26TH ANNUAL LECTURE, 1 NOVEMBER 2017

FINDING A PLACE IN HISTORY

THE CHORA MONASTERY AND ITS PATRONS

ROBERT G. OUSTERHOUT

IN MEMORY OF
CONSTANTINOS LEVENTIS

THE A. G. LEVENTIS FOUNDATION

the Leventis
MUNICIPAL MUSEUM OF NICOSIA

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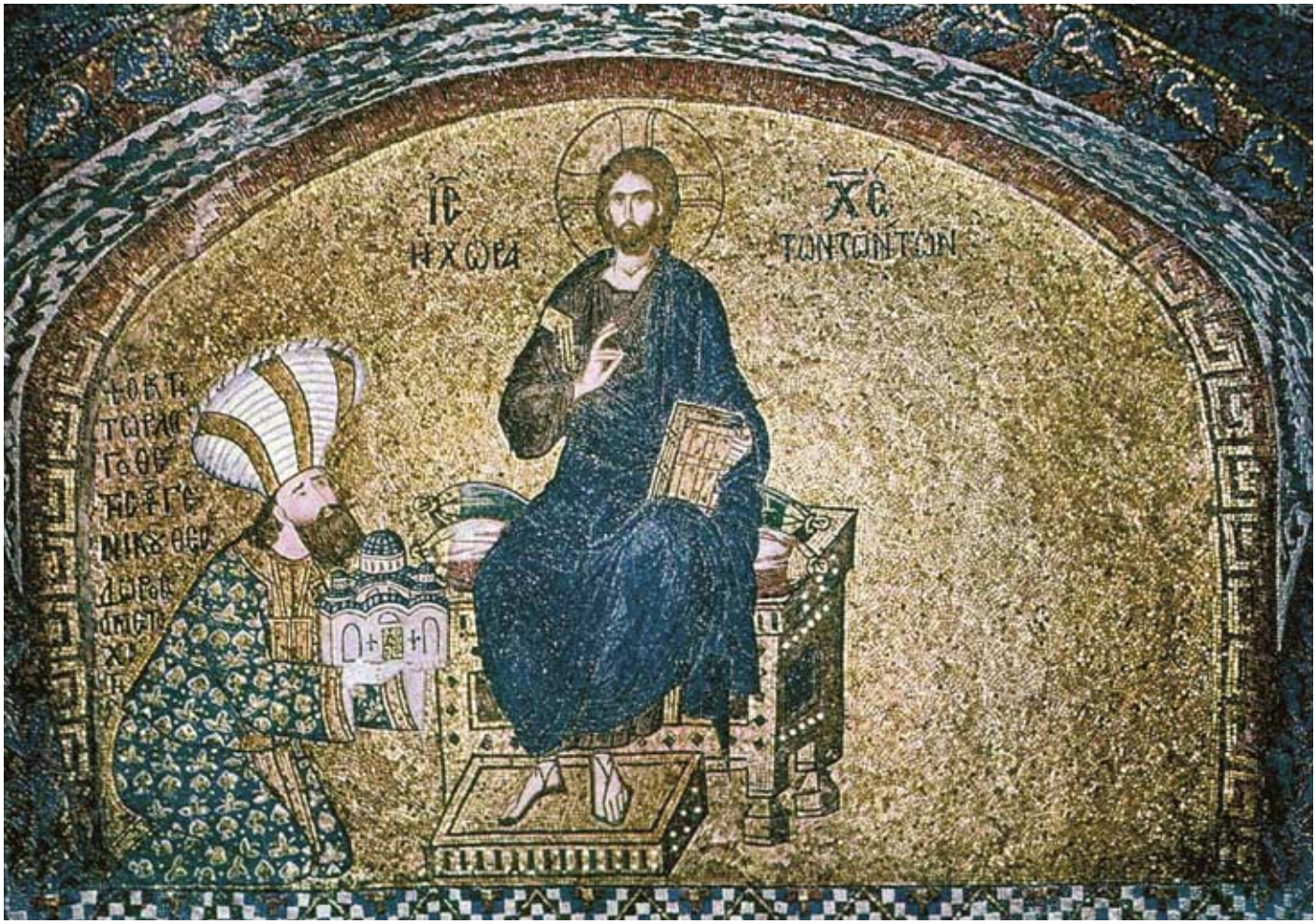
The Chora Monastery has been with me my entire career, ever since I undertook my dissertation on its architecture in 1977 ("The Architecture of the Kariye Camii in Istanbul," Ph. D. diss., University of Illinois, 1982), and I have returned to it — in person and in print — on many occasions, as the following footnotes will amply attest. I am grateful to the Foundation Anastasios G. Leventis and the Leventis Municipal Museum of Nicosia for the opportunity to reassess my thinking about this important building.



1. In what was a standard format for a Byzantine donor portrait, Theodore Metochites appears kneeling, holding a model of the Chora church, which he presents to an enthroned Christ. Set in the lunette above the entrance into the naos, the composition is asymmetrical, and the space opposite Metochites has been left conspicuously empty.
(Carroll Wales)

Introduction

When we speak about great buildings, patronage looms large (FIG. 1). We still say that Louis XIV built Versailles or that Justinian built Hagia Sophia, although we are well aware that neither Louis nor Justinian ever lifted a hod of bricks or wielded a trowel. It is only in the Modern era, when architects *as designers* became larger-than-life personalities, that they are privileged in our memory: the house known as Fallingwater in western Pennsylvania, for example, is always *Frank Lloyd Wright's Fallingwater* — who remembers the name of the client who commissioned it? Historically, however, it is the other way around: the patron gets all the credit, while the masons and artisans responsible — who usually remain anonymous — fade into the background.[1]

This emphasis colors the architectural descriptions of the Byzantine period: A great building could reflect the character of its patron, something that figures into the architectural *ekphraseis* of both ancient Rome and Byzantium. Writing in the sixth century, Cassiodorus expressed it succinctly: "As is the inhabitant, so is the house."[2] In his biography of Nero, for example, the Roman historian Suetonius effectively employed a description of the emperor's Domus Aurea to condemn him as profligate, foolish, and self-centered. In the Byzantine period, Michael Psellos similarly used architectural descriptions to subtly undermine the character of several eleventh-century emperors — notably, his biography of Constantine IX Monomachos features prominently a detailed description of the construction of St. George of Mangana in Constantinople, which the author begrudgingly admired but regarded as "the worst of the emperor's foolish excesses."[3]

In the Byzantine period, a patron could be granted the legal status of *ktetor* as founder or re-founder of a religious establishment, along with which came certain proprietary rights: care in old age, a privileged place burial, prayers on behalf of one's soul. The motivations for such an undertaking were many: fame in this world, salvation in the next; perhaps as an act of penance or thanksgiving, or hope of intercession.[4] In the centuries under discussion here, with the increasing importance if the individual and the family, commemoration played a critical role. John P. Thomas has emphasized the significance of *memoria* because of the need for continuing prayers, *in perpetuum*, for the salvation of the

2. Elegant and finely constructed, the early eleventh-century Çanlı Kilise brought the style of Constantinople to rural Cappadocia. Neither the dedication of the church nor the name of its patron have been recorded. (author)

benefactors' souls, as well as those of their relatives, and their descendants.[5] Because of the common belief that the soul only gradually departed from the body, continued prayers were thought to be necessary to assist it on its way. Thus, in his *Typikon* for the Kosmosoteira Monastery at Ferai of 1152, the *Sebastokrator* Isaak Komnenos (to be discussed below), instructs: "Every evening, after the dismissal of vespers, I want the superior and the rest of the monks to enter [his tomb chamber], and in front of the holy icons standing there, to pronounce the *Trisagion* and a certain number of *Kyrie eleisons* for mercy upon my soul."[6] The commemorative services for his brother John II Komnenos at the Pantokrator Monastery in Constantinople, as specified in the *Typikon* of 1143, were even more elaborate.[7]

Of course, the relationship between the founder and the institution, such as those noted above, are easier to understand from a text, which instructs us on how to interpret the building, rather than directly from the building itself. For the Byzantine period, the analysis becomes all the more complicated by the nature of survival, of both textual and material data, for rarely do we have the right balance of evidence to allow a full exploration of the visual manifestations of patronage. The examples cited above are known primarily from texts; we could never have arrived at a similar reading from the paltry surviving archaeological remains.

At the opposite extreme, many standing Byzantine buildings, even at the highest level of quality, have no surviving texts related to them — and thus no names to guide our inquiry. To cite one example, although now in ruins, the so-called Çanlı Kilise in Cappadocia was an exceptional work of architecture with first-class wall paintings (FIG. 2).[8] Who built it? From a close analysis of the remains, we may conclude that the patron was [1] financially well-off (as the scale and quality indicate), [2] connected to Constantinople (as the style of the art and architecture suggest), [3] able to import artisans and expensive pigments (both the building and its painting are unique to the region), [4] had the wherewithal to produce bricks (quite unusual and unnecessary in Cappadocia, but a standard component in the architecture of the capital), and [5] was interested in constructing a building that would convey his status and cultural associations (by emulating the monuments of the Byzantine capital). He might — just might — have been the commander at

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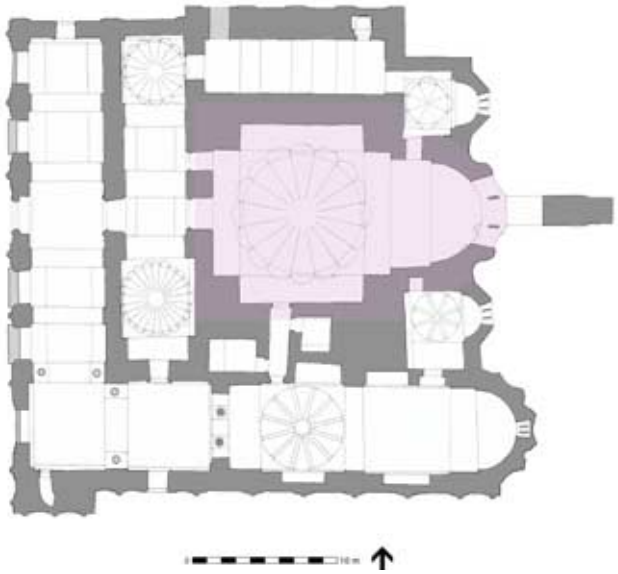


3. In a detail of the east façades, the richly articulated facets of the fourteenth-century parekklesion apse appear to the left, reflecting the detailing of the older, twelfth-century apse to the right. (author)

4. A view of the inner narthex gives some sense of the original opulence of the church, replete with its marble pavements, revetments, painted cornices, and vaults filled with mosaics, all part of the renovation of Theodore Metochites. (author)

5. Plan of the Chora, showing areas of the eleventh-twelfth-century naos in pink; the additions of Theodore Metochites in medium grey; and later modifications in light grey. (author)

the nearby fortress, as the very fragmentary cornice inscription ATHCTPATH (perhaps the end of a name, <…>ατης, plus the title Strategos, στρατη<γός>) suggests.[9] But we are still a long way from reconstructing a distinct or coherent personality: in spite of a detailed site survey, considerable documentation, and even a salvage excavation, we are left utterly without names — neither for the patron nor for the dedication of the church, not even a toponym for the settlement.

How fortunate we are, then, to have a building like the Chora Monastery from Constantinople, where the rich and evocative physical evidence is balanced by the textual evidence (FIGS. 3, 4). We have not one but several founders, whom we know by name, most of whom are known historical personages, and even the more shadowy amongst them seem to have been interesting characters. It's a monument with personality, built by patrons with distinct personalities. As I shall argue in the following pages, because of the wealth of evidence, it is possible to discuss the Chora Monastery in ways that are simply not feasible at almost any other site. Moreover, we are able to put the pieces together to suggest the varying agendas of the founders or re-founders through the history of the building and how they are manifest in physical form. I say "suggest," rather than "demonstrate" or "prove," because there is always an element of speculation in this approach.[10] Patrons may be knowledgeable and involved, but rarely do they spell out their agenda in any detail; more importantly, the building and its art are the work of others — and in the case of the Chora, they remain anonymous. It is the luck of the Chora that — at least in the final phase — that the patron found masons and artisans able to translate his vision into material form.

The Chora Monastery in Constantinople (now known as the Kariye Camii or more officially as the Kariye Museum in Istanbul) remains one of the greatest masterpieces of Byzantine art, justly famous for its richly appointed final phase of construction, ca. 1316–21 (FIG. 5).[11] As I shall argue, the surviving architecture, mosaics, and wall paintings reflect the restless intellect and aesthetic sensibilities of the *ktetor*, Theodore Metochites, who was both the leading scholar of his age and the richest and most powerful person in the empire, second only to the emperor. A knowledgeable and involved patron, Metochites provided 'hothouse conditions' for the painters and builders, ush-

6. Above the entrance into the inner narthex, the monumental bust of Christ identified as the “Dwelling-place (Chora) of the Living.” (author)

ering in a dynamic new phase of artistic expression that had lasting repercussions through the remainder of the Byzantine period and beyond.[12] Moreover, Metochites's writings provide a unique and intimate assessment of his role as patron, in his own words — rather than the more common, second-hand opinions of the historian.

The Chora was one of the oldest and most revered monasteries of the Byzantine capital, a *vasilike mone* supported by members of the imperial family through its long history. In what follows, I shall attempt to situate Metochites's accomplishments as patron *par excellence* in relationship to the previous *ktetores*, notably the two whose images appear in the narthex of the church, next to Metochites's own donor portrait: the twelfth-century crown prince Isaak Komnenos and the enigmatic thirteenth-century princess identified as the nun Melane, Lady of the Mongols. I shall attempt to clarify their contributions to the monastery and how their concerns were both respected and honored in the project of Theodore Metochites. In the final analysis, the dynamic interchanges between patrons and artisans led to the creation of one of the most aesthetically pleasing and intellectually engaging monuments of Byzantine art.

Located at the edge of the city by the Adrianople Gate (Edirne Kapı), the site of the Chora lay outside Constantine's city wall of ca. 324–30, although just within the Land Wall built under Theodosius II, when the city was expanded in 412–13. This area was regarded as outside the *pomerium* of the city proper, however, and it remained rural in character through its history. This may account for the appellation *Chora* (Χώρα), which in Modern Greek means village or the capital of an island (even Nicosia is called Chora), but it's a multipurpose word, which also can be translated as "land," "country," or "in the country" — and as used here, it is somewhat similar to English extramural religious foundations designated "in the fields" or Roman churches *fuori le mura*. The word *chora* also has other meanings, such as container, dwelling-place, or keep (*donjon* or fortress) and the name of the monastery came to be reinterpreted in a mystical sense. In the pendant images at the entrance, and throughout the building, Christ is inscribed ἡ χώρα τῶν ζώντων: The Dwelling-place of the Living, a reference to Psalm 116:9, a verse that appears in the funeral liturgy, a reference to our heavenly reward — here a play on the name of the monastery (FIG. 6). The Theotokos, in turn, is inscribed ἡ χώρα

7. Above the main entrance, facing outward, the Theotokos is adored by angels, with the Christ child in her womb, identified by the inscription as the "Container (Chora) of the Uncontainable." (Dumbarton Oaks)

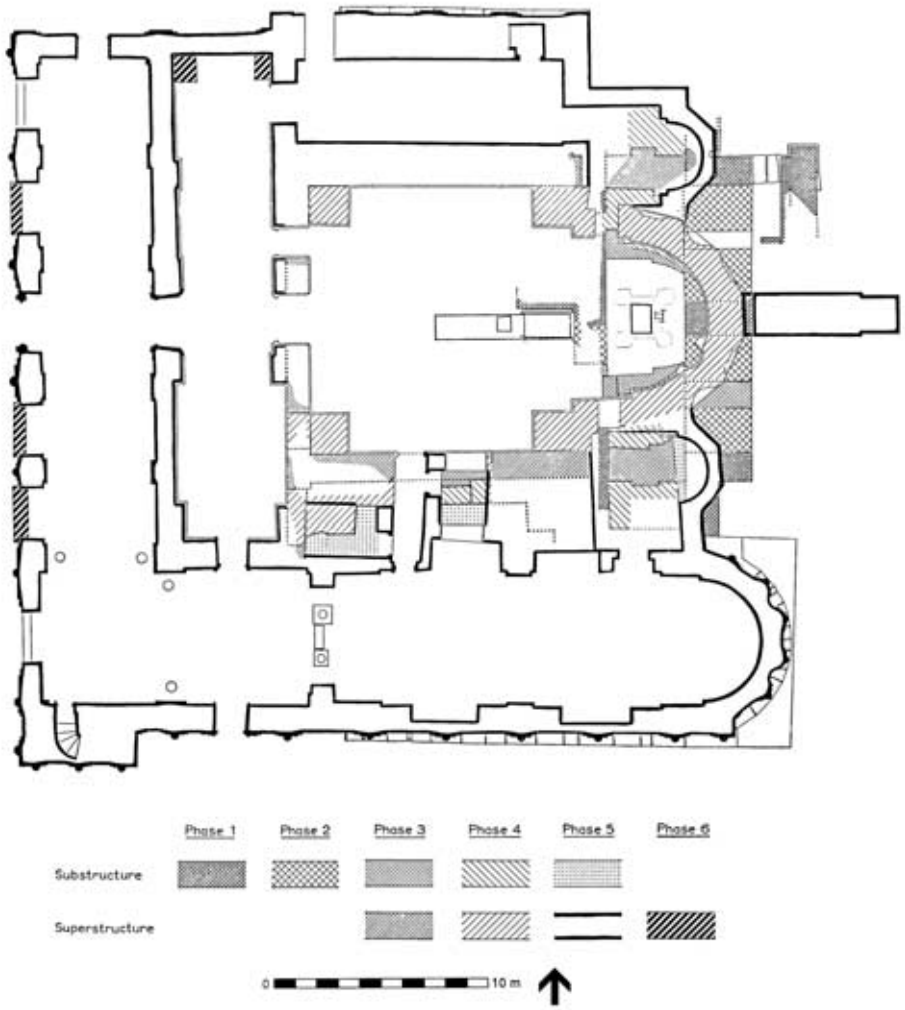
τοῦ ἀχωρήτου: The Container of the Uncontainable, again, a play on the name of the monastery. Represented with the Christ child in her womb, she is containing "what the spacious fields of heaven could not contain," as one hymnographer expressed it (FIG. 7). The vault between the two images features scenes of the Wedding at Cana and the Multiplication of the Loaves, with visual emphasis on the *pithoi* of wine and baskets of bread — that is, *containers* of the Eucharist (visible in fig. 6).[13] In his poems, Theodore Metochites often uses the word *chora* with the meaning of keep, presenting the Theotokos and the monastery as a place of safety.[14]

Early History

The foundation of the monastery remains shrouded in legend. Although the site was claimed to have been consecrated for Christian use by the burial of the relics of St. Babylas and his disciples at the beginning of the fourth century — that is, before the refoundation of the city by Constantine — nothing from this early period survives.[15] The earliest archaeological evidence dates from the sixth century (FIG. 8). This period corresponds with the life of a certain St. Theodore, claimed to be an uncle of the Empress Theodora, who was said to have founded a monastery on this site that was subsequently destroyed in an earthquake and rebuilt by the Emperor Justinian. The ninth-century *Life* of Michael the Synkellos records the associations of the monastery with Palestinian monastic communities from an early date — and explains how Michael himself had come from Jerusalem to reside there.[16] Following deterioration and partial destruction of the Chora during Iconoclasm, Michael was installed as *hegoumenos* of the Chora after the Triumph of Orthodoxy in 843, and he undertook to rebuild the monastery at that time, with imperial support.

see p.18

Below the main apse of the present church are the visible remains of vaulted substructures, which the excavators dated to the sixth and ninth centuries. All that can be surmised from what remains is that they created a platform on the sloping ground for the construction of a sizeable building on the upper level, of which nothing survives. Tombs or reliquary chambers beneath



8. Plan of the Chora, showing the archaeological remains of the different phases: 1: sixth century; 2: ninth century; 3: late eleventh century; 4: early twelfth century; 5: ca. 1316–21; 6: later modifications. (after Underwood)

the present naos, however, suggest that these possibly may be the remnants of "the refuge" or *kataphyge*, below the church of St. Anthimos, where Michael visited the tombs of holy martyrs shortly before his death.[17]

While the details of the monastery remain vague in the *Life* of Michael, what emerges most clearly is the long-standing sanctity of the "imperial and orthodox monastery of Chora":

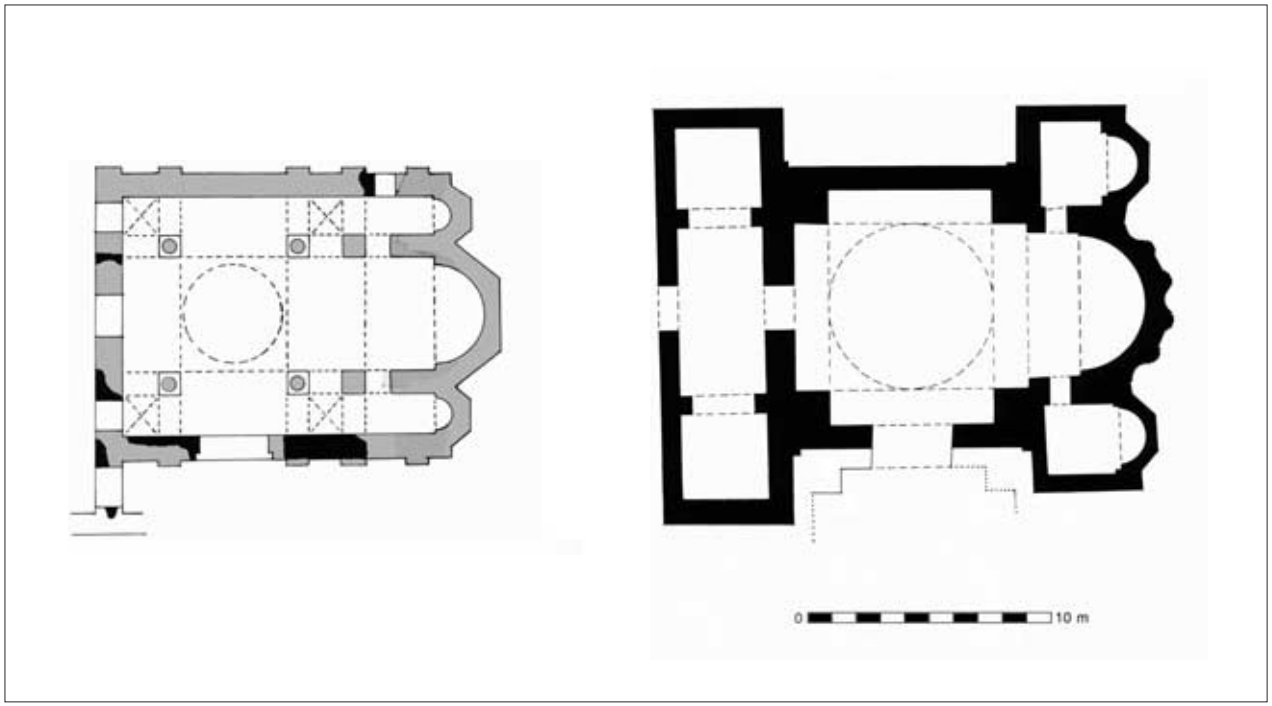
If someone were to call this same monastery the mountain of God, the mountain of Horeb, the mountain of Carmel, or the mountain of Sinai, or Tabor, or Lebanon, or even a holy city set, so to say, upon one of the hills of Jerusalem, he would not say more than what is fitting.[18]

Sanctity associated with the Chora would thus account for the numerous subsequent reconstructions on the same difficult site.

Maria Doukaina

The surviving naos dates from two closely related phases on activity in the Komnenian period, one in the late eleventh century and the other in the early twelfth, and it is here we can begin tentatively to discuss the building as architecture as well as a product of patronage (FIG. 9).[19] The positions of the north, west, and south walls of the naos were determined in the eleventh century. This phase of the building is attributed by Nikephoros Gregoras to Maria Doukaina, the mother-in-law of Emperor Alexios I Komnenos.[20] It can thus be dated ca. 1077–81. Evidence of a narrower apse flanked by lateral apses was found in the sanctuary excavations of 1957–58. This, in combination with the fixed positions of the outer walls, suggests the most likely reconstruction of Maria's church as a cross-in-square type, with a small dome raised above four columns. This was the most common Byzantine church type during the period of the ninth through fourteenth centuries. As reconstructed, the eleventh-century Chora would have been similar in form, scale, and date to the surviving church of Christos ho Pantepoptes (Eski Imaret Camii), rebuilt by Anna Dalassene, the mother of Alexios, at about the same time.[21]

see p.20



9. Reconstructed plans of the eleventh-century cross-in-square church (left) attributed to Maria Doukaina; and the twelfth-century atrophied Greek-cross church (right) attributed to Isaak Komnenos. (author)

Like the Pantepoptes, the rebuilding of the Chora appears as a pious offering; at the same time, both projects were products of the cultural patronage associated with the powerful women of the early Komnenian court, who organized literary salons, supported poets, and founded monasteries.[22]

The archaeologists who examined the building in the 1950s were surprised to find two phases of construction so close in date.[23] The explanation, it seems, is that the Chora was built on unstable ground that continues to shift downhill. A crack about 4 cm. wide runs through the eastern part of the building. It seems likely that that eleventh-century church collapsed, perhaps following an earthquake, and was reconstructed with a more stable design in the early twelfth century. The problems did not cease, however, and a flying buttress was added in the fourteenth century in an attempt to stabilize the apse.[24]

Isaak Komnenos

The rebuilding of Maria's church can be credited to her grandson, one of the bad boys of Byzantium, Isaak Komnenos (1093–ca. 1152), who was son, brother, and father of emperors but seems to have been constitutionally unsuited to being emperor himself.[25] He supported his brother John II in the dynastic struggles of the early twelfth century, and with his brother's accession in 1118, he was rewarded in with the title of *Sebastokrator*, or Crown Prince, as well as the undying enmity of his sister Anna Komnene, who omits him altogether from her famous autobiography. Shortly thereafter the two brothers became estranged, and Isaak, along with his sons, fled the capital for the Danishmendid court at Melitene, from which he fomented rebellion and unsuccessfully attempted to form a coalition against John; he also made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Their relations were briefly patched up in 1136, but Isaak's oldest son defected to the Seljuks of Konya, and Isaak himself was subsequently banished from the capital to Herakleia on the Black Sea. With the death of John in 1143 and the accession of his son Manuel, Isaak once again made a mess of things, attempting first to support the rival claim of Manuel's younger brother and then to usurp the throne for himself. By mid-century, he was once again in exile, this time in Thrace, where he founded the mona-

10. The twelfth-century *Sebastokrator* Isaak Komnenos, brother of John II and *ktetor* of the Chora, stands at the feet of the Theotokos in the Deesis mosaic in the inner narthex. (Carroll Wales)

stery of the Theotokos Kosmosoteira at Ferai (Vira), from which both the *Katholikon* and the *Typikon* of 1152 survive.[26]

Serving as a combination of monastic charter and last will and testament, the *Typikon* records that Isaak had earlier had a tomb prepared for himself at the Chora monastery, from which he requested certain fittings be transferred to his new tomb at the Kosmosoteira. From this statement, indicating his proprietary rights at the Chora, we can assume he held the title of *ktetor* and that the reconstruction of the naos in the early twelfth century was his work. Among the items mentioned at his tomb at the Chora was a portrait of himself, "made in my youth, in the vanity of boyhood," but he specified that this was to remain at the Chora.[27] This would also explain why his portrait was included in the fourteenth-century *Deesis* mosaic, where he is identified as Ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ὑψηλοτάτου βασιλέως Ἀλεξίου τοῦ Κομνηνοῦ Ἰσαάκιος ὁ πορφυρογέννητος: "son of the most exalted emperor Alexios, Isaakios the porphyrogennetos" (FIG. 10). Throughout his troubled life, Isaak remained a scholar and patron of distinction, having composed philosophical treatises and commentaries on Homer, and he most likely commissioned the lavishly illustrated Seraglio Octateuch — not to mention founding or refounding two important Byzantine monasteries and providing patronage for Palestinian monasteries as well.[28]

During Isaak's rebuilding of the Chora, the design was significantly altered, and the columns of the earlier church were replaced with sturdy corner piers supporting broad arches and a considerably larger dome. The naos opens eastward into a broad bema and apse, as survive today (FIG. 11). This design is sometimes called an 'atrophied Greek-cross plan' — that is, the naos has the plan of a cross with equal arms that are relatively short. This type was deemed more stable than the earlier church, and it also created a more open and spacious interior. This phase may be dated to the 1120s. Isaak's brother John II Komnenos and his consort Eirene-Piroska were responsible for the construction of the Pantokrator monastery (Zeyrek Camii) in Constantinople, beginning shortly after his accession in 1118.[29] At about the same time, Isaak seems to have made separate provision for his own burial at the Chora, probably between 1118, when he was named *Sebastokrator*, and ca.1122–30, when he was exiled from the capital for the first time. But there is also a good possibility the Chora was rebuilt (or perhaps completed) slightly later, for

see p.24

11. The interior of the naos, looking east into the broad bema. The spatial volume was determined in the twelfth century and was maintained in Theodore Metochites's renovation of ca. 1316–21, when the marble revetments and the mosaic icons were added. (author)

Isaak was back in Constantinople ca. 1136–43; nevertheless, Isaak's project at the Chora seems more compatible with the earlier date. While smaller than John's church — limited by the standing walls of the older naos, the diameter of the dome begins to approach that of the Pantokrator. This is the form we see the current naos, although all of the ancillary spaces and the dome itself were rebuilt in the fourteenth century, and the marble revetments were added later as well. Isaak's builders replaced the tripartite sanctuary of the older church with a broad apse, probably with projecting pastophoria, similar to those at St. Albercius at Kurşunlu, built a few decades later, probably modeled after the Chora.[30]

The interior was likely covered with wall paintings rather than mosaics and marble, although the apse conch may have been decorated in mosaic.[31] More importantly, the apse windows were filled with stained glass, like those of the Pantokrator — indicative of the fascination with Western European culture within the Komnenian court (FIG. 12). The fragments found in the excavation are stylistically similar to the glass from the Pantokrator, although chemical analysis indicates they were produced separately.[32] Like the sanctuary, the narthex of the twelfth-century Chora was probably broad, and it was likely the setting for Isaak's tomb — again, probably following John's model. While he never indicated the location of the tomb, the narthex is where he was ultimately commemorated, with his image included in the fourteenth-century Deesis mosaic — it's not the same as the portrait as he mentions, but probably based on it. Moreover, his tomb at the Kosmosoteira was specified to be in the narthex of that church. Thus, we can assume that Isaak followed established burial practices at the Chora, preparing a tomb for himself in the narthex.[33] In the Kosmosoteira *Typikon*, Isaak expresses his great fear of Christ's judgment and places his hope in the intercession of the Theotokos. If reconstructed correctly, his tomb at the Kosmosoteira lay immediately beneath the image of the Theotokos in the northwest dome. Conveniently, in the Deesis mosaic, he appears standing at the feet of the Theotokos, enveloped by her robe, as she implores Christ.

see p.26

From the limited information, we can conclude that Isaak's patronage at the Chora was the result of a combination of concerns common to most patrons: salvation after death and honor on this earth, resulting in a presti-

12. The large bema windows were apparently filled with exotic, Western European-style stained glass, fragments of which were found in the bema excavation. (Dumbarton Oaks)

gious burial for himself, close to the beneficial prayers of the monks. He most likely composed a *typikon* similar to that of the Kosmosoteira, based on the model of the Theotokos Evergetes *Typikon*, although this does not survive. In addition, the growing importance of family in the Komnenian period is evident in his emulation of his brother's foundation at the Pantokrator, and his choice to rebuild the church of his grandmother.[34] Moreover, for his tomb at the Chora, Isaak had prepared portraits of his parents, which were subsequently transferred to the Kosmosoteira.[35] Even in his final exile, family identity remained crucial to his personal identity.

Latin Occupation and the Mysterious Melane

Although it was located at the edge of the city, the Chora monastery took on added importance in the last Byzantine centuries because of its proximity to the main imperial residence at the Blachernae Palace, the remains of which lies further to the north, down the hill toward the Golden Horn. The nearby Late Byzantine palace known as the Tekfur Saray may have been an extension of the Blachernae, although it Byzantine identity is still a matter of debate among scholars. Only pitiful substructures survive from the other parts of the Blachernae Palace.[36]

The Chora monastery seems to have suffered during the Latin Occupation of the city (1204–61), perhaps as a result of the earthquakes that struck the capital in the 1230s. After this time, we hear some complaints about its upkeep. The scholar Maximos Planudes complained about the deteriorated condition of the monastic library, which apparently precipitated his departure from the Chora around 1300.[37] The Patriarch Athanasios, who stayed at the Chora when visiting the emperor at the Blachernae Palace, complained in a letter written around 1305, "I have at least twenty followers who have no place to sleep and are freezing and covered with mud. If my cell were able to hold a windmill, the monks of the Chora could grind a lot of flour."[38]

Some minor repairs may have occurred in the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century, although our evidence is purely circumstantial. Represented in the Deesis mosaic at the feet of Christ is a kneeling woman in a nun's

13. The nun Melane, identified as "Lady of the Mongols," kneels at the feet of Christ in the Deesis mosaic. The illegitimate daughter of Michael VIII Palaiologos, she was Metochites's near-contemporary. (Carroll Wales)

habit, identified by the partially preserved inscription as … Ἀ>νδ<ρον>ίκου τοῦ Παλαιολόγου ἡ κυρὰ τῶν Μουγουλίων Μελάνη ἡ μοναχή: "… of Andronikos Palaiologos the lady of the Mongols the nun Melane" (FIG. 13).[39] She may be identified as the illegitimate daughter of Emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos (and thus half-sister to Andronikos II), Maria, who was born sometime in the early 1250s in Nicaea, before the reconquest of Constantinople in 1261; she is a distant relative of Isaak and through a series of marriages, also vaguely related to Theodore Metochites. In 1265, she was sent to marry the Mongol Khan Hulagu, who, however, died before she arrived in Persia. Instead, she married his son Abaqa Khan and remained in the Mongol court for the next fifteen years. The Mongol rulers often chose Christian brides; Hulagu's chief wife had been a Nestorian Christian and had been something of a spiritual leader at the court — a role assumed by the devout Maria, who is said to have built a church in Tabriz.[40] At the death of Abaqa (under mysterious circumstances) in 1282, Maria returned to Constantinople and became a nun, re-founding the monastery of the Theotokos Panagiotissa ca. 1285, which subsequently became known as the Mouchliotissa ("Our Lady of the Mongols") in memory of her.[41] Thinking her associations with the Mongols might be useful, even in advanced age, she was rehabilitated by Andronikos II in 1307 and offered as a bride to the Mongol prince Charbanda in hopes of securing his military aid when Nicaea was besieged by the Ottomans. She was even sent to Nicaea and displayed on the walls, assuming her presence (with its fearsome Mongolian associations) would frighten away the Ottomans. It didn't; moreover, the second marriage never came to pass, and Maria disappears from the historical record, presumably having returned to her monastery. It's a fascinating life story, recently popularized in a book by Marianna Koromila.[42] That said, for Maria's connection to the Chora monastery, we have simply the mosaic portrait and a gospel book, preserved in Sofia, which she donated to the monastery, in gratitude for the intervention of the Theotokos of the Chora, with a dedicatory poem composed for the occasion — in which she styles herself "Empress of the entire Orient."[43] She may have also sponsored some repairs, but there is no evidence for this. Her role in the monastery's history has been the subject of much speculation, to which I shall return.

14. The south lunette window of the naos is a remnant of the twelfth-century building, but in the renovation of Theodore Metochites, his names and titles (Logothete and Ktetor) were painted on the capitals; the marble revetments and mosaic are also from the same project. (Carroll Wales)

Theodore Metochites

The next phase in the building's history is by far the most important and the best documented. Around 1315 or 1316 the statesman and scholar Theodore Metochites (1270–1332) undertook the restoration and renovation of the Chora. He had been appointed *ktetor* (founder) of the monastery by the reigning emperor, Andronikos II Palaiologos. He describes the situation and his personal motivations as follows:

Now, Time which carries off all good things in its current had all but consigned this monastery to ruin. But the emperor desired to raise it up and restore it as it had been formerly; and he urged me on to this work with force — desirous as I myself was — to oversee this offering in all ways most pleasing unto God, this exceeding delightful favor to the emperor and gain for our soul and unperishable renown through all ages, if only I could shore it up firmly and make it in all ways more secure than before — as indeed it now is — and thereby bring before God and before the emperor such an immense and right glorious gift.[44]

Proud to be the first non-imperial founder of an imperial monastery, Metochites's presence is to be seen everywhere in the building. His portrait survives above the entrance to the naos, where he is shown, wearing his high hat, offering the church to Christ, inscribed: †Ὁ κτήτωρ λογοθέτης τοῦ γενικοῦ Θεόδωρος ὁ Μετοχίτης: "The Founder and Minister of the Treasury Theodore Metochites" (see fig. 1). His monograms appear inside and outside: on the base of the belfry, on the dome cornice, on the naos capitals (FIG. 14). His work was completed by 1321.[45]

Metochites was probably the greatest scholar of his day — his student Nikephoros Gregoras called him a "living library."[46] His literary and scholarly production was prodigious: He wrote a Commentary on Plato, a synopsis of Aristotle, Miscellaneous Essays, Orations, hexameter poems, hagiographical encomia, and an *Introduction to Astronomy*. He held court appointments beginning in 1290, when he came to the attention of the emperor precisely because of his literary talent. He was also the Minister of the Treasury (*Logothetes tou Genikou*) when he began the renovation of the Chora, subsequently

15. The dome cornice has bosses with the monographs of the founder along with his titles. The two here read "*Metochites*" and "*kai Ktetor*." Traces of painted decoration survive on the cornice.
(Carroll Wales)

promoted to Prime Minister (*Megas Logothetes*) in 1321. After the emperor, he was the richest and most powerful man in the Byzantine Empire. He was erudite, knowledgeable, and extremely rich — that is to say, he was the ideal patron for such a project, and he was undoubtedly personally involved in the reconstruction and decoration of the building.

Metochites' contribution was extensive.[47] He rebuilt the naos dome, the cornice of which is decorated with his monograms (FIG. 15), and he provided for the entire space to be redecorated, including the surviving marble revetments and floors, as well as the partially surviving mosaics. At the same time, he enveloped the older building with new additions. The pastophoria were rebuilt and decorated with mural paintings; a two-storied annex was added to the north side of the naos; two narthexes were added to the west, lavishly outfitted with marbles and mosaics; and a funeral chapel or parekklesion was added to the south, decorated with frescoes. At the southwest corner, where the minaret now rises, a belfry was constructed, also decorated with Metochites' monograms in brick. In his writings, Metochites tells us that he also provided silver vessels and silk hangings for the church and books for the monastic library — the last a source of both pride and comfort for Metochites the scholar.

Although the main church was apparently dedicated to the Christ, the monastery proper was dedicated to the Theotokos. In his poetry, Metochites refers to both the Virgin and the monastery as his refuge and protection. Ironically, the monastery became just that. Metochites ended his life at the Chora and was subsequently buried there. Ousted from power in the palace coup of 1328, he was banished from the capital to Didymoteichon in Thrace, where he spent two miserable years complaining about the local food that gave him indigestion, the wine that went sour, and the meanness of the inhabitants.[48] After many pitiful, if eloquent, letters he was allowed to return to the capital, but to be confined at the Chora monastery. In ill health, he died and was buried there in 1332, a broken man, having first taken monastic vows and having assumed the monastic name Theoleptos.

How should we read the presence of Theodore Metochites in the art and architecture of the Chora? If we look beyond the obvious — the donor portrait and the regular appearance of his name and titles — I would argue

16. Set into the triangular area of a pendentive beneath the south inner narthex dome, the scene of the *Annunciation to the Virgin at the Well*, details are stretched and contorted to fit into the odd space, while the Virgin appears to fly through space. (Carroll Wales)

17. In the scene of *Joseph Taking the Virgin to His House*, it is difficult to tell if Joseph is coming or going: as his body moves forward, his head is turned backward. The figure suggests the compositional methods of the artist, who merged details from different sources to create something new. (Carroll Wales)

that the personality of the donor modulates and transforms everything from the innovative style of the art and architecture to the subtle manipulations of the iconography in the mural decoration, expressing the dual concerns of everlasting fame in this life and salvation in the next.

First, the style. Art historians today often dismiss stylistic analysis as outmoded and passé, but style may contribute substantially to the intellectual content of a work of art, just as it does to a work of literature. We ignore it at our peril. Discussing the style of the Chora, Otto Demus once noted that at first glance, the art seems to have no acknowledged canons, as if the artists preferred the abnormal to the normal, the distorted to the regular, the chaotic to the harmonious.[49] On closer scrutiny, however, it reveals a canon of taste no less well defined that sixteenth-century Italian Mannerism. In compositions, decoration is used to join otherwise disparate elements, with much adjustment to fit irregular spaces. The architectural backdrops are like stage sets, replete with draperies, shrubbery, and incidental details. The tendency is toward the disintegration of the composition; equilibrium is unimportant, replaced by asymmetry, instability, and unrest. Figures have oddly contorted postures, and sometimes they seem to fly through the air, not firmly attached to the ground, their draperies fluttering in lively arabesques (FIGS. 16, 17).

Demus's assessment of the art could also be applied to the architecture of the Chora.[50] Previous scholars had dismissed the building as hardly standing comparison with the artwork it encloses, but a careful analysis indicates that both the art and the architecture employ the same stylistic language. In spite of the lack of clear relationships among the architectural elements and the odd juxtapositions of spaces, the fourteenth-century additions were nevertheless high in quality and the result of a single phase of construction — that is, its puzzling design was the result of intention, rather than happenstance. The west façade appears particularly awkward in its present state (FIG. 18); less so perhaps with its original undulating roofs and scalloped cornices, as appear in pre-1870 photographs and drawings (FIG. 19); considerably less so with the open arcade and belfry restored (FIG. 20). But there is still an odd lack of symmetry, combined with small-scale relationships and irregularities that defy easy explanation. More importantly, the intricacies of the decorative program seemed to fit exactly with the elaborations of its architectural setting, as if two

see p.36
see p.37
see p.37

18. The west façade appears particularly awkward in its present form, seen here in a photograph of 1979: the arcades are blocked (fourteenth–fifteenth centuries); the roof has been leveled and the domes simplified (seventeenth–nineteenth centuries); and the belfry removed where the minaret now rises (probably late fifteenth century). (author)

19. A rare photograph from the 1860s shows the undulating roofline and scalloped eaves of the domes before a restoration of 1870. The naos dome was probably regularized following an earthquake in the seventeenth century. (author's collection)

20. The west façade appears much livelier in a hypothetical restoration: with the belfry at the southwest corner, the odd asymmetries of the building begin to make sense. (Tayfun Öner)

21. The scene of *Jacob's Ladder* in the parekklesion was carefully adjusted to its irregular wall space, while thematically linked to the Hymnographer Theophanes, who appears in the pendentive above left, and to the tomb of Theodore Metochites, below right. (Dumbarton Oaks)

22. The oversized *Deesis* mosaic in the south bay of the inner narthex is taller than the space is wide and is difficult to view straight on; more likely it was intended to be viewed at an angle, from the entrance. (author)

23. The plan was organized around unrelated axes, shown in pink: from the west, one axis leads to the naos, the other to the parekklesion, although neither is framed symmetrically. From the south, one axis aligns a portal with the inner narthex, while the other aligns the parekklesion dome with the naos dome. The size and position of the south inner narthex bay, shown in green, is reflected in the detailing of the south and west facades. The *Deesis* mosaic fills its eastern wall. (author)

had been carefully coordinated — either by a single master, perhaps guided by the patron, or by the close cooperation of master mason and painter.

To take one example, the composition of *Jacob's Ladder* in the parekklesion has been reformulated to fit formally and thematically into an irregular space (FIG. 21). Set within a lunette interrupted by a window, the ladder follows the curve of the arch, leading to an image of the Theotokos as the Queen of Heaven at its crown — and to a second image of the Theotokos as Queen of Heaven in the dome above. In fact, the scene of *Jacob's Ladder* is situated between the Hymnographer Theophanes (who was once a monk in the Chora Monastery), who appears in the pendentive, above left, and the tomb of Theodore Metochites, below right. Theophanes is depicted in the act of writing a hymn to the Virgin that was part of the Byzantine funeral service. His pen poised, pointing diagonally downward toward Jacob's Ladder, and toward the tomb of Metochites, Theophanes writes, "We have turned back to the earth because we have sinned against the commandments of God. But through thee, O Virgin, we have ascended from earth unto heaven, shaking off the corruption of death." Jacob's Ladder was regarded as offering a 'bridge' from this world to the next, from death to eternal life, and it is referred to as such in Byzantine funeral hymns. Within the painted program of the funeral chapel, it becomes a guarantee for the salvation of the founder. The dome, the tomb, the ladder, and the hymnographer are thus tightly bound thematically, and the odd compositional relationships here work precisely because of their integration with the unusual architectural setting.

Less obvious, but perhaps more critical to the interpretation of the architecture, is the south bay of the inner narthex (FIG. 22). In plan, it is larger than its northern counterpart, as is the dome above it, and set asymmetrically in relationship to the main axis of the building. Its odd scale is marked on the west façade by two arcades, squeezed to correspond to its width (FIG. 23). On the south façade, a portal opens on axis with the south bay, although it intersects the intervening bay of the exonarthex asymmetrically. Even the detailing on the south façade seems to relate to the inner narthex bay, with arcades symmetrically framing the portal, but not reflecting the exonarthex bay. To the east, a doorway was blocked in the transformation of the older church, allowing the uninterrupted wall surface for the mosaic of the *Deesis*,

24. A view of the Chroa from the south-east shows the stepped pilasters with half-columns that articulate the façade: the rhythm quickens toward the east, with extra sets of pilasters and half-columns set beneath the windows, while to the west the articulation changes to frame the portal. (author)

25. Along the west wall of the inner narthex, the rhythm of the marbles ignores the structural divisions: the *verde antico* frames are never set at the corners of the pilasters. (author)

while leaving an asymmetrical, two-door access from the inner narthex to the naos. Indeed, almost all of the irregularities in the architectural planning of the church lead us back to this spot. Within the south bay, the mosaic decoration is also distinct — while the rest of the narthex is devoted to the Infancy of the Virgin, the vaults of the south bay feature healing miracles of Christ, and the east wall is filled by the outsized composition of Christ and the Theotokos with donors, usually referred to as the *Deesis* mosaic. We could ask, which came first? Did the spatial irregularities determine the placement and selection of scenes, or did the requirements of the iconographic program necessitate an unusual spatial setting? As with *Jacob's Ladder*, I would argue that they were planned together.

As with its art, part of the beauty of the Chora's architecture is its breaking of established rules — I often say, only half-jokingly, that it represents the Byzantine equivalent of Postmodernism.[51] Monumentality is replaced by complexity in the building's design, with the emphasis on the details at the expense of the clear coordination of the overall form. Individual functional units are clearly identified on the exterior and given a visual integrity. In plan, axial symmetry is avoided, and where axiality is employed, the axes appear unrelated, and symmetry is not maintained around them (see fig. 23). Structural clarity is also avoided: on the south façade, pilasters and colonnettes were taken out of their structural context and used as decorative appliqués; rather than providing visual emphasis and clarity to the structural system, they sometimes appear illogically 'supporting' windows (FIG. 24). Similarly, in the inner narthex, the order and arrangement of the marble revetments seems to have complete disregard for the structural divisions (FIG. 25). The *verde antico* frames of the repeat patterns seem to purposely avoid the pilasters and to create a counterpoint to the rhythm of the architecture.

How do we account for all of this intentional irregularity? The explanation, I believe, is the elusive role of the patron, and Theodore Metochites was by all counts the perfect patron. As a prime minister and scholar, he was powerful, knowledgeable, and no doubt personally involved in the project. Most importantly, he was extremely rich. He thus provided ideal conditions for artist and master mason to experiment with the development of new modes of expression. Metochites was fortunate to find artisans who were,

26. St. Andronikos — the namesake of the reigning emperor — appears prominently in the outer narthex, dressed in the rich silk garments of the Byzantine court. (Carroll Wales)

in artistic terms, his equal, and who were able to respond to his restless intellect and ego.

As a prolific writer, Metochites was aware of his own originality, and significant parallels to the art of the Chora may be found in Metochites' mannered and self-conscious literary style. His verbose writing is filled with a neo-Homeric vocabulary, frequently of his own invention, peppered with quotations from the Bible and classical authors, set within an intricate sentence construction that often defies translation. His friend and colleague Nikephoros Xanthopoulos once apologized for not answering his letters, explaining that he couldn't understand them: the writing was like a labyrinth, or writhing undisentanglable snakes.[52] Modern text editors tend to agree. Once during a struggle for prestige at court, his rival Nikephoros Choumnos began a literary attack, issuing pamphlets in which he accused Metochites of being a repetitious and obscure writer and a bad astronomer. Metochites countered, ridiculing the excessive clarity of Choumnos' literary style, perhaps the greatest insult he could proffer.[53] Certainly, neither the art nor the architecture of the Chora could sustain such an accusation.

As with his writings, the complex style of the Chora may be understood as an expression of the personality of Metochites the intellectual. The average viewer, then as today, would have missed the subtleties — indeed, they may have been intended to distinguish the refined intellectual from the common rabble — something that would have been appreciated by Metochites's coterie of aristocratic intellectuals. Like Postmodernism, the style of the Chora had snob appeal.

The iconography of the mural decoration is as loaded as the style. There is an imperial flavor to the imagery: the parading saints are outfitted like high-fashion runway models, wearing costly silks embroidered with gold — that is, the dress of the Byzantine court. Among the richly garbed saints in the outer narthex is Andronikos, who was not a particularly important saint, except that the reigning emperor was named Andronikos (FIG. 26).[54]

Several of the iconic images in the building are adopted from specifically imperial prototypes and similarly proclaim the imperial status of Metochites's monastery. The image of the Virgin above the entrance was based was one of the most important in the city, and was credited with its protection

27. As indicated by the inscription, the image of Christ in the *Deesis* mosaic repeats the famous image at the Chalke Gate of the Great Palace, with its imperial associations. (Carroll Wales)

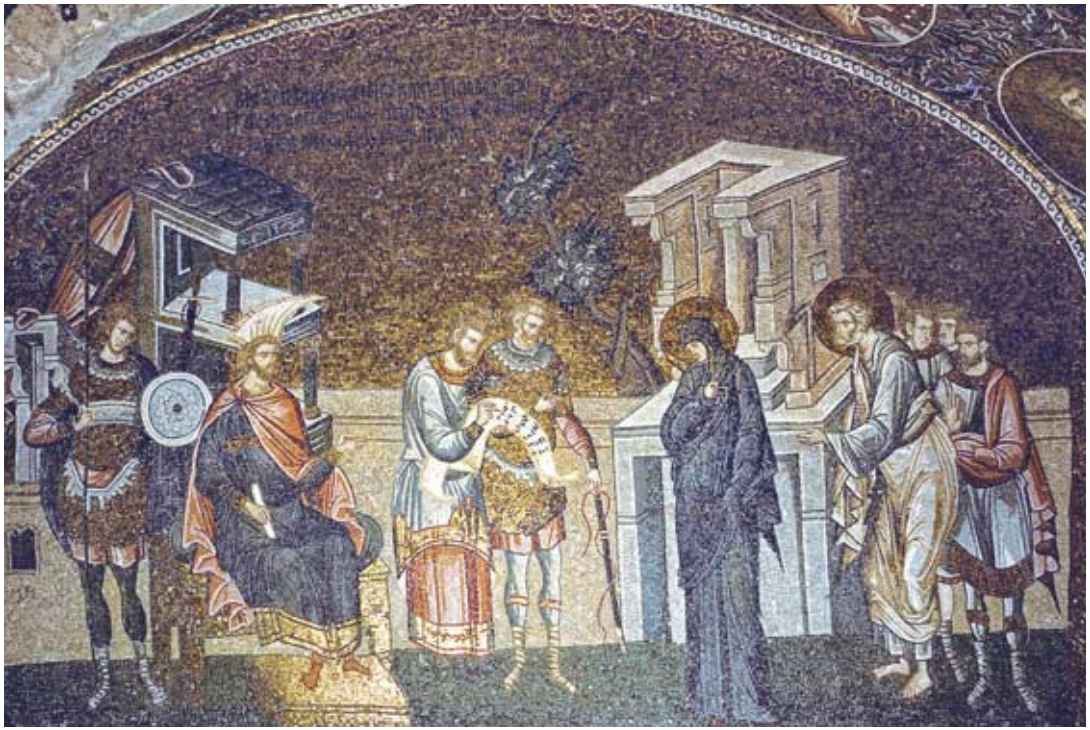
28. The image of the interceding Theotokos in the *Deesis* panel may reflect another imperially associated icon, that of the Hagiosoritissa. (Carroll Wales)

29. The famous *Deesis* panel in the gallery of Hagia Sophia was likely added shortly after the reconquest of Constantinople from the Latins in 1261. (author)

(see fig. 7).[55] The icon was kept in the nearby Blachernae church, which adjoined the imperial palace, and which was an important site of court ceremonial. By selecting this image, Metochites usurped a bit of the imperial aura, placing his monastery under the same spiritual protection. Similarly, the Christ in the *Deesis* mosaic in the inner narthex is inscribed *O Chalkites*, indicating that it follows the prototype of the Christ represented on the Chalke Gate of the Great Palace (FIG. 27).[56] It is the imperial image of Christ, suitable for the two imperial family members included in the panel — and for Metochites as well. The interceding Theotokos next to Christ might also be a reference to another imperial image, the Hagiosoritissa, associated with the relic of the *soros* kept at the Chalkoprateia church (FIG. 28).[57]

The resemblance of the *Deesis* mosaic with the slightly earlier, imperially commissioned *Deesis* panel in the gallery of Hagia Sophia is also significant; the size of the figures, so out of scale at the Chora, corresponds to those in the Hagia Sophia panel (FIG. 29).[58] A similar example of 'intervisuality' is the off-balance composition of the donor panel, of Theodore Metochites before Christ (see fig. 1), which also finds a counterpart in the imperial mosaics of Hagia Sophia. The mosaic in the narthex, above the entrance to the nave of the Great Church, shows an emperor, sometimes identified as Leo VI, kneeling before an enthroned Christ. It occupies an identical position to the Metochites panel, with a similarly off-balance composition. A visitor examining the Chora mosaics would be subtly reminded of their imperial counterparts in Hagia Sophia.

In addition to individual figures, several of the narrative scenes seem to have been manipulated to reflect Theodore Metochites's career. In the cycle of the Infancy of Christ in the outer narthex, for example, the scene of *The Enrollment for Taxation* is unique in Byzantine art (FIG. 30). In his position as see p.46 Minister of the Treasury, however, Theodore Metochites was responsible for tax collecting — in fact, it was the wealth he accumulated from tax farming that allowed him to rebuild and decorate the Chora. The tax collector in the scene is enthroned, wears a high hat, and bears more than a passing resemblance to Metochites. Robert Nelson has referred to this scene as "taxation *with* representation."[59] If nothing else, it is perhaps the greatest glorification of tax collecting in medieval art.



30. A unique scene in the cycle of the Infancy of Christ, the *Enrollment for Taxation* may reflect Theodore Metochites's position as Minister of the Treasury, in charge of tax collection. (Carroll Wales)

31. In the scene of the *Virgin entrusted to Joseph*, the odd contrast in the ages of Mary and Joseph may refer to one of the marriages brokered by Theodore Metochites, that of the five-year-old Byzantine princess Simonis and the middle-aged King Milutin of Serbia. (Carroll Wales)

Another scene in the inner narthex may reflect a particular event in Metochites's political career. In the narrative of the *Virgin Entrusted to Joseph*, the difference in ages between the tiny, childlike Virgin and the elderly Joseph is startling (FIG. 31). However, in one of Metochites's most important diplomatic missions, he was responsible for arranging just such a marriage. As a part of the complicated political negotiations with Serbia, in 1299, Metochites settled the marriage contract between Simonis, the five-year-old daughter of Andronikos II, and King Stefan Uroš Milutin of Serbia (1253–1321), who was well into middle age at the time. An act of sheer political desperation, it served to check the aggressive expansion of Serbia into Byzantine territory, and the negotiations required Metochites to travel five times to Serbia.[60] The marriage shocked many Byzantines, including the Patriarch; poor Simonis may have been molested while still underage, rendering her unable to bear children; after attending her mother's funeral in 1317, she attempted to take the veil and had to be returned to Serbia by force. Nevertheless, the marriage affirmed the important diplomatic ties between Byzantium and Serbia. Thus, in the mosaics of the Chora, the Virgin is "entrusted" to the elderly Joseph, just as the young Simonis had been entrusted to Milutin, who through the union became the son-in-law of the Byzantine emperor.

Finding a Place in History

Theodore Metochites's view of history, as expressed visually at the Chora, may be provided in words by his encomium *Byzantios*, an oration in praise of Constantinople, as yet unpublished but recently discussed by Paul Magdalino.[61] His concern with the city's past greatness coincides with the period of revival under Michael VIII and Andronikos II. Although Metochites seems to recognize the diminished state of affairs in Constantinople following the Latin Occupation, he gives it a positive spin: as he presents it, Constantinople as a city is constantly regenerating herself: as birds molt, new feathers appear amid the older plumage; in an evergreen plant, losses are not fatal but are replaced by new growth. In a like manner, he argues, Constantinople renews herself, so that ancient ruins are woven into the city's fabric to assert their

32. The regular organization of the marble revetments in the naos conforms to and accentuates the architectural structure — very much in contrast to the narthex revetments (compare to fig. 25). (Carroll Wales)

ancient nobility amid the new constructions. The intended message of Metochites's encomium is of unchanging greatness, implying that the new creations replicate the pattern of their predecessors, while glossing over the tawdry realities of ruin and spoliation. Similarly, as patron, he had returned the Chora to is former glory, adding new luster to the old.

What inspired the remarkable stylistic change evident at the Chora? In part, it might have been the artists attempting to fit their compositions into the irregular spaces of an irregular building, stretching and contorting them in the process (see fig. 16). But much may have been the result of Theodore Metochites's engagement with the past: the lack of integration, the contrast, the juxtaposition of old and new, I argue, was intentional, meant to initiate a visual dialogue with the past. In this respect, the new portions of the church may be understood as a response to history, an attempt to establish a symbolic relationship with the Byzantine past. The new additions never obscure the older edifice but are joined to it and frame it in a way that seems to respect its character. For example, the domes of the naos and the parekklesion are aligned, on axis, and the parekklesion dome rises to the level of the cornice of the naos dome. The niched detailing of the older apse is similarly reflected in that of the newer (see fig. 3). Moreover, the fourteenth-century century builders seem to have been inspired by the difficulties of adding to an older building, to design around it, while maintaining the integrity of the historical core of the monastery. Thus, the masons would appear to be addressing not just new functional considerations, but also the symbolic significance of the historical setting.

Perhaps most perplexing in the analysis of the building is the reemployment of the central portion of an older church (see fig. 11). The regularity of the naos stands in sharp contrast to the additions that enveloped it, and there is a distinct stylistic difference between the decoration of the naos and that of the annexes. The cruciform space with its broad apse is a product of the twelfth century, although its marbles and mosaics were added as a part of Metochites's program. The regular ordering of the marble revetments and the conservative nature of the mosaics in the naos, however, seem inconsistent with those of the additions (FIG. 32, and compare to fig. 25). Indeed, although the marble revetments of the naos represent a Late Byzantine addition, stylistically they could just as easily have been Middle Byzantine in their order and

33. The framed mosaic image of the *Theotokos Hodegetria* originally flanked the templon in the naos, with a pendent image of Christ to the other side. Calmly gazing at her child, she is inscribed "Container of the Uncontainable." (Carroll Wales)

34. The mural painting of the *Theotokos Eleousa* in the parekklesion appears much more emotional, as mother and child embrace fervently. (Carroll Wales)

symmetry. Similarly, the style of the templon icon of the Virgin Hodegetria from the naos appears calm and conservative when compared to the contortions of the Virgin Eleousa from the parekklesion (FIGS. 33, 34). Not only was the older naos retained, but the conservative nature of the new decorative elements served to emphasize its antiquity. Ernest Hawkins once noted that the excavations in the sanctuary turned up quantities of mosaic tesserae that were in dimension and color distinct from the fourteenth-century mosaics; Hawkins speculated that Metochites's decorative program had preserved an older, twelfth-century mosaic in the apse.[62] If this were the case, it helps to explain the conservative style of the other naos mosaics. Nevertheless, with Theodore Metochites's budget, he could certainly have afforded to replace the older, damaged construction entirely — and yet he chose not to.

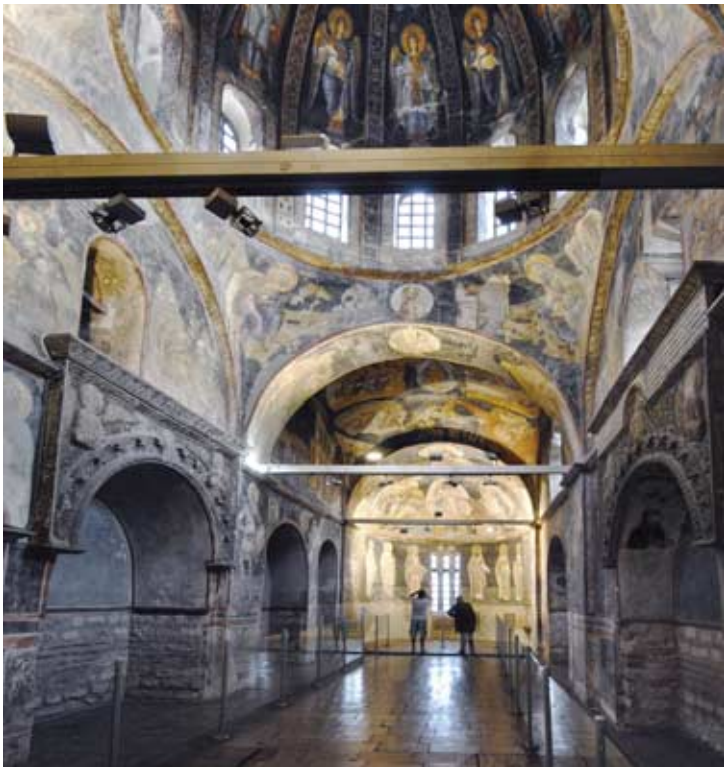
The combination of new functional concerns with an historic and venerable site resulted in a new and distinctive architectural expression. The relationship of the new elements to the old also might be compared to the way *catenae* were used in Byzantine manuscripts. Quotations from theologians and other exegetical texts were attached to specific biblical verses, and in the manuscripts, these were placed in a formal relationship to each other, often with the *catenae* wrapping around to framing the biblical text. Like the new architectural additions, the *catenae* surround, depend on, and comment upon the older core — that is, the additions help us to understand to significance of the core within its larger spiritual context.

As a scholar, Theodore Metochites had a great concern with the past and with his own position in history. The significance of the Chora monastery's history, which underscores the architectural design, is also reflected in the mosaic decoration. This is seen most clearly in the Deesis mosaic, which depicts Christ and the Virgin, to whom the church and monastery were dedicated, with the two previous imperial benefactors at their feet. The mosaic spells out Metochites's lineage as founder, perhaps most obviously in the "family resemblance" between the *Sebastokrator* Isaak Komnenos and Metochites in the adjacent dedicatory panel (compare figs. 1 and 10). A social climber of the first order, Metochites could here situate himself, historically, socially, dynastically, as legitimate successor. These two portraits establish a visual dialogue with the past that corresponds to the architectural relationships.

35. In the dramatic culmination of the painted program of the parekklesion, Christ simultaneously raises Adam and Eve from their sarcophagi in the *Anastasis*, as Satan lies bound at his feet amid the broken gates of Hell, their locks and keys scattered. (Carroll Wales)

Although both the building and its decoration appear in a dialogue with the past, it's Theodore Metochites who's doing all the talking, and in the end, it's all about him. He honored his predecessors and respected their contributions to the monastery, but in the final analysis, they are represented there to honor him. In fact, what is *not* represented in the decorative program is just as significant as what is. The emperor Andronikos II, for example, who gave the commission and encouragement to Metochites and may have contributed financially to the renovation project, is nowhere to be seen, and there is really nowhere to fit him into the program, aside perhaps from his titular saint in the exonarthex (see fig. 26).[63] The space opposite Metochites in the donor image conspicuously empty (see fig. 1). Metochites could place himself on equal footing with the emperor's illegitimate half-sister, or with a distant, disgraced ancestor, but he would always have to play second fiddle to Andronikos. In the Chora, he could express his imperial pretentions — but only to a certain point, beyond which they could have been seen as seditious.

Similarly, he could honor his near-contemporary Maria-Melane, whether her contribution to the Chora was large or small, whether she was still living or not (see fig. 13). After all, she fulfills a rhetorical function in the decorative program, part of the 'gender symmetry' that promotes the role of the Theotokos in the economy of salvation and the dual dedication of the monastery.[64] Images of Christ are invariably balanced by pendant images of the Theotokos; the Infancy of Christ in the outer narthex is paralleled by the Infancy of the Virgin in the inner narthex. Miracles involving men are paralleled by miracles involving women. In the parekklesion, the cycle terminates with pendant resurrection imagines: Christ raising the Widow's Son, and Christ raising the Daughter of Jairus. These scenes frame the monumental image of the Anastasis in the apse, in which Christ raises up Adam and Eve simultaneously (FIG. 35). Thus, a prominent male predecessor at the feet of the Theotokos required a pendant female predecessor at the feet of Christ. In recent scholarship, there has been a burgeoning interest in female patronage, but I believe this has exaggerated role of Maria-Melane.[65] As Metochites noted when he under took the renovation of the monastery, much of the older construction had to be torn down, what remained had to be shored up and braced on all sides.[66] If there was any significant repair to the church by Maria (as seems unlikely),



36. Theodore Metochites's tomb occupies the prime position in the parekklesion, to the left side, beneath the high dome. (author)

37. Uniquely set within a domical vault, the Last Judgment becomes a spatial composition, one that includes those buried within the chapel. (Carroll Wales)

it goes unmentioned — she may be more properly identified as a benefactor rather than a patron. Just as Metochites's decorative program appears as the product of a single ego, his additions are one build — bonded at the corners, with no evidence of intervention between the twelfth-century phase and his own project.

But Metochites program is also looking beyond the immediate confines of the Chora. The Virgin Blachernitissa positioned over the main entrance also serves to situate the building within a larger historical and urban context (see fig. 7); repeating the form of a venerated, miraculous icon long regarded as the protector of Constantinople and its walls. In the Chora, the image framed the view out the door, into the monastery dedicated to her, and beyond this, toward the city walls, which she protected.[67] The image also marked the beginning of an axis leading to the sanctuary of the church, where most likely another image of the Virgin (now lost) appeared in the conch of the apse. The visual relationships between the Virgin Blachernitissa, the older sanctuary image, and the historic walls of the city, initiate a multivalent discourse with the Byzantine past.

Throughout the building one is confronted with a series of interrelated but discrete visual experiences that connect multiple scenes and spaces in three-dimensional compositions. In the parekklesion, the ideal vantage point for the panoramic sweep of the interior, places the viewer directly in front of Theodore Metochites' tomb, which was covered by a monumental marble headpiece and probably also decorated with his image, long since destroyed (FIG. 36).[68] Multiple aspects of the decoration of the chapel lead back to his tomb. As noted, the Hymnographer Theophanes and the image of Jacob's Ladder are set in relationship to Metochites's tomb, as a guarantee of salvation.

Most dramatic in this respect is the Last Judgment (FIG. 37). Here set uniquely within a domical vault, it becomes a spatial composition, a 'vault of heaven' enveloping the chapel. Sheltered beneath the heavenly canopy, the faithful buried there were included into the program of the Last Judgment. As the dead are called forth from their tombs for judgment, so too are those buried in the chapel. As the land and sea give up their dead, so too will the tombs at the Chora. And as Adam and Eve are raised up out of their sarcophagi by the hands of the resurrected Christ, the promise of salvation is held out to those resting in the sarcophagi below (see fig. 35). In fact, the di-

38. At the central focus of the Last Judgment, the risen Christ sits as judge, with his upturned right hand acknowledging the saved, and his downturned left hand the damned. To either side, the Theotokos and the Prodromos intercede on behalf of mankind. (Carroll Wales)

39. The line of Christ's right-hand gesture extends across the vault to the pendentive, where St Michael presents a soul for judgment, protectively placing a hand on his head. Usually thought to be the soul of Theodore Metochites, whose tomb lies on the same alignment. (Carroll Wales)

agonal lines formed by the tilted sarcophagi lead the viewer's gaze directly to the rows of tombs in the arcosolia below. Similarly, Christ in the Last Judgment raises his right hand to those who are saved (FIG. 38), simultaneously gesturing across the vault toward the image in the pendentive, usually identified as the soul of Theodore Metochites, presented by the Archangel Michael (FIG. 39), and, if we follow the same gesture across time and space, it leads ultimately to the donor's corporeal remains in the tomb below. By relating the elements together in a three-dimensional composition, the fresco program is extended to include the space it envelops. The parekklesion is not so much a fresco program set into an architectural space as an architectural space that has become an integral part of its decoration.

Conclusions

In our analysis of the architecture and decorative program of the Chora, we may detect the presence of the patron Theodore Metochites in inscriptions and images, in style and iconography, as he looks both backward and forward to find his place in history. His predecessors and their contributions are remembered, as he himself hoped to be remembered, despite the passage of time. His student Nikephoros Gregoras expressed what might be the universal concerns of patrons — that they not be overshadowed and forgotten:

For there is a certain malign influence which seems to creep in, persuading [men] to allow the buildings constructed long ago to fall into ruin, so that as the memory of their builders flows away and dies altogether with the buildings, the new structures remain, clearly proclaiming the memory of the one who established them, amid the deep silence of the rest.[69]

Grounding his monastery and his contributions to it within the millennial history of Constantinople, to promote his fame through the whole of time, we remember Theodore Metochites today for this great artistic achievement. But Metochites was also interested in the profit of his soul: as he looks back into history, he is at the same time looking forward — to the *eschaton*,

40. In an evocative detail of the Last Judgment, the Angel of the Lord rolls up the *Scroll of Heaven*, decorated with the sun, moon, and stars, signaling the End of Days. (Carroll Wales)

the end of days, and final judgment. It may be more than a coincidence that his greatest achievement as a scholar was a treatise on astronomy, for which he was celebrated in his lifetime for reviving the science of the Ancients;[70] while the perhaps most memorable image at the Chora is the Scroll of Heaven in the Last Judgment: signaling the end of days, the Angel of the Lord rolls up the scroll of Heaven, which is decorated with the sun, moon, and stars (FIG. 40). As a scholar, Metochites looked to the past to prepare for the future — that is, he studied the one in anticipation of the other. In this respect, his interest in history, his attempt at the Chora to establish a symbolic relationship with the past, was never just about the past. He was thinking about his ultimate salvation.

Notes

1. See R. Ousterhout, *Master Builders of Byzantium* (Princeton, 1999), 39–57. NB: Fallingwater was built for Edgar J. Kaufmann and his family in 1936–39, amid major personality clashes and differences of opinion between the client and the architect; nevertheless, Wright gets all the credit.
2. *Variae* VII.5: *Talis dominus esse … quale eius habitaculum*. We still do much the same today; note, for example, how frequently the garish, nouveau-riche Trump Tower in New York City is taken to reflect the character of its owner.
3. C. Suetonius Tranquillus, *The Lives of the Twelve Caesars*, trans. J. C. Rolfe (Cambridge, Mass., Loeb Classical Library, 1914), VI.31.1–2; Michael Psellos, *Chronographia, ou, Histoire d'un siècle de Byzance (976–1077)*, ed. E. Renauld (Paris, 1967), 143–51; *Fourteen Byzantine Rulers*, trans. E. Sewter (Harmondsworth, 1966), 250–52.
4. A. Cutler and A. Kazhdan, "Patrons and Patronage," *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (Oxford, 1991), III:1602–04.
5. J. P. Thomas, "In Perpetuum. Social and Political Consequences of Byzantine Patrons' Aspirations for Permanence for their Foundations," in *Stiftungen in Christentum, Judentum und Islam vor der Moderne. Auf der Suche nach ihren Gemeinsamkeiten und Unterschieden in religiösen Grundlagen, praktischen Zwecken und historischen Transformationen*, ed. M. Borgolte (Berlin, 2005), 123–35. Note also P. Horden, "Memoria, Salvation, and Other Motives of Byzantine Philanthropists," in the same volume, 137–46.
6. For the Kosmosoteira *Typikon*, see N. P. Ševčenko, trans., in *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents*, J. P. Thomas and A. Hero, eds. (Washington, D.C., 2000), II:839; §90.
7. For the Pantokrator *Typikon*, see R. Jordan, trans., in *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents*, J. P. Thomas and A. Hero, eds. (Washington, D.C., 2000), II:756–57; §35.
8. R. Ousterhout, *A Byzantine Settlement in Cappadocia*, Dumbarton Oaks Studies 42 (Washington, DC, 2007; 2nd ed. 2011), esp. 73–90.
9. Ibid, 117.
10. For caution, see e.g., R. Cormack, "Patronage and new programs of Byzantine iconography," *The 17th International Byzantine Congress, Major Papers* (Washington, DC, 1986), 609–38; A. Cutler and A. Kazhdan, "Patrons and Patronage," *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (Oxford, 1991), III:1602–04.
11. The literature on the building is now voluminous; see among many others: P.A. Underwood, *The Kariye Djami*, 3 vols. (New York, 1966); P. A. Underwood, ed., *The Kariye Djami*, vol. 4 (New York, 1975); Ø. Hjort, "The Sculpture of the Kariye Camii," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 33 (1979): 199–289; R. Ousterhout, *The Architecture of the Kariye Camii in Istanbul*, Dumbarton Oaks Studies 25 (Washington, D.C., 1987); idem, *The Art of the Kariye Camii* (Istanbul–London, 2002); H. A. Klein, R. Ousterhout, and B. Pitarakis, eds., *Kariye Camii, Yeniden / The Kariye Camii Reconsidered* (Istanbul: Istanbul Research Institute, 2011).
12. For the legacy of the Chora's art, see O. Demus, "The Style of the Kariye Djami and its Place in the Development of Palaiologan Art," in *The Kariye Djami*, vol. 4, ed. P. A. Underwood (New York 1975), 139, 153; also M. Musicescu and G. Ionescu, *Biserica domneasca din Curtea de Arges* (Bucharest, 1976).

13. R. Ousterhout, "The Virgin of the Chora: An Image and Its Contexts," in *The Sacred Image East and West,* eds. R. Ousterhout and L. Brubaker (Urbana, 1995), 91–108.
14. J. M. Featherstone, "Metochites's Poems and the Chora," in *Kariye Camii, Yeniden / The Kariye Camii Reconsidered*, eds. H. A. Klein, R. Ousterhout, and B. Pitarakis, (Istanbul: Istanbul Research Institute, 2011), 215–39.
15. For the texts, see R. Janin, *La Géographie ecclésiastique de l'Empire byzantin: I.iii. Le Siège de Constantinople et le patriarcat oecuménique. Les églises et les monastères* (Paris, 1969), 531–38; and Underwood, *Kariye Djami*, I:3–16; and for the early history, P. Hatlie, *The Monks and Monasteries of Constantinople, ca. 350–850* (Cambridge, 2007), 155–65, 268–69.
16. M. Cunningham, *The Life of Michael the Synkellos: Text, Translation, and Commentary* (Belfast, 1991), 146. The *Life* records that St. Sabbas himself had visited the Chora in the sixth century; although this is unlikely, the Sabbaite rule was probably instituted.
17. Ibid, 124–25.
18. Ibid, 106–07.
19. The chronology is first outlined by D. Oates, "A summary report on the excavations of the Byzantine Institute in the Kariye Djami: 1957 and 1958," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 14 (1960), 223–31; see also Ousterhout, *Architecture of the Kariye*, 15–32.
20. N. Gregoras, *Byzantina Historia*, IX.13; Underwood, *Kariye Djami*, I:8.
21. See most recently V. Marinis, *Architecture and Ritual in the Churches of Constantinople, Ninth to Fifteenth Centuries* (Cambridge University Press, 2014), 138–42.
22. M. Mullett, "Aristocracy and Patronage in the Literary Circles of Comnenian Constantinople," in *The Byzantine Aristocracy: IX–XIII Centuries*, ed. M. Angold (Oxford, 1984), 173–201.
23. Oates, "Summary Report."
24. For the checkered history of the flying buttress, see Ousterhout, *Architecture of the Kariye*, 132–33.
25. For the life of Isaak, see A. Kazhdan, "Komnenos, Isaac the Porphyrogennetos," *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (Oxford, 1991), II:1146; P. Magdalino, *The Empire of Manuel I Komnenos 1143–80* (Cambridge, 2002), passim; K. Varzos, Ἡ γενεαλογία τῶν Κομνηνῶν (Thessaloniki, 1984), I:79, 253.
26. S. Sinos, *Die Klosterkirche der Kosmosoteira in Bera (Vira)* (Munich, 1985); R. Ousterhout and Ch. Bakirtzis, *The Byzantine Monuments of the Evros/Meriç River Valley* (Thessaloniki, 2007), 48–85; L. Petit, "Typikon du monastère de la Kosmosotira près d'Ainos (1152)," *Izvestiia Russkago Arkeologicheskago Instituta v Konstantinopole* 13 (1908), 17–75; N. P. Ševčenko, trans., *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents*, II:782–858.
27. *Typikon*, §77.
28. J. Anderson, "The Seraglio Octateuch and the Kokkinobaphos Master," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 36 (1982), 83–114.
29. A. Van Millingen, *Byzantine Churches in Constantinople: Their History and Architecture* (London, 1912), 219–40; superseded by A. H. S. Megaw, "Notes on the Recent Work of the Byzantine Institute in Istanbul," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 17 (1963), 333–64. For the *typikon*, see P. Gautier, "Le typikon du Christ Sauveur Pantocrator," *Revue des Études Byzantines* 32 (1974), 1–145; and English translation by Robert Jordan in *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents*, J. Thomas and A. Hero, eds., (Washington, D.C., 2000), II:725–81; also R. Ousterhout, Z. Ahunbay, and M. Ahunbay, "Study and Restoration of the Zeyrek Camii in Istanbul: First Report, 1997–98,"

Dumbarton Oaks Papers 54 (2000), 265–70; and "Study and Restoration of the Zeyrek Camii in Istanbul: Second Report, 2001–05," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 63 (2010), 235–56.

30. Ousterhout, *Architecture of the Kariye*, 38–46; more recently M. Mihaljević, "Change in Byzantine Architecture," in *Approaches to Byzantine Architecture and its Decoration: Studies in Honor of Slobodan Ćurčić*, eds. M. Johnson, R. Ousterhout and A. Papalexandrou (Aldershot, 2012), 99–119.
31. The excavators found quantities of mosaic tesserae in the apse of sizes and colors that did not correspond to the fourteenth-century mosaics, discussed below. The program would have been similar to that of the Kosmosoteira, which was primarily in wall painting but included a mosaic of the Koimesis on its west wall; see Ousterhout, "Architecture of the Kariye" (diss.), 199.
32. These are the only two examples from Constantinople; see F. dell' Acqua, "The Stained-Glass Windows from the Chora and the Pantokrator Monasteries: A Byzantine 'Mystery'?" in *Restoring Byzantium: The Kariye Camii in Istanbul and the Byzantine Institute Restoration*, eds. H. Klein and R. Ousterhout (New York, 2004), 68–77, who, however, favors a slightly later date; but see also R. Ousterhout, "The decoration of the Pantokrator (Zeyrek Camii): Evidence Old and New," in *First International Sevgi Gönül Symposium*, eds. A. Ödekan, E. Akyürek and N. Necipoğlu (Istanbul, 2010), 432–39; and R. H. Brill, *Chemical Analyses of Early Glasses*, 2 vols. (New York, 1999), I:107, 113; II:210–12.
33. R. Ousterhout, "Architecture and Patronage in the Age of John II," in *John II Komnenos, emperor of Byzantium: in the shadow of father and son*, eds. A. Bucossi and A. Rodriguez-Suarez (Farnham: Ashgate, 2016), 135–54; and V. Marinis, "Tombs and burials in the Monastery *tou Libo*s in Constantinople," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 63 (2009), 147–66, for burial practices in the capital.
34. For the significance of family in the Komnenian era, see Magdalino, *Empire of Manuel*, 180–227.
35. On the portraits, see, among others, K. Marsengill, "Imperial and Aristocratic Funerary Panel Portraits in the Middle and Late Byzantine Periods," in *Approaches to Byzantine Architecture and Its Decoration: Studies in Honor of Slobodan Ćurčić*, eds. M. Johnson, R. Ousterhout, and A. Papalexandrou (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2012), 201–19.
36. W. Müller Wiener, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie Istanbuls* (Tübingen, 1977), 223–24, 244–47.
37. *Maximi monachi Planudis epistulae*, ed. P. A. M. Leone (Amsterdam, 1991), no. 67.
38. A.-M. Talbot, *The Correspondence of Athanasius I, Patriarch of Constantinople* (Washington, D.C., 1975), 26–27.
39. Following the formula of Isaak's inscription, which it was intended to mirror, this may have begun: "Sister of the most exalted emperor Andronikos …"; it would have been more correct to identify her as the daughter of Michael VIII, the source of her dignity, but Michael had died in disgrace, and Andronikos was the reigning emperor. Would identifying her as sister of the reigning emperor have overstated her prestige? See among others, P.A. Underwood, "The Deisis Mosaic in the Kahrie Cami at Istanbul," *Late Classical and Medieval Studies in Honor of A. M. Friend, Jr.*, ed. K. Weitzmann (Princeton, 1955), 254–60; Underwood, *Kariye Djami*, I:45–48.
40. Ousterhout, *Architecture of the Kariye*, 33 and n. 98.
41. E. Ryder, "The Despina of the Mongols and Her Patronage at the Church of the Church of the Panagia tou Mougoulion," *Journal of Modern Hellenism* (2009), 71–102.

42. Marianna Koromila, *Η Μαρία των Μογγόλων* (Athens, 2008); and a good role model for Daenerys Targaryen, Kaleesi of the Dothraki, on *Game of Thrones*.
43. I. Krustev, "A Poem of Maria Comnene Palaeologina from Manuscript No. 177 of the Ivan Dujčev Centre for Slavo-Byzantine Studies," *Byzantinoslavica* 58 (1997), 73–75; N. Teteriatnikov, "The Place of the Nun Melania (the Lady of the Mongols) in the Deesis Program of the Inner Narthex of Chora, Constantinople," *Cahiers Archéologiques* 43 (1995), esp. 177–78; L. Sherry, "The Poem of Maria Komnene Palaiologina to the Virgin and Mother of God, the Chorine," *Cahiers Archéologiques* 43 (1995), 181–82.
44. See *Theodore Metochites's Poems "To Himself,"* ed. and trans. J. M. Featherstone, Byzantina Vindobonensia 23 (Vienna, 2000); Featherstone, "Metochites's Poems," 225: Doxology to God, ll. 1004–18.
45. See most recently, P. Magdalino, "Theodore Metochites, the Chora, and Constantinople," in in *Kariye Camii, Yeniden/The Kariye Camii Reconsidered*, eds. H. A. Klein, R. Ousterhout, and B. Pitarakis, (Istanbul: Istanbul Research Institute, 2011), 169–87; and, notably, I. Ševčenko, "Theodore Metochites, the Chora, and the Intellectual Trends of His Time," in *The Kariye Djami*, vol. 4 (New York, 1975), 19–55.
46. Nikephoros Gregoras, *Historia Byzantina*, ed. L. Schopen, 2 vols. (Bonn, 1829), 1:272.
47. Underwood, *Kariye Djami*, 14–24; summarized in R. Ousterhout, *The Art of the Kariye Camii* (Istanbul-London, 2002).
48. Ševčenko, "Theodore Metochites," 36 and n. 135; for text of Metochites's letter to the monk Methodios, 86–89.
49. O. Demus, "The Style of the Kariye Djami and Its Place in the Development of Palaeologan Art," in *The Kariye Djami*, vol. 4 (New York, 1975), 107–60.
50. *Architecture of the Kariye*, 142–44; and more recently, idem, R. Ousterhout, "Reading Difficult Buildings: The Lessons of the Kariye Camii," in *Kariye Camii, Yeniden/The Kariye Camii Reconsidered,* eds. H. Klein, R. Ousterhout, and B. Pitarakis (Istanbul, 2011), 95–105.
51. Ousterhout, "Reading Difficult Buildings."
52. See J. M. Featherstone "Three More Letters of Nikephoros Callistus Xanthopoulos," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 91 (1998): 27.
53. Ševčenko, "Theodore Metochites," 29; idem, *Études sur la polémique entre Théodore Métochite et Nicéphore Choumnos* (Brussels, 1962), 21–33.
54. Who, despite his support for the project, is otherwise absent; see Magdalino, "Theodore Metochites," 179–81.
55. Ousterhout, "The Virgin of the Chora."
56. R. Schroeder, "Prayer and Penance in the South Bay of the Chora Esonarthex," *Gesta* 48 (2009), 37–53.
57. S. der Nercessian, "Two Images of the Virgin in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 14 (1960), 71–86, esp. 77–79.
58. R. S. Nelson, "The Chora and the Great Church: Intervisuality in Fourteenth-Century Constantinople," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 23 (1999): 67–101.
59. R. Nelson, "Taxation *with* Representation. Visual Narrative and the Political Field of the Kariye Camii," *Art History* 22 (1999): 56–82.
60. Ševčenko, "Theodore Metochites," 26–27.

61. Magdalino, "Theodore Metochites," 169–87; still unpublished: Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, *Codex Vind. Phil. Gr.* 95, 274v–275r.; see also R. Ousterhout, "Constantinople and the Construction of a Medieval Urban Identity," in *The Byzantine World*, ed. P. Stephenson (London: Routledge, 2010), 334–51.
62. Ousterhout, "Architecture of the Kariye," (diss.), 199.
63. Magdalino, "Theodore Metochites," 179–81.
64. Ousterhout, *Art of the Kariye*, 104; Underwood, *Kariye Djami*, I:27.
65. Teteriatnikov, "Place of the Nun Melania," 164; taken up by A.-M. Talbot, "Building Activity in Constantinople under Andronikos II: The role of Women Patrons in the Construction and Restoration of Monasteries," in *Byzantine Constantinople: Monuments, Topography and Everyday Life*, ed. N. Necipoğlu (Leiden 2001), 328–43, esp. 335–36; and Schroeder, "Prayer and Penance," 37–53.
66. See Magdalino, "Theodore Metochites," 171–72.
67. Ousterhout, "Virgin of the Chora."
68. Almost all scholars agree that this was Metochites's tomb — it is the largest in the chapel, with the best setting, and the interpretation is reinforced by the decorative program; see R. Ousterhout, "Temporal Structuring in the Chora Parekklesion," *Gesta*, 34 (1995), 63–76; and for the archaeological evidence, Ousterhout, "Architecture of the Kariye" (diss.), 199. A notable exception to this interpretation is S. Gerstel, "The Chora Parekklesion, the Hope for a Peaceful Afterlife, and Monastic Devotional Practices," in *Kariye Camii, Yeniden / The Kariye Camii Reconsidered,* eds. H. Klein, R. Ousterhout, and B. Pitarakis (Istanbul, 2011), 129–45, who suggests that Metochites was buried beneath the floor of the apse, a position that would have been both unusual and quite possibly heretical.
69. Gregoras I:274; trans. Talbot, "Building Activity," 331.
70. B. Bydén, *Theodore Metochites' Stoicheiosis astronomike and the study of natural philosophy and mathematics in early Palaiologan Byzantium*, 2nd rev. ed. Acta Universitatis Gothoburgensis. Studia Graeca et Latina Gothoburgensia 66 (Göteborg, 2003).

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2. Robert S. Merrillees, *Nicosia before Nicosia*, 4 October 1991, Nicosia 1992.

3. Nicolas Coldstream, *Nicosia: Gothic City to Venetian Fortress*, 22 October 1992, Nicosia 1993.

4. Gianni M. Perbellini, *The Fortress of Nicosia: Prototype of European Renaissance Military Architecture*, 15 October 1993, Nicosia 1994.

5. Rizopoulou-Egoumenidou Eyfrosini, *Ο Δραγομάνος Χατζηγεωργάκης Κορνέσιος και η εποχή του*, 3 November 1994, Nicosia 1995.

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