

BEATRICE D A S K A S^a

The Church of All-the-Saints (*olim* St Theophanô) at the Holy Apostles: a Reappraisal of the Dossier of Sources*

with nine figures

ABSTRACT: The article provides a review of the textual evidence for the lost church of All-the-Saints (*olim* St Theophanô) added by Emperor Leo VI as an annex to the complex of the Holy Apostles. The consideration of a neglected passage in the Vat. gr. 163 version of Symeon Logothetes' *Chronicle*, which states that the church was joined (κεκολλημένος) to the mausoleum of Constantine, combined with a reappraisal of *De cerimoniis* II 6–7, allows situating the church in the southeast corner of the Holy Apostles. The analysis of textual evidence is followed by a discussion of the location of the church in the Fatih area.

KEYWORDS: Constantinople, Church of All-the-Saints, Church of the Holy Apostles, Topography of Constantinople

The object of this article, the now vanished Constantinopolitan shrine of All-the-Saints (*olim* church of St Theophanô), appended to the mausoleum church of the East Roman emperors—the Holy Apostles—has posed special problems to scholars, not least because of the apparent ambiguity of indirect sources about it and the uncertainty regarding some archaeological remains that have been associated with it¹. It may well be asked, before entering into a reappraisal of the relevant material on the subject, whether any worthwhile purpose can be served by reviving a discussion that has revolved around the same texts for the past century. The earliest studies by J. Ebersolt² and R. Janin³ have been followed, over the years, by more focused contributions by G. Downey⁴, W. Müller-Wiener⁵, G. Dagron⁶ and, more recently, N. Asutay-Effenberger and A. Effenberger⁷, and J. M. Featherstone⁸. However, these have left the exact location of All-the-Saints in relation to the Holy Apostles unclear and have overlooked other aspects of its history and development. This study, therefore, drawing on

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* This article falls within the dissemination activities of the project *MYRICE*, which received funding from the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme under the Marie Skłodowska-Curie G.A. no. 745869. I owe a word of thanks to Albrecht Berger for his comments on an early draft of this paper and to Rebecca Darley and Agostino Soldati for their help with specific issues. Thanks are also due to J. Featherstone for allowing the reproduction of his sketch plan of the Holy Apostles and the anonymous reviewers for their useful remarks. Unless stated otherwise translations of texts are my own.

¹ See W. MÜLLER-WIENER, Zur Lage der Allerheiligenkirche in Konstantinopel, in: *Lebendige Altertumswissenschaft: Festgabe zur Vollendung des 70. Lebensjahres von Hermann Vetters* dargebracht von Freunden, Schülern und Kollegen. Wien 1985, 333–335 and pl. XL–XLI, fig. 1a–3.

² J. EBERSOLT, Sanctuaires de Byzance. Recherches sur les anciens trésors des églises de Constantinople. Paris 1921, 36.

³ R. JANIN, La Géographie ecclésiastique de l'empire byzantin, Première partie: le siège de Constantinople et le patriarcat œcuménique. Volume III: Les Églises et les monastères. Paris 1953, 253–254.

⁴ G. DOWNEY, The church of All Saints (church of St. Theophano) near the church of the Holy Apostles at Constantinople. *DOP* 9/10 (1956) 301–305.

⁵ See n. 1.

⁶ G. DAGRON, Théophanô, les Saints Apôtres et l'église de Tous-les-Saints. *Symm* 9 (1994) 201–218 (= Μνήμη Δ. Α. Ζακυθηνοῦ).

⁷ N. ASUTAY-EFFENBERGER – A. EFFENBERGER, Die Porphyrsarkophage der oströmischen Kaiser. Versuch einer Bestanderfassung, Zeitbestimmung und Zuordnung (*Spätantike – frühes Christentum – Byzanz*, Reihe B: *Studien und Perspektiven* 15). Wiesbaden 2006, 134–145 and figs. 18–22.

⁸ J. M. FEATHERSTONE, All Saints and the Holy Apostles: *De Cerimoniis* II, 6–7. *Nea Rhome* 6 (2009) 235–248.

recent work to re-evaluate the Holy Apostles' complex, and offering a new synthesis of textual material pertaining to the dedication and renovation of All-the Saints, proposes a new and more complete reconstruction both of the form and placement of the church, and its evolution under and beyond the Macedonian dynasty.

THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH

According to the 10th-century *Chronicle* of Symeon Logothetes, Emperor Leo VI (r. 886–912) built a church in memory of his first wife Theophanô (d. 895/896)⁹ beside the Holy Apostles¹⁰, after having

⁹ According to the *Life of Patriarch Euthymius*, her death occurred on the tenth of November (P. KARLIN-HAYTER, *Vita Euthymii patriarchae* Cp. Text, translation, introduction and commentary [*Bibliothèque de Byzantion* 3]. Brussels 1970, 44–45, 166–167), while the Constantinopolitan Synaxarion commemorates her on the 16th December (Synaxarium Ecclesiae Cp. 314, 11–14 [ed. H. DELEHAYE, *Propylaeum ad Acta Sanctorum Novembris, Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae*. Bruxellis 1902 (repr. Louvain 1954)]). On the year of her death see P. KARLIN-HAYTER, *La mort de Théophanô* (10.11.896 ou 895). *BZ* 62 (1969) 13–19 (with discussion of other relevant hypotheses). In general, on the holy empress Theophanô see: G. DA COSTA-LOUILLET, *Saints de Constantinople*. *Byz* 25–27 (1955–1957) 753–852, esp. 823–836; B. KOTTER, *Theophanu, byzantinische Kaiserin* († 897), in *LThK*² X 57.

¹⁰ There is a vast literature on the lost complex of the Holy Apostles, on its fourth-century structure comprising the mausoleum of Constantine the Great and an apostolic martyrion, and on its Justinianic reconstruction and subsequent additions, up to its dismantling in the 1460s for the construction of the Ottoman *külliyé* of Fatih. For the sake of brevity, I limit myself here to essential references, which gather the sources concerning the foundation and contain the scholarly debate around it: A. HEISENBERG, *Grabeskirche und Apostelkirche. Zwei Basiliken Konstantins*. Volume II: *Die Apostelkirche in Konstantinopel*. Leipzig 1908; G. DOWNEY, *The builder of the original church of the Apostles at Constantinople: a contribution to the criticism of the "Vita Constantini" attributed to Eusebius*. *DOP* 6 (1951) 53–80; R. KRAUTHEIMER, *Zu Konstantins Apostelkirche in Konstantinopel*, in: *Mullus: Festschrift Theodor Klauser (JbAC, Ergänzungsband 1)*. Münster 1964, 224–249; R. KRAUTHEIMER, *A note on Justinian's church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople*, in: *Mélanges Eugène Tisserant*. Volume II: *Orient chrétien, première partie (ST 232)*. Città del Vaticano 1964, 265–270; C. STRUBE, *Die westliche Eingangsseite der Kirchen von Konstantinopel in justinianischer Zeit: architektonische und quellenkritische Untersuchungen (Schriften zur Geistesgeschichte des östlichen Europa 6)*. Wiesbaden 1973, 131–147; W. MÜLLER-WIENER, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie Istanbuls: Byzantion-Konstantinupolis-Istanbul bis zum Beginn des 17. Jahrhunderts*, unter Mitarbeit von R. und W. Schiele mit einem Beitrag von N. Firatli. Tübingen 1977, 405–411; A. WHARTON EPSTEIN, *The rebuilding and redecoration of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople: a reconsideration*. *GRBS* 23.1 (1982) 79–92; M. FALLA CASTELFRANCHI, *Il complesso di San Giovanni ad Efeso nel quadro dell'architettura giustiniana dell'Asia Minore*, in: *Efeso paleocristiana e bizantina / Frühchristliches und byzantinisches Ephesos*, Referate des vom 22. bis 24. Februar 1996 im Historischen Institut beim Österreichischen Kulturinstitut in Rom durchgeführten internationalen Kongresses aus Anlaß des 100-jährigen Jubiläums der österreichischen Ausgrabungen in Ephesos, hrsg. von R. Pillinger – O. Kresten – F. Krinzinger – E. Russo. Vienna 1999, 89–99; Ead., *Il paradigma della memoria: San Marco a Venezia e la chiesa dei Santi Apostoli a Costantinopoli*, in: *Medioevo: immagine e memoria*, *Atti del convegno internazionale di studi*, Parma, 23–28 settembre 2008, a c. di A. C. Quintavalle. Milan 2009, 127–131; K. R. DARK, F. ÖZGÜMÜŞ, *New evidence for the Byzantine Church of the Holy Apostles from Fatih Camii, Istanbul*. *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 21/4 (2002) 393–413. Since the middle of the 19th century scholars have also tried to reconstruct the Justinianic church and subsequent additions to the complex based on textual sources and comparative architectural material, most notably the sixth-century church of St John in Ephesus and the medieval basilica of St Mark in Venice. See: H. HÜBSCH, *Die altchristlichen Kirchen nach den Baudenkmalen und älteren Beschreibungen und der Einfluss des altchristlichen Baustyls auf den Kirchenbau aller späteren Perioden*. Karlsruhe 1863, XXIX, XXXIV, 78–79 and pl. XXXII nos. 5–7; Th. REINACH, *Commentaire archéologique sur le poème de Constantin le Rhodien*. *REG* 9 (1896) 66–103, esp. 94–99; C. GURLITT, *Die Baukunst Konstantinopels*. Bd. I: *Tafelband*. Berlin 1912, 8 u. Bd. II: *Textband*. Berlin 1912, 29–31; G. A. SOTIRIOU, *Ἀνασκαφαὶ τοῦ βυζαντινοῦ ναοῦ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Θεολόγου ἐν Ἐφέσῳ*. *AD* 7 (1921–1922) 89–226, esp. 91–92 n. 1, 96, 205–216; K. WULZINGER, *Die Apostelkirche und die Mehmedije zu Konstantinopel*. *Byz* 7 (1932) 7–39; S. BETTINI, *L'architettura di san Marco. Origini e significato*. Padova 1946, 53–84; P. A. UNDERWOOD, *Justinian's church of the Holy Apostles: a reconstruction of architecture by means of texts*, in: Id., *Research Papers*, MS.BZ.019–03.01.047, ICFA, Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection (unpubl.); Id., *The church of the Holy Apostles and its dependencies*, in: Id., *Research Papers*, MS.BZ.019–03.01.045, ICFA, Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection (unpubl.). See also below, n. 19.

purchased (and most likely cleared out) some properties next to it¹¹. It is only thanks to later witnesses that we learn about the correspondence between the church of St Theophanō and the shrine of All-the-Saints. A hagiographical account of the life of the empress composed by the polymath Nikephoros Gregoras in the fourteenth century (*BHG* 1795) contains a hint at the shift in the church's dedication¹²:

καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς πένθος μὲν ἐποίησατο μακρὸν ἐπὶ συχναῖς ταῖς ἡμέραις, τὸ δὲ ταύτης ἱερὸν σῶμα μετὰ βασιλικῆς προπομπῆς καὶ δορυφορίας καὶ μεγαλοπρεποῦς εὐκοσμίας καὶ τάξεως ἐν τῷ τῶν ἁγίων Ἀποστόλων ἐκόμισε τηρικαῦτα ναῶ· ἐβούλετο γὰρ μικρὸν ὕστερον μεταθεῖναι, δυοῖν θάτερον, ἢ πρὸς τὸν τοῦ θείου Κωνσταντίνου νεών, ὃν ἐκείνη πρὸς ἀσκητήριον ἑαυτῆς ἐκ θεμελίων ἐδείματο, ἢ πρὸς ὃν αὐτὸς ἔμελλεν ἐγείρειν νεών δι' αὐτήν. ἀνήγειρε γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς μετὰ χρόνον πάνυ τοι δεξιᾷ φιλοτίμῳ καὶ γνώμῃ τῷ ὄντι βασιλικῇ περὶ τὰ πρὸς ἕω μέρη τοῦ τῶν θείων Ἀποστόλων ναοῦ νεών ἕτερον σχήματι καὶ θέσει καὶ μεγέθει λίαν διαπρεπέστατον καὶ βασιλικώτατον, οὗ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν εἰς τὸ Θεοφανοῦς τῆς ἁγίας ἐπέγραψεν ὄνομα, ὕστερον δ' εἰς τὴν τῶν Ἁγίων Πάντων μετήνεγκε κλήσιν διὰ φθόνον οὐκ εὐλογον ἐπισκόπων τινῶν· συγγενικοῦ γὰρ ἔφασαν εἶναι πόθου τὸ πεπραγμένον ἐκεῖνο καὶ μὴ πάνυ τελέως ὀρῶν πρὸς ἔνθεον ζῆλον. διὰ δὴ ταῦτα καὶ δικαιοτέρον ἔδοξε τὸ μὲν ταύτης ὄνομα τῇ κοινῇ τῶν Ἁγίων Ἀπάντων συνηριθμηθῆσαι κλήσει, τὸ δὲ σῶμα πρὸς τὴν τοῦ θείου Κωνσταντίνου μετενηχθῆσαι μονήν.

“And the emperor [i.e. Leo VI] drew out a public mourning over several days, and carried her [i.e. Theophanō's] holy body with a royal escort and guard, and with magnificent dignity and order, into the church of the Holy Apostles; as a matter of fact, a little after he wished to transfer her to one of two <places>, either to the church of the divine Constantine, which she built from the foundations as her own monastic retreat, or to the church that he himself intended to erect for her. Let me tell you that after a little while, with lavish hand and by authentic imperial decision, he indeed raised another church about the eastern part of the church of the divine Apostles, exceedingly distinguished for its plan, setting and size and most royal, which he entitled after the name of St Theophanō, but afterwards he changed it to the name of All-the-Saints, because of the unreasonable resentment of certain bishops. For they said that the episode pertained to family affection and did not quite look to be altogether divine zeal. For this reason, he thought it more advisable to count her name under the general appellation of All-the-Saints, and to transfer her body to the convent of the divine Constantine.”

¹¹ Symeon Logothetes 133 [33] (ed. S. WAHLGREN, *Symeonis magistri et logothetae Chronicon* [CFHB 44, 1]. Berlin–New York 2006, 283, ll. 231–234); followed by: Leo Grammaticus 274, ll. 9–11 (ed. I. BEKKER, *Leonis Grammatici Chronographia, accedit Eustathii De capta Thessalonica liber* [CSHB]. Bonn 1842); George the Monk 25 (ed. I. BEKKER, *Theophanes Continuatus, Ioannes Cameniata, Symeon Magister, Georgius Monachus* [CSHB]. Bonn 1838, 860, ll. 12–14); Pseudo-Symeon Logothetes 703, ll. 7–10 (BEKKER); John Zonaras XVI 13 [10] (ed. T. BÜTTNER-WOBST, *Ioannis Zonarae Epitomae historiarum libri XVIII* [CSHB]. III. Bonn 1897, 446, ll. 11–14). On the location of the Holy Apostles' complex within Constantinople's urban fabric see: A. BERGER, *Streets and public spaces in Constantinople*. *DOP* 54 (2000) 161–172; P. MAGDALINO, *Aristocratic oikoi in the tenth and eleventh regions of Constantinople*, in: *Byzantine Constantinople. Monuments, topography and everyday life*, ed. N. Necipoğlu. Leiden 2001, 53–69 (= P. MAGDALINO, *Studies on the history and topography of Byzantine Constantinople* [Variorum collected studies series 855]. Aldershot 2006, II).

¹² Nikephoros Gregoras, *Life of St Theophano* [24] (ed. E. KURTZ, *Zwei griechische Texte über die Hl. Theophano, die Gemahlin Kaisers Leo VI. Mémoires de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St.-Petersbourg* [8e série] III/2 [1898] 25–45, here 42 l. 33–43 l. 13). On the text see: A. M. TALBOT, *Old wine in new bottles: the rewriting of saints' lives in the Palaeologan period*, in: *The Twilight of Byzantium. Aspects of Cultural and Religious History in the Late Byzantine Empire*, Papers from the Colloquium held at Princeton University (8–9 May 1989), ed. S. Čurčić – D. Mouriki. Princeton NJ 1991, 15–26, esp. 21–23 (= A. M. TALBOT, *Women and religious life in Byzantium* [Variorum collected studies series 733]. Aldershot 2001, IV); and most recently I. PARASKEVOPOULOU, *Το Αγιολογικό και Ομιλητικό Έργο του Νικηφόρου Γρηγορά (Βυζαντινά Κείμενα και Μελέτες 59)*. Thessaloniki 2013, 84–98. In general, for a still useful analysis of Gregoras' hagiographical production, see R. GUILLAND, *Essai sur Nicéphore Grégoras*. Paris 1926, 170–192.

It appears that the episcopal hierarchy objected to the church's consecration to Theophanô, and thus Leo changed its title into that of All-the-Saints and moved her body to St Constantine, the monastery his same wife set up towards the northeastern edge of the Holy Apostles, near the cistern of Bonos¹³; according to G.P. Majeska, the monastery was to be integrated by Romanos I Lekapenos (r. 920–944) into the architectural ensemble of the palace of Bonos¹⁴. As already remarked upon by others, Gregoras, who is otherwise well informed, appears inaccurate on the matter of the empress' burial¹⁵. His statement that Leo temporarily placed her body in the Holy Apostles, then transferred it to her namesake foundation and ultimately to St Constantine should be partially revised on the basis of other relevant pieces of sources, closer in time to the events in question.

First comes Symeon Logothetes, mentioned at the beginning of this article, who appears to be speaking only of a church dedicated by Leo to his first wife¹⁶. It is the tenth-century anonymous chronicler, referred to as Pseudo-Symeon, who adds that the church became the burial place of the empress¹⁷. But this information is not confirmed elsewhere. Most probably, the church erected in her name was never meant to hold her remains. In fact, a *Vita* (*BHG* 1794) composed by an anonymous author close to the death of the empress states that her body was rather laid to rest in a sarcophagus (λάβραξ) in the church of the Holy Apostles¹⁸. This information is confirmed by other tenth-century sources. The catalogue of imperial burials found in the *Book of Ceremonies* locates it specifically in the mausoleum of Constantine¹⁹: here, Theophanô is said to share a tomb of green Thessalian stone with her daughter Eudokia²⁰. Another passage found in the same work, dated to the sole reign of Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos (945–959) and concerned with the protocol for the commemo-

¹³ See G. P. MAJESKA, The Body of St. Théophanô the Empress and the Convent of St. Constantine. *BSI* 38 (1977) 14–21, esp. 14–17. On the placement of the cistern of Bonos with respect to the complex of the Holy Apostles see R. JANIN, Études de topographie byzantine: Les citernes d'Aétius, d'Aspar et de Bonos. *Études byzantines* 1 (1943) 85–115, esp. 86 (map), 111–114. Cf. also A. BERGER, Untersuchungen zu den Patria Konstantinupoleos (*Poikila Byzantina* 8). Bonn 1988, 611–615.

¹⁴ MAJESKA, Body 17–19. The hypothesis has been recently rejected by A. BERGER, Vom Pantokratorokloster zur Bonoszisterne: einige topographische Überlegungen, in: Byzantina Mediterranea. Festschrift für Johannes Koder zum 65. Geburtstag, hrsg. von K. Belke – E. Kislinger – A. Külzer – M. A. Stassinopoulou. Vienna 2007, 43–56, esp. 54–55. The palace, styled the “new palace of Bonos” (Constantine Porphyrogenetos, *Book of Ceremonies* II 6 [ed. J. J. REISKE, *Constantini Porphyrogeniti imperatoris De cerimoniis aulae byzantinae libri duo* [CSHB]. I. Bonnae 1829, 532]), was erected by Romanos Lekapenos as a summer residence: R. JANIN, Constantinople byzantine: développement urbain et répertoire topographique (*Archives de l'Orient Chrétien* 4A). Paris 1964², 128–129. N. ASUTAY-EFFENBERGER and A. EFFENBERGER suggest that this palace, unknown to the sources after the tenth century, might have been incorporated into the complex of the Kecharitomene-Philanthropos: Eski İmaret Camii, Bonoszisterne und Konstantinsmauer. *JÖB* 58 (2008), 13–44, esp. 32.

¹⁵ KURTZ, *Zwei griechische Texte* 64, n. 53; DOWNEY, *All Saints* 304–305; DAGRON, *Théophanô* 204.

¹⁶ Symeon Logothetes 133 [33] (283, ll. 231–234 WAHLGREN).

¹⁷ Pseudo-Symeon Logothetes 703 ll. 7–10 (BEKKER). Followed by John Zonaras in the 12th century: John Zonaras XVI 13 [10] (446, ll. 11–14 BÜTTNER-WOBST).

¹⁸ Life of St Theophanô [24] and [31] (resp. 16, ll. 25–26 and 22, l. 31–23, l. 2 KURTZ).

¹⁹ Constantine Porphyrogenetos, *Book of Ceremonies* II 42 (642–646 REISKE). The compilation of the *Book of Ceremonies*, which contains, in its final redaction, material dating from the sixth century to the 960s, was commissioned by Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos as part of a revival of imperial ceremonial upon his sole rule. The catalogue of sepulchres was compiled at the time of Constantine VII but contains two interpolations, namely the references to Constantine VII's own tomb and to that of his mother Zoë, which were most probably added not long after Constantine's death, during the reign of his son Romanos II (959–963) or that of his successor Nikephoros Phokas (963–969). The catalogue is reprinted and translated in G. DOWNEY, The tombs of the Byzantine emperors at the church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople. *JHS* 79 (1959) 27–51, esp. 30–34 (commentary at 34–37). See also, for a thorough discussion of the imperial mausolea and their successive layouts: P. GRIERSON, The tombs and obits of the Byzantine emperors (337–1042). With an additional note by Cyril Mango and Ihor Ševčenko. *DOP* 16 (1962) 3–63. On the mausoleum of Constantine and related issues see: C. MANGO, Constantine's mausoleum and the translation of the relics. *BZ* 83 (1990), 51–56; ASUTAY-EFFENBERGER-EFFENBERGER, *Porphyrsarkophage* 54–56; M. J. JOHNSON, *The Roman imperial mausoleum in Late Antiquity*. Cambridge 2009, 119–129; J. BARDILL, *Constantine, divine emperor of the Christian Golden Age*. Cambridge 2012, 367–376.

²⁰ Constantine Porphyrogenetos, *Book of Ceremonies* II 42 (643, ll. 9–12 REISKE).

ration of St Constantine, confirms the location of the empress' burial²¹: while the emperors are inside the mausoleum, they proceed to cense the tombs of their ancestors Leo, Basil and Theophanô alongside that of the "holy and glorious emperor" Constantine the Great. The Holy Apostles is also the place where her annual commemoration is celebrated (16th December). In this respect, the recension H* of the *Synaxarion* of Constantinople (and of the *Typicon* of the Great Church), compiled at the instigation of Constantine VII between 946 and 956²², identifies the Holy Apostles as both her burial site and the place of her annual *synaxis*²³. However, already from the eleventh century onwards, the manuscript tradition of the *Synaxarion-Typicon* omits the rubric²⁴, thus confirming that the cult of the empress was specifically bound to the Macedonian dynasty²⁵.

According to this reconstruction²⁶, the translation of Theophanô's relics to the monastery of St Constantine near the cistern of Bonos should have happened at some time after the middle of the tenth century. This *terminus post quem* can be narrowed down further, considering that the redaction of the catalogue of imperial burials appended to recension C of the *Patria of Constantinople*, dating to the reign of Alexios I Komnenos (r. 1081–1118), still records that the empress's burial is at the Holy Apostles²⁷. This information finds indirect support in the account of the so-called Anonymous Mercati, a pilgrim of English origin who, around the seventh or eighth decade of the eleventh century, drafted a description of the churches, monasteries and saints' relics found in Constantinople²⁸. In the *monasterium feminarum* located *in fine cisternae Bonae*²⁹, the traveler did not notice the presence

²¹ Ibid. II 6 (532–535 REISKE), re-edited and transl. alongside II 7 (535–538 REISKE) by FEATHERSTONE, All Saints 236–248. Both chapters would appear to date from the time of Constantine VII's sole reign since the ceremonies recorded are said to follow "current" practice (ὡς τὰ νῦν ἐπιτελεῖται: De Cerimoniis II 6 [532, l. 6 REISKE]); a *terminus post quem* is also offered by the reference to the palace of Bonos, a recent construction by Emperor Romanos I Lekapenos (r. 920–944).

²² Recension H* is transmitted by ms. Hierosolymitanus s. Crucis 40 (*Diktyon* 35936) dated to the 10th–11th century (see descr. in J. MATÉOS, *Le Typicon de la Grande Église. Volume I: Le cycle des douze mois* [OCA 165]. Rome 1962, IV). According to Matéos (ibid., XVIII–XIX), the recension would have been drafted between 950–961: the lower *terminus* would correspond to the transfer of the relics of Gregory of Nazianzos to Constantinople, while the upper one would derive from the omission of the translation of the hand of John the Baptist, which, according to the scholar, would have happened under Romanos II and Constantine VIII, in 961. And yet, both *termini* should be reviewed on the basis of further evidence. According to the homily composed by Constantine Porphyrogenetos on the translation of Gregory of Nazianzus to Constantinople (*BHG* 728), this event happened at the beginning of his sole reign (Constantine Porphyrogenetos, Homily on the translation of Gregory the Theologian [19] [ed. B. FLUSIN, *Le Panégyrique de Constantin VII Porphyrogénète pour la translation des reliques de Grégoire le Théologien* (BHG 728). *REB* 57 (1999), 5–97, here 55, ll. 246–248]): the editor of the text proposes the date of the translation as 19th January 946 (ibid., 12). As far as the transfer of the hand of the Baptist is concerned, it also occurred during the sole rule of Constantine Porphyrogenetos (945–959), during Theophylact Lekapenos' patriarchate (933–956): see Theodore Daphnopates, Homily on the translation of the hand of John the Baptist [17] (ed. V. V. LATYŠEV [B. B. ЛАТЫШЕВ], *Две речи Феодора Дафнопата, изданные со введением о жизни и литературной деятельности автора и с русским переводом. Православный Палестинский сборник* 59 [1910] 17–38, here 31, ll. 7–8 and 18–19). The recension H* of the *Synaxarion-Typicon* should therefore be redated between 946–956. On this recension of the *Synaxarion-Typicon* see A. LUZZI, *Il semestre estivo della recensione H* del Sinassario di Costantinopoli*, in: *Studi sul Sinassario di Costantinopoli (Testi e studi bizantino-neoellenici VIII)*. Rome 1995, 5–90.

²³ *Synaxarium Ecclesiae Cp.* (16th December) 313–314 (app. cr. ll. 54–55 DELEHAYE). See also MATÉOS, *Le Typicon* I, 132 ll. 25–27 (16th December).

²⁴ See *Synaxarium Ecclesiae Cp. (Synaxaria Selecta)* 313–314 (DELEHAYE); MATÉOS, *Le Typicon* I, 132 ll. 25–27 (app. cr. ad loc.).

²⁵ G. DAGRON, *Emperor and Priest. The Imperial Office in Byzantium* (1996), transl. by J. Birrell (*Past and Present Publications*). Cambridge 2003, 206–207.

²⁶ Cf. also the more cursory reconstruction by MAJESKA, *Body* 14–17.

²⁷ Published in two slightly divergent versions by DOWNEY, *Tombs* 37–38 and 40–42.

²⁸ The Latin text, originally published by S. G. MERCATI (*Santuari e reliquie costantinopolitane secondo il codice Ottoboniano latino 169 prima della conquista Latina* [1204]. *Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia* 12 [1936] 133–156 = S. G. MERCATI, *Collectanea Byzantina. Volume II*. Rome 1970, 464–489, here 471–487) has been re-edited, on the basis of a more detailed witness, by K. N. CIGGAAR (*Une description de Constantinople traduite par un pèlerin anglais. REB* 34 [1976] 211–268). On the author and the date of the original Greek text and its Latin translation see ibid., 213–232.

²⁹ CIGGAAR, *Description* 258, no. 32.

of Theophanō's body, but only a coffin with the remains of St Spyridon, later transferred to the Holy Apostles³⁰. Likewise, towards the end of the twelfth century, in his oration dedicated to the latter church, Nicholas Mesarites still observed the empress' tomb in the mausoleum of Constantine³¹. The first witnesses, besides Gregoras, locating the empress' remains at the monastery of St Constantine are Stephen of Novgorod, who visited the capital in 1348/1349³², and the Russian pilgrim Zosima the deacon, who did so around the years 1419–21³³. A further confirmation that, by that time at least, Theophanō was to be found in her new resting place is offered by the topographical recension of the *Patria of Constantinople* transmitted in Par. gr. 1788 (*siglum* E, a. 1439/1440; *Diktyon* 51414)³⁴, in a gloss on the notice of her memorial (in square brackets)³⁵:

Τὴν ἁγίαν Θεοφανὼ ἔξωθεν τῆς παλαιᾶς κόγχης τῶν μνημοθεσίων, ἀνήγειρεν αὐτὴν Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ υἱὸς Λέοντος ὁ Πορφυρογέννητος: [ἦτις κατέκειτο εἰς τοὺς ἁγίους Ἀποστόλους, ἦτις μέχρι τῆς σήμερον ἀναπηγάζει κρουνοὺς θαυμάτων μεγίστων ἐν τῇ γυναικείᾳ μονῇ τῆς εἰς ὄνομα τιμωμένης τοῦ μεγάλου καὶ ἁγίου Κωνσταντίνου.]

“Constantine Porphyrogenetos, the son of Leo, built St Theophanō outside the old apse (rotunda) of the <imperial> memorials. [She was laid to rest in the Holy Apostles, and to this day she produces streams of very great miracles in the nunnery which is honored by the name of the Great and Holy Constantine].”

The transfer of the empress' relics to the new site must therefore have taken place at a moment between the end of the 12th century and the date of the composition of Gregoras' hagiographical piece on Theophanō (c. 1341/1342)³⁶.

This said, let us now turn to the issue of when exactly the dedication of Theophanō's church, next to the Holy Apostles, was changed into that of All-the-Saints. The latter shrine makes its first appearance in sources dated to the middle of the tenth century. The *Book of Ceremonies* provides a description of a newly promoted feast dedicated to All-the-Saints, taking place on the first Sunday after Pentecost³⁷. We may ask whether this fresh addition to the imperial ceremonial could in any way be connected to a concomitant reconsecration of the church. Perhaps a hitherto unexploited detail featured in the description of the ceremonial for the feast can offer a hint³⁸:

³⁰ See e.g. the account of Stephen of Novgorod, dated to 1348/1349, published by G. P. MAJESKA, *Russian travelers to Constantinople in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries* (DOS 19). Washington DC 1984, 42.

³¹ Nikolaos Mesarites, *Description of the church of the Holy Apostles* [39] (ed. HEISENBERG, *Grabeskirche und Apostelkirche* 83, ll. 3–6; ed. G. DOWNEY, Nikolaos Mesarites, *Description of the Church of the Holy Apostles at Constantinople. Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 47/6 [1957] 855–924, here 915b and transl. 892a).

³² MAJESKA, *Russian travelers* 42 and 296–298 (commentary).

³³ *Ibid.*, 186. The pilgrim calls the monastery ‘Philanthropos’, which further supports the theory that the monastery, with the palace of Bonos, might have been incorporated into the complex of the Kecharitomene-Philanthropos: see ASUTAY-EFFENBERGER–EFFENBERGER, *Eski İmaret Camii* 32.

³⁴ See Th. PREGER, *Scriptores originum Constantinopolitanarum* II. Leipzig 1907, xvi, no. 45. See also, more in general, on the topographical recension of the *Patria of Constantinople*: BERGER, *Untersuchungen* 87–147.

³⁵ *Patria of Constantinople* III [212] (282, ll. 1–7 PREGER). Transl. A. BERGER, *Accounts of Medieval Constantinople. The Patria* (*Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library* 24). Cambridge MA – London 2013, 225 (slightly modified).

³⁶ The piece is praised in a letter by Gregory Akyndinos to Gregoras dated to 1341/1342, so the piece should have been written shortly before: A. C. HERO, *Letters of Gregory Akyndinos* (CFHB 21 / DOT 7). Washington DC 1983, no. 17, 339–341. See also TALBOT, *Old wine* 22. But cf. KURTZ, *Zwei griechische Texte* viii, who dates the piece around the 1320s. Theophanō's relics ended up in the church of St George at the Orthodox Ecumenical Patriarchate in the Fener district of Istanbul, where they are still kept to this day: MAJESKA, *Body* 17.

³⁷ Constantine Porphyrogenetos, *Book of Ceremonies* II 6 (532–535 REISKE; 236–248 FEATHERSTONE, *All Saints*). For the dating of the protocol at the time of Constantine Porphyrogenetos' sole rule see above, n. 20.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, II 7 (537, ll. 3–8 REISKE; 240 FEATHERSTONE, *All Saints* with transl. 247 here slightly modified).

τῶν δὲ δεσποτῶν ἐξερχομένων τὸ βῆμα, λαμβάνουσι παρὰ τῶν πραιποσίτων κηρία λιτανίκια, καὶ ἅμα τοῦ πατριάρχου λιτανεύουσι μέχρι τῶν ἁγίων πάντων, καὶ τῆς ἀκολουθίας τῶν ἀνοίξεων τελεσθείσης, ἤγουν τῶν ἐγκαινίων, εἰσοδεύουσι καὶ εἰσέρχονται ἐν τῷ βήματι, καθὼς ἡ συνήθεια ἔχει.

“And when the emperors come out of the sanctuary, they receive processional tapers from the *praepositi*, and with the patriarch they go in procession to All-the-Saints. And when the office of opening the doors, that is the dedication (*encaenia*) is completed, they enter and they go into the sanctuary, as is the custom.”

It would seem, from the passage just quoted, that the ceremonial envisaged the “dedication” (*encaenia* or *dedicatio*) of the church, the rite that normally inaugurates and consecrates (or celebrates a renovation of) a Christian building³⁹. The section of the *Book of Ceremonies* under consideration might therefore represent the document drafted, sometime during Constantine Porphyrogenetos’ sole rule, to define the protocol for the *encaenia* of the shrine⁴⁰. In fact, on the annual celebration of the feast, the *Typicon* prescribes instead a procession to the church departing from Hagia Sophia and a liturgy to be performed there⁴¹. If this interpretation is correct, it would appear that in the middle of the tenth century the church underwent a reconsecration. It is reasonable to infer that it was on such an occasion that its old dedication to St Theophanô was changed to the “more appropriate” dedication to All-the-Saints. From that time afterwards, the church founded by Leo VI would come to be known under the name of All-the-Saints, as the *Patria of Constantinople* attest⁴²:

Τὸν δὲ ἅγιον Στέφανον εἰς τὸ Σίγμα πλησίον ὁ μέγας Κωνσταντῖνος ἀνήγειρεν. Ὁ δὲ Λέων ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀνήγειρεν αὐτὴν μικράν, καὶ τὴν ὕλην πᾶσαν τῶν χρυσῶν ψηφίδων καὶ τῶν πολυποικίλων λίθων καὶ κίωνων ἀπέθετο εἰς τοὺς Ἁγίους Πάντας.

“Constantine the Great erected Saint Stephen near the Sigma. Emperor Leo (VI) rebuilt it on a small scale and stored all the materials—the golden mosaic cubes, the multicolored <marble> stones and the columns—at the Holy Apostles, and built a church, that of All Saints.”

Besides changing the name of the church, Constantine Porphyrogenetos established within it an oratory (εὐκτήριον) dedicated to Empress Theophanô, a place where she could be venerated alongside her tomb⁴³. The *Patria of Constantinople* confirm that the chapel built by Porphyrogenetos had

³⁹ See H. EMONDS, *Enkainia-Weihe und Weihegedächtnis*, in: *Enkainia. Gesammelte Arbeiten zum 800jährigen Weihegedächtnis der Abteikirche Maria Laach am 24. August 1956*. Düsseldorf 1956, 30–57.

⁴⁰ A prescription at the beginning of the section states that the procession of All-the-Saints is celebrated according to the order of Mid-Lent (*Mesonestimos*) and as currently celebrated on the Monday of New Week (*Diakainesimos*) and the Sunday after Easter (*Antipascha*): Constantine Porphyrogenetos, *Book of Ceremonies* II 7 (535, ll. 6–9 REISKE; 239 FEATHERSTONE, *All Saints*). As already noted by FEATHERSTONE (n. 49, 245–246), in the chapter on the Sunday of Mid-Lent found in the *Book of Ceremonies* I 38 (29) (ed. A. VOGT, *Constantin VII Porphyrogénète Le Livre des Cérémonies*. I. Paris 1935, 149–150) the complex of the Holy Apostles is not included in the ceremonial, nor is there any mention of it in the *Typicon* (J. MATÉOS, *Le Typicon*. Volume II: *Le cycle des fêtes mobiles* [OCA 166]. Rome 1963, 46). Likewise, no mention of the Holy Apostles is found in the celebrations of Sunday after Easter (*Book of Ceremonies* I 25 [16], 90–91 VOGT; MATÉOS, *Le Typicon* II 108), but only a gloss added to the text states that the visit to the Holy Apostles is a new addition (91 VOGT). This confirms that the feast of All-the-Saints had been just introduced.

⁴¹ MATÉOS, *Le Typicon* II 144, ll. 21–26.

⁴² *Patria of Constantinople* III [209] (280–281 PREGER); transl. BERGER, *Accounts* 223. To ‘refresh’ the memory of later readers, a gloss appended to the topographical recension of the text (Par. gr. 1788, *siglum* E, copied in 1439/1440) explains that the emperor founded this church “because of the wonderworking and holiness of his wife, I mean the first Theophanô, the holy and miracle working empress” (ivi). Cf. also, at the end of the 12th century the witness of Nikolaos Mesarites (*Description of the church of the Holy Apostles* [8] [19 ll. 1–4 HEISENBERG; 899a (transl. 866a) DOWNEY]).

⁴³ Constantine Porphyrogenetos, *Book of Ceremonies* II 7 (537 ll. 14–15 REISKE; 240 [transl. 247–248] FEATHERSTONE, *All Saints*). A passage in the narrative concerning the church of the Holy Apostles found in the fourth book of the *Patria of Con-*

been set up “outside the old apse of the <imperial> memorials” (ἔξωθεν τῆς παλαιᾶς κόγχης τῶν μνημοθεσίων), i.e. outside the mausoleum of Constantine⁴⁴.

But not only that—thanks to a couple of hitherto neglected witnesses, it would seem that the church’s *encaenia* corresponded not only to a change in its dedication, but also included a refurbishment. A passage found in the chronicle of Theophanes Continuatus, referring to the years of Porphyrogenetos’ self-rule, speaks of the renovation of a church next (πλησίον) to the Holy Apostles, carried out thanks to the support of Theodore Belonas:⁴⁵

Καὶ οἷος ὁ τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων πλησίον νεουργηθεὶς ναός, καλὸς μὲν ἰδεῖν, ὠραῖος δὲ θαυμάσαι καὶ τὴν ἐντὸς εὐπρέπειαν ἀναλογίσασθαι. Εἰ γὰρ καὶ τοῦ μεγέθους τῆς παλαιότητος ἀποδεῖ, ἀλλὰ γε τῆς ἔνδον φαιδρότητος πόρρω καθέστηκεν. Τί δὲ ὁ πιστὸς βασιλεύς; πατρικίον τὸν Βελωνᾶν Θεόδωρον ὡς συνεργὸν τοῦ λαμπροῦ καὶ κατηγλαϊσμένου ναοῦ ἐποίησεν.

CONSPECTUS SIGLORUM: CODICES: V (Vat. gr. 167) Ba (Barb. gr. 232) | 1 καὶ om. Ba ἁγίων om. Ba | 2 καὶ τὴν ἐντὸς εὐπρέπειαν ἀναλογίσασθαι om. Ba

“And the church next to the Holy Apostles, renewed, is beautiful to see, graceful to admire and to take into consideration for its interior comeliness. For if it is deprived of the magnitude of antiquity, nevertheless it stands to a high point of inner brilliance. What then did the faithful emperor do? He made the patrician Theodore Belonas his collaborator <in the rebuilding> of the bright and radiant church.”

A similar but more circumstantial passage is provided by Symeon Logothetes, who specifies the exact location of this church:⁴⁶

Ἐκτίσθη δὲ καὶ ἕτερα εἰς βασιλίδας παλάτια ἐν τῷ τῆς Ἱερείας σχήματι. Ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ πλησίον τῶν ἁγίων Ἀποστόλων ναὸς παρ’ αὐτοῦ ἐνεουθρηγήθη, ὅς ἐστι κεκολλημένος τῷ τάφῳ τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ μεγάλου Κωνσταντίνου· Θεόδωρον τὸν Βελωνᾶν ποιήσας πατρικίον ὡς συνεργὸν τῆς οἰκοδομῆς γενόμενον τοῦ τοιοῦτου λαμπροτάτου ναοῦ.

“He [*i.e.* Constantine Porphyrogenetos] built also other palaces for the empresses in the form of the one of Hierieia. But also, the church next to the Holy Apostles, which is joined together with the tomb of the Holy and Great Constantine, was renovated by him; he made the patrician Theodore Belonas his collaborator in the building of this most radiant church.”

The church in question cannot be any but All-the-Saints. The detail that it was “joined together” or physically “attached” (κεκολλημένος) to the mausoleum of Constantine matches the information we possess on the εὐκτήριον dedicated to the empress Theophanō, which we know was set up within

stantinople claims that the μνημοθέσιον (memorial) of the empress Theophanō was built by Constantine the Great, probably a mistake for Porphyrogenetos: Patria of Constantinople IV [32] (288 ll. 8–10 PREGER); transl. BERGER, Accounts 279.

⁴⁴ See above, n. 33. EBERSOLT (Sanctuaires 36 n. 5; followed by C. STRUBE, Die westliche Eingangsseite der Kirchen von Konstantinopel in iustinianischer Zeit: architektonische und quellenkritische Untersuchungen. Rome 1973) thinks that the παλαιᾶ κόγχη refers to the mausoleum of Justinian. His argument has been persuasively refuted by DAGRON, Théophanō 206–207.

⁴⁵ The text proposed here is based on ms. Vat. gr. 167 (f. 159r; *Diktyon* 66798), the readings of which slightly differ from Barb. gr. 232 (ca. 1628; *Diktyon* 64778) which is the basis for the critical edition of Theophanes Continuatus VI [27] (452 ll. 3–12 BEKKER). For a detailed description of Vat. gr. 167 see: S. SERVENTI, Il Vat. gr. 167, testimone della Continuatio Theophanis, e i marginalia di un anonimo lettore bizantino. *Aevum* 75/2 (2001) 267–302. On Barb. gr. 232 see Codices Barberiniani graeci. Tomus II. Codices 164–281, recensuit J. MOGENET, enarr. complevit I. LEROY, addenda et indices curavit P. CANART. Vatican City 1989, 75–76. On Theodore Belonas, vested by Constantine Porphyrogenetos with the dignity of patrician and the office of eparch of the city, see *PmbZ* 27707.

⁴⁶ Symeon Logothetes (*ex* Vat. gr. 163) [8] (ed. A. MARKOPOULOS, Le témoignage du Vaticanus gr. 163 pour la période entre 945–963. *Symm* 3 [1979] 83–119, here 94, ll. 22–26).

the church of All-the-Saints and located “outside the old apse of the <imperial> memorials”, that is precisely outside the mausoleum of Constantine⁴⁷. The information provided by our source is confirmed by the Anonymous Mercati, who describes the church of All-the-Saints as *mixta cum templo sanctorum Apostolorum*⁴⁸.

THE LOCATION OF THE CHURCH

Having established these points, we shall now review, on the basis of all the information at our disposal, the topographical reconstructions of the area defined by the Holy Apostles, the mausoleum of Constantine and the church of St Theophanô/All-the-Saints and, if necessary, emend them. It is useful, for this purpose, to sum up the relevant details about the location of All-the-Saints:

1. The church stood *in partibus orientalibus* of the Holy Apostles, according to Nikolaos Mesarites (πρὸς τὴν ἕω)⁴⁹ and Nikephoros Gregoras (περὶ τὰ πρὸς ἕω μέρη τοῦ τῶν θείων Ἀποστόλων ναοῦ).
2. According to Theophanes Continuatus and Symeon Logothetes, the church was “next to the Holy Apostles” (πλησίον τῶν ἁγίων Ἀποστόλων).
3. According to the Anonymous Mercati, All-the-Saints was *mixta cum templo sanctorum Apostolorum*.
4. According to Symeon Logothetes, the church was “joined together” or physically “attached” (κεκολλημένος) to the mausoleum of Constantine.

The layout defined by P.A. Underwood [**Fig. 1**], which places All-the-Saints on the northwestern side of the Holy Apostles, can be dismissed *a priori* as inaccurate, on the basis of the aforementioned textual evidence⁵⁰. Müller-Wiener, on the contrary, locates All-the-Saints at a distance from the Fatih *küllüye*, where the archaeological remains of a vaulted cistern of the middle-Byzantine epoch (ninth-tenth c.) have been found. The cistern (32.5 m × 16.6 m) is situated approximately at the corner of Mihçılar caddesi and Keserciler sokağı, with a southeastern orientation [**Fig. 2**]. The cistern incorporates the substructures of a church now lost, which Müller-Wiener proposes identifying with All-the-Saints⁵¹. His layout of the complex, which assumes an old theory envisaging the placement of the Holy Apostles underneath the Fatih mosque⁵², has All-the-Saints at a certain distance from it [**Fig. 3**].

⁴⁷ See above, 6. Moreover, these indications conform to the information given by the earliest sources on the church of St Theophanô. See e.g. John Zonaras XVI 13 [10] (446, ll. 11–14 BÜTTNER-WOBST): τιμῶν δὲ τὴν πρώτην αὐτοῦ γαμετὴν τὴν μακαρίαν Θεοφανῶ τέμενος ἀνήγειρεν εἰς ὄνομα ἐκείνης ἔγγιστα τοῦ τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων ναοῦ, ἐν ᾧ καὶ τὸν νεκρὸν ἐκείνης κατέθετο (emphasis mine). St Theophanô is indeed described as ἔγγιστα (*proxime*), meaning “in connection with, the nearest, next, most nearly to” the Holy Apostles: cf. *LSJ* s.v. ἐγγίω, ον / ἔγγιστος, η, ον. The same expression is used by Nikolaos Mesarites to describe All-the-Saints: Description of the church of the Holy Apostles [8] (19, ll. 1–2 HEISENBERG; 899a [transl. p. 866a] DOWNEY).

⁴⁸ CIGGAAR, Description 258 no. 28. Cf. MERCATI, Santuari 485 no. 26.

⁴⁹ Nikolaos Mesarites, Description of the church of the Holy Apostles [8] (19, ll. 1–2 HEISENBERG; 899a [transl. p. 866a] DOWNEY).

⁵⁰ Drawing MS.BZ.019–BF.F.1993.F2825, Image Collections and Fieldwork Archives, Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection. The drawing is found within P. A. Underwood’s documentation on the project dedicated to the lost Constantinopolitan complex of the Holy Apostles, on which see: <https://www.doaks.org/resources/online-exhibits/holy-apostles> (02.01.2020).

⁵¹ MÜLLER-WIENER, Zur Lage 333–335. The cistern is identified as D 5/9 in J. CROW – J. BARDILL – R. BAYLISS, The water supply of Byzantine Constantinople (*JRSt Monographs* 11). London 2008, 148.

⁵² Following WULZINGER, Apostelkirche 33 fig. 14, but with an orientation that follows the alignment of the aqueduct of Valens (the long solid black line in fig. 8). Despite it being feebly supported by archaeological evidence, the superimposition of the two buildings is also maintained by DARK – ÖZGÜMÜŞ, who conjecturally interpret the eroded limestone course along the base of the mosque as belonging to structures earlier than the fifteenth-century Ottoman building. This, despite the fact that “without an inscription incorporated into them it is, of course, impossible to be certain what these features represent” (New evidence 406); the same is reiterated in a more recent publication, with a similar *caveat*: “topographical and archaeological evidence suggest that the church of the Holy Apostles stood on the site later used for the Fatih Camii, although no traces

If we were to accept his hypothesis, which is, *inter alia*, mostly unsubstantiated by archaeological evidence⁵³, we would have to disregard textual information about the placement of All-the-Saints with respect to the Holy Apostles. Some of the layouts put forward by Asutay-Effenberger and Effenberger have the merit of shifting the Holy Apostles closer to the cistern identified by Müller-Wiener and thus to the hypothetical church of All-the-Saints [Fig. 4a-c]. They take into account the orography of the area and offer solutions that put the church either on the eastern axis of the Holy Apostles or to the northeast of it⁵⁴. The southeastern alternative is not considered, although it is the most likely option based on written sources. This is worthy of review, through a reconsideration of the two sections of the *Book of Ceremonies* (II 6–7) concerned with the ceremonial for the feast of St Constantine and All-the-Saints respectively.

According to the text, on the day of the commemoration of St Constantine⁵⁵, the emperors go from the nearby palace of Bonos to the Holy Apostles, they enter the narthex of the church, and then, after changing their vestments, they proceed as far as the holy doors of the sanctuary, where they give thanks to God by a triple bow, but do not enter. They go straight to the mausoleum of Constantine, in the eastern end of the church, where the patriarch waits in order to hand them the thurible for censuring the altar of the mausoleum and the tombs of the Macedonians Leo, Theophanô and Basil alongside Constantine the Great. After a prayer and the singing of a *troparion* the patriarch takes leave from the emperor and this latter “traverses the terrace of the apse of the church of All Saints and the road that leads off from there and goes into the court of the palaces (*sc.* of Bonos)” (διὰ τοῦ ἐξαέρου τῆς κόγχης τῶν Ἁγίων Πάντων καὶ τῆς ἐκεῖσε ἀπαγούσης ὁδοῦ, καὶ εἰσέρχεται εἰς τὴν αὐλὴν τῶν παλατίων)⁵⁶. Dagron emends the first part of the passage to “the terrace of the apse of the Holy Apostles” (διὰ τοῦ ἐξαέρου τῆς κόγχης τῶν Ἁγίων Ἀποστόλων) in order to support his placement of All-the-Saints directly behind and on top of the mausoleum of Constantine [Fig. 5]⁵⁷. By contrast, Featherstone rightly retains the passage as it is, and situates All-the-Saints on the southeastern side of the complex, stating that in this case “the terrace around its back side and extending to the space between the two churches could indeed have been called after its apse” [Fig. 6]⁵⁸. The alternative positioning of the shrine compatible with this interpretation, the northeastern edge of the Holy Apostles [Fig. 4c], is dismissed as not fitting the path described on the occasion of the feast of All-the-Saints (see below)⁵⁹. In order to accept Featherstone’s solution and at the same time take into due consideration the remains of the cistern identified by Müller-Wiener, one would have to shift the church of the Holy Apostles towards the north-east of it, in the direction of Tetimmeler sokak [Figs. 8, 9]. Based on these considerations, one of the possible layouts of the architectural ensemble could be the one offered in Fig. 7. Taking the cistern as a fixed point, the complex would be located approximately within the neighborhood delimited by Hattat Nafiz caddesi (N), Tetimmeler sokak (E), Mihçılar caddesi (S) and Fatih Türbesi (W), covering more or less half of it. Nowadays, the terrain of the area

of its structure have been found by other scholars. Indeed, even the recent restoration of Fatih Camii undertaken by Ahmet Gülec has found nothing that he would identify as part of the Byzantine structure” (A. GÜLEC, Constantinople, archaeology of a Byzantine megalopolis. Final report on the Istanbul Rescue Archaeology Project 1998–2004. Oxford – Oakville 2013, 90 and 91–92 for a discussion of the archaeological material). The hypothesis of the superimposition of the two structures has been dismissed, based on a reconstruction of the Byzantine street grid, by BERGER, Streets 169.

⁵³ See n. 52.

⁵⁴ ASUTAY-EFFENBERGER – EFFENBERGER, Porphyrsarkophage 134–145 and fig. 18–22.

⁵⁵ Constantine Porphyrogenetos, *Book of Ceremonies* II 6 (532–535 REISKE; 236–239 [transl. 241–245] FEATHERSTONE, All Saints).

⁵⁶ *Ibid.* (533, ll. 20–22 REISKE; 238 [transl. 243] FEATHERSTONE, All Saints)

⁵⁷ DAGRON, Théophanô 212.

⁵⁸ FEATHERSTONE, All Saints 243–244 n. 41.

⁵⁹ The placement has been dismissed as not compatible with the indications of the *Book of Ceremonies* II 7: *Ibid.*, 244 n. 41 and 246 n. 51.

is sloping but less steep than the corresponding southwestern face of the Fatih hill [Fig. 8]. Such a positioning of the Holy Apostles to the northeast of the cistern would match the location indicated by a tenth-century rhetorical description which places the church on the hill⁶⁰. Likewise, its placement on the southern edge of the Fatih mosque can be confirmed by a Greek vernacular chronicle covering the years from the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople to around 1543⁶¹. Furthermore, the placement of the complex to the southeast of the Fatih mosque would not have interfered either with the course of the aqueduct of Valens (conjecturally extended along its extant line) or with the passage of a water conduit that seems to have existed, in Ottoman times at least, to bring the supply feeding the same aqueduct across this area [Fig. 10]⁶².

To complete our analysis, we shall now reconsider the second section of the *Book of Ceremonies* indicated above, dedicated to the feast of the *encaenia* of All-the-Saints⁶³. On this occasion, the sovereigns arrive on horseback and dismount at the so-called (monumental?) gate of the Holy Apostles (ἡ πύλη τῶν Ἁγίων Ἀποστόλων) that leads towards the Horologion (sundial). Then, they

⁶⁰ Constantine the Rhodian, Ekphrasis on Constantinople and the church of the Holy Apostles vv. 437–441 (ed. I. VASSIS in L. JAMES, *Constantine of Rhodes On Constantinople and the Church of the Holy Apostles*. Farnham – Burlington 2012, 48–49). Note that the source describes the church as placed on the hill, not specifically on its top. On the seven hills of Constantinople see W. BRANDES, *Sieben Hügel. Die imaginäre Topographie Konstantinopels zwischen apokalyptischem Denken und moderner Wissenschaft. Rechts-geschichte* 2 (2003), 58–71, esp. 65–66.

⁶¹ Ἐκθεσις Χρονικῆ [40] (ed. S.P. LAMPROS, *Ekthesis Chronica and Chronicon Athenarum*. London 1902, 56): ὑπῆρχε γὰρ ὁ ναὸς ἐκεῖνος ὃς νῦν ἐστὶ ἡμαρᾶτιον τοῦ σουλτᾶν Μεχμετή ἐν τῷ νοτιαίῳ μέρει· ἴστανται γὰρ καὶ ἐκ τῶν κτισμάτων αὐτοῦ ἕως τοῦ νῦν, “there was indeed that church [*i.e.* the Holy Apostles], which now is the *imāret* of sultan Mehmet, on the southern side [*sc.* of the mosque]”. Cf. *Patriarchica Constantinopoleos Historia*, ed. M. CRUSIUS, *Turcograecia libri octo ...*, tomus II. Basel [1584], 109: ὁ τῶν Ἁγίων Ἀποστόλων ναὸς ποῦ ἐκαθέζετο προτίτερα ὁ πατριάρχης τὸν ἑκαμῶν ἡμαρᾶτιον τοῦ αὐτοῦ σουλτᾶν Μεχμετή, “the church of the Holy Apostles, where previously the patriarch resided, they made it the *imāret* of sultan Mehmet”. See: C. MANGO, *Le Développement urbain de Constantinople (IVe–VIIe siècles)* (1990). Paris 2004³, 27, 76; M. PHILIPPIDES – W. K. HANAK, *The siege and the fall of Constantinople in 1453: historiography, topography and military studies*. Farnham 2011, 69 n. 176. The *imāret* (charitable kitchen) of the Fatih complex stood in the southeast corner of the mosque precinct (see Z. AHUNBAY, *Fatih complex tabhane*. Istanbul. Turkey, in: *Secular medieval architecture in the Balkans 1300–1500 and its preservation*, ed. S. Čurčić, E. Hadjityrphos. Thessaloniki 1997, 296; DARK – ÖZGÜMÜŞ, *Constantinople* 86) confirming our conjectural location of the Holy Apostles. The reliability of the sources under discussion is questioned by DARK – ÖZGÜMÜŞ, *Constantinople* 87. On the 15th-century Fatih complex, see E.H. AYVERDI, *Fatih devri mimarisı*. Istanbul 1953, no. 43, 125–171.

⁶² The existence of the conduit may be inferred on the basis of an Ottoman drawing dated 1673 (A. H. 1083) and kept at the Köprülü Library in Istanbul (no. 1027). The drawing is part of a scroll a few meters long showing the water conduits of Constantinople laid out during the vizirate of Köprülü-Zade Mehmet Pasha. The relevant section shows the water supply system between the mosques of Sultan Bayezid II (on the left-hand side of the drawing) and the one of Fatih (on the right-hand side). Proceeding from right to left, the legends read as follows: (1) *Cāmi’ şerif | Abū al-Fetiḥ sultān | Mehmed Hān-I t̄ānī* (“Great Mosque of the sultan Abū al-Fetiḥ Mehmed II”); (2) *cāmi’ şerifiñ medrese dīvārūñ altundan geçüb | taşra haremīñ ortayerinden geçüb büyük | qaraman icrā’ olmuşdur* (“passing below the wall of the school of the Great Mosque, after having traversed the outer harem, there was the great drug market of Karaman”); (3) *maşlāq | büyük Qaramanda ‘attār dükkānūñ | yanından geçmiştir* (“a water conduit passed by the great market of the spices at Karaman”); (4) *at pāzārūñ olan büyük kemerdir* (“great aqueduct of the horse market”); (5) *kemer üstünde olan şuterāzīsidir* (“water sluice over the aqueduct”); (6) *dub. leg.: iki kemer arasındır* (“between the two aqueducts”); (7) *ikinci kemer üstünde olan şuterāzīleridir* (“water sluices over the second aqueduct”); (8) *eski serāy dīvārı gūşesinde | olan demir qapılı tepedir* (“hill of the iron gate at one of the corners of the wall of the old palace”); (9) *quşbāzlar içinde | olan şuterāzīsidir* (“water sluice amidst the merchants of birds”); (10) *cāmi’ şerif | sultān Bāyezīd | Hān Velī* (“Great Mosque of the sultan Bayezid II”). Thanks to the second and third legends we learn that a water conduit passed by the market-place of (Büyük) Karaman near the Fatih *küllīye*. According to the drawing, the conduit would seem to lie within the *küllīye*’s precincts, on the left-hand side of the mosque (*i.e.* on its southwestern edge). The remains of the complex of the Holy Apostles, therefore, if placed to the southeast of the Fatih mosque, would not have impeded the passage of the conduit. The drawing is mentioned and reproduced in K. O. DALMAN, *Der Valensaquädukt in Konstantinopel (Istanbul Forschungen 3)*. Bamberg 1933, 33–34 and plate 16 fig. 46. I owe the transcription of the legends and their translation to Agostino Soldati, to whom my thanks are due.

⁶³ Constantine Porphyrogenetos, *Book of Ceremonies* II 7 (535–538 REISKE; 239–241 with emend. [transl. 245–248] FEATHERSTONE, *All Saints*).

turn towards the right⁶⁴ and head on to the narthex of the Holy Apostles, from where they ascend to the galleries of the same church⁶⁵. When the patriarch joins in with his procession, he stands inside the Holy Apostles, outside the sanctuary, waiting for the emperors. Then, the latter descend through the ramp and narthex of the Holy Apostles⁶⁶, exit the church and head towards the gate of the Horologion, through which they enter again the Holy Apostles. Once inside, they go to the doorway of the *gynaeceum*, where they are received by the Green and Red factions. Then they reach the patriarch at the chancel of the sanctuary.

Before proceeding further with the description of this ceremony, we should discuss the location of the Horologion. Dagron and Featherstone agree in placing it on the southern side of the narthex of the Holy Apostles, at a certain distance from All-the-Saints [Figs. 5 and 6]⁶⁷, but it seems that they do not take into account its placement with respect to the entrance of the *gynaeceum*. Following the processional path of the emperors during another celebration, that of Easter Monday (Monday of the “New Week” or *Diakainesimos*)⁶⁸, we learn that the *gynaeceum* is located “on the left-hand side of the church”, and as they leave behind them the mausoleum of Constantine, we understand this topographical indication as being, in relative terms, the southern arm of the church⁶⁹. Combining all topographical evidence together, the door of the Horologion should therefore be located in the southern arm of the church instead of the southwestern corner of its narthex [Fig. 5]. This placement is also more convenient, because it puts it at a shorter distance from All-the-Saints.

⁶⁴ The procession in question follows the protocol defined for other ceremonies, e.g. the one of Monday of the New Week or *Diakainesimos*, which starts from the Great Palace. On that occasion, the emperors reached the Holy Apostles from the south, following the northwestern branch of the Mesê. From there, to approach the complex, they would have had to turn right. Perhaps the gate was placed at the crossing of the Mesê with a perpendicular street leading to the Holy Apostles. For an idea of the Byzantine street grid around the area see the reconstruction offered by BERGER, Streets 174–175 fig. 3–4.

⁶⁵ Both DAGRON (Théophanô 213), and ASUTAY-EFFENBERGER–EFFENBERGER (Porphysarkophage 131 and n. 167), following STRUBE (Westliche Eingangsseite 143) assume that one must emend the text to read that the emperors go through the narthex of the Holy Apostles (τῶν Ἁγίων Ἀποστόλων *pro* τῶν Ἁγίων Πάντων). The hypothesis is the most plausible for the following reasons: (1) the first part of the ceremony is said to follow the protocol of other processions, among them that of Monday of the New Week or *Diakainesimos* (Constantine Porphyrogennetos, Book of Ceremonies I 10 [65–77 VOGT]), which involves the Holy Apostles but not the church of All-the-Saints; (2) it does not make sense for the procession to enter All-the-Saints before the solemn service of its *encaenia* takes place. Moreover, it is known that the church of the Holy Apostles had galleries: see e.g. Constantine Porphyrogennetos, Book of Ceremonies II 7 (538, ll. 4–7 REISKE; 241 [transl. 248] FEATHERSTONE, All Saints); but also: Procopius, Buildings I 4, [12] (ed. G. WIRTH, Procopii Caesariensis Opera omnia. Bd. IV: Περὶ κτισμάτων libri VI sive De aedificiis. Leipzig 1964, p. 24, ll. 3–5); Theophanes 461, ll. 17–19 (ed. C. DE BOOR, Theophanis Chronographia. Tomus I. Lipsiae 1883); Nikolaos Mesarites, Description of the church of the Holy Apostles [5] (14, ll. 10–11 ed. HEISENBERG, Grabeskirche und Apostelkirche; 898a [transl. p. 864a] DOWNEY). The same is not certain for All-the-Saints: coeval Constantinopolitan churches, although smaller in scale as compared to the conjectural size of All-the-Saints (32.5 m × 16.6 m based on the dimensions of the cistern), do not have galleries (cf. e.g. the Myrelaion church, now Bodrum Camii, built c. 920, on which see at least R. KRAUTHEIMER, Early Christian and Byzantine architecture, revised ed. by R. Krautheimer and S. Ćurčić. New Haven – London 1986, 356–358) or, if they have them, they are limited to the narthex (cf. e.g. the North Church of the present Fenari İsa Camii built by Constantine Lips and dedicated in 907: KRAUTHEIMER, Architecture 358–360). The text under discussion refers to “galleries of the church” not of the narthex (καὶ ἀνέρχονται ἐν τοῖς κατηχομενίοις τῆς αὐτῆς ἐκκλησίας: Constantine Porphyrogennetos, Book of Ceremonies II 7 (535, ll. 13–14 REISKE [my emphasis]; 239, transl. 246 FEATHERSTONE, All Saints). So, if one does not adopt the emendation discussed, one necessarily postulates the existence of galleries in the church of All-the-Saints: In this sense: FEATHERSTONE, All Saints 246 n. 51. I thank the anonymous reviewer of the article for the very helpful remarks upon the passage under discussion.

⁶⁶ We keep the text as it is, and reject the emendation proposed by FEATHERSTONE, All Saints 239, transl. 246 (τῶν Ἁγίων Πάντων *pro* τῶν Ἁγίων Ἀποστόλων). Our location of the Horologion on the southern arm of the church (see below) makes Featherstone’s emendation unnecessary.

⁶⁷ DAGRON, Théophanô 216; FEATHERSTONE, All Saints 246 n. 50. Vertical sundials are usually installed on walls facing south. For an overview of ancient clock technology and horologia see A. REHM, Horologium, in: *RE* XVI 2416–2433.

⁶⁸ Constantine Porphyrogennetos, Book of Ceremonies I 10 (65–77 VOGT).

⁶⁹ *Ibid.* (70 VOGT).

To come back to where we left off, the ceremony of the *encaenia* of All-the-Saints proceeds with the sovereigns and patriarch entering the sanctuary of the Holy Apostles and performing the usual acts of devotion. Then they come out of the sanctuary and go in procession to All-the-Saints, where the rite of the dedication is celebrated. Once in the church of All-the-Saints, the emperor and the patriarch enter the sanctuary, pass to the right into the chapel dedicated to a martyr named Leo, and then, after having performed their rites of obeisance to God, they follow again the round end of the principal apse and enter into the symmetrically opposite chapel dedicated to St Theophanô (the *oratorium* set up by Constantine Porphyrogenetos), where they change their vestments and sit down to await the reading of the Gospel. From there, they pass through the narthex of the chapel of St Hypatios and the terrace outside it and “through the wooden staircase that leads out, outside St Constantine, and goes up to the galleries of the Holy Apostles” (διὰ τῆς ξυλίνης σκάλας τῆς ἐξαγούσης ἔξω τοῦ Ἁγίου Κωνσταντίνου τῆς ἀναγούσης εἰς τὰ κατηγούμενα τῶν Ἁγίων Ἀποστόλων)⁷⁰. Eventually they head on to the rooms of the palace where the usual banquet takes place⁷¹. According to the path followed during the ceremony, the chapels dedicated to Leo the martyr and St Theophanô appear to be located on either side of the central apse of All-the-Saints, the former on the south, the latter on the north. St Hypatios is accessed directly from the side of the oratory of St Theophanô and thus is most likely an annex attached to the northern flank of the church. The wooden staircase to the galleries is probably adjacent to the eastern wall of the Holy Apostles, on its northern side.

In conclusion, the placement of the church of All-the-Saints that matches both the topographical indications from the textual dossier and the archaeological evidence corresponds to the south-eastern edge of the Holy Apostles.

NOTE ON THE CONJECTURAL PLAN PROPOSED

The proposed plan [Fig. 7] is an elaboration which combines the scholarly reconstruction of the complex of the Holy Apostles by Underwood (with emendations)⁷² with new insights from the sources concerning the location of the church of All-the-Saints. The church of the Holy Apostles is outlined based on a combination of elements gained from textual sources—namely Procopius, Constantine the Rhodian and Nikolaos Mesarites⁷³—and comparative architectural material, most notably the sixth-century church of St John in Ephesos and the medieval basilica of St Mark in Venice⁷⁴. The mausoleum of Constantine is drawn according to the form and scale of the fourth-century mauso-

⁷⁰ Ibid. II 7 (538, ll. 4–7 REISKE; 240–241, transl. 248 FEATHERSTONE, All Saints, slightly modified).

⁷¹ ASUTAY-EFFENBERGER–EFFENBERGER place the palace “im Obergeschoß des Narthex” (Porphyrsarkophage 132); FEATHERSTONE locates it on one side of the narthex/atrium (as in the case of the patriarchal palace on the southern side of Hagia Sophia) (All Saints 248 n. 57). I have adopted the second solution, placing the palace on the southern side of the church. This location seems to be confirmed by the description of the ceremony of Easter Monday (Constantine Porphyrogenetos, Book of Ceremonies I 10 [70–71 VOGT]): the emperor, coming out from the narthex of the church of the Holy Apostles, turns towards the left side of the atrium (so towards the southern side of the church) in the direction of a spiral staircase (κογγλιός) and from there he ascends to the church’s galleries; then, from the passages that stand “before” (or precede: ἔμπροσθεν) the galleries he accesses the palace.

⁷² See n. 50.

⁷³ Respectively: Procopius, Buildings I 4, [9]–[16] (23–24 WIRTH); Constantine the Rhodian, Ekphrasis on Constantinople and the church of the Holy Apostles vv. 548–750 (57–69 VASSIS); Nikolaos Mesarites, Description of the church of the Holy Apostles (10–96 HEISENBERG).

⁷⁴ Respectively: Forschungen in Ephesos, veröffentlicht vom Österreichischen Archäologischen Institut. Bd. 4, Heft 3: Die Johanneskirche. Vienna 1951, 17–178; E. VIO (ed.), La Basilica di Venezia. San Marco. Arte, storia, conservazione. Vols. I–III. Venice 2019.

leum of Santa Costanza in Rome⁷⁵. The plan of All-the-Saints has been outlined according to the information drawn from (1) textual sources and (2) coeval comparative architectural material:

Textual sources

- a. According to John Skylitzes, who refers to damage caused by an earthquake that occurred in 1010, during the joint reign of Basil II and Constantine VIII, the church was a domed building⁷⁶.
- b. Following the processional path described in the *Book of Ceremonies* for the *encaenia* of All-the-Saints, the church appears to have a tripartite sanctuary with two side chapels, one on the right of the main apse, dedicated to Leo the martyr, and one to the left of it, dedicated to St Theophanô. It can be inferred, from the same path, that a further chapel dedicated to St Hypatios, with narthex, is accessible from the side of St Theophanô: it may therefore be located on the northern side of All-the-Saints⁷⁷.

Coeval comparative architectural material

- a. The North Church of the monastic complex founded by Constantine Lips, now Fenari İsa Camii (907): it is a quincunx (cross-in-square) church with a domed center bay resting on four columns and groin-vaulted corner bays; the cross arms are covered by barrel-vaults; the three apses are polygonal; the narthex, surmounted by a gallery, terminates in shallow niches at either end; two *parekklesia*, one on the northern side, one on the southern, flank the church⁷⁸.
- b. The Myrelaion church, now Bodrum Camii (c. 920): it is a quincunx (cross-in-square) church, similar to the preceding one, but with a scalloped dome, without a gallery over the narthex and without *parekklesia*⁷⁹.

The structure of All-the-Saints reflects a combination of the textual information and of elements from comparative architectural evidence. Based on the two extant *comparanda*, we have opted for a single dome, but the five-domed solution cannot be excluded on textual grounds and it is plausible considering the lost precedent of the Nea Ekklesia, dedicated by Basil I in 880⁸⁰. The church has been placed adjacent to the mausoleum of Constantine: the idea conforms with our textual witnesses and is in line with middle-Byzantine constructive practices (see e.g. the Fenari İsa Camii). The size of All-the-Saints (excluding the chapel of St Hypatios) corresponds to that of Müller-Wiener's cistern (32.5 m × 16.6 m). The conjectural orientation of the whole complex (ESE), determined by the cistern, is in line with that of other Justinianic church buildings (e.g. Hagia Sophia, Hagia Eirene).

⁷⁵ In this way also ASUTAY-EFFENBERGER-EFFENBERGER, *Porphysarkophage* 54–55. On the mausoleum of Santa Costanza see most recently J. J. RASCH – A. ARBEITER (mit Beiträgen von F. W. DEICHMANN u. J. ROHMANN), *Spätantike Zentralbauten in Rom und Latium*. Bd. 4: *Das Mausoleum der Constantina in Rom*. Mainz 2007.

⁷⁶ John Skylitzes [34] (ed. J. THURN, *Ioannis Scylitzae Synopsis historiarum* [CFHB 5]. Berlin 1973, 348, ll. 95–97).

⁷⁷ Constantine Porphyrogenetos, *Book of Ceremonies* II 7 (537–538 REISKE; 240 [transl. 247–248] FEATHERSTONE, *All Saints*).

⁷⁸ See KRAUTHEIMER, *Architecture* 358–360 (plan 312).

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 356–358 (perspective section and plans 309).

⁸⁰ Theophanes Continuatus V (*Vita Basilii*) [84] (ed. I. ŠEVČENKO, *Chronographiae quae Theophanis Continuati nomine fertur. Liber V quo Vita Basilii imperatoris amplectitur* [CFHB 42]. Berlin 2011, 274–277).

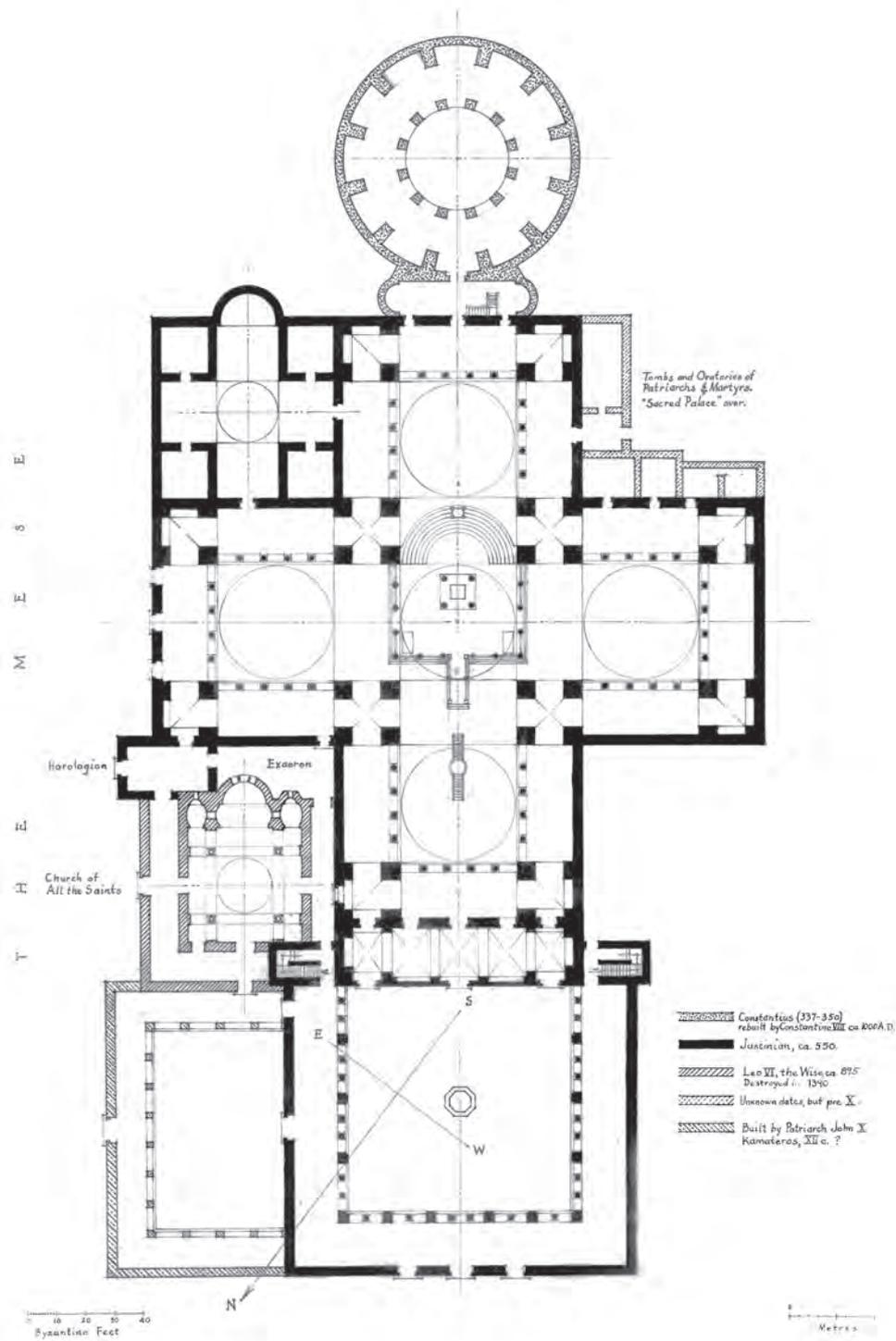


Fig. 1: Ground plan of the complex of the Holy Apostles (© P. Underwood)

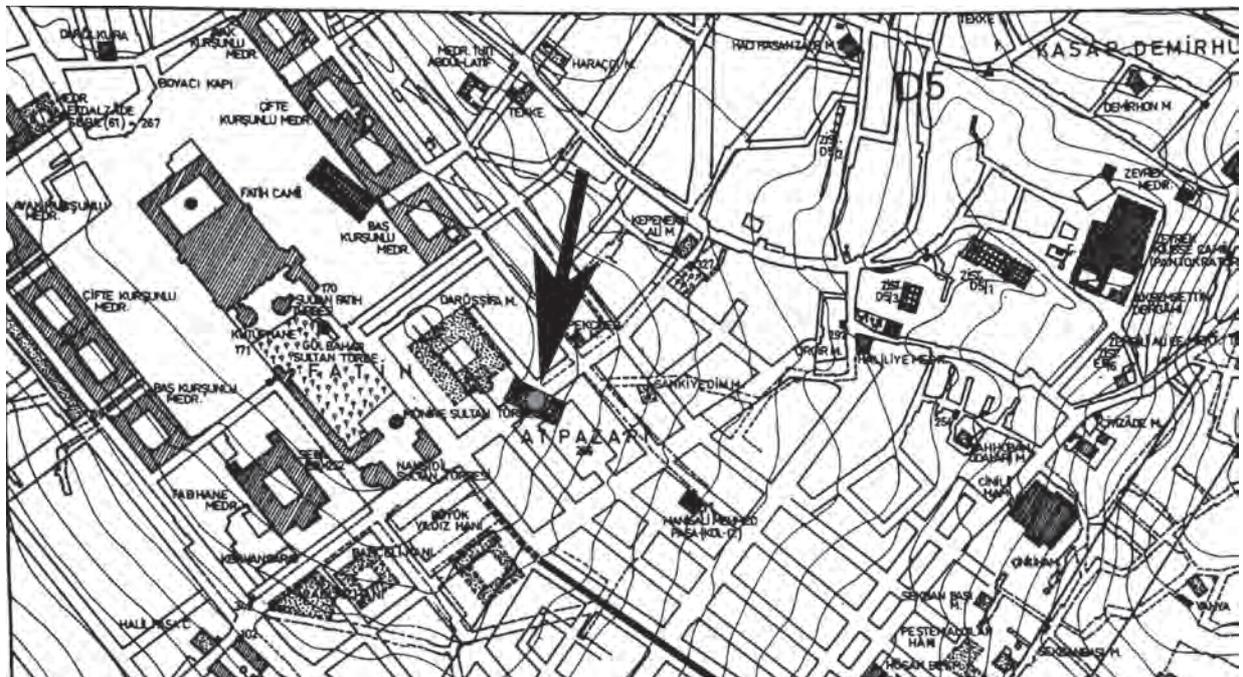


Fig. 2: Istanbul, map of the Fatih area with localization of Müller-Wiener's cistern (cistern D 5/9 Crow-Bardill-Bayliss © W. Müller-Wiener)

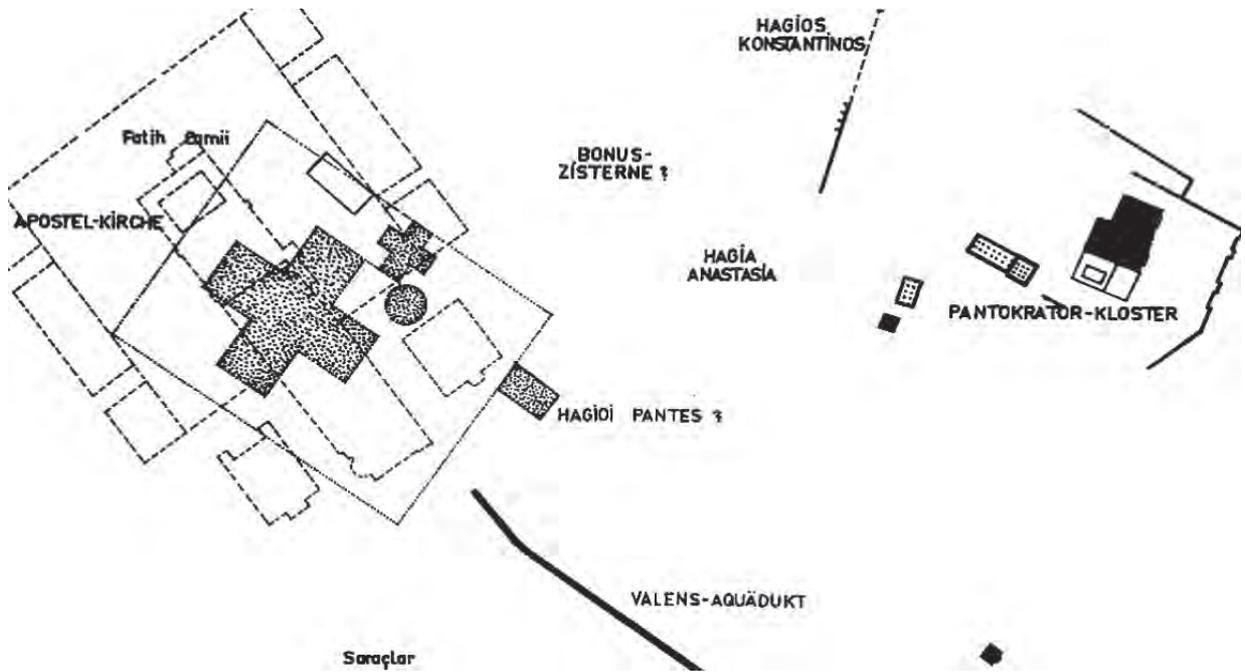


Fig. 3: Conjectural placement of the complex of the Holy Apostles in the Fatih area © W. Müller-Wiener)

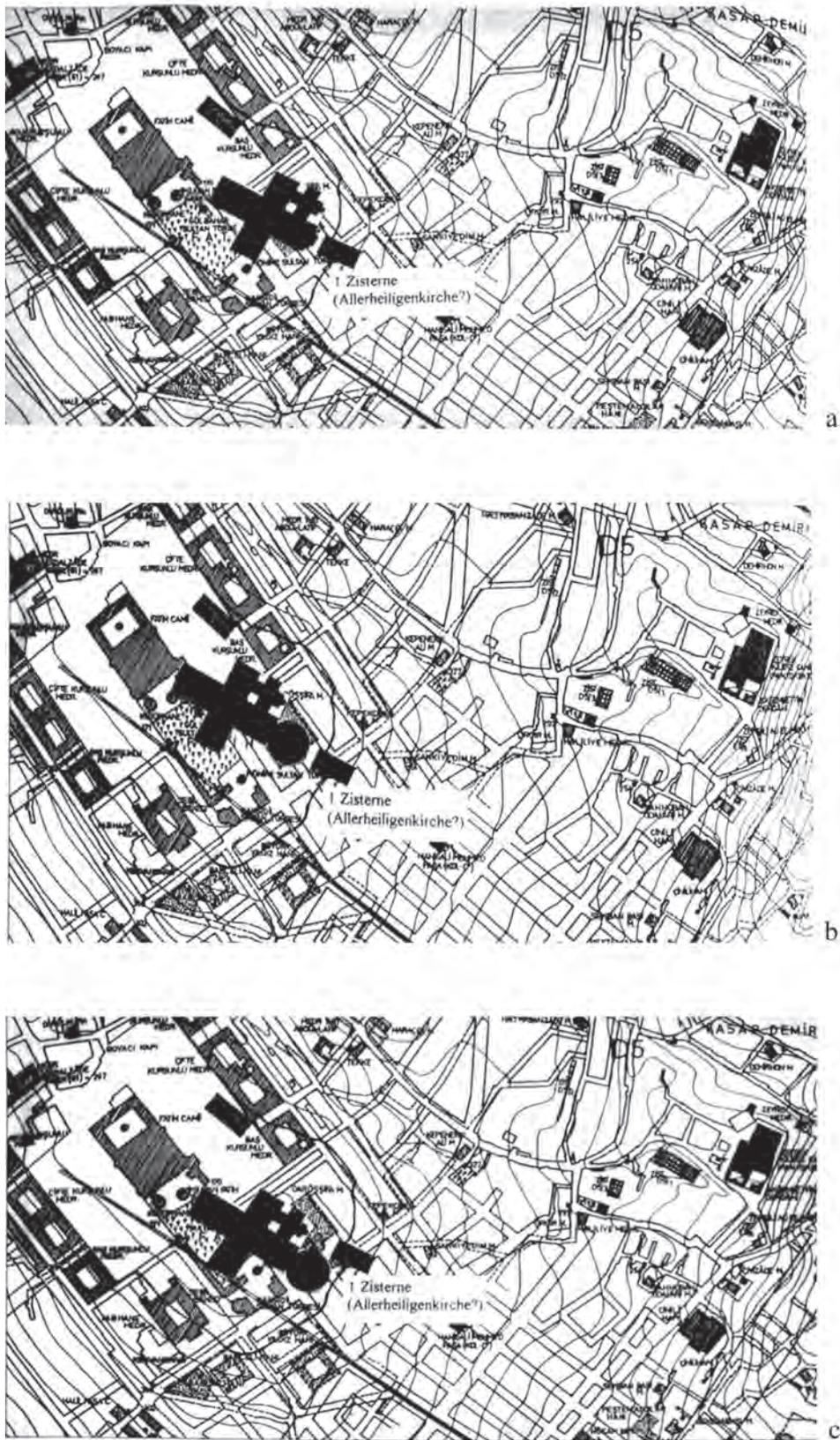


Fig. 4: Alternative conjectural placements of the complex of the Holy Apostles in the Fatih area
(© N. Asutay-Effenberger – A. Effenberger)

Fig. 5
 Sketch of the complex of the Holy Apostles
 (© G. Dagron)

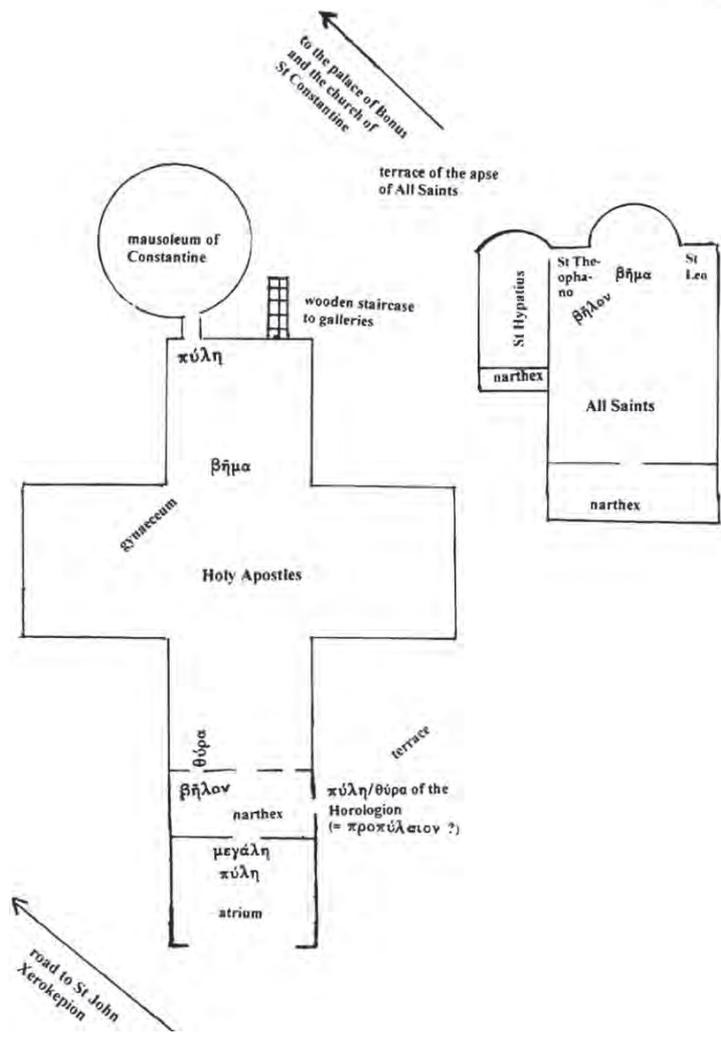
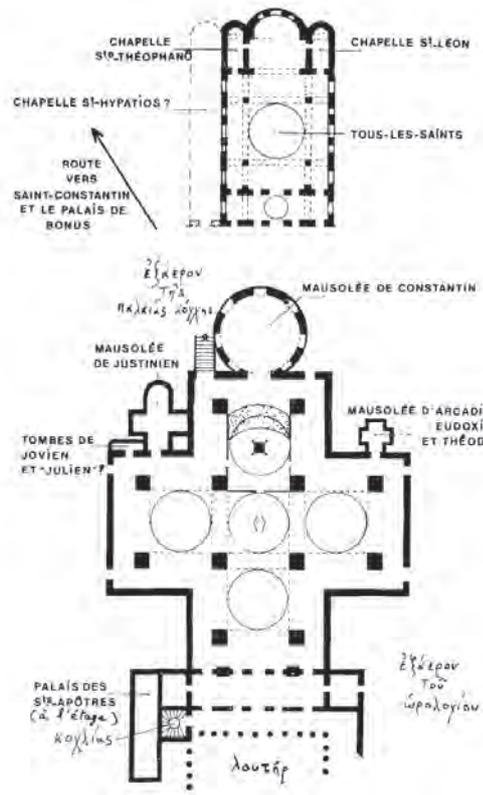


Fig. 6
 Sketch of the complex of the Holy Apostles
 (© J. Featherstone)

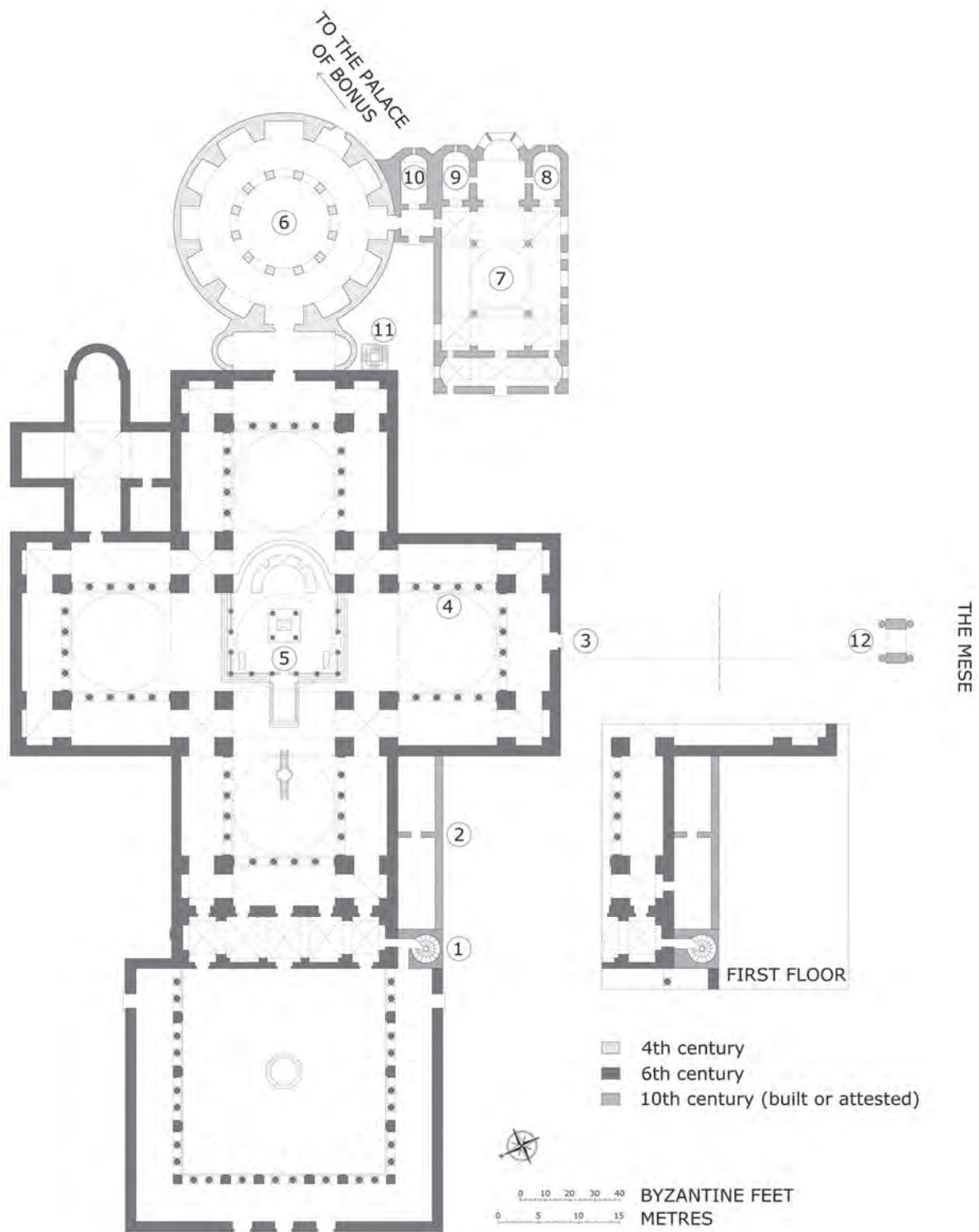


Fig. 7: Ground plan of the Holy Apostles complex (© L. Carmagnola, B. Daskas).

Legend: (1) Spiral staircase (κογχλιός) | (2) palace | (3) horologion | (4) gynecæum | (5) sanctuary | (6) mausoleum of Constantine | (7) church of All-the-Saints | (8) chapel of Leo the martyr | (9) chapel of St Theophanō | (10) chapel of St Hypatios | (11) wooden staircase | (12) “gate of the Holy Apostles” (πύλη τῶν Ἁγίων Ἀποστόλων)

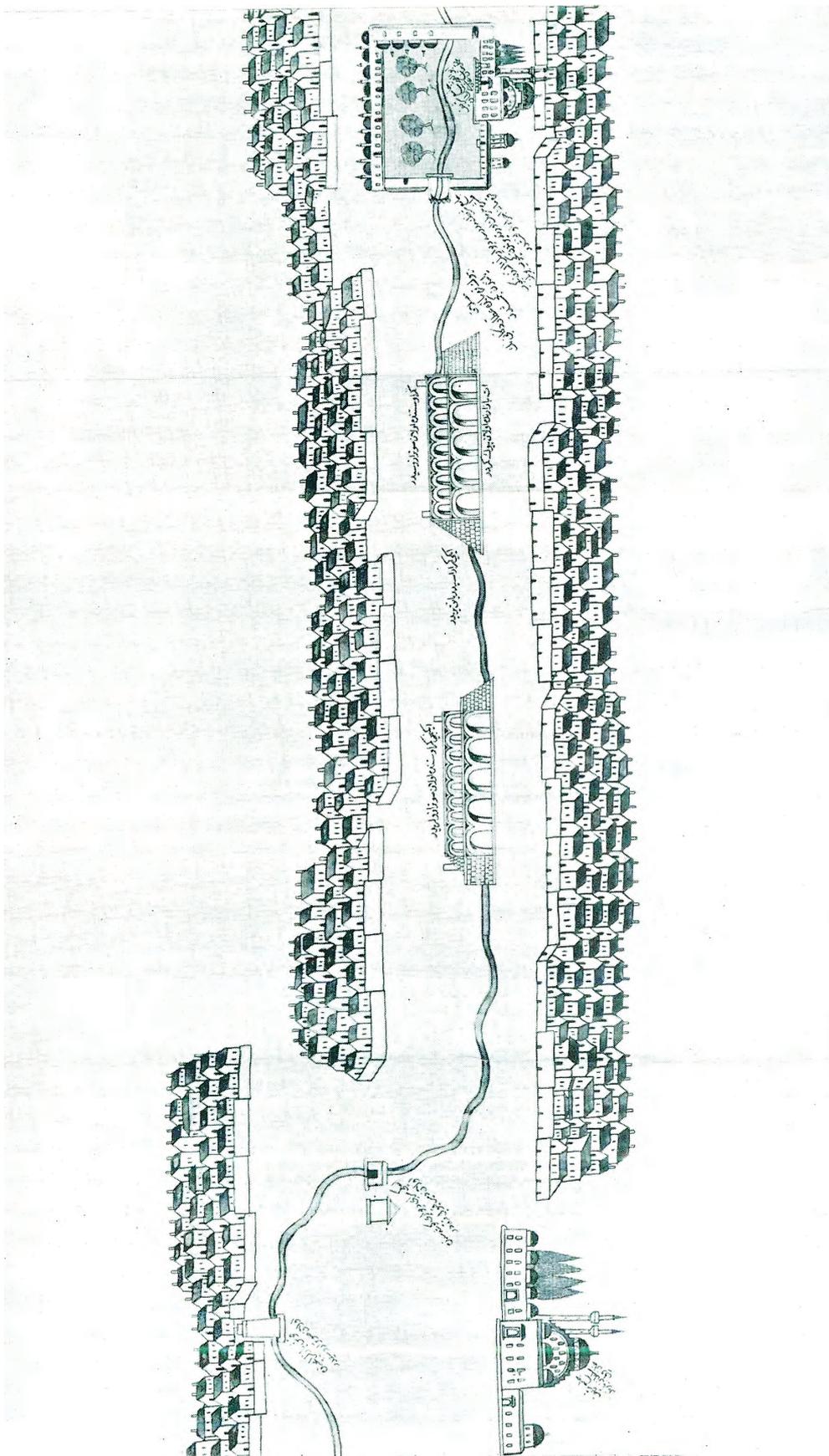


Fig. 9: Water system of Istanbul (1673, A. H. 1083). Drawing, no. 1027, Köprülü Library, Istanbul.

