



## The Original Form of the Theotokos Church of Constantine Lips

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THE ORIGINAL FORM OF THE  
THEOTOKOS CHURCH OF CONSTANTINE LIPS

Arthur H. S. Megaw.

THE late Theodore Macridy in the account of his excavations in the double church now known as Fenari Isa Camii, published on the preceding pages, reached two conclusions in regard to the architecture of the north church which call for close examination. In the first place he assigned substantial parts of it to a sixth-century predecessor, the form of which would consequently have determined the design of that erected or, as he believed, renovated by Constantine Lips. In the second place, he followed Brunov in supposing that the church had outer aisles, above which covered galleries gave access to the roof-chapels over the corner compartments of the church proper. This elaboration of plan was attributable, in Macridy's view, to the five-aisled form of the supposed predecessor.

This church is the earliest surviving example of the cross-in-square type with a dome carried on four columns; for we can no longer reject its identification with Constantine's building, as some have done,<sup>1</sup> on the grounds that its architecture or its ornament are too advanced for a church dedicated in A.D. 907 or 908. It is a key monument, and for this reason it is important, first, to determine whether the church is indeed typical of its time, which it could hardly be if its form had been conditioned by the incorporation of substantial remains of an earlier building. Second, since our knowledge of the architectural style in vogue during the great church-building activity under Basil I and his immediate successors rests, in the main, on often ambiguous literary sources, it is no less important to establish as precisely as possible the form that Constantine Lips gave his church. The conservation works initiated by the Byzantine Institute in 1960, by arrangement with the Turkish authorities, provided the writer with opportunities for close examination, of both the structure and the foundations of the church. The conclusions reached, which have already been summarily reported,<sup>2</sup> are here set out with the evidence for them. They are: that the church was constructed *de novo* by Constantine Lips, and that, while lateral chapels adjoined the prothesis and the diaconicon, it was in no sense a five-aisled building. Finally, having established the initial ground plan, some observations as regards the original form of the superstructure are recorded and the conclusions reached are illustrated by a perspective sketch (Megaw fig. G).

<sup>1</sup> J. Ebersolt and A. Thiers, *Les églises de Constantinople* (Paris, 1913), pp. 219f. and 223; Ebersolt in *Revue des études grecques*, 35 (1922), p. 454; *id.*, *Monuments d'architecture byzantine* (Paris, 1934), p. 167; J. Kollwitz, "Zur frühmittelalterlichen Baukunst Konstantinopels," *Röm. Quartalschrift*, 42 (1934), p. 244f.

<sup>2</sup> Megaw, "Notes on Recent Work of the Byzantine Institute in Istanbul," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 17, pp. 333-335.

## THE FACTOR OF THE EARLIER CHURCH

A too literal reading of the statement in Cedrenus that the monastery, of which the church formed part, was renovated by Constantine Lips (καινούργηθῆσαν . . . μονήν)<sup>3</sup> vitiated Macridy's interpretation of features exposed in his excavations. Indeed it is apparent from his preliminary report that the discovery of remains of an earlier church was one of the main objectives of the 1929 excavations.<sup>4</sup> In fact the expression used by Cedrenus is ambiguous, to the point that it would not exclude the construction of an entirely new church as part of the renovation of the monastery, and this is what we would suppose from the wording used by earlier chroniclers,<sup>5</sup> who do not mention renovation at all. The cut-down Ionic-impost capitals of fifth-century type<sup>6</sup> employed on the pilaster-responds of the tenth-century church (Megaw fig. 13; Mango-Hawkins figs. 4-7) prove nothing about the original buildings of the monastery, for the inscribed marbles on which many cornice blocks are cut (e.g., Macridy fig. 45) show that building material for the church was salvaged from more than one earlier structure. On the other hand what Macridy found below the tenth-century floor level cannot be lightly dismissed.

Unfortunately, Macridy's report gives little precise information as to what his excavations did disclose. In the trench cut along the south wall of the bema, which his photograph indicates was extended to the area of the south-east column (Macridy fig. 28), he states (p. 260) that a layer of lime with crushed brick was found at a depth of 1.40 m. This he took to be the foundation on which the floor-paving of an earlier church had been laid. It was also found that the south wall of the bema and that of the apse rose from this lower level. These he assigned to the earlier church, together with the main walls throughout the building up to a substantial height. On the other hand, he observed that the transverse foundation-wall on the line between the two eastern columns had been constructed in the tenth century upon the earlier "floor-foundation." He assumed that the rubble filling with which the latter was then concealed was designed to bring the new floor level into harmony with a general rise in the ground level in the period of some 300 years since the construction of the supposed earlier church.

Macridy made another sounding outside the northeast angle of the existing building, which disclosed a section of the apse wall of the lateral chapel that

<sup>3</sup> Cedrenus, Bonn ed. (1839), II, p. 266.

<sup>4</sup> *Archäolog. Anzeiger* (1929), col. 348. Cf. E. Mamboury in *Byzantion*, XI (1936), p. 263.

<sup>5</sup> Life of Leo (tenth-century continuation of the Chronicle of George the Monk), 36, Bonn ed. (1838), p. 866; Leo the grammarian, *Chronographia*, Bonn ed. (1842), p. 280; Theophanes Contin., VI, 25, Bonn ed. (1838), p. 371. Indeed, from the expression ἐν τῇ μονῇ αὐτοῦ used in the last two texts it could be argued that it was an entirely new foundation.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. examples in Thessaloniki from the fifth-century basilica in St. Demetrius (G. A. and M. G. Soteriou, *Ἡ Βασιλικὴ τοῦ ἁγίου Δημητρίου Θεσσαλονίκης* [Athens, 1952], pl. 42b) and those in the gallery of St. Sophia assigned to the fifth century (Ch. Diehl, M. le Tourneau, and H. Saladin, *Les monuments chrétiens de Salonique* [Paris, 1918], pl. XLIII and text p. 134). The Fenari Isa capitals are thus too early for any possible connection with the church of Urbicius, tentatively equated with the supposed predecessor (Macridy, p. 257), but possibly located in a quite different part of the city (R. Janin, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'empire byzantin*, I, iii [Paris, 1953], p. 216).

once adjoined the prothesis. Here, also, no change in the character of the masonry above and below the tenth-century level was revealed (Macridy fig. 27). As in the bema, it consisted of several courses of masonry alternating with bands comprising several courses of brick. Macridy observed that this system of masonry walling with bands of brick was used in the sixth century, though not peculiar to it. But in this case he considered it early, and this led him to conclude that all five apses, at least in their lower parts, have survived from a sixth-century predecessor of Constantine's church. He found it difficult to decide at exactly what point the earlier construction ends and that of the tenth century begins: in one passage he judges that the division comes at a height of 2 m. (p. 261), elsewhere he is prepared to say only that everything above the height of the inscribed external cornice is of tenth-century date (p. 261), and that is some 8.50 m. above the floor.

A third sounding was made in the diaconicon, where Macridy observed that the plan of the walls below floor level did not correspond with that above: a trefoil with an apsidal projection to the east. Furthermore, he claimed that the opening in the wall between the diaconicon and the bema was not formed only in the part above the tenth-century floor level but extended down to the supposed sixth-century floor-foundation, proving that this also was a true floor level.

Two tests were made by the writer in October 1962 to check Macridy's observations; their locations are showing on the plan (Megaw fig. A, fold-out plate). The first was in the diaconicon, where the compartment under the cross-groined vault was re-excavated. The "floor-foundation" was found at a depth of 1.59 m. below the tenth-century floor level and was seen to be an extremely hard lime concrete with much crushed brick and rubble stone. The compartment at this level is rectangular, corresponding, except on the east side, with the rectangle of the cross-groined vault above. All four of the walls which form it are homogeneous and are constructed upon, and compacted with the concrete (Megaw fig. B). There is no sign of any break in the north wall to form the opening which Macridy claimed communicated with the bema at the level of the "floor-foundation." To a height of 0.76 m. all four walls comprise courses of rough masonry, six in number and bonding at the angles, above which on the north, south, and west there are five courses of brick. On the east, the wall stops at the top of the stone courses, above which there is a filling of rather clean, dark earth.<sup>7</sup> On this filling rests the foundation for the step leading to the eastern, apsidal part of the diaconicon. On the other three sides, the plan changes at the top of the brick courses, some 0.25 m. below the tenth-century floor level. At this point begin the shallow niches formed in the walls of the diaconicon, which Macridy accepted as part of the tenth-century structure (p. 261). There

<sup>7</sup> There are indications that the whole area of the 1962 test was filled with similar material before Macridy's excavations, and that upon this filling was set the brick foundations for the marble revetments as well as the bedding for the floor. The revetment foundation which is shown in Megaw figure B was cut away at the northwest corner before the photograph in figure 5 was taken. It was evidently assumed by Macridy to have carried not only the revetment, but the whole of the masonry above this level.

is, however, no change in construction at this point. The masonry above and below it is identical, except as regards the characteristic treatment of the mortar joints. Throughout the church the joints are flush-pointed, with a finer mortar, then grooved while still soft by drawing a tool about 0.025 m. wide along a straight edge (Megaw fig. 4).<sup>8</sup> The joints below floor level lack this tooling. The mortar throughout contains the same high proportion of crushed brick as is used in the "floor" concrete. Moreover, in the two western angles of the diaconicon, where the plan above and below floor level is identical, there is no break in the masonry at the point where the walls that form these angles withdraw to the trefoil plan (Megaw fig. 5). The diaconicon is thus a homogeneous structure from the point where it rests on the foundation-concrete, as I prefer to call Macridy's lower floor-foundation, right up to the vaulting. The differences in plan and finish above and below floor level are merely those to be expected as between masonry that would be exposed and foundations that would be concealed.

My second test was made in the central area below the dome, against the foundation-wall on the line of the two western columns (see plan, Megaw fig. A). This area had not been excavated in 1929 and above the foundation-concrete several successive layers of undisturbed filling material were found: rather clean, black earth below, then a loose fill of rubble, followed by a layer of construction debris including brick and marble chippings and, finally, the crushed brick and lime concrete of the floor-foundation (Megaw fig. C). As none of these layers had been cut when the foundation-wall was built, they do not represent accumulations on an earlier floor, but fillings introduced after the construction of the foundation-wall. The latter is 0.78 m. high and constructed, like the lower parts of the diaconicon foundations, of well-faced masonry; it rests on a shallow footing 0.33 m. wide and 0.27 m. high,<sup>9</sup> which itself is constructed upon, and compacted with, the foundation-concrete. This last contains rubble and crushed brick, like that in the diaconicon, and is at the same level.<sup>10</sup> This foundation-concrete is extremely hard and, to judge by Macridy's sections (Macridy figs. 6 and 7), it was found wherever he excavated to sufficient depth. It is evidently in the nature of a solid and continuous foundation, which was poured into a deep excavation throughout the area over which the church was going to extend, before the foundation-walls were built. Nothing was found in either test to suggest that this concrete foundation

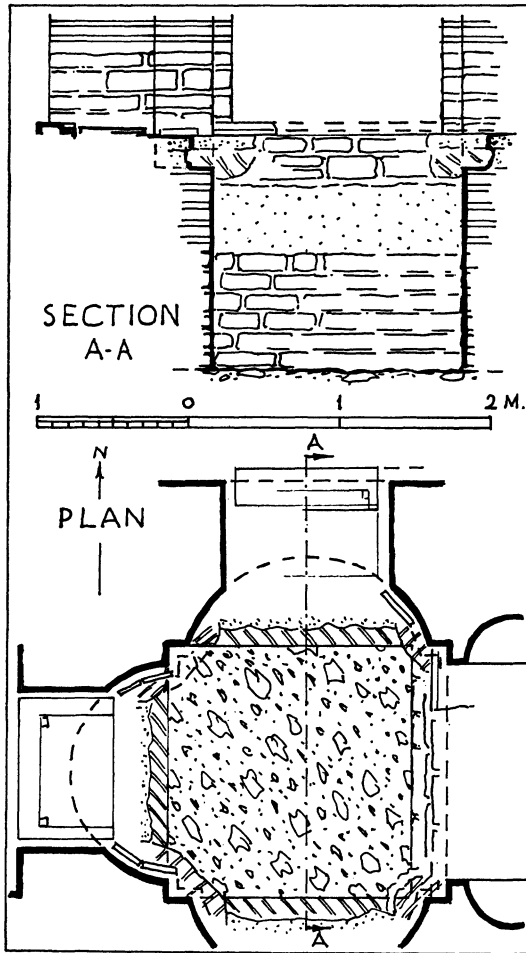
<sup>8</sup> The graffito, visible in this photograph, which was incised when the pointing was still fresh, begins † τὴν γράδωσιν ἤρξατο. . . νεῖν μ[ην] Νοεμ[βρι]ῶ κ and presumably records the date on which work on the staircase was begun. Γράδωσις is the word used of the staircase of Carian marble which gave the "Karianos" in the Imperial Palace its name (Theophanes Contin., III, 42, Bonn ed. [1838], p. 139). The graffito, however, is on the north wall of the bema at a height of 1.45 m. above the floor.

Grooved pointing of this type has been observed in the substructures of the Great Palace, where "a rounded trowel or wooden spatula" appears to have been used (J. B. Ward Perkins in *The Great Palace of the Byzantine Emperors, Second Report* [Edinburgh, 1958], p. 55 and pl. 17, E), notably in the cistern-basements constructed against the southeast wall of the Apsed Hall. The grooves there are flat and about half the width of the joint (*ibid.*, p. 46), as they are at Fenari Isa.

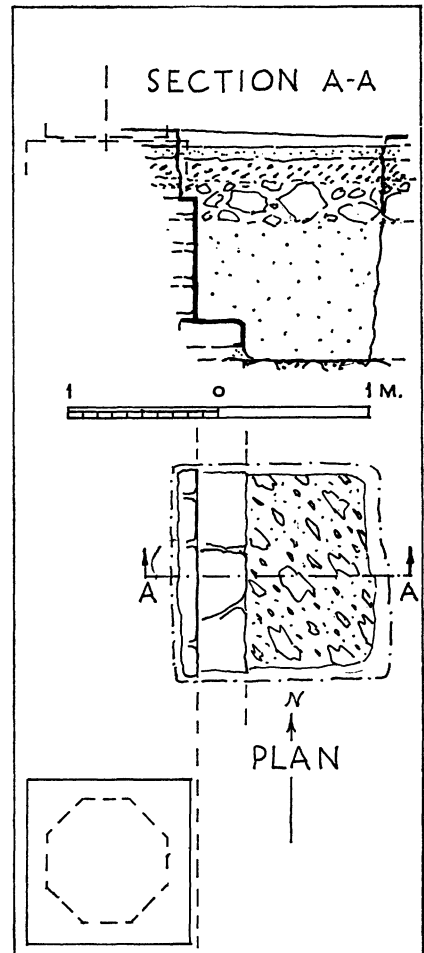
<sup>9</sup> Macridy's sounding in the bema revealed a similar footing, visible in his figure 28.

<sup>10</sup> 1.49 m. below the tenth-century floor level, which in the church proper was one step lower than that in the sanctuary.

is earlier in date than the building constructed on it, nor is there any reason to doubt that the building, foundation-walls and superstructure alike, is a homogeneous construction of the early tenth century.



B. Diaconicon, Foundations. (scale 1:50)



C. Test against Foundation-Wall between West Columns. (scale 1:50)

Theotokos Church of Constantine Lips (Fenari Isa Camii)

BRUNOV'S FIVE-AISLE PLAN

Having established that Constantine Lips constructed the church *de novo*, without its form being in any way conditioned by earlier structures surviving on the site, it remains to establish what precisely that form was. As regards what exists today, and that is the greater part, no question arises. Even in 1924, when the building was still largely plastered, Brunov was able to determine which parts belonged to the tenth-century Theotokos church and which were added when the Empress Theodora annexed to the south side of it the second church dedicated to St. John the Baptist.<sup>11</sup> At almost every point his

<sup>11</sup> *Belvedere*, 51-52 (1926), p. 219, fig. 8; *Échos d'Orient*, 26 (1927), p. 265, fig. 6; *Vizantiiskii Vremennik*, 2 (1949), p. 162, fig. 5.

observations were confirmed by the survey made by the late E. Mamboury in 1930, after the plaster was removed and the interior excavated (Macridy fig. 5). My own plan (Megaw fig. A), which, like the elevations (Megaw figs. E and F, fold-out plates), is based on a new survey made by Mr. James Stafford in 1961, is substantially the same, but shows in black only those parts of the tenth-century church that have survived at the level of the bottom of the window mullions.<sup>11a</sup> The oblique hatching northeast-southwest within an outline represents original construction now missing at this level for which there is evidence at a lower level, the southeast-northwest hatching represents hypothetical original walls.<sup>11b</sup> All later additions, both Palaeologan and Turkish, are left white and bounded by stippling within a firm black line.

In the north aisle of the south church, where Ebersolt had observed that its builders incorporated remains of a construction belonging to its earlier neighbor,<sup>12</sup> Brunov's plans correctly indicated that the apse of the prothesis had previously formed the termination of a lateral compartment annexed to the diaconicon of Constantine's church. Brunov appreciated that this annex formed an integral part of the original construction. He also noticed, on the north wall of Constantine's church, indications that a similar lateral compartment had once adjoined its prothesis. Unfortunately, Brunov's interpretation of this evidence was distorted by his preoccupation at the time of his visit to Istanbul with the derivation of the five-aisle type of cross-in-square church, which was adopted for St. Sophia in Kiev and other eleventh-century churches in Russia. He was misled into concluding that Constantine's church was originally of this five-aisle form, both by the presence of five apses and by other factors.<sup>13</sup>

When Brunov examined the church the ground level both inside and outside the north window was almost up to the level of its sill and this itself was concealed by plaster. He was, therefore, able to imagine in this position a tall arcade leading into an outer aisle that extended the whole length of the church. He also believed that a walled-up recess immediately west of the window was originally an open archway leading into his outer aisle. Further, although he recognized that the square compartment to the south of the narthex was a staircase tower of the original church, he believed it served a dual purpose, forming also a link between the narthex and an outer south aisle extending from it to the tenth-century apse adjoining the diaconicon which still exists.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>11a</sup> The plan of the apse of the outer chapel adjoining the Prothesis is shown at a lower level, since it is not preserved up to the height of the windows.

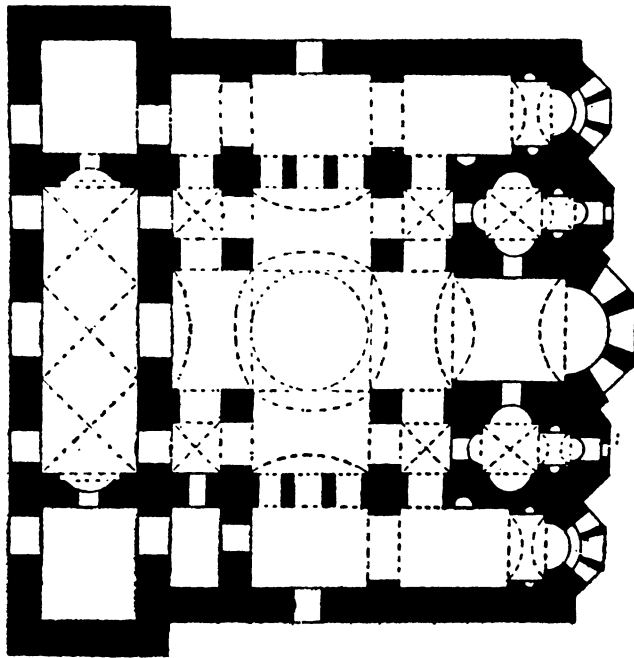
<sup>11b</sup> The same convention within an outline is used for the supports of the west porch, which are attested, but the precise form of which is uncertain (see *infra*, p. 295).

<sup>12</sup> Ebersolt and Thiers, *op. cit.*, p. 222. While rejecting the identification with Constantine's Theotokos church, this publication was the first to appreciate that the north church was the earlier of the two.

<sup>13</sup> Encouraged by Wulff's restoration of an ambulatory with galleries over it at Kalender Hané Camii, it was in search of other examples of the five-aisled plan that Brunov visited Istanbul in 1924 (*Échos d'Orient*, 26 [1927], p. 265). The church of Constantine Lips, which alone he was able to inspect closely, became his key example. For the various articles in which he developed his theory that originally it had five aisles, see note 16 *infra*.

<sup>14</sup> Brunov claims to have seen on the east wall of the staircase tower the scar left by the demolition of the supposed outer south aisle wall (*Revue des études grecques*, 39 [1926], p. 4, note 3). As Mamboury's plan (Macridy fig. 5) correctly shows, no such scar exists.

Finally, his discovery of remains of a gallery over the narthex and of other features at this level, which the Turkish roof had concealed until its destruction in the fire of 1917, convinced him that not only at ground level but also at gallery level there had been continuous annexes forming, except on the east side, a two-storey ambulatory around the church proper. The two western roof-chapels, standing over the corner compartments of the church proper, would have been reached from this gallery over the narthex (see Macridy fig. 9), but those over the two eastern corner compartments and extending over the parabemata could not, Brunov thought, have been reached except



D. Theotokos Church of Constantine Lips (Fenari Isa Camii).  
Brunov's Restored Plan. (scale 1:250)

by continuous galleries over outer aisles connecting at the west end with the over-narthex.<sup>15</sup> Observing the corbels over the north window, he concluded that the lateral galleries had wood floors; he assumed that they were covered by wood roofs, which would explain their early destruction.

Brunov's restored five-aisle plan, in which the staircase tower is duplicated to the north of the narthex (Megaw fig. D), has been given wide currency.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Brunov's gallery plans: *Belvedere*, 51–52 (1926), p. 226, fig. 16; *Échos d'Orient*, 26 (1927), p. 266, fig. 7.

<sup>16</sup> *Belvedere*, 51–52 (1926), p. 219, fig. 6; *Échos d'Orient*, 26 (1927), p. 269, fig. 9; *Münchener Jahrbuch der Bildenden Kunst*, 4 (1927), p. 50, fig. 8; *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 27 (1927), p. 65, fig. 1; *Vizantiiskii Vremennik*, 2 (1949), p. 163, fig. 6; *id.*, 3 (1950), p. 175, fig. 11, b. Cf. *Byz. Zeitschr.*, 26 (1926), p. 249; *Revue des études grecques*, 39 (1926), p. 4; *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, 49 (1928), p. 54f.; *Byz. Neugr. Jahrb.*, 9 (Athens 1932), p. 130; *Byz. Zeitschr.*, 32 (1932), p. 52.

The above references include only Brunov's own publications. Others have accepted his conclusions: e.g., W. R. v. Zaloziecky in *Byz. Zeitschr.*, 28 (1928), p. 373 and 384–388; D. Talbot Rice in *Antiquity*,



It is not, therefore, surprising that Macridy accepted his conclusion, nor that he should have misinterpreted, as confirming it, certain features disclosed by his excavations. He claimed that these had exposed the foundations of a north outer aisle and had confirmed the existence of a northern staircase tower (Macridy, p. 258). We know that he made a sounding outside the north-east corner of the prothesis and that this confirmed the existence of an apsidal annex at this point. But, as the section of the apse appearing in the photograph of this sounding (Macridy fig. 27) is all that appears on the plan (Macridy fig. 5), it seems probable that no further remains of the supposed outer north aisle were found. His plan does, however, show a series of four shallow projections from the north wall of the church, of which the two westernmost may be assumed to be the only evidence he found for a staircase tower on this side. The other two projections he evidently interpreted as pilasters which carried the transverse arches of a continuous outer aisle. The north wall of this hypothetical outer aisle is shown in dotted outline on Mamboury's section (Macridy fig. 6), where it is continued upward to carry the low, vaulted roof of a gallery giving access to the northeast roof-chapel.

In October 1962, in order to clarify the nature of these projections and establish the limits of the annex adjoining the prothesis, a trench was excavated along the entire length of the north wall. Here, outside the church proper, the existing ground level was 1.85 m. above floor level, rising higher toward the northwest angle. The limits of the trench are shown on the plan (Megaw fig. A). It was carried down to below the tenth-century floor level. Along the wall of the prothesis and as far as the most easterly projection, some remains of the bedding for the floor of the annex was found. At floor level this projection terminates 0.49 m. from the wall, but beyond this point a foundation-wall of the same width continues northward, below the level of the floor, though it has been robbed to a great depth. No floor bedding was found west of the projection. This doubtless represents the west wall of the annex; its north face, the jamb of an entrance door. The mortar in which a step had been set outside the threshold was found still adhering to the west face of the foundation-wall. The annex is thus seen to have been a small parecclesion ending in line with the east columns of the church proper.

An identical projection exists at the corresponding point on the south wall, and this is preserved to the height of the lower cornice of the north church. Below, it has a fair face up to the springing (2.30 m. above floor level) of the arch over a corresponding entrance door (Megaw fig. 7), above which the projection is greater, ending in a ragged edge some 0.70 m. from the outer face of the south wall. This west wall of the south parecclesion was cut back to this point in the thirteenth century, and the remains of the arch under-pinned, in order to accommodate the north aisle of the Empress Theodora's Church.

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4 (1930), p. 418; J. Kollwitz, *op. cit.*, p. 239; O. Wulff, *Bibliographisch-kritischer Nachtrag zu alt-christl. und byz. Kunst* (Potsdam, 1935), p. 61; E. Mamboury in *Byzantion*, XI (1936), p. 263.

J. Ebersolt (*Monuments* ... [*op. cit.*], p. 166) accepted the lateral annexes carrying galleries with wooden floors, but believed them to have been open porticoes, not true aisles.

To return to the trench excavated along the north wall, an extension to locate the northwest corner of the north parecclesion was abandoned when it was found that its west foundation-wall had been robbed to great depth. It may be noted in passing that the demolition of this chapel has left a prominent scar where its vaulting abutted the wall of the church proper (Megaw fig. E). The semicircular form of this scar makes it clear that the main part of the chapel was roofed with a cross-groined vault, whereas its small bema unit was covered by a barrel vault. In what exists of the southern chapel the corresponding vaulting of the bema survives, but in the thirteenth century the rest was substituted by new vaulting (Megaw fig. F).

Outside the north window of the church proper, not only was no floor-bedding found, but there exists, just beyond the limit of the trench, a well, which, like the window itself, presupposes that this area was open to the sky. At a depth of 1.06 m. below the present well-head is an earlier one, terminating a shaft lined with stone. Since this earlier well-head is only 0.20 m. above the tenth-century floor level, it is presumably of Byzantine date. This well would have impeded any westward continuation of the north wall of the parecclesion.

The three remaining projections from the wall of the church (in line with the western columns, the west wall, and the west wall of the narthex respectively) were all found to end with a fair face at approximately the same distance from the wall: 0.93, 0.91, and 0.85 m. respectively. To match the door jambs of the tower to the south of the narthex, the second and third of these projections would have had to be 0.41 and 0.27 m. only. In any event, none of these projections can be the jamb of a doorway, for at a depth well below floor level in no case could any trace be found of a foundation-wall continuing northward.<sup>17</sup> In this area also no trace of a floor was found. Consequently, these projections provide no evidence for a second staircase tower to the north of the narthex, nor for any form of annex adjoining the northwest corner compartment of the church. An entrance to the latter was broken through at some time; but originally there was, at this point, a rather deep arched recess below a tall window. To accommodate this recess, the outer face of its back wall was carried out some 0.25 m. beyond the normal thickness of the lateral walls. At the corresponding point in the south wall an identical arrangement is found (*infra* p. 289). It will be observed that this treatment is not repeated in the eastern corner compartments, where original openings communicated with the adjoining chapels.

At its extreme west end the trench along the north wall was excavated to floor level only, which was not sufficient to clarify why the west wall of the thirteenth-century outer narthex should have been carried beyond the point corresponding with the face of the north wall of the original church and narthex. This was one of the features that led Brunov to presuppose an outer north aisle and a north staircase tower, which would have called for an additional bay in the outer narthex. It remains uncertain that it did have an additional

<sup>17</sup> In the doorways of the church, the foundation walls rise to a height only just below floor level and carry the marble thresholds.

bay;<sup>18</sup> but if it did, this was not conditioned by the form of the original church. The projections from the north wall of the latter were in the nature of external buttresses, but they did serve a second purpose, as is explained below.

Having established that the part of the north wall between the two westernmost projections was an external face, it is interesting to note that there are indications, in the form of cramp-holes filled with marble wedges, that the lower part of this face was at one time revetted with sheets of marble. Similar indications are to be seen, not only in the interior of Constantine's church, but also on what were originally its south and west façades. In the latter cases it has to be considered whether all these traces relate to the interior decoration of the Palaeologan additions. But the possibility does now exist that some are to be connected with a partial exterior revetment of the tenth-century church.

Although the 1962 excavation has disposed of Brunov's hypothesis of an initial five-aisle plan, and of the confirmation of it that Macridy believed he had found, it is relevant to record some observations made when, in the same year, the masonry fillings were removed from the main north window. Not only Macridy, but at least one other scholar who accepted the five-aisle plan, realized that this was, not an arcade open to the ground, but a window; an internal window, they thought, opening from one roofed part of the church into another.<sup>19</sup> Openings of this kind, without any trace of glazing, do exist in the church: for example, above the doorway that led from the southeastern corner compartment into the lateral chapel. Unlike this, the main north window was found to retain many traces of the panels which had closed it. On either side of the carved capitals of the marble mullions there are unornamented spaces which the upper panels would have abutted; in their bases slots are cut to receive the lower ones (Megaw fig. 1). In the corresponding positions on the shafts of the mullions and on the jambs are traces of window-fillings, each in three separate units: the lower was 0.11 m. thick, 0.91 m. high, and was capped by a horizontal unit projecting on both sides to a total width of 0.24 m. at the top. On this, which evidently served as a sill for a middle, opening section of the window, rested the vertical member of the window frame, 0.22 m. wide. The frame in turn carried a cornice member, which projected both inside and out to a width of some 0.35 m., and carried the third unit, doubtless a pierced and glazed marble panel, 0.09 m. thick and 1.56 m. high.<sup>20</sup> Finally, above the tie-beam that passed across the window immediately above the mullion capi-

<sup>18</sup> No trace exists of secondary masonry abutting the northwest corner of the narthex. At floor level, where the excavation against the end of the outer narthex wall stopped, the maximum prolongation visible was 0.70 m. beyond the face of the north wall, and it probably continued further. It remains possible, however, that the present north wall of the outer narthex, which is a Turkish construction, coincides with its original Paeologan north wall and that the northward extension of its west wall is no more than a buttress, conforming with those of the original church and, like them, projecting some 0.90 m. only.

<sup>19</sup> J. Kollwitz, *op. cit.*, p. 239.

<sup>20</sup> The traces which give these dimensions are unpolished areas on the mullions where the window marbles abutted them, the limits of which are often further defined by remains of pointing in lime plaster; in the case of the jambs, actual cuttings in the masonry and brickwork. There are some secondary cuttings which doubtless relate to Palaeologan or later repairs to the windows.

tals, there would have been a fourth panel in each light, extending to the top of the window arch. This elaborate quadruple window-filling follows that used in some gallery windows of Hagia Sophia<sup>21</sup> and is repeated in the Catholicon of Hosios Loukas,<sup>22</sup> where casements open above a solid, ornamented panel and below two more panels that are glazed. Such elaboration is unthinkable save in an exterior wall.

There have survived from the main south window only two small sections of its sill on either side, and parts of its two lateral arches. These correspond exactly with the north window. There are other indications that the original plan that has been established for the north side of the church was repeated on the south, with the exception of the staircase tower, which featured only on the south side. Attention has already been drawn to the survival of a section of the west wall of the south lateral chapel in a position corresponding to that established for its equivalent on the north. Identical also are the buttress on the line of the western columns and the niche feature immediately west of it, formed in a correspondingly thicker section of wall. The back wall of the niche was removed at some later date, perhaps to give access to the Empress Theodora's church when this was added; the semicircular top of this opening, cut as an extension of the arch of the niche, has no arch on the south side (Megaw figs. 6 and F). As on the north side, there was a window above the niche, the greater part of which was blocked in the thirteenth century to provide support for the aisle vaulting of the south church (Macridy fig. 12). Originally this window opened, not into any subsidiary compartment of the church, but into the open air; for a vertical line of trimming on its east jamb marks the position of its glazed window panel.

The form now established for the original church at first sight appears to fail in one requirement, which was formerly thought to justify restoration of a five-aisle plan: the provision of access to the two eastern roof-chapels. The two western chapels present no difficulty, since they could be entered from the staircase tower through the over-narthex. Indeed, the lateral units of this gallery could be regarded, as Brunov observed, as the antechambers of the chapels adjoining them, which would thus have the same dual form as those to the east. It is the access to the latter that remains a problem.

Mamboury's upper plan (Macridy fig. 9) is erroneous in indicating that the wall that linked the apse of the southeast roof-chapel with that of the south church is of tenth-century date. Macridy accepted this wall (p. 260) as confirmation of Brunov's restoration of a continuous gallery over an outer south aisle, opening into the south arm of the church as well as into the chapels, in the position of the present passage over the north aisle of the south church. But this was a Turkish wall, bonding with neither church, like the arch which spanned the passage at the west end (Megaw fig. 12).<sup>23</sup>

<sup>21</sup> E. H. Swift, *Hagia Sophia* (New York, 1940), pl. x, A.

<sup>22</sup> R. W. Schultz and S. H. Barnsley, *The Monastery of St. Luke of Stiris in Phocis* (London, 1901), pl. 8.

<sup>23</sup> Both wall and arch were removed during the recent works. Even if Mamboury saw evidence for the low-pitched, segmental vault which he restored over the passage between the gables of the two churches, this too must have been of Turkish date (Macridy, fig. 6).

Mamboury's upper plan also shows at the northeast angle the abutment at this upper level of an apse which thus appears to have belonged to an upper compartment above the north lateral chapel. This also is erroneous; what his plan shows exists, but below the level of the roof of the chapel: a fragment of the upper part of its apse. There is no evidence for any original structure at the upper level either north or south of the roof-chapels. What is clear is that the eastern pair were entered, through the surviving doorways in their western compartments, from the terrace roofs of the two lateral chapels. But how were these terraces approached if the areas immediately west of them, outside the main north and south windows, were open to the sky?

The answer is revealed by closer observation of the lateral walls of the church and particularly of the projections from them (Megaw figs. E and F). We have seen that at ground level those west of the dome extend some 0.90 m. from the wall face. At the level of the roof-chapels these projections are reduced to some 0.15 m., and they are not as wide as those below. (Two more on each side, above the east and west ends of the lateral chapels, have the same shallow projection.) There must have been some feature at the upper floor level to mask this discrepancy in the projections. I believe it to have been an external gallery on either side of the church, giving access from the west to the terrace roofs of the two lateral chapels. That on the south would have started at, and would have been entered from, the top of the staircase tower; that on the north would have started from the northwest angle of the building and would have been entered from a door in the north wall of the over-narthex.

The function of the two marble corbels above the mullions of the north window (Megaw figs. 2-3, Mango-Hawkins figs. 26-27) was surely to carry the marble slabs of which such a gallery would have been formed. Indeed, parts of the slabs they carried were still visible, immured above them, before the repair of this part of the wall (Macridy fig. 2, Megaw fig. 3). A similar slab, but a little larger, or possibly a small arch, would have formed the floor of the next section of the gallery to the west, carried on the projecting "buttresses" in line with the western columns and the west wall. All this would have been repeated outside the south wall of the church.

The wider span of the most westerly section of the north gallery would have needed intermediate support. This appears to have taken the form of an arch between the two buttresses that prolong the walls of the narthex, for an area of original brick with a curving outline which still survives suggests the position of its intrados. A few bricks at the western springing of the arch itself are visible in Macridy's photograph (Macridy fig. 2) and have been shown on my elevation (Megaw fig. E).<sup>24</sup>

At this point the gallery would have been very similar to that, likewise carried on arches between buttresses, which encircles the upper church at Bodrum Camii. This is commonly regarded as part of the renovation of the

<sup>24</sup> This part of the building had already been repaired before the work of the Byzantine Institute started. My elevations show only the original brickwork and masonry that was still visible at the time of my visit, or that is well attested by photographs taken before the repairs started.

Myrelaion Monastery by Romanus I and, if this is correct, it was built not long after Constantine's church. The gallery at Bodrum Camii is some 1.50 m. wide, a width attained from buttresses of not much greater projection than those of our church by corbelling-out below the springing of the arches (Megaw fig. 8).<sup>25</sup> It seems more than likely that the width of the galleries of Constantine's church would have been increased in the same way beyond the buttress projection, of about 0.90 m. only, particularly as some form of parapet would have occupied their outer edges<sup>25a</sup>. But, wide or narrow, these galleries do mean that Brunov's hypothetical five-aisle plan can be rejected without removing the original means of access to the eastern roof-chapels.

#### OTHER OBSERVATIONS

In dealing with this last objection to the new restoration of the original plan (Megaw fig. A), we have passed from the ground level to the upper parts of the building. Since it is no less desirable to establish the original form of the superstructure of this, the earliest dated church surviving from the Macedonian Renaissance, the opportunity is taken to record some further observations made during the repair of the building.

The inner parts of the slabs forming the gallery floors over the main lateral windows rested on the walls and formed the sills of the gable windows, where some sections survive *in situ*. There are some indications of the original form of these windows. The shallow projections marking the limits of the gables were linked by arches, which were in fact the external edges of the vaults of the north and south arms of the church; the east springing of that of the south gable appears in the left foreground of Macridy's figure 22. Some remains of two recessed subsidiary arches were found *in situ* in both gables, reducing the width of the window openings to some 3.60 m. This width, which conforms with the total width of the three upper lights of the main windows below,<sup>26</sup> is too wide to be closed by a single lunette window panel. Consequently, it may reasonably be assumed that these gable windows were subdivided by marble mullions standing above those of the main windows, like those of Kocamustafa Camii (Sts. Peter and Mark) (Megaw fig. 10),<sup>27</sup> and Sheik Murat Mesciti (Megaw fig. 11).<sup>28</sup> They have been restored in this form (Megaw fig. 2).

The treatment of the corresponding tympanum of the west wall is quite different, which is only to be expected since its opening was an internal one, from church to over-narthex, not a window in an external wall. The opening

<sup>25</sup> Apart from this photograph reproduced from Rice's article in *Archäol. Anzeiger* (1930), col. 445, fig. 6, compare that in *Byzantion*, VIII (1933), p. 151f., fig. 5. The evident relationship of the gallery to the church it encircles argues against the earlier dating proposed for the substructure. The employment of brick-banded masonry for the latter and brick alone for the church which it carries is not decisive. Both are used in Constantine's church: brick-banded masonry below the inscribed cornice (except in arches, vaulting, and the like), brick alone above it.

<sup>25a</sup> The marble corbels may have projected some 1.4 m. (see *infra*, p. 308, note 39).

<sup>26</sup> It is now a few centimeters wider as a result of distortion of the vaults since the church was built.

<sup>27</sup> Van Millingen, *op. cit.*, pl. LI and fig. 65; Ebersolt and Thiers, *op. cit.*, pl. xxxi.

<sup>28</sup> A. G. Paspates, *Βυζαντινὰ Μελέται* (Constantinople, 1877), engraving facing p. 382.

into the over-narthex is an independent arch, 2.26 m. wide, in the brick wall that filled the rest of the tympanum. In its jambs are the cuttings that received a parapet, doubtless a panel of marble.<sup>29</sup> However, in the outer west wall of the over-narthex, opposite this opening, there would have been a window akin to those in the lateral gables. The width of the latter and of the west gable window as shown on Mamboury's plan (Macridy, fig. 9) is the same.

The roof-chapels over the western corner compartments, which were entered from the over-narthex, have both lost the greater part of their vaulting (Macridy figs. 25 and 26). What remains conforms with that of the western unit of the southeast chapel, which stands over an equivalent compartment of the church proper and still retains its original domical vault (Macridy fig. 24). No doubt all four of these units were roofed in the same way.

On the other hand, although the other units of the eastern roof-chapels, those standing over the parabemata, are now roofless, it is clear that their roof-construction was of a different, heavier form. For in each case there have survived remains of a substantial stone foundation of octagonal form standing on the pendentives (Megaw fig. 14, extreme left, and Megaw fig. E). There can be little doubt that these once carried the drums of two subsidiary domes. The present circular Turkish dome over the center of the church stands on a similar octagonal stone plinth surviving from its predecessor, which would consequently have had a corresponding drum. It is by no means certain, however, that the original drums would have been of the same octagonal form, though this form might be held to accord best with the three-sided apses. An alternative is the modified circular form, with small angular projections between the windows, as employed at Bodrum Camii. This, as we have seen, is later than Constantine's church, but likewise dates from the first half of the tenth century. It is on the Bodrum Camii dome that both the main and the smaller domes in Megaw figures E, F, and G have been modelled.<sup>29a</sup>

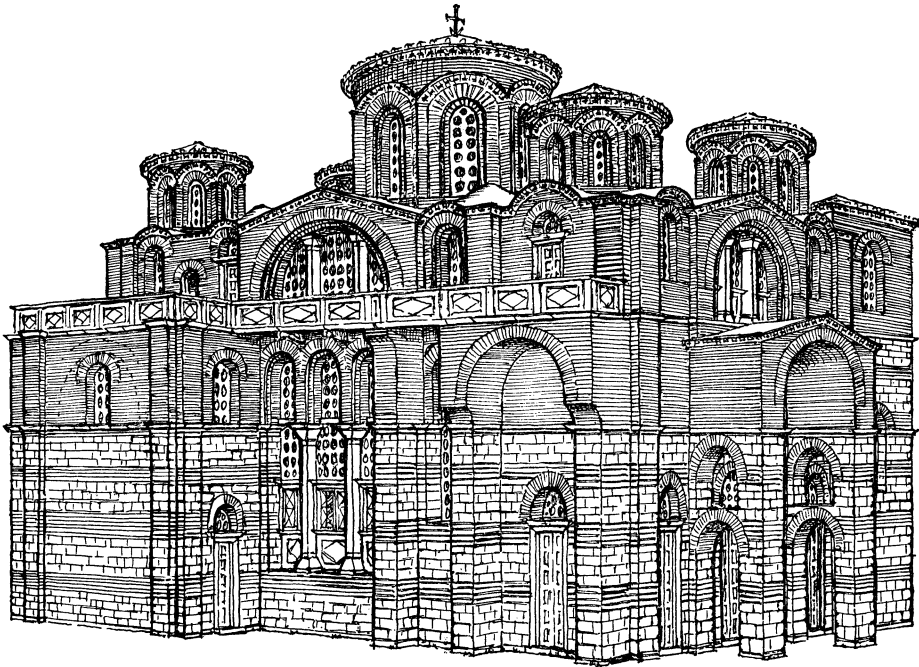
There is no evidence for the roofing of the over-narthex other than what can be inferred from Mamboury's plan (Macridy fig. 9).<sup>30</sup> For the central bay, nearly square in plan and with large openings in all four walls, a cross-groined vault like those in the narthex itself would be appropriate. It has previously been remarked that the lateral bays of the over-narthex are to be regarded as the ante-chambers of the chapels into which they led, and with the axes of which they conform. In that case, the western pair of chapels, like the eastern, would have been bi-partite in form. Another similarity is that in all four cases the lateral opening in the inner, eastern chamber was originally a window, not a door. Is it not probable that in the western chapels, as in the eastern, the chambers furthest from the dome of the church proper were covered by small

<sup>29</sup> In such a prominent, but high position one might expect a panel carved with a design in high relief, like that with a peacock of which fragments were found in the 1929 excavations (Macridy fig. 41).

<sup>29a</sup> On the main dome a circular drum could have accommodated the 6 (or, less probably, 12 windows indicated by the design of the internal cornice (see *infra*, p. 306f.), but an octagonal one could not. If the main dome had only 6 windows, the smaller domes would probably have had only 4.

<sup>30</sup> The remains of its west wall that were temporarily exposed after the burning of the Turkish roof were concealed again by the new roof terrace, laid during the repairs carried out for the Evkaf authorities.

domes pierced by windows?<sup>31</sup> This would have given the building as a whole the symmetry to be expected. It would also have conformed with the practice of the time, for the Nea of Basil I is known to have had five domes, though their distribution is not specified, and more than one provincial church assignable to the tenth century has subsidiary domes over its corner compartments.<sup>32</sup>



G. Theotokos Church of Constantine Lips (Fenari Isa Camii).

The Church in Its Original Form, viewed from the Northwest

The elongated form of the ante-chambers of the western chapels, 3.28 m. long by 1.87 m. wide, does not at first sight seem conformable with a dome; but if the jambs of the openings in the long walls (each 0.70 m. deep) were joined by short sections of barrel-vault, the remaining central area would have been exactly square. It is true that a dome constructed on this base would have been somewhat larger than those over the eastern chapels, where the supporting arches form squares measuring only 1.65 m. But this discrepancy of some 0.20 m. would hardly have been apparent from the ground, and would have been only one of the several differences between the western and the eastern chapels.<sup>33</sup> In any event, there is no better evidence for the cross-

<sup>31</sup> I am indebted to Mr. E. J. W. Hawkins, who had charge of the conservation works carried out by the Byzantine Institute, for first suggesting this possibility.

<sup>32</sup> E.g., the Palaea Episkopi at Nikli (Tegea) and the Cattolica at Stilo in Calabria. On their date, see Megaw "Byzantine Reticulate Revetments" in *Χαριστήριον εις 'Αναστάσιον Κ. 'Ορλάνδον*, 3 (Athens, 1965), pp. 17-19.

<sup>33</sup> For example, the bases of the domical vaults of the inner chambers of the western chapels are slightly oval, measuring 1.83 m. by 1.58 m.; whereas those in the antechambers of the eastern are 1.63 m. square. Secondly, both sections of the eastern chapels are on the same level, whereas the floors of the western ante-chambers were one step above the floors of the chapels into which they led. For



groined vault, of unusual segmental form in its longer direction, which Mamboury restored in his section through the antechamber of the northwestern roof-chapel (Macridy fig. 7).<sup>34</sup>

The staircase which gave access to the roof-chapels, in the compartment to the south of the narthex, has disappeared, but not without trace. What Macridy regarded as bases for a ciborium structure are lengths of column shaft embedded in the floor, to serve as foundation for the four newel-posts of the stairs (Macridy, p. 265 and Macridy fig. 48). The stairs rose counter-clockwise, starting immediately to the right of the entrance in the west façade. This, like the archway opposite, leading from the staircase tower into the open area to the east, was not in the center of the wall but well to the north, where there was an area unobstructed by the staircase inside the third doorway, opening into the narthex. There were short flights from newel to newel and there is evidence, in the form of joist-holes, for level landings at the top of the first and second flights, that is, in the southwest and southeast corners. Other joist-holes attest two continuous landings along the whole of the north wall at the top of the third and sixth flights (Megaw fig. F). The lower of these would have cleared the lintels of the three doorways and the upper, just above the level of the cornice in the narthex, remained some 2.20 m. below the floor level of the roof-chapels. This height would have required two more flights, against the west and south walls, to reach the continuous landing which must have extended along the other two walls at the head of the stairs. The over-narthex and the open gallery outside the south wall of the church would have been reached directly from the north and east arms of this landing. The staircase was lit by a large window in each of the outside walls of the tower. All were at the same height, their sills immediately above the arches of the east and west doorways, but, unlike these, they were in the center of each wall.

It may be presumed that since this was a timber staircase the stairhead was covered. The tower has no buttresses or other form of external articulation, and, even if it rose no higher than the roof of the church, it is doubtful whether it was covered with vaulting.<sup>35</sup> A low, pyramidal timber roof seems more probable. Mamboury's plan (Macridy fig. 9) shows wide openings on each of the external walls, but comparison with Brunov's plan<sup>36</sup> and Macridy's photograph (Megaw fig. 12) suggests that these are largely conjectural. The jamb of

this reason, the western domes would have been a little higher as well as a little wider than the eastern, as indicated in Megaw figures E and F.

<sup>34</sup> It is possible that the Turkish reconstruction of the roof left some traces of the abutment of such a vault, visible in 1930 but no longer existing, and that it was on these that Mamboury based his restoration. If so, these would have been scars left by the abutment of the narrow semicircular section of his intersecting vault (cf. his photograph, Megaw fig. 9). However, such indications would fit equally well the section of barrel-vault which my restoration of a dome would require across the eastern end of the antechamber.

<sup>35</sup> The questionable adequacy of the structure to support it must weigh against any speculation that the tower rose yet another storey. A belfry at Byzantium in the early tenth century is improbable, even if Hagia Sophia did receive its bells in the ninth, which some scholars doubt (e.g., E. H. Swift, *op. cit.*, p. 86).

<sup>36</sup> *Belvedere*, 51-52 (1926), p. 226, fig. 16. The repairs carried out in this section for the Evkaf Administration included the re-roofing of the staircase tower a little above the floor level of the roof-chapels. Below this roof original construction has survived at this level only in the northeast angle.

the doorway in the east wall that led to the open gallery is visible in the photograph; like the gallery it would have been narrow, probably not much more than 1.00 m. wide.

One feature observed at ground level remains to be mentioned: there is clear evidence for a porch outside the central west door of the narthex. From both the pilasters that flank this door arches sprang westward. Their springings are 1.76 m. above the narthex floor, which is probably a shallow step above the original floor level of the porch. The pitch of the few surviving bricks of the arch to the south of the door indicates a span of about 1.65 m. The wall above the arch has been trimmed back to line up with the jamb, but 1.10 m. above the springing the trimming ends and the pilaster continues with the same projection as the jamb. As this point is too low for the eaves of the porch, this upper section of the pilaster, the face of which is preserved for a height of 0.90 m., is probably the jamb of an upper opening in the side wall of the porch. There is room for this opening to be closed by an upper arch below the level of the lower external cornice. This, as can be seen from the north elevation (Megaw fig. E), continued on the west façade, and it was retained as the internal cornice of the thirteenth-century outer narthex (Macridy fig. 7). This cornice would have continued around the porch and above it would have sprung the barrel-vault with which, in all probability, the porch was covered. In this position the vault would have abutted the west wall at the same point as does the existing vaulting of the center bay of the outer narthex. This is indeed the only appropriate position for it; for here it would clear not only the main entrance door and its lunette, but also an upper lunette which formerly opened into the center bay of the narthex vaulting,<sup>37</sup> and it would not obstruct the central west window of the over-narthex.

The lateral arches of this porch would have rested on square piers rather than on columns, though excavation on the line of the south arch failed to confirm this. The foundation-wall was found (see plan, Megaw fig. A) but it is not preserved to full height. It ends 0.72 m. short of the wall of the outer narthex, leaving the same margin outside the presumed face of the pier on this west side as it would have had on the south. Both foundation-walls are shown on the plan of the 1929 excavations (Macridy fig. 5).

Finally, a word about construction will not be out of place. Mention has been made of the characteristic grooved pointing (Megaw fig. 4). This was employed both in the brick-banded masonry which was used for most of the wall construction below the level of the lower cornice, and in the brickwork used for arches and for the entire superstructure. Save in the foundation-walls, this pointing is found throughout the building, both inside and out, notwithstanding the clear intention to conceal it, internally at least, with marble and mosaic. The same care was taken with the initial setting-out and in construction: the angles are true right-angles, the cornices level from end to end, and, making allowance for subsequent distortion, the walls accurately vertical.

<sup>37</sup> The filling of this lunette is Palaeologan; whereas that opposite, over the central door into the church, is clearly of original tenth-century construction.

That so much of the church has survived two devastating fires in such good condition is a tribute to its builders. One secret of their success was undoubtedly the attention paid to the foundations. I have indicated the evidence for the construction of a solid concrete "raft" throughout the area covered by the church, of an unknown depth but levelled-off a meter and a half below floor level. Another contributory factor was undoubtedly the elaborate system of horizontal reinforcements.

The structure of stone and brick was strengthened by tensile reinforcements at two levels and of two different materials. The lower system was of timber; the beams have entirely disappeared but they are attested by cavities of varying size, up to 0.22 m. in the maximum dimension, which are visible at many points. From these it is clear that, below the dome, four tie-beams were set above the capitals of the main columns, and that they extended to the walls (Megaw fig. 13). There they engaged with other beams concealed in the thickness of the walls, save where they spanned the north and south windows. In the case of the north window, the cavity could be seen continuing eastward immediately above the lower cornice. Since the bema window was similarly tied at a level only a few centimeters higher, it is probable that the beams formed a complete collar around the building. The east-west beams above the columns of the church proper doubtless continued eastward in the thickness of the bema walls to engage with those that encircled the apses. At the west end, a cavity at the same level, observed in the north wall of the staircase tower, indicates that this system of timber reinforcement ringed the narthex also.

During the repair of the main apse, remains were found of an upper collar, this time of wrought iron, immediately below the inscribed cornice, which corresponds with the upper internal cornice and with the floor-level of the roof-chapels. Some of the metal had entirely disintegrated, but where it was better preserved it was seen to be formed of lengths of rod about 0.025 m. in diameter (Megaw fig. 9). The couplings were made by forming a head at the end of one rod, somewhat like a nail-head, and passing it through an eye opened in the end of the next rod; the eyes were hammered shut immediately below the heads to form a continuous chain. That it was continuous is suggested by the discovery of a second section at the same level below the sill of the north gable window.

Two points are noteworthy: The cornices which break the walls into three registers, both inside and out, served also to link visually the various component parts of the building they encircle. In so doing they express on the façades the structural collars with which they coincide, much as the arches and vertical articulations of the walls conform with the structure behind them. Secondly, the iron collar and the elaborate framework of wooden tie-beams made it possible to construct the walls of the building at many points as a series of supports of modest dimension linked only by windows, and to reduce abutting elements, such as the buttresses of the west façade, to minimal dimensions.

## CONCLUSIONS

These results from a new examination of the church erected by Constantine Lips indicate that, even in the case of a building which has long been available for study and is free of the plaster that formerly concealed its construction both inside and out, misconceptions can persist and features of significance escape notice. This is inevitably the case with those churches which remain inaccessible for close inspection, let alone excavation, while in use as mosques, and whose structure is to a greater or lesser extent concealed by plaster and later accretions. If they also could be subjected to systematic examination there is every reason to hope that results would be as rewarding as in the case of Fenari Isa Camii.

Meanwhile, Brunov's thesis that the five-aisle cross-in-square type of church, with both a lower and an upper ambulatory, was predominant at Constantinople<sup>38</sup> has lost its principal support with the removal of this church from his list.<sup>39</sup> His restoration of the five-aisle plan in other churches is now in jeopardy. It rests on indications which, in four cases, cannot without further investigation be accepted as conclusive: Kalender Camii (Our Saviour Akataleptos),<sup>40</sup> Kocamustafa Camii (Sts. Peter and Mark?),<sup>41</sup> Eski Imaret (Christ Pantepoptes)<sup>42</sup> and Kilisse Camii (St. Theodore?).<sup>43</sup> In the case of his only other example, the south church of the Zeyrek Camii group (Pantocrator),<sup>44</sup> recent investigations have proved his restoration without foundation.<sup>45</sup> This is not to say that Brunov was at fault in seeking in Byzantium itself a model for St. Sophia at Kiev and the other Russian five-aisle churches. Even if all four of the churches remaining on his list are shown by future investigation not to have been of this form, there remains the Nea, where the passages on either side of the church are variously described and interpreted: περίδρομοι, περίπατος κυλιδροειδής, δίαυλος.<sup>46</sup> Furthermore, a later church, which Brunov did not include among his candidates for the five-aisle form, seems as well worth considering in this connection as any surviving monument.<sup>47</sup>

<sup>38</sup> *Revue des études grecques*, 39 (1926), p. 22; *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 27 (1927), p. 67; *Vizantiiskii Vremennik*, 2 (1949), pp. 150-214.

<sup>39</sup> Ebersolt rejected it insofar as he regarded the lateral annexes, where they existed, as open porticoes rather than aisles forming part of the church proper (*Monuments . . .*, *op. cit.*, p. 166f.).

<sup>40</sup> *Revue des études grecques*, 39 (1926), pp. 6-8; *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 32 (1932), p. 54f.; *Vizantiiskii Vremennik*, 2 (1949), p. 156f. and p. 159, fig. 4; in this case Brunov followed Wulff (*Die Koimesiskirche in Nicäa* [Strasbourg 1903], p. 111), on whose views, see also Kollwitz, *op. cit.*, p. 233f. and plan on p. 250.

<sup>41</sup> Also known as Atik Mustafapaşa Camii: *Revue des études grecques*, 39 (1926), p. 9f.; *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 32 (1932), pp. 57-59; *Vizantiiskii Vremennik*, 2 (1949), p. 152ff. and p. 154, fig. 2.

<sup>42</sup> *Revue des études grecques*, 39 (1926), p. 12 and pp. 14-15; *Byzant. Neugr. Jahrbücher*, 9 (Athens, 1932), p. 131f.; *Vizantiiskii Vremennik*, 2 (1949), p. 172ff.

<sup>43</sup> Also known as Molla Gürani Camii: *Revue des études grecques*, 39 (1926), pp. 12-14; *Byzant. Neugr. Jahrbücher*, 9 (Athens, 1932), p. 139f.; *Vizantiiskii Vremennik*, 2 (1949), p. 176ff.

<sup>44</sup> *Revue des études grecques*, 39 (1926), p. 17; *Vizantiiskii Vremennik*, 2 (1949), p. 176ff. and p. 180. fig. 13.

<sup>45</sup> Megaw, "Notes on Recent Work . . ." *op. cit.*, p. 340 and p. 341, fig. D.

<sup>46</sup> Theophanes Contin. V, 83-86, Bonn ed., pp. 325-329.

<sup>47</sup> Gül Camii (St. Theodosia). Here it would not be a case of restoring aisles which have disappeared outside the existing structure, but of supposing that this once comprised five aisles within its present

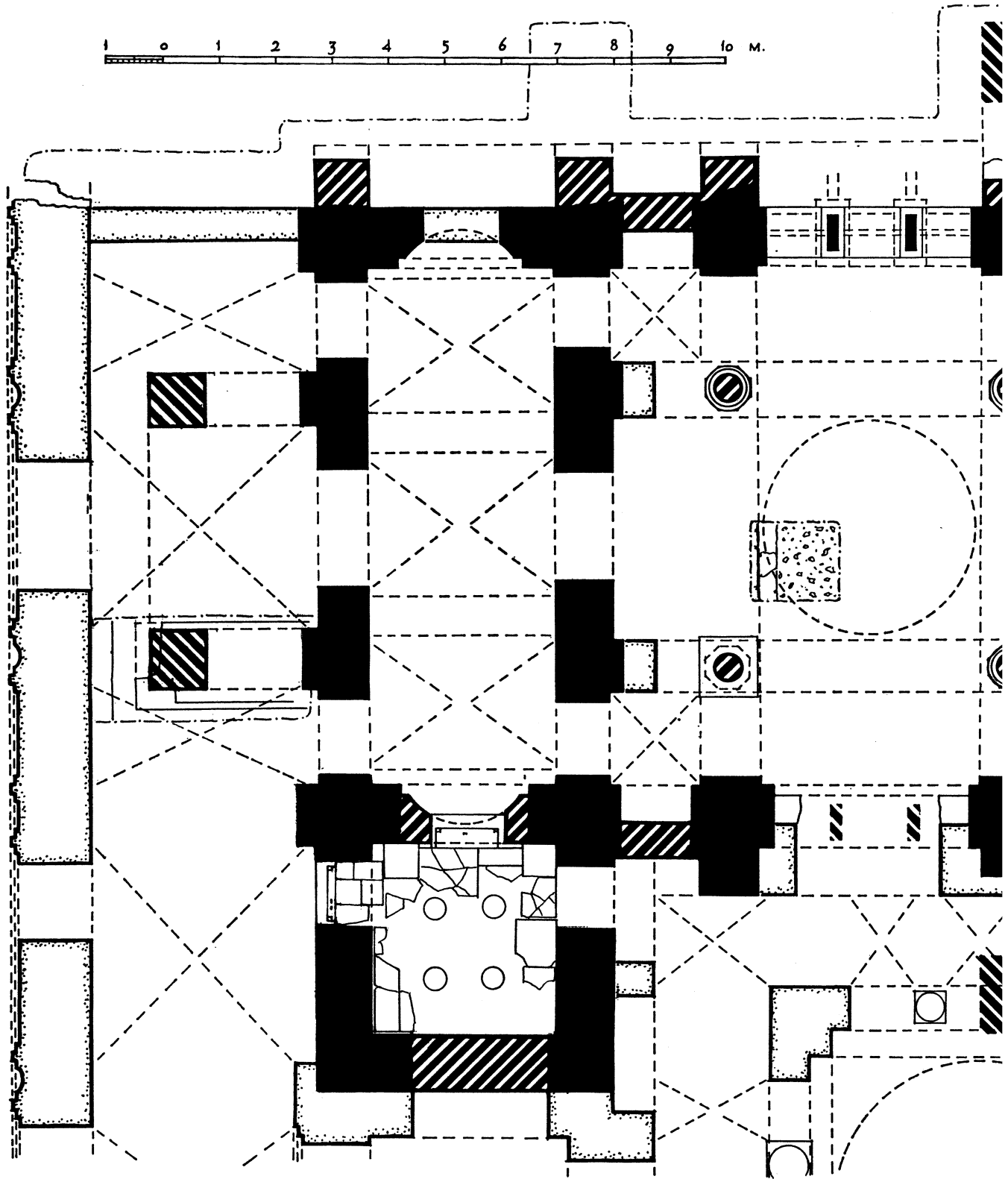
A more positive result of the recent work of the Byzantine Institute at Fenari Isa Camii has been, apart from the conservation of what remains, the establishment, in all essential features, of the original architectural form of a church securely dated to the beginning of the tenth century (Megaw fig. G). The elegance of its tall proportions, the ingenuity with which the unique feature of the roof-chapels has been integrated into the scheme of a four-column church, of which it is the earliest surviving example, and the excellence of the masonry and brickwork throughout; all these match the robust style and precise execution of the carved ornament, on which Macridy's excavations threw so much new light. For all that this is a small church, it leaves a deep impression that, in excellence of quality, architecture was no laggard in the revival of the arts at Byzantium under the Macedonian Dynasty.

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limits. Brunov established that the arcades and the galleries they carry in the lateral arms are Turkish and drew attention to the survival of some remains of their Byzantine predecessors, prolonging the inner walls of the lateral apsidal chambers (*Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 30 [1929/30], p. 550, fig. 3, and pl. VI, 2). Following Paspates and Wulff, he recognized two Byzantine building periods, and it was to the second of these that he assigned the blind domes of the upper corner chambers, which in the case of the eastern ones take account neither of the articulation of the east facade nor of the plan at ground level. He conceived the church proper, between the Byzantine arcades he identified, as an inscribed cross with filled corners, like the Koimesis church at Nicaea. However, the eastern corners are not filled, but contain chambers between the bema and those ending in the smaller apses (A. van Millingen, *Byzantine Churches in Constantinople* [London, 1912], fig. 56). Is it not possible that these intermediate chambers represent the eastern units of narrow, inner aisles, and that the dome was originally carried on four free-standing columns? In this case, beyond the original arcades that Brunov identified, there would have been true outer aisles, terminating in the apsed chambers and with galleries over them, which would make this just such a five-aisled church as Brunov sought.

This tentative suggestion arises from study of the published plans alone, not from any new examination of the building.

1 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 M.



Surviving original construction



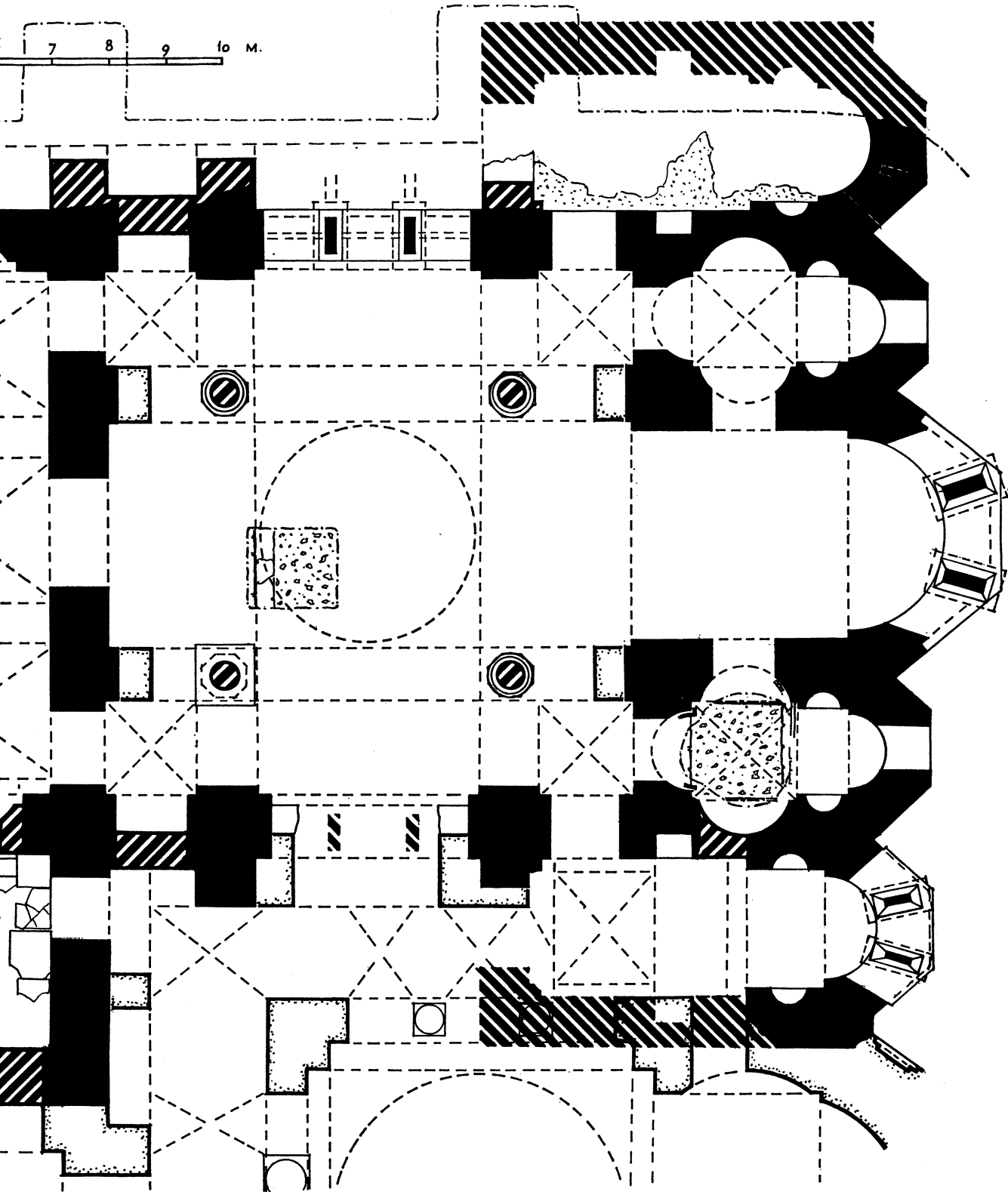
Original construction missing, but attested



Original construction, hypothetical

A. Theotokos Church of Constantine Lips (Fenari Isa Camii).

Plan of Church (see page 281). (scale 1:100)



Original  
construction  
missing, but  
attested



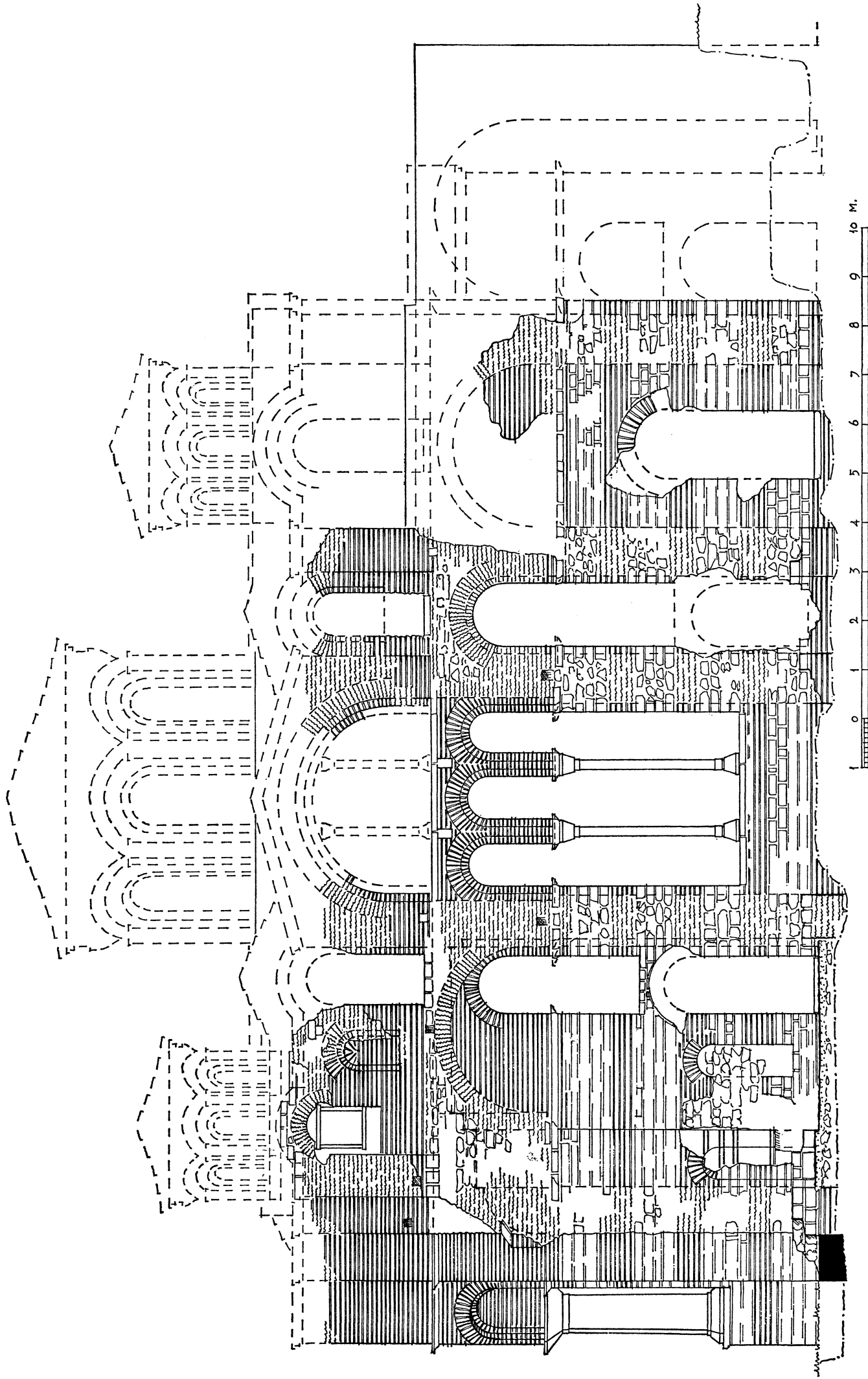
Original  
construction,  
hypothetical



Palaeologan and  
later

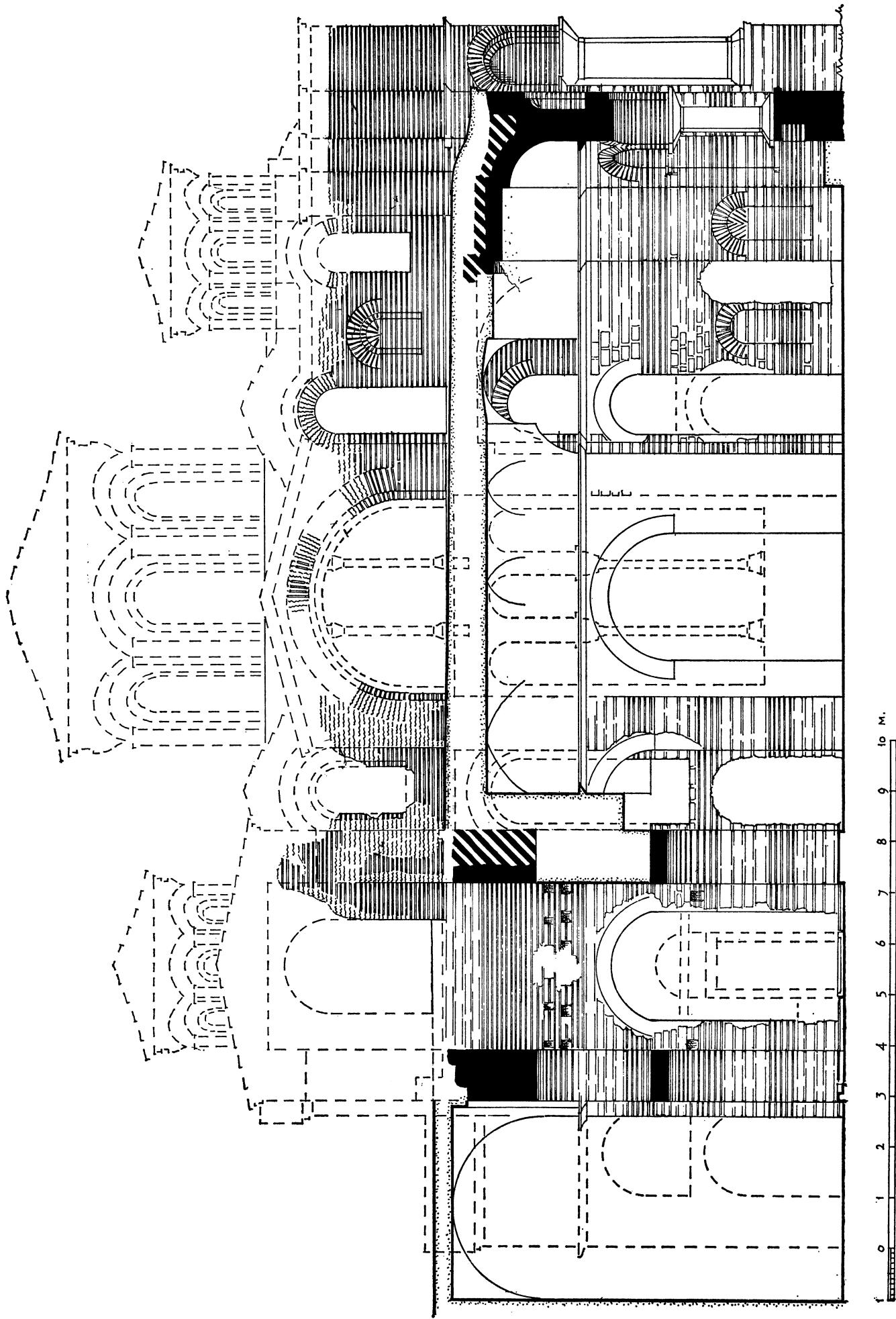
Theotokos Church of Constantine Lips (Fenari Isa Camii).

Plan of Church (see page 281). (scale 1:100)

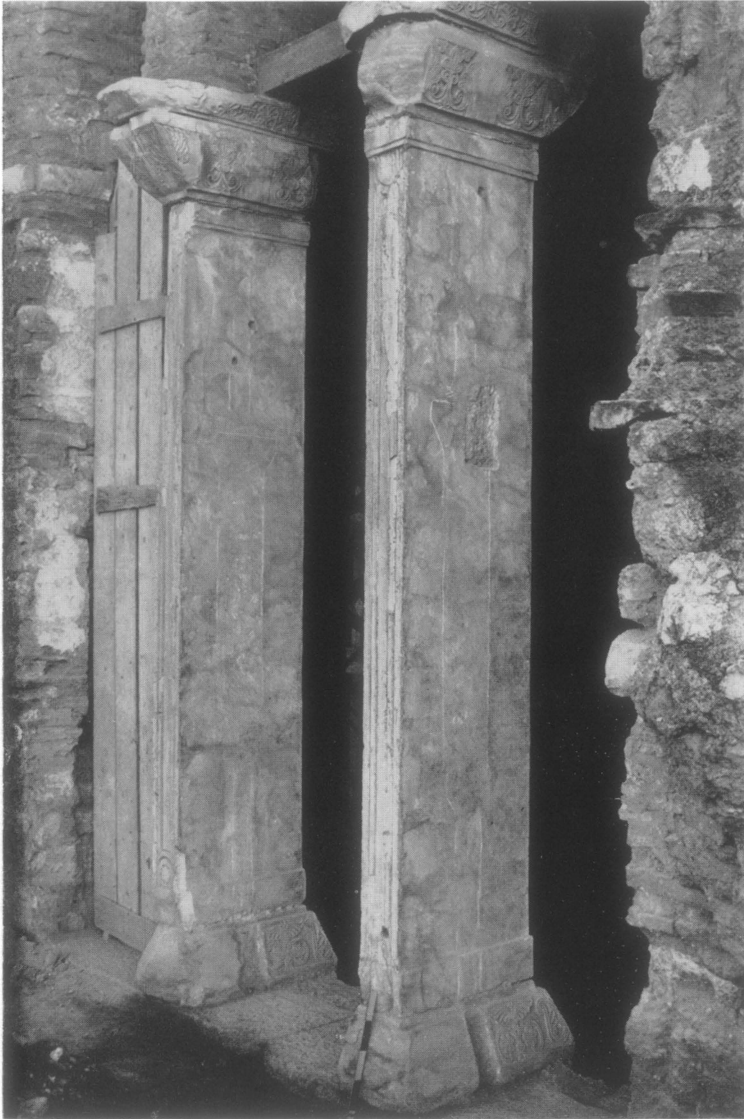


E. Theotokos Church of Constantine Lips (Fenari Isa Camii).  
North Elevation. (scale 1:100)

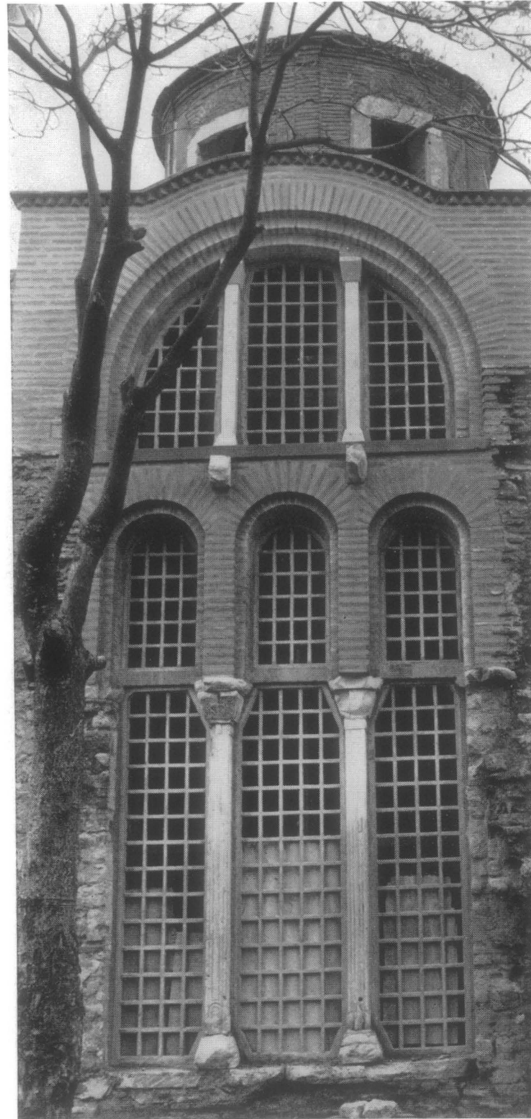




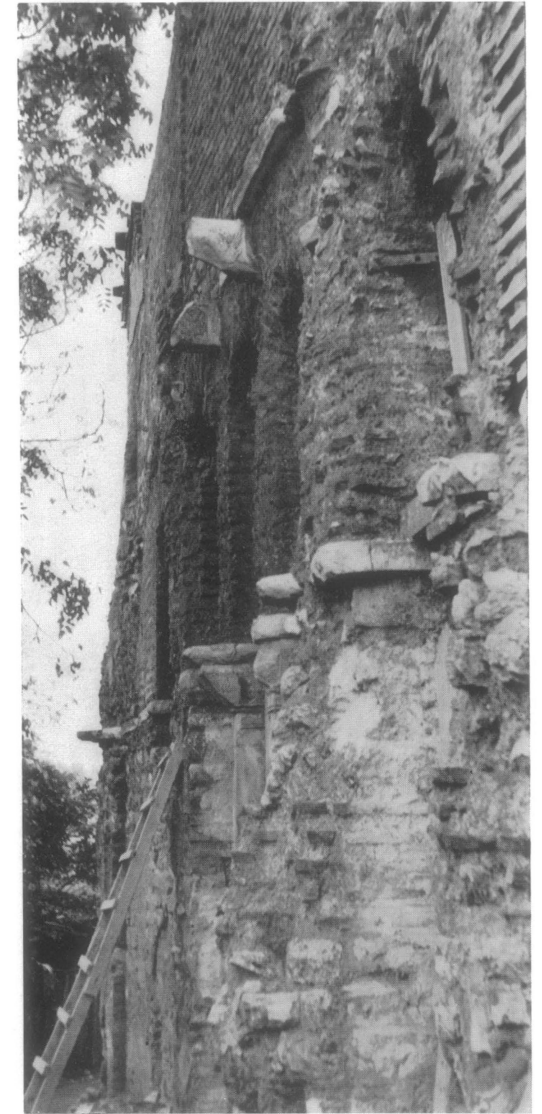
F. Theotokos Church of Constantine Lips (Fenari Isa Camii).  
South Elevation. (scale 1:100)



1. Mullions of North Window



2. North Façade, Central Part, after repair

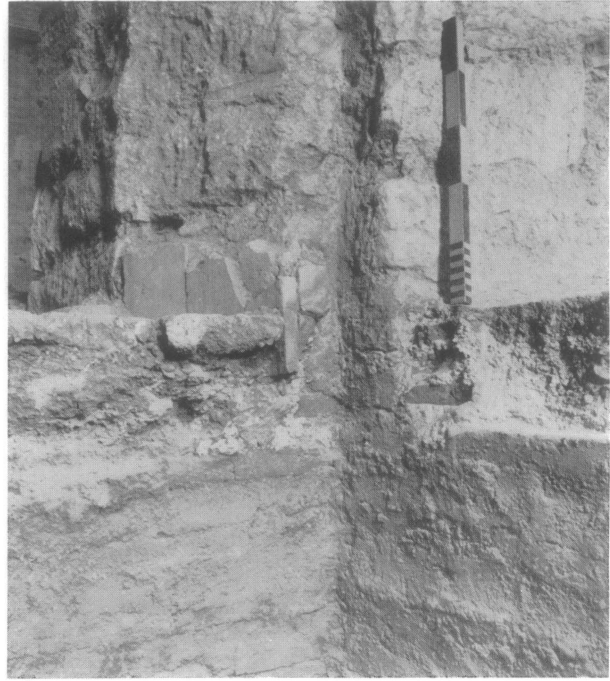


3. North Façade, with Remains of Gallery,  
before repair

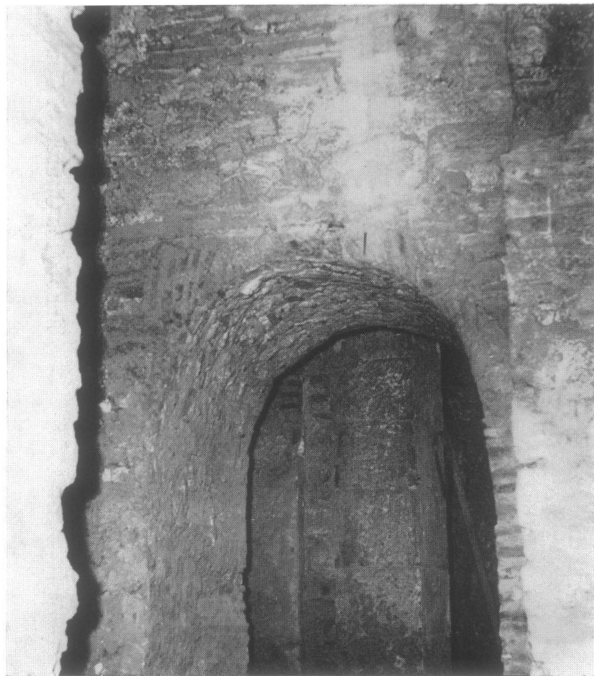
Theotokos Church of Constantine Lips (Fenari Isa Camii)



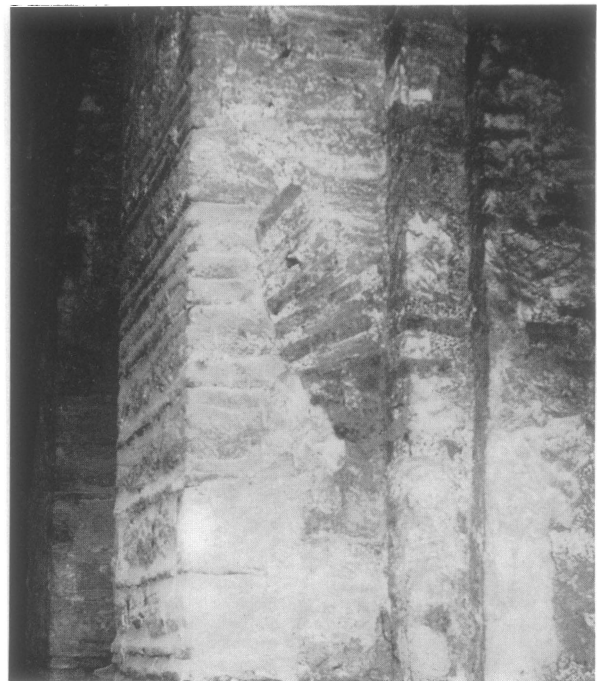
4. Grooved Pointing with Graffito Inscription, detail



5. Diaconicon,  
Northwest Angle, Masonry at Floor Level

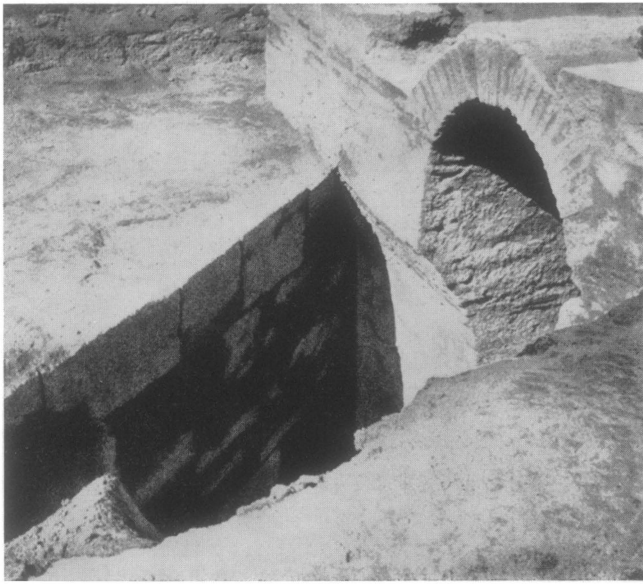


6. Arch broken through South Wall  
of Southwest Compartment, from South



7. South Parecclesion, West Entrance,  
North Springing

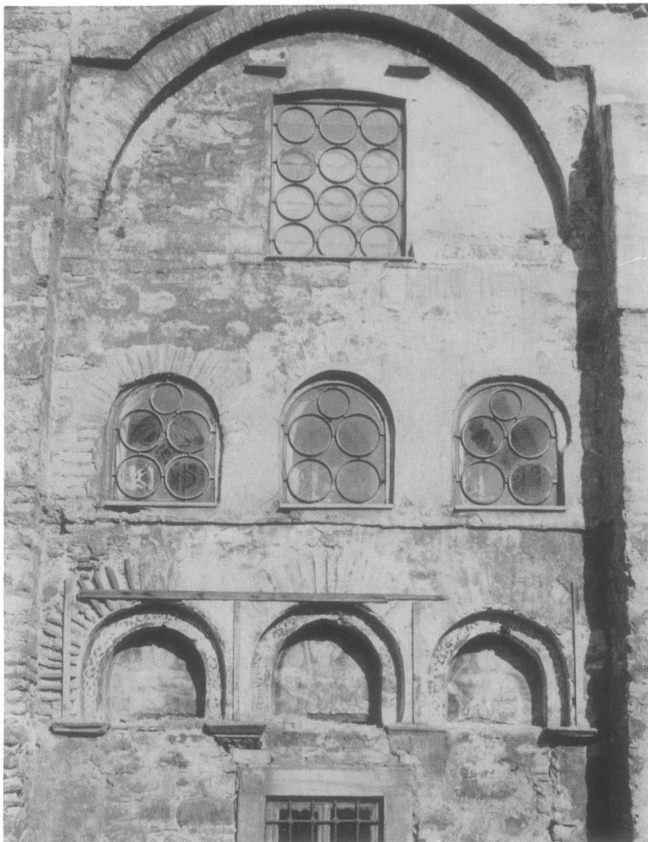
Theotokos Church of Constantine Lips (Fenari Isa Camii)



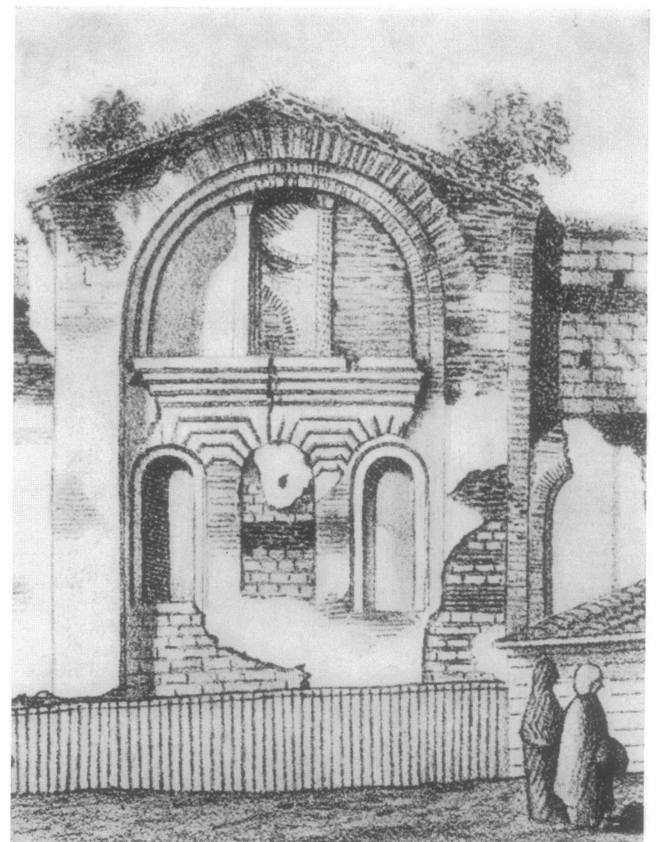
8. Bodrum Camii. Detail of Buttress, Corbelling and Arch supporting External Gallery



9. Fenari Isa Camii, Main Apse, Wrought Iron Collar below Inscribed Cornice



10. Kocamustafa Camii, South Gable



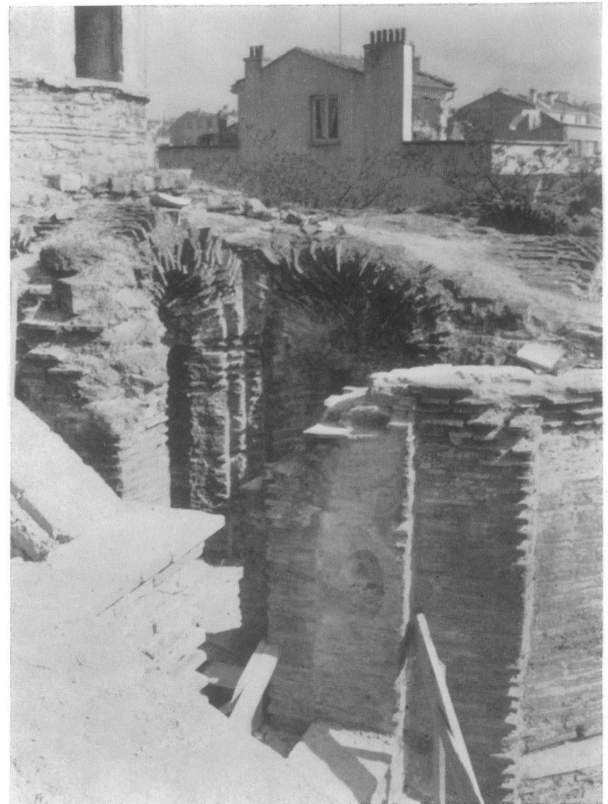
11. Sheik Murat Mesciti, South Gable



12. Superstructure from Southwest



13. South Wall, Half-capital on West Pilaster



14. Southeast Roof-chapel

Theotokos Church of Constantine Lips (Fenari Isa Camii)