



## Readdressing the Painting Programme of the Church of St. Barbara in the Göreme Valley, Cappadocia<sup>1</sup>

Kappadokia Bölgesi Göreme Vadisi Azize Barbara Kilisesi Resim Programına Yeniden  
Bakış

H. Ceylan KARACA\*

### Abstract

The article focuses on the Church of St. Barbara in the Göreme Valley in Nevşehir, Cappadocia. Today the church is within the borders of the Göreme Open Air Museum which is a cluster of many churches, refectories and additional units. The church is unique with its architectural plan and elaborate nonfigurative elements in red ochre. Painted panels of a secondary phase do not cover up this red paint decoration but they are on the already-vacant parts of the naos. Remarkably, almost all motifs differ from each other in detail or in form. Furthermore, certain compartments of the building are reserved for certain motifs. Thus, it becomes clear that ruddled motifs and compositions can be named as parts of a 'red ochre painting programme' in which they are hierarchically arranged in the naos and each of them gain their specific meaning thanks to the detailing. Such a programme must have been comprehended by the first users and accepted and vindicated by the painters of the second layer. The only church exactly similar to the Church of St. Barbara in its plan type is the Çarıklı Church in close proximity in the same museum. It is interesting that the churches exactly similar in architecture but totally dissimilar in painting programme are coexistent in the Göreme enclave on whose institutional organization so little is known. Still, that the panel paintings did not cover up the detailed red paint decoration indicates that the ruddled programme was approved or appreciated by the hierarchical order of the Göreme enclave. This study intends to examine the nonfigurative repertoire of the region, the architectural plan of the church and intends to shortly evaluate iconoclast and iconophile way of thought on figural imagery. By doing this, the study aims to comment on the meaning the church had in the Göreme circuit, and to hypothesize on the congregation who used the church.

**Keywords:** Cappadocia, Göreme Open Air Museum, the Church of St. Barbara, red ochre motifs, aniconic symbolism.

### Öz

Çalışma, Kappadokia Bölgesi'nde, Nevşehir sınırları içindeki Göreme Vadisi'nde bulunan Azize Barbara Kilisesi'ni konu almaktadır. Kilise bugün birçok kilise, yemekhane ve ek mekanın bulunduğu Göreme Açık Hava Müzesi içerisinde yer almaktadır. Yapı, hem mimari planıyla, hem de aşı boyası motiflerin yoğunluğuyla kendine özgü bir konumdadır. Başka bir evreye ait olan figürlü duvar resimleri, aşı boyası motiflerin üzerini örtmemenin yanı sıra, duvarların aşı boyası motif barındırmayan kısımlarında görülür. Bununla birlikte, neredeyse tüm motiflerin birbirlerinden ayrıntıda farklılaştığı ve belli motiflerin yapının belli noktalarında betimlendiği dikkat çeker. Bu nedenle, motif ve

<sup>1</sup> The Church of St. Barbara in Göreme, its architecture and wall paintings constituted the subject of the author's master's thesis submitted to the Department of History of Art, Hacettepe University in 2013. The present study focuses on the new thoughts and questions that emerged since its completion.

\* Arş. Gör. Dr., Hacettepe Üniversitesi, Edebiyat Fakültesi, Sanat Tarihi Bölümü. E-posta: ceylkaraca@gmail.com, ORCID: 0000-0001-6908-7640

kompozisyonların kilise içinde hiyerarşik olarak konumlandırıldığı, farklı ayrıntıların tüm motiflere kendine ait bir anlam kazandırdığı ve hatta tümünün ‘aşı boyası resim programı’ biçiminde isimlendirilebileceği açıktır. Bu program, kiliseyi ilk kullananlar tarafından kabul edilip anlaşılmış, sonraki dönemde figürlü duvar resimlerini yapanlar tarafından da anlaşılıp korunmuş olmalıdır. Örtü sistemi ve serbest desteklerin yer aldığı bölümle Azize Barbara Kilisesi’ne benzeyen tek örnek aynı müze içerisindeki Çarıklı Kilise’dir. Mimari planlarıyla bu derece benzer, duvar resimleriyle bu kadar farklı iki kilisenin, nasıl organize olduğu kesin olarak bilinmeyen Açık Hava Müzesi’ndeki bir aradalığı ilginçtir. Yine de, detaylı, kendine özgü ve anikonik resim programının sonraki bir dönemde üzerinin kapatılmaması, müze alanının hiyerarşik yapılanması içerisinde kabul gördüğünü gösterir. Bu çalışma, bölgedeki anikonik motif repertuarını, kilisenin mimari planını, İkonoklast dönem ve sonrasının figürlü betimlemeye yönelik düşüncelerini inceleyerek, Azize Barbara Kilisesi’nin müze alanı içerisinde nasıl bir anlama sahip olduğunu ve nasıl bir inanan topluluğu tarafından kullanıldığını değerlendirmeye çalışmaktadır.

**Anahtar Sözcükler:** Kappadokia, Göreme Açık Hava Müzesi, Azize Barbara Kilisesi, aşî boyası bezeme, anikonik sembolizm.

## The Problematic

The Church of St. Barbara in the Göreme Open Air Museum bears intriguing traits with its location, its architecture and its painting programme. The painting programme clearly comprises of two separate phases. The first phase was executed with red ochre motifs, whereas the church received its figural panel paintings at a later period. In 1950s the red ochre motifs are allaged to represent the military standards and scepters in use in late 11th-early 12th century (Wood, 1959, pp. 38-46). Wood assumes that the “military symbols” were the work of the monks some of whom were former soldiers rejoicing in the victories of the Byzantine empire on the non-Christian. In the 10th century, some of the military insignia were stored in various churches in the precincts of the Great Palace (Haldon, 1990, p. 245; Moffatt and Tall, 2012, II, p. 640 [R640]). However, the depiction of military standards in a religious space arises as a problem. More recent studies name the red ochre patterns in the church merely as ‘popular’, ‘folkloric painting’, ‘rough, linear decoration’ or ‘temporary distraction until an additional fund is found for a polychrome painting’ (Cormack, 1967, p. 27; Brubaker, 2004, p. 582; Jolivet-Lévy, 2015, p. 130; Ousterhout, 2017, pp. 191-198).

At this point, it should be emphasized that the panel paintings in the church did not cover up the red ochre patterns but were painted on the already-empty walls of the naos. Proving that these nonfigurative elements were not simply underpaintings, this phenomenon creates questions on their inner-meaning and on the way they were perceived by the two congregations who used the two phases respectively. Furthermore, both the presence of certain patterns reserved for certain parts of the naos and the usage of major and minor details to differentiate them from one another entail the onlooker to reconsider the above-mentioned questions.

The architectural plan of the Church of St. Barbara is a further trait that makes the church interesting. Although it looks like a church of an inscribed-cross with two free columns, it becomes harder to see it as an example of that plan type. Curiously enough, Çarıklı Church in close proximity shares exactly the same architectural features with St. Barbara, which turns them into unique treatments. Some researchers believe that St. Barbara was modelled on Çarıklı which was originally planned as an inscribed-cross church in the 11th century (Epstein, 1975, pp. 121-122; Ousterhout, 2017, p. 130). However, this sequence seems reversible, and apparently there remains much to evaluate on the affinity and coexistence of these two churches in the Open Air Museum. This study will use theological, historical and archaeological data to comment on the meaning of the specific red ochre paintings and on the group who executed and understood them.

## Visiting the Church

The church is located within the limits of Göreme Open Air Museum which creates a natural circuit of churches and additional units at the head of the Göreme Valley. The circuit is on the route that links

Matiane (modern Avcılar) to Hagios Prokopios (modern Ürgüp)<sup>2</sup>. The church is about 150 m away from the modern entrance of the museum, and on the right side of the slope going up to the north. The church is in the same cone with the Elmalı Church but at an upper level. Its central dome is supported with two free-columns. The entrance door to the naos is on the south wall of the naos. In front of the church there existed once a narthex the floor of which was filled with grave pits (fig. 1)<sup>3</sup>. To the immediate west of the church a burial room contains two pavement burials.

The church displays two painting phases. Apses, cupolas and upper walls have been painted with red ochre motifs, while the polychrome decoration is restricted to four panel paintings on the lower walls. On the conch of the main apse, Christ enthroned overlays the formless red ochre motif. Saint Barbara is on the north wall of the west cross arm, the equestrian saints George and Theodore are depicted on the north wall of the north cross arm. On the west wall of the north cross arm is a portrait of the Theotokos stepping on a footstool and holding before her a frontal figure of Christ Child. The female saint next to her has only the inscription 'hagia' and cannot be precisely identified (fig 2)<sup>4</sup>.

With its polychrome decoration, the Church of St. Barbara is thought to be a member of a group of churches entitled as Yılanlı Group whose panel paintings are stylistically and iconographically dated to the second half of the 11th century, and to the 12th century<sup>5</sup>. Most churches of the group display ashlar imitation, chequer patterns and isolated crosses in red ochre, partly visible beneath their wall paintings. Epstein suggests the excavation of the churches of the group be ascribed to a close time span before the execution of their polychrome paintings on the basis of the assumption that a red linear decoration served as a final completion immediately after the carving. However, the salient diligence in the execution of the compositions and individual motifs in the Church of St. Barbara place them into a particular position, different from being named merely as 'popular' or 'rough, linear decoration'.

### ***Architectural Plan of the Church of St. Barbara***

Two free columns and the central dome of the church give the onlooker first impression that it displays the inscribed-cross plan with two columns. The two free columns to carry the central dome of the naos are situated only on the east, whereas on the west the dome rests on the walls (fig. 3)<sup>6</sup>. However, when the other examples of the plan type are taken into consideration, it becomes difficult to name the church a typical application of that plan type.

The inscribed-cross plan with two columns is regarded as a variation of the inscribed-cross with four columns (Struck, 1909, pp. 219-220). It is described as a plan type in which the two free-standing columns are situated on the west part of the naos to support the central cupola, while the cupola rests on the walls of

---

<sup>2</sup> The only register for the bishopric of Hagios Prokopios in the list of the episcopal sees of the patriarchate is *Notitia* 7.116 from the beginning of the 10th century where it is listed under the metropolis of Kaisareia Kappadokias (Darrouzès, 1981, p. 53-55 and p. 274). The bishopric of Matiane is mentioned in *Notitia* 10.465, the composition of which is dated to the second half of the 10th century, and also in *Notitia* 13.467. In both lists Matiane is listed under the metropolis of Mokissos Kappadokias (Darrouzès, 1981, p. 324 and p. 361).

<sup>3</sup> Rodley notes the architectural traces of a narthex (1985, p. 175). Today, both the slope leading to the church and the floor in front of it are paved with cobblestone.

<sup>4</sup> There exist suggestions to name her saint Catherine or saint Anne. See, Rodley, 1985, p. 175; Jolivet-Lévy, 1991, p. 125.

<sup>5</sup> The term 'Yılanlı Group' belongs to Epstein, 1975, pp. 115-135. She includes, along with the church of St. Barbara, the churches Nr. 10, 17, 18, 21, 27 and 28 (Yılanlı Church) after which the group is entitled. On stylistic grounds, she dates them to the period of the Seljuk conquest of Anatolia and underlines, as a common feature of the group churches, the absence of narrative scenes and the preference for individual panels. The iconographic and stylistic affinity between them had already been observed (Schiemenz, 1970, pp. 253-273). Schiemenz mentions the further affinity of the churches Nr. 11a, 17a and 22a. These churches are situated within the borders of the Open Air Museum or in the branches of the Göreme Valley.

<sup>6</sup> The naos of the church is approximately 5.15 m in length and 5.20 m in width.

the bema on the east part of the naos; thus, central cupola directly covers the section in front of the central apse<sup>7</sup>. This typical variation is witnessed in several churches in Cappadoia. On the contrary to the Church of St. Barbara, the cupola of the east cross arm of Cambazlı Church is also the central cupola of the naos and carried upon two columns on the west. In close regional proximity, St. Amphilochius and Meram churches in Konya (Ikonion), and Kilise Camii in the Erdemli Valley in Kayseri (Kaisareia) are the examples similar to the Cambazlı Church<sup>8</sup>. Their architecture is generally dated to the middle Byzantine period, whereas the wall paintings of Cambazlı Church and those of Kilise Camii are dated more specifically to the 11th (Thierry and Thierry, 1963a) or 13th century (Schiemenz, 1966, p. 315; Hild and Restle, 1980, p. 250) on stylistic comparison.

The examples of the plan type with the free standing columns on the west part of the naos turn the churches of St. Barbara and Çarıklı nearby in the museum area into unique treatments. Like those of the former, the two free standing columns of the Çarıklı Church are on the east part of the naos, the eastern corner bays and the east cross arm are covered with cupolas, and the naos terminates with three apses on the east. Indeed, the architectural design of the churches of St. Barbara and Çarıklı is considered as a mixing of forms which carried the aspects of the inscribed-cross and the Greek-cross types; Warland also remarks that such an application makes them look more like unfinished (Warland, 2013, p. 96; Ousterhout, 2017, p. 168).

Çarıklı Church is part of a complex which was organized around a courtyard with units of different functions and a refectory. Its painting programme is dated to the middle of the 11th century and to the period soon after its excavation; the carving of the other members of the so-called Column Group – Elmalı, and Karanlık churches – is dated to the same period (Epstein, 1975, p. 126; Epstein, 1980-1981; Ousterhout, 2017, p. 455)<sup>9</sup>. Epstein assumes that the architectural plan of the Church of St. Barbara copied the plan of Çarıklı because of the venerated status of the latter, that is, the imprint of two feet in the floor below the representation of the Ascension. She also notes that the partially realized capitals and the rock-cut bench at the west section of Çarıklı indicate an interruption in the course of its excavation as an inscribed-cross church with four columns (Epstein, 1975, pp. 121-122). Rather than an interruption or an error in the carving, Jolivet-Lévy suggests a deliberate desire of the carvers to see the shape of the cross in the architecture itself that was dedicated to the precious cross<sup>10</sup>.

The absence of the similar examples of the churches of St. Barbara and Çarıklı seems to support the suggestion that the architectural plan of the latter was the result of an incomplete execution and that the plan of the former was a copy of it, or that the plan of Çarıklı Church was an intention to mirror the shape of the cross. However, there remain some possibilities to be regarded.

The inscribed-cross plan was the most radical architectural innovation of the Iconoclast period the first examples of which are thought to date earlier than the end of the first Iconoclasm (Brubaker and Haldon, 2011, pp. 297-302). A group of churches in western Asia Minor paved the way to the fully developed inscribed-cross plan when several four-column churches were built on the southern shore of the Sea of Marmara, the centre of Byzantine monasticism in the period of Iconoclasm (Mango, 1978, pp. 97-98;

<sup>7</sup> For the types of the inscribed-cross plan, see Struck, 1909; Gallas, Wessel and Borboudakis, 1983, pp. 72-79; Pekak, 2009.

<sup>8</sup> On Cambazlı Church, see Thierry and Thierry, 1963a; on St. Amphilochius Church, see Ramsay and Bell, 2008, pp. 403-407; Eyice, 1971; Tekinalp, 2009; on Meram Church, see Bell, 1907; Eyice 1971; on Kilise Camii, see Thierry, 1989, pp. 5-21; Karakaya, 2004, pp. 21-22.

<sup>9</sup> According to the chronology of Epstein, Karanlık was the first to be carved and painted, followed by Elmalı and Çarıklı whose painting programme was carried out by the atelier of the master of the church of Karanlık. On stylistic grounds Restle dates their wall paintings to the second half of the 12th and the beginning of the 13th century (1969, II). Warland uses stylistic comparisons and theological concepts of the era to date their wall paintings to the 13th century (2013, pp. 84-99).

<sup>10</sup> Jolivet-Lévy suggests that Çarıklı Church was sponsored by the elite household of the Melissenoi, and that the emphasis on the exaltation of the cross in the iconographic programme can be seen in parallel with the devotion of the military family to the cross (1998, p. 308).

Buchwald, 1984, pp. 223-229). Recent research suggests a mid-7th century date for the small church of the Episcopal Palace in Side, a four-column church close to the basilical churches with its proportions (Yıldırım, 2017, pp. 421-438). Brubaker and Haldon see the church of the monastery of Megas Agros from the mid-780s as one of the earliest known examples of an inscribed-cross plan (2011, 298-299). At this point, we should also mention the church of Pelekete monastery in Tirilye (Trigleia) as an earlier example from the 8th century<sup>11</sup>. The churches of Kılıçlar in Göreme and Köy Ensesi in Gökçe (Momoasson) whose paintings are dated to the 10th century on stylistic ground constitutes two of the first examples of inscribed-cross in the region; the former shows that this plan type with three apses on the east was well-established in Cappadocia in the early 10th century<sup>12</sup>.

The inscribed-cross with four columns was apparently a well-known type with its earliest examples extant before the end of the 8th century in western Asia Minor. Likewise three-apsed termination was already used in Cappadocia at the end of the 9th century as seen in Göreme and Gökçe; the two-column variation of the plan type was always a usable formula both in the close vicinity and throughout the empire. Although the examples of two-column variation in the region are not specifically dated, the Church of St. Barbara might be the first example of the variation with its free columns on the east. For these reasons alone, there is no reason to date the cutting of the Church of St. Barbara to the 11th century or to see it as a replication. The church need not have copied the architecture of a 'venerated' chapel, but might have been a work by an excavator group who aimed to carve all four columns or only the two columns on the west but was precluded because of the unsuitability of the rock. Furthermore, if the desire to see the shape of the cross in the architecture was an expectable one, the carvers or congregation of the Church of St. Barbara might have been as well the first group to carry it out.

At this point, the most intriguing aspect is the exact sameness of the plan types and the exact dissimilarity of the painting programmes of these two churches in close proximity. This aspect requires us to question the affinity or an interaction between them in the following pages.

### ***Description of the Motifs***

Nearly all the upper walls, main dome, cupolas of the corner bays and of the east cross arm and the shallow domes of the three apses are decorated with motifs in red ochre. A detailed evaluation reveals that this nonfigural programme of the church is mainly based on geometrical patterns. These patterns are inverted triangles, non-inverted triangles, tripartite motifs, bipartite motifs and zigzags (table 1).

Ahead of a short description, we can mention the three biblical crosses of Golgotha on the lunettes of the south and north apses<sup>13</sup>. On the upper section of the north wall of the north cross arm, belonging to the

---

<sup>11</sup> The *Vita* of the iconophile saint Stephen the Younger (Migne, 1865, pp. 1067-1187, especially pp. 1163-1166) from the 9th century is the only source that narrates the 8th-century devastation of the whole monastic complex and its churches with the order of the iconoclast emperor Constantine V (741-775), a destruction of which there remains no trace (Auzépy, 1999, p. 286). Therefore, Auzépy suggests that the hagiographer might have chosen to dedicate a story of persecution and a glorious past to the monastery. Throughout the second half of the 8th century and beyond, the same monastery maintained its life with its monastic units, monks and abbots. Whether or not the churches were destroyed in 760s, there is no concrete reason to think that the church of the monastery whose remains are visible today did not originally display an inscribed-cross plan and that it was only a later reconstruction.

<sup>12</sup> For the inscribed-cross churches in Cappadocia see Ousterhout, 2017, pp. 97-108; The scholar dates the use of the design with four columns in the region to the early 10th century. See also, Ötüken, 1984, pp. 143-167. For the Church of Köy Ensesi, see Thierry and Thierry, 1963b, pp. 26-28. As datable examples of the inscribed-cross plan with four columns in the region, a donor inscription dates the construction or the paintings of the church of Direkli Complex in Belisırma to the period of Basil II and Constantine VIII (976-1025) (Rodley, 1985, pp. 94-95). The wall paintings of the masonry church of Karagedik in Belisırma is dated to the end of the 10th century and the inscription indicated that the church was renovated in 1052. For the inscription of the Church of Karagedik, see Lebides, 1899, p. 117. On the style of its wall paintings, see Jolivet-Lévy, 2009, pp. 81-110.

<sup>13</sup> Especially see, Warland, 2021, p. 212 ff. The researcher stresses that painted and relief configuration of three-cross is encountered in numerous churches in the region from the early period on. By laying special emphasis on the Church

same period with the red ochre decoration, an animal is flanked by two crosses. The four armed creature raises its two front arms to one of the crosses<sup>14</sup>.

Inverted triangles fill in the pendentives of all the cupolas; apparently they are used to take the form of the architectural elements they are painted on (fig. 4). Non-inverted triangles are used in the compositions on the cupolas of the northeastern and northwestern corner bays.

Not only the non-inverted triangles on the corner bays but also the tripartite motifs on the main dome surround a cross at the summit. Tripartite motifs on the main dome seemingly reach out to the central cross whose cardinal directions they are inserted to. The tripartite elements comprise of rod-like, longitudinal rectangles at the lowest part, plate-like latitudinal rectangles or squares at the middle part; the middle parts are mounted on the top with triangles whose sharp edges seem to point at the cross at the summit.

Their bipartite variants decorate the north and south apses. However, bar-like longitudinal rectangles and latitudinal rectangles on them lack triangles on the upper part this time. They again encircle the cross in the middle, but it appears they actually stem from it (fig. 5). Hardly visible beneath the enthroned Christ from the later painting phase, the main apse was originally planned to display the same composition.

The variations of the bipartite and tripartite motifs of the main dome and apses are found on the tympana of the corner bays and on the upper walls of the cross arms. The south wall of the southeast corner bay is divided horizontally into two by a zigzag border (fig. 6). On the upper row, bipartite motifs in a pair of three are remarkable with clearly-rounded edges of their uppermost triangles. Similar motifs with rounded edges are seen on the upper walls of the south and west cross arms and on the tympana.

The zigzag pattern dominates the red ochre programme. The zigzag bands circulate the cornices, arch openings and soffits to set off the architectural borders; when on a flat surface, they create a border to divide the wall horizontally and to constitute a ground for the motifs to stand upon. Most importantly, however, the zigzag pattern is used to fill in nearly all the main geometrical patterns at the end of which the number of zigzags in each pattern becomes an indicative mark to differentiate it from another.

An overall view about the extensive ochre decoration denotes a preference of certain forms for certain parts of the church. Inverted and non-inverted triangles, bipartite and tripartite motifs are the main elements in the execution. While inverted triangle is used on the pendentives, non-inverted one is reserved for some of the cupolas. Whereas the composition of the central dome makes use of the tripartite motif, its bipartite variation with rounded and straight edges is seen on the upper walls and tympana. Thus, none of them seems to have been painted haphazardly on the very spot it stands, but as a consequence of a well-thought attempt.

---

Güllüdere 3 in Çavuşin, he remarks a 6th-century *kontakion* that referred to the three crosses of Golgotha as the ‘gates of paradise’; he considers such an approach in conjunction to the burial context of Güllüdere 3.

<sup>14</sup> Darrouzès read the inscription between the animal and the cross, and interpreted the animal as a rooster (Thierry, 1987, pp. 56-58). The inscription of “descend, my father, I catch your soul” was evaluated as an invocation the rooster addressed to Christ. Thierry identified the rooster as one of the hermits in the region who tried to escape the temptations of the devil. At first sight, the animal supplicating the cross brought to mind the graffiti in the south gallery of Hagia Sophia in Thessaloniki which is dated to the beginning of the 10th century (Theoharidou, 1988, pp. 167-170). In Cappadocia, there exist scenes executed in ochre where beasts flank and supplicate crosses. For example, above the entrance to the deep *arcosolium* in the Church 33a in Göreme, a four-legged animal and a dove (?) nearly touch their noses to the cross between them (Ousterhout, 2017, p. 109 and p. 195). In the Göreme Open Air Museum, on the lunette of the entrance to a room, a bird-like animal is situated to the right of the cross. Whatever the meaning of such representation, the same relationship between an animal and a cross seem to have been a well-known formula around the empire.

## Discussion

### *Nonfigural Ornament in the Churches of Cappadocia and the Painting Programme of the Church of St. Barbara*

Ceiling crosses in high relief circled with palm tree ornaments, carved decoration of crosses at the centre of carved or painted medallions, cross medallions encircled in sculptured or painted arcades, painted crosses in red, green and yellow appear as the main group of sets to embellish the early Christian churches of the region<sup>15</sup>. Apart from the churches dated to the pre-Iconoclastic period, not only the extensive use of nonfigurative elements and the prominent position of the crosses in the naos, but also the rudimentary motifs directly painted on the walls constituted the criteria in dating the monuments. The attempt to attribute them to the period of Iconoclasm has been left aside in recent research. Not only the figural imagery, though scarce among their nonfigurative paintings, but also the ongoing veneration of the cross in the post-Iconoclastic period are the prominent motivations of scholars to redate certain churches of the region to the second half of the 9th and the beginning of the 10th century (Epstein, 1977; Teteriatnikov, 1992).<sup>16</sup>

The simple geometric ornament directly painted on the rock is generally seen as a last touch following the work of excavation mostly to make the interior look like a built one by setting off the borders of the architectural elements (Rodley, 1985, p. 63; Jolivet-Lévy, 2015, p. 129). This ‘rough’, ‘folkloric’, ‘popular’ painting, as most of the scholars chose to name it, is thought to have been a prerequisite for the consecration of a newly completed church. This evaluation follows the assumption that the other ornament was applied as the primary phase to prepare the church for the religious service, to consecrate and to protect it from the evil eye until the polychrome painting would be substantially completed<sup>17</sup>. In the region, single or double line of zigzag pattern in ochre circulates the arches, cornices or walls, irregular lines fill in longitudinal rectangles circling the crosses at the summits of the cupolas, bands of chequer pattern decorate the walls or the inner surfaces of the arcades. Indeed, no small number of churches display nonfigurative elements to vindicate the idea of preparing the inner space for liturgical usage and of accentuating the structural elements (fig. 7). The relatively careless, less intense and non-hierarchically positioned motifs of a considerable number of churches typify a temporary linear decoration in the real sense<sup>18</sup>. Besides, the longitudinal

---

<sup>15</sup> For the prominent examples of the aniconic decoration in the early Cappadocian churches, see Lemaigre Demesnil, 2010. Additionally see Jolivet-Lévy, 2015, pp. 127-140.

<sup>16</sup> Epstein emphasizes a strong link between the Church of St. Basileios in Mustafapaşa (Sinassos), the Church of Joachim and Anna in Kızılcukur, the Church of St. Stephanos in Cemil, and Chapel 1 in Balkan Dere in terms of the repertoire of their nonfigural paintings, that is the pre-eminent positions of gemmed crosses on the ceilings and walls, interlaced circles enclosing painted crosses inside, leaf-like elements ending with hearts, rinceau pattern surrounding the arch openings or decorating the inner surfaces of the arches. On the grouping of the ateliers of the post-Iconoclast churches of the region that display a huge repertoire of nonfigural ornament, see Xenaki, 2011.

<sup>17</sup> Scholars underline the apotropaic-liturgical usage of crosses. According to Warland the veneration of the cross in Cappadocia had always been a sign of piety before and after the Iconoclast period (Warland, 2013, pp. 58-60). In the Church of St. Barbara, on the west wall of the west cross arm, red ochre crosses can be noticed, which are definitely not in relation with and not a part of the ochre painting programme in the whole naos. In this respect, it is probable to allege that the unrelated crosses on the west wall were painted just after the masons had ended their work and had the intention to prepare the interior as a suitable church for prayer. Besides, these motifs can easily be added later by any believer.

<sup>18</sup> Naming some of the churches will suffice to exemplify the arbitrary nature of the execution of some ‘popular’ motifs. One of the cupolas of the Church nr. 25 in close proximity to St. Barbara is decorated with a Maltese cross medallion at the centre surrounded with a zigzag pattern, which is surrounded again with double lines and double zigzag pattern possibly to create a three dimensional effect. The four pendentives of the same cupola are filled with wavy lines. Maltese crosses on the upper walls are encircled with a sort of arcade formed with similar lines and zigzag pattern. Vertical chequer bands decorate the inner surfaces of the arches, whereas another chequer motif fills the entire west upper wall. Ashlar imitation is visible on the vaults. On each of the pendentives of a little, domed free-cross church in

rectangle or zigzag pattern are witnessed beneath the figural paintings from the 10th century or in the carved or painted decoration from the pre-Iconoclastic period<sup>19</sup>. Throughout the region St. Barbara is the only church where the repertoire became so intensive and divergent; its painters chose to use the repertoire to create a language that was both usable in the liturgy and comprehensible by the congregation. The church turns this nonfigurative character into a comprehensible but rarely used formula to organize the religious space.

That certain motifs were intended only for certain parts of the church not only supposes a hierarchical positioning of them but also demonstrates that most of them had their own distinctive meaning. Remarkably, polychrome panels of the second layer were painted on the lower walls of the naos, where no ruddled motif had primarily been depicted. The only pattern covered up with a polychrome painting is the one in the main apse. Christ enthroned is repainted upon the unfinished formless motif on the conch. The unfinished ruddled composition of the main apse was originally planned to resemble the detailed and specific compositions on the subsidiary apses. The reason for its fragmental form was surely the inability to emplace the rectangular motif to the very centre of the conch, which caused the whole composition to be irregular from the very beginning. Thus, red ochre motifs were not arbitrary to be covered up later but they formed a hierarchically arranged, regular painting programme.

On an inner comparison of the motifs as a whole, it becomes easy to perceive the painters' inclination and devoutness to compose them with different details. Nearly all motifs display different numbers of zigzag combinations, and when they share the same numbers they display extra lines and shapes this time. Thus, it becomes clear that the artists had it as a guideline that a motif should (and could) differ from each other in form and substance by adding or extracting a detail, or that it actually had a meaning when a composition was comprised of the same motifs with exactly the same details. Red ochre compositions make it genuinely explicit that certain parts of the church were reserved for the specific forms, which shows that detailing had a considerable importance for the 'liturgical language' set up between the church and the faithful congregated inside. That the first painting phase was not irregular, plain and devoid of the message of a Christological cycle must be the reason why the painters of the individual panels did not choose to cover them up. A pious painter, a monk or the faithful at a later time surely seized the iconographic and liturgical sense and content of it (fig. 8)<sup>20</sup>.

### ***The Meaning of St. Barbara Among the Crowd of Churches at Göreme***

There exist suggestions on reading the nonfigurative character of the church in a way close to the governing idea of this study. Mainstone has seen "a charming naive inventiveness" in the motifs that led him to refer to them as symbolic representations of the scenes from the life of Christ (Mainstone, 1958).

---

Göreme Valley, is seen a triangle filled with lines and waves at random. Triangles were apparently chosen to take the forms of the pendentives; however they differ from those of St. Barbara with their arbitrary nature and nastiness.

<sup>19</sup> On the prothesis niche of the Tokalı Church in Göreme, the ochre ashlar imitation is visible beneath a later Virgin Eleousa. Likewise, beneath a later Crucifixion on the main apse of the same church, there remains a part of the longitudinal rectangle in ochre. Distinguishable are the painted zigzag and zigzag in relief circulating the cornices and walls of the late 6th-early 7th-century churches of Zelve nr. 4 and nr. 2. Apparently, they were among the motifs typically used to form a kind of repertoire ready to be applied to the newly excavated units.

<sup>20</sup> The onlooker is intrigued with the composition depicted on the ceiling of the *parekklesion* attached to the complex of Gökçe 1 in the settlement of Gökçe. The flat ceiling is decorated at the centre with a double circular row of zigzag pattern; from this central medallion emerge diagonal strips filled with zigzags. Between these strips, one can see four crosses executed with different details. All this scheme is closed within a line of zigzag pattern. Although the composition does not include unique and specific motifs like those of St. Barbara, it certainly puts emphasis on the solemnity of the very site of the *parekklesion*. The onlooker, at first sight, ascribes to the composition the meaning of the scenes like Last Judgment or Ascension. The room relays the visitor the aura of its function through the composition. On the settlement of Gökçe, see Warland, 2008. I thank the researcher for allowing me to use his drawing of the motif in question.



Thierry has asserted that certain compositions like those on the apses represent the scene of Christ in Glory, or the composition above the main door is the representation of Deesis or Transfiguration (Thierry, 1987) (fig. 9). The fact remains that, it is equally hard and would be in vain to single out the narrative scenes or figures that were meant to be substituted with certain compositions or single motifs. On the other hand, the apparent endeavour of the executors to differentiate between nearly all motifs and their hierarchical arrangement in the naos require one to speculate on the possible motivation behind the execution, on the inner meaning of the programme and on the outer meaning of St. Barbara as a church among the crowd of churches in the Göreme enclave.

The three crosses depicted in the apse of the south church of St. Basileios in Mustafapaşa constituted a starting point for us to elaborate on many subjects. On the conch of the south apse, above the three painted crosses at the centre of the wall, three crosses are encircled by three intertwined medallions (fig. 10). In between the arms of each cross are inscribed the names of three patriarchs, namely of Isaac (HCAAK-Ισαάκ), Abraham (ABPAAM- Αβραάμ) and Jacob (HAKOB- Ιακώβ)<sup>21</sup>. Along with these inscriptions, different details in the execution of the crosses as well clearly turn them into symbolic representations of the Old Testament patriarchs. It clearly exemplifies the mentality of an Orthodox artist and congregation on the function of the details to differentiate a motif and ascribe a meaning to it. Jerphanion and Thierry date the chapel to the Iconoclast period although they note two bishop figures on the same painting phase with the elaborate nonfigural painted programme (Jerphanion, 1925-1942, II, pp. 105-112; Thierry, 1981, pp. 213-215). Teteriatnikov, on the other hand, dates the depiction of three crosses in the apse and the painting programme of the church to the period immediately after Iconoclasm, and she considers the decoration as a work of the artists who planned a flexible painting programme not entirely detached from the aniconic decoration and Iconoclast mentality of the recently-left Iconoclast period (1992, p. 105). It is visible that the intent of the artists/masons/congregation/patron of the Church of St. Basileios was to avoid figural imagery as it was most probably the question how and what they could represent without using figural depiction or using it as little as possible. The painters chose only two bishops for figural imagery, whereas the determination of the artists of the Church of St. Barbara to narrate a scene or suggest a figure is obvious<sup>22</sup>. It suggests that St. Barbara atelier had detached itself from the Iconoclast mentality. Indeed, the overall presence of the church must be evaluated within the dynamics of the immediate post-Iconoclastic period.

An understanding of the icon was formulated in the text of *Synodikon of Orthodoxy*, a widely-read document in the 11th century that found its roots in the iconophile concepts of 843 and beyond (Barber, 2007, pp. 1-23). With the main lines of iconophile doctrine drawn, the text argued how an icon could become a sufficient means to render the reality and fullness of the incarnation of Christ. The same idea was once again emphasized with a second council in the late 9th century. As Barber underlines, the council of 869-870 argued for a visual discourse, created and conveyed a legitimate way of expression of the holy: as the worship was addressed to the portrayed and as the image should receive the exact veneration and reverence

---

<sup>21</sup> For the church and its inscriptions, see Jerphanion, 1925-1942, II, pp. 105-112; Thierry, 1981, pp. 213-215; Teteriatnikov, 1992, pp. 99-114.

<sup>22</sup> By considering the different total numbers in each triangular motif on the pendentives of the main dome of St. Barbara, the best way to go one step further seems to ask whether they are the substitutions for the four evangelists. On the pendentives of the main dome of Kılıçlar Church from the 10th century are the evangelist portraits. The pendentives of the main dome of El Nazar Church from the same century display the evangelists. On the pendentives of the main domes of the Çarıklı and Elmalı churches the evangelists are represented, while on those of Karanlık the same painting atelier preferred to depict three apostles and a saint. Demus notes that in the post-Iconoclastic period the single figures invariably chosen for the smaller pendentives of the central cupolas were the evangelists, but the examples show that it was not a strict choice (Demus, 1955, pp. 26-27; Wessel, 1971, II, pp. 452-507, especially pp. 486-490). Likewise, the form and positioning of some motifs, six motifs in two rows on the south wall of the southeast corner bay as an example, suggest a gender difference (see again fig. 6). The rectangular motifs with sharp edges on the lower row are more close to be male saints or martyrs, while the three motifs on the upper row which have relatively smooth edges appear to be female ones. These motifs of the same type depicted on the same level suggest a non-hierarchical positioning. Another three on the west cross arm, motifs of the same type but with different details and on different levels, suggest a hierarchical order and represent three holy persons of different reverence degree.

its prototype deserved, a likeness was established between the image and the one represented by the formal particularities. The visibility and thus the representability of Christ was the fundamental iconophile doctrine, which stressed his depiction in human and divine natures (Walter, 2000, pp. 157-158)<sup>23</sup>. Thus, an iconoclast churchgoer would have certainly rejected even the 'symbolic', 'abstract', red ochre representations of the holy figures in the space he performed his worship. For that reason, the first users of the Church of St. Barbara must have had an atelier who detached itself from the iconoclast way of thought. The obvious avoidance of figural imagery but the clear eagerness to compose and depict certain scenes and figures imply a community who tried to separate itself from the already-vanished Iconoclasm but who continued to use its own way of visual discourse. It should be emphasized that the atelier and community of St. Barbara was coexistent in the region with the artists who apparently knew the post-Iconoclastic inventions and used them in the churches of the late 9th-early 10th century<sup>24</sup>. Within this context the Church of St. Barbara also belonged to a time period of a well-defined atmosphere of visual expression; its atelier chose to execute an equally detailed programme in such an atmosphere.

Together with the uniqueness of the language St. Barbara bears, the nearby presence of Çarıklı of the same plan type but with a polychrome painting programme bring forth some reflections about the outset and continuance of the two churches. The inner organization of the religious institutions in the Göreme circuit or the hierarchical arrangement of them (if any) is still a mystery. According to Cooper and Decker, Çarıklı Church had been planned as an elite settlement area in the 11th century but the revelation of the foot-like impressions in the naos caused the complex to be transformed into a pilgrim destination (2013, p. 170). They assume that the revered status of Çarıklı as a monastery was followed by the other complexes nearby and the intensive use of the site caused the profusion of churches and refectories in the museum area. Ousterhout points out the presence of the clustered refectories with or without organic link to the churches not only in the museum area but also on the branches of the Göreme Valley. Accordingly, the various and specific reasons of the coexistence of *trapezai* and churches was to commemorate the dead, to form the setting for monastic meals and for the special commemorative services for the late patrons (2010, p. 95; 2017, pp. 474-478). He does not totally dismiss the presence of monastic units and family foundations which corresponded to the ongoing funerary nature of the Göreme site<sup>25</sup>. The presence of rural elites at the site of Göreme and its immediate vicinity in the period after Iconoclasm is exemplified with monastic or lay patronage in the hermitage of Ioannes at Güllüdere at the beginning of the 10th century, with the lay donor family responsible for the 10th-century paintings of New Tokalı Church, or with the depiction of the imperial family of Nikephoros II and two lay donors in the Great Pigeonhouse Church at Çavuşin in the middle of the same century<sup>26</sup>. The atelier and congregation of St. Barbara might be a community/sect who ran away from a centre which put (or had to put) its Iconoclast tendency aside in the 9th century. Likewise, the community might have been sent by the same centre to be settled in the site of Göreme where it integrated its own fabric into this religious and profane components of the site. The architecture of St. Barbara allows such an interpretation either. The church might have been cut one or two generations earlier than Çarıklı, or the same congregation might have cut a nearly similar church with its additional rooms to form a monastic complex for its own use. This coexistence might have continued until the painting atelier of Karanlık, Elmalı and Çarıklı churches was at hand to paint them. The balance of power at the Göreme site must have changed

<sup>23</sup> For a recent study on the theological arguments between the two factions about images, see Parry, 2021, pp. 425-464.

<sup>24</sup> For an assessment and comparison on the stylistic and iconographical features of a group of churches from the late 9th-early 10th-century, see Jerphanion, 1931, pp. 5-27; Cormack, 1967, pp. 19-36. For their figural apse programmes, see Jolivet Lévy, 1991, and additionally Thierry, 1973, pp. 170-178.

<sup>25</sup> The western branch of the Göreme Valley going up to the museum kept ancient tombs and had already been transformed into a Christian cemetery in the 5th-6th century (Ousterhout, 2017, p. 424).

<sup>26</sup> For a recent study on the patronage and usage of Tokalı and Great Pigeonhouse churches, see Bevilacqua, 2013, pp. 235-264. Warland dates the wall paintings of New Tokalı to the 13th century on liturgical, stylistic and iconographic grounds (2013, pp. 80-84).

with the patronage of an elite family whose three members were depicted on the west wall of Çarıklı in supplication to an unidentified figure, or with the patronage of laymen and priests depicted in the naos of Karanlık Church<sup>27</sup>. This change might have ended with the division and transfer of the community of St. Barbara to constitute the congregation of Çarıklı.

The transference of clergy is not without a prior example. In the 5th century, the monastic community of the Akoimetai monastery in Constantinople was invited to occupy the newly founded monastery of the Stoudios (Hatlie, 2007, p. 102 and p. 107). Hatlie interprets this activity of the Akoimetai monastery as a ‘colonizing act with the aim of institutional advancement’ at the end of which the Akoimetai expanded greatly. In the apparently self-enclosed layout of the Göreme circuit, an already-established clergy (of St. Barbara) might have been used for a newly founded institution (of Çarıklı). In parallel, the religious community who used, secured, patronized, and discerned the Church of St. Barbara must have continued its existence without any interference from the hierarchical order of the enclave.

## **Final Evaluation**

In the nonfigural repertoire of the region, the Church of St. Barbara with its red motifs is generally named as “an example of a simple decorative system” of the 11th century (Jolivet-Lévy, 2015, p. 130). However, its specific paintings, architecture and location at the Göreme site lead to a reconsideration of the church and they speak for the opposite. As the painting programme of a church was chosen and designed for a certain ritual held inside, the detailed and distinctive motifs and compositions of the Church of St. Barbara must have been executed both to serve a certain liturgy and to reflect the hierarchy in the mind of the congregation. For this reason, the intense, red ochre painting programme of the church surely based upon a theological thought and set on a theoretical background.

Apparently the atelier and congregation of the church abstained from figural imagery as much as possible but desired to relay symbolic or narrative scenes. The first users seem as a group who ran away from or was sent by a centre which was not attached to Iconoclasm any more in the late 9th or early 10th century. This religious community was apparently able to detach itself from the Iconoclast mentality it had been formerly a part of and who tried to adapt its way of thought within a well-defined atmosphere of visual discourse of the post-Iconoclastic era. The church turned the nonfigurative repertoire of the region into a meaningful formula. Such a formula seems to have remained a tentative work and never been widely-used, although the possibility can not be totally dismissed that the examples of a similar idea are extant somewhere beneath the relatively well-preserved polychrome paintings of the region. That none of the specific paintings except the formless one on the main apse were covered up later is the indication of the usage of a language recognizable and understandable to the first users, to the painters of the polychrome paintings and to the latecomers/second users.

## **References**

- Auzépy, M. F. (1999). *L'hagiographie et L'iconoclasme Byzantine. Le cas de la Vie d'Étienne le Jeune*. Ashgate.
- Barber, C. (2007). *Contesting the logic of painting: Art and understanding in Eleventh-Century Byzantium*. Brill.
- Bell, G. L. (1907). Notes on a journey through Cilicia and Lycaonia. *Revue Archéologique*, 9, 18-30.
- Bevilacqua, L. (2013). *Arte e aristocrazia a Bisanzio nell'età dei Macedoni*. Campisano.
- Brubaker, L. (2004). Aniconic decoration in the Christian World (6th-11th Century): East and West. *Cristianità d'Occidente e Cristianità d'Oriente: (secoli VI - XI); 24-30 aprile 2003* (pp. 573-600). Spoleto.
- Brubaker, L. and Haldon, J. (2011). *Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era, c. 680-850. A History*. Cambridge University Press.
- Buchwald, H. (1984). Western Asia Minor as a generator of architectural forms in the Byzantine period, provincial back-wash or dynamic center of production?. *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik*, 34, 199-235.

---

<sup>27</sup> As mentioned before, Jolivet-Lévy suggests that the donor family is that of the Melissenoi (1998, pp. 357-374). For a recent study on the patronage in the complex of Karanlık Church, see Tsakalos, 2012, 162-187.

- Cooper, J. E. and Decker, M. J. (2013). *Life and society in Byzantine Cappadocia*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Cormack, R. (1967). Byzantine Cappadocia: The archaic group of wall-paintings. *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 30(1), 19-36.
- Darrouzès, J. (1981). *Notitiae Episcopatum Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae. Texte Critique, Introduction et Notes*. Paris: Institut Français d'études Byzantines.
- Demus, O. (1955). *Byzantine mosaic decoration. Aspects of monumental art in Byzantium*. Boston: Boston Book&Art Shop.
- Epstein, A. W. (1975). Rock-cut chapels in Göreme Valley, Cappadocia: The Yılanlı Group and the Column Churches. *Cahiers Archéologiques*, 24, 115-134.
- Epstein, A. W. (1977). The 'iconoclast' churches of Cappadocia. In A. Bryer and J. Herrin (Eds), *Iconoclasm: Papers given at the Ninth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies* (pp. 103-111). Birmingham: Centre of Byzantine Studies.
- Epstein, A. W. (1980-1981). The Fresco Decoration of the Column Churches, Göreme Valley, Cappadocia. A Consideration of Their Chronology and Their Models. *Cahiers Archeologiques*, 29, 27-45.
- Eyice, S. (1971). Konya'nın Alâeddin Tepesinde Selçuklu öncesine ait bir eser: Eflâton Mescidi. *Sanat Tarihi Yıllığı*, 4, 269-302.
- Gallas, K., Wessel, K. and Borboudakis, M. (1983). *Byzantinisches Kreta*. Hirmer Verlag München.
- Haldon, J. F. (trans.) (1990). *Constantine Porphyrogenitus. Three treatises on imperial military expeditions*. Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Hatlie, P. (2007). *The monks and monasteries of Constantinople, ca. 350-850*. Cambridge University Press.
- Hild, F. and Restle, M. (1980). *Tabula Imperii Byzantini 2. Kappdokien (Kappadokia, Charsianon, Sebasteia und Lykandos)*. Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Jerphanion, G. de. (1925-1942). *Une Nouvelle Province de L'art Byzantin Les Églises Rupestres de Cappadoce*. 2 vols. Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner.
- Jerphanion, G. de. (1931). La chronologie des peintures de Cappadoce. *Échos d'Orient*, 30(161), 5-27.
- Jolivet-Lévy, C. (1991). *Les Églises Byzantines de Cappadoce. Le Programme Iconographique de l'abside et des ses abords*. Paris.
- Jolivet-Lévy, C. (1998). Çarıklı Kilise, l'église de la Précieuse croix à Göreme (Korama), Cappadoce: une fondation des Mélissènoi? *EYΨYXIA. Mélanges Offerts à Hélène Ahrweiler*. Vol. I. Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne.
- Jolivet-Lévy, C. (2009). The Bahattin Samanlığı Kilisesi at Belisırma (Cappadocia) revisited. In C. Hourihane (Ed.), *Byzantine Art: Recent Studies. Essays in honor of Lois Drewer* (pp. 81-110). Brepols.
- Jolivet-Lévy, C. (2015). De l'aniconisme en Cappadoce: quelques réflexions à la lumière de découvertes récentes. In *L'aniconisme dans l'art religieux byzantin. Actes du colloque de Genève (1-3 octobre 2009)*. Geneva: La Pomme d'or.
- Karakaya, N. (2004). 2002 Yılı, Kayseri Yeşilhisar İlçesi Erdemli Köyü'ndeki Kaya Kiliseleri Duvar Resimleri. In *21. Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı 2. Cilt (26-31 Mayıs 2003 Ankara)* (pp. 17-28). Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Basımevi.
- Lebides, A. M. (1899). *Ai en monolithois monai tes Kappadokias kai Lykaonias*. Konstantinopolis.
- Lemaigre Demesnil, N. (2010). *Architecture rupestre et décor sculpté en Cappadoce (Ve-IXe siècle)*. Oxford: BAR International Series 2093.
- Mainstone, R. J. (1958). *Notes on the Rock-Cut Churches of Cappadocia*. St. Albans.
- Mango, C. (1978). *Byzantine Architecture*. Electa Editrice.
- Migne, J.-P. (1865). *Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Series Graeca*, Vol. 100. Paris.
- Moffatt, A. and Tall, M. (trans.) (2012). *Constantine Porphyrogenetos. The Book of Ceremonies, I-II*, Canberra: Australian Association for Byzantine Studies Byzantina Australiensia 18(2).
- Ousterhout, R. (2010). Remembering the Dead in Byzantine Cappadocia: The Architectural Settings for Commemoration. *Architecture of Byzantium and Kievan Rus from the 9th to the 12th Centuries (Materials of the International seminar November 17-21, 2009)*. The State Hermitage Publishers.
- Ousterhout, R. G. (2017). *Visualizing community: Art, material culture, and settlement in Byzantine Cappadocia*. *Dumbarton Oaks Studies XLVI*.
- Ötügen, S. Y. (1984). Kappadokya bölgesindeki kapalı Yunan haçı kiliselerde resim programı. *Ege Üniversitesi Arkeoloji ve Sanat Tarihi Dergisi*, 3, 143-167.
- Parry, K. (2021). The theological argument about images in the 9th Century. In M. Humphreys (Ed.), *A Companion to Byzantine Iconoclasm* (pp. 425-464). Leiden: Brill.
- Pekak, S. (2009). *Trilye (Zeytinbağı) Fatih Camisi: Bizans kapalı Yunan haçı planı*. Arkeoloji ve Sanat Yayınları.

- Ramsay, W. M., and Bell, G. L. (2008). *The thousand and one churches*. In R. G. Ousterhout and M. P. C. Jackson (Eds.). Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania.
- Restle, M. (1969). *Byzantine wall painting in Asia Minor*. 3 vols. Irish University Press.
- Rodley, L. (1985). *Cave monasteries of Byzantine Cappadocia*. Cambridge University Press.
- Schiemenz, G. P. (1966). Eine Unbekannte Felsenkirche in Göreme. *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 59(2), 307-333.
- Schiemenz, G. P. (1970). Zur Chronologie der Kappadokischen Felsenmalereien. *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, 85, 253-273.
- Struck, A. (1909). Vier Byzantinische Kirchen der Argolis. *Athenischen Mitteilungen*, 34(3), 189-235.
- Tekinalp, M. (2009). Palace churches of the anatolian Seljuks: tolerance or necessity? *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, 33(2), 148-167.
- Teteriatnikov, N. (1992). The Frescoes of the Chapel of St. Basil in Cappadocia. *Cahiers Archéologiques*, 40, 99-114.
- Theoharidou, K. (1988). *The architecture of Hagia Sophia, Thessaloniki, from its erection up to the Turkish conquest*. BAR International Series 399.
- Thierry, N. and Thierry, M. (1963a). Une nouvelle église rupestre de Cappadoce: Cambazlı Kilise à Ortahisar. *Journal des savants*, 1, 5-23.
- Thierry, N. and Thierry, M. (1963b). *Nouvelles églises Rupestres de Cappadoce: Région du Hasan Dağı*. Paris: Libraire C. Klincksieck.
- Thierry, N. (1971). The Rock Churches. L. Giovannini (Ed.), *Arts of Cappadocia* (pp. 129-171). Geneva: Nagel Publishers.
- Thierry, N. (1973). Un atelier de peintures du début du Xe siècle en Cappadoce: L'atelier de l'ancienne église de Tokalı. *Bulletin de la Société nationale des antiquaires de France*, 1971, 170-178.
- Thierry, N. (1981). Le culte de la croix dans l'empire byzantin du VIIe siècle au Xe dans ses rapports avec la guerre contre l'infidèle. Nouveaux témoignages archéologiques. *Rivista di studi Bizantini e Slavi*, 1, 205-228.
- Thierry, N. (1987). L'Église Sainte-Barbe. *Dossiers Histoire et Archéologie*, 121, 56-58.
- Thierry, N. (1989). Erdemli, Une vallée monastique inconnue en Cappadoce: étude préliminaire. *Zograf*, 20, 5-21.
- Tsakalos, A. (2012). Art et Donation en Cappadoce Byzantine: l'église rupestre de Karanlık Kilise. In J. M. Spieser and É. Yota (Eds.), *Donation et donateurs dans le monde byzantin* (pp. 162-187). Desclée de brouwer.
- Walter, C. (2000). *Pictures as Language: How the Byzantines Exploited Them*. London: Pindar Press.
- Warland, R. (2008). Die byzantinische Höhlensiedlung von Gökçe/Momoasson in Kappadokien. *Istanbul Mitteilungen*, 58, 347-369.
- Warland, R. (2013). *Byzantinisches Kappadokien*. Philipp von Zabern.
- Warland, R. (2021). Frühbyzantinische Kreuzdiskurse des 6. und 7. Jahrhunderts und ihre Rezeption in Konstantinopel, Kappadokien und im Westen. *Millennium 18*(1), 203-249.
- Wessel, K. (1971). *Reallexikon zur Byzantinischen Kunst*. Vol. II. Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann.
- Wood, D. (1959). Byzantine Military Standards in a Cappadocian Church. *Archaeology*, 12(1), 38-46.
- Xenaki, M. (2011). Recherches sur les églises byzantines de Cappadoce et leur décor peint (VI<sup>e</sup>-IX<sup>e</sup> siècles). Université Paris 1 (Doctoral dissertation).
- Yıldırım, Ş. (2017). Dating dispute over the cross-in-square church in the Episcopal Palace in Side. *Olba* 25, 421-438.

**Appendix: Figures**



Figure 1: Church of St. Barbara and Elmalı Church on a lower level (photo: author)



Figure 2: A general view of the red ochre painting programme of St. Barbara (photo: S. Pekak)

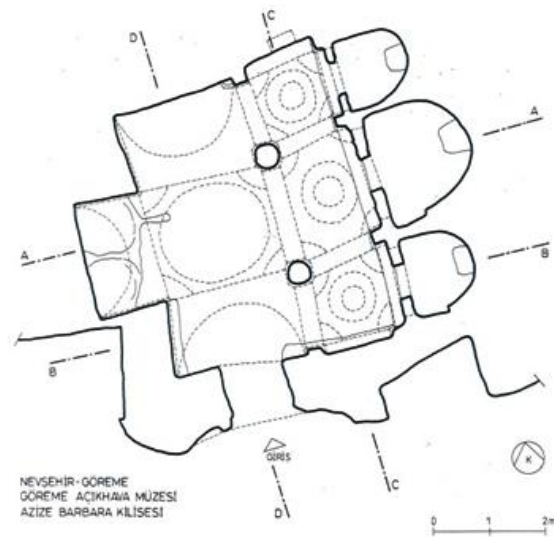


Figure 3: Plan of the Church of St. Barbara (Karaca, 2013)

Table 1: Ideogram that groups the red ochre motifs in the church according to their types and positions in the building (unscaled drawing: author)

type: inverted triangle architectural element: pendentives part of the church: southeast corner bay	
type: non-inverted triangle architectural element: dome part of the church: northeast corner bay	
type: tripartite motif architectural element: dome part of the church: main dome	
type: bipartite motif architectural element: apse part of the church: north apse	
type: bipartite motif/variation 1 architectural element: upper wall part of the church: south wall of the southeast corner bay	
type: bipartite motif/variation 2 architectural element: upper wall part of the church: west wall of the west cross arm	
type: bipartite motif/variation 3 architectural element: tympana part of the church: north tympana of the east cross arm	



Figure 4: Cupolas of the south corner bay and east cross arm (photo-author)



Figure 5: East cross arm, main apse, and north apse to the left (photo: author)



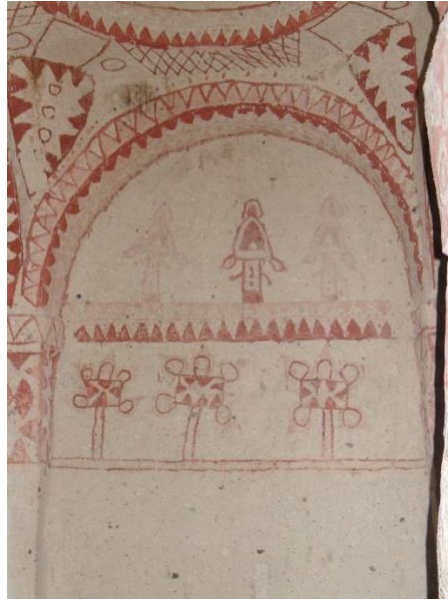


Figure 6: South wall of the southeast corner bay (photo: author)



Figure 3: Central dome of a chapel in the Göreme Valley (photo: author)

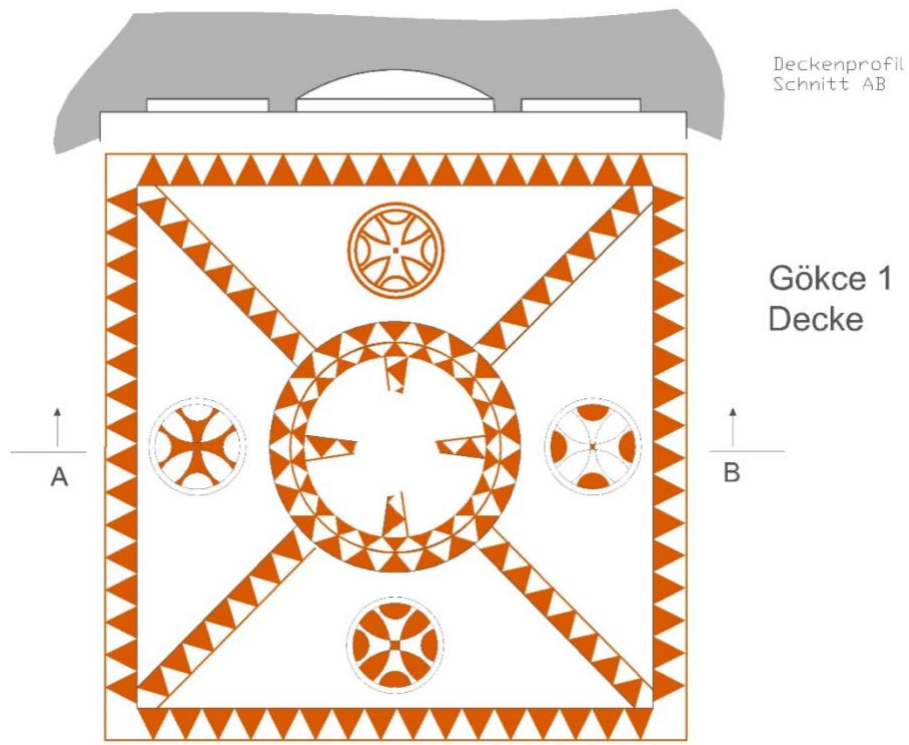


Figure 4: Vault of the *parekklesion* of Gökçe 1 in Gökçe settlement (drawing: R. Warland in Warland, 2008)



Figure 5: South wall of the south cross arm (photo: author)

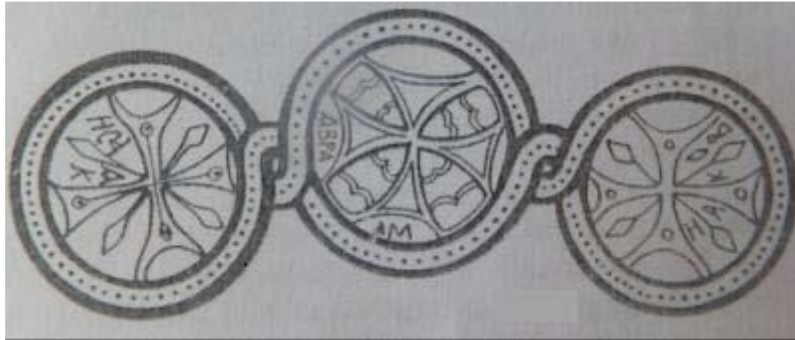


Figure 10: The Chapel of St. Basileios in Mustafapaşa, drawing of three cross medallions labelled Isaac, Abraham, Jacob (Thierry, 1971)