

The rhetoric of architecture in the Byzantine context: The case study of the Holy Sepulchre*

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This paper examines the rhetorical capacity of architecture, and in particular, “the rhetoric of architecture” rather than the usually examined “rhetoric about architecture.” In this work, the rhetoric of architecture is understood as codified visual and architectural conventions as a series of transpositions that frame specific meanings other than and beyond visible and spatial. Here the proposed “rhetoric of architecture” is also more about its capacity as a “mnemonic tool” and about the “craft of composition” rather than about persuading others or about representation based on exact likeness. This concept is particularly significant in the creation of the sacred. By focusing on the architecture of the critical building of the Holy Sepulchre that enclosed the Tomb Shrine in Jerusalem as described by Patriarch Photios in the ninth and Abbot Daniel in the early twelfth centuries, this paper argues for the recognition of the mnemonic links that the Byzantines may have used not only for remembering the Tomb of Christ, but also for their several reconstructions of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem as well as for embedding the meaning of Jerusalem and New Jerusalem in their churches built elsewhere.

Keywords: rhetoric of architecture, ars memoriae, memory, Holy Sepulchre, shrine, aedicula, Tomb of Christ, Jerusalem, Patriarch Photios, Abbot Daniel, Byzantine architecture, sacred space

* This paper results from a question about the rhetorical capacity of the Holy Sepulchre, which I raised while working on my dissertation done under the direction of Prof. Slobodan Ćurčić (Princeton, 2008). I revisited the question later and several colleagues were essential in helping me articulate its importance for better understanding of Byzantine architecture. Gunnar Swanson reminded me of the concept of memory palaces used by the Jesuits since the sixteenth century; Ron Graziani called my attention to the works by Frances Yates and Mary Carruthers; Punam Madhok, Ivan Drpić, Marina Mihaljević, April Eisman, and Carlton Basmajian carefully read drafts of this paper and gave critical suggestions as how to improve and clarify my arguments. The research was invited for presentation at the Byzantine Studies Conference of 2009 organized by the Florida State University and the John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art, which I was not able to attend. I was invited to present the paper at the panel organized by Robert Ousterhout in the following year at the Conference in Philadelphia, where I received constructive feedback from Derek Krueger, Amy Papalexandrou, Ida Sinkević, Vasileios Marinis, Jelena Trkulja, Mark Johnson, and Carol Krinsky. Many thanks to Miodrag Marković, editor in chief of the journal *Zograf* and the reviewers for their support of this project. Special thanks are due to Erin Kalish and Joyce Newman, who copy-edited conference abstract and the final version of this paper; to my research assistant at Iowa State University Heidi Reburn, who helped me prepare some of the illustrations for this publication; and to my family Dušan Danilović, Vojislav Bogdanović, Snežana and Bratislav Dragić, and Biljana Danilović. This paper, finished on Easter 2014 is prepared in memory of my mother Selena who passed away in 2009.

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Rhetoric, “the formulaic art of persuasive public speaking”,¹ was central in Byzantine culture.² Rhetorical, descriptive passages – *ekphraseis* – about architecture are closely related to visual expressions and intimately embedded in the reception and memory of architectural works. The rhetorical texts about Byzantine art and architecture have been studied from multiple perspectives. Some studies about “visual rhetoric”³ examine the relations between text and art, often focusing on epigrams and on the actual inscriptions on art works, including inscriptions on Byzantine architecture as studied by Amy Papalexandrou and Liz James.⁴ Leslie Brubaker and Helen Saradi focus on the

¹ A. Kazhdan, E. M. Jeffreys, A. Cutler, *Rhetoric*, in: *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, ed. A. Kazhdan, III, New York–Oxford 1991, 1788–90, with references. V. also L. Brubaker, *Text and picture in manuscripts: what’s rhetoric got to do with it?*, in: *Rhetoric in Byzantium: Papers from the Thirty-Fifth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies* (henceforth *Rhetoric in Byzantium*), ed. E. Jeffreys, Aldershot 2003, 255–272, esp. 257.

² V. for example, E. Jeffreys, *Introduction*, in: *Rhetoric in Byzantium*, 1–5. Of the three traditional genres of rhetoric, closely related to three distinctive oratorical occasions and types of audience – the judicial of the law court, the deliberative of popular politics, and the demonstrative (panegyric or epideictic in Greek) of ceremonial occasions – the epideictic, closely related to the *ekphrasis* as a poetic genre prevailed in Byzantine culture. V. also, *Cicero on the Genres of Rhetoric*, translation by J. F. Tinkler, 1995 <http://rhetoric.eserver.org/categories/history/classical/genres-of-rhetoric.html> accessed April 1, 2014.

³ On the semiologic approach towards rhetoric of visual arts, v. seminal, R. Barthes, *The Rhetoric of the Image*, in: *Image, Music, Text*, ed. and trans. S. Heath, New York 1977, 32–51. On the insufficiency of iconology and semiotics for studies of Christian images and especially on the power of the religious figure as place v. G. Didi-Huberman, *The Power of the Figure: Exegesis and Visuality in Christian Art*, Umeå 2003, 5–48, esp. 45–46. On visual rhetoric v. also, G. Kress, T. van Leeuwen, *Reading Images: The Grammar of Visual Design*, New York 1996; *Defining Visual Rhetorics*, ed. C. Hill, M. Helmers, New York 2004; R. van Bühren, *Die Werke der Barmherzigkeit in der Kunst des 12.–18. Jahrhunderts. Zum Wandel eines Bildmotivs vor dem Hintergrund neuzeitlicher Rhetorikrezeption* (Studien zur Kunstgeschichte, vol. 115), Hildesheim–Zürich–New York 1998. On studies of *ekphrasis* and visual rhetoric in Byzantine culture v. for example, R. Webb, *The Aesthetics of Sacred Space: Narrative, Metaphor, and Motion in ‘Ekphraseis’ of Church Buildings*, DOP 53 (1999) 59–74; idem, *Ekphrasis, Imagination and Persuasion in Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Practice*, Farnham–England–Burlington, VT 2009; *Rhetoric in Byzantium*, ed. E. Jeffreys, Aldershot 2003.

⁴ V. for example, A. Papalexandrou, *Text in context: eloquent monuments and the Byzantine beholder*, *Word and Image* 17/3 (2001)

subject matter or *topos* in *ekphratic* texts and their relations to historical realities.⁵ Henry Maguire and Brubaker also examine *schema* (form or shape) and format as rhetorical tools used in Byzantine accomplishments.⁶ Robin Cormack highlights rhetorical tropes and Byzantine images that convey meanings other than the subject matter depicted within them.⁷

By utilizing architecture as an epistemological means, it is also possible to examine “the rhetoric of architecture” instead of the “rhetoric about architecture.” In recognizing the frustrating limitations of established methods of inquiry, such as iconography, iconology, or semiotics in under-theorized studies of the meaning of medieval architecture, such a rhetoric of Byzantine architecture has been already proposed by architectural historians. By expanding upon the seminal work by Richard Krautheimer on the iconography of architecture and the meaning of “copies” in medieval architecture,⁸ Robert Ousterhout uses the expression “rhetoric of architecture” by connecting it to the manifold “language” of architecture and the meaning of the architectural form of a Byzantine church. In particular, he focuses on the examples of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem and Constantinopolitan Hagia Sophia and Hagios Polyeuktos to suggest how these very buildings are the *loci* of memory and how they facilitated the overarching meaning of a Byzantine church as an “image” of the Temple.⁹ Ousterhout further distinguishes between word-driven or metaphorical and image-driven or symbolic meanings of architecture; the former he associates with the form of a text and the latter with architectural form as the carriers of meaning. Significantly, he also allows for the possibility of overlap between the two rhetorical systems because the Byzantines did not distinguish “verbal” from “visual” memory. Architectural historians have so often likened architecture to language and the process of reading or to images and the process of making two-dimensional arts, thus limiting the ways in which architecture as a distinct discipline can be understood.¹⁰ Therefore, William White has already proposed

259–283; idem, *Echoes of orality in the monumental inscriptions of Byzantium*, in: *Art and Text in Byzantine Culture* (henceforth *Art and Text in Byzantine Culture*), ed. L. James, Cambridge 2007, 161–187, and L. James, ‘And Shall These Mute Stones Speak?’ *Text as Art*, in: *Art and Text in Byzantine Culture*, 188–206.

⁵ On the rhetoric of visual arts as a “series of conventions that encapsulated a particular set of meanings and ultimately made any other visual pattern difficult to imagine,” Brubaker, *op. cit.*, 255–272, citation on 257. H. Saradi, *The Kallos of the Byzantine City: The Development of a Rhetorical Topos and Historical Reality*, *Gesta* 34/1 (1995) 37–56.

⁶ V. for example, H. Maguire, *Art and Eloquence in Byzantium*, Princeton 1994; idem, *Truth and Convention in Byzantine Descriptions of Works of Art*, *DOP* 28 (1974) 113–140.

⁷ Jeffreys, *Introduction*, in: *Rhetoric in Byzantium*, 1–5, with further references.

⁸ R. Krautheimer, *Introduction to an Iconography of Medieval Architecture*, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 5 (1942) 1–33, reprinted in: *Studies in Early Christian, Medieval and Renaissance Art* (1969) 115–150.

⁹ R. Ousterhout, *New Temples and New Solomons: The Rhetoric of Byzantine Architecture*, in: *The Old Testament in Byzantium*, Washington D.C. 2010, 223–253; idem, ‘Sweetly Refreshed in Imagination: Remembering Jerusalem in Words and Images’, *Gesta* 48/2 (2009) 153–168.

¹⁰ V. for example, D. Kunze, *Architecture as Reading: Virtuality, Secrecy, Monstrosity*, *Journal of Architectural Education* 41/4 (1988) 28–37.

that studies of meaning of architecture should rather be understood as a series of transpositions “with meaning in each transposition shaped by the logic of the genre or medium in which it is located,” and that the multiple transpositions related to the manifold elements that make the work of architecture itself can uncover the many meanings of architecture.¹¹ In this paper, the rhetoric of architecture is understood as codified visual and architectural conventions that allow one to understand the meaning of architecture as a series of transpositions that often frame specific meanings other than and beyond merely the visible and the spatial.¹² Here the proposed “rhetoric of architecture” is also more about its capacity as a “mnemonic tool” and about the “craft of composition” rather than about the persuading of others or about a representation based on exact likeness, as Mary Carruthers convincingly explained in her book *The Craft of Thought* by focusing on the intertwined relations between literature craft and the techniques of monastic meditation in medieval Western Europe.¹³

Several critical aspects of architecture as a discipline complicate any discussion about the “rhetoric of architecture,” which this paper does not claim to be able to or even aim to overcome.¹⁴ First, though architecture and architectural form may lend themselves to stories and are often studied via textual and language analogies, architecture is not necessarily narrative in its essence. Second, though we often understand architecture through images, architecture is not only about representation and images. Third, despite some evidence about education in literature and philosophy, we do not have documented evidence about architectural training in Byzantium.¹⁵ Such

¹¹ V. W. Whyte, *How Do Buildings Mean? Some Issues of Interpretation in the History of Architecture*, *History and Theory* 45/2 (May, 2006) 153–177, citation on 155.

¹² I essentially transpose Brubaker’s definition of rhetoric of art to architecture as a distinct creative mode. In her text *Text and picture in manuscripts*, 255–272, on 257, she defines rhetoric of art as a “series of conventions that encapsulated a particular set of meanings and ultimately made any other visual pattern difficult to imagine.”

¹³ M. Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought*, New York 2008 (Cambridge 1998¹) 3, 24–29. On the “rhetoric of architecture” as a tool of persuasion intertwined with spiritual and political meanings, in which the building itself often stands as a proof of qualities of the Byzantine Emperor v. also, J. Elsner, *The Rhetoric of Buildings in the De Aedificiis of Procopius*, in: *Art and Text in Byzantine Culture*, 33–57.

¹⁴ R. Macrides, P. Magdalino, *The Architecture of Ekphrasis: Construction and Context of Paul the Silentiary’s Poem on Hagia Sophia*, *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 12/1 (1998) 47–82; Webb, *The Aesthetics of Sacred Space*, 59–74.

¹⁵ R. Ousterhout, *Master Builders of Byzantium*, Philadelphia 2008, 4 claims that during the so-called transitional period (approximately the seventh–ninth centuries) the training of architects shifted to practical training within the context of a workshop. Similarly, R. Cormack, *Painter’s guides, model-books, pattern-books and craftsmen*, in: *L’artista a Bisanzio e nel mondo cristiano-orientale*, ed. M. Bacci, Pisa 2007, 11–29 suggests that painters in Byzantium relied mostly on memory rather than on model- or pattern-books. Ch. Bouras, *Nea Moni on Chios: history and architecture*, Athens 1982, 139–145; E. Hajitryphonos, *Presentations and Representations of Architecture in Byzantium: The Thought Behind the Image*, in: *Architecture as Icon*, eds. S. Curčić, E. Hajitryphonos, New Haven–London 2010, 113–154, and M. Mihaljević, *Change in Byzantine Architecture: Architects and Builders*, in: *Approaches to Byzantine Architecture and its Decoration*, eds. M. Johnson, R. Ousterhout, A. Papalexandrou, Surrey 2012, 109–115, are among those who call for the reconsideration of Byzantine architectural practices, which were most likely also dependent on architectural models and drawings.

knowledge about architectural training would ultimately shed light not only on conventions used in architectural design but also on their potential role as rhetorical tools. Simultaneously, such knowledge would potentially clarify more precisely who the practitioners of the here proposed “rhetoric of architecture” may have been. That is why this paper examines the possibility of the “rhetoric of architecture” from the perspectives of those who wrote about architecture.

The Greek-speaking Byzantines inherited and practiced ancient rhetorical techniques throughout the middle ages.¹⁶ Rhetorical pedagogy, including the *progymnasmata* teaching texts and their constitutive exercise on the description – *ekphrasis*, were crucial for recollecting, remembering, and visualizing works of architecture, both real and imagined. Jeffreys demonstrates how among critical rhetorical texts stemming from the seminal work by Aristotle, the Byzantines extensively used the text *On Forms* or *On Ideas* (*Peri epideiktikōn, Περί ἐπίδεικτικῶν*), which was originally written by the Greek rhetorician Menander of Laodicea-on-Lycos in the late third century and which, among other topics, dealt with the proper forms of praise for countries and cities.¹⁷ Ancient orators also utilized architecture as a mnemonic device.¹⁸ In the medieval construct of memory, which we know today as the *method of loci*, or the mnemonic system based on places, the main concept is that people virtually always have site-related recollections.¹⁹ In this system, physical locations and architectural frameworks contain images and signs that also incorporate related knowledge or experience. To remember, the practitioner would approach the building and walk through it several times, each time in the same order. Real physical locations, but not exclusively visited places, are commonly used in this method; therefore, formulaic and conceptual Byzantine architectural solutions, especially in religious architecture, built across vast spatial horizons in the territories of the medieval Roman Empire spanning more than a millennium (ca. 300–1500), offer themselves for posing important questions about the “rhetoric of architecture” and its practice. Above all, sacred architecture in Byzantium, which is deeply intertwined with object- and body-related practices and ac-

tions, is highly performative, a key feature of rhetoric as public presentation.

To propose and examine the existence of the “rhetoric of architecture,” which was critical for the creation of sacred space in Byzantine culture, this paper focuses on a seminal building – the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem that in medieval times often interchangeably stood for the aedicula Shrine of the Tomb of Christ and the Rotunda Church of the Resurrection which architecturally framed the Tomb as the place of burial and resurrection of Christ. The analysis is heavily based on the Holy Sepulchre in Byzantine memory because archaeological records about Byzantine architectural campaigns and changes to the Holy Sepulchre are non-existent, and thus its historiography and textual and visual descriptions remain major sources for understanding the “Byzantine” Holy Sepulchre. A particular question is whether mnemonic images of the Holy Sepulchre and memory practices may have influenced actual Byzantine re-buildings of the Holy Sepulchre. In order to examine this delicate question, a very brief architectural history of the Holy Sepulchre will be presented first and then juxtaposed with accounts recorded by Photios, the Patriarch of Constantinople (858–867, 877–886) in the ninth century²⁰ and the pilgrimage account by Russian Abbot Daniel in the early twelfth century.²¹

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The Holy Sepulchre in Byzantine Memory

Three major historical segments in architectural history of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem frame the memory of this holy site (Fig. 1).²² The first period includes the fourth-century building of the Golgotha-Anastasis complex, on the traditional sites of the Crucifixion and Christ’s burial and resurrection. The second period lasts

¹⁶ E. Jeffreys, *Introduction*, in: *Rhetoric in Byzantium*, 1–5. V. also, J. D. Fleming, *The Very Idea of a ‘Progymnasmata’*, *Rhetoric Review* 22/2 (2003) 105–120; T. Conley, *Byzantine Teaching on Figures and Tropes: An Introduction*, *Rhetorica* 4/4 (1986) 335–374.

¹⁷ *Ibidem*; *Menander Rhetor* (henceforth *Menander*), eds. D. A. Russell, N. G. Wilson, Oxford 1981. V. also, *Readings from Classical Rhetoric*, eds. P. P. Matsen, P. B. Rollinson, M. Sousa, Carbondale 1990, 351.

¹⁸ F. A. Yates, *The Art of Memory*, Chicago 1966, 27–49, shows how the ancient Greeks credited poet Simonides of Ceos (ca. 556–468 B.C.) for the invention of *ars memoriae* which was later practiced by Aristotle and Cicero and how a fifth century B.C. poetic fragment known as the *Dialexeis* highlighted reasoning and repetition as critical for memory and outlined its importance “for learning and for life.” (citation on 29). Yates analysis of the art of memory in the middle ages, however, focuses exclusively on the western European realm.

¹⁹ In addition to Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought*, v. also M. Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, Cambridge 1990; *The Medieval Craft of Memory: An anthology of texts and pictures*, eds. M. Carruthers, J. Ziolkowski, Philadelphia 2002; *Rhetoric Beyond Words: Delight and Persuasion in the Arts of the Middle Ages*, ed. M. Carruthers, Cambridge 2010; J. D. Spence, *The Memory Palace of Matteo Ricci*, New York 1984; R. Kirkbride, *Architecture and Memory. The Renaissance Studioli of Federico da Montefeltro*, New York 2008; R. Sorabji, *Aristotle on Memory*, Chicago 2004 (1972¹).

²⁰ Photios, *Question 107 to Amphilochius. About the Tomb of Our Lord Jesus Christ* (henceforth *Photios*), in: *Jerusalem Pilgrims before the Crusades*, ed. J. Wilkinson, Warminster 2002 [1977] 146. Also, in *Egeria. Itinerarium Egeriae. Egeria’s travels to the Holy Land* (henceforth *Egeria, Travels*), ed. J. Wilkinson, Warminster 1999 [1981, 1971] 258–259. For the text in Greek v. Ch. A. Papadopoulos, *Ιστορία της Εκκλησίας Ιεροσολύμων*, Jerusalem 1910, 339–40.

²¹ Despite the unsecure identity of Abbot Daniel, no less than seventy-five manuscripts of Daniel’s narratives, the earliest preserved manuscript dated to 1475, confirm the importance of his pilgrimage account among the Christian Orthodox; *Pilgrimage of the Russian Abbot Daniel in the Holy Land. Circa 1106–1107* (henceforth *Abbot Daniel*), in: *Palestine Pilgrims Text Society* (henceforth *PPTS*) 4, New York 1971 [1887–1889] vii–xv. For the text in Russian v. *Puteshestvie igumana Danila po sviatym mestam*, in: *Skazaniia russkogo naroda*, I. P. Sakharov, Sankt-Peterburg 1849, 1–45; *Kniga khozhenii. Zapiski russkikh puteshestvenikov XI–XV v.*, ed. N. I. Prokof’ev, Moskva 1984, esp. 32–37, 210–214.

²² The literature on the history and architecture of the Holy Sepulchre is immense. M. Marković (*Prvo putovanje svetog Save u Palestinu i njegov značaj za srpsku srednjovekovnu umetnost*, Beograd 2009, esp. 28, n. 95 and 188–210, with references) provides excellent historiographical research on the studies of the Holy Sepulchre as well as extremely detailed analysis of the Byzantine participation in the construction of this holy site. Among critical books for understanding architectural history of the Holy Sepulchre and written in English language, Marković also singles out those by Ch. Couasnon, *The Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem*, London 1974 and D. Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem, A Corpus, vol. III (The City of Jerusalem)*, Cambridge 2007, esp. 6–72.

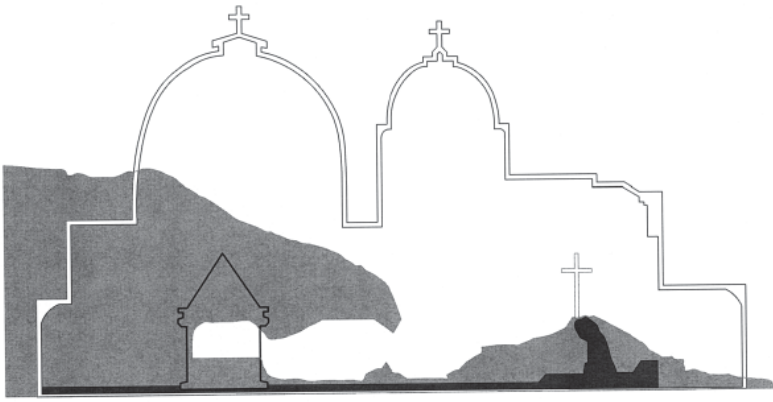


Fig. 1. The Holy Sepulchre and the Shrine Tomb of Christ in Jerusalem, ca. fourth-twelfth century, cross section showing the locations of the living rock of Golgotha upon which Christ was Crucified and the Tomb of Christ, first enclosed by an aedicula in the fourth century; the general outline of the church is from Crusader, twelfth century period and later (drawing: H. Reburn)

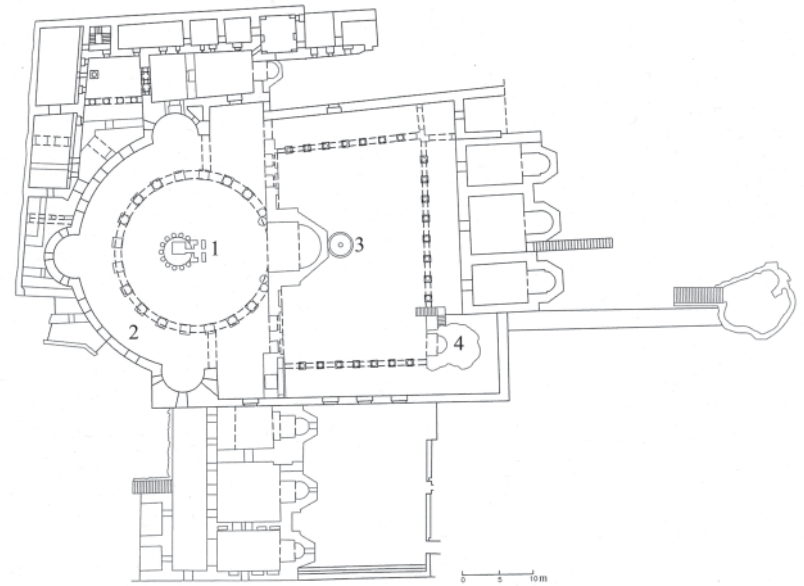


Fig. 2. The Holy Sepulchre and the Shrine Tomb of Christ in Jerusalem, ca. seventh-eleventh century, plan:
 1. The Aedicula Shrine – Tomb of Christ 2. Church of the Holy Sepulchre (also known as the Church of Anastasis / Resurrection) – Rotunda 3. Omphalos
 4. The Rock of Golgotha (drawing: H. Reburn)

from the seventh to the eleventh centuries, when Byzantines rebuilt the site on several occasions (Fig. 2). During this second period, the Golgotha-Anastasis complex suffered from Persian attacks in the seventh century, from earthquakes in the tenth century, and from devastating destruction under the Fatimid Caliph al-Hākīm bi-Amr Allah (996–1021) in 1009, when he set the Tomb of Christ on fire.²³ The third period, which overlaps with the reign of the Komnenian emperors, began during the interventions by Crusaders in 1099, when the entire complex was partially rebuilt during several building campaigns. In other words, the still standing church of the Holy Sepulchre – despite being closely interwoven in its Byzantine texture – is essentially a Crusader building; in fact, the Tomb Shrine installation, which is crowned by a canopy on its top, is dated to the latest, nineteenth-century restoration (Fig. 3).²⁴

Major Byzantine sources often remain silent about the architecture of the Holy Sepulchre, despite pilgrims' continual visits to the Tomb and the recurring interest of the Byzantines in the holy places. For example, writing after 1148 when the territory of the Holy Land had been long lost to the Byzantines, Byzantine princess Anna Komnene recorded the efforts of simple people, both men and women, who desired to venerate the Holy Sepulchre

and visit the holy places.²⁵ Yet, by the twelfth century, the memory of Jerusalem and the Holy Tomb had seemingly diminished in Constantinople, as if the physical reality of the Holy Sepulchre were detached from the Byzantine imperial and historical realm. For the Byzantine court, as Anna Komnene records, Jerusalem in the mid-twelfth century was “a great city ... built long ago called Jerusalem, now in ruins through the passage of time.”²⁶

The only known contemporary official Byzantine source that mentions the demolition of the Holy Sepulchre by al-Hakim in 1009 is the Skylitzes' eleventh-century *Synopsis Historiarum* for the years 811–1057. This source was critical for the changes in the architecture of the complex and, therefore, captured the attention of architectural historians; yet thirteenth-century illustrated version of the Skylitzes' manuscript omits the episode.²⁷ The memory of

²³ In 614, the complex was devastated by the Persians. Shortly after in 626 the complex was rebuilt, presumably without any crucial changes in its architecture, under Modestus, the patriarch of Jerusalem; R. L. Wilken, *Byzantine Palestine: A Christian Holy Land*, *Biblical Archaeologist* 51/4 (1988) 214–217, 233–237, with reference to Sophronios (Latin Translation: *Expugnationis Hierosolymae A. D. 615: recensiones arabicae*, ed. G. Garitte, I, Louvan 1973). Christian shrines in the complex survived the Arab conquest of 638; J. Patrich, *The Early Church of the Holy Sepulchre in the Light of Excavations and Restoration*, in: *Ancient Churches Revealed*, ed. Y. Tsafirir, Jerusalem 1993, 101–117. The complex suffered from additional destructions and earthquakes in the tenth century, and was almost completely destroyed under the Caliph al-Hākīm in 1009; M. Canard, *La destruction de l'Église de la Résurrection par le calife Hākīm et l'histoire de la descente du feu sacré*, *Byzantion* 35 (1965) 16–43.

²⁴ After the fire of 1808, the Tomb was significantly rebuilt for the last time in recent history; M. Biddle, *The Tomb of Christ*, Gloucestershire 1999, 76 sq, with references.

²⁵ *Annae Comnenae Alexias* (henceforth *Alexiad*), eds. D. R. Reinsch, A. Kambylis, Berlin 2001, X 5.5, 6.6; 7.1; 9.1; 11.7; XIII 9.3; XIV 12.2, 13. A.-M. Talbot attested to twenty-five medieval pilgrimages to Jerusalem by the Byzantines in: eadem, *Byzantine Pilgrimage to the Holy Land from the Eighth to the Fifteenth Centuries*, in: *The Sabaite Heritage in the Orthodox Church from the Fifth Century to the Present*, ed. J. Patrich, Leuven 2001, 97–110. On the continual visits of pilgrims to the Holy Sepulchre v. also: Biddle, *The Tomb of Christ*, 76.

²⁶ *Alexiad*, VI.6.1.

²⁷ *Ioannis Scylitzae Synopsis historiarum* (henceforth *Ioannis Scylitzae*), ed. I. Thurn, Berlin–New York 1973, 14 [B. 501–503]. The so-called Madrid Skylitzes, a copied and illustrated Skylitzes' *Synopsis*, lacks about 100 references in comparison to the original compendium, including the lines referring to the Tomb of Christ; V. Tsamakda, *The Illustrated Chronicle of Iōnnes Skylitzes in Madrid*, Leiden 2002. In the twelfth century George Kedrenos and John Zonaras mainly copied Skylitzes' account of the negotiations between the Byzantines and the Fatimids after al-Hakim's destruction. Anna Komnene mentioned the Holy Sepulchre, however, not in reference to its destruction or physical appearance, but mostly in reference to the Crusaders who officiated at the church, revealing a Byzantine imperial non-presence on the site. Though Anna Komnene speaks of death of the Latin King Godfrey (ca. 1060–1100), who was buried in the church of the Holy Sepulchre, it

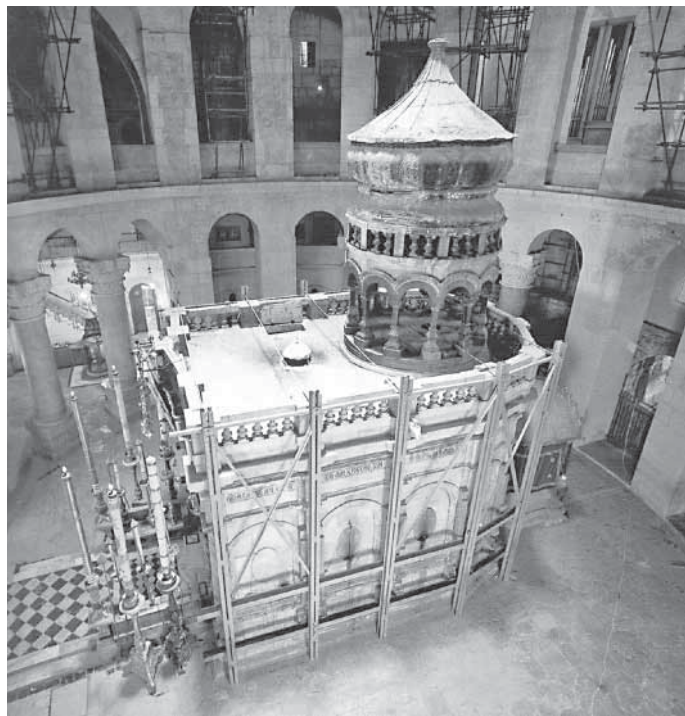


Fig. 3. The Aedicula-Shrine Tomb of Christ within the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, nineteenth century with twentieth century steel shoring (from: Biddle, *The Tomb of Christ*, fig. 8)

the event from 1009 vanished quickly in Constantinople and the Byzantine world. Thus, in the eleventh century Michael Psellos, the famous polymath and theologian made no mention of the event in his short chronicle *The Chronographia*, which was written in Constantinople and describes the years 976–1078.²⁸ The silence of the Byzantine sources about the destruction of the Tomb of Christ may be explained variously, including the result of official censorship related to the unsuccessful Byzantine attempts to re-conquer Jerusalem and the diminished Byzantine imperial presence in the area²⁹ or perhaps the result of authors following the rhetorical training put forth in Menander's text on the ekphrasis of cities, which proscribed avoiding detailed descriptions of ill-fated cities or concealing the causes for bad changes within them such as "earthquakes, or sacks, plagues, and the like."³⁰ However, it is another event that seems to have profoundly shaped

seems as if she was unaware of this fact and just mentions his death in Jerusalem. *Georgius Cedrenus. Synopsis historion*, ed. I. Bekker, 1–2, Bonn 1838–39; *Zonaras. Epistome historiarum*, ed. L. Dindorf, 1–6, Leipzig 1867–75; *Alexiad*, XI 8.1.

²⁸ Michael Psellus. *Fourteen Byzantine Rulers. The Chronographia*, ed. E. R. A. Sewter, Baltimore 1966.

²⁹ Byzantine society at the time witnessed its decentralization, a kind of "elite reconstruction," marked by the rise of military aristocracy and new nobility that gained power and wealth due to military conquests. In the light of historical events in which the Byzantines had to face multiple threats at their borders, including the Bulgarian raid on Constantinople, the belated reaction of the Byzantines in the Holy Land can be understood. The Byzantines certainly wanted to regain the Holy Land because we know that Emperors Nicephoros Phokas (963–969) and John I Tzimiskes (969–976) seriously attempted to re-conquer Jerusalem in several campaigns. After Emperor Basil II (976–1025), however, an opportunity for the Byzantines to re-establish their political presence in Jerusalem never occurred again; Canard, *La destruction*, 16–43, with references; B. Krsmanović, *Uspon vojnog plemstva u Vizantiji XI veka*, Beograd 2001, 1–32.

³⁰ *Menander*, 41–43, citation on 53.

the collective memory of the Holy Sepulchre in the Byzantine world. Already, in the late ninth century, the miracle of the Holy Fire (Άγιον Φῶς) – the miraculous event preceding the Orthodox Easter when light emanates in the Cave of the Holy Sepulchre and forms a column of fire which is used to light the church candles – was attested to in both Arabic and Christian sources.³¹ This singular event associated with both the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and the Tomb of Christ prevails among Orthodox believers until present.

Very little is known about actual Byzantine architectural interventions in the Holy Sepulchre. It is undeniable that the architecture of the whole complex changed significantly after al-Hākim's destruction, and never regained its previous size or form. By the 1040s the Holy Sepulchre complex was rebuilt in at least two major reconstruction campaigns.³² The first phase was local in inspiration and technical achievement, probably initiated by al-Hakim's mother Maria and perhaps supported by the Byzantines during the period 1012–1023. The second phase was more directly Byzantine and imperial in scope and architecture, starting in ca. 1037/1038 and finished either by the time of Michael IV the Paphlagonian (1034–1041) before 1041 or of Emperor Constantine IX Monomachos (1042–1059) in 1048.³³ The Byzantines definitely recon-

³¹ There is no surviving evidence about the Holy Fire from the time when Emperor Constantine I built the Jerusalem complex, or earlier. Some auxiliary references to the miraculous lighting of Paschal lamps and the light ceremony in Jerusalem in previous periods recorded by Eusebius and the nun Egeria should not be related to the phenomenon of the Holy Fire, which is always associated with the cave within the shrine of the Tomb of Christ; Eusebius, *The History of the Church*, ed. G. A. Williamson, New York 1965, VI. 9, 249–249; *Egeria, Travels*, 90. Some of the earliest dated sources dealing with the relic of the Holy Fire are from the ninth-century writings by monk Bernard and by Arab witnesses. Bernard a Frankish monk on pilgrimage, wrote: "Hoc... dicendum quod Sabbato Sancto, quod est vigilia Paschae, mane officium incipitur in ecclesia: et post peractum officium, Kyrie eleison canitur, donec veniente angelo lumen in lampadibus accendatur, quae pendent super praedictum sepulcrum: de quo dat patriarcha episcopis et reliquo populo, ut illuminet sibi in suis locis." *Bernardi itinerarium factum in loca sancta anno DCCCLXX*, PL 121, col. 572. Essentially this account describes that on Holy Saturday, at the end of the Vigil of the Easter, after singing Kyrie eleison ("Lord have mercy"), the angel comes and lights the lamps, which are suspended above the Tomb. The Patriarch then passes this light to the bishops and the faithful; v. Th. Wright, *Early Travels in Palestine, Comprising the Narratives of Arculf, Willibald, Bernard, Seawulf, Sigurd, Benjamin of Tudela, Sir John Maundeville, de la Brocquière, and Maundrell*, London 1848, xiv. On contemporary Muslim sources which record essentially the same elements of the rite of the Holy Fire; v. F. E. Peters, *Jerusalem: The Holy City in the Eyes of Chronicles, Visitors, Pilgrims, and Prophets from the Days of Abraham to the Beginning of Modern Times*, Princeton 1985, 262. For a historical overview of the phenomenon of the Holy Fire v. Auxentios of Photiki, Bishop, *The Paschal Fire in Jerusalem: A study of the Rite of the Holy Fire in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre*, Berkeley 1999, ch. 1. On the phenomenon of the Holy Fire and its relation to art v. A. Lidov, *The Holy Fire and the Translations of New Jerusalem: Hierotopical and Art-Historical Aspects*, in: *New Jerusalem*, ed. A. Lidov, Moscow 2006, 58–70 (expanded version of the paper: A. Lidov, *The Holy Fire: Hierotopical and Art-Historical Aspects of the Creation of "New Jerusalem"*, in: *New Jerusalem: Hierotopy and Iconography of Sacred Spaces*, ed. A. Lidov, Moscow 2009, 293–312).

³² R. Ousterhout, *Rebuilding the Temple: Constantine Monomachus and the Holy Sepulchre*, *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 48 (1989) 66–78.

³³ The prevailing scholarly information on the eleventh-century reconstruction of the Holy Sepulchre by the Byzantines comes from Western sources. The date of 1048 was based on Western sources

structed the Rotunda. From the point of view of construction, the rebuilding of both the Tomb and the Rotunda run simultaneously, at least in the initial phases;³⁴ this may potentially account for the occasional intermingling of their centrally planned architecture in descriptive accounts. Constantine's basilica, however, was never restored. The entire complex became much smaller, with the main entrance to the complex relocated to the south of the courtyard. Again, it seems as if for the Byzantine world, the miracle of the Holy Fire was closely associated with the architectural changes in the complex because, if it had not during previous restorations, the Rotunda, originally a memorial, already functioned as a church in the ninth century (Fig. 2).³⁵

Presumably, during each reconstruction of the complex, the Byzantines first restored the major *locus sanctus*, the Holy Sepulchre.³⁶ Yet, how did the Byzantines accomplish these reconstructions? Because the Byzantines had already lost their imperial presence in the city of Jerusalem in the seventh century and because they most likely didn't keep records on the architectural design of the Holy Sepulchre – as there is no evidence of architectural schools and advanced architectural training – the Byzantine reconstructions were not based on a definite pictorial scheme, but rather on the orderly combination of particular motifs, which the Byzantines built upon their belief system and related memorable imagery. In other words, it can be hypothesized that the mnemonic endurance, which reveals what the Byzantines and we today can and cannot recall about the Holy Sepulchre, was related to the rhetorical endurance of surviving descriptions of the Holy Sepulchre. The building itself functioned as a rhetorical device. At the same time, it is possible to reveal the similar patterns of design between the few surviving textual descriptions and the architectural remains of the Holy Sepulchre.³⁷

and early documents of the Latin Kingdom, ultimately rooted in the twelfth-century account (after 1165) of William of Tyre, more than a century after the event; L. J. Hoppe, *The Synagogues and Churches of Ancient Palestine*, Collegeville 1994, 108–109; Ousterhout, *Rebuilding the Temple*, 66–78. The *Synopsis* written by Skylitzes records that Emperor Romanos III Argyros' (1028–1034) rebuilt the Holy Sepulchre. According to the same source, Emperor Michael IV the Paphlagonian (1034–1041) may have eventually finished the reconstruction; *Ioannis Scylitzae*, 14 (B. 501–503). Skylitzes' account is consistent with independent accounts by a Christian Arab observer, Yahya ibn Sa'id of Antioch and by the Persian traveler Nasir-i-Khusrau, who reported the Church of the Holy Sepulchre as completely restored in 1047. The Antiochene traveler also provided the references for the reconstruction of the Holy Sepulchre by two Byzantine Emperors, Romanos III Argyros and Michael IV the Paphlagonian. According to Biddle, *The Tomb of Christ*, 77–78, with further references.

³⁴ The external wall of the Rotunda was largely intact, surviving at some points up to 11 m in height, which enabled its reconstruction on the Constantinian walls; Patrich, *The Early Church of the Holy Sepulchre*, 101–117.

³⁵ *Jerusalem Pilgrims before the Crusades* (henceforth *Jerusalem Pilgrims*), ed. J. Wilkinson, Warminster 2002, 258–259.

³⁶ The Crusaders' emphasis solely on the recovery of a relic of the True Cross in 1099 and elaborate descriptions of the processions in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre underscore that both the Rotunda and the Tomb-shrine of Christ were largely in use by the end of the eleventh century; J. Folda, *The Art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land, 1098–1187*, Cambridge–New York 1995, 34 sqq; Biddle, *The Tomb of Christ*, 76f, with references to the primary sources.

³⁷ On the hypothesis that such dynamic concordance of two different types of verbal and spatial ordering of architecture can be

Patriarch Photios and Abbot Daniel on the Holy Sepulchre: rhetoric and ars memoriae

Among the rare preserved texts about the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem that come from Byzantine world, the two surviving texts by Patriarch Photios and Abbot Daniel are of the greatest importance. Due to their extremely detailed accounts, they can be compared and additionally contrasted with some visual and architectural evidence. These two authors – Patriarch Photios in the ninth century and the Russian abbot Daniel more than two centuries later – each wrote about the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, both including distinct discussions about its Shrine of the Tomb of Christ. Photios wrote his epistolary account *About the Tomb of Our Lord Jesus Christ* according to the description of an eye witness and right in the aftermath of the Iconoclastic controversy.³⁸ His text is not a first-hand account of the Holy Sepulchre and, in addition, is also related to a larger extended theological discussion on the role of testimony of Christ's Incarnation in Flesh, which was a major theological issue of the Iconoclastic controversy. In this context, the Tomb of Christ is the place of the death and the resurrection of Christ and, therefore, invested with complex ontological and corporeal meanings for the Orthodox Christian believers. Daniel, however, visited the Holy Sepulchre not once but several times during his sixteen months as a pilgrim in the Holy Land around 1106, most likely from 1105 to 1107, just before major changes by the Crusaders to the church of the Holy Sepulchre in the mid-twelfth century.³⁹ Daniel also records that he had a local guide, an elderly monk from St. Sabbas monastery near Jerusalem, who “was well versed in the Scriptures.”⁴⁰

Therefore, though concerned with the architecture and place of the Tomb, these two descriptions also borrow images from the contemporary theological, exegetical, and liturgical practices. In contrast to the exuberant rhetorical texts written by contemporary Byzantine authors such as Psellos, Choniates, or Photios himself when he writes about the church of H. Sophia in Constantinople,⁴¹ these texts by Photios and Daniel about the Tomb of Christ are strikingly short and simple. Yet, *brevity* (*syntomia*) and *clarity* (*sapheneia*) are stylistic features probably chosen with purpose.⁴² I would suggest that Photios and

detected already in Vitruvius' studies of architecture, v. G. E. Meyers, *Vitruvius and the Origins of Roman Spatial Rhetoric*, *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 50 (2005) 67–86.

³⁸ Photios, 146; *Egeria, Travels*, 258–259; Papadopoulos, *Ιστορία της Εκκλησίας Ιεροσολύμων*, 339–340. V. also Appendix 1. On the role of Photios during the Iconoclastic controversy v. F. Dvornik, *The Patriarch Photios and Iconoclasm*, *DOP* 7 (1953) 67–98.

³⁹ *Abbot Daniel*, vii–xv, 1–82, 91, and on 73, Daniel highlights how he wrote only about what he personally saw with his own eyes. I thank M. Marković for discussing with me the dates of Abbot Daniel's pilgrimage, which was previously dated between 1106 and 1108, and due to the detailed analysis of the available sources, shifted to the period between 1105 and 1107 by a Russian scholar N. I. Prokof'ev.

⁴⁰ *Abbot Daniel*, 3.

⁴¹ V. for example, Psellus, *The Chronographia*, passim; Nicetas Choniates, *Chronographia*, ed. J. van Dieten, *Nicetae Choniatae historia*, Berlin 1975, passim; G. Downey, *Nikolaos Mesarites: Description of the Church of the Holy Apostles at Constantinople*, *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 47 (1957) 897–918; Maguire, *Truth and Convention*, 113–140.

⁴² For similar discussion Ch. Roueche, *The Rhetoric of Kekaumenos*, in: *Rhetoric in Byzantium*, 23–37, esp. 32–33.

Daniel use these and other recognizable figures of speech and topoi as rhetorical devices, but at the same time adapt their descriptions of the Holy Sepulchre to a Christian mode of discourse understandable to the majority of medieval people. Hence, their story-telling is both common and specific.⁴³

The emotional and psychological charge of these descriptions is critical. The narrators practice self-control by using the *modesty topos* (*modestia*), through which, as Cicero explained early on, “shame provides the care and stable authority.”⁴⁴ Daniel defines himself as: “unworthy,” “the least among the monks,” “impatient,” and “wicked.”⁴⁵ Daniel’s modesty is powerful because he describes holy places associated with Christ, the One who died to redeem the sins of humankind. Daniel’s and Photios’ testimonies are further strengthened by the reliability of worthy witnesses: “We have learned from those who have taken the trouble to reside in that blessed place,”⁴⁶ says Photos; and “I have described it according to the testimony of the oldest inhabitants who thoroughly knew the holy places,”⁴⁷ confirms Daniel. Again, the statements are Christological in mode because Christ’s ministry and passion are always attested to by witnesses. Continuing to utilize the *modesty topos*, Daniel further explains how his account of the Holy Land is “in simple words, without literary skill.”⁴⁸ Ultimately, the seemingly simple language reflects the informed simplicity of the authors, who in their accounts use simple language that is deeply embedded with spatial and rhetorical mnemonic devices.⁴⁹

Photios and Daniel also structure their descriptions of the Tomb of Christ in a strikingly similar way. Each first describes the location of the Holy Sepulchre, then its form, and finally its decorative features. Simultaneously, their descriptions are both “architectural-structural” and rhetorical as they also allow for the exchange of the architecture’s representational and experiential aspects with mnemonic locations.⁵⁰ Hence, the Tomb is first mapped and site-positioned within the city of Jerusalem. Photios records that the Tomb is “one bowshot away from the ancient Jerusalem.”⁵¹ Daniel further specifies its place in relation to other locations in the city and the Church of the Resurrection: “...upon entering the city the Holy of Holies [the Dome of the Rock] is to the right and the Holy Res-

urrection containing the Holy Sepulchre to the left.”⁵² In locating the Tomb and extending its importance beyond its physical confines, Photios and Daniel rhetorically use three traditional modes of persuasion: *ethos* – as a mode of proof; *pathos* – which is emotionally and emphatically charged; and *logos* – traditionally reserved for the discussion of order in the cosmos.⁵³ Photios maps the Tomb with the use of *ethos* as proof, citing a historical authority to persuade the audience to believe. Thus he writes that “blessed Helena ... enclosed the lifegiving Tomb within the enlarged circuit ... so arranged that it enclosed the lifegiving Tomb as a separate feature in the middle of the Church.”⁵⁴ Emotionally charged as an example of *pathos*, the mapping is emphasized by the use of recognizable rhetorical figures of the *pairs* (*synkrisis*) and *opposites* (*antithesis*). Photios juxtaposes “the lifegiving tomb” to “the piles of rubbish and filth,”⁵⁵ while Daniel speaks of “an immense joy ... and tears shed” in the holy city of Jerusalem.⁵⁶

The architecture of the Holy Sepulchre provides the site par excellence and the tectonic framework for the placement of images that convey and reiterate the expressive potential and meaning of Holy Sepulchre both within and beyond its physical confines. Thus, Daniel pairs locations, assigns meanings to the specific themes represented in mosaics within the church, and relates them to the centrality of the Tomb of Christ within the round church of the Holy Sepulchre. To emphasize the spatial and temporal centrality of the Tomb as the place testifying to Christ’s death and resurrection, Daniel juxtaposes the images of Old Testament prophets, represented high above the galleries “as if alive” with the figure of Christ, the central focus and fulfillment of their prophetic visions.⁵⁷ Daniel also connects Old and New Testaments imagery of eternal life – the *Exaltation of Adam* and *Ascension of Christ* – represented high above on the church walls and contrasts them with the *Annunciation* which emphasizes Christ’s humanity and human form.⁵⁸ Once again, the complex idea of the resurrection is framed by the eponymous church spatially and visually, but also intellectually and emotionally. Similarly, Photios focuses on the Tomb with the central *logos*, the fundamental order of cosmos, here understood in a Christian mode via Incarnational argument: “In fact this Tomb, the source of our immortality, though it is natural rock, has been formed into a tomb by masons.”⁵⁹ In other words, the rock-cut tomb, similar to Christ himself, is the source and place of salvation.

Photios and Daniel agree about the major architectural form as well as about the conceptual and the spatial (even if not necessarily strictly geometrical)⁶⁰ centrality of

⁴³ On the relations between common places and “individualness” within these common places, often literally presented by a site, as well as on the importance of these relations to what we today know as “collective memory” v. Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought*, 36–40.

⁴⁴ V. quotation in: *Cicero on the Genres of Rhetoric*, ed. J. F. Tinkler, 1995 <http://rhetoric.eserver.org/categories/history/classical/genres-of-rhetoric.html> accessed April 1, 2014. On modesty in Byzantine culture v. also, M. Mullet, *Rhetoric, Theory, and the Imperative of Performance: Byzantium and Now*, in: *Rhetoric in Byzantium*, 151–170, esp. 159.

⁴⁵ *Abbot Daniel*, 1–3.

⁴⁶ *Photios*, 146. V. also Appendix 1.

⁴⁷ *Abbot Daniel*, 13.

⁴⁸ *Abbot Daniel*, 73.

⁴⁹ *Supra* note 19.

⁵⁰ On the limits of iconographical and iconological approaches and consideration of representation as a mobile, complex process that involves substitution v. also, G. Didi-Huberman, *Confronting Images. Questioning the Ends of a Certain History of Art*, University Park, PA 2004 (translation of 1990 French edition of the book *Devant l’image: Question pose e aux fin d’une histoire de l’art*).

⁵¹ *Photios*, 146. V. also Appendix 1.

⁵² *Abbot Daniel*, 11. V. also Appendix 2.

⁵³ Ref to use of *ethos*, *pathos* and *logos* as artistic proofs in: *Aristotle. Rhetoric*, ed. J. H. Freese, Cambridge–London 1926, book 1. Chapter 2.

⁵⁴ *Photios*, 146. V. also Appendix 1.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ *Abbot Daniel*, 10; Appendix 2.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 11.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 11.

⁵⁹ *Photios*, 146. V. also Appendix 1.

⁶⁰ R. Krautheimer, S. Ćurčić, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, New Haven – London 1986, 60–61 assumes that the Tomb was in the very center of the Anastasis; the possibility that the Tomb was slightly off-centered towards west remains open also in the light of more recent



Fig. 4. Hypothetical reconstruction of the Shrine Tomb of Christ in Jerusalem from its Byzantine period, ca. eleventh century (drawing author after: Biddle, *The Tomb of Christ*, fig. 66B)

the Tomb in the Rotunda (Figs. 1, 2). The Tomb is separated from the other parts of the Rotunda by an enclosure with gates.⁶¹ The cave-like Tomb chamber made of stone is simple, tiny and intimate, with a burial bench cut in rock. The interior is inclusive, individualized; when visiting the pilgrim physically occupies it. Hence, the interior is measured in minute precision and compared only with the human body. Photios thus uses the rhetorical device of *personification* and describes the entrance to the tomb as a mouth, repeating the expression used by the Evangelists and often reiterated by the pilgrims. For example, Abbot Adamnan of the Monastery of Iona, records the seventh-century account by Arculf, a pilgrim from Gaul, and notes that “we must refer to the difference of names between the Tomb and the Sepulchre; for that round cabin which we have often mentioned, the Evangelists called by another name, the Tomb: they speak of the stone rolled to its mouth, and rolled back from its mouth, when the Lord rose.”⁶² In the twelfth century, pilgrim John Phocas also speaks of the mouth of the Holy Sepulchre.⁶³ Moreover, the Byzantines believed that the soul leaves the body at

research on Constantinian architecture by C. Howard, *Architecture and the After-Life*, New Haven–London 1991, 115. K. J. Kroetch, *And You Will Find the Truth Here’ A Neglected Seventh-Century Description of the Holy Sepulchre*, Tufts University 2013 (unpublished honors thesis), 21–22 brings forward a valuable account by Armenian pilgrim Hovsēp in the seventh century after the reconstruction of the Holy Sepulchre in 624, which highlights that the Tomb is not in the exact center of the Rotunda. The reconstruction drawing of the Anastasis Rotunda also confirms this geometric off-centeredness of the Tomb.

⁶¹ Egeria also described the Cave of Anastasis and recorded that the Holy Tomb was in the center of the sanctuary cut in the form of chapel. The “chapel” had the porch surrounded with stone railings symbolizing the division between heaven and earth; *Egeria, Travels*, 173–175.

⁶² Adamnan, Abbot of Iona. *The Pilgrimage of Arculfus in the Holy Land (About the Year A.D. 670)*, ed. London 1895, 3 (Same in: Arculf, *PPTS* 3, 1897, 6). V. also, J. Bogdanović, *Canopies: The Framing of Sacred Space in the Byzantine Ecclesiastical Tradition*, Princeton 2008, 175 (unpublished doctoral dissertation); Kroetch, *And You Will Find the Truth Here*, 73.

⁶³ Phocas, J., *The Pilgrimage of Johannes Phocas*, ed. A. Stewart, *PPTS* 5, London 1897, 19.

the moment of death through the mouth,⁶⁴ thus making another appropriate associative link to the Tomb of Christ as the place of His resurrection. Namely, applying this idea to the architectural appearance of the Tomb, its “entrance,” can be seen as a kind of mouth, from which the soul departs in the same way that the resurrected Christ emerges from the Tomb. Obviously Photios did not call the opening of the tomb an “entrance,” when he understood it as the exit, the pathway to salvation.

Both Photios and Daniel emphasize the humanistic values of Orthodoxy because the Tomb is defined via its temporal human occupants – both Christ and its visitors – and their bodily, performative actions within the Tomb such as lying, bowing, kissing the bench, standing alone or in a group. These actions inevitably recall pilgrimage rituals and Byzantine church services. Furthermore, both Photios and Daniel topologically and liturgically compare the Tomb with the ambo, which was a piece of liturgical furnishing in the Byzantine church that usually occupied the central position just below the dome and from which public announcements were made.⁶⁵ Thus within this intricate network of its corporeality, the architecture of the Tomb becomes an ontological rhetorical device.

The rough and haptic interior of the rock-cut Tomb chamber is then juxtaposed with its opulent and polished marble exterior in both accounts by Photios and Daniel. The columns and roof are crucial architectural elements for visualizing the Tomb shrine, which was often described as a “small house” and in the accounts by Photios and Daniel liturgically associated with the ambo (Figs. 2, 4, Table 1). Both Photios and Daniel are very insistent on columns that define the Tomb shrine and its relation to the Anastasis Rotunda. Photios explains that there are eleven columns all together, five to the north, five to the south, and between these corresponding alignments one centrally placed to the west, and one left at the opening to the Tomb. Daniel, also highlights the centrally planned “circular” form of the Church of Resurrection, which uses “twelve monolithic columns and six pillars” to envelope the Tomb shrine that had embedded on itself another concentric set of twelve marble columns. Even if Photios’ description is more likely to be more accurate than Daniel’s, it is impossible to determine the exact number of columns that surrounded the Tomb of Christ in the Byzantine period. What matters is that they certainly defined the rounded shape of the shrine and its focal point—the Tomb. Here the most pervasive architectural element, the column, explicitly stands for its ornamental value or in Photios’ words “for piety” (*philothemia, φιλοτιμία*), thereby losing its strictly architectural-structural role. Jukka Jokilehto in his extremely sophisticated study has already connected the practice of setting up a monument, a *column* (emphasis – author), or a temple to mark the importance of the place and its sanctity for future generations, to biblical reference in Genesis 28:18, “... Jacob ... took the stone he put at his head, set it up as a pillar, and poured

⁶⁴ St. Pelikanides, P. Christou, Ch. Mavroulou-Tsioumi, S. Kadas, *Οι θησαυροί του Αγίου Όρους, Α. Εικονογραφημένα χειρόγραφα I*, Athens 1973, 420 with reference to Psalter Dionysiou, *cod.* 65, fol. 11v, ca. 1313, Fig. 121.

⁶⁵ A. Kazhdan, *A Note on the ‘Middle Byzantine’ Ambo*, *Byzantion* 57/2 (1987) 422–426.

oil on top of it,” and Genesis 28:22, “And this stone I set as a pillar shall be God’s house to me...”⁶⁶ Among the Orthodox Christians, the stone set as column from this story of *Jacob’s Ladder* is Christ, the foundation stone of the Church (cf. Mt 21:42–44; Mk 12:10; Lk 20:17–18; Acts 4:11; Rom 9:32–33; 1 Cor 3:10–11; 1 Pt 2:4–8), and the oil signifies the human nature of Christ anointed by the Holy Spirit (ca. Mt 1:18; 3:16; Heb 1:19).⁶⁷ These biblical references are architecturally incorporated within the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. The human-size columns set on bases enclosing the Tomb shrine were potent mnemonic links, as Photios further explains. They were connected at the top by a cornice on which rested a pointed wooden roof. The chimney-like structure on the roof mentioned by Photios, and possibly related to the miracle of the Holy Fire as witnessed by Daniel in 1106,⁶⁸ might have taken the form of an open canopied structure, a “turret (*teremets*) resting on pillars, and terminating in a cupola” as Abbot Daniel narrates. The word *teremets* that Daniel originally used to describe the turret is the Old Slavonic word, which often denoted a pavilion-like, canopied structure, usually any shelter on columns.⁶⁹ Visual representations of the Tomb, dating from the eleventh to the sixteenth centuries, like the fourteenth-century drawing of the Holy Sepulchre from the Vatican library, may actually refer to the Holy Sepulchre with a canopied aedicule, which was known in Byzantine times as well (Fig. 5).⁷⁰ Most depictions show the Tomb as a two-storied building with a domed canopy over the burial chamber. An open canopy set on columns or possibly on paired columns supposedly replaced and replicated the previous roof of the Tomb chamber. An open canopy served in part as a covering for the burial chamber because the Rotunda during the Byzantine reconstruction probably did not have a fully enclosed dome and also would have been able to accommodate the miracle of the Holy Fire.⁷¹

When Daniel visited the Tomb, the shrine may already have been altered by the Crusaders.⁷² In contrast



Fig. 5. *The Descent of the Holy Fire*, ink drawing, *Biblioteca Vaticana*, cod. Urb. Lat. 1362, f. 1v, fourteenth century (from: Biddle, *The Tomb of Christ*, fig. 39)

⁶⁶ J. Jokilehto, *History of Architectural Conservation*, London 2002, 9.

⁶⁷ *The Orthodox Study Bible* (henceforth *Orthodox Bible*), Nashville 2008, 38. V. also, M. Evangelatou, *Ο κίονας ως σύμβολο του Χριστού σε έργα βυζαντινής τέχνης*, *Αρχαιολογία και Τέχνες* 88 (2003) 52–58, who further examines the theme of the column as a symbol of Christ in Byzantine artworks.

⁶⁸ *Abbot Daniel*, 74–78.

⁶⁹ G. P. Majeska, *Russian Travelers to Constantinople in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, Washington 1984, 215; N. N. Voronin, *Zodchestvo severo-vostochnoi Rusi XII–XV vekov*, 1–2, Moskva 1961, 254–255. On the word *υπερμευ* (*teremec*), which denoted canopy in both secular and religious architecture: S. Nenadović, *Ilustrovani rečnik izraza u narodnoj arhitekturi*, Beograd 2002, 77–78, 351.

⁷⁰ The Tomb of Christ would remain essentially unchanged until it was significantly rebuilt again in 1555 as post-eleventh-century models of the Holy Sepulchre like the one in the church of St. Anna, Augsburg, 1507–8 suggests. Biddle, *The Tomb of Christ*, 100 sqq and fig.31 on 31. On the canopy of the aedicule in the eleventh and early twelfth centuries v. also, Marković, *Prvo putovanje*, 192–193; V. A. Fōskolou, *Απεικονίσεις του Παναγιού Τάφου και οι συμβολικές προεκτάσεις τους κατά την ύστερη βυζαντινή περίοδο*, *ΔΧΑΕ* 25 (2004) 225–236.

⁷¹ Ousterhout, *Rebuilding the Temple*, 66–78; *Abbot Daniel*, 11–12.

⁷² *Abbot Daniel*, 12–13, notes new marble slabs covering the burial bench and a sculpture of Christ. Limited archaeological evi-

ence suggests that the entire ground level of the Holy Sepulchre was made even with the upper part of the burial bench at some point, and a new installation, presumably repeating the physical appearance of the original bench, was set above it; V. C. Corbo, *Il Santo Sepolcro di Gerusalemme: aspetti archeologici dalle origini al periodo crociato*, I–III, Jerusalem 1981–1982, pl. 4. Leveling the authentic parts of the shrine in order to build new structures was used in medieval times. The ancient law about *violatio sepulcri* was related to the *locus religiosus*, not so much to its physical appearance and to its architectural setting. For example, a similar approach was used during the re-modeling of St. Peter’s shrine in Rome in the Constantinian period, when the upper part of the *tropaion* marking the holy tomb made level with the new floor of the Old St. Peter’s basilica. The new shrine was placed on top of the original one, while the entire re-arrangement of the “martyrium” zone related to the transept and huge apsidal space was designed for the flow of pilgrims and veneration of the tomb, significantly enlarging but essentially repeating the already established functional scheme from the initial *tropaion* and the open courtyard at the Old necropolis on the Vatican hill; J. Crook, *The Architectural Setting of the Cult of Saints in the Early Christian West, c.300–1200*, Oxford 2000, 80–82; E. Kirschbaum, *The Tombs of St. Peter and St. Paul*, New York 1959, 143–164.



Fig. 6. Icon Canopy, *Hamilton Psalter*, 78.A.9, fol. 39v, ca. 1300, made in Constantinople, belonged to Queen Charlotte of Jerusalem, Cyprus and Armenia, granddaughter of Theodore Palaeologue, despot of Mystra (from: *Byzantium: Faith and Power*, ed. H. C. Evans, New York – New Haven 2004, cat. no. 77)

Crusaders. In addition to Daniel's account, the only image of the figure of Christ topping a shrine and associated with Byzantine artistic production known to me is the icon *proskinetarion* from the bilingual, Greek and Latin *Hamilton Psalter*, the private prayer book of Queen Charlotte of Jerusalem, Cyprus, and Armenia, a granddaughter of Theodore Palaeologos, despot of Mystra.⁷³ This image shows a canopy-like structure covered by a trellis or net-like fabric and topped with a half-length sculpture of Christ (Fig. 6). This early fourteenth-century image confirms the framing of sacred space which, to judge from Daniel's description of the Holy Sepulchre, seems to have evolved from at least the twelfth century.

A comparative analysis of the physical appearance of the Tomb from the fourth to the eleventh centuries, based on both visual and textual evidence (Fig. 7, Table 1), also suggests the rhetorical and topological endurance of architecture of the Holy Tomb across time. The earliest representations of the Tomb of Christ reveal a chamber centrally placed within the Rotunda. The repetitive motifs are railings, scalloped shell niches, (spiral) columns,

⁷³ I. Spartharakis, *The Proskynesis in Byzantine art*, *Bulletin Antieke Beschaving* 49 (1974) 190–205.

a lamp suspended from the top of the tomb, and occasionally hangings suspended from the entrance to the Tomb.⁷⁴ The elements that were not mentioned after the seventh century are the seashell hood of the shrine and its curtains. Columns, lamps, the enclosure and the stone rolled from the entrance are recorded consistently. Therefore, the Tomb is specified topologically through specific, but essentially generic, decorative architectural elements such as columns, cornices, lattice work, or lanterns and high-quality materials including marble, silver, and copper, which also defined the Tomb as a recognizable and memorable free-standing and self-contained object.

The temporal aesthetic and emotional responses to the Tomb, which Photios and Daniel capture in their texts and we can assume capture the responses of other pilgrims and believers, are again guided by the rhetorical devices of the *topos* of beauty (*kallos*) and the *topos* of the opposite emotions such as joy and weeping, emphasizing the close relation between the literary *topos* and the material reality as well as site-related, performative participation in the real, physical and transcendental, metaphysical space of the Tomb. Ultimately, Daniel recognizes that seeing is believing, but adds, “thrice are happy those who visited the places without leaving their homes.”⁷⁵ It is not surprising then that Photios says that the decoration of the Tomb is for piety and connects the ornaments in architecture with contemplation and memory, because the ultimate goal for the preservation of the Holy Sepulchre and its physical reality is the testimony it carries to the ultimate, spiritual truth.⁷⁶

The Tomb and its truth were defined via physical architectural elements, measured by the human body, and charged with aesthetic and emotional responses. This art of memory, which creates links between the visible and the invisible, emphasizes the experiential power of architecture, which is both physical (site-related) and cerebral (intellectual-emotional). The ultimate subject matter for the Byzantines is not the Tomb itself but the human condition, here understood through the Incarnational argument. Daniel's account ends with a *paradox* and a reference to the “Navel of the earth,” which is located just outside the memorable Church of the Holy Sepulchre (Fig. 2). The reference to the “Navel of the earth” (*πυγὴ γῆς, ομφαλός*) comes from the prophetic text of Is 11:11–12⁷⁷ and the promise of the salvation that will come in the sign of the cross from the four corners

⁷⁴ V. for example, Biddle, *The Tomb of Christ*, 21ff; Egeria, *Travels*, 173–175; A. Bonnery, *L'Édicule du Saint-Sépulchre de Narbonne. Recherche sur l'iconographie de l'Anastasis*, *Les Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa* 22 (1991) 7–41.

⁷⁵ *Abbot Daniel*, 82.

⁷⁶ Such insistence on the preservation of an object as testimony to an event or idea in order to transmit the memory to coming generations is also noticeable in biblical references (Ex 16:33–34; Dt 10:2–5) as shown by Jokilehto, *History of Architectural Conservation*, 9. On the importance of architecture for the memory of the Holy Sepulchre cf. Marković, *Prvo putovanje*, 279–282, and note 330, with references.

⁷⁷ Cf. Is 11:11–12 (11: *And it shall come to pass in that day, that the Lord shall set his hand again the second time to recover the remnant of his people, which shall be left, from Assyria, and from Egypt, and from Pathros, and from Cush, and from Elam, and from Shinar, and from Hamath, and from the islands of the sea. 12: And he shall set up an ensign for the nations, and shall assemble the outcasts of Israel, and gather together the dispersed of Judah from the four corners of the earth.*)

of the earth, presumably merging in Jerusalem,⁷⁸ hence the power of the location of the Anastasis-Resurrection complex to attract pilgrims and believers from all corners of the earth. The Navel is, Daniel further records, “covered by a small building on (the vault of) which Christ is represented in mosaic, with this inscription: ‘The sole of My foot serves as the measure for the heaven and [My hand] for the earth.’”⁷⁹ The inscription derives from Is 66:1: “Thus saith the Lord, The heaven is my throne, and the earth is my footstool: where is the house that ye build unto me? and where is the place of my rest?” and its typological New Testament reference in Jn 4:20–24,⁸⁰ when Jesus refused to answer the question about the place of worship.⁸¹ Instead, this small building and its inscription recall for the question of God Himself – “immaterial and unincircumscribed, [that] has no place,”⁸² as explained by John of Damascus in his *Exposition of the Orthodox Faith* in the seventh century. It is critical that John of Damascus, whose writings were crucial for the believers during the middle ages, also emphasized the importance of “mental place where mind is active and mental and incorporeal nature exists.”⁸³ Indeed, for Orthodox Christians, this spatial paradox is partially resolved already in this life by being united with Christ while also awaiting the second coming of Christ, which will be combined with the creation of new heavens and a new earth and Jerusalem filled with joy where “[t]he former things will not be remembered, nor will they come to mind.”⁸⁴

Instead of a Conclusion: The Building in the Memory and Building from Memory

The mnemonic devices expressed in the Holy Sepulchre as a work of architecture and by its architecture imply deep cultural engagement with revealed truths. Photios himself never visited the place; Daniel was there

⁷⁸ Cf. Jn 12:32: *And if I am lifted up from the earth, will draw all peoples to Myself* (Orthodox Bible, 1068).

⁷⁹ Abbot Daniel, 14.

⁸⁰ Jn 4:20: *Our fathers worshiped on this mountain, and you Jews say that in Jerusalem is the place where one ought to worship. 21: Jesus said to her, “Woman, believe Me, the hour is coming when you will neither on this mountain, nor in Jerusalem, worship the Father. 22: You worship what you do not know; we know what we worship, for salvation is of the Jews. 23: But the hour is coming, and now is, when the true worshipers will worship the Father in spirit and truth; for the Father is seeking such to worship Him. 24: God is Spirit, and those who worship Him must worship in spirit and truth.” 25: The woman said to Him, “I know that Messiah is coming” (who is called Christ). “When He comes, He will tell us all things.” 26: Jesus said to her, “I who speak to you am He.”*

⁸¹ V. more in Orthodox Bible, 1429.

⁸² John of Damascus in his *De fide Orthodoxa* I.XIII in the chapter *Concerning the place of God: and that the Deity alone is unincircumscribed* stated that “God, then, being immaterial and unincircumscribed, has no place. For He is His own place, filling all things” and later “[T]hat which is comprehended in place or time or apprehension is circumscribed: while that which is contained by none of these is unincircumscribed. Wherefore the Deity alone is unincircumscribed, being without beginning and without end, and containing all things, and in no wise apprehended.” Citations from *John of Damascus. Exposition of the Orthodox Faith*, in: *Nicene and Post Nicene Fathers*, 9: *Hilary of Poitiers, John of Damascus*, ed. P. Schaff, H. Wace, Oxford–New York 1994, 15–16.

⁸³ *John of Damascus. Exposition of the Orthodox Faith*, 15.

⁸⁴ Cf. Is 65:17–25, quotation from Is 65:17. V. also explanation of and references to this new creation in 2 Cor 5:17 and Rv 21:1–4; *Orthodox Bible*, 1109.

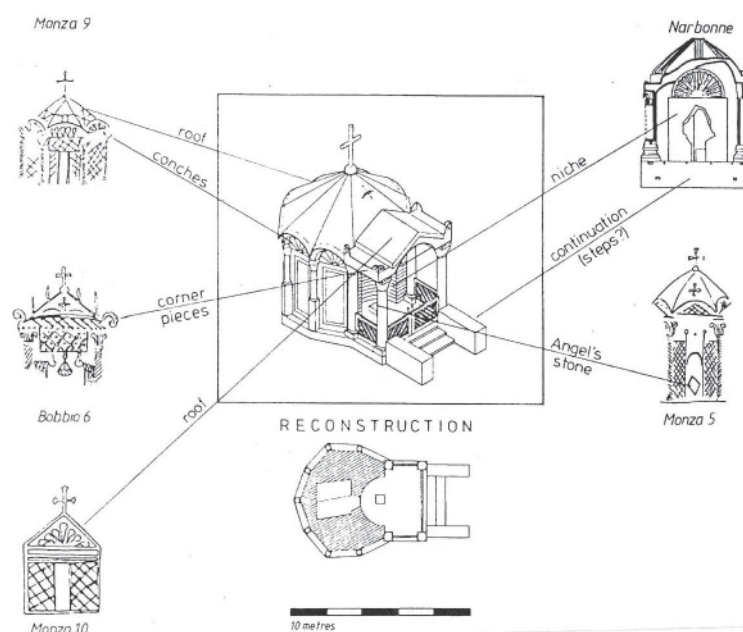


Fig. 7. *Reconstruction of the Early Christian Tomb of Christ based on visual evidence (from: Egeria, Travels, fig. 34)*

several times, but their written memories of the Holy Sepulchre are strikingly similar, suggesting not only the pervasive endurance of the memory of the Holy Sepulchre in the Byzantine cultural landscape but also the very possibility that Photios and Daniel practiced the ancient technique of *ars memoriae*. Patriarch Photios by the virtue of his training in rhetoric was most likely familiar with this technique.⁸⁵ The composition of his narrative about the Tomb of Christ, which starts with the position of the Tomb in relation to Jerusalem and its association with Empress Helena, then focuses on the specifics of the shrine itself closely intertwined with human references, and ends with the discussion of the elements of the Tomb made “for piety,” I would suggest, subtly derives from the Menander’s rhetorical treatise on the praises of cities and highlights in this order: the “position” of the city, by its relation to topography or climate; then its architectural specifics, such as the citadels, and further the city’s “origins, actions, and accomplishments,” including those made “for piety towards the gods.”⁸⁶ Upon closer examination, it is evident that Abbot Daniel similarly selected a set of “headings” for his narrative, essentially following Menander’s outline. In addition, Amy Papalexandrou has demonstrated how Photios discussed narrative and visual rhetorics as mnemonic devices when discussing the saints and the representation of their associated narratives in the Constantinopolitan church of Hagia Sophia: “These stories are conveyed both by stories and by pictures ... For surely, having somehow through the outpouring and effluence of the optical rays touched and encompassed the object, it too sends the essence of the thing seen on to the mind, letting it be conveyed from there to the memory for the concentration of unfailling knowledge. Has the mind seen? Has it grasped? Has it visualized? Then it has ef-

⁸⁵ On Photios’ training in rhetoric v. for example E. Jeffreys, *Rhetoric*, in: *The Oxford Handbook of Byzantine Studies*, eds. E. Jeffreys, J. Haldon, R. Cormack, Oxford 2008, 827–837, esp. 834.

⁸⁶ *Menander*, 32–75.



Fig. 8. Mother of God, Hosios Loukas near Steiris, Phokis, Greece, tenth century, dome

fortlessly transmitted the forms to the memory.”⁸⁷ Abbot Daniel’s account is in regard to his acquaintance with *ars memoriae* further self-revealing because he actually visited the site.⁸⁸ Daniel visited the Holy Sepulchre several times, and each time he visited the same places, thus tracing the very practice of *ars memoriae*, which prescribed that practitioners approach the building and walk through it several times, each time in the same order. His extremely accurate description of the Tomb of Christ, with its painstaking and accurate recording of its measurements, creates the most precise among the surviving medieval reports on the Holy Sepulchre⁸⁹ and further confirms the power of *ars memoriae* for memorizing. I would suggest that the obvious combination of this ancient practice of *ars memoriae* with the biblical and medieval liturgical references reinforced each other and highlighted the rhetorical potency of architecture. I would even propose that the craft of rhetoric and the rhetoric of architecture in Byzantine culture reveals that the buildings as remembered in the text and the actual place also helped their perpetual re-creation in both collective and cultural memory and their actual architectural re-construction(s).

The rhetoric of architecture and the memory of the Holy Sepulchre are critical for understanding the rhetorical capacities of architecture because this architectural complex of the Holy Sepulchre, which was of greatest importance for believers, prevailed over all its diachronic and physical transformations and simultaneously set the

⁸⁷ A. Papalexandrou, *The Memory Culture of Byzantium*, in: *A Companion to Byzantium*, ed. L. James, Chichester–Malden 2010, 108–122 with reference to Photius, *Homilies*, XVII, 5 as translated by C. Mango, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire 312–1453*, Toronto 1986, 189–190.

⁸⁸ Daniel describes what he sees and what he knows, yet he certainly visited the Tomb several times himself. Vivid descriptions as how one day he enters the Holy Sepulchre alone without a guide and bribes the guard to lift the marble cover over the Tomb of Christ, so as to chip a piece of stone and take it as a relic to Russia, as well as references to the historical figures he mentions, corroborates the validity of Daniel’s firsthand experience of the Holy Sepulchre; *Abbot Daniel*, 80–82.

⁸⁹ V. discussion in: *Abbot Daniel*, 91–108.

standards for understanding the architectural concept of sacred space in the Byzantine realm.⁹⁰ Hence, even if practitioners of *ars memoriae* – such as the highly intellectual churchmen Patriarch Photios and Abbot Daniel examined here – did not carry out the rhetoric of architecture in its technical capacity nor possess the body of knowledge necessary for actual architectural design and building, their role in spreading mnemonic links that the Byzantines may have used for their architectural accomplishments should not be underestimated.⁹¹ The Byzantines may have used these strong mnemonic links for their actual reconstructions of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. Despite an observation that “the [Tomb] of modern times is in a far closer continuity with the earliest Cave than has usually been imagined,”⁹² (cf. Figs. 1, 3, 4, 5) the actual physical appearance of the Tomb from the Byzantine times remains controversial and any reconstruction hypothetical, but ultimately not critical. Mnemonic images could shape each Byzantine rebuilding of the Holy Sepulchre,⁹³ but we are reminded that it was never an exact replica of the previous building.⁹⁴ Under the Byzantines, the Holy Sepulchre, originally built as a commemorative martyrion functioned as a church, while its Tomb chamber acquired a canopy-like roof to resonate the miracle of the Holy Fire. However, these new architectural elements marked a historical discontinuity in the physical reality of the Holy Sepulchre, while the cognitive value of their novelty that framed the holy place of the Resurrection and localized the holy event of the Holy Fire, which was crucial for the Byzantine collective memory of the Holy Sepulchre, “for – as Carruthers wittingly remarked – we remember best what is unusual.”⁹⁵

The generic, pattern-like quality of the architectural form of the Tomb aedicule and its tectonics invested the space with its expressive potentials; therefore, its expressive potentials, rather than its exact physical and visual likeness across time, accounted for its pervasive potency for the “collective” memory of the Holy Sepulchre and its meaning as the promise of salvation and the New Jerusa-

⁹⁰ I thank I. Drpić for discussing with me the importance of this distinctiveness of the architecture of the Holy Sepulchre in relation to other examples of Byzantine architecture.

⁹¹ On this critical philosophical question whether rhetoric is art in its technical capacity, which the ancient philosophers posed early on with an ambiguous answer and thus highlighting the capacity of rhetoric as a powerful tool to potentially coordinate distinct and discordant disciplines v. also: D. Roochnik, *Is Rhetoric an Art?*, *Rhetorica* 12/2 (1994) 127–154.

⁹² *Egeria, Travels*, 252.

⁹³ Carruthers also claims that rhetoric as composition and invention may account for the actual building of architectural structures, *Craft of Thought*, 255. V. also R. Bork, *The Geometry of Creation. Architectural Drawing and the Dynamics of Gothic Design*, Farnham 2011, 422 who highlights the methodological continuity of geometric patterns relevant for the development of medieval architectural drawing and Gothic design but is of the opinion that they were independent of elucidating texts and theoretical thinking.

⁹⁴ M. Marković, (*Prvo Putovanje*, 279–282) effectively shows how even when Russian Patriarch Nikon (1652–1658) obtained exact plan and measurements of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, its replica, built in the New Jerusalem monastery near Moscow, was not an exact copy. Rather, the focus of the design of the New Jerusalem monastery katholikon was on the floor plan and spatial concept of the church of the Holy Sepulchre.

⁹⁵ Carruthers, *Craft of Thought*, 131.

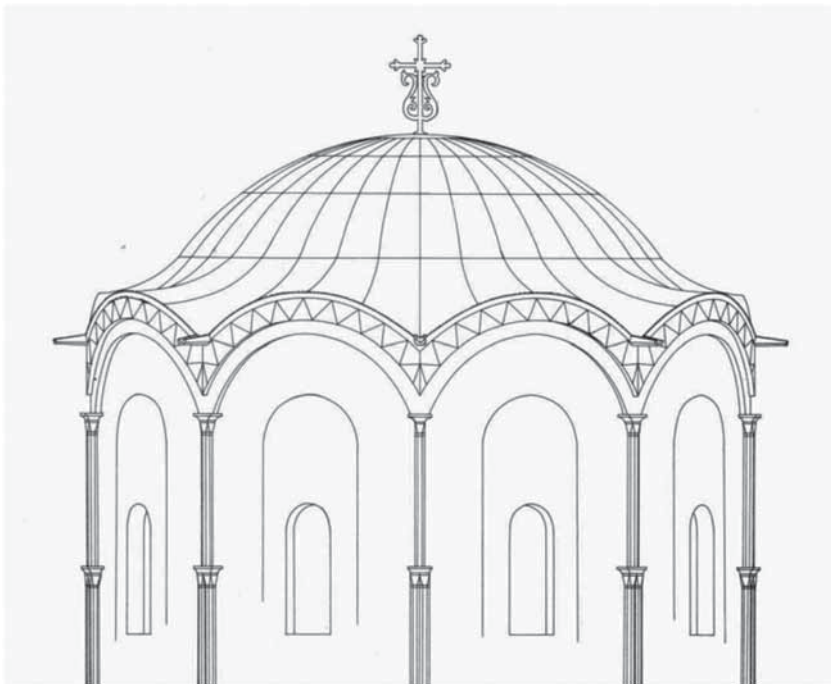


Fig. 9. Nea Moni, Chios, ca. 1050s, dome
(from: Bouras, *Nea Moni*, fig. 89)

lem.⁹⁶ The dome drums of numerous Byzantine churches include engaged colonnettes, executed of marble or high-quality stone, or, in a later tradition, painted columns at angles, all of which gave the dome the appearance of a canopy reminiscent of the Tomb of Christ and the Holy Sepulchre.⁹⁷ While it can be said that, by extension, every Byzantine church materializes the idea of the Heavenly Jerusalem, unique and memorable elements of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem may account for the more specific manifestation of this meaning of selected Byzantine churches. The case in point is the peculiar use of engaged double-colonnettes between arches of the dome drums in several Byzantine churches, which, in my opinion, because of their non-typicality, more directly refer to the memorable image of the Holy Sepulchre. Hence, the dome drum of the tenth-century Church of the Virgin in the monastery of Hosios Loukas monastery features engaged two-tiered marble colonnettes, suggestive of a canopy, as well as, between them, representations of the cross of Golgotha raised on a three-stepped base (Fig. 8), thus invoking the Holy Sepulchre complex. Emperor Constantine IX Monomachos, who may have been responsible for the reconstruction of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem,

⁹⁶ V. also a discussion how generic but highly recognizable forms like a lamp suspended from the top of the Tomb fostered group identity and a sense of sacred presence in: M. Gray, *The pilgrimage as ritual space*, in: *Holy Ground*, eds. A.T. Smith, A. Brookes, Oxford 2001, 91–97.

⁹⁷ Bogdanović, *Canopies: The Framing of Sacred Space*, 177–190; Bouras, *Nea Moni*, 106–110, 152; M. Mihaljević, *Constantinopolitan Architecture of the Komnenian Era (1080–1180) and Its Impact in the Balkans*, Princeton 2010, 68–71 (unpublished doctoral dissertation). Double colonnettes at the dome drums, built of the same material as the dome, were in use in Armenian architecture from the ninth century: T. Marutian, *Arkhitekturnye pamiatniki: Zvartnots, Avan, Sobor Aniiskoi Bogomateri*, Yerevan 1989, 155f. On the so-called onion-shaped domes in medieval Russian architecture as a reference to the canopy of the Holy Sepulchre v. also A. Lidov, *The Canopy over the Holy Sepulchre: On the Origin of Onion-Shaped Domes*, in: *Jerusalem in Russian Culture*, eds. A. Batalov, A. Lidov, New York–Athens 2006, 171–180.

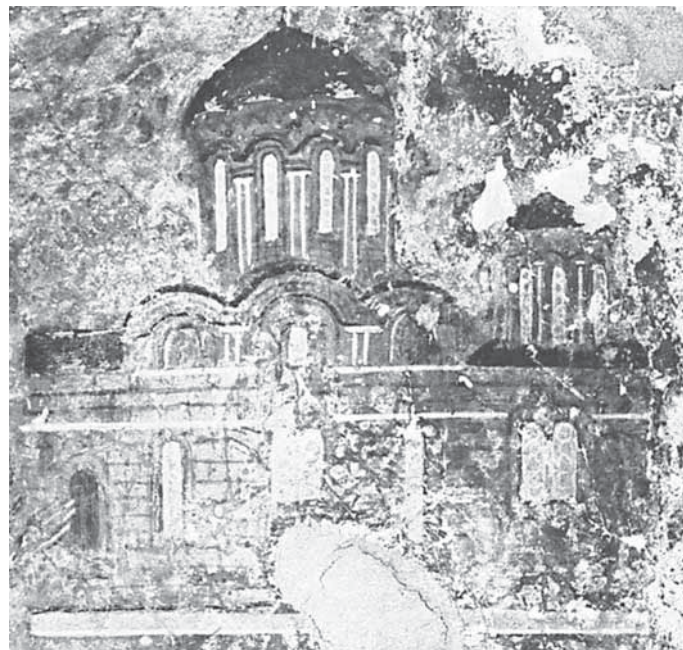


Fig. 10. Panagia Krina, Chios, ca. 1200, dome as shown in the fresco in the church narthex (from: Bouras, *Nea Moni*, fig. 94)

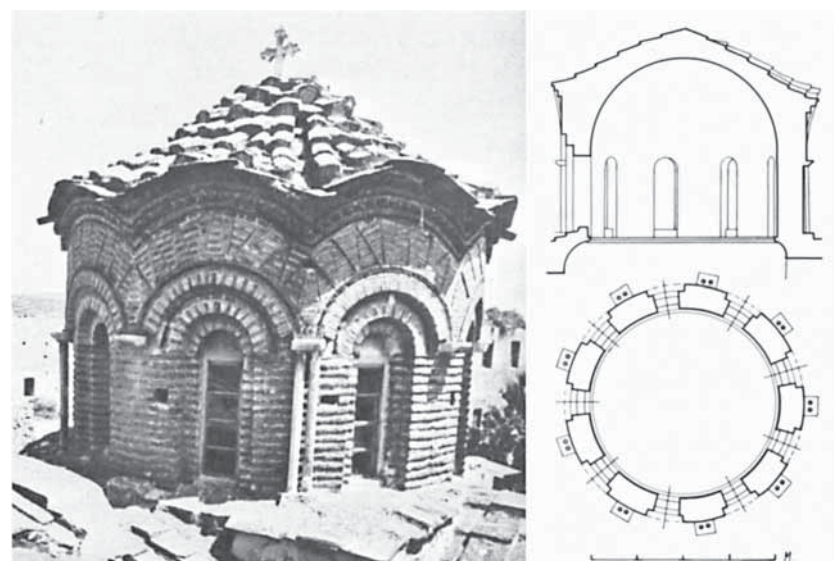


Fig. 11. Hagioi Apostoloi, Pyrgi, Chios, thirteenth century, dome, historical photography and drawing of the section and plan of the dome (from: Bouras, *Nea Moni*, figs. 91–92)

also built the church of Nea Moni on the island of Chios, where the extensive and unusual use of non-structural columns and paired columns has been already noted by Charalambos Bouras.⁹⁸ In this case the unique feature of the paired, “classicizing” columns supporting the dome as sometimes depicted in reference to the Tomb of Christ is comparable to the two-tiered and paired, freestanding marble colonnettes of the dome in Nea Moni (Fig. 9). The two later churches on Chios – Panagia Krina and Hagioi Apostoloi at Pyrgi – built as small-scale replicas of Nea Moni essentially preserved this feature of paired colonnettes (Figs. 10, 11).⁹⁹ Although the use of twin-

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 106–110.

⁹⁹ On Byzantine examples of the dome with paired columns more in: Bouras, *Nea Moni*, 109; Mihaljević, *Constantinopolitan Architecture*, 68–71.

colonnets is not archaeologically attested to in the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, this feature of Roman and Early Christian imperial architecture is also seen in the depiction of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem in the fifth-century Munich ivory and the fourteenth-century drawing of the Holy Sepulchre Shrine from the Vatican library (Figs. 5, 12); therefore, this feature within the Byzantine cultural context points to the architecture and meaning of the Holy Sepulchre. The unusual and anachronistic motive of the engaged paired columns has already been noticed in the context of the Crusaders' architectural interventions in the Holy Sepulchre. Engaged paired columns were repeated in the choir, which was not a common solution for French cathedrals of the period and Jürgen Krüger has suggested that the columns served as markers between the Constantinian and Byzantine buildings.¹⁰⁰ Such a suggestion remains unverifiable, but the intentional use of engaged paired columns as potent symbolic features known from the Hellenistic and Old Testament past, firmly rooted in Jerusalem, are worth mentioning. Moreover, the two columns, or double-knotted columns at the entrance to the sanctuary have been related to the Temple of Solomon in Byzantine art and texts since the late tenth century.¹⁰¹ Furthermore, by focusing on ornaments as carriers of meaning, or made "for piety" as Photios emphasized, it can be suggested that the Byzantine insistence on the colonnettes surrounding the centrally planned Tomb aedicula in Jerusalem may account to the memorable use of engaged colonnettes for the domes of Byzantine churches. In turn, these churches can be associated with the iconic, three-dimensional image of the Holy Sepulchre with the overarching meaning of the Heavenly Jerusalem as the heavenly realm and the "locus" of the Resurrection and salvation. Hence, the role of ornament as an integral component of Byzantine architecture seems to mirror the role of ornament in rhetorical composition for contemplation and remembrance, gathering literally and symbolically site-related associations into a "place."¹⁰² In that context, ornament as both literary and architectural device is simultaneously an ontological and corporeal tool deeply embodied in the compositional craft of rhetoric, including the rhetoric – the craft – of architecture.

In this complex network of rhetorics, it is crucial that architecture links topography, being, time, and memory.¹⁰³ The concept of topology – which focuses both on a literary and a mnemonic understanding and a transcendental thinking of place (*topos*) within larger networks, that include topography and cultural landscapes, and questions how the changes in a given place that occur over

¹⁰⁰ J. Krüger, *Die Grabeskirche zu Jerusalem: Geschichte, Gestalt, Bedeutung*, Regensburg 2000, 108.

¹⁰¹ I. Kalavrezou, *The Knotted Column*, Byzantine Studies Conference Abstracts of Papers 4 (1978) 31–32.

¹⁰² On the detachment of ornament and structure in modern architectural discourse v. A.-M. Sankovitch, *Structure/Ornament and the Modern Figuration of Architecture*, *Art Bulletin* 80/4 (1998) 687–717 and A. Payne, *From Ornament to Object. Genealogies of Architectural Modernism*, New Haven–London 2012.

¹⁰³ On similar conclusions based on studies of modern architecture v. J. Pallasmaa, *Space, Place, Memory, and Imagination: The Temporal Dimension of Existential Space*, in: *Spatial Recall: Memory in Architecture and Landscape* (henceforth *Spatial Recall*), ed. M. Treib, Routledge 2009, 16–41 and E. da Costa Meyer, *The place of place in memory*, in: *Spatial Recall*, 176–193.



Fig. 12. *The Tomb of Christ and the Ascension of Christ*, Munich ivory, ca. fifth century (Inv. Nr. MA 157, Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Munich)

time affected the history of that locale – becomes critical for understanding the historical and spatial relevance of the rhetoric of architecture in the Byzantine context.¹⁰⁴ It may be said that the self-perpetuating topological replication of recognizable architectural types or patterns is a crucial design principle in Byzantine architecture. In other words, formulaic changes in Byzantine architecture over time induced similar changes, revealing how such diachronic and patterned changes in topographical and cultural landscape affected the *long durée* of Byzantine architecture. Because no two Byzantine churches are the same, even though we identify them as being "Byzantine" so easily, we may speak of the importance of patterns rather than an exact likeness for both Byzantine architecture and its recognition and reception.¹⁰⁵ Simply put, the "typical" Byzantine church is often reduced to a box-like structure with a prominent dome, lavishly decorated with monu-

¹⁰⁴ While the current uses of topology either in mathematics that deals with mathematical understanding of shapes and space and their transformations or in philosophy such as Heidegger's topology are rather post-medieval, in each case, topology partakes of the ancient notion of place – either Greek *topos* or Latin *locus*. V., for example, J. Malpas, *Heidegger's Topology. Being, Place, World*, Cambridge, Mass. 2006, 27–37.

¹⁰⁵ Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought*, 26.

mental mosaics or frescoes of religious figurative and narrative images in its interior. In addition, the repetitive formulae of rhetorical texts about architecture and the ancient rhetorical, site-related techniques of *ars memoriae* appear crucial for remembering specific works of Byzantine architecture, both real and imagined.¹⁰⁶ In the case of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and its Shrine of the Tomb of Christ, the vivid collective image of their often interchangeably referenced architecture was reduced to the spatial image of a domed structure with columns that stood equally for the structures of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the Shrine of the Tomb of Christ itself, and the domes of numerous Byzantine churches, thus revealing the non-imitative potency of Byzantine architecture based on exact likeness. The *long durée* of the complex of the

Holy Sepulchre, which already in the seventh century was in the non-Byzantine territories, prevailed over its numerous changes, including the destruction of the site in 1099 and subsequent reconstructions. Yet, it is the participatory event of pilgrimages and above all the annual event of the miracle of the Holy Fire that re-charged the performative dynamics of our otherwise modern static understanding of the architecture of the Holy Sepulchre. Hence, in the end, it was not critical when and what the Byzantines saw or really knew about architecture in Jerusalem, but rather how this architecture became a powerful albeit diachronical rhetorical and design tool, deeply embedded in their cultural construction, perception and reception of the sacred space.

¹⁰⁶ V. for example Saradi, *The Kallos*, 37–56; Webb, *The Aesthetics of Sacred Space*, 59–74; Elsner, *The Rhetoric of Buildings*, 33–57.

Appendix 1

*Photios, Question 107 to Amphilochius. About the Tomb of Our Lord Jesus Christ*¹⁰⁷

The saving Tomb of the Lord of all is one bowshot away from the ancient Jerusalem. Indeed blessed Helena, when she visited Jerusalem and cleared that holy place of the piles of rubbish and filth there extended the buildings and the city wall. She started at a point on the ancient wall overlooking the saving Tomb, extended the perimeter, and enclosed the lifegiving Tomb within the enlarged circuit.

She also laid there the foundations of a holy sanctuary, so arranged that it enclosed the lifegiving Tomb as a separate feature in the middle of the Church. It took the place of an ambo, even though it was not used as one. Those intending to enter it have to pass through the sanctuary, and no one can enter the Tomb without going through the gates of the sanctuary.

In fact this Tomb, the source of our immortality, though it is natural rock, has been formed into a tomb by masons. The rock has been hollowed out from east to west, forming a narrow chamber. The space thus cut away is high enough to take man standing upright, wide enough only for one man to pass along, but long enough to take three or four in a row. Inside the rock chamber an additional amount of rock has been removed to create a rectangular recess long enough to take a man lying at full length, and on this the faithful Joseph is said to have laid the sinless body of the Lord. The entry for the Tomb, if that is the name to call it, or the mouth of the tomb, where the workman began to cut in, has its opening fac-

ing east, and it so happens that any one who approaches make their bow to the west.

The stone which originally rolled across the mouth of the tomb and closed it was long ago, it is said, broken in two. Part of it has been bound with copper, and stands next to the tomb, and the other part is placed on the west part of the gallery. This too receives its due veneration, lying there for all to revere. Once a year the stone bound with copper is anointed with holy balsam by the patriarch, and particularly after the Saviour's Passion it serves as a Holy Table. So much for the Tomb itself.

Now about the additions made for decoration—or rather, for piety. The tomb has columns the height of a man which are set on bases. On the left and on the right there is an equal number, five on the north matching those on the south, with not the least difference in their shape or size. Between these corresponding rows at the western end there a column stands at the centre, but at the east end there is nothing, so as to leave an opening in front of the mouth of the Tomb. On top of these eleven columns rests a rectangular arrangement of cornices, joining the columns, and on top of these cornices (those on the east and west as well as those on the north and south) rest the elements forming the roof of the tomb. But the maker avoided round vaulting, and made a circular feature instead of an ordinary roof, joining the beams to form a kind of chimney. It was a tall roof, so that the upper end of the roof elements were more like the apex of a cone than a symmetrical roof. What we are now describing we learned from those who have made that blessed place a point of precise attention. [who have taken the trouble to reside in that blessed place].

¹⁰⁷ Photios, *Question 107 to Amphilochius. About the Tomb of Our Lord Jesus Christ*, in: *Jerusalem Pilgrims before the Crusades*, ed. J. Wilkinson, Warminster 2002 (1977) 146. Also, published in: *Egeria, Travels*, 258–259. Greek text in: Papadopoulos, *Ιστορία*, 339–40.

Appendix 2

*Russian Abbot Daniel in the Holy Land*¹⁰⁸

Jerusalem

The holy city of Jerusalem lies in arid valleys, in the midst of high rocky mountains. It is only on approaching the city that one sees, first, the Tower [house] of David; then advancing a little, the Mount of Olives, the Holy of Holies [Dome of the Rock – *explanation added by the author*], the Church of the Resurrection, in which is the Holy Sepulchre; and finally, the whole city.

...

Every Christian is filled with an immense joy at sight of the holy city of Jerusalem; and tears are shed by the faithful. None can choose but weep when they see the places so ardently longed for, where Christ our God endured the Passion for the remission of our sins; and thus, full of this deep joy, the journey to Jerusalem is continued on foot.

...

On entering the city there is a road traversing it, which to the right leads to the Holy of Holies, and to the left to the Holy Resurrection containing the Holy Sepulchre.

The Church of the Resurrection of the Lord

The Church of the Resurrection is of circular form; it contains twelve monolithic columns and six pillars, and is paved with very beautiful marble slabs. There are six entrances, and galleries with sixteen columns. Under the ceiling, above the galleries, the holy prophets are represented in mosaic as if they are alive; the altar is surmounted by a figure of Christ in mosaic. At the high altar there is an “Exaltation of Adam” in mosaic; and the mosaic of the arch above represents the Ascension of our Lord. There is an “Annunciation” in mosaic on the pillars on either side of the altar. The dome of the church is not closed by a stone vault, but it is formed of a framework of wooden beams, so that the church is open at the top. The Holy Sepulchre is beneath this open dome.

Here is the description of the Holy Sepulchre: it is a small cave hewn in the rock, having an entrance so low that a man can scarcely get through by going on bended knees; its height is inconsiderable, and its dimensions, equal in length and breadth, do not amount to more than 4 cubits. When one has entered the grotto by the little entrance, one sees on the right hand a sort of bench, cut in the rock of the cavern, upon which the body of our Lord Jesus Christ was laid; it is now covered by marble slabs. This sacred rock, which all Christians kiss, can be seen through three small round openings on one side. There are five large oil-lamps burning night and day suspended in the Sepulchre of our Lord. The holy bench upon which the body of Christ rested is 4 cubits in length [~185cm / 84in– *modern measurements in metric and imperial system of units, added by the author*],

2 [~92 cm / 42in] in width, and 1 ½ [~70 cm / 31in] in height. Three feet in front of the entrance to the cavern there is the stone upon which the angel sat who appeared to the women and announced to them the resurrection of Christ. The holy grotto is cased externally with beautiful marble, like a raised platform (ambo), and is surrounded by twelve columns of similar marble. It is surmounted by a beautiful turret resting on pillars, and terminating in a cupola, covered with silver-gilt plates, which bears on its summit a figure of Christ in silver, above the ordinary height; this was made by the Franks. This turret, which is exactly under the open dome, has three doors skillfully executed in trellis-work; it is by these doors that one enters the Holy Sepulchre. It is this grotto, then, which served as the Lord’s Sepulchre; and I have described it according to the testimony of the oldest inhabitants, who thoroughly know the holy places.

The Church of Resurrection is round in form, and measures 30 sagènes [~ 64m / 210ft] each way. It contains spacious apartments in the upper part, in which the Patriarch lives. They count 12 sagènes [~25m / 84ft] from the entrance of the tomb to the wall of high altar. Behind the altar, outside the wall, is the ‘Navel of the earth,’ which is covered by a small building on (the vault of) which Christ is represented in mosaic, with this inscription: ‘The sole of My foot serves as the measure for the heaven and [My hand] for the earth.’

Table 1: Architectural features of Christ’s tomb in Jerusalem

architectural features	4 th – 6 th centuries	7 th century	8 th – 9 th century	after 1009
Columns	+	Not available (NA)	+	+
twisted columns	+/-	NA	NA	+ – displaced
lattice / trellis work	+	NA	NA	+
sea-shell hood	+	NA	NA	NA
lamps-number varies	+	+	+	+
Enclosure	+	NA	+	+
curtains/hangings	+	NA	NA	NA
canopy-like top	NA	NA	? [chimney?]	+
stone rolled from the entrance	+	+	+ [broken in two, one part served as an altar]	+
marble casing	NA	+	NA	+
metal plating of any part of the Shrine	NA	gold	copper	silver
Sculpture of Christ	NA	NA	NA	+
The term used to describe the Shrine	aedicula (little house)	tugurium (little house)	ambo	ambo

¹⁰⁸ *Pilgrimage of the Russian Abbot Daniel in the Holy Land. Circa 1106–1107, in: Palestine Pilgrims Text Society 4, New York 1971 (1887–89) 10–14. Russian text in: Puteshestvie igumana Danila, 1–45, excerpt on 12–15; and the more recent critical edition: Kniga khozhenii, esp. 32–37.*

The architectural features of the Tomb Aedicula as perceived by the Byzantines and those in their wider cultural circle over time may be summarized in the following table (Table 1). It attempts to describe each feature as it is known to have existed in each of the major historical periods relevant to the architecture of the Shrine: in the initial phase of development, from Constantine to the first destruction in 614; a seventh-century phase based on the

description of the Frankish pilgrim Arculf (Byzantine and other surviving accounts, such as those by the Armenian pilgrim Hovsēp, mention location but do not record features of the shrine); in the period of the eighth and ninth centuries as recorded by Patriarch Photios; and following the destruction in 1009 by Caliph al-Hākim as recorded by Russian pilgrim Abbot Daniel.

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Реторика архитектуре у византијском контексту: пример цркве Светог гроба

Јелена Богдановић

Реторички описни текстови о архитектури говоре о значају визуелног изражавања и саставни су део рецепције појединих архитектонских објеката и сећања на њих у византијској култури. Коришћењем архитектуре за епистемолошко разумевање византијске културе могуће је испитати *реторику архитектуре* уместо *реторику о архитектури*, то јест описивање архитектуре у тексту. У овом раду под *реториком архитектуре* подразумева се серија кодификованих визуелних и архитектонских конвенција које путем низа транспозиција стварају оквири особених значења што надилазе видљиве и просторне аспекте архитектуре. Тако схваћена, *реторика архитектуре* разматрана је више као потенцијал за успостављање меморијских веза важних за сећање на поједине архитектонске објекте и за вештину композиције него као реторичко пропагандно средство које једнозначно треба да убеди посматрача у значење објекта или као могућност прецизног копирања архитектуре на основу тачно одређене форме.

Пошто нема података о архитектонском образовању у Византији, оних што би можда осветлили питање конвенција примењиваних при архитектонском пројектовању и њихову улогу као реторичких средстава и истовремено указали на стварне носиоце *реторике архитектуре*, у овом раду истражује се реторика архитектуре само из перспективе оних који су писали о архитектури. Византинци су наследили античке грчке реторичке технике и оне су биле од великог значаја за присећање на архитектуру, како изведену тако и визионарску, за сећање на њу и њено визуелно разумевање. Антички оратори такође су користили архитектуру као симболично уређен меморијски систем, који је био заснован на простору и месту и у којем је главна идеја била та да су сећања готово увек повезана с простором. У том систему стварна места и архитектонски оквири садрже слике и знакове са сродним знањима или искуствима. Да би запамтио, практичар реторичке технике познате као *ars memoriae* (*уметност – техника сећања*) прилази згради и затим неколико пута шета по њој, сваки пут у истом редоследу. У овом поступку обично је реч о стварним местима, мада она и не морају бити посећена.

Да бисмо испитали постојање реторике архитектуре у византијској култури, у овом раду посебну пажњу посветили смо цркви и светињи Светог гроба у Јерусалиму (сл. 1, 3) и начину на који су их Византинци познавали (сл. 2, 4). Пошто археолошки подаци о променама што су их они спровели на цркви Светог гроба не постоје, историографија и текстуални и ви-

зуелни описи који се на њу односе главни су извори за анализу „византијског“ архитектонског комплекса Светог гроба. У тим најважнијим византијским изворима често се не помиње архитектура Светог гроба. Веома се мало зна и о византијским архитектонским интервенцијама, иако је неоспорно да се архитектура целог комплекса значајно променила након Ал Хакимовог разарања 1009. године, када је Христов гроб запаљен. До пете деценије XI века комплекс цркве Светог гроба је обновљен. Византинци су обновили ротонду, али то никад није учињено с Константиновом базиликом из IV века. Цео комплекс знатно је смањен. Ротонда је већ у IX веку функционисала као црква (сл. 2), а могуће је да је тако било и раније. Крајем IX века арапски и хришћански извори говоре о чуду благодатног светог огња (*Άγιον Φῶς*) који се појављује на богослужењу уочи православног Ускрса у цркви Светог гроба (сл. 5). По свој прилици, током сваке реконструкције комплекса Византинци су прво обнављали то главно свето место (*locus sanctus*) – цркву Светог гроба. О томе како су Византинци спроводили те реконструкције није могуће говорити будући да су они изгубили власт над Јерусалимом већ у VII веку и највероватније нису имали документацију о архитектонском пројекту цркве Светог гроба. Сва је прилика да реконструкције нису биле засноване на одређеним цртежима, већ на уобичајеним комбинацијама појединих мотива које су Византинци разрадили на основу свог система веровања и сродних визуелних референци (сл. 6). Другим речима, може се претпоставити да је одрживост сећања на архитектуру цркве Светог гроба блиско повезана с реторичком одрживошћу описа светиње. Истовремено је могуће уочити сличне обрасце у текстуалним описима и архитектури остатака цркве Светог гроба, онакве какву су је Византинци познавали. Сама грађевина функционисала је као реторичко средство.

Да бисмо потврдили ову претпоставку, додатно смо упоредили два текста о Светом гробу са архитектонским материјалом. Патријарх цариградски Фотије (858–867, 877–886) у IX веку и руски игуман Данило више од два века касније писали су о цркви Светог гроба у Јерусалиму с посебним освртом на светињу едикулу која обележава место Христовог гроба. Епистоларни запис патријарха Фотија није настао на основу његовог искуства, већ се појављује у оквиру расправе о улози сведочења о Христовом оваплоћењу. У том контексту, Христов гроб јесте место његове смрти и васкрсења с додатним сложеним онтолошким значењима за православне вернике. Игу-

ман Данило је, међутим, посетио цркву Светог гроба неколико пута током свог ходочашћа у Свету земљу од 1106. до 1108. године, пре великих архитектонских промена које су извели крсташи средином XII века. Иако се у ова два записа помињу архитектура и место Светог гроба, у њима се појављују и слике позајмљене из теолошке, егзегетске и литургијске праксе. Композиције двају записа упадљиво су сличне. Обојица аутора прво описују место Светог гроба, затим његову архитектуру и, на крају, његову орнаментику. Ти описи истовремено су *архитектонско-стируктурални* и реторички, јер омогућују размену репрезентативних и искуствених аспеката архитектуре с меморијским местима. Гроб је прво мапиран и позициониран унутар града Јерусалима. У поступку лоцирања Гроба његов се значај проширује изван његових физичких граница тако што Фотије и Данило реторички користе три традиционална метода: *еџику* (као начин доказивања), *џаџиос* (који је емотиван и емпатичан) и *лоџиос* (који је традиционално резервисан за расправу о уређењу света).

У раду је такође показано како архитектура цркве Светог гроба пружа тектонски оквир за постављање буквалних и менталних слика, оних које преносе и понављају експресивни потенцијал и значење Светог гроба у оквиру његових физичких граница и изван њих. Записи које су оставили Фотије и Данило сагласни су у томе да је главна архитектонска форма цркве изведена као врста ротонде, а и у вези с концептуалном и просторном (иако не нужно геометријском) централношћу саме светиње Светог гроба у оквиру ротонде (сл. 1, 2). У оба записа наглашавају се и хуманистичке вредности у значењу Гроба, који се одређује и помоћу људских димензија и телесног присуства – разних радњи које ходочасници сами или у групи изводе у простору Гроба (клањање, поштовање и целивање места на којем је тело Христово лежало у Гробу). Те радње неминовно су везане за ходочасничке ритуале и византијске црквене службе. Фотије и Данило такође тополошки и литургијски упоређују Гроб са амвоном, литургијским намештајем који обично заузима средишњу позицију у цркви, испод саме куполе, и који служи за најаве у току службе (сл. 2). Тако су световна естетика и емоционалне реакције на Гроб реторички оркестрирани и наглашавају блиску повезаност између књижевних топоса и материјалне стварности, као и учешће у реалном, физичком, и трансценденталном, метафизичком простору Гроба. У сложеном систему простора, бића и бивства архитектура Гроба на тај начин постаје онтолошко реторичко средство.

Упоредна анализа изгледа Гроба од IV до XI века, заснована на визуелном и текстуалном материјалу (сл. 7, табела 1), указује на реторичку и тополошку трајност архитектуре Светог гроба. Најраније представе Христовог гроба откривају централно смештену просторију унутар ротонде. Мотиви који се понављају јесу ограда, нише у облику морских шкољки, (спирални) стубови, лампе спуштене с врха засведене таванице Гроба, а повремено и завесе на улазу у гробницу. Елементи који се не помињу после VII века јесу нише у облику морских шкољки и завесе. Стубови,

лампе, ограда и одваљени камен на улазу у Гроб увек се помињу. Дакле, Гроб је тополошки одређен особеним али, у суштини, генеричким декоративним архитектонским елементима, као што су стубови, решетке или светиљке, и вредним материјалима, укључујући мермер, сребро и бакар, који такође дефинишу Гроб као препознатљив и незабораван самостални објекат. Мермерни стубови и кров кључни су елементи архитектонске визуализације Гроба, који је често описиван као „мала кућа“ и који је литургијски повезан са амвоном у цркви (сл. 4, табела 1). И Фотије и Данило наглашавају значај стубова, који одређују Свети гроб и његов однос према ротонди. Стуб – један од основних архитектонских елемената, који је овде изгубио своју строго архитектонско-конструктивну улогу – има изричиту украсну вредност или, по Фотијевим речима, значење „за побожност“ (*philothemia, φιλότητια*). Тако Фотије повезује орнамент у архитектури с контекмплацијом и сећањем, јер крајњи циљ јесте очување сећања на Свети гроб, а његова физичка реалност носи сведочанство о највишој, духовној истини.

Црква Светог гроба и њена истина тако су дефинисани путем физичких архитектонских елемената, човекомерних димензија, естетских вредности и емоционалних реакција. Та уметност сећања (*ars memoriae*), која успоставља везе између видљивог и невидљивог, наглашава искуствену моћ архитектуре – и физичко-просторну, и интелектуално-емотивну. Крајњи предмет интересовања за Византинце није сам Христов гроб, већ је то људско стање, које је овде схваћено посредством Оваплоћења. Данило завршава свој опис освртом на *џуџак свеџа* (*пунџ земниџ, омфалос, ομφαλός*), појам произашао из Исаијиног пророчког текста о спасењу које ће доћи у знаку крста са четири стране света, док ће му средиште бити у Јерусалиму, чиме је додатно наглашен положај комплекса цркве Светог гроба као места Васкрсења, оног које привлачи ходочаснике и вернике из свих крајева света. Омфалос је, каже Данило даље, уоквирен малом грађевином изван зидова ротонде и у сенци је монументалног комплекса (сл. 2), али с натписом који проистиче из библијских референци што типолошки преокрећу старозаветно питање о месту богослужења у којем се поштује Бог ка новозаветном питању о суштини самог Бога, нематеријалног и свеprisутног. За православне хришћане тај просторни парадокс делимично је решен већ у овом добу, јер бивајући уједињени с Христом, они чекају његов Други долазак и стварање нових небеса, нове земље и Јерусалима испуњеног радошћу – „што је пре било неће се помињати нити ће на ум долазити“ (Ис 65, 17).

Реторика о цркви Светог гроба као архитектонском делу и сећање на њу управо посредством архитектуре подразумевају дубоко културно ангажовање с вером. Фотије и Данило, чији су описи цркве Светог гроба упадљиво међусобно слични, највероватније су познавали древну технику *ars memoriae*. Она је, уз библијске и средњовековне литургијске одреднице, очигледно ојачала и додатно истакла реторичку моћ архитектуре. Реторика и реторика архитектуре у византијској култури тако откривају да су зграде уграђене у текст и оне изграђене у реалном просто-

ру помогле њиховом непрекидном „стварању“ у колективном и културном памћењу, као и при њиховој практичној, архитектонској реконструкцији. Реторика архитектуре и спомен Светог гроба, који је од највећег значаја за вернике, превладали су над свим дијахроним и физичким преображајима Светог гроба и истовремено су поставили стандарде за разумевање архитектонског концепта светог простора у византијском свету. Иако они који су се служили техником *ars memoriae* нису носили реторику у свом техничком капацитету и корпусу знања битних за архитектонско пројектовање и изградњу, њихова улога у ширењу меморијских веза које су Византинци користили за своја архитектонска достигнућа чини се важном. Генерички, општи образац архитектонске форме Светог гроба и његове тектонике, блиско повезане са значењима, а не његова физички и визуелно тачно одређена форма, током времена успоставио је *коллективно сећање* на цркву Светог гроба и њен значај за спасење и Нови Јерусалим. На угловима тамбура купола многих византијских цркава налазе се мермерни или обојени стубићи који куполи дају изглед надстрешнице и подсећају на Христов гроб у Јерусалиму, где се благодат светог огња објављује сваке године. Иако се може рећи да, по аналогiji, свака византијска црква материјализује идеју Небеског Јерусалима, јединствени и незаборавни елементи Светог гроба у Јерусалиму могу поближе да објасне особена значења неких византијских цркава. Неубичајена употреба двоструких стубића између лукова на тамбурима купола појединих византијских цркава непосредно се односи на слику цркве Светог гроба управо због своје нетипичности. На пример, тамбур куполе цркве Свете Богородице у манастиру Светог Луке у Фокиди има двоструке мермерне стубиће који подсећају на надстрешницу над представом Голготског крста (сл. 8) и на тај начин евоцирају комплекс цркве Светог гроба. Цар Константин IX Мономах, који је можда био заслужан и за реконструкцију Светог гроба у Јерусалиму, саградио је цркву манастира Неа Мони на Хиосу, на чије је необичне стубове без конструктивне улоге у науци већ обраћена пажња. Двојни класични стубићи који симболично носе куполу тог храма (сл. 9), као и они код две касније подигнуте цркве на Хиосу – Панагије Крине и Светих апостола у Пирги, минијатурних копија царске цркве манастира Неа Мони (сл. 10, 11) – подсећају на описе светиње Светог гроба у Јерусалиму. Та одлика хришћанске царске архитектуре, иако се не може археолошки потврдити у цркви Светог гроба, може се видети на слоновачи из V века (сада у Минхену; сл. 12) или на цртежу из XIV века (сада у Ватиканској библиотеци; сл. 5), што потврђује орнаментално значење двојних стубића у византијској култури. Усредсређујући се на стубове Светог гроба као на орнаменте и носиоце значења, како је и Фотије истакао, можемо претпоставити да је

инсистирање на стубовима који окружују централно планирани Гроб у Јерусалиму било одлучујуће за примену стубића на тамбурима купола византијских цркава, као и за сећање на њих. С друге стране, те цркве истовремено се могу повезати с незаборавном тродимензионалном сликом цркве Светог гроба и општим значењем Небеског Јерусалима као небеског царства и *месџа* васкрсења и спасења. Улога украса као саставног дела византијске архитектуре наизглед одражава улогу украса у реторичком тексту, уједињујући буквално и симболички различита значења везана за размишљање и сећање „на једно место“. У том контексту, и књижевни орнамент (украш) и онај архитектонски истовремено су и онтолошки и телесни, те дубоко оличени у композицији како реторичког заната тако и – реторике архитектуре.

У овом сложеном систему реторике архитектура повезује топографију, биће, време и памћење. Иако је византијске цркве релативно лако препознати као *византијске*, свака је јединствена, па се пре може говорити о значају образаца и модела него о тачно одређеним архитектонским формама важним и за грађење и за разумевање византијске архитектуре. Концепт топологије – у којем је битно и књижевно и мнемоничко разумевање и трансцендентално размишљање о месту (топосу) у оквиру већих културних система, оних што укључују топографију и културне пејзаже, као и питања о томе како су промене током времена у одређеном месту утицале на историју локалитета – такође постаје пресудан за разумевање историјског и просторног значаја реторике византијске архитектуре. Може се рећи да је самоиницирано тополошко понављање препознатљивих типова архитектонских образаца одлучујући пројектантски принцип у византијској архитектури. Другим речима, било каква формална промена у византијској архитектури произвела је током времена сличне промене, откривајући како су такве дијахроне промене и промене везане за почетне моделе у топографском и културном пејзажу утицале на *long durée* (*дуго трајање*) византијске архитектуре. Једноставно речено, *типична* византијска црква често се своди на структуру кутије са централно истакнутом куполом и унутрашњошћу богато украшеном мозаицима или фрескама с верским фигуративним и наративним приказима, док поједини аспекти указују на индивидуалност и посебност изабраних цркава. Док је реторика архитектуре схваћена као занат пројектовања и композиције била важна за градњу и значење дела византијске архитектуре, понављане формуле из реторичких текстова о архитектури од додатног су значаја за памћење појединих објеката, како изведених тако и оних замишљених или данас измењених и изгубљених.