

Harbour of Julian – Harbour of Sophia – Kontoskalion

First met in the sources as the Harbour of Julian, later as the Harbour of Sophia, then as Kontoskalion and finally as Kadirga Limanı, this harbour proved the most durable of those on the south coast of Constantinople. Despite its exposed position, which made conversions and dredging necessary, the harbour remained in use from the fourth to the sixteenth centuries¹.

The Construction of the Harbour under Emperor Julian (362)

Before Emperor Julian (360-363), who was renamed *Apostata* («the Apostate») because of his renouncement of Christianity, went to war against the Persians in 362, he spent several months in Constantinople. Among other things, he used the time for construction measures, including a very large harbour to protect ships from the south winds and a colonnade, rather sigma-shaped [i. e., C-shaped] than straight, which led to the harbour².

Julian would not live to see the completion of the ambitious project: he set out on the campaign against Persia soon after the construction of the harbour had begun and did not return. The emperor, however, had taken care to perpetuate himself as the founder of the harbour in the memory of the city: a statue in the middle of the harbour memorialised him until it fell victim to an earthquake in 535 and was replaced by a cross under Justinian I (527-565)³. In fact, the harbour seems to have been linked to the name of the emperor from

the beginning: the fifth-century *Codex Theodosianus* knows it as *divi Juliani portus*⁴, and Procopius in the sixth century reports of the »harbour of the city named after Julian«⁵. The name is also known to the author of the *Chronicon Paschale* in the seventh century⁶. The name remained in use until at least the eleventh century, when, however, the primary designation had already changed to the »Harbour of Sophia« (see below)⁷. However, the memory of the Emperor faded with time and thus the *Patria Konstantinoupoleos* mistakenly name it after a *consul* named Julian⁸.

Julian's harbour was in *Regio III*, a quarter on the south coast of Constantinople, which extended south and southwest of the Hippodrome⁹. Moreover, the continuous use of the harbour into modern times suggests that it must have been located in this region. In the nineteenth century, traces of an old harbour basin east of Kumkapi were still visible, which are likely to be associated with the Harbour of Julian¹⁰. Even today, the former harbour basin of the Ottoman Kadirga Limanı («Galley Harbour») stands out against the urban topography. The basin had a diameter of about 600m and a potentially usable quay length of about 1000m (map 1 p. 236)¹¹. Whether its present northern boundary, the arcuate Kadirga Limanı Caddesi («Galley Harbour Road»), is reminiscent of the extent of the first construction phase, or from a later expansion to the east, must remain open (see below)¹².

The colonnade mentioned by Zosimos, apparently slightly sigma-shaped, which lined the basin to the north, was a characteristic detail of the harbour: the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae*, which was largely written under Theodosius II

1 Standard literature: van Millingen, Walls 288-296. – Janin, Port Sophien 117-122. – Janin, Ports. – Janin, Constantinople 228-234. – Guillard, Ports 181-201. 225-230. – Müller-Wiener, Häfen 8-9. 26-28. – Müller-Wiener, Bildlexikon 62-63. – Stauridou-Zaphraka, Kontoskalio. – Cameron, Notes. – Makris, Studien 176-179. – Magdalino, Constantinople 20-22. 52. 76. – Magdalino, Maritime Neighborhoods 211-219. – Mango, Développement 38-39. 5-56. – Berger, Untersuchungen 428-430. 482-484. 566-580. – Berger, Häfen 83-85. – Effenberger, Illustrationen 30-31.

2 Zosimos, *Historia Nova* III 3 (II 25 Paschoud): ἔδωκε μὲν τῇ πόλει γερούσιαν ἔχειν ὡς περ τῆ Ῥώμῃ, λιμένα δὲ μέγιστον αὐτῆ δειμάμενος, τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ νότου κινδυνουόντων ἀλεξήτηριον πλοίων, καὶ στοὰν σιγματοειδῆ μᾶλλον ἢ εὐθείαν, ἐπὶ τὸν λιμένα κατὰ γούσαν. There is no reason to follow the assumption of Berger, Häfen von Byzanz und Konstantinopel 112 and Günsenin, Harbours and Shipbuilding 414 that under Julian the building of the harbour was finished.

3 Ioannes Malalas, *Chronographia* XVIII 82 (404 Thurn): Τῷ αὐτῷ δὲ χρόνῳ ἔπρεσεν ἡ στήλη Ἰουλιανοῦ τοῦ παραβάτου ἢ σταθεῖσα μέσον τοῦ Ἰουλιανοῦ λιμένος· καὶ ἐπηξάν ἄντι τῆς αὐτῆς στήλης σταυρόν. – Berger, Untersuchungen 573.

4 Cod. Theod. XIV 6 5 (a. 419): *Omnes fornaces per omne spatium quod inter amphitheatrum [Kynegion] et divi Juliani portum per litus maris extenditur, tolli praecipimus propter salubritatem urbis et aedium regiarum vicinitatem.* –

At about the same time, the *Notitia urbis Constantinopolitanae* IV 10 (232 Seeck) refers to the harbour as *portus novus* (on this, see n. 14 below).

5 Prokopios, *De aedificiis* I 4 28 (IV 26 Haury/Wirth): τό τε Θέκλης μάρτυρος ἱερόν, ὃ παρὰ τὸν τῆς πόλεως λιμένα ἐστίν, ὄνπερ ἐπώνυμον Ἰουλιανοῦ ξυμβαίνει εἶναι. – Cf. Stauridou-Zaphraka, Kontoskalio 1303. 1306.

6 *Chronicon Paschale* I 622 (Dindorf): ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰουλιανῷ λιμένα. – Ibid. 700: εἰς τὸν Ἰουλιανῷ λιμένα.

7 Theophanes, *Chronographia* AM 6024, AM 6187 (184. 368 de Boor, see n. 44). – *Vita Eustratii* 37 (391 Papadopoulos-Kerameus, see n. 99). – Symeon Logothetes, *Chronicon* 105,6 (147 Wahlgren, see n. 44) = Leon Grammatikos, *Chronographia* 135 (Bekker).

8 *Patria Konstantinoupoleos* III 39a (II 232 Preger): Ἐκλήθη δὲ Ἰουλιανῷ λιμῆν, ὅτι ὁ ὑπάτικὸς ὁ κτίσας αὐτὸν οὕτως ἐκαλεῖτο. – Cf. Berger, Untersuchungen 568.

9 *Notitia urbis Constantinopolitanae* IV 10 (232 Seeck). – Cf. Janin, Constantinople 50 and map III. – Berger, Regionen 360-361.

10 van Millingen, Walls 294.

11 Mango, Développement 39.

12 Matthews, *Notitia* 102 takes the road as the northern edge of the Harbour of Julian, as does Mango, Développement 39.

(408-450)¹³, has a »new harbour« (*portus novus*) in *Regio III* with a semi-circular portico (*porticus semirotonda*)¹⁴, undoubtedly this is to be understood as the Harbour of Julian¹⁵. The fact that the harbour is called »new« could refer to the fact that it was recently completed. Julian may have initiated the construction, but completion in the few months of his remaining lifetime had certainly not been possible. Maybe, however, the passage is simply from an older listing and had not been updated¹⁶.

The Harbour of Julian resulted in a significant improvement of Constantinople's southern Propontis coast. With the small so-called Hormisdas harbour near the Church of the Saints Sergius and Bacchus¹⁷ there may have been a jetty nearby since the time of Constantine the Great¹⁸, but with the Neorion and the Proosphorion, the city's two main harbours were situated on the Golden Horn¹⁹. The economic boom of the south coast was also reflected in the construction of the Harbour of Theodosius west of the Harbour of Julian in the fifth century²⁰. The granaries (*Horrea Alexandrina*, *Horeum Theodosianum*) that were built between the two major harbours testify to their importance for receiving the delivery of grain shipments from Egypt²¹. Berger's recent assumption that the Harbour of Julian was only a naval harbour, however, cannot be supported by the sources²².

Although the two new harbours of Julian and Theodosius provided protection against the strong currents and winds of the Bosphorus, they suffered similarly from the problem of silting up²³. The first dredging of the Harbour of Julian with the help of wheeled machines (*rotalibus machinis*) is recorded

for the year 509²⁴. In the course of this operation, Emperor Anastasius I (491-518) also built breakwaters²⁵. However, there must have been some earlier structure, especially as Zosimos emphasised that the harbour should protect ships from the south winds²⁶. Renovations may have become necessary though after a major fire in 465 had blazed a trail of devastation from the Golden Horn to the Harbour of Julian²⁷.

The shift of the most important structures from the Golden Horn to the southern coast of the peninsula became definite in the sixth century²⁸. The area surrounding the Harbour of Julian developed into an elite residential area²⁹. Even within the Great Palace, new buildings were now almost exclusively built on the lower, southern terraces³⁰ and for the first time also an imperial private harbour was built, which was located not far east of the Harbour of Julian³¹.

From the middle of the sixth century, the population of Constantinople shrank and with it the volume of regular supplies of grain from Egypt³². The Harbour of Julian still maintained its importance and the market for imported goods (*ἀγορὰ τῶν θαλασσίων ἐμπόρων*) was relocated here from the Neorion Harbour. Building ground must have been sufficiently available near the Harbour of Julian after a fire in December 560³³. The *Patria Konstantinoupoleos* attribute the initiative of relocating the market to an Emperor named Justinian³⁴, but in research, the dating is controversial. Magdalino considers an assignment to Justinian I (527-565) to be likely, especially because the areas on the Golden Horn had become unsafe³⁵: in 559, an invasion of Kutrigurs threatened the Thracian suburbs of Constantinople³⁶ and in 561, the

13 Only individual sections may come from older sources. On the dating, see Matthews, *Notitia* 84-85.
 14 *Notitia urbis Constantinopolitanae* IV 10 (232 Seeck): *Regio tertia [...] continet in se Portum novum. Porticum semirotondam, quae ex similitudine fabricae sigma Graeco vocabulo nuncupatur.*
 15 Berger, *Untersuchungen* 152. 568. – Berger, *Regionen* 361. – Mango, *Développement* 39. – Janin, *Constantinople* 232. The really »new« harbour at the time of the compilation of the *Notitia* was actually the Harbour of Theodosius, which is, however, listed among the buildings of the *Regio XII* (239 Seeck). – Cf. Matthews, *Notitia* 101. 109-110. – See also Külzer, *Harbour of Theodosius* in this volume.
 16 On this problem, see Matthews, *Notitia* 84-85.
 17 *Patria Konstantinoupoleos* III 39 (II 231 Preger): *ὅτι τὰ καλούμενα Ὁρμίσδου λιμὴν ἐτύγγανεν μικρὸς ἐν ᾧ ὄρμον αἱ νῆες πρὸ τῆς Σοφίας κτισθῆναι.* After the construction of the Harbour of Julian, the harbour became obsolete and was neglected: *ἐκ δὲ τῶν πολλῶν χρόνων ἀμεληθεὶς ἐγεμίσθη.* – Cf. Berger, *Untersuchungen* 566. – Guillard, *Ports* 181-182. – Müller-Wiener, *Häfen* 8.
 18 According to the *Patria Konstantinoupoleos* III 132 (II 257 Preger), Constantine the Great had the porphyry column for his forum delivered to the Harbour of Sophia (Harbour of Julian), but – if the text indeed reported an actual event – only a previous harbour could have been meant: *Ἐκλήθη δὲ σιδηρὰ ἢ πέρτα: ἐπὶ τοῦ μεγάλου Κωνσταντίνου ὁ μέγας κίων ὁ πορφυροῦς τοῦ Ἀνθίου τρεῖς χρόνους ἐποίησεν πλωζόμενος ἀπὸ Ῥώμης διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τοῦ μεγέθους αὐτοῦ: καὶ ἔλθων εἰς τὰς Σοφίας ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ θελόντων αὐτὸν ἐκβαλεῖν ἀπὸ τῶν σχιδέων ἐχώσθη εἰς τὸν αἰγιαλὸν πῆγεις τεσσαρεῖς διὰ τὸ εἶναι χαῦνον καὶ ἀλσώδη τὸν τόπον: μέλλοντες δὲ τοῦτον ἐκσπάσαι οὐκ ἠδύνατο μετὰ ξύλων, ἀλλὰ μετὰ μοχλῶν σιδηρῶν: καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὕτως ἐκλήθη.* – Cf. Guillard, *Ports* 186.
 19 See Kislinger, *Better and Worse Sites*, in this volume. – Müller-Wiener, *Häfen* 6-8. – Mango, *Développement* 38-39 with calculation for space requirements for mass deliveries.
 20 See Külzer, *Harbour of Theodosius*, in this volume. – Müller-Wiener, *Häfen* 9.
 21 *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae* X 6, X 9 (237 Seeck): *the horrea are located in the Regio IX, i. e., on the southern Propontis coast between the Harbour of Julian (Regio III) and the Harbour of Theodosius (Regio XII).* – Cf. Magdalino, *Maritime Neighborhoods* 211-212. – Mango, *Développement* 39-40. 54-55. –

For the grain supply of Constantinople, see Durliat, *L'approvisionnement.* – Magdalino, *Grain Supply.*
 22 Berger, *Häfen* 83.
 23 Stauridou-Zaphraka, *Kontoskalio* 1303. – Magdalino, *Maritime Neighborhoods* 215. – On the necessary excavation works, see also below p. 96.
 24 Marcellinus Comes ad a. 509 (97 Mommsen): *Portus Iuliani undis suis rotalibus machinis prius exhaustus caenoque effosso purgatus est.* – Cf. Berger, *Untersuchungen* 573; Decker, *Agricultural Technology* 405.
 25 Suda, s. v. Anastasios (I 187 Adler): *ὅτι Ἀναστάσιος αὐτὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς ἔκτισε τὸ μακρὸν τεῖχος πρὸ μιλίων ν', εὖρος δὲ ποδῶν κ'. Καὶ τῷ Ἰουλιανοῦ λιμένι προβόλου τίθησιν.* – Cf. van Millingen, *Walls* 291.
 26 See n. 2 above.
 27 Schneider, *Brände* 238 with the sources. – Mango, *Développement* 51.
 28 See Kislinger, *Better and Worse Sites*, in this volume.
 29 Magdalino, *Maritime Neighborhoods* 216-219. – Right next to the harbour, for example, was the estate of Probus, a nephew of Emperor Anastasius I (*PLRE* II 912-913): *Chronicon Paschale* I 622 (Dindorf). – Theophanes, *Chronographia* AM 6024 (184 de Boor). – Cf. Guillard, *Ports* 187.
 30 Bolognesi Recchi Franceschini, *Gran Palazzo* 229-236. – Featherstone, *Der Große Palast* 23-26.
 31 Cf. Heher, *Boukoleonhafen and Heher, Harbour of the Boukoleon*, in this volume.
 32 Teall, *Grain Supply.* – Mango, *Développement* 54-56.
 33 Ioannes Malalas, *Chronographia* XVIII 131 (422 Thurn): *τῷ δὲ δεκεμβρίῳ μηνὶ γέγονεν ἐμπυρισμὸς μέγας ἐν τῷ λιμένι Ἰουλιανοῦ, καὶ πολλοὶ οἰκοὶ ἐκάησαν καὶ ἐκκλησία ἀπὸ ἀρχῆς τοῦ λιμένος ἕως τῶν Πρόβου (= Theophanes, *Chronographia* AM 6053 [235 de Boor]).* – Cf. Schneider, *Brände* 240.
 34 *Patria Konstantinoupoleos* II 68 (II 188 Preger). – The same in *Parastaseis syntomoi chronikai* 72 (I 67 Preger): *Περὶ τοῦ Νεωρίου: ... ἐν ᾧ καὶ ἀγορὰ τῶν θαλασσίων ἐμπόρων πρῶτον ἦν ἐπὶ δὲ Ἰουστινιανοῦ μετεπιθήθη εἰς τὸν Ἰουλιανοῦ λιμένα.* – Cf. Magdalino, *Constantinople* 20-21. – Berger, *Untersuchungen* 428-430.
 35 The following after Magdalino, *Constantinople* 21.
 36 Agathias, *Historiae* V 14.5-6 (181 Keydell). – Theophanes, *Chronographia* AM 6051 (233-234 de Boor). – Cf. Kislinger, *Angriff.*

Blues ventured an uprising in Sykai³⁷. In addition, Magdalino assumes that during the plague waves of the second half of the sixth century the sluggish waters of the Golden Horn may also have contributed to avoiding the northern coast of Constantinople. As early as 542, many plague victims had been buried in and around the Golden Horn³⁸. Berger assumes that there was a confusion of the names in the *Patria*, arguing that the relocation of the market did not take place under Justinian, but under Justin II (565-578), under whose rule renovation work on the harbour was undertaken (see below). This would have been incomprehensible if the harbour had still worked efficiently in the reign of Justinian³⁹. Mango considers the attribution to an Emperor Justinian to be the fictitious embellishment of a real event. The relocation of the market would have taken place only in the seventh or eighth century, when the Neorion Harbour on the Golden Horn was expanded to become the base of the imperial navy⁴⁰. Earth-moving work is recorded there for the year 698⁴¹, as mentioned before, and the military harbour (*exartysis*) was certainly in use in 715⁴². Cameron and Herrin argue for the same date, but for a different motivation: a plague wave erupted immediately after the dredging of the Neorion in 698, and at least Theophanes suggests a causal connection. It is possible that the area of the Neorion was considered harmful to health and the market therefore relocated to the south⁴³.

The Adaptation of the Harbour under Justin II (569?)

Under Emperor Justin II (565-578), the Harbour of Julian was apparently renovated to an extent that justified considering him the new founder and henceforth naming the harbour the »Harbour of Sophia« after his wife⁴⁴. The *Patria* give an anecdote in which even the initiative for the construction of the harbour is attributed to the eponym:



Fig. 1 Follis with Justin II and Sophia on the double throne. – (From Boss/Hofmann, Münzen 61).

»The same Justin built the Harbour of Sophia on behalf of his wife Sophia. Before the harbour was built, there was a covered street built by Constantine the Great. And the western philosophers came [...] and discussed there with the inhabitants of Constantinople⁴⁵. [...] They were defeated under Justin and have not returned since then. But when four years had passed since then, it happened that the Augusta Sophia was standing on the terrace of the palace, and when she saw the ships being thrown around by the waves in the sea, she felt pity and sadness. And she went to the Emperor, her husband, and asked him to give her enough money to build up the harbour. And he bowed to her request and ordered the *patrikiōs* and *praipositos* Narses and the *protovestiarīos* Troilos to build a harbour. They excavated a large pit and built it. That is why it received the name of Sophia«⁴⁶.

An active involvement of the Empress is not unlikely despite the problematic nature of the source, especially since Sophia always took a prominent role next to her husband: she was involved in fiscal and religious decisions, was named together with Justin in the acclamations and was depicted enthroned beside him on the back of copper coins (fig. 1)⁴⁷. Regardless of who took the initiative, the renaming of the harbour is

37 Ioannes Malalas, *Chronographia* XVIII 135 (424 Thurn).

38 Magdalino, *Maritime Neighborhoods* 215.

39 So argue Berger, *Untersuchungen* 430 and Guillard, *Ports* 182-183.

40 See Kislinger, *Better and Worse Sites*, in this volume.

41 Mango, *Développement* 55-56. – Excavation works: Theophanes, *Chronographia* AM 6190 (370 de Boor)

42 Theophanes, *Chronographia* AM 6207 (385-386 de Boor). – Cf. Ahrweiler, *Byzance et la mer* 430-435.

43 Cameron/Herrin, *Parastaseis* 267. – Theophanes, *Chronographia* AM 6190 (370 de Boor). – See also Kislinger, *Better and Worse Sites*, in this volume (n. 70).

44 There is no doubt about the identification of the Harbour of Sophia with the Harbour of Julian. Symeon Logothetes, *Chronicon* 105.6 (147 Wahlgren) explicitly endorses the renaming: Κτίζει δὲ καὶ τὰ παλάτια τὰ ἐν τῷ Ἰουλιανοῦ λιμένι, ἐπ' ὀνόματι τῆς γυναίκος αὐτοῦ Σοφίας, ἀποκαθάρσας τὸν λιμένα καὶ μέσον τοῦ λιμένος ἰδρύσας στήλας δύο, αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς γυναίκος, μετονομάσας τὸν λιμένα Σοφίας (Leon Grammatikos, *Chronographia* 135 [Bekker]). – The same also in Georgios Kedrenos, *Chronicon* I 685 (Bekker). – Cf. also Theophanes, *Chronographia* AM 6024 (184 de Boor): τὸν Ἰουλιανοῦ, τὸν Σοφίας λέγω, λιμένα. – *Ibid.* AM 6187 (368 de Boor): ἐν τῷ Ἰουλιανῶν λιμένι τῶν Σοφίας. – Cf. van Millingen, *Walls* 289. – Mango, *Développement* 38-39. – Müller-Wiener, *Häfen* 8. – Guillard,

Ports 184-185. – Stauridou-Zaphraka, *Kontoskalio* 1306. – Magdalino, *Maritime Neighborhoods* 212.

45 The cryptic reference event of the victory against the »Western philosophers« could have entered the text later. Berger, *Investigations* 572 suspects that the original text actually referred to the fourth year of Justin's reign.

46 *Patria Konstantinupoleos* III 37 (II 229-230 Preger): Τὸν δὲ λιμένα Σοφίας ὁ αὐτὸς ἔκτισεν Ἰουστίνος εἰς πρόσωπον τῆς γυναίκος αὐτοῦ Σοφίας. Πρὸ δὲ τοῦ κτίσαι τὸν λιμένα ὑπῆρχεν στοὰ καμαροειδής, ἣν ἔκτισεν ὁ μέγας Κωνσταντῖνος [...] Χρόνων δὲ τεσσάρων ἔκτοτε διεληθόντων ἐγένετο Σοφίαν τὴν Αὐγούσταν ἴσασθαι εἰς τὸν ἡλιακὸν τοῦ παλατίου· καὶ ὄρωσα τὰ πλοῖα κλυδωνιζόμενα ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ, σπλαγχνισθεῖσα ἤρξατο ὀδύρεσθαι· καὶ εἰσελθοῦσα εἰς τὸν βασιλέα τὸν ἄνδρα αὐτῆς ἰκέτευεν αὐτόν, ὅπως παράσχη αὐτῇ χρυσίον ἰκανὸν εἰς τὸ ποιῆσαι λιμένα. Καὶ καμφθεὶς τῇ αἰτήσῃ αὐτῆς, προσέταξε Ναρσῆν τὸν πατρικίον καὶ πραιπόσιτον καὶ Τρώλιον τὸν πρωτοβεσπάριον αὐτοῦ κτίσαι τὸν λιμένα· οἱ καὶ βόθυνον μέγαν ὀρύξαντες ἀνωκοδόμησαν τοῦτον. Διὸ καὶ τὴν προσηγορίαν εἴληφεν τῆς Σοφίας.

47 Cf. Cameron, *Sophia*, especially 9-14. – Cameron, *Patronage* 82. – DOC I 204-217. 226-239. 243-249. 254-258 tab. L-LIX.

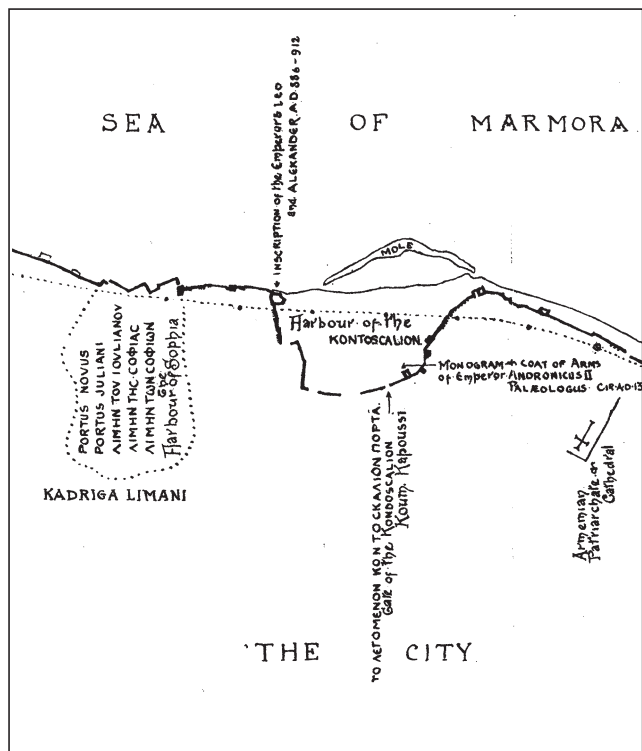


Fig. 2 The Harbours of Julian/Sophia and Kontoskalion (with mole) as separate basins in a sketch by van Millingen. – (From van Millingen, Walls).

not surprising given the close connection between Justin and Sophia⁴⁸.

The reliability of the other information contained is difficult to verify. In any case, the two officials mentioned are not found elsewhere⁴⁹. The claim that Justin had a large harbour basin dug out and thus created a new harbour may at first glance seem unlikely, especially as it has existed for centuries. The *Chronicle of the Logothete*, for example, speaks only of the emperor having had the harbour cleaned and renamed⁵⁰.

A look at the further development of the harbour, however, shows that in later centuries it consisted of two basins. Since no more extensive excavations after Justin have been recorded, it can be assumed that the Harbour of Julian had either reached its maximum extent at the time of its founding⁵¹, or that it was expanded under Justin II⁵². If the latter assump-

tion were correct, the harbour would have been limited in its first phase to the area just east of Kumkapi, where van Millingen at the end of the nineteenth century noted remnants of an old harbor basin (about 250m x 220m), including a breakwater (fig. 2)⁵³. The *Patria* mention a covered shopping arcade (στοὰ καμαροειδής), which is said to have fallen victim to Justin's building activity: this could be one of the four *porticus magnae* mentioned in the *Notitia* for the *Regio III*⁵⁴.

The hypothesis of an extension of the harbour to the east can also be supported by the only contemporary portrayal of the harbour by Flavius Corippus⁵⁵:

»One side [of the palace] looks out over the wide sea, the other backwards over the harbour – the harbour formed by the embrace of the arms of the two banks, with walls on top; they make it defy the swift winds and render the open sea quiet by (inside?) the anchorage. They break the waves of the sea with their marble barrier and keep away the waters as they flow back with their narrow neck. The royal couple loved this place; from it they used to watch the waves in the strait and the curving ships carrying all the trade of two worlds«⁵⁶.

The Harbour of Julian already had breakwaters – at least since Anastasius I (491-518) – but it is not mentioned that they were equipped with walls. Some of the pictorial representations of the harbour from the fifteenth century show semicircular breakwaters in front of the harbour entrance, but walls are missing (see below). The arms of the mole mentioned by Corippus could therefore be understood as a foreclosure of a new, eastern harbour basin to the outer area (the original Harbour of Julian). However, this assumption must also remain hypothetical. According to the state of knowledge, it cannot be decided to what extent the Harbour of Julian was enlarged or rebuilt under Justin II.

Apart from its shape and extent, the decorative design of the harbor also changed in the sixth century: the *Patria Konstantinupoleos* recorded that Justin had set up four statues on pillars in the middle of the harbour⁵⁷, which depict himself, his wife Sophia, his daughter Arabia and – depending on Tradition – Justin's mother Vigilantia⁵⁸ or the *praiapositos* Narses⁵⁹ responsible for the construction. The *Chronicle of the Logothete* reports only two statues at the Harbour of Sophia,

48 Cameron, Sophia 12.

49 Cf. PLRE III 930 (s. v. Narses 3). – PLRE III 1343 (s. v. Troilos 2): if the statement refers to a real person, then Troilos was a *comes sacrae vestis*, since the title of *protovestiarior* can only be traced back to the ninth c.

50 Symeon Logothetes, *Chronicon* 105,6 (147 Wahlgren) = Leon Grammatikos, *Chronographia* 135 (Bekker): ἀποκαθάρας τὸν λιμένα καὶ [...] μετονομάσας τὸν λιμένα Σοφίας.

51 Mango, *Développement* 39.

52 Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon* 62.

53 van Millingen, *Walls* 294.

54 *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae* IV 16 (232 Seec). – On the *stoai*, see Mundell-Mango, *Commercial map* 194-197. 203-205.

55 Cf. Cameron, *Notes* 11.

56 Flavius Cresconius Corippus, In *Laudem Iustini* I 102-108 (39 Cameron): *Pars prospicit una | inmensum pelagus, pars respicit altera portum, | portum quem*

geminæ complexant brachia ripae | moenibus adpositis, rapidos contemnere ventos | et faciunt, praebentque salum statione quietum: | aequoreos frangunt obiecto marmore fluctus, | et prohibent refluxus angustis faucibus undas. | gratior ille fuit dominis locus, unde solebant | undivagum spectare fretum curvasque carinas | omnia vectantes gemini commercia mundi (translation: ibidem 89).

57 Cf. Guillard, *Ports* 186. – See also Cameron's commentary in Flavius Cresconius Corippus, In *Laudem Iustini* 133.

58 *Patria Konstantinupoleos* II 62 (II 184 Preger): Περί τῶν Σοφῶν. Ὁ λιμὴν τῶν Σοφῶν ἐκτίσθη παρὰ Ἰουστίνου τοῦ ἀποκουροπαλάτου, τοῦ ἀνδρὸς Σοφίας τῆς Λωβῆς. Μέσον δὲ τοῦ λιμένος ἴστανται στήλαι τέσσαρες, Σοφίας καὶ Ἰουστίνου καὶ Ἀραβίας καὶ Βιγλεντίας τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ.

59 *Patria Konstantinupoleos* III 37 (230 Preger): Μέσον δὲ τοῦ λιμένος ἀνήγειρεν δ' στήλας ἐπάνω τῶν δ' κίωνων, Σοφίας καὶ Ἀραβίας ἀνεψιάς αὐτοῦ, Ἰουστίνου τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ Νάρση τοῦ ἐκέῖσε παρισταμένου.

representing Justin and his wife⁶⁰. The reduced number of statues could be reconciled with information transmitted only in a manuscript of the *Patria*, according to which Emperor Philippikos Bardanes (711-713) had two of the four monuments destroyed because of the content of their prophetic inscriptions⁶¹.

Perhaps the statue of Justin is to be equated with a statue whose donor's inscription is preserved in the *Anthologia Graeca*:

»I, the prefect Theodoros, here on the shore of the sea
Built for the Emperor Justin this radiant statue,
that his serene gentleness still spread over the harbours«⁶².

Janin and Guiland relate the statue to the mentioned passage in the *Patria*⁶³. Cameron, on the other hand, proposes assigning it to Justin I (518-527)⁶⁴. He argues this on the grounds that the epigram did not indicate at which harbour the statue was located, that neither renovation nor founding was addressed, and, above all, that a certain Theodore is documented in the reign of Justin I, who held the office of the eparch several times and who is immortalised in several dedicatory inscriptions⁶⁵. The coincidence is noteworthy, but since *hyparchoi* of this name are also documented after the middle of the sixth century⁶⁶, an assignment of the statue to Justin II should not be completely ruled out. It is very likely that Justin had his Harbour of Julian embellished with a statue of himself and his wife. Since the old statue of Emperor Julian had been replaced by a cross in the meantime⁶⁷, the harbour served only for the self-portrayal of Justin (and possibly his family), who in some sources is now considered the sole builder of the facility⁶⁸.

It remains to discuss the date of the conversion. Georgios Kedrenos puts both the renovation of the harbour and the construction of the adjacent palace, which was also named after Sophia, in the fourth year of Justin's reign, i. e., in the

year 568/569⁶⁹. However, the *Chronicle of Theophanes*, written sooner after the events, tells that exactly this palace was founded by Tiberius I (578-582) in 579/580 to provide Justin's widow with a dignified home⁷⁰. In fact, the palace must have existed earlier than assumed in the two sources, especially since Corippus describes that Justin and Sophia had there learned of the death of Emperor Justinian (November 565)⁷¹. The date of the Palace of Sophia at Kedrenos is, therefore, to be rejected, but not necessarily that of the harbour⁷², because the *Patria* put the renovation in the 253rd year after the founding of Constantinople (for which the *Patria* assume the year 317), i. e., the year 569.⁷³

The Harbour of Sophia in the Seventh to Eleventh Centuries

The merchant ships, about which Empress Sophia was concerned, frequented the harbour renamed after her in the following centuries. The import market (see above) relocated under the rule of Justinian I (527-565) or Justin II (565-578) to the coast of the Propontis was probably still there at the time of the writing of the *Patria* (eighth-tenth centuries)⁷⁴. Neighbouring toponyms indicate the commercial importance of the *Region*: the Church of St Thekla bears the addition »on the barley market« (ἐν τοῖς Κριθοπωλείοις) in the tenth century⁷⁵. The alleged transformation of St Andrew's Church at the tower of Bukinon (see below) into a barn (χορτόβολον) and the nearby Church of St John the Baptist into a workshop (ἐργοστάσιον) under Constantine V (741-775) can also be connected with a mercantile use of the area⁷⁶. Most of the other churches and monasteries secularised by this emperor were located on the coast of the Propontis and could reflect the increased need for economic infrastructure⁷⁷.

60 Symeon Logothetes, Chronicon 105,3 (147 Wahlgren) = Leon Grammatikos, Chronographia (135 Bekker): μέσον τοῦ λιμένος ἰδρύσας στήλας δύο, αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς γυναίκος. – The same in Georgios Kedrenos, Chronicon I 685 (Bekker). Theoretically, it could also be two different groups of statues: Cameron/Herrin, Parastaseis 209. – Cameron, Patronage 70.

61 *Patria* Konstantinupoleos III 37 (II 230 Preger): ἐξ ὧν αἰ δύο ἐπήρθησαν παρὰ Φιλίππικου· εἶχον δὲ γράμματα περὶ τῶν μελλόντων (only in manuscript C).

62 *Anthologia Graeca* XVI 64 (IV 338 Beckby): Τοῦτο παρ' αἰγιαλοῖσιν ἐγὼ Θεόδωρος ὑπαρχος στήσα φαιεῖον ἀγαλμα Ἰουστίνῳ βασιλεῖ, ὄφρα καὶ ἐν λιμένεσσιν εἶην πετάσσειε γαλήνην.

63 Janin, Constantinople 231. – Guiland, Ports 186.

64 Cameron, Theodoros 278-279.

65 PLRE II 1096 (s. v. Theodoros 57).

66 PLRE III 1263. 1271 (s. v. Theodoros 61. 124).

67 See n. 3 above.

68 Thus, Michael Glykas, Annales 506 (Bekker): οὗτος κτίσας παλάτιον ἐξω τῆς πόλεως καὶ λιμένα ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει, τὰ μὲν Σοφίας ἐκάλεσε τὰ δὲ Σοφιανὰς, εἰς ὄνομα τῆς γυναίκος αὐτοῦ Σοφίας. – The same in Ioel, Chronographia 98 (Iadevaia).

69 Georgios Kedrenos, Chronicon I 685 (Bekker): Τῷ ἰα' ἔτει ἐκτίσεν ὁ βασιλεὺς [...] τὰ παλάτια τὰ ἐν τῷ Ἰουλιανοῦ λιμένι. ἀποκαθαίρει δὲ καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν λιμένα καὶ στήλας δύο ἐν μέσῳ αὐτοῦ ἴσθησι, τὴν τε ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῆς γυναίκος αὐτοῦ Σοφίας, μετονομάσας καὶ τὸν λιμένα Σοφίας. Despite the similarity of names, this palace of *tes Sophia* or *ton Sophion* (τῆς Σοφίας / τῶν Σοφιῶν) is not to be confused with the residence of *ton Sophianon* (τῶν Σοφιανῶν), which Justin had built between 565 and 567: Cameron, Notes, esp. 11-13. The situation is further complicated insofar as the area around the Harbour of Sophia and Palace of

Sophia likewise bore the name of *ton Sophianon* (τῶν Σοφιανῶν). No counterpart to the Kedrenos passage in Theophanes, Chronographia AM 6068-6069 (243 de Boor).

70 Theophanes, Chronographia AM 6072 (250 de Boor): Τοῦτ' ὡ ἔπει ἐκτίσεν ὁ βασιλεὺς Τιβέριος τὸ παλάτιον τὸ ἐν τῷ Ἰουλιανοῦ λιμένι καὶ ἐπωνόμασεν αὐτὸ ἐπ' ὀνόματι Σοφίας, τῆς γυναίκος Ἰουστίνου.

71 Flavius Cresconius Corippus, In laudem Iustini I 97-120 (39-40 Cameron). The text was written towards the end of 566. On the identification with the Sophiae Palace, see Cameron, Notes 12-13.

72 The claim of Cameron, Notes 15 (»We must now throw out Cedrenus' dating of both palace and harbour to the eleventh year of Justin's reign. The harbour was rebuilt at the same time as or soon after the Sophiae palace«) cannot be supported by any sources.

73 *Patria* Konstantinupoleos III 37 (II 229-230 Preger): Μετὰ δὲ τὸ κτισθῆναι τὴν Κωνσταντινούπολιν παρήλθον σὺν β' χρόνοι καὶ οὕτως ἐκτίσθη ὁ λιμὴν. – Cf. Berger, Untersuchungen 572.

74 Magdalino, Maritime Neighborhoods 212.

75 Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae, col. 75 (Delehay, manuscript O). – Berger, Untersuchungen 565. 578. – Müller-Wiener, Häfen 8. – Magdalino, Maritime Neighborhoods 213. – Janin, Siège de Constantinople 149-150.

76 *Patria* Konstantinupoleos I 67 (Johanneskirche), III 135 (Andreaskirche) (II 147-148. 258 Preger). – Magdalino, Maritime Neighborhoods 213. – Müller-Wiener, Häfen 8. – Janin, Siège de Constantinople 31-32. 443-444.

77 *Patria* Konstantinupoleos III 9, III 69 (II 216-217. 240-241 Preger). – Theophanes, Chronographia AM 6258 (439-440 de Boor). – Nikephoros Patriarches, Antirheticus tertius III, 493 D. – Cf. Magdalino, Maritime Neighborhoods 213.

The large grain deliveries that came after the loss of Egypt, especially from Thrace, Macedonia and Asia Minor, were still housed in the stores on the coast of the Propontis. At least one of these *horrea* in the tenth century is demonstrably in operation at the Harbour of Theodosius, probably to be identified with the *horrea Alexandrina* or the *horreum Theodosianum* (see above)⁷⁸. The harbours of the Propontis seem to have prevailed over those on the Golden Horn until the eleventh century⁷⁹. In the immediate vicinity of the Harbour of Sophia, merchants⁸⁰, as well as illustrious people⁸¹, had their residences, including the estate of the powerful Phokas family from the late ninth century⁸².

Apart from these implicit references to activities around the Harbour of Sophia, the harbour is repeatedly mentioned in sources between the seventh and the thirteenth centuries, indicating its continuous use. In 610, Emperor Phokas (602-610) was confronted with the usurpation of Heraclius, who had set out from Carthage with his fleet towards Constantinople. In view of the threat from the sea, Phokas organised the defence of the Propontis harbours with the aid of the demes: while the Blues were to protect the Harbour of Hormisdas, the guarding of the Kaisarion harbour (Harbour of Theodosius), as well as the Harbour of Sophia, was entrusted to the Greens⁸³. It is there that Heraclius' fleet is said to have won the decisive victory⁸⁴. In addition, the defeated emperor was driven naked out of the Palace of the Archangel and loaded on a boat in the Harbour of Sophia, which would take him to the place of his execution⁸⁵.

The harbour also played a key role during another usurpation: in 694/695, the *patrikios* Leontios was appointed *strategos* of Hellas and was to set sail with three dromons from the Harbour of Sophia. Leontios, who had spent the past three years in prison on charges of high treason, seized the opportunity to travel to the Great Palace and overthrow Justinian II (first reign 685-695)⁸⁶. The fact that dromons were

stationed here suggests, at least, a partially military use of the Harbour of Sophia during this time⁸⁷. This partial naval function is supported by a passage in the *Patria*, which probably goes back at least to the sixth century: there once was a tower called Bukinon at the western end of the Harbour of Sophia, from which a trumpet signal was given (τὸ βούκινον from Latin *bucina/bucinum*, »trumpet«) when the fleet went to sea⁸⁸. In the late seventh century, however, the naval base was moved to the Golden Horn⁸⁹.

The next literary evidence for the Harbour of Sophia dates to 764/765: on the so-called Mole of St Thomas, Constantine V (741-755) is said to have had the Bulgar Christianos dissected alive and burned⁹⁰. The mole apparently owed its name to the Church of St Thomas in the Amantios quarter (*en tois Amantiou*), which must have been in the immediate vicinity of the harbour (to its west, according to Berger⁹¹) since the fifth century⁹². A speech on the occasion of the translation of the bones of John Chrysostom to Constantinople emphasises the location of the church by the sea⁹³ and also an epigram handed down in the *Anthologia Graeca* on the founder of the church alludes – exaggeratedly – to the waterfront of the church:

»Amantios, you built this house for God
In the middle of the sea, fighting the rolling waves.
Neither the winds from the south nor those from the north shake your sacred building.
This divine building hear guards it forever.
Long may you live for you to the renewed Rome
By plunging yourself into the waves«⁹⁴.

Berger suggests that the Harbour of Sophia suffered a massive reduction in size in the ninth century caused by the construction of a wall on the eastern pier and another wall across the harbour basin (fig. 3)⁹⁵. Thanks to the late medieval and early modern representations (figs 7-13), it is beyond question

78 *Miracula Artemii* 16 (16 Papadopoulos-Kerameus): ὄριον τῶν Καισαρίου τὸ ἐπιλεγόμενον Λαμίας (»glutton«), translation: Crisafulli/Nesbitt, *Miracles* 107. – Cf. Mango, *Développement urbain* 555. – Magdalino, *Maritime Neighborhoods* 213.

79 Magdalino, *Maritime Neighborhoods* 211. – Müller-Wiener, *Häfen* 13-14, wants to shift the focus to the north already in 7th or 8th c. (but still under the erroneous assumption of an early unusability of the Harbour of Theodosius). See also Kislinger, *Better and Worse Sites*, in this volume.

80 Evidence for the 9th c.: Pseudo-Symeon, *Annales* 674 (Bekker). – *Die Vita Basilii Minoris* III 2 (278 Sullivan/Talbot/McGrath) reports of a rich merchant or workshop owner (ἐργαστηρικός), whose house stood within the area of the Harbour of Sophia (ἐν τῷ λιμένι τῶν Σοφίων).

81 Magdalino, *Maritime Neighborhoods* 216-217.

82 Grégoire, *Carrière* 250 (source text edition) 253-254 (with wrong location at Tekfur Saray). – Cf. Leon Diakonos, *Historia* V 5 (83-84 Hase). – Cf. Magdalino, *Constantinople* 52.

83 Ioannes Antiochenos, *Fragmenta* 321.19-21 (553 Roberto): καὶ ὡς ἐθεώρει ὅτι ἐγγιζουσι τῇ πόλει, ἐνιππεύσας ὁ Φωκάς εἰσηλθεν ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ ἐπιτρέπει φυλάττεσθαι ἐκ τῶν Πρασίνων τὸν λιμένα τὸν Καισαρίου καὶ τὸν Σοφίας, τοὺς δὲ Βενέτους τὰ ἐπὶ Ὀρμίσδου. – Cf. Guillard, *Ports* 195. – van Millingen, *Walls* 292.

84 Georgios Kedrenos, *Chronicon* I 712 (Bekker): καὶ πολέμου συρραγέντος εἰς τὸν λιμένα τῆς Σοφίας μεταξύ Φωκᾶ καὶ Ἡρακλείου, ἡττηθεὶς ὁ ἀλιτήριος ἔφυγεν εἰς τὰ βασίλεια. – Leon Grammatikos, *Chronographia* 146 (Bekker): καὶ πολέμου κροτηθέντος μεταξύ Φωκᾶ καὶ Ἡρακλείου εἰς τὸν Σοφίας λιμένα, ἡττηθεὶς ὁ ἀλιτήριος ἔφυγεν εἰς τὰ βασίλεια. = Symeon Logothetes, *Chronicon* 108,7 (156 Wahlgren). – Cf. Guillard, *Ports* 195. – van Millingen, *Walls* 292.

85 *Chronicon Paschale* I 700 (Dindorf): Φῶτιος ὁ κουράτωρ τῶν Πλακιδίας καὶ Πρόβρος ὁ πατρικίος ἐπῆραν Φωκᾶν ἐκ τοῦ Ἀρχαγγέλου τοῦ παλατιοῦ ὀλόγουμον, καὶ

ἀπῆγαγον διὰ τοῦ λιμένος ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν οἶκον τῶν Σοφίας, καὶ βαλόντες αὐτὸν εἰς κάραβον ἔδειξαν τοῖς πλοίοις.

86 Theophanes, *Chronographia* AM 6187 (I 368 de Boor). – Berger, *Untersuchungen* 573. – Cf. Müller-Wiener, *Häfen* 8.

87 Guillard, *Ports* 195.

88 *Patria* Konstantinupoleos III 38 (II 230-231 Preger). – Cf. van Millingen, *Walls* 293. – Berger, *Untersuchungen* 568-569. – Janin, *Constantinople* 326-27. – Janin, *Églises* 32. – Müller-Wiener, *Häfen* 8, however, with the location at the eastern harbour entrance. This hypothesis is to be rejected, as in 1203 a fire spread via the Bukinon westwards to the Eleutherios-district, see below, n. 115.

89 See Kislinger, *Better and Worse Sites*, in this volume.

90 Theophanes, *Chronographia* AM 6257 (436 de Boor). – Cf. Guillard, *Ports* 189: »et qui semble avoir été le môle qui couvrait l'échancrure sigmatoïde du mur maritime à hauteur de Kumkapı«. – van Millingen, *Walls* 292. – Berger, *Untersuchungen* 597.

91 Berger, *Untersuchungen* 597.

92 Theophanes Continuatus, *Chronographia* 462 (Bekker). – In 886/887, the church was destroyed by fire (see Schneider, *Brände* 240), but rebuilt: Janin, *Constantinople* 257-260.

93 *Translatio Chrysostomi* 314 (Dyobounos): ὁ τοῦ αἰδιδίου ἀποστόλου Ὁμαῖ ναός, ὁ πρὸς θάλασσαν κείμενος, ὃν Ἀμαντίου οἶδεν ὀνομάζειν ἡ πόλις.

94 *Anthologia Graeca* I 5 (I 124 Beckby): Τόνδε Θεῶ κάμες οἶκον, Ἀμαντίε, μεσσοῦθι πόντου, τοῖς πολυδινήτοις κύμασι μαρνόμενος. οὐ νότος, οὐ βορέης ἱερὸν σέο δῶμα πινάξει, νηῶ θεσπεσίῳ τῷδε φυλασσόμενον. ζῶις ἤματα πολλά· σὺ γὰρ νεοθλήεα Ῥώμην πόντῳ ἐπαίξας θήκαο φαιδρότερην.

95 Berger, *Häfen* 83; Berger, *Häfen von Byzanz und Konstantinopel* 114.

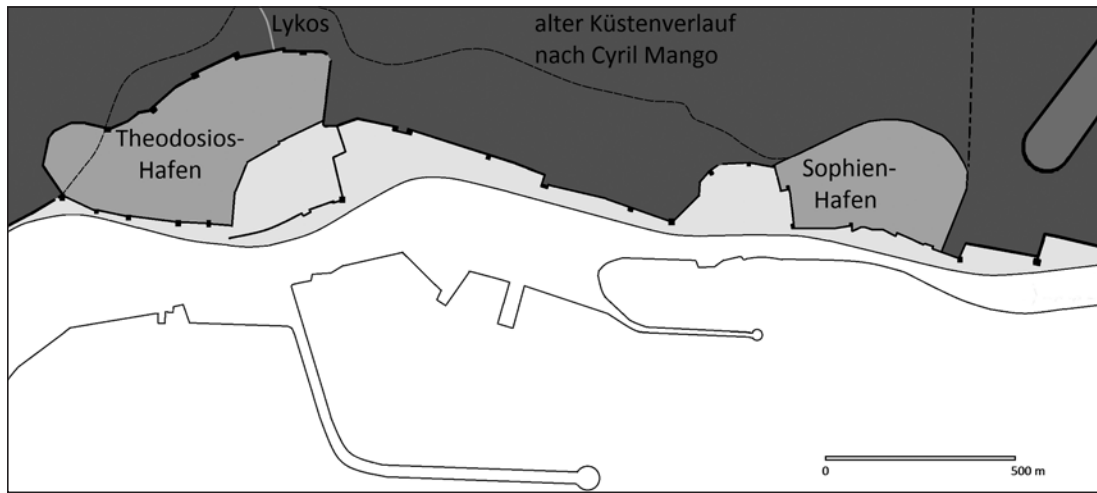


Fig. 3 The harbours on the Sea of Marmara according to A. Berger 2015. – (From Berger, Häfen 82 fig. 3).

that there was such a separating wall that divided the basin, but it is unclear when it was built. The only clue is a tower, which must have marked the southern end of this separation and was preserved into the nineteenth century⁹⁶. Berger argues that the tower indicates a reduction of the Harbour of Sophia. He dates this hypothetical reduction to around 830 when the Proosphorion and Neorion harbours would have also been downsized. According to Berger, an inscription⁹⁷ mentions the rebuilding of the tower under Emperor Leon VI (886-912), »which suggests that the reduction of the harbours must have been done some time before«. However, the said inscription only reads +ΠΥΡΓΟΣ ΛΕΟΝΤΟΣ Κ[ΑΙ] ΑΛΕΞΑΝ[ΔΡΟΥ] (»Tower of Leon and Alexandros«) and says nothing about the character of the construction measures. Even if it is only about the memory of a repair work, it remains unclear when the sea wall was created in this area. Nor is it possible to prove that the tower stood »on the old pier of the big harbour«⁹⁸. Obviously, a reduction cannot be ruled out, but it runs counter to the important role of the harbour in a period of demographic recovery. In any case, as already mentioned, the basic structures of the basin division could already go back to the construction measures of Justinian II.

In any case, the harbour remained active in the following centuries. Around the year 867, the ship on which Saint Eus-

tratus had left Bithynia for Constantinople was said to have sunk in the Harbour of Sophia; the saint and the crew had just left in time⁹⁹. There is nothing in the sources about what exactly caused the ship's undoing, but this incident could be seen as an indication of the constant difficulties caused by siltation in the area of the harbour entrance.

The next reference also has to do with a shipwreck. Leon of Synada tells of dramatic scenes when he wanted to travel to Rome in 996:

»The moment we left the Harbour of Sophia, the ship broke and almost capsized. This seemed to be a bad omen, yet it was not my destiny to fall overboard, but only change the ship«¹⁰⁰.

Only at the end of the twelfth century do we find another indication that the Harbour of Sophia was in use. According to Niketas Choniates, the *sebastokrator* Isaakios had his manor house at the harbour, which was converted into a lodging house for travellers (*pandocheion*¹⁰¹)¹⁰². The facility could accommodate more than a hundred guests. These dimensions are only comprehensible if the harbour was still heavily frequented during this time.

Analysis of the sources for the Middle Byzantine period does not reveal a military function for the Harbour of Sophia

96 Paspates, Anaskaphai 48. – van Millingen, Walls 186.

97 First printed in Paspates, Anaskaphai 48. – van Millingen, Walls 186. – Mango, Inscriptions 55.

98 Berger, Häfen 83.

99 Vita Eustratii 37 (391-392 Papadopoulos-Kerameus): Ὁ μέντοι ἡγιασμένος οὗτος πατήρ ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ εἰσεληλυθώς, αἰσίῳ τοῦ πλοῦς γεγονότος, διὰ τάχους τὴν βασιλεῦσαν κατέλαβεν· καὶ δὴ ἐν τῷ τοῦ Ἰουλιανοῦ λιμένι, ὃν δὴ Σοφίας καλεῖν ἢ συνήθεια εἶωθεν, εἰσερχομένου τοῦ πλοίου, βραχεῖ τι νι ὑφάλῳ ἐπιδραμόντος, ὅπην ὑπέστη δυναμένην αὐθωρὸν αὐτὸ καταποντίσαι. Τῶν οὖν ἐν αὐτῷ εἰσπλέοντων ἀγνοσάντων τὸ συμβᾶν αἰσθόμενος ὁ σημειοφόρος πατήρ εὐχὴν κατὰ διάνοιαν τῷ ἐτοιμῶς ἔχοντι ὑπακούειν τοῖς γνησίῳ δουλοῖς ἐποίητο πολυτρόπως ἀσινεῖς πάντας τοὺς ἐκεῖσε εἰσπλέοντας διασωθῆναι. Διαφυλαχθέντος οὖν ἀσινούς τοῦ πλοίου καὶ μῆτε μικροῦ ὕδατος ἐκ τῆς γεγεννημένης ὀπῆς εἰσελθόντος ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ τῇ γῆ προσορμισθέντος ἐκβάλλεσθαι τοὺς ναυτικούς πάντα διὰ τάχους τὰ ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ ὄντα παρεκελεύσατο σκῦλα. – Cf. PmbZ #10677.

100 Leon Synadenos, Epistolae 10 (14 Vinson): ἅμα γὰρ ἐλύσαμεν ἐκ τοῦ Σοφίας λιμένος καὶ ἡ ναὺς περιεργάγη καὶ μικροῦ περιετράπη. Ἔδοξεν οὖν κακὸς οἰωνὸς τὸ γεγόμενον, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἦν ἐμὸν ἀποβῆναι, μόνον δὲ μεταβῆναι τὴν ναῦν. – Cf. Magdalino, Maritime Neighborhoods 214.

101 On the institution of the *pandocheion*: Constable, Housing. Niketas uses the antique term here. However, the facility may have been more of a Xenodochion than a commercial hostel: Kislinger, Lodgings 346-347.

102 Niketas Choniates, Historia 445 (van Dielen): Ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ κάταντες ἐν τῷ λιμένι τῶν Σοφίων ἐστὶν Ἰσαακίου τοῦ σεβαστοκράτορος εἰς πανδοχεῖον μετασκευάσας ἀνδρῶν μὲν ἑκατὸν παρέθηκε τράπεζαν καὶ κλῖνας ἰσομέτρους, τσσαυαριθμῶν δὲ ὑποζυγίων ἵππων ἀνέστησε; – Cf. Guillard, Ports 196. – van Millingen, Walls 292.

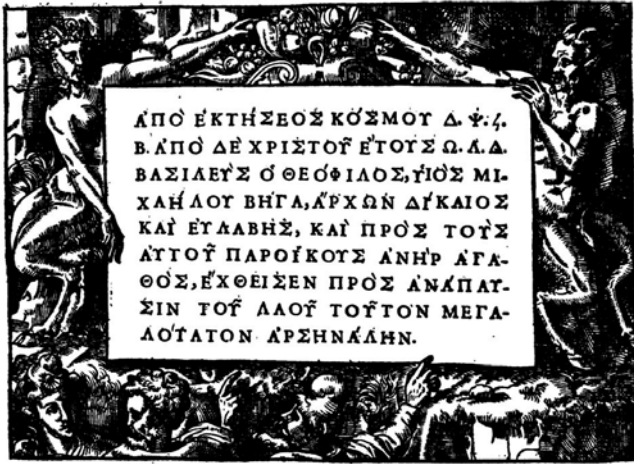


Fig. 4 The inscription supposedly discovered in the area of the harbour by André Thevet (1516-1590), reproduced in his *Cosmographie Universelle*. – (From André Thevet, *Cosmographie Universelle* 833).

between 700 and 1200¹⁰³. The French traveller André Thevet (1516-1590) claimed to have deciphered the following inscription in the area of the harbour that would prove that Emperor Theophilus (829-842) had a large arsenal built here (fig. 4)¹⁰⁴:

»In 4792th year since the creation of the world and in the 834th year of our Lord, Emperor Theophilus, son of Michael [βήγα?], lawful and pious ruler and for his subjects a good man, for the recovery [sic] of the people of this vast arsenal (*arsenales*)«.

However, the inscription is problematic in many ways and its authenticity has been rightly questioned¹⁰⁵. First, the dating cannot be correct, since the term *arsenales* only entered the Greek language in the fourteenth century. In addition, the year of the world (4792) given in the inscription cannot be reconciled in any way with a dating after the incarnation of

Jesus (834), which is in any case uncommon in Byzantine contexts. The genitive form of Michael (Μιχαήλου) lacks any orthographic basis; the apposition βήγα is completely incomprehensible in the form reconstructed by Thevet. The Frenchman translates (or better, transliterates) the word as *begue* («stammerer»), apparently inspired by a nickname given in the historiography of Michael II. At most, one could assume a reading of ρήγα (as a demotic genitive to ρήξ, «ruler»), but even this does not fit a contemporary inscription¹⁰⁶. Finally, the statement that the «Arsenal» was founded for the purpose of the diversion or recreation (πρὸς ἀνάπαυσιν) of the people does not make sense at all. Even in the case of the poor legibility of the inscription confirmed by Thevet, it contains too many discrepancies to qualify as a product of the ninth century. What exactly the French traveller believed he had read here has to be left open, but the evidence suggests that it is a forgery from the fifteenth to sixteenth centuries¹⁰⁷.

If in Middle Byzantine times there was an arsenal in the narrower sense, then this is to be assumed in the Golden Horn, where the navy was apparently mostly at anchor. As early as 715, the Neorion served as a naval base and shipyard¹⁰⁸, but other areas of the estuary may have been later used. In spring 971, John I Tzimiskes went to the Blachernae in order to inspect the dromons, which were equipped with Greek fire. From there he also watched some manoeuvres¹⁰⁹. In 1040, a fire raged in the shipyard (*en te Exartesei*) and destroyed part of the Byzantine fleet¹¹⁰. Müller-Wiener locates the shipyard in the bay in front of today's Kasımpaşa, i.e., where the Ottoman sultans would open their new arsenal (Tersâne-i Amire) in 1513¹¹¹, while Ahrweiler favours the surroundings of the Palace of Blachernae¹¹². It is possible that several naval bases in the Golden Horn were simultaneously in operation. As will be shown immediately, at least three of them existed in the thirteenth century before the shipyard was relocated to the Harbour of Sophia in 1270¹¹³.

103 Berger's assumption that the Harbour of Sophia was used only for the navy throughout the centuries (Berger, Häfen 83. 85; Berger, Häfen von Byzanz und Konstantinopel 114) is not corroborated by the sources.

104 André Thevet, *Cosmographie Universelle* 833 (cap. XIX). – Du Cange, *Constantinople II 156* gives the inscription with minor changes. For whatever reason, he reads the year of the world as VIMCCCXLII = 6342 = AD 834. He also adds that the inscription was found on the «Lion Gate» (he refers to the Çatladi Kapi), which probably did not connect the harbour area of the Harbour of Sophia with that of the palace harbour to the east until Ottoman times: see also Heher, *Harbour of the Boukoleon*, in this volume. – The inscription is also edited as CIG IV 8680.

105 Berger, *Untersuchungen* 577. – Ahrweiler, *Byzance et la mer* 432. – Mango, *Inscriptions* 55: «highly suspicious». – Less critical Müller-Wiener, *Häfen* 8; Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon* 62; Effenberger, *Illustrationen* 30.

106 With thanks to Andreas Rhoby/Vienna for this suggestion.

107 So argues Andreas Rhoby from an epigraphic point of view. – Berger, *Häfen* 86 (n. 59) also considers the inscription to be a «historical fiction of the sixteenth century».

108 Theophanes, *Chronographia* AM 6207 (385-386 de Boor). – Cf. Kislinger, *Neorion*, in this volume.

109 Leon Diakonos, *Historia* VIII 1 (129 Hase), translation: Talbot/Sullivan, *Leo the Deacon* 175-176.

110 Ioannes Skylitzes, *Synopsis* 411 (Thurn): Γέγονε δὲ καὶ αὐχμὸς κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον, ὡς σχεδὸν ἀποξηρανθῆναι τὰς ἀφθόνοους πηγὰς καὶ τοὺς ἀενάους ποταμούς. ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ ἐμπρησμός ἐν τῇ Ἐξαρτήσει, κατὰ τὴν ἔκτιν τοῦ Αὐγούστου μηνός, καὶ ἐνεπρήσθησαν αἱ ἐκεῖσε ἰστάμεναι πᾶσαι τριήρεις μετὰ τῆς ἑαυτῶν παρασκευῆς. – Cf. Ahrweiler, *Byzance et la Mer* 128 (but with incorrect dating, see Kislinger, *Ruhm*) and the term *exartysis* 430-435. – Schneider, *Brände* 241 translates *exartysis* as «loading harbour» («Verladehafen»), which, however, does not do justice to the stationing of the warships.

111 Müller-Wiener, *Häfen* 12. 39-40. 65.

112 Ahrweiler, *Byzance et la mer* 433-434.

113 Makris, *Studien* 163-164, indeed claims that the shipyard was located at Kosmidion before being moved to the Harbour of Sophia, but this is not supported by the sources. – Cf. Simeonov, *Kosmidion*, in this volume.

Use as a Naval Shipyard (Thirteenth to Fifteenth Centuries)

The Harbour of Sophia must have gradually lost its importance from the late eleventh century, when the economic centre of Constantinople began to relocate (back again) to the Golden Horn, where Italian merchants had settled¹¹⁴. In August 1203, a major conflagration raged in Constantinople, leaving a trail of devastation across the city to the Harbour of Sophia¹¹⁵. It is possible that the harbour itself was badly affected as well. At least, nothing is known about its development at the time of the Latin rule in Constantinople (1204-1261)¹¹⁶, and, even after that, the name is met with only sporadically in the Byzantine sources.

The harbour area itself had not been completely abandoned, but from the thirteenth century¹¹⁷ it bore the names »Kontoskalion« and »Kontoskelion«¹¹⁸. The two new similar terms led to confusion in the scientific analysis. Occasionally, two different harbours were assumed and an equation with the Heptaskalon was postulated¹¹⁹. The term Kontoskalion/Kontoskelion, however, applies only to the successor of the Harbour of Sophia¹²⁰: the descriptions of the location in the written sources, as well as pictorial representations, do not permit any other location¹²¹. Some Byzantine authors even explicitly – and deliberately antiquated – continued to use the term »Harbour of Sophia«¹²².

The *Patria Konstantinoupoleos* state that the harbour owed its new name to the *tourmarches* Agallianos Kontoskeles, who had commissioned the work to be done here. The name was then transferred to a nearby gate¹²³. Stauridou-Zaphraka does accept the derivation of the personal name, but assumes a reverse development of the designation

(first gate, then harbour)¹²⁴. However, the etymology seems to have been subsequently constructed. The term »Kontoskalion« can be understood as the »harbour with a short jetty«, which would then have given the gate its name¹²⁵.

That the old harbour was still used under its new name is proven by the fact that Michael VIII (1259-1282) decided to make it the base of the navy, including a shipyard. In response to the imminent arrival of the fleet of Charles of Anjou in 1270¹²⁶, the emperor ordered repair works on the former Harbour of Sophia¹²⁷. They are described by the contemporary witness Georgios Pachymeres (1242-1310) as follows:

»He considered the Blachernae arsenal [on the Golden Horn] inappropriate because from there the ships would have to conduct the naval battle right in the face of the enemy [Italian] ships, which would be difficult because the enemy ships would then fiercely oppose them; he was also dissatisfied with the old ship's arsenal (I do not mean the old arsenal which the Latins used very recently, located near the Christos Evergetes Monastery, but that near the Neorion Gate from which the gate derives its name), because the Golden Horn is anyway a harbour and is suitable equally to the ships of both the Romans and the enemies.

But realising that the men would fight more valiantly and that the material would be safer if the ships fell into the back of the enemy, he decided to rebuild the Kontoskalion near Blanga [on the south coast of the city]; he walled up the place with large stones, then deepened the sea by pouring in liquid silver, built suitable roofs for the ships, and, at the outside of the entrance between the stone moles, placed strong iron gates to protect the fleet

114 Müller-Wiener, Häfen 20-24. – Magdalino, Maritime Neighborhoods 219-226. – Cf. Kislinger, Neorion, in this volume.

115 Niketas Choniates, Historia 553-555 (van Diäten), translation: Magoulias, City 303-304. – Cf. Berger, Untersuchungen 580. – Müller-Wiener, Häfen 24. The fire also spread to the district of Eleutherios via the so-called Bukinon (see n. 89 above). The fire also spread to the district of Eleutherios via the so-called Bukinon (see n. 89 above). – Cf. Schneider, Brände 241. – Madden, Fires.

116 Müller-Wiener, Häfen 24-26.

117 Müller-Wiener, Bildlexikon 62-63 assumes the renaming of the harbour already in the 11th c., but without evidence. Recently, this assumption was picked up by Günsenin, Harbours and Shipbuilding 427, again, however, without supporting arguments.

118 »Kontoskelion« is also documented in 1440 as the location of an inn (ὄσπητιον): Acta et diplomata graeca II 438 (no. 607).

119 Guillard, Ports 196-198. 225-230 thinks that, while the Harbour of Sophia continued as Kontoskalion, the Kontoskelion harbour is the successor to the harbour of Kaisarios; in the 13th c., it would have been renamed »Heptaskalon«. – Also Mango, Développement 38 regards Kontoskalion and Kontoskelion as two different harbours, just like Janin, Constantinople 228-233 and van Millingen, Walls 293. – Müller-Wiener, Bildlexikon 63 is undecided. – See, however, the contribution by Preiser-Kapeller in this volume.

120 Stauridou-Zaphraka, Kontoskalio 1308-1309. 1315.

121 See n. 146 below (encomion to John VIII) and 63-65 on the pictorial representations. – Nikephoros Gregoras, Historia XVII 4 (II 854 Schopen/Bekker), translation: van Diäten, Nikephoros Gregoras III 211-212, mentions the construction of a fleet under John Kantakuzenos in the shipyard near the Hippodrome, which was not far north of Kontoskalion: καὶ ἠθροίζετο ναυπηγῶν καὶ τεκτόνων πλῆθος ἅπαν ἐς τὸ περὶ τὸν τοῦ Βυζαντίου ἱππόδρομον νεώριον. ὁψὲ γὰρ ἔγνωσαν κακῶς βουλευσάμενοι Βυζαντιοὶ περὶ τὴν ἔξω τευχῶν συσκευὴν

τῶν νεῶν· καὶ ἡ τοῦ φθάσαντος πάθους ἀπειλὴ συνετωτέρους ἐπιποιήκει πρὸς τὴν τῶν δρωμένων ἐξῆς ἐπανόρθωσιν. It must be the same shipyard that John Kantakuzenos addresses in Historia IV 11 (III 72 and 76 Schopen), see n. 147, as Kontoskalion. – Cf. Guillard, Ports 199.

122 See, for example, Alexios Makrembolites, Logos istorikos 9 (152 Papadopoulos-Kerameus): Ἐν δὲ τῷ νεωρίῳ τῶν Σοφιανῶν παραγενομένοι ἐπειρῶντο καὶ τὰς ἐκεῖσε μακρὰς νῆας, ἃς ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ ἐν ὀλίγαις ἡμέραις περιουσίᾳ σπουδῆς ἐτεκτῆναι παρὰ πᾶσαν ἐλπίδα, καταθραύσαι ἢ τὴν τούτων κωλύσαι διέξοδον δι' ὧν ἐπετῆδευσαν ἐκεῖσε πετρογόμεναι καταδοῦσαι ὀλκάδων. – Ibid. 156-157: ἐν τῷ νεωρίῳ [...] τῶν Σοφιανῶν. – Cf. also Patria Konstantinoupoleos III 37 (II 229 Preger): τὸν δὲ λιμένα Σοφίας = τὸν λιμένα τὸν εἰς τὸ Κοντοσκάλιον (Manuscript E). – Cf. Stauridou-Zaphraka, Kontoskalio 1309. 1328.

123 Patria Konstantinoupoleos III 133 (II 257 Preger): Τὸ δὲ Κοντοσκάλιον ἢ πύρρα ἀπὸ Ἀγαλλιανοῦ τουρμάρχου, παρισταμένου ὅτε ἐκτίετο ὁ λιμὴν, ἔλαβε τὸ ὄνομα· ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ ἐκείνος Κοντοσκέλης· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐκλήθη οὕτως. – This view is followed by Janin, Constantinople 228. 299 and Guillard, Ports 232-235.

124 Stauridou-Zaphraka, Kontoskalio 1328.

125 Berger, Untersuchungen 482-483. – Berger, Häfen 83. This derivation is already preferred by Johannes Löwenklau (»Leunclavius«) 876, C-D, instead of the etymology of the *Patria* known to him: *Ego vero pace Graecorum dixerim potius Contoscalinam vel Contoscalii vocatam a conta scala. Kovτός enim Graecis nunc parvus.*

126 On the background: Runciman, Vesper 144-148.

127 On the renovation works, see Müller-Wiener, Häfen 26. – Janin, Constantinople 232. – van Millingen, Walls 293-294. – Berger, Untersuchungen 580. – Makris, Studien 178. – Ahrweiler, Byzance et la mer 338-339. – Talbot, Restoration 253.

on the one hand, and on the other hand that our ships can attack the hostile ones (they cannot stop because of the ocean currents)«¹²⁸.

Thus, the shipyards had been partly at the Blachernae and earlier in front of the Neorion Gate (the Ottoman Bahçe Kapi)¹²⁹, i. e., where possibly remains of the Neorion harbour were preserved. Between the two shipyards – near the Christos Evergetes Monastery, which is located near the later Ayakapı Gate¹³⁰ – the Latins had apparently set up their arsenal. The situation in the Golden Horn contained the danger of being blocked in the event of war, so Emperor Michael relocated the shipyard to the Propontis coast.

How to imagine Michael's »walling up« is not clear. The statement could refer, however, to the fact that the emperor had a part of the harbour basin enclosed by a wall to form a shipyard area, as can be demonstrated for the fifteenth century (see below). The iron gates mentioned in this case would not have been intended to block the entire harbour basin, but to seal off the arsenal¹³¹. In any case, the rebuilding must have presented a major project that included not only the dredging of the basin, but also the restoration or new construction of shipsheds and defensive walls.

Even more confusing is the reference by the contemporary witness Pachymeres (1242-1310) that »liquid silver« (mercury¹³²) was poured into the harbour basin in order to deepen it. It is far from clear how such a procedure would have improved the harbour's quality. The closest – and still far-fetched – analogy stems probably from the harbour of Caesarea Maritima/Sebastos (Palestine, first century), where liquid lead was applied under water in order to fix iron brackets that connected the stone blocks of the mole¹³³. Yet, it was lead that the Roman architects had used and not mercury¹³⁴. Furthermore, there is no evidence whatsoever that Byzantine engineers of the thirteenth century knew of this technique. It was also suggested that ἄργυρον (»silver«) could be a misspelling of ἄργιλον (»clay«)¹³⁵. How »liquid clay« should have

contributed to the improvement of the harbour basin, however, is incomprehensible. It is probable, therefore, Georgios Pachymeres had simply misunderstood one of the measures taken by the emperor.

In any case, the necessity of a comprehensive overhaul suggests a lack of maintenance in the previous decades. The Propontis coast had lost its economic and military importance and under Latin rule Constantinople suffered a general decline. The new shipyard started to build a fleet of warships and enabled the reconstruction of the Byzantine navy¹³⁶.

After the passing of the acute threat in the person of Charles of Anjou, Emperor Andronikos II (1282-1328) was no longer prepared to raise funds for the maintenance of the fleet of approximately eighty ships¹³⁷. All the more astonishing is a report in the *Patria*, according to which exactly this emperor had the Kontoskalion harbour renovated again: »Since it [the Kontoskalion Harbour] silted up over time, it has of late been excavated and renewed by the most famous of the emperors, the true harbour of Orthodoxy, our Emperor Andronikos Komnenos Palaiologos; he had it cleaned and deepened and widened; and he also had it walled, and he fortified the harbour with iron gates; and he commanded that the imperial warships remain in there, in safety and unshaken by the sea; and you can see that it is one of the largest and most impressive facilities in the city«¹³⁸.

The report of the *Patria* offers such close parallels to that of Georgios Pachymeres about Michael VIII (see above), that one can hardly judge the true extent of the interventions. It is perhaps simply a mistaken assignment in the *Patria*¹³⁹, or Andronikos had only completed the work begun by his predecessor¹⁴⁰. In the nineteenth century, van Millingen still saw on the sea walls near Kumkapı a »coat of arms« (a rising lion with sword, including four circles with monograms), which he attributed to Andronikos II. He wanted to connect it with the alleged building activities of the emperor at Kontoskalion (fig. 5)¹⁴¹.

128 Georgios Pachymeres, *Relationes historicae* V 10 (II 469-471 Failler): Καὶ τὸ ἐν Βλαχέρναις νεώριον οὐκ ἀποδεχόμενος, ὡς κατὰ πρόσωπον παρέχον ταῖς ναυσὶ πρὸς τὰς τῶν ἐχθρῶν τὴν μάχην – τὸ δὲ κατὰ πρόσωπον δυσχερὲς εἶναι ὡς ἀντιστατοῦσας ἰσχυρῶς μάχεσθαι –, τὸν ὁμοίον τρόπον καὶ τῶ παλαιῶ νεωρίῳ προσήχθητο – λέγω δὲ παλαιὸν οὐχ ὧ χθὲς καὶ πρῶην Λατῖνοι ἐχρῶντο, τῷ πρὸς τῆ μονῆ τοῦ Εὐεργέτου Χριστοῦ, ἀλλὰ τὸ πρὸς τῆ πύλῃ τοῦ Νεωρίου, ἐκείθεν ὠνομασμένη –, ὡς παντὸς τοῦ κατὰ θάλασσαν Κέρατος λιμένος ὄντος καὶ ταῦτὸν ταῖς Ῥωμαίων ναυσὶν ὅσον καὶ ταῖς τῶν ἐχθρῶν διδόντος. Ἄλλ' εἰδὼς τὸ κατὰ νότον γινομένης μάχεσθαι ὅσον θαρραλεώτερον μὲν ἀνδράσιν, ἀσφαλέστερον δὲ πράγμασι [...] τὸ πρὸς τῶ Βλάγκα Κοντοσκελίον ἀνοικοδομεῖν ἤθελεν, ὥστε γυρῶσαι μὲν μεγίσταις πέτραις τὸν κύκλῳ τόπον, ἐμβαθύναι δὲ τὴν ἐντὸς θάλασσαν, ἄργυρον χυτὸν ἐμβαλόντα, ἐποικοδομησαί τε καὶ στέγη ταῖς ναυσὶν ἀποχρῶντα, πύλας δ' ἐπιθεῖναι ἀραρυίας ἐκ σιδήρου τῆ ἐν ταῖς πέτραις εἰσθήμη ἔξωθεν, ὡσθ' ἅμα μὲν ἀσφαλῶς ἔχῃεν τὸν στόλον, ἅμα δὲ καὶ ταῖς τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀναγομέναις – μὴ γὰρ εἶναι διὰ τὸ ῥώδες τῆς θαλάσσης ἴστασθαι – κατόπιεν ἑπιπίπτειν τὰς ἡμετέρας.

129 Effenberger, *Illustrationen* 78 tab. 3.

130 Asutay-Effenberger/Effenberger, *Eski İmaret Camii* 13-14. – See also Preiser-Kapeller in this volume.

131 Effenberger, *Illustrationen* 30.

132 LSJ 236, s. v. ἄργυρος χυτός. – Cf. Halleux, *Métaux* 179-188. The translation in the edition of Failler 468 with »argent fondu« is to be rejected.

133 Raban, *Sebastos* 243 (with fig. 38): »Frozen flows of lead were found at the foot of that tumbling mass under 10 m of water.«

134 It may be noted that Makris, *Studien* 289 translates without comment as »lead«.

135 Talbot, *Restoration* 253 referring to a suggestion made by H. Ahrweiler.

136 Ahrweiler, *Byzance et la mer* 336-340.

137 Georgios Pachymeres, *Relationes historicae* VII 26 (III 81-83 Failler). – Cf. Ahrweiler, *Byzance et la mer* 374-381. – Müller-Wiener, *Häfen* 26.

138 *Patria Konstantinupoleos* III 37 (II 230 Preger): ὁ Σοφιανῶν καλούμενος λιμῆν-δν δὴ καὶ ἀναχωσθέντα τῶ χρόνῳ ἀνώρυξε καὶ ἀνηνεώσε τοῦτον νῦν ὁ ἐν τοῖς βασιλεῦσι διαφανέστατος, ὁ τῆς ὀρθοδοξίας ὄντως λιμῆν, ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ ἡμῶν κύριος Ἀνδρόνικος Κομνηνός ὁ ὁ Παλαιολόγος· ἀνακαθήρας γὰρ τὸν τοιοῦτον λιμένα καὶ εὐρύνας καὶ βαθύτατον ποιήσας καὶ θριγγεῖον τοῦτο ἀξιεπαινετώτα-τον ἤγειρε καὶ τὸν λιμένα διὰ πύλων σιδηρέων κατησφαλισατο, τὰς βασιλικὰς τριήρεις ἀνεπιβούλους ἐν τούτῳ μείναι θεσπίσας <καὶ μὴ> σαλεύεσθαι· ὅπερ ὀράται τῆ πόλει μεγίστον ἔργον καὶ αξιορατίωτατον]. – Cf. Berger, *Untersuchungen* 574.

139 Makris, *Studien* 179.

140 Cf. Stauridou-Zaphraka, *Kontoskalio* 1326.

141 van Millingen, *Walls* 189-190. 294-295 (based on Curtis/Walker, *Broken Bits* 16).

The Kontoskalion harbour was still used in any case. Although Andronikos II had greatly reduced the Byzantine fleet, at least in 1305 a rudimentary navy was still in existence, which was in all probability stationed at the Kontoskalion¹⁴². Andronikos' plan to rebuild a fleet of at least twenty ships was prevented by his downfall¹⁴³. The activities in the Kontoskalion were nevertheless resumed: in 1341, the *meGas doux* Alexios Apokaukos used the funds confiscated from the supporters of John Kantakuzenos to equip sixty ships for the civil war. The following year he appeared before Thessaloniki with a formation of seventy ships in total¹⁴⁴.

A last unfortunate attempt to renew the Byzantine navy took place under John VI Kantakuzenos (1341-1354). Against the background of increasing conflicts with the Genoese inhabitants of Galata, the Emperor ordered the construction of some warships. As a shipyard, however, he chose, not the renovated Kontoskalion Harbour, but the inner area of the Golden Horn. As the situation escalated, it was easy for the Genoese to destroy the ships that were newly completed or still under construction¹⁴⁵. It was precisely this danger that had once moved Michael VIII to relocate the shipyard to the Propontis coast and now John VI also followed this example. In the Kontoskalion, he had four more dromons built and appointed the *meGas doux* Tzamplakon as their admiral¹⁴⁶. On the evening of 5 May 1349, the fleet sailed out of the Kontoskalion (with a crew of 300 on each ship), accompanied by five warships from outside and more than a hundred smaller boats, to engage the Genoese in a sea battle. However, before the ships entered the Golden Horn, disaster struck. The inexperience of the Byzantine sailors led first to manoeuvring errors and finally to a panicked rout, even before they came into contact with the enemy. John Kantakuzenos himself also reported design flaws: three of the big dromons had proven to be top heavy due to their overly high fighting platforms (*pyrgoi*) and capsized, which also panicked the crews of the other ships¹⁴⁷.

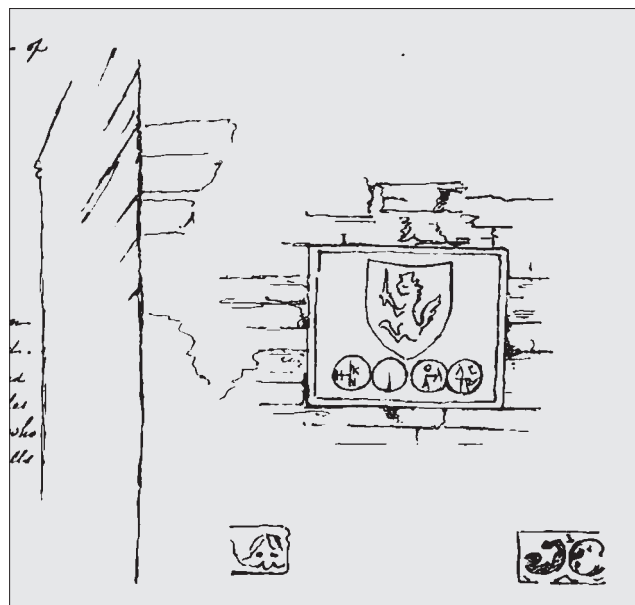


Fig. 5 The monogram of Andronikos II(?) on the sea wall at the Kontoskalion. – (From Curtis/Walker, Broken Bits 16).

The use of Kontoskalion as a military harbour is also mentioned by Stephen of Novgorod when he was in Constantinople in 1350. According to him, it could hold up to 300 dromons. However, it was impossible to leave the harbour in the event of unfavourable winds. There was also a large iron gate, through which the sea could penetrate into the city, which probably meant the gate between the western and eastern harbour basin (arsenal)¹⁴⁸.

Occasionally, older research literature provides yet more putative evidence for the Kontoskalion Harbour around the middle of the fourteenth century¹⁴⁹. However, these are founded on an untenable equation with the so-called Heptaskalon, which was situated in the Golden Horn¹⁵⁰.

142 Stauridou-Zaphraka, Kontoskalio 1326 claims that 1305 new warships were built. – However, Georgios Pachymeres, *Relationes historicae* XII 26 (IV 579-583 Failler) only speaks of the fact that such were prepared for use, so were already available.

143 Nikephoros Gregoras, *Historia* VIII 6 (I 317-318 Schopen/Bekker), translation: van Diäten, Nikephoros Gregoras II/1 40. – Cf. Müller-Wiener, *Häfen* 26-27.

144 Matschke, *Flotte* 196. – Cf. Müller-Wiener, *Häfen* 27.

145 Nikephoros Gregoras, *Historia* XVII 2 (II 846-848 Schopen), translation: van Diäten, Nikephoros Gregoras III 207. – Cf. Ahrweiler, *Byzance et la mer* 382-383.

146 Ioannes Kantakuzenos, *Historia* IV 11 (III 72 Schopen): και πρὸς τῷ λεγομένῳ Κοντοσκαλίῳ νεωρίῳ αἱ τριήρεις ἐναυπηγοῦντο. – *Ibid.* (III 74 Schopen): Ἐν τούτοις δὲ οὐκ ὀλίγου τριβέντος χρόνου, καὶ τῶν τριηρέων ναυπηγηθεισῶν, ναύτας τε κατέλεγεν ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ ὀπλίτας, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα ἐξηρτύετο πρὸς μάχην· Στρατηγοὺς τε ἐφίστη, [...] ταῖς [τριήρεσι] δ' ἐν τῷ Κοντοσκαλίῳ ναυπηγηθείσας Τζαμπλάκωνα τὸν μέγαν δοῦκα. – Nikephoros Gregoras, *Historia* XVII 2 (II 854 Schopen/Bekker), translation: van Diäten, Nikephoros Gregoras III 211-212. – Cf. Guillard, *Ports* 199. – Stauridou-Zaphraka, *Kontoskalio* 1313. – Müller-Wiener, *Häfen* 27. – Makris, *Studien* 176. 178.

147 John Kantakuzenos, *Historia* IV 11 (III 74-77 Schopen). – Nikephoros Gregoras, *Historia* XVII 5-6 (II 857-863 Schopen/Bekker), translation: van Diäten, Nikephoros Gregoras III 214-217. – Alexios Makrembolites, *Logos istorikos* 13 (156-157 Papadopoulos-Kerameus): Τῇ δὲ πέμπτῃ ἐξήλθον θαρσαλέοι τε καὶ εὐέλπιδες, γαυριῶντες ἅμα καὶ χαίροντες, εὐχῆς πανδήμιου πρότερον γενομένης. Ἦσαν γὰρ τούτων πλήρεις τριήρεις ἑννέα – ἐν τῷ νεωρίῳ αἱ τέσσαρες ναυπηγηθεῖσαι τῶν Σοφιανῶν – ὧν ἑκάστη ὀπλίτας εἶχε τριακοσίους τοῦλάχιστον, τῶν

ἀπὸ σιδήρου ἀνδριάντων μικρῶν ἀποδέοντας· μεθ' ὧν ἕτερα πλοῖα διάφορα ἐν σχήματι τούτων, τὸν ἑκατοστὸν ἀριθμὸν ὑπερβαίοντα, ὁμοίως καὶ ταῦτα καθωπλισμένα. Τὸ δὲ ναυτικὸν καὶ οἱ ἐν τούτῳ πρωτεύοντες πρὸ πολλοῦ ἠγανάκτου – ὅτι μὴ ἀπελύοντο ζῶντας τοὺς ἀντιπάλους καταπιεῖν – καὶ ἀναιδῶς κατὰ τοῦ κρατοῦντος ἐγόγγυζον, ὅτι καὶ ἀκμήται τυγχάνοντες καὶ πλείους τῶν ἀντιθέτων ἐπὶ πολὺ τὴν πρὸς αὐτοὺς πάλιν οὐκ ἐπιτρέπονται. – *Kleinchroniken* 8.51b (I 86 Schreiner): ἐποίησαν δὲ στόλον μέγα καὶ τῇ δ' τοῦ μαρτίου, τῆς αὐτῆς β' ἰνδικτιωνος, ἐξήλθεν ὁ ἡμέτερος στόλος ἐκ τοῦ Κοντοσκαλίου. – Cf. *Kleinchroniken* 7.12 (I 65 Schreiner). – See also the commentary (also with dating) in *Kleinchroniken* III 275. – On the background to the failed attack and its development, see *Chronique brève de 1252 IV*, 43-46 (Schreiner). – Cf. Stauridou-Zaphraka, *Kontoskalio* 1314. – Makris, *Studien* 176. – Matschke, *Flotte* 200-201.

148 Stephen of Novgorod, in: Majeska, *Russian Travellers* 38-39, also with English translation. See now also *Itinerarium Stefana z Nowogrodu*, 238-241 and the commentary at 254 (n. 34) – Guillard, *Ports* 200. – Effenberger, *Illustrationen* 30. – Müller-Wiener, *Häfen* 27. – Makris, *Studien* 178 considers the number of ships to be exaggerated. Since the encomion to John VIII mentions the same number, he assumes a common source, maybe a mediaeval kind of guidebook.

149 For Example, Ioannes Kantakuzenos, *Historia* IV 22, IV 28, IV 39 (III 165, III 212, III 284 Schopen).

150 Cf. Preiser-Kapeller in this volume. On the discussion in the research literature on the location of the Heptaskalon, see Stauridou-Zaphraka, *Kontoskalio* 1310-1311 and 13123-1323 for her conclusive argument in favour of a location in the Golden Horn.

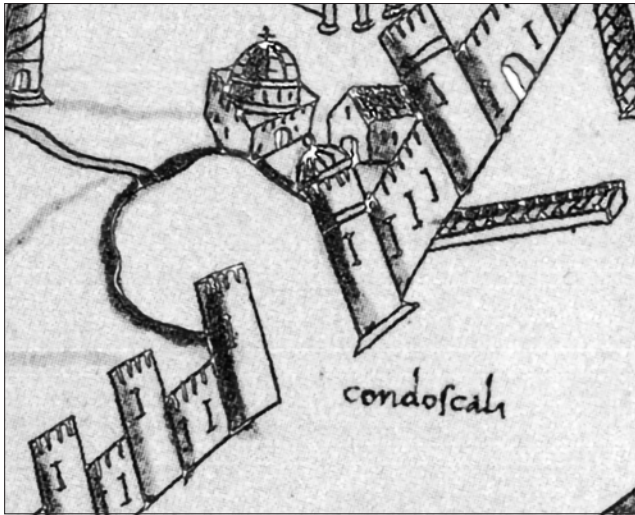


Fig. 6 Detail from the depiction of Constantinople in Cristoforo Buondelmonti's *Liber insularum archipelagi*. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS. Nouv. Aqu. Lat. 2383, fol. 34^v. – (Detail from Effenberger, Illustrationen fig. 1).

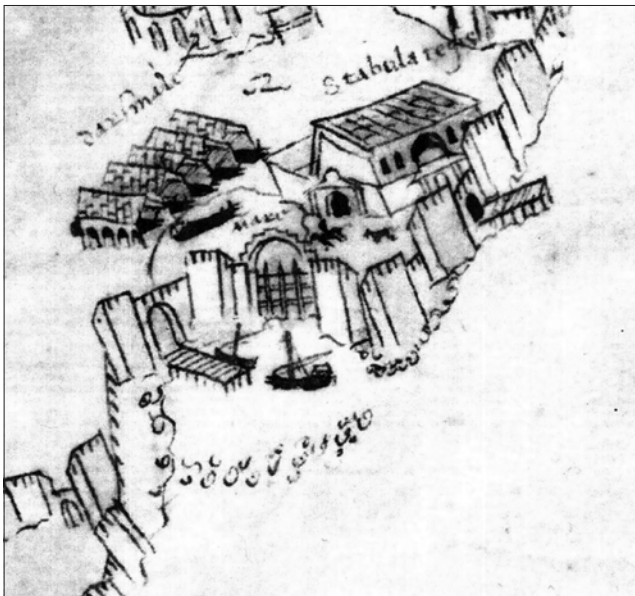


Fig. 7 Detail from the depiction of Constantinople in Cristoforo Buondelmonti's *Liber insularum archipelagi*. Düsseldorf, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, MS. G 13, fol. 66^r. – (Detail from Effenberger, Illustrationen, appendix, facsimile section).

The next safe proof for the Kontoskalion Harbour is once more related to maintenance work that had become necessary, this time initiated by John VIII Palaiologos (1425-1448)¹⁵¹. A eulogy refers to it:

»At a place commonly referred to as Kontoskalion, on the southern part of the wall surrounding the city, there is a harbour whose layout is circular. An opening in the wall gives a warship unhindered access to the harbour, but the circumference offers space for more than three hundred ships.

It is designed so that it does not let in any sediment when the Thracian north wind blows in stormy weather. But when a strong south wind blows up and blows against the opening, there is nothing to stop the sand or prevent it from blowing in the sand as it moves in. What happened now? When a small amount was added year in, year out, the basin absorbed much sediment. The anchorage could not be relocated elsewhere in the city, and in that case, it would not be so secure either.

The ruler therefore decided to remove the sediment and have the basin cleaned by the use of numerous workers; what had settled in the water should be removed by certain machines and by special buckets with leaky bottoms. All of them including the draft animals should not do their work free of charge and without compensation, but against payment, except for the priests and deacons elevated to the consecrated state; it was also attended by numerous monks from the city and suburban pious places. There was also the entire patriarchal clergy, and almost all laboured with the patriarch, except for a few who supervised the work; and those were those ordered by the emperor for oversight. Thus, after a short time, the basin reappeared, as it had before the accumulation of sediment«¹⁵².

The very elements that can already be traced back to the Early Byzantine construction phases of the fifth and sixth centuries are still encountered¹⁵³: it is uncertain whether the sigma-shaped portico on the edge of the harbour basin facing the city survived. Towards the sea, two semi-circular breakwaters or moles continued to provided shelter from the south winds; only a narrow passage allowed entry and

151 Cf. Makris, Studien 178. – Müller-Wiener, Häfen 27. – Stauridou-Zaphraka, Kontoskalio 1303. – Müller-Wiener, Häfen 63.

152 Panegyricus anonymus 289 (Lampros): Ἄξιον δὲ μὴδὲ τοῦτο παραδραμεῖν, ἡκιστα φέρον τὰ δευτερεῖα τῶν προὔπηργμένων. Ἔστι νεώριον ἐν τόπῳ λεγομένῳ κοινῇ διαλέκτῳ Κοντοσκαλίῳ διακείμενον κατὰ μεσημβρίαν τοῦ τείχους περιόριζοντος τοῦ ἄστεως, ἔχον δὴλα δὴ τὴν περιγραφὴν τοῦ σχήματος κυκλικήν, τοσαύτην τὴν εἴσοδον σχόντος ἐκατέρωθεν τῶν τειχῶν διηρημένω, ὥστε μίαν τριήρη τὴν ἐμβολὴν ἀπαρποδίστως πεποιηκυῖαν, τό γε μὴν ἐμβαδὸν χωροῦν οὐκ ἔλαττον τῶν τριακοσίων. Θρακικοῦ τοίνυν βορέου πνεόντος κατὰ χεῖμα, οὐδεμίαν ὕλην οὕτω πεφυκὸς συνεισάγειν, ἐγειρομένου δὲ νότου, σφοδροῦ κατὰ τὸ στόμιον ἀντικρὺς ἐρχομένου, τοῦ ὑπαντιάζοντος οὐδὲν ἔστι τὴν ψάμαθον ἢ τοῦ κωλύοντος ἐπίπροσθεν ἐν ταῖς τοῦ πνεύματος εἰσβολαῖς πολλὴν ταύτην ἐν μέσῳ τῶν νεωρίων συνεισβάλλοντος. Τί οὖν ἐντεῦθεν γίνεται; Κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν μικρὰ προσθήκη γεγενημένη, πολλὴν ὁ χώρος τὴν ὕλην ἐντὸς εἰσεδέξατο. Ἐπειδὴ δ' ἄλ-

λοθὶ που τῆς πόλεως μέρει τὸν ναῦσταθμον γεγενῆσθαι οὐκ ἦν, οὐδὲ τοσαύτην τὴν ἀσφάλειαν εἶχειν, ἔδοξε τῷ κρατοῦντι ἐκφορηθῆναι ταύτην ἐκ μέσου καὶ τὸν τόπον ὡς ἦν πρότερον καθαρθῆναι τῇ πολυχειρίᾳ, τὸ δὲ ὕδωρ, ὅπερ ἦν συνηγμένον, διὰ τινων μηχανημάτων καὶ κάδων ἀπειρεσίων τῶν εἰς αὐτὸ τεταγμένων ὡς δυνατὸν ἐξωθεῖν. Τοιγαροῦν οὐ πρόικα οὐδ' ἀμισθί, ἀλλὰ πάντας δουλεύειν μισθῷ μετὰ γε τῶν ὑποζυγίων ἄνευ τῶν τὴν ἱεράν τάξιν λαχόντων ἱερέων τε καὶ διακόνων· οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ μοναχῶν οὐκ ὀλίγη μερὶς συνεισῆλθεν ἀπὸ τε τῶν ἐντὸς σεμνείων καὶ προαστείων. Ὅ γε μὴν ἅπας κλῆρος περὶ τὸν ποιμένα παρήν, μετὰ τοῦ ποιμένου σχεδὸν ἅπαντες εἰς τοῦργον διαπονοῦντες πλὴν ἐνίων, καὶ τούτων τοῦ πληθοῦς ἐπιστατούντων· οἱ δὲ ἦσαν οἱ πρόκριτοι, διατεταγμένοι πρὸς βασιλείως. Ὅθεν οὐ συχνὸς χρόνος παρήλθε, καὶ ὁ τόπος ὠρᾶτο ἤπερ ἦν πρότερον, δηλαδὴ πρὸ τῆς ὕλης. Translation modified after Makris 289-290.

153 Cf. Stauridou-Zaphraka, Kontoskalio 1323-1324. – Makris, Studien 179.

exit. The price for the high degree of protection was still the steady tendency of the harbour to silt up due to sand, which was evidently dredged with buckets having sieve-like bottoms¹⁵⁴. The fact that the harbour actually accommodated three hundred dromons seems exaggerated in any case (see above, n. 148).

The use of the Kontoskalion (more precisely, the eastern basin) in this period as a shipyard is not in doubt, especially as the description of Buondelmonti (1422) refers to the harbour as *Contoscali vel Arsenale* («naval shipyard»)¹⁵⁵. But the best days of the arsenal were already over: Pero Tafur, who was in Constantinople in 1437/1438, describes »a shipyard that must once have been magnificent«¹⁵⁶.

The first illustrations of Kontoskalion¹⁵⁷ come from the period after the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople in 1453, but similar structures are to be assumed for the Late Byzantine period¹⁵⁸. On the earliest surviving city views of Constantinople after Cristoforo Buondelmonti (for example, Paris, BNF, Nouv. Aqu. Lat., 2383, fol. 34^v, after 1457/1458), the round docks of the Kontoskalion (fig. 6) can be found to the east of a mole called »Vlanga«¹⁵⁹. The commentary in some of the manuscripts recognises this as the *receptaculum galearum amplius sinus qui dicitur Contscali*¹⁶⁰. The younger of the Buondelmonti views always refer to the harbour as *Receptaculum dictum conticali (condoscali, elsewhere*¹⁶¹) as a bay reaching far into the city, flanked by two towers of sea walls and furnished with one or two moles.

The Düsseldorf Buondelmonti manuscript (probably from between 1485 and 1490, fig. 7) offers the most detailed view of the Kontoskalion with two separate harbour areas. The western basin is shielded from the open sea by a breakwater; the eastern area is completely walled and communicates with the western part via an iron gate. Here is a shipyard area with five shipsheds. This may well correspond to the condition of the complex at the end of the fifteenth century¹⁶². The *veduta* of Vavassore (c. 1530, fig. 8), which is based on a woodcut from 1478/1479-1490, is similar, apart from the fact that here the shipsheds are transversal to the seawall and that in the western area the breakwaters are missing (see also the reconstruction by Müller-Wiener: fig. 9). The later depictions of Sebastian Münster (1550, fig. 10), Ballino (1569, fig. 11), and Braun and Hogenberg (1572-1618, fig. 12)¹⁶³ follow the rough structure, but contain only two halls running parallel to the walls on the seaward and city sides¹⁶⁴.



Fig. 8 Detail from the depiction of Constantinople by Giovanni Andrea Vavassore. Woodcut, c. 1530, after an original from 1478/1479-1490. Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, MS IV C 44. – (Detail from Effenberger, Illustrationen fig. 5).

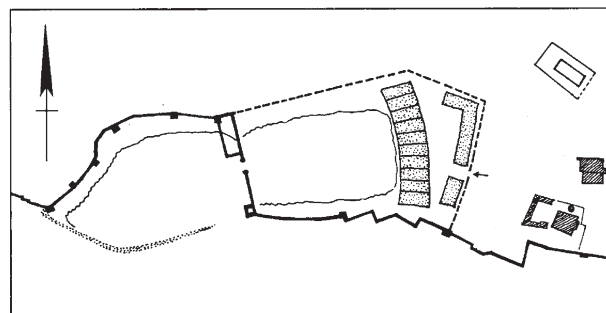


Fig. 9 The arsenal at Kumkapi according to the reconstruction by Müller-Wiener (scale 1:10 000). – (From Müller-Wiener, Häfen 37).

154 Müller-Wiener, Häfen 27. – Müller-Wiener, Bildlexikon 63. – Makris, Studien 179. – Stauridou-Zaphraka, Kontoskalio 1323-1324.

155 Cristoforo Buondelmonti, *Librum insularum* 65 (121 by Sinner): *In quibus moenibus est campus ab extra et olim portus Vlanga ... et propinqua huic Contoscali, vel Arsenale restat.* – Cf. Guillard, Ports 201

156 Pero Tafur, *Viajes 181-182: Al un canto de la çibdat está su ataraçana çerca de la mar, é muestra aver seydo magnífica cosa, é àun agora es suficiente casa de navíos*; English: Vasiliev, Pero Tafur 113. – According to Effenberger, Illustrationen 30 (probably based on Janin, Constantinople 233), the shipyard was »locked against the sea«, which cannot be read from the text.

157 Cf. Effenberger, Pictorial Sources, in this volume.

158 On the following Effenberger, Illustrationen 30. – Cf. Berger, Häfen 85.

159 See the views of Gerola, *Vedute*.

160 Gerola, *Vedute* 271-272.

161 Among the various names can be found: *Cociscali, arsana / conticali, arsana vel Contiscali, condoscali, Receptaculum dictum Conticasii, Receptaculum dictum conticali, Receptaculum fustarum dictum condoscalli, Receptaculum fustarum indictum Condorcali*: Gerola, *Vedute* 266-269.

162 Effenberger, Illustrationen 31.

163 Braun/Hogenberg, *Civitates orbis terrarum* 119.

164 Effenberger, Illustrationen 30.



Fig. 10 Detail from the depiction of the Constantinople in Sebastian Münster's *Cosmographia*. Woodcut, 1550, Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, MS J. H. Geogr. f. 2. – (Detail from Effenberger, Illustrationen fig. 6).



Fig. 11 Detail from the view of Constantinople by Giulino Ballino. Engraving, 1567, Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibl., MS 25 Bell 2o. – (Detail from Effenberger, Illustrationen fig. 7).

The End of the Harbour in the Ottoman Period

After the conquest of Constantinople, the Kontoskalion remained in use in the Ottoman period¹⁶⁵. To the Venetian traveller Giovanni Maria Angiolello (1451/1452-c. 1525), the still active harbour called *Conduschali* was well known¹⁶⁶, but it was now mostly referred to as the »Galley Harbour« (Kadirga-Liman)¹⁶⁷. Possibly the term Kadirga Liman denominated only the eastern area, i. e., the shipyard, because in 1583/1584 Johannes Löwenklau (»Leunclavius«) reported two different gates – the *Contoscalii porta* and the *Catergoli-menis porta* – the former ensures access to the western, open basin (the Ottoman Kumkapı), and the latter must have designated the gate of the arsenal (»iron gate«)¹⁶⁸. In 1496/1497, Bayezid II commanded that new ships for the Ottoman fleet should be built here¹⁶⁹. The basic structures from the Byzantine period were probably maintained. Representations in the *Nuremberg Chronicle* by Hartmann Schedel (1493, see p. 44, fig. 5) and by Matrakçı Nasuh (1537) are not accurate, but the Istanbul *vedute* in the *Hünername* (1584/1585, fig. 13) resembles the detailed Buondelmonti views. However, the harbour and shipyard appear to have become unusable. The arsenal no longer seems to have been in use when Pierre Gilles (1490-1555) visited Constantinople. The designation as a »galley harbour« he took from local reports, according to which one could still see sunken Byzantine (!) warships in the basin¹⁷⁰.

Around 1585, the shipyard area was just a swamp, whose stench is said to have caused the Grand Vezier Sokollu Mehmet Paşa to have it filled up¹⁷¹. The sultans had already moved the new, large arsenal to the Golden Horn in the early sixteenth century. Today, only the arched Kadirga Limanı Caddesi reminds us of the former north shore of the »Galley Harbour«. The western, open harbour basin at Kumkapı was probably still used until it was filled in with the excavated material from the construction of the Nuruosmaniye Camii (construction period 1718-1755)¹⁷². The most long-lived Propontis harbour of Constantinople had finally ceased to exist after centuries of maintenance, rebuilding and renaming.

165 Müller-Wiener, Häfen 27.

166 Giovan Angiolello, *Viaggio* 45 (Reinhard).

167 Magdalino, *Constantinople* 76. – Müller-Wiener, Häfen 39. – Janin, *Constantinople* 232.

168 Johannes Leunclavius, *Pandectes 876-877: Vicesima graecis Contoscali porta dicitur. In libro de urbis aedificiis locus hic Contoscalinon appellatur et causa nominis adjicitur. Etenim ipsa porta velut intra sinum quemdam abscedit versus urbem, et ab altera parte proximum sibi portum habet pro triremibus, in mare se porrigentem, et muro circumdatum [...] Vicesima prima Catergoli-menis porta nuncupatur, a portu triremium, quae vulgo sunt Graecis Κάτεργα,*

sicut et Κατεργάδες nunc appellantur classarii, vel navales socii triremium. – Cf. Effenberger, *Illustrationen* 31 and 74 tab. 3. – Janin, *Constantinople* 234.

169 Müller-Wiener, Häfen 39. – Effenberger, *Illustrationen* 30.

170 Petrus Gyllius, *De topographia* 99-100: *Dicuntur videri triremes in illum demersae, Byzantii huius aetatis vulgò appellant Caterga limena, quasi portum triremium [...].* – Cf. Janin, *Constantinople* 232. – Effenberger, *Illustrationen* 31. – Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon* 63. – Cf. Berger, *Häfen* 85.

171 Müller-Wiener, Häfen 27.

172 Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon* 63. – Effenberger, *Illustrationen* 31.



Fig. 12 Detail from the depiction of Constantinople in Braun/Hogenberg, *Civitates orbis Terrarum*. Engraving, 1572). – (From Braun/Hogenberg, *Civitates orbis terrarum* 119).



Fig. 13 Detail from the depiction of Constantinople in the Ottoman Hünername, 1584/1585. – (Detail from Effenberger, *Illustrationen* fig. 12).

Name	Emperor/Time	Measure	Function
Harbour of Julian	Julian (362)	Construction of harbour basin with breakwaters and enclosure by a sigma-shaped portico	civilian (grain?)
	Anastasios (509)	Cleaning of harbour basin with the help of scoop wheels, extension of breakwaters	civilian (grain?)
Harbour of Sophia	Justin II (569?)	Renovation works, decoration, extension of harbour basin toward east(?)	civilian (market for import goods) military?
Kontoskalion	Michael VIII (1270)	Renovation works, establishment of an enclosed shipyard area in the eastern part of the basin(?)	military (shipyard)
	Andronikos II (1282-1328)	Alteration works(?), alterations of Michael VIII completed(?)	military (shipyard)
	Ioannes VIII (1425-1448)	Cleaning of harbour basin with the help of buckets with perforated bottoms	military (shipyard)

Tab. 1 Sequence of the most important building and renovation phases of the Harbours of Julian, Sophia and Kontoskalion. – (D. Heher).

Summary / Zusammenfassung

Harbour of Julian – Harbour of Sophia – Kontoskalion
In 362, Emperor Julian laid the foundation stone for one of the most long-lived harbours of Constantinople. Located on the Propontis coast, the harbour named after him had a sigma-shaped portico and moles whose course, however, is unknown. Repair and excavation works under Anastasios I are documented in 509. Under Justin II, renovation work was conducted, including the possible enlargement of the harbour basin which justified a renaming of the harbour in honour of the Empress, as the »Harbour of Sophia«. The harbour seems to have had largely civilian uses in its early days (grain supply and a market for »maritime merchandise« from the sixth or seventh centuries). As a result of the improvement of the areas on the Golden Horn, the importance of the Harbour of Sophia declined. References to it in the sources are rare, but still testify to a more or less continuous use until about 1200. In 1270, the harbour was transformed into a naval dockyard under Michael VIII. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, both construction activities in the shipyard and repeated repair work on the harbour are reported. Under Ottoman rule, the harbour once again changed its name (Kadırga-Liman) and remained in use, at least in part, until the late sixteenth century, before it was finally filled in.

Julianoshafen – Sophienhafen – Kontoskalion
Kaiser Julian legte im Jahre 362 den Grundstein für einen der langlebigsten Häfen Konstantinopels. An der Propontisküste gelegen, verfügte der nach ihm benannte Hafen über eine sigmaförmige Portikus sowie Molen, deren Verlauf aber unbekannt ist. 509 sind Reparatur- und Aushubarbeiten unter Anastasios I. belegt. Unter Justin II. kam es zu Renovierungsarbeiten und möglicherweise auch zu einer Vergrößerung des Hafenbeckens, die eine Umbenennung des Hafens zu Ehren der Kaiserin (»Sophienhafen«) rechtfertigten. Der Hafen scheint in der Frühzeit weitgehend zivil genutzt worden zu sein (Getreidelieferungen, Markt für »maritime Handelsware« ab dem 6./7. Jh.). Infolge der Aufwertung der Gebiete am Goldenen Horn verlor der Sophienhafen seine Bedeutung. Die Erwähnungen in den Quellen sind rar, zeugen aber dennoch von einer mehr oder minder kontinuierlichen Verwendung bis ca. 1200. 1270 wird der Hafen unter Michael VIII. zu einer Marinewerft umgestaltet. Im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert sind sowohl Bautätigkeiten in der Werft als auch wiederholte Reparaturarbeiten am Hafen belegt. Unter osmanischer Herrschaft wechselte der Hafen ein weiteres Mal seinen Namen (Kadırga-Liman) und blieb zumindest in Teilen bis ins späte 16. Jahrhundert genutzt, bevor er endgültig aufgeschüttet wurde.