In the present paper I will argue that the Hierotopic vision and approach may reveal a new layer of subjects never discussed before in the history of Byzantine art and culture. It concerns iconic images created in space, or in more traditional art-historical terms, a spatial ‘iconography’ beyond pictorial schemes. The combination of certain images in a church, or one image in ritual context, could create another iconic image, not formally depicted, but made implicit in a given sacred space between or around the actual pictures. Such icon creation is connected with an important and challenging premise: in the Byzantine minds, the icon was not merely an object and a flat picture on panel or wall, but a spatial vision emanating from the depiction into the environment in front of it. The Byzantine beholder could perceive the images as legitimate and recognizable icons in the space, although they were performed beyond material objects.

Elsewhere I have discussed some projects of such spatial icons within the Byzantine church. It concerns the Mandylion and Keramion paradigm (fig. 1) as well as the project of spatial imagery initiated by Leo the Wise in Hagia Sophia and. For the present paper a slightly different phenomenon has been selected — a spatial image which was created not inside the church but in the urban environment. It deals with a representative case of the Hodegetria of Constantinople and its Tuesday miraculous performance. Among several rituals with miraculous icons in the capital of the Byzantine Empire this rite was undoubtedly the most important, the best known, and highly influential in the Eastern and Western traditions of the icon veneration. It was a performance with the famous icon of the Mother of God called the Hodegetria (‘Pointing..."

1 Lidov A. Hierotopy. The creation of sacred spaces as a form of creativity and subject of cultural history in the present volume.
the Way')4. According to Byzantine tradition, this icon was painted by St Luke the Evangelist himself and in the fifth century it was sent to Constantinople from Jerusalem as a major Christian relic. It played a role of a palladium of the empire and was perceived as a pattern-image of the Virgin in the entire Christian world (fig. 2)5.

This most venerated Hodegetria icon performed a regular miracle, which happened every Tuesday on the square in front of the Hodegon monastery in the centre of the Byzantine capital, not far from the Great Palace and Hagia Sophia. Twelfth to fifteenth centuries pilgrims and travellers from various countries have informed us in detail about this miraculous performance. They have left their written records about the Tuesday rite in Latin, Greek, Old Russian, Old Spanish, presenting different perception of the same event. Among the most detailed testimonies one may mention that of the mid-fourteenth century Russian Pilgrim Stephan of Novgorod6 and two Spanish travellers, Rui de Clavijo and Pero Tafur, who visited Constantinople in the first half of the fifteenth century7. There are some significant visual sources. Since late-thirteenth century the scenes of the Tuesday miracle appeared in Byzantine iconography. They could be depicted in a single composition on the narthex wall (the Blackermitissa church in Arta, Mainland Greece, figs. 6–9)8, or to be included in the Akathistos cycle, illustrating the verses of the most popular Byzantine hymn in praise of the Mother of God (the icon with 'The Praise of the Virgin with the Akaphistos cycle' from the Moscow Kremlin, figs. 3–5)9. At the core

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9 Byzantium. Balkans. Rus'. Icons of the 13th to 15th century. Catalogue of exhibition // Ed. L. Lifshits (Moscow, 1991), № 36, 223; Angelidi and Papamastorakis, “The Veneration of the Virgin Hodegetria”, p. 381. There are two scenes with the Hodegetria flanking the central image the Virgin enthroned. The procession scene to the left illustrates kontakion I (prooemium II), addressed to the Virgin “To you, our leader in the battle and defender…”,
of all the representations the painter repeated the same iconographic pattern. In the centre there is a figure of a person in the red vestment, who is stretching out his arms and, as it seems, bears a huge, richly decorated Hodegetria icon, depicted in the air above. To the left and right of this servant of the icon a dense crowd of people is represented in the attitude of adoration. The images reflected one and the same carefully elaborated performance of the Tuesday miracle, repeated over the centuries, as we may judge from written testimonies since the late twelfth-century Danish description of the Hodegetria rite 10.

From this and other records we learn that the focal point of the rite was the reproduction weekly of the miracle. It consisted of carrying of the extremely heavy icon of the Hodegetria, which was placed by several people on the shoulders of one man who, then, showed himself able to carry it effortlessly. These icon-bearers in uniform red vestments were members of a special family of servants of the Hodegetria 11 (fig. 10). According to one source they belonged to ‘the tribe of Luke’ 12, in other words, they presumably were perceived as relatives of the holy painter of the Hodegetria icon — St Luke the Evangelist. These servants ‘in red’ carried the icon round the market square several times, probably thereby carving out a sacred space within the square. The commercial environment, mentioned by Tafur (There is a market in the square on that day, and a great crowd assembles) 13 and depicted in detail in the Arta fresco, was an integral part of the ‘miraculous’ project. The choice seems deliberate, the most profane place of a market square having been transformed into the most sacred. As we know from the Russian and Old Spanish descriptions, it has become a space of collective supplication, penitence and liturgical acclamation. From other accounts we learn that miraculous healings regularly occurred during the rite, and participants received special blessings — the clergy took small pieces of cotton-

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11 Patterson Sevcenko N. Servants of the Holy Icon // Byzantine East, Latin West. Art-historical studies in honor of Kurt Weitzmann. Princeton, 1995, p. 547–550. Clavijo stressed the special status of this group: “They [Greeks] say that to no others is it possible thus alone to lift and carry it save to this particular man (and his brothers). But this man is of a family any of whom can do so, for it pleased God to vouchsafe this power to them one and all” (Ibid., 548).
12 “Sluzhit plemia Lutsino do sego dnia (the tribe of Luke serves [the icon] to this day)”. This unique testimony, most probably, based on unknown Byzantine source, may be found in the Russian chronicles of the first half of the fifteenth century, among them, in the Sophiiskaya I chronicle: Polnoe Sobranie Russikh Letopisei (The Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles). Leningrad, 1925, vol. 5, p. 189–190.
13 See note 7.
wool and touched the picture, most probably to obtain the holy oil exuded by 
the icon\textsuperscript{14}.

However, a crucial moment of the miraculous performance was the ef-
fect of the icon ‘flying’ in the air and moving its bearer in a circle. The ex-
traordinary mystical character of the rite was clearly emphasized in the earli-
est known Latin description of the late twelfth century: “\textit{On the third day of 
every week the icon was moved in a circle with angelic power in full view of 
the crowd, as though snatched up by some kind of whirlwind. And it carried 
about its bearer with its own circular movement, so that because of its sur-
prising speed it almost seemed to deceive the eyes of the spectators. Mean-
while everyone, according to their tradition, beat their breasts and cried out 
"Kyrie eleison, Christe eleison (Lord have mercy, Christ have mercy)\textsuperscript{15}.}

How can we describe the phenomenon in general terms? In our view, 
the Tuesday rite of the Hodegetria icon might be regarded as a liturgical per-
formance representing a miraculous appearance of the Mother of God in the 
actual urban space of Constantinople. It seems a very important example of 
Byzantine Hierotopy, or the making of sacred space and, in my view, could 
be interpreted as a kind of iconic image created in space.

The rite was considered of prime importance in Constantinople. But 
there is still no clear answer to the question of the central symbolic idea be-
hind this rite. Furthermore, it is not known why the rite took place on Tues-
day. What did the people participating in this performance try to present?

In this paper I will argue that the Tuesday rite was a liturgical and iconic 
re-enactment of the siege of Constantinople in 626. In this year, the city was, 
according to tradition, saved by the intercession of the Virgin and her miracle-
working icon\textsuperscript{16}. In Middle and Late Byzantine periods people regarded this 
siege and the miraculous deliverance of the capital by the Mother of God as a 
key event of great symbolic significance and a kind of pattern to be repro-
duced in other cases. It influenced various fields of Byzantine culture. Charac-
teristically, it was connected with the creation of the Akathistos Hymn.

As we learn from the descriptions, the principal element of the Tuesday 
rite was the repetitive circular movement of the bearer of the Hodegetria 
icon around the market square. This finds a clear parallel in the central epi-
sode of the siege story, in which a procession went around the walls of Con-
stantinople with a miraculous image. An icon of the Virgin was carried

\textsuperscript{14} Most probably the same holy oil pilgrims could get inside the shrine, as Ignatius of 
Smolensk mentions: “…we venerated and kissed the Hodeg itria icon. We received anoint-
ing with chrism (pomirisimo), and gladly were we anointed” (Majeska, Russian Travelers, 
p. 94–95).
\textsuperscript{15} De profectione Danorum in Terram Sanctam, p. 490–491.
\textsuperscript{16} \textit{Van Dieter J. L.} Geschichte der Patriarchen von Sergios I. bis Johannes VI. Amsterdam, 
Spatial icons

around the walls in subsequent sieges, and in later times this icon was identified with the Hodegetria of Constantinople, to whom the miraculous salvation of the city was specifically attributed\(^\text{17}\).

The choice of Tuesday for the Hodegetria rite could be also explained by one of the oldest accounts of the siege of 626. In the sermon by Theodore Synkellos, delivered at the first celebration in 627\(^\text{18}\), we may find this important testimony of a contemporary of the event: “Like an invincible arm, he [the patriarch] bore this [icon] on all the city walls... that was on the first day of the siege and the third day of the week [Tuesday]”\(^\text{19}\). Thus, probably, Tuesday became a day for the historical commemoration of the real event and its cosmic and iconic reproduction with the Hodegetria rite, mystically guarding and protecting the city through the Divine power of the icon.

One more strange and evidently very significant element of the Tuesday rite may be also connected with the earliest sermon of Theodore Synkellos. According to written accounts and in all the depictions of the scene the icon-bearer reproduced the same specific gesture. Stephan of Novgorod informs us: “They place [the icon] on the shoulders of one man who is standing upright, and he stretches out his arms as if [being] crucified”\(^\text{20}\). Thus, the scene implicitly presents an image of Crucifixion, which was depicted on the reverse of the Hodegetria panel, as we know from the pilgrims’ accounts\(^\text{21}\), and from a number of copies of the Hodegetria icon, which had the image of

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\(^{19}\) Makk F. Traduction et commentaire, p. 81.

\(^{20}\) Majeska, Russian Travellers, p. 36–37.

\(^{21}\) Pero Tafur in 1437 described the icon: “In this church is a picture of Our Lady the Virgin, made by St. Luke, and on the other side is Our Lord crucified” (see supra note 7). An Armenian pilgrim (before 1434) records: “There is an icon painted by Luke the Evangelist, on one side of which is the Mother of God, and the saviour in her arms, and on the other side is another Christ on the cross on the right, and the Mother of God on the left” (Brock S. A. Medieval Armenian Pilgrim description of Constantinople // Revue des études Arménien, IV (1967), p. 86). A Greek evidence one may find in the fifteenth century Gregory the Monk’s ‘Description of the Kykkos monastery’ (ca. 1422). According to him, St Luke inspired by the archangel Gabriel, “painted the purest image of the Hodegetria, and Christ Crucified on the opposite side of the icon, as well as, on both sides, Gabriel and Michael censing Jesus” (Bacci M. The Legacy of the Hodegetria: Holy Icons and Legends between East and West Images of the Mother of God. Perceptions of the Theotokos in Byzantium // Ed. M. Vassilaki. London, 2004, p. 322.
Crucifixion or Christ the Man of Sorrow on the back. An early example is the late-twelfth century icon from Kastoria in Greece (fig. 11)\(^{22}\). From the thirteenth century onwards we know several double-sided icons with the Crucifixion on the back\(^{23}\). Two images of the double-sided icon had to be perceived simultaneously in the dynamic liturgical context. This effect of coexistence of two images was particularly significant in conjunction with the character of the Tuesday miracle itself. The icon was flying and whirling in the air, so the image in front of the beholders' eyes was changing every moment and actually could be perceived as a single one.

Through the image of the Crucifixion performed by the icon bearer and depicted on the icon reverse we are able to understand the meaning of the weightlessness of the icon. Theodore Synkellos' sermon stated: "And our Moses [the patriarch] having raised in his pure hands the image (typos) of the only-begotten God at which the demons tremble (which, they say, is not made by human hands), — for he [the patriarch] did not need someone to support him, having crucified himself to the world [Gal. 6:14], according to the Gospel of Christ the Lord"\(^{24}\). The Crucifixion of Christ is declared a principal condition of the miracle, mystically presented on the walls of Constantinople during the ancient siege and later in the Tuesday rite, when a selected bearer needed no physical support in miraculously carrying a huge and extremely heavy icon of the Hodegetria, which is said to have moved its bearer in a circle. The images of the Virgin with Child and crucified Saviour on both sides of the icon marked the invisible borders of the mystical space, reminiscent of the major historical miracles of Christianity — the Incarnation and the Redemptive sacrifice.

The weekly Tuesday rite may well have functioned as an important supplication by the city for salvation and protection, reproducing through ritual a mystical link, continually renewed, between the townspeople and their main intercessor. The Mother of God confirmed her supernatural presence in the city's main palladium, the icon of the Hodegetria, with the help of a regular weekly miracle. The rite created a kind of spatial icon, or an iconic image

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\(^{24}\) Makk, Traduction et commentaire, p. 81; Pentcheva, The supernatural protector of Constantinople, p. 9–10.
in space, embracing the miraculous event, liturgical procession, special rituals of veneration, with the common people in attendance and the icon of the Hodegetria itself, representing the actual iconographic program on both sides of the panel.

The Tuesday rite, which took place in the early morning in front of the Hodegon monastery (the house of the Virgin's major icon), was intended to transfigure the profane environment of the market into an ideal image of the Divine city under the exclusive protection of the Mother of God. With this rite the urban procession started. It traversed the entire city, most probably ending up at the Blachernai church in the North-West corner of Constantinople. The major Byzantine church of the Virgin was located in that place with its most famous protective relic of the Virgin's Robe. Along the way other miraculous icons and relics from many Constantinopolitan churches joined the procession, which probably became an enormous religious demonstration, engaging a considerable part of the Byzantine capital's population. The urban procession was a prolongation, a kind of second act, of the miraculous performance at the Hodegon square. The same servants clad in red had the exclusive right to carry the Hodegetria icon through the city, as we may learn from the twelfth-century Danish account, describing both the rite and the procession.

In both acts of the performance the Hodegetria was perceived as a living being, an animated icon (in Greek terms, *empsychos graphe*), which was able to work miracles. According to the eleventh-century testimony, at a particular moment of the Tuesday procession the image of the Virgin turned by itself to an image of Christ, aiming at the special veneration of the Son and the Lord. The iconic space that was established at the Hodegon square had been transformed into a new one covering much bigger territory. Through the procession the miraculous power emanating from the Hodegetria icon of the Mother of God spread through the entire city, making it an enormous icon in space and bringing to the fore its status as earthly embodiment of the Heavenly Jerusalem.

As I have argued elsewhere, the spatial icon of the Tuesday performance could be transferred to other environments as happened with the holy ob-

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26 Ciggaar, Une description de Constantinople dans le Tarragonensis 55, 127. The image of Christ might be identified with another most venerated miraculous icon of the Chalke Christ above the main entrance to the imperial Great Palace.
In this way a mystical link between geographically distant areas was established, they were included in the Christian iconic whole and the hierarchy of sacred spaces rooted in the Holy Land and Constantinople perceived as the New Jerusalem — a venerated place of the Second Coming. The ‘spatial icons’ played the role of vehicles of divine energy radiating from the most sacred centres.

This paper aims to present a historical reconstruction of a very powerful but up to recently almost neglected ‘spatial icon’ — the Tuesday miraculous performance with the Hodegetria of Constantinople. This sophisticated project was probably created in the twelfth century by unknown authors who could use, as a kind of scenario, the Sermon of Theodoros Synkellos on the miraculous deliverance of Constantinople from the siege of 626. The creators of the Tuesday performance did not mean to present a historical drama reconstructing a particular event, but they used the paradigmatic story of 626 to make an iconic re-enactment of the Virgin’s appearance and miraculous protection over the city. This cosmic image of salvation included different layers of time, which interacted in the single whole: the eternal presence of the heavenly beings, the evangelic history, the model event of 626 as well as the actual time of the Tuesday performance whenever it happened in Constantinople from the twelfth to fifteenth centuries, or later in other parts of the Christian world.

The phenomenon described above might be considered as a special type of Byzantine creativity, that I term Hierotopy. Like image making and other cultural forms, it underwent historical changes and should be analysed as a kind of cultural and art-historical document, long neglected. The subject can not be reduced to the discussion of religious processions or rituals with icons. Moreover, one may argue that for the Byzantines the creation of such spatial imagery was one of the most important forms of their spiritual life, when everyone, beyond any hierarchy, could actually experienced him/herself as real participant of an iconic vision, mystically transforming the urban environment. From the socio-psychological point of view it looks more powerful than all church decorations taken together.

The Tuesday miraculous performance with the Hodegetria of Constantinople is just one characteristic example among several different models of Byzantine Hierotopy. I have attempted to demonstrate an opportunity to use the hierotopic vision and approach for concrete studies in Byzantine art and

27 The traces of this spatial imagery might be found in Greece, Asia Minor, Russia and Italy. Several instances were collected and examined: Lidov A. The Flying Hodegetria. The Miraculous Icon as Bearer of Sacred Space, p. 307–319.

28 To the best of my knowledge, this most important phenomenon, which considerably influenced the spiritual life of Constantinople, has been never included in the general histories of Byzantium, or any surveys of Byzantine culture and art.
cultural history. No less important seems a general statement that the images in space could be perceived by the medieval beholder as legitimate and recognizable icons though they were performed beyond the material objects. These spatial icons challenge our stereotypes because they can not be formalized as a kind of illustration of any particular text. At the same time they included a range of symbolic connotations, which co-existed in the changing dynamic context of the sacred performance in space. The traditional methodology of iconographic studies, based on the principle of ‘text-illustration’, has not taken account of this spatial imagery29. However, in the realm of Byzantine culture, these ‘spatial icons’ played a crucial role and often determined both the general structure of symbolic and artistic projects as well as a great deal of concrete pictorial details.

1. Подкупольное пространство с образами Мандилиона и Керамиона над восточной и западной арками. Собор Спасо-Мирожского монастыря во Пскове. Вторая четверть XII в. / The domed space with Mandylion and Keramion above eastern and western arches. The cathedral of the Miroz monastery near Pskov, Russia, second quarter of the 12th century.
2. Икона «Торжество Православия». Британский Музей, Лондон. Конец XIV в. / The icon of the Triumph of Orthodoxy. The British Museum, late 14th century
3. Икона «Похвала Богоматери с Акафистом» из Успенского собора Московского Кремля. Вторая половина XIV в. / The icon of the Praise of the Virgin with the Akathistos cycle. The Dormition Cathedral of the Moscow Kremlin, second half of the 14th century
4. Процессия с Одигитрией Константинопольской. Клеймо из цикла Акафиста (кондак I «Взбранной Воеводе победительная») / The Procession with the Hodegetria of Constantinople. A scene from the Akathistos cycle (prooimion II)

5. Вторничное действие с Одигитрией Константинопольской Клеймо из цикла Акафиста (кондак XIII «О, Всепетая Мати») / The Tuesday rite with the Hodegetria of Constantinople. A scene from the Akathistos cycle (oikos XXIV)
6. The Tuesday rite with the Hodegetria of Constantinople. The late 13th century fresco from the Blachernai monastery near Arta (Mainland Greece) and its reconstruction.
7. Раздача воды (возможно, освященной воды из святого источника монастыря Одигон). Сцена на площади. Часть фрески в Арте / Distribution of the water (possibly, the holy water from the sacred spring of the Hodegon). A part of the composition in Arta
8. Женщины с курильницами справа от иконы Одигитрии. Сцена на площади. Часть фрески в Арте / Women with censors. A part of the composition in Arta

9. Поклонение иконе Одигитрии. Сцена на площади. Левая часть фрески в Арте / The veneration of the Hodegetria icon. The left part of the composition in Arta
10. Поклонение чудотворной иконе Одигитрии Константинопольской в ее святилище. По сторонам — члены семьи служителей иконы в особых красных одеяниях. Миниатюра из рукописи «Псалтыри Гамильтона», конец XIII в. Берлин, Государственные музеи / The miniature of the Veneration of the Virgin Hodegetria in her shrine. Berlin, Staatliche Museen. Late 13th century [Kupfersichkabinette, 78 а 9 (Hamilton 119), fol. 39v]
13. Вышитая икона (подвесная пелена) с изображением вторничного действия Одигитрии Константинопольской. ГИМ. 1498 (?) / The embroidered icon (podea) with the Tuesday rite of the Hodegetria. State History Museum, Moscow. 1498 (?)
15. Полный убор чудотворной иконы «Богоматерь Грузинская» из Суздаля, XVI в. Фото начала XX в. / The complete set of the original decoration of the miraculous icon “The Virgin of Georgia” from Suzdal, 16th century. A photo of early 20th century.
16. Поклонение иконе Одигитрии. Фреска Маркова монастыря, Македонии. XIV в. / The Veneration of the Hodegetria. A fresco of the Markov monastery, Macedonia. 14th century