

THE VIRGIN PAMMAKARISTOS IN CONSTANTINOPLE AND
THE HOLY APOSTLES IN SALONICA
AS REPRESENTATIVE OF PALAEOLOGAN ARCHITECTURAL MONUMENTS

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The end of the Latin Occupation of Constantinople in 1261 ushered in the Palaeologan Dynasty (1261-1453). Its 192-year life-span differed vastly from the Macedonian empire which had preceded the Fourth Crusade. Imperial Byzantine power, material resources, territory, and manpower had shrivelled. The plundered 900-year-old capital required large sums of money to repair and rebuild, but the once impressively efficient Byzantine taxcollecting system had been dissipated by fifty-seven years of Western devastation.

Although Byzantine artistic patronage flowered vigorously during the first half of the XIV century, it was the wealthy noble families and ministers of State rather than members of the imperial family who supplied the monied impetus for building. Increasingly the place of the noble patron was in the expanded narthex and its gallery while the clergy occupied the central naos where, in earlier times, the Emperor had also been permitted a ceremonial place.¹

More numerous and smaller churches were the order of the day. Between 1284 and 1300 three important churches were built in Constantinople: St. Andrew in Krisei, the south church in the Monastery of Constantine Lips and the north church of Pammakaristos Monastery. It has been suggested that they were all by the same architect, so similar were they.² The characteristic Palaeologan church plan tended

to explore variations on the theme of inscribed-cross, or quincunx: a central dome crowned a nine-bayed rectangle made up of a central space under the dome, the choir, nave, two transepts, and four corner bays usually capped by smaller domes.

Fantastic brickwork was lavished on the exteriors of the churches while interiors were less brilliantly decorated, employing fewer mosaics and more frescoes. Multiple and small narrative scenes tended to replace monumental liturgical ones. Although the main dome continued to be presided over by the Pantocrator surrounded by Old Testament prophets and the Ancestors of Christ, and to be supported by pendentives housing the four Evangelists, there was in general a loosening of long-held iconographic traditions. It was no longer requisite that the most sacred areas of apse, prothesis and diaconicon contain an almost prescribed hieratic roster of Church Fathers, Apostle Communion and Virgin Enthroned in the Heavens; lesser saints and local martyrs proliferated on curved intrados of arches and flat wall surfaces; the Twelve Great Feasts of the Church could now be contracted and varied according to the spaces provided by their ceiling vaults; and finally, a new fondness for cycles of apocryphal stories of the Virgin's Life vied for the available space with stories from the Life of Christ. *than formerly*

These characteristic Palaeologan features of church building and decorating manifested themselves in every part of the fast-fading Byzantine world. And though in specific details the Virgin Pammakaristos (Fetie Camii) in Constantinople differs from the church of the Holy Apostles in Sardnica, these very differences in themselves bespeak the two churches' common Palaeologan roots where diversity was invading previously established traditions. *Church of the*
near-invisible

Both churches were built during the reign of Andronicus II

still there seems to be a system

awkward

(1282-1328). In the narthex of the Holy Apostles an inscription exists which says that the church was built during the patriarchate of

Niphon I, meaning that the Holy Apostles dates somewhere between 1311 and 1315.³ It was from Constantinople that the Patriarch directed

both the plan for the building and the decorative program of the mosaics, and the fact that the decoration was never completed is

thought to be due to Niphon's having been deposed only three years after becoming Patriarch.⁴

Five domes rising on tall drums cap the Holy Apostles' quincunx plan; the central large dome is seen on the exterior to rest on a square base, and on the interior on a set of four tall columns. (See Plan I). A single-storied narthex encircles the north, south and west sides. The richly-textured exterior walls are covered with bricks laid in intricate patterns while the interior walls are spread with tapestries of splendid mosaics, which, according to Krautheimer were "presumably executed by a workshop from Constantinople... possibly the same one as was responsible for the decoration of the parecclesion of Kariye Djami."⁵

Although the relationship of the architectural volumes of the Holy Apostles church at Salonica is similar to contemporary churches built in Constantinople, its tall-drummed exterior silhouette stretches upward to break the roof line with a strong sense of vertical thrust lacking to churches of the capital. The height of the central dome of the little parecclesion of the Pammakaristos is four and a half times its width so that its proportions appear steeper than middle Byzantine churches, but less steep than the Holy Apostles in Salonica, and nearly-contemporary Serbian churches such as

Gračanica (1321), and Staro Nagoričino (1317). (Partly this is due to a double-storied narthex in the parecclesion which tends to minimize the upward thrust of the central dome, and partly to the fact that instead of four small corner domes there are only two which are set above the narthex to admit light to the tribune. Like the Holy Apostles' central dome, that of the Pammakaristos seen from the outside rests on a square base, and on the inside originally on four slender columns. Subsequently these were reduced by the Turks to two columns and a longitudinal arch in the north side of the central space under the dome.⁶ (See Plans II, III, IV) The exterior/^{brick} facades like those of the Salonica church, are treated in intricate rhythmic tapestry-like designs featuring zig-zag, sawtooth, and hook patterns.

Although scholarly opinion varies as to the precise dating of the Pammakaristos, poetic inscriptions on the exterior and interior of the little parecclesion, which shared the main church's south wall, indicate that the funeral chapel was built between 1310 and 1315, approximately the same dates as are ascribed to the Holy Apostles in Salonica. From these inscriptions it is known that Andronicus' brilliant military commander Michael Glabas Tarchaniote was the revered protostrator responsible for rebuilding and redecorating the main church to which the parecclesion was later attached by his widow Maria Dukaena Comnena Palaeologian, who became Martha the nun after her husband's death.⁷

Like Andronicus' Grand Logothete Theodore Metochites, who rebuilt Kariye Djami around 1315 to 1320, Niphon and Glabas were ambitious, intelligent, wealthy, highly esteemed and heavily relied upon by the Emperor both for their administrative skill and for their monetary power. Like Kariye Djami, the Virgin Pammakaristos and the

Holy Apostles employed both mosaic and fresco decoration, though it is likely that the fresco work seen in the wrap-around vestibules at the Holy Apostles was added as a later addition rather than as a part of Nippon's original plan.⁸

From these general remarks I would like now to move to a discussion of specific features of the two churches, beginning with the Pammakaristos in Constantinople.

THE VIRGIN, OR THEOTOKOS PAMMAKARISTOS (FETIYE CAMII)

Situated on a commanding height in the north part of the city near the Comnenian-built 11th-century Blachernae Palace, today's Turkish mosque known as Fetiye Camii and its contiguous little Christian paracclesion were originally a part of the important monastery of the Virgin Theotokos, the All Blessed (Pammakaristos). (See Plan V) R. Janin in his authoritative compilation of churches in Constantinople lists it as the eighty-seventh church in the capital dedicated to the Mother of God.⁹

Due to the dual interpretation of the Greek word ktetor, which appears in a bema inscription of the paracclesion referring to Michael Glabas, great confusion has existed over the precise dating of the original monastery, and of the two churches. Since ktetor can mean either founder of a religious monument or renewer of an existing one, Ebersolt and Thiers in their early (1913) volume on the churches in Constantinople, say that both monastery and church were founded by Michael Glabas at the end of the ^{13th} XIII century. The small paracclesion they give to Glabas' widow, Martha the nun, in the early XIV century.¹⁰ However archaeologists ^{push} the beginnings of the monastery back to the ^{8th} VIII century,¹¹ and R. Janin and Underwood, in

their more recent works incorporating wider understanding of the problem, give the first task of renewing the monastery and main church to an imperial palace functionary named John Comnen^{ds} and his wife Anna Ducas in the mid-^{11th} century.¹² This interpretation would explain the Byzantine ^{14th} XIV century historian George Pachymeres' report that the Monastery of Pammakaristos was Glabas' foundation at the end of the ^{13th} XIII century.¹³ ^{then,} Glabas would have been the second rebuilder.

According to Underwood when an important person or family assumed ktetorship, personal responsibility for endowing or renewing a religious foundation was assumed. By assuming such responsibility, the ktetor in a special sense assumed proprietary rights to the church or monastery and was permitted to have his and his family's portraits painted in it, often retired ^{within} ~~to~~ its walls in old age, and sometimes claimed the privilege of inheritance rights.¹⁴ These facts would explain how both John Comen^{nds} and his wife Anna Ducas in the ^{11th} XI century, and Michael Glabas in the late XIII century (and a few years later his widow Marie, who had become Martha the nun) could be ascribed responsibility for restoring the monastery and its main church.

The aforementioned bema inscription in the parecclesion is in the form of an epigram by the poet Manuel Philes and is addressed to any wandering pilgrim who entered the building and wondered about the impressive portraits on its walls. The epigram reads,

Stranger, do you see that important man?
It is the protostrator (commander of an army)
the ktetor of the monastery, the noble Glabas
the marvel of the whole world.¹⁵

This "marvel of the world" was the same commander of Andronicus II's

western armies whose last military exploit had been to accompany the emperor's son Michael IX in a successful expedition against the Bulgarians in 1306.¹⁶ Of his military and religious accomplishments the poet Philes in other verses which run around the entire inside and outside walls of the parecclesion, calls Andronicus' commander, "the noble Glabas who had broken up the enemies of the empire and accomplished pious works as well in renewing the monastery", subsequently finished by his no-less pious wife who dedicated her husband's memorial chapel to "the Word of God, to Christ," and placed her husband's tomb therein.¹⁷

At the time of the Bulgarian campaign Glabas must have been in his 60s and afflicted with gout which made him unable to take any active role in battle, and probably occasioned his return to the capital to die, and subsequently to be buried in the tomb provided by his widow.¹⁸ Of the small tribune above the narthex which looked down into the naos through a single bay, Ebersolt and Thiers say,

It is there without doubt, in this intimate corner, that the pious Martha came to contemplate and to pray before the tomb of her husband whose body had been placed in the naos.¹⁹

Although today only two churches remain from the original monastery ~~buildings~~ ^{complex} which overlooked the Golden Horn, an extant letter dated March 7, 1578 from Stephen Gerlach to Martin Crusius in ^{Sw.} Turbingue Germany, describes what was then the most important monast^{ry} ~~complex~~ in Constantinople.²⁰ In 1455, two years after the Turkish takeover, the Patriarchate had been moved from ~~its~~ ^{the} original home in the Church of the Holy Apostles which stood in ~~a~~ ^{the} crowded and heavily Turkish section of the city, to the Monastery Pammakaristos in the northern corner. When Gerlach visited it, a high wall surrounded

a square compound containing monks quarters, the two churches and an interior courtyard planted with cypresses and fig trees. In the catholicon was the tomb of ^{the Emperor} Alexius Comnenas, as well as several relics including a piece of the flagellation column and the bodies of St. Mary Salome and St. Euphemius.²² Gerlach also reports seeing in the church representations of Biblical scenes, images of Christ and the Virgin, and several portraits of emperors, and the founders and their wives with inscriptions giving their names and titles in Greek.²³

Since Pachymeres gives the name Cosmas as Hegoumene(head) of the monastery consecrated to the Virgin Pammakaristos in the late ^{13th} century, and the same Cosmas was chosen by Andronicus II as Patriarch John XII on Jan. 1, 1294, it is assumed that Michael Glabas Tarchaniote's rebuilding of the monastery had been completed at least a few years prior to that date.²⁴

The monastery has had a rich and important place in the history of Constantinople. As Patriarch, John XII seems to have remained strongly attached to his original monastic home for on three separate occasions he withdrew in seclusion to the Pammakaristos: first in 1299 when in protest over Andronicus' permitting his little six-year-old daughter to marry the thrice-married Serbian King Milutin, he closed himself up for six months from July 1299 to Feb. 1300; again in April 1300 for another six months; and finally in the 1300s when he retired permanently to the monastery at the same time as he retired from his duty as Patriarch. In 1344 the monastery served as a prison for the imperatrice Anne of Savoy, Andronicus II's widow, during a palace intrigue staged by the Grand Logothete Gabalas. Two famous Metropolitans, Niphon and Theophan, were to be chosen from among the monks

After the Turkish Conquest in 1453

of the Pammakaristos in 1397 and 1400.²⁵ *the* 130 years of its service as an Orthodox foundation surrounded by a somewhat hostile Turkish populace, were perhaps not its most glorious, but among its most revered, for till 1586 it remained the patriarchal church of Eastern Orthodoxy. In 1586 the Sultan Murat III seized and converted it into the mosque Fetiye Camii, in which capacity today the large church still serves, its walls covered with whitewash, and its exterior east end modified for Mohammedan worship.²⁶

Though the small parecclesion today no longer serves as part of the practicing Turkish mosque, until the 1950s its walls remained plastered over and its apse end remained modified as Murat III had directed in the ^{16th} XVI century. The splendid dome had never been masked out, and its mosaic Pantocrator and twelve surrounding prophets had always looked down at whomever came to worship, or to admire its XIV century brilliance. In 1950 the work of surveying the walls began under the Dumbarton Oaks Foundation.

Starting in the apse three coats of heavy plaster were removed and the first publication released in 1966.^{footnote} A most remarkable conch composition was discovered, for instead of the usual Virgin Enthroned, a type of Christ emerged heretofore unknown to the director Paul Underwood: Christ Hyperagasthos, seated on a throne in the lunette, the gospel book in his left hand and his right raised in blessing. In the lunette at his right beneath the groin vault of the bema, the Virgin stood in three-quarters pose with hands extended ^{in supplication} tenderly towards Christ ~~in supplication~~. (See Fig. 1). In the lunette at his left John Prodromos stood, hands extended also. The three figures grouped together around the three sides of the bema make up a Deesis. Above them in the bema vault are four archangels presented in bust form.

An inscription in three six-foot iambs runs around the carved frame of the lunette where Christ presides. It reads:

Martha the nun set up this thank offering to God
in memory of Michael Glabas her husband who²⁷ was
a renowned warrior and worthy Protostrator.

This inscription was probably composed by Manuel Philes, a poet who had been a student and friend of Pachymeres the historian, and who has left a poem commemorating the historian's death in 1307,²⁸ as well as one in his volume of poems titled Carmina which comments on Andronicus' daughter Simonis' marriage to Milutin in 1299 (Poem #16).²⁹ In this same Carmina a long epitaph for Michael Glabas is recorded in which Philes writes that the parecclesion was to serve as a tomb for "the noble Glabas" and that his own verses would be seen in the same chapel.³⁰ Parts of this epitaph (apparently composed at Glabas' widow, Martha the nun's, request) are carved on the marble cornice which runs around the exterior of the south wall of the parecclesion. The 11-meter-long inscription is remarkably clear, carved in precise lettering in which small letters and great ones are intermixed. The end of the inscription is damaged by the ^{16th} XVI century Turkish additions, but what can be made out indicates that the chapel was built by the protostratorissa "wishing to perpetuate the memory of her husband, the noble Glabas".³¹

Reported in the Dumbarton Oaks Papers of 1960 is the interesting discovery that Philes' south facade inscription had originally continued on the west facade also. In the process of exploring all the building's surfaces, remnants of a cornice similar to that on the south exterior wall was found on the parecclesion west facade, which had till that time been thought to have been always merely a partition placed in the perambulatory attached to the south wall of

the large main church. Since Philes' epitaph verses 10-22 seem to have been carved on the south cornice, probably verses 1-9 had preceded them originally on the west facade cornice. This would mean that originally the west wall of the parecclesion narthex was also its exterior facade, and that the little chapel had been built to stand free of the main church except for sharing its south wall. (Plate II). Armed with this new archaeological fact, it becomes clear that the perambulatory surrounding the dual-building complex on the north, west and south sides was added sometime after the completion of the parecclesion, probably about the middle of the XIV century, and perhaps had some connection with the mosaic portraits of Emperor Andronicus III (1328-41) and his Empress Anne of Savoy, which were extant in the XV century and located to the right of one of the outside doors.³²

Inside the parecclesion, at the level of the springing of the vaults a typical XIV century 10-cm-thick splayed cornice encircles the entire perimeter of the church. On this are fragmentary remains in gold letters on blue ground of more dedicatory verses, probably also written by Manuel Philes. (Fig. 2) Invocation is here made for the Almighty's blessing on the souls of those who lie here.³³

Directly beneath the cornice runs an intricate frieze which acts as a decorative transition between the 2nd zone marble incrustations and the mosaic scenes of the 3rd zone. The frieze is made of marble slabs about 10 inches high which rest on a bull-nose moulding. The surface of the frieze is treated in champlévé technique with running vines interspersed at intervals with rampant lions in medallions and paired drinking birds. (Fig. 3) The background is cut away and filled with dark colored pitch which while under the many layers of Turkish plaster for more than three centuries, melted and

ran down over the moulding below.³⁴

Besides the Deesis group and four archangels in the bema, and the decorative frieze and inscribed cornice encircling the whole interior of the naos, the Dumbarton Oaks expedition has uncovered the single remaining Great Feast scene, the Baptism of Christ, (Fig. 4) in the east end lunette of the south transept arm, and nineteen bishops, Church Fathers and saints. (Fig. 5). Interestingly there was apparently never any procession of Bishops, and only eight Great Feast scenes could have ^{ever} fit into the lunettes of the arms of the transepts in the traditional 3rd zone. Though it no longer exists, probably the Koimesis had originally been placed above the west naos door in the traditional 2nd zone position. The diaconicon contains three of the greatest Church Fathers, Gregory the Theologian, Cyril of Alexander, and Athanasius. The prothesis, departing from a customary matching of whatever is represented in the diaconicon, shows three relatively little-known Bishops who founded the first three Episcopates: James the Brother of Our Lord, first Bishop of Jerusalem; Metrophanes, first Bishop of Constantinople; and (probably) Clement, first Bishop (of whom anything is known) of Rome, following St. Peter.³⁵

All the parecclesion representations are in tiny tessered mosaic, somewhat reminiscent of the contemporary work produced for small portable icons. Of the quality seen here R. Janin comments that it "rivals the works in the Chora which are of the same epoch."³⁶

Though today no tombs exist in the parecclesion, the work of restoration has uncovered the fact that originally there were probably seven tombs besides Glabas'. Remains of one arcosolium has been found in the north wall of the nave on the transverse axis, the one thought to have been the final resting place of the protostrator.

Remains of four arcosolia have been found in the narthex--two in the east wall flanking the nave door, and one in the south wall(later converted into a door to the street), and one in the north end of the west wall. (Plan VI) / In the upper tribune of the narthex three more arcosolia seem to have been related to those located below in the eastern and western walls.³⁷ Besides Glabas it is not known what noble people had been buried here, but quite likely the pious Martha would have been one of them.

In the perambulatory just outside of the narthex, recent restorations--still unpublished--have uncovered the remains of several frescoed scenes. Although as yet the all-over iconographic scheme is not known, part of a scene has been uncovered which is startlingly like Aron's Sons at the Altar found in the parecclesia at Kariye Djami.³⁸(Fig. 6).

The recently revealed mosaics and frescoes of the Pammakaristos in Constantinople point up a close connection with those in its neighbor, the Chora, also a foundation reconstructed and decorated in the early XIV century by a private citizen, Theodore Metochites, Andronicus II's Grand Logothete. Similarly, the mosaic decoration in the Holy Apostles in Salonica, also a work of an Andronicus' appointee, the Patriarch Niphon I, shows relationship to Constantinopolitan work.

THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY APOSTLES IN SALONICA

In style, technique, and in some specific details of scenes, the mosaics in the Church of the Holy Apostles in Salonica bear a close resemblance to works created in the Byzantine capital.³⁹

Since Niphon I, remaining in Constantinople, ordered the building of the church and was personally responsible both for its plan and its decorative program, it is not surprising that Xngopoulos feels

that at least part of its mosaics were executed by masters from the capital, and bear a close resemblance to fresco work of the Chora. In all the mosaics of the 3rd and 4th zones, the tiniest of tesserae were used and finely graded in shape and color so as to produce at a distance the effect of gently modulated paintings. This is especially clear in the flesh ^{tones} of the faces. Besides specific resemblances to work in Constantinople, however, Xyngopoulos notes that the Salonican church mosaics incorporated the special Macedonian liveliness and realism seen in Salonican and Serbian works of the time. This he attributes to local artisans at work under the ^{imported} capital city's master-mosaicists. This lively realism he sees throughout the representations in facial expressions and in the somewhat stocky way in which the human body is formed.

Besides the Constantinopolitan character seen in the mosaic decoration of the upper two zones, Xyngopoulos feels that there is very definite local stylistic quality seen in all the figures of saints and bishops portrayed around the 2nd zone of the Holy Apostles church. (Figs. 7,8). This he postulates is due to two workshops having worked in the church simultaneously--one beginning in the dome and working down through the Great Feast scenes in the vaults and lunettes of the 3rd zone, and the other simultaneously involved in creating all the lowest level second zone figures and decorative borders. In what he calls the local Salonican masters' less progressive work, he sees a technique in which slightly larger tesserae were used to produce sharper contrasts and a dryer effect reflecting the older, more academic style of mosaic. Looking at Figs. 8 and 9, it can be clearly seen how the two different styles contrast: Fig. 8, a detail of one of the zone 2 saints in Fig. 7, shows sharp planes and strong linear

contrasts of the facial features as done by the less-progressive workshop, while in Fig 9 the flesh of the medallioned saint from the 3rd zone seems softly modelled and subtly rounded into several well-blended areas of graduated tone; his cheeks, forehead, nose and eye sockets seem almost painterly rather than formed from sharp, tiny, hard pieces of glass and stone. He is the work of the more-advanced workshop.

Though the Patriarch Niphon ordered and planned the Holy Apostles church, the monastery Hegoumene Paul, a former pupil and protégé of Niphon, oversaw its progress in Salonica. And when Niphon was deposed in 1315 so that funds were cut off for its completion, Paul himself illusionistically painted all the lowest first zone parts of the church, which would normally have been covered with marble. It is probable that Paul, continuing to hope that funds would again be resupplied, decided to leave the easternmost part of the church undecorated, and for this reason ~~it~~ it still *remains without decoration* ~~exists today~~ (never having been either painted or covered with mosaics.) Frescoes do exist in the wrap-around vestibule, which have not yet been published and are probably from a slightly later time than the mosaics in the ^{main} body of the church.

I would like now to look at some of the specific scenes in the Holy Apostles at Salonica. In the dome the Pantocrator, now badly damaged, ^(Fig. 10) presides. Although the entire head and neck are now gone, it is likely his expression would have been--like those in the Chora and the Pammakaristos--humanly benign, rather than the middle Byzantine type of fiercely-staring and blazing-eyed Ruler

of the World who gazes down with vengeance and inspires awe and terror. Both hands are patterned after the wide-spread fingers and ^{fat} palmed hands, seemingly almost distorted, found in the Pantocrator of the dome at Daphne (ca.1100). Interestingly the wide-staring, distorted ^{fat}-palmed Pantocrator type found at Daphne is duplicated in the 1295 Pantocrator of the dome in the Panaghia Parigoritissa in Arta, but by twenty years later the Pantocrators in the Chora (seen in the lunette of the outernarthex) and in the Pammakaristos exhibit the ^{same} distorted palms but the benign expression rather than an avenging one.

Surrounding the Pantocrator in the dome of the Holy Apostles are, not twelve (as in the Pammakaristos), nor twenty-four (as in the Chora), but ten prophets. Of these, the three--Elisha, Hosea, and Nahum--are unique to this church and do not appear among the more numerous group of prophets in either of the ^{fore mentioned} Constantinople churches.⁴⁰

In the four pendentives the Evangelists (in an unusual order, moving clockwise from the southeast corner, John--Mark--Luke--Matthew) sit at desks writing in characteristic architectural settings.

Beginning with the easternmost half of the southern transept arm and moving clockwise through the vaults of the western and northern transepts, six scenes from the Great Feasts are arranged in chronological and traditional order: The Nativity (Fig.11) and the Baptism of Christ (Fig.12) share the southern transept arm; the Transfiguration (Fig.13) and the Entry to Jerusalem (Figs.14,15) share the western vault above the entry door; the Crucifixion (Fig.16) and the Anastasis (Fig.17) share the northern arm. Except for the detail in

the Entry to Jerusalem where Christ's donkey heads towards the left with its head twisted back to face toward Jerusalem at the right, the iconographic elements of these six scenes are not unusual for the XIV century. The Baptism of Christ seen here shows the ^{at the tree root} axe ~~cut~~ which also appears in the Pammakaristos' Baptism (See Fig.4). This detail apparently comes out of an early XIII century visual interpretation of the Luke 3:9 text which reads:

Even now the axe is laid to the root of the tree,
and every tree therefore that does not bear good
fruit ~~is~~ cut down and thrown into the fire.

According to Radojčić, this motif, along with details of accessory events such as children diving and swimming in the Jordan River, began to appear commonly in Constantinopolitan fresco paintings of the Baptism at the end of the XIII century. Describing a contemporary report of Anthony of Novgorod from around 1200, Radojčić says,

...the painter Paul had portrayed the Baptism of Christ with secondary scenes in the great baptistry of St. Sophia in Constantinople where catechumenes were baptised with solemn ceremony on Epiphany and on Saturday of Holy Week... included here was the Luke parable of the tree and axe...⁴¹

A badly-damaged scene showing the Annunciation of the Theotokos to St. Anne, is placed on the 2nd zone wall surface surrounding the arched opening leading from the southern transept arm into the southwest corner bay. (Figs.18,19) Though the composition is so interrupted, the massing of architecture and the three-quarter view face of Anne, could be compared to the mosaic section that remains at the Chora from the same scene. (Fig.20)

Enough remains from another badly-damaged scene to indicate

plane of which Xyngopoulos speaks. *Scale would be needed*
Some

In details from the Anastasis, too, (Figs. 23,24), close resemblance can be seen with the Anastasis from the Chora (Figs. 25,26). The painted head of Adam in the Chora is astonishingly like the mosaic head at Salonica, although in one case he is at Christ's right and in the other at his left. Perhaps even more striking is the resemblance between the frescoed head of Abel at the Chora (Fig. 27) and the mosaic head of Abel at the Holy Apostles (Fig. 28). The latter again demonstrates Xyngopoulos' point regarding the more progressive artists' at Salonica using tiny tesserae *if they were* as paint pigments, with subtle changes of facial planes being achieved through carefully graded selection of color values in contiguous tesserae.

The nearly-exact duplication of the three horseback-riding Magi seen in the Salonica representation of the Nativity *(Fig. 29)* and in the Chora's mosaic scene of the Magi Visiting Herod (Figs. 30,31), is very striking. It reminds us that at Kalenik, too, this particular detail is re-presented along with other scenes duplicated from the Chora narthex mosaics, which today provide clues to various lost portions from the original scenes *at the Chora.*

Observing these stylistic and iconographic similarities between the mosaics at Salonica and the mosaics and frescoes at the Chora in Constantinople, reminds us again of various typically Palaeologan characteristics: a loosening of iconographic traditions so that new details were added to traditional scenes, or traditional scenes left out of various parts of the church if the architecture warranted; a reliance on private wealthy patrons for building and decorating multiple small churches rather than on all-powerful rulers who could afford huge and overpoweringly impressive ones; a fondness

for small narrative scenes rather than monumental ones representing liturgical practices; an increasing reliance on fresco painting rather than on the more expensive mosaic decoration, so that the more progressive mosaic works now take on some characteristics of the more subtle modelling and molding of solid form which previously had been the province only of fresco painting techniques.

Again, the inter-relationships of the men ^{involved in Carmina} ~~responsible for the~~ Chora and the Pammakaristos in Constantinople, and the Holy Apostles in Salonica, reflect characteristics possible only to the Palaeologan age of late Byzantine domination. Andronicus was the Emperor during the time when the three churches were built, possibly even appointing their patrons Glabas, Niphon and Theodore Metochites to ktetorship. The poet Manuel Philes, responsible for the verses inscribed in the Pammakaristos, also was once sent by Andronicus to the kingdom of Georgia on a diplomatic errand,⁴³ and ~~has~~ left--among the poems of his Carmina--a poem in which reference is made to Andronicus' daughter Simonis' wedding. Michael Glabas Tarchaniote, Andronicus' brilliant army general who had spent much time fighting in the western part of the empire, is eulogized by many poems in Philes' Carmina as well as in inscriptions by Philes in the Pammakaristos. Theodore Metochites, Andronicus' trusted Grand Logothete, had been dispatched to the Serbian court on five separate occasions to arrange for Simonis' marriage to King Milutin.⁴⁴ Milutin's mother-in-law, the Empress Irene had in 1303 become finally estranged from her husband Andronicus II and moved permanently from Constantinople to her original home in Salonica, where she entertained her son-in-law the King of Serbia on many occasions.⁴⁵

With the increased intercommunication between distant places during the Palaeologan era, it is not surprising that many mosaics in the church of the Holy Apostles in Salonica show certain clear resemblances to various mosaic and painted works in Constantinople. Nor it seems to me, is it surprising that the frescoes in Milutin's King's Church at Studenica (1313-14) show close similarity to both painted and mosaic compositions of the Chora, the Pammakaristos, and the Holy Apostles. (Figs. ~~31, 33, 34, 35, 36~~)

Not needed here

Indeed, is it any wonder that the unparalleled developments of the Italian Renaissance began their flowering early in the XIV century? And that even such a distant place as Giotto's Paduan chapel exhibits many iconographic and stylistic features seen also in contemporary Byzantine Palaeologan churches?

This is an entirely different question - this tantalizing hint should be left out - it's a thesis in its own right

NOTES

¹Michael Maclagan, The City of Constantinople (New York, Praeger, 1968), p. 114. *sp*

²John Beckwith, Early Christian and Byzantine Art (Penguin Books, 1970), p. 142.

³Andre Xyngopoulos, The Mosaic Decoration of The Church of the Holy Apostles in Salonica (Thessalonica, 1953), p. 3. Xyngopoulos points out here that there is disagreement among scholars as to whether Niphon's patriarchy was from 1311-14 or 1312-15.

⁴Andre Xyngopoulos, Mosaic Decoration, exact page reference unknown. Because the entire monograph on the Holy Apostles was translated for me, and its contents summarized rather than written out in detail, I have no further precise page numbers and will merely cite in future reference to this work: Xyngopoulos. *should be Xyn., op. cit.*

⁵Richard Krautheimer, Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture (Penguin Books, 1965), p. 301.

⁶Krautheimer, Ibid., p. 308.

⁷Beckwith, Ibid., p. 144.

⁸Xyngopoulos.

⁹Raymond Janin, La géographie écclesiastique de l'empire byzantin. Vol. III (Paris, 1969), p. 208.

¹⁰J. Ebersolt, and A. Thiers, Les églises de Constantinople (Paris, 1913), p. 229.

¹¹Janin, Ibid., p. 208.

¹²Ibid.

¹³Ibid.

¹⁴Paul Underwood, The Kariye Djami, Vol. I (New York, 1966), p. 12.

¹⁵Janin, Ibid., p. 209.

¹⁶Ebersolt & Thiers, Les églises, p. 228.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 230.

¹⁸Beckwith, Early Christian and Byzantine, p. 144. *At*

¹⁹Ebersolt & Thiers, Les églises, p. 239.

²⁰Ibid., p. 227.

NOTES CONTINUED

- ²¹Janin, La géographie, p. 209.
- ²²Ibid., p. 210. On page 211, Janin goes on to say-- quoting X.A.Sidiéridēs--that the body of the Emperor Alexius Comnenas was probably later removed to the monastery of Christ Philanthropus which has long been considered his resting place.
- ²³Janin, Ibid., p. 210.
- ²⁴Ibid., p. 209.
- ²⁵Ibid.
- ²⁶MacLagan, City of Constantinople, p. 125.
- ²⁷Paul Underwood, "Notes on the Works of the Byzantine Institute in Istanbul," Dumbarton Oaks Papers, Nos. 9-10, 1956, p.298.
- ²⁸Angeliki E. Laiou, Constantinople and The Latins: The Foreign Policy of Andronicus II 1282-1328 (Cambridge, 1972), p. 352.
- ²⁹Ibid., p.160, n.10.
- ³⁰H.S. Megaw, "Recent Work of the Byzantine Institute in Istanbul," Dumbarton Oaks Papers, No. 17, 1963, p. 371.
- ³¹Ebersolt and Thiers, Les églises, p. 230.
- ³²Beckwith, Early Christian and Byzantine, p. 144.
- ³³Megaw, "Recent Work," 1963, p.371.
- ³⁴Paul Underwood, "Notes on Works," No.17, 1960, p. 218.
- ³⁵Ibid., p. 217.
- ³⁶Janin, La géographie, p. 212.
- ³⁷Underwood, "Notes on Works," No.17, 1960, p. 219.
- ³⁸A.Dean McKenzie's as yet unpublished and impressive photograph of this scene represents my only authority for these statements as no reference occurs in any Dumbarton Oaks Papers or other sources that I could find regarding any frescoes discovered here.
- ³⁹All following statements and comments on the Holy Apostles Church are taken from my translated summary of Xyngopoulos' monograph.
- ⁴⁰Xyngopoulos' names the prophets, of course, in Greek. With the help of a student of Greek I have been able to identify them as Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Malachi, Elijah, Habakkuk, Jonah, Zephaniah-- all of whom commonly appear among prophets seen with the Pantocrator.

NOTES CONTINUED

The other three--Elisha, Hosea and Nahum--are only rarely if ever--seen in such domes. They are omitted from Kariye Djami's twenty-four prophets, from the Pammakaristos' twelve(Moses, Jeremiah, Micah, Joel, Zechariah, Obadiah, Habakkuk, Johan, Malachai, Eziechiel, and Isiah), as well as from the King's Church group of eight(Eziekiel, Ezra, Zephaniah, Isiah, Elijah, Johan, Jeremiah and Habakkuk).

⁴¹Svetozar Radojcic, "Yugoslav Icons," from Kurt Weitzmann et al in A Treasury of Icons(New York, 1966), p. LXVII.

⁴²Making random search I see that the tree in axe motif is found in the Baptism scene at the Protaton at Mt. Athos(ca.1300), in Prizren(ca.1306-09), in the King's Church at Studenica(1313-14), and in Staro Nagoricino(1317).

⁴³Laiou, Constantinople and the Latins, p. 352.

⁴⁴Ibid., p. 243.

⁴⁵Ibid., p. 231.

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- Xyngopoulos, Andre. Η ΨΗΦΙΔΩΤΗ ΔΙΑΚΟΣΜΗΣΙΣ ΤΟΥ ΝΑΟΥ ΤΩΝ ΑΓΙΩΝ ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΩΝ ΘΕΣΣΑΛΟΝΙΚΗΣ. ("The Mosaic Decoration Of The Church of The Holy Apostles In Salonica,"), Thessalonica, 1953.

How can this used?

PICTURE ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Figures 1 through 5, taken from Dumbarton Oaks Papers, Nos. 9-10 and 14.

Figures 6, 25, 26 and 27, taken from Underwood's Kariye Djami Vol. II.

Figures 20 and 30, taken from Underwood's Kariye Djami, Vol. III.

Figures 7 through 19, and 21 through 24, and 28, 29, all taken from Xyngopoulos' Mosaic Decoration of the Church of the Holy Apostles In Salonica.

Figures 32 through 36, taken from Kašanin, Korać, Tasić, Sakota, Studenica.



FIG. 1 (See pg. 9 for text)
-PAMMAKARISTOS-

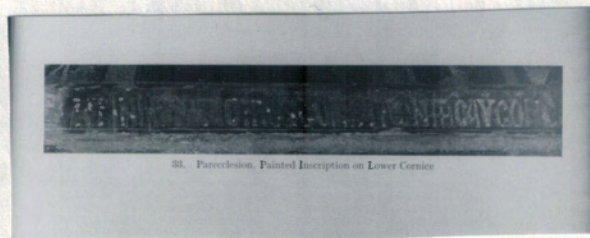


FIG. 2

(see pg. 11 for text)



FIG. 3

(see pg. 11 for text)

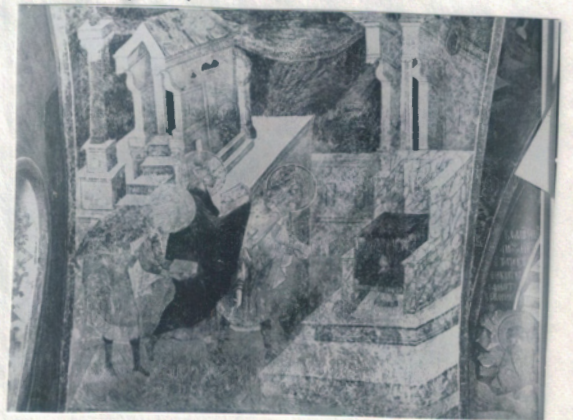


FIG. 4. (see pg. 12 for Text reference)
-PAMMAKARISTOS-



FIG. 5- ST. BLASIVS
-PAMMAKARISTOS (see pg. 12 for Text reference)

FIG. 6- KARIYE DJAMI-



(see pg. 13 for text)

FIG. 7- (See pg. 14 for text reference)



FIG. 8 (detail of 7)



FIG. 9 (See pg. 14 for text)

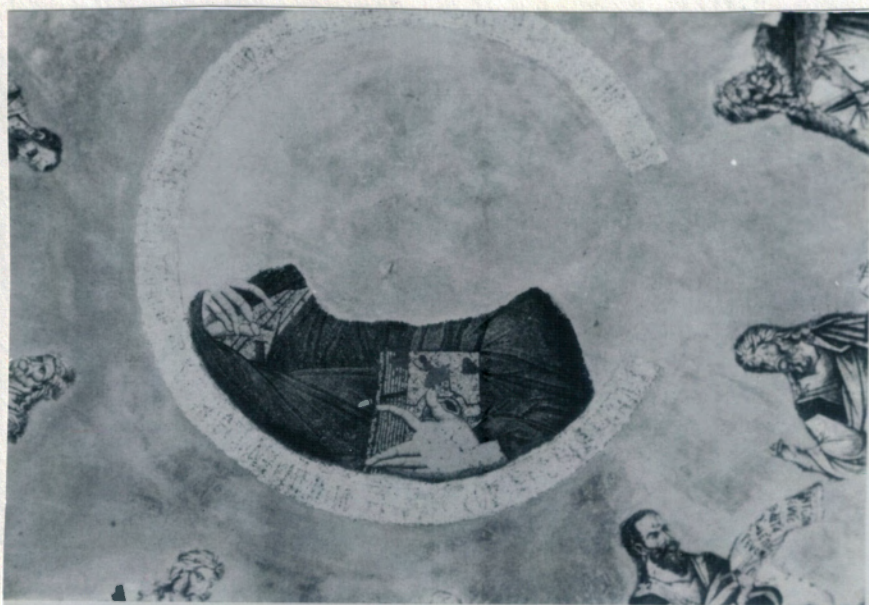


FIG. 10 - (see pg. 15 for text)



→
FIG. 11
(see pg. 16
for refs.)
↓



FIG. 12

FIG.
13



↑
(For textual
references →
see
pg. 16)
↘

FIG. 14



FIG. 15





FIG. 16

(For text $\begin{matrix} \uparrow \\ \text{see} \\ \downarrow \end{matrix}$ pg. 16)



FIG. 17

FIG. 18



↑ This section seen also in FIG. 7

↑
FOR TEXT REFS.
SEE PG. 17

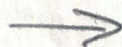


FIG. 19
(Detail
from
Above)



FIG. 20



FIG. 21



← For text refs.
see pg. 17



FIG. 22
(Detail from Above)



FIG. 23
HOLY APOSTLES →

FIG. 24



FIG. 25
KARIYE DJAMI →

FIG. 26



← FOR TEXT REFS.
SEE PG. 18

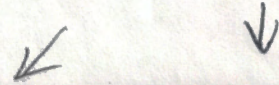




FIG. 27
(KARIYE DJAMI)



FIG. 28
(HOLY APOSTLES)



FIG. 29
(HOLY APOSTLES)
NATIVITY DETAIL

↑
← TEXT REFS.
FOUND ON
PG. 18
↙ ↓



FIG. 30 ↑
KARIYE DJAMI →



FIG. 31
(DETAIL OF
KARIYE
DJAMI
ABOVE)



FIG. 32



FIG. 33



FIG. 34

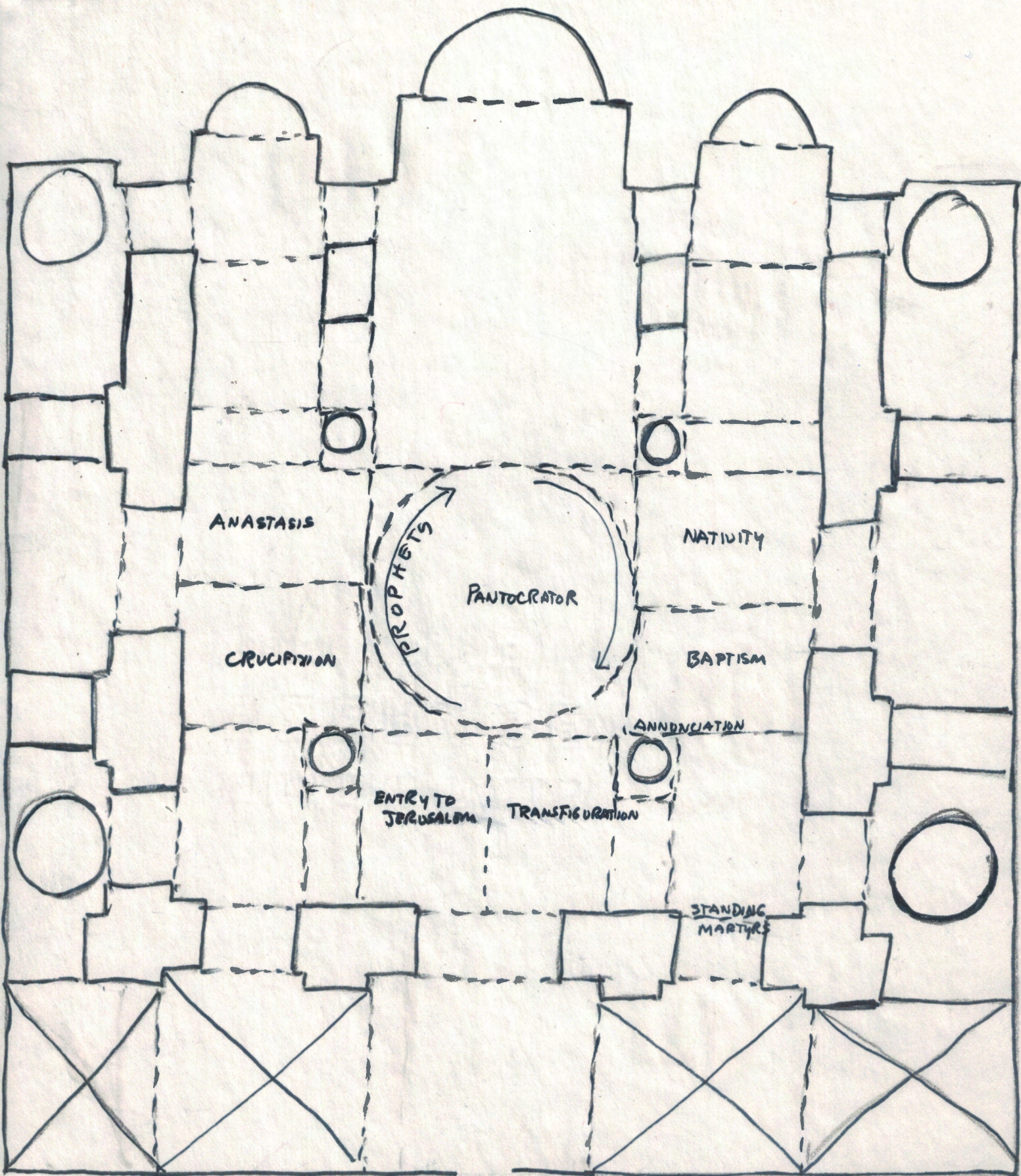


FIG. 35



FIG.
36
(Detail
OF
Above)

ALL SCENES FROM
THE KING'S CHURCH
(TEXT REFS.
ALL ON PG. 20)

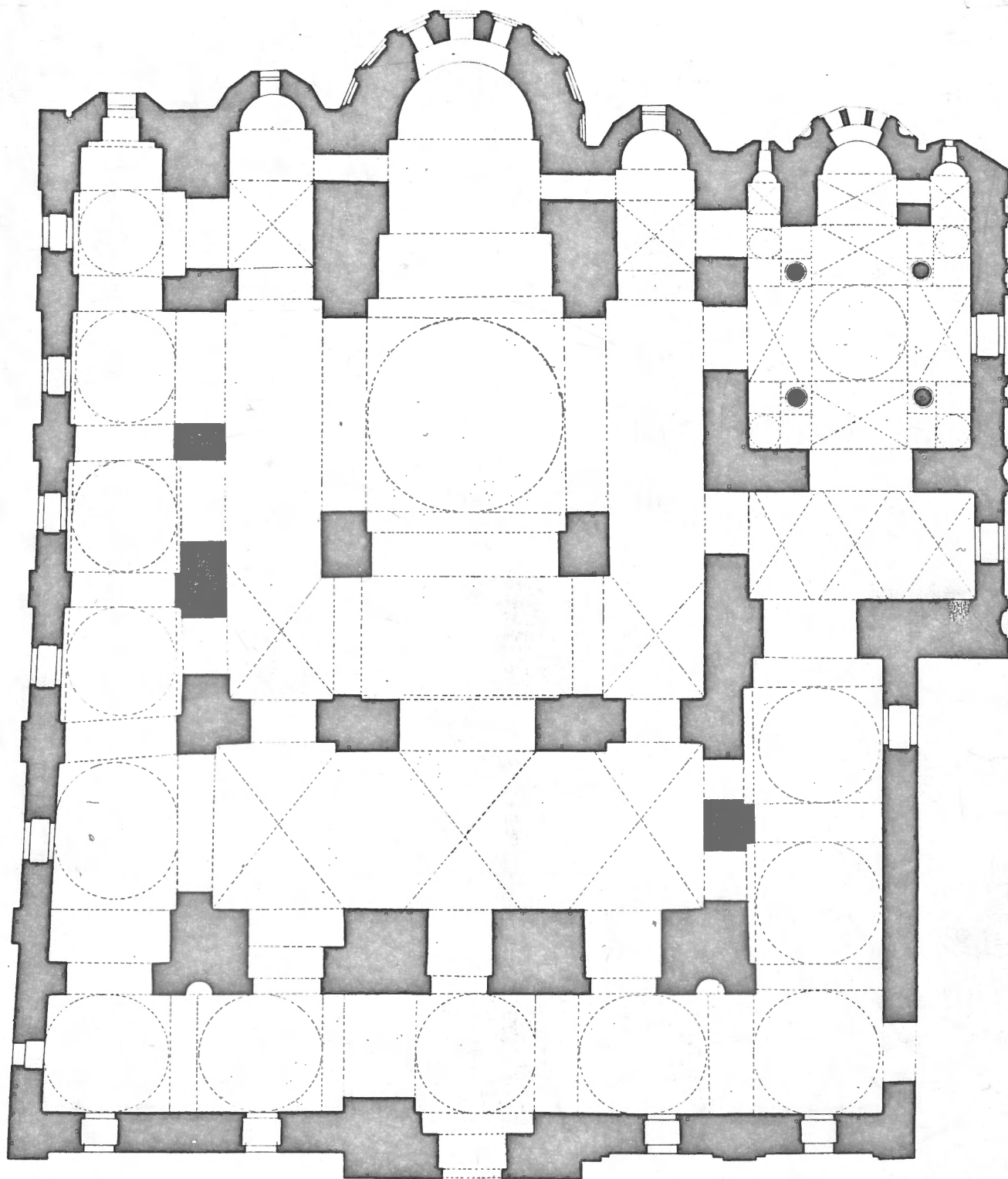


CHURCH OF THE HOLY APOSTLES, SALONICA
SCENES MENTIONED IN TEXT ARE INDICATED

ÉGLISE D'É

FÉTIÉ-DU

PLAN II



PLAN RESTAURÉ.

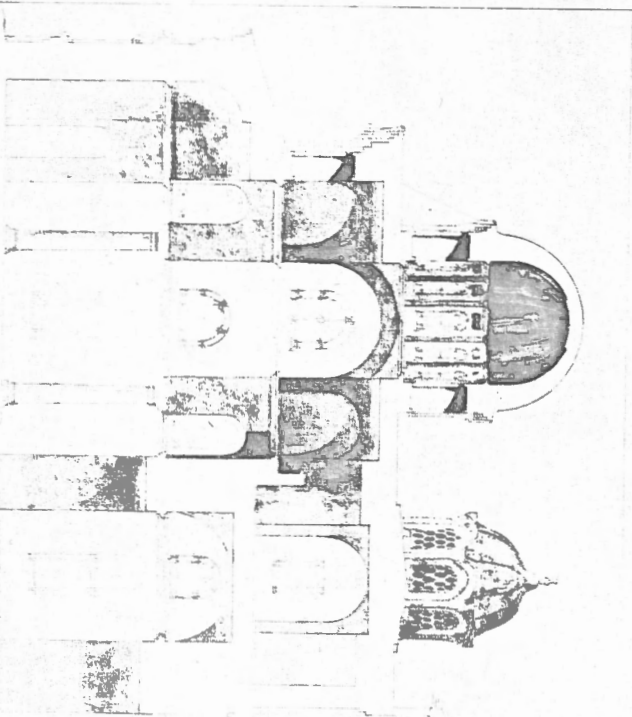
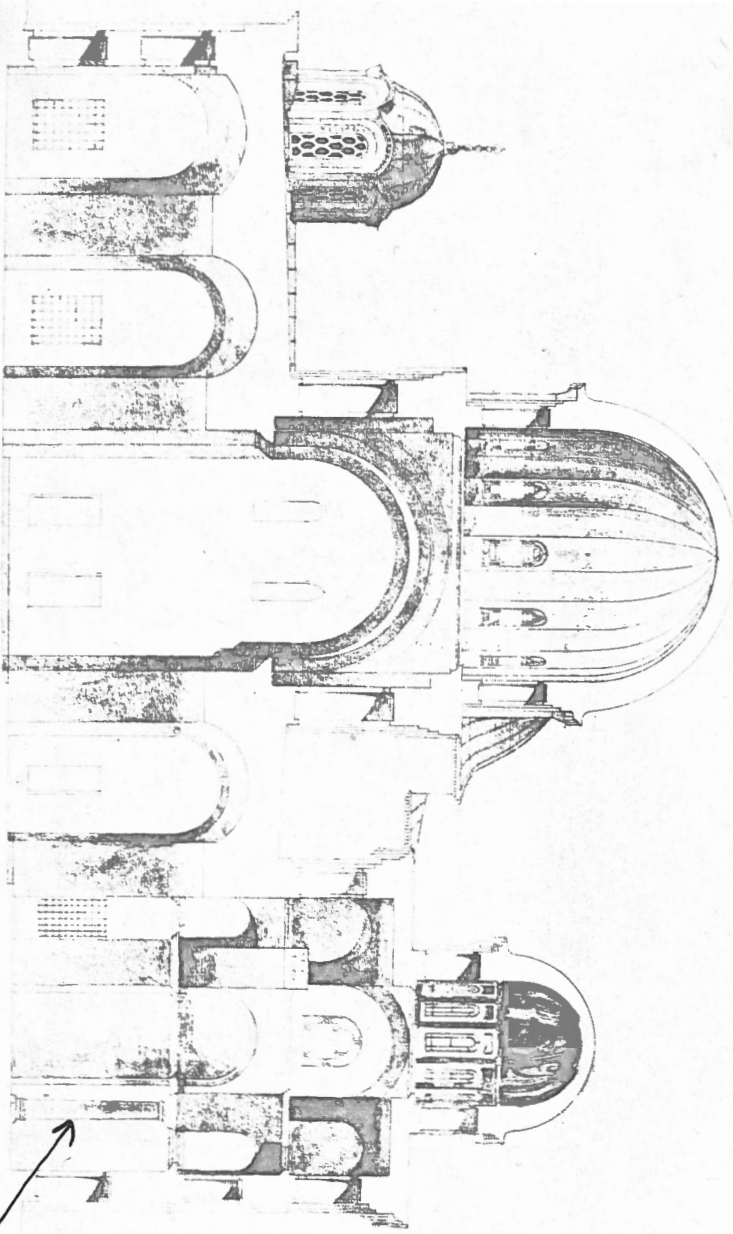
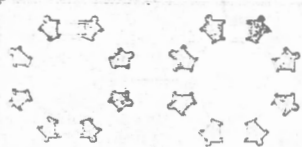
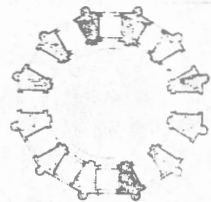
0 1 2 3 4 5

ÉCHELLE 0.02

0.02



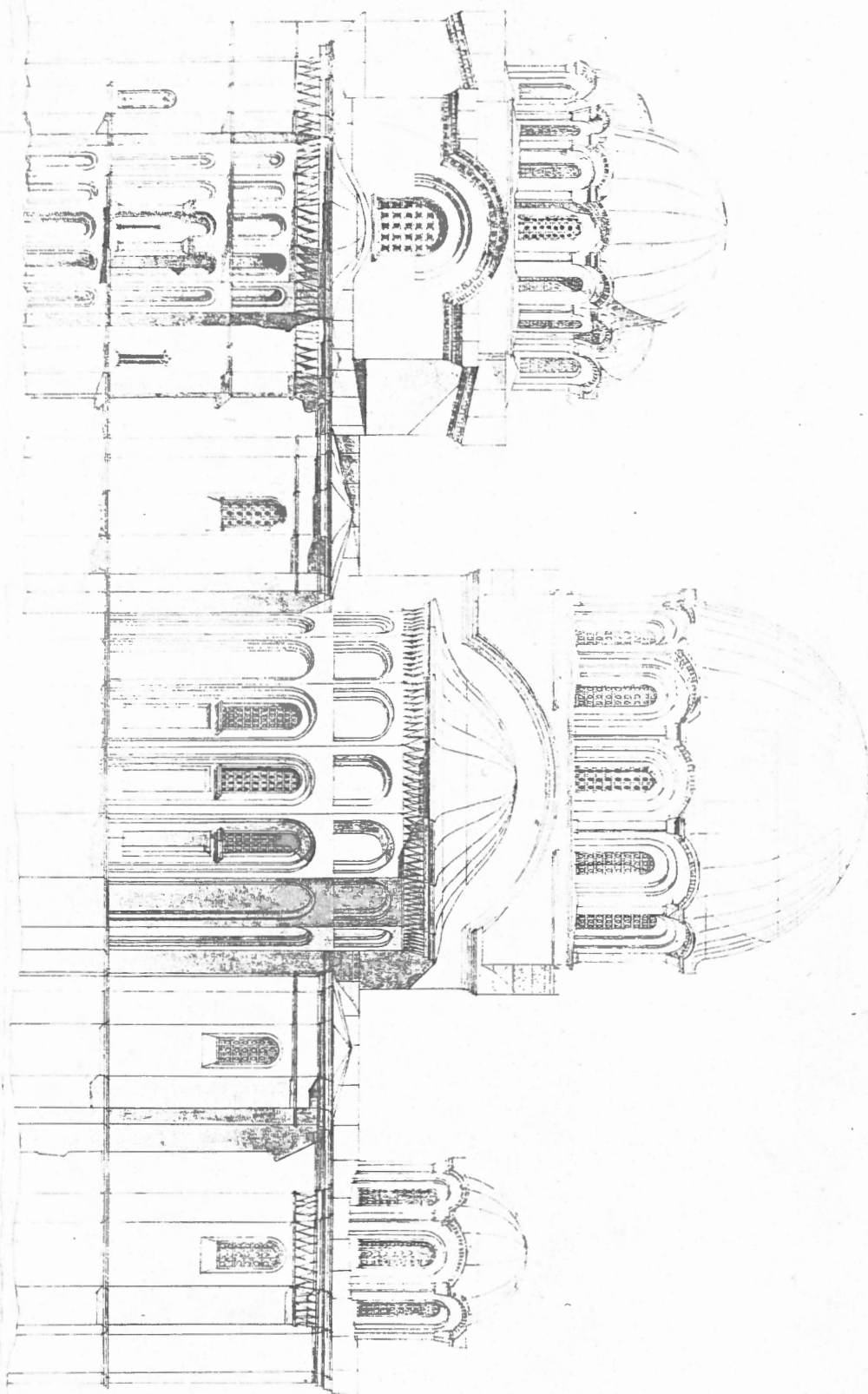
PLAN III



TRAVERSES CUT THROUGH THE ENTIRE PARAMAKRISTAS

Note heavy masonry support which the Turks extended for the original slender columns

LONGITUDINAL VIEW OF THE PROCESSION



A

B

C

EAST FACADES OF THE MAIN CHURCH AND THE PARCESSION OF THE VIRGIN ANNAKRISTOS.

ARCHITECTURE

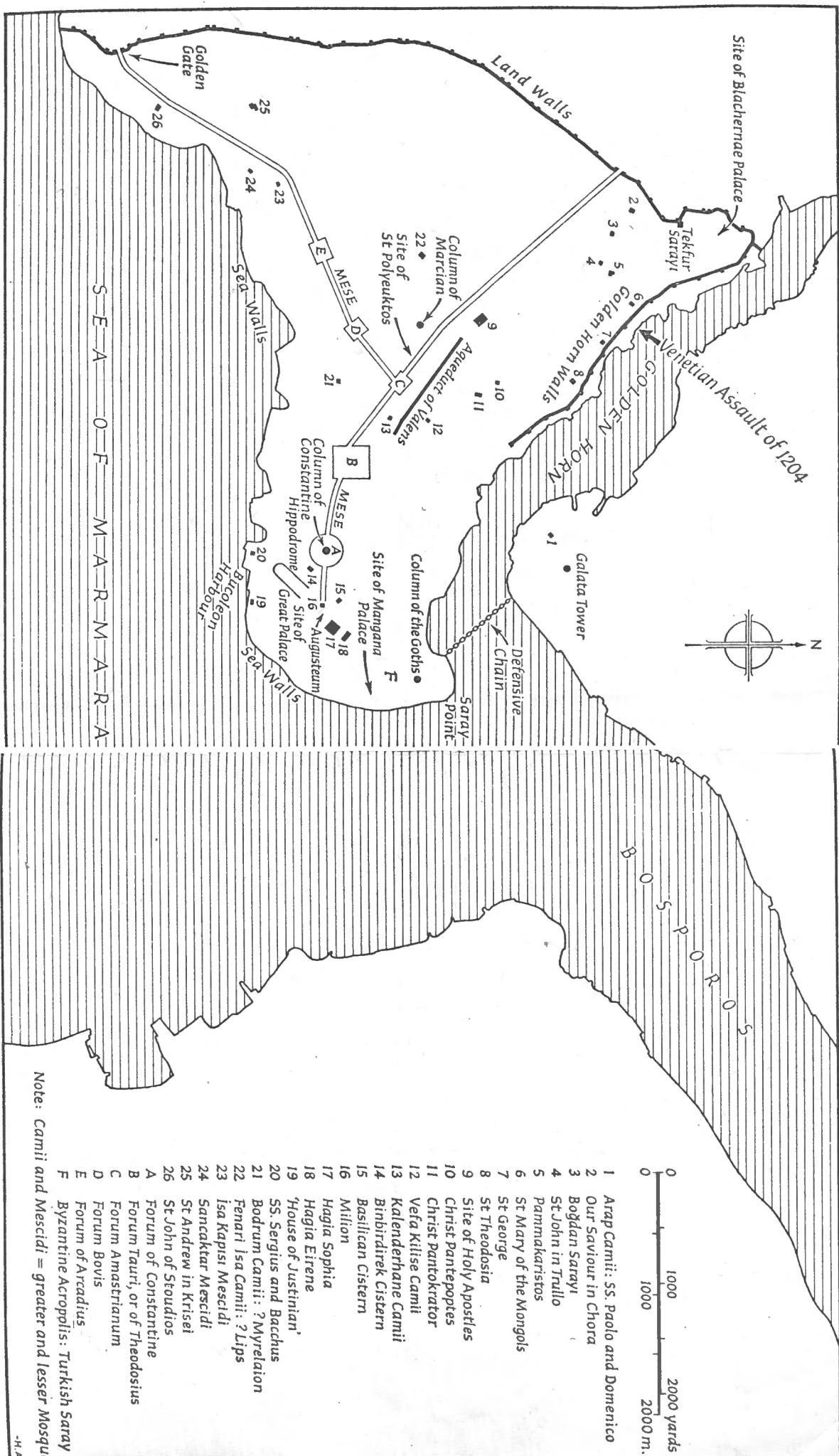
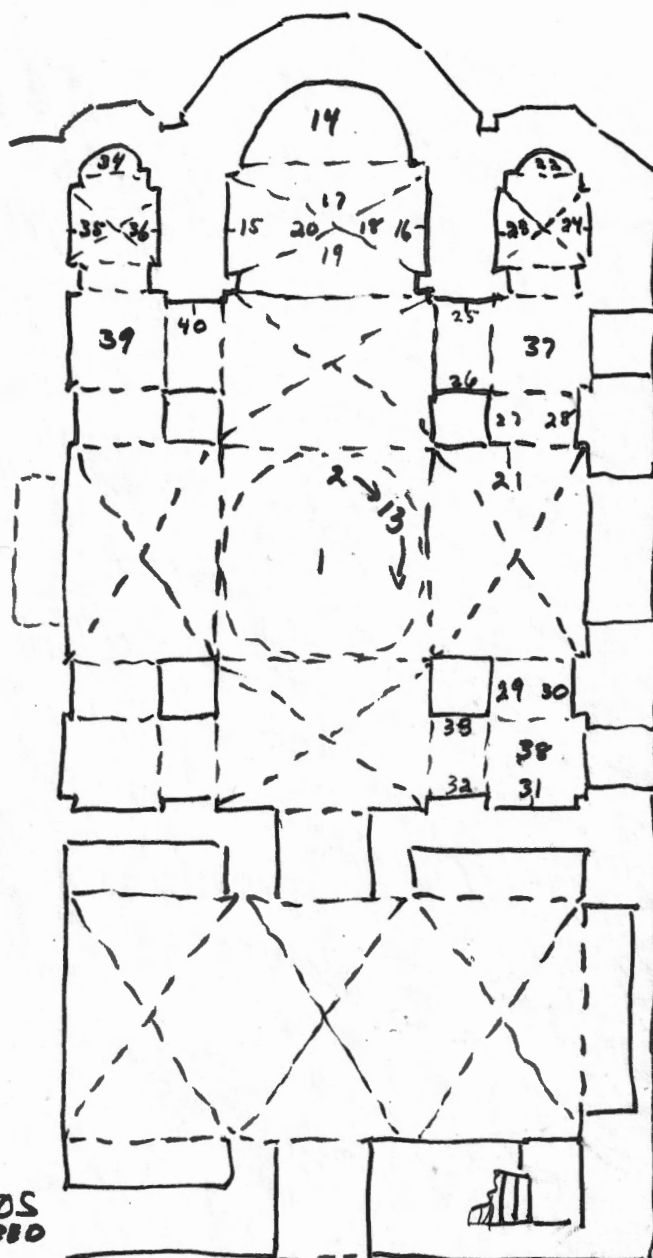


Fig. 18 The main Byzantine monuments of Constantinople

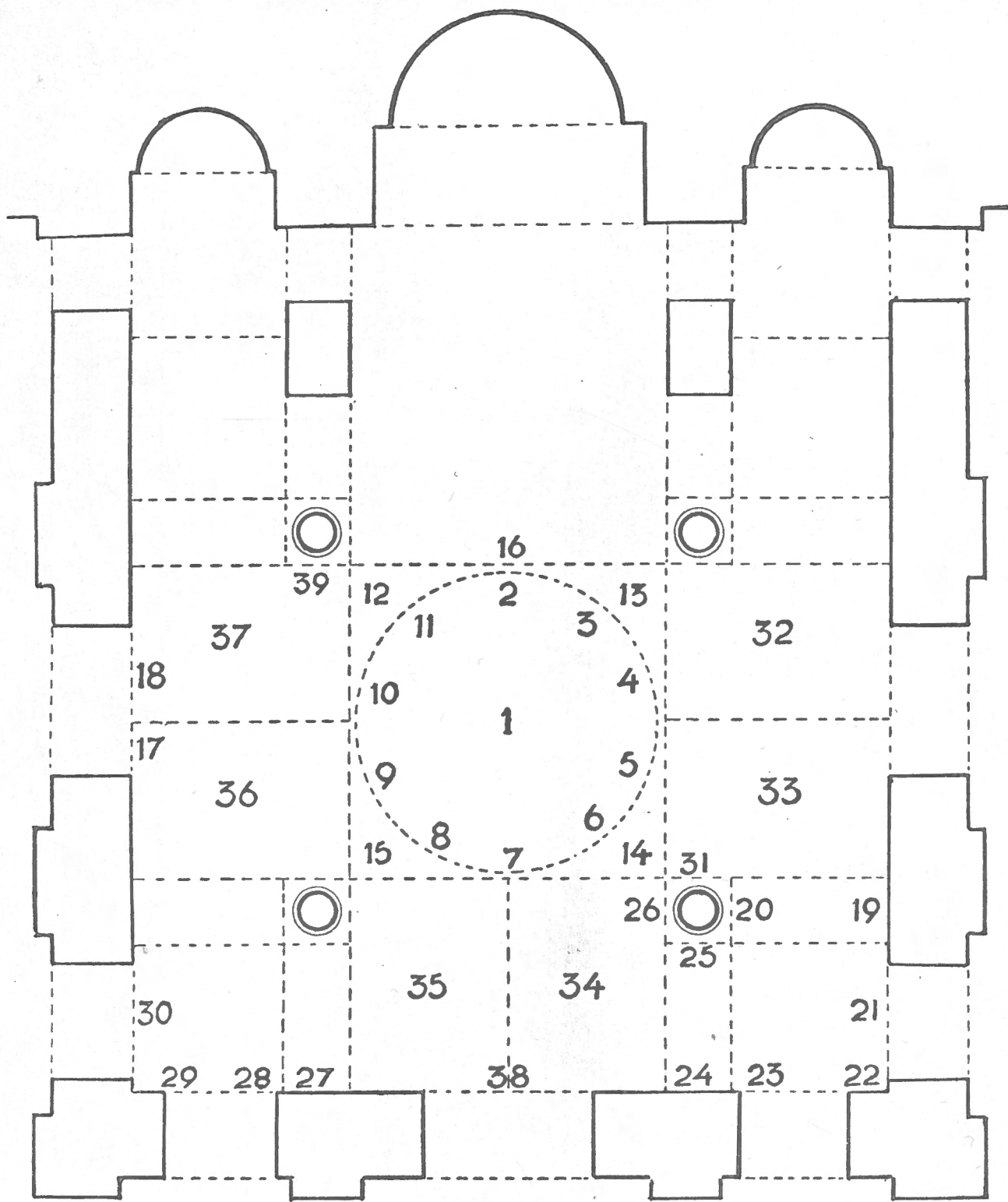


**PAECCLESION OF
VIRGIN OF PAMMAKARISTOS**
INDICATING MOSAICS UNCOVERED
AND ARCOBOLIA

- 1. PANTOCRATOR
- 2-13. PROPHETS
- 14. CHRIST HYPERAGATHOS
- 15. THE VIRGIN
- 16. JOHN PRODROMOS
- 17-20. ARCHANGELS
- 21. BAPTISM OF CHRIST

- 22. GREGORY THE THEOLOGIAN
- 23. CYRIL OF ALEXANDER
- 24. ATHANASIUS
- 25. GREGORY THAUMATURGUS
- 26. GREGORY OF ABRIGENTUM
- 27. ANTIPAS
- 28. BLASIVS
- 29. SABAS
- 30. JOHN CLIMACUS
- 31. EUTHEMIUS

- 32. CHARITON
- 33. ARSENIUS
- 34. JAMES, BROTHER OF OUR LORD
- 35. CLEMENT (?)
- 36. METROPHANES
- 37. GREGORY OF ARMENIA
- 38. ANTHONY
- 39. IGNATIUS THEOPHORUS
- 40. GREGORY OF NYSSA



Διάγραμμα, δεικνύον την θέσιν τῶν ἀνευρεθέντων ψηφιδωτῶν.

1, Παντοκράτωρ. 2-11, Προφῆται. 12-15, Εὐαγγελισταί. 16, Ἅγιον Μανδύλιον. 17, Ἅγιος Μαρκιανός. 18, Ἅγιος Μαρτύριος. 19-25, Μάρτυρες. 26, Ἅγιος Κοσμάς ὁ μελωδός. 27-30, Μάρτυρες. 31, Ὑπαπαντή. 32, Γέννησις τοῦ Χριστοῦ. 33, Βάπτισις. 34, Μεταμόρφωσις. 35, Βαΐφόρος. 36, Σταύρωσις. 37, Ἀνάστασις. 38, Κοίμησις τῆς Θεοτόκου. 39, Εὐαγγελισμός.