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ABSTRACT

The Patriarchal Palace in Late Sixth-Century Constantinople

Nigel Westbrook – Fiona Nowland

The Patriarchal palace was, by the time of the emperor Justinian I (r. 527–565), one of the symbolic and political centres of the Byzantine capital Constantinople. Yet, like the neighbouring and interconnected imperial palace, its architecture and topography remain only partially understood. In this study, the historical and archaeological record of this complex will be reviewed, supplemented by several previously neglected graphical sources. At some time in the 1570s, but most likely in 1574 or 1575, an unknown artist, possibly the Flemish Lambert De Vos, who is known to have visited Istanbul in 1572, recorded a drawing of Hagia Sophia and its immediate context, including an apparently ruinous structure which, an inscription on the drawing noted, was part of the church, but now served as a menagerie. The drawing will be argued, on the basis of comparative digital modeling, to depict the ›Thomaites‹ hall of the Patriarchal Palace appended to Hagia Sophia, at a time immediately prior to its demolition by the Ottomans. This attribution will be supported by two other graphical sources, the sixteenth-century prospect of Constantinople by Melchior Lorck, as well as three early twentieth-century survey drawings by the Swiss amateur archaeologist, Ernest Mamboury held in the Mamboury archive of the Istanbul department of DAI. This evidence will be used to supplement textual and material evidence to propose a reconstruction of the Patriarchal Palace, and its spatial and physical interconnection with Hagia Sophia.

KEYWORDS

Patriarchal palace, Justinianic rebuilding, Nika riot, 563 fire, comparative digital modeling

The Patriarchal Palace in Late Sixth-Century Constantinople

Introduction

¹ For the Eastern Orthodox Christian world¹, the Ecumenical Patriarchate has formed a symbolic and functional heart². Established originally as the seat of the Bishop of Constantinople, it grew into a second source of power in the city, alongside the Imperium, as the Ecumenical Patriarchate, displacing in importance other Eastern centres of the church such as Ephesus and Alexandria, and reaching the peak of its theological and secular power in the early seventh century during the wars with Persia³.

² In this article, we will use historical, archaeological and graphical sources to propose a reconstruction of the Patriarchal Palace, and its spatial and physical interconnection with the two churches of Hagia Eirene and Hagia Sophia (Fig. 1). The complex of the Patriarchal Palace, at what was arguably its peak of development at the end of the reign of Justinian I, was required to accommodate a range of public and private functions. 525 Patriarchal staff are listed at the time of Justinian, some of whom would have occupied the two churches of Hagia Eirene and Hagia Sophia which, together with the Patriarchate and its offices, comprised the Great Church (ἡ μεγάλη Ἐκκλησία)⁴. There were, in addition, numerous administrative staff – 78 were listed at the time of Herakleios, and there were probably considerably more at the time of Justinian⁵. Some of these were housed in the Great and Lesser Sekreta (see below). Other officials

¹ I would like to thank the Istanbul department of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut and the American School of Classical Studies in Athens for hosting me as Visiting Fellow in 2023 to enable me to complete the preliminary draft of this paper. I would also like to thank the anonymous expert reviewer, who contributing many stimulating suggestions that contributed to the arguments and editing of the paper, and Martina Koch, for her great help in editing. The paper grows out of both Westbrook's involvement in preparing plans for Dark – Kosteneč 2019, and his book, Westbrook 2019.

² This is notwithstanding the complex relation of the Orthodox patriarchs with the papacy in relation to the issue of precedence, Dvornik 1951, 3–23.

³ Dijkstra – Greatrex 2009, 223–264; Kiminas 2009; Mitsiou 2021, 204–225; Gastgeber et al. 2021; Rapp 2021, 1–23.

⁴ Justinian, *Novellae* III, 1, 535, in Toth – Rhoby 2020, 37.

⁵ Rapp 2021, 12.



Fig. 1: View of Hagia Sophia from the south-west taken by Sebah and Joaillier between 1888 and 1910

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included the clerical diplomats (*apokrisiarioi*) who undertook foreign and regional missions on behalf of the Patriarch, the ›keepers of the vessels‹ (*skeuophylakes*) who were in charge of safeguarding Patriarchal treasures, and other staff who managed the finances of charitable institutions, the treasurer or manager (*oikonomos*) who handled the accounts of patriarchal properties, and the record-keepers (*chartularoi*), who managed the various dioceses under Patriarchal authority⁶. Additionally, there would have been dormitory buildings for the monks and canons, with their refectories and kitchens for dining – Theophanes mentions two monasteries near to Hagia Eirene⁷. In addition to the dormitories and offices, periodic synods of bishops held at the Patriarchate required a large and formal reception space. However, just as was the case for the imperial palace, the Patriarchal complex also served a symbolic function – together with its adjacent churches, its spaces and architecture carried meaning, thus inviting citation⁸.

3 There are few comparanda that would assist in deducing an architectural typology for the Patriarchate. While W. Müller-Wiener, in his survey of likely Late Antique episkopeia, listed 29 examples, of which 22 are described as ›probable‹, a recent study by B. Ceylan notes that ›only three sites give enough secure data to be identified as episkopeia – Ephesus, Side and Miletos – and, even in these cases, there is very limited evidence for identifying the specific functions of different spaces‹⁹. It should be noted however that Ph. Niewöhner's recent study of the probable function of the Miletos episkopeion goes some way towards achieving this, emphasizing the use of the main hall and apsidal hall for large banquets, augmented by elaborate mosaic floors¹⁰. These examples, all located in Asia Minor, differ substantially from each other in layout, but share the characteristic of separating areas accessible by the public, and administrative areas, from the private quarters. Thanks to recent surveys, we can add several more examples: the episkopeion at Kos, with its basilican church, nymphaeum, private baths, baptistery, banquet hall and lavish mosaic floors¹¹; that of Poreč, in Istria, Croatia, with its sixth-century basilica, baptistery and patriarchal palace; the fifth-

6 Rapp 2021, 12–15.

7 Theophanes 240, in Mango – Scott 1997, 353; de Boor 1883–1885; Featherstone – Signes-Codoñer 2015.

8 On architectural citations see Bosman 2014, 11–32.

9 Müller-Wiener 1989; Ceylan 2007, 173. Ceylan 2014 provides further archaeological evidence that qualifies Rapp's interpretation (Rapp 2005, 210) that episcopal seats did not possess ›classical‹ porticoed atria.

10 Niewöhner 2020, 175–187; Moreau et al. 2020.

11 Baldini 2020, 153–166.

century episkopeion of Louloudies, Pieria¹², an 80 m × 90 m fortified complex with a large basilican church, a large residential complex with two apsed reception rooms, and large ancillary structures which may be priests' quarters, offices, stores and workshops, and the domestic and service spaces of what has been interpreted as an episkopeion in Byllis, Albania¹³, while the case of Dion in Northern Greece remains unresolved¹⁴. The evidence for the existence of such structures is, however, primarily textual.

⁴ For the most part, there was no model upon which each episkopeion was based. However, Ceylan does note three formal elements which the episkopeia of Ephesos, Side and Miletos have in common: a central courtyard to which the primary corridors connected; a large apsidal reception hall, and triclinia for hosting communal dining¹⁵. It is not possible to determine whether the Kos example followed this pattern, as the central section is destroyed, nonetheless there are features of a lavish banquet hall with evidence of a stibadium, and bathing facilities¹⁶. These elements which, however, also characterize Late Antique high-status houses, were almost certainly present in the earlier and later stages of the Patriarchal palace. If, as will be argued here, the post-532 Justinianic Patriarchate can be located south of Hagia Eirene, then we have evidence of a large fountain court, although no trace of an episcopal complex has been found, while in the known, later structure south-west of Hagia Sophia, there is evidence for a large reception hall, and textual evidence for a dining hall where the patriarch could receive the emperor, but no central courtyard (which could, however, have been located to the west). In both stages, the administrative areas would have been separated from the private quarters, and the complex would have been walled off from the public.

⁵ Historical research on the topography of the Constantinople Patriarchate and its adjacent churches began with F. Du Cange¹⁷, while modern text-based scholarship was undertaken by D. Bjeljaev¹⁸, E. M. Antoniadis¹⁹, W. S. George²⁰, A. Van Millingen²¹, J. Ebersolt and A. Thiers²², O. Wulff²³, and J. Ebersolt again²⁴. A. Vogt contributed a substantial article, in 1940, on the topography of the Patriarchal palace, in which, on the basis of the *Patria*, he suggested that the palace was located close to Hagia Eirene, north of the Augousteion forum and between Hagia Sophia and Hagia Eirene²⁵.

⁶ Post-WWII scholarship on the Byzantine-era Patriarchate includes publications by R. Guiland²⁶ and R. Janin²⁷, both of whom relied almost entirely on Byzantine, mediaeval and early-Modern textual sources. The then-Director of the Istanbul Archaeological Museums (IAM), M. Ramazanoğlu, undertook excavations in 1946–1947 in the area south of Hagia Eirene. This prompted an article by E. Mamboury, who noted that the ruins uncovered south (he writes ›east‹) of Hagia Eirene suggested the original location of the Patriarchate:

¹² Markē 2013, 1–10.

¹³ Beaudry – Chevalier 2020, 201–218.

¹⁴ Fragoulis 2020, 189–197.

¹⁵ Ceylan 2007, 183.

¹⁶ Baldini 2020, 160–162.

¹⁷ Du Cange 1680.

¹⁸ Bjeljaev 1894; Bjeljaev 1895.

¹⁹ Antoniadis 1907–1909, 61–67 and fig. IZ.

²⁰ George 1913.

²¹ van Millingen 1912.

²² Ebersolt – Thiers 1913.

²³ Wulff 1914.

²⁴ Ebersolt 1934.

²⁵ Vogt 1940, 88.

²⁶ Guiland 1956.

²⁷ Janin 1962.

»A l'Orient de cette cour, tout un complexe de constructions, dont une citerne, montre que le corps de l'église de Ste-Irène était rattaché, jusqu'à la hauteur des galeries, à d'autres édifices aujourd'hui démolis parmi lesquels on peut noter le patriarcat«²⁸.

7 In a recently discovered notebook (1949–1953), Mamboury criticizes Ramazanoğlu's interpretations of the evidence: »Numerous stamped bricks have been found, Muzaffer's connected reading of which hides the whole truth from him«²⁹. Archaeological evidence was further adduced by Ramazanoğlu's successor as Director of the IAM, F. Dirimtekin, who undertook new excavations (1958–1960), and sought to locate the boundaries of the Augusteion forum and the location of the Patriarchate³⁰. The most comprehensive archaeological analysis of Hagia Eirene and the site area to its north-east and south was undertaken by U. Peschlow, who was able to make use of a topographical map drawn by Mamboury of the area south of Hagia Eirene that was found in his archive at the DAI; it was presumably based upon his observations of the IAM excavations but exceeds in detail the site plans of Ramazanoğlu and Dirimtekin³¹. Peschlow did not, however, engage with the question of the location of the Patriarchate itself. A. Pasadaios, who wrote an insightful history of the architecture of the Patriarchate located on both its Byzantine and Ottoman-era sites³², largely adopted the topographical arguments of Janin in dealing with the complex adjacent to Hagia Sophia. He was, however, the first to suggest that the sixteenth-century Freshfield drawing of the Hippodrome probably depicts a part of the Patriarchal palace, an observation that will be explored here³³. His arguments do not appear to have been drawn upon in the studies of M. and Z. Ahunbay³⁴, Ph. Niewöhner and N. Teteriatnikov³⁵, and most recently K. R. Dark and J. Kostenec³⁶, the latter who have used both site surveys and the drawn survey of Hagia Sophia by R. L. Van Nice³⁷ to develop a generally-plausible hypothesis for the topography of the complex in the late sixth century.

8 Dark and Kostenec³⁸ have revealed many new insights into the periodization of the fourth-, fifth-, and sixth-century building fabric of the cathedral, and its later Ottoman modifications after its conversion into a mosque, as well as permitting new identifications of building features, notably a »c. 13.5 m wide and at least 24.5 m long rectilinear sixth-century structure« north of the north-east flank of the church, and built on top of an earlier hypogeum³⁹. They interpret this substantial structure to be the »Great Baptistery« which sources mention in relation to events in the fifth century⁴⁰; a »Great Baptistery« was also mentioned in the tenth century⁴¹. Dark and Kostenec also interpret structures which they associate with the Patriarchal palace – in the south-

28 Mamboury 1951, 438 f. »To the east of this courtyard, a whole complex of constructions, including a cistern, shows that the body of the church of Ste-Irene was attached, up to the height of the galleries, to other buildings now demolished, among which we can note the patriarchate« (authors' translation).

29 Mamboury notebook, 23 November 1949, (inscribed p. 17) found in Müller-Wiener archive, DAI Istanbul.

30 Dirimtekin 1963/1964, 113–127; Dirimtekin 1969, 13–35.

31 Peschlow 1977, 140 and enclosure 8.

32 Pasadaios 1976.

33 Pasadaios 1976, 63. On the Freshfield Folio: Westbrook 2011a, 231–262. The current article is a reinterpretation of the building to the left of Hagia Sophia in its Meydan view. For a digital version of the Freshfield Folio (Freshfield 1574), see: [https://www.trin.cam.ac.uk/library/wren-digital-library/\(27.09.24\): Freshfield Album](https://www.trin.cam.ac.uk/library/wren-digital-library/(27.09.24): Freshfield Album).

34 Ahunbay – Ahunbay 2003, 77–86.

35 Niewöhner – Teteriatnikov 2014.

36 Dark – Kostenec 2006; Dark – Kostenec 2019.

37 Van Nice 1986.

38 Publications of Dark and Kostenec on Hagia Sophia and the Patriarchal Palace include: Dark – Kostenec 2006, 113–130; Dark – Kostenec 2014, 33–40; Dark – Kostenec 2019.

39 On the hypogeum: Özkan Aygün 2010, 72–74 and fig. 34.

40 Malalas Chron. 15, 5, in Thurn 2000: τὸ μέγα φωτιστήριον, cited by Taddei 2017, 121.

41 De Cer II, 22, in Moffatt – Tall 2012, II, 620. Moffatt and Tall use the chapter order of Reiske (Reiske 1829–1830). See also Dagron – Flusin 2020, II, 184 f.

western corner of Hagia Sophia, they identify archaeological evidence in support of the hypothesis of M. and Z. Ahunbay that a ›Large Hall‹ was formerly located in that area, on the basis of surviving traces of sixth-century brickwork⁴². They argue that this masonry was part of the Justinianic phase of the Patriarchal palace, and identify the lost structure it belonged to with a hall later known as the Thomaites⁴³. While the evidence presented in the Dark – Kostenec survey has opened new possibilities of interpretation, one unresolved question is the architectural character of such a complex – can it be understood in the context of known Late Antique and Early Byzantine building typologies⁴⁴?

9 To supplement the limited archaeological evidence for the Patriarchal Palace, we will analyze two sixteenth-century graphical sources that, we will argue, represent the ›Large Hall‹; these have previously been analysed by N. Westbrook and others, and have proven to be capable, used with caution, of supplying topographical evidence⁴⁵. What we argue to be a hall of the Patriarchal Palace is depicted immediately to the right of the first reasonably accurate depiction of Hagia Sophia by the German-Danish artist Melchior Lorck, made at some time between 1559 and 1562⁴⁶, and almost certainly the same structure is depicted in the Freshfield Folio depiction of Hagia Sophia as viewed from the northern end of *At Meydanı*⁴⁷. Additionally, we will argue that two field drawings by Mamboury, one dated 1932, describe features in the vicinity of the Patriarchal Palace. These drawings have not, to our knowledge, been published, and indeed their significance appears not to have been previously recognised⁴⁸. One additional Mamboury drawing, of structures south of Hagia Eirene, was central to Peschlow's survey of that church, and is a valuable source for the post-532 Patriarchate⁴⁹.

10 In drawing upon this evidence, we will address two issues: firstly, the question of the topography of the Patriarchal Palace as it existed in the Justinianic period in relation to the two churches, and secondly, its architectural character and typology as it transformed through its history. Most scholars since A. Heisenberg⁵⁰ have argued that the Patriarchal palace was constructed south-west of Hagia Sophia⁵¹. If the Patriarchal palace was, at least from the reign of Justin II, located in this location, the question remains as to where it was originally located. Did it, as Dark and Kostenec argue, always occupy the site south-west of Hagia Sophia? Niewöhner and Teteriatnikov argue that construction of the Patriarchal complex required structural modifications to the original layout of the church built by Justinian I, including the construction of a large room above the south-western entrance, the Greater Sekreton, and a smaller chamber, the

42 Ahunbay – Ahunbay 2003, 77–83.

43 Dark – Kostenec 2019, 88.

44 On high-status Late Antique reception buildings, see: Arce Martinez 1997, 293–302; Scagliarini Corlàita 2003, 153–172; Arce et al. 2007, 305–336; Ceylan 2007, 169–194.

45 Westbrook et al. 2010; Westbrook – Van Meeuwen 2013; Westbrook – Van Meeuwen 2017.

46 University of Leiden, Lorck Prospect of Constantinople (Lorck 1559–1562): <https://digitalcollections.universiteitleiden.nl/view/item/2026523> (27.09.24). On Lorck prospect of Constantinople, see Fischer et al. 2009, vol. 4.

47 Freshfield folio, Trinity College Cambridge: <https://mss-cat.trin.cam.ac.uk/Manuscript/O.17.2>. The Trinity College catalogue attributes the Freshfield folio as »[p]ossibly the work of the Flemish artist Lambert De Vos«. Like Lorck, while in Istanbul De Vos also compiled drawings for a ›costume book‹ of Ottoman figures. *Kostümbuch des Lambert de Vos*, (ms. Or. 9 of the Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Bremen). The folio was drawn by an artist who was possibly in the service of St. Gerlach, the Protestant chaplain to D. U. von Sonnegg, the ambassador for the Holy Roman Emperor, whose embassy to the Ottoman court took place between 1573 and 1578.

48 The two field drawings referred to above are held in the Mamboury Archive, DAI Istanbul. One is labeled »Fouille 1932 6/I sud Ste Sophie«. The second is labeled »Statue de Justinien« and locates what Mamboury thought to be the base (presumably of the Column and statue of Justinian) on the north-eastern border of the Hagia Sophia square, south of the church grounds.

49 Peschlow 1977, enclosure 8.

50 Heisenberg 1907, 61 f. Guillard 1969, 17.

51 Guillard 1956; Janin 1962; Niewöhner – Teteriatnikov 2014; Dark – Kostenec 2019. Mango 1959 argues that it stretched along the south facade of Hagia Sophia.

Lesser Sekreton⁵², and the erection of a monumental reception hall used for church synods⁵³. Subsequently, a patriarch Thomas is recorded as having built (or restored) a great hall, the ›Thomaites‹, and having expanded the patriarchal private quarters, as well as erecting a large manuscript library, between 607 and 610⁵⁴. There has been disagreement on the location of this large hall, which was used for receptions and probably also synods.

11 Beyond the historical and topographical uncertainties, there is little evidence as to what architectural typology the fourth-century, post-532 and post-563 Patriarchal palace complexes might have corresponded. While Dark and Kosteneč have, in their recent survey of Hagia Sophia's archaeological evidence, convincingly identified the spaces and features that belonged to the Patriarchate before the conversion of Hagia Sophia to a mosque by Mehmet II, an architectural study of the Patriarchate complex has not, to date, been attempted⁵⁵.

The Textual Sources

12 Up until the fall of the Byzantine empire, the Patriarchal Palace was located adjacent to both the cathedral of Hagia Sophia and the church of Hagia Eirene⁵⁶. Substantive evidence for the location and character of the Patriarchal Palace has, until Dark and Kosteneč's survey, been predominantly textual – a number of Byzantine sources that make reference to the Patriarchate in passing were drawn upon in an article by Janin⁵⁷ who built on and corrected an earlier study on the Patriarchate by Guillard⁵⁸. Janin, who made little reference to archaeological evidence or studies of other Late Antique episkopeia⁵⁹, nonetheless extracted evidence from the titles of buildings and places; thus, early references to the complex refer to the Patriarchate as the ›Episkopeion‹ (bishop's house)⁶⁰. The first reference to the ›Patriarcheion‹ is found in Theophanes, writing in the first decades of the ninth century, but referring to events in the seventh century, the period of the rule of the church by the oecumenical patriarch Sergius (in office 610–638). By the chronicler's time, the position of the patriarch had become absolute within the Orthodox church⁶¹. There are also ninth-century references to a patriarchal hall, the ›Thettalos‹, a name Janin plausibly suggested was derived from internal revetment of Thessalian marble, the green conglomerate stone for which the region is known, and which was widely used in the Justinianic Hagia Sophia, notably in the cladding of the outer narthex, as well as for some of the large columns within the body of the church⁶². These later references place the Patriarchate south-west of Hagia Sophia and south

52 On the Sekreta see Niewöhner – Teteriatnikov 2014, 151 f.

53 Janin 1962, 137 f.

54 On the functions of the Thomaites, see Zervan 2021, 233–237.

55 There has been no architectural study of the Patriarchal palace, other than the archaeologically unsubstantiated attempt by Pasadaios 1976.

56 With the fall of Constantinople, the Patriarchate was moved briefly to the Church of the Holy Apostles, was housed in the Pammakaristos monastery from 1456 to 1587 and, after a period of temporary accommodation, moved then to the present site in Fener (Φανάρι), on the northern slope overlooking the Golden Horn.

57 Janin 1962, 131–155.

58 Guillard 1956, 27–40.

59 On bishops' palaces: Ceylan 2007, 169–194; Marano 2007, 95–129. See also Berenfeld 2009, 203–229; Hernández Cordero – Pülz 2019, 396–415.

60 Janin 1962, 131, citing Palladius, ch. 8, in Leclercq – Malingrey 1988; Migne 1863, 27.

61 Theophanes 369, in Mango – Scott 1997, 515.

62 Janin 1962, 133, citing *Theophanes Continuatus* 150, in Bekker 1838, 240–242. Bekker translated Θερταλὸν as *Thessalum*, Thettalos being an ethnonym of Thessalos. ›Green Thessalian stone‹ (ophicalcite) was used extensively in both the sixth-century churches of Hagia Sophia and Ss. Sergius and Bacchus.

of its forecourt⁶³. Following the lead of Janin, a study of the Patriarchate was made by Dirimtekin, who, in addition to textual sources, drew upon his own archaeological surveys. While his study did associate rooms and structures on three levels with the complex, Dirimtekin did not identify the ›Large Hall‹ mentioned above⁶⁴.

¹³ There is uncertainty among scholars as to the first location of the Episkopeion of Constantinople. A. Taddei argues that the pre-Justinianic location of the Patriarch's residence may have been to the north of Hagia Sophia, and associates it with the church of Hagia Eirene, which he interprets as the city's first cathedral⁶⁵. He also locates the Episkopeion in the vicinity of the convent of Olympias and the Hospice of Sampson⁶⁶. Hagia Sophia appears, however, to have retained its location from the beginning, and scholars have suggested that it may have replaced a pre-Christian building. Following F. A. Bauer and P. Speck⁶⁷, Taddei suggests that the vicinity of the Augoustaion during the Constantinian period, like elsewhere in the city, may have possessed structures that became associated with the emperor cult, and that one of these may have been converted to become the predecessor of Hagia Sophia. He also draws upon Mamboury's interpretations of excavations south of Hagia Eirene and his interpretation that the elaborate complex centred upon a large courtyard revealed by the features may have constituted the first episcopal palace⁶⁸. It should be noted, however, that Peschlow, in his survey of Hagia Eirene published in 1977, concluded that there was no evidence in the area of Hagia Eirene, or immediately south of it, of any pre-Justinianic structures⁶⁹. Thus, for example, there was no mention of the triclinium that could house receptions for forty bishops mentioned by Palladius⁷⁰. It would seem that Justinian started his reconstruction of this area with a ›clean slate‹, and erased preceding structures.

¹⁴ Certainly, the surviving remnants of structures south of Hagia Eirene, which Peschlow reconstructed as a two-storey complex centred upon a fountain-court, appear to indicate a significant building complex, but Dark and Kostenec argue for it to be a convent rebuilt by Justinian⁷¹. This interpretation is, however, somewhat at odds with Peschlow's survey, which concluded that while the earlier structures dated to Justinian's period, they were integrally connected with Hagia Eirene up until the December 563 fire described by Theophanes⁷². No Justinianic monastic buildings were identified by Peschlow, who dated two large cisterns east of the complex, and thus the structures originally located above them, to a later phase. There was, however, certainly enough site area to have accommodated both a patriarchate and one or more monasteries to

63 Janin 1962, 135, citing Kedrenos 1, 775. In locating the Patriarchate at the south-west corner of Hagia Sophia, Janin draws upon Kedrenos' account of the insurrection of the Patrikios Leontius against Justinian II, in which the conspirators gather in the Louter (forecourt or atrium) of Hagia Sophia while Leontius ascends to speak to the Patriarch Kallinagos I. This recorded event, together with other events related by Janin, confirm that the Patriarchal palace could be accessed from the atrium of Hagia Sophia, itself entered from the west.

64 Dirimtekin 1963/1964, 113–127.

65 Taddei suggests that the name *Eirênê* (peace) may have been given by Constantine I to the earlier church he built on the site in support of his aim of ecclesiastical unity, Taddei 2017, 27.

66 Taddei 2017, 21–31; Dark – Kostenec 2019, 5 f. Dark and Kostenec follow Janin's reference to descriptions of the Church of St. Eirene as the ›Patriarcheion Palaion‹. Janin 1962, 134, citing Ps-Kodinos, in Preger 1907, 214 note; Anonymus, in Banduri 1711, 89. For an interpretation of the archaeological features between Hagia Sophia and Hagia Eirene as the Hospice of Sampson, see Daffara 2015, 171–182. On the pre-Justinianic Great Church, see Taddei 2017.

67 Bauer 1996, 149, cited by Taddei 2017, 18; Speck 2000, 157–165. Speck's thesis proposed that a temple or audience hall was built during the reign of Constantine I and converted into a church after his death, although there is not yet any archaeological evidence for this; the theory has recently been revived by Özgümüş 2010.

68 Mamboury 1951, 438 f.: analysis of Ramazanoğlu's 1945–1947 excavations.

69 Peschlow 1977, 206. See also Dirimtekin 1960.

70 Saradi 2020, 170.

71 Dark – Kostenec 2019, 6.

72 Theophanes 240, in Mango – Scott 1997, 353.

the south, east and west of the courtyard, as well as the Hospice of Sampson, textually associated with this area⁷³.

15 Following Janin⁷⁴, Dark and Kosteneč associate the construction of the Patriarchate south-west of Hagia Sophia with the building programme of Justinian I after the Nika riot, while attributing the structures above the south-west vestibule, which they interpret, as do Niewöhner and Teteriatnikov, as the Great and Lesser Sekreta, to his successor Justin II.⁷⁵ They further argue, on the basis of the textual evidence for a convent created at the end of the fourth, or early fifth century, by the aristocrat Olympias⁷⁶, that lay adjacent to the ›cathedral‹, that the Patriarchate must have always stood in this position⁷⁷. Two texts provide information – the anonymous *Life of Olympias* was possibly written in the fifth century, and the later *Narration Concerning Olympias* was a text written by one Sergia, possibly a mother superior of the convent at Hagia Sophia during the reign of Heraclius, estimated by the translator Clark to have been written about 630, on the basis of references to both the Persian wars, and to Patriarch Sergius (Sergius I, patriarch 610–638†)⁷⁸. This latter account states that, following the Nika riot, the convent was rebuilt, and reconsecrated just before Hagia Sophia was. The lack of material evidence for the first Hagia Eirene does not preclude the possibility that the adjacent church in the Olympias *Vita* was the episcopal church of Hagia Eirene (for example during the period after the 404 A.D. fire that destroyed the first cathedral, and before its rebuilding was completed, when Hagia Eirene would have been used as the cathedral). The question of the location of Olympias' convent remains – was it rebuilt more or less on its original site, together with the Hospice of Sampson, north of Hagia Sophia? Sergia's account of the location of Olympias' monastery does suggest a location south-west of Hagia Sophia, however:

»[Olympias] built a monastery at an angle south of it [the cathedral]. She owned all of the houses lying near the holy church, and all the shops which were at the southern angle mentioned. She constructed a path from the monastery up to the narthex of the holy church⁷⁹«.

16 Dark and Kosteneč associate the construction of the ›Large Hall‹ with the building programme of Justinian I, citing brick stamp evidence⁸⁰, however the textual sources do not mention his involvement. Instead, it is his successor, Justin II, who is credited with its first phases of construction several decades later⁸¹. Ostensibly, unless stocks of Justinianic bricks were used for the Patriarchal works after his death in 565, this would indicate a dating between the period of construction of the church and the end of Justinian's reign. Here, the impact of the fire of 563, briefly discussed by Dark and Kosteneč⁸², is crucial (see below). It destroyed large sections of the buildings between

73 Greatrex 1997, 85 and fig. 1.

74 Janin 1962, 134; Niewöhner – Teteriatnikov 2014, 151 f.; Dark – Kosteneč 2019, 88; Pasadaios also suggests the site between the two churches of Hagia Eirene and Hagia Sophia as the probable site of the first episcopate. Pasadaios 1976, 31 f. The extant Skeuophylakion (church treasury), and first baptistery, which Dark and Kosteneč locate, on the basis of fragmentary foundations, and which would have sat above the surveyed Hypogeum, are both located north of the church, suggesting a large complex in this location. See Dark – Kosteneč 2019, 12. On Episkopeia and their functions, see Baldini 2014a, 164 f. 169.

75 On the topography of the Nika Riots: Greatrex 1997, 60–86; Westbrook 2011b, 33–54.

76 *Life of Olympias*: Clark 1979. On the familial line of Olympias, see Vedeshkin 2021, 27–39.

77 Dark – Kosteneč 2019, 6. See also Janin 1962, 134 f. 136.

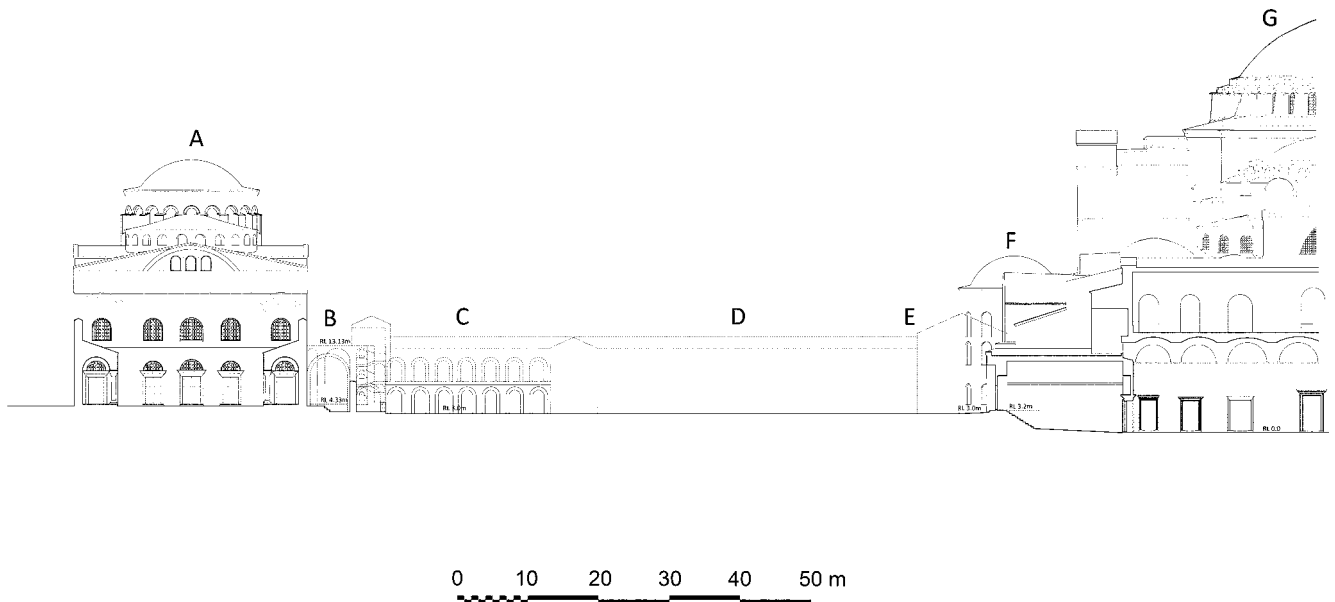
78 Sergia, *Narration Concerning Olympias*, in Clark 1979, 147. Sergia refers to the Persians burning the Monastery of St. Thomas on the Asian shore of the Bosphorus, opposite Prochthoi, where the remains of Olympias had been interred.

79 Anon., *Life of Olympias*, in Clark 1979, 131.

80 Dark – Kosteneč 2019, 49.

81 Dark – Kosteneč 2019, 50 f.; Niewöhner and Teteriatnikov date the enclosure of the south-west vestibule to the patriarchate of John III Scholastikos (565–577) and propose a terminus ante quem for its construction of 574, Niewöhner – Teteriatnikov 2014, 152.

82 Dark – Kosteneč 2019, 69.



2

Hagia Sophia and Hagia Eirene, including structures that Justinian had commissioned after the 532 Nika riot⁸³.

17 It is clear that, after Justinian's rebuilding, the two churches formed an integral complex together with the Patriarchate⁸⁴. Peschlow identified that the area south of Hagia Eirene (Fig. 2: A) at this time contained a courtyard with fountain (Fig. 2: C), to the west of which was a winding ramp connecting from ground level up to the gallery level of the church. To the east of the courtyard, he reconstructed a masonry-vaulted north-south corridor (Fig. 2: D; first identified by Mamboury) under which was a water channel, and which led to Hagia Sophia (Fig. 2: G)⁸⁵. Off this corridor, a second winding ramp to its east led up to the southern gallery in what Peschlow described as a later Justinianic phase. One significant issue is that of the relative levels of these structures south of Hagia Eirene in relation to Hagia Sophia.

18 In 1951, Mamboury had noted an estimated 3 m level difference between the floor of the excavated courtyard and the floor level of Hagia Sophia⁸⁶. Given that the entrance to the north-west vestibule of Hagia Sophia was found by Van Nice to be about 3.2 m above the narthex level, this means that it could be reached at grade from the courtyard described by Peschlow. Although no elements of it were identified in Peschlow's survey, it is thus entirely feasible that the Patriarchate, or a section of it⁸⁷, was originally part of this complex of buildings up until the 563 fire. Assuming that the area to the south-east of the church, later occupied by a large cistern, was the site of the Hospice of Sampson, there was indeed ample room for the Patriarchate to the west and south of the western spiral ramp, which would have permitted direct passage into both churches⁸⁸.

Fig. 2: Section through site between Hagia Eirene and Hagia Sophia viewing east, based upon Peschlow 1977. Hagia Eirene is hypothetically reconstructed as it may have appeared after Justinian's rebuilding following the 532 Nika riot. Legend: A. Hagia Eirene; B. east-west passage; C. courtyard with fountain; D. covered north-south passage; E. first ›Large Baptistery‹; F. skeuophylakion or treasury

83 A simple explanation for the evidence of the brickstamps is that after the 532 rebuilding, the more public reception halls of the Patriarchate were located south of the atrium, and the private quarters north of it. After the 563 fire, given the economic circumstances of the time, the private quarters may have been relocated to their position south-west of Hagia Sophia, probably during the reign of Justin II.

84 Justinian *Novellae* III, 1, 535, in Toth – Rhoby 2020, 37.

85 Peschlow 1977, 178.

86 Mamboury 1951, 439: »The level of the portico courtyard is 3 m. above that of Hagia Sophia, which suggests the presence of an intermediate terrace wall«.

87 Peschlow 1977, 206.

88 Peschlow 1977, appendix 8. It is apparent from Peschlow's survey that the destruction inflicted by the building of the southern perimeter wall of the Topkapı Palace also removed much evidence of structures north of the Hagia Sophia atrium. Saradi refers to mention in the *Acta* of 536 of a ›Winter Sekreton‹, Saradi 2020, 170, citing Schwartz 1935, 100. This may be a separate structure from the Great and Lesser Sekreta,

The Postulated First Patriarchal Palace, South of Hagia Eirene

19 The December 563 fire, which took place a little under two years before Justinian's death, was reported by Theophanes as having destroyed the church's *mesiaulon* and *meros tou narthekos*:

»In December a great fire broke out, and the hospice of Sampson was completely gutted as too were the buildings in front of the quarter of Rufus and also the middle court [τὸ μεσίαυλον], near the Great Church (the one called Garsonostasion) and the two monasteries near St Eirene, along with its middle court and part of its narthex [μέρος τοῦ νάρθηκος αὐτῆς]⁸⁹«.

20 A. Van Millingen interpreted the Garsonostasion mentioned by Theophanes as the atrium, τὸ μεσίαυλον, of Hagia Sophia⁹⁰, however Peschlow argued that it was more likely to have referred to the fountain court south of Hagia Eirene that he had documented⁹¹. It should be noted that the »quarter of Rufus« (τὰ 'Ρούφου) mentioned in the Theophanes account was not identified by the historians and remains a possible candidate for the first patriarchal palace. From Theophanes' account, it was north of Hagia Sophia and near the Hospice of Sampson⁹². Significant, too, is the reference to the »two monasteries near St. Eirene«⁹³.

21 The topography of the area south of Hagia Eirene has not been sufficiently remarked upon. Significantly, there appears to be a congruity of orientation of this church with the other structures north of Hagia Sophia. Graphically positioning Peschlow's survey in relation to Dark and Kosteneč's reconstruction of the Justinianic Hagia Sophia reveals a close alignment between Hagia Eirene, the fountain courtyard and the north-south-aligned covered passage (Fig. 3)⁹⁴. Hagia Sophia is revealed to be oriented several degrees further to the south-west than this grouping. Several of the older structures of the Hagia Sophia complex – the Theodosian Hagia Sophia's propylaion, the skeuophylakion and adjacent walls, and the »Large Baptistery«, north of Hagia Sophia⁹⁵, share the orientation of Hagia Eirene and the other structures to its south. Given that the rebuilding of Hagia Eirene, the fountain courtyard and north-south passage have all been dated by Peschlow to the Justinianic period, it would appear that after 532, the reconstruction of these buildings followed the alignment of the Theodosian phase. Furthermore, the propylaion of the Theodosian Hagia Sophia, facing an implied street to its west, aligns with the propylaion of the Justinianic Hagia Eirene. This suggests that the latter followed the alignment of the pre-532 church. Further to the north, this alignment abuts a baths complex (the Baths of Alexander?)⁹⁶ which lies east of the Istanbul Archaeological Museum and is flanked to the north-west by remains of a road. It would appear that these structures may have been rebuilt prior to the construction of the Hagia Sophia atrium, the implied propylaion of which is 23.6 m further to the west than the bottom step of the Theodosian propylaion, and faces a second, presumably later,

which are associated with the phase under Justin II. There does not appear to be a sufficiently large room in the structures south of the atrium for such a function.

89 Theophanes 240, in Mango – Scott 1997, 353.

90 van Millingen 1912, 89. See also Grossmann 1965.

91 Peschlow 1977, 211: »Da das bei dem erwähnten Brand ebenfalls zerstörte Garsonostasion dort als *Mesiaulon to plision* τῆς μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας aufgeführt wird und dieses nicht mit dem Atrium der Sophienkirche identisch ist, darf man annehmen, daß der Begriff μεσίαυλον ganz allgemein einen Innenhof bezeichnet. Von daher ist es auch nicht zwingend, daß sich »... *sin to Mesiaulon aftis* (H. Irene)« auf deren Atrium bezieht. Es könnte hier ebensogut eine andere zur Kirche gehörende Hofanlage gemeint sein«.

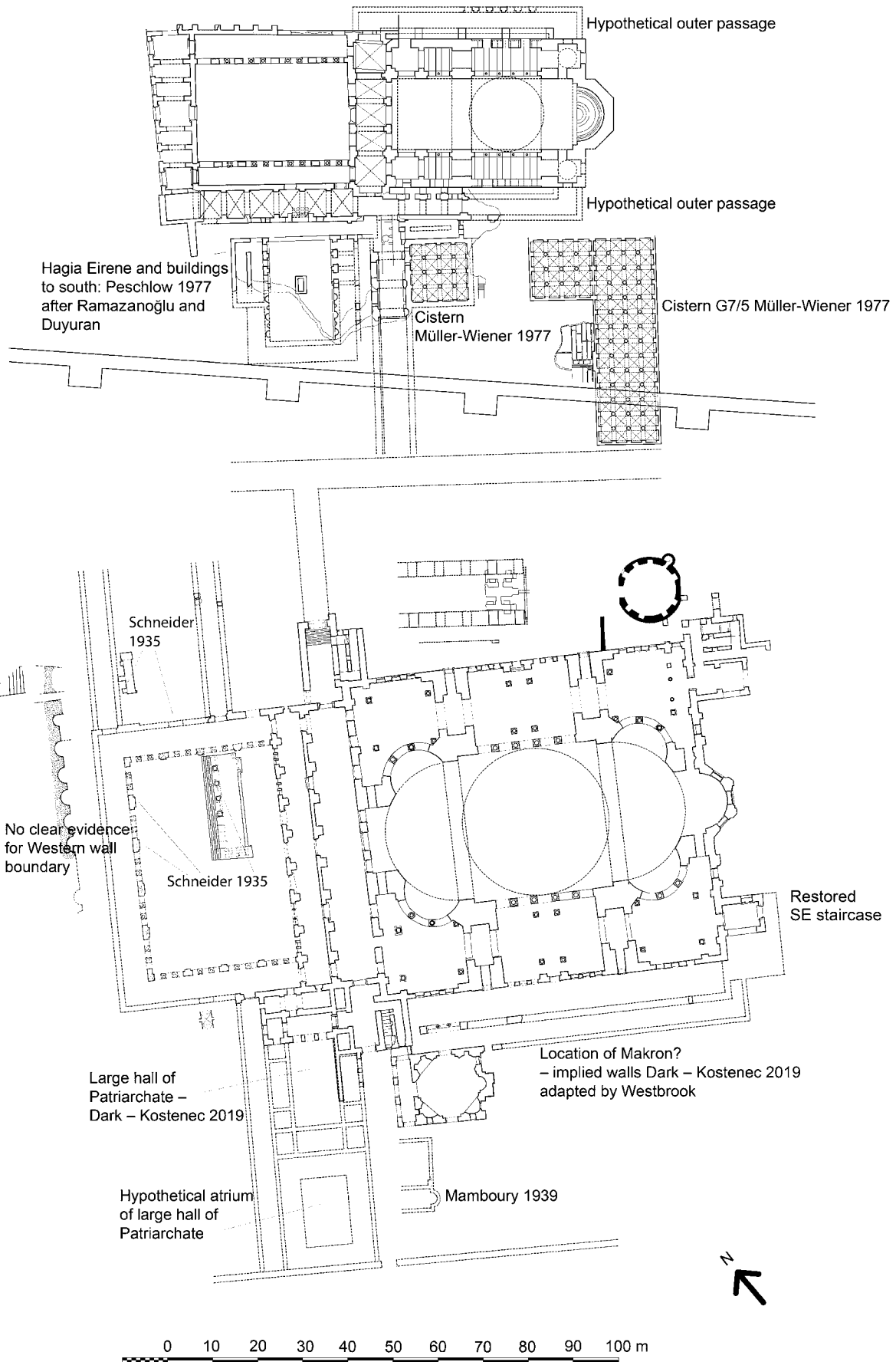
92 Janin 1950, 387.

93 Theophanes 240, in Mango – Scott 1997, 353.

94 Dark – Kosteneč 2019, fig. 31.

95 Dark – Kosteneč 2019, 62 f.

96 Müller-Wiener 1977, figs. 27, 28; Greatrex 1997, fig. 1.



3

Fig. 3: Plan of area between Hagia Eirene and Hagia Sophia, with structures identified as pre-Justinianic in black, and Justinianic in grey tone

street which aligns with features to the south associated with the monument named the Million, also rebuilt by Justinian after the 532 riot and fires⁹⁷. This raises the issue of how this expansion to the west of the Hagia Sophia site, enabled by erecting a massive retaining wall⁹⁸, no doubt to accommodate the much larger floor plan of the later church, created new site areas to the north and south of the atrium, where there are some archaeological indications of building complexes⁹⁹.

22 These correspondences also indicate the patterns of movement between the two churches. From Hagia Eirene, the covered passage ran south in the direction of the ›Great Baptistery‹ which may have opened onto it, to the west of which was the north-western vestibule of Hagia Sophia. As noted above, the fountain courtyard was at the approximate level of the top of this vestibule. The courtyard was also, on the basis of Peschlow's reconstruction drawings, about 8 m below the gallery level of Hagia Eirene, which it accessed by two ramp structures, and about 1 m below the nave level. The layout of the area comprising the two churches and their associated buildings indicates that, to the east of the north-south aligned covered passage that Peschlow dated to the Justinianic rebuilding after 532, there was a very large building complex, or perhaps two separate complexes, of later date, indicated by two cisterns (one square and the other L-shaped)¹⁰⁰. Given its extent, this area may have contained at least one of the monasteries known to have existed north of Hagia Sophia¹⁰¹, as well as the Hospice of Sampson. This leaves the area to the west and south of the courtyard without attribution. If it could be identified as the area referred to by Theophanes as the »quarter of Rufus«, then perhaps there is the possibility that this designation referred to part, or all, of the site of the earlier Patriarchal palace, and that this complex was located west of the fountain-court south of Hagia Eirene, or to its south and west¹⁰².

23 Peschlow interpreted the rebuilding subsequent to the 563 fire as comprising the area of the courtyard (*Mesiaulon*) and the rooms on the outside of the narthex (thus south and west of it) as *meros tou Narthekos*¹⁰³. The repairs to this area, the date of which is not known, but which were possibly started under Justinian and completed during the reign of Justin II, did not, significantly, restore all of Justinian's post-532 structures. Thus, for example, the ramp to the west of the courtyard and the upper floors of the gallery overlooking the courtyard¹⁰⁴ were not reinstated. If Justinian's Patriarchate had been located adjacent to Peschlow's ›Ramp 4‹ and the courtyard, as tentatively suggested here, it would have been destroyed by the blaze recounted by Theophanes, although he does not mention it – unless this is meant by his reference to the »quarter of Rufus«. Notwithstanding, it may have been shortly after this major destruction event that the Patriarchal chambers were awkwardly incorporated into the area of the south-western vestibule of Hagia Sophia, and possibly using bricks stamped during the reign of Justinian I (which could have been manufactured after the 563 event). A second possibility is, as noted above¹⁰⁵, that only the private quarters and the Sekreta were relocated, and that the ›Large Hall‹ was part of the post-532 Justinianic rebuilding.

97 Firath – Ergil 1969, 199–203 and figs. 1–6.

98 Schneider 1936, pl. 2; Müller-Wiener 1977, 90.

99 Mamboury, 1932 plan of substructures south of Hagia Sophia, Mamboury Archive, DAI Istanbul; Özkan Aygün 2010; Dark – Kostenec 2019, 67;

100 Müller-Wiener 1977, cistern G7/5.

101 Theophanes 240, in Mango – Scott 1997, 353.

102 Dark and Kostenec do acknowledge that part of the Patriarchal complex may have been located in the vicinity of the courtyard – perhaps some of the associated offices. Dark – Kostenec 2019, 63.

103 Peschlow 1977, 210 f. citing Theophanes. See Theophanes 240, in Mango – Scott 1997, 352 f.: reference to the fire damaging the *mesiaulon* »middle court« and *meros tou narthekos* »part of the narthex«.

104 Peschlow 1977, Ramp 4 and Corridors 1, 2 and 5 of plan, attachment 1.

105 Peschlow 1977, 206.

The Late Sixth-Century Patriarchal Palace South-west of Hagia Sophia

24 There is evidence contained in the remains of structures adjacent to the south-west vestibule that suggests that, regardless of the emperor commissioning the Patriarchal works, they were not part of the original design commissioned by Justinian. Indeed, It should be noted that, while attributing the vestibule, the rooms south of the atrium and the ›Large Hall‹ to the reign of Justinian I, Dark and Kostenec admit the possibility that these works constituted a later addition to the original plan for the church (Fig. 4)¹⁰⁶. The Great and Lesser Sekreta above the south-west vestibule, which Dark and Kostenec do not attribute to Justinian's building programme, may have been constructed by Justin II, and certainly indicate several stages of alteration. Niewöhner and Teteriatnikov categorise the constructions above the south-west vestibule as post-Justinianic, and note incongruous elements in the plan of the south-western vestibule of the church – the vestibule appears too tall and narrow and »out of keeping with the otherwise well-planned and well-proportioned church«¹⁰⁷. To a lesser extent, the same can be said for the plan of the ›Large Hall‹ inferred by its surviving walls – it was laid out at an awkward angle in relation to the narthex to the north. In addition, the eastern face of the outer eastern wall is about 1.1 m to the east of the western face of the south-western vestibule – it thus protrudes into the axis of the narthex. Secondly, as Niewöhner and Teteriatnikov argue, the great height of the south-western vestibule, above which the Sekreta are located, is out of proportion to its width¹⁰⁸. In contrast, it should be noted that the north-western vestibule has a much lower roof that slopes to the north. This combined evidence suggests that the ›Large Hall‹ and Sekreta are additions to the original planned layout of the church that may have required the demolition of the original south-western vestibule, and that the modifications were for the purpose of accommodating the Patriarchal complex in a new location not provided for in the original design. Niewöhner and Teteriatnikov suggest that this south-western vestibule originally served as the vestibule for the Patriarchal palace¹⁰⁹. It would appear to be a later addition to Justinian's church¹¹⁰.

25 A second issue concerns the relationship of the ›Large Hall‹, identified here with the Thomaites, with the Makron mentioned in Byzantine sources¹¹¹. Dark and Kostenec argue that the Thomaites and the Makron are two names for the same structure¹¹². However, Guiland noted Pachymeres' and Choniates' reference to two distinct structures, the Thomaites/Synodos and the Makron¹¹³. On the basis of Dark and Kostenec's survey of Hagia Sophia, we would argue that archaeological features they surveyed – fragments of two walls that are south of and parallel with the southern flank wall of the church (see below) – supports this conclusion, and that the Makron was probably a passage, on two levels, linking the south-west and south-east vestibules of Hagia Sophia (thus between the location of the diabatika of Magnaura and the Holy Well to the south-east and the Patriarchate to the south-west). A typological comparison may be

106 Dark – Kostenec 2019, 51.

107 Niewöhner – Teteriatnikov 2014, 117.

108 Niewöhner – Teteriatnikov 2014, 117, 121.

109 Niewöhner – Teteriatnikov 2014, 119, 122.

110 Niewöhner – Teteriatnikov 2014, 152. Niewöhner and Teteriatnikov date the construction of the Great and Lesser Sekreta to between 565 and 574 and thus to the reign of Justin II. On the basis of the combination of greenstone and brick, they attribute the small rooms south of the atrium to Justinian. Dark and Kostenec accept this dating, but also attribute the ›Large Hall‹ to the reign of Justinian I based upon the brick-stamps evidence noted above.

111 Janin 1962, 147 f.

112 Dark – Kostenec 2019, 86 f.

113 Pachymeres *Historia*, in Bekker 1835b, 385 and Choniates *Chronike Diegesis*, in Bekker 1835a, 732 f., cited by Guiland 1956, 28.

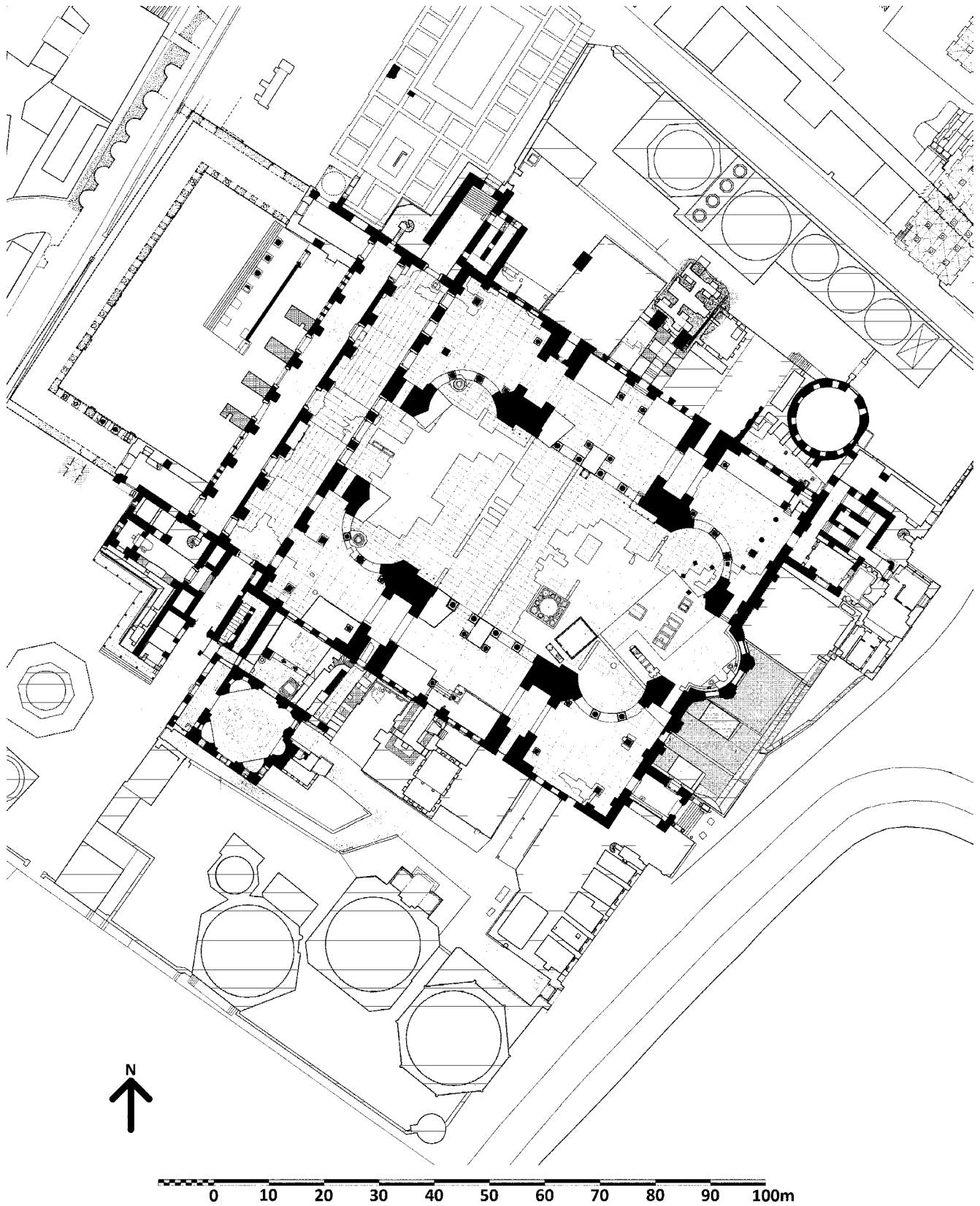


Fig. 4: Ground level plan of Hagia Sophia. Pre-Justinianic and Justinianic fabric shown in black

made to the side passages connecting to the great basilica at Trier¹¹⁴. But its association by Guiland¹¹⁵ with the gallery of the catechumens, those receiving instruction for confirmation, might suggest a religious function, as well as a convenient means for priests and high official to move around the complex without interrupting services.

26 When the new Patriarchal buildings were constructed after 563, the primary public entrance into Hagia Sophia was by the western atrium later known as the Louter¹¹⁶, from which a central gate flanked by side gates led into the narthex, while the south-western vestibule served as the entrance for the Patriarchal Palace¹¹⁷. Later, after the western entrance fell into disuse, the vestibule became the entry point both for imperial processions from the palace to the Great Church, and for public entry¹¹⁸. This would have increased the demand for structures in this area to contribute to these changed functions.

27 Consideration also needs to be given to the successive modifications to the fabric of the Patriarchal Palace to accommodate such functions. With regard to the earliest known stages of the Patriarchate, it is probable that, given the short time lapse, the building techniques would have been largely unchanged from those used for Justinian's Great Church. For example, while we lack evidence for brick and greenstone structures attributable to the reign of Justin II, it is reasonable to suppose a relative continuity in construction methods and cut-and-dried periodic distinctions based on the presence or absence of this technique may be unwise.

28 Other elements of the Patriarchate are mentioned by the texts. Thus, according to *Theophanes Continuatus*, Patriarch Thomas (607–610) built at least one large hall, the Thomaites, in the Patriarchate; this structure is recorded as having contained a Metatorion (μητατώριον: private room) for the patriarch and the visiting emperor, as well as an ecclesiastical library of manuscripts. The connection to Thomas places it in the reign of the much-maligned emperor Phokas (602–610), who also built, or perhaps commenced, the nearby Diippion church, initially dedicated to his namesake saint. The library, on the basis of an epigram by George of Pisidia in praise of the patriarch Sergius I (610–638 †), may have been established in the early seventh century. Certainly, given his long tenure, Sergius would have been in a position to make renovations after the overthrow of Phokas, perhaps, as Janin suggests, completing the work begun by his predecessor¹¹⁹.

29 The aforementioned Thettalos Triklinos, within the Patriarchate, is recorded as having served as the venue for two synods of the church in the twelfth century¹²⁰. It is not certain, but very possible, given the reference to lavish revetment, that it is a later name for Dark and Kosteneč's ›Large Hall‹¹²¹, and thus also, arguably, the Thomaites. Theophanes makes reference to the Thomaites and its library having burned in a fire of 791¹²², after which it was rebuilt and the patriarchal library was restored, and was in existence at the time of the emperor Theophilus in the ninth century¹²³. It was perhaps

114 A similar passage, or flanking pair of passages, is suggested by the archaeology documented by Peschlow 1977, attachment 1. From the southern entrance, a passage runs east towards an entrance lobby into the church of Hagia Eirene, and a fragment of a similar feature is found north of the north-east flank of the church, at approximately the same distance from it as the southern feature. Peschlow did not speculate on the function of these passages, although the southern staircases did link between the courtyard to the south and the southern passage flanking the church, thus potentially connecting the monasteries and the patriarchate to Hagia Eirene independently with respect to the public entry.

115 Guiland 1956, 29, citing De Cer I, 28, R157 (Dagron – Flusin 2020, II, 37, 286 f.).

116 Janin 1962, 135.

117 Niewöhner – Teteriatnikov 2014, 119, 122.

118 Janin 1962, 139 f.; Niewöhner – Teteriatnikov 2014, 154.

119 Janin 1962, 145.

120 Janin 1962, citing Grumel 1932–1947, nos. 1001, 1185.

121 Ahunbay – Ahunbay 2003, 77–83.

122 Janin 1962, 144 f.

123 *Theophanes Continuatus* 104, 105, in Bekker 1838, 167 f.

during this phase of renovations that the floor was raised; it may have been altered to create a vaulted basement to accommodate the library (see below). But while raising the floor above the basement would have constituted a major renovation, it is probable that the fabric of the ›Large Hall‹ remained intact, and the interior works consisted of cosmetic alterations to the revetment. Indeed, there is evidence of the great door leading from the vestibule having been raised, somewhat crudely, at this time.

30 In his *Historia*, Niketas Choniates refers to the apartments of the Patriarch Michael (possibly Michael I Cerularius, 1043–1058)¹²⁴. There are also references to the Great and Lesser Sekreta, and to the attached chapels of St. Alexios, St. Theophylact and St. Abercius¹²⁵. Janin notes that St. Alexios was used to house 23 church synods, or councils, between 1072 and 1192, a usage suggesting a building of considerable size, and that it was located close to the Augoustaion¹²⁶. As will be discussed in relation to the archaeological record of the site, there is no evidence for a large church in the vicinity of the north-west boundary of the Augoustaion. This raises the possibility that St. Alexios might be identified with the only extant large structure close to this area, the Justinianic-period octagonal hall which appears, on the basis of a baptismal font found nearby, to have functioned as a baptistery by the ninth century¹²⁷, and may have also served by the eleventh century as a chapel and a venue for synods¹²⁸. Dark and Kosteneč's argument that its original function may have originally been a triclinium for dining, on the basis of typological comparisons with Late Antique triclinia¹²⁹, is supported by the *Diegesis* on the building of Hagia Sophia, in the tenth-century *Patria*:

»Before he began to build the church, he [Justinian] built a very beautiful round chapel with a golden roof [ceiling of gold mosaic?] and with precious stones, which he named that of John the Forerunner, which is the so-called baptistery near the clock house, so that he could stay there with his grandees, and also eat there often«¹³⁰.

31 The question of the identity and location of the Makron is informed by the account by Choniates of the battle between supporters of Maria Komnenos and her husband Rénier of Montferrat and those of Maria of Antioch, regent of the young heir to the throne, Alexis II¹³¹. The narrative locates the ›basilica‹ (the hall of the Patriarchate), with the forum of the Augoustaion to its south, the Milion to its west, the chapel of St. Alexios to its north-east, and the church of St. John Diippion to its south-west. Reference is made to soldiers firing arrows from the top of the Makron and Thomaites to defend Maria's troops in the Augoustaion. Choniates' account relates the Makron to the Augoustaion and the Thomaites¹³².

124 Choniates *Historia*, 248 f., in Magoulias 1984, 139 f.

125 Janin 1962, 133. 138. Janin attributes the construction of St. Alexios to the saint's namesake, Patriarch Alexios the Studite (1025–1043).

126 Pasadaios 1976, map 2. Pasadaios, in his reconstruction of the Patriarchal palace, locates the church of St. Alexios in the south-west corner of the complex, however there is no archaeological evidence for such a church, let alone one that could accommodate a synod, unless it is another name for the so-called Baptistry, which was located overlooking the Augoustaion.

127 Dark – Kosteneč 2019, 55 f., citing Anon. *Diegesis*, in Preger 1907, 82; see also Anon. *Diegesis*, in Berger 2013, 239.

128 Janin refers to the church of St. Alexios »which adjoins the atrium of the Augustaion« as having housed five synods. It is possible that the ›Baptistry‹ was rededicated by the Patriarch Alexios (patriarch 1025–1043) after his namesake, Janin 1962, 143.

129 Dark – Kosteneč 2019, 55.

130 Anon. *Diegesis*, in Berger 2013, 239. There is also a reference to the emperor dining with the patriarch at the Large Sekreton. See De Cer II, 52, in Moffatt – Tall 2012, II, 761.

131 Choniates *Historia*, 233–240, in Magoulias 1984, 131–135. On the battle at the Augoustaion, see also: Mango 1959, 92. 94–96; Janin 1962, 134 f. 137–139; Pasadaios 1976, 58–63.

132 Mango translates the passage as »juted into« whereas Magoulias gives »faced in the direction of«, Mango 1959, 95; Magoulias 1984, 134.

32 Several tentative conclusions can be made from Choniates' passage. Firstly, the gallery of the Catechumeneia faces the Augoustaion, thus, it is parallel to both the church and the forum. Secondly, the text distinguishes between two structures, the Makron and the Thomaites. The Makron is suggested here to have been a passage (»the gallery of the Catechumeneia«), rather than Janin's identification of the Makron as the Thomaites¹³³. Also, instead of Stichel's suggestion that the Thomaites was identifiable with the hall with »six colossal columns« in the Augoustaion that he associates with the Senate house¹³⁴, if one instead identifies it with Dark and Kosteneč's ›Large Hall‹ at the south-west corner of the Great Church, then the Makron can be hypothesized as a passage on two levels¹³⁵ that ran east-west from the south-east vestibule of Hagia Sophia to the Baptistery. Significantly, Dark and Kosteneč found fragments of what they interpret to be two substantial, east-west directed walls, south of the southern wall of the church. The thickness of the northern-most wall is about 1.5 m., and that of the southern one, which aligns with the northern wall of the Baptistery, is about 1.1 m¹³⁶. The space between the walls is 5 m, suggesting the possibility of a large passage connecting between the south-western and south-eastern vestibules, but also giving access to the Baptistery and to the staircases up to the gallery level of the church, thus providing an internal form of communication that would not have required entry into the nave or gallery of the church. An analogous example is provided by the tenth-century Book of Ceremonies, which mentions another ›Makron‹, a long passage connecting between the inner core of the Great Palace and its Chalke Gate¹³⁷. On this basis, it is plausible that the Makron that lay between the Augoustaion and the Hagia Sophia was, similarly, a roofed passage – which in the battle recorded in the Choniates passage would have permitted the defending troops to use it as a vantage point for firing down from an upper level on the opposing imperial troops in the Augoustaion. Reused elements found in this area may possibly be spoliated from the Makron – thus, Justinianic-period columns and capitals are found in the heavily-modified north porch of the Baptistery, the north wall of which aligns with the south wall of the 5 m-wide passage suggested by the wall fragments identified by Dark and Kosteneč, who note that a passage once existed to the west and east of the porch¹³⁸. Such a passage would have connected to the large winding staircase in the south-western buttress connecting up to the gallery level, but also accessing the Sekreta above. Here it might be hypothesized that the extant upper level of the north-west flank of the ›Baptistery‹ may have coincided with an upper level of the Makron/Catechoumeneia, accessible by the winding staircase. For a list of Byzantine and Mediaeval references to the Patriarchal Palace, refer to Fig. 5.

133 Janin 1962, 147, citing Pseudo-Codinus, or Kodinos, who refers to the Thomaites facing the Augoustaion.

The person who is about to be crowned enters the Thomaites, then is raised up above the crowd on a shield; Kodinos, in Bekker 1839, 86–88.

134 Stichel 2000, 16. Stichel suggests that the Thomaites may have been a later name for the former Senate house, located at the forum of Augoustaion.

135 Dark – Kosteneč 2014, 35–37.

136 Dark – Kosteneč 2019, 56 f. and figs. 24, 31.

137 De Cer I, 48, in Moffatt – Tall 2012, 252 translate μακρόνια as »long passage«; Dagron – Flusin 2020, I, 57, 102; Bardill 2006b.

138 Dark – Kosteneč 2019, 91 and fig. 78. There are also archaeological remains to suggest that a similar pair of East-west external passages existed in the Justinianic Hagia Eirene. See Fig. 2 and Peschlow 1977, enclosure 1.

Date	Building cited	Author/Source
early fifth century	›bishop's house«	Palladius, Bishop of Helenopolis, fifth century
early seventh century	Thomaites, built or renovated under Patriarch Thomas (607–610) during reign of Phokas (602–610); Metatorion; library	<i>Theophanes Continuatus</i> , tenth century
early seventh century	Library reconstructed and renovated by Patriarch Sergius (610–638)	George of Pisidia, seventh century
eighth to early ninth century	library burnt in 791 (in reign of the Isaurian Constantine VI) and rebuilt by the reign of Theophilus (829–842)*	Theophanes <i>Chronographia</i> , eighth/ninth century
early ninth century	›Patriarcheion«	<i>Theophanes Continuatus</i> , tenth century
early ninth century	›Thettalos Triklinos«	<i>Theophanes Continuatus</i> , tenth century
eleventh century	apartments of the Patriarch Michael, (τα οικήματα ὧν δομήτωρ ὁ πατριάρχης γέγονε Μιχαήλ)** Great and Lesser Sekreta, and to the attached chapels of St. Alexios, St. Theophylact and St. Abercius.	Niketas Choniates, <i>Historia</i> , twelfth-thirteenth century
fifteenth century	›Domus Pape«	Cristoforo Buondelmonti, fifteenth century

* Theophanes 467, in Mango – Scott 1997, 641: »[In a fire in December 791] [t]he patriarchal residence's reception hall, known as the Thomaites, burned, as did the quaestor's residence and many other buildings all the way to the Milion«.

** Choniates *Historia*, 249 in Magoulias 1984, 140. »to the sacred palace built by Patriarch Michael«. In discussing this passage, Janin does not decide between the patriarchs Michael I Cerularius (1043–1058) and Michael II Kourkouas (1143–1146), Janin 1962, 143.

5

Fig. 5: Table of Patriarchal buildings cited by Byzantine and Early Modern sources

Vertical Movement in the Patriarchal Palace

33 Janin hypothesized the vertical connections between the different rooms of the Patriarchate, drawing upon a 1955 report of walled-up openings in the walls supporting the minaret of Selim II, south-west of the Great Church's narthex and through which one originally entered the Patriarchate from the church's narthex¹³⁹. It is thus probable that here was located the private staircase of the Patriarchate, connecting from the Sekreta and the private apartments down to the atrium/Louter, by way of the church's narthex¹⁴⁰. This staircase should be distinguished from the large winding staircase in the south-west buttress communicating between the ground level of the Great Church and its south-western gallery, and also giving access to the Great and Lesser Sekreta of the Patriarchate¹⁴¹.

34 Another description of the wider topography of the Patriarchate is supplied by a chapter in the tenth-century Book of Ceremonies that describes the procession of a »female patrician with belt«, or *zoste patrikia* – she passes through the small iron gate of the *chyτος* (a structure with a pent roof?)¹⁴² of the Chalke vestibule, and enters the Great Church at the chapel of the Holy Well, or *hagiasma*, where she prays at a portable altar. After the ceremony, she is accompanied »up to the robing-room at the Thomaites«¹⁴³. Contrary to Guiland and Janin's interpretation followed by Stichel, which places the Thomaites at the eastern end of the square of the Augoustaion¹⁴⁴, it is argued here, following Dark and Kosteneč¹⁴⁵, that this location is unlikely, and that from the chapel of the Holy Well the *Zoste* ascends, then passes through the gallery of the Great Church,

139 Janin 1962, 140 f. See also Dark – Kosteneč 2019, 48 f. and 83: blocked door.

140 Dark – Kosteneč 2006, 123; Niewöhner – Teteriatnikov 2014, 153 f.; Dark – Kosteneč 2019, 53. The *Louter* was presumably named after the large circular ablution basin, or *Λεοντόριον*, located at its centre.

141 »From the 7th c. onward the term *sekretion* was applied to both the patriarchal court or council and the patriarch's council hall; later the patriarchal *sekretion* was identified with the bureau of the chartophylax ..., but the term could be extended to other departments of the patriarchate.«, Kazhdan 2005, 245 ›Sekretion«. See also Russo 2010, 125–136.

142 This is the interpretation given in Moffatt – Tall 2012, 828.

143 De Cer I, 50, in Moffatt – Tall 2012, I, 260; Dagron – Flusin 2020, I, 59, 118.

144 Guiland 1956, 16; Janin 1962, 145 and plan; Stichel 2000, 16.

145 Dark – Kosteneč 2019, 87 f.

or the Catechoumenia (κατηχουμενεῖα) as Guiland argues¹⁴⁶, in order to enter the Patriarchate (and probably descend by its internal staircase) and thus to reach the private room (metatorion) of the Thomaites which was, therefore, overlooking the western end of the Augoustaion. By the late Byzantine period, the latter was no longer, at least in its entirety, a walled forum¹⁴⁷. A passage in Buondelmonti's account of Constantinople in his *descriptio* of c. 1420, suggests that there was a clear view of the Hippodrome from the vicinity of Hagia Sophia – women of the court are described as viewing jousting in the Hippodrome from windows¹⁴⁸. Freshfield associated this description with those balconies depicted in front of the large structure south-west of the Great Church in the depiction of Hagia Sophia in the Freshfield Folio which we will argue below to be the ›Large Hall‹, or Thomaites. The apparently-timber balcony shown in the drawing in front of the large structure appears to be a later addition, perhaps making use of the access effected by a gallery level over a narthex¹⁴⁹.

Dependencies of the Patriarchate

35 S. Gerlach, an ecclesiastical member of D. Ungnad von Sonnegg's 1570s embassy retinue, (see below) referred in his diary entry of 31 January 1575 to a monastery of St. John, »ein hoch, wunderseltzam und über die Massen weites Gebäu«¹⁵⁰, located in front of Hagia Sophia, and which was in the process of being torn down. It was, most probably, the building depicted in the Freshfield Hippodrome drawing (indeed Gerlach may have added the text above the drawing). Certainly, there appears to have been a complex layout of passages and spaces between the western enclosing wall of Hagia Sophia's grounds and the pathway leading up to the south-west vestibule. Here, it is worth noting Buondelmonti's reference to 800 clergy residing in the vicinity of Hagia Sophia, which, although the numbers appear to be inflated, suggests the existence of a large monastery and ecclesiastical offices in this area¹⁵¹.

36 Dark and Kostenec note the remains of a south-aligned wall which was bonded to the south-west corner of the sixth-century rooms south of what they label »the south atrium wing«, and on which they note the springing of an arch. It would appear, therefore, that a passage ran between this wall and the western flank of the ›Large Hall‹, giving access to this wing, and permitting a direct connection between a building to its west and the Patriarchate¹⁵². There is also the possibility, given the ample site area to north and south of the forecourt, that ecclesiastical offices and lodgings existed in both locations.

37 As the western, triple entrance from the church's narthex into the atrium remained the main public and processional entrance into at least the Middle Byzantine period¹⁵³, it is evident, as noted above, that the south-western entrance was not originally intended for the public but served to conveniently connect the palace and church with

146 Guiland 1956, 15.

147 The Freshfield Folio view of Hagia Sophia does show a large, but fragmentary, masonry wall in front of the Hagia Sophia grounds; Freshfield 1574, sheet o 17.2.

148 Buondelmonti *Liber Insularum Archipelagi*, in Edson 2018, 180; Effenberger 2005; Siebert et al. 2005, 148.

149 Freshfield 1929, 522.

150 Gerlach 1674, cited by Stichel 2000, 1 f.

151 Siebert et al. 2005, 147 f; Drakoulis 2014, 202.

152 Dark – Kostenec 2019, 49 and figs. 37. 41.

153 There is no consensus as to when the western entrances went out of use, but this perhaps occurred after 989 when the western dome arch and semidome were destroyed, after which buttresses were built to prevent the western narthex wall from collapsing. Dark and Kostenec follow Mainstone and Curčić in dating the lower buttresses to the tenth century and the taller, central buttresses to a period after 1204, Dark – Kostenec 2019, 110, citing Mainstone 1988, 104, and Curčić 2004, 9.

the Patriarchate¹⁵⁴. It took on the function of the primary entrance vestibule only when the great western triple entrance went out of use. An unresolved question remains as to why this arrangement had not originally been incorporated into the Justinianic phase. The impact of the 563 fire on the topography of the area between the two churches has been discussed above. The changed route may also have reflected changes in usage or ritual, such as the emperors' passage from the Chalke Gate via the Augoustaion and past the Patriarchal palace to enter the Great Church. If one accepts Feissel's reading of the sources for the Augoustaion, then this route would take the procession past the western end of the Tribunal in front of the Senate house, upon which a number of imperial statues were erected on columns and plinths, towards the gate (possibly the location of the *Horologion*, or clock) leading to the south-western vestibule of the Great Church¹⁵⁵. Thus, this route would both connect the imperial station with the church, and with past emperors who lent the imperium its legitimacy.

38 To return to the topography of the Patriarchate, the question of where the men's monastery, and the various Patriarchal offices cited by Janin were located remains unsolved¹⁵⁶, although two likely candidates would be the site to the west of the ›Large Hall‹ identified by Dark and Kostenec¹⁵⁷, and the large site north of the atrium and south of Hagia Eirene, later occupied by the Ottoman-era medrese, imaret and other structures, and adjacent to the fountain court and the Hospice of Sampson discussed by Peschlow¹⁵⁸.

Archaeological Evidence for the Patriarchal Palace

39 Archaeological evidence for the Patriarchal palace is limited to the material evidence of Hagia Sophia, Hagia Eirene itself, and the fragmentary structures that have been noted between them. Comparative studies of episkopeia such as that of Ceylan are of limited use, other than to identify the similarities between these complexes and high-status residences. Ceylan associates the increased complexity of Early Byzantine episkopeia with bishops being given increasing responsibility for secular duties, such as bishops' courts and charitable institutions. However, in the context of Constantinople, such functions as justice and charity were also the province of the municipal and praetorian prefects¹⁵⁹. Nonetheless, the Patriarchal Palace shares certain elements, such as an audience hall, triclinium for dining, library and scrinium, as well as private quarters, although there is no evidence for the baths found in the other episkopeia, against which Ioannis Chrysostomos had fulminated¹⁶⁰. The primary archaeological resource, as it was for Dark and Kostenec's recent topographical and architectural surveys of the Patriarchal Palace and Hagia Sophia, in addition to their thorough periodization of the building fabric, mosaics and frescoes, is the exhaustive documentation of its fabric, as it existed at the time, by Van Nice (Figs. 4, 6)¹⁶¹. Dark and Kostenec have been able to supplement Van Nice's drawings where removal of plaster has revealed bonded masonry or breaks in fabric, thus providing evidence for phasing¹⁶².

154 Niewöhner – Teteriatnikov 2014, 151 f.

155 Feissel 2018, 133.

156 Janin 1962, 150.

157 Dark – Kostenec 2019, 88.

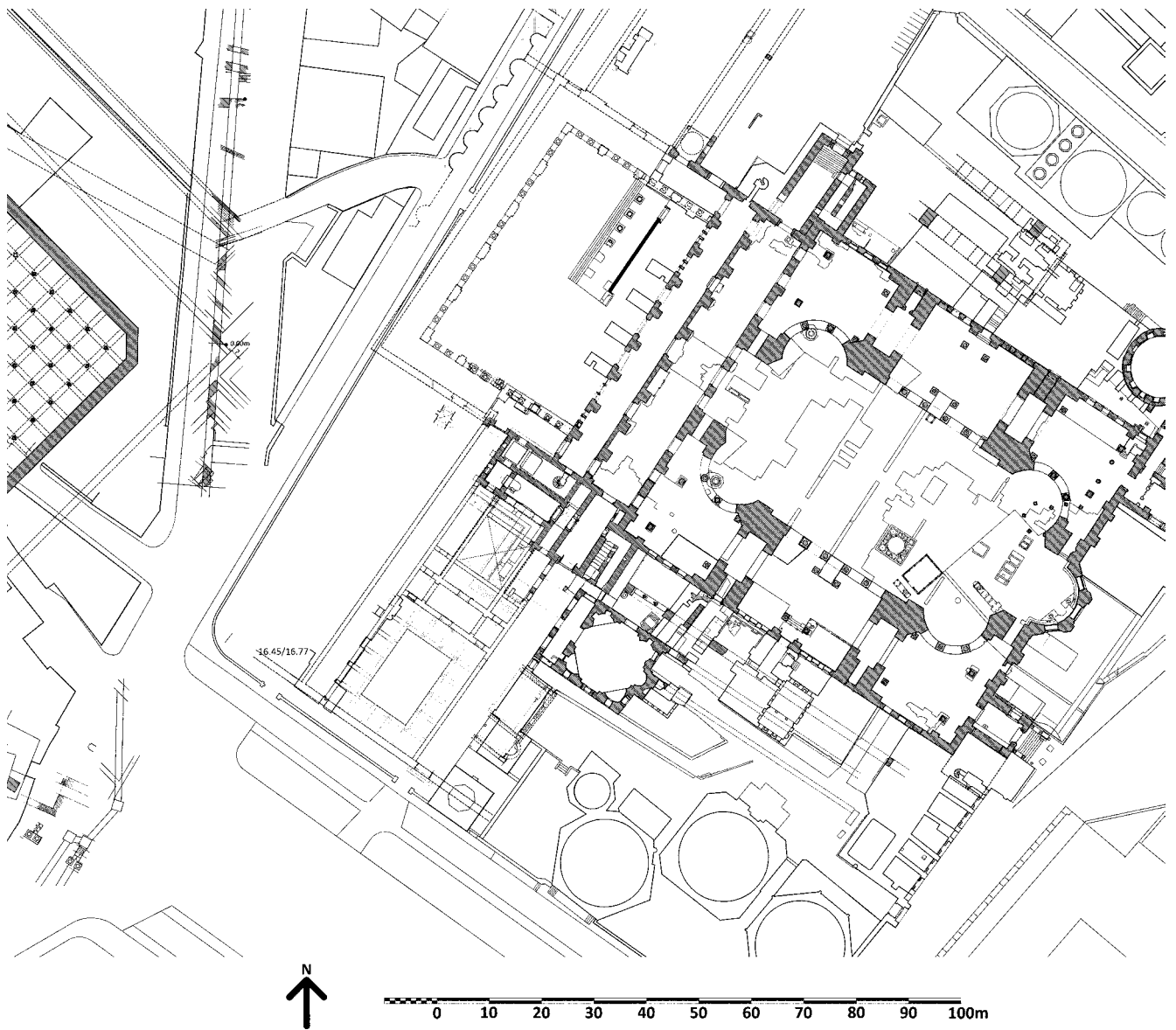
158 Peschlow 1977, 160–184. 210 f. and enclosure 1.

159 Ceylan 2007, 172.

160 Palladios, ch. 13, in Leclercq – Malingrey 1988, 115. 152.

161 Van Nice 1986, foreword and pl. 1–46.

162 Dark – Kostenec 2019, 7.



6

40 In addition to the Van Nice survey drawings, earlier archaeological evidence for the Patriarchal palace is provided by two field sketches with dimensions made by the Swiss amateur archaeologist, Mamboury, two of many field drawings he prepared during decades he spent inspecting trenches dug in central Istanbul for hydraulic and sewer pipes by the Istanbul authorities. The first drawing, dated by Mamboury to 1932, describes an excavation south of Hagia Sophia which revealed a series of 0.65 m piers which appear to be regularly spaced, at 3.80 m apart (Fig. 7)¹⁶³.

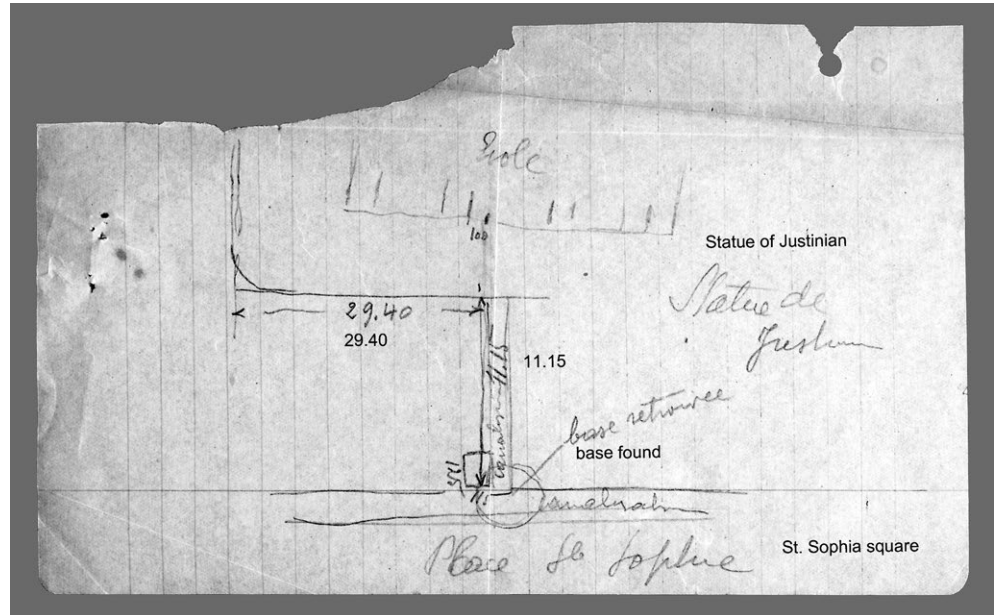
41 Dirimtekin, the then-director of the Istanbul Archaeological Museums, referred in an article of 1969 to a number of piers on marble bases at intervals of 3.4–3.5 m that were revealed in an excavation he had conducted in 1962 at the south-west corner of the Hagia Sophia gardens inside its circuit wall, and which extended to a length of 4.75 m from the southern (S-W) wall¹⁶⁴. Behind (north of) these »undoubtedly Byzantine« col-

Fig. 6: Plan of redrawn Mamboury feature recorded in 1932 (DAI Mamboury archive), overlaid on plan of Hagia Sophia and hypothesized Patriarchal Palace and 1913–1914 Contag and Haverstadt survey of Istanbul, map G6/1

163 Mamboury Archive, DAI Istanbul. The drawing in the DAI archive has been later labeled »South of Hagia Sophia Sheet 3 1952« but Mamboury's own inscription states: *fouille 1932 6/1 (6 June?) Sud Ste Sophie*.

164 Dirimtekin 1969, 13–35. These columns and bases were found at a depth of 2.75 m below the then-present ground level – presumably that of the public square to the south – and 3.75 m below the ground level of the Hagia Sophia church.

Fig. 7: Field sketch of feature found south of Hagia Sophia by E. Mamboury (1936?) (DAI Mamboury archive)



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umns and bases, at an unspecified distance, remains of walls were stated to have been found. The columns were found to continue to the west until 1.8 m from the western stretch of the circuit wall, beyond which no further remains of walls were found. Dirimtekin's article included a map of the area indicating projections of the north-west and north-east boundary walls of the Augoustaion, but he did not provide a detailed drawing of the archaeological features. The north-western alignment noted by Dirimtekin accords, however, with the wall fragments and piers that had been noted by Mamboury in 1932 (Figs. 4. 6). It seems evident that the wall and portico noted by Dirimtekin formed the north-western limit of the Augoustaion and, furthermore, may have continued at an angle of about 31° east of north to skirt the north-western perimeter of the Hagia Sophia atrium, or connect with its north-western portico, as traces of a matching door were noted in the northern corner by Schneider, as reproduced by Müller-Wiener¹⁶⁵.

42 The following year, 1963, Dirimtekin's excavation team conducted a series of sondages extending some 50 m to the north (N-E) of the original trench, which located remains of Ottoman structures, and a »stone chamber« of 3.5 × 3.5 m accessed by a descending staircase (a cistern?) and situated at an unspecified depth. Significantly, in this area to the south-west of Hagia Sophia, Dirimtekin reported no traces of the Patriarchal Palace¹⁶⁶. However, Mamboury's 1932 field survey sketch, relating to a feature south-west of Hagia Sophia, may well relate to Dirimtekin's arcade, despite the difference in reported pier spacing (Fig. 6)¹⁶⁷.

43 Placing the Mamboury drawing at scale on a map of the area encounters difficulties, as there is no clear reference point given. Mamboury noted two dimensions, 16.45 m and 16.77 m, which probably refer to the distances from the western-most excavation feature to the inner and outer faces of the south-western boundary wall of the Hagia Sophia grounds. Indeed, if the drawing is overlaid at scale on a satellite photograph the distance measures a little over 16 m (Fig. 3)¹⁶⁸. The features appear to belong

165 Schneider 1936, 210–213; Schneider 1941; Müller-Wiener 1977, fig. 75.

166 Dirimtekin 1969, 22. 33. In fact, Dirimtekin rejected the location of the »important parts« of the Patriarchate in this location, proposing instead a location at the north-western corner of Hagia Sophia.

167 The feature is shown in grey tone near the south-western corner of the Hagia Sophia grounds on Fig. 6.

168 Mamboury used a system of reference points for his street surveys, such as landmarks or street-lights. In this case, the south-western corner of the boundary wall of the Hagia Sophia enclosure was the only feature

to a very large structure – the excavated portion is 23.86 m south-west to north-east, and 9.65 m wide at its widest point. There is no information given as to the construction technique or materials, but the features are located immediately to the south-west of the area identified by Dark and Kosteneč as site of the ›Large Hall‹ of the Byzantine Patriarchal complex¹⁶⁹. The excavators' trenches must have been located to the west of the then-existing Ottoman ›school‹ (*sıbyan mektebi*, or primary school) and the circular base of the *şadırvan*, the Ottoman fountain (Fig. 4). An L-shaped wall outline may here correspond to the western flank of the ›school‹ (Fig. 7).

44 Applying these two parameters, the series of piers appears to align not with the initially-postulated outer wall of the ›Large Hall‹, but with the continuation of the wall to its west implied by the pier with a south-springing arch fragment attached to the southern wall of the former atrium¹⁷⁰. If so, these features must belong to an as-yet unknown large structure, perhaps a monastic building or ecclesiastical offices, given the reference by Gerlach (see above) to a monastery in the area¹⁷¹. Further to the east, Mamboury had, in 1939, recorded Byzantine wall structures, including a west-facing apse feature, to the south of the south-west Baptistery¹⁷² wall (Fig. 6). The field drawing was redrawn and published by Cyril Mango¹⁷³, and was included in an appendix containing Mamboury's field observations¹⁷⁴. These structures appear to have faced the pathway leading north to the south-west vestibule of Hagia Sophia.

45 On Fig. 7, which reproduces a drawing first discussed by Bardill¹⁷⁵, another feature recorded by Mamboury is shown – a marble block 1.25 m × 1.15 m was located in a trench at a distance of 11.15 m south of the Hagia Sophia perimeter boundary and 29.4 m east of the continuation of the western perimeter boundary. This feature, shown as within »Place Ste. Sophie« is recorded with the inscription »Statue de Justinian base retrouvée«. The feature appears to be too far to the north to be part of the lost column and statue of Justinian I for such an attribution, and its identity remains unknown¹⁷⁶. The marble block, rather than belonging to Justinian's great column, may have been associated with the rostrum noted above, that lay within the Augoustaion in front of the Senate house, and on which was located a group of imperial statues¹⁷⁷.

46 Overlaying Mamboury's redrawn plan onto a plan of the site, it is possible to locate the wall and niche north of the Muvakkithane (clock room) and immediately east of the Ottoman *Mütevelliler dairesi* (trustee's office) south of the ›Baptistery‹, and in relation to the western-most of its southern windows (Fig. 6). These structures can be reconstructed as a small chapel to the south, indicated by an apse at its eastern end, and perhaps a rectangular hall to the north, both oriented to the west, and thus to the ramping pathway that formerly led up from the gate (possibly in the vicinity of the *Horologion* or clock) to the south-western vestibule of Hagia Sophia.

47 The features described by Mamboury in 1932 and 1936 (?) (Figs. 6, 7) describe the western boundary of a rectangular space south of the postulated ›Large

that corresponded to the dimensions. The location of the excavation was limited to its east by the existing religious school and fountain. In locating the Mamboury measurements, we have overlaid the 1913–1914 Contag u. Haverstadt Survey of Istanbul, map G6/1 onto a satellite aerial view of the site.

169 Dark – Kosteneč 2019, 87 f.

170 Dark – Kosteneč 2019, 49 and fig. 41.

171 Gerlach 1674, 79, 131, cited by Stichel 2000, 1 f.

172 This is the ›Small Baptistery‹, labeled by Dark and Kosteneč to distinguish it from the, probably fifth-century, ›Great Baptistery‹, Dark – Kosteneč 2019, 55–59.

173 Mango 1959, 183 and fig. 35.

174 Mamboury, in Mango 1959, 183.

175 Bardill 1997, fn. 67.

176 The reference on the drawing to an ›Ecole‹ is to the *sıbyan mektebi*, or primary school, formerly in this location.

177 Parastaseis, in Cameron – Herrin 1984, 68.

Hall structure surveyed by Dark and Kostenec, which may plausibly have formed its forecourt¹⁷⁸. Further to the west, there appear to have been located further building structures, indicated by Mamboury's field sketch, for which we have no further textual or archaeological information, other than a recent survey of subterranean structures¹⁷⁹. Dark and Kostenec's reconstruction of Hagia Sophia in the sixth century makes evident that there was a large site (E-W about 27 m) both to the north and south of the church's forecourt, facing a street to the north-west which, on the basis of passages in the Book of Ceremonies, might be identified with the steps of Athyras probably leading north to the Forum of Leo I, and south to the Mese street (ἡ Μέση Ὁδός)¹⁸⁰.

Peschlow Survey of Hagia Eirene

48 As discussed above, the archaeological survey of Hagia Eirene by Peschlow, although not hypothesizing a location for the Patriarchal Palace, is of great significance in placing it into a constructional sequence that was directly related to the two great fires of 532 and 563 (Figs. 2, 3). Peschlow reevaluated the excavations conducted by Ramazanoğlu and Dirimtekin, in establishing the first evident building stage on this site as a reconstruction by Justinian of Hagia Eirene and the buildings to its south after the Nika riot (thus post-532). In revealing structures that went out of use after the 563 fire, including the upper level of the courtyard corridors, the ramp structures and the large masonry-vaulted ›Corridor 9‹ leading south to the atrium of Hagia Sophia, Peschlow demonstrates the fragmentation of this complex, providing a plausible argument for why the Patriarchate, or sections of it – the private quarters? – might have been relocated, and was subsequently constructed in the south-western corner of Hagia Sophia in what was a more constricted site. As noted above, he was assisted in his survey by Mamboury's own measured drawing of the area south of Hagia Eirene¹⁸¹. Peschlow's survey, although covering the time span from the Justinianic period, indicates how the area between the two churches might have developed before 532, on the basis of Schneider's excavation of the western propylaion of the atrium of the Theodosian second Hagia Sophia, facing a north-east-aligned road. All other structures must have been located south-east of this alignment at the time. In enlarging the site north-west of Hagia Sophia by the construction of massive retaining walls, Justinian also greatly increased the available area for buildings associated with the two churches (see Fig. 3).

The ›Large Hall‹

49 One key objective for Dark and Kostenec in their Hagia Sophia survey was locating the Patriarchal Palace, and testing the evidence for the Ahunbays' hypothesis of the existence of a large hall associated with it, south-west of the church¹⁸². In a 2006 article, Dark and Kostenec described the brickwork features of an implied large structure

178 Dirimtekin 1969, 32 f. Dirimtekin, referring to what he believes to be the northern colonnade of the Augustaion, states: »... the colonnade ended at a distance of 1.80 m from the circuit wall.« By this he appears to mean that its western extremity was 1.8 m inside the western wall of the church enclosure. This row of »undoubtedly Byzantine« columns was described as »square columns supported by simple marble bases« [no dimensions given], at centres of 3.4–3.5 m, and their bases were measured at a depth of 2.7 m below the present-day ground level. Curiously, Dirimtekin did not find any wall north of the columns, throwing into doubt whether they belonged to the forum. An alternative explanation is that they belonged to the Patriarchal Palace forecourt or the convent.

179 Özkan Aygün 2010, 76 and fig. 50.

180 De Cer I, 10, 74; De Cer I, 28, 156; De Cer I, 30, 164, in Dagron – Flusin 2020, I, 19, 140; I, 37, 286 f.; I, 39, 300. On Forum of Leo I, see Dark – Harris 2008.

181 Peschlow 1977, 140 and enclosure 8.

182 Ahunbay – Ahunbay 2003, 77–83.

which the Ahunbays had briefly described, but here in greater detail – coursing, brick arches, vaulting and springing, basement structures and fragments of walls, based upon their own field observations¹⁸³. They identified two large soldier arches in the walls to the north (NE) (Fig. 8) and east (SE) belonging to the lost structure. These arches were argued to possess approximately the same diameter; on the north-east wall are revealed the traces of a large arch of at least four soldier courses, and an internal diameter of approximately 8.2 m, based on the Van Nice survey, which encloses three separate arches, each with three interleaved soldier courses. On the east wall (Fig. 9), there is a fragment of a large arch again encompassing three smaller filled-in openings (no. 3), each with arches of 2–3 soldier courses. Two of these filled-in openings on this wall are fragmentary, but the layout can be reconstructed from the remaining features. Significantly, the inferred distance encompassing the three openings in each case is approximately the same. This might suggest a three-dimensional arrangement of four arches forming a square tetrapylon supporting the roof. Despite the absence of what would have been the western wall of the hall, it is plausible that it reflected the eastern wall that essentially repeats, at right-angles, the configuration on the north wall. Dark and Kosteneč dated both features, on the basis of their pure brick construction with greenstone string-coursing, as contemporaneous with the construction of the Great Church¹⁸⁴.

Dark and Kosteneč also note the truncated remains of another large arch on the west (NW) wall of the south-west vestibule which, without supplying evidence, they describe as the same size as the two arches noted above¹⁸⁵. This is now located on the south-east (outer) face of the south-west Ottoman buttress that had been constructed to incorporate fragmentary Byzantine walls, to the west of, and abutting, a large sixth-century arched window opening. There was, therefore, a narrow eastern bay flanking the ›Large Hall‹ and defined by two parallel walls, possessing an overall east-west dimension of about 5.4 m and, by implication, being mirrored by a matching narrow bay on the west flank, the two narrow bays flanking a wide central bay, the east-west dimension of which was about 10.3 m (Fig. 10). At the ground level of the wall on the western flank of the

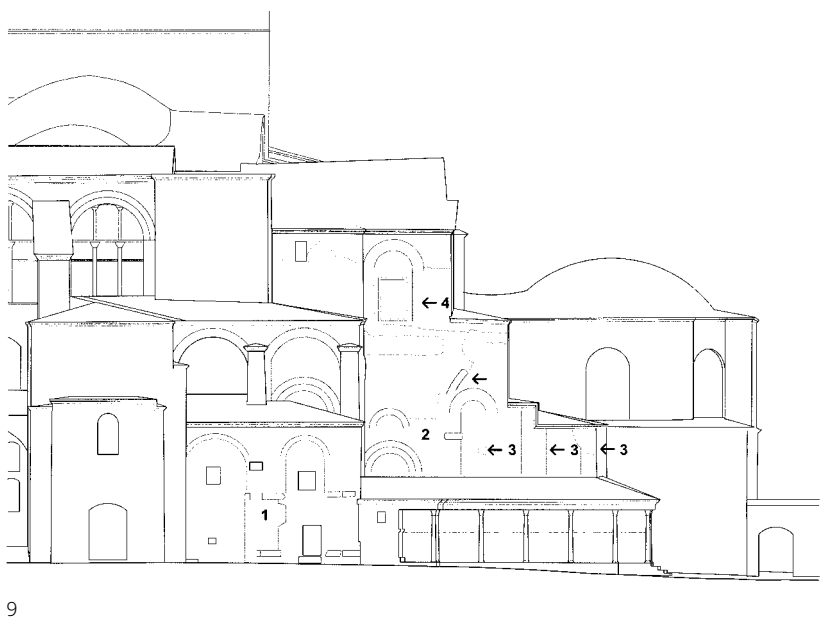
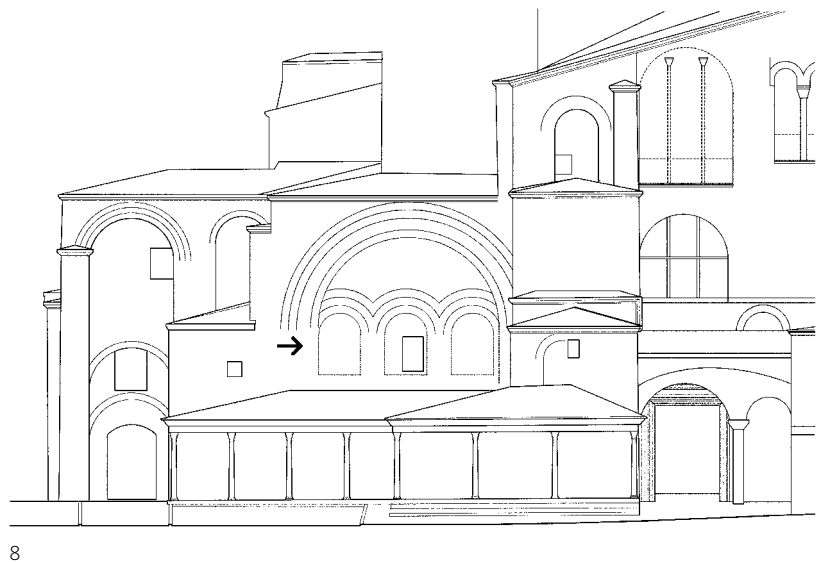


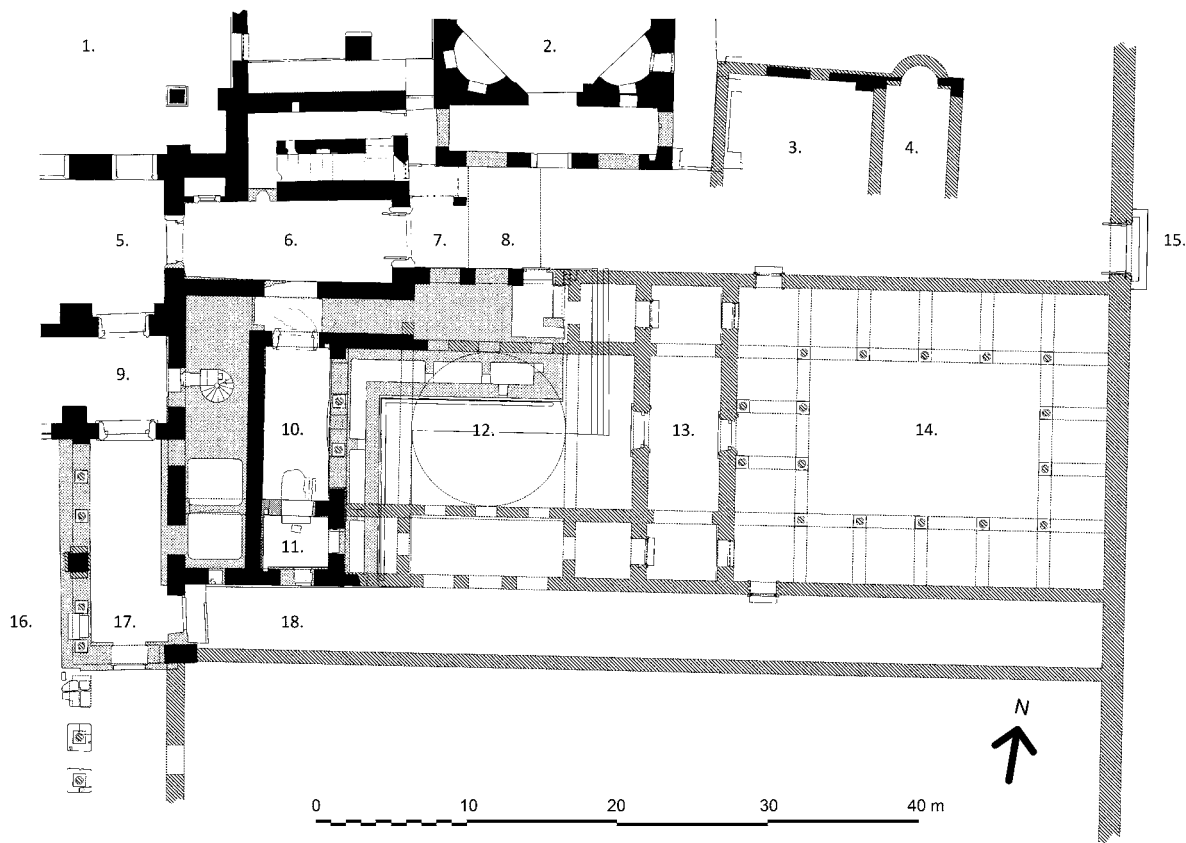
Fig. 8: Detail, south elevation of south-west corner of Hagia Sophia, overlaid with arch traces, based upon surviving brickwork. Arrow indicates location of arch and openings

Fig. 9: Detail, west elevation, overlaid with arch traces, based upon surviving brickwork. Hatch indicates surviving fabric on western wall. Legend: 1. west wall of rooms south of atrium; 2. arches in east wall; 3. three openings; 4. bricked in opening from sekreta

183 Dark – Kosteneč 2006, 120 f. Dark and Kosteneč's interpretation of the Ahunbays' postulation of a ›Large Hall‹ was supported by Niewöhner – Teteriatnikov 2014, 122.

184 Dark – Kosteneč 2006, 121.

185 Dark – Kosteneč 2019, 48 and fig. 38. The authors interpret this arch as the south-eastern face of a barrel-vault that encloses a tympanum pierced by the three windows indicated in Van Nice's west elevation drawing of Hagia Sophia, shown in Tayfun Öner's reconstruction, in Dark – Kosteneč 2019, fig. 38.



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Fig. 10: Reconstruction of ground floor plan of ›Large Hall‹, constructed in sixth century, either in reign of Justinian I or Justin II. Legend: 1. Hagia Sophia; 2. ›Baptistery‹ (St. Alexios?); 3. unidentified Byzantine building; 4. apsed building (chapel?); 5. narthex of Hagia Sophia; 6. SW vestibule of Hagia Sophia; 7. ›Beautiful door‹; 8. three arched stone openings; 9. exonarthex of Hagia Sophia; 10. barrel-vaulted ›Anteroom‹ to ›Large Hall‹; 11. small room at west end; 12. ›Large Hall‹; 13. narthex to ›Large Hall‹; 14. peristyle forecourt to ›Large Hall‹; 15. gate from Augoustaion (location of Horologion?); 16. forecourt (Louter) to Hagia Sophia; 17. E-W vestibule from exonarthex; 18. external passage (?)

vestibule, recent removal of plaster had revealed a blocked section of arcade, consisting of three masonry arched bays of about 2.1 m width, running south from the southwest vestibule¹⁸⁶, which further evidences this configuration of a central nave flanked by matching, probably enclosed, aisles. In addition to providing spaces for communication, or perhaps service functions, these enclosed aisles, with their lateral dividing walls, may have served the structural function of resisting the lateral force exerted by the roof.

Graphical Evidence for the Patriarchal Palace

51 As noted in the introduction, we propose that the Patriarchal Palace is represented in two early modern graphical sources, the view of *Hagia Sophia* and *At Meydanı* (Hippodrome) contained in a sheet of the Freshfield Folio held by Trinity College library, Cambridge (Fig. 11), and a view of Hagia Sophia on sheet 6 of the Lorck Prospect of Constantinople, housed in the library of the University of Leiden (see below). To extract useful information from these sources, we used a ›camera-matching‹ methodology we have previously used on other areas of Istanbul (Fig. 12)¹⁸⁷, through which virtual cameras with a specified focal length are placed within a digital model of the urban topography and adjusted until they approximate the perspective views presented by two-dimensional perspective images. This is, arguably, analogous to Mango's triangulation analysis used in his 1959 monograph on the Great Palace vestibule to locate the Chapel of the Saviour, adjacent to the Chalke Gate¹⁸⁸. As others have noted, both

186 Dark – Kosteneč 2019, fig. 40.

187 Westbrook et al. 2010, 62–87; Westbrook 2011a, 231–262; Westbrook – Van Meeuwen 2013, 62–82.

188 Mango 1959, 149–169 and figs. 26–32. However, Asutay-Effenberger and Effenberger have more recently



11

source drawings contained numerous inaccuracies, however our modeling revealed that a viewshed was nonetheless possible to be obtained (see below)¹⁸⁹.

52 But first, it is worth outlining the historical context of the Freshfield drawing. The artist accompanying Ungnad von Sonnegg's embassy who, as noted above, may have been the Flemish artist Lambert De Vos¹⁹⁰, produced, probably in 1575, a folio of views of cityscapes that, presumably, the chaplain, the Protestant theologian Stephan Gerlach, or even Ungnad von Sonnegg himself, thought noteworthy, such as the historiated column of Arcadius, two views of rhinoceroses, a Byzantine lighthouse, several interior views of Hagia Sophia, and one curious composite view, showing on the same double page a frontal view of the two obelisks and the serpent column in the Hippodrome, and on the left, an oblique view of Hagia Sophia, with what appears to be a ruinous two-storey structure to its left (west) built of what appears to be brick and ashlar stone¹⁹¹. An inscription above the representation of the structure states: »*Pars Aedificii S. Sophiae ubi nunc leones servantur, Hippodromi latus septentrionale*«¹⁹².

53 In his study of a row of monumental columns that were still located in the area of the former Augusteion forum in the sixteenth century, Manfred Stichel cites a passage from the diary of Gerlach dated 31 January 1575:

»A few days earlier, the place in front of the church of S. Sophia began to be cleaned, to be used as the foundation for tombs [the imperial mausolea], and the adjacent building to be demolished. Made of bricks, it was a tall, wonderful and large building ... in which the canons [*Domherren*] and other religious people used to live; now it is being torn down. In a part of St. Sophia, [at] which should be seen a beautiful monastery of S. John, [built] of tall ashlar blocks, there are now a number of lions, wolves, leopards, a large animal with a horn on its nose [rhinoceros], and other animals«¹⁹³.

called Mango's analysis into question, Asutay-Effenberger – Effenberger 2004, 61 f.

189 Dirimtekin, for example, found the inaccuracies in the Freshfield so great as to render, in his opinion, its worth as evidence negligible, Dirimtekin 1969, 117.

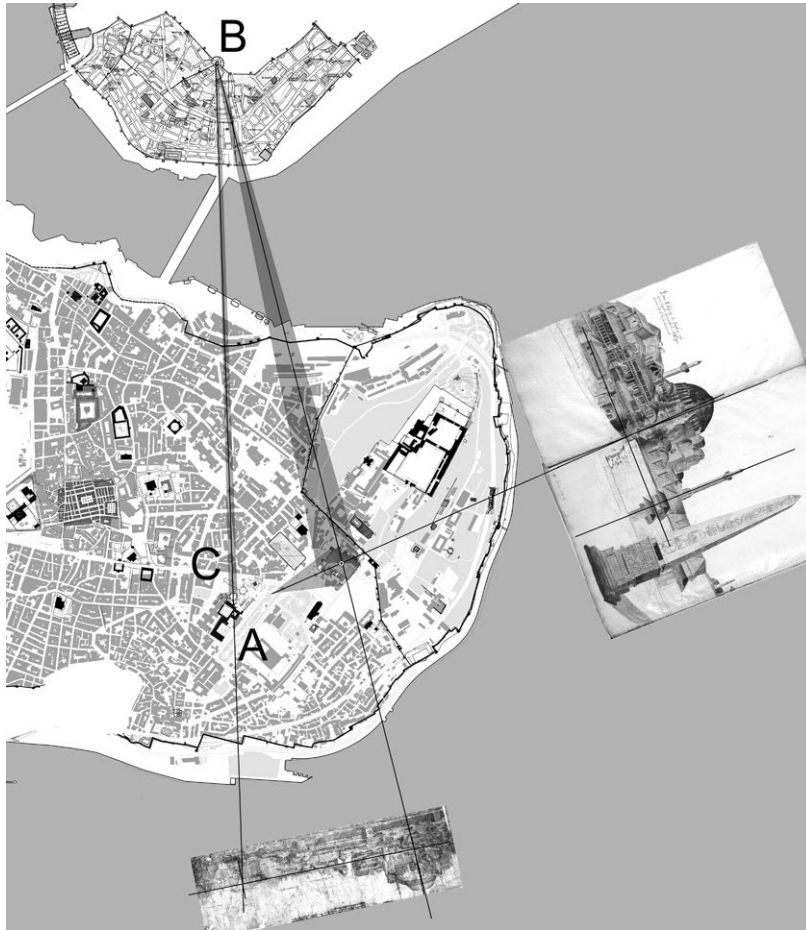
190 Lambert De Vos is known to have visited Constantinople and to have produced a »Costume Book« of Ottoman figures for Austrian ambassador Karel Rijm (1570–1574), in 1574, Koch 1990–1991. Rijm was the previous ambassador to David Ungnad von Sonnegg (Constantinople 1573–1578). De Vos had apparently been in Constantinople since 1572.

191 The Trinity College catalogue of the Freshfield Folio manuscript o 17.2 describes it as »possibly the work of the Flemish Artist Lambert de Vos« and dates it to 1574.

192 »Part of the building of St. Sophia where now lions are kept, north side of the Hippodrome« (author's translation).

193 Gerlach 1674, cited by Stichel 2000, 2 (authors' translation from the German). On Gerlach's mission to

Fig. 11: View of Hagia Sophia from At Meydanı, Freshfield Folio (Freshfield 1574)



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Fig. 12: Viewshed plan for Freshfield view of Hagia Sophia (A) and Lorck view of Hagia Sophia (B) and St. Euphemia (C). Viewpoints Galata Tower and north of At Meydan

projected dimensions (Fig. 13). The method employed was to match the drawing object with a best-fit camera viewpoint of a digital model of Hagia Sophia. The most probable location of the artist's viewpoint was then determined by comparing the model with the buildings described in the drawing, using the centre-point of the dome of Hagia Sophia, and the large southern arch as reference points. The outcome was a ›best-fit‹ viewpoint location at the northern end of the present-day Meydan, on the north-western flank, from which there is a considerable correlation between model and drawing. This gave a virtual location for the depicted structure as south-west of, and adjacent to, Hagia Sophia and north of the projected alignment of the Mese road¹⁹⁴. Our conclusion from this comparative analysis is that the structure in the Freshfield drawing corresponds not to the nearby church of St. John of the Diipion as Westbrook originally proposed¹⁹⁵, but instead to Dark and Kostenec's ›Large Hall‹¹⁹⁶.

54 This observation is similar to the note written upon the Freshfield drawing which may, indeed, have also been appended by Gerlach. Stichel uses this passage in support of his contention, following Janin, that the building described by Gerlach, which Stichel identifies with the Thomaites hall of the Patriarchal palace, was the former Senate building, rebuilt at the eastern end of the Augoustaion by Justinian I after the Nika Riots. Here we argue, on the basis of the similarity of the two inscriptions, and the optics of the drawing's viewshed, that it cannot refer to the site of the Senate building, which, given the viewpoint, would have been located much further to the right, but rather to the site immediately adjacent to the church's south-west vestibule, an area where Dark and Kostenec have located the ›Large Hall‹ which they identify with the textually-attested Thomaites.

55 To determine the most probable location of the building located to the left of Hagia Sophia in the Freshfield drawing, we constructed a digital model of both the Great Church and the ›Large Hall‹, the latter based upon Dark and Kostenec's

Constantinople, see Cazacu 2007, 369–386.

194 Our 2010 and 2013 modeling was based upon 3D Studio© software, creating a digital base model of the Istanbul promontory and Pera southern slopes, onto which models of Hagia Sophia and the hypothesized Patriarchate were located through a plan based upon detailed satellite mapping overlaid on the 1913–1914 Contag and Haverstadt Istanbul maps. The most recent 2019–2020 modeling was created using Revit© and Adobe Photoshop© software. In both cases, both the Freshfield and Lorck prospects were modeled onto a picture plane best corresponding to the viewshed cast by known topographical features (such as the centre-point of the Hagia Sophia dome, Hippodrome obelisks and Constantine's Column).

195 Westbrook 2011a, 231–262. It should be noted that Asutay-Effenberger and Effenberger also argue, contra Bardill, that the Freshfield structure cannot be the Diipion church, Bardill 1997, 89–95; Asutay-Effenberger – Effenberger 2004, 70.

196 Dark – Kostenec 2014, 38–40; Dark – Kostenec 2019, 88.



Fig. 13: Digital model of hypothesized ›Large Hall‹ and Hagia Sophia, viewed from the south-west, overlaid upon Sébah et Joaillier view of Hagia Sophia, c. 1890s (viewpoint best corresponding to Freshfield view)

13

Depiction of the ›Large Hall‹ and Surrounding Buildings in the Freshfield View

56 It remains to summarize the evidence for the architecture of the building that the Freshfield drawing supplies (Fig. 11). The south-facing facade is shown with a two-storey timber balcony, which Freshfield associated with a description by the fifteenth-century priest and geographer, Cristoforo Buondelmonti, who noted a ›church‹ adjacent to Hagia Sophia, with windows that permitted ladies of the court to view jousting in the ›square‹ – the remains of the Hippodrome:

*Et primo versus Sophiam est ecclesio cum muro magnifico et innumerabilium fenestrarum ornatu, ubi dominae et iuenculae cum matroni suos prospiciebant dilectos*¹⁹⁷.

57 Freshfield supposed this ›church‹ to correspond to the south-facing building in the Hippodrome drawing, which he identified as St. Stephen of the Hippodrome¹⁹⁸. Pasadaios argued that this building, close to what he thought to be the location of the Patriarchate, south-west of the Great Church and close to the northern wall of the Augoustaion, must be the large church of St. Alexios¹⁹⁹. However, having established through viewshed analysis that the building corresponds to the structures which Dark and Kostenec identified as the ›Large Hall‹²⁰⁰, it is probable that we have a visual record of the ›Large Hall‹ of the Patriarchal palace, identifiable as the Thomaites, at a time when, according to Gerlach's account²⁰¹, it was in the course of being demolished. If so, it should amend Janin and Stichel's proposed location of the Thomaites at the eastern end of the Augoustaion²⁰².

197 »... [T]oward Hagia Sophia is a church with a magnificent wall, adorned with innumerable windows, where the ladies and young girls enjoyed the spectacles [of the nobles jousting] with their governesses.«, Buondelmonti *Liber Insularum Archipelagi*, in Edson 2018, 148.

198 Freshfield 1929, 519–522. This is almost certainly an erroneous attribution. Moffatt and Tall interpret references in the *Book of Ceremonies* to St Stephen of the Hippodrome as referring to the fifth-century church of St Stephen of the (Covered) Hippodrome built by Pulcheria at the Daphne Palace, Moffatt – Tall 2012, I, 176 note 2.

199 Pasadaios 1976, 64.

200 Dark – Kostenec 2019, 89 f.

201 Gerlach 1674, 79, cited by Stichel 2000, 1 f.

202 Janin 1962, 153–155; Dark – Kostenec 2019, 87.

58 The drawing shows considerable detail of the structure. Behind what appears to be a two-storey timber balcony, Freshfield noted on the depiction of the facade »a stone or marble wall with pillars ... the latter are decorated by Corinthian capitals«²⁰³. As Westbrook has previously remarked²⁰⁴, the drawing does appear to show the façade to be finished in a greyish-white material, possibly marble revetment, with what appear to be columns or pilasters with capitals, in the same material, (indeed possibly Corinthian), to either side of which are shown rectangular window openings. At the right-hand end of this, probably marble-revetted, façade is what appears to be a pilaster depicted in a similar colour. Above what was probably the narthex of the hall, is depicted a gable end in ruinous condition, behind which roof timbers are revealed. The shape of the roof is somewhat formless, with what appear to be attic windows inserted into it, presumably to supply some light to the hall, at the time used as stabling for animals. Given the monumentality of the facade below, this roof may well have been a more recent structure enclosing the building after its dilapidation. To the extreme left, behind a strutted timber upper storey, possibly of the Ottoman period, is a triangular-shaped wall, sloping down toward the north, away from the central structure. This wall, which appears to be of stone masonry, is pierced by a large, arched opening with a recessed panel with small window, the latter possibly a later addition. In the middle of the western wall, two masonry buttresses frame another arch, which has been filled in by masonry and a small window. These fillings are probably Ottoman; Dark and Kosteneč's survey of this area also noted several small windows of the Ottoman period which had replaced the original Byzantine windows and were surrounded by rubble masonry²⁰⁵.

59 What the artist has represented may be a structure which has undergone significant transformation prior to its depiction. To the hall's right (east) are, sketchily shown, two much smaller pavilions, the one on the left domed, its depiction appearing to indicate stone masonry, and the right-hand one depicted with a gable roof. These may correspond to the late-Byzantine halls, possibly chapels, indicated by foundations which Mamboury recorded²⁰⁶. On the left flank of the large hall are crudely depicted one and two storey structures. Between the large hall and the Meydan is shown what appears to be a massive masonry wall that appears to be approximately parallel to the hall's south face, clearly depicted with masonry and what appears to be a string course of finished stonework capped by a tiled roof. An arched opening is shown at the western end of the wall. Was this a then-extant fragment of the north-eastern enclosing wall of the Augoustaion?

The Patriarchal Palace and Nearby Buildings in the Lorck Prospect

60 As Asutay-Effenberger and Effenberger have previously noted, the ruinous hall of the Freshfield drawing also appears adjacent to the depiction of Hagia Sophia on panel 6 of the Prospect of Constantinople by the German-Danish artist Melchior Lorck²⁰⁷. In previous studies, we argued that Lorck completed this enormous panoramic prospect using techniques invented by Albrecht Dürer and developed by the Nürnberg school of land-

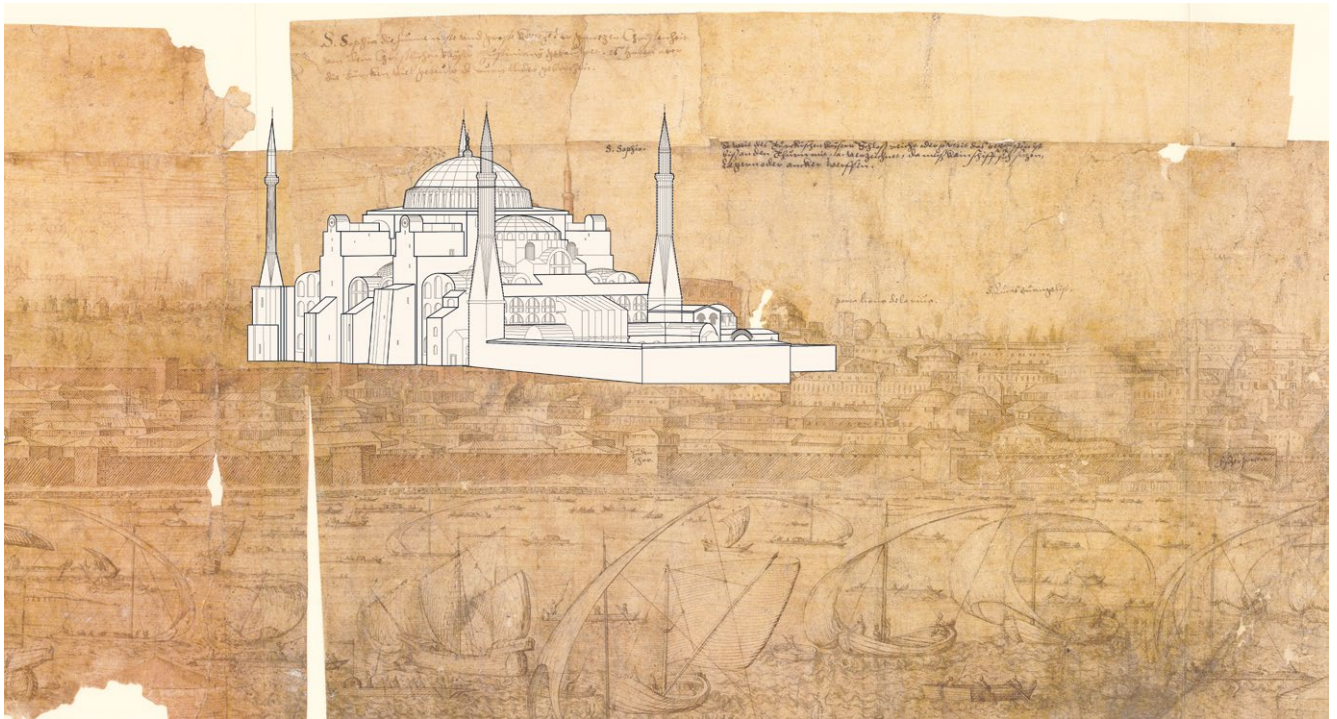
203 Freshfield 1929, 521 f.

204 Westbrook 2011a, 235.

205 Dark – Kosteneč 2019, 49.

206 Mamboury, in Mango 1959, 182 f. and fig. 35.

207 Asutay-Effenberger – Effenberger 2004, 70: »Dieser Gebäudekomplex, der zuerst auf der Stadtansicht des Matrakçı Nasuh (Denny Nr. 24) von 1537 (Figs. 2. 12) begegnet, ist anscheinend auch auf Blatt 6 (Fig. 7) des Panoramas von Lorichs (1559) in dem hohen Bauwerk zwischen Hagia Sophia und unserem Tambourgebäude zu erkennen.« [This building complex, which is first encountered in the city view of Matrakçı Nasuh (Denny No. 24) from 1537 (Figs. 2. 12), is apparently also the tall building on sheet 6 (Fig. 7) of the panorama by Lorichs (1559) between Hagia Sophia and our drum building.] – (authors' translation).



14

scape and cityscape artists, notably the use of a portable surveying grid²⁰⁸. This technique enabled the drawing of townscapes with considerable accuracy. To the right of Lorck's representation of Hagia Sophia, there is a depiction of a large building standing adjacent to the church. Both buildings are coloured in reddish ink, in contrast to the surrounding buildings sketched in a blackish pigment, suggesting, as Lorck has done elsewhere in the Prospect, that the Hagia Sophia complex was first drawn from a closer viewpoint to maximize detail. Like the structure shown in the Freshfield Album, the structure possesses an awkwardly composed roof. In our modeling of Hagia Sophia, scaled to the Lorck prospect, our reconstruction of the Patriarchal palace lies almost exactly within the viewshed of the above feature drawn by Lorck, albeit appearing smaller (elsewhere in his Prospect of Constantinople, Lorck would often draw ›significant‹ buildings, such as Constantine's Column and Hagia Sophia, at a larger scale than the surrounding buildings, Fig. 14)²⁰⁹. The drawing depicts a rectilinear building of at least two storeys, oriented towards the south, as does the Freshfield drawing. Certainly, the structure in this section of Lorck's Prospect does appear to correspond to the location of the complex in our reconstruction of the Patriarchate. Given the lack of detail, this hall could be of either basilican or cruciform plan.

61 This section of the Lorck Prospect reveals additional information about other then-extant buildings. Further to the right of Hagia Sophia and the ruinous hall is shown another monumental domed structure, which is evidently of central plan. On our digital model, this depicted building corresponds to the viewshed location of the fifth-century hexagonal hall associated with the former church of St. Euphemia as viewed from the Galata Tower (Figs. 15. 16)²¹⁰. This depicted structure, which is shown with two attached

Fig. 14: Digital model of hypothesized ›Large Hall‹ and Hagia Sophia, overlaid on Melchior Lorck's Prospect of Constantinople, viewpoint corresponding to top of Galata Tower, north of Golden Horn (Haliç)

208 Westbrook et al. 2010; Fischer et al. 2009, vol. 4; Mango – Yerasimos 1999.

209 Within the limits of accuracy posed by the composition of the Prospect drawing, the structure in this section of Lorck's Prospect does appear to correspond to the location of the complex in our reconstruction of the Patriarchate.

210 St. Euphemia / Palace of Antiochos: Naumann 1965, 135–148; Naumann – Belting 1966; A. Wilkins, after Müller-Wiener 1977, pl. 109, in Bardill 1997, 67 f. and fig. 1. The surviving base of the church of St. Euphemia is located at the north-eastern end of the New Law Courts. It was probably the central hall of the complex interpreted by Naumann as the ›Palace of Antiochus‹. Naumann 1965, 135–148; Naumann – Belting 1966. The church appears to have survived into the early modern period. Mango refers to a testimony by Patriarch



Fig. 15: Linework over what is hypothesized here to be the church of St. Euphemia, Melchior Lorck's Prospect of Constantinople

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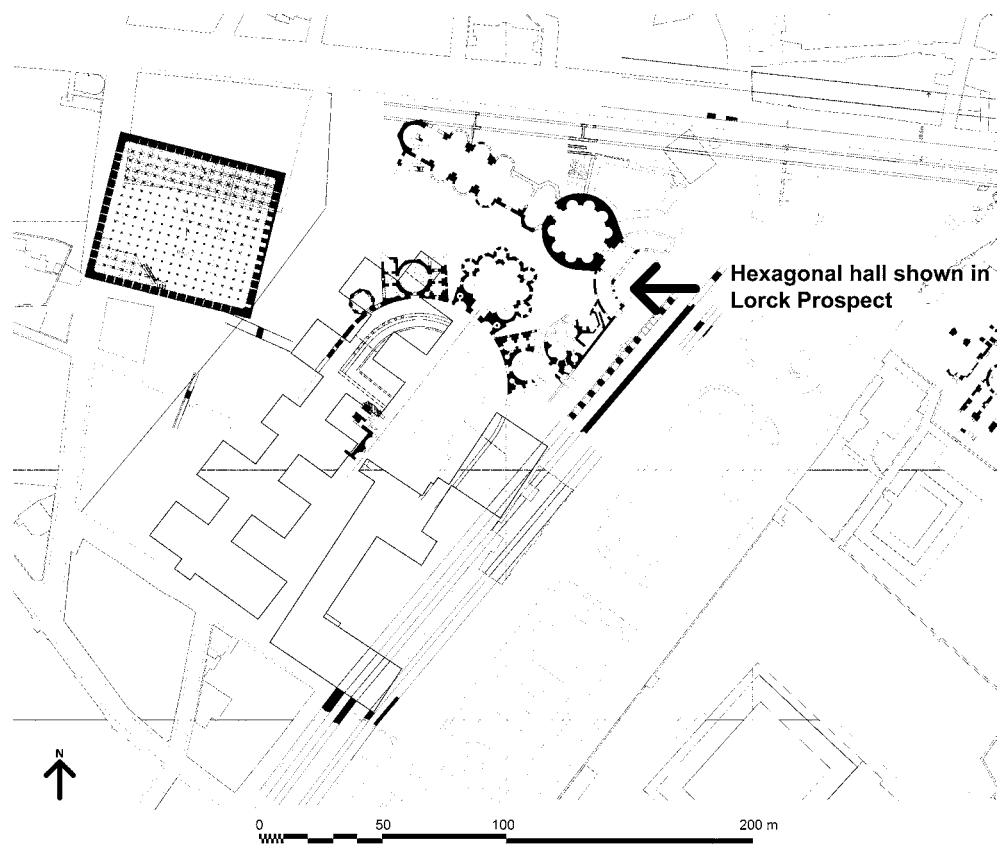


Fig. 16: Plan of Palace of Antiochos showing hexagonal hall (St. Euphemia). Composite drawing based on a corrected version of Naumann's plan from 1965

16

domical halls, might then be identified with that building, together with two domed chapels known from the excavations to have been added after conversion to a church²¹¹. Asutay-Effenberger and Effenberger argue that this structure can be identified as the »large, old Christian church« observed by Lubenau in 1587²¹², and also used as a menagerie²¹³. While they propose this building to be the church of St. John Diippon, we argue

Macarius of Antioch of his visit in 1652 referring to St Euphemia. Mango 1950, 161 citing Paul of Aleppo, in Radu 1930, 99.

211 In 2018 correspondence with Westbrook, Dr. Ph. Niewöhner noted the resemblance to this centrally-planned structure to the central hall of the »Palace of Antiochos«.

212 Lubenau 1587, in Sahn 1912–1915, 112–114, cited Asutay-Effenberger – Effenberger 2004, 73.

213 Asutay-Effenberger – Effenberger 2004, 73 f.

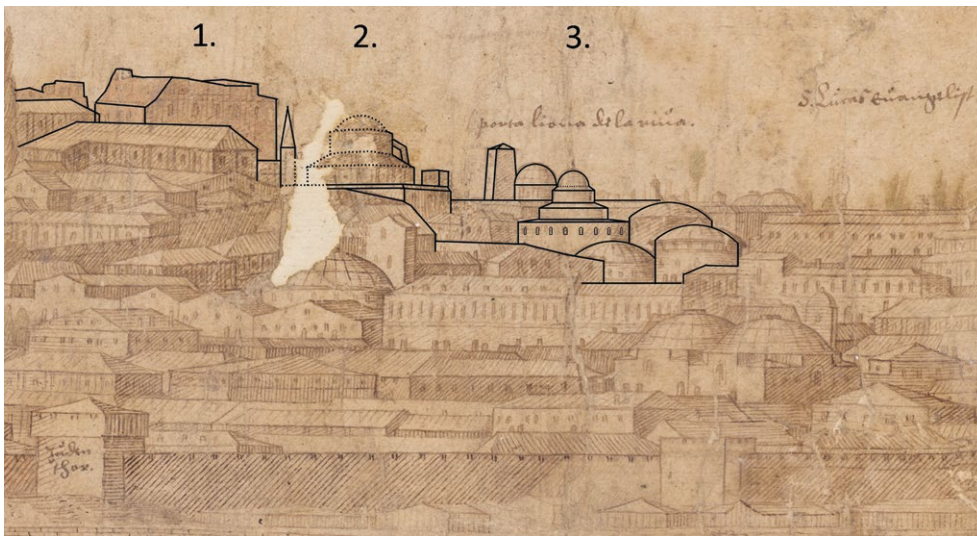


Fig. 17: Section of sheet 6 of Lorck's Prospect of Constantinople showing buildings to right of Hagia Sophia. Legend: 1. ›Large Hall‹; 2. former church identified by Asutay-Effenberger and Effenberger as İnciciyan's ›Arslanhane‹; 3. central-plan domed building interpreted here as St. John Diippion

17

that it is probably the church of St. Euphemia, as it accords with the viewshed from a standpoint in the vicinity of the Galata Tower. It should be noted that both the plan of St. Euphemia / Palace of Antiochos drawn by Naumann, and that modified by Müller-Wiener, were revealed by our mapping to be topographically inaccurate, and in our modeling were adjusted to match a current satellite image of the site, in order to derive an accurate viewshed (Fig. 16). Our results indicate that the structure depicted by Lorck, and the hexagonal hall surveyed by Naumann are in likelihood one and the same. It should be noted that Lorck depicts a smaller, central-plan domed building in between the ›Large Hall‹ and ›St. Euphemia‹, which may represent the central-plan church of St. John Diippion at the northern head of the Hippodrome (Fig. 17, no. 3).

Hypothetical Reconstruction of the Patriarchal Palace

62 Based upon the archaeology described by Mamboury, Van Nice, Dark and Kostenec, and the evidence of the two historic drawings described above, we have attempted to reconstruct a hypothetical approximation of the Patriarchal ›Large Hall‹ and its later additions, in the context of what we understand of the sixth-century church of Justinian I, the Patriarchal additions by Justin II, and the Augoustaion to the south, reconstructed after the Nika Riot by Justinian I (Figs. 21. 24).

63 In reconstructing the plan of the ›Large Hall‹ (Fig. 10), we have drawn upon the observations of the Ahunbays and Dark and Kostenec that the surviving west- and south-facing, sixth-century wall fabric implies the previous existence of a large hall²¹⁴. The evidence suggests a north-south aligned hall flanked by vaulted aisles on two levels. There is, however, the question of how the hall was illuminated, given that little light would penetrate the side aisles into the hall. In their reconstruction, Dark and Kostenec posit a tympanum deeply recessed within a deep arch spanning between the inner and outer side walls (Fig. 23). This proposal, although structurally similar to the great north and south windows of Hagia Sophia set into the massive square base supporting the dome, is a very different structural solution to that employed for other buildings of Justinian, such as Hagia Eirene, and Ss. Sergius and Bacchus²¹⁵. If, as they argue, the outer arch inferred by the surviving fragment facing the south-west vestibule is the same diameter as the inner

214 Ahunbay – Ahunbay 2003; Dark – Kostenec 2019, fig. 37.

215 Dark – Kostenec 2019, fig. 38.

(western) one, and it should be noted that the ground level stone piers are narrower, but centred on the inner brick piers, then there is the awkward solution of a deep vault sitting over a roofed single-storey passage. Certainly, the Freshfield view, although rather crudely drawn, depicts what appears to be a central nave set back from lower flanking walls, the west-facing wall of the nave having a bricked-in arch – perhaps originally a window.

64 Alternatively, the outer bays could be reconstructed as passages supporting a gallery level, and the great arch still visible on the west-facing wall west of the south-west vestibule as a structural device to reduce the load on the windows. The cross walls subdividing the gallery level could then function as buttresses resisting the horizontal thrust of the arches spanning the ›Large Hall‹. But the central problem remains as to how the internal space was illuminated. The method used in the examples cited above was quite simple – relieving arches permitted the insertion of vaulted gallery and clerestory windows, or a ring of lantern windows was supported by pendentives springing from four structural arches. The latter solution was used for domes and semi-domes in both Hagia Eirene and Hagia Sophia, as well as Ss. Sergius and Bacchus – indeed the building teams would have been quite conversant with these techniques. Without a dome, the only substantial sources of light could have been clerestory windows located above the side passages, and a lantern window in the south facade²¹⁶.

65 The second question posed by the problem of the plan is how the southern end was configured. The drawing by the Freshfield artist of what we have argued was the ›Large Hall‹ shows a balcony in front of what could have been a gallery level; how then was the upper level accessed? Here, we have a close analogue in the church of Hagia Eirene, which possesses a gallery above the narthex, reached by what would have been a spiral staircase²¹⁷. In the ›Large Hall‹, this southern gallery could have connected to the side galleries, and by the fifteenth century, may have provided access to the windows mentioned by Buondelmonti on the southern facade, and that are depicted on the Freshfield drawing.

66 A third question concerns the nature of the buildings to the east and west of the ›Large Hall‹. On its eastern flank, there was an open path that connected from the gate leading from the Augoustaion forum (at the Horologion?) north to the south-western vestibule of the church. Further to the east is located the extant (Small) Baptistery which, as noted above, Dark and Kostenec have suggested may have originally been used as a triclinium for banquets, later becoming adapted as a baptistery, and as discussed above, perhaps also serving as a chapel where synods could be held (St. Alexios?). It is worth noting here that, in the battle between the forces of the porphyrogenita Maria and her husband Renier of Montferrat, and those of the Regent, described in the sources cited by Mango, the only high points that we know of that overlooked the Augoustaion were indeed the church of St. John Diippion, occupied by the Regent's troops, and the Milion, the upper level of the Makron passage, and the church of St. Alexios, occupied by Maria's troops. In Choniates' account, the Baptistery, although being a tall building overlooking the Augoustaion, is not mentioned. We tentatively suggest from this account that ›St. Alexios‹ is identifiable as the building now known as the ›Baptistery‹, located close to the northern wall of the forum²¹⁸.

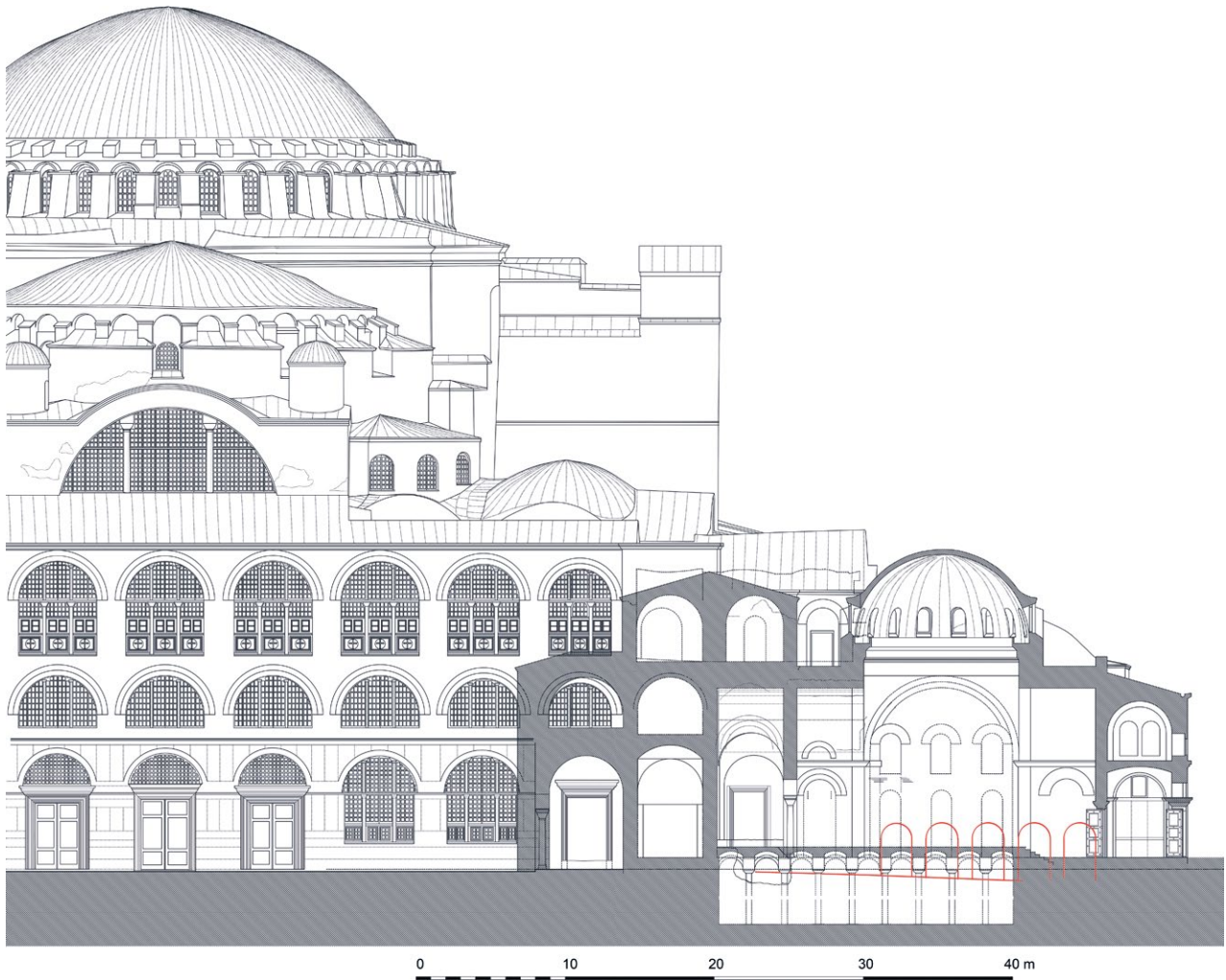
67 Next to this ›Baptistery‹ to the south, were the foundations of the other Byzantine structures, perhaps chapels, noted by Mamboury.²¹⁹ West of the ›Large Hall‹ was another passage, defined on its western flank by a north-south wall, the alignment of

216 This is also the solution proposed by Arne Effenberger for the daylighting of the St. Polyeyktos church, Effenberger 2019, 155–194 and fig. 7.

217 It is also worth noting that Bardill and Effenberger have reconstructed the sixth-century church of Hagios Polyeyktos with a gallery above the narthex, Bardill 2006a, 339–370; Bardill 2011, 77–103; Effenberger 2019, 155–194.

218 Choniates *Historia*, 236–238, in Magoulias 1984, 133 f.

219 Mamboury, appendix, in Mango 1959.



18

which is suggested by a pier, in which the springing of a brick arch is retained.²²⁰ Dark and Kosteneć have established that this passage is mirrored by another one on the northern side of Hagia Sophia's original peristyle forecourt. This supports the hypothesis advanced above, that convents and monasteries, as well as the Patriarchal offices, were located on the large plots flanking the passages.

68 A final question concerns the divergent alignment of the north-south wall of the ›Large Hall‹ in relation to Hagia Sophia. Given that this hall appears to have been constructed a short period after the completion of the church, what could explain this difference in alignment? One possibility may be that the hall adopted the alignment of the north wall of the Augustaeion forum, the construction of which preceded that of Justinian's Hagia Sophia, and a fragment of which may be depicted in the Freshfield drawing.

69 In Fig. 10, we have hypothesized how the plan of the ›Large Hall‹ might have appeared, based upon the evidence revealed in Van Nice's sections, and Dark and Kosteneć's site observations in this area of Hagia Sophia²²¹. The fabric is shown in elevation as predominantly brick, with occasional greenstone courses (Figs. 8–9). We have further hypothesized that the vaulted basement observed by Van Nice²²² would have extended for most of the enclosed area of the ›Large Hall‹'s nave, replacing the original floor, which was close to the level of the Hagia Sophia narthex (Fig. 18).

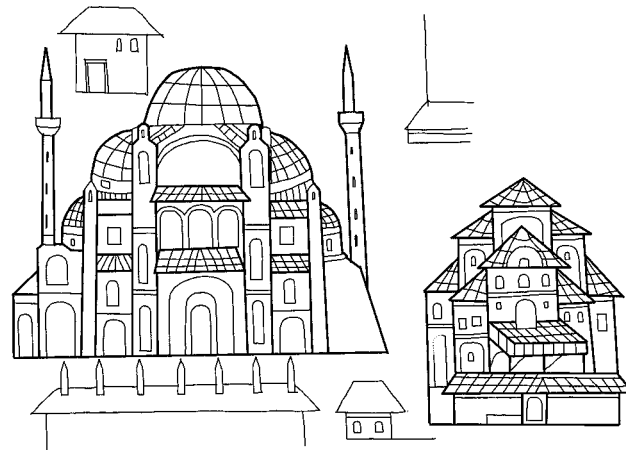
Fig. 18: Reconstruction of west facade of Hagia Sophia in the sixth century. The ›Large Hall‹ is here shown in section with a hypothetical dome

220 Dark – Kosteneć 2019, 49 fig. 41.

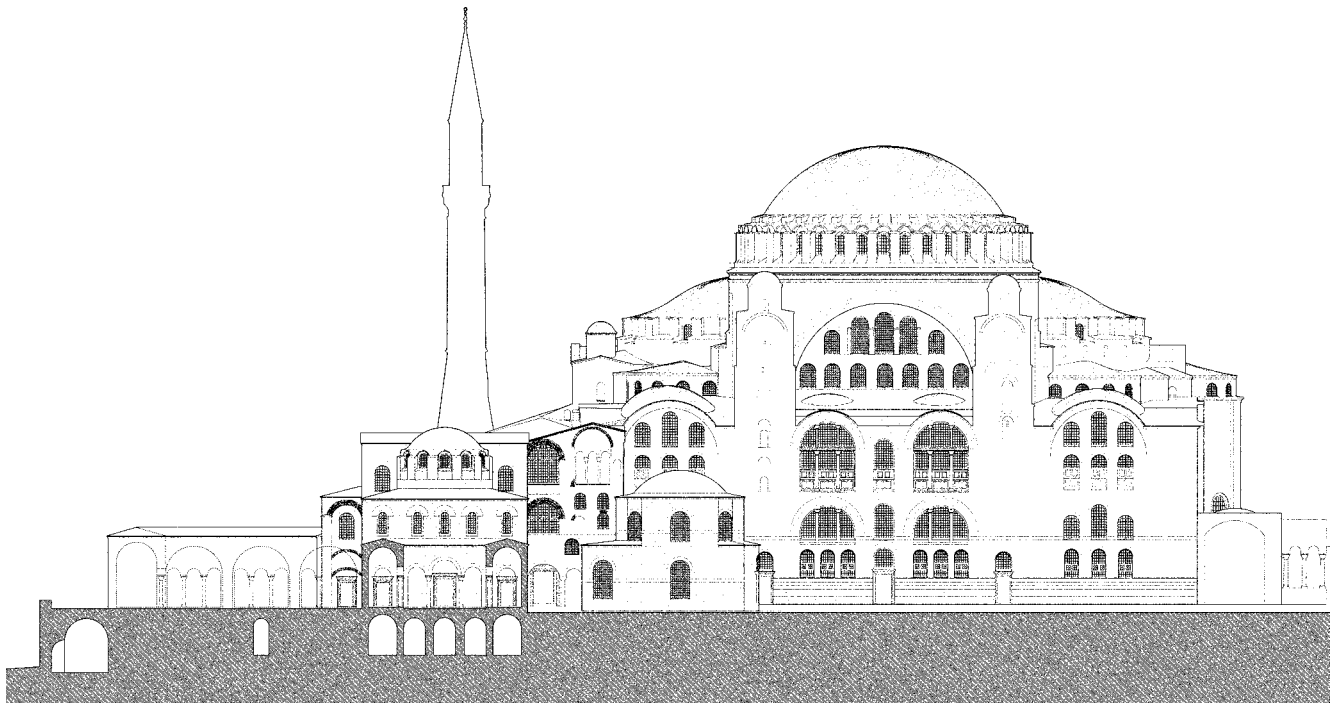
221 Van Nice 1986, pl. 40, sections A–A, J–J and K–K.

222 Van Nice 1986, pl. 40, section J–J.

Fig. 19: Tracing by authors of details of the depiction of Istanbul by Matrakçı Nasuh, 1537. The building shown right of and in front of Hagia Sophia is here interpreted as Dark and Kosteneç's ›Large Hall‹



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Fig. 20: Reconstruction of south facade of the Patriarchal Palace with the ›Large Hall‹ depicted with a dome, shown as Hagia Sophia appeared after the construction of the four buttresses with staircases

70 On the basis of the dimension and layout of the substructures noted by Mamboury, it is further tentatively proposed that the hall may have been fronted by an enclosed atrium, as also existed in Hagia Sophia, Hagia Eirene, and the church of the Theotokos of Chalkoprateia (Figs. 10. 20). There was certainly enough distance between the projected southern facade of the hall and Dirimtekin's recorded location of the Augustaion's north-western flank wall to accommodate such a peristyle forecourt. This is possibly what is described on what appears to be the representation of the ›Large Hall‹ in the 1537 drawing by Matrakçı Nasuh, although here the north face is turned around to face the viewer, as with other depicted structures (Fig. 19)²²³.

223 It should be noted however that Denny interprets the structure as the remains of the Zeuxippus Baths! Denny 1970, 57 f. and fig. 2.

The Question of the Form of the Roof of the ›Large Hall‹

71 One further, surviving element provides evidence for the form of the ›Large Hall‹'s roof. A lofty, east-west-aligned room immediately to the north of the ›Large Hall‹, which has in previous scholarship been associated with the ›Horologion‹, a clock known to exist in the vicinity of the Patriarchate²²⁴, possesses a barrel-vault, the centre-line of which corresponds to the ›Large Hall‹, which, as Dark and Kostenec suggest, might infer that the ›Large Hall‹ was also similarly roofed (Fig. 22).

72 The question raised by Dark and Kostenec's survey is what architectural typology this configuration might suggest. The likely layout of four arches supporting a central bay has three plausible possible forms: firstly, their proposal of a flat roof supported by a groined intersection of north-south and east-west vaults, suggested by the radii of the arches found in the east and north walls (Fig. 23)²²⁵; secondly, sections of north-south directed vaulting meeting pendentives supporting a dome, which could be either the continuation of the curvature of the pendentives, or raised up on a tambour pierced by lantern windows (Fig. 18), and thirdly, a raising of the flanking walls of the central nave of the ›Large Hall‹ to permit rows of clerestory windows, and a central window in the southern facade (Fig. 21).

73 However, the problem remains of how daylight might have entered the interior. Because of the double walls, the windows on the side walls would admit little direct light. On this basis, the intersecting groin-vaulted roof option does not seem practical, leaving the other two possibilities. The first, domed alternative, which arises from a study of the forms of roofing used for Hagia Sophia and Hagia Eirene, is the reconstruction of the roof as a masonry vault or timber roof north and south of a dome and drum supported by pendentives. An apparently similar structural configuration was used for the Justinianic Chalke Gate of the Great Palace, as described by Procopius – a central dome supported by four strap-arches with, to the north and south, vaulted roofs²²⁶. Additional light could be supplied by a window above a postulated southern gallery level.

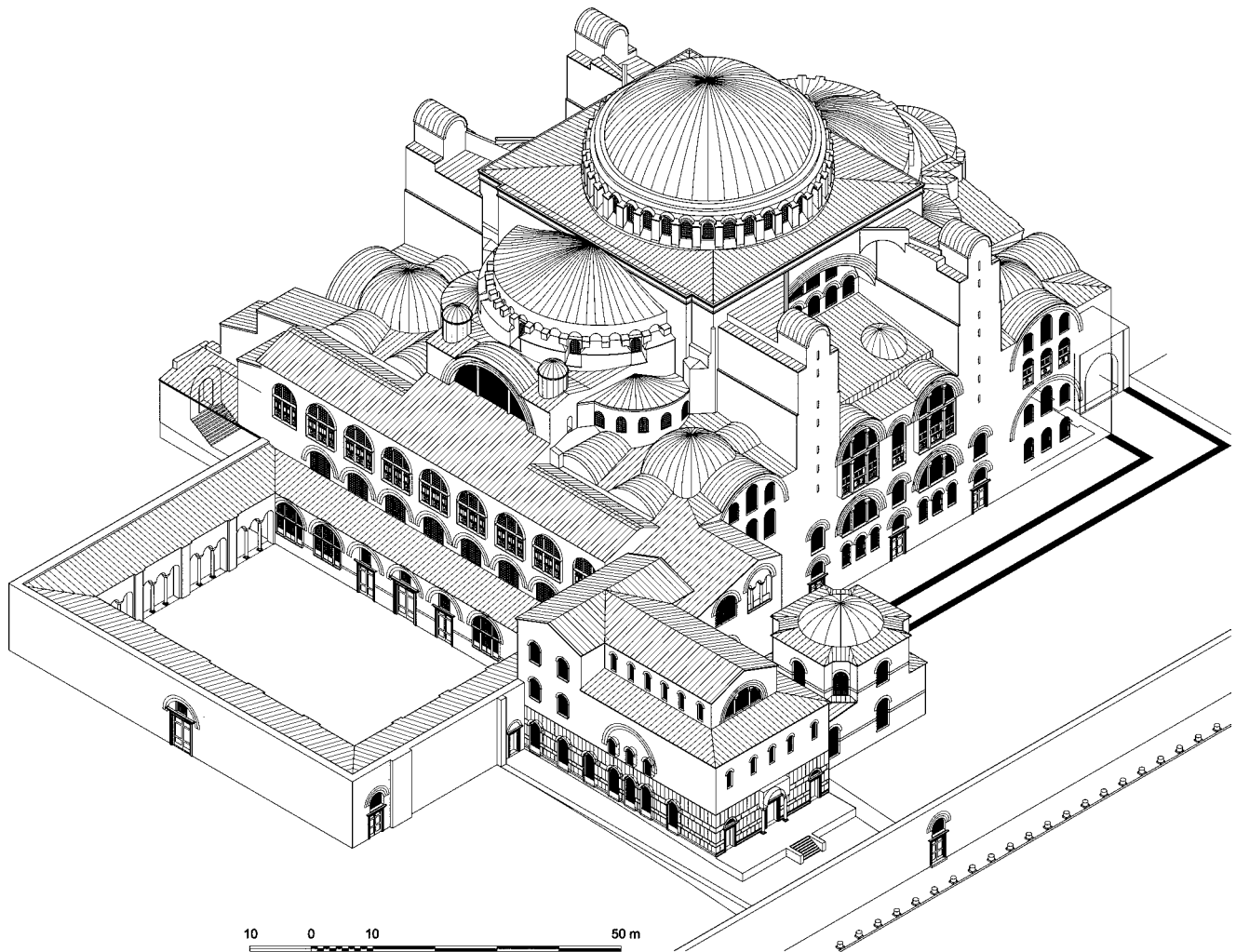
74 Between the inner face of the tetrapylon implied by the arch fragments and the original north wall of the hall (which Dark and Kostenec were able to approximately determine based on the intermediate-level plan) is a dimension of approximately 4.5 m. According to this first reconstruction, as is the case with Hagia Eirene, and later cross-in-square church plans, the central tetrapylon was probably symmetrically centred on the plan, inferring a matching dimension of 4.5 m to the southern inner wall face. The resultant north-south internal dimension would be approximately 19.2 m. Thus, the interior of the hall as reconstructed would be 19.2 m × 10.3 m (Dark and Kostenec give the approximate dimension of 20 m × 10 m). In the reconstructed plan presented above (Fig. 10), the hall has, following the analogue of Hagia Eirene, been additionally given a narthex of 6 m, including the southern wall.

75 The difficulty with this reconstruction is that there is no surviving evidence for pendentives or, for that matter, the springing points of a vaulted roof. Secondly, the massy structure of a dome and tambour supported by four masonry arches – effectively a miniature version of the central dome of Hagia Sophia – would exert considerable lateral loads on the eastern and western perimeter walls with their enfilade corridor rooms contained by walls on either side (Fig. 10). The Freshfield drawing (Fig. 11) does show walls with buttresses extending to the west from a central nave structure, but it will be argued below that this is a description of the Patriarchal Palace's range of rooms

224 Schneider 1941, 44; Eyice 1983, 115–124; Berger 2004, 59–73; Dark – Kostenec 2019, 48. However, Niewöhner and Teteriatnikov locate the Horologion to the south of this location, while Dagron locates it at an entrance gate leading from the Augoustaion, Dagron 2003, 92; Niewöhner – Teteriatnikov 2014, 153–155.

225 Dark – Kostenec 2019, 48. 54 and figs. 37. 38. 45.

226 Proc. De aed. I, 10, 11–20, in Dewing 1940, 85. 87.



21

Fig. 21: Isometric reconstruction of Hagia Sophia and the Patriarchal Palace, with the ›Large Hall‹ reconstructed with a hypothetical timber roof and clerestory windows. Hagia Sophia has been depicted as it may have appeared in the sixth century, prior to construction of the later mediaeval buttresses, and Ottoman additions. The outline of the Makron is shown in front of and parallel to the southern facade of Hagia Sophia, and the north-west boundary wall of the Augoustaion is shown in the foreground

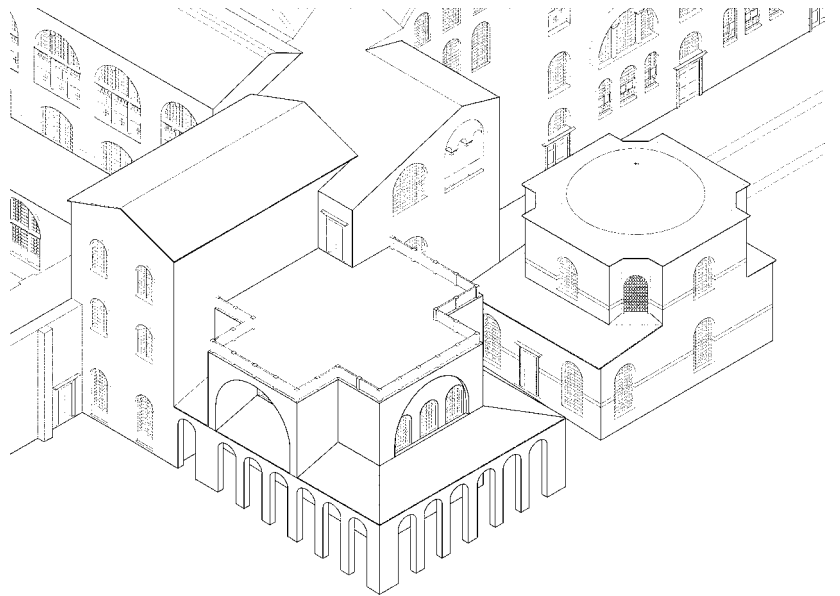
located north of the ›Large Hall‹ and south of the atrium. There is no evidence in the drawing of the remains of a dome, or for that matter of the flat roof that Dark and Kostenc conjectured, but instead, a ruinous-looking tile roof is depicted, as is also shown in the Lorck prospect.

⁷⁶ The second alternative reconstruction would consist of a tiled roof supported by timber trusses and raised above the side ›corridors‹ by high inner walls. This increased height would permit clerestory windows spaced along the western and eastern walls, similar to traditional basilica churches in Constantinople such as the *Studios monastic church* and Chalkoprateia. Additionally, there may have been either a large arched window in the southern end wall, or an array of smaller windows, as used in the *St. Demetrios* and *Acheiropoietos* churches in *Thessalonika* (Fig. 21). This is also the solution first proposed by J. Bardill, and adopted by A. Effenberger for the daylighting of Hagios Polyeyuktos in Constantinople, which he reconstructs with side aisles and narthex²²⁷. This would have supplied ample natural light and would have emphasized a linear spatial emphasis towards the north of the hall, and the throne of the patriarch, which would have supported the hall's function as a consistory and venue for conclaves of high clerics.

²²⁷ Bardill 2006a, 366; Bardill 2011, 93–100; Effenberger 2019, 166 and figs. 2, 7. Bardill argued against a dome for the Polyeyuktos church, and proposed clerestory windows. Effenberger follows this arrangement, and additionally proposes an arch window above the entrance.



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Fig. 22: Barrel-vaulted room – the ›ante-room‹ of the ›Large Hall‹

Fig. 23: Isometric diagram by authors of the hypothetical reconstruction by T. Öner, K. R. Dark and J. Kosteneč of the ›Large Hall‹ and Patriarchal Palace

77 Identification of the hitherto unknown structure in the Freshfield view of the Hippodrome permits partial reconstruction of the southern facade of the ›Large Hall‹. As noted above, the ground floor level, although partially obscured by a timber balcony and roofs in front, is depicted as faced in what appears to be a whitish, perhaps Proconnesian, stone, with columns shown either side of a stone door architrave, creating an accentuated central axis. This is an unusual construction for buildings of the sixth and seventh centuries, and the artist may have misrepresented what were perhaps attached pilasters, as were used at the Basilica of [San Clemente](#) in [Rome](#), which may have been part of an elaborate architrave. This entrance was depicted as flanked by windows with what appear to be outer piers. Such an arrangement would normally have opened onto a porticoed atrium with bounding walls, as also found at San Clemente, and the cathedral at Poreč, of the mid-sixth century.

The Justinianic Hagia Sophia

78 Given that the imperial passage from the Augoustaion passed between the eastern flank of the ›Large Hall‹ and the western flank of the Baptistery, one might expect that this section of the complex would have been given emphasis through revetment, however Dark and Kosteneč's recent survey, although identifying fragments of revetment elsewhere on the exterior of Hagia Sophia, shows no evidence of surviving fragments here²²⁸. Nevertheless such revetment is likely, given the roughly-finished

228 Dark and Kosteneč have, however, recorded traces of courtyard marble paving nearby. Dark – Kosteneč 2019, 64 and fig. 56.

stone arches. To reconstruct the passage in its early Byzantine form, one needs to strip it of the later Byzantine and Ottoman accretions and restore its lost features – thus the procession to the ›Beautiful Door‹ would have been overlooked by the arcades of the sekreta which opened from the gallery level. To the right, if we follow Dark and Kosteneč's interpretation, which is supported by the Diegesis on the building of Hagia Sophia in the *Patria* cited above²²⁹, the Baptistry would have originally served as a triclinium or reception hall combined with the function of a chapel, where the emperor could dine with the patriarch – it was lightened by the large glazed arch windows that previously existed, the top-lighting and, probably, marble revetment. In addition, it is possible that the Baptistry opened at its north-east corner onto the Makron passage, providing internal access to the south-east and south-west vestibules (Fig. 10). To the left of the passage leading to the south-west vestibule, doors would open onto the atrium of the ›Large Hall‹, where synods of bishops, but also investitures and promotions, and trials, could take place. None of this district was originally open to the public. Our reconstruction of the appearance of the church and Patriarchate in the late sixth century (Figs. 20. 21) draws upon Dark and Kosteneč's argument that the base of the church was revetted with marble panels, and the Freshfield drawing's depiction of stone revetment to the south façade at least to the height of its portico suggests that a similar treatment to the church's revetment was used for the ›Large Hall‹.

79 Our reconstruction of the north-south section through the Patriarchal palace (Fig. 18) is based in large part upon the surviving archaeology. It does not depict the original sixth-century complex, but rather a later stage, with additions added over the southern arcade of the Hagia Sophia atrium, and with the original floor of the ›Large Hall‹ increased in height by 2.20 m after a basement, of unknown depth, was excavated. It should be noted that these later works created a level difference between the smaller rooms to the north and the anteroom, necessitating the blocking up of the door on the northern wall of the anteroom linking them. The reconstruction of the upper (intermediate) level draws upon Dark and Kosteneč's highly plausible argument that the middle chamber of the western flanking rooms extended across above the ›Anteroom‹. This is suggested by remnant sections of the original Byzantine masonry recorded by Van Nice and evident in the masonry. No arches are remaining, but vertical breaks in the masonry of the west-facing wall in this location are evident, suggesting the remnants of walls above the anteroom. Significantly, immediately to the south is a marble portal filled in with brick (Figs. 9. 18), which, if the roof were a masonry vault, might suggest an access door out onto the roof above the ›Large Hall‹²³⁰. Immediately to the north of the room, or rooms, above the ›Anteroom‹, and in the location now occupied by the south-western minaret, is the probable location of a winding staircase giving access to all levels of the Patriarchal palace²³¹. A plan by Van Nice of this level²³² shows breaks in the masonry in the western wall of the hall above the south-western vestibule of the church, suggesting openings that connected between the hall (Great Sekreta?)²³³ and rooms in the area above the Anteroom and ›Large Hall‹.

80 In Fig. 24, the plan of the Hagia Sophia church and Patriarchal palace has been drawn at scale in relation to archaeology recorded by Mamboury in 1925 along a trench on the west side of Alemdar Caddesi from Hagia Sophia Meydan north to Alay Köşkü Caddesi²³⁴. The wall structures revealed by the trenching that were recorded by Mamboury clearly indicate that the complexes of the Basilica and the Chalkoprateia

229 Anon. *Patria* 4, 6, in Berger 2013, 239.

230 This is the solution proposed by Dark – Kosteneč 2019, 54, fig. 45.

231 Niewöhner – Teteriatnikov 2014, 153 f.; Dark – Kosteneč 2019, 53.

232 Van Nice 1986, pl. 17, plan at gallery level, western areas.

233 Janin 1962, 141 f.

234 Mamboury archive, DAI Istanbul.



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church extended as far as the recorded substructures that would have supported the western boundary wall of the atrium of Hagia Sophia, as well as the street (the steps of Athyras?) which would have given access to its gate. Thus, contrary to recent reconstructions of the area²³⁵, there was no large street or *embolos* in this location heading from the Mese downhill to the Strategion forum and its ports on the Golden Horn. Instead, a flight of steps must have ascended to the east from a location facing the eastern boundary of the Chalkoprateia complex to reach the church, meeting the steps of Athyras mentioned in the *Book of Ceremonies*. To the east of the steps of Athyras were large areas north and south of the Peristyle forecourt. Following Dark and Kosteneč, as well as the sources cited by Janin²³⁶, it is plausible, as suggested above, that they were occupied by a convent, and a monastery or patriarchal offices (Figs. 3. 24).

Fig. 24: Plan of reconstructed buildings discussed in this paper. Legend: 1. Gate from Augustaion forum – location of the Horologion?; 2. hypothesized forecourt to ›Large Hall?; 3. large archaeological feature (in grey) recorded by Mamboury in 1932; 4. apsed feature – possible chapel?; 5. ›Baptistry? – possible church of St. Alexios?; 6. ›Large Hall?; 7. SW vestibule to Hagia Sophia

Conclusion

81 Dark and Kosteneč's field surveys, building upon the meticulous pencil drawings of Van Nice's team which, for the first time, recorded distortions in the fabric and breaks in construction, have established the approximate time sequence in which stages of the Patriarchal Palace were completed. We have differed from their sequence in hypothesizing the original Justinianic Patriarchate (or part of it) and adjacent offices and monasteries as having been located between Hagia Eirene and Hagia Sophia. The second, post-563 stage certainly includes the halls above the south-west vestibule. There

235 Berger 2000, fig. 1, shows a street »E« running north-north-east from the west of the Hagia Sophia forecourt towards what is now Seraglio Point.

236 Janin 1962, 149 f.

is less certainty regarding the phasing of the ›Large Hall‹ and small vaulted rooms, on two levels, definitely to the east and north of the ›Large Hall‹ and probably on the western flank as well. This stage could have been constructed under either Justinian I, Justin II or both emperors. At an archaeologically unattested period, the floor of the ›Large Hall‹ was raised – possibly to accommodate the Patriarchal library. This necessitated substantial, and awkward, changes to the surrounding fabric, suggesting a period when the architectural sophistication of Hagia Sophia was no longer possible. At a later stage, further rooms were built above the southern flank of the forecourt of Hagia Sophia²³⁷. This enlarged complex then survived until its partial demolition by the Ottoman Turks in the late sixteenth century.

82 In summary, this paper has produced three new pieces of evidence for the appearance of the late sixth-century Patriarchate in Constantinople. First, it appears that Mamboury's field sketches, discussed above, relate to the later report by Dirimtekin, and depict the remains of a group of structures: a building west of the ›Large Hall‹, possibly the site of Olympias' monastery, other structures that were possibly associated with an atrium that fronted Dark and Kostenec's ›Large Hall‹, and finally, a probable chapel and other unidentified structures south of the building used in the middle-Byzantine period as a baptistery, but which might also correspond to the chapel of St. Alexius that, on the basis of historical accounts, was large enough to house a synod²³⁸. Secondly, it has been demonstrated through digital viewshed analysis that both the Freshfield Folio artist, and Melchior Lorck, from their respective viewpoints, represented the ›Large Hall‹ identified by Dark and Kostenec, shortly before its demolition in the 1570s, as well as other nearby buildings. The Freshfield drawing depicts a facade facing south towards the north wall of the Augoustaion, suggesting the possibility of an atrium between them. It is further proposed that the Makron, »the gallery of the Catechoumeneia (κατηχομενεῖα)« mentioned by Choniates, may correspond to the archaeological traces identified by Dark and Kostenec of a passage running north-east from the north-east corner of the Baptistery²³⁹. Finally, our reconstruction of the church of Hagia Sophia itself, as it would probably have appeared in the sixth century, reveals a limited range of vaulting types, employing brick domes with or without lantern windows, and supported by barrel vaults. Given the very brief time that elapsed between completion of the church and the construction of the sixth-century stage of the Patriarchate, it is argued that the constructional methods and formal models available for construction of the late sixth-century Patriarchate were likely to be encompassed by those used for the Great Church.

237 Dark – Kostenec 2019, 89. Dark and Kostenec, after Janin, refer to extensions and renovations taking place in the Patriarchate in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

238 Janin 1962, 133. 137; Pasadaios 1976, 62. Janin notes that the sources place the chapel of St. Alexios is contiguous to the court of the Augusteion. In reference to the troops of the caesarissa, he notes »De bon matin, leurs troupes prennent position sur la voûte du Milion et occupent l'église Saint-Alexis qui est contiguë à l'atrium de l'Augustéon.« [Early in the morning, their troops took position on the vault of the Milion and occupied the church of St. Alexios which is contiguous to the atrium of the Augoustaion.] – (authors' translation).

239 Dark – Kostenec 2019, figs. 31. 46.

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ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Der Patriarchenpalast in Konstantinopel im späten sechsten Jahrhundert

Nigel Westbrook – Fiona Nowland

Der Patriarchenpalast war zur Zeit des Kaisers Justinian I. (reg. 527–565) eines der symbolischen und politischen Zentren der byzantinischen Hauptstadt Konstantinopel. Doch wie der benachbarte und mit ihm verbundene Kaiserpalast sind auch seine Architektur und Topographie nur teilweise verstanden. In dieser Studie werden die historischen und archäologischen Überlieferungen zu diesem Komplex überprüft und durch mehrere bisher vernachlässigte grafische Quellen ergänzt. Irgendwann in den 1570er Jahren, höchstwahrscheinlich 1574 oder 1575, zeichnete ein unbekannter Künstler, möglicherweise der Flame Lambert De Vos, von dem bekannt ist, dass er 1572 Istanbul besuchte, die Hagia Sophia und ihre unmittelbare Umgebung auf, einschließlich eines scheinbar ruinösen Gebäudes, das laut einer Inschrift auf der Zeichnung zur Kirche gehörte, jetzt aber als Menagerie diente. Auf der Grundlage vergleichender digitaler Modellierung wird argumentiert, dass die Zeichnung den »Thomaites«-Saal des an die Hagia Sophia angebauten Patriarchenpalastes unmittelbar vor dessen Zerstörung durch die Osmanen darstellt. Diese Zuschreibung wird durch zwei weitere grafische Quellen gestützt: Die Ansicht von Konstantinopel von Melchior Lorck aus dem sechzehnten Jahrhundert sowie drei Handzeichnungen des Schweizer Amateurarchäologen Ernest Mamboury aus dem frühen zwanzigsten Jahrhundert, die sich im Mamboury-Archiv der Abteilung Istanbul des DAI befinden. Diese Belege werden zur Ergänzung der textlichen und materiellen Zeugnisse herangezogen, um eine Rekonstruktion des Patriarchenpalastes und seiner räumlichen und physischen Verbindung mit der Hagia Sophia vorschlagen zu können.

SCHLAGWÖRTER

Patriarchenpalast, justinianischer Wiederaufbau, Nika-Aufstand, Brand von 563, vergleichende digitale Modellierung

ÖZET

6. Yüzyılın Sonunda Konstantinopolis'in Patriklik Sarayı

Nigel Westbrook – Fiona Nowland

Patriklik Sarayı, İmparator I. İustinianus Dönemi'nde (527–565), Bizans İmparatorluğu'nun başkenti Konstantinopolis'in sembolik ve siyasi merkezlerinden biriydi. Ne var ki, bitişiğinde bulunan ve yapısal bağlantı içinde olduğu Büyük Saray gibi mimarisi ve topoğrafyası kısmen anlaşılabilmiştir. Bu makalede, yapı kompleksi hakkındaki tarihi ve arkeolojik veriler ile bugüne dek göz ardı edilmiş birçok çizim yeniden gözden geçirilmektedir. Hagia Sophia ve çevresi, 1570'lerde (1574 ya da 1575) bilinmeyen bir ressam tarafından çizilmiştir. Bu ressam, olasılıkla, 1572'de İstanbul ziyaret eden Flaman Lambert De Vos'tur. Çizimdeki yazıya göre bir kiliseye ait olması muhtemel, fakat o sıralarda hayvanat bahçesi olarak kullanılan alandaki harabe de resmedilmiştir. Dijital modelleme yoluyla karşılaştırmalı olarak yapılan analize dayanarak, Hagia Sophia'nın bitişiğine inşa edilen Patriklik Sarayı'ndaki »Thomaites Salonu'nun«, Osmanlı Dönemi'nde yıkılmadan kısa süre önce çizildiği öne sürülmektedir. Bu fikir, iki çizimle de desteklenmektedir. Bu çizimler, Melchior Lorck'un 16. yüzyıla ait Konstantinopolis çizimi ile İsviçreli amatör arkeolog Ernest Mamboury'nin 20. yüzyıl başlarına ait, bugün Alman Arkeoloji Enstitüsü'nün Mamboury Arşivi'nde bulunan üç adet çalışmasıdır. Söz konusu belgeler, Patriklik Sarayı'nın rekonstrüksiyonu oluşturmak, Hagia Sophia ile mekansal ve fiziksel ilişkisini ortaya koymak amacıyla eldeki metinler ve diğer somut kanıtlarla birlikte değerlendirilmiştir.

ANAHTAR SÖZCÜKLER

Patriklik Sarayı, İustinianus Dönemi onarımları, Nika Ayaklanması, MS 563 Yangını, karşılaştırmalı dijital modelleme

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