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The Evolving Meaning of Architectural Sculpture inside Early Byzantine Churches

Examples from the Istanbul Archaeology and Hagia Sophia Museums and the Basilica of St John Studion in Constantinople

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Abstract

This dissertation explores the perception of architectural sculptures inside Early Byzantine churches. It evaluates how the meaning of marble works changed when comparing their different values in pagan temples and Christian churches. This is important because the motifs and form of the architectural sculptures in Early Byzantine buildings were similar to those from pagan temples. In order to establish the argument that the perception of architectural sculptures was altered inside the churches, this research evaluates those architectural sculptures found during excavations and now situated in the museums of Istanbul Archaeology and Hagia Sophia. Additionally, those examples in the Basilica of St John Studios will also be of interest to this research, since these elements were not separate from their buildings, leading the researcher to evaluate them in the church context.

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Preface

Constantinople as the capital of Byzantine Empire houses many examples of the work of Byzantine artists that can assist in understanding the tradition of using architectural sculpture in Byzantine monuments. This dissertation examines the Early Byzantine architectural sculptures situated in Hagia Sophia and the Istanbul Archaeological Museums. The examples selected provide information about how contemporary craftsmen used their knowledge of decorating friezes. There are many similarities between the classical Byzantine decoration of Byzantine marbles and that undertaken using Christian motifs.

This use of classical motifs in Byzantine monuments and pagan temples prompted the researcher to evaluate their meaning when placed in Christian churches, where they gained new meaning. In particular to discover if they were disassociated from other art works found in pagan temples. Using spolia[1] from pagan monuments inside Byzantine churches and contemporary carved architectural sculptures created a new and Christian aesthetic in Byzantine churches. Within the setting of the Christian churches the pagan inspired spolia evoked religious beauty.

Christian churches were disassociated from pagan temples, therefore it is interesting to study how the Christians purified pagan temples and pagan decoration[2] when integrating them into churches. This process of purification suggests the idea that within Christian churches the meaning of the art objects was altered. Architectural sculptures should also be considered in the context of Byzantine churches, rather than relative to their artistic value or form, because form was not important in Byzantine art and architecture.

Therefore this dissertation uncovers the meaning of architectural sculptures in Christian churches by asking the question: how were architectural sculptures perceived by Christian viewers inside the churches?

[1] The term spolia will be used in this dissertation for reused architectural sculptures in byzantine monuments. Even though it is not the aim of this dissertation that understanding the aim of using spolia in byzantine monuments, it provides certain examples of how Christians approached classical motifs.

[2] By the decoration this dissertation means that classical decoration which was used in pagan temples, such as egg and dart mouldings which is used for ion Cymae, scrolling tendrils, palmet motives.

Introduction

Architectural sculptures, based on examples found during excavations,[3] or present inside today's Byzantine churches are art objects with historical importance. Art historians have critiqued decorated objects, offering comparative studies, complementing other traditions, on the subject of the motifs and the quality of the carvings. The architectural sculptures discussed in this study were used extensively as revetments for buildings or to create aesthetic affects. They became part of architecture and architectural decoration in the Classical and Byzantine eras.[4] Within a specific architectural context these objects take on different meanings to those they had in isolation. Therefore this study will examine their meaning relative to their location inside the Church, rather than in relation to stylistic changes.

Late Antiquity produced a range of church architecture and decorative elements. Scholars have noted that the new religion of Christianity adapted both the art and architecture of Late Antiquity, which combined classical and Christian motifs.[5] Constantinople, the capital of the Byzantine Empire boasts fine examples of Byzantine art and architecture but also has earlier works of art belonging to a pagan tradition.[6] This has given rise to scholarly interest in the development of late antique art and the attitudes of Christians to the art of their pagan predecessors.[7] In the process of the Christianisation of Constantinople and in the early Byzantine period, churches and imperial buildings were constructed in the city. Many of the buildings subsequently fell into decay and became known only in the course of excavations and through sources documenting the city's Byzantine monuments.[8] For example, in the case

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[3] For the excavations carried by Istanbul Archaeology Museum see; *The Annual of Istanbul Archaeology Museums*, vols. 1-12., (1946-2013); for the excavations in 'Balabanaga Mescidi' and 'Bayezid Square' also see; A. M. Mansel, 'Erwerbungberight des Antikenmuseums zu Istanbul seit 1914', *Archaologischer Anzeiger 46*, (Berlin: Jarbuch Deutschen Archaologischen Instituts, 1931), pp. 174-210; R. Nauman, 'Neu Beobachtungen am Theodosiusbogen und Forum Tauri in Istanbul', *Istanbuler Mitteillungen 26*, (1976), pp. 117-141.

[4] C. D. Sheppard, 'Byzantine Carved Marble Slabs', *The Art Bulletin*, Vol. 51. No. 1, (1969), p. 65; E. Parman, *Ortacag ve Bizans Doneminde Phrygia ve Bolge Muzelerindeki Tas Eserler*, (Eskisehir: Anadolu University, 2002).

[5] See; R. Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, (London: Yale University Press, 1986).

[6] For pagan examples in Constantinople see, S. Bassett, *The Urban Image of Late Antique Constantinople,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004); C. Mango, 'The Development of Constantinople as an Urban Centre',in *the 17th Century Byzantine Congress*, Major Papers, (New Rochelle, New York, 1986), pp. 117-36.

[7] For the attitudes of Christians towards antique art see, C. Mango, 'Antique Statuary and Byzantine Beholder', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, Vol. 17 (1963), pp. 53-75; L. James, "'Pray Not to fall into Temptation and be on Your Guard": Pagan Statues in Christian Constantinople', *Gesta*, vol. 35/1, (The International Centre of Medieval Art, 1996), pp. 12-20.

[8] For the information about excavations, sculptures and buildings in Constantinople see; F. W. Deichman, *Studien zur Architektur Konstantinopels im 5. und 6. Jahrhundert nach Christus,* (Baden-Baden: Bruno Grimm 1956), pp. 56-108; T. F. Mathews, *Early Churches in Constantinople: Architecture and Liturgy*, (University Park, Penn., 1971).

of the Schneider's[9] excavations, which had continued since 1935, the old Hagia Sophia was revived and the excavations carried out by Russian Institute under the direction of Panchenco, and important elements from the basilica of St John Studion were explored.[10] It is thanks to these pieces of research that the development of Early Byzantine church architecture and architectural decoration in the Byzantine capital can be appreciated.

The extension of the city of Severan was a key objective pursued by Constantine and demonstrates the transition from Roman city to Byzantine capital. Following its foundation in the years between 324 and 330, Byzantion[11] was altered by renewed construction activity. Streets and buildings were completed and in places remodelled; work on the original walls and the Hippodrome was finished, a great palace was built and the Constantine's Forum was constructed.[12] After Constantine's death and until the early Byzantine period other emperors ordered further building work to expand the city. Thus, in the age of Theodosius, his Hagia Sophia and the Basilica of St John Studion were constructed.[13]

With the excavations, which played an important role in illuminating the architecture of Late Antiquity and Early Byzantium, architectural sculpture decorating both the exterior and the interior of Byzantine churches came to light. In the 20th century, important studies about Byzantine architectural sculpture were published. Studies by G. Mendel[14] and A. Grabar[15] presented examples situated in the Istanbul museums. Additional works contributed to studies about architectural sculptures; for example, the architectural sculptures present in The Basilica of St John Studion studied by Kautzsch and Deichman. They considered the sculptures in reference to the development the taste in decorating architectural sculptures from the reign of Theodosian I to Justinian's.[16] N. Firatli's publication on the subject of architectural sculptures in the Istanbul Archaeology Museums[17] and T. Zolt's explanations

[9] A. M. Schneider, *Die Grabung im Westhof der Sophienkirche zu Istanbul*, *Istanbuler Forschungen*, 12, (Berlin, 1941).
[10] The excavation reports can be seen in; B. Panchenko, 'Ha. Ioannes Studios', *Izvestiya Russkago Arkeol. Instituta*, vols. 14 (Sofia, 1909), 136-52; 15(1911), 250-57; 16 (1912), 1-359.
[11] Byzantion was the name of the Constantinople before Christianised. See; Bassett, *The Urban Image of Late Antique Constantinople,* p. 22.
[12] Bassett, *The Urban Image of Late Antique Constantinople,* p. 22.
[13] J. Freely and A. S. Çakmak, *Byzantine Monuments of Istanbul*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 48, 65-70.
[14] G. Mendel, *Catalogue des Sculptures Grecques, Romaines et Byzantines*, (Istanbul, 1912-14).
[15] A. Grabar, *Sculptures Byzantines de Constantinople (IV-X siecle)*, (Paris, 1963).
[16] Deichman, *Studien Zur Architectur Konstantinopels*; R. Kautzsch, *Kapitellstudien. Studien zur Spatentiken Kunstgeshichte 9* (Berlin-Leipzig, 1936).
[17] N. Firatli, *La Sculpture Byzantine Figuree au Musee Archeologique d'Istanbul*, (Paris, 1990).

about Column Capitals[18] generated particular interest. These publications provided assessments, stylistic comparisons and dates, and presented the artistic styles favoured by Early Byzantine workshops. In line with these publications, the motifs and decoration of architectural sculptures can be examined by comparing a number of samples from different churches and public buildings. These resources contribute to an understanding of the development of decorative elements and an examination of their importance within the church context.

Exhibits of architectural sculpture in the Istanbul Archaeology Museum and the Hagia Sophia Museum, and architectural sculpture still in place inside and outside Early Byzantine churches such as St. John Studion, serve to inform about the tastes prevalent in Late Antiquity with regard to embellished marble revetments. Examination of the examples from the Early Byzantine period, especially from 4th and 5th century, points to the continued existence of motifs and compositions attributable to antique art. Classical motifs, such as egg and dart, acanthus and palm leaves, and Ionic and Lesbian cymae[19] were used to decorate entablatures (Figs. 1- 2- 3). Their form resembles classical entablatures, which were used in classical pagan temples and public buildings (figs. 4-5). These are the signs of the lasting impact of antique art in Early Byzantium. The realistic style of antique art, distinguished by scrolling tendrils, vine leaves, bunches of grapes, decorated friezes of entablatures and column capitals.[20] Frieze motifs in the propylaeum of the Hagia Sophia and architraves in the porch and naves of the Basilica of St John Studion[21] and friezes found in excavations from the Basilica of St John in Hebdomon[22] are all examples of the survival of antique design in Early Byzantine art (figs. 6- 7-8).

[18] T. Zolt, *Kapitelplastik Konstantinopels vom 4. Bis 6. Jahrundert. N. Chr. Mit einem Beitrag zur Untersuchung des Ionischer Kampferkapitels, Asia minor Studien 14*, (Bonn, 1994).
[19] Ion and lesbian cymae is used to decorate entablatures of ancient bulildigs. Ion cymae consists of egg and dart mouldings. Lesbian cymae also cosists of heart shape mouldings. See; A. Marquand, 'On the Terms of Cyma Recta and Cyma Reversa', *American Journal of Archaeology*, Vol. 10, No. 3, (1906), pp. 282-288.
[20] S. Alpaslan, 'Architectural Sculpture in Constantinople and the Influence of the Capital in Anatolia', in *the Medieval Mediterranean, Peoples, Economies and Cultures 400-1453*, 33, (Boston, 2001), p. 190.
[21] T. F. Mathews, *Byzantine Churches in Constantinople: a Photographic Survey*, (University Park, Penn., 1976), pp. 143-144.
[22] Niewohner Presents examples of architectural sculptures from St. John Basilica in Hebdomon, they are now in Istanbul Archeology Museum. See; P. Niewohner, 'Byzantinische Gebälke im Archäologischen Museum Istanbul', *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı 26*, Vol. 3, (Ankara, 2008), pp. 143-152.

Besides the use of spolia[23] in the construction of Byzantine churches, there were local and travelling workshops where architectural sculptures were produced. In ancient Roman and Byzantine times, Proconnesos was the main place for the production and quarrying of precious white marble for architectural sculpture. Most capitals were carved in situ, others were imported to Constantinople or the other regions where churches and other monuments required work.[24] Architectural sculptures from these workshops present both traces of antique and Byzantine styles. These pieces can thus be considered to exemplify Early Byzantium's own artistic taste, which combined antique and Christian art, and adapted classical motifs to the art of the new religion. Craftsmen were able to scrutinize antique works and integrate these motifs into their own art, as Constantinople and Proconnesos had produced ancient Roman architectural sculptures and surviving Roman monuments could be found.[25]

Studies of architectural sculpture explain the development and quality of motifs on stonework and explore Byzantine workshop traditions in Constantinople and other regions. They further seek to identify the origins of the sculptures and help scholars to understand changes or processes of transformation from antique to Early Byzantine art.[26] However, this study aims to evaluate the meaning attributed by Christians to architectural sculpture that was initially used to decorate temples in pagan culture and subsequently employed within a church context. By examining the attitudes of Christian viewers to architectural sculpture in porticos, narthex and naves of churches it is possible to arrive at an understanding of how architectural sculptures acquired new meaning. As architectural sculpture changes the appearance of the church and given the tendency to adorn spectacular buildings, which also applied in the context of pagan temples and imperial buildings for the same reason, this study examines Christian perceptions of architectural sculptures decorating the exterior and interior of churches.

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[23] Spolia means that using architectural elements of older buildings in newly made buildings, see; H. Saradi, 'The Use of Ancient Spolia in Byzantine Monuments: Architectural and Literary Evidence', *International Journal of Classical Tradition*, Vol. 3, No. 4, (1997), pp. 395-423.

[24] There are examples of marbles imported from Proconnesos to Rome starting with second century, and they were also used in forum of Trajan. See; D. Attanasio at all., 'The Properties and Identification of Marble from Proconnesos (Marmara Island Turkey): a New database Including Isotopic, Epr and Petrographic Data', *Archeometry*, vol. 50, no. 5, (2008), pp. 747-774; also see; N. Asgari, 'the Proconnessian production of Architectural Elements in Late Antiquity, Based on the Evidence from the Marble Quarries', in Cyril Mango and Gilbert Dagron (eds.), *Constantinople and its Hinterland, Papers from the Twenty-seventh Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies*, (Oxford, 1993), pp. 262,263.

[25] N. Asgari, 'the Proconnessian Production of Architectural Elements in Late Antiquity' p. 265.

[26] Deichman presents the modillion cornice and other architraves in Hagia Sophia in terms of its style. See; Deichman, *Studien Zur Architectur Konstantinopels*, pp. 66-67.

The Basilica of St John Studion with its decorations is an important monument for the purposes of evaluation compared with other churches, which were dilapidated and therefore make an assessment of their foundation and function difficult. In the case of St John Studion, the church was based on the ground plan of a basilica and its exterior and interior decorated with architectural sculptures. In the narthex, columns with Corinthian capitals carried entablatures (fig. 9). The same applies inside the church. Each side of the nave was separated from the other parts of the building by columns and entablatures (Fig. 10).[27]

This application of antique patterns in Byzantine churches raises the following questions: what was the aim of decorating these churches with architectural sculpture decorated with the same motifs as pagan temples? How did Christians perceive these architectural sculptures, which are reminiscent of temple decoration, in the church context? Did they have meaning for worshippers or were they merely ornaments to adorn the church? Was it a transition away from decorative culture which dominate earlier forms, to give new meaning within the church?

In order to understand the meaning of architectural sculptures with classical motifs in Byzantine churches, the meaning of spolia should be examined. Because the spolia is an example of classical architectural sculpture. The use of spolia in Byzantine monuments, both sacred and secular, is well documented, in particular, that of spolia taken from pagan monuments.[28] Christian attitudes towards pagan monuments and statuary have been widely researched,[29] although in this study the contemporary made architectural sculpture that decorated both pagan temples and Christian churches will be evaluated in terms of its evolving meaning in Christianity. The motifs mentioned above were used in the decoration of pagan places of worship, and even though they were not as overtly a sign of paganism as the statues, they belonged to pagan temples and served to create spectacular buildings. Besides their architectural function, for example to carry entablatures or link columns, they played a significant role in enhancing the aesthetic appeal of monumental buildings and thus

[27] Mathews, *Byzantine Churches in Constantinople: a Photographic Survey*, p. 143.
[28] For using spolia see; Saradi, 'The Use of Ancient Spolia in Byzantine Monuments'; J. Elsner, 'From the Culture of Spolia to the Cult of Relics: the Arch of Constantine and the Genesis of Late Antique Forms', *Papers of the British School at Rome*, vol. 68, (2000), pp. 149-184.
[29] For the Attitudes of Christian Towards Pagan Monuments see; H. Saradi-Melendovici, 'Christian Attitudes Toward Pagan Monuments in Late Antiquity and their Legacy in Later Byzantine Centuries', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, Vol. 44 (1990), pp. 47-61.

emphasised their importance.[30] It raises the question what their new meaning in Christian religion or in the Christian church was. In order to understand how spolia, and contemporary architectural sculptures were perceived in Christian art, it is necessary to examine the attitudes of the Byzantines towards the ancient temples, their statuary and architectural sculpture, re-used to build Christian churches.

Christian emperors, for example from Constantine through Justinian, removed statues and architectural sculpture from different cities to decorate the Hippodrome and other monuments in Constantinople,[31] where some were displayed for their artistic value, and others were seen to symbolise the legitimacy of the new empire.[32] The same can be said for spolia and architectural sculptures. The spolia were interpreted as either meaning 'Legitimacy of new empire' or were used in order to 'create new aesthetic values'. There are numerous examples of the use of spolia from Greco-Roman temples in monumental buildings,[33] which indicates that the meaning and use of antiquities in Christian churches merits examination.

It is well known that Christian emperors and monks played an important role in the destruction of pagan temples and subsequently appropriated their architectural material for their own monuments. Monks generally viewed pagan temples as the homes of demons. Through the process of conversion, monks and emperors believed that they were fighting the demons.[34] Thus the conversion of pagan religious buildings into Christian churches raises questions as to how these could be reconciled. As is evident from sources writing about the destruction and purification of temples, inscriptions and crosses were believed to cleanse pagan buildings. Thus, inscriptions were used to convert the temple of Isis into a church by Justinian soldiers: Theodore carved a cross for the religious ceremony was held, additionally writing an inscription on the right side of the naos which can be read; "the cross has won it always wins". This emphasises the belief that the church was purified by the use of Christian words and symbols.[35] It can, therefore, be argued that importing spolia and constructing architectural sculpture showing classical motifs into churches signified the transition of

[30] M. F. Hansen, 'Meanings of Style On the "Interiorization" of Late Antique Architecture', in *Late Antiquity, Art in Context*, eds. Jens Fleischer at all., (Cophenagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 2001), p. 75.
[31] Saradi, 'The Use of Ancient Spolia in Byzantine Monuments', p. 399; C. Mango, 'Antique Statuary and Byzantine Beholder', p. 55; S. G. Basset, 'The antiquities in the hippodrome of Constantinople', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, Vol. 45, (1991), p. 87.
[32] Saradi, 'The Use of Ancient Spolia in Byzantine Monuments', p. 399.
[33] Ibid, p. 395.
[34] G. Pagoulatos, 'The Destruction and Conversion of Ancient Temples to Christian Churches During Fourth, Fifth and Sixth centuries', *Theologia*, Vol. 65, No. 1, (1994), p. 160.
[35] Ibid. p. 162.

culture and gave new meaning to old form. The form or style of architectural sculpture was considered immaterial, as pagan temples were not important in terms of their architecture when they were converted into churches. Instead, the mere addition of new inscriptions and crosses instilled new meaning.

When pagan temples, which were not designed to accommodate worshippers, were converted into churches, they were unsuitable for the new religion. By dissociating themselves from paganism and adopting a new faith, the new Christians developed their beliefs and thus contributed to an increasingly different religion. These differences are as apparent in their monumental architecture as in their art.[36] During the Early Byzantine period, the massive, stark architecture of ancient Greece and Rome with its exterior columns and spectacular marble facings was transformed into a new style with greater prominence given to interior decoration. The new interiors or atriums and narthex were decorated both with spolia and newly crafted architectural sculptures. Their exteriors, especially porticos and narthex, were designed with architectural sculpture in the same way as the entrances of temples had been decorated. However, the church interiors featured a combination of decorative elements of marble in the naves and mosaics on the walls and floors, demonstrating the priority given to the interior of the buildings.[37] The application of decorative elements on church exteriors continued the preference for magnificent buildings. However, the perception of the worshippers entering the building was not similar since it was now the site of Christian religious practice.[38]

In order to argue that the meaning attached to architectural sculptures changed, it is necessary to examine how Christians decorated their new capital. This will help to understand the combination of motifs used in the Christian tradition and explain how this tradition changed the meaning. The discussion of tradition in embellishing the capital and constructing churches is followed by an examination of the Basilica of St John Studion and Theodosius' Hagia Sophia, since they provide appropriate examples of architectural sculpture which are contemporary made and richly decorated. Thus, this paper aims to explore how the function and meaning of architectural sculpture were altered by the Christian community. The study of Early Byzantine architecture and decorative styles will help to present the meaning behind the architectural sculpture. There are many examples of churches resorting to spolia that are

[36] Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, p. 41.
[37] Hansen, 'Meanings of Style', pp. 71-72.
[38] For the religious services inside the Byzantine church see; L. James, 'Senses and Sensibility in Byzantium', *Art History*, Vol. 7, No. 5, (2004) pp.523-537.

situated on the site of pagan temples destroyed by Christians. Furthermore, this paper will consider the impression on Byzantine worshippers of recycled architectural sculpture with classical features in a Christian context. Finally, this paper will discuss the worshippers' general perception of church entrances and interiors, and explore how their overall view of the church affected their perception of architectural sculpture reminiscent of pagan temple ornaments. What was the function and meaning of architectural sculpture in a church context? Were they used only to decorate churches or to give meaning the monuments by embellishing it with these spectacular decorations? The Christian perception of the house of God and the meaning attributed to different parts of the church will be discussed in this chapter.

1. The changing architecture and its decoration, and the dissociation from pagan temples

This chapter sets out to examine the development of early Byzantine churches and their decoration in Constantinople in order to establish how Christians constructed their churches by dissociating them from pagan temples and other pagan buildings. The focus is on Theodosius's Hagia Sophia and the Basilica of St John Studios but it will also provide brief information about building activity from the time of Constantine until the 5th century, for the purpose of examining Christian approaches to pagan antiquities and their use in Byzantine monuments. These materials will form the basis for an evaluation of the architectural and decorative styles applied and thus offer an explanation of the meaning of decorating churches with classical architectural sculptures as well as different perceptions of architectural sculptures used to adorn pagan temples or Byzantine churches since they require to be understood in the context of the church. By evaluating the artworks in context, the differentiated use of marble revetments by Christians becomes clear and highlights the distinction between Christian religious churches and pagan buildings.

1. 1. The development of Byzantine Constantinople and its church architecture in Late Antiquity

Before examining the architectural tastes in churches, the construction and development of urban planning must be examined since this will help to understand the preference for the classical tradition in the newly Christian city. As presented in the Chronicon Paschale, Constantinian efforts to transform the pagan city were evident during the reign of

Constantine. The walls of the city of Byzas were restored and added to, and subsequent to the renovations the name of the city was altered to Constantinople.[39]

The Hippodrome was completed and decorated with statues and a range of other embellishments; a room was created from which to observe the spectacular building, which was believed to imitate Rome; a palace was constructed near the Hippodrome; the large, beautiful Forum was built with a statue of Constantine at its centre. The column was made from Theban stone and attracted the attention of viewers. It was crowned by his statue, which was imported from Phrygia[40] and included scenes from the dedication of Constantinople, combining ceremonies from pagan mythology and Christian liturgy. The Forum of Constantine, which generally used classical ornaments for its decoration, is an example of the Empire's reliance on antiquity. It was adorned with both pagan and Christian statues and surrounded by public buildings, temples and churches.[41] Constantine's approach to antiquity is further exemplified in his order to transport classical sculptures and spolia from pagan temples.[42] Thus, some of the statues in the Hippodrome were imported by Constantine and, similarly, the statues in the Baths of Zeuxippos brought from other cities.[43] As James stated, 'through their history the Byzantines lived in an environment where classical statues were publicly displayed'.[44]

The same applied with regard to spolia in Byzantine churches, where worshippers and builders were able to see classical architectural sculpture in church interiors and exteriors.[45] During the terms of Theodosius I, Arcadios and Theodosios II, the development of the city was a prime imperial concern. Public spaces in the Severan walls were restored and decorated. Just as there was prolific use of antique art works in Constantine's term, so sculptures of antiquity were employed to decorate forums, streets and public places. In the Hippodrome and the Augusteion statues were newly added.[46]

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[39] *Chronicon Paschale I 527-30*, Trans. Cyril Mango, in *the Art of the Byzantine Empire 312- 1453, Sources and Documents*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986), p. 7; Freely and Çakmak, *Byzantine Monuments of Istanbul*, p. 25.
[40] *Chronicon Paschale I 527-30.*
[41] Freely and Çakmak, *Byzantine Monuments of Istanbul,* p. 29.
[42] See, Mango, 'Antique Statuary and Byzantine Beholder', pp. 55-75; H. Saradi, 'The Use of Ancient Spolia in Byzantine Monuments', pp. 395-423.
[43] Bassett, *The Urban Image of Late Antique Constantinople*, p. 38.
[44] James, 'Pagan Statues in Christian Constantinople', p. 12.
[45] F. W. Deichmann, *Die Spolien in der Spatantiken Architektur*, (München, 1975).
[46] Bassett, *The Urban Image of Late Antique Constantinople*, p. 82.

The Forum of Theodosius I presents a persuasive example of reference to classical forms in monuments. In 1958, during excavations conducted by the Istanbul Archaeological Museum, architectural elements were found. These were attributed to the forum of Theodosius.[47] It was built on the ancient Forum Tauri in 386-93 with a triumphal arch supported by 8 columns and entablatures at the western end of the square (Fig. 11). Columns were decorated with 'teardrop' motifs representing cypress trees (fig. 12).[48] The Forum was modelled on Trajan's Forum in Rome (106-112 AD.).[49] At its centre, a 'commemorative' column was surmounted by a silver statue of Theodosius.[50] With the excavation in 1969, there were also new foundations uncovered, which are architraves and frieze blocks. They were decorated in a classical style which is described as ion and lesbian cymatium and scrolling tendrils (fig. 13).[51] The same arrangement is apparent in the Forum of Arcadios (402), whose arcades, porticos and statuary reflect the architectural preferences of the time.[52]

These examples of baths, forums and hippodrome constructed or rebuilt by Early Byzantine emperors demonstrate that the tradition of public urban construction continued in late antiquity. The realistic style favoured in antiquity and triumphal arches were thus integrated into Christian art. It has been argued that this manner of employing Roman traditional elements in Christian art may be considered either as triumphalism or as a combination of past and present.[53] This style of integration, or indeed translation, is also obvious in church buildings, especially in basilicas. Ecclesiastical architecture sought to avoid imitation of pagan religious buildings, which did not allow for congregation inside the sanctuary[54] and were thus deemed unsuitable for the requirements of Christian worship. By contrast, the basilica, the official building in pagan traditions, was able to accommodate worshippers and therefore became the favoured type of church architecture for the Christian community.[55] Basilicas were divided into naves that directed the viewer to the holy place, the apsis. By endowing these buildings with religious meaning, and thus distinguishing it from pagan

[47] Nauman, 'Neu Beobachtungen am Theodosiusbogen und Forum Tauri in Istanbul', p. 117.
[48] Freely and Cakmak, *Byzantine Monuments of Istanbul*, p. 43.
[49] Mango, 'the Development of Constantinople as an Urban Centre', p. 124.
[50] Freely and Cakmak*, Byzantine Monuments of Constantinople*, p. 43.
[51] Nauman, 'Neu Beobachtungen am Theodosiusbogen und Forum Tauri in Istanbul', p. 136.
[52] Bassett, *The Urban Image of Late Antique Constantinople*, p. 83.
[53] Elsner, 'From Culture of Spolia, to the Cult of Relics', pp. 149-184.
[54] Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, p. 41.
[55] Ibid. p. 41.

basilicas, the Christian basilica emerged as a new creation which fulfilled the needs of Christian worshippers.[56]

The architecture of the Christian basilica is that of a massive, geometric type of structure of clear and simple appearance; yet to Christians it represents with its architectural elements and decoration a centralised house of God.[57] Before examining its ornamental features, it is worth noting that the 'spatial units' of the basilica cannot separated from each other, 'none of the units can exist alone as a fragment, each unit presupposes the existence of each adjacent unit'.[58] The different elements of naves, narthex and aisle connect and are designed according to a hierarchical system in which the sanctuary is the most important part whereas the nave is higher than the other parts of the church. The entrance appears massive and features a richly embellished exterior. Its decorative elements lend the church weight, so that worshippers arriving at the edifice come to understand that they were entering an impeccable place of singular importance. Windows and colonnades introduce decorative features and ensure the walls do not appear flat.[59] The colonnades inside the Basilica provide movement with their repetitive style, from the beginning of the nave through to the sanctuary. The dynamic, parallel arrangement of the colonnades attracts the gaze of the observer and leads to the sanctuary, so that that the structural features of the aisled Basilica create flow within its spatial organisation.[60] This seems to suggest that for the Christian community the original form and indeed the artworks, such as mosaics and sculptures, were unimportant but were adapted to a new context.

In Constantinople, Constantine's churches did not survive, but were generally replaced. Eusebius' 'Vita Constantini' documents that the Church of the Holy Apostles was first designed as a mausoleum to which Constantius added a basilica. Describing the design and construction of the building, Eusebius records that Constantine ordered a church to be erected in Constantinople in memory of the apostles and he continues that; this building was embellished and surrounded with slabs of marble in different colours. The roof of the church was decorated with gold. The gold and other decorations reflected the sun's rays; therefore, even people who were away from the building were affected by its brilliantly shining light.

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[56] Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, P.42.
[57] H. Buchwald, 'The First Byzantine Architectural Style: Evolution or Revolution?', in *Jarhbuch Der Osterreichischen Byzantinistik*, 32/5, (Vienna 1982), p. 35.
[58] Ibid, p. 35.
[59] Ibid., p. 35.
[60] Ibid., p. 36.

Porticoes surrounded the building and separated it from the outside. The emperor's aim to create a magnificent building by giving it beauty was fulfilled.[61]

This description illustrates that instead of a massive, stark temple to pagan deities, the house of the Christian God was decorated in various styles. Marbles in the porticos resembled the design of pagan temples; gold, which was associated with the divine and the other ornaments changed its appearance. Although it is difficult to study Constantine's churches in Constantinople, there are examples of basilicas in Rome, such as the Lateran Basilica (313 AD) and St Peter's (319-322), that generally used spolia to decorate both interiors and exteriors. The walls tended to be decorated with mosaics and marble revetments.[62] Inside the Constantinian basilicas monotonous views give way to dynamic movement through the decoration of colonnades embellished with spolia and architectural sculpture created within the existing tradition, so that the powerful perspective and depth resulting from these colonnades drew the observer inside.[63] By contrast, the exterior was considered less important than the interior of the church, since it appears plain and austere.[64]

According to Krautheimer, after the 4th century, construction activities in Constantinople were largely determined by the Emperor and his court. Commissions and financial support were provided by the imperial house and aristocratic families. The government operated marble quarries, especially in the Proconnesian (now Marmara Adası) and increasing emphasis was placed on training, as a result of which experienced masons and craftsmen emerged during that period. Within the Constantinian and classical styles, imperial and aristocratic patronage encouraged builders to apply the concept of order, using precious materials and elegant designs from the classical tradition.[65]

1. 2. Theodosius' Hagia Sophia and Imrahor Camii: architecture and decoration

The existence of elements from antiquity in 5th century Byzantine churches may reliably be examined with reference to Theodosius' Hagia Sophia. In 360 the first Hagia Sophia was completed by Constantius. Built in the style of a basilica with 2 aisles, it was preceded by an atrium and propyleum. After being destroyed in a fire, the propyleum was rebuilt between

[61] Freely and Cakmak, *Byzantine Monuments of Istanbul*, p. 33.
[62] Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, pp. 48, 57-59.
[63] Buchwald, 'The First Byzantine Architectural Style', p. 37.
[64] Ibid., p. 38.
[65] Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, p. 103.

the years 404-415.[66] Fragments of Theodosius's Hagia Sophia were found during Schneider's excavation of the atrium of the present monument in 1935, which provided information about the building before Justinian. The same excavation brought to light remains of the entrance portico in the shape of entablatures, friezes and columns, which now constitute the main exhibits in the Hagia Sophia Museum.[67] Although the propylaeum had not previously been dated with certainty, following examination of fragments from mosaics and architectural sculptures, it was attributed to the reconstruction by Theodosious II.[68] This information and the foundations alone make it impossible to understand the whole plan of Theodosius's Hagia Sophia, but the foundations and portico of the church may help to formulate an argument about how the architectural sculpture of a church's exterior was perceived; in other words it helps to imagine the effect on worshippers entering the church and seeing the decorations. Additionally, these examples contribute to an understanding of the tastes prevalent in early Byzantium in respect of the decoration of church propyleaum.

Based on hypothetical reconstructions, it appears that the church replicated the floor plan of a basilica with two aisles and galleries. Schneider held that the entrance of the old Hagia Sophia was located 8 meters before the exonarthex of the present building. Situated at the centre of the propylaeum and reached by steps, the portico, which was the centre of propyleaum, was 66 meters long and wider than the narthex of the present Justinian Hagia Sophia. The entrance divided into one central entrance and side entrances. Beyond the propyleaum the courtyard was situated.[69] With its spectacular entrance and atrium, it is emblematic of a continuous tradition of church architecture featuring atrium or porticos. As Mathews states, 'it is quite difficult to imagine the cathedral without an atrium, insofar as there is no other early Constantinopolitan church that we can be certain lacked an atrium or forecourt.'[70]

The architecture of the propylaeum with its portico (fig. 14), which as Barsanti says has a 'theatrical' appearance, and columns supporting the tympanum and arches, resembles earlier buildings in Asia Minor; for example, the mausoleum of the western necropolis outside, the southern gate of the Market of Miletus, and the Tetrapylon of Aphrodisias which is triumphal

[66] Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, p. 103.
[67] C. Barsanti and A. Guiglia, *The Sculptures of the Ayasofya Muzesi in Istanbul*, (Istanbul: Ege Yayinlari, 2010), p. 19; Mathews, *The Early Churches of Byzantine Constantinople, p. 14.*
[68] Mathews, *The Early Churches of Byzantine Constantinople,* p. 16.
[69] Schneider, *Die Grabung*, p. 5; Mathews, *The early churches of Constantinople*, p. 14.
[70] Mathews, *The Early Churches of Constantinople*, p. 15.

arch leading to the Temple of Aphrodite (fig. 15).[71] These architectural elements, which grace the entrance of the Hagia Sophia, were not limited to sacred architecture and thus the entrances of profane imperial buildings or pagan temples can be deemed to have been modelled while constructing the propyleaum of the Hagia Sophia.[72] For example, the front porch of the Diocletian's palace at Spalato is similar to the reconstruction of the Propyleaum of old Hagia Sophia by Schneider.[73] Additionally, the entrance of the imperial palace of Ravenna, which is contemporary with Theodosius' Basilica and decorated in the mosaic of St. Apollinare Nuovo, is an example of the 5th century tradition of constructing portals (fig. 16).[74]

In terms of appearance, the Forum Tauri mentioned above provides evidence of similarities between different buildings. With its triumphal arch, columns and entablatures it may have been the model for the Hagia Sophia.[75] It appears that the architects and craftsmen referred to traditional knowledge of classical order while decorating the Theodosian Hagia Sophia.[76] The spectacular gateway and naturalistic composition, with vegetal motifs in its decoration, make the church appear as a classical monument. The overall composition of Corinthian capitals, egg and dart friezes and Lesbian cymae is, as previously indicated, a sign of classical ornamentation. However, upon examining the architectural sculpture in detail, it appears that the craftsmen tried to create complex arrangements. Acanthus leaves and other vegetal motives lost their three dimensionality in the new carvings and the representation of geometric shapes, rhythms of decorative motifs also resulted in reducing their plasticity. This new type of production was also evident in the other workshops of Constantinople.[77]

The architectural sculptures of Theodosius' Hagia Sophia were made mainly of Proconnesian marble. Of the four capitals carried by the columns of the front porch only one large capital arrayed with acanthus leaves in the Corinthian style has survived (Fig. 17). Furthermore, there are two pilaster capitals decorated with two orders of acanthus leaves (fig. 18). The ornamental style of these capitals shows similarities with the capitals from Theodosian I's Forum. However, as Russo notes, although they reflect naturalistic adornments with vegetal

[71] Barsanti and Guiglia, *The Sculptures of the Ayasofya Muzesi*, p. 21; also see; R. R. Smith and C. Ratte, 'Archaeological Research at Aphrodisias in Caria, 1993', *American Journal of Archaeology*, vol. 99, no. 1, (1995), pp. 33-58.
[72] Barsanti and Guiglia, *The Sculptures of the Ayasofya Muzesi in Istanbul*, p. 21.
[73] Schneider, *Die Grabung*, plate 5.; E. Russo, 'the Sculptural Decoration of the Theodosian Church of St. Sophia', *26. Arastirma Sonuclari Toplantisi*, No. 1, (Ankara, 2009), p. 156; T. Marasovic, *Diocletian Palace*, (Zagreb, 1970), pp. 15-16.
[74] Russo, 'the Sculptural Decoration of the Theodosian Church of St. Sophia', p. 156, fig. 2.
[75] For the comparison between two monuments see; Kautzsch, *Kapitelstudien*, pp. 40-44.
[76] Russo, 'the Sculptural Decoration of the Theodosian Church of St. Sophia', p. 157.
[77] Barsanti and Guiglia, *The Sculptures of the Ayasofya Muzesi in Istanbul*, p. 23.

motifs, the carving style differs from that of Byzantine craftsmen. Acanthus leaves were cut deeply and placed at the same level. It can be seen that there is the combination of clear exact edges, linear tendrils and abstraction. This resulted in a decoration that had lost its naturalistic rendering.[78] This style of craftsmanship for capitals was new and unique. However, there were also four Corinthian capitals, which reveal similarities with past. These Corinthian capitals, belong to the portico,[79] and reflect classical effects with acanthus leaves perpetuating that scheme of decorating capitals (fig. 19).[80]

Besides capitals, friezes, epistyles and trabeations supported by columns gave a magnificent appearance to the portico. The difference between capitals in terms of ornamental techniques can also be seen in these architectural elements. Epistyles displayed 'S'-shaped smooth leaves with a layer of astragal motifs (Fig. 20). Trabeations are the most important element because of their decoration in a combination of classical and Christian motifs. Featuring Ionic cymae with egg and dart motifs at the top followed by a row of vegetal motifs and fruits below, the decoration continues with Lesbian and Ionic cymae. At the centre of the organic patterns the Greek cross is flanked by two facing doves (Fig. 6).[81] Another example is the modillion cornice connected to a triangular tympanum, decorated with a medallion cross at the centre. The lover's lie of the cornice was adorned with Lesbian cymae surrounding the small cross. The ornaments on the cornice continue with acanthus leaves and Ionic cymae, which again reflect the classical taste (fig. 21). The ceiling of the central porch was decorated with marble lacunars that were square in shape with an octagonal centre, their corners embellished with carved triangles of leaves, flowers and birds (Fig. 22). Both in the case of this decoration and in the capitals there is an apparent change in the individual and the whole form of ornamentation.[82] Various antique motifs bedecked these architectural sculptures, but with the integration of Christian motifs and new preferences advanced by Byzantine artists churches came to be dressed with marble revetments, thus ending the sparse decorative schemes of pagan antiquity.

With the excavation of 1935, two more architraves were discovered, each of them displaying six lambs facing a palm tree. Schneider interprets these figures as a representation of the twelve apostles and Christ (Figs. 23-24). The architraves were on either side of the portico.

[78] Russo, 'the Sculptural Decoration of the Theodosian Church of St. Sophia' p. 157.
[79] Schneider, *Die Grabung*, p. 8.
[80] Zolt, *Kapitellplastik*, pp. 112-113.
[81] Barsanti and Guiglia, *The Sculptures of the Ayasofya Muzesi in Istanbul*, p. 27.
[82] Ibid. pp. 29-30.

According to Schneider, they belong to the tympanums on either side and were used as their barrel vaults (fig. 25).[83] These fragments are also the signs of a drive to change classical tradition. Within the form of classical architectural structure, as in the construction of a spectacular propylaeum for the entrance of the church, early Byzantine artists sought to give their art new meaning, or perhaps individualised decoration.

The Basilica of St John Studion is another church whose marble decoration merits closer investigation. With its marble revetments in the narthex and nave it presents valid examples of classical style applied to architectural sculpture. Most importantly, and unlike the Theodosian Hagia Sophia, where destruction meant that it is impossible to reliably evaluate the marble revetments, the relative integrity of St John Studios makes it viable to attempt an examination of the perception and meaning of architectural sculpture within the church context.

The Basilica of St John Studion, known in Turkish as Imrahor Camii, and its monastery were founded by Senator Studios in the 450s and is the only important church to have survived among the churches constructed between the years 415-527 in Constantinople. Although it is in ruins, the structure of the church can be recognised. The church was important in the Christian community due to its monastic activities. The Book of Ceremonies reveals its connection with the religious processions of the Byzantine court. The day of the decapitation of St. John the Baptist was one of the feast days mentioned in the book. For many years the basilica and monastery of St Studion accommodated around one thousand monks and formed the centre of the religious, intellectual and artistic life of Byzantium.[84] The Sleepless, whose name is derived from the account that they prayed in chapel whole days and nights, were the first monks of the St. John. However, there is no evidence about whether they continue that practice in Studion or they acted according to rules of the monastery.[85] From its construction until the end of the Byzantine Era it underwent two restorations: first in the 11th century by Emperor Isaac Comnenus, who together with his brother was educated in the building and thus had a personal interest in the Basilica. The nature of the repairs and additions they instigated can be gleaned from the floor mosaics and other decorations. The second restoration took place after the Latin invasion in 1290 in the reign of Andronicus II. When St Theodore the Studite became Abbot of the monastery in 799, the Studion was in its golden age and under his aegis came to be a hub of spiritual influence, which ‘never wholly lost the

[83] Barsanti and Guiglia, *The Sculptures of the Ayasofya Muzesi in Istanbul*, pp. 11-12, plates 4-5.
[84] Freely and Cakmak, *Byzantine Monuments of Istanbul*, p. 66.
[85] A. V. Millingen, *Byzantine Churches in Constantinople*, (London: Variorum Reprints, 1974), p. 36.

impulse of his personality or the loftiness of his ideal.'[86] There is no evidence concerning the life and writings of monks at the Basilica of St. John Studion, but the writings in the 8th and 11th centuries explain the status of the church in Constantinople. The monks of the Studion lived under the rules of discipline established by St. Basil for men who desire to lead an "angelic life".[87]

The church of St John Studion follows the ground plan of a basilica with its atrium and spectacular narthex. The characteristic features of a basilica are in evidence here: the atrium surrounded by cloisters, in the atrium's centre a phiale, 'for the purification of gathering worshippers', the narthex with its porch surrounding the western façade.[88] On the eastern side of the atrium a porch leading into the narthex of the church was lined with a colonnade whose columns were crowned by Corinthian capitals resembling classical ones. It is intriguing that the angle of the abacus was decorated with small birds and pomegranates (Fig. 26). The entablatures carried by the columns, with their architrave, cornice and frieze reflects antique forms (Fig. 9). In particular, the doves and crosses in the friezes which present scrolling vegetal motifs are interesting, since they echo a similar preference among the craftsmen in Thedosius' Hagia Sophia. The other parts of the entablature were decorated with Ionic and Lesbian cymae. The interior of the church was divided by columns that are in green colour into nave and aisles (fig. 10). The north side of the colonnade of the nave has survived. The columns support an entablature of Corinthian type featuring the same moulding as those in the narthex.[89] It is also possible to see the doves in the mouldings of the frieze and beneath it an egg and dart moulding which again reflects a classical style (fig. 27). In general, considering the capitals and friezes, craftsmen decorated the entablatures in the classical taste yet did not abandon neutrality. The shapes are three dimensional. Its remains and descriptions presented by the visitors Pierre Gilles and Gerlach yield some information about the original appearance of the church. Pierre Gilles who visited the church in the years between 1544 and 1550 described the church's appearance:

> The monastery built by Studios was called Studium, which is entirely demolished. The church remains, though converted into a mosque. In its porch are four pillars with a curiously finished trabeation. On the inside of the mosque there are seven green pillars on each side streaked with pieces of black stone. Each of them measures six feet and six digits in circumference. Their capitals and architraves are finished in

[86] Millingen, *Byzantine Churches in Constantinople*, p. 40.
[87] Ibid. p. 41.
[88] Ibid. p. 49.
[89] Mathews, *the Early Churches of Constantinople*, pp. 19-23.

> Corinthian style, as are those stand in the vestibule. In the upper part stand another order of six pillars. In the courts of the mosque is a cistern. Its roof, which is of brick-work, is supported by twenty three lofty Corinthian pillars.[90]

Gerlach in 1573-78, describes its decoration and in terms of structure refers to a high and wide church. 'It has two rows of marble columns with Corinthian capitals. The floor is paved in the most beautiful fashion entirely which variegated marble, adorned with figures of birds and other animals.'[91] As Gerlach's description makes clear, the floor of the church was also decorated in marble placed in opus sectile that included classical and mythological animals (Fig. 28). These types of marble were also commonly used in Roman floor and wall decorations. The marble pavements were found in the excavations directed by the Russian Archaeological Institute. Based on its similarities with the marble decoration of Church of the Pantokrator, the marble floor decoration can be dated to the 11th century. The Russian Archaeological Institute also discovered that the walls of the church were decorated with mosaics, although they did not survive.[92] Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo, who visited church in 1402, recalled that "the roof of the hall and naves and the walls are of mosaic work very richly wrought, in which are depicted many histories".[93] With its classical decoration, it communicates the extent to which the Christians embellished those buildings which deemed to have importance in the 4th century.[94]

These descriptions and the appearance of the church demonstrate that classical ornaments and fine porches in church entrances became a traditional style. Both portals and classical marble revetments inside are reminiscent of classical pagan temples. Although Christians distinguished their religious buildings from those of their pagan predecessors, the structural and ornamental aspects in the places of worship created were the same. Aesthetic and decorative features indicate a wish to enhance the status of the building which can be also seen in pagan temples. Exhibits in the Istanbul Archaeological Museum are among the examples of art found in the excavations held in Hebdomon, now Bakırköy.[95] The tradition of decorating entablatures with Ionic and Lesbian cymae and friezes with scrolling tendrils is in evidence. Three examples of entablatures, which are found on the site of Balaban Ağa

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[90] Petrus Gyllius, *The Antiquities of Constantinople with a Description of its Situation, the Conveniencies of its Port*, *book IV, Chapter IX*, trans. By John Ball, (London, 1729), p. 261.
[91] Millingen, *Byzantine Churches in Constantinople*, p. 50.
[92] Freely and Cakmak, *Byzantine Monuments of Istanbul*, p. 71.
[93] Ibid. p. 71.
[94] Mathews, *The Early Churches of Constantinople*, p. 19.
[95] Niewohner, 'Byzantinische Gebälke', Figs, 1,3,5,6.

Mescidi,[96] that are also held in the Istanbul Archaeology Museum reflect the classical style (figs. 1-2). These examples were also belong to buildings from 4th and 5th century. All these examples which are not based on spolia from pagan monuments in Byzantine churches, they, as contemporary made architectural sculptures, also feature the work of artisans in marble workshops using the same style which is classical.[97] This is the tradition of decorating monumental buildings. The antique examples and continuing tradition in the times of Constantine and Theodosian I were scrutinised by craftsmen who incorporated these styles into their art by taking certain examples, for instance Ionic and Lesbian cymae and friezes, and combining them with Christian motifs. The style did not only endure in Constantinople, but also in Anatolia and Greece. The examples of spolia and contemporary marble carvings resembling classical designs is apparent. Examples found in the excavations in Nicomedia[98] are also similar to classical architectural sculpture.

This tradition continued in the Justinian period. For the decoration of St John's basilica in Ephesus, Corinthian capitals were used.[99] Additionally, in the church of Sts Sergius and Bachus in Constantinople, marble columns supporting Corinthian capitals, entablatures adorned with egg and dart mouldings, and friezes of scrolling tendrils the cross and inscription carved at the centre of entablatures are evidence of the adaptation of classical ornaments into Christian art.[100] As was mentioned while describing the entablatures of Hagia Sophia the cross at the centre of the entablatures or friezes showing lambs and palm trees had symbolic meaning in Early Byzantine art. As Hansen says 'one can regard the reuse as deliberate aesthetic, a style charged with meaning. The way we see the world determines we construct in pictures or buildings.' Overall, the changing preferences can be regarded as a characteristic trait of early Christian and Early Byzantine tastes that emerged in the second century and developed the naturalistic style into the stylised, abstract and metaphorical forms of art.[101]

This chapter has examined the classical tradition in Byzantine architectural sculpture and its effect on the appearance of the church. Were those classical ornaments significant? Can they

[96] Mansel, 'Erwerbungberight des Antikenmuseums zu Istanbul seit 1914', pp. 197-198.
[97] Niewohner, 'Byzantinische Gebälke', pp. 143-145.
[98] For the examples which are situated in Nicomedia Museum, see; G. Hakan, 'Kocaeli Muzesi Bizans devrisi Mimari Plastik Eserleri', *Sakarya Universitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitusu Yuksek Lisans Tezi*, (Sakarya 2009).
[99] E. Russo, 'The capitals of the First Basilica of St. John Ephesus', *27. Arastirma Sonuclari Toplantisi I*, (Denizli 2009), pp. 275-289.
[100] Mathews, *Byzantine Churches of Constantinople*, plates, 27,28,29,30.
[101] Hansen, 'Meanings of Style', pp. 71-72.

still be considered classical when applied to ecclesiastical architecture with Christian motifs? An evaluation in following chapters of the attitudes of the Byzantine world towards classical art and architecture and the worshippers' perception of these classical motifs within the context of the church will illustrate the manner in which architectural sculpture and decorative approaches altered the appearance of churches and how the Christian context enriched them with new meaning.

2. Converting the meaning of temples and their decoration: Christian attitudes to antique art and pagan temples

The first chapter presented the use of antique art in Byzantine Constantinople and in particular classical architectural sculpture in Byzantine churches. Since sculpture also appeared in temples, especially at their entrances, the Christian approach to pagan places of worship and their architectural elements, which is reminiscent of classical pagan temples, should be examined. In order to establish that Christians translated and adopted the decoration of architectural materials for new purposes, it is necessary to examine how they converted temples into Byzantine churches and reinterpreted the meaning of the buildings. It may be assumed that dealing with pagan architectural sculpture did not presuppose consideration of the form. Additionally, to understand the Christian position, their use of spolia in Byzantine monuments must be considered together with the meaning this has in church architecture. This chapter will explore the meaning associated with the use of spolia in Byzantine monuments and assess if this situation marked a transition in interpretation. Evaluating the attitudes of Byzantines towards pagan places of worship, sculpture and statuary will allow their interpretation from a Christian perspective to be examined.

2. 1. Approaches to pagan temples in Byzantium and their conversion into Christian churches

An assessment of the attitudes among Byzantines towards pagan places of worship brings to light a range of approaches. There are many examples of temples that were destroyed with their architectural elements and statues. The most extensive act against pagan monuments consisted in converting them into churches by making alterations to the architecture in order to create new structures that fulfilled the needs of Christian liturgy. On the one hand, there were attacks to destroy temples and their decorations, on the other hand, some Christians, especially emperors, wanted to keep them intact without giving permission to worship. Although some legislation centred on prohibiting non-Christian worship and closing temples,

there are also examples of efforts to open them to the public and appreciate their artistic value. According to some scholars, they were allowed to open for political reasons.[102]

Legislation against pagan monuments and beliefs was initiated in the reign of Constantine. The new Christian Empire imposed serious restrictions on pagan worship including the closure of temples, possessing the properties of pagan places and prohibiting worship of idols and sacrifices.[103] Examples of such laws can be read in the Codex of Theodosius: 'Permission shall be granted to all other persons also to appropriate custom to themselves, provided only that they abstain from domestic sacrifices, which are specifically prohibited'.[104] Christians were also intent on prohibiting what they perceived to be superstitions. The Codex of Theodosius further stipulates that 'superstitions shall cease' and continues by mentioning that 'the madness of sacrifices shall be abolished'.[105]

Besides legislation prohibiting pagan worship, negative attitudes to the buildings associated with such practices were apparent and led to attacks against temples. Their destruction was generally directed by fanatical bishops and monks who rejected pagan cultural tradition,[106] as well as by imperial officers who gained authority. The shrine of Jupiter was destroyed by imperial authorities with the help of Bishop Marcellus of Apamea, who also encouraged the army attack on the pagan temple at Aulon.[107] The Serapium temple was demolished in 391 after a fight between Christians and pagans who were inhabitants of Alexandria in the term of Bishop Theophilus.[108] For some scholars it was the occasion that provided an example of 'religio-political' events.[109] Since, the main concern of Theophilus was the purification of the pagan temples in Alexandria when converting the buildings into churches. To achieve this, he used his power as an 'ecclesiastical politician'. Monks had 'secular arms' for fighting and defeating pagan cults.[110] Saradi asserts that incidents of destruction of temples were not organised by the church governance but by civil officials and local churches, which organised attacks against them.[111] Some bishops harnessed the 'religious zeal of monks' when they

[102] Pagoulatos, 'The Destruction and Conversion of Ancient Temples to Christian Churches', p. 152.
[103] Saradi-Melendovici, 'Christian Attitudes toward Pagan Monuments', p. 48.
[104] *The Theodosian Code*, 16. 10. 1. Trans. by Clyde Pharr, (New york: Princeton University Press, 1952), p. 472.
[105] Ibid. , 16. 10. 2.
[106] Saradi-Melendovici, 'Christian Attitudes toward Pagan Monuments', p. 47.
[107] Pagoulatos, 'The Destruction and Conversion of Ancient Temples to Christian Churches', p. 155.
[108] G. Fowden, 'Bishops and Temples in the Eastern Roman Empire, A.D. 320-435', *Journal of Theological Studies,* vol. 29, No. 1, (1978), p. 69.
[109] J. Hahn, at all., *From Temple to Church: Destruction and Renewal of Local Cultic Topography in Late Antiquity*, (Boston, 2008), p. 19.
[110] Fowden, 'Bishops and Temples in the Eastern Roman Empire', p. 69.
[111] Saradi-Melendovici, 'Christian Attitudes toward Pagan Monuments', p. 49.

wrecking temples, and newly converted Christians violently expressed their attitudes against pagan shrines. These acts represented their commitment to Christianity and proved their strong adherence.[112] In the reign of Theodosius the oppression of paganism was supported by the imperial authorities. When Cynegius became 'Praetorian Prefect of the East', using the advantages of his good relationships with the imperial court, he orchestrated organised attacks against pagan religious buildings. He used Theodosius's decrees against paganism for his own purposes.[113] His assaults in Egypt are documented in Libanius' writings, which were critical of such conduct. Libanius noted that such sentiments were in evidence in both urban and rural contexts. He described temples as playing an important role, arguing that they 'were the souls of the countryside'. However, Christians thought that the elimination of pagan sites would bestow blessings on the world. 'Then what is your purpose, Sire, in maintaining your forces, equipping your armies and conferring with commanders?'[114]

However, there is also evidence that Christians in Late Antiquity held positive attitudes towards pagan monuments. Although they prohibited pagan worship, their idols and the materials from which they made them had formerly had a place in pagan religion. Some temples were prevented from being damaged either due to the fact that they were converted into churches or because they were preserved for their artistic value.[115] Moreover, there are examples of temples which were given permission to operate from the time of Constantine until the early years of the reign of Theodosius. For political reasons Constantine and subsequent emperors had to accept pagans as they were generally also in the army.[116] The emperors tried to deal with pagan temples by using them to meet the needs of community. This would helped them to prevent clashes between pagans and Christians. The Codex of Theodosius asserts that temples should be open for common use by the public, but the 'performance of sacrifice' must be forbidden inside the temples.[117] Since the population of the new Christianised Empire comprised Christians and pagans, the destruction of temples and other acts of provocation were generally avoided in order to preserve good relations with the pagan community. Saradi explains that the process of Christianisation of the Empire was slow as there was considerable struggle to integrate Christians. It cannot be ignored that the upper

[112] Saradi-Melendovici, 'Christian Attitudes toward Pagan Monuments', p. 49.
[113] Pagoulatos, 'The Destruction and Conversion of Ancient Temples to Christian Churches', p. 155.
[114] Libanius*, "Oration XXX",* trans. by A. F. Norman, *Libanius selected Orations*, vol. II, (London: Heinemann, 1977), p. 113.
[115] Saradi-Melendovici, 'Christian Attitudes toward Pagan Monuments', p. 47.
[116] R. L. Fox, *Pagans and christians*, (San Francisco: Harper Collins Publishers, 1986), p. 666.
[117] *The Theodosian Code, 16.10.8.*

class had a strong pagan character and certain imperial ceremonies were similarly pagan. Since earlier imperial favours inclined towards pagan temples, sustaining pagan culture and their monuments, Christians were later provided opportunities to transform temples into churches. Moreover, the social order also played a key role, since an empire with an extensive pagan population might have seen protests.[118] In 342,[119] it was decreed by Constantius and Constans Augustus to Catullinus 'prefect of the city', that temples outside the city walls had to be protected due to their relationship with 'public amusements' (which derived from the Roman tradition),and public usage, meaning social activities and political meetings. For example, the temples preceded the original plays which later offered 'spectacles of the circus or contests'.[120] According to imperial legislation in 399, from Constantius and Constans Augustus to Eutychianus; if temples in country districts were destroyed, this should be without 'disturbance or tumult', in order to remove the materials suitable for another construction.[121] According to a decree In 407 from Emperors Arcadius, Honorius and Theodosius to Curtius, the altars of temples would be demolished, but the buildings should have been designated for 'public use'.[122] This legislation also indicated that the emperors were avoiding the enemy and pagans who were dwelling in Byzantine lands. They also showed that it was not a case of imperial powers demanding that bishops attack pagan temples.[123]

The other stance towards pagan monuments consisted of displaying them for their artistic merit. For example, the temple at Osrhoene in Mesopotamia was opened in order to present to the public an art object in appreciation of its aesthetic value.[124] Legislation related to such a perspective was established in 382 by the Emperors Gratian, Valentinian and Theodosius, it has been announced that the temples will be opened and provided to the community to use them to meet the public needs;

> And in which images are reported to have been placed which must be measured by the value of their art rather than by their divinity; We do not permit any divine imperial response that was surreptitiously obtained to prejudice this situation. In order that this temple may be seen by the assemblages of the city

[118] Saradi-Melendovici, 'Christian Attitudes toward Pagan Monuments', p. 48; for the difficulties of christianisation see; P. Brown, Authority and the Sacred: Aspects of the Christianisation of Roman World, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 5-10.
[119] This date is not certain, according to Pharr, Catullinus was prefect of the city from 342 to 344. *The Theodosian code*, p. 472.
[120] *The Theodosian Code*, 16.10.3. p. 473.
[121] Ibid. 16.10.16. p. 474.
[122] Ibid. 16.10.19. p. 475.
[123] Saradi-Melendovici, 'Christian Attitudes toward Pagan Monuments', p. 49.
[124] Ibid. p. 51.

> and by frequent crowds, Your Experience shall preserve all celebrations of festivities, and by the authority of Our divine imperial response, you shall permit the temple to be open, but in such a way that the performance of sacrifices forbidden therein may not be supposed to be permitted under the pretext of such access to the temple.[125]

In the constitution of the year 399, Arcadius and Theodosios announced legislation regarding the destruction of works of art. This states that attempts to destroy art belonging to pagan temples have no defence, nor are they deserving of praise. Moreover, if the perpetrator has any rescript or any law under his authority, these cannot be considered as proof.[126] Another statement decreed that the demolition of those temples 'which are empty of illicit things' was also forbidden by emperors and no one could refer to the emperors' official order to attack against temples.[127] These examples of legislation indicate that acts of aggression against pagan monuments were prohibited, since they were regarded as possessing artistic value or potential for conversion.

As referred to in the introduction, pagan monuments were generally converted into churches or their sites taken over for the construction of churches. These occurrences are worth examining as they explain the attitudes of Christians toward pagan temples or present how they reinterpreted the building and its architectural elements. No written sources survive documenting Constantine's order to construct churches on pagan sites in Constantinople.[128] The most significant example instigated by Constantine was the levelling of the temple in favour of a church in Mambre, recorded by Eusebius in Vita Constantini. He described a temple as a place inhabited by superstitious persons and idols. Of particular focus was the altar, which was the site of sacrifices.[129] He is further known to have permitted Bishop George to convert the temple of Mithra into a church. During his incumbency, Gregory of Nazianzus converted the temple into a church. Moreover, the temple of Dyonisius was converted into a church by the Patriarch Theophilus of Alexandria.[130]

Accounts of how Christians dealt with temples and converted them into churches were presented by Mark the Deacon, the author of Life of Porphyry. Following the destruction of the Temple of Marneion in a fire, the holy Bishop St Porphyry decided to build a church with

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[125] *The Theodosian Code*, 16.10.8., p. 473.
[126] Ibid. 16.10.15., p. 473.
[127] Ibid. 16.10.18., p. 473
[128] Saradi-Melendovici, 'Christian Attitudes toward Pagan Monuments', p. 53.
[129] Eusebius, *Life of constantine, book III*, Trans. by Averil Cameron and Stuard G. Hall, (Oxford :Clarendon Press, 1999), p. 142.
[130] Saradi-Melendovici, 'Christian Attitudes toward Pagan Monuments', p. 51.

funds received from the Empress Eudoxia for this purpose. Disagreements had raged about how to use the architecture of the Temple of Marneion with some in favour of building a church on the site of the temple, while others were of the opinion that 'the very memory of such a plan ought to be blotted out' because of pagan features, such as its porticos and 'inflated dome'.[131] To resolve the matter, St. Porphyry passed on the decision to the will of God whereupon he received imperial correspondence from Eudoxia. It opened with 'greetings and requests for prayers for herself, her husband and child' and further included the construction plan for a cruciform church that was to be built accordingly.[132] Moreover, the letter emphasised that the remains, such as marbles and columns ought to be transported. When digging began and some 'abominations' were destroyed, the Bishop ordered that they, 'which they said sacred' and had been in a place not to be entered 'especially by women', be carried into the street, so that women and men could walk on them.[133] The erection of the church proved an emotional event because of the belief that this was Christ's conquest, and the cooperation between men and women, young and old, to clear away the temple levelled any differences between them.[134]

In addition to this conversion of temple into Christian church, there were other examples of removal of pagan relics and purification of temples. Although the exact date is not known, it is related that in the life of St Thekla the temples of Sarpedon Apollo, Athena, and Zeus were taken over and consecrated.[135] Pagan temples were believed to house demons and contaminate sites that Christians thought to purify by constructing churches.[136] In 435, imperial proclamations ordered all pagan temples and their sanctuaries to be razed under the command of the judges and be purified through the construction of the sign of the Christian religion.[137] Thus, it was common practice to carve a cross on the forehead of statues. In addition, there are examples of monks who fought with demons in temples. It is said that when the inhabitants of Anaplon related that disasters had befallen the area as a result of demons settling in the temple, St Daniel the Stylite moved into the temple. He fought and after three days succeeded in exorcising the demons. Drawing inspiration from the moral that 'the Christian religion was superior', monks and saints used these miracles in the sites of

[131] Mark the Deacon, Life of porphyry, ch. 75, trans. C. Mango, The Art of the Byzantine Empire, p. 31.
[132] Ibid. ch 75, trans. by G. F. Hill, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913).
[133] Ibid. ch 76, trans. C. Mango, p. 31.
[134] Ibid. ch 78, trans. by G. F. Hill.
[135] Saradi-Melendovici, 'Christian Attitudes toward Pagan Monuments', p. 54.
[136] Ibid, p. 54.
[137] *The Theodosian Code*, 15. 10. 25.

pagan temples.[138] These examples demonstrate Christian readiness to use their assumption of divine knowledge in their approach to pagan temples. They were aware that pagan temples differed greatly from their belief and since their new religion did not accept the pagan idols, they were identified as illegal, especially in connection with sacrifices and superstitions. While for the pagans demons were important in religion, Christians believed that demons were naturally evil.[139] Both the statuary and architecture of temples were deemed to be in need of purification as they were held to be in the possession of demons. As mentioned above, these sites were purged using symbolic religious elements such as the cross, icons and inscriptions. Symeon Metaphrastes is said to have introduced an icon of Christ and a crucifix to purify the demolished edifice on which St Euphemia was subsequently constructed, in order to exorcise the 'army of the demon'.[140]

Archaeological reports refer to the conversion of the Temple of Aphrodite in Aphrodisias in the 5th century where an Ionian temple was transformed into a Christian basilica. The statue of Aphrodite was buried under the wall at the south side of the basilica. Existing colonnades were chosen to enhance the naves but other structures were changed. The original axis ran from east to west, and the entrance lay at the east end of the temple. The Christian builders decided on a roofed basilica in order to give the temple the appearance of a church and re-used the colonnades for separating the aisles and naves. The altar platform of the temple was transferred into the eastern part of the church while the western part of the temple was used as the narthex.[141] This converted temple is thus an example of the adoption of pagan architectural elements into Christian religious architecture. This could be seen as either a Christian victory or simply as the construction of a new church by fulfilling the needs of liturgy. However, it is worth enquiring into why the preference was for constructing churches on pagan temples when many other sites stood at their disposal.

The conversion of temples continued into the Justinian period. While some of the conversions cannot be dated correctly because of the lack of archaeological evidence, there are other examples of churches that were transformed from temples in the time of Justinian. The temple of Isis is the most important example due to empirical evidence of the events leading to its sanctification. The victory of Justinian's army against the inhabitants brought about the

[138] Saradi-Melendovici, 'Christian Attitudes toward Pagan Monuments', p. 55.
[139] Ibid. p. 55.
[140] Ibid. p. 55.
[141] R. Cormack, 'The temple as the cathedral', in C. Roueche and K. Erim (eds), *Aphrodisias Papers: Recent Work on Architecture and Sculpture*, (Ann Arbor, 1990), p. 76.

conversion of the temple, into which St. Theodore carved purifying inscriptions. The inscription on the pronaos read: 'this place became in the name of the holy ad consubstantial trinity the house of St. Stephen under our father, the very reverent bishop, abbot Theodore; may god preserve him for a long time.'[142] Although the architecture of the temple as a whole had not been changed, the building itself was Christianised by the act of carving the cross and writing inscriptions in the belief that the temple was purged from evil representing a victory by Christians over paganism.

2. 2. Importing statuary from pagan monuments and giving them new meaning

The import of antique statuary and architectural sculpture serve to illustrate how, besides ravaging and converting places of worship, Christians approached and exploited classical (pagan) art. Examples of antique statues were on display in the Hippodrome of Constantinople and legislation in the year 365 indicates collection taking place in the provinces as well, as governors imported statues, slabs of marble or columns from other areas for the purpose of enriching the appearance of their cities.[143]

However, pagan art and architectural works were used for other purposes too, such as to ridicule the public. Saradi suggests that they were not necessarily brought for their artistic value, but were considered as a sign of the victory of Christians over paganism and objects for teasing and provocation.[144] There is evidence of commentary on this situation by both Socrates and Theodoret. Socrates compared the constitutional aims of erecting pagan statues in public places, while others were razed by the Patriarch Theophilus of Alexandria in order to further the decline of paganism. A further purpose was to emphasize that Hellenes would not prove that they did not consider these statues as god and worshipped them. Theodoret similarly explained that while pagans in the Christian community always sought to hide their statues and beliefs, Christians brought them into the open for public ridicule.[145] These attitudes mark the significance attached to the victory of Christians over paganism. Christians generally made a link between pagan statuary and demons or superstitions based on the idea

[142] Pagoulatos, 'The Destruction and Conversion of Ancient Temples to Christian Churches', p. 161.
[143] *The Theodosian Code*, 15.1.14, p. 424.
[144] Saradi-Melendovici, 'Christian Attitudes toward Pagan Monuments', p. 50.
[145] Ibid. p. 50.

that demons possessed pagan edifices and their statuary.[146] These different approaches to antique art are distinct from consideration of its artistic value.

In Constantinople, the collection of antiquities represented different metaphorical meanings. This collection started with Constantine in Constantinople and is apparent especially in the Baths of Zeuxippos and the Hippodrome. The main purpose was to display different works of art. Although it was ruined in the Nika riots, the collection in Zeuxippos can be reconstructed from sources. The Baths of Zeuxippos held statues of Aphrodite, Herakles and mythological figures associated with the 'four elements, healing or pleasure.'[147] Examination of the decoration with its portraits and other mythological figures showed it to follow a traditional style that was also used in the decoration of the Roman baths.[148]

Literary sources list about twenty-five antique statues, mostly figural, in the Hippodrome, which included various examples of apotropaia, victory monuments, public figures and images of Rome.[149] Apotrapaic objects showed descriptions of Zeus, wild animals and fantastic figures. These creatures were associated with evil, as represented in the Hippodrome's depiction of the wild. Heroic figures and demigods were employed as victorious examples for competitors in the Hippodrome. They reflect the Constantinian style incorporated into his architectural plan. Imperial images can also be found among the statues in the Hippodrome; they called attention to Roman rule, from republic to empire and tetrarchy by displaying representations of Julius Caesar, Augustus and Diocletian and can be read as attempts to foster similar responses to those engendered by the Arch of Constantine.[150] These features in the Hippodrome may have been a reference to the continuous tradition of a ruling system or comparison between Roman and Byzantine rulers. As stated in the Chronicon Paschale, the Hippodrome was built in imitation of the Circus Maximus, which suggests that using antiquities in the Hippodrome and designing it in line with the Roman original was seen to perpetuate that culture in public places and thus garner respect.[151]

As was the case in the Hippodrome and the Baths of Zeuxippos, the Forum of Constantine was also decorated with antique statues, including figures of Paris, Hera, Aphrodite and

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[146] McMullen argues the attitudes of Christians towards paganism, and he explains the exhorcisim of demons from temples. See; R. Macmullen, *Christianising the Roman Empire (A.D, 100-400)*, (London: Yale University Press, 1984), p. 27.
[147] Basset, *The Urban Image of Late Antique Constantinople*, p. 52.
[148] Ibid. p. 56.
[149] Basset, 'The Antiquities in the Hippodrome of Constantinople', p. 88.
[150] Basset, *The Urban Image of Late Antique Constantinople*, p. 64.
[151] Ibid. p. 65.

Athena. These collections in three important places made the city a capital situated between past and present, with pagan statues and Christian monuments.[152] Importing statues to Constantinople was intended to make the capital the most beautiful city. Vasari's writings about Constantine's collecting activities confirm that the latter introduced the most beautiful sculptures from other cities to adorn his new capital, a sign that Rome had lost its reputation as an artistic centre and was replaced by the new capital of Byzantium.[153] The legislation that sought for temples be opened can be linked this argument as it illustrates that the Byzantines valued antique sculpture as an artistic product. Therefore, antiquities in various cities can be understood to have had different meanings and, as Mango claims, statues were regarded in both popular and intellectual terms. The popular perspective was to see them as animated objects in the belief that they were inhabited by demons. For intellectuals, they were vehicles for superstitions that were then transformed by Christianity.[154] This meant that in some cities they were used to ridicule the public, while in the others they were seen as works of art. However, a work of art has symbolic meaning in addition to its formal features. Thus statues may have been a sign of imperial legitimacy that derived from the Roman tradition; alternatively they may have reflected the intention by Constantine to unify the capital by bringing together pagan and Christian elements.[155] This can be seen as both a political and traditional attempt to make aesthetically appealing works of art. It indicates that the Byzantines were inspired by the pagans to decorate their city[156] as its examples can be seen in the Forum of Constantine and the Forum Tauri. Beside these interpretations, which read pagan statues as either demonic and evil or as possessing artistic value, some interpret the absorption of pagan works into Byzantine art as holding symbolic meaning. Thus, associating statues or figures of pagan gods with holy images from the Old and New Testaments was the popular tradition in Byzantium. Eusebius describes a statue of Aesculapios, as a representation of 'Christ healing the woman with an issue of blood'.[157] Similarly, the statue in the Forum Tauri was associated by Christians with Joshua and a seated statue was seen as Solomon. These views in Byzantine art can be defined as personifications, or as Mango says the re-interpretation of superstitions.[158] The intentions behind the creation of statues were the same for pagans and Christians: for the former, the statue had power as a demon and was a

[152] Basset, *The urban image of Late Antique Constantinople*, p. 71.
[153] Ibid. p. 3.
[154] Mango, 'Antique Statuary and Byzantine Beholder', pp. 59, 63.
[155] James, 'Pagan Statues in Christian Constantinople', p. 13.
[156] Mango, 'Antique Statuary and Byzantine Beholder', p. 74.
[157] James, 'Pagan Statues in Christian Constantinople', p. 17.
[158] Mango, 'Antique Statuary and Byzantine Beholder', p. 63.

sacred image in Roman pagan religion, whereas for the latter the icons were imbued with holy power.[159]

A further example of the use of ancient statuary in Byzantine cities is Ankara. Unlike the examples discussed above, this is a case that gives new meaning to Christian approaches to pagan works of art since they were employed in the construction of the city walls. James correctly raises the question why they would have been erected in defensive walls rather than public monuments if they had been considered demons. Clearly, their use here was not attributable to their aesthetic qualities or a lack of material but rather reflects a return to former traditions and exploiting the statues' metaphorical power. 'It is a way of acquiring the power of rival gods for one's own benefit, as Constantine himself did when he founded Constantinople to the accompaniment of pagan rites and filled his new city with classical statues, or as the bishops did, who converted pagan temples and pagan sites to Christian usage. Inscribing a cross works similarly, sealing the object for Christian purposes.'[160] Antique statues and Christian icons had the same power when the Byzantines gave them new meaning. In the case of metaphoric art of Byzantium, antique statues were both artistic creations, which were relics from the past and had a meaningful aesthetic for Christians. This combination of artistic value and power in terms of meaning increased their importance.[161] These statues with other architectural elements were effective in creating the Christian identity of Byzantium and led Byzantines to adopt them into their new religion.

This examination of Christian attitudes toward pagan monuments and their statues, which set out to elucidate the general meaning of temples in Christian art, demonstrates that there were different perceptions of statues and temples in the Christian community. The most important attitude was that artefacts and sites had artistic value, which could be exploited by changing their meaning. It is therefore no surprise that the Byzantines used spolia from pagan monuments in Christian contexts. The belief that temples and their architectural elements were the sign of demons and evil meant that rituals of purification were required. Just as Christians either attempted to raze pagan temples and their statues or considered them as artistic creation by giving them new meaning, the same beliefs applied in the case of spolia and architectural sculptures. Some architectural elements were demolished, while others were reused in Christian churches for either their artistic merit or the glorification of the church.

[159] James, 'Pagan Statues in Christian Constantinople', p. 16.
[160] Ibid. p. 16.
[161] Ibid. p. 18.

Additionally, the idea was that using spolia in byzantine monuments symbolised the destruction of temples.[162] However, the notion was the same, namely that it was essential to change the meaning of the materials.

2. 3. Using spolia in Christian churches and changing the meaning of architectural revetments

As can be seen in statues and temples, the spolia that was used in Byzantine monuments served the reinterpretation of architectural sculpture in holy places. Besides their political message they also denoted the victory of Christianity. Crosses and inscriptions were carved on spolia and gave it new meaning.[163] When the spolia was examined, it revealed columns, statues, column bases and entablatures. Functionally, they support the weight of horizontal walls and arches. In this construction system entablatures and columns play an important part. Column capitals and embellished entablatures are intended for decoration and aesthetic appearance. As previously stated, building traditions refer to the continued use of classical architectural design, which as Vitrivius emphasised, consisted of Doric, Ionic and Corinthian structures.[164] The colonnades were generally decorated in these three styles with embellished marbles popular in the Roman architectural tradition. Byzantine architects relied on the combination of these styles with the Christian when embellishing colonnades. The inclusion of classical spolia or contemporary architectural sculpture with Christian motifs brought about the transition in meaning. The classical elements were no longer what they had originally been.[165]

The extensive use of spolia began in the reign of Constantine. The most important example of its time was the Arch of Constantine, and numerous conclusions and arguments have been made concerning the intention behind the use of spolia for the arch, mostly suggesting that Constantine wanted to show his legitimacy by using the reliefs of Trajan, Hadrian and Marcus Aurelius.[166] And it continued in Theodosius' reign. The legislation in the year 397 shows orders for using materials from temples in bridges, walls and churches. Stones and slabs of

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[162] Saradi, 'The Use of Ancient Spolia in Byzantine Monuments', p. 395.
[163] Ibid. p. 395.
[164] D, Kinney, 'Roman Architectural Spolia', *Proceedings of the American Cultural Society*, Vol. 145, No. 2, (2001), pp. 141-142.
[165] Ibid. pp. 141-142.
[166] Elsner, 'From Culture of Spolia to the Cult of Relics', p. 152; B. Brenk, 'The Use of Spolia from Constantine to Charlemagne' *Dumbarton Oaks Papers: Studies on Art and Archeology in Honor of Ernst Kitzinger on His Seventy-Fifth Birthday*, Vol. 41, (1987), pp. 103-106.

marble were removed even from tombs to decorate porticos and banquets.[167]As indicated earlier, this traditional construction activity was designed to give the monument prestige. Spolias were not used for simple purposes such as supporting columns and entablatures. They emerged from the classical tradition, especially the Roman, and with their ornate appearance had symbolic meaning, recalling Roman culture, where they were used to furnish important monuments. These can be interpreted as containing apolitical message, as in the case of the statues in the Hippodrome. Other popular opinions regarded the spolia as both symbols of victory and artistic merit, whose meaning had been changed by deploying it for new purposes. As in the case of converted temples and their statues, the views on the practice of resorting to spolia in Byzantine monuments were not unanimous.[168] The churches were also decorated to make them the most magnificent and prestigious buildings in the area. When Constantine ordered Makarios of Jerusalem to make the Holy Sepulchre the most spectacular building in the city slabs of marble and columns from pagan sites were earmarked.[169] In the case of the Basilica St John Studion and Theodosius' Hagia Sophia, decorated porticos and naves were seen to reflect both the legitimacy of the Emperor and the magnificent architecture of Christianity.

Although spolia from ancient monuments provided ready materials, their usage and design brought to mind different interpretations. Moreover, decorating with contemporary carved marble revetments was also popular in Early Byzantium. It is therefore clear that the builders did not rely on readymade materials but rather shows the tendency of Byzantine artists to explore new arrangements. As Brenk finds, the usage of spolia in the Constantinian period was not due to economic reasons or a lack of artistic creativity. Had economy been the reason, Constantine would not have been in a position to construct the Lateran Basilica. This was a deliberate building program.[170] The combined character of Roman with Christian elements marked a new aesthetic tendency. The Lateran Basilica, for example, was constructed to fulfil the needs of the Christian religion and appealed to Christian worshippers even though it was decorated with classical elements. This style to emerge under Constantine's rule was interpreted as a new aesthetic, which favoured 'variety' in basilicas rather than 'unity'.[171]

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[167] *The Theodosian Code*, 9.17.4; Saradi, 'The Use of Ancient Spolia in Byzantine Monuments', p. 396.
[168] M. F. Hansen, *The Eloquence of Appropriation: prologemena to an Under-standing of Spolia in Early Christian Rome,* (Rome, 2003), p. 39.
[169] Eusebius, *Life of Constantine, 3. 30-32*
[170] Brenk, 'The Use of Spolia from Constantine to Charlemagne', p. 105.
[171] Deichman, *Die Spolien in Der Spatantiken Architectur*, p. 8; Brenk, 'The Use of Spolia from Constantine to Charlemagne', p. 105.

Spolia were generally used for the creation of visual effects; by using variety in a context that evoked Roman architectural tradition, the new construction lost its association with its antecedents, which had canonical use.[172] Scholars define this arrangement as asymmetrical. It was the combination of classical aesthetics with Christian aesthetics[173] and was also believed to be the dematerialised decoration popular in Byzantine architecture, representing the spiritual meaning offered by the new religion's otherworldly ideals.[174] Both maintained their entrance decoration and created specialised interior spaces. By combining decorative styles it represents the combined forces of Christian religion and this was also interpreted as the sign of a complicated church structure.[175]

Theological interpretations reveal the same attitudes towards the use of spolia. Pagan materials inside churches denoted legitimacy for the emperors, as they were interpreted as connoting the defeat of paganism and the rise of Christianity. Using triumphant arches or composite capitals generally indicated the triumph of Christianity or of the Emperor.[176] As mentioned with regard to the construction of the Temple of Marneion, the saint ordered that slabs be taken from the most sacred part of the temple and installed in the churches, especially on floors, so that they would be stepped on.[177] This was to show the demise of pagan religion. According to Theodoret, materials from churches could be purified by the simple act of re-using them in martyr churches. This is evidence of the same attitude to slabs of marble as to entire statues or temples.[178]

Spolia also represented the rebirth of religion and salvation. The use of architectural elements of temple in churches metaphorically stood for the birth of a new religion. The demonic and evil atmosphere attributed to temples was seen to be vanquished in a holy place and baptised worshippers in purified architecture. Scholars have made a link between the concept of baptism and the recycling of materials from temples, arguing that baptism constitutes rebirth by salvaging a soul from evil and marbles transferred to a consecrated place were similarly reborn through purification with holy symbols.[179] As it can be learnt from the New Testament writer John, person who did not purified himself with 'water', he cannot enter the church

[172] Brenk, 'The Use of Spolia from Constantine to Charlemagne', p. 106.
[173] Saradi-Melendovici, 'Christian Attitudes toward Pagan Monuments', p. 52.
[174] Ibid. p. 53.
[175] Hansen, 'Meanings of Style', pp. 71-72.
[176] B. Brenk, 'The Imperial Heritage of Early Christian Art', in Kurt Weitzman, (ed.) *Age of Spirituality: Late Antique and early Christian Art, Third to Seventh Century*, (New york: Princeton University Press, 1978), p. 47.
[177] Mark the Deacocon, *Life of Porphyry*, ch 76, trans. C. Mango, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire*, p. 31.
[178] Saradi, 'The Use of Ancient Spolia in Byzantine Monuments', pp. 404-405.
[179] Ibid. p. 422.

which is 'kingdom of god'.[180] And according to Peter the water symbolises baptism, and it saves people by 'resurrection of Christ'.[181] This is the case both in the context of converting temples and using their materials in churches. This metaphorical explanation can also be found in the Codex of Theodosius as the law code referred to the notion of rebirth in the context of buildings made from spolia.[182] The architectural sculptures transferred from pagan buildings to Christian monuments symbolised the soul of the human reborn into the Christian faith, architectural sculptures were also reborn by using them for new purposes. The interiorisation of Byzantine churches, that is, decorating the interior of the churches to make the inside more spectacular then outside, became a sign of rebirth and the new religion. This practice emphasised the importance of the inside of the Byzantine churches, in contrast with its role in pagan services; the religious services inside the Byzantine church was practiced for spiritual fulfilment and salvation. [183]

The explanation for using spolia in Byzantine monuments and classical pagan statues in Christianity was an important issue because of its relation with classical motifs, which decorated Byzantine architectural sculpture. In Early Byzantium the tradition of urban planning and building displayed similar features. However, connecting elements of Christianity with pagan objects or classical objects that were used to embellish pagan monuments created a new identity for Byzantine art made up of different motifs and a new iconography. This can be observed in the Theodosian Hagia Sophia, where classical porticos and adornments of architectural sculptures create a work of art that blends styles and thus grants new meaning. The decoration of public urban spaces might resemble pagan cities, but the new interpretation given to the statuary altered the situation, demonstrating that this was no longer a pagan city. The same can be said for the churches. Although classical spolia or contemporary architectural sculptures were used in the construction of churches, and functionally were the same, their pagan meaning was suppressed to give new significance to the holy place. The embellished marble materials did not glorify pagan temples but Christian churches.

[180] John 3:5.
[181] Peter 3: 21.
[182] *The Theodosian Code*, 15. 1. 19.
[183] Hansen, *Eloquence of Appropriation*, p. 138.

3. How did architectural sculpture gain new meaning in the Byzantine church? The perception of marbles in a church context.

The previous chapters have presented extensive building activity in Constantinople and demonstrated the emperors' desire to decorate their new capital. It is obvious that the intention of using spolia and antique statues, whether in churches or public buildings, was for the purpose of establishing an impeccably ornate city. The use of spolia had different purposes: to enhance the beauty of a church, to assert triumph or to celebrate rebirth. Furthermore, churches were decorated in the classical style albeit developed by Byzantine craftsmen according to their own taste. The argument relating to spolia and antique statues also applies to architectural sculpture since they too were decorated in a combination of classical and Christian style. Architectural sculptures may have symbolised the rebirth of Christianity after paganism. As spolias and pagan temples were purified with crosses and inscriptions or by placing them inside a religious building, so Christian worshippers were purified by baptism. This also holds true for classical motifs in architectural sculpture; as mentioned earlier, the architectural sculptures decorating the propylaeum of the old Hagia Sophia combines classical and Christian motifs. This was the birth of new architectural decoration. As a symbol they could represent the rebirth of Christianity, since the spolia and motifs were translated from pagan into Christian decorations, therefore, Christians translated their belief and their religious place.[184] This combination of past and present represents new attitudes to rebirth in Christian art, at a time when the aspiration was to change the architecture. Elsner wrote about the spolias in the Arch of Constantine, arguing that they were reflected the fusing of two traditions of decoration. Like the scenes in the Arch, Old Testament scenes such as 'Jonah's encounter with the whale' and the 'sacrifice of Isaac' to represent Christ's resurrection, brought together past and present so that the past was made meaningful in the present. Re-carving and changing the meaning of imagery emphasises the various developments in the history of decoration.[185] The idea of triumphalism stems from the belief that for theologians it denoted the victory of the church over paganism. Similarly, the carved cross on architectural sculptures may have referred to the eradication of paganism as the crucifix was meant to signify both purification and supremacy. This celebration of dominion was also emphasised by constructing triumphal arches in church entrances, such as in the old Hagia Sophia.

[184] Hansen use the term 'Translatio' for the reuse of classical materials inside the Christian basilica. Hansen, *The Eloquence of Appropriation*, p. 263.
[185] Elsner, 'From Culture of Spolia to the Cult of Relics', p. 176.

Apart from their metaphorical meaning of rebirth and triumph, they were also used for aesthetic reasons, and this aim to create a magnificent house of god was similar to pagan ideals. The effect of the precious materials applied was the same, as worshippers of both religions perceived that they were entering an exceptional site where their perception of the works of art varied according to the religious significance attached to the different parts of the edifice. Upon entering, the viewer's eye first met the statues, whereas arrival at the sanctuary introduced 'contemplation', which, combined with the 'divine itself', converted the original meaning. Thus, inside the sanctuary, statues and objects became secondary to contemplation.[186] This illustrates the way in which the importance of the place affected the worshippers' perception of the art. While entering the pagan temple created awareness of access to a significant place, upon reaching the sanctuary they understood that the objects situated there were far superior. The relative importance attributed to the different parts of the building also gave the art objects situated inside weight and increased their spiritual meaning. Therefore, the works of art acquired meaning beyond their external appearance. The perception was similar in Christianity. Just as the temple had been perceived to house the divine and had been decorated with cult statues, the belief of Christian beholders led them to see the church as relating to the spiritual realm and being the house of God. Since, in antiquity there were metaphorical and spiritual meanings of statues and other art works, such as evil, demons and gods, this was represented in architecture and art. Similarly in Christianity, there was a belief in angels, Christ and god's dwelling in the church. Both sets of images were spiritual.[187]

Besides the worshippers' similar perceptions of two different buildings, as pagan and Christian, it cannot be denied that there were fundamental differences between pagan temples and Christian churches. As discussed, the Byzantine church was constructed according to the needs of Divine Liturgy, in other words the needs of Byzantine worshippers, which brought people together in a way that was not seen in pagan temples. Inside the Byzantine church the most important thing was being in the house of the Christian god, so that the interior was more significant than the exterior.[188] Since Christians were entering the place where god dwells, as Procopius says; the visitors' 'mind is lifted up to god and exalted, feeling that he

[186] J. Elsner, *Art and the Roman Viewer: the Transformation of Art from the Pagan World to Christianity*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 91.
[187] For the pagan divinity and raising Christian belief see; Brown, *Authority and the Sacred: Aspects of the Christianisation of Roman World,* p. 8.
[188] Hansen, *the Eloquence of Appropriation*, p. 142.

cannot be far away, but must especially love to dwell in this place which he has chosen.'[189] Although the tradition of decorating the house of god was similar, the form was used for different purposes. From its entrance through to the apsis, the Christian church was designed for the new religion, which could be interpreted as rebirth or the mutability of faith. As Mathews argues, pagan temples were only for priests who entered the temple to give sacrifices to the gods, while members of the clergy were kept outside. However, the Christian church was everyone and people congregated there and sang hymns. The columned naves enabled worshippers to actively participate in the liturgy. This democratisation and different acts in the service distinguished the Christian church from pagan temples.[190]

The church also provided the congregation with scope to indulge their senses as the building allowed worshippers to respond through sight, sound, smell, touch and taste. Its architecture, liturgy, hymnology, furnishing and decoration created different echoes and lent it a sacred appearance, which all contributed to transforming the building into a religious place.[191]

Unlike pagan temples, Christian churches changed the focus from the outside to the inside. Besides the salt marble decoration of entrances, the interior of the Byzantine church was embellished with different works of art. The decoration consisted of floor and wall mosaics, paintings, ornamented friezes and capitals.[192] Comparing the exterior and interior decoration it is apparent that church exteriors were constructed with bricks, instead of porticos and narthexes. The shift in focus in terms of ornamentation represents the differences in religious practice. Unlike in paganism, in Christian worship religious rituals did not take place outside; Christian religion differed substantially from pagan ones. The sacrifice was practiced inside the church in order to gain the salvation of the soul, rather than outside the temple.[193] This interiorisation, which is the most important feature of the new architecture, may reflect the interiorisation of religion, where every worshipper had a private interaction with God inside

[189] Procopius, *Buildings*, 1.1.60-61., Trans. by H. B. Deeing and Glanwille Downey, vol. 7, (London: William Heineman, 1961), p. 27.
[190] T. F. Mathews, *The Clash of Gods: A Reinterpretation of Early Christian art*, rev. ed. (Princeton N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1999), pp. 92-94.
[191] K. E. McVey, 'Spirit Embodied: The Emergence of Symbolic Interpretations of Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture', in Slobodan Curcic and Evangelia Hadjitryphonos, *Architecture as Icon*, (London: Yale University Press, 2010), p. 39.
[192] R. Kieckhefer, *Theology in stone: Church Architecture from Byzantium to Berkeley*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), p. 100.
[193] F. Barry, 'The Symbolism of Coloured Marbles in the Visual Arts and Literature from Antiquity until the Enlightenment', *Doctoral Thesis Submitted to Graduate Scholl of Arts and Sciences*, (Columbia University, 2011), p. 141.

the building. In order to understand the differences between Byzantine churches and pagan temples and the interiorisation of practices and buildings, it is of interest that in the anonymous Kontakion of Hagia Sophia the religious services inside the church was described thus:

> here sacrifices of the mind and spirit and in truth, not in reeking smoke and streams of blood, are offered untiringly as an odour of sweetness unto god, the tears of prayers with godly fear and the melodies of psalms which prompt compunction, accompanied by the instruments of spirit putting to sleep the demonic urges of the passions and instilling the temperate pleasure which leads to that salvation given to mankind by Christ.[194]

Instead of its religious practices, the Christian church as a whole was considered as image, it represented Jerusalem while the columns were interpreted as images of the apostles.[195]

In this context the architectural sculpture presented in the first chapter, had a different role to its function in pagan temples. It is therefore appropriate to consider it within the church context since, like spolia, it had different meanings inside or outside the Byzantine church. Although with the exception of some examples that were decorated with lambs, doves and vine leaves, sculptures did not have Christian symbols, their function was to decorate the house of god and create a religious aesthetic. With its remarkable porticos, narthex and decorated interiors, the Christian basilica became the favoured building in Christian cities. Spolia translated as the triumph of the church and the new decorative style in early Byzantium. Similarly, architectural sculptures in Byzantine churches with their resemblance to classical ornaments provide combined arrangements on the colonnades, porticos and narthex of the churches and impacted significantly on the beauty of the church in such a way that it later came to be seen as a divine aesthetic.

With its classical decorations, the Basilica of St John Studion presents traditional features which made it a magnificent place. With the Basilica belonged the monastery, which was designed to accommodate monks and worshippers. It housed and educated one thousand monks. Its entrance with the atrium provided the transitional space that separates the church from other buildings. The interior area was designed for the needs of large congregations of the faithful. On the outside, the roof created the appearance of a basilica to dissociate it from

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[194] A. N. Palmer and L. Rodley, 'The Inauguration Anthem of Hagia Sophia in Edessa: a New Edition and Translation with Historical and Architectural Notes and Comparison with a Contemporary Constantinopolitan Kontakion', *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies 12*, (1988), p. 143.

[195] In Eusebius' Vita Constantini, there is knowledge about how the parts of the building symbolised Christ and apostles, Eusebius, *Life of Constantine*, 3.38; Hansen, *Meanings of Style*, p. 74.

other buildings.[196] The sanctuary, including the altar, which symbolised the throne of Christ, was located just before the apse. This basilica like others reflected the nature of ceremony. The central area of the nave was designed for the congregation of worshippers in religious practices and also served to accommodate processions. The liturgy of St John can be explained thus; first the entrance which began the liturgy with entrance along the nave from the narthex. In this ceremony, there was praying and singing and on the altar the gospels representing Christ were "enthroned". After this ceremony came the liturgy, in which readings from Old Testament and new testaments was practiced. Psalms were sung during this ceremony. After which was the great entrance, in which the Eucharist was began with the rejection of catechumens and the closing of doors. The congregation then recite the words of the Nicene Creed and the communion prayer from memory. These religious practices illustrate the church's role in bringing the congregation together. In these ceremonies the clergy and congregation are part of a sacred ritual. After the final ceremony of 'thanksgiving' the congregation leaves.[197]

The Studion also had a spiritual influence, housing educated and religious monks. In the Studion, the monks lived in a place where Christianity was always being practiced. Although the monks lived under restricted legislations, to live impeccably in a religious place was a pleasure for the monks and worshippers. As can be understood from the writing about the Studion; the visitor to Studion indicated that the place they were living was the representation of palace. It was surrounded by a garden, an olive yard, and a vineyard. And he continued that 'Before me are graceful and luxuriant cypress trees. On one hand is the city with its market place; on the other, the mother of churches and the empire of the world.'[198]

According to various emperors St John Studion offered shelter to protect Christianity and separate Christians from the unreliable world outside.[199] Architectural sculpture adorned this religious and important basilica and was interpreted by those living or worshipping there through a Christian lens. Artefacts that had hitherto decorated temples or other pagan monuments, now had the role of adorning the house of God. The doves and crosses on the friezes are evidence of the Christianisation of classical motifs. These common artistic symbols, presented in previous chapters, were also used for purifying pagan architectural

[196] Millingen, *Byzantine Churches in Constantinople*, pp. 49-50.
[197] R. Ousterhout, 'The Holy Space: Architecture and Liturgy', in Linda Safran (ed.) *Heaven on Earth: Art and the church in Byzantium*, (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998), pp. 84-87.
[198] E. Marin, *De Studio Coenobio Constantinopolitano*, (LeCoffre, 1897), p. 11; referenced in Millingen, *Byzantine Churches in Constantinople*, p. 43
[199] Millingen, *Byzantine Churches in Constantinople,* pp. 41-43.

elements. Similarly, the significance of the pomegranates decorating the capitals of columns cannot be underestimated. The palmettes, acanthus leaves have different sources, are all realistic decorations that stem from a classical vocabulary, yet in Christianity they were valued for their symbolic meaning. The poem written by John Geometres in the 10th century describes the church as a representation of heaven with its decorations in the exterior and interior. The interplay of colours and beautiful pictorial compositions were understood as meadows; the divine and 'imperceptible' world was represented by light and its 'metaphysical symbolism'; decorative mosaics in the apse signified the spiritual world; bright and columns embedded with precious stones recalled 'rivulets of molten snow pouring onto the sparkling stones of the floor as if into the sea'; and smooth stones created the impression of a 'calm sea'.[200]

Although there is no evidence to indicate how the old Hagia was perceived at a structural level, the materials give the impression of a magnificent gateway whose decorative elements welcomed worshippers to paradise. As stated above, in Late Antiquity the design of church entrances was similar to that of pagan buildings. However, the depictions changed over time. They came to include representations of the apostles with doves and Christ with a palm tree. Positioning a cross in the middle of a frieze may be understood as simply a change in Byzantine decoration or, at a more significant level, as aiming to change perceptions.

Entering a Byzantine church was like entering heaven, providing a spiritual life separate from the world outside. Even though the gates of the Basilica of St John Studion were decorated with profane art, they symbolised entry to the most important building of all in the city. Some theories take the entrance of the church as a metaphor for the desert, which in turn was linked to the lives of monks and hermits.[201] In the medieval world, the desert was interpreted as the border between the habitable world and the uninhabitable world, and the entrances of Christian churches had the same function of separation.[202] With its richly decorated porticos the portal of the old Hagia Sophia emphasised the gates to paradise. Its triumphal arch and decorative schema led into a spiritual place. In the Basilica of St John Studion the situation was similar, as monks, worshippers and emperors entered the place where Christianity was

[200] St Geometres also give the idea about the mosaic in St John the Studion. In W. Woodfin, 'A Majestas Domini in Middle Byzantine Constantinople', *CahArch* 51, (2003/2004), pp. 45-47; H. G. Saradi, 'Space in Byzantine Thought', in Slobodan Curcic and Evangelia Hadjitryphonos, *Architecture as Icon*, (London: Yale University Press, 2010), pp. 103-104.
[201] G. Gerov, 'The Narthex as Dessert: The Symbolism of the Entrance Space in Orthodox Church Buildings', in *Ritual and Art, ed. by Pamela Armstrong*, (London: Pindar Press, 2006), p. 145.
[202] Ibid, p. 145.

practiced. However, it also had a library and facilities to provide religious education. Moreover, entering a church also meant focusing the attention for the purpose of purification.[203] In Christian and Jewish traditions the concept of space was metaphorical and was considered metaphysical. Paradise and the house of God were descriptions of a celestial place and they were also represented in art and architecture. The entrance gave access to the atrium, which was representative of paradise. This garden and the architecture of the church were the earthly images of a 'heavenly world'.[204] As Constantine Manasses describes, the garden was beautifully and ornamentally planted with trees, herbs, fruits and flowers of various colours to create the effect of paradise.[205]

Inside the Byzantine church worshippers felt that they were inside the holy world, namely the house of God. Contemplating the symbolic aspect of the church, Eusebius described it as a "living temple", and its walls and columns as made of "living and moving stones", and further noted that it was illuminated brilliantly.[206] The church was also considered as the image of heaven. Unlike the architecture of pagan temples, the Christian church was the metaphoric representation of both heaven and earth. In terms of its architecture and profane art it symbolised earth, but imbued with a religious aesthetic, the church and its decorations gained a heavenly appearance.[207] This argument is supported by Procopius' discourse on the Hagia Sophia, as he comments on the harmony of the parts, the abundance of light and its reflection on the marble as well as the other works of art that create a celestial atmosphere inside the building.[208] The architectural form of the Christian church with its smooth spaces, different arrangements of parts and rich ornamentation brought viewers to appreciate this as a heavenly space.[209] The ornamental plants and animals such as the pomegranates and doves in architectural sculptures of St John Studion and the lambs and palmettes in the old Hagia Sophia, also represented divine creation. God's creation of the world depicted through the use of precious materials was common in Christian literary and exegetes. In exegetes considered the physical appearance of heaven and earth to reflect the presence of God, the 'invisible creator'. Although the appreciation of architectural patterns, religious activities, burning incense and light effects all constituted earthly experiences, they were physical expressions of

[203] Kieckhefer, *Theology in Stone*, p. 63.
[204] Saradi, 'Space in Byzantine Thought', p. 92.
[205] Constantine Manasses, *Chronike Synopsis*, ed. by Immanuel Bekker, (Bonn: Impensis Ed. Weberi, 1837), 11.181-13.230; referenced in Saradi, 'Space in Byzantine Thought', p. 92.
[206] McVey, 'Spirit Embodied', p. 18.
[207] Saradi, 'Space in Byzantine Thought', p. 99.
[208] Procopius, *Buildings, I.28-35* Trans. By. H. B. Dewing and G. Downey, vol. 7, p. 17.
[209] Saradi, 'Space in Byzantine Thought', p. 100.

god and signs of the presence of the invisible.[210] This combination of heaven and earth in church architecture starts with its architectural elements. The sanctuary was the symbol of earth, whereas the nave and the other parts signified an earthly bridge to a heavenly place. As Saradi suggests, these 'perceptible' elements made up of architectural form, decoration and ceremonies created through their symbolic meanings an 'imperceptible' world.[211]

The symbolism of the church did not merely relate to heaven, but was also considered as a man. His soul was equated with the priesthood, his mind with the sanctuary and his body with a nave. This also shows that the church was the image of body and soul.[212] The description of the church as a symbolic holy space can be also read from the Patriarch Germanos; 'the church is a heaven on earth wherein the heavenly god dwells and walks.' It is the representation of the crucifixion, the burial and the resurrection of Christ. 'It is glorified above Moses' tabernacle of testimony. It was prefigured by the patriarchs, foretold by the prophets, founded by the apostles, and adorned by the hierarchs.' Germanos further interpreted the different architectural sections. He took the conch of the apse to symbolise the cave of Bethlehem in which Christ was born and buried. The bread kept on the altar was believed to come from heaven, and the altar itself was seen as the representation of the 'place where Christ was buried'. Bread was the metaphorical meaning of sacrifice, and specifically 'bloodless sacrifice'.[213]

Balai of Aleppo described the church as an earthly place representing heaven and the worshippers inside as representations of angels. 'It is not ordinary dwelling, since heaven's lord dwells in it.'[214] For Sophronios, the patriarch of Jerusalem, the church with its liturgical ceremonies was a likeness of heaven, and the people who celebrated these ceremonies imitations of the 'angels of god in heaven'. In Christological terms the church symbolised the earthly and heavenly nature of Christ. The composition of the church into two parts, namely the sanctuary and the exterior space, symbolises the 'twin nature of Christ. Godly and at the same time human. The one part is visible and the other part is invisible'. Moreover, the church was perceived as the physical realisation of human nature and its congregation of 'soul and

[210] Saradi, 'Space in Byzantine Thought', p. 101.
[211] Ibid. p. 102.
[212] Ibid. p. 102.
[213] Ousterhout, 'The Holy Space', p. 99.
[214] For the translation of Balai's poem see; K. E. McVey, "The Sogitha on the Church of Edessa in the Context of Other Early Greek and Syriac Hymns for the Consecration of Church Buildings," Aram 5 (1993), p. 359; McVey, 'Spirit Embodied', p. 55.

body'.[215] Apart from seeing the church as Christ itself, New Testament writers defined the church as the wife or bride of Christ. Members of the church represented the body of Christ and were likened to living stones inside the church built into spiritual space.[216] The interior space of the church, with its symbolic parts and decoration, reflects an image that has spiritual power and grants beholders a sense of mysticism. It is a place whose visual elements create the sense of touch to feel heavenly invisible. This spiritual admiration is not apparent in pagan temples.[217] Apart from its exterior and interior symbolic parts, the windows constitute another important element that contributes to making the Christian church come across as a holy place. Since they brought earthly light from outside, windows were believed to improve the mystic ambience inside the church. Blending earthly and heavenly light inside the churches induced the meditation that allowed those present to feel as if they were in heaven. Within the church interior, earthly light was guided to the divine presence and magnified the impression of heaven.[218] In churches enhanced by spiritual light, the experience of seeing images was different as the light reflected materials such as mosaics, wall paintings and marble, making works of art desirable to look at.[219]

When architectural symbols, ceremonies and humanity came together inside the building, the church became a metaphoric vision of holy land. Believers entering the church for ceremonies were active viewers, who contemplated works of arts while practicing their faith. Worshippers either placed their body in this spiritual world or were active inside the church. Therefore, they were not just seeing the divine world. Being active inside the church, led worshippers to use not merely sight but in fact all their senses.[220] James relates how worshippers acted in religious services and what they derived from participation. 'The viewer, or member of the congregation, was not able to remain a passive, isolated spectator but was compelled to engage with what was going on, with the church itself and with other worshippers.'[221] In the case of services, Christian churches welcomed a variety of ceremonies including religious services and imperial festivals and processions. Thus the emperor celebrated his processions

[215] Saradi, 'Space in Byzantine Thought', p. 103.
[216] In Eph. 4:1-16 Paul interprets the worshippers as body of Christ and in Eph. 5:21-13 Paul defines the church as bride of Christ, referenced in McVey, 'Spirit Embodied', p. 43.
[217] Saradi, 'Space in Byzantine Thought', p. 100.
[218] P. Reuterswärd, 'Windows of Divine Light', *Journal of Art History*, vol. 51. No. 3, (1982), p. 95.
[219] James, 'Senses and Sensibility in Byzantium', p. 527.
[220] Ibid. p. 524.
[221] Ibid. p. 525.

in the Basilica of St John Studion.[222] During these ceremonies the churches were lit and filled with decorated, reflective materials with gold and silver surfaces. The impact of images and other works of art changed according to the atmosphere in the church.[223]

During religious practice, burning candles, oil lamps and incense lent a mystic air. The church filled with pleasant smells with religious associations. The belief that made incense significant was that it was offered as a gift at the shrines of saints. This smell did not just exert physical, but also spiritual influence. Within the symbolic architectural context this delicate smell was perceived to create a divine air in a holy place.[224] Through the symbols of doves and light effects as well as the sweet smell of incense, the interaction of the senses created the impression of the Holy Spirit in the invisible, spiritual realm.[225] Additionally, tactile contact with elements such as doors, columns, icons, patens and chalices inside the churches meant that worshippers used their sense of touch and created physical interaction with holy objects inside the church.[226] Apart from touch and smell, the liturgy entailed singing and reading the words of the divine. Within the Byzantine church, the acoustics in domed buildings especially gave rise to remarkable sound effects, although vaulted basilicas too had particular resonance. Hearing significant words and preaching in praise of god also contributed to communion with a divine presence.[227]

It is obvious that such appeals to all the senses, especially in ceremonies, encouraged worshippers to look at works of art from a different perspective. Hearing, smelling and touching provided an experience of the meaning of works of art, which was to enhance the holy space. These are the main differences that separate Christian churches from other buildings. In Christian worship, the congregation used all their senses to engage with God. Sight alone was insufficient to realise the importance of the edifice or works of art it contained. Using all senses led visitor to cross the gap between the visible and the invisible, the sensible and the insensible. Experiencing art objects by combining all senses, brought an understanding of the spiritual meaning of the art.[228] Such exposure to art that involved all

[222] The basilica of St John the Studion welcomed the imperial Processions as well. See; Freely and Cakmak, *Byzantine Monuments of Istanbul*, p. 66.
[223] James, 'Senses and Sensibility in Byzantium', p. 531.
[224] Ibid. p. 525.
[225] Ibid. p. 525.
[226] For the tactility of icons see; B. V. Pencheva, 'The Performative Icon', *The Art Bulletin*, vol. 88. No. 4, (2006), p. 631; also see; James, 'Senses and Sensibility in Byzantium', p. 526.
[227] James, 'Senses and Sensibility in Byzantium', p. 527.
[228] Ibid. p. 533.

senses allowed for an encounter with two different perspectives, namely the physical and the spiritual.[229]

This symbolic meaning of the church and its religious function made it the most favoured building within Byzantine Christianity. The decoration enriched a place of great significance and in this context the perception of architectural sculpture had changed. It is clear that apart from having a function, every part of the church such as sanctuary, colonnades and entrances had metaphoric meaning. In addition, the ceremonies had a significant effect on the visual realm of architectural sculpture and a capacity to alter it. In the church context, whether intentional or not, the meaning of classical motifs changed. They were purified as spolia and pagan temples were cleansed of their idols.

The translation of style was a common approach Byzantine churches; thus by decorating the porticos and interiors of churches with marble classical reality was turned into religious sight. The decoration of entablatures did not have a practical function in architectural structure, but merely served as embellishment. Reusing classical motifs asymmetrically may be understood a re-examining of earlier decorations. Dynamic motifs create beauty that has rhetorical meaning inside the Byzantine church. This is a similar aesthetic that can be found everywhere in Christian art.[230] This metaphorical aesthetic was used to show the beauty of the Christian basilica. Its beauty was a symbol of the importance of the building. It appeals to the senses and attracts attention. Hypatius of Ephesus' writings suggests that the material decoration of sanctuaries was important 'because we permit each other of the faithful to be guided and led up to the divine being in a manner appropriate to it', since even materials which created beauty inside the sanctuary provided guidance for people to see the divine presence. Interrogating this material with light in the sanctuaries provided 'intelligible and immaterial light.'[231]

The beauty of the church can be also interpreted as an offering to God. Commenting on this notion, Adams stated that churches with every detail and decoration shone in a sacred way where people surrounded by the softened stones, richly decorated arches, colonnades and vaults and illuminated with light from windows, attracting the sense of sight. This is like an

[229] James, 'Senses and Sensibility in Byzantium', p. 531.
[230] Hansen, 'Meanings of Style', p. 77
[231] Hypatius of Ephesus, *Fragment of "Miscellaneous Enquiries" Addressed to his Sufragan bishop Julian Atramytion*, in Cyril Mango, The Art of the Byzantine Empire, p. 116.

offering of thanks to God.[232] With this symbolic vision worshippers congregated in Divine Liturgy and felt that they were in heaven. Decoration in religious place provided a 'sacrament of grace'.[233] Its physical appearance and natural decoration, recalled a meadow, the metaphoric representation of paradise, and indicates how architectural sculpture played a significant role in altering the appearance of holy space. As mentioned, paradise was thought of as a garden, and these marbles, which were decorated with flowers and animals, increased the impression that the church was heaven on earth. The effect of beauty and using architectural sculptures in order to create magnificent monuments recovered from pagan religion and were given new meaning in Christian thought, which gives metaphoric meaning to architecture and artworks.[234] Procopius' appreciation of the Hagia Sophia may offer some insight into the beautiful effect the marbles in Byzantine churches had. He stated that the precious columns and stones that were used to embellish the church represented a 'blossoming meadow'. Their visual appearance indicated that the church was not built by human beings, but was the creation of God; in other words 'god himself built the church'. 'Thus, the mind exalted toward god, convincing the observer that god dwells in the very building.'[235] Their aesthetic attracted people's attention, and it is therefore unsurprising that the decorated marbles, which echoed a blossoming meadow, can also be found in ancient literature. In Christianity, this feature allowed worshippers to make a connection between the physical and the spiritual world. Although in the ancient world it was used to express beauty, in Christianity it creates the mystic air that provokes a sense of the divine.[236]

Marbles as both decorative and functional materials inside the church allowed spectators to idealise materials and their meaning. Just as the senses and symbolic structural parts of the church led the viewer to recognise the church as god's dwelling, and perceive invisible through visible objects, so marbles were the sign of divine presence.[237] In the case of the Basilica of St John Studion, green marble columns were used in the colonnades. Combining these with floral decorations gave the church spiritual influence and at the same time merged the earthly and heavenly nature of church decoration. Leo VI, described the church built by Stylianus Zaoutzas; there were four columns which were decorated in green 'such as the earth

[232] R. A. Cram, *Church Building: a Study of the Principles of Architecture in Their Relation to the Church*, (Boston: Marshal Jones, 1924), p. 8.
[233] Kieckhefer, *Theology in Stone*, p. 99.
[234] Saradi, 'Space in Byzantine Thought', pp. 99-100
[235] Procopius, *Buildings 1.1.59-62*, referenced in Saradi, 'Space in Byzantine Thought', pp. 87-88.
[236] Saradi, 'Space in Byzantine Thought', pp. 87-88.
[237] F. Barry, 'The Symbolism of Coloured Marbles', p. 153.

puts forth at the end of winter... Support the pendent arches. The ground is covered all over with the hues of various flowers… enclosed by a contexture imitating the different flowers of the earth.'[238] Additionally, Thesselian marbles, which were of green colour, were used to decorate Justinian's Hagia Sophia, increasing the value of decoration and heightening the viewer's desire to look at.[239] Columns and floors reflected natural vegetal imagery. With the church standing for heavenly Jerusalem, the worshippers inside represented living stones, and the stones in turn symbolised prayers. The church, which was considered as the bride of Christ, was brilliantly decorated with precious marbles.[240] Such beauty was thought of as heavenly so that by extension the bride of Christ too became beautiful.

Harmanepoulos described the columns of the church of the Acheiropoietos at Thessaloniki. The columns symbolised the breath 'rising from earth to heaven'. Despite the earthly materials inside, the church itself not belong to earth. The precious marbles created a spiritual impression.[241]

Precious and polished marbles were believed to be suitable materials for reflecting light. This effect symbolised god's natural presence, and as mosaics and paintings inside the churches gave off divine light when they combined with natural light, marbles also transformed divine light with their naturally brilliant appearance.[242] The luminous effects of marbles were also commonly sought in the pagan tradition because of their capacity to illuminate the interior and attract the eye of the viewer. Pliny describes their effects in temples, noting that although the doors were closed, the interior of the temples shone, as if illuminated by daylight, since the marbles possessed qualities that made the light become 'enclosed within, rather than transmitted from outside'.[243] However, inside temples these effects were still felt to be earthly, whereas in churches they became divine light. For instance, as Eusebius in his ecclesiastical history explains the light in the church at Tyre (317 A.D.); the marbles acquired divine meaning, faith was surrounded by light that was reflected by the highly polished marbles in the baths and made the basking worshippers feel purified and 'reborn in Christ'. Therefore the marbles were built by the 'men's souls'. The church was then filled with

[238] Leo VI, *Sermon 34*, in Cyril Mango, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire*, p. 203.
[239] Barry, 'The Symbolism of Coloured Marbles', p. 215.
[240] See; footnote 216.
[241] Saradi, 'Space in Byzantine Thought', p. 105.
[242] Barry, 'The Symbolism of Coloured Marbles', p. 135.
[243] Pliny HN 36.46.163, cited in Barry, 'The Symbolism of Coloured Marbles', p. 172.

light.[244] The fifth century Titulus in the Chapel of St. Andrew in Ravenna explains how it was the relationship between light and marbles and the materials that drew light inside the churches especially during ceremonies; either the light was conceived here or held hostage, light has a nature that 'reigns' unreservedly. The light inside the church had a twin nature, coming both from paradise and through modern windows. Even if the inside was not lit, the building is filled with marbles which shine brilliantly, as does a 'gleaming day'.[245] Additionally John Geometres describes the lighting effect inside the Basilica of St John Studion; the light which becomes spiritual inside the church gains spiritual meaning from the expression of marbles and mosaic decorations. The feelings which people find within themselves inside the divine world begin to emerge when they enter the church and place themselves in a place illuminated with 'incorporeal lights'.[246]

It can be concluded that architectural sculpture made by contemporary craftsmen was employed either to decorate churches with the express purpose of evoking divine beauty and the impression of divine presence, or to convey its own symbolic meaning inside the building. Marbles were not created merely as objects of art. Just as mosaics and wall paintings conveyed spiritual meaning gained from their surroundings, so architectural sculpture affected the perceptions of the viewers. Thus, although they were drawn from natural, classical symbols, these works of art provided different dimensions in the Byzantine church.

[244] Eusebius, *The Ecclesiastical History 10.4.64.*, trans. by. J. E. L. Oulton, vol. 2, (London: William Heinemann, 1957), p. 439.
[245] Barry, 'The Symbolism of Coloured Marbles', p. 142.
[246] Saradi, 'Space in Byzantine Thought', pp. 103-104.

Conclusion

This dissertation has explained that while some architectural sculptures resemble classical marble decoration or spolia, in Christianity they took on new meaning. As perceived when viewing, acquiring and critiquing art objects and architecture, marble revetments had a remarkable effects inside churches. These effects combined within the setting of Byzantine churches to provide a new perspective. Without doubt, the most important element affecting the interpretation and experience of viewing the marble revetments was the church itself.

As explained in the first chapter, the notion of decorating public buildings in Constantinople shared many similarities with the Roman tradition. In particular, artists combined classical art objects with Christianity in both traditions, as seen in Byzantine art in general. This style of decoration of public buildings in Constantinople was important because it indicated the ideals of Christian art, blending past and present and imbuing new meaning into statues or architectural elements from the past.

Drawing on the artistic traditions in Byzantium, Christians fulfilled their need to produce antique works of art and interpret them according to a Christian perspective. They took the form of art works and adapted them to the new religion. Some of the art works were used to signify triumphalism or rebirth and new religion. Some were simply used to create beauty. As an example, the arch of Constantine led people to propose several interpretations of this new style of decoration that combined past and present. The reliefs reflected both, the continuous activity of constructing triumphal arches, and political and theological thoughts.[247] This was the same in Constantinople, where the Forum of Constantine, the Hippodrome, and Baths of Zeuxippos were decorated just as the Romans had decorated their cities in the past.[248] The arch of Theodosius, despite having no figurative composition, reflects the same arrangements as a form. However, form was not considered as important, it was the meaning that Christianity attributed to these artworks or architectures that made them unique.

The translation of the classical can also be seen in architecture of late antiquity. During this era the form of the basilica was used but given new meaning. For instance, as mentioned above there were certain additions made to allow worshippers to fulfil their need for prayer. They took the basilica as an example, because it was constructed for people to congregate inside. Basilicas met the needs of the public in Roman culture, but in Byzantium they were

[247] Elsner, 'From Culture of Spolia, to the Cult of Relics', pp. 149-184.
[248] Basset, *the Urban Image of Late Antique Constantinople*, pp. 26-32.

used as religious places. It was not the form of the building which differentiated the Christian buildings from pagan religious buildings; rather, it was the perception of the worshippers while entering the church and the sanctuary. The interiorisation of the building, and the religious activities performed therein meant Christian buildings differed entirely from pagan ones. How the perception of the buildings altered, and the reason the form was not important, can also be understood in reference to the conversion of the temple. The temple as a building was considered to be the home of demons, although the inscriptions and crosses suggested the building was the house of the Christian god. In the past the buildings were used for sacrifice, which is bloody, but in Christianity the sacrifice and thanks was practiced via the sacrament of the Eucharist without blood.[249]

In addition, clearing the temples of pagan religious practices changed perceptions of the buildings. The entrance and sanctuary were no longer pagan places, they were now occupied by Christianity. Although it was a political decision that temples could be opened and regarded as artistic creations, in terms of religion, the pagan divinity in the buildings was defeated by their use for Christian purposes. The same practice as that used for purifying pagan temples was also used to change the meaning of statues and the other marble revetments which situated in temples. Crosses were carved on the statues and marbles, removing the demons that inhabited them. In a building, which is the house of Christian god, where people are aware of the divine presence and architectural sculptures are welcome creates a new understanding of the works of art therein. Marble revetments in Christianity lent beauty to Christian buildings. Although the design of the decoration or form of the architectural sculptures was similar to that of architectural sculptures used in pagan buildings, they were used for new purposes. This purpose was to decorate the Christian building, creating divine beauty within the churches. Therefore, they could be examined in terms of their meaning within the Christian churches. Explanations about changes made to the natural appearance of decorative elements furthers understanding of their artistic quality. However, in Byzantine art, as mentioned, the objects were examined in terms of their spiritual and metaphorical meanings. Evaluating architectural sculptures within the church context allowed people to understand the ideals of Christianity changed the meaning of the marbles. In the church context, architectural sculptures or spolias, despite having been pagan temple decorations, no longer represented demons or other idols. They were in a purified place

[249] As It is referenced in footnote; 213.

reflecting the new religion's spiritual meanings. This purification of the marbles can be linked to the purification of people with the rebirth of the soul through baptism.

The Theodosius' Hagia Sophia offers an important case study example, since it indicates the quality of the porticoes constructed and the significant elements which are seen as key examples altering the meaning of works of art. Naturalistic effects was abandoned in the decorative style of these artworks, although the form of the entablatures and decorative elements was similar to that of the marble revetments in the temples, such as the Corinthian capitals, ions and lesbian cymatium in friezes. These examples present the new artistic creativity and symbolic art of a new religion. There was also an interrogation of motifs. For example, symbolic figures such as lambs and palmet leaves were from classical compositions. Palmet leaves were present in the classical tradition, but gained new meaning in Christianity.

The entrance of the church welcomes people to enter a paradise or place in which Christian religious rituals were performed. The profane entrance, leant beauty to the house of god, differentiating it from neighbouring buildings. This design of its porticos increased the significance of the building. Moreover, as afore-mentioned, the marbles with their tendrils and different decorative elements represented meadows. They gave an earthly appearance to paradise, combining an earthly and heavenly nature. When entering the old Hagia Sophia, people might have felt that they were entering paradise. Moreover, the triumphal arch, the centrepiece of the portico of the Hagia Sophia might have been seen to symbolise the victory of Christianity over paganism. Spolia and statues were used in Christian monuments, and given a metaphorical meaning, emphasising the defeat of paganism. The crosses and inscriptions inside the temples purified them and indicated rebirth through the new religion.

A similar impression is attained from the basilica of St John Studios. The marble revetments of the portico and naves share similarities with classical ones. But the importance of the basilica is considered in terms of its religious importance. The marbles were more than art objects. When combined with religious building they created a religious aesthetic. Different coloured columns also indicated paradise. As Procopius explained,[250] the marbles in Hagia Sophia, and the marbles inside the Studion stimulated a desire to worship. They were a representation of the beauty of heaven and earth in god's house, also reflecting the presence of god. Because the marbles were not human made objects, this made the worshippers believe that god himself had made them. Marbles played a significant role in defining the invisible

[250] As referenced in Page 46; Procopius, *Buildings 1.1.59-62*.

world with its heavenly nature. Another element which made the marbles more important in Christian churches, than they had been in pagan temples was their combination with other art objects. For instance, the combination of floor and wall mosaics, and icons bejewelled with gold and silver made the Christian church more desirable. They appealed to the sense of sight. But, this sight was not an earthly seeing, their lighting effects and brilliant appearance allowed the viewer to look at art objects from a spiritual perspective. This divine light emerged due to the reflective nature of the marbles and mosaics inside the churches. The decoration of the marbles, which are, vegetal and animal motifs were also representative of god creations and the twin nature of the church. The doves and pomegranates depicted reflected both naturalistic art and spiritual art.

Besides these figural compositions and visual effects of the marbles inside the church, worshippers also experienced them in religious ceremonies. Liturgical ceremonies provided a congregation of believers. These ceremonies combined all senses allowing viewers to see art objects from a different perspective. The beauty of the columns allowed people to use their sense of sight, to perceive the art works' divine nature. This was complemented with gifts for the other senses; the smell of burning candles and incense and the sounds of singing and prayer to god. Moreover, during the Eucharist, people touched religious objects such as icons, chalices and patens and kissed them. This practice was also meant that people experienced the art objects during their religious observations and perceive their religious meaning.

Inside the Byzantine church, the combination of the senses and the experiencing of art objects led people to feel that they were in heaven. They recognised that they were in a place in which god dwells. Therefore these architectural sculptures could not be separated from their buildings. If they are considered for their artistic value alone, then their full meaning as spiritual objects in the Christian churches cannot be understood. These religious aesthetics led Christians to disassociate themselves from the former pagan nature of the buildings and decorations. Although the art of classical Rome was used in Christian culture explicitly and extensively, the art objects themselves effected a transition into Christian culture.

A primary aim of these art objects was to decorate the house of god impeccably. To entice worshippers into the holy place by using beauty. This beauty was just one factor which allowed people to see beneath the visible, encouraging worshippers to be inspired by the art objects surrounding them. However, their beauty was not as effective outside the churches as it was inside. Since there were other art objects and religious activities inside the churches.

Art objects were not only located inside the sanctuary as an art object.[251] The objects inside the churches and architectural sculptures were also understood from a Christian and spiritual perspective. The same motifs or revetments that had formerly decorated pagan temples had been reconceived by Christianity, altering their meaning.

[251] For this argument see; James, 'Senses and Sensibility in Byzantium', pp. 523-537.

Illustrations

Fig. 1. Early Byzantine, *Balabanaga Mescidi, Entablature*, 4th century.

Fig. 2. *Detail of the Fig. 1. Showing Ion and Lesbian Cymae and Scrolling Tendrils.*

Fig. 3. Early Byzantine, *Constantinian Baths, Architrave and Frieze Block*, 4th century.

Fig. 4. Ancient Rome, *Temple of Hadrian in Ephesus*, 138 AD.

Fig. 5. *Detail from fig 4.*

Fig. 6. Early Byzantine, *Trabeation of the Propylon of Theodosius II's Hagia Sophia*, 5th century

Fig. 7. Early Byzantine, *Architrave on the North Side of the Nave of the St John Studion Basilica*, 5th century.

Fig. 8. Early Byzantine, *Slab of Marble from Basilica of St John in Hebdomon*, 5th century.

Fig. 9. Early Byzantium, *Narthex facade of the Basilica of St John Studion*, 5th century.

Fig 10. Early Byzantium*, Colonnade on the North Side of the Nave,* 5th century.

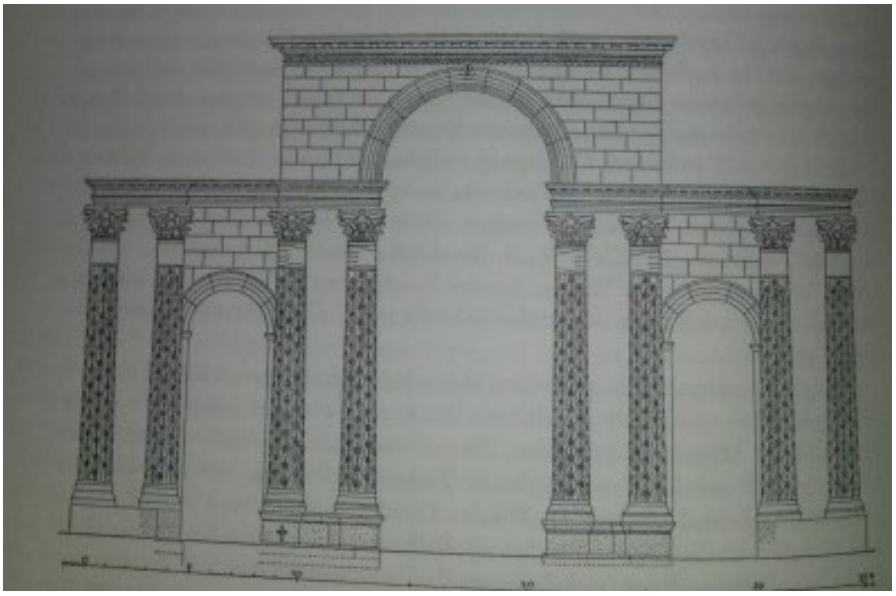

Fig. 11. Early Byzantine, *the Reconstruction of Forum Tauri by Nauman*, 1969.

Fig. 12. Early Byzantine, *One of the Columns from Forum Tauri*, 4th century.

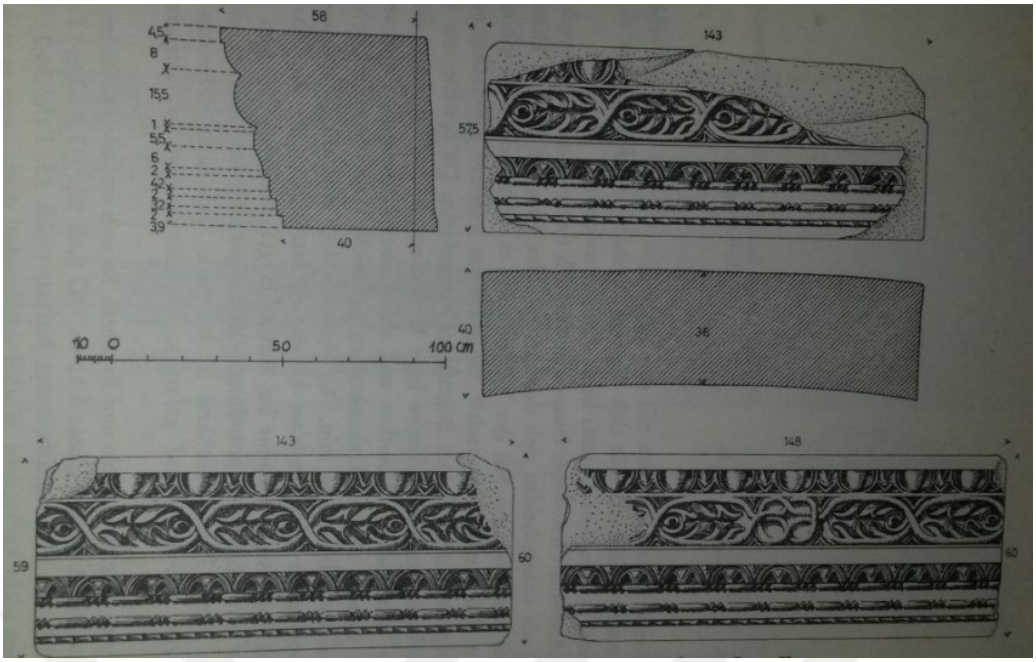

Fig. 13. Early Byzantine, *Reconstructions of Architraves from Forum Tauri by Nauman*, 1969.

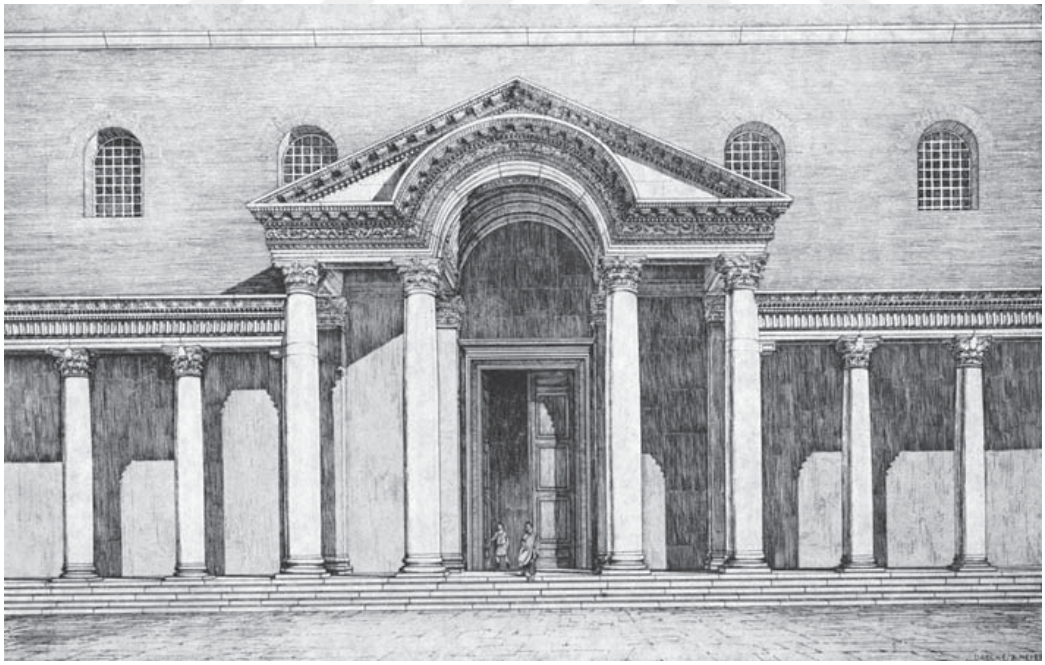

Fig. 14. Early Byzantine, *Reconstruction of Theodosius II's Hagia Sophia by Schneider*, 1935.

Fig. 15. Ancient Roman, *Tetrapylon of Aphrodisias*, 2nd century AD.

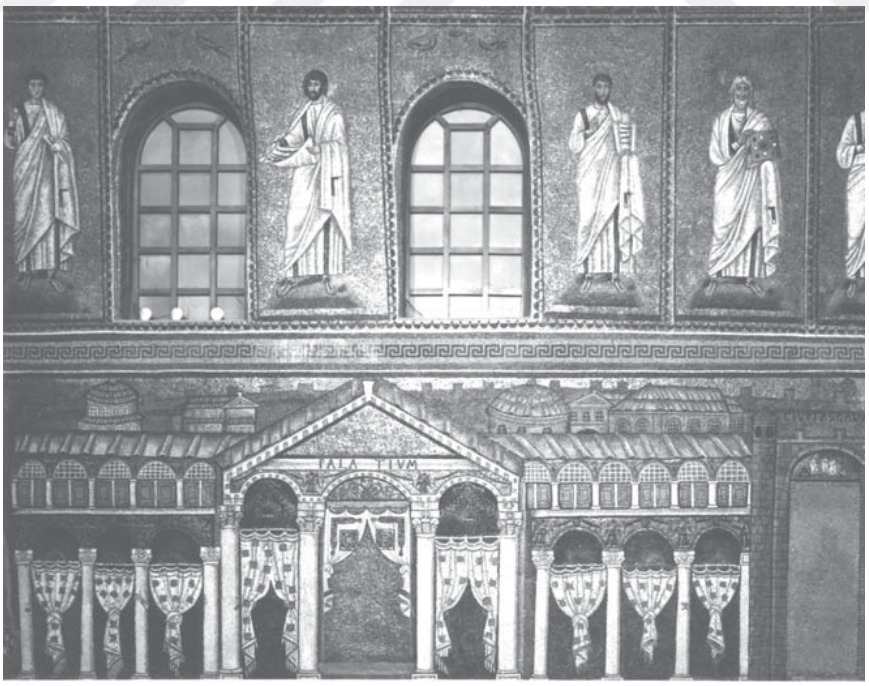

Fig. 16. Early Byzantium, *Mosaic Showing the Entrance of Imperial Palace in Ravenna, St Apollinare Nuovo*, 5th century.

Fig. 17. Early Byzantine, *One of the Corinthian Capitals from the Front Porch*, 5th century.

Fig. 18. Early Byzantine, *One of the Plaster Capitals*, 5th century.

Fig. 19. Early Byzantine, *Corinthian Capital Supporting Architraves of Portico*, 5th century.

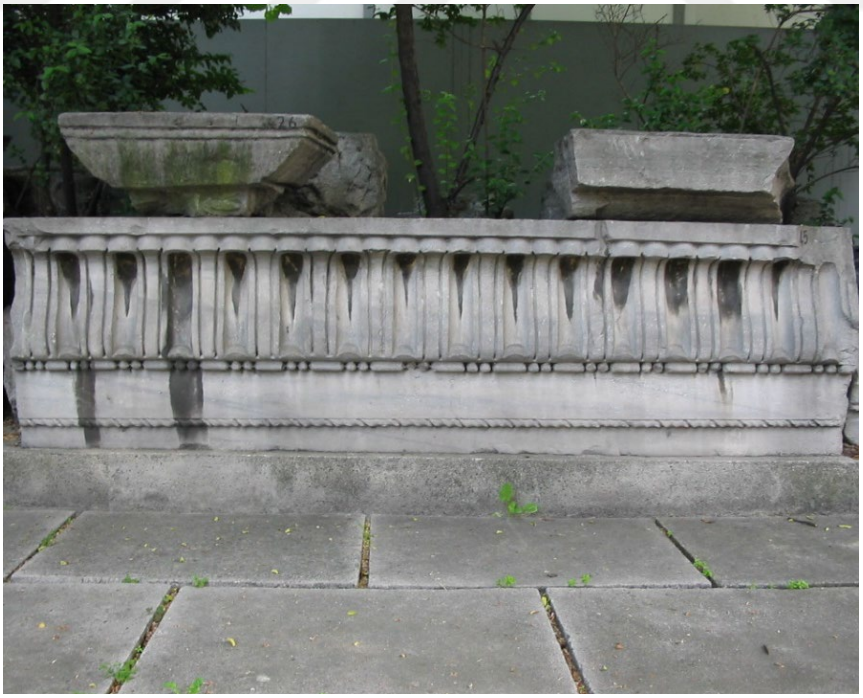

Fig. 20. Early Byzantine, *Epistyle from the Portico*, 5th century.

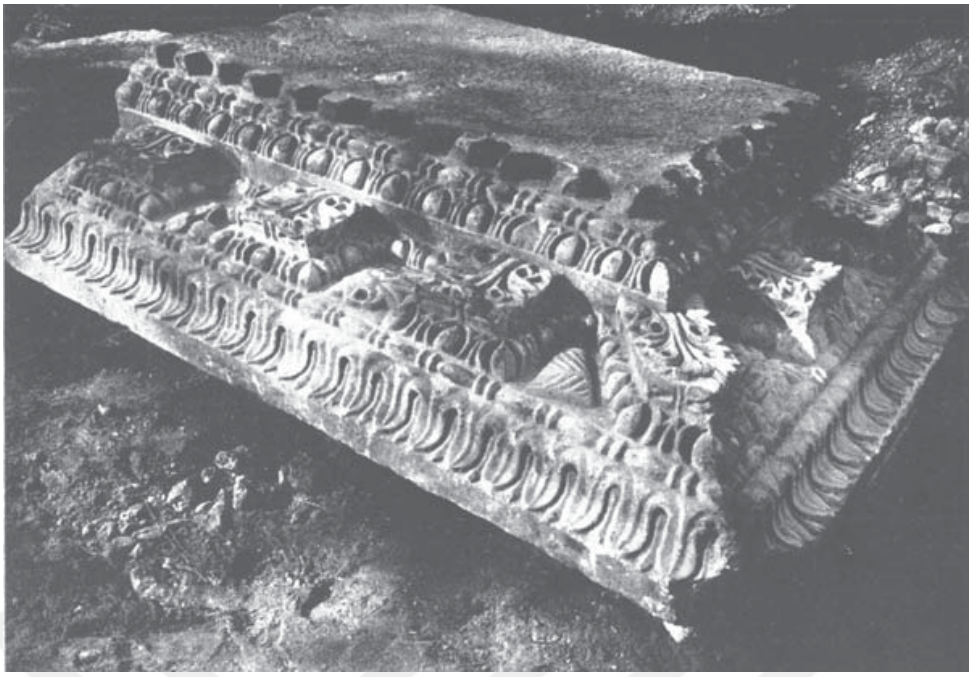

Fig. 21. Early Byzantium, *Modillion Cornice*, 5th century.

Fig. 22. Early Byzantium, *Lacunars on the Ceiling of Central Porch of Propyleaum of Hagia Sophia*, 5th century.

Fig. 23. Early Byzantium, *Right Side of the Architrave Presenting Sheeps*, 5th century.

Fig. 24. Early Byzantium, *Left Side of the Architrave Presenting Sheeps*, 5th century.

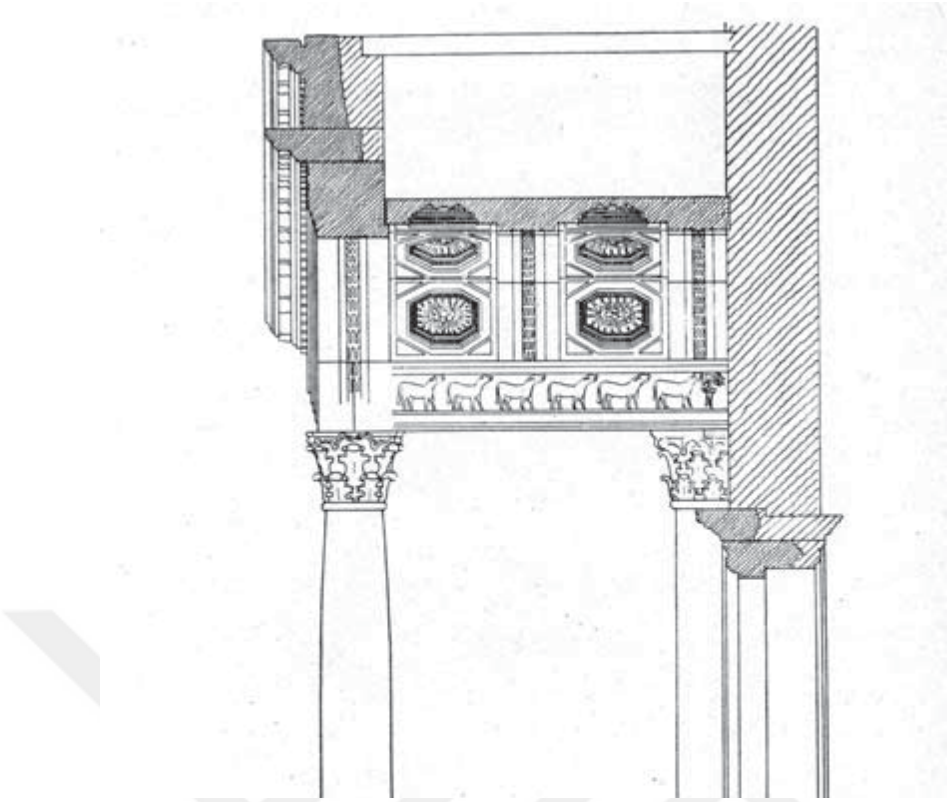

Fig. 25. Early Byzantium, *Reconstruction Showing Right Side of the Portico by Schneider*, 1935.

Fig. 26. Early Byzantium, *Column capitals from the Narthex Façade of St john Studion*, 5th century.

Fig. 27. *Detail of the Architrave from the North side of the Nave of the St John Studion.*

Fig. 28. Early Byzantium, *Marble Floor of the St John Studion*, 11th century?

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