

The Harbour and Landing Stages of Hebdomon

»It was a rainy and cold day in October 1918. In the afternoon, we had geography lessons with our dear teacher Charalampos Photiades. Our classmate Basileios Kerasoglou drew the map of some country on the blackboard. The fourth class was on the top floor of the school. Next to the school was the house of Doctor Aperges. Our classmate glanced out of the window as the class continued. I will never forget the loud cry he uttered when he saw the Greek flag hoisted at Aperges's window. »Teacher, a Greek flag!« He cried. »Truly, Teacher, a Greek flag, right here by the window!« The teacher gets up, approaches the window and, to his surprise, sees a huge Greek flag. In the meantime, riot had broken out in the school with a babble of voices and great noise! Our school principal Konstantinos Papadopoulos immediately comes to the class and tells us: »Children, everybody get ready to go to the beach! You will see that the whole sea is full of warships, Greek, English, French, Italian«. We were at Thermogiannes in a few minutes. And [really], that is how it was. Warships crossed the Sea of Marmara, which would later anchor in Haydarpaşa and Chalcedon. The legendary Averoff¹ with the huge Greek flag passed by and landed in front of Dolmabahçe Palace«².

When the Greek pupils of the village of Makrochorion (today Bakırköy, Istanbul) watched the ships of the Entente heading towards the city on the Bosphorus towards the end of the First World War, none of them probably suspected where they were: they stood on a spot that had, since Byzantine times, witnessed the passage of at least three other fleets that significantly shaped the history of the Byzantine Empire and its capital³. Thermogiannes's casino (later renamed »Vienna«) was right on the shore of the Sea of Marmara and even had a terrace that was built on Byzantine remains (fig. 1)⁴. These were the only remains of one of the buildings that, according to Jean-Baptiste Thibaut, belonged to the »Versailles of the Byzantine Emperors« in Late Antiquity⁵. This palace complex was built at the seventh milestone that marked the distance to Constantinople. The distance was counted from the Milion,



Fig. 1 The Casino of Thermogiannes in Makrochorion, today's Bakırköy. – (Photograph www.eskiistanbul.net).

the central milestone close to the Hagia Sophia, which is why the area was known as Hebdomon or Septimo (Greek/Latin for »seventh«) (fig. 2). Although the comparison with the French Versailles is not entirely wrong, the suburb of the Byzantine capital had one significant difference. Hebdomon was not only on the main land route to the west, the Via Egnatia, but also on the coast of the Sea of Marmara. Thus, the entire area at the seventh milestone had a strong connection to the sea, which significantly shaped its history from the late fourth to the early eighth centuries⁶.

State of Research

Among all the European districts of Constantinople, Hebdomon has been of particular interest to researchers⁷. One reason is the symbolic meaning of this place and its monuments, which saw the proclamation of at least ten Byzantine emperors⁸, another is the scholarly debate about its exact location. At the end of the nineteenth century, Friedrich Wilhelm Unger, Alexander van Millingen and Dmitrij Beljaev

1 An armoured cruiser from the first half of the 20th c. used as the flagship of the Greek Navy.

2 Tziras, Ebdomon 227-228 (Memories of Thanases Chatzeparaskeuas [Berk]).

3 It concerns the ships of Heraclius in 610, the Arab fleet in 717 and the Venetian fleet in 1203. See also p. 183 and n. 31, as well as pp. 196-197.

4 Tziras, Ebdomon 91-92 and 234 (with fig.). – Makrides, Hebdomon 168-171. The photograph shows the casino of Thermogiannes and not that of Miltiades as Tuna, Hebdomon'dan Bakırköy'e 144-147 claimed.

5 Thibaut, Hebdomon 32.

6 See Alexander, Strength 342 and n. 10.

7 On Hebdomon in general, see Janin, Constantinople 446-449. – Külzer, Ostthracien 391-395. – van Millingen, Walls 316-341. – Glück, Hebdomon. – Makrides, Hebdomon. – Tziras, Ebdomon.

8 See p. 183.

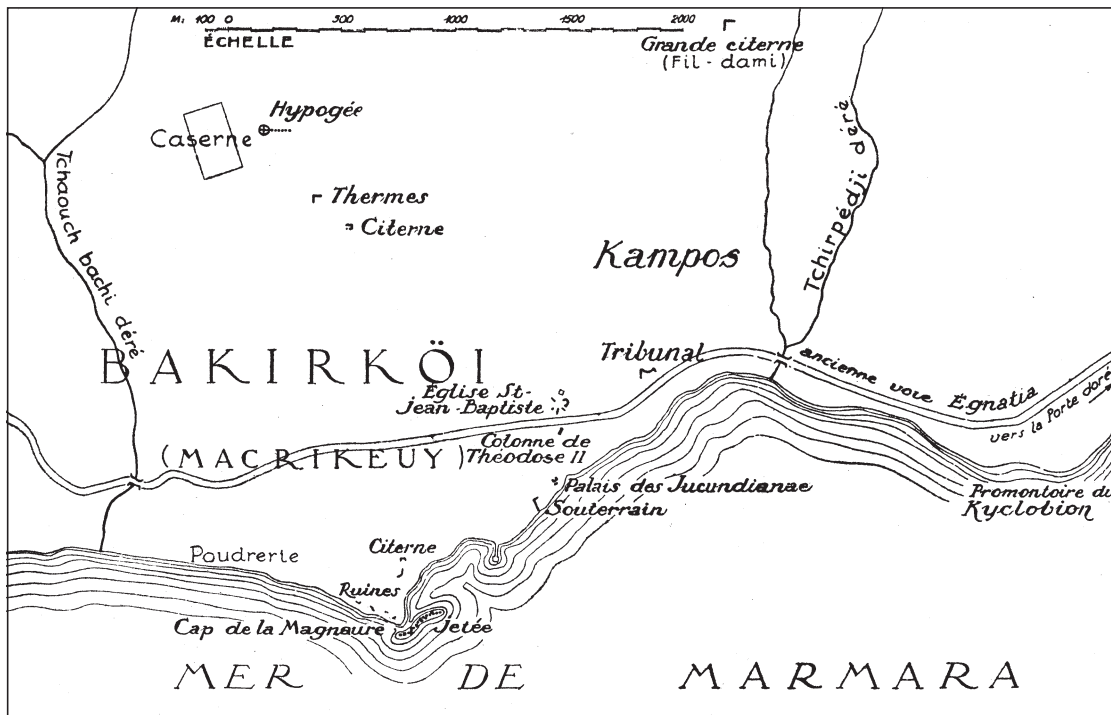


Fig. 2 Map of Hebdomon. – (From Demangel, Hebdomon 6 fig. 1).

rejected the old location at the Blachernae that had been widely accepted since the time of Charles du Cange in the seventeenth century. Instead, they suggested locating Hebdomon on the north coast of the Sea of Marmara and initiated the first systematic investigations of the southwestern area of Constantinople⁹.

The first monograph on the suburb at the seventh milestone was published in Vienna in 1920 and is the result of research by the art historian Heinrich Glück. When he stayed in Istanbul from 1916 to 1917, he examined the area in front of the Golden Gate and found the remains of an old mole¹⁰. Despite its significance, Glück's work should be used with caution because of his interpretation of the sources. Systematic archaeological investigations in what was then the village of Makrochorion began during the French occupation of Istanbul from 1920 to 1923, which were led by Theodoros Makrides (Makridi Bey), an employee of the Istanbul Archaeological Museum. The excavations unearthed numerous Byzantine monuments, including the Late Antique Tribunal and an octagonal sacred building, which was interpreted as the Church of John the Baptist, restored under Justinian. Another discovery was the column of the Emperor Theodosius II (408-450)¹¹.

The results of these excavations were only published in 1945 under the editorship of Robert Demangel. To this day, they are an indispensable tool for dealing with the history and

topography of Hebdomon¹². A few years before these excavation reports appeared, Theodoros Makrides also published two important articles in the Greek journal *Thrakika*, in which he treated the southwestern area of Constantinople¹³. The last two authors are among the last researchers to register the remains of a Byzantine mole and record them through photographs. They have since disappeared due to earth deposits during the construction of the road along the coast and other changes of this area over the past fifty years. Due to the rapid settlement development of Bakirköy, further large-scale archaeological studies in the region under discussion are hardly to be expected. The present-day Bakirköy district developed from the former Greek village of Makrochorion (or *Makrochori*), which aroused historical interest in the region through Greek and Turkish non-academic researchers. Publications of old photographs provide an insight into the pre-industrial history and topography of the southwestern districts of the metropolis of Istanbul¹⁴.

The Late Antique Beginnings of Hebdomon

Constantinople was officially made the imperial capital on 11 May 330 and, since its foundation, was considered the New Rome. Since Constantine the Great (324-337), the emperors have ensured that the city on the Bosphorus was not inferior

9 Unger, Quellen 113-117. 238-239. 266. – van Millingen, Walls 316-341. – van Millingen, Aléthēs thesis. – Běljaev, Bogomol'nye vychody 57-92.

10 Glück, Hebdomon 3 and n. 1.

11 Overview of the excavations in Demangel, Hebdomon 1-4. – See Diehl, Fouilles 197-199.

12 Demangel, Hebdomon.

13 Makrides, Hebdomon.

14 To be mentioned in the first place Tzirias, Ebdomon, and Tuna, Hebdomon'dan Bakirköy'e.

to the metropolis in the west¹⁵. This affected construction activities in the centre, where forums with (triumphal) columns, palaces and a senate building were built, but also the immediate vicinity of the city. A military training area was set up at Hebdomon that was modelled after the Campus Martius and given the graecised name Kampos. It was situated in the area of today's Veliefendi Hipodromu¹⁶. Due to the increasing militarisation of the empire, the area soon developed into a place where the army could stage its political power¹⁷. At the same time, Hebdomon was to play an important role in Byzantine ceremonies over the next few centuries.

The first reliable evidence of imperial construction measures at Hebdomon date back to the reign of Valens (364-378)¹⁸. According to a laudatory speech by Themistius, the emperor had a foundation (*krepis*) and a stage (*bema*) built and statues erected at Hebdomon¹⁹. The reason for this activity is obvious: here, on 28 March 364, Valens was appointed co-emperor by his older brother Valentinian I and took control of the eastern half of the Roman Empire (fig. 3)²⁰. The buildings are considered part of the Tribunal, where the army, Senate and people of Constantinople acclaimed the new emperor, accompanied by a military parade (fig. 4)²¹. Thus, Valens was the first of at least ten Byzantine rulers²², who were proclaimed emperor at the Kampos outside Constantinople²³. Valens was followed by Arcadius (395-408)²⁴, Honorius (395-423)²⁵, Theodosius II (408-450)²⁶, Marcian (450-457)²⁷, Leo I (457-474)²⁸, Basiliscus (475-476)²⁹, Maurice (582-602)³⁰, Phocas (602-610)³¹ and Leo V (813-820)³². Today, the last traces of the Roman Tribu-



Fig. 3 Solidus of Emperor Valens, with the brothers Valentinian I and Valens on the reverse (scale 2:1). – (Photograph R. Müller, RGZM).

nal of Hebdomon consist only of one wall, which is still visible in the carpark southwest of Veliefendi Hipodromu³³.

Fortifications and Palaces on the Hebdomon Seafront

The presence of the emperor and the army at the seventh milestone from Constantinople also required fortifications. The best-known and most important fortification in the southwest outskirts of the capital was the so-called Round Castle (Kyklobion or Strongylon)³⁴. Based on Theophanes's topographical reports on the two Arab sieges of Constantinople, this defensive system can be located in the eastern part of the bay of Hebdomon. This is today the area where Istanbul's district of Zeytinburnu adjoins Bakırköy³⁵. There may have been a landing stage at the Round Castle³⁶. The

15 In general, see Dagron, Naissance 13-294. – Mango, Développement 23-36. – Bauer, Stadt, Platz und Denkmal. – Bauer, Stadtverkehr in Konstantinopel. – Bauer, Urban Space.
 16 Demangel, Hebdomon 6-7. – Makrides, Hebdomon 151-154. – Taddei, Topographical Remarks 63. – On the Roman prototype, see Jacobs/Conlin, Campus Martius. – On the symbolic role of Hebdomon, see Dagron, Naissance 100-102. – Diefenbach, Liturgie und *civilitas* 26-27.
 17 Beck, Senat und Volk 3-9. – Treitinger, Kaiser- und Reichsidee 7-8. – Bauer, Stadtverkehr in Konstantinopel 200-203. – Bauer, Urban Space 40-44.
 18 According to the Patria Konstantinupoleos III 144 (260, 11-13 Preger), Constantine the Great had the Church of St John the Theologian built at Hebdomon, which Berger, Untersuchungen 682-683 doubted because of the legendary character of the collection.
 19 Themistios, Orationes 6 (I 123, 10-14 Schenkl/Downey). – See Demangel, Hebdomon 11. – Glück, Hebdomon 24-27. – Makrides, Hebdomon 154-157. – McCormack, Art and Ceremony 197-202. – Glück, Hebdomon 54 n. 1 translates *krepis* as mole, but an interpretation of the term as part of the Tribunal seems more plausible.
 20 Ammianus Marcellinus, Res Gestae XXVI 4, 3 (IV 18, 28-20, 2 Seyfarth). – Chronicon Paschale 556, 6-8 (Dindorf). – Consularia Constantinopolitana 364, 3 (44, 10-12 Becker/Groß). – See Christophilopulu, Ekloge 8.
 21 Demangel, Hebdomon 5-16. – Demangel, Tribunal. – Demangel, À propos du Tribunal. – On the proclamation of Valens as emperor, see Beck, Senat und Volk 8-10.
 22 Glück, Hebdomon 14-16 added Zenon (474-491), Leo III (717-741) and Nikephoros II Phokas (963-969) to this list, which Makrides, Hebdomon 144-147 and Janin, Constantinople 447 included in their work. The inclusion of Leo III is based on a confusion with Leo V; Zenon, on the other hand, was appointed emperor by his father-in-law in the Hippodrome, for both cases, see Chrysos, Krönung 172-173 n. 24. – For the proclamation of Nikephoros Phokas 963, see Christophilopulu, Ekloge 106-108 as well as Simeonov, Topographie, and the contribution by Simeonov, Brachialion, in this volume.
 23 On the acclamations at the Campus, see Christophilopulu, Ekloge, as well as Dagron, Naissance 101 and n. 2-3.
 24 Chronicon Paschale 562, 19-563, 2 (Dindorf). – Marcellinus Comes, Chronicon 11th indiction/383 (3 Mommsen).
 25 Marcellinus Comes, Chronicon 6th indiction/393 (5 Mommsen). – Consularia Italica 521 (298 Mommsen).

26 Chronicon Paschale 568, 5-8 (Dindorf).
 27 Chronicon Paschale 590, 8-10 (Dindorf). – Theodoros Anagnostes, Historia Ecclesiastica I 354 (100, 11-13 Hansen). – Nikephoros Xanthopoulos, Historia Ecclesiastica XIV 58 (PG 146, 1273 A-B).
 28 Konstantinos Porphyrogenetos, De cer. I 100 (II 407, 1-6 Dagron/Flusin/Fessel). – Sode, Kaiser 796-822.
 29 Theodoros Anagnostes, Historia Ecclesiastica III 402 (112, 19-22 Hansen). – Theophanes, Chronographia AM 5967 (121, 1-2 de Boor). – Georgios Kedrenos, Chronicon 384, 2 (II 600, 13-14 Tartaglia). – Ioannes Zonaras, Epitome XIV 2, 6 (III 128, 16-18 Büttner-Wobst).
 30 Concerning Maurice, research offers different views due to the two tribunals that appear in the sources. One of them is located at Hebdomon, the other in the city centre. Thanks to Chrysos, Krönung 172 n. 21, this problem can be considered resolved in favour of the structure on the Campus.
 31 Theophylaktos Simokattes, Historia VIII 10, 1 and 5-6 (302, 20-23 and 303, 6-14 de Boor/Wirth). – Chronicon Paschale 693, 16-23 (Dindorf). – Gregorii Magni Registrum epistularum, Appendix VIII (II 1101, 2-7 Norberg). – Theophanes, Chronographia AM 6094 (289, 8-25 de Boor). – Georgios Kedrenos, Chronicon 433, 1 (II 677, 52-61 Tartaglia). – Ioannes Zonaras, Epitome XIV 14, 1-2 (III 196, 8-11 Büttner-Wobst). – Michael Glykas, Annales 510, 1-4 (Bekker). – Nikephoros Xanthopoulos, Historia Ecclesiastica XVIII 40 (PG 147, 408 B-C). – Also the end of his reign was supposed to have begun there: on 7 October 610, Phocas watched from the coast at Hebdomon as the ships of the pretender to the throne Heraclius appeared at the Round Castle and anchored there. The emperor had no choice but to ride to Constantinople in the evening, since his opponent had cut off the sea route to the capital, see Chronicon Paschale 699, 19-700, 4 (Dindorf).
 32 Theophanes, Chronographia AM 6305 (502, 19-26 de Boor). – Symeon Logothetes, Chronicon 127, 3 (209, 14-17 Wahlgren).
 33 The parts of the Tribunal found during the 1921-1923 excavations were still preserved until the 1960s, see Tziras, Ebdomon 77 (with photograph).
 34 Prokopios, De aedificiis IV 8, 4-7 (134, 8-17 Haury/Wirth).
 35 Theophanes, Chronographia AM 6165 and AM 6209 (353, 25-354, 2 and 448, 12-21 de Boor). – Külzer, Ostthracien 484-485. – Makrides, Hebdomon 174-175. – Janin, Constantinople 139. 451. – Taddei, Topographical Remarks 64. For the sieges, see below, p. 196.
 36 Below, p. 197.

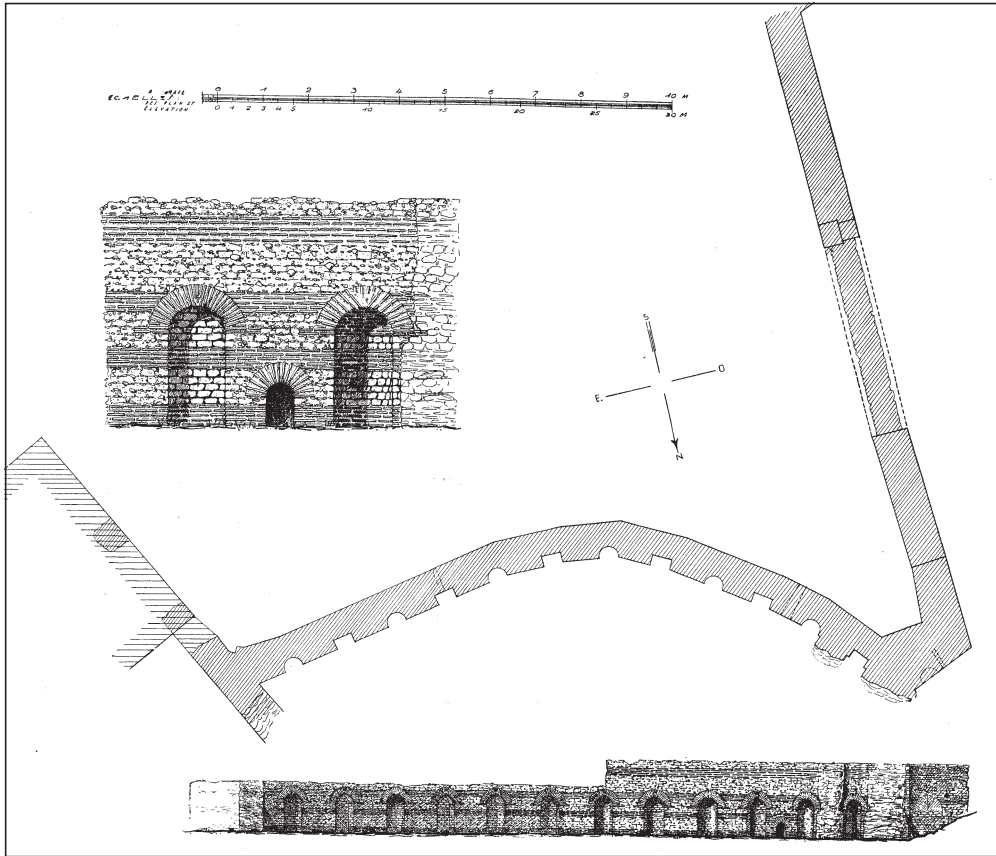


Fig. 4 The Tribunal at Hebdomon. – (From Demangel, Hebdomon pl. 1).

fortification played an important role in the official reception of ambassadors on their way to the capital, as recorded in the *Liber Pontificalis* on the occasion of the embassies of the Popes Hormisdas 519 and Hadrian II (869/870)³⁷.

An unresolved question is whether the Theodosian fort that was only mentioned once in the sources can be counted among the fortifications at Hebdomon. According to Theophanes, the executed Makrobios was displayed here in 608/609³⁸. Alessandro Taddei did not rule out the possibility that this building is identical to the Round Castle, whereby the designation »the Theodosians« referred to the troops quartered there³⁹. In this case, however, the chronicler called the fortification Round Castle in the context of other events from the seventh and eighth centuries. Thus, it has to be clarified why he used a different name in the case of Makrobios. Regarding the arrival of the fleet of Heraclius one year after the execution of Makrobios, the *Chronicon Paschale* only mentioned the *strongyloun kastellin*, i. e., Round Castle⁴⁰. For this reason, it seems plausible to assume that the Theodosian fort was a second defensive system at Hebdomon⁴¹, but it cannot be precisely located.

Glück and Makrides took a different view, relying on the *Patria Konstantinoupoleos* in their attempt to locate the Theodosian castle. These testify to a fort built by Emperor Tiberius II (578-582):

»Tiberios [...] the father-in-law of Maurikios, built the Kastellin, because Chaganos, the ruler of Bulgaria, came and torched and burned all the regions of Thrace up to the gates. He fortified the wall and enclosed the ships within, and so it received this name«⁴².

Glück and Makrides located this defensive work on the western bank of the bay of Hebdomon. Makrides identified it as the ruins under the former Greek casino of Thermo- giannes⁴³, which can be seen in numerous old photographs⁴⁴. In the opinion of the two scholars, the emperor would have offered the ships in the bay better protection with the second Hebdomon castle. However, such a view is contrary to the fact that all other places mentioned in the same section of this source are either on the northern bank of the Golden Horn or on the Thracian bank of the Bosphorus⁴⁵. Furthermore, the reliability of the report is disputed. The

37 *Liber Pontificalis* LIII 5 (Hormisdas) and CVIII 36 (Hadrian II) (I 270, 9-12 and II 180, 13-15 Duchesne). – Heher/Simeonov, *Ceremonies by the Sea* 231.

38 Theophanes, *Chronographia* AM 6101 (297, 12-16 de Boor).

39 Taddei, *Topographical Remarks* 64 and n. 42.

40 *Chronicon Paschale* 699, 19-21 (Dindorf).

41 van Millingen, *Walls* 327-328.

42 English translation by Berger, *Accounts* 207. – *Patria Konstantinoupoleos* III 157 (265, 13-17 Preger).

43 Tuna, *Hebdomon'dan Bakırköy'e* 144-147.

44 Makrides, *Hebdomon* 174-175. – Glück, *Hebdomon* 62 and fig. 1 above.

45 On this, see the remarks of Berger, *Untersuchungen* 688-709.

Fig. 5 The coast of Makrochorion in the early 1920s. – (From Demangel, *Hebdomon* 42 fig. 26).



Chagan mentioned in the *Patria* was, according to Berger, the Avar ruler, under whose command the Avars raided Thrace in the first years of Maurice's reign⁴⁶. In addition, the *Patria* probably confused Tiberius II (578-582) with Tiberius III (698-705)⁴⁷. For this reason, the Castle of the *Patria* cannot be located at Hebdomon, but at the entrance to the Golden Horn, and must therefore be linked with the fort to which the iron chain was attached⁴⁸.

The exile of the Emperor's sister Pulcheria to Hebdomon in the first half of the fifth century may presuppose the existence of a palace complex in the southwestern area of Constantinople⁴⁹. A palace near the coast, where Daniel Stylites talked to the guardsmen of the Emperor Basiliscus (475-476), is documented in the saint's *Vita*⁵⁰. Emperor Marcian (450-457) was present at Hebdomon on the occasion of a procession and sent a dromon to bring another saint, the monk Auxentios, to him⁵¹. However, it cannot be determined whether the procession's destination was to a palace or one of the sanctuaries located at Hebdomon⁵².

Theophanes and the author of the account of the miracles of St Artemios later mentioned a place called Magnaura, which is located on the promontory west of the bay of Hebdomon⁵³. The name is derived from the Latin *Magna aula* («large hall») and explains why the building is associated with a palace. Topographical evidence for this palace points to a location near the remains of the ancient mole now lying in the basin of today's Bakirköy harbour. At the beginning of the twentieth century, numerous pieces of capitals, columns and reliefs were to be found on the banks of Makrochorion (fig. 5)⁵⁴. Furthermore, Byzantine *spolia* in the gardens of Turkish houses can be seen in old photographs from the middle of the last century⁵⁵. However, these remains are said to come from the area northeast of the Hebdomon headland and its mole⁵⁶. In the absence of other sources and inadequate archaeological research, it is no longer possible to determine whether the Magnaura at Hebdomon was an independent palace complex or merely part of the large complex of Ioukoundianai⁵⁷, which, because of its harbour, will be in the focus of the next paragraph⁵⁸.

46 Berger, *Untersuchungen* 690-691.

47 Berger, *Accounts* 320, n. 162.

48 See Kislinger, *Golden Horn*, in this volume.

49 Theophanes, *Chronographia* AM 5940 (99, 12-18 de Boor). – Nikephoros Xanthopoulos, *Historia Ecclesiastica* XIV 47 and 49 (PG 146, 1224 B and 1233 A). – Ioannes Zonaras, *Epitome* XIII 23, 15-18 (III 109, 1-12 Büttner-Wöbst). – Ephraem, *Historia Chronica* 782-790 (33 Lampsides). – Cf. Holum, *Theodosian Emperors* 130-131 and 192-196.

50 *Vita Danielis Stylitae* 74-76 (71, 17-74, 18 Delehaye).

51 *Vita Auxentii* 38 (46, 1-3 Varalda).

52 On religious processions at Hebdomon, see Janin, *Processions religieuses* 72-81. – Bauer, *Stadtverkehr in Konstantinopel* 207-209. – Brubaker, *Topography* 35-36. 41-42.

53 *Miracula Artemii* 5 (84, 24-26 Papadopoulos-Kerameus). – According to Theophanes, *Chronographia* AM 6209 (395, 21-26 de Boor) in 717, the Arab fleet was anchored from Magnaura to the Round Castle. – See Makrides, *Hebdomon* 164-167.

54 Makrides, *Hebdomon* 11 fig. 5. – Demangel, *Hebdomon* 42 fig. 26.

55 Tuna, *Hebdomon'dan Bakirköy'e* 42. – Glück, *Hebdomon* pl. IV-V. – Demangel, *Hebdomon* 41 fig. 25.

56 Glück, *Hebdomon* 6-13 pl. I.

57 Taddei, *Palace of the Ioukoundianai* 82. – Taddei, *Topographical Remarks* 68.

58 Taddei, *Palace of the Ioukoundianai*. – Taddei, *Topographical Remarks* 65-69. – Hellenkemper, *Sommerpaläste* 245-247. – For a discussion of whether the report of Procopius relates to a place and harbour in Thrace or Bithynia, see p. 192 n. 110.

The Palace of loukoundianai

In his work on the buildings of Emperor Justinian I (527-565), Procopius described a magnificent palace complex called loukoundianai:

»But I could never adequately describe in fitting words either their magnificence and their exquisitely detailed workmanship or their massive bulk. It will be sufficient to say simply that they are regal and that they were built under the personal supervision of the Emperor and with the help of his skill, while nothing was disregarded, excepting only money. The sum of this indeed was so great that it cannot be computed by any reckoning. [...] In that place also he erected holy shrines, as I have already recounted, and stoas and markets and public baths, and practically all the other types of buildings, so that this quarter is in no way inferior to the Palace-quarter within the city.«⁵⁹

The difficulties in locating the complex lie in the structure of the first book of *De aedificiis* in which Procopius dealt with the building activities of Justinian within and around Constantinople. However, his information about the buildings at Hebdomon (the churches of Saints Theodote, John the Theologian, John the Baptist, Menas and Menaïos) is not a unit, but distributed across different chapters⁶⁰. He described loukoundianai after the buildings on the Golden Horn and the Bosphorus as well as in the eastern part of the capital. The report showed that the palace complex was in Europe and that its harbour was exposed to the strong south winds in winter, from which it offered protection. The historian further noted that he had already spoken about the sacred places there⁶¹. Since this information applies to both a location at Hebdomon and on the European shore of the Bosphorus, other sources have to be consulted to solve the question of the situation of loukoundianai and its harbour.

Byzantine chronicles and hagiography provide the first evidence for loukoundianai in the southwestern area of Constantinople. For the World Year 6050 (December 557), Theophanes reported a powerful earthquake that shook the

European outskirts of the capital. The churches beyond Hebdomon were affected the worst, of which he mentions a concrete example, the sanctuary of the Prophet Samuel⁶². In connection with this, the chronicler also reports the fall of a porphyry column and its statue in front of the loukoundianai Palace⁶³. Theophanes based his report on information provided by John Malalas, who wrote of a pillar in the Sekoundianai though⁶⁴. Malalas's designation of the palace as Sekoundianai is not a misinterpretation of »loukoundianai«. The corpus of letters of Pope Gregory I, who lived in Constantinople for a while, also mentions a *palatio qui dicitur Secundianas* at the seventh milestone of Constantinople, where the usurper Phocas was proclaimed emperor in 602⁶⁵.

Both names, loukoundianai and Sekoundianai, thus referred to the same palace complex at Hebdomon⁶⁶, but only hypotheses can be expressed about their etymology. Janin derives the name loukoundianai from a certain *Jucundus* without being able to document it⁶⁷. The derivation from the Latin *iucundus* (»pleasant«, »desired« or »amiable«)⁶⁸, which fits well with the name of a coastal area, cannot be ruled out⁶⁹. A derivation from *secundus* or *secundinus* is conceivable for Sekoundianai. This brings into consideration Secundinus, the brother-in-law of the Emperor Anastasius I, who became Eparch of Constantinople in 492. His task was to calm the rebelling troops in Constantinople and to renovate the buildings they had destroyed in the capital⁷⁰.

Theophanes also adopted other information from Malalas referring to the cleaning and dredging of the harbour near the Sekoundianai Palace in 551/552. With one minor change, however: according to Theophanes, the harbour of Hebdomon had been cleaned⁷¹. How can this be explained, considering that Theophanes rarely rewrote or interpreted the information in his sources⁷²? A comparison of the reports by Malalas and Theophanes about the earthquake in December 557 showed that the text of the later Byzantine chronicler is more extensive. Thus, it can be assumed that Theophanes used an additional source, where the palace in question was described under the name of loukoundianai and was said to have been located in the region between the Golden Gate

59 English translation by Dewing, Buildings of Procopius 93-95. – Prokopios, *De aedificiis* I 11, 16-18 and 21 (43, 24-44, 6 and 21-25 Haury/Wirth). – Overview of the maritime buildings of Emperor Justinian I in Missiou, *Maritime Buildings*.
60 Prokopios, *De aedificiis* I 4, 28 (Theodote). I 8, 15-16 (John the Theologian and John the Baptist). I 9, 16 (Menas and Menaïos) (26, 24-25. 35, 6-11. 37, 27-38, 1 Haury/Wirth).
61 The Byzantine historian treats two places together. The description of loukoundianai is followed by Hieron. According to Prokopios, *De aedificiis* I 11, 22 (44, 25 and 45, 1-4 Haury/Wirth) Hieron was on the opposite continent, i. e., Asia, which indicates a localisation of loukoundianai in Europe.
62 Theophanes, *Chronographia* AM 6050 (231, 13-22 de Boor).
63 Theophanes, *Chronographia* AM 6050 (231, 24-27 de Boor). – According to the report by Ioannes Lydos, *De magistratibus* III 35 (188, 9-15 Bandy) = III 35, 6-7 (II 87, 14-21 Schamp), who owed his professional advancement to Justinian I, a column was brought from the Plakoton (Forum of Constantine) to the square (*agora*) of Hebdomon, after the silver statue on top had been removed. At the new location, it bore a statue of »our best emperor«, that is, Justinian. It is said to be this pillar (made of porphyry?) that overturned during the earthquake in 557 together with the statue, according to Theophanes. See Taddei, *Palace of the loukoundianai* 81-82. – Taddei, *Topographical Remarks* 66-67.

64 Ioannes Malalas, *Chronographia* XVIII 124 (419, 55-60 Thurn).

65 Gregorii Magni *Registrum epistularum*, Appendix VIII (II 1101, 2-5 Norberg): *Per indictionem sextam die vicesima tertia mensis Novembrii temporibus domni et beatissimi papae Gregorii coronatus est Focas et Leontia Augusta in Septimo in palatio qui dicitur Secundianas*.

66 Thibaut, *Hebdomon* 36. – Makrides, *Hebdomon* 156. – Janin, *Constantinople* 454. – Külzer, *Ostthrakien* 418 and 634.

67 Janin, *Constantinople* 450. – Taddei (*Topographical Remarks* 65 n. 47. – *Palace of the loukoundianai* 78) agrees with this interpretation.

68 Menge, *Großwörterbuch Lateinisch* 413.

69 Demangel, *Hebdomon* 5. 44. – van Millingen, *Walls* 335.

70 Ioannes Antiochenus, *Fragmenta* 239, 2 (446, 19 – 448, 1 Mariev) = 308 (528-530, 16-20 Roberto). – PLRE II 986, # Secundinus 5. – Janin, *Constantinople* 454 and Külzer, *Ostthrakien* 634 called the Eparch Secundus.

71 Compare Theophanes, *Chronographia* AM 6044 (228, 13-14 de Boor) with Ioannes Malalas, *Chronographia* XVIII 114 (415, 1-2 Thurn).

72 See his own words in the preface to his *Chronographia* (4, 8-15 de Boor), as well as Howard-Johnston, *Witnesses* 268-269 and 308-309 and Jankowiak/Montinaro, *Studies in Theophanes*.

Fig. 6 Remnants of the mole near the cape of Hebdomon in the 1920s. – (From Demangel, Hebdomon 46 fig. 31).



and Rhegion (today's Küçükçekmece) that was damaged by the earthquake.

A further important issue is the proximity of loukoundianai Palace to the Sanctuary of Samuel, attested to by Theophanes. This corresponds to the report of the *Chronicon Paschale* on the *translatio* of the saint's relics to Constantinople, more precisely from Chalcedon to the Great Church of the capital⁷³. In 411, they were transferred to the Sanctuary of the Prophet near the Church of St John in loukoundianai⁷⁴. The *translatio* of the relics is also reported in the *Patria Konstantinoupoleos*, Symeon the Logothete and Nikephoros Xanthopoulos, all of which attest to the deposition of Samuel's relics to a church at or near Hebdomon⁷⁵.

The area at the seventh milestone was also the place where Daniel Stylites was said to have performed miracles. He had moved there with a crowd during the reign of the Emperor Basiliscus (475-476). After the saint had supposedly healed a leper in the sea near the Sanctuary of Samuel, he addressed the guards of the Hebdomon Palace, who refused to let him in⁷⁶.

The report of Procopius on the geographical location of the palace complex provides further information on the location of loukoundianai in the area of the seventh milestone. According to Procopius, the harbour of loukoundianai was at a headland (*akte*) and offered the ships protection from the strong winter winds⁷⁷. According to the study by Ulyyott and

Ilgaz on the wind conditions in the Bosphorus, a south wind predominates in the greater Istanbul area in winter⁷⁸. In the southwestern part of Hebdomon at the Cape of Magnaura, the remains of a mole were still visible in the first half of the twentieth century, according to the studies by Glück and Demangel (figs 6-7)⁷⁹.

The building activity of Emperor Justinian I at Hebdomon is also attested to in the legislation of this ruler. According to the *Codex Iustinianus*, he issued two laws from the new *consistorium* of the Justinian palace at the seventh milestone in 529⁸⁰. Procopius's *De aedificiis* only attested to the construction of two palaces by Justinian: one in Hiereia in Bithynia and the other in loukoundianai. However, the location of the latter is not specified, but taking into account that Procopius mentions only two palaces, the loukoundianai can certainly be located at Hebdomon. It is also difficult to imagine that the construction activity of Justinian I, as documented in the *Codex Iustinianus*, might have escaped Procopius's attention, who wrote *De aedificiis* in praise of the ruler (fig. 8).

According to Demangel, the location of the loukoundianai Palace can be identified precisely on the basis of the find spot of the Column of Theodosius: according to Turgay Tuna, the find spot was the courtyard of a residential building in today's Cevizliyalı Sokak 3⁸¹, i.e., in the northeastern area of the Byzantine Hebdomon.

73 *Chronicon Paschale* 569, 12-18 (Dindorf).

74 *Chronicon Paschale* 570, 26-571, 2 (Dindorf). – For source criticism of the Easter Chronicle, whose sources are largely based on official documents, see Howard-Johnston, *Witnesses* 37-59.

75 *Patria Konstantinoupoleos* IIa 2 (211, 5-9 Preger). – Symeon Logothetes, *Chronicon* 96, 2 (123, 12-14 Wahlgren). – Nikephoros Xanthopoulos, *Historia Ecclesiastica* XIV 10 (PG 146, 1089 D).

76 *Vita Danielis Stylitae* 73-77 (71, 17-74, 19 Delehaye). – Külzer, *Ostthrakien* 246.

77 Prokopios, *De aedificiis* I 11, 18 and 20 (44, 7-9 and 18-21 Haury/Wirth).

78 Ulyyott/Ilgaz, *Hydrography* 54. Two references are quoted here about the role of the south wind in winter in Constantinople: one concerns the unsuccessful sea attack on the wall on the Golden Horn by the fleet of Thomas the Slav

in December 821 (see Theophanes Continuatus, *Chronographia* II 14 [88-90, 13-28 Featherstone/Signes-Codoñer]. – Ioseph Genesios, *Liber regum* II 5 [28, 49-57 Lesmüller-Werner/Thurn]. – Ioannes Skylitzes, *Synopsis* 34,87-35,4 [Thurn]); the other relates to the Byzantine attempt to destroy the Crusader fleet anchored in Sykai by fire ships at the beginning of 1204 (see Geoffroy de Villehardouin, *Conquête* VII 217-218 [II 16-18 Faral]. – Robert de Clari, *Conquête* 60 [138, 11-23 Dufourmet]).

79 Glück, *Hebdomon* 3 and n. 1. – Demangel, *Hebdomon* 46-47 and figs 31-32.

80 *Codex Iustinianus* I 2, 22 and VI 42, 30 (16 and 273 Krüger): *Recitata septimo miliario huius inclitae civitatis in novo consistorio palatii Iustiniani*. – See Thibaut, *Hebdomon* 36 and n. 4.

81 Tuna, *Hebdomon'dan Bakırköy'e* 43.

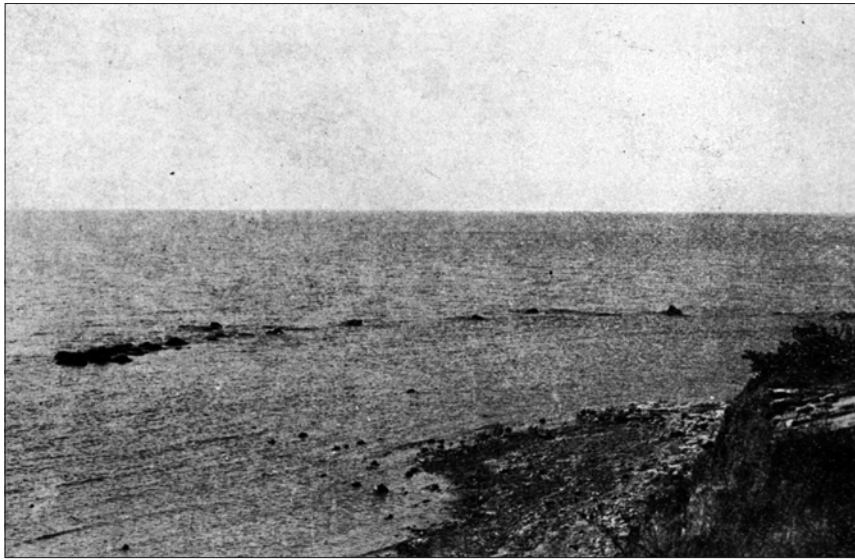


Fig. 7 Remnants of the mole near the cape of Hebdomon in the 1920s. – (From Demangel, Hebdomon 47 fig. 32).

Harbour Facilities on the Coast of Hebdomon

The Pre-Justinian Landing Stage

The *Campus Martius* in Rome included a sanctuary of the pagan god of war Mars⁸², but this was inconceivable in the new capital on the Bosphorus. Instead of pagan places of worship, numerous Christian sanctuaries were erected in Hebdomon. The most important were the Church of St John the Baptist and the Church of St John the Theologian⁸³. The former was built on the occasion of the *translatio* of the relic of John the Baptist's head from Chalcedon to Hebdomon⁸⁴. At least that was the wish of Emperor Valens, but miraculously the wagon that carried the relic could no longer be moved and so the relic was kept in the village of Kosilaos in Bithynia. It was only Emperor Theodosius I (379-395) who succeeded in having the head of St John transferred to Hebdomon, where it was deposited on 18 February 391 in a church dedicated to the saint⁸⁵. The remains of the church were preserved until spring 1965, when they were removed due to the construction of a hospital in İstanbul Caddesi (fig. 9)⁸⁶.

The disputes between Theophilus, the Patriarch of Alexandria, and John Chrysostom, the Archbishop of Constantinople, around the turn of the fifth century soon required the intervention of an arbitrator. Epiphanius, the Bishop of Salamis, was chosen because of his high reputation among Christians. In 402, the ship departed from Cyprus with the 80-year-old clergyman on board and set a course for Constantinople. According to the church historians Socrates and Sozomen, Epiphanius landed at Hebdomon and immediately went to the Church of St John the Theologian, where he celebrated the service and ordained a deacon⁸⁷. The exact location of the church is unknown today. However, from the information about the visit of Epiphanius it can be concluded that it was not far from the sea coast. According to Theophanes Continuatus, the Church of St John the Theologian was close to the Church of St John the Baptist, which is why Alessandro Taddei argues that the two sanctuaries were close to one another⁸⁸.

Several factors presuppose the presence of a landing stage, if not a larger harbour at Hebdomon⁸⁹: the transport of troops to and from Thrace, the presence of the emperors at

82 Jacobs/Conlin, *Campus Martius* 30.

83 On the others, see Makrides, Hebdomon 191-198.

84 On the Church of Prodomos, see Janin, *Églises du Précurseur* 313-319. – Janin, *Siège de Constantinople* 413-415. – Makrides, Hebdomon 180-191. – Kleiss, *Kirche Johannis des Täufers*. – Demangel, Hebdomon 17-32. – Mathews, *Early Churches* 55-61. – Mathews, *Byzantine Churches* 140-142. – Berger, *Untersuchungen* 683-684. – On the role of the Byzantine ceremonial, see Sode, *Kaiser* 806-810.

85 Sozomenos, *Historia Ecclesiastica* VII 21, 1-5 (333, 7-334, 5 Bidez). – Theodoros Anagnostes, *Historia Ecclesiastica* I 268 (83, 14-24 Hansen). – *Chronicon Paschale* 564, 13-19 (Dindorf). – Georgios Monachos, *Chronicon* II 582, 15-583, 4 (de Boor/Wirth). – Nikephoros Xanthopoulos, *Historia Ecclesiastica* XII 49 (PG 146, 916 D-917 A-B). – *Analecta Hymnica Graeca*, 27 January, Canon 37 (V 488, 215-220 Schirò/Proiou). – According to the *Patria Konstantinupoleos* III 145 (260, 14-21 Preger), the head was first kept in the Church of St John the Theologian. This contradicts the *Chronicon Paschale* and Theodoros Anagnostes, which are considered to be far more reliable sources than the later *Patria*. For dating the *translatio*, see Whitby/Whitby, *Chronicon Paschale* 54. – On the ideological motives for the transfer of relics to Constantinople, see Baldwin,

Urban Character 213-219 and 233-239. – Maraval, *Lieux saints* 48-50 and 92-100.

86 Kleiss, *Kirche Johannis des Täufers* 207.

87 Sokrates, *Historia Ecclesiastica* VI 12, 2 (333, 18-20 Hansen): προσορμίσας οὖν τῷ ἐπὶ Ἰωάννη μαρτυρίῳ (ἀπέχει δὲ τοῦτο ἐπὶ σημεῖα τῆς πόλεως) καὶ ἐξεληθὼν τῆς νεώς, συναξίν τε ἐπιτέλεσας καὶ διάκονον χειροτονήσας αὐθις εἰς τὴν πόλιν εἰσέρχεται. – Sozomenos, *Historia Ecclesiastica* VIII 14, 6 (368, 6-9 Bidez): οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν δὲ πρῶτος Ἐπιφάνιος ἐκπλεύσας ἐκ Κύπρου κατήρην εἰς τὸ πρὸ τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως καλούμενον Ἑβδομον. εὐξάμενος δὲ ἐν τῇ ἐνθάδε ἐκκλησίᾳ ἦκεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν.

88 Theophanes Continuatus, *Chronographia* V 94 (304, 3-7 Ševčenko). – Taddei, *Palace of the Ioukoundianai* 78 and fig. 2, writes that the report of the Liber Pontificalis CVIII 36 (II 180, 13-15 Duchesne) on the reception of the envoys of Pope Hadrian II in the Round Castle and a church dedicated to John the Theologian there shows the incomplete knowledge of the western author about the topography of Hebdomon.

89 Finding a proper translation for the German »Anlegestelle« is difficult, especially when considering the maritime topography of the Byzantine capital using mainly written sources and old photographs without the benefit of modern



Fig. 8 Marble column from Hebdomon with a monogram of Emperor Justinian I. Archaeological Museum Istanbul. – (Photograph G. Simeonov).



Fig. 9 Marble frieze from Hebdomon, Istanbul Archaeological Museum. – (Photograph G. Simeonov).

ceremonial processions outside the Theodosian land wall and the construction of a palace right on the seashore. Two hagiographic works document the shipping traffic in the south western area of Constantinople before the reign of Justinian I. Because of the religious controversy that split Christianity in the fifth century, it was intended to call a council in 451. For this reason, Emperor Marcian wanted to speak to the monk Auxentios at Hebdomon and sent a dromon from this suburb to bring the saint to him⁹⁰. However, the relationship between the Byzantine emperors and the Orthodox saints was not always so frictionless. After a dispute with Daniel Stylites, Emperor Basiliscus had to leave the capital, whence he went to Hebdomon by ship⁹¹. While the ruler was in the palace

there, the saint took the opportunity to demonstrate his alleged healing power to the crowd who had left the capital with him and healed a leper in the nearby sea⁹².

It remains doubtful whether there was more than a simple landing stage, such as a harbour with moles, at Hebdomon before the reign of Justinian I. The written sources are silent regarding this issue. The excavations in the early 1920s in turn concentrated on the monuments on the mainland, thus ignoring the remains of the mole on the Hebdomon headland⁹³. The already mentioned embankment on the Bakırköy coast with its modern design makes further investigations almost impossible. Only a scene on the triumphal column of Emperor Arcadius, which once stood in his forum in Xerolophos, can

(underwater) archaeological research. Since the infrastructure on the southern shore of Constantinople and its Thracian suburbs presupposes the existence of more solid constructions, even if made of wood, the term »landing stage« will be used here for maritime facilities at Hebdomon and Brachialion. As for Kosmidion, which was situated on the inner end of the natural harbour of the Golden Horn, the term »mooring« seems to be a proper one for designating a smaller and simpler construction. On the relation between German and English harbour terminology, see the contribution of the SPP 1630 »Harbours from the

Roman Iron Age until the Middle Ages« of the German Research Foundation (DFG) http://haefen.i3mainz.hs-mainz.de/resources/vendor/HARE_Terminology%20for%20Harbour%20Data%20entry.pdf, which is of relevance to this volume.

90 Vita Auxentii 38 (46, 1-13 Varalda).

91 Vita Danielis Stylitae 74-75 (71, 17 and 73, 1-2 Delehayé).

92 Vita Danielis Stylitae 74 (71, 20-72, 19 Delehayé).

93 Glück, Hebdomon 3 and n. 1. – Demangel, Hebdomon 46-47 and figs 31-32.

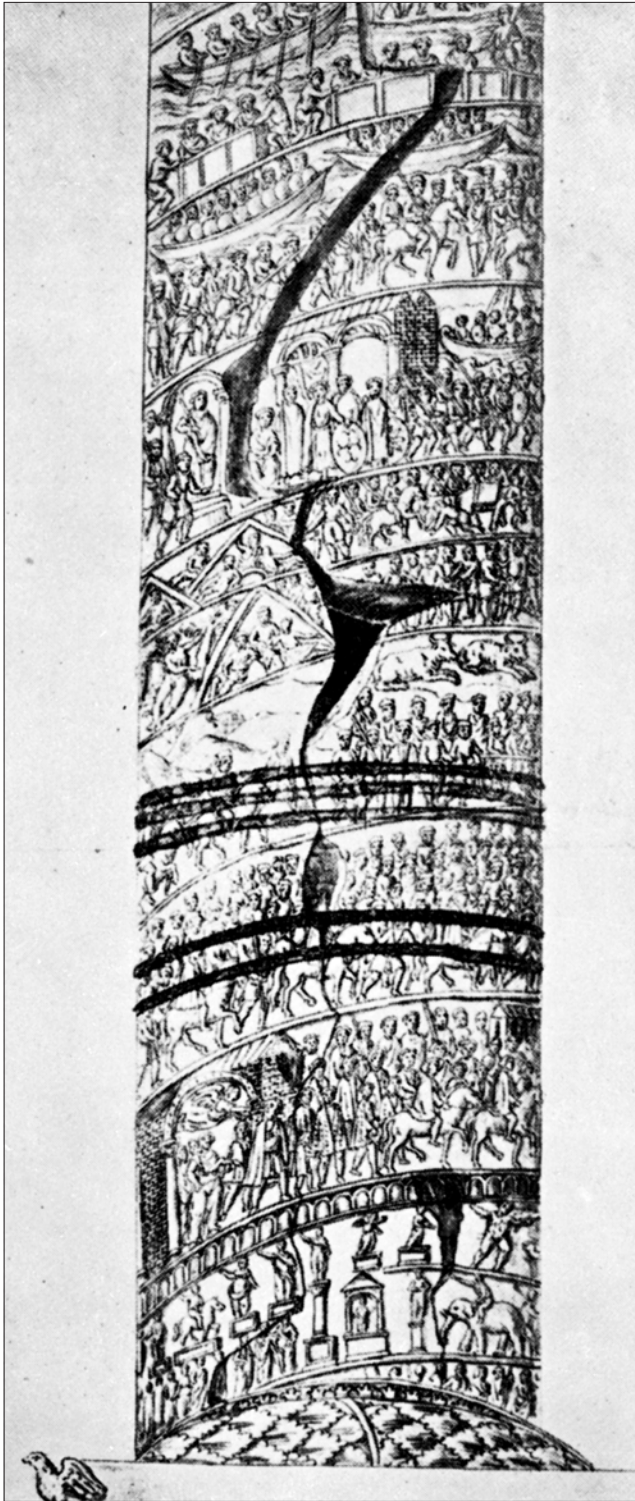


Fig. 10 The Column of Arcadius, south view of the lower part. – (From Becatti, *Colonna coclide* pl. 75b).

94 The most important study on the scenes on the column remains Becatti, *Colonna coclide* 151-264. – See Giglioli, *Colonna di Arcadio*. – Kollwitz, *Oströmische Plastik* 17-62. – Freshfield, *Notes*. – Bauer, *Stadt, Platz und Denkmal* 179-180 and 209. – McCormack, *Art and Ceremony* 57-60. – Sodini, *Images sculptées* 56-64. – Mayer, *Rom ist dort* 143-159. – For the preserved part of the monument and its history, see Konrad, *Arkadiossäule*. – Taddei, *Colonna di Arcadio*.

95 Overview in Becatti, *Colonna coclide* 160-161.

offer an indication of its appearances⁹⁴. The column was demolished at the beginning of the eighteenth century as a result of fire and earthquake damage, but several drawings by Western envoys at the Sultan's court in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are preserved⁹⁵. The most important of these is the drawing by an anonymous artist who accompanied David Ungnad von Weissenwolff, Freiherr zu Sonnegg and Emissary of Emperor Maximilian I, during one of his missions to Istanbul in 1572 and 1574-1578. His album is today in the Trinity College Library in Cambridge and is known as the Freshfield Album. It contains a drawing of the base of the Obelisk of Theodosius in the Hippodrome, which reproduces the preserved original exactly. This also suggests the reliability of the drawing of the Column of Arcadius⁹⁶. Furthermore, the depictions in the album of the imperial envoy show parallels to the depiction of the same column in the collection of Roger de Gaignières (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris)⁹⁷.

After a failed attempt to seize Constantinople, the Gothic leader Gainas sought to leave the capital in July 400 with his followers. However, the attempt to lead the Goths from Thrace to Asia Minor also failed because the Byzantine fleet defeated them in the Dardanelles⁹⁸. A triumphal column was intended to immortalise the victory of Emperor Arcadius, who had saved Constantinople from the barbarians⁹⁹. The first three rows of the spiralling frieze of reliefs that decorate the column represent the flight of the Goths¹⁰⁰, whose main group was located 40 *stadia* away from Constantinople according to Zosimus¹⁰¹. The sixth row, viewed from the south, shows a scene that includes two figures that have been interpreted as the imperial couple Arcadius and Eudoxia¹⁰². They

96 Becatti, *Colonna coclide* 160-161. See the drawing on pls 75-76.

97 Kollwitz, *Oströmische Plastik* 20-22. – The drawings of Menestrier have led to various interpretations. The opinion of Glück, *Hebdomon* 19-21, that it represented a triumphal procession of the brothers Valens and Valentinian on the Campus, which was to be shown on their triumphal column, was rejected. More convincing is the argument of Becatti, *Colonna coclide* 111-150, according to which the engravings show the triumphal procession of Theodosius I. – See Demangel, *Hebdomon* 12-16. – Sodini, *Images sculptées* 52-53. – Taddei, *Colonna di Arcadio* 75-76. – A different view in Bauer, *Stadt, Platz und Denkmal* 197-198, who considers the engravings to be a misunderstood reproduction of a section of the Column of Arcadius.

98 Philostorgios, *Historia Ecclesiastica* XI 8, 6-10 (I 420-422, 174-194 Bleckmann/Stein). – Marcellinus Comes, *Chronicon* 12th-13th indiction 399-400 (7-8 Mommsen). – Sokrates, *Historia Ecclesiastica* VI 6, 21-34 (320, 2-321, 11 Hansen). – Sozomenos, *Historia Ecclesiastica* VIII 4, 14-16 (356, 2-11 Bidez). – Ioannes Antiochenus, *Fragmenta* 216, 4 (394, 16-24 Mariev) = 284 (480-482, 53-60 Roberto). – Nikephoros Xanthopoulos, *Historia Ecclesiastica* XIII 6 (PG 146, 948 C-D-949, A-B). – Cf. Albert, *Goten* 128-139. – Wolfram, *Goten* 156-157.

99 Liebeschuetz, *The Gainas Crisis*. – Liebeschuetz, *Barbarians and Bishops* 273-278. – Cf. also Mayer, *Rom* 152-159, who relates the scenes to the victory against Gainas but considers the Goths being depicted as Roman soldiers, thus pleading for presenting the triumph as a »victory of the legitimate emperors over an internal rival«.

100 Zosimos, *Historia Nova* V 19, 2 (III/1 28, 24-29 Paschoud). 40 *stadia* corresponds to five miles, which means that the Goths' camp must have been near Rhegion (see Schilbach, *Metrologie* 33). – Gainas' request to pray in the Church of St John the Theologian at Hebdomon was just an excuse to be let out of Constantinople by the Byzantine guards, see Sokrates, *Historia Ecclesiastica* VI 6, 23 (320, 9-10 Hansen). – Ioannes Antiochenus, *Fragmenta* 216, 3 (394, 4-5 Mariev) = 284 (480, 41-42 Roberto). – Sozomenos, *Historia Ecclesiastica* VIII 4, 14 (356, 4-7 Bidez).

101 Becatti, *Colonna coclide* 187. 198-207 pl. 75. – Sodini, *Images sculptées* 63.

102 Becatti, *Colonna coclide* 232.

stand in front of a building, next to which marching soldiers and a departing ship with armed crew can be seen (fig. 10). Becatti, an Italian art historian, argued for a palace within Constantinople, but another interpretation is also possible: before the forthcoming campaign in Italy in 393, Arcadius's father, Theodosius I, went to the Church of St John the Baptist in Hebdomon, where he prayed for a victory against his opponents and the help of the saint¹⁰³. Two years later, on 27 November 395, Rufinus, the Praetorian Prefect of the East, fell victim to a conspiracy in which Gainas also participated¹⁰⁴. The murder of the Prefect was committed during a military parade in the presence of Arcadius at Hebdomon, and precisely at the Tribunal¹⁰⁵. Therefore, the Campus with the neighbouring bay of Hebdomon can be considered as a possible place of departure for the imperial land and sea forces in the year 400. The drawing of the scene with the departure of the imperial fleet, however, shows no details about the appearance of the landing stage.

The tenth row, on the other hand, shows the landing of the army, where traces of harbour facilities can be determined¹⁰⁶. One can see two divisions of troops leaving a ship: one goes over a landing stage, the other marches over a stone arch or vault with two towers towards a reception committee in official dress (fig. 11). This is to the left of a box: the two people under its arch can be most likely identified with the Emperors Arcadius and Honorius (fig. 12).

Becatti interpreted the complex as the Harbour at Boukoleon, since this was the closest to the imperial palace, and was also equipped with a staircase¹⁰⁷. However, recent findings about the function of the Boukoleon Harbour question such an interpretation: it was reserved only for the emperor and not used for military logistical purposes, and, most of all, there is no evidence for its existence in the fourth century¹⁰⁸.

The Campus, on the other hand, was the last large plain before the capital, which was available for the army's encampment. Here, soldiers, senators and citizens acclaimed the emperor at the Tribunal, thus the landing site on the coast, as seen on the drawing of the column, could be conceived of as being at Hebdomon¹⁰⁹. Unfortunately, no archaeological research has so far been carried out on site to support or refute such an interpretation. The stylised character of the depiction and its documentation, based only on drawings of the original, make it difficult to interpret the maritime scenes on the triumphal column of Arcadius. Purely hypothetically, based on the presentations, the existence of a stone quay should not be assumed for the Hebdomon headland, but at the coast near the Tribunal.

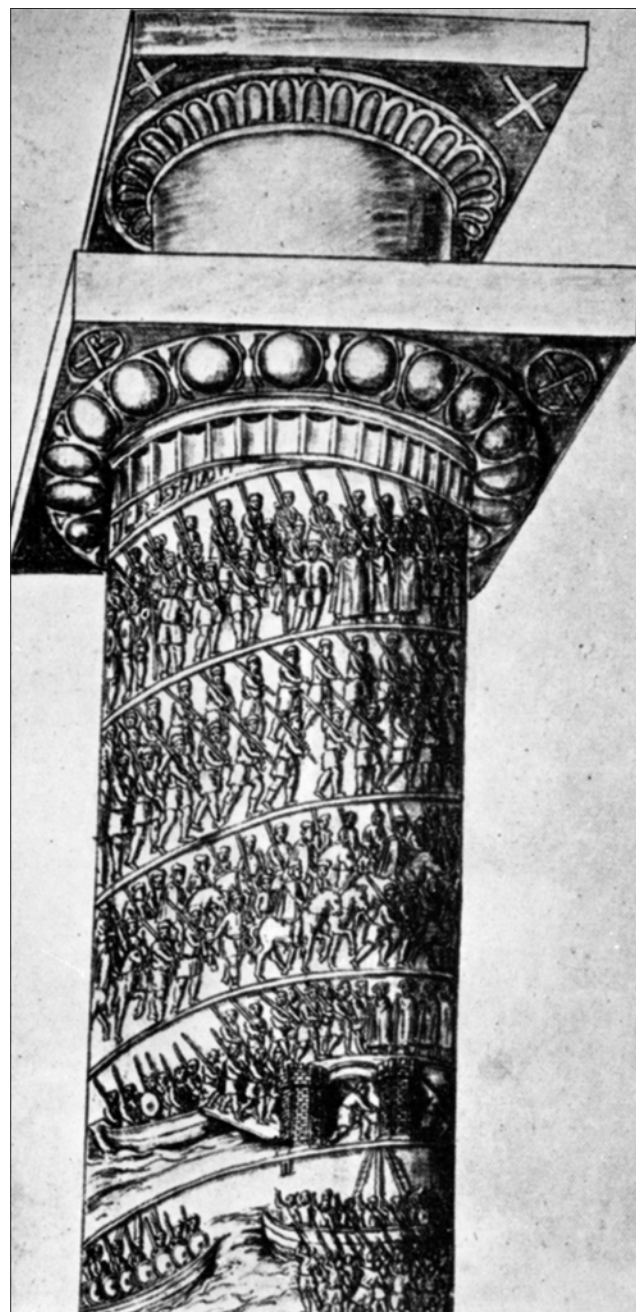


Fig. 11 The Column of Arcadius, west view of the upper part. – (From Becatti, *Colonna coclide* pl. 76b).

103 Sozomenos, *Historia Ecclesiastica* VII 24, 1-2 (337, 10-19 Bidez). – Nikephoros Xanthopoulos, *Historia Ecclesiastica* XII 39 (PG 146, 881 C).

104 Albert, *Goten* 107 and n. 99. – Wolfram, *Goten* 147-148.

105 Philostorgios, *Historia Ecclesiastica* XI 3, 1-3 (I 414, 51-64 Bleckmann/Stein). – *Chronicon Paschale* 566, 4-5 (Dindorf). – Zosimos, *Historia Nova* V 7, 4-6 (III/1 14, 8-29 Paschoud). – Ioannes Antiochenus, *Fragmenta* 215, 2 (388, 24-390, 9 Mariev) = 282 (474, 13-476, 22 Roberto).

106 Becatti, *Colonna coclide* 237-239 pl. 76.

107 Becatti, *Colonna coclide* 238.

108 See Heher, *Harbour of the Bukoleon*, in this volume.

109 Liebeschuetz, *The Gainas Crisis* 280 assumes that bands 10-12 of the Column of Arcadius describe the final campaign against the Goths that took place in the Northern Balkans, and sees no connection with Constantinople's topography. According to him, the emperors Arcadius and Honorius »are shown in state, isolated from the events but inspiring their subordinates from a distance«.



Fig. 12 The Column of Arcadius, south view of the upper part. – (From Becatti, *Colonna coclide* pl. 76c).

The Harbour of Ioukoundianai

In addition to the palace building of Ioukoundianai, Procopius reported on the associated harbour in *De aedificiis*¹¹⁰:

»There too he skilfully contrived a sheltered harbour which had not existed before. Finding a shore which lay open to the winds from two directions and to the beating of the waves, he converted it into a refuge for voyagers in the following way. He prepared great numbers of what are called ›chests‹ or cribs, of huge size, and threw them out for a great distance from the shore along oblique lines on either side of the harbour, and by constantly setting a layer of other chests in regular courses upon those underneath he erected two very long walls, which lay at an angle to each other on the opposite sides of the harbour, rising from their foundations deep in the water up to the surface on which the ships float. Then upon these walls he threw rough-cut stones, which are pounded by the surf and beat back the force of the waves; and even when a severe storm comes down in the winter, the whole space between the walls remains calm, a single entrance being left between the breakwaters for the ships to enter the harbour«¹¹¹.

Oleson and Hohlfelder assumed the use of (wooden) boxes filled with Pozzolan concrete or stones in the construction of the moles¹¹² described by Procopius, which had a base of rubble or quarry stone¹¹³.

As can be seen from the report, the Harbour of Ioukoundianai should protect the ships from the strong south wind. This was sometimes characterised by such power that, according to Theophylact Simocatta, the wind could pick up the stones from the seabed at Hebdomon¹¹⁴. Moreover, the entire bay, including the associated harbour facility, was the last stop before the Byzantine capital for anchoring watercraft when there was no wind. For example, the *Miracles of St Artemios* in the late seventh century told of the interruption of a ship's journey that could not leave for Chios(?) due to the prevailing south wind. At Hebdomon, the sailors had

110 The passage (Greek text at n. 111) is interpreted differently in research due to the syntax. While Janin (*Constantinople* 239), Roques (*Procopée de Césarée* 144 n. 195, 200) and Hohlfelder (*Harbours* 367-380. – *Procopius* 55-60) localise the described harbour facility at Hieria in Bithynia, Glück (*Hebdomon* 54), Hellenkemper (*Sommerpaläste* 245-247) and Taddei (*Topographical Remarks* 65) interpret the passage in connection with Ioukoundianai. Klaus Belke, who deals with the harbour of Hieria in this volume, believes that the location of the harbour at Bithynia described by Procopius is »not assured, but still a possibility« (see p. 229). It may be that the report actually shows the construction of two harbour facilities (λιμένων σκέπας ἀποτετόρνενται), one at Ioukoundianai, the other in Hieria. – Cf. Taddei, *Palace of the Ioukoundianai* 79. – There are two arguments in favour of interpreting Procopius as referring to Hebdomon: on the one hand, the location *ta Eutropiou* was on the opposite continent (ἐν τῇ ἀντιπέρας ἡπείρῳ), which indicates the location of the palace described above and its harbour in Europe; on the other hand, the harbour facility described by Procopius was intended to protect vessels from the south wind. This information fits Ioukoundianai in Hebdomon rather than Hieria in Bithynia, whose moles were *north facing*, cf. Janin, *Constantinople*, map 12. – On the interpretation of Procopius as meaning »mainland on the opposite site« and therefore as a reference to Hieria, see Belke, *Gates*, in this volume.

111 English translation by Dewing, *Buildings of Procopius* 95. – Prokopios, *De aedificiis* I 11, 18-20 (44, 6-21 Haury/Wirth): ἐνταῦθα δὲ καὶ λιμένων σκέπας ἀποτετόρνενται οὐ πρότερον ὄν. ἀκτὴν γὰρ εὐρῶν ἐκατέρωθι τοῖς τε ἀνέμοις καὶ ταραχῇ τοῦ ῥοθίου ἀποκειμένην, σωτήριον εἶναι τοῖς πλέουσι κατεστήσατο ὤδε. τὰς κιβωτοὺς καλουμένας ἀναρίθμους τε καὶ πεποιημένους, ἀμφοτέρωθεν τε αὐτὰς τῆς ἡϊόνος ἐπὶ πλείστον ἐγκαρσίως ἀπορριψάμενος, αἰεὶ τε τῶν προτέρων καθύπερθεν ἑτέρων ἐν τάξει ἐπιβολὴν ἐντιθέμενος, τοίχους πλαγίους ἀπ' ἐναντίας ἀλλήλων ἀνέστησε δύο ἐκ τῶν τῆς ἀβύσσου κρητῶν μέχρι ἐς τὸ ὕδωρ, ὧ δὲ αἱ νέες ἐναπεριδόμεναι πλέουσι. πέτρας τε τὸ λοιπὸν ἀποτόμους ταύτη ἐμβέβληται. ὧν δὲ πρὸς τοῦ ῥοθίου ἀρασσομένων, ἀποκρουομένων τε τὴν τοῦ κλυδωνίου ἐπιθεσιν, καὶ ἀνέμου χειμῶνος ὥρα καταβάντος σκληροῦ, διαμένει τὰ ἐντὸς ἡσυχῇ ἅπαντα τῶν τοίχων, μεταξὺ μίαν ἀπολειμμένην ἐπὶ τὸν λιμένα τοῖς πλοίοις εἰσόδου.

112 Oleson, *Literary Sources* 35. – Hohlfelder, *Harbours* 369-374. – Hohlfelder, *Procopius* 56-60. – See also the contribution by Ginalis/Ercan-Kydonakis in this volume.

113 Hohlfelder, *Harbours* 369-371.

114 Theophylaktos Simocattes, *Historia* V 16, 5 (218, 27-219, 3 de Boor/Wirth): Ἐβδομον δὲ ἄρα τοῦτο τοῖς Βυζαντιοῖς ὀνόμασται... ἐπεγένοντο δὲ καὶ ἐξαισίων πνευμάτων φυσήματα, νότος τε βίαιος, ὡς μονοουχὶ καὶ τὴν ἐπιβύθιον ψηφίδα ἀναρπύπειν τῷ θόλῳ τοῦ σάλου.

to wait for a favourable wind to set sail¹¹⁵. Conversely, the north wind blowing in the area of Constantinople in summer was another challenge for ships that came from the south and wanted to continue sailing to the capital or nearby areas on the Bosphorus. The Arab fleet led by Sulayman, which comprised of cargo and warships, was to anchor in the waters between the Magnaura and the Round Castle in early September 717. The Arabs had to wait two days until the south wind blew again before they could set sail from Hebdomon and head for the harbours at the entrance to the Bosphorus¹¹⁶.

The south wind was not only a challenge for maritime navigation in the area of Constantinople. It also posed a constant threat to the maintenance of harbour facilities on the northern coast of the Sea of Marmara. For example, a few decades after its construction, in 551/552 the Harbour of loukoundianai or Sekoundianai had to be dredged (*exantlein*) and cleaned (*katharizein*) due to silting up¹¹⁷. The chronicler Malalas did not go into detail about the technology used, but based on the information provided by Marcellinus Comes about the dredging of the Harbour of Julian in 509, when scoop wheels were used, a similar approach can also be assumed at the Harbour of loukoundianai¹¹⁸.

Ceremonies on the Shores of the Sea of Marmara

It was surely no coincidence that the imperial crown was lost at Hebdomon during the reign of Justinian I¹¹⁹: the palace complexes there were not only one of the resorts of the Byzantine rulers, they also offered a good opportunity to perform court ceremonies. A treatise of Constantine VII describes the practices that used to be followed in the sixth century when the emperor returned to the capital¹²⁰. Hebdomon offered itself as one of the stations for an official reception, where the senators received the ruler at the Church of the Innocents (*ton Nepion*) when he reached Constantinople by land¹²¹, but he could also come by sea. In this case, the ceremonial stipulates the following:

»If the emperor arrives by ship, they [the senators] stand by the shore, and when the emperor disembarks from the warship, the praesental tribune (and others) pay homage, as in Constantinople, and he receives them verbally; then they accompany him in procession as far as the [Golden] Gate, and there, along with the other officials, they withdraw«¹²².

However, it was not just the emperor who was officially welcomed at Hebdomon. Pope Constantine undertook the last trip of a pontifex to medieval Constantinople in 710/711. After making several stops in Greece, the Pope's ship reached the coast of Hebdomon, where Constantine went ashore. Tiberios, the Co-emperor and son of Justinian II, the Patriarch Kyros with the clergy and the entire senate, as well as many city dwellers, were waiting for him there. With the papal *camelaucum* on his head, Pope Constantine, as well as his companions, mounted the imperial horses offered to them and rode to the Byzantine capital¹²³.

After a period of looting and besieging Constantinople by Byzantium's enemies, when the continued existence of the empire itself was under threat, Hebdomon was to experience its second, albeit brief, heyday during the reign of Emperor Basil I (867-886)¹²⁴. For visiting the outskirts of Constantinople, such as the newly built palaces in Pegai on the northern bank of the Golden Horn, Bithynian Hiereia or Hebdomon, Basil I used a red barque (*rhousion agrarion*)¹²⁵, which was replaced by a dromon during the reign of his son, Leo VI¹²⁶.

Two triumphal processions of Basil I also began in the southwestern area of Constantinople. On the occasion of the capture of Samosata and Zapetra by the Byzantines in 873, the emperor organised a ceremonial entry into Constantinople. Basil landed at Hebdomon and began the triumphal procession from there, according to John Skylitzes¹²⁷. The historian's report is based on the information of Theophanes Continuatus, who only noted that the Emperor entered through the Golden Gate¹²⁸. The harbour of Hebdomon would, indeed, be one of the landing sites in the immediate vicinity of the Golden Gate, but not the only one: at the point where the land wall met the southern sea wall, there was a stone quay, which was used by the emperor when he visited the Church of the Mother of God of the Life-Giving Spring at

115 *Miracula Artemii* 5 (84, 24-26 and 86, 19-21 Papadopoulos-Kerameus): κατὰ δὲ θεῖαν πρόνοιαν ἀνέμου ἐναντίου πνεύσαντος, ὥρμισεν τὸ εἰρημένον πλοῖον εἰς τὸ Ἐβδόμον, εἰς τὴν καλουμένην Μαγναύραν. The saint performed the miracle on a merchant from Chios. – For the main sea routes, see Kislinger, Verkehrsrouen. – For the wind conditions in the area of the Bosphorus, see Ulyyott/Ilgaz, Hydrography 54 and Di Iorio/Yüce, Observations 3091.
116 Theophanes, *Chronographia* AM 6209 (395, 21-396, 3 de Boor). – See p. 196 and Belke, Gates, in this volume.
117 Ioannes Malalas, *Chronographia* XVIII 114 (415, 1-2 Thurn): Καὶ τῷ αὐτῷ χρόνῳ ἐξηντλήθη καὶ ἐκαθαρίσθη ὁ λιμὴν ὁ πλησίον τοῦ παλατίου Σεκουανδιανῶν. – Theophanes, *Chronographia* AM 6044 (228, 13-14 de Boor): τῷ δ' αὐτῷ ἔτει ἐκαθαρίσθη ὁ λιμὴν τοῦ Ἐβδόμου.
118 See Heher, Harbour of Julian 94, in this volume.
119 Ioannes Malalas, *Chronographia* XVIII 114 (410, +1-+5 Thurn). – Theophanes, *Chronographia* AM 6041 (226, 19-22 de Boor). – Georgios Kedrenos, *Chronicon* 409, 3 (II 636, 11-13 Tartaglia).
120 See Bury, Ceremonial Book 439, n. 57. – Cameron, Book of Ceremonies.
121 Konstantinos Porphyrogennetos, *De exped.*, C 680-684 (136 Haldon).

122 English translation by Haldon, Three Treatises 139. – Konstantinos Porphyrogennetos, *De exped.*, C 685-688 (138 Haldon).
123 *Liber Pontificalis* XC 5 (I 390, 9-16 Duchesne): *Unde egressi partes Graeciae, coniungentes in insula quae dicitur Caeta... A quo loco navigantes venerunt a septimo miliario Constantinopolim. Ubi egressus Tiberius imperator, filius Iustiniani Augusti, cum patriciis et omni sinclito et Cyrus patriarcha cum clero et populi multitudine, omnes letantes et diem festum agentes, pontifex et eius primates cum sellares imperiales, sellas et frenos inauratos simul et mappulos, ingressi sunt civitatem; apostolicus pontifex cum camelauco, ut solitus est Roma procedere, a palatio egressus in Placidias usque, ubi placitus erat, properavit.* On the landing, see Todt, Papstreise 40-42. – Taddei, Topographical Remarks 58-69.
124 Alexander, *Strength* 349-351. – Demangel, Hebdomon 30.
125 Konstantinos Porphyrogennetos, *De admin. imp.* 51 (246, 14-17 Moravcsik/Jenkins).
126 See Heher, Harbour of the Bukoleon, in this volume.
127 Ioannes Skylitzes, *Synopsis* 137, 55-60 (Thurn). – See the comments of McCormick, *Eternal Victory* 154-155 and n. 86 in reference to Hebdomon.
128 Theophanes Continuatus, *Chronographia* V 40 (146, 46-54 Ševčenko).



Fig. 13 View of the Golden Gate, Brachialion and Mermerkule (Marble Tower). – (Photograph G. Simeonov).

Pege¹²⁹. It is therefore not certain whether Skylitzes's report referred to an additional source or is simply a later conclusion by analogy.

However, there is certain information about the use of the harbour of Hebdomon by Basil I regarding the starting point of his next triumphal procession. A treatise of Emperor Constantine VII recorded the preparation and the course of a triumphal procession of his grandfather after the campaign against Germanikeia and the Byzantine conquest of Tephrike in 878¹³⁰:

»When the emperor returned victorious from the war against Tephrikē and Germanikeia, he passed via Hiereia to Hebdomon, where citizens of every age met him, with crowns prepared from flowers and roses. Likewise the whole senate then in the City received him there also, and the emperor greeted them verbally. And when he had entered and prayed in the Church of the Baptist in the Hebdomon, and lit candles, he went out; and donning a triple-bordered *skaramangion*¹³¹, and riding together with his son Constantine, they came to the Church of the All-Holy Virgin of the Abramites, with the whole senate going ahead with the people of the City, and with processional banners. Dis-

mounting from their horses, they entered the Church of the Virgin; and having prayed and lit candles, they sat for a short time¹³²« (fig. 13)

The Hebdomon area was not just a place for solemn activities: two Byzantine rulers spent their last hours there. After Emperor Tiberius II married the general Maurice to his daughter Constantina on 13 August 582 at Hebdomon and raised him to the rank of emperor, the old ruler died on the following day¹³³. His body was loaded onto a ship and brought to Constantinople, where he was entombed in the Church of the Holy Apostles¹³⁴. In August 775, Emperor Constantine V began his last campaign against Bulgaria. While still in Thrace, he had to return to Constantinople due to illness. His servants carried the emperor on a stretcher (*krabbatin*) from Arkadiopolis to Selymbria, where Constantine was transferred to a ship. The Byzantine ruler would never see the capital again: when the vessel reached the Round Castle at Hebdomon, he died on board the *chelandion*¹³⁵.

Shortly before his death in December 1025, Emperor Basil II announced his wish to be buried in the Church of

129 See Simeonov, Brachialion, in this volume.

130 McCormick, *Eternal Victory* 155-157. – Haldon, *Three Treatises* 268-269. – On the triumph, see Theophanes Continuatus, *Chronographia* V 49 (176, 26-28 Ševčenko). – For the campaign in the east, see Tobias, *Basil I* 230-251.

131 A tunic slit at the front and back that was suitable for riding, see Parani, *Reality of Images* 61 n. 38 and Hendy, *Catalogue* 158.

132 English translation by Haldon, *Three Treatises* 141. – Konstantinos Porphyrogenetos, *De exped.*, C 726-736 (140 Haldon): Τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπανεληθόντος μετὰ νίκης ἀπὸ τοῦ πολέμου Τεφρικήσ καὶ Γερμανικείας, διεπέρασεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἱέρειαν ἐν τῷ Ἐβδόμῳ, ὑπαντησάσης αὐτῷ ἐκεῖσε ἀπάσης ἡλικίας τῶν τῆς πόλεως μετὰ στεφάνων τῶν ἐξ ἀνθέων καὶ ῥόδων κατεσκευασμένων. ὡσαύτως καὶ ἡ σύγκλητος πᾶσα ἢ ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐκεῖσε αὐτὸν ἐδέξατο, καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀπὸ στόματος αὐτοῦ ἐδέξατο. εἰσελθὼν δὲ καὶ εὐξάμενος ἐν τῷ Ἐβδόμῳ, ἄψας

κηρούς ἐξῆλθεν· καὶ βαλὼν σκαραμάγγιον τριβλάττιν ἅμα υἱῷ Κωνσταντίνῳ τῷ νέῳ ἵππεύσαντες ἦλθον ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῆς ὑπεραγίας Θεοτόκου τῶν Ἀβραμιτῶν, προηγουμένης πάσης τῆς συγκλήτου καὶ τοῦ λαοῦ τῆς πόλεως ἅμα καὶ φλαμούλων τινῶν λιτῶν, καὶ καταβάντες τῶν ἵππων εἰσήλθον εἰς τὸν ναὸν τῆς Θεοτόκου. εὐξάμενοι καὶ ἄψαντες κηρούς, ἐκαθέσθησαν μικρὸν. – Cf. Βέλγιαεν, *Bogomol'nye vychody* 66.

133 For the circumstances see n. 30 above.

134 *Chronicon Paschale* 690, 12-16 (Dindorf). – Ioannes Zonaras, *Epitome* XIV 11, 24-26 (III 182, 10-18 Büttner-Wobst).

135 Theophanes, *Chronographia* AM 6267 (448, 12-21 de Boor). – Symeon Logothetes, *Chronicon* 122, 18 (194, 168-173 Wahlgren). At this time, the word *chelandion* meant a warship, cf. Pryor/Jeffreys, *Dromon* 166-168. – Eickhoff, *Seekrieg und Seepolitik* 136-137.

St John the Theologian at Hebdomon¹³⁶. While Michael VIII Palaiologos besieged the fortifications of Galata in 1260, some of his relatives moved to Hebdomon. There, in the dilapidated Church of St John the Theologian, they came across the bones of a person whose epitaph identified him as the Byzantine emperor who had died about 250 years earlier¹³⁷. After learning of this, Michael VIII sent hymn singers, guardsmen and dignitaries, together with textiles made of silk and gold, to transfer the remains of Basil II from Hebdomon to Galata¹³⁸. From there they were transported to Selymbria, where they were buried in the Monastery *tu Soteris*.

Perhaps for the last time in Byzantine history, the Propon-tis suburbs of Constantinople seem to have played a role in imperial ceremonies just some decades before the fall of the capital to the Turks. Silvester Syropoulos describes in his *Mémoires* the arrival of the Byzantine delegation from the Council of Florence on 31 January 1440. According to him, the ship sailed by (*paraplein*) the suburb of Theologos, where the eparch Paul Asan met Emperor John VIII Palaiologos. Then the ship arrived at the Golden Gate and cast anchor in the *Exartysis* (shipyard)¹³⁹.

Although Constantinople had two Golden Gates – the western Golden Gate and the eastern one in the area of the Acropolis – and shipyards are attested on various locations in the Golden Horn as well as on the Marmaran shore¹⁴⁰, two aspects point to a reception in the Thracian suburbs. As we already mentioned, there was a church at Hebdomon dedicated to St John the Theologian. Thus, the first station of the delegation, where Paul Asan welcomed the emperor, should have been a landing stage at Hebdomon. Thereby under Golden Gate the author probably means the section of the Theodosian Walls with the Brachialion. Yet the strongest argument in favour of a reception in the European suburbs seems to be the *Exartysis*. Since the reign of Michael VIII, a preferable site for the shipyard of Constantinople was the Kontoskalion Harbour, which, moreover, was cleaned by command of John VIII, who led the Byzantine mission to the West in 1438-1439¹⁴¹.

The topography of Sigurd I Magnusson's arrival in Constantinople around 1111 is difficult to interpret. According to Snorri Sturluson's *Heimskringla*, Emperor Alexios I Komnenos prepared a ceremonial reception of the Norwegian King in the Byzantine capital. The saga says that Sigurd entered Constantinople through the Golden Gate and rode to *lak-tiarna* or *loktiar*, which Dawkins interpreted as the Blachernae Palace¹⁴². The question that this account raises here is which was the Golden Gate – the western one at the Theodosian land walls, or the eastern one close to the Acropolis¹⁴³. If we follow the *Heimskringla* – which is highly disputable due to its legendary character – that Sigurd wanted to put the splendid sails of his ship to display to the Constantinopolitan citizens, all of whom had gathered to see him, it seems plausible to accept a triumphal entry through the eastern Golden Gate where the Norwegian King landed with his entourage.

Hebdomon owed its establishment to the increasing importance of the army in the political life of the Empire. The army not only participated in the acclamation of the emperor from the fourth century onwards, but often chose the new ruler. This seems to have left a significant mark on the topography of the Byzantine capital itself. Cyril Mango observed that the Golden Gate in the fifth-century Theodosian walls was moved to the southernmost part of the new landward fortifications¹⁴⁴. For our purposes, the problem surrounding the commissioner of the complex – be it Theodosius I or his grandson of the same name – is irrelevant¹⁴⁵. Much more important is instead the question why this imposing gate, through which the victorious emperor entered the capital, was constructed so close to the sea shore during the Theodosian period. The answer can be found outside the city. One reason was the new stretch of the Via Egnatia laid down in the fourth century that led along the sea coast in Constantinople and thus shaped the topography of the new capital¹⁴⁶. Another reason was the establishment of that district at the seventh milestone on the shores of the Sea of Marmara where the army was quartered and the campaigns of the Byzantine emperors had their starting or ending point¹⁴⁷.

136 Ioannes Skylitzes, *Synopsis* 369, 17-19 (Thurn). – Michael Glykas, *Annales* 579, 9-13 (Bekker). – Ioel, *Chronographia* 118, 1446-1449 (Iadevaia).

137 Georgios Pachymeres, *Relationes historicae* II 21 (I 175, 12-26 Failler). – On the epitaph *Anthologia Palatina*, *Epigram* 740 (III 216, 1-10 Cougny). – On the sources and the siege of Galata, see Geanakoplos, *Michael Palaeologus* 75-79. – On the reason why Hebdomon was chosen to be the place where one of the greatest generals among Byzantine emperors was to rest in peace, see Stephenson, *The Legend* 49-51 and 95 with further bibliography.

138 Georgios Pachymeres, *Relationes historicae* II 21 (I 175, 26-177, 3 Failler). – Makrides, *Hebdomon* 55 n. 1 sees in this Galata a location on the Thracian coast of the Sea of Marmara (Galataria, heute Şenlikköy), which was about 10 km west of Hebdomon, and argues for a transfer of the remains of Basil II by land to Selymbria. Tziras, *Ebdomon* 71 agrees with him. However, since Pachymeres described the siege of the Galata Fort immediately before this episode, a transfer to the north bank of the Golden Horn, where Michael VIII stayed, seems more plausible.

139 Silvester Syropoulos, *Mémoires* XI 23 (544, 11-14 Laurent): "Ἐκοττε οὖν δευτεραῖοι πρὸς ἐσπέραν παρεπλέομεν τὸ προάστειον τῆς Πόλεως τὸν Θεολόγον, ἔνθα ἡ κεφαλὴ τῆς Πόλεως ὁ Ἀσάν κύρ Παῦλος μετ' ὀλίγων πάνυ ἐλθὼν προσεκύνησε τὸν βασιλέα, καὶ περὶ δευτέραν ὥραν τῆς νυκτὸς κατελάβομεν τὴν Χρυσείαν Πύλιν καὶ ἔστημεν εἰς τὴν λεγομένην Ἐξάρτησιν, οὗ ἦλθον πολλοὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων καὶ προσεκύνησαν τὸν βασιλέα."

140 On the eastern Golden Gate (Barbara Gate) and the eastern triumphal way, which, however, probably started at the Eugenios Gate, see Mango, *Triumphal Way* 178-179. – Kisliger, *Eugenios-Tor* 725-729. – On the contrary, Magdalino, *Acropolis-Gate* 155. – Heher/Simeonov, *Ceremonies by the Sea* 235-237.

141 See Heher, *Harbour of Julian* esp. 104, in this volume. – On the reign of John VIII and his mission to the West, see Kolditz, *Johannes VIII. Palaiologos*.

142 Van der Vin, *Travellers to Greece* II 514-515. – Cf. Dawkins, *The Visit* 58. – Vučićić, *Zusammenkünfte* 102*-103*.

143 Cf. Mango, *Triumphal Way* 178-179. – Kisliger, *Eugenios-Tor* 725-729. – Magdalino, *Acropolis-Gate* 155. – Heher/Simeonov, *Ceremonies by the Sea* 235-237.

144 Mango, *Triumphal Way* 179: »I do not know why the Golden Gate was placed so close to the seashore instead of being more or less in line with the old one«.

145 Bardill, *Golden Gate*, advocates the construction of the complex as the triumphal arch of Theodosius I, which would later be built into the wall of his grandson. – Asutay-Effenberger, *Landmauer* 54-71 is of the opinion that the Golden Gate was built as the triumphal gate of Theodosius II.

146 Mango, *Triumphal Way* 174-175. – See the *Itinerarium Antonini* 323, 5-8 and 332, 6-9 (48 and 50 Cuntz) and the *Itinerarium Burdigalense* 570, 2-8 (90-91 Cuntz).

147 Mango, *Développement* 33. – Bardill, *Golden Gate* 692. – Dagron, *Naissance* 110.

A change in the history of Hebdomon can already be seen towards the end of the fifth century. As the emperor often resided in the capital and no longer personally led military campaigns, the role of the two other »constitutional elements« (*Verfassungselemente*) in the proclamation of the emperor increased: the Senate and the people of Constantinople. This led to a shift in the places where these elements manifested their political significance, from the Byzantine Field of Mars outside the city walls to the centre of the capital, be it at the Hippodrome or in the Grand Palace¹⁴⁸.

Hebdomon as an Arab Stronghold

Marek Jankowiak dealt with many aspects of the first siege of Constantinople by the Arabs, which he dated to 668¹⁴⁹. As part of his study, he questioned the chronicler Theophanes' account of the maritime character of the Arab attack on Constantinople, which research was based on for a long time¹⁵⁰. Instead, he is of the opinion that the author of the common source for the reports of Theophanes and Patriarch Nikephoros regarding the Arab fleet based at Hebdomon projected his memories of the second siege back to the first¹⁵¹. Jankowiak therefore spoke in favour of the possibility that the Arabs had ended their campaign by attacking the land walls of Constantinople¹⁵². While taking into account the overall character of the undertaking, the goal of which was the capture of the Byzantine capital by a force transported by sea, an attack by land does not preclude the use of harbour facilities in the surrounding area of Constantinople by the Caliph's army. The *Synaxarion* of the Constantinopolitan Church also referred to battles on land and at sea¹⁵³. Both for the hostilities at sea, of which Theophanes wrote, and for an attack on the land walls, the Arabs needed a landing stage in the immediate European vicinity of Constantinople: this was an essential prerequisite for the landing and supply of their troops¹⁵⁴. The starting point of the Arab sea attacks can be determined more precisely thanks to the information of Theophanes and Patriarch Nikephoros: according to them, the Arab forces anchored in the bay of Hebdomon, from the Magnaura in the west to

the Round Castle in the east. From there they launched their attack against the city¹⁵⁵.

We are better informed about the logistical importance of the bay of Hebdomon during the second Arab siege¹⁵⁶. In 717, the Arab forces led by Maslama ibn Abd al-Malik crossed into Europe near Abydos and marched against the Byzantine capital¹⁵⁷. On 15 August 717, the army reached Constantinople and set up camp west of the Golden Gate, with the Arabs cutting the city off from the countryside with a trench and palisade¹⁵⁸. On 1 September, the Arab fleet also appeared under the direction of Sulayman and, according to Theophanes, anchored in the waters of Magnaura up to the Round Castle¹⁵⁹. According to the chronicler, the fleet comprised 1800 vessels and consisted of round-hulled ships, troop carriers (*polemikai katenai*) and dromons. However, the reports by Byzantine and Oriental historians present different pictures of the maritime events on the Thracian coast. According to Theophanes, the Arab fleet's stay south-west of Constantinople lasted only two days, awaiting favourable wind conditions. With the advent of the south wind, the transport ships could continue sailing and set course for Bithynia and the European coast of the Bosphorus¹⁶⁰. The statements of Michael the Syrian and the *Chronicle of 1234* tell of a longer stay of the Arab fleet in the Hebdomon vicinity. Because the camp had direct access to the sea via the bay there, Maslama had a part of the Arab army quartered on board the ships and, in addition, his Egyptian sailors could surveil the actions of the Byzantine navy¹⁶¹. The decisive naval battles of the second Arab siege took place far away from Hebdomon, but it can be assumed that its coastal area remained as a base until the end of the conflict in the summer of 718.

Conclusions: Landing Stages and Harbour in the Area of Hebdomon

The lack of (underwater) archaeological research in the bay of Hebdomon limits research on the landing stages in the area. Hypotheses based on the analysis of written sources and visual representations must therefore suffice. From the promontory of the coast at Hebdomon in the west to the

148 See Beck, *Senat und Volk* 10-29. – Treitinger, *Kaiser- und Reichsidee* 17-29. – Pfeilschifter, *Der Kaiser und Konstantinopel*. – Trampedach, *Kaiserwechsel und Krönungsritual* 280-290. – Bauer, *Stadt, Platz und Denkmal* 247-254. – MacCormack, *Art and Ceremony* 248-250. – Heucke, *Circus und Hippodrom* 217-235. – Cameron, *Book of Ceremonies* 131.

149 Jankowiak, *First Arab Siege*.

150 Stratos, *Siège ou blocus*. – Tsangadas, *Fortifications* 107-133.

151 Jankowiak, *First Arab Siege* 252-254 and 302-303.

152 Jankowiak, *First Arab Siege* 302-303.

153 *Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae*, 25 June 2 (772, 8-16 Delehaye). – See *Le typicon de la Grande Église*, 25 June (I 320, 1-6 Mateos).

154 On the role of Hebdomon in the first Arab siege, see Stratos, *Siège ou blocus* 106. – Tsangadas, *Fortifications* 114-119, but the latter's conclusions regarding Hebdomon's »excellent, well-sheltered, large harbour« are exaggerated.

155 Theophanes, *Chronographia* AM 6165 (353, 25-354, 2 de Boor). – Nikephoros Patriarches, *Breviarium* 34 (84, 1-9 Mango). – See Georgios Monachos, *Chronicon* II 727, 16-20 (de Boor/Wirth).

156 On the second Arab siege, see Christides, *Second Arab Siege*. – Guillard, *Expédition*. – Eickhoff, *Seekrieg und Seepolitik* 31-36. – Bannikov/Morozov, *Istorija* 398-399.

157 Theophanes, *Chronographia* AM 6209 (395, 13-18 de Boor). – Nikephoros Patriarches, *Breviarium* 54 (122, 3-7 Mango). – *Chronica Michaelis Syriaci* XI 18 (II 485, 7-10 Chabot).

158 Theophanes, *Chronographia* AM 6209 (395, 18-21 de Boor). – *Chronica Michaelis Syriaci* XI 18 (II 485, 10-14 Chabot). – *Chronicon anonymum ad annum Christi 1234*, 159 (I 237, 15-19 Chabot).

159 Theophanes, *Chronographia* AM 6209 (395, 21-25 de Boor).

160 Theophanes, *Chronographia* AM 6209 (395, 26-396, 3 de Boor). – Guillard, *Expédition* 119. – On the harbours on the European and Asian shore of the Bosphorus, see the corresponding *lemmata* in Külzer, *Ostthrakien*, and Belke, *Bithynien und Hellespont*.

161 *Chronica Michaelis Syriaci* XI 18 (II 485, 14-16 Chabot). – *Chronicon anonymum ad annum Christi 1234*, 159 (I 237, 19-22 Chabot).

Round Castle in the east, there would have been two landing stages and a harbour.

The remains of a mole (or breakwater) at the very end of the headland belong to the harbour complex, which was noted by Glück during the First World War and later by French archaeologists in the early 1920s. The state of research at that time did not allow the scholars to go beyond photographic documentation of the monument. However, the remains in the sea were not examined in later years either and they have since disappeared into the basin during the construction of the new port.

Based on photographs and a sketch created by the French researchers, the following conclusions can be drawn about the harbour at the Hebdomon promontory: the mole was built from stone blocks and was at a 45° angle to the promontory in order to alleviate the force of the wind and waves, but was not directly exposed to it¹⁶². Thanks to this design, the mole provided ships with protection from the south wind, which blows in the area around Constantinople in winter. The ships were further protected from the strong current, which arises in the upper part of the Bosphorus as a result of the inflow of water with lower salinity from the Black Sea and thus affects maritime traffic in the straits and the Sea of Marmara¹⁶³. In the western area of Hebdomon it comes almost head-on from the northeast and meets the coast. Identification with one of the moles of the harbour near the Ioukoundianai Palace that Procopius described seems possible, but the researchers noted only *one* mole at the beginning of the twentieth century. During his tour of the site in the 1890s, the Russian historian Beljaev visited the coast of what was then Makrochorion and explored some monuments on the shore *in situ*¹⁶⁴. Unfortunately, his report did not contain any precise information that could topographically determine the Byzantine ruins. It can only be concluded from his information that the monuments he saw on the coast were located along the central or inner part of the bay and could therefore have belonged to the palace complex.

Another landing stage that may have been in the eastern part of the bay is indicated by the sources: the report in the *Chronicon Paschale* about the appearance of the group of ships of Heraclius at the Round Castle in 610 and the information of Theophanes about the death of Emperor Constantine V, who died on a ship at this defensive system¹⁶⁵. The natural conditions themselves also speak for this, since the promontory at today's Zeytinburnu could serve as a natural breakwater against the current from the Bosphorus. The

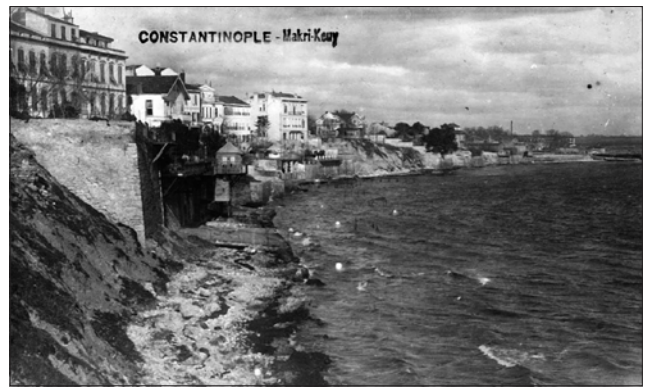


Fig. 14 The inner part of the bay at Hebdomon, first half of the 20th c. – (Photograph www.eskiistanbul.net).

sources are completely silent about the construction of artificial protective structures, and the archaeological investigation of the early 1920s did not reveal any monuments in the eastern part of the bay either.

The establishment of Hebdomon as a place that was closely connected to the army shaped his settlement history. The core, at least in the first 100 years of its development, was the Tribunal and the associated Campus, where some of the imperial troops were quartered. It is therefore only natural that the oldest landing stage would have been located in the innermost part of the bay, exactly where the cliff turns into a flat beach and where the distance between the shore on the one hand and the Tribunal and Campus on the other is the shortest (fig. 14). Whether it had a stone quay, as the analysis of the scenes on the Column of Arcadius indicates – assuming that this assignment is correct – has to be left open because of the schematisation and simplification of the drawings.

With regard to larger units of ships, such as the fleets of the Arabs in 668 and 717-718 or the transports of Thomas the Slav in 822¹⁶⁶ and the Venetian fleet in 1203, the choice of the appropriate landing place was determined by war-related reasons. The Arabs needed a place that gave their land and sea forces easy access to the fortifications of Constantinople, so their ships anchored in the waters of Hebdomon in both 668 and 717-718. The Venetians, on the other hand, were much more careful with their undertakings at the beginning of the thirteenth century, which is why they approached the bay of San Stefano (today Yeşilköy), which is also larger than that at Hebdomon, and planned the attack on Constantinople there¹⁶⁷.

162 Hohlfelder, Harbours 372-373. – See the similar design of the southern breakwater of Alexandria Troas on the south coast of the Dardanelles in Feuser, Roman Harbor 262 and the breakwater in Graviscae on the Tyrrhenian coast in Daum, Hafenbau 16.

163 Ulyyott/Ilgaz, Hydrography 44.

164 Beljaev, Bogomol'nye vychody 87-88.

165 Taddei, Topographical Remarks 64-65 and 69.

166 Theophanes Continuatus, Chronographia II 16 (94, 20-32 Featherstone/Signes-Codoñer). – Ioseph Genesios, Liber regum II 6 (29, 74-86 Lesmüller-Werner/Thurn). – Ioannes Skylitzes, Synopsis 36, 50-37, 63 (Thurn).

167 Geoffroy de Villehardouin, Conquête V 127-132 (I 128-134 Faral). – Robert de Clari, Conquête 40 (106, 1-11 Dufournet). – This also applies to the naval forces of Thomas the Slav from the Hellas *thema*, which had to pay attention to the presence of the imperial navy.

Summary / Zusammenfassung

The Harbour and Landing Stages of Hebdomon

Hebdomon, a suburb at the seventh milestone outside Constantinople, held a special position in the ceremonies of the Early Byzantine period. The imperial presence in the area was manifested in the construction of representative buildings such as palace complexes, fortifications and the Tribunal, where the ruler was proclaimed emperor and held military parades. The construction of the entire complex along the coast of the Sea of Marmara not only influenced traffic in the southwestern area of the capital, but also offered a good opportunity to give the ceremonial a maritime character. During investigations in Makrochorion (today Bakırköy) in the first half of the twentieth century, the remains of a mole were found at the headland of Hebdomon, whose identification with the harbour of the Ioukoundianai Palace seems possible. From the written records and pictorial evidence, it is evident that there were at least two other landing stages in the bay of Hebdomon. One can be linked to the Tribunal and thus should be located in the inner part of the bay. The other is said to have been located near the so-called Round Castle, which guarded access to Constantinople. The capacity of the harbour facilities in the area of Hebdomon appears to be limited to smaller numbers of ship. Larger fleets would have used the bays of Hebdomon or Hagios Stephanos (today Yeşilköy).

Der Hafen und die Anlegestellen des Hebdomon

Das Hebdomon, ein Vorort am siebten Meilenstein vor Konstantinopel, hatte im Zeremoniell der frühbyzantinischen Zeit eine besondere Stellung inne. Die kaiserliche Präsenz in der Gegend manifestierte sich im Bau von repräsentativen Bauwerken wie Palastanlagen, Befestigungen und dem Tribunal, wo der Herrscher zum Kaiser ausgerufen wurde und darüber hinaus Heerschau hielt. Die Errichtung des gesamten Komplexes entlang der Küste des Marmarameeres beeinflusste nicht nur den Verkehr in der südwestlichen Umgebung der Hauptstadt, sondern sie bot die gute Möglichkeit, dem Zeremoniell eine maritime Ausprägung zu verleihen. Die Untersuchungen in Makrochorion (heute Bakırköy) in der ersten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts stellten die Reste einer Mole beim Kap des Hebdomon fest, deren Identifikation mit dem Hafen des Ioukoundianai-Palastes möglich scheint. Aus der schriftlichen Überlieferung und den bildlichen Zeugnissen geht hervor, dass es in der Bucht des Hebdomon mindestens zwei weitere Anlegestellen gab. Die eine lässt sich mit dem Tribunal in Verbindung bringen und ist damit in dem inneren Teil der Bucht zu lokalisieren. Die andere soll in der Nähe des sogenannten Runden Kastells gelegen haben, das den Zugang zu Konstantinopel überwachte. Die Aufnahmekapazität der Hafenanlagen in der Gegend des Hebdomon scheint auf kleinere Schiffsverbände beschränkt zu sein; was größere Flotten betrifft, sollten sie die Buchten des Hebdomon oder von Hagios Stephanos (heute Yeşilköy) anlaufen.