other variants continued to be built in southern and central Yugoslavia until its conquest by the Turks. In the northern parts, independent until 1459, an autonomous architectural school had formed as early as the last third of the fourteenth century in the Morava valley. Dependent on the church type customary on Mount Athos, it adopted a triconch plan, developed round either an atrophied Greekcross or a quincunx core. But little changes either in the spatial design, the silhouette, or the red and white texture of the walls with alternating brick and stone bands - three bands of brick to one stone - and with chequerboard patterns. Not infrequently, these traditional designs are enriched by sculptured ornament framing the windows, by twisted colonnettes, and by pointed tracery windows - these latter forms possibly drawn from Western Late Romanesque and Gothic models. Tiny, elegant, and almost riotously colourful, as at Ravanica (1375-7) [394D, 397], at Kruševac (c. 1380) [3940], at Kalenić (1407-13), and Rudenica (1402-27), these Morava churches are attractive. But within the history of Byzantine architecture properly speaking, they are of purely local interest. Their plan and decoration are reflected, it seems, only in Rumania, where, towards the end of the fourteenth century, the church at Cozia is of pure Morava type - triconch plan, blind arcades, red and white striping. Such wall texture had penetrated into Rumania at least a generation before, when the church at Curtea de Arges was laid out as a quincunx on piers, like so many churches of much simpler design in Serbia or, for that matter, Bulgaria. To us, the territory of Rumania in the century between 1350 and 1450 seems to have been on the edge of the Byzantine world. Indeed, Byzantine seems to have been even then in competition with Gothic building. Such competition grows stronger when in the second half of the fifteenth and during the sixteenth century, Renaissance intermingle with Gothic and Neo-Romanesque forms. This mixed vocabulary is applied to buildings which have been laid out on plans still sprung from Late Byzantine antecedents in the Morava valley, albeit shot through with ele-

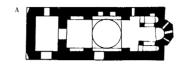
ments imported from Russia. The resulting crossbreed style is a side issue within the history of Byzantine building.³¹

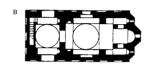
BULGARIA AND CONSTANTINOPLE

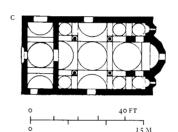
In Bulgaria and Constantinople, High Paleologan architecture develops along lines quite different in plan and vocabulary from the style prevailing in Salonica and the western Balkans. In Bulgaria, the quincunx churches so widespread at the time of her First Empire never gained full ascendancy after her Second Empire was established in the late twelfth century.32 The quincunx plan seems to have taken root only late and only sporadically. The churches of St Peter and Paul at Turnovo in south-western Bulgaria and those of the Pantokrator and of St John Aleiturgitos at Nessebâr (Mesembria) on the Black Sea coast are outstanding examples [398c, 399]. Both date presumably from the second quarter of the fourteenth century; but while the barrel-vaulted corner bays at Turnovo recall provincial quincunx churches in Greece, the doubling of domes in the eastern corner bays of the church of St John Aleiturgitos - the secondary domes far removed from the centre dome - possibly suggests Constantinopolitan influence. This is not surprising, given the fact that Nessebar changed hands several times in the course of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

But quincunx churches, otherwise predominant throughout Middle and Late Byzantine architecture, are not the only church type in Bulgaria. Equally frequent and perhaps more interesting is another type: an aisleless hall, its barrel-vault interrupted in the middle by a dome raised high on a drum, while a second drum, only slightly lower, surmounts the narthex. The type comes to the force as early as 1186, in Sv. Dimitri at Turnovo.³³ In the late twelfth or early thirteenth century, it is used, fully developed, to form the upper floor of double-storeyed funerary chapels, such as the church at Stanimaka (Assenovgrad) [398A], built either by Asen I (1187–96) or by Ivan Asen II (1218–41).³⁴

398. (A) Stanimaka (Assenovgrad), Asen Church, late twelfth or early thirteenth century. Plan (B) Nessebâr (Mesembria), Church of the Archangels, fourteenth century (second third). Plan (C) Nessebâr (Mesembria), St John Aleiturgitos, fourteenth century (second quarter). Plan







399. Nessebâr (Mesembria), St John Aleiturgitos, fourteenth century (second quarter). Exterior

Finally, and again single-storeved, it reaches a climax at Nessebâr, in the churches of the Archangels [398B], of the Paraskevi, of Sv. Todor - all dating presumably from the second third of the fourteenth century.³⁵ The origin of the type remains to be clarified. The dome rising from the narthex has its parallels in the Serbian development. The aisleless, barrel-vaulted, and domed plan of the nave came certainly from Constantinople, where it had been customary since at least the eleventh century. The double-storeyed plan of the Asen church, on the other hand, poses somewhat of a problem. The first instance known so far in Constantinople, the Boğdan Sarayi, is later than the Asen church: but earlier Constantinopolitan examples may have been lost. It has also been suggested that the doublestoreyed plan represents a revival of Roman mausolea types; or that it reached Bulgaria from Armenia.36 Whatever its origin, it is characterized in Bulgaria by a somewhat inorganic design. Nave and narthex form a simple, longish, and low block on which are planted the domes, unconnected with the carrying ground floor except for the decoration. And this decoration is antitectonic to the highest degree as well. St John Aleiturgitos at Nessebâr is a splendid, if late example [300]. Blind arcades encircle the lower block, rising from pilasters and responds, and both the arches and their supports expand and contract as space permits. Wide on the flanks, they become narrow on the main apse, and narrower still on the minor apses. A corbel-table



frieze runs along the eaves line. But blind arches, corbel-table frieze, and, indeed, the entire structure are hidden under a profusion of polychrome decoration. Broad bands of white, well-carved stone blocks, one to three courses high, alternate with bands of brick in four courses. Red brick and white mortar stripes alternate in the arch voussoirs. Panels of chequerboard, interwoven brick, zigzag, and cross-stitch patterns - all in contrasts of red and white - run as a frieze along the apses. Small pieces of brick embedded into a wide mortar-bed curve as a pointillé design over the blind arches. Finally, irregularities in the bricks or the pointing of the mortar were corrected with paint by the craftsmen.

Taken by themselves, the individual motifs used in this decoration stand in the tradition represented in the early fourteenth century for instance by the narthex façade of the Holy Apostles at Salonica: But, fully developed as it appears at St John Aleiturgitos, the decoration as a whole has been translated from pure or nearly pure brick designs into a highly colourful language. Such colouristic patterns characterize - as we shall see - early-fourteenthcentury buildings at Constantinople which antedate the majority of the churches at Nessebar. No doubt the builders of Czar Ivan Alexander (1331-71) in Nessebâr drew their decorative vocabulary from the workshops in the Imperial capital. But the beginnings of this polychrome decoration do not lie in Paleologan Constantinople. They reach farther back, to Justinianic and earlier architecture both in Constantinople and in the eastern and western provinces and successor states of the Empire, and beyond that possibly to Roman provincial building techniques. Alternating bands of brick and neatly hewn stone mark, one recalls, the city walls of Constantinople and numberless buildings throughout the Byzantine Empire from the fifth to the ninth and still the twelfth century, both in the capital and in the more remote provinces: the Studios church in Constantinople; the church of Constantine Libs in the Fenari Isa complex; the Kalenderhane Camii; the Canlikilise on the Hassan Dağ [55, 314, 258, 362]. In Bulgaria, this type of

masonry was equally known. Alternating red and white voussoirs appear around 1000 at the church of St John the Baptist at Nessebâr; and alternating brick and stone bands, though crudely hewn, are used in the eleventh and twelfth centuries at Bačkovo and at Sv. Dimitri at Turnovo (1186). The red and white patterns which decorate the walls of the fourteenth-century churches at Nessebâr likewise go far back. At Stanimaka, at the end of the twelfth or in the first half of the thirteenth century, 'reticulate' panels in red and white stone fill the spandrels of the blind arches along the flank of the church. Nor are such motifs confined to Bulgarian building. Chequered bands in the thirteenth century decorate the churches of Arta; but earlier still, they occur in Sicily, at the church of St Peter and St Paul at Forza d'Agro, built for Basilian monks in the twelfth century; at Stilo in Calabria, possibly in the tenth century; and certainly that early in a number of churches on the Peloponnesus. Similarly, a chequered band encircles the campanile of S. Apollinare in Classe near Ravenna - at that time still on the fringe of the sphere of Byzantine influence. But chequered and similar patterns and alternating voussoirs in red and white stone were widespread in the Carolingian and Ottonian Empires as well, from the Lorsch gatehouse to the church of St Généroux and to Bernward's church of St Michael at Hildesheim. Indeed, the tradition in the West has been traced back to Late Roman structures in Gaul and in the Rhineland. Hence it has been suggested that this polychrome wall decoration infiltrated Byzantine architecture from the West and penetrated first Epirus, later Bulgaria; a suggestion countered by the thesis that, on the contrary, vocabulary and technique were carried from the Byzantine sphere to the West. To us it seems equally possible that a Late Roman polychrome masonry technique, surviving in the West as well as in the Byzantine provinces, was reawakened in the East in Paleologan times.37

Whatever the origin of this and similar patterning motifs, the use of polychrome walling seems to have been transplanted to Constantinople in the early

fourteenth century from provincial Bulgarian architecture. Refined and remodelled in Constantinople - with elegantly cut stone bands and finely pointed white mortar-beds - this polychrome treatment possibly found its way back to Bulgaria, and in the second third of the century spread over the churches of Nessebâr.

Such links between Constantinopolitan and provincial architecture throw into strong relief the changed position of Constantinople and her court in the fourteenth century. In Middle Byzantine as in Justinian's times, the Imperial court in Constantinople was still a dominant centre. The provinces led a life of their own, but time and again the court sent builders and plans where an extraordinary building was to be laid out and decorated. On the other hand, the provinces only rarely, if ever, exerted their impact on the architecture of the capital. This changed in High Paleologan times. The impact of Constantinople on other centres by no means ceased. In Salonica, even in Ohrid, and certainly in Nessebâr, Constantinopolitan elements are evident. But just as frequently, provincial elements seem to have been absorbed into the architecture of the capital. Examples are easily listed: the twin-domed narthex gallery penetrates from Salonica into Constantinople, witness the parekklesion of the Fetiyeh Camii; also, there is, from the last years of the thirteenth century onward, the widespread use in Constantinople of polychrome walling. Still, Constantinople stands out with an approach to architecture much its own. Where Bulgarian builders think anti-structurally, in terms of colourful surfaces, the architects of Constantinople in many instances subordinate the polychrome decoration to structural concepts. Where Salonican and Serbian churches rise to exaggerated heights, Constantinopolitan structures keep to reasonable proportions. Where the provincial schools cling to one building type, Constantinopolitan builders and patrons work easily with a variety of plans. And whatever is done in Constantinople is done with subtlety, gradation, refinement, and, as a rule, with superb workmanship. Four structures in Constantinople represent

this last flowering of a Byzantine architecture in the capital: the exonarthex and parekklesion of the Karive Camii; the parekklesion of the Fetiyeh Camii; the narthex of the Kilise Camii; and finally, the Tekfur Saravi.

At the Kariye Camii, the twelfth-century structure was remodelled and redecorated in the very first years of the fourteenth century by the Grand Logothete Theodore Metochites.³⁸ A mosaic in the parekklesion bears the date 1303, and work was terminated prior to 1321. A new dome - its drum survives - was placed over the centre bay of the main church; both exonarthex and esonarthex were newly laid out; and - continuing the exonarthex along the south flank of the church - a parekklesion was added [400, 401]. Turning the corner from the western main wing of the exonarthex are two square bays, covered by two low pendentive domes and forming an anteroom. Entered through the triple arcade of a small-scale tribelon, the nave is composed of three units: first a deep barrel-vaulted arch; then the main bay, surmounted by a well-lit ribbed dome on a drum; after that a second bay, which carries a pendentive dome similar to those in the anteroom, but slightly higher; finally the apse. This interior serves as a frame for the mosaics and paintings that cover wall and vaulting zones in such profusion and beauty as to overshadow the architectural design. But the subtle interplay of high and low spatial volumes, the gracefully falling and rising vaults, the elegant relationship of anteroom to chapel, and the gradual concentration of light towards the centre bay, are masterpieces of refinement and architectural jewellery work. On the outer walls, the red and white striping is subordinated to structural accents: on the apse, responds, half-columns, and two tiers of niches - low and high; along the flank, pilaster strips, and recessed blind arches surmounting highshouldered triple windows; at the corner, a flat niche closed by a depressed ogee arch.

The parekklesion of the Fetiyeh Camii, the Church of St Mary Pammakaristos, develops the new style along different lines.³⁹ Built either shortly before or shortly after 1315, it is a small quincunx





400 (*above*). Constantinople, Kariye Camii, eleventh, twelfth, and early fourteenth centuries. From the south-east 401 (*opposite*). Constantinople, Kariye Camii, parekklesion, c. 1303–c. 1320. Interior looking east

with tiny corner bays and a tall drum — its height being four and a half times its width, steeper than in Middle Byzantine Constantinople but less immoderate than in contemporary Serbia [402]. A narthex precedes this small naos, double-storeyed and with a pair of domes rising from its upper gallery — the motif known from Salonica and the Balkan countries. Everything is designed with elegance on

with red and white voussoirs. On the main block, the eaves line curves up over the transverse and longitudinal barrel-vaults, and marks off on the exterior the inside volumes. Rising above these curves, the three drums are tied into the design by their own rippled eaves lines; against the background of the older dome of the main church, they form a picturesque group.



402. Constantinople, Fetiyeh Camii, parekklesion, c. 1315. From the south-west

the smallest possible scale. On the south flank, three tiers of blind arches and windows grouped in triads prevail over the alternating textile bands of red and white – one to five courses of bricks and one to four of neat ashlar blocks. A succession of low niches, steep niches, and a frieze of pendant triangles, marked off by horizontal string courses, articulate the three absidioles. On the façade of the narthex gallery, panels of polychrome chequerboard and grille patterns are anchored in place by blind arches

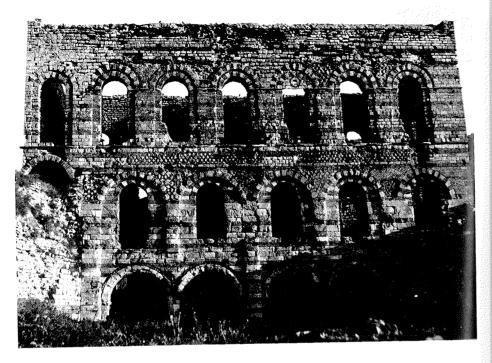
No other contemporary church building in Constantinople reaches the level of the parekklesia adjoining the Kariye and the Fetiyeh Camii: neither the parekklesion along the south flank of the Fenari Isa Camii, with its simple blind arches and niched pilasters; nor the Boğdan Sarayi; nor, for that matter, the envelope of structures added, probably at that time, to the Kilise Camii [403]: the exonarthex to the west; to the south, a colonnaded and arcaded portico, linking up with a possibly older parekklesion



403. Constantinople, Kilise Camii, narthex, c. 1320

next to the original bema; to the north a corridor, perhaps likewise a parekklesion. 40 In all of them, the blocks of the ashlar bands are less neatly cut, the brick bands less precisely coursed, and the mortarbeds less finely pointed. In the narthex of the Kilise Camii, the three domes rise inorganically from above the roof. Yet the structure does reveal some characteristics of High Paleologan architecture in Constantinople more clearly than the superior design of the parekklesion along the Fetiyeh Camii.

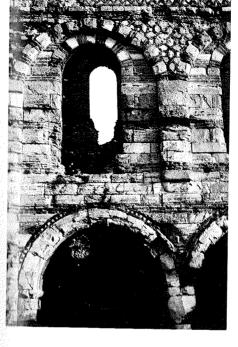
The façade opens in arcades much like the exonartheces of H. Katherini and the Church of the Apostles at Salonica and of St Sophia at Ohrid; but the rhythm is more complex. On the bottom level are steep niches at the corners, followed by open triple arcades; the portal in the centre is coupled with steep niches in a triad. On the upper floor, incongruous with the rhythm of the ground floor, are five semicircular blind arches framing windows. Inside, the succession of high pumpkin domes at the cor-



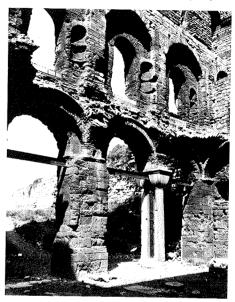
ners, low pendentive domes in the next bays, and a higher ribbed dome in the centre aims at a sharper focusing of the spatial volumes towards the middle. Reminiscences of Justinian's architecture are scattered all over the structure, whether or not in a conscious spirit of renascence: the open, colonnaded south portico - it is known from nineteenthcentury drawings - with door frames inserted between the columns, like the narthex of the Studios church or the sea façade of the Bukoleon Palace; another such frame between column shafts, linking the narthex to the north corridor; and fifth- and sixth-century capitals and chancel slabs used as decorative elements. The date of the structures is undetermined, but one would like to place them after, rather than before, the parekklesia of the Kariye and the Fetiyeh Camii.

Equally undated is the Tekfur Sarayi, the only surviving Imperial palace building in Constan-

tinople [404-6]. Based on top of the city walls and projecting beyond towards the open country, it was long attributed to the reign of Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos (912-59).41 Indeed, the short side of its ground floor is supposedly earlier than the adjoining fortification - a twelfth-century repair of the city walls. Whether or not this is correct, it affects neither the plan of the building nor its decoration and its supports. The dating of all these elements to the first third of the fourteenth century is given, in my opinion, by the textile walling and its incorporation into a pseudo-structural skeleton: the red and white bands with finely cut ashlar blocks; the alternating voussoirs of blind arches and windows; the diamond, hexagon-cross, and chequerboard pate terns in polychrome treatment - all fitted into span drels, frieze bands, and archivolt stripes. No double the designer of this façade was close to the architecture of the parekklesion of the Fetiyeh Camii and left



404–6. Constantinople, Tekfur Sarayi, early fourteenth century. North-west façade (*opposite*), detail of north-west façade (*left*), and detail of interior, lower part towards north (*below*)



the Tekfur Sarayi a splendid example of the last stage in Late Byzantine architectural design.

But the plan of the Tekfur Sarayi is essentially not Byzantine. A solid block, it rises in three storeys. The ground floor, with groin-vaults, rests on two rows of columns. The two upper floors are undivided and were covered by flat ceilings [406]. On the main façade, two double openings on the ground floor are followed by a row of windows on each of the upper floors. Two low wings project forward from the main façade and carried terraces at the second-floor level. All this recalls the palas of a Romanesque or Gothic castle in France or Germany more closely than the Late Antique tradition of Early and Middle Byzantine palace building. Indeed, Western palace architecture had penetrated the Myzantine world since the thirteenth-century inroads made by the Western conquerors. At Mistra Mystra), the oldest palace wing on the castle height

was just such a rectangular multi-storeyed block, vaulted on the ground floor. Given its narrowness, no dividing supports were needed. Whether begun prior to 1260 by the Frankish Villehardouin or after the Byzantine reconquest in 1262, it is Western in every respect. So are the two later wings, one built in the late fourteenth, the other in the first half of the fifteenth century. The fourteenth-century wing is two-storeyed, the fifteenth-century wing threestoreyed; the top floor was a long hall, lit by windows and, higher up, oculi, presumably the throne room. Likewise, smaller palaces scattered through Mistra and ordinary, if substantial houses follow a type well known in the West: the ground floor vaulted and, as a rule, dark; the upper floor occupied by a long, welllit room, occasionally preceded by a terrace. The palaces of Frangopoulos and of Laskaris and a number of bourgeois houses offer examples.⁴² The Western palace type, then, was willingly absorbed by

the Paleologan courts. As early as the mid thirteenth century, an Imperial palace at Nymphaion (Nymphaeum; Kemalpaşa) near Izmir was laid out as a solid rectangular block, supported by two groinvaulted naves and a row of supports on the ground floor.⁴³ In the Tekfur Sarayi, this Western palace type has been clad in the decoration of Late Byzantine architecture.

The situation is symptomatic for the end phase of Byzantine architecture. The building itself is of relatively minor interest to the architect. It may be, as in palace building, a Western type virtually unchanged. In ecclesiastical architecture any of a number of traditional church types – quincunx, cross-octagon, domed and barrel-vaulted chapels – persist with but minor variations. The proportions change; enveloping spaces, nartheces, and parekklesia are added, though not rigorously integrated with the building core. Continuous wall textures dominate the exterior, frescoes and mosaics the interior. Late Byzantine like Late Gothic patrons and builders are less concerned with space and structure than their predecessors. The focus is on colour and decoration.⁴⁴

LIST OF PRINCIPAL ABBREVIATIONS

A.T.A.	American Tournal of Archaeology
(3:30/A)	American fournai of Archaeology

AM. Athenische Mitteilungen (Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische

Abteilung)

Antioch G. W. Elderkin (ed.), Antioch on-the-Orontes. 4 vols. Princeton, 1934-52

Archeion Archeion ton Byzantinon Mnimeion tis Hellados (all papers written by A. K. Orlandos)

Architettura Armena G. de Francovich (ed.), Architettura medievale armena. Rome, 1968

B.A.C. Bullettino di Archeologia Cristiana
B.C.H. Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique

B.d.A. Bollettino d' Arte

Bildlexikon W. Müller-Wiener, Bildlexikon zur Topographie Istanbuls. Tübingen, 1977.

Bann Corpus Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae. Bonn, 1828-97

 B.S.A.
 British School at Athens, Annual

 B.S.A.F.
 Bulletin Société Antiquaires de France

 B.S.C.
 Byzantine Studies Conference Abstracts

 Hull. Arch.
 Bulletin Archéologique du Comité des Travaux Historiques

 Hull. Byz. Inst.
 Bulletin of the Byzantine Institute (vols 1 and 2 only)

 Hutler, Architecture
 H. C. Butler, Architecture and Other Arts. New York, 1923

Butler, Churches H. C. Butler, ed. E. Baldwin Smith, Early Churches in Syria. Princeton, 1929

Byzantinische Zeitschrift CA. Byzantinische Zeitschrift

GA.C. Congresso Internazionale di Archeologia Cristiana (Atti, Actes; preceded in Roman numerals

by the number of the Congress, and followed by the place and year)

G.C.R. Corsi di cultura sull'arte ravennate e bizantina

G.E.B. Congrès International des Études Byzantines (preceded in Roman numerals by the number of

the Congress, and followed by the place and year)

Carpus R. Krautheimer and others, Corpus Basilicarum Christianarum Romae. Vatican City, 1939 ff.

CRA.I. Comptes-rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres C.S.E.I.. Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum. Vienna, 1866 ff.

D.C.A.H. Deltion Christianikis Archaiologikis Hetairias

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