

Originality in
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Beyond Hagia Sophia: Originality in Byzantine Architecture

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Discussion of originality in Byzantine architecture normally begins and ends with Justinian's Hagia Sophia. Later architectural developments are too often dismissed as repetitive and unnoteworthy, fixed into a rigid and conservative evolutionary framework. Moreover, Byzantine architectural developments after the sixth century are either misrepresented or omitted altogether in recent surveys of medieval art by non-Byzantine art historians.¹ One popular textbook dismisses Byzantine architecture because "nothing truly radical was built;" compared to Justinianic architecture, "space no longer 'breathes' but seems almost airless. Architectural gestures are no longer bold, but nervous and inhibited."² Accused of being small, repetitive, and dull, Byzantine architecture may be facing, at best, utter disregard.

Unfortunately, Byzantinists have not come to the rescue. Valiant Byzantine art historians who tread boldly through the intricacies of theological debate will not, in effect, set foot in a church. Thus, monumental painting is often viewed out of context: one does not see the walls for the wallpaper. And, unfortunately, writings on Byzantine architecture by architectural historians fail to incite interest among medievalists. Most studies of even the finest examples of Byzantine architecture tend toward the archaeological or the historical in their approach.³ What is often missing is the sense that the buildings are works of art, the result of a creative process.

The scholarly appreciation of Byzantine architecture has been hampered by several factors. Our expectations of what Byzantine architecture *should* be and how it *should* have developed have been colored by our familiarity with Western European architecture of the same period. Indeed, for many years it was common to lump Byzantine and Romanesque architecture together, linked as they seemed to be by Roman ancestry and round arches.⁴ Looking from a Western European perspective, we are programmed to expect something like a linear pattern of evolution in Byzantine architecture, similar to the medieval development, marked by new structural achievements and ever-bigger buildings.

In the study of Gothic architecture, creativity is often linked with size: big is seen as better, and architectural inventiveness is tied to structural innovation on the largest of scales. Such standards may give the wrong impression when applied to Byzantine

architecture: limited scale becomes equated with limited skill. Although resources were constrained in the later Byzantine empire, such a conclusion overlooks some basic functional considerations.⁵ Most churches housed small congregations, often small monastic communities or families. Recently students of the liturgy have emphasized the “privatization” of Byzantine worship.⁶ In other words, we should not imply that the churches were small because the masons were incapable of building anything larger.

Nor does there seem to be what might be regarded as an “evolution” in Byzantine architecture comparable to that of Western Europe. It is easy to view Western medieval architecture as developing in a linear progression from small, dark, clumsy, barrel-vaulted basilicas to the tall, graceful, open halls with ribbed groin vaults and flying buttresses of the High Gothic period. According to the Western evolutionary model, the development of Byzantine architecture after the sixth century seems to be backward: churches became smaller rather than larger.

The standard approach to Byzantine architecture in the twentieth century has been typological – that is, it has grouped buildings according to established floor plans or the manner of spatial definition.⁷ This approach has inevitably encouraged the development of various theories of formal evolution. Thus, scholars, such as Van Millingen and Ebersolt, proposed a conceptual framework for the evolution of Byzantine architecture to explain the development of new building types.⁸ For example, the cross-domed church, developed in the “Dark Age” of the seventh through the ninth centuries, was thought to precede the cross-in-square or four-column church, separated from it by a few “transitional” monuments. Krautheimer followed this thinking in the organization of his important handbook, and, although he has consistently updated his text, the acceptance of a typologically based architectural evolution is still reflected in his chapter organization, although he confesses at the outset, “At present, however, it is next to impossible to trace a development either from one church type to another, or between types within a single group.”⁹ More recent archaeological investigations have radically altered the dating of many of the key buildings, and scholars have now discounted such simplistic explanations of change, agreeing that churches of different types could exist side by side.¹⁰

The typological approach has had another negative result. In effect, it has emphasized what is static rather than what is dynamic in Byzantine architecture. This approach tells us, for example, that the cross-in-square or four-column church was the standard building type, used for a variety of purposes, but it does not address some basic questions. For example, why are there so many different versions of the same building type? Why are virtually no two Byzantine churches identical? Examples of the cross-in-square plan from a single region, such as Bulgaria, often exhibit variations so extreme as to resist easy categorization (Fig. 13.1).¹¹ Moreover, architectural analysis is often reduced to a comparison of floor plans, and the insistently three-dimensional character of the Byzantine church is overlooked (Fig. 13.2).

As a reaction to the typological approach, a number of scholars today – myself included – have favored an emphasis on construction techniques and workshop practices.¹² Such a basis suggests quite different groupings, because it appears that a single workshop had a variety of floor plans and vaulting solutions at its disposal. For example, in spite of *formal* differences, the construction techniques and numerous decorative

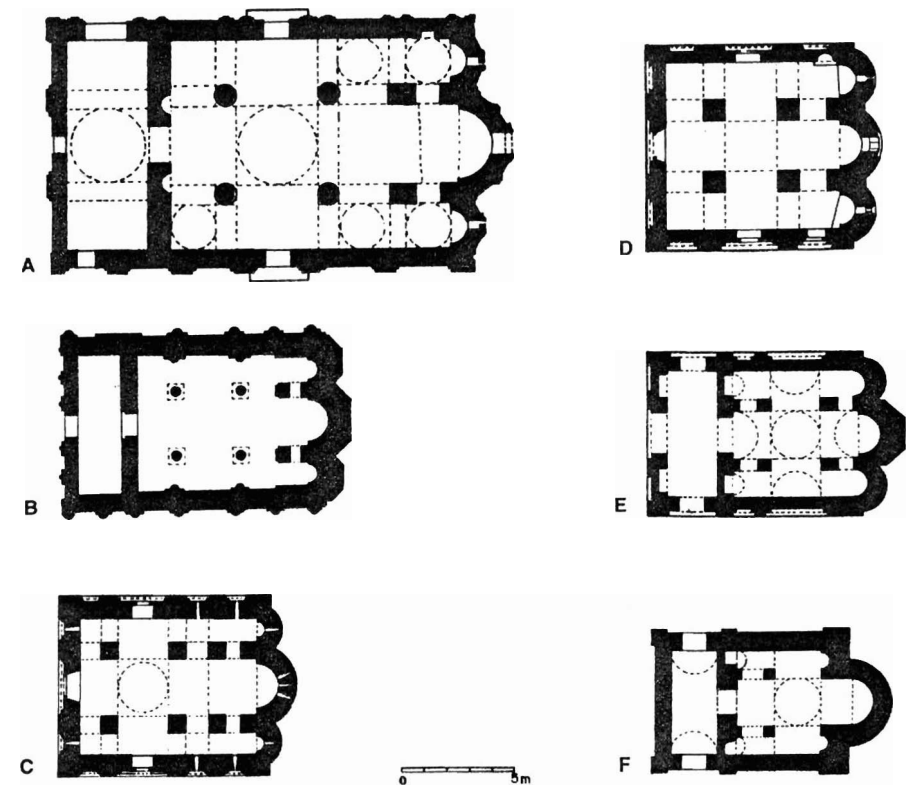


FIG. 13.1. Variations of the cross-in-square plan in Bulgaria (redrawn after K. Mijatev): a. Nesebŭr, Church of St. John Aleitourgetos. b. Preslav, Church on Bjäl Brjag no. 1. c. Koluša, Church of St. George. d. Zemen Monastery, Church of St. John the Theologian. e. Preslav, Church no. 4 in Selište. f. Preslav, Church no. 3 in Selište.

details are identical in the parekklesion of the Pammakaristos monastery and the fourteenth-century additions to the Chora monastery, and the two projects may be the product of the same workshop.¹³ A similar technical proximity may be observed in the Gül Camii and in parts of the Pantokrator monastery in Constantinople, both from the twelfth century; in spite of radically different plans, the same masons may have worked at both buildings.¹⁴ But the emphasis on construction techniques, in turn, has shifted attention away from the more theoretical issues of design to a more archaeological approach. Similarly, the liturgical emphasis of Mathews and the historical approach of Mango have de-emphasized the art of building.¹⁵ One wonders if it is possible to talk about the creative process in Byzantine architecture without sounding terribly outré. In

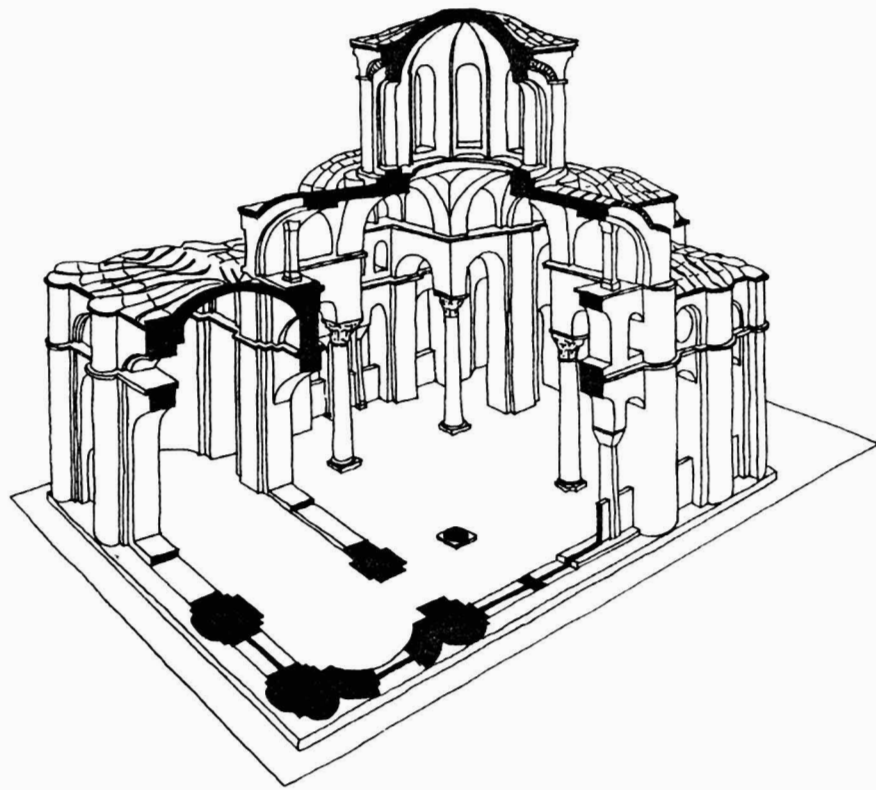


Fig. 13.2. Constantinople, Myrelaion, ca. 920. Perspective section, showing three-dimensional development (after C.L. Striker).

the following pages, I shall suggest one possible approach, tempering typology with archaeological evidence.

Although there are certain features that identify a building as Byzantine, it is perhaps incorrect to say that there was such a thing as a standard Byzantine church. The masons did not create a “formula” and repeat it without alteration. Each church was built with specific desires and requirements in mind, and these were taken into consideration in the design of the building. Was it for public, private, or monastic use? Were burials to be included? Was it to be decorated with frescoes or mosaic? Was the site regular or irregular? Were there older foundations or walls that could be reused? What building materials were available? Above all, Byzantine religious architecture was a *responsive*

architecture, easily adapted to the special necessities of location, function, and decoration, and this responsiveness often led to new formulations.

It would be more fruitful to view a Byzantine church as the result of a dynamic interplay between elements that were necessary and fixed by religious usage and elements that were variable and introduced by the architect for other than purely functional reasons. Standard features, dictated by liturgical usage, would include the basic spaces: the narthex, the naos, and the sanctuary, connected by the longitudinal axis of the plan. Also standard was the tripartite sanctuary, in which the bema, containing the altar, was flanked by auxiliary spaces. The centrally positioned naos was normally, but not always, covered by a dome (Fig. 13.2). Elements such as types of vaults, decorative articulation, proportions, additional chapels, and so on, were variable. The constant interplay of standard features and variables has created an architecture of diversity. The flexibility and innovative character of Byzantine architecture are all but discounted by the attempt to classify the buildings typologically.

One must keep in mind that architecture is generally a conservative profession: builders learn and follow standard practices in order to ensure the result. In designing a building, it is easier and safer to alter the *details* than to alter the *concept*. This was particularly true in an age when architecture was in the hands of master builders who were trained through their participation in a workshop, rather than governed by architects with a theoretically based, liberal arts education.¹⁶ Large-scale experiments, such as Justinian’s Hagia Sophia, are rare in any period (although innovation is more common in the sixth than in other Byzantine centuries). Nevertheless, it is much easier to recognize and understand creativity on such a grand scale than to comprehend distinction within the relatively conservative framework of small-scale construction more typical of the Byzantine period.

In several examples from the Middle Byzantine period, it is possible to detect the introduction of new building types through the transformation of an existing building. The basic schema remained the same, although minor features were manipulated in response to certain necessities or desires that became apparent after the completion of the building, or perhaps already during the process of construction. Such transformations are mentioned in the literature of the period.

In his *Chronographia*, the eleventh-century historian Michael Psellos provides us with several examples of change and experimentation in Byzantine architecture. He describes the construction process of some imperially sponsored church foundations. In the context of history writing, Psellos uses architecture to amplify the characterization of the imperial patrons, who were usually seen as extravagant. For example, at the church of the Peribleptos, built by Romanos III (1028–1034), “one on top of another new parts were added, and at the same time some other part would be pulled down. Often, too, the work would cease and then suddenly rise up afresh, slightly bigger, or with some more elaborate variety.”¹⁷ Romanos’ successor, Michael IV (1034–1041), enlarged and beautified the Kosmidion. The older church had been unremarkable, but “the depths and heights of [the new] edifice were given a new symmetry, and his chapels harmonized with the church to bestow on it a new splendor....”¹⁸

Constantine IX Monomachos (1042–1055) lavished his attentions on the complex of St. George *tōn Manganōn*, which Psellos regarded as the worst example of the emper-

or's foolish excesses.¹⁹ Constantine instructed the masons to alter the plan of the church several times, constantly enlarging it, in order to compete with the grandeur of Hagia Sophia. Walls were thrown down, new foundations were erected, and the whole was lavishly outfitted. Although we may question how much of Psellos' descriptions is rhetorical device, numerous examples of renovation and transformation can be cited from the same period. But unlike Psellos, who suggests the whim of the builder as the motivation for change, the archaeological evidence suggests other reasons, such as functional considerations, site requirements, and possibly aesthetic concerns.

A look at surviving buildings provides several parallels for the churches mentioned by Psellos. For example, in his study of the katholikon of Lavra monastery on Mt. Athos, Mylonas has theorised that the building was begun in 963 by St. Athanasios as a simple cross-in-square church with the naos dome supported on four piers (Figs. 13.3–4).²⁰ In the first phase, there was little to differentiate the building from a church of standard plan. The katholikon underwent an "enlargement" in 1002 (or perhaps about five years earlier), and Mylonas interprets this to mean the addition of the lateral apses or *choroi* (Fig. 13.5).²¹ The breaks evident in the wall construction support this interpretation, and cracking of the plaster of the interior of the *choroi* follows the line of the exterior walls. Moreover, the same process of "enlargement" seems to have occurred at the Vatopedi and Iviron katholika at about the same time (Fig. 13.6).²²



FIG. 13.3. Mt. Athos, Lavra Monastery, Katholikon, begun 963. View (photo: P. Mylonas).

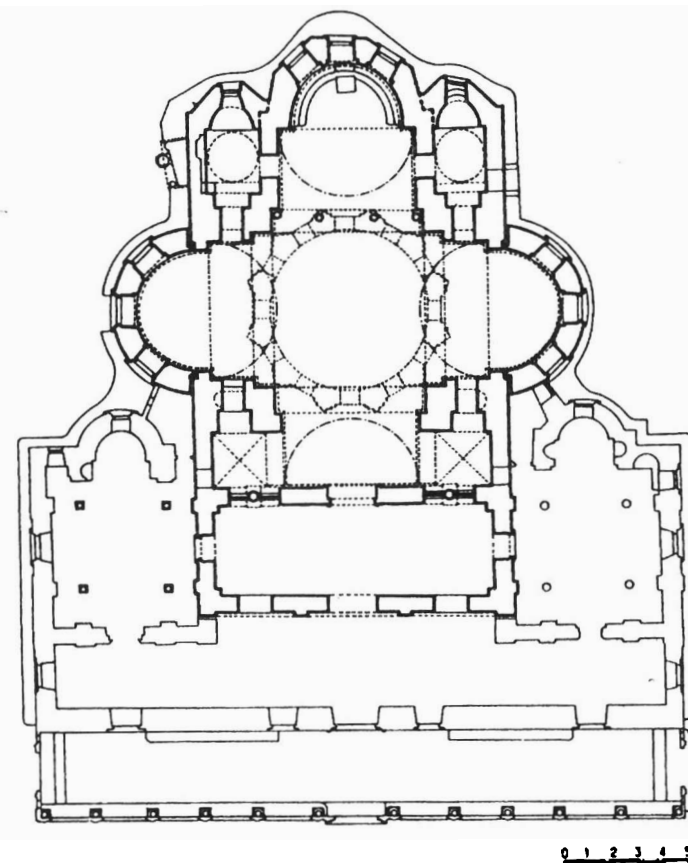


FIG. 13.4. Lavra Katholikon. Plan (P. Mylonas).

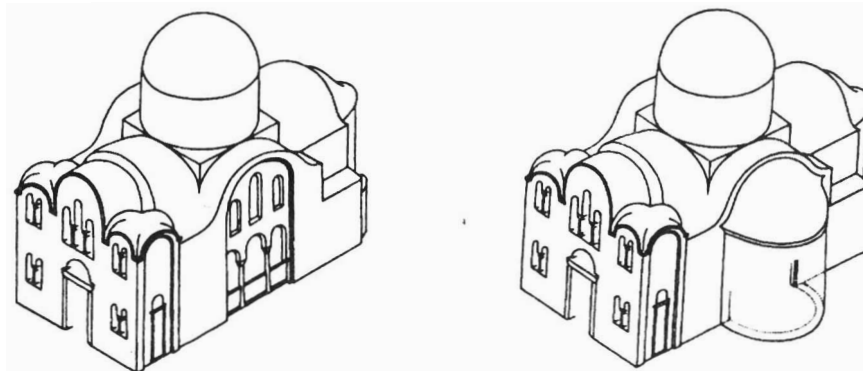


FIG. 13.5. Lavra Katholikon. Diagram showing addition of *choroi* (P. Mylonas).

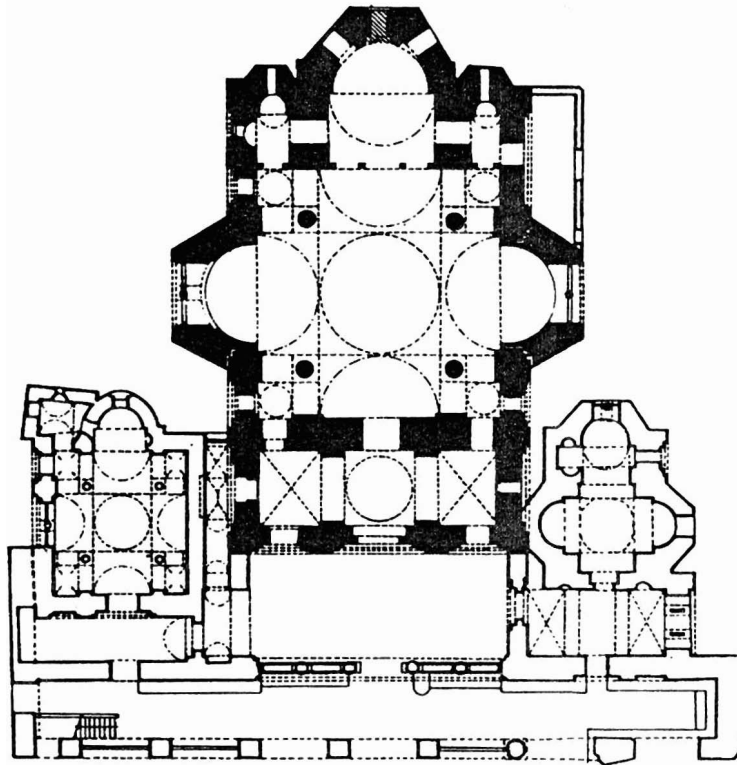


FIG. 13.6. Mt. Athos, Vatopedi Monastery, Katholikon, ca. 1000. Plan (P. Mylonas).

These transformations clearly came as a response to the functional or liturgical concerns of the Athonite monks, who sang the service antiphonally, across the central space of the naos, as may be seen in the 1744 sketch of the Lavra katholikon by Barskij (Fig. 13.7).²³ Significantly, the Athonite triconch church type was repeated in virtually every monastery on the Holy Mountain, and its influence spread throughout the Balkans.²⁴ What began as a minor modification resulted in the creation of a new church type in the Middle Byzantine period.

The archaeological evidence from the katholikon of the Chora monastery in Constantinople presents an example of change in response to site requirements. Excavations of the 1950s indicated two phases of construction from the Middle Byzantine period, virtually identical in their construction, and both utilizing the recessed brick technique (Figs. 13.8–9).²⁵ Based on documentary evidence, the earlier phase was attributed to Maria Doukaine, ca. 1077–81. Only the lower portions of the naos walls and the foundations of the tripartite apse could be identified, but in scale, details, and proportions they suggest a cross-in-square church very similar in size and appearance to the contem-

poraneous *Christos ho Pantepoptēs*. The church was apparently rebuilt very shortly after this, and its plan was altered. Maria's grandson, Isaac Komnenos, has been identified as the new *ktētōr* (founder or patron), and his activity in the capital indicates a date for the rebuilding sometime either ca. 1120 or possibly somewhat later.²⁶ It seems that the four columns were replaced by four stout corner piers which, in turn, supported a larger dome (Fig. 13.10). The transformation created a unified and monumental interior.

The excavators blamed the site for this drastic transformation so soon after Maria Doukaine's construction.²⁷ The Chora was built on a slope, and the terrain continues to shift downhill. This has caused severe cracking in the surviving building. We can speculate that a large portion of the church collapsed, perhaps as a result of an earthquake, exacerbating the problems of the site. When rebuilt, a more stable structural

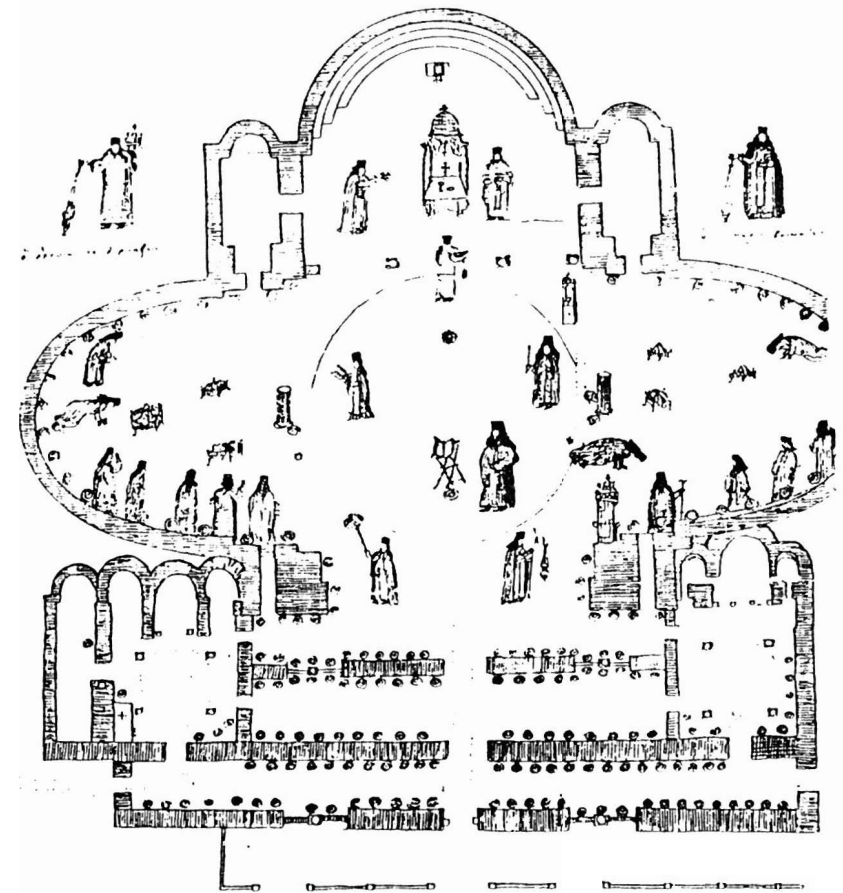


FIG. 13.7. Lavra Plan by B.G. 1744.

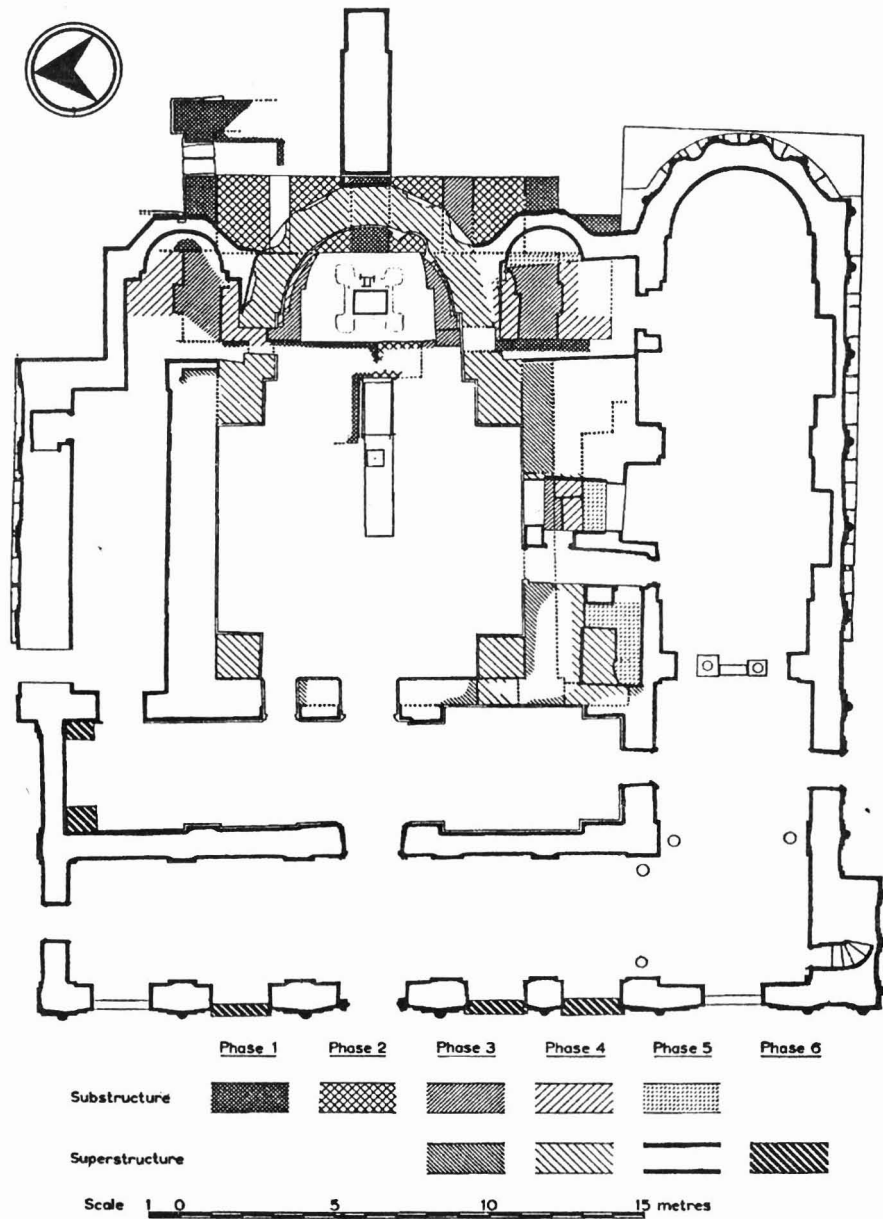


FIG. 13.8. Constantinople, Chora Monastery, Katholikon. Archaeological Plan. Phase 1: sixth century; Phase 2: ninth century; Phase 3: eleventh century; Phase 4: twelfth century; Phase 5: fourteenth century; Phase 6: later interventions (D. Oates, courtesy of Dumbarton Oaks).

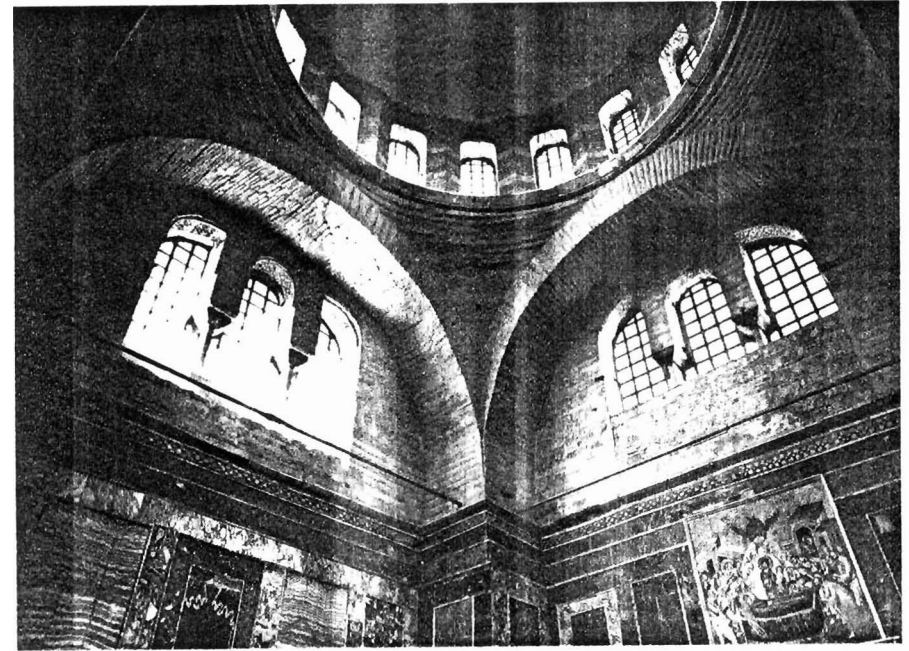


FIG. 13.9. Chora Katholikon, eleventh, twelfth, and fourteenth centuries. Interior of naos (photo courtesy of Dumbarton Oaks).

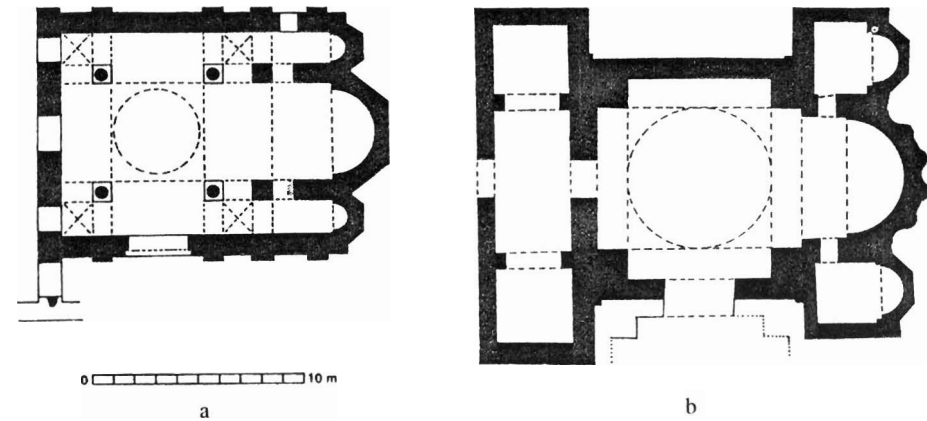


FIG. 13.10. Chora Katholikon. Hypothetical plans (author): a. Maria Doukaine's church, ca. 1080. b. Isaac Komnenos' church, after 1120.

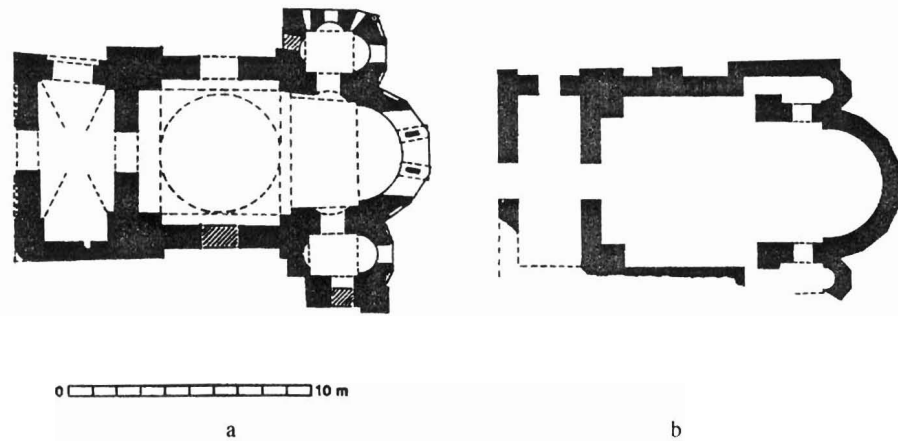


FIG. 13.11. Atrophied Greek-cross plans (redrawn after C. Mango and S. Eyice): a. Kurşunlu, St. Aberkios, 1162. b. Yuşa Tepesi (near Istanbul), Church (St. Panteleemon?), probably twelfth century.

system was introduced, using piers, which join the walls at the corners of the naos, rather than freestanding columns.

The introduction of a new plan at the Chora in the twelfth century came as a direct response to the practical necessities of the site. The resultant atrophied Greek-cross plan was not new to Byzantine architecture, but it had not appeared in the mainstream for at least three centuries.²⁸ Significantly, as reintroduced at the Chora, this church type became popular in the twelfth century in Constantinople and in areas under its influence, as, for example, at Kurşunlu and Yuşa Tepesi (Fig. 13.11).

The katholikon of the Nea Moni on Chios was the result of the patronage of Constantine IX Monomachos in the 1040s (Figs. 13.12–13).²⁹ The church underwent numerous modifications after an earthquake in the late nineteenth century, during which the naos dome collapsed. The present dome is slightly taller than the original, and the heavy, marble-clad piers of the interior replaced lighter, coupled colonnettes (Fig. 13.14). Nevertheless, the interior is still breathtaking. The innovative vaulting of the naos superimposes an octaconch transition above a square lower level. Splendidly decorated, the conches are filled with mosaic, below the tall dome.³⁰ In spite of the impressive and innovative form, numerous inconsistencies are evident in the design. For example, the tower-like naos is completely out of scale with the low narthex and sanctuary (Fig. 13.15); the low octaconch zone blocks the view to the main apse mosaic of the Virgin, to whom the church was dedicated; and the marble revetments are often awkwardly adjusted to the architectural forms.

The lower levels of the building, including the sanctuary and narthex, are identical in detailing to a cross-in-square church, with pilasters on the walls corresponding to the structural divisions. I have proposed that the church was begun as a modest building

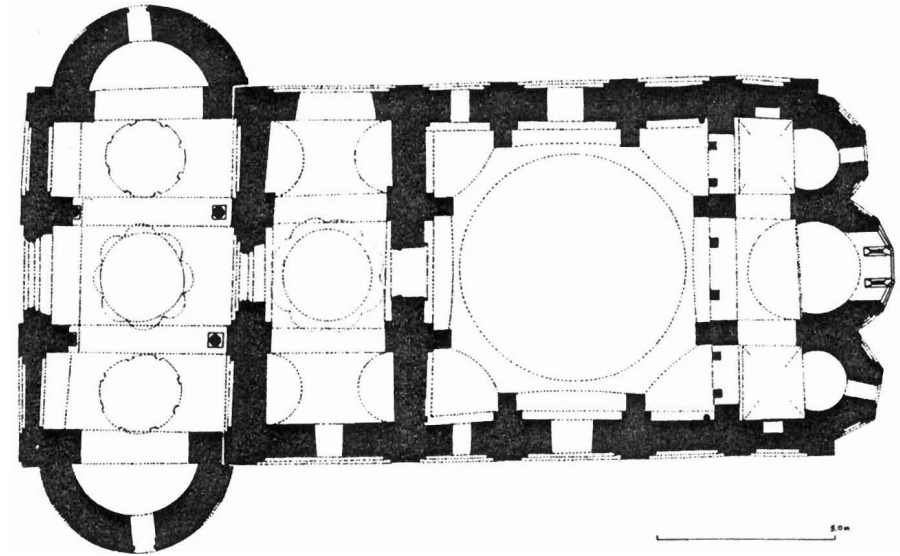


FIG. 13.12. Chios. Nea Moni Monastery, Katholikon, begun ca. 1042. Plan (redrawn after Ch. Bouras).

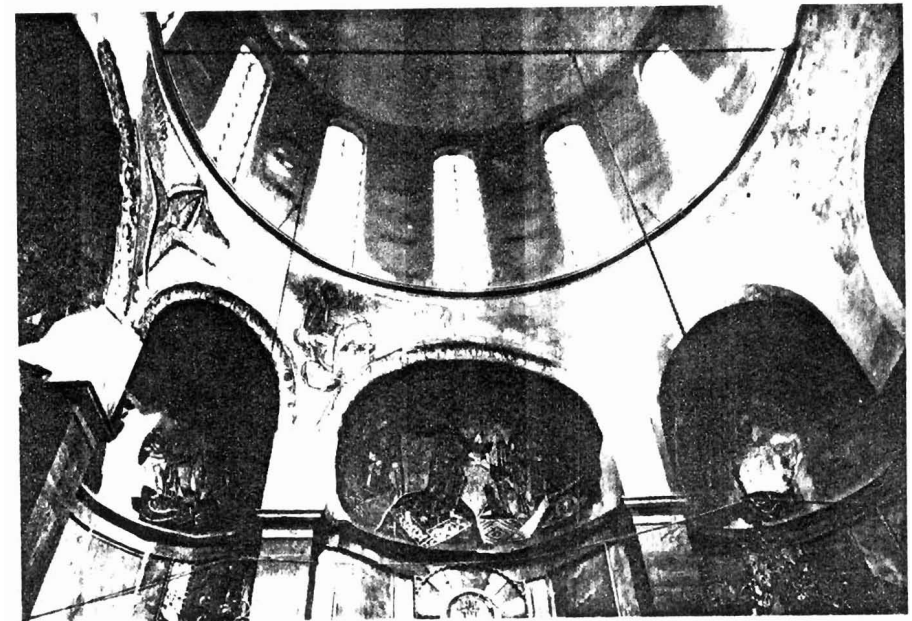


FIG. 13.13. Nea Moni Katholikon. Interior of naos (author).

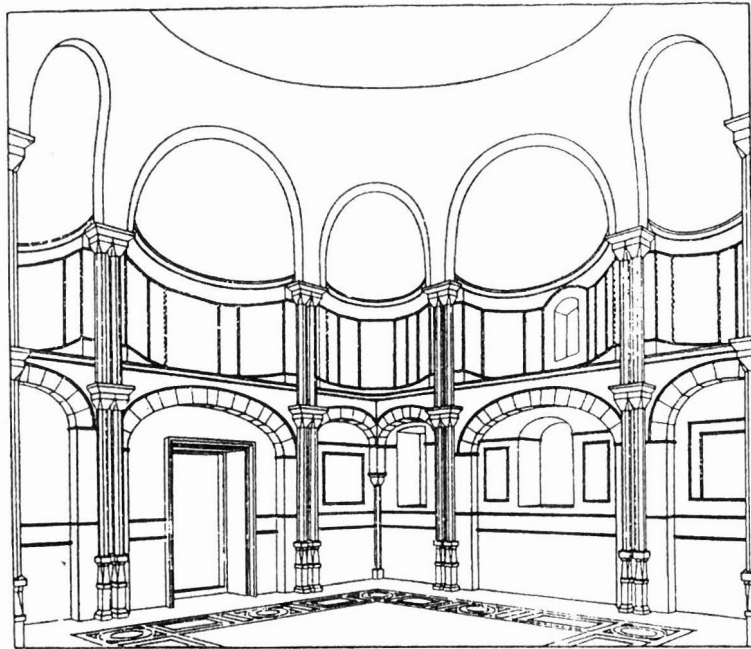


FIG. 13.14. Nea Moni Katholikon. Interior of naos, reconstruction (A. Orlandos).

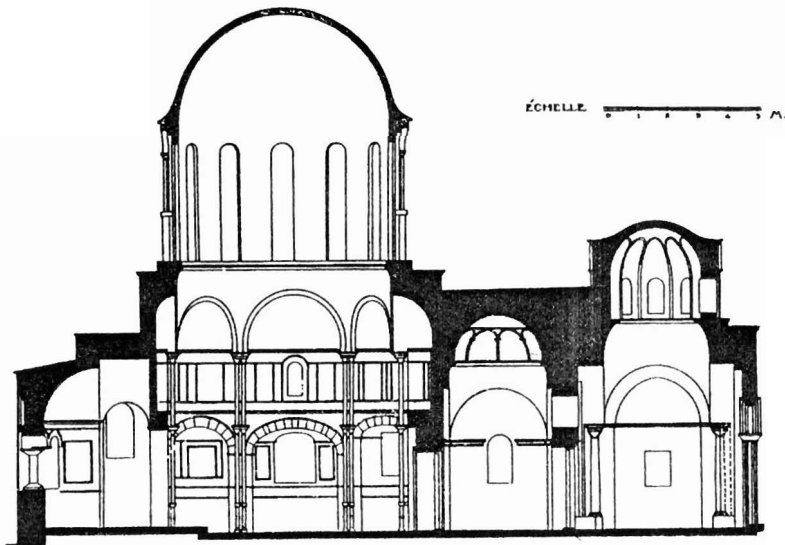


FIG. 13.15. Nea Moni Katholikon. Longitudinal section (A. Orlandos).

with a small dome. With the generous donations of Constantine, a radical new design was introduced to create a more exotic and impressive interior and to create a special setting for mosaic decoration.³¹ At Nea Moni, the mosaic zone begins less than 6 m. above the floor, in the curved surfaces of the conches. This may be contrasted with the slightly earlier katholikon of Hosios Loukas, in which the mosaic zone begins about 10 m. above floor level, and the images are consequently rather difficult to see. The proposed change in the design at Nea Moni and its bold new formulation are best understood as a direct response to aesthetic concerns, to the important mosaic program with its imperial overtones.³²

Like the two above examples, Nea Moni stands at the forefront of a new building type, the so-called island octagon church, which one finds represented elsewhere on Chios, as at Panagia Krina (Fig. 13.16), and on Crete, Cyprus, and the mainland.³³ I suggest that the new type had its origins in the transformation of a standard church design. In this instance the floor plan remained virtually unchanged but the elevation was altered.³⁴

In all three of the above examples, it is only the parts that are affected in the transformation. Standard features remain, such as the longitudinal axis from narthex to sanctuary, the centralized space of the naos below a dome, and so on. Change occurs in the details and in response to the specific requirements of the building with regard to function, location, or decoration. Other examples of this process may be cited, such as the addition of annexed chapels. This occurred at the Lavra katholikon in the early eleventh century, with the addition of domed chapels flanking the narthex (Fig. 13.4).³⁵ This enlargement is also reflected in the development of the so-called Athonite church type.

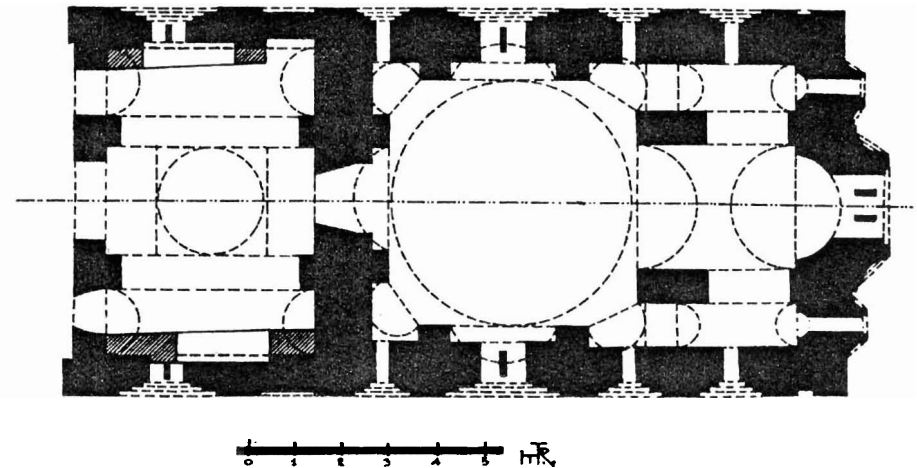


FIG. 13.16. Chios, Panagia Krina, late twelfth century. Plan (A. Orlandos).

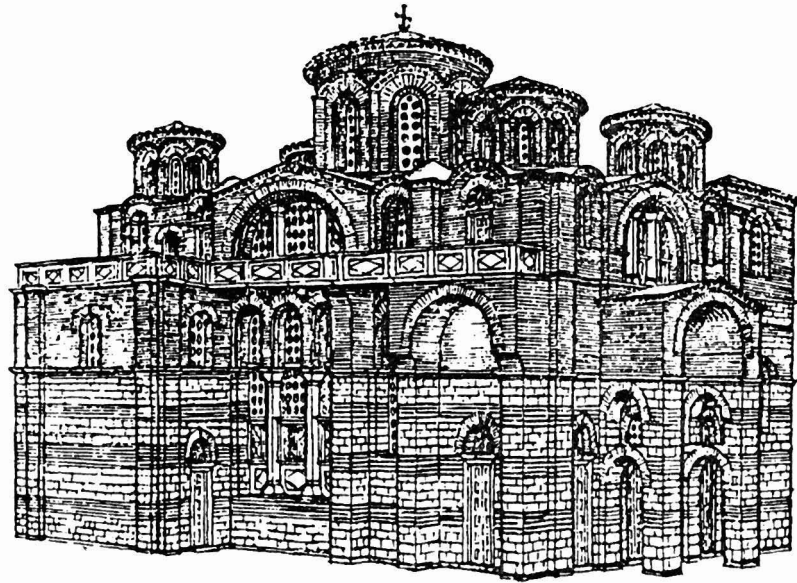


FIG. 13.17. Constantinople, Monastery of Constantine Lips, North Church, ca. 907. Reconstructed view (A.H.S. Megaw, courtesy of Dumbarton Oaks).

A similar conceptual process can be observed in numerous buildings constructed in a single period, as, for example, in the introduction of subsidiary chapels in the North Church of Constantine Lips (Fig. 13.17), or in the multiplication of components in St. Sophia at Kiev.³⁶ In each instance, the architect began with an idea of a church, and this was subsequently adjusted to the demands of the site, the user, the budget, and so on. The result is the constant variety that characterizes Byzantine architecture at its best.

Finally, Byzantine descriptions of works of architecture may assist in understanding the creative process because they tell us what the Byzantine viewer regarded as important. Most often such descriptions are employed in an attempt to reconstruct lost works of architecture. But in most descriptions the details are given precedence at the expense of the clear delineation of the structure. In the well-known *ekphrasis* of the Nea Ekklesia from the *Vita Imperatoris Basilii* (probably written by Constantine VII), for example, the overall form of the building vanishes from sight amid the wealth of detail.³⁷ Although we are told that the roof of the church consisted of five domes, we are not told how they were arranged. Did the five domes cover the naos in a cross-in-square system, with four minor domes at the corners? Did four domes cover separate chapels? Or was the naos cruciform with four domes on the crossarms? Although the first is the commonly proposed reconstruction, the other possibilities are just as likely.³⁸ In the end, it is easier to envision the porphyry fountain in the forecourt than the plan of the building. Yet the description would have given a Byzantine reader the necessary details to distinguish the Nea from other churches.

The same emphasis on detail is evident when we examine change. Creativity on a small scale, involving only certain parts of a building, may have led to an emphasis on the mosaic or fresco program and its manipulation, to a decorative treatment of the masonry construction, to small changes in the basic schema of the building, and so on. In the examples discussed in this paper, the result was the introduction of new building types. Moreover, these examples demonstrate that an understanding of change may be best guided by archaeological (and literary) examination instead of by the adherence to an abstract, conceptual framework.

NOTES

A shorter version of this paper was presented at the XVIII International Congress of Byzantine Studies in Moscow, August 1991. Research support was provided in part by the Graham Foundation for Advanced Studies in the Fine Arts, Chicago.

1. G. Zarnecki, *Art of the Medieval World* (New York, 1975), 141–43, mentions only Hosios Loukas, which he illustrates with an incorrect plan. R. Calkins, *Monuments of Medieval Art* (New York, 1979), 39–46, discusses Byzantine architecture and decoration only in relationship to developments in Western Europe. M. Stokstad, *Medieval Art* (New York, 1986), 146–48, mentions only Hosios Loukas (with the same incorrect plan as Zarnecki) and Daphni. J. Schneider, *Medieval Art* (New York, 1989), 130–31, briefly discusses the north church at the Lips monastery, which he fails to relate to an inaccurate ground plan; on 147–50, he discusses Lavra monastery, Hosios Loukas (with the same incorrect plan), and Daphni. No author ventures beyond the eleventh century. The curiously regularized plan of Hosios Loukas seems to have been taken from Ch. Diehl, with H. W. Janson as the intermediary.
2. M. Trachtenberg and I. Hyman, *Architecture from Prehistory to Post-Modernism* (New York, 1986), 180–82.
3. C. Mango, *Byzantine Architecture* (New York, 1976), esp. 9–11, favors an historical approach, whereas monographic studies have concentrated on details rather than larger issues of design; see for example C.L. Striker, *The Myrelaion (Bodrum Camii) in Istanbul* (Princeton, 1981); J. Morganstern, *The Byzantine Church at Dereagzi and Its Decoration* (Tübingen, 1983); among others.
4. See, for example, T. Jackson, *Byzantine and Romanesque Architecture* (Cambridge, 1913); C. Stewart, *Early Christian, Byzantine and Romanesque Architecture* (London, 1934, rev. ed. 1954); G. Rivoira, *Lombardic Architecture*, 2nd, ed. (Oxford, 1933).
5. Zarnecki, *Art of the Medieval World*, 141, simply attributes the small scale to heavy taxation.
6. T. Mathews, "'Private' Liturgy in Byzantine Architecture: Towards a Re-appraisal," *CahArch* 30 (1982), 125–38.
7. For example, G. Millet, *L'école grecque dans l'architecture byzantine* (Paris, 1916), 15–140, passim; see comments by Mango, *Byzantine Architecture*, 9. R. Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, 4th rev. ed. (with S. Ćurčić) (Harmondsworth, 1986), 285–300, 335–53, also discusses buildings by type.
8. A. Van Millingen, *Byzantine Churches in Constantinople* (London, 1912), esp. 332–36; J. Ebersolt and A. Thiers, *Les églises de Constantinople* (Paris, 1913).

9. Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, 1st ed. (Harmondsworth, 1965), 201–13; Part V, "Church Building after Justinian," begins with a chapter on "The Cross-Domed Church."
10. See comments by Mathews in T. Mathews and E. Hawkins, "Notes on the Atik Mustafa Paşa Camii in Istanbul and its Frescoes," *DOP* 39 (1985), 125; also Krautheimer (1986), 335–53.
11. K. Mijatev, *Die mittelalterliche Baukunst in Bulgarien* (Sofia, 1974), 97–108; 141–58.
12. Most notably, G. Velenis, *Hermēneia tou exōterikou diakosmou sti byzantinē architektonikē* (Thessaloniki, 1984); also R. Ousterhout, "Observations on the 'Recessed Brick' Technique during the Palaeologan Period," *ArchDelt* 39 (1984) (= Athens, 1990), 163–70; idem, "The Byzantine Heart," *Zograf* 17 (1986) (= Belgrade, 1989), 36–44.
13. As I have discussed elsewhere; see Ousterhout, *The Architecture of the Kariye Camii in Istanbul*, DOS 25 (Washington, D.C., 1987), 119–20.
14. For illustrations see Mathews, *The Byzantine Churches of Istanbul: A Photographic Survey* (University Park, Penn., 1976), 73–101; 130–39.
15. Mathews, *The Early Churches of Constantinople: Architecture and Liturgy*; idem, "'Private' Liturgy:" *Mango, Byzantine Architecture*.
16. For the education of the architect, see H.A. Meek, "The Architect and His Profession in Byzantium," *Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects* 59 (1951–52), 216–20; G. Downey, "Byzantine Architects: Their Training and Methods," *B* 18 (1946–48), 99–118.
17. Psellos, *Chronographia*, 3.14–19 ed. Rénauld, I, pp. 41–46; (trans. of E. Sewter, *Fourteen Byzantine Rulers* [Harmondsworth, 1966], 72). For what is known of the Peribleptos, see R. Janin, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'empire byzantin*, I, iii, *Les églises et monastères* (Paris, 1969), 218–22.
18. *Chronographia*, 4.31 (trans. of Sewter, 105); see further Janin, *Églises et monastères*, 286–89.
19. Psellos (ibid. 6.185–188) condemns the Mangana complex with his praise: "The edifice itself was decorated with gold stars throughout, like the vault of heaven, but whereas the real heaven is adorned with its golden stars only at intervals, the surface of this one was entirely covered with gold, issuing forth from its centre as if in a never-ending stream" (trans. of Sewter, 251). The tone and nature of the description resemble Suetonius' record (*Nero* 31.1–2) of the Golden House of Nero. For the limited archaeological remains of the Mangana complex, see R. Demangel and E. Mamboury, *Le quartier des Manganes et la première région de Constantinople* (Paris, 1939), 19–37; and for an attempt at reconstruction, see Ch. Bouras, "Typologikēs paratērēseis sto katholiko tes Monēs tōn Manganōn," *ArchDelt* 31 (1976), 136–51.
20. P. Mylonas, "Le plan initial du catholicon de la Grande-Lavra au Mont Athos et la genèse du type du catholicon athonite," *CahArch* 32 (1984), 89–112.
21. Ibid., 96–98.
22. Ibid., figs. 11–13, for the *choroi* of Lavra; 102–03, for Vatopedi.
23. B.G. Barskij, *Stranstvovanija ... Barskago po svjatym mjestam Vostoka* (St. Petersburg, 1887), III, pl. between 76–77.
24. Mylonas, 103; 108–09.
25. D. Oates, "A Summary Report on the Excavations of the Byzantine Institute in the Kariye Camii: 1957 and 1958," *DOP* 14 (1969), 223–31. For a fuller analysis, see Ousterhout, *Architecture of the Kariye*, 15–32, esp. 20–22.
26. Ousterhout, op. cit. The interpretation of the archaeological evidence has recently been questioned by C. Mango. Review of *The Architecture of the Kariye Camii in Istanbul* by R. Ousterhout, *BZ* 83 (1990), 126–28, who suggests that the sanctuary foundations may be

- earlier than the eleventh century. For the dating of Isaac's proposed intervention at the Chora, see A. Kazhdan in *ODB* II, 1146.
27. Oates, "Summary Report," 230.
28. R. Ousterhout, "The Byzantine Church at Enez: Problems in Twelfth-Century Architecture," *JÖB* 35 (1985) 262–80, esp. 267–70; also idem., *Architecture of the Kariye*, 31–32.
29. For full documentation, see Ch. Bouras, *Nea Moni on Chios: History and Architecture* (Athens, 1982).
30. For the mosaics, see D. Mouriki, *The Mosaics of Nea Moni on Chios* (Athens, 1985).
31. I discuss this problem in greater detail in Ousterhout, "Originality in Byzantine Architecture: The Case of Nea Moni," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 51 (1992) 48–60.
32. H. Maguire, "The Mosaics of Nea Moni: An Imperial Reading," *DOP* 46 (1992), 205–14.
33. A. Orlandos, *Monuments byzantins de Chios*, II Planches (Athens, 1930) for numerous illustrations; also Ch. Bouras, "Twelfth and Thirteenth Century Variations of the Single Domed Octagon Plan," *DCAE* 9 (1977–79), 21–34.
34. Mylonas has come to the same conclusion about Nea Moni; see Mylonas, "Domikē Erevna sto Ekklesiastiko Synkrotēma tou Osiou Louka Phokidos," *Archaiologia* 36 (1990), 6–30, esp. 19–20 and note 51. G. Velenis, "Thirteenth-Century Architecture in the Despotate of Epirus: The Origins of the School," *Studenica et l'art byzantin autour de l'année 1200* (Belgrade, 1988), 279–85, esp. 280–81, suggests a similar transformation at the Paregoretissa at Arta, and this is more fully developed by L. Theis, *Die Architektur der Kirche der Panagia Paregoretissa in Arta / Epirus* (Amsterdam, 1991), esp. 76–77.
35. Mylonas, "Plan initial," 95; see also S. Čurčić, "Architectural Significance of Subsidiary Chapels in the Middle Byzantine Period," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 36 (1977), 94–110.
36. A. H. S. Megaw, "The Original Form of the Theotokos Church of Constantine Lips," *DOP* 18 (1964), 279–98; A. I. Komech, *Drevnerusskoe Zodchestvo Konisa X – Nachala XII v.* (Moscow, 1987), 181–232.
37. *Vita Basilii*, ed. Bekker, CSHB, 321 ff.; for English translation, see *AEB*, 194–95.
38. See the discussion by S. Čurčić, "Architectural Reconsideration of the Nea Ekklesia," *Byzantine Studies Conference Abstracts of Papers* 6 (1980), 11–12. The curiously sophisticated design of the five-domed church at Peristera might also be considered as a possible reflection of the Nea; see Krautheimer (1986), 371–72, for plan and description.