; photograph of the west side of Room 13. Most of the carvings and frescoes date to the tenth-eleventh century; photo taken by the author of the article (E. E. D-V) in May 2015. All photographs in the article have been taken by its author, unless otherwise specified.

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which perhaps supports a tenth-century foundation date”; see her book, Rodley, *Cave Monasteries*, 85. C. Jolivet-Lévy maintains the same date in *Les églises byzantines de Cappadoce*, 332, 332n8. Additionally, she refers to J. Lafontaine-Dosogne, who gives the tenth century as the time when the paintings were accomplished. Jolivet-Lévy also indicates that M. Restle considers both the establishment of the site and the painting as pertaining to the tenth–eleventh centuries.

One of these diplomats on behalf of the church was George Hagiorites the Georgian, who travelled towards Caesarea and stopped in Selime for a while in 1059; Ousterhout, *Visualizing Community*, 480.

Ousterhout, *Visualizing Community*, 480.

Rodley, *Cave Monasteries*, 77–79.

Jolivet-Lévy, *Les églises byzantines de Cappadoce*, 332, 332n8.
In his research Hans Rott, who was the first to photograph the basilica, covered both the early Christian and Byzantine as well as Seljuk periods of Selime Kalesi. The situation regarding the complex at Çanlı Kilise, the main subject of Ousterhout’s book *A Byzantine Settlement*, provides another good example as to how churches served their communities. The site is described (part of the account also applies to Selime) as containing mansions, churches, chapels, monasteries, storerooms, refectories, cisterns, shacks, barns, stables, pigeon houses, wine presses, hideouts for situations when refuge was necessary, and cemeteries. (As we shall see, most of these are elements common to an aristocratic *oikos*, a monastic community, a village, and a town). Çanlı Kilise’s large precinct contains, among others, the church with a bell (“bell” is the meaning of the word *çan*); this is a constructed (masonry) building and was erected either in the eleventh or thirteenth centuries. The smaller complex around St. Stephen’s Church, close to Cemil in the Ürgüp area, has elements similar to the above (Figure 2). The controversies regarding the foundation of the church at the latter site and its painted decoration placed it within a temporary span of four centuries: between the seventh and the eleventh.

14 H. Rott, *Kleinaestishe Denkmäler aus Pisidien, Pamphylten, Kappadokien und Lykien: Darstellender Teil*, Studien über christliche Denkmäler 5–6 (Leipzig: Dieterich’sche Verlagshandlung, 1908).
15 Ousterhout, *A Byzantine Settlement*. Rodley says that about Selime site that “its elements and their arrangement conform to the basic pattern seen in other complexes,” *Cave Monasteries*, 141.
16 Ousterhout, *A Byzantine Settlement*, 172 (he opts for the tenth–eleventh centuries—the Middle Byzantine period); Jolivet-Lévy, *Les églises byzantines de Cappadoce*, 287.
17 Ousterhout, *Visualizing Community*, 202, 206; Jolivet-Lévy, *Les églises byzantines de Cappadoce*, 161–163.
18 Jolivet-Lévy, *Les églises byzantines de Cappadoce*, 163.
Figure 3b: St. Stephen’s Church. Decoration on a wall and the ceiling of the nave. I believe that the first layer of painting—that which covers most of the ceiling of the church—is from the seventh or even sixth century.

Generally speaking, all the sources referring to a medieval Byzantine oikos (a household with all its annexes)—and that includes references to Cappadocia during the empire—testifies that it consisted of vineyards, land planted with vegetables, parks, at least a church, houses which sometimes had separate apartments (koitônes), a hall, and various other annexes. In some cases, a “wardrobe” (vestiarion) existed, and also “an outdoor dais (soupas) or a ‘little building’ (oikistos) to house a study-cum-library.”

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19 P. Magdalino, “The Byzantine Aristocratic Oikos,” in The Byzantine Aristocracy IX to XIII Centuries, ed. M. Angold, BAR International Series 221 (Oxford: BAR, 1984), 92–93, 95. For various aspects of oikos and Byzantine economy in general see A. E. Laiou, ed., The Economic History of Byzantium: From the Seventh through the Fifteenth Century, 3 vols., Dumbarton Oaks Studies 39 (Washington D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2002); M. Mundell Mango, “The Commercial Map of Constantinople,” Dumbarton Oaks Papers 54 (2000): 189–207; G. C. Maniatis, “The Domain of Private Guilds in the Byzantine Economy: Tenth to Fifteenth Centuries,” Dumbarton Oaks Papers 55 (2001): 339–369; J. Koder, ed. and trans, Das Eparchenbuch Leons des Weisen (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1991); the latter work was edited and translated by J. Nicole as Le Livre du Préfet ou l’édit de l’empereur Léon le Sage sur les corporations de Constantinople (Geneva: Georg, 1894), 1:20. The trilingual edition is based on Genevensis Graecus 23. Its details in English are as follows: To eparchikon vivlion: Livre du préfet: The Book of the Eparch, ed. J. Nicole, E. H. Freshfield, and I. Duichev (London: Variorum Reprints, 1970). E. H. Freshfield was also the translator and the editor when he published this “report” in Roman Law in the Later Roman Empire: Byzantine Guilds, Professional and Commercial; Ordinances of Leo VI, c. 895, from The Book of the Eparch (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1938). Commentaries and references on The Book of the Eparch are, for instance, in A. Kazhdan, ed., Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium, vol. 1 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), and M. F. Hendy, “Light Weight Solidi, Tetartera and the Book of the Prefect,” Byzantinische Zeitschrift 65 (1972): 57–80.

20 Magdalino, “The Byzantine Aristocratic Oikos,” 95.
the concrete examples of Byzantine structures comprising some of these elements are the early tenth-century palace Myrelaion in Constantinople (which has similarities especially with Çanlı Kilise) and the “House of Botaneiates” (the Constantinopolitan palace given by Isaac II to the Genoese). To those we might add the “more ambitious non-imperial lay residence[s]” mentioned by Paul Magdalino: the palace belonging to Theodore Metochites in Constantinople that is verbally portrayed as consisting of “a complex of buildings grouped around a central courtyard with a church in the middle.”

The neos oikos created by Basil I (reigned 867–886) and the oikos at Mangana, to which Constantine IX Monomachos (reigned 1042–1055) added that of St. George the Tropaiophoros was, according to Nikolaos Oikonomides, a palace with wonderful gardens, a monastery with the church dedicated to the aforementioned saint, a charitable institution, and a law school; the latter was the extension of the university founded in 425 by Emperor Julian, and which Constantine IX Monomachos re-established in 1054. Typical in the countryside was a “manor house” (“the nucleus of every oikoproasteion”). But, as we know from the inventory of the domain at Baris given to Andronikos Doukas in 1073, this had a similar configuration to that of the above-mentioned households: a domed church, an arched cruciform hall (triklinos) with four chambers (kouboukleia), and a bath; some of the residences consisted of “multi-storey houses.” Perhaps it is useful to emphasise with Magdalino that “the difference between the smallest ‘manor-house’ and the largest urban palaces was one of degree, not of kind,” and that “the monastery was in more ways than one the alter ego of the secular oikos […] far from being a negation of the extended household.” He supports the opinion communicated via the latter sentence through Symeon the Theologian’s statements that households had similarities regardless if they belong to “an aristocrat (archontikos) or pious (euagēs) oikos or a monastery,” and that “not houses, not baths, not villages or vineyards and

21 Ousterhout, *A Byzantine Settlement*, 142.
22 Magdalino, “The Byzantine Aristocratic Oikos,” 95.
23 Magdalino, “The Byzantine Aristocratic Oikos,” 96.
24 We know these, for instance, from Michael Psellos, *Chronographie ou Histoire d’un siècle de Byzance (976–1077)*, trans. E. Renauld, 2 vols. (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1928), 1:143–144; 2:61–63; Michael Attaliotes, *Historia*, ed. I. Bekker and C. M. Brunet de Presle (Bonn: Weber, 1853), 71; John Skylitzes, *Synopsis historiarum*, ed. Hans Thurn, Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae Series Berolinensis 5 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1973), 476–477 (trans. by J. Wortley as *A Synopsis of Byzantine History, 811–1057* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010]), and John Zonaras, *Epitomae historiarum*, 3 vols., ed. T. Büttner-Wobst (Bonn: CSHB, 1897), 3:619–620, 646, 647 (in English, *The History of Zonaras from Alexander Severus to the Death of Theodosius the Great*, ed. and trans. T. Banchich and E. Lane [London: Routledge, 2009]). See also N. Oikonomides, “St. George of Mangana, Maria Skleraina, and the ‘Malyj Sion’ of Novgorod.” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 34–35 (1980–1981): 241.
25 Magdalino, “The Byzantine Aristocratic Oikos,” 95.
26 Magdalino, “The Byzantine Aristocratic Oikos,” 95.
27 Magdalino, “The Byzantine Aristocratic Oikos,” 96.
28 Magdalino, “The Byzantine Aristocratic Oikos,” 95.
29 Magdalino, “The Byzantine Aristocratic Oikos,” 102.
estates” distinguish lavra and monasteries from the worldly because they also contain all of these. Magdalino further adds that “[e]piscopal and monastic establishments resembled those of lay magnates not only in that the bishop’s household and the cenobitic monastery formed the hub of a large complex of diverse and scattered sources of landed wealth, but also in that architecturally and functionally they had much in common.”

The Roles Fulfilled by Churches in Cappadocia from the Fifth to the Eleventh Century

We shall now indicate the ways in which, in addition to being the spaces where the liturgy was celebrated, the churches in Cappadocia served communities such as those described above. One function they fulfilled was to be the means through which the patrons expressed their piety and the hope of forgiveness of their sins. The founders did this not only by establishing the churches themselves (adapting the caves and constructing some of the masonry), but also by commissioning inscriptions and images, and making various donations (books, vestments, furniture, land, etc.). Concerning the inscriptions, a well-preserved one exists in Gōreme church 21, which is dedicated to St. Catherine, where the woman Anna addresses the saint directly; similar texts are to be found in the hermitage of Niketas—an invocation to the Theotokos is to be found there—and also in St. Eustathios church.

With regard to the patronage of works of iconography, I should remind readers again that this part of Anatolia “was an important province of the Byzantine Empire” and “a vibrant area of habitation, with hundreds of settlements, churches, and monasteries carved into the rocky landscape. More than seven hundreds alone have been counted in the region, many of them preserving impressive ensembles of fresco decoration.” It is important to mention the presence of Byzantines from the Phocas family in Cappadocia during the tenth and eleventh century and the foundations carried out and embellished by them. Two inscriptions in the New Tokalı Church/Tokalı Kilise in Gōreme (Figure 4), painted in the middle of the tenth century, indicate that it was decorated by “Constantine, Nicephore and Leon, sons of Constantine.”

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30 Symeon the New Theologian, *Catachèses*, vol. 1, ed. B. Krivocheine, Sources Chrétienennes (Paris: Cerf, 1965), 440.
31 Magdalino, “The Byzantine Aristocratic Oikos,” 94.
32 Oosterhout, *Visualizing Community*, 406.
33 Oosterhout, *Visualizing Community*, 406.
34 Oosterhout, *A Byzantine Settlement*, 3.
35 Jolivet-Lévy, *Les églises byzantines de Cappadoce*, 108. She points out that it is very difficult to establish when the New Tokalı Church was founded, but considers the painting as belonging to mid tenth century (950–960); she, *Les églises byzantines de Cappadoce*, 108n201, indicates that she shares with N. Thierry in this. Oosterhout, in *Visualizing Community*, has a very large section dedicated to Göreme, but does not make any attempt to date this particular church. He considers some structures there as being creations of the eleventh century (“and perhaps” of the early twelfth).
The fresco painters signed their works in spite of the fact that canonically they were not supposed to do so. This is not the only instance where the rules were not strictly observed; in general, an iconographer was known through his work,36 so the churches themselves made this type of creator known.

36 Before the twentieth century, icon and fresco painters were exclusively men.
The written dedications in the abovementioned New Tokalı Church are situated as follows: one on the cornice of the nave and the other in the northern apse. The family name of the patron is not mentioned, but since that was rather the norm in Byzantium and, as Catherine Jolivet-Lévy reveals, the three names of the funders are—with Bardas—well attested in the family of Phocas, it is very likely that this church is their creation, and that they extended the building of the Old Tokalı (or, as Nicole Thierry calls it, Tokalı I; she speaks about these two connected foundations in terms of Tokalı I and Tokalı 2). It has been scholarly acknowledged that the same epigraphic sources testify that this “new” church at Göreme belonged to a monastery dedicated to the Archangels. The quality of the painting within and the use of lapis lazuli and of gold and silver for a few of the haloes point to rich patrons, and the Phocas were so. Jolivet-Lévy thinks that the iconographers might have been brought from Constantinople. She suggests that it was Constantine, one of the three sons of Bardas Phocas, who initiated the building of this church. He was taken prisoner in 953 and died in Aleppo. It is very probable that Leon and Nicephoros continued his work; they might have been his sons, as the inscriptions suggest, but it is also possible that they were his brothers. It is known that Nicephoros II Phokas (Byzantine Emperor 963–969) was born in Cappadocia in 912 and that he was appointed the sebastokrator of the Anatolikon Theme in 945 under Constantine VII Porphyrogenetus (reigned 913–959). He was proclaimed emperor by his troops in Caesarea, and crowned in Constantinople. Even though, as Jolivet-Lévy argues, it is true that the imperial title is absent from the dedication in the New Tokalı, that should not prevent him from being considered the continuator of his brother’s efforts (only in 963 was Nicephoros declared emperor and did he go to the capital; therefore he could have become involved in the foundation of the new church long before that time). Nicephoros as an emperor is represented in the northern apse of the Pigeon House (Dovecote) at Çavuşin with his wife Theophano (on his left) and his father and one of his brothers (on his right). This proves that he was popular in the area—and not only for his military achievements, but also for his patronal endeavours. In addition to the inscriptions and images at Tokalı and Çavuşın, we can also mention the Byzantine church of St. Barbara (today also known as Tahtala) in Soğanlı Valley, which Veronnicia G. Kalas considers in her article “Early Explorations of Cappadocia and the Monastic Myth.” Kalas specifies that the dedicatory inscription there refers to emperors Basil II (976–1025) and Constantine VII Porphyrogenetus and, as far as lettering allows a reasonable reading, it is dated either to 1006 or 1021.

37 G. Dagron and H. Mihăescu, Le traité sur la guérilla (De velitatione) de l’empereur Nicéphore Phocas (Paris: Editions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1986).
38 C. Jolivet-Lévy and C. Sauvageot, La Cappadoce médiévale: Images et spiritualité (Saint-Léger-Vaupan: Zodiaque, 2001), 58–67. See also P. M. Schwartzbaum, “The Conservation of the Mural Paintings in the Rock-Cut Churches of Göreme,” in Tokalı Kilise: Tenth-Century Metropolitan Art in Byzantine Cappadocia, by A. Wharton Epstein (Dumbarton Oaks Studies 22. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1986), 52–57.
39 Kalas “Early Explorations,” 110.
existence of cave-churches and buildings bearing traces of inhabitancy as well as that of the palaeographic and iconographic elements as those mentioned here—all reflecting aspects of the ethos of the Empire—has enticed the attention of a few researchers from as early on as the nineteenth century and has retained the interest of contemporary scholars. In consequence of surveying the literature in the field, Kalas concludes with good reason that “[i]n many ways, Cappadocia is one of the birthplaces of the modern study of Byzantine architecture.”40 With respect to the lack of decoration peculiar to some churches in the area, she underlines that their aniconicity does not necessarily mean that they were built before the iconoclastic controversy.41 In saying this she dialogues with Nicole Thierry, who usually places the construction of these shrines in the historical period when iconodoules and iconoclasts debated.42 As a part of the discussion about the unornamented churches, Ousterhout comments that Thierry “likes” to place in the pre-iconoclastic era those with “nonfigural painted or carved decoration” although “none is securely dated.”43

Among the decorated churches of which embellishment would have attracted people and brought recognition to the fresco-painters, worth mentioning is that of Kızıl Çukur in the Çavuşin region, founded in the sixth-seventh century (there is still a controversy about this dating).44 The monument contains a depiction of the mariological cycle in its northern chapel, which is dedicated to Anne and Joachim. Ten scenes of the initial twelve have survived (among them that which contains the famous representation of Anna pregnant). Thierry and many other researchers such as Jacqueline Lafontaine-Dosogne,45 Paul A. Underwood,46 Ann Wharton-Epstein,47 and Adriana Balaban Bara48 highlight that the usual episodes of such a cycle are Joachim’s Offerings Rejected,

40 Kalas, “Early Explorations,” 107.
41 Kalas, “Early Explorations,” 112–114.
42 N. Thierry, “Mentalité et formulation iconoclastes en Anatolie,” Journal des Savants, no. 2 (1976), 81–119.
43 Ousterhout, Visualizing Community, 14.
44 Thierry proposes these dates in 1998 and maintains them in 2002; Thierry, La Cappadoce de l’Antiquité, 122–123. This text was initially published as “La Cappadoce de l’Antiquité au Moyen Âge,” Melanges de l’école française de Rome 110, no. 2 (1998): 867–897; the dating of Kızıl Çukur is on p. 888. See also N. Thierry, Haut Moyen Âge en Cappadoce: Les églises de la région de Çavuşin, vol. 2 (Paris: Geuthner, 1994), 228. Such a proposal improves on that about the church’s establishment in the tenth–eleventh centuries offered by André Grabar and other researchers. See A. Grabar, Christian Iconography: A Study of Its Origins (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1969), 129, and also A. Wharton Epstein, “Rock-Cut Chapels in Göreme Valley, Cappadocia: The Yilanli Group and the Column Churches,” Cahiers Archéologiques: Fin de l’Antiquité et Moyen-Âge 24 (1975): 118.
45 J. Lafontaine-Dosogne, Iconographie de l’enfance de la Vierge dans l’empire byzantin et en Occident, 2 vols. (Brussels: Académie Royale de Belgique 1964), 1:62–65.
46 P. A. Underwood, The Kariye Djami, 2 vols., Bollingen Series 70 (New York: Bollingen Foundation, 1966).
47 Wharton Epstein, “Rock-Cut Chapels,” 118.
48 A. Balaban Bara, “The Political and Artistic Program of Prince Petru Rareș of Moldavia,” doctoral diss., University of Montreal, 2012.
Joachim and Anne Returning Home (sometimes artists conflate these two); Saint Joachim in the Wilderness, Nativity of the Virgin; the Virgin Blessed by the Priests, Mary’s first steps, and the Presentation of the Virgin to the Temple. Sometimes the scene of the breastfeeding of Mary by Anne is included within the series. An interesting fact is to be noted with respect to the embellishment of the chapel in Kızıl Çukur: the face of the servant in the mariological cycle is similar to that of Mary in Santa Maria Nuova church, Rome (sixth–eighth centuries; Figure 5); such a reality confirms the current dating of the Cappadocian site.49

Figure 5a: The face of a servant in the chapel of Joachim and Anna, Cappadocia; Nicole Thierry, La Cappadoce de l’Antiquité au Moyen Âge, a part of fig. 8 on p. 131. Thierry follows A. Grabar on this particular iconographic detail.

Figure 5b: The icon representing Mary and child in Santa Maria Nuova (today Santa Francesca Romana). This image is in the public domain via http://worldimages.sjsu.edu/media/images/byz04_byzantine/byz04029.jpg.

49 Underwood, The Kariye Djami, 1:60–72, 2:86–124, discusses and reproduces the fourteenth-century mosaic at Chora, which represents this scene according to the imagination of the fresco painters.

50 Thierry, La Cappadoce de l’Antiquité, 131, fig. 8.
Thierry emphasises that some of the paintings in the chapel reflect the christological debate of the seventh century: they allude to the compromise reached by Emperor Heraclius (610–641) and the church to alleviate the disagreements among the religious groups peculiar to that time. Also the mariological depictions at Kızıl Çukur enumerated above express theological notions. The French scholar comments on their representation in this church:

The thirteen scenes of the story [about Mary’s life] are exceptionally complemented by a Virgin in the mandorla painted on the eastern tympanum, flanked by two inclined angels (pl. 37, fig. 88). Glory is an Old Testament attribute of the Divinity (Ezek. 1, 28; 43, 4) and the extent to which it applies to the Mother of God is still being discussed.51

The mosaic in the apse of the Cypriot church of Panagia Kanakaria Lythranksi which visually narrates the christological cycle is also worthy of mention. This is considered by Marina Sacopoulo to be “an attempt to illustrate the two natures of Christ, who ‘inserted’ divinity into humanity and is supposed to constitute the Orthodox response to the Monophysites.”52 Dimitri Obolesky,53 Melina Paisidou,54 and Saška Bogevska55 speak about an ideatic-theological-iconographic parallelism. Bogevska points out a rendering of Trinity in Omorphokklesia Church near Kastoria (thirteenth century) as

51 Thierry, La Cappadoce de l’antiquite, 123; my translation:
Les treize scènes du récit sont complétes par une exceptionnelle Vierge dans la mandorle peinte sur le typan oriental, encadrée par deux anges inclinés (PL. 37, fig. 88). La gloire est un attribut vétérotestamentaire de la divinité (Éz. 1, 28; 43, 4) et son extension a la Mère de Dieu prête à discussion. On ne connaît qu’un autre exemple, la mosaïque chypriote de l’abside de la Panaghia Kanakaria de Lythranksi attribuée au vie de Sauveur celle-ci est considérée comme un tentative illustration des deux natures du Christ, ce serait l’Humanité insérée dans la Divinité, une response orthodoxe aux Monophysites.

52 M. Sacopoulo, La Théotokos à la mandorle de Lythranksi (Paris: G.-P. Maisonneuve et Larose, 1975), 70–87; Thierry, Haut Moyen Âge en Cappadoce, 214, 235–236. See also E. J. W. Hawkins, The Church of the Panagia Kanakariá at Lythranksi in Cyprus: Its Mosaics and Frescoes (Washington D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1977).

53 D. Obolesky in The Bogomils: A Study in Balkan Neo-Manichaeism (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1948), 211–212, presents Zygabenus’s description of the notion of Trinity as he thought the Bogomils saw it. The Russian-British author identifies two concepts (“or rather two separate aspects” of one) in the works of the Byzantine monk commissioned to report on them. The one presented above (Father, Son, and the Satanael) was well described by Michael Psellus in Dialogus de daemonum operatione. The second Trinity in Bogomil understanding consists in the Father, Son and the Holy Spirit. The representatives of the South-European sect under discussion here take the Son and the Holy Spirit to be names or emanations of the Father “[like] two rays proceeding from the two lobes of his brain.” This kind of representation does not exist in any other source except Zygabenus’s writings.

54 M. Paisidou, “Η ανθρωπομορφή Αγία Τριάδα στον Άγιο Γεώργιο Της Στοιχήρη Κίτσα,” in Αφιέρωμα στη μνήμη του Σωτήρη Κίσσα, ed. A. Kalamarti-Katsarou and S. Tampaki (Thessaloniki: University Studio Press, 2001), 391–392.

55 S. Bogevska, “The Holy Trinity in the Diocese of the Archbishopric of Ohrid in the Second Half of the 13th Century,” Patrimonium.mk: Periodical for Cultural Heritage 5 (2012): 150–151, figs. 9–10. Her comments on the Bogomils are on pp. 155–156.
a tricephalous man, an iconographic motif she sees as being one of the elements that constitutes the mark of Western influence on Byzantine iconography. I consider its rendering to be an experiment.

Hagiography was also employed to mirror contemporary theological debates. The best-known example from this point is the iconographical scene “Paul and Peter Embracing” that occurred during the preparations for the Council of Ferrara (more precisely, Basel-Ferrara-Florence), which attempted a rapprochement between Eastern and Western Christianity 1431–1449. Debates have also taken place in scholarship as to whether the decorations in Saint Appolinare Nuovo, Ravenna, reflect Arian or Nestorian ideas.

It should be underlined that a large array of iconographic themes exists in Cappadocian churches. As stated throughout the article, the dating of certain frescoes that represent these has been controversial; the exemplars I have seen left me with the strong impression that some of them were executed before any iconographic *typicon* or *Hermeneia* reached the area. In some early buildings one finds the entire cycle of the Life of Jesus and/or of Mary painted in continuous uninterrupted registers, with no concern for where the scenes best serve the needs of the believer. Moreover, some of the episodes shown were based on apocryphal sources or oral tradition (as opposed to the Bible itself). This is the case, for instance, with the scene “Crucifixion” in Kokar Church (dated, depending on the source, to between the second half of the ninth century and the second half of the eleventh) in which Jesus is represented clothed (Figure 6).

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56 M. Vassilaki, “Painting Icons in Venetian Crete at the Time of the Council of Ferrara-Florence (1438/1439),” *Ikon* 9 (2015): 41–53.
57 A. Urbino, “Donation, Dedication, and Damnatio Memoriae: The Catholic Reconciliation of Ravenna and the Church of Saint’s Apollinare Nuovo,” *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 13, no. 1 (2005): 88; R. M. Jensen, “The Economy of the Trinity at the Creation of Adam and Eve,” *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 7, no. 4 (1991): 528.
58 Jolivet-Lévy, *Les églises byzantines de Cappadoce*, 303.
Figure 6: In Kokar Church there are two “Crucifixion” scenes alongside one another—in one of them Christ is clothed on the Cross; fresco dating to the period between the second half of the ninth century and the second half of the eleventh century.59

Another instance is a particular fresco rendering the “Flight to Egypt” in the Old Tokalı Church, Göreme60 that depicts a young man leading the donkey on which Mary travels (Figure 7); a similar scene exists in Pürenlı Seki the decoration of which had been attributed to the first half of the tenth century (Figure 8).61

59 Jolivet-Lévy, Les églises byzantines de Cappadoce, 303.
60 Jolivet-Lévy, Les églises byzantines de Cappadoce, 96; she specifies that the frescoes were accomplished by Saint John of Güllü dere in 913–920. She adds that those in the north-east niche are “probably anterior to those.”
61 Jolivet-Lévy, Les églises byzantines de Cappadoce, 305; she makes a note with respect to the controversies surrounding such a dating.
Figure 7: Old Tokalı church in Göreme; tenth century. Mary, the child Jesus, and Joseph on the Flight to Egypt. As in the scene below, the donkey is led by James, Christ’s half-brother.

Figure 8: Pürenli Seki Church, the Flight to Egypt. In the same manner as above, the donkey is led by James, Christ’s half-brother. Fresco dating to the period between the second half of the ninth century and the second half of the eleventh century.62

62 Jolivet-Lévy, Les églises byzantines de Cappadoce, 303.
According to both written sources and local tradition, the donkey is guided by James, Christ’s half-brother; he is mentioned in the Bible in Gal 1:19. A similar image—in which the animal is led by a young man—appears in the representation of “The Flight to Egypt” in ms. Cod. 587 (a Gospel lectionary) from the Monastery of Dionysiou, Figure 9. An unusual iconographical motif present in Cappadocia—for instance in Kılıçlar Church (mid-tenth century) and in the Old Tokalı Church—is the trial of Mary and Joseph for scandalous conduct. During the hearing they were tested by being summoned to drink the water of reproach (according to Num 5:16–17; 24–26; 28–31; KJV).

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63 Ms. Cod. 587 (a Gospel lectionary) from the Monastery of Dionysiou, fol. 133v; eleventh century. The image is reproduced in The Treasures of Mount Athos, vol. 1, The Protaton and the Monasteries of Dionysiou, Koutloumousiou, Xeropotamou and Gregoriou, ed. S. M. Pelekanides et al., trans. Philip Sherrard (Athens: Ekdotike Athenon, 1974), 200.

64 J. A. Cave, “The Byzantine Wall Paintings of Kılıçlar kilise: Aspects of Monumental Decoration in Cappadocia,” PhD. diss., Pennsylvania State University, 1984.

65 Elizabeth E. Jeffreys mentions this scene in her paper entitled “The Homilies of James of Kokkinobaphos in Their Twelfth-Century Context,” delivered at the seventeenth International Conference of Patristic Studies, Oxford, 2015.
Hagiography is well represented in churches founded during the Byzantine period of Cappadocia. For instance, Gregory of Nyssa is depicted full-length in a fresco at Yılanlı Kilise, Figure 10. He is represented next to the Virgin and among other religious figures. It is probable that this church was dedicated to St. Mary because her image has a significant place within the building. The decoration of this edifice has been dated to the tenth century\(^6\) and it is to be assumed that the particular mural described here belongs to the same period.

**Figure 10:** Yılanlı Kilise, St. Gregory of Nyssa; fresco from the tenth century.

The other illustration referring to saints is from the Church of St. Theodore.\(^{67}\) Here Basil of Caesarea, Gregory of Nyssa, and Gregory Nazianzen are represented, and the rarely painted Eustache of Sebasta/Sebasteia also appears; Figure 11.

\(^{66}\) Joliivet-Lévy, *Les églises byzantines de Cappadoce*, 311.

\(^{67}\) About St. Theodore church see, for example, Ousterhout, *Visualizing Community*, 111.
As suggested earlier, the churches in Cappadocia also served the spiritual necessities of army garrisons. The reality that a military presence was a fundamental part of the landscape is obvious from the fact that many settlements were strategically placed and also that some were fortified in a manner that reveals martial expertise (we have seen this with respect to Selime). Also palaeography and iconography provide evidence that testifies to the presence of soldiers and of their religious needs. In this context, James Crow’s study concerning the distribution of inscriptions referring to garrisons along the borders is to be remarked upon; most of those are in Greek.68

In terms of iconography, the depiction of military saints in various churches throughout Cappadocia (for instance, in St. George Church, Göreme site) could be an indication that either the patrons or the attendants had connections with the army or were soldiers. Fatma Gül Öztürk considers that some of the architectural structures in Cappadocia were “mansions of the landowning elites with military associations who dominated the region during the 10th and 11th centuries.”69

In addition to the main shrines about which we have spoken above, a multitude of smaller churches existed in various settlements. They would have also welcomed not

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68 See J. Crow’s entry, “Cappadocia: The Eastern Frontier,” which mentions “our lemma no. 1566”; Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum 36 (Leiden: Brill, 1986), entry 1245, p. 382. See also A. Rhoby’s edited volume Inscriptions in Byzantium and Beyond: Methods—Projects—Case Studies; the 22nd International Congress of Byzantine Studies (Sofia, Bulgaria) (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2015).

69 F. G. Öztürk, “Açiksaray ‘Open Palace’: A Byzantine Rock-Cut Settlement in Cappadocia,” Byzantinische Zeitschrift 107, no. 2 (2014): 788.
only local believers, but others coming from the nearby towns and villages, as well as the various categories of people already mentioned in the case of sizeable churches. Even, for instance, small hermitages such as those dedicated to Niketas in the Kızıl Çukur (late ninth century\textsuperscript{70}) and to St. Symeon in Çavuşın (eleventh century\textsuperscript{71}) would have opened their doors to whoever was in spiritual need.

**Schools in Byzantine Cappadocia: Their Physical Setting**

Athanasios Markopoulos, who mentions the scarcity of publications (and information in general) concerning the physical setting of schools in Byzantium, states that “[l]ittle is known about the places in which [these] were housed.”\textsuperscript{72} But we also need to underline with the same scholar, that “[a]s many grammatistai were members of the clergy, it is quite likely that lessons were widely conducted in churches or the courtyards of monasteries.”\textsuperscript{73} With this in mind when, next to the church of St. Stephen, I came across a room from the sixth–seventh centuries that had in front of it the notice “Refectory and school” (Figure 12a), despite the caution we are advised to manifest towards local signs, I became alert.

\textsuperscript{70} Ousterhout, *Visualizing Community*, 406.
\textsuperscript{71} Jolivet-Lévy, *Les églises byzantines de Cappadoce*, 13.
\textsuperscript{72} Markopoulos, “Education,” 788; see also A. Markopoulos, ed., *Anonymi professoris epistulae*, Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae. Series Berolinensis 37 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2000), and M. Jeffreys and M. D. Lauxtermann, eds., *The Letters of Psellos. Cultural Networks and Historical Realities* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017).
\textsuperscript{73} Markopoulos, “Education,” 788.
Figure 12a: Refectory and school within the dwelling around St. Stephen Church (in the village of Cemil, close to Ürgüp); sixth–seventh centuries.
Figure 12b: View from the interior of the refectory and school within the dwelling around St. Stephen Church.

The arrangement of benches and niches within this space (Figure 12b) allows one to say that it would have been appropriate and convenient for use as a classroom. After reading Libanius’s text in which he offers a short account, as further shown, about the physical setting of his school in Antioch, which is not far from Cappadocia (he does this in *Oration* 22 to Ellebichus), this enclosure seemed to me to be the closest approximation concerning the layout of such a room in fourth-century Byzantium, the period in which Libanius (314–393/4) lived and wrote. In this text by him, in *Or*. 22.31, there is a description of the city hall (and of its immediate surroundings) which is significant for our discussion because this is the place in which Libanius held his classes (after he taught for a while in his own home). The government-accommodated school is presented as follows: “This allowed them [the administrative council of Antioch] the use of the city-hall where there was a covered theatre, and four colonnades with a central courtyard which had been turned into a garden with vines, figs and other trees, and different kinds of green-stuff.” From the elements introduced here by this ancient teacher of rhetoric we learn enough to allow ourselves to acknowledge the material similarities between the school building in Antioch and structures around churches in Cappadocia, like those in Figures 13 and 14, which I consider could have been schools. Despite the fact that what Libanius writes about is a school within a “proper” town (with an administrative centre and all urban amenities of the fourth century) and what has survived from Cappadocia are constructions from a different milieu and of a later date.

74 Libanius, *Libanius: Selected Orations*, ed. and trans. A. F. Norman, 2 vols., Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1969–1977).
75 Libanius, *Oration* 22.31, in *Libanius: Selected Orations*, 2:399. See also R. Cribiore’s comments on the setting of Libanius’s school in the book, *The School of Libanius in Late Antique Antioch* (Princeton: Princeton University Press), 48.
(nevertheless, the space in St. Steven’s complex is only about one hundred years later than the Antiochian teaching area), one can feel justified to assume that the Anatolian buildings in the images below were part of schools. If we take into consideration the slow pace in the development of construction techniques in the area due to the harsh climate which Basil of Caesarea speaks about, a fourth-century school in Antioch and a sixth-century one in Cappadocia could not have been very different; the images in Figure 14, from Gümusler Monastery, Cappadocia, suggest that this statement can be true even of a thirteenth-century school.

Figure 14a: Gümusler Monastery, Cappadocia, thirteenth century.

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76 Basil of Caesarea, *Letters* 48, 112, 121, 198, 213, 215, 350, in *Letters*, ed. and trans. Roy J. Deferrari, 4 vols, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014); ep. 48, 1:314–315; Basil speaks about “our land” without naming it and about the Cappadocians; (ep. 112, 2:214–215; here he refers to the Cappadocians; ep. 121, 2:248–249; ep. 198, 3:100–101, ep. 213, 3:224–225, ep. 215, 3:236–237, ep. 350, 3:318–319; Basil of Caesarea, ep. 48, 112, 121, 198, 213, 350, in *L’église de Cappadoce au IVe siècle d’après la correspondance de Basile de Césarée (330–379)*, by B. Gain, Orientalia Christiana Analecta 225 (Rome: Pontificum Institutum Orientale, 1985). pp. 19–21, 394–396. In most of these letters Basil refers to the bad weather and does not directly name his country, but says “our land” or names Armenia as a neighbouring territory. See also Basil of Caesarea, *Letters*, trans. R. J. Deferrari 4 vols. (London: Heinemann, 1926–1939); Basil of Caesarea, *Epistles*, in *NPNF* vol. 8, and Saint Basil: *Lettres*, ed. Y. Courtonne, 3 vols. (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1973). For further reading see A. Karahan, “Beauty in the Eyes of God: Byzantine Aesthetics and Basil of Caesarea,” *Byzantion. Revue Internationale des Études Byzantines* 82 (2012): 165–212.
Figure 14b: Gümusler Monastery, Cappadocia, thirteenth century.

Figure 15: The image outside the room called "refectory and school" in St. Stephen’s settlement, sixth–seventh centuries (close to Libanius’s time).
When reading the commentaries about the educational system in Byzantium made by various researchers, it is also easy to observe the similitudes between today’s system of attracting students to the university as well as the practice of writing letters of recommendation and the educational networking in general and that which existed in Byzantine Cappadocia and Antioch. Likewise, it is noticeable that all these features are essentially the same as those contemporary to our classrooms and refectories. Also, if we look at the images of the numerous refectories that Ousterhout presents within the publication *Visualizing Community*, we observe that all of them look like the room from St. Stephen’s complex (Figure 15). This suggests that many if not all such spaces might have served as schools as well as refectories.

**Conclusion**

By way of conclusion, I can reiterate that the fashion in which places of human habitation are arranged reveals something of what people had in mind when they initiated their foundations, and this also applies to schools and church buildings, in particular to the Christian shrines considered in this article. These are an expression of the needs and aspirations of the people who both constructed them, and attended and benefitted from their services. Hopefully, the analysis I have undertaken concerning the functionality of the churches in this Byzantine province has shown that the variety in their dimensions, shapes, and decoration would have allowed them to serve both as centres of monastic life and places of worship for the laity. Certainly they, and also the schools, were a factor of cohesion for people—and still are so in those places where they are allowed to operate today. Church functionality in Cappadocia will increase, from this perspective, when more shrines are re-opened (this is happening more frequently now than was the case ten years ago).

77 Markopoulos, “Education,” 788; see also Markopoulos, *Anonymi professoris epistulae*; R. Cribiore, *The School of Libanius in Late Antique Antioch*, and R. Cribiore, *Gymnastics of the Mind* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001); L. Van Hoof, ed., *Libanius: A Critical Introduction* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014); L. Van Hoof, “Lobbying through Literature: Libanius, For the Teachers (Oration 31),” in *Literature and Society in the Fourth Century A.D.: Performing Paideia, Constructing the Present, Presenting the Self*, ed. L. Van Hoof and P. Van Nuffelen (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 68–82. A project entitled “Early Monasticism and Classical Paideia” has been ongoing at the University of Lund since 2009. Especially Lillian Larsen’s contribution, “The Role of the Apophthegmata Patrum in Teaching, Transmitting, and Transforming School and Civic Rhetoric” (see https://internt.ht.lu.se/media/documents/project-303/MOPAI_folder.pdf) has connections with my article. I only found about this project in April 2018; I am grateful to Joel Kalvesmaki, Managing Editor in Byzantine Studies at Dumbarton Oaks, for drawing my attention to it.

78 Michael Jeffreys and Marc D. Lauxtermann (eds.), *The Letters of Psellos. Cultural Networks and Historical Realities*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017.

79 Ousterhout, *Visualizing Community*. 
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