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The Byzantine Churches of Constantinople

An Introduction

By

Maria Vaiou

Apart from Du Cange's (1610-88) and Janin's, comprehensive survey of Byzantine churches and monasteries of Constantinople no other up-to-date thematic or chronological survey exists on the subject. Janin, in addition to his monumental work, which serves as a guide for his extensive and detailed study of Byzantine churches and monasteries of Constantinople, based on literary sources, provides us with a collection of articles on topography and on the history of certain monasteries of Constantinople, according to their nominal dedication.<sup>1</sup>

Paspates, Gedeon, Van Millingen, Mathews, Müller-Wiener, Mamboury, Diehl, Eyice, Ebersholt, Berger, Karaca, Goubert, Mango, Majeska, Hatlie, Kidonopoulos, Kirimtayıf, Guillard, Pargoire, Macridy, Schneider, Tezcan, Ousterhout, Striker-Kuban, Çakmak, Westphalen, *Fatih ilk İstanbul*, the *Fâtiḥ Câmileri ve Diğer Tarihi Eserler*, Tahsin, Vryonis, Magdalino, Garland, Harrison, Thomas, Nomidis, Talbot, Rydén, James, Dagron, Herrin, Downey, Oikonomides, Runciman, Matschke, and Cigaar, Dilsiz, to mention but a few,<sup>2</sup> provide information of churches and monasteries according to the aim of their works: they are usually discussed for a certain period, such as those which survived after the fall of 1453,<sup>3</sup> or those of early periods,<sup>4</sup> or the period of the Latin occupation and the concessions made to the Latins,<sup>5</sup> or after the Latin occupation,<sup>6</sup> or the late period,<sup>7</sup> or are in the form of monographs on the history and architecture of particular sites i.e. on churches, as the Hagia Sophia, the Polyeuktos church, or the Zoodochos Pege, the Theotokos Evergetis,<sup>8</sup> or mosques such, or the Odalar or Kalenderhane mosques,<sup>9</sup> or relate to various aspects of church life and culture, architecture and topography and archaeology and are in the form of proceedings of Conferences or workshops, or

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<sup>1</sup> Janin describes **485** churches and **325** monasteries which existed in Constantinople throughout the centuries and its hinterland. On the bibliographical references, see Bibliography.

<sup>2</sup> On the bibliographical references, see Bibliography.

<sup>3</sup> See for example Eyice, *Istanbul Petit*; Gedeon, *Ekklesiai Byzantinai*; idem, *Ekklesiai ton Orthodoxon*; Paspates, *Byzantinai Meletai*. ( describes 33 sites identified and not, 5 sites which remained Byzantine, and 16 locations formerly occupied by Byzantine churches); Ebersolt, *Mission archéologique*; Kirimtayıf, *Converted* provides a survey of churches which were transformed into mosques and *masjids* and has a useful Turkish bibliography ( describes 39 mosques: 20 in ruins and 19 still existing); the *Fatih Devrinde İstanbul*, which describes ca. 40 churches in the period between 1453-1481. Particularly useful is also the *Fatih ilk İstanbul*, a collection of buildings in the Fatih district: in its lists there is information on Byzantine and modern churches in İstanbul and on mosques in whose site were located before Byzantine churches.

<sup>4</sup> For example, Hatlie, *The monks and monasteries* provides up to date chronological tables of churches from the 4th to the 9th centuries; for the period between 843-1118 see Morris, *Monks and laymen in Byzantium*; also the references to churches and monasteries in Mango's *Studies*.

<sup>5</sup> Angold, *Church and society*; Janin, 'Les sanctuaires de Byzance sous la domination latine'; Kidonopoulos, *Bauten*; idem, 'The urban physiognomy'; idem, 'Hetyche ton ktririon tes Konstantinoupoles sto diastema 1203/4-1261'; Martin, 'The Chrysobull of Alexius I'; Failler, 'L' eglise des Ancônitains a Constantinople'; also Magdalino's list of churches under the Latins in the quarters of Venetians, Pisans and Genoese, in *CM*, 80-2; Brown, 'The Venitians and the Venitian quarter'.

<sup>6</sup> Magdalino, *The empire of Manuel*; Kidonopoulos, *Bauten*; idem, 'The urban physiognomy'; idem, 'Hetyche ton ktririon tes Konstantinoupoles sto diastema 1203/4-1261'.

<sup>7</sup> Talbot, 'Building activity', 343; Nicol, *The last centuries of Byzantium*; Necipoglu, 'Byzantine monasteries and monastic property'; for a list of Palaiologan pilgrimage sites, see Majeska, Table 2; Eyice, in his *Son Devir Bizans Mimarisi* has a useful survey of churches built in the period of the Palaeoioi.

<sup>8</sup> See the bibliographical references to those sites.

<sup>9</sup> See the bibliographical references to those sites. For example, Westphalen, *Die Odalar*; Striker and Kuban, *Kalenderhane*; idem 'The finding of Kalenderhane and problems of method in the history of Byzantine architecture', in *Byzantine Constantinople*.

Colloquia,<sup>10</sup> part of general topics on the history and development of monasticism,<sup>11</sup> travel guides or descriptions of Constantinople,<sup>12</sup> ceremonial and topography,<sup>13</sup> relation between theology and decoration,<sup>14</sup> or liturgy and iconography,<sup>15</sup> imperial or ecclesiastical building-activity and ideology,<sup>16</sup> correspondence of personalities related to the foundation of monasteries or churches or certain events pertaining to their history,<sup>17</sup> lives of saints,<sup>18</sup> cult of saints,<sup>19</sup> the Virgin Mary,<sup>20</sup> the role of the holy men and authority,<sup>21</sup> imperial women,<sup>22</sup> prosopographical information,<sup>23</sup> on patrons, founders and

<sup>10</sup> Necipoğlu, *Byzantine Constantinople: monuments, topography and everyday life*; Morris, *Church and people and Byzantium*; Eastmond, *Wonderful things*; Nesbitt, Jackson, *Experiencing Byzantium*; Ödekan, Akyürek, Necipoğlu, *The Byzantine court*; Macrides, *Travel in the Byzantine world*; Mango, Dagron, *Constantinople and its hinterland*; Magdalino, *New Constantines*; Necipoğlu, Ödekan, Akyürek (eds.), *Change in the Byzantine world in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries*; Şahin, *11<sup>th</sup> International Colloquium on ancient mosaics (October 16<sup>th</sup>-20<sup>th</sup>, 2009 Bursa Turkey)*.

<sup>11</sup> Hatlie, *The monks and monasteries*; idem, 'a rough guide to Byzantine monasticism'; Dagron, *Les moines*; Herrin, 'Changing functions of monasteries'. Lemerle, 'Un aspect du rôle des monastères'; Charanis, 'The monk'; Pargoire, 'Les débuts'; Thomas, *Private religious foundations*; Von Falkenhausen, 'Monasteri e fondatori'; Frazee, 'St. Theodore of Studios'.

<sup>12</sup> Mamboury, *Istanbul* (lists 31 churches); Grosvenor, *Constantinople*; Freely and Çakmak, *Byzantine Monuments*; Sumner-Boyd and Freely, *Strolling through Istanbul*; Taylor, *Imperial İstanbul*; Freely, *The companion guide*; Richardson, *The rough guide to Istanbul*.

<sup>13</sup> See Janin's studies and Berger's e.g., 'Processions'; idem, *Untersuchungen*; Dark, 'The eastern harbours'; Dagron, *Emperor and priest*; Gurlitt, 'Zur Topographie'; Mordtmann, *Equisse*; Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon* with important maps on the topography; Schneider, 'Regionen und Quartiere'; Schneider-Nomidis, *Galata*; Featherstone, 'De Cerimoniis'. Bardill, 'The palace of Lausus'; Connor, *Saints and spectacle*, Brubaker, 'Topography' in De Jong, Theuws, Van Rhijn, *Topographies of power*; Caseau, 'La trasmissione'.

<sup>14</sup> Babić, 'Les discussions christologiques'.

<sup>15</sup> Lidov, 'Byzantine church decoration'; idem, 'Christ as Priest'; Spieser, 'Liturgie et programmes'; K. of Diokleia, 'The meaning of the divine liturgy'.

<sup>16</sup> For example, Hill, *Imperial women*; James, *Empresses*; Herrin, *Women in purple*; Vasilake, ed., *Images of the Mother of God*; Mango's studies, Magdalino, *The empire of Manuel I*; Downey, 'Justinian as a builder'; Garland, *Byzantine empresses*; Hero, 'Irene-Eulogia'; Talbot, 'The restoration'; eadem, 'Empress Theodora Palaiologina'; Angelide, *Pulcheria*; Armstrong, 'Constantine's churches'; Brubaker, 'Memories of Helena'; Connor, *Women of Byzantium*; Drijvers, *Helena Augusta*; Marinis, *The Historia Ekklesiastike*.

<sup>17</sup> Hero, *A woman's quest*. Sinkewicz, *Theoleptos of Philadepheia*; e.g. V.- Lettres de Nicéphore Ouranos magistros duc d' Antioche', in J. Darrouzès ed., *Épistoliers byzantins du Xe siècle* (Paris, 1960), 217-48, no. 30.

<sup>18</sup> Kazhdan, Talbot. *Dumbarton Oaks Hagiography Database*. For example, Doukakes, *Megas Synaxaristes*; Talbot, *Byzantine defenders of images*; eadem, *Holy women of Byzantium*; Krueger, *Writing and holiness*; Magoulias, 'The Lives of Byzantine saints'; Saradi, 'Constantinople and its saints (IVth-VIth c.)'; Brubaker-Cunningham, *The cult of the Mother of God*; Sullivan et al., *The Life of Saint Basil*; Tsougarakis, 'The Life of Leontios'; Cunningham, *The Life of Michael the Synkellos*; Connor and Connor, *The Life and Miracles of St. Luke of Steiris*; *Les Vies de saints à Byzance*, ed. Odorico and Agapitos; Magoulias, 'The Lives of Byzantine saints'; idem, 'The Lives of Byzantine saints'; Auzépy, *La vie d'Étienne le Jeune par Étienne*; Costa-Louillet, 'Saints de Constantinople'; Hatlie, 428-32; J. Gill, 'The Life of Stephen the Younger by Stephen the Deacon, debts and loans', *OCP* 6 (1940), 114-39; A. Kazhdan, 'Hermitic, cenobitic, and secular ideals in Byzantine hagiography of the ninth through the twelfth centuries', *GOTR* 30 (1985), 473-87; K. Ringrose, 'Saints, holy men and Byzantine society, 726 to 843' (Ph.D. diss., Rutgers University, 1976).

<sup>19</sup> Walter, *The warrior saints*; Guiland, 'Les églises byzantines des saints militaires'; Saradi, 'Constantinople and its saints (IVth-VI th c.)'; Berger, 'The cult of the Maccabees'; Howard-Johnston, *The cult of saints in late antiquity*.

<sup>20</sup> Mango, *Studies*; Vasilake, *Images of the Mother of God*; James, 'The empress and the Virgin'; Cameron, 'The Theotokos in sixth-century'; eadem, 'The early cult of the Virgin'. Koutrakou, 'Use and abuse of the image of the Theotokos'; Brubaker, Cunningham, *The cult*; Swanson, *The church and Mary*; Shoemaker, *Mary in early Christian tradition*.

<sup>21</sup> Hatlie, 'Spiritual authority and monasticism'; P. Karlin-Hayter, 'A Byzantine politician monk: St. Theodore Stoudite', *JÖB* 44 (1994), 217-32; Howard-Johnston, *The cult of saints in late antiquity*.

<sup>22</sup> Connor, *Women of Byzantium*; Hill, *Imperial women in Byzantium*; Herrin, *Unrivalled influence*; James, *Empresses and power*; Holum, *Theodosian empresses*; James, *Women, men and eunuchs*; Garland, *Byzantine empresses*; Nicol, *The Byzantine lady*; Talbot, *Women and religious life in Byzantium*; Rapp, *Brother-making*.

<sup>23</sup> See Guiland's studies; Polemis, *The Doukai*; Martindale, *The Prosopography*; *Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit. Erste Abteilung (641-867). Nach Vorarbeiten F. Winkelmanns. Erstellt von R.-Johannes Lilie*

other personalities involved in the history of churches or monasteries, pilgrimage,<sup>24</sup> sources on the history of sites,<sup>25</sup> economic history,<sup>26</sup> court studies, fountains and water culture in the empire,<sup>27</sup> catalogues on manuscripts,<sup>28</sup> treatises relating to traditions for the history of icons,<sup>29</sup> miniatures that shed light on the history of icons,<sup>30</sup> studies on relics,<sup>31</sup> iconography and rituals,<sup>32</sup> urban development of Constantinople,<sup>33</sup> construction and workmanship,<sup>34</sup> miracle-collections,<sup>35</sup> healing,<sup>36</sup> art history or architectural studies on Constantinople and the empire,<sup>37</sup> on Byzantine heritage on Istanbul and the

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[u.a.], 6 volumes ; *Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit. Zweite Abteilung (867-1025)*; Nicol, *Studies in late Byzantine history and prosopography*; idem, *The Byzantine family of Kantakouzenos*; Mullett, ed., *Founders and refounders*; Constantelos, 'Kyros Panopolites'; Morris, 'Monasteries and their patrons'.

<sup>24</sup> On pilgrimage in general, see various articles, in *DOP* 56 (2002), 59ff.; Maraval, *Lieux saints*; Majeska, *Russian Travelers* in his discussion of the 14th -15th century Russian pilgrimage to Constantinople, lists 55 churches; Ciggaar, *Western Travellers*; Vikan, 'Early Byzantine pilgrimage'; Talbot, 'Pilgrimage to healing shrines'.

<sup>25</sup> See e.g. the *Logos Diegematikos* which relates to the monastery of Hodegon.

<sup>26</sup> On the issue of the involvement of monasteries in trade from the tenth century, see e.g. K. Smyrlis, *La fortune des grands monastères byzantins, fin du Xe -milieu du XIVe siècle* (Paris, 2006); Kaplan, 'Les moines et leurs biens fonciers', in *Le monachisme*.

<sup>27</sup> Shilling, Stephenson, *Fountains and water culture*; Pitarakis *Life is short, art is long: the art of healing in Byzantium*

<sup>28</sup> Kotzabassi-Patterson Sencenko, *Greek manuscripts at Princeton*.

<sup>29</sup> See e.g. *On the Veneration of Holy Icons* and the *Letter of the three patriarchs* on the tradition of ascription of the painting of the icon of Hodegetria to St. Luke in Angelidi, 'The veneration', 377.

<sup>30</sup> See the Hamilton Psalter (d. ca. 1300) in which a miniature shows the icon of *Hodegetria* providing important information on its function; Angelidi, 'The veneration', 379.

<sup>31</sup> Ebersolt, *Sanctuaires de Byzance*; Durand, 'La relique impériale'; Pearce, Bounia, *The collector's voice*; Lerou, 'L'usage des reliques du Christ'; James, 'Bearing gifts'; Majeska, 'The relics of Constantinople'; idem, 'St. Sophia in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries'; idem, 'Russian pilgrims and the relics of Constantinople'; Wortley, *Studies*; Hostetler, *The function of the text* with bibliography; Shoemaker, 'The cult of fashion'; Brubaker (eds), *The Mother of God in Byzantium*; Kalavrezou, 'Helping hands'; Klein, 'Sacred relics and imperial ceremonies'; Mango, 'Constantine's mausoleum'; idem, 'The relics of St. Euphemia'; Flusin, 'Construire une nouvelle Jérusalem', *L'Orient dans l'histoire religieuse*; Lidov (ed.), *Relics in the art and culture*; idem, *Eastern Christian relics* Teteriatnikov, 'Relics', in Lidov, *Eastern Christian relics*; Bacci, 'Relics of the Pharos'; Guskin, *The tradition of the image of Edessa*; Hahn and Klein, *Saints and sacred matter*; Mergiali-Sahas, 'Byzantine emperors'.

<sup>32</sup> See the various articles in Stephenson, ed., *The Byzantine world*; death rituals at the Chora parekklesion or the meaning of *Pantokrator* through its decoration for the 12thc. in Akyürek, 'Funeral ritual'; Weyl Carr, 'Court culture'; Eastmond, James (eds.), *Icon and Word*; Sevchenko, 'Icons in the liturgy'; Sevchenko, 'The celebration of the saints'; Hostetler, *The function of the text*; Kalavrezou, 'Helping hands'; Connor, *Saints and spectacle*, who sees the role of mosaics in the context of the 'ritual dynamic' that permeated the Middle Byzantine mosaic programme, and discusses the relation of ritual art and practice together with mosaics and processions; Weyl Carr, 'Court culture and cult icons'; Grabar, 'Une source d'inspiration de l' iconographie byzantine tardive'; idem, 'Remarques sur l' iconographie byzantine de la Vierge'; Durand, *Byzance et les images*; Sevchenko, 'icons in the liturgy'.

<sup>33</sup> Mango, *Le développement*; Magdalino *Constantinople*; idem, 'Medieval Constantinople'; Janin, *Constantinople byzantine. Développement urbain*; Kuban, *Istanbul*; Ousterhoo, 'Constantinople and the construction of a medieval urban identity'; Jacoby, 'The urban evolution'; Bassett, *The urban image of late antique Constantinople*; Brubaker, 'Topography' in De Jong, Theuws, Van Rhijn, *Topographies of power*.

<sup>34</sup> Ousterhoo, *Master Builders*; Mango, *Byzantine architecture*; Matschke, 'Builders and building'; Connor, *Saints and spectacle*, argues that after iconoclasm imperially funded church foundations carried in their decorations the palace influence in which the mosaics played a prominent role.

<sup>35</sup> Crisafulli, Nesbitt, *The miracles of St. Artemios*; Deroche, 'Pourquoi écrivait-on les recueils de miracles?'; Efthymiadis, 'Collections of miracles' (fifth-fifteenth centuries), vol. ii.; see also Angelidi, *Dreaming in Byzantium*; see also the document called 'Usual miracle in Blachernai' (Discourse on the miracle that occurred in the Blachernai church supposedly written at the request of Michael VII by M. Psellus; Papaioannou, 'The 'Usual miracle' and the Unusual miracle'; Pentcheva, *The sensual icon*, 184-91; Barber, 'Movement and miracle', in Nie, Noble (eds.), *Envisioning experience*, 9-22; Efthymiadis, 'Le monastère de la source'; Talbot, 'The Anonymous miracula'; eadem, 'Two accounts of miracles'.

<sup>36</sup> Talbot, 'Healing shrines'; Hostetler, *The function of the text*; Angelidi, *Dreaming in Byzantium*.

<sup>37</sup> For example, Curcic, 'Architectural significance'; Krautheimer, *Early Christian*; Mathews, *The early churches of Constantinople*; Van Millingen, *Byzantine churches* (describes 22 sites); Ousterhoo, 'Architecture, art and Komenian

state of preservation of ecclesiastical monuments,<sup>38</sup> on the development of Byzantine studies in Turkey and the contribution of Turkish scholars to the field,<sup>39</sup> monographs or biographies on emperors, empresses or religious personalities,<sup>40</sup> continuity and change of certain church institutions such as the *diakonia* (charitable confraternity), *sekretion* (financial office), ritual baths (*lousma*, *louma*),<sup>41</sup> the association of offices of legal practices with churches,<sup>42</sup> the function and continuity of the great *oikoi*,<sup>43</sup> on the legal issues on the construction of churches in the Ottoman period<sup>44</sup>, studies on Ottoman mosques, *madrasas*<sup>45</sup> and *tekkes*,<sup>46</sup> churches under the Ottomans,<sup>47</sup> on the conquest of Constantinople and the surviving religious monuments,<sup>48</sup> photographic collections,<sup>49</sup> the holy springs of Constantinople,<sup>50</sup> Byzantine and Ottoman titles and offices, ecclesiastical history and geography,<sup>51</sup> representations of Constantinople and its churches in maps,<sup>52</sup> Ottoman archaeology,<sup>53</sup> Byzantine influences on Ottoman buildings,<sup>54</sup> excavations and archaeological findings related to particular sites such as the site of the Topkapı palace or the Saraçhane<sup>55</sup> and other parts of Istanbul,<sup>56</sup> or excavations

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ideology'; Alpaslan, 'Architectural sculpture'. On bibliography on architecture, see *Byzantine monastic foundation documents*, 1740-1; also, Theis, *Flankenräume im mittelbyzantinischen Kirchenbau*; on the basilica, see Σωτηρίου, *Χριστιανική και Βυζαντινή Αρχαιολογία*, 162ff; on types of churches under Justinian, in 7th-9th centuries, end of 9th to 1081, 1081-1203, and in 1260-1453, see *Χριστιανική και Βυζαντινή Αρχαιολογία*, 341-72, 373-96, 396-403, 403-4, 404-8; and articles by Ousterhout; on architectural developments of monasteries in relation to their use as burial sites see Ousterhout in Bucossi, *John II Komnenos*; Mathews, 'Religious organization and church architecture', in Evans and Wixom in *Glory of Byzantium*; Ousterhout, 'The holy space: architecture and the liturgy'; for the role of light in sacred architecture, see James, *Light and colour*; Montserrat, 'Early byzantine church lighting'; Gavril, 'Building with light'; Schibille, 'Light as aesthetic constituent in the architecture' in eadem, *Light in early Byzantium*; for the relationship between light and architecture, see Nesbitt, 'Shaping the sacred', 147ff., 158-9; Dilsiz, 'The Byzantine heritage'.

<sup>38</sup> Dilsiz, 'The Byzantine heritage'.

<sup>39</sup> Dilsiz, 'The Byzantine heritage', 33-44.

<sup>40</sup> For example, Nicol, *The Byzantine lady*; idem, *The immortal emperor*; Angelova, 'The stamp of power'; on *sebastokrator* Isaac, see Linardou, 'Imperial impersonators', in Bucossi, *John II Komnenos*; Hatlie, 'Abbot Theodore and the Stoudites'; van Dieten, *Geschichte der Patriarchen von Sergios I.*

<sup>41</sup> Magdalino, 'Church, bath and diakonia'; for a list of the known *diakoniai* in Constantinople, see idem, 'Medieval Constantinople', 'Appendix I', in idem, *Studies in history*, 15-7, and on public baths and *diakonai*, see 33-6; J. Blid Kullberg, 'When bath became church: spatial fusion in late antique Constantinople and beyond', in B. Shilling, P. Stephenson (eds.), *Fountains and water culture in Byzantium* (Cambridge, 2016), 145-62; for the terms, see Magdalino, in idem, *Studies on the history*, Index 1.

<sup>42</sup> For the notarial offices, see Magdalino, 'Medieval Constantinople', in idem, *Studies on the history*, 36-9.

<sup>43</sup> Magdalino, 'Medieval Constantinople', in idem, *Studies on the history*, 42-53.

<sup>44</sup> Demirel, 'Construction of churches'; Norton, '(In) tolerant Ottomans'.

<sup>45</sup> Pedersen, "Some aspects of the history of Madrasa".

<sup>46</sup> Kuran, *The Mosque*; Tahsin, *Istanbul*; Kuban, 'An Ottoman building complex'.

<sup>47</sup> Karaca, *Istanbul'da*; see Gedeon.

<sup>48</sup> For example, Runciman, *The fall*.

<sup>49</sup> Mathews (lists 40 churches along with relevant photographic material, a plan of which exists on the internet site [www.nyu.edu/gsas/dept/fineart/html/Byzantine/31.htm](http://www.nyu.edu/gsas/dept/fineart/html/Byzantine/31.htm)); Erturk and Mango, *Istanbul*.

<sup>50</sup> Atzemoglou, *T' agiasmata tis polis*.

<sup>51</sup> Hussey, *The Orthodox church*; Janin, *La géographie ecclésiastique*.

<sup>52</sup> See for example Manners, 'Constructing the image of a city: the representation of Constantinople in Christopher Buondelmonti's'; the map in the *Archaeological Museum of Istanbul* which points to **49** churches prior the fall: **24** of which were converted into mosques, **7** which were never converted, and **18** which are no longer extant. There are also exhibits of **16** Byzantine churches, which I give as an appendix.

<sup>53</sup> Baram-Carroll, ed., *A historical archaeology of the Ottoman empire*.

<sup>54</sup> Ataç, 'Byzantine contribution'; Vryonis, 'Byzantine Constantinople & Ottoman Istanbul'; Neçipoglu, *The age of Sinan*.

<sup>55</sup> Among others, Hülya Tezcan (describes **13** churches) provides a chronological list of excavations held in the Topkapı site, a photographic survey of findings, and a relevant bibliography; Harrison, *Excavations*; Hayes, *Excavations at Sarachane*.

<sup>56</sup> Schneider-Nomidis, *Galata*; Müfid Mansel, 'Les fouilles de Rregion près d' Istanbul'.

and restorations in connection with works of foreign and Turkish scholars in Constantinople,<sup>57</sup> studies on the different periods of the history of the city of Constantinople or certain issues explored in various angles<sup>58</sup> or Byzantine history in general,<sup>59</sup> or the *praktika* of conferences or *symposia* on Constantinople<sup>60</sup> e.g. organised by the Oxford University in 1993, Dumbarton Oaks in 1998, and the Boğaziçi University and the Institut Français d' Études Anatoliennes in Turkey in 1999 or archaeological projects related to restoration projects and building activity such as 'Rescue archaeology project in Istanbul', which records Byzantine material on various sites and districts in Istanbul, publishing findings and reports in *BBBS*, outlines of Byzantine history in general and, as such most of the studies give a fragmentary, heterogeneous and partial picture of what might have existed in each period.

Further, a valuable sixteenth century literary, topographical and archaeological information on 37 churches is given by Piere Gilles or Gyllius (d.1555) in his account of ancient Constantinople and its monuments.<sup>61</sup> Gilles based on literary sources drawn from classical Greek historians such as Herodotos and sources of late antiquity (Procopius, Sozomen, Evagrius, Cedrenus, Zonaras, Justinian's *Constitutions* and others) determines the location of sites combined by physical and oral evidence. He adopts a critical stance towards his information from sources and tries to record what he sees with accuracy. His description is imbued with his vision of the Graeco-Roman heritage. His interest lies not in the present but in the original ancient site behind present mosques or chapels. His references to churches of medieval Constantinople lacks detail and there is no information on churches such the Blachernai and St. Savior of the Chora. Celâl Esad Arseven's (b. 1875) *Constantinople, De Byzance à Stamboul* and its original called *Eski İstanbul* provide useful information on Byzantine churches. Especially the *Eski İstanbul*, a late nineteenth century historical and topographical description of Constantinople, describes 10 churches and includes more photographs and drawings of Byzantine works from his earlier work.<sup>62</sup> All these studies contribute to the better understanding of the role and function of churches and monasteries throughout the ages laying the ground for the identification, location, history and topography of sites combining literary and archaeological evidence..

When confronted by the need to explore the historical identity of the city of Constantinople and visualise maps of church-building in different periods, it is particularly difficult because information is drawn on a diverse body of literature on dates, function, and the stages of construction or repair of churches, which makes a comprehensive study far from easy. Dealing with this subject we encounter different genres in primary sources, such as chronicles and histories such editions, translations, commentaries on translations e.g. on Byzantine chronicles or treatises, to mention but a few, articles

<sup>57</sup> See Dilsiz, 'The Byzantine heritage', 45-52 who also provides a survey of sites with relevant information.

<sup>58</sup> Downey, *Constantinople in the age of Justinian* ; on the 13th century, see Harris, *Constantinople. Capital of Byzantium* ; Heilo and Nilsson, *Constantinople*.

<sup>59</sup> See e.g. T. Gregory, *A history of Byzantium* (Oxford, 2005), 110-2 who discusses the churches in the context of the fifth century changes which took place in religion and society in the empire and the process of its Christianisation.

<sup>60</sup> See for example, *DO Symposium 1998 The Fabric of a City, DOP 53* (1999); Necipoglu, *Byzantine Constantinople*; Mango and Dagron, *Constantinople and its hinterland*; *Dunya Kenti Istanbul/Istanbul-World City*; Durak, *From Byzantium to Istanbul. 8000 years of a capital*; Brooks, *Byzantium: faith and power*.

<sup>61</sup> On travel writing , see S. Faroqhi, *Approaching Ottoman history. An introduction to the sources* (Cambridge, 1999), 122-5; see Gilles, *The antiquities of Constantinople* (ca. 1544); for an outline of the scholarship on architecture and urban topography from Gyllius to van Millingen, see Dilsiz, 'The Byzantine heritage', 4-13.

<sup>62</sup> Celâl Esad Arseven, *Constantinople, De Byzance à Stamboul* (Paris, 1909). *Eski İstanbul. Âbidat ve Mebanisi*. S. ehri Tesisinden Osmanlı Fethine Kadar (Old Istanbul. Monuments and Foundations. From the Foundation of the City to the Ottoman Conquest). A copy of the Ottoman text was transliterated into Roman characters and published in 1989 by the Celik Gulersoy Foundation under the title of "Old Istanbul (Monuments and Foundations)"; on Arseven, see Janin, 'Note sur les régions', 29.

on certain chroniclers or historians dealing with imperial church-building, such as the ps. Codinus,<sup>63</sup> or Procopius (6th c.),<sup>64</sup> or Malalas (6th c.),<sup>65</sup> Theophanes (8th-9th c.), Continuation of Theophanes (10th c.), Leo the Deacon (10th c.), Skylitzes (11th c.), the *Chronicon Paschale* (7th c.), Cedrenus, Choniates (late 12th-early 13th c.), the *Synopsis Chronike* (*Synopsis Sathas*) (13th c.),<sup>66</sup> Psellus (11th c.), Gregoras (13th-14th c.), Kritoboulos (15th c.), Ps-Phrantzes (15th c.); sermons, such as Leo VI's sermon<sup>67</sup>; patriographies i.e. *Patria Constantinopoleos* (955),<sup>68</sup> a collection of notes and anecdotes about the buildings and statues of Constantinople.

The *Patria* though unreliable in general, provides information on the Byzantine churches in the context of the 'antiquities' of the city of Constantinople, which existed in Byzantine times. The image of the city is that of *the* imperial city and queen of the empire whose history is told as mixture of folklore and topography. Toponyms associated with the location of churches have legendary contexts to furnish etymologies and are seen as part of a 'veritable' mythology of the urban origins of the city aimed at heroising the 'city of Constantine'. Likewise church building is linked with legends and the themes of imperial accession to the throne, habitation, and piety portraying the emperors as true successors to Constantine. An account of the construction of the church of Hagia Sophia composed in the 9th century and included in the *Patria* has been studied by Dagron.<sup>69</sup>

Another important source is the eighth century 'historical guide' called *Parastaseis Syntomai Chronikai* (8th-9th c.) which refer to imperial foundations and other monuments;<sup>70</sup> administrative sources, such as the *Notitia Urbis*, (5th c.) which gives a detailed description of the Theodosian city, and refers to 14? churches,<sup>71</sup> treatises on court ceremonial, such as the 'Book of Ceremonies',<sup>72</sup> which includes protocols on various imperial ceremonies, stational worship, rituals employed in celebrations,<sup>73</sup> and the work written by the anonymous author known as pseudo-Codinus (mid to late 14th c.)<sup>74</sup> which also provides topographical and architectural information about the buildings where the emperor celebrated religious feasts; the *euchologion* of the Great Church,<sup>75</sup> the menologies, i.e. collections of hagiographic texts arranged by month;<sup>76</sup> the manuscript of Madrid Scylizes contains

<sup>63</sup> Codinus, 'De Aedificiis CP.'; idem, 'De S. Sophia'; idem 'De Signis CP.'

<sup>64</sup> Cameron, 'Procopius and the buildings'; Feissel, 'Les édifices'; Downey, 'The composition of Procopius, De Aedificiis'; Grierson et al., 'The tombs and obits'.

<sup>65</sup> Downey, 'Imperial building'.

<sup>66</sup> Zafeiris, *The Synopsis Chronike*.

<sup>67</sup> Cunningham, 'Preaching and the community'.

<sup>68</sup> See bibliography.

<sup>69</sup> On the origin and tradition of the text and the genre of patriography, see Dagron, *Constantinople*, 1-60, 191-314.

<sup>70</sup> For a discussion between the *Patria* and the *Parastaseis*, see *Constantinople in the Early eighth century*, 3-8.

<sup>71</sup> *Notitia dignitatum*, ed. Seeck; German tr. Berger, 'Regionen und Straßen'; Grabar, -Manoussakas, *L'illustration du manuscrit de Skylitzès*; Walter, 'Saints of second Iconoclasm'; Leo the Deacon, 48-9; Kutlay, 'Constantinople in the early fifth century'. Matthews, 'Notitia'. Drakoulis, 'The functional organization'.

<sup>72</sup> Featherstone, 'De Cerimoniis and the Great palace'; Cutler, Papaconstantinou, eds., *The material and the ideal*; various articles, in *TM* 13 (2000); Maas, 'Metrische Akklamationen'; Teitler, 'Raising on a shield'; Brightman, 'Byzantine imperial coronations'; Tsirpanlis, 'The imperial coronation'; Yannopoulos, 'Le couronnement de l'empereur'; Majeska, 'The emperor in his church', in Maguire, *Byzantine Court*, 1-11; Wellesz, *A History of Byzantine music*, 91-3, 98-9; Cotsonis, *Byzantine figural processional crosses*, 10-11; Rapp, 'Death at the Byzantine court'; Grierson, 'Tombs'; Caseau, 'La trasmissione'.

<sup>73</sup> On triumphs, see McCormick, *Eternal victory*, 189-230.

<sup>74</sup> Verpeaux, *Traité des offices*. For the date, see Verpeaux, *Traité*, 25-40. Magdalino, 'Pseudo-Kodinos' Constantinople'; ed./ tr. Macrides, Munitiz, Angelov, *Pseudo-Kodinos*; Macrides, 'Ceremonies and the city'; Grabar, 'Pseudo-Codinos et les ceremonies'.

<sup>75</sup> Afanasyeva, 'The Slavic version of the Euchologion'.

<sup>76</sup> For the collection of the tenth century, see Ehrhard, *Überlieferung*.

illustrations of various churches,<sup>77</sup> Latin manuscripts,<sup>78</sup> the menologium of Basil II (ca. 1000),<sup>79</sup> lectionaries,<sup>80</sup> the various official imperial documents mentioned as *chrysoboullous logos*, *sigillion* and *grafe* or *basilike grafe* emanating from imperial chancellery addressed to leaders of churches or monasteries about internal affairs shedding light on their state of existence throughout centuries found in the *Regesten*;<sup>81</sup> archival documents in Venice, Pisa and Genoa related to the concession of districts to these cities by the Comnenus and Angelus emperors or chrysobulls referring to these concessions in the form of donated properties including churches and monasteries awarded by emperors to the Latins,<sup>82</sup> acts of monasteries, such as of the Great Lavra in Mount Athos which shed light on *metochia* of monasteries in Constantinople,<sup>83</sup> legends associated with cults,<sup>84</sup> homilies, such as Theodore Syncellus' homily for Theotokos for the siege of 626,<sup>85</sup> *ekphraseis* i.e. rhetorical descriptions of buildings and works of art e.g. Paul the Silentiary's sixth-century description of the ambo of St. Sophia,<sup>86</sup> Constantine the Rhodian's<sup>87</sup> tenth-century poem of the Holy Apostles as works to reconstruct some churches;<sup>88</sup> Photius' (ca. 864) tenth homily, which offers a description of the programme of church decoration following iconoclasm and where the divine liturgy and church building are being encapsulated by the image of 'heaven on earth';<sup>89</sup> his 17th homily commemorating the completion of a mosaic on Holy Saturday (867) and its description in the apse of St. Sophia,<sup>90</sup> Nicholas Mesarites' *ekphrasis* of the church of the Holy Apostles between 1198 and 1203,<sup>91</sup> of the paintings in the cupola

<sup>77</sup> Tsamakda, *The Illustrated Chronicle*.

<sup>78</sup> Mercati, 'Sanctuaries and relics in Constantinople before the Latin Conquest (1204)'

<sup>79</sup> PG 117; Baldovin, 'A note on the liturgical processions'; for miniatures of processional scenes, see N. K. Moran, *Singers in late Byzantine and Slavonic painting* (Leiden, 1986); Cotsonis, *Byzantine figural processional crosses*; for portraits of founders of monasteries, see Hatlie, *The monks and monasteries*, viii; Franses, *Donor portraits*.

<sup>80</sup> See Lowden, *The Jaharis Gospel Lectionary* for examples of stational liturgies in Constantinople and other commemorations.

<sup>81</sup> See Dölger, *Regesten*; A. Laiou, 'The emperor's word: chrysobulls, oaths and synallagmatic relations in Byzantium (11th–12th c.)', *TM* 14 (2002).

<sup>82</sup> Tafel, Thomas, *Urkunden*; for Pisa, see Müller, *Documenti*; for the Genoese documents, see Sanguineti-Bertolotto, 'Nuova serie'; for examples, see Smyrlis, 'Private property and state finances', 117ff.; Magdalino, 'Medieval Constantinople', 88ff.; Madden, 'The chrysobull of Alexius I'.

<sup>83</sup> See for example the mon. of Elafros which became a metochion of the Great Lavra, in *Actes de Lavra*, vol. 3. *De 1329 à 1500. Texte*, ed. P. Lemerle et al., (Paris, 1979), 92-6, n.144, vol. 3, *Album*, no. 144 A, B; for examples of the *metochia* granted to provincial foundations for the support of those who came to the capital, see Magdalino, 'Medieval Constantinople', in idem, *Studies on the history*, 68-9.

<sup>84</sup> See e.g. the the legend of the miraculous icon of Christ the Guarantor and the homily of the Greek version of the legend in Magdalino, 'Constantinopolitana, 1. The Antiphonetes legend and the Chalkoprataia', 220-7, 220, n.4 in idem, *Studies on the history*, no. VIII.

<sup>85</sup> Makk, 'Traduction et commentaire de l'homelie ecrite probablement par Theodore le Syncelle'; part. Tr. Belting, *Likeness and Presence*, 495-6; Vial Valdés, 'La Mentalidad y Cultura Bizantina de inicios del siglo VII'; see also Cameron, 'The Theotokos in sixth-century'; Speck, 'Classicism in the eighth century?'

<sup>86</sup> De Stefani, *Paulus Silentiarius*; Fayant and Chuvin (eds.), *Paul le Silentiaire*; tr. Bell, *Three political voices from the age of Justinian*, 189-212; tr. Mango, *The art of the Byzantine empire 312-1453*, 80-102; also Whitby, 'The occasion of Paul the Silentiary's ekphrasis'; Dark, 'Paul the Silentiary's description'; Macrides and Magdalino, 'The architecture of ekphrasis'.

<sup>87</sup> James (ed.), *Constantine of Rhodes*.

<sup>88</sup> Maguire, 'Truth and Convention'; Webb, 'The Aesthetics of Sacred Space'; Grierson et al., 'The tombs and obits'.

<sup>89</sup> *The homilies of Photius Patriarch of Constantinople*, tr. C. Mango (Cambridge, Mass., 1938), 179ff; idem, R. Jenkins, 'The date and significance of the tenth homily of Photius', *DOP* 9/10 (1956), 125-140; Bishop K. of Diokleia, 'The meaning of the divine liturgy for the Byzantine worshipper', in *Church and people*, 7-28, 8ff..

<sup>90</sup> *Photios I. Homiliai*, ed. Laourdas, Homily 17, 164-72; ed./tr. Mango *The homilies of Photius*, 286-96; see Brubaker, *Vision and meaning in ninth-century Byzantium*, 20f., 52, 236; also Speck, 'Photios on the mosaic in the apse of Hagia Sophia'; *The homilies of Photius Patriarch of Constantinople*, tr. C. Mango (Cambridge, Mass., 1938), 285-96; for his 18<sup>th</sup> homily, see Mango, 306-15; see also Brubaker, *Vision and meaning*, 20, n.4.

<sup>91</sup> 'Nicholas Mesarites: Description', ed. Downey.

of the Evergetis' fountain (13th c.),<sup>92</sup> Mesarites' account of the relic content of the palace chapel of the Pharos' (wr. after 1201),<sup>93</sup> and Michael the Deacon's (12th c.) description of St. Sophia in the twelfth century;<sup>94</sup> Theodore Metochites' poems on the reconstruction, restoration and dedication of the Chora monastery,<sup>95</sup> Constantine Stilbes' (12th-13th c.) poems including the one on the great fire of Constantinople in 1197<sup>96</sup>; the anthology of poetry in Marcianus Gr. 524 (late 13th c.) or *Anthologia Marciana*,<sup>97</sup> other poems,<sup>98</sup> hymns,<sup>99</sup> hagiography,<sup>100</sup> eulogies,<sup>101</sup> inventories,<sup>102</sup> the *Synaxarion* of Constantinople (liturgical calendar)<sup>103</sup> and *Synaxaria* (liturgical calendars).<sup>104</sup> Also the Latin text *Necrologium imperatorum* (d. ca. 13th c.) is a guide to the obits of the Byzantine emperors between 337 and 1042.<sup>105</sup>

<sup>92</sup> Magdalino, 'The Evergetis fountain'.

<sup>93</sup> Ed. Heisenberg; Tr. in Flusin, 'Les reliques de la Sainte-Chapelle'.

<sup>94</sup> C. Mango, and J. Parker, 'A twelfth-century description of St. Sophia', *DOP* 14 (1960), 233-45; Whitby, 'The vocabulary of praise in verse celebration of 6th century'; Gelzer, *Kallistos' Enkomion auf Johannes Nesteutes*; Lequeux, 'Jean Mauropous'.

<sup>95</sup> Featherstone, *Theodore Metochites*; Karahan, *Byzantine holy images*.

<sup>96</sup> Constantinus Stilbes, *Poemata*, ed. J. Diethart and W. Hörandner (München and Leipzig, 2005); See on this, Magdalino, 'Constantinopolitana. 2. The fire of 1197 and the church of the Theotokos Kyriotissa', in idem, *Studies on the history*, 227-30.

<sup>97</sup> On ms. Marcianus Graecus 524 see: Lambros, 'Ο Μαρκανδός κώδιξ 524'; Spingou, 'Snapshots'; eadem, 'Text and image'; eadem, 'Words and artworks'; eadem, 'The anonymous poets'. See also: Odorico and Messis, 'L'anthologie Comnène', in Hörandner and Grünbart (eds.), *L'épistolographie et la poésie épigrammatique*; Rhoby, 'Zur Identifizierung von bekannten Autoren'.

<sup>98</sup> For example see Manganios Prodomos' verses on the offerings made by the *sebastokratorissa* Irene to various churches of Constantinople; Jeffreys, 'The *Sebastokratorissa* Irene', 188; Miller (ed.), 'Poésies inédites de Théodore Prodrome'; for Psellus' poem for George of Mangana, see Westerink, *Michael Psellus. Poemata*, no.31; for Christophorus Mitylenaios, ed. Kurtz, *Die Gedichte des Christophoros Mitylenaios*; also, Bernard, *Writing and reading Byzantine secular poetry*; eadem, *Poetry and its contexts in eleventh-century Byzantium*; Kubina, 'Manuel Philes'; and Nicephorus Kallistos Xanthopoulos in Drpic, index; see also the poem on the monastery of *Pantokrator* recited on the day of the inauguration of the monastery, in Drpic, 57-8; for poems on behalf of clerics expressing gratitude for being promoted to specific ranks, see Spingou, 'Snapshots', 56f.; also C. de Stephani, 'A few thoughts on the influence of Classical and Byzantine poetry on the profane poems of Ioannes Mauropous', in Bernard, *Poetry and its contexts*; Magdalino, 'John Geometres, the church of *ta Kyrou*', in Shawcross and Toth (eds.), *Reading Byzantium*; idem, 'Cultural change? The context of Byzantine poetry'; on poems recalling inscriptions on Byzantine churches, see de Stephani, 'A few thoughts', in Bernard, *Poetry and its contexts*, 156n.5; Whitby, 'The vocabulary of praise'.

<sup>99</sup> Krueger, 'Authorial voice'; Sevckenko, 'The service of the Virgin's lament revisited'.

<sup>100</sup> For a discussion of the genre of hagiography --saints' lives-- for the 8th and 9th c. and for a list of individual lives, see *Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era*, 199-232; Kaplan, 'L' hinterland religieux', in *Constantinople and its hinterland*; Kazhdan, 'Hermetic, cenobetic and secular ideals in Byzantine hagiography'; Efthymiadis, *ARCBH*, 2 vols.; idem, 'The place of holy and unholy'.

<sup>101</sup> Lequeux, 'Jean Mauropous'; see Patr. Gregory II the Cypriot's eulogy for Michael VIII, *PG*, vol. 142, col. 377; Kallistos Xanthopoulos' eulogy of Andronicus II, *PG* 145.

<sup>102</sup> For inventories as sources that shed light on world of objects in a church, and for the need to combine with them ekhphrasis texts, miracle stories or sermons, and archaeological findings, see B. Caseau, 'Objects in churches', *Objects in Context, Objects in Use*, 551-79.

<sup>103</sup> Mango, 'The relics of St. Euphemia and the Synaxarion'; Luzzi, 'Synaxaria and the Synaxarion'; Lowden, *The Jaharis Gospel Lectionary*, 27-8; Luzzi, 'Note sulla recensione del Sinassario di Costantinopoli'; Magdalino, 'Medieval Constantinople', in idem, *Studies on the history*, 27ff. says that of 248 shrines found in the *Synaxarion/Typikon*, 162 are not mentioned in the *Patria*. Also 51 buildings found in the *Patria* are not listed in the *Synaxarion/Typikon*.

<sup>104</sup> Mango, 'The relics of St. Euphemia and the Synaxarion'; Luzzi, 'Synaxaria and the Synaxarion'.

<sup>105</sup> See Grierson et al., 'The tombs and obits', 38-63.

The *Typika* or *ktetorika typika*,<sup>106</sup> is an important source on the history of the monasteries and churches, their patrons and founders, images, inventories of icons,<sup>107</sup> liturgical practices,<sup>108</sup> topographical details, cost of materials and labor for renovation of foundations, prescriptions for church lighting,<sup>109</sup> the relationship between monks and nuns to their families,<sup>110</sup> the provisions made for burial and commemoration after death,<sup>111</sup> and ceremonies, promoting an understanding about the context and function of the particular site; they often contain miniatures<sup>112</sup> of monasteries with portraits, data on important aspects of the daily life in monasteries i. e. the performance of liturgy,<sup>113</sup> and contribute to the field of archaeology.<sup>114</sup>

Additional sources are the *Typikon* of the Great Church (calendar of liturgical feasts), inventories where descriptions of objects are attested and ecclesiastical processions;<sup>115</sup> further, the Acts of the patriarchs of Constantinople,<sup>116</sup> in the form of chronological lists, provide information on various ecclesiastical, administrative and liturgical issues, both internal and external, such as the canons related to ecclesiastical councils, which took place in churches or monasteries under the individual patriarchs, the establishment of religious processions in the city, or the arrangement of annual commemorations; the notes to all editions are instructive on the identity of churches or monasteries and there is a discussion of the various issues linked to them.

The Crusaders's accounts, such as of Fulcher of Chartres, Odo of Deuil, Geoffrey of Villehardouin, William of Tyre, and in particular of Robert of Clari give interesting information to churches, and

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<sup>106</sup> *Byzantine monastic foundation documents: a translation of surviving founders typika and testaments*, DOS v. 35 is available in [www.doaks.org/etexts.html](http://www.doaks.org/etexts.html); for a good discussion of the function of the typika, see *Byzantine monastic foundation documents: a complete translation*, v. 1 (Washington DC., 2000), xi-xxxvii; see Galatariotou, 'Byzantine ktetorika typika'; Manaphes, *Monasteriaka typika –diathekai*; Rapp, 'Death at the Byzantine court'; Congdon, 'Imperial commemoration and ritual'; Smyrlis, 'The management of monastic estates'; a list is provided in Delehay, 'Deux typika byzantins de l' époque des Paléologues', 4-8; for the aristocratic and non-aristocratic *typika*, see Talbot, 'The Byzantine family', 128.

<sup>107</sup> See e.g. Pentcheva, *The sensual icon*, Appendix which provides with inventories of icons in *Typika*.

<sup>108</sup> Talbot, 'Byzantine monasticism and the liturgical arts'; Rapp, 'Death at the Byzantine court'; Congdon, 'Imperial commemoration'; Belting, 'The iconostasis and the role of the icon', in *Likeness and presence*; Klentos, *Byzantine liturgy in twelfth-century Constantinople*; for the reading out of sermons as prescribed in the *Typika*, see e.g. Cunningham, 'Preaching and the community', in *Church and people*, 29-47; for information on the use of incense during the liturgy, and on its 'medicinal and purificatory properties', see Hedrick and Ergin, 'A shared culture of heavenly fragrance', 333, n.10.

<sup>109</sup> Theis, *Lampen, Leuchten, Licht*; Nesbitt, 'Shaping the sacred', 153ff..

<sup>110</sup> For examples, see Talbot, 'The Byzantine family', 123-4, 124-6.

<sup>111</sup> For examples, see Talbot, 'The Byzantine family', 124.

<sup>112</sup> See for example the twelve page miniatures in the *Ktetorikon typikon* of the Convent of Our Lady of Sure Hope in Spatharakis, *The Portrait in Byzantine illuminated*, 190-206.

<sup>113</sup> Dubowchik, 'Singing with the Angels'; Schulz, *The Byzantine liturgy*; Taft, 'The liturgy of the Great church'; Sevchenko, 'Icons in the liturgy'; Ousterhout, 'The holy space: architecture and the liturgy'; Mateos, *Le typicon de la Grande Eglise*; Antonopoulou, *The Homilies of Leo VI*; Cunningham, 'Messages in context'; on Byzantine liturgical collections, see Ehrhard, *Überlieferung*; Krueger, *Liturgical subjects*; idem, 'Authorial voice'; Rapp, 'Death at the Byzantine court'; Belting, 'The iconostasis and the role of icon in the liturgy and in private devotion', in *Likeness and presence*.

<sup>114</sup> Barber, 'The monastic typikon for art historians' in Mullett-Kirby, *The Theotokos Evergetis*, 198-214, 208-10.

<sup>115</sup> For the inventory of the treasury of Hagia Sophia in 1396, see Fr. Miklosich-I. Müller, *Acta et diplomata, t. Ii, Acta Patriarchatus Constantinopolitanae MCCCXV-MCCCCII*, 566-570; and the discussion in Hetherington, 'Byzantine and Russian enamels'; Lowden, *The Jaharis Gospel Lectionary*, 27-8, 35, 38, 89.

<sup>116</sup> See Bibliography=*Regestes*; Necipoğlu, 'The social topography'.

monasteries and their relics for the thirteenth century period.<sup>117</sup> In addition papal registers,<sup>118</sup> or archives,<sup>119</sup> pilgrimage accounts of the 11th to 15th centuries, such as the pilgrims' recollection e.g. the anonymous *Descriptio sanctuarii Constantinopolitani*,<sup>120</sup> the English pilgrim ('Mercati Anonymous'), and the Russian account of Anthony of Novgorod are very informative and contain valuable lists of these periods which help us to trace issues of the continuity of these institutions throughout the ages.<sup>121</sup> Russian accounts for the Palaeologan era come also from five texts from 1349-1419.<sup>122</sup>

Descriptions of religious monuments come also from western diplomatic visitors in the first half of fifteenth century: Ruy González de Clavijo, whose descriptions are regarded among the most accurate surviving from the middle ages, Ghillebert de Lannoy and other western travelers like William of Boldensele and Mandeville, who list the relics they saw, Buondelmonti, Bertandron de la Broquière and Pero Tafur.<sup>123</sup> There is also evidence from the chroniclers Robert the Monk (d. 1222), Robert de Clari (d. 1216) and the Pisan author Leo Tuscus (12<sup>th</sup> c.) reporting on the relics of the Pharos chapel.<sup>124</sup> Arab accounts derive from the Arab prisoner Yahya Izeddin, whose evidence focuses on ceremonial, itineraries and localities, the Arab geographer Ibn Rusteh (early 10th c.) based on Harun b. Yahya, al-Harawi (late 12th c.), who describes places of pilgrimage, the Syrian geographer al-Dimashqī (early 14th c.) who like Abū'l Fidā lists the major buildings of the city, 'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad (late 13th c.), al-Marwazī, Ibn Battuta (1304-69) and al-Umarī (14th c.) who describe the religious ceremonies in St. Sophia. In general, apart from the fact that reality and myth are intertwined, Arabic accounts lack information due to the travellers' inaccessibility to visit churches.<sup>125</sup>

In addition, a collection of texts of literary and antiquarian value, which were copied by John Malaxos in the sixteenth century, shows clearly his interest in the history of Constantinople and its monuments and buildings: they are in the form of inscriptions related to monuments, which it is not always obvious whether he copied or actually witnessed by himself. Among the latter there were those inscriptions on the bronze gates of Hagia Sophia, Sts Sergius and Bacchus, the *parekklesion* and the walls of *Pammakaristos*, and funerary inscriptions – such as the rendering of names on the graves of the *Pammakaristos*. Malaxos' work rather than being a contemporary historical work, reflects a

<sup>117</sup> On the Crusaders' accounts, see Fulcher of Chartres, tr. Ryan, *Fulcher of Chartres*, (1969) 79; Odo of Deuil, ed. and tr. Berry, 54-5; Langille, 'La Constantinople de Guillaume de Tyr'; for Robert of Clari's account, see Macrides, 'Constantinople: the crusaders' gaze', in *Travel in the Byzantine World*, 197ff..

<sup>118</sup> Kresten, 'Diplomatische und historische Beobachtungen'; Berger, 'Les registres d' Innocent IV'.

<sup>119</sup> For example, Balard, *Péra au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle. Documents notariés des archives*

<sup>120</sup> *Descriptio sanctuarii Constantinopolitani* (1190 ca.), ed. Riant, vol. ii.

<sup>121</sup> Arrignon, 'Un pèlerin russe à Constantinople'; for the Mercati text and two other Latin descriptions, see 'Une description de Constantinople traduite par un pèlerin anglais', ed. Ciggaar; 'Une description anonyme de Constantinople du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle', ed. Ciggaar; for a list of relics and shrines mentioned in the Mercati Anonymous and Anthony, who visited 97 shrines in 1200, see Majeska, 'Pilgrims', 94ff; Ehrhard, 'Le livre du pèlerin'; for the anonymous late eleventh-century description of Constantinople, see 'Une description de Constantinople dans le *Tarragonensis* 55', ed. Ciggaar; also Brock, 'A medieval Armenian pilgrims' s description of Constantinople'; Pyatnitsky, 'Admirations in pen'.

<sup>122</sup> Majeska, 'Russian Pilgrims'; Talbot, 'Introduction: Pilgrimage in the Byzantine empire'; for the authors of the five Russian tales, see Majeska, 'Travelers', 15-20; for later accounts see Pyatnitsky, 'Admirations in pen'.

<sup>123</sup> Wright, 'The travels of Bertandron de la Broquière', in *Early travels in Palestine*; on Clavijo, see *EPLBHC*, v. 2, 221-3; Vasiliev, 'Pero Tafur'; Angold, 'The decline of Byzantium' in *Travel in the Byzantine world*; Manners, 'Constructing the Image of a city'.

<sup>124</sup> Bacci, 'Relics of the Pharos', 237n.10, 241-2,n.35, 242,n.38, 246; idem, 'La Vergine Oikokyra'. For a list of primary sources mentioning the holy relics of the Pharos, see Bacci, 'Relics of the Pharos', 243.

<sup>125</sup> Izzedin, 'Quelques voyageurs musulmans'; Berger, 'Sightseeing in Constantinople', 181, n. 7; Cheikh, 'Constantinople through Arab eyes'; eadem, *Byzantium viewed*, 204; Durak, 'Through an eastern window'.

“Constantinople nostalgique” and the way the Greeks of the Muslim Ottoman Istanbul viewed the city in this period.<sup>126</sup>

Referring to the Turkish primary sources, Ayvansarayi provides information (written between 1193/1779 and 1195/1781) on the architectural elements which were added or changed during the conversion of churches into mosques, the names of convertors, the dates of their establishing *waqfs*, the names of those who presented architectural elements, and the dates of the destruction of buildings. Ayverdi sheds light on the creation of *mahalles*, and the former names of churches, which were converted into mosques. Registers of *Vakiflar* complement information on the *mahalles* which were established around church mosques. E. Efendi's (b.1611) accounts of travels through Constantinople and its environs and his topographical descriptions are valuable as they contain information on buildings of his time and the officials who founded them.<sup>127</sup>

There are many problems in trying to identify and locate the churches of Constantinople. There are no general surveys to chart their institutional history, topographic data are often confusing, references derive from scattered sources, while much information is still missing due to lack of evidence. Often information about the history of some churches in literary sources is vague consisting merely of late references. Historiographical or patriographical information is not always accurate and reliable: chroniclers mention the foundation/restoration of churches according to their aim and often ‘bias’ dominate themes of imperial piety and panegyric *topoi*. Procopius in the *Buildings* instead of giving church descriptions he ‘lapses into vaguely rhetorical vocabulary’.<sup>128</sup> He praises Theodora for her piety and her founding of a convent while on the *Secret history* he criticizes her, rendering references to churches far from clear. Often church-building fits into the framework of condemnation: the building schemes of Justin II were judged as ‘signs of folly’, which if it can be critically presented proves the opposite. Often the construction of churches is described as an item of Constantine’s legend, which became popular in 8-9th centuries.<sup>129</sup>

Late writers, such as ps. Codinus, attributes churches to Constantine himself, and pious emperors and empresses, and generally the idea of building gives rise to the promotion of the idea of the imperial building, so that restoration can be taken for building: e.g. late sources attribute the building of churches to wrong emperors, such as the church of St. Apostles to Theodora, or St. Thecla to Justin II instead of Justinian. Similar issues of misconceptions with reference to the influence of the role of the Virgin Mary in the construction of images of pious empresses in the early and middle Byzantine period such as that of Pulcheria,<sup>130</sup> obscures the historicity of events, and makes unclear the role of empresses in a contemporary context. Pulcheria’s alleged foundation of the three churches of Blachernai, *Chalkoprateia* and *Hodegon* is doubtful: the attributions are late and rather linked with the ninth century role of the Virgin as patron of Constantinople.<sup>131</sup>

Further, issues of transformation of churches into monasteries, or nunneries into monasteries and *vice versa* confuse dating; there is certain ambiguity in distinguishing between types of buildings, palace

<sup>126</sup> Schreiner, ‘John Malaxos (16th century) and his collection of *Antiquitates Constantinopolitanae*’, 203-14.

<sup>127</sup> See bibliography.

<sup>128</sup> Cameron, *Procopius and the buildings*, 100.

<sup>129</sup> Kazhdan, ‘Constantin imaginaire’, 201, n.26.

<sup>130</sup> James in Vasilaki; Chew, ‘Virgins and eunuchs’; Cooper, ‘Contesting the Nativity’.

<sup>131</sup> James, 151, n. 48. Mango, ‘The development of Constantinople’, *Studies*, 4, no 1, idem, ‘Blachernae’, 61-76. In 6th and 7th c. sources Verina and Leo I, Justin I, Justinian and Justin II are said to have been founders of the Blachernai. *Chalkoprateia* is linked with Leo and Verina. The *Hodegon* does not appear until the ninth century.

chapels and churches,<sup>132</sup> *parekklesion*,<sup>133</sup> crypts,<sup>134</sup> *martyria*, oratories, *kathisma*, and temple; issues of the demolition of churches and their rebuilding at a different location, such as the Mother of God *tou Metropolitou*,<sup>135</sup> the renaming of churches at different periods; the authenticity of tales on translation of relics and their relation to imperial policies; the churches' adjoining of monasteries at a given or uncertain period; the existence of two buildings in one site causes confusion as to the dedication of the second building, especially when the first disappeared, which is often known under two vocations; the naming of churches after miraculous icons found whose dates are not accurate, but should be judged against information on the development of the particular cult associated with the icon and the church; the impact of physical disasters, such as fires and earthquakes, prevent us from having a unitary picture of sites. Often two monasteries are known by common names when one disappears, and its cult is transferred to a different site at a later period, or certain sites are known by more than one names.

Topographical information is often not available or subject to dispute. Sometimes information derives only from the *Synaxarion* or from ecclesiastical acts, which renders the historicity of the site in question doubtful, especially when the church or monastery is mentioned only once and cannot be corroborated by other sources. Also, the silence in sources about the existence of a church for a given period, and its mentioning for a later, create gaps in the continuity of the history of churches. The list of churches is by no means complete as the publication of yet unknown texts may reveal more, for example, the private chapels possessed by palaces and houses and palaces of aristocracy, of which there is no record.<sup>136</sup>

In addition to information which is provided on literary sources on building, the task is rested on other evidence such as archaeology e.g. brickstamps,<sup>137</sup> inscriptions,<sup>138</sup> pottery,<sup>139</sup> epigrams,<sup>140</sup> seals,<sup>141</sup> cult

<sup>132</sup> *ODB*, 1554-5.

<sup>133</sup> *ODB*, 1587-8; on problems related to the function and iconography of chapels (*parekklesia*), see Babic, *Les chapelles annexes des églises byzantines*; for examples of subsidiary chapels of the Theotokos Church of Constantine Lips, Molla Gürani Camii, St. George of Mangana and the *Nea Ekklesia*, see Curcic, 'Architectural significance', 98, 99, 103.

<sup>134</sup> *ODB*, 561.

<sup>135</sup> Kalenderhane, 11.

<sup>136</sup> 'La fonction liturgique des chapelles contiguës a l' église d' après les sources écrites', in *Les chapelles annexes des Églises byzantines* (Paris, 1969).

<sup>137</sup> Bardill, index, 403-6.

<sup>138</sup> Mango, 'The Byzantine inscriptions'; Clogg, 'Some Karamanlidika inscriptions'; Mango, 'The Byzantine Inscriptions'; idem, *Studies*, 23-35; Brooks, 'Poetry and female patronage'; Mango and Sevckenko, 'Some recently acquired Byzantine inscriptions'; Feissel, 'Les édifices'; Mercati, 'Sulle iscrizioni'; Kiilerich, 'Likeness and icon'; A. Rhoby, 'On the inscriptional versions of the epigrams of Christophoros Mitylenaios', in Bernard and Demoen, *Poetry and its contexts*, 147-54; idem, 'The structure of inscriptional dedicatory epigrams in Byzantium', in de Lorenzi and de Gaetano, *La poesia tardoantica e medievale*; ed. *Inscriptions in Byzantium and Beyond*.

<sup>139</sup> Maguire, *Material analysis*.

<sup>140</sup> See Hostetler, *The function of the text*, 21-4. Hörandner and Rhoby (eds.), *Die kulturhistorische Bedeutung byzantinischer Epigramme*; Pentcheva, *The sensual icon*. Talbot, 'Epigrams of Manuel Philes'; Connor, 'The epigram in the church of Hagios Polyeuktos'; Mango, 'Epigrammes honorifiques, statues et portraits à Byzance'; for examples of offerings to churches, see Jeffreys, 'The *Sebastokratorissa Irene*', 187, n.69; Rhoby, *Byzantinische Epigramme*; idem, 'The structure', in de Lorenzi-de Gaetano (eds.), *La poesia*, 309-32; Bernard, *Writing and reading Byzantine secular poetry*; Talbot, 'Epigrams in context'; on epigrams recording donations to icons for personal protection, see Angelidi, 'The veneration', 380. for examples of thank-offerings recorded in dedicatory epigrams composed to accompany devotional gifts i.e. votives or exvotos, see Drpic, index; for epigrams pointing to construction, see Sphingou, 'Snapshots', 62; van Opstall, 'Verses on paper' in Hörandner and Rhoby (eds.), *Die kulturhistorische Bedeutung byzantinischer Epigramme*; on dedication epigrams, see Bernard, *Writing and reading*, 311-21; on funerary epigrams by Philes, see Brooks, 'Poetry and female patronage'; Talbot, 'Epigrams in context'.

<sup>141</sup> McGeer, Nesbitt, Oikonomides, *Catalogue of Byzantine seals*; Oikonomides, *A collection of dated Byzantine lead seals*. See also the seals used by the church administration. Also J. Cotsonis, 'The contribution of Byzantine Lead seals to the study of the cult of the saints (sixth-twelfth century)', *B 75* (2005), 383-497; see also the seals of the family of Xeroi and

objects at the Topkapi Museum,<sup>142</sup> coinage,<sup>143</sup> or marble:<sup>144</sup> a study on the social role of these exhibits in Byzantine society in terms of the combination of textual and artifactual evidence or not fully encapsulates the significance of the role and function of churches and monasteries in terms of their material culture.

Architecture reflects urban developments and transformations of the Byzantine society such as the change in architecture and the profession in late 6<sup>th</sup> to early 9<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>145</sup> Archaeology takes into account the urban context of each church and focuses on remains that survive under the buildings which relate to patterns of change and growth and searches for construction techniques, which in turn contribute to locate workshop practices and the diffusion of influences. It sometimes leads to a revision of notions of architectural types and history in general: for example, ninth century attributions to churches e.g. of Fethiye, Gül, Kalenderhane have been discarded and relocated instead to the twelfth century.<sup>146</sup> One must be aware of the existence of different layers of construction especially in late churches, which in addition to emphasising their importance, alludes to corresponding themes of evolution of the city. Ousterhout discusses the cases of the Paleologan complexes of the Chora monastery, Pantokrator and Myrelaion and argues that these monuments were not limited to one phase of construction and their architectural and decorative additions reflect historical considerations representing an attempt to symbolically relate the present with the past.<sup>147</sup>

The discovery of certain ceramic findings such as a small quality of wall tiles, found for example in the monastery of Fenari Isa Camii, the *martyrion* of St. Euphemia, Myrelaion, St. Polyuktos, St. Studios and St. George in Mangana, and others which exist in special art collections, has led to studies on their scientific analysis shedding light on their manufacture techniques, elaborating on common patterns and leading to future work on glaze and ceramic bodies of tiles.<sup>148</sup> Further the use of dendrochronological dating help to retrace the history of construction and repair of sites.<sup>149</sup> In addition epigrams, or inscriptions, seals or brickstamps, -in the form of stamped or unstamped bricks-, provide info on names and titles of the founders, or patrons or donors, and in the case of bricks, of those for which the construction of bricks were made, or buildings or places, adding information on the history of sites or corroborate our evidence on their construction.

Constantinople has a special place among the pilgrimage sites of the Byzantine east. The city is not known by one sanctuary or relic but by all its sanctuaries where gradually it was gathered a great collection of relics. Constantinople like Jerusalem or Antioch was known as a holy city or a 'city of God' or the 'new Jerusalem'. This 'sacralisation'<sup>150</sup> was credited to the emperor Constantine, who is thought to be responsible for a programme of a construction of churches and *martyria*. As it has been mentioned the patriographers attribute to him all important sanctuaries. However this notion is related

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their use of St. Mark in 11<sup>th</sup> c. in the context of the creation of a common identity by sharing the saint's name, in Caseau, 'Saint Mark, a family saint?', in *Ἡπειρόνδε* (Epeironde), eds. Stavrakos, Papadopoulou; Caseau, 'L'iconographie des sceaux après la fin de l'iconoclasme (IXe---XIe siècle)'.

<sup>142</sup> Kalavrezou, 'Helping hands'.

<sup>143</sup> *Catalogue of the Byzantine coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection*.

<sup>144</sup> Sodini, 'Marble and stoneworking in Byzantium'; Greenhalgh, *Marble past, monumental present*; Trilling, 'The soul of the empire'; Maguire, 'The medieval floors'; Connor, *Saints and spectacle*.

<sup>145</sup> Ousterhout, *Master builders*, vii; Ousterhout, 'Contextualizing the later churches of Constantinople', 244ff.

<sup>146</sup> Ousterhout, 117, n. 13.

<sup>147</sup> Ousterhout, 'Contextualizing the later churches of Constantinople', 246.

<sup>148</sup> Vogt, et al, 'Glazed wall tiles of Constantinople', in *Material analysis of Byzantine pottery*, ed. H. Maguire, 52; J. A. Lauffenburger (The Walters Art Gallery) and Jane L. Williams (The Brooklyn Museum), 'Byzantine tiles in the Walters Art Gallery and Dumbarton Oaks collections: a comparison of technique', in Maguire, 67-84.

<sup>149</sup> Kuniholm, 'New tree-ring dates for Byzantine buildings'.

<sup>150</sup> Maraval, 92.

to Eusebius' presentation of Constantine as a model of a Christian emperor and he is discussed in the context of a 'conception of a Christian empire' which has led scholars to view him as a saint and founder of the Byzantine church and civilization.

The concept of building and particularly of church building is related to the introduction of the religion of Christianity by the emperor Constantine the Great,<sup>151</sup> and was centred on the first Christian emperor's image as founder of Constantinople promoting ideas of victory and peace.<sup>152</sup> The link between the building of Constantine and contemporaries continued in later years, when, imperial ceremonies, such as those for the foundation of the city, implied Constantinian imagery and included acts of devotion to an image of Constantine until the reign of the emperor Theodosios I. Church building was related to the imperial ideology and the concept of renewal attributed to Constantine the Great and followed by his successors as rulers of the Christian *oikoumene*.<sup>153</sup> The concept of renewal was related to the need to live up to traditional expectations and past views and the future. It is explicit in the rhetoric of renewal in art and literature in the reigns of the emperors Heraclius<sup>154</sup>, Basil I<sup>155</sup> Michael VIII<sup>156</sup> where the regime each time is presented as a new start, a renewal (*ανακαινισις*). As Magdalino puts it it was seen as a preparation for the coming of Christ's Kingdom on earth involving a 'eschatology whereby the emperor would reign in association with Christ.' Similarly, the construction of gardens at churches such as that of the church of St. George of Mangana associated with the same theme of renewal and symbolised in panegyrics the role of emperor as creator paralleled to Him, the Christ and the garden to creation.<sup>157</sup>

In the reign of the emperor Constantine the first types of buildings<sup>158</sup> were basilicas and functioned as meeting or burial places and audience halls. In this time church buildings became official buildings and acquired a legal status and function aiming to impress. For this reason they belonged to public monumental building, were impressive in size and lavishly decorated. This is evident in the church of the Holy Apostles which had evolved from traditions of luxurious design in Roman mansions. Churches as architectural statements expressed values with which the founders associated themselves: namely, the desire of the ruler to support religion, legitimate his authority and proclaim his power, wealth and grandeur. Important churches begun or completed by the emperor Constantine.

Church building was a manifestation of the imperial virtue of *philanthropia*. Churches and monasteries, like other institutions, were built from the fifth century by emperors or empresses to have

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<sup>151</sup> Armstrong, 'Constantine's churches symbol and structure'; Janin, 41-50; 455-70; Leeb, *Konstantin und Christus: Die Verchristlichung der imperialen Repräsentation unter Konstantin dem Groben*; Geanakoplos, 'Church building'; Dagron, *Naissance d' une capitale*; Bréhier, *Constantin et la fondation*; Frolov, 'La dédicace de C'ple'; Caseau, 'La trasmissione nel ritual constantinopolitano'; Hostetler, *The function of text*.

<sup>152</sup> Based on Eusebius' exposition of political philosophy and ideology; see Scott, 'The image of Constantine in Malalas and Theophanes', 57-71, at 62; A. Luzzi, *L'ideologia costantiniana nella liturgia dell'eta di Costantino VII Porfirogenito*, in *RSBN* 28 (1991), 113-24.

<sup>153</sup> This idea of the importance of Constantine as a prototype, and symbol of legitimacy is explored in Magdalino, *New Constantines*.

<sup>154</sup> Whitby, 'Images for emperors in late antiquity: a search for New Constantine', 83-93 at 92.

<sup>155</sup> Brubaker, 'To legitimize an emperor: Constantine and visual authority', 139-58 at 158; eadem, 'Basil I and visual panegyric', in *Vision and meaning in ninth-century Byzantium*.

<sup>156</sup> Macrides, 'From the Komnenoi to the Palaiologoi: imperial models in decline and exile', 269-282, at 270-2; Hilsdale, 'A new Constantine for the capital of a new empire'.

<sup>157</sup> Maguire, 'Imperial gardens and the rhetoric of renewal', 181-197, at 191; on the divine authority of the emperors in iconography, see Jolivet-Lévy, 'Présence et figures du souverain à Sainte-Sophie'.

<sup>158</sup> Krautheimer, 'The Constantinian basilica'; idem, *Three Christian capitals: topography and politics*; Ward-Perkins, 'Constantine and the origins of the Christian basilica'.

an impact on the life of the people, and was part of a form of religious piety.<sup>159</sup> Contribution of money towards building or restoration was viewed as a pious act. The role of private philanthropy was also paramount.<sup>160</sup> So addition to imperial initiative a great number of churches and monasteries and philanthropic institutions were built due to private initiative. John Thomas explores issues of private ownership of churches and monasteries; in a chronological context he focuses on issues of their administration and financing and describes how legislation affected their status in every period.<sup>161</sup> Among sources, the tenth-century *Patria Konstantinoupoleos*,<sup>162</sup> refers to 90 imperial religious institutions; 55 foundations by laymen, 8 by monks and members of the ecclesiastical hierarchy. The *De Antiquitatibus Constantinopolitanis*<sup>163</sup> mentions 64 imperial foundations, and 41 private.

Janin identifies 224 sanctuaries dedicated or consecrated to patron saints: to God (4), to Theotokos (131)<sup>164</sup> – who was known in different names as *Nikopoios*, *Platytera*, *Blachernitissa*, *tes Batou*, *Hodegetria*, *Eleousa*, Christ (27 churches),<sup>165</sup> saints, martyrs (8 forty martyrs), apostles, military saints<sup>166</sup> (24 Archangel Michael), angels, Christ's disciples such as Ananias, events e.g. *Analyptseos*, city quarters, legendary saints, or certain meanings referring to concepts or to an object miraculously founded in relation to the history of the monastery. Saints belonged to different types: martyrs, who were executed during the persecutions of 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> centuries (Euphemia of Chalcedon), imperial women (Theophano and Irene), who defended Orthodoxy, transvestite nuns, hermits, abbesses, and pious women (Thomais, Mary the Younger, Matrona of Perge).<sup>167</sup> All of them had been distinguished in their path to sanctity either through martyrdom or ascetic life, and philanthropic works. Not all personalities were historical figures, but were legendary as well, such as St. Theodosia, who allegedly opposed Leo III's decree of 726 and Irene Chrysobalanton, abbess of the monastery in 9<sup>th</sup> -10<sup>th</sup> centuries. Popular cults of the saints' sanctity were developed locally at their tombs providing models for others; yet very few of them attained official church recognition.<sup>168</sup>

The greatest number of early sanctuaries, nine, were dedicated to warrior saints and are attested from the period before Iconoclasm.<sup>169</sup> Walter argues that their importance was coterminous with the apogee of the Byzantine empire in the tenth and eleventh centuries. The invocation of the warrior saints, such as Sts George, Demetrius, Procopius, Mercurious, Eustathius, Theodore Stratelates, with the exception of Theodore of Tiron, who were mainly victims of persecuting emperors, corresponded

<sup>159</sup> Pitarakis, 'Female piety in context', 153-165; V.K. McCarty, 'Following the command of Christ: philanthropy as an imperial female virtue'

[www.academia.edu/1045172/Following\\_the\\_Command\\_of\\_Christ\\_Philanthropy\\_as\\_an\\_Imperial\\_Female\\_Virtue](http://www.academia.edu/1045172/Following_the_Command_of_Christ_Philanthropy_as_an_Imperial_Female_Virtue)].

<sup>160</sup> For references, see Goubert, 104-5.

<sup>161</sup> On private religious foundations in 565-1025, see Thomas, *Foundations*, 111-85.

<sup>162</sup> ed. Preger, *Scriptores originum Constantinopolitanarum*.

<sup>163</sup> ed. A. Banduri, *Imperium orientale* (Paris, 1711).

<sup>164</sup> *ODB*, 2176, 2177, 2170-1, 2177-8, 2172-3, 2171; Papadopoulos, 'Theotoku Monai kai Naoi'; Nikolopoulos, 'Theotoku Monai kai Naoi'; see Teteriatnikov, 'The image of the Virgin Zoodochos Pege'; Angelidi and Papamastorakis, 'Picturing the spiritual protector'; 'The Veneration of the Virgin'; Pentcheva, 'The 'activated' icon'; Koutrakou, 'Use and abuse of the image of the Theotokos'; Kalavrezou, 'Images of the Mother'; Cunningham, 'The meeting of the old and the new'.

<sup>165</sup> Janin, 'Les monastères de Christ Philanthrope'.

<sup>166</sup> Janin, 'Les églises byzantines des saints militaires'; idem, 'Les églises byzantines des saints militaires'.

<sup>167</sup> A-M. Talbot, 'Canonisation', *ODB* 1: 372; Talbot, 'Female Sanctity', 1-16.; 'Women and iconoclasm', 123-408; on their lives, see *Holy women of Byzantium*, 291-22, 239-89, 13-64. da Costa-Louillet, 'Saints de Constantinople'; for general bibliography on women in Byzantine monasticism, patronage, see *BMFD*, 1737, 1734-5.

<sup>168</sup> For a discussion, see Talbot, *Holy women*, x-xv.

<sup>169</sup> There were dedicated to Alexander (before 446), George (5th c.), the XL Martyrs (c. 450), Menas (b. 5thc.), Polyuktos (early 5thc.), Procopius, Sergios Bacchus, 527-36, Theodore two (mid 5thc.). See Walter, *The warrior saints*, 269; idem, 'Theodore, archetype of the warrior saint'; on St. George, see *REB* 53 (1995) and Demetrius, see *REB* 53 (1995), n. 96; on the origins of the cult of these saints, see Walter; Cheynet, 'Le culte de saint Théodore'; idem, 'Par saint Georges, par saint Michel'.

with Byzantine ideology where soldiers were modelled on examples of Christ's soldiers. Their popularity was due to their function to lead them to victory, and after the Latin conquest to protect them against enemies. In the 'Book of Ceremonies' it is said that the 'holy martyrs the *stratelatai*'<sup>170</sup> were along with Christ, the Theotokos and *archistrategos* Michael, protectors of the city. The Theotokos too was also evoked in military defense, in 626, 718 and 860;<sup>171</sup> miraculous icons<sup>172</sup> were carried in battles by late emperors in late tenth and twelfth centuries. Its role as protector of the emperor and 'palladium of the empire' were attributed in 1186 when Isaac Angelus put the *Hodegetria* icon on the city walls to defend it against the army of the rebel Branas; in 1261 Michael VIII Palaiologos followed the icon of *Hodegetria* into his newly recovered city.<sup>173</sup>

Church building was associated with the collection of relics<sup>174</sup> for which they were built to receive them. The Acts tell us that the first Christian meetings were held in private houses –there were also gathering in cemeteries and in buildings for Christian worship<sup>175</sup> such as the *martyria*: the first patron saints were those martyr patrons of the *martyria*. Eusebios was the first to call churches *martyria* to designate 'a venerated Christian site'.<sup>176</sup> The *Synaxarion* retains the term which became *apostoleion* or *propheteion*. The empire had a few local martyrs. The most known were St. Acacius and St. Mocius; their tombs remained in Constantinople but these saints did not have a particular veneration. It was especially the translation of the relics of foreign martyrs which contributed to the sacralisation of the imperial city and gave her a particular character.<sup>177</sup> The distribution of the relics of saints or the *encomia* pronounced at a sanctuary gave rise to the hagiographical tradition.<sup>178</sup> The cult of martyrs can be dated to the life of Eusebius.<sup>179</sup> H. Delehaye and A. Grabar have contributed to the origin and cult of the first Christian martyrs.

The translation and accumulation of the relics of the martyrs has been a continuous enterprise and enriched the public image of local churches: the first translations which are known are those of the apostles Timothy, Andrew and Luke, whose relics were received in 356 or 357 and deposited in the church of St. Apostles; the relics of the first came from Ephesus, the two others from Greece, and they were transferred on the order of the emperor Constans II. In the reign of the emperor Valens an unsuccessful attempt was made to transfer the head of John the Baptist to Constantinople,<sup>180</sup> which was in Cilicia at the hands of Macedonian monks; it was under Theodosius I that the relic came to the city

<sup>170</sup> *De Cerimoniis*, i, 481. On the term *stratelates*, see Walter, 279.

<sup>171</sup> See n. 69; Carr, 'Threads of authority'; Kaldellis, 'The military use of the icon of the Theotokos'; Hilsdale, 'The Virgin of the walls'; Pentcheva, 'The supernatural protector of Constantinople'; eadem, *Icons and power*; Carr, 'Court Culture and cult icons'; Vassiliaki, *Mother of God*; Lidov, 'The flying Hodegetria'; for the ceremony of thanksgiving at Blachernae after the liberation of the city in 626, see Peltomaa, *The Image of the Virgin Mary*; Speck, 'Classicism in the eighth century?', idem, 'The Virgin's help'.

<sup>172</sup> See e.g. Lidov, 'The flying Hodegetria'.

<sup>173</sup> Hanson, 'The 'Statuesque Hodegetria' and the limitations of the sculpted icon'; Weyl Carr, 'Court culture and cult icons'; Angelide, 'The Veneration of the Virgin', 373, 382, 383; Hilsdale, 'A new Constantine for the capital of a new empire' and 'Adventus: the emperor and the city'; for examples of the use of relics for the civic protection and on military campaigns, see Hostetler, *The function of text*, 74-5.

<sup>174</sup> Magdalino, 'Medieval Constantinople: Built environment and urban development'; see Karlin-Hayter, 'A note on bishops and saints' where she sees the relics in terms of assisting or opposing imperial policies.

<sup>175</sup> On worship, see Ray, *Tasting heaven on earth*; Shoemaker, *Mary in early Christian faith*.

<sup>176</sup> *Vita Constantinii* 3;28, ed. Cameron and S. Hall, 133.; Grabar, *Martyrium. Recherches sur le culte*.

<sup>177</sup> Maraval, 93.

<sup>178</sup> For examples of relics of saints, see Hostetler, 46-61.

<sup>179</sup> Walter, 25.

<sup>180</sup> G. Kazan, M. Mango, 'Saint John the Baptist and his cults: a colloquium at St. Johns College, Oxford' <https://www.sjc.ox.ac.uk/3758/St-John-The-Baptist-Conference.html> (accessed November 23, 2015).

and was placed in a church built for it in Hebdomon in 391. The same emperor ordered to depose the relics of the african martyrs Terentius and Africanus in St. Euphemia in Petra.<sup>181</sup> New arrivals came under the emperor Arcadius- John Chrysostom, who was bishop of the city, preached on the occasion of the reception of several of relics: those who were transferred, and whose name we don't know, in the church of St. Thomas of Drypia, and at the reception of the Egyptian martyrs. In 406 the relics of the prophet Samuel were received, which they were discovered in Palestine. More churches were built to honour the relics of St. Andrew and St. Thyrsus.<sup>182</sup>

In the period of Theodosius II the reception of relics continued with success. In 415 the relics of Joseph, son of Jacob, and of Zacharias, father of St. John the Baptist came from Palestine. In 425 Constantinople had 14 churches. Church building continued by the Theodosian empresses or members of the imperial family, and the influence of the image and work of Helena to them has been stressed.<sup>183</sup> In 428 Pulcheria, sister of the emperor, received from Jerusalem the right hand of St. Stephen for which she built a church in the palace of Daphne. In 438 the empress Eudocia sent the other relics of the same saint which were deposited in the church of St. Laurence; the relics however, must have reached Constantinople by other ways because a church was dedicated to this saint and was constructed in 400 by Aurelian and another by Sisinnios, bishop of the Novatians. Under Theodosius II, the relics of the prophet Isaias were discovered in the city of Pannias. At the end of his reign, the empress Pulcheria constructed a church for the relics of St. Laurence and Agnes received from Rome. Construction continued under Eudoxia, Eudocia, Juliana Anicia, and her grandmother Licinia Eudoxia. The empress Pulcheria rediscovered the relics of the 40 martyrs of Sebasteia in 451 and other personalities participated in the same spirit of acquisition of relics and construction of churches in this period.<sup>184</sup> In 468 Leo at the request of Daniel the Stylite (d. 493) had the relics of St. Symeon Stylites<sup>185</sup> come from Antioch for which he built a *martyrion*. Zeno had transferred from Cyprus a copy of the gospel of Mathew which was discovered with the body of St. Barnabas and deposited in a church dedicated to St. Stephen.

No doubt the existence of churches and the relics attracted many pilgrims such as Egeria (ca. end of the 4th c.) who spoke of the many sanctuaries. The people of Constantinople also contributed to their success. The churches had the usual visitors,<sup>186</sup> those who lived in the same localities, and their annual celebrations was the *foci* of a mass gathering of people. The pilgrimage to the holy men<sup>187</sup> and monks

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<sup>181</sup> Maraval, 94.

<sup>182</sup> Maraval, 94.

<sup>183</sup> James, 148-63; for the association of Pulcheria with the promotion of Marian devotion, see Holum, *Theodosian empresses*; Herrin, 'The imperial feminine'.

<sup>184</sup> Maraval, 95-6.

<sup>185</sup> Caseau, 'Les moines et les communautés monastiques', in *Histoire générale du Christianisme*, ed. Armogathe; Caseau-Fayant, 'Le renouveau' for a bibliography; Sansterre, 'Les saints stylites' in *Sainteté et martyrs*; Eastmond, 'Body vs. Column', *Desire and Denial in Byzantium*, 87-100.

<sup>186</sup> For a discussion on the set of rules followed by the faithful in churches such as the allocation of spaces to different social groups, see Caseau, 'Experiencing Byzantium', 60ff; Sodini, 'Archéologie des églises', in Cassingena-Trevedy and Jurasz (eds.), *Les liturgies syriaques*, 229-66; Taft, 'Women at church in Byzantium'.

<sup>187</sup> The loyalty to the holy men was parallel to the cult of the saints and the martyrs; on the early function (4th -6th centuries) of the holy man and the impact on monasticism, see Brown, 'The rise and function of the holy man'. On the issue of the 'spiritual authority' and function of the holy man in the seventh to early ninth century and its relation to his function at an earlier period, see Hatlie, 'Spiritual authority', 195-222 who argues that there was a shift in the monastic ideal and the status of the holy in this period in contrast to his earlier function as described by Peter Brown, which is exemplified in the lives of St. Philaretos and St. Stephen the Younger. This process was not the result of the actions of the eighth century iconoclast emperors, but it was rather the result of a wider social, economic, and religious processes; see Auzépy, 'L'analyse littéraire et l'historien'; also Rapp, *Brother-making in late antiquity and Byzantium*; the articles in Howard-Johnston, *The cult of saints in late antiquity*; for a review of the vitae of all 8<sup>th</sup> century holy men see Kountoura-Galake, *Clergy and society*, 14-22.

had a special character and contributed to church- building. The austerity of the holy men such as of Daniel the Stylite (5th c.) standing in the column in Sosthenion in 460 to 493 attracted many visitors that the emperor built for them an inn and later a monastery. Well known monks also visited the city like Sabas (6th c.) or Theodore of Sykeon (7th c.) and their relics were given later to build sanctuaries.<sup>188</sup>

In addition to the relics of the martyrs, Constantinople accumulated biblical relics from Palestine and especially those of Christ and Virgin Mary.<sup>189</sup> The beginning of this collection has also been attributed to Constantine in terms of the ‘ implementation of his policy’. The historians of the 5th c. speaking of these relics are certain that they had a special status in Constantinople. These relics were not venerated in a church or a *martyrium* but they were transformed to be objects of the emperor like the nails of the Christ’s crucifixion and the fragment of the Cross, which was sent by his mother Helena<sup>190</sup> from Jerusalem, became enclosed in the statue of Constantine erected in the Forum which had its name. The power of these relics was confiscated for the sole profit of the imperial power. All relics of the Holy Land which were transferred to Constantinople were reserved in the palace. These relics were venerated in sanctuaries which were open to all and were held at great esteem as guarantors of the protection of the city of the emperor.<sup>191</sup>

Leo with his wife Verina, is credited to have built the Marian churches at Blachernai –a suburb outside the Theodosian Land Walls- and Chalkoprateia, in the context of a growing interest in the cult after Ephesus. In the end of the fifth century, the *maphorion*, a part of the clothing of the Virgin, a relic which was sent from Palestine ca. 472, was preserved in the church of the Theotokos of Blachernae in a precious shrine.<sup>192</sup> The inscription engraved on it by emperor Leo was characteristic of the role of the relic: ‘Dedicating the sanctuary to Theotokos I ensure the power of the empire’.<sup>193</sup> The church of Blachernae and its relic played a great part in the lives of the people and in particular after 626 when the unsuccessful Avar attack was attributed to her. The Girdle of the Virgin which was preserved at a Soros chapel attached to the church of Chalkoprateia was another relic which was regarded as a palladium of the city.<sup>194</sup> In this category of relics the image *acheiropoiotos* of Christ which was sent in 574 from Cappadocia served as protection for the Byzantine army against the Persians.

Thus, a multiplication of churches and monasteries took place towards the middle of the fifth century related to the collection and function of relics. The church building was a means for the Christianisation of the empire giving the city its Christian character: churches not only affected settlement and space, but also changed basic patterns of urban life. To this contributed the increasing importance of the

<sup>188</sup> Rapp, *Brother-making in late antiquity and Byzantium*, 188ff..

<sup>189</sup> Shoemaker, ‘The cult of fashion’; Hostetler, *The function of text*, 41-4, 44-6; Wortley, ‘The Marian relics at Constantinople’, *GRBS* 45 (2005), 171–87; Mergiali-Sahas, ‘Byzantine emperors’, 43,n.10.

<sup>190</sup> For Helena and ‘her reconstruction’ by aristocratic and imperial women in the fourth and fifth centuries, see , Brubaker, ‘Memories of Helena’; see J. W. Drijvers, ‘Helena Augusta, the Cross and the myth: some new reflections’, *Millennium* 8 (2011), 125–74; N. Teteriatnikov, ‘The True Cross flanked by Constantine and Helena. A study in the light of the post-Iconoclastic re-evaluation of the Cross’, *DXAE* 18 (1995), 169–88.

<sup>191</sup> Maraval, 98.

<sup>192</sup> Cameron, ‘The Virgin’s robe’; Norman Baynes, ‘The Finding of the Virgin’s Robe’, *Annuaire de l’institut de philologie et d’histoire orientales et slaves* 9 (1949): 87–95, reprinted in *Byzantine Studies and Other Essays* (London: Athlone, 1955), 240–7; A. Weyl Carr, ‘Threads of authority: the Virgin Mary’s Veil in the Middle Ages’, in *Robes and honor: the medieval world of investiture*, ed. S. Gordon (New York, 2001), 59–94.

<sup>193</sup> ed. A. Wenger, ‘Notes inédites sur les empereurs Théodose I, Arcadius, Théodose II, Léon I’, *REB* 10 (1952), 54; Hostetler, *The function of text*, 45n.192.

<sup>194</sup> Maraval, 99; D. Krausmüller, ‘Making the most of Mary: the cult of the Virgin in the Chalkoprateia from Late Antiquity to the tenth century,’ in *The Cult of the Mother of God in Byzantium: Texts and Images*, eds. Leslie Brubaker and Mary Cunningham (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2011), 219–46.

institution of the church in civic life, which replaced the function of the public imperial cult, and the predominant role of the bishops in public life.<sup>195</sup> Religious people undertook to build churches and other buildings making thus the church's presence visible and feasts replaced earlier pagan celebrations. Building activity continued with Justin and Euphemia. Thus the most of the celebrated churches of the city such as Virgin Mary at Blachernae, Chalkoprateia, St. Laurence, St. Theodore of Sporacius, St. Stephen, St. Irene of the Perama, St. Euphemia *en tous Olybriou*, and the Forty Martyrs were built in this period.

Justinian, the greatest of all Byzantine imperial builders, is said according to Procopius's *Buildings* to have built or restored more than 30 churches.<sup>196</sup> The city during this century was transformed to a Christian city a 'mégalopolis souveraine'.<sup>197</sup> The sacralisation of the imperial city became stronger by the arrival of new relics and the construction and restoration of churches consecrated to martyrs. Their dedication led to great celebrations where the relics were conducted in solemn processions in their new sanctuaries. Among the churches he built was St. Sophia, which he dedicated to the divine wisdom, the Logos, St. Irene, churches of the Virgin, the third Marian church, the Theotokos at Pege, the Archangel Michael, the Holy Apostles, Sts Sergius and Bacchus and various churches of martyrs in the city and on the shores and the suburbs of the city.<sup>198</sup> Theodora continued this policy and her zeal for charity and help to public warfare is shown in her building of the convent of *Metanoia* for reformed prostitutes.<sup>199</sup> In Galata, the commercial harbour of the city the first churches which were built were those of the Virgin Mary, Christ, and St. Nicholas.<sup>200</sup>

Justinian's successors Justin II, Tiberius and Maurice erected new imperial foundations and repaired older.<sup>201</sup> Construction was subjected to urban policies related to shifts in certain areas, such as the mid sixth century investment in the harbour of Julian as a commercial, social and economic centre.<sup>202</sup> It was also related to responses to the need of veneration of the divine and thanksgiving. This need was reinforced particularly after natural disasters affected the life of the city, such as the fires of 465 and 532, earthquakes of 447 and 557 and the bubonic plague of 542 which chroniclers attribute to the wrath of God and gave an impetus in the investment in pious institutions in the period of Justinian and his successors.<sup>203</sup> The collection of relics continued: the wife of Maurice, Constantia, was politely refused to obtain a relic of St. Paul by pope Gregory – the latter referred to the custom of the church of Rome which does disperse the bones of martyrs and was content to send her the linens which were close to the tomb of the saint.<sup>204</sup>

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<sup>195</sup> Hunt, 'The church as a public institution', 238-76.

<sup>196</sup> Downey, 'Justinian as a builder', 262ff.; idem, *Constantinople in the age of Justinian*; Whitby, 'Pride and prejudice in Procopius' buildings; Feissel, 'Le édifices de Justinien'.

<sup>197</sup> Magalino, *CM*, 48-9.

<sup>198</sup> Downey, 'Justinian as a Builder', 262-66, 264; Geanakoplos, 'Church building and caesaropapism'; Geanakoplos argues the fact that there was a correlation between the emperor's Caesaropapism, that is his policy of control over the church and the building of churches. This can be seen in the close relationship between state and church; Feissel, 'Les édifices de Justinien'.

<sup>199</sup> The capitals of the church of St. Sergius and St. Irene bear the monogram of the empress with Justinian's; see Foss, 'The empress Theodora'.

<sup>200</sup> See Schneider-Nomidis, *Galata*, 19 who say that there were 13 churches before 1453. On churches in Galata after the fall, see Gedeon, *Ekklesiai Byzantinai*, 18-22. On mosques see Enviya, 51-2 who says that Galata took its name from gala, meaning milk, because it was the abode of shepherds and herds and celebrated for its dairies; see also Janin, 'Sanctuaires', 138-84; Balard, 'La société pérote'.

<sup>201</sup> Janin, *Géographie*, 3, 142, 229, 237, 337-8, 483, 567.

<sup>202</sup> Magdalino, 'Maritime neighborhoods', 212, 217f.; idem, Magdalino, 'Medieval Constantinople', in idem, *Studies on the history*, 20-2; Daim, *Die Byzantinischen Häfen*.

<sup>203</sup> Magdalino, 'Medieval Constantinople', 530; idem, 'Maritime neighborhoods', 217ff..

<sup>204</sup> Maraval, 97.

As it has been stressed the demand was great despite the wealth of relics the city possessed. In addition to the relics of martyrs or biblical relics associated with Christ and Virgin, there were those which also represented biblical relics and were found in Palestine. In St. Sophia there were relics such as the Old and New Testament; during its repair in the 6th century the trumpets of brass of the capture of Jericho and the edge of the Jacob's well served a foci for visitors. Towards the end of the 6th century relics were associated with the capture of cities such as Apamea in 568-and the sending of a fragment of a cross by the emperor Justin II; in 614 the holy lance and the holy sponge were sent to the city after the sack of Jerusalem; the most precious relic was sent to Constantinople after Heraclius reconquered the city. This long preoccupation with relics from Palestine was diminished after the Arab conquests and there is less information on transfers of relics towards the end of the sixth century and in the first half of the seventh.

Similarly construction continued until the seventh century, and then stopped. No major building or restoration activity is attested between the years 610 and 760. The emperor Herakleios has no buildings associated with his name.<sup>205</sup> In the 8th century the Arap Camii was the oldest church where Arabs prayed and built it after a treaty between the emperor and the brother of the caliph Suleyman Muslim<sup>206</sup>.

By the early 7th century the dedication of Constantinople to the Virgin Mary took place and the city was identified as 'Theotokoupolis'.<sup>207</sup> Religious life in the city was dominated by the cult of Theotokos and hymns and invocations took place at an early stage.<sup>208</sup> In addition, doctrinal issues contributed to the development of its cult, which by the sixth century had permeated general consciousness.<sup>209</sup> In the reign of Justin II there is a increase in the imperial and religious ceremonial of the cult of Virgin in the city. By the ninth century a special relationship between icons<sup>210</sup> and Constantinople developed - the Virgin is seen as patron- and the cult found its way through popular reception in liturgical expression. The image of the Virgin was also associated with the victory over Iconoclasm<sup>211</sup> as it is explicit in Photius' sermon on the inauguration of the mosaic of the Mother of God in 843. In addition, the image of the Theotokos had a political function aiming to draw legitimacy and authority, and this is seen in the arguments of iconoclasts<sup>212</sup> and the motifs which emerged, how they influenced imperial position, in the typology attributed to the empresses, and the latter's use of the image of Theotokos in coins.

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<sup>205</sup> Mango, *Studies*; Goubert, 'Édifices byzantins de la fin du VI<sup>e</sup> siècle'; for the reasons, see Magdalino, 'Medieval Constantinople', 531.

<sup>206</sup> For the increased role of relics after iconoclasm, see Walter, *Art and ritual*.

<sup>207</sup> Mango, 'Theotokoupolis', 17-25; Limberis, *The Virgin Mary*.

<sup>208</sup> Fassler, 'The first Marian feast in Constantinople', in *The study of medieval chant*.

<sup>209</sup> Maguire, 'Byzantine domestic art'; who argues that jewellery and clothing depicted scenes from Virgin Mary's life as popular subjects took place not until the 2nd half of 6th c. -in official art she was invoked as protector well before in art of churches; see Mango, 'Blachernae', 61-75; Cameron, 'The Theotokos in the sixth-century'; van Esbroeck, 'Le culte de la Vierge'.

<sup>210</sup> See note 113; Karahan, *Byzantine holy images*; for the issue of relationship imperial likeness and holy icon, Kiilerich, 'Likeness and icon'.

<sup>211</sup> Gero, 'What were the holy Images of the Iconoclasts', in *Crossroads of Cultures*, éd. Feulner, Velkovska, Taft; Koutrakou, 'Use and abuse of the image of the Theotokos'; on iconoclasm, see Herrin, *The formation of Christendom*; eadem and A. Bryer (eds.), *Iconoclam* (Birmingham, 1977); P. Brown, 'A dark age crisis: aspects of the iconoclastic controversy', *EHR* 88 (1973), 1-34; K. Parry, *Depicting the Word. Byzantine iconophile thought of the eighth and ninth centuries* (Leiden, 1996); E. Kitzinger, 'The cult of images in the age before iconoclasm', *DOP* 8 (1954), 83-150; D. Freedberg, *The power of images* (Chicago, 1989).

<sup>212</sup> Cameron, 'Images and authority'; Kitzinger, 'The cult of images'; G. Dagron, 'Holy images and likeness', *DOP* 45(1991), 23-33; Brubaker, 'Image, audience and place', in Oustehout and Brubaker, *The sacred image east and west*

As it is evident in the *Patria* or Pseudo Codinus, most churches and monasteries were located in quarters which were named after great functionaries or dignitaries.<sup>213</sup> They were converted lay 'oikoi', houses of powerful lay magnates, which inherited a wide size of economic dependencies attached to lay people. The term 'oikos' has been discussed by Magdalino as a social model in aristocratic society. The 'oikos' was also the basic unit of a monastery and both had much in common in structure and function.<sup>214</sup> This link is clear in family aristocratic monasteries of the 11th c. which were *foci* of unity and continuity, economic investment, and served as family burial places.<sup>215</sup> Monasteries as part of complexes were called as *euageis oikoi*, such as St. George in Mangana, they had a financial and philanthropic aim, and were administered by the *sekreton*. A bureau of public finance, a *mega oikonomeion*, consisted of lay *sekretikoi* and a *megas oikonomos*.<sup>216</sup>

Churches were related to local cults of saints and the people visited them for their healing activities.<sup>217</sup> Healing was sought as alternative to medicine. After the afflicted had got no result from the doctors remedies found refuge to the supernatural protection from diseases and other problems such as combatting barrenness and helping delivery. Pilgrims' visits to holy springs (*hagiasmata*), the addressing of prayers of intercession to the saints, the veneration of relics i.e. the touching of the 'sacred', procession and kissing<sup>218</sup> of icons or reliquaries, anointing themselves with sanctified medicines such as *kerote*,<sup>219</sup> and incubation,<sup>220</sup> feature as the main remedies for spiritual or physical problems. Personal contact and touch were instrumental in the act of healing. This is combined by smell and taste, seen in the case of oil used in potions, or the 'edible icons' that is wax or clay images that believed to have healing powers.<sup>221</sup> In the fifth century, the sanctuary of the archangel Michael in Anaplous was the focal point for healing; it was one of the first where the practice of incubation was used to cure illnesses.<sup>222</sup>

Miracle accounts, epigrams, lives of saints and other historical works describe examples and rituals of healing in churches such as the Pege, Sts Anargyroi, and St. Theodosia and John. In the sixth and early seventh century collection of miracles associated with St. Cosmas and Damian (*BHG* 477-9) and Cyrus and John,<sup>223</sup> the *eulogia*, images and objects which were identical with the saints' artistic representation played a role for their healing presence away from the shrine.<sup>224</sup> The visitors could bring

<sup>213</sup> The references are given as *ta* with a person's name in genitive, or as *eis* or *plesion*, to designate a church in a quarter or topos, see Berger, 182-5, 166-72, 173-5.

<sup>214</sup> See Dagron, *Naissance*, 505-6, 512-3; *Vita Euthymii*, 27.

<sup>215</sup> On the economic and social importance of aristocratic piety, see Morris, 'The Byzantine aristocracy and the monasteries', 122ff.; on the financial function of the *theioi oikoi* for the imperial biens, see. Kaplan, *Les propriétés de la Couronne*, 12-4.

<sup>216</sup> Oikonomides, 'St. George of Mangana', 241-2.

<sup>217</sup> See Caseau, 'Ordinary objects in Christian healing sanctuaries', *Objects in context, objects in use*; for examples see Hostetler, *The function of text*, 71-2.

<sup>218</sup> For another type of ritual kiss, see See also Penn, 'Performing family: ritual kissing'; Caseau, 'Experiencing Byzantium', 76f..

<sup>219</sup> Caseau, 'Parfum et guérison', in Bouillon-Millot, Pouderon and Blachard (eds.), *Les Pères de l'eglise*.

<sup>220</sup> Csepregi, 'The compositional history of Greek Christian incubation miracle collections'.

<sup>221</sup> G. Vikan, 'Ruminations on edible icons: originals and copies in the art of Byzantium', *Studies in the history of Art* 20 (1989), 47-59.

<sup>222</sup> Maraval, 100; Vikan, *Early Byzantine pilgrimage art*; idem (ed.), *Sacred images and sacred power*.

<sup>223</sup> Vikan, 'Early Byzantine Pilgrimage *Devotionalia*', 382-3; Maraval, *Lieux saints et pèlerinages d' Orient* 92-104; Kartsonis, 'Protection against all evil'; Csepregi, 'The compositional history'; J. Duffy, 'Observations on Sophronius' miracles of Cyrus and John', *JThS* 35 (1984), 71-90; Th. Nissen, 'Medizine und Magie bei Sophronios', *BZ* 39 (1939), 349-81.

<sup>224</sup> Temkin, 'Byzantine medicine: Tradition and Empiricism'; Caseau, 'Ordinary Objects', in *Objects in context*; for ritual objects, that is objects actively involved in a ritual, such as for example the objects carried by the pilgrims and had the

home oil in flasks called *ampullae* or perfumed oil with curative power. Baths which belonged to churches and monasteries are also linked with miracles and healing, for example in Sts Cosmas and Damian and St. Artemius.<sup>225</sup>

In the second half of the seventh century, stories of the miracles of St. Artemius (*BHG* 173: compiled between 658-68), illustrate not only cases of bodily or spiritual afflictions in the church of St. John Baptist in Oxeia, but reflect on the concerns with wider issues, such as the relationship between the human and divine, and sheds light in the milieu of the flourishing of cults and perceptions and attitudes in the city towards healing and medicine.<sup>226</sup> In the ‘Life of Saint Stephen the Younger’ (d. 764), the mother of the saint offered her child to the Theotokos, because she had prayed in the church of Blachernai to have a son and therefore she felt obliged. Lives of saints inform us about the types of illnesses which affected the Byzantines: such as the 14th c. text of Theoktistos’ *Logos on the relics* related to the miracles associated with the relics of St. Athanasius in his monastery in *Xerolophos*. The possession by evil spirits was the most common and it was similar with today’s ‘mental illness’, other types of illnesses included urinary problems, or blindness. Faith healing consisted of praying before the relics, touching the place they were reposed, or even anointing themselves with oil from the lamp hung over relics or drinking water which had been sanctified being in contact with the relics.<sup>227</sup> Often emperors retreated into monasteries to receive healing from illnesses. The 14<sup>th</sup> c. *Account of the miracles at Pege* records that both Leo VI and Theophano were ill, and became cured at the shrine of Pege,<sup>228</sup> also the sick Andronicus III recovered in 1330 after drinking water. Miracles known to have happened in particular shrines instigated imperial processions such as those undertaken by the emperor Andronicus III.

The city of Constantinople was very much as it is today. Founded on seven hills and in a triangular area with the Golden Horn in the north and the sea of Marmara in the south. It was encircled by walls made by the emperors Constantine and Theodosius in 413, who erected the Land Walls which stand still today. The city walls provided access to the city through gates and although the walls and the gates have been destroyed to a great extent, the settlements are still known by these names. The city had 14 regions<sup>229</sup> and included the suburb of *Hebdomon* to the west, of *Sykae* (Galata) across the Golden Horn, Chalcedon and numerous *proasteia* and *emporia*. The churches were scattered in the different regions. The geographical situation of the places of the sanctuaries contributed to their importance as they were found located near well-known monuments. The *Constantine Forum* was surrounded by the churches of Constantine, and the Virgin of the Forum. Between the Forum of Constantine and of *Tauri* or Forum of Theodosius<sup>230</sup> was the slave market, the *Anemodoulion*, and the churches of St. Agathonike and Barbara. In the *Forum Tauri* there were also a number of churches

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value of amulets, see Vikan, ‘Guided by Land and Sea’; see also breadstamps offered in eulogy to churches which bear sometimes the pattern of the church or the name of the saint, Caseau, ‘Les marqueurs de pain, objets rituels’.

<sup>225</sup> A. Karpozilos, ‘Baths’, *ODB*, 271-2; for examples of baths attached to churches, see Magdalino, ‘Church, bath and diakonia’, 167n.7.

<sup>226</sup> See the excellent discussion of the context of this period’s miracles by Haldon in the *The miracles of St. Artemios*, 33-56; Magoulias, ‘The Lives of Byzantine saints as sources’; idem, ‘The Lives of Byzantine saints as sources’; Talbot, ‘Pilgrimage to healing shrines’, Vikan, ‘Art, medicine and magic in early Byzantium’; Efthymiades, ‘A day and ten months’; A. Kartsonis, ‘Protection against All Evil: function, use and operation of Byzantine historiated phylacteries’, *ByzF* 20 (1994), 73-102.

<sup>227</sup> Talbot, ‘Faith healing’, 16-20.

<sup>228</sup> For examples, see Caseau, ‘Experiencing Byzantium’, 72-3; Tougher, ‘Leo VI’s Thought-World’, 52; Papaconstantinou-Talbot, ‘Protective devices and childhood’, in *Becoming Byzantine*, 196n.107; Efthymiadis, ‘Le monastère de la source’; Talbot, ‘The Anonymous miracula’; eadem, ‘Two accounts of miracles’.

<sup>229</sup> Janin, ‘Note sur les régions de Constantinople byzantine’, describes the 7-10 regions and discusses the scholarship on this; Mango, ‘Urbanism’; Whitby, ‘The long walls of Constantinople’; Rizos, ‘Extramural *Regiones*’.

<sup>230</sup> Guillard, *Études*, 2, 56-62.

such as St. Procopius of the Capitol. The *Augusteum Forum*<sup>231</sup> at the entrance of which was the *Million*<sup>232</sup> was south of St. Sophia, along with the imperial palaces of Chalke, Daphne and the Sacred palace, the Milestone and the baths of Zeuxippus; to the east there was the Magnaura palace and the Senate; to its north the church of St. Irene, and to its west the church of *Chalkoprateia*.

Another aspect related to the churches was the liturgical celebrations in the form of ecclesiastical and imperial processions.<sup>233</sup> They are described, for example, in the *Typikon* of St. Sophia, the Theophanes the Confessor, the *Chronicon Paschale*, the 'Book of Ceremonies', ps. Codinus, who describes the final stage of ecclesiastical processions, and Harun b. Yahya.<sup>234</sup> Processions have been viewed as being 'a part of the whole urban pattern of worship. The liturgy in the city was the liturgy of the city'. The people who moved from one station to another taking part of the procession were for long imbued with a sense of 'religious ritual and urban integration'. By using monuments as signposts through this medium they appropriated the topography of the city and by moving on it.<sup>235</sup> Processional routes were active: on various occasions of worship there were different routes followed by different rituals. The main streets which were used for processions were the Mese<sup>236</sup> and a branch off to the north-west at Capitol and the street of *makros embolos*.<sup>237</sup> A small chapel built on the Forum at the base of the column of Constantine was a station for ecclesiastical processions in addition to the church of Chalkoprateia or the church of St. Sophia.<sup>238</sup>

Processions followed an elaborate protocol and took place on ecclesiastical holidays, in the palace or outside, through the city stopping at different churches, and due to their length they were carried out by boats. They commemorated for example the days of the Mother of God, the anniversary of the dedication of Constantinople, the beginning of indiction, or the transferring or veneration of relics such as the True Cross or were related to miracle rites such as was the regular miracle which took place every Tuesday in the *Hodegon* monastery and followed by a procession.<sup>239</sup> The *Book of Ceremonies* describes the ceremonial way the emperor entering Hagia Sophia from the Great palace; great processions in which the emperor and the patriarch took part; processions during the Easter Monday to the Holy Apostles, with stops made at the church of Mother of God the *Diakonissa* and Polyeuctus church;<sup>240</sup> the procession to the Blachernai church was associated with the feast of *Hypapante* and emperors such as Theophilus went regularly there on horseback for prayer.<sup>241</sup> St. Stephen of the *Konstantianai*, St. Panteleimon, St. Thecla, *Chalkoprateia*, Peter and Paul on the Acropolis, Sergius and Bacchus, St. Thomas of Amantius, Mocius were also visited by processions.<sup>242</sup> Also imperial

<sup>231</sup> Guillard, *Études*, 2, 40-54.

<sup>232</sup> Important monument which resembled a great arch of triumph. Guillard, *Études*, 2, 28-31.

<sup>233</sup> Caseau, and Congourdeau, 'La vie religieuse' in Cheynet, *Le monde Byzantin II*, 383-410; Magdalino, 'Pseudo-Kodinos' Constantinople'; Macrides, 'Ceremonies and the city'.

<sup>234</sup> He describes the ceremony from the palace to a service in St. Sophia; see Berger, 'Imperial and ecclesiastical processions in Constantinople', 73-85, 77-9, who also has a plan and a map of those churches which were visited in the middle, late periods and at all times by processions 86-7; for the *Typikon* processions, see 75-7, 79; for the *Book of Ceremonies*, 77ff; the *Patria*, 84-5; 'Making the most of Mary'.

<sup>235</sup> Brubaker, 'Topography and public space', 36ff.; Baldovin, *The Urban character of Christian worship*; Schulz, *The Byzantine liturgy*; Janin, 'Les processions'.

<sup>236</sup> All public places were built along the Mese and its branches.

<sup>237</sup> It connected the Mese street and the Golden Horn; see Berger, 74.

<sup>238</sup> Berger, 75, 76; see Taft.

<sup>239</sup> Lidov, 'The flying Hodegetria'; for examples of the function of relics during feast days, see Hostetler, *The function of text*, 70-1; for the function of reliquaries in imperial processions, see idem, 72-3; Mergiali-Sahas, 'Byzantine emperors', 44-5, 54-5.

<sup>240</sup> *De cer.*, 75.21-25.

<sup>241</sup> *Patria*, III.107.

<sup>242</sup> Guillard, 'Sur les Itinéraires du Livre des Cérémonies', in *Études I*, 217-48.

processions to the Pege monastery, Cosmas and Damian, and to Stoudius took place by boat.<sup>243</sup> In addition churches or monasteries, such as the monastery of Avraamites or the church of Virgin in the Forum<sup>244</sup> were used in stational ceremonies for a costume change by emperors such as Basil in 879. In the late eleventh century, the route of the procession changed, as the imperial residence was moved to the Blachernai palace, and as some of old churches visited during the processions disappeared, other monasteries such as of St. John the Baptist at Petra, St. Demetrius, Peribleptos, St. Basil, Mangana, Lips and the Pantokrator were used in the itineraries and assumed importance. A reduction in the scale of ceremonies and an isolation of court routines is attested for the later period.<sup>245</sup>

Thus churches were an inseparable factor in the life of the city: it was there that synods and councils were held such as in St. Euphemia, which was the site of the Council of Chalcedon, were places for refuge of emperors and protesters, imperial marriages and coronations; places where liturgies and sermons were heard for the edification and veneration of the holy; places of protection, resistance, and strengthening of the people's moral against enemies such as in 626; places of splendour and magnificence, and were also the *foci* of travellers and pilgrims and dazzled with the display of treasures and relics they possessed.

Churches gave to the city an image of piety, holiness, and virtue and like all the other monuments of the city provided a sense of identity to the people and were treated like works of art. The Byzantines by entering a church engaged all senses, viewing, hearing, smelling, touching<sup>246</sup> and tasting: the effect of the sense of 'heaven of earth' as described by Photius in his tenth homily, a 'joyful wonder' such as he experienced on entering the church forecourt, 'a new miracle and a joy to see' encapsulates the notion that is imprinted in the worshipper's mind. The view of the interior decoration and the division of space, the presence of saints visually enhanced by images in mosaic and fresco reinforced his sense of 'heaven and earth', the hearing of the singers, touching sacred objects, the presence of smelling of the odour, contributed to his experience of the sacred.<sup>247</sup> Wealthy churches were decorated to impress the faithful. Curtains, among other elements of Byzantine aesthetics, played an important role in the decoration of churches, and was one of the features adopted by domestic architecture.<sup>248</sup>

The Byzantines found meaning in the formal aspects of churches such as the fine materials and quality of workmanship. Churches are praised in sources for the quality of materials used such as marbles: Polychrome marbles for columns have been preferred such as in Sergios and Bacchus, and Holy Apostles; the black and white of the Pyrenees was also found in St. Sophia and Holy Apostles; marble from Aquitaine was favored in churches such as St. Polyeuctus, St. Sophia, Holy Apostles; material was often reutilized: Basil used marble from the mausoleum of Justinian<sup>249</sup> for the Nea and the Virgin in Forum.<sup>250</sup> Marbles also contributed to the touching experience of the faithful: when performing a

<sup>243</sup> De Cer., 108.14-109.12, 560.7-561.5.

<sup>244</sup> Ousterhout, 115-6 says that the church of Forum postdates the sixth century and its inclusion was used for ideological reasons in the ceremony.

<sup>245</sup> Pseudo-Kodinos, *Traité des offices*, 242-6; on the routes, see Berger, 83; on processions in mid 14th century, 84-5; Grabar, 'Pseudo-Codinos et les ceremonies'; Magdalino, 'Pseudo-Kodinos' Constantinople'.

<sup>246</sup> For the importance of touch, see Berling, *Likeness and presence*; James, *Light and colour in Byzantine art*; Ashbrook, *Scenting salvation*.

<sup>247</sup> Caseau, 'Experiencing the sacred', in Nesbitt, Jackson (eds.), *Experiencing Byzantium*, 59-77; for the act of Eucharist and the 'touch' and 'taste' element, see eadem, 73ff.; see also Nesbitt, 'Shaping the sacred', 145ff. who speaks of the importance of the creation of *place* in the church and experience in terms of 'sacred architecture' of thinking and feeling; in this the 'manipulation of light' for the worship has a prominent place; K. of Diokleia, 'The meaning of the divine liturgy'; for the relationship between mosaic art and light, see James, *Light and colour*.

<sup>248</sup> Caseau, 'Experiencing the sacred', 64ff.; Schrenk, *Textilien des Mittelmeerraumes*.

<sup>249</sup> See Downey, 'The tombs', 44.

<sup>250</sup> For more examples, see Sodini, 'Marble and stoneworking in Byzantium'.

*proskenyis* he would certainly feel the cold of the marble and when he would kiss the columns or touch the floor as a gesture of devotion. Constantinopolitan architectural sculpture, motifs of stone elements, cross motifs, window frames of Roman origin, and vegetal and fish-scale motifs evident in churches such as St. Sophia, Pammakaristos, Lips, St. Polyeuktos, Kalenderhane exercised an influence in Anatolia and most are exhibited in the Archaeological Museum.<sup>251</sup>

A means to demonstrate the functional quality of churches was iconography<sup>252</sup> associated with devotional practices and preferences. The visual representation of the ‘act of donation’ of churches is seen in the decoration in wall paintings, mosaics<sup>253</sup>, or inscriptions in the context of ‘the visual language of gift’. Examples of donors’ portraits commemorated in mosaics recording the patronage of a church or its rebuilding can be seen in the Chora monastery and St. Sophia.<sup>254</sup> Icons in many cases were part of gift donations:<sup>255</sup> epigrams record a variety of gifts, such as precious veils made by emperors or empresses or other devout personalities to churches or monasteries in relation to healing attributes of icons. These however did not remain continuously in one location but changed places frequently.<sup>256</sup> Religious images were symbols with which the devoted could identify with. Moreover, as Stephen the Deacon writes in his ‘Life of Stephen the Younger’ (d. 765) ‘the icon may be termed a door’, ‘a door precisely into the celestial realm, a way of entry initiating the earthly worshipper into the heavenly liturgy’.<sup>257</sup>

Iconography of crosses and imperial seals shows that St. George was the most popular intercessor.<sup>258</sup> From a perspective of woman, the Virgin Mary was linked to miracles for curing infertility and was an intercessor for protection and health; the cult of Anne with childbearing; John the Baptist’s protective power in context of childbearing and protection of children was also important among women. Representations of the Virgin Mary started to spread after the fifth century and are evident in a variety of objects. Scenes such as those related to her role in Christ’s incarnation acquired quasi-healing and protection; her role as intercessor for mankind took place in fifth century .after the recognition of her status as Theotokos gave rise to new images and to an iconographic development.<sup>259</sup>

By the sixth century the Virgin Mary was the prominent female figure of devotion. A visual language was already developed in literary texts from the fourth century [Ephraim the Syrian] up to the ninth.<sup>260</sup> In the middle Byzantine period they took precedence over relics and her cult associated with icons. Miracles were associated with the icons of Virgin Mary especially with the *Hodegetria* and *Blachernitissa*. Stories of miracles became widespread in the ninth century in the course of iconoclasm.

<sup>251</sup> Alpaslan, ‘Architectural sculpture’.

<sup>252</sup> Vikan, *Sacred images*; Drpic, index, 480; Grabar, ‘Une source d’ inspiration de l’ iconographie byzantine’; idem, ‘Remarques sur l’ iconographie byzantine de la Vierge’; Barber, *Figure and likeness*; Durand ed., *Byzance et les images*; Bacci, *The many faces of Christ*; K. of Diokleia, ‘The meaning of the divine liturgy’.

<sup>253</sup> ‘Likeness and icon’; Linardou, ‘Imperial impersonators’, in Bucossi and Rodriguez Suarez.

<sup>254</sup> Brubaker, ‘Gifts and prayers’; see Drpic; see also Franses, *Donor portraits*.

<sup>255</sup> Angelidi, ‘The veneration’, 380; Papamastorakis, ‘The display of accumulated wealth in luxury icons: gift-giving from the Byzantine aristocracy to God in the twelfth century’, in Vassilaki, *Byzantines eikones*, 35-47; Hope of the hopeless: material gifts and the immaterial, 233; for liturgical objects donated to churches, see for example, church plates, textiles, incense or lighting devices for church furnishing, see Caseau, ‘Objects in churches’, in *Objects in context*; Caseau, ‘Incense and fragrances’; Hedrick and Ergin, ‘A shared culture of heavenly fragrance’, 333; for imperial gifts of curtains and altar cloth, see Caseau, ‘Experiencing the sacred’, 66.

<sup>256</sup> See a poem by Christophoros Mitylenaios about an icon of St. Cyrus to another church; Bernard, *Writing and reading Byzantine secular poetry*, 312.

<sup>257</sup> K. of Dioklea, ‘Meaning of divine liturgy’, 10.

<sup>258</sup> Cheynet, ‘Par Saint Georges, par Saint Michel’.

<sup>259</sup> Kalavrezou, ‘Echanging embrace. The body of salvation’, 103-4, n.4, 105.

<sup>260</sup> Cameron, ‘The early cult of the Virgin’, 8-10.

The icon of *Hagiosoritissa* is connected with the Hagia Soros in the *Chalkoprateia*; the type of Virgin of Tenderness had also established in the ninth century.<sup>261</sup> In the eleventh century the name *Blachernitissa* becomes a toponymic and denotes a place of special sanctity; the name was not associated with any specific icon but rather with a range of iconographic types.<sup>262</sup> Even today the variations of iconographic types of *Hodegetria* have its origin in the icon of *Hodegon* in Constantinople and symbolise sacred protection. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries Theotokos is associated with the Passion of Christ and the notion to salvation.<sup>263</sup> The Virgin has been used as protector by Byzantine sources in the Avar siege in 626, an image which displays a continuity in tenth century military events. Attaleiates defines the icon carried by Romanus IV against Turks as *Blachernitissa*.<sup>264</sup> From the late eleventh century it was the *Hodegetria* which symbolised the protection and imperial rule.<sup>265</sup> Another image of the *Virgin of Zoodochos Pege* was created in the 14th c. in the Pege shrine; it resembled the Blachernai and as Teteriatnikov says, both monasteries shared similarities in their function too: in religious feasts, both had defensive role, were imperial establishments, and holy springs with miraculous powers-hagiasma were founded at their sites.<sup>266</sup>

Churches treasured relics linked to imperial power and imperial ceremonial, such as the ‘Great Cross<sup>267</sup> of Constantine the Great’ in the church of St. Stephen, or the Holy Lance.<sup>268</sup> The cross was a ceremonial symbol and took part in processions— such as the one constructed on the orders of Constantine VII which was stored in chapels of St. Stephen in the Daphne and the Virgin in the Pharos -- and had a central place in imperial military ideology playing a formal part of the insignia taken on campaigns.<sup>269</sup> Relics of the True Cross were favored in the Comnenian empresses and those of John the Baptist such as his hand or wristbone were associated with salvation.<sup>270</sup> Others associated with the Virgin, such as icons are recorded in the context of ‘reliquary diplomacy’ in late years of Manuel Palaiologus trying to get assistance from the west in his wars against the Turks.<sup>271</sup> The possession of the emperor Manuel Palaiologus of the icon of the ‘Hope of the Hopeless’ and his offer as a gift to the

<sup>261</sup> C. Baltoyanni, ‘The Mother of God in Portable Icons’, 139-53.

<sup>262</sup> Weyl-Carr, ‘The Mother of God in Public’, 325-37 at 329; eadem, ‘Court culture and cult icons’.

<sup>263</sup> Kalavrezou, 106.

<sup>264</sup> Attaleiates, *Historia*, Bonn, 1853, 139; Weyl-Carr, ‘Court culture and cult icons’, 93.

<sup>265</sup> Weyl Carr, ‘Court culture and cult icons’, 97.

<sup>266</sup> Teteriatnikov, ‘The image of the Virgin Zoodochos Pege’.

<sup>267</sup> Drijvers, *Helena Augusta*; Klein, ‘Constantine, Helena, and the cult of the True Cross in Constantinople’; Durand, ‘La relique impériale de la Vraie Croix d’ après le Typicon de Sainte-Sophie et la relique de la Vraie Croix du trésor de Notre-Dame de Paris’ 91-106; Frolov, ‘La Vraie Croix’; Gagé, ‘*Stavros Nikopoios*. La victoire impériale dans l’ empire chrétien’; Kalavrezou, ‘Helping hands’; Thierry, ‘Le culte de la croix’; Flusin, ‘Les reliques de la Sainte-Chapelle’; also Cotsonis, *Byzantine figural processional crosses*; Eastmond, ‘Byzantine identity and relics of the True cross’, in Lidov (ed.), *Eastern Christian relics*, Frolov, *La relique de la Vraie Croix*; Bacci, ‘Relics of the Pharos’, 238ff.; idem, ‘La Vergine Oikokyra’.

<sup>268</sup> William of Malmesbury (d. 1143) mentioned relics of Constantinople in his ‘History of the Kings of England’; Lerou, ‘L’ usage des reliques du Christ’; Magdalino, ‘L’ église du Phare’. Bacci, ‘Relics of the Pharos’, 238.

<sup>269</sup> Haldon, *Three Treatises on Imperial Military Expeditions*, 246-7 with bibliography. Gagé, ‘*Stavros Nikopoios*. La victoire impériale dans l’ empire chrétien’; Frolov, *La relique de la Vraie Croix*; Kalavrezou, ‘Helping hands for the empire’; Thierry, ‘Le culte de la croix’; Flusin, ‘Les reliques’; idem, ‘Construire une nouvelle Jérusalem’; Cotsonis, *Byzantine figural processional crosses*; see the brief summary in Caseau, ‘L’ iconographie des sceaux’ 229f.; Bacci, ‘Relics of the Pharos’; for the relics of the chapel of Pharos see Hostetler, *The function of the text*, 31 with bibliography and for reliquaries of the True Cross, see idem, 32-5, 82-92, 108-13; for its function in military campaigns, see idem, 74-5; Mergiali-Sahas, ‘Byzantine emperors’, 49-50.

<sup>270</sup> For examples of the function of the relics, see Hostetler, 122-30; J. Durand, ‘Reliques et reliquaires constantinopolitains du chef de saint Jean-Baptiste apportés en Occident après 1204’, *Contacts: Revue Française de l’Orthodoxie* 59, no. 218 (*La vénération de saint Jean-Baptiste. Actes du Colloque oecuménique du diocèse d’Amiens, 23–24 juin 2006*) (2007), 188–221; Mergiali-Sahas, ‘Byzantine emperors’, 51.

<sup>271</sup> Barker, *Manuel II Palaeologus*, 265; Hilsdale, ‘Hope of the hopeless: material gifts and the immaterial’, 235; for examples of the function of relics in diplomacy, see Hostetler, 76.

west is an example of this; his composition of a canon asking for her help expresses his deep devotion to Virgin.<sup>272</sup> The safety of the city after the raise of Bayezid's siege in 1400 was attributed to her miraculous intervention and hence the thanksgiving by Demetrius Chrysoloras.<sup>273</sup>

Constantinople was the greatest monastic centre of the empire.<sup>274</sup> The beginning of monasticism coincides with the reign of Theodosius and his dynasty; the establishment of the monasteries of Dalmatus, *Rufianoï*, *Akoimetoï* are attested in his reign. This trend was intensified in the sixth century when monasticism clearly flourished as an institution: Charanis says that 92 monasteries are known to have existed in the capital in this time, 70 of which are not recorded later this century. Of the remaining 22, 1 is said to have existed until the beginning of the eighth century; 6 are attested to have been destroyed by Constantine V; evidence for 3 others goes until the beginning of the seventh century; 1 is not referred to after the sixth century until its reconstruction by Saint Luke the Stylite in the tenth century; 5 are said to have continued into the tenth century; there is a reference to one as still existing in 1025; 1 is still found to exist at the beginning of the thirteenth century and 4 endure into the fourteenth century. In the course of the seventh and eighth centuries, there are only 2 new foundations in Janin's list. One of the two may have been founded earlier, but the first certain reference to its existence dates it as of 695; the other is said to have been founded by the wife of Leo III.<sup>275</sup> Magdalino counts 100 new foundations between 750-1204, mostly monasteries or 'multi functional establishments' around monastic communities although he admits that the figure is imprecise.<sup>276</sup>

Monasteries or convents were built by emperors or empresses, or nuns or priests or monks or solitaires or high ecclesiastics, or by individuals or families who were not monks or became late in their lives.<sup>277</sup> Monasteries were named after founders (*Abramiou*) bishops, patriarchs (*Athanasiou*), emperors, names of martyrs (*Athenogenou*), images/icons, localities (*Aggouriou*), monastic orders (*Akoimetoï*), or allude to attributes of saints or Christ (*Krataios*, Chora, *Pantepoptes*, *Panoiktirmos*).

Monastic foundations provided not only religious but charitable services. They included hospices called *xenones* or *xenodocheia*, and had traditions of hospitality for pilgrims, mercenaries, merchants, providing shelter to the poor and destitute. They organized soup kitchens for the poor, included hospitals<sup>278</sup> providing medical care to the needy and old-age houses such as the *Pantokrator* and the Lips.<sup>279</sup> Convents also provided refuge especially to women, and gave food and care to the needy.

<sup>272</sup> Vassilaki, 'Praying for the salvation of the empire', 263-270 at 270.

<sup>273</sup> Gautier, 'Un récit inédit du siège de Constantinople'.

<sup>274</sup> Pargoire, 'Les débuts du monachisme à Constantinople', 120-43; Morris, *Monks and laymen*; see bibliography, Smyrlis, Ousterhout etc..

<sup>275</sup> Charanis, 'The monk', 65-6 ; Janin, 'Les églises et les monastères', 143-53, says that in the beg. of the sixth century there were eighty monasteries in Constantinople and European side, and between 518-36 a dozen, national and provincial; argues of a major decline in the number of monasteries as a result of the city's suffering due to the Persian and Avar wars and it was in the 630s that the monasteries again came to life such as the Stoudios, *tes Peges* in the main city. Other monasteries which are mentioned in this period are St. Theodore *en to Rhesio* and Philippikos; See Hatlie, 'A rough guide', 205 -226, 220 who supports Charanis' conclusions and mentions that among those which are attested in the later seventh century, were of Dalmatos, Egyptians, Diomedes, Phlorou, Sergius and Bachhus, and Chora. Among those that disappeared were *ton Promotou*, Olympia, Cosmas and Damian, Thomas in Brochton, and Hypatius/Roufinianae; Mullett, *Founders and refounders*.

<sup>276</sup> Magdalino, 'Medieval Constantinople', in idem, *Studies on the history*, 67, n. 59. Elsewhere, 54 he says that it was the sixth-century buildings and structures that kept the empire running during the 'dark centuries'; at the end of 8<sup>th</sup> c. rebuilding followed a pre-established pattern.

<sup>277</sup> On the role of nuns in patronage and production of art, see Weyl Carr, 'Women and monasticism in Byzantium'. For examples, see Smyrlis, 'Small family foundations in Byzantium', 110, 112ff.; Morris, 'Monasteries and their patrons'.

<sup>278</sup> Miller, 'Byzantine Hospitals'; Caseau, 'Les hôpitaux byzantins', *Les établissements hospitaliers en France*.

<sup>279</sup> Talbot, 'Welfare', 117.

Monasteries possessed libraries and *scriptoria* being repositories of books and manuscripts and functioned as centres of intellectual and artistic developments.<sup>280</sup> well-known monastic libraries were that of St. Theodore Stoudios, ‘a major centre of book production in the tenth century’, the *Hodegoi*, the *Evergetis* monastery, the Chora, whose ‘collection of manuscripts was one of the best in the capital’ and St. John of Prodromus in Petra, a famous centre of diffusion of scientific influences. They specialized in activities such as copying of manuscripts<sup>281</sup>, editions and commentaries of ancient writers, composition of hymns as well as the production of parchment.<sup>282</sup> Monasteries often included schools, such as that of St Theodore *en tois Sphoraciou*, or John the Baptist in Petra and the *Akatalptos* and it has been suggested that the library of the monastery would be shared with the school’s and that some manuscripts were copied in schools.<sup>283</sup> The function of nunneries as intellectual centres was less important and was related to the role of their founders such as Raoulaina, Choumnaina and Thomais.<sup>284</sup>

Books were either owned by monks who left them there or donated or commissioned as gifts by their founders or patrons. Such gestures aimed either at seeking divine support and protection reflecting private needs or have been interpreted in the wider context of aristocratic patronage: writers, painters and artisans were part of those groups who were sponsored by wealthy individuals who sought to enhance their position and promote the religious cause because of the demands of ‘the ethos of the age’.<sup>285</sup>

The monastery often functioned as a substitution of family: promoted family ties and played the role of family *mausolea* as is clear in a number of aristocratic (founded by lay founders) *typika* of monasteries. Monasteries were founded by relatives who continued the tradition of family kinship and contact with members of the family was often encouraged like in the monastery of Lips, *Chrysobalanton*, Sure

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<sup>280</sup> See for example the library of the monastery of Petra in Lequeux, ‘Jean Mauropous’; Cataldi-Palau, ‘The library of the monastery of Prodromos Petra’. For the Chora library see Johnston, *Encyclopedia of monasticism*, 760; Ousterhout, *The architecture of the Kariye*, 33, 35, 115. For the monk Planudes (ca.1260-1330) who had lived in the Chora and had prepared the edition of Plutarch, and for his finding of a copy of Ptolemy, see Grafton, *The classical tradition*, 157; Herrin, *Margins and metropolis*, 323. For the copying of the medical texts of Dioscurides by George Meidates, see Balivet, ‘Quelques remarques sur les sciences’, 90 n. 1; also Warring, ‘Byzantine monastic libraries’; for a list of monastic authors working in Constantinople (ca. 730-850), see Hatlie, 484-6; also Volk, ‘Die byzantinischen Klosterbibliotheken’.

<sup>281</sup> For example see the sermons manuscripts copied in the Kokkinophabos monastery (12<sup>th</sup> c.) and were probably commissioned by the Sebastokratorissa Irene, see Jeffreys, ‘The Sebastokratorissa Eirene; Anderson, ‘The illustrated sermons of James the Monk’; Linardou, ‘Reading two Byzantine illustrated books’; Hennessy, ‘The stepmum and the servant’ in James, *Wonderful things*.

<sup>282</sup> Constantinides, *Higher education*, 136, n.14; Eleopoulos, *H bibliotheke*.

<sup>283</sup> Bernard, *Writing and reading Byzantine secular poetry*; see e.g. Psellus’ funeral oration to Nicetas maistor of the school of St. Peter [i.e. John the Baptist in Petra] in Spingou, ‘Snapshots’, 59,n.59; for the higher school which probably existed in the Akatalptos monastery at least since the 1270’s under George of Cyprus, and for the activity of other teachers like Planoudes, see Constantinides, *Higher education in Byzantium*, 70; for the existence of seven schools in the twelfth century, a grammar school in the church of Theotokos *ton Chalkoprateion*, in St. Peter near St. Sophia, St. Theodore *Sphorakiou*, Sts Peter and Paul, and in the church of 40 martyrs to which ca. 1200 an elementary school and a school of rhetoric were added, see Constantinides, *Higher education in Byzantium*, 51. For other schools such as an elementary in the church of *Theotokos Diakonissa* ca. 11th c.-12th c. , a school of theology in the church of Christ in Chalke, see *ibid*, 52; for the association of schools with churches, see Magdalino, ‘Medieval Constantinople’, in *idem*, *Studies on the history*, 39-42.

<sup>284</sup> Talbot, ‘Bluestocking nuns’, 611-3.

<sup>285</sup> Jeffreys, ‘The *Sebastokratorissa* Irene’. for the material used in offerings see Nunn, ‘The encheirion as adjunct to the icon’; for the votive dedications, see Jeffreys, ‘The depiction of female sensibilities’; also Talbot, ‘Byzantine monasticism and the liturgical arts’; for a group of luxurious, late 13th c. biblical and liturgical manuscripts attributed to Theodora: Talbot, ‘Empress Theodora’, 302; Nelson, Lowden, ‘The Palaeologina group’; John VI Kantakouzenos commissioned manuscripts such as the Codex Skeuophylakion 16, a Gospel Book written in the *Hodegon* in 1340-1 which is in the Vatopedi monastery. Anna of Savoy also commissioned a psalter which was made in the *scriptorium* of the *Hodegon* in 1346; for the artistic patronage of Irene Palaiologina and Theodora Synadene, see Brooks, ‘Poetry and female patronage’.

Hope and *Kyra* Martha.<sup>286</sup> Of particular interest is the information on the role of the founder of a church: although churches were dedicated to a saint, the identity of their founder was maintained. This is clearly demonstrated in the *Typikon* for the church of *Pantokrator*. The ritual that surrounds the tomb of the founder shows the relationship between the founder and the foundation's saint and it is expressed by the community. The tombs of John II and Irene placed in the imperial mausoleum in the oratory of St Michael were the focus of two rituals. Processions were linked with the image of *Eleousa* and *Hodegetria* each time and consisted of clergy, monks and lay people. The icons were brought to the tombs of the dead and participants after each liturgical occasion were paid; proximity with the dead signalled a relationship articulated through the practice of community.<sup>287</sup> In addition to their role as family shrines and burial places, monasteries functioned as places of refuge, served as the alternative to marriage, or places for widows, or prisons especially to empresses whose husbands had been deposed or places of retirement of empresses or women of aristocracy.<sup>288</sup>

Du Cange refers to 413 religious institutions in Constantinople: in his list has 8 religious institutions to Christ, 1 to Hagia Dynami, 1 to Holy Spirit and 1 to Trinity,<sup>289</sup> 49 to Virgin Mary,<sup>290</sup> 15 to St.

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<sup>286</sup> Talbot, 'The Byzantine Family', 121-3, 124.

<sup>287</sup> For similar practices in the *Pantokrator*, see Angelidi, 'The veneration', 379-80; Marsengill, 'Imperial and aristocratic funerary panels', Belting, 'The iconostasis and the role of the icon', in *Likeness and presence*; Sodini, *Rites funéraires et tombeaux impériaux*, éd. par Boissavit-Camus et al.; see also Downey, 'The tombs of the Byzantine emperors'; for examples of the burial of imperial and aristocratic family members in monastic churches in the early Palaiologan period, see Talbot, 'The Byzantine family', 124.

<sup>288</sup> Talbot, 'An Introduction', 229-41.

<sup>289</sup> Du Cange, 79-82; *Evergetis, Pantepoptes, Pantokrator, Philanthopos, tes Chalkes, Soteris ton Radinon, Soteris* (No...?), *Soteris*, *Agias Dinameos, tou Pneumatos*, Trinity in Exacionium; see also Janin's list, 'Les églises et les monastères'.

<sup>290</sup> Du Cange, 82-97; *Maria Amalphita* (?) the Latin, *Areobindou, en to Sarmasiou, Artakis, Acheiropietos*, Blachernae, *Karabitzin, Carpiani, Chalkoprataia, Kouratoros*, temple (close to St. Sophia), *Kecharitomene*, *Chrystallus, Kyrou, Deftero, Diaconissa, Eleousa, Evergetidos*, temple (?), close of St. Luke, in *Neorion, Forum Constantini*, temple, *Hodegetria, Libos*, close to Job, *Metropolitou, en Ouranois, Pammakaristos*, oratory in Palace, *Panachrantos, Pantanassa, ta Patrikias, ton Petala, in Petrio, Peribleptos, tou Pharou, Ponolytras, Protasi, Rabdos, Sigma, Sphorakiou, Biglentiou, Ourvikiou*, temple (?), *Lithodroto* (?), temple (?), close *ton Boukoleon*, in Palace.

Michael,<sup>291</sup> 22 dedicated to Prophets,<sup>292</sup> 37 to Apostles,<sup>293</sup> 111 to martyrs,<sup>294</sup> 33 to female martyrs,<sup>295</sup> 103 monasteries,<sup>296</sup> 32 other churches<sup>297</sup> other 47 suburban monasteries.<sup>298</sup>

Building activity continued in the eighth century and it included mainly renovations or conversions of existing foundations. A few new foundations took place in the reigns of Heraclius' successors.<sup>299</sup> Irene was active in the foundation of new imperial churches and monasteries.<sup>300</sup> Building activity was resumed in the 9th c. and continued until the 10th century.<sup>301</sup> Despite their great number, projects no

<sup>291</sup> Du Cange, 97-99; *ta Abakia*, Nea (?), in Galata, in Palace of Theophilus, *tou Adda, tois Tzarou*, in St. Julian, (?), Cochilo, *ta Steirou* (?), *tois Pouseou*, Chrysobalandon, *tou basileos, to Aithrio, eis Arkadianas*, of Nea basiliki church.

<sup>292</sup> Du Cange, 99-105; Elias (2), Isaia (1), John the Baptist (14), Zacharias (1); Samouel (1), Maccabeans (1), Jonas (1), Job (1).

<sup>293</sup> Du Cange, 105-117; Holy Apostles (2), St. Andrew (5), Batholomew (1), St. John the Evangelist (5), St. John Theologian (2), Ioannis (1), St. Paul (4), Peter (5), Thomas (4), Phillip (2), Peter and Mark (1), Jacob (1), Luke (1), Mark (1), Peter and Paul (2).

<sup>294</sup> Du Cange, 117-41; Avramius (1), Acacius (1), Akindynus (1), Emilianus (1), Agathonicus (1), Alexander (1), Anastasius (2), Antipas (1), Anthony (1), Artemius (1), Basil (1), Basianou (1), Benedict (1), Benjamin and Veri (1), Vlasius (1), Clilnicus (1), Carpus and Papyrus (1), Cassiani (1), Kirikos (1), Charalambos and Pantoleontos (1), Christopher (1), Clement (1), Constantine and Helen (1), Constantine (1), Consta (1), Cosmas and Damian (2), Cyriacus (2), Cyrus and John (1), Cyrus (1), Demetrius (1), Dius (1), Diomedes (1), Dometius (1), Eleftherius (1), Eudocius (1), Euphemiu (1), Eusebiou (1), Eustathiou (1), Franciscus (1), St. George (5), Gregory Theologian (1), Hesperus and Zoes (1), Ignatius (1), John Calybitis (1), John Chysostom (1), Isidor (1), Julian (3), Laurent (2), Lazarus (1), Mamas and Basiliscus (1), Manuel, Sabel and Ismael (1), Menas (1), Mena and Minaiou (1), Metrophanes (1), Mocius (1), Nazariou (1), Nicholas (3), Nicholas and Augustine (1), Grammateis (1), All Saints (1), Vikentius (1), Zenobia (1), Victor (1), Tryphon (2), Timothy and Maurus (1), Thyrsus (1), Theophylact (1), Timothy (1), Theodore Tyrone (1), Theodore (2), *tou Thalassiou* (1), Symeon (1), Stephen (9), Sergius (1), 40 Martyrs (2), Procopius (2), *Probou* (1) Tarasiou and Andronicus (1), Polyeuctus (1), Plato (1), Pioni (1), Phoca (1), Philemon (1), Peter (2), Panteleimon (1), Paul (1).

<sup>295</sup> Du Cange, 141-51; 2 to Anastasia, 3 to Ann, Akylina, Aristina, Barbara, Clara, Kyriake, 4 to Euphemia, 1 to Euphose, 1 Helena, Hermione, Martyron (?), 3 to Irene, 2 to Juliane, 1 Paraskevi, 1 Pelagia, 1 Photine, 3 Thecla, Zoe, Theodota (?), Zenais (?).

<sup>296</sup> Du Cange, 151-63; 1 Abibou, 1 Akoimetoï, 1 Aigyption, 1 Aetiou, 1 agalmata, 1 Alexios, 1 Alypius, 1 Anthemiou, 1 Close tou Agogou, 1 Armenianon, 1 Asteriou, 1 tis Augoustes, 1 Vassi, 1 Bethleem, 1 Kainoupolis, 1 Kaiouma, 1 Kalamou, 1 Kaulea, 1 Callistratou, 1 Kalypa, 1 Karianou, 1 Katharon, 1 Charsiou, 1 Chiramas, 1 Chrysoniko, 1 Chrysopege, 1 Kretikon, 1 Crisis, 1 Cucurobiou, 1 Cyklopum, 1 Cyriotissa, 1 Dalmatou, 1 Damianou, 1 tou Daniel, 1 Despoton, 1 Dexiokratous, 1 Eforou, 1 Efkratadon, 1 Eutychios, 1 Euthimios, 1 Florou, 1 Galisiou, 1 Gastia, 1 Gaura, 1 Gorgoepikoon, 1 Jerusalem, 1 Omonoias, 1 Eikasias, 1 Ioannou, 1 Ioannitzes, 1 to Isaakiou, 1 Megalou Logariastou, 1 Lykaonon, 1 tou Manouel, 1 Mara, 1 Marathonii, 1 Markou, 1 Maroniou, 1 Marinakiou, 1 Matronis, 1 Maximinis, 1 Maximu, 1 Mikidion, 1 Neas Metanoias, 1 ta Metanoia, 1 Monokastanou, 1 Myrelaion, 1 Myrokeraton, 1 Neon, 1 Nea Moni, 1 Olympiou, 1 Opaini, 1 Paleologon, 1 Patriarcheïou, 1 Pikridiou, 1 Prokopias, 1 Procopiou, 1 ta Prokopiou, 1 Psamathiou, 1 Psarelaion, 1; 1 tou Psomatheos, 1 Raboula, 1 Romaion, 1 Romaïou, 2 Samouel, 1 Sebirou, 1 Sikellon, 1 Smaragdi, 1 Spoudaiou, 1 Spudis, 1 Syron, 4 Theodore, 1 Theodotou, 1 Theophano, 1 Theophobia, 1 Theoreros, 1 Zaoutze, 1 Venantiou, 1 Xilinitou.

<sup>297</sup> Du Cange, 162-3; St. George of *Diplophanaro*, George in Turrim (?), George *Ierosolymitae*, Virgin in Saray Walachia, Virgin in Mouchlio, Virgin (?), George of Oignon (?), Virgin in Vigla, (?), Nicholas in *Lignarion porta*, Demetrios *Agoraffari* (?), Virgin in Egrikapi, Virgin in Hadrianople porta, St. George Castellum (?), Constantinus in *Karamanio*(?), Carpus in Psomathia, Virgin of *Exi marmara*, Virgin Coubule (?), Bogdan Saray. In Galata: Christos *Kremasmenos*, Virgin *Kafatianoi*, Nicholas Hirezi kapi; Demetrius, Christos *sta mpostania*; John (?), Demetrios (?), Armenian: Virgin in Vlanca (?), Michael of Galata, George –sulu, George illuminator (?), Latin: Franciscus, Peter of the Dominicans, Benedict.

<sup>298</sup> Du Cange, 180-191; Agathou, Anthimus, Callinicus, Chenolaccus, Chora, Clements, *tou Kleidiou*, Konon, Constantine, Cosmas and Damian, Cyprianus and Justina, Cyriacus, *tes Peges, tois Onoratois, Maranakiou, tou Stenou*, St. Domninas, *tou Eleimonos*, Gabriel, Galakrionon, Hypatiou, Irene, Laurent, Malilias, Mamas in Sigma, Mamas in Stenon, St. Mauras, Metanoia, St. Michael (Damokraneia, Promotou, *Kataskeptou*, Anaplous, Mokadion), *Moliboton*, 9 Tagmata, *en Osiats, Pelamydou*, Phoca, 42 martyrs, Sakoudion, Speiron, Staurakiou, Tarasiou, Thecla, Theodore in Rhegium, Theodosia, Thyrsou.

<sup>299</sup> Janin, 187, 556.

<sup>300</sup> Thomas, 123; for a 7th century history of Constantinople, see Mango, La d...; Hatlie, Part III.

<sup>301</sup> Magdalino, 'Medieval Constantinople', 532-3.

longer had an important role in their civic context, and spolia were used instead of new materials, and they did not cause any major change in settlement patterns. In this period private foundations were successful and found their exponents in patr. Tarasius. Emperor Theophilus and his wife were great benefactors and showed benevolence to foundations loyal to iconoclasm.<sup>302</sup> Basil I followed the tradition of his predecessor Justinian, by undertaking a building activity of churches and monasteries.<sup>303</sup> Ousterhout observes that innovation included the new and renewed, and points out that the dearth of ninth-century archaeological evidence prevents from assessing the degree of revival. 31 churches have been mentioned as restored by Basil I in addition to 8 new constructions added in the imperial palace.<sup>304</sup> Emphasis was placed on repairing churches. The church of Virgin Mary at the Forum was an exception as the emperor Basil I built it not as renovation. Mango says that this tendency to add constructions in the palace represented a 'kind of thesaurisation', which continued in the 10th c. by Leo VI, Constantine VII, Tzimiskes and Lekapenus.<sup>305</sup> In this period there is no construction of lavish monasteries and the Fenari Camii (907) and Bodrum (920) are typical examples of the modest dimensions of the buildings of the era. However in this period there is a trend towards the series of 'great abbeys' of the eleventh century; this is seen in the Myrelaion and Petriou foundations which were characterised by a wide range of functions, and endowment with fiscal land.<sup>306</sup> From the reign of Romanus I the emperors contributed to the monastic building activity in the city centre, which resulted in an expansion and economic and social growth. Constantinople continued to expand in the 11th and 12th centuries.<sup>307</sup>

The eleventh century was a great period of construction and a great epoch of Byzantine architecture.<sup>308</sup> Imperial involvement was decisive in the growth of monastic foundations: monasteries became recipients of imperial benefaction, were endowed with lands and tax revenues, reaching an unprecedented size, scope and number being part of an earlier stage of evolution.<sup>309</sup> Examples include the monastery of Virgin *Peribleptos* built by Romanos III, that of Cosmas and Damianus by Michael IV, the monastery of Mangana by Constantine IX, *Pantepoptes* by Anna Dalassena, *Pantokrator* by Irene etc.. In the 12th century the concept of independent and self-governing monasteries became the rule: Irene, Alexios Comnenos' wife, drafted an independent constitution for her nunnery of Theotokos *Kecharitomene*.<sup>310</sup> The monastery of *Pantokrator* founded by John II Comnenus in 1136 had the same form organisation.<sup>311</sup>

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<sup>302</sup> Thomas, 130-3.

<sup>303</sup> Thomas, 138; Ousterhout, 'Reconstructing ninth-century Constantinople'; Marinis, Ousterhout, 'Grant Us to Share a Place and Lot with Them': relics and the Byzantine church building (9th–15th centuries)', In Hahn and Klein, *Saints and sacred matter*; see Magdalino, 'Medieval Constantinople', in idem, *Studies on the history*, 29-30.

<sup>304</sup> Cont. Theoph., 321ff..

<sup>305</sup> Mango, 'Les monuments', 354; Magdalino, 'Medieval Constantinople', 533.

<sup>306</sup> Magdalino, 'Medieval Constantinople', in idem, *Studies on the history*, 72-5.

<sup>307</sup> Jacoby, 'The urban evolution of Latin Constantinople (1204-1261)'; Macrides, 'The new Constantine and the new Constantine -1261?'; Talbot, 'The restoration of Constantinople'; Matschke, 'Builders and building in late Byzantine Constantinople'; Magdalino, 'Medieval Constantinople', 533.

<sup>308</sup> Mullett, 'Aristocracy and patronage', in Angold (ed.), *The Byzantine aristocracy*; Angold, *Church and society*; Stankovic, 'Comnenian monastic foundations'; Demirtiken, 'Dynamics of monastic patronage in Constantinople'; Magdalino, 'Medieval Constantinople', in idem, *Studies on the history*, 72.

<sup>309</sup> Magdalino, 'Medieval Constantinople', in idem, *Studies on the history*, 71ff..

<sup>310</sup> Irene Comnena, *Typikon*, ch. 1, ed. P. Gautier, 29-31; Talbot, 'Restoration'; Janin, 'sanctuaires', 134-84.

<sup>311</sup> John II Comnenus, *Typikon*, ed. P. Gautier, 1-145; M. Kaplan, 'Why were monasteries founded in the Byzantine world in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries', in Ödekan et al., *Change in the Byzantine world*, 408-12; on the monastery's financial endowment, see Magdalino, 'Medieval Constantinople', in idem, *Studies on the history*, 68.

In the eleventh and twelfth centuries the presence of Venetian<sup>312</sup> and Amalfitan<sup>313</sup> traders followed by Pisans<sup>314</sup> and Genoese<sup>315</sup> stimulated a commercial growth where grants from the government of shops and churches and houses were part of it.<sup>316</sup> The founding or restoration of churches corresponded to overall economic policies, for example the policies of endowments, which consisted of churches and monasteries and were linked to the importance of the Italian quarters on the Golden Horn.<sup>317</sup>

During the Latin occupation extensive destruction, attacks, fires and looting coupled by earthquakes (1231, 1237) damaged and caused the disappearance of many churches.<sup>318</sup> The transformation of the religious landscape after 1204 is connected with the fate of the Byzantine churches and monasteries under the presence of the Cistercians, Benedictines, later the Dominicans and Franciscans.

According to Janin, Kidonopoulos and D' Alessio in the period between 1203-61 were left in Constantinople 19 Byzantine monasteries, and abandoned, while the Latins took over 13 monasteries and 20 churches.<sup>319</sup> Janin says that 13 monasteries were deserted between 1203 and 1261 and Upon his death he donated it to the monk Luke. Upon the last's death 5 of them were never to be revived.<sup>320</sup> Kidonopoulos states that at least 19 convents were destroyed in some level in this period due to fire, earthquakes and neglect.<sup>321</sup> However this was only part of the actual destruction.<sup>322</sup> Janin adds that 3 churches were destroyed between 1203 and 1261; according to Kidonopoulos eight churches were damaged and seven of which were rebuilt after 1261<sup>323</sup>. There is no information about the restoration or new building of sacred buildings in this period.<sup>324</sup>

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<sup>312</sup> Jacoby, 'The Venetian quarter of Constantinople' in Sode, Takács (eds.), *Novum Millennium*; Magdalino, 'Medieval Constantinople', 87, 96, 100, index 1 and 2; for Byzantine landholders of properties in relation to Venetian concessions, see Magdalino, 'Medieval Constantinople', 88-90.

<sup>313</sup> Magdalino, 'Medieval Constantinople', 96-8 possessed two churches.

<sup>314</sup> Magdalino, 'Medieval Constantinople', 87, 96, index 1, and 2; for Byzantine landholders of properties in relation to Pisan concessions, see Magdalino, 'Medieval Constantinople', 90-1.

<sup>315</sup> Magdalino, 'Medieval Constantinople', 87, 91-2, Index 1 and 2; for Byzantine landholders of properties in relation to Genoese concessions, see Magdalino, 'Medieval Constantinople', 91-2.

<sup>316</sup> Martin, 'The Chrysobull of Alexius I Comnenus'; Failler, 'L'eglise des Ancônitains a Constantinople'; on the churches the Pisans established those of St. Peter (ca. 1162) and St. Nicholas (ca. 1141), to manifest power of the Latin West, see Magdalino, 'Maritime neighborhoods', 226; Jacoby, 'Pisan presence and trade'; Borsari, 'Pisani a Bisanzio nel XII secolo'; Jacoby, 'Italian privileges and trade in Byzantium'; Kaplan, 'Why were monasteries', in Necipoğlu, Ödekan, Akyürek (eds.), *Change in the Byzantine world*, 408-12; Brown, 'The Venitians and the Venitian quarter'; Smyrlis, 'Private property and state finances'; for the location of the Latin settlements, see, Berger, 'Zur Topographie der Ufergegend', 156-63.

<sup>317</sup> For the emerging of the Golden Horn as the city's main commercial harbour linked to the establishment of the Italian trading quarters in the area, see Magdalino, 'Maritime', 219ff., n.71; idem, 'Medieval Constantinople', 533; also Daim, *Die Byzantinischen Häfen*.

<sup>318</sup> J. Darrouzès, 'Le mémoire de Constantin Stilbès contre les Latins', *REB* 21 (1963), 81, no.76 speaks of the Latin destruction of 'thousands of churches'; Queller and Madden, *The Fourth Crusade*; J. C. Cheynet, 'Review', *REB* 56 (1998), 329-30; Madden, 'The Fires of the Fourth Crusade in Constantinople'; Kidonopoulos, 'The urban physiognomy of Constantinople during the Latin period (1204-1261) and the Palaiologan era (1261-1453)', in *Byzantium: Faith and Power (1261-1557)*, 98, 100-1, ns.17-8; idem, 'Hetyche ton ktririon tes Konstantinoupoles sto diastema 1203/4-1261'; Kresten, 'Diplomatische und historische Beobachtungen'; Talbot, 'The restoration', 244-5; Necipoğlu, 'The social topography'. Also after the fall the crusaders began a looting for many days; see Talbot, 'The restoration', 245, n.14.

<sup>319</sup> Janin, 'Les sanctuaires de Byzance'; d' Alessio, 'Les sanctuaires urbains'. See also Mitsiou and the lists of Byzantine monasteries that existed, and those under the Latin occupation; Kidonopoulos, 'The urban physiognomy', 101, n.38 says or 14 monasteries and 24 churches.

<sup>320</sup> Kidonopoulos, 'The urban physiognomy', 101, n.32.

<sup>321</sup> For a list. see Kidonopoulos, 'The urban physiognomy', 101, n.33.

<sup>322</sup> Kidonopoulos, 'The urban physiognomy', 101, n.34.

<sup>323</sup> Kidonopoulos, 'The urban physiognomy', 101, ns.35-7 says that 'the exact number of ecclesiastical and charitable buildings that perished during the period of the Latin empire cannot be determined'.

<sup>324</sup> Kid., 230; idem, 'The urban physiognomy', 101, n. 48.

Odalar and Myrelaion suffered in the fire of 1203 and the church of Anastasia was destroyed by the second fire. Others managed to remain unaffected or suffer limited damage such as *Chalkoprateia* and even retain their relics or acquire new ones. This is the case with the *Pantokrator*; although was looted after the conquest, it had administrative status being the residence and seat of Venetian administration treasury and judicial court in the city. It also had ecclesiastical function: it acquired the sacred icon of Virgin *Hodegetria*<sup>325</sup> from St. Sophia which enhanced its prestige. Other churches were adapted to Latin rite, which involved some rearrangement of liturgical furnishings, or chapels were dedicated to their saints, and paintings replaced previous mosaic decorations as is attested in archaeological findings.<sup>326</sup>

The churches became impoverished and popes Innocent III (d. 1216) and Honorius III (d. 1227) urged the Latin emperors and Venice to indemnify these institutions for their losses; in 1223 by financial agreement laymen were to provide an eleventh of their income.<sup>327</sup> Churches also suffered from the removal of structural elements, shortage of funds, neglect, contraction of the community and the loss of relics, transferred to West or local institutions.<sup>328</sup> The emperor John III Vatatzes purchased from the Latins Theotokos of the Blachernai, and the monasteries of St. Prodromus at Petra, Roushianai, and St. Michael at Anaplous.<sup>329</sup> The same emperor gave money to the Latins for restoring the church of the Holy Apostles which was damaged during a strong earthquake, and the priest monk Matthaios Perdikares restored the monastery of the Holy Trinity, which was damaged during the fire of 19/20 August 1203.<sup>330</sup> Some monasteries and their revenues were transferred to local Latins to enlarge the latter's revenue.<sup>331</sup> Venetian policies were carried by practical considerations and the promotion of their interests and the Latins devoid of resources and disregarding the ideological and symbolic and historical significance of institutions were unable to make changes in urban fabric.

Literary sources mention only a few cases of restorations carried out by the Latins such as the rebuilding of the monastery of the Pantokrator by the Venetians.<sup>332</sup> The same monastery was also the locus of Venetian administration and the residence of the podesta Marino Zeno from 1205 throughout the Latin period.<sup>333</sup>

The major contact between Constantinople, its churches and its relics took place during the Crusades. St. Sophia, Virgin of the Pharos, and the Holy Apostles and their relics were a great attraction to Westerners.<sup>334</sup> There are accounts which describe the relics which existed in the churches. The first

<sup>325</sup> The icon was in 1261 in *Pantokrator* taken to be carried at the head of procession of Michael VIII; Bacci, 'The legacy of the Hodegetria'.

<sup>326</sup> For the frescoes depicting the story of St. Francis at Kalenderhane camii, see Menna, 'Byzantium, Rome, Crusader kingdoms', 48ff; A. Berger, 'Historical topography in the Roman, Byzantine, Latin, and Ottoman periods', in Striker-Kuban, *Kalenderhane in Istanbul*, 8–15; Striker, 'Crusader painting in Constantinople' in Belting (ed.), *Il Medio Oriente*; Talbot, 'The restoration', 247,ns.27, 28, 29.

<sup>327</sup> Jacoby, 285.

<sup>328</sup> Nicol, *Byzantium and Venice*, 184–6.; for examples of relics taken to Venice, see Jacoby, 288; Maltezou, 'Byzantina politismika agatha kai benetiki politiki propaganda'; Talbot, 'The restoration', 248; Kidonopoulos, 'The urban physiognomy', 101,n.31.

<sup>329</sup> Talbot, 'The restoration', 248; Kidonopoulos, 'The urban physiognomy', 101–2,n.42.

<sup>330</sup> Kidonopoulos, 'The urban physiognomy', 101,n.41, 102,n.43.

<sup>331</sup> Jacoby, 287; Talbot, 'Restoration', 248.

<sup>332</sup> Kid., 230; on the Venetians, see Brown, 'The Venetians and the Venetian quarter in C'ple'; Kidonopoulos, 'The urban physiognomy', 101, 102.

<sup>333</sup> Jacoby, 'Urban evolution', 290–2.

<sup>334</sup> J. Durand, 'La quatrième croisade, les reliques et les reliquaires de Constantinople', *Revue française d'héraldique et de sigillographie* 73–75 (2003–05), 55–69. idem, 'Reliques et reliquaires constantinopolitains du chef de saint Jean-Baptiste';

list of important churches and their treasures is a Latin translation of a Greek list consisting of twelve texts known as ‘the anonymous Mercati’.<sup>335</sup> Anthony of Novgorod’s ‘Pilgrim Book’ records 76 shrines before the Latin conquest and Russian and Armenian descriptions appear in the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries. Pilgrims were greatly impressed by the glamour of the churches, icons and relics. They were influenced by tales of legends, experienced the religious culture of ceremonies, icons, miracles, witnessed the power of miracle-working objects, became aware of the private life of emperors by visiting the imperial tombs, while, *en route* to the sanctuaries they saw impressive displays of art, statues, columns, and monumental sculpture which was rare in the west until the 10<sup>th</sup> century. In addition, they got an awareness of liturgy, theology and this led to iconographic influences, and a translation of miracle stories and saints lives.<sup>336</sup> The impact of icons and the Virgin in the West is clear.<sup>337</sup>

As Majeska reports, the most venerated relics before the conquest and shortly after were those associated with Christ’s passion and death and all of these were transported to the West by the Crusaders.<sup>338</sup> Constantinople continued to be a pilgrimage centre after its restoration in 1261 and passion relics continued to be venerated until 1453 but they were different than before except from three.<sup>339</sup>

The recovery of the city by Michael VIII contributed to the establishment of the city’s former urban prestige and evolution.<sup>340</sup> Michael was identified with emperor Constantine the original founder of Constantinople as a ‘restorer’ of Constantinople, its second founder. This is manifested in his imitation of Constantine’s presentation of a model of the newly founded city to the Virgin Mary depicted in the mosaic of the vestibule of St. Sophia. Michael’s kneeling figure holding a model of the city in his hands offering it to the archangel Michael, his patron, for protection was visible in a monument he commissioned in front of the church of St. Apostles and conveys this notion.<sup>341</sup> This is further corroborated by the use of the epithet of the ‘new Constantine’ by his contemporaries.<sup>342</sup>

The condition of buildings after the reconquest of the city in 25 July 1261 was very bad. A fire in the mid November 1291, which began in the *Basilike Pyle* in Golden Horn in the quarter of *Kynegoi* up to Petra monastery, destroyed many buildings; it was later coupled by a strong earthquake in 1 June 1296 with ongoing aftershocks until 17 July 1296. The fires of 1305 and 1320 caused further destruction.

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and Flusin, *Byzance et les reliques du Christ*; for examples, see Hostetler, *The function of text*; Klen, ‘Eastern objects and Western desires’; Majeska, ‘The relics of Constantinople after 1204’, in Durand, and Flusin, *Byzance et les Reliques du Christ*.

<sup>335</sup> See before, also Majeska, 183 n. 1; Bacci, ‘The relics of the Pharos’, 239.

<sup>336</sup> Ciggaar, *Western Travellers to Constantinople*, 83, 45ff., 327.

<sup>337</sup> Ciggaar, 149.

<sup>338</sup> Majeska, ‘The relics’, 183ff; For a list of Constantinopolitan relics deeded by the Latin emperor Baldwin to St. Louis, king of France, see Flusin, ‘Les reliques de la Sainte-Chapelle’; also Durand, ‘La translation des reliques imperiales; and on the transference of the mandylion to Paris in 1247, see Hetherington, ‘The frame of the *Sacro Volto* icon in S. Bartolomeo degli Armeni, Genoa’; G. Wolf et al, eds. *Mandylion: Intorno al Sacro Volto, da Bisanzio a Genova*. (Milan, 2004); on the Mandylion image and Easter ceremonies, see von Dobschütz, *Christusbilder*, ii, 110-4; also Klein, ‘The Crown of His Kingdom’, in Featherstone, *The Emperor’s House*.

<sup>339</sup> Majeska, 186-8 The head of the lance that pierced Christ’s side on the cross, reed-mock sceptre, the ‘robe’.

<sup>340</sup> Jacoby, ‘Urban evolution’, 297; Majeska, ‘The sanctification of the first region’; Talbot-Rice, ‘Restoration’, 249-55; Hilsdale, ‘A new Constantine for the capital of a new empire’ and ‘Adventus: the emperor and the city’; Kidonopoulos. ‘The urban physiognomy’, in *Byzantium: Faith and Power*, 102-3; Talbot, ‘Agricultural properties’; Talbot, ‘Epigrams in context’; Kaplan, ‘Why were monasteries’, in Necipoğlu, Ödekan, Akyürek (eds.), *Change in the Byzantine world*; Magdalino, ‘Medieval Constantinople’, 535-6; and the various articles in Brooks, *Byzantium: faith and power*.

<sup>341</sup> Kidonopoulos, ‘The urban physiognomy’, 103, ns.66-7.

<sup>342</sup> See Talbot, ‘Restoration, 258ff.; Matschke, ‘Builders and building’; R. Macrides, ‘The New Constantine and the New Constantinople-1261?’, *MBGS* 6 (1980), 13-41; Kidonopoulos. ‘The urban physiognomy’, 103, ns.68-9.

In the period between 1261-1328 under the emperor Michael VIII and especially under the reign of the emperor Andronicus II a building activity was resumed.<sup>343</sup> The earthquakes of 1296, 1303, 1323 and the fires of 1291, 1305 and 1320 have contributed to the need for the rebuilding projects. Building activity aimed mainly at restoration, renovation and preservation while the reconstruction of monasteries was far greater under the emperor Andronicus II. 17 monasteries were restored: 15 during the reign of Andronicus II, one under Michael VIII, and one under both emperors.<sup>344</sup> Elsewhere he says that 27 convents were restored in this period, 9 of which received new structures.<sup>345</sup> 14 monasteries were built from scratch.<sup>346</sup>

Building work was undertaken not only by members of the imperial family but by aristocratic members and wealthy patrons aiming to ensure the salvation of the founders' souls, gain in prestige and save the buildings from further destruction caused by the Latins.<sup>347</sup> Eleven of the donors of restoration of monasteries or convents belonged to the nobility and four to the clergy.<sup>348</sup> Most of the twelve known female patrons were widowed imperial women of the Palaiologan family, financially empowered, who built or restored monastic establishments out of piety and thanksgiving to God. Their foundations aimed to serve for spiritual investment and provide refuge for other women, and services to the poor and needy.<sup>349</sup> Theodora Raoulaina, the niece of the emperor Michael VIII, restored the monastery of St. Andrew in *Krisei* as a nunnery and enlarged its church and the mone *tes Aristines*; Maria Paleologina, illegitimate daughter of the emperor Michael VIII, founded the nunnery of *Panagiotissa* or of the Mongols.<sup>350</sup> Empress Theodora Palaiologina, restored the monasteries of Lips and *Hagioi Anargyroi*; Theodora Synadene, a niece of Michael VIII, founded the convent of Theotokos of Sure Hope. Irene Choumnaina Palaiologina rebuilt the monastery of Christ *Philanthropos*; Maria Doukaina Komnene Branaina Palaiologina restored the church of *Pammakaristos*, founded the convent *tes Glabaines*, endowed a hospital and established a funerary chapel and mausoleum annex to the monastery. Four more patronesses founded and restored the monasteries of *Krataiou*, *tes megales domestikisses*, *tes megales doukaines* and *tou Myrelaiou*. The renovated and new monastery buildings were mainly located in the tenth region, and in the areas of Mangana, Blanga, Xerolophos, Krisis and Perama.<sup>351</sup>

In this period 10 churches were restored, 2 under the emperor Michael VIII and 8 under Andronicus II.<sup>352</sup> 28 churches and one chapel were newly built.<sup>353</sup> New structures outnumbered repairs of existing ones. Building regulations were followed, supervisors, building experts, and *epistatai* were appointed for church construction projects, caring to preserve the city's sense of identity.

<sup>343</sup> Talbot, 'Building activity', in Necipoğlu, 329-43; Matschke, 'Builders and building', 315-6, n.2; Kidonopoulos. 'The urban physiognomy', 103-5 mentions the building of new houses and hospices and other individual structures such as mills some of which were associated with monasteries; Demirtiken, 'Dynamics of monastic patronage in Constantinople'.

<sup>344</sup> Kid., 237-8.

<sup>345</sup> Kidonopoulos, 'The urban physiognomy', 105, n.97 where he gives the list.

<sup>346</sup> Kid., 239; idem, 'The urban physiognomy', 105, 107, n.110 says 2 monasteries date to the reign Michael VIII and 10 of 14 monasteries date to the reign of Andronicus II. See appendix and relevant section in the text.

<sup>347</sup> Brooks, 'Poetry and female patronage'; Talbot, 'Restoration', 255-7. For building regulations, see Matschke, 'Builders and building', 318f.; See relevant section.

<sup>348</sup> Kidonopoulos. 'The urban physiognomy', 105, n.98.

<sup>349</sup> For the role of Palaiologan women, see Connor, *Women in Byzantium*, 264ff..

<sup>350</sup> On the issue of her identification with the nun Melane, depicted in the Deesis mosaic in the Chora church, and with Maria Komnene Palaiologina, see Talbot-Rice, 335-6.

<sup>351</sup> Kidonopoulos. 'The urban physiognomy', 107. Majeska, 'Sanctification', 359-63; see also Magdalino, 'Medieval Constantinople', in idem, *Studies on the history*, 75-6

<sup>352</sup> Kid., 240; idem, 'The urban physiognomy', 107, n.112

<sup>353</sup> Kid., 240.

Renovation or construction activity was limited in the end of the First Civil War and during the Second Civil War (1341-7).<sup>354</sup> In the middle of the 14th century the preservation of St. Sophia was the main concern after it was damaged by the earthquake in 1343. During the siege of the sultan Bayezid (1394-1402) many monasteries and churches were in a bad economic and physical state with a few exceptions.<sup>355</sup> Building activity however continued and emphasis was placed on the fortifications of the city.<sup>356</sup>

Church building was associated with religious and spiritual developments such as the rise of monasticism and the distribution and veneration of relics and pilgrimage. It had political and religious significance. It enhanced the reputation of patrons and established status and authority.

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<sup>354</sup> Kidonopoulos. 'The urban physiognomy', 109,n.135.

<sup>355</sup> Necipoglu, 'Byzantine monasteries and monastic property'; Talbot, 'Agricultural properties in Palaiologan Constantinople'.

<sup>356</sup> Matschke, 316-7; for examples of building activities, see Kidonopoulos. 'The urban physiognomy', 109-10.

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