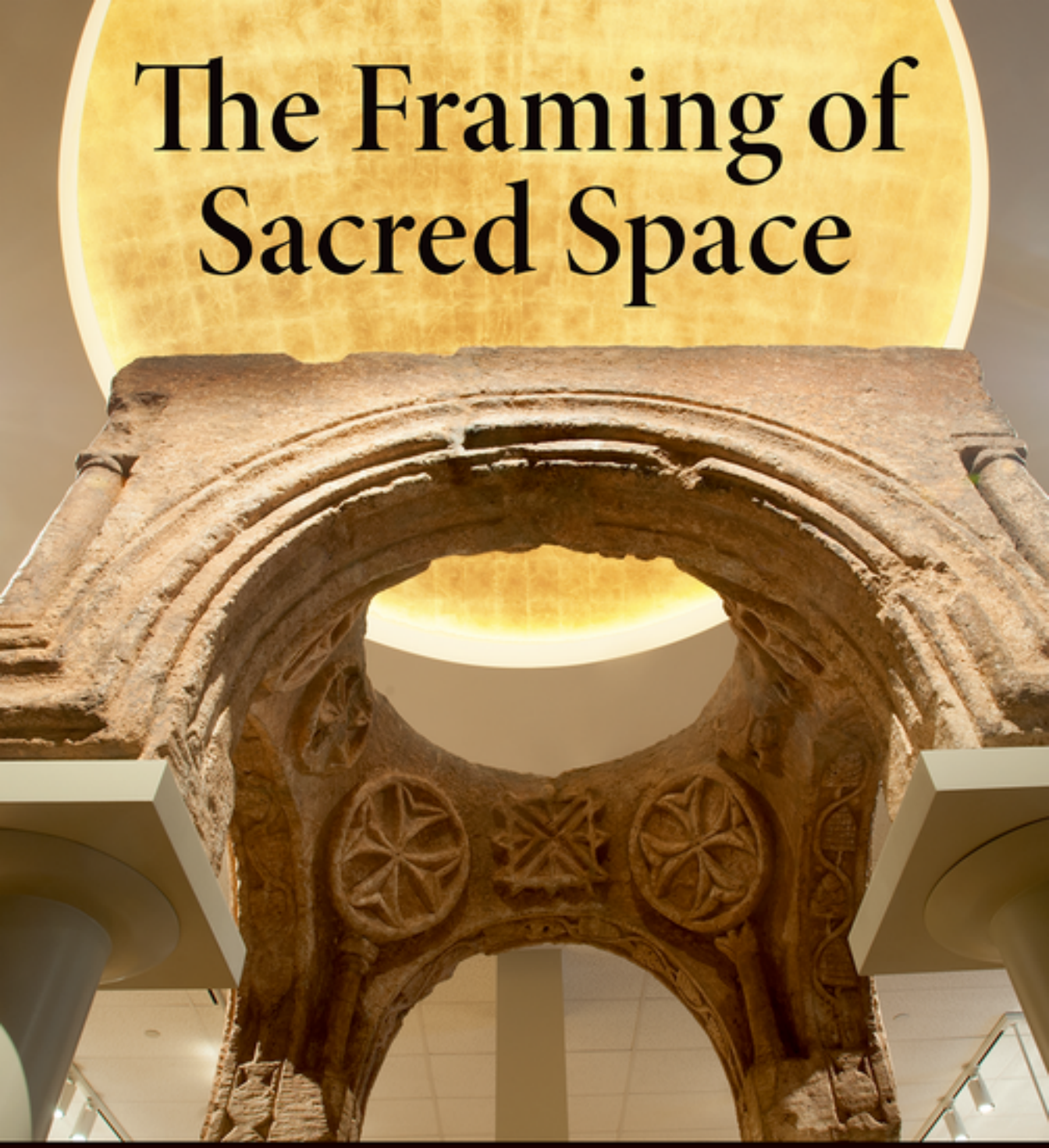
The Framing of Sacred Space



The Canopy and the Byzantine Church

JELENA BOGDANOVIĆ

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To Dušan
and
to my parents

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Acknowledgments

The Framing of Sacred Space: The Canopy and the Byzantine Church is the result of more than a decade of research on canopies of Byzantine-rite churches. With this book reaching its publication, I owe a debt of gratitude to many individuals and institutions.

My first debt of gratitude belongs to my family. My grandparents, Danilo, Jelena, Stana, and Aleksandar; my parents, Selena and Vojislav; my sister, Snežana; and my husband, Dušan Danilović, each in their own and unique way, were always there for me. I extend my thanks to my sister's family, my brother-in-law Bratislav and nephew Josif Dragić, as well as to my sister-in-law Biljana and father-in-law Stevan Danilović. My family supported me, brought me happiness, and encouraged me to work with love and to love my work. Even as my mother Selena and all my grandparents, who believed in education as an endless but meaningful pursuit, left me one by one through the course of my work on this study, the warmth of their unconditional support and love have remained. The last words my mother told me just before she passed away haunted me for a while: "Things will change with your book, and do not forget to eat." At that time, the last thing I could think of was the book, and only now do I realize that she believed in this book even before I had any idea that I would ever have a chance to pursue it.

Three persons and two scholars in the field are crucial for my initial involvement in Byzantine studies and for nourishing my love towards the subject. My husband, Dušan Danilović, encouraged me first to combine my training in traditional architectural design with the joy and wonder I experience when encountering Byzantine architecture and art. Architect and architectural historian, the late Professor Svetlana Popović was the first scholar who effectively introduced me to the discipline of Byzantine architecture. Just as important to my development as a student of art and architecture was my graduate advisor at Vanderbilt University, Ljubica D. Popovich, professor *emerita*. She helped me understand my own source of inspiration and love for art and architecture. This book was initiated as a master's thesis in 2002 and expanded upon with the dissertation research completed at Princeton University in 2008.

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My studies on archeological, visual, and textual evidence for canopies have been done in the United States and have been complemented by trips to Bulgaria, Great Britain, Greece, Russia, Serbia, and Turkey. In addition to visiting numerous archeological sites and churches, I also consulted the services and collections of various institutions: at Princeton—Marquand, Speers, and Firestone Libraries and their interlibrary loan services, the Index of Christian Art, and Princeton Theological Seminary library; in other parts of the United States—Walters Art Museum, Baltimore; the Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, Washington, D.C.; Metropolitan Museum, New York; in Bulgaria—museums in Burgas and Nessebar; in Great Britain—National Museum in London and Bodleian Museum at Oxford University; in Greece—National Archaeological Museum, Christian and Byzantine Museum, Acropolis Museum, Museum of Athens University, and Benaki Museum, all in Athens; Byzantine Museum, Thessaloniki; Museum of Byzantine Culture, Kastoria; Archaeological Museum on Paros; and Museum of the Great Meteoron Monastery; in Russia—Kremlin Museums, Museum of the New Jerusalem, Tretyakov Gallery, and Museum in Vladimir; in Serbia—Library of the Serbian Academy of Arts and Sciences, National Museum and the Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments; in Turkey—Archeological Museum in Istanbul.

In 2010, Paul Denis, curator of Byzantine art at the Royal Ontario Museum in Ottawa, Canada, invited me to provide professional expertise on an early Christian ciborium from the Syro-Palestinian region they had acquired for their Joey and Toby Tanenbaum Gallery of Byzantium. It was the most enriching experience to discuss this unique object based on its physical presence only, because of the evident lack of textual resources. I am particularly grateful to Paul Denis for our continual communication and for his granting me the rights to publish the material on this canopy for the first time in this book. Nicola Woods from

the photo archive at the Royal Ontario Museum further granted high-quality images of this object, some of them made especially for this book. Megan Doyon from Yale Art Gallery was most supportive to grant the rights for the image of the reconstruction of the Dura Europos baptistery. Elena Ottina from the Castello Sforzesco was most helpful for obtaining the image of the ivory showing St. Menas in front of his canopy-like shrine. I am also grateful to Lidija Fekeža from the Zemaljski Muzej, the regional museum in Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, for material on the little-known medieval canopies in their museum.

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Notes on Sources, Translations, and Illustrations

For textual references from Byzantine and other primary sources, I have supplied translations into English or pointed to translations to other languages. As regards precise terminology, when English terms are not entirely accurate, I have given the original term along with an English transliteration. Greek and Slavic terminology are related to the widely known and used English terminology whenever I thought it did not compromise the essential meanings. Whenever it was difficult to make a definite and adequate choice for a term or translation, several options have been offered. Selected primary sources from the bibliography are presented in Table 1 in chronological manner and in Tables 2 and 3 with more contextual details on the type and use of selected texts.

For references to the Bible, I have consulted a range of texts and translations: *The Holy Bible, Containing the Old and New Testaments, King James Version* (Nashville, 1984); *The Living World Bible Collection* CD (Waconia, Minn., 2002–2004), which has Hebrew, Greek, and Russian versions of the Holy Scriptures; the Septuagint, as printed by the *Thesaurus Lingua Graecae* (*TLG*) Online; *The New Oxford Annotated Bible; New Revised Standard Version with the Apocrypha* (Oxford, 1991); and the *Orthodox Study Bible* (Nashville, 2008).

Because of the plethora of scholarly works related to various aspects of canopies analyzed in this work, the references usually reflect either the most relevant or the most recent publications, together with older bibliography. The architectural drawings presented in this book serve predominantly as a framework for the discussion of canopies, not as archeological documentation of specific examples. I am immensely grateful to Zhengayng Hua, an architect but with limited previous knowledge of Byzantine architecture, who agreed to work on computer modeling of an "ideal," conceptual Byzantine church based on a model of a canopy. The overall design of a computer model and the issues that arose in the process of transitioning from the scale of an installation to the scale of a church building recalled numerous attested Byzantine-rite churches and their interior fittings, which largely confirms the sophisticated knowledge and practice of architectural design by the Byzantines. Heidi Reburn prepared the maps that show the geographical and chronological distribution of

canopies; the numbers on the maps coincide with the numbers of archeologically attested canopies as listed in Table 5. Drawings prepared for this book are based on ones published by other scholars. I have also benefited tremendously from the image database of the Index of Christian Art while preparing my working photo-documentation. Any mistakes, both technical and factual, remain my responsibility.

List of Abbreviations

*	online database or source
AA	Archäologischer Anzieiger, supplement to Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts
AB	Analecta Bollandiana
AH	Artibus et Historiae
AJA	American Journal of Archaeology
ALw	Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft
AMIT	Architecture and Modern Information Technologies
AnTard	Antiquité tardive
ArchM	Archéologie Médiévale
ArsM	Ars Medievale
ArtB	Art Bulletin
ArteL	Arte Lombarda
ArteM	Arte Medievale
BA	Biblical Archeologist
BABesch	Bulletin Antieke Beschaving
BASOR	Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research
BCH	Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique
BM	Burlington Magazine
BMFD	Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents, J. P. Thomas and A. C. Hero, eds.; 5 vols. *DOS*, 35. (Washington, D.C., 2000)
BMGS	Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies
BSA	Annual of the British School at Athens
BSAC	Bulletin de la Société d'archéologie copte
BSCA	Byzantine Studies Conference Abstracts of Papers
Byz	Byzantion
ByzAus	Byzantina Australiensia
B*yzELatW*	Byzantine East, Latin West. Art-historical Studies in Honor of Kurt Weitzmann. D. Mouriki, S. Ćurčić, et al., eds. Princeton: Department of Art and Archeology, Princeton University Press, 1995.
ByzMetabyz	Byzantina kai Metabyzantina
BZ	Byzantinische Zeitschrift

CA	Cahiers archéologiques: fin de l'antiquité et Moyen âge
CAA	College Art Association of America
CANU	Crnogorska Akademija nauka i umetnosti
CM	Cyrillomethodianum
CMG	Corpus medicorum Graecorum
CorsiRav	Corsi di cultura sull'arte ravennate e bizantina
CSHB	Corpus scriptorium historiae byzantinae
CSMC	Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa
DACL	Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie, eds. F. Cabrol and H. Leclercq, 15 vols. (Paris, l920–l953)
DALA	J. S. Curl, A Dictionary of Architecture and Landscape Architecture (Oxford, 2nd edition 2006)
DArt	The Dictionary of Art, ed. J. Turner, 34 vols. (New York, 1996)
ΔΧΑΕ	Δελτίον τῆς Χριστιανικῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας (Athens, 1924–)
DOP	Dumbarton Oaks Papers
DORLC	Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection
DOS	Dumbarton Oaks Studies
DrevIsk	Drevnerusskoe iskusstvo
EAM	Enciclopedia dell'arte medievale, ed. A. M. Romanini, 12 vols. (Rome, 1991–c2002.)
EcclSilver	Ecclesiastical Silver Plate in Sixth-Century Byzantium: Papers of the Symposium Held May 16–18, 1986, at the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, and Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C. S. A. Boyd and M. Mundell Mango, eds. (Washington, D.C.: DORLC, ca. 1992)
EEBS	Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν
EHR	English Historical Review
EO	Échos d'Orient
EtLP	Etude sur le Liber Pontificalis, ed. L. Duchesne, 2 vols. (Paris, 1877)
Faith and Power	Byzantium: Faith and Power (1261–1557) H. C. Evans, ed. (New York and New Haven [Conn.], c2004)
FGrH	Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker
FHG	Fragmenta historicorum Graecorum
Glory of Byz	The Glory of Byzantium, Art and Culture of the Middle Byzantine Era A.D. 843–1261, H. C. Evans and W. D. Wixom, eds. (New York, 1997)
GPMK	Godišnjak pomorskog muzeja u Kotoru
GRBS	Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies
GZMS	Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja u Sarajevu
HAM	Hortus artium medievalium
HUkSt	Harvard Ukrainian Studies
Iconoclasm	Iconoclasm. Papers given at the Ninth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, University of Birmingham, March 1975. Eds. A. Bryer and J. Herrin (Birmingham: University of Birmingham, 1975)
Index	Index of Christian Art (Database: http://ica.princeton.edu/)
JAAC	The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism
JBAA	Journal of the British Archaeological Association
JewArt	Jewish Art
JÖB	Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik
JQR	Jewish Quarterly Review
JRS	Journal of Roman Studies
JSAH	Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians

JWCI	Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes
ΚΣ	ΚΥΠΡΙΑΚΑΙ ΣΠΟΥΔΑΙ (Cypriot Studies)
Lampe	G. W. H. Lampe, A Patristic Greek Lexicon, 5 vols. (Oxford, 1961–1968)
Liddell	H. G. Liddell, An Intermediate Greek-English Lexicon (Oxford, 2nd edition 1997a)
LMA	Lexikon des Mittelalters
LS	Λακωνικαὶ Σπουδαί
Mansi	G. D. Mansi, Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio, 53 vols. (Paris and Leipzig. 1901–1927)
MünchJb	Müncher Jahrbuch der Bildenden Kunst
NEA	Near Eastern Archaeology
OC	Orientalia Christiana
OCA	Orientalia Christiana Analecta
ODA	Oxford Dictionary of Art, ed. I. Chilvers (Oxford, 3rd edition 2004)
ODB	Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium, ed. A. Kazhdan et al., 3 vols. (New York–Oxford, 1991)
ODE	Oxford Dictionary of English (revised edition), eds. C. Soanes and A. Stevenson (Oxford, 2005)
**ORO*	Oxford Reference Online. Oxford University Press. Princeton University; http://www.oxfordreference.com/
OrSyr	L'Orient syrien
PAPS	Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society
PBSR	Papers of the British School at Rome
PG	Patrologiae cursus completus, Series graeca, ed. J.-P. Migne, 161 vols. (Paris, 1857–1866)
PL	Patrologiae cursus completus, Series latina, ed. J.-P. Migne, 221 vols. (Paris, 1844–1880)
PPD	Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji
PPTS	Palestine Pilgrims Text Society
PrIz	Problemi na izkustvoto
RA	Revue Archéologique
RAC	Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum, ed. Th. Klauser, 21– vols. (Stuttgart, 1950–)
RACr	Rivista di archeologia cristiana
RArt	Revue de l'Art
RBK	Reallexikon zur Byzantinischen Kunst, ed. K. Wessel, 6– vols. (Stuttgart, 1963–)
RIPU	Radovi instituta za povijest umjetnosti
RSBN	*Rivista di studi bizantini e neoellenici*
RSBS	Rivista di studi bizantini e slavi
RussTravelers	Russian travelers to Constantinople in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. G. P. Majeska, Washington, D.C.: DORLC, 1984.
RZZSK	Republički zavod za zaštitu spomenika kulture
SANU	Srpska Akademija nauka i umetnosti
SC	Sources chrétiennes
SD	Art of the Byzantine Empire, 312–1453; Sources and Documents. Ed. C. Mango (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1972)
SH	Subsidia hagiographica
SHP	Starohrvatska prosvjeta
SJT	Scottish Journal of Theology

SKZ	Srpska književna zadruga
SR	Slavic Review
TAPA	Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association (=Transactions of the American Philosophical Society)
**TLG*	Thesaurus Lingua Graecae online
TM	Travaux et mémoires
Vyz	Βυζαντινὰ (Thessalonikē, 1969–)
WA	World Archeology
ZAltW	Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenshaft
ZKunstg	Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte
ZLU	Zbornik Matice srpske za likovne umetnosti
ZRVI	Zbornik radova Vizantološkog instituta

Maps

MAP 1 *Canopies in Byzantine Ecclesiastical Tradition ca. 300–1500*

MAP 2 *Canopies in Early Christian and Early Byzantine Period ca. Fourth–Sixth Centuries*

MAP 3 *Canopies in the "Transitional Period" ca. Seventh–Mid-Ninth Centuries*

MAP 4 *Canopies in Middle Byzantine Period ca. Mid-Ninth–Twelfth Centuries*

MAP 5 *Canopies in Late Byzantine Period ca. Thirteenth–Fifteenth Centuries*

Introduction

Canopies, centrally planned columnar structures, are widely used in religious and royal contexts in various cultures and historical periods—in ancient pagan, Christian, Islamic or Hindu traditions, to name but a few.[1] However, their significance and meaning is far from being fully understood. This book examines the importance of studies of canopies from archeological and architectural perspectives as a way to enhance our understanding of the idea of a Byzantine church. The discussion of canopies is focused on Byzantine tradition alone due to two major reasons. First is the need to present the empirical evidence on canopies, which would be difficult to illuminate if done across different cultures. Second highlights how the domed church, essentially an elaborated canopy, emerged as a recognizable building type in Byzantine architecture. This particularly Byzantine phenomenon of the domed church reveals that its architecture and some of the central features of its interior have the same form, and hence calls for the detailed investigation of the material evidence and the interpretations of its cultural meanings.

Canopies as integral features of Christian churches have received frequent but often superficial attention in lexicons, dictionaries, and general studies of Christian art and architecture. These studies tend to single out the formal architectural functions of canopies—as altar canopies (often called ciboria), baptismal canopies, or tomb shelters—or their visual representations in art as architectural backdrops for Biblical, hagiographical, and liturgical narratives and scenes.[2] Numerous accounts usually address early Christian, medieval, and later examples in the West, highlighting above all Bernini's famous baldachin in St. Peter's in

[1] See, for example, Smith, B. E. (1956) 107–129; Smith, B. E. (1978).

[2] For entries within dictionaries, see *DACL* vol. 3, 2; *RAC* vol. 1, 68–86; 462; *RBK* vol. 1, 1055–1065; *Dictionary of Architecture* 24, 62; *Leksikon ikonografije* 180–181; *LMA* vol. 2, 2062–2063; *ODB* vol. 1, 462, s.v. *ciborium; Coptic Encyclopedia* vol. 1, 202–203; *Modern Catholic Encyclopedia,* s.v. *ciborium; DArt,* s.v. *ciborium* (ii); *EAM,* s.v. *ciborio*.

For studies within Christian art and architecture, see, for example, Braun (1907); Wieland (1912); Braun (1924); Underwood (1950) 43–138; Soteriou (1952); Duval, N., and Lezine (1959) 71–147; Klauser (1961); Hoddinott (1963); Orlandos (1963); Orlandos (1935–1973); Grabar (1972); Badawy (1978); Kapitän (1980) 71–136; Harrison, M. (1989); Deshman (1995) 131–137; Hill (1996); Duval, N. (2003) 35–114.

Rome.[3] Canopies from the western territories of medieval Europe currently constitute the major corpus for studies of medieval canopies in general.

Canopies of the Christian East have not been included in major discussions mostly because scholarship about Byzantine canopies has habitually been limited by the lack of material evidence. This study presents the complex archeological, visual, and literary evidence for canopies in the Byzantine ecclesiastical tradition. The initial aim of assembling and presenting this information on canopies is manifold: (1) to question how much evidence we actually have and how aspects of this evidence relate to each other for a given period and/or geographic region; (2) to question whether the form of a canopy held significance and meaning; and (3) to examine to what extent canopies were imitative or nonimitative structures, and as such critical for the process of architectural design. To determine whether the main centers of intellectual thought and artistic production may have influenced the notion of canopies, I investigate canopies within the broad scope of Byzantine art and architecture (ca. 300-1500).

This broader evidence for canopies comes from structures, which were made or have remained in the territories that were once part of the Byzantine Empire and its commonwealth, based on shared Orthodox Christianity, in the Eastern Mediterranean.[4] With full understanding that the early Christian and Byzantine canopies did not develop independently from the better studied examples from Rome and western Europe and that they belonged to the same cultural and church tradition—at least until the ninth century, when the emergence of the Carolingian Holy Roman Empire directly confronted the Byzantine Empire as fully Christianized and the rightful successor of the Roman Empire, or until the official doctrinal split between the Roman Catholic and Greek Orthodox churches in 1054—my investigation focuses on canopies in churches in the east, while making recurrent references to comparable examples of canopies in the west.[5] Such an approach allows for better clarity in the overview as to how many of the canopies definitely belong to the territories directly associated with the Byzantine Empire. This approach is furthermore critical

[3] An excellent overview of canopies in the medieval West is offered in: *EAM* vols. 3 and 4, s.v. *baldacchino*, s.v. *ciborio,* respectively. Among literature on canopies in the West are the following titles: Kroesen (2013) 189–222; Kroesen (2009) 30–41; Weigel (2000); Weber (1990); Weiss (1995) 308–320; Spagnolo (2006); Kirwin (1997); Valverde and Fernández-Oxea (1987); Zambrano (1984); Scott (2003); Schöller (1998) 190–205; Thelen (1967); Lavin (1968) ch. 2; Pace (1991) 181–189; Pace (1992) 389–400; Pani (1976) 337–344; Morano (1980) 331–342; Ponsich (1993) 21–27; Acconci (1993) 15–41; Buis (1976) 233–245; Gatti (1987) 70–71; Moskowitz (1998) 88–102; Guidobaldi (1999) 55–69; Kreytenberg (2002) 91–126.

[4] Although Byzantine-rite churches are the focus of this study, church canopies are occasionally considered more broadly, together with examples from Syria, North Africa, and Armenia. On the eve of Iconoclastic controversies of the eighth and ninth centuries, Byzantine churches were restricted to the churches in the Patriarchate of Constantinople, its daughter churches, and Palestinian monastic churches. While still waiting for comprehensive studies on liturgical practices from the Christian East, see Taft (1992); *History of the Melkite Patriarchates* (1998–2001); Todt (2001) 239–269.

[5] Full reconsideration of material evidence from the so-called Latin West within larger medieval contexts, like restored ninth- and eleventh-century canopies previously located in the so-called *Sala bizantina*, Vatican, and canopies made in early Christian Rome, including the famous St. Peter's canopy and those in the churches of St. Andrew and St. Alexander, is wanting. *Corpus* (1974) 7 *La diocesi di Roma* 64–68, figs. 10–11; Smith, M. T. (1974) 379–414. I touched upon comparative analysis of altar canopies in Constantinople and Rome before the ninth century in an essay that confirmed the simultaneous use of canopies in churches in Rome and Constantinople at least since the fourth century, based on textual sources and further supported by coeval sixth-century archeological evidence in both centers, in Bogdanović (2002) 7–19.

in the attempts to eventually confirm that canopies were, in contrast to prevailing scholarly opinion, extensively used in the Byzantine ecclesiastical tradition, and that the use of canopies in medieval churches was a pan-European cultural phenomenon, as has been recently suggested by several important publications prepared by Justin Kroesen.[6]

During my research, I have collected archeological evidence for more than two hundred canopy-like structures, constituting a body of physical data complemented by images of more than five hundred representations of canopies in the visual arts and by testimonies in more than one hundred texts that by using various descriptive and metonymic terms mention objects known as, or surmised to be, canopies. Such extensive material, never previously examined as a whole, confirms the broad use of canopied installations in Byzantine-rite churches and challenges the prevailing opinion that after the so-called transitional period (seventh–ninth centuries), marked by socio-economic and a decline of building monumental, large architecture, canopies as architectural installations ceased to be used. Surviving textual, visual, and above all archeological evidence confirms the prolonged and continual use of canopies throughout the Byzantine realm, both in the main centers of the empire and in its periphery and neighboring countries that adopted Byzantine culture as a model. This wide geographic framework permits a better understanding of concurrent Byzantine architectural developments, not only in Constantinople but also elsewhere. By providing a short overview of the literature and the gaps in current scholarship on Byzantine architecture that often lack discussions of interior furnishings and micro-architecture in general, this book emphasizes the great potential of "soft" archeology and new methodologies in the studies of historical architecture that unveil Byzantine architecture beyond the building as a shelter.

An unpublished doctoral dissertation "The 'Ciborium' in Christian Architecture at Rome, 300-600 AD" by the late M. T. Smith (Institute of Fine Arts, NYU, 1968) remains the most critical comprehensive work addressing the subject of early Christian canopies in the West. Her work, complemented by two additional articles, is also essential as it addresses the early Christian canopies in Rome in connection with the pagan and Jewish traditions, making possible insights into further developments within the Western Christian sphere.[7] My work also touches on notions of the appreciation of the cultural heterogeneity and of the shared religious values of the Byzantines with Judeo-Christian and Hellenistic traditions and on the long-lasting creative conventions in the Mediterranean. Yet, instead of following the models and methodology of scholars who have studied canopies in Western Europe, I have taken an approach that revises the functional paradigm in order to consider theological texts as a corpus of medieval "philosophy" that informs architecture in the Byzantine realm, and to combine traditional with new methodologies. In particular, I engage with innovative studies that emerged in the 1990s and that consider sacred space—such as the so-called *hierotopy* by Alexei Lidov and the so-called iconic and spatial "turns" advanced among medievalists by Hans Belting and Myrto Veikou.[8] Such a more comprehensive approach takes into account the architectural and design principles that the

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[6] Kroesen (2009); Kroesen and Schmidt (2009); Kroesen (2013) 189–222, with the citation of my findings from my dissertation project on p. 192, n. 11.

[7] Smith, M. T. (1970) 149–175; Smith, M. T. (1974) 379–414.

[8] For general overviews of methodological approaches in Byzantine architecture and the still prevailing preference for the functionalistic paradigm, see, for example, Mango (1991) 40–44, and Belting (1987), *passim*, esp. 32–33. On nineteenth-century scholarship that imposed preeminence of time over space in historical studies of art and architecture, see Nelson (1997) 28–40. On information coming from disciplines other than the history of art and architecture in order to support art historical narrative, thus calling for monographic studies focused on one single object or a group of similar objects from a given period or region, and leaving aside the objects that cannot fit proposed paradigms, see Kessler (1988) 166–187.

Byzantines used and offers beneficial trajectories for studies of the creation and reception of sacred space framed by canopies.

Major books on Byzantine architecture written by internationally renowned architectural historians such as Ralph Hodinott, Cyril Mango, Richard Krautheimer, Slobodan Ćurčić, Thomas Mathews, and Robert Ousterhout provide three-dimensional reconstructions of churches or floor plans with delineated locations of specific interior fittings, yet seldom discuss canopies and their relation to church design in greater detail.[9] Archeological reports occasionally mention canopies, frequently reduced to traces of their original appearance and setting within churches, and related journal articles mostly highlight carved fragments of canopies within discussions of architectural sculpture. Among numerous texts that reveal the existence of canopies in Byzantine-rite churches across vast territories and chronological spans are those written by scholars such as Andre Grabar, Laskarina Boura, Jean-Piere Sodini, Catherine Vanderheyde, Angeliki Mitsani, and Øystein Hjort.[10] The majority of Byzantine canopies are difficult to date and to locate accurately within their original settings because most of them only survive in fragments, while stylistic analysis is critical for establishing the centers of their production, yet often ineffective for precisely tracing regional differences.

Imbued with symbolic meanings, the abundant visual evidence for canopies in Byzantine paintings is complementary material in researching the meaning of canopies, yet cannot be taken as verifiable documentary evidence of actual objects. In this study I follow a new generation of scholars who, by working with small scale, portable objects such as lamps or utensils, emphasize the need for more subtle interdisciplinary approaches in the research of material culture in Byzantium. For example, Maria Parani has successfully revealed how images of portable objects can certainly provide clues about their material reality and meaning, apart from references coming exclusively from textual sources.[11] Texts in Byzantine Greek and other languages used in the Mediterranean are vague and often deemed as confusing and convoluted, especially because medieval writers were not primarily interested in material topics but rather in spiritual ones. Therefore, archeological evidence and visual representations of canopies remain invaluable references to the examination of the role of canopies in Byzantine-rite churches.

Examining the context of Gothic churches, François Bucher defined micro-architecture as miniature architectural structures frequently used as church furnishings, such as altar canopies, font canopies, saintly shrines, and reliquaries.[12] *The Framing of Sacred Space* further aims to foster studies about micro-architecture, which significantly lag behind the studies of monumental architecture despite the fact that the emphasis of Byzantine architecture was placed on its interior, spiritual space with church fittings critical in its

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On new methodologies for studying sacred space, see Lidov (2015a); Lidov (2011); Lidov (2006b); Lidov (2009b); Lidov (2009a); Lidov (2004). On spatial and iconic "turns," see, for example, seminal Lefebvre (1991); then Veikou (2012); Bachmann-Medick (2006) 284–328; Belting (2001).

[9] Hoddinott (1963); Mathews (1971); Mathews (1976); Mango (1985b); Krautheimer (1986); Ousterhout (2008); Ćurčić (2010).

[10] Metsanē (1996–1997) 319–334; Vanderheyde (2005) 427–442; Hjort (1979) 199–289; Sodini (1995) 289–311; Boura (1977–1979) 63–72; Grabar (1976).

[11] Parani (2003); Parani (2005) 147–171.

[12] Bucher (1976) 71–89. Since Bucher's work, scholars have furthered studies of micro-architectural structures within both the medieval West and Byzantium. Timmermann (2013); Timmermann (2009); Kratzke (2008); Angar (2008) 433–453; Ćurčić, Hadjitryphonos, et al. (2010); Lidov (2011); Lidov (1999) 340–353.

articulation. These structures provided performative frameworks for liturgical services and paraliturgical devotional practices while at the same time they evoked Biblical architecture and space such as the Heavenly Jerusalem, the paradisiac Fountain of Life, or the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. Expanding upon the definitions of micro-architecture as miniature architectural structures, micro-architecture here implies structures that assembled by a minimal number of basic architectural elements convey the sense of framed space, while their micro-architectural qualities are here understood not primarily in terms of human-based size, but rather in terms of their relative scale to the sacred space in which they are found, such as churches, and which they denote, such as the Heavenly Jerusalem. This book highlights the canopy that by virtue of its physical form represents a basic micro-architectural framing device in the Byzantine religious context. At the same time, this study challenges studies of Byzantine architecture that are limited to detailed formal typological discussions of floor plans and church design. The examined material suggests how a deepening insight into the total cultural context of ecclesiastical settings may significantly expand our current scholarly perception of canopies in Byzantium beyond merely physical evidence to include the memory image of a canopy as an architectural frame for sacred space. For example, in this work, the Tomb of Christ is considered as a seminal object for understanding Byzantine canopies and the messages they conveyed despite the fact that architecturally speaking this still partially preserved object is not a canopy, strictly understood as an open columnar structure. Similarly, another critical building in Byzantine religious thought, the Temple of Jerusalem, was only creatively recreated in Byzantine art and architecture as a canopy and certainly was not originally built as such. Probably the best-known Byzantine canopy (also named *ciborium* in Greek texts), that of St. Demetrios in Thessaloniki, was not an open columnar structure either, but rather an *aedicula*-shaped miniature building with engaged columns comparable in form to the Tomb of Christ. Hence, this book shows how like many canopies seen in illuminated manuscripts or wall paintings that denoted sacred space, the canopy in a Byzantine-rite church became a spatial, visual, and literary *topos*. Simultaneously, essential architectural elements that constitute a canopy as architectural *parti* were potent carriers of multifold religious messages in the Byzantine world.

OUTLINE OF THE BOOK

How did the Greek speaking Byzantines refer to canopy-like structures? An attempt to answer this seemingly simple question in Chapter 1 reveals that there is not a single and absolute answer, and that a critical reassessment of the applicability of the currently used term *ciborium* is needed. Moreover, the plethora of original late antique and medieval accounts on canopied structures provides two distinct bodies of evidence. One is critical for proof about the existence of actual canopies in Byzantine tradition; the other for understanding culturally determined ways of their perception. This chapter develops an analysis of the different idioms, arguments, and rhetorical strategies the Byzantines used to describe and discuss canopies in their churches. It compares the modern academic conventions of naming and describing canopies as ciboria with conventions that are related to the Byzantine tradition. The formulaic nature of ekphrasis, encomium, and other rhetorical devices allowed the Byzantines for complementary but non-hierarchical treatment of texts and structures. Such an analysis links some of scholarship's evident lacunae and misunderstandings to the inception of Byzantine studies and its antiquarian approach starting in the sixteenth century and solidified by positivistic scholarship since the eighteenth-century Enlightenment.