

Elif Demirtiken

**MAPPING THE MEANING:  
THE MONASTIC TOPOGRAPHY OF CONSTANTINOPLE,  
1081-1204 AND 1261-1328**

MA Thesis in Comparative History, with a specialization  
in Interdisciplinary Medieval Studies.

Central European University

Budapest

May 2014

**MAPPING THE MEANING:  
THE MONASTIC TOPOGRAPHY OF CONSTANTINOPLE,  
1081-1204 AND 1261-1328**

by

Elif Demirtiken

(Turkey)

Thesis submitted to the Department of Medieval Studies,  
Central European University, Budapest, in partial fulfillment of the requirements  
of the Master of Arts degree in Comparative History, with a specialization in  
Interdisciplinary Medieval Studies.

Accepted in conformance with the standards of the CEU.

---

Chair, Examination Committee

---

Thesis Supervisor

---

Examiner

---

Examiner

Budapest  
May 2014

**MAPPING THE MEANING:  
THE MONASTIC TOPOGRAPHY OF CONSTANTINOPLE,  
1081-1204 AND 1261-1328**

by

Elif Demirtiken

(Turkey)

Thesis submitted to the Department of Medieval Studies,  
Central European University, Budapest, in partial fulfillment of the requirements  
of the Master of Arts degree in Comparative History, with a specialization in  
Interdisciplinary Medieval Studies

Accepted in conformance with the standards of the CEU.

---

External Reader

**MAPPING THE MEANING:  
THE MONASTIC TOPOGRAPHY OF CONSTANTINOPLE,  
1081-1204 AND 1261-1328**

by

Elif Demirtiken

(Turkey)

Thesis submitted to the Department of Medieval Studies,  
Central European University, Budapest, in partial fulfillment of the requirements  
of the Master of Arts degree in Comparative History, with a specialization in  
Interdisciplinary Medieval Studies.

Accepted in conformance with the standards of the CEU

---

Supervisor

---

External Supervisor

Budapest  
May 2014

I, the undersigned, **Elif Demirtiken**, candidate for the MA degree in Comparative History, with a specialization in Interdisciplinary Medieval Studies declare herewith that the present thesis is exclusively my own work, based on my research and only such external information as properly credited in notes and bibliography. I declare that no unidentified and illegitimate use was made of the work of others, and no part of the thesis infringes on any person's or institution's copyright. I also declare that no part of the thesis has been submitted in this form to any other institution of higher education for an academic degree.

Budapest, 24 May 2014

---

Signature

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS .....	ii
INTRODUCTION .....	1
Aims .....	2
Sources .....	2
Theoretical and Methodological Considerations .....	6
Monasteries in Constantinople before the Komnenoi .....	9
CHAPTER ONE	
CONSTRUCTING A STATEMENT: THE KOMNENIAN PRACTICE .....	15
“I offer thee that which is thine own” .....	15
The Komnenian-ness of Constantinople: monastic topography in progress .....	24
Reasons and motivations behind site selection .....	28
CHAPTER TWO	
RECLAIMING THE MONASTIC CITYSCAPE: THE EARLY PALAIOLOGIAN PRACTICE .....	37
“I have done this as a small repayment of my great debt” .....	37
Early Palaiologan imprint on Constantinople: new pursuits .....	46
Changing motivations of the Palaiologan elite .....	51
CHAPTER THREE	
MONASTIC TOPOGRAPHY THROUGH CENTURIES: A COMPARISON.....	59
Outcomes of marriage policies: in-laws and the <i>feminae byzantinae</i> as monastic founders .....	64
Towards a diversified monastic cityscape.....	67
Monasticism for the sake of monasticism (or monastic founders) .....	68
Palaiologan Revival of a Komnenian Ideal? .....	72
CONCLUSION .....	75
BIBLIOGRAPHY .....	78
APPENDICES .....	87

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<i>BMGS</i>	Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies
<i>BMFD</i>	<i>Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents: A Complete Translation of the Surviving Founders' "Typika" and Testaments</i> , ed. J. Thomas and A. C. Hero (Washington, DC, 2000).
<i>DOP</i>	Dumbarton Oaks Papers (Washington).
<i>JÖB</i>	<i>Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik</i>
<i>ODB</i>	<i>The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium</i> , 1-3, ed. Alexander P. Kazhdan (Oxford: OUP, 1991).
<i>PLP</i>	<i>Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit</i> . Ed. Erich Trapp, Rainer Walther, Hans-Veit Beyer et al. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1976-2001.
<i>REArm</i>	Revue des études arméniennes

## INTRODUCTION

Monasticism represented a better way of life in Byzantium:<sup>1</sup> monastic communities lived an angelic life free of earthly concerns. At least they did so in theory. While a monk, in patriarch Athanasios'<sup>2</sup> words, was someone "... who is attached only to the things of God every day, everywhere, and in everything,"<sup>3</sup> it was the founder's duty to provide the community with proper earthly conditions for such a holy life. When, for instance, Eirene Doukaina<sup>4</sup> "dispens[ed] to each of ... [the nuns] ... the yearly and daily necessities in accordance with their physical needs" to ensure "for this divine company an absence of distraction from all sides in the matter of their holy way of life,"<sup>5</sup> the empress herself was involved with practical concerns such as the construction of the buildings, the endowment of the monastery, and regulation of this angelic life in the convent.

A pious foundation, in return, added to the reputation of its founder. Founding a monastery was a manifestation of wealth and economic power of the patron or patrons, a materialized imprint of prestige on the cityscape. Selecting the site for a monastic building complex sometimes also implied subtle ideas about the current or previous emperors or members of their family. Moreover, the political events of the time echoed in the monasteries. So were the social trends of any era of Byzantine history well represented

---

<sup>1</sup> Monasticism has almost always been a part of any research done on Byzantine society, culture and economy. The literature on monasticism is vast and cannot be summarized here with a full list of bibliography, yet I would like to mention the works from which this research benefited most. Peter Hatlie, *The Monks and Monasteries of Constantinople 350-850* (Cambridge: CUP, 2007); Rosemary Morris, *Monks and Laymen in Byzantium, 843-1118* (Cambridge: CUP, 1995); Margaret Mullett, ed., *Founders and Refounders of Byzantine Monasteries* (Belfast: Belfast Byzantine Enterprises, 2007); *BMFD*; Alice-Mary Talbot, *Women and Religious Life in Byzantium* (Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum Reprints Collected Studies, 2001); Michael Angold, *Church and Society in Byzantium under the Comneni, 1081-1261* (Cambridge: CUP, 1995); Dimiter Angelov, ed., *Church and Society in Late Byzantium* (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 2009); Peter Charanis, "The monk as an element in Byzantine society," *DOP* 25 (1971): 68-84; Sergei Hackel, ed., *The Byzantine Saint* (New York: St Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1981).

<sup>2</sup> *PLP* no. 415. Athanasios was patriarch during 1289-1293 and 1303-1309.

<sup>3</sup> Timothy Miller, tr., "Athanasios I: Rule of Patriarch Athanasios I," *BMFD*, 1501.

<sup>4</sup> *ODB* s. v. "Irene Doukaina." Empress 1081-1118.



explicitly or implicitly in the monasteries, either in their inner-organizational structures or the foundation processes.<sup>6</sup> All in all, it is a well-known paradox that Byzantine monasticism was meant to be a life secluded from the rest of the society yet it was a microcosm of Byzantine civilization at its fullest.<sup>7</sup> From this background, the current research reconstructs the reasons and motivations of elite founders of monasteries in Constantinople.

## Aims

Taking into considerations the monastic foundations recorded in the written sources in two distinct periods, i.e., 1081-1204 on the one hand, and 1261-1328 on the other, in my study I first attempt to see how the Komnenoi left their imprint on Constantinople, a city that had been the Byzantine capital for hundreds of years by that time. What was important to them in the city, and in return where did they choose to focus their monastic foundations? Secondly, what did the Palaiologan cityscape look like after the Byzantines re-conquered the city? Did the priorities of the Byzantine elite change with regard to the building activity in the city? Moreover, were there any similarities, or rather differences between different social groups and their preferences about site selection? Did they choose specific sites for a reason or was the process entirely driven by availability of the resources?

## Sources

The current research concerns later Byzantine Constantinopolitan monasteries and their topographical distribution within the city, yet in most of the cases, the evidence is not architectural or archaeological. First of all, the medieval cityscape was significantly different

---

<sup>5</sup> Robert Jordan, tr., “*Kecharitomene: Typikon* of Empress Irene Doukaina Komnene for the Convent of the Mother of God *Kecharitomene* in Constantinople,” *BMFD*, 666.

<sup>6</sup> Two examples should suffice: When Byzantine Empire lost vast territory in the east in the seventh century, the number of charismatic monastic leaders who came to Constantinople to found monasteries decreased and the monasticism at the capital gained a local character in the ninth century latest. Hatlie, *Monks and Monasteries*, 441-454. Also when the late tenth century emperors initiated the system of *charistike*, the founders responded against the *charistike* as strongly as possible in their *typika*. John Thomas, “Early Reform Monasteries of the Eleventh Century,” *BMFD*, 443.

<sup>7</sup> Alice-Mary Talbot, “A Monastic World,” *The Social History of Byzantium*, ed., John Haldon (Malden MA: Blackwell, 2009), 258-60.

from the modern Istanbul. Secondly, while the continuous settlement of the city led to the preservation of some of the churches, both secular and monastic, their conversion into mosques, thus, resulted in the loss of most of their original decoration and inner-structure.<sup>8</sup> Lastly, in a city that currently has a population of more than sixteen million people, urban archaeology projects are unfortunately very limited and controversial restoration projects do not improve the situation.<sup>9</sup>

The written sources are, on the other hand, more plentiful, and beneficial to visualize medieval Constantinople.<sup>10</sup> Concerning the monasteries in question, the *typika* are the most important source. A *typikon* can either be a liturgical or a foundational document, which regulates the life in a monastic community, sometimes both in one document or separately, or accompanied by a founder's testament. Of at least 59 monasteries founded or re-founded in Constantinople between 1081-1204 and 1261-1328, only ten foundational *typika* survive to the present day<sup>11</sup> and were translated together with fifty-one other *typika* in a magisterial five-

<sup>8</sup> Church of Hagia Eirene was converted into an arsenal and included into the Topkapı Palace, and the monastic church of *Panagiotissa* was spared by a firman of Mehmed II. Yet, the former has also lost its inner structure and the latter was reconstructed in the course of history, having lost almost all of its original features.

<sup>9</sup> The most recent controversial restoration projects include the reconstruction of parts of the so-called Tekfur Palace, Valens' aqueducts, and Anemas dungeons.

<sup>10</sup> Due to time limitations, this study makes use of the available translations of the sources. However, I acknowledge that incorporation of the original texts in Greek is required for the future improvement of this study.

<sup>11</sup> These are the *typika* of *Kecharitomene*, *Pantokrator*, *St. Mamas*, *Lips*, *Anargyroi*, *Kellibara I* and *II*, the *Anastasis*, *Bebaia Elpis* and *Philanthropos*. See the relevant chapters in *BMFD*: Jordan, "Kecharitomene," 649-724; ibidem, tr., "Pantokrator: Typikon of Emperor John II Komnenos for the Monastery of Christ Pantokrator in Constantinople," 725-782; Anastasius Bandy, tr., "Mamas: Typikon of Athanasios Philanthropenos for the Monastery of St. Mamas in Constantinople," 973-1041; George Dennis, tr., "Kellibara I: Typikon of Michael VIII Palaiologos for the Monastery of St. Demetrios of the Palaiologoi-Kellibara in Constantinople," 1237-53; Alice-Mary Talbot, tr., "Lips: Typikon of Theodora Palaiologina for the Convent of Lips in Constantinople," 1254-86; eadem, tr., "Anargyroi: Typikon of Theodora Palaiologina for the Convent of Sts. Kosmas and Damian in Constantinople," 1287-94; eadem, tr., "Akropolites: Testament of Constantine Akropolites for the Monastery of the Resurrection (Anastasis) in Constantinople," 1374-82; eadem, tr., "Philanthropos: Typikon of Irene Choumnaina Palaiologina for the Convent of Christ Philanthropos in Constantinople," 1383-8; George Dennis, tr., "Kellibara II: Typikon of Andronikos II Palaiologos for the Monastery of St. Demetrios-Kellibara in Constantinople," 1505-12; Alice-Mary Talbot, tr., "Bebaia Elpis: Typikon of Theodora Synadene for the Convent of the Mother of God Bebaia Elpis in Constantinople," 1512-78.

The *typika* of *Stoudios*, *Athanasios*, *Kosmosoteira*, *Auxentios*, and *Christodoulos* are excluded from the list but they can also be very helpful to understand the monasticism of the period even if they did not directly belong to a Constantinopolitan monastery primarily discussed in this thesis. Timothy Miller, tr., "Theodore Studites: Testament of Theodore the Studite for the Monastery of St. John Stoudios in Constantinople," *BMFD*, 67-87; ibidem, tr., "Stoudios: Rule of the Monastery of St. John Stoudios in Constantinople," *BMFD*, 84-119; Patricia

volume study edited by Angela Constantinides Hero and John Thomas and published by Dumbarton Oaks. Although ten *typika* cannot represent the later Byzantine monasticism in Constantinople as a homogeneous institution, one can still distract some hints about the inner structures of monasteries and self-perception of the founders.

In addition to the main narrative sources (the *Alexiad* of Anna Komnene,<sup>12</sup> the *History* of Niketas Choniates,<sup>13</sup> and *Epitome* of John Kinnamos<sup>14</sup> for the Komnenian period, and the *Histories* of George Akropolites,<sup>15</sup> George Pachymeres<sup>16</sup> and Nikephoros Gregoras<sup>17</sup> for the Palaiologan period),<sup>18</sup> the writings and letters (Eustathios archbishop of Thessalonike,<sup>19</sup> the letters of patriarch Athanasios,<sup>20</sup> and Eirene Choumnaina<sup>21</sup>) are invaluable sources to witness the perception of contemporary authors about monasteries and monasticism. Also,

---

Karlin-Hayter, tr., “*Christodoulos: Rule, Testament and Codicil of Christodoulos for the Monastery of St. John the Theologian on Patmos*,” *BMFD*, 564-606; Nancy Patterson Sevcenko, tr., “*Kosmosoteira: Typikon of the Sebastokrator Isaac Komnenos for the Monastery of the Mother of God Kosmosoteira near Bera*,” *BMFD*, 782-858; George Dennis, tr., “*Auxentios: Typikon of Michael VIII Palaiologos for the Monastery of the Archangel Michael on Mount Auxentios near Chalcedon*,” *BMFD*, 1207-36; Miller, “*Athanasios I*,” 1495-1504.

<sup>12</sup> A. Kambylis and D.R. Reinsch, *Annae Comnenae Alexias. Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae. Series Berolinensis* 40.1 (Berlin, New York: De Gruyter, 2001): 5-505; E.R.A. Sewter, ed. and tr., Anna Komnene (Komnene) *The Alexiad* (Hammandsworth: Penguin, 1969); Thalia Gouma-Peterson, ed., *Anna Komnene and Her Times* (New York: Garland Publishing, 2000).

<sup>13</sup> J. van Dieten, *Nicetae Choniatae historia, pars prior. Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae. Series Berolinensis* 11.1 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1975): 1-655; Harry G. Magoulias, tr., *O City of Byzantium: Annals of Niketas Choniates* (Michigan: Wayne State University Press, 1984).

<sup>14</sup> Charles M. Brand, tr., *Deeds of John and Manuel Comnenus* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1976).

<sup>15</sup> A. Heisenberg, *Georgii Acropolitae opera*, vol. 1 (Leipzig: Teubner, 1903): 3-189; Ruth Macrides, *George Akropolites the History, Translated with an Introduction and Commentary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

<sup>16</sup> A. Failler and V. Laurent, *Georges Pachymères. Relations historiques*, 2 vols. *Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae. Series Parisiensis* 24.1-2 (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1984): 1:3-325; 2:329-667.

<sup>17</sup> I. Bekker and L. Schopen, *Nicephori Gregorae historiae Byzantinae*, 3 vols. *Corpus scriptorum historiae Byzantinae* (Bonn: Weber, 1:1829; 2:1830; 3:1855): 1:3-568; 2:571-1146; 3:3-567.

<sup>18</sup> The archival material and hagiography constitute an important source to understand Byzantine monasticism in general, however, for the focus of discussion in this thesis, they remain of secondary importance. For a general reading on Byzantine hagiography, see Stephanos Efthymiadis, ed., *The Ashgate Research Companion to Byzantine Hagiography, Volume I: Periods and Places*, (Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum, 2011). The most recent study on the patriarchal registers of Constantinople, more than 800 documents written between 1315 and 1402 and preserved in two manuscripts, see Christian Gastgeber, Ekaterini Mitsiou and Johannes Preiser-Kapeller, ed., *The Register of the Patriarchate of Constantinople - An Essential Source to the History and Church of Late Byzantium*.

<sup>19</sup> Alexander Kazhdan and Simon Franklin, *Studies on Byzantine Literature of the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Cambridge: CUP, 2009).

<sup>20</sup> Alice-Mary Talbot, *The Correspondence of Athanasius I Patriarch of Constantinople* (Washington: Dumbarton Oaks, 1975).

Constantine Stilbes<sup>22</sup> poem of 937 lines that described the 1197 fire in Constantinople and the epigrams of Manuel Philes<sup>23</sup> that decorated monastic churches provide details about the city, monasteries and/or the founders.

Two works that described the ceremonial in Constantinople, the tenth-century compilation known as the Book of Ceremonies and Pseudo-Kodinos' fourteenth-century so-called Treatise on Offices, regardless of the former's earlier and the latter's mix compilation dates, are also extremely helpful.<sup>24</sup> Additionally, some memoirs or travelogues written by foreign travelers to Constantinople are preserved. These sources can be problematic for the foreigners misremembered the names of churches or monasteries, yet the descriptions of outsiders included details that a Byzantine would not need to mention.<sup>25</sup>

However, I did not examine all the primary sources that include information about every monastery in the catalogue attached to the appendices for this would be a project of its own, and of a different scale. Rather, this study is immensely based on Raymond Janin's colossal work<sup>26</sup> on the religious buildings in Constantinople and Vassilios Kidonopoulos research on buildings in Constantinople between 1204 and 1341.<sup>27</sup> Often, these two major

<sup>21</sup> Angela Constantinides Hero, *A Woman's Spiritual Quest For Spiritual Guidance: The Correspondence of Princess Irene Eulogia Choumnaina Palaiologina* (Massachusetts: Hellenic College Press, 1986).

<sup>22</sup> Konstantinos Stilbes, *Poemata*, ed. Johannes Diethart and Wolfram Hörandner. BT (Munich/Leipzig: de Gruyter, 2005); Trevor Layman, "The Incineration of New Babylon": The Fire Poem of Konstantinos Stilbes" (İstanbul: Koç University, 2012).

<sup>23</sup> Sarah T. Brooks, "Poetry and Female Patronage in Late Byzantine Tomb Decoration: Two Epigrams by Manuel Philes," *DOP* 60 (2006): 223-248; Alice-Mary Talbot, "Epigrams of Manuel Philes on the Theotokos tes Peges and Its Art," *DOP* 48 (1994): 135-165.

<sup>24</sup> Ruth Macrides, J. A. Munitiz and Dimitar Angelov, *Pseudo-Kodinos and the Constantinopolitan Court: Offices and Ceremonies* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2013). Again of an earlier date, *Patria* also provides ample evidence about the medieval Constantinople. See Albrecht Berger, tr., *Accounts of Medieval Constantinople, The Patria* (Washington D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library, 2013).

<sup>25</sup> George P. Majeska, *Russian Travelers to Constantinople in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1984); ibidem, "Russian Pilgrims in Constantinople," *DOP* 56 (2002): 93-108; Ruth Macrides, ed., *Travel in the Byzantine World* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002); Krijna Nelly Ciggaar, *Western Travellers to Constantinople: the West and Byzantium, 962-1204: Cultural and Political Relations* (New York: Brill, 1996).

<sup>26</sup> Raymond Janin, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'Empire byzantine 1, Le siège de Constantinople et le patriarcat oecuménique, 3: Les églises et les monastères* (Paris: 1969).

<sup>27</sup> Vassilios Kidonopoulos, *Bauten in Konstantinopel 1204-1328 Verfall und Zerstörung, Restaurierung, Umbau und Neubau von Profan- und Sakralbauten* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1994).

catalogues are used in conjunction with Alexander Van Millingen's book on Constantinopolitan churches,<sup>28</sup> Cyril Mango's *Studies on Constantinople*<sup>29</sup> and Paul Magdalino's *Studies on the History and Topography of Byzantine Constantinople*.<sup>30</sup>

The sources this research is based on should always be approached with a critical mind for they represent numerous methodological challenges. Although my research revolves around 59 monasteries founded, re-founded or restored in Constantinople between 1081-1204 and 1261-1328, this number does not necessarily represent the actual number of monastic buildings erected or restored in the city during those years. The sources most probably included some and excluded others for the names of these 59 monasteries were not mentioned by all the sources at the same time. While the surviving written evidence is selective, many if not most written sources are lost. Also, presumably, every monastery had a *typikon* to regulate the way of life in the community, yet only ten *typika* among the 59 monasteries discussed in this thesis survive until today. Thus, the information gathered from these ten *typika* should be read as hints rather than generalizations about monasticism in the Komnenian and Palaiologan periods. Lastly, not all the remaining architectural evidence in Istanbul can be identified with original Byzantine monuments, for example Vefa Kilise Camii is an example of early Palaiologan church architecture, yet the original name is still unknown. Thus, the evidence is not conclusive to determine the original name, date, founder and/or history of all the surviving Byzantine buildings in Istanbul – the number of monasteries can be higher, but one cannot know.

### **Theoretical and Methodological Considerations**

A survey of monastic foundations in the Byzantine capital is everything but a simple list of buildings. Every act of commissioning a monastery involves complexities: the

---

<sup>28</sup> Alexander Van Millingen, *Byzantine Churches in Constantinople* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1974).

<sup>29</sup> Cyril Mango, *Studies on Constantinople* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1997).

<sup>30</sup> Paul Magdalino, *Studies on the History and Topography of Byzantine Constantinople* (Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum, 2007).

availability of resources, choosing the best possible site presumably among a limited number of sites available, constructing the building, finding a religious founder or a *hegoumenos*, establishing the monastic community, providing endowments, etc. In an urban context like Constantinople, it was often the case that the founders built their monasteries over dilapidated or aged ones or converted profane buildings into a monastery. At the same time, these monasteries inevitably interacted with the surrounding buildings.

All in all, place is a social construct.<sup>31</sup> Just as it is constructed by several social process(es), it, in return, contributes to shape social processes. If Tim Cresswell is right when he states that “place is the raw material for the creative production of identity rather than an *a priori* label of identity,”<sup>32</sup> then a group of people’s control and management of a place would inform us about the identity of that group. Following Philip Ethington’s argument that “the past is the set of all places made by human action” and that historical interpretation is “the act of reading places,”<sup>33</sup> a survey of monasteries and interpreting their distribution over the cityscape seems one promising way of discovering neglected relationship between place and power in Byzantium.

An individual or a group of people have to hold some sort of power<sup>34</sup> in order to make an ideological statement visible to others. Barbara Hill, in her book on *Imperial Women of Byzantium*, approaches power from four angles; hierarchy, patronage, kinship, and ideology

---

<sup>31</sup> Charles W. J. Withers, “Place and the “Spatial Turn” in Geography and in History”, *Journal of the History of Ideas* 70 (2009): 637-58. David Harvey, *Justice, Nature and the Geography of Difference* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996), 261. Tim Cresswell, *Place: A Short Introduction* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2004), 39.

<sup>32</sup> John Haldon, “Towards a Social History of Byzantium,” *The Social History of Byzantium*, ed., John Haldon (Malden MA: Blackwell, 2009), 1-30.

<sup>33</sup> Philip Ethington, “Placing the Past: ‘Groundwork’ for a Spatial Theory of History,” *Rethinking History* 11 (2007): 465-93.

<sup>34</sup> As Weber famously defines it, power is “the probability that one actor in a social relationship will be in a position to carry out his will despite resistance, regardless of the basis on which this probability rests.” Weber’s definition emphasizes the social aspect of power, that power is always social, between people. Therefore, it changes, shifts, increases or decreases in a given period between different groups of people. See Max Weber, *The Theory of Social and Economic Organisation* tr. A. M. Henderson and Talcott Parsons (New York: Free Press, 1947), 52.

for “they were of great importance to the society of the time.”<sup>35</sup> While I also accept that hierarchy, kinship, ideology and patronage are all parts and kinds of power an individual or a group was able to exercise in Byzantium, I slightly shifted their relative roles within the bigger concept of power. I take patronage of monasteries as a tangible manifestation of power first, and then compare patronage with other angles of power, i.e., the hierarchy and kinship, and how these two angles of power were influential in creating the cityscape and how the self-perceptions and self-representations were affected by the created cityscape.

Patronage is a kind of power<sup>36</sup> and can be defined vaguely as a voluntary relationship which lasts for some time between two parties of unequal social and economic status.<sup>37</sup> In Byzantium, patronage was the basis of life and the empire worked through personal patronage in the absence of any system of impersonal promotion, where all authority emanated from the emperor.<sup>38</sup>

Dignity and office gave power to individuals, and were given by the emperor.<sup>39</sup> As Michael Angold puts it, “a man’s standing in Constantinopolitan society depended upon his rank at court and the clientele that his largesse secured.”<sup>40</sup> The members of the Komnenian aristocracy, which had a military character, were included into the ruling family through marriage alliances.<sup>41</sup> Similarly, the members of the Palaiologan aristocracy proudly carried five to six family names to show off their noble ancestry and had constantly changing ranks

---

<sup>35</sup> Barbara Hill, *Imperial Women in Byzantium, 1025–1204: Power, Patronage and Ideology* (London: Longman, 1999), 26.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, 155.

<sup>37</sup> Margaret Mullett, “Byzantium: a friendly society?,” *Past and Present* 118 (1987): 3-28; Hill, *Imperial Women*, 155.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, 18-28.

<sup>39</sup> Peter Frankopan, “Land and Power in the Middle and Later Period,” *The Social History of Byzantium*, ed., John Haldon (Malden MA: Blackwell, 2009), 112-42, especially 126.

<sup>40</sup> Michael Angold, *The Byzantine Empire, 1025-1204, A Political History* (London: Longman, 1997), 147.

<sup>41</sup> Paul Magdalino, “Innovations in Government,” *Alexios I Komnenos, 1: Papers. Papers of the Second Belfast Byzantine International Colloquium*, 14-16 April 1989, ed., Margaret Mullett and Dion Smythe (Belfast: Belfast Byzantine Enterprises, 1996), 156-61.

in the court hierarchy according to the emperor's favor.<sup>42</sup> The proximity to the emperor was vital for the aristocracy in both periods.

Therefore, in my study, I depart from the assumption that monastic patronage represents the most tangible part of the power spectrum, and through a cross-reading of its manifestations with the patron's rank and kinship networks, I aim to reach the most abstract end of the power spectrum, self-fashioning with regard to prestige and visibility. While acknowledging the possible differences between self-perception and social reality, I attempt to discover to which degree the proximity to the emperor within the family or at court influenced monastic patronage in the capital, or whether dissent with the emperor was reflected in a non-verbal manner. Thus, placing the monasteries in both chronological and topographical contexts, i.e., by including cityscape to the discussion of court hierarchy, marital connections, and kinship, is a new angle to seek the manifestation and share of power in Byzantium.

### **Monasteries in Constantinople before the Komnenoi**

Constantinople was the last grand city of late antiquity in terms of size and population and the largest among the medieval cities in the Christian world until the thirteenth century.<sup>43</sup> While population estimates, varying considerably, are not particularly helpful to better understand Constantinople in the Palaiologan period,<sup>44</sup> the urban texture of the capital is perhaps a better measure to visualize the life at the city. The city has a triangular shape, surrounded by the Golden Horn in the north, the Propontis (Sea of Marmara) in the south, and

---

<sup>42</sup> Angeliki Laiou, "The Byzantine Aristocracy in the Palaiologan Period: A Story of Arrested Development," *Gender, Society and Economic Life in Byzantium* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1992), 131-151.

<sup>43</sup> Peter Frankopan, *The First Crusade, The Call from the East* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 2012), 26-41.

<sup>44</sup> In the twelfth century, Benjamin of Tudela said that it had 375,000 inhabitants at its maximum. See Ciggaar, *Western Travellers*, 46. Especially the Crusaders' accounts give hints about the size and population of Constantinople. For example Geoffroy of Villehardouin talks about a city of 400,000 people, while Robert de Clari, without giving numbers, relates that one of the fires in 1203 burnt down an area in Constantinople that was equal to the size of the city of Arras. See Robert de Clari, *The Conquest of Constantinople*, tr. Edgar Holmes McNeal (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005); Geoffrey de Villehardouin, *Memoirs or Chronicle of The Fourth Crusade and The Conquest of Constantinople*, tr. Frank Thomas Marzials, (London:



confined by the Theodosian city walls in the west.<sup>45</sup> While the construction of the second line of city walls points to a westward expansion of the city, there was also a significant difference in population density between the northern and the southern parts of the city. The area around Hagia Sophia and the Great Palace, unfolding along the Mese, the main embolos of the city, were densely populated, while the area between the two lines of city walls remained relatively rural.<sup>46</sup>

Concerning the hierotopy of Constantinople in the tenth century, Magdalino, taking into consideration the churches listed by both *Synaxarion* and *Patria*, lists 89 foundations.<sup>47</sup> While 55 out of 89 religious institutions (62 %) were located inside the city walls of Constantine, only two out of these 55 were monasteries.<sup>48</sup> Similarly, judging from the surviving record, only a small percentage of religious institutions located between the city walls of Constantine and of Theodosius were monasteries (eight out of 34 religious institutions listed in *Synaxarion* and *Patria*).<sup>49</sup>

Monastic movement reached Constantinople already in the late fourth century and immediately witnessed an expansion.<sup>50</sup> However, the Late Antique monasteries were significantly different institutions of the monasteries that constitute the core of this study.<sup>51</sup> After the ninth century, monasteries, instead of supporting hundreds of monastics and operating through cash donations and manual labor, were smaller local institutions that were

---

J.M. Dent, 1908). Thomas F. Madden, "The Fires of the Fourth Crusade in Constantinople, 1203-1204: A Damage Assessment," *BZ* 84/85 (1992): 72-93.

<sup>45</sup> See figure 1.

<sup>46</sup> Idem. Ibidem, *Empire of Manuel I Komnenos 1143-1180* (Cambridge: CUP, 1993), 123.

<sup>47</sup> Magdalino, "Medieval Constantinople," *Studies on the History and Topography of Byzantine Constantinople* (Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum, 2007), I: 27-31.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid, 27-9.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid. Hatlie, *The Monks and Monasteries*, 257-63.

<sup>50</sup> Hatlie, *The Monks and Monasteries*, 441-454. Esra Güzel Erdoğan, "II. Andronikos Dönemi Konstantinopolis Manastırlarının Toplumla İlişkisi ve *Philanthropia* Kavramı (1282-1328)" [The Relationship of Constantinopolitan Monasteries during the reign of Andronikos II and the Concept of *Philanthropia*], Istanbul Technical University, 2009, 8.

highly dependent on landed endowments.<sup>52</sup> Their economic wealth soon increased to such a degree in the early tenth century that the late tenth-century emperors felt obliged to limit the endowments and provisions in an attempt to control power of the monasteries.<sup>53</sup> The late tenth-eleventh century system of *charistike* and *ephoreia* had good intentions, yet with often devastating results for the Constantinopolitan monasteries.<sup>54</sup>

As monasticism started as a lay movement, the first monasteries founded in Constantinople were private endeavors. While the earlier monastic foundations in Constantinople were sponsored by laymen (or by bishops from the fifth century), and imperial patronage focused on public buildings such as *fora* or baths, imperial initiative behind the founding monasteries was a later development, which grew at the expense of public churches and secular public buildings.<sup>55</sup> Cyril Mango asserts that this process began with the foundation of the monastery of *Peribleptos* by Romanos III Argyros (r. 1028-1034).<sup>56</sup> According to Paul Magdalino, the first instances of dynastic foundations can be traced at least a century earlier, with the female monastery of the *Myrelaion*, founded by Romanos I Lekapenos (r. 920-944), and still earlier with *Petrion/Petria* founded by Basil I (r. 867 to 886).<sup>57</sup>

---

<sup>51</sup> Twice in its early history, the Constantinopolitan monasteries went through major transformations due to the conflicts this lay movement that became an authority in religious matters with the highest positions in the hierarchy, the imperial power and the church. Hatlie, *The Monks and Monasteries*, 441-2.

<sup>52</sup> John Thomas, "Traditional Private Religious Foundations," *BMFD*, 47-50; cf. Kostis Smyrlis, *La Fortune Des Grands Monastères Byzantins* (fin du Xe Milieu du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle) *Monographies* 21 (Paris: Association des amis du Centre d'histoire et civilisation de Byzance, 2006), 245-7. Smyrlis points to the variety of ways by which a monastery acquired or produced wealth from the end of the tenth century to the fourteenth century in Byzantium. These included owning boats, involvement in trade and financial activities, yet the land was the main source of income.

<sup>53</sup> Talbot, "A Monastic World," 269.

<sup>54</sup> Rosemary Morris, "Legal Terminology in Monastic Documents of the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries," *JÖB* 32.2 (1982): 281-90. John Thomas, "The Protectorate," *BMFD*, 297-309.

<sup>55</sup> Magdalino, "Medieval Constantinople," I: 102. Cyril Mango, "The Development of Constantinople as an Urban Centre," *Studies on Constantinople* (Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum, 1993), 131-2.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid. Today known as Sulumanastır. See idem, "The Monastery of St. Mary Peribleptos (Sulu manastır) at Constantinople Revisited," *REArm* 23 (1992): 473-93. See no. 26 on figures 2 and 4.

<sup>57</sup> Magdalino, "Medieval Constantinople," I: 72-4; cf. Hatlie, *The Monks and Monasteries*, 280-90, 335-8, 446. See no. 37 on figure 2 for the Myrelaion. Today known as Molla Gürani Bodrum Camii. See Cecil L. Striker, *The Myrelaion (Bodrum Camii) in Istanbul* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981).

Magdalino defines the phenomenon of an increasing number of *private* monasteries<sup>58</sup> as part of the privatization of city life, basically due to the emergence and spread of the idea of the Christian *oikos* to all levels of Byzantine society: to such an extent that famously the whole empire was alleged to have become the *oikos* of the emperor.<sup>59</sup> According to Magdalino, cathedrals (and one can add, later the monasteries) had become the hubs of public life, around which processions, festivals and philanthropic activities took place.<sup>60</sup> In the Komnenian period, monastic patronage was primarily an elite undertaking, which improved the life conditions in monasteries, once again.<sup>61</sup> After the interregnum in Constantinople between 1204 and 1261, the Byzantines returned to their once-lost capital. The period between 1261 and 1328 was marked with an unprecedented number monastic foundations of different sizes in the city, although the state soon faced territorial losses and economic difficulties as well as religious disputes.<sup>62</sup>

\*\*\*

In the following pages, I take into consideration all the monasteries founded, re-founded or restored in the city during the two periods in question, 1081-1204 and 1261-1328. Naturally, not all 59 monasteries discussed in this thesis were at the same level of patronage, endowment, size or wealth.<sup>63</sup> Judging from the surviving *typika* available, monastic communities founded and endowed by members of the imperial family ranged from 24 to 40

<sup>58</sup> *Private* (in italics) is used by Magdalino for the monasteries that were attached to a palace like the *Myrelaion* or “to serve as their own personal monuments,” (*Empire of Manuel*, 114) not as a monastery that was founded by a lay person as in John Thomas’ definition. (“Traditional Private Religious Foundations,” 47-50.)

<sup>59</sup> Magdalino, *Empire of Manuel*, 113-4.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>61</sup> It is impossible to draw a detailed picture of Byzantine monasticism in this very brief background history. These should be read as main points or rather key words I revolve around below in my study. For general readings, see above fn. 1 on p. 1.

<sup>62</sup> Alice-Mary Talbot, “The restoration of Constantinople under Michael VIII,” *DOP* 47 (1993): 243-61.

<sup>63</sup> The economic aspect of monasteries is beyond the scope of this study. Smyrlis meticulously investigates the economic history of monasteries – how they acquired and managed their assets, what these assets actually consisted of (animals, movable like sacred valuables or boats, and immovable properties, including urban buildings/dependencies and the importance of their locations). Although my thesis does not include the economic aspect of monasteries to the discussion of monastic topography, *La Fortune Des Grands Monastères Byzantins* was essential for a better-understanding of the social life in Byzantine monasteries.

in size.<sup>64</sup> However, monasteries founded by members of lower aristocracy hosted as few as twelve nuns. Therefore, differences in size, comfort, and splendor between the monasteries are also included into the discussion. I seek to detect any changes in terms of spatial distribution, site selection, and motivations behind them.

Prosopographical details of the founders naturally play an important role in interpreting the changes and patterns, therefore, the status of the founders, their relation to the emperor, gender, and the dignities held are included in the discussion about the correlation between site selection and prestige. I have used the following categorization throughout the thesis: The inner imperial family consists of the first- and second-degree kin to the imperial couple (parents and children, and siblings), extended imperial family consists of third- and fourth-degree kin (cousins, aunts and uncles, and nephews and nieces).<sup>65</sup> An in-law is included to the discussion as a part of the extended family.<sup>66</sup>

In Chapter I, the focus is put on 20 monastic foundations commissioned under the Komnenoi and the Angeloi between 1081 and 1204. In addition to a chronological list of building activities and an accompanying set of maps provided in the Appendices, the founders, their patronage, the relations with each other and with the emperor, social status, dignity or office held, are discussed. In the second part of the chapter, then, the topographical distribution of the foundations in Constantinople is laid out, so that one can detect any possible clusters within the city and the reasons behind it. Chapter II follows exactly the same structure, starting with a discussion of the prosopography of the early Palaiologan founders and their foundations, followed by a topographical distribution of the foundations in the city, in order to understand the motivations behind site selection. Readers who are familiar with

---

<sup>64</sup> *Kecharitomene*, Auxentios, Kellibara, *Lips*, *Anargyroi* and *Bebaia Elpis*. *Pantokrator* represents an extremity with 80 monks.

<sup>65</sup> On the maps, four shades of blue for the Komnenian and red for the Palaiologan imperial foundations are used to differentiate between the relatives of the emperor.

the Komnenian and Palaiologan monasteries in Constantinople and their founders may skip the first sections of Chapters I and II, and start with the following parts, “Komnenian-ness of Constantinople: monastic topography in progress” and “Early Palaiologan imprint on Constantinople: new pursuits,” respectively. Lastly in Chapter III, the two periods are compared to each other, both in terms of the changing monastic topography of the city and the reasons and ideological manifestations behind monastic foundations.

---

<sup>66</sup> The foundations of aristocracy are marked with plain green if the members were not married to the ruling clans. Green with a shade of red or blue is used for those members of aristocracy who established a marital connection to the ruling clan of the time.

## CHAPTER ONE

### CONSTRUCTING A STATEMENT: THE KOMNENIAN PRACTICE

**“I offer thee that which is thine own”<sup>67</sup>**

Founding new monasteries, restoring old ones, and converting public churches into monasteries was common among Byzantine emperors as early as the ninth century.<sup>68</sup> In a way, the members of the imperial family and aristocracy<sup>69</sup> continued the already established tradition of founding private religious institutions during the Komnenian period.<sup>70</sup> The reign of Alexios I Komnenos witnessed the highest number of monastic foundations of the period judging by the surviving evidence; twelve out of the 20 monasteries founded in Constantinople between 1081 and 1204 date from his reign.

Even if the monastic foundations flourished most under his rule, emperor Alexios I does not seem to have founded a monastery during the first decade of his reign. The immediate challenges to this power may have prevented him from doing so.<sup>71</sup> Although he was a patron of holy men and monks, e.g., Christodoulos of Patmos,<sup>72</sup> he was also known for requisitioning sacred valuables to finance his wars and exploiting the system of *charistike* to reward his supporters.<sup>73</sup>

---

<sup>67</sup> Jordan, “*Pantokrator*,” 737.

<sup>68</sup> Emperors were always interested in monasteries, yet the change in the ninth century was the frequency of their patronage. Hatlie, *Monks and Monasteries*, 335-8; cf. Magdalino, “Medieval Constantinople,” I: 69-72; Mango, “The Development,” 131-2.

<sup>69</sup> Alexander Kazhdan and Ann Wharton Epstein, “The Nature of the Byzantine Nobility,” “Changes in the Social Character of the Byzantine Aristocracy,” and “The ‘Aristocratization’ of Culture,” *Change in Byzantine Culture in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), 62-70, 99-117.

<sup>70</sup> Magdalino, based on Raymond Janin’s *Les églises*, lists 19 religious institutions founded or re-founded in Constantinople between 1081 and 1204 (“Medieval Constantinople,” I: 67). I have identified 20 monasteries founded, re-founded or restored during this period. See figures 1 and 3.

<sup>71</sup> Peter Frankopan, “Kinship and the Distribution of Power in Komnenian Byzantium,” *English Historical Review* 122, no. 495 (2007): 1-32.

<sup>72</sup> Karlin-Hayter, “*Christodoulos*,” 582-3.

<sup>73</sup> Magdalino, *Empire of Manuel*, 268; Angold, *Church and Society*, 332 ff.

As recorded in a manuscript,<sup>74</sup> Alexios I Komnenos was listed among the patrons of the monastery dedicated to St. Mokios,<sup>75</sup> in the southwest. It was originally a church, converted into a monastery by Basil I in the vicinity of the cistern of Mokios (currently Fındıkzade Çukurbostan Şehir Parkı in the Şehremini neighborhood), one of the open-air cisterns built in the fifth century as a solution to the water shortages in the city. Yet, the grand foundation of Alexios was the *Orphanotropheion*, located on the acropolis of the ancient city of Byzantium.<sup>76</sup> The Orphanotropheion included male and female monastic communities in addition to a church dedicated to SS. Paul and Peter, an old age home, a school, and an orphanage.<sup>77</sup> Nothing is known about the other monastic communities (one for males and two for females)<sup>78</sup> within the premises of the *Orphanotropheion* and little is known about the convent known as the monastery of the Iberians, founded for the Georgian nuns, except from being located to the left of the Church of St. Paul in the *Orphanotropheion*.<sup>79</sup>

The imperial couple, Alexios I and his wife, *augousta* Eirene Doukaina, founded a monastery dedicated to Christ *Philanthropos*, where Alexios I was buried in 1118.<sup>80</sup> Located in the Deuteron district, it was adjacent<sup>81</sup> to the convent dedicated to the Theotokos *Kecharitomene*, which was founded by Eirene Doukaina at a slightly earlier date.<sup>82</sup> Even though there is no solid evidence to suggest whether empress Eirene Doukaina retired there after her husband's death in 1118 until her own death in 1123, which well might have

<sup>74</sup> Cod. Marc. gr. 524 fol. 46<sup>r</sup>. Cyril Mango, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire 312-1453: Sources and Documents*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986), 226-7.

<sup>75</sup> No. 11 on figures 1 and 3. ODB s. v. "Mokios."

<sup>76</sup> Paul Magdalino, "Innovations in Government," *Alexios I Komnenos, I: Papers. Papers of the Second Belfast Byzantine International Colloquium, 14-16 April 1989*, ed., Margaret Mullett and Dion Smythe (Belfast: Belfast Byzantine Enterprises, 1996), 156-61; cf. Morris, *Monks and Laymen*, 281-2.

<sup>77</sup> Magdalino, "Innovations," 156-61.

<sup>78</sup> Morris, *Monks and Laymen*, 281-2.

<sup>79</sup> Magdalino, "Medieval Constantinople," I: 84-6. Janin, *Les églises*, 256. No. 7 on figure 1.

<sup>80</sup> Ibid, 525-7. No. 9 on figures 1 and 3.

<sup>81</sup> *Kecharitomene* and *Philanthropos* have occasionally been mistaken for a double monastery, however, they were separate foundations with separate communal spaces and foundational documents.

<sup>82</sup> *Kecharitomene* was mentioned in the sources by 1107. No. 8 on figures 1 and 3. Janin, *Les églises*, 188-91; Hill, *Imperial Women* 165-9; Jordan, "*Kecharitomene*," 649-724.

happened, Anna Komnene undoubtedly wrote her history in *Kecharitomene*.<sup>83</sup> While *Philanthropos* was chosen as the eternal resting place of Alexios I, the adjacent *Kecharitomene* was to serve as a mausoleum for other members of the Komnenoi-Doukai, as in the *typikon* of the monastery Eirene Doukaina stated that the grand-daughters who were to become protectors of the convent were granted burial in the exonarthex.<sup>84</sup> The nuns of the convent were expected to perform commemorative services for the empress' family,<sup>85</sup> including the Komnenoi but by no means excluding the Doukai. As Peter Frankopan has clearly demonstrated, Eirene Doukaina emphasized her family connections (the Doukai) more than the Komnenian family ties: while the parents and children of the imperial couple were commemorated, only the siblings of the empress were added to the list, whereas Alexios' siblings were excluded.<sup>86</sup>

Eirene Doukaina founded another nunnery, namely *ta Kellaraias*, which was donated by Patriarch Nikolaos III Grammatikos to serve as an additional mausoleum for the nuns of *Kecharitomene*, probably also in the same neighborhood.<sup>87</sup> Alexios I and Eirene Doukaina were, thus, associated with at least five monastic foundations in Constantinople, which makes them by far most active imperial couple in this regard.<sup>88</sup>

The first patron of monasteries under the Komnenoi was Maria Doukaina (of Bulgaria), Eirene Doukaina's mother. During the coup of Alexios I around 1081, Maria of Bulgaria undertook the restoration of the monastery dedicated to St. Savior at Chora (Kariye Camii), stood close to the Blachernai district.<sup>89</sup>

---

<sup>83</sup> Ibid.

<sup>84</sup> Frankopan, "Kinship," 31-2.

<sup>85</sup> Jordan, "*Kecharitomene*," 649-724.

<sup>86</sup> Frankopan, "Kinship," 31-2.

<sup>87</sup> No. 10 on figures 1 and 3. Janin, *Les églises*, 188.

<sup>88</sup> Cf. Morris, *Monks and Laymen*, 281-2. Morris discusses whether one can call Alexios I a patron of monasteries at all as she demonstrates that he did not even have to invest much money in the *Orphanotropheion*.

<sup>89</sup> No. 1 on figures 1 and 3. Magdalino, "Medieval Constantinople," I: 81.



By 1087, Anna Dalassene, “mother of the Komnenoi,”<sup>90</sup> founded a male monastery in the district of Deuteron in the northern part of the city. The monastery of Christ *Pantepoptes* was in the vicinity of the cistern of Aspar (today Çarşamba Çukurbostan Parkı in the Balat neighborhood), another open-air cistern built in the fifth century.<sup>91</sup> After she retired from her political duties in the late 1080s, she retreated to her apartments in this monastery to spend the rest of her days.<sup>92</sup> A monk from Cappadocia, John the Faster, re-founded the monastery dedicated to St. John the Baptist at Petra in the northwest with the support of Anna Dalassene.<sup>93</sup>

A certain John Komnenos and his wife Anna Doukaina were recorded in a funerary inscription in a monastery dedicated to the Theotokos *Pammakaristos* sometime between 1094/5 and 1105.<sup>94</sup> The couple has been identified as Adrian Komnenos the *protosebastos*, Alexios I’s younger brother, who served the emperor as *megas domestikos*, and his wife Zoe *porphyrogennetos* Doukaina.<sup>95</sup> *Pammakaristos*, today known as Fethiye Camii, was also located in the northwestern part of the city.<sup>96</sup> Even though Adrian disappears from Komnenian history towards the end of the 1090s, as his name was involved in conspiracies

<sup>90</sup> Anna Komnene calls her grandmother “ἡ μήτηρ τῶν Κομνηνῶν” – for instance, see the *Alexiad*, 2.5.1.

<sup>91</sup> No. 3 on figures 1 and 3. Janin and Kidonopoulos identify the *Pantepoptes* as Eski İmaret Camii. See Janin, *Les églises*, 513-5; Vassilios Kidonopoulos, *Bauten in Konstantinopel 1204-1328 Verfall und Zerstörung, Restaurierung, Umbau und Neubau von Profan- und Sakralbauten* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1994), 28-30, cf. Cyril Mango “Where at Constantinople was the Monastery of Christos Pantepoptes?” *Δελτίον ΧΑΕ* 20 (1998): 87-8. Mango argues that *Pantepoptes* must have stood where the Sultan Selim Camii stands today. For the patronage of Anna Dalassene, see Hill, *Imperial Women*, 161-5.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid*, 33-4.

<sup>93</sup> No. 4 on figure 1. Magdalino, “Pseudo-Kodinos’ Constantinople,” *Studies on the History and Topography of Byzantine Constantinople* (Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum, 2007), XI: 9; *ODB* s. v. “Petra Monastery,” Majeska, *Russian Travelers*, 339-45.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibidem*, “Medieval Constantinople,” I: 78. *Idem*, “The Foundation of the Pantokrator Monastery in Its Urban Setting,” *The Pantokrator Monastery in Constantinople*, ed., Sofia Kotzabassi (Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2013), 38-9.

<sup>95</sup> Cyril Mango et al., *The Mosaics and Frescoes of St Mary Pammakaristos (Fethiye Camii) at Istanbul* (Washington DC: 1978). Zoe *porphyrogennetos* was the stepsister of Nikephoros Diogenes. See Frankopan, “Kinship,” 23.

<sup>96</sup> No. 5 on figures 1 and 3.

against the emperor,<sup>97</sup> it is important to note that he was the only monastic founder among the new extended imperial kin group whose members (other brothers, nephews and cousins of the emperor) held important military offices and dignities under Alexios I.<sup>98</sup>

George Palaiologos is an important case concerning the monastic patronage under Alexios I. In addition to Maria of Bulgaria, the mother-in-law of the emperor,<sup>99</sup> George Palaiologos is the only other in-law in this period who founded a monastery. Married to Anna, sister of Eirene Doukaina, thus, the brother-in-law of Alexios I, George Palaiologos served the emperor as *doux* of Dyrrachion and *kouropalates* at different points in time.<sup>100</sup> George Palaiologos founded a monastery dedicated to St. Demetrios in the Heptaskalon quarter close to the Blanga district.<sup>101</sup>

A monk named Nikolaos founded a monastery in Constantinople some time between 1068 and 1084 – the monastery of Prodomos/Kyr Nikolaos.<sup>102</sup> The monk Nikolaos, after having become patriarch Nikolaos III Grammatikos of Constantinople (1084-1111), acted as a strong supporter of Alexios I especially supporting the emperor against Leo of Chalcedon over the confiscation of church properties (at least during his first years in office). Although

<sup>97</sup> Despite allegedly taking part in the Diogenes plot, Adrian was still buried in this monastery, which had a prominent location in the Komnenian cityscape. See Frankopan, “Kinship,” 23. Although excluded from the list of the imperial family members for whose souls the nuns at Eirene Doukaina’s *Kecharitomene* would pray, he and his wife were later commemorated in his nephew’s grand foundation of the monastery of Christ *Pantokrator*. See Frankopan, “Kinship,” 31.

<sup>98</sup> Not Alexios’ favorite brother Isaac the *sebastokrator*, nor his brother-in-law *caesar* Nikephoros Melissenos, nor his son-in-law *caesar* Nikephoros Bryennios, nor his brother Nikephoros the *pansebastos*, nor his brother-in-law Michael Taronites the *panhypersebastos* founded a monastery in Constantinople during Alexios’ reign, which may also be a problem of the surviving material or written evidence. However, this statement requires correction if John Komnenos was Isaac the *sebastokrator*’s son (thus, Alexios’ nephew). In this case, John was just like Adrian Komnenos, permitted to found a monastery in the core area but later charged with treason. See Magdalino, *Empire of Manuel*, 191-2.

<sup>99</sup> I am not sure whether or not to include Maria of Bulgaria as an in-law – if one accepts that the Komnenian usurpation probably owes its success most probably to the support of the Doukai and that their family influence was so high that one should speak of the imperial couple rather than the emperor alone, then the mother of the empress becomes more than a simple in-law.

<sup>100</sup> Although George Palaiologos served the emperor as a high military official and although he was a brother-in-law of Alexios, he did not enjoy higher dignities like another brother-in-law Nikephoros Melissenos did as *caesar* or another brother-in-law Michael Taronites did as the *panhypersebastos*. Frankopan, “Kinship,” 1-34.

<sup>101</sup> No. 6 on figures 1 and 3. *Cod. Marc. Gr.* 524 fol. 108<sup>r</sup>. Mango, *The Art*, 227-8; Dennis, “*Kellibara I*,” 1237-53.

little is known about the early years of patriarch Nikolaos III, *grammatikos* could mean a teacher, a scholar, a scribe, or secretary.<sup>103</sup> As his monastic patronage even predates his election, it is reasonable to think that he had a prior relationship with the emperor or at least access to power and the ability to attract patronage.<sup>104</sup>

Alexios I's son, John II Komnenos reigned for twenty-five years as the sole ruler (r. 1118-1143) – a period of relatively calm relations between the emperor and the Church.<sup>105</sup> Only four monastic building activities are attested. Codex *Marc. gr.* 524 fol. 46<sup>r</sup> vaguely describes John II among the donors of *St. Mokios*, following his father.<sup>106</sup> The imperial couple, Piroska-Eirene-Xene of Hungary and John II Komnenos commissioned a grand imperial monastic project before 1134, the monastery dedicated to Christ *Pantokrator*, located on the fourth hill with easy access to the Golden Horn.<sup>107</sup> The Komnenoi, henceforth, used *Pantokrator* as a family mausoleum where some of the imperial family members were buried and others were additionally commemorated.<sup>108</sup>

During the reign of John II, his brother, Isaac Komnenos the *sebastokrator*, resumed the restoration of *Chora*, which his grandmother Maria of Bulgaria had begun years earlier.<sup>109</sup> Isaac the *sebastokrator* was apparently thinking of building his own tomb at *Chora*, but after quarreling first with his brother, emperor John II, and later his nephew emperor Manuel I, he

<sup>102</sup> The monastery of Prodromos/Kyr Nikolaos is marked as no. 2 on figures 1 and 3. See Janin, *Les églises*, 418-9.

<sup>103</sup> ODB s.v. "Grammatikos;" Magdalino, *Empire of Manuel*, 320.

<sup>104</sup> John Thomas, "Early Reform Monasteries of the Twelfth Century," *BMFD*, 859-71; Robert Jordan, tr., "*Phoberos*: Rule of John for the Monastery of St. John the Forerunner of Phoberos," *BMFD*, 872-953.

<sup>105</sup> Ibid, 276.

<sup>106</sup> Mango, *The Art*, 226-7. Although it is possible that John II simply approved the previous benefactions, I still included his donation to St. Mokios to the list, as this list includes all the information available in written sources.

<sup>107</sup> No. 12 on figures 1 and 3. *Pantokrator* has been identified as the Zeyrek Kilise Camii in Zeyrek, Unkapanı. For the latest thorough study on *Pantokrator*, see Sofia Kotzabassi, ed., *The Pantokrator Monastery in Constantinople* (Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2013). Jordan, "*Pantokrator*," 725-81.

<sup>108</sup> Ibid.

<sup>109</sup> Magdalino, "Medieval Constantinople," I: 78.

left the capital.<sup>110</sup> Isaac retreated to, and was later buried at, the monastery dedicated to the Theotokos *Kosmosoteira*, which he had founded near Bera in Thrace around 1152.<sup>111</sup>

John Ioalites, the *protasekretis*<sup>112</sup> at John II's court, restored *St. John the Baptist at Petra*.<sup>113</sup> He was the first official outside the inner and extended imperial family to make a donation to a monastery located in the northwestern part of the city where otherwise the imperial family members were active.

Manuel I Komnenos himself was another imperial builder in the capital following his father's and grandfather's path. However, Manuel I was more interested in constructing palaces, as he made additions both to the Great Palace and to the Blachernai and also built palaces in and outside of Constantinople, as well as the land and sea walls, and restored the water supply system and the column of Constantine.<sup>114</sup> Although his only known new monastic foundation was at Kataskepe in the northern suburbs of Constantinople where the Bosphoros meets the Pontis (the Black Sea),<sup>115</sup> he was also praised for restoring many churches and monasteries in Constantinople.<sup>116</sup> Only one monastery which is known to have been restored by Manuel I, i.e., *St. Mokios* in the southwestern part of the city.<sup>117</sup>

<sup>110</sup> Bandy, "Mamas," 973-5.

<sup>111</sup> Ibid. Isaac, despite supporting his brother John II in securing the throne against their sister Anna Komnene, quarreled John II and went to exile in the holy lands, where he commissioned the construction of an aqueduct for a monastery. See Sevckenko, "Kosmosoteira," 782-858.

<sup>112</sup> ODB s. v. "Protasekretis;" cf. Magdalino, *Empire of Manuel*, 229-30. Magdalino states that possibly Alexios I was the reformer who changed the duty of the *protasekretis* from the head of the *asekretis* to one of four juridicial courts.

<sup>113</sup> Idem, "The Byzantine Holy Man in the Twelfth Century," *The Byzantine Saint*, ed., Sergei Hackel (New York: St Vladimir's Seminary Press, 2001), 51-66. Idem, *Empire of Manuel*, 120.

<sup>114</sup> Magdalino, *Empire of Manuel*, 118-9.

<sup>115</sup> Janin, *Les églises*, 342.

<sup>116</sup> The religious policy of Manuel I Komnenos (r. 1143-1180) can be divided into two distinctive phases. While in the pre-1158 period, Manuel I issued at least five *chrysobulls* favored the church and monastic properties with tax exemptions, the year 1158 marks a change in Manuel I's church strategies. In contrast with his previous generosity, he issued a *chrysobull* limiting the further proliferation of monasteries. Manuel may have been trying to bring under control the growing wealth of imperial family members and their monastic foundations, which had tax exemption. Janin, *Les églises*, 342. Magdalino, *Empire of Manuel*, 284-7; Peter Chronis, "The Monastic Properties and the State in the Byzantine Empire," *DOP* 4 (1948): 51-118, especially 81-7.

<sup>117</sup> Although geographically distance from the core Komnenian foundations, it was a lavishly decorated monastery, which had a fresco of the emperor on the walls of the refectory. Ibid, 119, 284-6, 303-4; Janin, *Les églises*, 354-8; Mango, *The Art*, 226-7; Cod. Marc. gr. 524 fol. 46<sup>r</sup>

Three members of the extended imperial family are known to have founded monasteries in the capital, yet the identification of the founders and date and location of their foundations remain unclear. A certain John Komnenos the *protosebastos* converted a Komnenian palace to a monastery dedicated to Christ *Evergetes* (Gül Camii) in the modern Balat area by the Golden Horn.<sup>118</sup> An anonymous grandson of Alexios I Komnenos re-founded the monastery of Botaneiates and a cousin (?) of Manuel, Andronikos Rogerios, *sebastos* and *prokathemenos* founded the monastery dedicated to the Theotokos *Chrysokamarotissa* probably in the middle of the twelfth century.<sup>119</sup> The Rogerios family was of Norman ancestry, but they established distant family ties with the Komnenians and some family members served Manuel I.<sup>120</sup>

George Komnenos Doukas Palaiologos the *sebastos* who served Manuel as *megas hetaireiarches*, built a monastery dedicated to the Theotokos *Hodegetria*.<sup>121</sup> Although his office of *megas hetaireiarches* was not a high position at court,<sup>122</sup> yet he still held the title of *sebastos* and had Komnenos as one of his family names. Additionally, he decorated the monastery with the portraits of seven emperors, Constantine X Doukas, Michael VII Doukas, Romanos IV Diogenes, Nikephoros III Botaneiates, Alexios I, John II and Manuel I to emphasize his origins.<sup>123</sup>

George Kappadokes, *mystikos*<sup>124</sup> at Manuel's court, became the *charistikarios* of the monastery dedicated to St. Mamas and restored the monastery in the southwestern area of the

<sup>118</sup> No. 16 on figures 1 and 3. Magdalino argues that John Komnenos was a nephew of Alexios I. See Magdalino, *Empire of Manuel*, 119-20; cf. Janin suggests that John was Andronikos Komnenos' son, thus, nephew of Manuel. See Janin, *Les églises*, 508-10.

<sup>119</sup> Nos. 17 and 18 on figures 1 and 3. Janin, *Les églises*, 66, 242. For Andronikos Rogerios, nephew of Manuel I Komnenos, see <http://db.pbw.kcl.ac.uk/jsp/boulloterion.jsp?bKey=5647> (accessed on 13 December 2013).

<sup>120</sup> *ODB* s. v. "Rogerios."

<sup>121</sup> Magdalino, *Empire of Manuel*, 472.

<sup>122</sup> *ODB* s. v. "Hetaireiarches."

<sup>123</sup> No. 15 on figures 1 and 3. See Kidonopoulos, *Bauten*, 77-8; Magdalino, *Empire of Manuel*, 472; Janin, *Les églises*, 199-207; Mango, *The Art*, 227-8. Cod. Marc. gr. 524, fol. 108<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>124</sup> Another *mystikos* (steward of the imperial treasury) at Manuel I's court, Nikephoros the *mystikos*, too, founded a monastery at Kurşunlu on the southern shore of the Propontis, which had a dependency in the

city near the Xylokerkos Gate (Belgradkapı) to the west of Psamathia.<sup>125</sup> The Kappadokes name had distant family connections with the Komnenoi in the eleventh century and George Kappadokes was apparently one of the new names that held an important office under Manuel I.<sup>126</sup>

The father of Gregory Antiochos, who continued his education at least in the 1060s and later served Andronikos I (r. 1183-5)<sup>127</sup> as *megas droungarios*,<sup>128</sup> received a dilapidated church dedicated to St. Basil around the Forum Tauri from patriarch Constantine IV Chliarenos (1154-1157) to convert the premises into a nunnery for twelve nuns.<sup>129</sup> According to Kazhdan, Gregory Antiochos was a case in the Komnenian period which represents a “civil bureaucrat” who constantly fought to gain and maintain patronage and office.<sup>130</sup> Although Gregory was keen on emphasizing his poor living conditions from the beginning of

---

Deuteron in Constantinople. See Anastasius Bandy, tr., “*Heliou Bomon: Typikon of Nikephoros Mystikos for the Monastery of the Mother of God ton Heliou Bomon or Elegmon*,” *BMFD*, 1042-3. Also see Paul Magdalino, “The Not-so-secret Functions of the *mystikos*,” *Revue des Études Byzantines* 42 (1984), 229-40.

<sup>125</sup> No. 13 on figure 1. Janin, *Les églises*, 314-9; Bandy, “*Mamas*,” 973-1041.

<sup>126</sup> Manuel I did not prefer to further include the powerful families in the Komnenian clan through marriages because the Komnenoi already extended to such a degree that there was rivalry from inside the family, forcing Manuel to focus on the endogamy. While the important military posts were usually given to the members of the imperial family, civil administration and palatine services were more open to new names. See Magdalino, *Empire of Manuel*, 212. Ibidem, “The Not-so-secret,” 229-40.

<sup>127</sup> He was a grandson of Alexios I, son of Isaac the *sebastokrator* who founded *Kosmosoteira*, and cousin of Manuel I. See *ODB* s. v. “Andronikos I Komnenos.”

<sup>128</sup> A member of judiciary. *ODB* s.v. “Droungarios Tes Viglas.”

<sup>129</sup> No. 14 on figures 1 and 3. Magdalino (*Empire of Manuel*, 340), following up Jean Darrouzès’ argument (Jean Darrouzès, “Deux lettres de Grégoire Antiochos écrites de Bulgarie vers 1173,” *BS* 23 (1962): 276-80; 24 (1963): 65-86), maintains that the family of Antiochos was connected to the extended family of the Komnenoi by affinity during the reign of Alexios I and the Antiochoi involved in the Anemas conspiracy can be connected to Gregory Antiochos and his father. It could have been a reasonable argument for that the Antiochoi were not enjoying privileges from Manuel I, perhaps because and the successive Komnenian emperors did not forget about it. Jean Darrouzès elaborately claimed that Gregory Antiochos’s maternal aunt married Constantine, the son of Isaac the *sebastokrator* whereas Kazhdan argues against this hypothesis by showing that the assumptions were far-fetched and if they were to be true, then Gregory Antiochos would have been a distant nephew of the emperor’s nephew. Instead of mentioning this relation to the imperial family, Gregory Antiochos often seems to be complaining about his poor living conditions and seeking patronage. See Kazhdan, “Gregory Antiochos,” 198-200; *ODB* s. v. “Antiochos, Gregory.”

<sup>130</sup> Kazhdan, “Gregory Antiochos,” 217-8. Kazhdan’s land-owning nobility overlaps with Magdalino’s “eugeneia” – the core of the ruling elite, including the imperial family, princely blood, and military powers and the group of civil bureaucrats with Magdalino’s “second aristocracy.” See, Magdalino, *Empire of Manuel*, 320-3.

his life, this cannot be completely true as his father, even if of humble background, must have possessed the relatively substantial wealth to be able to restore this nunnery.

Only three new building activities are attested (by three patrons at different points in time) in the sources during the period between the death of Manuel I Komnenos in 1180 and the fall of Constantinople to the Latins in 1204. Immediately after Manuel's death, dowager empress-regent Maria of Antioch commissioned a convent dedicated to the Theotokos *Pantanassa* on the acropolis.<sup>131</sup> Following Andronikos I Komnenos' usurpation of the throne and execution of the empress-regent, *Pantanassa* was later completed by emperor, Isaac II Angelos (r. 1185-1195, 1203-1204) for his daughters.<sup>132</sup> Isaac II was also associated with the restoration of *St. Mamas*.<sup>133</sup> Lastly, sometime between 1191 and 1198, Theodora, sister of emperor Alexios III Angelos (r. 1195-1203) and wife of marquis Conrad of Monferrat re-founded the previously male monastery of Dalmatios as a convent.<sup>134</sup>

### **The Komnenian-ness of Constantinople: monastic topography in progress**

1. During the reign of Alexios I Komnenos, the inner imperial family concentrated their monastic foundation activities on the northern slopes of the fifth and sixth hills in the Deuteron overlooking the Golden Horn, immediately outside the Constantinian city walls. Only Alexios himself restored a monastery outside this area – *St. Mokios* in the southwest.<sup>135</sup>

Even though John II and Piroška-Eirene chose to found their imperial monastery slightly to the east, inside the Constantinian city walls on the northern slope of the fourth hill,

<sup>131</sup> No. 19 on figures 1 and 3. Janin, *Les églises*, 215-6. It was a phenomenon in Byzantium that women became patrons of charitable organizations, monasteries, and arts after they were widowed and held the property rights of their dowry, and morning gifts. See Angeliki Laiou, *Women, Family and Society in Byzantium* (Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum, 2011), especially no II: 122-60 and V: 51-75.

<sup>132</sup> Janin, *Les églises*, 215-6.

<sup>133</sup> Bandy, "Mamas," 973-5.

<sup>134</sup> No. 20 on figures 1 and 3. Ibid, 82-4.

<sup>135</sup> The nunnery of the Iberians in the *Orphanotropheion* on the acropolis is omitted here, for the *Orphanotropheion* was a grand complex of buildings with different functions, and the status of monastic communities there is not known in detail.

Isaac the *sebastokrator* completed the restoration of *Chora*, located in the Komnenian area in the northwest, it was Manuel I who broke his predecessors' tradition of founding a *new* monastery overlooking the Golden Horn in the *northern* part of the capital. Manuel simply *restored St. Mokios* in the *southwest*, a seemingly Komnenian tradition, but he did not found a new monastery in the city.

Empress-regent Maria-Xene of Antioch founded *Pantanassa* which was to be completed years later by emperor Isaac II, close to *St. George at Mangana*, to the *Orphanotropheion* and to Hagia Sophia. Unlike the other twelfth century foundation, the *Orphanotropheion* on the acropolis at a higher elevation, *Pantanassa* was lower down on the slope.

Adrian the *protosebastos*, Isaac the *sebastokrator*, and John Komnenos were involved with sponsoring monasteries in the Komnenian area: *Pammakaristos*, *Chora*, and *Evergetes* respectively.<sup>136</sup> Theodora Angelina chose *Dalmatios* in the south instead of the northwest. The only in-law who founded a monastery was George Palaiologos and his foundation, *St. Demetrios*, was located outside the Komnenian area.

2. Although *Pammakaristos* (Adrian), *Evergetes* (John) and *St. Demetrios* (George Palaiologos) were new foundations, I think the restoration of *Chora* (Isaac), must have been more prestigious,<sup>137</sup> as *Chora* was an imperial foundation with a history going back to the sixth century.

3. There must also have been a difference in the prestige the locations of *St. Demetrios*, *Pammakaristos*, *Chora*, and *Evergetes* provided their founders with. I argue for

<sup>136</sup> The state structure under the Komnenoi is often referred to as a dynastic system first initiated by Alexios I. Komnenian emperors rewarded their supporters or established marital ties with their rivals by appointing them to high military offices and by distributing dignities to them. Alexios I elevated the whole group of his family (by blood and by affinity) to the top of the social hierarchy. As the status of a person became to be measured by his kinship/closeness to the emperor, the members of the Senate and the aristocracy were at a disadvantage. Magdalino, *Empire of Manuel*, 180-202, 217-227; idem, "Innovations," 146-166; cf. Frankopan, "Kinship," 1-34.

<sup>137</sup> This is not to neglect more practical reasons like the availability of resources and land, in this case, the already extant palace of John Komnenos' father.



two points: first, already established urban landmarks like the Holy Apostles or the Blachernai shrine would bring prestige as these were monuments included in the existing religious ceremonial and urban liturgy.<sup>138</sup> Second, a new monastery founded by the reigning emperor must have constituted a new landmark in the cityscape, which must also have attracted attention. Taking into account both possibilities, I think that *Pammakaristos* and *Chora* brought more prestige to Adrian under Alexios I and Isaac the *sebastokrator* under John II, which supports the idea that George Palaiologos was a less favored member of the more extended family.

4. It can be concluded that the northern part of the city flourished mostly under Alexios I and later lost importance at least in regard to monastic foundations at the expense of first the northern shore of the Propontis and later the slopes of the acropolis. However, this monastic expansion outside the Komnenian area in the northwest started simultaneously during the reign of Alexios I when George Palaiologos founded *St. Demetrios* on the northern shore of the Propontis and Alexios himself founded the *Orphanotropheion* and restored *St. Mokios*.

5. No courtier was able to found a monastery under Alexios I. The exception was only a general and also brother-in-law of Alexios I, George Palaiologos the *kouropalates*. However, John II gave permission to his *protasekretis*, John Ioalites, to re-found *St. John at Petra* in the Komnenian area. In addition to the father of Gregory Antiochos, George Kappadokes the *mystikos* also joined Manuel in enhancing the southwestern part of the city by re-founding *Mamas*.<sup>139</sup> George Palaiologos the *megas hetaireiarches* under Manuel I support the idea the semi-military officials also continued founding monasteries. Accepting the second point above in number 3, John Ioalites'

<sup>138</sup> For the importance of processions in Constantinople, see Bissera V. Pentcheva, *Icons and Power: The Mother of God in Byzantium* (University Park, PA: Penn State Press, 2006).

<sup>139</sup> John Komnenos the *protosebastos* followed the early Komnenian practice by founding *Evergetes* in the northwest.

restoration of *St. John at Petra* and George Kappadokes' of *Mamas* can both be seen as deliberate choices close to the reigning emperor's foundation.

6. Six convents founded under the Komnenoi were evenly distributed across the city: two in the northwest (*Kecharitomene* and *ta Kellaraias*), two at the tip of the peninsula (*of the Iberians* in the *Orphanotropheion* and *Pantanassa*), one literally in the middle of the city close to the Forum Tauri (*St. Basil*) and one in the northern shore of the Propontis (*Dalmatios*). Three of them, all in the northwest, and a fourth one, *of the Iberians* (located in the north on the tip of the peninsula), were founded during Alexios' reign. After Alexios' rule, we have no record of any convents to have been founded in the northwest. After the relatively quiet time of John II during which no convents were built, a convent (of *St. Basil*) was constructed in the vicinity of the Forum Tauri during the reign of Manuel I. Isaac II Angelos completed *Pantanassa* on the acropolis, which Maria-Xene of Antioch had begun to build around 1080-1082. Theodora Angelina built another convent in the south (*Dalmatios*).

7. Five founders were involved in founding these six convents: Eirene Doukaina (2), Alexios I Komnenos, the father of Gregory Antiochos, Maria-Xene of Antioch, and Theodora Angelina. The father of Gregory Antiochos was the only person outside the extended imperial family to found a nunnery.

14 male founders commissioned 13 male monasteries. Except for the ruling emperors (Alexios I and Isaac II), the male founders on the list exclusively commissioned male foundations. Imperial couples (Alexios I and Eirene Doukaina, and John II and Pirotska-Eirene-Xene) also founded only male monasteries. The mothers of the imperial couple Alexios I and Eirene Doukaina founded male monasteries, but in the following years the imperial women founded exclusively female convents.

There are five female founders: the mothers of the imperial couple Alexios I and Eirene Doukaina (Anna Dalassene and Maria Doukaina of Bulgaria), empress Eirene

Doukaina, Maria of Antioch (the widow of Manuel I), and Theodora Angelina. While the imperial women were patrons of monasteries under Alexios I, no woman founded a monastery only by her own means under John II and Manuel I.

### **Reasons and motivations behind site selection**

Understanding the ways in which a patron could found a monastery is crucial for discovering the possible reasons why he or she chose a specific site. In theory, a monastery could be founded from scratch, but it would be very costly.<sup>140</sup> More commonly, extant buildings at the selected site of the foundation, either secular like a palace or a residence or sacred like a public or private church, would be included in the foundation process – restoration on a large scale or reconstruction of the extant buildings with new additions.<sup>141</sup> It was often quite a reasonable option to re-found an old monastery, either abandoned or in poor condition. The cost of construction for the new founder (re-founder) would naturally be lower and he could fashion himself as “the founder” of the monastery and also benefit from the reputation of the original founder.<sup>142</sup>

The reason why a patron wanted to found a monastery determined the characteristics of the foundation. As this study of urban monasteries, I will focus on the different foundation requirements of the urban monasteries. They played important roles to serve as *mausolea*, to provide commemoration and intercession for the founders’ souls or to provide a safe residence for the founders in the last years of their lives.<sup>143</sup> The economic aspect is an undeniable part of Byzantium monasticism: monasteries were great revenue generators; they often enjoyed tax exemption, and by converting an *oikos* into a monastery a founder could

---

<sup>140</sup> Margaret Mullett, “Founders, refounders, second founders, patrons,” *Founders and Refounders of Byzantine Monasteries*, ed. Margaret Mullett (Belfast: Belfast Byzantine Enterprises, 2007), 1-27.

<sup>141</sup> Ibid.

<sup>142</sup> Liz James, “Making a Name: Reputation And Imperial Founding and Refounding In Constantinople,” *Female Founders in Byzantium and Beyond*, ed. Lioba Theis, Margaret Mullett and Michael Grünbart (Vienna: Boehlau Verlag, 2012), 64-5.

<sup>143</sup> Michel Kaplan, “Why were monasteries founded?” *Founders and Refounders of Byzantine Monasteries*, ed. Margaret Mullett (Belfast: Belfast Byzantine Enterprises, 2007), 28-42.

hope that the monastery would continue bearing the founder's name.<sup>144</sup> There were more nunneries in the urban setting, perhaps because women were considered to be weaker,<sup>145</sup> thus, may have needed protection and security. They were also allowed to visit their families in the city.<sup>146</sup>

At the same time, patronage can be considered on two levels: personal and political,<sup>147</sup> and visibility might have been an important means by which a founder could state his political agenda and manifest prestige – especially in a society in which the aristocracy was not necessarily defined by blood or did not have hereditary rights.<sup>148</sup> Byzantine aristocracy had to prove their high social status and gain and re-gain it from one generation to the next.<sup>149</sup> Therefore, visibility, both in terms of grandeur and the location of the foundation(s), must have cost more, and those who could afford it did not miss the opportunity. However, each foundation, after all, required its patron to balance between these, sometimes contradicting, necessary arrangements and the resources at his or her disposal.

The monastic topography of Komnenian Constantinople, laid out in the previous section, can be seen to have a center of gravity on the northern slopes of the fifth and sixth hills in the northwest under Alexios I. None of the monasteries founded in this area occupies the top of a hill, thus, the twelfth-century founders do not seem to have considered it vital to hold one of the highest points in the city – making vertical imprint on the city, i.e., elevation, seems to have been concern only about the buildings itself, i.e., the height of the walls or the dome.

---

<sup>144</sup> Talbot, "A Monastic World," 268-273.

<sup>145</sup> Eadem, "Women's Space in Byzantine Monasteries," *DOP* 52 (1998): 118.

<sup>146</sup> Eadem, "A Comparison of the Monastic Experience of Byzantine Men and Women," *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 30 (1985): 1-20.

<sup>147</sup> Liz James, "Making a Name," 63.

<sup>148</sup> Ibid. See also Vassiliki Dimitropoulou, "Imperial Women Founders and Refounders in Komnenian Constantinople," *Founders and Refounders of Byzantine Monasteries*, ed. Margaret Mullett (Belfast: Belfast Byzantine Enterprises, 2007), 87-106.

<sup>149</sup> Michael Angold, "Introduction," *Byzantine Aristocracy IX to XIII Centuries*, ed. Michael Angold (Oxford: BAR, 1984), 1-9.

There is no mention of the only natural water source of the city, the Lykos River, in the twelfth century foundations. The distance to the Lykos River can be explained by the availability of other, presumably more convenient, sources of water. Alice-Mary Talbot discusses the importance of water sources for the site selection, mainly of rural foundations,<sup>150</sup> but it seems to have been an important factor behind the urban monasteries of the Komnenoi, too. Perhaps the changing bathing habits of the monastics in the late eleventh century contributed to the importance of access to water sources.<sup>151</sup> *Kecharitomene* and the adjacent *Philanthropos* were founded very close to the open-air cistern of Aspar. Eirene Doukaina left detailed instructions concerning the repair of broken water pipes or what should be done in case of water breaks in her foundations.<sup>152</sup> *Kecharitomene* is also known to have possessed two cisterns.<sup>153</sup> *Chora, ta Kellariai* and *Pammakaristos* were in a short distance from the open-air cistern of Aetius. *Pantokrator* and *Pantepoptes*, furnished with its own cistern, had access to water through the aqueducts. Access to water was one of the primary problems of Constantinople<sup>154</sup> to such a degree that Niketas Choniates complained about how a canal construction by Andronikos I was not completed and only the neighborhoods around the Blachernai benefited from it.<sup>155</sup>

The urban landmarks in the vicinity must be included in the picture. The northern slopes of the sixth hill were the closest part to the Blachernai quarter. The shrine of Blachernai attracted imperial attention as early as the sixth century and the palace of

<sup>150</sup> Alice-Mary Talbot, "Founders' choices: monastery site selection in Byzantium," *Founders and Refounders of Byzantine Monasteries*, ed. Margaret Mullett (Belfast: Belfast Byzantine Enterprises, 2007), 43-62.

<sup>151</sup> There was a general increase in the number of baths a monastic can take. John Thomas, "Imperial and Royal Monasteries of the Twelfth Century," *BMFD*, 612.

<sup>152</sup> Jordan, "*Kecharitomene*," 698-9.

<sup>153</sup> *Ibid*, 699.

<sup>154</sup> Cyril Mango, "Water Supply of Constantinople," *Constantinople and its Hinterland*, ed. Cyril Mango and Gilbert Dagron (Aldershot: Variorum, 1995), 9-18.

<sup>155</sup> "καὶ τὸν ποταμὸν Ὑδράλιν ἐπωχέτευσε τῷ αὐλῶνι τούτῳ τοῦ ὕδατος, οὗ περὶ τὰς πρώτας πηγὰς πύργον τε ἀνφοκοδόμησε καὶ οἰκήματα ἤγειρε πρὸς θερμὴν διαίτησιν ἐπιτήδεια. καὶ νῦν ἐκ τούτου ὑδρεύονται ὅποιοι περὶ τὰς Βλαχέρνας καὶ ἔτι ἐνδοτέρῳ τὴν οἰκισιν ἔλαχον." Choniates, 12, p. 329, 19-24; Magdalino, "Medieval

Blachernai was growing in importance in the eleventh century.<sup>156</sup> The Komnenians were especially interested in the area; the first Komnenian emperor, Isaac I Komnenos built a church dedicated to St. Thekla in the Blachernai palace, later Alexios I built the throne room there and lastly, Manuel I commissioned additional buildings in the palace complex. In addition, he completed the Theodosian city walls in the northernmost part.<sup>157</sup> With the shrine of the Virgin at Blachernai within the city walls and the *Kosmidion* immediately outside, the presence of numerous aristocratic *oikoi* might have made this part of the city popular and attracted more monastic foundations.<sup>158</sup>

At least since the early fifth century, the tenth region, which roughly covers the valley between the third and fourth hills, was another popular area in the city for the Byzantine elite to establish an aristocratic *oikos*.<sup>159</sup> John II and Piroška-Eirene's *Pantokrator* was located on the border between the tenth and eleventh regions. How did the lower Golden Horn, i.e., the area between the Constantinian city walls and the acropolis along the Golden Horn fit into the picture? The Golden Horn, as Magdalino convincingly shows, had begun to flourish economically and commercially only when the monasteries founded in the tenth and eleventh centuries were donated endowments in this area<sup>160</sup> – most of the estates in this area were owned by the religious institutions and rented to the Italian settlers.<sup>161</sup> Thus, it seems that the Golden Horn within the Constantinian walls was a revenue-generator for monasteries, rather than constituting a part of the hierotopy of the city.

---

Constantinople," I: 82; Jim Crow, Jonathan Bardill and Richard Bayliss, *The Water Supply of Byzantine Constantinople* (Oxbow Books, 2008), 40-1.

<sup>156</sup> Janin, *Les églises*, 161-71; Magdalino, "Medieval Constantinople," I: 30.

<sup>157</sup> Magdalino, *Empire of Manuel*, 46, 118.

<sup>158</sup> Ibidem, "Aristocratic *Oikoi*," 68.

<sup>159</sup> Ibid, 53-7.

<sup>160</sup> The Italian city-states did not have a strong presence in the city during Alexios I's reign. Magdalino, "Medieval Constantinople," I: 92-10; Vassilios Kidonopoulos, "The urban physiognomy of Constantinople from the Latin conquest through the Palaiologan era," *Faith and Power (1261–1557): perspectives on late Byzantine art and culture*, ed. Sarah T. Brooks, (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art & Yale University Press, 2006), 98-117, 103.

<sup>161</sup> Magdalino, "Medieval Constantinople," I 92-3.

The church of the Holy Apostles, however, an imperial foundation of the fourth century, which was extended with two imperial *mausolea*, and the church of Hagios Polyeuktos, founded by Anicia Juliana in the early sixth century, were two great sacred landmarks of the tenth region.<sup>162</sup> Despite the undeniable importance of the Holy Apostles as an imperial burial place, since Romanos I Lekapenos made the *Myrelaion* his family mausoleum, it was not uncommon that emperors chose other religious institutions rather than the Holy Apostles as their final resting places.<sup>163</sup> For instance, Basil II (r. 976-1025) chose to be buried outside the city.<sup>164</sup> The divergence from the custom of being buried in the Holy Apostles and the establishment of dynastic *mausolea* are clearly visible in the Komnenian practice. Alexios I was buried in *Philanthropos*, and the novelty that began with the *Myrelaion* was subsequently appropriated by the Komnenian dynastic foundation, *Pantokrator*.<sup>165</sup>

The monastery of the Iberians was founded as a part of, or rather as an addition to, the *Orphanotropheion*. In this case, I think there was no specific reason for this nunnery other than that the *Orphanotropheion* was an appropriate complex consisting of an orphanage, an old-age home, a guest house, a school, and a church, and it was large enough to host such a community. As Magdalino argues, the reason why Alexios founded such a large pious complex was to make up for his previous acts against the Church such as confiscating sacred valuables, and also to undermine the prestige of the similar complex in the vicinity: Constantine IX Monomachos' imperial foundation at Mangana. Originally an eleventh-century construction commissioned by the emperor Constantine IX Monomachos, *St. George*

<sup>162</sup> Ibidem, "Aristocratic Oikoi," 57-9.

<sup>163</sup> Philip Grierson, Cyril Mango and Ihor Ševčenko, "The Tombs and Obits of the Byzantine Emperors (337-1042); With an Additional Note," *DOP* 16 (1962): 1-63.

<sup>164</sup> Paul Stephenson, *The Legend of Basil the Bulgar-Slayer* (Cambridge: CUP, 2003), 49-51.

<sup>165</sup> Magdalino, "The Foundation of the Pantokrator," 40-1.

at *Mangana* was one of the richest monasteries in the city before the Fourth Crusade.<sup>166</sup> The *Orphanotropheion* was a grand charitable institution, a contrast to the *Mangana* complex, which was a smaller, luxurious imperial endeavor.

Maria of Antioch was the empress-regent and empress-mother when she began the construction of *Pantanassa*. It was common for a *femina Byzantina* to receive her dowry back after her husband's death, sometimes a large sum of money or estates she was often donated to or invested in pious foundations.<sup>167</sup> According to Barbara Hill, there was such a pattern in the middle Byzantine period that a woman could exercise more power when there was an element of instability in the state.<sup>168</sup> This argument may explain the visibility of Anna Dalassene, Maria of Bulgaria and Eirene Doukaina as sole patrons in the late eleventh century when the Komnenian rule was still unstable, and why later Pirooska-Eirene was only able to found a monastery, of any size with her husband, and neither of the two wives of Manuel I founded a monastery while the emperor was alive.

Even if the instability of the patriarchal state allowed Maria of Antioch to found a monastery, the site selection needs further explanation. Why would the empress-regent distance herself from the core Komnenian foundations in the northwest? It may be because Maria was a foreigner in Byzantium and thus felt like she did not fully belong to the Komnenian networks. Another reason may have been the changes in the ceremonial in Constantinople in the twelfth century. While Alexios I never celebrated a triumphal entry to the capital, John II did once and Manuel I did at least eight times. Instead of entering the city via the Golden Gate, they both preferred the eastern ceremonial route, where the emperor and his entourage entered the city via the sea gate of St. Barbara below the acropolis, followed the

---

<sup>166</sup> Kidonopoulos, *Bauten*, 39-40.

<sup>167</sup> Angeliki Laiou, "Family structure and the transmission of property," *The Social History of Byzantium*, ed. John Haldon (Malden MA: Blackwell, 2009), 51-75.

<sup>168</sup> The criterion for Hill is the visibility and she argues for that during the times of instability, women's power, especially in terms of patronage, was much more visible. Hill, *Imperial Women*, 179-80.



processional road to Hagia Sophia, then went on to the Great Palace where later the emperor greeted the crowds in the hippodrome.<sup>169</sup> Anyone approaching the capital by the sea would see the *Orphanotropheion* first, and presumably also *Pantanassa*, on the eastern side, closer to the Great Palace.<sup>170</sup> Combined with the imperial foundations of *St. George at Mangana* and the *Orphanotropheion*, the route for ceremonies to celebrate military victories must have increased the importance of the acropolis dramatically in the twelfth century. Also, the proximity to the *Hodegetria* monastery, which had gained importance due to its weekly processions in the city, may have been an attraction to Maria of Antioch.<sup>171</sup>

The urban ceremonies, religious or court, seem to have played an important role in determining the locations of the monasteries. In addition to the example of *Pantanassa*, the Blachernai shrine also performed weekly and annually processions in the city, thus, may have been an attraction to the founders.<sup>172</sup> *St. Mokios* was also a part of court ceremonial at least in the tenth century. Is it possible that the continuous donations of the Komnenian emperors resulted from the role of *St. Mokios* in the court ceremonial in the twelfth century?

Just like the extant ceremonial routes and posts in the city affected new foundations, a recent foundation could also alter the ceremonial route in the city. John II Komnenos left detailed instructions about the commemorative services to be held in *Pantokrator*. The route followed during both the annual ceremony and the Friday processions of *Blachernai* was changed in order to include *Pantokrator*.<sup>173</sup> It is an excellent example of a two-folded interaction of a building with the urban texture in which it was built – its location was determined by the previous buildings and traditions, and in return, the building also altered the cityscape, and in this case, the hierotopy.

<sup>169</sup> Magdalino, *Empire of Manuel*, 240-1.

<sup>170</sup> Timothy S. Miller, *The Orphans of Byzantium: Child Welfare in the Christian Empire* (The Catholic University of America Press, 2003), 52-3.

<sup>171</sup> Pentcheva, *Icons and Power*, 109-143.

<sup>172</sup> Ibid.

The southwestern part of the city was a popular area for monasteries from the fifth century, e.g., *Stoudios*. Yet, the imperial and aristocratic foundations in this area started rather late with *Panoiktirmon*, located immediately outside the city walls and founded in ca. 1078 by Michael Attaleiates, a civil servant.<sup>174</sup> In the course of the twelfth century, monastic building activities resumed in this region with three foundations, two by the imperial family (*St. Mokios* and *Dalmatios*) and one by aristocratic patrons (*Mamas*). I do not think that the search for isolation was the reason why the founders chose this area. It rather seems that George Kappadokes received *St. Mamas*, a local saint of Cappadocia, as a patriarchal favor<sup>175</sup> and it may have meant more to be close to Manuel's *St. Mokios*.

Manuel I's restoration of *St. Mokios*<sup>176</sup> shows that leaving an imprint on the cityscape with a monastic foundation was not his main concern. Liz James describes how women benefited from patronage at a political level more than men because it served a more urgent purpose for someone who did not play a prominent role in running the state.<sup>177</sup> Manuel I, however, ruled in a period when Komnenian power was at its peak, thus, perhaps he, as the sole *autocrator*, did not need a monastic foundation in Constantinople to reinforce or manifest his power. It was rather about making an ideological statement to distance himself from the Komnenian practice of founding new monasteries in the city. Monasticism and monastics were harshly criticized in the twelfth century and Manuel was acting as a reformer.<sup>178</sup>

However, why and how Theodora Angelina received the monastery of *Dalmatios* from patriarch George Xiphilinos is a tricky question. Was it because the southern part of the

---

<sup>173</sup> Ibid, 165-187.

<sup>174</sup> Alice-Mary Talbot, tr., "Attaleiates: Rule of Michael Attaleiates for his Almshouse in Rhaidestos and for the Monastery of Christ *Panoiktirmon* in Constantinople," *BMFD*, 326-76; Michael Attaleiates, *The History*, tr. Anthony Kaldellis and Dimitris Krallis (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2012).

<sup>175</sup> Bandy, "Mamas," 974-5.

<sup>176</sup> Magdalino, *Empire of Manuel*, 118-9.

<sup>177</sup> Liz James, "Making A Name," 63.

<sup>178</sup> Magdalino, *Empire of Manuel*, 298-9.

city recently became a flourishing venue for monastic foundations? It may also because of that the area was still not so important that the estates there could be given away as favors.

In my opinion, the first important criterion for site selection was the availability of resources. Proximity to a water supply seems to have been especially important in the Komnenian cases. In addition to the examples in the Blachernai quarter, *Pantanassa* may have used one of many cisterns of varying size in the acropolis area. *St. Mokios* was also located close to the open-air cistern bearing the same name. While the site selection process was affected by more practical issues like the availability of land, buildings or means of sustaining the monastery, the ideological agendas of the founders were equally important. It was a unique decision-making process for each monastery and each founder. For instance, if what I have suggested about Manuel is correct, that he only chose to restore *St. Mokios* as a response to his predecessors' policies of monastic patronage and the current situation of monasteries, then he deliberately chose the southwestern part of the city over many other options with similar resources inside or outside the Golden Horn.

## CHAPTER TWO

### RECLAIMING THE MONASTIC CITYSCAPE: THE EARLY PALAIOLOGIAN PRACTICE

**“I have done this as a small repayment of my great debt”<sup>179</sup>**

The building activities of the Palaiologoi were intensified under the first two emperors who ruled the city, Michael VIII Palaiologos (r. 1259-1282)<sup>180</sup> and his son Andronikos II.<sup>181</sup> In contrast, building activity was rare after 1328, after Andronikos II was forced to abdicate the throne and his grandson, Andronikos III, became the next emperor. The lack of religious building activity can by no means be seen as the end of religious life in the city, as several foreign travelers list many churches, chapels, and monasteries before 1453.<sup>182</sup> There are occasional mentions of restoration and donation to religious institutions such as the monastery of *Bebaia Elpis* and Hagia Sophia after 1328,<sup>183</sup> but overall the last century of Byzantine rule in Constantinople was marked by an absence of new foundations. However, concerning the period between Michael VIII’s triumphal entry into Constantinople in 1261 and the abdication of Andronikos II in 1328, it is possible to identify 39 monasteries founded, re-founded, or restored by more than 32 patrons in Constantinople.<sup>184</sup>

---

<sup>179</sup> Alice-Mary Talbot, tr., “*Bebaia Elpis: Typikon of Theodora Synadene for the Convent of the Mother of God Bebaia Elpis in Constantinople*,” *BMFD*, 1525.

<sup>180</sup> *PLP* no. 21528.

<sup>181</sup> *PLP* no. 21436. Kidonopoulos, “The urban physiognomy,” 98-117. Alice-Mary Talbot, “Building activity in Constantinople under Andronikos II: the role of women patrons in the construction and restoration of Monasteries,” *Byzantine Constantinople: monuments, topography and everyday life*, ed. Nevra. Necipoğlu (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 329-43. Kidonopoulos, “The urban physiognomy,” 98-117; Talbot, “The restoration,” 243-61.

<sup>182</sup> George Majeska, *Russian Travelers to Constantinople in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1984); *ibidem*, “Russian Pilgrims in Constantinople,” *DOP* 56 (2002): 93-108.

<sup>183</sup> Talbot, “*Bebaia Elpis*,” 1512-78.

<sup>184</sup> Talbot, “The restoration,” 243-61; *eadem*, “Building activity,” 329-43; Kidonopoulos, *Bauten*, 1-96; *idem*, “The urban physiognomy,” 98-117; Janin, *Les églises*; Majeska, “Russian Pilgrims,” 93-108. See figure 2.

Although public monuments and the city defenses were a priority for Michael VIII, the emperor was also praised, though vaguely, for having restored and built many churches and monasteries.<sup>185</sup> Michael restored *Peribleptos* in the southwestern part, re-founded *St. Demetrios* in the southern part of the city<sup>186</sup> and commissioned the restoration of *St. George at Mangana*, which had been an important monastery since its foundation in the eleventh century: included in religious ceremonies and housing holy relics, it continued to stand in the city until the Ottoman conquest.<sup>187</sup>

Apparently emperor Michael VIII had an interest in the twelfth-century Palaiologan monasteries founded under the Komnenoi, for in addition to *St. Demetrios*,<sup>188</sup> he was also known to have restored a male monastery that had been founded by his grandfather Alexios Palaiologos in the Asian suburbs.<sup>189</sup>

In the first years after the re-conquest of the capital, Maria-Martha Palaiologina,<sup>190</sup> a sister of emperor Michael VIII and supporter of patriarch Arsenios, founded a new convent known as *Kyra Martha*.<sup>191</sup> Located on the southern slope of the fourth hill, across the northern branch of the Mese close to the Holy Apostles, *Kyra Martha* attracted the attention of the imperial families, for instance, Theodora, sister of Andronikos III Palaiologos and Theodora, mother of the emperor John VI Kantakuzenos were buried there.<sup>192</sup>

---

<sup>185</sup> Talbot, "The restoration," 243-61; Ruth Macrides, "The citadel of Byzantine Constantinople," *Cities and citadels in Turkey: from the Iron Age to the Seljuks*, ed. Scott Redford and Nina Ergin (Leuven: Peeters, 2013), 277-304.

<sup>186</sup> Nos. 25 and 26 on figures 2 and 4. Kidonopoulos, *Bauten*, 37-9.

<sup>187</sup> No. 23 on figures 2 and 4. Kidonopoulos, *Bauten*, 39-40. Janin, *Les églises*, 70-6.

<sup>188</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>189</sup> Talbot, "The restoration," 254; Dennis, "*Auxentios*," 1207-36; Dennis, "*Kellibara I*," *BMFD*, 1237-53.

<sup>190</sup> *PLP* no. 21389.

<sup>191</sup> No. 22 on figures 2 and 4. Kidonopoulos, *Bauten*, 51-2.

<sup>192</sup> *Ibid.*; Janin, *Les églises*, 324-6; Majeska, *Travelers*, 307.

By 1270, George Akropolites,<sup>193</sup> jointly with his son Constantine Akropolites,<sup>194</sup> had founded the monastery of the *Anastasis*<sup>195</sup> located on the Makros Embolos, almost in the center of the seventh region. George served Michael VIII as *megas logothetes* (1255-1282) and was included in the extended imperial family by having married Eudokia Palaiologina, a distant family member of the Palaiologoi.<sup>196</sup> The previous generation of the Akropolites family was associated with the construction of the *Panagiotissa* convent around 1261.<sup>197</sup>

Besides the fact that around 1265-6, patriarch Germanos III Gabras Markoutzas<sup>198</sup> made donations to *St. George at Mangana*, during the reign of Michael VIII, there were two other monasteries, probably new foundations: the monastery dedicated to St. Nicholas the wonderworker (1261-5) on the acropolis and the convent of *Pertze* in Constantinople.<sup>199</sup>

In contrast to eight monasteries by eight patrons recorded in the sources during the reign of Michael VIII, under Andronikos II 35 cases of monastic patronage were attested in the sources. Acclaimed co-emperor as early as 1261 and crowned in 1272, Andronikos first restored *Nea Mone*, a ninth-century imperial foundation located northeast of the palace of Boukoleon sometime between 1272 and 1283.<sup>200</sup> During the course of his rule, Andronikos also restored *Pantepoptes*, originally founded by Anna Dalassene in the twelfth century.<sup>201</sup>

Empress Theodora Palaiologina was personally involved with monasteries and the problems the provincial monastics experienced outside the capital, for instance, on Patmos

<sup>193</sup> *PLP* no. 518. Recorded as a first generation social climber by Niels Gaul, connected to the imperial lineage for the first time in his family. See Niels Gaul, "All the Emperor's Men (And His Nephews)," (forthcoming, 2014), 8.

<sup>194</sup> *PLP* no. 520. Kidonopoulos, *Bauten*, 5-7; Janin, *Les églises*, 20-5.

<sup>195</sup> No. 24 on figure 2. For the foundation see Kidonopoulos, *Bauten*, 5-7; Janin, *Les églises*, 20-5. Ruth Macrides, *The History of George Akropolites, introduction, translation and commentary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 16-7.

<sup>196</sup> *Ibid.*, 18, 79, 359, 360.

<sup>197</sup> Talbot, "The Restoration," 256.

<sup>198</sup> *PLP* no. 17091.

<sup>199</sup> Nos. 21 and 28 on figure 2; Janin, *Les églises*, 396-7; Kidonopoulos, *Bauten*, 61-2.

<sup>200</sup> No. 27 on figure 2; Janin, *Les églises*, 361-5. Kidonopoulos, *Bauten*, 56-9.

<sup>201</sup> No. 54 on figure 2; Kidonopoulos, *Bauten*, 28-30.

and in Lembiotissa during the reign of Michael VIII. The dowager empress-mother focused on sponsoring convents in Constantinople after her husband's death.<sup>202</sup> Theodora re-founded *Lips*, originally a tenth century monastery located in the Lykos valley, adding an adjacent church and narthex to the complex and arranging the interior of the churches as *mauselea* for the imperial family, where she and her son Andronikos II among others were buried.<sup>203</sup> Towards the end of the 1290s, Theodora Palaiologina also re-founded the monastery of Holy *Anargyroi* (SS. Kosmas and Damian), located very close to the open-air cistern of Mokios in the southwestern part of the city.<sup>204</sup>

The *Despotes* John Palaiologos<sup>205</sup> founded a monastery, known as the *Prodromos of Palaiologos* in the northwestern part of the city.<sup>206</sup> A certain Ateuemes-Bartholomaios,<sup>207</sup> claimed by Manuel Philes to be of imperial lineage, restored *Evergetes*, originally founded by John Komnenos.<sup>208</sup>

Maria-Melane (Komnene?) Palaiologina,<sup>209</sup> an illegitimate daughter of Michael VIII, who was wed to the Mongolian Khan Abaqa, re-founded the convent dedicated to the Theotokos *Panagiotissa*,<sup>210</sup> also known as Kanlı Kilise or Mary of the Mongols (Moğolların Meryem) upon her return to the Byzantine capital around 1282.<sup>211</sup> Maria bought from the Akropolites family the houses and the church on the northern slopes of the fifth hill in the

<sup>202</sup> *PLP* no. 21380; Alice-Mary Talbot, "Empress Theodora Palaiologina, Wife of Michael VIII," *DOP* 46 (1992): 295-303.

<sup>203</sup> No. 38 on figures 2 and 4; Kidonopoulos, *Bauten*, 86-7; Vasileios Marinis, "Tombs and Burials in the Monastery tou Libos in Constantinople," *DOP* 63 (2009): 147-166; Talbot, "Empress Theodora," 295-303.

<sup>204</sup> No. 39 on figures 2 and 4; Kidonopoulos, *Bauten*, 1-4.

<sup>205</sup> Kidonopoulos identifies the founder as the third son of Andronikos II. *PLP* no. 21475. Kidonopoulos, *Bauten*, 43-4.

<sup>206</sup> No. 42 on figures 2 and 4; Kidonopoulos, *Bauten*, 43-4.

<sup>207</sup> *PLP* no. 1641 mentions him only as a monk related to the imperial house. Kidonopoulos suggests that he might have been the son of Andronikos II and his second wife Eirene-Yolanda as the imperial couple had a son named Bartholomaios, *Bauten*, 25-8.

<sup>208</sup> No. 35 on figures 2 and 4; Kidonopoulos, *Bauten*, 25-8; Janin, *Les églises*, 508-510.

<sup>209</sup> *PLP* no. 21395.

<sup>210</sup> No. 47 on figures 2 and 4; Kidonopoulos, *Bauten*, 88-90; Janin, *Les églises*, 195-6. Maria-Melane Palaiologina is known to have made donations to *Chora*. Kidonopoulos, *Bauten*, 18-25. The other known illegitimate daughter of Michael VIII was wed to another Mongol khan. See Talbot, "Empress Theodora," 296.

Phanari (Fener) district, and constructed a new building in the vicinity to serve as the cells of the nuns.<sup>212</sup> Pachymeres relates how Andronikos II sent his half-sister to Nicaea to negotiate with the Ilkhanids over an attack on the Ottomans in 1307.<sup>213</sup> Although it is unknown what kind of a life she had between founding *Panagiotissa* and the diplomatic mission, Andronikos II apparently considered his half-sister Maria Palaiologina an important asset in relation to the Mongols at the beginning of the fourteenth century.

Constantine Palaiologos the *porphyrogennetos*,<sup>214</sup> second son of Michael VIII and younger brother of Andronikos II, restored the famous monastery of *Stoudios* ca. 1290.<sup>215</sup> Although Constantine the *porphyrogennetos* was never given any dignities and faced charges of treachery against his brother Andronikos II later in 1293, he was still buried in the family mausoleum at *Lips*.<sup>216</sup>

Theodora Raoulaina the *protobestiaria*,<sup>217</sup> a cousin of Andronikos II and widow of George Mouzalon the *protobestiarios* and later John Raoul the *protobestiarios*, founded the female monastery dedicated to St. Andrew in *Krisei* (today Koca Mustafa Paşa or Atik Mustafa Paşa Camii) sometime between 1282 and 1289.<sup>218</sup> A fierce supporter of patriarch Arsenios and the Arsenites as well as an anti-Unionist, she was banned from the imperial capital and was able to commission and settle into a monastery in the capital only after Michael VIII's death.<sup>219</sup> After the abdication of patriarch Gregory II of Cyprus<sup>220</sup> in 1289,

---

<sup>211</sup> Van Millingen, *Byzantine Churches*, 272-5.

<sup>212</sup> Kidonopoulos, *Bauten*, 88-90.

<sup>213</sup> Pachymeres ii, 620-1, 637.

<sup>214</sup> *PLP* no. 21492.

<sup>215</sup> No. 32 on figures 2 and 4; Kidonopoulos, *Bauten*, 49-51; Janin, *Les églises*, 432.

<sup>216</sup> *PLP* no. 21492; Savvas Kyriakidis, *Warfare in Late Byzantium, 1204-1453* (Leiden; Brill, 2011), 18.

<sup>217</sup> *PLP* no. 10943 – Theodora Raulaina Palaiologina Komnene Kantakouzene.

<sup>218</sup> No. 29 on figures 2 and 4; Kidonopoulos, *Bauten*, 9-10; Janin, *Les églises*, 28-31; Van Millingen, *Byzantine Churches*, 106-121; Gaul, “All the Emperor’s Men,” 8; Talbot, “Building activity,” 333; Alexander Riehle, ““Καί σε προστάτιν ἐν αὐτοῖς τῆς αὐτῶν ἐπιγράψομεν σωτηρίας, Theodora Raulina als Stifterin und Patronin,” *Female Founders in Byzantium and Beyond*, ed. Lioba Theis, Margaret Mullett and Michael Grünbart (Vienna: Bohlau, 2013), 299-315.

<sup>219</sup> Pachym. ii. 132. Gaul, “All the Emperor’s Men,” 8; Riehle, “Theodoroa Raulina,” 299-315.

<sup>220</sup> *PLP* no. 4590.



Theodora Raoulaina restored a male monastery, *Aristine*, located close to St. Andrew in *Krisei* for Gregory II to retreat.<sup>221</sup>

Anna-Antonia Komnene Raoulaina Strategopoulina<sup>222</sup> the *protostratorissa* founded the female monastery of *Krataios* at the tip of the peninsula where the Golden Horn meets the Bosphoros sometime before 1314.<sup>223</sup>

Theodora-Theodoule Synadene,<sup>224</sup> a niece of Michael VIII, thus a cousin of Andronikos II, and widow of the *megas stratopedarches* John Angelos Doukas Synadenos,<sup>225</sup> founded the famous female monastery dedicated to the Theotokos *Bebaias Elpidos* around 1300.<sup>226</sup> The convent, located close to *Pantokrator* and the Valens' aqueduct, was given Theodora's vast ancestral estates, and continued to flourish under the second founder, Euphrosyne, Theodora's only daughter.<sup>227</sup> Eugenia Komnene Palaiologina<sup>228</sup> the *megale domestikissa*, another niece of Michael VIII and a cousin of Andronikos II, founded another new convent in an unknown location in the city after 1296.<sup>229</sup>

Maria-Martha Doukaina Komnene Branaina Glabaina Palaiologina Tarchaneiotissa<sup>230</sup> was Andronikos II's cousin's daughter, who was married to Michael Doukas Glabas Tarchaneiotis the *protostrator*,<sup>231</sup> a high military official at Andronikos II's court. Michael and Maria-Martha restored several monasteries inside and outside the capital, e.g., *St.*

<sup>221</sup> No. 30 on figures 2 and 4; Kidonopoulos, *Bauten*, 14-6; Janin, *Les églises*, 51-2; Riehle "Theodoraa Raulina," 299-315.

<sup>222</sup> *PLP* no. 26893. According to Talbot, she was possibly daughter of Theodora Raoulaina. See Talbot, "Building," 332.

<sup>223</sup> No. 46 on figures 2 and 4; Janin, *Les églises*, 510-1; Kidonopoulos, *Bauten*, 36-7.

<sup>224</sup> *PLP* no. 21381.

<sup>225</sup> *PLP* no. 27125.

<sup>226</sup> No. 37 on figures 2 and 4; Kidonopoulos, *Bauten*, 69-76; Talbot, "Bebaia Elpis," 1512-78.

<sup>227</sup> *PLP* no. 21373; Kidonopoulos, *Bauten*, 69-76; Talbot, "Bebaia Elpis," 1512-78; eadem, "Building activity," 338-9.

<sup>228</sup> *PLP* no. 21368; Talbot, "Building activity," 333.

<sup>229</sup> No. 56 on figures 2 and 4; Kidonopoulos, *Bauten*, 52-3; Janin, *Les églises*, 474; Talbot, "Building activity," 333.

<sup>230</sup> *PLP* no. 27511.

<sup>231</sup> *PLP* no. 27504.

*Demetrios* in Thessalonike and the *Prisklabetza* in Prilep. Sometime before 1294 Michael re-founded a monastery dedicated to the Theotokos *Atheniotissa*, about which little is known, only that it was a male monastery located inside the city walls.<sup>232</sup> The couple is most famous for re-founding *Pammakaristos* in the northwest after 1261, originally founded by Adrian Komnenos and his wife Zoe in the twelfth century.<sup>233</sup> In the first quarter of the fourteenth century, Maria-Martha further embellished the monastery with a *parekklesion* (today Fethiye Müzesi) built adjacent to the monastic church to serve as the burial place for her husband.<sup>234</sup> *Pammakaristos* seems to have stayed in the Tarchaneiotes family's possession in the following years.<sup>235</sup> In addition to these monasteries, in the first quarter of the fourteenth century, the dowager *protostratorissa* Maria-Martha founded the convent of *Glabaina* close to the Valens' aqueduct in the tenth region,<sup>236</sup> which makes, on the basis of the data surviving, the couple the most active monastic patrons of the early Palaiologan period.

Nikephoros-Nathanael Choumnos,<sup>237</sup> while he was still *epi tou kanikleiou*, at Andronikos II's court, founded the monastery dedicated to the Theotokos *Gorgoepekoos*, originally an early eleventh century construction located in the tenth region.<sup>238</sup> Nikephoros Choumnos wed his daughter Eirene-Eulogia<sup>239</sup> to the *despotes* John Palaiologos, becoming the father-in-law of the emperor's son.<sup>240</sup> Although the marriage lasted only a short time due to the unexpected death of the *despotes* John, Eirene Choumnaina kept her title, *basilissa*, in

<sup>232</sup> No. 33 on figures 2 and 4; Kidonopoulos, *Bauten*, 67-8.

<sup>233</sup> No. 34 on figures 2 and 4; Kidonopoulos, *Bauten*, 80-6.

<sup>234</sup> Ibid; Talbot, "Building activity," 329-43.

<sup>235</sup> Kidonopoulos, *Bauten*, 80-6.

<sup>236</sup> No. 53 on figures 2 and 4; Kidonopoulos, *Bauten*, 41-2; Talbot, "*Bebaia Elpis*," 1512-78.

<sup>237</sup> *PLP* no. 30961.

<sup>238</sup> No. 43 on figures 2 and 4; Kidonopoulos, *Bauten*, 74-6.

<sup>239</sup> *PLP* no. 30936.

<sup>240</sup> Gaul, "All the Emperor's Men," 1-13.

the double monastery of *Philanthropos*, founded by the Choumnos family on the easternmost part of the peninsula around 1327-9.<sup>241</sup>

Theodore Metochites,<sup>242</sup> serving Andronikos II as *logothetes tou genikou*, *megas logothetes*, and *mesazon*, commissioned the restoration of the Chora monastery between 1313 and 1320.<sup>243</sup> Although his daughter Eirene was wed to the premier nephew of Andronikos II, John Palaiologos *panhypersebastos*,<sup>244</sup> (in contrast to, for example, Nikephoros Choumnos who was able to wed his daughter to a *despotes*, a son of the emperor), Metochites was privileged to restore an imperial monastery, which he decorated richly.<sup>245</sup>

There were other monastic patrons, successful courtiers but from the lower hierarchy.<sup>246</sup> The *parakoimomenos tes sphendones* Constantine Doukas Nestongos<sup>247</sup> and his wife re-founded the monastery dedicated to St. Stephen *the protomartyr*, located close to *Bebaia Elpis*, sometime between 1279 and 1346.<sup>248</sup> The *prokathemenos tou bestiariou* John Kanaboures<sup>249</sup> founded a male monastery in the first quarter of the fourteenth century.<sup>250</sup> The *domestikos* Phokas Maroules<sup>251</sup> founded a female monastery by the city walls close to the Lykos River sometime between 1305 and 1321.<sup>252</sup> Although his son converted Phokas' foundation into a male monastery, it later turned back into a nunnery in 1341.<sup>253</sup> The

<sup>241</sup> No. 55 on figures 2 and 4; Kidonopoulos, *Bauten*, 56-9.

<sup>242</sup> *PLP* no. 17982.

<sup>243</sup> No. 48 on figures 2 and 4; Holger A. Klein, Robert G. Ousterhout, and Brigitte Pitarakis, ed., *Kariye Camii, Yeniden / The Kariye Camii Reconsidered* (Istanbul: Istanbul Research Institute Publications, 2011); Kidonopoulos, *Bauten*, 18-25; Janin, *Les églises*, 531-8; Talbot, "Building activity," 336.

<sup>244</sup> *PLP* no. 21479.

<sup>245</sup> Gaul, "All the Emperor's Men," 1-13.

<sup>246</sup> This group appears to coincide with the second aristocracy of the Komnenian era. See Magdalino, *Empire of Manuel*, 320-3.

<sup>247</sup> *PLP* no. 20201. Although the Nestongos family was powerful during the Palaiologan period, this specific individual is not known to have established marital ties with the Palaiologoi.

<sup>248</sup> No. 57 on figures 2 and 4; Kidonopoulos, *Bauten*, 62-5; Janin, *Les églises*, 474-476, 477; Majeska, *Travelers*, 351-353.

<sup>249</sup> *PLP* no. 10865.

<sup>250</sup> No. 51 on figures 2 and 4; Kidonopoulos, *Bauten*, 42-3.

<sup>251</sup> *PLP* no. 17157.

<sup>252</sup> No. 49 on figures 2 and 4; Kidonopoulos, *Bauten*, 65-7; Janin, *Les églises*, 336.

<sup>253</sup> *Ibid*; Talbot, "A Comparison," 10-20.

monastery of *St. John the Baptist at Petra* was restored by Angelos Doukas Komnenos Sarantenos<sup>254</sup> and his wife after their children's death before 1305.<sup>255</sup>

By 1289, the anti-Unionist patriarch Athanasios I founded a double monastery close to the southern branch of the Mese on Xerolophos Hill in Psamathia.<sup>256</sup> During his second tenure, Athanasios I also restored the famous monastery dedicated to the Theotokos *Hodegetria* in the acropolis area.<sup>257</sup> A decade later, around 1319-1321, patriarch John XIII Glykys,<sup>258</sup> who was a civil servant, a layman married with children before ascending to the patriarchal throne, re-founded the monastery of the Theotokos *Kyriotissa* (today Kalenderhane Camii) in the tenth region.<sup>259</sup>

While a hieromonk, named Nikandros,<sup>260</sup> founded a male monastery almost adjacent to the *Anastasis* at the beginning of the 1320s with the support of the Akropolites family,<sup>261</sup> it is unknown how another hieromonk named Makarios<sup>262</sup> restored the monastery of *kyr Antonios* (also known as the Theotokos *Panachrantos*, originally built in the tenth century), probably located west of the Neorion gate (Bahçekapı).<sup>263</sup>

An unknown founder commissioned the restoration of the monastery dedicated to St. Nicholas *tes Opaines* located southeast of *Chora* at the beginning of the fourteenth century.<sup>264</sup> The Theotokos *hyperagnos tou Plynariou* is assumed to have been founded in the Palaiologan period since the name first appears with the Palaiologans.<sup>265</sup> The *Myrelaion*,

<sup>254</sup> *PLP* no. 24898. He was a military official with no known dignity held.

<sup>255</sup> No. 41 on figures 2 and 4; Kidonopoulos, *Bauten*, 45-9; Janin, *Les églises*, 421-9.

<sup>256</sup> No. 31 on figures 2 and 4; Kidonopoulos, *Bauten*, 16-8; Janin, *Les églises*, 10-1.

<sup>257</sup> No. 44 on figures 2 and 4; Janin, *Les églises*, 199-207; Kidonopoulos, *Bauten*, 77-8.

<sup>258</sup> *PLP* no. 4271.

<sup>259</sup> No. 50 on figures 2 and 4; Kidonopoulos, *Bauten*, 79-80; Janin, *Les églises*, 193-5.

<sup>260</sup> *PLP* no. 20242.

<sup>261</sup> No. 52 on figures 2 and 4. The monastery had a short life as it was demolished on the orders of Constantine Akropolites around 1324. Kidonopoulos, *Bauten*, 11-3; Janin, *Les églises*, 21-2.

<sup>262</sup> *PLP* no. 16217.

<sup>263</sup> No. 45 on figures 2 and 4; Janin, *Les églises*, 39-40; Kidonopoulos, *Bauten*, 13-4.

<sup>264</sup> No. 40 on figures 2 and 4; Kidonopoulos, *Bauten*, 59-60. Janin, *Les églises*, 542.

<sup>265</sup> No. 58 on figures 2 and 4; Kidonopoulos, *Bauten*, 93; Janin, *Les églises*, 158.

convent and imperial mausoleum founded by Romanos I Lekapenos, was converted into a male monastery by the beginning of the fourteenth century.<sup>266</sup>

### Early Palaiologan imprint on Constantinople: new pursuits

Magdalino briefly describes Constantinople on the eve of the Ottoman conquest as it consisted of the northwest area around the Blachernai, the area around Hagia Sophia and the acropolis, the commercial center along the Golden Horn, and the Blanga region.<sup>267</sup> Kidonopoulos adds the Phanari and Mangana quarters to the picture.<sup>268</sup> The locations of monasteries founded by wealthy members of the imperial family and the late Byzantine aristocracy too followed the trends in the construction of profane buildings.<sup>269</sup> In the following pages, the relationship between the early Palaiologan monastic topography and the social-standing of the founders is investigated in detail.<sup>270</sup>

1. Emperor Michael VIII is known to have restored three monasteries in the city (*Peribleptos*, *St. Demetrios* and *St. George at Mangana*), all dispersed through the city, in the southwest, south and on the eastern slopes of the acropolis, respectively. Andronikos II, on the other hand, restored two monasteries in his almost twice-as-long rule. His restoration of *Nea Mone*, which was located close to the Boukoleon palace, took place when he was co-emperor with Michael VIII whereas Andronikos chose a monastery, *Pantepoptes*, located in

<sup>266</sup> No. 36 on figures 2 and 4; Kidonopoulos, *Bauten*, 55-6.

<sup>267</sup> Magdalino, "Medieval Constantinople," I: 75-6.

<sup>268</sup> Kidonopoulos, "The urban physiognomy," 103.

<sup>269</sup> I am aware of that it is almost impossible to differentiate between secular and religious in Byzantium. However, in terms of buildings and monuments, I employ the term "profane" or "secular" in order to separate those spaces that did not become "*res sacra*" by having been (yet) transformed into a religious institution. See Bernard Stolte, "Law for founders," *Founders and Refounders of Byzantine Monasteries*, ed. Margaret Mullett (Belfast: Belfast Byzantine Enterprises, 2007), 121-39.

<sup>270</sup> The location of six monasteries cannot be identified except being in Constantinople. These include three female convents: *Pertze*, that of Eugenia Komnene Palaiologina the *megale domestikissa*, and *tes megales Doukaines* (founded by the mother of Syrgiannia), and three male monasteries: that of *Atheniotissa*, the *Peribleptenos* and the *Hyperagnos tou Plynariou*. See Janin, *Les églises*, 330, 396; Kidonopoulos, *Bauten*, 43-4, 52-5, 61-2, 67-8, 90-1, 93.

the only area in the city in which Michael VIII did not restore a monastic foundation – the northwest.<sup>271</sup>

While none of the first-degree kin founded a pious house under Michael VIII, only one of his second-degree relatives, his sister Martha commissioned *Kyra Martha* on the southern (inner) slopes of the fourth hill close to the Holy Apostles. However, during the reign of Andronikos II, the rest of the imperial family was much involved in monastic patronage. His mother, dowager empress Theodora Palaiologina preferred the inner city: *Lips* in the Lykos valley and *Anargyroi* in the southwest, while Andronikos' sons concentrated on the northwest (*despotes* John's *Prodromos* and Ateuemes-Bartholomaios' *Evergetes*).

Also on the list of the inner imperial family, siblings of Andronikos II were known as patrons of monasteries; his brother Constantine the *porphyrogennetos* restored *Stoudios* in the southwest and his half-sister Maria-Melane Palaiologina founded *Panagiotissa* in the northwest. It can be concluded that the inner imperial family did not concentrate their patronage activities on a single area (four monasteries in the south and five in the north roughly divided by the Lykos River), rather they claimed the city as a sacred place as a whole.

2. Concerning the extended imperial family, third-degree kin (nephews) of both emperors were invisible in terms of monastic patronage in Constantinople. So were Michael VIII's cousins (fourth-degree kin). However, the reign of Andronikos II witnessed two female cousins and their daughters' monastic patronage. Theodora Raoulaina founded two nunneries in the southwest (*St. Andrew in Krisei* and *Aristine*) and a decade later, Theodora Synadene founded *Bebaia Elpis* on her *ancestral estates* in the central part of the city. The female lineages of these cousins were also patrons of monasteries: while Euphrosyne Synadene, daughter of Theodora Synadene, continued the flowering of her mother's *Bebaia*

---

<sup>271</sup> According to Alice-Mary Talbot, the financial difficulties Andronikos II had to cope with might be the reason behind his relatively modest monastic patronage. Talbot, "Building activity," 330.

*Elpis*, Anna Komnene Raoulaina Strategopoulina, daughter of Theodora Raoulaina, founded a new nunnery on the acropolis (the *Krataios*).

However, the most active founders in this group were probably Maria Palaiologina Tarchaneiotissa, Andronikos II's cousin's daughter, and her husband the *protastrator* Michael Tarchaneiotēs and, who founded three monasteries (permitted to restore *Pammakaristos* in the northwest and commissioned the monastery of *Glabaina* in the central part of the city as well as *Atheniotissa* in an unknown location in the city).

3. The building activity of the time was sponsored not only by the imperial family, but also by an increasing number of wealthy members of the court hierarchy. The early Palaiologan era was a period of time when family relations to the emperor were not enough to guarantee the highest positions in the hierarchy, for instance, not all “*gambroi*” – son- or brother-in-law – of the emperor was rewarded with the same title or those who held the same title were not necessarily considered on the same level.<sup>272</sup> The personal relation to the emperor and the social standing in public were also important criteria for accessing power.<sup>273</sup> Five individuals (George Akropolites, Constantine Akropolites, Nikephoros Choumnos, Eirene Choumnaina and Theodore Metochites) known as patrons of monasteries in the early Palaiologan period belonged to the high/ascending court hierarchy through their offices and affinity with the imperial family at the time they made their pious foundations, and their descendants merged into the aristocracy.<sup>274</sup> While the *Anastasis* of the Akropolites family and *Gorgoepekoos* of Nikephoros Choumnos and his wife were new foundations in the central part of the city, Metochites was permitted to restore an imperial foundation, *Chora*, in the northwest.

<sup>272</sup> Macrides et al., *Pseudo-Kodinos*, 27.

<sup>273</sup> Riehle, “Theodora Raulina,” 299-301, 314-5; James, “Making a Name,” 63-5.

<sup>274</sup> Gaul defines them as social climbers of first or second generation, emphasizing the fact that they did not belong to the aristocracy by blood at their birth, rather they had to struggle to climb up the hierarchy by holding important offices and marrying into the imperial family. The Palaiologoi were very careful in not sharing the

4. The lower stratum of Byzantine aristocracy who were not married to the Palaiologoi in this period also had the opportunity and the means to commission monasteries. The monastery dedicated to *St. Stephen the protomartyr* was founded by a Nestongos on the middle of the northern seashore, the foundation of Phokas Maroules was located in the vicinity of the gate of St. Romanos (Topkapı) and the Sarantenos family restored *St. John at Petra* in the northwest.

5. The increasing power of the aristocracy and the middling stratum at the expense of the emperor's sole authority was well expressed in the monastic topography of the capital. While the definitions between the aristocracy and the ruling family were already blurred by means of marital arrangements between the prominent families and the Palaiologoi, even those families that were not related to the emperor by marriage alliances held enough wealth and power to found monasteries in increasing numbers.

6. Eleven nunneries<sup>275</sup> and two double monasteries<sup>276</sup> are known to have been founded. In one case, the gender of the founder is unknown, in another case, a male founder (Phokas Maroules) commissioned a nunnery, and the remaining nine nunneries were sponsored by female founders. Double monasteries re-appeared in Byzantium with the Palaiologoi, one founded by a man and another by a woman. Couples founded exclusively male monasteries.

7. 16 out of a total of 44 cases of monastic patronage were undertaken by female founders. In contrast to only one monastery, *Kyra Martha*, founded by a female patron out of eight monasteries under Michael VIII, under Andronikos II 13 cases of monastic patronage in which only female founders were active and two cases of couple's foundations out of 36 cases are attested.

---

power with other males of prominent families, but rather they indirectly rewarded those families in question by marrying a female member of those. Gaul, "All the Emperor's Men," 12-3.

<sup>275</sup> Nos. 22, 29, 37, 38, 39, 40 (unknown founder), 46, 47, 49, 53, 56, and 59 on figures 2 and 4.

<sup>276</sup> Nos. 31 and 55 on figures 2 and 4.



In five cases in the northwest (*Pammakaristos* (2), *Petra*, *Chora*, *Panagiotissa*) and three in the southwest (*Anargyroi*, *Aristine*, *St. Andrew in Krisei*), six women sponsored six monasteries (Theodora Palaiologina, Theodora Raoulaina and Maria Palaiologina each had two, and Maria-Martha Tarchaneiotissa sponsored *Pammakaristos* both as a couple with her husband and later as a sole founder. If one includes *Kyra Martha* and *Lips* into the picture, which were located on the slopes of the fourth hill, it makes ten cases of monastic building activities by women in the western half of the city. In only three cases (three females, Maria-Martha Tarchaneiotissa, Theodora and Euphrosyne Synadene with two monasteries, *Bebaia Elpis* and *Glabaina*), did the founders choose the central part and in only two cases were monasteries founded by women on the acropolis.

8. The monastic topography of Palaiologan Constantinople did not offer a picture of a clustered city. The Palaiologan elite continued the Komnenian practice of founding monasteries in the north-northwestern area of Constantinople, but imperial monastic foundations in this area had started earlier, with the *Petrion* by Basil I.

The acropolis of Constantinople continued to flourish under the Palaiologoi (*Krataios*, *St. Nicholas the wonder-worker*, *Hodegetria*, *Philanthropos*, *Nea Mone* and *St. George at Mangana*). Just like the northwestern part of the city, the acropolis was the site of the first imperial monastery of *St. George at Mangana* during the reign of Constantine IX Monomachos, later Alexios I founded the *Orphanotropheion*, and Maria of Antioch and Isaac II Angelos founded the monastery of *Pantanassa*.

While the southwestern followed the general trend of an increase in monastic communities during the early Palaiologan era with six re-foundations/restorations, a new trend developed in the central area of the city (sixth, tenth and eleventh regions) where ten new monasteries were founded.

## Changing motivations of the Palaiologan elite

At first glance, the increase in the number of monasteries founded, re-founded and restored during the sixty-seven year-long reigns of the first two Palaiologan emperors is astonishing. Compared to ten monasteries founded or restored in the tenth century or, for that matter, the twenty monastic foundations of the late eleventh-twelfth centuries, 39 cases of monastic patronage were recorded under Michael VIII and Andronikos II. The Palaiologan sources – historians’ narratives, travelers’ accounts or the *typika* – do not detail the reasons behind choosing a particular site. The most apparent rationale behind founding more and more monasteries seems to have been the re-conquest of Constantinople in 1261. The city was devastated by fires and earthquakes from 1203,<sup>277</sup> and the almost-empty treasury of the Latin Kingdom of Constantinople did not help the city recover from these calamities.<sup>278</sup> Even the financial aid given by the emperors of Nicaea, or that they bought several churches and monasteries from the Latins,<sup>279</sup> were not enough. Emperor Michael VIII and his entourage, as well as the other families of Byzantine aristocracy who were given chance to return to the city and their family estates back after 1261,<sup>280</sup> had the opportunity to re-claim the cityscape after the history of Constantinople as the capital city of Byzantium was interrupted for more than half a century.

Several examples point to the fact that property rights over the estates determined the site selection. For instance, Maria-Martha Palaiologina bought estates from the Akropolites

<sup>277</sup> Madden, “The Fires,” 73-4; Ebru Altan, “VII-XI. Yüzyıllarda İstanbul ve Çevresinde Doğal Afetler,” [Natural Disasters in and around Constantinople between seventh and eleventh centuries], *Afetlerin Gölgesinde İstanbul / Tarih Boyunca İstanbul Ve Çevresini Etkileyen Afetler* [Istanbul in the shadows of catastrophes / Disasters that affected Istanbul and its Surroundings through history], ed. Said Öztürk (Istanbul: IBB, 2009), 48; Muharrem Kesik, “İstanbul’da Doğal Afetler 1100-1250,” [Natural Disasters in Istanbul, 1100-1250], *Afetlerin Gölgesinde İstanbul*, ed. Said Öztürk (Istanbul: IBB, 2009), 69-74; Fahameddin Basar, “1251-1453 Yılları Arasında İstanbul’u Etkilemiş Olan Doğal Afetler,” [Natural Disasters that affected Istanbul between 1251-1453], *Afetlerin Gölgesinde İstanbul*, ed. Said Öztürk (Istanbul: IBB, 2009), 85-90, 95-6; Glanville Downey, “Earthquakes at Constantinople and Vicinity, A.D. 342-145,” *Speculum* vol. 30, no. 4 (Oct., 1955): 600; Layman, “The incineration of new Babylon,” 28-51.

<sup>278</sup> Kidonopoulos, “The Urban Physiognomy,” 100-1.

<sup>279</sup> Ibid, Talbot, “The Restoration,” 248.

<sup>280</sup> Kidonopoulos, “The Urban Physiognomy,” 102.

family to build cells for the nuns who inhabited her re-founded the convent of *Panagiotissa*.<sup>281</sup> Theodora-Theodoule Synadene explicitly states in the *typikon* of *Bebaia Elpis* that the monastery was given her ancestral estates.<sup>282</sup> The sixth and tenth regions seem to have been relatively densely populated, especially by the aristocracy,<sup>283</sup> so it is possible that others in the area also had or bought properties to found or support a monastery. Although commercially and economically the most important area of Constantinople during the Palaiologan era was the Golden Horn, Kidonopoulos' catalogue reveals new aristocratic *oikoi* were built in the Blanga region, too.<sup>284</sup> In accordance with the popularity of these regions, George Akropolites and his son re-founded the *Anastasis* very close to the Mese on its northern side around the Forum of Constantine.<sup>285</sup> Also, along the so-called Valens' aqueducts by the northern branch of the Mese, Nikephoros Choumnos and his wife restored the monastery of *Gorgoepekoos*, Maria-Martha Tarchaneiotissa founded the monastery of *Glabaina*, and *Panagiotissa* had bakeries and houses close to the Mese in the vicinity of the forum of Constantine in the sixth region.<sup>286</sup>

Although seven monasteries in the vicinity of the open-air cisterns of Aetius and Aspar attracted patronage in the northwest and one can assume that the smaller cisterns on the acropolis supplied sufficient water for the six monasteries in the vicinity, the need for water does not seem to have created hubs in this period as the remaining 23 monasteries were not clustered around water sources. This may be due to a decrease in the philanthropic aspect of monasticism, that is to say, compared to the twelfth century monasteries such as *Mamas*, *Kosmosoteira*, *Pantokrator* and *Kecharitomene*, which ran public or private baths, and bathed the aged or the sick, early Palaiologan monasteries apparently quit that tradition.

<sup>281</sup> Talbot, "The Restoration," 256.

<sup>282</sup> Talbot, "*Bebaia Elpis*," 1557-8.

<sup>283</sup> Kidonopoulos, "The urban physiognomy," 103-5.

<sup>284</sup> In addition to Blachernai, Kynegoi or Petra districts. Kidonopoulos, "The urban physiognomy," 103-5.

<sup>285</sup> Ibidem, *Bauten*, 5-7; Janin, *Les églises*, 20-5.

As none of the monasteries of the period, except for the foundation of Phokas Maroules close to the gate of St. Romanos, was founded on top of a hill, elevation does not seem to have been a concern of the founders. However, that a fourteenth-century traveler recorded *Pantokrator* as being “on a mountain”<sup>287</sup> shows the difference between the real and perceived elevation. The foundations that stood on the steep slope of a hill, as in the northern slopes of the fifth and sixth hills, might have given an even more profound feeling of height than *Pantokrator*. If it was enough for the visitor or commoner to perceive a ten-meters of height as a hill or a mountain, then founders were not obliged to have their monasteries dominate the cityscape by founding them literally at the highest points.

The contemporary urban landmarks in Constantinople include the two imperial palaces, Blachernai and the Great Palace, the column erected by Michael VIII in ca. 1261 in front of the Holy Apostles, Hagia Sophia and the Holy Apostles.<sup>288</sup> The proximity to the emperor’s residential palace, the Blachernai at the time, seems to have attracted both secular buildings, such as palaces of the elite, and pious foundations since as ten founders sponsored monasteries in the northwest.<sup>289</sup>

Some founders preferred close proximity to the palace of Blachernai and to benefit from the hierotopical cluster the reputable religious foundations established in the northwest. Could other founders have had more practical aims of constructing or reconstructing a monastic building on a site which was not devastated by fires or earthquakes in the previous century? The area along the Golden Horn was densely populated, thus, more vulnerable to

---

<sup>286</sup> Ibidem, “The urban physiognomy,” 104.

<sup>287</sup> Majeska, *Russian Travelers*, 152; Macrides, “The citadel,” 285.

<sup>288</sup> The reconstructed mosque, the city walls, and other public works mentioned by the contemporary sources but with an unknown location were excluded from the list. Talbot, “The Restoration,” 249-60.

<sup>289</sup> Janin, *Les églises*, 531-8; Kidonopoulos, *Bauten*, 18-25. Theodore Metochites’ grand restoration project of Chora, perhaps the most famous one in the area, probably provided him with extra prestige as it was close to the imperial palace and the monastery itself was an imperial foundation. The other intriguing case is that Maria-Melane Palaiologina sponsored two monasteries only in this area upon her return to the capital; re-foundation of *Panagiotissa* and donations to Chora. Was being close to her imperial family and making donations to an imperial foundation important for her, too?

fires.<sup>290</sup> A fire in 1197 is also known to have spread to the inner parts of the city, sparing Hagia Sophia but burning the surroundings of the forum of Constantine.<sup>291</sup> Therefore, the locations of *Kyra Martha*, *Lips* and those in the southwest, *Anargyroi*, *Aristine*, *St. Andrew in Krisei*, *Peribleptos*, and *Stoudios*, might have been partially determined by safety concerns.

The most detailed descriptions of ceremonies in Palaiologan Constantinople comes from the fourteenth century: Pseudo-Kodinos' treatise on court offices and ceremonies.<sup>292</sup> It is striking to compare the ceremonies described in the tenth century compilation, so-called Book of Ceremonies, with the processions along the main roads in the city and the spacious Great Palace, and Pseudo Kodinos' description of much more limited movement within the city.<sup>293</sup> Chapter IV of Pseudo-Kodinos records that the emperor did not leave his palace for the Hagia Sophia during the dominical feasts, but Chapter V informs the reader about the religious institutions the emperor visited on some feasts: *Blachernai*, Hagia Sophia, the Holy Apostles, and the monasteries dedicated to *St. Demetrios*, *St. John the Baptist at Petra*, *St. Lazaros*, *St. Basil*, *St. George at Mangana*, *Lips*, *Pantokrator* and *Peribleptos*.<sup>294</sup>

Eight of twelve venues for the religious ceremonies outside the palace now took place in monasteries, which was a novelty of the Palaiologan era.<sup>295</sup> *St. John the Baptist at Petra*, *St. Basil*, *St. Demetrios* and *Pantokrator* founded/re-founded in the Komnenian period. *Lips*,

<sup>290</sup> Layman, "The incineration of new Babylon," 28-51.

<sup>291</sup> Ibid.

<sup>292</sup> Macrides et al., *Pseudo-Kodinos*, 395-437, especially 398-401; Albrecht Berger, "Imperial and Ecclesiastical Processions in Constantinople," *Byzantine Constantinople: monuments, topography and everyday life*, ed. Nevra Necipoğlu (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 73-87, especially 81, and 83-5; Magdalino, "Pseudo-Kodinos' Constantinople," XII: 1-14.

<sup>293</sup> Ibid; Macrides, "The citadel," 277-304. Yet even in the earlier centuries, going to places by boat was a preferable alternative, and following the twelfth century emperors' route, Michael VIII and Andronikos II seem to have chosen this way.

Although it should be noted that Michael VIII performed the last known triumphal entry to Constantinople in 1261 through the Golden gate, as Berger points out some of the later processions are likely to have followed sea routes as there were two sea gates known as the imperial gate, one close to the Blachernai Palace and another at the tip of the acropolis. See Berger, "Imperial and Ecclesiastical Processions," 81-5.

<sup>294</sup> A religious ceremony also took place at forum of Constantine. Macrides et al., *Pseudo-Kodinos*, 272-5. Magdalino, "Pseudo-Kodinos' Constantinople," XII: 6.

<sup>295</sup> Ibid.

*St. John the Baptist at Petra* and *St. Demetrios* were restored during the Palaiologan period. Except *St. John the Baptist at Petra* and *St. Basil*, they all were originally imperial foundations. For that matter, Michael VIII focused his restoration projects on two imperial monasteries – *Peribleptos* and *St. George at Mangana*. As Pseudo-Kodinos' treatise was compiled in parts at different times in the fourteenth century, it cannot be firmly established whether Michael included his restored sites in the religious ceremonial in the subsequent years, or whether the religious importance of then-dilapidated foundations attracted Michael's patronage.

Most of these monasteries with roles in the religious ceremonial, e.g., *Pantokrator*, *Pantepoptes* and *Peribleptos* were also those inhabited by the Latins<sup>296</sup> between 1204 and 1261. While they needed some re-arrangements to function as orthodox sanctuaries again,<sup>297</sup> the monasteries which were operating and not abandoned and robbed of their roofing systems required less financial investment for restoration work.

A late antique-early Byzantine phenomenon, the double monastery, was re-invigorated during the early Palaiologan period. Two double monasteries were founded in Constantinople – Patriarch Athanasios I's monastery at Xerolophos and Eirene Choumnaina's monastery of Christ Philanthropos on the acropolis. Athanasios' foundation was divided into two separate institutions almost a century later in 1383 by patriarch Neilos Kerameus. The surviving typikon of Philanthropos is quite short, but details can be added from Eirene Choumnaina's correspondence with her spiritual father.

The increase in the number of female founders of monasteries during the early Palaiologan period, a unique phenomenon in Byzantium, cannot be discussed on its own, rather it should be incorporated in the wider context of female patrons, the marriage policies

---

<sup>296</sup> Talbot, "The Restoration," 246.

<sup>297</sup> Ibid, 247-8.

of the Palaiologoi,<sup>298</sup> and the religious disputes of the early Palaiologan era. Although the Nicaean emperors attempted to break free of the Komnenian policy of marriage alliances between the ruling clan and the prominent families of the Byzantine aristocracy, the Palaiologoi were content with the twelfth-century marriage policies and, in fact, all thirteenth-century emperors had marital ties to the Komnenoi-Doukai clan of the twelfth century.<sup>299</sup> While Michael VIII and his siblings were preoccupied with marital policy primarily to strengthen Palaiologan power, Andronikos II was keen on making the necessary marriage arrangements against both external threats, like the Serbs, and internal threats, in this case, primarily using the *pepaideumenoí*.<sup>300</sup>

The Palaiologian elite, as recorded in the written sources, restored 21 monasteries between 1261 and 1328. Twelve of these were commissioned by the inner imperial family,<sup>301</sup> nine by the extended imperial family.<sup>302</sup> In five of the twelve cases by the inner family, the founders were female (though never the *augusta* while her husband, the emperor, was alive).<sup>303</sup> Considering only the extended imperial family members, the founders were all female.<sup>304</sup>

Except the emperor, there were only four cases when a male blood relation to the reigning emperor founded a monastery (co-emperor Andronikos II, his son, *despotes* John Palaiologos, his illegitimate son Bartholomaios/Ateuemes Palaiologos, and his brother, Constantine Palaiologos the *porphyrogennetos*). At the same time, Theodora Raoulaina, a niece of Michael VIII, was married to George Mouzalon the *protobestiarios*, who was murdered by his wife's uncle Michael VIII in 1258. It is quite possible that Theodora

---

<sup>298</sup> Angelov, *Imperial Ideology*, 118-126.

<sup>299</sup> Ibid.

<sup>300</sup> Gaul, "All the Emperor's Men," 6.

<sup>301</sup> Nos. 22, 23, 25, 26, 27, 32, 35, 38, 39, 42, 47, and 54 on figures 2 and 4.

<sup>302</sup> Nos. 29, 30, 33, 34, 37, 40, 46, 53, and 56 on figures 2 and 4.

<sup>303</sup> Nos. 21, 34, 38, 39, and 47 on figures 2 and 4.

<sup>304</sup> Nos. 29, 30, 37, 46, 53, and 56 on figures 2 and 4.

Raoulaina had access to power through her husbands, both of whom were *protobestiarioi*, accumulated much wealth through her widowhood, and was able to express her political and religious thoughts via her pious foundations. Theodora Synadene, another niece of Michael VIII, held similar power through her marriage to the *megas stratopedarches* John Angelos Doukas Synadenos, and then in her widowhood. The marriage arrangements of emperor Andronikos II, which were intended to reinforce the autocrator's power, and the deaths of husbands apparently helped Byzantine women to acquire power.

The foundations of dowager empress-mother Theodora Palaiologina, Theodora Raoulaina the *protobestiaria*, and Theodora Synadene not only show the increasing power women were able to exercise by sponsoring more monasteries in the city than previous imperial women, but possibly also constituted landmarks by which these contemporary women were rivals against each other. Especially the pious foundations of Theodora Palaiologina and of Theodora Raoulaina should be considered with such rivalry in mind. At first sight, it seems like a case that contradicts James' visibility argument<sup>305</sup> that dowager-empress Theodora Palaiologina founded *Anargyroi* in the southwestern part of the city. Theodora Raoulaina and her mother, Michael VIII's sister Eudokia Angelina, were anti-Unionists and expressed their dissent with the emperor harshly, which was received by the dowager empress unpleasantly.<sup>306</sup> As Theodora Raoulaina founded *St. Andrew in Krisei* and *Aristine* in the southwest in the 1280s, the location of the second nunnery founded by Theodora Palaiologina, *Anargyroi*, could have been deliberately sited in the southwest. Both women are known to have had a special interest in acquiring relics for their pious foundations. Theodora Raoulaina founded two nunneries in the southwest, to which she brought patriarch Arsenios' relics from Hagia Sophia<sup>307</sup> and Theodora Palaiologina made an

<sup>305</sup> Liz James, "Making A Name," 63.

<sup>306</sup> Pachymeres ii, 16.

<sup>307</sup> Talbot, "Building," 334.



unsuccessful attempt to translate the relics of an iconodule saint named Michael of Chalcedon.<sup>308</sup>

Monasteries were ideal places where the patrons could express their views on the religious disputes of the time. Theodora Palaiologina founded two monasteries in which she did not commemorate her late husband Michael VIII, presumably because of his Unionist policies.<sup>309</sup> Similarly, the differences within the Akropolites family over the Union with the Latin Church was revealed in the *Anastasis*. Constantine Akropolites did not include his father George Akropolites' name to the list of family members to be commemorated in the *Anastasis*.<sup>310</sup>

The subtle messages manifested by a founder commissioning a monastery were not confined to religious disputes, but also had political overtones, as in the case of Eirene Choumnaina, who did not let go the idea of becoming a Palaiologina after her husband died an untimely death. Instead, she founded a monastery on the acropolis, still using the title of *basilissa*.<sup>311</sup>

---

<sup>308</sup> Talbot, "Empress Theodora," 298. The monastic cityscape was not the only venue where the Palaiologan women exercised power. Both women are also known to have been literary patrons. Alice-Mary Talbot, "Bluestocking Nuns: Intellectual Life in the Convents of Late Byzantium," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, Vol. 7, *Okeanos: Essays presented to Ihor Ševčenko on his Sixtieth Birthday by his Colleagues and Students* (1983), 604-618. Additionally, as part of the Palaiologan marriage policy, illegitimate daughters of Michael VIII, Maria-Melane and Euphrosyne Palaiologinai, were wed to Mongol khans and the only daughter of Andronikos II, Simonis Palaiologina was wed to the Serbian king Milutin. When Maria-Melane returned to Constantinople after 1282 she not only founded the monastery of *Panagiotissa* and made donations to Chora, but was also sent by emperor Andronikos II to lead the negotiations with the Mongol khan in Nicaea. Alice-Mary Talbot, "Female Patronage in the Palaiologan Era: Icons, Minor Arts and Manuscripts," *Female Founders in Byzantium and Beyond*, ed. Lioba Theis, Margaret Mullett and Michael Grünbart (Vienna: Boehlau Verlag, 2012), 272.

<sup>309</sup> See the *typika* of *Lips* and *Anargyroi*. Talbot, "*Lips*," 1254-86 and eadem, "*Anargyroi*," 1287-94.

<sup>310</sup> Macrides, *The History of George Akropolites*, 18-9.

<sup>311</sup> Talbot, "*Philanthropos*," 1383-8.

## CHAPTER THREE

### MONASTIC TOPOGRAPHY THROUGH CENTURIES: A COMPARISON

The previous chapters have offered a survey of monastic foundations in Constantinople between 1080 and 1204 on the one hand, and between 1261 and 1328, on the other. While the Komnenian period represents an era when the imperial authority was relatively stable,<sup>312</sup> the early Palaiologan period was a time when the state mechanism went through major changes following the re-conquest of the once lost capital. The first two chapters discuss each period with its own inner-dynamics whereas the present chapter seeks to compare and contrast the monastic topography of Constantinople during these two periods in order to see transformation and tradition in Constantinopolitan monasteries and monasticism in regard to the visibility of various social groups and understand the ideological undertones.

First, the general picture. Judging from the surviving evidence, the Komnenian elite commissioned at least 20 monasteries in Constantinople, while the Palaiologan patrons almost doubled this figure with no fewer than 39 monasteries.<sup>313</sup> The increasing attention to monastic patronage in the latter period is likely due to the preceding Latin occupation of Constantinople. When Alexios I Komnenos usurped the Byzantine throne, Constantinople had already had a history of more than seven centuries with a strong monastic tradition since the fourth century. The fifty-seven year-long Latin presence in Constantinople, on the other hand, was catastrophic for the monasteries as most of them were abandoned, robbed of their roofing systems or wooden structures and left in ill-repair.<sup>314</sup> Therefore, the Byzantines returned to a city in which only a handful of monasteries was functioning while many were in

---

<sup>312</sup> After an initial period of consolidation in the 1090s.

<sup>313</sup> See figures 1 and 2.

<sup>314</sup> Talbot, "The Restoration," 247-8.

ruins.<sup>315</sup> It was not much of a matter of preference to found more and more monasteries, rather it was a need at the capital, an outcome of the re-conquest.

The distribution of the monastic (re-)foundations in the city is as follows:<sup>316</sup> The northwestern part of the city hosted eight monasteries during the Komnenian period and seven during the early Palaiologan era.<sup>317</sup> If one includes two monasteries by the lower northern shore along the Golden Horn during each period,<sup>318</sup> it can be concluded that the number of foundations did not change significantly in this region between the two periods in question.<sup>319</sup>

While all the Komnenian monasteries in the region were founded by the imperial family, only in four cases the Palaiologoi showed an interest in this part of the city.<sup>320</sup> It seems that the Palaiologan period witnessed a decrease in the monastic patronage of the imperial family in the northwest. Likewise, despite the similar number of monasteries in the northwest in both periods, the eight monasteries founded in the northwest during the Komnenian period constitute one third of the total (20 monasteries) whereas the seven during the Palaiologan period constitute only one fifth of the total (39 monasteries). Therefore, one can say that the northwestern part of the city under the Palaiologoi received less attention than it did under the Komnenoi. I do not think that the Palaiologan practice was meant to distance their work from their Komnenian counterpart, rather, it seems that the Palaiologoi

<sup>315</sup> Klaus-Peter Matschke, "Builders and Building in Late Byzantine Constantinople," *Byzantine Constantinople: monuments, topography and everyday life*, ed. Nevra Necipoğlu, (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 315-6.

<sup>316</sup> This is of course based on the fifty-nine monastic foundations recorded in the written sources, the actual number could be higher. The location of three monasteries during the Komnenian period (Prodromos *Lophadios*, Botaneiates, and *Chrysokamarotissa*) and seven during the early Palaiologan period (*Pertze*, *Atheniotissa*, *Prodromos of Palaiologos*, *Kanaboures*, *Megale Domestikissa*, *Hyperagnos tou Plynariou*, and *tes Megales Doukaines*) are unknown, therefore, they cannot be included to the discussion.

<sup>317</sup> Nos. 1, 3, 4, 5, 8, 9, 10, 16 on figures 1 and 3, and nos. 34, 35, 40, 41, 47, 48, 54 on figures 2 and 4.

<sup>318</sup> Nos. 7 and 12 on figures 1 and 3 and nos. 57, 45 on figures 2 and 4.

<sup>319</sup> These numbers do not necessarily reflect the realities. However, the multitude or scarcity of foundations in different areas in the city or by different social groups, I think, has a meaning.

<sup>320</sup> Nos. 34, 35, 47 and 54 on figures 2 and 4.

preferred another, more “ancient” part of the city as a focus of their patronage: the southern belt.

The Komnenian initiative in the southwest included Nikolaos Grammatikos’ and a *mystikos*’ foundations, a monastery founded by the sister of Alexios III, and the donations of three Komnenian emperors.<sup>321</sup> The monastic patronage in the area during the early Palaiologan period, on the other hand, except from one monastic foundation by a member of the lower aristocracy, Phokas Maroules, located on the spot where the monk Nikolaos had built his monastery more than two hundred years ago, was exclusively reserved for the imperial family with five monasteries.<sup>322</sup> Concerning the lower southern shore,<sup>323</sup> there is only one new foundation attested during the Komnenian period, George Palaiologos’ *St. Demetrios*, whereas during the early Palaiologan period, there were three monasteries founded in the area, two of which were also imperial foundations.<sup>324</sup> The continuing Palaiologan interest in the southern shore of the city almost doubled its Komnenian counterpart.

A comparison between the monasteries founded in the north and in the south by each imperial family clearly reveals that the Komnenoi concentrated their patronage in the north, while the Palaiologoi did not found a single monastery there during the first decade after the re-conquest – none of the eight monasteries<sup>325</sup> founded during the reign of Michael VIII was located there. Only two members of the inner imperial family, Andronikos II and Bartholomaios later restored two Komnenian foundations, *Pantepoptes* and *Evergetes*, respectively. Rather, the northwestern part seems to have been allocated to members of

---

<sup>321</sup> Nos. 2, 11, 13, and 20 on figures 1 and 3.

<sup>322</sup> Nos. 25, 29, 30, 32, and 39 on figures 2 and 4.

<sup>323</sup> The shore of the Propontis from the Constantinian city walls to the acropolis.

<sup>324</sup> Nos. 26, 27, and 31 on figures 2 and 4.

<sup>325</sup> Nos. 21-8 on figures 2 and 4.

aristocracy or to those who were climbing up to the hierarchy during the early Palaiologan period.

The acropolis of the city was not the most popular area for new monastic foundations despite the famous urban landmarks in its proximity, such as Hagia Sophia or *St. George at Mangana*. Only during Manuel I's reign one founder, a member of the aristocracy<sup>326</sup> restored *Hodegetria*<sup>327</sup> located on the eastern slopes of the acropolis, and after Manuel's death, dowager empress Maria of Antioch founded *Pantanassa*. During the early Palaiologan era, there were five monasteries founded on the eastern slopes of the acropolis.<sup>328</sup> Although the Palaiologan foundations almost tripled their attested Komnenian counterparts, the relative importance of the area to attract monastic patronage was low.

The most profound change in the monastic patronage pattern happened in the central city. During the Komnenian period, it was only the father of Gregory Antiochos who founded *St. Basil* in the vicinity of the Forum Tauri, whereas during the early Palaiologan period, nine monastic foundations were attested in this area: seven of which were located on the slopes of the third hill,<sup>329</sup> and two on the southern slope of the fourth hill between the northern branch of the Mese and the Lykos River. The latter group, i.e., *Kyra Martha* and *Lips*, were foundations of the inner imperial family. The re-founder of the *Myrelaion* who converted it to a male monastery is unknown. On the other hand, the inner-central part of the city had founders of diverse social status. Two of the monasteries on the slopes of the third hill belonged to the extended imperial family,<sup>330</sup> one belonged to a patriarch,<sup>331</sup> and two to

---

<sup>326</sup> George Komnenos Doukas Palaiologos.

<sup>327</sup> The monastery had acquired a prominent place in the processions already in the late century. The name of the monastery, originally *Hodegon*, also changed in the Komnenian period to *Hodegetria*, after the famous icon of Virgin Mary. Pentcheva, *Icons and Power*, 109-43.

<sup>328</sup> Nos. 21, 23, 44, 46, and 55 on figures 2 and 4.

<sup>329</sup> Nos. 24, 37, 43, 50, 52, 53 and 57 on figures 2 and 4.

<sup>330</sup> Nos. 37, 52 and 53 on figures 2 and 4.

<sup>331</sup> No. 50 on figures 2 and 4.

members of aristocracy.<sup>332</sup> It does not look like a mere coincidence that the founders who commissioned monasteries in this area exclusively consisted of those who gained power at the expense of the emperors.

A comparison between the monastic cityscapes before 1204 and in 1328 points out a difference in the ideological agenda behind these pious acts, and in the capability of the founders to realize this agenda. The Komnenian emperors inhabited a city with a Byzantine past of centuries, therefore, it was important for them to create a sort of Komnenian-ness in the capital. More importantly, they held the power which enabled them to achieve this goal – focusing on an area to be remembered after themselves. Within the limits of the available evidence, thirteen monasteries founded under Komnenian rule belonged to the imperial family and one founded by George Palaiologos, Alexios I's brother-in-law, whereas there were only two founded by members of the aristocracy.

In contrast, the Palaiologan rulers did not prefer a specific area in the city for their monastic foundations. I think it is reasonable to claim that the Byzantines in this period felt obliged to reclaim their capital after a fifty-seven year-long interregnum. Thus, the Palaiologan rulers did not attempt or need to create a specific area within the city to differentiate themselves within the long Byzantine history of the capital. Rather, their patronage spread over the cityscape to make Constantinople “Byzantine” again. However, as the early Palaiologan emperors did not have enough economic power to found such a high number of monasteries, the inner imperial family shared the cityscape with members of the extended family, with wealthy aristocrats, who were connected to the Palaiologan extended family through marriage arrangements, and those who were left outside the Palaiologan clan. Although the emperor received much praise for his monastic foundations, it was almost a collective act to turn Constantinople into a Byzantine city, again.

---

<sup>332</sup> Nos. 24 and 43 on figures 2 and 4.

### Outcomes of marriage policies: in-laws and the *feminae byzantinae* as monastic founders

The transformation the Byzantine aristocracy went through, the importance of high offices and dignities, and the role of marital arrangements in this transformation have already been discussed. To summarize, Alexios began to promote his kin to high positions in the army, to include prominent families of the military aristocracy through marriage alliances in the ruling clan, and to reassign the rising urban middling stratum/“bourgeoise”. In the course of the twelfth century, the Komnenian clan extended to such a degree that the rivalry began arising from within the ruling family under Manuel I’s reign.<sup>333</sup> After a short interval to these inter-marriage arrangements between the ruling clan and prominent aristocratic families for Theodore Laskaris (1254-8) acted against this policy, the Palaiologoi reversed the Nicaean emperor’s strategy and returned to the Komnenian practice of inter-marriages with the aristocratic families.<sup>334</sup>

This transformation was also reverberated in the monastic cityscape. The marriage arrangements that were meant to strengthen the authority of the emperor and Komnenian imperial power resulted in only one foundation by an in-law, that of George Palaiologos, Alexios’ brother-in-law, and no foundations associated with the Komnenian women who played a role in these marriages. In contrast to the four monasteries founded by the members of low aristocracy that did not have marital ties to the Palaiologoi, there were six monasteries founded by six in-laws of the Palaiologoi.<sup>335</sup>

George Palaiologos was himself married to a high-ranking Komnene, and similar marital ties were established between Michael Tarchaneiotēs and Maria Palaiologina

---

<sup>333</sup> Frankopan, “Kinship,” 1-32.

<sup>334</sup> Laiou, “The Byzantine Aristocracy,” 131-151.

<sup>335</sup> In-laws were Michael Tarchaneiotēs, George Akropolites, Constantine Akropolites, Theodore Metochites, and Nikephoros Choumnos.

Tarchaneiotissa,<sup>336</sup> to a lower extent also between George Akropolites and Eudokia Palaiologina, a distant member of the Palaiologoi. At first sight, the Palaiologan emperors seem to have exactly followed the Komnenian practice of marrying male members of prominent aristocratic families to female members of the ruling clan. However, Andronikos II deliberately chose to marry the male members of his family to the daughters of the middling stratum men at his service, as in the cases of Nikephoros Choumnos, Constantine Akropolites and Theodore Metochites.

The Palaiologan aristocracy<sup>337</sup> shared the restoration and re-foundation of the monasteries that were founded in the northwest by the Komnenian imperial family with emperor Andronikos II and his son, who restored *Pantepoptes* and *Evergetes* respectively. Perhaps, *Chora* and *Pammakaristos* were given as a favor to in-laws and rising favorites.<sup>338</sup> Moreover, the northwest was not the only area in which the in-laws, favorites and other aristocrats commissioned monasteries: Michael Tarchaneiotis founded *Atheniotissa* in an unknown location, Nikephoros Choumnos founded *Gorgoepekoos* close to the so-called Valens' aqueduct, and George Akropolites and his son Constantine founded the *Anastasis* on the Makros Embolos.

The marriage policy of the Palaiologoi not only increased the visibility of the Palaiologan higher aristocracy and its share of power, but also put a great emphasis on the women who partook in these marriages. During the Komnenian period, except the empresses, the only woman whose name was recorded as a founder, or rather a co-founder with her

---

<sup>336</sup> However, George Palaiologos was married to the empress' sister while George Akropolites and Michael Tarchaneiotis were married to distant relatives. Also marital alliances were made with the Raoul and Synadenos clans, to which Palaiologan women were wed.

<sup>337</sup> Tarchaneiotis and Metochites.

<sup>338</sup> Majeska, *Russian Travellers*, 166-93. Concerning the *Kecharitomene* group (with the *Philanthropos* and *ta Kellariais*), despite the fact that it was functioning at least when Zosima visited Constantinople in 1420s, the sources do not mention whether it attracted any patronage of the Palaiologoi.



husband, was Alexios I's sister-in-law.<sup>339</sup> The only other example of a female founder in pre-1204 Constantinople was Theodora, sister of Alexios III Angelos. In contrast, one observes an increasing involvement of women in monastic patronage in the city during the early Palaiologan period. Except for Martha, sister of Michael VIII, and Maria-Melane, half-sister of Andronikos II, the Byzantine women who founded monasteries in Constantinople were fourth-degree relatives of the Palaiologan emperors who were wed to the members of aristocracy, and their daughters.<sup>340</sup> In one case, a daughter of a rising courtier low of aristocratic background, who was married to Andronikos II's son, the *basilissa* Eirene Choumnaina, also founded a monastery.<sup>341</sup>

The fortunate outcome of unfortunate widowhood has already been exemplified in the cases of empress-mothers of both periods.<sup>342</sup> Combined with marriage arrangements with the powerful members of the aristocracy, the women of the extended imperial family were more likely to be able to found monasteries in their widowhood. That was why and how these women were able to leave an imprint on the cityscape: Theodora Raoulaina and Theodora Synadene were imperial women wed to the aristocrats, yet their monastic foundations dated to the period of their widowhood. Maria Glabaina Tarchaneiotissa was also one such woman who co-founded *Pammakaristos* with her husband Michael, and after Michael's death, extended the monastic church with a *parekklesion*, and founded another monastery, that came to known by her own name, *tes Glabainas*.

---

<sup>339</sup> Zoe-Anna Doukaina, Adrian Komnenos' wife. Except from the empresses: None of the empresses in the following centuries had as much power as Eirene Doukaina exercised in monastic patronage in Constantinople. In fact, only Eirene-Piroska, and only with her husband as a couple was later able to found a monastery in Constantinople.

<sup>340</sup> Theodora Raoulaina, Theodora Synadene, Maria Palaiologina Tarchaneiotissa, Euphrosyne Synadene and Anna-Antonia Komnene Raoulaina.

<sup>341</sup> No. 55 on figure 2.

<sup>342</sup> Dowager empress-mothers – Anna Dalassene, Maria of Bulgaria, Maria of Antioch, and Theodora Palaiologina.

## Towards a diversified monastic cityscape

Besides the apparent increase in the number of monastic foundations in Constantinople during the early Palaiologan period, one can observe a diversity of social groups which were involved in monastic patronage, which was lacking in the pre-1204 period.

The diversity in terms of the involvement of extended imperial family members in monastic patronage can be explained with the promotion of kin and marriage alliances with the aristocratic families. As already mentioned above, while only two brothers of the Komnenian emperors<sup>343</sup> were among the monastic founders, in addition to Andronikos' brother Constantine Palaiologos the *porphyrogennetos*, three sons,<sup>344</sup> two sisters,<sup>345</sup> three cousins,<sup>346</sup> and three daughters of cousins of the Palaiologan emperors were among the founders.<sup>347</sup> It is clear that the Komnenian close imperial family had almost a monopoly over the monastic cityscape whereas during the Palaiologan period not only the emperors or imperial couples, but also the second-, third- and fourth-degree kin increasingly claimed physical space in the city.

The status of low aristocracy who did not have marital ties with the ruling clan in both periods was similar. The silence of the lower aristocracy that did not have marital ties to the Komnenos clan under Alexios I was broken by John Ioalites under John II and by George Kappadokes the *mystikos* under Manuel I,<sup>348</sup> whose rule witnessed new names without Komnenian marital ties to hold high civil offices. The low aristocracy left outside the

---

<sup>343</sup> Adrian Komnenos, brother of Alexios I, and Isaac the *sebastokrator*, brother of John II.

<sup>344</sup> Andronikos II during the reign of emperor Michael VIII, despot John Palaiologos and Bartholomaios during the reign of Andronikos II.

<sup>345</sup> Maria-Martha (sister of Michael VIII) and Maria-Melane Palaiologina (half-sister of Andronikos II).

<sup>346</sup> Eugenia Palaiologina (cousin of Michael VIII), Theodora Raoulaina and Theodora Synadene (cousins of Andronikos II).

<sup>347</sup> Anna Raoulaina and Euphrosyne Synadene were daughters of Theodora Raoulaina and Theodora Synadene respectively, and Maria Tarchaneiotissa was daughter of a cousin of Andronikos II.

<sup>348</sup> One can perhaps add the father of Gregory Antiochos to the list.

Palaiologan clan included four such patrons of monasteries: Nestongos, Kanaboures, Maroules and Sarantenos.

### **Monasticism for the sake of monasticism (or monastic founders)**

Urban monasteries had numerous functions, such as serving as a burial place, offering commemorative services, being an example of an ideal, angelic life, educating the youth, running baths, and caring for the old and the sick. However, the functions of the monasteries changed through time: the Komnenian monasteries had a wider range of functions listed above, whereas during the Palaiologan period monasteries were founded with two main functions in mind – to serve as burial places and to perform commemorative services on behalf of the founders and patrons, while the philanthropic activities in monasteries slowly faded.

Eirene Doukaina in her *typikon* of *Kecharitomene* permitted her grand-daughters to be buried in the convent, and also left instructions to the nuns about the burials of nuns in *ta Kellariais*. Alexios I was buried in *Philanthropos*, Adrian in *Pammakaristos*, and Isaac the *sebastokrator* planned to be buried in *Chora*, although ultimately he was not. However, the tradition of a monastery serving as an imperial family mausoleum started under Romanos I Lekapenos, peaked with the foundation of *Pantokrator* during the Komnenian period, and was adopted by the Palaiologoi. Emperor Andronikos II is known to have restored the Holy Apostles, but he continued to use *Pantokrator* as a mausoleum.<sup>349</sup> Eight members of the Palaiologoi, including Eirene-Yolanda, the second wife of Andronikos II, and emperor Manuel II Palaiologos, were buried there. Yet *Pantokrator* was not the only Palaiologan mausoleum, for dowager empress Theodora Palaiologina had also restored the monastery of *Lips* as a Palaiologan family mausoleum.<sup>350</sup> The abundance of the sources about the function of monasteries that served as burial places under the Komnenoi does not point to a novelty, as

---

<sup>349</sup> Jordan, “*Pantokrator*,” 726.

it was rather common at least since the seventh century, for instance, emperor Maurice was buried in the monastery of *St. Mamas*.<sup>351</sup> The novelty lies behind the fact that burials became the most important function of the early Palaiologan monasteries.

In contrast to the sheer number of the restored monastic foundations in this period, the philanthropic activities of the monasteries were limited.<sup>352</sup> The architectural evidence regarding 20 Komnenian and 39 early Palaiologan monasteries is highly scarce. Mostly *katholikon* of a monastery survived if it had been converted into a mosque in the post-1453 period, yet not its auxiliary buildings such as hospitals or baths. Also only three<sup>353</sup> *typika* of the Komnenian and seven<sup>354</sup> of Palaiologan monasteries survived today.

In the Komnenian period, the surviving evidence points to an interest in monastic charity expressed in length in terms of distribution of food at the gates (*Kecharitomene* and *Pantokrator*). Among the surviving early Palaiologan *typika*, however, only *Bebaia Elpis* (7 times),<sup>355</sup> *Lips* (1)<sup>356</sup> and *Anargyroi* (1)<sup>357</sup> had short instructions about distribution of food, which usually took the form of distributing the left-overs at the gates.<sup>358</sup> Charity following the annual commemoration services was the norm, sometimes in terms of distributing money

---

<sup>350</sup> Talbot, “*Lips*,” 1254.

<sup>351</sup> Marinis, “Tombs and Burials,” 149-50.

<sup>352</sup> Erdoğan, “II. Andronikos Dönemi Konstantinopolis,” 67-100.

<sup>353</sup> The *typika* of *Kecharitomene*, *Pantokrator*, and *Mamas*.

<sup>354</sup> The *typika* of *Bebaia Elpis*, the *Anastasis*, Kellibara I and II, *Philanthropos*, *Lips* and *Anargyroi*.

<sup>355</sup> Talbot, “*Bebaia Elpis*,” see p. 1549 for daily distributions of leftovers, p. 1554-5 for distribution of bread and wine during the Dormition of Mary, p. 1555 for distribution of bread and wine after the commemoration services for Theodora’s parents, p. 1556 for her husband, p. 1562 for John Komnenos Doukas Angelos Branas Palaiologos, p. 1565 for nuns of the convent for forty days after they pass away and also annually.

<sup>356</sup> Talbot, “*Lips*,” see p. 1277 for the distribution of bread and wine at the gates during the celebration of the birthday of Prodromos.

<sup>357</sup> Talbot, “*Anargyroi*,” 1292.

<sup>358</sup> *Bebaia Elpis* gives a detailed picture of charity to the poor in the *typikon*. Considering that it was a sizable institution and yet offered limited aid to the poor, it can be assumed that smaller and less wealthy monasteries had even less charitable activity. Talbot, “*Bebaia Elpis*,” 1521, 1549.

as in *Anargyroi*,<sup>359</sup> but usually in the form of serving bread and wine at the gates of monasteries as in *Bebaia Elpis*, and *Pammakaristos*.<sup>360</sup>

In the early Palaiologan period, the imperial philanthropy was shared by the aristocracy and at the same time the whole undertaking of philanthropic deeds shrank in size.<sup>361</sup> Considering the health services provided by monasteries in the previous centuries, the early Palaiologan period shows a significant difference. In the Komnenian period, not only the *Orphanotropheion* with numerous charitable buildings and the grand imperial monastic complex of *Pantokrator* with a hospital, hospice, and a leper's sanatorium represented the level of philanthropy, but also *Kosmosoteira* showed a great care for the poor, sick and the aged.<sup>362</sup> In the Palaiologan period, *Lips*, *Pammakaristos*, *John the Baptist at Petra*, *Studios* and *Chora* are the only ones<sup>363</sup> known to have had hospitals or hospices (*xenon* or *nosokomeion*) among a total of 39 monastic foundations in the early Palaiologan period.<sup>364</sup> Even so, the services offered in these auxiliary institutions must have been limited due to their small sizes.<sup>365</sup> Smyrlis points to the fact that the relative silence about institutionalized philanthropy in some of the sources does not necessarily mean that the monasteries did not exercise charity, yet it reveals some hints about the importance given to charity and philanthropy in a monastery.<sup>366</sup> This is exactly what I argue – based on the written evidence, it is impossible to know how the monastics reacted in real life and how the distribution of the

<sup>359</sup> Talbot, “*Anargyroi*,” 1292; eadem, “*Bebaia Elpis*,” 1521, 1549.

<sup>360</sup> Erdoğan, “II. Andronikos Dönemi Konstantinopolis,” 81-3.

<sup>361</sup> Timothy Miller, *The Birth of the Hospital in the Byzantine Empire* (John Hopkins University Press, 1997), 136-40, 192-9.

<sup>362</sup> *Kosmosoteira*, 801-2, 825-6, 830, 837, 841-2, 847.

<sup>363</sup> *Pantokrator* was still used as a burial place for the imperial family, in this case, for several members of the Palaiologoi, yet the sources did not record any patronage regarding the monastery, perhaps because it was not abandoned during the Latin occupation, therefore did not fall into ruin. *Pantokrator* had a hospital in the Komnenian period, but it is unknown whether or not the hospital was operating after the re-conquest.

<sup>364</sup> Although my study concerns the aforementioned 39 monasteries, it should be noted that the *xenon* at Mangana was operating in the fourteenth century, hieromonk Nikon restored the *xenon* of *Panteleeimon*, and there were two other *xenones* sponsored by private individuals during the Palaiologan era. See Erdoğan, “II. Andronikos Dönemi Konstantinopolis,” 80-4.

<sup>365</sup> By size, I mean the size of the auxiliary buildings, such as the twelve-bed hospital of *Lips*. *Lips*, 1281.

leftovers at the gates actually worked, but one can know which function of monasteries the founders were more interested in, in this case, it was not *philanthropia*, judging from their writings.

John Thomas shows the fading philanthropy in Byzantine monasteries through the available *typika* published in *BMFD*, and Esra Erdoğan argues that in addition to the founders' fear to lose the independence of their monasteries in case of being joined to another monastery, church, hospice or hospital, financial difficulties of the time determined the fading future of the philanthropic activities in monasteries.<sup>367</sup> It looks like not only the Byzantine state but also founders of monasteries were constrained by the economic difficulties of the time and *philanthropia* reduced to a little bit more than a ritualistic meaning in the early Palaiologan period.

The fact that the Palaiologan monasteries quit public philanthropy and charity and drifted towards a more private *raison d'être*, that of commemoration and burial places, points to the privatization of the Byzantine society that had begun in the twelfth century and peaked under the early Palaiologan rulers.<sup>368</sup> The names given to monasteries also support this argument from a different point. The monasteries dedicated to virtues of Christ numbered five during the Komnenian and six during the early Palaiologan period<sup>369</sup> and those dedicated to the Prodromos numbered two under the Komnenoi and three under the Palaiologoi in each period,<sup>370</sup> whereas those dedicated to attributes of the Theotokos increased from five in the pre-1204 period to nine under the Palaiologoi.<sup>371</sup>

---

<sup>366</sup> Smyrlis, *La Fortune*, 213-5.

<sup>367</sup> Erdoğan, "II. Andronikos Dönemi Konstantinopolis," 87; John Thomas, "Independent and Self-Governing Monasteries of the Thirteenth Century," *BMFD*, 1101-2. Ibidem, "Independent and Self-Governing Monasteries of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries," *BMFD*, 1489-90.

<sup>368</sup> Magdalino, *Empire of Manuel*, 113-4.

<sup>369</sup> Nos. 1, 3, 9, 12, and 16 in the Komnenian and nos. 24, 35, 46, 48, 54, and 55 in the early Palaiologan period.

<sup>370</sup> Nos. 2 and 4 in the Komnenian and nos. 32, 41, and 42 in the early Palaiologan period.

<sup>371</sup> Nos. 5, 8, 10, 15, and 19 in the Komnenian and nos. 25, 33, 34, 37, 43, 44, 47, 50, and 58 in the early Palaiologan period.

The monasteries dedicated to saints also increased from five to six in number.<sup>372</sup> The Komnenian emperors continuously restored *St. Mokios*, which was located outside the area of core foundations. It can be as a tribute to the patron saint of the city, whose feast day was the same with the foundation date of Constantinople, May 11. Most importantly, the monasteries that were called and remembered after the names of patrons increased from three to thirteen during the early Palaiologan rule.<sup>373</sup> It cannot be a sheer coincidence that the sources stopped referring to the monasteries by their patron saints. Rather, I argue for that the patrons became more important than the patron saints of monasteries to articulate self-fashioning.

### **Palaiologan Revival of a Komnenian Ideal?**

Lastly, I would like to discuss the rhetoric of Palaiologan revival from the point of monastic foundations of Komnenian and Palaiologan dynasties. The idea of a Palaiologan revival, which is quite apparent in Manuel Holobolos' orations, closely resembles the Komnenian image.<sup>374</sup> For instance, Holobolos himself was appointed master of rhetors in accordance with an eleventh-century title that had come to hold an annual ceremonial duty by the time of Alexios I Komnenos (r. 1081-1118) at the latest.<sup>375</sup> Holobolos himself gives another example of a Komnenian tradition revived during Michael VIII's reign, i.e., that the birth of a *porphyrogennetos* was announced by hanging the red slipper of the infant outside the Great Palace.<sup>376</sup>

---

<sup>372</sup> Nos. 6, 11, 13, 14 and 20 in the Komnenian and nos. 21, 23, 26, 29, 39, and 40 in the early Palaiologan period.

<sup>373</sup> Nos. 2, 17, and 18 in the Komnenian and nos. 22, 28, 30, 31, 36, 38, 45, 49, 51, 52, 53, 56, and 59 in the early Palaiologan period.

<sup>374</sup> *PLP* no. 21047. Palaiologan revival, during which "ancient customs and traditions" were consciously revived. It is not an unknown phenomenon that a dynasty needed to distance itself from the immediate predecessors, especially if they came to power through usurpation like Michael VIII did. Ruth Macrides, "The New Constantine and the New Constantinople – 1261?," *BMGS* 6 (1980): 13-41; eadem, "From the Komnenoi to the Palaiologoi: imperial models in decline and exile," *New Constantines: The Rhythm of Imperial Renewal in Byzantium, 4th-13th Centuries*, ed. Paul Magdalino (Aldershot: Variorum, Ashgate, 1994), 269-82 especially 272-3; Dimiter Angelov, "The imperial idea: continuity and change in the imperial image," *Imperial ideology and political thought in late Byzantium, 1204-1330* (Cambridge: CUP, 2007), 78-115.

<sup>375</sup> Macrides, "From the Komnenoi," 271.

<sup>376</sup> *Ibid.*, 272.

On the other hand, the Palaiologoi also benefited from pre-Komnenian traditions in building their own ideology.<sup>377</sup> The most visible example is that of Michael VIII's epithet;<sup>378</sup> a short time after the re-conquest of Constantinople, he was hailed as the New Constantine – an epithet which had never been employed by the Komnenoi.<sup>379</sup> Although Michael VIII hardly commanded the resources that Constantine the Great had in the fourth century, Michael was styled as the builder (or rather re-builder) of the city, which was in ill repair after fifty-seven years of Latin occupation.<sup>380</sup>

To figure out to what extent this rhetoric of a Palaiologan revival of a Komnenian ideal was realized in the monastic foundations in the city, let us now examine how many and which of the pre-Komnenian foundations were restored or re-founded by the Komnenoi and the Palaiologoi and how many of the Komnenian foundations attracted patronage of the early Palaiologan founders.

The early Palaiologan patrons restored four monasteries that had originally benefited from the Komnenian patronage.<sup>381</sup> Three monasteries, *John the Baptist at Petra*, *Chora* and the *Hodegetria*, which were restored both by the Komnenian and the Palaiologan patrons, actually dated back to the fifth, sixth and ninth centuries, Justinian I's and Michael III's reigns, respectively. Except from thirteen new monasteries founded under the Komnenoi, *St. Mokios* was an originally fourth century church that was converted into a monastery by Basil I in the ninth century, *St. Dalmatios* was another fourth century foundation and *St. Mamas* was founded in the seventh century. The Palaiologan founders were inclined to commission the restoration of three monasteries restored by Basil I, namely, the *Anastasis*, *Nea Mone* and *St.*

---

<sup>377</sup> Ibid, 273-82.

<sup>378</sup> Eadem, "Ceremonies and the City: The Court in Fourteenth-Century Constantinople," *Royal courts in dynastic states and empires: a global perspective*, ed., Jeroen Duindam, Tülay Artan and Metin Kunt (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 217-35; Alice-Mary Talbot, "The restoration," 243-61.

<sup>379</sup> Eadem, "From the Komnenoi," 271-2.

<sup>380</sup> Talbot, "The restoration," 243, 249-55.

<sup>381</sup> Nos. 3 (Pantepoptes), 5 (Pammakaristos), 6 (Demetrios), 16 (*Evergetes*) in the Komnenian period were restored as nos. 54, 34, 26, and 35 in the early Palaiologan period, respectively.



*Andrew in krisei*. *Peribleptos* was originally founded by Romanos III, *St. George at Mangana* was by Constantine Monomachos, *Stoudios* in the fifth century, *Lips, kyr Antonios* and the *Myrelaion* in the tenth century.

Not all the original foundation dates tell something about the choices of the Komnenian and Palaiologan founders, rather these monasteries were the outcome of the monastic expansion in Constantinople that peaked in the eleventh century with aristocratic and imperial patronage. Yet, although the distribution of the restored monasteries do not quantitatively reveal much, I think, at least Michael VIII's decision to restore *St. George at Mangana* and not any parts of the *Orphanotropheion* was deliberate. Acknowledging that his choice could have depended on the condition of the buildings after the Latin occupation, the emperor supposedly had more options to choose from, yet he sponsored the foundation of Monomachos instead of that of Alexios.

I am returning to Macrides' argument for the model of revival in Palaiologan rhetoric that had many visible elements of the Komnenian era, but several older ideas, too.<sup>382</sup> It is true that the foundations of members of the imperial family and the aristocracy were already visible in the Komnenian period and accelerated under the Palaiologoi. However, the monastic foundations did not begin attracting patronage of the aristocracy and the clergy only during the Komnenian rule, rather it had its precursors for the aristocratic foundations in the late ninth century, more than a century before the Komnenian coup, and for the foundations of the clergy back in the fourth century. Macrides states that all revivals look back to the past, but not exclusively to a single one, they are rather eclectic<sup>383</sup> and it was the case with the Palaiologan period, perhaps more than they wanted to fashion themselves otherwise.

---

<sup>382</sup> Macrides, "From the Komnenoi," 273.

<sup>383</sup> Ibid.

## CONCLUSION

Any city is a social and organic formation; so is cityscape. Each and every building constructed in a city alters this cityscape, but in return, the building itself gains a different meaning from its interaction with the topography and surrounding buildings. Including the cityscape into a discussion of how the imperial family and aristocracy projected power and prestige revealed new insights to a phenomenon that has long been studied mostly in conjunction with marriage alliances and kinship networks.

In my thesis, based on the surviving evidence, I argue that the density of monastic (re-)foundations in the northwestern part of Constantinople must have been a deliberate attempt to mark an area of the capital as “Komnenian,” while the monastic (re-)foundations that were spread over the city in the early Palaiologan period was an attempt to re-claim the city as “Byzantine” after the re-conquest in 1261. Even so, seven monasteries founded by the Palaiologoi in the southern belt makes this area “Palaiologan.”

During the Komnenian period, the emperor’s power was visible as the prime patron of monumental buildings, whereas the Palaiologan emperor’s role as a monastic patron appears to have been shared by many other founders at the capital. Alexios I Komnenos had begun the process of promoting his kin group to the highest position in the hierarchy – a process that slowly empowered the Komnenian family<sup>384</sup> but rarely the in-laws<sup>385</sup> to found monasteries. In the early Palaiologan period, in contrast, the male members of the Palaiologan clan were less active in founding monasteries,<sup>386</sup> while at least nine Palaiologan women and at least five in-

---

<sup>384</sup> Second-degree kin (Adrian Komnenos and Isaac the sebastokrator), third-degree kin (John Komnenos), and fourth-degree kin (a grandson of Alexios I and Andronikos Rogerios).

<sup>385</sup> The exception was George Palaiologos.

<sup>386</sup> Only Constantine Palaiologos the *porphrogennetos* (brother of Andronikos II) and John Palaiologos (son of Andronikos II) are known to have founded monasteries.

laws, those men who were married a Palaiologina, are known to have increasingly involved in monastic patronage.

It seems that marriage alliances, which were cleverly used by both the Komnenoi and the Palaiologoi, worked to the advantage of women with regard to monastic foundations, i.e., leaving their imprint in the cityscape. The Komnenian women who were able to commission a monumental building project were exclusively empresses and empress-mothers, while in the early Palaiologan period, women of the extended family, i.e., sisters, cousins, and nieces, also became monastic patrons. These women, who belonged to the ruling clan on the one hand, and were married to a wealthy member of the aristocracy on the other, must have enjoyed significant power.

The marriage alliances apparently gave the prime motion to the upward-mobility in the hierarchy. Although in either period, a similar number of courtiers, who did not have marital ties to the ruling family were (still) able to found monasteries, there is an increase in the number of the in-laws who left their imprints on the monastic topography of Constantinople – one under the Komnenoi vs. at least five under the Palaiologoi.

While the *privatization* of life in the eleventh-twelfth centuries at the expense of the *polis*<sup>387</sup> resulted in the monasteries turning into hubs of charity and philanthropy, the notion of privatization gained a new meaning in the early Palaiologan period when monasteries became increasingly introverted institutions with two main functions, i.e., to serve as a burial place and to perform commemorative services, and less charity and institutionalized philanthropy.

The changes in the nature of monasteries may have determined the location. When institutionalized philanthropy was common in the Komnenian period, the monasteries, which included auxiliary buildings such as hospitals and baths, were located close to the water

---

<sup>387</sup> Magdalino, *Empire of Manuel*, 113-4.

supply system in the city. In the early Palaiologan period, however, charity and philanthropic activities do not seem to have been an important concern for the monastic foundations.

The urban landmarks also affected the site selection for a monastic foundation as much as did the natural resources. I argue that the Holy Apostles, Hagia Sophia, the Great Palace and the Blachernai palace were important, but the changing processional route in the twelfth century, and numerous new venues of religious ceremonies in the thirteenth century may have also been influential for siting new foundations. It follows that the monasteries were founded not in a vacuum, rather the founders' ability to commission such a foundation, their choice or the availability of a site, and emerging trends of the time determined the process of foundation.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### Primary Sources

- Akropolites, George. *George Akropolites the History, Translated with an Introduction and Commentary*. Tr. Ruth Macrides. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.
- Attaleiates, Michael. *The History*. Tr. Anthony Kaldellis and Dimitris Krallis. Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2012.
- Choniates, Niketas. *O City of Byzantium: Annals of Niketas Choniates*. Tr. Harry G. Magoulias. Michigan: Wayne State University Press, 1984.
- Comnena (Komnene), Anna. *Alexiad*. ed. B. Leib. Paris 1937-1945, repr. 1967  
*The Alexiad*. Ed. and tr. E.R.A. Sewter. Harmandsworth: Penguin, 1969.
- de Clari, Robert. *The Conquest of Constantinople*. Tr. Edgar Holmes McNeal. New York: Columbia University Press, 2005.
- de Villehardouin, Geoffrey. *Memoirs or Chronicle of The Fourth Crusade and The Conquest of Constantinople*. Tr. Frank Thomas Marzials. London: J.M. Dent, 1908.
- Kinnamos, John. *Deeds of John and Manuel Comnenus*. Tr. Charles M. Brand. New York: Columbia University Press, 1976.
- Pachymeres, George. *Georgii Pachymeris De Michaelae et Andronico palaeologis*, 2 vols. Ed. Immanuel Bekker. Bonn: 1835.

### Secondary Sources

- Altan, Ebru. "VII-XI. Yüzyıllarda İstanbul ve Çevresinde Doğal Afetler." [Natural Disasters in and around Constantinople between seventh and eleventh centuries]. In *Afetlerin Gölgesinde İstanbul / Tarih Boyunca İstanbul Ve Çevresini Etkileyen Afetler* [Istanbul in the shadows of catastrophes / Disasters that affected Istanbul and its Surroundings through history], ed. Said Öztürk, 45-58. Istanbul: IBB, 2009.
- Angelov, Dimitar, ed. *Church and Society in Late Byzantium*. Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 2009.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Imperial Ideology and Political Thought in Late Byzantium, 1204–1330*. Cambridge: CUP, 2007.
- Angold, Michael. *Church and Society in Byzantium under the Comneni, 1081–1261*. Cambridge: CUP, 1995.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Introduction." *Byzantine Aristocracy IX to XIII Centuries*, ed. Michael Angold, 1-9. Oxford: BAR, 1984.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *The Byzantine Empire, 1025-1204, A Political History*. London: Longman, 1997.
- Bandy, Anastasius, tr. "Mamas: Typikon of Athanasios Philanthropenos for the Monastery of St. Mamas in Constantinople." In *BMFD*, 973-1041.

- \_\_\_\_\_, tr. “*Heliou Bomon: Typikon* of Nikephoros *Mystikos* for the Monastery of the Mother of God *ton Heliou Bomon* or *Elegmon*.” In *BMFD*, 1042-91.
- Basar, Fahameddin. “1251-1453 Yılları Arasında İstanbul’u Etkilemiş Olan Doğal Afetler,” [Natural Disasters that affected Istanbul between 1251-1453], In *Afetlerin Gölgesinde İstanbul / Tarih Boyunca İstanbul Ve Çevresini Etkileyen Afetler* [Istanbul in the shadows of catastrophes / Disasters that affected Istanbul and its Surroundings through history], ed. Said Öztürk, 85-106. Istanbul: IBB, 2009.
- Berger, Albrecht, tr. *Accounts of Medieval Constantinople, The Patria*. Washington D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library, 2013.
- \_\_\_\_\_. “Imperial and Ecclesiastical Processions in Constantinople.” In *Byzantine Constantinople: monuments, topography and everyday life*, ed. Nevra Necipoğlu, 73-87. Leiden: Brill, 2001.
- Brooks, Sarah T. “Poetry and Female Patronage in Late Byzantine Tomb Decoration: Two Epigrams by Manuel Philes.” *DOP* 60 (2006): 223-248.
- Chranis, Peter. “The Monastic Properties and the State in the Byzantine Empire.” *DOP* 4 (1948): 51-118.
- \_\_\_\_\_. “The monk as an Element in Byzantine Society.” *DOP* 25 (1971): 68-84.
- Ciggaar, Krijna Nelly. *Western Travellers to Constantinople: the West and Byzantium, 962-1204: Cultural and Political Relations*. New York: Brill, 1996.
- Cresswell, Tim. *Place: A Short Introduction*. Oxford: Blackwell, 2004.
- Crow, Jim, Jonathan Bardill and Richard Bayliss. *The Water Supply of Byzantine Constantinople*. Oxbow Books, 2008.
- Darrouzès, Jean. “Deux lettres de Grégoire Antiochos écrites de Bulgarie vers 1173.” *BS* 23 (1962): 276-80; 24 (1963): 65-86.
- Dennis, George, tr. “*Kellibara I: Typikon* of Michael VIII Palaiologos for the Monastery of St. Demetrios of the Palaiologoi-Kellibara in Constantinople.” In *BMFD*, 1237-53.
- \_\_\_\_\_, tr. “*Kellibara II: Typikon* of Andronikos II Palaiologos for the Monastery of St. Demetrios-Kellibara in Constantinople.” In *BMFD*, 1505-11.
- \_\_\_\_\_, tr. “*Auxentios: Typikon* of Michael VIII Palaiologos for the Monastery of the Archangel Michael on Mount Auxentios near Chalcedon.” In *BMFD*, 1207-36.
- Dimitropoulou, Vassiliki. “Imperial Women Founders and Refounders in Komnenian Constantinople.” In *Founders and Refounders of Byzantine Monasteries*, ed. Margaret Mullett, 87-106. Belfast: Belfast Byzantine Enterprises, 2007.
- Downey, Glanville. “Earthquakes at Constantinople and Vicinity, A.D. 342-145,” *Speculum* vol. 30, no. 4 (Oct., 1955): 596-600.

- Efthymiadis, Stephanos, ed. *The Ashgate Research Companion to Byzantine Hagiography, Volume I: Periods and Places*. Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum, 2011.
- Erdoğan, Esra Güzel. "II. Andronikos Dönemi Konstantinopolis Manastırlarının Toplumla İlişkisi ve *Philanthropia* Kavramı (1282-1328)." [The Relationship of Constantinopolitan Monasteries with the Society During the Reign of Andronikos II and the Concept of *Philanthropia*] PhD dissertation. Istanbul: Istanbul Technical University, 2009.
- Ethington, Philip. "Placing the Past: 'Groundwork' for a Spatial Theory of History." *Rethinking History* 11 (2007): 465-93.
- Frankopan, Peter. "Kinship and the Distribution of Power in Komnenian Byzantium." *English Historical Review* 122, no. 495 (2007): 1-32.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *The First Crusade, The Call from the East*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 2012.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Land and Power in the Middle and Later Period," In *The Social History of Byzantium*, ed. John Haldon, 112-42. Malden MA: Blackwell, 2009.
- Gastgeber, Christian, Ekaterini Mitsiou and Johannes Preiser-Kapeller, ed. *The Register of the Patriarchate of Constantinople - An Essential Source to the History and Church of Late Byzantium*. Vienna: 2013.
- Gaul, Niels. "All the Emperor's Men (And His Nephews)." (forthcoming, 2014), 1-25.
- Grierson Philip, Cyril Mango and Ihor Ševčenko. "The Tombs and Obits of the Byzantine Emperors (337-1042); With an Additional Note," *DOP* 16 (1962): 1-63.
- Gouma-Peterson, Thalia, ed. *Anna Komnene and Her Times*. New York: Garland Publishing, 2000.
- Hackel, Sergei, ed. *The Byzantine Saint*. New York: St Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1981.
- Haldon, John. "Towards a Social History of Byzantium." In *The Social History of Byzantium*, ed. John Haldon, 1-30. Malden MA: Blackwell, 2009.
- Harvey, David. *Justice, Nature and the Geography of Difference*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1996.
- Hatlie, Peter. *The Monks and Monasteries of Constantinople 350-850*. Cambridge: CUP, 2007.
- Hero, Angela Constantinides. *A Woman's Spiritual Quest For Spiritual Guidance: The Correspondence of Princess Irene Eulogia Choumnaina Palaiologina*. Massachusetts: Hellenic College Press, 1986.
- Hill, Barbara. *Imperial Women in Byzantium, 1025-1204: Power, Patronage and Ideology*. London: Longman, 1999.
- James, Liz. "Making a Name: Reputation And Imperial Founding and Refounding In Constantinople," In *Female Founders in Byzantium and Beyond*, ed. Lioba Theis, Margaret Mullett and Michael Grünbart, 63-72. Vienna: Boehlau Verlag, 2012.

- Janin, Raymond. *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'Empire byzantine vol. 1, Le siège de Constantinople et le patriarcat oecuménique, t. 3: Les églises et les monastères*. Paris: 1969.
- Jordan, Robert, tr. "Phoberos: Rule of John for the Monastery of St. John the Forerunner of Phoberos." In *BMFD*, 872-953.
- \_\_\_\_\_, tr. "Kecharitomene: Typikon of Empress Irene Doukaina Komnene for the Convent of the Mother of God Kecharitomene in Constantinople." In *BMFD*, 649-724.
- \_\_\_\_\_, tr. "Pantokrator: Typikon of Emperor John II Komnenos for the Monastery of Christ Pantokrator in Constantinople." In *BMFD*, 725-81.
- Kaplan, Michel. "Why Were Monasteries Founded?" In *Founders and Refounders of Byzantine Monasteries*, ed. Margaret Mullett, 28-42. Belfast: Belfast Byzantine Enterprises, 2007.
- Karlin-Hayter, Patricia, tr. "Christodoulos: Rule, Testament and Codicil of Christodoulos for the Monastery of St. John the Theologian on Patmos." In *BMFD*, 564-606.
- Kazhdan, Alexander in collaboration with Simon Franklin. *Studies on Byzantine Literature of the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries*. Cambridge: CUP, 2009.
- Kazhdan, Alexander and Ann Wharton Epstein. *Change in Byzantine Culture in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985.
- Kesik, Muharrem. "İstanbul'da Doğal Afetler 1100-1250." [Natural Disasters in Istanbul, 1100-1250]. In *Afetlerin Gölgesinde İstanbul / Tarih Boyunca İstanbul Ve Çevresini Etkileyen Afetler* [Istanbul in the shadows of catastrophes / Disasters that affected Istanbul and its Surroundings through history], ed. Said Öztürk, 69-82. Istanbul: IBB, 2009.
- Kidonopoulos, Vassilios. *Bauten in Konstantinopel 1204-1328 Verfall und Zerstörung, Restaurierung, Umbau und Neubau von Profan- und Sakralbauten*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1994.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The Urban Physiognomy of Constantinople from the Latin Conquest through the Palaiologan Era." In *Faith and Power (1261–1557): Perspectives on late Byzantine Art and Culture*, ed. Sarah T. Brooks, 98-117. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art & Yale University Press, 2006.
- Klein, Holger A., Robert G. Ousterhout, and Brigitte Pitarakis, ed. *Kariye Camii, Yeniden / The Kariye Camii Reconsidered*. Istanbul: Istanbul Research Institute Publications, 2011.
- Kyriakidis, Savvas. *Warfare in Late Byzantium, 1204-1453*. Leiden; Brill, 2011.
- Laiou, Angeliki. *Gender, Society and Economic Life in Byzantium*. London: Variorum Reprints, 1992.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Women, Family and Society in Byzantium*. Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum, 2011.



- \_\_\_\_\_. "The Byzantine Aristocracy in the Palaiologan Period: A Story of Arrested Development." *Gender, Society and Economic Life in Byzantium*. 131-151. London: Variorum Reprints, 1992.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Family Structure and the Transmission of Property." In *The Social History of Byzantium*, ed. John Haldon, 51-75. Malden MA: Blackwell, 2009.
- Layman, Trevor. "'The Incineration of New Babylon': The Fire Poem of Konstantinos Stilbes." MA thesis. Istanbul: Koç University, 2012.
- Macrides, Ruth, ed. *Travel in the Byzantine World*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002.
- Macrides, Ruth, J. A. Munitiz and Dimitar Angelov, *Pseudo-Kodinos and the Constantinopolitan Court: Offices and Ceremonies*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2013.
- Macrides, Ruth. "The Citadel of Byzantine Constantinople." In *Cities and Citadels in Turkey: from the Iron Age to the Seljuks*, ed. Scott Redford and Nina Ergin, 277-304. Leuven: Peeters, 2013.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The New Constantine and the New Constantinople – 1261?." *BMGS* 6 (1980): 13-41.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "From the Komnenoi to the Palaiologoi: Imperial Models in Decline and Exile." *New Constantines: The Rhythm of Imperial Renewal in Byzantium, 4th-13th Centuries*, ed. Paul Magdalino, 269-82. Aldershot: Variorum, Ashgate, 1994.
- Madden, Thomas F. "The Fires of the Fourth Crusade in Constantinople, 1203-1204: A Damage Assessment." *BZ* 84/85 (1992): 72-93.
- Magdalino, Paul. "Aristocratic *Oikoi* in the Tenth and Eleventh Regions of Constantinople." In *Byzantine Constantinople: Monuments, Topography and Everyday Life*, ed. Nevra Necipoğlu, 53-69. Leiden: Brill, 2001.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Innovations in Government." In *Alexios I Komnenos, 1: Papers. Papers of the Second Belfast Byzantine International Colloquium, 14-16 April 1989*, ed. Margaret Mullett and Dion Smythe, 146-66. Belfast: Belfast Byzantine Enterprises, 1996.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Studies on the History and Topography of Byzantine Constantinople*. Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum, 2007.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The Foundation of the Pantokrator Monastery in Its Urban Setting." In *The Pantokrator Monastery in Constantinople*, ed. Sofia Kotzabassi, 33-55. Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2013.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The Byzantine Holy Man in the Twelfth Century." In *The Byzantine Saint*, ed. Sergei Hackel, 51-66. New York: St Vladimir's Seminary Press, 2001.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The Not-so-secret Functions of the *mystikos*." *Revue des Études Byzantines* 42 (1984): 229-40.

Majeska, George. *Russian Travelers to Constantinople in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1984.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Russian Pilgrims in Constantinople." *DOP* 56 (2002): 93-108.

Mango, Cyril. *The Art of the Byzantine Empire, 312-1483: Sources and Documents*. Sources and Documents in the History of Art. Ed. H. W. Johnson. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1972.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Studies on Constantinople*. London: Variorum Reprints, 1997.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Water Supply of Constantinople." In *Constantinople and its Hinterland*, ed. Cyril Mango and Gilbert Dagron, 9-18. Aldershot: Variorum, 1995.

\_\_\_\_\_. "The Monastery of St. Mary Peribleptos (Sulu manastır) at Constantinople Revisited." *REArm* 23 (1992): 473-93.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Where at Constantinople was the Monastery of Christos Pantepoptes?" *Δελτίον ΧΑΕ* 20 (1998): 87-8.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Byzantium, the Empire of the New Rome*. London: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1980.

Mango, Cyril et al., *The Mosaics and Frescoes of St Mary Pammakaristos (Fethiye Camii) at Istanbul*. Washington D.C.: 1978.

Marinis, Vasileios. "Tombs and Burials in the Monastery tou Libos in Constantinople." *DOP* 63 (2009): 147-166.

Matschke, Klaus-Peter. "Builders and Building in Late Byzantine Constantinople." In *Byzantine Constantinople: monuments, topography and everyday life*, ed. Nevra. Necipoğlu, 315-28. Leiden: Brill, 2001.

Miller, Timothy, tr. "Athanasios I: Rule of Patriarch Athanasios I." In *BMFD*, 1495-1504.

\_\_\_\_\_, tr., "Theodore Studites: Testament of Theodore the Studite for the Monastery of St. John Stoudios in Constantinople." In *BMFD*, 67-83.

\_\_\_\_\_, tr., "Stoudios: Rule of the Monastery of St. John Stoudios in Constantinople." In *BMFD*, 84-119.

\_\_\_\_\_. *The Orphans of Byzantium: Child Welfare in the Christian Empire*. The Catholic University of America Press, 2003.

\_\_\_\_\_. *The Birth of the hospital in the Byzantine Empire*. John Hopkins University Press, 1997.

Morris, Rosemary. *Monks and Laymen in Byzantium, 843-1118*. Cambridge: CUP, 1995.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Legal Terminology in Monastic Documents of the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries." *JÖB* 32.2 (1982): 281-90.

- Mullett, Margaret. "Byzantium: a Friendly Society?" *Past and Present* 118 (1987): 3-28.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Founders, Refounders, Second Founders, Patrons." In *Founders and Refounders of Byzantine Monasteries*, ed. Margaret Mullett, 1-27. Belfast: Belfast Byzantine Enterprises, 2007.
- \_\_\_\_\_, ed. *Founders and Refounders of Byzantine Monasteries*. Belfast: Belfast Byzantine Enterprises, 2007.
- Pentcheva, Bissera V. *Icons and Power: The Mother of God in Byzantium*. University Park, PA: Penn State Press, 2006.
- Riehle, Alexander. "Καί σε προστάτιν ἐν αὐτοῖς τῆς αὐτῶν ἐπιγράψομεν σωτηρίας, Theodora Raulina als Stifterin und Patronin." In *Female Founders in Byzantium and Beyond*, ed. Lioba Theis, Margaret Mullett and Michael Grünbart, 299-315. Vienna: Bohlau, 2013.
- Sevcenko, Nancy Patterson, tr. "*Kosmosoteira: Typikon of the Sebastokrator Isaac Komnenos for the Monastery of the Mother of God Kosmosoteira near Bera.*" In *BMFD*, 782-858.
- Smyrlis, Kostis. *La Fortune Des Grands Monastères Byzantins* (fin du Xe Milieu du XIVe siècle). Monographies 21. Paris: Association des amis du Centre d'histoire et civilisation de Byzance, 2006.
- Stephenson, Paul. *The Legend of Basil the Bulgar-Slayer*. Cambridge: CUP, 2003.
- Stolte, Bernard. "Law for Founders." In *Founders and Refounders of Byzantine Monasteries*, ed. Margaret Mullett, 121-39. Belfast: Belfast Byzantine Enterprises, 2007.
- Striker, Cecil L. *The Myrelaion (Bodrum Camii) in Istanbul*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981.
- Talbot, Alice-Mary. *Women and Religious Life in Byzantium*. Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum Reprints Collected Studies, 2001.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Bluestocking Nuns: Intellectual Life in the Convents of Late Byzantium," In *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, Vol. 7, *Okeanos: Essays presented to Ihor Ševčenko on his Sixtieth Birthday by his Colleagues and Students* (1983), 604-618.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "A Monastic World." In *The Social History of Byzantium*, ed. John Haldon, 258-60. Malden MA: Blackwell, 2009.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Women's Space in Byzantine Monasteries." *DOP* 52 (1998): 113-127.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "A Comparison of the Monastic Experience of Byzantine Men and Women." *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 30 (1985): 1-20.
- \_\_\_\_\_, tr. "*Lips: Typikon of Theodora Palaiologina for the Convent of Lips in Constantinople.*" In *BMFD*, 1254-86.

- \_\_\_\_\_, tr. “*Anargyroi: Typikon* of Theodora Palaiologina for the Convent of Sts. Kosmas and Damian in Constantinople.” In *BMFD*, 1287-94.
- \_\_\_\_\_, tr. “*Akropolites: Testament* of Constantine Akropolites for the Monastery of the Resurrection (Anastasis) in Constantinople.” In *BMFD*, 1374-82.
- \_\_\_\_\_, tr. “*Philanthropos: Typikon* of Irene Choumnaina Palaiologina for the Convent of Christ *Philanthropos* in Constantinople.” In *BMFD*, 1383-8.
- \_\_\_\_\_, tr. “*Bebaia Elpis: Typikon* of Theodora Synadene for the Convent of the Mother of God Bebaia Elpis in Constantinople.” In *BMFD*, 1512-78.
- \_\_\_\_\_, tr. “*Attaleiates: Rule* of Michael Attaleiates for his Almshouse in Rhaidestos and for the Monastery of Christ *Panoiktirmon* in Constantinople.” In *BMFD*, 326-76.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *The Correspondence of Athanasius I Patriarch of Constantinople*. Washington: Dumbarton Oaks, 1975.
- \_\_\_\_\_. “Epigrams of Manuel Philes on the Theotokos tes Peges and Its Art.” *DOP* 48 (1994): 135-165.
- \_\_\_\_\_. “Founders’ Choices: Monastery Site Selection in Byzantium.” In *Founders and Refounders of Byzantine Monasteries*, ed. Margaret Mullett, 43-62. Belfast: Belfast Byzantine Enterprises, 2007.
- \_\_\_\_\_. “The Restoration of Constantinople under Michael VIII.” *DOP* 47 (1993): 243-61.
- \_\_\_\_\_. “Building Activity in Constantinople under Andronikos II: the Role of Women Patrons in the Construction and Restoration of Monasteries.” In *Byzantine Constantinople: Monuments, Topography and Everyday Life*, ed. Nevra Necipoğlu, 329-43. Leiden: Brill, 2001.
- \_\_\_\_\_. “Empress Theodora Palaiologina, Wife of Michael VIII.” *DOP* 46 (1992): 295-303.
- \_\_\_\_\_. “Female Patronage in the Palaiologan Era: Icons, Minor Arts and Manuscripts.” In *Female Founders in Byzantium and Beyond*, ed. Lioba Theis, Margaret Mullett and Michael Grünbart, 259-74. Vienna: Boehlau Verlag, 2012.
- Thomas, John. “The Protectorate.” In *BMFD*, 295-309.
- \_\_\_\_\_. “Early Reform Monasteries of the Twelfth Century.” In *BMFD*, 859-71.
- \_\_\_\_\_. “Traditional Private Religious Foundations.” In *BMFD*, 43-50.
- \_\_\_\_\_. “Imperial and Royal Monasteries of the Twelfth Century.” In *BMFD*, 607-20.
- \_\_\_\_\_. “Independent and Self-Governing Monasteries of the Thirteenth Century.” In *BMFD*, 1093-1106.
- \_\_\_\_\_. “Independent and Self-Governing Monasteries of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries,” In *BMFD*, 1483-94.

\_\_\_\_\_. “Early Reform Monasteries of the Eleventh Century,” In *BMFD*, 441-53.

Van Millingen, Alexander. *Byzantine Churches in Constantinople*. London: Variorum Reprints, 1974.

Weber, Max. *The Theory of Social and Economic Organisation*. tr. A. M. Henderson and Talcott Parsons. New York: Free Press, 1947.

Withers, Charles W. J. “Place and the “Spatial Turn” in Geography and in History.” *Journal of the History of Ideas* 70 (2009): 637-58.

## APPENDICES

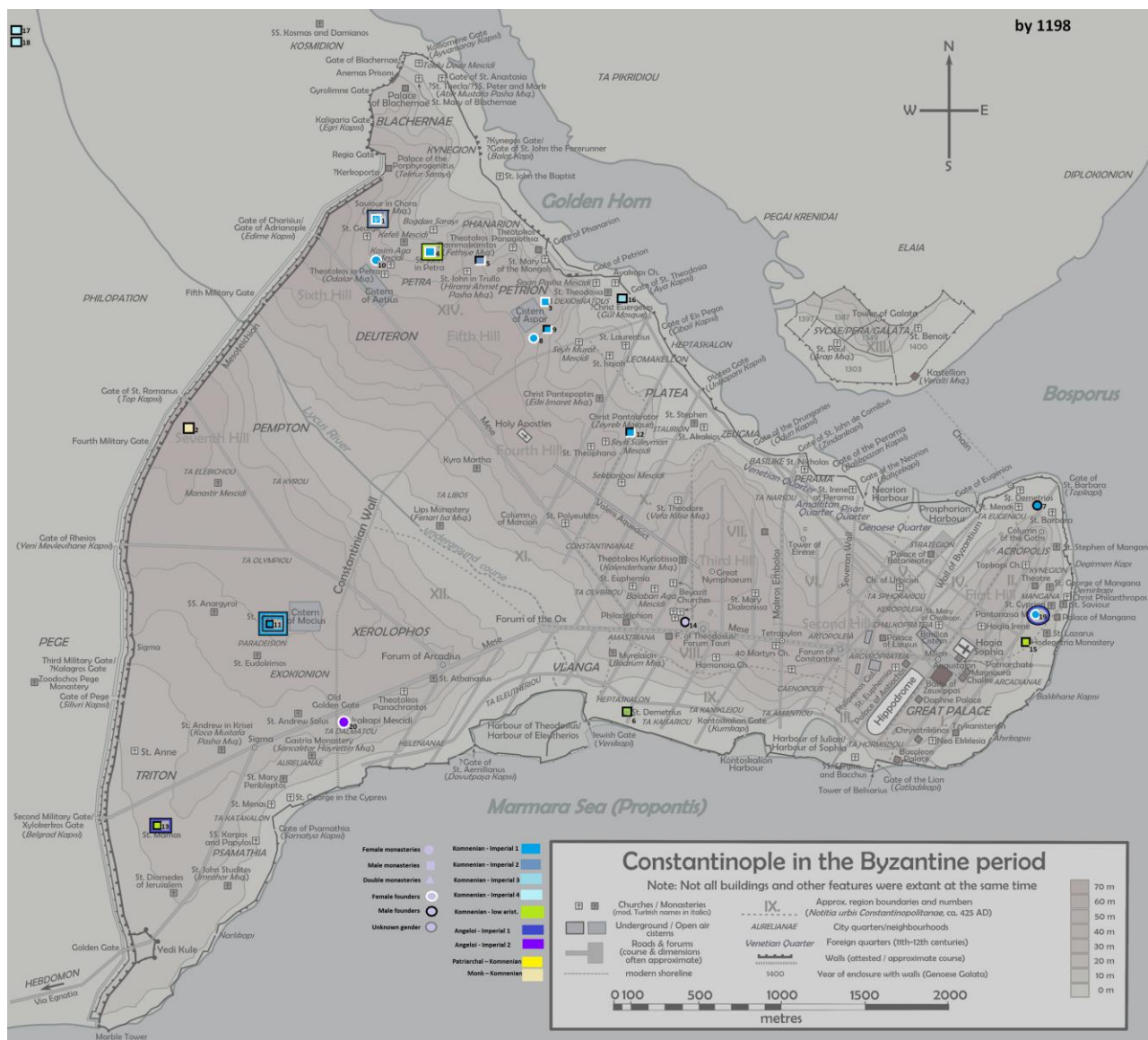


Figure 1. Monastic (re-)foundations in Constantinople, 1081-1204 (adapted from Janin)

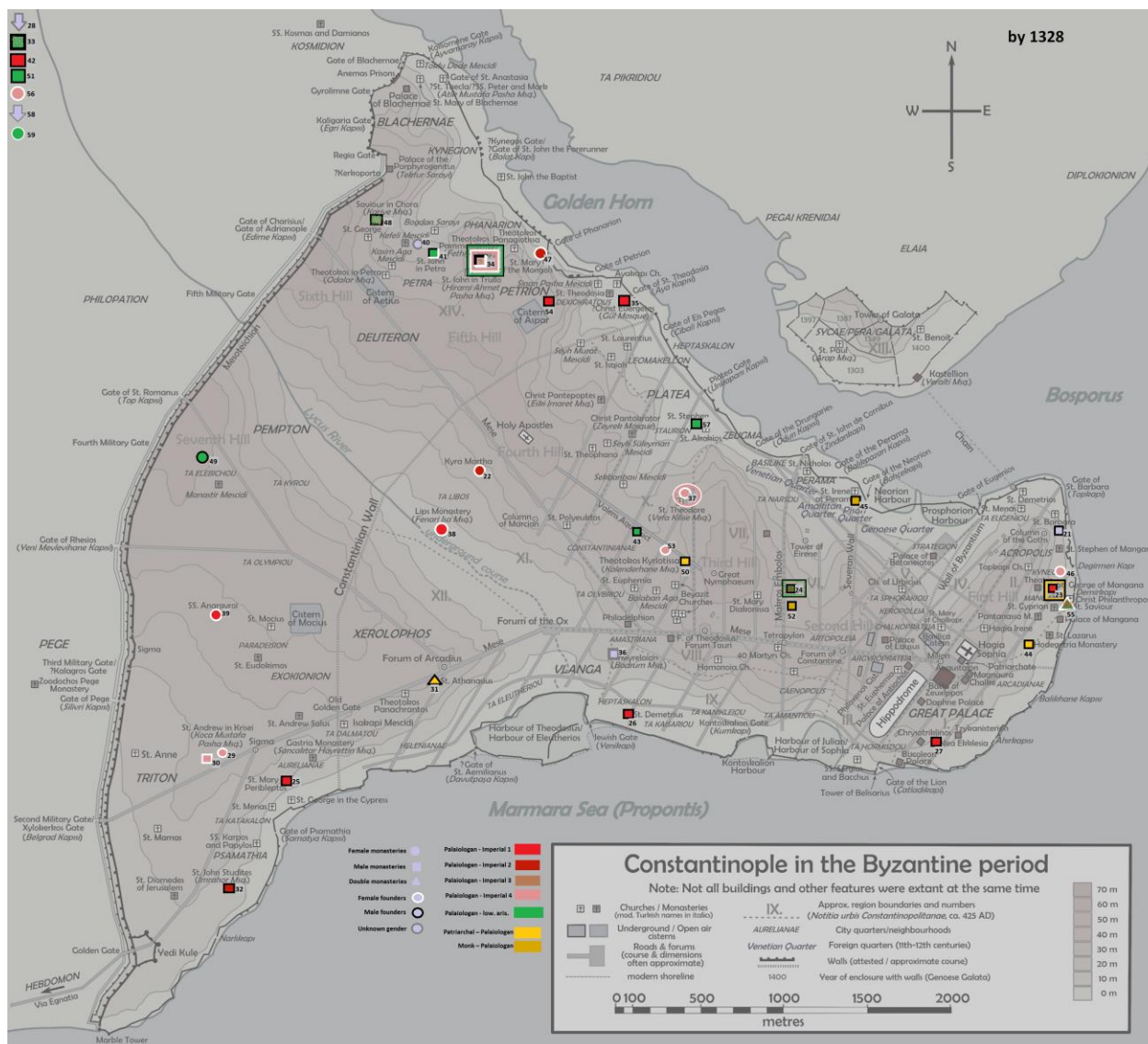


Figure 2. Monastic (re-)foundations in Constantinople, 1261-1328 (adapted from Janin)

Year	Status	Location	Name	Founder	Dignity	Gender
					Kinship (to the emperor)	
During the reign of Alexios I Komnenos (1080-1118)						
ca. 1081	Res.	NW	1. <i>St. Savior at Chora / Kariye Camii</i>	Maria Doukaina of Bulgaria (w)	<i>protobestiaria</i>	F/m
					Imp1 (in-law)	
					mother-in-law	
1068-1084	New	SW - Topkapı	2. <i>Prodromos/ Kyr Nikolaou</i>	Nikolaos III	<i>grammatikos</i>	M/m
					Monk	
<1087	New	NW	3. <i>Christ Pantepoptes</i>	Anna Dalassene (w)	<i>Despoina, (kouropalatissa)</i> Mother of emperor, Mother of the Komnenoi	F/m
					Imp1	
					Mother	
1081-1100	Res.	NW	4. <i>St. John the Baptist at Petra</i>	Anna Dalassene (w) / John the Faster of Cappadocia	<i>Despoina</i>	M/m
					Imp1	
					Mother	
1094/5-1100	New	NW	5. <i>Theotokos Pammakaristos / Fethiye Camii</i>	Adrian/John Komnenos and Zoe/Anna porphyrogennetos Doukaina (m)	<i>protosebastos, kyr megas domestikos</i>	MF/m
					Imp2	
					Brother	
1080-1100	New	S	6. <i>St. Demetrios</i>	George Palaiologos	<i>kouropalates</i>	M/m
					in-law	
					Brother-in-law	
1090s	New	Acrop.	7. <i>of the Iberians</i>	Alexios I Komnenos	<i>autokrator, basileus</i>	M/f
					Imp1	
					Emperor	
<1107	New	NW	8. <i>Theotokos Kecharitomene</i>	Eirene Doukaina (m)	<i>augousta, (basilissa)</i>	F/f
					Imp1	
					Wife	
<1107	New	NW	9. <i>Christ Philanthropos</i>	Alexios I Komnenos Eirene Doukaina	<i>autokrator, basileus augousta, (basilissa)</i>	M/m
					Imp1	
					Emperor	
1107-1118	Ref.	NW	10. <i>Theotokos ta Kellariaias</i>	Eirene Doukaina (m)	<i>augousta, (basilissa)</i>	F/f
					Imp1	
					Wife	
1081-1118	Res.	SW	11. <i>St. Mokios</i>	Alexios I Komnenos	<i>autokrator, basileus</i>	M/m
					Imp1	
					Emperor	
During the reign of John II Komnenos (1118-1143)						
1120s	Res.	NW	<i>St. Savior at Chora</i>	Isaac Komnenos	<i>(kaisar), sebastokrator, (basileus)</i>	M/m
					Imp2	
					Brother	
<1134	New	N - 4 <sup>th</sup> Hill	12. <i>Christ Pantokrator / Zeyrek Camii</i>	Eirene/Xene Piroska of Hungary (m., d.) John II Komnenos	<i>autokrator, basileus, porphyrogennetos, (augousta), despoina, (basilissa)</i>	MF/m
					Imp1	
					Emperor, empress	
1118-1143	Res.	SW	<i>St. Mokios</i>	John II Komnenos	<i>autokrator</i>	M/m
					Imp1	
					Emperor	



Year	Status	Location	Name	Founder	Dignity	Gender
					Kinship (to the emperor)	
unknown	Res.	NW	<i>St. John the Baptist at Petra</i>	John Ioalites	<i>protasekretis</i>	M/m
					<b>arist.</b>	
During the reign of Manuel I Komnenos (1143-1180)						
Ca. 1147	Res.	SW	<b>13. <i>St. Mamas</i></b>	George Kappadokes	<i>mystikos</i>	M/m
					<b>arist.</b>	
1154-1157	Ref.	S - F. Tauri	<b>14. <i>St. Basil</i></b>	Father of Gregory Antiochos	-	M/f
					<b>unknown</b>	
1143-1180	Res.	SW	<i>St. Mokios</i>	Manuel I Komnenos	<i>autokrator</i>	M/m
					<b>Imp1</b>	
					Emperor	
1147-1180	Res.	Acrop.	<b>15. <i>Theotokos Hodegetria</i></b>	George Komnenos Doukas Palaiologos	<i>megas hetaireiarches, sebastos</i>	M/m
					<b>arist.</b>	
					unknown	
Unknown						
<1176 (<1157)	New	NW	<b>16. <i>Christ Evergetes / Gül Camii</i></b>	John Komnenos	<i>protosebastos</i> and <i>megas doux</i>	M/m
					<b>Imp3</b>	
					nephew of Alexios or Manuel?	
unknown	New	Cpl	<b>17. <i>Botaneiates</i></b>	A grandson of Alexios I K	-	M/m
					<b>Imp4</b>	
					Cousin?	
unknown	New	Cpl	<b>18. <i>Theotokos Chrysokamarotissa</i></b>	Andronikos Rogerios	<i>sebastos</i> and <i>prokathemenos</i>	M/m
					<b>Imp4</b>	
					Cousin?	
During the reign of Alexios II Komnenos and Regency of Maria-Xene of Antioch (1180-1182)						
1180-1182	New	Acrop.	<b>19. <i>Theotokos Pantanassa</i></b>	Maria of Antioch (w)	<i>despoina</i> Regent empress	F/f
					<b>Imp1</b>	
					Mother	
During the reign of Isaac II Angelos (1185-1195)						
1185-1195	Res.	Acrop.	<i>Theotokos Pantanassa</i>	Isaac II	<i>Autokrator</i>	M/f
					<b>Imp1</b>	
1185-1195	Res.	SW	<i>St. Mamas</i>	Isaac II	<i>Autokrator</i>	M/m
					<b>Imp1</b>	
					Emperor	
During the reign of Alexios III Angelos (1195-1203)						
1191-1198	Ref.	SW	<b>20. <i>Dalmatios</i></b>	Theodora	<i>Despoina</i>	F/f
					<b>Imp2</b>	
					Sister of Alexios III Angelos	

Figure 3 Chronological list of monasteries founded, restored or re-founded between 1081 and 1204

Year	Status	Location	Name	Founder	Dignity	Gender
					Kinship (to the emperor)	
During the reign of Michael VIII Palaiologos (1261-1282)						
1261-1265	New	Acrop.	21. <i>St. Nicholas the wonderworker</i>	unknown	unknown	unknown /m
					unknown	
1261-1266	New	Cent.	22. <i>Kyra Martha</i>	Maria/Martha Palaiologina	kyra	F/f
					Imp2	
					Sister	
1261-1282	Res.	Acrop.	23. <i>St. George at Mangana</i>	Michael VIII Palaiologos	<i>Autokrator, basileus, “My majesty”</i>	M/m
					Imp1	
					Emperor	
1265-6	Res.	Acrop.	<i>St. George at Mangana</i>	Germanos III Markoutzas	patriarch	M/m
					-	
					-	
1260s-la	Ref.	Cent.	24. <i>Anastasis</i>	George Akropolites	<i>Megas logothete</i>	M/m
					in-law	
1261-1274	Res.	SW - Psamathia	25. <i>Theotokos Peribleptos/ Sulumanastir</i>	Michael VIII Palaiologos	<i>Autokrator, basileus</i>	M/m
					Imp1	
					Emperor	
1261-1282	Res.	S - Blanga	26. <i>St. Demetrios</i>	Michael VIII Palaiologos	<i>Autokrator, basileus</i>	M/m
					Imp1	
					Emperor	
1272-1283	Res.	Acrop.	27. <i>Nea Mone</i>	Andronikos II Palaiologos	<i>Autokrator, basileus</i>	M/m
					Imp1	
					Emperor	
1261-1289	New	Cpl	28. <i>Pertze</i>	unknown	unknown	unknown
					unknown	
During the reign of Andronikos II Palaiologos (1282-1332)						
1282-1289	Res.	SW	29. <i>St. Andrew in Krisei/ Kocamustafapaşa (Atik Mustafapaşa) Camii</i>	Theodora Raoulaina (w)	<i>protobestiaria</i>	F/f
					Imp4	
					Cousin	
1289	Res.	SW	30. <i>Aristine</i>	Theodora Raoulaina (w)	<i>protobestiaria</i>	F/m
					Imp4	
					Cousin	

Year	Status	Location	Name	Founder	Dignity	Gender
					Kinship (to the emperor)	
1285-1289	Ref.	SW	<b>31. Xerolophos</b>	Athanasios I	patriarch	M/dbl
					-	
					-	
1290 (<1293)	Res.	SW	<b>32. Prodromos Stoudios</b> / Imrahor İlyas Bey Camii	Constantine Palaiologos	<i>porphyrogennetos</i>	M/m
					<b>Imp2</b>	
					Brother	
1282-1294	New	Cpl	<b>33. Theotokos Atheniotissa</b>	Michael Doukas Glabas Tarchenitoes	<i>(Protostator), Megas Konostaulos</i>	M/m
					<b>in-law</b>	
					Cousin-in-law	
1282-1294	Res.	NW	<b>34. Theotokos Pammakaristos</b>	Michael Doukas Glabas Tarchaneiotos and Maria/Martha Glabaina Tarchaneiotissa (m)	<i>(Protostator), Megas Konostaulos and Protostratorissa</i>	MF/m
					<b>in-law, Imp4</b>	
					Cousin's daughter and her husband	
1290s	Res.	NW	<b>35. Christ Evergetes/</b> Gül Camii	Bartholomaios/Ateuemes Palaiologos	unknown	M/m
					<b>Imp1</b>	
					Son?	
ca. 1300	Ref.	Cent.	<b>36. Myrelaion</b> / Molla Gürani Bodrum Camii	unknown	unknown	unknown /m
					unknown	
ca. 1300	New	Cent.	<b>37. Theotokos Bebaia Elpis</b>	Theodora/Theodoule Synedene (w)	<i>megas stratopedarchissa</i>	F/f
					<b>Imp4</b>	
					Cousin	
1290-1300	Ref.	NW	<b>38. Lips</b> / Fenari İsa Camii	Theodora Palaiologina	Dowager Empress	F/f
					<b>Imp1</b>	
					Empress-mother	
1290-1303	Res.	SW	<b>39. Holy Anargyroi</b> / SS. Kosmas Damian	Theodora Palaiologina	Dowager Empress	F/f
					<b>Imp1</b>	
					Empress-mother	
1304	Res.	NW	<i>Pammakaristos</i> / Fethiye Müzesi	Maria/Martha Glabaina Tarchaneiotissa (w)	<i>Protostratorissa</i>	F/m
					<b>Imp4</b>	
					Cousin's daughter	
<1305	Res.	NW	<b>40. St. Nicholas tes Opaines</b>	unknown	unknown	unknown /f
					Unknown	

Year	Status	Location	Name	Founder	Dignity	Gender
					Kinship (to the Emperor)	
1291-1305	Res.	NW	<b>41.</b> <i>John Prodromos at Petra</i>	Angelos Doukas Komnenos Sarantenos and his wife	- arist.	MF/m
1294-1307	unknown	Cpl	<b>42.</b> <i>Prodromos of Palaiologos</i>	John Palaiologos	despotes Imp1 Son	M/m
1294-1308	Ref.	Cent.	<b>43.</b> <i>Theotokos Gorgoepekoos</i>	Nikephoros/Nathanael Choumnos	epi tou kanikleiou, mesazon in-law Andronikos II's son's father-in-law	M/m
1303–1309	Res.	Acrop.	<b>44.</b> <i>Theotokos Hodegetria</i>	Athanasios I	Patriarch - -	M/m
ca. 1311	Res.	NW	<b>45.</b> Kyr Antonios	Makarios	hieromonk Monk	M/m
1283-1314	New	Acrop.	<b>46.</b> <i>Christ Krataios</i>	Anna/Antonia Komnene Raoulaina Strategopulina	Protostratorissa Imp4 – Cousin's daughter	F/f
1282-1320	New	NW	<b>47.</b> <i>Theotokos Panagiotissa / Moğolların Meryem Kilisesi (Kanlı Kilise)</i>	Maria/Melane Palaiologina (w)	Despoina ton Magulion, Kyra Imp2 sister	F/f
1305-1321	Ref.	NW	<b>48.</b> <i>St. Savior at Chora</i>	Theodore Metochites	Megas logothetes, Logothetes tu Geniku in-law Father-in-law of Andronikos II's premier nephew	M/m
1305-1321	New	SW	<b>49.</b> <i>Anonymous monastery of</i>	Phokas Maroules	domestikos arist.	M/f
1315-1321	Ref.	Cent.	<b>50.</b> <i>Theotokos Kyriotissa/Kalenderhane</i>	John XIII Glykys	Patriarch - -	M/m
1300-1323	New	Cpl	<b>51.</b> <i>Kanaboures</i>	John Kanaboures	Prokathemenos tou Bestiariou / tamias ton basilikon chrematon arist.	M/m
1324	Res.	Cent.	<i>Anastasis</i>	Constantine Akropolites	Megas logothete in-law	M/m

Year	Status	Location	Name	Founder	Dignity	Gender
					Kinship (to the emperor)	
1321-1324	New	Cent.	<b>52. Monastery of</b>	Nikandros	<i>hieromonk</i>	M/m
					-	
1300-1325	New	Cent.	<b>53. Monastery of Glabaina</b>	Maria/Martha Komnene Branaina Palaiologina Dukaina Tarchaneiotissa Glabaina	<i>Protostratorissa</i>	F/f
					<b>Imp4</b>	
					Cousin's daughter	
1282-1328	Res.	NW	<b>54. Christ Pantepoptes</b>	Andronikos II Palaiologos	<i>Autokrator, basileus</i>	M/m
					<b>Imp1</b>	
					Emperor	
1327 - 1329	Ref.	Acrop.	<b>55. Christ Philanthropos</b>	Eirene/Eulogia Chumnaina Laskarina Palaiologina (w)	"Basilissa"	F/dbl
					<b>in-law arist.</b>	
					Ex-daughter-in-law	
>1296	New	Cpl	<b>56. Monastery of</b>	Eugenia Komnene Palaiologina	<i>Megale Domestikissa</i>	F/f
					<b>Imp4/aristocracy</b>	
					Wife of John Palaiologos	
1327?	Res.	Cent.	<i>Theotokos Bebaia Elpis</i>	Euphrosyne		F/f
					<b>Imp4</b>	
					cousin's daughter	
1285-1346	New	Cent.	<b>57. St. Stephen the protomartyr</b>	Constantine Doukas Nestongos	<i>Parakoimomenos tes Sphendones</i>	M/m
	Res.	NW	<i>Theotokos Pammakaristos</i>	Nikolaos / Neilos Komnenos Doukas Glabas Tarchaneiotis	<i>Megas Papias</i> (brother of Michael Tarchaneiotis?)	M/m
					<b>arist.</b>	
unknown	New	Cpl	<b>58. Theotokos Hyperagnos tou Plynariou</b>	unknown	unknown	unknown
					unknown	
unknown	New	Cpl	<b>59. tes Megales Doukaines</b>	Megale Doukaina, mother of Syrgiannina	the wife of Megas Doux Alexios Doukas Philanthropenos?	F/f?
					<b>arist.</b>	

Figure 4. Chronological list of monasteries founded, restored or re-founded between 1261 and 1328

## Legend

### Year:

< earlier than given year

First date refers to terminus post quem

Second date refers to terminus ante quem.

### Status:

New New foundation

Res. Restored

Ref. Refounded

The repeated names of monasteries that had more than one patron during the time span are marked in gray.

### Location:

NW North-west – along the Golden Horn between the two lines of city walls

N North – lower Golden Horn

SW South-west – between the Lykos River (Vatan Caddesi) and the Propontis (Sea of Marmara)

S South (Blanga)

Acrop. Acropolis

Cent. Central part

Cpl unknown location in Constantinople

### Founder:

(w) widowed

(m) married

(d) dead

### Dignity:

at the time of foundation

( ): earlier or later held titles

### Kinship (to the emperor):

Imp1 Imperial foundation (Emperor, empress, their parents, children),

Imp2 Imperial foundation (Emperor's siblings)

Imp3 Imperial foundation (Emperor's uncles, cousins, nephews)

Imp4

in-law First generation in-laws

Aris no marital tie to the imperial family

### Gender:

M male founder

F female founder

MF foundation of a couple

m male monastery

f female monastery (convent)

dbl double monastery