CAHIERS ARCHEOLOGIQUES

fin de l'Antiquité et Moyen Age

fondés par André Grabar et Jean Hubert

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Picard, 2005-2008

A Fifth Century Floor Mosaic and a Mural of Virgin of Pege in Constantinople

By Fusun TÜLEK

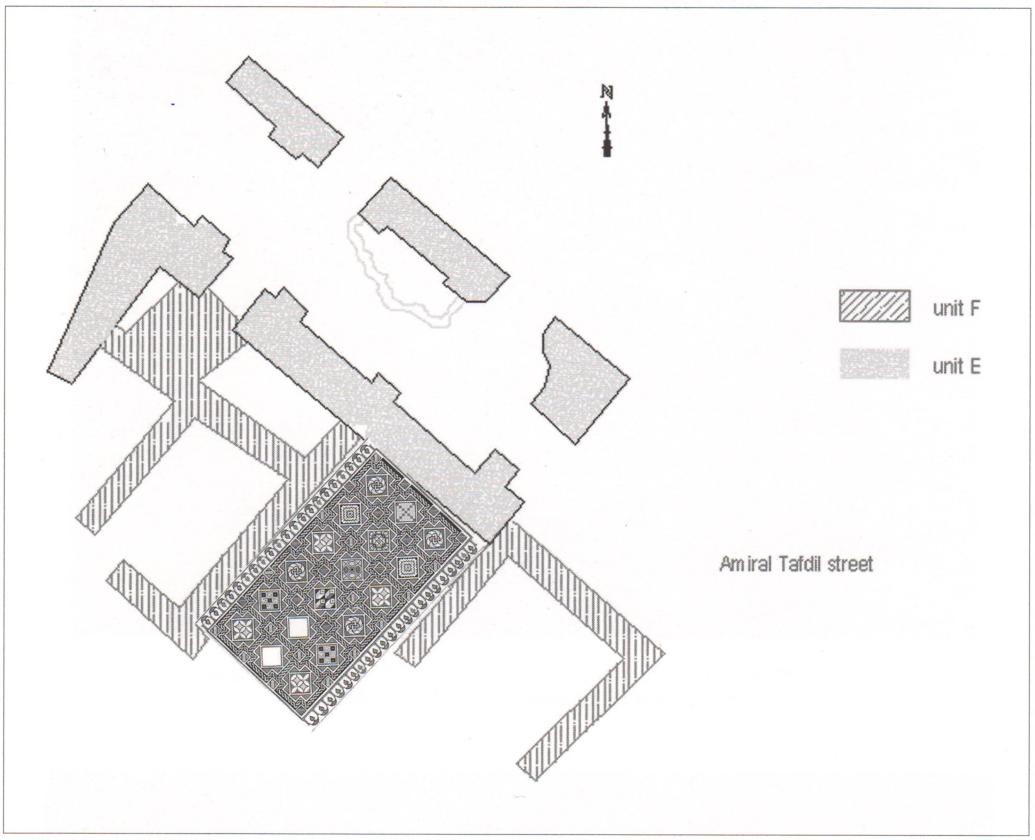


Fig. 1. Istanbul, Great Palace excavation area, Unit E and F location (photograph by Istanbul Archeological Museum).

A polychrome floor mosaic and a mural of the Virgin have been uncovered during the recent rescue excavations at the Great Palace area in Istanbul conducted by archaeologists of the Istanbul Archaeology Museums during the years 1997-1999[1]. The excavation site is located to the south of the main excavation site of the Great Palace, on Amiral Tafdil Street running from north to south direction, which descends to the waterfront. The floor mosaic has a purely geometric design, and the mural depicts a bust figure of the Virgin with Child Christ on her bosom. The present paper examines both findings and assigns dates on the basis of comparative material.

The excavation site encompasses two units identified as Unit F and E (fig. 1). The Unit F contains the floor mosaic and the east wall of the Unit E (fig. 2 and 3). The Unit E has a small vaulted niche in the east wall adorned with the mural . Unit F is situated at – 3.30 m level while the Unit E is at – 7.07 m level, almost 4 meters lower than the former. Unit E is adjacent to the Unit F and they share the east wall of the Unit E[2]. Unit F decorated with the floor mosaic runs on north-south axis and its floor mosaic measures 6.27 by 4.20 m. The foundations of a later wall sit on the floor, cutting off about one third of the pavement. Moreover, a drain built at a later period destroyed the southeast part of the floor mosaic. The small niche contained in the wall of the Unit E shows an image of the Virgin and the Child Christ. The niche is 0.95 m deep, 1.30 m high and 0.90 m wide[3]. The niche reaches the floor where its front



Fig. 2. Istanbul, Great Palace excavation area, Unit F during excavation (photograph by Istanbul Archeological Museum).



Fig. 3. Istanbul, Great Palace excavation area, Unit F during excavation (photograph by Istanbul Archeological Museum).

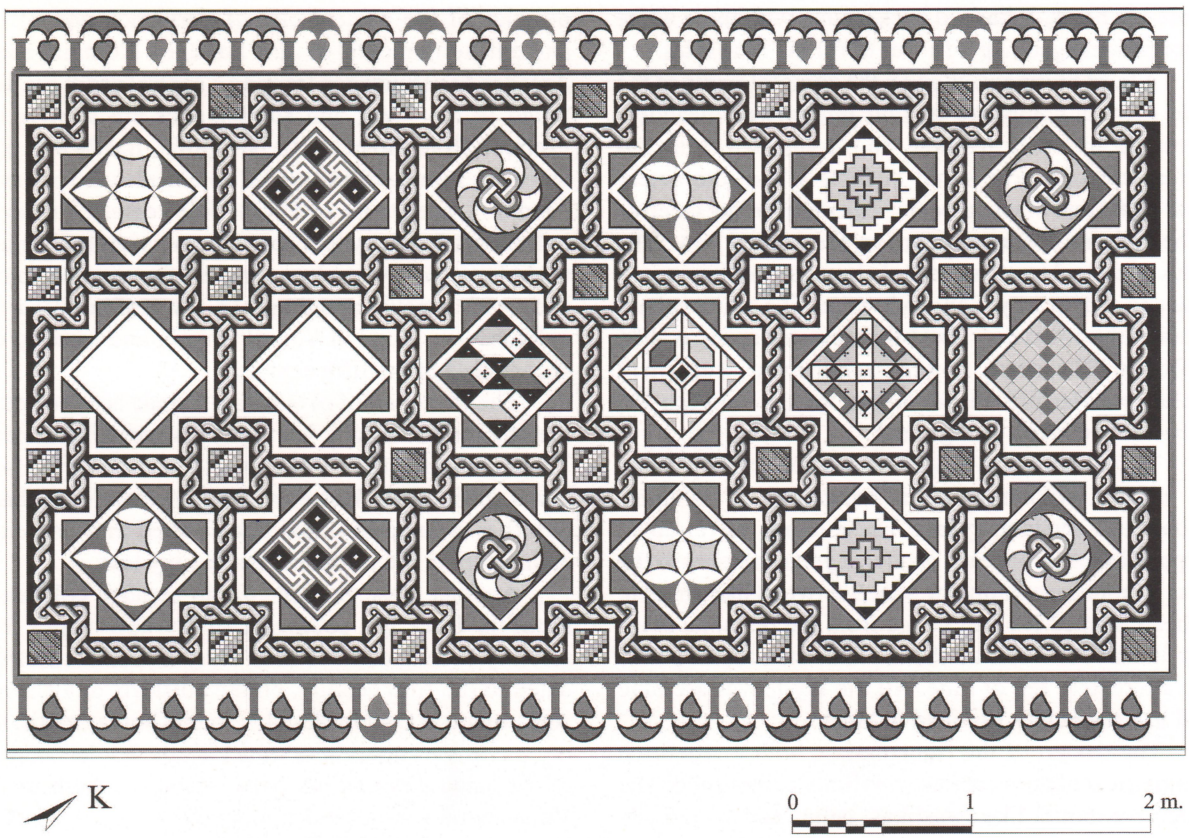


Fig. 4. Mosaic of Unit F, drawing.

is enclosed with a marble slab creating a small pool. Spring water is still running from behind the East wall into the pool where it is collected. Overflowing water runs from two outlets on the ground and reaches a larger pool on the floor. The larger pool is round and with revetments in marble. Obviously, the spring water and the pool assumed sacred connotations evoked with the icon of the Virgin and the Child Christ. A source of spring-water adorned with an icon of the Virgin and the Child Christ indicates that the structure must have been a *hagiasma*[4]. Rescue excavations at the site, at present, have been concluded, and a modern structure has already been built over it[5].

The Polychrome Floor Mosaic

At Unit F the floor mosaic stretching from north to south of the site was fairly in good condition when excavated (fig. 4). It is a mosaic carpet composed of merely geometric design. Its polychrome pattern is executed in red, yellow, black, blue, and white tesserae. They are of marble and limestone – and the grayish-white ones are clearly of Proconnesian marble –, except the red tesserae of terracotta. The mosaic is decorated with an overall geometric carpet, framed on the two long sides by a border motif. It is a grid composition of poised squares superimposed upon lateral rectangles which form equilateral crosses as compartments. A simple two-strand guilloche articulates the equilateral crosses and the smaller squares between the compartments. The guilloche bands are alternatively filled with yellow and blue, pink and blue, or red colored fillets, while the guilloche strands are outlined in black color. The smaller squares are composed of polychrome fillets in rainbow style.

The poised squares in the compartments are embellished with swastika-pelta motifs combined with Solomon's knots, interlacing circles, perspective cubes, or perspective meander. These motifs echo each other on both sides and only in the middle row the patterns are not repetitive[6]. The poised squares and the compartments are enclosed by identical frames, composed of three fillets of white tesserae outlined in black. The swastika-pelta motif superimposed on a Solomon's knot against a red background is repeated four times. The peltas are rendered in white and yellow and outlined in black. The two intertwined circles of the Solomon's knot are also outlined in black. One circle is executed in pink and red tesserae, while the other is in white and blue. The cross-shaped compartments on which the squares are poised are blue.

The motif of intersecting circles is repeated in the side rows as well. The center of the white intersecting circles is filled with a yellow poised concave square deli-

neated in black. It has red background with three white tesserae arranged like a flower to fill the four sides.

A third motif executed on the compartments of the side rows is composed of four-interlocked meanders executed in white tesserae and delineated with red strips, creating five small squares filled alternately with white and black tesserae. The motif of perspective cubes adorns a compartment in the central row. The sides of the cubes are executed alternately either in yellow and red, or in yellow and white. The white square faces of the cubes bear five black tesserae arranged like a flower. The same flower arrangement with three white tesserae fills in the empty spaces between the cubes on the black background.

The border on two sides of the floor mosaic bears an arcaded colonnade motif composed of columns, pelta, and a pendant ivy leaf. The columns are raised on stepped bases. From each capital, a pelta stretches to the next column, crowning the space between like an arch. A heart-shaped ivy leaf hangs from the pelta, its pointed tip curved. While all the columns are red, the peltas are alternately red or blue. All the ivy leaves are blue and like the peltas, outlined in black.

The design of the floor mosaic with a repetitive geometrical pattern creates an infinite carpet field. The repetitive motifs like swastikas, peltas and Solomon's knots are incorporated to the geometric decoration. Examples of these motifs as apotropaic devices in pagan and Christian contexts are known to have been used to provide a continuous protection[7].

The quality of the mosaic, the regularity of the tesserae, the use of marble, and the fine colors indicate skilled workmanship. Some of the ivy leaves and peltas do not have a black outline, which presents the only irregularity in the execution and suggests perhaps the work of two different hands.

Floor mosaics with grid compositions of equilateral cross forms are found at Antioch in buildings dated from the first half of the fourth century to the first half of the sixth century. However, although they bear similar swastika-pelta superimposed with Solomon's knot or motifs in perspective cubes, in none of them the elements of the grid articulated with a two-strand guilloche are found[8]. Close parallels of our grid composition articulated with two-strand guilloche occur on a floor mosaic from Greece, dated to the middle of the fifth century[9]. The use of such protective signs on the floor mosaics of the Unit F may suggest a pious function for this place.

The swastika-pelta superimposed with a Solomon's knot motif as repetitive carpeting of the entire floor finds wide use on floor mosaics from the third to the seventh centuries[10]. In North African mosaics, pelta motif is observed to develop from the second half of the fourth century on, so that the triangle suspended at its center finally turns into an ivy leaf with a curved tip[11].

Our floor mosaic echoes a courtyard or a vestibule enclosed by a colonnade. Floor mosaics framed with crenellation motifs are frequent the late Hellenistic mosaics of the ancient city of Pergamon and of the ancient settlements of the Land of Commagene[12]. Arcades or colonnades framing a central panel are also found in the West, and similar ones are known, for example from Greece[13]. In Nicopolis, Basilica B provides an example of an arcaded colonnade used as a border motif, dated to the end of the fifth century. However, in Basilica B the ivy leaf hangs from a simple arch instead of a pelta. A very close parallel of an arcaded colonnade with a pelta strand and an ivy leaf between the columns was found in Virani, Greece, and dated to the second half of the fifth century[14].

The border motif of our floor mosaic is more ornate than the one at Virani, having ivy leaves with a stem. The rendition of the ivy is closer to the mosaic of Basilica B at Nicopolis. However, the pelta motif of the basilica B is schematized and transformed into an actual arch, keeping the stemmed, curved ivy leaf.

Another close example of our arcaded colonnade motif is from the southeast of Turkey, which has recently been uncovered in an early-Byzantine church, dated to the fifth century, on the outskirts of a Bronze Age mound at Oylum Höyük[15]. In this border motif, the ivy leaves are large, almost touching the borderline, and of the same color as the pelta. However, both in the Virani border motif and in ours, pelta and ivy leaves alternate in color. Therefore, the border motif of sector F1 should be dated before Basilica B at Nicopolis and after Virani. Thus, with the support of close analogies of its grid composition, the floor mosaic should be dated to the last quarter of the fifth century.

The Mural of the Virgin

The mural of the Virgin is found in a niche on the east wall of the Unit E as stated above. Painting covers the entire niche extending from the curvature of the arch down to the pool of the spring water (fig. 5). Against a white background the Virgin Mary is depicted in bust with the Child. An inscription runs around, outlined by two large red bands following the curve of the vault (fig. 6). Only a couple of letters of the inscription is legible and the transliteration is not yet even plausible. The fresco was found heavily damaged when uncovered during the excavations. Apparently, in course of time due to humidity, deterioration must have continued. Thus a few letters of the inscription and only about one third of the mural is visible at present and today the drawing of the painting yields more details enabling a better understanding of the icon type (fig. 7)[16].

The Virgin is depicted frontally. Her wide yellow halo touches the red band of the inscription. Her head is covered by a reddish-purple *maphorion*, beneath which a lower, blue head cover is visible. She has an elongated nose and almond-shaped eyes, with irises rendered close to the upper eyelids (fig. 6, 7). The face of which only the left half is well preserved is painted in cream



Fig. 5. Hagiasma, the Virgin and Child.



Fig. 6. Hagiasma, the Virgin and Child, detail.

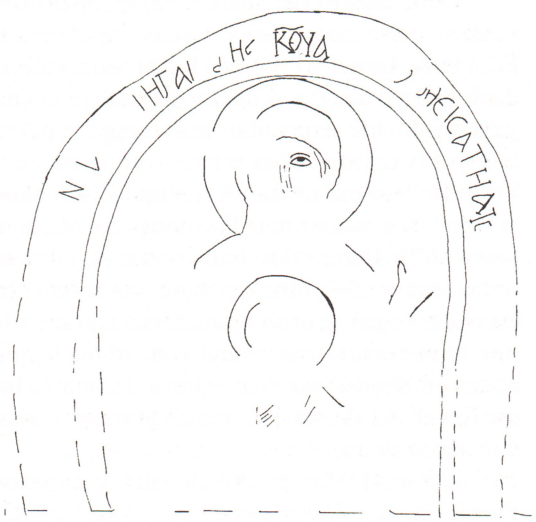


Fig. 7. Hagiasma, the Virgin and Child, drawing.

color, with touches of pink on the cheek. On her bosom the bust of Child Christ is depicted frontally. Only her left hand is seen raised with open palm.

Among Byzantine depictions of the Virgin our image corresponds to the well-known type of the Blachernitissa, referring to one of the most venerated images of the Virgin Mary housed in the monastery of Blachernae. This type shows the Mother of God in *orans* with the bust of the Child Christ upon her chest, and the Child is often represented enclosed in a medallion.

The tradition of venerating the Virgin Mary close to sources of holy water (*hagiasmata)* where healing and miracles used to take place was well established in Byzantine Constantinople, renowned as the City of the Mother of God. In Byzantine times, there were three famous shrines attached to *hagiasmata* and dedicated to

the Virgin Mary: the Blachernai, the Pege, and the Hodegon Monastery[17]. The association of the Virgin Mary with water has a long tradition, and the concept of the life-giving fountain is rooted in the Bible. Genesis 2:4-17 mentions the "source" (*pege)* in the Garden of Eden whence the four rivers of Paradise flow. In Psalm 42:1 the thirst of the stag for the water symbolizes the yearning of the soul for God. Thus, in baptisteries the imagery of stag's drinking water alludes to the catechumens' souls, and the font is the place of receiving new life through the baptismal rebirth. The Virgin Mary is associated with the Church/Ecclesia, while the source, the water is associated with the life-giving Virgin, from whose womb Christ was born.

Veneration of the Virgin Mary became widespread after the Council of Ephesus in 431 recognized her as Mother of God (*Theotokos*). The first churches dedicated to her were built in the second half of the fifth century in Constantinople[18]. The shrine at Blachernae was erected by a spring[19], by the land walls close to the Golden Horn, possibly built in 468[20], and was later used as a bath (*lousma*) where healings by incubation were believed to take place[21]. The shrine was destroyed by fire in 1070; soon afterwards it was rebuilt. However in 1434 it was completely destroyed[22]. According to tradition, an icon of the Virgin of Blachernae was taken in procession on the land walls to protect the city from the Avars. The earliest described icon of the shrine was a marble image of the Virgin in *orans* from whose palms the holy water flowed[23].

The church of the Source (*Pege*), built in the sixth century, at the eponymous Constantinopolitan suburb of Pege (now known as Balıklı) by the land walls close to the Propontis also has a *hagiasma* and assumed a miraculous role at the time of the Avar siege in 626[24]. In the fourteenth century, after the revival of the cult of the Virgin at Pege the shrine was called "Zoodochos Pege" as noted on a document in the monastery of Lavra of the year 1367[25]. Before the conquest the shrine was abandoned, but in 1547 although there was nothing left of it, the needy began again to frequent the source for healing. One of the earliest surviving icons of the Virgin Mary inscribed *Zoodochos Pege* adorns a tomb in the inner narthex of the church of Chora monastery, dating to the fourteenth century[26].

The third Marian church with a *hagiasma*, the church of the Virgin Hodegetria was located at the Hodegon Monastery built in the ninth century by Emperor Michael III, probably at a place where a sanctuary already existed. In the thirteenth century the monastery was given to the patriarchate of Antioch and became the residence of Syrian monks; this is where the patriarch Cyril died in 1308. The monastery and the shrine remained in use after 1453 and were probably destroyed by Sultan Mehmet II at the time of the construction of the new palace, Topkapı Sarayı[27]. In Byzantine times, the shrine housed an icon of the Virgin Mary, attributed to St. Luke. The icon depicted the Virgin Mary tenderly holding the Child Christ in her arms on her left side[28]. This image was renowned and frequently reproduced as the Hodegetria type. On Tuesday processions, in late Byzantine times, the icon was taken to the square of the monastery of Hodegon to work its healings[29]. The earliest Hodegetria image found in the city dates to the eleventh century[30]. In the twelfth century it was widely depicted in all media of Byzantine art[31]. Emperor John II Komnenos (1118-1143) requested the icon to be taken to his tomb at the church of the Pantokrator Monastery on the anniversary of his death, and in the fourteenth century the icon was taken to the imperial palace of Blachernae on Palm Sunday.

Two of these sanctuaries, with the provision of firmans issued in the 1800s, were reconstructed and are still in use at present. However, their *hagiasmata* are adorned with relatively recent icons of the Virgin Mary. A similarly organized sanctuary housing a relic of the Virgin Mary's girdle (*hagia soros*), a *hagiasma*, and an old icon of the Virgin Mary exists in the Peloponnesian monastery of Megaspelaion, as well[32].

An image of the Virgin Mary in Byzantine art was powerful and evocative, and had many associations. The Virgin with the medallion conveys the sign of Incarnation[33]. Thus, the image type of the Virgin *orans* called Blachernitissa, either bearing an image of the Child Christ in medallion, or without it, could also carry the epithets Episkepsis and Platytera. The types seem to have been interchangeable, and the epithets seem to have been attributed to the icons according to their properties, locations, the significance, as well as the historical roles they played.

Images of the Virgin Mary as *life-giving* were known throughout the Middle-Ages, and are found in manuscripts, icons, coins, wall paintings and mosaics from ninth century on. The earliest of these were struck on coins from the reign of the emperor Leo the Wise, which bear an image of *Virgin orans.* The Blachernitissa type first appears on coins of Empresses Zoe and Theodora[34] (1042), and then on those of emperor Alexios I[35]. From the middle of the eleventh century it occurs on numerous examples of Byzantine coins and seals[36]. A similar image is found on a fine gemstone example of the Virgin Blachernitissa from Constantinople in the Victoria and Albert Museum, dating to the late twelfth century[37]. In an early-fourteenth-century mosaic in the exonarthex of the Chora Monastery (Kariye Camii), the Virgin is portrayed in the Blachernitissa type, inscribed "container of the uncontainable"[38].

In stylistic terms, the image from our hagiasma has some features resembling the rendition of the Virgin Mary on the Hagia Sophia mosaic, where she is depicted flanked by the empress Irene and the emperor John II Komnenos, dated ca. 1122-34. The elongated nose, blushed cheek, almond shaped eyes and the iris of the eyes closer to upper lids of the Virgin Mary are quite similar in both images.

The dating of the vaulted structure in the Unit E is determined in very general terms by the later history of the site which by the year 1300 had been turned into

a cemetery[39]. This provides a *terminus ante quem* for the fresco. The earliest known parallels for the Virgin's image come from coins and seals of the middle of the eleventh century. Considering also the stylistic features of the Virgin Mary image very close to the twelfth century icon of the Hagia Sophia mosaic, the Blachernitissa icon of the Unit E should be tentatively dated to the middle of the eleventh or to the twelfth century.

The mural dated tentatively to the middle of the eleventh or to the twelfth century is located ca. 4 meters below the level of the floor mosaic which is dated to the last quarter of the fifth century. Apparently, Unit E, the *hagiasma* with the icon, reused the east wall of the Unit F which was built formerly on a higher ground level. The two findings are not related to each other in terms of dating, function and architectural context. Though, architectural relation of the Unit E with Unit F remains open to discussion.

Notes

1. The site and findings have been subject to several publications: F. Düzgüner, "Anaplous ve Prookthoi'de Yeni Buluntular", in N. Başgelen and B. Johnson (ed.), *İstanbul*, Istanbul, 2002, pp. 32-50; F. Düzgüner and A. Başak Akay, "Prookthoi'de Yeni Buluntular", *Yapı* 254 (2003), pp. 92-96; F. Düzgüner, *Justinian Döneminde İstanbul'da Yapılar: Procopius'un Birinci Kitabının Analizi*, Istanbul, 2004. Permission to examine and publish the two finds has been granted by both the General Directorate of the Cultural Heritage and Museums and the director of the Istanbul Archaeology Museums. I hereby thank to both offices for the permission of this publication.

2. Düzgüner 2002, p. 35; Düzgüner 2003, p. 93.

3. Both findings have been examined and measured *in situ* by the author on February 2002.

4. Düzgüner 2002, fig. 9.

5. The site remains at the ground floor of a recently built structure functioning as a merchandise depot in Amiral Tafdil Street, Cankurtaran, Eminönü, Istanbul.

6. The drawing of the floor mosaic illustrates a hypothetical fill-in of the parts covered by the wall foundation and destroyed by the drain II.

7. H. Maguire, "Magic and Geometry in Early Christian Floor Mosaics and Textiles", *Jarhbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 44 (1994), pp. 265-274.

8. D. Levi, *Antioch Mosaic Pavements*, Princeton, 1947. Chronologically, *Bath E* presents the earliest example dated to the first half of the fourth century (261, Pl. CIX). The floor mosaic of the *House of the Masks* has a grid composition and is dated to c. 400. The third example of a grid composition comes from the *House of the Bird Rinceau,* lower level, dated between the two earthquakes of 526 and 540. This floor mosaic has one of its poised squares filled in with "perspective cube" motifs, very similar to the Sector F1 floor mosaic.

9. M. Spiro, *Critical Corpus of the Mosaic Pavements on the Greek Mainland, Fourth / Sixth Centuries with Architectural Surveys*, New York, 1978, esp. p.31, no. 10 and pl. 26 (floor mosaic dated to the middle of the fifth century from Athens, Ilissos Basilica, exonarthex).

10. G. M. A. Hanfmann, "The Ninth Campaign at Sardis (1966)", *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 187 (1967), pp. 9-67, esp. p. 42 and fig.54 (Hanfmann dates the floor mosaic to the third century); W. Jobst, *Forschungen in Ephesos*, VIII/2, Vienna, 1977, pp. 48-50, H 2/C, fig. 83-85 and p. 105-106, H 2/B-17, fig.196-198 (dated to the second half of the third century); S. Pelekanides and P. I. Atzaka, *Syntagma ton palaiochristianikon psephidoton dapedon tes Ellados*, Thessaloniki , 1974, p. 137 and fig. 118 and 119 (dated between the 5th and the 7th cent.).

11. M. Fendri, "Évolution chronologique et stylistique d'un ensemble de mosaïques dans une station thermale à Djebel Oust (Tunisie)", in *La mosaïque gréco-romaine*, Paris, 1965, pp. 157-174, fig. 16, S.66, S.31, C1c, S.16; S. Germain, *Les mosaïques de Timgad.*, 1969, pp. 117-118, pl. LIX.

12. I. Lavin, F. K. Dörner and Th. Goell, "Arsameia am Nymphaios. Die Ausgrabungen im Hierothesion des Mithradates Kallinikos von 1953-1956", *Istanbuler Forschungen* 23 (1963), pp. 191-196; W. Hoepfner, "Arsameia am Nymphaios II", *Istanbuler Forschungen* 33 (1983), p. 10; N. Özgüç, "Samsat 1984 Yılı Kazıları", *Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı* (Ankara 1986), pp. 221-229. In Pergamon, the floor mosaic of the House of Council Attalos no. 38, and in the Peristyle House II, the floor mosaic of Room 9 bear crenellation motifs as border decoration. Salzmann dates the mosaic to 150 BCE: D. Salzmann, *Untersuchungen zu den antiken Kieselmosaiken*, Berlin, 1982, p. 36; Pinkwart and Stamnitz date it to the middle of the 1st cent. BCE: D. Pinkwart and W. Stamnitz, "Peristylhäuser westlich der unteren Agora", *Altertümer von Pergamon* XIV, Berlin, 1984.

13. E. Kitzinger, "Studies on Late Antique and Early Byzantine Floor Mosaics", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 6 (1951), pp. 83-125, esp. p. 85 and fig. 31; Spiro 1978, p. 479, no. 158 and fig. 555 (Nicopolis, Basilica B, dated to the end of the 5th cent.) and p. 436, no. 152 with fig. 469 (Basilica A, which provides a much-varied version of the motif [instead of the ivy leaf an en face peacock occupies the place beneath the arc] dated to the second quarter of the 6th cent.).

14. E. Kourkoutidou-Nikolaidou, "Oi naoi eis tas pegas Doiranes", *Archaiologike ephemeris* (1973), pp. 36-49, pl. 49.

15. Özgen *et al.*, 2000, pp. 223-230 with pl. 5.

16. Drawing of the mural could be achieved after the conclusion of the excavations in February 2002 by the present writer.

17. J. B. Papadopoulou, *Ai Blachernai*, Constantinople, 1920 (éd. in French: Thessaloniki, 1928); R. Janin, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'Empire byzantin*, 3, *Les églises et les monastères*, Paris, 1953, pp. 161-171, 223-228, 199-207; R. G. Ousterhout, "The Virgin of the Chora: an Image and its Contexts", in R. G. Ousterhout and L. Brubaker (ed.), *Sacred Image East and West*, Urbana Ill., 1995, pp. 91-109; A. Lidov, "Miracle-Working Icons of the Mother of God", in M.Vassilaki (ed.), *Mother of God: Representations of the Virgin in Byzantine Art*, Athens, 2000, pp. 47-57; B. V. Penthcheva, "Rhetorical Images of the Virgin", *Revue des études slaves* 38 (2000), pp. 33-55.

18. C. Mango, "Constantinople as Theotokoupolis", in M.Vassilaki (ed.), *Mother of God: Representations of the Virgin in Byzantine Art*, Athens, 2000, pp. 17-27.

19. Janin 1953, pp. 169-179.

20. Mango states that a small chapel (*hagia soros*) was built before 475 to house the relics, the robe of the Virgin – *soros*

– of the first imperial *translatio*: C. Mango, "The Origins of Blachernae Shrine at Constantinople", *Acta XII Congressus internationalis archaeologiae christianae*, II, Vatican City and Split, 1998, pp. 61-76.

21. Mango 1998, p. 73. Br. Pitarakis, "A propos de l'image de la Vierge orante avec le Christ-Enfant (XI^{e}-XII^{e} siècles) : l'émergence d'un culte", *Cahiers archéologiques* 48 (2000), p. 45.

22. Papadopoulou 1920, p. 28; Janin 1953, p. 162.

23. N. P. Sevcenko, "Virgin Blachernitissa", in A. P. Khazdan (ed.), *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, 3, pp. 2170-2171.

24. Procopius, *Buildings* 1.3.9; Janin 1953, pp. 232-237.

25. Janin 1953, p. 234; A-M. Talbot, "Epigrams of Manuel Philes on the Theotokos tes Peges and its Art", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 48 (1994), pp. 135-165.

26. P. A. Underwood, *The Kariye Djami*, 2, New York, 1966, pl. 14; R. G. Ousterhout, *The Architecture of the Kariye Camii in Istanbul*, Washington, 1987, pl.104. It is over the tomb H of the monk Demetrius (*ibid.*, p.141); Talbot 1994, p. 136.

27. Janin 1953, pp. 208-216; Mango 2000, p. 19; Ch. Angelidi, "Un texte patriographique et édifiant : le 'discours narratif' sur les Hodegoi", *Revue des études byzantines* 52 (1994), pp. 113-149 ; Ch. Angelidi and T. Papamastorakis, "The veneration of the Virgin Hodegetria and the Hodegon Monastery", in M. Vassilaki (ed.), Mother of God, *op. cit.*, pp. 373-425.

28. The Hodegetria type showing the Child Christ on the right arm of the Virgin is called Theotokos *Dexiokratousa*. Lazarev states that this type might have developed after the 11th century. V. Lazarev, "Studies in the Iconography of the Virgin", in V. Lazarev, *Studies in Byzantine Painting*, reprint London, 1995, pp. 196-248.

29. G. P. Majeska, *Russian Travelers to Constantinople in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth centuries*, Washington, 1984, pp. 362-366.

30. Mango states that the church and the monastery had never been mentioned before the 9th cent., and there is no earlier mention of a Hodegetria icon in Constantinople before the time of Patriarch Germanos (726) or later (Mango 2000, p.22); Kondakov traced the origins of the Hodegetria type to Egypt and stated that the type became popular in the East by the 6th cent.: N. P. Kondakov, *Ikonografia Bogomateri*, I, Petrograd, 1917, pp. 152-162. Similarly, Lazarev examined the origins of this type in Coptic textiles of the 6th and 7th cent.: Lazarev, *op. cit.*, p. 230.

31. Kondakov, *op. cit.*, II, fig. 82-149. Early examples are mostly found on seals, like the seal of the strategе Theodoros Marchapsabos which dates to the second half of the 11th cent.: W. Seibt and M. L. Zarnitz (eds), *Das Byzantinische Bleisiegel als Kunstwerk*, Vienna, 1997, p. 150, nos. 4.1.2.

32. Lidov, *op. cit.*, p.54, pl. 40 (the icon of the Virgin Megaspilaiotissa, near Kalavryta, Greece). Atzemoglou lists all the known post-Byzantine hagiasmata of Istanbul: N. Atzemoglou, *T'hagiasmata tes poles*, Athens, 1990.

33. A. Weyl Carr, *A Byzantine Masterpiece Recovered: the Thirteenth Century Murals of Lysi Cyprus*, Austin Texas, 1991, p. 45.

34. Ph. Grierson, *Byzantine Coins*, Berkeley, 1982, pl.51, no. 911.

35. M. F. Hendy, *Coinage and Money in the Byzantine Empire, 1081-1261*, Washington, 1969, pl.2, 6-9.1.

36. J. Nesbitt and N. Oikonomides (ed.), *Catalogue of the Byzantine Seals at Dumbarton Oaks and in the Fogg Museum of Art*, 1, Washington, 1994, nos. 29.2 (seal of Gregory protoproedros-doux of Bulgaria, 11th cent.), 43.13 (seal of Nicholas Anzas magistros 11th cent.); N. Oikonomides, *Catalogue of the Byzantine Seals at Dumbarton Oaks and in the Fogg Museum of Art*, 2, Washington, 1994, p. 98, no. 36.10 (seal of Manuel Limas 12th cent.); Chr. Stiegemann (ed.), *Byzanz. Das Licht aus dem Osten*, Mainz, 2001, no. III. 3 (seal of sebastos Nikephoros); J. Durand (ed.), *Byzance, l'art byzantin dans les collections publiques françaises*, Paris, 1992, no. 315 (anonymous miliaresion dated 1030-1040). Another lead seal dating to the 11th to 12th cent. is published by Kondakov, *op. cit.*, I, p. 103 et fig. 36.

37. A. Weyl Carr, "Popular Imagery", in C. H. Evans and W.D. Wixom (ed.), *The Glory of Byzantium*, New York, 1997, p. 179 and cat. no. 134.

38. Underwood 1966, pl. 20; Ousterhout 1987, p. 94.

39. Düzgüner 2002, p. 37.