

The Harbour of the Bukoleon Palace

Among the harbours of Constantinople, the so-called harbour of the Bukoleon took a special position, because this landing stage of the Great Palace was not used for any economic or military purposes but for the personal use of the emperor exclusively. In contrast to other harbours in the capital, there is no doubt about the location of the palace harbour¹. From the surviving written and pictorial sources, historical photographs, architecture preserved *in situ* (or documented in other ways) and archaeological investigations, it is clear that the harbour basin was located on the southern Propontian coast of the capital, just east of the Church of the SS. Sergios and Bacchus (Küçük Ayasofya Camii). There, the sea wall bends north at almost right angles twice (fig. 1). As a result of landfills along the coast, the seawall of the former Bukoleon Harbour is now up to 160m from the current course of the shore, and runs just north of Kennedy Caddesi (see map 1 p. 236).

The relatively favourable situation regarding the sources led early on to scientific studies of the Bukoleon Harbour, which had already been studied in detail by van Millingen². Ebersolt dealt only with the buildings around the harbour³; on the enclosed map, the harbour is depicted in the open sea outside the sea walls. A milestone was the exemplary study by Mamboury and Wiegand of the imperial palaces between the Sea of Marmara and the Hippodrome⁴. All later investigations, beginning with Schneider⁵, are based on their plans, photographs and observations (figs 2-3). In addition, the study by Corbett of the western part of the sea wall at the harbour, with a series of sketches and plans, is indispensable, although the absolute dating of the construction phases differs from

the opinion of today's researchers⁶. Guiland also focused on the harbour in a number of contributions⁷, which provide a good compilation of written sources, although some results are outdated. In the overview of the topography of Constantinople by Janin, the Palace of Bukoleon and its harbour receive little attention⁸. The same applies to Müller-Wiener's treatise on the harbours of the Byzantine capital⁹. It was only at the end of the twentieth century that the southern terraces of the palace and the Harbour of Bukoleon returned to the spotlight of research, which increasingly incorporated archaeological data. Among the most important studies we should mention Mango's fundamental investigations on the topographical development of the entire complex of the Great Palace¹⁰, as well as publications by Bardill¹¹, Featherstone¹² and, most recently, Westbrook¹³. Of great importance are also the surveys conducted by Franceschini from 1992 onwards in the area of the Lower Palace¹⁴ and her studies on the terracing of the area¹⁵. A good summary of the pictorial sources and some travelogues can be found in a recent publication by Barsanti¹⁶. Recently, the author of this article has dealt with the Harbour of Bukoleon and the adjacent palace structures¹⁷. These publications are now complemented by the examination of the building techniques of the harbour by Ginalis and Ercan-Kydonakis¹⁸. Lastly, one should refer to the digital reconstruction of the façade of the Palace of Bukoleon by Öner, which is based mainly on the sketches of Mamboury and Wiegand, but excludes the harbour itself (fig. 4)¹⁹, and to an artistic reconstruction of the harbour area by the graphic artist Antoine Helbert (fig. 5)²⁰.

1 Divergent localisations only occur in older literature and are to be rejected. Cf. Guiland, *Port palatin* 191-192. 196-202. – van Millingen, *Walls* 270.

2 van Millingen, *Walls* 269-287.

3 Ebersolt, *Grand Palais* 147-150.

4 Mamboury/Wiegand, *Kaiserpaläste*.

5 Schneider, *Vorarbeiten* 27-29.

6 Corbett, *Buildings*.

7 Guiland, *Plage*. – Guiland, *Palais du Boukoléon*. – Guiland, *Port palatin*. – Guiland, *Ports*. – All four contributions also in Guiland, *Études de Topographie I* 249-293; II 80-120.

8 Janin, *Constantinople* 234 (harbour). 120-121 (palace). 297-298 (sea wall).

9 Müller-Wiener, *Häfen* 9-10.

10 Mango, *Boukoleon*. – Mango, *Spolia*.

11 Bardill, *Visualizing*.

12 Featherstone, *Der Große Palast*. – Featherstone, *The Great Palace*.

13 Westbrook, *The Great Palace* 229-237.

14 Bolognesi Recchi Franceschini, *Fourth Season* und Bolognesi Recchi Franceschini, *First Year*. – See also the following contributions from the same author: *First Season*. – *Second Season*. – *Third Season*. – *Seventh Year*. – *Seventh Survey*. – *End of Survey*. – *Eleventh Survey*. – *Monumental Itinerary*. – *Chronological Phases*. The numerous illustrations and drawings attached to the individual articles are unfortunately largely unusable due to their poor print quality.

15 Bolognesi Recchi Franceschini, *Gran Palazzo*. – Bolognesi Recchi Franceschini, *Palastareal*. – Bolognesi Recchi Franceschini, *Südaerial*.

16 Barsanti, *Disegno*.

17 Heher, *Boukoleonhafen*.

18 Ginalis/Ercan-Kydonakis, *Reflections on the Archaeology*, in this volume.

19 www.byzantium1200.com/boucoleon.html (15.9.2016). – Öner/Kostenec, *Walking thru*.

20 www.antoine-helbert.com/fr/portfolio/annexe-work/byzance-architecture.html (15.9.2016).

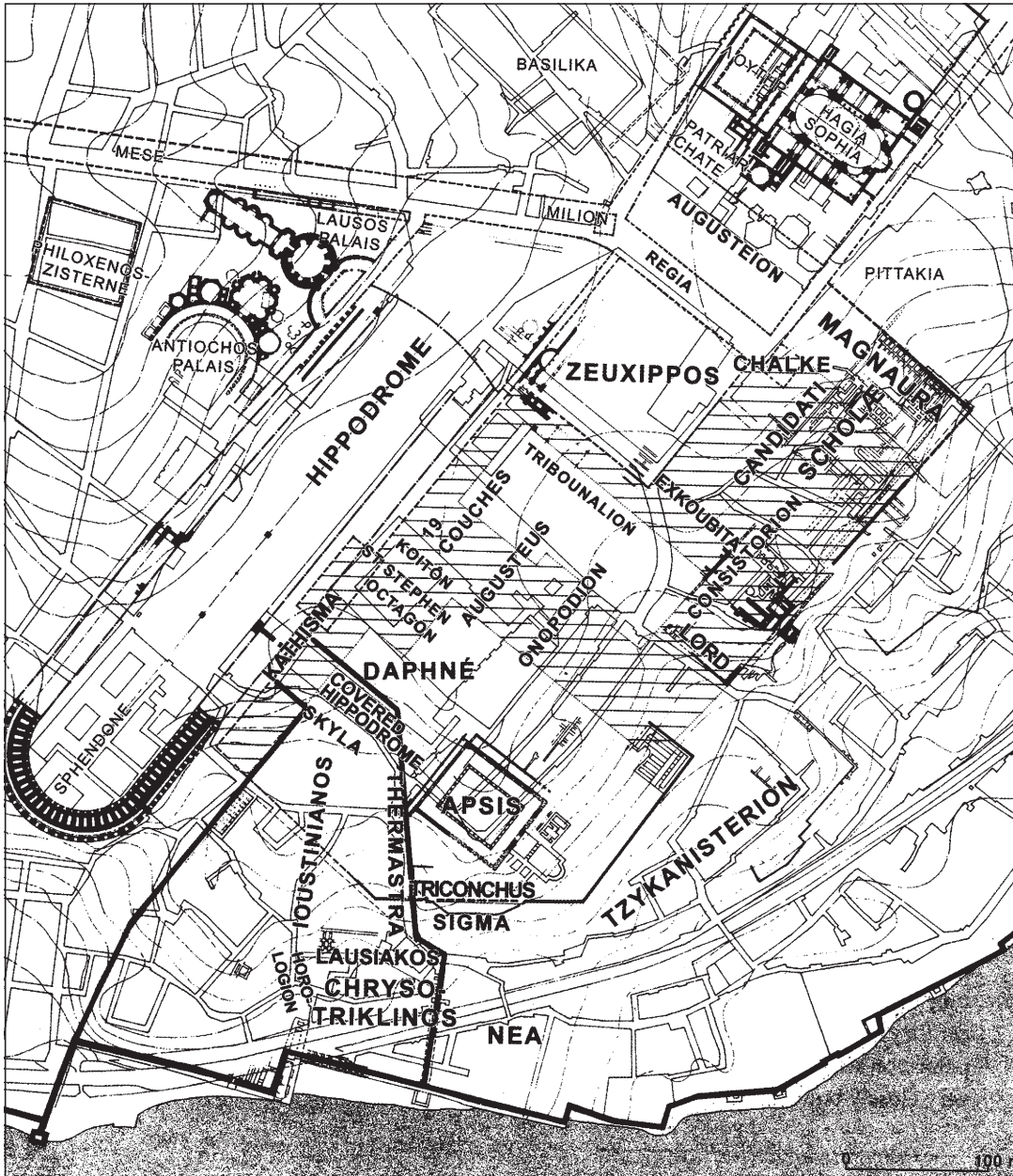


Fig. 1 The Great Palace: below left, the lower palace («Palace of Boukoleon»), enclosed under Nikephoros II. – (From Featherstone, *The Great Palace* 48).

Location and Name of the Harbour

From the ninth century, the sources usually identify the palace harbour with the name »Bukoleon«²¹, which had earlier referred to the local coastline²². The etymology of this name is unclear. The Byzantines themselves later derived it from a statue located in the harbour, which showed a fight between a bull and a lion (bous kai leon, βουῆς καὶ λεῶν)²³. Berger sees

this as a retrospective explanation. He argues that the origins of the name are instead to be sought in the verb *boukoleo* (βουκολέω, »to guard«): the name would derive from a hypothetical equivalent to the cult of Boukoleion in Athens, which was also found in ancient Byzantium²⁴. Mango, in turn, contemplates deriving the toponym from a personal name

21 Earliest reference in the *Vita Leonis* 25 (170 Alexakis): τῷ καλουμένῳ Βουκολέοντι παρέβαλον, ὀρμητηρίῳ τυγχάνοντι παρ' αὐτὰ τὰ βασιλεια. – Cf. Mango, *Boukoleon* 41.

22 Halkin, *Legendes Byzantines* 89: ἐπὶ τὸν Βουκολέοντα καὶ τὴν Σιδηρὰν διαβιβάσας.

23 Ioannes Skylitzes, *Synopsis* 11 (Thurn). – Ioannes Zonaras, *Epitome* XVI 28 (517 Pinder/Büttner-Wobst). – Anna Komnene, *Alexias* III 1, 5, VIII 2, 4 (89. 205 Reinsch/Kambylis). – See also van Millingen, *Walls* 269-271. – Janin, *Constantinople* 101. – Müller-Wiener, *Häfen* 10.

24 Berger, *Untersuchungen* 259.

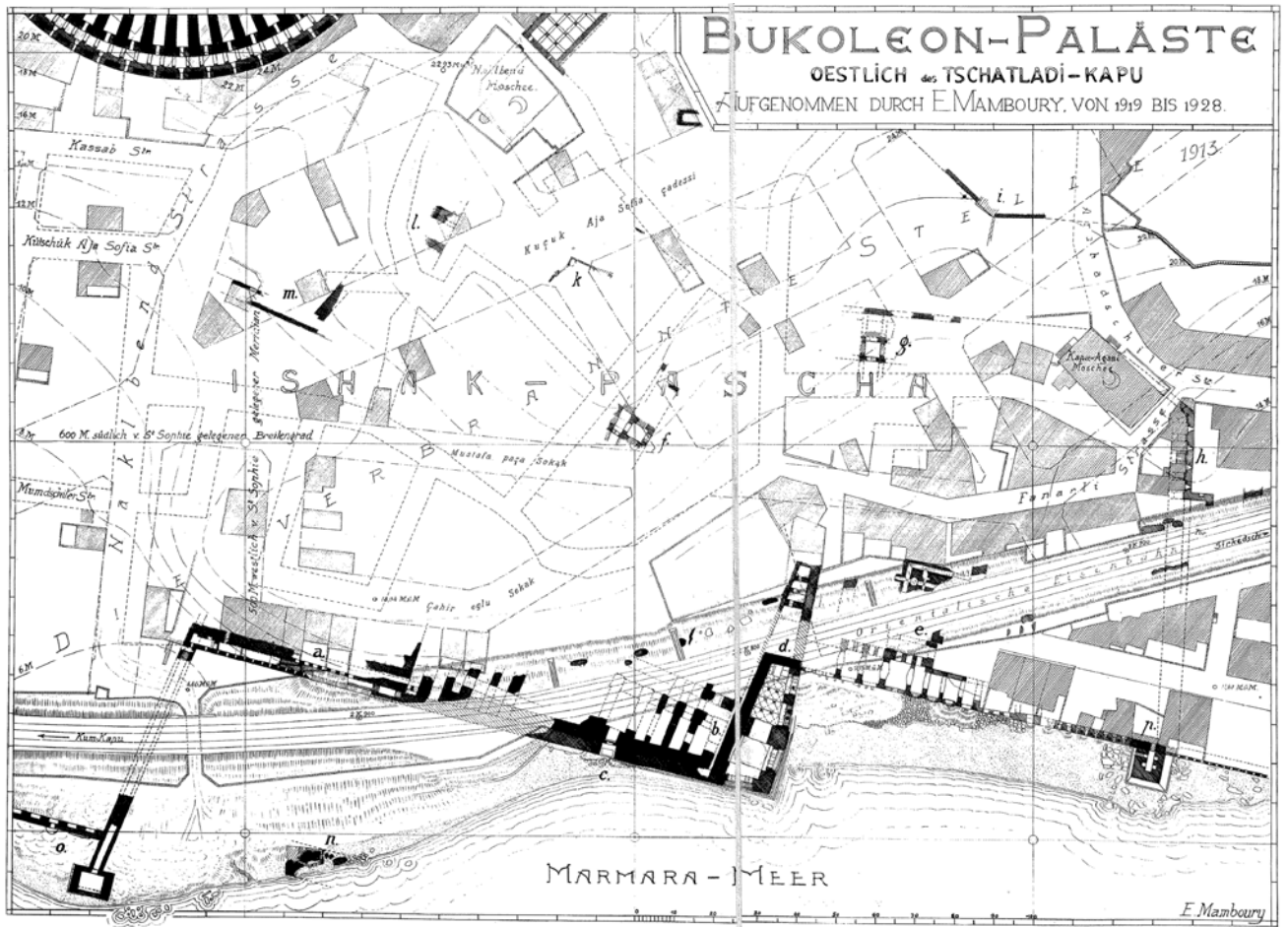


Fig. 2 Plan of the Harbour of the Bukoleon Palace according to Mamboury/Wiegand. The isolated structure »n« (bottom left) was interpreted as the foundation of the statue of fighting animals. – (From Mamboury/Wiegand, Kaiserpaläste pl. V).

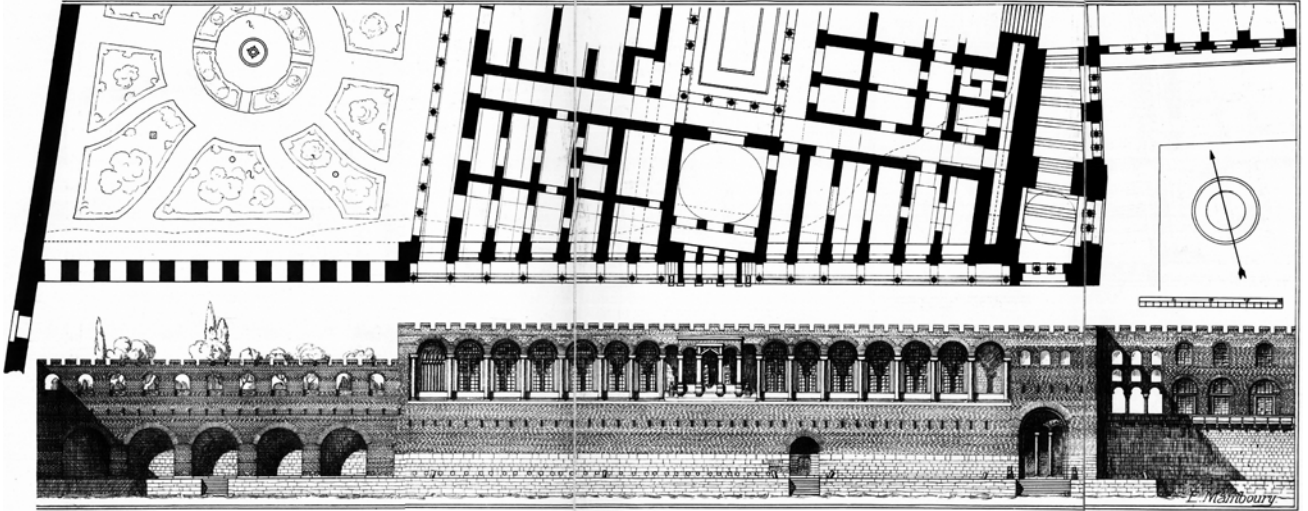


Fig. 3 Reconstruction of the Harbour of the Bukoleon Palace by Mamboury/Wiegand as an enclosed, massive building with a facade facing the sea. – (From Mamboury/Wiegand, Kaiserpaläste pl. XIII).



Fig. 4 Reconstruction of the facade of the Boukoleon Palace as it was after the 10th c. – (Byzantium 1200, T. Öner).

and cites a *sakellarios* named Bukkoleon who was involved in the treason trials against Pope Martin I in 653 and Maximos Homologetes in 655²⁵. Jenkins assumes that the harbour basin was also named Phiale («vessel», «ornamental well», but also «basin», see below). «Bukoleon» could therefore be a corruption of *baukalion* (βαυκάλιον²⁶), a synonym of Phiale²⁷.

While the explanations given above are all in the realm of possibility, the derivation from the Latin *bucca leonis*²⁸, however, which is sometimes suggested, should probably be rejected. A «lion's gate» situated in the harbour is mentioned only in Western sources from 1200 and probably corresponds

to a subsequent etymological interpretation of the Greek toponym, which was not understood by the Latins²⁹.

Building Phases

The so-called Great Palace of the Byzantine emperors consisted of a large number of individual buildings that were located on the Acropolis and the surrounding terraced area (fig. 1). The oldest parts of this conglomeration of throne and residence rooms, gardens and baths, guard barracks and

25 Mango, *Boukoleon* 49 n. 3. Magdalino, *Review* 258, supports this hypothesis. He stresses that Pope Martin was taken to the anchorage at the Arkadianai (cf. Kislinger, *Better and Worse Sites* n. 2, in this volume). For him, this is a strong hint that there was not yet an exclusive anchorage for the palace. On the *sakellarios* Boukkoleon see *PmbZ* online, 1048/corr.

26 For this term see Leroy-Molinghen, *Baukalion*.

27 Jenkins, *Commentary* 199. – LSJ 311, s.v. βαυκάλιον.

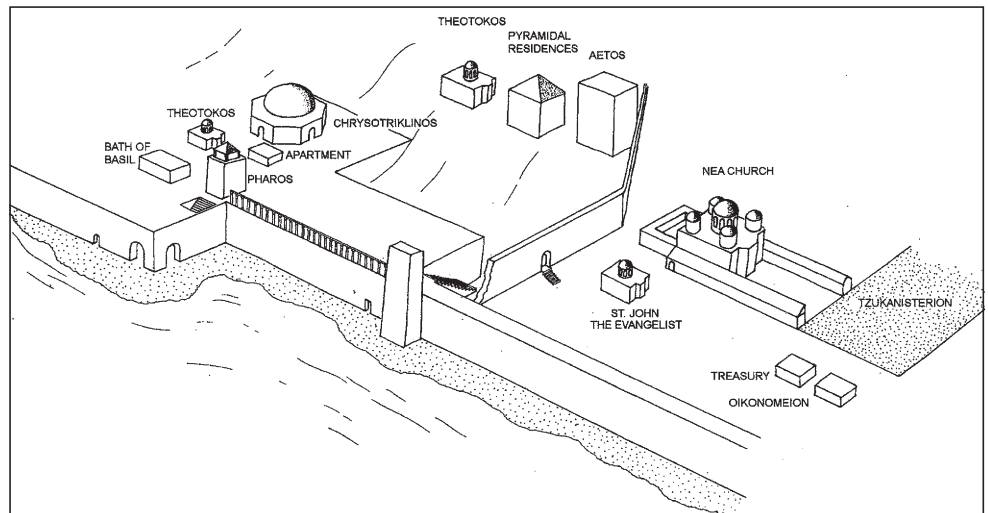
28 According to Mamboury/Wiegand, *Kaiserpaläste* 5. – Guillard *Palais du Boukoléon* 19.

29 Berger, *Untersuchungen* 260.



Fig. 5 Artist's impression of the Harbour of the Boukoleon Palace, behind the sea walls (from left to right): Porphyra, Chrysotriklinos and the Church of the Virgin of the Pharos; and the Nea Ekklesia. The course of the moles is hypothetical, as is the statue on the tall columns in the western part of the harbour basin. – (Drawing by A. Helbert).

Fig. 6 Reconstruction draft of the Pharos terrace by Bardill. The lighthouse and Church of the Virgin are located at the top of the landing steps. Bardill also located the Chrysotriklinos nearby. – (From Bardill, Visualizing 29).



churches were in the area of the Acropolis and the underlying terrace at 32 m and 26 m above sea level («Upper Palace»: Magnaura, Chalke, Konsistorion, Baths of Zeuxippos, etc.)³⁰. Nothing is known about a proper palace harbour at this early stage³¹. As early as the sixth century, however, a gradual shift of the entire complex to the southern, lower terraces (16 m and 11 m above sea level) can be observed, which extended between the Acropolis and the Propontian coast («Lower Palace»)³².

In the sixth century, at the latest, one can also assume a landing stage that belonged to the palace. Justinian's General Belisarius anchored «on the shore in front of the imperial palace» (τὴν ἀκτὴν, ἢ πρὸ τῆς βασιλείως αὐλῆς τυγχάνει οὐσα), before he went to war against the Vandals³³. In addition, a passage in the tenth-century *Book of Ceremonies*, which is likely derived from a sixth-century text, gives the instruction that, on return from a campaign, the emperor should sail directly to the Palace and be received by the court dignitaries at the adjacent landing stage (*skala*)³⁴. Since the sea walls bordering the Bukoleon Harbour have a construction phase in the sixth century (see below), and pottery from this period was found recently³⁵, it seems likely that the location of the harbour remained the same from the beginning. Whether the palace harbour equates to the Harbour of Hormisdas at

this earliest stage of its development must remain open³⁶. There is no reason to believe, however, that the harbour was remarkably representative at that time.

The tendency to move the focus of the palace complex to the coast of the Propontis continued in the following centuries. The ceremonial centre of the palace was, from the sixth century, the octagonal dome of the Chrysotriklinos and, from the eighth century, the Church of the Virgin of the Pharos. The latter became more important in the religious life of the court than the time-honoured Hagia Sophia³⁸. Although both buildings have not been located with absolute certainty, they must have been in the «Lower Palace» (figs 1, 6). Over the centuries, Justin II (565-578), Theophilos (829-842), Basil I (867-886) and Constantine VII (913-959), especially, built imperial private chambers and representative squares, as well as functional buildings (library, cloakroom, etc.)³⁹. At the same time, the old buildings of the «Upper Palace» suffered a loss of importance and were in the tenth century often used only for antiquated (or revived?) ceremonies⁴⁰.

In view of this situation, the battle-proven Emperor Nikephoros I Phokas (963-969) decided to increase the fortification of the «Lower Palace» by surrounding it with a wall (fig. 1)⁴¹. The Chalke Gate on the Augusteion thereby lost its role as the primary entrance to the palace, which

30 Bolognesi Recchi Franceschini, *Gran Palazzo* 208-228. – Bolognesi Recchi Franceschini, *Palastareal* 64. 68. – Westbrook, *The Great Palace*.

31 As early as 354, Patriarch Paulus was immediately brought to a boat after his arrest at the Baths of Zeuxippos and shipped into exile. Sozomenos, *Historia ecclesiastica* III 9, 2 (112 Bidez/Hansen). – Sokrates, *Historia ecclesiastica* II 16, 3-5 (60 Hansen). – Cf. Guillard, *Port palatin* 187. – Bolognesi Recchi Franceschini, *Gran Palazzo* 232. – Bolognesi Recchi Franceschini, *Seventh Survey* 137. However, it is unclear whether (and where) there was already a palace-owned harbour.

32 Bolognesi Recchi Franceschini, *Fourth Season* 19. – Bolognesi Recchi Franceschini, *Gran Palazzo* 229-234. – Featherstone, *The Great Palace* 23-24. – Bolognesi Recchi-Franceschini/Featherstone, *Boundaries* 44. – Bardill, *Visualizing* 6. – For more details on the terraces and buildings of the Lower Palace, see Bolognesi Recchi Franceschini, *Gran Palazzo* 229-241.

33 Prokopios, *Bella* III 12, 2 (I 365 Haury/Wirth). – Cf. Guillard, *Port palatin* 188. – Guillard, *Palais du Boukoléon* 22.

34 Konstantinos Porphyrogenetos, *De exped. C* 704-706 (138 Haldon = *De cer.* I 497 [Reiske]): εἰ δὲ πλὴν βούλεται ὀρθοποδεῖν εἰς τὸ παλάτιν, ἴσταται

ἔμπρὸς τῆς σκάλης, καὶ ἔνθα δέχεται κατὰ τὸ ἔθος τὸν ἐπαρχὸν τῆς πόλεως καὶ τὸν ἀπομονεῖα, καὶ τοὺς στεφάνους προσφέρουσιν αὐτῷ. – Cf. Guillard, *Port palatin* 188. – Guillard, *Palais du Boukoléon* 22.

35 Özgümüş, *Bukoleon Sarayı* 66.

36 van Millingen, *Walls*. – Guillard, *Palais d'Hormisdas* 298. – More cautiously Mango, *Bukoleon* 47.

37 On the central importance of Chrysotriklinos in court ceremonial, see Featherstone, *The Great Palace*.

38 Magdalino, *L'église du Phare* (with bibliography). – See also Janin, *Siège* 241-245.

39 On this, see the recent elaborate study by Bardill, *Visualizing* 23-40. – See also Bolognesi Recchi Franceschini, *Seventh Survey* 137. – Bolognesi Recchi Franceschini, *Eleventh Survey* 114. – Featherstone, *Der Große Palast* 23-24.

40 Featherstone, *Der Große Palast* 25-26. – Featherstone, *Revival*.

41 Mango, *Bukoleon* 45-46. – Bardill, *Visualizing* 6-7. – Bolognesi Recchi Franceschini, *Palastareal* 60-61.

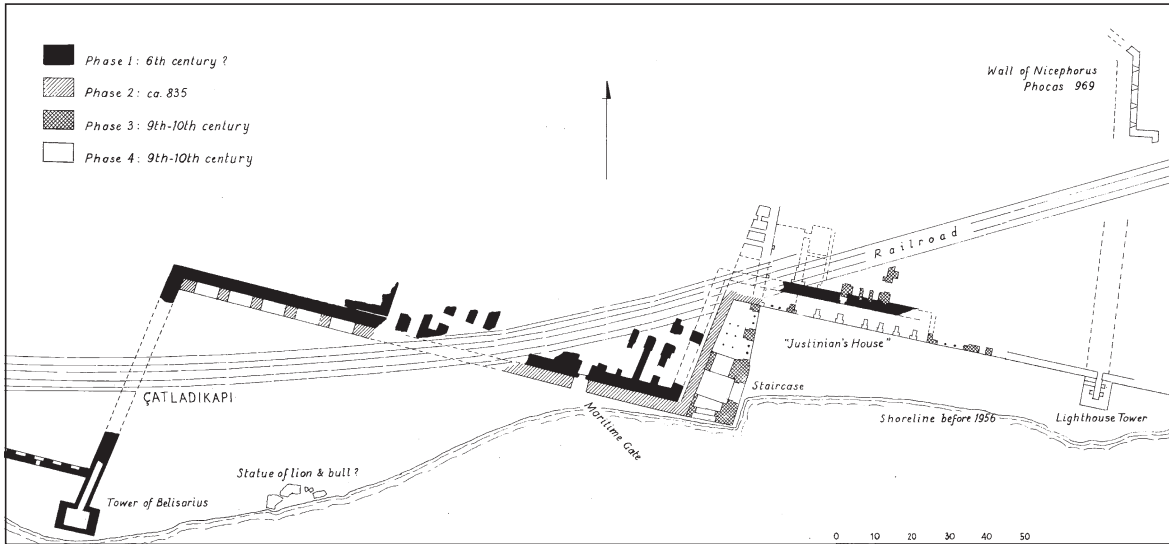


Fig. 7 Construction phases of the Palace of Bukoleon according to C. Mango. A partywall west of the staircase (approx. 700?) is not included in the sketch. – (From Mango, *Spolia* 651 fig. 3).

was henceforth mainly entered through the gate below the imperial lodge in the Hippodrome⁴². The »Lower Palace«, which has now been transformed into a compact and immured centre of power, is often encountered in the sources of the following centuries under the name »Palace of Bukoleon«⁴³.

The fact that the palace took its name from its harbour testifies to the importance attributed to the latter in the

perception of the overall complex. It is no coincidence that this appreciation has come about because the harbour itself had become an integral aesthetical part of the palace, especially in the ninth and tenth centuries. The upgrading of the harbour area took place on three levels: the extension and modification of the sea walls; the points of access; and the decoration of the harbour. All of these changes will be discussed in the following.

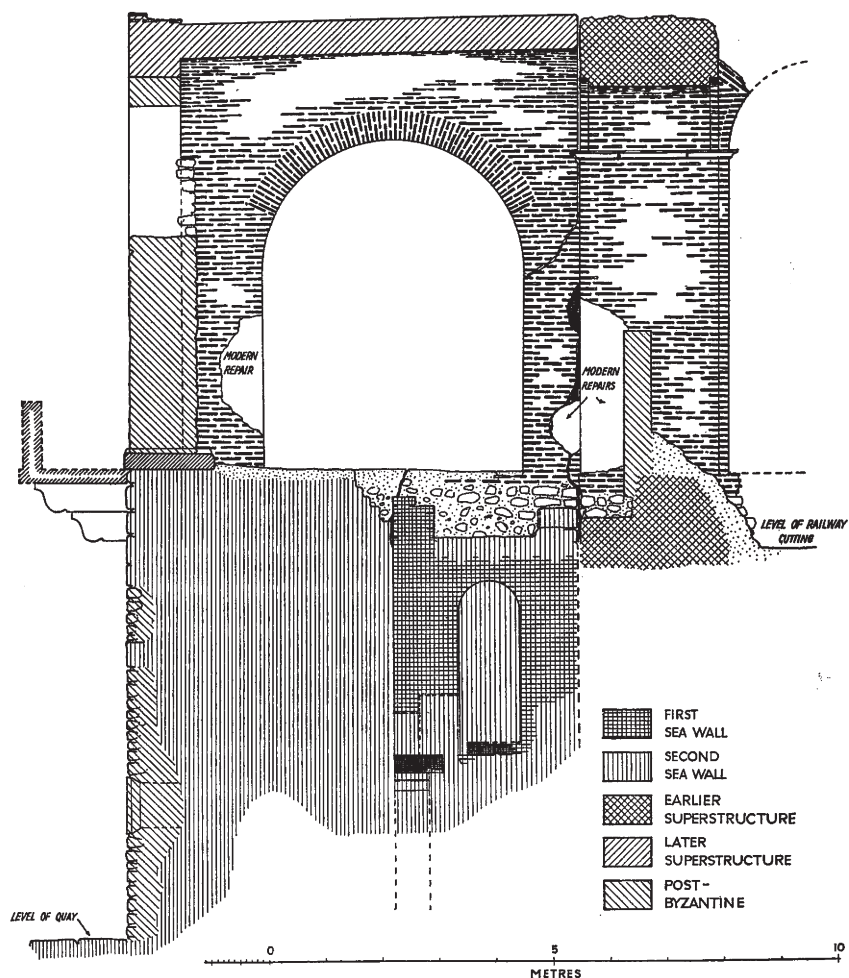
42 On the Chalke Gate, see Mango, *Brazen House*. – Girgin, *Porte monumentale*. – Denker, *Excavations*. – Westbrook, *The Great Palace 181-196*. – Brubaker, *Chalke Gate*. – Zervou-Tognazzi, *Propilei e Chalké*.

43 Mango, *Boukoleon* 42.



Fig. 8 The so-called Tower of Belisarius at the western end of the Harbour of the Bukoleon Palace in 1949. – (From Mango, *Spolia* fig. 1).

Fig. 9 Cross-section of the harbour facade in the area of the so-called House of Justinian. – (From Corbett, Buildings folder E).



Extensions of the Sea Wall

No traces have been preserved of the sea wall in the harbour area supposedly constructed under Theodosius II (408-450)⁴⁴. An ashlar wall (W 1), about 3.20m thick and originally 12 m high, still partly preserved *in situ*, is unanimously dated to the sixth century (see **fig. 7**)⁴⁵. In the westernmost area⁴⁶, a 4.60m thick brick wall (W 2) with a battlement and loopholes was built in front of W 1 probably around 700⁴⁷. The so-called Tower of Belisarius also seems to belong to this building phase (**fig. 8**)⁴⁸. In the ninth century, the old wall was finally reinforced over its entire length by a 3.20m thick wall (W 3). The construction of W 3 probably took place in the

reign of Emperor Theophilos (829-843)⁴⁹. In fact, Theophilos ordered not only intensive construction works in the »Lower Palace«⁵⁰, but also on the sea walls by »extending the seaward walls of the palace beyond its foundations, and in the terraces, where once a cistern was located in which the son of an emperor once drowned, planted gardens«⁵¹. These were evidently measures to enlarge the garden area and to beautify the harbour facade. Strengthening the sea walls had now made it possible to create a terrace directly above the eastern harbour area, flanked by narrow rooms and bounded at the back by a façade or other rooms (**fig. 9**). In a later construc-

44 Bolognesi Recchi Franceschini, Fourth Season 19. – The attribution of the sea walls to Theodosius II is based on Marcellinus Comes, Chronicon 80 (Mommsen).

45 Mango, Spolia 649. – Mango, Boukoleon 47. – The 6th c. can at least serve as *terminus post quem* by the *spolia* used in the construction. The dating also follow Bolognesi Recchi Franceschini, End of Survey 156-157 and Bardill, Visualizing 24. – Although referring to the research of Mango, Effenberger, Illustrationen 28 cites the 4th c. as the time of the construction of this wall.

46 Bolognesi Recchi Franceschini, Gran Palazzo 241 wants to connect the wall with the construction activities of Justinian II (685-695/705-711): Theophanes, Chronographia AM 6186 (367-368 de Boor): Ἰουστινιανὸς δὲ εἰς τὰ τοῦ παλατίου κτίσματα ἐπεμελείτο. Καὶ ἔκτισε τὸν Ἰουστινιανοῦ τρίκλινον λεγόμενον καὶ τὰ τοῦ παλατίου περιτειχίσματα. – However, work on the sea wall is also explicitly documented for the reign of Tiberios III (698-705): Patria Konstantinupoleos II 109 (208-209 Preger): Τὰ τεῖχη τὰ πρὸς θάλασσαν ἀνακαινίζονται ἐπὶ Τιβερίου Ἀψιμάρου.

47 Mamboury/Wiegand, Kaiserpaläste 1. – Bolognesi Recchi Franceschini, Chronological Phases 411.

48 Mango, Boukoleon 47.

49 Mango, Spolia 649. – Mango, Boukoleon 47. – Bolognesi Recchi Franceschini, End of Survey 157. – Bardill, Visualizing 24 n. 77.

50 Theophanes Continuatus, Chronographia III 43 (204-208 Featherstone/Codoñer = 144-145 Bekker). – Cf. Mango, Spolia 649. – On the buildings of Theophilos, see also Bardill, Visualizing 24-26 and fig. 7.

51 Theophanes Continuatus, Chronographia III 4 (128 Featherstone/Codoñer = 88 Bekker): τὰ πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν τοῦ παλατίου τεῖχη τῶν ἀρχαίων θεμελίων οὕτως παρεκβαλῶν, καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἡλιακά, ἔνθα πρότερον κινστέρνης οὐσης συνέβη βασιλικὸν ἀποπνιγῆναι υἷόν, παραδείσιους ἐργασάμενος [...]. – Cf. Patria Konstantinupoleos II 109 (208-209 Preger): [Τὰ δὲ τεῖχη τὰ πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν] ἐκ δευτέρου ἀνεκαινίσθησαν ἐπὶ Θεοφίλου.

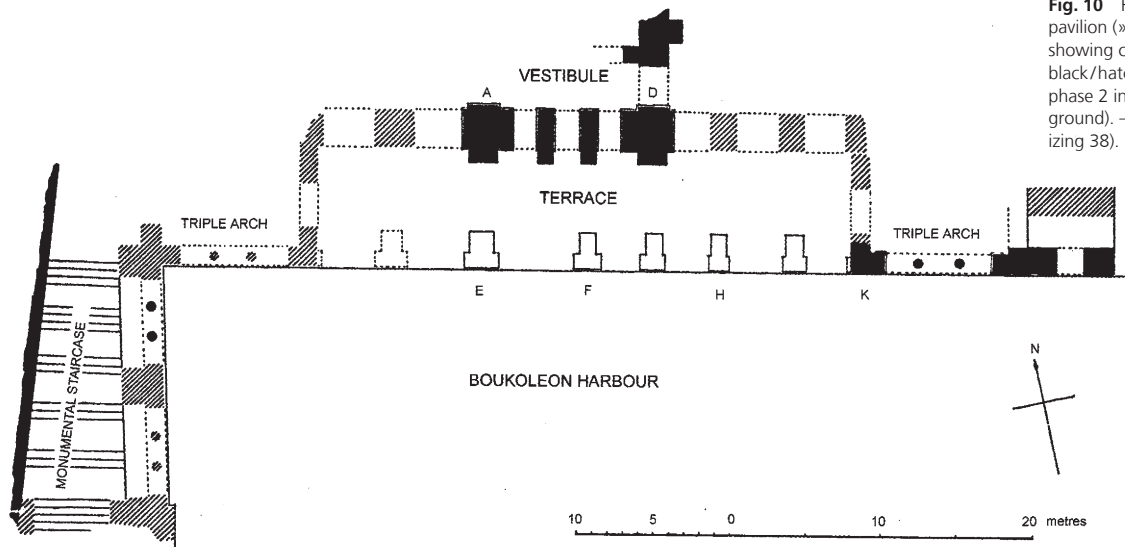


Fig. 10 Floor plan of the sea pavilion (»House of Justinian«), showing construction phase 1 in black/hatched, and construction phase 2 in white (pillar in foreground). – (From Bardill, Visualizing 38).



Fig. 11 View through the loggia at the eastern corner (»House of Justinian«) on the Sea of Marmara. – (From Mamboury/Wiegand, Kaiserpaläste tab. XXXIII).

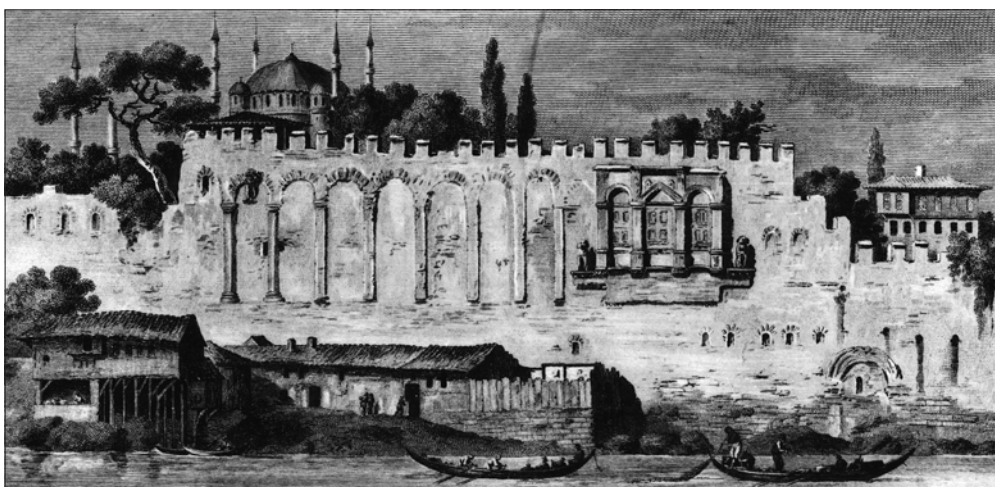


Fig. 12 The western corner with the *spolia* ensemble. Below right, the small sea gate. Drawing by Choiseul-Gouffier, c. 1780. – (From Mamboury/Wiegand, Kaiserpaläste tab. XI).

tion phase, the terrace was converted into a covered loggia (fig. 10). The ensemble, which was anachronistically named the »House of Justinian« in the research literature⁵², may be regarded as a pleasure pavilion in the sense of extending the palace gardens, which offered a panoramic view of the Propontis (fig. 11). At some point, the front was completely walled up, perhaps on the occasion of immuring the »Lower Palace« under Nikephoros II (see above)⁵³.

With the exception of this pavilion with bellevue terrace, the sea walls in the harbour area should have been free of superstructures until the tenth century. Probably under Nikephoros II, the general raising of the walls began in several phases, until their height amounted to c. 20 m⁵⁴. Nevertheless, the aesthetics of the harbour were also taken into account. The open arcades found in the common reconstructions (figs 3-5) cannot clearly be proven. Drawings from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (figs 12-13) suggest arches to the left and right of the *spoliae* ensemble (see below) in the western harbour area, but these would have presupposed the destruction of the battlements beyond. Bardill assumes, therefore, that the arches were not subsequently walled up, but were attached after the completion of the wall merely as blind arcades⁵⁵. Contemporary Byzantine representations are missing, with the exception of two miniatures in *Skylitzes Matritensis* (figs 14-15). These show a stylised building with arcades in the lowest area (which can be detected only in the westernmost area in the building remains) and one to two floors above, which also have arcades. For a more accurate reconstruction, the drawings are not sufficient.

The three-part window ensemble with *spolia* and small lion sculptures in the western area was described and drawn by many travellers to Constantinople. Presumably, this kind of balcony was only built after the last elevation of the walls (figs 12-13. 16-17)⁵⁶. Its function is, however, unclear. The two lateral »openings« could be false doors⁵⁷, but an attached room in the north, as suggested in the surviving pictures, argues against the overall ensemble having been a mere illusionistic architecture⁵⁸. Perhaps the structure served as a kind of balcony from which the palace communicated with the harbour (for possible ceremonial purposes, see below). Interestingly, the *Skylitzes Matritensis* also emphasises the existence of a balcony in both depictions, but its location cannot be determined (figs 14-15).

52 Mesguich, Un palais. – Corbett, Building.

53 Mango, Spolia 648-649. – Bardill, Visualizing 37. – Bolognesi Recchi Franceschini, Fourth Season 20. – Bolognesi Recchi Franceschini, Seventh Survey 137-139. – Guillard, Plage 65.

54 Bardill, Visualizing 27-28.

55 Bardill, Visualizing 28.

56 Bardill, Visualizing 28 (with bibliography). – The lions were saved during the construction of the railway line as two of the few components of the palace. They should date from the ninth c. See Mamboury/Wiegand, Kaiserpaläste 24 (no. 7-8) pl. XXXIX-L. To the well-known and often published illustration, another drawing from the Victoria and Albert Museum in London can now be added (see my fig. 13): Barsanti, Disegno.

57 Mango, Spolia 647.

58 According to Effenberger, Illustrationen 29.

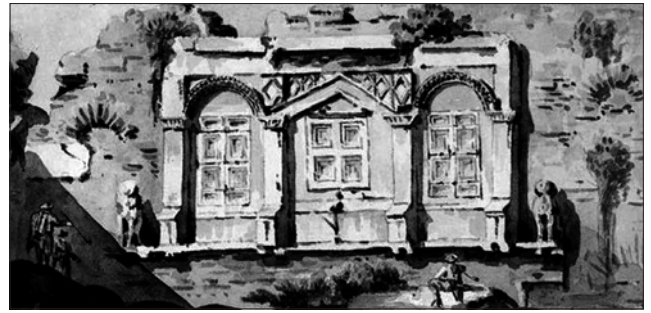


Fig. 13 Drawing by John Foster Jr., 1811. London, Victoria & Albert Museum, inv. no. SD.391. – (From Barsanti, Boukoleon 43).



Fig. 14 The Boukoleon Palace in the Skylitzes Matritensis, fol. 157r. Biblioteca Nacional de España, MS Gr. Vitr. 26-2, 157r. – (From Tsamakda, Skylitzes fig. 395).



Fig. 15 The Boukoleon Palace in the Skylitzes Matritensis, fol. 124r. Biblioteca Nacional de España, MS Gr. Vitr. 26-2, 124r. – (From Tsamakda, Skylitzes fig. 395).

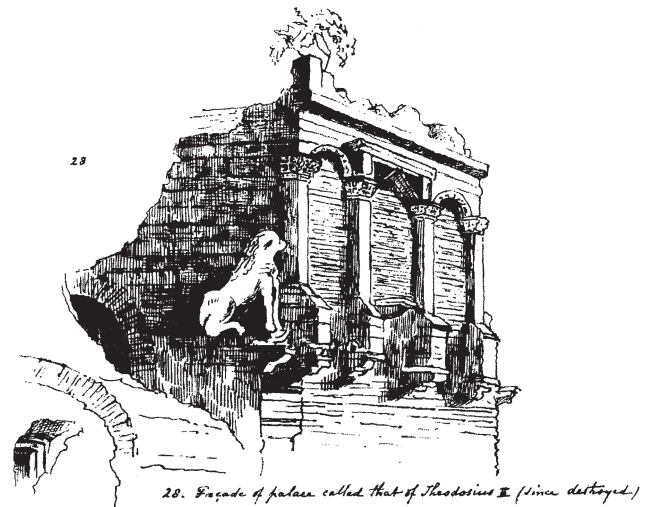


Fig. 16 The *spoliae* ensemble in the western corner. Drawing by Mary Walker, 1871. – (From Mango, Spolia fig. 10).



Fig. 17 Photolithography by Pierre Trémaux, c. 1850. – (From Bardill, Visualizing 27).

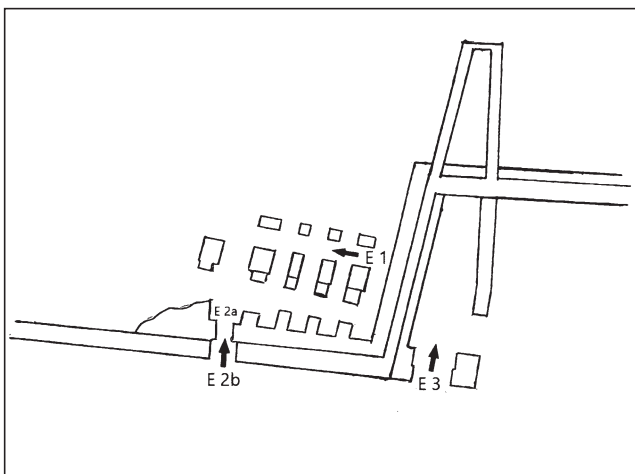


Fig. 18 Simplified sketch of the harbourside entrances to the palace. – (Sketch D. Heher, based on Bolognesi Recchi Franceschini, Fourth Year 27).

Modification of the Entrance Position

The successive expansion of the sea walls was accompanied by a multiple transformation of the communication routes between the palace terraces and the harbour. In the sixth century, access was in any case provided by a gate of marble blocks approximately 2.70 m wide (E[ntrance] 2a) (figs 7. 18-19)⁵⁹. Recently, it has been suggested that there was an additional staircase or ramp (E 1), which led from the 16 m terrace of the palace to the east directly to the corner of the sea walls (fig. 18)⁶⁰. The hypothetical access E 1 should at any rate have been removed before the construction of the outermost sea wall W 3, probably in the context of the construction of W 2 around 700, for a new entrance situation. From this time, a ramp or stairs, running south to north connected the harbour with the 11 m terrace of the palace (E 3a)⁶¹.

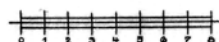
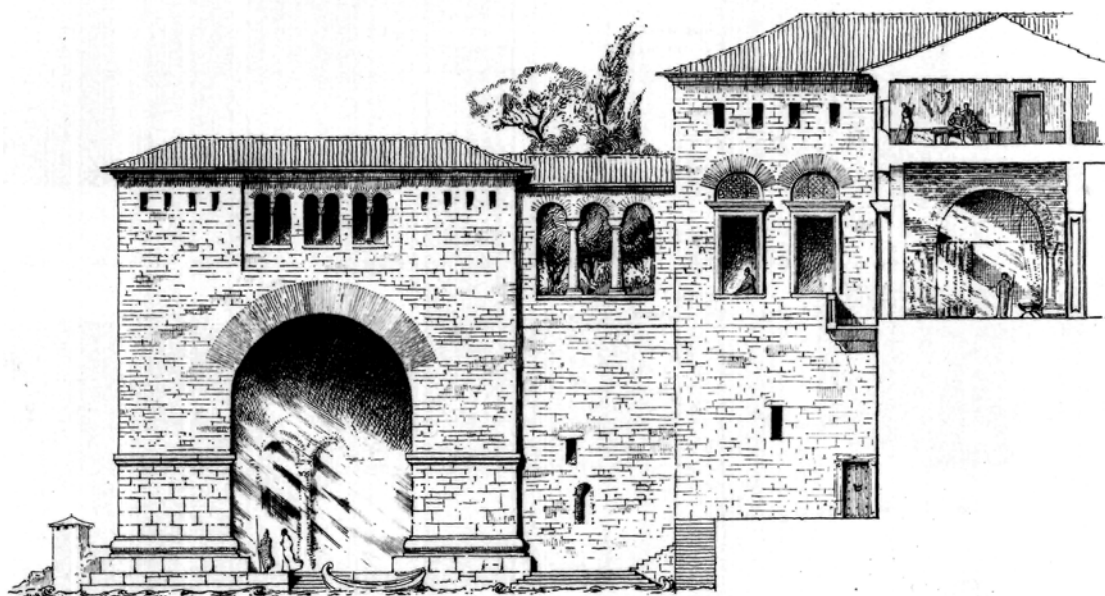
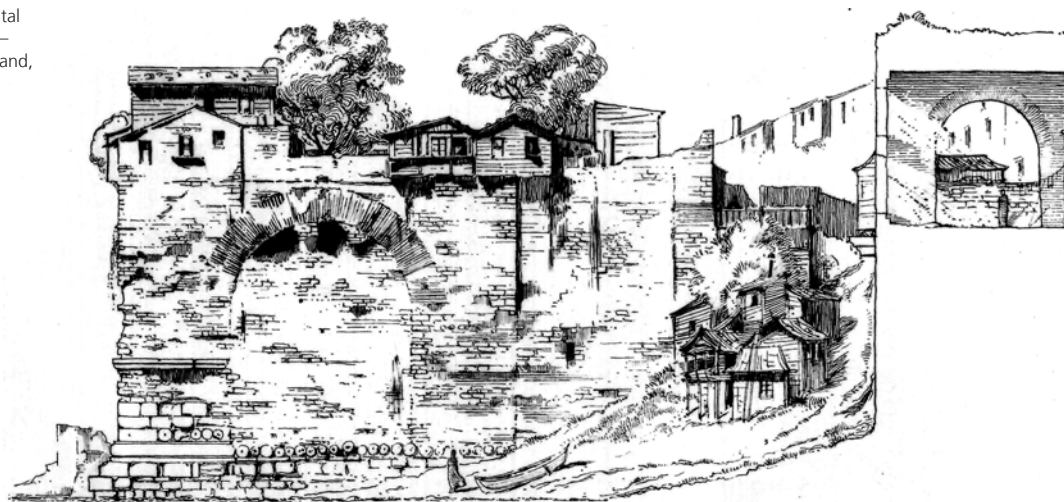
When Emperor Theophilus set about redesigning the sea walls (W 3), there was a smaller portal (E 2a) in the western area and a staircase or ramp (E 3a) in the middle of the harbour basin (if we assume that the harbour covered the whole area between the Tower of Belisarius in the west and the so-called »Lighthouse Tower« in the east). The former gate E 2a was maintained unchanged, but a wider portal (E 2b, 4 m passage width) was built in front of it (E 2b) to make it appear larger on the harbour side⁶². It must be left open

- 59 Mamboury/Wiegand, Kaiserpaläste 6-9 pl. XIV (plan), XV-XIX (photographs). – Bolognesi Recchi Franceschini, Chronological Phases 410. – Mango, Spolia 647.
 60 Bolognesi Recchi Franceschini, Chronological Phases 412. – Bolognesi Recchi Franceschini, Gran Palazzo 235. – Bolognesi Recchi Franceschini, Monumental Itinerary 54. – Bolognesi Recchi Franceschini, Seventh Survey 137.
 61 Bolognesi Recchi Franceschini, Seventh Year 280 figs 4-5.
 62 Mamboury/Wiegand, Kaiserpaläste 6-9 pl. XIV (plan), XV-XIX (photographs). – Bolognesi Recchi Franceschini, Chronological Phases 410. – Mango, Spolia 647.



Fig. 19 The harbour portal Z2a/Z2b as it is today. – (Photograph G. Simonov 2016).

Fig. 20 The monumental staircase from the east. – (From Mamboury/Wiegand, *Kaiserpaläste* pl. XXIII).



how the difference between the portal and the next higher palace terrace was bridged (ramp? stairs?). It is possible that the corridor described by Ibn Yahya around 900⁶³ fulfilled this purpose. In any case, E 2b was a secondary connection between the palace and the harbour. The actual, representative entrance to the palace was created after completion of the outer seawall W 3, while the stair E 3a was expanded to a monumental staircase with marble steps (E 3b)⁶⁴. Its entrance was decorated with columns and marble lion statues

(figs 20-21). A detailed description of this grand staircase in the late twelfth century is preserved. It comes from the pen of William of Tyre, who accompanied King Amalric of Jerusalem on his visit to Constantinople:

»But in this city, above the seashore, is the Imperial Palace, which faces east, and is also called the Palace of Constantine. Its entrance is by the sea and it has a wonderful and magnificent staircase; there are marble steps leading to the sea, and – of the same material – lion statues and pillars of royal

63 Vasiliev, *Harun* 156: »As to the Sea Gate, one enters a vestibule, three hundred paces long and fifty paces wide, which is covered with red bricks. In the vestibule, to the left and right, there are seats adorned with carpets; upon them there are a group of Turks holding bows and shields in their hands«. Similar is the German translation of Marquart, *Streifzüge* 216. – See also Ostrogorsky, *Harun-ibn-Jahja*. The text could also refer to the first phase of the stairwell (E 3a) as assumed by Schreiner, *Zu Gast* 109-111 n. 33.

64 Mamboury/Wiegand, *Kaiserpaläste* 10-13 pl. XX (photograph) XXI-XXII (plans), XXIII-XXIV (reconstructed drawings). – On the dating, see Mango, *Spolia* 647. – Guillard, *Port palatin* 194. – Schneider, *Vorarbeiten* 28-29 dates the staircase to the reign of Emperor Theophilus.



Fig. 21 The eastern access to the monumental staircase today. – (Photograph G. Simeonov 2016).

splendour. This access to the upper palace terraces is open only to the emperor, but [my] lord, the king, was allowed to enter the palace from this side, circumventing the rules, because of his special honours«⁶⁵.

In Ottoman times, the Çatladıkapi (fig. 7) offered another possibility to enter the (former) harbour basin from the west, i.e., from the city. Whether this goes back to a Byzantine predecessor, is unclear. If identified with the »Lion Gate« (*Porta Leonis*) of the Latin sources, then it would have had existed at the beginning of the Latin rule⁶⁶. However, Effenberger has convincing arguments to advocate equating the »Lion Gate« with the aforementioned small portal E 2 in the western part of the harbour⁶⁷. The lack of necessity speaks against the existence of a gate in the place of the Çatladıkapi in the Byzantine period. The palace first communicated with the city via the gate at the Chalke, later primarily via the gate below the Kathisma in the Hippodrome (fig. 1). A further opening to the city was not only unnecessary, but beyond that, it would have significantly reduced the defensive value of the palace walls.

Decoration

Animal statues adorned the harbour area from the early ninth century at least. First and foremost is the group of fighting animals that allegedly gave its name to the Bukoleon Harbour. The most detailed description of the sculpture comes from Pietro Zen, a Venetian ambassador at the court of the Sultan. He describes the statue in the context of an earthquake in 1532:

»Outside the said water-gate [Çatladıkapi], and beneath the three ancient windows which have a lion at either end (of the row); there, down beside the shore, on two columns, is a marble block upon which is a very large bull, much larger than life, attacked at the throat by a lion, which has mounted upon the back of the (bull's) neck, and thrown him down, and strikes at a horn of the bull with great force. This lion is considerably larger than life, all carved from one piece of stone of very fine quality. These animals used to stand with their heads towards Asia, but it seems that on that night (the night of the catastrophe) they turned themselves with their heads towards the city«⁶⁸.

65 Wilhelmus Tyrensis, *Chronicon* 943-944 (Huygens): *Est autem in ipsa urbe super littus maris, ad orientem prospiciens, imperiale palatium, quod Constantinianum appellatur; introitum habens ad mare, miro et magnifico tabulatu; gradus habens marmoreos, usque in idipsum mare; leones habens et columnas, fastu erectas regio, ex eadem materia. Hinc soli Augusto solet introitus patere ad superiora palatii; sed domino regi honoris intuitu praecipui, praeter communes regulas aliquid indultum est, ut ea parte ingredi permitteretur.*

66 Mamboury/Wiegand, *Kaiserpaläste* 1-3. – Mango, *Spolia* 646-647. – For the Çatladıkapi, see Guiland, *Palais du Boukoléon* 18.

67 Effenberger, *Illustrationen* 28-29.

68 English translation by van Millingen, *Walls* 271. Original text after van Millingen, *Walls* 271-271: *Fuora dila dita porta de marina, sotto quelle tre fenestre antiquissime che hanno uno lione per banda, li abasso ala marina, sopra due colone, e una lastra di marmoro sopra la qual e uno granmo tauro, maior bonamente che il vivo, acanatto de uno lione, el qual li e montato sopra la schena,*

et lo ho atterato, et da una branca ad un corno dil tauro in un grandissimo atto; e questo leone assai maior del vivo e tutto di una piera de una bona vena ouer miner. Questi animali soleano esser con le teste voltate verso Anatolia, et par che quella medema notte i se voltasseno con le teste verso Conple. – Cf. Guiland, Palais du Boukoléon 16-17. – Janin, Constantinople 101. – Cf. the similar description of Giovanni Sagredo, Memorie 318-319 (with incorrect dating to 1535): Prima che succedesse il disastro, in Costantinopoli un Leone di pietra, il quale stava fuori della Porta à Marina, che con una zanna afferrava un Toro, guardava prima verso Levante, si ritrovò, che stava rivolto à Ponente. E perche era situato sopra due colonne, precipitò unitamente col Toro, che si ruppe una coscia, e cadè con la testa nel Fiume, in cui pareva in certo modo che bevesse. The assertion of Günşenin, Harbours and Shipbuilding 416 that the sculpture had already been destroyed in the 6th c. is thus simply wrong. On the contrary, there is no reason to believe that it had already been built by that time.

Zen's account refers without doubt to the same sculpture described by several writers in the twelfth century⁶⁹. It is handed down that Emperor Constantine VII had set up various animal statues on the Bukoleon⁷⁰ and Anna Komnene described stone cattle and lions⁷¹. In the fifteenth century, a Russian pilgrim interpreted these sculptures as aurochs and bears⁷². William of Tyre noted lion statues directly at the foot of the grand staircase⁷³.

According to the treatise of the so-called Heron of Byzantium (tenth century), there was also a sundial in the area of the harbour. The details – »on a balcony facing south« (ἐν τῷ ἀξιαγάστῳ βασιλικῷ πρὸς νότον παρακυπητήριῳ) – could refer to the so-called House of Justinian in the eastern harbour area (see above), but other terraces or balconies cannot be excluded⁷⁴.

The improvements on the Bukoleon are related to general building activity in the »Lower Palace« and illustrate the growing need for a representative imperial harbour. The everyday life of the emperor demanded more and more frequent boat trips over short and medium distances. Over time, a large number of monasteries and churches had sprung up around Constantinople, which the emperor had to visit on certain occasions, and the number of palaces and hunting grounds around the Bosphorus also increased⁷⁵. The importance of these trips is also reflected in the construction of an imperial flotilla, which initially included some barges and, under Leon VI (886-912), was extended by two specially constructed imperial dromons (see below).

The Harbour Basin

While the phases of construction of the sea wall and the access to the harbour yield a reasonably clear picture of the construction phases, an exact reconstruction of the basin itself and its moles is not possible. Excavation in the direct harbour area has not yet taken place.

Relatively accurate information can be obtained from the quaysides in the eastern part of the harbour: constructions made of massive blocks of limestone, rubble and brick mortar were found *in situ* at the beginning of the twentieth century and photographically documented (fig. 22). According to Mamboury and Wiegand, the quay was erected in the course

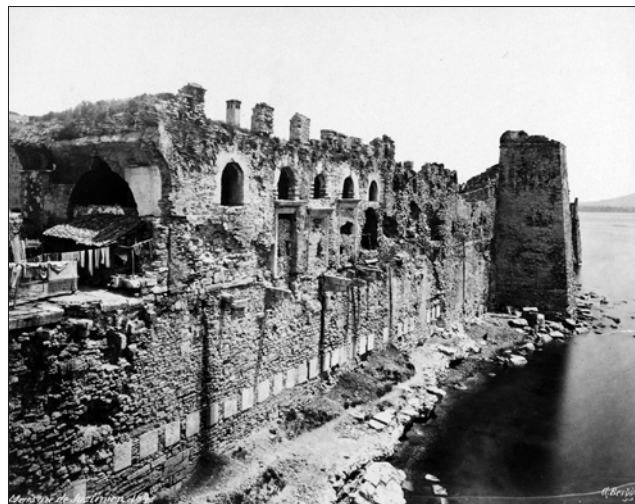


Fig. 22 View of the façade at the eastern corner of the Harbour of the Bukoleon Palace. – (From Mamboury/Wiegand, Kaiserpaläste pl. XXIX).

of the construction of the outermost sea wall W 3, i. e., in the first half of the ninth century⁷⁶. Ginalis and Ercan-Kydonakis, however, argue for an earlier date of the quay around 700 based on the building technique (see below). This fits well with the assumed construction of the monumental staircase roughly at the same time, which would be impossible to imagine without an adequate quayside. However, the dating proposed by Mamboury and Wiegand is based on the examination of the uppermost layer of the quay, which could have been renovated during a later phase. Recent core drillings carried out below the »House of Justinian« and in front of the southeast corner of the staircase have confirmed the existence of the quay, which is today about 4 m below ground level. In its uppermost layer (4.00-4.80 m), mainly bricks, stones and marble fragments were detected, followed by a stratum (4.80-6.90 m) of clay and dark grey stones. Traces of bricks and gravel were also found in the next layer (6.90-10.00 m), where the foundation of the quay is suspected⁷⁷. Examination of the photographs and the results of the core drillings led Ginalis and Ercan-Kydonakis to conclude that the quay was erected around the year 700. The building technique shows parallels to the harbours of Anthedon and Larymna. Obviously, the quay was created by applying a system with chambers filled with a type of hydraulic concrete (a

69 Anna Komnene, Alexias III 1, 5 (89 Reinsch/Kambylis): λιμὴν [...] ὅπου ὁ λιθίνος λέων ζωγρεῖ τὸν βοῦν· ἔχεται γὰρ τοῦ κέρως τοῦ βοῦς καὶ ἐξαυχενίσας αὐτὸν ἐμφύεται πῶς τῷ λαίμῳ. – Cf. Ioannes Zonaras, Epitome XVI 28 (517 Pinder/Büttner-Wobst): Βουκολέων ὁ τόπος ὠνόμασται, ὅτι λιθίνος λέων ἐστὶν ἐν αὐτῷ βοῦς ἐπιβεβηκώς ὁμοίου καὶ τῷ εὐωνύμῳ ποδὶ κατέχοντι τὸ κέρας αὐτοῦ περιστρέφων τὸν αὐχένα τὸν τοῦ βοῦς. – Ioannes Skylitzes, Synopsis 11 (Thurn): ὁπότε οὖν ἀλώη τῷ πάθει, εἰς τὸν τόπον ἐρχομένη, ἐν ᾧ βοῦς τε καὶ λέων ἴδρυνται λιθῖνοι (καὶ τούτων ἔχει τὴν προσηγορίαν ὁ τόπος Βουκολέων ὀνομαζόμενος).

70 Theophanes Continuatus, Chronographia 447 (Bekker): τὸν Βουκολέοντα ζῳδίοις, ἐκ διαφόρων τόπων ἀγαγὼν, ἐκαλλώπισεν, κάκεισε ἰχθυοτροφεῖον ἐποίησεν. – Guillard, Palais du Boukoléon 25. – Berger, Untersuchungen 260.

71 Anna Komnene, Alexias VII 2 4 (205 Reinsch/Kambylis): ἡ δὲ πορφύρα [...] ἀφορῶν μὲν ὡς πρὸς θάλατταν πρὸς τὸν λιμένα, οὐπερ οἱ πέτρινοι βόες καὶ οἱ λέοντες.

72 Majeska, Russian Travelers 142-143. – Cf. Guillard, Port palatin 190

73 Wilhelmus Tyrensis, Chronicon 943-944 (Huygens).

74 Heron, Geodesia 11, l. 36-39 (146 Sullivan): Αὐταὶ δὲ αἱ γραμμαὶ ἐν τῷ ἀξιαγάστῳ βασιλικῷ πρὸς νότον παρακυπητήριῳ <ἐν> τοῖς Βουκολέοντος ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἐγχαραχθεῖσαι ἐπὶ τῶν πρασίνων ἔκκεινται κοσμηταρίων. On the problem of the terms, see *ibid* 269-271.

75 A compilation of common travel destinations in Auzepy, Déplacements 359-361. – On the palaces, see Janin, Constantinople 138-153. – Hellenkemper, Asiatische Riviera. – Hellenkemper, Politische Orte.

76 Mamboury/Wiegand, Kaiserpaläste 6 (western part). 13 (eastern part and landing stage) and pls XXVIII-XXIX.75.

77 Bolognesi Recchi Franceschini, Monumental Itinerary 55-56 and fig. 5.

mixture of mortar, rubble stones and coarse ceramics)⁷⁸. The quay was paved with marble slabs (c. 60 cm × 70 cm) slightly sloping to the sea. In the early twentieth century, it was still at least 6 m wide, about 12 m directly by the staircase⁷⁹. The original width of the quay would have amounted to c. 9.20 m⁸⁰.

If one takes the so-called lighthouse as the eastern end of the harbour⁸¹ and calculates a hypothetical place for ceremonial purposes (see below) at the western end of the harbour, this results in a total length of the basin of about 160 m. The entire harbour complex would have had a length of slightly more than 200 m, apparently reason enough for Michael Psellos to describe the structure as a »large harbour« (τῷ μεγάλῳ λιμένι)⁸². In any case, moorings for several barges (*agraria*) and dromons must have been available at the Bukoleon Harbour⁸³. It is not clear in which area the dromons were anchored (John Skylitzes: ἔνθα προσώρμουν αἱ τριήρεις)⁸⁴; it is known only that the emperor boarded his ship on the Phiale in the western area of the harbour (see below).

According to the current state of knowledge, no certain conclusion can be drawn regarding the course of the moles, which once must have protected the palace harbour. Not only the sheer necessity due to the highly exposed position, but also the literary evidence argues for their existence: Anna Komnene reported in the twelfth century that at the Bukoleon Palace »a harbour had been constructed in the old days of marble and concrete«⁸⁵, and Michael Glykas also emphasized that the harbour of the palace was artificially constructed⁸⁶. Nicetas Choniates, in his account of the escape of Andronikos Komnenos from his arrest in the palace, mentioned that he had a fishing boat waiting that »rocked between the shore and the breakwaters (τοὺς προβλήτας) that are scattered along the sea walls of the city and which dampen the waves«⁸⁷. It is unclear, however, whether this testifies to moles directly in front of the Bukoleon Harbour, or whether the wording refers to those breakwaters made of boulders, as they have been handed down for the entire coast

of the city from the Golden Gate to the Gate of St Barbara (Topkapı)⁸⁸. It is only certain that Andronikos passed the Bukoleon Harbour immediately afterwards, because he had to fool the local guards in order to be able to continue his escape to his palace in Vlanga⁸⁹. Explicit archaeological traces are not preserved. However, Mamboury and Wiegand recorded architectural remnants east of the Tower of Belisarius (»n« in fig. 2). These have either not been considered by researchers or have been interpreted as the foundation for the statue of fighting animals, which supposedly provided the name for the harbour⁹⁰. From this structure, which is no longer preserved today, we only know a photograph (although not relevant for the question) and the description of Mamboury and Wiegand as »an isolated foundation of quarry stone with brick mortar, above it four brick layers«⁹¹. On this basis, Ginalis and Ercan-Kydonakis presumed that it was a breakwater, on which the sea wall continued and which formed a mole towards the harbour basin. They further argued that it might have been an »arched mole« in the Roman tradition⁹². The only pictorial evidence is again found in the *vedute* of Constantinople created after the original by Cristoforo Buondelmonti (after 1420). The »Harbour of the former Imperial Palace« (*portus olim palatii imperatoris*) has two moles, which, depending on the manuscript, protrude semicircularly or diagonally into the sea and on which walls are visible (fig. 23)⁹³. To what extent the schematic representation reflects the real architecture has to remain open⁹⁴.

The Phiale

In connection with the Bukoleon harbour, Constantine VII mentioned a locality serving several purposes that he called Phiale. Firstly, the Emperor boarded his dromon there⁹⁵. Secondly, it was the place where the sailors of the imperial fleet lined up and applauded the Emperor for celebrating the festival of the Brumalia. On this occasion, they were traditionally

78 Ginalis/Ercan-Kydonakis, Reflections on the Archaeology, in this volume.

79 Mamboury/Wiegand, Kaiserpaläste 13.

80 Ginalis/Ercan-Kydonakis, Reflections on the Archaeology, in this volume.

81 Corbett, Buildings 169 (fig. 33) and Müller-Wiener, Häfen 10 (fig. 1) argue for a smaller facility, which was restricted to the eastern angle. This is to be rejected not only for reasons of scale: the eastern archway of the monumental stairwell would also be outside the harbour area.

82 The description does rather not refer to the neighbouring, larger Harbour of Sophia: the relevant passage describes how Michael V (1041-1042) had his disgraced uncle, the *orphanotrophos* John, brought directly to the palace by ship. Even before the ship docked, the Emperor, from a viewpoint of the palace, had it stopped by raising his hand. Another dromon drove out of the harbour, taking John on board and directly into exile: Michael Psellos, Chronographia V 14 (87 Reinsch).

83 See pp. 86-89 below.

84 Ioannes Skylitzes, Synopsis 207 (Thurn).

85 Anna Komnene, Alexias III 1, 5 (89 Reinsch/Kambylis): ἀγχοῦ τῶν τούτου τευχῶν λιμὴν δι' ἐγχορήγου καὶ μαριάρων πάλαι τῶν χρόνων ὤκοδόμητο. – Translation: Sewter, Alexiad 81.

86 Michael Glykas, Annales 573 (Bekker): πρὸς τὸν χειροποίητον κάτωθεν τοῦ παλατίου λιμένα.

87 Niketas Choniates, Historia 129 (van Diäten): διατίθησιν Ἀνδρόνικος τὰς στάλικας εἰς κλίμακας, καὶ διὰ μεσοπυργίου χαλασθεῖς ἀκάτιον εἰσεῖσιν ἐκ συνθήματος

περὶ τὰς ἀκτὰς σαλεύον καὶ τοὺς προβλήτας, οἱ τὸ παράλον τεῖχος τῆς πόλεως διελήφασιν, τὰς τῶν κυμάτων ἀποθραύοντες ἐμβολὰς.

88 Michael Glykas, Annales 464 (Bekker): Γίνωσκε δέ, ἀγαπητέ, ὅτι τῆς πόλεως ἐξιουμένης καθ' ὃν ἐκτίζετο καιρὸν λίθοι παρὰ λιθοξόων ἐτιμήθησαν, οὓς προτείχισμα διὰ τὴν τῆς θαλάσσης βίαν ἔθεντο, ἀπὸ τῆς Βαρβάρας σχεδὸν ἕως αὐτῆς τῆς χρυσῆς πόρτης ἐντὸς τὸ τεῖχος φυλάσσοντας. – Cf. Patria Konstantinupoleos III 215 (283 Preger). – Guillard, Palais du Boukoléon 25.

89 Niketas Choniates, Historia 130 (van Diäten). – On the area of Vlanga, see Guillard, Études de Topographie 88-94. 106-109. 140; Janin, Constantinople 325 and Külzer, Harbour of Theodosius, in this volume.

90 Mamboury/Wiegand, Kaiserpaläste 5: »Es wird kaum bezweifelt werden können, daß diese einstige Insel identisch ist mit jener, die in dieser Gegend die berühmte Gruppe des einen Stier packenden Löwen trug, die dem ganzen Palastteil die Bezeichnung Bukoleon gegeben hat.«

91 Mamboury/Wiegand, Kaiserpaläste 5, photographs *ibid.* pl. XXXV.

92 See Ginalis/Ercan-Kydonakis, Reflections on the Archaeology, in this volume.

93 Gerola, Vedute 255 as well as the variations of the view reproduced here.

94 Effenberger, Illustrationen 28 does not go into detail although describing the shape of the moles on the plan. – van Millingen, Walls 269 assumes a realistic interpretation.

95 Konstantinos Porphyrogennetos, De admin. imp. 51, Z. 141-142 (252 Moravcsik/Jenkins): Καὶ εἰσερχομένου τοῦ βασιλέως ἐν τῇ φιάλῃ ἐν τῷ δρομωίῳ.

thrown a purse of silver coins »from above«⁹⁶. Possibly, the Emperor took advantage of the balcony in the western corner from which he could throw the purse to a representative of the sailors standing on the quay below. The regular payment of the sailors also took place directly at the harbour⁹⁷. A third purpose of the Phiale was that the *protospatharios* of the Phiale would daily hold court there to settle disputes within the corps of imperial sailors⁹⁸. Vogt considered the Phiale to be a building, probably a *porticus* directly on the sea⁹⁹, but it was more likely to have been an open space.

The term »phiale« means a shallow bowl in classical Greek¹⁰⁰, but in Byzantine times, it had mostly come to mean a fountain or ornamental basin¹⁰¹. Zakythinos suggested that the term was to be understood metaphorically and referred to the basin of the palace harbour¹⁰². Jenkins accepted this suggestion and concluded that the name »Bukoleon« could go back to a corruption of *baukalion*, a synonym of *phiale*¹⁰³. Mango, however, argued for a square with an ornamental fountain¹⁰⁴, citing a passage in Theophanes Continuatus as proof, which indeed mentions such a square (*lithine phiale*, λιθινή φιάλη). Although this passage refers to the Phiale of the Greens, which was certainly not at the harbour¹⁰⁵, Mango's hypothesis is to be preferred, especially since there were at least three squares in the palace area called Phiale, and they had neither large pools nor access to the sea (see below)¹⁰⁶. A square of greater size was probably indispensable: if both imperial dromons were to run out at the same time, then at least 200 oarsmen and sailors were required to man the ships (see below); the number of high-ranking passengers on such trips cannot be inferred from the sources, but could certainly comprise several dozen people. In addition, a large paved area would fit with Joseph Genesisius's characterisation of the Bukoleon harbour as a »stone [paved?] place« (*lithinos choros*)¹⁰⁷, and the Phiale would have also been large enough to accommodate the apparently numerous animal statues (see above), which could hardly have all fitted on the quayside.

Relative Localisation

The relative position of the Phiale of the Bukoleon – which should not to be confused with the other three *phialai* of the palace¹⁰⁸ – can be reconstructed based on three texts dating



Fig. 23 Depiction of Constantinople according to Cristoforo Buondelmonti. The *portus ollim palatii imperatoris*, with two moles, is on the right side of the picture. – (Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, MS. Lat. XIV.45 (=4595), fol. 123').

to the tenth century¹⁰⁹. The first one is the story of a miracle. The second phase of Iconoclasm ended in 842 with the death of Emperor Theophilos and it is said that the icon of Maria Rhomaia, who had miraculously driven across the sea to Rome some hundred years before, returned to Constantinople in the same way. In the bay of the palace, at the so-called Phiale, the icon was fished out of the water and brought to the Empress and regent Theodora¹¹⁰.

The location of the Phiale in the area of the Bukoleon is also confirmed by the *Vita Euthymii*. Patriarch Nicholas I Mysticus was deposed in 907 for his alleged involvement in the

96 Konstantinos Porphyrogennetos, *De cer.* II 18 (I 601 Reiske = III 155, 32-35 Dagron/Flusin/Feissel: οἱ δὲ ἐλάται τῆς περιουσίας, ἦτοι τῶν βασιλικῶν δρομονίων, κατέρχονται ἐν τῷ βουκολέοντι, καὶ ἴστανται ἐνθα τὸ βασιλικὸν δρομόνιον ἴστανται, εὐφημοῦντες καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ ἄδοντες βασιλίκια τοῦ βρουμαλίου. ῥίπτεται δὲ αὐτοῖς ἄνωθεν ἀποκόμβιον μιλ. σ'. – Pryor/Jeffreys, *Dromon* 188 claim it said »dromon«.

97 Ioannes Skylitzes, *Synopsis* 206 (Thurn): τῆς ῥόγας ποιησάμενος τῶν πλωϊμῶν.

98 Konstantinos Porphyrogennetos, *De admin. imp.* 51, I. 54-60 (248 Moravcsik/Jenkins). – Vogt, *Protospathaire*. – Cf. Guillard, *Plage* 25.

99 Vogt, *Protospathaire* 330, n. 1.

100 LSJ 1930: »bowl«, »pan«, »sauce«, »shield«.

101 See Bouras, *Phialae* with pictures of *phialai*.

102 Zakythinos, *Sphrantzes* 661.

103 Jenkins, *Commentary* 199: »It is possible that a fountain stood on the harbour quay; but it seems more likely that φιάλη here stands for the round »pool« of the artificial harbour itself.«

104 Mango, *Boukoleon* 48.

105 Theophanes Continuatus, *Chronographia* V 90 (296 Ševčenko = 336 Bekker).

106 Ebersolt, *Grand Palais* 100-103. – Cf. also Bréhier, *Institutions* 114 with incorrect identification as »Phiale du Triconque, bâtie par Théophile«.

107 Joseph Genesisios, *Libri regum* I 9 (8 Lesmüller-Werner/Thurn): ἐν χώρῳ λιθίνῳ, ὃς βουκολέων προσαγορεύεται. – Cf. Guillard *Palais du Boukoléon* 24.

108 According to Mango, *Boukoleon* 48 and Bardill, *Visualizing* 31.

109 Cf. Mango, *Boukoleon* 48.

110 Von Dobschütz, *Maria Romaia* 201, Z. 30-31: ὡς δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸν τοῦ παλατίου κόλπον ἀφίκετο, ἐν ᾧ Φιάλη ὁ τόπος ὠνόμαστα.

attempted overthrow of Andronicus Ducas¹¹¹ by Leon VI and banned without further ado, along with several members of the synod. Probably to avoid too much attention, the churchmen were led down to the Phiale to be loaded onto ships¹¹².

The fact that the Phiale was undoubtedly an integral part of the Bukoleon harbour is proven by the third text, which should be used to clarify the question of the location of the Phiale. *De administrando imperio* contains the statement that the emperor used to board his private dromon at the Phiale¹¹³.

Attempt at Absolute Localisation

From what has been said so far, only the location of the Phiale in relation to the harbour can be determined. However, based on the records of Mamboury and Wiegand and the remains of the sea wall *in situ*, a hypothetical location can still be ventured. In the most westerly section of its view, the sea wall was not enhanced with a layer of continuous masonry as part of its seaward reinforcement (W 3, see above). Rather, on its first 50m it had only five arcades with pillars of alternating stone and brick layers. The wall (layer) W 2 directly behind it remained visible until the openings of the arches were walled up in a later phase (figs 3, 7)¹¹⁴. Thus, this section is fundamentally different from the rest of the sea wall, which received another masonry layer. This clear break in the design suggests that the arcade front could have served as a decorative façade of a square, namely the Phiale (fig. 5)¹¹⁵.

The isolated structure »n« in the plans of Mamboury and Wiegand, which has already been discussed in the context of the moles¹¹⁶, can perhaps alternatively be related to this hypothetical ceremonial square (fig. 2). As it is approximately level with the last (easternmost) arcade, the structure could be considered as the south-eastern corner of the Phiale, which would have had a size of about 50m by 50m. This hypothesis can also be found on the map of the Great Palace by Miranda from 1968 (fig. 24), which was added to Guiland's collected writings (although none of the texts refer to the reconstructed square). Even if Ginalis and Ercan-Kydonakis are right in assuming that the structure »n« was part of the sea wall (see above) that enclosed the harbour basin, the existence of a square at the westernmost end cannot be ruled out. It may just have been smaller.

Another indication for locating the Phiale at the western end of the Bukoleon Harbour can be found in the *Vita Euthymii*. In the passage already mentioned above, it is said that the Patriarch was respectfully accompanied down to the Bukoleon Harbour, while the other bishops were led directly to the Phiale. Since it has been shown that the Phiale was undoubtedly a part of the harbour, the different treatment of the clerics was shown in the route taken to the ships. The Patriarch's dignity was respected insofar as he was accompanied to the harbour »with his due honour through the Bukoleon« (μετὰ τῆς πρεπούσης τιμῆς διὰ τοῦ λεγομένου Βουκολέοντος). Presumably, they led him down the staircase E 3b (fig. 19) with the marble steps. If one did not want to bestow this privilege on the other bishops, it was possible to guide them through the portal E 2b to the harbour (πρὸς τὴν πρὸς θάλασσαν καλουμένην Φιάλην). Although this exit to the west did not lead directly to the hypothetical place that was assumed to be the Phiale above, it would have been closer to it than the monumental staircase.

The Protospatharios of the Phiale

Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos mentioned the office of the *protospatharios tēs Phialēs*, whose principal task was to act as a judge in any disputes between the sailors of the private imperial flotilla each afternoon at the so-called Phiale¹¹⁸. This is at least the situation that is evidenced for the tenth century: the office is mentioned exclusively in *De administrando imperio*, and we know of seven officeholders and their careers between c. 902 and 921 (tab. 1)¹¹⁹.

The office of the *protospatharios* of the Phiale had always been awarded by imperial appointment (βασιλικὸν ὀφφίκιον), according to Constantine VII¹²⁰. Since it is not mentioned in the rankings of the ninth and tenth centuries, it seems to have been understood as a mere judge's office and not as court title. Until the reign of Romanos I Lakapenos (920-944), the *protospatharios* was in charge of the oarsmen of both the red and the black ships of the emperor, but not those of the empress's ships, for which the chief of the board (*ho tes trapezes*) was responsible¹²². Romanos, who had ascended the throne as *droungarios* of the fleet, ended this division of powers. In order to minimise the risk of coup attempts

111 Bourdara, Kathosiosis 49-54 (no. 14).

112 Vita Euthymii XIII 5 (87-89 Karlin-Hayter): Παρευθὺ τούτους οἱ ἐκείσε παριστάμενοι τῶν βασιλειῶν καταγαγόντες καὶ πρὸς τὴν πρὸς θάλασσαν καλουμένην Φιάλην καταγαγόντες, ἐν πλοίοις ἐμβαλόντες ἀπαντας ὑπερώρισαν, τὸν δὲ γέ πατριάρχην μετὰ τῆς πρεπούσης τιμῆς διὰ τοῦ λεγομένου Βουκολέοντος κατέβαντες, ἐν ἀκατίῳ ἐμβαλόντες τῇ αὐτοῦ μονῇ τῇ ἐν ταῖς Γαλακρήναις ἀποκατέστησαν.

113 Konstantinos Porphyrogennetos, De admin. imp. 51, l. 141-142 (252 Moravcsik/Jenkins).

114 Mamboury/Wiegand, Kaiserpaläste 3. – Bolognesi Recchi Franceschini, Fourth Season 17. – Bolognesi Recchi Franceschini, Chronological Phases 411. – Bolognesi Recchi Franceschini, End of Survey 156.

115 I thank Antoine Helbert for the graphical realisation of this hypothesis.

116 See above 122.

117 Ginalis/Ercan-Kydonakis, Reflections on the Archaeology, in this volume.

118 Konstantinos Porphyrogennetos, De admin. imp. 51 (248 Moravcsik/Jenkins): Ὁ οὖν προρρηθεὶς πρωτοσπαθᾶριος τῆς φιάλης καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν καὶ καθ' ἐκάστην δειλὴν ἀπὸ παλαιοῦ τύπου κατήρχετο καὶ ἐκαθέζετο ἐν τῇ φιάλῃ (διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ ἐλέγετο πρωτοσπαθᾶριος τῆς φιάλης), καὶ τὰς ἀναμεταξὺ δίκας τῶν ἐλατῶν τῶν τε ἀγρᾶριων καὶ τῶν δρομωνίων, τῶν παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐξουσιαζομένων, ἐκρινεν καὶ κατὰ τὸ δίκαιον ἐδίκαζεν τε καὶ ἐδιοίκει.

119 Konstantinos Porphyrogennetos, De admin. imp. 51 (248-256 Moravcsik/Jenkins). – On the question of dating, see the elaborate commentary by Jenkins, Commentary 199-200.

120 Konstantinos Porphyrogennetos, De admin. imp. 51 (248 Moravcsik/Jenkins).

121 Jenkins, Commentary 199. – Oikonomidēs, Listes.

122 Konstantinos Porphyrogennetos, De admin. imp. 51, l. 47-51, 65-68 (248 Moravcsik/Jenkins): τοὺς ἐλάτας τῶν βασιλικῶν ἀγρᾶριων, ρουσιων τε καὶ μαύρων, ἀνευ τῶν ἀγρᾶριων τῆς αὐγούστης [...] τὰ γὰρ ἀγρᾶρια τῆς αὐγούστης, τὰ τε ρούσια καὶ μαύρα, ἐπεκράτει καὶ ἐξουσιαζεν ὁ τῆς τραπέζης τῆς αὐγούστης.

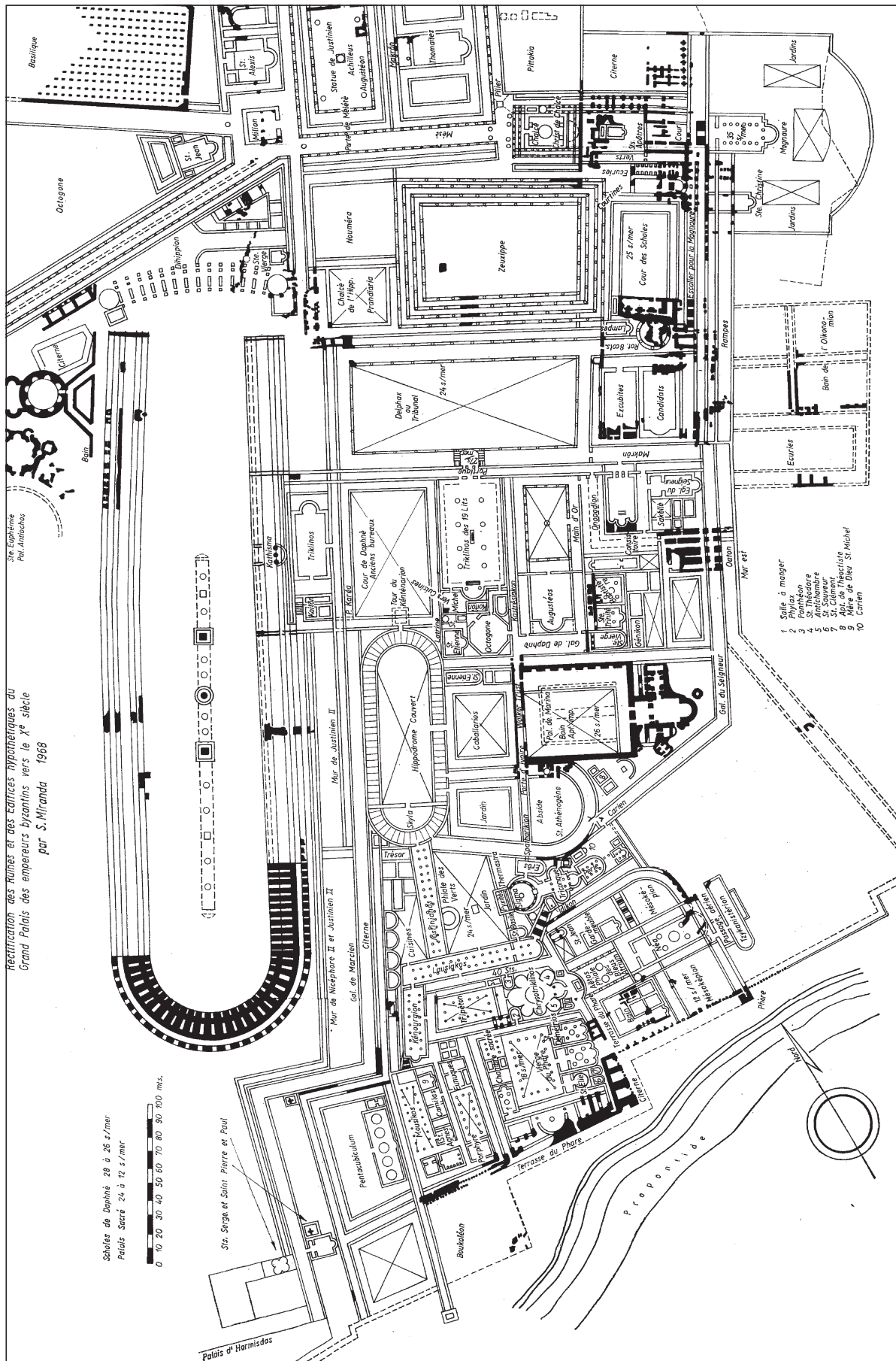


Fig. 24 The palace complex according to Guiland/Miranda with a hypothetical square at the western end of the Harbour of the Bukoleon Palace. – (From Guiland, Topographie II, map insert).

Incumbent	Incumbency	Career stages handed down	PMbZ
Ioannes »Thalasson«	(?-c. 902)	πρωτοσπαθάριος τῆς Φιάλης	#22850
Podaron	(c. 902-?)	πρωτελάτης πρωτελάτης τοῦ ἀγραρίου τοῦ βασιλέως πρωτοκάραβος τοῦ (δευτέρου) δρομωνίου πρωτοσπαθάριος τῆς Φιάλης τοποτηρήτης τοῦ βασιλικοῦ πλωϊμοῦ στρατηγὸς ἐν τῷ θέματι τῶν Κιβυρραιωτῶν	#26705
Leo V the Armenian	(?-913)	πρωτελάτης πρωτελάτης τοῦ ἀγραρίου τοῦ βασιλέως πρωτοκάραβος τοῦ (δευτέρου) δρομωνίου πρωτοσπαθάριος τῆς Φιάλης τοποτηρήτης τοῦ βασιλικοῦ πλωϊμοῦ	#24390
Theophylaktos Bimbilidis	(pre-913 – pre-916)	πρωτοσπαθάριος τῆς Φιάλης	#28202
Michael »Gerōn«	(c. 916 – c. 918)	δευτεροελάτης τοῦ ἀγραρίου Βασιλείου πρωτελάτης τῷ τότε καιρῷ τοῦ δρομωνίου πρωτοκάραβος τοῦ πρώτου δρομωνίου πρωτοσπαθάριος τῆς Φιάλης	#25146
Theodotos	(c. 918-922)	πρωτελάτης πρωτοκάραβος πρωτοσπαθάριος τῆς Φιάλης	#27969
Konstantinos Lorikatos	(922-?)	πρωτοκάραβος πρωτοσπαθάριος τῆς Φιάλης	#23832

Tab. 1 The *protospatharioi tes Phiales* according to *De administrando imperio*. – (D. Heher).

by the sailors of the imperial flotilla, these were henceforth all subordinate to the protokarabos of the imperial dromon (πρωτοκάραβος τοῦ βασιλικοῦ δρομωνίου), who now *ex officio* – and no longer as before by tradition – became the *protospatharios* of the Phiale¹²³.

The Lighthouse

The main lighthouse (*pharos*) of Constantinople was inside the walls of the great palace. The earliest implicit clue to its existence can be found in the Chronicle of Theophanes, whose entry for the year of the world 6261 (AD 769) contains the first mention of the Church of the Virgin of the Pharos¹²⁴. In addition to its task as a nocturnal reference point for sailors, the Pharos is said to have functioned in the ninth century as the far end of that ominous communication system between

Constantinople and Tarsus, which is sometimes described in the research literature as a »fire telegraph«¹²⁵. Without being able to go into detail here, it should have been possible by means of this »telegraph« to communicate news of important events in Syria (war, Arab raids, etc.) on a direct route to Constantinople¹²⁶. The *Chronicle of Symeon the Logothete* names Leon, a philosopher who lived in the first half of the ninth century, as the inventor of the system. The fire telegraph was allegedly – at least partially – shut down under Michael III (842-867). The sources unanimously assume that he had been worried that the announcement of an Arab invasion could disturb the audience and distract from his athletic performance in chariot races¹²⁷. This is certainly once again a deliberate attempt to defame the Emperor at a later date¹²⁸, but after the important victory against the Arabs at Poson in 863, there may indeed have been a reduced need for rapid communication¹²⁹. It may also well be that Michael

123 Konstantinos Porphyrogenetos, *De admin. imp.* 51, l. 189-191 (254-256 Moravcsik/Jenkins): πάντας τοὺς ἐλάτας τῶν τε δρομωνίων βασιλικῶν τε καὶ αὐγουσσιατικῶν ἀγραρίων καὶ εἶναι καὶ πρωτοσπαθάριον τῆς φιάλης. – Jenkins, *Commentary* 203. – See also Theophanes Continuatus, *Chronographia* 400 (Bekker).

124 Theophanes, *Chronographia* 444 (de Boor).

125 Fundamental: Pattenden, *Warning System* (with literature also for the discussion of the localisation of the individual relay stations). – Aschoff, *Feuertelegraph* (with considerations of technical feasibility). – Aschoff, *Nachrichtentechnik* 71-89. – See also Zuckerman, *Apparatus bellicus* 361-369.

126 How exactly the information was transmitted is unclear. On the different theories, see Zuckerman, *Apparatus bellicus* 361-362. 365-367.

127 Theophanes Continuatus, *Chronographia* IV 35 (280 Featherstone/Codoñer = 197-198 Bekker) assumes the races started in the Hippodrome of the Mamas

Palace. The *Chronicle of Symeon Logothete* speaks only of the »Hippodrome«, and it is not clear from the *Book of Ceremonies* whether the races were to take place in the Mamas Palace, or after the return from a procession to the Church of St Mamas. In any case, from the Hippodrome in the city centre, one would have had a direct view of the beacon of the nearby Pharos in the south. Pattenden, *Warning System* 285-289 in his detailed analysis of the temporal horizon apparently conjectures the great Hippodrome.

128 Michael III was murdered by his favourite Basil (I), who founded the so-called Macedonian dynasty (Kislinger, *Eudokia Ingerina* 127-133). The historiography of the Macedonian Emperors was at the service of a debt relief of Basil by posthumous character assassination of his predecessor. See Kislinger, *Image*.

129 Pattenden, *Warning System* 266.

only forbade the lighting of »beacons in the vicinity of Constantinople« (τοὺς πλησιάζοντας φανούς)¹³⁰.

What information can be discovered about the Pharos? First, it is clear that it was inside the palace walls¹³¹. After being sent across Asia Minor, the fire signal finally arrived at the »Heliakos of the Pharos in the Palace« (ἐδέχεται ὁ ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ τοῦ Φάρου ἡλιακός)¹³². Several *diaitarioi*¹³³ served there on guard and would now light the fire on the Pharos¹³⁴ from where it spread to smaller relay stations¹³⁵. The *diaitarioi* were under the command of the palace master, the *papias*, who probably conveyed the message to the emperor in case of emergency¹³⁶. Incidentally, »Heliakos« can neither be regarded as an epithet of the Pharos nor can it be translated literally (»solar pharos«¹³⁸). Rather, it meant the terrace on which the Pharos was located. Precisely this is also addressed in a processional order in the Book of Ceremonies, which led through the eastern gate of Chrysotriklinos via the Heliakos of the Pharos and the Heliakos of the Nea Ekklesia and the Great Triklinos down to the Tzykanisterion¹³⁹.

In the attempt to specify the location of the Pharos, it should also be taken into account that the lighthouse must have been positioned in the immediate vicinity of the Church of the Virgin of the Pharos, which, as mentioned before, is first documented in the year 769¹⁴⁰. Although there are no architectural remains of the church, following Bardill's reconstruction from the written sources, it can be located near the top of the imperial landing stairs, thus on a terrace 11 m above sea level (fig. 6)¹⁴¹.

This is also supported by Cristoforo Buondelmonti in 1420: he had seen the ruins of a marble lighthouse of enormous size located on a raised position above the imperial har-



Fig. 25 The lighthouse with beacons in the Skylitzes Matritensis, fol. 77^v. Biblioteca Nacional de España, MS Gr. Vitr. 26-2, 77^v. – (From Tsamakda, Skylitzes fig. 189).

bour¹⁴². The phrase »the harbour below the Pharos« (κατὰ τὸν Φάρον λιμένος) in Georgios Pachymeres's case also suggests a higher position, if indeed the Bukoleon Harbour is meant¹⁴³. An anonymous Russian pilgrim also noted that a high column that rose above the coast and carried a structure on four stone columns – this can only be the Pharos – had been destroyed during Latin rule (1204-1261)¹⁴⁴. A single pictorial representation of the Pharos comes once again from the *Skylitzes Matritensis* (fig. 25), on which it is depicted as a tower-like building with four small structures on its top. That the lighthouse in its entirety seems to be on fire is probably due to a misunderstanding of the signal fire on the part of the miniature painter.

130 Theophanes Continuatus, Chronographia IV 35 (280 Featherstone/Codoñer = 198 Bekker). – See also John Skylitzes, Synopsis 108 (Thurn): προσέταξέ μηκέτ' ἐνεργεῖν τοὺς τῆ βασιλίδι γειτονοῦντας φρυκτούς.

131 Pattenden, Warning System 258 incorrectly claims that the »beacon nearest to the city« signaled the invasion.

132 Konstantinos Porphyrogenetos, De exped. C 628 (134 Haldon) = De cer. II 493 (Reiske): καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν ἐδέχεται ὁ ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ τοῦ Φάρου ἡλιακός, καὶ ἦπτε καὶ αὐτός. – Cf. Pseudo-Symeon, Annales 197-198 (Bekker).

133 Konstantinos Porphyrogenetos, De exped. C 628 (134 Haldon): διαίταριοι γὰρ ἐκέισε βίγλας αἰεὶ καὶ πάντοτε κρατοῦντες.

134 Konstantinos Porphyrogenetos, De exped. C 628 (134 Haldon).

135 As soon as all the fires burned (τῶν φανῶν τούτων πάντων ἀψάντων), mobilization would have begun in the imperial stables outside Constantinople: Konstantinos Porphyrogenetos, De exped. C 631-633 (134 Haldon) = De cer. II 493 (Reiske)

136 Theophanes Continuatus IV 35 (280 Featherstone/Codoñer = 198 Bekker) ὁ ἐκ τοῦ Φάρου φανὸς διὰ τοῦ παππίου ἐδήλου τὴν τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐκδρομὴν. On the office of the *papias* and his subordinates, see ODB III, 1580.

137 According to Aschoff, Feuertelegraph 9 and Aschoff, Nachrichtentechnik 75, where the terms remained untranslated: »Als Empfangsstation wird der pharos ἡλιακός (sic) im großen Palast zu Konstantinopel genannt.« The translation of the passage by Aschoff contains many inaccuracies.

138 Konstantinos Porphyrogenetos, De exped. C 628, translation: 135 Haldon.

139 Konstantinos Porphyrogenetos, De cer. II 15 (I 586 Reiske = III 129, 400-403 Dagron/Flusin/Feissel): καὶ τοῦ χρυσοτρικλίνου ἐξέσαν τὰς ἀνατολικὰς πύλας τοῦ χρυσοτρικλίνου, καὶ διὰ τοῦ ἡλιακοῦ τοῦ Φάρου ἐξεληθόντες, κατήλθον διὰ τοῦ ἡλιακοῦ τῆς νέας καὶ τοῦ μεγάλου τρικλίνου εἰς τὸ τζυκανιστήριον. – Cf. Bardill, Visualizing 33. 36-37. 39.

140 Theophanes, Chronographia 444 (de Boor). See also Theophanes Continuatus, Chronographia I 10 (32 Featherstone/Codoñer = 19 Bekker): τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ τεμένισμα, ὁ Φάρος κατονομάζεται ἀπὸ τοῦ φῶς ἀνάπτειν πᾶσι καὶ κατὰ τὰς νύκτας χειραγωγεῖν ἐπὶ καταγωγὰς πινὰς ἀσφαλεῖς, ἀντίμιμον τοῦ κατὰ τὴν

Ἀλεξάνδρεια ὄντα τε καὶ λεγόμενον, τὴν αὐτοῦ εὐμένεια χωρεῖ ἐκκαλούμενος. – Cf. John Skylitzes, Synopsis 8 (Thurn). – On the dating, see Magdalino, L'eglise du Phare 16. – Jenkins/Mango, Homily 134-135. – Janin, Sièges 241 assumed (without evidence), as did Ebersolt, Grand Palais 104-109, a foundation under Konstantinos V (741-755).

141 Bardill, Visualizing 30-31. 35-36 and fig. 10. However, I am not sure whether from Nikolaos Mesarites, Palastrevolution 16 (33 Heisenberg), one can really conclude the relation of the Pharos to the church: κατηγυθῆ γούν μοι τοῦτο περὶ τὰ τοῦ νεῦ ἐνησχολημένω μεσημβρινά. ἀνερπύσαντες γὰρ τινες διὰ τοῦ περὶ τὸν λουτρῶνα τοῖχου, ἔπου περ ἐώραται ὁ φανός, διὰ τῶν φωτιστικῶν ἐπεχείρουν εἰσδύναί ἐπὶ τὰ ἄδυτα. – Also, Öner/Kostenec, Walking Thru 148-149, place the church (# 82) and the Pharos (# 80) at the top of the landing stairs. – Recently, Westbrook (Great Palace 232) argued against Bardill's hypothesis, but most of his arguments are based on the erroneous assumption that Bardill wants to locate the lighthouse on the terrace at 16 m above sea level (while Bardill, Visualizing 36 clearly states that he favours a location on the 11 m terrace. – Magdalino, L'eglise du Phare 16-17 is content with a rough localisation in the »nouau inférieur du Grand Palais, ce qu'on appelait le Palais Sacre ou Palais du Boukoléon«. Magdalino takes the aforementioned lighthouse on the sea wall as the Pharos, but does not comment on the distance between it and the church.

142 Cristoforo Buondelmonti, Librum insularum 65 (121 von Sinner): *Ibique* [at the »Palace of Justinian«, that is, the southern terraces of the Great Palace] *in alto et supra mare erat speculum immensurabilis magnitudinis, circumspicuum a longe nimis, et omnia eius aedificia marmorea in mare videntur prosternata, prope portulum imperatoris dicti.* – Cf. the Greek translation of this text: 65.35-39 (85 Legrand): Πλησίον δὲ τούτου ἐν ὑψηλῷ τινι τόπῳ τῆς θαλάσσης ἔγγυς, καὶ κάτωτρον ἦν μεγέθους πινὸς ἐξαισίου λίαν πόρρωθεν ὀρώμενον. Αἱ γούν ἐν τῷ προλεχθέντι παλατίῳ οἰκοδομαὶ πᾶσαι ἐκ μαρμάρων ἐτύχχανον, ὡς καὶ νῦν ἐστὶν ὄραν αὐτὰ ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ ὑπὸ χρόνου κείμενα.

143 Georgios Pachymeres, Relationes historicae V 19 (II 501 Failler).

144 Majeska, Russian Travelers 142-143. – See also the commentary 245-247.



Fig. 26 The »lighthouse« on the sea wall today. – (Photograph G. Simonov 2016).

Finally, a different attempt to locate the Pharos has to be discussed, which has persisted in the research literature. According to this view, the Pharos was the easternmost tower of the Bukoleon-Harbour, which is still preserved today at a height of 22.5 m (fig. 26)¹⁴⁵. The interpretation of this tower¹⁴⁶, with an approximately square base (front 10.4 m), as the Pharos is mainly based on the fact that there is a masonry fixture at the top of its four storeys, which apparently could have served to ignite a signal fire (fig. 27)¹⁴⁷. Without doubt, the tower was used in Ottoman times as a lighthouse¹⁴⁸, but whether the same applies to the Byzantine period has not yet been clarified¹⁴⁹. Perhaps it was a secondary lighthouse, which can also be assumed for the other harbours in the city, or the fortress took over this function after the great Pharos was destroyed in the thirteenth century. At any rate, the tower cannot be interpreted as *the* Pharos of the palace. In addition to the above statements, the architectural remains argue against this interpretation: a clear joint shows that the tower could have been built only after completion of the outermost layer of the sea wall, i. e., after the first half of the ninth century, while the Virgin's

Church already bore its name »of the lighthouse« in the eighth century¹⁵⁰.

The Emperor's Private Flotilla

The location of the Great Palace at the south-eastern end of Constantinople made it imperative that the emperor and his entourage should cover many of his routes by ship¹⁵¹. Initially, some ships of the fleet were always set aside for this purpose, while later vessels were specially constructed. This private imperial flotilla, consisting of a few ships, was usually anchored in the Bukoleon Harbour¹⁵⁶.

To be distinguished from this are the fighting units of the »imperial fleet« (*to basilikon ploimon*, τὸ βασιλικὸν πλοῖμον)¹⁵². These were the centrepiece of the imperial fleet in the tenth century and operated primarily in the Propontis and the Bosphorus. In case of war, these were reinforced by the naval divisions of the themes. For the campaign against Crete in 911, for example, the imperial fleet contributed 60 dromons, each with a crew of 300, plus 40 *pamphyloi*¹⁵³. At

145 Thus Magdalino, *L'église du Phare* 16-17. – Bolognesi Recchi Franceschini, *Gran Palazzo* 239-240. – Bolognesi Recchi Franceschini, *Monumental Itinerary* 55. – Bolognesi Recchi Franceschini, *Fourth Season* 20. – Bolognesi Recchi Franceschini, *Seventh Survey* 139. – Mango, *Boukoleon* 45. – Westbrook, *Great Palace* 232-233. – More sceptical Makris, *Studien* 187-188. – Janin, *Constantinople* 409 locates the Pharos a little east of the so-called House of Justinian (for its location, see figs 7, 10), but does not seem to refer to the tower of the sea wall. – Guillard, *Palais d'Hormisdas* 236-237 and Guillard, *Terrasse du Phare* 88-90 (both reprinted in Guillard, *Études de Topographie I* 294-333) places it in the southeast corner of the terrace named after it, not on the sea wall. – Müller-Wiener, *Häfen* 10 also sees only a smaller, additional lighthouse in the tower of the sea wall.

146 Cf. Karnapp, *Leuchtturm* 8-12. – Makris, *Studien* 187.

147 Bolognesi Recchi Franceschini, *Seventh Survey* 139 and fig. 5. – Bolognesi Recchi Franceschini, *Monumental Itinerary* 54.

148 Bardill, *Visualizing* 35.

149 Karnapp, *Leuchtturm* 12 dates the construction to the Ottoman period. – On the use as a lighthouse under the Ottomans, see Mamboury/Wiegand, *Kaiserpaläste* 14.

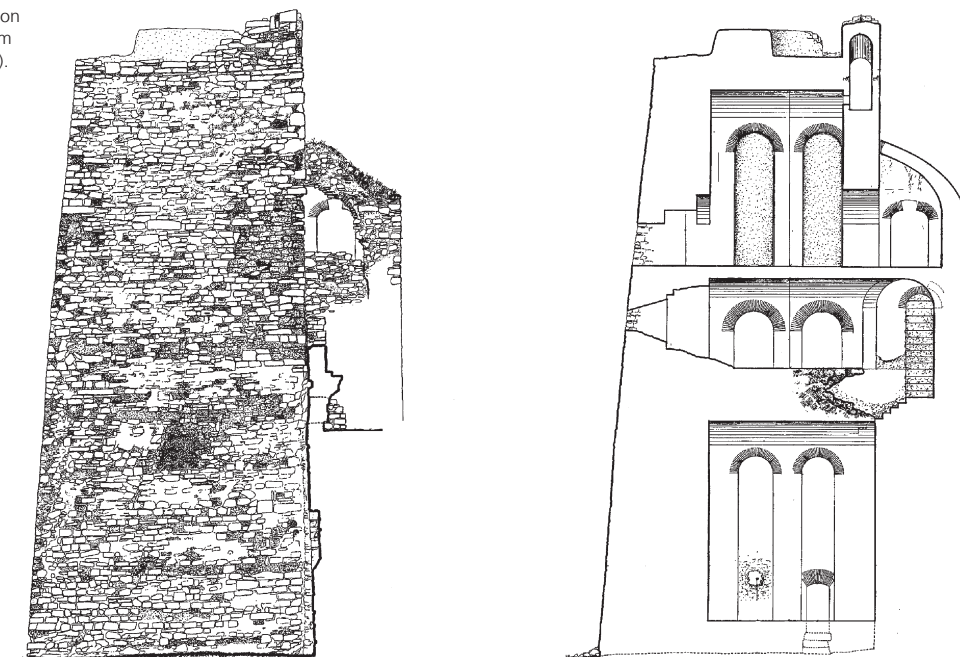
150 The tower thus falls into the same phase of construction as the so-called House of Justinian and the landing stairs and seems to have simply served as the eastern end of the harbour in this phase of redesigning the seaward palace facade. – On the questions of relative dating, see Mamboury/Wiegand, *Kaiserpaläste* 14-15. Bolognesi Recchi Franceschini, *Fourth Season* 20. – Bolognesi Recchi Franceschini, *Seventh Survey* 137-139.

151 There is not yet a comprehensive study on this special unit of the Byzantine fleet, but see Böhm, *Eskadra cesarska*.

152 Cf. Konstantinos Porphyrogenetos, *De admin. imp.* 51 (246-256 Moravcsik/Jenkins). – Belke/Soustal, *De administrando imperio* 250-259. – Jenkins, *Commentary* 195-205. – On the development of imperial fleet, see Ahrweiler, *Byzanz et la mer* 157-158 and recently Kislinger, *Ruhm*.

153 Konstantinos Porphyrogenetos, *De cer.* II 44 (II 651 Reiske = III 297, 20-25 Dagron/Flusin/Feissel). – Haldon, *Theory and Practice* 334-335.

Fig. 27 Graphic rendering and cross-section of the »lighthouse« on the sea wall. – (From Bolognesi Recchi Franceschini, *Südareal* 86).



the time of the next expedition against Crete in 949, it comprised a total of 150 units¹⁵⁴ of 108 (or 110) oarsmen each, of which 24 units were stationed with their ships directly in the greater Constantinople area¹⁵⁵.

Reserved Warships

At least from the reign of Basil I, but possibly earlier, the Byzantine emperors covered long distances by *chelandion*¹⁵⁶, for example to Pegai, to Hebdomon, to Hiereia, Bryas or Prousa¹⁵⁷. This would have been one of the ten ships that the contingent »of the Bosphorus« (*ton Stenon*¹⁵⁸) of the navy had to provide for the use of the emperor (χελάνδια βασιλικοπλώμα) and which were stationed in the Bosphorus¹⁵⁹. On a second warship, the rest of the court could follow the emperor¹⁶⁰. The sailors of the *Stenon* (ἀπὸ τῶν Στενιτῶν πλωτῶν) served as oarsmen, and the crew of the imperial *agraria* – discussed in the next passage – were called in¹⁶¹.

Barges (*Agraria*)

The *agraria* was the alternative to deploying warships. The term originally referred to fishing boats and cargo ships¹⁶², but the imperial *agraria* was a barge used for shorter trips along the coast of Constantinople¹⁶³, probably anchored at Bukoleon Harbour. Like many other objects of exclusive imperial use, the ship was coloured red (ῥούσιον ἀργάριον). Whether this related to the hull or the sails and rigging must remain open¹⁶⁴. Overall, the imperial private flotilla included several *agraria*, as both the emperor and the empress had several barges – red and black¹⁶⁵. For the imperial *agraria* there was a separate crew whose disputes the *protospatharios* of the Phiale negotiated and which received bonuses, at least during the festival of the Brumalia¹⁶⁶.

154 Οὐσία. On the discussion of this controversial term in research, see Pryor/Jeffreys, *Dromon* 255-257. 150.

155 Konstantinos Porphyrogenetos, *De cer.* II 45 (II 664-665 Reiske = III 317-321, 44-77 Dagron/Flusin/Feissel). – Pryor/Jeffreys, *Dromon* 255-259. – Jenkins, *Commentary* 195-196.

156 Konstantinos Porphyrogenetos, *De admin. imp.* 51 (246 Moravcsik/Jenkins). In most Byzantine texts, the terms *chelandion* and *dromon* both refer to fast warships. If a conscious distinction is made, *chelandia* seem to have rather fulfilled transport functions (cavalry). See in detail Pryor/Jeffreys, *Dromon* 166-170. 188-192 and Ahrweiler, *Byzance et la mer* 408-418.

157 On these places, see Konstantinos Porphyrogenetos, *De admin. imp.* 51 (256 Moravcsik/Jenkins), see Jenkins, *Commentary* 197. – On Hebdomon, see Simeonov, *Hebdomon*, in this volume.

158 Cf. Janin, *Constantinople* 479. – Koder, *Aigaion Pelagos* 80.

159 Konstantinos Porphyrogenetos, *De admin. imp.* 51 (246 Moravcsik/Jenkins). – cf. Jenkins, *Commentary* 195-196. – Belke/Soustal, *De administrando imperio* 250 n. 550. – Ahrweiler, *Byzance et la mer* 403.

160 Konstantinos Porphyrogenetos, *De admin. imp.* 51 (246 Moravcsik/Jenkins): τὸ καὶ πλείονας ἄρχοντας εἰσέρχασθαι μετὰ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τοὺς ὑπολοίπους.

161 Konstantinos Porphyrogenetos, *De admin. imp.* 51 (246 Moravcsik/Jenkins).

162 Jenkins, *Commentary* 196. – Belke/Soustal, *De administrando imperio* 250 n. 548. – Ahrweiler, *Byzance et la mer* 409-410.

163 Konstantinos Porphyrogenetos, *De admin. imp.* 51 (246 Moravcsik/Jenkins). – Ahrweiler, *Byzance et la mer* 157.

164 Jenkins, *Commentary* 196. – Vogt, *Protospathaire* 329 claims that while the emperor's ship was only red, the empress's ship was red and black in colour. Therefore, the sailors of the empress were called »the black ones«, and those of the emperor »the red ones«. This cannot be supported by any of the sources.

165 Konstantinos Porphyrogenetos, *De admin. imp.* 51, I. 47-51 (248 Moravcsik/Jenkins). – Cf. Belke/Soustal, *De administrando imperio* 253 n. 556.

166 Konstantinos Porphyrogenetos, *De cer.* II 18 (II 601 Reiske = III 155-157, 32-43 Dagron/Flusin/Feissel). – Jenkins, *Commentary* 200. – Theophanes Continuatus, *Chronographia* V 25 (96-98 Ševčenko = 208 Bekker).

Imperial Dromons

In 895 at the latest¹⁶⁷, Leon VI (886-912) apparently created a special form of the dromon with the construction of an imperial dromonion (βασιλικὸν δρομώνιον), which was equally suitable for all travel¹⁶⁸. The so-called *Oneirocriticon of Achmet*, a dreambook, which was probably written at about that time¹⁶⁹, reflects this development: in addition to the still existing imperial warships (βασιλικά πλοῖα τὰ εἰς πόλεμον), the dreambook referred to two ships (apparently the agraria), one of which belonged to the emperor and the other to the empress, and finally it mentioned the imperial dromon (τὸν βασιλικὸν δρόμωνα), which stands in dreams as a symbol for the empress. If the Emperor dreams that he would have a new dromon made, then he would part with his wife. Although the *Oneirocriticon* also implied that the emperor could build other dromons for private use (εἰ δὲ ἴδῃ, ὅτι ἔκτισε δρόμωνα ἰδίου), these only represent concubines in dreams and thus are of secondary importance¹⁷⁰.

As reason for the construction of the imperial *dromonion*, Constantine VII stated that the *agraria* was not sufficient to carry all *magistroi*, *patrikioi* and other dignitaries. The Emperor was usually only accompanied during voyages on the *agraria* by the commander of the guard (ὁ δρουγγάριος τῆς βίγλης), the admiral of the fleet (ὁ δρουγγάριος τοῦ πλωῖμου), the *logothetes tou dromou* (ὁ λογοθέτης τοῦ δρόμου), the *hetaireiarches*, the private secretary (ὁ μυστικός) and the Secretary of the Petitions (ὁ [μυστικός] τῶν δεήσεων), the *domestikos of the scholai* (ὁ δομέστικος τῶν σχολῶν), and, if he was in Constantinople, the chamberlain (ὁ παρακοιμώμενος), the *protobestiarios* (ὁ πρωτοβεστιάριος) and several *koitonitoi* (ἐκ τῶν κοιτωνιτῶν)¹⁷¹.

Although the new *dromonion* could accommodate a larger number of courtiers than the *agraria*, Leon ordered the construction of another ship of the same type, which was christened *akolouthos* (ἀκόλουθος, meaning »Pursuer« or »Companion«), in order to transport an even larger entourage¹⁷². The *agraria* also remained part of the imperial private flotilla. The empress retained her own ships, the crew of which was subordinated to the command of the *protokarabos* of the imperial dromon since the reign of Romanos I (920-944)¹⁷³.

The estimated size of a heavy dromon of the eleventh century varies from between 31.25 m × 4.50 m¹⁷⁴ and 40.20 m ×

5.90 m¹⁷⁵. The term *dromonion* could be a smaller model of such a dromon¹⁷⁶. Imperial ships are mentioned three times in *De expeditionibus*. Only once, however, are they called »dromonion«, while otherwise the term »dromon« is used. From this, Pryor and Jeffreys concluded that Constantine VII had used both terms synonymously¹⁷⁷. However, the passage in which the ships are called *dromonia* appears to be based on much younger archival material¹⁷⁸. The author may well have made the terminological distinction deliberately, but this differentiation cannot be confirmed in the other sources. In general, the explicit mention of a type of ship called *dromonion* is limited to the work of Constantine VII; later authors use the common terms for warships (dromon and *trieres*) for the imperial ship.

The imperial dromon, in the sense of a specially designed state galley, can only be documented in the sources until the late twelfth century. It should be noted that the imperial dromon was created at a time when this type of ship was at the peak of its technical development. Towards the end of the eleventh century, galleys of western design dominated the Mediterranean. This means that in the course of the twelfth century, Byzantine sources start to use the term »dromon« for transport ships, while the fast warships are encountered with the antiquated term »triremes« or generalised as »ships«¹⁷⁹. The end of dromons as a standard ship of the Byzantine navy probably also caused their removal from the imperial fleet. The last certain indication of the existence of a special imperial dromon dates back to 1147, when King Conrad III demanded of Manuel I »the imperial dromon and the usual warships reserved for the imperial majesty« for the crossing of the Bosphorus befitting his rank¹⁸⁰.

Writing a history of the imperial dromon is particularly complicated by the decreased differentiation of naval units in the sources after the tenth century. The navy was considerably reduced soon after the successful breaking of Arab supremacy at sea by the reconquest of Crete (961) and Cilicia (959-969)¹⁸¹. In military operations, the fleets of the themes appear to have been on their own as early as the first half of the eleventh century¹⁸². Around 1040, a fire destroyed a large part of the remaining Constantinopolitan central fleet, the remains of which had to be supplemented by cargo ships during the attack of the Rus' in 1043¹⁸³. As a result, military defeats and continued neglect meant that the former imperial central fleet merged with the ships of the imperial private

167 Michael Barkalas (PmbZ # 25147) after his exploits in the fight against the Bulgarians (probably 895) was promoted to δευτεροελάτης εἰς τὸ βασιλικὸν δρομώνιον: Konstantinos Porphyrogenetos, De admin. imp. 51, l. 125 (252 Moravcsik/Jenkins). – On the dating, see Jenkins, Commentary 200-201.

168 Konstantinos Porphyrogenetos, De admin. imp. 51 (246 Moravcsik/Jenkins). – Jenkins, Commentary 196.

169 Mavroudi, *Oneirocriticon* 5 with dating to the late 9th to 10th c.

170 Achmetis *Oneirokritikon* 180 (141 Drexl).

171 Konstantinos Porphyrogenetos, De admin. imp. 51, l. 27-33 (246 Moravcsik/Jenkins).

172 Konstantinos Porphyrogenetos, De admin. imp. 51 (246 Moravcsik/Jenkins).

173 Belke/Soustal, De administrando imperio 256 n. 563.

174 Pryor/Jeffreys, *Dromon* 244. 248. 292. 312. 373. 448.

175 Bockius, *Dromone*. A model based on these calculations (scale 1:10) is located in the Museum of Ancient Seafaring of the RGZM Mainz (inv. no. 42776).

176 Jenkins, Commentary 196.

177 Pryor/Jeffreys, *Dromon* 164 n. 7; 188 n. 6. – Also Ahrweiler, *Byzance et la mer* 412. 415.

178 Konstantinos Porphyrogenetos, De exped. C, l. 321. 686. 827 (114, 138, 146 Haldon).

179 Pryor/Jeffreys, *Dromon* 407-411.

180 Ioannes Kinnamos, *Epitome* II 16 (79 Meineke): δρόμωνα δὲ τὸν βασιλεῖον καὶ τὰς συνήθεις σταλῆναι οἱ πρὸς βασιλείῳ ἡξίου τρήρεις.

181 Ahrweiler, *Byzance et la mer* 117-118. – Kislinger, *Ruhm* 43-44.

182 Kislinger, *Ruhm*. 44-45.

183 Kislinger, *Ruhm* 46-50.

flotilla into a single (modest) unit at the end of the eleventh century. This is reflected in the sources insofar as most of the warships operating in the vicinity of Constantinople are now considered »imperial triremes«. Whether smaller vessels were used for the »civilian« journeys of the emperor or – as before the eleventh century – individual warships were reserved, must remain open. The increasing abandonment of the definite article in the mention of imperial ships from the late eleventh century may be considered an indication against the existence of a special state galley.

This development also corresponds to the decline of the Bukoleon Harbour. The last event to be clearly located there is the reception of King Amalric I of Jerusalem in 1171, incidentally the only document testifying to the reception of a foreign delegation at the Bukoleon¹⁸⁴. George Pachymeres's

mention of a »harbour below the lighthouse« is our last piece of evidence for the existence of a palace harbour¹⁸⁵, but apart from that, the sources are silent. The representative marble staircase that connected the harbour with the palace (see below) was walled up, except for a small passageway, around the middle of the fourteenth century¹⁸⁶. When Cristoforo Buondelmonti was in Constantinople around 1420, he still observed a »small harbour of the emperor« (*portulum imperatoris*¹⁸⁷, λιμὴν σμικρότατος τοῦ Βασιλέως¹⁸⁸). The corresponding illustrations mark this small harbour as the »harbour of the former imperial palace« (*portus olim palatii imperatoris*) (fig. 23)¹⁸⁹. By this time at the latest, the Bukoleon Harbour would have been used rudimentarily. After the conquest of Constantinople by the Ottomans in 1453, the former palace harbour served merely as an anchorage for fishing boats¹⁹⁰.

Summary / Zusammenfassung

The Harbour of the Bukoleon Palace

Probably as early as the sixth century, the Great Palace in Constantinople had its own landing stage, which joined the sea walls in the south. In the beginning, this part of the coastline went under the name of Bukoleon, but the name passed on to the harbour, at the latest in the ninth century, and finally to the »Lower Palace«. This is the area of the Great Palace on the southern terraces, sloping towards the sea, that was enclosed under Nikephoros II. Construction activities, especially in the ninth to tenth centuries, led to an enormous increase in appreciation of the »Lower Palace«. As a result of changes in the seaward facade and the entry areas to the quays, the harbour was increasingly integrated into the palace complex. The Bukoleon Harbour can rightly be considered to be the most representative of the Constantinopolitan harbours. It

is all the more astonishing that it was rarely used to receive foreign delegations. On the contrary, this seaward entrance, the most magnificent to the city, marked another privilege of the emperor and his court. Appropriately, the imperial private flotilla was stationed in the Bukoleon Harbour. This seems to have initially consisted of dromons of the war fleet that were temporarily reserved for the private flotilla, but also of smaller converted cargo ships. Later, under Leon VI (886-912) two representative imperial dromons were prepared. Against the background of the gradual diminishing of Byzantium's naval power, however, this differentiation seems to have been abandoned by 1204 at the latest. In Late Byzantine times, the emperors evidently resorted to any warships stationed in Constantinople.

184 On the reception of King Amalric of Jerusalem, see Schreiner, Zu Gast and especially Runciman, Visit. – According to Müller-Wiener, Häfen 10 n. 33 Kiliç Arslan II (1161) is said to have landed at the Boukoleon Harbour, but this presumption cannot be deduced from the sources (Ioannes Kinnamos, Epitome V 3 [204-206 Meineke]. – Niketas Choniates, Historia 118-119 [van Dieten]).

185 Georgios Pachymeres, Relationes historicae V 19 (II 501 Failler).

186 Bolognesi Recchi Franceschini, Fourth season 21.

187 Cristoforo Buondelmonti, Librum insularum 65 (121 von Sinner).

188 Cristoforo Buondelmonti, Librum insularum, version grecque 65.40-41 (85 Legrand).

189 Gerola, Vedute 271. – Bertrandon de la Brocquière, Voyage 152 in 1432/1433 mentions a *petit havre pour mettre III ou IIII galées du costé du midi*. However,

it is unlikely that the Bukoleon Harbour was meant here. His explanation that it would be located *asses près d'une porte où il y a une montaignette des os des Crestiens* (i. e., Crusaders killed by Byzantines), seems to be based on the same narrative that Buondelmonti seems to refer to for the harbour of Vlanga: *In quo muro est campus ab extra olim portus dictus Vlanga: ubi Greci setuaginta Franchorum nobilium pane calcine frumentato dolose ex invidia vel timore occiderunt, quorum ossa innumerabilia usque in hodiernum perhibent testimonium*. – Cf. Külzer, Harbour of Theodosius, in this volume.

190 Bolognesi Recchi Franceschini, Monumental Itinerary 55. – Guillard, Port palatin 190.

Der Palasthafen des Bukoleon

Wahrscheinlich bereits ab dem 6. Jahrhundert verfügte der Große Palast in Konstantinopel über eine eigene Anlegestelle, die südlich an die Seemauern anschloss. Zunächst begegnet dieser Küstenabschnitt unter der Bezeichnung Bukoleon, wobei der Name spätestens im 9. Jahrhundert auf den Hafen überging und schließlich auf den »Unteren Palast«, also jenen Bereich des Großen Palastes auf den südlichen, zum Meer hin abfallenden Terrassen, den Nikephoros II. ummauern ließ. Bautätigkeiten speziell im 9./10. Jahrhundert führten zu einer massiven Aufwertung des »Unteren Palastes«. Durch Veränderungen der seeseitigen Fassade und der Zugangssituationen zu den Kaianlagen wurde auch der Hafen zunehmend in den Palastbereich integriert. Der Bukoleon-Hafen darf mit Recht als der repräsentativste der konstantinopolitanischen Häfen betrachtet werden. Umso erstaunlicher ist es, dass er

kaum jemals für den Empfang ausländischer Delegationen herangezogen wurde. Im Gegenteil markierte der prachtvollste meerseitige Zugang der Stadt ein weiteres Privileg des Kaisers und seines Hofes. Im Bukoleon-Hafen war demgemäß auch die kaiserliche Privatflottille stationiert. Diese scheint zunächst aus temporär abgestellten Dromonen der Kriegsflotte sowie aus umgebauten kleineren Lastschiffen bestanden zu haben, bevor unter Leon VI. (886-912) zwei repräsentative kaiserliche Dromonen angefertigt wurden. Vor dem Hintergrund der sukzessive ermattenden byzantinischen Seemacht scheint aber auch diese Differenzierung spätestens 1204 aufgegeben worden zu sein; in spätbyzantinischer Zeit griffen die Kaiser offenbar wieder auf beliebige in Konstantinopel stationierte Kriegsschiffe zurück.