

AN URBAN NODE IN THE RITUAL LANDSCAPE OF
BYZANTINE CONSTANTINOPLE:
THE CHURCH OF ST JOHN THE BAPTIST OF
THE STODIOS MONASTERY

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
OF
MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY

BY

DİLARA BURCU GİRİTLİOĞLU

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR
THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS
IN
THE DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY OF ARCHITECTURE

OCTOBER 2019

Approval of the Graduate School of Social Sciences

Prof. Dr. Yaşar Kondakçı
Director

I certify that this thesis satisfies all the requirements as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts.

Prof. Dr. F. Cânâ Bilsel
Head of Department

This is to certify that we have read this thesis and that in our opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts.

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Pelin Yoncacı Arslan
Supervisor

Examining Committee Members

Prof. Dr. Suna Güven (METU, AH) _____

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Pelin Yoncacı Arslan (METU, AH) _____

Assoc. Prof. Dr. İdil Üçer Karababa (İstanbul Bilgi Uni., IND) _____

I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.

Name, Last Name: Dilara Burcu, Giritliođlu

Signature :

ABSTRACT

AN URBAN NODE IN THE RITUAL LANDSCAPE OF BYZANTINE CONSTANTINOPLE: THE CHURCH OF ST JOHN THE BAPTIST OF THE STOUDIOS MONASTERY

Girtliođlu, Dilara Burcu

M.A., Department of History of Architecture

Supervisor: Assoc. Prof. Dr. Pelin Yoncacı Arslan

October 2019, 227 pages

The Church of St. John the Baptist of the Stoudios Monastery is located in the southwestern corner of Byzantine Constantinople at the Psamathia region, near the Golden Gate of Theodosian Walls. It was built in the mid-fifth century by the consul Studius and used as a monastery church throughout the Byzantine period. This three-aisled basilica is the oldest ecclesiastical structure extant in Istanbul. The church was later converted into a mosque in the late fifteenth century and renamed as Imrahor Ilyas Bey mosque which served the Muslims population of the city until the early twentieth century. In the Republican period, it was turned into a museum under the name of Imrahor Monument. Despite its ruinous condition, the structure managed to preserve its original form. In the course of its history, the monastery church played a leading role in the social and spiritual life of the Byzantine Empire. It was an essential nodal point within the processional route and the ceremonial fabric of the city. For this thesis, the Stoudios Monastery will be studied for the purpose of investigating the reciprocal relationship between the urban ceremony and the monument. By discussing the complex relationship

between Byzantines' memories of the ceremony and their interactions with the associated monuments, the close reading of these public events will elucidate different modes of interaction between memory, experience, and architecture in the context of the ceremony in Byzantine mind.

Keywords: Constantinople, Byzantine period, Stoudios Monastery, urban processions, experience/memory.

ÖZ

BİZANS KONSTANTİNOPOLİS'İNİN RİTÜELİSTİK PEYZAJINDA KENTSEL BİR DÜĞÜM NOKTASI: STODIOS MANASTIRI VAFTİZCİ YAHYA KİLİSESİ

Girtliođlu, Dilara Burcu

Yüksek Lisans, Mimarlık Tarihi Bölümü

Tez Yöneticisi: Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Pelin Yoncacı Arslan

Ekim 2019, 227 sayfa

Stoudios Manastırı Vaftizci Yahya Kilisesi, Bizans Konstantinopolis'inin güneybatı köşesinde, Samatya bölgesinde, Theodosian Kara Surları üzerindeki Altın Kapı'nın yakınında bulunmaktadır. Beşinci yüzyılın ortalarında konsül Studius tarafından inşa edilmiş ve Bizans dönemi boyunca manastır kilisesi olarak kullanılmıştır. Bu üç nefli bazilika, İstanbul'un günümüze ulaşan en eski dini yapısıdır. Kilise daha sonra on beşinci yüzyılın sonlarında camiye dönüştürülmüş ve şehrin Müslüman nüfusuna yirminci yüzyılın başlarına kadar İmrahor İlyas Bey Camii adıyla hizmet vermiştir. Cumhuriyet döneminde müze haline getirilen bina İmrahor Anıtı olarak anılmaya başlamıştır. Yıkık durumuna rağmen, yapı orijinal formunu koruyabilmiştir. Manastır kilisesi tarihi boyunca Bizans İmparatorluğu'nun sosyal ve dini yaşamında öncü bir rol oynamış ve kentin törensel peyzajında önemli bir düğüm noktası olarak varlığını sürdürmüştür. Bu tez kapsamında, Stoudios Manastırı ve ana kilisesi kentteki tören alayları ile anıt arasındaki karşılıklı ilişkiyi araştırma amacıyla incelenmiştir. Bizanslıların günlük hayatlarını etkileyerek hafızalarında yer eden kent seremonileri ve bu

seremonilerin etkileşim halinde olduğu anıtlarla arasındaki ilişkiyi tartışarak, bu toplumsal etkinliklerin yakından okunması, kent hafızası, deneyim ve mimarlık arasındaki farklı etkileşim biçimlerini tören bağlamında açıklamayı amaçlamıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Konstantinopolis, Bizans dönemi, Stoudios Manastırı, tören alayları, deneyim/hafıza.

To My Parents

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I wish to express my deepest gratitude to my supervisor, Assoc. Prof. Dr. Pelin Yoncacı Arslan for her expertise, invaluable guidance, advice, encouragements, and insight throughout the study. Her endless patience and unwavering support helped me through all the difficulties along the way.

I am also indebted to the dear members of the examining committee; Prof. Dr. Suna Güven and Assoc. Prof. Dr. İdil Üçer Karababa for their suggestions and comments.

I would also express my gratitude to my professors at Cyprus International University for their continuous support.

Finally, I would like to thank my parents, who have been incessantly supporting me all through my life and stood beside me every step of the way while showing me nothing but patience and love. Thank you for believing that I can achieve anything I want and encouraging me to reach for the stars.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PLAGIARISM	iii
ABSTRACT	iv
ÖZ	vi
DEDICATION	viii
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	ix
TABLE OF CONTENTS	x
LIST OF MAPS	xii
LIST OF FIGURES	xiii
CHAPTER	
1. INTRODUCTION	1
2. CONSTANTINOPLE: A CEREMONIAL CITY	6
2.1. The Urban Development from the Constantine to Justinian	6
2.2. The Urban Ritual in Constantinople	23
2.3. The Sources and Studies on the Ceremonial Life of Constantinople	26
2.4. Urban Processions of Constantinople in the Early and Middle Byzantine Period: An Overview	29
2.5. The Prominent Nodal Points of Urban Ceremonies in Constantinople	42
2.5.1. Hagia Sophia	45
2.5.2. Hagia Irene	49
2.5.3. The Church of the Holy Apostles	51
2.5.4. The Church of Hagios Ioannes Prodromos in Hebdomon	53
2.5.5. The Church of the Theotokos of Chalkoprateia	55
2.5.6. The Shrine of the Theotokos at the Pege	56
2.5.7. The Church of St Mary of Blachernae	57

2.5.8. The Church of St John the Baptist of the Stoudios Monastery	58
3. THE STODÍOS MONASTERY AS A TIMELESS EDIFICE: A SURVEY	60
3.1. History of the Stoudios Monastery in the Byzantine Period	60
3.2. Previous Studies on the Stoudios Monastery	72
3.3. The Architecture of the Church of St John the Baptist of the Stoudios Monastery	79
4. THE STODÍOS MONASTERY WITHIN THE RITUAL LANDSCAPE OF CONSTANTIONOPLE	90
4.1. The Stoudios Monastery and the Ritual Use of Space	90
4.2. The Stoudios Monastery in Menologion the Basil II	91
4.3. The Annual Visit of the Emperors to the Stoudios Monastery	93
4.4. The <i>Adventus</i> Ceremony of the “New Constantine”	105
5. CONCLUSION	132
REFERENCES	139
APPENDICES	
A. MAPS	163
B. FIGURES	169
C. TURKISH SUMMARY / TÜRKÇE ÖZET	216
D. THESIS PERMISSION FORM / TEZ İZİN FORMU	227

LIST OF MAPS

Map 1: The City of Constantine the Great	163
Map 2: The City of Theodosian Dynasty	164
Map 3: The City of Justinian the Great	165
Map 4: The Mese in the 6th Century Along with the Street Layout Proposed by Berger	166
Map 5: Processional Route to the Stoudios Monastery for the Feast of St John the Baptist	167
Map 6: Processional Route to the Stoudios Monastery During the Entrance of the Emperor Michael VIII in 1261	168

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Map of Istanbul in 1521	169
Figure 2: The Stoudios Monastery, After Its Conversion into Imrahor Ilyas Bey Mosque, Detail	169
Figure 3: The Watercolor Depicts <i>Imrahor</i> Mosque (the Stoudios Monastery), 19 th Century	170
Figure 4: View of the Remains of the Stoudios Monastery, Showing the Narthex Wall from the Atrium	170
Figure 5: The Watercolor Depicts the Stoudios Monastery, Showing the Narthex Entrance	171
Figure 6: Drawing of the <i>Imrahor</i> Mosque (the Stoudios Monastery), 19 th Century	171
Figure 7: The View of the Apse from the Nave, After the Roof Collapsed, 1920	172
Figure 8: The Stoudios Monastery, Aerial Photo of the Church Toward the Apse	173
Figure 9: Severan City of Byzantium	173
Figure 10: The Portrait of the Four Tetrarchs	174
Figure 11: Ports of Constantinople	174
Figure 12: Cross-section Through the Theodosian Land Walls	175
Figure 13: Plan Showing the Location of the Golden Gate in Constantinople	175
Figure 14: Triumph of Theodosius I (379–95)	176
Figure 15: Justinian Triumphant	176
Figure 16: Street Map of Constantinople	177
Figure 17: Theodore the Studite, Detail 11 th -Century Mosaic	177
Figure 18: Map of Constantinople in 1422	178
Figure 19: Detail, the Stoudios Monastery by Buondelmonti	178
Figure 20: The Delineation of Constantinople as it Stood in the year 1422	179

Figure 21: Detail, the Stoudios Monastery	179
Figure 22: Site Plan of the Stoudios Monastery in the Ottoman Period	180
Figure 23: The Stoudios Monastery, Aerial Photo	181
Figure 24: Stoudios Basilica, Plan and Suggested Reconstruction of the Atrium	182
Figure 25: The Stoudios Monastery, Showing the Remains of the Atrium	183
Figure 26: The Stoudios Monastery, the Northern Wall of the Atrium	183
Figure 27: The Stoudios Monastery, View of the Narthex, and <i>şadirvan</i> from the Atrium	184
Figure 28: The Stoudios Monastery, the North Bay of the Narthex	185
Figure 29: The Stoudios Monastery, the South Bay of the Narthex	186
Figure 30: The Stoudios Monastery, the Entrance of the Narthex	187
Figure 31: The Stoudios Monastery, the Lintel on Top of the Narthex	188
Figure 32: The Stoudios Monastery, the Narthex Door, and Lintel from the Nave	188
Figure 33: The Stoudios Monastery, the Western Wall of the North-Aisle	189
Figure 34: The Stoudios Monastery, the View of the Apse from the Nave	190
Figure 35: The Stoudios Monastery, North-Aisle, and Columns	191
Figure 36: The Stoudios Monastery, the Eastern Wall, and the Apse	191
Figure 37: The Stoudios Basilica, The Plan and Section of the Crypt	192
Figure 38: The Stoudios Monastery, the Entrance of the Crypt within the Chancel Barrier	192
Figure 39: Stoudios Basilica, Plan of the Chancel, Altar Site, and Synthronon	193
Figure 40: The Stoudios Monastery, the South-Aisle of the Church Proper	194
Figure 41: The Stoudios Monastery, the Eastern Wall of the South-Aisle from the Outside	195
Figure 42: The Stoudios Monastery, the Western Wall of the Nave	196
Figure 43: The Stoudios Monastery, the View from the Gallery Level	197
Figure 44: The Stoudios Monastery, the Interior of the Church Proper	197

Figure 45: The Stoudios Monastery, the North-Aisle Column Row, and the Western Wall of the Church Proper	198
Figure 46: The Stoudios Monastery, the Column Capital	198
Figure 47: Detail of Entablature on the Narthex Façade, 1929	199
Figure 48: A Detail of Dentils on the Cornice of the Narthex Façade, 1929	199
Figure 49: Pavement Detail, A Flying Griffon, 1929	199
Figure 50: The Stoudios Monastery, <i>opus sectile</i> Floor Detail	200
Figure 51: The Stoudios Monastery, <i>opus sectile</i> Floor of the Nave	200
Figure 52: Entry into Jerusalem. Relief from the Stoudios Monastery Found During the Excavations	201
Figure 53: The Great Lord. Relief from the Stoudios Monastery Found During the Excavations	201
Figure 54: Group of the Apostles and the Bust in Acroteria. Relief from the Stoudios Monastery Found During the Excavations	202
Figure 55: Interior of the Cistern Nearby Stoudios Basilica, 1929	203
Figure 56: The Current Condition of the Subterranean Cistern Nearby the Stoudios Monastery	203
Figure 57: Aerial photo of The Stoudios Monastery Within the Urban Fabric	204
Figure 58: Miniature, <i>Menologion of Basil II</i> , Vat. Gr. 1613, fol. 175	205
Figure 59: Detail, the Portrait of Theodore the Studite, Standing Before the Stoudios Monastery and Sailing into Exile	206
Figure 60: St Theodore the Studite, Depicted While Holding the Icon of Theotokos	206
Figure 61: Map of the Great Palace in Constantinople	207
Figure 62: The Stoudios Monastery, the View from the Atrium Toward the Narthex	208
Figure 63: The Stoudios Monastery, the Entrance of the Narthex	208
Figure 64: The Stoudios Monastery, the View Toward the Northern Bay of the Narthex	209
Figure 65: The Stoudios Monastery, the View of the Apse from the Nave	209

Figure 66: The Stoudios Monastery, the View from the South-Aisle	210
Figure 67: The Stoudios Monastery, the View of the Western Wall of the Church proper	210
Figure 68: The Map of Constantinople, Showing the Areas Damaged During the Fires of 1203-1204	211
Figure 69: Constantinople Divided into Quarters, 11 th -13 th Century	212
Figure 70: Environs of Constantinople, Showing the Stations of the Emperor Michael VIII's Journey in 1261 – from Meteorion to Cosmidion	213
Figure 71: The Hinterland of Constantinople	214
Figure 72: Topographic Location of the Monastery of the Anargyroi of Cosmidion	214
Figure 73: Gold Hyperpyron of Michael VIII Palaiologos, Constantinople: Virgin and the Walls - Michael presented to Christ by Archangel Michael	215

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Being a gem hidden in plain sight; the church of St John the Baptist of the Stoudios monastery is a timeless edifice that has lived over fifteen hundred years and witnessed the rise and fall of the empires and yet managed to continue its existence by finding a place within the ever-changing urban fabric of Constantinople. The Stoudios monastery was located in the southwestern corner of the city at the Psamathia region, near the Golden Gate of Theodosian Walls, and just at the south of the Mese which was the processional way of Byzantine Constantinople. The main church of the monastery was built in the mid-fifth century by the consul Flavius Studius and was dedicated to St John the Baptist.

The original structure was a three-aisled basilica preceded by a porticoed atrium and a narthex that was divided into three bays located at the western end of the nave and completed with a single polygonal apse at the eastern end. The Early Christian basilicas of Constantinople such as Hagia Sophia, Hagia Irene, and the church of the Holy Apostles have lost their original architectural form in time. While no part of Holy Apostles survives, Hagia Sophia and Hagia Irene have undergone many restorations and alterations after which neither of them could preserve their original form and features and the first phases of which are only available through secondary sources. Of the early Byzantine basilicas, the ones that were able to survive and remained close to their original forms with similarities to Constantinopolitan structures are located at the periphery of the empire rather than the center, such as Meryemlik, Side, Ravenna, Thessalonica and, Salamis.¹

¹ Krautheimer (1965, 79).

Therefore, it is difficult to overestimate the importance of Stoudios since it represents all the basilicas that once populated the capital of the Empire. Thomas Mathews stated that while the church of St John the Baptist's classical proportions displayed a correlation with the basilicas as early as the Constantinian times, its architectural ornamentation displayed the transition period between Theodosian style half-century earlier and the Justinianic style a half-century later.²

The church was converted into a mosque under the Ottoman rule in 1486 and renamed as Imrahor Ilyas Bey mosque. (Figure 1) (Figure 2) (Figure 3) As a mosque, the structure served the Muslim population in the neighborhood until the early twentieth century. During the fire that swept the old Psamathia neighborhood in 1782, the mosque suffered severe damages, and it was rebuilt in 1820. (Figure 4) (Figure 5) (Figure 6) However, due to an earthquake in 1894, the building fell into ruins, and in addition to this, several fires that occurred between 1908-1920 led to the collapse of the roof, and thus the structure became uninhabitable. (Figure 7) In the Republican Period, the ruined monument became a museum, and it was attached to the Directorate of Hagia Sophia Museum under the Ministry of Culture and Tourism in 1946. Recently, the monument has been reconferred to the General Directorate of Waqf. Today, from the monastery complex, only its main church and the cistern located at the southeast of the building survive. Although in a ruinous condition, the building's existence continues in the fringes of modern Istanbul as the Imrahor Monument. (Figure 8)

In the course of its history, the monastery has played a leading role in the social and spiritual life of the Byzantine Empire. It has housed several religious objects, including valuable relics and manuscripts. Its influence within the religious politics of the Christian world have grown in time in the hands of ambitious abbots, and thus the monastery held a high rank among its peers. The complex has been a visiting point for urban processions throughout the Byzantine period. During its

² Mathews (1971, 19).

long life, the structure has been perturbed by several natural and human-made disasters. However, despite the several alterations the structure has undergone throughout the time, the degree of preservation of the initial fifth-century construction is rare.

As the oldest ecclesiastical structure extant in Istanbul dating back to the early Byzantine period, the church of St John the Baptist of the Stoudios monastery (also known as Ioannes Prodromos) deserves the utmost attention. Parallel to its significance, the building has become a subject of many research interests over the years. However, its place within the ceremonial landscape of the city has not been sufficiently studied. In this thesis, Stoudios monastery was discussed in order to investigate the relationship between Byzantines' memories of the ceremony and their interactions with the associated monuments. The close reading of the public events in which the monastery has had a part was used for elucidating different modes of interaction between memory, experience, and architecture in the context of the ceremony in Byzantine mind.

On the scope of this study after a brief introduction, the second chapter is devoted to the topographical history of Constantinople. It investigates the socio-political and religious background of the period and the context in which the church existed. Having set forth the physical and cultural topography under investigation, the chapter provides a closer look into the question of the urban skyline of Byzantine Constantinople. Then, the focus is shifted to the ceremonial life of the city, and the interrelationship between ceremonial and topography is highlighted by means of tracing the routes followed, and the monuments visited during public processions. Thus, the chapter explains how urban space used to be conceived and defined by public rituals while noting the significant changes in the use of the physical fabric of the city.

Following the explanation of the urban layout, the third chapter offers a survey regarding the history and the architecture of the monastery and its church. Thus, by investigating the physical and abstract changes that the structure has undergone until it reached to our day, this part emphasizes the place of the

monastery within the social and religious life of Constantinople. Additionally, an extensive literature view on studies related to the monument was included therein.

In the fourth chapter, the study turns to the monastery in the ceremonial life of Constantinople. To this end, two of the most significant ceremonies that constitute the complex were reconstructed. The close study of these public events offers a spatial comprehension of the ephemeral rituals in the relation of the church. The particular events were chosen due to their influence on the historiography of the Stoudios monastery. First of them is the annual visit of the emperors from the tenth century onward, on the liturgical commemoration day of the Beheading of St John the Baptist on 29 August and the second is the ceremonial entrance of the emperor Michael VIII Palaeologus in 1261 after the recovery of Constantinople. The reconstruction of these events was made by utilizing the relatively sparse visual evidence together with a synthesis of the literary material and informed speculation brought through 3D modeling and visualization techniques. It establishes a broader framework for the understanding of how the Stoudios monastery was appropriated through the act of viewing during the ceremonial movement. The analysis encompasses the monument as an active participant of the ceremony from the point of view of the spectator who moves, and thus the act of viewing which renders the monument meaningful. The processional paths of these two events are analyzed under three categories: elements of the processional space, the sequential organization, and particular vistas. The latter covers both the view and the location from which the view is made possible. Besides a cautious re-evaluation of literary and archaeological evidence throughout the work, the methodology for this chapter involves the production of 3D sequential views and hypothetical storyboards to visualize spatial environments around the monument during ceremonies.

Overall, this thesis aims to underline the monument's capacity to go beyond its material existence by the radiation of its symbolism that was gained from the experiences of urban ceremonies. Throughout the study, I will argue that what kept

the building alive throughout the centuries was more related to its symbolic place within the ritual landscape of Constantinople than its physical attributes.

CHAPTER 2

CONSTANTINOPLE: A CEREMONIAL CITY

2.1. The Urban Development from the Constantine to Justinian

In the fourth century AD, the Roman Empire, the dominant force of power in Europe and Asia Minor, suffered internal conflicts that tore the empire apart. The instability within the empire reached its peak when Constantine I and Licinius; co-emperors of the Roman Empire, faced each other on the battlefield in the summer of 324. Following his defeat at the Battle of Adrianople on 3 July 324, Licinius fled to the city of Byzantium. Constantine followed Licinius and besieged the city. Historian Zosimus recorded that Byzantium served Licinius as a refuge during the two-month-long siege. However, when he realized that the city was falling, he once again escaped and this time chose the opposite shore of Bosphorus to Chrysopolis. The Battle of Chrysopolis took place on 18 September 324 and resulted in the ultimate defeat of Licinius. With the decisive victory over his adversary, Constantine became the sole ruler of the Roman Empire.³ Only six weeks later on 8 November 324, Constantine ordered the re-foundation of the ancient city of Byzantium to commemorate his victory and renamed the city as Constantinople; meaning ‘city of Constantine.’⁴

³ Zosimus, *Historia Nova*, II.23-26. For detailed information about the wars between the emperors, see: *Origo Constantini* 6.25-27; Socrates, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 1.4.2; Eusebius, *Vita Constantini*, 2.19.1.

⁴ The re-foundation of the city proceeded with the rite of *limitatio*; the ritual performed by Constantine himself to determine the boundaries of his new city. The event recorded primarily by Philostorgius, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, II, 9; Themistius, *Oratio 4*; *Origo Constantini* 6.30.

The city of Byzantion offered Constantine the same advantages that it offered to Megarans almost a century ago.⁵ The topographic structure of the city which was formed by a number of hills was easy to defend. Moreover, the site was in a position of a nodal point between north, south, east, and western parts of the empire. Its straits, the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus, dominated the Marmara and had a high potential for ports. For the communication from land, these two straits had a link to two major roads that connect the city of Europe, which was Via Egnatia on westward direction passing through Thessaloniki and across northern Greece to Durazzo and Brindisi and on the northward direction channeling the highway to Adrianople, Sophia, Nis, and the Danube provinces beyond, and thence to North Italy, the Rhineland, Gaul, and Britain. Also, there were a number of the roads to provide a linkage to Asia Minor across the sea, in the southeast to Ancyra and Caesarea, to Mesopotamia and beyond to Syrian Antioch, Palestine and Egypt and Armenia.⁶

Constantine formed his city by the expanding the ancient Byzantion which were already enlarged in the past by Septimius Severus.⁷ (Figure 9) The city walls that Severus had built pushed forward for 4km and thus enlarged the city almost four times bigger than its previous size.⁸ The old Greco-Roman city within Constantine's master plan remained relatively untouched and old pagan buildings

⁵ For the complete history of the city including the previous periods, see: Anadol, Çağatay, and Doğan Kuban. *From Byzantion to Istanbul: 8000 Years of a Capital: June 5 - September 4, 2010*, Sabanci University, Sakip Sabanci Museum, Istanbul. Istanbul: Sakip Sabanci Museum, 2010.

⁶ Krautheimer (1983, 42). For more about the topography of the city, see: Hennessy, Cecily, "Topography of Constantinople." In Elizabeth Jeffreys, John Haldon, Robert Cormack (eds.). *The Oxford Handbook of Byzantine Studies*, Oxford University Press, 2009, pp. 202-216.

⁷ For the Severan city of Byzantion, see: Zosimus, *Nea Historia* 2.30.2-3-4; Krautheimer (1983, 45-46); Müller-Wiener (2001, 16-19); Kuban (2004, 13-22).

⁸ Zosimus, *Nea Historia* 2.30.4. Malalas, *Chronographia* 13.7. *Chronicon Paschale*, pp.527-528. For more information about the Constantinian walls, see: Van Millingen (1899, 15-33); Janin (1964, 26-27); Mango (1985, 24-25).

left to decay in time.⁹ The renovations began with the monumentalization of Tetrastoon, the ancient Greek agora around which the city was centered. This plaza was rededicated and renamed as Augusteion by the Constantine in honor of his mother; Helena Augusta. An imperial palace was built at the south of the Augusteion. The Great Palace was a complex formed with several buildings, and the main gate of the complex was named Chalke Gate connected the Great Palace to the Augusteion.¹⁰ The construction of the already existing hippodrome that located at the west of the palace was completed by Constantine. The structure was laid out on the slope of the First Hill. The most attributed feature of the Hippodrome was the monuments that adorned the structure that was placed by Constantine the Great and stood on the *spina* (a central barrier). The Hippodrome was 480m long and 117.5m wide and had an elliptical shape. A royal enclosure known as the *kathisma* was in the center of the east side of the Hippodrome. The *kathisma* was connected with the imperial palace, and the connection allowed the emperors to enter and leave the arena in privacy.¹¹

The Baths of Zeuxippos was another structure Constantine completed that Septimius left unfinished. The baths were located at the center of the old Severan town in the proximity of the imperial palace, the Hippodrome, and the Augusteion. Constantine enlarged the existing structure and adorned it with columns and sculptures.¹² The existing colonnaded street built by Septimius Severus and called

⁹ Krautheimer (1983, 46).

¹⁰ For more about the Great Palace, see: Janin (1964, 106-122); Müller-Wiener (2001, 229-237); Krautheimer (1983, 49-50); Mango (1985, 26); Bassett (2004, 25).

¹¹ Freely 2004. Also see: Bassett (2004, 24-25); Müller-Wiener (2001, 64-71); Krautheimer (1983, 47); Janin (1964, 182-194).

¹² Malalas, *Chronographia* 13.8. Also see: Janin (1964, 222-224); Müller-Wiener (2001, 51); Bassett (2004, 50-58, 160-185); Yegül (2008, “*Baths of Constantinople*,” 176-178); Kaldellis (2007, “*Christodoros on the statues of the Zeuxippos Baths*,” 361-383).

Porticus Severus was enlarged as well and later renamed as the Mese.¹³ The oldest part of the Mese was known as the Regia (“imperial road” in Greek). The Mese extended along the whole length of the city of Constantine, forming the main artery of communication. It was organized so to integrate with the urban fabric of the city. Additionally, administrative structures such as the Senate, the Milion, and the Capitolium were built.¹⁴ The Capitolium was located where the Mese divided into two branches. The area before the Capitolium was known as the Philadelphion. The name was derived from the porphyry sculpture group known as the portrait of the Four Tetrarchs dating from around 300 AD.¹⁵ (Figure 10)

Constantine expected a significant increase in the population of the city following its reconstruction. For this purpose, Constantine bestowed estates in Asia Minor to the old and influential families from Rome. They were installed into the newly built palaces within the city and offered certain privileges.¹⁶ Arrangements were made to provide high rations of grain supply from Egypt, and large grain warehouses were designed and built near to the Marmara coast to store the goods.¹⁷ Additionally, cisterns and aqueducts were also provisioned to be able to maintain new residents of the city. As Constantine willed, the population increased steeply between the fourth and fifth centuries. Luxurious accommodations and public

¹³ For the accounts of the Mese prior to Byzantine Empire see: Zos., *Hist. Nov.*, II.30.2-4. For the monumentalization of the Mese, see: Malalas, *Chronographia* 13.8.

¹⁴ For detailed information on Capitolium, see: Janin (1964, 174-176); Mango (1985, 28-30); Bassett (2004, 31-32); Mango (2000, “*The Triumphal Way of Constantinople*,” 177). For detailed information on the Milion, see: Janin (1964, 103-104); Müller-Wiener (2001, 216-218); Dagron (1984, 45-48).

¹⁵ Müller-Wiener (2001, “*İstanbul’un Tarihsel Topografyası*,” 266-267); Bauer (2002, “*Urban Space and Ritual*,” 31). Today the sculpture group set into the corner of the Treasure House of San Marco, Venice.

¹⁶ Sozomen, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 2.3.4; Zosimus, *Historia Nova* 2.31.3.

¹⁷ Müller-Wiener (2001, 19-20); Kuban (2004, 26).

spaces were able to attract people to Constantinople as aimed.¹⁸ Prior to Constantine's expansion of Byzantium, the city's population was approximately 20,000, and by the end of his reign (337), the number has reached around 87,500.¹⁹

On top of the Second Hill, on the grounds of the old Necropolis astride the Mese, a forum was built and named after the emperor himself. The Forum of Constantine was an oval-shaped open space surrounded by two-storey columned porticoes with marble floor coverings. It had two monumental gates in the shape of triumphal arches; one located at the east and the other at the west. The Senate was positioned at the north of the Forum and a monumental fountain called nymphaeum was at its south. At the center of the Forum, there was a porphyry column of Constantine himself depicted as the sun god working as its focal point and marking the city as Constantine's.²⁰ It was erected in 328 as a part of building program Constantine the Great (306-337) and designed to elevate the status of Constantinople.²¹

Constantine also built several churches in his new city. Among them, there were the churches of Hagia Sophia and Hagia Eirene erected on the First Hill within the city walls, the Church of St Akakios built near to the shore of the Golden Horn, the Church of St Mokios located right outside of the city walls, and a

¹⁸ Freely (2004, 23-36).

¹⁹ Mango (1986, 119-120). For more on the population of the city, see: Jacoby, David. "La Population de Constantinople À L'Époque Byzantine: Un Problème de Démographie Urbaine." *Byzantion*, vol. 31, no. 1, 1961, pp. 81-109.

²⁰ For more on the Forum of Constantine, see: Dagron (1974, 37-40, 98-102); Janin (1964, 62-64); Müller- Wiener (2001, 255-257); Mango (1985, 25-26); Krautheimer (1983, 55-56); Mundell Mango (2001, 35); Bassett (2004, 29-30); Bardill (2011, 28-36). For more about the Column of Constantine, see: Yoncaci Arslan (2015, 104-117); (2016, 121-145). Socrates, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, I, 17; Hesychios, 41; Malalas, *Chronicle*, 321; Theophanes, *Chronicle*, 125-126 and 222; George Harmatolos, 500; Patria II, 45; Leo Grammaticus, *Chronographia*, 87 and 254, Anna Komnena in *Alexiad* XII, 4; Zonaras III, 17-18; Michael Glykas, 464.

²¹ *Chronicon Paschale*, 528-573.

mausoleum for himself built on top of the Fourth Hill near to the city walls. Later, right beside this mausoleum, the Church of Holy Apostles was constructed although sometimes the construction of this church is attributed to his son Constantius II.²²

The construction work of Constantinople that begun in 324 was completed in a short time, and the consecration of the city took place only six years later on 11 May 330.²³ By the time of Constantine's death, only a sketch of his precious city was completed.²⁴ (Map 1). However, as early as the fourth century, the city was compared to Rome by various writers of the time. In 326, *Origo Constantini* recorded that the emperor intended Constantinople to be an equal of Rome.²⁵ Porphyrius; the Latin poet of the fourth-century, referred Constantinople as Second Rome.²⁶

Constantine's envisions for the city were pursued by his successors. His son, Constantius II (337-361) lived in Constantinople for less than two years during the period of his reign. Even though he did not remain in Constantinople for long, he followed his father's plans for his city and in addition, to complete the ongoing constructions, he started several construction works including the Bath of Constantianae. While addressing Constantius, Themistius declared that although

²² Eusebius, *Vita Constantini*, 3.48.1. Theophanes, *Chrographia* 5816. Sozomenus, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 2.3.1,6-9.

²³ Malalas, *Chronographia* 13.8. Dagron (1974, "Naissance D'une Capitale," 39-41); Krautheimer (1983, "Three Christian Capitals," 61-64). Alföldi (1947, "On the Foundation of Constantinople," 10).

²⁴ Dagron (1974).

²⁵ *Origo Constantini*, 6.30: *Quam velut patriam cultu decoravit ingenti et Romae desideravit aequari.*

²⁶ P. Optatianus Porphyrius, *Carmina* 4.5.6: *Hos rupes Cirrhaea sonnet uideatque coruscas. Ponti nobilitas, altera Roma, duces.*

the city was founded by Constantine the Great, it owned its development and glory to Constantius II.²⁷ In 357, the same orator referred Constantinople as *Nea Roma* (New Rome) while addressing Rome as a Constantinopolitan ambassador.²⁸ Themistius further continued identifying two cities as “the two mother cities of the world – I mean that of Romulus and that Constantine.”²⁹

Following the death of Constantius II in 361, Julian ascended to the throne and became the first emperor born in Constantinople. A library and a senate house were adjoined to the city during his reign. The senate-house was located on the eastern side of the Augusteion.³⁰ In addition, two harbors were built on the Marmara coast; one of them was called the Kontoskalion (modern-day Kumkapı), and the other was the Port of Julian also known as the Harbour of Sophia (modern Kadirga Harbour).³¹ The existing forum called Bovis (Forum of the Ox) was used as the execution square of the city by Julian.³² Moreover, the erection of an Egyptian obelisk located at the hippodrome was ordered during the reign of

²⁷ Themistius, *Orationes* 3.47a-c.

²⁸ Nea Roma: Themistius, *Orations* 3.42a.,42c.

²⁹ Themistius, *Orations* 14.182a. For the full translation of the speech, see: Heather, Peter and David Moncur, *Politics, Philosophy, and Empire in the Fourth Century: Select orations of Themistius*, Liverpool University Press, Liverpool, 2001, pp. 227.

³⁰ Freely (1998, “*Istanbul the Imperial City*,” 50). The senate house was later rebuilt by the emperor Justinian.

³¹ Freely (1998, “*Istanbul the Imperial City*,” 51).

³² Müller-Wiener (2001, 253).

Julian.³³ After the death of Emperor Julian in 363, Jovian (363-364) was named emperor. However, dying in 364, he was never able to reach Constantinople.³⁴

Later on, Valens became the emperor on 28 March 364 in the Hebdomon and reigned until 378. Valens resided at the Hebdomon during his two years of stay in Constantinople and to commemorate the site of his acclamation; he built several structures here.³⁵ His reign was disturbed by the Gothic invasions. External problems kept Emperor Valens at bay. Therefore, construction works which included his aqueduct and the great pool at Forum Tauri were completed by the prefect Clearchus in 373.³⁶ For the construction of the Aqueduct of Valens, the stones of Chalcedon's walls were used.³⁷ The aqueduct was a major water supply and still stands today between the Third and Fourth Hills of the city.

The next major building program of the city started just after Theodosius I made his formal entrance to the city on 24 November 380. During the reign of Theodosius I (378-395), known as Theodosius the Great, Constantinople continued its growth gradually. Theodosius I built the largest of the Byzantine ports, the Harbour of Theodosius at the valley of the mouth of the Lycus River on the south

³³ Cakmak and Freely (2005, "*Istanbul'un Bizans Anitlari*," 32). However, the completion of the erection occurred under the reign of Theodosius I.

³⁴ Freely (1998, "*Istanbul the Imperial City*," 52).

³⁵ Kazhdan (1991, 907). Valens was proclaimed emperor on the plain of the Hebdomon. The plain was used for military exercises, therefore called the Campus Marius (named after the ancient Field of Mars on the Tiber). The Hebdomon later became an important suburb and adorned with a palace, porticoes, fountains, churches and monasteries by the emperors. Later a church (the church of Hagios Ioannes Prodromos) in Hebdomon was built nearby by Emperor Theodosius I and a series of emperors were crowned here. It became a custom for emperors to be crowned here and start their ceremonial entrance to the city.

³⁶ Kuban (2004, 30).

³⁷ Socrates, *Hist. Eccles.*, 4.8, Freely (1998, "*Istanbul the Imperial City*," 54). The walls of Chalcedon were pulled down by the emperor Valens as a punishment to the residents of the area for their support to his rival Procopius.

coast of the city.³⁸ The port was used for wheat import between Egypt and Constantinople.³⁹ Logistically, near to the Theodosian Harbor, grain stores “*Horrea Theodosiaca*” were built to supply the growing population of the city.⁴⁰ (Figure 11)

Additionally, new imperial residences and public baths were built to accommodate and serve for the incoming aristocrats who left Rome in favor of Constantinople. The Egyptian Obelisk was erected on the *spina* (the central barrier) of the Hippodrome in 390 during his reign.⁴¹ The Hippodrome’s importance elevated as it became the main ceremonial venue and used for both the games and the imperial celebrations such as state occasions and military victories.

Taking into account of the importance of the Mese and the Forum of the Constantine within the ceremonial life of Constantinople, the emperor remodeled the Forum Tauri that had been built by Constantine and rededicated to his name in 393.⁴² The Forum of Theodosius was located at the third hill of the city on the south branch of the Mese; it was shaped as a rectangular open space lining with a basilica on one side and Arch of Theodosian on the western side. Theodosius’s Forum was inspired by the Forum of Trajan in Rome and similarly included a large basilica, baths, gymnasia, and porticoes.⁴³ The construction of the Forum began with the

³⁸ Freely (1998, “*Istanbul the Imperial City*,” 55).

³⁹ Müller-Wiener (2001, 60). For the ports of Constantinople, see: Müller-Wiener, Wolfgang. *Bizans’tan Osmanlı’ya İstanbul Limanları*. İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1998.

⁴⁰ Müller-Wiener (2001, 57). During the fifth-century four out of six grain stores that listed in Notitia were located around Horrea. These grain stores were inspected by the emperors with an elaborate ceremony each year. *De Ceremoniis*, Book II, Chap. 51, R699-701.

⁴¹ Bassett (2004, “*The Urban Image*,” 219).

⁴² For more about the Forum of Theodosius, see. Müller-Wiener (2001, 258-265); Bassett (2004, “*The Urban Image*,” 208-212).

⁴³ See: Kollwitz, Johannes. *Oströmische Plastik der Theodosianischen Zeit*. Berlin, 1941.

erection of the colossal column at the center to commemorate the victories and military achievements of the emperor in 386.⁴⁴ The Column of Theodosius the Great (408-450) was ornamented with the spiral bas-reliefs of the emperor's victories, and Theodosian's equestrian statue was located on top of it. In the design of the edifice, the second-century Column of Trajan in Rome had a strong influence.⁴⁵

Following the example of his father, the Emperor Arcadius (395-408) redecorated and renamed an old market place that was located on another hill to the west of his father's forum and added another public meeting place to the city.⁴⁶ After the suppressing the Revolt of Gainas, the emperor ordered the construction of a Column to commemorate his victory in 402. However, Arcadius died before the completion of the Column, and the construction was completed during the reign of Arcadius' son Theodosius II (408-450). Theodosius II placed a statue of his father on top of the monument and dedicated the Column in 421.⁴⁷ Physically, the Column of Arcadius was similar to its predecessors within the city and featured a similar continuous spiral frieze around its colossal shaft.⁴⁸

The urban development and the enlargement of the city toward the third, fourth, and fifth hills arisen essential concerns. By this time, the city had facilities

⁴⁴ For more about the Forum of Theodosius, see: Müller-Wiener (2001, 258-265); Bassett (2004, "The Urban Image," 208-212).

⁴⁵ For more on the Column of Theodosius, see: Yoncacı Arslan (2015, 117-126). Also see: Theophanes, *Chronographia* I.70.20 for the beginning of construction; see *Chronicon Paschale* 565.6-8 for the placement of the statue.

⁴⁶ Müller-Wiener (2001, "İstanbul'un Tarihsel Topografyası," 250-253).

⁴⁷ *Chronicon Paschale*, 579.

⁴⁸ Bassett (2004, "The Urban Image," 187-188). For more about the Column of Arcadius, see: Yoncacı Arslan (2015, 126-138).

located outside of the city walls.⁴⁹ The Gothic invasion and the defeat of Emperor Valens at Adrianople in 378 proved the vulnerability of Constantinople and required new defensive measures. Under the reign of Theodosius II (408-450), the land walls were extended 1.5km to the west of the earlier Constantinian circuit.⁵⁰ The construction was completed in around 413. The new fortification was stretched for a distance of around 5.7km from the Sea of Marmara to the Golden Horn. The walls constructed with limestone blocks and divided at intervals by layers of red brick with a core of mortared rubble. The inner wall was reinforced with ninety-six polygonal and rectangular-shaped towers. The height of the inner walls was around 10m above the outer terrace and as much as 13m above the ground within the city. The wall was around 5m thick, with tower roughly 75m apart and with a height around 19m. The outer wall also had towers at regular intervals and was around 9m above the outer terrace, with walls approximately 2m thick. This wall that was reinforced by relieving arches supporting the walkway had an addition ninety-two towers. The outer terrace was around 20m, and the moat in front of the walls was also around 20m wide, dug with a maximum depth of 7m.⁵¹ (Figure 12).

The walls contained ten gates with intervals of 20m. The most important portal of the new land walls provided was the Golden Gate. The Gate was located between the ninth and tenth tower of the inner wall, and it served as the city' main entrance since the construction of the new land walls.⁵² (Figure 13). The gate connected the capital with the outside world by means of bridges thrown across the

⁴⁹ Bassett (2013, "*Constantinople, history and monuments*," 1734–1740); Kuban (2010, "*Istanbul: An Urban History*," 50). The water supplies and open-air cisterns (Aetios built-in 421, Aspar built-in 459, and Mokios was built between 491-518) was located outside of the walls and aqueducts were extending toward the west was vulnerable.

⁵⁰ Socrates, *Hist. Eccl.*, 7.1. Müller-Wiener (2001, "*İstanbul'un Tarihsel Topografyası*," 286); Bardill (1999, "*The Golden Gate in Constantinople*," 671-696).

⁵¹ Van Millingen (1899, "*The Walls of the City*," 59-73).

⁵² Bardill (1999, "*The Golden Gate in Constantinople*," 671).

moat, and since it pierced two walls, it was formed as double gateways. The principal gateway was the inner one, and it was guarded by two large towers projected beyond the curtain-wall. The outer gateway was also flanked by two projecting towers from the rear of the wall towards the city built with large squared blocks of marble.⁵³ It was shaped as a triumphal arch and had three archways; the central one being broader and loftier than the two side openings. The gates were glittered with gold and adorned with numerous statues and other sculptures. On top of the Gate, there was the statue of the Emperor Theodosius I standing in a chariot drawn by four elephants. In addition, certain classical scenes, such as the labors of Hercules were sculpted to decorate the gateway and the towers. At the southwestern side of the northern tower, there was a Roman eagle depicted while spreading its wings and several crosses were scattered over the structure.⁵⁴

With the new land walls, the city inside the city walls expanded more than twice its previous size. The wide belt of land added to the city was sparsely populated, and much of it was taken up by cemeteries.⁵⁵ However, the population gradually increased, and by the end of Theodosius II's reign (450), it reached around 188,000.⁵⁶ Under the Theodosian dynasty, Constantinople continued to transform into a Christian city. The Edict of Thessalonica, also known as *Cunctos populos*, was issued on 28 February 380 and made Christianity the state religion.⁵⁷

⁵³ Van Millingen (1899, "*The Walls of the City*," 60).

⁵⁴ Bardill (1999, "*The Golden Gate*," 671-696).

⁵⁵ Kuban (2010, "*Istanbul: An Urban History*," 50).

⁵⁶ Mango (1986, 119-120). For more on the population of the city, see: Jacoby, David. "La Population de Constantinople À L'Époque Byzantine: Un Problème de Démographie Urbaine." *Byzantion*, vol. 31, no. 1, 1961, pp. 81–109.

⁵⁷ *Codex Theodosianus* 16.1.2. For the full text, see: Pharr, Clyde. *The Theodosian Code and Novels, and the Sirmondian Constitutions: Translation with Commentary, Glossary, and Bibl.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton U.P., 1952.

Additional to the efforts of the restoration of the existing churches, several new ecclesiastical structures were established. The dedication of the church of St John the Forerunner in Hebdomon took place in 392, and the church of St John, the Evangelist around 400.⁵⁸ Hagia Sophia was damaged during the riots that started after the exile of the patriarch John Chrysostom in 404.⁵⁹ The building was rebuilt by Theodosius II around 415 and consecrated by patriarch Atticus.⁶⁰ Another important religious building attributed to Theodosius II was the three-aisled basilica built in Chalkoprateia and dedicated to the Mother of God (Theotokos).⁶¹

In order to populate the area between the Constantinian and Theodosian Walls, churches, monasteries and reservoirs were built upon the order of Theodosian II. Encouraged by the emperor, many prestigious families donated churches to the city so as to gain the favor of the court. The church of St John the Baptist of Stoudion was among them. The church was built in the mid-fifth century by patrician Flavius Studius; it was the *katholikon* of a monastery complex.⁶²

The only existing statistical account of the built environment, the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae* dates from this period and describes the fourteen urban

⁵⁸ Socrates, *Hist. Eccles.*, 6.6; Sozomen, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 8.4.

⁵⁹ Socrates, *Hist. Eccles.*, 6.18; Zosimus, *Nea Hist.*, 5.24.3-6; *Chronicon Paschale*, 568.

⁶⁰ *Chronicon Paschale*, 572; Müller-Wiener (2001, 84).

⁶¹ Mathews (1971, 28).

⁶² Later, in the eight century, the monastery became a pioneer of Orthodox Christianity and gained vast influence in the religious world, and thus it turned out to be the most famous monastery of the capital. Van Millingen (1912, 36). *Katholikon*; Greek term for the main church of a monastic complex. Although, the Byzantine sources used words of *naos* or *ekklesia* more commonly to refer principal church. See, Kazhdan (1991, “*Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*,” 1116).

regions and lists the principal monuments contained in each one.⁶³ Twelve of the Regions were within the Constantinian walls; the thirteenth was at Sykai (Galata), the fourteenth at an unknown location up the Golden Horn. The list includes five palaces, fourteen churches, eight public, and 153 private baths, four forums, four harbors, 52 major colonnaded streets, 322 other streets, and 4,388 domi existed within the city walls.⁶⁴ (Map 2)

The second half of the fifth century marked several unfortunate events for the city, such as destructive earthquakes and frequent fires.⁶⁵ At the beginning of the sixth century after a period of mounting strife, the Nika Revolt occurred in 532.⁶⁶ In the following process of the revolt, the prominent structures of the city, the Great Palace, Hagia Sophia, Hagia Irene, the Chalke Gate, the Senate House, the Baths of Zeuxippus and the portico leading to the Forum of Constantine were severely damaged.⁶⁷ When Justinian the Great (527-565) took over the empire, he

⁶³ For *Notitia*, see: Mathews, John. "The Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae," In Lucy Grig and Gavin Kelly, (eds.). *Two Romes: Rome and Constantinople in Late Antiquity*, Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2012, pp. 81-115, pp. 81-116.

⁶⁴ Bassett (2013, "Constantinople, History and Monuments," 1739).

⁶⁵ Müller-Wiener (2001, 22). For the fire took place in 465, see: *Chronicon Paschale*, 595. The chronicle records that the fire continued for thirty days and 8 regions of the city were burnt as a result. Another fire took place soon after in 469, see: *Chronicon Paschale*, 598. The chronicle recorded that the city burnt from the Golden Horn to the sea of Marmara. After the fire Emperor Leo I (457-474) resided at the palace of St. Mamas on the Bosphorus for a time. For the full list of earthquakes happened in Constantinople, see: Downey, Glanville. "Earthquakes at Constantinople and Vicinity, A.D. 342-1454." *Speculum* / Publ. by the Mediaeval Academy of America. (1955), pp. 596-600. The most significant quakes close to the Justinianic period at Constantinople occurred in 447, 525, and 557.

⁶⁶ *Chronicon Paschale*, 620-629; Malalas, *Chronographia*, 473.5-477.3; Theophanes, *Cronographia*, 181.24-186.2.

⁶⁷ For detailed accounts of the Riot, see: Greatrex, Geoffrey. "The Nika Riot: A Reappraisal." *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 117:60 (1997), 60-86.

weathered the Nika Revolt early in his tenure, and the physical situation allowed the new emperor to rebuild the city in his vim.⁶⁸

The building activity of the emperor was a well-calculated state policy, taking place after a period of political upheaval. The magnificence of his capital represented the supremacy of the emperor's rule and prosperity of the empire. In order to avoid uncontrolled enlargement and to install an order within the existing city boundaries, the Emperor established regulations in *Codex Justinianus*.⁶⁹ Thus, under the reign of Justinian the Great, Constantinople went through another major urban development phase. Procopius, the sixth-century historian, recorded the construction activity during the reign of Emperor Justinian in Constantinople in the first book of *Buildings*.⁷⁰ According to his accounts, Emperor Justinian primarily focused on the restoration and renovation of the damaged monuments within the city:

The majority of the buildings and the most noteworthy structures of the rest of the city and particularly of the palace area had been burned and razed to the ground when he [Justinian] undertook to rebuild and restore them all in more beautiful form.⁷¹

Justinian's urban renewal included the construction or rebuilding of palaces, the Senate and several other governmental buildings, public squares, markets, colonnaded streets, public baths, cisterns, harbors, lodgings for travelers, hospitals and other charitable institutions. The city walls were also rebuilt, and forts were constructed to reinforce the defense of the city, in addition to places of refuge for

⁶⁸ Evans (2005, "The Emperor Justinian and the Byzantine Empire," 49-50).

⁶⁹ *Chronicon Paschale*, 619. *Codex Justinianus*, 8.11.1.

⁷⁰ Procopius, *Buildings*, Book I.

⁷¹ Procopius, 57ff. 81.

the victims of barbarian raids.⁷² Halfway through the reign of Justinian the Great, the population of the city reached to the vicinity of 375,000 before the plague hit in 541.⁷³

Apart from the public buildings that had to be rebuilt after the revolt, Justinian also built 33 churches into the city, adding to the Christian identity of the empire.⁷⁴ As argued by Downey, his building program in Constantinople created a balance between public, administrative, and religious buildings, and at the same time, they expressed his desire to surpass his predecessors.⁷⁵ Renovations of Hagia Sophia and the Church of Holy Apostles were great Justinianic achievements. Hagia Sophia was already renovated by Theodosian II in 415, in a close manner to the original Constantinian structure. The collapsed dome of Hagia Sophia was enlarged with the massive dome highlighting the majestic air of the structure, and the building remained as the largest cathedral throughout the Byzantine era.⁷⁶ Constructions of the Church of the Saints Sergius and Bacchus and the Church of St Polyeuktos were some of many other religious projects.⁷⁷ The entrance of the Great Palace, the Chalke Gate was built by Constantine but renovated and

⁷² See: Downey (1950, "*Justinian as a Builder*," 262-266); (1960, "*Constantinople in the Age of Justinian*").

⁷³ Mango (1986, "*The Development of Constantinople as an Urban Centre*," 119-120). For more on the population of the city, see: Jacoby, David. "La Population de Constantinople À L'Époque Byzantine: Un Problème de Démographie Urbaine." *Byzantion*, vol. 31, no. 1, 1961, pp. 81-109.

⁷⁴ Procopius, *Buildings*, Book I; Kuban (2010, 119).

⁷⁵ Downey (1950, "*Justinian as a Builder*" 265).

⁷⁶ Schibille (2014, "*Hagia Sophia and the Byzantine Aesthetic Experience*," 47).

⁷⁷ Bassett (2004, "*The Urban Image of Late Antique Constantinople*," 122). For the Church of the Sts Sergius and Bacchus, see: Croke, Brian. "Justinian, Theodora, and the Church of Saints Sergius and Bacchus." *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, vol. 60, 2006, pp. 25-63. For the Church of St. Polyeuktos, see: Mango, Cyril A, and Ihor Ševčenko. "Remains of the Church of St. Polyeuktos at Constantinople." *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*. 29.15 (1968), pp. 243-247.

monumentalized by Justinian.⁷⁸ The Baths of Zeuxippos and the porticoes along the Mese up to the Forum of Constantine were repaired and an enormous cistern; today known as the Yerebatan Sarayı, was constructed under the Basilika.⁷⁹

The emperor chose to repair the old city center, known as the Augusteion instead of forming a new forum together with its Senate.⁸⁰ The Augusteion was located between Hagia Sophia and the Great Palace and had been severely damaged during the Nika Revolt in 532. As a part of the renovation of the forum, the emperor erected a colossal column surmounted with an equestrian statue of himself and dedicated in 543.⁸¹ (Map 3)

It should be noted that Emperor Justinian was so openly opposed to paganism, that Doğan Kuban defined him as a ‘great suppresser of paganism’ in his book. Justinian persecuted even the highest officials and senators, confiscated their property, and even executed several of them.⁸² His actions on the religious matters set the course of the empire once and for all, by openly persecuting paganism and acting as the benefactor of Christianity. With the Justinian’s reign, the transformation of the Byzantine Empire into a Christian one was completed, and as the Byzantine Empire was a truly Christian empire, Constantinople was a fitting capital to it with its over thirty churches and monasteries. The churches had central locations and elevated positions within the city. Based on the layout of the ecclesiastic buildings within the city it can be interpreted that the city was reflecting

⁷⁸ Bassett (2004, “*The Urban Image of Late Antique Constantinople*,” 122).

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ Downey (1960, “*Constantinople in the Age of Justinian*,” 92). For more about the Column of Justinian the Great, see: Yoncacı Arslan (2015, 138-144). Also see: Theophanes, *Chronographia*, 224, 13; Cedrenus, I, s. 656, 18; Ioannis Zonorae Annales, 157, 8.

⁸² Kuban (2010, “*Istanbul: An Urban History*,” 115).

the triumph of Christianity and by the end of Justinian's reign, the city of Constantinople was, in fact, a ceremonial city under Christian rule.

2.2. The Urban Ritual in Constantinople

The urban development of Constantinople as a Byzantine city was unique among its peers and predecessors. It was also in contradiction to ancient capitals such as Athens and Rome, which had a long build-up process. Constantinople's emergence as an imperial capital took place in a comparatively short time, between 324 and 330.⁸³ From the beginning, Constantinople was designed to be the representation of the empire's power and glory. Imperial monuments brought from the other centers of the empire gave the city a legitimacy and superiority over all others. Jerome, while recording the foundation of the new city, wrote that 'Constantinople is dedicated by denuding nearly every other city.' indicating that this city was favored above other cities of the empire.⁸⁴ They were publicly exhibited at the most critical intersections of the city. Furthermore, the other emperors that came after Constantine chose to follow his original design principles regarding the city rather than contradict them. Even substantial additions to the city such as Theodosian the Great's new line of land walls and the imperial fora of the other emperors were conceptually parallel to those of Constantine's. Thus, the key elements of the city were drafted as early as the fourth century. Along the Mese, one imperial forum followed another, creating a sequence of the continuous scene for ceremonies.

Urban ceremonies had a long history in the Roman world, ranging from Hellenistic-influenced rites of passage to the triumphs in imperial Rome. In Rome,

⁸³ Alföldi (1947, 10-16).

⁸⁴ Jerome, *Chronicle* s.a. 324.

the imperial celebrations of triumphs were the most common theme for urban ceremonies. They would start beyond the city walls with a formal greeting of a victorious general, public acclamations, and an address from the emperor. The greetings would be followed by a public procession from the Campus Martius, around the Palatine Hill to the Forum Boarium and Circus Maximus and would conclude at the Temple of Jupiter on the Capitoline Hill.⁸⁵ William MacDonald pointed out that the key to perceiving a Roman city was through mobility while William MacDonald likens it to ‘a prose narrative forwarded by the flow of words, so urban narrative evolves from movement.’⁸⁶ Urban processions provided mobility in order to manipulate the narrative of the city. In line with the Christianization of the empire, religious urban processions emerged from the interaction of the city and Christian liturgy. Mainly, the urban processions were one of the non-Christian forms of worship later employed by Christians in order to proclaim their ultimate triumph. John Wilkinson summarized the situation:

In supplanting the cults which preceded them, the Christians saw themselves as a triumph army overpowering the idols of paganism, but by the very form of their victory they were adopting the idiom of those they had conquered.⁸⁷

Thus, in time, the cities formed a liturgical network to reinforce their Christian identity through inscribing routes connecting churches, sanctuaries, and other religious sites. These networks, first practiced in Jerusalem and later emerged in Rome and then in Constantinople, were used for the urban liturgies that involved a

⁸⁵ Mango (2000, “*The Triumphal Way of Constantinople*,” 173).

⁸⁶ MacDonald (1988, “*The Architecture of the Roman Empire: An Urban Appraisal*,” 267).

⁸⁷ Wilkinson, John. *Jerusalem Pilgrims: Before the Crusades*. Warminster, 1974: 34.

specific predetermined, ritual movement from one point in the city to the designated church or sanctuary.⁸⁸

These ceremonies defined as the “stational liturgy” by John Baldovin. By the fourth and fifth centuries as urban liturgical processions proliferated new ‘stations’ as in churches and monasteries added to the liturgical network of Constantinople.⁸⁹ By the fifth century, the main liturgy was celebrated at different stations throughout the year and the processions, meaning movement along the major colonnaded streets and public squares of the city on Saturdays, Sundays, and on numerous feast days became an integral part of these liturgical celebrations.⁹⁰ Although the precise routes of different urban processions are not always clearly known, there were common nodal points of these ceremonies. Within the ritual landscape of Constantinople remained consistent from the fifth through the eleventh century; therefore, main nodal points preserved their influential positions within the city.

The stational liturgy at Constantinople was from the beginning intentionally public. Especially in the early Christian period, the purpose of the urban ceremonies was the missionary. After a time when the empire Christianized, similar to Roman imperial processions designed to proclaim the triumph of the empire, the early urban processions of Constantinople were designed to proclaim the triumph of Christianity. The reason behind the need to manifest the power of the church as a fully established entity was to show the ultimate victory of Christianity. Thus, the narrative of the city as a Christian capital was highlighted by these ephemeral ritual performances.

⁸⁸ Baldovin (1987, 36-37). See also, Baldovin, John F. “Worship in Urban Life: The Example of Medieval Constantinople, in P. S. Hawkins (eds.). *Civitas: Religious Interpretations of the City*, Scholars Press, Atlanta, 1986, pp. 57-67.

⁸⁹ Mango, (1993, 125).

⁹⁰ Baldovin (1987, “*The Origins, Development, and Meaning of Stational Liturgy*,” 167-226).

Franz Bauer indicated the urban ceremonial life in Constantinople ‘functioned as a ritual demonstration and reaffirmation of existing social, political, and religious condition.’⁹¹ The participation symbolized consent to the social order at every level from the family to the Empire, and since rituals mold and transmit attitudes, the urban ceremonies helped to unite different groups within the city. Within the ceremonies, all members of the city from the emperor, clergy, court officials, members of the circus factions and guilds to common people found the tangible proof of their rank in the social hierarchy.⁹²

2.3. The Sources and Studies on the Ceremonial Life of Constantinople

The studies on the ceremonial life of Constantinople are based on the data provided by the ancient sources. However, as Baldovin commented in the case of Constantinople, there are no chronological series of data for the stational liturgy and the most comprehensive records on the liturgical studies such as the Typikon of the Great Church and the *De Ceremoniis* of Constantine Porphyrogenitus dates from the tenth century onwards.⁹³ Therefore, the non-liturgical sources such as the records of church historians and the vitae of influential clergymen are also taken into account for the early periods. Some of these can be listed as the famous patriarch of Constantinople, John Chrysostom (398-404), the fifth-century historians Sozomen and Socrates, Theodore Lector the early sixth-century church historian, the anonymous author of the seventh century the *Chronicon Paschale*, and the ninth century chronicles of the monk Theophanes Confessor.

⁹¹ Bauer (2002, “*Urban Space and Ritual*,” 28).

⁹² Bauer (2002, “*Urban Space and Ritual*,” 28).

⁹³ Baldovin (1982, “*The Urban Character of Christian Worship*,” 330).

In the case of Constantinople, the official source for urban ceremonies was the *De ceremoniis aulae byzantinae* (The Book of Ceremonies). The book was compiled and edited from previous and contemporary sources on the matter under the supervision of the Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (913-959), in the later years of his reign; around 945-959. It aimed to describe the numerous ceremonies both religious and secular natured conducted throughout the year within Constantinople. Although the book dated back to the tenth century, it also contained older descriptions, some of which dated as far as the fourth century.⁹⁴ The scholars interpreted the two-volume manuscript as a deliberate revival of the Roman tradition.⁹⁵ The book describes the events by presenting the protocols for imperial processions to and from the appointed churches within the city and the imperial palace, and the intermediary stations are mentioned occasionally. The roles of the attendees and the rules of the ritualistic actions or acclamations at these points are regulated and explained in detail. In addition, appropriate customs and the food served during the events are briefly mentioned. The other source known as the *Typikon* of the Great Church is roughly contemporaneous with the information provided in the *De Ceremoniis*. The book contains liturgical directions of each feast and fast of the year by listing the appointed and proper readings, chants and the places of celebration for the liturgical services. It also provides brief information regarding the lives of the saints. The *Typikon* also lists the annual commemorations of catastrophic events such as earthquakes and sieges and their liturgical responses. The last source on the matter Pseudo-Kodinos dates back to the fourteenth-century. The work presents respective details on the hierarchy of the attendants, their attires, and roles in the ceremonial celebrations.⁹⁶ Moreover, it

⁹⁴ Bury (1907, “*Ceremonial Book*,” 427, 436).

⁹⁵ Cameron and Cannadine (1987, “*The Construction of Court Ritual: The Byzantine Book of Ceremonies*.” 111).

⁹⁶ Pseudo-Kodinos, Macrides, R.J., Munitiz, J.A. and Angelov, D., *Pseudo-Kodinos and the Constantinopolitan court: offices and ceremonies*. Farnham: Ashgate, 2013.

provides insight into the ceremonial traditions by explaining the reasons behind certain actions through the discussion of the origins of custom practices. The most significant contribution of this work is the comparison regarding the change and alterations in the ceremonial since the tenth-century.

The ritualistic and ceremonial tendency of urban life in Constantinople during the Byzantine period has been recognized by scholars. Consequently, the term “ceremonial city” has been applied to Constantinople over the years. Andreas Alföldi’s work stressed the underlying continuities between Roman imperial rule and later empire by tracing the origins of former in the symbolic repertoire of the latter and how they were qualitatively different from each other despite the similarities in their essence.⁹⁷ Sabine MacCormack noted the increasingly urban orientation of ceremony from the fifth century onward as opposed to military and the changing roles of emperors within this context.⁹⁸ Michael McCormick on his work treated urban rituals as a whole and as expressions of a tradition that always modified by local and temporal conditions.⁹⁹ They both dealt with political and ideological aspects of the late Roman and Byzantine ceremonies. Baldovin made a characterization and reconstruction of the stationary liturgy by exercising comparative analysis on three central cities of Byzantine Empire (Jerusalem, Rome, and Constantinople) and employing the evidence of material culture additional to ancient texts.¹⁰⁰ These works increased the interest to read the city’s layout from the perspective of the ephemeral events such as urban ceremonies. Albrecht Berger and Cyril Mango mapped Constantinople in order to elucidate the

⁹⁷ Alföldi (1970, “*Die Monarchische Repräsentation*”).

⁹⁸ MacCormack (1981, “*Art and Ceremony*”).

⁹⁹ McCormick (1986, “*Eternal Victory*”).

¹⁰⁰ Baldovin (1982, “*The Urban Character of Christian Worship*”).

primary routes for imperial and ecclesiastical processions.¹⁰¹ Their studies focused on the roles of churches and imperial fora with their monumental columns within the ceremonial landscape of the city. By doing so, they underlined the stational character of the urban planning of Constantinople. Beginning from its foundation, Bauer analyzed Constantinople as an urban space designed for rituals by studying urban nodal points of the city. In order to understand the ceremonial use of public space, he analyzed the directives of city planning, architectural solutions, and the organization of streets and squares.¹⁰² These studies make it possible to scrutinize the ceremonial life of Constantinople.

2.4. Urban Processions of Constantinople in the Early and Middle Byzantine Period: An Overview

Based on the data came from the ancient sources, it is clear that Constantinople experienced urban ceremonies from the beginning, and the practice continued throughout the Byzantine period. Beginning from 330, the foundation of Constantinople was commemorated on 11 May each year with a cavalcade through the Mese and around the Hippodrome.¹⁰³ In addition, the news of the imperial victories were celebrated in the Hippodrome with races and victory spectacles even in the absence of the emperor.¹⁰⁴ However, opposed to his predecessors Theodosius I spend most of his reign in Constantinople. The presence and attendance of the

¹⁰¹ Berger (2000, “*Streets and Public Spaces in Constantinople*”); (2001, “*Imperial and Ecclesiastical Processions in Constantinople*”); Mango (2000, “*The Triumphal Way of Constantinople*”).

¹⁰² See, Bauer (2002, “*Urban Space and Ritual: Constantinople in Late Antiquity*”).

¹⁰³ Malalas, *Chronographia*, 13.8.

¹⁰⁴ Croke (2010, “*Reinventing Constantinople*,” 246).

emperor changed the character of celebrations as compared to the previous ones that were carried out in a symbolic manner in absentia of the emperor. Thus, the imperial ritual and ceremonial life refocused on and around the palace.¹⁰⁵ Theodosius I encouraged and cultivated the imperial ritual since it was advantageous for his personal agenda to promote his family name. Numerous imperial occasions required special celebrations, and all these processions created a busy calendar for the imperial processions in Constantinople. The children born into the purple, funerals, victory announcements, marriages, and consulships were warranted several days of citywide celebrations that included grand banquets, races, and games in the Hippodrome and in other public spaces for all occupants of the city to partake.¹⁰⁶ From the moment the Emperor Theodosius the Great (378-395) made his formal entrance to Constantinople on 24 November 380, he deliberately set out to make the city his own, and in order to promote his ascension to the throne and manifest his absolute power over the empire, Theodosius used urban ceremonies.¹⁰⁷ (Figure 14)

One of the most significant imperial events was the proclamation of a new emperor. Until Theodosian dynasty the traditional Roman ritual of proclamation ceremonies had been carried out at various locations of the Byzantine Empire according to the whereabouts of the emperors at the time.¹⁰⁸ However, starting with Arcadius' proclamation, it became exclusively focused on the "*Nova Roma*."

¹⁰⁵ Croke (2010, "*Reinventing Constantinople*," 249).

¹⁰⁶ For details of the celebratory occasions, see: Croke (2010, "*Reinventing Constantinople*," 249-257).

¹⁰⁷ For the entrance ceremony of Theodosius in 380, see: Zosimus, *Historia Nova*, 4.33. Translation retrieved from: Zosimus, and Ronald T. Ridley. *New History*. Sydney: Australian Association for Byzantine Studies, 2006, pp. 85.

¹⁰⁸ Croke (2010, "*Reinventing Constantinople*," 251). Emperor Julian's proclamation took place in Paris, Jovian's on the Persian frontier, Valentinian I's at Nicaea, Valens' and Procopius' at Constantinople, Gratian's at Amiens and Valetinian II's and Theodosius' at Sirmium.

Although both the ceremonial and the meaning of the proclamation evolved in time, its customary Byzantine core had been essentially established during the time of Theodosian dynasty.¹⁰⁹ In 389, the annual celebration of both the emperor's birthday and the anniversary of his ascension to the throne (*dies imperii*) were decreed by Theodosius I.¹¹⁰ Every fifth year of the emperor's reign was commemorated with games and exhibitions. Moreover, as a part of the celebrations, the emperor would present minted commemorative coins as donatives to the soldiery.¹¹¹ On the fifth anniversary of Theodosius' rule, on January 19, 383, his son Arcadius was proclaimed. Five years later, on January 19, 388, Theodosius marked his tenth anniversary while Arcadius marked his fifth with citywide celebrations. This juxtaposing celebration constituted a significant dynastic statement while amplifying the imperial authority at Constantinople. Thus, Theodosius made it known that the future of the empire lay him and his family. On the fifteenth anniversary of Theodosius's rule, while his son Arcadius celebrated his tenth anniversary, his youngest son Honorius was proclaimed on January 23, 393.¹¹²

Imperial marriages were also majestic and vibrant occasions full of merriment that brought joy to the capital. Although not all of these weddings were described in detail in ancient sources, the ones that were recounted claim that 'the city was bedecked with flowers and the Bosphorus glittered with torches carried in

¹⁰⁹ Croke (2010, "*Reinventing Constantinople*," 251). Also for details on the coronation ceremony of the emperors, see: *De Ceremoniis* I.38-40.

¹¹⁰ *Codex Theodosianus*, 2.8.19. (7 August 389). For the celebrations of the emperor's birthday, see: *De Ceremoniis* I.61. Also see: Moffatt, A. "Celebrating a Byzantine Imperial Birthday." In *Philhellen. Studies in Honour of Robert Browning*, ed. C. N. Constantinides, N. M. Panagiotakes, E. M. Jeffreys, and A. D. Angelou. Istituto Ellenico di Studi Bizantini e Postbizantini di Venezia, Bibliothek, 17. Venice, 1996, pp. 255–266.

¹¹¹ Croke (2010, "*Reinventing Constantinople*," 251).

¹¹² Themistius, *Oration*, 15 (delivered in 380), 18 (delivered in 384).

procession' during these events.¹¹³ The ritual for Byzantine imperial marriages like proclamation ceremonies was formed in the late fourth century after the arrival of Theodosius and his entourage to Constantinople.¹¹⁴

Another important Byzantine ceremony was the imperial funeral. Although they were not joyous events, imperial funerals were no less elegant and resplendent. Constantine the Great's mausoleum which was attached to the church of Holy Apostles gained a more profound position within the ceremonial life of the city during the reign of Theodosius.¹¹⁵ The mausoleum had already contained the bodies of Emperor Constantine and his son who joined his father in the grave in 361. However, Theodosius also brought the bodies of his predecessors to Constantinople and laid them to rest in this mausoleum. Thus, this complex became an important node point of urban processions, and Constantinople was systematically promoted as the imperial capital.¹¹⁶ The bodies of Emperor Julian and his wife; Helena, Emperor Jovian, and his wife; Charito were brought to Constantinople and laid here.¹¹⁷ Also in 382, the body of the Emperor Valentinian was transferred to this mausoleum from his previous resting place within the city where he laid since his death in 376.¹¹⁸ Emperor Constantius II's daughter and

¹¹³ Claudian, *Cons. Stilich.* I.80-8; *Chronicon Paschale*, 395.

¹¹⁴ For details of the imperial wedding ceremony, see: *De Ceremoniis* I.81-82.

¹¹⁵ On the church of Holy Apostles as the imperial burial ground, see: John Chrysostom, *Contra iudaeos et gentiles* 9 (*Patrologia Graeca* 48.825).

¹¹⁶ Grierson (1962, "*The Tombs and Obits of the Byzantine Emperors*," 25). For the description of the church of Holy Apostles and the whole complex, see: Eusebius, *Vita Constantini*, 4.58-60.

¹¹⁷ Emperor Julian's body was brought from Tarsus where he had been buried in 363 and simultaneously his wife; Helena's body was transferred from Rome. Emperor Jovian's body was transferred from the place where he died in Asia Minor. See: Grierson (1962, "*The Tombs and Obits of the Byzantine Emperors*," 40-42).

¹¹⁸ Emperor Valens' body was never found, therefore couldn't transferred to Constantinople. Emperor Valentinian had died in Pannonia in 375 and his body was brought to Constantinople in 376. However, it was transferred to church of Apostles by Theodosius in 382 with respective

Emperor Valentinian's daughter-in-law, Constantia were transported and buried in the mausoleum on December 1, 383.¹¹⁹ From this point on, the mausolea of the church of the Holy Apostles became the traditional imperial burial ground and housed the great majority of the imperial sarcophagi.¹²⁰ Therefore, after their demise, the members of the Theodosian family took their place in the mausoleum, and the complex became the final location for the imperial funeral corteges. The daughter of the Emperor Theodosius, Princess Pulcheria, died on July 385 and a few weeks later his wife; empress Flaccilla Augusta passed away. Gregory of Nyssa was chosen to deliver a eulogy during both funerary services. While describing the funeral for the Princess Pulcheria, Gregory of Nyssa stated:

I have seen a sea of men crammed together the full temple, the vestibule, the open expanse before it, people in mourning, the nearby streets, public areas, the side streets and houses. Wherever one looks there are crowds of people as the entire world had run together for this tragedy.¹²¹

Shortly after her daughter, the empress Flaccilla Augusta's funeral cortege had passed the streets of Constantinople. While Gregory of Nyssa recorded the occasion, he described that the coffin was draped in purple and glittering gold and carried on the empress' litter while both citizens and foreigners wailed loudly to the sight. He further continued that "people of every rank and age rush out, they

ceremonial. See: Johnson, Mark J. "On the Burial Places of the Valentinian Dynasty" *Historia* 40: 501-506.

¹¹⁹ *Chronicon Paschale* 383; Grierson (1962, "The Tombs and Obits of the Byzantine Emperors," 6).

¹²⁰ For extensive information regarding the burial places of imperial family, see: Grierson (1962, "The Tombs and Obits of the Byzantine Emperors," 3-63); Johnson, (1991, "On the Burial Places of the Theodosian Dynasty," 330-339); Downey, (1959, "The Tombs of the Byzantine Emperors," 27-51).

¹²¹ Gregory of Nyssa, *In Pulcheriam* (463 Spira).

marvel at this sight visible to all. Enthusiastically following on foot in a great throng and giving vent to grief.”¹²² Similar funerary services were organized for the members of the imperial family after their passing over the years; Prince Gratian died in 388; the newborn prince John and his mother, Galla, died on August 394.¹²³ Shortly after, Theodosius himself died in Milan on January 17, 395 and his body was brought to Constantinople and laid rest next to his previously deceased wives, Flaccilla and Galla on November of the same year.¹²⁴ His son, the Emperor Arcadius, died on May 1, 408, and his body was buried with a porphyry sarcophagus into a later addition of the mausoleum complex that is called the south-stoa. Theodosius II was buried near to his father’s tomb after the funeral ceremony that was organized on July 30, 450.¹²⁵

The ceremonial funerals within the city were not exclusively imperial treats, and they were also organized for religious personalities. Gregory of Nyssa recorded and described the funeral procession for Bishop Meletius of Antioch in mid-381 as follows:

The people, so densely crowded together as to look like a sea of heads, became all one continuous body like some watery flood surged around the procession bearing his remains. . . the streams of fire from the succession of lamps flowed along the unbroken track of light, and extended so far that the eye could not reach them.¹²⁶

¹²² Gregory of Nyssa, *In Flaccillam* (478 Spira).

¹²³ Croke (2010, “*Reinventing Constantinople*,” 252).

¹²⁴ Grierson (1962, “*The Tombs and Obits of the Byzantine Emperors*,” 43); Johnson (1991, “*On the Burial Places of the Theodosian Dynasty*,” 332).

¹²⁵ Grierson (1962, “*The Tombs and Obits of the Byzantine Emperors*,” 20).

¹²⁶ Gregory of Nyssa, *In Meletium* (456 Spira).

As imperial occasions result in urban ceremonies, Theodosius ordered certain legislations on 2 February 383 in order to specify some of them and reinforce their existence in the following manner:

Whenever any of our auspicious achievements are announced, if wars should cease, if victories should arise, if the honor of the bestowal of royal vestments should be added to the calendar [that is, an imperial consulship], if the announcement of the tranquility of peace that has been concluded is to be spread abroad, if by chance we display the imperial countenances [*sacros vultus*] to the eager multitudes.¹²⁷

One of the most illustrious urban ceremonies was the arrival ceremony, also known as the ceremony of *adventus*. It was an ancient Roman tradition continued throughout the Byzantine period as well with changes and adjustments. In the Byzantine world, they were held for the purpose of greeting bishops, government officials, and relics of the Saints. However, the most spectacular *adventus* was held in order to formally welcome the emperor into the city after an expedition or a long journey.¹²⁸

One of the well-known examples of the *adventus* ceremony was the Emperor Justinian's entrance to Constantinople in 559. Emperor Justinian the Great (527-565) who spent most of his reign in Constantinople left the city to oversee the restoration of the Thracian Wall which had been damaged in an earthquake in December 557 and together with his court resided for a while at Selymbria. Justinian and his entourage returned to Constantinople on August 11, 559 and they were welcomed into the city with the traditional rite of arrival; the *adventus*. (Figure 15) This ceremonial entrance was mentioned in detail in *De*

¹²⁷ *Codex Theodosianus*, 8.11.4.

¹²⁸ For more on the ceremony of "*adventus*," see: Kazhdan (1991, "*Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*," 25-26).

Ceremoniis.¹²⁹ His return to the capital was previously announced and orchestrated by the *magistros* (the magister officiorum). As befits a traditional rite of welcome, he was greeted by the city prefect and other dignitaries, and then he was ritually acclaimed by the Blue and Green circus factions in their colorful billowing costumes.¹³⁰ The convoy chose to enter the city through the Gate of Charisius, and they were greeted with a majestic vista included the sweeping hills and valleys while the horizon was punctured by the statues of his predecessors resting atop monumental columns, along with the glittering domes of many churches of the now entirely Christian capital.¹³¹ Following the northwestern branch of the Mese, the convoy reached the church of Holy Apostles. Justinian stopped here for prayer and lit candles to the memory of the late Empress Theodora (died on June 28, 548). Then, the procession continued toward the Capitolium, and on the way, *domestikoi protiktoures*, the seven *scholai* and, tribunes and *kometes* greeted the entourage. They were all clad in white *chlamyses* and holding candles in their hands while standing to the right and left on the road. Moreover, the merchants, craftsmen, and representers from every guild were at attendance. According to the description of the Book of Ceremonies, from the Capitolium up to the Chalke gate of the Great Palace, the Mese was overcrowded to the point that only the emperor's horse could barely pass through. In front of the Chalke Gate, the dignitaries had greeted the convoy, and the organizer of the triumph cried out the ceremonial salute.¹³²

¹²⁹ *De Ceremoniis*, Appendix to Book I, R497; HC696.

¹³⁰ Croke (2005, "*Justinian's Constantinople*," 60). In time, the chariot teams of the Hippodrome became political parties of Constantinople. The Greens represented the merchants while the Blues were linked to the aristocracy of the city. The results of the conflicts between these two groups brought destruction to the city. For details about these groups, see: Cameron, Alan. *Circus Factions, Blues and Greens at Rome and Byzantium*. Oxford, 1976, pp. 278-280.

¹³¹ Croke (2005, "*Justinian's Constantinople*," 60). For the ceremonial entry of the emperors usually used the Golden Gate, however on this occasion perhaps due to the earthquake of 558 the emperor Justinian used the Gate of Charisios. On the matter, see: McCormick (1986, "*Eternal Victory*," 67, 208-209).

¹³² *De Ceremoniis*, Appendix to Book I, R497; HC696.

After the late fourth-century, Christian ritual integrated with processions in Constantinople. Gregory of Nazianzus, who was the Nicaean bishop of Constantinople from 379 to 381, stated his dislike for “the processions of the Greeks” in 380.¹³³ However, in the same year, Gregory himself directed the first known religious procession in Constantinople and led a group of Nicaeans to reclaim a church from the Arian party.¹³⁴

During the fourth century, Arians were the dominant ecclesiastical party within the city, and their prayers were held in the main churches such as Holy Apostles and Hagia Irene while the other ecclesiastical party, the Nicaeans, was outnumbered and therefore had no access to these churches. In the leadership of Gregory Nazianzus, the Nicaeans’ services were held in the Chapel of Anastasia which was located slightly on the northeast of the Forum of Constantine in the Portico of Domninus.¹³⁵ However, the positions of the Arians within the city changed upon the ascension of Theodosius the Great (378-395) to the throne. In 381, he arranged an ecumenical council in Constantinople for the purpose of condemning Arianism and banishing them from the city. The council ordered the Arian community to surrender the churches and the city squares to the Nicaeans, and they were forced to relocate and conduct their liturgical meetings at the outside of the city walls.¹³⁶ The fifth-century church historian Sozomen briefly mentioned this power shift and recorded the change in the prayers as follows:

The Arians, having been deprived of their churches in Constantinople during the reign of Theodosius [the Great], held their churches without the walls of the city. They previously

¹³³ Gregory of Naziansus, *Oration*, 38:5-6 (*Patrologia Graeca* 36:316).

¹³⁴ Gregory of Naziansus, *Patrologia Graeca* 37:1120-25.

¹³⁵ Gregory of Naziansus, *Oration*, 22:8 (*Patrologia Graeca* 35:1140-1141). For the Chapel of Anastasia, see Janin (1969, “*Les Églises*,” 22-25).

¹³⁶ *Codex Theodosianus*, 15.5.6 and 16.5.13.

assembled by night in the public porticoes and were divided into bands, so that they sang antiphonally, for they had composed certain refrains which reflected their own dogma, and at the break of day marched in procession, singing these hymns, to the places in which they held their churches. They proceeded in this manner on all solemn festivals, and on the first and last days of the week.¹³⁷

It is clear from this passage that by the end of the fourth century, the city was experiencing nocturnal processions involving singing, chanting and walking considerable distances through the streets and these processions were the sign of power and influence of the religious parties over the city.¹³⁸ The doctrinal dominance was only possible with the control over the urban liturgical space, including the squares and the streets as well as the churches.¹³⁹ Despite the condemnation from the emperor and the decrees of bishops, the Arians continued to spread their doctrines within the city. During the clash between religious parties, liturgical processions acted as religious propaganda in order to influence the citizens while expressing their power over the other party. The Arians gathered in the public squares along the Mese and paraded through the streets toward their gathering places outside the city walls while chanting hymns from dusk till dawn.¹⁴⁰ The disaccord continued during the episcopate of the renowned bishop of Constantinople, John Chrysostom (398-404) who was concerned that the influence of the Arians might once again prevail over the other party. To this end, in order to suppress their voice, Chrysostom ordered his people to sing hymns in the same

¹³⁷ Sozomen, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 8.8. The translation retrieved from: Schaff, Philip, Henry Wace, Socrates, and Sozomenus. *A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church: Vol. 2*. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1979, pp. 905.

¹³⁸ Croke (2010, "Reinventing Constantinople," 241-264).

¹³⁹ Ibid., p.248.

¹⁴⁰ Latham (2014, "Battling Bishops," 128-129).

manner and instituted more elaborate processions with imperial support. Thus, in a short time, the Arians were outnumbered both in followers and processions.¹⁴¹

John Chrysostom was a presbyter who preached in various churches at Antioch, and he kept this practice after he assumed the position in Constantinople and used various churches and sacred locations of the city for different occasions. He celebrated the Eucharist in the Great Church and often preached here; however, for the celebration of the feast of the St John Prodromos, he went to Hebdomon, and for the celebration of the feast of the Ascension he arranged a procession to the Elaia region (an olive grove) across the Golden Horn outside the city walls.¹⁴² He delivered a homily in Hagia Irene for an unknown occasion, and he went to an unknown martyrion in the Palaia Petra outside the Adrianople Gate during a drought for a sermon.¹⁴³ He also preached a sermon in the church of St Paul the Confessor located near the Golden Horn to the Goths.¹⁴⁴ For the anniversary of the death of Theodosius, he delivered a sermon at Holy Apostles as he was buried there.¹⁴⁵

The veneration of relics was an important concept, especially in the Early Christian period. The relics of the celebrated saints and martyrs were among the sacred Christian objects.¹⁴⁶ There were numerous *martyria* in Constantinople; on

¹⁴¹ Socrates, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 6.8. For details on the religious competition in Constantinople during this period, see: Latham (2014, “*Battling Bishops*,” 128-129).

¹⁴² For the feast of Ascension, see: Socrates, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 6.18, 7.26.

¹⁴³ The homily in Hagia Irene, see: Hom. Nova 5 (*Patrologia Graeca* 63:485), for the sermon he delivered during a drought, see: Hom. Nova 1 (*Patrologia Graeca* 63:461).

¹⁴⁴ Hom. Nova 8 (*Patrologia Graeca* 63:499-500). For the chapel see: Janin (1969, *Les Églises*, 394-395).

¹⁴⁵ Hom. Nova 6 (*Patrologia Graeca* 63:461).

¹⁴⁶ For more on the concept of relics in Christianity, see: Kazhdan (1991, “*Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*,” 1779-1781).

the other hand, the collection of relics became fashionable and increasingly competitive.¹⁴⁷ The discovery of the relics and their transaction for various churches were celebrated in a sumptuous manner from the fourth century onward and filled the Christian festal calendar. Within these affairs, the emperors and empresses had direct roles as they influenced and encouraged the transaction of the relics. For example, Sozomen and Theodoret recorded that Helena, the mother of Constantine the Great, discovered the True Cross in Jerusalem, and while she left fragments of the relic in the church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem, she brought the nails of the cross to Constantinople.¹⁴⁸

During the reign of the Emperor Theodosius (378-395), after the old bishop of Constantinople Paul I died in exile, the emperor brought his remains to Constantinople in 381 and carried the skull of the saint in the procession along the Mese to the church named after the saint.¹⁴⁹ Furthermore, the head of St John the Baptist was transported from Chalcedon to a church at Hebdomon mainly built to house the relics of the saint in 391.¹⁵⁰ Later, the relics of Therenius and Africanus; two African martyrs were brought to Constantinople and placed in the church of St Euphemia.¹⁵¹ John Chrysostom also provided evidence for two liturgical processions both on the occasions of the transactions of the martyr's relics. Regarding arrival of the relics of Saint Phocas he wrote that:

¹⁴⁷ Martyria or *martyrion* was a building or shrine erected over the grave of a martyr or on a site connected with the life of a saint. For more on the subject, see: Kazhdan (1991, "*Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*," 1308-1309).

¹⁴⁸ Sozomen, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 2.28, 2.31, 4.15; Theodoret, 1.23.

¹⁴⁹ Socrates, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 5.9.1-2.

¹⁵⁰ Wortley (2004, "*Relics of 'The Friends of Jesus' at Constantinople*," 147).

¹⁵¹ Theodore Anagnostes, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, II.62. (*Patrologia Graeca* 86, 213A).

Yesterday our city was aglow, radiant and famous, not because it had colonnades, but because a martyr arrived in procession from Pontus . . . Did you see the procession in the Forum?...Let no one stay away from this holy assembly; let no virgin stay shut up in her house, no woman keep to her own home. Let us empty the city and go to the grave of the martyr, for even the emperor and his wife go with us . . . Let us make of the sea a church once again, once again going forth to it with lamps.¹⁵²

During the reign of the Emperor Arcadius (395-408), the relics of the Prophet Samuel arrived in Constantinople in 406. *Chronicon Paschale* recorded the event:

The remains of St Samuel were conveyed to Constantinople by way of the Chalcedonian jetty...with Augustus leading the way, and Anthemius, praetorian prefect and former consul, Aemilianus, city prefect, and all the Senate; these remains were laid to rest for a certain time in the most holy Great Church.¹⁵³

The presence of secular dignitaries during the translations illustrates the importance of the growing collection of relics at Constantinople. It should also be noted that all these transactions included the imperial presence; therefore, symbolically the sacredness was transmitted with the hand of the emperor. By this time, many festal days were already launched, and they became a part of the annual rhythm of urban life. Apart from the Easter celebrated on the first Sunday after the first Full Moon occurring on or after the vernal equinox, there was Epiphany on 6 January and Christmas on 25 December.¹⁵⁴ Several saint days were also now part of the local calendar, such as the Constantinopolitan martyrs Acacius on 8 May and Mocius on 11 May.¹⁵⁵ The celebration of local anniversaries proliferated in

¹⁵² John Chrysostom, *De sancto hieromartyre Phoca* (*Patrologia Graeca* 50: 699).

¹⁵³ *Chronicon Paschale* 569. Also see, Dagron (1974, "Naissance D'une Capitale," 408-409).

¹⁵⁴ Gregory of Naziansus, *Oration*, 38 (Christmas); 39-40 (Epiphany 381).

¹⁵⁵ *Typikon CP*, Mateos 1962-3, vol. I: 285.19-21 (Acacius), 291.3-4 (Mocius).

time, and the streets of Constantinople witnessed endless processions parading all around the city.

2.5. The Prominent Nodal Points of Urban Ceremonies in Constantinople

Various secular and religious events mentioned above filled the ceremonial calendar of Constantinople and by prescribing the particular sites for these events; they were incorporated into the actual city.¹⁵⁶ In the early Byzantine period, the distinction between the church and the state affiliation, especially in the context of the public ritual was blurry at best; however, in time, public ceremonial became dominated mainly by the “church.” More and more churches were built in Constantinople, and they began to substitute the imperial fora as departure points, stations, and destinations of citywide processions.¹⁵⁷ Baldovin commented that the churches were both physical points of departure, as well as goals for the processions, which created a dynamic flow through the arteries of the city fueled by the movement of human bodies. Urban stational liturgy turned monuments and their topographical arrangement into a dynamic aspect of the lives of the city’s inhabitants. Thus, the stational liturgy contributed to visual sanctification of the whole city. Streets, squares, and the market place became an extension of the churches during the processions, and the churches became nodes of collective manifestation of shared identity in the urban fabric.¹⁵⁸ The liturgies of the secular and religious public spheres enmeshed nation, city, and religion in a tightly wound web of shared meaning and identity unique for Constantinople.¹⁵⁹ The structure of

¹⁵⁶ Baldovin (1987, “*Urban Character of Christian Worship*,” 169, 186-188, 190, 197).

¹⁵⁷ Bauer (2002, “*Urban Space and Ritual*,” 27).

¹⁵⁸ Baldovin (1982, “*Urban Character of Christian Worship*,” 508).

¹⁵⁹ Baldovin (1987, “*Urban Character of Christian Worship*,” 197, 211).

the Constantinopolitan station liturgy was founded on key events of different kinds, merging the religious with the secular.

Only the most prominent of the civic buildings played a leading role during the urban ceremonies, and in return, these ceremonies further elevated the status of these buildings in the eyes of the citizens of the city.¹⁶⁰ In the overall of urban planning of Constantinople, the Mese acted as the backbone of the city, providing it with a rigid structure to be shaped around. Although there were other streets extending along the length of Constantinople and serving as the arteries of communication, the place of the Mese was altogether different in comparison.¹⁶¹ (Figure 16). The Mese played a vital role within the network as a major artery of the city and served as the primary thoroughfare. The linear structure of the street created a journey through the city. Starting from the Chalke Gate of the Great Palace, it passed by the Baths Zeuxippus before reaching the Milion that located at the Augusteion. The route would later continue through the Forum of Constantine and the Forum of Theodosius (Forum Tauri). Once the road would reach the Philadelphion (Capitolium), it would divide into two branches. One of these branches would run through the northwest and pass by the church of Holy Apostles on the way to the Theodosian Walls while the main route would run through the southwest and pass through the Forum Bovis (Forum of the Ox) and the Forum of Arcadius. This branch ran on before reaching the Golden Gate of Theodosian Wall where it united with the Via Egnatia; the main road of the Roman Empire also passed by the Stoudios monastery.¹⁶²

¹⁶⁰ For the full list of churches visited by processions, see Janin (1966, 68-89); Baldovin (1982, 398-399); Berger, (2001, 73-87).

¹⁶¹ Müller-Wiener (2001, “*İstanbul’un Tarihsel Topografyası*,” 268-270). For more about the streets of Constantinople, see: Mundell Mango (2000, “*The Commercial Map of Constantinople*,” 189-207); Berger (2000, “*Streets and Public Spaces in Constantinople*,” 161-172).

¹⁶² For the detailed description of Mese and its function, see Kazhdan (1991, 1346-7); Krautheimer (1983, “*Three Christian Capitals*,” 55); Müller-Wiener (2001, “*İstanbul’un Tarihsel Topografyası*,” 269-270); Kuban (2010, “*İstanbul: An Urban History*,” 28-33); Kuban (2004, “*İstanbul. Bir Kent Tarihi*,” 72-90); Hennessy (2009, “*Topography of Constantinople*,” 202-216);

The Mese's relationship with Via Egnatia made it convenient to serve as the main thoroughfare during the triumphal entrances of the emperor. Within the city, almost every gathering space of civic importance had a close connection with the Mese. It also served as the main route for the imperial and liturgical urban processions.¹⁶³ (Map 4)

In the Typikon of the Great Church, there were thirty-seven churches which were used as a station during the liturgical processions. Thirty-one of these stations including all the larger churches of the city existed even before the iconoclastic controversies of the eight-century.¹⁶⁴ By cross-referencing the ancient sources of Berger, Mango, and Baldovin established the prominent nodal points that were visited throughout the Byzantine period.¹⁶⁵

Based on these studies, the prominent nodal point of the city briefly summarized in the following section. The principal public meeting place of the city was the Forum of Constantine located half a kilometer to the northwest of the Milion. It held a vital role in the city's public urban liturgical activity since the dedication ceremony of the city on 11 May 330. Forty-six out of the sixty-eight urban processions of the city included the Forum as one of their stations.¹⁶⁶ In the early period, the Forum was generally reserved for the imperial processions as in

Baldovin, (1982, "*The Urban Character of Christian Worship*," 306); Guiland (1969, "*Études De Topographie*," 55-68).

¹⁶³ Malalas, *Chronographia* 13.8. For the triumphal way and Golden Gate of Constantinople, see: Bardill (1999, "*The Golden Gate in Constantinople*," 671-696); Mango (2000, "*Triumphal Way of Constantinople*," 173-188).

¹⁶⁴ Baldovin (1987, "*Urban Character of Christian Worship*," 420).

¹⁶⁵ Brubaker (2013, "*Processions and Public Spaces in Early and Middle Byzantine Constantinople*," 124); Baldovin (1987, "*Urban Character of Christian Worship*," 167-226); Berger, (2001, "*Streets and Public Spaces in Constantinople*," 73-87).

¹⁶⁶ Baldovin (1982, "*Urban Character of Christian Worship*," 376).

the example of the commemoration of the foundation of Constantinople on May 11. However, later a small chapel dedicated to Virgin was built on the Forum at the base of the column of Constantine. Only after this point on, the Forum became a frequent scene for the religious processions.¹⁶⁷ The case of the Golden Gate of Theodosian Walls was a similar one. The gate was an essential ceremonial scene for the imperial processions since the fifth century. It was a custom for emperors to enter the city through this door upon their return from battle with victory.¹⁶⁸ Later, through the middle Byzantine period, these ceremonies gained a religious undertone. Additional to the imperial fora, structures such as the Great Palace, the Hippodrome, Capitolium (Philadelphion) had ceremonial importance within the city walls.¹⁶⁹

2.5.1. Hagia Sophia

Among the religious structures, Hagia Sophia played a central role as the most important church in the religious life of the city. The church was the leading site of coronations and other ceremonies of national significance. When the church was first founded in the fourth century, it was known as Megale Ekklesia; the Great Church. After the fifth century, it began to be referred to as Hagia Sophia, meaning the Holy Wisdom in honor of Christ. However, the old name continued to be used throughout its history as well.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁷ Berger, (2001, “*Streets and Public Spaces in Constantinople*,” 75).

¹⁶⁸ Freely (1998, “*Istanbul the Imperial City*,” 56).

¹⁶⁹ Baldwin, (1982, 306); Guiland (1969, “*Études De Topographie*,” 55-68).

¹⁷⁰ Socrates, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 2.16. Bardill (2004). Several bricks found in the museum storage branded ‘Megale Ekklesia’ are predicted to belong to the first construction.

The church was one of the several churches that the Emperor Constantine the Great ordered to be constructed when he decided to rebuild the ancient Byzantium as his capital.¹⁷¹ The construction work was completed by Constantine's son and heir, the Emperor Constantinius, and its consecration ceremony was performed by the patriarch Eudoxius on 15 February 360.¹⁷² However, the church was burned to the ground after the public riot in 404 that was ignited after a disagreement between Emperor Arcadius' wife empress Eudoksia and the patriarch of Constantinople John Chrysostomos that resulted with the exile of the patriarch.¹⁷³

Archeological information regarding the initial fourth-century structure is no more than fragments. Due to the lack of physical data, literary evidence takes the leading role to deduce its architectural form.¹⁷⁴ There is no definite information regarding the dimensions of the church. Even though to reconstruct the exact plan of the first Hagia Sophia is almost impossible, based on the extended assessments of remaining data scholars deduced that the church proper was a basilica with a nave and two (or possibly four) aisles, and had a gallery story above the aisles that covered with timber-roof. In the center of the nave, there was an ambo, and the structure had a baptistery called Olympas that was located at the east end, adjacent to a *skeuophylakion*.¹⁷⁵ Regarding the interior, *Chronicon paschale* elaborates that

¹⁷¹ *Chronicon paschale*, 543-545 Bonn 1832 (year 306).

¹⁷² Cedrenus, 1.523.4-7.

¹⁷³ *Chronicon paschale*, I, 568.

¹⁷⁴ John Chrysostom's life was written by his friend Palladius. While Palladius describing the riot in his writings, he gave away important detail regarding the architecture of Hagia Sophia as well. For his accounts, see: Palladius, *Dialogus de vita sancti Ioannis*, ch. 10, *Patrologia Graeca* 47, 35-36.

¹⁷⁵ Krautheimer (1983, 52-55); Mathews (1971, 11-19). Cedrenus, *Historiarum compendium*, I, 531. Cedrenus mentions the existence of an ambo and a solea of stone alike onyx.

the church used to have a jewel-encrusted altar of gold and the doors of both the church proper and the exterior doors of the complex used to be covered with gold curtains.¹⁷⁶

Although the extent of the damage that the church suffered after the events of 404 is not clear, it was restored under the reign of the Emperor Theodosius II, and it was rededicated by the patriarch Atticus on 10 October 415. Some sculptural fragments of the propylaeum proved to be useful in determining that they belong to Theodosius II's reconstruction. However, the truth concerning whether this construction was just a renovation or it went as far as a rebuilding project remains a mystery to this day.¹⁷⁷

The church was demolished during the Nika Revolt on 15 January 532. Following the quell of the riot, the church was reconstructed as a part of the Emperor Justinian's rebuilding project of Constantinople. The current structure of Hagia Sophia with the exception of its missing atrium stands as constructed by Isidore and Anthemius, the renowned architects of their time.¹⁷⁸ Procopius recorded that the construction that began on 23 February 532 was completed in a short period of five years and rededication took place on 24 December 537.¹⁷⁹

Justinian's Hagia Sophia remained as one of the greatest architectural achievements of the Byzantine legacy at the heart of Constantinople.¹⁸⁰ The church

¹⁷⁶ *Chronicon paschale*, I, 544-45.

¹⁷⁷ Mathews (1971, 14). For discussions regarding Theodosian phase of Hagia Sophia, see: Schneider, Alfons M. *Die Grabung Im Westhof der Sophienkirche Zu Istanbul*. Berlin, 1941.

¹⁷⁸ Some repairs and changes applied to the building on the course of time. Its dome was raised somewhat 7m after its collapse on 7 May 558, and its piers were strengthened but its main design principles remained same. There is not much difference between two Justinianic phases of the church.

¹⁷⁹ Procopius, *Buildings* I, 1, pp. 2-33.

¹⁸⁰ Kuban (2010, 119-128); Müller-Wiener (2001, 84-96).

proper was preceded by two narthexes and an atrium even though the atrium disappeared in time.¹⁸¹ The exonarthex consisted of five doors opening to atrium; two of them located at the side arcade and three of them located at the center. While passing from exonarthex to the inner narthex, there were again five doors; however, this time, they were spaced out equally. From this point on, the nine doors that opened to the church proper were divided into groups of three. The inner narthex had two additional doors that opened to north and south facet.¹⁸² The church proper was formed with a wide nave flanked with aisles and a U-shaped gallery level that extended over the narthex and the side aisles. The access to gallery level was rendered through exterior stairs or ramps. With great numbers of entrances located on all sides, the church proper was strikingly open to its surroundings. Its squared shaped nave was covered with a central dome that was carried on four pendentives while the rest of the church proper was covered with half-domes and apsis. With the exclusion of two narthexes, the church proper was measured to be approximately 75m long and 70m wide with atrium being approximately 32m long and 48m wide. Thus, including the two narthexes, the total length of the structure was measured to be approximately 135m.¹⁸³

The church had a key role in the ceremonial life of Constantinople and kept its place throughout the Byzantine Empire. In the course of the year, the emperor would visit Hagia Sophia for nine different occasions including the Easter Sunday, the feast of the birth of the Theotokos, the feast of the Annunciation and the Easter Saturday.¹⁸⁴

¹⁸¹ For information regarding the atrium of the church, see: Mathews (1971, 89-90).

¹⁸² Mathews (1971, 91).

¹⁸³ For more about Hagia Sophia, see: Mathews (1971, 11-19, 88-99); Janin (1969, “*Les Églises Et Les Monastères*,” 455-470); Müller-Wiener (2001, 84-85); Krautheimer (1983, 50-55).

¹⁸⁴ Baldovin (1991, 18-19). For the ceremonies included Hagia Sophia, see: *De Ceremoniis* R5-34.

2.5.2. Hagia Irene

Another prominent church in the religious life of Constantinople was Hagia Irene. It was dedicated to Christ and named after one of his divine attributes; Holy Peace. The church was located at the close proximity of Hagia Sophia and the imperial palace within the borders of ancient Byzantium. The construction of the building was ordered by Constantine the Great in the fourth century. However, it was often referred to as “Ecclesia Antiqua” meaning the Old Church, strengthening the possibility that the site may have been previously occupied by a pre-Constantinian Christian church. Socrates suggested that an existing church was enlarged by Constantine:

About this period, the emperor built the great church called Sophia, adjoining to that named Irene, which being originally of small dimensions, the emperor’s father had considerably enlarged and adorned. In the present day, both seem within one enclosure and have but one appellation.¹⁸⁵

Until the construction of Hagia Sophia was completed, the church served as the bishopric center and the main church of the city. After Hagia Sophia was completed in 360, the church was governed by the same clergymen within the peribolos. During the reconstruction of Hagia Sophia after the destructions in 404, Hagia Irene served as the main church of the city once again.¹⁸⁶ The historical sources report that the First Ecumenical Council of Constantinople, which occurred in 381,

¹⁸⁵ Socrates, *Hist. Eccl.*, 2.16.

¹⁸⁶ Janin (1969, “Géographie,” 103-106).

took place in here.¹⁸⁷ However, there is no information exist regarding the form and architecture of the first church.¹⁸⁸

The church and its surroundings were widely damaged during the Nika Revolt and rebuilt by the Emperor Justinian in larger proportions in 532.¹⁸⁹ The example of Hagia Sophia that was built in the form of three-aisled basilica covered with a dome that crossed in the center was followed, and its structure was implemented in a different way for Hagia Irene. The Justinian's Hagia Irene was a two-storey structure with the nave below, and the galleries above followed the U-shaped plan. They were reached through outside the building near the narthex. The width of the nave was 18m, and the length was 40m. The apse had a banked synthronon. The church proper had five entrances at its west side, three of them opening directly to the nave. The number of doors the church possessed emphasized its openness to its surroundings and its connectivity to the city. At the west of the structure, the narthex and the atrium rose in two-storey. The building was linked to the Hagia Sophia through several courtyards.¹⁹⁰ Later, the church's narthex and an atrium were damaged during a fire in 564.¹⁹¹ However, the repairs had to be performed posthaste since the church housed the church council in 588. An earthquake damaged the city walls and impaired the church in 740. Following the severe damage it suffered, the church was renovated by the Emperor Constantius V. The renovation included the roof, apse, apse mosaics and the frescos of the church.

¹⁸⁷ Van Millingen (1906, 84-88).

¹⁸⁸ Socrates, *Hist. Eccl.*, 2:6, 2:16

¹⁸⁹ Procopius, *Aed* I 2, I 3.

¹⁹⁰ For more on the architecture of the church, see: Mathews (1971, 77-88).

¹⁹¹ Theophanes, *Chronographia*, 240; Cedrenus, I, 169 B.

Its elevated position within the religious life of Constantinople remained the same throughout the Byzantine Empire.¹⁹² The church was visited by the emperor within the year for the several ceremonies including the Good Friday and the Union of the Church.¹⁹³

2.5.3. The Church of the Holy Apostles

The church of the Holy Apostles was the center of attention for both the imperial entourage and the religious community since from its foundation. It was built on the Fourth-Hill of the city in the place where the current Fatih Mosque stands. The matter concerning the foundation of the church remains a controversy among the ancient sources.¹⁹⁴ Eusebius attributed the foundation of the church to the Emperor Constantine the Great and suggested that the structure had a copper dome covered with gold interior and the building was surrounded by porticoes on all sides.¹⁹⁵ On the other hand, Procopius attributed the church to his son Constantius II, who possibly completed the construction that his father started.¹⁹⁶ The information provided by Procopius is supported by other ancient sources.¹⁹⁷ In

¹⁹² Müller-Wiener (2001, 112-117).

¹⁹³ For the ceremonies included Hagia Eirene, see: *De Ceremoniis* R179, 186.

¹⁹⁴ For the foundation of the church, see: Downey (1951, 53-80); Armstrong (1967, 1-9); Krautheimer (1983, 56-61); Krautheimer (1986, 69-70); Cameron and Hall (1999, 337-338); Müller-Wiener (2001, 405-411).

¹⁹⁵ Eusebius, *Vita Constantini* 4.58-60. Socrates, *Hist. Eccl.*, 1.40. Sozomenos, *Hist. Eccl.*, 2.34.5-6.

¹⁹⁶ Procopius, *Buildings* I:4.

¹⁹⁷ For other ancient sources supporting Procopius' writings, see: Socrates, *Hist. Eccl.*, I:16. Theophanes, *Cronographia* I:23. Cedrenus, *Chron.*, p.498.

either case, the church held an elevated position in the religious life of the city from its foundation in the fourth century until the fall of the empire. In the Eusebius' accounts, Holy Apostles was recounted as the burial place of the Emperor Constantine the Great.¹⁹⁸ Later on, the holy relics of Saints Andrew, Luke, and Timothy were also brought in and buried here. Afterwards, Constantius II constructed a separate mausoleum for his father.¹⁹⁹

The church's topographical location was another aspect distinguishing it from other religious buildings of the city. It was built on top of the highest hill, the relatively close proximity of Constantinian walls and the Adrianople Gate near the Mese's northwest branch toward Blachernae where the Greek Hera and Pluto and Roman Rhea and Tyche Temples were located. The relics of John Chrysostom; the archbishop of Constantinople was transferred here later on 27 January 538.²⁰⁰

The church was one of the buildings rebuilt by the Emperor Justinian in the sixth century. From the Holy Apostles, no physical data remains. However, ancient sources provide a description of what it once used to be like. According to Procopius, Justinian's Holy Apostles were built in the shape of Greek cross, surmounted by five domes, and attached to the imperial mausoleum at the eastern arm of the cross.²⁰¹ The second council of Constantinople was held here in 553. As for its place within the ceremonial life of the city; twenty feasts were celebrated at the church every year.²⁰²

¹⁹⁸ Eusebius, *Vita Constantini* 4:70-71.

¹⁹⁹ Krautheimer (1969,30-32).

²⁰⁰ Socrates, *Hist. Eccl.*, 7:45.

²⁰¹ Procopius, *Buildings*, I:4:9-18; Downey (1951, 49-51); Krautheimer (1969, 197-201).

²⁰² Baldovin (1982, 329).

2.5.4. The Church of Hagios Ioannes Prodromos in Hebdomon

The church of Prodromos was located in Hebdomon; it was one of the twenty-six churches that were dedicated to the Baptist in Constantinople.²⁰³ Hebdomon was the most important of Constantinopolitan suburbs and was located on Via Egnatia at the seven Roman miles west of the Milion as the name suggested.²⁰⁴ Magnaura and Iucundianae palaces were located in the area. It was also the site of military camps; the emperors would have received here first upon their return from wars before beginning their triumphal processions into the city.²⁰⁵

According to Sozomenus, a church was built on the site by Theodosius the Great in a basilica form and was dedicated to St John the Baptist to house the head of the Saint that was brought from Cyzicus.²⁰⁶ The church served as an Imperial chapel, and a series of emperors were crowned here.²⁰⁷ Regarding the first phase of the church, there is not a sufficient amount of information. The church was later rebuilt by the Emperor Justinian. Procopius described the church by likening it to

²⁰³ R. Janin, "Les églises byzantines du Précurseur à Constantinople", *Echos d'Orient* 37 (1938), 312–51; *ODB*, II, 1068-69.

²⁰⁴ Hebdomon; *Ἑβδομον*, lit. "seventh". For more information about Hebdomon, see: Kazhdan (1991, 907); Kuban (2010, 135-138).

²⁰⁵ Janin (1964, 137-139, 408-411).

²⁰⁶ Sozomenus, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, VI, 21, *Patrologia Graeca* 67, 1481-84; *Chronicon Pashale*, I; 564; Nicephorus Callistus, *Eccl. Hist.*, XII, 49, *Patrologia Graeca* 146, 916-17.

²⁰⁷ Ebersolt (1951, "Sanctuaires de Byzance," 79-81); Janin (1969, "La Géographie Ecclésiastique," 413-415). The church served as a coronation site for a number emperors including; Valens (364), Arcadius (383), Theodosius II (402), Marcian (450), Leo I (457), Basiliscus (475), Maurice (582), Phocas (602), Leo III (717), Leo V (813), and Nikephoros Phocas (963).

another Justinianic foundation; the church of St Michael in Anaplous.²⁰⁸ Both Procopius and Pseudo-Codinus mentioned the church describing it as a centrally-planned structure. Even though physical evidence is limited; remains of the church, including its sculptural fragments, confirm its Justinianic character and match the described physical form.

Based on the remains of the church, only its general outline can be construed. The octagonal centrally-planned structure was preceded by a courtyard and surrounded by a porch (or stoa) rather than a narthex to connect the church proper to a courtyard or an atrium. At the eastern end of the church, a projected single-apsed sanctuary was located; this was the only side that was not surrounded by a porch. The existing gallery level was U-shaped around the central domed nave. Consequently, beneath the galleries on the ground floor, there was an ambulatory. The plan of the church with its octagonal exterior, dome, and general dimensions was similar to another sixth-century structure; the church of San Vitale in Ravenna. Although its exact location is unknown, remaining evidence indicates the existence of an ambo.²⁰⁹ The church was an essential site in the urban ceremonies; however, at some point around the ninth century, it fell into decline.²¹⁰

²⁰⁸ Procopius first described the church of St Michael in Anaplous and further continued by stating that the same description can be applied to the shrine of John the Baptist which the emperor Justinian dedicated to him at Hebdomon. See, Procopius, *Buildings*, V, 1, 6, p. 318.

²⁰⁹ Mathews (1971, 55-61).

²¹⁰ Janin (1969, “*La Géographie Ecclésiastique*,” 414).

2.5.5. The Church of the Theotokos of Chalkoprateia

Theotokos was deemed to be the protector of Constantinople.²¹¹ Therefore, there were several churches dedicated to her name in the city, and they were distinguished by their whereabouts. The church took its name after its location in the copper workers' section as the church of Theotokos or St Mary of Chalkoprateia.²¹² The church dates back to the reign of Theodosius II in the early fifth century and contemporary with the church of St John the Baptist of Stoudios.²¹³

The building was oriented to the southeast direction and had an atrium at its western part. Like most early Christian period churches, the building was in the basilica form. The main entrances of the three-aisled basilica were probably the ones located at the direction of the Great Church, meaning the entrances flanked its apse at the east of the church.²¹⁴ The general architecture of the church was similar to Stoudios basilica in a large extent though the protection level of Stoudios was far more superior. An atrium lay before the church, and the church proper was two-storey with galleries located above the side aisles and without auxiliary chambers flanking the apse. Instead, there was a synthronon in the apse, and the sanctuary was laid out in front of the apse with the altar site that marked by a crypt.²¹⁵

²¹¹ For Theotokos as the protector of Constantinople, see: Baynes (1949, *The Supernatural Defenders of Constantinople*, 165-177).

²¹² Janin, (1964, "*Constantinople Byzantine*," 97-98,307). Baldwin (1982, 311-312).

²¹³ Mathews (1971, 28).

²¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p.28-33.

²¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p.33.

2.5.6. The Shrine of the Theotokos at the Pege

The Shrine of the Theotokos at the Pege was located outside the Theodosian Walls near the Pege Gate (The Selymbria Gate or Gate of the Spring). The Theotokos of the Pege was one of the many churches dedicated to St Mary in Constantinople. It was also known as ‘Our Lady of the Source’ owing to its miraculous spring water. The shrine dates back to the late fifth or early sixth century and was attributed to the Emperor Justinian by Procopius.²¹⁶ The structure was rectangular and surrounded by porticoes on all its sides.²¹⁷ Additional to the church, there was a subterranean structure known as hagiaσμα that contained the famous waters of the shrine.²¹⁸

After being damaged an earthquake in 869, it was rebuilt and decorated with mosaics by the Emperor Basil I. In 924; it was burned to the ground by Tsar Symeon of Bulgaria. However, later on, it was repaired, and near the church, a palace was built. During this period, the church became a terminus of an imperial procession and was regularly visited by the emperor on Ascension Day.²¹⁹

During the Palaiologan era, possibly based on a mosaic in its hagiaσμα, the epitaph Zoodochos Pege was designed for the Virgin of the Spring, and a new iconography was developed. The mosaic image of Pege and its spring empowered

²¹⁶ Procopius, *Buildings* I.3. Although, it is argued that Justinian found a small church on the site and due to its miraculous water ordered the rebuilding of the structure with the surplus materials from Hagia Sophia.

²¹⁷ Janin (1969, “*Églises*,” 224).

²¹⁸ For more on the waters of Constantinople, see: Ousterhout, Robert. “Water and Healing in Constantinople: Reading the Architectural Remains,” in *Life is Short, Art is Long: The Art of Healing in Byzantium*, ed. B. Pitarakis, Istanbul: Pera Museum, 2015, pp. 64-77.

²¹⁹ *De Ceremoniis* 108.13-114.9. 774.19-775.6.

the icon of Zoodochos Pege. Thus, the church became an important site of pilgrimage and a feast day was fixed on the Friday following Easter.²²⁰

2.5.7. The Church of St Mary of Blachernae

Another church dedicated to St Mary was located at the Blachernae. The Theotokos of Blachernae was located 5km away from the Milion. The suburb was encompassed within the city walls in the early fifth century, and the church was built shortly after by Empress Pulcheria (450-453) and finished under the reign of Leo I (457-474).²²¹ A relic of the Virgin, her robe, was brought from Palestine and deposited here in 473 and Leo I added a circular reliquary chapel to the structure in order to house the relic.²²² The robe was paraded around the city in times of danger for the purpose of protection and acted as palladium.²²³ The church proper was preceded by a narthex and an atrium toward the west and had a polygonal apse located at its eastern end.²²⁴ Procopius described the building as a three-aisled basilica with ‘its upper and its lower parts being supported by nothing but sections of Parian stone which stand there to serve as columns.’ According to Procopius, a renovation was made to the basilical structure by Justinian the Great while his uncle

²²⁰ Kazhdan (1991, “Pege,” 1616).

²²¹ Janin (1964, “*Constantinople Byzantine*”).

²²² Janin (1969, “Églises,” 161); Kazhdan (1991, 293).

²²³ Janin (1969, “Églises,” 163). Patriarch Sergius paraded around the walls with the Virgin’s robe during the Avar siege in 626. For other examples on the subject, see: Baynes, Norman H. *The Supernatural Defenders of Constantinople*. Bruxelles: Société des Bollandistes, 1949. Cameron, Averil. “The Virgin’s Robe: an episode in the history of early seventh-century Constantinople.” *Byzantion* 49, 1979:42-56.

²²⁴ Müller-Wiener (2001, 76-78).

Justin I (518-527) was still the emperor.²²⁵ The mosaics of the church including A New Testament Cycle were destroyed by Constantine V during the iconoclastic controversies and replaced by vegetal ornaments and pictures of birds.²²⁶ It was burned down in 1070 and was rebuilt later on. Based on their physical locations, Baldovin commented that the shrines of Theotokos in Chalkoprateia, in Pege, and in Blachernae formed a ring around the city and almost created a spiritual protective wall.²²⁷

2.5.8. The Church of St John the Baptist of the Stoudios Monastery

Setting aside the meagre remains of the church of St Mary Chalkoprateia, the church of St John the Baptist of Stoudios is the oldest still-standing church building dated back to the Early Christian period in the city that could reach to our day with small alteration compared to its famous peers.²²⁸ The church of St John of the Stoudios (also known as Ioannes Prodromos) is located in the southwestern corner of the city at the Psamathia region, near the Golden Gate of Theodosian Walls, and just at the south of the Mese.²²⁹

²²⁵ Procopius, *Buildings*, I.3. Müller-Wiener (2001, 162).

²²⁶ *Vita S. Stephani Junioris, Patrologia Graeca* 100:1120C.

²²⁷ Baldovin (1982, 327).

²²⁸ Van Millingen (1912, “*Byzantine Churches in Constantinople*,” 49); Mango (1978, “*The Date of the Stoudios Basilica at Istanbul*,” 115).

²²⁹ For the location of the church, see: Kazhdan (1991, “*Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*,” 1960-1961).

According to Suidas, the church replaced a former sanctuary that existed on the site.²³⁰ The site of the church was beyond the Constantinian fortifications and later included within the city borders by Theodosius II (408-450) during the expansion of the city. The surrounding area of the church was well populated by the citizens of Constantinople even before the city borders were expanded.²³¹ Therefore, the existence of an extramural sanctuary on the site is highly plausible. Due to controversies during the early Christian period, the sacred sanctuaries were placed on the outskirts of the cities and had relatively smaller sizes. However, once the site was included within the city borders and with the growth in Christian population following the Edict of Milan, these small sanctuaries needed expansion as in the case of the Chora church.²³² Psamathia region was occupied by aristocratic mansions in the fourth and fifth century. However, they were gradually replaced by monasteries. The Stoudios monastery was founded under these circumstances in the mid-fifth century.²³³ In the course of its history, the monastery and its church played a leading role in the social and spiritual life of the Byzantine Empire. It housed a number of religious objects which included relics, manuscripts, and also was a part of several imperial and religious processions.²³⁴

²³⁰ Suidas (ed. Adler III 1935, 438). This statement was further strengthened by the findings of the Russian Archaeological Institute during their excavation activities on the site. The foundation line of the prior structure was found in front of the apse below the floor of the current church's, and the line ran through the church from north-east to south-west, parallel to the wall of the cistern to the south-west of the church.

²³¹ For more on Psamathia, see: Kazhdan (1991, "*Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*," 1754).

²³² Van Millingen (1912, "*Byzantine Churches in Constantinople*," 36).

²³³ Kazhdan (1991, "*Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*," 1754).

²³⁴ Kazhdan (1991, "*Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*," 1960-1961); Guidobaldi, Barsanti, and Pedone (2009, "*The Marble Sculptures of St. John Studius*," 312).

CHAPTER 3

THE STODIOS MONASTERY AS A TIMELESS EDIFICE: A SURVEY

3.1. History of the Stoudios Monastery in the Byzantine Period

The fifth century was a period of intense religious ambition that dominated the court circles of Constantinople. The patricians who had the insight to build churches to help them elevate their positions in court circles were in a race with each other to gather miraculous relics of famous saints.²³⁵ This being the case, in the mid-fifth century, a private benefactor named Flavius Studius constructed a church on his own land near the outskirts of the city and dedicated the church to St John the Baptist with hopes of having the privilege to house the holy relics of the Saint.²³⁶ The church was designed to be a *parochial* church, and its attachment to

²³⁵ Mango (1978, “*The Date of the Studius Basilica at Istanbul*,” 121). For the famous relics, their role in Christian world and the process of relic-acquisition, see: Wortley (2004, “*Relics of The Friends of Jesus*,” 143–57).

²³⁶ *Chronicon Paschale* 591; Van Millingen (1912, “*Byzantine Churches in Constantinople*,” 36). For the translation of the document, see: Whitby and Talbot (1989, 82). The *Chronicon* recorded the discovery of St John’s head in the Emesa on 24 February 453. However, the relic was not brought to this church as Studius hoped. Instead, another church dedicated to Baptist located at Hebdomon received the head. However, at the tenth-century another relic that belong to the Baptist was brought and housed at here. For the journey of the relics of the Baptist, see: Wortley (2004, “*Relics of The Friends of Jesus*,” 145–153). For the land of the church, see Müller-Wiener (2001, “*İstanbul’un Tarihsel Topografyası*,” 147). For the dating of the church based on physical evidence, see: Bardill (2004, “*Brickstamps of Constantinople*,” 60-61). Bardill argued for a date between 448/9 and 451/2 CE.

a monastery complex was decided shortly after by the founder; Studius.²³⁷ Thus, the church became the *katholikon* of the monastery complex.²³⁸ The monastery complex was described to be richly endowed and large enough to house one thousand monks.²³⁹ It is known that Flavius Studius was the consul of the East with Flavius Aetius in 454. Since it was mentioned in the *Anthologia Palatina* that he was rewarded with the title “swiftly for his toils,” it is safe to assume that the church was built shortly before 454.²⁴⁰ After the comprehensive study on the subject carried out by Mango, the foundation date was acknowledged to be 453 AD.²⁴¹

²³⁷ Parochial church; also known as parish church means local church, under the authority of a bishop. See, Kazhdan (1991, “*Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*,” 1589).

²³⁸ For the monasticism, see: Mundell Mango, (2002, “*Monasticism*” 209-213).

²³⁹ Codinus, *De Aed* 102. ‘Monasterium Studii Studius patricius condidit tempore Leonis Macelae, et plurimis ditavit possessionioua, atque monachos mille in eo instituit.’

²⁴⁰ *Anthologia Palatina*, I.4. For the title of the Studius, see: Martindale (1980, “*The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire: Volume II*,” 1037). The consulship of Flavius Studius was also recorded as 454 in *Chronicon Paschale*. See: *Chronicon Paschale* 591. For the translation of the document, see: Whitby and Talbot (1989, 82).

²⁴¹ See, Mango (1978, “*The Date of the Studius Basilica at Istanbul*,” 115-122). Previously, there was a controversy among the publications according to the date of foundation of the church between 453 and 463 AD. Some scholars accepted the foundation date of the monastery as 454 AD based on an epigram of the *Anthologia Palatina* while others insisted on 463 AD based on the *Chronicle of Theophanes*. See, *Anthologia Palatina*, I.4.; Theoph. *Chron.*, 113. trans. ed. Mango (1997), I, 175. Theophanes may have confused the date of foundation of the church with the date of arrival of the monks of Akoimetoi (sleepless) to the monastery. For dating of the church and its monastery, compare: Dagron (1968, “*La Vie Ancienne*” 271-5); Dagron (1970, “*Le Monachisme À Constantinople*” 236-7). For the scholars who accepted 463, see: Salzanberg (1854, 12); Forscheimer and Strzygowsky (1893, 67); Van Millingen (1912, 36); Ebersolt and Thiers (1913, 4); Deichmann (1956, 69). For the scholars who accepted between 454-463, see: Eyice (1976, 104); Müller-Wiener (1977, 148). For the scholars who accepted prior to 454, see: Paspates (1877, 343); Mango (1978, 115-122); Peschlow (1982, 432). Although the ten years of uncertainty seems like a minuscule difference; beside the importance of the church itself, the church has been used to date several other early Byzantine monuments and architectural sculptures as well. For instance, the capitals of the narthex and the nave has been used to date the churches of St. Demetrius and the Acheiropoietos at Thessalonica. See, Mango (1978, “*The Date of the Studius Basilica at Istanbul*,” 116, n.2).

The monastery was occupied by the contingent of the monks of Akoimetoï for the first three centuries following to its foundation.²⁴² They were called “the sleepless” due to their divine service in their chapels, day and night without ceasing. However, the practice had only lasted until the iconoclastic period.²⁴³ The first known abbot of the monastery was Athenodorus who served in the fifth century.²⁴⁴ In the seventh century, the famous patrician Bonus who defended the city against the Avars (627) in the absence of the Emperor Heraclius (610-641) was buried here, and from this point on, the monastery started to be used as a burial ground.²⁴⁵

The eighth-century was a turning point in the history of the empire in terms of politics, military, and society. Like other monastic institutions, Stoudios was affected by the iconoclastic controversies that had arisen in 726.²⁴⁶ The monks of

²⁴² Van Millingen (1912, “*Byzantine Churches in Constantinople*,” 37). For the Akoimetoï monks, see Kazhdan (1991, “*Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*,” 46); Hatlie (2007, “*The Monks and Monasteries of Constantinople 350-850*,” 102-105). Akoimetoï was a monastic community founded at the Constantinople in 405 by Alexander the Akoimetos. They occupied the Stoudios monastery for a time starting from 463. But after Stoudite monasticism gained power, they lost their influence and they did not survive the Latin occupation.

²⁴³ Mango (1978, “*The Date of the Studios Basilica at Istanbul*,” 120-121). Regarding to residing of Akoimetoï at the monastery, it is rather interesting that there is no mention of the establishment of the Stoudios monastery in the Life of St. Marcellus who was Abbot of Akoimetoï during the period between 448 to 484 as Mango pointed it out. Van Millingen (1912, “*Byzantine Churches in Constantinople*,” 37). Due to absent of any account regarding to practice Alexander Van Millingen concluded that the practice ended even before it concretized at the monastery and therefore we cannot identify the monastery with the Akoimetoï monks and their positions during the religious conflicts under the emperor Zeno, Basiliscus and Justinian the Great.

²⁴⁴ Pekak (2016, “*The Studios Monastery in Istanbul*,” 103). At the *Vita of St. Daniellis*, Athenodoros was stated as the abbot of the monastery in 475.

²⁴⁵ *Chronicon Paschale 726-727*. Van Millingen (1912, “*Byzantine Churches in Constantinople*,” 48); Janin (1969, “*La Géographie Ecclésiastique*,” 436); Müller-Wiener (2001, “*İstanbul'un Tarihsel Topografyası*,” 147).

²⁴⁶ Iconoclasm was a religious movement that denied the religious icons and rejected icon veneration, heated in the eighth century. To common terminology ‘iconoclast’ means ‘image-breaker’ and ‘iconodule’ means ‘lover of images’. During the iconoclastic controversies, the situation got so heated that church and the crown went through one of the biggest disaccords in the church history. First iconoclasm occurred between 726-787. Begun with the emperor Leo III (717-

the monastery were scattered by the Emperor Constantine V Copronymus (740-775) after 765.²⁴⁷ The intimidation and repression increasingly continued under the reigns of Leo IV (775-779) and Constantine VI (779-797). However, it was able to continue its existence, and abbot Sabas attended the Seventh Ecumenical Council (The Second Council of Nicaea) as the representative of the monastery in 754.²⁴⁸ After the first restoration of icons under the reign of Empress Irene (797-802) in 787, a company of monks with their famous leader, abbot Theodore was brought from the monastery of Saccudio in Bithynia to Constantinople in order to repopulate the monastery.²⁴⁹

Theodore was legendary for his opposition toward the iconoclast movement.²⁵⁰ He was also a reform-minded person who tried to make changes in monasticism.²⁵¹ His main aim on monastic reform was to create an independent monastic organization that could resist imperial coercion and to revive cenobitic

740) and ended with Empress Irene (797-802). See, Kazhdan (1991, "*Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*," 975-977).

²⁴⁷ Van Millingen (1912, "*Byzantine Churches in Constantinople*," 38).

²⁴⁸ Müller-Wiener (2001, "*İstanbul'un Tarihsel Topografyası*," 147); Janin (1969, "*La Géographie Ecclésiastique*," 430-433).

²⁴⁹ Theophanes Continuatus, 747; Miller (2000, "*Testament of Theodore the Studite*," 68). Theodore was born in Constantinople to a wealthy and well-connected in 759. Prior to the Stoudios monastery, he was the hegumen at the monastery of Saccudio which was founded by his family. Theodore's uncle Plato was the abbot of Saccudio and influenced his nephew's religious view. Theodore was called to Constantinople specifically due to his oppositions toward iconoclasm by the iconodule Empress Irene in 798 to assume a position at the Stoudios monastery. On the subject, see: Chelij (2002, "*Theodore the Stoudite*," 15); Lemerle (1986, "*Byzantine Humanism*," 139); Hatlie (2007, "*The Monks and Monasteries of Constantinople 350-850*," 289-290).

²⁵⁰ Miller (2000, "*Testament of Theodore the Studite*," 68).

²⁵¹ Marinis (2014, "*Architecture and Ritual*," 51).

monasticism as it had once been practiced in Late Antiquity.²⁵² Due to his success in his efforts, he is remembered as a critical figure in the development of Orthodox monasticism and the most celebrated church father of the Stoudios monastery.²⁵³

Upon their arrival in 799, Theodore and his monks revived the failing monastery, and swiftly the number of monks increased and reached seven hundred.²⁵⁴ (Figure 17). With the rule of Theodore the Studite, the monastery reached its golden age and gained a vast influence through intervening in doctrinal controversies, Church conflicts, and imperial politics.²⁵⁵ As stated by Alexander Van Millingen: “No monk other than the monks of Stoudios saw themselves above the authority of the Church and the crown.”²⁵⁶

Under Theodore’s tutelage, the monastery became a center of intellectual activity where its *scriptorium* produced many famous plasters and manuscripts.²⁵⁷

²⁵² Kazhdan (1991, “*Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*,” 2045); Miller (2000, “*Testament of Theodore the Studite*,” 68).

²⁵³ Efthymiádis, (2011, “*Periods and Places*,” 55). For the life of Theodore the Studite, see: Hatlie (2007, “*The Monks and Monasteries of Constantinople 350-850*,” 322-326); Kazhdan (1991, “*Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*,” 2044-5); Miller (2000, “*Testament of Theodore the Studite*,” 68); Marin (1897, “*De Studio Cænobio*”); Marin (1906, “*Saint Théodore*”); Gardner (1905, “*Theodore of Studium*”); Lemerle (1986, “*Byzantine Humanism*,” 137-146); Henry (1968, “*Theodore of Studios*”); Cholij (2002, “*Theodore the Studite*”).

²⁵⁴ Van Millingen (1912, “*Byzantine Churches in Constantinople*,” 38); Miller (2000, “*Testament of Theodore the Studite*,” 67) Hatlie (2007, “*The Monks and Monasteries of Constantinople 350-850*,” 322).

²⁵⁵ Müller-Wiener (2001, “*İstanbul’un Tarihsel Topografyası*,” 149); Van Millingen (1912, “*Byzantine Churches in Constantinople*,” 38); Janin (1969, “*La Géographie Ecclésiastique*,” 31); Efthymiádis, (2011, “*Periods and Places*,” 55); For the influence of Theodore in state affairs, see: Stambolov (2015, “*Monks and State*,” 137-165).

²⁵⁶ Van Millingen and Gurcaglar (2003, “*Konstantinopolis, İstanbul, Constantinople*,” 114).

²⁵⁷ Kazhdan (1991, “*Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*,” 1960); Müller-Wiener (2001, “*İstanbul’un Tarihsel Topografyası*,” 149); For more on the *scriptorium* of the monastery, see: Lemerle (1986, “*Byzantine Humanism*,” 143).

Theodore and his brother Joseph who was the bishop of Thessalonica, composed a collection of hymns and cultivated Byzantine hymnography.²⁵⁸ The productions of the monastery reached over the far corners of the empire and promoted its reputation. Thus, the foundations of the Macedonian Renaissance were laid down here.²⁵⁹ The *typikon* of the monastery influenced the *typika* of many other monasteries, and it was known for its strict rules and formidable punishments.²⁶⁰ By this time, the monastery was in possession of a school, a *xenodocheion*, water mills, livestock, lands, gardens, vineyards, a wharf with boats and workshops and therefore was self-sufficient.²⁶¹ However, Theodore's relationship with the crown was one of undulant nature. Before he came to Constantinople, during his time at the Saccudio, he had had a conflict with Emperor Constantine VI (779-797) due to his dubious marriage to his mistress Theodote.²⁶² Although he was in good terms with Empress Irene (797-802) and Emperor Michael I (811-813), after the revival of iconoclasm under Emperor Leo V (813-820) the monastery and its monks suffered greatly in the hands of the crown.²⁶³ When Emperor Leo V ordered the

²⁵⁸ Van Millingen (1912, "*Byzantine Churches in Constantinople*," 43).

²⁵⁹ Janin (1969, "*La Géographie Ecclésiastique*," 431); Eyice (1976, "*Les Basiliques Byzantines D'Istanbul*," 105).

²⁶⁰ For a brief description of the behavior and punishments within the monastery, see: Van Millingen (1912, "*Byzantine Churches in Constantinople*," 41-43). *Typikon*: a set of regulations prescribing the administrative organization and rules of behavior of a cenobitic monastery. The *typikon* of the Studios monastery was based on the Rule of St Basil. See: Kazhdan (1991, "*Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*," 2132). For the *typikon* of Studios and its impact on monasticism, see Kislinger, Krausmüller and Grinchenko (2013, 153-176).

²⁶¹ Kazhdan (1991, "*Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*," 1960). *Xenodocheion*: A guest house for travelers, the poor, and the sick, a philanthropic institution. See: Kazhdan (1991, "*Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*," 2208). Müller-Wiener (2001, "*İstanbul'un Tarihsel Topografyası*," 149).

²⁶² Kazhdan (1991, "*Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*," 2045); Van Millingen (1912, "*Byzantine Churches in Constantinople*," 38-39).

²⁶³ Kazhdan (1991, "*Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*," 2045); Van Millingen (1912, "*Byzantine Churches in Constantinople*," 39); Miller (2000, "*Testament of Theodore the Studite*," 68).

removal and destruction of Synod icons, Theodore, and his monks paraded the streets with icons in 815 and conspired to hide the Synod icons at the monastery from destruction.²⁶⁴ However, Theodore was exiled in 818 by Leo V, and his monks either had to run or got executed.²⁶⁵ In his absence, a renegade monk Leontios served as the monastery's superior.²⁶⁶ Failing to regain his previous influence, Theodore himself died in exile in the Prinkipo of the Princes' Islands on 11 November 826.²⁶⁷

²⁶⁴ Van Millingen (1912, "*Byzantine Churches in Constantinople*," 39).

²⁶⁵ Müller-Wiener (2001, "*İstanbul'un Tarihsel Topografyası*," 149); Kazhdan (1991, "*Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*," 2045); Miller (2000, "*Testament of Theodore the Studite*," 68). Theodore the Studite suffered exile several times for his religious and political endeavors. During the Moechian Controversy, Theodore opposed Constantine VI and was exiled in 795/6 to Thessalonike and only after the defeat of Constantine VI, he returned to Saccudio and later to Constantinople in 798. Moechian Controversy was a religious, political, and legal dispute (795-811) over the second marriage of Constantine VI to his mistress Theodote. For more on the controversy, see: Kazhdan (1991, "*Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*," 1388-89); Henry (1968, "*Theodore of Studios*," 64-65); Frazee (1981, "*Saint Theodore*," 47). Theodore was exiled for the second time in 809, this time to Princes' Islands with his brother Joseph, due to his opposition to the assignment of Nicephorus I as the patriarch of Constantinople by the emperor Nicephorus I (802-811). His exile ended with the accession of Michael I (811-813). For the end of his exile, see: Henry (1968, "*Theodore of Studios*," 66, n.1). However, during the second iconoclasm (814-842), after refusing to attend the local council of 815 in Constantinople, he was exiled for the third time to Metopa in Bithynia, then to a more remote fortress Bonita and finally to Smyrna. For his third exile, see: Henry (1968, "*Theodore of Studios*," 81); Frazee (1981, "*Saint Theodore*," 48). He wrote his last testament in Smyrna in 819. He was recalled to Constantinople by the emperor Michael II (820-829) in 821. However, Theodore was unable to reconcile with Michael II due to his marriage to a nun and the emperor's attitude toward the icons. (Michael II allowed the use of icons only outside of the capital.) For the disaccord, see: Frazee (1981, "*Saint Theodore*," 49); Henry (1968, "*Theodore of Studios*," 84-87). Therefore, he went voluntarily into exile in 823, first to the peninsula of St Tryphon near Cape Akritas, and later to Prinkipo of the Princes' Island where he died in 826. For his voluntarily exile, see: Henry (1968, "*Theodore of Studios*," 88).

²⁶⁶ Miller (2000, "*Testament of Theodore the Studite*," 68); Janin (1969, "*La Géographie Ecclésiastique*," 433).

²⁶⁷ For the death of Theodosius the Studite, see: Miller (2000, "*Testament of Theodore the Studite*," 68); Van Millingen (1912, "*Byzantine Churches in Constantinople*," 39); Frazee (1981, "*Saint Theodore*," 49); Henry (1968, "*Theodore of Studios*," 90); Janin (1969, "*La Géographie Ecclésiastique*," 431).

The conflict between the crown and the monastery continued until the mid-ninth century. Once the controversy was concluded in favor of iconodules, the status of the monastery was restored and promoted. Moreover, Theodore's endeavors were acknowledged by the Christian world, and he was rewarded with sainthood. His body was brought to Constantinople, to his beloved monastery from Prinkipo and laid with a ceremony in the accompaniment of iconodule Empress Theodora (regent to her son Michael III between 842-855) right beside his uncle Plato and brother Joseph on 26 January 844.²⁶⁸ The monastery managed to keep its legendary leader's memory alive, Theodore was commemorated every year both on the anniversary of his death on 11 November and on the date his remains were brought to the monastery on 26 January by his brothers in Christ.²⁶⁹

The influence of the monastery on the political and religious life of the empire continued to thrive after the death of Theodore the Studite. Three abbots of the monastery became the patriarch of Constantinople; Anthony III (974-979), Alexius I (1025-1043), and Dositheus I (1189-1191) were all Studites.²⁷⁰ Starting from the reign of Alexius I Comnenus (1081-1118), the abbot of the Stoudios held the highest rank among his peers.²⁷¹ Later on, in the fourteenth century, the precedence of Studite abbots was officially recognized in a Patriarchal Act of 1381.²⁷²

²⁶⁸ Van Millingen (1912, "Byzantine Churches in Constantinople," 40); Janin (1969, "La Géographie Ecclésiastique," 431); Müller-Wiener (2001, "İstanbul'un Tarihsel Topografyası," 149).

²⁶⁹ *De Ceremoniis*, Book II., Chapter 13, R562-563; *Menologion of Basil II*, Vat. Gr. 1613, fol. 175.

²⁷⁰ Cedrenus, ii, 147, 212, 479; Van Millingen (1912, "Byzantine Churches in Constantinople," 43); Miller (2000, "Testament of Theodore the Studite," 69).

²⁷¹ Kazhdan (1991, "Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium," 1961); Van Millingen (1912, "Byzantine Churches in Constantinople," 43).

²⁷² *Acta et diplomata patriarchatus Constantinople*, ii, 12; Van Millingen (1912, "Byzantine Churches in Constantinople," 43).

After the tenth century, the monastery served as a place of both exile and sanctuary during the imperial conflicts for notable historical figures.²⁷³ After an unsuccessful attempt to usurp the throne from the Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (912-958) in 913, the usurper Constantine Ducas's father-in-law Gregoras Iberitzes and his accomplice Leon Khoesophaktes were exiled to Stoudios.²⁷⁴ Two emperors, Isaac I Comnenus (1057-1059) in 1059, and Michael VII Ducas (1067-1078) in 1078 were sent to exile here and later wore the monk's habit by leaving their throne.²⁷⁵ The Emperor Michael V Calaphates (1042) and his uncle Constantine fled from the Palace on a boat and sought refuge in Stoudios after being threatened by a heated mob about slaughtering three thousand people in the process of deposing Empress Zoe in 1042.²⁷⁶

In 1059, the Emperor Isaac I Comnenus (1057-1059) retired to the monastery where he died a year later while his wife Aecatherina of Bulgaria was retired to Myrelaion monastery leaving the throne to Constantine XI Ducas (1059-1067). Aecatherina commemorated her husband annually at the Stoudios, and she was later buried in the cemetery of the monastery upon her dying request.²⁷⁷ One of the two major renovations that the church went through under Byzantine rule

²⁷³ Kazhdan (1991, "*Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*," 1960); Van Millingen (1912, "*Byzantine Churches in Constantinople*," 44); Janin (1969, "*La Géographie Ecclésiastique*," 347,437).

²⁷⁴ Van Millingen (1912, "*Byzantine Churches in Constantinople*," 44); Janin (1969, "*La Géographie Ecclésiastique*," 347).

²⁷⁵ Miller (2000, "*Testament of Theodore the Studite*," 69); Van Millingen (1912, "*Byzantine Churches in Constantinople*," 44); Müller-Wiener (2001, "*İstanbul'un Tarihsel Topografyası*," 149); Janin (1969, "*La Géographie Ecclésiastique*," 427,437).

²⁷⁶ Glycas, 592; Cedrenus, ii, 539; Psellus, 87-93; Van Millingen (1912, "*Byzantine Churches in Constantinople*," 44).

²⁷⁷ Van Millingen (1912, "*Byzantine Churches in Constantinople*," 37); Müller-Wiener (2001, "*İstanbul'un Tarihsel Topografyası*," 149); Janin (1969, "*La Géographie Ecclésiastique*," 437); Ebersolt and Thiers (1913, "*Les églises*," 12).

was made by the Emperor Isaac I Comnenus (1057-1059).²⁷⁸ Although the details of this renovation are unknown, based on the writings of Scylitzes, it can be concluded that it was mainly focused on the decoration of the church.²⁷⁹

Monastery's position within the religious life of the city reached its peak in the tenth century with the arrival of the holy relics of St John the Baptist to Stoudios. The relics were long pursued by the abbot Arcadios of Studite (900-916), and he was stalled for a time by Patriarch Euthymius (907-912) with the promise of their immediate delivery.²⁸⁰ However, it is recorded that shortly after the acquisition of the relics by the church, in 1025 the abbot Alexios the Studite visited Emperor Basil II (963-1025) on his death bed and attempted to cure the ailing the emperor with the help of the head of St John the Baptist, and for his efforts, Alexios was appointed the patriarch of Constantinople by the emperor himself.²⁸¹

The arrival of the relics to the Stoudios monastery initiated a long-standing tradition for the emperors to pay annual visits to the monastery to commemorate the beheading of the Baptist on 29 August. The presence of the relics was initially

²⁷⁸ Van Millingen (1912, "*Byzantine Churches in Constantinople*," 37). The Emperor Isaac Comnenus (1057-58) had a personal attachment to the monastery from early on. The emperor and his brother received education for the time being in the Stoudios monastery, and he referred to the monastery as 'illustrious and glorious school of virtue.' See: Nicephorus Bryennius, 181. For the renovations of the church, also see: Ebersolt and Thiers (1913, "*Les églises*," 12); Janin (1969, "*La Géographie Ecclésiastique*," 437); Müller-Wiener (2001, "*İstanbul'un Tarihsel Topografyası*," 149).

²⁷⁹ Scylitzes in Cedrenus II (Bonn, 1839): 650. He summarized the renovation by emphasizing its embellishment by saying, 'to tell in detail what the emperor and empress did for the embellishment of the church would surpass the labor of Hercules.' See: Van Millingen (1912, "*Byzantine Churches in Constantinople*," 37).

²⁸⁰ Wortley (2004, "*Relics of 'The Friends of Jesus' at Constantinople*," 149); Janin (1969, "*La Géographie Ecclésiastique*," 435); *Vita Euthymii*, ed. C. de Boor (Berlin, 1888): 31-32.

²⁸¹ Wortley (2004, "*Relics of 'The Friends of Jesus' at Constantinople*," 149). For this event see: Michael Glykas, 579; Cedrenus, 479; Skylitzes, 369; Zonarae, III, 569. Janin (1969, "*La Géographie Ecclésiastique*," 435); Van Millingen (1912, "*Byzantine Churches in Constantinople*," 43).

recorded in the *De Ceremoniis* of Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (912-958) while he was describing the urban ceremony during which the monastery was on the focus on the feast day of the Baptist.²⁸²

The influence and fame of the monastery went far beyond the borders of the capital. It was one of the prominent stations of the pilgrimage route in Constantinople, and it was visited by countless pilgrims throughout the year.²⁸³ A Russian pilgrim known as Anthony of Novgorod visited Stoudios around 1200 and listed the numerous relics that the monastery possessed.²⁸⁴

The monastery took the worst blow in its history at the thirteen century during the Latin occupation between 1204 and 1261. Like the other monasteries of the city, during this time, it was abandoned by its monks. The complex was plundered, the monk cells were knocked down, and the complex became a pasture

²⁸² *De Ceremoniis*, Book II, Chapter 13, R563.

²⁸³ Müller-Wiener (2001, “*İstanbul’un Tarihsel Topografyası*,” 150). For the pilgrimage route within Constantinople based on Russian pilgrims’ accounts and the records of Western visitors, see: Majeska (1984, “*Russian Pilgrims*,” 93-108). According to Majeska’s study, the Stoudios monastery was noted by Russian pilgrims and Western visitors among the pilgrimage shrines that possessed valuable relics. For details regarding the accounts of travelers and pilgrims on the Stoudios monastery, see: Majeska (1984, “*Russian Travelers*,” 283-288). Anthony of Novgorod (dated to 1200), Stephen of Novgorod (dated to 1348-49), Ignatius of Smolensk (dated to 1389), Zosima the Deacon (dated between 1419-1422), Anonymus Mercati (dated to 1063), Alexander the Clerk (dated between 1391-1397), and the Anonymous Description (dated to late thirteenth, early fourteenth century) mentioned about the Stoudios monastery and the numerous relics that resided here.

²⁸⁴ For the account of Anthony of Novgorod on the Stoudios monastery’s relics, see: Khitrowo (1889, “*Itinéraires Russes En Orient*,” 100); Janin (1969, “*La Géographie Ecclésiastique*,” 435). Anthony recorded that additional to the skull of the John the Baptist, his chest, finger, and tooth was located at the church. Also the heads of Zechariah the Prophet and St Babylas was here.

land for the sheep.²⁸⁵ The relics located at the main church were stolen, and its roof collapsed in the process.²⁸⁶

After the recovery of Constantinople, the monastery was repaired in 1293 by Constantine Palaiologos, the brother of the Emperor Andronikos II (1282-1328). Thus, the church underwent its second major renovation under the Byzantine rule.²⁸⁷ The ceiling was repaired, the monk cells were rebuilt, and the complex was surrounded by walls. Thus, the number of monks increased once again.²⁸⁸ However, the most valuable relics of the monastery were never recovered.²⁸⁹ Even though based on the accounts of the pilgrims, it is known that the church continued to be a part of the pilgrimage route until well into the fifteenth century.²⁹⁰

The monastery had maintained its position within the ecclesiastical fabric of the city until the fall of the Constantinople in 1453. The fifteenth-century maps included the monastery within their depictions. (Figure 18) (Figure 19) (Figure 20)

²⁸⁵ Nicephori Gregorae, *Byzantina Historia*, I, 190, B. Müller-Wiener (2001, “*İstanbul’un Tarihsel Topografyası*,” 149).

²⁸⁶ Ebersolt and Thiers (1913, “*Les églises*,” 5); Janin (1969, “*La Géographie Ecclésiastique*,” 432); Müller-Wiener (2001, “*İstanbul’un Tarihsel Topografyası*,” 150).

²⁸⁷ For the renovations of the church, see: Van Millingen (1912, “*Byzantine Churches in Constantinople*,” 37); Ebersolt and Thiers (1913, “*Les églises*,” 12); Janin (1969, “*La Géographie Ecclésiastique*,” 437); Müller-Wiener (2001, “*İstanbul’un Tarihsel Topografyası*,” 149).

²⁸⁸ Nicephori Gregorae, *Byzantina Historia*, I, 190, B; Ebersolt and Thiers (1913, “*Les églises*,” 5); Janin (1969, “*La Géographie Ecclésiastique*,” 432); Müller-Wiener (2001, “*İstanbul’un Tarihsel Topografyası*,” 150); Van Millingen (1912, “*Byzantine Churches in Constantinople*,” 38).

²⁸⁹ Majeska (1984, “*Russian Travelers*,” 284). Stephen of Novgorod did not mention the relics of St John the Baptist while listing the relics of the monastery. It is not likely he would leave out an important relic such as this. Therefore, based on this information it is likely they were stolen during the Latin occupation and never recovered afterwards.

²⁹⁰ The account of the Zosima the Deacon (dated between 1419-1422) is the last known Russian description of Constantinople prior to its fall to the Turks in 1453. Majeska (1984, “*Russian Travelers*,” 166, 284).

(Figure 21) Today, from the monastery complex, only the main church (the church of St John the Baptist) and the cistern located to the southeast of the building survives.²⁹¹ (Figure 22)

3.2. Previous Studies on the Stoudios Monastery

The Stoudios monastery and its main church St John the Baptist (Ioannes Prodromos) had always been among the prominent attractions of Constantinople. It was a significant station along the pilgrimage route. It was also a frequent destination of foreign officials and diplomatic envoys during their visitations to Byzantine capital.²⁹² The travel accounts those visitors kept proved to be a valuable resource regarding the church. Although most of them mentioned the Stoudios monastery in a fleeting manner and only with the intention of recording their visit, several of them possessed more elaborate information.²⁹³

²⁹¹ Pekak (2016, “*The Studios Monastery in Istanbul*,” 101).

²⁹² The Stoudios monastery was on the list visited by all of the later Russian pilgrims. Among other requisite stations for pilgrims there were Hagia Sophia, the church of Holy Apostles, the shrine of the Virgin (Theotokos) in Blachernai, the monastery of Christ Philanthropos, the shrine of the Prophet Daniel, the Hodegetria monastery, the monastery of Prodromos at Petra, the Pantokrator monastery, the Peribleptos monastery. See, Majeska (1984, “*Russian Pilgrims*,” 102).

²⁹³ For details regarding the accounts of travelers and pilgrims on the Stoudios monastery, see: Majeska (1984, “*Russian Travelers*,” 283-288). Anthony of Novgorod (dated to 1200), Ignatius of Smolensk (dated to 1389), Zosima the Deacon (dated between 1419-1422), Anonymus Mercati (dated to 1063), Alexander the Clerk (dated between 1391-1397), and the Anonymous Description (dated to late thirteenth, early fourteenth century) briefly mentioned the Stoudios monastery and the its church. Information regarding the church was provided by Ruy González de Clavijo the ambassador of Henry III of Castile to the court of Tamerlane who visited Constantinople in 1403/4. His travel journey was later published and included a detailed description of the church. However, the information he provided do not matched the physical data, therefore it is assumed invalid. For the translation of the record see: González de Clavijo (2006, “*Embassy to Tamerlane*,” 36). Also see: Van Millingen (1912, “*Byzantine Churches in Constantinople*,” 50-51, 54-55); Janin (1969, “*La Géographie Ecclésiastique*,” 438).

One of the more vivid accounts belonged to a Russian pilgrim named Stephen of Novgorod and dated to 1348/9.²⁹⁴ He briefly described the church as follows:

The prior and brothers came and saw the image of the Holy Mother of God with the infant Christ on the board. The church is very large and high, covered with a slanted roof. The icons in it are highly decorated with gold and shine like the sun. The floor of the church is quite amazing as if set with pearls; no painter could paint like that. The refectory where the brothers eat is more wonderful than that of other monasteries.²⁹⁵

Prior to the nineteenth century, sources provided only brief information regarding the history and the architecture of the church. Other than Byzantine records, the oldest source that yielded information related to Stoudios dates back to the sixteenth century. Petrus Gyllius, in the book he published in 1561 on the topography of Constantinople, briefly mentioned the church and the cistern nearby.²⁹⁶ In the second half of the seventeenth-century, Western travelers and researchers such as Stephan Gerlach and Charles Du Fresne cited similar superficial information in their writings.²⁹⁷

Detailed academic studies on the Stoudios monastery and its church began after the nineteenth century. The travel account of the French ambassador to Sublime Porte (1779-92) Marie-Gabriel-Florent-Auguste de Choiseul-Gouffier published in Paris in 1822 included the oldest known engraving of the church. The

²⁹⁴ For the record of Stephen of Novgorod on Stoudios, see: Khitrowo (1889, “*Itinéraires Russes En Orient*,” 121, 123-124).

²⁹⁵ The translation retrieved from: Majeska (1984, “*Russian Travelers*,” 284).

²⁹⁶ Gyllius, Petrus. *De Topographia Constantinopoleos et de illius antiquitatibus: libri quatuor*. Lyon, 156: 216-217.

²⁹⁷ Gerlach, Stephen. *Tagebuch der Gesandschaft an die Ottomanische Pforte durch David Ungnad 1573-78*, Frankfurt, 1674: 217. Du Cange, C. du F. *Constantinopolis Christiana seu description Urbis Constantinopolitanae quails exstitit sub impperatoribus Christianis ex variis scriptoribus contexta e adornata libri quatuor*, Paris, 1680: 4.

engraving showed the western façade of the structure, thereby documented that the atrium had lost its original form by this time.²⁹⁸ However, the first detailed plan, section, elevation, and detailed drawings of the church were produced by Wilhelm Salzenberg and published in Berlin in 1854.²⁹⁹ Shortly after these, in 1860, Wladimir Brunet de Presle supplemented these drawings with an engraving of the narthex in his work.³⁰⁰

Along with the engraving of the structure from the northeast angle, in 1877, Alexandros Paspates gave wide coverage to the history of the church focusing on the Byzantine period.³⁰¹ The second detailed architectural drawings of the church were produced by Domenico Pulgher in 1878.³⁰² However, the first architectural plans of the church's cistern and the chapel near it were published by Philipp Forchheimer and Josef Strzygowski as a part of their researches on the Byzantine cisterns of Constantinople.³⁰³ Different from the other sources, while talking about its history, Edwin Augustus Grosvenor also mentioned the ceremonies within the city in which the Stoudios monastery took part.³⁰⁴

²⁹⁸ Choiseul-Gouffier, Marie-Gabriel-Auguste-Florent. *Voyage Pittoresque De La Grèce*. Paris, 1822: ii, 477.

²⁹⁹ Salzenberg, Wilhelm. *Altchristliche Baudenkmale von Constantinopel vom V. bis XII. Jahrhundert*. Berlin, 1854: 12-13. Fig. 1-4.

³⁰⁰ De Presle, Wladimir Brunet. *L'univers ou histoire et description de tous les peuples de leurs religions, moeurs, etc., Grèce depuis la conquete Romaine jusqu'a nos jours*, Paris, 1860: 99, Abb. 3.

³⁰¹ Paspatēs, Alexandros Geōrgios. *Byzantinai Meletai Topographikai Kai Historikai*. En Konstantinopolei, 1877: 343-350.

³⁰² Pulgher, Domenico. *Les Anciennes Églises Byzantines De Constantinople*. Vienne: Lehmann & Wentzel, 1878: 13-15.

³⁰³ Forchheimer, Philipp. and Josef Strzygowski. *Byzantinische Denkmäler. II. Die Byzantinischen Wasserbehälter von Constantinopel*, Wien, 1893: 63, Fig. 11.

³⁰⁴ Grosvenor, Edwin Augustus. *Constantinople*. London, 1895: cilt II, 459-464.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, the theoretical and rather superficial character of the studies on the Studios monastery gained a new depth. In the name of the Russian Archaeological Institute, B.A. Pancenko conducted an excavation on the site from 1907 until 1909.³⁰⁵ During the excavations, they were able to clear the site from the remains of the *Imrahor* mosque which had fallen to ruins on that point with a collapsed roof. They also uncovered the opus sectile pavement, the crypt under the bema and burials in the south aisle. The results of the survey were published by Pancenko on the periodical of the institute in three parts.³⁰⁶ Although in the first article, Pancenko indicated that they were able to produce an updated and correct plan of the church, this plan was never published.³⁰⁷ The second article focused on the revelation of the excavation works and listed their discoveries including the crypt located under the bema, many *sarcophagi* that still contained the remains of the deceased, bricks with stamps, coins, and marble pieces on the walls.³⁰⁸ The third and longest article of the serial was a compilation of excavation reports, which included the visuals of the reliefs they found on the site.³⁰⁹ However, with the outbreak of World War I, the Russian diplomatic corps in Constantinople left the city in 1914. Due to culminated conflicts, the Russian

³⁰⁵ Müller-Wiener (2001, “*İstanbul’un Tarihsel Topografyası*,” 150).

³⁰⁶ The first article was published in 1909, the second in 1911, and the third in 1912.

³⁰⁷ Pancenko, B., “Ha. Ioannes Studios,” *Izvestija Russkogo Arheologičeskogo Instituta* 14 (1909): 136-52.

³⁰⁸ Pancenko, B., “Ha. Ioannes Studios,” *Izvestija Russkogo Arheologičeskogo Instituta* 15 (1911): 250-257.

³⁰⁹ Pancenko, B., “Ha. Ioannes Studios,” *Izvestija Russkogo Arheologičeskogo Instituta* 16 (1912): 1-359.

Institute's studies on the site were cut short, and their survey was never completed.³¹⁰

Meanwhile, Van Millingen, an academician who worked in the Robert College in Istanbul and specialized in Byzantine studies published one of the most thorough historical and physical surveys of the church as a part of his study on Byzantine churches in Constantinople.³¹¹ The book was published in 1912 and offered an extended history of the monastery and continued with a detailed analysis of architectural features of the church. Additionally, Van Millingen produced a plan, an elevation, four sections and detail drawings of the column capitals and architraves of the church.³¹² Contemporary with this publication, Jean Ebersolt, and Adolphe Thiers also provided detailed information and several architectural drawings of the church as a part of their study on Constantinopolitan churches in 1913.³¹³

In the twentieth century, numerous scholars mentioned the Stoudios monastery and its church on their studies; however, mostly they repeated similar information.³¹⁴ However, in 1971, a noteworthy contribution was made by

³¹⁰ For the details on the politics between Russia and the Ottoman Empire and Russian Archaeological Institute in Constantinople, see: Üre, Pinar. *Byzantine Heritage, Archaeology, and Politics between Russia and the Ottoman Empire: Russian Archaeological Institute in Constantinople (1894-1914)*. Ph.D. diss., London School of Economics and Political Science, University of London, 2014: 208-209.

³¹¹ Van Millingen, Alexander. *Byzantine Churches in Constantinople: Their History and Architecture*, London: Macmillan and Co, 1912: 35-61, Fig. 12-17, Pl. II-IV.

³¹² Plans and sections of the church were drawn by Walter S. George in 1909. The elevation of the narthex was drawn by Ramsay Traquair, and the detailed drawings were made by Arthur E. Henderson in 1905. For the drawings, see: Van Millingen (1912, "Byzantine Churches in Constantinople," 56-61).

³¹³ Ebersolt, Jean. and Adolphe Thiers. *Les églises de Constantinople*. Paris, 1913: 3-18.

³¹⁴ For the full list of scholars who mentioned Stoudios in their Works, see: Pekak (2016, The Studios Monastery in Istanbul, 113-116). Some of the notable sources: Janin (1938, 319-328); Janin (1964, "Constantinople Byzantine," 431); Krautheimer (1965, "Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture," 78-79); Janin (1969, "La Géographie Ecclésiastique," 430-440); Eyice (1976, "Les

Mathews.³¹⁵ In his book on the early churches of Constantinople, he managed to gather all the existing data regarding the architecture of the church provided by scholars over the years and drew reasonable conclusions by comparing them.³¹⁶ The proper measuring for the atrium of the church had not been made until Mathews. He suggested a plan for the atrium that also included the inner colonnade in his attempted reconstruction. According to Mathews, the proper explanation of Early Byzantine church planning laid in the reconstruction of the contemporary liturgy because the liturgy of Early Byzantine times influenced the church architecture. His understanding of the relationship between space and event helped exalt the experience of the churches.

The foundation date of the church has always been a controversial matter, and the most comprehensive study on the subject was carried out by Mango in 1978.³¹⁷ After a prolonged debate, he deduced that the structure was constructed in around 453. The last thorough physical study on the church was conducted by Urs Peschlow between 1976 and 1979.³¹⁸ During the process, Peschlow discovered a wall with frescoes on the south side of the church and several bricks with stamps. Based on the stamps on the bricks, he concluded that the church dated even earlier than 453 and around 450. Jonathan Bardill drew the same conclusion as a result of

Basiliques Byzantines D'Istanbul, 103-113); Mango (1978, "Byzantine Architecture," 38-39); Eyice (1994, 166-168); Eyice (2000, 228-229).

³¹⁵ Mathews, Thomas F., *The Early Churches of Constantinople: Architecture and Liturgy*, London, 1971: 19-27.

³¹⁶ With the exception of foundation date of the church which Mathews was convinced, it was founded in 463. However, later it was proved to be dated to at least a decade earlier.

³¹⁷ Mango, Cyril. "The Date of the Studius Basilica at Istanbul," In *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*. 4., 1978: 115-122.

³¹⁸ Peschlow, Urs. "Die Johanneskirche des Studios in Istanbul: Bericht Über Die Jüngsten Untersuchungsergebnisse." *XVI. Internationaler Byzantinistenkongress. Akten 2/4 Jahrbuch Der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 32/4, (1982), pp. 429-435.

his extended study on the brick stamps of Constantinople.³¹⁹ Wolfgang Müller-Wiener in 1977 and Sacit Pekak in 2016 provided sufficient chronological information regarding the history of the church.³²⁰ Both offered a timeline starting from the construction date of the monument with brief summaries, and in addition to this, Pekak offered an extended literature review while Müller-Wiener produced a site plan of the church that was drawn by himself in 1973.

Relatively recently, Yılmaz Buktel in 1995 and Esra Kudde in 2015 focused on the Stoudios basilica in their Ph.D. dissertations. Buktel's thesis focused on the roof problem of the basilica and had briefly mentioned the history of the monument before listing the repairs that the monument had undergone while Kudde's thesis focused on the conservation and restitution issues regarding the structure and aimed to develop the architectural documentation and scientific data which are essential for conservation works.³²¹ Her study encompassed the documentation, including the survey, reconstitution and conservation projects, analytical work, and proposals covering the urgent implementations and long-term conservation strategies.

The rare preservation degree of the monument draws attention from scholarly spheres; however, the studies mostly focus on the architectural or art historical properties of the church. Therefore, not many studies focus on the role of the church in the ritual topography of Constantinople. Out of many architectural history books, only a handful of them mention the imperial processions and ceremonies related to the Stoudios monastery.

³¹⁹ Bardill (2004, "Brickstamps of Constantinople," 60-61).

³²⁰ Müller-Wiener, Wolfgang. *İstanbul'un Tarihsel Topografyası, 17. Yüzyıl başlarına kadar Byzantion-Constantinopolis-İstanbul*, İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları 2001 (first published in 1977 in German): 147-152; Pekak, M. Sacit. "The Studios Monastery in Istanbul, H. Ioannes Prodromos Church I," in *Sanat Tarihi Dergisi* 10, 2016: 101-121.

³²¹ Buktel, Y., *The roof problem of Studios Basilica*, Ph. D. diss., Istanbul University, 1995; Kudde, E., *Conservation proposals for the Ioannes prodromos church of the Stoudios monastery (İmrahor İlyas Bey Mosque – İmrahor Monument)*, Ph. D. diss., Istanbul Technical University, 2015.

3.3. The Architecture of the Church of St John the Baptist of the Stoudios Monastery

The church of St John the Baptist of the Stoudios monastery was built in the fifth century while the basilica was the standard form of ecclesiastical architecture in the Christian world.³²² Despite the several alterations it went through and its conversion to a mosque in the sixteen century, the degree of preservation of the initial fifth-century construction of the church is rare for Constantinople.³²³ Even though it is severely damaged today, the church's characteristic features are in easily cognizable condition. (Figure 23) The square shape of the basilica of the Stoudios is often interpreted as a means to convey the classical proportions.³²⁴ The plan of the church follows the typical pattern of fifth-century basilicas and even resembles the sixth-century churches with the exception of their domes.³²⁵ The remaining physical data combined with the knowledge of the common architectural traditions of basilica architecture of the fifth century render an almost entire reconstruction of the church possible. Except for its *solea* and *ambo*, almost all the architectural elements can be determined based on the archeological evidence.³²⁶ (Figure 24)

The structure was built with three courses of stone alternating with five courses of brick.³²⁷ The church proper was preceded by a narthex and a square-

³²² Van Millingen (1912, “*Byzantine Churches in Constantinople*,” 49).

³²³ Krautheimer (1965, “*Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*,” 79).

³²⁴ Mathews (1971, “*The Early Churches of Constantinople*,” 19).

³²⁵ Ibid.

³²⁶ Ibid.

³²⁷ Mango (1978, “*Byzantine Architecture*,” 9).

shaped porticoed atrium.³²⁸ (Figure 25). The rest of the monastery complex was located along the south side of the church's atrium.³²⁹ The comparison of the remaining northern wall of the atrium with the church proper suggests that they echoed each other's square proportions and measured approximately the same.³³⁰ The total measurements of the church complex were 54.94 m long and by 26.30 m wide excluding the apse.³³¹

Although the doorways of the remaining atrium wall are now closed up, they can easily be distinguished from the masonry. (Figure 26) On the northern atrium wall, there were five doorways in total, and two of them still possess their frames.³³² The first doorway on the remaining atrium wall which opened to the narthex measured approximately 2.10 m at width. This doorway was blocked up after a time, and a smaller one was opened instead, which stands a little to the west of the original doorway even though later on, this door was also blocked. A sequence of doors followed the narthex opening after an interval of 5.21 m. The door series included three doorways and each measure 1.40 m, and they were divided from each other by intervals of 2.54 m.³³³ The fifth and the last door of the northern wall is harder to ascertain due to damage. Between the fourth and fifth walls, there was an interval of 5.09 m. The distinction between the doorways

³²⁸ Mango (1978, "Byzantine Architecture," 39).

³²⁹ Müller-Wiener (2001, "İstanbul'un Tarihsel Topografyası," 147 fig. 138); Mathews (1971, "The Early Churches of Constantinople," 22).

³³⁰ Mathews (1971, "The Early Churches of Constantinople," 21).

³³¹ Ibid.

³³² Ibid.

³³³ Mathews (1971, "The Early Churches of Constantinople," 21). The third door of this series (fourth including the door which opens to the narthex) can be traced by only the half. However, existing half hints that it was measured same as the other two.

indicates that the fifth opening differed from the others and most probably marked the western corner bay of the atrium.³³⁴ It can be concluded that the atrium was surrounded by *cloisters* on three sides and a narthex on the eastern side.³³⁵ The inner colonnade of the atrium were possibly positioned so as to avoid the doorways, and the courtyard is expected to be wide as the nave of the church which means approximately 12,60m and 14,24m long. Assuredly, there were more doorways on all of its sides, making the atrium very open. However, a difference can be expected at the southern wall of the atrium due to the fact that monastery was positioned on this side of the church so that the access could be more restricted.³³⁶ Theodore the Studite mentioned a fountain in the atrium (*louter*) while describing a liturgy taking place on the church. The most likely location of the fountain would be the center of the atrium even though the current water source (*şadırvan*) on the site stands off-center.³³⁷ (Figure 27)

³³⁴ Mathews (1971, “*The Early Churches of Constantinople*,” 21).

³³⁵ Van Millingen (1912, “*Byzantine Churches in Constantinople*,” 49).

³³⁶ Mathews (1971, “*The Early Churches of Constantinople*,” 21-22). This theory regarding to the southern wall is further supported by the southern openings of the church proper. They are smaller compare to the openings of parallel wall.

³³⁷ Van Millingen (1912, “*Byzantine Churches in Constantinople*,” 49); Theodorus Studita, *Descriptio constitutionismonasterii Studii*, *Patrologia Graeca* 99: 1717. For the translation of the document, see: Miller (2000, “*Stoudios*,” 114B). The common practice of church architecture during the period supports the location of the fountain as the center of the atrium. However, when the church was converted into a mosque at the sixteen century, the water source (*şadırvan*) was probably moved to a little left of the original fountain. For the location of the *şadırvan*, see: Mathews (1971, “*The Early Churches of Constantinople*,” 21). Fountains (*phialai*) were a common feature of the church architecture from the Early Christian period. They were originally meant to providing water for the ablutions of the faithful before services. However, from the sixth century onwards they were also used for the ceremony of the Great Blessing of the Waters which took place on the eve of the Feast of the Epiphany commemorating the Baptism of Christ. (commonly celebrated on the Sunday after January 6) By the tenth century, famous ecclesiastical fountains existed in Constantinople, such as in Hagia Sophia and in the Stoudios monastery. For more on the fountains in ecclesiastical context, see: Morris, Rosemary. "The 'Life Aquatic' on Athos in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries." In *Italy and Early Medieval Europe: Papers for Chris Wickham*. (eds.) R. Balzaretto, J. Barrow, and P. Skinner. Oxford, United Kingdom: Oxford University Press, 2018: 372-383.

The narthex was adjacent to the east wing of the atrium and ran along with portions of the western exterior wall of the church proper. It was divided into three bays that were separated by two archways.³³⁸ (Figure 28) (Figure 29) Two side bays were meant to serve as functional entryways and supplied with two entries, which were opened to the atrium in the western direction and the side aisles of the church in the eastern direction. In the central bay, four elegant columns created an ornamented main entrance from the atrium to the narthex.³³⁹ (Figure 30). Two doorframes were placed to mark the entrance between the northern and southern pair of these columns, leaving the middle open. These arrayed columns carried a more elaborate entablature, and its fractured piece suggested that it continued to adorn the west along with the north and south wings of the atrium.³⁴⁰ (Figure 31). The narthex was where catechumens and penitents stood in the church complex during the liturgy.³⁴¹ From the narthex, there were five more doorways that opened to the church proper. Three of them were located at the central bay and opened to the nave, and two of them were located at the side bays and opened to the side aisles.³⁴² The door, which stood in the middle of the central trio and adjoined the

³³⁸ Mathews (1971, "*The Early Churches of Constantinople*," 20); Van Millingen (1912, "*Byzantine Churches in Constantinople*," 51).

³³⁹ Mango (1978, "*Byzantine Architecture*," 39).

³⁴⁰ Van Millingen (1912, "*Byzantine Churches in Constantinople*," 51); Mathews (1971, "*The Early Churches of Constantinople*," 20).

³⁴¹ Van Millingen (1912, "*Byzantine Churches in Constantinople*," 49). Catechumens and penitents were unworthy to enter the sanctuary itself. Catechumen means, a convert to Christianity receiving training in doctrine and discipline before baptism. Penitent means, a person under church censure but admitted to penance or reconciliation especially under the direction. For more on the definitions, see: Kazhdan (1991, "*Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*," 390,1622).

³⁴² Mathews (1971, "*The Early Churches of Constantinople*," 22). Later, when the church was converted into a mosque the gallery portion stood on top of the narthex was canceled and narthex was entirely excluded from the main block. The western wall of the church was raised to cover the second floor and absorbed the columns located on top of the narthex.

narthex to the nave, was larger than all the others and was mentioned as ‘the Royal Door’ by Theodore the Studite.³⁴³ (Figure 32) (Figure 33)

The church proper was two-storeyed with a ground floor and the galleries above. The three-aisled basilica was covered with a timber roof.³⁴⁴ The ground floor was divided into three bays; the nave and two flanking aisles.³⁴⁵ (Figure 34). The nave and aisles were separated by columns without any partition between them on the ground level.³⁴⁶ (Figure 35) At the end of the nave, the apse was semicircular from inside and polygonal-shaped on the exterior. (Figure 36) The polygonal shape of the apse was a common feature for early Constantinopolitan churches similar to Hagia Sophia and Hagia Irene.³⁴⁷ During the excavations, the Russian explorers discovered a small cruciform shaped crypt under the projecting bema as an addition to a section of the semicircular *synthronon*.³⁴⁸ (Figure 37) Although nothing remains from the altar, it was probably placed on top of this crypt, which must have contained one of the numerous relics possessed by the monastery.³⁴⁹ (Figure 38). Thus, within the chancel barrier, the apse contained the altar, the entrance to the

³⁴³ Mathews (1971, “*The Early Churches of Constantinople*,” 22); Theodorus Studita, *Descriptio constitutionis monasterii Studii*, *Patrologia Graeca* 99: 1705. For the translation of the document, Miller (2000, “*Stoudios*,” 114B).

³⁴⁴ Mango (1978, “*Byzantine Architecture*,” 9).

³⁴⁵ Van Millingen (1912, “*Byzantine Churches in Constantinople*,” 50).

³⁴⁶ Mathews (1971, “*The Early Churches of Constantinople*,” 22-23, 118-119). The openness between the nave and side aisles were unlike the church’s Greek peers. Many of the fifth century Greek churches had physical divisions between their naves and aisles such as high *stylobates* or parapets.

³⁴⁷ Van Millingen (1912, “*Byzantine Churches in Constantinople*,” 53).

³⁴⁸ Mathews (1971, “*The Early Churches of Constantinople*,” 27); Van Millingen (1912, “*Byzantine Churches in Constantinople*,” 53).

³⁴⁹ Ebersolt (1951, “*Sanctuaires de Byzance*,” 81-82).

crypt and the *synthronon*.³⁵⁰ (Figure 39). There were no side chambers (*pastophoria*) on either side of the apse.³⁵¹ Instead, it had three large windows, and although there might not have been clerestory windows, the aisles and galleries were extensively fenestrated with two ranges of eight large round-headed windows on the northern and southern walls corresponding with the intercolumniations of the nave colonnades.³⁵²

The number of doors which opened to the atrium, the church proper, and the apse was rather an important characteristic feature of the church that emphasized its openness to its surroundings.³⁵³ (Figure 40). At the eastern end of the church, there were four more entrances. Two of them opened to the side aisles, and two of them flanked the apse located on both in the southern and northern walls.³⁵⁴ (Figure 41). The gateways of the apse stood out by their broadness and with their heavily molded frames, which indicated that they were among the main approaches to the church.³⁵⁵ The openness of the structure allowed the influx of congregation while making the church a part of an intricate system that existed

³⁵⁰ Mathews (1971, “*The Early Churches of Constantinople*,” 27). The remains of the *synthronon* was also discovered during the excavations carried out by the Russian Archaeological Institute between 1907-1909.

³⁵¹ Van Millingen (1912, “*Byzantine Churches in Constantinople*,” 53); Mango (1978, “*Byzantine Architecture*,” 39); Mathews (1971, “*The Early Churches of Constantinople*,” 22).

³⁵² Schibille (2014, “*Byzantine Aesthetic Experience*,” 77); Van Millingen (1912, “*Byzantine Churches in Constantinople*,” 53-54); Krautheimer (1965, “*Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*,” 78). Krautheimer assumes that there were no clerestory windows, while Van Millingen does not comment on the subject. Most of the windows were modified after the church converted into a mosque and others were built up.

³⁵³ Van Millingen (1912, “*Byzantine Churches in Constantinople*,” 52); Mathews (1971, “*The Early Churches of Constantinople*,” 21).

³⁵⁴ Van Millingen (1912, “*Byzantine Churches in Constantinople*,” 53).

³⁵⁵ Mathews (1971, “*The Early Churches of Constantinople*,” 22).

between the ecclesiastical structures of the city. The church building did not separate Christians from the city but welcomed the city into the church.³⁵⁶

On the second floor, the gallery level extended over the narthex and the side aisles. (Figure 42) The U-shaped plan of the gallery responded to the measurements of the narthex and the side aisles below it.³⁵⁷ Although they are now closed, two broad and arched openings at the western wall of the church in the gallery level indicate that the doors were openings to each side aisle. Two-column bases remain on top of the architrave above the nave indicates that the portion of the gallery on top of the narthex was opened onto the nave through a colonnade in a similar way to aisle galleries.³⁵⁸ (Figure 43) (Figure 44). It is challenging to ascertain the manner of accession to the galleries from the ground floor due to lack of physical evidence. The plausible suggestion is that the gallery level probably was accessed through staircases located on the outside, adjacent to their respective exterior walls in a similar manner of Hagia Sophia and Hagia Irene as their stairs were also located outside of the church.³⁵⁹ Krautheimer commented that the

³⁵⁶ Baldovin (1991, “*City, Church, and Renewal*,” 9).

³⁵⁷ Mathews (1971, “*The Early Churches of Constantinople*,” 23). The portion of the gallery which was over the narthex was later removed when the church was converted into a mosque in the sixteenth century.

³⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁵⁹ Mathews (1971, “*The Early Churches of Constantinople*,” 23); Salzenberg (1854, “*Altchristliche Baudenkmale*,” 12-13); Mango (1978, “*Byzantine Architecture*,” 39). When the church was converted into a mosque the stairs were located at the western ends of each aisle. Therefore, the openings to the narthex and the last portion of the colonnade between the nave and the aisles were closed off. However, this would not be a possibility for an Early Byzantine church. Stairs to the gallery level would not be located to a place that would obscure the access to the side aisles. The openings which surround the lateral bays on all four sides also contradicts with this possibility. The outside of the church building is a probable possibility, due to other examples in Constantinople. This possibility is further strengthened by the mark at the northern façade of the narthex. It seems that a portion was disjointed from the embody of the structure and left damage on the surface. However, the extent of the damage can suggest that the stairs were made of wood contrary to the examples of Hagia Sophia and Hagia Eirene which in their cases stairs were made of stone and brick.

architectural features of the church spoke of the preservation and strength of a classical tradition nurtured by Constantinian and post-Constantinian sources.³⁶⁰

The decoration of the church was of high value and focused on the nave. The walls of the aisles were covered with marble revetment, and mosaics covered the half-dome of the apse and the soffits of the ground-floor arcades. The ground floor columns were crowned with Theodosian capitals that were carved as two rows of leaves and topped by a belt of standing palmettes. The gallery floor columns, on the other hand, had Ionic capitals with leaves and tendrils. The use of more classical and horizontal entablature instead of the arcade was a feature of Stoudios contrary to expectations. The marble elements of the church, including its column shafts, capitals were uniform and were in order.³⁶¹ On either side of the nave, two rows of jasper marble columns (groups of seven on each side) were raised on *stylobates* and linked by parapets. (Figure 45) The ground floor columns were approximately 3,60m long, and above the columns, there was the richly carved late Corinthian entablature which carried shorter columns that stood on the gallery level.³⁶² Although only six of them (northern row of ground floor) survive today, it is possible to observe that the colonnades had elaborate Theodosian capitals adorned with acanthus shapes and engraved with the little birds and the crosses under the angles of their abacus.³⁶³ (Figure 46) (Figure 47) (Figure 48) The floor of the church was paved with pieces of marble arranged in patterns, in which figures of animals and scenes from classical mythology were inlaid.³⁶⁴ (Figure 49)

³⁶⁰ Krautheimer (1965, “*Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*,” 79).

³⁶¹ Mango (1978, “*Byzantine Architecture*,” 39).

³⁶² Krautheimer (1965, “*Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*,” 78); Van Millingen (1912, “*Byzantine Churches in Constantinople*,” 52).

³⁶³ Van Millingen (1912, “*Byzantine Churches in Constantinople*,” 52-53).

³⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p.53.

(Figure 50) (Figure 51) Compared to the floor of the church of the monastery of Christ Pantocrator in Constantinople, floor pavement was deemed to be dating back to mid-eleventh century.³⁶⁵ In addition, the walls in the aisles were possibly covered with slabs of multicolored marble, the gallery walls were painted, and the apse vault carried a mosaic.³⁶⁶ The rich sculptural decoration found at the site included relief of the 'Entry into Jerusalem.'³⁶⁷ (Figure 52) Paul Speck suggested that after the arrival of Theodore the Studite, the church acquired a cycle of frescoes depicting the Saints.³⁶⁸ (Figure 53) (Figure 54). The decoration of the church was so splendid that it inspired John Geometres; a poet of the tenth century to write an *ekphrasis* poem describing its lavish decoration.³⁶⁹ According to Geometres' description, the mosaics of the apse vault depicted a combination of the *Deesis*. In his *ekphrasis*; Geometres expressed his awe in the following manner:

If you long to see all beauties of the earth together with those of
the heavens and every costly material, cease from running over

³⁶⁵ Mathews (1971, "The Early Churches of Constantinople," 23); Mango (1978, "Byzantine Architecture," 39). For more on the dating of the pavement, see: Megaw (1963, "Recent Work of the Byzantine," 339-340). For more on the opus sectile floor pavements, see Barsanti (2011, "The Marble Floor of St. John Studius," 87-99); Kudde (2014, 36-62); Kudde (2015). For the columns, see Guidobaldi, Barsanti, and Pedone (2009, "The Marble Sculptures of St. John Studius," 311-328).

³⁶⁶ Krautheimer (1965, "Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture," 78). The tenth century poet John Geometres mentioned the decoration over the apse and the walls on his *ekphrasis* of the church. (Cramer, ed., *Anecdota graeca*, 307, lines 10-19). 'The golden section of a sphere above flashing forth with a great light, where every color of mosaic cube comes together, as if to bring about one framed body, among the stars, or hanging, full of light, as if the whole breadth of the sky was illuminated by one single star of all colors.' The translation of the poem retrieved from: Maguire (2012, "Nectar and Illusion," 127).

³⁶⁷ Kazhdan (1991, "Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium," 1961); Grabar (1976, "Sculptures I," 45, 49). For more on the sculptures of the church, see: Guidobaldi, Barsanti, and Pedone (2009, "The Marble Sculptures of St. John Studius," 311-328).

³⁶⁸ Speck, Paul. "Ein Heiligenbilderzyklus Im Studios-Kloster Um das Jahr 800." *Actes Du Xiiie Congrès International D'études Byzantines*, 3. (1964): 333-344. Also see: Müller-Wiener (2001, "İstanbul'un Tarihsel Topografyası," 149).

³⁶⁹ Ebersolt and Thiers (1913, "Les églises," 5). For the information about John Geometres, see Kazhdan (1991, 1059); Lauxtermann (1998, 356-380).

the great widths of the earth and abandon searching the far away heights of the sky, but look at everything assembled here, at this small hall, the imitation of all. (Cramer, ed., *Anecdota graeca*, 306, lines 20–25).

But if indeed there was some mixture of opposites, of all the cosmos below and of the things above, it is here, and let it now be called only the place of the beauties as is fitting for mortals. (Cramer, ed., *Anecdota graeca*, 307, lines 27–30)³⁷⁰

On the southeast side of the church, there was a cistern possibly dating to the fifth century. It was shaped with a trapezoidal plan and measured approximately 26,4m by 18,6m.³⁷¹ The roof of the structure rested on twenty-four granite columns crowned by Corinthian capitals.³⁷² The cistern was connected to an *hagiasma* located at its northeast corner with a channel.³⁷³ (Figure 55) (Figure 56)

The church of St John the Baptist of the Stoudios monastery remained as one of the richest and lavish churches of the capital until the fall of the Constantinople in 1453. After the fall, the monastery was closed off under the Ottoman rule. Later on, at the beginning of the sixteen century, it was used as a quarry for the construction of a mansion near *Topkapı* Palace.³⁷⁴ Again, during this period, its church was converted into a mosque by Ilyas Bey, the *mirahur* (stable master) of Sultan Bayezid II (1447-1512) and was renamed as Imrahor Ilyas Bey

³⁷⁰ For the full poem in original Greek, see Cramer, ed., *Anecdota graeca*, (1841, 306-307). For the translation of the poem, see Maguire (2012, “*Nectar and Illusion*,” 126-129).

³⁷¹ Altug and Aktug (2013, “*İstanbul'da Bizans Dönemi Sarnıçları*,” 372).

³⁷² Altug and Aktug (2013, “*İstanbul'da Bizans Dönemi Sarnıçları*,” 372); Van Millingen (1912, “*Byzantine Churches in Constantinople*,” 54). Although Van Millingen records twenty-three columns instead of twenty-four. A fire mostly destroyed the cistern in 1970.

³⁷³ Altug and Aktug (2013, “*İstanbul'da Bizans Dönemi Sarnıçları*,” 85).

³⁷⁴ Müller-Wiener (2001, “*İstanbul'un Tarihsel Topografyası*,” 150).

Mosque.³⁷⁵ Although today it is a noble ruin, the building's existence continues in the fringes of modern Istanbul as the Imrahor Monument. (Figure 57)

³⁷⁵ Müller-Wiener (2001, "*İstanbul'un Tarihsel Topografyası*," 150).

CHAPTER 4

STOUDIOS MONASTERY WITHIN THE RITUAL LANDSCAPE OF CONSTANTINOPLE

4.1. The Stoudios Monastery and the Ritual Use of Space

Stoudios monastery was among the religious structures that had civic importance within the ritual landscape of the city. Its physical connection with both the Golden Gate of Theodosian Walls and the Mese made it convenient for the emperor to visit the monastery during the entrance ceremonies since its foundation in the mid-fifth century.³⁷⁶ The *katholikon* of Stoudios monastery was dedicated to St John, the Baptist, the harbinger of Christ, and the church was the first station within the Theodosian city walls during the *adventus* ceremonies of the emperors. Thus, like Gilbert Dagron' interpretation of the ceremonies starting from here and ending at Hagia Sophia symbolically represented a ceremonial sequence depicting the life of the Christ.³⁷⁷

The monastery was listed among the churches visited by processions both in the middle and the late Byzantine period together with prominent stations such

³⁷⁶ Müller-Wiener (2001, 150).

³⁷⁷ Dagron (1984, "Constantinople Imaginaire," 100).

as Hagia Sophia, the church of Holy Apostles, and the church of the Mother of God at Chalkoprateia.³⁷⁸

Calculated by Baldovin; the emperor and his entourage participated in twenty-six liturgical processions in the course of a year, and nine of these were from the imperial palace to Great Church while only seventeen of them had a terminus other than Hagia Sophia.³⁷⁹ By being a part of such a prestigious ceremony, the church was not only a building that is part of the city anymore but a representative of the city's piety and unity.³⁸⁰

4.2. The Stoudios Monastery in Menologion the Basil II

The most renowned abbot of the Stoudios monastery was Theodore the Studite.³⁸¹ Although there was no formal process of canonization, Theodore had been recognized as a saint in the Byzantine world.³⁸² Menologion of Basil II; an eleventh-century illuminated manuscript designed as a church calendar with a short collection of saint's lives devoted a whole page to Theodore. (Figure 58) This page was reserved for the 11th of November which was the date of his death and included

³⁷⁸ Janin (1966, 68-89); Baldovin (1982, 398-399); Berger (2001, 73-87).

³⁷⁹ Baldovin (1991, 18-19).

³⁸⁰ Ibid., p.9.

³⁸¹ See: Chapter 3.1.

³⁸² Based on the letters he wrote to Pope Paschal I (817-824) which according to them Theodore had recognized papal primacy, the Catholic Church canonized him formally. His feast day is 11 November in the east and 12 November in the West. See: Pratsch, Thomas. *Theodoros Studites (759-826) Zwischen Dogma Und Pragmatik: Der Abt des Studiosklosters in Konstantinopel Im Spannungsfeld von Patriarch, Kaiser Und Eigenem Anspruch*. Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 1999, pp. 311-313.

a miniature of the saint depicted while he was sailing into exile from the Stoudios monastery.³⁸³ (Figure 59) In the page, his life and devotion to the Christian faith were summarized in one paragraph.³⁸⁴

On the right scene, on the seashore, the basilica of the Stoudios monastery was painted white-blue. However, the physical features of the representation do not match with reality. The roof of the basilica in the miniature is three-partite, and the nave is higher than the side-aisles. However, in reality, it is known that the church had a gallery-level, and therefore, the roof was in one piece. In addition, the apse was drawn as circular, and the cross on top of the apse is not mentioned in any source. The church in the miniature was surrounded by a circle of embattled and turreted rose-colored walls within which one penetrates through a well-keyed silver door. Considering the incorrect details, it could be said that the aim was to emphasize the existence of the basilica and not to provide a real depiction.

On the central scene, there was a dark boat highlighted with gold carrying Theodore dressed in a yellow tunic (robe) and brown cloak on the left and a beardless oarsman in a red sleeveless tunic and, between these two figures, there was a silver urn. The boat was carried away with the cerulean and rounded waves of the sea. However, beyond the boat, the surface of the sea becomes flattened. The contents of the urn are not known, and Theodore's vita does not mention the particulars of the scene.

On the left scene of the miniature, close to a tall brown-green rock, near a tree with green, blue, yellow and red fronds, Theodore the Studite was portrayed as a bald white-bearded man. As described in his vita, Theodore was depicted with a bifurcated beard. (Figure 60) He wore a dark-yellow priest's robe, brown cloak

³⁸³ Miniature, Menologion of Basil II, Vat. Gr. 1613, fol. 175.

³⁸⁴ For the life of the St Theodore the Studite mentioned in the manuscript page, see: Chapter 3.1.

with gold touches, stockings, and black shoes. He was poised in prayer, his hands raised, and his eyes turned towards the sky.³⁸⁵

The Menologion of Basil II was an important document from the Byzantine period, and the depictions were carefully selected among the key characters of Byzantine church history. Even though the details regarding the physical features of the Stoudios monastery were dubious, its inclusion within the manuscript spoke volumes about its influence on the socio-religious life of Constantinople.

4.3. The Annual Visit of the Emperors to the Stoudios Monastery

The most crucial ceremony of the year for the Stoudios monastery was the feast of the beheading of St John the Forerunner, the patron saint of the church which was held at the 29th of August according to Byzantine rite.³⁸⁶ This ceremony was inserted to the ceremonial calendar after the monastery came into possession of the head of St John the Baptist in the tenth century.³⁸⁷ The relics of the celebrated saints and martyrs were among the sacred objects treasured by the entire Christian world, and the remains of St John the Baptist was particularly precious.³⁸⁸ Therefore, his commemoration was warranted imperial attendance. From the tenth century on, the emperor started to visit the church on August 29 annually.³⁸⁹

³⁸⁵ The interpretation of the manuscript page is based on the explanatory notes of *Il Menologio Di Basilio II: (cod. Vaticano Greco 1613)*. Torino, 1907, pp. 47.

³⁸⁶ For the Byzantine rite, see Taft (1992).

³⁸⁷ Wortley (2004, 148).

³⁸⁸ For more on the concept of relics in Christianity, see: Kazhdan (1991, “*Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*,” 1779-1781).

³⁸⁹ Pseudo-Kodinos, p.245, trans. Macrides, Munitiz, Angelov (2013, 201).

In the *De Ceremoniis* (Book of Ceremonies), there is a clear description of the feast of the beheading of St John the Forerunner. In Book II, Chapter 13 under the title of “When the Rulers Go to a Church to Pray”; the annual visit of the emperor to the monastery is depicted.³⁹⁰ In most feasts that the emperor personally attended, he usually preferred to ride his horse in order to get to the designated church or if he was going to Hagia Sophia, he would walk. However, in some cases, like the Stoudios monastery’, the long distances that needed to be traveled from the palace to the intended church created a disturbance for the emperor. Therefore, to reduce the length of processions, boat trips were preferred in a number of occasions.³⁹¹ While the emperor would make his journey on the boat, the other formal attendants of the ceremony including the patriarch would go to the designated church on foot in order to stand ready for the arrival of the imperial convoy.³⁹² A day before the feast, the emperor would be briefed about the upcoming event, and orders would be given to the respective officials. The officials would prepare the city for the parade. The route to the designated church would be cleaned and decorated with flowers.³⁹³ The convoy that was to parade through the streets would include all senate, the personal staff of the emperor (*kouboukleion*) in the leadership of the head of the personal staff (*praipositoi*) and the archons’ sons (title holders).³⁹⁴ Early in the morning, instructions would be given to the *praipositos* (the head of the palace eunuchs who had an important role in court

³⁹⁰ *De Ceremoniis*. Book II., Chapter 13, R562-563.

³⁹¹ *De Ceremoniis*, 559.15-19, 108.14-109.12, 562.7-23, 559.15-19. The *Book of Ceremonies* mentions several processions by boat leading to the church of Kosmas and Damianos on the upper Golden Horn, to the Pege monastery, to the church of Panteleemon at *ta Narsou*, and to the Stoudios monastery. For the different routes taken during processions, see Berger, (2001, 73-87).

³⁹² Berger (2001, “*Imperial and Ecclesiastical Processions in Constantinople*,” 82-83).

³⁹³ *De Ceremoniis*. Book I., Chapter 1, R6.

³⁹⁴ *De Ceremoniis*. Book II., Chapter 13, R562-563.

ceremonial) and the *katepano* (commander of the emperor's men) so that they can arrange the established attendants for the visit to the designated church early in the morning in their ceremonial attire (the *skaramangion*).³⁹⁵

Although the *De Ceremoniis* do not specify this branch of the ceremony, we can assume that the ritualistic program of the court officials in the company of the patriarch from the Augusteion to the monastery was similar to the sequence of the traditional route through the Mese. We know from the church records that the monastery came into possession of the relics of St John the Baptist around the tenth century and the annual visit of the emperor begun afterward.³⁹⁶ Therefore, we can take the tenth-century cityscape as the basis of the scenery for this ceremony. Thus, it can be concluded that the convoy would gather in the Augusteion early in the morning than in the leadership of the patriarch the procession would begin the approximately 5km long journey. First, they would pass the Forum of Constantine where they would be greeted by the colossal Column of Constantine. During the tenth century, the statue of emperor Constantine on top of the column was still intact although the key elements of the statue, the spear and the sphere Constantine held in his hands which fell at the sixth century were missing.³⁹⁷ Moving from Constantine's forum, they would reach to the Forum of Theodosius. Here they would see the Column of Theodosius sans its crowning statue.³⁹⁸ Once the procession reached the Philadelphion, they could move onto the porphyry sculpture group known as the portrait of the Four Tetrarchs.³⁹⁹ Moving forward, they would

³⁹⁵ *De Ceremoniis*. Book II., Chapter 13, R560.

³⁹⁶ Wortley (2004, "Relics of 'The Friends of Jesus' at Constantinople," 149); Janin (1969, "La Géographie Ecclésiastique," 435); *Vita Euthymii*, ed. C. de Boor (Berlin, 1888): 31-32.

³⁹⁷ Theophanes the Confessor, *Chronographia*, 126, 222 Boor; Müller-Wiener (2001, "İstanbul'un Tarihsel Topografyası," 255).

³⁹⁸ Müller-Wiener (2001, "İstanbul'un Tarihsel Topografyası," 262).

³⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p.267.

pass the Forum Bovis, reach the Forum of Arcadius and see the destroyed column at the center and then continue through the Old Golden Gate of Constantinian Walls and the Sigma before finally reaching the grounds of the Stoudios monastery. (Map 5) The convoy would approach the monastery from the northeast corner; therefore, they could have a clear view of the church of St John the Baptist. The first thing they noticed would be the polygonal apse of the church, and slowly the northern wall would be visible to their sight.

Considering that the convoy was meant to greet the emperor at the piers, they might bypass the monastery to get to the Narlıkapı of the Propontis walls (the Pomegranate Gate). Due to its close connection to the Stoudios monastery, this gate was known as the Gate of St John Studites (*Pyle Agiou Ioannou tou Stouditou*) during the Byzantine period.⁴⁰⁰ There is no information about the physical aspects of the pier. However, this gate was possibly the silver door depicted at the Menologion of the Basil II.⁴⁰¹ (Figure 60) Once the procession reached, the piers they would merge with the awaiting monks and abbots of the monastery. Then, all the attendants would be aligned from gate to the pier according to their ceremonial ranks, and the monks would be holding candelabras in their hands, and the abbots would be carrying censers.⁴⁰² Thus, the entire crowd taking up their positions would stand ready for the arrival of the imperial entourage.

All the while, the other half of the ceremony would be taking place. The preparation of the emperor within the palace was a ceremony in its own right. (Figure 61) It was a lengthy and detailed process.⁴⁰³ On the day of the feast, before

⁴⁰⁰ Van Millingen (1899, “*The Walls of the City*,” 264-65).

⁴⁰¹ Miniature, Menologion of Basil II, Vat. Gr. 1613, fol. 175.

⁴⁰² *De Ceremoniis*. Book II., Chapter 13, R563.

⁴⁰³ The details regarding the court ceremony is based on the *De Ceremoniis*. Book I., Chapter 1, R6-10.

dawn, the chief steward (*papias*) who was in charge of the buildings would open the Palace, and the personal staff of the emperor (*kouboukleion*) would get in and sit at the curtain of the room adjacent to the imperial bedchamber (Pantheon). Then, the court officials who were responsible for the dressing of the emperor (*vestetores*) would go to the Chapel of St Theodore (the most venerated of the military saints) which was located within the throne room (Chrysotriklinos) and take up the “rod of Moses.” The rod was an important relic and symbol of command. Along with the palace-stewards in their order, the other members of the *kouboukleion*, those who were in charge of the ceremonial attire, take up the chest that contains the imperial dress and the horn boxes in which the imperial crowns were kept. The imperial sword-bearer (*spatharioi*) would bring the imperial arms, including the shields and the spears. The personnel in charge would carry the ceremonial attire to the imperial apartment of Octagon which was located in the Palace of Daphne in front of the Church of St Stephen “the first martyr,” while the imperial sword-bearer would carry the arms and stand to wait with them in the Onopodion. The Onopodion was a reception room within the Palace that opened onto the Vestibule of the Gold Hand, a portico from which the Hall of the Augustus was entered in turn.

Once all the preparations for dressing ceremony were completed, the emperor would emerge from the sacred chamber wearing a belted tunic with long sleeves (*skaramangia*) and before the ceremony, he would go to pray in the apse located in Chrysotriklinos which is the great octagonal hall, the where the throne was located, and above the apse, the Christ was portrayed on his heavenly throne.⁴⁰⁴ Then, the head of the personal staff of the emperor (*praipositoï*) would enter through the curtain in front of the Pantheon and pay obeisance to the ruler and would help the emperor put on a short gold-bordered cloak over his tunic. Once he was ready, he would go out through the Phylax; a treasury located in the Palace

⁴⁰⁴ For the ceremonial costumes in Byzantine, see: Piltz, Elisabeth. “Middle Byzantine Court Costume,” in *Byzantine Court Culture from 829 to 1204*, (eds.) by Henry Maguire, Washington D.C: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2004, pp. 39-51.

where the robes and other precious items were kept and crossing the passageway of the Forty Martyrs, he would arrive at the Sigma. The Sigma was the peristyle taking its name from its sigma-shape beyond the western doors of the Triconch. It used to frame the Philae of the Trinconch which was used ceremonially by the factions. Here, the emperor' personal guards (*manglabion* and *hetaireia*) and a group of government officials including the head of the secretariat in the imperial administration (*logothete*), a senior official who controlled the content of imperial legislation (chartulary of the inkstand also known as the *kanikleios*), the chief imperial secretary and a chief clerk in some courts of law (*protonotary*) would wait for the emperor to join them. Meanwhile, the emperor would take tours to pray in three different sanctuaries, first in the church of the Holy Theotokos, then in the adjoining Chapel of the Holy Trinity, and in the Baptistry where the three "great and beautiful crosses" and holy relics were kept. In each of these three shrines, the same routine of prayer would be repeated, and with triple obeisance the emperor would lit candles and give thanks to God.

From here, the emperor and his small assemble would go through the Hall of the Augousteus where the previously mentioned dignitaries of the Chrysotriklinos and the officers of the guard would receive the emperor. Then, the emperor accompanied only by the staff of the bedchamber would go into the imperial apartment of the Octagon which was located in front of the Church of St Stephen where the previously prepared ceremonial attire was laid out. Next, he would enter the church of St Stephen where they would make triple obeisance with candles, and just across the cross of St Constantine, they offer thanks and make obeisance. Then, the procession would move to the apartment of Daphne to wait for the appointed time. Shortly afterwards, an ecclesiastical official (*referendarios*) would come on behalf of the patriarch and inform the emperor about the instructions regarding the order of the religious ceremony. Dagron commented that this official waiting and the intervention of the messenger from the patriarch who

would lay down the conditions indicates that the ceremonial was regulating an encounter between two powers, each master of its own ground.⁴⁰⁵

After the arrival of the instructions of the religious ceremony, the emperor would move to the imperial apartment of the Octagon, and then the *praipositos* would call out for the court officials responsible for the dressing of the emperor (*vestetores*). The *vestetores* would enter the apartment and dress the emperor in a long sleeveless cloak fastened by a fibula called the *chlamyses*, and the emperor would leave the apartment. Once the emperor was appropriately dressed, the *praiposito*i would place the crown on the emperor's head in the presence of the whole *kouboukleion*. Thus, the dressing ceremony would be completed, and the procession would move toward the Gold Hand; the portico of the Hall of the Augousteus. The emperor and the members of the Chrysotriklinos would stand at the portico and the servant (*nipsistiarioi*) responsible for providing the emperor with a basin and ewer to wash his hand before he left the palace would help the emperor in this task. After this was completed, the emperor would give a sign to the *praipositos*, and in return, the *praipositos* would alert the *ostiarios* who was at a post in front of the doors and was responsible for announcing the arrival of the emperor. Thus, the *ostiarios* would lead the *magistroi*, proconsuls, patricians, *stratego*i, *bolders* of high office, and frontier commanders who were waiting at the Hall of the Augousteus to the presence of the emperor. These court officials would have made obeisance before the emperor and line up according to their ranks. Once they all paid their respects, they would accompany the emperor back to the Onopodion. Here, the procession would meet with the commanders (*droungarios*) of the Watch and the fleet along with the imperial sword-bearer (*spatharioi*). The master of offices (*magistroi*) and all the other attendants including the master of ceremonies would make obeisance to the emperor and join the procession. From there, the emperor and his now enlarged entourage would go to the Large Consistory (Great Consistorium) where the rod of Moses and the cross of

⁴⁰⁵ Dagron (2003, "Emperor and Priest," 90).

Constantine were previously placed so that the emperor would take them. The civil officials of the chancery and departments, *protosekretis*, notaries and *chartulari* waiting for the emperor would join him here.

The procession would then continue towards the military quarter proper, the *scholae*. However, they would first stop by in the hall of the first of the palace guards (*triklinos* of the *candidati*) where the clergy of the church of Our Lord would be assembled and awaiting. Then, the entourage would cross the rotunda with its eight columns which this place would mark the first *schola*, and the emperor would stop and venerate the silver cross located in his path. Moving forward, they would enter into the hall of the Excubitors and meet with the awaiting assemblage here including standard-bearers and ensign-bearers of the various troops. These troops would accompany the emperor while carrying traditional amblems of Roman power such as *vexilla* surmounted by the eagle or by the *Tyche* ruling the world, Constantinian standards and *labara* adorned with Chrismon. Finally, the procession would cross the chamber of the lamps (*Lychni*) where the “image of Persia” was kept along with another silver cross and a seven-branched candelabra.

As the ceremony within the palace came to its end, a team of bodyguards (*manglabitai* and *hetaireia*) would go to the district of the Stoudios monastery ahead of the emperor to secure the perimeter in their own boat through the sea. Shortly after, the emperor would leave the Great Palace and go to the Port of Boukoleon, which overlooked the Propontis located on the south of the Great Palace.⁴⁰⁶ This small bay which formed the imperial port served the convenience of the Byzantine court since the sixth century.⁴⁰⁷ The name of Boukoleon (Greek for ‘bull’ and ‘lion’ respectively) derives from the statue featuring a lion attacking

⁴⁰⁶ Kazhdan (1991, “*Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*,” 317).

⁴⁰⁷ Müller-Wiener (2001, “*İstanbul’un Tarihsel Topografyası*,” 60).

a bull that was located on the shore.⁴⁰⁸ It was possibly placed during the tenth century by the Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (912-958) who adorned the quay of the harbor with figures of animals brought from the various parts of the Empire.⁴⁰⁹ The harbor had a flight of marble steps that led down to the imperial *dromon*. The *dromon* was the heaviest of the Byzantine warships with two banks of oars and a crew of two hundred or more. Only the closest attendants of the emperor would join him at the *dromon*. These attendants would include the personal staff, the *logothete*, the chief imperial secretary, and the officer in charge of petitions. The commander of a unit of the emperor's bodyguard consisted mostly of foreigners called the *hetaireiarches* and the commander (*droungarios*) of the Watch.

The first thing in the emperor's visage during the boat trip would be the palace beacon, also known as "the lighthouse tower." It was located at the top of the ornate stairway leading down to the port of the Boukoleon in the area of the Pharos terrace.⁴¹⁰ (Map 5). While moving away from the port, the emperor would have a clear view of the southwestern corners of the Great Palace and the Hippodrome over the Propontis walls. He may even catch a glimpse of Hagia Sophia at the background. If we consider that the emperor's boat went parallel to the sea walls in some distance, the colossal columns of the imperial fora would be seen one by one. Halfway across the sea while passing by the Harbor of Theodosius, the domes of the church of the Holy Apostles might be visible from afar. The emperor's sea journey would be concluded as the boat reached the modern Narlıkapı. Once the state barge anchored here, the emperor would

⁴⁰⁸ Previously it was called the Gate of the Lion (Porta Leonis) after the marble figure of a lion near the entrance. See: Gyllius, *De Top. CP.*, ii. C. xv; Van Millingen (1899, "The Walls of the City," 261).

⁴⁰⁹ Theophanes Continuatus, 447. Also see: Van Millingen (1899, "The Walls of the City," 280).

⁴¹⁰ For the descriptions of the lighthouse by Russian Anonymus, see: Majeska (1984, "Russian Travelers," 245).

disembark with his entourage. When the emperor reached the land, all the awaiting attendants would fall down and make obeisance before the ruler. After this ceremonial welcome, the procession would head toward the monastery.⁴¹¹

From the pier to the monastery, the distance was less than half a kilometer; however, the journey was slightly uphill. The emperor and enlarged retinue would go up towards the monastery in the leadership of the emperor. If the monastery complex was indeed positioned toward the south of the church proper as indicated by Mathews while approaching from the southwest corner of the complex, the convoy could see the monk cells; the living quarters of the monastery.⁴¹² The solemn procession would continue through the atrium of the church of St John the Baptist. Today, the atrium with the exception of its northern wall is destroyed; therefore, we can only assume the sight that greeted the convoy. The church complex was distinguished by the number of its doors; however, from the *De Ceremoniis* we do not know which door they had used. They might have entered through one of the five doors on the south wall. Entering the square-shaped atrium, the emperor would be greeted with the visage of porticoes on three sides and the entrance of the narthex on the eastern side.⁴¹³ (Figure 62) Although we do not know the characteristic details based on the writings of Theodore the Studite, we do know that there was a fountain (*louter*) at the center of the atrium.⁴¹⁴ Slowly passing the atrium, the procession would reach the narthex where the ceremony would change its tune.

⁴¹¹ *De Ceremoniis*. Book II., Chapter 13, R563.

⁴¹² Mathews (1971, “*The Early Churches of Constantinople*,” 21-22).

⁴¹³ Mango (1978, “*Byzantine Architecture*,” 39).

⁴¹⁴ Theodorus Studita, *Descriptio constitutionis monasterii Studii*, *Patrologia Graeca* 99: 1717.

According to *De Ceremoniis*, coming from the Great Palace, the emperor would still be wearing his ceremonial attire and crown.⁴¹⁵ At the southern bay of the narthex, he would change his costume and wear his gold-bordered *sagia* and light candles before entering the church proper. (Figure 63) Dagron commented that until this point, the leadership of the ceremony would belong to the emperor as the city was his domain.⁴¹⁶ However, within the limits of the church, the emperor was just another servant of God, and his supremacy was left outside. The patriarch, together with his clergy would be waiting here to welcome and escort the emperor into his domain. The narthex had five doors which opened to the church proper, and three of them were located at the nave. The middle door was referred to as ‘the Royal Door’ by Theodore the Studite.⁴¹⁷ (Figure 64) When they passed through this door, the ceremony would continue inside the church.

Upon entering from the nave, the entire splendor of the church would be visible. Two rows of jasper-marble columns crowned with Theodosian capitals, elaborate entablatures, *opus sectile* floor pavements, and gold-covered apse decoration. They all were a part of the atmosphere so majestic that inspired poets to write praises.⁴¹⁸ (Figure 65). At the door, *praipositos* would hand over a censer and censers to the emperor, and he would move to the right-hand side of the bema. The numerous relics the monastery owned including the head of the St John the Baptist were displayed here. The emperor would swing the censer, light the candles, and kiss the relic of the Saint. (Figure 66) After the veneration of the relic

⁴¹⁵ *De Ceremoniis*. Book II., Chapter 13, R563.

⁴¹⁶ Dagron (2003, “*Emperor and Priest*,” 99).

⁴¹⁷ Mathews (1971, “*The Early Churches of Constantinople*,” 22); Theodorus Studita, *Descriptio constitutionismonasterii Studii*, *Patrologia Graeca* 99: 1705. For the translation of the document, Miller (2000, “*Stoudios*,” 114B).

⁴¹⁸ For the full poem of John Geometres in original Greek, see Cramer, ed., *Anecdota graeca*, (1841, 306-307). For the translation of the poem, see Maguire (2012, “*Nectar and Illusion*,” 126-129).

was completed, the emperor would go out to the narthex again to change his attire. This time taking off his *skaramangia*, they would put on *kolobia* (a long, sleeveless tunic). After dressing up, the emperor would go into the church to stand in “the women’s section” which was located at the right-hand side of the bema according to the *De Ceremoniis*.⁴¹⁹ Here, he would listen to the Gospel and light candles once again. The women’s section also served as a place where the imperial audience would stand within the church.⁴²⁰ Once the ceremony came to an end, the emperor would leave the church in the same way he entered. This time facing western wall of the church proper, he would have a clear view of the Royal Door and the gallery level. Although the gallery level does not exist today, based on the drawings of Van Millingen and the information provided by Mathews, this thesis purposes a reconstruction of the church.⁴²¹ (Figure 67) Passing through the Royal Door the emperor would reach the narthex again where he would change his attire and receive his crown back and thus, claim his power again.

After the ceremony, the emperor and his court would have lunch in the garden of the monastery. According to *De Ceremoniis*, the foodservice would be performed by the monks.⁴²² However, we do not know precisely where this banquet would take place. After a short rest, the emperor would leave the monastery grounds and head toward the piers. The return to the Great Palace would follow the same pattern and the same attendants would accompany the emperor on the *dromon* while the rest of the convoy returned to the city center in solemn procession. As a result, the procession on the streets of the city would be carried

⁴¹⁹ *De Ceremoniis*. Book II., Chapter 13, R563.

⁴²⁰ For divisions of the church, see: Mathews (1971, “*The Early Churches of Constantinople*,” 117-125).

⁴²¹ Van Millingen (1912, “*Byzantine Churches in Constantinople*,” 56-61); Mathews (1971, “*The Early Churches of Constantinople*,” 19-27).

⁴²² *De Ceremoniis*. Book II., Chapter 13, R563.

out without the emperor while his participation would be confined to the short route from the pier to the church in question.⁴²³

The sources do not clarify exactly how long this annual visit continued. However, we can assume that as long as the relics of St John the Baptist resided at the Stoudios monastery, the emperor continued to pay a visit every year on August 29. Around 1200, the Russian pilgrim Anthony of Novgorod mentioned the head of the Baptist while recording the relics the monastery possessed.⁴²⁴ Therefore, we can assume that the tradition continued until the fall of the city in 1261. This repetitive tradition would keep the memories of the Constantinopolitans alive and continuously remind them of the importance of the monastery.

4.4. The *Adventus* Ceremony of the “New Constantine”

The growing disaccord between the Byzantine Empire and Latins turned into a blood feud after the massacre of Latin inhabitants of Constantinople in April 1182 by the Eastern Orthodox population of the city. Later on July 11, 1203, Constantinople was besieged by the Crusaders.⁴²⁵ When the enemy fleet gazed upon the Constantinople on the horizon, according to the thirteenth-century historian Geoffrey of Villehardouin’s description;

They noted the high walls and lofty towers encircling it, and its rich palaces and tall churches, of which there were so many that

⁴²³ Berger (2001, 82-83).

⁴²⁴ For the account of Anthony of Novgorod on the Stoudios monastery’s relics, see: Khitrowo (1889, “*Itinéraires Russes En Orient*,” 100); Janin (1969, “*La Géographie Ecclésiastique*,” 435). Anthony recorded that additional to the skull of the John the Baptist, his chest, finger, and tooth was located at the church. Also the heads of Zechariah the Prophet and St Babylas was here.

⁴²⁵ For the political and social ground in the twelfth and early thirteenth century, see: Gregory (2010, “*A History of Byzantium*,” 257-281).

no one would have believed it to be true if he had not seen it with his own eyes, and viewed the length and breadth of that city which reigns supreme over all others.⁴²⁶

However, the city that had already suffered extensive damage by the fires in the 1190s was further destructed with the arrival of the Crusaders at Constantinople in 1203.⁴²⁷ (Figure 68) During the first siege of July 1203, the Blachernae Palace was wrecked with the stones from the Crusader catapults and the fortification wall was breached through with a battering ram. On July 17, the Crusaders torched the houses along the Golden Horn adjoining the wall. The fire spread from the Blachernai region as far as the Monastery of the Theotokos Evergetis located near to the Petriion Gate of the Golden Horn walls.⁴²⁸ However, the worst disaster struck in August 1203, when a company of Crusaders attacked a mosque called the Mitaton which was located on the northern side of the city, on a slope leading down the sea, near the shore of the Golden Horn outside the walls.⁴²⁹ After the Crusaders plundered the mosque, they set it on fire together with nearby buildings.⁴³⁰ The fire grew rapidly and cut a wide swath across the eastern half of the city from the Golden Horn to the Sea of Marmara. It destroyed the Myrelaion church and a part of Mese including the Forum of Constantine while the Hippodrome and Hagia

⁴²⁶ Geoffrey of Villehardouin. "The Conquest of Constantinople," In *Chronicle of the Crusaders*, tr. M.R.B. Shaw, London, 1963: 29-160.

⁴²⁷ Niketas Choniates (*Historia*, ed. J. van Dieten [Berlin-New York, 1975], 445.29) mentions a fire that destroyed the northern region of Constantinople during the first reign of Isaac II Angelos (1185-95). Another fire occurred in 1197 is known only from the iambic poem of Constantine Stilbes preserved in Venice, Marc. gr. 524.

⁴²⁸ Niketas Choniates, *Historia*, 545.45-50.

⁴²⁹ For details on the mosque, see: Janin (1964, "Constantinople Byzantine," 258).

⁴³⁰ Niketas Choniates, *Historia*, 553-554.

Sophia were spared perchance.⁴³¹ According to the descriptions of the thirteenth-century historian Niketas Choniates during the fires, “porticoes collapsed, the elegant structures of the *agorai* toppled, and the huge columns went up in smoke like so much brushwood.”⁴³²

As a result of the siege that lasted until August 1, 1203, Crusaders crowned the Emperor Alexios IV Angelos (1203-1204) who tried to stabilize the city. In the period that followed the joint reign of Isaac II and his son Alexios IV (1203-1204), the co-emperors were forced to melt down the precious materials obtained from the metal decorations of icons and sacred vessels of the imperial treasury to pay their debts to the Latins while they were camped outside of the city walls.⁴³³ After a point, the desperate emperors turned to the church treasuries, and even the gold furnishings and silver lamps of Hagia Sophia were not spared.⁴³⁴ Furthermore, the Greek mobs within the city had further damaged the city while trying to retaliate against the Latin citizens. The mobs tore down the houses belonging to the Latins near the sea walls including the Amalfitan Pisan quarters and smashed the huge bronze statue of Athena located in the Forum of Constantine as they believed the statue brought the Latin armies upon them.⁴³⁵ In the meantime, the churches and

⁴³¹ For the detailed accounts of the fires in Constantinople between 1203-1204, see: Madden (1991/92, "A *Damage Assessment*," 72-93).

⁴³² Niketas Choniates, *Historia*, 553.14-556.64.

⁴³³ Niketas Choniates, *Historia*, 551.65-552.71, 555.69-556.73.

⁴³⁴ George Akropolites §3 (trans. Macrides 2008, 111-12).

⁴³⁵ Niketas Choniates, *Historia*, 552.77-84. Apparently the statue survived the fire of August 1203 therefore it can be deduced that Forum of Constantine was not entirely destroyed by the fire. For more on the statue of Athena, see: "Further Evidence Regarding the Bronze Athena at Byzantium," *BSA* 46 (1951), 72-74.

the palaces in the city's suburbs continued to be looted and burned down by the Western soldiers.⁴³⁶

In such a situation, the precarious peace was short-lived and broken by the death of the co-emperor Isaac II Angelos. The emperor's death set off a riot in Constantinople that resulted with the deposition of Alexios IV and later led to his execution on February 8, 1204, by order of the self-declared Emperor Alexios V Doukas (1204). The new emperor refused to uphold the old treaty that the Crusaders draw with the former emperor. Thus, the Crusaders and Venetian leadership decided to unite on the conquest of Constantinople in March 1204. By the end of the month, the combined forces of the two-party besieged the city. On the fifth day of the siege, on April 13, 1204, Constantinople fell to the Crusaders and Venetians.⁴³⁷ Upon their entrance into the city, the Crusaders ignited another fire that extended from a place to near the Monastery of the Theotokos Evergetis to the Droungarios Gate along the Golden Horn.⁴³⁸ The fall of Constantinople proceeded in a frenzied sack of the city. The second siege and the sack that followed the fall of the city was the worst blow to the once glorious city of Constantine.⁴³⁹ Despite the threat of excommunication and their oaths, the Crusaders vandalized and violated the city for days. The warriors of the Fourth Crusade violated the holy sanctuaries, destroyed and stole all they could. The civilians were killed and defiled by thousands, and this attitude was perceived as retribution for the massacre of 1182 by the Latin citizens.⁴⁴⁰ Private houses of the

⁴³⁶ Niketas Choniates, *Historia*, 558.47-560.6.

⁴³⁷ Wolff (1976, "*Latin Empire of Constantinople*," 187).

⁴³⁸ Niketas Choniates, *Historia*, 570.33-35. Also for details of the fire, see: Madden (1991/92, "A Damage Assessment," 84-85).

⁴³⁹ For further on the situation of Constantinople after 1204, see: Talbot (1993, "*The Restoration of Constantinople Under Michael VIII*," 243-244).

⁴⁴⁰ Papayianni (2016, "*The Crusades in Byzantine Historiography*," 284-285).

citizens and palaces of the city officials were plundered. Monasteries, churches, and convents without any distinction and any regard to their sanctity were sacked, their altars were torn to pieces while all their treasures were taken. Even the tombs of the emperors inside Holy Apostles were not spared. Likewise, the altar of Hagia Sophia was broken, the icons and the furniture of the church were stripped off their precious metal revetments.⁴⁴¹ Although the Venetians were more restrained in comparison to the Crusaders, they too participated in the sack and stole religious relics and art pieces from the churches which were eventually taken to Venice to adorn their churches.⁴⁴²

On the aftermath of the sack, the Byzantine Empire was apportioned between the Venetian and the Crusade leaders. According to a prearranged treaty, only the one-quarter of the Byzantine territory would be ruled by the emperor chosen by the invaders while the remaining three quarter would be divided amongst the left.⁴⁴³ Thus, the Latin Empire of Constantinople was established, and most of the Byzantine aristocracy fled the city in contempt. This catastrophic change in the state also triggered the change in the organization of the church, and the Orthodox hierarchy was replaced with Roman Catholic ecclesiastical dignity. Although the Orthodox clergy retained its rights, they lost their presiding position, and they were demoted to a subordinate position to the local Latin bishops.⁴⁴⁴

The Latin Empire of Constantinople, otherwise known as the Latin occupation, lasted almost six decades. During that time, many of the Greek citizens

⁴⁴¹ Niketas Choniates, *Historia*, 573.

⁴⁴² For the details of the damage done to Constantinople during the Fourth Crusade, see: Nicol, Donald M. *Byzantium and Venice: A Study of Diplomatic and Cultural Relations*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1992: 143-144.

⁴⁴³ Wolff (1976, "*Latin Empire of Constantinople*," 191).

⁴⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p.197.

including those who lost their houses during the fires left and went into exile while only a small proportion of Latins took up resident in the city, and as a result, Constantinople became depopulated.⁴⁴⁵ The Crusaders took over some abandoned mansions and houses which survived the fires and the devastation of the sack. Some churches and monasteries were also confiscated and rearranged to fit the needs of the Latin rite.⁴⁴⁶ While Hagia Sophia became the cathedral of the Latin patriarch, the monasteries of Pantepoptes and Peribleptos came under the control of the Benedictine monks from Venice, and the Mangana monastery was occupied by the French canons, and the Xenon of Sampson was taken over by the Knights Templar. However, their numbers were not adequate to populate the city properly and thus; most of the buildings, including the city's famous churches and monasteries that were not used fell into ruin.⁴⁴⁷ The Stoudios monastery was among of the many ecclesiastical structures that were plundered in the process. The monastery complex was ransacked, the monk cells were destroyed, and the roof of the main church was torn down.⁴⁴⁸ The monastery, famous for its treasures and known as one of the richest of Constantinople, was stripped off all its possessions including the holy relics of the Saints.⁴⁴⁹ The details regarding the treasures taken from the Stoudios monastery are unknown. They may have been removed from the church by the bishops before the first or second siege in hopes to spare them from

⁴⁴⁵ Talbot (1993, "*The Restoration of Constantinople Under Michael VIII*," 245-246).

⁴⁴⁶ For the religious buildings used by the Latins during the occupation and the arrangements that were made, see: R. Janin, "Les sanctuaires de Byzance sous la domination Latine," *REB* 2 (1944), 134-84.

⁴⁴⁷ Talbot (1993, "*The Restoration of Constantinople Under Michael VIII*," 246).

⁴⁴⁸ Nicephori Gregorae, *Byzantina Historia*, I, 190, B. Müller-Wiener (2001, "*İstanbul'un Tarihsel Topografyası*," 149).

⁴⁴⁹ Ebersolt and Thiers (1913, "*Les églises*," 5); Janin (1969, "*La Géographie Ecclésiastique*," 432); Müller-Wiener (2001, "*İstanbul'un Tarihsel Topografyası*," 150).

the impending doom, or they may have been taken by either the Crusaders or the Venetians during the sack of Constantinople following its fall in 1204. However, in either case, while the Russian pilgrim Anthony of Novgorod who visited Stoudios around 1200 listed numerous relics that the monastery possessed, another Russian pilgrim Stephen of Novgorod who visited the church around 1348/9 did not mention the relics of St John the Baptist while listing the relics of the monastery.⁴⁵⁰ It is not likely he would leave out an important relic such as this. Therefore, based on this information, it is likely they were stolen during the Latin occupation and never recovered afterward.⁴⁵¹

The Byzantine aristocrats who fled from Constantinople after the fall of the city founded successor states.⁴⁵² One of these largest of these rump states, the Empire of Nicaea, eventually restored the Byzantine Empire. Michael Palaeologus and his general Alexios Strategopoulos began their assault on Constantinople in 1260.⁴⁵³ Finally, in July 1261, the Caesar Alexios made a move to attack the island of Daphnusia while the Latin defenders were abroad. Constantinople was left almost undefended, and under these favorable circumstances, Strategopoulos recaptured the city on July 25, 1261.⁴⁵⁴ Upon the information supplied by the Greek informants within Constantinople (the Voluntaries), Caesar Alexios used an

⁴⁵⁰ For the account of Anthony of Novgorod on the Stoudios monastery's relics, see: Khitrowo (1889, "*Itinéraires Russes En Orient*," 100); Janin (1969, "*La Géographie Ecclésiastique*," 435). Anthony recorded that additional to the skull of the John the Baptist, his chest, finger, and tooth was located at the church. Also the heads of Zechariah the Prophet and St Babylas was here.

⁴⁵¹ Majeska (1984, "*Russian Travelers*," 284). Also for the record of Stephen of Novgorod on Stoudios, see: Khitrowo (1889, "*Itinéraires Russes En Orient*," 121, 123-124).

⁴⁵² Wolff (1976, "*Latin Empire of Constantinople*," 200-201).

⁴⁵³ *Ibid.*, p.229-230.

⁴⁵⁴ For details of the recovery of Constantinople, see: George Akropolites §85 (trans. Macrides 2008, 375-76).

opening on the Theodosian Walls to infiltrate the city. Armed men passed into the city through this opening, and they climbed the walls, seized the guards while others opened the Gate of Spring (Pege Gate), thus providing an entrance for the troops waiting outside. Although this was not a detailed plan or a carefully executed siege, Strategopoulos used this rare opportunity and turned it into a victory. The Latin emperor Baldwin II (1227-1261) was deposed and fled with the remaining invaders from the palace of Blachernae to the Boukoleon on the Sea of Marmara leaving his fortune behind.⁴⁵⁵ By order of Strategopoulos, the entire Venetian quarter was set on fire so that the soldiers coming back from Daphnusia would find their houses destroyed and feel forced to flee with their families.⁴⁵⁶ (Figure 69)

The news of the victory reached Michael Palaeologus in his camp at Meteorion in Asia Minor while he was on his way from the region of Nymphaeum (modern Kemal Paşa), his headquarters for the winter and spring.⁴⁵⁷ The location of the Meteorion has been identified with *Gördük Kale*, overlooking the Lykos river, north of Thyateira and south of Poimanenon.⁴⁵⁸ (Figure 70) According to Clive Foss' study, the hill that was associated with the Meteorion was a natural place to fortify in any epoch with its strategic advantages providing a location overlooking the river and separating the plains of Attalea and Thyateira.⁴⁵⁹

⁴⁵⁵ George Pachymeres, I, 199.12–16.

⁴⁵⁶ Wolff (1976, “*Latin Empire of Constantinople*,” 231-232). See also: George Pachymeres, I, 193.6–7; 199.30–201.1.

⁴⁵⁷ Geanakoplos (1959, “Emperor Michael,” 119n1). George Akropolites §86 (trans. Macrides 2008, 379). George Pachymeres, 149, I.20. says Michael was at Nymphaeum; Greg., 86, I. 22, says he was at Nicaea. However, probably the information Akropolites provided is correct considering he was with the emperor's entourage at the time and offered to write prayer for the *adventus* ceremony.

⁴⁵⁸ For the exact location of the Meteorion, see: Foss (1987, “*Sites and Strongholds of Northern Lydia*,” 95-98).

⁴⁵⁹ Foss (1987, “*Sites and Strongholds of Northern Lydia*,” 95).

Although the written sources do not elaborate on how long it took for the word to reach Meteorion, according to Pachymeres, the report arrived Nikomedeia by July 27.⁴⁶⁰ If we take into consideration that Nikomedeia was approximately 100km away from Constantinople and received the news in two days, while Meteorion was located 380km south of the city, it probably took a week for the joyous message to reach to the emperor Michael. Sources recorded that the news of the victory was brought to camp in the middle of the night while Michael was asleep in his tent. The informant was a child servant of the Emperor Michael's sister Eirene (renamed as Eulogia after she took monastic habit) who was from the region of Bithynia and learned the news from the Roman army on her way to the Meteorion.⁴⁶¹ Thus, Michael was woken and informed by his sister Eirene about the conquest of Constantinople in his tent. According to Akropolites' dramatic description regarding that fateful night, Michael received this news as a gift granted upon himself by God and Christ, and he immediately assembled his officers and advisers who were with him at the time to discuss the veracity of the report. All night long, Michael and his council debated and decided not to act until the information could be confirmed.⁴⁶² Once the confirmation arrived in a couple of days and related the situation in Constantinople, the emperor finally began a march toward the city.⁴⁶³

The sources recorded that from Meteorion, the convoy hastened to the hills of Calamus (modern Gelembe); a long time staging point and later to Achyraous

⁴⁶⁰ George Pachymeres, I, 205.3-4.

⁴⁶¹ George Akropolites §86 (trans. Macrides 2008, 379).

⁴⁶² George Akropolites §86 (trans. Macrides 2008, 381). According to Akropolites, who was with the emperor at the time there was a delay of a couple of days before confirmation arrived to the camp.

⁴⁶³ For details of the arrival of the news to Michael Palaeologus and his response, see: George Akropolites §86 (trans. Macrides 2008, 379-80); George Pachymeres, I, 205.14-207.6; Holobolos (ed. Treu, 68.24-69.26).

(modern Balıkesir) both of which lie on the road to Constantinople.⁴⁶⁴ As they camped near Achyraous, a dispatch rider brought the imperial insignia, a Latin shaped *kalyptra* decorated with pearls and red stone on top, ornamented shoes and a sword sheathed in red silk cover previously belonging to the overthrown Emperor Baldwin from Constantinople.⁴⁶⁵ This was a late Roman custom for the confiscated weapons, and other items belonging to the defeated party to be offered to the victorious emperor as a memorial trophy. Once the spoils of war were presented to the emperor and his council, they were assured of the victory, and according to Akropolites, they hastened their steps toward the Queen of Cities.⁴⁶⁶

Regarding the rest of the journey, sources do not provide information regarding the events until the convoy arrived in the vicinity of Constantinople. However, if we consider the triumphal journey Theodore the Studite took across Asia Minor after the death of the iconoclast Emperor Leo V (813-820) who had sent Theodore into exile in 815, we can deduce the route of the emperor Michael and his convoy. In 820, Theodore started his journey from Smyrna (modern Izmir) to Constantinople and after passing through Pteleai and Achyraus (both near modern Balıkesir), continued through Prusa (modern Bursa), to arrive in Chalcedon (modern Kadıköy).⁴⁶⁷ The routes of Theodore the Studite' and Michael' convoy converged in Achyraus and considering the fact that most of the staging points continued to be used throughout Byzantine period, we can roughly assume that they followed the same course and Michael's convoy went through Prusa and Chalcedon as well before reaching Constantinople. (Figure 71) The 380km journey to Constantinople from the Meteorion took approximately two weeks. Taking into

⁴⁶⁴ Foss (1987, "*Sites and Strongholds of Northern Lydia*," 97).

⁴⁶⁵ George Akropolites §87 (trans. Macrides 2008, 381); George Pachymeres, I, 209.2-13.

⁴⁶⁶ George Akropolites §87 (trans. Macrides 2008, 381).

⁴⁶⁷ Sevckenko (1995, "*Constantinople's Control Over Its Asiatic Hinterland*," 92, 94).

account the deliberate actions Michael performed from this point on, the decisions regarding the *adventus* ceremony must have been decided on the way.

Regarding the reconquest of Constantinople, there was always a danger for Michael to be seen as a usurper rather than the rightful owner of the imperial seat of the Byzantine empire. This notion put particular stress on the actions of the emperor. Therefore, his next steps were carefully calculated since they were ultimately going to define the rest of his reign. Dagron's assessment regarding the role of ceremonial in the negotiation of the imperial office emphasized that the transitions and transformations enacted by the Byzantine *adventus* "gave the emperor, not power, which he possessed, but the legitimacy, which he still lacked."⁴⁶⁸ In this regard, although Michael Palaeologus' *adventus* was planned to follow the traditional triumphal route of Constantinople, starting from the Golden Gate along the Mese to Hagia Sophia and the Great Palace like the victorious emperors of the past. Its undertone was meant to be 'more reverential to God than imperial.'⁴⁶⁹ Although this could be viewed as an act of humility, it was far away from being humble. From the first moment, Michael learned the reconquest of Constantinople; he claimed that the recovery was made possible by divine intervention, and the Queen of the cities was bestowed upon him by God. Thus, while Michael was acting as the Lord's humble servant, he was actually presenting himself as God's chosen one to rule. Therefore, he wanted Nicephorus Blemmydes to compose prayers of thanks to mark the occasion. However, Blemmydes was living in Ephesus, and the journey that cleric needed to take in order to reach Constantinople would delay Michael, who was in a hurry to establish himself in Constantinople.⁴⁷⁰ In these circumstances, George Akropolites; a student of

⁴⁶⁸ Dagron (2003, "*Emperor and Priest*," 65).

⁴⁶⁹ George Akropolites §87 (trans. Macrides 2008, 381). MacCormack (1972, "*Art and Ceremony in Late Antiquity*"); (1972, "*The Ceremony of Adventus*," 723); McCormick (1986, "*Eternal Victory*").

⁴⁷⁰ George Akropolites §87 (trans. Macrides 2008, 381); George Pachymeres, II, 437.14–441.8.

Blemmydes who was with the emperor at the time of the journey, volunteered to write prayers for the occasion and although he was not a clergyman that Michael consented.⁴⁷¹ Moreover, the messengers were sent ahead with the instructions of palaces to be prepared and regulation to be made in order to determine which properties his high office-holders would receive. Although at the time, Emperor Baldwin II was overthrown, he was still resident in the Palace of Blachernae; the palace was in need of maintenance due to their ill-use. Therefore, the Great Palace was prepared for the upcoming arrival of Emperor Michael.⁴⁷²

After the long journey, Michael Palaeologus and his entourage reached Constantinople on the 14th of August. However, he did not want to enter Constantinople on that day; instead, he encamped at the monastery of the Anargyroi of Cosmidion (also known as the monastery of Sts Cosmas and Damian) which was near the Blachernae district. Although this was a common practice for the emperors to encamp outside the city so that the preparations of the *adventus* ceremony could be completed, according to Akropolites, the emperor chose to make his official entry to the city on 15th of August on purpose since it was the feast day of the Dormition of the Virgin and Constantinople was considered to be dedicated to Mary, the *Theotokos*.⁴⁷³ Cosmidion was an extramural church dedicated to Sts Cosmas and Damian, it was built around the fifth century and later became a part of a monastery complex that was erected around the sixth century.⁴⁷⁴ Although the exact location of the church is controversial, according to Mango's

⁴⁷¹ George Akropolites §87 (trans. Macrides 2008, 382). Akropolites inserts himself into the narrative and indicate that he was together with the emperor. For the details of the thirteen prayer Akropolites wrote for the occasion, see: Macrides (2008, n.4).

⁴⁷² George Pachymeres, I, 219.5-10.

⁴⁷³ George Akropolites §88 (trans. Macrides 2008, 384). For Theotokos as the protector of Constantinople, see: Baynes (1949, *The Supernatural Defenders of Constantinople*," 165-177).

⁴⁷⁴ Cosmidion monastery was in the Cosmidion district outside the city walls on the Golden Horn. For more on the monastery, see: Janin (1964, "*Constantinople byzantine*," 57-8, 324, 461-2).

estimations it was located on a hill just outside the Blachernae walls.⁴⁷⁵ (Figure 72). The details regarding the exact location of Emperor Michael's camp have no written sources.

During the Fourth Crusade (1203-1204), an eyewitness of the crusaders, Geoffery Villehardouin recorded that while terrorizing the city's suburbs, the crusaders passed over the bridge that spanned the Barmyssa river flowing out into the Golden Horn and set up a camp on a hill crowned by an abbey near the walls and named the *Chateau de Bohemond*.⁴⁷⁶ It is known that the monastery of Sts Cosmas and Damian were granted to the Norman prince Bohemond by Alexius Comnenus during the First Crusade and has been known as the Castle of Bohemond ever since.⁴⁷⁷ Therefore, based on the topographic description of the crusaders' camp, we can estimate the situation of Michael's. They were settled on a hill bordered by the sea on the northeast (the Golden Horn) and by a plain which ended on the south at the city's land walls on the southwest. From here, on top of the hill, the French invaders had their first real view of the land defenses of Constantinople; the Theodosian walls were stretching up and down the hills toward the horizon until it reached to the Sea of Marmara. Villehardouin remarked that the view was filling the heart with apprehension.⁴⁷⁸ If we assume that this was the spot Michael stood six decades later, the same view which was apprehensive to the Latin

⁴⁷⁵ Mango, C. "On the Cult of Saints Cosmas and Damian at Constantinople." In *Θυμίαμα Στη Μνήμην Της Λασκαρίνας Μπούρα*, (eds.). Benaki Museum Laskarina Boura, 189–192. Athens: Benaki Museum, 1994.

⁴⁷⁶ Villehardouin, Geoffroi, and Thomas Smith. *The Chronicle of Geoffry De Villehardouin: Marshal of Champagne and Romania, Concerning the Conquest of Constantinople, by the French and Venetians, Anno M. Cc. Iv*. London: W. Pickering, 1829: 71.

⁴⁷⁷ Phillips, Jonathan. *The Fourth Crusade and the Sack of Constantinople*. New York: Penguin Books, 2014.

⁴⁷⁸ Geoffrey of Villehardouin, 'The Conquest of Constantinople', *Chronicles of the Crusades*, tr. M. R. B. Shaw, London, 1963, pp. 29-160: 68.

invaders must have filled the heart of Emperor Michael with exultation even though the city was now in less than good condition.

After spending the night at the monastery grounds, the imperial entourage marched toward the city the next day on August 15. Despite the fact that the location of the camp was in the further north and much closer to all the other gates of the Theodosian Walls, Emperor Michael preferred to enter the city via the Golden Gate. Although in times, other gates were used by the emperors during *adventus* ceremonies, the Golden Gate has been predominantly the ceremonial gate of Constantinople.⁴⁷⁹ It held a symbolic position in the ceremonial life of Constantinople all through its history, and Emperor Michael needed to use every source he can draw power from in order to establish himself as the legitimate heir of the Byzantine throne. Therefore, early in the morning, the convoy left the monastery grounds and headed toward the Golden Gate, the journey was approximately 8km long. (Map 6) Michael and his attendants must have been riding horses until they reached the Golden Gate where they stood on foot.⁴⁸⁰ The emperor was probably wearing his ceremonial attire, and sources recorded that he was wearing a *kalyptra* on his head. This may have been the *kalyptra* Emperor Baldwin left behind at the Blachernae Palace while he was running from the city and was brought to Emperor Michael as a spoil of war by a messenger while the convoy was encamping near Achyraous. Although there is no particular information about Michael's entourage, we know from the accounts of Akropolites that he was with the emperor at the time and based on the same account we can assume that Michael's sister Irene who was the one delivered the news of victory to him in Meteorion had also accompanied him to Constantinople. The sources do not provide any detail regarding this march. However, we can estimate that the

⁴⁷⁹ *De Ceremoniis*, Appendix to Book I, R497; HC696. For example, when Justinian the Great and his entourage returned to the city in 559 they had entered through the Gate of Charisius otherwise known as Gate of Adrianople.

⁴⁸⁰ George Akropolites §88 (trans. Macrides 2008, 383).

convoy followed a parallel route to the land walls. The land walls, otherwise known as Theodosian Walls consisted of an inner wall, an outer wall with an inner terrace, and a wide moat, with a second outer wall in front of it.⁴⁸¹ With this impressive sight on their left, the convoy would pass nine other subsidiary entrances of the city until they reached the Golden Gate including the Gate of Spring (Pege Gate) which had provided entrance to the Caesar Alexios and his soldiers recently. It is known that the eighth-century Arab attacks and the earthquakes devastated the city repeatedly, and the sieges of Constantinople had damaged the land walls severely. Although the exact conditions of the land walls during the entrance of Michael are unknown, according to Pachymeres, the conditions of the walls were so bad that even when the gates were closed, it was easy to get in and out of the city.⁴⁸² The repair of the fortification walls was a priority for the emperor Michael after they settled in the city. Thus, we understand that the walls within the visage of the convoy were not as acclaimed as they once were.

The *adventus* ceremony would begin as soon as the convoy reached the Golden Gate of Theodosian Walls. The gate was known for its architectural splendor and military strength. However, it is not clear how much of these embellishments could reach the thirteenth century. A crusader named Robert of Clari who described the Gate in his account recorded that only two bronze elephants remained from the chariot team on top by 1204.⁴⁸³ It is also known that the statue of Nike; the Goddess of Victory had fallen during an earthquake happened in 866.⁴⁸⁴ Even in this condition, the sight of the Golden Gate must have

⁴⁸¹ Van Millingen (1899, “*The Walls of the City*,” 59-73).

⁴⁸² George Pachymeres, I, 215.26-27.

⁴⁸³ P. Lauer ed., Robert de Clari. *La Conquete de Constantinople* (Les Classiques français du moyen age, Paris 1924), pp. 87.

⁴⁸⁴ Cedrenus, II, 173 B.

been impressive for Emperor Michael, who had dreamt of entering via this door to Constantinople as its conqueror since early childhood.⁴⁸⁵

Traditionally during an *adventus* ceremony, a crowd would be assembled outside the city gate in order to greet the victorious emperor. Civic authorities would come forward and pay homage, offer the conqueror a crown of gold and laurel wreath, and in return, the emperor would grant largess, and the Factions would salute the emperor and welcome him and his entourage into the city in the late period.⁴⁸⁶ However, the sources fail to describe the awaiting delegation outside the walls for Michael Palaiologos' convoy, and since the situation of Emperor Michael is singular, we cannot construe the identities of the participants through comparison with previous *adventus* ceremonies. Still, considering that the arrival of the emperor was expected, a crowd must have been gathered at the outside of the city walls. One can even expect Caesar Alexios to greet the emperor in front of the land walls and handover the city to Emperor Michael, which he took for his honor; however, there is no written confirmation. Arsenios Autoreianos, then the patriarch of Constantinople (1255-1265), was not available to cite the prayers at the time. According to Akropolites, his absence was deliberate, for he did not approve the emperor Michael. Therefore, the metropolitan bishop of Cyzicus George Kleidas (1253-1261) presided over the ceremonial entry.⁴⁸⁷

⁴⁸⁵ George Akropolites §88n4 (trans. Macrides 2008, 385); George Pachymeres, I, 179.24-181.6. Pachymeres, relates a story regarding Michael that as baby he could sleep only when his sister told him that one day he would become the emperor and enter Constantinople through the Golden Gate.

⁴⁸⁶ *De Ceremoniis*, Appendix to Book I, R495; HC665; McCormick (1986, "Eternal Victory," 72, 210-11); MacCormack (1972, "The Ceremony of Adventus," 723). In some occasions in the fifth and sixth centuries, the City Prefect and senators welcome the emperor and offer him the traditional presents inside the city, at the Forum of Theodosius.

⁴⁸⁷ George Akropolites §88 (trans. Macrides 2008, 384); George Pachymeres, I, 217.18-20; Holobolos (ed. Treu, 73.24). In his testament Arsenios Demands were made on him by Michael Palaiologos to accept Nikephoros' appointment to the patriarchate as canonical, as well as those of the men he had ordained. If he did not, 'entrance to Constantinople was withheld'. See: *Patrologia Graeca* 140.953CD.

George Pachymeres recorded that upon special instructions from the emperor Michael, the icon of the *Theotokos* Hodegetria was brought to the Golden Gate from the monastery of Christ Pantokrator.⁴⁸⁸ The Virgin's icon was "an object of special veneration," and famously led in battles and processions along the walls of Constantinople at key perilous moments in the history of Byzantium.⁴⁸⁹ It had been previously displayed at the monastery of Panagia Hodegetria that had associations with the Palaiologan family, through George Palaiologos, the Emperor Michael's great-grandfather.⁴⁹⁰ However, after causing a quarrel between the Latin patriarch and the Venetian chief magistrate after 1204, it was eventually confiscated by the Venetians and kept in the Pantokrator monastery where it stayed until 1261.⁴⁹¹ The monastery of Christ Pantokrator was located on the fourth hill of Constantinople overlooking the Golden Horn to the east of the church of Holy Apostles and the north of the Aqueduct of Valens. The monastery complex was built by Empress Irene, the wife of Emperor John II Comnenus (1118-1143) between 1118/1124.⁴⁹² The journey of the icon from the monastery to the Golden Gate would be approximately 5km. Sources do not give any details about this branch of the ceremony; therefore, regarding the transportation of the icon, another

⁴⁸⁸ George Pachymeres, I, 217.11–18. The icon had last been displayed on the city walls in 1187 to ward off the siege of the city by Alexios Branas. Niketas Choniates, *Historia*, (ed. J.-L. van Dieten 381.46–382.61). On the Virgin of Hodegetria, see: Robert Lee Wolff, "Footnote to an Incident of the Latin Occupation of Constantinople: The Church and the Icon of the Hodegetria," *Traditio*, 6 (1948), 319–28.

⁴⁸⁹ Hilsdale (2014, "Age of Decline," 4).

⁴⁹⁰ Pseudo-Kodinos, (ed. Verpeaux, 228.1–3; 231.1–12). For the monastery, see: C. Angelidi and T. Papamastorakis, "The Veneration of the Virgin Hodegetria and the Hodegon Monastery" in M. Vassilaki (ed.), *Mother of God: Representations of the Virgin in Byzantine Art* (Athens, 2000), 373–87.

⁴⁹¹ Wolff (1948, "The Church and the Icon of the Hodegetria," 326). After the recovery of Constantinople, the Virgin's icon was returned to its original house; the monastery of Panagia Hodegetria by Michael VIII.

⁴⁹² Müller-Wiener (2001, "İstanbul'un Tarihsel Topografyası," 209-215).

case could be helpful. In 1136, according to the typikon of the Pantokrator monastery, the emperor John II Komnenos (1118-1143) left instructions for two icon bearers and other “servants of the holy icon” to transport the icon of the Virgin Hodegetria to the monastery for the commemoration of his and his wife’s deaths.⁴⁹³ Based on this information, we can assume that the icon was brought to the gate in a solemn procession by a group of “servants of the holy icon” while two icon-bearers would carry the icon ahead of them. A group of citizens might have also accompanied them. Considering the location of the Pantokrator monastery, the convoy would have passed through the aqueducts of Valens on their way before reaching the northwestern branch of the Mese. Then, they might head toward the Philadelphion all the while singing and chanting. (Map 6) If this were the route they had taken from the Philadelphion, the procession would continue in the southwest direction and pass the Forum of the Ox, Forum of Arcadius, and the Sigma. After a while, passing the Sigma before reaching the Golden Gate, they might have gazed upon the Stoudios monastery on their left.

Once the two convoys, the emperor and the icon met at the Golden Gate, they would have made obeisance before starting the official ceremony. To start the ceremony, according to Akropolites’ description, George Kleidas climbed the up to one of the towers of the Golden Gate while carrying the icon of the *Theotokos* Hodegetria for further honoring the Virgin and recited the prayers for all attendants to hear.⁴⁹⁴ During the ceremony, Michael took off his *kalyptra* (head-covering in pyramidal shape worn by the emperors in the twelfth century) and bent his knee or as dramatically depicted by Akropolites; “fell to the ground and all those with him who were behind him fell to their knees.” He further continued as follows:

⁴⁹³ P. Gautier, “Le typikon du Christ Sauveur Pantokrator,” *REB* 32 (1974): 81-83; trans. R. Jordan, “Pantokrator: Typikon of Emperor John II Komnenos for the Monastery of Christ Pantokrator in Constantinople,” in *BMFD* 2: 756.

⁴⁹⁴ George Akropolites §88 (trans. Macrides 2008, 384).

When the first of the prayers had been recited and the deacon made the motion to rise up, all stood up and called out the ‘Kyrie Eleison’ [Lord have mercy] 100 times. And when these were finished another prayer was pronounced by the bishop. What happened for the first prayer happened in turn for the second and so on until the completion of all the prayers.⁴⁹⁵

When this part of the ritual was concluded, the emperor would enter Constantinople through the Golden Gate on foot as the two icon-bearers carrying the *Theotokos Hodegetria* preceded him.⁴⁹⁶ The first station of the procession within the city walls was planned to be the Stoudios monastery. Thus, the procession would continue this way until reaching the monastery grounds; the icon being in the front while the emperor and his enlarged entourage solemnly following behind.

Although the details are not known, the sources recorded that the monastery complex was severely damaged by the Latins during the occupation and it became pasture land for the sheep.⁴⁹⁷ However, its significance within the religious life of the Byzantine empire was widely known, and Emperor Michael who went great lengths to emphasize his piety and Godly right to claim this city did not miss the opportunity the Stoudios offered. Proceeding on that strain, Michael upheld this long-standing Byzantine tradition overthrown by the Latins and visited this renowned shrine during his *adventus* ceremony. The symbolism behind this action was clear; he was signaling the revival for both the imperial and ecclesiastical institutions and thus portraying himself as the legitimate heir of the Byzantine Empire.

⁴⁹⁵ George Akropolites §88 (trans. Macrides 2008, 384).

⁴⁹⁶ George Pachymeres, I, 217.21–219.18; Holobolos (ed. Treu, 75.23–9).

⁴⁹⁷ Nicephori Gregorae, *Byzantina Historia*, I, 190, B. Müller-Wiener (2001, “*İstanbul’un Tarihsel Topografyası*,” 149).

The monastery was about 1km away from the Golden Gate, and the journey would take approximately half an hour. The convoy would approach the monastery from the southwest direction; therefore, they would have a clear view of the atrium. However, how much of the structure had survived is not known. According to Akropolites, when the procession arrived at the Stoudios monastery, the emperor had gone into its *katholikon*; the church of St John the Baptist. Considering the fact that the living quarters of the monastery complex was located at the south of the church, the destroyed monk cells would be clearly seen by the approaching convoy. Once they reached the church, the emperor in the company of the icon-bearers and his attendants would pass through the atrium and would be able to see the western wall of the church and the entrance of the narthex. (Figure 59). It is known that the monastery was restored later on and during the renovations, the ceiling was repaired, but it is not certain if the roof entirely collapsed.⁴⁹⁸ In the past, the emperor would have changed his attire in the narthex of the church during the ceremonies. However, there is no indication of such an incident, and the situation of the church was less than ideal to linger for long. Therefore, they might have continued directly into the church proper without pausing at the narthex. The sight that greeted the emperor at the inside would only be a ghost of its previous glory. The renowned relics of the saints and many riches the monastery possessed had been confiscated during the sack of Constantinople in 1204.⁴⁹⁹ However, considering the fact that they were able to reach our time, the *opus sectile* floor of the nave, the jasper marble columns with the Theodosian column capitals and elaborate entablatures of the basilica would be *in situ*. Although it is not known whether the church still had an altar at the time, according to Akropolites, the

⁴⁹⁸ Nicephori Gregorae, *Byzantina Historia*, I, 190, B; Ebersolt and Thiers (1913, “*Les églises*,” 5); Janin (1969, “*La Géographie Ecclésiastique*,” 432); Müller-Wiener (2001, “*İstanbul’un Tarihsel Topografyası*,” 150); Van Millingen (1912, “*Byzantine Churches in Constantinople*,” 38).

⁴⁹⁹ Ebersolt and Thiers (1913, “*Les églises*,” 5); Janin (1969, “*La Géographie Ecclésiastique*,” 432); Müller-Wiener (2001, “*İstanbul’un Tarihsel Topografyası*,” 150).

emperor placed the icon of the Theotokos Hodegetria within the church.⁵⁰⁰ It is possible to assume that the icon-bearers placed the icon for the name of the emperor presumably somewhere within the chancel barrier where the altar was previously located. (Figure 65)

Following this ritual, the emperor left the church of St John the Baptist of the Stoudios monastery and mounted his horse and then he continued the rest of the procession on horseback. Based on Akropolites' descriptions, it is known that the streets were filled with elated people who "felt great gladness of heart," celebrating and cheering for the emperor and "jumping for joy."

As in most cases, nothing substantial is known from the textual evidence about the rest of the procession. Through the centuries, the sources only occasionally remarked on the monuments that the emperor passed between the Golden Gate and the Great Palace during the *adventus* ceremonies. Among the recorded entrance ceremonies, the only one provided the most detail regarding the triumphal stations was the Emperor Basil I's (867-886) triumphal entry to Constantinople in 879.⁵⁰¹ Considering the fact that the two processions had the same starting point and terminus, the outline of Michael's journey on the Mese based on the information gathered from this ceremony can be estimated.⁵⁰² According to the *De Ceremoniis*, Basil and his entourage stopped for ten receptions between the Golden Gate and the Great Palace. Although the Stoudios monastery was not one of the stations in Basil I's entrance ceremony, it can be inferred that two ceremonies followed the same pattern apart from this exception.

⁵⁰⁰ George Akropolites §88 (trans. Macrides 2008, 384).

⁵⁰¹ McCormick (1986, "Eternal Victory," 212).

⁵⁰² For detailed description of the ceremonial entrance of the emperor Basil I in 879, see: *De Ceremoniis*, Appendix to Book I. R499-504.

Their second station within the city walls would be about 1.5km down the lower the Mese at a monument known as the Sigma just outside the Old Golden Gate. This was probably a semi-circular portico marked by a column crowned with the statue of Theodosius II on the route from the Golden Gate to the Xerolophos and the Forum of Arcadius.⁵⁰³ Passing the Sigma, the convoy could have gazed at the monastery of Theotokos Peribleptos briefly on their left. This monastery was built in the eleventh century by the Emperor Romanos III Argyros (1028-1034), and the monastic complex had a large refectory and living quarters for the monks as well as gardens and vineyards. It was controlled by the Venetian Benedictines during the Latin occupation.⁵⁰⁴ Therefore, it can be deemed that the monastery was not in ruins even though it was later restored by the emperor Michael VIII.⁵⁰⁵

After the reception at the Sigma, the convoy would have turned left and continued to march about another half kilometer to the Exakionion which was the monument marking the site of the main gate of the old Constantinian city walls.⁵⁰⁶ Considering the structure was still intact at the beginning of the sixteenth century, during the emperor Michael VIII's time, it must have been in good condition.⁵⁰⁷

Once the convoy entered the Constantinian city, they would continue about 650 m to reach to the Forum of Arcadius on the hill called Xerolophos, the square that was surrounded by porticoes and distinguished by the colossal column of

⁵⁰³ On the Sigma, see: Janin (1964, "*Constantinople Byzantine*," 424-25). Approximate measurement made based on the fact that the Sigma was above the monastery of Theotokos Peribleptos (modern *Sulu manastır*).

⁵⁰⁴ For the monastery, see: Müller-Wiener (2001, "*İstanbul'un Tarihsel Topografyası*," 200-201).

⁵⁰⁵ Talbot (1993, "*The Restoration of Constantinople Under Michael VIII*," 254).

⁵⁰⁶ Janin (1964, "*Constantinople Byzantine*," 351-52); Dagron (1974, "*Naissance D'une Capitale*," 100). The measurement made based on the fact that the Exakionion was near the Isakağı Mescidi. For the Exakionion, see Patria, Book I, 63.

⁵⁰⁷ Müller-Wiener (2001, "*İstanbul'un Tarihsel Topografyası*," 118).

Arcadius.⁵⁰⁸ The column had been severely damaged during the earthquake in 740; however, the surviving column shaft was intact and measured to be 11m high 6m long.⁵⁰⁹ They may have stopped at the first arch or in the middle of the Forum. Once the acclamations here were completed, the convoy would again get underway, without further delay until they reached Forum of Bovis (Forum of the Ox).⁵¹⁰ However, the condition of the Forum at the time is still unknown. Within a short distance, the next station was the Philadelphion at the intersection between the north and westbound branches of the Mese. Before the thirteen century during the ceremonies, the convoy would have come across the two pairs of embracing emperors known as decorating elements of the columns supporting a porch in the Philadelphion complex. However, the sculpture was among the edifices stolen during the sack of Constantinople in 1204 and taken to Venice.⁵¹¹ Half a kilometer away from there, the procession would move to the Forum Tauri, its triumphal column and the Arch of Theodosius.⁵¹² Shortly after the fall of Constantinople in 1204, the emperor Alexios V Ducas Murtzuphlus (1204) had been publicly trialed and thrown from the top of the Column of Theodosius.⁵¹³ After this incident, the bronze equestrian statue of Theodosius I on top of the pedestal was destroyed and

⁵⁰⁸ Janin (1964, “*Constantinople Byzantine*,” 71-2, 439-40); Guiland (1969, “*Études De Topographie*,” 59-62); Müller-Wiener (2001, “*İstanbul’un Tarihsel Topografyası*,” 250-3).

⁵⁰⁹ Theophanes, *Chronographia*, 412 Boor.

⁵¹⁰ Janin (1964, “*Constantinople Byzantine*,” 69-71); Müller-Wiener (2001, “*İstanbul’un Tarihsel Topografyası*,” 253-54).

⁵¹¹ Müller-Wiener (2001, “*İstanbul’un Tarihsel Topografyası*,” 266-267); Bauer (2002, “*Urban Space and Ritual*,” 31).

⁵¹² Janin (1964, “*Constantinople Byzantine*,” 64-68, 81-82); Guiland (1969, “*Études De Topographie*,” 56-9); Müller-Wiener (2001, “*İstanbul’un Tarihsel Topografyası*,” 258-65).

⁵¹³ Nik. *Chron.* 804 B; Müller-Wiener (2001, “*İstanbul’un Tarihsel Topografyası*,” 262).

melted down by the Latins.⁵¹⁴ The remainder of reliefs on the monumental column was later destroyed by the superstitious citizens of the city.⁵¹⁵ Thus, the emperor Michael VIII' entourage must have seen only the ruins of this once glorious structure. After a time, the convoy would continue and pass the Artopolia or Baker' Quarter known for its porticoes, its column with a cross and the arch that was located here.⁵¹⁶

Finally, the procession would arrive at the large, circular, the Forum of Constantine which was dominated by the colossal column of Constantine the Great.⁵¹⁷ However, during the reign of Alexius I Comnenus, the statue of Constantine was beaten to the ground by a violent wind in 1106 and caused casualties.⁵¹⁸ It seems that it originally had had a Corinthian capital, but this was damaged when the statue fell. It was subsequently repaired by Manuel I Comnenus (1143–1180) and topped with a cross. The fire in August 1203 had also totally razed the Forum, leaving only the Column and during the sack of Constantinople, the bronze statue of Hera was stolen.⁵¹⁹

According to the *De Ceremoniis*, the emperor Basil I dismounted at the Forum and went to the Church of the Most Holy Theotokos to meet the patriarch

⁵¹⁴ Nik. *Chron.* 848f. B; Müller-Wiener (2001, “*İstanbul’un Tarihsel Topografyası*,” 262).

⁵¹⁵ Müller-Wiener (2001, “*İstanbul’un Tarihsel Topografyası*,” 263).

⁵¹⁶ Janin (1964, “*Constantinople Byzantine*,” 315).

⁵¹⁷ Janin (1964, “*Constantinople Byzantine*,” 62-64); Müller-Wiener (2001, “*İstanbul’un Tarihsel Topografyası*,” 255-257).

⁵¹⁸ Mich. Glykas 617, 694 B.

⁵¹⁹ Nik. *Chron.* 856 B. For details regarding the fire damage, see: Madden (1991/92, “*A Damage Assessment*,” 81).

and his retinue.⁵²⁰ However, contrary to the other stations, it is not possible to deem that the emperor Michael entered this church and prayed. Probably, Michael's entourage continued toward the Milion. According to records, the Augusteion, Hagia Sophia and the patriarchal palace were spared from the fire of 1203.⁵²¹ However, during the sack of Constantinople, the bronze coverings of the Column of Justinian were stolen.⁵²²

At this point, the emperor, together with the patriarch went into the Great Church. As the sources do not provide any details regarding the ceremony within Hagia Sophia, the information from Basil I can be relied on once again. However, it is known that Hagia Sophia was used by the Latins during the occupation, and in order to fit the Latin rite, the liturgical furnishings of the church were rearranged.⁵²³ After the recovery of Constantinople, Pachymeres remarked on the changes that were needed by Michael VIII in Hagia Sophia. His comments suggested that the Latins rearranged the bema, ambo, and solea of the church in order to build a choir screen projecting into the nave to enlarge the space for the clergy and to accommodate the choir.⁵²⁴ Therefore, it is not possible to have assumptions about the ceremony within the church based on the previous examples.

From Akropolites, all that can be known is that when the procession reached to Hagia Sophia, Michael paid his reverence to Christ at the church dedicated to his name as he considered the city was granted to him by the grace of

⁵²⁰ *De Ceremoniis*, Appendix to Book I. R502.

⁵²¹ Nicetas 587; Madden (1991/92, "A Damage Assessment," 82).

⁵²² Nicephori Gregorae, *Byzantina Historia*, I, 125f, B.

⁵²³ Talbot (1993, "The Restoration of Constantinople Under Michael VIII," 247).

⁵²⁴ Swift (1935, "The Latins at Hagia Sophia,")

God and Christ.⁵²⁵ Michael Palaeologus was crowned here as the basileus and became Michael VIII, thus ended the Latin rule and restored the Byzantine Empire. The next month, the official coronation ceremony took place in the great church of Hagia Sophia. Shortly after, on the Christmas Day of 1261, Emperor Michael ordered the young John Laskaris to be blinded and imprisoned. Then, by the removal of the threatening opponent, Michael Palaiologos became the sole emperor of the Byzantine Empire.⁵²⁶ Michael VIII Palaeologus reinvented himself as the “New Constantine” due to the recovery of Constantinople; the city of Constantine.⁵²⁷ Further advertisement of the Byzantine restoration of Constantinople was the appearance of city walls on Michael VIII’s coinage that struck after 1261, marking the re-conquest of the Queen of Cities as the defining feature of Michael’s reign.⁵²⁸ (Figure 73)

This was the last known triumphal entry into the Constantinople.⁵²⁹ The *adventus* ceremony of Michael VIII Palaeologus followed the ceremonial traditions, and in the outline, it followed the traditions of triumphal selectively drawn on ceremonial terms inherited from his predecessors. Overall, it was ritually choreographed to emphasize the divine nature of the Byzantine restoration of the

⁵²⁵ George Akropolites §88 (trans. Macrides 2008, 384).

⁵²⁶ Bartusis (1992, “*The Late Byzantine Army*,” 42); Geanakoplos (1959, “*Emperor Michael*,” 119-122, 145).

⁵²⁷ See the Genoese source, *Annali Genovesi di Caffaro e de’ suoi continuatori* (= *Annales lanuenses*), ed. C. Imperiale and L. Belgrano (Genoa-Rome, 1890-1929), IV, 45: “from that time, he called the general is doing on this side of the same. . . the new Constantine.” Tafel, G. and G. Thomas. *Urkunden zur älteren Handels- und Staatsgeschichte der Republik Venedig*, pts. 2 and 3 (Vienna, 1856-1857), in *Fontes rerum austriacarum, II, Diplomataria et acta*, XIII-XIV: III, 134. Michael seems to have used this title in documents for home consumption and when addressing the Genoese and Venetians, but apparently not in letters to the papacy.

⁵²⁸ Hilsdale (2014, “*Age of Decline*,” 169-170).

⁵²⁹ George Pachymeres, I, 217. Berger (2001, 84).

imperial city.⁵³⁰ However, it was distinctive from other *adventus* ceremonies welcoming a victorious emperor to home. As Cecily Hilsdale interpreted, “It featured potent symbols of divine grace as part of the triumphal repertoire of imperial ceremonial, but it also struck a new tone of thanksgiving.”⁵³¹ It was an expected behavior. After all, Michael was not returning to the imperial capital after a long journey or a military expedition at the fringes of an expansive empire; instead, the emperor was celebrating the recovery of the heart of a fragmented empire. The recovery of Constantinople meant much more than a reclaiming of a city; it was a momentous victory since it represented the restoration of the Byzantine Empire. The ceremony was carefully staged and well executed, carrying a humble and reverential undertone while signifying and promising a certain revival. The staggered progression of the ceremony that was supplemented with ritual gestures of humble reverence led by the emperor gave spiritual precedence over the imperial. Stoudios monastery, despite its ruinous condition, was an important note within this carefully choreographed show.

⁵³⁰ Hilsdale (2014, “*Age of Decline*,” 28-29).

⁵³¹ *Ibid.*, p.27.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

Basilica had served as the standard type of parochial, episcopal, and even monastic churches during the early Christian period until well into the sixth century and the form was employed in the East and the West alike. Although they showed regional variations concerning proportions, the number of aisles, and presence of certain parts (such as narthex, vestibule, atrium, transept, galleries, pastophoria), most of the Early Byzantine basilicas were so repetitive in their main principles that Cyril Mango commented that when seen in quantity, they produce an impression of monotony, of a ready-made uniformity with the exception of their interior decoration.⁵³²

The same impression seems to be the case of the Stoudios monastery. While its decoration outshined its simple form, on the overall, the architectural features of the Stoudios basilica were in sync with its peers and thus, it shared common ground with almost all the early Christian basilicas scattered all around the Byzantine empire from the center to the periphery.⁵³³ However, the church was distinguished from its peers by its position in the politico-religious life of the city.

As discussed in the third chapter of this study, until the eight-century, the monastery complex had a relatively quiet life; however, the situation changed

⁵³² Mango (1978, 40). For the basilica's rise as an ecclesiastical structure, see Krautheimer (1967, "The Constantinian Basilica," 115-140). Even the sixth century churches with the exception of their domes had common point with the basilicas.

⁵³³ Mango (1978, "Byzantine Architecture," 39); Krautheimer (1965, "Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture," 78); Müller-Wiener (2001, "İstanbul'un Tarihsel Topografyası," 149).

dramatically in the period following the iconoclastic controversies. Under the direction of Theodore the Studite, the monastery gained such wide fame and a whole new political identity that the monastery and its monks were able to stand against the imperial oppression without compromising their position. From this point on, the monastery became an authority in religious debates and was known for its independence. The successors of Theodore the Studite continued on the same path, and the power they gained later was also recognized in the imperial circles. As a result of its growing power, in the tenth century, the monastery came into possession of the precious relic that it was built to house five centuries ago; the head of St John the Baptist. The arrival of the holy relics was the physical demonstration of the growing influence of the monastery. The possession of the relic ignited a long-standing tradition and established the complex as a terminus within the ceremonial landscape of the city.

At this point, I believe, to understand the position of the Stoudios monastery within the urban fabric of the city, one must first comprehend the true extent of the reflection of the urban ceremonies upon the built environment and memory of the citizens. To shed light upon the ideology behind the ceremonies and rituals of the Byzantine Empire, the following quote from the *Book of Ceremonies* of Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos can be of use:

Perhaps this undertaking seemed superfluous to others who do not have as great a concern for what is necessary, but it is particularly dear to us and highly desirable and more relevant than anything else because through praiseworthy ceremonial the imperial rule appears more beautiful and acquires more nobility and so is a cause of wonder to both foreigners and our own people.⁵³⁴

These were the opening lines of the preface of *Book of Ceremonies*. It is the source that gave us the knowledge and provided us with an insight into the ceremonies

⁵³⁴ *De Ceremoniis*, Preface to Book I. R3. Translation retrieved from: Constantine Porphyrogenetos, *The Book of Ceremonies*, trans. Ann Moffatt and Maxeme Tall (2 vols.), Byzantina Australiensia, Canberra, 2012: 3-4.

and rituals of the Byzantine Empire and thus allowed us to understand the influence of these ephemeral events in the minds of the Constantinopolitans. From this passage, we understand that the place of urban ceremonies within the lives of the citizens was so extensive that even in the tenth century, it was beyond the grasp of “others.”

Based on the works of scholars who studied the ceremonial landscape of Constantinople, including Andreas Alföldi, Sabine MacCormack, Michael McCormick, John Baldovin, Albrecht Berger, Cyril Mango, and Franz Bauer, it is clear that certain places in the city had a special meaning in the mind of the occupants and rituals played a pivotal role in the production and reproduction of meanings attributed to those specific places. Mass events and demonstrations confirmed the special significance of these particular squares and routes through the city, a significance that often derived from processions and ceremonies in the past. By nature, urban processions were ephemeral occasions; however, they were able to leave an everlasting imprint on the memories of the Byzantine society. Although they were kept alive through coinage, art, and architectural elements within the city, essentially it was the collective quality of the experience of rituals that made them memorable.⁵³⁵ As argued by the nineteenth-century sociologist Maurice Halbwachs, individuals are tended to remember what is important to the collective they belong, and in return, their cultural, social, and monumental memory forms their identity.⁵³⁶ In short; the memory of individuals was affected by the social framework of the group. That being said, it should be noted that the urban processions were able to reach much broader circles than any other court or church ceremony by including the city itself into the ritual. By effectually touching the lives of all citizens from the emperor to the ordinary people, these ceremonies

⁵³⁵ Elsner (1998, “*Imperial Rome and Christian Triumph*”). For the place of coins in imperial policy, see Bellinger (1956, “*The Coins and Byzantine Imperial Policy*,” 70-81).

⁵³⁶ Halbwachs (1992, “*On Collective Memory*,” 49, 53, 167-189).

created a unity through diversity, thus formed a collective. As explained by Goethe in 1786:

When something worth seeing is taking place on level ground, and everybody crowds forward to look, those in the rear find various ways of raising themselves to see over the heads of those in front: some stands on benches, some role up barrels, some bring carts on which they lay planks crosswise, some occupy a neighboring hill.

To satisfy this universal need is the architect's task. By his art he creates as plain a crater as possible and the public itself supplies its decoration. Crowded together, its members are astonished at themselves. They are accustomed at other times to seeing each other running hither and thither in confusion, bustling about without order or discipline. Now this many-headed, many-minded, fickle, blundering monster suddenly sees itself united as one noble assembly, welded into one mass, a single body animated by a single spirit.⁵³⁷

Given its extraordinary prominence in the Byzantine society, it is not surprising that the ceremonial life reflected upon the structures of the city, thus giving sites predominance over the others. Only the most prominent buildings played a leading role during the urban ceremonies, and in return, these ceremonies further elevated the status of these buildings in the eyes of Constantinopolitans.⁵³⁸

The two ceremonies that reconstructed in the scope of this thesis in Chapter 4 supported my argument that the monastery had a symbolic power went beyond its physical existence gained from the ceremonial life of the city.

The first reconstructed ceremony is the annual visit of the emperors to the monastery from the tenth century onward on the liturgical commemoration day of

⁵³⁷ Goethe, Johann W, and Matthew Bell. *The Essential Goethe*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016: pp. 772.

⁵³⁸ For the full list of churches visited by processions, see Janin (1966, "*Les processions religieuses*," 68-89); Baldovin (1982, "*The Urban Character of Christian Worship*," 398-399); Berger, (2001, "*Imperial and Ecclesiastical Processions*," 73-87).

the Beheading of St John the Baptist on 29 August. This ceremony was one of the seventeen occasions the emperor attended in person throughout the year in Constantinople. As discussed in detail in Chapter 4, the annual visit continuously reminded the citizens of the privileges the monastery had by keeping their memories alive on the subject.

The second event that was reconstructed, namely, the entrance ceremony of Michael VIII in 1261 after the recovery of Constantinople explicitly demonstrated the endurance of the symbolic power of Stoudios. On this occasion, the entire process of the ceremony was carefully designed, and the role of the monastery within this pattern had not gone unnoticed. Emperor Michael's entrance to the city was aimed to legitimize his reign while promising a revival for the Byzantine empire. Thus, the emperor chose to revive a longstanding custom and used the traditional route of the *adventus* ceremonies; starting from the Golden Gate of Theodosian Walls and ending at the Great Palace. The Stoudios monastery had always been a part of the entrance ceremonies which followed this route. It is known that the monastery complex was severely damaged during the sack of Constantinople, and in the following period, it became desolate. The renowned relics of the holy saints were no longer housed here, and its exceptional riches and decorations were stripped off. However, the emperor Michael VIII, regardless of its physical condition, chose to make the monastery the starting point of his ceremonial route knowing that the physical condition of the structure was of little consequence in comparison to the religious connotations it possessed. The complex was renovated shortly after as a part of the reconstruction process of the "New Constantine" and his successors. The structure was surrounded by walls for its protection. Thus, the monastery was accepted as an indispensable part of the urban fabric of the city.

In conclusion, this thesis aimed to establish a broader framework by approaching the Stoudios monastery as an urban nodal in the ritualistic landscape of the city. Thus, the study emphasized the reciprocal relationship between the memory and the monument through the concept of the ceremony by considering

the monument and its role in shaping experiences and memories of urban processions. In his book; *The Architecture of the City*, Aldo Rossi handles cities as continual construction processes on a larger scale. His study shows that while certain traces are transformed according to the changing context, some of them remain unchanged and stay in use as the oldest witnesses of the passing time during the continual growth of a city. These traces can be seen physically in the architectural elements of the city and, in this way, the architecture of the city emerges as a visible connection between the past and the present day. In the case of the Stoudios monastery, the structure was protected and kept active due to its place within the urban memory. Its symbolic use and its place in the memories of the Constantinopolitans kept the building standing throughout the centuries much more than its walls and columns were able to.

The structure managed to survive within the ever-changing urban fabric of the city and reached to our time. In 2012 the museum status of the monument was silently taken away to open the door to a possible restoration project. Since 2015, the entrance to the building is highly restricted, and the permission is impossible to obtain even after a complicating bureaucratic process due to these attempts. Although the General Directorate of Waqf is planning to restore the monument as a mosque and open it for the service of the Muslim population of the city, the fate of the structure remains dubious for the moment. This kind of intervention can possibly destroy the authenticity of the building and erase all the traces of the past it houses. However, after over five hundred years of the fall of the Byzantine Empire, the building is still protected due to its place in the historiography of Istanbul. The situation of the monument set off an alarm in scholarly circles. Influential scholars from both domestic and abroad filed petitions for the preservation of the structure and expressed their concern that the monument will be a new addition to the lost antiquities of Istanbul.⁵³⁹ Although the final decision

⁵³⁹ Based on a personal conversation with Elizabeth and Michael Jeffreys during the 21st International Graduate Conference organized by the Oxford University Byzantine Society on “Contested Heritage: Adaptation, Restoration & Innovation in the Late Antique & Byzantine World” on February 2019.

on the matter has not been made, the church of St John the Baptist of the Stoudios monastery or the Imrahor monument with its contemporary name deserves the utmost attention for its preservation. While a proper and detailed excavation needs to be made on the site, there is a grave necessity for its conservation. Hopefully, its place within the symbolic fabric of the historic peninsula will be enough to preserve the monument for years to come.

REFERENCES

Primary Sources

Chronicon Paschale: ed. Ludwig Dindorf, *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae*, (Bonn: Weber, 1832). Partial English trans. *Chronicon Paschale 284-628 AD*, translated with notes and introduction by Michael Whitby and Mary Whitby, (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, c 1989), *Translated texts for historians* 7.

De Ceremoniis: Moffatt, A, and M Tall. "Constantine Porphyrogenetos the Book of Ceremonies." *Byzantina Australiensia*. 18.1, (2012).

George Akropolites: Macrides, Ruth J. *George Akropolites: The History: Introduction, Translation, and Commentary*. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2008.

Patria: Berger, Albrecht. *Accounts of Medieval Constantinople: the Patria*, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2013.

Procopius, *Buildings*: Procopius, Glanville Downey, and H B. Dewing. *Procopius*. Cambridge (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1971).

Pseudo-Kodinos: Macrides, Ruth., J.A. Munitiz and D. Angelov, *Pseudo-Kodinos and the Constantinopolitan Court: offices and ceremonies*. Farnham: Ashgate, 2013.

Scylitzes: Scylitzes, Joannes, and John Wortley. *A Synopsis of Bizantine History, 811-1057*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.

Socrates and Sozomen: Schaff, Philip, Henry Wace, *Socrates, and Sozomenus. A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church: Vol. 2*. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1979.

Suidas: Suda On Line: Byzantine Lexicography, <http://www.stoa.org/sol/>

The Chronicle of John Malalas: Malalas, John, Elizabeth Jeffreys, Michael Jeffreys, Roger Scott, and Brian Croke. *The Chronicle of John Malalas*. Melbourne: Australian Association for Byzantine Studies, 1986.

Themistius, *Orations*: Heather, Peter and David Moncur, *Politics, Philosophy, and Empire in the Fourth Century: Select orations of Themistius*, Liverpool University Press, Liverpool, 2001.

Theodosian Code: Pharr, Clyde. *The Theodosian Code and Novels, and the Sirmondian Constitutions: Translation with Commentary, Glossary, and Bibl.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton U.P, 1952.

Theophanes, *Chrographia*: Theophanes, Cyril Mango, Roger Scott, and Geoffrey Greatrex. *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor: Byzantine and Near Eastern History, A.d. 284-813*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997.

Theophanes Continuatus: Theophanes, Michael Featherstone, Codoñer J. Signes, and Carl G. Boor. *Chronographiae Quae Theophanis Continuati Nomine Fertur Libri I-IV, Corpus fontium historiae byzantinae*, vol. 53., Boston: Walter De Gruyter, 2015.

Typikon: The Book of the Typikon, (trans.) Bishop Demetri M. Khoury, Archpriest John W. Morris (eds.), Miami, 2011.

Zosimus: Zosimus, and Ronald T. Ridley. *New History*. Sydney: Australian Association for Byzantine Studies, 2006.

Modern Sources

Alföldi, Andreas. "On the Foundation of Constantinople: A Few Notes." *Journal of Roman Studies*. Vol. 37, 1947, pp. 10-16.

_____. *Die Monarchische Repräsentation Im Römischen Kaiserreiche*. Darmstadt, 1970.

Altuğ, Kerim, and İlknur Aktuğ. *İstanbul'da Bizans Dönemi Sarnıçlarının Mimari Özellikleri Ve Kentin Tarihsel Topografyasındaki Dağılımı*. Ph. D. diss., Istanbul Teknik Üniversitesi, 2013.

Armstrong, Gregory T. "Constantine's Churches." *Gesta / International Center of Medieval Art*. (1967), pp. 1-9.

Ashebir, Wossen W.-K. *Urban Rituals: A Study of Religious and Secular Rituals as an Informer of the Built Environment*, M.S. diss., University of the Witwatersrand, 1999.

Baldovin, John F., *The Urban Character of Christian Worship in Jerusalem, Rome and Constantinople from the Fourth to the Tenth centuries: The Origins, Development and the Meaning of Stational Liturgy*, Unpublished Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1982.

_____. "The City as Church, the Church as City." *Liturgy*. 3.4 (1983), pp. 68-73.

_____. "Saints in the Byzantine Tradition." *Liturgy*. 5.2 (1985). pp. 70-75.

_____. "Worship in Urban Life: The Example of Medieval Constantinople," in P. S. Hawkins (eds.). *Civitas: Religious Interpretations of the City*, Scholars Press, Atlanta, 1986. pp. 57-67.

_____. *Urban Character of Christian Worship: The Origins, Development, and Meaning of Stational Liturgy*, Rome, 1987.

_____. *City, Church, and Renewal*, Washington, DC: Pastoral Press, 1991.

Bardill, Jonathan, "The Palace of Lausus and Nearby Monuments in Constantinople: A Topographical Study." In *American Journal of*

Archaeology, Vol. 101, No. 1, Archaeological Institute of America, 1997, pp. 67-95.

_____. "The Golden Gate in Constantinople: A Triumphal Arch of Theodosius I." *American Journal of Archaeology* 103, no 4, (1999), pp. 671-696.

_____. *Brickstamps of Constantinople*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.

_____. *Constantine, Divine Emperor of the Christian Golden Age*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2011.

Barnes, Timothy D. "The victories of Constantine." *Zeitschrift fur Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 20 (1976), pp. 149-55.

_____. *Constantine and Eusebius*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981.

Barsanti, Claudia. "The Marble Floor of St. John Studius in Constantinople: A Neglected Masterpiece." In M. Sahin. (eds), *XI. Uluslararası Antik Mozaik Sempozyumu, 16-20 Ekim 2009 Bursa, Türkiye: Türkiye Mozaikleri Ve Antik Donemden Ortacag Dunyasina Diger Mozaiklerle Paralel Gelisimi: Mozaiklerin Baslangicindan Gec Bizans Cagina Kadar Ikonografi Stil Ve Teknik Uzerine Sorular*. Istanbul: Ege Yayinlari, 2011, pp. 87-99.

Bartusis, Mark C. *The Late Byzantine Army: Arms and Society, 1204-1453*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1992.

Bassett, Sarah. *The Urban Image of Late Antique Constantinople*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.

_____. "Constantinople, History, and Monuments." In Roger S. Bagnall, Kai Brodersen, Craige B. Champion, Andrew Erskine, and Sabine R. Huebner (eds.). *The Encyclopedia of Ancient History*, Blackwell Publishing, 2013, pp. 1734–1740.

- Bauer, Franz A. "Urban Space and Ritual: Constantinople in Late Antiquity." *Acta Ad Archaeologiam Et Artium Historiam Pertinentia / Institutum Romanum Norvegiae, Universitas Osloensis*. (2002), pp. 27-61.
- Baynes, Norman H. *The Supernatural Defenders of Constantinople*. Bruxelles: Société des Bollandistes, 1949.
- Baynes, Norman H, and H S. L. B. Moss. *Byzantium: An Introduction to East Roman Civilization*. London: Oxford University Press, 1961.
- Beard, Mary. *The Roman Triumph*. Harvard University Press, 2007.
- Bellinger, Alfred R. "The Coins and Byzantine Imperial Policy." *Speculum / Mediaeval Academy of America*. (1956), pp. 70-81.
- Berger, Albrecht. "Streets and Public Spaces in Constantinople." *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, Vol. 54, Dumbarton Oaks, Trustees for Harvard University, (2000), pp. 161 – 172.
- _____. "Imperial and Ecclesiastical Processions in Constantinople," In N. Necipoglu (eds.). *Byzantine Constantinople: Monuments, Topography, and Everyday Life*, Leiden, 2001, pp. 73-87.
- _____. "The Byzantine Court as a Physical Space," In Ayla Ödekan (eds.). *The Byzantine Court: Source of Power and Culture. Papers from The Second International Sevgi Gönül Byzantine Studies Symposium*, İstanbul: Koç University Press, 2013.
- Brown, Peter. *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981.
- Brubaker, Leslie. "Processions and Public Spaces in Early and Middle Byzantine Constantinople." In A. Ödekan, N. Necipoğlu, and E. Akyürek (eds.). *The Byzantine Court: Source of Power and Culture; Papers from the Second International Sevgi Gönül Byzantine Studies*

Symposium, Istanbul 21-23 June 2010, Istanbul: Koç University Press, 2013, pp. 123-127.

Brubaker, Leslie. *Byzantium in the Ninth Century: Dead or Alive?: Papers from the Thirtieth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Birmingham, March 1996*. Aldershot, Hampshire, Great Britain: Ashgate, 1998.

Burckhardt, Jacob. *The Age of Constantine the Great*, Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd, London, 1949.

Büktel, Yılmaz. *The roof problem of Studios Basilica*, Ph. D. diss., Istanbul University, 1995.

Cameron, Alan. *Circus Factions, Blues and Greens at Rome and Byzantium*. Oxford, 1976.

Cameron, Averil. "Late Antiquity -- The Total View." In *Past and Present* 88 (Aug. 1980), Oxford University Press, pp. 129-135.

_____. *The Mediterranean World in Late Antiquity AD 395-600*, London and New York, 2000.

_____. *The Byzantines*. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009.

Cameron, Averil, and Judith Herrin. *Constantinople in the Early Eighth Century: The Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai*. Leiden: Brill, 1984.

Cameron, Averil, David Cannadine, and S R. F. Price. *The Construction of Court Ritual: The Byzantine Book of Ceremonies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.

Cameron, Averil, Stuart Hall, and Eusebius. *Eusebius, Life of Constantine*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999.

Cholij, R., *Theodore the Stoudite: The Ordering of Holiness*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.

Ciggaar, Krijnie N. *Western Travellers to Constantinople: The West and Byzantium, 962-1204: Cultural and Political Relations*. Leiden: Brill, 1996.

Connor, Carolyn Loessel. *Saints, and Spectacle: Byzantine Mosaics in Their Cultural Setting*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2016.

Croke, Brian. "Justinian's Constantinople." In Michael Maas (eds.). *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Justinian*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005, pp. 60-86.

_____. "Reinventing Constantinople: Theodosius I's imprint on the imperial city." In Scott McGill, Cristiana Sogno, and Edward Watts (eds.). *From the Tetrarchs to the Theodosians Later Roman History and Culture, 284-450 CE*, Cambridge University Press, 2010, pp. 241-264.

Ćurčić, Slobodan, Euangelia Chatzētryphōnos, Kathleen E. McVey, and Hélène Saradi. *Architecture as Icon: Perception and Representation of Architecture in Byzantine Art*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Art Museum, 2010.

Dagron, Gilbert. *La Vie Ancienne De Saint Marcel L'acémète*. Bruxelles: Société des Bollandistes, 1968, pp. 271-86.

_____. *Les Moines Et La Ville: Le Monachisme À Constantinople Jusqu'au Concile De Chalcedoine (451)*. Paris: Editions de Boccard, 1970, pp. 229-76.

_____. *Naissance D'une Capitale: Constantinople Et Ses Institutions De 330 a 451*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1974.

_____. *Constantinople Imaginaire: Études Sur Le Recueil Des 'patria'*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1984.

- _____. *Emperor and Priest: The Imperial Office in Byzantium*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.
- Davies, John. *The Origin and Development of Early Christian Church Architecture*, London, 1952.
- Dey, Hendrik W. *The Afterlife of the Roman City: Architecture and Ceremony in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015.
- Downey, Glanville. "Justinian as a Builder." *Art Bulletin* / Ed. John Shapley [u.a.]. (1950), pp. 262-266.
- _____. "The Builder of the Original Church of the Apostles at Constantinople." *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* / Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies. (1951), pp. 53-80.
- _____. "The Tombs of the Byzantine Emperors at the Church of the Holy Apostles at Constantinople," *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 79 (1959), pp. 27-51.
- _____. *Constantinople in the Age of Justinian*, Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1960.
- Ebersolt, Jean. and A. Thiers, *Les églises de Constantinople*. Paris, 1913, pp. 3-18.
- Ebersolt, Jean. *Monuments D'architecture Byzantine*. Paris: Éditions d'Art et d'Histoire, 1934.
- _____. *Les anciens sanctuaires de Constantinople*. Paris, 1951.
- _____. *Sanctuaires de Byzance*. Paris, 1951.
- Efthymiádis, Stéfanos. *The Ashgate Research Companion to Byzantine Hagiography, Volume I: Periods and Places*. Farnham: Ashgate, 2011.

- Elsner, Jaś. *Imperial Rome and Christian Triumph: The Art of the Roman Empire Ad 100-450*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998.
- Erkal, Namık. *Constantinopolis: A study of the city of Constantinople as the artifice of Constantine the Great's Imperial Project*, M.A. diss., Middle East Technical University, 1995.
- Evans, James A. *The Emperor Justinian, and the Byzantine Empire*. Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press, 2005.
- Evans, H.C., and W.D. Wixom, *The Glory of Byzantium: Art and Culture of the Middle Byzantine Era, A.D. 843-1261*, New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2006.
- Eyice, Semavi. "Les Basiliques Byzantines D'İstanbul." *Corsi di Cultura sull'Arte Ravennate e Bizantina* 26, 1976, pp. 91-113.
- Eyice, Semavi. "İmrahor Camii", *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* (DİA), IV: 1994. pp. 166-168.
- _____. "İmrahor İlyas Bey Camii." *Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* (DİA), XXII: 2000, pp. 228-229.
- Frazer, Charles. "Saint Theodore of Studios and Ninth Century Monasticism in Constantinople." *Studia monastica* 23.1 (1981), pp. 27-58.
- Foss, Clive. "Life in City and Country" In *The Oxford History of Byzantium*, Cyril Mango (eds.). Oxford, 2002, pp. 71-95.
- Freely, John. *Istanbul: The Imperial City*. London: Penguin Books, 1998.
- Freely, John. and A.S. Çakmak, *Byzantine Monuments of Istanbul*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.

- Freely, John, A S. Cakmak, and F G. Tanman. *İstanbul'un Bizans Anıtları*. İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2005.
- Fredriksen, Paula. "Christians in the Roman Empire in the First Three Centuries CE." In D. S. Potter (eds.). *A Companion to the Roman Empire; 587-606*. Blackwell Publishing Ltd, Malden, MA, USA, 2006.
- Freshfield, Edwin H. "On Byzantine Churches, and the Modifications made in their Arrangements owing to the Necessities of the Greek Ritual." *Archaeologia* 44, 1873, pp. 383-392.
- Gardner, Alice. *Theodore of Studium: His Life and Times*. London: E. Arnold, 1905.
- Geanakoplos, Deno J. *Emperor Michael Palaeologus and the West, 1258-1282*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959.
- González de Clavijo, Ruy. *Embassy to Tamerlane: 1403-1406*. Taylor & Francis e-Library, 2006.
- Gourlay, Charles. "Minor Churches of Constantinople." *JRIBA* 14, 18, 1907, pp. 637-49.
- Grabar, André. "Sculptures Byzantines De Constantinople: 2." *Cahiers archéologiques, Bibliothèque* 12, Picard, 1976.
- Gregory, Timothy. *A History of Byzantium*, Malden, MA, Oxford, West Sussex: Wiley-Blackwell 2010.
- Grierson, Philip. "The Tombs and Obits of the Byzantine Emperors (337-1042)." *Dumbarton Oak Papers* 16 (1962), pp. 3-63.
- Grig, Lucy. and Gavin Kelly, *Two Romes: Rome and Constantinople in Late Antiquity*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012.

- Grosvenor, Edwin A. *Constantinople*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1900.
- Guidobaldi G., Barsanti, C., and Pedone, S., *St. Sophia Museum Project 2007: The Marble Sculptures of St. John Studios, Imrahor Camii*, 2009.
- Guilland, Rodolphe. *Études De Topographie De Constantinople Byzantine: 2 vols.*, Berlin, 1969.
- Günözü, H., "Plaster Analyses on Exterior Walls of the Imrahor Ilyas Bey Mosque (Studios Monastery Church)." In *Art-Sanat* 2, 2014, pp. 275-289.
- Hamilton, John A. *Byzantine Architecture, and Decoration*, Freeport, N.Y., Books for Libraries Press, 1972.
- Halbwachs, Maurice, and Lewis A. Coser. *On Collective Memory*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992.
- Haldon, John F. "The Idea of the Town in the Byzantine Empire." In G. P. Brogiolo and B. Ward Perkins (eds.) *The Idea and Ideal of the Town between Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, Leiden, Boston and Köln, 1999, pp. 1-23.
- _____. *Byzantium in the Seventh Century: The Transformation of a Culture*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2003.
- Harris, Jonathan. *Constantinople: Capital of Byzantium*. London: Hambledon Continuum, 2007.
- Hatlie, Peter. "The Politics of Salvation: Theodore of Stoudios on Martyrdom (martyrion) and Speaking Out (parrhesia)." *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*. 50 (1997), pp. 263-288.
- _____. *The Monks and Monasteries of Constantinople 350-850*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2007.

- Hennessy, Cecily. "Topography of Constantinople." In Elizabeth Jeffreys, John Haldon, Robert Cormack (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Byzantine Studies*, Oxford University Press, 2009, pp. 202-216.
- Henry, Patrick. *Theodore of Studios: Byzantine Churchman*, Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1968.
- Hilsdale, Cecily J. *Byzantine Art and Diplomacy in an Age of Decline*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014.
- Hurtado, Larry W. *At the Origins of Christian Worship: The Context and Character of Earliest Christian Devotion*. Grand Rapids, Mich: W.B. Eerdmans Pub. Co, 2000.
- Jacoby, David. "La Population de Constantinople À L'Époque Byzantine: Un Problème de Démographie Urbaine." *Byzantion*, vol. 31, no. 1, 1961, pp. 81–109.
- Janin, Raymond. *Constantinople Byzantine: Développement Urbain Et Répertoire Topographique*. Paris: Institut français d'études byzantines, 1964.
- Janin, Raymond. "Les processions religieuses à Byzance." *Revue des études byzantines*. 24.1. (1966), pp. 69-88.
- _____. *La Géographie Ecclésiastique De L'empire Byzantin*. Paris: Institut Français d'Etudes Byzantines, 1969.
- _____. *Les Églises Et Les Monastères [de La Ville De Constantinople]*. Paris, 1969.
- Jeffreys, E., Haldon, J. and Cormack, R., *The Oxford Handbook of Byzantine Studies*, Oxford 2008.
- Johnson, Mark J. "On the Burial Places of the Theodosian Dynasty," *Byzantion* 61 (1991), pp. 330-339.

- Kazhdan, A. P., Alice-Mary Maffry Talbot, Anthony Cutler, Timothy E. Gregory, and Nancy Patterson Ševčenko, *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1991.
- Khitrowo, B. *Itinéraires Russes En Orient*. Genève: Imprimerie Jules-Guillaume Fick, 1889.
- Kislinger, Ewald, Dirk Krausmüller, and Olga Grinchenko. "The Tenth-Century Stoudios-Typikon and Its Impact on Eleventh and Twelfth-Century Byzantine Monasticism." *Jahrbuch Der Österreichischen Byzantinistik*. 63 (2015), pp. 153-176.
- Köse, Fatih. "İmrahor İlyas Bey Camii Ve Osmanlı Döneminde Geçirdiği Tamirler." *Restorasyon Yıllığı Dergisi*, no. 4 (2012), pp. 31-39.
- Krausmüller, Dirk. "Abbots, and Monks in Eleventh-Century Stoudios: An Analysis of Rituals of Installation and Their Depictions in Illuminated Manuscripts." In: *Revue des études byzantines*, tome 64-65, 2006-2007, pp. 255-282.
- Krautheimer, Richard. *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, London: Penguin Books, 1965.
- _____. "The Constantinian Basilica," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, Vol. 21, 1967, pp. 115-140.
- _____. *Studies in Early Christian, Medieval, and Renaissance Art*, New York University Press, New York, 1969.
- _____. *Three Christian Capitals. Rome, Constantinople, Milan. Topography and Politics*, Berkeley, 1983.
- Kuban, Doğan, *Istanbul. Bir Kent Tarihi. Bizantion, Konstantinopolis, Istanbul*, Istanbul 2004.

_____. *Istanbul: An Urban History: Byzantion, Constantinopolis*, Istanbul. Istanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2010.

Kudde, Esra, and Zeynep Ahunbay, "Conservation of the Opus Sectile Floor of the İmrahor İlyas Bay Mosque-Studios Basilica in Istanbul, Document and Analysis" *Restorasyon Konservasyon Çalışmaları Dergisi*, no. 17, (2014), pp. 36-62.

Kudde, Esra. *Conservation proposals for the Ioannes prodromos church of the Stoudios monastery (İmrahor İlyas Bey Mosque – İmrahor Monument)*, Ph. D. diss., Istanbul Technical University, 2015.

Latham, Jacob A. "Battling Bishops, The Roman Aristocracy, and the Contestation of Civic Space in Late Antique Rome." In Jordan D. Rosenblum (eds.). *Religious Competition in the Third Century CE: Jews, Christians, and the Greco-Roman World*, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2014.

Lauxtermann, M.D. "John Geometres - Poet and Soldier." *Byzantion*. 68 (1998), pp. 356-380.

Lemerle, Paul. *Byzantine Humanism: The First Phase: Notes and Remarks on Education and Culture in Byzantium from Its Origins to the 10th Century*. Canberra: Australian Association for Byzantine Studies, 1986.

Liebeschuetz, J. H. W. G., "The end of the ancient city." In John Rich (eds.). *The City in Late Antiquity*, London, and New York, 1992, pp. 1-49.

_____. *Decline, and Fall of the Roman City*, Oxford and New York, 2001.

Maas, Michael. *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Justinian*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

MacCormack, Sabine. "Change and Continuity in Late Antiquity: The Ceremony of Adventus." *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte* 21: 4 (1972), pp. 721-752.

_____. *Art and Ceremony in Late Antiquity*. University of California Press, 1981.

MacDonald, William L. *The Architecture of the Roman Empire: Vol. 2*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988.

MacMullen, Ramsay. *Christianity and Paganism in the 4th to 8th Centuries*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997.

_____. *Constantine*. Routledge, London, 2015.

Macrides, Ruth. "Ceremonies and the City: The Court in Fourteenth-Century Constantinople." In J. Duindam, T. Artan, M. Kunt (eds.). *Royal Courts in Dynastic States and Empires: A Global Perspective*, Brill, 2011, 217-235.

Madden, Thomas F. "The Fires of the Fourth Crusade in Constantinople, 1203-1204: A Damage Assessment." *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*. 84/85, B.G. Teubner Stuttgart Und Leipzig, 1991/1992: 72-93.

Magdalino, Paul. *Studies on the History and Topography of Byzantine Constantinople*, Aldershot (Gran Bretaña): Ashgate, 2007.

_____. "Court and Capital in Byzantium." In J. Duindam, T. Artan, M. Kunt (eds.). *Royal Courts in Dynastic States and Empires: A Global Perspective*, Brill, 2011, 131-144.

_____. Byzantium = Constantinople, In L. James. (eds.). *A Companion to Byzantium*. Malden, Mass: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013, pp. 43-54.

Maguire Henry and Robert Ousterhout, "Introduction: Constantinople: The Fabric of the City." *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, Vol. 54, Dumbarton Oaks, Trustees for Harvard University, 2000, pp. 157-159.

Maguire, Henry, *Nectar, and Illusion: Nature in Byzantine Art and Literature*. Oxford University Press, 2012.

Majeska, George P. *Russian Travelers to Constantinople in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*. Washington, DC, 1984.

_____. "Russian Pilgrims in Constantinople." *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*. 56 (2002), pp. 93-108.

Mango, Cyril. *Byzantine Architecture*, New York, 1978.

_____. "The Date of the Studius Basilica at Istanbul." *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*. 4. 1978, pp. 115-122.

_____. *Byzantium. Empire of New Rome*, London, 1980.

_____. *Le Développement Urbain De Constantinople: IV. - VII. Siècles*. Paris: Boccard, 1985.

_____. "The Development of Constantinople as an Urban Centre." In *The Seventeenth International Byzantine Congress, Main Papers*. New Rochelle, N.Y., 1986, pp. 117-136.

_____. *Studies on Constantinople*, Aldershot 1993.

_____. *The Art of the Byzantine Empire 312-1453: Sources and Documents*, Toronto, Buffalo, and London, 2000.

_____. "Triumphal Way of Constantinople and the Golden Gate," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, Vol. 54, 2000, pp. 173-188.

_____. (eds.). *The Oxford History of Byzantium*, Oxford 2002.

_____. "New Religion, Old Culture." In Cyril Mango (eds.). *The Oxford History of Byzantium*, Oxford 2002.

- Mango, Cyril. and Ihor Ševčenko. "A New Manuscript of the De Cerimoniis." *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*. 30.14 (1960), pp. 247-249.
- Mango, Cyril. and Ihor Ševčenko. "Some Churches and Monasteries on the Southern Shore of the Sea of Marmara." *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, Vol. 27, 1973, pp. 235-277.
- Mango, Cyril, and Gilbert Dagron. *Constantinople and Its Hinterland*. Variorum: Cambridge University Press, 1995.
- Marinis, Vasileios. *Architecture and Ritual in the Churches of Constantinople: Ninth to Fifteenth Centuries*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014.
- Matthews, John. *Western Aristocracies and Imperial Court, A.D. 364-425*. Oxford, 1975.
- _____. "The Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae," In Lucy Grig and Gavin Kelly, (eds.). *Two Romes: Rome and Constantinople in Late Antiquity*, Oxford, and New York: Oxford University Press, 2012, pp. 81-115.
- Mathews, Thomas F., *The Early Churches of Constantinople: Architecture and Liturgy*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, London, 1971.
- _____. "Religious Organization and Church Architecture," In H.C. Evans, W.D. Wixom (eds.). *The Glory of Byzantium: Art and Culture of the Middle Byzantine Era, A.D. 843-1261*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2006, pp. 20-36.
- McCormick, Michael. *Eternal Victory: Triumphal Rulership in Late Antiquity Byzantium and Early Medieval West*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986.
- Megaw, Arthur H. S. "Notes on Recent Work of the Byzantine Institute in Istanbul." *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 17. (1963), pp. 333-372.

Millar, Fergus. *The Emperor in the Roman World: (31 BC-AD 337)*. London: Duckworth, 2001.

Miller, David. *Imperial Constantinople*. New York, Wiley, 1969.

Miller, Timothy. "Theodore Studites: Testament of Theodore the Studite for the Monastery of St. John Stoudios in Constantinople." In J. Thomas – A. Constantinides-Hero (eds.). *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents: A Complete Translation of the Surviving Founders' Typika and Testaments*, Washington, 2000, pp. 67-83.

_____. "Stoudios: Rule of the Monastery of St. John Stoudios in Constantinople." In J. Thomas – A. Constantinides-Hero (eds.). *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents: A Complete Translation of the Surviving Founders' Typika and Testaments*, Washington, 2000, pp. 84-119.

Mouriki, Doula. "The Portraits of Theodore Studites in Byzantine Art." *JOB* 30 (1971), pp. 249-280.

Mundell Mango, Marlia. "The Commercial Map of Constantinople." *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, Vol. 54, Dumbarton Oaks, Trustees for Harvard University, 2000, pp. 189-207.

Mundell Mango, Marlia. "The Porticoed Street at Constantinople." In Nevra Necipoğlu (eds.) *Byzantine Constantinople: Monuments, Topography, and Everyday Life*. (2001), pp. 29-51.

_____. "Monasticism." In Cyril Mango (eds.). *The Oxford History of Byzantium*. Oxford, 2002, pp. 209-213.

Müller-Wiener, Wolfgang. *Bizans'tan Osmanlı'ya İstanbul Limanları*. İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1998.

_____. *İstanbul'un Tarihsel Topografyası, 17. Yüzyıl başlarına kadar Byzantion-Constantinopolis-İstanbul*, İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları 2001.

_____. *İstanbul Limanı*. İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2003.

Necipoglu, Nevra. *Byzantine Constantinople: Monuments, Topography, and Everyday Life*. Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers, 2001.

Nesbitt, Claire, and Mark Jackson. *Experiencing Byzantium: Papers from the 44th Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies*, Newcastle and Durham, April 2011. London: Taylor and Francis, 2016.

Ostrogorsky, Georgye. *History of the Byzantine State*, Rutgers University Press, 1986.

Ousterhout, Robert. "Reconstructing ninth-century Constantinople." In Leslie Brubaker (eds.) *Byzantium in the Ninth Century: Dead or Alive?: Papers from the Thirtieth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Birmingham, March 1996*. Aldershot, Hampshire, Great Britain: Ashgate, 1998, pp. 115-130.

_____. "Secular Architecture," In H.C. Evans, W.D. Wixom (eds.). *The Glory of Byzantium: Art and Culture of the Middle Byzantine Era, A.D. 843-1261*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2006, pp. 192-200.

Ousterhout, Robert. and B.D. Wescoat, *Architecture of the Sacred: Space, Ritual, and Experience from Classical Greece to Byzantium*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012.

Panchenko, B., "Ha. Ioannes Studios," *Izvestija Russkogo Arheologičeskogo Instituta* 14 (1909): 136-52; 15 (1911): 250-257; 16 (1912): 1-359.

Papayianni, Aphrodite. "Memory and Ideology: The Image of the Crusades in Byzantine Historiography, Eleventh-Thirteenth Century," In Adrian Boas (eds.). *The Crusader World*, Routledge, 2016, pp. 278-288.

Pekak, M. Sacit. "The Studios Monastery in Istanbul, H. Ioannes Prodromos Church I." *Sanat Tarihi Dergisi* 10, 2016, pp. 101-121.

- Peschlow, Urs. "Die Johanneskirche des Studios in Istanbul." *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 32 (1982), pp. 429-434.
- Phillips, Jonathan. *The Fourth Crusade and the Sack of Constantinople*. New York: Penguin Books, 2005.
- Rapp, Claudia. *Holy Bishops in Late Antiquity: The Nature of Christian Leadership in an Age of Transition*. Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 2013.
- Rich, John. *The City in Late Antiquity*. London: Taylor & Francis e-Library, 2002.
- Rossi, Aldo, and Diane Ghirardo. *The Architecture of the City*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1984.
- Salzenberg, Wilhelm. *Altchristliche Baudenkmale von Constantinopel vom V. bis XII. Jahrhundert*. Berlin, 1854.
- Saradi-Mendelovici, Helen. *Christian Attitudes Toward Pagan Monuments in Late Antiquity and Their Legacy in Later Byzantine Centuries*, in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 44, 1990. pp. 47-61.
- Saradi, Helen. "Constantinople and Its Saints (IVth-VIth cent.). The Image of the City and Social Considerations." *Studi Medievali* 36 (1995), pp. 87-110.
- _____. *The Byzantine City in the Sixth Century: Literary Images and Historical Reality*. Athens: Society of Messenian Archaeological Studies, 2006.
- Ševčenko, Ihor. "Was There Totalitarianism in Byzantium? Constantinople's Control Over Its Asiatic Hinterland in the Early Ninth Century." *Publications- Society for the Promotion of Byzantine Studies*. (1995), pp. 91-108.

- Ševčenko, Nancy. "The Walters "imperial" Menologion." *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*. 51 (1993), pp. 43-64.
- Schibille, Nadine. *Hagia Sophia and the Byzantine Aesthetic Experience*, Farnham: Ashgate, 2014.
- Schneider, Alfons M. *Byzanz. Vorarbeiten Zur Topographie Und Archäologie der Stadt*. Berlin: Archäolog. Inst. d. Dt. Reiches, Abt. Istanbul, 1936.
- _____. "Yedikule und Umgebung." *Oriens*, Vol. 5, No. 2, 1952, pp. 197-208.
- Sumner-Boyd, Hilary. and John Freely. *Strolling Through Istanbul: A Classic Guide to the City*. London: Tauris Parke Paperbacks, 2010.
- Stambolov, Alexey. "Monks and State: St Theodore the Studite and his Relations to the State and Church Authorities in Byzantium.", *PHRONEMA*, vol. 30 (1), 2015, pp. 137- 165.
- Stephenson, Paul. *The Byzantine World*, London: Routledge, 2010.
- Swift, Emerson H. "The Latins at Hagia Sophia." *American Journal of Archaeology*. 39.4 (1935), pp. 458-474.
- Taft, Robert. *The Diptychs*. Roma: Pontificium Institutum studiorum orientalium, 1991.
- _____. *The Byzantine Rite: A Short History*. Collegeville Minnesota: Liturgical Press, 1992.
- Talbot, Alice-Mary. "The Restoration of Constantinople Under Michael VIII." *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*. 47 (1993), pp. 243-261.
- Tsamakda, Vasiliki. *A Companion to Byzantine Illustrated Manuscripts*. Leiden: Brill, 2017.

Treadgold, Warren T. *A History of the Byzantine State and Society*. Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 1997.

Üçer Karababa, Idil. “Roma Dönemi Tören Alaylarının Kent Dokusuna Etkileri: Roma ve İstanbul'daki Zafer Alayları. (Influence of Roman Ceremonial Processions On the Urban Layout: Triumphal Processions in Rome and Constantinople).” *Olba*, 14, 2006, pp. 127-148.

Üre, Pınar. *Byzantine Heritage, Archaeology, and Politics between Russia and the Ottoman Empire: Russian Archaeological Institute in Constantinople (1894-1914)*. Ph.D. diss., London School of Economics and Political Science, University of London, 2014.

Van Millingen, Alexander. *Byzantine Constantinople, the Walls of the City and Adjoining Historical Sites*, London: J. Murray, 1899.

_____. *Byzantine Churches in Constantinople: Their History and Architecture*, London: Macmillan and Co, 1912.

Van Millingen, Alexander. and A. Gürçağlar. *Konstantinopolis İstanbul, Constantinople*, İstanbul: Alkım, 2003. (first published in 1906)

Van Millingen, Alexander. and Warwick Goble. *Constantinople. Painted by Warwick Goble. Described by A. Van Millingen*. London: Adam & Charles Black, 1906.

Walker, Williston. *A History of the Christian Church*. New York: C. Scribner, 1921.

Walter, Christopher. “Pictures of the clergy in the Theodore Psalter.” *Revue des études byzantines*, tome 31, 1973, pp. 229-242.

_____. “Latter-day Saints in the Model for the London and Barberini Psalters.” *Revue des études byzantines*, tome 46, 1988, pp. 211-228.

- Ward Perkins, Bryan. "Urban Continuity?" In N. Christie and S. T. Loseby (eds.). *Towns in Transition. Urban Evolution in the Late Antique and the Early Middle Ages*, Aldershot 1996, pp. 4-17.
- _____. "Old and New Rome Compared: The Rise of Constantinople." L. Grig and G. Kelly (eds.) *Two Romes: Rome and Constantinople in Late Antiquity*, Oxford University Press, 2012, pp. 53-78.
- Weitzmann, Kurt. *Age of Spirituality: Late Antique and Early Christian Art, Third to Seventh Century: Catalogue of the Exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, November 19, 1977, Through February 12, 1978*. New York: The Metropolitan Museum, 1979.
- Westerfield, Tucker K. B, and Geoffrey Wainwright. *The Oxford History of Christian Worship*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2006.
- White, Andrew W. *Performing Orthodox Ritual in Byzantium*, Cambridge, United Kingdom, Cambridge University Press, 2015.
- Wilkinson, John. *Jerusalem Pilgrims: Before the Crusades*. Warminster, 1974.
- Wolff, Robert L. *Studies in the Latin Empire of Constantinople*. London: Variorum Reprints, 1976.
- Wortley, John. "Relics of "The Friends of Jesus" at Constantinople." J. Durand and B. Flusin (eds.). *Byzance et les reliques du Christ*, Paris, 2004, pp. 143-57.
- Yavuz, Mehmet F. *Byzantion: Byzas'tan Constantinus'a Antik İstanbul: Antik Edebi Kaynaklar*. İstanbul Araştırmaları Enstitüsü, 2014.
- Yoncacı Arslan, Pelin. *Christianizing the Skyline: The Appropriation of the Pagan Honorary Column in Early Constantinople*. Ph.D. diss., University of California, 2015.

_____. "Towards a New Honorific Column: The Column of Constantine in Early Byzantine Urban Landscape." *METU JFA*, 2016, 33:1, pp. 121-145.

Zacharova, Anna V. "The Miniatures of the Imperial Menologia." *Néa Rhóme*. 7, (2011).

Zivkovic, Milos. "Contributions to the Study of the Images of Hierarchs in the Catholicon of Studenica Monastery." *Zbornik Radova Vizantoloskog Instituta*. (2014), pp. 215-248.

APPENDICES

A. MAPS



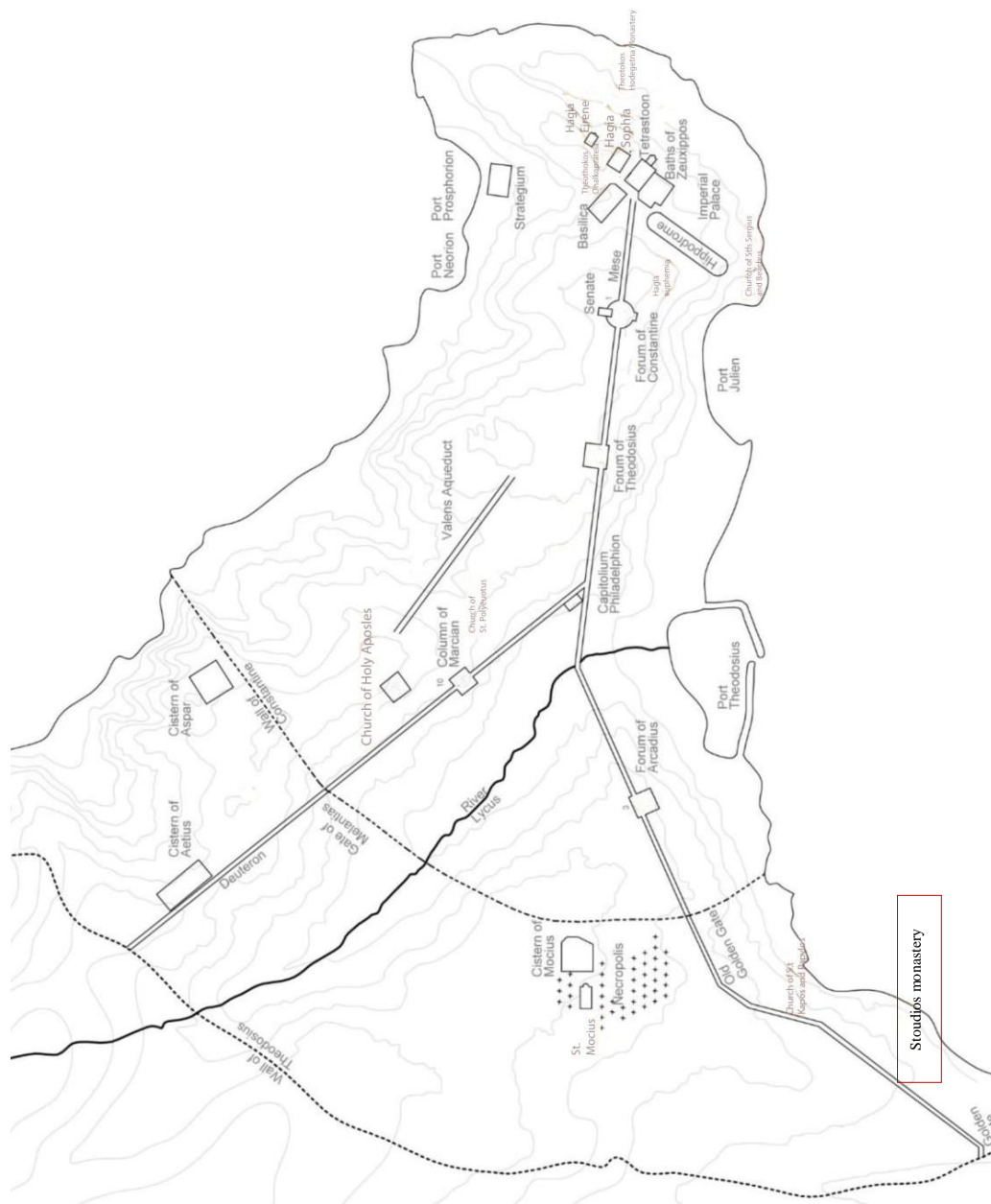
Map 1: The City of Constantine the Great

(Based on maps from Bardill, *Constantine*, 254, figure 171; Mango, *Le développement*, Plan 1; Berger, *Untersuchungen*, 197; Map 2 in from Byzantium to Istanbul: 8000 years of a Capital, 52-53.)



Map 2: The City of Theodosian Dynasty

(Based on maps from Bardill, Constantine, 254, figure 171; Mango, Le développement, Plan 1; Berger, Untersuchungen, 197; Crow, The Water Supply, fig.2.2.)



Map 3: The City of Justinian the Great

(Based on Bardill, Constantine, 254, figure 171; Mango, *Le développement*, Plan 1; Berger, *Untersuchungen*, 197; Crow, *The Water Supply*, fig.2.2; Muller-Wiener, *Bildlexicon*, Map 2; Jordan Ruwe, *Das Säulenmonument*, 195)



Map 4: The Mese in the 6th Century Along with the Street Layout Proposed by Berger

(Based on Bardill, *Constantine*, 254, figure 171; Berger, *Untersuchungen*, 197; Crow, *The Water Supply*, fig.2.2; Berger, "Regionen und Strassen im fruhen Konstantinopel," 353, fig.1)



Map 5: Processional Route to the Studios Monastery for the Feast of St John the Baptist

The green line represents the path that the dignitaries used during the annual visit of the emperor. The blue line represents the path of the emperors. The red dots represent the stations of the procession.

(Based on Bardill, *Constantine*, 254, figure 171; Berger, *Untersuchungen*, 197; Crow, *The Water Supply*, fig.2.2; Berger, "Regionen und Strassen im fruhen Konstantinopel," 353, fig.1)



Map 6: Processional Route to the Stoudios Monastery During the Entrance of the Emperor Michael VIII in 1261

The blue line represents the path that the emperor Michael VIII used during the *adventus* ceremony in 1261. The green line represents the path of the icon bearers. The red dots represent the stations of the procession.

(Based on Bardill, Constantine, 254, figure 171; Berger, *Untersuchungen*, 197; Crow, *The Water Supply*, fig.2.2; Berger, "Regionen und Strassen im fruhen Konstantinopel," 353, fig.1)

B. FIGURES



Figure 1: Map of Istanbul in 1521
(Source: *Kitab-ı Bahriye*/Book of Navigation by Piri Reis, Ottoman, 1465-1553)



Figure 2: The Stoudios Monastery,
After Its Conversion into *Imrahor* Ilyas Bey Mosque, Detail
(Source: *Kitab-ı Bahriye*/Book of Navigation by Piri Reis, Ottoman, 1465-1553)



Figure 3: The Watercolor Depicts *Imrahor* Mosque (the Stoudios Monastery), 19th Century (Creator: Antonios Manarakis)



Figure 4: View of the Remains of the Stoudios Monastery, Showing the Narthex Wall from the Atrium (Creator: Auguste de Choiseul-Gouffier, 1822)



Figure 5: The Watercolor Depicts the Stoudios Monastery, Showing the Narthex Entrance (Creator: Charles Felix Marie Texier, 1830)

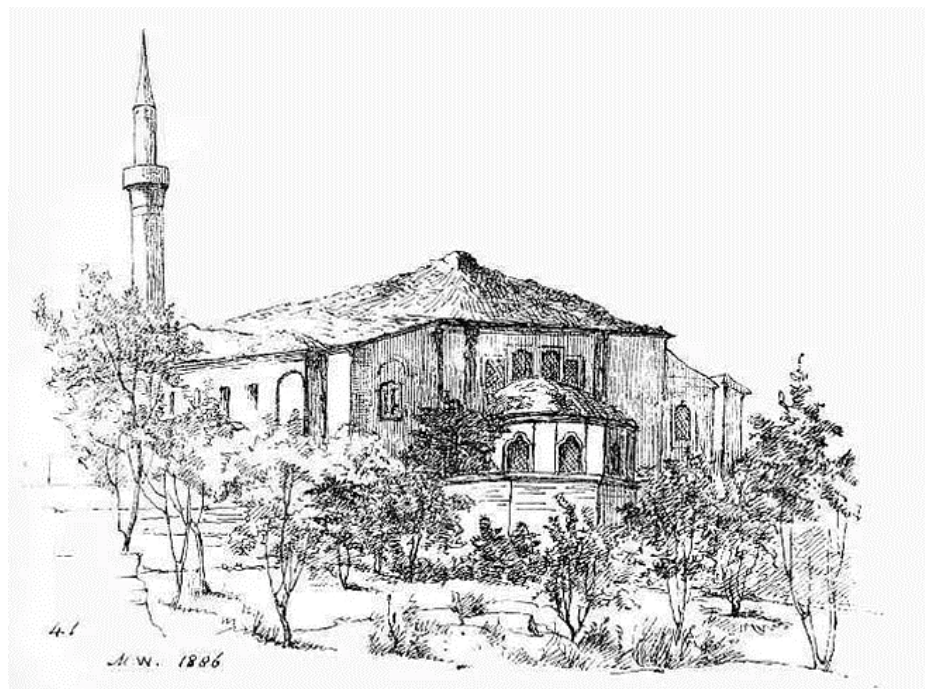


Figure 6: Drawing of the *Imrahor* Mosque (the Stoudios Monastery), 19th Century (Creator: Mary A. Walker, 1886)



Figure 7: The View of the Apse from the Nave, After the Roof Collapsed, 1920
(Source: Köse, 2012, 37)



Figure 8: The Stoudios Monastery
Aerial Photo of the Church Toward the Apse
(Credit: © Esra Kudde, 2014)

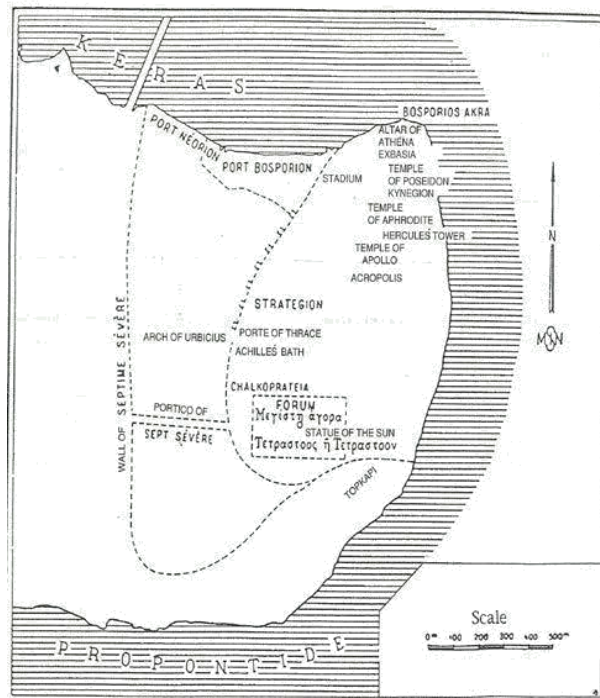


Figure 9: Severan City of Byzantium
(Source: Çakmak and Freely, 2005, 8)



Figure 10: The Portrait of the Four Tetrarchs, Venice, San Marco
(Credit: © German Archaeological Institute, Rome)

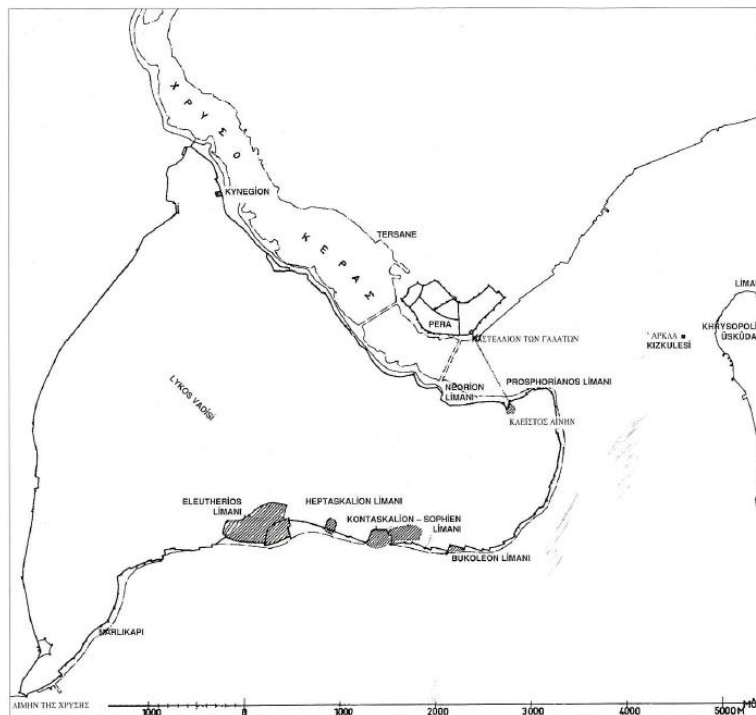


Figure 11: Ports of Constantinople
(Source: Müller-Wiener, 1977, 60)

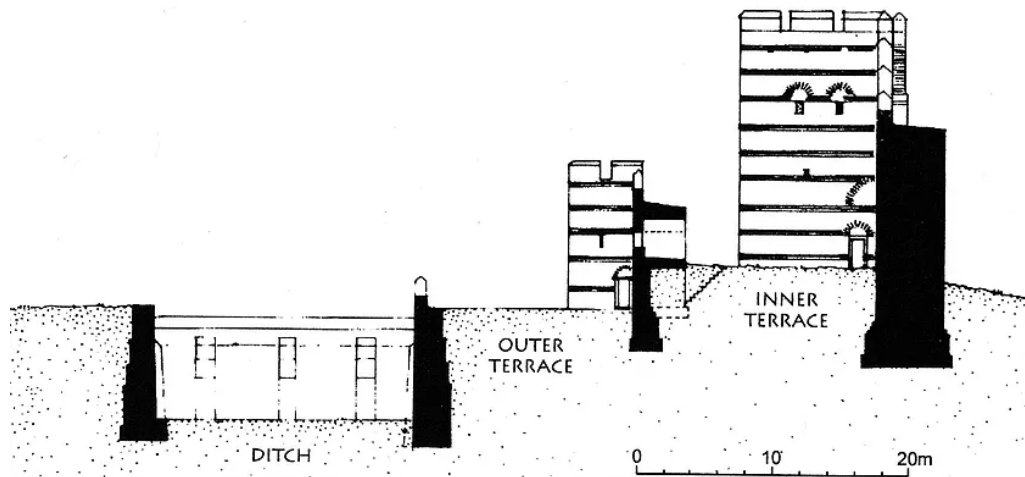


Figure 12: Cross-section Through the Theodosian Land Walls
 (Source: Richard Bayliss after Müller-Wiener 1977)

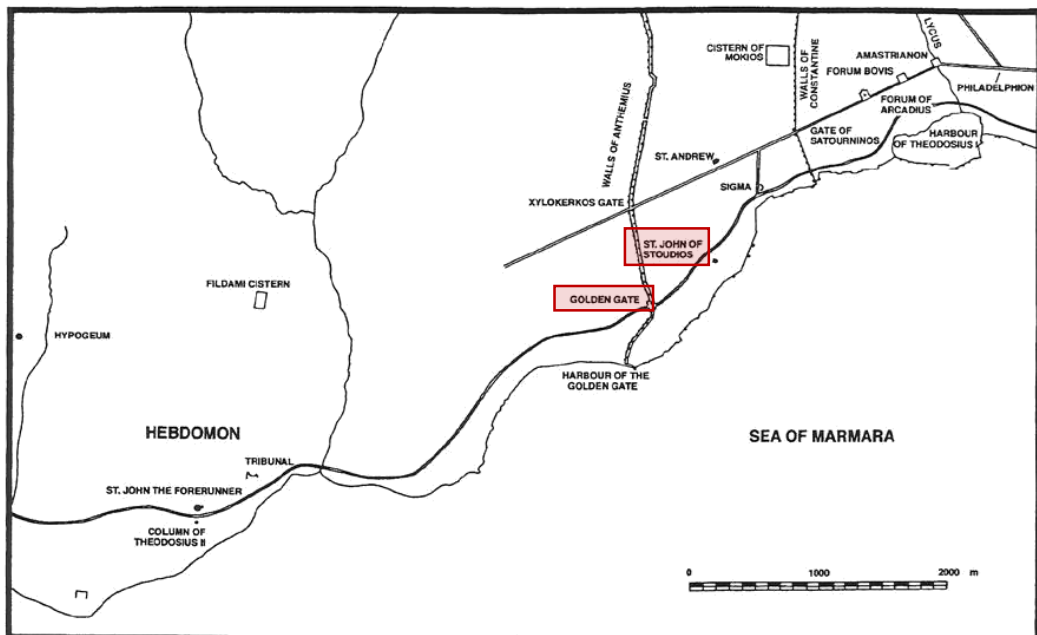


Figure 13: Plan Showing the Location of the Golden Gate in Constantinople
 (Source: Bardill, 1999, 693)

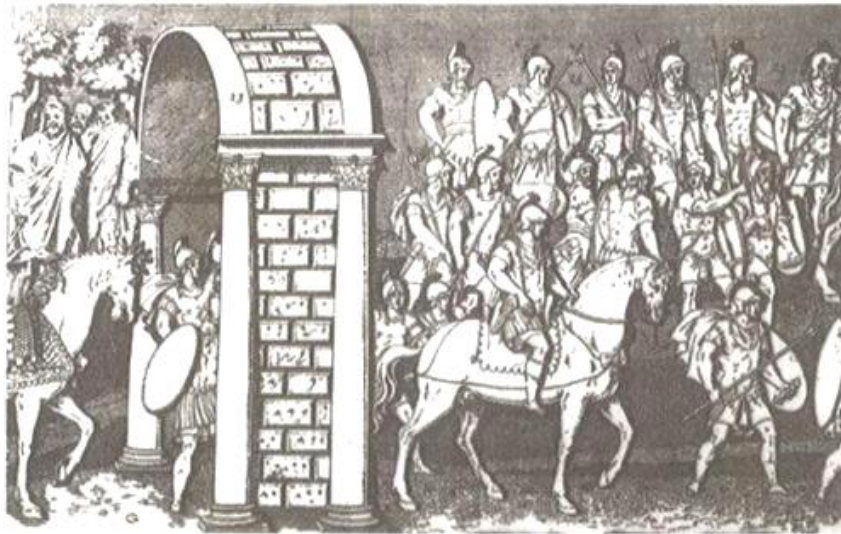


Figure 14: Triumph of Theodosius I (379–95),
Shown Passing Through the Golden Gate; from the *Anonymous* of Anselmo
Banduri of Ragusa, compiler of the *Imperium Orientale*.
(Source: Freely, 1998, 55)



Figure 15: Justinian Triumphant
(the “Barberini Ivory”), c. 532.
(Source: Croke, 2005, 104)

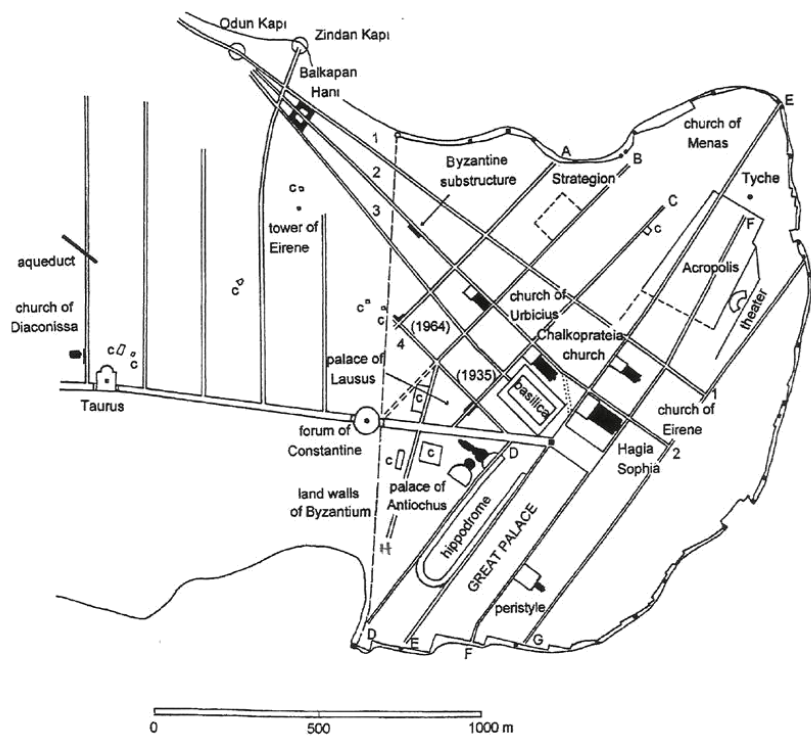


Figure 16: Street Map of Constantinople
(Source: Berger, 2000, 171)

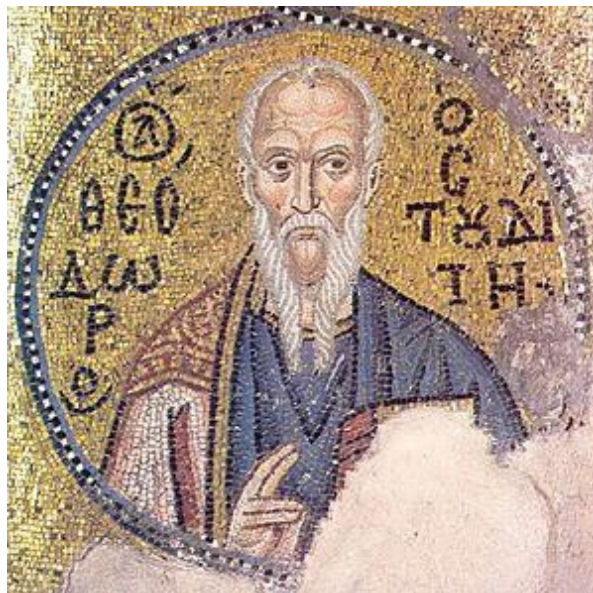


Figure 17: Theodore the Studite, Detail 11th-Century Mosaic
(Source: Nea Moni monastery in Chios)



Figure 18: Map of Constantinople in 1422
 (Source: 'Liber Insularum Archipelagi' by Buondelmonti, Cristoforo, 1385-1430)



Figure 19: Detail, the Studios Monastery by Buondelmonti
 (Source: 'Liber Insularum Archipelagi' by Buondelmonti, Cristoforo, 1385-1430)

The DELINEATION of CONSTANTINOPLE as it stood in the Year 1422 before it fell under the Dominion of the Turks
From Du Fresne Lib. 1. p. 1.

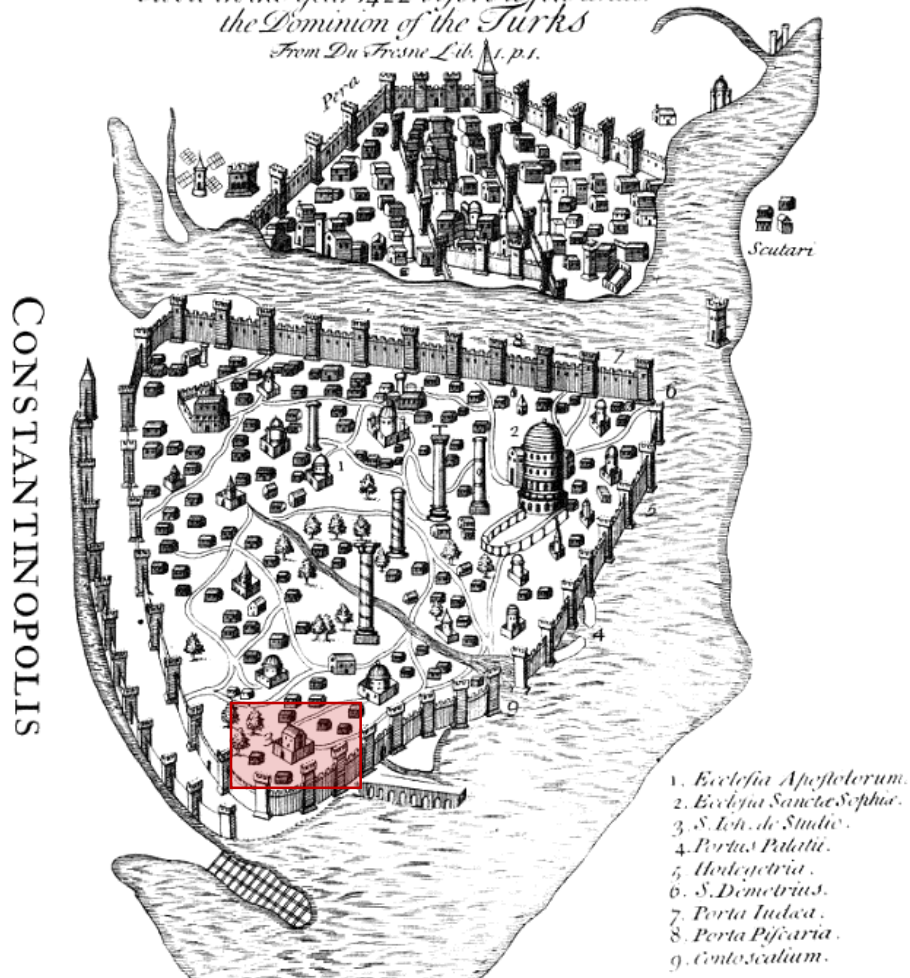


Figure 20: The Delineation of Constantinople as it Stood in the year 1422
 (Source: Du Fresne Lib. 1. P. 1.)



Figure 21: Detail, the Studios Monastery
 (Source: Du Fresne Lib. 1. P. 1.)

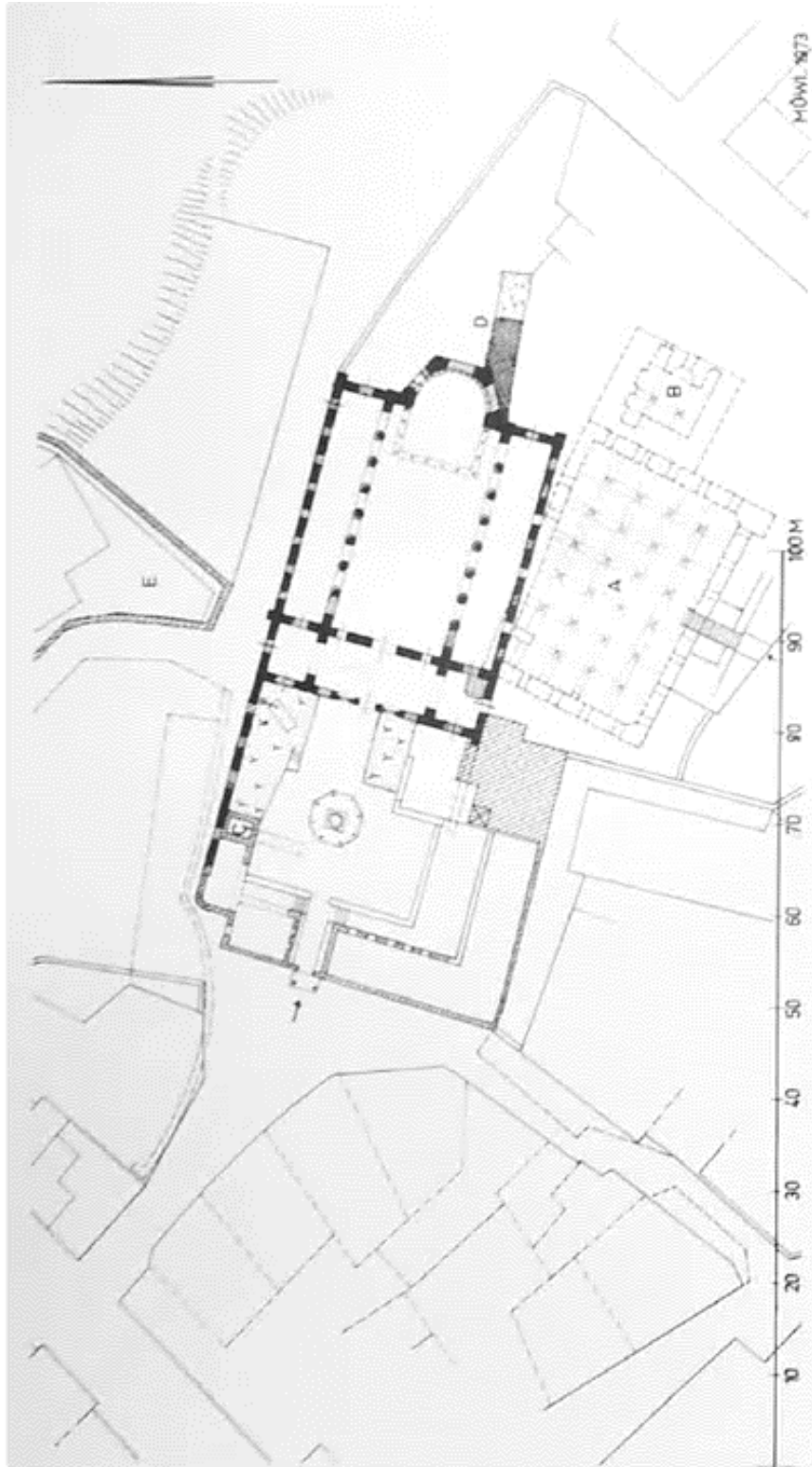


Figure 22: Site Plan of the Studios Monastery in the Ottoman Period
(Source: Müller-Wiener, 1973, 147)



Figure 23: The Stoudios Monastery, Aerial Photo
(Source: *Original source uncertain*)

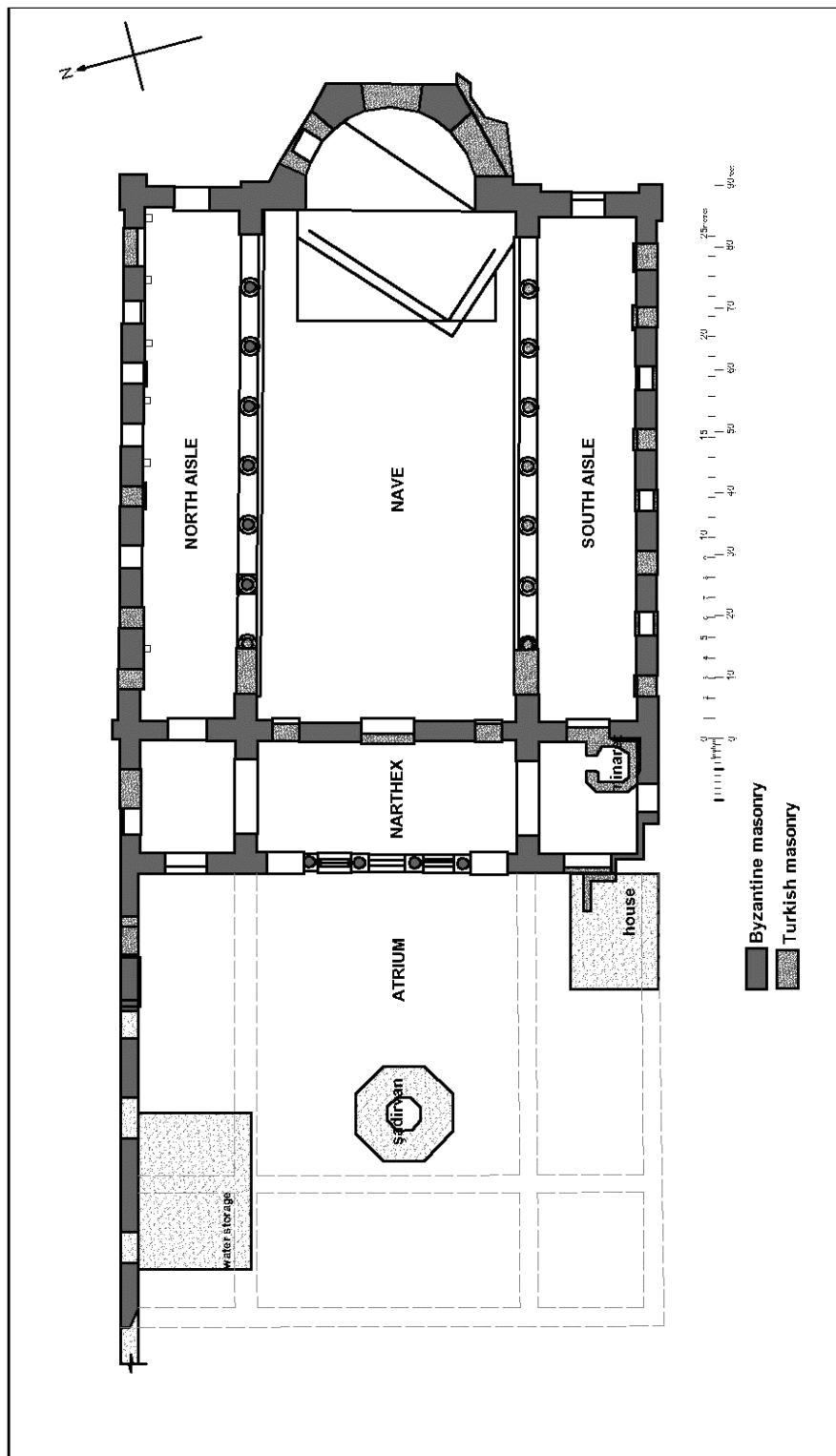


Figure 24: Studios Basilica
 Plan and Suggested Reconstruction of the Atrium
 (Image by the author, after Mathews, *"The Early Churches of Constantinople,"*
 20-22)



Figure 25: The Stoudios Monastery, Showing the Remains of the Atrium
(Credit: © Ihsan Ilze, 2010)



Figure 26: The Stoudios Monastery, the Northern Wall of the Atrium
(photo by the author, 2018)



Figure 27: The Stoudios Monastery
View of the Narthex, and *şadirvan* from the Atrium
(Credit: © Peter Kenyon, 2014)



Figure 28: The Stoudios Monastery, the North Bay of the Narthex
(Credit: © Caner Cangül, 2013)



Figure 29: The Stoudios Monastery, the South Bay of the Narthex
(Credit: © Caner Cangül, 2013)



Figure 30: The Studios Monastery, the Entrance of the Narthex
(Credit: © Caner Cangül, 2013)



Figure 31: The Stoudios Monastery, the Lintel on Top of the Narthex
(Credit: © Caner Cangül, 2013)



Figure 32: The Stoudios Monastery,
the Narthex Door, and Lintel from the Nave
(Credit: © Jesse W. Torgerson, Wesleyan University. 2007)



Figure 33: The Stoudios Monastery, the Western Wall of the North-Aisle
(Credit: © Caner Cangül, 2013)



Figure 34: The Stoudios Monastery, the View of the Apse from the Nave
(Credit: © Esra Kudde, 2014)



Figure 35: The Stoudios Monastery, North-Aisle, and Columns
(Credit: © Caner Cangül, 2013)



Figure 36: The Stoudios Monastery, the Eastern Wall, and the Apse
(Credit: © Jesse W. Torgerson, Wesleyan University. 2007)

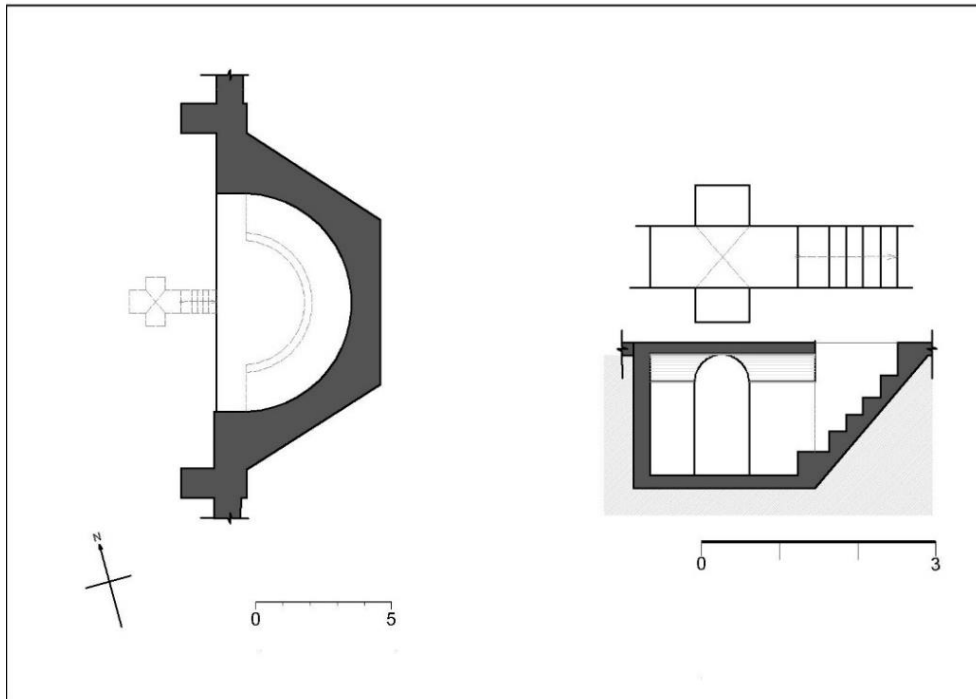


Figure 37: The Stoudios Basilica, The Plan and Section of the Crypt
 (Image by the author, after Mathews, *“The Early Churches of Constantinople,”*
 26)



Figure 38: The Stoudios Monastery,
 the Entrance of the Crypt within the Chancel Barrier
 (Credit: © Jesse W. Torgerson, Wesleyan University. 2007)

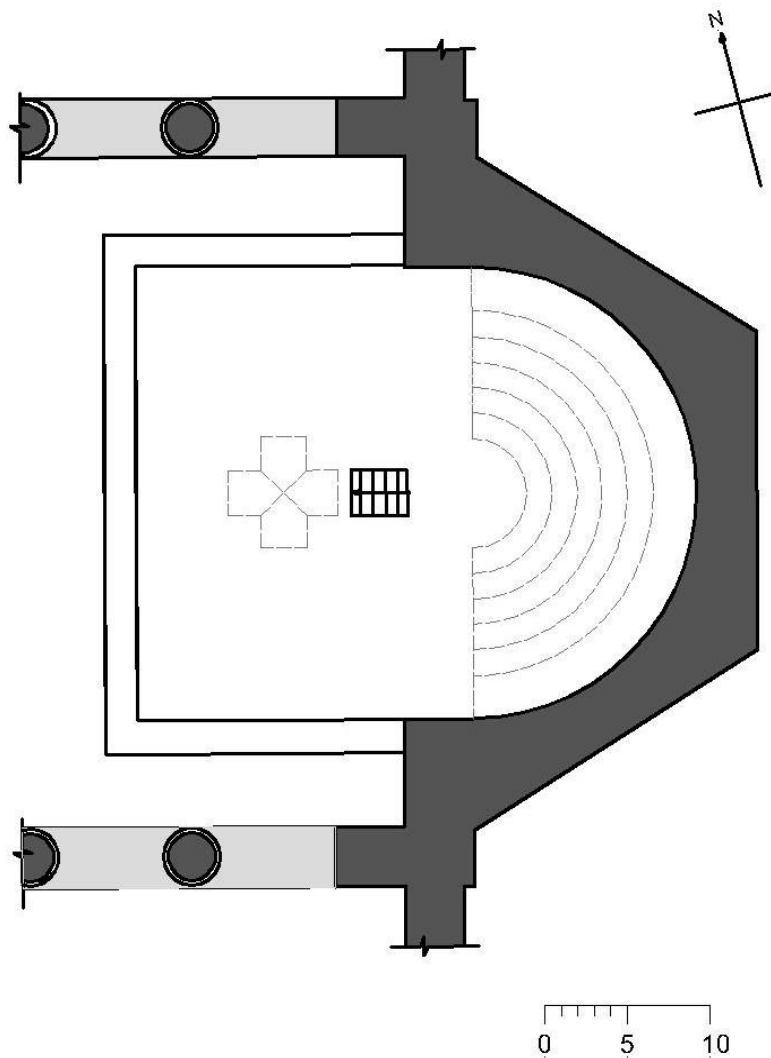


Figure 39: Stoudios Basilica,
Plan of the Chancel, Altar Site, and Synthronon
(Image by the author, after Mathews, "*The Early Churches of Constantinople*,"
24)



Figure 40: The Stoudios Monastery, the South-Aisle of the Church Proper
(Credit: © Jesse W. Torgerson, Wesleyan University. 2007)



Figure 41: The Stoudios Monastery,
the Eastern Wall of the South-Aisle from the Outside
(Credit: © Esat Tengizman, 1925, courtesy Eski Eserleri Koruma Encumeni, 638)



Figure 42: The Stoudios Monastery, the Western Wall of the Nave
(Credit: © Caner Cangül, 2013)



Figure 43: The Stoudios Monastery, the View from the Gallery Level
(Digital model by the author)



Figure 44: The Stoudios Monastery, the Interior of the Church Proper
(Digital model by the author)



Figure 45: The Studios Monastery, the North-Aisle Column Row, and the Western Wall of the Church Proper (Credit: © Jesse W. Torgerson, Wesleyan University. 2007)

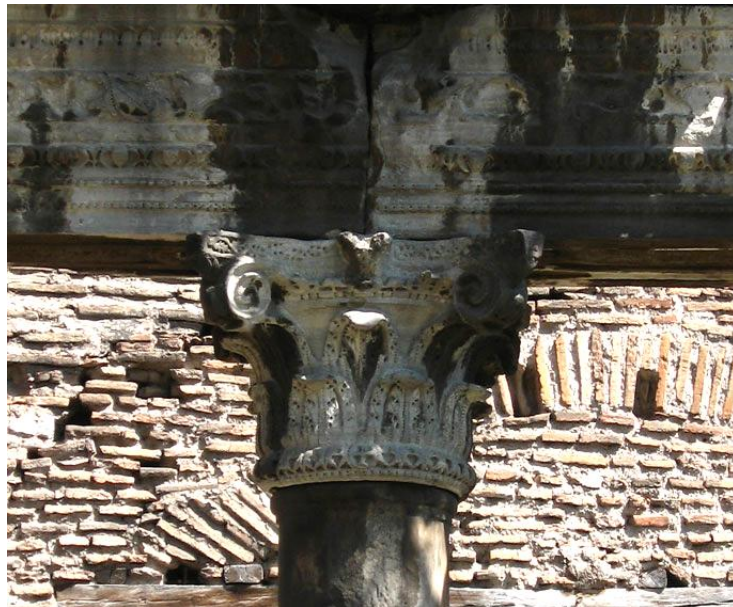


Figure 46: The Studios Monastery, the Column Capital (Credit: © Caner Cangül, 2013)



Figure 47: Detail of Entablature on the Narthex Façade, 1929
(Credit: © German Archaeological Institute, Nicholas V. Artamonoff Collection)



Figure 48: A Detail of Dentils on the Cornice of the Narthex Façade, 1929
(Credit: © German Archaeological Institute, Nicholas V. Artamonoff Collection)



Figure 49: Pavement Detail, A Flying Griffon, 1929
(Credit: © German Archaeological Institute, Nicholas V. Artamonoff Collection)



Figure 50: The Stoudios Monastery, *opus sectile* Floor Detail
(Credit: © IBB KUDEB Arşivi, 2013)



Figure 51: The Stoudios Monastery, *opus sectile* Floor of the Nave
(Credit: © Ahmet Mutlu, 2013)



Figure 52: Entry into Jerusalem.
Relief from the Stoudios Monastery Found During the Excavations
(Source: Panchenko, 1912, 395)



Figure 53: The Great Lord.
Relief from the Stoudios Monastery Found During the Excavations
(Source: Panchenko, 1912, 394)



Figure 54: Group of the Apostles and the Bust in Acroteria.
Relief from the Stoudios Monastery Found During the Excavations
(Source: Panchenko, 1912, 396)



Figure 55: Interior of the Cistern Nearby Stoudios Basilica, 1929
(Credit: © German Archaeological Institute, Nicholas V. Artamonoff Collection)



Figure 56: The Current Condition of the Subterranean Cistern
Nearby the Stoudios Monastery
(Credit: © Jesse W. Torgerson, Wesleyan University. 2007)



Figure 57: Aerial photo of The Studios Monastery
Within the Urban Fabric
(Credit: © Kadir Kir, 2018)



Figure 58: Miniature, Menologion of Basil II, Vat. Gr. 1613, fol. 175
A Short Account of the Life St Theodore the Studite and his Feast Day;
11 November



Figure 59: Detail, the Portrait of Theodore the Studite, Standing Before the Stoudios Monastery and Sailing into Exile, (*Menologion of Basil II*, Vat. Gr. 1613, fol. 175)



Figure 60: St Theodore the Studite (right), Depicted While Holding the Icon of Theotokos (Source: Theodore Plaster, *Eastern Mediterranean*, 1066, Add MS 19352, f. 27v)

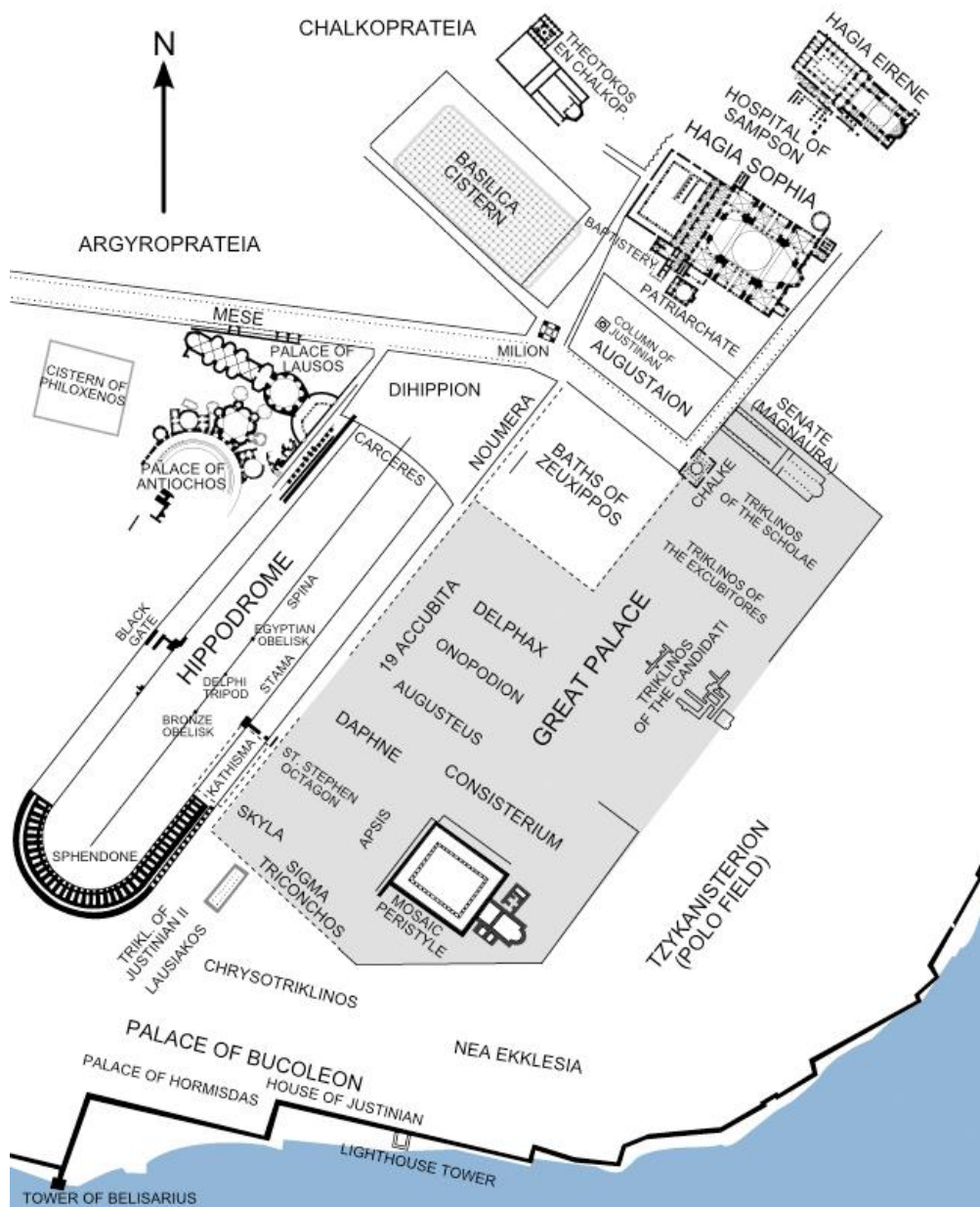


Figure 61: Map of the Great Palace in Constantinople
 (Source: Adapted by Marsyas from Müller-Wiener, 2001, 232)



Figure 62: The Stoudios Monastery,
the View from the Atrium Toward the Narthex
(Digital model by the author)



Figure 63: The Stoudios Monastery, the Entrance of the Narthex
(Digital model by the author)



Figure 64: The Stoudios Monastery,
the View Toward the Northern Bay of the Narthex
(Digital model by the author)



Figure 65: The Stoudios Monastery, the View of the Apse from the Nave
(Digital model by the author)



Figure 66: The Stoudios Monastery, the View from the South-Aisle
(Digital model by the author)



Figure 67: The Stoudios Monastery,
the View of the Western Wall of the Church proper
(Digital model by the author)

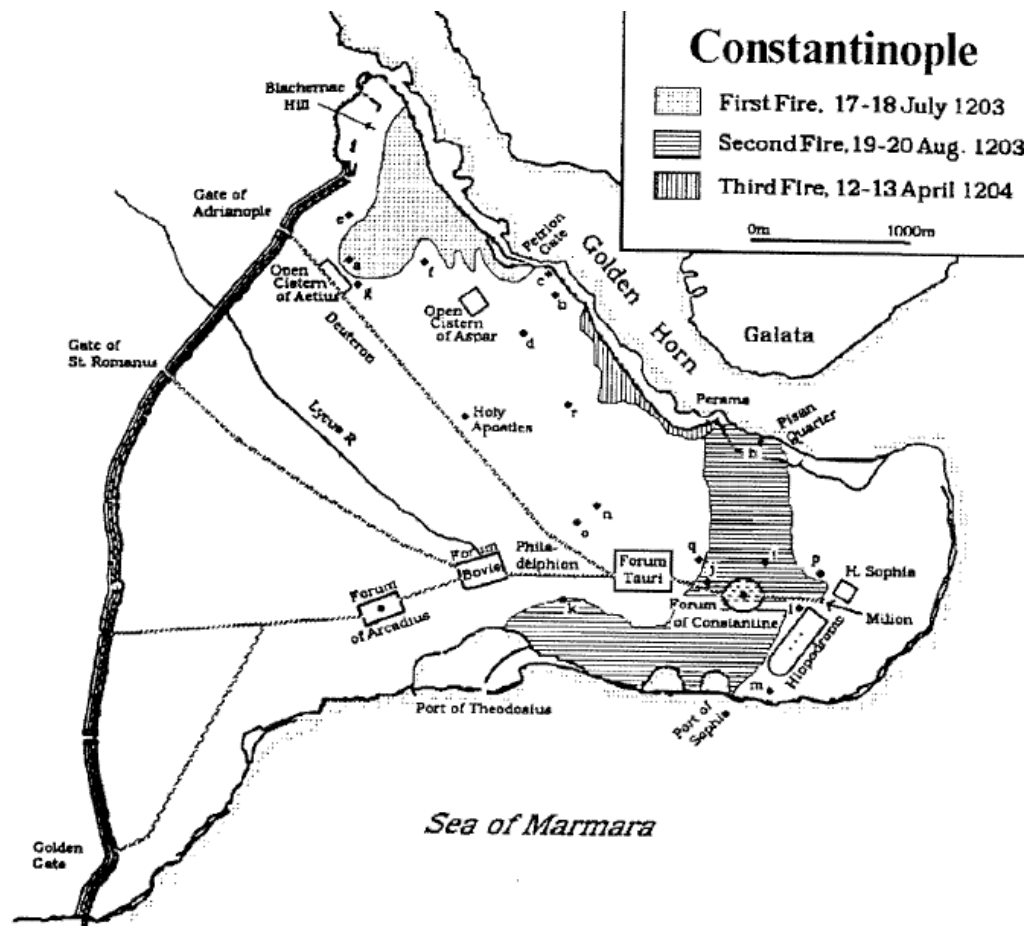


Figure 68: The Map of Constantinople, Showing the Areas Damaged During the Fires of 1203-1204 (Source: Madden, 1991/92, 93)

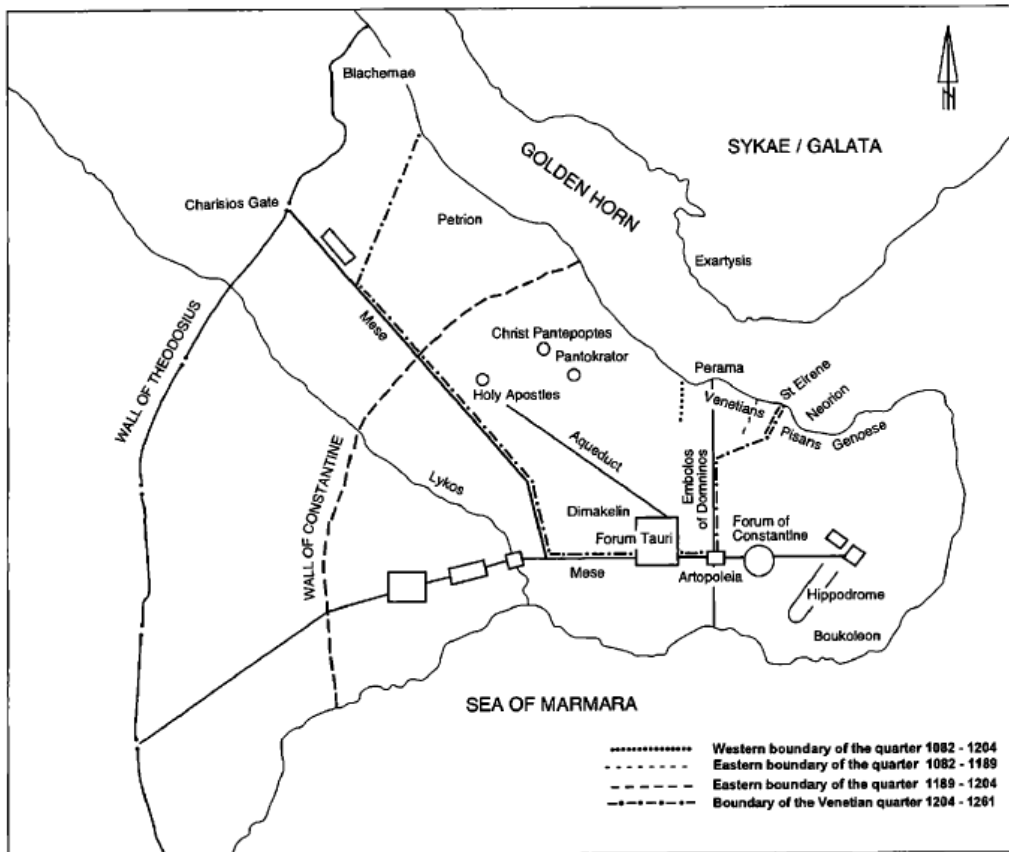


Figure 69: Constantinople Divided into Quarters, 11th-13th Century
 (Source: Jacoby, 2001, 278)

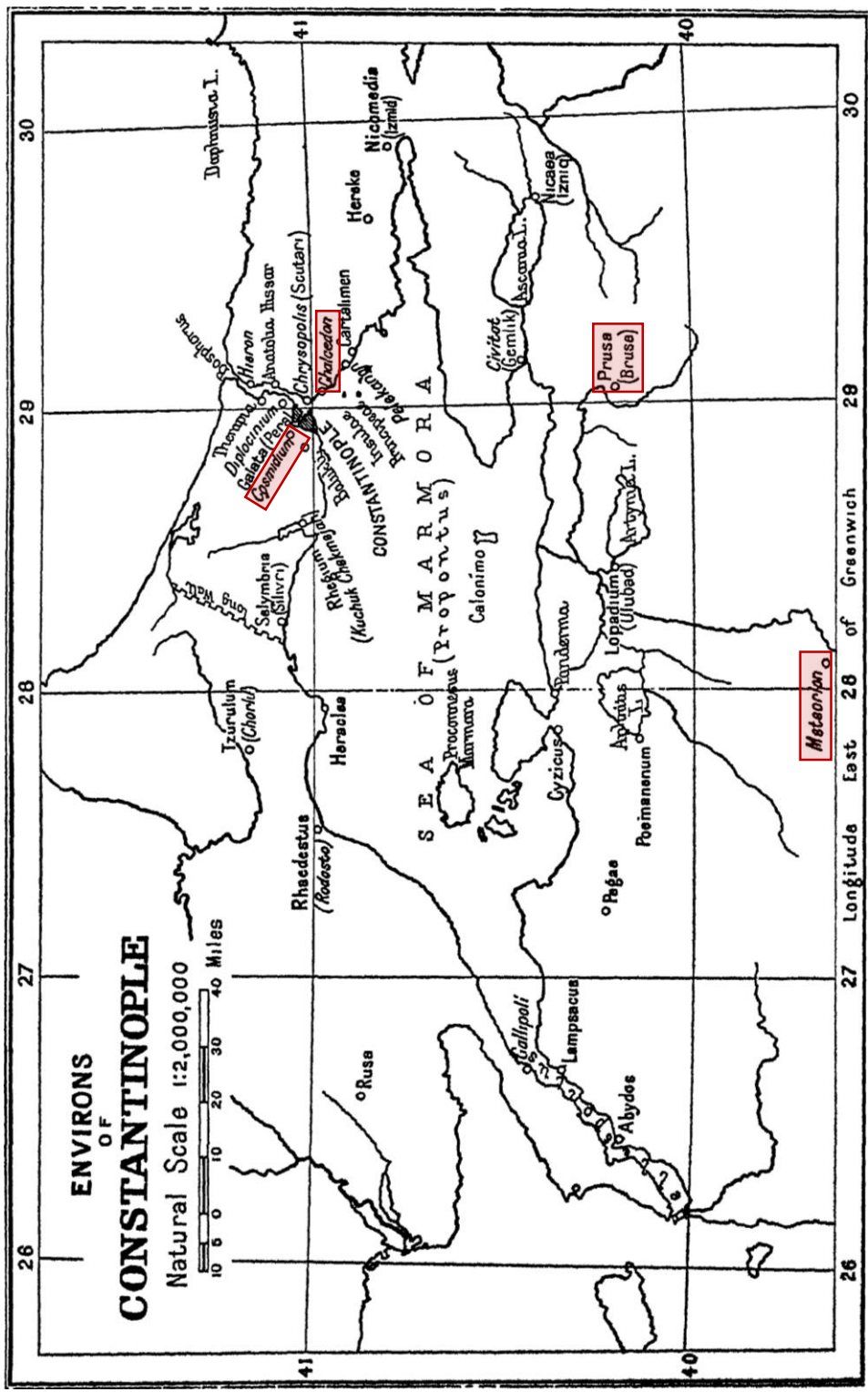


Figure 70: Environs of Constantinople, Showing the Stations of the Emperor Michael VIII's Journey in 1261 – from Meteorion to Cosmidion (Source: Geanakoplos, 1959, 98)

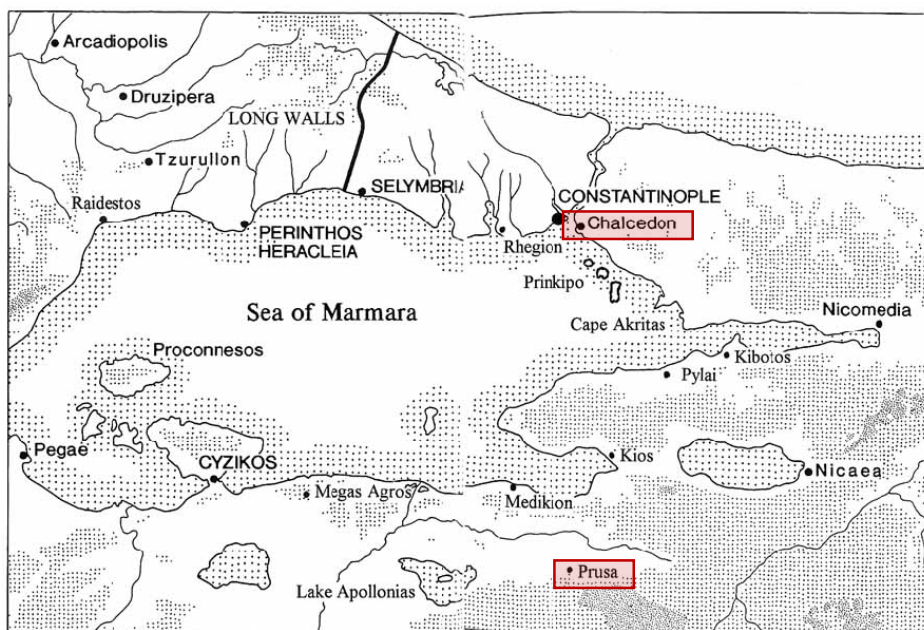


Figure 71: The Hinterland of Constantinople
(Source: Mango and Dagron, 1995)

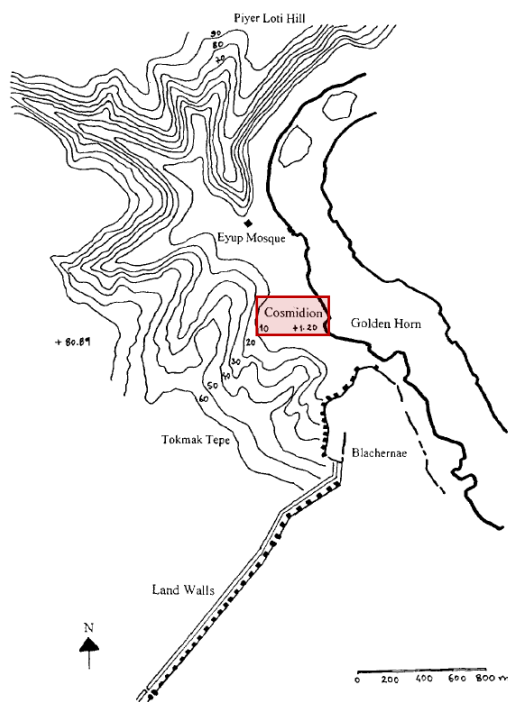


Figure 72: Topographic Location of
the Monastery of the Anargyroi of Cosmidion
(Source: Özaslan, 2001, 382)



Figure 73: Gold Hyperpyron of Michael VIII Palaiologos,
Constantinople: Virgin and the Walls –
Michael presented to Christ by Archangel Michael

C. TURKISH SUMMARY / TÜRKÇE ÖZET

Göz önünde saklı değerli bir mücevher; Stoudios Manastırı Vaftizci Yahya Kilisesi, on beş yüz yıldan fazla bir süredir yaşamış, imparatorlukların yükseliş ve çöküşüne tanıklık etmiş ve zamanın zorlu koşullarına rağmen sürekli değişen İstanbul kent dokusunda bir yer bularak varlığını sürdürmeyi başarabilmiş zamansız bir yapıdır. Stoudios Manastırı, kentin güneybatı köşesinde, Psamathia bölgesinde, Theodosius Kara Surları üzerindeki Altın Kapı'nın yakınında ve Bizans Konstantinopolis'inin protokol yolu olan Mese'nin güneyinde yer almaktadır. Tarihte manastır kompleksi güneyde Altın Kapı'ya, doğuda limana kadar uzanan geniş bir alanı kaplamaktaydı. Manastırın ana kilisesi, beşinci yüzyılın ortalarında Doğu konsülü olan Flavius Studius tarafından kendi mülkü olan bu araziye yaptırılmış ve Vaftizci Yahya'ya adanmıştır. Tarihi kaynaklara göre kilise daha önce arazide bulunan küçük bir dini yapının yerini almıştır ve merkezi olacağı bir manastır kompleksine dâhil edilmesine kısa bir süre sonra karar verilmiştir. Kompleksin kiliseye ek olarak, koğuşlar biçiminde yatma yerleri, çocuk yaştaki rahip adayları için ayrı yatakhane, yemek salonu (trapeza), idari mekânlar, mutfak, kiler, fırın, depo, kitaplık, çamaşırhane, dikiş odası gibi birimleri içerdiği bilirse de bu kısımlar günümüze ulaşmayı başaramamıştır.

Orijinal kilise yapısı, batı tarafında bugün kuzey duvarı kısmen duran sütunlu revakları olan bir avluyu takip eden üçe bölünmüş narteks kısmı ve doğu ucunda bir tek çok köşeli apsis ile tamamlanan bir bazilikadır. Yapının iç mekânı yeşil breşten, her bir sırada yedişer tane olmak üzere iki sütun dizisiyle uzunlamasına üç nefte ayrılmıştır. Geçmişte yan neflerin ve narteksin üzerinde ahşap galeriler bulunduğu bilinmektedir. Yapı tuğla hatıllı taş duvar yapım tekniği ile yapılmıştır. Erken Bizans döneminin nitelikli taş işçiliğini yansıtan mermer arşitrav ve korniş blokları, kilisenin dikkat çekici detayları arasındadır. Aynı zamanda naosun orta nefini kaplayan döşeme, ender bir *opus sectile* örneğidir.

Zemin döşemesinin çeşitli mermerlerle, kuş ve hayvan figürleriyle zenginleştirildiği görülmektedir.

Ayasofya, Aya İrini ve Kutsal Havariler Kiliseleri gibi Konstantinopolis'in Erken Hristiyan dönemi bazilikaları zaman içinde orijinal mimari formlarını yitirmiştir. Kutsal Havariler Kilisesi'nin hiçbir kısmı günümüze ulaşamamışken, Ayasofya ve Aya İrini Kiliseleri pek çok restorasyondan ve tadilattan geçmiştir. Sonuç olarak hiçbiri orijinal biçimini ve özelliklerini koruyamamış ve yapıların ilk evreleri yalnızca ikincil kaynaklardan ulaşılabilir duruma gelmiştir. Erken Bizans bazilikaları arasında, Konstantinopolis yapılarıyla benzer özellikler taşıyan ve orijinal formlarına yakın kalarak günümüze ulaşabilen kiliseler, Meryemlik, Side, Ravenna, Selanik ve Salamis gibi merkezden ziyade imparatorluğun dış çevrelerinde yer almaktadır. Sonuç olarak bir zamanlar İmparatorluğun başkentini dolduran erken Bizans dönemine tarihlenen bazilikaların en eski temsilcisi ve bütünlüğünü koruyarak ayakta kalan tek örneği olması sebebiyle Stoudios bazilikası enderlik değeri taşımaktadır. Bu sebeple yapının önemini abartmak zordur. Thomas Mathews, Vaftizci Yahya Kilisesi'nin klasik oranlarının, erken Konstantin dönemi bazilikalarıyla bağlantı gösterirken, mimari süslemelerinin ise yarım asır öncesindeki Theodosian tarzı ile yarım asır sonraki Justinian tarzı arasında bir geçiş dönemini temsil ettiğini belirtmiştir.

Kilise 1486'da Osmanlı egemenliği altında camiye çevrilmiş ve İmrahor İlyas Bey Camii olarak yeniden adlandırılmıştır. Bir cami olarak yapı, yirminci yüzyılın başlarına kadar şehrin Müslüman nüfusa hizmet etmiştir. 1782'de eski Psamathia bölgesini küle çeviren yangın sırasında cami ağır hasar görmüş ve 1820'de tadilat görmüştür. 1894'te yaşanan deprem sonucunda bina bir kez daha yıkılma tehlikesi atlatmış, buna ek olarak, 1908-1920 yılları arasında meydana gelen yangınlar çatısının çökmesine neden olmuştur ve böylece yapı yaşanamaz hale gelmiştir. Cumhuriyet Dönemi'nde bina müze haline getirilmiş ve 1946'da Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı'nın kontrolü altına girerek Ayasofya Müzesine bağlanmış ve İmrahor Anıtı adını almıştır. Yakın zamanlarda anıt, Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü'ne devredilmiştir. Manastır kompleksinden günümüze yalnızca ana

kilisesi ve binanın güneydoğusunda yer alan sarnıç ulaşabilmiştir. Uzun ömrü boyunca kilise, doğal ve insan kaynaklı felaketler sonucunda zarar görmüş ve zaman içerisinde çeşitli değişikliklere uğramış olsa da, beşinci yüzyıl inşaatının korunma derecesi nadirdir. Kısmen yıkık bir durumda olmasına rağmen, binanın varlığı, modern İstanbul'un sınırları içerisinde, İmrahor Anıtı olarak devam etmektedir.

Tarihi boyunca manastır, Bizans İmparatorluğu'nun sosyal ve dini yaşamında öncü bir rol oynamıştır. Ünlü azizlerin rölikleri ve değerli el yazmaları da dâhil olmak üzere çeşitli dini objelere ev sahipliği yapmıştır. Hristiyan dünyasının dini siyasetindeki etkisi zaman içinde, hırslı başrahiplerin ellerinde büyümüş ve bu nedenle manastır çağdaşları arasında yüksek bir mevki sahibi olmuştur. Kompleks, Altın Kapı 'ya olan fiziksel yakınlığı sebebiyle Bizans döneminde tören alaylarının sık ziyaret ettiği bir uğrak noktası olarak varlığını sürdürmüştür. Bu bağlamda bahsedilen tören alayı kavramı kamusal kutlamalarda, kent mekânında iki ya da daha fazla nokta arasında, kutlamayla ilişkili bir grup tarafından gerçekleştirilen yürüyüşlere işaret etmektedir. Bizans imparatorlarının şehre girdikten sonra ilk olarak bu kilisede ibadet ettikleri bilinmektedir.

İstanbul'da eski Bizans dönemine tarihlenen en eski dini yapı olması dolayısıyla, Stoudios Manastırı Vaftizci Yahya Kilisesi (diğer adıyla Ioannes Prodromos Kilisesi) azami ilgiyi hak etmektedir. Önemine paralel olarak, bina yıllar boyunca birçok akademik araştırmanın odak noktası olmuştur. Bununla birlikte, kentin törensel peyzajındaki yeri üzerinde yeterince durulmamıştır. Bu tez çalışmasında, Stoudios Manastırı, Bizanslıların hafızalarında yer eden tören alayları ve bu törenlerle ilişkili anıtlarla etkileşimleri arasındaki ilişkiyi araştırmak adına ele alınmıştır. Manastırın parçası olduğu bu halka açık olayların yakından okunması, Bizanslıların zihnindeki tören bağlamında hafıza, deneyim ve mimarlık arasındaki farklı etkileşim biçimlerinin aydınlatılmasını amaçlamıştır.

Bu çalışma kapsamında kısa bir giriş bölümü takip eden ikinci bölüm Konstantinopolis'in topoğrafik tarihine ayrılmıştır. Dönemin sosyo-politik ve dini geçmişinin detaylı araştırması kilisenin içinde bulunduğu bağlama ışık tutmayı

amaçlamıştır. İncelenmekte olan fiziki ve kültürel topografyayı ortaya koyan bölüm, Bizans Konstantinopolis'inin kent silueti sorusuna daha yakından bir bakış sunmaktadır. Ardından bölümün odağı, kentin törensel yaşamına kayarak, törenler sırasında takip edilen güzergâhları ve ziyaret edilen anıtları inceleyerek tören ve topoğrafya arasındaki ilişkiyi vurgulanmıştır. Böylece bölüm, kentin fiziksel dokusundaki önemli değişikliklere dikkat çekerken fiziksel alanın nasıl kullanıldığını ve kent seremonileri tarafından nasıl tanımlandığını açıklamaktadır. Kentsel yerleşimin açıklanmasının ardından, üçüncü bölüm manastır ve kilisesinin tarihi ve mimarisi ile ilgili detaylı bir inceleme sunmaktadır. Yapının günümüze kadar geçirdiği fiziki ve soyut değişimleri araştırarak, bu bölüm manastırın Konstantinopolis'in sosyal ve dini hayatı içindeki yerini vurgulamayı amaçlamaktadır. Buna ek olarak, anıtlarla ilgili çalışmalara dair kapsamlı bir literatür taraması bu bölüme dahil edilmiştir.

Dördüncü bölümde çalışma, Konstantinopolis'in törensel yaşamında manastırın konumu üzerine odaklanmıştır. Bu amaçla, kompleksin dâhil olduğu en önemli törenlerden ikisi detaylı olarak incelenmiş ve yeniden canlandırılmıştır. Tarihi kaynaklardan bilindiği üzere Bizans Konstantinopolis'i yıl boyunca birçok farklı sebeple tören alaylarına sahne olmaktadır. Bu sebepler arasında dini bayramlar, imparatorlukla ilgili kutlamalar, cenaze ve zafer alayları bulunmaktaydı. Oldukça sıklıkla tekrarlanan bu yürüşler kentte geçici değişikliklere sebep oldukları gibi kent dokusunun biçimlenmesinde de önemli bir rol oynamışlardır. Bu olaylar kenti belli zaman aralıkları arasında etkilemelerine ve geçici karakterde olmalarına rağmen kent hafızasında kalıcı bir yer edinmeyi başarmışlardır. Bu kent seremonilerinin yakın çalışması, ritüeller ve kilisenin arasındaki ilişkinin mekânsal bağlamda anlaşılmasını sağlamayı amaçlamıştır. Bu iki tören, Stoudios manastırının tarihi üzerindeki hatırı sayılır etkileri nedeniyle özellikle seçilmiştir. Bu törenlerden ilki, imparatorların onuncu yüzyıldan itibaren Vaftizci Yahya'nın anma günlerinden biri olan 29 Ağustos'ta manastıra yaptıkları yıllık ziyaret iken, ikincisi ise 1261 yılında Konstantinopolis'in Latinlerin elinden geri alınmasını takip eden İmparator VIII. Michael Palaeologus'un şehre zafer girişidir.

Bu olayların yeniden yapılandırılması, edebi materyaller ile birlikte oldukça seyrek görsel kanıtların 3D modelleme ve görselleştirme teknikleriyle sentezi sayesinde ve var olan bilgiye dayalı profesyonel spekülasyonlar sonucunda mümkün olabilmektedir. Çalışma, daha geniş bir çerçeveden bakarak şehir boyutundaki törensel yürüyüş hareketi sırasında Stoudios Manastırı'nın nasıl algılandığını ve böylece cansız bir nesne olmaktan çıkarak nasıl seremoninin aktif bir katılımcısına dönüştüğünü tasvir etmeyi amaçlamıştır. Analiz, anıtı, hareket eden izleyicinin bakış açısına göre törenin aktif bir katılımcısı olarak kabul etmiş ve anıtı anlamlı kılan bu eylem çerçevesinde gözlemlemiştir. Çalışmanın odağı olan iki törenin izlediği yollar üç kategori altında analiz edilmiştir. Bunlar tören alanının elemanları, organizasyonun sıralı düzeni ve seremoninin önde gelen duraklarının görünümüdür. Bunlardan sonuncusunun kapsamında sahneleri katılımcıların bakış açılarından tasvir ederken görmeleri mümkün olan ve olmayan anıt ve yapılardan da bahsedilmiştir. Çalışma boyunca mevcut olan edebi ve arkeolojik kanıtların temkinli bir şekilde yeniden değerlendirilmesinin yanı sıra, bu bölümün metodolojisi, törenler sırasında anıtın mekânsal ortamlarını görselleştirmek için 3D sıralı görüşlerin ve varsayımsal sahne şablonları üretilmesini içermektedir. Bütüne bakıldığında, bu tez, anıtın, kentsel törenlerin deneyimlerinden elde ettiği ve yaydığı sembolizmle, fiziki varlığının ötesine geçme kapasitesinin altını çizmeyi amaçlamıştır. Çalışma boyunca, binayı yüzyıllar boyunca ayakta tutan sebebin, yapının fiziksel özelliklerinden daha fazla Konstantinopolis'in ritüelistik dokusu içindeki sembolik yeri ile ilişkili olduğu savunulmuştur.

Bazilika, özellikle erken Hristiyanlık döneminde, altıncı yüzyıla kadar parochial, piskoposluk ve hatta manastır kiliselerinin standart tipi olarak hizmet etmiştir ve küçük farklılıklarla hem Doğu hem de Batı'da yaygın olarak kullanılmıştır. Oranları, koridorlarının sayısı ve bazı bölümlerin (narteks, vestibüle, atriyum, transept, galeriler, pastophoria odaları gibi) varlığı gibi detaylarda bölgesel farklılıklar gösterebilir de, erken dönem bazilikaların çoğu temel prensiplerinde birbirlerinin tekrarlarıydılar. Öyle ki Cyril Mango, toplu olarak incelendiklerinde, iç dekorasyonları haricinde monotonluk, hatta hazır

yapım izlenimi veren tekdüze bir çizgi üzerinde seyrettiklerini belirtmiştir. Stoudios manastırının durumunda da zengin dekorasyonunun, sade ve basit formunun önüne geçtiği görülmüşse de genel olarak bakıldığında bazilikanın mimari özelliklerinin çağdaşlarıyla aynı çizgide seyrettiği ve dolayısıyla Bizans İmparatorluğunun merkezinden çevresine dağılmış olan hemen hemen tüm erken dönem Hristiyan bazilikaları ile ortak bir zemin paylaştığı açıkça anlaşılmaktadır. Bununla birlikte, kilise, kentin dini ve politik yaşamındaki konumu ile çağdaşlarından ayrılmıştır.

Bu çalışmanın üçüncü bölümünde ayrıntılı olarak tartışıldığı gibi, sekizinci yüzyıla kadar manastır kompleksinin nispeten sakin bir varoluş sürdürdüğü gözlemlenmiştir; ancak, ikonoklazm hareketini izleyen dönemde bu durum çarpıcı bir şekilde değişmiştir. Manastırın başına İmparatoriçe İrene tarafından getirilen Theodoros (*Theodore the Studite*), 798-826 yılları arasında manastırın başrahipliğini yapmış ve bağımsız bir manastır organizasyonu kurmuştur. Başrahip Theodore yönetiminde manastır yepyeni bir siyasi kimliğe bürünmüş ve bununla beraber Hristiyan dünyasında meşru bir şöhrete sahip olmuştur. Öyle ki, manastır ve rahipleri konumlarından ödün vermeden imparatorluk baskısına karşı koyabilmiş ve bu noktadan itibaren dini tartışmalarda bir otorite haline gelerek bağımsızlıkları ile tanınmışlardır. İkonoklazm döneminde büyük sıkıntılar çekmiş olsalar da, tartışmalar ikonodüllerin lehine neticelendiğinde güçleri hiç olmadığı kadar artmıştır. İmparator II. Basil dönemine tarihlenen ve bir takvim şeklinde hazırlanan bir el yazmasının Theodoros'un ölüm yıldönümü olan 11 Kasım'ı işaret eden sayfası azizlik mertebesine eriştiği kabul edilen Theodoros'a ayrılmıştır. Bu sayfadaki minyatürde, Theodoros sürgüne gönderilirken, deniz surları ve Stoudios Bazilikası ile beraber resmedilmiştir Minyatür, kilisenin çatısını, apsisini örten yarım kubbeyi ve pencerelerin onuncu yüzyıl sonundaki durumunu yansıtan önemli bir belgedir. Sayfa aynı zamanda Theodoros'un hayatını ve Hristiyan âlemine yaptığı katkıları anlatan kısa bir paragraf içermektedir.

Stoudios Manastırı'nın ünlü başrahibi Theodoros'un halefleri de aynı çizgide devam etmiştir, böylece kazandıkları güç ve etkileri zaman içinde

imparatorluk çevrelerinde de kabul görmüştür. Kaynaklara göre bu dönemde manastırın bağ, bahçe, tarla, değirmen ve işliklerden oluşan, zengin ve yaşamak için gerekli ihtiyaçları kendi üretebilen bir durumda olduğu bilinmektedir. Buna ek olarak manastır, el yazması çoğaltma, kitap bezeme, ikona yapıcılığı, kaligrafi, mum yapımı, sepetçilik, zeytincilik, saraçlık, ayakkabıcılık gibi çeşitli mesleklerin yapıldığı entelektüel bir merkez halini almıştır. Büyüyen gücünün bir sonucu olarak, onuncu yüzyılda manastır, beş yüzyıl önce ev sahipliği yapmak için inşa edildiği kıymetli röliği, yani Aziz Vaftizci Yahya'nın başını elde edebilmeyi başarmıştır. Bu kutsal kalıntıların gelişi, manastırın Hristiyan dünyasındaki artan etkisinin fiziksel gösterisi olarak yorumlanmıştır. Kalıntının varlığı, imparatorluğun 1453 yılındaki çöküşüne kadar devam edecek bir geleneği başlatmıştır ve böylece manastır kompleksi, kentin törensel peyzajında bir varış noktası rolüne sahip olmuştur.

Bu noktada, Stoudios Manastırı'nın kentin törensel dokusundaki konumunu anlayabilmek için dördüncü bölümde amaçlandığı gibi öncelikle kent törenlerinin fiziksel çevreye ve şehir sakinlerinin hatıralarına yansımalarının gerçek derecesini kavramak gerekir. Bu amaçla Bizans'ta kent tören ve ritüellerinin arkasındaki ideolojiye ışık tutmak adına İmparator VII. Constantinus Porphyrogennetos tarafından yazılan Törenler Kitabı'na (*De Ceremoniis*) odaklanılmıştır. Bu kaynak imparatorluğun tören ve ritüellerine dair sahip olduğumuz bilginin temelini oluşturmakla beraber, bu seremonilerin toplum üzerindeki etkilerini anlamamıza yardımcı olmaktadır. Kitabın önsözünde açıkça belirtildiği üzere bu seremoniler, imparatorluğun imajına soylu bir görkem katarak, yerel halkın ve yabancıların gözünde yönetimi yüceltmektedirler. Kent için büyük öneme sahip olan bu seremoniler bir tiyatro oyunu gibi özenle, kurallara uygun olarak hazırlanmakta ve dikkatle yürütülmektedirler. Öyle ki yabancıların bu seremonilere gösterilen ihtimamı anlamaları o yüzyıllarda bile beklenmemektedir.

Andreas Alföldi, Sabine MacCormack, Michael McCormick, John Baldovin, Albrecht Berger, Cyril Mango ve Franz Bauer gibi isimlerin başta olduğu ve Konstantinopolis'in kent yapısını seremoni bağlamında inceleyen

akademisyenlerin çalışmalarından da anlaşıldığı üzere kentte belirli yerlerin ve güzergâhların özel anlamları olduğu açıktır. Seremoniler ise kent sakinlerinin hafızlarında yer ederek bu yerlere atfedilen anlamların oluşumunda ve devamlılığında önemli rol oynamışlardır. Konstantinopolis'in tören yolu olarak bilinen Mese'nin, imparatorluk forumlarının içinden geçtiği bilinmektedir. Bu nedenle kentteki imparatorluk forumları bu yolun genişletilmiş bölümleri olarak tasarlanmış ve hat boyunca uzanan revaklar, yol ve meydanları fiziksel olarak bütünleştirmiştir. Böylece tören alayları forumların içlerinden de geçebilmişlerdir. Kaynaklarda, törenler sırasında ilgili yetkililer ve halk tarafından süslenen kentin bu yürüyüşler sırasında can bulduğu günlük hayatın akışının bu seremonilerden büyük ölçüde etkilendiği belirtilmiştir.

Doğaları gereği, tören alayları geçici karakterlere sahip olsalar da; Bizans toplumunun anılarında kalıcı etki bırakmayı başarabilmişlerdir. Bu olaylar toplum hafızasında, sikkeler, sanat eserleri ve mimari elemanlar aracılığıyla canlı tutulmaya çalışılmış olsalar da, onları asıl unutulmaz kılan ritüellerin kolektif niteliğidir. Başlıca kolektif hafıza üzerinde çalışan on dokuzuncu yüzyıl sosyoloğu Maurice Halbwachs'ın öne sürdüğü gibi, bireyler, ait oldukları kolektif için önem taşıyan olayları hatırlama eğilimindedir ve bunun karşılığında kültürel ve sosyal hafızaları onların kimliklerini oluşturur. Kısacası; bireylerin hafızaları, ait oldukları grubun sosyal çerçevesinden etkilenmektedir. Bununla birlikte, belirmek gerekir ki tören alayları kentin kendisini de ritüele dâhil ederek diğer tüm dini ve devlet seremonilerinden daha geniş çevrelere ulaşabilmişlerdir. Soylu sınıftan ruhban sınıfına kadar sıradan vatandaşlar da dâhil olmak üzere şehrin tüm sakinlerinin hayatlarına etkili biçimde dokunarak, bu törenler halkı ortak bir noktada buluşturmayı başarabilmişlerdir.

Bizans toplumunda sahip oldukları olağanüstü etki göz önüne alındığında, seremonilerin etkilerinin kentin fiziksel dokusuna yansımaları ve yapılanmasında rol oynamaları şaşırtıcı değildir. Aynı zamanda seremonilerdeki rolleri dolayısıyla bazı yapıların diğerlerine kıyasla üstünlük kazanması da bu etkinin anlaşılabilir bir sonucudur. Tören alayları sırasında kentin en öne çıkan meydan ve yapıları ritüelin

odak noktası olabilmiş, buna karşılık bu törenler şehir sakinlerinin gözünde bu yapıların manevi konumunu daha da yükseltmiştir.

Bu tez kapsamında, dördüncü bölümde yeniden yapılandırılmış olan iki tören, manastırın kentin ritüelistik karakterinden doğan ve fiziksel varlığının ötesine geçen sembolik bir güce sahip olduğu argümanını destekler niteliktedir. Törenlerden ilki, imparatorların onuncu yüzyıldan itibaren Aziz Vaftizci Yahya'nın anma günlerinden biri olan 29 Ağustos'ta manastıra yaptıkları yıllık ziyaretidir. Tarihi kaynaklardan bilindiği üzere bu ziyaret imparatorun Konstantinopolis'te tüm yıl boyunca şahsen katıldığı on yedi kent töreninden biridir. Bu bölümde detaylı olarak açıklandığı gibi bu ziyaretler yıllık olarak halkın hafızanı tazeleyerek canlı tutmuş ve halka manastırın ayrıcalıklı konumunu hatırlatmayı başarabilmiştir.

Bu bağlamda incelenen ikinci tören, 1261'de gerçekleşen Konstantinopolis'in yaklaşık altmış yıl süren Latin işgalinden kurtarılmasını takip eden İmparator VIII. Michael'ın zafer alayıdır. Bu kente giriş seremonisi (*adventus*) Stoudios manastırının sembolik gücünün dayanıklılığını açıkça göstermiştir. Tarihi yazarların kayıtlarından da bildiğimiz gibi Geçmişteki diğer birçok imparatorun aksine Michael'ın şehre girip hak talep ettiğinde halk tarafından gaspçı olarak nitelendirilme tehlikesiyle karşı karşıya kalma ihtimaline sahip olduğu bilinmektedir. Bu farkındalıkla imparator, giriş seremonisini seleflerinin örneklerini ve şehrin düşüşünden önceki dönemde norm haline gelmiş olan gelenekleri dikkate alarak dikkatlice tasarlamıştır ve bu düzen içerisinde her daim önemli bir role sahip olmuş olan Stoudios manastırını da unutmamıştır. Geleneklere göre zafer alayı imparator ve maiyetinin Theodosian Kara Surları üzerinde yer alan Altın Kapı'dan geçişiyle başlamakta ve Mese'nin güney kolunu takip ederek ilk önce Stoudios manastırına uğrayıp dua etmesinin ardından birbirini takip eden imparatorluk forumlarından geçerek saraya varmasıyla son bulmaktadır. Konstantinopolis'in Latinlerin elinden geri alınması aynı zamanda imparatorluk için bir yeniden canlanma anlamı taşımaktaydı. Bu nedenle giriş töreni imparator tarafından saltanatını meşrulaştırmak amacıyla kullanılmıştır.

Stoudios manastır kompleksinin 1204 yılında şehrin düşüşünü takip eden süreçte Haçlı orduları tarafından yağmalandığı ve büyük zarar gördüğü, sonraki yaklaşık altmış yıl içerisinde de terk edilerek kullanılmaz duruma geldiği tarihi kayıtlardan bilinmektedir. Vaftizci Yahya'nın da kalıntıları olmak üzere ünlü azizlere ait röliklerin çalındığı ve kilisenin barındırdığı istisnai zenginlikler ve süslemelere el konulduğu da kaydedilmiştir. Buna rağmen, İmparator VIII. Michael yapının fiziksel durumunun, manastırın barındırdığı, kent hafızasında yer etmiş geleneksel ve dini çağrışımlarla kıyaslandığında önemsiz olduğunun bilinciyle tören alayının ilk durağı olarak burayı seçmiştir. Kompleks, ileriki dönemde “Yeni Konstantin” ve haleflerinin kenti kalkındırma ve yeniden yapılanma çalışmalarının bir parçası olarak yenilenmiş ve korunması için duvarlarla çevrilmiştir. Böylece manastır, kentin fiziksel dokusunun vazgeçilmez bir parçası olarak kabul edilmiştir. Ayrıca manastırın üstün statüsünün, on dördüncü yüzyılda kanunen de tanındığı bilinmektedir.

Sonuç olarak, bu tez, Stoudios Manastırı'na kentin ritüellistik peyzajında kentsel bir düğüm olarak yaklaşarak daha geniş bir çerçeve oluşturmayı amaçlamıştır. Böylece çalışma, anıtın kent hafızasındaki rolünü göz önünde bulundurarak, anıt ve hafıza arasındaki çift yönlü ilişkiyi tören bağlamı üzerinden tartışmıştır. Aldo Rossi, Şehrin Mimarisi adlı kitabında; şehirlerin gelişimini sürekli devam eden büyük ölçekteki bir inşaat süreci olarak yorumlamıştır. Çalışması, bu sürekli devam eden değişme süreci sırasında bazı izlerin değişen koşullara göre dönüşüm geçirirken, kent için büyük önem arz eden bazılarının da geçen zamanın en eski tanıkları olarak var olmaya ve kullanılmaya devam ettiğini göstermiştir. Rossi'ye göre bu izlerin yansımaları kentin mimari öğelerinde fiziksel olarak görülebilmektedir ve böylece kentin mimarisi geçmiş ve bugün arasında görünür bir bağlantı olarak ortaya çıkmaktadır. Stoudios Manastırı'nın durumunda açıkça görüldüğü üzere yapı, yüzyıllar boyunca, kent hafızasındaki yeri nedeniyle korunmuş ve aktif tutulmuştur. Binayı tüm bu zaman boyunca, duvarları ve kolonlarının yapabildiğinden çok daha fazla yapının sembolik değeri ve kent sakinlerinin hafızalarındaki ayrıcalıklı yeri ayakta tutabilmiştir.

Yapı, kentin sürekli deęişen fiziksel dokusu içinde ayakta kalmayı başararak ve zamanımıza ulaşmıştır. 2012 yılında, olası bir restorasyon projesini mümkün kılabilmek adına anıtın müze statüsü sessizce kaldırılmıştır ve İstanbul Valilięi tarafından, İmrahor İlyas Bey Camii'nin Rölöve, Restitüsyon ve Restorasyon Projeleri'nin hazırlanması için 2013 yılında bir proje ihalesi gerçekleştirilmiştir. Bu girişimlerin sonucu olarak binaya giriş, 2015 yılından itibaren kısıtlandırılmıştır ve giriş izni uzun bürokratik prosedürlerden sonra bile alınması imkânsız hale gelmiştir. Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü, anıtı cami olarak restore etmeyi ve kentin Müslüman nüfusunun hizmetine açmayı planlasa da, yapının kaderi konusunda henüz kesin bir karara ulaşamamıştır. Şu açıktır ki, anıt üzerine bu tür bir müdahale uygulanması, binanın orijinalliğini tamamen tahrip edip ve barındırdığı geçmişin tüm izlerini silebilme tehlikesi içermektedir. Bu tür girişimlere rağmen, anıt inşa edilmesinden bin beş yüzyıl, Bizans imparatorluğunun yıkılışından beş yüzyıl sonra bile İstanbul'un tarihindeki yeri nedeniyle hala korunmaya devam etmektedir. Anıtın endişe verici durumu akademik çevrelerde yankı uyandırmıştır. Hem yurt içi hem de yurtdışından nüfuzlu akademisyenler, yapının korunması için yetkili mercilere dilekçe ile başvurmuş ve anıtın İstanbul'un kaybolan kültür varlıklarının arasına katılacağı yönündeki endişelerini dile getirmişlerdir.

Henüz konuyla ilgili kesin bir karar alınmamasına rağmen, Stoudios Manastırı Vaftizci Yahya Kilisesi veya bugünkü adı ile İmrahor Anıtının, beşinci yüzyıldan günümüze ulaşan, mimarlık ve sanat tarihine ışık tutan nitelikleri nedeniyle, korunması azami ilgiyi hak etmektedir. Uzun yıllardır üstü tamamen açık ve her türlü bozulma etkisine maruz kalan anıtın güncel koruma sorunlarının başında, bakımsızlık gelmektedir. Sahada uygun ve detaylı bir kazı çalışması yapılması ile birlikte, kısa ve uzun vadede uygulanabilecek koruma stratejileri geliştirilerek bunları bir an önce hayata geçirmek gerekmektedir.

Umalım ki, yapının tarihi yarımadanın sembolik dokusundaki yeri, anıtı gelecek uzun yıllarca korumak için yeterli olsun.

D. TEZ İZİN FORMU / THESIS PERMISSION FORM

ENSTİTÜ / INSTITUTE

- Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü / Graduate School of Natural and Applied Sciences**
- Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü / Graduate School of Social Sciences**
- Uygulamalı Matematik Enstitüsü / Graduate School of Applied Mathematics**
- Enformatik Enstitüsü / Graduate School of Informatics**
- Deniz Bilimleri Enstitüsü / Graduate School of Marine Sciences**

YAZARIN / AUTHOR

Soyadı / Surname : Giritlioğlu
Adı / Name : Dilara Burcu
Bölümü / Department : Mimarlık Tarihi / History of Architecture

TEZİN ADI / TITLE OF THE THESIS (İngilizce / English) :

An Urban Node in the Ritual Landscape of Byzantine Constantinople: The Church of St John the Baptist of the Stoudios Monastery

TEZİN TÜRÜ / DEGREE: **Yüksek Lisans / Master** **Doktora / PhD**

1. **Tezin tamamı dünya çapında erişime açılacaktır.** / Release the entire work immediately for access worldwide.
2. **Tez iki yıl süreyle erişime kapalı olacaktır.** / Secure the entire work for patent and/or proprietary purposes for a period of **two years**. *
3. **Tez altı ay süreyle erişime kapalı olacaktır.** / Secure the entire work for period of **six months**. *

Yazarın imzası / Signature

Tarih / Date 01.10.2019