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A Byzantine Chapel at Didymoteicho and its Frescoes

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Abstract
The fortified citadel of Didymoteicho in Greek Thrace figured prominently in Late Byzantine history. It had been an imperial residence and a major military and administrative center since the mid-13th century, and throughout the remainder of its Byzantine history, it maintained close relations with Constantinople. Andronicus III resided in Didymoteicho during the 1320s, prior to his accession to the throne in 1328. With the proclamation of John VI Cantacuzenus as emperor in Didymoteicho in 1341, the city became his de facto capital, from which he launched his disastrous civil war.

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L’arte di Bisanzio
e l’Italia al tempo dei Paleologi
1261-1453

a cura di
Antonio Iacobini
Mauro della Valle

Àrgos 1999
A Byzantine Chapel at Didymoteicho and its Frescoes

Robert Ousterbort

The fortified citadel of Didymoteicho in Greek Thrace figured prominently in Late Byzantine history. It had been an imperial residence and a major military and administrative center since the mid-13th century, and throughout the remainder of its Byzantine history, it maintained close relations with Constantinople. Andronicus III resided in Didymoteicho during the 1320s, prior to his accession to the throne in 1328. With the proclamation of John VI Cantacuzenus as emperor in Didymoteicho in 1341, the city became his de facto capital, from which he launched his disastrous civil war. Didymoteicho continued to enjoy imperial attention until its fall to the Ottoman Turks in 1361.

Because of its excellent fortifications and its proximity to Adrianople and Constantinople, the city provided an ideal staging point for military operations. Moreover, the setting, amid fields and forests, was perfect for hunting—the sport of preference among the Palaiologan nobility. Not all visitors from Constantinople were impressed with the Thracian outpost, however, and when the Grand Logothete Theodore Metochites was exiled to Didymoteicho, between 1328 and 1330, he complained about the meanness of the inhabitants, the vegetables that gave him indigestion, and the wine that went sour in no time. But he was not there for pleasure.

The period of urban prosperity at Didymoteicho was brief—comprising a century at most, and much of what has been excavated at Didymoteicho comes from a relatively limited time frame. The citadel has been declared an archaeological zone, and it is being systematically studied by the Ephoreia of Byzantine Antiquities at Kavala. The formidable enclosure wall is still preserved, as well as several gates and posterns, and within it are the remains of dwellings—sometimes entire neighborhoods, along with rock-cut storage chambers and cisterns. The foundations for all the buildings were cut into the soft bedrock of the citadel, so that the imprint of many buildings survives. Consequently, Didymoteicho takes on an added importance, as one of our best indications of Late Byzantine urban development. At the same time, we may ask if it is still possible to find physical evidence of the imperial presence at the site. Indeed, the picture of the cultural relations between Didymoteicho and Constantinople remains far from clear.

With these issues in mind, I participated in the excavation and study of two Late Byzantine funerary chapels at Didymoteicho, and I am happy to be able
to share some of the conclusions here. The more provocative of the two chapels lies immediately to the north of the 19th-century cathedral of H. Athanasios. Long and narrow, it is now sandwiched between the cathedral and the rock cliff to the north (figs. 1-3). One wall still stands almost its full height, indicating that the nave had once been covered by a barrel vault, reinforced by diaphragm arches, and internally the walls were lined with niches. To the east was a sort of sanctuary, above which the remains of pendentives could be seen, and this area may have been domed. In spite of damage, the construction technique was quite fine: the inner arches are of alternating brick and stone elements, and the exterior was articulated by niches. A date in the second quarter of the 14th century could be proposed on stylistic grounds.

The northwest corner of the building was cut from the rock cliff, and cut from the rock are two cisterns to the east, and a large storeroom to the west, with circular indentations in the floor to hold storage vessels. All of these features can be seen on the plan represented in fig. 1.

The excavation was carried out under the auspices of the 12th Ephoreia of Byzantine Antiquities for Eastern Macedonia and Thrace, with financial support from the city of Didymoteicho, between 1990 and 1992. It was an unusual excavation from the very beginning: the site was covered with concrete, and the first stratum had to be removed with jackhammers. The remains of the south wall were uncovered, except for the westernmost bays, which extend under the present cathedral. The plan of the building proved to be unique: it was long, exceptionally narrow, and completely asymmetrical, measuring about 17 m. long by 2.5 m. wide internally, not counting the niches. The sanctuary bay is set off-axis, and there were apparently six niches on one side of the nave and seven on the other. It is unclear how the barrel vault of the nave connected to the ruined south wall - the diaphragm arches would not have been aligned with the piers.

The surviving portion of the south wall was cut from the bedrock with the piers built up against it. The upper part of the wall was apparently destroyed when the cathedral was constructed in the 19th century. There was no evidence for an extension of our building beyond the bedrock wall - no door openings were discovered, and we have discounted the possibility that our building was simply the aisle of a larger church.

Slightly more that a meter below the concrete we found a plastered floor that covered the area of the nave and sanctuary but did not extend into the niches. Within several of the niches, the wall construction simply stopped with nothing apparent supporting it from below. We realized only much later that the building was actually constructed in two phases, on the site of an earlier cemetery with tombs cut into the bedrock. The southern, more regular, wall is somewhat older than the northern wall and sanctuary, and it relates to a floor level some 40 cm. lower. The sanctuary and northern wall were built above an irregular array of rock-cut tombs, with the walls often precariously perched on the intervening rock surface. In the places where it was necessary for the wall to pass over a tomb cavity, timber beams were laid across, and the wall was
constructed on top of these. The wood had long since deteriorated, but its impression was left in the mortar lining the cavity.

Because of site limitations provided by tombs, cliffs, and caves, we speculate that the first building phase was similar in form to the surviving building—that is, a long, niched hall. The construction technique was very similar in the two phases, distinguishable only by the finish of the mortar beds. In both phases, the building was constructed in the so-called “recessed brick technique,” with recessed courses of brick hidden in the mortar beds. However, the motivation for a reconstruction within a relatively limited time—that is, at most about half a century—is not entirely clear, although it is possible that the instability of the foundations, built over a cemetery, led to a partial collapse. The existence of a cemetery on the site also helps to explain the curious asymmetry of the plan: the positions of the walls and piers were dictated to a large extent by the previous cuttings in the bedrock.

More than a dozen tombs were identified, with multiple burials in each. Virtually all of the tomb cavities predated the construction, but none of the evidence from the tombs is clearly earlier than the 14th century, and much is later. The tombs must have been reused after the construction of our building—and probably well into the Ottoman period. Most of the burials were poor; only one contained significant burial objects, but it was found in a tomb with multiple burials. In addition to coffin nails and copper buttons, it preserved some fragments of cloth, and one gold earring, with a purse-shaped body and a hinged hook. A gold ring was on one hand: its flat, rectangular bezel is engraved with a Solomonic knot. On the chest of the body was a blue glass vessel, a myrodochio, or bottle for aromatic oil or water, of Islamic manufacture. Made of blown glass, the body is doughnut-shaped with a flaring, conical base and a tall neck. There is some decoration of paint and dribbled glass as well. Similar items have been found in Late Byzantine burials in Thessaloniki. The items we found are probably from the 14th century.

The plastered floor of the building was not the original floor level. The painted plaster surfaces of the south wall continue about 40 cm. lower, to the level of a rock ledge. The original floor of the nave was raised in order to add burial crypts, covered with barrel vaults constructed of brick. Two crypts were discovered, and there may be a third below the unexplored western part of the nave as well. The only access to the crypts was by means of trap doors in the nave floor. The crypt vaults are only about 1.5 m. tall, and were they never meant to be entered on a regular basis. These modifications must have been carried out at the same time that the north wall and sanctuary were reconstructed: one (but not both) of the crypts was built in the recessed brick technique, identical to the construction of the north wall above.

Perhaps the most interesting of our discoveries in this curious building were the frescoes, and I’d like to devote the remainder of this communication to them. We found hundreds and hundreds of fragments. Most were concentrated in the areas in front of the niches, at about floor level. We found fragments of hands, feet, and faces in a variety of styles, ranging from Late Comnenian to
Post-Byzantine; as well as inscriptions – most too fragmentary to read; imitation marble and porphyry; and some patterns from the reveals of niches.

Most impressive of the fragments were those of a lifesize portrait of Christ, found in the northeast nave recess (fig. 4). Unfortunately the eyes are missing, but the amount of detail in the rendering of facial features is remarkable, and much of it was done with a single-haired brush. The face has an ochre cast with subtle, olive shading and highlighting of thin, white lines. A strong red was used in the cheeks, nose, and lips. The vivid style suggests a date in the early Palaeologan period. Clearly, the painting is as fine as anything from this period in Thessaloniki or Constantinople, and it is our best indication that Didymoteicho was an artistic center. In fact, before this excavation, we knew virtually nothing about painting in Didymoteicho.

Numerous fragments found along the south wall can be partially reassembled to form the lower portion of a small niche that apparently contained a dedicatory image and inscription. A black-and-white rinceau decorated the reveals and can be partially reassembled, measuring 10-12 cm. wide (fig. 5). Although few pieces of the main scene within the niche can be reassembled, based on a careful examination of adjacent colors and patterns, we may propose the following reconstruction. A figure, presumably female, stood on a porphyry floor, with a dark red curtain behind her. She was dressed in a pale blue-grey robe with pink slippers. She is turned to one side, toward the dedicatory inscription, which was painted in a white minuscule on a chartreuse background (fig. 6). The inscription is incomplete and problematic: if we are interpreting it correctly, it mentions an empress (name not given), a bishop perhaps named Neophytos (otherwise unattested), and the date of 6 October, possibly the day Tuesday, but not the year. If the day is in fact Tuesday, the year may be 1302, but this is very, very tenuous.

Altogether, the reassembled niche would suggest an imperial benefaction, at least for the first phase of the chapel, and this is supported by additional frescoes found in situ. Before turning to them, I should note that the fragments just discussed would appear to have come from the upper portion of the south nave wall, which was destroyed when the present cathedral was constructed in 1834. The fragments were all found within a relatively limited area, all at approximately floor level. Still, we do not have a more exact placement for them – none of the surviving niches corresponds to the measurements of this one. Moreover, fragments of the frescoed reveal of a second small niche of similar dimensions were found nearby, striated to resemble marble. Although the evidence for the second niche is even more limited, it contained a dark blue background and a haloed figure. In any event, we must include a few frescoed niches somewhere in the reconstructed elevation of the south wall.

Two large areas of fresco survived in situ in the south recesses of the nave. The first, in the second recess, was uncovered in 1991 and measures about 180 cm. wide by 60 cm. high (figs. 7-8). It shows a life-size figure from the knees down. The lower border is at the original floor level of the nave – that is, 40 cm. below the plastered floor, and it clearly must have been part of the
first building phase. The figure is presumably male, wearing jewelled robes and red buskins, and his feet rest on a red hypopodion placed on a footstool. Behind him is a throne, shown in a sort of perspective. He must have been seated on the throne, because his feet are off-center in the niche. The brown object to the left of the throne—perhaps a purse or a quivver—has not been identified.

When we extended the excavation westward in 1991, we found an almost identical composition in the fourth recess (figs. 9-10). Fortunately, it was considerably better preserved, with the surviving area of fresco measuring just over a meter high. This particular scene shows a figure from the waist down, clearly seated on an elaborately niched and cushioned throne. The bend of the knee is evident, and the figure holds a scepter with his right hand. He wears a somewhat similar costume to the first figure—apparently patterned, purple silk, with jewelled bands, and with a swatch of drapery hanging over his left arm. Also similar to the first figure are the red buskins, hypopodion, and footstool. But a most perplexing detail appears in the fresco: wings emerge from either side of the seated figure, with feathery tendrils extending to the edges of the panel. After observing the wings here, I reexamined the first fresco and found evidence of the tip of a wing in the left border.

None of the other recesses along the south wall preserve their paintings, and there are certain technical differences between the surviving frescoes, such as choice of pigments and the treatment of the lower surface, that suggest the two may not have been painted at the same time. Because of the limited height of the recesses, in order to represent the figures as lifesize, it was necessary that they be seated and that the compositions begin at floor level. If the paintings were meant to be understood in relationship to the tombs below, it was not possible to include a sarcophagus above floor level, as was standard in an arcosolium grave. Even more curious, with the raising of the floor level in the second construction phase, the figures were left, in effect, sitting in holes.

Setting aside these issues for the time being, the iconographical similarities of the two frescoes are noteworthy and require further discussion. Both compositions probably resembled the donor portrait of Alexios Apokaukos from a 14th-century manuscript of Hippocrates. The upper portions of the figures must have been positioned frontally, along the central axis of each recess.

But who was represented? The details of costumes and regalia—jewelled robes, red buskins, red hypopodia, scepter, elaborate thrones, and so on—suggest either a member of the imperial family, or Christ, or an archangel. The fact that there were at least two similar figures, and the fact that both frescoes included wings limits the possibilities. Three possible identifications should be considered: enthroned archangels, emperors with angelic attendants, or winged emperors.

Large, individual figures of archangels appear in the region around Constantinople in the Palaiologan period, such as at the Pantobasilissa church at Trilye. Possibly such images were intended to be guardians above tombs, but
in these instances their appearance is more military than imperial. Moreover, in Byzantine art angels don't sit down unless you invite them to dinner – that is, they are never represented as seated unless they are included in a narrative that requires them to sit, such as the Hospitality of Abraham or the Holy Women at the Tomb. No iconic, seated figures of angels have come down to us from Byzantium. Moreover, because angels are heavenly beings, it would be inappropriate to represent them at floor level. As Henry Maguire has noted, when angels are depicted in imperial garb, it indicates that they are in heaven. Thus, in spite of the prominent wings, the identification of the enthroned figures as angels can be ruled out.

Rulers are sometimes represented with attendants: flying angels with crowns and symbols of office, or attendants positioned behind the throne. The portrait of Ivan Alexander in the narthex of the Backovo Ossuary, added in 1344, offers a useful comparison of a royal portrait set within a funerary building. The Bulgarian tzar is represented standing, flanked by tiny flying angels, with tiny wings, who grasp his crown and gesture to the Virgin and Child represented above. In an alternative composition, a manuscript portrait of Michael VII Doukas of ca. 1072 (repainted as Nicephorus III Botaniates, ca. 1078-79) shows the personifications of Truth and Justice crowded behind his throne. Both types of composition appear in the narthex frescoes at Ljubostinja, dated 1403. Small, flying angels present the standing figure of Despot Stefan with a crown and regalia; and in a representation of the Fifth Oecumenical Council, the emperor Justinian is shown seated with attendants behind him.

None of these compositions compares exactly to those at Didymoteicho. In the surviving images from Byzantine art, flying angels invariably flank standing rulers, whereas the standing attendants that appear behind seated rulers are always wingless. Considering the size of the unfurled wings in our frescoes, it is difficult to imagine them attached to what would have to have been tiny angels. It would be a tight fit, even if angels are immaterial beings. More importantly, the wings would have been completely out of scale with attendant angels of a size that the recesses would allow. We should thus rule out compositions with multiple figures.

The third possibility is that the frescoes represented winged emperors. Actually, such images are known on Byzantine coinage from the late 13th century onward. The image seems to have been popularized because of the association of Michael VIII Palaiologus with St. Michael, but it may have originated earlier, as Bertelé suggests, and several later emperors are also depicted as winged on their coinage. In fact, the association of emperors and angels has a long history in Byzantine rhetoric and art. It was a convention of Byzantine enkomia to compare emperors to angels, because, in a common hyperbole, they "have outdone nature and have become closest to the ranks of the spiritual beings." Perhaps most relevant to this discussion are the curious texts of panegyric poems written by the court rhetorician Holobolos in praise of Michael VIII.
The poems were used in the Prokypsis ceremony, in which the emperor and members of his family were dramatically presented to the acclamations of the people. Curtains were parted to reveal the rulers brilliantly illuminated, and they were then lauded with heavenly comparisons. In one of Holobolos' verses the emperor and his two sons became the three angelic messengers entertained by Abraham. In another, the emperor was described as seated between Michael and Gabriel, who were called upon to protect him with their wings. Another poem called the emperor the "crown-bearing angel" and compared the two sons to his wings. The inclusion of wings in an imperial portrait thus reflected court rhetoric, emphasizing the comparison of emperors with angels.

In another sense, the wings may be understood as symbols representing divine or divinely bestowed power. In the 14th century wings appear in a variety of new contexts - and not just attached to emperors. For example, St. John Prodromos was represented with wings in his role as a divinely-inspired messenger. Christ is also sometimes represented winged as an angel in this period. In addition, some curious, winged objects appeared in Late Byzantine coinage: both crosses and stars are accompanied by wings, part of the inexplicable symbolic language of Palaiologan numismatics. It is interesting to note that in the last Byzantine centuries, as the emperor's actual power decreased, the sacerdotal nature of his rule was given greater emphasis. The appearance of the images of winged emperors in this period may be best understood as a visual reflection of this transformation.

To conclude, the most likely identification of the two figures represented in the chapel at Didymoteicho is as members of the imperial family. But this in turn raises some more difficult questions. Who exactly was represented? The style of the painting, with shading on the thrones and vague attempts at perspective, suggests a date in the early part of the Palaeologan period. But which imperial family members were represented? From the middle of the 13th century onward, emperors and members of the imperial family had passed through Didymoteicho or had used it as a base of operations. Although Michael VIII was active in Thrace, we have no record of his presence in Didymoteicho. In later decades Andronicus III and John VI Cantacuzenus were at various times in residence there, as were their sons.

It is worth noting that there are two recesses on the south side of the chapel that have lost their decoration, as well as two unexcavated recesses further to the west, below the narthex of the 19th-century cathedral. Moreover, the images seem to have been set in relationship to the tombs, and we have no record of any imperial burials in Didymoteicho. Both tombs, in fact, contained multiple burials, but none with significant grave goods. The tomb with the ring, earring, and myrodochio lay between the two with surviving images. Whoever was represented, the raised floor level of the second construction phase left them, in effect, sitting in holes. Could this indicate that they had fallen out of favor? The situation is rich with possible interpretations. In all events, a firm identification is simply not possible.

In spite of the many unanswered questions, based on the subject matter and
quality of the frescoes, the sophisticated construction, and the possible dating, I suspect that the chapel was an imperial foundation – at least in its first phase and possibly in both. More clearly than anything else discovered thus far, the funeral chapel and its decoration speak of an imperial presence in the Thracian citadel and the clear cultural connections between Didymoteicho and the Byzantine capital.

**Note**


3 See R. OUSTERHOUT, *The Palaeologan Architecture of Didymoteicho*, «Byzantinische Forschungen», 14, 1989, pp. 431-443, written before the excavation of the chapel under discussion here. Some of my initial suggestions – and the hypothetical plan, fig. 7, must now be modified. Although the plan of the building is unique, its funerary function was overwhelmingly emphasized by the excavations; consequently, the identification of it as a *trapeza* may be ruled out. I am grateful to Anne Marshall for preparing the new plan used here. See more recently R. OUSTERHOUT, TH. GOURIDES, *Ena Byzantino Ktirio dipla stron Agio Athanasio Didymoteichou, “To Archaiologiko Ergo ste Makedonia kai Thrake”,* 5, 1991 (= Thessaloniki 1994), pp. 515-521.


5 A monographic study of the two chapels is in preparation; I thank Ch. Bakirtzis and Th. Gourides for their assistance.

6 For illustration, see OUSTERHOUT, GOURIDES, *Ena Byzantino Ktirio*, fig. 5. For similar examples, see M. JENKINS, *Islamic Glass: A Brief History*, (Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin), 44/2, 1986, 34, fig. 42 (cat. no. 1977. 164); H. TAIT (ed.), *Glass: 5,000 Years*, New York 1991, p. 129, fig. 161 (British Museum, Oriental Antiquities, cat. no. 1913.5-22.100); Thessaloniki *Istoria kai Techne (Ekhtese Lefkou Pyrgou)*, illus. p. 53, esp. no. 165/BY7.

7 My colleague Th. Gourides is preparing the inscription for publication; see for now his comments in OUSTERHOUT, GOURIDES, *Ena Byzantino Ktirio*, pp. 519-520.


11 E. BAKALOVA, *Bačkovskata kostnica*, Sofia 1977, pp. 157-175. Although similarly set within an arched niche in the lateral wall, the portrait of Ivan Alexander is not related to a tomb.


13 See S. DJURIC, *Ljubostinja*, Belgrade 1985, pls. 5-6, for images of Despot Stephan and of a church council.

14 See T. Bertele, *L'imperatore alato nella numismatica bizantina*, Roma 1951: winged emperors appear on the coins of John of Thessaloniki (Vatatzes?), Michael VIII, Andronicus II, Michael IX (?), and perhaps Andronicus III. I thank my angelic colleague Prof. Henry Maguire for bringing this study to my attention and for sharing his research on imperial imagery.

20 See for example B. Todić, *Gračanica*, Belgrade 1988, fig. 119.
1. Didymoteicho, ruined chapel by Hagios Athanasios, from east.
2. General site plan, with Hagios Athanasios to the south.
3. From northeast, showing detailing of façades.
4. Fresco fragments, face of Christ.
5. Fresco fragments, destroyed niche, rinceau pattern.
6. Destroyed niche, reconstruction of dedicatory inscription.
7. Second south nave recess, fresco of an enthroned figure.
8. Second south nave recess, fresco of an enthroned figure, drawing.
9. Fourth south nave recess, fresco of an enthroned figure.
10. Fourth south nave recess, fresco of an enthroned figure, drawing.
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