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Araştırma Makalesi/Research Article

Byzantine Countryside with its Villagers and *Dynatoi*: the Example of the Soğanlı Valley, Cappadocia*

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Abstract

The Soğanlı Valley is on the main route that connects Niğde and Kayseri. Its arable land, rock-cut dwellings that housed a large population and an openly parochial complex from the tenth century indicate that the settlement contained a Byzantine village. Its masonry church, a rare element from late antiquity, exemplifies the special status of the settlement in early Christianity and foreshadows its ongoing importance in the Middle Ages. The eleventh-century inscriptions are the indicators of the middle and high-ranking soldiers in the settlement. Apparently, Soğanlı was one of the settlements chosen for the military leaders of the century and became a piece of land held by them. The powerful (*dynatoi*) who settled near this crucial route must have been meant not only to control that route but also to maintain their economic welfare from the territory. Thus, Soğanlı had a twofold prominence as a Byzantine countryside: It was a part of the defence strategy the empire attempted to formulate in medieval Cappadocia; furthermore, it housed important archaeological, epigraphical and art historical data on the medieval period of the region with its

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monuments of various functions and inscriptions. Soğanlı and its '*dynatoi*' endured within the new administrative system after Manzikert. The study aims to examine the 'village' identity of the settlement especially in the tenth century, and to analyse the activity and continuity of the powerful in Soğanlı and the empire. Within this aim, the study uses the military, historical, legislative texts of the period, and architectural and archaeological data from the valley.

Keywords: Cappadocia, the Soğanlı Valley, Byzantine village, the dynatoi, the family of Skepides.

Köylüleri ve Güçlüleri (*Dynatoi*) ile Bizans Kırsalı: Kappadokia-Soğanlı Vadisi Örneği

Öz

Soğanlı Vadisi Niğde-Kayseri kentlerini bağlayan ana yolun üzerinde bulunmaktadır. Vadi içerisine kurulan yerleşimin verimli arazisi, kalabalık bir nüfusu barındırmış olması gereken kayaya oyma konutları ve köy kullanımına ait olduğu açık bir 10. yüzyıl yapı kompleksi, yerleşimin bir Bizans köyü olduğunu da gösterir. Vadinin, geç Antik dönem için nadir bir örnek olan kagir kilisesi de, erken Hristiyanlık döneminden beri buranın sahip olduğu ayrıcalıklı konumu örneklemekte, Orta Çağda da devam edecek önemini göstermektedir. Önemli rütbedeki askerlerin 11. yüzyılda vadideki varlığı yazıtlardan anlaşılmaktadır. Görünen o ki, Soğanlı orta Bizans döneminde önemli bir rotanın güvenliğini sağlayan askerî liderlerin yerleşimi olarak planlanmış, onların mülkü haline gelmiştir. Dolayısıyla, 11. yüzyılda doğu sınırına yakın önemli bir yola yerleştirilen askerlerin hem yolu kontrol etmeleri hem de ekonomik refahlarını buradan sağlamaları hedeflenmiş olmalıdır. Bu yaklaşım, Soğanlı Vadisi'nin bir Bizans kırsalı olarak iki önemli işlevini ortaya çıkarır: Vadi, Bizans İmparatorluğu'nun özellikle Orta Çağ Kappadokiası'nda oluşturmaya çalıştığı savunma stratejisinin önemli direnç noktalarından biridir; aynı zamanda, rütbeli askerlere (*strategos*, *domestikos*) ve köylülere ait yazıt ve portreler ile farklı işlevlere sahip yapılarıyla vadi orta Bizans dönemine ilişkin önemli arkeolojik, epigrafik ve sanatsal veriler barındırır. Soğanlı ve bir dönemki 'güçlüleri', Malazgirt Savaşı sonrasında Türklerin özellikle de Danişmendlilerin kontrolündeki yeni devlet sistemi içerisinde de varlığını sürdürmüştür. Bu çalışma, vadinin özellikle 10. yüzyıl içindeki 'köy' kimliğini, buraya yerleştirilen rütbeli askerlerin bölge ve İmparatorluk içindeki etkinlik ve sürekliliğini tartışmayı hedefler. Bu amaçla dö-

nemin askerî, tarihî ve toprak kanun metinleri ile yerleşimdeki mimari ve arkeolojik veriler kullanılacaktır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kappadokia, Soğanlı Vadisi, Bizans köyü, dynatoslar, Skepides ailesi.

Introduction

The Soğanlı Valley is located in Yeşilhisar district of Kayseri (Kaisareia) in Turkey and is about 7 km west of the fortified stronghold named Zengibar (Kyzistra). It is suggested that Soğanlı was within the borders of the area that belonged to the theme of Charsianon; accordingly, the site was positioned near the route passing through the suffragan bishoprics of Cappadocia I, that is through Ürgüp (Hagios Prokopios) and Sobesos, and reaching at Podandos, a town associated again to the same eparchy which fell into the administrative limits of the theme of Charsianon[1]. In any case, the valley is situated within an area of strategic importance[2]. The valley has been mainly studied in terms of the iconography and style of the wall paintings of its churches. Yet, the donor and supplicatory inscriptions bearing the names and titles of the *dynatoi*-powerful say a great deal on the power balance, on the life and on the running of the settlement especially in the tenth century and beyond. Approaching it as a piece of land at the rural periphery, new questions emerge on the administrative connection of Soğanlı to the rest of the Byzantine Empire. Along with the inscriptions, its geographical position and the archaeological data on the usage of some of its monuments call for a reconsideration of the settlement as a whole in the light of a multidisciplinary approach, involving historical narratives, architectural traces, and an archaeological survey method (Fig. 1)[3].

1 Anaïs Lamesa, "La chapelle des Donateurs à Soğanlı, nouvelle fondation de la famille des Skepides", *Anatolia Antiqua*, 23, 2015, pp. 195-196. For a recent study on the formulation and evolution of the theme system in Byzantine Anatolia, see Cüneyt Güneş, *Bizans Anadolusu'nda Askerî ve İdarî Bir Sistem: Thema Sistemi*, TTK Yay., Ankara 2021.

2 For the route network in Cappadocia leading to Kaisareia and to Soğanlı, see Friedrich Hild, *Das Byzantinische Strassensystem in Kappadokien*, Wien 1977, pp. 66-70; Friedrich Hild and Marcell Restle, *Tabula Imperii Byzantini 2, Kappadokien (Kappadokia, Charsianon, Sebasteia und Lykandos)*, Wien 1981, p. 282. On the identification of the site with ancient Soandos, see William J. Hamilton, *Researches in Asia Minor, Pontus and Armenia; with some account of their antiquities and geology,* 2 vols., London 1842, II, p. 292; Hans Rott, *Kleinasiatische Denkmäler aus Pisidien, Pamphylien, Kappadokien und Lykien*, Leipzig 1908, p. 122; additionally Jacobo Turchetto, ""...e fino a *Mazaka*... passando per *Soandos* e *Sadakora*...," (STRABO, XIV, 2, 29) La *koinè odós* straboniana e la possibile viabilità della Cappadocia centrale", *Journal of Ancient Topography*, 22, 2012, pp. 83-94.

3 Fig.1 is attained by 3D point cloud data and is the topographical image of the core area, its

The core area at the end of the valley, which the present study aims mainly to dwell on, consists of two branches that continue to west and northwest. However, its territory must have extended nearly to Yeşilhisar to about 10 km east, as evident by many rock-cut funerary chapels, monastic complexes and dwellings dispersed on the route in question[4]. The picture drawn by Hamilton through the end of the nineteenth century testifies the fertility of an area of about 10 km. On leaving Yeşilhisar and leading to Soğanlı, Hamilton "entered a rich and well-cultivated valley, watered by the stream which supplied the gardens below, and in which, as [he] gradually ascended along its banks, [he] found more water at every step"[5]. The huge agglomeration on the right to the entrance of the core area and the agglomeration at the junction of its branches display many units of various sizes and levels that connect to each other[6]. Although the intended use of these agglomerations is hard to be known, the extended territory of Soğanlı surely fed a large population.

The core area encloses seven complexes two of which are clearly the dwellings of landowning magnates and two of which are monastic[7]. Apart from the chapels of these complexes, there are twenty-one individual churches without an organic connection to them. At the junction of its branches the core area once held a

religious and secular buildings. The orthophoto images are obtained by Leica C10 laser scanner. I thank H. Bora Yavuz, the survey engineer who conducted the scanning, and Res. Assist. Murat Gül for his help in processing the data.

4 For a current catalogue of the rock-cut monuments on that route, see Catherine Jolivet-Lévy - Nicole Lemaigre Demesnil, *La Cappadoce, un siècle après Guillaume de Jerphanion*, 2 vols., Paris 2015, I, pp. 258-298.

5 Hamilton, *ibid.*, II, p. 286.

6 J. Eric Cooper and Michael J. Decker, *Life and Society in Byzantine Cappadocia*, Great Britain 2012, pp. 61-63. Cooper and Decker note the traces of a small, Byzantine dam-cistern near the entrance and an underground canal system which was active in the stream flowing between the two branches.

7 The complexes formerly regarded as 'courtyard monasteries' by Rodley are interpreted in recent literature as secular residential units of landowning magnates. Lyn Rodley, *Cave Monasteries of Byzantine Cappadocia*, Cambridge 1985, p. 11. They are remarkable with several carefully planned spaces around a courtyard and with the absence of a rock-cut refectory. Among others, see especially Thomas F. Mathews, Annie-Christine Daskalakis Mathews, "Islamic-Style Mansions in Byzantine Cappadocia and the Development of the Inverted T-Plan", J*ournal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 56/3, 1997, pp. 294-315; Fatma Gül Öztürk, "Negotiating between the Independent and Groups of Courtyard Complexes in Cappadocia", in *Proceedings of the Society of Architectural Historians, Australia and New Zealand: Open 30*, 2 vols., eds. Alexandra Brown - Andrew Leach, Queensland 2013, II, pp. 837-849.

masonry church which appears as a rare element in Byzantine Cappadocia. The presence of the masonry Ak Kilise is only known from a few photographs and writings of the travellers and scholars of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (Fig. 2)[8]. Through the details on its architectural decoration, Ak Kilise is compared to the masonry churches of the early Christian period and dated to the fifth-sixth centuries[9]. Especially the west branch is dotted with Byzantine wineries that stand individually on land, most of the monastic and domestic complexes possess their own wineries.

In small rock-cut Byzantine villages in Cappadocia, like Çavuşin and Zelve, similar agglomerations at their centre are considered as dwellings; these settlements lack the traces of the landlords and do not display a hierarchical organisation with their layout[10]. Erdemli and Şahinefendi, coined as villages in literature, are settlements similar to Soğanlı where the social hierarchy is apparent with one or more courtyard complexes for the powerful landlords dominating the habitation area at the centre of the village[11]. Mavrucandere does not hold a complex for a landowning magnate and is considered to be an agrarian village where organised vine cultivation was carried out by a rural elite family or small landowners[12].

In recent literature, Soğanlı is evaluated as a large agrarian village of the middle Byzantine period[13]. Despite the lack of primary sources that record the Byzantine life of the settlement, the agglomeration of rock-cut units at the junction and near the entrance, the fertility of its territory still witnessed in the nineteenth century and the similar examples from the region affirm this evaluation. As its agricultural

8 Hamilton, *ibid.*, 2:289; Texier, *Description de L'Asie Mineure faite per ordre du Gouvernement français de 1833 à 1837*, 2 vols., Paris 1849, II, p. 92.

9 Natalia Teteriatnikov, "A group of early churches in Cappadocia: evidence for dating", *Byzantina Chronika*, 60, 1998, pp. 232-237; Rott, *ibid.*, p. 132; Henri Grégoire, "Rapport sur un voyage d'exploration dans le Pont et en Cappadoce", *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*, 33, 1909, p. 111; Guillaume de Jerphanion, *Une Nouvelle Province de L'art Byzantin: les églises rupestres de Cappadoce*, 2 vols., Paris 1925-1942, I, p. 40 and table 4; Marcell Restle, *Studien zur Frühbyzantinischen Architektur Kappadokiens*, 2 vols., Wien 1979, II, pp. 24-26 and 171.

10 Robert G. Ousterhout, *Visualizing Community: Art, Material Culture, and Settlement in Byzantine Cappadocia*, Washington, D.C. 2017, p. 277.

11 See, in particular, Nilay Karakaya, "Erdemli'de Ekmek ve Şarap", *Anadolu ve Çevresinde Ortaçağ*, 2, 2008, pp. 33-53.

12 Nilüfer Peker, "Agricultural production and installations in Byzantine Cappadocia: a case study focusing on Mavrucandere", *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, 44, 2020, pp. 54-57.

13 Ousterhout, *Visualizing*, p. 293.

facilities, its geographical position and the traces of the powerful suggest, the site was an important periphery of the empire. Thus, the texts linked to Anatolia, such as the military treatises written between the sixth and tenth centuries, the legal compilation named *Farmer's Law* from the period before the late ninth century and the legislative decrees of the Macedonian emperors of the tenth century, should be seen – more or less – applicable to the village of Soğanlı. From these sources one can observe that the villages and their inhabitants were among the primary targets of the enemy, and one can read the regulations and assessments on the village commune as well as on the preservation of the fiscal equilibrium of a village[14].

The centre of or an important location in a Byzantine village is thought to have been occupied by the village church[15]. Masonry churches in the region usually dated to the early Byzantine period are rare and intriguing elements of late antique Cappadocia. They are dispersed on the landscape, their essence and usage can only be understood with the examination of the type of the settlement they are located on. It seems possible to superpose their rarity with an equally compelling institution of the same period, namely the office of the *chorepiskopoi*-country bishops[16]. We do not have any archaeological and historical data to discuss

14 For the collation of the manuscripts that contain the original text, see Walter Ashburner, "The Farmer's Law", *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 30, 1910, pp. 85-108. Peter Sarris underlines that *Farmer's Law* does not draw a picture of a countryside devoid of aristocrats and great landowners, rather, it is more about a countryside where peasant smallholders existed and survived within an aristocratic society. Peter Sarris, "Large estates and the peasantry in Byzantium c. 600–1100", *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire*, 90, 2012, pp. 440-441. Chris Wickham sees the *Farmer's Law* as the emblematic text for Byzantine plateau society of rural Anatolia in any period. Chris Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages: Europe and the Mediterranean, 400-800*, Oxford 2005, p. 463. For the legislative decrees of the Macedonian emperors, the references will be to their English translation in Eric McGeer, *The Land Legislation of the Macedonian Emperors*, Toronto 2000.

15 On the village churches' occupying the centre of the villages, see Angeliki E. Laiou, "The Byzantine Village (5th-14th century)", in *Les Villages dans l'Empire byzantin, IVe-XVe siècle*, eds. Jacques Lefort, Cecile Morrisson and Jean-Pierre Sodini, Paris 2005, p. 48 and n. 104; Sharon E. J. Gerstel and Alice-Mary Talbot, "The culture of lay piety in medieval Byzantium 1054-1453", in *The Cambridge History of Christianity: Eastern Christianity (Vol. 5)*, ed. M. Angold, Cambridge 2008, p. 80.

16 *Chorepiskopoi* were among the most important clergy in the Anatolian countryside in late antiquity, subordinated to the bishops to impose their ecclesiastical authority over the countryside, and were active in small towns or in more than one village simultaneously. In spite of the attempts to abolish the post in the fourth-century synods or the frictions on its hierarchical limits, country bishops went on to be attested to the eighth century, and to the tenth century in Cappadocia. Stephen Mitchell, *Anatolia: Land, Men, and Gods in Asia Minor*, 2 vols., Oxford 1993, 2:70; Michel Kaplan, *Les hommes et la terre à Byzance du VIe au XIe siècle*, Paris 1992, pp. 202-203. A tenth-century inscription in Yazılı Church near Avanos (Uēnasa) in Cappadocia belongs to Anthimos, priest and *chorepiskopos* of the *kastron* Eritas. Nicole Thierry, *Haut Moyen-Âge en Cappadoce: Les églises de la*

this possible association further. Still, the presence of Ak Kilise as an example of rare masonry churches not only shows the 'special status' of the settlement in late antiquity but also foreshadows the importance of the site in the medieval period.

The aim of this study is neither to elaborate on the legal status of the Soğanlı Village, nor to analyse the actual meaning of the texts on the village commune and the powerful. Rather, it aims to set forth our efforts to interpret a settlement which stands on a crucial geographical position in central Anatolia and bears the traces of the powerful at the same time. The study intends to arrive at a proposition for approaching a rural periphery, and to draw a chronological frame of the life of a Byzantine village with its villagers, monks and *dynatoi* mostly by focusing on tenth and eleventh centuries.

The Tenth-Century Soğanlı Village

Although war and insecurity in the seventh century and onwards affected a population shrinkage especially on the borders of the empire, the entire erasure of settlements like villages was out of question; likewise, the disappearance of a prosperous rural economy and the shrinkage of agricultural activity did not mean the total absence of human settlement[17]. The material and cultural basis for the middle Byzantine developments was formed by the continuity of settlement and socio-economic life in the early Byzantine countryside in Anatolia[18].

The continuity of human settlement in Soğanlı from the late antiquity on and the coexistence of the villagers and monks in the village in the tenth century is exemplified by the complex of Kubbeli churches. It is very close to and easily reachable from the habitation area at the junction of the branches (Figs. 3 and 4). It is dated to the tenth century by the style of the wall paintings of its churches[19].

région de Çavuşin, 2 vols., Paris 1994, II, p. 329. Unsurprisingly, they were called into service as the number of villages and rural churches increased in the fourth century. Cooper and Decker, *ibid.*, p. 143. It is interesting that although the primary sources from late antiquity refer to the *chorepiskopoi* in Cappadocia, they do not specify the rural districts they served in. Sophie Métivier and Sylvain Destephen, "Évêques et chorévêques en Asie Mineure aux IVe et Ve siècles", *Topoi*, 15, 2007, pp. 324-378.

17 James Howard-Johnston, "Authority and Control in the Interior of Asia Minor, Seventh-Ninth Centuries", in *Authority and Control in the Countryside: From Antiquity to Islam in the Mediterranean and Near East (Sixth-Tenth Century)*, eds. Alain Delattre et al., Leiden 2019, p. 137.

18 Adam Izdebski, "Rural Settlements", in *The Archaeology of Byzantine Anatolia*, ed. Philipp Niewöhner, Oxford 2017, p. 89.

19 Catherine Jolivet-Lévy, *Les églises byzantines de Cappadoce, le programme iconographique de l'abside et de ses*

Together with the Kubbeli cones, the surrounding ones and an unpainted little church in the vicinity contain a great number of pavement burials, *arcosolia* and burial chambers on multiple layers, probably from subsequent periods. As Ousterhout has already noted, the upper church of Kubbeli II holds an isolated tomb which belonged most likely to a locally-revered holy recluse and attracted the further burials in this area[20]. The spatial connection of a tenth-century wall painting to the same tomb clearly puts the tomb into the tenth-century[21]. We can identify some of the believers buried in or officiated at the complex in the same century. Philikiane and Ioannes are the secular figures depicted in the upper church of Kubbeli II[22], they were most probably among the rural elite of Soğanlı[23]. In all the three cones of the complex, the further supplications of monks and laymen are apparent through their portraits and invocations[24]. Ousterhout urges on the visual relationship between the Kubbeli complex and the Karabaş complex on the opposite slope and interprets the former as the 'cemetery' of Karabaş in the tenth-century phase of the latter[25].

This approach attempts to construe the entity of Kubbeli. Still, there remain questions on the usage of the complex which stands out as a tenth-century formation subjected to the supplications of monks and laymen. The ensemble

abords, Paris 1991, pp. 263-266; Jolivet-Lévy dates them to the first half of the tenth century, while Restle dates the lower church in the cone of Kubbeli I to the end of the same century. Marcell Restle, *Byzantine Wall Painting in Asia Minor*, 3 vols., trans. Irene R. Gibbons, Shannon Ireland 1969, 3. vol, without page number.

20 Robert Ousterhout, "Remembering the dead in Byzantine Cappadocia: the Architectural Settings for Commemoration", in *Architecture of Byzantium and Kievan Rus from the 9th to the 12th Centuries* (Materials of the International seminar, November 17-21, 2009), pp. 91-92.

21 Ousterhout, "Remembering the dead", p. 91.

22 Jerphanion, *ibid.*, p. 295; Ursula Weißbrod, *"Hier liegt der Knecht Gottes…": Gräber in byzantinischen Kirchen und ihr Dekor (11. bis 15. Jahrhundert)*, Wiesbaden 2003, p. 30 and n. 156. The woman's arms brought to the chest show that their portraits post-dated the woman's death. On the pose mimicking the pose of the deceased when entombed, see Sharon E. J. Gerstel, *Rural Lives and Landscapes in Late Byzantium: Art, Archaeology, and Ethnography*, Cambridge 2015, p. 193.

23 On the rural-village elite, see especially Michel Kaplan, "Les élites rurales byzantines: historiographie et sources", *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome–Moyen Âge*, 124/ 2, 2012, pp. 299-312. Apart from the *dynatoi*, the rural elites might be described as the elemental parts of the village commune as they were members of the clergy, or as they were relatively well-esteemed among the villagers because of age and a longer residence, or as they were relatively better off than the others.

24 Jerphanion, *ibid.*, II, p. 294; Jolivet-Lévy and Lemaigre Demesnil, *ibid.*, p. 259, 265.

25 Ousterhout, *Visualizing*, p. 147, 309.

is very close to and within easy reach from the agglomeration at the centre, its location is almost like a 'side street' in the core area. The access to its churches is equally straightforward, not restricted with a gate or a courtyard. Besides, it is in a non-monastic setting, without a trace of utilitarian spaces, a rock-cut refectory or units to serve as monks' cells[26]. Herewith, the layout of the complex seems to have been in use by all the villagers and reserved entirely for a crowd of churches and all types of burials.

This open use of Kubbeli churches turns into a matter of interest because of its coexistence with the parish church of Ak Kilise simultaneously in function. The legislative act of Basil II (976-1025) in 996 provides answers to the non-monastic setting of the complex together with the living space of the recluse, the coexistence of lay and monk supplicants and the intensity of burials. Accordingly, villagers put up chapels on their own lands and lived there as monks until the end of their lives[27]. Basil II disapproved the seizure of these properties by the local metropolitan or bishop on the death of these villagers-monks. This seizure allowed the religious authorities to offer these chapels to the *dynatoi* as monastic endowments, which was a way of easy transfer of the village lands. These chapels were supposed to be restored to their previous owners and meant to be used under the authority of the village as communal oratories, with the same number of monks. The religious foundations the legislation spoke of were noticeably labelled by the emperor not as monasteries but as village chapels. In a fertile, agrarian settlement like Soğanlı, the founder of one of the Kubbeli churches (and of the complex developed around it), the 'monk' as the legislation states, was most likely a peasant at the same time who was an integral part of the human landscape he lived in, sharing the same livelihood with his neighbours[28]. It must have been the presence of this 'villager-monk' that caused the complex to become the focal point of lay piety. The perpetuity of the complex is a consequence of the legislative attempt to thwart the religious or lay magnates from seizing the village land and to

26 The huge hall to the south of the naos of the lower church of Kubbeli I probably from a later date, and the confined living space of the recluse to the northernmost end of the naos of Kubbeli II probably from the tenth century are the exceptions.

27 Eric McGeer, *ibid.*, pp. 122-124.

28 Ashkenazi argues the ongoing role of the monks and holy men in the daily life of the rural society of the late antique Levant. Jacob Ashkenazi, "Holy Man versus Monk–Village and Monastery in the Late Antique Levant: Between Hagiography and Archaeology", *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, 57, 2014, pp. 745-765.

allow the persistence of the churches open to the use of the villagers, surrounded by a cemetery that set the scene for the commemorative rites of the peasants[29].

The *Dynatoi* of the Village, Basileios and the House of Skepides

The legislative decrees of the Macedonian emperors on land demonstrate the tenth-century presence of the *dynatoi* in the Byzantine countryside and suggest that they were seen as 'threatening force' on both the sustainability of the rural fiscal system and the central power of the empire on the village communes. In his novel dated to 934, Romanos I Lekapenos (920-944) defined the *dynatoi* by their positions in the military, civil and ecclesiastical hierarchies in the state or as great landholders[30]. Thus, whoever commanded the army would continue to threaten the emperor because power remained vested in the army[31]. Land meant power too as the taxes produced by land were in the basis of the fiscal system[32]. Frankopan stresses that land also affected social relations, since land endowment to the high-ranking military, magnates and the loyal ones marked an expression of imperial authority. In the tenth century and beyond, the cultivation of new lands and economic income they yielded brought about the creation of new and smaller villages[33]. According to Lefort, economic yield from the land was seen as too important a matter to be left in the hands of the peasants themselves. In our

29 On devotional patterns of the peasants in a sacred landscape, see Gerstel and Talbot, *ibid.*, pp. 79-100.

30 They were those "[…] honoured with offices, governorships, or civil or military dignities, [or] anyone at all enumerated in the Senate, [or] officials or ex-officials of the themes, [or] metropolitans most devoted to God, archbishops, bishops, *higoumenoi*, ecclesiastical officials, or supervisors and heads of pious or imperial houses […]." McGeer, *ibid.*, p. 55. For further evaluation of the act, see Rosemary Morris, "The Powerful and the Poor in Tenth-Century Byzantium: Law and Reality", *Past & Present*, 73, 1976, pp. 3-27.

31 Catherine Holmes, *Basil II and the Governance of Empire (976–1025)*, Oxford 2005, pp. 467-469; Anthony Kaldellis, *Streams of Gold, Rivers of Blood: The Rise and Fall of Byzantium, 955 A.D. to the First Crusade*, Oxford 2017, p. 15. Holmes underlines that the great families of military magnates based in the provinces presented a powerful threat only when they held senior military offices. It was possibly the reason why Basil II chose to weaken the family of Phokas and Maleinoi in the long term and not all the families mentioned in his novel of 996. Luisa Andriollo and Sophie Métivier, "Quel rôle pour les provinces dans la domination aristocratique au XI^{e} siècle?", *Travaux et Mémoires*, 21/ 2, 2017, p. 507.

32 Peter Frankopan, "Land and Power in the Middle and Later Period", in *A Social History of Byzantium*, ed. John Haldon, West Sussex 2009, pp. 114-116.

33 Jacques Lefort, "Rural Economy and Social Relations in the Countryside", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 47, 1993, pp. 101-113.

point of view, all these facts as a whole provide the best answer to the question why there existed so many *dynatoi* in Cappadocia while there were so few towns in the region[34].

The first mention of a *dynatos* in Soğanlı comes from a donor inscription dated to the first decades of the eleventh century (Fig. 5). The inscription in the south church of the complex of St. Barbara dates the wall paintings to the years 1006-1021, and thus to the era of co-emperors Basil II and Constantine VIII (sole emperor between 1025-1028)[35]. One of the missing parts in the inscription lies behind the different comments on the title of the donor Basileios, giving him a military or an ecclesiastical office[36]. As it will be argued, it was again a military man who was endowed with or settled in the village after the donor Basileios; and this shows that the settlement had already been a part of a territory in need of military control and that it carried its crucial essence through the eleventh century and beyond. Such an approach further affirms the identification of the donor as a military *domestikos*.

A supplicatory inscription in the Geyikli Monastery once belonged to Ioannes Skepides, the *protospatharios epi tou Chrysotriklinou*, *hypatos* and *strategos*[37]. A donor

34 Besides, there were times when a free-holder and tax-payer peasant sought refuge in an estate of a landlord to evade fiscal obligations, or when *paroikoi*-tenant farmers possessed their own lands or immovable in a village but resided and worked in another one. Lefort, *ibid.*, p. 110 and n. 53. This picture shows that the fiscal situation of the *paroikos* was not necessarily worse than the free-holder. Raúl Estangüi-Gómez - Michel Kaplan, "La société rurale au XI^{e} siècle: une réévaluation", *Travaux et Mémoires*, 21/2 (2017), especially p. 542 and p. 549.

35 Rott, *ibid.*, 146; Grégoire, *ibid.*, p. 103; Jerphanion, *ibid.*, II, p. 311; Catherine Jolivet-Lévy, "Militaires et Donation en Cappadoce (IXe-XIe Siècle)", in *Donation et donateurs dans le monde byzantin*, eds. Jean-Marie Spieser - Élisabeth Yota, Paris 2012, p. 151.

36 Rott, Grégoire, and Jerphanion respectively identify him as *diodespotes*, *domestikos* of the Charsianon theme, and *domestikos epi thuron*. Cecile Hennesy suggests that he was a military *domestikos*. Cecile Hennessy, "The Byzantine Child: Picturing Complex Family Dynamics", in *Approaches to the Byzantine Family*, eds. Leslie Brubaker and Shaun Tougher, Farnham 2013, p. 222. Because of the predominance of military saints in the painting programme, Rodley assumes him more particularly to be a *domestikos* of a theme. Rodley, *ibid.*, p. 207.

37 Rott, *ibid.*, p. 144; Grégoire, *ibid.*, p. 98; Jerphanion, *ibid.*, II, p. 372; Jolivet-Lévy, "Militaires et Donation", p. 154. While Rott and Jerphanion suggest that Ioannes Skepides was the *protospatharios* of the *khreophylakion*, Grégoire assumes he was the *protospatharios epi tou Chrysotriklinou*. Apparently, the inscription never included an emperor's name; the panel paintings in the church are stylistically dated to the eleventh century. As the inscription also lacked a location that the office of *strategos* Ioannes referred to, it remains as a question whether he was a thematic *strategos* or the *strategos* of a fortress or military garrison. In close proximity to Soğanlı and around the same time period, a military man issued his lead seal with the title of "*strategos* of the Kassenoi";

inscription in the north church of the Karabaş complex belonged to another *dynatos* from the same family. Accordingly, the church was embellished with wall paintings in 1060-1061 in the era of Constantine X Doukas (1059-1067) under the support of the donor *protospatharios* Michael Skepides, and it names two further supplicants, Catherine the nun and Nyphon the monk[38] (Figs. 6 and 7).

The Donors' Chapel to the immediate east of the complex of Karabaş and the monastic complex of Canavar at the end of the same branch are also associated with the family of Skepides (Fig. 8)[39]. As the inscriptions of the supplicants indicate nothing on their relation to the family, the association stands mostly on iconographic and stylistic ground. As it will be discussed later, the Skepides family most likely remained in Soğanlı through the end of the eleventh century and beyond, which makes it plausible to identify the donor Eudokia in the north church of the Canavar Monastery and the family in supplication in the Donors' Chapel as the members of the same household.

We come across with the same family name in a decree on land in the *katepanate* of South Italy in the eleventh century. The decree was signed in 1042 by a certain Eustathios Skepides, the *strategos* of Loukania in the *katepanate*[40]. When

Kasse was possibly not a theme but a *strategia* around Kaisareia. Pantelis Charalampakis, "On the Toponymy and Prosopography of Some Minor Military-Administrative Districts in Byzantium: Kas(s)e, Vindaion, Mauron Oros", *Karadeniz Araştırmaları Enstitüsü Dergisi*, 3/3, 2017, pp. 35-37. On this changing role of a *strategos* in the tenth and eleventh centuries, see Hélène Glykatzi-Ahrweiler, "Recherches sur l'administration de l'empire byzantin aux IX-XIème siècles", *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*, 84/1, 1960, p. 36.

38 Rott, *ibid.*, p.136; Grégoire, *ibid.*, p. 96; Jerphanion, *ibid.*, II, p. 334; Restle, *Wall Painting*, I, p. 164; Jolivet-Lévy, "Militaires et Donation", p. 152. Restle and Warland consider that the portraits of the family members read in the inscription belong to the thirteenth century when the foundation was meant to be renewed. Marcell Restle, "Zum Datum der Karabaş Kilise im Soğanlı Dere", *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik*, 19, 1970, pp. 265-266; Rainer Warland, *Byzantinisches Kappadokien*, Philipp von Zabern 2013, pp. 110-116. Restle states that the inscription named the members who were also responsible for the renovation and donor portraits in the thirteenth century. According to Warland, the eleventh-century donors were depicted in the thirteenth century as a renewal of the memorial foundation of the famous ancestors (i.e., the Skepides family).

39 On the association of the Canavar Monastery to the family, see Jerphanion, *ibid.*, 2:363; Ousterhout, *Visualizing*, p. 310; on the association of the Donors' Chapel, see Lamesa, *ibid.*, pp. 179-198. Some scholars do not identify the donors depicted in the Donors' Chapel with the members of the family of Skepides. Jolivet-Lévy and Lemaigre Demesnil, *ibid.*, pp. 282-284.

40 André Guillou, "La Lucanie Byzantine: Étude de géographie historique", *Byzantion*, 35/1, 1965, p. 122. In Byzantine society, fame and reputation were vital in the maintenance of socio-political status, and a family name surely served as the leading source of political and social advantage for

the political and military events in the *katepanate* around the mid-eleventh century are examined, Georgios Maniakes stands out as a remarkable contemporary of Eustathios Skepides as a victorious general in Asia Minor and South Italy[41]. The careers of these two military men seem intermingled; furthermore, we can try to render the presence of the Skepides family in the eastern countryside in the light of the rise and fall of Georgios Maniakes.

In the early 1030s, Georgios Maniakes served as a prominent soldier as the *strategos* of Telouch (Dülük) and was the re-conqueror of Edessa (Urfa)[42]. In 1038, he was appointed to the command of the *katepanate* as its commander in chief (*strategos autokrator*) with the aim to lead a military action to capture Sicily[43]. Although the family origins are unknown, Maniakes possessed estates in the Anatolikon theme and was the neighbour of his 'natural foe' Romanos Skleros, and apparently equal to him in power and esteem[44]. It is true that this report of contact with Skleros – a member of another notable Anatolian family – sounds a negative one, Maniakes is still a good example of a *dynatos* who had power due to the reputation gained through distinguished service, together with land and family connections in the provinces. Apparently, Maniakes had always been considered as a ready force: even after he had been falsely charged with treason in the first years of the 1040s, he was released from prison by Zoe and her adoptive son Michael V (1041-1042), and sent to Italy in 1042 with the title of *magistros* and *katepano* of Italy this time[45].

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members of the aristocracy of the medieval period. Nathan Leidholm, *Elite Byzantine Kinship, ca. 950-1204: Blood, Reputation, and the Genos*, Leeds 2019, p. 112. Eustathios in Italy and the Skepidai in Soğanlı must certainly be seen as the members of the same lineage, Eustathios could not have simply 'picked up' the family name of Skepides.

41 On the theme of Loukania, see Annick Peters-Custot, "Les communautés grecques de Basilicate à l'époque byzantine", *in Histoire et Culture dans l'Italie Byzantine: acquis et nouvelles recherches*, eds. André Jacob, et al., Rome 2006, especially n. 18 and p. 574; Vivien Prigent, "Byzantine Administration and the Army", in *A Companion to Byzantine Italy*, ed. Salvatore Cosentino, Leiden 2021, pp. 159-161.

42 John Skylitzes, *A Synopsis of Byzantine History 811–1057*, 18.6, trans. John Wortley, Cambridge 2010, p. 360; Kamil Biały, "From Conquest to the Failed Usurpation: career of a typical Byzantine commander George Maniakes", *Proslogion*, 2/14, 2016, p. 173.

43 Raffaele D'Amato, "A Prôtospatharios, Magistros, and Strategos Autokrator of 11th cent.: the equipment of Georgios Maniakes and his army according to the Skylitzes Matritensis miniatures and other artistic sources of the middle Byzantine period", *Porphyra*, 4, 2005, p. 2.

44 Skylitzes, *ibid.*, p. 402 [20.3] and p. 360 [18.6].

45 *Mikhail Psellos'un Khronographia'sı*, trans. Prof. Dr. Işın Demirkent, Ankara 1992, p. 93 [6.2] and n. 134. The term *katepano* was primarily used for the governors of major provinces like Italy. Alexander P. Kazhdan, "Katepano", in *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, ed. Alexander P.

Then, who was *strategos* Eustathios Skepides, the contemporary of Maniakes in the west and a member of a military and landowning family in the east? Unfortunately, primary sources are silent, which makes us bring mainly a general reasoning into the forefront. Falkenhausen notes that many of the *katepans* and *strategoi* of South Italy came from the highest level of the Byzantine aristocracy and lower nobility; she lists Eustathios Skepides among the latter[46]. She underlines that while minor military positions in South Italy were held by local people, senior officials such as the *katepano* or *strategos* were appointed directly from the capital. Surely, *strategos* Eustathios Skepides constituted another reliable, remarkable and ready force enough to be sent to Italy as a high-ranking officer.

Could Eustathios Skepides, as one of those under the authority of the *katepano* Maniakes, be one of the soldiers who got involved in his actual rebellion against Constantine IX (1042-1055) in 1043[47]? The uprising ended with the beheading of Maniakes and the denigration of the rebels; however, some of the rebellious commanders continued in imperial service[48]. Thus, the rebellion against Constantine IX did not necessarily cause a fall from favour. Still, one should remember that the Skepides household continued to control an important north-south route at a strategic geography in the eleventh century; it would be relatively difficult for a rebellious household to sustain on an important route throughout the century. Though there exists no written evidence in the valley to show his existence or his then active military task, Eustathios might have been endowed with the village land or have settled in Soğanlı as a prominent and 'famous' member of the family with the village in his possession and control in the 1040s[49]. Two interrelated questions appear on whether the military *domestikos* Basileios was

Kazhdan et. al, Oxford University Press 1991, p. 1115. *Magistros* was a high-ranking dignity. Kazhdan, *ibid.*, p. 1267.

46 Vera von Falkenhausen, "A Provincial Aristocracy: the Byzantine Province in Southern Italy (9th–11th century)", in *The Byzantine Aristocracy IX to XIII Centuries*, ed. Michael Angold, Great Britain 1984, p. 212.

47 On the meaning of the revolt of Georgios Maniakes and for his army, see Jean-Claude Cheynet, *Powoir et Contestations à Byzance (963-1210)*, Paris 1990, p. 338.

48 Georgios Theotokis, "Rus, Varangian and Frankish Mercenaries in the Service of the Byzantine Emperors (9th-11th c.): numbers, organisation and battle tactics in the operational theatres of Asia Minor and the Balkans", *Byzantina Symmeikta*, 22, 2012, p. 142.

49 There were soldiers rewarded with grants of villages and tax exemptions in their hometown as a return for loyalty to Constantine IX. Jacques Lefort and Jean-Marie Martin, "Le *Sigillion* du Catépan d'Italie Eustathe Palatinos pour le Juge Byzantios (Décembre 1045)", *Mélanges de l'école française de Rome*, 98/ 2, 1986, pp. 536-541.

a member of the Skepides family, and whether the two households (of Basileios and Skepides) were simultaneously in the valley. We cannot take the first question any further than assuming that a military from an important family would prefer to inscribe his family name especially when the other members in the east and west of the empire chose to note theirs. This assumption is, of course, rather tentative[50]. Although this matter remains without a concrete outcome, the military and economic control of the periphery of Soğanlı might have required the shift of the former *dynatos* to another post.

Two domestic complexes in close proximity to each other to the east of the complex of St. Barbara are the architectural traces that testify the presence of the powerful in Soğanlı[51]. Because of its visual relationship with the Geyikli Monastery on the opposite slope, one of these complexes – the so-called Soğanlı Han – is alleged to be the dwelling of Ioannes Skepides, the donor of the monastery[52]. To the immediate west of the Soğanlı Han is the another (West) complex whose definable units are a kitchen, a winery, a stable and three huge rectangular halls giving passage to one another; on the contrary to the former, the West complex is not in a well-defined courtyard and has no church attached to it. What is actually intriguing about the two complexes is their exact location on the village land. They are not nearby the centre of the village or at any other point on the road reaching at Kyzistra to the east; they lie at the end of the valley and at the furthest end of the western branch which preserves another inward route to Mavrucandere and to an outpost[53]. This layout suggests a strategic idea behind to make the access and arrival of an outsider to the mansions more difficult and to remain closer to a possible route of escape. Such a double function of positioning of the complexes can be associated with the offices of the landowning elites who used them. It

50 On the frequency of the usage of patronyms and reference to family lineage on seals and in historical narratives in the tenth-eleventh centuries, see John Cotsonis, "Onomastics, gender, office and images on Byzantine lead seals: a means of investigating personal piety", *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, 32/1, 2008, pp. 1-37.

51 See again n. 7 in this study.

52 Ousterhout, *Visualizing*, p. 310.

53 Grégoire notes a rock-cut gallery leading to the ruins of a fort that stands on the plain between the valleys of Soğanlı and Mavrucandere. Grégoire, *ibid.*, p. 111. The fort could have functioned since the Arab threat of the eighth and ninth centuries. The ruins are identified with the fort of Sundus mentioned in the Arabic sources of the ninth century. Hild and Restle, *ibid.*, p. 282. See also Nilüfer Peker - Tolga B. Uyar, "Güzelöz-Başköy ve Çevresi Bizans Dönemi Yerleşimleri 2012", in *31. Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı*, 2 vols., ed. Adil Özme, Muğla 2014, II, p. 113.

remains difficult to assert which one of the complexes was cut earlier or whether they were cut simultaneously, and which household they belonged to or whether they were used by the two households respectively. However, with both their inner organisation and their layout on the village land, they set clear examples for the evaluation of the way of living and mentality of the *dynatoi* in the countryside.

Final Words and Conclusion

Military treatises of the middle Byzantine period name forts and outposts to hold control of the frontier and to dynamise the defence and offence effectively[54]. One of the important military support in the eleventh century must have been settled in and around Soğanlı to form enough military backing on the route coming down from Kaisareia, leading to Tyana (Kemerhisar) and Pylai Kilikias (Gülek Boğazı). Kyzistra, the fortified stronghold to about 7 km east of Soğanlı, constituted a part of the chain of forts which strengthened the terrain that was naturally barriered by mountains and fortresses[55]. The presumption that Kyzistra, like most of the fortified strongholds on the main route often were, was the seat of a military overlaps well with the presence of *domestikos* Basileios in Soğanlı at the beginning of the eleventh century and of the military members of the Skepides family later in the century.

In light of the foregoing, the narratives on the advance of the Turkmen warriors as far as Kaisareia in 1067-1068 suggest a faint possibility that the family of Skepides was one of the parties of the encounter between the warriors and the Byzantines: after attacking the vicinity of Melitene (Malatya), the Turkmen warriors raided Kaisareia; "on their way back, they passed through the narrow passes leading into Cilicia"[56]. It is a testimony which brings to mind the north-

54 On the strategic purposes of forts and watch posts of the region in the military texts, see *Three Byzantine Military Treatises*, "The Anonymous Byzantine Treatise on Strategy", 9.10–5, ed. George T. Dennis, Washington D.C. 1985, p. 29; *ibid.*, "Skirmishing", 1.10–5, p. 151.

55 John Haldon, "Information and War: Some Comments on Defensive Strategy and Information in the Middle Byzantine Period (ca. A.D. 660–1025)", *in War and Warfare in Late Antiquity: Current Perspectives*, eds. Alexander Sarantis and Neil Christie, Leiden 2013, p. 382.

56 Eric McGeer and John W. Nesbitt, *Byzantium in the Times of Troubles: the Continuation of the Chronicle of John Skylitzes (1057-1079)*, Leiden 2020, p. 73; Michael Attaleiates, *The History*, trans. Anthony Kaldellis and Dimitris Krallis, Cambridge, MA, 2012, p. 173 and n. 162. One of the prominent men of the Turkmen warriors was Amertikes who is identified with the Turcoman chief Ibn Khan al-Turkumani in the Islamic sources. Alexander Daniel Beihammer, *Byzantium and the Emergence of Muslim-Turkish Anatolia, ca. 1040-1130*, Routledge 2017, p. 122. For further chronology of the events of 1067-1068, see Beihammer, *ibid.*, pp. 117-132.

south route coming down from Kaisareia, and which suggests that the Skepides family was among those who could not suppress the attack[57]. About 12 km north of Soğanlı is the Erdemli Valley, a Byzantine village hugely based on wine production. *Basilikos kandidatos* Basileios Tigori, whose name is attested in one of the churches in Erdemli, was another military *dynatos* inserted once again into a valley in the eleventh century as additional support on the same route and surely with a guarantee of income earned from the arable land[58]. Thus, Erdemli and Soğanlı are the clearest examples of how the village settlements could become the military components of the imperial power as a part of a political attitude.

The thirteenth-century paintings of the funerary south chapel of the Canavar Monastery testifies the continuity of a Rum community, the endurance of wealth and means of well-to-do inhabitants to patronise the decoration, to support a monastery and to use the monastic complex within a funerary context[59]. Apparently, while the penetration was faster in the main cities like Kaisareia, rural sites were affected more weakly by the Islamization; this phenomenon is further proved by the vast corpus of the thirteenth-century wall paintings in Cappadocia[60]. The continuity in the thirteenth century makes the reader wonder if the Skepides family was deported from Soğanlı immediately after the emergence of the first Turkish principalities and the establishment of Turkish-Muslim political entities in Asia Minor after Manzikert. It is difficult to answer this question as there are

57 Umar asserts that the warriors followed the route of Saimbeyli and Kozan to reach at Pylai Kilikias. Mikhael Attaleiates, *Tarih*, p. 102. The one mentioned by Umar was one of the four main route networks in Byzantine times; the one over Tyana and Podandos, however, was the easiest and most significant. Hild, *ibid.*, p. 118.

58 The church that bears the inscription of the donor is dated to the middle of the eleventh century. Nicole Thierry, "L'église de Saint Constantine et des Quarante Martyrs du Basilikos Kandidatos, Basile Tigori, à Erdemli, Cappadoce", *Deltion*, 27, 2006, pp. 137-146. For the bakeries and winepresses of the settlement, Nilay Çorağan, "Kayseri'nin Yeşilhisar İlçesi, Erdemli Vadisi'ndeki Bizans dönemine ait sosyal içerikli yapılar", in *XV. Ortaçağ ve Türk Dönemi Kazıları ve Sanat Tarihi Araştırmaları Sempozyumu*, 2 vols., Eskişehir 2012, II, pp. 451-460.

59 For the wall paintings of the chapel and on their dating see Jerphanion, *ibid.*, II, pp. 364-368; Restle, *Byzantine Wall Painting*, 1:66; Jolivet-Lévy and Lemaigre Demesnil, *ibid.*, I, pp. 277-280; Tolga B. Uyar, *Art et Société en Pays de Rum: Les peintures 'byzantines' du XIIIe siècle en Cappadoce*, 2 vols., (University of Paris I, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Paris 2011), I, pp. 499-506. Lafontaine-Dosogne dates the cycle on the vault to the fifteenth or sixteenth century. Jacqueline Lafontaine-Dosogne, "Nouvelles Notes Cappadociennes", *Byzantion*, 33/1, 1963, p. 133.

60 For the mural decorations in the region dated to that century, see Uyar, *ibid.*, see especially I, pp. 533-710 for an evaluation of the paintings as a 'historical source' on the regional and religious confrontations in thirteenth-century Anatolia.

no primary sources that mention the family after the eleventh century. After Manzikert, a considerable part of indigenous rural population remained in the very heart of Cappadocia especially in the arable parts of the region; likewise, there were native notables and semi-autonomous landlords who continued their existence at the side of the Muslim masters[61]. In the late eleventh century, the Danishmandid principality appeared in Cappadocia where a new structure arose in which native Greeks, Armenians and the Danishmandids were living together; it was a political and cultural pluralism one of the best examples of which was the bilingual coins of the Danishmandids[62]. At this point, it seems reasonable to allege that in a relatively isolated and secluded stage like Soğanlı the already-settled notable family (i.e., 'ex-*dynatoi*' members of the Skepides family) carried on its presence as a local lord, unless the Danishmandids-Seljuks preferred another 'ally' to resettle into the village.

From late antiquity on, Soğanlı was surely one of the important constituents of the countryside whose features and essence can be conceived with the help of archaeological and historical data. The parish Ak Kilise at the centre, a rare and problematic element of the region, shows how a distinct status it had already in late antiquity and its ongoing regard in the medieval period. With traces of the *dynatoi* clearly linked to the geographical position and fertile territory and with marks of laymen and villager-monks, Soğanlı appears as an organised village that sustained its entity through the medieval period. Together with the monks and laymen, one of the pillars of the community in Soğanlı was most probably the military manpower, which makes it a sort of 'military base'. The affinity of the settlement to the main route, an outpost to the northwest, a stronghold to the east and narratives on the military encounters in the region suggest the never-ending strategic importance of Soğanlı as an indispensable location for the defence of Kaisareia. This strategic importance fits in well with the Arab campaigns in Cappadocia in the ninth and tenth centuries; furthermore the inscriptions and the overall layout of the settlement reflect its character as a 'military base' that was further strengthened against Turkish expansion in the eleventh century, although it apparently proved useless. Soğanlı also became a territorial unit which possessed

61 Claude Cahen, *Osmanlılardan Önce Anadolu*, trans. Erol Üyepazarcı, İstanbul 2000, p. 115 and p. 166; Hild - Restle, *ibid*., p. 107.

62 Ali Mınat, *Cultural and Socio-Economic Relations Between the Turkmen States and the Byzantine Empire and West with a Corpus of the Turkmen Coins in the Barber İnstitute Coin Collection*, University of Birmingham, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Birmingham 2017, p. 35 and p. 278.

a reciprocal network with several economic and political structures. The military owners of the two mansions surely settled near the point they were charged to control where they had collective power of both geography and arable land to maintain their economic welfare as well. The allocation of the territory of Soğanlı to the military reciprocally ensured the increase of both the agricultural income and artistic production in the region. Such a huge number of monastic, domestic and burial complexes and chapels in the village cannot be kept separate from its *dynatoi*, rather they must be considered as the products of their manner of life and way of thought. The already-settled family of a certain power and income most probably endured as the notables of the region after Manzikert and within the changing power balance.

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APPENDICES

Fig. 1: The core area of Soğanlı. Only the religious buildings and domestic complexes mentioned in the study are numbered (author)

E: "entry" to the core area; 1: possible location of Ak Kilise; 2: the Kubbeli area and the cones of the Kubbeli complex; 3: Donors' Chapel; 4: the Karabaş complex; 5: the monastery of Canavar; 6: Soğanlı Han; 7: West complex; 8: the complex of St. Barbara; 9: the monastery of Geyikli.

Fig. 2: On the left, the remains of Ak Kilise in 1908 (Rott, 1908); on the right, the possible location of Ak Kilise in 2019, no. 1 on the topographical scanning (author)

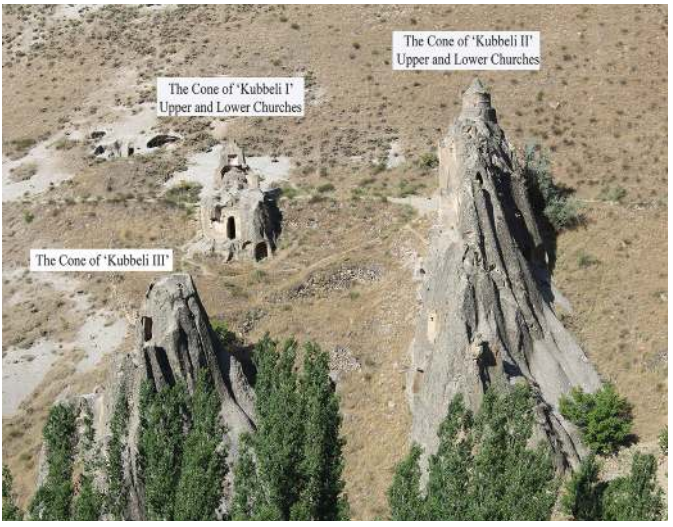

Fig. 3: The complex of Kubbeli churches, no. 2 on the topographical scanning (author)

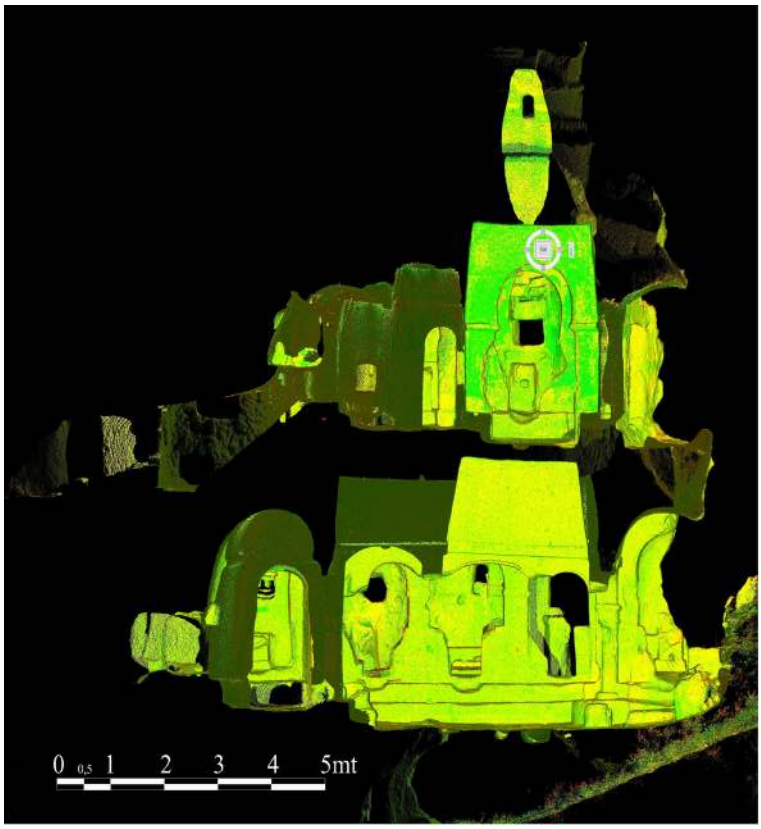

Fig. 4: Kubbeli II, upper and lower churches, north-south section, looking east (author)

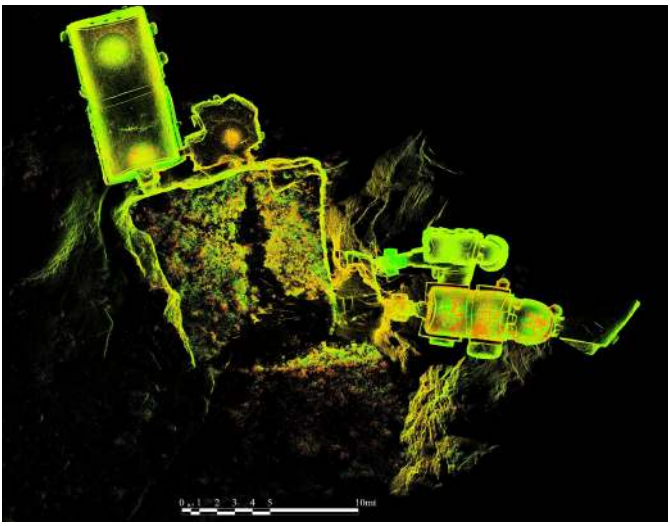

Fig. 5: The plan of the complex of St. Barbara, its two churches to the right, no. 8 on the topographical scanning (author)

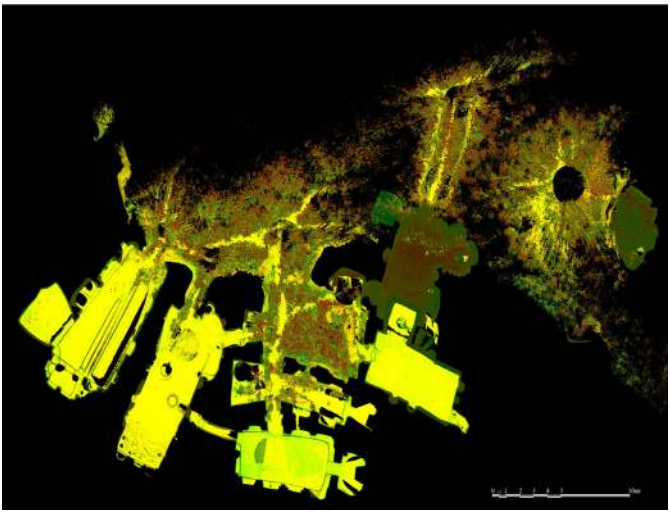

Fig. 6: The plan of the Geyikli Monastery, no. 9 on the topographical scanning (author)

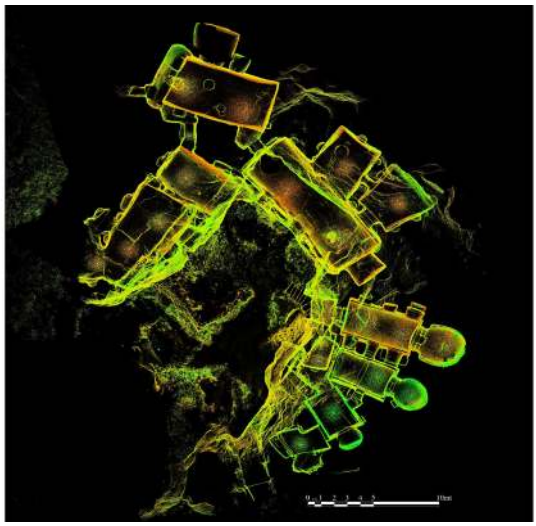

Fig. 7: The plan of the complex of Karabaş, no. 4 on the topographical scanning (author)

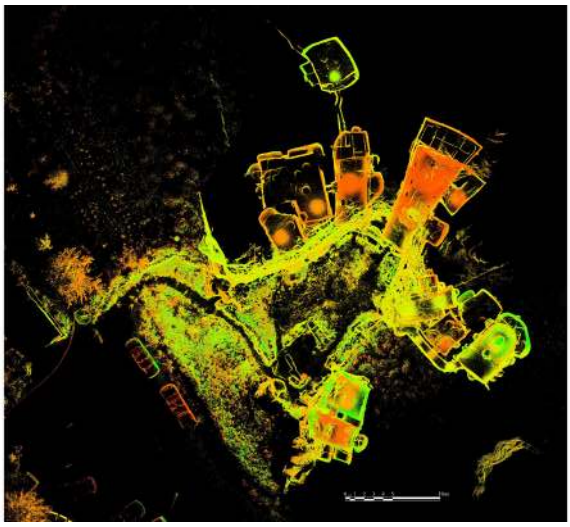

Fig. 8: The plan of the Canavar Monastery, no. 5 on the topographical scanning (author)