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Temporal Structuring in the Chora Parekklesion

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in memory of Ernest J. W. Hawkins (1905–1993)¹

Abstract

In the fresco program in the parekklesion of the church of St. Savior in Chora at Constantinople (ca. 1316–21) images of events occurring in the past, present, and future are invoked as if they were occurring simultaneously. Although such temporal structuring was common both in Byzantine church decoration and in the liturgy, at the Chora the temporal construct is more complex, and the meaning is more specific. It is related to the function of the parekklesion as a funeral chapel, housing the tomb of its noble founder Theodore Metochites. The visual development of themes of time and eternity also finds a resonance in the funeral liturgy.

The major theme of the decorative program is the promise of salvation to the faithful. It is promised by past resurrections: the scene of the Anastasis in the apse represents Christ resurrecting Adam and Eve, and it is flanked by New Testament miracles in which Christ raises the dead. These images prepare the viewer for the Last Judgment, depicted in a unique composition in the vault above. As Christ sits in judgment, the dead are called forth from their tombs at the end of time. The temporal “place” between past and future events is occupied by the deceased founder and his colleagues, who were buried in arcosolium tombs along the lateral walls of the chapel, and these were decorated with their portraits.

The spatial relationships established within the decoration of the chapel emphasize the temporal relationships. The layers of temporality are bound together in an architectural framework, so that the faithful buried within the chapel become participants in the decorative program. They are offered the reassurances of salvation and are poised to be called to final judgment.

Any Byzantine church interior could be interpreted as an “emblem of temporality.”² The combination of monumental narrative and liturgical reenactment could combine to evoke the real presence of biblical events, transporting the worshipper from transient, linear time into eternal, divine time. Through the so-called Festival cycle and the accompanying annual program of liturgical celebration, events from the lives of Christ and the Virgin were both visually represented and ritually recreated, with the congregation acting as spectators to or participants in the unfolding drama.

The architectural setting and its fresco or mosaic decoration offered a flexible framework that could resonate with the nuances of the liturgy. It is not surprising that the symbolic meaning of the Byzantine liturgy and its setting were the subjects of numerous theological writings, whose elaboration reflected the ongoing development of the ceremony itself. These writings reveal the Byzantine perception of

time within a Christian universe, with temporal layers of the past events evoked, converging within the ceremonial setting. For example, in a well-known passage, the eighth-century *Historia mystagoga*, attributed to the Patriarch Germanos, offers multiple interpretations of the Byzantine church, its furnishings, and the liturgical vestments:³

The church is a heaven on earth wherein the heavenly God “dwells and walks.” It typifies the Crucifixion, the burial, and the Resurrection. 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 angels.

The text then explains the symbolism of the various parts of the building:

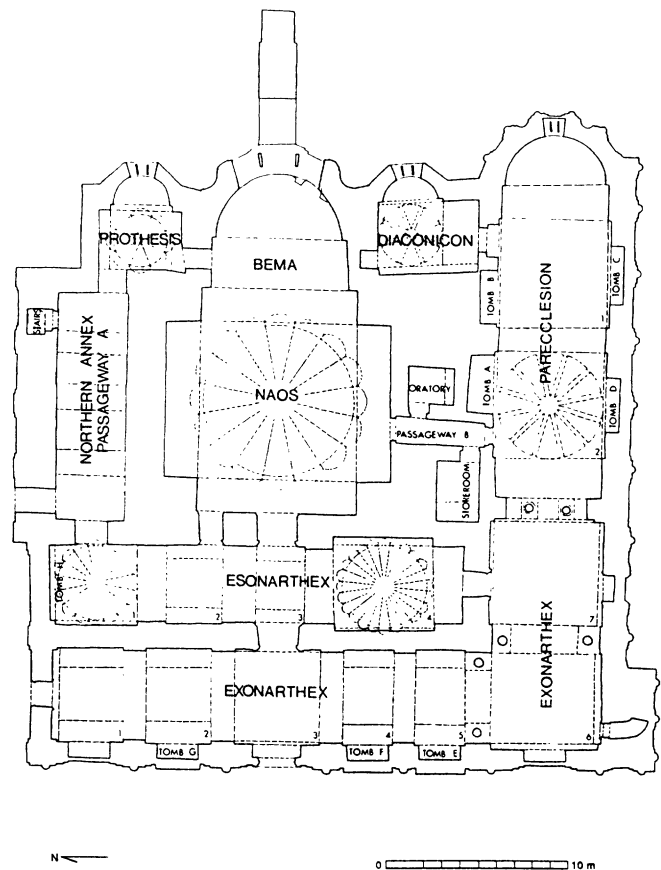


FIGURE 1. Chora, Constantinople. General plan (author).



FIGURE 2. *Chora, exonarthex. Virgin of the Chora* (photo: courtesy of Dumbarton Oaks Visual Resources).

The apse is after the manner of the cave of Bethlehem where Christ was born, and that of the cave where he was buried . . . The altar is the place where Christ was buried, and on which is set forth the true bread from heaven . . . It is also the throne upon which God . . . has rested. At this table too he sat down at his Last Supper . . . [and so on]

The symbolism of the Byzantine church and its parts shifted with the focus of the liturgical celebration—both topographically and temporally.

A popular eleventh-century text, the *Protheoria* of Nikolaos of Andida, insists upon a direct, symbolic relationship between the life of Christ and the liturgy, with the events rep-

resented in chronological order.⁴ As a proof of this symbolic relationship, the author cites the authority of the icons, which were a part of the church decoration,

handed down to the holy churches of God in a good and pious way together with the sacred liturgy . . . In them are related for the pious to see all the mysteries of the Incarnation of Christ from the coming of the archangel Gabriel to the Virgin, to the Lord's Ascension into heaven and his Second Coming.⁵

The liturgy, then, like the pictorial program of the naos, represented the full life of Christ. Viewed in this way, the liturgy could be understood as a series of “icons” of the



FIGURE 3. *Chora, exonarthex. Christ of the Chora (photo: courtesy of Dumbarton Oaks Visual Resources).*

major events of Christ's earthly life. Such an insistence on a temporally structured symbolism influenced most later writings on the liturgy.

Although the decorative program of a Byzantine naos remains relatively standardized throughout the Middle and Late Byzantine periods, other interior spaces were not so limited.⁶ In some interior programs, the temporal construct is more complex, and the meaning is more specific. Funeral chapels, for example, exhibited wider variations in decoration than did the naos, because the chapels were not the primary settings of the liturgy, and they could instead address specific salvific concerns related to the burials they housed.⁷ In this paper, I will investigate one particular funeral chapel that dramatically emphasizes the promise of salvation by

means of imagery simultaneously invoking past, present, and future. In addition, the architectural setting provides a three-dimensional structure for the temporal layers of the fresco program. My subject is the parekklesion, or subsidiary chapel, on the south side of the monastic church of St. Savior in Chora at Constantinople, now known as the Kariye Camii in Istanbul.

The parekklesion was part of the building and decorative program undertaken by the statesman and scholar Theodore Metochites at the Chora monastery between about 1316 and 1321.⁸ This old and venerable establishment was located near the fifth-century Land Walls of Constantinople in the northwest corner of the city. Its setting was originally pastoral, outside the heavily populated areas of the city, and

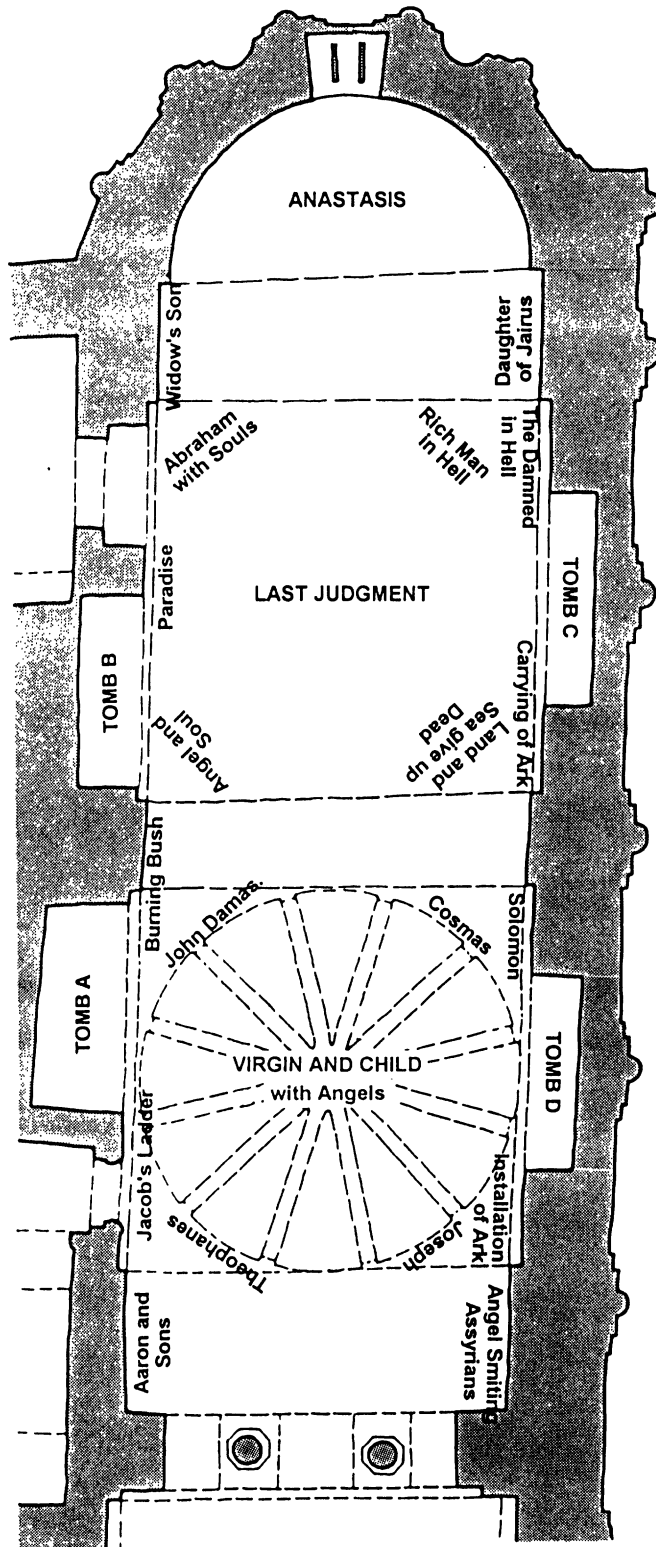


FIGURE 4. Chora, parekklesion. Plan showing distribution of frescoes (author).

this is reflected by the name Chora, apparently a toponym that could mean field, country, or place—thus, it was the monastery “in the country.” Both Christ and the Virgin were honored at the Chora, and dedications refer to both; however, the monastery appears to have been dedicated to the Virgin, whereas its main church was dedicated to Christ.⁹

Undertaking the restoration of the monastery at the request of the emperor, Metochites added to the shell of an older church new pastophoria, a two-storied north annex, two narthexes, and a belfry, as well as the parekklesion (Fig. 1). All were lavishly decorated with marbles, mosaics, and frescoes, of which Metochites was exceptionally proud. Constructed along the south flank, the parekklesion was designed to house Metochites’ tomb and also the tombs of family members and colleagues in arcosolia set into the lateral walls.¹⁰

Decorated entirely in fresco and almost completely preserved, the chapel has received little systematic inquiry since the publication of Underwood’s magisterial study.¹¹ The complex and sophisticated program of the parekklesion was undoubtedly executed by the same artists who were responsible for the lavish mosaic decoration of the narthexes, which represent the Infancy of the Virgin, the Infancy of Christ, and the Ministry and Miracles of Christ.¹² Taken together, the program forms a series of interlocking and inter-related narratives, and the parekklesion frescoes—the last to be executed—serve in many ways as the culmination of the other cycles. Without a doubt, the learned patron Theodore Metochites had a hand in the creation of the finely nuanced program. Although it can be read on a very simple level as a series of didactic scenes derived from the Old and New Testaments, the program’s many themes and the complex layering of meanings would have been appreciated by the founder’s intellectual coterie at the court of Andronicus II.

Two major themes control the decorative program of the Chora: Incarnation and salvation. The visitor is cued to these by the inscriptions that accompany the dedicatory mosaics throughout the building. Upon entering the main portal into the exonarthex, the visitor is confronted with the first set of such images: in pendant mosaics are Christ and the Virgin, with inscriptions related to the dedication of the monastery. Christ faces the viewer from above the portal leading from the exonarthex to the esonarthex, whereas the Virgin appears opposite him, directly above the main entrance to the building. The Virgin is labelled “he Chora tou Achoretou”: the container of the uncontainable (Fig. 2). The epithet is a play on the name of the monastery, reinterpreting it in a mystical sense. As used here, the epithet was probably derived from the popular Akathistos Hymn, although it is certainly older. The Virgin is represented with the Christ child in her womb, containing “what the spacious fields of heaven could not contain,” as one hymnographer expressed it.¹³ The theme of containment is emphasized by the images of containers—pithoi of wine and baskets of bread—in the scenes of the Miracle of Cana and the Multiplication of the Loaves



FIGURE 5. Chora, parekklesion. General view, looking east (photo: courtesy of Dumbarton Oaks Visual Resources).



FIGURE 6. Chora, parekklesion, north wall. Theophanes Graptos; Jacob's Ladder, Joseph Wrestling with an Angel; Moses and the Burning Bush; John of Damascus (photos: courtesy of Dumbarton Oaks Visual Resources).

represented in the domical vault above the two images. The theme of the Incarnation, then, is defined in *spatial* terms. Although this representation of the Virgin is often called *Blachernitissa* today, after the most famous version, the epithet *Platytera* was also applied, meaning “the one who is wider [than the heavens].” Similarly, Christ is labelled “he Chora ton Zonton”: the land (or dwelling place) of the living—referring to the eternal reward for the faithful in heaven (Fig. 3). Also a play on the name of the monastery, similarly interpreted in spiritual terms, the epithet derives from Psalm 116. As I will discuss in this paper, although the theme of Incarnation is expressed in *spatial* terms, the theme of salvation is expressed in *temporal* terms.

It is worth remembering the level of complexity in the program: as the cycles intersect, images become multivalent. Whereas the primary theme related to the Life of the Virgin is the Incarnation, the same images may take on a secondary meaning related to the theme of salvation. Additional themes, such as “gender symmetry”—the paralleling of the lives of Christ and the Virgin, are also developed—the last related to the dual dedications at the monastery.¹⁴ Moreover, although the naos was dedicated to Christ, the parekklesion was probably dedicated to the Virgin, as its decoration suggests.¹⁵ One might therefore expect the Incarnation to be the primary theme of its fresco decoration. However, as one moves into the chapel, there is a subtle transformation of em-



FIGURE 7. *Chora, parekklesion, dome. Virgin and Child surrounded by angels, with hymnographers in the pendentives (photo: courtesy of Dumbarton Oaks Visual Resources).*

phasis from Incarnation to salvation, with numerous references back to the subjects represented in the narthex cycles.

The language of the liturgy also encourages a nuanced reading of the mosaics and frescoes. In the funeral liturgy in particular, images that at first glance would seem to relate to the Incarnation are reinterpreted in relationship to salvation. Throughout the ceremony prayers are addressed to both Christ and the Virgin, and hymns honoring the Virgin are sung. In these, language normally applied to Christ is applied to the Virgin and vice versa. For example, Christ is addressed as “the fountain of life,” an epithet more fitting to the Virgin, whereas the Virgin is implored “For-sake me not all the days of my life and give me not over to

the mediation of mortal men,” a prayer more appropriately directed to Christ.¹⁶ And in another passage, the Virgin is addressed, “Hail, O August One, who for the salvation of all men didst bring forth God in the flesh; through whom, also, mankind hath found salvation.”¹⁷ Rather than focusing on the Incarnation, the funeral liturgy shifts the focus to the issue of salvation.

The architectural form of the parekklesion helps to structure its message. Opening directly from the outer narthex, it consists of two aisleless bays topped by a tall dome and by a domical vault, and the elongated space terminates in a low apse. Turning to its decorative program, we find Old Testament prefigurations of the Virgin in the west bay. These



FIGURE 8. *Chora, parekklesion, apse. Anastasis, flanked by the Raising of the Widow's Son and Raising of the Daughter of Jairus; St. Michael above* (photo: courtesy of Dumbarton Oaks Visual Resources).

act as references to the Incarnation, but more importantly emphasize the role of the Virgin in the process of salvation, thereby echoing her presentation in the funeral liturgy (Figs. 4–6). Above the first bay is a tall, ribbed dome raised on a windowed drum, with the Virgin and Child surrounded by a host of angels, and Byzantine hymnographers are represented in the pendentives (Fig. 7). Cosmas the Poet, Joseph the Poet, John of Damascus, and Theophanes Graptos all wrote hymns honoring the Virgin, and they appear in the dome program as her acolytes—just as the four evangelists were commonly represented around the image of Christ in a dome.¹⁸

At the east end of the chapel, images of New Testament miracles flank the apse, which contains the scene of the

Anastasis in its conch (Fig. 8). These scenes from the biblical past act as a preparation for events of the future, specifically for the Last Judgment, represented in the domical vault of the east bay. Here the dead are called to their final reckoning at the end of time (Fig. 9). The implicit message of the program is the promise of salvation to the faithful.

The interaction of Old Testament prefiguration and New Testament confirmation relates to the larger themes of Incarnation and salvation that were developed throughout the decorative programs of the church—and in the liturgy as well. The Old Testament scenes relate specifically to the verses read on the major Feast days honoring the Virgin, and they thus can be connected to the scenes of the life of the

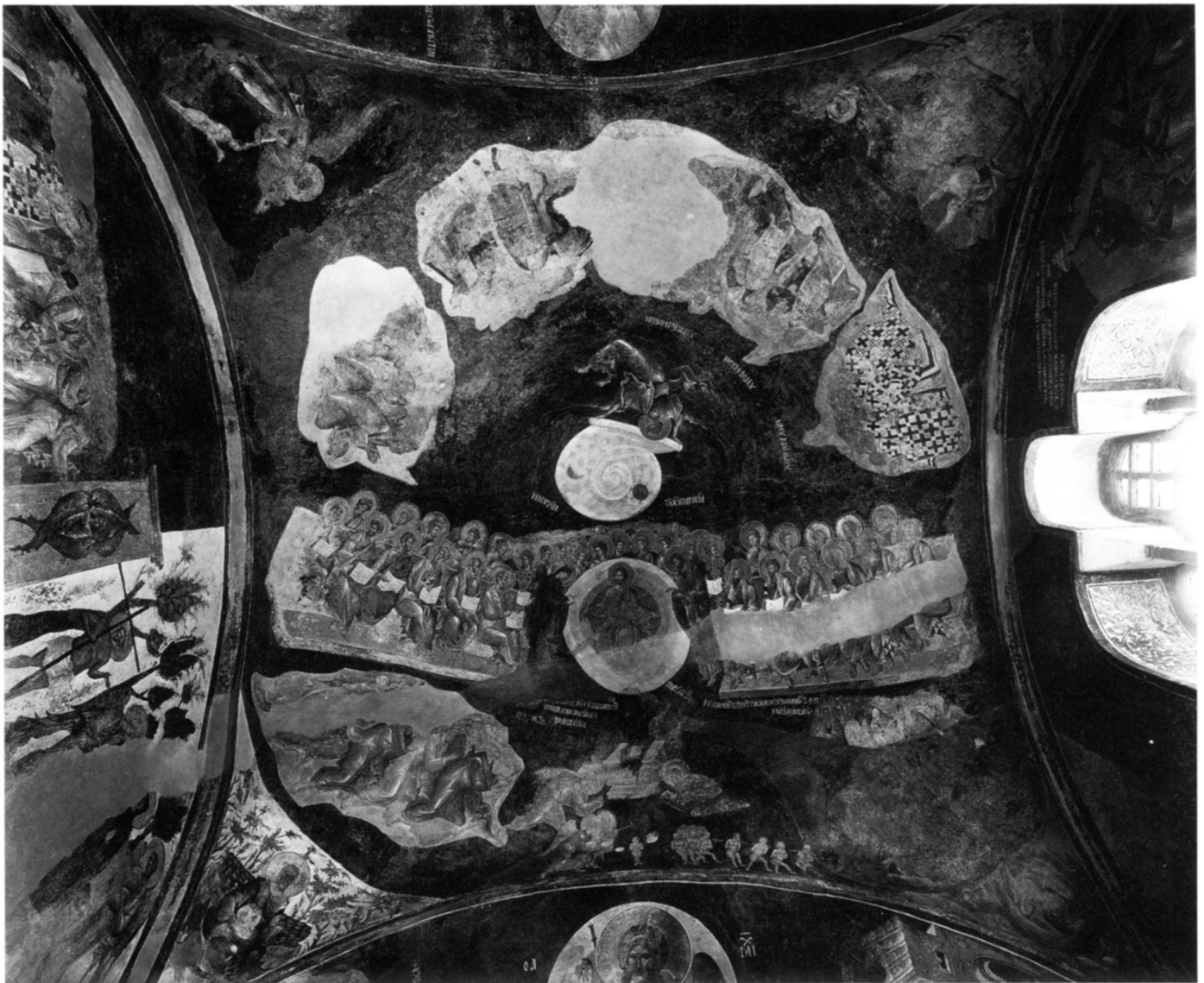


FIGURE 9. *Chora, parekklesion, domical vault. Last Judgment* (photo: courtesy of Dumbarton Oaks Visual Resources).

Virgin represented elsewhere in the building.¹⁹ For example, the Bearing of the Ark of the Covenant (just visible on the left side of Fig. 10) and the Installation of the Ark in the Holy of Holies prefigure the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple, which was represented in the inner narthex.²⁰ To link the two layers of the biblical past was common in Byzantine narrative art and need not be discussed further. However, many scenes would have had a special meaning within the context of the funeral service: the prefigurations of the Virgin were echoed in the hymns that were sung throughout the funeral service. For example, in the hymn following the fourth canticle, she is invoked as “O Receptacle most pure, O Temple all-undefiled, O Ark all-holy,” and after the ninth

canticle as “the holy Tabernacle, and the Ark, and the Table of the law of grace.”²¹ Even the hymnographers in the pendentives take on a dual association, for their writings include the allegorical prefigurations of the Virgin, and, as the hymns were incorporated into the funeral service, they emphasize her role in the process of salvation.²²

In the eastern bay of the parekklesion, the resonance with the funeral service becomes more direct, and the temporal structuring more inclusive, with evocations of resurrections past and future. Scenes of the New Testament are concentrated around the apse: in the conch of the apse itself is the Anastasis, or Harrowing of Hell, based on the apocryphal gospel of Nicodemus; this was the standard Byzantine represen-

tation of Christ's Resurrection (Fig. 8).²³ Here he is shown releasing those who were said to have believed in him before the Incarnation. Christ strides boldly, clad in radiant white, power-lifting Adam with one hand and Eve with the other from their sarcophagi. Beneath his feet, Hades lies bound and gagged, and the gates, locks, keys, and hardware of Hell are scattered about. In spite of the virtuosity of the composition, there is an unsettling spatial ambiguity, with the figures behind overlapping objects in front of them or even appearing to fly in space—but this actually adds to the immediacy of the scene. The sarcophagi of Adam and Eve, for example, are tipped upward and rendered in three dimensions, so that they appear to project forward into the space of the chapel, stopped only by the intervening cornice.

Flanking the apse are two miracle scenes, Christ Raising the Widow's Son and Christ Raising the Daughter of Jairus, completing a cycle of the ministry and miracles of Christ begun in the narthexes.²⁴ The drama of the scenes is similarly emphasized by the diagonals, and the message of both is heightened by the compositional parallels with the Anastasis. The raising from the dead of the New Testament faithful is thereby set in comparison with the resurrection of the Old Testament worthies, and together the scenes act as a preparation for the resurrection of the dead at the end of time. This is depicted in the vault above.

The unique representation of the Last Judgment fills the domical vault and most of the supporting walls of the eastern bay (Fig. 9).²⁵ Here the temporal emphasis is on the future, the "last things"—death, final judgment, immortality in heaven or eternal punishment in the fires of Hell. Christ sits in judgment, accompanied by the Virgin, John the Baptist, Apostles, Angels, and Archangels. Christ was originally surrounded by a circular mandorla, but the vault cracked when the foundations of the building settled, so that the mandorla is now egg-shaped. Christ raises his right hand to show that those on his right side are saved, whereas the downward gesture of his left hand indicates that those on his left side are damned. The vault is filled out with clouds bearing choirs of the elect, and with the striking image of the scroll of heaven rolled up at the end of time.

Beneath Christ's feet is the Hetoimasias—the prepared throne, flanked by Adam and Eve in postures that reflect the Anastasis composition. Beneath this, angels with scales weigh the deeds of the souls of the deceased, who are then directed either to the heavenly paradise or to the torments of Hell, which are depicted on the lateral walls. In two of the pendentives, the land and sea give up their dead (Fig. 10), and an angel conducts a soul to judgment (Fig. 11). To Christ's right are scenes of heavenly reward: in a pendentive is Lazarus in the bosom of Abraham; and, on the flanking wall, the entry of the elect into paradise (Fig. 9, left side). The fiery stream issues from the Christ's left side, leading to the lake of fire and the torments of the damned in Hell—including, in the pendentive opposite Lazarus, the rich man in

Hell. Christ's words of judgment emphasize the themes of time and eternity: "Come, ye blessed of my father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world;" and "Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels."²⁶

Almost nothing in the iconography is unusual: the Last Judgment follows earlier models, but the scene was normally organized in registers on a flat surface—such as the mosaic on the inner west wall of the cathedral of Torcello, or an icon from Mount Sinai, both from the mid-twelfth century.²⁷ Such a rigid system of organization did not encourage the inter-relationship of components. Even when layers of time are represented—as at Torcello, which combines the Anastasis with the Last Judgment—the horizontal division into zones precludes a more complex reading. At the Chora, the placement of the scene in a domical vault is unique and provides a compositional unity and thus a heightened significance lacking in all other versions.²⁸ The organization of the scene takes advantage of the potential symbolism of the dome: the celestial elements of the composition are, in effect, set into a "dome of heaven," while those elements not immediately related to the vision of "the son of man in heaven" are represented in the pendentives and lunettes. Although Tom Mathews has found "cracks" in the dome of heaven—and, indeed, the parekklesion vault is disfigured by a huge fissure, I think the symbolism holds: in the requiem office for the dead, Christ is addressed as "Master and Creator of the vault of heaven."²⁹

In fact, the dome is so well suited to the celestial aspects of the last Judgment, it seems remarkable that the Chora's composition was never repeated. The only other example of a Last Judgment set into a dome appear in the narthex of the Panagia Phorbiotissa at Asinou on Cyprus, from the 1330s.³⁰ The scene is reduced and simplified to the point where the subject is not immediately recognizable: Christ the judge is reduced to a Pantocrator image, with the surrounding figures as busts in roundels. Other scenes appear in registers on the walls below. Both the expressive potential and the temporal structuring of the Chora parekklesion are missing.

The themes of resurrection and judgment would have had an immediate resonance for the Byzantine visitor at the Chora, who occupied the temporal "place" between past and future events. The deceased buried in the chapel rested in a similar position, in four arcosolia set into the lateral walls (Fig. 1, Tombs A–D; Fig. 5). Cuttings in the recesses indicate that the lower portion of each was filled with a sarcophagus of sorts, formed by a stone slab across the front and covered by a lid.³¹ As each received the mortal remains of its occupants, the upper portion of the arcosolium was decorated with full-length portraits of the deceased, enforcing the idea of their presence in the tomb, awaiting final judgment.

The founder Theodore Metochites was probably buried in the northwest tomb (Fig. 1, Tomb A; Fig. 5, left foreground), whose decoration has not survived, although its



FIGURE 10. (left) *Chora, parekklesion, detail. Land and Sea Give up Their Dead; to left, Bearing of the Ark* (photo: courtesy of Dumbarton Oaks Visual Resources).

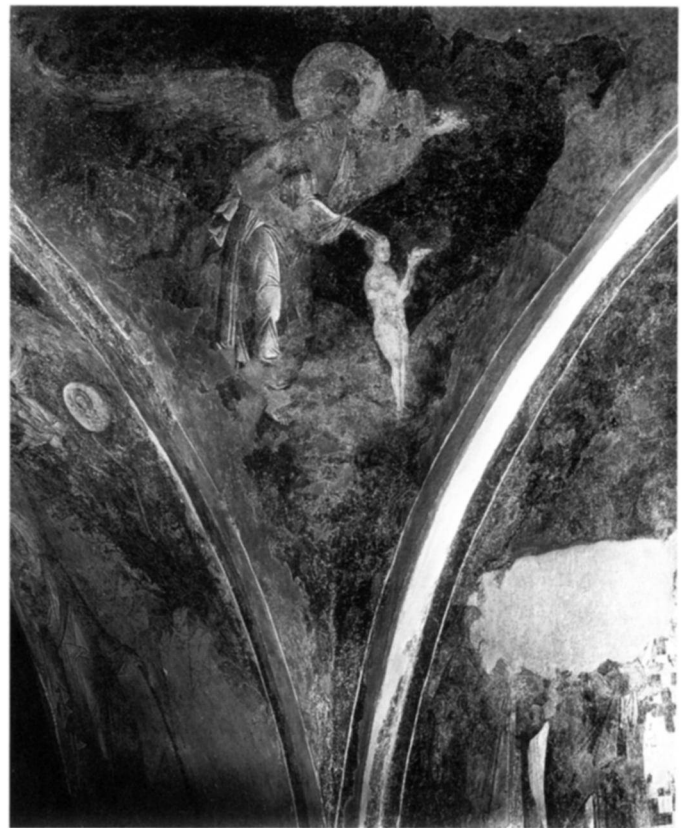


FIGURE 11. (Right) *Chora, parekklesion, detail. Angel with a Soul* (photo: courtesy of Dumbarton Oaks Visual Resources).

elaborately sculpted frame is preserved. This was the largest arcosolium in the parekklesion and its position was unique: it was connected to the naos by a passageway immediately behind it, and it lay below the tall, windowed dome, where the light in the chapel was concentrated. I should note that visitors who pause to admire the panoramic sweep of the chapel's decoration find themselves unwittingly stopping before the tomb of the founder.

The dome above, decorated with a bust of the Virgin and Child surrounded by the heavenly court of angels and archangels (Fig. 7), provided celestial illumination for the founder's tomb. Moreover, the tomb had a direct connection with the celestial sphere by means of the image of Jacob's Ladder, which arches above it (Fig. 6). As a "type" of the Virgin, Jacob's Ladder was regarded as the "bridge" from death to eternal life, and it is referred to as such in the hymns of the funeral service. In the pendentive above, the hymnographer Theophanes Graptos (who was interred at the Chora) is depicted in the act of writing the hymn to the Virgin that was part of the sixth ode in the funeral service. His pen poised, pointing toward Jacob's Ladder and the tomb of Metochites, Theophanes writes, "We have turned back to the

earth because we have sinned against the commandments of God. But through thee, O Virgin, we have ascended from earth unto heaven, shaking off the corruption of death."³² The ladder, a prefiguration of the Incarnation, is thus reinterpreted as a salvation motif. Both the visual imagery and the liturgy, then, weave a complex relationship that extends from the past, Old Testament to New Testament, to the present, and to future salvation.

Only two of the actual tomb compositions survive, both unfortunately in poor condition, damaged and repaired already in Byzantine times, but they give some indication of how the founder's tomb may have been decorated. In the southwest tomb opposite Theodore Metochites, nobly garbed figures of the Grand Constable Michael Tornikes and his wife were depicted flanking an image of the Virgin and Child (Fig. 12). Originally executed in mosaic, the scene was repaired in fresco. Represented on the soffits to either side are a monk and a nun, whose inscriptions read "the same person, the monk Makarios," and "the same person, the nun Eugenia."³³ We thus have "double portraits" in which the deceased are represented twice, once in the elegant civil dress of the fourteenth century, and once in the monastic garb they

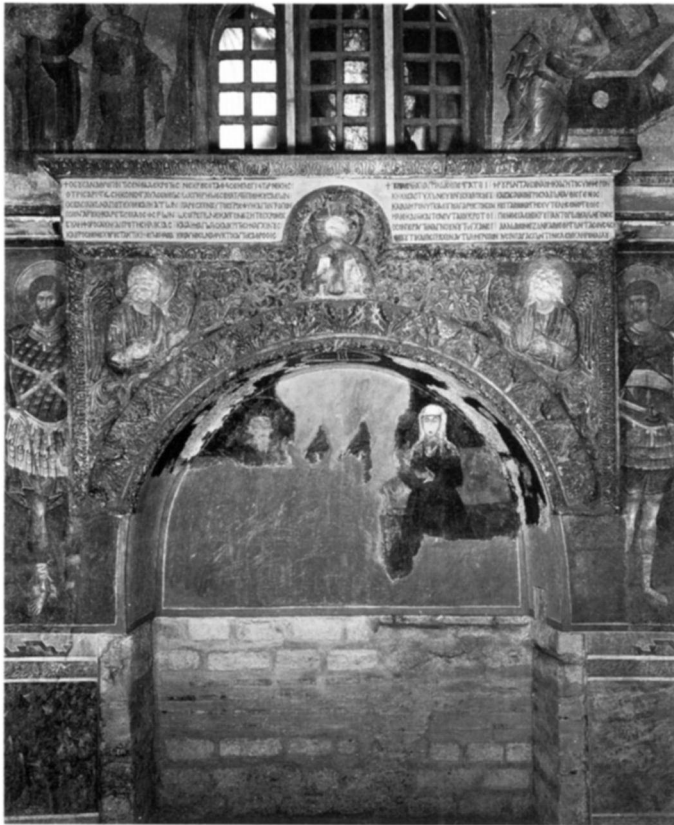


FIGURE 12. *Chora, parekklesion, south wall. Tomb D, of Michael Tornikes (photo: courtesy of Dumbarton Oaks Visual Resources).*

donned in their retirement from this world. The habits, like funeral shrouds, were called “robes of incorruption,” put on in preparation for eternity.³⁴ The dual aspects of their lives are thereby represented: they appear as citizens both of this world and of the next.

The southwest tomb is similar, executed in fresco, although its occupants have not been identified. Four figures appear in the lunette; three are nobly garbed, whereas the nun on the right may be a second portrait of the adjacent female figure.³⁵

The idea of a “double portrait” may have been carried one step further with the depiction of the founder. Although his tomb portrait has disappeared, in the northwest pendentive of the domical vault is an angel presenting a soul for judgment, protectively resting a hand on his head (Fig. 11). A unique element in the Last Judgment iconography, the scene has been interpreted as the Archangel Michael presenting the soul of Theodore Metochites.³⁶ In an unpublished poem, Metochites implored St. Michael to intercede for him before the seat of judgment. The poem concludes with a quote from I Thessalonians 4:16, “For the Lord himself shall descend from heaven with a shout, with the voice of the

archangel, and with the trump of God: and the dead in Christ shall rise first.” The same verse was read as a part of the funeral service.³⁷ If the interpretation is correct, the founder was represented twice—or perhaps even three times—in different temporal settings.

Sheltered beneath the heavenly canopy of the parekklesion, the faithful buried in the arcosolia were thereby drawn into the program of the Last Judgment. As the dead are called forth from their tombs for judgment, so too are those buried in the chapel. As the land and sea give up their dead, so too will the tombs at the Chora. And as Adam and Eve are raised up out of their sarcophagi by the hands of the resurrected Christ, the promise of salvation is held out to those resting in the sarcophagi below. These connections across temporal boundaries are emphasized both in the funeral liturgy and in the composition of the frescoes. At the beginning of the funeral service, Christ is addressed, “Thou art God who descended into Hell, and loosed the bonds of the captives. Do thou give rest also to the soul of thy servant.”³⁸ In fact, the diagonal lines formed by the tilted sarcophagi lead the viewer’s gaze from the Anastasis directly to the rows of tombs below, thus giving visual emphasis to this connection. Similarly, Christ in the Last Judgment raises his right hand to those who are saved, simultaneously gesturing across the vault toward the soul of Theodore Metochites, and, if we follow the same gesture across time and across architectural space, it leads to Metochites’ corporeal remains in the tomb below.

By relating the elements together in a three-dimensional composition, the fresco program is extended to include the space it envelops. The parekklesion is not so much a fresco space set into an architectural space as an architectural space that has become an integral part of its decoration.

In the final analysis, the spatial relationships emphasize the temporal relationships: the layers of temporality are bound together by the architectural framework. The same temporal structuring is found in the liturgy as well, which blends past and future to assure the promise of salvation to those in the present. In the Anthem from the funeral service by John of Damascus (who is shown composing it in one of the main dome’s pendentives; Fig. 6, right side; Fig. 7, lower left), mutable pleasures of the earth are set against the finality of death. Paraphrasing verses from both the Old and New Testaments, the Anthem implores Christ to “grant rest unto him whom thou has removed from temporal things,” and to “give rest to thy servant in the land of the living . . .”³⁹ Now, the land of the living, “he chora ton zonton,” is in fact the inscription that accompanies the dedicatory images of Christ throughout the building (Fig. 3), a play on the name of the monastery—Chora. The epithet could be applied both to the monastery where Theodore Metochites’ body rested and to paradise, where he hoped his soul would ultimately reside.⁴⁰ Following his uniquely troubled life, Metochites could find both verbal and visual reassurance for the sal-

vation of his soul in his tomb at the Chora, where he was surrounded by the prayers of the monks, aided by the intercession of the Virgin and of St. Michael, connected to the heavenly realm by Jacob's Ladder, and called to paradise by the hand of the Savior.

In conclusion, the unity of architecture and painting serves to create a ritual space, in which past, present, and future converge: earthly time—that is, biblical past and liturgical present—converges with divine time—the Last Judgment. As participants in the fresco program, the faithful buried in the chapel are offered reassurances of salvation and are poised to be called to their final judgment.

NOTES

1. As technical assistant and assistant field director for the Byzantine Institute of America, Ernest Hawkins devoted nearly forty years of his life to the preservation of Byzantine monuments in Istanbul and across the Mediterranean. Moreover, it was Hawkins who initiated and directed the cleaning and consolidation of the frescoes of the Chora under discussion here. In his later life he remained a critical link between the younger generations of scholars and the fieldwork of the Byzantine Institute; his keen observations and precise memory were instrumental in my own work at the Chora. He will be fondly remembered. Note the obituary by R. Cormack in the *Independent* (16 June 1993), 30.
2. A shorter version of this paper was presented in a session entitled "Past, Present, Future: Emblems of Temporality" at the Annual Meeting of the College Art Association in February 1994. I am grateful to the organizers, Stephen Zwirn and Debra Pincus, for their useful comments—particularly to Stephen for helping me to sharpen my focus. I also benefitted from conversations *in situ* with Engin Akyürek, whose dissertation on the Chora parekklesion frescoes is eagerly awaited, and from discussions on the liturgy with A. L. J. Dollmetsh Worley.
3. Ed. E. F. Brightman, *Journal of Theological Studies*, IX (1908), 248ff. and 387ff.; significant portions are translated in C. Mango, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire 312–1453* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1972), 141–43.
4. See the discussion by H. Wybrew, *The Orthodox Liturgy: The Development of the Eucharistic Liturgy in the Byzantine Rite* (London, 1989), esp. 139–44.
5. Wybrew, 140.
6. For the development of the "Feast Cycle," see O. Demus, *Byzantine Mosaic Decoration* (London, 1948); and further comments by E. Kitzinger, "Reflections on the Feast Cycle in Byzantine Art," *CA*, XXXVI (1988), 51–73. T. Mathews, "The Sequel to Nicaea II in Byzantine Church Decoration," *Perkins Journal*, XLI/3 (1988), 11–23, questions the correctness of the term "Feast Cycle"; however, H. Maguire, "The Mosaics of Nea Moni: An Imperial Reading," *DOP*, XLVI (1992), 205–214, notes that Demus follows Byzantine terminology: in the eleventh century John Mauropous wrote an *ekphrasis* called *Eis pinakas megalous ton heorton*; ed. P. De Lagarde, *Iohannis Euchaitorum Metropolitae quae in codice vaticano graeco 676 supersunt* (Göttingen, 1882), 2–8, nos. 2–11.
7. As emphasized by S. Der Nersessian, "Program and Iconography of the Frescoes of the Parecclesion," in *The Kariye Djami*, vol. IV, ed. P. A. Underwood (Princeton, 1975), 305–49, esp. 307–8; and more recently by N. Teteriatnikov, "Private Salvation Programs and Their Effect on Byzantine Church Decoration," *Arte medievale*, VII (1993), 47–63.
8. For the general history and detailed analysis of the decoration, see P. A. Underwood, *The Kariye Djami* (New York, 1966), 3 vols.; for the architecture, R. Ousterhout, *The Architecture of the Kariye Camii in Istanbul* (Washington, D. C., 1987); for the character of the patron, I. Ševčenko, "Theodore Metochites, the Chora, and the Intellectual Trends of His Times," in *Kariye Djami*, IV, 17–55.
9. Theodore Metochites writes in a poem to the Virgin, "to thee I have dedicated this noble monastery which is called by thy precious name of Chora"; Underwood, *Kariye Djami*, I, 4–6, 27–28, 39; M. Treu, *Dichtungen des Gross-Logotheten Theodoros Metochites* (Potsdam, 1895), poems A & B. The image above the entrance to the naos shows Metochites presenting the church—that is, the naos but not the parekklesion—to Christ; Underwood, I, 27–28, 42–43.
10. Underwood, I, 269–80.
11. Underwood, I, 187–261; Der Nersessian, 305–49.
12. O. Demus, "The Style of the Kariye Camii and Its Place in the Development of Palaeologan Art," *Kariye Djami*, IV, 107–60; also S. H. Young, "Relations between Byzantine Mosaic and Fresco Technique," *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik*, XXV (1976), 269–78.
13. This subject is more fully developed in R. Ousterhout, "The Virgin of the Chora: An Image and Its Contexts," in *The Sacred Image East and West*, Illinois Byzantine Studies IV, eds. R. Ousterhout and L. Brubaker (Urbana, 1995), 91–109.
14. Ousterhout, "Virgin of the Chora"; P. A. Underwood, "Some Problems in Programs and Iconography of Ministry Cycles," in *Kariye Djami*, IV, 267–68; also H. Maguire, *Art and Eloquence in Byzantium* (Princeton, 1981), 74–83.
15. As I have discussed elsewhere: Ousterhout, *Architecture of the Kariye*, 97 n. 17.
16. The Order for the Burial of the Dead (Laymen), I. Hapgood, trans., *Service Book of the Holy Orthodox-Catholic Apostolic Church* (5th ed., Englewood, N.J., 1975), esp. 382–383.
17. Order for the Burial of the Dead, 379.
18. Underwood, I, 217–22.
19. Underwood, I, 223–37; Der Nersessian, 334–49; the only exception seems to be the scene of the Angel Smiting the Assyrians before Jerusalem, not read on the Marian feasts, but which seems to have been included because of Theodore Metochites' personal devotion to the Archangel Michael; see Der Nersessian, 343.
20. For illustrations, Underwood, II, pls. 119–28.
21. For example, Order for the Burial of the Dead, 382, 385.
22. Underwood, I, 217–22.
23. Underwood, I, 192–95; Der Nersessian, 320–22.
24. Underwood, I, 196–99; Der Nersessian, 322–24.
25. Underwood, I, 199–212; Der Nersessian, 325–31.
26. Underwood, I, 199.
27. For Torcello, see I. Andreescu, "Torcello," *DOP*, XXVI (1972), 195–207, and pl. 15; for the Sinai icon, K. Weitzmann, *The Icon* (New York, 1978), pl. 23.
28. As noted by Underwood, I, 200–201.
29. T. Mathews, "Cracks in Lehman's 'Dome of Heaven,'" *Source: Notes in the History of Art*, I/3 (1982), 12–16; Requiem Office of the Dead, I. Hapgood, trans., *Service Book*, 443.

30. V. Seymer, W. H. Buckler, and G. Buckler, "The Church of Asinou, Cyprus, and Its Frescoes," *Archaeologia*, LXXXIII (1933), 336–40; pls. 93–95.
31. Underwood, I, 269–80. For an idea of what these may have looked like, see Th. Pazaras, *Anaglyphes Sarkophagoi kai Epitaphies Plakes tes Meses kai Ysteres Byzantines Periodou sten Ellada* (Thessaloniki, 1984).
32. Underwood, I, 217, 221–22; Order for the Burial of the Dead, 383.
33. Underwood, I, 269–70, 276–80.
34. The theme is nicely developed by K. Corrigan, "An Icon of the Crucifixion at Mount Sinai," in *The Sacred Image East and West*, 45–62; in the investiture ceremony of monks, the garments are called "robes of incorruption"; Symeon of Thessaloniki uses similar terminology, calling the monastic habit a "robe of incorruption and sacredness . . . a sign of the protection of God . . . bestowing life eternal on the wearer"; see P. Oppenheim, *Symbolik und Religiöse Wertung des Mönchskleides im christlichen Altertum* (Münster, 1932), 50 n. 3.
35. Underwood, I, 272–76; III, pls. 534–36.
36. Underwood, I, 207–8; Der Nersessian, 330–31.
37. Der Nersessian, 318; Order for the Burial of the Dead, 388.
38. Order for the Burial of the Dead, 368.
39. Order for the Burial of the Dead, 385–87.
40. As noted by N. Teteriatnikov, "Metochites' 'Place in the Land of the Living' in his Monastery Chora, Constantinople," *Byzantine Studies Conference Abstracts of Papers*, XIX (Princeton 1993), 27–28, who, however, limits her discussion to the mosaics.