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*Space, Ritual, and Experience from Classical
Greece to Byzantium*

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CHAPTER TWELVE

STRUCTURE, AGENCY, RITUAL,
AND THE BYZANTINE CHURCH

Vasileios Marinis

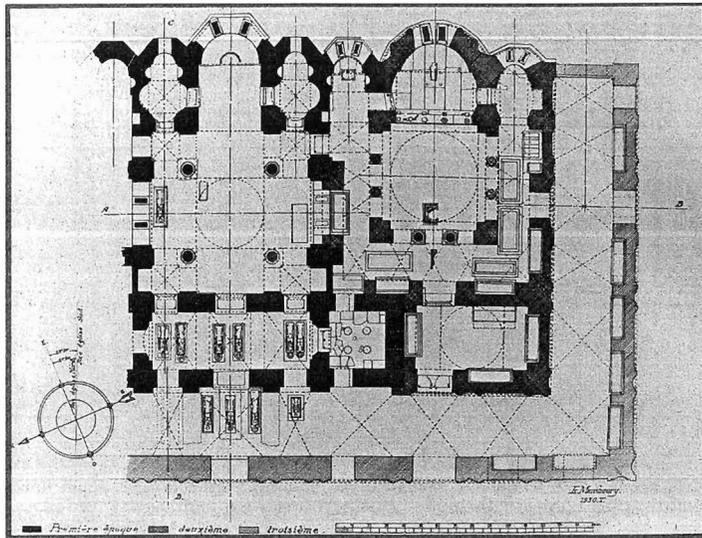
Byzantinists have tended to shy away from developments in modern theory, sometimes with good reason. Theories founded on premises bearing no demonstrable relevance to medieval or Byzantine reality contribute little more than an impression of methodological sophistication. The ideas applied by scholars in the observation of the ceremonial systems of contemporary societies have little to offer to the study of Byzantine society's ritual engagements; not least because, unlike the social models from which these theories are derived, Byzantine society can no longer be observed. By contrast, ritual theory does offer some useful tools that, properly adjusted for differences of context, may enable a deeper understanding of some of Byzantium's structures and ritual expressions. Thus, I begin with some methodological clarifications. In this chapter I reiterate the basic dichotomy between belief and ritual.¹ Belief is a set of tenets accepted as true by a group of people. Ritual, on the other hand, enacts, performs, and objectifies belief. To cite an example pertinent to the topic at hand, the Byzantines believed that the prayers of the living for the deceased functioned as appeals to God, who would take them into consideration during the final judgment of the souls. This is the belief. The ritual of memorial services performed adjacent to the tombs objectifies and expresses this belief with an assortment of prayers and acts. There exists an aspect of ritual that is largely ignored, even though it is crucial: ritual is *situational*.² That is, much of what is important about ritual cannot be understood outside the specific context in which it occurs. Byzantine ritual usually



12.1. Istanbul (Constantinople), Monastery *tou Libos*, from the southeast. Photo Robert Ousterhout.

took place in a very specific framework – the actual church building and its environs – in which both belief and ritual found accommodation and were expressed through the architectural arrangement and interior decoration of spaces. Nevertheless, a Byzantine church was not a mere shell for ritual but rather an essential interlocutor in a constant dialogue.

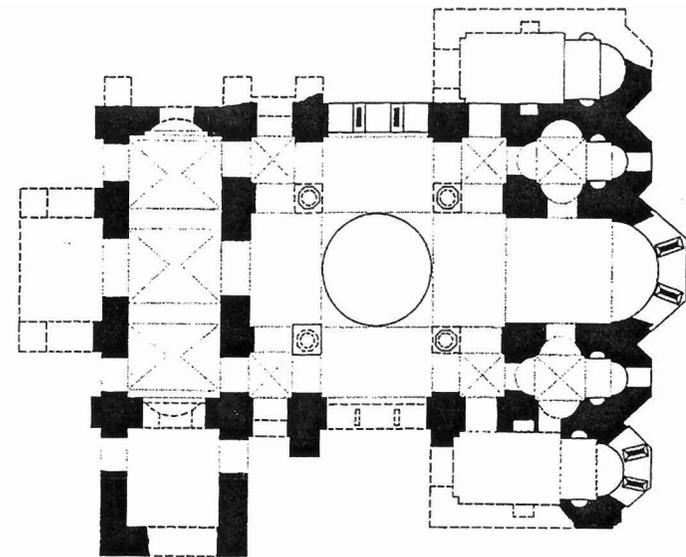
Several scholars have observed the interaction and integration of architecture and ritual in various contexts and eras.³ In this paper I investigate the ways in which architecture, ritual, and belief intertwined in a single monastic complex, the monastery *tou Libos* in Constantinople (Figs. 12.1–12.6). I argue that the architectural forms of the monastery's two surviving churches was the result of a negotiation between inherited social, religious, and cultural structures and individual agency.⁴ Structures entailed primarily canonical regulations, extended and informed by theological developments, which guided church building, as well as considerations for the accommodation of the ritual and symbolic divisions of space; nonnegotiable architectural elements (such as an altar, a templon, a space for the congregation); and established decorative and iconographic practices. Individual agency refers to the desires of patrons, masons, and artists, and their responses to such economic realities as budget and availability of materials.⁵



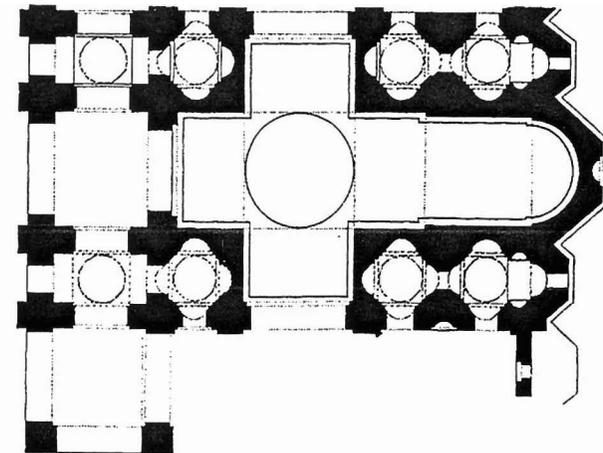
12.2. Istanbul (Constantinople), Monastery *tou Libos*, ground plan. After E. Mamboury in T. Macridy, "The Monastery of Lips (Fenari Isa Camii) at Istanbul," *DOP* 18, 1964, fig. 5.

The complex is now located in the intersection of Adnan Menderes Vatan Bulvarı and Halıcılar Caddesi, southwest of the Fatih Camii. All the auxiliary buildings of a typical Byzantine monastery, including cells, a refectory, a circuit wall with a gatehouse,⁶ a bath,⁷ and even a hospital,⁷ have disappeared, leaving only two churches and an outer ambulatory. The buildings were damaged by several fires, which resulted in a number of reconstructions. Consequently, their original appearance has been significantly altered. In 1929 Theodore Macridy, then assistant curator of the Istanbul Archaeological Museum, undertook the first serious investigation of the site.⁸ In the 1960s the Byzantine Institute of America and Dumbarton Oaks restored the building.⁹ It has been used as a mosque ever since.

The original foundation dates to the ninth century.¹⁰ Constantine Lips, a high-ranking military official in the imperial army,¹¹ was the patron of the monastery, which he dedicated to the Theotokos (Figs. 12.1–12.3, 12.5).¹² Its consecration took place in 907, with the participation of emperor Leo VI.¹³ The history of the monastery *tou Libos* during the Middle Byzantine period is not well documented. It is possible



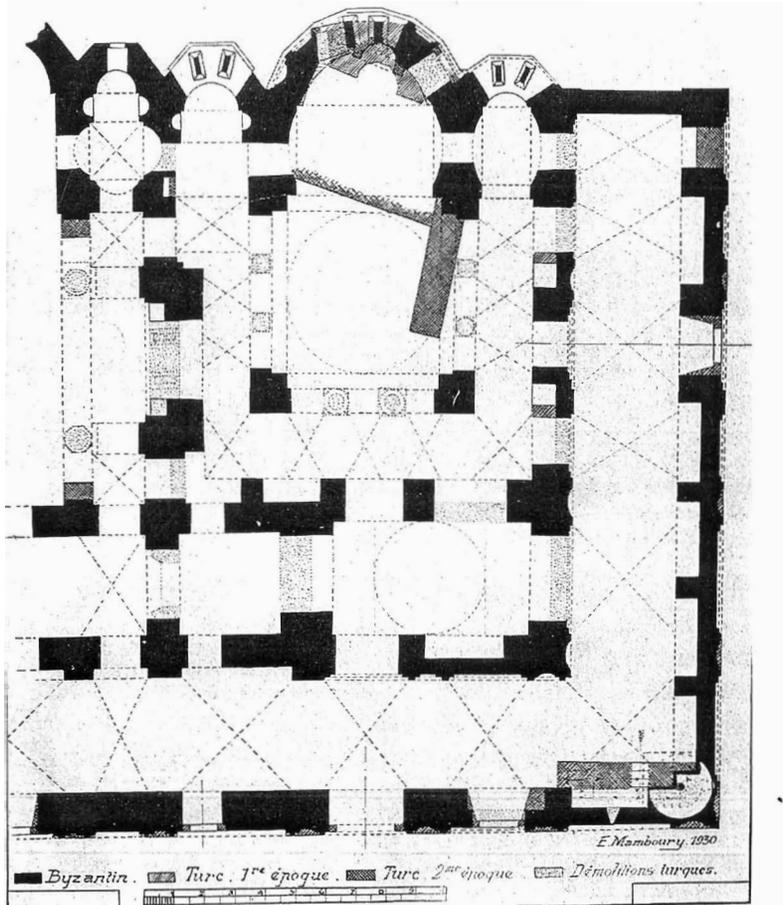
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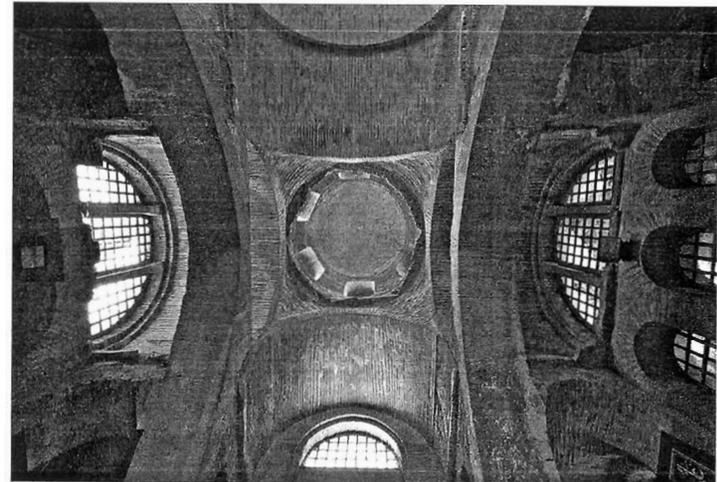
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12.3. Istanbul (Constantinople), Monastery *tou Libos*, Theotokos, plan at ground level (A), and gallery level (B). Drawing Robert Ousterhout, after Slobodan Ćurčić.

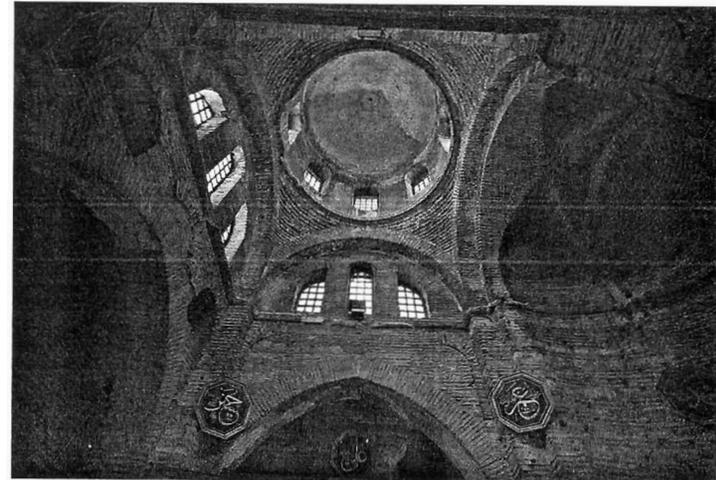


12.4. Istanbul (Constantinople), Monastery *tu Libos*, Saint John, ground plan. After E. Mamboury in T. Macridy, "The Monastery of Lips (Fenari Isa Camii) at Istanbul," *DOP* 18, 1964, fig. 8.

that it followed the fate of many other religious foundations during the Latin occupation of Constantinople (1204–1261) and was abandoned. At the end of the thirteenth century the dowager empress Theodora, widow of Michael VIII Palaiologos, restored the monastic complex adding a second church, dedicated to St. John the Baptist, to the south



12.5. Istanbul (Constantinople), Monastery *tu Libos*, Theotokos Panachrantos, interior. Photo Vasileios Marinis.



12.6. Istanbul (Constantinople), Monastery *tu Libos*, Saint John, interior. Photo Vasileios Marinis.

of the existing, tenth-century church (Figs. 12.1–12.2, 12.4–12.6).¹⁴ An outer ambulatory, enveloping the two churches along the west and south sides, was added shortly after the completion of the church of St. John (Figs. 12.1–12.2, 12.6).

More than 350 years separated the two churches of the monastery *tou Libos*. They differed from each other not only in terms of building technique, architectural style, and decoration but also, and most importantly, in terms of the interior articulation of spaces. The north church of the Theotokos was a typical cross-in-square church (Figs. 12.2–12.3, 12.5).¹⁵ It was built with alternating bands of brick and ashlar stone up to circa 5.5 meters from the floor. The arches and vault were constructed exclusively of brick. The naos, or main part, was relatively large by middle Byzantine standards, measuring circa 15.5 meters from the sill of the western door to the inner wall of the central apse, and circa 9.4 meters at the full extent of the north and south cross-arms. It was divided into nine bays. The central bay, which was originally defined by four columns, is the largest, measuring approximately 6 meters by 4 meters. The tripartite bema was located to the east of the naos. It comprised a large central apse, where the altar would have been, flanked by two identical smaller apses, the prothesis to the north and the diakonikon to the south. The main apse was connected to the prothesis and diakonikon through doors in its lateral walls. To the west of the naos was the narthex, a rectangular space measuring 9.1 by 3.2 meters; it is divided into three bays. The narthex was accessible through three doors on the west, of which the central one was the largest and opened into a small porch.

The most distinguishing feature of the church of the Theotokos was the six additional chapels, two at ground-level flanking the prothesis and diakonikon and four on the roof (Fig. 12.3). While the northern ground-level chapel has long since disappeared, part of the foundation of its apse has been excavated.¹⁶ In the late thirteenth century, the chapel next to the diakonikon was incorporated into the south church to serve as its prothesis and was partially preserved. The four roof chapels survive in part. Their appearance today is largely due to the extensive reconstruction undertaken in the 1960s. The two western chapels were situated over the western corner bays of the naos. The western chapels were located over the diakonikon and prothesis at the east end of the building. A staircase located in the square compartment in the south of the narthex provided access to the roof and the chapels (Fig. 12.3).¹⁷

In comparison to the north church, the plan of the south church of St. John differed significantly (Figs. 12.2, 12.4, 12.6). This later church belonged to the ambulatory type, with the central bay under the dome separated from the rest of the church by columns and piers that create a corridor surrounding the central bay on three sides.¹⁸ Its plan was affected by the fact that it was attached to the preexisting church of the Theotokos, while incorporating parts of it.

As it stands today, the interior of the south church's naos gives the rather misleading impression of a very open space (Fig. 12.6). This is the result of alterations during the Ottoman period. The naos is a rectangle, measuring 10.5 meters in length from the sill of the western door to the threshold of the bema, and 13.1 meters from the end of the south passageway to the end of the north passageway. The large central bay, defined by four piers in the corners, measures 8.1 by 7.5 meters. Between the piers on the north, west, and south sides were pairs of columns. All of them were removed after the building's conversion into a mosque and replaced by large pointed arches. Nevertheless, the previous configuration of the space is evident: on all three sides the remains of the original arches are visible. The masonry technique is apparent in the exposed interior wall surfaces. Bands from one to five bricks are interspersed with single ashlar courses without exhibiting any regular pattern. The masonry turns to brick only above the marble cornice that marks the springing of the vaults. The bricks are long and thin, while the stones are roughly but regularly hewn. The interior was decorated with marble revetments up to the springing of the vaults, as indicated by the numerous small holes in the masonry for the nails holding the marble panels together. The dome and the rest of the vaulting were decorated with mosaics.

Originally, the narthex in the church of St. John was truncated (8.6 by 1.4 meters) due to the existence of the tenth-century staircase compartment. A door in the west wall provided access to the narthex from the outer ambulatory: opposite it stands the single entrance into the naos of St. John. Another door to the naos was opened in the east wall of the tower. The narthex was crowned by a large dome. Finally, the outer ambulatory enveloped the complex on the south and west sides. The length of the south arm is approximately 22 meters; the west one approximately 28 meters long; both are circa 3.50 meters wide. It is unclear whether the ambulatory extended to the north side of the complex.

This brief description of the two churches in the monastery *tou Libos* reveals the dissimilarities between them. Some of them, such as the differences in the masonry techniques or in the decoration of the exterior walls, may be attributed to the distinct architectural styles of the tenth and thirteenth centuries. However, the fundamental differences lay in the architectural forms and particularly of the interior articulation of the two buildings. These differences reflected the divergent functions of each church. But they were also the result of the negotiation between the wishes of the two patrons and what was theologically and socially acceptable.

The tenth-century church of the Theotokos is the earliest extant securely dated cross-in-square church in Constantinople.¹⁹ Scholars still debate the origins of this type, which would become very popular both in the capital and the provinces in subsequent centuries. Very often the narratives have disintegrated into linear evolutionary formalism, wherein older types beget new ones with the obligatory mediation of "transitional" buildings.²⁰ Regardless of its origins, examples of the type dating to as early as the eighth century are found in Bithynia, in northwest Asia Minor.²¹ Because of its modest size and lack of internal divisions, the type was favored in monasteries, although there is also evidence of its use in secular, specifically palatial contexts.²²

Why did the cross-in-square type become so widespread? In part, the answer has to do with the particulars of the transmission of architectural knowledge in medieval Byzantium.²³ A cross-in-square church did not pose any significant structural challenges or demands beyond practical mathematics while at the same time, depending on the training and experience of the masons, it allowed for relatively large, tall, and elegant interior spaces and exterior façades. If the type was indeed transmitted from Constantinople and was associated with palatial structures (both religious and secular), an element of prestige was surely attached to it.

A further reason for the type's popularity was certainly the fact that it provided a suitable setting for the celebration of the Divine Liturgy in the form that it acquired after Iconoclasm.²⁴ During the Middle Byzantine period, and under the increased influence of monastic practices (which were, by necessity, self-contained), the Divine Liturgy became intimate and introverted. All the action took place mostly inside the church, for the most part in the sanctuary. Two brief ritualized appearances of the

clergy constituted the dramatic high points of the service. Thus, during what became known as the First or Little Entrance, the clergy carried the Gospel book from the altar into the nave and then back to the altar. The second entrance, called the Great Entrance, consisted of transferring the eucharistic elements from the prothesis, the space where they had been prepared, to the altar, following a "U" path to the center of the main church and back to the sanctuary.

The cross-in-square type provided fitting accommodation for these ritual entrances (Fig. 12.3). The naos was a centralized, self-contained, and unified space, interrupted only by the columns supporting the dome. The worshippers would have congregated in the corridor around the central bay and thus were able to see the celebration of the liturgy while at the same time leaving adequate space for the two processions. The bema, where most of the ritual took place, was visible from almost anywhere inside the naos. Furthermore, the clearly defined zones of holiness (sanctuary, naos, narthex on the horizontal axis) corresponded to the divisions of the people.²⁵ Because of the dome, such churches also had a vertical heaven-to-earth hierarchical axis often underscored by the iconographic program. This is not to say that other architectural types were not popular or even better suited for the celebration of the liturgy. Nonetheless, it appears that the cross-in-square type offered an ideal combination of practicality in execution and suitability for ritual and decoration, as well as sufficient size and prestige.

The north church *tou Libos* was surely an expression of such considerations. It conformed to the exigencies of inherited structures pertaining to the accommodation of rituals and the symbolic divisions of space. And yet, aspects of the building manifested the wished and aspirations of the patron, Constantine Lips. I have suggested elsewhere that the tombs uncovered by Macridy in the narthex and the porch of the north church belonged to Constantine and members of his family.²⁶ Most importantly, the Theotokos *tou Libos* was different from other comparable churches in its incorporation of six additional chapels, two at ground level flanking the sanctuary and four more on the roof (Fig. 12.3). It is difficult to discern the function of these spaces.²⁷ There is clear evidence that most if not all chapels contained consecrated altars, but at least the chapels on the roof could not have been much frequented. Their existence should be seen as fulfilling the wishes of



Constantine Lips and associated with the Byzantine perception of the intercessory role of saints in a person's salvation.²⁸ This is evident in the dedicatory inscription, parts of which still survive on the exterior walls of the sanctuary of the north church. From it we learn that Constantine offered the church to the Mother of God in the hope that she would grant him citizenship in heaven. This inscription also suggests that perhaps some of the chapels were dedicated to the Apostles.²⁹ Another source reveals that one chapel was dedicated to Saint Irene.³⁰

Let us turn now to the thirteenth-century church of Saint John (Fig. 12.4). The ambulatory plan of this building presents some challenges when one considers the form of the liturgy, which, as noted earlier, was distinguished by a series of circular processions that started and ended in the sanctuary. An opposed to a cross-in-square building, an ambulatory church is not well suited to this kind of ritual: the columns and piers that screen off the main bay not only would have inhibited the processional movement of the celebrants, but also hindered the view of the people attending the service. How then can we interpret these peculiarities?

Several scholars have traced the evolution of the ambulatory type.³¹ Apart from the fact that an evolutionary approach to Byzantine architecture has proven to be highly problematic,³² an important functional aspect of the ambulatory churches in Constantinople has not been emphasized enough: its funerary character. Based on a theory first put forward by Robert Ousterhout,³³ I have suggested that the emergence of the ambulatory type in the Middle and Late Byzantine period might be connected to its funerary function, a proposition confirmed by some of the surviving ambulatory churches in Constantinople.³⁴

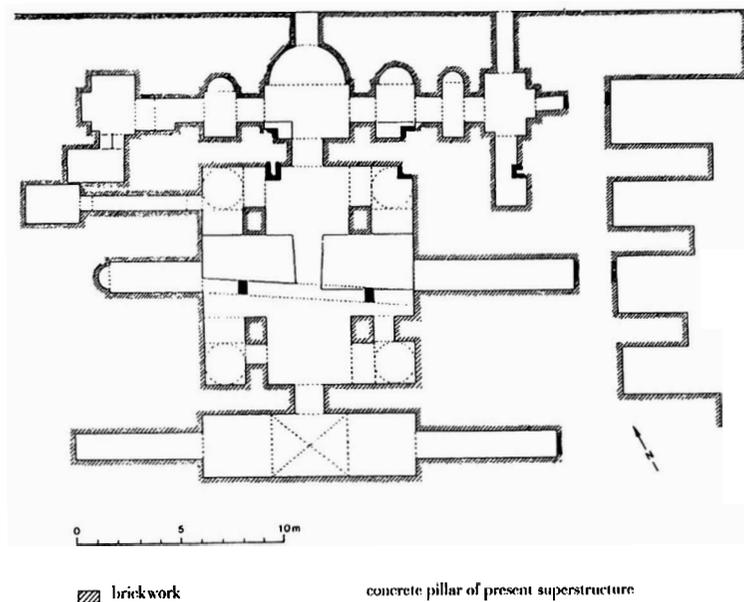
In the case of the monastery *tou Libos*, Theodora's foundation document, (in Greek *typikon*), confirms the funerary character of the church of St. John.³⁵ This document provides invaluable information regarding the life of the nuns and the administration of the monastery (including matters such as the length of the novitiate, division of labor, selection of the superior), along with the nuns' liturgical duties. More important for our purposes, the document makes it clear that the church of St. John was to be used as the mausoleum for Theodora's imperial family. There are some very specific instructions concerning the burials in the south church, including her own:

It is now time to be mindful of death, since there is no one "that lives and never sees death." First I will make clear to my family and descendants my wishes concerning my own burial. The body of my daughter is buried to the right of the entrance to the church of [Saint John] the Forerunner. My tomb and that of my honored mother (for I cannot bear to be separated from her even after my death) should be built after the intervening door. In the future, any of my children or sons-in-law, who request during their lifetime to be laid to rest here, shall be suitably buried. The same shall apply to my grandsons and granddaughters, daughters-in-law, and the husbands of granddaughters, for all of whom there are to be annual commemorations. The opposite side, on your left as you leave for the old church of the Virgin, will be totally reserved for whatever purpose desired by my son the emperor.³⁶

From the information in the *typikon* and later sources we can compile a list of people buried in the monastery *tou Libos*. They included Theodora's mother and Anna, her daughter;³⁷ Constantine, the younger brother of Andronikos II who died in 1304;³⁸ Eirene, first wife of Andronikos III, who died in 1324;³⁹ Andronikos II himself who died in 1332;⁴⁰ and Anna, the Russian first wife of John VIII Palaiologos, who died in 1418.⁴¹ A funerary stele now in the Istanbul Archaeological Museum depicting a nun called Maria, "the faithful sebastē and a daughter of Palaiologos" might have come from the monastery *tou Libos*.⁴² Evidently the south church was a popular place, since twelve masonry tombs and two ossuaries were discovered in the naos along with the seven masonry tombs located in the outer ambulatory.

Other ambulatory churches in Constantinople exhibit a similarly pronounced funerary character. The church of Theotokos Peribleptos was built by Romanos III Argyros (1028–1034) (Fig. 12.7);⁴³ shortly thereafter an adjoining monastery was added. Romanos was buried in the church of Peribleptos. Later, Nikephoros III Botaniates (1078–1081) restored the monastery and was also buried in the church. The exact location of the two tombs is unclear, but some information comes from Ruy González de Clavijo, the Spanish ambassador who went to Constantinople in 1403 and visited the church of Peribleptos. Clavijo narrates that:

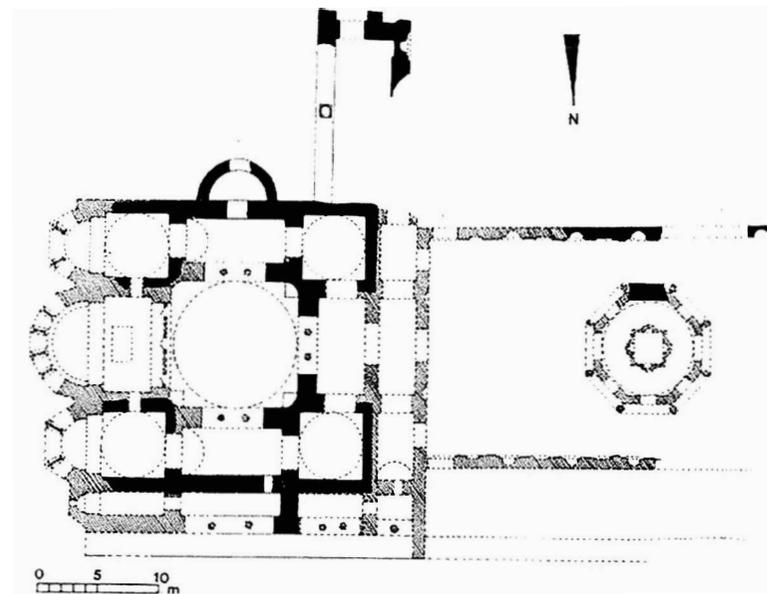
In the body of the church are five altars, and the body itself is a round hall, very big and tall, and it is supported on jasper [columns] of different colors; . . . This hall is enclosed all round by three aisles which



12.7. Istanbul (Constantinople), Theotokos Peribleptos, circa 1028–1034. After F. Özgümüş, “Peribleptos, Sulu, monastery in Istanbul,” *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 93, 2000, plan 2. Reproduced with permission of the author.

are joined to it, and the ceiling of the hall and the aisles is one and the same, and is completely wrought in rich mosaic. And at the end of the church, on the left side, was a big tomb of colored jasper wherein lies the said Emperor Romanus.⁴⁴ And they say that this tomb was once covered with gold and set with many precious stones, but that when, ninety years ago [*sic*], the Latins won the city, they robbed this tomb. And in this church was another big tomb of jasper in which lay another emperor.⁴⁵

According to Clavijo the tomb of Romanos was located in the north arm of the church’s ambulatory; the second tomb was undoubtedly that of Nikephoros Botaniates. Based on Clavijo’s description, Cyril Mango suggested that the church was of the ambulatory type.⁴⁶ The original building has disappeared but a recent investigation was carried out after a fire had exposed some vaulted substructures: these were surveyed and photographed.⁴⁷ Based on the plan of the substructures one can very

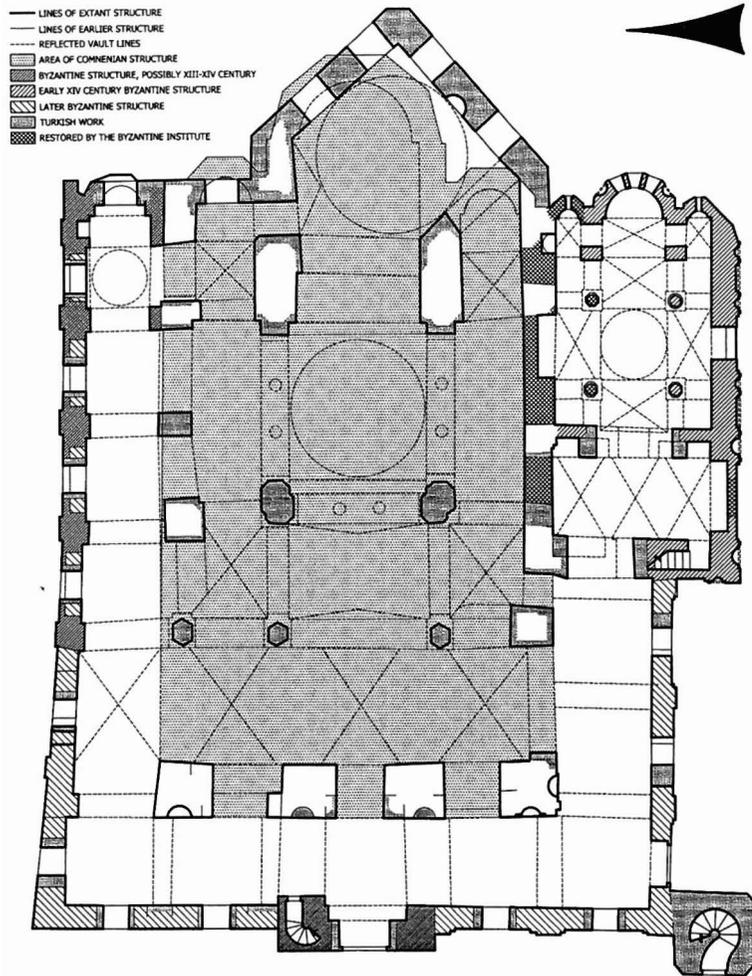


12.8. Istanbul (Constantinople), Saint George ton Manganon, circa 1042–1057. Redrawn from E. Mamboury and R. Demangel, *Le quartier des Manges et la première région de Constantinople*, Paris, 1939, pl. V.

easily suggest that Peribleptos was indeed an ambulatory church, where at least one of the imperial tombs was placed in the ambulatory in a fashion not unlike the church of St. John *ton Libos*.⁴⁸

The church of St. George *ton Manganon* (Fig. 12.8) was built by emperor Constantine IX Monomachos (r. 1042–1055), third husband of the empress Zoe.⁴⁹ Unfortunately only some substructures survive of this famous foundation. Mamboury suggested that the church was of the ambulatory type, although other reconstructions are also possible. Constantine Monomachos was buried in his foundation and close to his tomb he placed a sarcophagus for his mistress Skleraina.⁵⁰

The katholikon of the Pammakaristos monastery also belongs to the ambulatory type and although some of its features are still debated, there is a general consensus that it is a Komnenian construction (Fig. 12.9).⁵¹ From a now lost inscription we know that the church was built by a certain John Komnenos and his wife Anna Doukaïna.⁵² From a description



12.9. Istanbul (Constantinople), Theotokos Pammakaristos, twelfth century and later. Redrawn after H. Belting, C. Mango, D. Mouriki, *The Mosaics and Frescoes of St. Mary Pammakaristos (Fethiye Camii) at Istanbul*, Washington, DC, 1978, fig. 1.

of Pammakaristos contained in a document now in the Trinity College Library at Cambridge, it is very clear that the main church was used as a resting place for the founder's family.⁵³ The document is vague about the exact location of the tombs⁵⁴ but the arrangement would have been similar to the south church *tou Libos*.

This brief survey of some ambulatory churches in Constantinople indicates that there are good reasons to link the plan with churches of predominantly funerary character.⁵⁵ But still, why the choice of this specific spatial arrangement to accommodate tombs? Burials occurred inside churches throughout the empire, despite explicit canonical prohibition against the practice.⁵⁶ Very often this prohibition was circumvented by confining the tombs to spaces of secondary symbolic, liturgical, and spiritual importance, such as narthexes, chapels, crypts, and outer ambulatories as was the case with the tombs of the Lips Family in the church of the Theotokos. The narthex, for example, was not considered as holy as the naos or the sanctuary.⁵⁷ However, only rarely do we find burials inside the naos, as it is the case with St. John *tou Libos*.⁵⁸

I consider this another case of the negotiation between overarching structures (in this case the canonical framework regulating the function of a church, including the prohibition of burials) and personal agency - specifically Theodora's desire to secure for herself and some members of her family the most spiritually beneficial burial location. Scholars have interpreted burials inside churches as the continuation of early Christian *ad sanctos* burials, and connected it with the relics of martyrs deposited under the altar during the consecration ceremony.⁵⁹ However, there may have been a different reason for this practice. First, the souls of the deceased were believed to benefit from the prayers of monastics and visitors and from the frequent celebration of the liturgy, in addition to regular memorial services.⁶⁰ The eagerness to preserve the memory of the deceased and to encourage prayer on his or her behalf is evident in the decoration of tombs. Although there is little evidence left in St. John,⁶¹ the partially preserved tombs in the parekklesion of the Chora monastery (Kariye Müzesi) offer some parallels: the tombs included funerary portraits, sculpted decorative frames, and extensive inscriptions that addressed the viewer directly and ask him or her for prayers on behalf of the souls of the deceased.⁶² By virtue of their prominent position inside the naos, the figural and textual decoration of the St. John *tou Libos* tombs intended to take advantage of both the regular attendants and occasional visitors to the church. In addition, the location of the tombs was another instance of the Byzantine preoccupation with proximity to holiness. The ambulatory created a space that could easily accommodate tombs and sarcophagi inside the naos and close to the bema, the holiest part of the church. In fact, Theodora's tomb,

which according to the *typikon* was located in the southeastern arcosolium in the church of St. John, was the one closest to the sanctuary.⁶³ At the same time, the main liturgical area – the central bay and the bema – remained separate. There is another reason for this separation of spaces, one connected with the practicalities of memorial rituals. Memorial services usually took place alongside the tombs, and the ambulatory created the necessary space for the people to congregate around them. Following a process of creating zones of differing spiritual importance and function, the columns and piers in the naos of St. John separate spaces that served different purposes, with the liturgical core isolated from the funerary ambulatory. Therefore, the ambulatory plan, at least in Constantinople, can be interpreted as a solution that accommodated the juxtaposition of liturgical and funeral spaces within the same building. The distinction of these spaces was apparently very desirable.

Another functional and symbolic distinction of spaces occurred with the construction of the outer ambulatory. Even given the privileged position of any tomb inside a church, there existed degrees of importance associated with location. Annexed structures, whether exonarthexes, ambulatories, or lateral aisles, built anew or added to preexisting buildings, were very common in the Palaiologan architecture of the capital and its sphere of influence. The obvious purpose of the outer ambulatory in the monastery *tou Libos* was to provide space for further burials.⁶⁴ The burial niches are set into the thickness of the wall, and from the masonry it is evident that all of them were part of the original planning. The funerary character of such spaces is reinforced by the primary sources. Thus, the twelfth-century *typikon* of the convent of the Mother of God Kecharitomene in Constantinople offered these instructions concerning the descendants of its founder, Empress Eirene Doukaina:

If ever any of our daughters or daughters-in-law or even of our granddaughters, to whom the *ephoreia* of the convent has been assigned and the use of the more sumptuous buildings, should choose to be buried in this convent (for it is not unreasonable to discuss this also), this will be possible for her if she has assumed the monastic habit, but not at all otherwise, and she will have a place in the exonarthex for the burial of her remains, making her own tomb according to her own wishes.⁶⁵

Analogous directives concerning the burial and memorial service – this time of monks – in the exonarthex are given in the twelfth-century *typikon* of Athanasios Philanthropenos for the monastery of St. Mamas in Constantinople.⁶⁶

Because much of the archaeological evidence for the tombs at the monastery *tou Libos* has disappeared, it is impossible to know if the outer ambulatory was constructed after all the tombs within the church of St. John were filled. I believe that this was not necessarily the case. The outer ambulatory accommodated tombs of persons who were important, but not as important as the ones inside the naos: this is evident from the surviving fragments of the decoration of the tombs. The arcosolium of Theodora's tomb was decorated with her mosaic portrait.⁶⁷ However, all the decoration that has survived in the outer ambulatory is in fresco,⁶⁸ which was less expensive. It appears that the tombs located there were not considered as privileged as the ones inside the church because they were not located so close to the altar. Textual evidence also confirms this distinction: Constantine, the younger son of Theodora, a rather shady character, was condemned and imprisoned in 1293 and died in 1304. The relevant passage from the historian Pachymeres mentions that Constantine “was buried like the common men in the outermost tombs [of the monastery *tou Libos*].”⁶⁹ The liturgical use of these spaces corroborates the idea that they were considered of lesser importance. According to monastic *typika*, some minor service, such as compliance, were celebrated in narthexes and outer narthexes.⁷⁰

In conclusion, in both the church of the Theotokos and that of St. John at the monastery *tou Libos*, the arrangement of spaces was the product of a negotiation between the beliefs and desires of the patrons and socio-cultural structures that dictated what was required and permissible in a church. Furthermore, architecture was used functionally and symbolically to indicate degrees of importance. Principal services were celebrated and eminent people were buried inside the churches; minor services and less important people found their place in the outer ambulatory.

The Byzantine world view was informed by a complex set of beliefs expressed in an intricate array of rituals that took place in a specific architectural setting. Belief is abstract and difficult to gauge, whether in the past or the present; ritual, while more recoverable, nevertheless

remains elusive. Architecture, as the locus of so much ritual practice in Byzantine society, can help us recreate, however imperfectly, ritual customs that have otherwise left no trace; by extension, it can help us gauge the beliefs that underpinned those rituals. Often these three areas – belief, ritual, architecture – are dealt with as separate subjects or their affinities are denigrated by an explain-all “form follows function” formula. In the case of Byzantium, as in other cultures, belief, ritual, and architecture were intrinsically interdependent. The subtleties and ramifications of their interaction repay close attention.

Notes

1. Geertz 1973, pp. 86, 126–31. This rudimentary division has been ramified and even challenged, although it still stands true for Byzantium. For an extensive discussion, see Bell 1992, pp. 182–96. See also Kreinath, Snoek, and Stausberg 2006 and especially Snoek 2006.
2. On this, see Bell 1992, p. 81.
3. See, for example, Heitz 1963 for the Carolingian era; Thompson 1988 for Japan; Scott 2003 for Turin; Moore 2006 for Masonic Temples in the United States; Sears 2008 for medieval India.
4. On the topic of structures and personal agency see selectively Giddens 1984; Thompson 1989; Bryant and Jary 1991; and most importantly Sewell 1992 (essentially reprinted in Sewell 2005, pp. 124–51). For application of Giddens in the created environment, although not specific buildings, see Pred 1984; Saunders 1989.
5. The loss of artistic and archaeological evidence from Constantinople, as well as the idiosyncracies of the written sources, allow only for educated guesses regarding some of these categories.
6. Delehaye 1921, pp. 114–15, 117; *Typikon of Lips*, pp. 1270, 1271.
7. Delehaye 1921, p. 134; *Typikon of Lips*, pp. 1265, 1269, 1273, 1275, 1279, 1281.
8. Macridy 1929, pp. 343–4; Macridy 1964.
9. Megaw 1964; Mango and Hawkins 1964, 1968.
10. Van Millingen 1912, pp. 122–37; Ebersolt [1913] 1979, pp. 211–23; Macridy 1964; Janin 1969, pp. 307–10, 417–18; Mathews 1976, 322–45; Marinis 2004.
11. The “synoptic” chronicles, Constantine Porphyrogenetos, and the Patria offer conflicting accounts of the life and career of Constantine Lips. See Adontz 1965, pp. 222–5; *De administrando imperio*, pp. 162–3, 179; Mango and Hawkins 1964, pp. 299–300; Marinis 2004, pp. 23–31.
12. Fragments of the dedicatory inscription are still located in a cornice that runs along the exterior of the three apses of the church, see Mango and Hawkins, pp. 300–1, fig. 1.
13. Theophanes Continuatus, p. 371.
14. For Theodora Palaiologina see Talbot 1992, pp. 295–303.
15. The original form of the north church has been the subject of significant debate. Brunoff argued that the church belonged, along with several other monuments in Constantinople, to a “five-aisled” plan, which was later transplanted to Russia, see Brunoff 1927, 1927a, 1968, Popov 1968. Excavations performed by

- A. H. S. Megaw did not confirm the existence of an outer aisle in the north side of the building, Megaw 1964. More recently, Lioba Theis reintroduced the idea of outer aisles, although this is contradicted by Megaw's findings and by the evidence in the masonry of the north wall of the church. See Theis 1995, 2005, pp. 56–64. For some new observations see Marinis 2004, pp. 43–70.
16. Macridy 1964, fig. 27.
 17. Megaw 1954, pp. 283–91, 294–5.
 18. Eyice 1959 (Eyice's suggestion that the “ambulatory” type is a Palaiologan creation is erroneous); Krautheimer 1986, p. 517; Vokotopoulos 1992, pp. 126–31; Chatzetryphonos 2004, especially pp. 152–63.
 19. For the cross-in-square type, see selectively Müller 1916, pp. 55–94; Orlandos 1939–1940; Mavrodinov 1940; Mango 1976, pp. 178–80; Krautheimer 1986, pp. 340–3; Lange 1986. Buchwald has suggested a ninth-century date for another cross-in-square church, Hiramî Ahmet Paşa Camii, usually identified with St. John Prodromos *en to Troullo*, see Buchwald 1977, p. 290, n. 95.
 20. For a summary of the proposed theories, see Lange 1986. See also Toivanen 2007, pp. 140–152.
 21. Mango 1976, pp. 96–98.
 22. Ćurčić 2010, pp. 271–2.
 23. Ousterhout 1999, esp. pp. 39–85; Bouras 2002, 2005, 2010.
 24. For the evolution of the Byzantine rite see primarily Taft 1992. See also Mateos 1971; Arranz 1976; Schulz 1986; Wybrew 1989; Taft 1978, 1980–1981, 1988, 1995; Pott 2000. For the parallel developments in architecture, see Marinis 2009, 2011.
 25. These would have been clergy in the sanctuary, laity in the naos, and individuals who were not permitted to attend services in the naos, such as penitents, in the narthex.
 26. Marinis 2009, pp. 158–61.
 27. Mathews 1982.
 28. Marinis 2010, pp. 297–8.
 29. Mango and Hawkins 1964, pp. 300–1.
 30. *Typikon of Lips*, p. 1267.
 31. See the comprehensive summary in Chatzetryphonos 2004, p. 152, with further bibliography.
 32. See, for example, the criticisms in Striker 2001.
 33. Ousterhout 1999, pp. 124–5.
 34. Marinis 2004, pp. 179–99.
 35. The *typikon* is preserved in a single manuscript, British Library Additional 22748, which is likely the original version. The Greek text can be found in Delehaye 1929, pp. 106–36. English translation by A.-M. Talbot in *Typikon of Lips*, pp. 1265–82. Talbot offered a number of amended readings based on her examination of the manuscript. See also suggested that the date of composition can be narrowed down to sometime between 1294 and 1301, see Talbot 1992, p. 299.
 36. Delehaye 1929, p. 130; *Typikon of Lips*, pp. 1278–9.
 37. Theodora had three daughters named Irene, Eudokia, and Anna, who was probably the one buried in the church of St. John, see Mango and Hawkins 1964, pp. 301–3; Talbot 1992, p. 299.
 38. *Pachymeres*, vol. 4, p. 467.
 39. *Kantakouzenos*, vol. 1, pp. 193–4.

40. *Gregoras*, vol. 1, p. 463.
41. *Phrantzes*, p. 110. The tomb of Anna is also reported by the Russian traveler Zosima the Deacon who visited Constantinople in the early fifteenth century: see Majeska 1984, pp. 188, 309–12.
42. Evans 2004, pp. 104–5, with older bibliography on the stele. Macridy uncovered a fragment of a pseudo-sarcophagus bearing the name “Theodosia.” See Macridy 1964, p. 269 and n. 52b.
43. Janin 1969, pp. 218–22; Mango 1992, pp. 473–93.
44. Clavijo perhaps mistook the porphyry stone of the sarcophagi for jasper, which is also red.
45. Mango 1986, pp. 217–18.
46. Mango 1992, pp. 476–7.
47. Dark 1999; Özgümüş 1997–1998, 2000.
48. For an alternative reconstruction of the Peribleptos as a domed-octagon church, see Dalgiç and Mathews 2010.
49. The site where the remains of the church are located today is virtually inaccessible. The most complete archaeological survey of the site, conducted by the French troops occupying Constantinople in 1921–1922, is published in Mamboury and Demangel 1939. See also Janin 1969, pp. 70–76.
50. After the Latin occupation of the city the sarcophagus of Skleraina was used for the burial of Count Hughes de Saint-Pol. Clavijo, who visited also Mangana, mentions a “great tomb of jasper covered with a pall of silk, and here lies an empress,” see Mango 1986, p. 220.
51. Hallensleben 1963–1964; Belting, Mango, and Mouriki 1978.
52. Published in Siderides 1907, pp. 271–2. The inscription was located on the cornice of the bema, which has long been destroyed. It was preserved in an eighteenth-century manuscript at the Greek Theological School at Chalke, which was also perished in 1894 when an earthquake leveled the school. Another copy of this epigram is found in *Vind. med. gr.* 27, fol. 124r, see Hunger 1961, vol. II, p. 75.
53. The document was published in Schreiner 1971. English translation in Belting, Mango, Mouriki. 1978, pp. 39–42.
54. Effenberger 2007, where a summary of earlier opinions.
55. The other extant building that belongs to the type is the Koca Mustafa Paşa Camii. It has suffered extensive alterations. Eyice identified it with the church of Saint Andrew *en te Krisei*, a foundation known already in the eighth century but restored shortly after 1284 by the *protovestiarissa* Theodora Raoulaina, niece of Michael VII Palaiologos. If Eyice’s identification is correct, then the building is very close in date and type to the south church of Lips. All evidence for the original interior arrangements, including tombs or sarcophagi, has long disappeared. But from the sources we know that the relics of patriarch Arsenios were immediately moved to the restored monastery from Hagia Sophia. Theodora Raoulaina herself along with Simonida, daughter of Andronikos II, were buried there. See Eyice 1955, pp. 184–90; 1959; 1980; pp. 5–10; Janin 1969, pp. 28–31. See also Van Millingen 1912, pp. 106–21; Mathews 1976, pp. 3–14. No evidence of tombs has survived in the interiors of Gül Camii (c. 1100?) and Kalenderhane Camii (c. 1200), both of comparable plans.
56. Such legislation dates to as early as the fourth century and was repeated often. For example, the twelfth-century canonist Theodore Balsamon indicates that << Οὐκ ἔξεστιν θάπτειν τινα ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἐὰν δηλονότι μάρτυρος ἔκεισε σῶμα

ἀπόκειται.>> Ralles and Potles 1852, vol. 4, p. 479. For a survey of the sources, see Marinis 2009, where also earlier bibliography on the topic.

57. See, for example, *Symeon of Thessaloniki*, col. 704: “Thus, the narthex is the earth, the naos is the heavens, and the most holy bema represents those things beyond heavens.”
58. On this, see Marinis 2009.
59. Emmanouilidis 1989, pp. 185–6, 189, 206–23.
60. As explained in *Kabasilas*, pp. 210–5.
61. With the exception of a marble arch decorated with busts of Apostles, which probably decorated a tomb, Belting 1972, pp. 63–100 and esp. pp. 67–70.
62. Brooks 2004 and 2006.
63. On the position of Theodora’s tomb, see Marinis 2009, pp. 163–5.
64. The funerary character of ambulatories has been noticed also by Chatzetryphonos 2004, pp. 80–85.
65. Gautier 1974, p. 131; *Typikon of Kecharitomenē*, p. 704. I do not differentiate between exonarthex and outer ambulatory in the monastery *tau Libos*.
66. Eustratiades 1928, pp. 256–314; *Typikon of St. Mamas*, p. 1020.
67. Mango and Hawkins 1964, p. 302, fig. 2.
68. Mango and Hawkins 1968, pp. 177–8, figs. 1–3.
69. <<καὶ ὑπὸ θαυλίαι φωσὶ καὶ λαμπάσι καὶ ψαλιμωδίαις μεσοῦσης ἡμέρας, τῆ τοῦ Λείψη μονῆ παραπέμπεται καὶ οὕτω λαμπρῶς καὶ πολυτελῶς, μόνου δὴ φέρων εἰς μνήμην τῆν εἰς Χριστὸν δουλείαν καὶ ψιλὸν ὄνομα, κατὰ τοὺς πολλοὺς τοῖς ἐξωτάτω σοροῖς ἐνταφιάζεται.>> *Pachymeres*, vol. 4, p. 467.
70. Gautier 1974, pp. 81, 83, 85; Marinis 2009, pp. 294–5; *Typikon of Kecharitomenē*, pp. 687, 688; *Symeon of Thessaloniki*, col. 360B.

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AFTERWORD

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The construction of sanctity through architecture within the early historical cultures of the Eastern Mediterranean forms the main theme of the essays in this volume. We take construction of sanctity in its dual sense to mean the way in which ancient and medieval patrons, architects, and masons physically shaped the environment in sacred cause, as well as in a metaphorical sense as the way in which ideas and situations generated by the built environment contributed to the cultural formulation of the sacred. Both meanings presuppose intimate human participation, and each informs the other. For the latter sense, human engagement in a sacred context finds its most recognizable expression through cult practice, which consists principally of structurally organized, repeated, privileged, performed actions or rites that signal to all involved that engagement with the divinity has been properly transacted; in a word, rituals.¹

Ritual actions stand in service of belief; they are a constitutive part of religion. As Smith succinctly explains, "Ritual is, first and foremost, a mode of paying attention."² Throughout the Orthodox Christian liturgy, for example, the officiant reminds the congregation of this fact: "Let us be attentive," he instructs. In the cases discussed in this volume, architecture serves as a "focusing lens" – to use Smith's terminology, although in many instances the relationship of action to setting is far from clear. Sometimes we have precise accounts of ritual movements that can be tied to specific places and buildings, such as that provided by the *typikon* of a Byzantine monastery or by the text of a pilgrims' guide.