THE HAGIA SOPHIA IN ITS URBAN CONTEXT: AN INTERPRETATION OF THE TRANSFORMATIONS OF AN ARCHITECTURAL MONUMENT WITH ITS CHANGING PHYSICAL AND CULTURAL ENVIRONMENT

**A Thesis Submitted to
the Graduate School of Engineering and Sciences of
İzmir Institute of Technology
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of**

MASTER OF SCIENCE

in Architecture

**by
Nazlı TARAZ**

**August 2014
İZMİR**

We approve the thesis of **Nazlı TARAZ**

Examining Committee Members:

_____
Assist. Prof. Dr. Zeynep AKTÜRE
Department of Architecture, İzmir Institute of Technology

_____
Assist. Prof. Dr. Ela ÇİL SAPSAĞLAM
Department of Architecture, İzmir Institute of Technology

_____
Dr. Çiğdem ALAS

                                                                    25 August 2014

_____
Assist. Prof. Dr. Zeynep AKTÜRE
Supervisor, Department of Architecture, İzmir Institute of Technology

_____	_____
Assoc. Prof. Dr. Şeniz ÇIKIŞ	**Prof. Dr. R. Tuğrul SENGER**
Head of the Department of Architecture	Dean of the Graduate School of
	Engineering and Sciences

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

ABSTRACT

THE HAGIA SOPHIA IN ITS URBAN CONTEXT: AN INTERPRETATION OF THE TRANSFORMATIONS OF AN ARCHITECTURAL MONUMENT WITH ITS CHANGING PHYSICAL AND CULTURAL ENVIRONMENT

In this thesis, Hagia Sophia in Istanbul is handled as a living monument in its physical and cultural context in the Historic Peninsula to question the existence of a correlation between the changes in the building scale and transformations in a larger physical and cultural context. In order to do this, urban and architectural scale studies on the Historic Peninsula and Hagia Sophia are cross-read to highlight Hagia Sophia as the center of a continuously changing physical and cultural context which is changing with its transforming environment and, at the same time, changes its context through conversions that occur in the building scale up to the Ottoman conquest in the fifteenth century.

This survey reveals Hagia Sophia as one of the most important architectural monuments in the world that has been a continually transforming edifice to remain in use for different civilizations in a synchronously changing urban context. The importance of the urban context of Hagia Sophia has had a major share in the maintenance of the building's importance. Changes and continuities in Hagia Sophia, in their turn, had their share in the maintenance of the importance of the building's urban context in a larger scale in a palimpsestic process.

Keywords: Hagia Sophia; Historic Peninsula of Istanbul; continuities and changes; urban context, palimpsest

ÖZET

KENTSEL BAĞLAMI İÇİNDE AYA SOFYA: BİR MİMARİ ANITIN DÖNÜŞÜMLERİNİN DEĞİŞEN FİZİKSEL VE KÜLTÜREL ÇEVRESİ İLE BİR YORUMU

Bu tez kapsamında, İstanbul'daki Ayasofya, Tarihi Yarımada'daki fiziksel ve kültürel bağlamı içinde yaşayan bir anıt olarak ele alınarak, yapı ölçeğindeki değişimler ile daha geniş bir fiziksel ve kültürel bağlam içinde gerçekleşen dönüşümler arasındaki karşılıklı etkileşimin varlığı araştırılmıştır. Bu amaçla, Tarihi Yarımada ve Ayasofya üzerine yapılan kent ve yapı ölçeğindeki çalışmalar çakıştırılarak okunmuş ve Ayasofya'nın onbeşinci yüzyılda gerçekleşen Osmanlı fethine kadar, değişen fiziksel ve kültürel bağlamı içinde dönüşürken, eş zamanlı olarak içinde bulunduğu çevreyi de yapı ölçeğindeki dönüşümler üzerinden değiştiren bir merkez olduğu ortaya çıkarılmıştır.

Bu çalışma, dünyanın en önemli mimari anıtlarından biri olan Ayasofya'nın sürekli dönüşerek, eş zamanlı olarak değişen bir kentsel bağlam içinde farklı uygarlıkların kullanımında kalan bir mimari yapıt olduğunu göstermiştir. Ayasofya'nın önemini korumasında, yapının kentsel bağlamının önemi büyüktür. Aynı zamanda, yapı ölçeğindeki süreklilik ve değişimlerin de tarih boyunca Ayasofya'nın içinde bulunduğu kentsel bağlamın daha geniş bir ölçekte palimpsest bir süreç yoluyla önemini korumasındaki büyük etkisi görülmüştür.

Anahtar kelimeler: Ayasofya; İstanbul Tarihi Yarımada; süreklilikler ve değişimler; kentsel bağlam, palimpsest

To İcloş and Ali Dede…

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Since the emergence of an urban way of living, religious buildings were among the most important structures in towns because they were seen as origins of sacredness and protected through centuries. In addition to their sanctity, major religious buildings have always reflected their epoch's highest level of architectural achievement and these buildings have differentiated themselves from the other buildings of settlements with their direct reflection of changes in cultural and construction practices. Instead of destroying these most prominent monuments, changing civilizations and different cultures took care of and kept them alive by the aid of different interventions. This resulted in a long life as part of a continuously changing urban setting.

Hagia Sophia in Istanbul is such a building that continuously transformed with its changing urban context. The building has received different cultural influences by passing through essential reconstruction periods several times in its history. In each of these, Hagia Sophia has never lost its importance. On the contrary, the building has always remained in use and has been maintained carefully by all civilizations. During transformation periods, not only Hagia Sophia but also its neighborhood have transformed synchronously. The settlement itself transformed from the Greek colony of Byzantion to the Roman Byzantium, then to the imperial capitals of Constantinople and Konstantiniyye, and finally to the world city Istanbul.

Therefore, in this thesis, Hagia Sophia is studied in its urban context, especially in the Historic Peninsula, in order to reveal the type and pace of transformation in urban and building scale to understand a single monument as part of a larger city. This focus has been defined on the basis of a tendency observed in Hagia Sophia studies to handle the building as a single monument focusing on its architectural and ornamental details, without a comprehensive analysis of the relation between Hagia Sophia and its urban context.

1.1. Conceptual Framework

Handling monuments in their contexts is, in fact, a popular approach in architectural and especially urban studies, however, without a consensus on the exact meaning of the term. Therefore, it may be useful to start with the well accepted lexical meaning of *context.*

The term *context* is defined as "the circumstances that form the setting for an event, statement, or idea, and in terms of which it can be fully understood" and the word originally comes from the Latin word *contextus* which is a combination of *con* (together) and *texere* (to weave) in the Oxford Dictionary.[1] In other words, *context* defines an interconnection between an event and its environment that makes this event meaningful with the contribution of its environmental factors. In this thesis, the term "event" in the description of *context* is taken to mean Hagia Sophia, following the discourse that conceptualizes works of architecture as "events" and "the circumstances" are taken as its imperial and, urban setting which help us to attribute meaning to the Historical Peninsula to handle Hagia Sophia as an important monument which is affected by its setting while affecting it synchronously from the first settlement in the seventh century BC to the Ottoman conquest in the fifteenth century.

In their edited book *Rethinking Architectural Historiography* (2006), Arnold, Ergut and Özkaya highlight a general tendency to handle architecture as an "aesthetically beautiful structure" that is not affected by the passing time and criticize this tendency with their emphasis on the importance of handling an architectural work in its context.[2] According to Arnold, a work of architecture continuously changes according to change in time, space and use. Thus, an architectural monument can be thought of as a product of continuously changing time and space organization, and each time-space transformation brings out its own product.[3] In other words, the *context* definition of Arnold may be made as the changing time and space organization resulting in a work of architecture as the end product of changing circumstances in time. According to Arnold, each product becomes one of numerous fragments of the (con)text which can be read in numerous ways in a palimpsest process.

---

[1] http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/context
[2] Dana Arnold, Elvan Altan Ergut, and Belgin Turan Özkaya, eds., *Rethinking Architectural Historiography* (London and New York: Routledge, 2006), xv.
[3] Arnold, *Rethinking Architectural Historiography,* 7.

The palimpsest analogy used by Arnold constitutes one of the most important starting points of this thesis. In the Oxford Dictionary *palimpsest* is defined as "the manuscript or piece of writing material on which later superimposed on effaced earlier writing."[4] In a preliminary presentation of this research, "beauty" and "palimpsest" concepts have been determined as keywords and handled via the Japanese philosophy Wabi-Sabi.[5]

In his article 'Time Perspectives, Palimpsest and the Archaeology of Time' (2007), the British archaeologist Geoff Bailey adopts the idea to differentiate different types of archaeological remains by five types of palimpsest: true palimpsests, cumulative palimpsests, spatial palimpsests, temporal palimpsests and palimpsests of meaning. In all these types of palimpsests, Bailey points to the danger in a permanent deletion of the past, and also to the opportunity to find traces of all time periods with their own characteristics overlapped on the latter due to the palimpsest effect in a continual process.[6] The following categorization will be used in the remainin part of this thesis to interpret the imperial, urban and building scale data on Hagia Sophia and its context.

As the first type, *true palimpsest* is defined as a complete or wide deletion of the former traces of earlier activities on a site and emergence of a new layer.[7] According to Bailey, as a result of a successional use, the final function of an area may be completely differentiated from its first use and, since the traces of the earlier activities are completely deleted, Bailey emphasizes on a deceptive approach on thinking that the full history of a site could be understood from its uppermost layer.

Secondly, Bailey mentions *cumulative palimpsest* which keeps the earlier traces and the new layer of a site together at the same time. While the older layer retains its characteristics, it is integrated with the new layer inseparably and they become functional together on the uppermost layer of a site. The *cumulative palimpsest* is defined as "one in which the successive episodes of deposition, or layers of activity, remain superimposed one upon the other without loss of evidence, but are so re-worked and mixed together that it is difficult or impossible to separate them out into their

---

[4] http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/palimpsest
[5] This part of the thesis has been presented earlier at the 3rd IAPS-CSBE Culture and Space Symposium which was held on 27-28 November 2012 with the theme of "Istanbul as a palimpsest city and imperfection" in reference to the Japan Wabi philosophy. (Taraz, 2013).
[6] Geoff Bailey, "Time Perspectives, Palimpsests and the Archaeology of Time," *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 26 (2007): 203.
[7] Bailey, "Time Perspectives, Palimpsests and the Archaeology of Time," 203.

original constituents." Bailey emphasizes on the unseparable integration of *cumulative palimpsest* and compares it to the *true palimpsest.* While the traces of the earlier layers are completely or widely disappeared and it is easy to distinguish the uppermost layer in *true palimpsest,* Bailey emphasizes on a harmony between the earlier traces and the uppermost layer which makes it impossible to distinguish the uppermost layer from the precedent layers in a *cumulative palimpsest.*[8]

A *spatial palimpsest* constitutes the third type and is handled as "a variant of the *cumulative palimpsest.*"[9] In the *spatial palimpsest,* certain activities and materials which have their own characteristics are seen in different geographical locations. In other words, Bailey defines *spatial palimpsest* as different sites which are located in different geographical regions and have several characteristics in common functionally or materially. As the most important difference, while the *cumulative palimpsest* occurs in the same site, the *spatial palimpsest* is seen in different geographic locations.

Fourthly, Bailey explains the *temporal palimpsest* as "an assemblage of materials and objects that form part of the same deposit but are of different ages and life spans."[10] While different traces are mixed in different episodes in the *cumulative palimpsest, temporal palimpsest* consists of materials and traces dating to the different periods but stays in use as the constituents of the same episode.

As the last type, Bailey defines the *palimpsest of meaning* as "the succession of meanings acquired by a particular object, or group of objects, as a result of different uses, contexts of use and associations to which they have been exposed from the original moment of manufacture to their current resting place, whether in the ground, a museum, a textbook, an intellectual discourse, or indeed as objects still in circulation and use." According to Bailey, modifications and transformations may have resulted in change in the earlier meaning of an object and handling this object in its context in relation to its surrounding objects may be helpful to attribute true meaning to the uppermost use with the help of the *palimpsest of meaning.*[11] In this respect, Bailey's classification of palimpsest is useful for this study in explaining the variation in continual transformation in urban and building scale.

---

8   Bailey, "Time Perspectives, Palimpsests and the Archaeology of Time," 205.
9   Bailey, "Time Perspectives, Palimpsests and the Archaeology of Time," 204.
10 Bailey, "Time Perspectives, Palimpsests and the Archaeology of Time," 207.
11 Bailey, "Time Perspectives, Palimpsests and the Archaeology of Time," 208.

In his book *The Architecture of the City* (1982), Aldo Rossi handles cities as continual construction processes in a larger scale.[12] While certain traces are transformed according to the changing context, some of them remain unchanged and stay in use as the oldest witnesses of the passing time during the continual growth of a city.[13] These traces can be seen physically in the architectural elements of the city and, in this way, the architecture of the city emerges as a visible connection between the past and the present day of the city.

According to Rossi, urban studies lack such a point of view of handling the architectural elements as living witnesses of the historical past of their cities. Rossi criticizes the general tendency of handling monuments as single structures disconnected from their context. To emphasize the importance of placing single structures in their own contexts, Rossi suggests an "analytical method" and uses the term "urban artifact" to describe architectural works in a holistic view including not only single structures but also their relationships with their urban history, geography and the daily life of the city.[14] In this way, Rossi puts forward an interdisciplinary perspective on urban studies to be conducted by different fields such as history, history of architecture and sociology. According to Rossi, while larger-scale studies can be used to analyze the social, political and economical circumstances, in the narrower scale, architectural and topographical studies may be useful to combine building scale data into the urban context to constitute a holistic view about the architecture of the city.[15] From this point of view, the *context* definition of Rossi may be made as changing social, political and economical circumstances that resulted in a change in the architecture of a city.

While the growth of the city continues steadily, some urban artifacts lose their functions and disappear in the city in time. As Bailey mentioned, a palimpsestic process may result in a permanent deletion of the past and in this respect, Rossi's approach on disappearing artifacts in the urban context shows parallelism with Bailey's palimpsest understanding. According to Rossi, cities consist of residential areas and monuments as primary urban artifacts. In time, these urban artifacts are affected from the change in context and transform. However transformation process of the residential areas and monumental buildings differ from each other. While dwelling function of residential areas remain unchanged as they transform physically in time, on the contrary,

---

12   Aldo Rossi, *The Architecture of the City,* (Cambridge: Oppositions Books The MIT Press, 1982), 21.
13   Rossi, *The Architecture of the City,* 21.
14   Rossi, *The Architecture of the City,* 21.
15   Rossi, *The Architecture of the City,* 22.

monumental buildings remain unchanged physically and their function is transformed according to change in context.

Rossi calls these monuments as important permanent elements and advocates the idea that these monuments exist as symbolic artifacts of their changing contexts. According to Rossi, monuments are continually transforming elements in the urban layout and their existence continues functionally or physically. Although some monuments lose their functions and continue their existence as physical artifacts, their value never diminishes and the major reason of this continuity is derived from the monuments which bear the traces of the historical past of their cities. These monuments are defined as art-works by Rossi and become characteristic elements of their urban contexts. Thus, they distance from being architectural buildings and become urban artifacts.[16]

While Arnold emphasizes on the fact that nothing remains unchanged and adopts itself to the changing circumstances in time, Rossi focuses on monuments as persistent elements of cities and handles context as changing social, political and economical circumstances. So, in both Arnold's and Rossi's approaches that argue architecture as changing through changes in time, context reveals as the key determinant to understand the work and Bailey's approach may be useful to understand the process of change that is described by both with the analogy of palimpsest.

In this thesis, the Historic Peninsula of Istanbul is studied as the urban context of Hagia Sophia with reference to Arnold and Rossi and, Hagia Sophia is handled as a continuously transforming architectural monument that has remained visible through its newer urban and physical setting in a palimpsestic process. The data about the context of Hagia Sophia is gained from the physical traces of the architectural monuments which are functionless in the contemporary Historical Peninsula as the characteristics elements of the city with reference to Rossi. To constitute a meaningful whole, this physical data is combined with the information on changing social, economical and political circumstances of the Historic Peninsula from the first emergence of an urban way of living with reference to Arnold and Rossi's approaches on context.

From this point of view, *imperial context* is used in this thesis to refer to changing civilizations and the transformations that occurred in the Historic Peninsula. Within this framework, changing religious understanding from pagan to Christianity

---

[16] Rossi, *The Architecture of the City,* 60.

and then from Christianity to Islam, public entertainments and imperial ceremonies are included in the *imperial context* and they are handled as important "events" that help us to attribute meaning to the use of Hagia Sophia and its vicinity. Although the first construction of Hagia Sophia dates back to the imperial setting of the fourth century AD, to answer "why was Hagia Sophia built there?", this study begins from the seventh century BC when the first urban way of living in the Historic Peninsula emerged. In this way, Hagia Sophia is handled as a product of a continuously changing time and space organization in parallel with Arnold's approach.

In addition to the *imperial context,* the Historical Peninsula of Istanbul is handled as an *urban context* which consists of architectural works dating back to the first emergence of an urban way of living in the peninsula. In this respect, *urban context* of Hagia Sophia refers to the physical remains and is used in this thesis to define the architectural monuments and public open spaces of the Historic Peninsula which become the characteristic elements of the city with reference to Rossi. Besides handling these monuments and open spaces as physical structures, their use by the public and the imperial family, and their relationship with each other are studied to constitute an interconnection between them and Hagia Sophia.

As the second keyword of this thesis, the palimpsest analogy is handled in different perspectives under the light of Bailey's palimpsest approach. The term *overlap* is used in thesis to refer to the "permanent deletion" mentioned by Bailey which results in the disappearance of the older. On the other hand, *palimpsest* is used to describe "the opportunity of finding traces of all times" to define continual existence of an architectural work in different layers that emerged in time.

In this respect, the Historic Peninsula of Istanbul is handled as consisting of (con)textual layers of the city written in different periods and Hagia Sophia is interpreted as one of the most important characteristic elements of Istanbul due to its being one of the most long-lived witnesses of the passing time. In order to read Hagia Sophia in its context, Rossi's and Arnold's understanding of handling the city as a continual construction process and architectural elements as products of this continual space-time organization in their context is integrated with Bailey's palimpsest approach in this thesis. In this way, the possibility of interconnection between Hagia Sophia and its urban and imperial context is questioned.

1.2. Literature Review

Hagia Sophia has been on the public agenda in the past decade with a request for its conversion back into a mosque. On newspapers and journals, there are discussions on the necessity of the conversion, supported by historical documents whose reliability is another discussion topic.[17] There is also popular media coverage handling Hagia Sophia in its history, with a focus on its changing uses as a church, mosque and museum as well as the ongoing reconstruction process of the building.[18] Additionally, there are popular documentaries and television programs focusing on the history of Hagia Sophia and novels, using Hagia Sophia as a location for fictional stories.[19] This popularity takes precedence over the architectural and historical significance of Hagia Sophia as material evidence for continual change in a world city.

In fact, because of its architectural innovations and long-lived existence, Hagia Sophia has long been subject to academic research and there is an extensive literature handling Hagia Sophia in different aspects by historians of art and architecture, and lately by structural engineers. These studies can be grouped according to their focus on Hagia Sophia's structural characteristics[20], ornamental and legendary characteristics[21], and those handling Hagia Sophia as a part of a certain neighborhood.[22] There are also publications focusing on the history of Hagia Sophia[23], and on its structural details.[24]

---

[17] *Toplumsal Tarih* (Ç. Kafesçioğlu, 2014), *Derin Tarih* (M. Çelik, 2013), *Cumhuriyet* (Nov. 27, 2013), *Milliyet* (Nov. 24, 2013), *Sabah* (Nov. 24, 2013), *Radikal* (Dec. 2, 2013), *Star* (Nov., 8, 2013).

[18] *Habertürk* (May. 10, 2010), *Hürriyet* (Oct., 24, 2013), *Radikal* (Dec. 8, 2013), *Milliyet* (Jan., 8, 2010), *Cumhuriyet* (Apr., 26, 2013).

[19] *Beneath the Hagia Sophia* (2013), *Ayasofya'nın Sırları* [*The Secrets of Hagia Sophia* (2011)]*, Inferno* (2013), *A Memento for Istanbul* (2010).

[20] *Dynamic Response of Hagia Sophia Considering Cracks* (Şahin, 2002), *Re-evaluation of Earthquake Performance and Strengthening Alternatives of Hagia Sophia* (Kırlangıç, 2008), *The Restorations of Hagia Sophia Under the Light of Documents* (Diker, 2010).

[21] *Zoe and Komnenian Mosaics in Hagia Sophia: A Comparative Study on Pictorial Arrangement and the Subject* (Erdihan, 2010), *Legends of Hagia Sophia* (Aslan, 2009).

[22] *Istanbul and the Monuments in the Notes of the Western Travellers which were published in English and Turkish in the Sixteenth Century* (Taşçıkar, 2002), *Reconstruction of Urban Space Through the Dialectics of Global and Local: Evolution of Urban Space in Sultanahmet-Istanbul* (Gür, 1999), *A Research on the Chronological and Structural Process of Sultanahmet Square* (Yıldız, 2002).

[23] *Üç Devirde Bir Mabed-Ayasofya* (*Hagia Sophia: An Edifice in Three Eras*, Akgündüz, 2005), *Justinian, the Empire and the Church* (Meyendorff, 1968), *Justinian as a Builder* (Downey, 1950), *The Latins at Hagia Sophia* (Swift, 1935), *The Hagia Sophia: From the Age of Justinian to the Present* (Mark and Çakmak, 1992), *Hagia Sophia and the Great Imperial Mosques* (Charles, 1930), *Kiliseden Müzeye Ayasofya Camii* (*From Church to Museum: The Mosque of Hagia Sophia*, Akgündüz and Öztürk, 2006), *Justinian and his Age* (Ure, 1951), *Constantine the Great and the Christian Church* (Baynes, 1972), *Constantine's Churches: Symbol and Structure* (Armstrong, 1974), *A History of the Later Roman Empire from the Death of Theodosius I to the Death Justinian* (Bury, 1923)

In this existing literature, two main tendencies come to the fore. The first is to minimize reference to the urban context of Hagia Sophia and handle the building as a single monument socially and physically disconnected from its urban context. Those that relate the monument to its context, on the other hand, are limited chronologically. As an example, among the most important recent publications, Kleinbauer and White handle Hagia Sophia as a single structure in their book *Ayasofya* (2004), focusing on the interior design, central dome, mosaics and ornamental characteristics, naturally, starting from the period of Justinian the Great when the monument that we know today was initially constructed. So, the initial construction phases of Hagia Sophia are not mentioned in detail and only a very general overview of the urban context of Constantinople is given. This deprives the authors of the possibility of reading Hagia Sophia as a document of a continuously changing urban context from its first construction phase onwards.

Mark and Çakmak's *Hagia Sophia from the Age of Justinian to the Present* (1992) is a collection of essays on the construction process of Hagia Sophia up to the Ottoman period imperial mosque and its influences on the contemporary architecture. The compiled essays of the book address three main questions: construction technology of the building, its static strength and the resistance of the building for the future environmental loadings. Because Hagia Sophia is handled as a single building, Mark and Çakmak's book remains incapable to consider Hagia Sophia as a continually changing and transforming monument in its urban context, although the book is rich in structural information on Hagia Sophia. ***HOW ABOUT NECİPOĞLU?***

Differently, in his book *Hagia Sophia: Architecture, Structure and Liturgy of Justinian's Great Church* (1988), Mainstone focuses on the past of the building from the first construction phase to the second and then on Justinian's great monument. Due to the lack of evidence, Mainstone mentions the hypothetical plan scheme of the Theodisian church via archaeological excavation reports. Besides the historical background of Hagia Sophia, Mainstone explains structural characteristic of all

---

[24] *Structure and Aesthetic at Hagia Sophia in Constantinople* (Cutler, 1966), *The Mosaics of St. Sophia at Istanbul: The Rooms above the Southwest Vestibule and Ramp* (Cormack and Hawkins, 1977), *Ayasofya ve Fossati Kardeşler* (*Hagia Sophia and Fossati Brothers*, Doğan, 2012), *What is the Appearance of Divine Sophia?* (Fiene, 1989), *Design and Technology in Hagia Sophia* (MacDonald, 1957), *The Mosaics of Hagia Sophia* (Rufus, 1944), *The Wells , Subterranean Passage, Tunnels and Water Systems of Hagia Sophia in Istanbul* (Aygün, 2013), *Ayafosya'nın Betimi* (A *Description of Hagia Sophia*, Mabeyinci, 2010), *Hagia Sophia: New Types of Structural Evidence* (Van Nice, 1948), *Hagia Sophia: A Unique Architectural Achievement of the Sixth Century* (Emerson and Van Nice, 1950).

architectural components of the building such as domes, semi-domes, exedrea and galleries. Yet, although, Mainstone puts forward a detailed study on the architectural characteristics of Hagia Sophia, he handles the monument as a single structure which is physically and socially disconnected from its vicinity. In this respect, his study is short of handling Hagia Sophia as a transforming core in its continuously changing urban context.

Türkoğlu's popular book *Ayasofya'nın Öyküsü* (The Story of Hagia Sophia, 2002) is another source handling Hagia Sophia as a single monument. Although Türkoğlu mentions the construction phases of Hagia Sophia, he mostly focuses on the ornamental characteristics of the building. Also, he describes certain ceremonies conducted in Hagia Sophia such as coronation and birthday ceremonies of emperors. Gürşan handles Hagia Sophia similarly in her book *Yapıların Efendisi: Aya Sofya'nın Hikayesi* (Master of the Monuments: The Story of Hagia Sophia 2011), focusing on the structural details and architectural innovations. On the one hand, Gürşan and Türkoğlu put forward a comprehensive diachronic handling of the monument and these books are helpful for a detailed research on architectural characteristics of Hagia Sophia such as materials and hidden meanings of mosaics. But, these books fail in constituting a relationship between Hagia Sophia and its urban context. As an example, although ceremonies conducted in Hagia Sophia are described in detail, there is not any information about the procession of the emperor from his palace to the Hagia Sophia and, so, it is hard to understand how the procession was conducted in a major urban public space. Similarly, both books have information based on archaeological evidence about the past of the building from the period before Justinian, but lack in the urban-scale information about the transformation of the monument from a pioneering Christian religious building to the imperial churchs of Constantine, Theodosius and Justinian, then into an imperial mosque. Although they provide detailed information about the architectural characteristics of Hagia Sophia, these books are incapable to place the monument in a changing urban context and there is a lack of handling Hagia Sophia as a part of the continuously transforming religious, public and political core of Constantinople.

As to the second tendency, besides publications focusing on Hagia Sophia as a single monument, there are a wide range of publications handling the urban context of Hagia Sophia. But these studies focus on the urban context of the building via single monuments in the immediate vicinity, without interconnecting them in the public space

to compose a general urban picture of the city.[25] Also, there are archaeological reports focusing on Hagia Sophia and the monuments of the immediate vicinity individually.[26]

These reveal that there actually exist sufficient publications that can provide contextual information about Hagia Sophia in imperial, urban, neighborhood, and building scale. However, these have rarely been made use of for a cross-reading with research in building scale.

Freely's *Istanbul the Imperial City* (1998) is one source that focuses on the urban transformation of the city as the capital city of Eastern Roman Empire and then as of Ottoman Empire. In his book, Freely provides comprehensive information about the public and social life of Constantinople and supports his narrative with maps, drawings and miniatures. In this respect, Freely puts forward an extensive knowledge about the history of Constantinople from seventh century BC as a Greek colony up to the Turkish Republican city, and uses historical data to constitute a detailed research on the social transformation of the city. Besides urban change, the imperial transformation of Constantinople is analyzed in political and ideological aspects. However, although Freely provides detailed information about the history of Constantinople, it is hard to determine the role of Hagia Sophia in this historical progress and continuous public and imperial change. Although the building is handled as one of the most important monuments of the city, the change in its use as resulting from the social and political transformation is not given much emphasis.

More comprehensive information in this regard comes from Krautheimer (1983), Müller-Wiener (2007), Erkal (1995) and Woodrow (2001). Krauthemier compares three important capitals of the late antiquity Rome, Constantinople and Milan in *Three*

---

[25] *The Urban and Architectural Evolution of the Istanbul Divanyolu: Urban Aesthetics and Ideology in Ottoman Town Building* (Cerasi, 2005), *Istanbul Yedi Tepede On Yedi Gezi* (*Seventeen Trips on the Seven Hills of Istanbul*, Özkök, 2010), *The Architectural Heritage of Istanbul and the Ideology of Preservation* (Altınyıldız, 2007), *The Urban Image of the Late Antique Constantinople* (Bassett, 2006), *The Triumphal Way of Constantinople and the Golden Gate* (Mango, 2000), *The Urban Evolution of Latin Constantinople: Monuments, Topography and Everyday Life* (Matschke, 2001), *Streets and Public Spaces in Constantinople* (Berger, 2000), *From the Hippodrome to the Reception Halls of the Great Palace: Acclamations and Dances in the Service of Imperial Ideology* (Pitarakis, 2013).

[26] *Hagia Sophia, Istanbul: Preliminary Report of a Recent Examinations of the Structure* (Emerson and van Nice, 1943), *Second Report upon the Excavations carried out in and near the Hippodrome of Constantinople in 1928* (Casson, 1929), *Istanbul, Great Palace of the Byzantine Emperors. Second Report* (Rice, 1961), *Notes on the Archaeology of St. Sophia at Constantinople: The Green Marble Bands on the Floor* (Majeska, 1978), *Byzantine Archaeological Findings in Istanbul During the Last Decade* (Tunay, 2001), *Archaeogeophysical Studies in the Sultanahmet –Blue- Mosque* (Evren, 2012), *Historiae custos: Sculpture and Tradition in the Baths of Zeuxippos* (Bassett, 1996), *The Antiquities in the Hippodrome of Constantinople* (Bassett, 1991), *The Monument of Porphyrius in the Hippodrome at Constantinople* (Vasiliev, 1948).

Christian Capitals: Topography and Politics (1983) and handles important monuments in their urban context. He analyzes their political and ideological roles in these cities, focusing on fourth and fifth centuries. Although Krautheimer relates the social and political transformations of these cities to their most important monuments, the period of the study involving the fourth and fifth centuries remains incapable to make a comprehensive analysis of the reflections of transformations in Constantinople on Hagia Sophia since the monument as we know today was not yet constructed then. Although Hagia Sophia is handled as an important monument, Krautheimer does not focus on the building as the imperial religious core and its effective role in transforming the public and political life of the city via ceremonies or its mosaics.

In his book *Istanbul'un Tarihsel Topografyası: 17. Yüzyıl Başlarına Kadar Byzantion Konstantinopolis-Istanbul* (Historical Topography of Istanbul, 2007), Müller-Wiener offers a general overview about the transformation of the city, particularly the Historic Peninsula, from the sixth century BC to the seventeenth century based on archeological surveys. Different building types are analyzed diachronically from their first construction onwards, with the help of maps showing the distribution of monuments in the city. Similarly, in his book *Istanbul Bir Kent Tarihi: Bizantion, Konstantinopolis, İstanbul* (History of Istanbul: Byzantion, Constantinople, Istanbul, 2004), Kuban outlines three fundamental periods for Istanbul, examining Byzantion, Constantinople and Istanbul with their own characteristics and offers a historical narrative of the transformation of the city from the capital of Roman and later Ottoman Empires to a megapol in the Turkish Republican period based on historical search. Although monuments are described in detail on their own, their role in the public life of the city and changing uses according to the transformations of the city remain short to correlate buildings and their use in the city in both publications. Additionally, inconsistencies reveal in cross-evaluating the historical information given by Kuban through superimposition over maps provided by Müller-Wiener. Such presentation of archaeological and historical evidence as unified in period-maps is the strongest aspect of Müller-Wiener's approach from the contextual point of view.

To understand Hagia Sophia and its immediate vicinity as part of an imperial organization, Erkal's master's thesis *Constantinopolis: A Study on the City of Constantinople as the Artifice of Constantine the Great's Imperial Project* (1995) is more useful in this respect. Erkal focuses on the re-foundation phase of Constantinople between 324-330 and analyzes Constantinople as a small-scale model of Rome,

revealing continuities and discontinuities in the imperial scale. Antonia Woodrow's doctoral thesis *Imperial Ideology in Middle Byzantine Court Culture: The Evidence of Constantine Porphyrogenitus's* de ceremoniis (2001) in a way completes Erkal's analysis by investigating the role of imperial ceremonies in the tenth century conducted in the Historical Peninsula including Hagia Sophia. The latter dissertation mainly uses the most important written evidence for the period, *de ceremoniis* of Procopius, to analyze the physical environment in the light of the political and religious transformation of the city.

These two tendencies in the existing literature, of handling Hagia Sophia as a single building disconnected from its context and in its immediate neighborhood without relating it with the other major monuments in the area and the larger public space, have provided insight for this thesis to approach Hagia Sophia as a living and continuously transforming monument in a living urban environment. On the basis of existing literature on the Historic Peninsula and Hagia Sophia, it is aimed to overcome the shortcomings of these two tendencies to reveal an interrelation between building scale changes in Hagia Sophia and physical and cultural transformations in its larger context by reading the physical and cultural continuities and discontinuities in the urban and monumental palimpsest we have today to decipher the palimpsestic process.

1.3. Scope and Outline

This survey's period is determined as from the first urban settlement in the Historic Peninsula in the seventh century BC up to the Ottoman conquest in the fifteenth century because the life of the monument under Ottoman and Turkish Republican rule deserves another much comprehensive research which could not be handled here due to the time constraints and necessity of a different methodology regarding the Ottoman and Turkish Republican period sources.

This study consists of four chapters. In the first chapter, the extensive literature on Hagia Sophia is studied partially to reveal a lack in handling Hagia Sophia as a continuously transforming monument in its physical and cultural context. Then the metaphor of palimpsest is highlighted in a conceptual framework for a reading of available data in this vein. The methodology of this reading is summarized under a separate heading.

In the second chapter, in order to handle Hagia Sophia as a synchronously transforming part of a continually changing urban texture, settlement history of the Historic Peninsula of Istanbul up to the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople is studied for a better understanding of the reasons that brought out Hagia Sophia as an imperial monument through the ages. Freely (1998), Erkal (1995), Kuban (2004) and Müller-Wiener (2007) are used as main sources to construct a chronological overview about the urban context of Hagia Sophia.

In the third chapter, the construction of Hagia Sophia is studied in its immediate vicinity via the most important public and administrative buildings and open spaces to understand the monument in a transforming social and political urban context. The outcome has been interpreted as a true palimpsestic process since the traces and remains of the studied period has dominated over the preceding. In order to do this, the cities of Rome, Venice and Bursa as well as predecessors and antecedents of early Christian churches are studied as models for and on Constantinople and Hagia Sophia. Then, the imperial ceremonies are studied to understand the role of Hagia Sophia in the public and administrative life at the religious core of the city. The role of monuments in the immediate vicinity of Hagia Sophia, and of mosaics inside the building as important nodes through the ceremonies, as well as their use in the urban context is studied to make a link between Hagia Sophia and its superior role as the core of the city. Also, these monuments located in the immediate vicinity of Hagia Sophia are studied to understand shifting centres of the Historic Peninsula regarding the administrative, religious and public use of Hagia Sophia and its vicinity in the neighborhoods scale. In this chapter, in addition to the publications of Freely (1998), Erkal (1995), Kuban (2004) and Müller-Wiener (2007); Macdonald (1982), Woodrow (2001) and Kleinbauer (2004) are used as main sources with the articles of Vasiliev (1948), Armstrong (1974), Ousterhout (1990), Berger (2013) and Pitarakis (2013).

The conclusion chapter begins with the regression period of the Eastern Roman Empire in the sixth century and continues with the Latin domination in the thirteenth century to understand the changing urban context of the city during the difficult times of the empire. Then, the Ottoman conquest in the fifteenth century is studied to understand the transformations occurred in both urban and building scale and it is aimed to reveal a correlation between Hagia Sophia and its urban context. These transformation in urban and building scale are best understood in terms of a cumulative palimpsest in which it is not easy to distinguish earlier and later periods.

Lastly, the data on the settlement history and the neighborhood scale information are cross-read to understand the palimpsestic process in building and urban scale to reveal continuities and discontinuities that constitute the essential value of Hagia Sophia as an architectural masterpiece. This renders the monument as a major palimpsest of meaning that has acquired a succession of meaning as a result of different uses, contexts of use and associations it has been exposed from its construction up to the Ottoman conquest.

1.4. Methodology

As a methodological model for this thesis, in Mark and Çakmak's *Hagia Sophia from the Age of Justinian to the Present* (1992), Necipoğlu focuses on the Ottoman period of Hagia Sophia in 'The Life of an Imperial Monument: Hagia Sophia after Byzantium'. Necipoğlu handles Hagia Sophia as an architectural work which provides a continuous correlation between the past and present. Necipoğlu does this by constituting the urban picture of the new capital of Mehmed the Conqueror in reference to structures that are not seen today, written documents of Ottoman period travelers, poets and historians and miniatures of the Ottoman historian Matrakçı Nasuh, maps of the French traveler Guillaume-Joseph Grelot and drawings from the Lewenklau Album.

Firstly, Necipoğlu mentions the importance of Hagia Sophia by giving examples of such monumental buildings as the Parthenon, Great Mosque of Cordoba and Pantheon which became architectural symbols of their epoch and remained as monuments in the future. Then she gives a detailed study on the change in structural and ornamental characteristics of Hagia Sophia. Necipoğlu puts forward detailed information about the conversion of Hagia Sophia from a Christian church into an imperial Muslim mosque, and analyzes each transformation of Christian ornaments into Islamic details and Muslim additions such as mihrab and minarets, interpreting these changes in the light of transformation in the urban context of Hagia Sophia. In this way, Necipoğlu constitutes a detailed overview of building scale changes as resulting from urban and imperial scale transformation. Even though most of the older layers are illegible, information about them is revealed from secondary sources and written narratives of the Ottoman Empire.

In addition to secondary sources, Necipoğlu uses written evidence belonging to the epoch's important historians and travelers in her study. For example, Necipoğlu refers to the Ottoman historian Tursun Beg, who wrote the chronicle of the reign of Bayezid II, the successor of Mehmed the Conqueror. Similarly, the Ottoman traveler Evliya Çelebi's travel notes and Cafer Çelebi's poems are used by Necipoğlu as important sources. While Tursun Beg's narrative is used to describe the emperor's life in Konstantiniyye, Evliya Çelebi's notes and Cafer Çelebi's poems are used to describe aesthetical characteristics of Hagia Sophia and to give information about epoch's cities outside Konstantiniyye. While Necipoğlu uses these sources, their exaggerated narratives are not ignored regarding their reliability. Mehmed the Conqueror's Waqfiyyas are another group of written evidence used by Necipoğlu to give information about the city and its important monuments such as Hagia Sophia and Fatih Complex. Narratives of Ottoman travelers, poems and historians give information about epoch's social, economical and political circumstances and, in this way, Necipoğlu's context shows parallelism with Rossi's context definition. The study of Necipoğlu begins with the Ottoman conquest in 1453 and ends in 1934 with the transformation of Hagia Sophia into a Turkish Republican museum.

While the conceptual framework and the literature review are used to formulate the main research question and constitute the conceptual approach of this thesis, Necipoğlu's study is used to understand the method of handling the same monument in its context in a different period. In order to do this, Necipoğlu's method which combines the urban and building scale data with visual documents is used to handle Hagia Sophia in its urban context. Building and the urban scale data are combined focusing on the correlation between Hagia Sophia and its immediate vicinity and, in this way, Hagia Sophia and its neighborhood is handled as a whole which is continually changing and transforming synchronously. As Necipoğlu, written information on the building and urban scale data are combined with maps, drawings and photographs for a better understanding of the correlation between Hagia Sophia and its vicinity.

This thesis attempts to extend Necipoğlu's approach to the period before the Ottoman conquest. As an important difference from Necipoğlu, while she constitutes her study on the basis of written evidences belonging to the Ottoman travelers, historians and poets; and her contextual data comes from these primary sources; due to the scope of this thesis, it is impossible to reach such written evidence belonging to the Roman and Byzantine periods of the city with a few exceptions such as *de ceremoniis*

written by Procopius, who was the one of the Macedonian dynasty emperors of the Byzantine Empire in the tenth century. Therefore, the physical remains in the urban setting of the Historic Peninsula are used to gain information about the social, economical and political circumstances of the Roman and Byzantine period of the city with reference to Rossi. In this way, the urban setting consisting of physical remains is used as source of information to constitute the urban context of Hagia Sophia. This is done in three different scales: urban, neighborhood and building scale.

Firstly Constantinople is handled in the urban scale and the growth of the city is analyzed for traces of its public, administrative and religious cores. For this purpose, general surveys are combined with archaeological data in building and neighborhood scale.

To gain neighborhood scale data, Hagia Sophia and its vicinity consisting of such elements as the hippodrome, palace and squares are studied in order to reveal the relationship between the major public, administrative and religious buildings of the city. These buildings correspond to Rossi's monuments which stayed in use with a change in their function in different contexts. Coronation ceremonies and public entertainments such as the chariot races are handled as important imperial events that make the urban context of Hagia Sophia and its immediate vicinity a social setting with the participation of the public and the imperial family. In this way, urban and neighborhood scale studies on Hagia Sophia and the Historic Peninsula are superimposed to reveal concurrent transformations both in the urban context of the city and in Hagia Sophia.

In the building scale, construction phases of Hagia Sophia, its architectural and liturgical characteristics, and processions conducted in the building are studied to understand the effect of changing urban and imperial context on Hagia Sophia ato see whether there was any correlation between the change in the urban context and the building; and whether the building's presence may have played any part in the decisions taken in the neighborhood and urban scale.

To answer these questions, a cross-reading of urban, neighborhood and building scale data is made, and mainly secondary sources are used throughout this thesis. While a chronological history of the city and Hagia Sophia is given, certain periods such as the pagan Roman period of the city dating from the second century AD could not be completed due to the lack of written and archaeological evidence.

As Necipoğlu has constituted her study by revealing invisible traces of the Early Ottoman period of the city which could not be seen today with the help of written

evidence belonging to the Ottoman historians, travelers and poets, in a parallel vein, drawings and maps of archaeological finds are used in this thesis in addition to the written evidence to gain urban, building and neighborhood scale data. It is aimed to reveal the meaning of some traces dating to the earlier periods of the city via the cross-reading of different scaled data, and then, these traces are overlapped with the help of maps to reveal the palimpsestic process of the Historic Peninsula.

In order to do this, all maps are given as layers on transparent print-outs to superimpose different periods of the city. In chronological maps, it is aimed to represent historical periods of the city from the first settlement to the Ottoman conquest [Appendix A- Chronological Maps of the Historic Peninsula of Istanbul (7th c. BC-15th c. AD)] and, palimpsestic maps are used to show continuity and changes that occurred in the urban context which constitute the backbone of this thesis [Appendix B- Palimpsest Maps of the Historic Peninsula of Istanbul (7th c. BC-15th c. AD)].

Both chronological and palimpsest maps are given as transparencies in appendices to ease tracing of the overlapping palimpsestic layers of the city. In addition to the visual appendix, a chronological order of civilizations and emperors who ruled the city from the first settlement in the seventh century BC to the Ottoman conquest in the fifteenth century is given in another appendix to enlighten chronological transformations of the city and to clarify the historical narrative in the study. [Appendix C- Chronological List of the Emperors].

Also, earlier churches are studied to compare Hagia Sophia with its predecessors and plans of these churches are studied via their architectural characteristic such as size and location as part of a building complex. Same-scaled plans of these earlier churches are given in an appendix to ease comparing these buildings with Hagia Sophia [Appendix D- Early Christian Churches (4th-5th c.)].

Finally, the ornamental characteristics and mosaics are investigated on site and the route of the emperor used during the imperial ceremonies in Hagia Sophia is documented with contemporary photographs taken by the author. In this way, it is aimed to contextualize the verbally described ceremonial route of the emperor in the building scale. The route then serves as a contextual whole to interpret individual mosaic remains as parts of a larger palimpsest. As the last appendix, the superimposition of this route and mosaics are given in a scheme to ease understanding the imperial route in Hagia Sophia. [Appendix E- Superimposition of the Imperial Route and the Mosaics of Hagia Sophia]

As conclusion, the data on the building and urban context of Hagia Sophia is cross-read to reveal continuities and discontinuities that make Hagia Sophia an important part of a larger context and under the light of these data, the Historic Peninsula of Istanbul is revealed as a palimpsest context consisting of the older and newer traces of the past. To support the written evidence on the building and urban scale data, maps are used to ease understanding of the co-existence of the older and newer traces of the Historic Peninsula from the first emergence of an urban way of living in the seventh century BC to the Ottoman conquest in the fifteenth century.

CHAPTER-2

SETTLEMENT HISTORY OF THE HISTORIC PENINSULA OF ISTANBUL: FROM THE FOUNDATION OF GREEK BYZANTION (7TH C. BC) TO OTTOMAN KONSTANTINIYYE (15TH C. AD)

In this chapter, the settlement structure of the Historic Peninsula of Istanbul is analyzed in terms of its macroform, transportation network and monumental public core from the first emergence of an urban way of living in the seventh century BC to the Ottoman conquest in the fifteenth century to handle Hagia Sophia as a synchronoulsy transforming part of a continually changing urban context from its construction in the fourth century onwards. Each of these are followed by perios of rebuilding and monumentalization during the reigns of Theodosius, Justinian and Basileios. Also, Rome, Venice and Bursa are studied as as the antecedents and predecessors of Constantinople.

The chapter is organized chronologically, starting with the Greek, and Roman and continuing with the Byzantine and Ottoman periods. Each oeriod is analyzed according to the same parameters of urban macroform, infrastructural networks and maim public spaces that reveals three main periods of reconstructuring during the reign of Septimus Severus, Constantine the Great and Mehmed the Conqueror.

In this chapter, it is aimed to reveal reasons that brough out Hagia Sophia as an imperial monument in its changing urban context and Freely's *Istanbul the Imperial City* (1998), Erkal's "*Constantinopolis: A Study on the City of Constantinople as the Artifice of Constantine the Great's Imperial Project*" (1995), Kuban's *İstanbul Bir Kent Tarihi: Bizantion, Konstantinopolis, İstanbul* (2004) and Müller-Wiener's *İstanbul'un Tarihsel Topografyası: 17. Yüzyıl Başlarına Kadar Byzantion-Konstantinopolis-İstanbul* (2007) are used as main sources to constitute the chronological study of the Historic Peninsula and the urban context of Hagia Sophia.

2.1. The Greek Byzantion: The First Settlement on the Acropolis and the Coastal Stretch (7th c. BC-AD 2nd c.)

Due to its advantageous geographical location between the Mediterranean, Black Sea and Anatolia, and on hills, which was an important advantage for defending the settlement, the site of contemporary Istanbul was settled continuously from the early history onwards. Contemporary Ambarlı, Haramidere, Ağaçlı, Pendik and Tuzla are among the sites that provide archaeological evidence for settlement from the Neolithic age onwards (Figure 2.1).

Figure 2.1. Neolithic settlements of Istanbul
(Source: Kuban, 2004, 15.)

The first urban settlements at the site were two Greek colonies established on the two sides of the Bosphorus in 7th century BC.[1] Both settlements were founded by settlers from Megara, the first with the name of Chalcedon on the Asian side and the second as Byzantion on the European side of the Bosphorus. Both settlements were surrounded with city walls.[2]

As a result of its location at the junction of two important routes, i.e. the land route between Europe and Asia and the channel between the Black Sea and the

---

[1] Doğan Kuban, *İstanbul Bir Kent Tarihi: Bizantion, Konstantinopolis, İstanbul* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2004), 15.

[2] Wolfgang Müller-Wiener, *İstanbul'un Tarihsel Topografyası: 17. Yüzyıl Başlarına Kadar Byzantion-Konstantinopolis-İstanbul* (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2007), 16.

Mediterranean, Istanbul has always been an important commercial port. The historically documented ports of Neorion and Prosforion of Byzantion are accepted as the first ports of the city and that served as the most important places for the sea commerce until the reign of Constantine the Great (306-337). In the lack of archaeological evidence they are assumed to have been located on the north part of today's Sarayburnu (Figure 2.2).[3] In addition to the commercial importance, cereal transfer and slave-trade were the major source of income in Byzantion and the ports were the most important centers of this trade.[4] So, the ports of the city were important areas for both commerce and the navy, and were protected with chains and towers.[5]

Within the boundaries of city walls, Byzantion was enhanced as a Greek city and as a result of the location of Neorion and Prosforion, this enlargement took place near these two ports at the skirts of the highest area of the town called Bosphorus Acra [6] or Acropolis. To respond to shelter need of naval forces and storage need of sea commerce, Strategion was built on the west side of the Acropolis. [7] On the south side of the Strategion, Thrakion near the city gate served as the entrance square of the settlement [8] and the Agora of Byzantion was placed on the south side of the gate. Also, a theatre on the north and a stadium on the west side of the Acropolis were built during the extension of the city.[9]

---

[3]   Wolfgang Müller-Wiener, *Bizans'tan Osmanlı'ya İstanbul Limanları* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1998), 5.

[4]   Müller-Wiener, *Bizans'tan Osmanlı'ya İstanbul Limanları,* 3.

[5]   Müller-Wiener, *Bizans'tan Osmanlı'ya İstanbul Limanları,* 4.

[6]   Namık Günay Erkal, "Constantinopolis: A Study on the City of Constantinople as the Artifice of Constantine the Great's Imperial Project" (doctoral thesis, METU, 1995), 16.

[7]   Erkal, "Constantinopolis: A Study on the City of Constantinople as the Artifice of Constantine the Great's Imperial Project," 16.

[8]   Erkal, "Constantinopolis: A Study on the City of Constantinople as the Artifice of Constantine the Great's Imperial Project," 16.

[9]   Müller-Wiener, *İstanbul'un Tarihsel Topografyası: 17. Yüzyıl Başlarına Kadar Byzantion-Konstantinopolis-İstanbul,* 18.

Figure 2.2. Byzantion, 7th c. BC
(Source: Müller-Wiener, 2007, 17.)

In addition to these, several temples such as those dedicated to Hera, Pluto, Zeus Ourios and sacred areas of Apollon and Athena Ekbasia among others were built, among the most important public spaces of Byzantion. The location of these temples and sacred areas would seem to overlap with the legendary "Seven Hills of Istanbul". For example, the first hill now under Topkapı Palace was designated as the Acropolis of Byzantion, and Athena Ekbasia sacred area and Artemis, Aphrodite and Poseidon temples were other buildings that affirm to the religious importance of the area. In the same way, the Greek Hera and Pluto temples define another hill of the city. (Appendix B)

To summarize, from 7th century BC up to the Roman conquest of the city in AD 196, as a result of living by the sea, important buildings and public spaces of the town were located near the coastal stretch between the two ports of the city in the north and the Acropolis. The Acropolis was the most important area of the Greek Byzantion due to its location there of the most important religious buildimgs of the city. (Appendix A)

2.2. The Roman Byzantium: New Center of Urban Life Near the Hippodrome (2nd c.-4th c.)

In 196, Byzantion was sieged by the Roman army with the orders of the Roman emperor Septimus Severus (193-211) and the name of the city was changed from Byzantion to Byzantium. This war resulted in significant damage on the city walls and important buildings.[10] After the conquest of the city, reconstruction was begun on the orders of the emperor. During the re-foundation of the town, city walls were enlarged to the west side of today's Sarayburnu. Neorion and Prosforion Ports which were located outside of the earlier city boundaries were included in the new walls of Byzantium. The most important sacred areas of Greek Byzantion were presumably respected in this enlargement, through the construction of Rhea and Tyke Temples on the hill with the Greek Hera and Pluto Temples. Unfortunately the current state of research on the religious landscape of Roman Byzantium is insufficient to provide a fuller picture. However, in a map recently published by Çakmak and Freely, it is clear that the most important temples of the city were gathered on the top of the Acropolis hill as in the Greek period (Figure 2.3).[11]

---

[10] Müller-Wiener, *İstanbul'un Tarihsel Topografyası: 17. Yüzyıl Başlarına Kadar Byzantion-Konstantinopolis-İstanbul,* 168

[11] Çakmak and Freely, *İstanbul'un Bizans Anıtları,* 8.
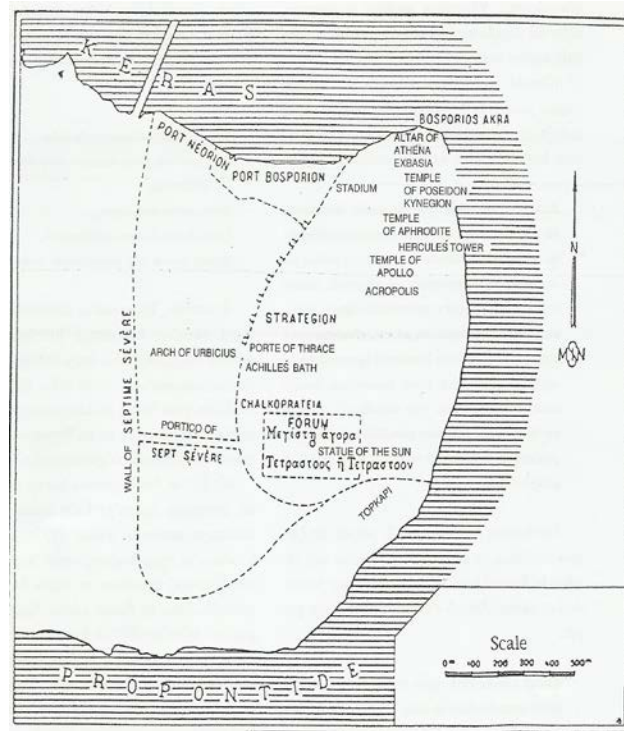
Figure 2.3. Temples of Severan City of Byzantium
(Source: Çakmak and Freely, 2005, 8.)

The Severan enlargement of the city shows similarities with the construction activities in Leptis Magna, which was the hometown of the Emperor Septimus Severus, with respect to the length of the colonnaded streets and the importance given to their connection to public squares. While Byzantium was expanding from Acropolis to the west and south side of the settlement, during the reconstruction, the earlier settlement's important parts such as squares were preserved, and new construction activities concentrated on the south side of the old city (Figure 2.4).[12]

---

[12] Erkal, "Constantinopolis: A Study on the City of Constantinople as the Artifice of Constantine the Great's Imperial Project," 21, 23.

Figure 2.4. Byzantium, 2nd c. AD
(Source: Müller-Wiener, 2007, 25)

The Portcio of Septimus Severus was constructed as the main route of the town and the Agora of Byzantion was preserved and transformed it into Tetrastoon Square which was surrounded by columns.[13] Construction of a hippodrome was started as the most important public area and became an inseparable part of the entertainment life of the city.[14] These routes, public spaces and the hippodrome become characteristic elements of the urban context and stayed in use with their public function from their first construction in the Roman period of the city to the Ottoman domination. (Appendix B)

Also, the Augusteion Square was built as the meeting area on the north side of the hippodrome. The construction of the Baths of Zeuksippos on the site of the Herakles and Zeus Hippios Temples, near the Augusteion Square, was begun on the orders of Septimus Severus but could not be completed.[15] The name of the bath comes from the

---

13 Erkal, "Constantinopolis: A Study on the City of Constantinople as the Artifice of Constantine the Great's Imperial Project," 22.

14 Kuban, *İstanbul Bir Kent Tarihi: Bizantion, Konstantinopolis*, İstanbul, 18.

15 Müller-Wiener, *İstanbul'un Tarihsel Topografyası: 17. Yüzyıl Başlarına Kadar Byzantion-Konstantinopolis-İstanbul,* 51.

Olympian god Zeus and the sacred cavalier of the Thrakia religion in relation the users of the bath as horseman racers and spectators.[16] In addition to the hippodrome, basilike stoa at the north side of the hippodrome was built during the Severeran reconstruction. Due to the lack of the information about temples, the religious core of the Byzantium cannot be detailed further currently.

Shortly, along with the Roman domination, the urban extension of the town continued toward the west and south parts of contemporary Sarayburnu, with extended city walls and the urban core shifted as a result of new buildings to the south part of the city. With this shift and the new Severan Portico, the public importance of the Acropolis diminished and Byzantium's new ceremonial and meeting areas in the neighborhood of the hippodrome defined the new character of urban life in the city (Appendix A).

2.3. Refoundation as the Capital of Roman Empire by Constantine the Great (4th c.)

In 324, Byzantium became the capital of the Eastern Roman Empire with the orders of the Emperor Constantine (306-337) and the name of the re-structured town was changed from Byzantium to Constantinople. The existing settlement area became insufficient and the new walls of Constantinople were constructed 15km toward the west of the Severan walls.[17] In this way, the new town was extended from the current Atatürk Bridge of Haliç along the Marmara shore.[18] As a result of the enlargement of the city, Neorion and Prosforion Ports remained incapable and two new ports were constructed. Kontaskalion and Eleutherios ports were lined up from east to west on the south shores of the city (Figure 2.5).

---

[16] Çakmak and Freely, *İstanbul'un Bizans Anıtları,* 16.
[17] Erkal, "Constantinopolis: A Study on the City of Constantinople as the Artifice of Constantine the Great's Imperial Project," 87.
[18] Çakmak and Freely, *İstanbul'un Bizans Anıtları,* 22.
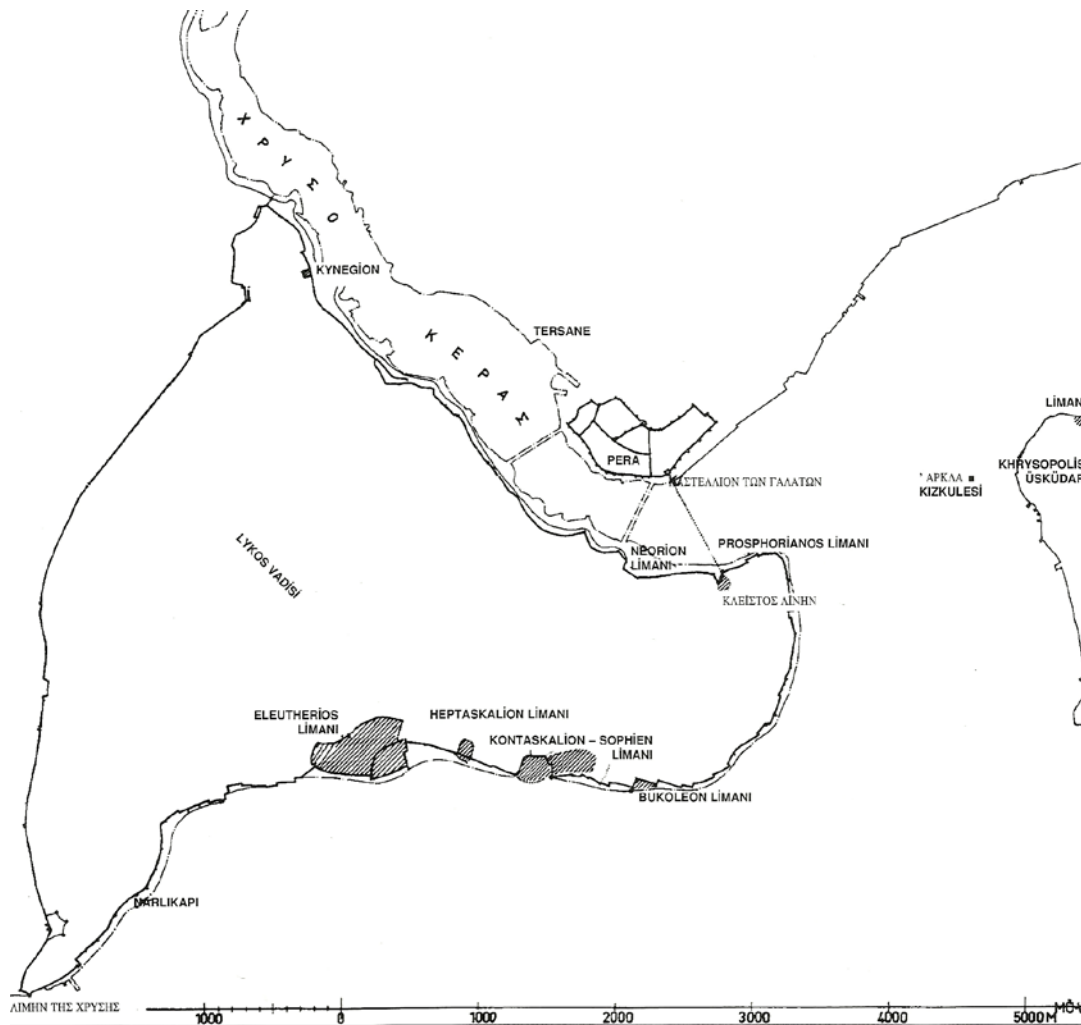
Figure 2.5. Ports of Constantinople
(Source: Müller-Wiener, 2007, 58.)

According to the change in the city size, the public, religious and administrative core of the Severan city became off-centric but retained its central function since Constantine planned his construction activities through a main principle.[19] Instead of determining a new center for the expanded city, the Severan Byzantium was taken as the main core for Constantine's new city, and many buildings such as the hippodrome and baths were preserved.[20] Additional new monuments were built with the orders of Constantine to show the new imperial power to the whole world (Appendix B).

Berger (2000) divides the street layout of Constantinople into three zones the Severan's city as the first zone dating from a period when any planned street system

---

[19] Erkal, "Constantinopolis: A Study on the City of Constantinople as the Artifice of Constantine the Great's Imperial Project," 91.

[20] Kuban, *İstanbul Bir Kent Tarihi: Bizantion, Konstantinopolis*, *İstanbul,* 32.

was not available. The second corresponds to Constantine's town which was based on a street plan and the third is the area between the Constantinian and later city walls which lacked regular street layout. During the reign of Theodisius II, the expanded area of the city was not densely inhabited and consisted of unplanned newly built monasteries and cemeteries.[21] In contrast to the first and third zones, the second shows a regular street plan which consists of stairs as a result of the topography. In this way, the old buildings of the Severan period and the new constructions of Constantinople were integrated with a grid plan that consisted of right angled streets. Diagonally adjoining this system was the planned city of Constantine from the Forum of Constantine westwards (Figure 2.6).

The Forum of Constantine was constructed at the end of the Severan Portico with the orders of Constantine the Great who emphasized his power by the aid of his new obelisk in the middle of this forum.[22] Known as Çemberlitaş, the Column of Constantine served as the end point of the administrative ceremonies of the city and the new city of Constantine the Great was dedicated by the Emperor in front of this column in 330. The dedication ceremony was repeated annually in the Forum of Constantine which was later ornamented with pagan and Christian statues.[23] A senate house, a military quarter and nymphaion for wedding ceremonies were constructed near the Forum of Constantine.[24]

---

[21] Albrecht Berger, "Streets and Public Spaces in Constantinople," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 54, (2000): 162, 171.

[22] Kuban, *İstanbul Bir Kent Tarihi: Bizantion, Konstantinopolis, İstanbul,* 37.

[23] Çakmak and Freely, *İstanbul'un Bizans Anıtları,* 25.

[24] Çakmak and Freely, *İstanbul'un Bizans Anıtları,* 26.
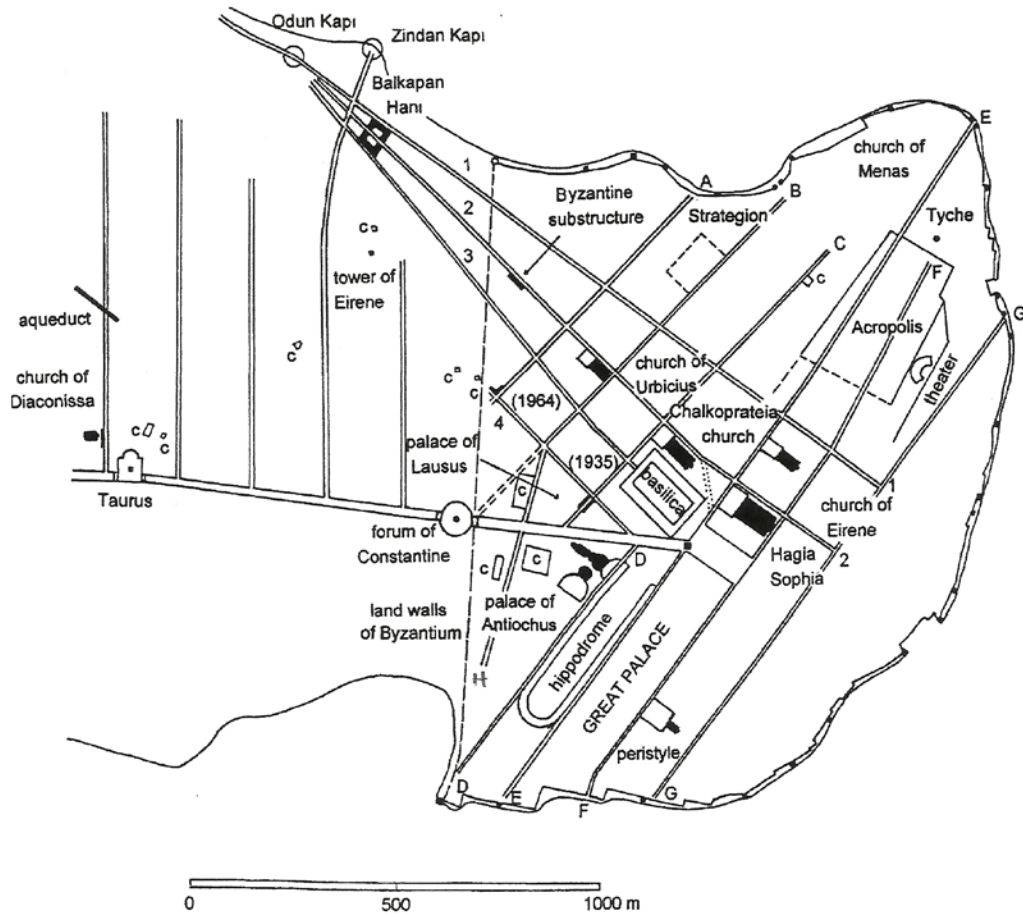
Figure 2.6. Street Map of Constantinople
(Source: Berger, 2000, 171.)

The Mese developed from the Severan Portico, and served as the main road of Constantinople, with two monuments on the branchroads. The first was the Milion Arch located at the beginning of the road and the second was the Capitolium on the bifurcation point of the Mese.[25]

The Milion Arch took its reference from the Golden Milestone in Rome, which was accepted as the zero point of the world. According to the Roman understanding, the most important public area was the heart of the capital city and that city was the zero point of the Roman Empire.[26] In this respect, the Forum Romanum was the core of Rome and the Golden Milestone in the middle of this forum symbolized the zero point of the Roman Empire and the whole world. But, with the change of the capital city of the Empire, this zero point should be replaced in the new capital where the all roads of

---

[25] Çakmak and Freely, *İstanbul'un Bizans Anıtları,* 23.

[26] Erkal, "Constantinopolis: A Study on the City of Constantinople as the Artifice of Constantine the Great's Imperial Project," 93.

the city ended and, so, the Milion was accepted as the new zero point of the world in Constantinople. Also, on the north of the Mese, the Severan Tetrastoon was transformed into a new square with a new statue from the imperial family.[27] To the southwest of the Milion, the completion of the Severan hippodrome as the most important area for both public celebration and imperial ceremonies was completed during the reign of Constantine the Great.

To the southeast of the Milion, the Great Palace was constructed on the south side of the city with supplementary buildings such as guard houses to provide the security of Constantine the Great. The Severan hippodrome played the determining role in the site selection for this new palace. As a Roman imperial tradition, the route the emperor followed from the city gate to his palace had a ritualistic meaning and at the end of the road, the palace of the emperor should provide both residence and a place where the emperor could join the public ceremonies of the city without going outside from his palace. Because of this, the imperial palace of the emperor was constructed near the hippodrome which was the public heart of the city and connected with other public buildings such as baths and important religious buildings. The construction of the Zeuksippos Baths was completed by Constantine the Great in 330 AD. Shops were built with the orders of Constantine the Great around the baths to provide the maintenance and statues were erected to symbolize the power of the emperor. Built adjacent to the Great Palace, the Zeuksippos Baths were presented to the public by the emperor as a gift and another symbol of his power.[28]

Until Christianity became the official religion of the Roman Empire, the old pagan traditions and the new religion's regulations lived together through years with the existing pagan temples staying in use. This co-existence of two different religious views continued until the period of the emperor Theodosius I, known as Theodosius the Great (379-395).[29] Nevertheless, to spread Christianity in Constantinople, numerous basilicas and monasteries were built with the orders of Constantine. In contrast to the old pagan traditions, these new Christian buildings were accessible to the public and served as social places for people in addition to their religious purposes. In addition to basilicas

---

[27] Erkal, "Constantinopolis: A Study on the City of Constantinople as the Artifice of Constantine the Great's Imperial Project," 93, 94.

[28] Erkal, "Constantinopolis: A Study on the City of Constantinople as the Artifice of Constantine the Great's Imperial Project," 93, 94, 96, 114.

[29] Kuban, *İstanbul Bir Kent Tarihi: Bizantion, Konstantinopolis*, *İstanbul,* 45.

and monasteries, Constantine built martirions in commemoration of people who died for the sake of religion to affect more people.

The Church of the Holy Apostles and the Mausoleion of Constantine on the hill earlier occupied by the Greek Hera and Pluto and later by the Roman Rhea and Tykhe temples; and the episcopal Hagia Eirene were built during the period of Constantine the Great. After the conversion of Constantinople into Christianity, the first Christian building of the city, the Hagia Eirene, was added in the 4th century to north of the Great Palace and served as the most important religious building of the city until the construction of the first Hagia Sophia.[30] The construction of the first Hagia Sophia, then known as Megale Eklessia or Great Church, was begun on the orders of Constantine the Great, completed in the reign of Constantius, the son of Constantine. In this way, the religious core of the town moved from the Greek Acropolis to the southern slopes of the hill (Figure 2.7).
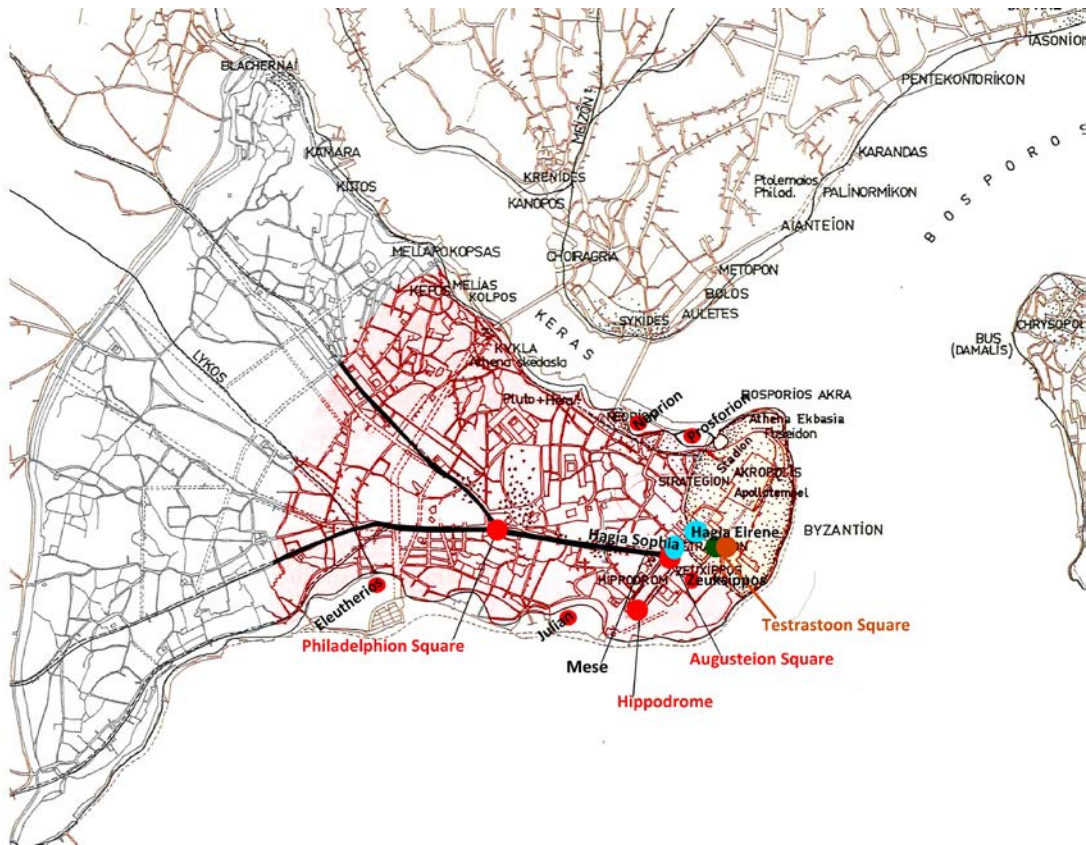
Figure 2.7. Constantinople in 4-7th century
(Source: Müller-Wiener, 2007, 21.)

---

[30] Müller-Wiener, *İstanbul'un Tarihsel Topografyası: 17. Yüzyıl Başlarına Kadar Byzantion-Konstantinopolis-İstanbul,* 20.

In contrast to the location of Hagia Eirene near the hippodrome and the Acropolis, the Church of the Holy Apostles was located in the west part of the city where the Greek Hera and Pluto and Roman Rhea and Tykhe Temples were located, on the fourth hill now occupied by the Fatih Complex. Adopting a model long employed in the city of Rome, the emperor constructed his mausoleum near this church. In contrast to the Roman tradition where emperors constructed their mausolea near the imperial palace, Constantine ordered the construction of the Church of the Holy Apostles on the highest point of the city, which was far from the administrative core of Constantinople. Constantine's unusual site selection for his mausoleum can be seen as a result of his desire to be unique and different from previous emperors.[31] On the other hand, the construction of the Church of Holy Apostles remote from the core of the city can be interpreted as a way to offer new living areas for the increased population while continuing the enlargement of the city. In this respect, religious buildings reveal as important factors in transforming distant areas of the city into attractive living spaces. Therefore, to respond to the necessities of the new inhabitants of Christian Constantinople, the ruler class created a new charm in an unsettled area by constructing the Church of Holy Apostles where now stands the Fatih Complex.

The Church of the Holy Apostles was described by the Roman historian Eusebius as "a single building that was situated at the center of a porticoed courtyard" but in the lack of archaeological evidence, there are two possible architectural interpretations of the building. The first is accepting the building as a cruciform basilica and the second as a rotunda. Beyond the arguments about the architectural form of the Church of the Holy Apostles, the building was important in Constantinople as a place for pilgrimage and a sacred spot to emphasize the divinity of Constantine the Great in the Christian world.[32]

To summarize, after being the capital of Roman Empire to the death of Constantine the Great, the city walls were enhanced and two new ports were constructed to respond the needs of new population of the town while Constantinople was developed from Severan Byzantium. For example, the Mese Route was built as a continuation of the Severan Portico and the old road's end point was identified with the Forum of Constantine. The south part of the town remained as the administrative core of

---

[31] Erkal, "Constantinopolis: A Study on the City of Constantinople as the Artifice of Constantine the Great's Imperial Project," 133, 134.

[32] Erkal, "Constantinopolis: A Study on the City of Constantinople as the Artifice of Constantine the Great's Imperial Project," 135, 136, 137.

Constantinople and construction of the Great Palace increased the importance of the area. Also, the construction of the Forum of Constantine created a new meeting area for Constantinople. (Appendix A). In several of these operations, the city of Rome was taken as model.

2.4. Christianization of the City by Theodosius the Great (4th c.-6th c.)

After the death of Constantine the Great in 337, Constantine's three sons, Constantius, Constantine and Constants confederated and called themselves as Augustus.[33] After a year, the three Augusti decided to divide the administration of the empire into two. The eastern part was ruled by Constantius and the west was ruled by the other two brothers, but when the emperors of the west were killed, Constantius became the sole emperor of the Roman Empire in 353 and Constantinople became the imperial seat.[34] During the reign of Constantius, the first Hagia Sophia called Megale Eklessia, built with the orders of Constantine the Great, opened in 360 on the north of the Augusteion Square in a Roman basilical plan with timber roof. [35] In this way, entertainment, administration and religious functions of the city were gathered at the neighborhood of the Great Palace. The construction of this building is the first of the three ruptures in the history of Istanbul because the Megale Eklessia as the pioneer of the Hagia Sophia we know today represents the final conversion of the Roman Empire into Christianity. After the construction of the Megale Eklessia, Hagia Eirene which had served as the cathedral of the city was devoted to Divine Peace and re-named as the Palia Eklessia the Old Church and the new basilica, the Hagia Sophia dedicated to Divine Widsom, was named as the Great Church.[36]

After the death of Constantius in 361, Julian came to the throne as the first emperor born in Constantinople. During his reign, two harbours, a senate house and a library were constructed in the city.[37] The two harbours were built on the Marmara coast and the first was called the Julian or Sophia Port, which is known as Kadırga Harbour today, and the second was Konstaskalion Port known as Kumpkapı in

---

[33] John Freely, *Istanbul the Imperial City* (London: Penguin Books, 1998), 48.
[34] Freely, *Istanbul the Imperial City*, 48.
[35] Sabahattin Türkoğlu, *Ayasofya'nın Öyküsü* (İstanbul: Yazıcı Basım Yayınları, 2002), 7.
[36] Freely, *Istanbul the Imperial City*, 50.
[37] Freely, *Istanbul the Imperial City*, 50, 51.

contemporary Istanbul.[38] During the reign of Julian, the Basilice Stoa became the intellectual core of the city with surrounding buildings such as a public library, outdoor book bazaar, law school and a courthouse.[39] Forum Bovis was constructed on the southern branch of the Mese as the execution square for the city [40] and Julian ordered the erection of an Egyptian obelisk but it was erected during the reign of Theodosius I.[41]

During the reign of Theodosius I, known as Theodosius the Great (379-395), the Theodosius Port was constructed on the south coast of the city, as the largest harbor of the city[42] and served for wheat import between Constantinople and Egypt.[43] The city was enlarged and the 5.7 km Theodosian Walls were constructed beyond 1.5 km west of the walls of Constantine the Great.[44] At the end of the construction of the Theodisian Walls, Constantinople had seven hills in its boundaries and was divided into fourteen regions like the city of Rome.[45]

The Theodisian Walls had ten gates at intervals of twenty meters[46] and the Golden Gate was the main entrance of the walls in Hebdomon serving as an important gate through which the emperor entered the city after acclamation as Augustus in 379 to be welcomed by the administrators of the city. Similarly, when the emperor returned from a battle with victory, he used this gate as a ceremonial returning point to the city and was welcome by the people, clergy and administrators.[47] (Figure 2.8) Also, the Golden Gate shows similarity with Porta Triumphalis in Rome with respect to the statue of the four elephants drawn quadriga, the chariot car, on the top.[48]

[38] Freely, *Istanbul the Imperial City*, 51.
[39] Çakmak and Freely, *İstanbul'un Bizans Anıtları,* 27.
[40] Müller-Wiener, *İstanbul'un Tarihsel Topografyası: 17. Yüzyıl Başlarına Kadar Byzantion-Konstantinopolis-İstanbul,* 253.
[41] Çakmak and Freely, *İstanbul'un Bizans Anıtları,* 32.
[42] Freely, *Istanbul the Imperial City*, 55.
[43] Müller-Wiener, *Bizans'tan Osmanlı'ya İstanbul Limanları,* 9.
[44] Müller-Wiener, *İstanbul'un Tarihsel Topografyası: 17. Yüzyıl Başlarına Kadar Byzantion-Konstantinopolis-İstanbul,* 286.
[45] Freely, *Istanbul the Imperial City*, 62.
[46] Çakmak and Freely, *İstanbul'un Bizans Anıtları,* 44.
[47] Freely, *Istanbul the Imperial City*, 56.
[48] Çakmak and Freely, *İstanbul'un Bizans Anıtları,* 39.
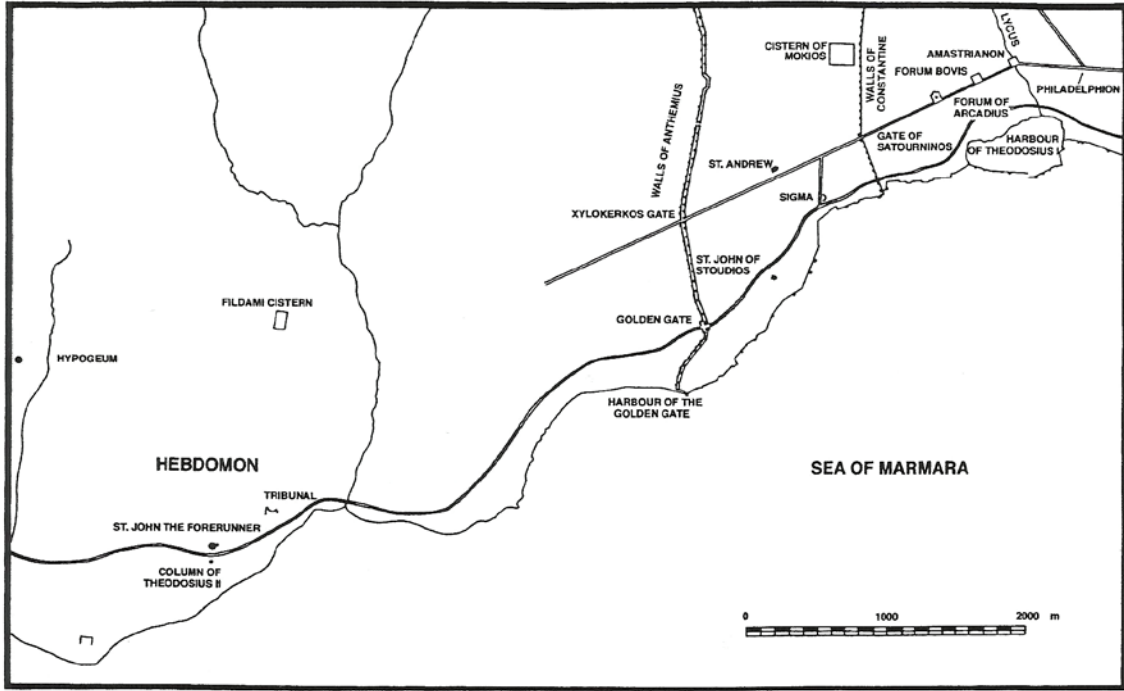
Figure 2.8. Plan showing the location of the Golden Gate in Constantinople
(Source: Bardill, 1999, 693.)

The Theodosius Forum was built in the Tauri Forum to the north of the Mese on the third hill. The distinction between these two forums is explained by the religious use of the Tauri Forum as different from the "planned" Theodosius Forum[49] that consisted of baths, gymnasia and porticoes.[50] The Theodosius Forum was the biggest square of the city at that time and the Theodisian Arch was constructed on west of the forum. In the middle, a monumental column ornamented with Theodosius's victory reliefs was constructed with the Emperor's equestrian statue on top (Figure 2.9).[51] The Theodosius Column shows similarities with the Traianus Column in the city of Rome. The Emperor received foreign rulers in front of this column in Constantinople.[52] Later, the sculptures of his two sons, Arcadius and Honorius, were erected and Basilica Theodosiana was constructed near this forum.[53]

---

[49] Kuban, *İstanbul Bir Kent Tarihi: Bizantion, Konstantinopolis*, İstanbul, 82.
[50] Freely, *Istanbul the Imperial City,* 57.
[51] Çakmak and Freely, *İstanbul'un Bizans Anıtları,* 37.
[52] Kuban, *İstanbul Bir Kent Tarihi: Bizantion, Konstantinopolis*, İstanbul, 83.
[53] Müller-Wiener, *İstanbul'un Tarihsel Topografyası: 17. Yüzyıl Başlarına Kadar Byzantion-Konstantinopolis-İstanbul,* 258.

Figure 2.9. Theodosian City of Constantinople, 4th c.
(Source: Müller-Wiener, 2007, 27.)

In addition to the Golden Gate, the Egyptian obelisk (Dikilitaş), which was ordered by the emperor Julian but erected during the reign of Theodosius in the hippodrome is an important monument from the period of Theodosius the Great that can be seen in Istanbul today.[54] The University of Constantinople, Capitolium, was founded in the Basilice Stoa during the reign of Theodosius the Great and lectures were given both in Greek and Latin including rhetoric, law and philosophy.[55]

Because Theodosius I made Christianity the empire's official religion, he was called Theodosius the Great.[56] After entrance to Constantinople in 380, Theodosius' religious edicts prohibited paganism in the city. In addition to the prohibition of all kind of pagan activities such as construction of temples and religious ceremonies, Theodosius ordered the destruction of the existing pagan buildings.[57] In this way, change in the religious understanding of the empire resulted in demolition of the

---

[54] Freely, *Istanbul the Imperial City*, 56.
[55] Freely, *Istanbul the Imperial City*, 65.
[56] Kuban, *İstanbul Bir Kent Tarihi: Bizantion, Konstantinopolis*, *İstanbul,* 45.
[57] Freely, *Istanbul the Imperial City*, 55.

physical traces of the pagan belief in the city. However, Jewish tolerance from the reign of Julian remained and synagogues were reconstructed with the orders of Theodosius.[58]

When he died in 395, Theodosius the Great was buried in the Church of the Holy Apostles and the administration of the Roman Empire was divided into two. While Arcadius ruled the East, Honorius ruled the West.[59] During the reign of Arcadius (395-408), his wife Eudoksia was closely involved in the administration of the Empire and her statue was erected near the Augusteion Squre to emphasize her power.[60] In this respect, the statue of Eudoksia may be interpreted as an important physical reflection of the imperial context of the empire. In 404, when the Patriarch of Constantinople Ioannes on the physical setting of its capital. Chrysostomos was sent to exile as a result of his conflict with Empress Eudoksia, the people protested against the Empress and burned the Megale Eklessia and the senate house.[61] After that fire, the building was reconstructed with some innovations and opened for public in 415 with the orders of Emperor Theodosius II.

To attract populations to the new empty area between the walls of Constantine and the Theodisian Walls, monasteries and reservoirs were built on the order of Theodosius II. The *Notitia,* the list of the monuments in Constantinople, was written at that time and, with its monumental administrative and public buildings and safe urban life, Constantinople was described as a model city. All the city components such as buildings and streets were planned according to a building law which determined the minimum height of the houses above the street, distance between two house and the width of the streets and the construction of the city was conducted depending on these rules. Nevertheless, as a result of the increasing population, existing buildings remained incapable and illegal housing began near the Great Palace.[62] Bukoleon Palace was constructed on the west of the Great Palace with the orders of Theodosius II but, because of the construction of the private buildings near the Great Palace was prohibited in 409, there was not any direct connection between the two palaces.[63]

In 450, Theodosius II died and was buried in the Church of the Holy Apostles. After the death of Theodosius II, ten rulers came to throne and finally, Romulus

---

[58] Freely, *Istanbul the Imperial City*, 55.
[59] Freely, *Istanbul the Imperial City*, 55, 58.
[60] Müller-Wiener, *İstanbul'un Tarihsel Topografyası: 17. Yüzyıl Başlarına Kadar Byzantion-Konstantinopolis-İstanbul,* 52.
[61] Freely, *Istanbul the Imperial City*, 65.
[62] Freely, *Istanbul the Imperial City*, 60, 62, 63, 64, 65.
[63] Müller-Wiener, *İstanbul'un Tarihsel Topografyası: 17. Yüzyıl Başlarına Kadar Byzantion-Konstantinopolis-İstanbul,* 229.

Augustulus ruled the western Empire as the last emperor of the west. As of 476, with the overthrow of Augustulus, the emperor in Constantinople became the sole ruler of the Roman Empire. Up to the reign of Justinian the Great (527-565), Constantinople was rapidly transformed both in religious and political respects. The bilingual public life was changed and although the court and the official state language was Latin, the empire became Greek and Christian.[64]

To summarize, changing official religion of the Roman Empire into Christianity and strict Pagan prohibition can be said as the most important change in Constantinople during the reign of Theodosius the Great. Also, with the new street that linked Theodosius Port, the Golden Gate and the Theodosian Column, a new ceremonial route emerged parallel to the Mese. On the road, the biggest square of Constantinople, the Theodosius Forum known as Beyazıt Square in contemporary Istanbul, points to the continual use.[65] (Appendix A and B) In the meanwhile, the cosmopolitan religious life in the city came to an end under the domination of Orthodox Christianity, which found its physical expression in the construction of religious buildings.

2.5. Monumentalization of Constantinople by Justinian the Great (6th c.)

The reign of Justinian (527-565) is accepted as the golden age of the Eastern Roman Empire with regard to political and civic union of the Empire and, so, the Emperor is known as Justinian the Great.[66] During his reign, the population of Constantinople reached 500.000 within the city walls exceeding the population of its contemporary Rome.[67] To protect the unity of the Empire, Codex Justinian was declared in 529 as a compilation of the Roman law.[68] Justinian the Great avoided uncontrolled enlargement of the city and established regulations within the existing city boundaries in the Codex Justinian.[69]

Despite this attempt to protect the physical structure of the city, however, one of the most destructive events that damaged the monumental core of the city occurred

---

[64] Freely, *Istanbul the Imperial City*, 68, 69, 77, 78.
[65] Freely, *Istanbul the Imperial City*, 55.
[66] Kuban, *İstanbul Bir Kent Tarihi: Bizantion, Konstantinopolis*, İstanbul, 98.
[67] Rowland J. Mainstone, *Hagia Sophia: Architecture, Structure and Liturgy of Justinian's Great Church* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1988), 145.
[68] Kuban, *İstanbul Bir Kent Tarihi: Bizantion, Konstantinopolis*, İstanbul, 98.
[69] Müller-Wiener, *İstanbul'un Tarihsel Topografyası: 17. Yüzyıl Başlarına Kadar Byzantion-Konstantinopolis-İstanbul,* 22.

during the reign of Justinian within the city boundaries. The chariot teams of the hippodrome became political parties of Constantinople in time and while the Greens were linked to the merchants; the Blues represented the aristocracy of the city. As a result of the conflicts between these two groups, Justinian decided to punish them and when the government gave death penalty decision for some members of these groups, Blues and Greens revolted in 532. The name of the riot comes from the rebelling of the people with "nika!" shouts which means "victory".[70] Group members and supporters shouted for the abdication of Justinian and moved out the hippodrome to damage the city.[71]

To call the ruler's attention to the demands of the people, the most important buildings of the city such as the Great Palace, Hagia Sophia, Baths of Zeuksippos, Basilice Stoa and hippodrome were badly damaged during the six day of the Nika Riot. In the end, rioters were killed and displayed publicly in the hippodrome in ruins.[72] As it is seen, the hippodrome became a political stage where people expressed their reaction to the emperor. In other words, reflections of such a change in the social circumstances may be seen in the characteristic monuments of the city and changing use of the hippodrome may be interpreted as an important result of change in the urban context.

To repair the damaged buildings, Justinian ordered an extensive reconstruction programme. The Great Palace, Hagia Sophia, Hagia Eirene, Church of the Holy Apostles, Baths of Zeuksippos and the Hippodrome were restored and, most importantly for this study, Hagia Sophia took its final form that it preserved until today.[73] The reconstruction of Hagia Sophia occurred in an area completely cleaned as a result of the Nika fire,[74] and conducted by the architects Anthemius and Isidorous.[75] To avoid any destruction from future fires, Hagia Sophia was built completely out of stone and brick,[76] and completed in 537 with a re-dedication to Divine Wisdom.[77] On the south, the Baptisterion was the most divine building of the Hagia Sophia and served as a shelter for people who escaped from the Nika Riot and for the homeless.[78]

[70] Türkoğlu, *Ayasofya'nın Öyküsü*, 23, 26.
[71] Rüknü Özkök, *İstanbul Yedi Tepede On Yedi Gezi* (İstanbul: Doğan Kitap, 2010), 26.
[72] Türkoğlu, *Ayasofya'nın Öyküsü*, 30.
[73] Freely, *Istanbul the Imperial City*, 80.
[74] Glanville Downey, "Justinian as a Builder," *The Art Bulletin* 32, no. 4 (1950): 262.
[75] Müller-Wiener, *İstanbul'un Tarihsel Topografyası: 17. Yüzyıl Başlarına Kadar Byzantion-Konstantinopolis-İstanbul,* 85.
[76] Nazlı Gürşan, *Yapıların Efendisi Aya Sofya* (İstanbul: Cinius Yayınları, 2011), 40.
[77] Freely, *Istanbul the Imperial City*, 81.
[78] Türkoğlu, *Ayasofya'nın Öyküsü*, 51.

Apart from the uniqueness of the building, there were arguments about how Justinian afforded such a monument's construction expenditures. It is said that the Emperor used people's goods and confiscated their estates. Reconstruction of the Church of the Holy Apostles in 536 was another significant expenditure from the revenue of the Empire. At that time, the return of Justinian's commander Belisarius from an African campaign that resulted in victory contributed in the revenues of the Empire and the expenditure for these two churches was covered largely from this newly acquired treasure. While his new buildings in Constantinople composed a "balanced group of structures" consisting of religious, public and administrative buildings, Justinian's construction activities were seen as an excessive show of his desire to be unique regarding building costs and magnificence.[79] Also, a statue of Justinian was erected in the middle of the Augusteion Square and the Basilice Cistern, known as Yerebatan Sarnıcı today, was built under the Basilice Stoa as an important infrastructural building for Constantinople[80] and the above buildings of the Basilice Cistern were used as book shops.[81]

Prohibited by Theodosius the Great but continued to be active in small groups, minorities such as pagans and atheists were eliminated by Justinian during this reconstruction period and, with the construction of monumental Christian buildings and new regulations in the city, the emperor increased the emphasis on Christianity.[82] Beside reconstruction activities, forty churches were constructed in Constantinople during the reign of Justinian but only three of them, Hagia Sophia, Hagia Eirene and St. Sergius & Bacchus Churches have remained up to the present.[83]

Importance given to Christianity by Justinian revealed itself in his edict Sixth Novella. Imperial dignity and the priesthood were described as the greatest two things by the Emperor who advocated the idea that the emperor and priesthood, administration and religion shouldn't be separated.[84] As a result of the administrative approach that the public should be governed not only by strict political laws but also by religious beliefs, Justinian gave significant importance to the constructions of religious buildings in the city. The Church of Saints Sergius and Bacchus near the Great Palace was built as a

---

[79] Downey, "Justinian as a Builder," 262, 263, 265.
[80] Freely, *Istanbul the Imperial City*, 84.
[81] Müller-Wiener, *İstanbul'un Tarihsel Topografyası: 17. Yüzyıl Başlarına Kadar Byzantion-Konstantinopolis-İstanbul,* 283.
[82] John, Meyendorff, "Justinian the Empire and the Church," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 22, (1968), 45.
[83] Freely, *Istanbul the Imperial City*, 82.
[84] Meyendorff, "Justinian the Empire and the Church," 48.

model for Justininan's Great Hagia Sophia. In contrast to the existing basilical church typology with three naves and a timber roof; the Church of St. Sergius and Bacchus was built with a dome which covered the highest middle nave of the building.[85]

The new Hagia Sophia should be unique among the earlier emperors' buildings and, so, the architects designed the biggest dome of Constantinople with more than 32 meter in diameter.[86] Similarly, the damaged Hagia Eirene was reconstructed with a new dome and a new building with a courtyard was constructed near this church, which is now estimated as the Sampson Hospital.[87] In 558, there was a big earthquake and the dome of the Hagia Sophia collapsed. The new dome of the building was constructed higher than the old one and Justinian's Great Hagia Sophia was opened again in 563.[88]

Hagia Sophia was connected directly to the Great Palace with an elevated gallery and this connection with the palace and the neighborhood of the building with the hippodrome and public spaces strengthened the public, politic, religious and administrative symbolism of the core of Constantinople, which had moved from Acropolis to the southern parts of the city in the reign of Septimus Severus.[89] Later during the reign of Constantine, the coronation ceremonies which used to be conducted in the hippodrome until the construction of the Hagia Sophia began to be performed in this new monument of the city.[90] These ceremonies began in the Great Palace, continued in the form of a procession with the public and ended with arrival into the Hagia Sophia.[91] Along the procession, the Emperor accepted the greetings of the people and when he arrived in the Hagia Sophia, celebrations were begun. This part of the ceremony was visible by the public from the Augusteion Square, but in a scale much diminished than hippodrome coronations.

The Emperor was crowned by the patriarch in the Hagia Sophia and, in this way, the increased importance of the Christian religion through the ceremonies added a religious mark to the emperor's administrative power, in addition to his political acclaim.[92] After crowning by the patriarch, the people began to shout "blessed!" three times and "respect to the god in the heaven and peace in the world, long live emperor!"

[85] Türkoğlu, *Ayasofya'nın Öyküsü*, 31, 35.
[86] Kuban, *İstanbul Bir Kent Tarihi: Bizantion, Konstantinopolis, İstanbul,* 103.
[87] Müller-Wiener, *İstanbul'un Tarihsel Topografyası: 17. Yüzyıl Başlarına Kadar Byzantion-Konstantinopolis-İstanbul,* 112.
[88] Türkoğlu, *Ayasofya'nın Öyküsü*, 62.
[89] Kuban, *İstanbul Bir Kent Tarihi: Bizantion, Konstantinopolis, İstanbul,* 104.
[90] Kuban, *İstanbul Bir Kent Tarihi: Bizantion, Konstantinopolis, İstanbul,* 105.
[91] Türkoğlu, *Ayasofya'nın Öyküsü*, 95.
[92] Türkoğlu, *Ayasofya'nın Öyküsü*, 102.

The use of Hagia Sophia during the most important imperial ceremonies of the city may be interpreted as an indicator of a reflection of the imperial context on the building scale revealing the status of Hagia Sophia as the most important religious building in the empire. While Hagia Sophia gains an administrative importance with these coronated ceremonies, at the same time, the emperor gains a religious importance as coronating by the patriarch in the most important religious bilding of the city. This may be interpreted as a reciprocal correlation between Hagia Sophia and its urban contex. In this way, the Hagia Sophia became an interface that connected the public to the administration. Decisions that were made by the patriarchate were also declared to the people in the exterior narthex of the building and people's wishes, desires and complaints were hung on the wall of the narthex.[93]

To summarize, the reign of Justinian the Great distinguishes itself from those of the other two Great Emperors of the Eastern Roman Empire in respect to the prosperity, gloriousness and importance given to Christianity in administration. While Constantine the Great's Constantinople was transforming into the capital of the Eastern Roman Empire with the enlargement of the city, with the core of the settlement replaced from the Severan Byzantium towards to the southern parts, the Empire passed through a tumultuous period. During the reign of Theodosius the Great, the total area of the city was eight-folded in comparison to the Severan city and Christianity was accepted as the official religion of the Empire. In this respect, if Constantine's reign may be described by transformation and that of Theodosius' by expansion, Justinian the Great's period in the city is best described with the word prosperity, although the great majority of monuments documenting it could not survive up to today.

Among his glorious buildings, Justinian the Great's Hagia Sophia became the most important node in Constantinople. Besides structural innovations, Hagia Sophia had a significant role in the public, religious and politic life of the city. Ceremonies conducted in the building and its immediate context were the most important indicators of the vital importance of the Hagia Sophia. But, when Hagia Sophia became the stage of these ceremonies, uniting the public and the empire, the accessibility of people to the administration diminished in comparison to the ceremonies conducted in the hippodrome as a result of the decreased size of the gathering area. On the other hand, relocating the coronation ceremony from the hippodrome to Hagia Sophia points to the

---

[93] Türkoğlu, *Ayasofya'nın Öyküsü*, 64.

43

increased importance of the Christian religion in the administration and the strengthened power of the emperor via the power of Christianity.

2.6. From Constantinople to Konstantiniyye: The Historic Peninsula up to the Ottoman Conquest (6th c. -15th c.)

The plague epidemic in 542, when 300.000 people died, marks the end of the bright era of Justinian. While Byzantine Empire was regressing because of earthquakes and epidemics, the Muslims were gaining in strength along the 1300 km south of the empire with the birth of Islam in 610. Beginning from the seventh century, Eastern Roman Empire began to lose its lands as a result of continuous conflicts with Muslims.

As the most powerful capital and the symbol of successful administration, urban development and imperial grandeur, Constantinople was a perfect model for Muslims. Besides its imperial appeal, Muslim desire to conquer Constantinople was based on the hadiths promising that the sins of the conqueror of Constantinople would be forgiven and he would ascend to the heaven.[94]

While Muslims were gaining in strength, Heraclius (610-641) came to the throne in 610 and reorganized the weakened military and administrative regime of Constantinople. To increase the belief in Christianity, the religion was promoted by Heraclius as a shelter to protect Constantinople from epidemics, earthquakes and wars. However, earthquakes continued to damage the city. The old ports of Neorion and Prosforion on the north, and Kontaskalion and Eleutherios on the south shore of Constantinople became unusable. Although the Heptaskalion Port is used to be dated to the period of Constantine the Great, recent archaeological studies revealed that Heptaskalion was built in the seventh century on the north shore of the Historic Peninsula that is known as the Keras (Haliç) today, possibly to take over the function of the destructed harbours (Figure 2.10). [95]

---

[94] Nadia Maria El Cheikh, *Arapların Gözüyle Bizans,* trans. Mehmet Moralı (İstanbul: Alfa, 2012), 76.
[95] Nergis Günsenin, *City Harbours from Antiquity through Medieval Times,* 103.

Figure 2.10. Constantinople in 4th-7th century
(Source: Müller-Wiener, 2007, 21.)

Shipyards, docks and new housing were constructed around Heptaskalion and, in this way, the commercial port of Constantinople moved from the south to the north, where the first core of the Greek Byzantion had been located. On the south of the Historic Peninsula, instead of constructing new buildings, Heraclius focused on repair and reconstruction of the damaged hippodrome, Great Palace and most important religious buildings such as Hagia Sophia and Hagia Eirene.

The first siege of Constantinople by Arabs was in 674 and continued for a century.[96] During the reign of Leon III (717-741), reconstruction of Constantinople continued and relations were improved with Arabs. Besides continual conflicts, the Umayyad prince Maslama ibn Abd al-Malik's (705-738) expedition to Constantinople in 717 is accepted as the most important Umayyad attempt to improve good relations with Romans in the eighth century and, although the certain location is not known today, the first mosque is known to have been constructed in Constantinople in this

---

96 Yavuz Afşar, *Bilinmeyen Yönleriyle Ayasofya* (İzmir: Kaynak Yayınları, 2014), 90.

period.[97] An earthquake in 740 and plague epidemic in 747 resulted in the destruction of city walls and a significant decrease in population during the eighth century. Construction activities continued to concentrate on repairing the hippodrome, palace and Hagia Sophia afterwards, as an indication of the ongoing importance of the area in this period.[98]

Decline of the Eastern Roman Empire, which begun in the sixth century, came to a halt during the reign of Basileios I (867-886).[99] Since Basileios was an Armenian emperor whose family lived in Macedonia, his reign is called the Macedonian dynasty and known as "the second golden age" of the Orthodox Roman Empire.[100] Kuban entitles the Macedonian dynasty as the Middle Byzantine Era that ends with the Latin invasion in 1204.[101] In this period, the size of Constantinople remained unchanged and Theodosian Walls were reconstructed. Heptaskalion remained as the main harbor of Constantinople on the Keras and construction of newly built areas increased on the northern shore.[102] As it is seen in Müller-Wiener's maps, ports of Eleutherios and Sophia on the south shore were re-opened and began to be called as Langa and Konstaskalion ports in the ninth century. Basileios's construction activities focused on the repair of damaged buildings of the period of regression. The Palace of Mangana was built on the east of the Greek Acropolis as the new residence of Basileios I, including a hospital, library, school of law, galleries and gardens (Figure 2.11).[103]

[97] El Cheikh, *Arapların Gözüyle Bizans,* 77.

[98] Kuban, *İstanbul Bir Kent Tarihi: Bizantion, Konstantinopolis*, *İstanbul,* 139.

[99] Kuban, *İstanbul Bir Kent Tarihi: Bizantion, Konstantinopolis*, *İstanbul,* 132.

[100] Paul Lemerle, *Bizans Tarihi*, trans. Galip Üstün (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1994), 77.

[101] Kuban, *İstanbul Bir Kent Tarihi: Bizantion, Konstantinopolis*, *İstanbul,* 132.

[102] Müller-Wiener, *İstanbul Limanı,* 12.

[103] Gülgün Köroğlu, "İstanbul'daki Bizans İmparatorluk Sarayları," *Osmanlı Bankası Arşiv ve Araştırma Merkezi*, (13 Aralık 2006): 7.
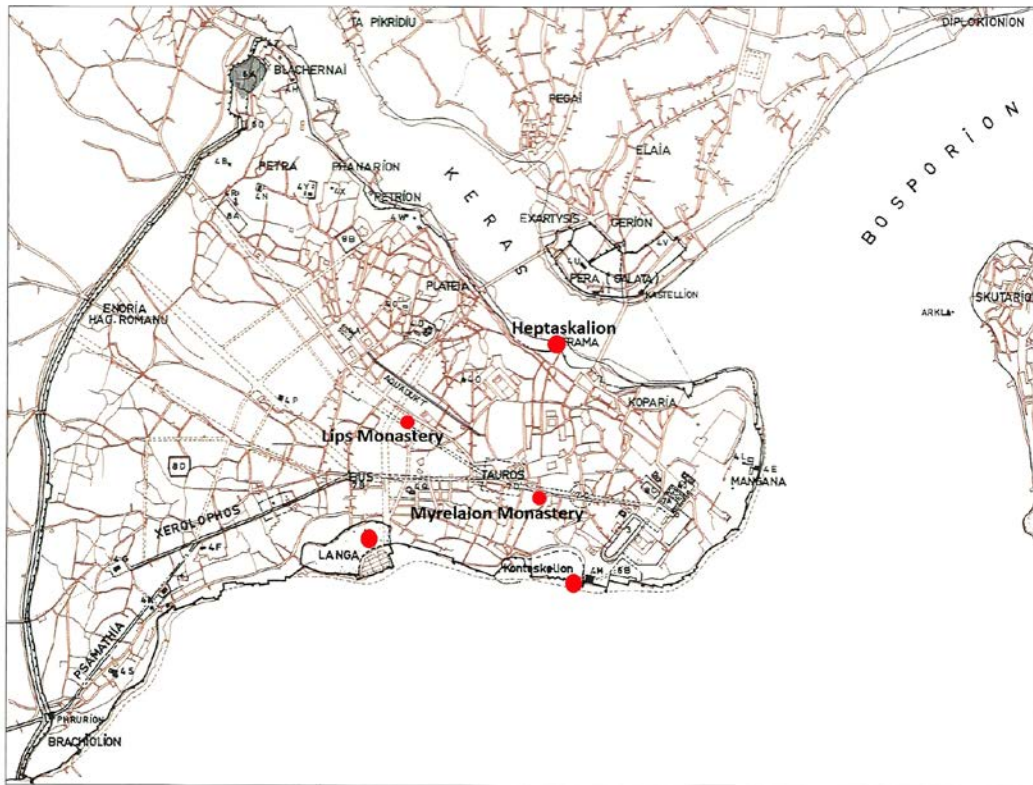
Figure 2.11. Constantinople in 8th-12th century
(Source: Müller-Wiener, 2007, 27.)

Hippodrome and the churches of Constantinople were reconstructed in the period of Basileios and in the site of the Great Palace, a new church (Nea Eklessia) was built after the transfer of palace functions to the newly constructed Mangana. Although Nea Ekklesia introduced a new religious building plan type in the Middle Byzantine period, monasteries integrated with a church continued their use. Examples of such complexes in the cross-in-square plan typology we can see today are Lips Monastery (Fenari İsa Cami) built in 908 and Myrelaion Monastery (Bodrum Cami) built in 922. [104]

As another important period of urban reconstruction, in 1081, Alexios I Komnenos (1081-1118) came to the throne to start the so-called the Komnenos dynasty. Alexios reorganized the military, administrative and public life of the Empire and his reign was the most powerful times of the period of regression. While the city size remained unchanged, Alexios's reconstruction programme was focused around the Augusteion Square. Because the Palace of Mangana remained unprotected and insecure, Alexios I moved to the Blachernea Palace next to the Theodisian wall on the

---

[104] Kuban, *İstanbul Bir Kent Tarihi: Bizantion, Konstantinopolis*, *İstanbul,* 143.

northwestern region of Constantinople.[105] While the imperial family lived in the Blachernea Palace, Alexios I repaired the damaged structure of the Great Palace.[106] Besides hippodrome and palace, Alexios gave importance to the construction of monasteries to emphasize the generosity of the imperial family.[107] Because the members of the Komnenos dynasty were born and raised in the northwestern of Constantinople, construction activities in this region increased during the reign of Alexios. In 1118, Philanthropos Christ Monastery for monks and Teotokos Kekharitomene Monastery (around Kariye Cami) for nuns were built in the northwestern regions of the city. In the same year, Teotokos Pammakaristos Monastery (Fethiye Cami) was built on the northwest, around Philanthropos and Kekharitomene Monasteries.[108] In addition to monasteries, palaces for statesmen were built on the northwest of the city (Figure 2.12).
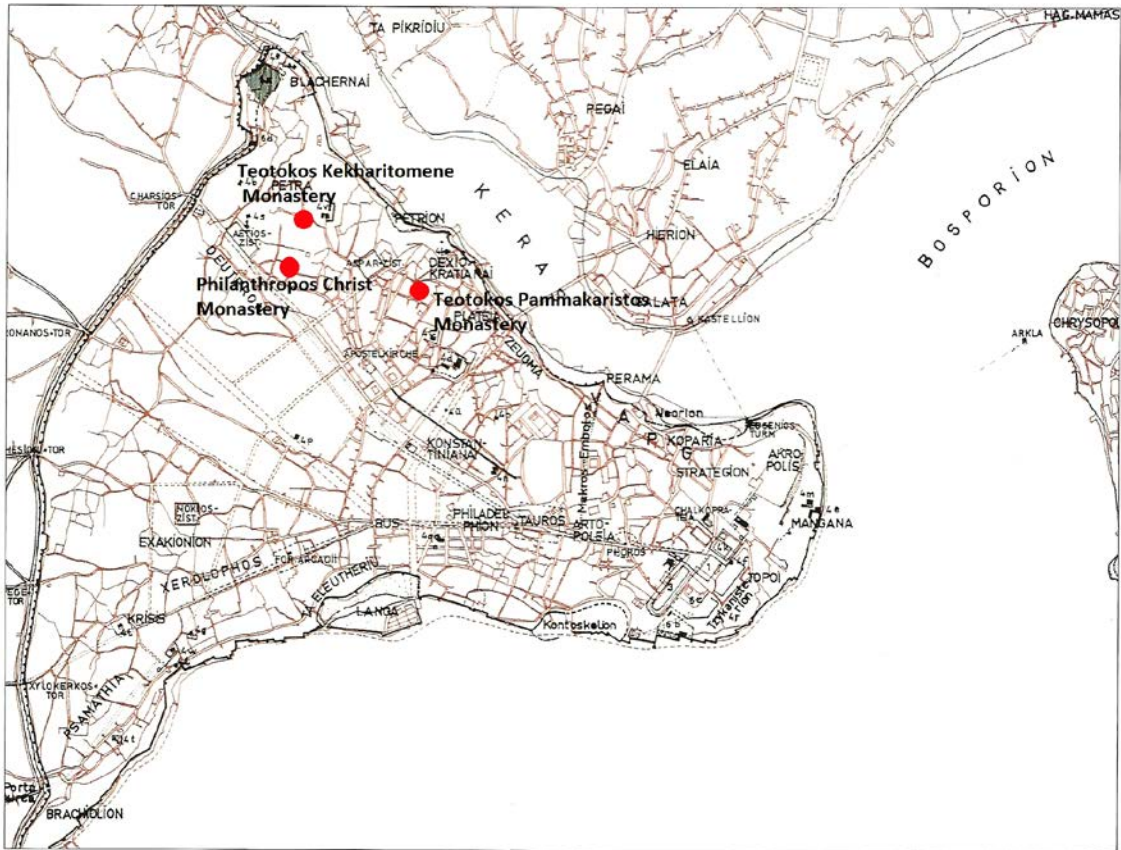
Figure 2.12. Monasteries on the northwest of Constantinople.
(Source: Müller-Wiener, 2007, 25.)

[105] Köroğlu, "İstanbul'daki Bizans İmparatorluk Sarayları," 7.
[106] Köroğlu, "İstanbul'daki Bizans İmparatorluk Sarayları," 5.
[107] Malamut, "I. Aleksios Komnenos Döneminde Konstantinopolis (1081-1118)," 41.
[108] Malamut, "I. Aleksios Komnenos Döneminde Konstantinopolis (1081-1118)," 43.

In this way, while the city size remained unchanged in the eleventh century, the density of the northwest regions increased and the religious building density of the city moved to the northwest of the Historic Peninsula. While the urban context of Hagia Sophia was passing through an extensive reconstruction period, Hagia Sophia became an architectural tool where the former emperors were depicted with Virgin Mary and Christ to resurrect the power of the Roman Empire during the earthquakes, conflicts and epidemics.

As of tenth century, conflicts between Byzantines and Latins increased. The Latin desire to conquer Constantinople resulted in longtime conflicts and Crusaders attacked in 1203. Although the number of Crusaders was 20.000 versus the 400.000 that populated Constantinople, Byzantines had weakened as a result of earthquakes and epidemics and Crusaders conquered Constantinople in 1204.[109] Crusaders shared the lands of Byzantine Empire between Latins and Venetians. Baldwin of Flanders was crowned in Hagia Sophia as the new emperor of the Latin Kingdom and Constantinople was accepted as the capital. The Venetian Doge Dandolo was appointed as the "Lord and Despot of a quarter and half of a quarter of the Roman Empire."[110] The major monuments of the Historic Peninsula such as the hippodrome and Hagia Sophia were badly damaged during the conquest. Because they chose to live in there, the Great Palace was not damaged by Latins.[111] Additionally Hagia Sophia was repaired to be converted into the central Catholic church in the city. Because hippodrome was badly damaged during, public and entertainment function of the building came to a halt under the Latin domination.[112]

The Latin domination continued for more than a half century and Michael VIII (1261-1281) recaptured Constantinople in 1261. Michael VIII is also known as "the new Constantine" of the Orthodox Roman Empire due to his extensive reconstruction.[113] Michael VIII began his program by repairing the ruined city walls and increased the height of the walls by 2 meters.[114] During the reconstruction of Blachernea Palace, Michael VIII lived in the Great Palace.[115] Although the certain

[109] Alice-Mary Talbot, "The Restoration of Constantinople under Michael VIII," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 47 (1993), 245.
[110] Freely, *Istanbul the Imperial City*, 148.
[111] Köroğlu, "İstanbul'daki Bizans İmparatorluk Sarayları," 5.
[112] Müller-Wiener, *İstanbul'un Tarihsel Topografyası: 17. Yüzyıl Başlarına Kadar Byzantion-Konstantinopolis-İstanbul,* 67.
[113] Talbot, "The Restoration of Constantinople under Michael VIII," 251.
[114] Talbot, "The Restoration of Constantinople under Michael VIII," 249.
[115] Köroğlu, "İstanbul'daki Bizans İmparatorluk Sarayları," 5.

location is not known today, a new mosque was built on the orders of Michael VIII to form good relationship with Muslims on the east. A result was a bilateral agreement on the rights of merchants and rules of transportation.[116]

During the fourteenth century, lands of the Byzantine Empire were limited to Constantinople and as a result of a plague epidemic, the population of the city decreased significantly.[117] While the Byzantine Empire was losing power, the Ottoman Empire was strengthening on the east and in 1453, Mehmed II was to conquer the city.

To summarize, the regression period of the Byzantine Empire begun in the sixth century as a result of the conflicts, earthquakes and plague epidemics and up to the ninth century, emperors focused on the repair of Constantinople. In the ninth century, the Byzantine Empire lived its second golden age and construction of new buildings in the city accelerated. Most importantly, the Palace of Mangana was built on the east of the Greek Acropolis as the new residential area of the imperial family. In the eleventh century, the imperial residence moved to the Blachernea Palace next to the Theodisian walls. But during the Latin domination in the thirteenth century, Latin emperors repaired and lived in the Great Palace and, while turning Hagia Sophia into the main Catholic building in their capital city, the imperial trilogy model returned back partially. When the city was re-captured by Byzantines, the emperor lived in the Great Palace. Although the hippodrome was repaired, the building had never reached its former public function. Due to the weakened military power and decreasing population, the Byzantine Empire could not stand to the Ottoman attacks and the city was conquered in 1453. (Appendix A and B)

---

[116] Talbot, "The Restoration of Constantinople under Michael VIII," 253.
[117] Kuban, *İstanbul Bir Kent Tarihi: Bizantion, Konstantinopolis*, *İstanbul,* 160.

2.7. Konstantiniyye: Ottoman Capital of Sultan Mehmed II (15th c.)

Before the city was officially conquered in 1453, the Turks had a close relationship with Constantinople. As mentioned under the previous heading (p:48), Arabs continuously conflicted with the Byzantine Empire from the seventh century onwards but the most destructive war for the Empire occurred in the eleventh century between the Byzantines and Turks. Beginning with the Battle of Manzikert in 1071, Seljukid Turks increased their dominance in Anatolia. The increasing hegemony of Turks resulted in the establishment of the Ottoman Empire in 1299 near Bilecik. Then, in 1326, Bursa became the capital of the Empire for 36 years. The capital was moved to Edirne in 1362 and the Ottoman Empire extended its lands near the Byzantine Empire.[118]

Since Prophet Muhammad says "Verily you shall conquer Constantinople. What a wonderful leader will he be, and what a wonderful army will that army be!" in his hadith, conquering Constantinople was one of the most important desires of the Muslim world. Before Mehmed II's conquest, Constantinople was besieged by his grandfather Sultan Bayezid I the Thunderbolt (1389-1402) in 1395. To control the Bosphorus, Anatolian Castle was constructed in 1393 on the orders of Bayezid I.[119] Then, in 1421, Constantinople was sieged by Mehmed II's father Sultan Murad II (1421-1451), but he failed. At the end of the fifteenth century, preparations for the conquest of the capital of the Byzantine Empire were accelerated. On the opposite shore of the Anatolian Castle, the Rumelian Castle was constructed during the reign of Mehmed II (1444-1481).[120] Finally, Constantinople was conquered by Mehmed II in 1453, as the final result of a long process that was accompanied by the increasing Muslim presence in the city.

During the three days of the conquest, Constantinople was badly damaged and the city walls were destroyed. The Blachernea Palace, located near the walls, was demolished. While the Great Palace and the hippodrome were looted, Hagia Sophia and the Church of the Holy Apostles were protected on the orders of Mehmed II. Hagia Sophia was converted into the imperial mosque, and Fatih Complex was later built over The Church of the Holy Apostles.

---

[118] Afşar, *Bilinmeyen Yönleriyle Ayasofya,* 93
[119] Müller-Wiener, *İstanbul'un Tarihsel Topografyası: 17. Yüzyıl Başlarına Kadar Byzantion-Konstantinopolis-İstanbul,* 332.
[120] Müller-Wiener, *İstanbul'un Tarihsel Topografyası: 17. Yüzyıl Başlarına Kadar Byzantion-Konstantinopolis-İstanbul,* 335.

After the conquest, the name of the city was changed from Constantinople to Konstantiniyye to become the third capital of the Ottoman Empire and Sultan Mehmed II called as Mehmed the Conqueror.[121] Instead of changing the name, Mehmed II used Konstantiniyye for his new capital in continuation of the Christian Roman name of the city to maintain the Roman past of the city. The maintenance of the city's name may be interpreted as a continuation indicating the importance of the city in the imperial scale.

As a result of long-lasting reconstructions of existing monuments and continuing population rise in the city, construction activities in Konstantiniyye began ten years after the conquest. During the reconstruction of the Theodisian walls, Yedikule Fortress was built on the southwestern edge of the walls and combined with the Golden Gate. Because existing ports were damaged and could not be used actively, Port of Sophia which was called as Konstaskalion in the ninth century on the south shore began to be used as the main harbor of Constantinople, and the name of the port was changed to Kadırga Port (Figure 2.13).
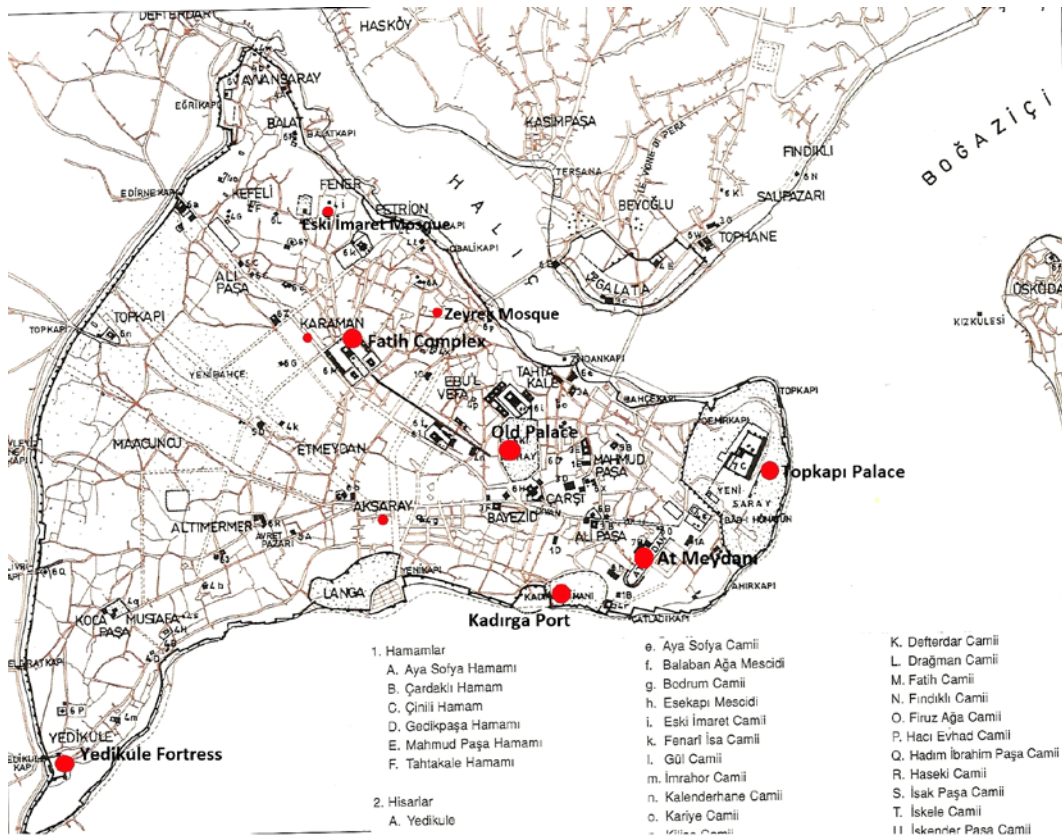

Figure 2.13. Constantinople in the 15th-16th centuries.
(Source: Base map from Müller-Wiener, 2007, 32.)

---

[121] Kuban. *İstanbul Bir Kent Tarihi: Bizantion, Konstantinopolis, İstanbul*, 205.

For new settlers and soldiers, a new neighborhood was established in Yedikule and although there is not any archaeological evidence, it is thought that a new mosque was built in this new neighborhood.[122] To increase the population of the city, Mehmed the Conqueror imported people from all around the Ottoman Empire. Thus, the social structure of Konstantiniyye now consisted of Muslim Turks and non-Muslims such as Rums, Armenians and the Jewish.[123] Contemporary Aksaray and Karaman are some examples of areas settled by these minorities in Konstantiniyye.[124]

Differently from the Byzantine city organization characterized by a development within the city walls, Konstantiniyye was enlarged beyond the walls and consisted of different settlement areas surrounded by their own boundaries.[125] Within the Theodisian walls, the urban structure of Konstantiniyye was re-organized by Mehmed the Conqueror. According to a new regulation, Konstantiniyye was administrated by the sultan and controlled by the grand vizier. The city was described as "a place where there is a *mufti* concerning religious regulations and a *kadi* ruling the cases of the city". Konstantiniyye was divided into thirteen demos, each including 5-30 neighborhoods around a prayer room or mosque. Each demos was named after a monument in the zone, with Hagia Sophia as the first demos of Konstantiniyye.[126] This choice is another indicator showing the importance of the building and area in Mehmed the Conqueror's Konstantiniyye.

When the city organization and street layout of Constantinople is compared with those of Konstantiniyye, it can be seen that the grid-iron plan of the Roman city was replaced by the organic urban growth of the Ottoman city. While the city had been enlarged according to a grid street plan consisting of parallel streets intersecting with right angle junctions in Constantinople, Konstantiniyye was enlarged with neighborhoods consisted of a mosque in the center and dead end streets scattered amongst houses for privacy. Non-Muslims, who did not leave the city during the Ottoman conquest formed their own groups according to their religions and each group was called as *millet*.[127] Except small-scaled churches, existing religious buildings of Non-Muslim's were converted into churches. Pantocrator Church (Zeyrek Mosque) and

---

[122] Kuban. *İstanbul Bir Kent Tarihi: Bizantion, Konstantinopolis, İstanbul*, 209.
[123] Kuban. *İstanbul Bir Kent Tarihi: Bizantion, Konstantinopolis, İstanbul*, 191.
[124] Müller-Wiener, *İstanbul'un Tarihsel Topografyası: 17. Yüzyıl Başlarına Kadar Byzantion-Konstantinopolis-İstanbul,* 28.
[125] Kuban. *İstanbul Bir Kent Tarihi: Bizantion, Konstantinopolis, İstanbul*, 209.
[126] Kuban. *İstanbul Bir Kent Tarihi: Bizantion, Konstantinopolis, İstanbul*, 190.
[127] Freely, *Istanbul the Imperial City*, 183.

St. Saviour Pentepoptes Church (Eski İmaret Mosque) are among the churches converted into mosques that remained today.[128]

Yet, Mehmed the Conqueror allowed the existence of a patriarch in Konstantiniyye and the Church of the Holy Apostles became the Orthodox patriarchate in 1456. In the sixteenth century, firstly, Pammakaristos Church (Fetih Mosque) on the northwest of the Church of the Holy Apostles became the patriarchate and later, St. George Church in Fener was used as the Orthodox patriachate.[129] This later change was apparently due to the site selection of the Sultan for his first monumental complex in Konstantiniyye. In 1463, Mehmed the Conqueror ordered Atik Sinan (?-1471), who also had a Greek name Christodouloa, for the construction of Fatih Mosque as part of a larger complex on the site of the Church of the Holy Apostles, where the mausolea of Byzantine emperors starting from Constantine the Great was located.[130] Thus, the church and mausoleum complex of the Orthodox Roman emperors was replaced by Mehmed II's Islamic complex. Like Justinian's initial Hagia Sophia, this initial Fatih Mosque would be damaged after its completion and the mosque we see today would be built in 1771 after following minor modifications.[131]

As the biggest complex of the Muslim world of the time, Fatih Complex consisted of madrasas, Koran courses, a library, hospital, guest house, imaret, caravansaray and mosque. Although not in a direct relationship with the existing street network and squares of the city regarding the scale and the buildings in the complex, Fatih Complex became a public node of Konstantiniyye as the first monumental building of Mehmed the Conqueror and a model for the future constructions in the city.[132] When Mehmed the Conqueror died in 1481, debates rose about the cause of his death. On the one hand, it is assumed that he died of gout and buried in his monumental Fatih Complex though without a visible tomb today, on the other hand, it is assumed that he was poisoned and his body was buried in an unknown location.[133] The first possibility suggests further continuity with the use of the site by the Orthodox Greek emperors. In either case, his burial place is lost how, like that of the great emperors of the earlier Byzantine period.

---

[128] Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Araştırmaları Merkezi, "İslam Ansiklopedisi," Cilt: 23 http://www.islamansiklopedisi.info/yayin.php (Accessed: 29.05.2014), 221.
[129] Freely, *Istanbul the Imperial City*, 184.
[130] Freely, *Istanbul the Imperial City*, 355.
[131] Freely, *Istanbul the Imperial City*, 355.
[132] Kuban. *İstanbul Bir Kent Tarihi: Bizantion, Konstantinopolis, İstanbul*, 201.
[133] Freely, *Istanbul the Imperial City*, 189.

To construct the Fatih Complex, the Church of the Holy Apostles was destroyed and traces of the Byzantine past with the tombs of the emperors disappeared with it. In this way, the co-existence of the Church of the Holy Apostles and Hagia Sophia as the most important religious monuments of the Byzantine city came to an end although co-existence of two important monuments of the replacing Islamic religion continued on these two sites. However the demolition of the Church of the Holy Apostles for the construction of the Faith Complex may be interpreted as an important overlap which resulted in the permanenet deletion of the former traces of the site. (Appendix B)

Despite these imperial developments in the urban scale, the Mese remained as the most important route of the city during the Ottoman domination as an important palimpsest from the Greek period of the city. This is mainly because on the east of the Mese, Hagia Sophia was converted into the imperial mosque, according to the Muslim tradition to transform the most important church of a conquered city into the imperial mosque after the conquest. On the south of the Mese, reconstruction of the badly damaged Great Palace was begun and a new palace, now called the Old Palace due to the construction of Topkapı Palace afterwards, was built on the site of today's Istanbul University Beyazıt Campus, to the north of the Theodosius Forum as the temporary residential area of the Sultan's family.

On the south of Topkapı Palace, although it was the oldest church in the city, Hagia Eirene's religious function came to an end after the Ottoman conquest and the building started to be used used as armory. Hagia Eirene would be included in the site of Topkapı later in the fifteenth century,[134] and became the first military museum in the nineteenth century.

As Constantine the Great took Rome as the model for his new capital city of the Eastern Roman Empire, Mehmed the Conqueror's construction activities seem to have been modeled on the first capital of the Ottoman Empire, Bursa. Bursa was captured in 1326 by Orhan Gazi and became the capital in 1335.[135] Orhan Gazi moved to the citadel (*hisar*) that was surrounded with walls on the north and the construction of Bey Palace was begun to host administrative and residential building inside walls. As the biggest religious building of Bursa, St. Elias Monastery was converted into a mosque and called as Silvered Tomb (Gümüşlü Kümbet) because Orhan Gazi and his father were buried

---

[134] Müller-Wiener, *İstanbul'un Tarihsel Topografyası: 17. Yüzyıl Başlarına Kadar Byzantion-Konstantinopolis-İstanbul,* 114.

[135] Aptullah Kuran, "A Spatial Study of Three Ottoman Capitals: Bursa, Edirne, and Istanbul," *Muqarnas* 13, (1996), 114.

there. Near Bey Palace, Orhan Gazi ordered the construction of a bath. Outside of the citadel, the commercial area of Bursa, *bedesten*, was located as the most important public space of the city. On the southwest, another palace, mosque and bath were built for Orhan Bey's brother Alaeddin Bey (Figure 2.14).[136]
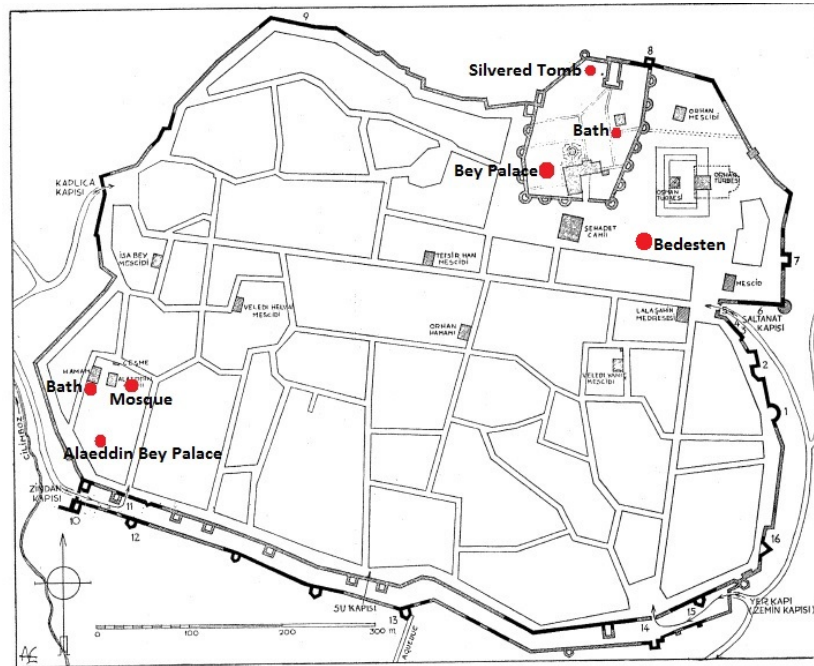
Figure 2.14. Bursa map in the 14th century
(Source: Base map from Kuran, 1996, 115.)

Thus the imperial complex model in Bursa parallels the Roman trilogy with the notable exception of the public part, the hippodrome. This may be taken to reflect the absence of a public square in the Ottoman society in the Roman sense. On the other hand, it may be said that the public component of the Roman trilogy model was replaced by a commercial center in the Ottoman city, which points to the structural difference of the two imperial capitals.

Differently from Bursa, to the east of the Mese, the hippodrome was repaired to become the ceremonial core of Constantinople as it was during the Byzantine Empire. Beginning from the fifteenth century, wedding ceremonies, birth and the circumcision feasts of the Ottoman sultans were conducted in the hippodrome.[137] To the north of the hippodrome, a *bedesten* was built as the commercial center of the city on the site of the Forum of Constantine. The hippodrome, to be named as Sultanahmet Square after the

---

[136] Kuran, "A Spatial Study of Three Ottoman Capitals: Bursa, Edirne, and Istanbul," 115.
[137] Gülsüm Ezgi Korkmaz, "Surnamelerde 1582 Şenliği" (master thesis, Bilkent University, 2004), 19.

construction of Blue Mosque in the seventeenth century, remained as the main public square of the city for centuries afterwards. In this way, Ottoman and Byzantine traditions, were in a way, merged.

As it is seen in Bursa, the relationship between administrative buildings and imperial mosque remained an important factor in the spatial organization of the Ottoman cities and, so, the new imperial palace of the Ottoman Empire had to be built on a special site connected to the most important religious building of the city, Hagia Sophia.[138] Beside its gloriousness as the highest point of the city, the former Acropolis in the proximity of Hagia Sophia revealed as the most appropriate site for the new imperial palace to emphasize the religious and political power of the Ottoman Empire. Thus, the construction of Saray-ı Humayun, known as Topkapı Palace, began in 1459 on the Acropolis hill,[139] and the name of the route connecting the palace to the Yedikule Gate, which was the Golden Gate in the Byzantine Empire, was changed from Mese to Divan Route.[140] In this way, the ceremonial route of the city remained unchanged from the Byzantine period in the co-existence of the palace, religious monument and the public area in the Roman imperial trilogy model in the Ottoman Empire.

To summarize, while the Ottoman period was an important rupture in the imperial and urban scale, at the same time, Mehmed the Conqueror's period may be interpreted in continuity of the Byzantine past of the city. The name of the city was preserved in translation to Konstantiniyye and, in this way, the Roman past of the settlement was maintained. Similarly, the name of Hagia Sophia was preserved and became the eponym of the first zone of the city. The first imperial residence of the Ottoman sultan was built on the west of the Great Palace temporarily and the construction of the Topkapı Palace as the main administrative and residential area of the Ottoman Empire was begun on the Greek Acropolis hill, where the first monumental religious core was established. As another continuation from the Byzantine past of the city, and at the same time a rupture, Mehmed the Conqueror chose the site of the Church of the Holy Apostles to construct his first monumental complex. After the conversion of Hagia Sophia into the imperial mosque and the construction of Topkapı Palace, the Roman Mese remained as the main route of Konstantiniyye and called as Divan Route. The palimpsestic continuity of this route from the Severan Portico in the

---

[138] Kuban. *İstanbul Bir Kent Tarihi: Bizantion, Konstantinopolis, İstanbul*, 207.

[139] Müller-Wiener, *İstanbul'un Tarihsel Topografyası: 17. Yüzyıl Başlarına Kadar Byzantion-Konstantinopolis-İstanbul,* 68.

[140] Kuban. *İstanbul Bir Kent Tarihi: Bizantion, Konstantinopolis, İstanbul*, 208.

Roman period to the Divan Route in the Ottoman domination may be seen as a result of the urban context that consisted of characteristic monumental elements of the city such as Hagia Eirene, Hagia Sophia Great Palace and the hippodrome. Because they stayed in use physically or functionally, the Mese continued its use as the most important route of the city.

On the other hand, there were also major discontinuities. The city macroform changed through expansions beyond the Byzantine walls. To increase the population in the city, people were imported from all around the Ottoman Empire and the enlargement of the city was different from the Christian Roman Constantinople. While Constantinople had a grid-iron plan, Konstantiniyye's urban growth was organic due to the scattered neighborhood establishments. In this respect, Mehmed the Conqueror's Konstantiniyye consisted of both new constructions of the Sultan and the repaired existing monuments from the Byzantine period of the city. (Appendix

2.8. Chapter Conclusion

From the establishment of the first settlement to the conversions into the Ottoman capital, Historic Peninsula served as the administrative, public and religious core of Istanbul in its history and passed through several changes regarding macro-scale transformations in the urban context. When the enlargement of the city is analyzed chronologically, the first settlement Greek Byzantion was established in the seventh century BC on and around the Acropolis hill as the highest area of the Historic Peninsula and surrounded with walls. Two ports were built on the north shore of the settlement and public spaces concentrated around these ports. In addition to the ports and public spaces, due to the temples and sacred areas located on the Acropolis hill, northern parts of contemporary Sarayburnu became the religious core of Byzantion.

In the second century AD, Byzantion came under Roman domination after the conquest by Septimus Severus but the name of the city was maintained as Byzantium. The city was enlarged from the Acropolis hill towards the west and southern parts of the Historic Peninsula, and new city walls were built. While the city was enlarging, the old settlement's traces were protected and the new city of Severus was developed from the Greeek Byzantion. This may be interpreted as an important palimpsestic process regarding the co-existence of the Greek Byzantion settlement with the new Roman

Byzantium. Most importantly, Severan Portico was built as the main route of the city. After its construction, the hippodrome served as the most important entertainment building of the city. To the north of the hippodrome, the Augusteion was added as the biggest square of Byzantium. With the construction of the Baths of Zeuksippos on the site of the former sacred areas, the public core of the city moved from north to the southern part of Byzantium and the importance of the Acropolis hill diminished.

In the fourth century, Byzantium became the capital of the Eastern Roman Empire and the name of the city changed from Byzantium to Constantinople under the reign of Constantine the Great and the city walls were enlarged 15 km toward the west of the Severan walls. To provide the increasing needs of the city, two new ports were built on the south shore. During the city enlargement, former traces of the Severan city were maintained while Constantine planned his new city according to a grid-iron plan. The Mese was developed from the Severan Portico as the main route of the city in a palimpsest process and the Milion was erected to the west of the Augusteion Square as the beginning of the Mese. While the traces of the Severan period such as the hippodrome and baths were preserved, the Great Palace was built to the south of the Mese. On the north of the Great Palace, Hagia Eirene was built and the construction of the first Hagia Sophia was begun. In this way, Constantine the Great created a core for the city at the site where the hippodrome, the Great Palace and the Augusteion Square were located. In other words, with the construction of the Great Palace, the south part of the city, which was created as a public ceremonial area by the Roman Emperor Septimus Severus, was transformed into an administrative center by Constantine the Great. Additionally, to the northwest of the city, the Church of the Holy Apostles was built with the mausoleum of Constantine on the site of the former Greek temples.

After the death of Constantine the Great, several emperors came to the throne but during the reign of Thedosius the Great, the city was significantly enlarged and Christianity became the official religion of the Empire. New city walls were built on the 1.5 km west of the walls of Constantine. Amongst ten gates of the Theodisian Walls, the Golden Gate was used as the most important ceremonial gate where the emperor entered to the city after a battle with victory. Thus a new ceremonial route emerged parallel to the Mese from the Great Palace to the Golden Gate and new squares were built on this road. While the hippodrome continued to be used for entertainment, the building also became an important public space where the imperial ceremonies were conducted. In

this way public, administrative and religious core of the city remained on the south of the Historic Peninsula.

In the sixth century, the city was monumentalized under the reign of Justinian the Great and the Eastern Roman Empire lived its golden age. Hippodrome became a political stage due to the conversion of chariot race teams into parties and housed the most destructive riot of the Empire. After the Nika Riot, damaged buildings of Constantinople such as the Great Palace, Hagia Sophia, Hagia Eirene, Church of the Holy Apostles, Baths of Zeuksippos were repaired and Hagia Sophia took its final form that we know today. Because the imperial ceremonies were conducted in the Hagia Sophia after its construction, the hippodrome did not serve for the ceremonies anymore and used for entertainment.

Beginning from the sixth century, the Byzantine Empire began to lose its lands as a result of continuous conflicts with Muslims, plague epidemics and earthquakes and, the period of regression of the empire began. In the seventh century, Constantinople gathered strength and the weakened military and administrative regime were reorganized. A new port was built on the north shore of the Historic Peninsula that is known as Keras (Haliç) today and the reconstruction of the most important monuments of the city such as the Great Palace, Hagia Sophia, the Church of the Holy Apostles and the hippodrome was accelerated. In the ninth century, during the reign of Basileios I called as the "second golden age" of the Roman Empire, construction of newly built areas increased. The Palace of Mangana was built on the east of the Acropolis as the new residence of Basileios I, including a hospital, library, school of law, galleries and gardens. In the eleventh century, the city size remained unchanged but the density of the northwest regions increased and the religious building density of the city moved to the northwest of the Historic Peninsula due to the monastery construction of the emperor Alexios I. Nevertheless, the Great Palace and Hagia Sophia maintained their ceremonial importance especially during foreign embassies.

As a result of continuous conflicts with Latins, the Byzantine Empire lost its power and the city came under the domination of Latins in the thirteenth century for fifty seven years. Converting Hagia Sophia into a Catholic cathedral and themselves living in the repaired Byzantine Great Palace, the Latin emperors also maintained the centrality of Hagia Sophia. Although the city was re-captured by the Roman emperor Michael VIII in the thirteenth century, the Byzantine Empire was weakened and its lands were limited to Constantinople. As a result of continuous earthquakes, epidemics

and conflicts with Turks, the empire further weakened and in 1453, Ottomans conquered Constantinople.

Under the reign of Mehmed the Conqueror, the name of the city continued from Constantinople to Kontantiniyye and the city became the capital of the Ottoman Empire. To increase the population of the city, Mehmed the Conqueror imported people from all around the Ottoman Empire. Thus, the social structure of Konstantiniyye now consisted of Muslim Turks and non-Muslims such as Rums, Armenians and the Jewish. Konstantiniyye was enlarged beyond the walls and consisted of different settlement areas surrounded by their own boundaries and the grid-iron plan of the city was replaced by an organic growth consisted of scattered neighborhoods. Most importantly, Hagia Sophia was converted into the imperial mosque and except minor additions such as mihrab, minbar and a minaret, the original structure of the building was protected. As an important change in use, Hagia Eirene's religious function came to an end and the building was uesd as armory up to its conversion into museum. After ten years, Fatih Complex was built as the first monument of the Sultan on the site of the Church of the Holy Apostles. In this respect, while the public and religious core of the city remained on the southern parts of the city, the administrative core shifted to the north as it was in the first settlement.

CHAPTER-3

HAGIA SOPHIA AS A TRUE PALIMPSEST: CONSTRUCTION STAGES AND REFERENCES OF THE MONUMENT

In this chapter, the continual transformation process in the Hagia Sophia building complex and its vicinity is studied in continuation of the contextual analyses of the previous chapter. This is done in three different scales to find some references of its characteristics in the urban and site contexts. Urban scale conversions establishing contextual continuities and discontinuities are studied to understand the hierarchies of power in the Orthodox Christian and later Ottoman capital as a context to interpret the changing function and meaning of Hagia Sophia. This enables an interpretation of Hagia Sophia as part of a larger network of relations instead of a single structure independent of its context. In this way, seemingly independent traces in the building scale and in the neighborhood of Hagia Sophia are combined to reveal clues about the building and its site in a contextual framework.

In order to do this, firstly, the formation and re-formation of the immediate context of the building is studied, focusing on the monumental buildings and open public spaces existing before the construction of Hagia Sophia, via secondary sources citing medieval scripture. Müller-Wiener's *İstanbul'un Tarihsel Topografyası* (2007) and Erkal's *"Constantinopolis: A Study on the City of Constantinople as the Artifice of Constantine the Great's Imperial Project"* (1995) are used as the main sources for the contextual information on the Historic Peninsula in general. With Müller-Wiener's book, it is aimed to compose a general overview about the changing public use of the immediate vicinity of the building after Hagia Sophia. Erkal's dissertation is used to reveal certain similarities between the city of Rome and Constantinople. Amongst these similarities, "imperial trio" in both cities is analyzed. Besides Erkal's dissertation, Staciolli's *Ancient Rome Past and Present* (2000) and Macdonald's *The Architecture of the Roman Empire-I: An Introductory Study* (1982) are used as the main reference for Constantinople's model city, Rome..

Then, the Christian worship places and religious buildings before the construction of Hagia Sophia are studied to reveal the architectural innovations that made Hagia Sophia different from the earlier religious buildings and to interpret the change in places of worship with the acceptance of Christianity as the official religion of the Eastern Roman Empire. In order to do this, Mathew's (1971) *"The Early Churches of Constantinople"* Armstrong's (1974) and *"Constantine's Churches: Symbol and Structure"* are used as main sources.

Then, the building is analyzed as a single structure with its spatial, structural and ornamental characteristics in reference to Kleinbauer and White's *Ayasofya* (2004) and Nelson's *Hagia Sophia 1850-1950* (2004) to find clues about the synchronous change of the building and conversions in its urban context. Lastly, Zoe Antonia Woodrow's *"Imperial Ideology in Middle Byzantine Court Culture: The Evidence of Constantine Porphyrogenitus's* de ceremoniis (2001) is used to analyze the role of Hagia Sophia and its neighborhood's importance during the imperial and public ceremonies of Constantinople. While the previous chapter is used to compose a general overview about the site and the building complex; in this chapter, ceremonies are described to find out the role of the immediate vicinity of Hagia Sophia. In microscale, mosaics and ornaments are used to interpret Hagia Sophia's decorations hinting at larger scale contextual changes in the empire and its capital through changes in the religious and public life of Constantinople.

3.1. The Augusteion Square and its Vicinity: Above and Underground Layout of the Historic Peninsula

The initial Hagia Sophia in the form of a timber basilica was built in 360 during the reign of Constantine the Great, on a site that would be surrounded with the Great Palace and Zeuksippos Baths on the south, hippodrome on the southwest and Hagia Eirene on the north. At that time, Augusteion Square was an important public space connecting these buildings that form a complex apparently modeled on the imperial trilogy consisting of temple, palace and hippodrome in references to the city of Rome, as will be explained below.

Figure 3.1. Milion in Constantinople.
(Source: Taraz, 2013)

As another reference to the city of Rome, the Augusteion Square had the Milion erected at its centre as the zero point of the Roman Empire and the symbol of the beginning of the ceremonial road of Constantinople, the Mese (Figure 3.1). On the other hand, the name of the Augusteion Square in Constantinople may have references from the Roman emperor Augustus. In 330, the dedication ceremony of Constantinople began at the Forum of Constantine, continued with a ceremonial walk along the main route of the city, the Mese, and passing the Milion, ended with the arrival of the emperor to the Great Palace.

The Mese branched into two at Philadelphion Square (site of Laleli Cami), which was used as the nodal point of ceremonies and decorated with the statues of Constantine the Great and his three sons.[1] The first branch road continued towards southwest and ended with the Golden Gate (contemporary Yedikule). Golden Gate was the triumphal gate of the city and was opened only for the return of the emperor from

---

[1]   Freely, *Istanbul the Imperial City*, 42.

battle after victory. The emperor was welcomed here by the clergy. After he was seated on the golden throne, crowned and carried through a golden chariot, procession was continued with acclamations through the road where the Theodosius Forum (Beyazıt Square) was located and ended with arrival to the Great Palace.[2]

The second branch road continued to the northwest of the city and ended with the Gate of Adrianople (Edirne Kapısı). The Church of the Holy Apostles and the Mausoleum of Constantine were located on that branch road. As a result of being on the highest point of Constantinople, the Mausoleum symbolized the power of Constantine the Great, and the Church of the Holy Apostles served to the Christian pilgrims. The funeral ceremonies of emperors were conducted on this branch road and, after exit from the Chalke of the Great Palace, procession was continued to the Church of the Holy Apostles with shouts "Go out, Sire, for it is the King of Kings who calls thee now, and the Lords of Lords!"[3] (Appendix A and B)

As explained in more detail in the previous chapter (p:30), the area to the north of this branchroad is known to have developed in the period of Constantine. A building law determined the minimum height of the houses above the street, distance between two house and width of the streets and the city was constructed along these rules.[4] The old buildings of the Severan period and the new constructions of Constantinople were integrated with a grid plan that consisted of right angled streets. With the construction of the Church of the Holy Apostles and the Mausoleum of Constantine, a district of the city was upgraded and the road became an important link connecting the core of the city to tge newly built area (Figure 3.2).

---

[2] Freely, *Istanbul the Imperial City*, 57.
[3] Freely, *Istanbul the Imperial City*, 42.
[4] Çakmak and Freely, *İstanbul'un Bizans Anıtları,* 11.
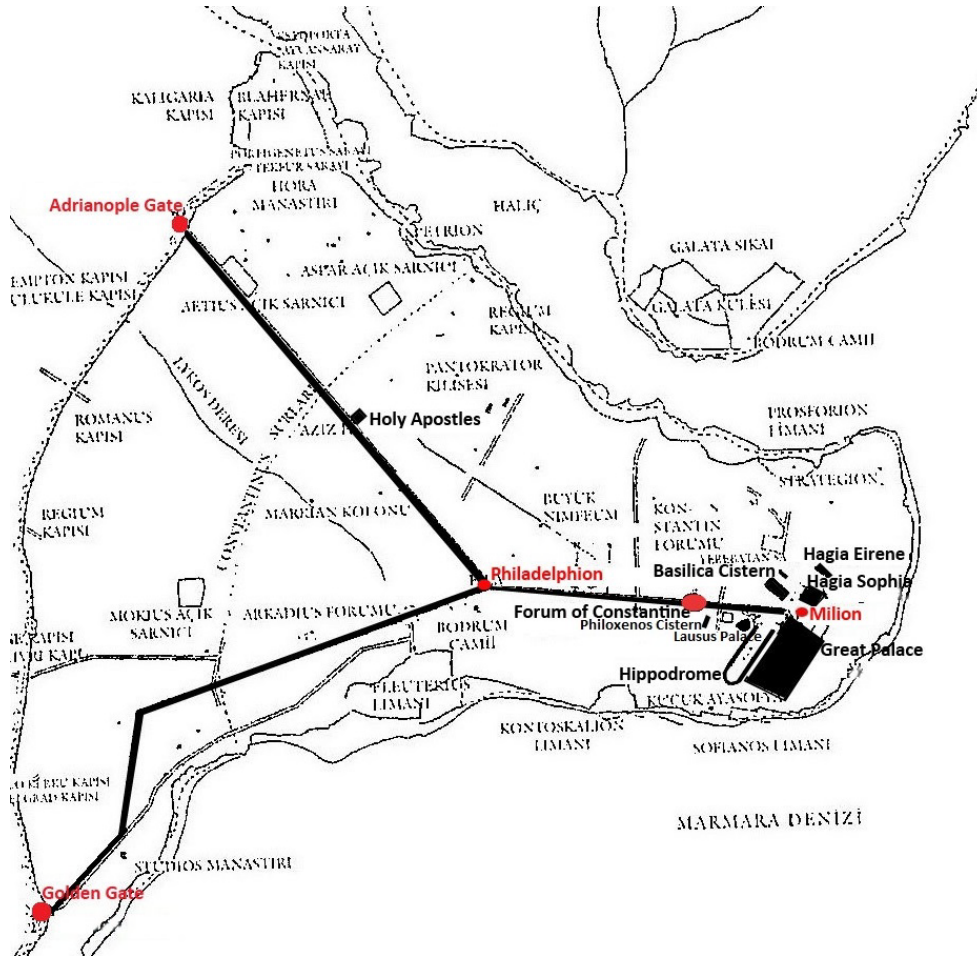
Figure 3.2. Branchroads of the Mese in Constantinople
(Source: Base map from Kuban, 2004, 71.)

A basilica was built during the reign of Constantine the Great to the west of the Augusteion Square and because of the existing Basilice Stoa on the site from the Severan period, the building was named as Basilica and was used as a university up to 425, with a library. In the seventh century, the basilica began to be used as a court. During the reign of Justinian the Great, a cistern was built underneath this building.[5] This cistern is currently referred to as Basilica Cistern (Yerebatan Sarayı). This cistern is a major component of the infrastructural network that provided water to the important private and imperial monuments that concentrated in this part of the city.

Because of the lack of any running water, the water supply of the monumental city centre was provided from aqueducts and cisterns. The first waterway of the city was built in the second century by Hadrian and during the reign of Theodosius II, the

---

[5] Müller-Wiener, *İstanbul'un Tarihsel Topografyası: 17. Yüzyıl Başlarına Kadar Byzantion-Konstantinopolis-İstanbul,* 283, 284.

waterway was repaired to serve to the Great Palace. After Constantinople became the capital, water demand of the city increased and new aqueducts were built on the north and northwest hills of the city. The construction of the Valens Aqueduct was begun in 368 as the most important water supply of Constantinople and spanned the road along which Church of the Holy Apostles was located.[6] Beginning from the fifth century, cisterns were connected to these aqueducts.

As an example, the Philoxenos Cistern to the south of the Mese further to the west, (Binbirdirek Sarnıcı) most probably provided water for the Lausos and Pantiochos Palaces wherein lived the elite of Constantinople in the vicinity of the Imperial Palace. Located on the west of the hippodrome, Lausus Palace was built by Lausus, who was an important administrative figure of Constantinople in the fifth century. On the south side of the Lausus Palace, the half-round colonnaded main entrance opened to a vaulted main space surrounded with niche rooms. The Lausus Palace was known as a house of art collection with its sculptures and art objects but in the fifth century, the building and objects were badly damaged in a fire and after a reconstruction, the building was begun to be used as a dwelling.[7]

With the construction of the Basilica Cistern, the building became the uppermost component in the hierarchy of the existing water supply infrastructure of Constantinople. With its scale matching with that of Hagia Sophia, Basilica Cistern may be understood as *the* monument of the underground network of the city. Just like the predominant existence of Hagia Sophia among its contemporary religious buildings in terms of its scale and central location, the Basilica Cistern may be understood as the major node in a network of more modest underground buildings scattered through the city, with a specific concentration around the imperial trio of Constantinople. The construction of the Basilica Cistern transformed the infrastructural network by introducing an upper level into the existing hierarchy, by monumentalizing already marked nodes.

The subterranean channels recently discovered under the Hagia Sophia should also be understood as other important components of the same water network. In 2005, tunnels connecting Hagia Sophia to the hippodrome were found, in addition to north

---

[6] Müller-Wiener, *İstanbul'un Tarihsel Topografyası: 17. Yüzyıl Başlarına Kadar Byzantion-Konstantinopolis-İstanbul,* 271, 273.

[7] Müller-Wiener, *İstanbul'un Tarihsel Topografyası: 17. Yüzyıl Başlarına Kadar Byzantion-Konstantinopolis-İstanbul,* 238.

and southward channels under the building site.[8] These tunnels are also thought to have provided private connection between the components of the monumental complex above ground, forming a counterpart to the pompous ceremonial connection. As studies are continuing, legendary tunnels and secret passages of Hagia Sophia are used in popular publications such as Dan Brown's book *Inferno* (2013) and Göksel Gülensoy's documentary *Ayasofya'nın Derinliklerinde* (2013).

To summarize, a parallel development can be observed when the above and underground network of Hagia Sophia and its immediate vicinity is analyzed. The existence of Hagia Sophia, the Great Palace and Zeuksippos Baths give important hints about the underground of the site. These buildings and underground monuments near the Augusteion Square establish an upper level of hierarchy regarding building scales and locations, documenting the synchronously changing upper and under networks of the city. Above the ground the Zeuksippos Baths, hippodrome and Great Palace were marking the highest level of hierarchy, as components of an "imperial trio" originating from the city of Rome.

3.2. Model City Rome and the Imperial Trilogy: Hippodrome-Temple-Palace

Legends attest that the foundation of Rome on the Palatine Hill was in the 8th century BC by King Romulus, from whom the city got its name. The city grew towards the Esquiline Hill on the east and in the 4th century BC the city occupied more than 400 hectares within walls.[9] During the 2nd and 1st century BC, new squares were built between these two hills, and the old ones were reconstructed and new functions were added to them. Besides the public squares, Circus Maximus was used as one of the most important public entertainment areas of Rome for chariot races from its construction in sixth century BC. Circus Maximus was located between the Palatine and Aventine Hills as the largest circus of Rome to accommodate 300.000 spectators. Due to proximity to the important temples of the city such as Ceres and Flora, Mercury and Dis, Luna and Venus Obsequens, Circus Maximus also had a religious importance. When the first emperor Augustus began to live on the Palatine Hill, the area became the imperial

---

[8] Özkan Aygün, "The Wells , Subterranean Passage, Tunnels and Water Systems of Hagia Sophia in Istanbul," 35.
[9] Staccioli, *Ancient Rome Past and Present,* 4.

residence and the first imperial palace was built on this hill on the orders of Tiberus, the successor of Augustus (Figure 3.3).[10]
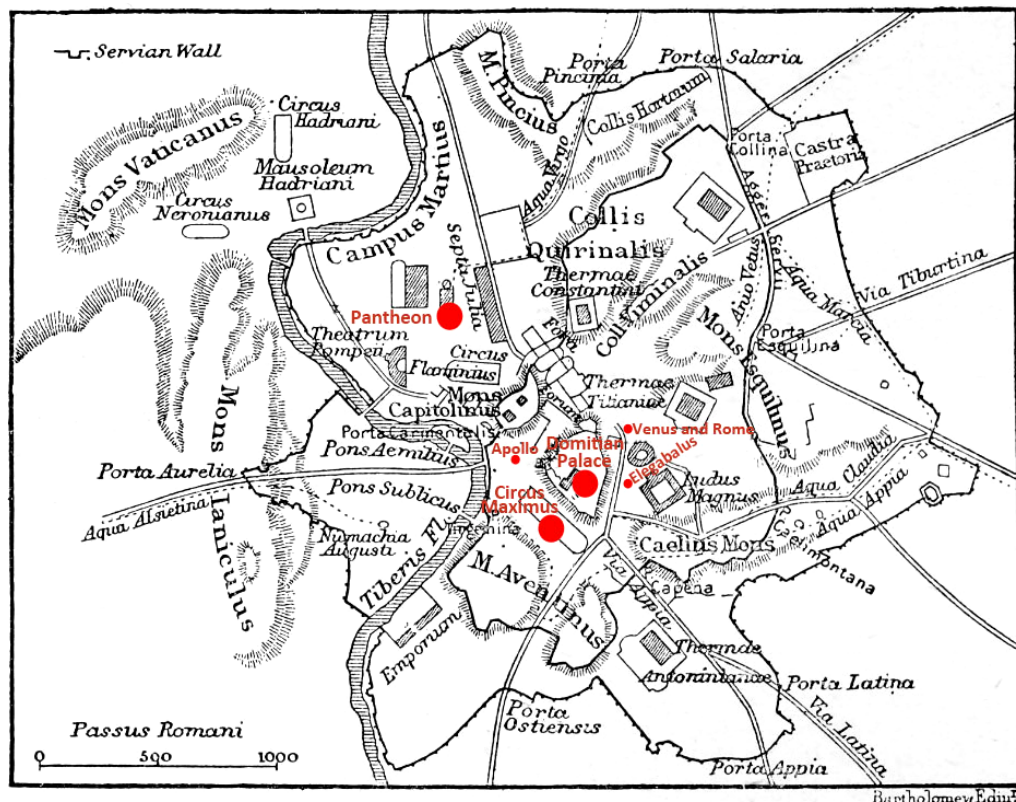
Figure 3.3. Map of the City of Rome
(Source: Base map from www.probertencyclopaedia.com)

Construction of the Domitian Palace, also known as Flavian Palace, was completed in 92 on the Palatine Hill.[11] Domitian Palace consisted of the Domus Flavia on the northwest including reception halls and the Domus Augustana in the center constituting the private spaces.[12] As the public part of the Domitian Palace, Domus Flavia consisted of a large, colonnaded courtyard surrounded with public audience halls. A basilica and the throne room were located on the north of the courtyard and on the south, the imperial dining room was protected by a guard room. As the private part of the Domitian Palace, Domus Augustana was built in two-storey to orient the slope of the site and the entrance was provided from the side of the Circus Maximus. Domitian

---

[10]   Staccioli, *Ancient Rome Past and Present,* 5.
[11]   Macdonald, *The Architecture of the Roman Empire I: An Introductory Study,* 47.
[12]   Magnus Edizioni, *Rome: Art and Architecture,* ed. Marco Bussagli, trans. Peter Barton (Berlin: Könemann, 1999), 86.

Palace was used by Septimus Severus as the imperial residence like other Roman emperors.

Figure 3.4. Circus Maximus and Palatine Hill in Rome from the south.
(Source: Koskimies http://truthbook.com)

On the upper level, there was the official part of the palace with a courtyard and on the east a hippodrome was located facing the Circus Maximus.[13] When Domitian ordered a direct connection between his palace and Circus Maximus, new seats were added, the tribune was divided into three parts with horizontal passageways and an imperial box was built, and directly connected with the palaces on the Palatine Hill through terracing (Figure 3.4).[14] Similarly, the imperial palace of Constantinople was constructed over terracing towards Marmara Sea and terraces were organized according to a hierarchy of their public and private functions (Figure 3.5).

---

[13] Edizioni, *Rome: Art and Architecture,* 88.
[14] Staccioli, *Ancient Rome Past and Present,* 56.
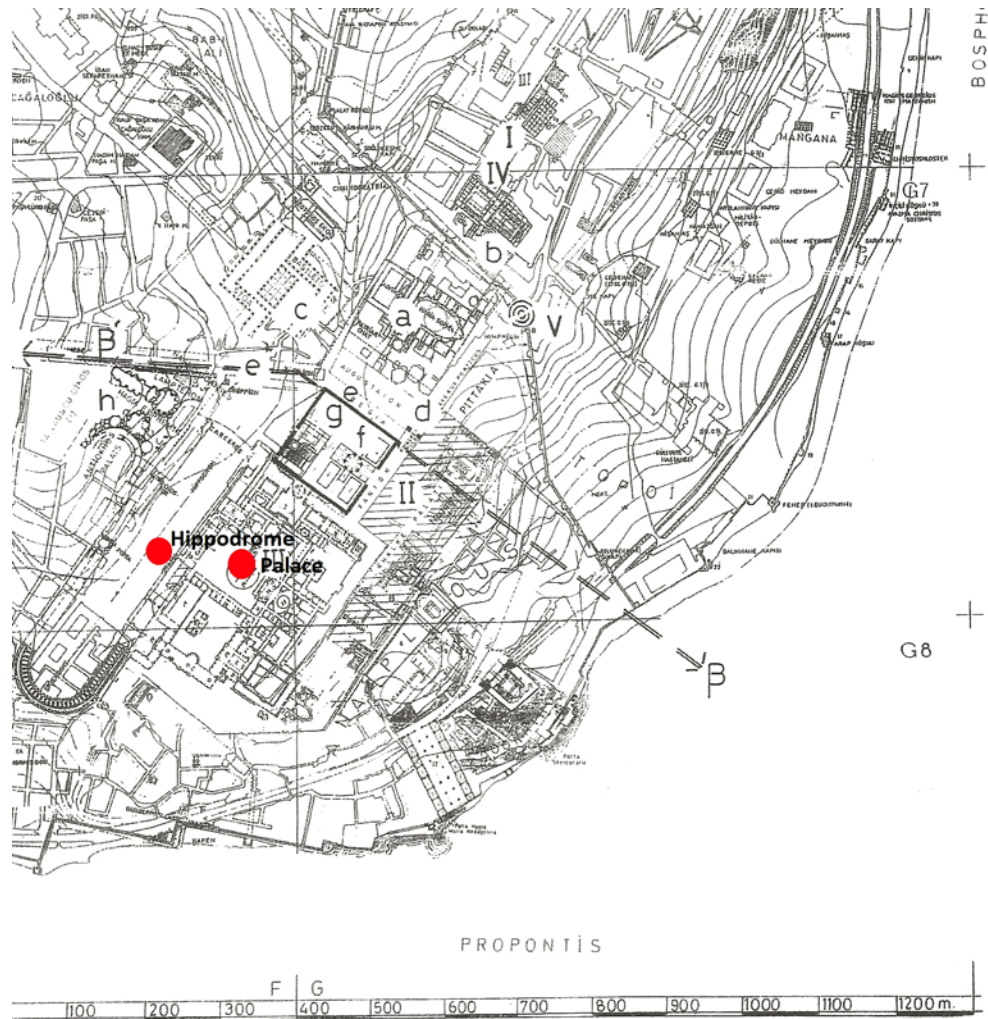
Figure 3.5. Palace and the hippodrome in Constantinople
(Source: Base map from Düzgüner, 2004, 75.)

In Rome, a religious area (*temenos*) or building was later added to this palace-hippodrome complex to form what is usually referred to as an imperial trio.[15] When the Domitian Palace was built to the north of the Circus Maximus, Temple of Elegabalus on the east, Temple of Apollo on the west and Temple of Venus and Rome on the north were constituting the third components of the imperial trio.

In continuation of Rome, the imperial trio typology was used also in Constantinople where the hippodrome and palace were built adjacent to each other and located near the old temples of the city. The Severan bath complex near the hippodrome was located on the site of old pagan temples Zeus and Hippios from which it took the name Zeuksippos Baths. By reconstructing the Severan hippodrome and building the

---

[15] Erkal, "Constantinopolis: A Study on the City of Constantinople as the Artifice of Constantine the Great's Imperial Project," 55.

Great Palace to its southeast, Constantine, thus, adopted the imperial trio model in his new capital city. Later, Hagia Sophia would be added to this complex as the new religious building type in the trio.

Due to this central location, the baths became one of the most important buildings at the urban core of the city. Although the building dates from the period of Severan rebuilding of the city, the extant remains belong to Justinian the Great's reconstruction programme after the Nika Riot.[16] Used actively beginning from its construction, the baths were reconstructed by Constantine and presented by the Emperor to the city.[17] The maintenance of the baths was provided by the shops near the building[18] and in addition to the healing and bathing functions, Zeuksippos Baths also served as an important public area where people explicitly enunciated their thoughts about the public life or the administration.[19] Beginning from the eighth century, the Baths were transformed into the Prison of Numeri.[20] When the location of Zeuksippos Baths and the Augusteion Square is considered, the transformation of a public bath into a prison adjacent to the most important public square of the city would seem curious and worth of further research in future studies.

The second component of the imperial trilogy of Constantinople was the hippodrome. As explained in the previous chapter (p:24), with the coming to the throne of the Roman emperor Septimus Severus in 196, the walls of Byzantium were extended toward the west and south parts of contemporary Sarayburnu. Among the new buildings, the hippodrome became one of the most important buildings as the entertainment and public core of Byzantium, following the start of its construction in 203 with the orders of Septimus Severus. In the lack of archaeological evidence, there is not any detailed structural information about the Severan building but it is known that the first hippodrome was out of timber, like the early entertainment buildings in the city of Rome.[21] The timber hippodrome, which was already damaged from several fires during the reign of Septimus Severus, was reconstructed in stone and brick on the orders

---

[16] Erkal, "Constantinopolis: A Study on the City of Constantinople as the Artifice of Constantine the Great's Imperial Project," 112,

[17] Müller-Wiener, *İstanbul'un Tarihsel Topografyası: 17. Yüzyıl Başlarına Kadar Byzantion-Konstantinopolis-İstanbul,* 51.

[18] Kuban, *İstanbul Bir Kent Tarihi: Bizantion, Konstantinopolis*, *İstanbul,* 42.

[19] Sarah Buberti Bassett, "Historiae custos: Sculpture and Tradition in the Baths of Zeuxippos," *American Journal of Archaeology* 100, no. 3 (1996): 493.

[20] Çakmak and Freely, *İstanbul'un Bizans Anıtları,* 16.

[21] Özkök, *İstanbul Yedi Tepede On Yedi Gezi,* 23.

of Constantine during the refoundation of the city as Constantinople. [22] This new enlarged hippodrome was 440 meter long and 125 meter wide, with a capacity of 30.000 seats.[23] So, despite the adoption of the imperial trilogy model from Rome, the scale in Constantinople was incomparable to that of the Circus Maximus in Rome that housed 300.000 people.

Although the size of the hippodrome and the palace of Constantinople was much smaller than those in Rome, the palace-hippodrome relationship of Constantinople is similar with that of Rome. A direct connection to the hippodrome was made with kathisma in both cases, although the terracing was in the opposite direction of the hippodrome in Constantinople. In this way, emperors could watch the games in Circus Maximus in Rome and hippodrome in Constantinople, and joined celebrations from their respective residences without going outside as the imperial box, kathisma, provided the connection between the Emperor and the public.

Among the twelve gates of the hippodrome which symbolized the twelve signs of the zodiac, the three main entrances were located on the north, west and east sides of the building. [24] The first opened to the Mese Route, the second on the west was called Lausus Gate due to the palace there with the same name and the third opened to the Great Palace on the east.[25] The most prominent entrance was the one on the Mese and Augusteion Square, and was decorated with Roman emperor statues.[26] Other sculpture existed inside the hippodrome since, in addition to the formal references to the Circus Maximus, Constantine initiated ornamentation with sculptures and obelisks for his new monument which are classified by Sarah Guberti Bassett as apotropaic sculptures, victory monuments, public figures and images of Rome.

As the first group, apotropaics consist of old pagan deities, wild animals and fantastic creatures that are believed to have protecting and motivating power. Secondly, victory monuments symbolize the triumphs and military successes of the imperial family. In addition to imperial success, the third antiquity group relates to the racers of the hippodrome and consists of the sculptures of mythical creatures and demigods as symbols for the competitors. This fourth group includes the sculptures of previous

---

[22] Özkök, *İstanbul Yedi Tepede On Yedi Gezi,* 23.
[23] Müller-Wiener, *İstanbul'un Tarihsel Topografyası: 17. Yüzyıl Başlarına Kadar Byzantion-Konstantinopolis-İstanbul,* 64.
[24] Özkök, *İstanbul Yedi Tepede On Yedi Gezi,* 24.
[25] Müller-Wiener, *İstanbul'un Tarihsel Topografyası: 17. Yüzyıl Başlarına Kadar Byzantion-Konstantinopolis-İstanbul,* 65.
[26] Kuban, *İstanbul Bir Kent Tarihi: Bizantion, Konstantinopolis*, *İstanbul,* 75.

Roman emperors and images of the city of Rome to remind the earlier capital city of the Roman Empire to create a comparison between the past and the present. In addition to sculptures, two obelisks called Heliopolitan and Theban had similar references to Rome. The first is the other of a pair of obelisks from Heliopolis in the Circus Maximus and the second was erected after the erection of the second obelisk in the Circus Maximus.

These reveal that Constantine's New Rome had several references from the old capital Rome and the larger Roman Empire. In other words, while Constantine the Great intended to constitute a completely new capital city for his empire, he used the epithet "New Rome" for his city and transformed that old city's elements into new components to create his new forward looking city. [27] Among the monuments of the hippodrome, the serpent column of Constantine (Yılanlı Sütun), the Obelisk of Theodosius the Great (Dikilitaş) and the Column of Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (Örme Dikilitaş) still stand in Istanbul and define the central axis of contemporary Sultanahmet Square. [28]

Among these, the Obelisk of Theodosius is especially important due to the information it gives on the use of the hippodrome and its connection to the palace. On the north side of the monument, the Emperor is described during the construction of the Obelisk and on the west, the imperial family is depicted with slaves paying court to the Emperor. On the south side of the Obelisk, the imperial family is seen as they were watching a chariot race in the hippodrome and on the east, Theodosius the Great is depicted in the kathisma of the Great Palace with daphne wreath to award the winner charioteer. [29] The kathisma was located at the middle of the southeast wing of the hippodrome, and as separated from the tribunes with special seats of the imperial family. [30]

Chariot racing as the most popular activity of Byzantium was performed in the hippodrome with four different teams symbolized with blue, green, white and red colors. Each color had its own meaning, but in time, the great victories of the greens and blues resulted in the erosion of the other two groups. As one of the most successful groups, the blues represented the upper-middle class of the city who were strictly Orthodox and conservative. The greens consisted of the working class who were radicals both in religious and political aspects. [31] Supporters of the two competitor

---

[27] Bassett, "The Antiquities in the Hippodrome of Constantinople," 89, 90, 91, 93, 94, 95.

[28] Erkal, "Constantinopolis: A Study on the City of Constantinople as the Artifice of Constantine the Great's Imperial Project," 101.

[29] Çakmak and Freely, *İstanbul'un Bizans Anıtları,* 37.

[30] Müller-Wiener, *İstanbul'un Tarihsel Topografyası: 17. Yüzyıl Başlarına Kadar Byzantion-Konstantinopolis-İstanbul,* 65.

[31] Çakmak and Freely, *İstanbul'un Bizans Anıtları,* 15.

groups used to sit on separated tribunes across the kathisma, and had their own dancers and entertainment groups.[32] Also, each group had their own textiles for waving and to decorate the architraves of the hippodrome. Separately from the daily celebrations and dances of the hippodrome, each racing group had its own victory dances and certain acclamation figures at the end of the race. The winner group began its special dance after the race and went to the kathisma to get permission from the emperor to go out of the hippodrome and celebrate the victory on the Mese.[33]

At the end of the race, the winner went to the kathisma, the emperor's seat, and was awarded a daphne stick by the emperor. A competitor who won the race several times was declared as a national hero and his statue was erected in the hippodrome. The competitions were performed during the national holidays which correspond to 60 days and 24 competitions for each day. Wild animals, clowns, acrobats and dwarfs took part in other entertainments performed during the race breaks in the hippodrome.[34] While the chariot racing had a political meaning for the city with its competitor groups coming from different social classes, these shows including animals and acrobats fulfilled the entertainment function of the hippodrome.

Traditional chariot races continued to be performed at the hippodrome in Constantine's capital city. Additionally, public celebrations and imperial ceremonies, such as the accession to the throne ceremony was conducted in the hippodrome, and the opinion of the people about the new emperor was understood from the acclamation or jeering of the crowd. In addition to the administrative ceremonies, the military successes of the emperor were celebrated in the hippodrome and all activities during the celebrations such as prayers, acclamations and hand gestures were assumed as symbols of loyalty to the Empire.[35] In this way, entertainment function of the Severan hippodrome was transformed into a stage of the administrative ceremonies of the empire during the reign of Constantine the Great.[36] In this way, the continual use of the hippodrome was maintained and this may be interpreted as a continual trace regarding the public use of the area.

---

[32] Pitarakis, "From the Hippodrome to the Reception Halls of the Great Palace: Acclamations and Dances in the Service of Imperial Ideology", 130.

[33] Pitarakis, "From the Hippodrome to the Reception Halls of the Great Palace: Acclamations and Dances in the Service of Imperial Ideology", 130.

[34] Çakmak and Freely, *İstanbul'un Bizans Anıtları,* 15.

[35] Çakmak and Freely, *İstanbul'un Bizans Anıtları,* 15.

[36] Pitarakis, "From the Hippodrome to the Reception Halls of the Great Palace: Acclamations and Dances in the Service of Imperial Ideology", 133.

The hippodrome, which was the most important public stage of Constantinople, transformed into a political space when an administrative cortege participated in the celebrations in the tenth century.[37] In this way, dancers and other celebration activities begun to serve for the administrative banquets and participation of the public to the celebrations was restricted to those conducted in the hippodrome. The dancers of Blues and Greens were replaced by the choristers of Hagia Sophia and Church of the Holy Apostles in the hippodrome and musical activities were strictly regulated during the banquets of the Great Palace.

In this way, the public use of the hippodrome diminished beginning from the tenth century. The common people participating in the celebrations were replaced by administrative figures of the Empire and the hippodrome became a stage of the Great Palace where the imperial events were celebrated such as the birth of an imperial child, victory of a war or celebration of a new emperor. The replacement of public dancers and musicians by the choristers of the two important churches, Hagia Sophia and Hagia Eirene, may be understood as an indicator of the diminishing publicity of the events and the superior power of the religion upon the public and administrative life of the state.

As a result of being a meeting point between the emperor and public, the hippodrome was damaged several times by the public. As explained in detailed in the previous chapter (p:43), the Nika Riot is among the most important examples of this kind of destructive events that occurred in the hippodrome. Similarly, executions of some of emperors were realized here.[38]

---

[37] Pitarakis, "From the Hippodrome to the Reception Halls of the Great Palace: Acclamations and Dances in the Service of Imperial Ideology", 132.

[38] Vasiliev, The Monument of Porphyrius in the Hippodrome at Constantinople," 29, 30.
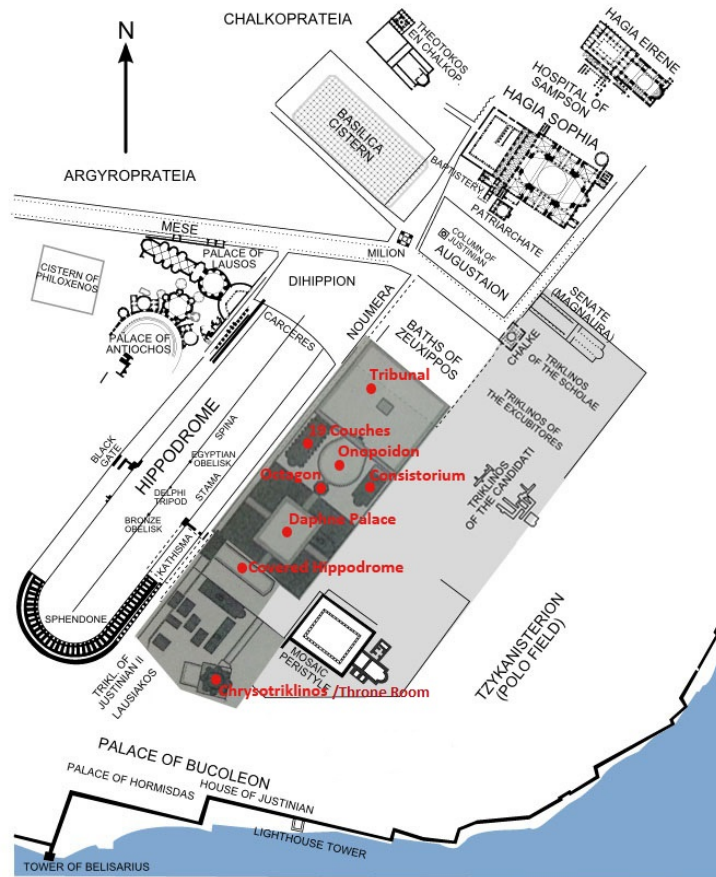
Figure 3.6. The Imperial Trilogy in Constantinople
(Source: Superimposition of the map from Berger, 2013, 6)

As the third component of the imperial trilogy, the Great Palace was built on the orders of Constantine the Great in the middle of the 4th century (Figure 3.6). As a result of the steep land, was built as a complex over three main construction sites consisting of terraces that date to different periods. The terracing from the hippodrome to the seashore resulted in vaults and infrastructural spaces below the Palace. Kostenec describes the Great Palace as consisting of two main parts corresponding to public and semi-public areas.[39] On the north side, a Senate House, known as Magnaura Palace (4th c.), was located as one of two senate houses of Constantinople and housed senators up to the sixth century as the semi-public parts of the Great Palace. Beginning from the sixth century, senators began to live in the Great Palace[40] and in the ninth century, the Magnaura Palace was begun to be used as a court and a university was added in the palace.[41]

---

[39] Müller-Wiener, *İstanbul'un Tarihsel Topografyası: 17. Yüzyıl Başlarına Kadar Byzantion-Konstantinopolis-İstanbul,* 24.

[40] Kuban, *İstanbul Bir Kent Tarihi: Bizantion, Konstantinopolis, İstanbul,* 146.

[41] Müller-Wiener, *İstanbul'un Tarihsel Topografyası: 17. Yüzyıl Başlarına Kadar Byzantion-Konstantinopolis-İstanbul,* 235.

The first reception hall of the Great Palace was the Hall of the Nineteen Couches, *19 Accubita* on the upper terrace. Then, Daphne Palace was constructed as the main imperial residence housing the bedchamber of the emperor called the Octagon. The Daphne Palace consisted of ceremonial halls, and was connected to hippodrome on the west with the imperial box, kathisma, through stairs. The Daphne Palace stayed in use up to the Latin invasion in 13th century. In time, needs of the imperial family and officials increased and the Great Palace was expanded towards southwest in the fifth century, and the second and third terraces were built during the reign of Theodosius the Great. The second was consisted of grand gardens and game areas[42] and on the third terrace near the sea, Boukoleon Palace (5th c.) and a harbor with the same name were built on the south of the Great Palace.

The main entrance of the Great Palace was from the Chalke Gate at the end of the Mese, which opened onto the Augusteion Square on the north. The public part of the palace was adjacent to the hippodrome and consisted of a square of the Tribunal, a horseshoe-shaped courtyard called Onopoidon, and a meeting hall called Consistorium. The access of the administrative figures to the Great Palace may have been provided from the street near the Zeuksippos Baths through the Tribunal or from the gate under the kathisma of the hippodrome.[43] On the other hand, it is known that up to the construction of Hagia Sophia, the site of the church was occupied by houses[44] and, so, instead of the Augusteion Square, Dihippion in front of the hippodrome may have been used as the public square of the city. In this scenario, the core of the monumental complex would have been located around the Dihippion, with the hippodrome on the south, Great Palace on the east and Palaces of Lausos and Anthiochos on the west. In this way, access to the hippodrome and Great Palace may have been provided from Dihippion Square on the south of the Milion, at the beginning of the Mese.

With the construction of Hagia Sophia in 360, the house settlement on the site was cleaned and the Augusteion Square became a transition between Hagia Sophia on the north and Great Palace and hippodrome on the south. In this way, the public core of the city moved from Dihippion to the vicinity of the Augusteion Square through the addition of Hagia Sophia as the new religious component in the imperial trilogy model adopted from Rome.

---

[42] Kuban, *İstanbul Bir Kent Tarihi: Bizantion, Konstantinopolis*, İstanbul, 39.
[43] Berger, "The Byzantine Court as a Physical Space", 6.
[44] Kleinbauer and White, *Ayasofya,* 14.

3.3. Early Christian Churches from the 3rd Century to the Justinain's Great Hagia Sophia in the 6th Century

In this section, Christian worship places and buildings before the Hagia Sophia in Constantinople are analyzed to understand the architectural innovations that made Hagia Sophia different from its contemporaries in building scale and to interpret the change in the ways and places of worship as well as their symbolic presence with the acknowledgement of Christianity as the official religion of the Eastern Roman Empire. (Appendix D)

Until Christianity became the official state religion, Christians in Constantinople remained a minority and conducted their religious rituels in their house-churches and specific religious buildings called *domus ecclesiae.* While the house-churches were used during commemorative rites, *domus ecclesiae* were for communal rituals. But in the fourth century when Christianity began to spread, these old religious places became insufficient and people needed new complexes for their rituals. From the Roman period, the building type Basilica had been used as a public meeting hall, and from the fourth century onwards, the use of basilica was thus dominated by imperial and religious functions and these buildings begun to be used as Christian basilicas. Although Roman basilicas before Christianity differ in their plan typologies, beginning from their use as a Christian ritual space, the use and plans were specified clearly. The entrance to the basilica was provided from one short edge of the building and a semi-circular apse was located across this entrance.[45] While house-churces were used as private religious spaces, using basilicas for communal rituels may be interperetd as an important transition from private domain to a public one regarding the religious understanding. In this respect, the use of basilicas as religious spaces may be seen as a reflection of a change in the imperial context on the building scale.

During the reign of Constantine the Great in the fourth century, Christian basilicas were built as showcases of the power of emperor and this may be interpreted as an important indicator of an interrelation between the imperial context and building scale activities in Constantinople. Basilicas appear to have constituted a primary inspiration for the Constantinian church types that are classified by Armstrong under

---

[45] Erkal, "Constantinopolis: A Study on the City of Constantinople as the Artifice of Constantine the Great's Imperial Project," 96.

five main categories in chronological order.[46] In addition to in-text individual plans of these basilicas, a same-scaled scheme of these buildings are given as an appendix to ease a compare architectural characteristics with those of Hagia Sophia. (Appendix D) Since all were built in the period of Constantine, this appendix represents the spatial palimpsest they form though in a condensed layout.

The first group had a rectangular plan with a longitudinal axis, side aisles and naves. As an example of this group, the Lateran Church was built between 313-318 in Rome on the orders of Constantine, as the first Christian basilica in the city. Before its construction on the site, the Lateran Palace was the private property of the Emperor on the Celine Hill and with the construction of the Church, the Lateran Palace was donated to the church. The building complex housed the residence of the bishop, as well as the magistrate of Christ on earth. The Lateran Church had a five-naved basilical plan and the contemporary transept of the church was added in the medieval times. The middle nave of the Lateran Church was larger than the others and light was received from the clerestory windows on the naves' walls (Figure 3.7).[47] In addition to the basilical plan of the initial Megale Ekklesia and the presence of a bishopric within its confines,, the site selection for Hagia Sophia near the Great Palace of Constantinople shows parallelism with the Lateran Church.
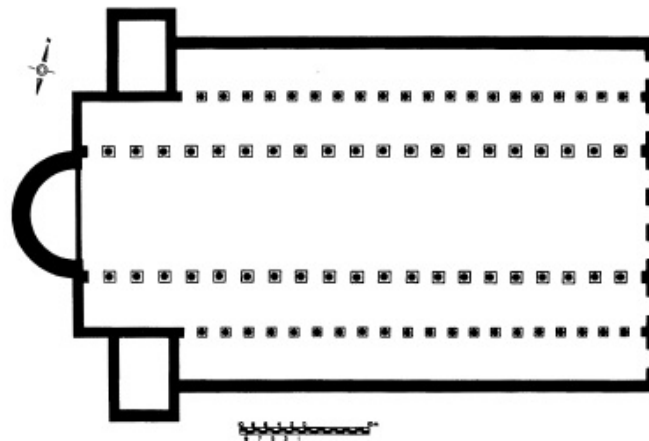
Figure 3.7. Plan of Lateran Church in Rome
(Source: Armstrong, 1974, 6.)

---

[46] Gregory T. Armstrong, "Constantine's Churches: Symbol and Structure," *Journal of Society of Architectural Historians* 33, no.1 (1974): 6.
[47] Erkal, "Constantinopolis: A Study on the City of Constantinople as the Artifice of Constantine the Great's Imperial Project," 70.

The palace churches constitute the second group that similarly includes different plan types. The Sessorian Palace, known as Santa Croce in Jerusalem, built in 325 with no side aisles, is given as an example for this group (Figure 3.8).
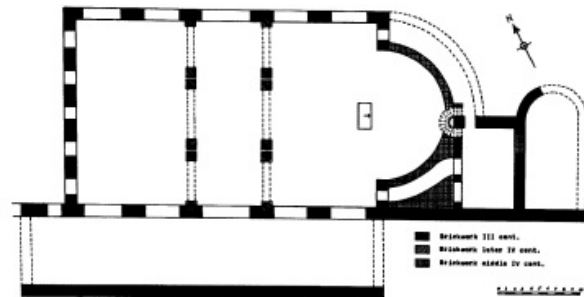
Figure 3.8. Plan of Santa Croce in Rome
(Source: Armstrong, 1974, 13.)

The third group is distinguished with a side aisle continuing as an ambulatory and with catacombs. The Church of San Sebastiano, built in 340 in Rome, is given as the earliest example for the second group and includes martyrs which emphasized on the Christian cult of the dead instead of the public gathering function as in the first two groups of Constantine buildings (Figure 3.9).[48] The commemorative use of the church may be seen in the Church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople as well. As it was in the Church of the San Sebastiano, the Church of the Holy Apostles was used as the burial place of the Roman emperors and, in this respect, the religious importance of the Church of the Holy Apostles is dominated by its mausoleum function.

---

[48] Armstrong, "Constantine's Churches: Symbol and Structure," 9, 11.
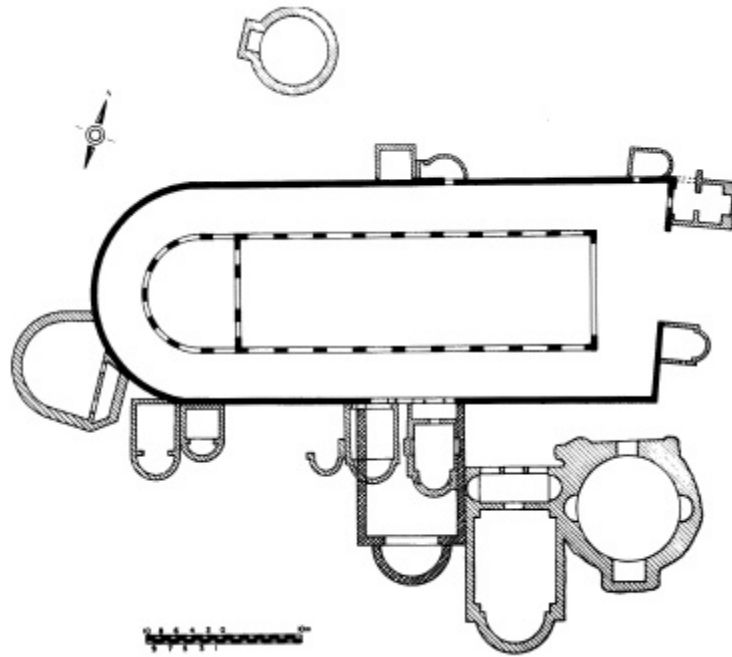
Figure 3.9. Plan of San Sebastiano in Rome
(Source: Armstrong, 1974, 9.)

An early example of the type may be found outside of Rome in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre that was constructed in Jerusalem. The Church of Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem was constructed on the orders of Constantine in 326, on the site of the pagan Venus Temple. Holy Sepulchre is a combination of a rectangular basilica and a colonnaded rotunda, wherein Jesus the Christ is believed to have been buried. The Church of the Holy Sepulchre has been used since as an important pilgrimage church and a patriarchate. The five-naved basilical part of the Church of Holy Sepulchre is accessed from the atrium on the east. The rotunda is located on the west with the Tomb of the Christ. Between these two parts, there is a court, which had the Chapel of Calvary on the southeast corner. [49] As such, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre displays a combination of variety of plan types (Figure 3.10).

---

[49] Robert, Ousterhout, "The Temple, the Sepulchre, and the Martyrion of the Savior," *Gesta* 29, no: 1 (1990), 45.
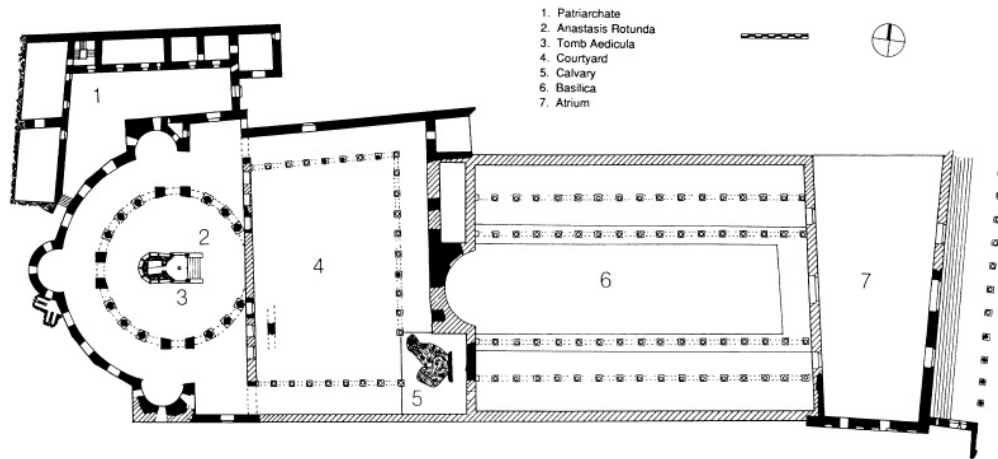
Figure 3.10. Plan of Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem
(Source: Ousterhout, 1990, 46.)

Apparently inspired from this archetypal example is the fourth group called imperial mausolea. These were built as a centralized tomb connected with the palace and this centralized architectural type was repeated in the Church of the Holy Apostles built in 330 in Constantinople.[50] The building was cruciform and the tomb of Constantine was in the middle of the building as the thirteenth apostle surrounded with cenotaphs symbolizing twelve apostles (Figure 3.11).[51] Although no physical remains have been unearthed so far of this first structure in the site of contemporary Fatih Mosque, its plan is commonly accepted as in Greek cross form and is differentiated from the earlier basilica-derived types. Of the Justinianic second church at the same site, some remains were unearthed in excavations in 2000 and these suggest a Latin cross plan.

---

[50] After the birth of Islam in the seventh century, Muslims gained strength and continuously conflicted with Christians. To show their power to the Byzantines, Muslims built Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem in the seventh century as the first domed monumental building in the Islamic architecture. Dome of the Rock has the traces of the early Christian churches to symbolize the superior power of Islam over Christianity[50] and can be compared to these imperial mausolea with its architectural characteristics. As in the imperial mausolea, Dome of the Rock has a religious core at the heart of its central structure. The difference is that while a tomb is located in the imperial mausolea, Dome of the Rock was built over the rock from where Prophet Muhammad is believed to have ascended to the heaven. This is but one example highlighting the difficulty of conceiving the development of Islamic monumental architecture is isolation from earlier traditions.

[51] Armstrong, "Constantine's Churches: Symbol and Structure," 12.
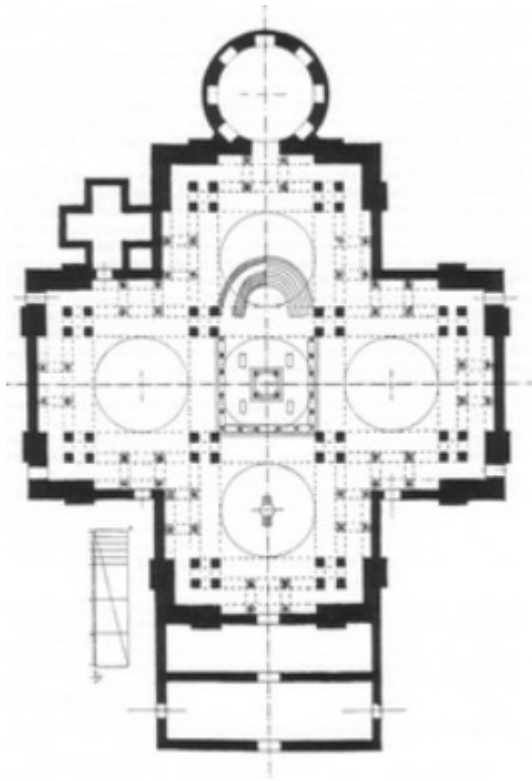
Figure 3.11. Hyphotetical plan of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople
(Source: http://historyofarchitecture.weebly.com)

As such, this second Holy Apostles in Constantinople would seem to follow the typology set by the final group of Constantinian churches that shows similarities with the first group except in the construction of a transept, i.e. "a great cross hall as tall as the nave with a large apse that is the focus of the entire building" as in the initial phase of St. Peter's in Rome. The Church of St. Peter was built between 333-360 on the Vatican Hill near the pagan necropolis area of Rome. Before its transformation into a cathedral by Michelangelo in the 16th century, the Church of St. Peter was built on the same plan typology with the Lateran Church except in the additional transept. The Church of St. Peter consisted of five naves, with an enlarged middle nave, and was used as a funeral hall. The tomb of St. Peter was located in the center of the apsis (Figure 3.12).[52]

---

[52] Erkal, "Constantinopolis: A Study on the City of Constantinople as the Artifice of Constantine the Great's Imperial Project," 75.
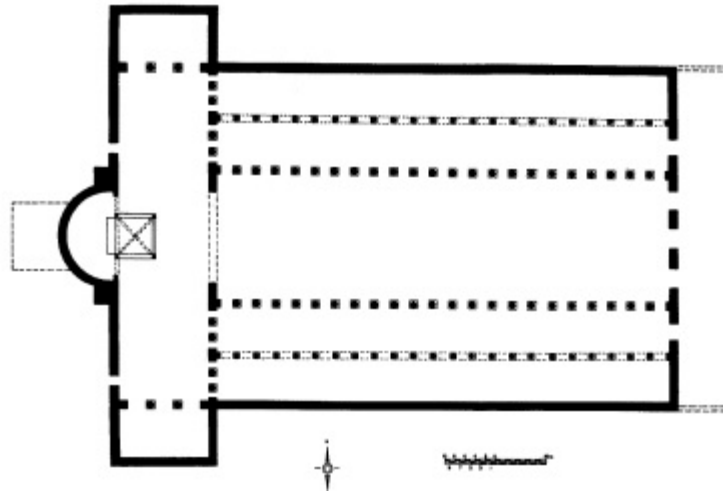
Figure 3.12: Plan of St. Peter's Basilica in Rome
(Source: Armstrong, 1974, 6.)

To summarize, with the spread of Christianity in the fourth century, pagan worship places and domus ecclesiae of minorities were replaced by Christian basilicas. Until the construction of Hagia Sophia in Constantiople as the new center of Christianity of the Empire, these churches and basilicas reveal as important examples to show imperial power to the world. As building scale symbol of the change in the religious understanding in the imperial context, construction of the most important churches are mostly concentrated in the capitals of Christianity such as Rome, Jerusalem and Constantinople.

As it was in Constantinople, these churches were built on the earlier sites of Greek temples in their cities, hiding their traces, and, thus, fitting into the category of true palimpsests in Bailey's categorization in building scale; but, in the urban scale, due to their co-existence in the capitals of Christianity in different parts of the empire may be understand in terms of a spatial palimpsest. On the other hand, as it was in the Lateran Church, the construction of the churches near the palace of the emperor and the location of these palace-church complexes near the highest hill of the city can be seen in Constantinople with the construction of Hagia Sophia near the Great Palace on the skirts of the Acropolis hill. Similarly, use of the church as mausoleum as it was in the San Sebastiano in Rome can be seen in the Church of the Holy Apostles which was used as the most important burial place of the Christian Roman emperors in Constantrinople. Also these examples show that there are more than one big churches in these cities located on the hills, and construction of these complexes on the highest point of their cities as the most visible sites may be interpreted as a symbol of the increasing importance of religion. In this respect, the changing religious understanding of the empire in the fourth century shows

itself in the urban context of Rome, Jerusalem and Constantinople. These similarities between the religious buildings located in Rome, Jerusalem and Constantinople may be taken to support their interpretation as forming spatial palimpsests since they are on different locations but used for similar functions and with similar configurations.

In the urban context of Constantinople, while the fourth century religious buildings were conversions of the congregation halls into religious buildings, beginning from the fifth century, construction of Christian basilicas increased.[53] As the first example of the fifth century basilicas, the Studios Basilica (contemporary Imrahor Mosque) was built near the Golden Gate in 463. Entrance to the symmetrical three nave basilica was provided from a square atrium located on the west of the building and the ground level of the Studios Basilica was surrounded with a U-shape gallery level on the upper story (Figure 3.13).[54] Construction of the Studios Basilica near the Golden Gate may be interpreted as an important site selection regarding the imperial context because as mentioned in the previous chapter (p:36), the Golden Gate was the victorial entrance of the city where the emperor returned from battle with victory. The later conversion of basilica into a mosque, on the other hand, may be understood best in terms of a palimpsest of meaning.
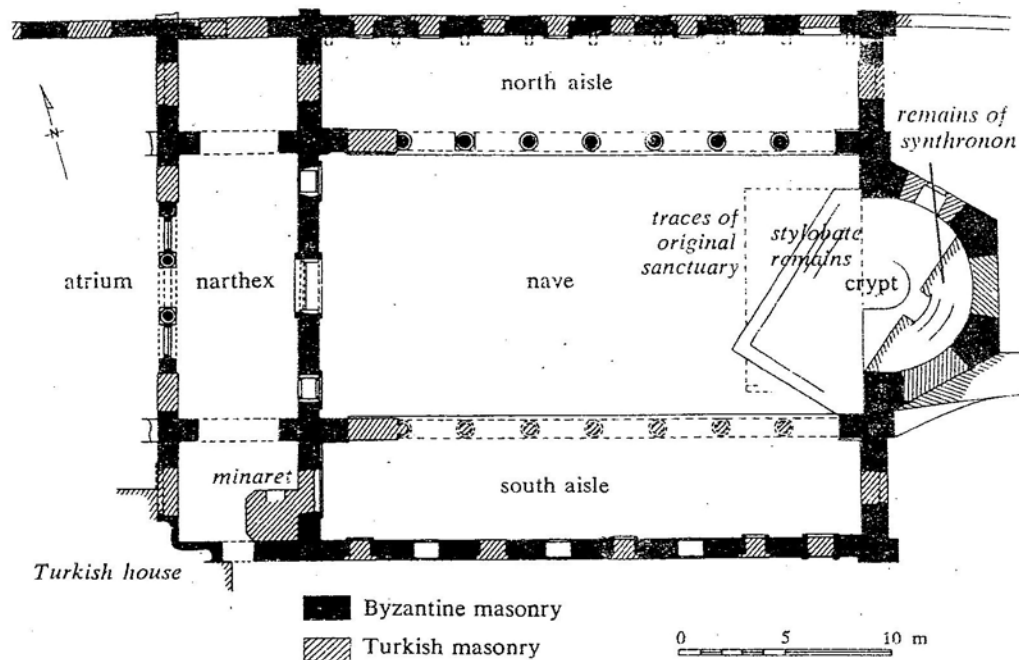
Figure 3.13. Plan of the Studios Basilica in Constantinople
(Source: Mathews, 1971, 20.)

---

[53] These churches mentioned in detial in this heading can be seen in the Appendix A.
[54] Mathews, *The Early Churches of Constantinople: Architecture and Liturgy,* 21.

Secondly, the Topkapı Palace Basilica was built on the Acropolis hill in the fifth century and, due to the lack of evidence about the original name of the basilica, the building is named from its location in the boundaries of contemporary Topkapı Palace. In the lack of detailed evidence, according to the archaologists, the Topkapı Palace Basilica was a three-naved rectangular building and access to the basilica was provided from an atrium on the west. Differently from the Studios Basilica, the apsis wall of the Topkapı Palace Basilica was separated from the main structure of the building on the east (Figure 3.14).
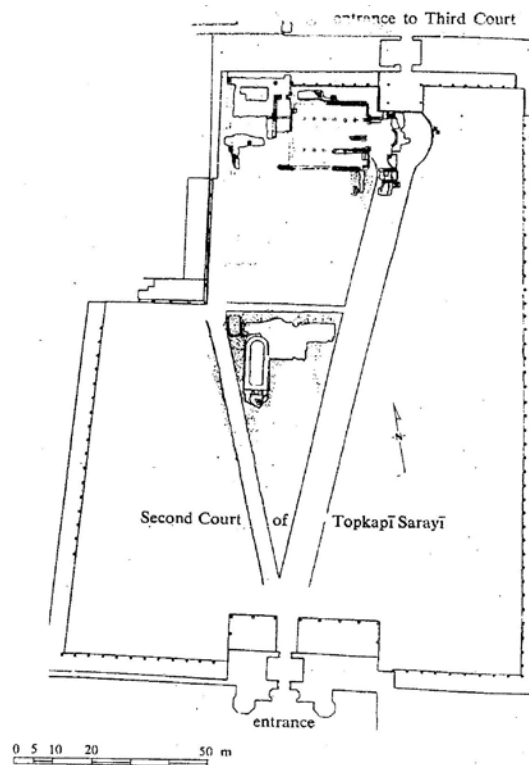
Figure 3.14. Plan of the Topkapı Basilica in Constantinople
(Source: Mathews, 1971, 34.)

As it was in the Studios Basilica, the site selection for Topkapı Palace Basilica on the former Greek Acropolis gives hints about the continuities in the urban context. Since it overlaps with the earlier site of the Greek temples dating to the seventh century BC. Instead of constructing these basilicas on the empty areas in the city, emperors ordered their constructions on sites earlier occupied by the earlier period's religious areas and temples. This may be interpreted as a palimpsest of meaning in the urban scale in which the religious importance of the location is lasting from the first settlement in the Historic Peninsula, although the building process itself works as a true palimpsest in which traces of earlier writings are erased.

In the sixth century, newly built religious buildings differ from the fifth century basilicas regarding their size and plan types. As the first important church that differs from the earlier buildings with its plan type and domed structure, the Church of the St. Sergius and Bacchus was built in 527 near the Great Palace. As an important difference from the rectangular basilicas, the Church of the Sergius and Bacchus has a central dome covering its square plan. Due to its centrality and covered central space in front of the apsis, as it was in Hagia Sophia, this church is named as Little Hagia Sophia and accepted as a small-scaled model of Hagia Sophia (Figure 3.15).[55] In the middle of the sixth century, the Petros and Paulos Church was built adjacent to the south wall of the Church of the St. Sergios and Bacchus, and in the lack of evidence, it is thought that a long narthex and an atrium were shared by these twin churches in the sixth century.[56]
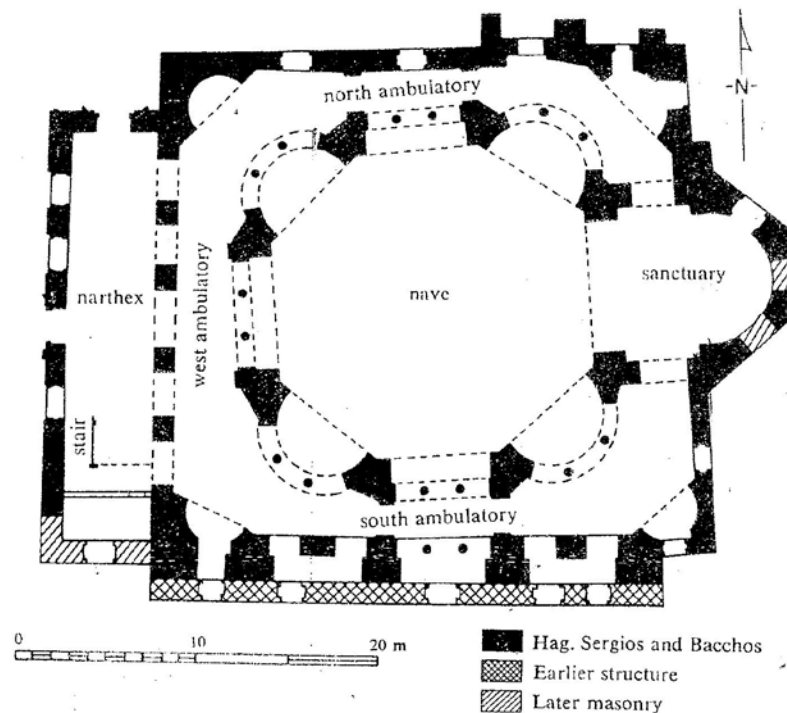
Figure 3.15. Plan of the Church of St. Sergius and Bacchus in Constantinople
(Source: Mathews, 1971, 44.)

As another sixth century basilica, the Beyazit Basilica A was built as the oldest building located in the Beyazıt Church complex near the Forum of Tauri.[57] Differently from the other two-storied fifth and sixth century churches, the Beyazıt Basilica A was a

---

[55] Mathews, *The Early Churches of Constantinople: Architecture and Liturgy,* 44.
[56] Mathews, *The Early Churches of Constantinople: Architecture and Liturgy,* 47.
[57] Mathews, *The Early Churches of Constantinople: Architecture and Liturgy,* 69.

single storey building, and consisted of three naves and two aisles surrounding the church on the north, south and west. According to the excavations, the apsis wall of the basilica was located on the east and was separated from the main structure of the building. In this respect, the plan type of the Beyazit Basilica shows similarity with the Topkapı Palace Church (Figure 3.16).[58] (Appendix B)
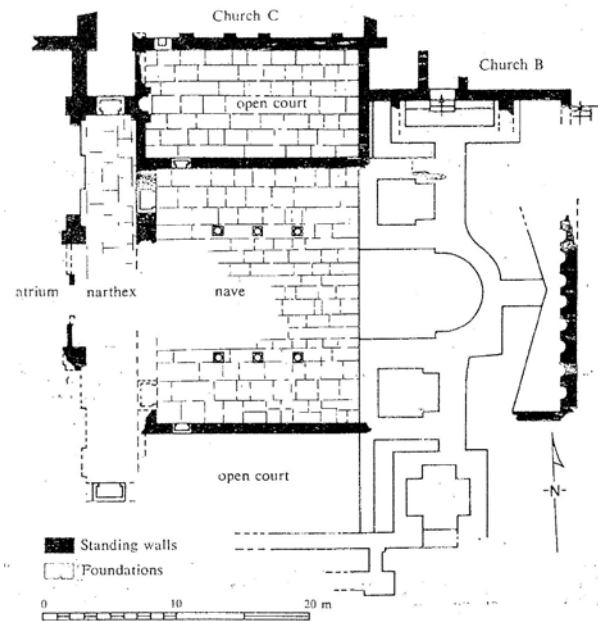
Figure 3.16. Plan of the Beyazit Basilica A in Constantinople
(Source: Mathews, 1971, 71.)

When taken together these early Christian religious building remains concentrating around the vicinity of Hagia Sophia form a temporal palimpsest consisting of traces of a number of period in the same location, highlighting the increasing religious importance of the area which was once the heart of public entertainment. To summarize, up to the emergence of Christianity as the official empire religion, Christians in Constantinople conducted their religious rituels in house-churches and *domus ecclesiae.* While the house-churches were used as personal worship places, *domus ecclesiae* were used for communal rituels. This came to a halt in the fourth centiry, when the Christianity became the state religion and the basilicas, public meeting buildings of Christians, began to be used for the communal Christian worship ceremonies. In time, these basilicas were specified in their plan types and their construction as religious buildings accelerated in Constantinople. This may be

---

[58]   Mathews, *The Early Churches of Constantinople: Architecture and Liturgy,* 72.

interpreted as an indicator of the reflection of changing religious understanding of the Roman Empire in the building scale and on the other hand, the concentration of these religious buildings concentrated around the Great Palace and this shows parallelism with the religious temples and sacred areas of the earlier periods of the city and this may be interpreted as a palimpsest of meaning in the urban context.

3.4. Hagia Sophia: From the Initial Constantinian Construction to Justinian the Great's Great Monument

Beginning from its initial construction phase, it is possible to find traces of these earlier Constantinian churches in the evolution of Hagia Sohia. The initial construction phase of Hagia Sophia in 360 has been restituted with a basilical plan with double side aisles and galleries that resembles the Lateran Church in Rome. With its enlarged middle nave and transept that provide additional spaces for ceremonial or religious use, the Church of the St. Peter's can be seen as another model for the Megale Eklesia except in its transept.

Up to the construction of Hagia Sophia in the 4th century, Hagia Eirene was used as the church of the patriarchate in Constantinople. Hagia Eirene is included in the first group of Armstrong's study with its basilical plan with two aisles but the building additionally has a dome on the four buttresses over the main space. Although its central domed area and aisles on both sides of the enlarged middle nave are comparatively smaller than those of Hagia Sophia, the Church of Hagia Eirene can be seen as another model for Hagia Sophia in its later phase.

Because the building passed several reconstruction periods, information about the first construction phase of Hagia Eirene is not detailed, but consistent estimates are given by archaeologists on the basis of the condition of the building today. Hagia Eirene was built 110 meters to north of the site of Hagia Sophia in the fourth century, and consisted of three naves and double portico in the atrium. A first fire badly damaged Hagia Eirene in the Nika Riot in 532 and, after thirty two years, a second fire resulted in the demolition of the atrium and the narthex.[59] After its repair, Hagia Eirene was damaged by an earthquake in 740 but the scope of the demolition and its repair is not

---

[59] Thomas F. Mathews, *The Early Churches of Constantinople: Architecture and Liturgy,* (London: The Pennsylvania University Press, 1971), 79.

known clearly. Finally, the building was repaired by Ottomans to be used as a museum and took its final form that we know today.[60]

Up to the construction of Hagia Sophia in the fourth century, Hagia Eirene was the biggest church of Constantinople and used as the patriarchate. As in Hagia Sophia, there was a private building serving for the patriarchate in the site of Hagia Eirene. Also, when Hagia Sophia was damaged in 404, Hagia Eirene gained in importance and was used again as the church of the patriarchate for eleven years to lose its significance again after the reconstruction of Hagia Sophia by Theodosius II. As mentioned in detail in the previous chapter (p:35), Hagia Eirene was called the Old Church. After the Nika Riot in 532, both churches were reconstructed by Justinian and Hagia Eirene was devoted to Holy Peace. The building was included in the Topkapı Palace after the Ottoman conquest and used as armory up the seventeenth century.[61] Because the building was not transformed into a mosque and stayed in use as the museum, Hagia Eirene, as known today, remains from the age of Ottoman reconstruction period (Figure 3.17).[62] This may be interpreted as a cumulative palimpsest, which resulted in merging of traces of all construction activities together in the current state of the building.
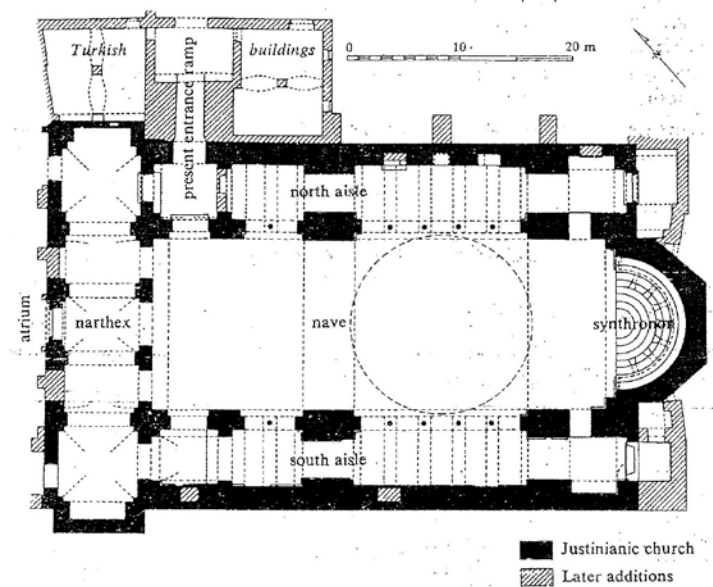
Figure 3.17. Plan of Hagia Eirene in Constantinople
(Source: Mathews, 1971, 81.)

---

[60]   Mathews, *The Early Churches of Constantinople: Architecture and Liturgy,* 79.
[61]   In the eighteenth century, Hagia Eirene began to be used as armor museum and consisted of two important collections: Mecma-I Esliha-I Atika (Old Armor Collection) and Mecma-I Asar-I Atika (Antiquities Collection). "Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi, Cilt 1, 433."
[62]   Sumner-Boyd and Freely, *İstanbul Gezgininin Rehberi: İstanbul'u Dolaşırken,* 105.

Hagia Sophia's construction near Hagia Eirene as the most important church of Constantinople and the patriarchate may be interpreted as an indicator of the effect of Hagia Sophia's urban context on its construction. The site of Hagia Sophia was occupied by temples in the Greek period and since all traces of these buildings were lost, the construction of Haga Sophia resulted in a true palimpsest though the continual religious use of the area may also be interpreted as a palimpsest of meaning. Also, instead of constructing Hagia Sophia on an empty area in the city, Constantine the Great's choice near Hagia Eirene and the Great Palace may be seen an important continuity of the palace-church complexes mentioned in the previous section. Even though Constantine was the first emperor that rendered Christian architecture visible in the urban context with his monumental Hagia Sophia, the traces of former attempts elsewhere in Constantine's empire can be seen in the unique architecture of Hagia Sophia.

As mentioned in the previous chapter (p:32), the construction of the first Hagia Sophia, as the Megale Eklessia to the north of the Augusteion Square, was begun on the orders of Constantine the Great and completed in the reign of his son Constantius in 360. Due to the lack of evidence, it is assumed that Megale Eklessia was in the form of a three naved Roman basilica with a raised middle nave, covered with a timber roof. Because the building was accepted as the symbol of the wisdom of Christ, Megale Eklessia was devoted to Divine Wisdom (Figure 3.18).[63]
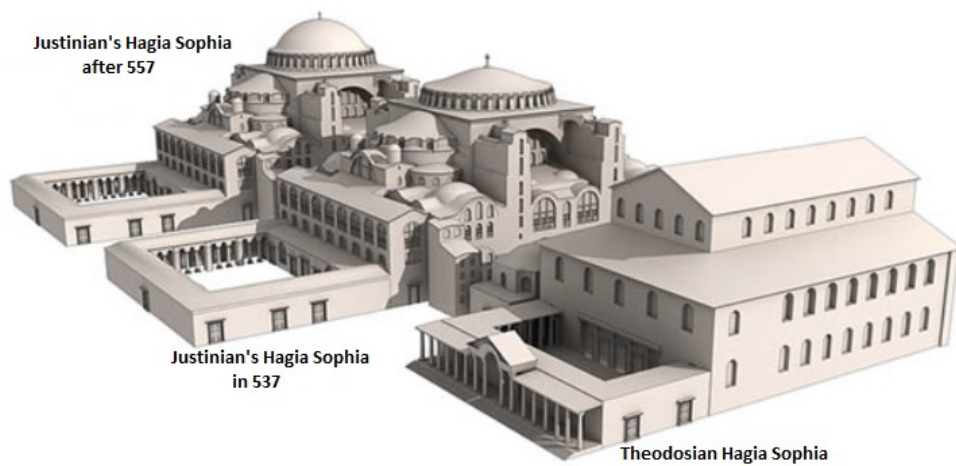
Figure 3.18: Models for Hagia Sophia in Constantinople from Thedosius II to Justinian
(Source: http://www.byzantium1200.com)

---

[63] Türkoğlu, *Ayasofya'nın Öyküsü*, 7.

During the reign of Theodosius II, the Megale Eklessia got burned in a fire and, after a reconstruction, re-opened for public use in 415. Today, remains from this second building consisting of "a monumental colonnade and entrance portico" are visible outside of the main entrance of Hagia Sophia from the west. Also, a 4 meter-long wall out of brick and rubble stone, running from west to the east of the Theodisian church is thought to belong to this building phase. The floor of the Theodisian church between this wall and the colonnade is about 2 meters below today's church. The building was restituted as accessed through an atrium by six steps from the paved roadway on the west.[64] In this respect, architectural characteristics of the Theodisian Hagia Sophia shows parallelism with earlier churchs built during the reign of Constantine the Great with its rectangular basilical plan and roof. Also, the Theodisian Hagia Sophia was oriented more to the south than the contemporary Hagia Sophia (Figure 3.19-20).[65]

Figure 3.19. Remains of Theodisian Hagia Sophia in Constantinople in front of the west facade of the contemporary Hagia Sophia today. (Source: Taraz, 2013)

---

[64] Mainstone, *Hagia Sophia: Architecture, Structure and Liturgy of Justinian's Great Church*, 135.
[65] Kleinbauer and White, *Ayasofya,* 17.
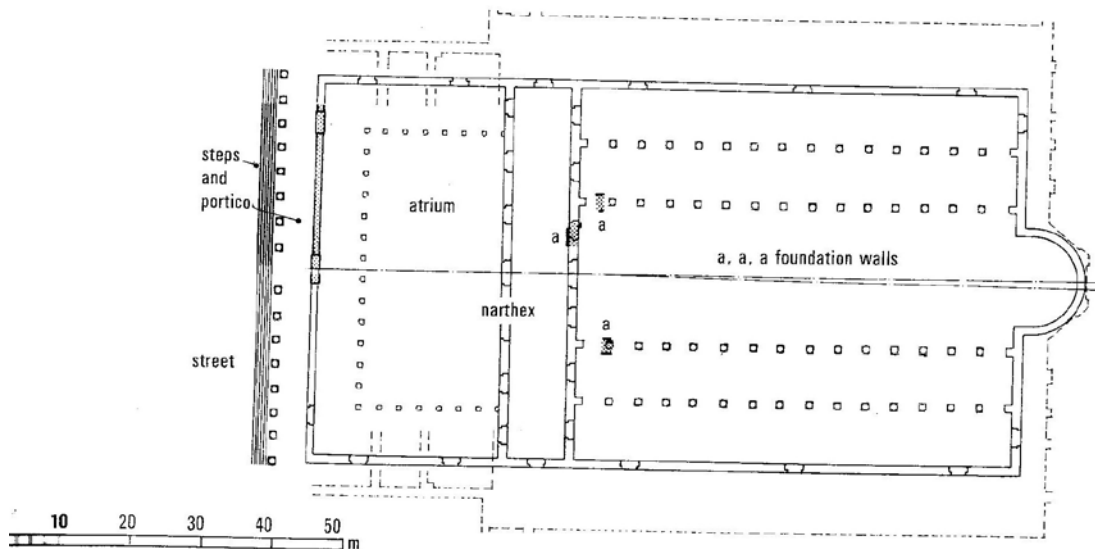
Figure 3.20. "A tentative reconsruction of the Theodisian Hagia Sophia in Constantinople, based on a scaling-up of plans of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem and other related structures." (Source: Mainstone, 1988, 141.)

Differently from the formers, Justinian's Hagia Sophia was built out of brick and stone to avoid destructions of possible fires in the future and, in 537, Hagia Sophia was opened with a re-dedication to Divine Wisdom.[66] As a result of big earthquakes in 557, the dome of Hagia Sophia collapsed and a new dome was built higher than the old one and the building was re-opened in 563.[67]

As explained in more detail in the previous chapeter (p:42), this second Hagia Sophia got burned in the Nika Riot during the reign of Justinian the Great when the most important public monuments of Constantinople were destroyed. The construction of the Hagia Sophia that we know today was begun in 532 and was conducted on a completely burned and cleaned area after the Nika Riot.

In addition to the earlier churhces in Constantinople, Justinian's great monument had references from the Pantheon in Rome. Although, the Christian use of Pantheon dated to the seventh century, the building stayed in use from its construction in 25 BC by Agrippa (45-12 BC). In Campus Martius, Pantheon was surrounded with the Baths of Nero on the north, Baths of Agrippa on the south, and the Domitian Stadium on the west. However, the Pantheon, "of all Gods" in Greek, as we see today is not Agrippa's original building. According to the archaeological evidence, "Agrippa's Pantheon was a rectangular building. There were ten columns on two long sides and the temple opened to

---

[66] Kleinbauer and White, *Ayasofya*, 7.
[67] Türkoğlu, *Ayasofya'nın Öyküsü*, 62.

the south. On the south of the building, there were the Baths of Agrippa, the first public Roman bath."[68] When Agrippa's Pantheon got burned in 80 AD, the building was reconstructed and today's Pantheon dates to a Hadrian (117-138) period reconstruction between 118-125 AD. Hadrian's Pantheon consists of an eight-colonnaded pediment, a domed cylinder and, between these two, there is a rectangular space (Figure 3.21).[69] This rectangular part of Pantheon faces north while the cylindrical main space that was entered from covered with the largest dome of its time (43m. in diameter). The coffered dome is divided into five horizontal and twenty-eight vertical sections, and at the center, there is an oculus as the only source for light and ventilation.[70] As in the earlier Hagia Sophia, a true palimpsest may be seen in the case of Pantheon as well in which the later building erases all traces of the earlier building. Apart from its predecessor Roman buildings which were designed as "exterior architectures" with no public access, Pantheon was designed as an interior public space that could be entered (Figure 3.22).[71]
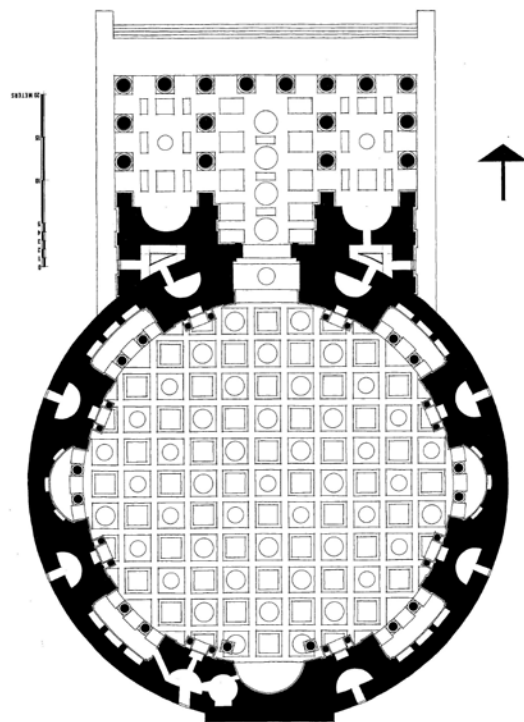
Figure 3.21: Plan of Pantheon in Rome
(Source: Macdonald, 1982, plate: 98).

---

[68] Joost-Gaugier, "The Iconography of Sacred Space: A Suggested Reading of the Meaning of the Roman Pantheon," 25.
[69] William L. Macdonald, *The Architecture of the Roman Empire I: An Introductory Study* (London: Yale University Press, 1982), 95.
[70] Joost-Gaugier, "The Iconography of Sacred Space: A Suggested Reading of the Meaning of the Roman Pantheon," 25.
[71] Macdonald, *The Architecture of the Roman Empire I: An Introductory Study,* 111.
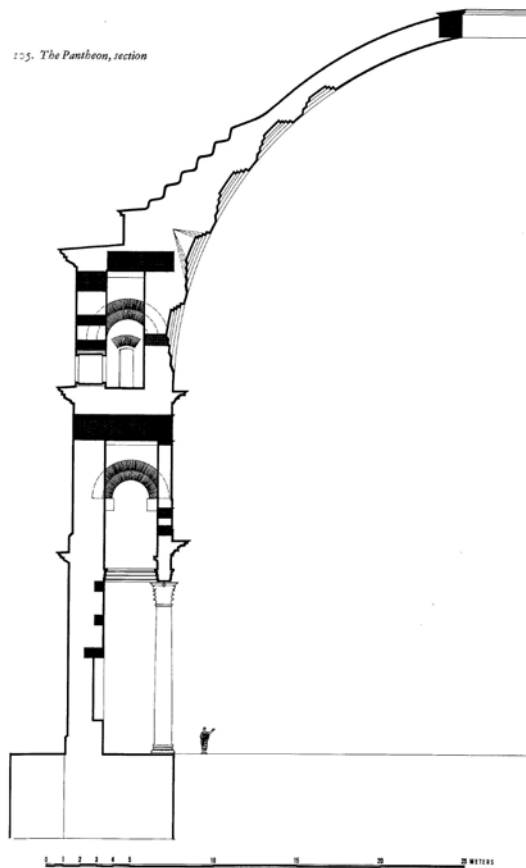
Figure 3.22: Section of Pantheon in Rome
(Source: Macdonald, 1982, plate: 105).

The undivided space of the rotunda and the dome with oculus remove the sense of direction in the interior space. In this way, the interior itself becomes the focus for the visitor. This undivided space perception and covering the main area with a monumental dome is seen in Hagia Sophia as a continuation from Pantheon, although over a rectangular main space in continuation of the basilical type. As to the construction technique, the timber roofing of the Constantinian basilicas were replaced by the possibilities offered by concrete as exemplified in the Hadrianic Pantheon. In this way, two separate lines of evolution were combined to produce an exemplary monument for centuries to come.

Justinian's Hagia Sophia is a two-storied almost squarish rectangular building that consisted of the combination of a central and longitudinal plan types covered with a central dome between two semi-domes.[72] (fig.3.20) While Hagia Sophia has the characteristics of early Constantinian churches with its longitudinal basilical plan, at the same time, continuation of space and spectacular covering dome of Hagia Sophia has references of Pantheon in Rome. The biggest dome of Costantinople was designed by architects

[72] Kleinbauer and White, *Ayasofya,* 17.

Anthemius of Tralles and Isidorus of Miletus as a symbol of the power of Justinian.[73] The central (31x31m.) square space under the dome consists of four buttresses (41,5m. height) and these butresses are connected with four arches. Above this square, the central dome made of brick is located, and its drum is divided into forty windows.[74]

Around the central area of the building, galleries and aisles are located. To access these galleries, ramps in towers were built on the corners of the building. Two semi-domes are connected to the central dome from the east and west to provide spatial continuity. This continuity of space was created by Antheimus and Isidorus for the first time in the basilical plan typology in Hagia Sophia. This central area is separated by a two-storied colonnade from the two naves on the north and south. On the four corners of the naves, exedras are located and, in this way, the central nave of Hagia Sophia became oval, which revealed the first example of oval-shaped naved basilicas. With this spatial continuity provided by domes, semi-domes and exedras, the apsis is no longer the focus of the basilica, and the spatial characteristics of the enlarged oval-shaped nave change the space perception. In this way, the gloriousness of the building with the enlarged nave without partition became more important than to reach the apsis in the basilica.[75]

Kleinbauer and White use Procopius's *De aedificiis*, one of the most important written evidence for the public and political life of the Empire and the architectural activities in Constantinople in their book *Ayasofya* to describe Justinian's construction activities. In *De aedificiis*, the Emperor is called "the person who reconstructed the world". Procopius starts *De aedificiis* with the construction of Hagia Sophia and the building is described as a symbol of the power of Justinian the Great. According to *De aedificiis,* to construct such an important building, 10.000 construction foremen worked and the dwellings on the site were destroyed.[76] (Figure 3.23)

As explained in detail in the previous chapter (p:43), Justinian's Hagia Sophia was built southeastwardly in the public and administrative core of the city. With its orientation to the southeast, Hagia Sophia differs from the existing churches and grid street layout of Constantinople which is described in the previous chapter (p:29). To the south, Hagia Sophia was connected directly to the Great Palace via the Augusteion Square. In this way, Hagia Sophia was integrated as the new religious building in the imperial trio model adopted from the city of Rome and revealed as the visible

---

[73] Kuban, *İstanbul Bir Kent Tarihi: Bizantion, Konstantinopolis*, *İstanbul,* 103.
[74] Kleinbauer and White, *Ayasofya,* 17.
[75] Kleinbauer and White, *Ayasofya,* 18, 24.
[76] Kleinbauer and White, *Ayasofya,* 12, 13, 14.

monument of the new religious understanding of the empire in urban scale also as the most important node of the imperial ceremonies.
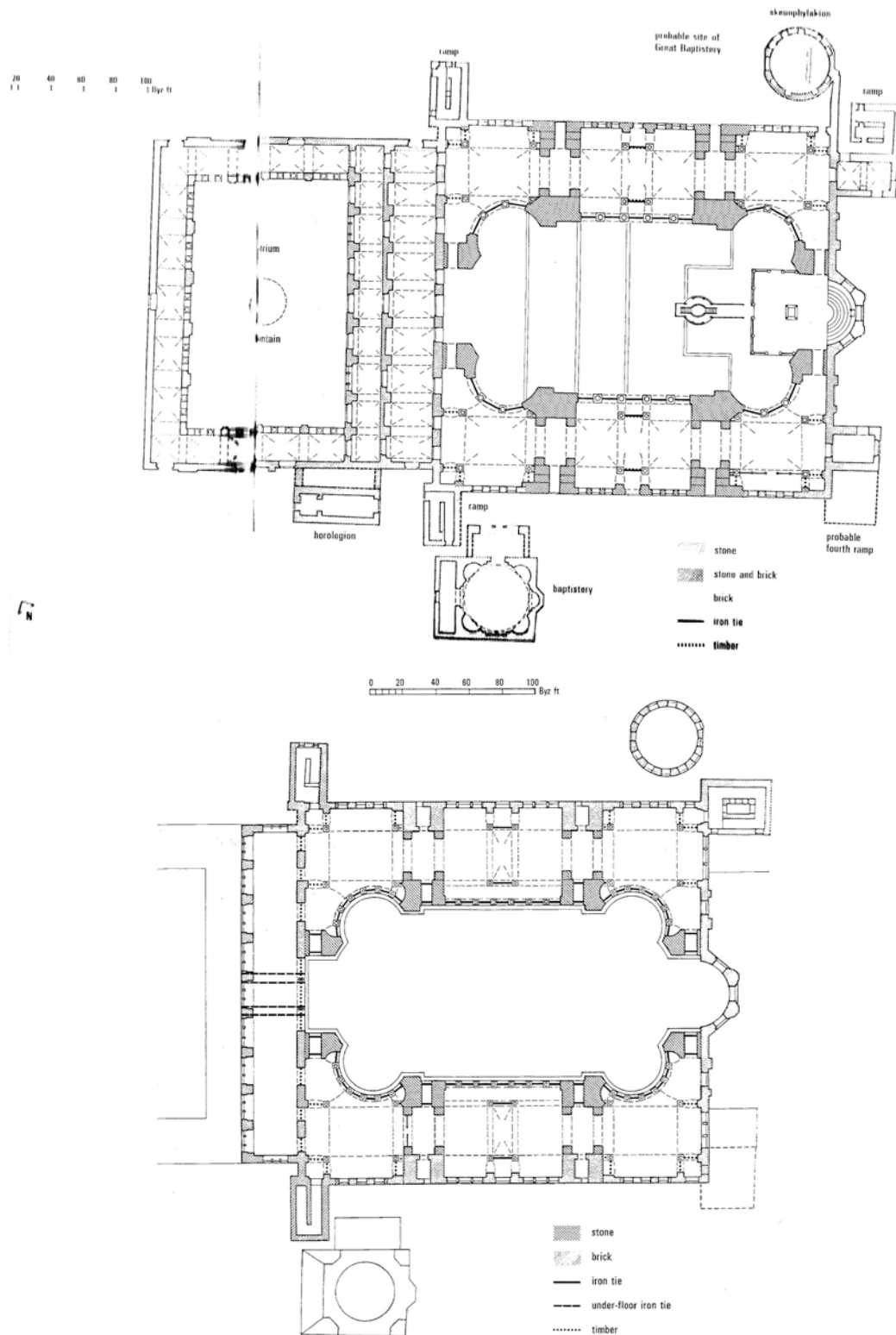
Figure 3.23: Ground floor and gallery level plans of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople
(Source: Mainstone, 1988, 271.)

3.5. Imperial Ceremonies: The Route from the Great Palace to Hagia Sophia

Hagia Sophia had a key role in public and political ceremonies in Constantinople. Woodrow groups these ceremonies as "those celebrated at Hagia Sophia only, involving the procession of the court from the palace to the cathedral and back; those that conduct the court further afield, to other Constantinople churches and, in particular, along the Mese to the Forum of Constantine; and those that were celebrated exclusively within the palace walls."[77] Among them, the ceremonies conducted in Hagia Sophia will be analyzed here due to the link they reveal with the Great Palace.

While transformation of Roman basilica into Christian basilica indicates the effects of changing official religion of the Roman Empire physically; re-location of imperial ceremonies conducted in Constantinople from the hippodrome to Hagia Sophia can be interpreted as a reflection of the power of the new religion in the urban context. Admission of the patriarch as the magistrate is one of the visible examples of this transformation in the city. While churches and basilicas appear as visible traces of monumentalization of Christianity in the urban context, ceremonies conducted in these monuments are ritualistic symbols of this transformation.

These ceremonies consisted of two important stages: the procession of the Emperor to Hagia Sophia as the sole agent of the Empire and the liturgy managed by the Patriarch as the head of the Church. From the throne (Figure 3.24) [1] to Daphne Palace [2], the court consisted of administrators and guards of the emperor. Besides the religious and political importance, processions were important indicators of the loyalty of administrative figures to the emperor.[78]

The day before the ceremonies, the route used in the ceremonies was cleaned and decorated with flowers.[79] After the completion of preparations, the emperor left from his throne room, Chrysotriklinos, in the Great Palace and prayed above the imperial throne, in front of the enthroning Christ mosaic and put on the ceremonial

---

[77] Zoe Antonia Woodrow, "Imperial Ideology in Middle Byzantine Court Culture: The Evidence of Constantine Porphyrogenitus's de ceremoniis" (doctoral thesis, DUR, 2001), 59. Available at Durham E-Theses Online: http://etheses.dur.ac.uk/3969/)

[78] Antonia Woodrow, "Imperial Ideology in Middle Byzantine Court Culture: The Evidence of Constantine Porphyrogenitus's de ceremoniis" (doctoral thesis, DUR, 2001), 45, 489, 49.

[79] Robert S. Nelson, *Hagia Sophia 1850-1950* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 5.

dress, *scaramangia* and *sagia.* The procession can be followed from the previous section. (p:55, Figure 3.6) At this stage, the mosaic of the enthroned Christ was a symbol of the superior power of the religion over the emperor.

The procession of the emperor from his residence to the Great Palace presents the emperor as a political character receiving courtiers, while a faithful character praying in front of the Christ mosaic. Beginning from the Triumph of Orthodoxy in, the Council of 843 that allowed using icons, the route the emperor followed from the Great Palace throughout the ceremonies was decorated with divine figures and icons. In this way, political declarations were integrated with Orthodoxy and the power of the religion was emphasized with pictorial representations of administration.

After receiving the prayers in Daphne Palace, the procession was begun by the emperor and his military and civil officials. Firstly in Daphne, the emperor received candles from the sanctuary of Theotokos, who was accepted as one of the most important divine figures that interfered in the salvation of Constantinople. Then the emperor visited the sanctuary of the Holy Trinity and baptistery to venerate the cross, which was the most important figure that symbolized the Christ and accepted as the life-giving cross. Then the emperor and his court moved through the Octagonal Chamber [3] and the emperor waited for the instructors of the patriarch for the religious ceremony. When the instructors were received, the emperor was dressed. In the tenth century, the re-dressing of the emperor was made in Hagia Sophia with the patriarch. With "Be pleased!" shouts, the emperor and his court moved through the meeting place, Consistorium [4] where the emperor was given gifts from the courtiers consisting of magistrates, proconsuls and patricians. After the Consistorium, the court and the emperor arrived in the Lynchi in the Tribunal [5] where the emperor listened to the acclamations of Blues and Greens.[80] Then the emperor walked through the Chalke [6], the bronze gate of the Great Palace, and crossed the Augusteion Square [7]. In this way, the imperial privacy of the procession gained a public character between the Great Palace and Hagia Sophia. Then the emperor arrived at the Hagia Sophia [8] with acclamations.

---

[80] Antonia Woodrow, "Imperial Ideology in Middle Byzantine Court Culture: The Evidence of Constantine Porphyrogenitus's de ceremoniis" (doctoral thesis, DUR, 2001), 49, 57, 58, 69, 70, 71, 78.
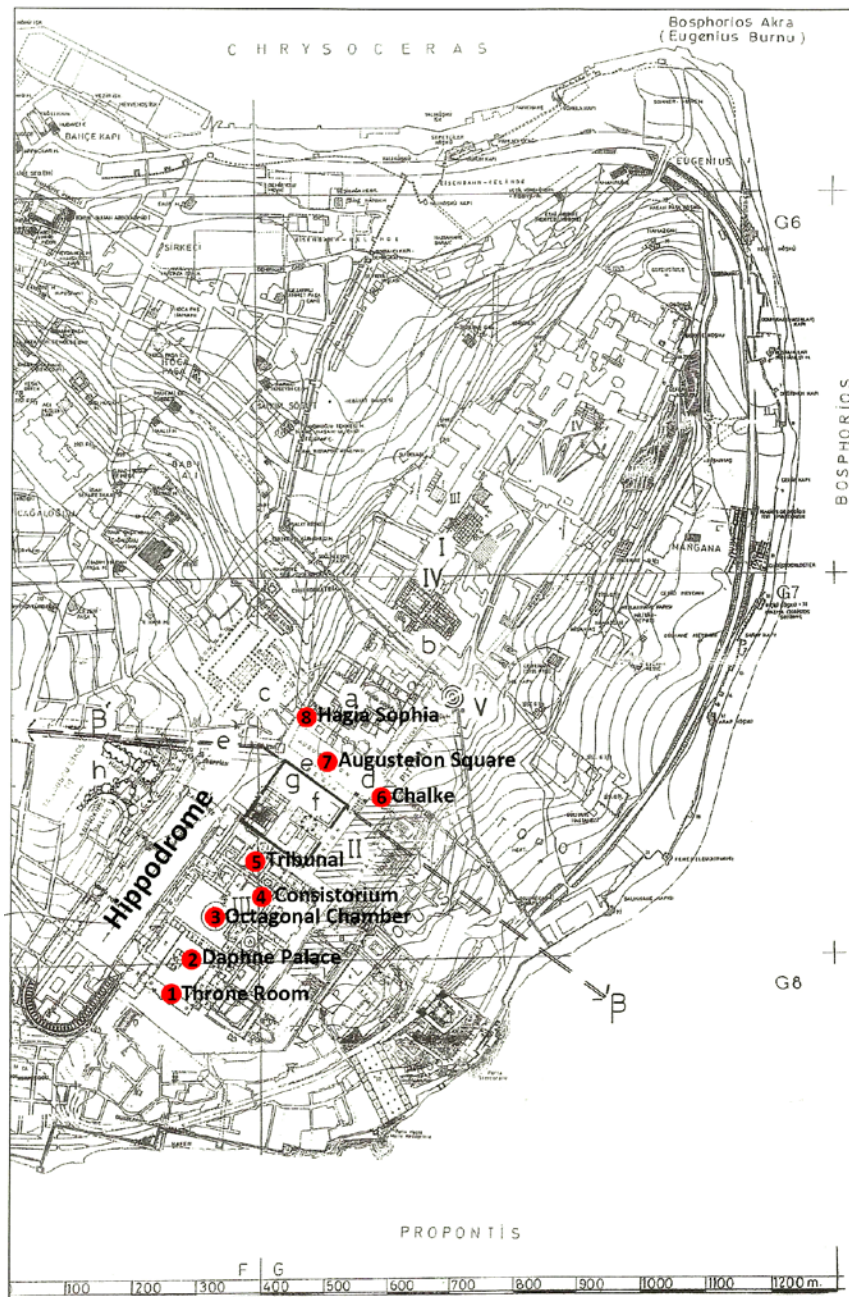
Figure 3.24: Imperial route from Great Palace to Hagia Sophia
(Source: Base map from Düzgüner, 2004, 75.)

The Emperor entered Hagia Sophia from the southwest vestibule that opened to the inner narthex and left his crown (Figure 3.25) [1]. The emperor was met here by the patriarch and venerated the cross. Then they passed through the Royal Doors with thanksgivings and entered into the nave [2]. The emperor moved to the sanctuary from the way that sceptres and banners were lined up both sides of the emperor, and the patriarch and the emperor walked through the apse and the Royal Doors [3]. While the patriarch moved, the emperor waited in front of the altar with candles and the patriarch

brought forward the altar cloth to kiss. Then the white clothes were opened and gold and liturgical objects were left. The emperor kissed the golden crucifix at the apse [4] and stood at the south-east of the nave [5].Then the emperor walked back to the holy doors and kissed the sanctuary. The emperor went back to the south-east of the nave [6] and then the patriarch came to meet the emperor and accompanied him to the door of the Holy Well where the patriarch crowned the emperor [7]. The re-coronation of the emperor symbolized the return of his authority and political character that disappeared when the patriarch took his crown in front of the door of Hagia Sophia. During the ceremonies, common acts of the emperor and patriarch symbolized the inseparable union of the religion and administration, and the arrival of the emperor to the sanctuary demonstrated the important place of the emperor in the divinity of the religion.[81] (Appendix E)[82]
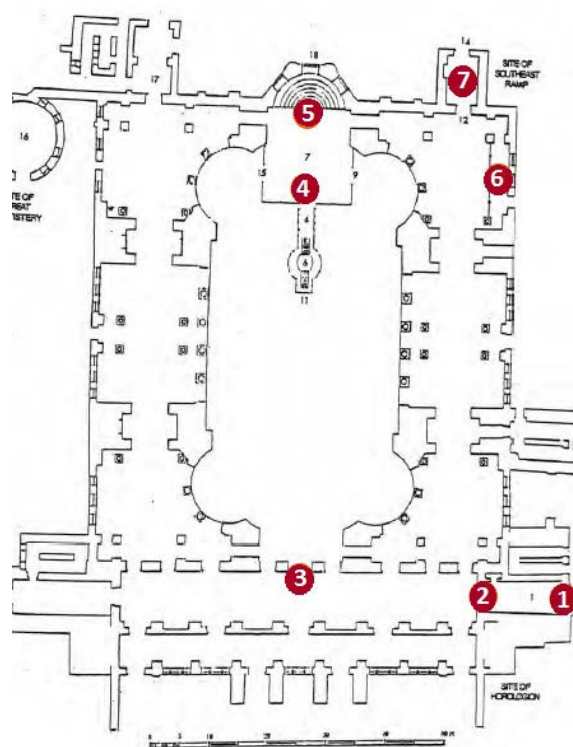
Figure 3.25: Procession route into the Hagia Sophia
(Source: Base map from Woodrow, 2001, 262.)

---

[81] Antonia Woodrow, "Imperial Ideology in Middle Byzantine Court Culture: The Evidence of Constantine Porphyrogenitus's de ceremoniis" (doctoral thesis, DUR, 2001), 79, 80, 83, 92.

[82] For more information on the liturgical use of Hagia Sophia, "Mathews, Thomas F. The Early Churches of Constantinople: Architecture and Liturgy. London: The Pennsylvania State University, 1971." is recommended.

As it is seen, each step of the emperor from his palace to the most important monument of Christianity in Constantinople, Hagia Sophia, had its own meaning emphasizing the obedience of administration to Christianity. The Great Palace and Hagia Sophia had key role in the imperial ceremonies of Constantinople and after Christianity became the state religion, while the physical changes can be seen in the transformation of the worship places from house-churches to the Roman basilica and then to Christian basilica, at the same time, changing religious understanding may be seen symbolically throughout these ceremonies via mosaics, emperor and religious figures as visible symbols of power of the empire with an amphasis on the superiority of Christianity over administration.

3.6. Chapter Conclusion

A diachronic reading of traces in and around Hagia Sophia shows that after becoming the capital of the Eastern Roman Empire, Constantinople enlarged in a grid-iron plan and existing monuments and public buildings such as the Zeuksippos Baths and hippodrome from the period of Greek Byzantion were maintained. Mese was developed as the most important route of the city which had references from the city of Rome with Milion as the beginning point and, in time, the branchroads of the Mese housed important religious buildings and public squares of Constaninople. While the above ground street network developed according to a grid-iron plan around the Mese, constructions of cisterns and subterranean tunnels brought about an underground network which may be understood as complementary to the above ground street and monumental network of the city. While both networks had their own hierarchical organizations regarding building size and their locations, the hidden and isolated underground level of the site may be seen as the contrast of the pomposity of the above ground of Constantinople.

As another reference from the city of Rome, the imperial trilogy model was adopted in Constantinople and after the construction of Hagia Sophia, the immediate vicinity of the building became the administrative, public and religious core of the city. Regarding their accommodation capacities and sizes, those imperial trilogy components of Constantinople portrait a minimized Rome. In both cities, construction site of the imperial palace was chosen according to the location of a major public entertainment

buildimg in order to provide a direct connection of emperor to the public without moving out his residence and, declaring the Milion "zero point" in the middle of their most important public squares, Forum Romanum in Rome and Augusteion Square in Constantinople, at the very beginning of foundation of the cities may be seen as the common symbols of world-wide significance of the two capitals.

In terms of religious power, which was always minor and mixed in the imperial cult and pompous importance of public spaces in Rome, Constantinople's monumental religious buildings, and most importantly Hagia Sophia, point to rising religious power and decline in public entertainment in the city. In other words, while Constantinople was re-founded as a small-sized and Christianized Rome, Hagia Sophia and the hippodrome reveal as spatial reflections of changing significance in the public and religious understanding from the city of Rome to Constantinople.

When Hagia Sophia is analyzed as a single structure, mosaics of the building through the imperial processions demonstrate the changing relation between administration and religion in the city. The progression of the Emperor during the ceremonies such as praying in front of the Hagia Sophia, leaving the crown before entering into the church and receiving the crown from the patriarch may be seen as the most important indicators of the uppermost importance of Christianity over the imperial power, on the other hand, depictions of the emperors and empresses in Hagia Sophia beginning from in the eleventh century may be interpreted as an indicator of the increasing presence of the emperor in the religious sphere via the most important religious building of the city, as we will see in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 4

CONCLUSION

HAGIA SOPHIA AS A CUMULATIVE PALIMPSEST: ITS CHANGING CONTEXT AND USES FROM THE CONSTANTINIAN BASILICA (4TH C.) TO THE ROYAL MOSQUE OF MEHMED II (15TH C.)

In this chapter, firstly, the period of regression of the Eastern Roman Empire that began in the sixth century is studied to understand changing imperial and urban context of difficult times in the city of Constantinople which continued with the Latin domination in the thirteenth century. To understand the timing and nature of building scale changes in Hagia Sophia in relation to those in its urban context, repairs and decoration of Hagia Sophia are studied. Then, the Ottoman domination of Constantinople in the fifteenth century is studied to understand the physical traces of change in the imperial context during the transformation of the city from Christianity to Islam and the effects of this transformation in the building scale on Hagia Sophia and its vicinity via Mehmed the Conqueror's interventions.

As conclusion, the data on the settlement history of the Historic Peninsula of Istanbul from the first emergence of an urban way of living in the seventh century BC to the Ottoman conquest in the fifteenth century studied in detail in the second chapter are combined with the third chapter consisting of the continual transformation process of Hagia Sophia and its immediate vicinity buildings to interpret Hagia Sophia as part of a larger urban context in relation to its surrounding buildings. In order to do this, the information on the macroform and neighborhood scale data is cross-read to understand Hagia Sophia and the Historic Peninsula of Istanbul in a palimpsestic process which contains the earlier and the newer traces of the urban context. In this way, continuities and changes in the building and urban scale data are superimposed to reveal the essential value of Hagia Sophia as an architectural masterpiece.

4.1. From Crusades to the Ottoman Conquest: Continuities and Changes in Hagia Sophia and Its Neighborhood

As mentioned in the previous chapter (p:47), with the death of Justinian the Great, the period of regression for Byzantine Empire began. Beginning from the second half of the sixth century, earthquakes and plague epidemics resulted in a decrease in population and the destruction of the major monuments of Constantinople. Therefore, emperors who came to throne after Justinian mostly focused on the reconstruction of the city. In 610, when Heraclius came to the throne, Constantinople passed through an expansive reconstruction programme, as mentioned in the previous chapter. (p:47) The reconstruction programme of Heraclius concentrated on the neighborhood of the Augusteion Square. Due to Heraclius's aim to strengthen the weakened military power of Constantinople, on the south of the Augusteion, Zeuksippos Baths were transformed into a military post and prison. On the south, damaged reception hall of the Great Palace was reconstructed. The structure of the hippodrome was strengthened to support demolished arches and some rooms were used as a cistern. A two-storey building of the patriarch was reconstructed on the southeast of the Augusteion Square. On the north, the demolished narthex of Hagia Eirene and the structure of Hagia Sophia were repaired.[83] During the reconstructions, new movable objects ornamented with sacred representations began to be used in churches and called as icon.[84]

As a result of deep interest in ornamentations and figures in churches, Emperor Leon III (717-741) was concerned about the domination of worship to such depictions and prohibited the description of sacred figures in the most important religious buildings of the city. This attitude is called as Iconoclasm.[85] During the reign of Leon III, Hagia Sophia was badly damaged by Iconoclasm and icons were destroyed.[86] The information that we know today about the icons of Hagia Sophia is based on the written records of Fossati brothers, who reconstructed Hagia Sophia in the nineteenth century.[87]

---

[83] Müller-Wiener, *İstanbul'un Tarihsel Topografyası: 17. Yüzyıl Başlarına Kadar Byzantion-Konstantinopolis-İstanbul,* 65, 112, 248, 249.

[84] Türkoğlu, *Ayasofya'nın Öyküsü*, 87.

[85] Çakmak and Freely, *İstanbul'un Bizans Anıtları,* 101.

[86] Kuban, *İstanbul Bir Kent Tarihi: Bizantion, Konstantinopolis*, *İstanbul,* 124.

[87] Marie-France Auzepy. "Konstantinopolis'in Siyasal ve Dinsel Yaşamında Ayasofya'nın Yeri." In *Bizans: Yapılar, Meydanlar, Yaşamlar,* ed. Annie Pralong, trans. Buket Kitapçı Bayrı (İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2011), 111.

According to the Fossati brothers, the banned saint descriptions were replaced with landscape and nature scenes during the Iconoclastic period.[88]

Up to the eighth century, administration of the Byzantine Empire had close relations with the patriarch. While the emperor profited from the divine power of the head of religion, the patriarch gained an imperial importance as the closest figure to the emperor. But during the reign of Leon III in the eighth century, this mutual relationship was damaged when the patriarch asked to increase the use of icons in the churches. The Emperor was annoyed by the increasing belief on sacred depictions and prohibited icon worship. This prohibition of Leon III indicates that although the head of the religion and the emperor had voice in the other's management domain, the emperor had the last word in both the imperial and religious decisions. Similarly in the ninth century, Basileios I intervened in the religious context of the Empire and cancelled the iconoclastic period. Thus, according to the records of Fossati brothers, the apse of Hagia Sophia was ornamented with the icons of Virgin Mary and Child Jesus mosaic and the inner sides of the arches were decorated with the icons of previous patriarchs in the ninth century.[89]

As mentioned in the second chapter (p:49), the reign of Basileios (867-886) is called as "the second golden age" of the Roman Empire when the decline of the Byzantine Empire, lasting for three centuries, came to a halt. This was when prohibition of religious icons was cancelled and landscape paintings in Hagia Sophia were replaced by saint depictions. Construction of monasteries adjacent to churches increased during the reign of Bailesios and these religious complexes were ornamented with religious mosaics.[90] As mentioned in the second chapter (p:50), the plan type of Nea Ekklesia brought innovation to the religious complexes and monasteries built after Basileios used the cross-in-square plan type of Nea Ekklesia. These monasteries were constructed as building complexes on the western regions of the Historic Peninsula including a library, dormitory and hospital besides their religious buildings. In this respect, the western part of Constantinople became a public core where people could pray, learn and recover. Because Basileios moved to the Palace of Mangana on the east of the Acropolis, the Great Palace was abandoned and the division of the imperial trilogy began. The administrative part of the trilogy model moved to the north shore of the city. This separation may also be interpreted in the structural sense as a separation of the religious

---

[88] White, Matthew, and Kleinbauer, *Ayasofya,* 49.
[89] Malamut, "I. Aleksios Komnenos Döneminde Konstantinopolis (1081-1118)," 37.
[90] Kuban, *İstanbul Bir Kent Tarihi: Bizantion, Konstantinopolis*, *İstanbul,* 141, 142.

and administrative power in the city and empire. However, although the imperial palace component was physically distanced from the main church in the city and empire, there actually seems to be no decline in the power of the emperor in the representation of the religious power in the city.

This would be confirmed by the information we have on the interior of Hagia Sophia before the ninth century based on the written evidences of Procopius (500-565) and Paulos Silentiarios (520-575).[91] These two writers emphasize on the grandeur of Hagia Sophia which was created by the use of gold and marble on the walls and floors.[92] Although some of the Justinian period mosaics including geometrical ornaments, fruit and flower figures revealed during the on-going restoration work; due to the several destruction and reconstruction phases of Hagia Sophia, mosaics known today mostly date to the period between the Macedonian dynasty in the ninth century and the Latin invasion in 1024 mentioned in the previous chapter.[93]

Beginning from the ninth century, liturgical ornamentation of Hagia Sophia may be seen as a reflector of the urban context of the building. For example, theme of the mosaic dating to the period of regression in the tenth century focuses on the historical background of the Roman Empire or seraphims dating to the ninth century were seen as the protectors of the weakened Empire due to the epidemics and continuously collapsing dome of Hagia Sophia after earthquakes. To reveal such a parallelism, mosaics of Hagia Sophia are studied in their context (Appendix E).

As one of the earlier mosaics of Hagia Sophia dating to the ninth century on the inner-above side of the Imperial Gate, Emperor Leo VI (886-912) who is the successor of Basileios I is depicted as kneeling down in front of Christ sitting on a throne. Instead of constructing new buildings or repairing damaged structures, Leo VI was interested in religious and philosophical development of Constantinople and known as "Leo the Wise." To symbolize his deep interest in the religion, Leo VI ordered his mosaic as a symbol of his loyalty to Christianity. On the book which is held by Christ, "the best of peace to you. I am the light of the world" is written.[94] On both sides of this mosaic, two medallions of Mary and Gabriel are located. On the other hand, as mentioned previously, the relationship between the head of the religion and the emperor was

---

[91] Pierre Chuvin. "Ayasofya Yeniyken... Açılışı Yapıldığında Bazilikanın Renkli Süslemeleri." In *Bizans: Yapılar, Meydanlar, Yaşamlar,* ed. Annie Pralong, trans. Buket Kitapçı Bayrı (İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2011), 90.

[92] Chuvin, "Ayasofya Yeniyken... Açılışı Yapıldığında Bazilikanın Renkli Süslemeleri," 90.

[93] White, Matthew, and Kleinbauer, *Ayasofya,* 49.

[94] Kleinbauer and White, *Ayasofya,* 59.

weakened in the eighth century. In this respect, the mosaic of Leo VI can be interpreted as a symbol of the end of debates between the head of the religion and the empire. Emperor Leo VI is seen as kneeling down in front of Christ which may be interpreted as symbolizing the dominance of the religion over the emperor. However, the mosaic is also depicting the emperor, and not the patriarch, in the presence of Christ, as the earliest known instance when an emperor joined the holy figures depicted in the monument. This presence may be interpreted as a reflection of the ongoing presence of imperial power in the religious context of the city and empire, and may be interpreted as another indicator of the ongoing power of administration over religion (Figure 4.26).

Figure 4.26: Mosaic of Leo VI
(Source: Kleinbauer, 2004, 60.)

As another ninth century depiction of Hagia Sophia, bishops and seraphims were revealed during the recent studies on both sides of the nave as troops of guardsman of the Pantocrator mosaic holding the Bible on their left hand and bless with the right. But only four seraphims on the four pendentives under the dome can be seen today. The mosaic of Pantocrator and surrounding depictions are religious representation of

imperial ceremonies which consisted of an emperor and his statesmen, politicians and wardens, also materializing imperial power in a religious context (Figure 4.27).[95]

Figure 4.27. Seraphims on pendentives.
(Source: Taraz, 2013)

As the last ninth century depiction, the Virgin Mary and child Jesus mosaic between archangels Michael and Gabriel is located on the apse vault of Hagia Sophia. While Pantocrator mosaic is located on the west wall, Virgin Mary and child Jesus is at the opposite as the protector of east side of Hagia Sophia. As the mother and the first believer of Christ, Virgin Mary has a major role in the religious buildings of Christians and the figure of Mary is located on the most important part of the church, the apse, in the religious core of the Empire at that time (Figure 4.28). This choice requires a

---

[95]   Kleinbauer and White, *Ayasofya,* 62.

detailed explanation, through a better knowledge on Christian ornaments in churches, which could not be attained within the time limits of this study.

Figure 4.28. Apse mosaic, Virgin Mary and Child Jesus.
(Source: Taraz, 2013)

Although the reign of Basileios I in the ninth century is called as the "second golden age" of the Roman Empire, in the tenth century the Empire began to lose power as a result of continuous conflicts with Muslims and Latins. As a tenth century mosaic, Virgin Mary was depicted between Justinian the Great and Constantine the Great on the Imperial Gate in the southwest vestibule. While Constantine was the first emperor of Constantinople as the capital of the Orthodox Eastern Roman Empire in the fourth century, and Justinian was the most important emperor that monumentalized Constantinople with his construction activities in the sixth century, their mosaics do not date to a period of decline in their epochs but to the tenth century.

On this renowned mosaic, Virgin Mary and child Jesus are represented as seated on a throne and meeting two great emperors of the Roman Empire. While Constantine presents a model of Constantinople, Justinian carries the model of Hagia Sophia. Also, on the ceiling, flower figures and geometrical ornamentations dating from the Justinian period are

seen around the mosaic. (Figure 4.29) Dating to a period of decline, this mosaic may perhaps be interpreted as an attempt to remind the city its earlier grandeur and power, as a firm basis on which to flourish again.

Figure 4.29. Mosaic of Virgin Mary, Constantine the Great and Justinian the Great above the Imperial Gate. (Source: Taraz, 2013)

From the economical point of view, while the imperial budget focused on military expenditure in the urban context of Hagia Sophia, in the building scale, there was significant investment for liturgical ornamentations of the building in the tenth century. This mosaic symbolizes the relation of the founders of the Eastern Roman Empire and Hagia Sophia; in other words, emphasizes on the ongoing strong bond between administration and religion.[96] The selection of the former successful emperors as theme for this very visible mosaic can be interpreted as a desire to re-build the power of the historical background of the Empire to increase the depleted trust on the Byzantine Empire in the tenth century. While Constantinople was passing through a military and administrative regression in the

---

[96] Kleinbauer and White, *Ayasofya,* 53.

urban context of Hagia Sophia, in the building scale, successful emperors of the Roman Empire and Virgin Mary as the savior of Christians were used to resurrect the weakened belief in the Empire. However, while those two emperors had the power to build a huge city and a unique monument such as Hagia Sophia, that of the emperors of the regression period only sufficed for minor decorations such as this mosaic.

During the reign of Alexios I Komnenos in the eleventh century, Constantinople passed through an extensive reconstruction programme. While Alexios I was living in the Palace of Mangana including a hippodrome and vast gardens, the entertainment function of the Byzantine hippodrome decreased in the eleventh century. The audience in the hippodrome of Mangana consisted of the administrative figures of the Mangana Palace, and the public participated only in the imperial ceremonies conducted in the old hippodrome. Thus, the division of the imperial trilogy model which began in the ninth century with the abandonment of the Great Palace increased with the abandonment of the Byzantine hippodrome. Later, Alexios I moved to the Blachernea Palace at the north end of the Theodisian walls due to the security concern. Although there are debates on the construction date, it is assumed that the Palace of Porphyrogenitus (Tekfur Sarayı) was constructed in the site of the Blachernea Palace in the period of Alexios I and remained as the only surviving structure belonging to the Blachernea Palace.[97]

Although the Great Palace was no longer used as the administrative and residential core of the Empire anymore, its building and the terraces were repaired according to their old functions. The upper terrace was at the same level with Hagia Sophia, Augusteion and the hippodrome. The entrance to the palace was provided from the western gate of the hippodrome, under the imperial seat, *kathisma.* The lower terrace was at the sea level and foreign administrators and important visitors were hosted at this terrace after meeting by the Emperor at the gate adjacent to the hippodrome.[98] This highlights the ongoing representative function of the Great Palace, which is seen as reflected also in the nearby Hagia Sophia.

As the eleventh and twelfth century mosaics, on the eastern wall of southern gallery, depictions of Empress Zoe and Konstantinos IX mosaic (11th century), and mosaic of Empress Eirene, Ioannes Komnenos II and their son Alexios II (12th century) are located on the two sides of the window which is located across the apse vault. For the first time, depictions of empresses are seen in the mosaics of Hagia Sophia with

---

[97] Köroğlu, "İstanbul'daki Bizans İmparatorluk Sarayları," 8.
[98] Malamut, "I. Aleksios Komnenos Döneminde Konstantinopolis (1081-1118)," 37.

Empress Zoe and Empress Eirene. Because Empress Zoe was interested in the improvement of education and ordered the construction of new institutes in Constantinople, she was accepted as important as the Emperor and depicted on the eastern wall of southern gallery.[99] In both mosaics, Empresses are depicted as holding a purse and a roll of paper on both sides of Christ symbolizing the charity and generosity of the imperial family. (Figure 4.30) This, again, is implying the ongoing influence of the imperial family in the religious sphere.

Figure 4.30. Empress Zoe and Konstantinos IX mosaic (left) and Empress Eirene and Ioannes Komnenos II mosaic. (Source: Taraz, 2013)

Up to the Latin conquest in 1204, the Byzantine Empire struggled to get stronger after the destructive effects of plague epidemics, earthquakes and attacks. Emperors focused on repair and reconstruction of damaged major buildings of Constantinople. As explained in the second chapter (p:52), when Latins attacked Constantinople, the Byzantine Empire was too weak to confront and in 1204, Latins conquered Constantinople. Although Constantinople became the capital of Romania, Baldwin and Dandolo continued to damage the city. To symbolize their superiority, Latins protected Hagia Sophia and converted the most important religious building of the Byzantine Empire into the cathedral of their new kingdom. Although the gravestone of Dandolo is

---

[99] Freely, *Istanbul the Imperial City*, 123.

located in the south gallery, no other remains from his burial were found in Hagia Sophia (Figure 4.31). While Byzantine emperors were buried in the Church of the Holy Apostles as the most important mausoleum from the reign of Constantine the Great, Dandolo's choice to be buried in the most important Orthodox monument may be interpreted as a monumental symbol of the superiority of Latin Catholicism over Roman Orthodoxy. On the other hand, his burial inside a church would fit into the church-mausoleum typology of the Constantinian period. After the re-conquest of the city from the Latins, a bronze St. Michael's Column, not seen today, was erected on the orders of Michael VIII in front of the Church of the Holy Apostles according to recent archaeological studies. Although there is no evidence about the burial place of Michael VIII, it is assumed that the tomb of the Emperor was in the Church of the Holy Apostles as the "new Constantine" of the Byzantine Empire.[100] This would mean a return back to the Orthodox tradition.
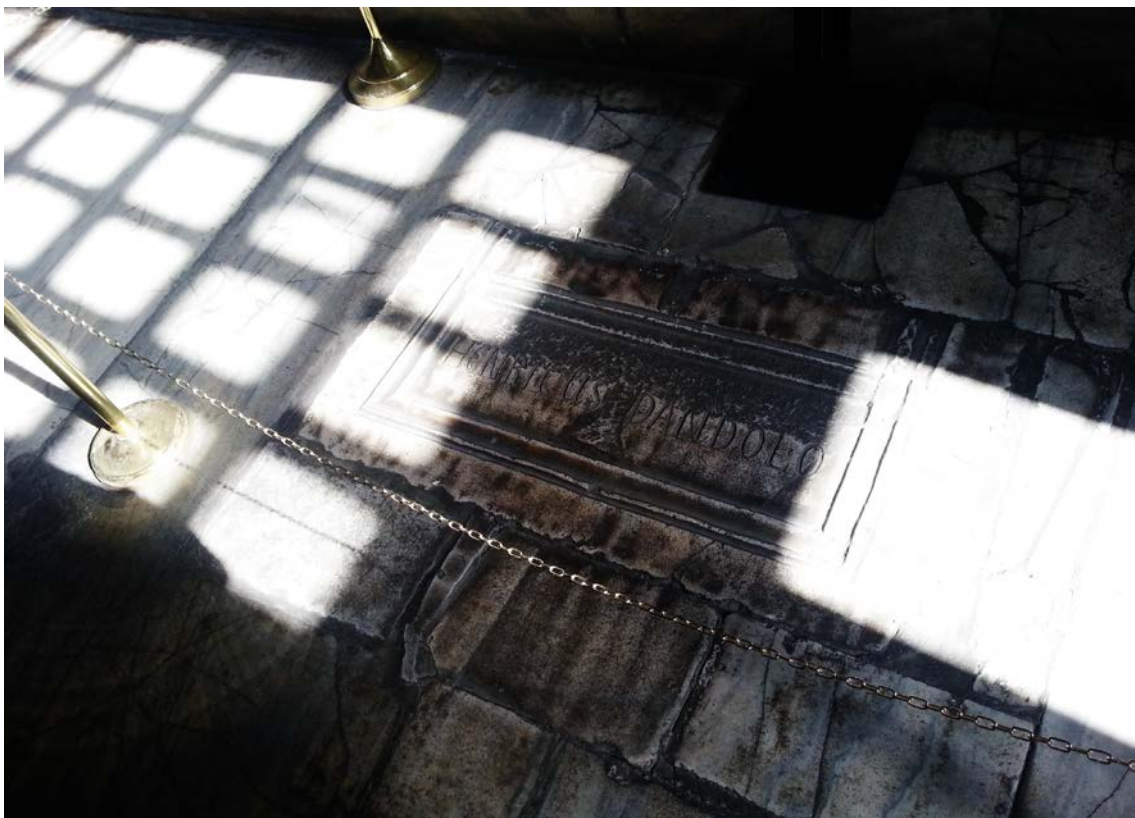

Figure 4.31. The gravestone of Dandolo in the south gallery of Hagia Sophia.
(Source: Taraz, 2013)

---

[100] Talbot, "The Restoration of Constantinople under Michael VIII," 255, 258.

As to the building itself, the damaged structure of Hagia Sophia was supported by flying buttresses on the western wall and the building was transformed into the cathedral of the Latin patriarch in 1204.[101] The Quadriga statue with four horses, moved from hippodrome to the top of the buttresses of Hagia Sophia, was moved to the St. Mark's Basilica in Venice in 1204. In the same year, the religious ceremonial gifts in Hagia Sophia were moved to Venice and the Byzantine altar was replaced by a Latin one.[102]

In 1246, the main dome collapsed for an unknown reason and was reconstructed in eight years with grants from the public.[103] This may be taken to show the weakness of Latin economic power in the city. The Great Palace reconstructed in the twelfth century was used for dwelling and administration by the imperial family during the Latin domination.[104] With the conversion of Hagia Sophia into the cathedral and the re-use of the Great Palace as the administrative building, the imperial trilogy model began to come together again in the thirteenth century which finds its parallel also in the proximity of the Doge's Palace and St. Mark's Basilica in Venice where we have the St. Mark's Square instead of the hippodrome.

When the St. Mark's Basilica was built in 1094 in Venice, the building had references from the Church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople with its Greek-cross plan type and five domes[105], as an instance, when Constantinople became a model for another city. Also, St. Mark's had its own square which served as the main public area of Venice at that time. After the construction of the St. Mark's Basilica, Doge's Palace was built on its south with its own courtyard and connected to the basilica.[106] In this configuration, we may observe the survival of the religious building, public square and palace combination that is similar to Constantinople's. In this respect, the pillaging of Constantinople treasures of to Venice may be more understandable (Figure 4.32).

[101] Emerson H. Swift, "The Latins at Hagia Sophia," *American Journal of Archaeology* 39 (1935), 459.
[102] Türkoğlu, *Ayasofya'nın Öyküsü*, 115.
[103] Türkoğlu, *Ayasofya'nın Öyküsü*, 120.
[104] Köroğlu, "İstanbul'daki Bizans İmparatorluk Sarayları," 5.
[105] Robert F. Gatje, *Great Public Squares* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2010), 36.
[106] Robert F. Gatje, *Great Public Squares* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2010), 36.
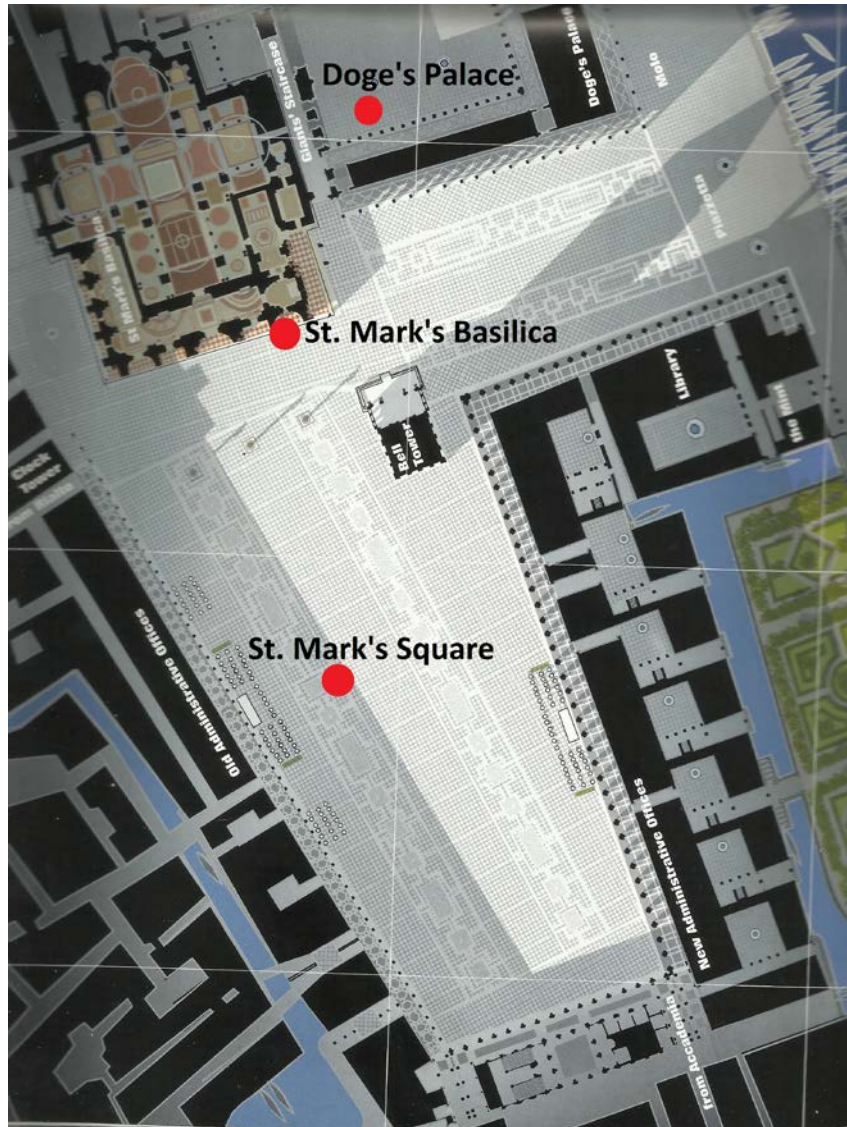
Figure 4.32. St. Mark's Basilica and Doge's Palace in Venice.
(Source: Gatje, 2010, 34.)

Constantinople was taken back from the Latins by Byzantine Emperor Michael VIII (1261-1281) in 1261. As mentioned in the second chapter (p:53), Michael VIII was named as "the new Constantine" of the Empire as he focused on the reconstruction and repair of Constantinople. Although Michael VIII was crowned in Nicaea in 1259, his second coronation ceremony was conducted in Hagia Sophia in 1261 to symbolize the rebirth of the Byzantine Empire.[107] Up to the coronation ceremony of Michael VIII, the Latin additions to Hagia Sophia were removed. Sacred gifts and religious textiles were used to symbolize the re-gained Byzantine religious power of Hagia Sophia. On the vault of the south gallery, the Deesis mosaic depicting Virgin Mary and John the Baptist

---

[107] Talbot, "The Restoration of Constantinople under Michael VIII," 251.

as praying to Christ for his pardoning the sins of humanity on the judgement day, is the only thirteenth century mosaic probably from this period (Figure 4.33).[108]

Figure 4.33. Deesis Mosaic.
(Source: Taraz, 2013)

Despite the ongoing symbolic importance of Hagia Sophia, when the urban context of Hagia Sophia is studied between the ninth and thirteenth centuries, it is seen that the immediate vicinity of Hagia Sophia was losing its importance. While Michael VIII was living in the Great Palace, the burned walls and buildings surrounding Blachernea Palace were reconstructed as the imperial residence.[109] The imperial trilogy model decomposed with the abandonment of the Great Palace for Blachernea and that of the hippodrome on the south of the Historic Peninsula. But this did not happen immediately. In the ninth century, Palace of Mangana was built on the east shore of the Acropolis and the emperors chose to live in there up to the eleventh century. When Alexios I came to the throne in the eleventh century and Michael VIII after the Latin invasion, Blachernea Palace near the Theodisian walls began to be used. Although the construction of Nea Ekklesia and repair of the hippodrome may be interpreted as

---

[108] Nelson, *Hagia Sophia 1850-1950,* 22.
[109] Talbot, "The Restoration of Constantinople under Michael VIII," 250.

maintaining the administrative importance of the Great Palace area between the ninth and thirteenth centuries, the entertainment, administrative and religious unity of the imperial trilogy was divided.

While Constantinople was passing through continual transformation, the emperors mentioned in this chapter mostly focused on the repair and reconstruction of the city. Although Heraclius, Basileios, Alexios I and Michael VIII were among the most important emperors that recovered Constantinople after earthquakes and epidemics; the emperors depicted in Hagia Sophia were Constantine, Justinian, Leo VI, Empress Zoe and Empress Eirene. As it is mentioned, these mosaics date back to the Macedonian Dynasty of the Empire when the urban context of Hagia Sophia was passing through a significant change.

In the urban context of Hagia Sophia, surrounding buildings began to be used for different functions to cope with the period of regression. For example, Baths of Zeuksippos were transformed into a prison and monasteries were converted into military posts. While its urban context was badly affected by attacks of Arabs and Latins, Hagia Sophia was ornamented with sacred depictions of Christ and the important administrators of the Empire. The ninth century mosaics of Hagia Sophia can be interpreted as reflections of the change in the imperial context of the building. Liturgical ornamentations of Hagia Sophia were used to represent the power the Byzantine Empire via luminous effects of mosaics. The central dome which is perceived as hanging in the air, decoration materials and light penetrating into the nave were major tools for creating a sacred atmosphere in Hagia Sophia. While Procopius and Silentiarios mention geometrical ornaments, fruit and flower figures in their written records, beginning from the ninth century, depictions of emperors, Virgin Mary and Christ in the mosaics of Hagia Sophia indicate the importance of religion as a tool for administration in the urban context of Hagia Sophia. It is clear that Hagia Sophia was seen as a shelter by people in Constantinople and, in the worst times of the Byzantine Empire, Hagia Sophia was ornamented with the mosaics of the emperors. Using the most successful emperor depictions in Hagia Sophia in the weakened times of the Empire can be seen as a desire to focus on the power of the historical background to increase the depleted trust on the Byzantine Empire. In this respect, dates of mosaics in Hagia Sophia can be interpreted as clues for important changes in its imperial and urban context. In this way, a cumulative palimpsest may be seen in Hagia Sophia consisting of a combination of the earlier traces of the building with the new imperial context.

4.2. Hagia Sophia in 1453: The Imperial Mosque of the Ottoman Empire

As mentioned in the second chapter (p:55), Constantinople was badly damaged during the three days of the Ottoman conquest and the two components of the already dissolved imperial trilogy consisting of the hippodrome and the Great Palace were looted. Due to the construction of new dwellings around after the conquest, the size of the hippodrome was reduced, but in later periods the area would remain as the most important ceremonial core of Konstantiniyye.[110] The circumcision celebration of Murad III's son Mehmed in 1582 was one of the most important ceremonies conducted in the hippodrome which lasted for fifty three days.[111] In this way, after the Ottoman conquest, chariot races and the imperial ceremonies of the Byzantine Empire were replaced by javelin tournaments and Ottoman imperial ceremonies and celebrations.

The second component of the Roman imperial trilogy, the Great Palace was badly damaged during the Ottoman conquest. Although the Great Palace was reconstructed, the so-called Old Palace (in the sense of being older than Topkapı Palace) was built on the site of today's Istanbul University Beyazıt Campus as the new residential area of Mehmed the Conqueror. In 1459, the construction of Topkapı Palace began on the former Acropolis hill. After its completion, Ottoman sultans started to live in Topkapı and eventually the Mese became the Divan Route where the imperial ceremonies were conducted in Konstantiniyye. As the most important public square of the Roman imperial trilogy model adopted by the Byzantine Empire, the hippodrome would be transformed into the Sultanahmet Square after the construction of Blue Mosque on the north of the Great Palace in 1616. The prison in the site of the Baths of Zeuksippos on the north of the Great Palace moved to the Yedikule Fortress and the baths were destroyed in the reign of Mehmed the Conqueror. Although the conversion

---

[110] Mustafa Yıldız, "Sultanahmet Meydanı'nın Kronolojik ve Mekansal Oluşum Süreci Üzerine Bir Araştırma" (master thesis, Yıldız Technical University, 2002), 43. Although the hippodrome was not used commonly for wedding ceremonies, Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent's sister Hatice Sultan and Pargalı İbrahim Pasha's wedding ceremony in 1524 may be given as a rare example for the use of hippodrome during the wedding eremonies in the Ottoman Empire.

[111] Yıldız, "Sultanahmet Meydanı'nın Kronolojik ve Mekansal Oluşum Süreci Üzerine Bir Araştırma," 43.

of the palace into a prison at the center of the city may be curious, according to the written evidences, the repositories of the repaired Great Palace were used as prison.[112]

With the re-location of the residential area of rulers from the Great Palace to the former Acropolis hill, the imperial trilogy model of Constantinople may be thought to have continued with the Ottoman conquest of the city, however in a modified way. While the Roman Empire trilogy consisted of the hippodrome, the Great Palace, and the church of Hagia Sophia, Ottoman's new trilogy consisted of the hippodrome as a public square, Hagia Sophia as the imperial mosque and the Topkapı Palace on another but proximate location. The real rupture would appear to be not in the physical model but in the power relations it symbolized.

Although the Great Palace and the hippodrome were badly damaged in the imperial trilogy model, the third component, Hagia Sophia was protected on the orders of Mehmed the Conqueror. When Constantinople was conquered in 1453, the first building visited by the Ottoman conqueror Mehmed II was Hagia Sophia. As mentioned in the written records of the traveler Evliya Çelebi, Ottomans had close relationship with Constantinople and especially with Hagia Sophia before the conquest. Although his narrative is found occasionally exaggerated, according to Evliya Çelebi, Mehmed the Conqueror sent the Ottoman architect Ali Neccar to repair the damaged structure of Hagia Sophia in response to the request of the Byzantine Empire before the conquest of the city.[113] Even though the Byzantines were in contact with the Ottomans, making a request for the repair of a Christian monument from a Muslim empire may be curious. But if the claim of Evliya Çelebi is true, the repair of Hagia Sophia by the Ottomans can be seen an indicator of the increasing voice of the Ottomans in Constantinople.

As mentioned in the second chapter (p:55) the most important church of the conquered city was transformed into the imperial mosque after the conquest as a Muslim custom and Hagia Sophia was converted into the imperial mosque of the Ottoman Empire in 1453. Because the orientation of Hagia Sophia was towards the east, a new mihrab and minbar was built ten degrees southwardly aligned to Mecca.[114] On the right of the mihrab, one of the prayer carpets of the Prophet was hung.[115] Hanging of Prophet Muhammed's hadith near the Imperial Gate from where the Byzantine Emperor

---

[112] Müller-Wiener, *İstanbul'un Tarihsel Topografyası: 17. Yüzyıl Başlarına Kadar Byzantion-Konstantinopolis-İstanbul,* 51.

[113] Necipoğlu, "The Life of an Imperial Monument: Hagia Sophia after Byzantium," 202.

[114] Kleinbauer and White, *Ayasofya,* 87.

[115] Afşar, *Bilinmeyen Yönleriyle Ayasofya,* 106.

used to enter in monument during ceremonies indicates that the Ottomans was informed about the ceremonies of the Byzantines in Hagia Sophia. The interior furniture of Christian Hagia Sophia consisting of benches and the altar were removed and a vast emptiness was provided for Muslims to use during their ritual worship, *namaz* (Figure 4.34).[116] Mosaics of Hagia Sophia were partially plastered over. To re-call the Byzantine past of Hagia Sophia and symbolize the superior power of Islam over Christianity, Mehmed the Conqueror did not removed all mosaics of Hagia Sophia. Instead, the mosaics which were located at the eye-level and seen during the *namaz* were plastered over and the others located on the upper levels were protected.[117]
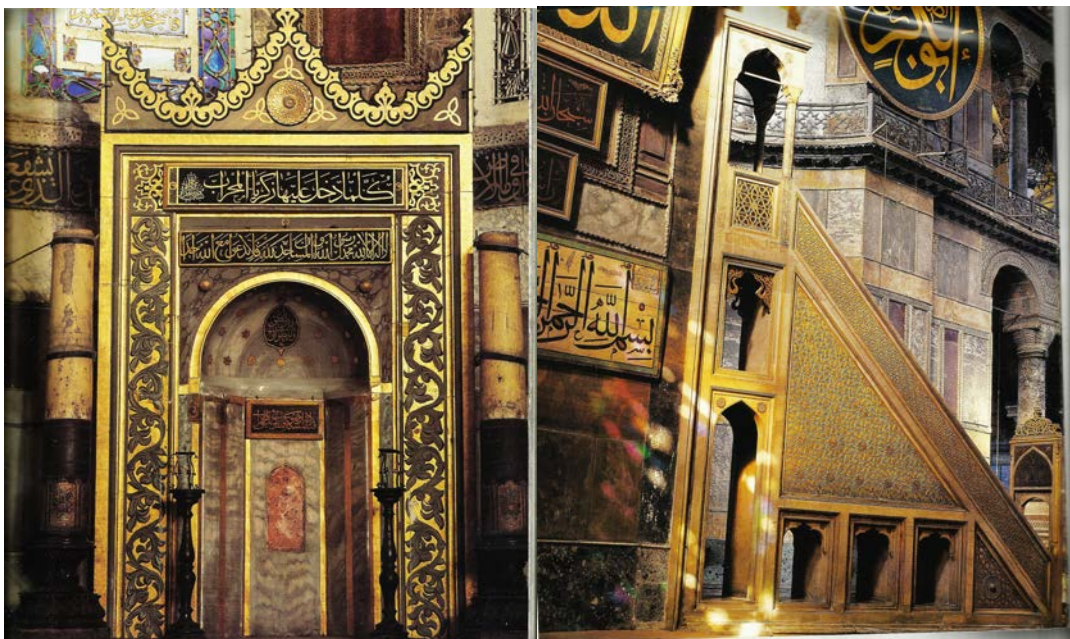
Figure 4.34: Mihrab and minbar of Hagia Sophia
(Source: Kleinbauer, 2004, 85-6.)

Although the conquest of Hagia Sophia was a long-standing dream of the Ottoman Empire, Mehmed the Conqueror realized minor interventions in the building. Naturally Muslim additions were made to use Hagia Sophia as a mosque, but partial masking of the mosaics was Mehmed the Conqueror's preference to keep alive the Byzantine and Christian past of the building. By keeping the traces of Christian and Byzantine background of Hagia Sophia, Mehmed the Conqueror registered himself as the last emperor of the world, and Islam as the superior religion over Christianity. In

---

[116] Kleinbauer and White, *Ayasofya,* 84.
[117] Necipoğlu, "The Life of an Imperial Monument: Hagia Sophia after Byzantium," 204.

contrast to the Byzantine emperors, Mehmed the Conqueror's administration did not attempt to control religion. Mehmed's choice to preserve earlier traces of Hagia Sophia dating to the Roman period of the building may be interpreted as a cumulative palimpsest which includes the former traces and the newer interventions at the same time. Integration of the earlier traces such as the mosaics of the Roman emperors and Mary and Jesus figure with new Islamic additions were then parts of a cumulative palimpsest that resulted from the conversion of Hagia Sophia from the imperial church to the imperial mosque.

4.3. An Overview of the Palimpsestic Process in Hagia Sophia and its Urban and Imperial Context

In this study, Hagia Sophia has been handled as a long-lived monument in its continuously changing physical and cultural context. In order to reveal the type and pace of transformation that occurred both in the building and urban scale, Arnold's and Rossi's approaches on handling monuments in their contexts are used to constitute this thesis's conceptual framework with reference to Bailey's palimpsest analogy. Therefore, the Historic Peninsula is handled as a palimpsest (con)text which contains the traces of an urban settlement from the first Greek establishment in the seventh century BC to the reign of Mehmed the Conqueror in the fifteenth century. In this way, the Historic Peninsula became a canvas where the older and the newer traces of the physical and cultural context of Hagia Sophia co-existed via continuities and changes in a palimpsestic process. In this section, urban and building scale data are cross-read to reveal these continuities and discontinuities that make Hagia Sophia a living part of a larger context.

To start with the urban macroform, when the first Greek settlement of Byzantion was established and surrounded with walls on the Acropolis hill in the seventh century BC on the north of the Historic Peninsula, Neorion and Prosforion ports were built as the first ports of the settlement on the north shore. This city was sieged and conquered by the Romans after major destruction. In the second century AD, the boundary of the Roman Byzantium was enlarged to the western and southern parts of today's Sarayburnu and new Severan walls were built to the west of the existing walls of the Greek Byzantion. The city enlargement continued when Byzantium converted into Constantinople as a capital of the Roman Empire in the fourth century and walls were

constructed to the west of the walls of the Roman Byzantium. Existing ports from the period of the Roman Byzantium remained incapable and Kontaskalion, Eleutherios and Julian ports were built on the south shore of Constantinople. In this way, trade in the city expanded on both north and south shores of the Historic Peninsula. Then, at the end of the fourth century, city enlargement continued. Theodisian walls were built to the west of the existing walls and the Theodisian port was built on the south shore. From the fourth century to the sixth, the walls remained unchanged but Heptaskalion port was built on the south as the new port of the city in the seventh century. Then, the city was conquered by the Ottomans in the fifteenth century and the city walls remained unchanged and took their final form as the Yedikule Fortress as we know today.

As an important continuity, the northern ports of the city stayed in use from the first Greek urban settlement to the Ottoman period of the city. Newly built ports on the south resulted in the emergence of a new road that linked the south and northern regions of the Historic Peninsula. While the southern ports were used for commerce, the northern ports served for the Ottoman imperial family who lived in Topkapı Palace on the Greek Acropolis hill in the fifteenth century.

In this enlarging macroform of the city from the north to the south and western regions of the Historic Peninsula, Severan Portico emerged as the first main road of the Roman Byzantium in the second century. The Severan Portico was developed as the Mese in Constantinople and bifurcated into two important axes towards west in the fourth century. The first branch road continued to the southwest with public squares on the road and ended with the Golden Gate (contemporary Yedikule). This gate at the southwest edge of the walls was the ceremonial gate of the city and was opened only for the return of the emperor from battle after victory. The second branch road continued to the northwest and ended with the Adrianople Gate (Edirne Kapı). While the southwest branch of the Mese was a ceremonial road, the northwest branch had a religious importance due to the Church of the Holy Apostles located on the road with the mausolea of Roman emperors beginning from the fourth century. In the Ottoman period, the Mese was converted into the Divan Route and retained its use as the ceremonial route constituting an important continuity from the Roman period of the city.

While the city was enlarging from the north to the south and west of the peninsula, the Mese stayed in use as the most important route of the city. Besides its public use, this route was used as the most important ceremonial route with its southwest branchroad ending to the Golden Gate, where was the ceremonial gate of the

city used by the emperor when he returned with victory from battle. Beside the victorial return of the emperor, the Mese was began in the Augusteion Square where was the most important public space of the city surrounded with Hagia Sophia, Great Palace and the hippodrome. On the other hand, the northwest branch of the Mese was an important housing the Church of the Holy Apostles where was the mausoleum of the Roman emperors beginning from the burial of Constantine the Great in the fourth century. The use of the Mese regarding its ceremonial and religious use continued in the Ottoman period of the city. While the Golden Gate (Edirne Kapı) used for the return of the sultan from the battle, the northwest branchroad stayed in use with the construction of Fatih Complex, on a completely cleaned area from the remains of the Church of the Holy Apostles, with its religious and public function including madrasas, Koran courses, a library, hospital, guest house, imaret, caravansaray and mosque.

As the main axis of the city, the most important public squares were located around the Mese and on its two branch roads. Before the first emergence of the Mese as the Severan Portico in the pagan Byzantium in the second century, the public spaces of the Greek Byzantion were located around the city port on the north and the Agora was the most important public area of the city. As an important continuity in the public use of the northern regions, the Greek Agora was converted into the Tetrastoon Square in Roman Byzantium. This may be interpreted both as a contiuity and as a change regarding the continual public use of the area from the Greek Byzantion to Byzantium. At the beginning of the Severan Portico, the Augusteion Square was built as the main open-public area of the city in a location cleared from Greek city walls and the construction of the hippodrome to the southwest of the Augusteion was begun as the main public building of Roman Byzantium. While the Augusteion Square points out the location of the former city walls, there is not any visible remain from the Greek Byzantion in the area and this may be interpreted as the permanent deletion of the traces of the Greek city regarding the overlap of the new public spaces of the Roman Byzantium on the traces of the Greek Byzantion.

When the city became the capital of the Eastern Roman Empire as Constantinople in the fourth century, the Severan Portico was developed as Mese. Parallel with the city enlargement, the Mese was elongated toward west and at the bifurcation point of the road, the Philadelphion Square (contemporary site of Laleli Mosque) was built to the west of the Augusteion Square. On the southwest branch of the Mese, new public squares such as the Forum Bovis and Forum Arcadius were built

in time as nodes of the ceremonies conducted to celebrate the return of the emperor after the battle with victory. Such open public ceremonies did not exist in th Greek and Roman period and, so, the series of public spaces hosting them may be interpreted as the materialization of a change in the imperial context. Today, this ceremonial rout is visible only partially, thanks to the survival of some of the monuments marking these squares such as the Dikilitaş and Yılanlı Sütun.

While these squares served as open-space public areas in Constantinople, after the completion of the hippodrome as the main entertainment building on the southwest of the Augusteion, the public life of the city moved from open spaces to the enclosed building complexes. In this respect, the construction of the hippodrome in Constantinople may be interpreted as an important change in the public life of the city. The building first housed chariot races as the entertainment core of the city. In addition to this entertainment function, the hippodrome was used for the coronation ceremonies of the emperors up to the construction of Hagia Sophia. In the sixth century, chariot race teams turned into political parties and the hippodrome became a stage where people argued their political tendencies. In this respect, the traces of the pagan Roman city were preserved in the physical sense but the entertainment function was transformed into a semi-political one in the Christian Roman city, as an important discontinuity. When Latins captured the city in the thirteenth century, the hippodrome was badly damaged and abandoned. Then, the city was re-captured from Latins but the building was not used up to the Ottoman conquest.

When the use of the hippodrome came to a halt under Latin occupation in the thirteenth century, public life around the Augusteion Square also diminished. But under Ottoman domination, this discontinuity ended when the hippodrome started to be used for wedding ceremonies and circumcision feasts. This public use of the hippodrome continued when the Blue Mosque was built in the seventeenth century and the site of the area converted into the Sultanahmet Square. Transformation of the hippodrome into the Sultanahmet Square reveals an important continuity from the Roman period of the city regarding the public re-use of the area, but with almost no trace of the Latin interlude. This may be interpreted as a true palimpsest, erasing the earlier layers except in traces preserving the architecture of the hippodrome while the area preserved its importance through the ages.

As it is seen, hippodrome stayed in use from its first construction in the Roman Byzantium to the Ottoman domination of the city and became one of the most important

characteristic elements of the Historic Peninsula with reference to Rossi. While the hippodrome was used for the chariot races and coronation ceremonies in the fourth century, the building was transformed into a political space in Constantinople in the sixth century. Then the building became a public and imperial space where the wedding ceremonies and circumcision feasts were conducted in the Ottoman Konstantinyye in the fifteenth century and in this way, the use of the hippodrome as a public space continued. In this respect, while the urban context was changing continuously, the hippodrome stayed in use as a public space. Therefore, the continual use of the hippodrome as a public space in the Historic Peninsula reveals the building as an important trace in a palimpsestic process which lasted from the first construction up to the fifteenth century.

Around the hippodrome, as the public heart of the city, the imperial trilogy model appears as an import from the city of Rome in Constantinople and constitutes a complex into which Hagia Sophia would later be added next to the hippodrome and palace in the immediate vicinity of the Augusteion Square. This co-existence of the hippodrome and the palace in Constantinople had references from the city of Rome where the Circus Maximus and the Domitian Palace were built adjacent to each other to provide a relation with the public for the emperor without going outside of his residence. The third component of the trilogy were the baths that were, in the case of Constantinople, built over the Temples of Zeus and Hippios, preserving their trace in the name Zeuksippos. Hagia Sophia would substitute this erased religious component of the Roman imperial trilogy model, in such a grand scale that would alter drastically the religious landscape of the city. When the imperial route beginning from the Great Palace to Hagia Sophia combined with the interior space ornaments and mosaics of the church, an interconnection may be seen between the building and its urban context.

According to the written evidence belonging to Procopius and Silentiaros, interior ornamentation of Hagia Sophia consisted of geometrical ornaments, fruit and flower figures up to the ninth century. These ornamentations were replaced by the depictions of the emperors and religios figures beginning from the ninth century when the period of regression began in the Eastern Roman Empire due to conflicts with Arabs, Latins and Turks resulted in a halt in the urban growth of the city. While the urban development ceased and the imperial budget focused on military expenditures in this period, the interior of Hagia Sophia was decorated with mosaics of early successful emperors of the Roman Empire and the figures of Virgin Mary and Jesus as the savior of Christians to increase the weakened belief in the empire and resurrect the depleted

trust on the administration. This lack of synchrony between embellishment in urban and building scale is noteworthy, in showing how Hagia Sophia had become a tool for political propaganda during times of crisis. On the other hand, this may be interpreted as an important effect of the urban context of Hagia Sophia in the building scale because depicting the successful emperors of the empire such as the Constantine and Justinian may be seen as an important attempt to increase trust on the Empire via the mosaics of the most important church of the capital of the Roman Empire. In this respect, change in the ornamentation of Hagia Sophia from floral figures to the emperor and Virgin Mary depictions as the protecter of the empire may be interpreted as an important indicator of an interconnection between the Hagia Sophia and its imperial context.

Up to the construction of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople, the religious core of the Greek Byzantion was located on the Acropolis hill, as surrounded with walls, and consisted of temples and sacred areas on the north. In addition to the temples and sacred areas in the boundaries of the Greek Byzantion, there were several temples outside of the walls along the southern slopes of the Acroplis hill and the northwest regions of the Historic Peninsula. In the lack of archaeological evidence pertaining to the religious areas of the Roman Byzantium, the degree to which this religious landscape was preserved or transformed could not be studied in this thesis. Advance of archaeological knowledge on Roman Byzantium would have a lot to contribute in surveys such as the present one.

When the city was re-founded as Constantinople under the reign of Constantine the Great, Hagia Eirene was built to the north of the Augusteion Square as the first church and patriarchate of the city in the fourth century. Then, the initial construction of Hagia Sophia was begun on the site between the Hagie Eirene and the Augusteion Square. After its completion, the patriarchate moved to Hagia Sophia and, in this way, the religious importance of Hagie Eirene diminished. Up to the Ottoman period, the religious use of Hagia Eirene continued but, in the fifteenth century, the building was converted into a military museum and included in the boundaries of Topkapı Palace. Conversion of Hagia Eirene into a museum reveals an important discontinuity regarding the religious use of the building, through a process described by Bailey through his category of palimpsests of meaning.

In the urban context, the site of Hagia Sophia overlaps with the earlier site of the Greek temples in Byzantion and this may be interpreted as a true palimpsestic process that erased all traces of earlier buildings though their meaning was in a way preserved in the continual religious use of the area. This continuation may be seen in the construction

of Hagia Eirene as well, over the sacred areas of the Greek Byzantion on the southern slopes of the Acropolis hill. In addition to Hagia Eirene and Hagia Sophia, the Church of the Holy Apostles was built in the fourth century with the mausoleum of the Roman emperors starting with Constantine the Great, on the northwest branch road of the Mese where Greek temples were located outside of the city walls in the period of Greek Byzantion.

With the construction of the Church of the Holy Apostles, a district of the city was upgraded and the road became an important link connecting the core of the city with the newly built area. Additionally, monasteries built in the fourth century increased the religious importance of the northwestern regions. Although the Church of the Holy Apostles had a major importance as the mausoleum of the Roman emperors, the vicinity of the Augusteion Square on the south of today's Sarayburnu became the religious core of the Christian Roman capital due to Hagia Eirene as the first patriarchate and Hagia Sophia as the most important node of the imperial ceremonies.

When the city was captured by the Latins in the thirteenth century, Hagia Sophia was converted into a Catholic cathedral for fifty seven years. As Constantinople imported the imperial trilogy model from the city of Rome in the fourth century, Constantinople apparently became a model for Venice in this period. It is argued that the plan type of the St. Mark's Basilica built in Venice in 1094 had references from the Greek-cross plan type of the Church of the Holy Apostles, which was built for a second time under the reign of Justinian the Great in the seventh century in Constantinople. The monumental organization at the heart of Venice may also be compared to Constantinople's to see a parallelism in the square of the St. Mark's Basilica as the main public square like Constantinopolitan hippodrome. A similar parallelism may be observed in the construction of the Dodge's palace adjacent to St. Mark's Basilica with the administrative component of the imperial trilogy model of Rome as imported in Constantinople. When all the material stolen by the Latins to Venice are also taken into consideration, Constantinople may be observed to have become a model city in the eleventh century, while the city modeled Rome up to that time. The gravestone of the Venetian Doge Dandolo in Hagia Sophia may be interpreted as an important reflection in the building scale of the change that occured in the urban context of the building as the monumental symbol of the superiority of Latin Catholicism over Roman Orthodoxy.

Reflections of changing urban context on building scale may be seen in the administrative buildings of the city besides the public spaces and religious buildings. In

fact in the Greek Byzantion, the administrative buildings of the city were located on the north of the Agora. In the lack of archaeological evidence, there is not any reliable evidence about the site of the palace of Septimus Severus in the Roman Byzantium, but one mentioned possible location is the site of today's Istanbul University Beyazıt Campus on the north of the hippodrome where a temporary residence was built for Mehmed the Conqueror right after the Ottoman conquest of the city at the end of the Severan Portico in the Roman Byzantium, which would developed into the Mese in Constantinople and become the junction point of two main axis of the city. This may be interpreted as a true palimpsestic process due to the construction of the palace on the earlier site of the administrative buildings of the Roman Byzantium, thanks to which the location retained its administrative importance though erasing all earlier traces.

Then, the Great Palace was built in the fourth century as the main administrative core of the capital of the Eastern Roman Empire to the south of the Augusteion Square in Constantinople and adjacent to the hippodrome as in the Roman imperial trilogy model. In this way, the administrative core of the city moved from the Agora area on the north to the beginning of the Mese on the west of the Augusteion Square. From fourth century to the ninth century, the Great Palace was used as the residential area of the Christian Roman emperors and the core of the city remained unchanged around the Augusteion Square.

In the ninth century, due to the damaged structure of the Great Palace after earthquakes, the Palace of Mangana was built to the east of the Acropolis hill and used as the new residential and administrative building of the emperor. In this way, the first dissolution of the trilogy occurred in the ninth century as the administrative component of the trilogy was separated from the public and religious components, i.e. the hippodrome and Hagia Sophia. In the eleventh century, due to the unprotected site of the Palace of Mangana, the emperor moved to the Blachernea Palace near the Theodisian Walls on the northwest branch of the Mese. This relocation of the administrative core first in the east and then to in northwest of the city is a noteworthy but now widely known discontinuity from the fourth century to the eleventh century in Constantinople. As an indicator of the permanent deletion of the Christian Roman Constantinople, while the Mangana and Blachernea Palaces had major importance as administrative cores of their own contexts, the only known palace dating from the period of the Christian Roman city is the Great Palace today.

During the Latin occupation in the thirteenth century for fifty seven years, Latins repaired and moved back to the Great Palace. The existence, in the vicinity of the palace, of Hagia Sophia which converted into a catholic cathedral by the Latins, had a major role in the increasing importance of the Great Palace under the Latin domination, and may be taken as an indicator of the effect of Hagia Sophia on its urban context. In this way, the separation of palace from the imperial trilogy model ended in the thirteenth century when the Latins used the Great Palace as their residential area. After re-capturing the city from Latins, the Byzantine emperors continued to live in the Great Palace. The palace was abondened only after the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople.

The so-called "*Eski Saray*" (Old Palace) was built to the west of the Augusteion Square as a temporarily residence for Mehmed the Conqueror. Located at the junction of two main axis of the Byzantine city and possibly at the location of the Roman palace, this temporary residence apparently restored the administrative importance of the area around the Augusteion Square at the beginning of the ceremonial roads of the city. This reveals an important continuity from the period of the Christian Constantinople and possibly Roman Byzantium. Yet, very much like the lost traces of the Greek city walls in the vicinity of the Augusteion Square, the trace of these two palaces was also lost beneath the current Beyazıt Campus of Istanbul University.

Then, Topkapı Palace was built on the former Greek Acropolis hill as the permanent residential area of the sultan. In this way, the northern regions of Sarayburnu retained their importance but as an administrative core, which is an important discontinuity from the religious use of the hill from the period of Greek Byzantion in a true palimpsestic process. On the other hand, the religious use around the Augusteion Square remained unchanged and the area retained its importance from the Christian Roman Constantinople to the Ottoman Konstantiniyye in the fifteenth century.

Like Constantine the Great's new capital had references from the city of Rome as the former capital of the Roman Empire, Mehmed the Conqueror's capital had references from the former Ottoman capital Bursa. Similar to the Roman trilogy model, the palace of the sultan and the main mosque were built in the vicinity of each other in Bursa with an important difference from the Roman model: a missing public space component. Instead of a public building like the hippodrome, grand bazaars existed in the former capital of the Ottomans. When Bursa became the capital of the Ottoman Empire, Orhan Gazi had moved to the citadel surrounded with walls on the north of Bursa, and the construction of Bey Palace had begun to host administrative and

residential building inside walls. As the biggest religious building of Bursa, St. Elias Monastery was converted into a mosque and called as Silvered Tomb (Gümüşlü Kümbet). Near Bey Palace, Orhan Gazi ordered the construction of a bath. Outside of the citadel, the commercial area of Bursa, *bedesten*, was located as the most important public space of the city. Differently when Constantinople became the new capital of the Ottoman Empire as Konstantiniyye, the hippodrome was repaired to become the ceremonial and public core of the city as it was during the Byzantine Empire. In this way, the commercial area in the Bursa model was replaced by the hippodrome in Konstantiniyye, as an important continuity from the Christian Roman period of the city.

As the religious component of the trilogy, Mehmed the Conqueror converted Hagia Sophia into the imperial mosque of the Empire, following the model of Orhan Gazi, and the building was largely preserved except in "minor" interventions such as mihrab, minbar and minaret additions. To re-call the Byzantine past of Hagia Sophia and symbolize the superior power of Islam over Christianity, Mehmed the Conqueror did not remove all mosaics of Hagia Sophia. Instead, the mosaics which were located at the eye-level and seen during the prayer (namaz) were plastered over and the others located on the upper levels were protected. While this partial masking of the mosaics may be interpreted as important change in the building scale, preservation of Christian traces in the grand mosque of the Ottoman Empire may be seen as a continuity regarding the visibility of the former traces of the Christian city in the imperial scale in a cumulative palimpsest.

When Mehmed the Conqueror converted Hagia Sophia into the imperial mosque, the hadith of Prophet Muhammed was hung near the Imperial Gate of the building as an indicator that the Ottomans were informed about the ceremonial route in the Byzantine past of the city. In other words, the traces of the former writings belonging to the Roman past of the city can be seen in the preservation and maintenance of Hagia Sophia under the Early Ottoman domination in the form of maintained un-changed traces while the imperial context of Hagia Sophia was largely changed. Similarly, after the conversion of Hagia Sophia into the grand mosque of the Ottoman Empire, Mehmed the Conqueror preferred minor additions to increase the legibility of Roman writings of the building to emphasize his power by keeping alive the former traces in the building. The preserved ornamentations of Hagia Sophia including seraphims, former emperor depictions and Virgin Mary and Jesus mosaics can be seen

as the uppermost writing of the building indicating an important continuity from the previous writings of the building in a cumulative palimpsestic process.

When interventions of Mehmed the Conqueror on Hagia Sophia are compared with those of the Byzantine emperors, it may be said that the Ottoman sultan did not placed himself at the heart of the religion. The preservation of the Byzantine traces in the building instead of making his own depictions on the walls and hanging Prophet Muhammed's hadith near the Imperial Gate may be seen as clues for Mehmed the Conqueror's choice to separate the administratyive and religion in contrast to the Byzantine emperors who placed themselves at the head of the religion. As another indicator of this segregation, Mehmed the Conqueror's religious monumental complex was located on the northwest regions of the city instead of the southern regions in the vicinity of Hagia Sophia, Great Palace and Topkapı Palace.

After the conversion of Hagia Sophia into the imperial mosque, the construction of Mehmed the Conqueror's first Islamic monument was begun on the northwest branchroad of the Mese where the Church of the Holy Apostles was located. To construct Fatih Complex, the Church of the Holy Apostles was demolished and the Christian Roman traces on the site were largely deleted. This new monumental complex may be interpreted as the uppermost writing of the site in a true palimpsest process that maintained the religious function of the area that is known to have started in the Greek period and continued under the Roman though without a visible trace today.

Thanks to recent archaeological excavations, remains from the second Church of the Holy Apostles can be seen in the site of Fatih Complex today. As the remains of the Theodisian Hagia Sophia are visible today in the form of a 4 meter-long wall out of brick and rubble stone running from west to the east, traces of the second Church of the Holy Apostles dating to the period of Justinian the Great in the sixth century can be seen in the courtyard of Fatih Mosque today. In this respect, these traces belonging to the Theodisian Hagia Sophia and the Justinianic Church of the Holy Apostles reveal as important traces surviving from the continual change in the urban context. Today, while the remains of Hagia Sophia were preserved and opened for visit in front of the building, the traces of the Church of the Holy Apostles in the site of Fatih Complex are largely ignored and visitors are not informed about the previous period remains in the area. Although it is not possible to grasp the connection of these traces in their own temporal contexts today, future studies with a similar methodology of handling

monuments in their own temporal and spatial contexts may be helpful to understand the whole picture consisting the ignored traces of the past in a spatial palimpsest in the city.

While Mehmed the Conqueror's new monument resulted in a change both in the physical and symbolic sense, the religious importance of the area continued. On the other hand, after the construction of Fatih Complex, it may be said that the religious core of the city was divided into two and while Fatih Complex became an important religious center on the northwest of the city, the importance of Hagia Sophia remained as the imperial mosque on the south. Hence the religious component of the imperial trilogy model was divided into two parts, one located at the beginning of the ceremonial axis of the city in the immediate vicinity of the Augusteon Square, and the on the northwest branch road of this axis on the former site of the mausoleum of the Christian Roman emperors. This decision would be better understood within the larger perspective of the urban scale.

Although the main axis of the city and the site selection for the administrative, public and religious buildings shows parallelism with the Roman period of the city, the street layout of the Ottoman Konstantiniyye shows discontinuity regarding the street layout and their connection with each other in the urban texture. The old buildings of the Severan period and the new constructions of Christian Roman Constantinople were integrated with a grid plan that consisted of right angled streets. In the Ottoman period, the grid-iron plan of the city was replaced by scattered neighborhoods which resulted in an organic growth in the street layout and enlargement beyond the city walls in a true palimpsestic process.

In this respect, the Ottoman period of the city may be interpreted as an important discontinuity from the Byzantine city regarding the change in the street layout. While the grid-iron plan disappeared and was replaced by scattered neighborhoods, buildings belonging to the former periods remained as monumental traces on the new layout of the city dating from the earlier times.

4.4. Conclusion and Further Studies

Throughout these transformations occurred in the imperial and building scale, Hagia Sophia was both affected from the transformations and itself transformed its urban context synchronously. As a result, the building and its physical and cultural

context became a canvas where different writings dating from several periods of the city overlap each other. Although these writings are not seen clearly and constitute a meaningful whole in contemporary Istanbul, it is possible to trace them still by handling the historic monuments such as Hagia Sophia in their own period's physical and cultural context. In this way, continuities and changes that occured both in Hagia Sophia and its urban context reveal a correlation between the building and its immediate vicinity. Conclusions reveal the potential in handling Hagia Sophia as a single monument connected to its social and physical environment and the monument reveals as a physical symbol of the urban and imperial scale transformations in the city.

The data on the imperial and urban context of Hagia Sophia is gained from the changing time and space organization of the Historic Peninsula including changing religious understanding, imperial ceremonies and public entertainments in addition to the data on the use of these monuments by the public and the imperial family. When this data is cross read in the previous section, Hagia Sophia revealed as an important monument which is affected by its context while affecting it synchronously. Therefore, an interconnection between Hagia Sophia and its urban context consisting of architectural monuments is revealed and "is there any correlation between Hagia Sophia and its urban context?" and "is the building affected from changes occurred in its urban and imperial context?" are answered. Because Hagia Sophia adopted itself to different uses and contexts, the building stayed in use from the first construction up to today. In addition to the building scale conversions, correlation between Hagia Sopha and its vicinity provided a continual use of the Historic Peninsula of Istanbul.

Similarly when the chronological use of the site of Hagia Sophia and its vicinity studied, a continual religious use of the area can be seen which begins with the sacred areas of the Greek Byzantion in the seventh century BC. In this way, "why was Hagia Sophia built there?" is answered with the help of the palimpsestic point of view. As another indicator of Hagia Sophia's major effect on its urban context, the conversion of the building into a mosque is a popular issue which has been debating in recent years. These debates show the role of Hagia Sophia as an important monument which affects the urban context via its use as mosque or museum.

In addition to these questions as the backbone of this thesis, this survey's period is determined as from the first emergence of urban way of living in the Historic Peninsula in the seventh century BC up to the Ottoman conquest in the fifteenth century because the life of the monument under Ottoman and Turkish Republican rule deserves

another much comprehensive research which could not be handled here due to the time constraints and the necessity of a different methodology and literature study. In a similar vein, the period between the second century to the fourth, especially the reign of Septimus Severus in the Roman Byzantium, cannot be studied in detail due to the lack of evidence. In this respect, this thesis may be helpful to fill such a gap regarding one of the most important historical periods of the city.

The approach of this study in handling Hagia Sophia as a continuously transforming monument in the Historic Peninsula may be helpful to combine older traces hide behind the uppermost writings of the contemporary Istanbul. If we take Istanbul as an urban palimpsest, while a newer (con)text is written, the earlier traces are continuously covered or deleted partially. Traces surviving from this continual deletion reveal continuities and discontinuities between the older and the uppermost writing of the city. Hagia Sophia is one of those traces that may be used as a document situated at the center of the public, administrative and religous core of the city from the first settlement period up to the Ottoman conquest.

In this respect, new design proposals focusing on the historical past of the monuments in their own contexts via the cross-reading of the urban scale literature and building scale studies may be useful to constitute a meaningful whole and show Historic Peninsula and Istanbul the respect they deserve in a larger scale in a palimpsest process. This resembles that how we can understand a word with the help of its existing letters even if its certain letters are missing, we can constitute a meaningful whole via physical traces which are meaningless in contemporary urban setting of the Historic Peninsula with the help of a palimpsestic view.

REFERENCES

Afşar, Yavuz. *Bilinmeyen Yönleriyle Ayasofya.* İzmir: Kaynak Yayınları, 2014.

Akgündüz, Ahmet, and Said Öztürk. *Kiliseden Müzeye Ayasofya Camii.* İstanbul: Osmanlı Araştırmaları Vakfı Prestij Kitaplar, 2006.

Akgündüz, Ahmet, and Said Öztürk. *Üç Devirde Bir Mabed-Ayasofya.* İstanbul: Osmanlı Araştırmaları Vakfı Tarih Dizisi, 2005.

Altınyıldız Artun, Nur. "Mimarlık Nesnesi ve Başka Nesneler." *E-skop Sanat Tarihi Eleştiri* 2 (2012): 1-24.

Altınyıldız, Nur. "The Architectural Heritage of Istanbul and the Ideology of Preservation." *Muqarnas* 24, History and Ideology: Architectural Heritage of the "Lands of Rum" (2007): 281-305. http://www.jstor.org/stable/25482464

Armostrong, Gregory T. "Constantine's Churches: Symbol and Structure." *Journal of Society of Architectural Historians* 33, no:1 (1974):5-16. http://www.jstor.org/stable/988835

Arnold, Dana, Altan Ergut, and Belgin Turan Özkaya, eds., *Rethinking Architectural Historiography.* London and New York: Routledge, 2006.

Arnold, Dana. *Rethinking Architectural Historiography.* London: Routledge, 2002.

Arens, Katherine. "Stadtwollen: Benjamin's 'Arcades Project' and the Problem of Method." *PMLA* 122 no: 1 (2007): 43-60. http://www.jstor.org/stable/25501670

Auzepy, Marie-France. "İstanbul'un Hipodromu." In *Bizans: Yapılar, Meydanlar, Yaşamlar,* ed. Annie Pralong, trans. Buket Kitapçı Bayrı, İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2011.

Auzepy, Marie-France. "Konstantinopolis ve Araplar (7.-9. Yüzyıllar)." In *Bizans: Yapılar, Meydanlar, Yaşamlar,* ed. Annie Pralong, trans. Buket Kitapçı Bayrı, İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2011.

Auzepy, Marie-France. "Konstantinopolis'in Siyasal ve Dinsel Yaşamında Ayasofya'nın Yeri." In *Bizans: Yapılar, Meydanlar, Yaşamlar,* ed. Annie Pralong, trans. Buket Kitapçı Bayrı, İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2011.

Aygün, Çiğdem Özkan. "The Wells, Subterraenan Passage, Tunnels and Water Systems of Hagia Sophia in Istanbul." August 20, 2013, www.fera-journal.eu

Bailey, Geoff. "Time Perspectives, Palimpsests and the Archaeology of Time." *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 26 (2007): 198-223.

Balivet, Michel. "Konstantinopolis'te Türkler (11.-15. Yüzyıllar)." In *Bizans: Yapılar, Meydanlar, Yaşamlar,* ed. Annie Pralong, trans. Buket Kitapçı Bayrı, İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2011.

Bassett, Sarah. Review by Elizabeth Marlowe. "The Urban Image of the Late Antique Constantinople." *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 126 (2006): 203-204. http://www.jstor.org/stable/30033464

Bassett, Sarah Guberti. "Historiae custos: Sculpture and Tradition in the Baths of Zeuxippos." *American Journal of Archaeology* 100, no. 3 (1996): 491-506. http://www.jstor.org/stable/507026

Bassett, Sarah Guberti. "The Antiquities in the Hippodrome of Constantinople." *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 45, (1991): 87-96. http://www.jstor.org/stable/1291694

Baynes, Norman Hepburn. *Constantine the Great and the Christian Church.* London: Oxford University Press, 1972.

Berger, Albrecht. "Streets and Public Spaces in Constantinople." *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 54, (2000): 161-172. http://www.jstor.org/stable/1291837

Berger, Albrecht. "The Byzantine Court as a Physical Space," in *The Byzantine Court: Source of Power and Culture. Papers from The Second International Sevgi Gönül Byzantine Studies Symposium,* ed. Ayla Ödekan, İstanbul: Koç University Press, 2013.

Bizantion'dan İstanbul'a Bir Başkentin 8000 Yılı. İstanbul: Sabancı Üniversitesi Sakıp Sabancı Müzesi, 2010.

Braubaker, Leslie. "Processions and Public Spaces in Early and Middle Byzantine Constantinople," in *The Byzantine Court: Source of Power and Culture. Papers from The Second International Sevgi Gönül Byzantine Studies Symposium*, ed. Ayla Ödekan, İstanbul: Koç University Press, 2013.

Brown, Peter. *Geç Antikçağda Roma ve Bizans Dünyası.* Translated by Turhan Kaçar. İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2000.

Bury, John Bagnell. *History of the Later Roman Empire: From the Death of Theodosius I to the Death of Justinian.* London: Macmillan, 1923.

Casson, Stanley. *Second Report upon the Excavations Carried out in and near the Hippodrome of Constantinople in 1928 on Behalf of the British Academy*. British Academy, 1929. http://www.jstor.org/stable/297363

Cerasi, Maurice. "The Urban and Architectural Evolution of the Istanbul Divanyolu: Urban Aesthetics and Ideology in Ottoman Town Building." *Muqarnas* 22 (2005): 189-232. http://www.jstor.org/stable/25482429

Charles, Martin A.. "Hagia Sophia and the Great Imperial Mosques." *The Art Bulletin* 12, no:4 (1930): 320-345.

Chatzidakis, Nano. "Konstantinopolis'in İkonaları." In *Bizans: Yapılar, Meydanlar, Yaşamlar,* ed. Annie Pralong, trans. Buket Kitapçı Bayrı, İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2011.

Cormack Anthony and Ernest J. W. Hawkins. "The Mosaics of St. Sophia at Istanbul: The Rooms above the Southwest Vestibule and Ramp." *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 31 (1977): 175-251. http://www.jstor.org/stable/1291407

Cutler, Anthony. "Structure and Aesthetics at Hagia Sophia in Constantinople." *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 25, no:1 (1966): 27-35. http://www.jstor.org/stable/428881

Çakmak, Ahmet S., and John Freely. *İstanbul'un Bizans Anıtları.* İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2005.

Chuvin, Pierre. "Ayasofya Yeniyken... Açılışı Yapıldığında Bazilikanın Renkli Süslemeleri." In *Bizans: Yapılar, Meydanlar, Yaşamlar,* ed. Annie Pralong, trans. Buket Kitapçı Bayrı, İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2011.

Fiene, Donald M. "What is the Appearance of Divine Sophia?." *Slavic Review* 48, no:3 (1989): 449-476. http://www.jstor.org/stable/2498998

Doğan, Sema. *Ayasofya ve Fossati Kardeşler.* İstanbul: Arkeoloji ve Sanat Yayınları, 2012.

Düzgüner, Fırat. *Iustinianus Dönemi'nde İstanbul'da Yapılar.* İstanbul: Arkeoloji ve Sanat Yayınları, 2004.

Downey, Glanville. "Justinian as a Builder." *The Art Bulletin* 32, no. 4 (1950): 262-266. http://www.jstor.org/stable/3047311

Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi. İstanbul: Kültür Bakanlığı ve Tarih Vakfı Ortak Yayını, Cilt 1, 1993.

Edizioni, Magnus. *Rome: Art and Architecture.* Edited by Marco Bussagli. Translated by Peter Barton. Berlin: Könemann, 1999.

El Cheikh, Nadia Maria. *Arapların Gözüyle Bizans. Translated by* Mehmet Moralı. İstanbul: Alfa, 2012.

Emerson, William and Robert L. Van Nice. "Hagia Sophia: A Unique Architectural Achievement of the Sixth Century." *The American Academy of Arts and Sciences* 4 no:2 (1950):2-3. http://www.jstor.org/stable/3822741

Emerson, William and Robert L. van Nice. "Hagia Sophia, İstanbul: Preliminary Report of a Recent Examination of the Structure." *American Journal of Archaeology* 47, (1943):403-436. http://www.jstor.org/stable/499830.

Emerson, William and van Nice, Robert. "Hagia Sophia and the First Minaret Erected After the Conquest of Constantinople." *American Journal of Archaeology* 54, no:1 (1950): 28-40. http://www.jstor.org/stable/500639

Erkal, Namık Günay. "Constantinopolis: A Study on the City of Constantinople as the Artifice of Constantine the Great's Imperial Project." Master thesis, METU, 1995.

Evren, Emre. "*Archaeogeophysical Studies in the Sultanahmet –Blue- Mosque.*" *Vakıf Restorasyon Yıllığı* 4, (2012): 99-112.

Freely, John. *Istanbul the Imperial City.* London: Penguin Books, 1998.

Gatje, Robert F.. *Great Public Squares.* New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2010.

Günsenin, Nergis. *City Harbours from Antiquity through Medieval Times* http://www.nautarch.org/cms/wp-content/uploads/2012/10/14_Gunsenin_B.pdf (Accessed: 19.04.2014)

Gürşan, Nazlı. *Yapıların Efendisi Aya Sofya.* İstanbul: Cinius Yayınları, 2011.

Joost-Gaugier, Christiane L. "The Iconography of Sacred Space: A Suggested Reading of the Meaning of the Roman Pantheon." *Artibus et Historiae* 19, no: 38 (1998): 21-42. http://www.jstor.org/stable/1483585

Kleinbauer, W. Eugene, and Anthony White, *Ayasofya.* İstanbul: Arkeoloji ve Sanat Yayınları, 2004.

Korkmaz, Gülsüm Ezgi, "Surnamelerde 1582 Şenliği." Master thesis, Bilkent University, 2004.

Kostof, Spiro. *A History of Architecture: Settings and Rituals.* New York: Yazıcı Oxford University Press, 1995.

Köroğlu, Gülgün. "İstanbul'daki Bizans İmparatorluk Sarayları." *Osmanlı Bankası Arşiv ve Araştırma Merkezi,* (13 Aralık 2006): 1-13. http://www.obarsiv.com/e_voyvoda_0607.html (Accessed: 08.05.2014)

Krautheimer, Richard. *Three Christian Capitals.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983.

Kuban, Doğan. *İstanbul Bir Kent Tarihi: Bizantion, Konstantinopolis, İstanbul.* İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2004.

Kuran, Aptullah. "A Spatial Study of Three Ottoman Capitals: Bursa, Edirne, and Istanbul." *Muqarnas* 13, (1996): 114-131. http://www.jstor.org/stable/1523255

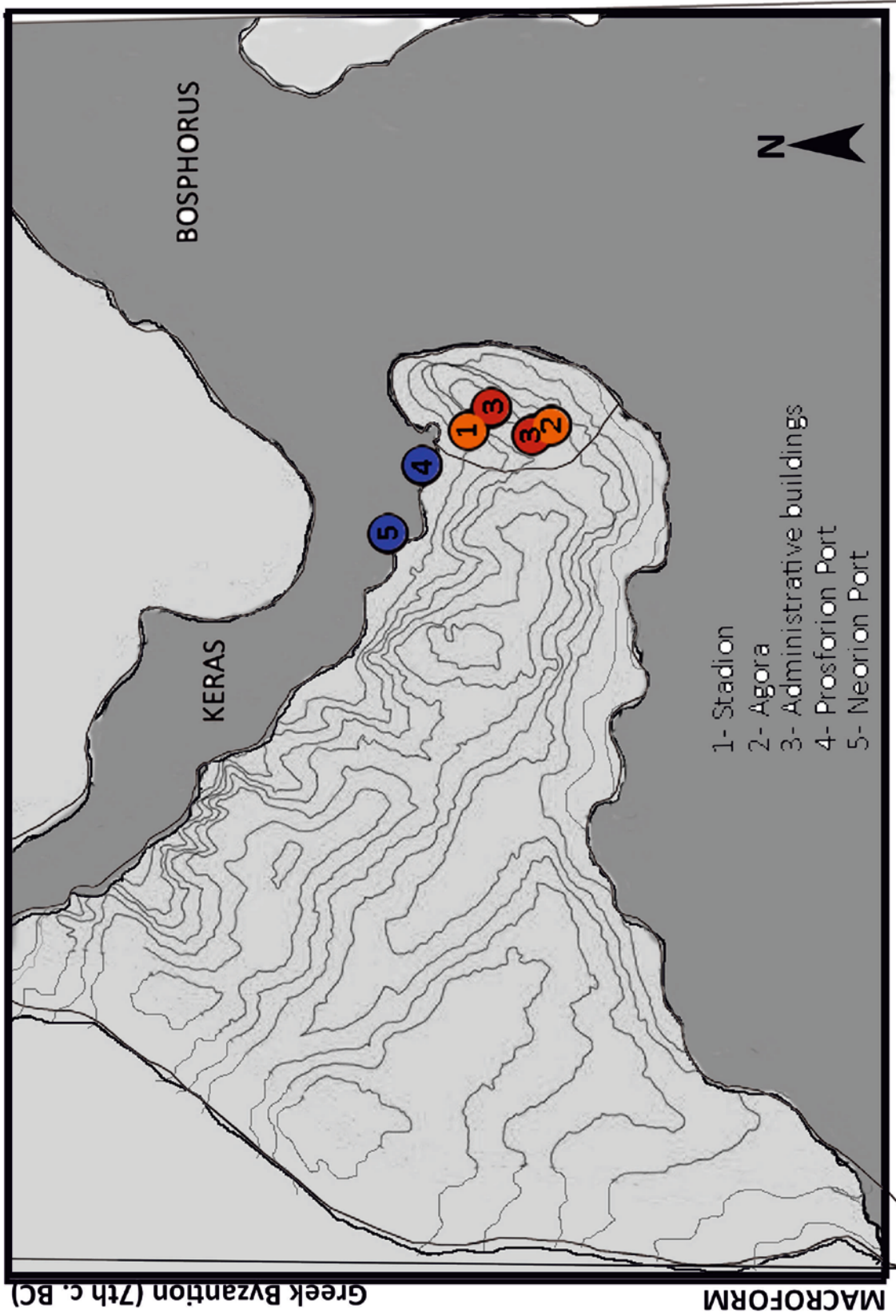Lemerle, Paul. *Bizans Tarihi.* Translated by Galip Üstün. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2000.

Mabeyinci, Pavlos. *Ayasofya'nın Betimi.* İstanbul: İstanbul Araştırmaları Enstitüsü Klasik Yapıtlar Dizisi, 2010.

MacDonald, William. "Design and Technology in Hagia Sophia" *Perspecta* 4, (1957): 20-27. http://www.jstor.org/stable/1566853

Macdonald, William L. *The Architecture of the Roman Empire I: An Introductory Study.* London: Yale University Press, 1982.

Mainstone, Rowland J. *Hagia Sophia: Architecture, Structure and Liturgy of Justinian's Great Church.* New York: Thames and Hudson, 1988.

Mainstone, Rowland J. "Justinian's Church of St. Sophia, Istanbul: Recent Studies of its Construction and First Partial Reconstruction." *Architectural History* 12, (1969): 34-49+102-107. http://www.jstor.org/stable/1568335

Majeska, George P. "Notes on the Archaeology of St. Sophia at Constantinople: The Green Marble Bands on the Floor." *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 32 (1978): 299-308. http://www.jstor.org/stable/1291426

Malamut, Elisabeth. "I. Aleksios Komnenos Döneminde Konstantinopolis (1081-1118)." In *Bizans: Yapılar, Meydanlar, Yaşamlar,* ed. Annie Pralong, trans. Buket Kitapçı Bayrı, İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2011.

Mango, Cyril. *Bizans Mimarisi. Translated by* Mine Kadiroğlu. Ankara: Özel Basım, 2006.

Mango, Cyril. *The Art of the Byzantine Empire 312-1453: Sources and Documents.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986.

Mango, Cyril. "The Triumphal Way of Constantinople and the Golden Gate." *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 54 (2000): 173-188. http://www.jstor.org/stable/1291838

Mark, Robert, and Ahmet Ş. Çakmak. *Hagia Sophia: From the Age of Justinian to the Present.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.

Mathews, Thomas F. *The Early Churches of Constantinople: Architecture and Liturgy.* London: The Pennsylvania State University, 1971.

Matschke, Klaus-Peter. "Builders and Building in Late Byzantine Constantinople." In *Byzantine Constantinople: Monuments, Topography and Everyday Life,* edited by Nevra Necipoğlu, 315-328. Boston: Bardill, 2001.

Meyendorff, John. "Justinian the Empire and the Church." *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 22, (1968): 43-60. http://www.jstor.org/stable/1291275

Morey, Charles Rufus. "The Mosaics of Hagia Sophia." *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 2, no:7 (1944): 201-210. http://www.jstor.org/stable/3257129

Morton, Patricia A.. "The Afterlife of Buildings." In *Rethinking Architectural Historiography* ed. By Dana Arnold, Elvan Altan Ergut, and Belgin Turan Özkaya, (London and New York: Routledge, 2006): 215-228.

Müller-Wiener, Wolfgang. *Bizans'tan Osmanlı'ya İstanbul Limanları.* İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1998.

Müller-Wiener, Wolfgang. *İstanbul Limanı.* İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2003.

Müller-Wiener, Wolfgang. *İstanbul'un Tarihsel Topografyası: 17. Yüzyıl Başlarına Kadar Byzantion-Konstantinopolis-İstanbul.* İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2007.

Nelson, Robert S. *Hagia Sophia 1850-1950.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004.

Osterhout, Robert. "The Temple, the Sepulchre, and the Martyrion of the Savior" *Gesta* 29, no: 1 (1990): 44-53. http://www.jstor.org/stable/767099

Özkök, Rüknü. *İstanbul Yedi Tepede On Yedi Gezi.* İstanbul: Doğan Kitap, 2010.

Pitarakis, Brigitte. "From the Hippodrome to the Reception Halls of the Great Palace: Acclamations and Dances in the Service of Imperial Ideology." In *The Byzantine Court: Source of Power and Culture. Papers from The Second International Sevgi Gönül Byzantine Studies Symposium,* ed. Ayla Ödekan, İstanbul: Koç University Press, 2013.

Recchi-Franchescini, Eugenia Bolognesi. "The Great Palace Itineraries." In *26. Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı* 3. Cilt, 26-30 Mayıs 2008, T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları Yayın No: 3172-3, Ankara: Kültür Varlıkları ve Müzeler Genel Müdürlüğü Yayınları, Yayın No: 131-3, 2009.

Rice, Talbot D., Review by D. M. Nicol. "Istanbul. The Great Palace of the Byzantine Emperors. Second Report." *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 81 (1961): 230-231. http://www.jstor.org/stable/628170

Rossi, Aldo. *Architecture of the City.* Cambridge: Opposition Books The MIT Press, 1982.

Schwartz, Vanessa R.. "Walter Benjamin for Historians." *The American Historical Review* 106 no: 5 (2001): 1721-1743. http://www.jstor.org/stable/2692744

Sieburth, Richard. "Benjamin the Scrivener." *Assemblage* no:6 (1988): 6-23. http://www.jstor.org/stable/3171042

Sodini, Jean Pierre. "Konstantinopolis: Bir Megapolün Doğuşu (4.-6. Yüzyıllar)." In *Bizans: Yapılar, Meydanlar, Yaşamlar,* ed. Annie Pralong, trans. Buket Kitapçı Bayrı, İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2011.

Staccioli, Romolo Augusto. *Ancient Rome Past and Present.* Rome: Vision, 2000.

Sumner-Boyd, Hilary, and John Freely. *İstanbul Gezgininin Rehberi: İstanbul'u Dolaşırken.* Translated by Yelda Türedi. İstanbul: Pan Yayıncılık, 2011.

Swift, Emerson H.. "The Latins at Hagia Sophia." *American Journal of Archaeology* 39, no:4 (1935): 458-474. http://www.jstor.org/stable/498154

Talbot, Alice-Mary. "The Restoration of Constantinople under Michael VIII." *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 47 (1993): 243-2601. http://www.jstor.org/stable/1291680

Taraz, Nazlı. "Limits of Re-writing and Legibility of Transformations in Istanbul's Historic Peninsula: An Interpretation Inspired from the Wabi-Sabi Philosophy." *ITU AZ Journal* 10, no. 1 (2013): 37-50.

Tekeli, İlhan. *Birlikte Yazılan ve Öğrenilen Bir Tarihe Doğru.* İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2007.

Tunay, Mehmet İ.. "Byzantine Archaeological Findings in Istanbul During the Last Decade." In *Byzantine Constantinople: Monuments, Topography and Everyday Life,* edited by Nevra Necipoğlu, Boston: Bardill (2001): 217-231.

Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Araştırmaları Merkezi, "İslam Ansiklopedisi," Cilt: 6 http://www.islamansiklopedisi.info/yayin.php (Accessed: 29.05.2014).

Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Araştırmaları Merkezi, "İslam Ansiklopedisi," Cilt: 23 http://www.islamansiklopedisi.info/yayin.php (Accessed: 29.05.2014).

Türkoğlu, Sabahattin. *Ayasofya'nın Öyküsü.* İstanbul: Yazıcı Basım Yayınları, 2002.

Ure, Percy Neville. *Justinian and his Age.* Hormondsworth: Greenwood Press Reprint, 1951.

Van Nice, Robert. "Hagia Sophia: New Types of Structural Evidence." *Journal of Society of Architectural Historians* 7 No:3/4 (1948):5-9. http://www.jstor.org/stable/987423

Vasiliev, Alexsandr Aleksandrovitch. "The Monument of Porphyrius in the Hippodrome at Constantinople," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 4, (1948):27+29-49. http://www.jstor.org/stable/1291048

White, Antony, Henry Matthew, and W. Eugene Kleinbauer. *Ayasofya.* İstanbul: Arkeoloji ve Sanat Yayınları, 2004.

Woodrow, Zoe Antonia. "Imperial Ideology in Middle Byzantine Court Culture: The Evidence of Constantine Porphyrogenitus's de ceremoniis." Doctoral thesis, DUR,2001. Available at Durham E-Theses Online: http://etheses.dur.ac.uk/3969/

http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/context (Accessed: 07.08.2014)

APPENDIX A

CHRONOLOGICAL MAPS OF THE HISTORIC PENINSULA OF ISTANBUL (7TH C. BC-15TH C. AD)

Greek Byzantion (7th c. BC)

BOSPHORUS

KERAS

1- Stadion
2- Agora
3- Administrative buildings
4- Prosforion Port
5- Neorion Port

N

MACROFORM

145

MACROFORM

Roman Byzantium (2th c. AD)

BOSPHORUS

KERAS

Severan Portico

N

1- Greek Agora-> Tetrastoon Sqaure
2- Augusteion Square
3- Severan Palace (probable site)
4- Prosforion Port
5- Neorion Port

146

BOSPHORUS

KERAS

N

1- Tetrastoon Sqaure
2- Augusteion Square
3- Hippodrome
4- Constantine Forum
5- Philadelphion Square

6- Great Palace
7- Neorion Port
8- Prosforion Port
9- Sophia Port
10- Theodosius Port

11- Hagia Eirene
12- Hagia Sophia
13- Church of Holy Apostles
14- Blachernea Palace
15- Mangana Palace

Adrianople Gate

Forum Boyls

Forum Arcadius

Golden Gate

MACROFORM

Constantinople (13th c.)

BOSPHORUS

KERAS

Adrianople Gate

Forum Boyis

Forum Arcadius

Golden Gate

N

1- Tetrastoon Sqaure
2- Augusteion Square
3- Hippodrome
4- Constantine Forum
5- Philadelphion Square

6- Great Palace
7- Neorion Port
8- Prosforion Port
9- Sophia Port
10- Theodosius Port

11- Hagia Eirene
12- Hagia Sophia
13- Church of Holy Apostles
14- Blachernea Palace
15- Mangana Palace

MACROFORM

Konstantiniyye (15th c.)

BOSPHORUS

KERAS

1- Tetrastoon Sqaure
2- Augusteion Square
3- Hippodrome-> At Meydanı
4- Constantine Forum
5- Philadelphion Square

6- Great Palace
7- Neorion Port
8- Prosforion Port
9- Kadırga Port
10- Langa Port

11- Hagia Eirene-> Museum
12- Hagia Sophia Mosque
13- Holy Apostles->Fatih Com.
14- Blachernea Palace
15- Mangana Palace
16- Severan Pal->Old Palace
17- Topkapı Palace

Yedikule Fortress

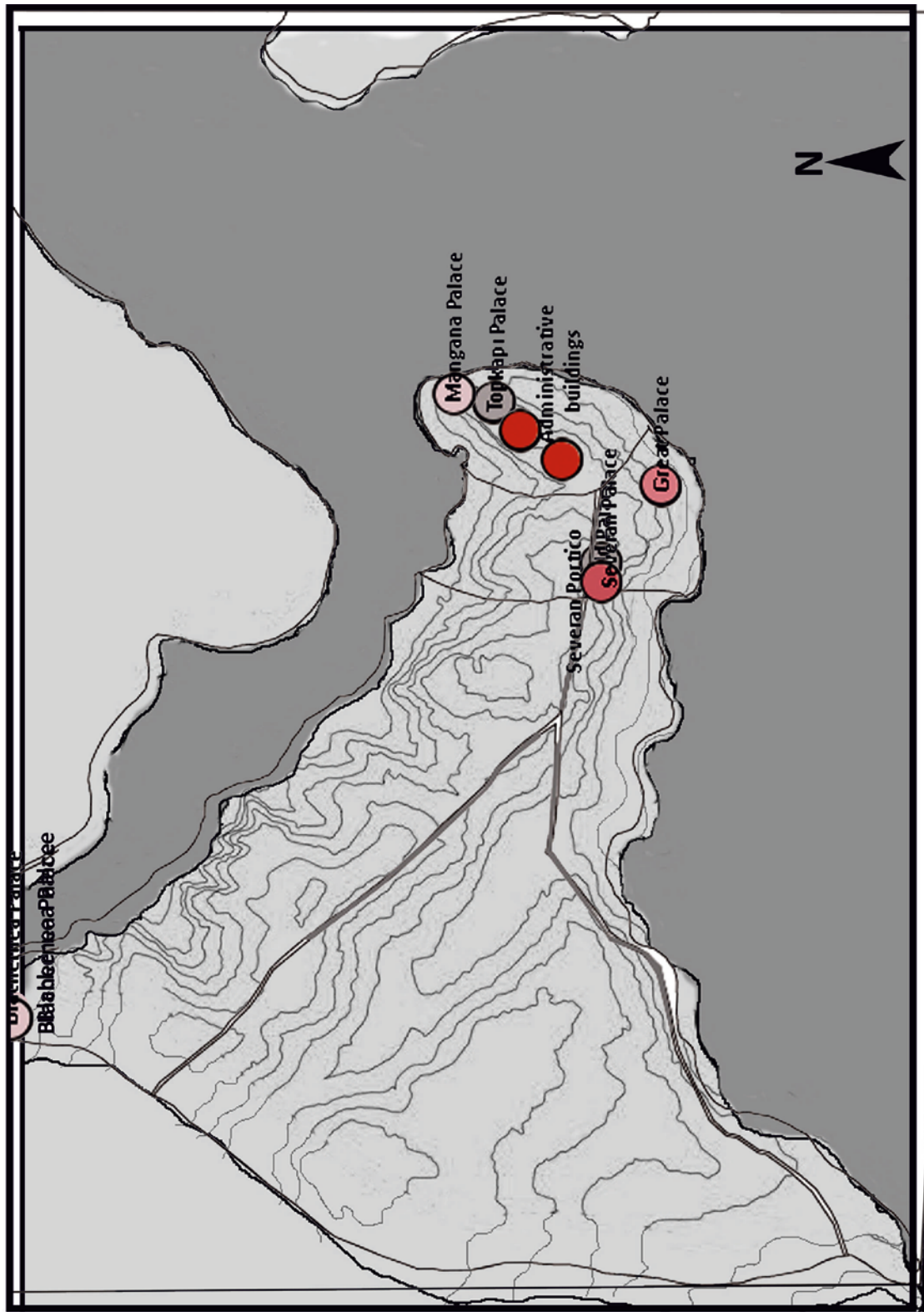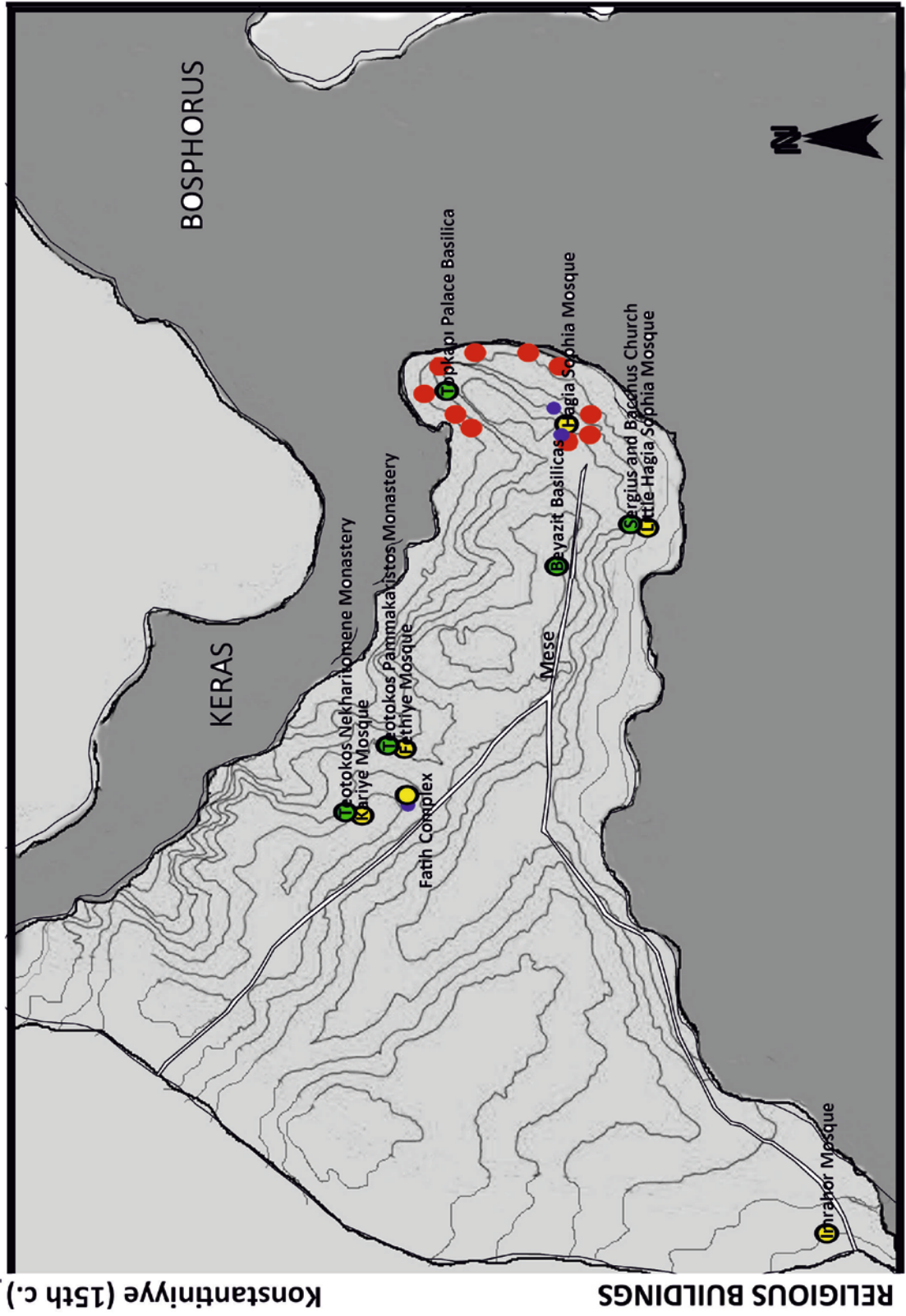# APPENDIX B

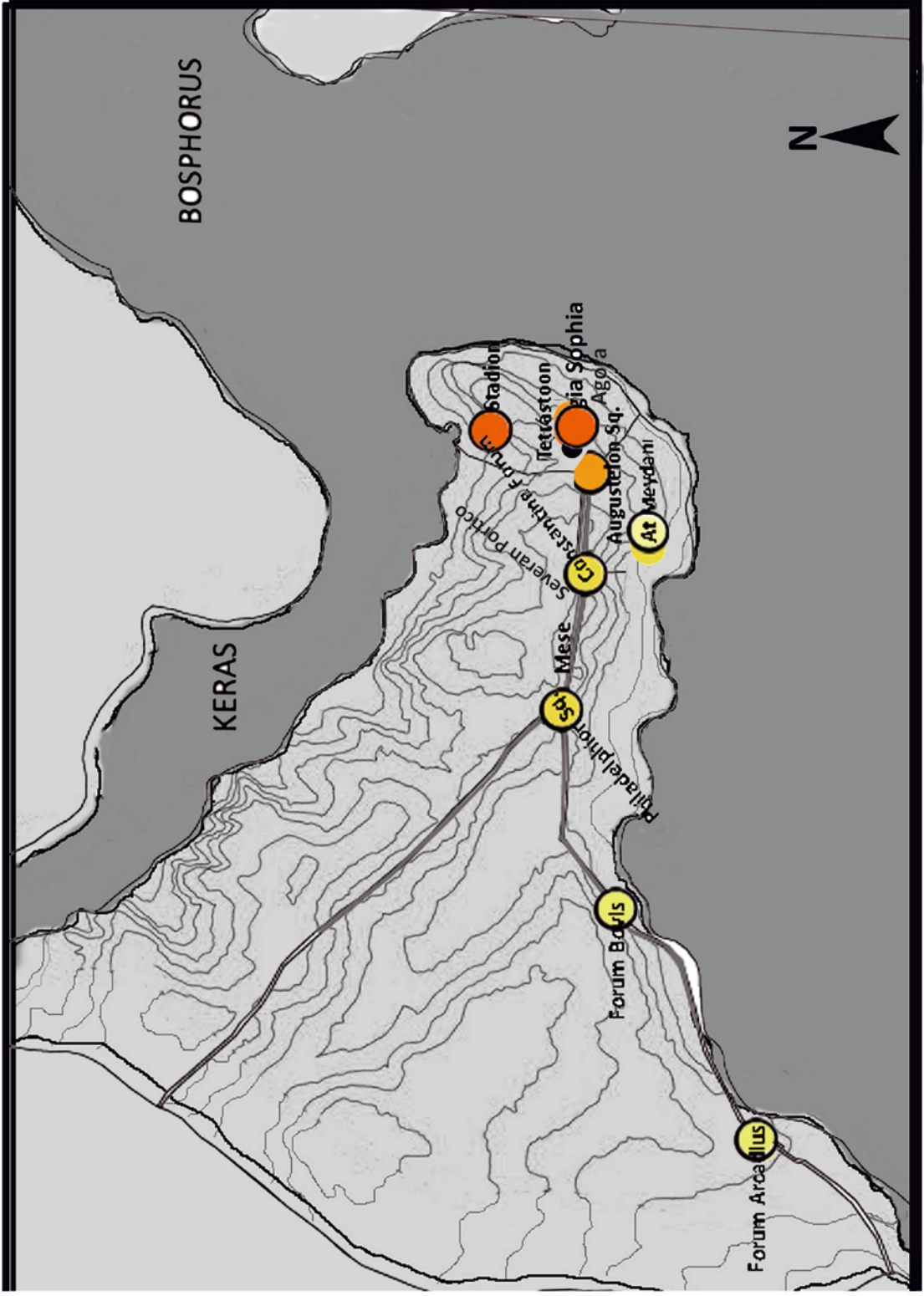# PALIMPSEST MAPS OF THE HISTORIC PENINSULA OF ISTANBUL (7TH C. BC-15TH C. AD)

ADMINISTRATIVE BUILDINGS

Konstantiniyye (15th c.)

Magana Palace
Topkapı Palace
Administrative buildings
Great Palace
Severan Portico
Severan palace
Blachernae Palace

151

Konstantiniyye (15th c.)

RELIGIOUS BUILDINGS

BOSPHORUS

KERAS

Totokos Nekharitomene Monastery
Kariye Mosque

Totokos Pammakaristos Monastery
Fethiye Mosque

Fatih Complex

Mese

Topkapı Palace Basilica

Hagia Sophia Mosque

Bayazit Basilicas

Sergius and Bacchus Church
Little Hagia Sophia Mosque

Chrahor Mosque

N

Konstantiniyye (15th c.)

PUBLIC SPACES

153

APPENDIX C

CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF THE EMPERORS (7TH C. BC-15TH C. AD)

DOMINATION	REIGN	CITY
Greek Period		
Megaran Colony	7th century BC	Byzantion
Roman Byzantium		
Septimus Severus	193-211 AD	Byzantium
Eastern Roman Empire		
Constantine the Great	306-337	
Three Augusti Period	337-361	
Julian	361-363	
Theodosius the Great	379-395	
Arcadius	395-408	
Theodosius II	408-416	Constantinople
Romulus Augustulus	475-476	
Justinian the Great	527-565	
Heraclius	610-641	
Leon III	717-741	
Basileios	867-886	
Alexios I Komnenos	1081-118	
Latin Domination		
Kingdom of the Romans	1204-1261	Constantinople
Eastern Roman Empire		
Michael VIII	1261-1281	Constantinople
Ottoman Empire		
Mehmed the Conqueror	1453-1481	Konstantiniyye

EARLY CHRISTIAN CHURCHES (4TH-5TH C.

San Sebastiano (340)

St. Peter's Basilica (360)

Holy Apostles (330)

Hagia Sophia (360)

Early Christian Churches and Hagia Sophia
Sc: 1/ 1000

Santa Croce (325)

Lateran Church (318)

Holy Sepulchre (326)

Hagia Eirene (360)

APPENDIX E

SUPERIMPOSITION OF THE IMPERIAL ROUTE AND THE MOSAICS OF HAGIA SOPHIA