

# The Moorings at Kosmidion

## A Healing Centre on the Shores of the Golden Horn

According to Dionysios Byzantios and Pseudo-Hesychios, an altar to the nymph Semystra was located where the rivers Barbyzes (today Kâğithane Deresi) and Kydaros (today Alibey Deresi) flow »into the sea«, meaning the upper end of the Golden Horn<sup>1</sup>. Pseudo-Hesychios further reports the construction of a temple of the Dioscuri Castor and Pollux at this altar at the mouth of both rivers, where people experienced

relief from their suffering<sup>2</sup>. These passages are worth mentioning for two reasons. Firstly, they describe a perception that deviates from today's topography, because both rivers flow into the Golden Horn, in the area of Silahtarağa, to be precise. In antiquity, the northernmost part of the estuary, where still fresh water is found, was apparently seen as a separate transition zone, *potamothalassa*, i.e., »river sea«<sup>3</sup>. Secondly, the location of the Temple of the Dioscuri in Eyüp provides another indication of the location of the later Kosmidion Monastery in the same area (fig. 1)<sup>4</sup>.

- 1 Dionysii Byzantii Anaplus 24 (12, 1-6 Güngerich). – Pseudo-Hesychios, Patria 3 (2, 1-10 Preger). – On the two rivers, see Külzer, Ostthrakien 279-281. 484-485.
- 2 Pseudo-Hesychios, Patria 15 (7, 3-6 Preger): τέμενος [...] ἀνήγειρεν [...] τῶν δὲ Διοσκούρων, Κάστορος τέ φημι καὶ τοῦ Πολυδεύκου, ἐν τῷ τῆς Σεμέστρης βωμῷ καὶ τῇ τῶν ποταμῶν μίξει, ἐν ᾧ καὶ λύσις τῶν παθῶν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐγίνετο.
- 3 On *potamothalassa*, see Ioannes Kinnamos, Eritome II 14 (75, 10-14 Meineke). – See Berger, Untersuchungen 535. – Schneider, Blachernen 83-86. – Hurbanič, St. Callinicus Bridge 18. – Külzer, Ostthrakien 628 (Sapra Thalassa). – The author of the Synaxar of the Akathistos Hymn, which describes the decisive sea battle in the Golden Horn during the Avar siege in 626, also sees the area north of the Blachernae district as the end of the estuary, see Synaxar of the Akathistos 1352 B (PG 92): παρὰ τὸ χεῖλος τῆς θαλάσσης τὸ ἐν Βλαχέρναις ἐξέβρασεν. – This understanding is also confirmed by the comparison of the reports by Joseph Gen-

- esios and Theophanes Continuatus on the siege of Constantinople by Thomas the Slav in 821. According to Genesisios, the land and sea forces of the pretender to the throne united at the mouth of the Barbyzes, which Theophanes Continuatus locates at Blachernae, see Ioseph Genesisios, Libri regum II 5 (27, 28-29 Lesmüller-Werner/Thurn): συνελθόντες ἀλλήλοις ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς καὶ θαλάττης κατὰ τὰς Βαρβύσου τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐκβόλας. – Theophanes Continuatus, Chronographia II 14 (86, 22-23 Featherstone/Signes-Codoñer): γενομένου δὲ τούτου καὶ κατὰ ταῦτον ἀναφανέντων τῶν τε ναυτικῶν καὶ πεζικῶν δυνάμεων ἐν τῷ πρὸς Βλαχέρναις κόλπῳ. – Ioannes Skylitzes, Synopsis 33, 60-61 (Thurn).
- 4 Janin, Constantinople 461-462. – Janin, Sièges de Constantinople 289. – Külzer, Ostthrakien 471-473. – Majeska, Russian Travelers 332-333. – Here it is necessary to clarify the use of the name »Kosmidion« in this chapter. To my knowledge, only a church dedicated to the Holy Unmercenarys in the northwest suburbs of

Fig. 1 View of Constantinople and the Golden Horn from the Pierre Loti Tepesi. – (Photograph G. Simeonov).





**Fig. 2** Pierre Loti Tepesi in Eyüp, Istanbul. – (Photograph G. Simeonov).

Nuray Özaslan has collected further arguments in favour of localisation on the Pierre Loti Tepesi (fig. 2)<sup>5</sup>. The Düsseldorf view of Constantinople by Cristoforo Buondelmonti also points to a correspondence regarding the location of the former Byzantine monastery and the Eyüp Sultan Mosque. The *veduta* depicts a mosque outside the Blachernae wall, which is situated on a bay and is labelled with the inscription *cesmidi*, i. e., Kosmidion (fig. 3)<sup>6</sup>. According to Nikephoros Gregoras, the camp of the young Andronikos III in Kosmidion in 1321/1322 was 30 *stadia* from the Palace of Blachernae<sup>7</sup>. A greater distance between the monastery and the city was also indicated by the report of William of Tyre concerning the camp of Godfrey of Bouillon, which the crusaders had established to the north-west of Constantinople in early 1097<sup>8</sup>.

Based on the information about the existence of a *loutron* or *pribaton* (bath) in the shrine of the Anargyroi, Cyril Mango argued for a location near the Church of the Theotokos in Blachernae, which, in his opinion, shared a common bath with the sanctuary of Cosmas and Damian. Accordingly, he located the monastery on the hill in front of the Blachernae

walls, where the southern end of the Haliç Bridge is today<sup>9</sup>. Mango's reasoning is questionable in this case, especially since the *miracula* of the Saints Cosmas and Damian indicate a greater distance between their sanctuary and the Church of the Theotokos<sup>10</sup>.

Recently, however, Halûk Çetinkaya proposed a third location for the Kosmidion Monastery. Based on archaeological research in an area west of Zal Mahmud Paşa Camii, he identified the Byzantine remains there as the shrine of the Holy Unmercenaries<sup>11</sup>. Thus, the question about the site of the Kosmidion Monastery still remains open.

In Late Antiquity, the Church viewed physician saints as a powerful means of suppressing the cult of the pagan Dioscuri and establishing the worship of the Anargyroi in their place. If one considers that the church of another pair of Anargyroi – Cyrus and John – was built on the site of the pagan temple of Isis in Menouthis<sup>12</sup>, it can be assumed that the Church of Saints Cosmas and Damian in Kosmidion was meant to replace the cult site of the Dioscuri<sup>13</sup>. The Christian shrine on the banks of the upper Golden Horn that was dedicated to the Holy

Constantinople is mentioned in Byzantine sources until the 9<sup>th</sup> c. A monastery by the name of Kosmidion emerged around this church, probably after the end of the Iconoclasm. According to the accounts of Symeon Logothetes, *Chronicon* 131, 22 (242, 199-201 Wahlgren) and Ioannes Kantakuzenos, *Historia* IV 11 (III 70, 14-17 Schopen), we can deduce that the region where the monastery was situated was named after the foundation. In this chapter, therefore, the name of Kosmidion will be used to identify the suburban area between the land wall of Blachernae and Pierre Loti Tepesi. – Cf. Taddei, Kosmidion, who gives new insights into the emergence of the name »Kosmidion« relating to Constantinople's suburb, based on the spread of the same toponym in Italy. In his view, the Italian »replicas« of Kosmidion occurred due to migration of monks from Constantinople – from the Monastery of the Anargyroi alike – to the West in the 7<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> c.. However, the lack of such a toponym in the so-called *Scriptor Incertus*, whose detailed account on the meeting between Krum and the Byzantine delegation in 813 on the shore of the Golden Horn refers to the area simply as »outside the Blachernae« and as »the site/place of the Saint Unmercenaries« (see below pp. 215-216) makes me somehow sceptical whether the name of »Kosmidion« was used by the Byzantines to identify the north-west suburb of Constantinople before the middle of the 9<sup>th</sup> c..

5 Özaslan, Kosmidion 385-388.

6 Effenberger, *Illustrationen* 40 and fig. 32.

7 Nikephoros Gregoras, *Historia* VIII 11, 3 (I 353, 7-9 Schopen/Bekker). – Ioannes Kantakuzenos, *Historia* I 27 (I 134, 2-18 Schopen). – 30 *stadia* are about 5 km see Schilbach, *Metrologie* 33-34.

8 Willelmus Tyrensis, *Chronicon* II 8 (172, 24-30 Huygens): *rursus ante urbem in locis liberis et late patentibus constiterunt, ubi habito conflictu inter ecclesiam sanctorum martyrum Cosme et Damiani, que hodie vulgari appellatione dicitur Castellum Boamundi, et palatium novum quod dicitur Blaquernas, quod in angulo civitatis iuxta portum situm est.*

9 Mango, *Cosmas and Damian* 189-191. – The location suggested by Mango is also accepted by Booth, *Cosmas and Damian* 116 n. 8, and, to a certain degree, by Taddei, *Kosmidion* 21-23.

10 *Miracula Cosmae et Damiani* 18 (145, 34-38 Deubner).

11 Çetinkaya, *Kosmidion* 133-137.

12 Montserrat, *Pilgrimage* 258-278.

13 The *Miracula Cosmae et Damiani* 9 (114-116, 7-22, 36-45 and 63-71 Deubner) testify to the old belief – against the Christian point of view – that the pagan pair Castor and Pollux gave healing at Kosmidion.

**Fig. 3** View of Constantinople, Pera and the upper Bosphorus by Cristoforo Buondelmonti, *Liber insularum archipelagi*. – (Düsseldorf, University and State Library, Ms. G 13, fol. 54r, c. 1485-1490; the manuscript is on loan from the city Düsseldorf).



Unmercenaries, dates back to a distinguished family of Syrian or Isaurian descent and is dated to the second half of the fifth century, according to Mango<sup>14</sup>. Already during the reign of Emperor Justinian I (527-565), the sanctuary had become a local pilgrimage site, demonstrated by Procopius's report of the miracles of the Anargyroi. Procopius also reported on the type of journey to the Church of Saints Cosmas and Damian:

»So when any persons find themselves assailed by illnesses which are beyond the control of physicians, in despair of human assistance they take refuge in the one hope left to them, and getting on flat-boats they are carried up the bay to this very church. And as they enter its mouth they straightway see the shrine as on an acropolis, priding

<sup>14</sup> Mango, Cosmas and Damian 190-191. – On the founding of the monastery, see *Patria Konstantinupoleos III* 146 (261, 1-5 Preger). – Berger, *Untersuchungen* 670-671.

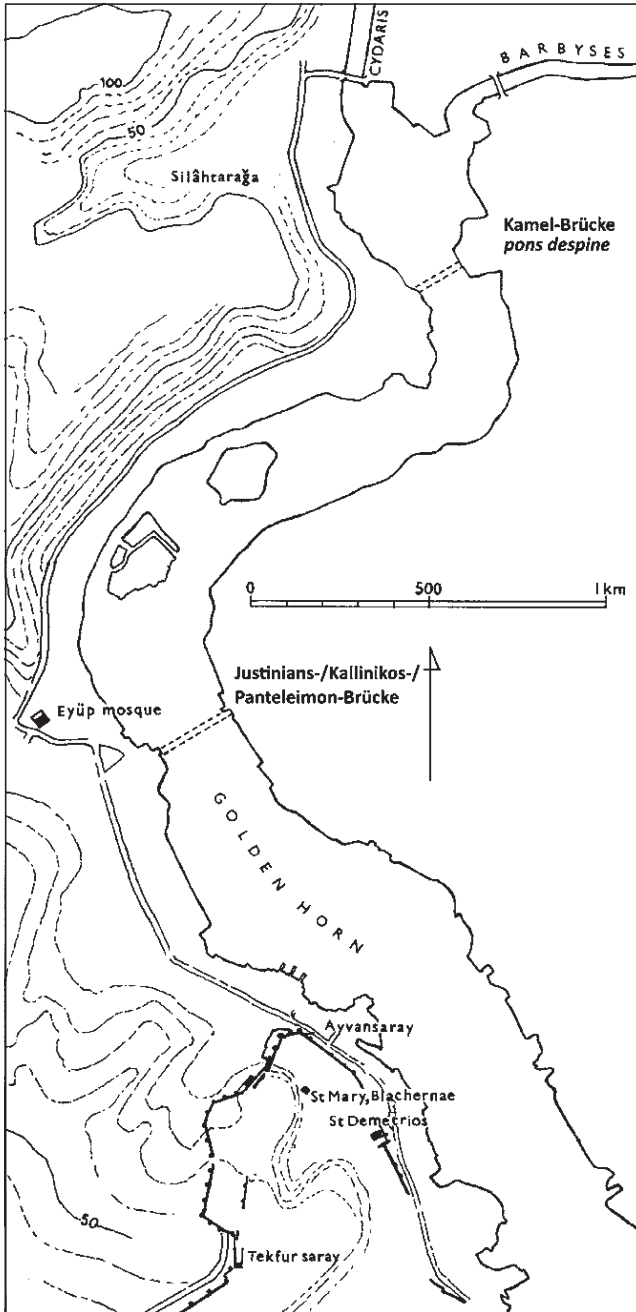


Fig. 4 Map of the upper region of the Golden Horn (by C. Mango, modified by A. Effenberger; from Effenberger, *Brücken* 174)

itself in the gratitude of the Emperor and permitting them to enjoy the hope which the shrine affords»<sup>15</sup>.

A person suffering from dropsy visited the church by boat<sup>16</sup>. In the two variants of the miracle of his healing, different terms for the vessel that the old man used are given: *akation*, *karabos* or *karabion*, *plouarion* and *skaphos*<sup>17</sup>. Apart from *karabos*, these mean rather small vessels. The silting up with sand and mud brought in by the Barbyzes and Kydaros rivers made it impossible for larger vessels to enter the uppermost part of the Golden Horn<sup>18</sup>. The Kallinikos Bridge, a stone bridge erected by Justinian, made this even more difficult. According to Leo the Deacon, the entire Golden Horn to the Kallinikos Bridge was open to cargo ships<sup>19</sup>. The question of its location can be considered solved thanks to the research of Hurbanič. It was located in the area in front of the land walls of Blachernae and was later denominated as the Panteleimonos Bridge<sup>20</sup>. Due to the river deposits, visitors to the sanctuary needed smaller means of transport, i.e., the flat-bottomed boats (*baris*) mentioned by Procopius. This type is characterised by its lower draught and is suitable for navigating in shallow waters. If the sick or needy came from a distance<sup>21</sup>, it can be assumed that they first landed at one of the large harbours of Constantinople<sup>22</sup>. From there, or one of the moorings on the Golden Horn, they reached their desired destination – the church (and the later monastery) of the physician saints – on shallow-draught barges. There were also sick people who went to Kosmidion on horseback (fig. 4)<sup>23</sup>.

In the eleventh century, Emperor Michael IV (1034-1041) suffered from dropsy and sought the help of the Anargyroi. He had the monastery on the Golden Horn thoroughly renovated and furnished with magnificent mosaics and masterpieces of Byzantine wall painting<sup>24</sup>. However, this did not have the effect he had hoped for, since the Emperor soon died from his condition. His remains were buried in the monastery of the saints. In this connection, the sources document a return trip of the Empress Dowager Zoe from Kosmidion, where her spouse Michael IV was buried, to the Grand Palace in the south of the capital (fig. 5)<sup>25</sup>.

15 English translation by Dewing, *Buildings of Procopius* 63. – Prokopios, *De aedificiis* I 6, 7-8 (30, 15-23 Haury/Wirth): ἐπειδὴν τέ τινες ἀρρωστήμασιν ὀμίλησαιεν ἰατρῶν κρείττοσιν, οἶδε τὴν ἀνθρωπιᾶν ἀπογόντες ἐπικουρίαν ἐπὶ τὴν μόνην αὐτοῖς ὑπολειμμένην ἐλπίδα χωροῦσι, καὶ γενομένοι ἐν ταῖς βάρεσι πλέουσι διὰ τοῦ κόλπου ἐπὶ τοῦτον δὴ τὸν νεῶν. ἀρχόμενοι τε τοῦ εἰσπλοῦ εὐθὺς ὄρωσιν ὥσπερ ἐν ἀκροπόλει τὸ τέμενος τοῦτο ἀποσεμνυμένον τε τῆ τοῦ βασιλέως εὐγνωμοσύνη καὶ παρεχόμενον τῆς ἐντεῦθεν ἐλπίδος αὐτοῖς ἀπολαύειν. LSJ 307 translates *baris* as »flat-bottomed boat«, which fits the context well in the case discussed.

16 *Miracula Cosmae et Damiani* 1 (98, 13-19 Deubner). – *Miracula Cosmae et Damiani* 5 (18, 4-10 Rupprecht). – On the therapeutic process, see Heinemann, *Ärztetheiligen* 269-270. – Toul, *Amata* 262 and 265. – López Salvá, *Actividad asistencial*. – Magoulias, *Lives*.

17 *Miracula Cosmae et Damiani* 1 (98, 16-19 Deubner). – *Miracula Cosmae et Damiani* 5 (18, 4-10 Rupprecht). – Festugière, *Côme et Damien* 98 translates all terms as »barque«, i.e., boat, without going into more detail on the subject.

18 See pp. 214 and 220-221 in this essay.

19 Leon Diakonos, *Historia* VIII 1 (129, 8-14 Hase).

20 Hurbanič, *Posledná vojna* 196-200. – Hurbanič, *Avar Siege* 192-195. – For a detailed account, see Hurbanič, *St. Callinikos Bridge* 15-24. – However, Effenberger, *Brücken*, pleads for the existence of two bridges on the upper Golden Horn – the old one, built by Justinian I close to the Blachernae and known as the Kallinikos or Panteleimonos Bridge, and a structure from the Palaiologan time in modern Silâhtarğa known as the Camel Bridge or *pons despine*.

21 *Miracula Cosmae et Damiani* 12, 13 and 18 (128-129, 10-16; 132-134, 1-60; 144-147, 1-113 Deubner). – *Miracula Cosmae et Damiani* 18 (45, 6-22 Rupprecht). – See Simeonov, *Crossing the Straits*.

22 See Heher, *Harbour of Julian*, Külzer, *Harbour of Theodosius*, and Kislinger, *Neorion*, in this volume.

23 *Miracula Cosmae et Damiani* 42 (200, 14-16 Deubner). – *Vita Theodori Syceotis* 154 (125, 51-56 Festugière). – See also Efthymiadis, *Sea as Topos*. – Külzer, *Pilgerwege und Kultorte* 198-199.

24 Michael Psellos, *Chronographia* IV 31-32 (I 67, 4-19 and 1-5 Reinsch).

25 Michael Attaleiates, *Historia* IV (9, 1-3 Pérez Martín) = Michael Attaleiates, *Historia* 8, 22-26 (Tsolakes).



**Fig. 5** Lead seal of the Monastery of the Anargyroi at Kosmidion, 11<sup>th</sup> c. – (Dumbarton Oaks Online Catalogue of Byzantine Seals, <https://www.doaks.org/resources/seals/byzantine-seals/BZS.1951.31.5.281/>, 20.9.2021). – Scale 1:1,5.

## Kosmidion and the Avar Siege of 626

In 623, the Church of the Anargyroi was looted by Avar warriors<sup>26</sup>. Three years later, the area of Kosmidion was even to become a theatre of war, where an important battle in Byzantine history took place<sup>27</sup>. In the absence of Emperor Heraclius (610-641) and the main force of the Byzantine army, who were fighting the Persians in eastern Asia Minor, the vanguard of the Avar forces reached Constantinople on 29 June 626. In the course of the following month, the entire army of the Avar Khagan, consisting of Avars, Slavs, Bulgars and Gepids, gathered in front of the city walls<sup>28</sup>. According to George of Pisidia, this army comprised 80 000 men<sup>29</sup>.

According to Theophanes, the Avars had transported masses of men from the Danube region on hollowed-out

watercraft (*skaphe glypta*) and filled the Golden Horn with them<sup>30</sup>. At first glance, this contradicts the information from other sources, according to which the Slavic dugouts were brought in overland<sup>31</sup>. On the basis of the *Logos enkomias-tikos* of the Patriarch Germanos to the Mother of God, the editor of the text Grumel also argued for the land route<sup>32</sup>. However, some researchers take the opposite opinion, according to which the Slavic fleet took the sea route<sup>33</sup>. It is clear that due to the presence of the Byzantine navy in the waters around Constantinople, the Slavic fleet could not have penetrated the Golden Horn through its mouth<sup>34</sup>. This is confirmed by the *Easter Chronicle*, which recorded the presence of *monoxyla* in the area of Kosmidion: the Avar Khagan launched his fleet at the Kallinikos Bridge on the fourth day of the siege (Friday, 1 August 626)<sup>35</sup>. It follows that the dugouts reached Constantinople overland.

However, does this inevitably apply to the entire route from the border of the Byzantine Empire to the north-western suburbs of the capital, or does this statement only affect the last section? The *Homily of Theodore Synkellos* sheds more light on this problem. He describes the beginning of the preparations of the enemy force that the Avar ruler had gathered for his campaign against Byzantium and notes: »There was a concentration of seaworthy watercraft (*xylla*) on the sea shore to secure the crossing of the barbarians«<sup>36</sup>. From this, it can be deduced that the fleet travelled the greater distance across the Black Sea and then had to find an alternative route to the Khagan's camp due to the presence of the Byzantine navy in the Bosphorus. For this purpose, the transfer of the Slavic dugouts overland would offer itself. Hurbanič proposed the city of Derkos on the Black Sea as the starting point<sup>37</sup>.

26 Chronicon Paschale 713, 5-14 (Dindorf). – See Theophanes, Chronographia AM 6110 (302, 1-4 de Boor) and Nikephoros Patriarches, Breviarium 10 (52, 30-37 Mango). – On the dating, see Pohl, Awaren 245-248. – Pohl, Avars 291-292. – Howard-Johnston, Witnesses 282.

27 On the Avar siege, see Hurbanič, Avar Siege. – Hurbanič, Posledná vojna. – Hurbanič, Konstantinopol 626. – Hurbanič, História a mýtus. – Barišič, Siège. – Stratos, Avars' Attack. – Stratos, Byzantium I 173-196. – Tzagadras, Fortifications 88-102. – Howard-Johnston, Siege. – Pohl, Avars 294-305. – Pohl, Awaren 248-255. – Kaegi, Heraclius 134-141.

28 Georgios Pisides, Bellum Avaricum 197-203 and 409-412 (185 and 194-195 Pertusi). – Chronicon Paschale 719, 10-14 and 724, 9-18 (Dindorf). – Theodoros Synkellos, Analecta 11, 11-14 and 15, 7-12 (Sternbach). – Theophanes, Chronographia AM 6117 (315, 7-12 de Boor). – Nikephoros Patriarches, Breviarium 13 (58, 15-20 Mango). – Georgios Kedrenos, Chronicon 440, 1 (II 695, 5-8 Tartaglia). – Logos enkomiasitikos 16 (195, 21-26 Grumel). – Konstantinos Manasses, Breviarium chronicon 3696 (201 Lampsidis). – See Hurbanič, Posledná vojna 139-145. – Hurbanič, Avar Siege 123-129.

29 Georgios Pisides, Bellum Avaricum 219 (186 Pertusi). – On the number of besiegers, see Pohl, Awaren 250, 427 n. 19. – Pohl, Avars 503 n. 99. – Stratos, Byzantium I 184. – Hurbanič, Posledná vojna 145-146. – Hurbanič, Avar Siege 135-136. – According to Theodoros Skutariotes, Chronica II 199, 4 (122, 8-10 Tocchi) *Rhosika monoxyla* (Russian dugouts) took part in the siege. This can be explained as a misinterpretation of older reports by the author, who lived in the 13<sup>th</sup> c.

30 Theophanes, Chronographia AM 6117 (316, 19-21 de Boor): καὶ εἰς σκάφη γλυπτὰ ἐκ τοῦ Ἰστρου πλῆθος ἄπειρον καὶ ἀριθμοῦ κρείττον ἐνέγκαντες τὸν κόλπον τοῦ Κέρατος ἐπλήρωσαν. – Georgios Kedrenos, Chronicon 440, 2 (II 696, 33-35 Tartaglia).

31 Chronicon Paschale 720, 15-16 (Dindorf): ἡγωνία δὲ χαλάσαι εἰς θάλασσαν τὰ μονόξυλα, ἅπερ ἤγαγεν μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ. – Logos enkomiasitikos 16 (195, 25-26 Grumel): ἔτι γε μὴν πλῆθος αὐτογλύφων νηῶν ἐπαγομένων, καὶ τοῦτο συμμάχων σκλάβων πληρώσαντος καὶ τῷ γείτονι κόλπῳ οὕτω λεγομένῳ τοῦ κέρατος ἐγκαθελκύσαντος.

32 Grumel, Homélie 189. – In agreement with this is Whitby/Whitby, Chronicon Paschale 175 n. 467. – According to Stratos, Byzantium I 185 the Khagan transported the *monoxyla* by carriage.

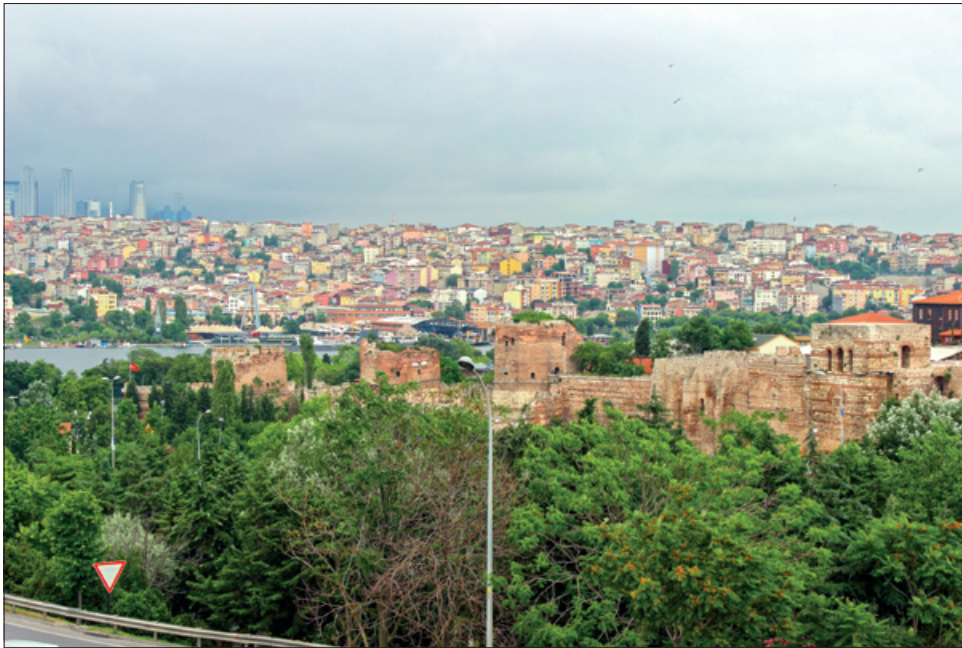
33 For an overview of the state of research, see Barišič, Siège 376 n. 2. – Hurbanič, Posledná vojna 315 n. 120. – Hurbanič, Avar Siege 140 n. 95.

34 Zuckerman, Learning 113 doubts that Byzantine warships were used against the Slavic dugouts and instead suggests that cargo ships were used. This research question shall be dealt with in more detail in a further publication.

35 Chronicon Paschale 720, 17-19 (Dindorf). On the *monoxyla*, see Strässle, To monoxylon. – Havliková, Slavic Ships. – Oračev, Bojno majstorstvo. – Rogers, Czech Logboats. – Rogers, Logboats. – Hurbanič, Konstantinopol 626 fig. 38.

36 My italics. – Theodoros Synkellos, Analecta 6, 22-23 (Sternbach): καὶ τῶν διὰ θαλάσσης ὑπηρετούντων ξύλων πρὸς τὸν διέκπλου τοῖς ἔθνεσιν συγκομιδαὶ πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν. – See also *ibid.* 6, 25-27. – The passage is to be supplemented by ἐγένοντο or another finite verb. I would like to thank Rudolf Stefec/Vienna for his help in interpreting this passage. As for the historical background of this passage, it is clear from the rest of the text (*ibid.* pp. 5, 13-8, 17) that this reference to the Khagan's navy relates to the *preparation* of the entire military force on land and sea in the lands of the Avars (*barbaros ge*), and not to the beginning of the siege in the suburbs of Constantinople, as suggested by Hurbanič, Avar Siege 133 and 140 n. 97.

37 Hurbanič, Posledná vojna 152. However, Hurbanič seems to have meanwhile changed his mind. In the recent English version of his study (*Avar Siege* 133-134), he tends to argue for a transport of the Slavic dugouts only on the land route and gives up his earlier considerations concerning a journey along the Black Sea coast and a transfer of the *monoxyla* only on the land road between Derkos and the Golden Horn. Keeping in mind the various accounts on Slavic seafaring in Southeastern Europe (see n. 35) and the information of Theodore Synkellos mentioned above, that the *monoxyla* sailed from the Danube to the Black Sea shore of Eastern Thrace in 626 seems to me to be the better alternative. – On the transport over land of *monoxyla* by the Varangians in the 10<sup>th</sup> c., see Konstantinos Porphyrogenetos, De admin. imp. 9 (60, 53-57 Moravcsik/Jenkins). – Belke/Soustal, De administrando imperio 82.



**Fig. 6** The land wall of the Blachernae Quarter. – (Photograph G. Simeonov).

After the Avars' first attack on the land wall on 31 July, the fight continued the following day. This time the besiegers' plan envisaged supporting the land troops with the Slavic *monoxylo*. On the orders of the Khagan, they were placed in the headwaters of the Golden Horn, where the Church of the Anargyroi was located, because the shallows offered them good protection from the Byzantine ships (*skaphokaraboi*)<sup>38</sup>. That led to a standoff. The Byzantines were denied access to the shore of Kosmidion due to the greater draught of their ships and probably because of the Kallinikos Bridge. Conversely, in the deep water, the small *monoxylo* were inferior to the robust and high-sided vessels of the defenders.

The decisive battle between the Avars and Byzantines took place on Thursday, 7 August 626. Tied together<sup>39</sup>, the dugouts manned by Slavs and Bulgars left the waters near the sanctuary of the Anargyroi and sailed towards the Blachernae. There, however, they were ambushed by the Byzantines and slaughtered. Some of them reached the shore north of the Blachernae, where they were killed by the Armenians waiting for them<sup>40</sup>. The Khagan, who was watching the battle from

a hill, showed no pity for his allies<sup>41</sup>. At his command, many Slavs who tried to save themselves by swimming, hiding under the upturned *monoxylo*, or by pretending to be dead were killed<sup>42</sup>. The rest of his sailors fled to the nearby mountains<sup>43</sup>. After the siege ended, the Byzantines collected the dugouts left behind and burned them<sup>44</sup>.

### Thomas the Slav

It was not just foreign forces that recognised the logistical advantages of the area around the Kosmidion monastery. Around 200 years after the siege of the Avars, another army appeared in front of the walls of Constantinople in 821 and set up camp on the bank of the Golden Horn north-west of the Blachernae district. This time their leader was a Byzantine and aspired to the imperial crown. In the Anatolikon theme in 820, the senior military commander Thomas, to whom researchers attribute a Slavic origin, had risen up against the new Emperor Michael II (820-829)<sup>45</sup>.

38 Chronicon Paschale 720, 15-21 (Dindorf): ἡγωνία δὲ χαλάσαι εἰς θάλασσαν τὰ μονόξυλα, ἅπερ ἤγαγεν μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ, καὶ οὐ συνεχωρεῖτο ἐκ τῶν σκαφοκαράβων. καὶ ταῦτα λοιπὸν παρεσκεύασεν χαλασθῆναι κατὰ τὴν γέφυραν τοῦ ἁγίου Καλλινίκου μετὰ τρίτην ἡμέραν τοῦ πολέμου. διὰ τοῦτο δὲ παρεσκεύασεν ἐκείσε χαλασθῆναι τὰ μονόξυλα, ὡς τῶν τόπων ἐπιβράχων ὄντων, καὶ μὴ δυναμένων ἐκείσε τῶν σκαφοκαράβων παρεσελεθῆναι. According to the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*, the Easter Chronicle is the only source that documents the *skaphokaraboi*. The term can be translated as a »cargo ship«, see Zuckerman, Learning 113. – Sophocles, Lexicon 992. – Strässle, To monoxylon 95. – Hurbanič, Neglected Note. – Hurbanič, Posledná vojna 180 and 201. – Hurbanič, Avar Siege 162-163. – Whitby/Whitby, Chronicon Paschale 174. – Cf. Howard-Johnston, Siege 135 and n. 15.

39 Georgios Pisides, Bellum Avaricum 446-447 (196 Pertusi): ἐκεῖ γὰρ ὡσπερ ἐν θαλάττῃ δίκτυον τὰ γλυπτὰ συζεύξαντες ἤπλωσαν σκάφη. Konstantinos Manasses, Breviarium chronicum 3706-3710 (202 Lampsidis): καὶ γὰρ τοὶ συμπηξάμενοι θαλαττοπόρα σκάφη

Ταυροσκυθῶν οἱ φύλαρχοι τῶν ἀγριοκαρδίων καὶ πλῆθος ἀπειράριθμον τοῖς σκάφεσιν ἐνθέντες ἐπῆσαν καλύπτοντες τὰ νῶτα τῆς θαλάσσης τοῖς λεμβαδίοις τοῖς πυκνοῖς, τοῖς αὐτοξύλοις πλοίοις. In 677, the Macedonian Slavs sailed on *zeukta ploia* into the Sea of Marmara, see *Miracula Sancti Demetrii* II 4, 277 (I 220, 5-11 Lemerle). – On the dating, see Jankowiak, First Arab Siege 286-288.

40 Chronicon Paschale 724, 11-15 (Dindorf). – Nikephoros Patriarches, Breviarium 13 (60, 34-36 Mango) related that among the Slavs taking part in the siege were female sailors.

41 Theodoros Synkellos, *Analecta* 16, 1-5 (Sternbach).

42 Georgios Pisides, *Bellum Avaricum* 466-474 (197 Pertusi).

43 Chronicon Paschale 724, 15-18 (Dindorf). – Pernice, *Eraclio* 146.

44 Theodoros Synkellos, *Analecta* 16, 5-7 (Sternbach). – Symeon Logothetes, *Chronicon* 109, 7 (160, 63-66 Wahlgren).

45 On Thomas and the course of the uprising, see Lemerle, *Thomas le Slave*. – Köpstein, *Zur Erhebung des Thomas*. – Köpstein, *Thomas*.

For the rebel's fleet, which consisted of dromons and cargo ships for horses and grain<sup>46</sup>, the barrier chain stretched across the entrance to the Golden Horn was no obstacle and it entered the inlet in December 821<sup>47</sup>. Land and sea forces united at the mouth of the river Barbyzes in the area of the Anargyroi sanctuary, where Thomas camped on the shores<sup>48</sup>. The Crusader chronicler William of Tyre showed that a fleet of larger vessels could be anchored in the upper part of the Golden Horn during the winter. According to him, the upper part of the estuary – which he defined as a river – was shallow (*modicus*) at the Kallinikos Bridge in summer, but in winter it had a higher water level as a result of the rains<sup>49</sup>.

The next spring, Thomas again attacked the city from the Golden Horn. With his army and fleet, he tried to capture the land and sea walls of Blachernae, which were fired upon by catapults placed on the ships (fig. 6)<sup>50</sup>. This time Emperor Michael II was better prepared for the attack. His troops stormed out of the Blachernae district and defeated the usurper's land army. At the same time, Michael II's »Triremes« attacked the enemy fleet, whose sailors turned to flee after a short struggle. They steered the ships onto the bank between Blachernae and Kosmidion; some of them ran over to the emperor, the others fled to the camp, where they refused to be of further military use<sup>51</sup>.

## The Imperial Presence at Kosmidion

### The Pilgrimage to Kosmidion

One of the places to which the emperor travelled by ship was the Church of Saints Cosmas and Damian in the vicinity of the capital<sup>52</sup>. The two saints had two days of commemoration – 1 July and 1 November – which were celebrated in two different churches<sup>53</sup>. The first holiday is relevant for the present study. According to the *Book of Ceremonies* from

the tenth century, the emperor went on horseback or by ship (*ploi*) to Kosmidion. During this pilgrimage he wore the *skaramangion* – a tunic slit at the front and back that was suitable for riding<sup>54</sup> – and attended the service in the sanctuary. After the emperor bowed to the relics of Cosmas and Damian, he left the church on horseback. There were two options for his return to the Palace of Blachernae: he could either ride to the capital or sail<sup>55</sup>.

### Meetings Between Byzantine Emperors and Foreign Rulers in the Area of Kosmidion

After the defeats of the Byzantines in the Balkan Mountains in the summer of 811 and at Bersinikia in June 813, Bulgarian pillaging raids ventured up to the ramparts of Constantinople<sup>56</sup>. On 17 July 813, Khan Krum personally appeared in front of the Byzantine capital and marched with his entire army from Blachernae to the Golden Gate to demonstrate his force to the people of Constantinople<sup>57</sup>. He made pagan offerings in front of the Golden Gate and set up camp around the city. After a few days, he sent the new emperor Leo V (813-820) his peace conditions<sup>58</sup>. Leo V accepted the offer to negotiate and determined the location of the meeting. Krum was to go to the Kosmidion coast with a few unarmed companions, where Leo V intended to travel by ship. However, the emperor had ulterior motives and intended to have the Bulgarian Khan killed at the meeting. For this purpose, he ordered three Byzantine soldiers to hide in houses outside the Blachernae Gate the night before the negotiations; after the start of the meeting they should kill Krum upon an agreed sign<sup>59</sup>.

The next day, the coastal area of the Anargyroi sanctuary saw the first rulers' meeting in its history. The Khan came to the banks of the Golden Horn on horseback, along with his companions: a *logothetes* (probably the Bulgar Kavkhan), the defector Constantine Patzikos, his son and three other people. The Byzantine delegation's *chelandion* soon appeared

46 Theophanes Continuatus, Chronographia II 13 (84, 6-9 Featherstone/Signes-Codoñer): ναῦς τε ἐξαρτῶν διήρεις καὶ ἑτέρας στοργγύλας σιταγωγούς ἐπομένας αὐτῷ καὶ ἰπταγωγούς, ἐντεῦθεν καὶ τοῦ θεματικοῦ στόλου γίνεται ἐγκρατής, καὶ πρὸς τὴν Λέσβον ἅπαν τὸ ναυτικὸν ἀθροίζεσθαι ἐγκελεύεται. – Ioseph Genesios, Libri regum II 5 (26, 85-90 Lesmüller-Werner/Thurn): ἦδη τὸ ναυτικὸν ἅπαν τὸ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίους ὄν, πλὴν τοῦ βασιλικοῦ κληθέντος, ὑποποιεῖται, καὶ ναῦς πλείστας ναυπηγήσας ἑτέρας σίτου τε παραπομπούς καὶ ἵππων, τὰς δὲ πολεμιστηρίους, ταῦτας κατὰ Λέσβον κελεύει μένειν αὐτόν. – Ioannes Skylitzes, Synopsis 32, 20-23 (Thurn). – Michaelis et Theophili epistola 477, 2-6 (Werminghoff): *Quibus casibus nos impediti, ille hac occasione accepta sollicitando sibi plurimos sociavit et ex classibus nostris et dromoniis collectis potestatem habuit veniendi ex partibus Thraciae et Macedoniae et sic festinus veniens civitatem nostrum obsedit et navali exercitu circumdedit eam in mense Decembrio, XV. indictione.*  
47 Michaelis et Theophili epistola 477, 5-6 (Werminghoff).  
48 Theophanes Continuatus, Chronographia II 14 (86, 22-25 and 88, 35-38 Featherstone/Signes-Codoñer). – Ioseph Genesios, Libri regum II 5 (27, 25-32 and 28, 38-40 Lesmüller-Werner/Thurn). – Ioannes Skylitzes, Synopsis 33-34, 58-64 and 71-74 (Thurn). – Ioannes Zonaras, Epitome XV 23, 5-6 (III 342, 15-343, 3 Büttner-Wobst). – Michael Glykas, Annales IV (535, 12-14 Bekker). – Theodoros Skutariotes, Chronica II 261, 2 (146, 2-3 Tocci).  
49 Willelmus Tyrensis, Chronicon II 7 (171, 51-54 Huygens).

50 Theophanes Continuatus, Chronographia II 15 (90, 1-7 Featherstone/Signes-Codoñer). – Ioseph Genesios, Libri regum II 6 (28, 58-62 Lesmüller-Werner/Thurn). – Ioannes Skylitzes, Synopsis 35, 12-18 (Thurn).  
51 Theophanes Continuatus, Chronographia II 15 (92, 19-26 Featherstone/Signes-Codoñer). – Ioseph Genesios, Libri regum II 6 (28, 66-69 Lesmüller-Werner/Thurn). – Ioannes Skylitzes, Synopsis 36, 30-36 (Thurn). – Georgios Monachos, Chronicon II 795, 9-21 (de Boor/Wirth).  
52 On the topic in general, see Heher, Harbour of the Bukoleon, in this volume.  
53 Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae, 1 November and 1 Juli (185, 17-18, 791, 27-28 Delehaye). – Cf. Janin, Processions religieuses 81-82.  
54 On the *skaramangion*, see Parani, Reality of Images 61 n. 38. – Hendy, Catalogue 158.  
55 Konstantinos Porphyrogenetos, De cer. II 13 (III 85-87, 51-60 Dagron/Flusin/Feissel).  
56 Sophoulis, Byzantium and Bulgaria 192-251. – Ziemann, Wandervolk 264-266.  
57 Theophanes, Chronographia AM 6305 (503, 5-14 de Boor). – On the dating, see Sophoulis, Byzantium and Bulgaria 251 n. 210.  
58 Scriptor Incertus III (40, 42-57 Iadevaia). – Symeon Logothetes, Chronicon 128, 2 (210, 4-13 Wahlgren). – Annales regni Francorum ad a. 813 (139, 20-24 Kurze).  
59 Scriptor Incertus III (40-41, 58-70 Iadevaia).



Fig. 7 Tsar Simeon I the Great before Constantinople, painting by Dimitar Gyudzhenov. – (Collector's photograph, privately owned).

and the imperial envoys went ashore<sup>60</sup>. During the negotiations, one of the Byzantines suddenly bared his head<sup>61</sup> and gave the hidden assassins the pre-arranged sign<sup>62</sup>. The Emperor's plan nevertheless failed because the Khan became aware of it and jumped on a horse with the help of his companions. Bombarded by Byzantine arrows, with the inhabitants of Constantinople shouting »The cross has won!« after him, Krum fled and escaped to his camp<sup>63</sup>.

A century later, relations between Byzantium and its northern neighbour became dramatically worse during the reign of Tsar Simeon. The clashes from 913-924 showed the strength of the Bulgarian land force, but the Tsar did not have a fleet with which to seize Constantinople. This forced him to negotiate with the Byzantine emperor Romanos I Lakapenos (920-944). In September 924 (or 923, see n. 67), Simeon and his army went against the empire and looted Thrace. He reached the walls of Blachernae and asked for a personal interview with the Emperor<sup>64</sup>. This time Romanos I acted far more sensibly than Leo V:

Fig. 8 Miniature from the Radziwiłł Chronicle (15<sup>th</sup> c.) depicting negotiations between Romanos I Lakapenos and Tsar Simeon of Bulgaria. Radziwiłł Chronicle, fol. 21<sup>r</sup>, detail. – (Radzivilovskaja lëtapis' 21).



»He had a very well-fixed jetty built on the beach of Kosmidion in the sea, so that the disembarking imperial trireme could dock on it. He had it fenced in everywhere and ordered that there should be a fortified place in the middle where the two could talk to each other«<sup>65</sup>.

In contrast to the meeting between Leo V and Krum, the Bulgarians took precautions for the safety of their ruler in 923/924. Even though both sides exchanged hostages, the Bulgarians also thoroughly searched the jetty for possible assassins<sup>66</sup>.

Before the meeting on 9 November 924 (or 19 November 923), the Emperor and Patriarch Nicholas Mystikos visited the Church of the Theotokos in the Blachernae district, where Romanos Lakapenos put on one of the most important relics of Constantinople – the veil (*omophorion*) of the Mother of God – as an impenetrable armour<sup>67</sup>. The Byzantine ruler came to the shore of Kosmidion by ship and landed at the newly built jetty. He was followed by the Bulgarian Tsar, who rode there and entered the landing stage. The Emperor received him, then the two rulers greeted each other and began negotiations (fig. 7)<sup>68</sup>. Romanos I succeeded in convincing Simeon

60 Scriptor Incertus III (41, 71-83 Iadevaia): Καὶ τῆ ἐπαύριον ὄντων τῶν Βουλγάρων ἐπὶ τὸ μέρος τῶν ἁγίων Αναργύρων ἐξωθεν τῆς πόλεως, κατῆλθεν ὁ Κρούμος ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν κατὰ τὴν συνταγὴν μετὰ ἄλλων τριῶν... Λοιπὸν δὲ καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐξήλθον μετὰ χελανδίου βουλόμενοι συλλαλῆσαι μετὰ τοῦ Κρούμου, καὶ λαβόντες λόγον, ἐξήλθον τοῦ καραβίου. – *Chelandon* was the name given to a battleship, and the term was synonymous with *dromon* in the 9<sup>th</sup> c., see Pryor/Jeffreys, *Dromon* 166-168. – Eickhoff, *Seekrieg und Seepolitik* 136-137.

61 It is not clear from the text whether the emperor himself participated in the negotiations. Although Leo V promised the Khan to negotiate peace terms with him, the source does not mention Leo's presence at the meeting at Kosmidion. – See Scriptor Incertus III (40-41, 58-64 and 80-89 Iadevaia).

62 It seems that Janin, *Constantinople 458* misunderstood the passage ἐποίησεν ὁ εἰς τῶν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως τὸ σῆμειον. According to him, a man on the land wall gave the signal to the assassins. The Byzantine historian hereby simply designates the members of the imperial delegation, see Scriptor Incertus III (41, 80-82 and 86-88 Iadevaia).

63 Scriptor Incertus III (41-42, 71-99 Iadevaia). – Theophanes, *Chronographia* AM 6305 (503, 17-21 de Boor). – Symeon Logothetes, *Chronicon* 128, 14-16 Wahlgren). – *Annales regni Francorum* ad a. 813 (139, 24-27 Kurze). – Vučetić, *Zusammenkünfte* 35\*-36\*. – Zlatarski, *Istorija* 1/1, 349-354. – Angelov, *Diplomacija* 207-208. – Nikolov, *Balgarskata ideja* 88-89.

64 Grünbart, *Treffen* 145-147. – Vučetić, *Zusammenkünfte* 41\*-42\*. – Runciman, *Romanus Lecapenus* 90-92. – Howard-Johnston, *Narrative History*. – Zlatarski, *Istorija* 1/2, 455-456. – Angelov, *Diplomacija* 210-211 and 252. – Nikolov, *Balgarskata ideja* 94-95.

65 Theophanes Continuatus, *Chronographia* VI 4, 15 (406, 11-15 Bekker): ἀποστείλας οὖν ἐν τῷ τοῦ Κοσμιδίου αἰγιαλῷ κατεσκευάσασεν ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ ὀχυρωτάτην ἀπόβασιν, ὥστε τὴν βασιλικὴν τριήρην διεκπλέουσαν ἐν αὐτῇ προσορμίζεσθαι. περιφράξας οὖν αὐτὴν πάντοθεν διατείχισμα μέσον γενέσθαι προσέταξεν, ἐνθα ἀλλήλοις ἐμμελλον ὁμιλεῖν. Translation modified after Grünbart, *Treffen* 147, who translates the almost identical text by Ioannes Skylitzes, *Synopsis* 219, 24-28 (Thurn). – The structure of the landing stage is also described by Symeon Logothetes, *Chronicon* 136, 31 (321, 235-239 Wahlgren).

66 Theophanes Continuatus, *Chronographia* VI 4, 15 (408, 2-4 Bekker). – Ioannes Skylitzes, *Synopsis* 220, 43-45 (Thurn). – Symeon Logothetes, *Chronicon* 136, 34 (323, 266-269 Wahlgren).

67 Theophanes Continuatus, *Chronographia* VI 4, 15 (406, 19-407, 9 Bekker). – Ioannes Skylitzes, *Synopsis* 219, 31-35 (Thurn). – Symeon Logothetes, *Chronicon* 136, 32-33 (322, 242-254 Wahlgren). – See also Grünbart, *Treffen* 146-147. – On the question concerning the date, see Runciman, *Romanus Lecapenus* 246-248, who, however, favours 9 September 924, and Howard-Johnston, *Narrative History* 347-348, who argues for 19 November 923.

68 Theophanes Continuatus, *Chronographia* VI 4, 15 (408, 1-6 Bekker). – Ioannes Skylitzes, *Synopsis* 220, 42-47 (Thurn). – Symeon Logothetes, *Chronicon* 136, 34 (323, 266-271 Wahlgren). – Ioannes Zonaras, *Epitome* XVI 18, 11-12 (III 471, 13-472, 3 Büttner-Wobst).



to conclude a peace treaty. The »duration« of the imperial journey should be emphasised: the Church of the Theotokos in Blachernae is located on the outskirts in the immediate vicinity of the ringwall. The meeting place of Romanos Lakapenos and Simeon was on the other side of Blachernae's landward wall, which suggests a journey of only five to ten minutes. Nevertheless, the Emperor came by ship, the red dromon, to demonstrate the (invincible) naval power of the empire and the imperial dignity of Romanos I (fig. 8).

The strength of the imperial fleet and the political situation in Byzantium, which again asserted itself as a world power in the ninth and tenth centuries, made Constantinople an impregnable city. At the third summit at Kosmidion, however, the signs had changed dramatically. In July 1203, the Venetian fleet appeared before Constantinople, carrying the pretender to the throne, Alexios (son of the emperor Isaac II Angelos [1185-1195, 1203-1204], who had been deposed and blinded by his brother), but above all also carried an army of Crusaders. With their help, the young Alexios ascended his father's throne. The Western army initially camped at Kosmidion, then the Crusaders settled in Sykai on the north bank of the Golden Horn, where they spent the winter of 1204 waiting for the promises made by Alexios IV (1203-1204) to be fulfilled<sup>69</sup>. However, their stay on the outskirts of Constantinople was not entirely smooth. The Byzantines looked on the Latins on the opposite bank with increasing suspicion. In fact, the idea of an attack on the city became more and more concrete. Relations between Byzantium and the Crusaders reached their lowest point in the winter of 1204 when the Byzantines overthrew Alexios IV and placed Alexios V Mourtzouphlos on the throne. Although the two sides were preparing to fight, their leaders tried to negotiate a peaceful settlement.

On 7 February 1204, a meeting with Alexios Mourtzouphlos took place on the initiative of the Venetian Doge<sup>70</sup>. The most detailed account of this is given in the history of Niketas Choniates: »Because the Dux of Venetia Erikos Dandoulos [Enrico Dandolo] wished to speak to the Emperor about a contract. He boarded a trireme and sailed up to the coast at Kosmidion. The emperor also came there by horse. They talked to each other about peace without giving



Fig. 9 Mourzoufle [Alexios V] parleying with Enrico Dandolo by Gustave Doré. Engraving. – (From Boyd, *Story of the Crusades* 287 pl. LIV).

thought to anything else»<sup>71</sup>. The Doge negotiated from the stronger position and made difficult demands of the Byzantines if they wanted a restoration of peace: payment of 50 *kentenaria* gold, the restoration of Alexios IV to the throne, recognition of papal sovereignty by Byzantium and assistance in the campaign in the Holy Land (fig. 9)<sup>72</sup>. This was not the only humiliation that Alexios Mourtzouphlos suffered while meeting Dandolo. Latin horsemen unexpectedly rode down from a nearby hill and tried to capture Alexios, but he managed to escape them<sup>73</sup>. In contrast to the episode with the Bulgarian Khan Krum in 813 (see above), this time it was the Byzantine emperor who was almost the victim of an ambush in the area of Kosmidion<sup>74</sup>.

69 See p. 218.

70 The date is given in a letter from Baldwin of Flanders to Pope Innocent III, written shortly after his coronation on 16 May 1204. According to him the meeting took place one day before the assassination of Alexios IV on 8 February, see Die Register Innozenz' III, VII 152 (VII 256, 30-257, 17 Hageneder et al.) and Queller/Madden, *Fourth Crusade* 167-168, 279 n. 138. – Hendrickx/Matzukis, Alexios V 123 and n. 2 date the meeting to 8 February and assume an initiative by Alexios V.

71 A modified English translation after Grabler, *Kreuzfahrer* 143. – Niketas Choniates, *Historia* 567, 58-62 (van Dieten): ὁ γὰρ δούξ Βενετίας Ἐρίκος Δάνδουλος ὄμλησαι περὶ σπονδῶν ἐλόμενος βασιλεῖ, νῆα εἰσιὼν τριήρη περὶ ταῖς ἀκταῖς προσέσχει τοῦ Κοσμιδίου. ὡς δ' ἔφιππος ἐκείσε καὶ βασιλεὺς ἀφίκετο, ἀντεκοινοῦντο μὲν ἀλλήλοις τὰ πρὸς εἰρήνην ῥήματα μηδενὶ τῶν ἄλλων τὴν σπουδὴν χαρίζομενοι. – Robert de Clari, *Conquête* 59 (136, 10-24 Dufournet) narrates a conversation between Alexios IV and the Venetian Doge on the banks of the Golden Horn that shows striking parallels to the meeting of Alexios Mourtzouphlos with Dandolo in the historical work of Niketas Choniates. It appears that the Crusader chronicler swapped the two emperors of the same name, transferring the participation of Alexios IV to a meeting of Alexios Mourtzouphlos. Suspicion

increases when one considers that at the time of the meeting on the bank of Kosmidion, the overthrown Alexios IV was still alive and was strangled in prison the next night. – See Vučetić, *Zusammenkünfte* 145\*-146\*.

72 Niketas Choniates, *Historia* 567-568, 63-70 (van Dieten) mentions only the payment of money and says the other demands »were probably hard and difficult to accept by men who had tasted the sweetness of freedom and were used to giving orders but not receiving orders. However, for men who were in danger of losing their freedom and who were bitterly aware of the terrible fate of going under with their people sooner or later, they were not entirely unacceptable and not the most oppressive« (English translation based on Grabler, *Kreuzfahrer* 143-144; the English translation of Choniates' work by Magoulias, *O City of Byzantium*, is notoriously deficient). The other demands are conveyed by the letter of Baldwin I to the Pope, already mentioned, see Die Register Innozenz' III, VII 152 (VII 256, 31-257, 12 Hageneder et al.).

73 Niketas Choniates, *Historia* 568, 70-73 (van Dieten).

74 About the meeting in general, see Queller/Madden, *Fourth Crusade* 167-169. – Hendrickx/Matzukis, Alexios V 121-124. – Madden, *Dandolo* 166. – Angold, *Fourth Crusade* 97-98. – Vučetić, *Zusammenkünfte* 145\*-146\*. – Grünbart, *Treffen* 149-150.

## The Crusader Camp at Kosmidion

From the First Crusade onwards, Kosmidion was a popular campsite for the Western armies. Odo of Deuil, chronicler of the Second Crusade in 1147, gave some information about the Kosmidion coast and its role in the food supply of the Western knights. According to him, the French camp in front of the Palace of Blachernae was at the so-called *Philopation*, where the Byzantines supplied the Crusaders with food, not by land, but by water. In this case, watercraft (*navigium*) were to land on the shore of Kosmidion, the goods were sold in the storage area or directly in the tents of the Crusaders<sup>75</sup>. Based on the report that the entire Crusader camp was supplied with the food transported on the *navigium*, it makes sense to interpret it as a vessel with a large capacity.

The Byzantine emperors succeeded in transferring the armies of the first three Crusades to Asia Minor despite some clashes. The Fourth Crusade mentioned earlier was completely different<sup>76</sup>. After a short stay of the Crusaders' ships in Chalcedon (Kadiköy) and Skoutarion (Üsküdar) on the Asian bank of the Bosphorus, the fleet set course for the entrance of the Golden Horn<sup>77</sup>. The Byzantines could not withstand the attack and were driven back. After the Western knights conquered the Galata Fort, the iron chain attached to it was no longer an obstacle and the Venetian fleet was able to sail into the Golden Horn<sup>78</sup>. The land and sea forces met on 10 July in the area of the Kosmidion Monastery<sup>79</sup>. The Crusaders set up camp in the area between the Anargyroi monastery and the landward wall of Blachernae, and the fleet anchored in the nearby waters<sup>80</sup>. On the banks of Kosmidion, the Crusaders began their preparations for the attack on the Byzantine capital<sup>81</sup>.

## Kosmidion in the Late Byzantine Period

The Kosmidion coast was closely linked to what happened before the Latin conquest of Constantinople. The Byzantine emperor's ceremonial entry also began on the shore near the monastery of the healing saints after the town was recaptured in 1261. During a campaign in Asia Minor, Emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos (1259-1282) received news that Alexios Strategopoulos had taken the former Byzantine capital without a fight. On 14 August 1261, Michael VIII sailed from Chalcedon on the Asian bank of the Bosphorus to the coast in front of the landward walls of Blachernae and spent the night in the Anargyroi Monastery<sup>82</sup>. The Emperor had a reason to delay his ceremonial entry into Constantinople by one day: he wanted it to take place on the following day, the Feast of the Assumption. The next day, the procession of Michael VIII started from the monastery of the healing saints to the capital. Accompanied by the Metropolitan Bishop of Kyzikos and another hundred people, as well as the Theotokos icon from the Hodegon Monastery, the Emperor walked along the Theodosian landward wall to the Golden Gate, where he entered the city<sup>83</sup>.

The proximity to the Palace of Blachernae was decisive for the choice of location for the reception of Rita, sister of the Armenian King Hethum II and bride of the newly crowned son of the Emperor, Michael IX. After a sea voyage from Cilicia via Rhodes, the Byzantine legation led by Theodore Metochites and John Glykys arrived in Constantinople<sup>84</sup>. The delegation, together with the imperial bride, travelled to the end of the Golden Horn, where Rita and the envoys went ashore at the monastery of the healing saints before January 1296<sup>85</sup>. George Pachymeres divided the journey from Rhodes into two parts. Initially, the route from Rhodes to Constantinople, which was followed by the journey to the end of the Golden Horn at Kosmidion<sup>86</sup>. This may mean that the em-

75 Odo de Deuil, *De profectione Ludovici IV* (66, 19-21 Berry): *Forum igitur satis abundanter nobis afferebat navigium, et ante palatium vel etiam in tentoris habebamus congruum*. On the location, see Heher, *Philopation* (with older literature).

76 According to Niketas Choniates, *Historia* 539, 93-1 (van Dieten) within three years the Venetians built 110 dromons for the transportation of horses (*ussarii*), 60 longships (galleys) and over 70 round ships, a total of 240 watercraft: *Ναυπηγηθέντων οὖν εἰς Βενετίαν δι' ὄλων τριῶν λυκαβάντων δρομώνων μὲν ἱππαγωγῶν ἑκατὸν δέκα, νηῶν δὲ μακρῶν ἐξήκοντα, ἔτι δὲ πλοίων συναθροισθέντων στοργγύλων μεγίστων ὑπὲρ τὰ ἑβδόμηκοντα*. – The *Devastatio Constantinopolitana* 132, 24 (Andrea) documented 40 ships (*naves*), 72 galleys (*galiae*) and 100 cargo ships (*oxirii*); thus, a number that corresponds to the information given by Hugonis Comitis Sancti Pauli epistola 813, 5-7 (Pertz) concerning over 200 ships (minus barges and boats). However, not all of these ships went to Constantinople. – See Queller/Madden, *Fourth Crusade* 17 and 68-69. – Pryor, *Venetian Fleet* 115 n. 61. – On the transport ships, see Pryor, *Naval Architecture*.

77 Niketas Choniates, *Historia* 542, 59-63 (van Dieten). – Geoffroy de Villehardouin, *Conquête V* 136-137 (I 136-138 Faral). – Robert de Clari, *Conquête* 40 (106, 14-18 Dufourmet). – Hugonis Comitis Sancti Pauli epistola 812, 39-42 (Pertz). – Angold, *Fourth Crusade* 93.

78 Niketas Choniates, *Historia* 542-543, 72-89 (van Dieten). – Geoffroy de Villehardouin, *Conquête VI* 156-162 (I 154-162 Faral). – Robert de Clari, *Conquête* 43 (110-112, 24-31 Dufourmet). – Hugonis Comitis Sancti Pauli epistola 813, 2-30 (Pertz). – Queller/Madden, *Fourth Crusade* 101-118. – McNeal/Wolff, *Fourth Crusade* 178-179. – Pryor, *Chain*. – Kislinger, *Golden Horn* 176-180, in this volume.

79 Niketas Choniates, *Historia* 543, 90-94 (van Dieten). – Geoffroy de Villehardouin, *Conquête VI* 163-164 (I 162-164 Faral). – Robert de Clari, *Conquête* 44 (112, 1-21 Dufourmet). – Ephraem, *Historia Chronica* 6818-6827 (242 Lampsides). – Sollbach, *Chroniken* 55-56 and 99-100. – Hugonis Comitis Sancti Pauli epistola 813, 30-39 (Pertz). – On the bridge, see Hurbanič, *St. Callinicus Bridge* 21-22. – The *Historia ducum Veneticorum* 93, 46-47 (Simonsfeld) erroneously places the bridge at the Galata Fort at the entrance to the Golden Horn.

80 Geoffroy de Villehardouin, *Conquête VI* 166 (I 168 Faral).

81 See Meško, *Kremastes gephyres*.

82 Manuel Holobolos, *Orationes II* (71, 20-35 Treu): *βραχὺ τοιγαροῦν τοῖς ἐν μέσῳ καὶ περὶ πού τὴν Χαλκηδὸνα σκηνοῖς, τὸ Ἀστακηνὸν ὄθεν διευρύνεται πέλαιος· εἶτα διανοήσω καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀντιπέραν διαπλωίσασθαι... οὕτω δὲ καὶ παρὰ τὴν ἡπειρον παραγίνῃ, τὸ χερσαῖον ὄπου τεῖχος ἢ Κωνσταντίνου προβάλλεται... ἔνθα δὲ καὶ ταῖς σκηναῖς ταῖς βασιλείοις ἀναπαυσάμενος*. – Georgios Akropolites, *Historia* 88 (186, 29-187, 6 Heisenberg).

83 Georgios Akropolites, *Historia* 88 (187, 6-29 Heisenberg). – Manuel Holobolos, *Orationes II* (72, 1-34 Treu). – Georgios Pachymeres, *Relationes historicae II* 31 (I 217, 1-20 Failler). – Macrides, *George Akropolites* 383-385.

84 On the legation, see Beck, *Theodoros Metochites* 5-6.

85 Georgios Pachymeres, *Relationes historicae IX* 5 (III 233, 2-4 Failler). – Georgios Pachymeres, *Version brève IX* 5 (II 52, 19-21 Failler).

86 Georgios Pachymeres, *Relationes historicae IX* 5 (III 233, 2-4 Failler): *ἀπάραντες Ῥόδου, τῆ Κωνσταντίνου προσίσχουσι. Καὶ παρὰ τῷ τοῦ Κέρατος τέλει πρὸς τῷ Κοσμιδίῳ προσσχόντων*.

bassy did not sail directly to Kosmidion, but first went to one of the city's major harbours. There, one would perhaps have changed from the seven longships that had sailed to Cilicia<sup>87</sup>, and travelled in a smaller vessel to a suitable site in Kosmidion. The arrival of the Armenian princess in Constantinople corresponds to the regulations of Pseudo-Kodinos about the arrival of imperial brides to the Byzantine capital: if they arrive by ship (μετὰ κατέργων), according to the Late Byzantine court ceremonial, they should land at a suitable jetty on the shore in front of the Blachernae district<sup>88</sup>.

At the invitation of the Emperor, the Catalan nobleman Berenguer d'Entença came from Kallipolis to Constantinople with two ships in 1304<sup>89</sup>. His ceremonial promotion to *megas doux* («grand duke») took place in the Palace of Blachernae at Christmas. Here, in the presence of the Senate, d'Entença was elevated to high office, receiving the ducal staff and putting on the *skaramangion*. During his stay in Constantinople, d'Entença was concerned about his safety and delayed both the landing and reception by Andronikos II by a few days<sup>90</sup>. This was also the reason why he boarded his ship immediately after being granted the dignity of *megas doux* and sailed for Kosmidion<sup>91</sup>. There, outside the city, d'Entença and his companions felt safer.

Recently, Arne Effenberger and Peter Schreiner have thoroughly analysed a *Begrüßungsgedicht* («welcome poem») to a Western princess who arrived in Constantinople. The text is preserved in the *Vaticanus Graecus* 1851 and is accompanied by miniatures. Schreiner's historical and prosopographical analysis convincingly argues in favour of a reception of the Hungarian princess Anna, thereby dating the ceremony to 1272. According to him, the emperor's bride disembarked at the landing stage of the Blachernae Palace, whereas the bridge depicted on one of the miniatures relates to the Kallinikos Bridge<sup>92</sup>.

However, examining the work of Pseudo-Kodinos (see the reference above) quoted by Schreiner shows that a foreign bride was expected to land, not in the Blachernae, but *outside* the land walls (*exo tes poleos*). The text of the poem itself speaks about the bride waiting outside (*exothern*) the capital's ramparts to meet her sister-in-law<sup>93</sup>. Thus, Effenberger's suggestion of a landing and reception in the northwest suburbs of Constantinople sounds more convincing. Yet his attempt to locate the landing of the Western princess and the following meeting between her and the Byzantine delegation (Vat. Gr. 1851, fol. 3<sup>v</sup>), not in the area close to the land walls, but in modern Silah tarağa to the north of ancient Kosmidion



**Fig. 10** Codex Vat. gr. 1851, fol. 3<sup>v</sup> (probably from the Early Palaiologan era) depicting the solemn reception of a foreign princess in the suburbs of Constantinople. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. – (From C. J. Hilsdale, Constructing a Byzantine »Augusta«: A Greek Book for a French Bride. *The Art Bulletin* 87, 2005, 458-483, here 469 fig. 9).

seems to be called into question by our knowledge of the topography of Byzantine ceremonies, as well as the landscape of the area of the upper Golden Horn<sup>94</sup>. As already mentioned for 1261 and 1296, the ceremonial entry started at Kosmidion after a landing on the shore of the Golden Horn, just as Pseudo-Kodinos said. Moreover, the accounts of ancient and medieval authors on the shallow waters beyond Kosmidion indicate that the area of modern Silah tarağa would have been a difficult place to reach by ship. As for the bridge – regardless of whether it was the old Kallinikos Bridge or the new Camel Bridge – its presence in the miniature can be explained by its significance as a topographical landmark within a broader region and not implicitly as a site of the Western princess's arrival (fig. 10).

87 Theodoros Metochites, *Carmen* I 446-452 (21 Polemis).

88 Pseudo-Kodinos, *Traité XII* (286, 11-16 Verpeaux): Καὶ εἰ μὲν διὰ ξηρᾶς ἔρχεται, περὶ αὐτὴν εἰθιστὰ περὶ τὴν Πηγὴν, εἰ δὲ μετὰ κατέργων, πλησίον τοῦ ναοῦ τῶν Βλαχερνῶν ἔξω τῆς πόλεως, ὅπου ἂν τῶν τοίχων εἶναι ἐπιτήδειον. – There was also the possibility of landing at the Gate of Eugenios at the entrance to the Golden Horn, see Pseudo-Kodinos, *Traité XII* (287, 1-7 Verpeaux). – Magdalino, Pseudo Kodinos' Constantinople 11-13. – On the interpretation of *katergon* as »ship« LBG I 808.

89 Georgios Pachymeres, *Relationes historicae XII* 11 (IV 543, 19-31 Failler).

90 Georgios Pachymeres, *Relationes historicae XII* 11 (IV 545, 1-14 Failler). – Laiou, Constantinople and the Latins 140-141.

91 Georgios Pachymeres, *Relationes historicae XII* 11 (IV 543, 26-27 Failler). – Ramon Muntaner, *Crònica* 211 (II 81 Gustà). – Hughes, *Catalan Expedition* 67.

92 Schreiner, *Brautgedicht* 82-100, esp. 98. – Cf. also Iacobi, *L'epitalamio* 367-368 and 383 n. 64.

93 Schreiner, *Brautgedicht* 103-104, 77-85:

Πλησίον τοῦ τείχους ἔξωθεν τῆς πόλεως τῆς μεγάλης, τοῦ κάστρου τοῦ περιφανοῦς τῆς χώρας τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἢ μᾶλλον τῶν ὑπ' οὐρανὸν ἀπάντων τοῦ καλλίου τοῦ μὴ μετὰ τινος ποσῶς συγκρινομένου κάστρου κατὰ εἶ τι ἂν εἴπῃς ἔπιαιον, κατὰ εἶ τι ἂν εἴπῃς πρᾶγμα, εἰς ὃ μετὰ τὴν αὔριον τῷ βασιλεῖ Ῥωμαίων τὸν μέγαν αὐτοκράτορα καὶ πενθερόν σου, αὐγοῦστα, μετὰ πολλῆς λαμπρότητος νὰ ἰδῆς κατεσκευάσθη.

94 Effenberger, *Brücken* 168-175 with further references to older research.

## The Kosmidion Monastery as a Place of Custody

The proximity of the Imperial Palace in Blachernae to the Anargyroi Monastery linked the latter to Late Byzantine church history. Around the end of January or beginning of February 1285, the exiled Patriarch John Bekkos sailed from Prousa to Kosmidion, where he went ashore. At first, he was not allowed to enter the capital and had to stay in the monastery of the healing saints<sup>95</sup>. Then, however, the former Patriarch was admitted and was heavily involved in discussions about the origin of the Holy Spirit. With the support of the Emperor, the opponents of the Union gained the upper hand. John Bekkos was convicted and briefly imprisoned in the Kosmidion Monastery together with Theodore Meliteniotes and George Metochites. On the orders of Andronikos II, they were to board a ship on the shore of Kosmidion and sail to the Gulf of Nicomedia, where the three champions of the Union were incarcerated in the Fortress of St Gregory<sup>96</sup>.

John Bekkos was not the last patriarch of Constantinople to be detained in the Kosmidion Monastery. During the night of 15-16 October 1293, Athanasios I of Constantinople was escorted from the patriarchate to the northern seashore of the capital. At *ta Eugeniou* at the entrance to the Golden Horn, he boarded a barque and set sail. The Patriarch travelled to the north-west outskirts of Constantinople, where he landed on the Kosmidion coast and went to the Anargyroi monastery<sup>97</sup>. The next day, 16 October, he sent a letter from the monastery to the Emperor announcing his resignation<sup>98</sup>.

## The Shipyard of Kosmidion

It is certain that a shipyard existed in the region of Kosmidion around the middle of the fourteenth century. According to the history of John Kantakouzenos, five »triremes« were built there<sup>99</sup>. The choice of location for the construction of this shipyard can easily be explained in view of the emerging confrontation with the Pera-Genoese: the necessary vessels

needed a shipyard away from the Genoese colony. At the same time, however, easy access was required to the city's most important craft and trade centres, which were then on the southern bank of the Golden Horn. The activities were not hidden from the enemy: in August 1348, eight »triremes« and many *monera* left Pera and attacked. The wood stacked on the shore became as much a victim of the flames as the houses outside the sea wall<sup>100</sup>. The Genoese set fire to all merchant ships, boats, and barges in the Golden Horn, but according to Nikephoros Gregoras:

»Above all, the triremes, which had just been built by order of the emperor; these were only rigged up and had not yet been pulled into the water. Of the five largest that were newly equipped, three with numerous other *monera*, since they were already completely finished, had been pulled into the water at night by the captains, who suspected the arson was being committed. They had sailed to the mouth of the river at the end of the strait. As a result of the confluence of the river and the gulf, a lot of sand and mud collects there, causing the mouth to silt up and leaving a narrow and difficult to access channel, just as wide as the river necessarily opens when it flows down. The entire width on both sides is not only inaccessible for large triremes. Rather, I think even for ships that have only two rows of oars and are empty, it is mostly difficult to pass there because of the depth of the water«<sup>101</sup>.

From the sources, it can be seen that the shipyard itself was accessible to the enemy ships that set fire to two of the new »triremes« and older vessels there for overhaul<sup>102</sup>. From this one can conclude that the shipyard should be located on that section of the Kosmidion coast that was closest to the city wall. From there, the Byzantine sailors had brought the three undamaged »triremes« into the muddy and shallow waters to the north and northeast to save them from the Genoese. The battle for the three ships continued over the next few days. This time the Genoese attempted a land raid, but were repulsed by the Byzantine defenders<sup>103</sup>. As far as the shipyard is concerned, a facility that is constantly threatened by the

95 Georgios Pachymeres, *Relationes historicae* VII 34 (III 103, 5-9 Failler). – Georgios Pachymeres, *Version brève* VII 34 (II 20, 13-16 Failler). – Georgios Metochites, *Historiae dogmaticae* I 90 (123, 17-20 Cozza-Luzi). – Konstantinos Meliteniotes, *Logoi* I (129, 9-15 Orphanos). – Riebe, Johannes XI. Bekkos 118-119.

96 Georgios Pachymeres, *Relationes historicae* VII 35 (III 117, 9-25 Failler). – Georgios Pachymeres, *Version brève* VII 35 (II 25, 1-7 Failler). – Georgios Metochites, *Historiae dogmaticae* I 118 (168, 10-13 Cozza-Luzi).

97 Georgios Pachymeres, *Relationes historicae* VIII 23 (III 195, 8-15 Failler). – Georgios Pachymeres, *Version brève* VIII 23 (II 43, 5-11 Failler). – Boojamra, Church Reform 50-51. – On the Patriarch Athanasios, see Talbot, Patriarch Athanasius.

98 Failler, *Première démission* 138-139.

99 Ioannes Kantakouzenos, *Historia* IV 11 (III 70, 14-17 Schopen): κατέκαυσαν δὲ καὶ τὰς κατασκευαζομένας ἀπάσας τριήρεις πλὴν τριῶν, ἃς, ἐπεὶ τὸ κακὸν πάντα ἐπενέμετο, ἄραντες ἐξ οὗ κατασκευάζοντο τοῦ τοῦ Κοσμιδίου προσαγορευομένου. – On John VI Kantakouzenos, see Nicol, Reluctant Emperor. – The term »triremes« is antiquated, see Pryor/Jeffreys, Dromon 410.

100 Alexios Makrembolites, *Logos historikos* 4 (147, 1-29 Papadopoulos-Kerameus).

101 Improved translation after van Dieten, Nikephoros Gregoras 207. – Nikephoros Gregoras XVII 2, 1-2 (II 847, 7-23 Schopen/Bekker): καὶ πρό γε τοῦτων

ἄσα τῶν τριήρων κελεύσει τοῦ βασιλέως ἄρτι ἐναυπηγοῦντο. κατασκευάζοντο μὲν γὰρ οὕτω δ' εἰς θάλασσαν ἐβήθησαν καθελκυσθεῖσαι. Πέντε δὲ τῶν μεγίστων οὐσῶν, ἄσα καιναὶ συγκατασκευάζονται, αἱ μὲν τρεῖς σὺν ἑτέροις μονήρεσιν οὐκ ὀλίγαις, ἐπεὶ ἀπηρτισμένα ἐς τὸ ἀνευδὲς ἔτυχον οὔσαι, νύκτωρ καθελκυσθεῖσαι πρὸς τῶν ναυάρχων διὰ τὴν τοῦ πολέμου πυρὸς ἔνοιαν ἀνήχθησαν περὶ τὰς τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐκβολὰς, ἔνθα καὶ τοῦ πορθμοῦ τὸ πέρας ἔστιν. ἐκεῖ γὰρ ἐξ ἀντιπεριστάσεως τῶν δύο περάτων τοῦ τε ποταμοῦ καὶ τοῦ θαλαττίου κόλπου πολλὴ συσσωρευομένη ψάμμος τε καὶ ἱλὺς ἐκατέρωθεν καὶ ἀποθινοῦσα τὸ στόμα, καὶ μόλις στενὴν τινα καὶ δυσέμβολον ἀφείσα διέχειαν βάθους, ὅσην δὴ καταρρέων ὁ ποταμὸς ἐξ ἀνάγκης ῥήγνυσιν, ἐκατέρωθεν τὸ πᾶν εὖρος ἄβατον οὐ μόνον μεγάλας καταλείπει τριήρεσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσα δίκροτ' ἂν εἴη καὶ κενὰ τῶν πλοίων, διὰ τὴν τοῦ ἐπιπολάζοντος ὕδατος βραχύτητα, καὶ ταῦτα δυσπώρευτον οἶμαι ἂν τὴν διόδον ἔχοι ὡς τὰ πολλὰ. – See Ioannes Kantakouzenos, *Historia* IV 11 (III 70, 14-20 Schopen). – Külzer, Ostthracien 280.

102 Nikephoros Gregoras, *Historia* XVII 2, 1-2 (II 847, 7-848, 2 Schopen/Bekker). – Ioannes Kantakouzenos, *Historia* IV 11 (III 70, 14-20 Schopen).

103 Nikephoros Gregoras, *Historia* XVII 2, 5 (II 848, 21-849, 2 Schopen/Bekker). – According to Makris, *Studien* 163 the Genoese captured the three units crossing a river, which contradicts the source reports. – Generally on the Galata war, see Kyriis, John Kantakouzenos. – Nicol, *Last Centuries* 228-234.

**Fig. 11** Aerial view of the Golden Horn (Photograph courtesy of Serhat Engül <https://istanbulclues.com/wp-content/uploads/2016s/03/Golden-Horn-Istanbul.jpg> 15.10.2021)



enemy could no longer continue to exist in a meaningful way: on the orders of Kantakouzenos, operations were moved to Kontoskalion<sup>104</sup>.

## Conclusions

The length of the coast from today's Eyüp to the landward wall of Blachernae is about 1 km, which must be taken into account when considering the maritime history of the area. That the area offered several sites for disembarking is something we can deduce from medieval accounts such as the treatise of Pseudo-Kodinos. The author says that a foreign imperial bride could come »ashore near the church of the Blachernai, outside the city, *wherever it might be suitable* (italics G.S.)«<sup>105</sup>. In this way, at least two locations can be determined where episodes in the history of Constantinople took place. One was the Anargyroi Sanctuary itself, which was located in the north of the coastal section to be treated here. The barges went there with those seeking healing and Patriarch Athanasios was also taken there after his resignation<sup>106</sup>. This requires a jetty for smaller vessels with a shallower draft, which was most likely made of wood.

It is unclear where the emperor landed when he visited for the feast of Saints Cosmas and Damian on 1 July<sup>107</sup>. Regarding the rulers' meetings in the Kosmidion area and the ceremonial entrance of foreign princesses, they must have taken place on the coast close to the city due to the presence

of a larger ship, be it a *chelandon* or a dromon. From the accounts about the negotiations between Romanos Lakapenos and Simeon of Bulgaria, we know that a large and more solid construction was built in order to suite the emperor's ship for this occasion. Moreover, a simple jetty may not have matched the ceremonial functions that a landing stage could fulfil. In the same area close to the capital, one can also search for the location of the shipyard built during the reign of John VI Kantakouzenos.

In contrast to Hebdomon, none of the sources for the area northwest of Blachernae use the term *limen*, i. e., harbour, the only ones that mention a harbour are the crusade chroniclers Geoffroy de Villehardouin and Robert de Clari, but that is how they describe the entire Golden Horn, which was a natural harbour<sup>108</sup> (fig. 11). The inlet, which led deep inland, made moles or breakwaters unnecessary, which were indispensable for the harbour facilities on the Propontic coast inside and outside the ringwall<sup>109</sup>. The only threat to shipping in the upper part of the Golden Horn was silting up caused by the Barbyzes and Kydaros rivers.

A change in the history of the Kosmidion area has been evident since the Komnenian period. The Anargyroi Monastery retained its importance as a place of pilgrimage for city dwellers and guests, but, above all, other developments contributed to the revival of the northwestern suburban area of Constantinople. One of these factors was the relocation of the imperial palace to the Blachernae district. Already in the time of the Macedonian dynasty, there was a landing stage

104 Makris, Studien 163 (wrongly equated with the Heptaskalon) and 179. – It is also hard to agree with Ahrweiler, Byzance et la mer 434-435 that the shipyard of Kosmidion is identical with that in the Blachernae abandoned by Michael VIII – On the shipyard in the Kontoskalion Harbour, see Heher, Harbour of Julian 101-107, in this volume.

105 Pseudo-Kodinos, Traité XII (286, 16 Verpeaux): ὅπου ἂν τύχοι εἶναι ἐπιτήθειον. – English translation by Macrides/Munitiz/Angelov, Pseudo-Kodinos 267.

106 Georgios Pachymeres, Relationes historicae VIII 23 (III 195, 8-15 Failler). – Georgios Pachymeres, Version brève VIII 23 (II 43, 5-11 Failler).

107 Konstantinos Porphyrogenetos, De cer. II 13 (III 85-87, 51-63 Dagron/Flusin/Feissel).

108 Geoffroy de Villehardouin, Conquête VI 159 (I 158 Faral). – Robert de Clari, Conquête 43 (110-112, 24-31 Dufournet). – Cf. Kislinger, Golden Horn, Preiser-Kapeller, Heptaskalon, and Schreiner, Western Landing Stages, in this volume.

109 See Simeonov, Hebdomon n. 89 in this volume.

where the emperor landed when he visited the Church of the Theotokos<sup>110</sup>. The Blachernae district only became an imperial residence in the late eleventh to twelfth centuries. The second factor was the shift in the focus of trade in Constantinople to the banks of the Golden Horn from the eleventh century<sup>111</sup>. The Kosmidion Monastery itself was involved in maritime trade, according to accounts of the Anargyroi miracles from the Palaeologan period<sup>112</sup>.

Traffic, not only between the European and Asian parts of today's Istanbul, but also between the two banks of the

Golden Horn, is made possible by the existence of bridges. The Byzantines, on the other hand, had to use larger or smaller watercraft to transport people and goods as needed. An exception was the traffic over the upper course of the estuary, since a stone bridge called Kallinikos Bridge had already been built there during the reign of Emperor Justinian I<sup>113</sup>, later also documented as the Panteleimonos Bridge. It undoubtedly restricted the further northwest route to small boats<sup>114</sup> and also offered an alternative to maritime transport in this region.

## Summary / Zusammenfassung

### The Moorings at Kosmidion

A church of the physician Saints Cosmas and Damian was built in the north-western area of Constantinople in the fifth century. Later, a monastery called Kosmidion was built around this church. The sanctuary was one of the most famous pilgrimage sites in the Byzantine capital and was mainly visited by sick people, who, due to the shallows, used flat boats for their journey. The section of the coast near the Blachernae wall, however, was deeper and thus suitable for ships to moor there. For this reason, the Byzantine emperors decided upon the area of Kosmidion as the location for their meetings with foreign rulers, to whom they could present the Byzantine naval power by boat. The relocation of the imperial palace to the Blachernae district in the eleventh century made the shore area south of the Kosmidion Monastery an important reception point in the court ceremonial of the Palaeologan period. Almost simultaneously, the focus of trade activities in Constantinople was moved to the banks of the Golden Horn, which contributed to the revival of the northwestern area of the capital, where the shipyard of the Byzantine navy can be located around the middle of the fourteenth century.

### Die Anlegestellen beim Kosmidion

In der nordwestlichen Umgebung Konstantinopels errichtete man im 5. Jahrhundert eine Kirche der Ärzteheiligen Kosmas und Damian, um die in späterer Zeit ein Kloster namens Kosmidion entstand. Das Heiligtum war einer der bekanntesten Pilgerorte der byzantinischen Hauptstadt und wurde vor allem von Kranken aufgesucht, die für ihre Fahrt dorthin wegen der Untiefen Flachboote benützten. Der Küstenabschnitt in der Nähe der Blachernen-Mauer zeichnete sich allerdings durch größere Tiefe aus und eignete sich zum Anlaufen durch Schiffe. Aus diesem Grund bestimmten die byzantinischen Kaiser die Gegend des Kosmidion als Ort ihrer Treffen mit fremden Herrschern, denen sie mittels der Hinfahrt per Schiff die byzantinische Seemacht vor Augen führen konnten. Die Verlegung des kaiserlichen Palastes in den Blachernen-Viertel im 11. Jahrhundert machte aus dem Uferbereich südlich des Kosmidion-Klosters eine wichtige Empfangsstation im Hofzeremoniell der Palaiologen-Zeit. Der sich fast gleichzeitig verlagernde Schwerpunkt der Handelsaktivitäten zu Konstantinopel an das Ufer des Goldenen Hornes trug weiter zur Belebung der nordwestlichen Umgebung der Hauptstadt bei, wo sich die Werft der byzantinischen Marine um die Mitte des 14. Jahrhunderts lokalisieren lässt.

110 Konstantinos Porphyrogenetos, *De cer.* II 12 (III 75, 4-9 and 81, 109-112 Dagron/Flusin/Feissel). – *Vita Euthymii IV* (27, 8-14 Karlin-Hayter). – The Blachernae Gate, as documented in the *Book of Ceremonies*, would have been a gate on the sea wall, see Asutay-Effenberger's contribution in this volume.

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

112 *Miracula Cosmae et Damiani* 44-46 (202-205 Deubner). – On the Late Byzantine collection of the Anargyroi miracles, see Talbot, *Metaphrasis*.

113 *Chronicon Paschale* 618, 18-19 (Dindorf). – Hurbanič, *St. Callinicus Bridge*. – Effenberger, *Brücken*. – Effenberger, *Illustrationen* 57-58.

114 Leon Diakonos, *Historia VIII* 1 (129, 8-14 Hase).