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SACRED GEOGRAPHIES AND HOLY CITIES:  
CONSTANTINOPLE AS JERUSALEM

To my teacher Slobodan Ćurčić  
in honor of his 65<sup>th</sup> birthday

The concept of sacred geography raises a fundamental question: how does the physical world address the spiritual world? One of the implicit assumptions is that the two worlds come together at certain special places, *loca sancta*, where the powers of heaven are more easily tapped, either for earthly benefit or for aid in salvation. At such sites, the spiritual could be made palpable and concrete, and could be focused in a person, place, or object<sup>1</sup>. This assumption underlies the Christian practice of pilgrimage: the belief in the sanctity of holy places and the spiritual validity of sacred journeys. This is also what makes medieval Jerusalem different from medieval Constantinople. Jerusalem witnessed the Crucifixion, Entombment, and Resurrection of Christ; the Holy Sites of Jerusalem stood as testimony to the faithful, marking and making spiritually present the events on which the tenets of Christianity were grounded<sup>2</sup>.

The city of Byzantium, on the other hand, had no specifically Christian associations before it was refounded as Constantinople in A.D. 324–330. Even the Christian-ness of Constantine's foundation has been seriously questioned — most persuasively by Cyril Mango, who emphasizes that urban amenities, ceremonial spaces, and public monuments were given priority over church construction<sup>3</sup>. The only church of distinction from Constantine's reign seems to have been the Holy Apostles, which was built as the em-

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<sup>1</sup> See: *Vikan G. Byzantine Pilgrimage Art*. Washington, 1986; *The Blessings of Pilgrimage* / Ed. R. Ousterhout. Urbana, 1990, *inter alia*, for discussion of this theme.

<sup>2</sup> The literature on Jerusalem is voluminous; for early pilgrim accounts, see: *Wilkinson J. Jerusalem Pilgrims before the Crusades*. Warminster, 1977.

<sup>3</sup> *Mango C. Le développement urbain de Constantinople*. Paris, 1985.

peror's mausoleum<sup>4</sup>. Constantine's biographer Eusebius is fairly flummoxed trying to explain why his paragon of piety would erect pagan statues in his new capital, let alone how to account for the noticeable absence of churches<sup>5</sup>. Constantine's city was founded as an imperial capital, not necessarily as a Christian capital.

And yet, by mid fifth century, all this had changed. Constantinople had become not just indelibly Christian, but sacred as well. In 446, the Mesopotamian monk Daniel the Stylite, on the road to visit the holy sites of Palestine, met a mysterious figure who told him in no uncertain terms *not* to go to Jerusalem, "but go to Byzantium, and you will see a second Jerusalem, namely Constantinople. There you will rejoice in the shrines of martyrs and imposing places of prayer..."<sup>6</sup> Accordingly, Daniel headed north and set up his column in a suburb of the Byzantine capital. Ever since Daniel received his spiritual directions, we find occasional references to Constantinople as the New Jerusalem. In fact this happens more often in current scholarship than in Byzantine texts. Scholars love the dual epithet "New Rome and New Jerusalem," as it seems to express the combined political and religious ambitions of the city, its unique linkage of power and status<sup>7</sup>. But how true is it?

"New Rome" poses no problems. The idea of the Byzantine capital as "New Rome" or "Second Rome" is a *topos* that pervades the literature throughout the Byzantine period, and the degree of imitation, real or imagined, is striking<sup>8</sup>. Like Rome, the city of Constantine was built on seven hills and divided into fourteen districts; its imperial palace lay next to its hippodrome, which was similarly equipped with a royal viewing box. As in Rome, there were a senate house, a Capitol, great baths, and other public amenities; imperial fora provided its public spaces; triumphal columns, arches, and monuments, including a colossus of the emperor as Apollo, and a variety of dedications imparted mimetic associations with the old capital<sup>9</sup>. "New

<sup>4</sup> For Eusebius's description and a summary of the scholarship, see: *Eusebius, Life of Constantine* / Ed. Av. Cameron and S. Hall. Oxford, 1999, ch. 58–60, p. 176–177, with commentary, 337–339.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, ch. 54.1–7: "the Emperor used these very toys [i.e., pagan statues] for the laughter and amusement of the spectator"; p. 143–44; with commentary, 301–303.

<sup>6</sup> *Delehaye H. Les saints stylites* // *Subsidia hagiographica* 14. Brussels, 1923, 1–94, at 8.10–11, p. 11–13; also *Nicholson O. Constantinople: Christian City, Christian Landscape* // *The Making of Christian Communities in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages* / Ed. M. Williams. London, forthcoming. I am grateful to Prof. Nicholson for sharing his unpublished paper with me.

<sup>7</sup> See for example: *Sherrard P. Constantinople: Iconography of a Sacred City*. Oxford, 1965, with chapters entitled "The New Rome" and "The New Jerusalem".

<sup>8</sup> For the literary references, see the summation of *Fenster E. Laudes Constantinopolitanae*. Munich, 1968, S. 20–86.

<sup>9</sup> *Mango. Développement*, passim.

Rome” was a concept firmly established from the beginning and developed in word and image.

“New Jerusalem” is another matter. Surprisingly, the references to Constantinople as the “New Jerusalem” are considerably fewer and more elusive during the Byzantine period<sup>10</sup>. To be sure, Constantinople is presented as a sacred city, but its sanctity did not necessarily derive from that of Jerusalem, and the association differs from its symbolic relationship with Rome. The connection with Rome was fundamental and mimetic. The association with Jerusalem was neither; more often than not, Jerusalem provided no more than a convenient metaphor for a sacred city, and not a typological model. Here we might contrast Constantinople with medieval copies of Jerusalem from western Europe, in which we find the replication of forms and dedications, and which were related to the process of pilgrimage — as both the mementos of the journey, and often as pilgrimage sites in their own right<sup>11</sup>.

The twelfth-century complex of Santo Stefano in Bologna is the most complete example of this phenomenon, copying buildings and replicating dedications and relics from Jerusalem, the most important of which was the church of the Holy Sepulchre, the monumental martyrium founded by Constantine the Great. The Bolognese complex includes the centralized chapel of S. Sepolcro, which contains a copy of the Tomb of Christ and a Column of the Flagellation. The central courtyard connects to a series of chapels, centered on the cruciform chapel of S. Croce, also called “Calvario,” which contained copies of the Rock of Calvary and of the True Cross, alleged to have been based on measurements taken in Jerusalem. Although the Bolognese copy was attributed to the fifth-century patron saint of Bologna, Petronius, who was said to have visited Jerusalem and returned with relics and measurements, most likely it was created following the First Crusade and was meant to reproduce the form of the Holy Sepulchre as reconstructed in the eleventh century.

The ‘Jerusalem’ in Bologna was not limited to the confines of S. Stefano and incorporated several other sites purported to have been founded by St. Petronius. These included the church of S. Giovanni in Monte Oliveti, imitating the church of the Ascension on the Mount of Olives in Jerusalem; the church of S. Thecla, said to be a copy of the Valley of Josephat and the Field of Hakeldama; a Pool of Siloam is also mentioned. Although the

<sup>10</sup> *Fenster*. *Laudes*, 102, 106, 114–115 and *passim*.

<sup>11</sup> For what follows, see: *Ousterhout R. Loca Sancta and the Architectural Response to Pilgrimage // The Blessings of Pilgrimage*, 108–124; *idem*, *Flexible Geography and Transportable Topography // The Real and Ideal Jerusalem in Jewish, Christian and Islamic Art* / Ed. B. Kuehnel. *Jerusalem*, 1998, p. 393–404 (published as *Jewish Art* 23–24 [1997–1998]).

spatial relationships are a bit confused, evidently the intent was to establish an extensive topographical relationship with Jerusalem.

On the simplest level, the 'Jerusalem' in Bologna can be understood as a souvenir copy. The numerous devotional guides to the S. Stefano indicate that it served as the site of local pilgrimages, offering indulgences to visitors. But the church was also the setting for special liturgical celebrations, such as a Palm Sunday procession that recreated Christ's Entry into Jerusalem, apparently imitating the ceremony in Jerusalem, which connected the monuments as it moved from the Mount of Olives to the Holy Sepulchre. Through these mimetic ceremonies, we can discern the civic function of the copy: in a period of rapid growth and emerging civic consciousness, the identity of Bologna as a city gains credibility and lustre through the symbolic association with the ideal city of the Middle Ages — that is, Jerusalem in its heavenly and earthly aspects.

Constantinople, in contrast, doesn't follow this model, except for the fact that much of its sanctity was borrowed. The city became head of the Orthodox church through political means, rather than because of any previous sacred associations. The latter was obviously a matter of some concern and was compensated in several ways — most notably by the acquisition of relics, for which the city became famous. More than 3,600 relics are recorded, representing at least 476 different saints, most of which were imported<sup>12</sup>.

We can trace the beginnings of the city's imported sanctity to the Church of Holy Apostles, begun by Constantine to be his place of burial. Its original form is debated, but probably consisted of just the centrally-planned mausoleum, to which a cruciform church was subsequently added. Originally the tomb of Constantine was surrounded by cenotaphs of the twelve Apostles, but in 356–357, relics of Timothy, Andrew, and Luke were brought into the church, marking a significant shift in Christian practices<sup>13</sup>. That is, holy sites and venerated tombs, whose locations were originally fixed and immutable, could be relocated to more advantageous situations. This translation signals the beginning of a flood of holy relics into Constantinople.

New buildings could also add holiness. None were quite as significant as Hagia Sophia. The church of the Holy Wisdom, dedicated to a concept and not to a person, originally had no specific sacred associations and contained no important relic<sup>14</sup>. Through its history, however, the church itself came to be

<sup>12</sup> See the discussion by *Wortley J.* Iconoclasm and Leipsanoclasm: Leo III, Constantine V, and the Relics // *Byzantinische Forschungen* 8 (1982), S. 254; *Maraval P.* Lieux saints et pèlerinages d'Orient. Paris, 1985, p. 92–104.

<sup>13</sup> As above, n. 4.

<sup>14</sup> As emphasized by *Mathews T. F.* The Early Churches of Constantinople: Architecture and Liturgy. University Park, 1971, p. 105–180; *Mainstone R. J.* Hagia Sophia: Architecture, Structure and Liturgy of Justinian's Great Church. New York, 1988.

treated as a holy object. In the accounts of Russian pilgrims, for example, they “visit” other churches, but they “venerate” Hagia Sophia<sup>15</sup>. With its great, gilded dome seeming to float above its immense nave, the church still inspires awe, as well as metaphor. Justinian’s unique creation may have been meant to evoke the Heavenly Jerusalem, or the Throne of God, or possibly the Temple of Jerusalem. The excavation and study of the church of St. Polyeuktos, built immediately before Hagia Sophia by Justinian’s political rival, Juliana Anicia, encourage such an interpretation: St. Polyeuktos apparently replicated the Temple of Solomon in its measurements and proportions and in aspects of its decoration<sup>16</sup>. It was the largest and most lavish church in the capital at the time of its construction. The dedicatory inscription credits Juliana with having “surpassed the wisdom of the celebrated Solomon, raising a temple to receive God”<sup>17</sup>. In this context, Hagia Sophia could be seen as part of a larger, competitive discourse between political rivals. Juliana was a descendant of Theodosius and represented a long-established imperial family, now out of power. Justinian’s famous, if legendary, exclamation at the dedication, “Solomon, I have outdone thee!” may have been directed more toward Juliana than toward Jerusalem<sup>18</sup>. Certainly Procopius uses similar language about Hagia Sophia, insisting that God “must especially love to dwell in this place which He has chosen”<sup>19</sup>. The discourse, I would argue, was more about the construction of sacred kingship than about sacred topography. Clearly, both Juliana and Justinian understood the symbolic value of architecture. Still, scholars such as Gilbert Dagron favor a broader interpretation: that is, as Hagia Sophia increased in prestige, it came to be regarded as the new Temple of Solomon, thereby equating Constantinople with Jerusalem<sup>20</sup>. But this is nowhere explicitly stated.

Hagia Sophia also acquired a collection of relics, most notably the relic of True Cross — probably that brought by Heraclius ca. 630 — which was used in the ceremony of Exaltation of True Cross on September 14<sup>th</sup>, commemorating the recovery of Cross from Persians<sup>21</sup>. There were also relics associated with the Old Testament, which would have complemented the Old Testament associations the architecture may have been meant to evoke. These included the Rod of Moses, the Ark of the Covenant, the Tablets of

<sup>15</sup> *Majeska G.* Russian Travelers to Constantinople in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries. Washington, 1984, p. 199.

<sup>16</sup> *Harrison M.* Excavations at the Saraçhane in Istanbul, I. Princeton, 1986, esp. 410–411; idem, A Temple for Byzantium. Austin, 1989.

<sup>17</sup> *Harrison.* Excavations, 5–7.

<sup>18</sup> *Mango C.* The Art of the Byzantine Empire 312–1453. Toronto, 1986, p. 96–102 for text.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 72–78 for text.

<sup>20</sup> *Dagron G.* Constantinople imaginaire: Etudes sur le recueil des “Patria”. Paris, 1984, p. 293–309.

<sup>21</sup> *Frolow A.* La relique de la Vraie Croix. Paris, 1961, p. 193–195; Musée du Louvre. Le trésor de la Sainte-Chapelle. Paris, 2001, p. 24–26.

the Law, Elijah's robe, the horn of the Anointing of David, and Joshua's trumpets from Jericho<sup>22</sup>.

These Old Testament relics were joined by others from the Passion of Christ, which were displayed on a table in the north aisle during Holy Week, although they were normally kept in the church of St. George of Mangana. One Russian pilgrim, the so-called Anonymous, claims that the table itself was made from the wood of Noah's Ark<sup>23</sup>. Another pilgrim, Anthony of Novgorod, saw the hammer, the gimlet, and the saw from which the Cross was made, along with a piece of the Cross. There were of course many others relics in the city, not just at Hagia Sophia. The churches of Constantinople were each distinctive for their collections of holy objects.

The Great Palace, now almost completely destroyed, also loomed large in the spiritual landscape of the city. It was not only the home of Christ's earthly representative, but also the setting of the rituals and ceremonies that guaranteed *taxis*, the order of the well-governed Christian cosmos, as the compiler of the *Ceremony Book*, Constantine Porphyrogennetos, explained<sup>24</sup>. Moreover, the churches and chapels within the Great Palace came to be repositories of relics, which often played important roles in the imperial ceremonies. The relic of the arm of St. Stephen, for example, was used in coronations and marriages. Stephen had been enlightened by God, and his name, *Stephanos*, is Greek for crown — that is, the signifier in both ceremonies<sup>25</sup>. The importance of this relic is reflected in numerous unusual representations of Stephen, with one prominent arm. Similarly, the relic of the arm of John the Baptist was used in the consecration of the emperor. John had been guided by the Holy Spirit, and the position of his arm in scenes of the Baptism emphasizes his intermediary role. The arm relic was also used in ceremonies on Epiphany, when the God-chosen Emperor was acclaimed: "He who was baptized through the hand of the Prodigios, proclaims you Emperor with his awesome hand, God-crowned benefactor, and points you out as worthy throughout the universe"<sup>26</sup>.

Notable among the palace relic collections was that of Christ's Passion, housed in the church of the Virgin of the Pharos. This small, ninth-century church contained two pieces of the cross "as large as the leg of a man", the lance and sponge, two nails, a crystal phial of blood, Christ's tunic, and the

<sup>22</sup> *Majeska G.* St. Sophia: The Relics // *DOP* 27 (1973), p. 71–87.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*; and *Majeska G.* Russian Travelers, p. 212–220; for the Russian Anonymous, p. 132–133.

<sup>24</sup> *McCormick M.* *Taxis* // *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*. Oxford, 1991, III, p. 2018; *De ceremoniis*, book 2, praefatio / Ed. Reiske, 516.

<sup>25</sup> *Kalavrezou I.* Helping Hands for the Empire: Imperial Ceremonies and the Cult of Relics at the Byzantine Court // *Byzantine Court Culture from 829 to 1204* / Ed. H. Maguire. Washington, 1997, p. 57–67.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*

Crown of Thorns<sup>27</sup>. Also kept at the Pharos church was the Mandyion, the “holy face”, a miraculous image of Christ not made by human hands<sup>28</sup>. The collection was occasionally represented on icons, with the Mandyion on the obverse and the relics on the reverse. Incidentally, these were the relics acquired by Louis IX in 1248 and taken to Paris, where the Ste.-Chapelle was built to house them; we should understand Louis’ palace chapel to be the French gothic equivalent of the Pharos church<sup>29</sup>. As Ioli Kalavrezou notes, in the French text of Robert of Clari, the Pharos church is called “la Sainte Chapelle”, the same as Louis’s chapel came to be known<sup>30</sup>.

Clearly the relic collections of Constantinople contributed to the aura of the city, and the Passion relics at the Pharos in particular might encourage a symbolic association with Jerusalem. But this association remains undeveloped in Byzantine literature; Byzantine writers loved a good metaphor, and we might expect the relic collections to have inspired a few. In fact, the association with Jerusalem is rarely mentioned. For example, when Nicholas Mesarites noted the association, it was to emphasize the superiority of the Byzantine capital. He recounted the adventures of his brother John, who had attempted secretly to make a pilgrimage to the Holy Land but was arrested and returned to the capital before he had traveled very far. He was subsequently reprimanded by his father: why would he want to travel to the Holy Land when he could find the same things in Constantinople? Christ’s tomb is there, but his shroud is in Constantinople; Golgotha is there, but Constantinople has the Cross, the Crown of Thorns, the sponge, the lance and the reed. He concludes, “This place... is Jerusalem, Tiberias, Mount Tabor, Bethany, and Bethlehem”<sup>31</sup>. This may be as we come in the later Byzantine centuries to calling Constantinople the New Jerusalem.

Several other phenomena contributed to Constantinople’s unique aura of sanctity: icons, a few home-grown holy sites, and urban processions — all of which have nothing to do with Jerusalem and emphasize the distinctiveness of Constantinople. As the Mandyion suggests, holy images took on great importance in Byzantium as objects of devotion, repositories of sanctity, and vehi-

<sup>27</sup> Ibid, p. 55–57; and Musée du Louvre. Trésor, p. 20–36.

<sup>28</sup> Kalavrezou, p. 55–57; Musée du Louvre, p. 70–71; *Cameron Av.* The History of the Image of Edessa: The Telling of a Story // Okeanos: Essays Presented to Ihor Ševčenko on His Sixtieth Birthday / Ed. C. Mango and O. Pritsak. Cambridge, Mass., 1984, p. 80–94.

<sup>29</sup> Musée du Louvre. Trésor, p. 98–140.

<sup>30</sup> Kalavrezou. *Helping Hands*, 56 and n. 14; for the text of *Robert of Clari*. *Historiens et chroniques du Moyen Age* / Ed. A. Panphilet. Paris, 1979, 63.

<sup>31</sup> *Neue Quellen zur Geschichte des lateinischen Kaisertums und der Kirchenunion*, I: *Der Epitaphios des Nikolaos Mesarites auf seinen Bruder Johannes* // Ed. A. Heisenberg. Munich, 1922, S. 27. I am grateful to Paul Magdalino for this reference and for sharing his unpublished paper, “L’église du Phare et les reliques de la Passion à Constantinople (VII<sup>e</sup>/VIII<sup>e</sup>–XIII<sup>e</sup> siècles)”.

cles for communication with the other world. The proliferation of icons thus parallels the relic phenomenon, and often we find the two working in tandem. For Constantinople, the relics and icons of the Virgin Mary were especially important. In addition to the robe and girdle of the Virgin, the city possessed several miraculous icons of her. These do not survive but are known through copies. One was kept along with her robe in the church of the Blachernae, which lay at the north end of the Land Wall<sup>32</sup>. Relic and icon were paraded along the walls when the city was under siege. Avar, Arab, and Russian besiegers were all said to have been thrown into confusion by her intervention. In the words of the ninth-century Patriarch Photios, when in danger, the city “puts on the robe [of the Virgin] and wraps herself in it”<sup>33</sup>. As the supernatural protectress of city, the Virgin is represented on Late Byzantine coins, arms raised, rising above the city walls. Toward the south end of the Land Walls, a second shrine of the Virgin developed, the Zoodochos Pege, which marked a miraculous spring — a *hagiasma*, one of several natural features in the city to acquire supernatural associations<sup>34</sup>. In the minds of the Byzantines, these two Virgin shrines, the Blachernae and the Pege, stood as sentinels, providing spiritual protection for the walls of the city<sup>35</sup>.

Finally, I should note the importance of religious processions, which connected the city in a web of sanctity, providing a sense of spiritual unity when there might not have been actual, physical unity in the urban fabric. As the apotropaic use of relic and icon on the city walls suggests, it was common for both to be taken on parade, and we have to imagine them as active participants in the life of the city. For example, a relic of the Cross was used to purify the air during the hot summer months, and an icon of the Virgin was featured prominently in ceremonies of imperial triumph<sup>36</sup>. In addition to the feast days of saints, processions commemorated the salvation of the city — from attack and from natural disasters, even from a hail of fire. By the tenth century liturgical processions were standard features; the *Typikon*

<sup>32</sup> Janin R. *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'empire byzantin* I,3. Paris, 1969, p. 161–171; Papadopoulos J. B. *Le palais et les églises des Blachernes*. Thessaloniki, 1928. For the icon, see: Ševčenko N. P. *Virgin Blachernitissa* // *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*. Oxford, 1991, III, p. 2170–2171; and Ousterhout R. *The Virgin of the Chora: An Image and Its Contexts* // *The Sacred Image East and West* / Eds. R. Ousterhout and L. Brubaker. Urbana, 1995, esp. p. 94–96, for additional bibliography.

<sup>33</sup> Mango C. *The Homilies of Photius Patriarch of Constantinople*. Cambridge, Mass., 1958, 74 ff.

<sup>34</sup> Mango C. and Ševčenko N. *Pege* // *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*. Oxford, 1991, III, p. 1616.

<sup>35</sup> See: Talbot A.-M. *Epigrams of Manuel Philes on the Theotokos tes Peges and Its Art* // *DOP* 48 (1994), 137–165; also Weyl Carr A. *Icon and the Object of Pilgrimage in Middle Byzantine Constantinople* // *DOP* 56 (2002), p. 73–92 for several others.

<sup>36</sup> Baldovin J. *The Urban Character of Christian Worship* // *Orientalia Christiana Analecta* 228. Rome, 1987, p. 167–226.



of the Great Church records 68 stational services, of which the emperor participated in 17 and the patriarch in 32. This meant that there was a public procession in the city on the average every five days<sup>37</sup>.

Within Constantinople, we may witness the construction of a sacred topography in many different ways, but it was not the topography of Jerusalem, and its sanctity was both constructed and perceived differently. As a sacred city it could be likened to Jerusalem, in its heavenly and earthly aspects, but it neither replicated nor replaced the prototype. The distinction becomes readily apparent when we examine the Byzantine attitude toward pilgrimage. Even the Byzantine terminology marks the process as something different from the familiar, western medieval concept. Our word pilgrimage derives from the Latin *peregrinus*, meaning stranger or foreigner, and thus *peregrinatio* implies travel to foreign lands. The equivalent Greek word for pilgrimage is *proskynesis* — the same used for prayer or veneration, and scholars have argued that after the Early Christian period, pilgrimage as we think of it was literally a foreign concept within Byzantium<sup>38</sup>. There is ample evidence for veneration of relics, healing shrines, miraculous interventions of saints, and the like, but site-specific veneration was almost entirely a local phenomenon. We know of a few Byzantine wanderers, such as the eleventh-century St. Lazarus of Mt. Galezion, visiting holy sites in Asia Minor, as well as Jerusalem, but at the same time, we have virtually no evidence of a Byzantine ever going to Constantinople solely for the purpose of pilgrimage<sup>39</sup>. Nor is there a genre of pilgrimage literature in Byzantium, as developed in the West: most of our pilgrims' guidebooks to Constantinople were written by Western Europeans or Russians, who came from a different tradition<sup>40</sup>.

Nor do we have a distinctive type of architecture created in response to pilgrimage, as we do in western Europe, with crypts or chevets designed to accommodate the visits of the faithful to venerated tombs and relics. In fact, for Byzantium in general, we only have a vague idea of the setting for special veneration — that is, where within the churches relics were kept and

<sup>37</sup> Ibid.

<sup>38</sup> Mango C. The Pilgrim's Motivation // Akten des XII. Internationalen Kongresses für christlichen Archäologie. Münster, 1995, p. 2–3; Weyl Carr, Icon and the Object, p. 76–77 [and other studies in the same volume: DOP 56 (2002)]; see also: Vikan G. Pilgrimage // Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium. Oxford, 1991, III, p. 1676–1677; Ousterhout R. Pilgrimage Sites, Byzantine // Trade, Travel, and Exploration in the Middle Ages: An Encyclopedia / Eds. J. B. Friedman and K. M. Figg. New York, 2000, p. 483–485.

<sup>39</sup> Greenfield R. P. H. The Life of Lazaros of Mt. Galezion: An Eleventh-Century Pillar Saint. Washington, 2000; see also: Kaplan M. Les saints en pèlerinage à l'époque mésobyzantine (7<sup>e</sup>–12<sup>e</sup> siècles) // DOP 56 (2002), p. 109–127; Talbot A.-M. Pilgrimage to Healing Shrines: The Evidence of Miracle Accounts // The same volume, p. 153–167.

<sup>40</sup> Ciggaar K. N. Western Travellers to Constantinople. The West and Byzantium 962–1204. Leiden, 1996; Majeska G. Russian Travelers to Constantinople in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries. Washington, D.C., 1984.

how they were displayed. The typology of Byzantine church architecture seems to depend more on scale than on function<sup>41</sup>.

That said, within Constantinople there were a few sites that for one reason or another may have had associations with Jerusalem, specifically with the church of the Holy Sepulchre. Let me conclude with these. Certainly the collection of Passion relics at the Pharos church suggests a connection, although it remains implied but never stated outright. Two early churches were later claimed to have been laid out *eis mimesin tou naou tou taphou Christou*. One was the martyrium of Karpos and Papylos (late fourth century), of which the crypt survives; the other, the Theotokos tou Kouratoros (mid fifth-century), possibly identified with the Balaban Ağa Mescidi, which enshrined relics of Lazarus, Mary, and Martha. I mention both of these buildings with caution, because neither has been securely identified, and the claimed associations postdate the constructions — and are still a puzzle to me<sup>42</sup>.

To these examples I would like to add another possible contender, the curious, twin-domed chapel of St. Michael at the Pantokrator Monastery, which was referred to as the *heroon* in the monastic *typikon*<sup>43</sup>. The central and last of three adjoining churches built in rapid succession by John II and Eirene Komnenos, ca. 1118–1136, St. Michael was destined to be the dynastic mausoleum of the Komnenes, whose tombs were clustered at its western end. I suspect that the five-domed form of the irregular complex may have been intended to equate the Pantokrator with the nearby church of the Holy Apostles, the imperial dynastic mausoleum of Constantine the Great and of the early Byzantine emperors. In a like manner, the oddly archaic term *heroon* — meaning a hero's shrine — calls to mind the monumental martyria of the Early Christian period — of which the Holy Apostles was the nearest example. In fact, Nikolaos Mesarites employed the term *heroon* in reference to the imperial mausoleum at the church of the Holy Apostles, explaining that those buried there are heroes<sup>44</sup>.

Within the chapel of St. Michael, very little is now visible, but as a part of our ongoing study and restoration of the building, we anticipate exploration in this area<sup>45</sup>. According to the *typikon*, scenes from the death, entomb-

<sup>41</sup> See comments by Ousterhout R. An Apologia for Byzantine Architecture // *Gesta* 35 (1996), p. 20–29.

<sup>42</sup> Ousterhout, Architectural Response, p. 112.

<sup>43</sup> The following is summarized from Ousterhout R. Architecture, Art, and Komnenian Ideology at the Pantokrator Monastery // *Byzantine Constantinople. Monuments, Topography, and Everyday Life* / Ed. N. Necipoğlu. Leiden, 2001, p. 133–150, esp. 149–150.

<sup>44</sup> For text and translation, see: Downey Glanville. Description of the Church of the Holy Apostles at Constantinople // *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, N. S. 46.6 (1957), p. 857–924, esp. 892 and 915: XL. 1.

<sup>45</sup> Ousterhout R., Ahunbay Z., Ahunbay M. Study and Restoration of the Zeyrek Camii in Istanbul: First Report, 1997–1998 // *DOP* 54 (2000), p. 265–270.

ment, and resurrection of Christ appeared in the arches and vaults, and it seems that the images of the Anastasis and the Holy Women at the Tomb were set in prominent relationship to the imperial tombs. If we can go by the scale of the surviving lunettes, these were exceptionally large and prominent images, which might be compared to the Anastasis from Nea Moni, and to the Holy Women at the Tomb from Mileševa; at the latter, incidentally, the scene was set above the tomb of King Vladislav.

When the founders' son Manuel Komnenos died in 1180, his tomb was erected centrally in the western bay of the *heroon*. Niketas Choniates described it as a "gloomy monument" of dark stone topped by seven protuberances; a drawing done ca. 1750 shows a curious stone then preserved in Topkapı Palace which may have been its lid<sup>46</sup>. When Manuel's tomb was added, so too was the Stone of the Uncion, a relic from the Entombment of Christ. Recently transported to Constantinople from Ephesus, Manuel had carried the stone from the harbor to the Pharos church on his shoulders<sup>47</sup>. The stone was subsequently set up next to the tomb, presumably where the setting is exposed in the surviving floor, evoking an obvious parallel between the emperor and Christ — an association encouraged by the lengthy poem inscribed on the base of the Stone of the Uncion, which compared the mourning of the holy women to the lamentations of the empress for her dead husband<sup>48</sup>.

Poem, relic, and tomb would have had a special resonance situated beneath the mosaic of the Holy Women at the Tomb. At the same time, the setting for the ensemble of tombs, relic, and images was a unique twin-domed church. I suspect here a relationship between the Komnenian *heroon* and the church of the Holy Sepulchre, which marked the site of the events commemorated in the mosaics. In fact, the church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem was being rebuilt by the Crusaders simultaneously with the construction of the Pantokrator church in the early twelfth century, and it also took on a twin-domed form<sup>49</sup>. Could this have been the model for the unique form of the Pantokrator chapel? The decorative program of the Crusaders' Holy Sepulchre included many of the same scenes. The tombs of the Crusader kings were set in analogous positions, as was, it seems, a Stone of the Uncion. The many ties between the Komnenian rulers and the Crusader kings may have encouraged this symbolic association, and we know of extensive Komnenian patronage in the Holy Land. John II wanted to make a pilgrimage there; his brother Isaac succeeded in doing

<sup>46</sup> Mango C. Three Imperial Byzantine Sarcophagi Discovered in 1759 // DOP 16 (1962), p. 397–399.

<sup>47</sup> Megaw A. H. S. Notes on Recent Work of the Byzantine Institute in Istanbul // DOP 17 (1966), p. 339.

<sup>48</sup> Mango C. Notes on Byzantine Monuments // DOP 23–24 (1969–1970), p. 372–375.

<sup>49</sup> Folda J. Art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land, 1098–1187. Cambridge and New York, 1995, p. 175–245.

so<sup>50</sup>. Most importantly, the Holy Sepulchre was a foundation strongly associated with Constantine the Great; it could also be regarded as a *heroon*.

Was this a copy of the Holy Sepulchre? Well, maybe, and I've argued as much elsewhere<sup>51</sup>. But the association, and even the twin-domed form of the chapel developed only gradually. And it is worth pointing out that the meaning of the chapel at the Pantokrator differed from that of western European copies of the Holy Sepulchre. In Constantinople, I believe it was part of an elaborately constructed imperial ideology, designed to bolster the claims of the Komnenian family to the legitimacy of their rule, to ground them in Byzantine history, through the rich and multi-layered evocations of the past and the allusions to Constantine the Great. Their success in this world was as much a concern as their salvation in the next.

In his discussion of ritual theory, Jonathan Z. Smith emphasizes the novelty of Constantinople as a ritual site, "deliberately crafted as a stage for the distinctive drama of the early Byzantine liturgy"<sup>52</sup>. Yet, as he notes, from the standpoint of ritual, although novelty may result in functional gain and freedom to innovate, at the same time it may also result in ideological loss and lack of resonance in the relationship of old and new. In all of this, Christian Constantinople stands in sharp contrast to Christian Jerusalem, where novelty was not possible, and each *locus sanctus* was fixed — precisely where the event occurred; as Smith explains, "the specificity of place is what gives rise to and what is perpetuated in memorial"<sup>53</sup>. Or in other words, in Jerusalem, "story, ritual, and place could be one"<sup>54</sup>. But it could not be another; within the context of its urban development, its sanctity was fixed and immutable. Constantinople, on the other hand, did not suffer the restrictions of a memorialized past, and it could, in effect, free-associate. It could be New Rome, but on special occasions, and even simultaneously, it could also be celebrated as New Jerusalem or New Athens, or even New Troy<sup>55</sup>. In Jerusalem, sacred events *happened* — and were memorialized. In Constantinople, throughout its long history, sanctity was introduced and perpetuated within a complex system that interwove power and status; it was carefully imported, invented, constructed, and celebrated — in image and relic, in streets and buildings, in metaphor and ritual.

<sup>50</sup> *Kinnamos J.* Deeds of John and Manuel Comnenus I.25; tr. Charles Brand. New York, 1976, p. 28; *Magdalino P.* The Empire of Manuel I Komnenos, 1143-1180. Cambridge, 1993, p. 41-53; 66-78.

<sup>51</sup> *Ousterhout.* Architecture, Art, and Komnenian Ideology, p. 149-150.

<sup>52</sup> *Smith J. Z.* To Take Place: Toward Theory in Ritual. Chicago, 1987, p. 75.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 22.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 86.

<sup>55</sup> *Fenster.* Laudes, 177; see also the forthcoming analysis by *Bassett S.* The formation of urban identity in late antique Constantinople. Cambridge University Press, 2004.

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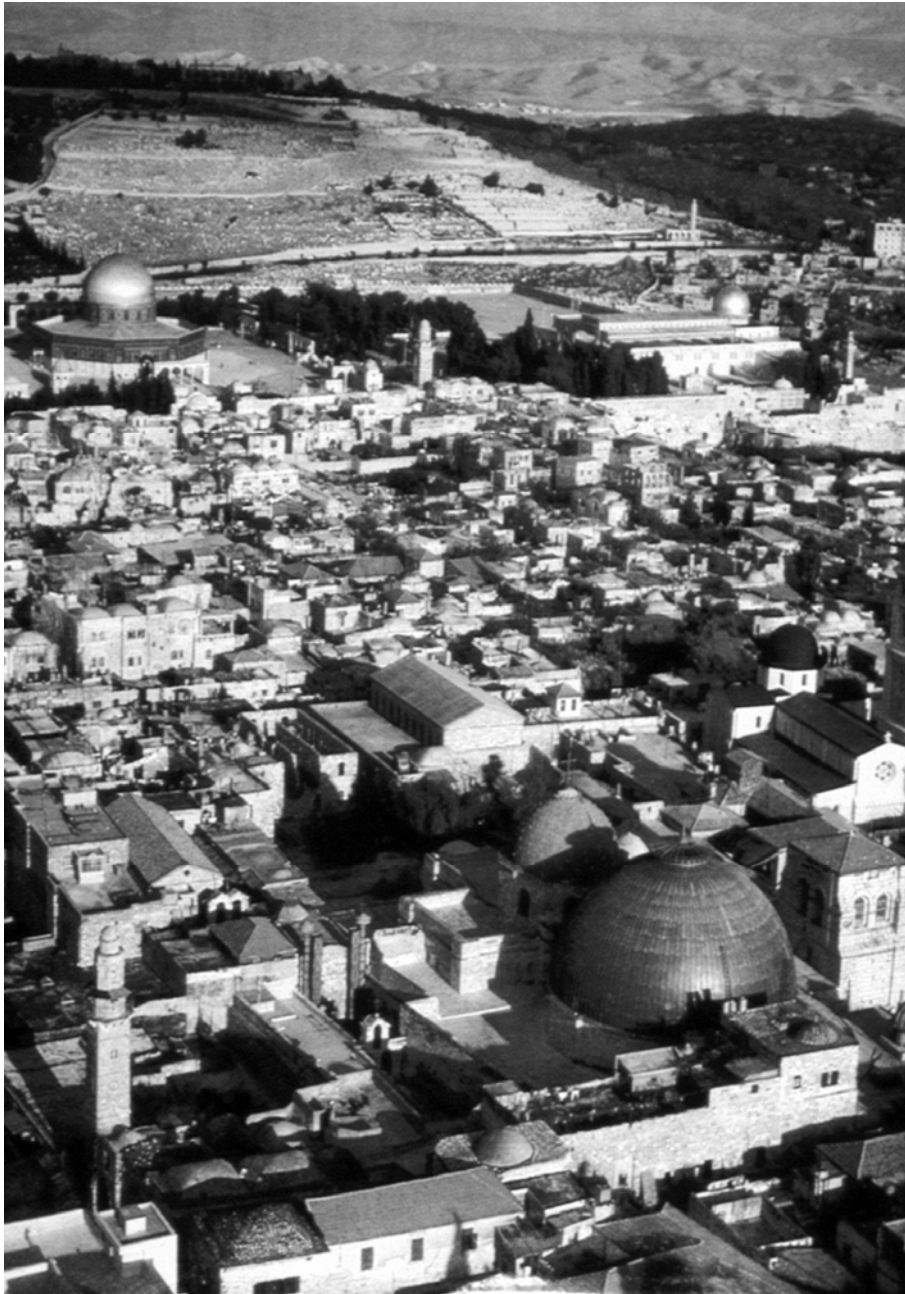
«САКРАЛЬНАЯ ГЕОГРАФИЯ» И СВЯТЫЕ МЕСТА:  
КОНСТАНТИНОПОЛЬ КАК ИЕРУСАЛИМ

Основной вопрос, вытекающий из понятия сакральной географии, следующий: как мир физический воздействует на мир духовный? Одним из необходимых допущений будет признание того, что два этих мира соприкасаются в *loca sancta* — специальных местах, где небесные силы становятся более близкими и могут быть использованы для земного благополучия или помощи в спасении. В таких местах духовное может стать реальным и осязаемым и воплотиться в человеке, точке пространства или предмете. Принятие этого положения лежит в основе христианской практики паломничества. Этим же средневековый Иерусалим отличался от Константинополя. Иерусалим видел Распятие, Погребение и Воскресение Христа, и святыне места города были свидетельствами, делающими духовно явственными события, лежащие в основе христианского вероучения.

Напротив, город Византий до своего повторного основания в 324–330 гг. н. э. под названием Константинополь никак не был связан с христианством. Даже христианское содержание замысла основанного Константином города ставится под вопрос; особенно убедительно Кириллом Манго, делающим упор на том, что при строительстве приоритет отдавался городским удобствам, площадям для церемоний и государственным памятникам, а не церквям. Единственной широко известной церковью периода правления Константина была, по-видимому, церковь Святых Апостолов, построенная как мавзолей для императора. Биограф Константина Евсевий попадает в затруднительное положение, когда пытается объяснить, как его герой, образец веры, мог воздвигать в своей новой столице языческие статуи. Город Константина создавался как столица империи, и совсем не обязательно как столица христианского мира.

Тем не менее, к середине V века все изменилось. Константинополь стал не только несомненно христианским, но и священным. В 446 году монах из Месопотамии Даниил Столпник, направлявшийся в Святую Землю, встретил таинственного незнакомца, который ясными словами велел ему *не* идти в Иерусалим, «а отправиться в Византий, и там увидишь ты второй Иерусалим, т. е. Константинополь. Там возрадуешься в часовнях мучеников и величественных местах молитвы...». Соответственно, Даниил отправился на север и установил свой столп в пригороде византийской столицы. Со времени получения Даниилом этого божественного указания встречаются упоминания Константинополя как Нового Иерусалима, причем чаще в современных исследованиях, чем в ви-

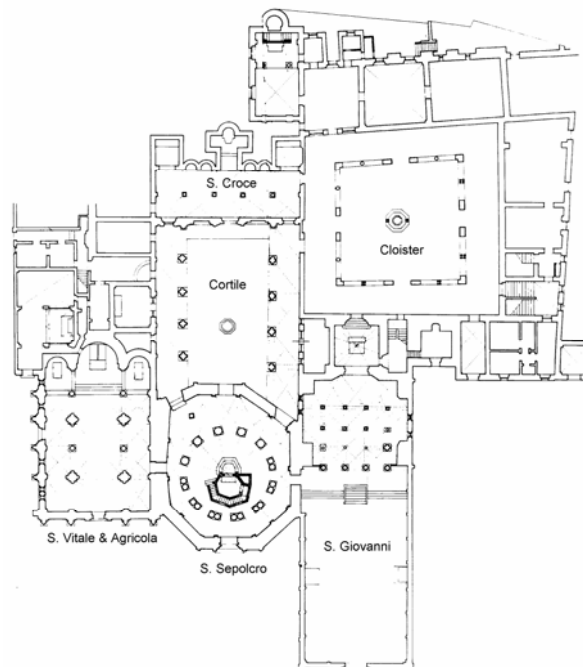
зантийских текстах. Ученым нравится использовать двойной эпитет «Новый Рим и новый Иерусалим», который кажется им выражающим одновременно и политические, и религиозные амбиции города, присущую ему уникальную связь власти и статуса. Но насколько это верно? Настоящая статья посвящена изучению природы эпитета «Новый Иерусалим» и достоверности его использования по отношению к Константинополю.



1. Jerusalem, aerial view from the east, showing the church of the Holy Sepulchre in the foreground and the Dome of the Rock on the alleged site of the Temple in the background (photo: courtesy Time Magazine)



2. Istanbul, formerly Constantinople, view from the Column of Constantine toward Hagia Sophia (photo: author)

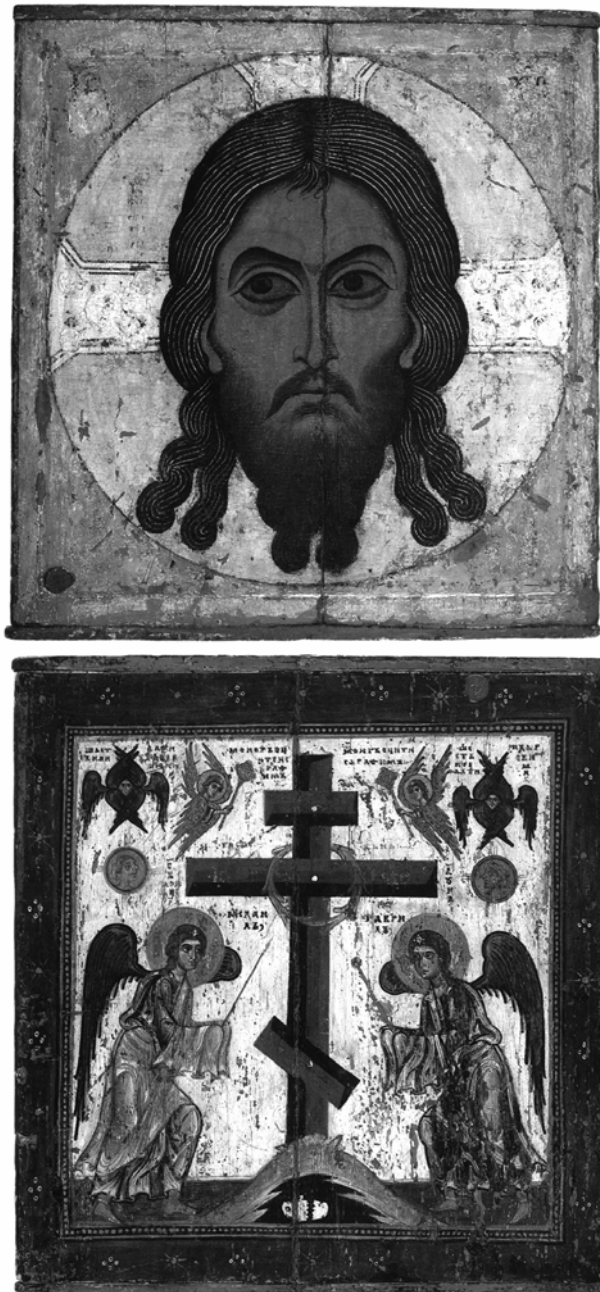


3. Bologna, plan, Santo Stefano complex (photo: author)

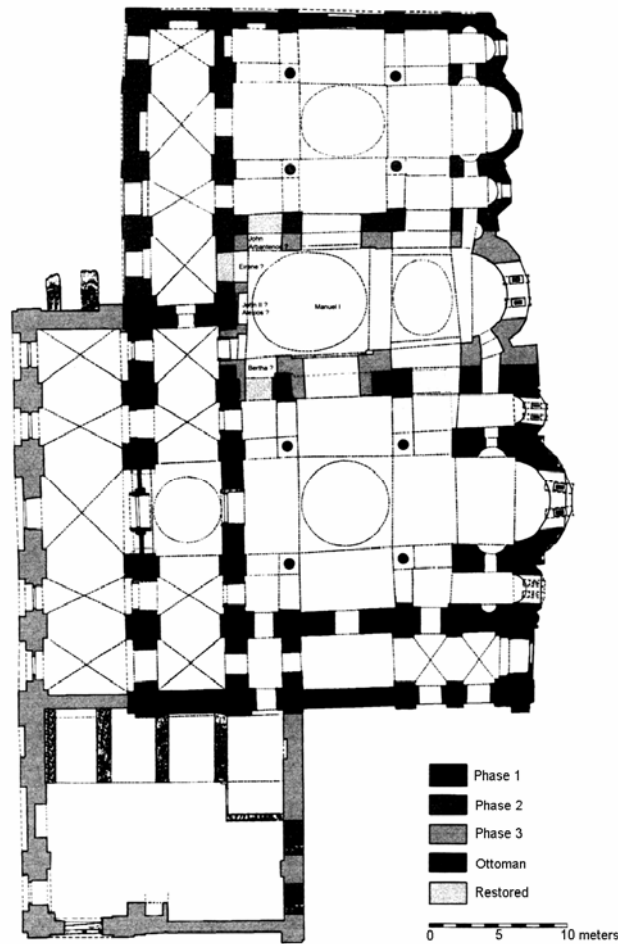




4. Istanbul, Hagia Sophia, interior, looking southeast (photo: author)



5. Double-sided icon showing the Mandylion with the face of Christ on one side and the Passion relics from the Pharos chapel on the other (Moscow, Tretyakov Gallery)



6. Istanbul, Zeyrek Camii (Monastery of Christ Pantokrator), plan showing the possible locations of the imperial tombs (author, after Megaw)