ULUSLARARASI AVCILAR SEMPOZYUMU / INTERNATIONAL SYMPOSIUM ON AVCILAR

BÜTÜN YOLLAR AVCILAR'DAN GEÇER

ALL ROADS PASS THROUGH AVCILAR

15-16 MART / MARCH 2018

AVCILAR BELEDİYESİ KATKILARIYLA

ALEV YAYINLARI

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Editör
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Alev Yayınları
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Nine Hatun Mah., Horasan Cad. No: 23/B 34220 Esenler - İstanbul
Tel / Faks: +90 (0) 212 646 41 11
E-posta: alev.yayin@gmail.com
Yayıncı Sertifika No: 17134
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Tel: +90 212.674 10 51
Fax: 90 212.612 79 27
E-mail: info@sanermatbaacilik.com
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Cult Centers of St. Mamas in Constantine Porphyrogenitus' Works Side Remarks From the Project: Istanbul / Constantinople

Constantine Porphyrogenitus'un Çalışmalarında Aziz Mamas Kült Merkezleri Istanbul/Constantinople

Konrad SZYMAŃSKI*

Özet

İstanbul yakınındaki ilk Rus yerleşimi Ruslar ve Bizans İmparatorluğu arasında 907 yılında yapılan anlaşmayı takiben gerçekleşmiştir. Bizans kaynakları ilk Rus topluluğun şehir surlarının dışında yeralan Aziz Mamas mevkiinde yerleştirilmiş olduğuna işaret eder. Yalnız bu muhitin tam yeri henüz kesinlikle tespit edilememiştir. Bunun nedeni yazılı kaynakların Aziz Mamas semti ve kült merkezinin yeri hakkında kesin bilgi verememesi ve İstanbul ve çevresinde bu ismi taşıyan birden fazla kült merkezinden bahsetmeleridir. Aziz Mamas'ın yeri konusunda özellikle 19. Yüzyılın sonları ve 20. Yüzyılın başlarında yoğunlaşan araştırmalar Bakırköy'den Beyoğlu'na, Eyüp'ten Beşiktaş'a kadar çeşitli bölgeleri bu semtin olası konumu olarak ileri sürmüştür. Bu çalışmada ise bu sorun özellikle tek bir Bizanslı kaynağa, 913-919 ve 943-959 yılları arasında hüküm sürmüş İmparator Konstantin Porfirogenetos'un elinden çıkmış kitaplara odaklanılarak ele alınmıştır. Onun verdiği bilgiler değerlendirilerek, biri Belgrat Kapı yakınında, diğeri Beşiktaş civarında yer alan iki farklı semt ve kült merkezinin bu isimle anılmış olma olasılığı öne sürülmüştür.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Konstantinapolis, Aziz Mamas, Bizanslaşma, Tarihi Coğrafya

For Constantinople, as one of the most populated cities during the Middle Ages, securing the sources of supplies and their diversification was continually a significant issue. One of the solutions to this problem was the establishment of contacts with the northern coast of the Black Sea, which in conclusion resulted in the installation of a military government in Cherson (Oikonomidès 2000: 158-159). During the 10th century the contacts of the Byzantine Empire became more evident not only with the people of the northern coast of the Black Sea, but also with real northerners like Rus' and Varangians[1] For the sake of our research under the project Istanbul / Constantinople-Küçükçekmece-the Destination Port of the Way from the Varangians to the Greeks, a Centre of "Byzantinization" of the Rus' Community[2], the most important literary testimony of these contacts is the Russo - Byzantine treaty of 907, which was preliminary to the later treaty of 911, incorporated

* PhD Candidate, University of Wrocław; konrad.szymanski@uwr.edu.pl

1 See more about Russo-Byzantine relations in: Franklin 1991: 1818-1820; See also: Meyendorff 2010; On Varangians in Byzantium see: Franklin and Cutler 1991: 2152; Blöndal 1978.

2 See more about the project in: Stanisławski et al. 2015.

into the Primary Chronicle[3]. One of the main conditions of this document is that from that time onwards the Rus' were allowed to stay near Constantinople, namely at St. Mamas, outside the Theodosian Walls[4].

We are certainly not lacking in literary sources concerning the monastery or district of St. Mamas (Ἅγιος Μάμας; gen. Ἁγίου Μάμαντος) But in some cases the comparative analysis of these sources leads to conclusions, that exclude one another, or we end up facing many cult centers of that name around Constantinople. Already during the 16th century Pierre Gilles localized the Church of St. Mamas on the Golden Horn in his De Topographia Constantinopoleos et de illius antiquitatibus[5]. However, he also concluded that some literary testimonies about the church are probably referring to different edifices at different locations[6]. Despite many attempts at solving this problem, almost five centuries later we still can not be sure about where the cult centers of St. Mamas were exactly located inside and outside the Theodosian walls, how many of them existed during the over thousand years of Byzantine rule in this city, and above all else, if any of them can be directly connected with the district of the Rus. Because of these problems, I think it will be useful to focus on the works of one particular author at one time, here Constantine Porphyrogenitus. This will be achieved by taking into account the author's agenda, the date and origin of the text, and the context in which the passage of our interest occurs in the narrative. Let us now discuss the range and sorts of difficulties that occur during our attempt to identify and localize the cult centers of St. Mamas mentioned in texts.

Main conceptions on the localization of the St. Mamas district, in relation to possible whereabouts of the Rus', were proposed already at the turn of 19th century. The first of these was elaborated by Αλέξανδρος Παπάτης in 1879, in which he placed the Palace of St. Mamas in today's Bakırköy[7]. In turn, Fyodor Uspensky bases his conception from 1892, mainly on a passage from one of Constantine Porphyrogenitus' military treatises, in which the emperor Theophilus sails from St. Mamas to Blachernae (Mango 1991a: 293). He concluded that St. Mamas was reachable only by sea and therefore it should probably be located on the other side of the Golden Horn, in the Pera district (modern Beyoğlu)[8]. Yet, thinking of St. Mamas as a district of the Rus, the author remarked in his conclusion that this location is impossible due to security issues around the Golden Horn, and therefore St. Mamas should likely be placed somewhere along the western shore of the Bosporus (Stenon)[9]. Seven

3 See more about Russo-Byzantine treaties, and discussion about their authenticity in: Sacharov 1980; Sorlin 1961: 313-360, 447-475; Herrera Cajas 1982: 13-56; Lind 1984: 362-370; Wozniak 1979: 115-126 from Kazhdan 1991b: 2111-2112.

4 Povest' 180: Приходяще Русь да витают у святого Мамы [D. S. Likhachev (edition of 1950)]; see translation of this and the subsequent passage from the Laurentian Manuscript in: Nestor 65: (...) Russes as arrive here [at Constantinople] shall dwell in the St. Mamas quarter. Our government will send officers to record their names, and they shall then receive their monthly allowance, first the natives of Kiev, then those from Chernigov, Pereyaslavl', and the other cities. They shall enter the city save through one gate, unarmed and fifty at a time, escorted by an agent of the Emperor. They may conduct business according to their requirements without payment of taxes.

5 Gilles 1561a, IV.6: 205-207; 206: (...) nisi aliquando aestate sitae inter angulum urbis Blacherneum, & suburbium, quod Turci appellant Aibasariũ [Ayvansaray]. See also: Gilles 1561b, II.2: 67.

6 Gilles 1561a: 207: (...) aut Suydam loqui de alio templo Mamantis alibi sito. Janin 1950: 432: P. Gilles a commis l'erreur de localiser Saint-Mamas sur la Corne d'Or [près du moderne Eyüp, où il plaçait le pont Saint-Mamas] à cause du pont de douze arches qu'il confondait avec celui de Saint-Callinique. Depuis lors on l'a suivi aveuglément. On the basis of Gilles' idea maps have been created in which the cult center of St Mamas is visible near modern Eyüp. See e.g. Gulielmo Sanson 1665. See also the same conception in: Homann after 1716. See repetitions and modifications of this idea in: Hammer-Purgstall 1822: 213; Κωνσταντινιάς 1824: 116; Βυζάντιος 1851: 599-600; Βυζάντιος 1862: 7-10 - in which the author located the palace in Sütlüce, and the monastery between Ayvansaray and Eyüp; Dethier 1873: 12 - in which the monastery and the district are located in Eyüp; Schlumberger 1884: 143; Mordtmann 1892: 34; Grosvenor 1895: 81-82; Γεδεών 1899: 164 - in which the author (very similarly to Chastelain 1709: 863) mentions five cult centers of St Mamas around Constantinople 1) Monastery of Xylokerkos in Eyüp 2) Church of St. Mamas and Basiliskos ἐν τοῖς Δαρείου 3) St. Mamas church ἐν τῷ Σίγματι (still in Sütlüce?) 4) St. Mamas district on Ayamama Deresi 5) St. Mamas Monastery of George Kappadokes from the 12th century in Psamathia (near Belgrat Kapısı). In this work, he expands his idea from 1881,where he located the St. Mamas Church in Sütlüce; and the palace, monastery and port in Eyüp; and another palace in Ayamama Deresi)

7 Παπάτης 1879: 33-42, esp. 41; nonetheless in his conception the monastery of St. Mamas remains in Eyüp.

8 Успенский 1892: 82-83. See more on works of the Russian Archaeological Institute of Constantinople, led by Fyodor Uspensky and Nikodim Kondakov in: Ники́тин 1986: 266-293; Παπουλιδης 1987; Басаргина 1993: 127-135; Üre 2014.

9 Успенский 1892: 83-84. See also: Richter 1897: 389-391; Guilland 1969, Vol. I: 167, 257; Vol. II: 85 seq.; Литаврин 1993: 81-92.

years later Alexander Van Millingen returned to P. Gilles' idea and presented a different, and apparently all - encompassing conception, based mainly on the works of Theophanes Confessor and Theophanes Continuatus. According to him, the St. Mamas Church with its monastery and the adjacent palace with a hippodrome and a port, were located around Cosmidion, in modern Eyüp, opposite today's Sütlüce[10]. In 1904 Jules Pargoire expanded F. Uspensky's idea, and elaborated a prevalent theory based on many literary sources, which states that the St. Mamas Church and the adjacent district of the Rus were located in today's Beşiktaş[11]. After the publication of J. Pargoire's ideas in two articles, A. Van Millingen in his new book from 1912 also retracted his claim about locating the St. Mamas district in modern Eyüp; and fully supported the conception of the French clergyman[12]. Hundred years later, Fyodor Androschchuk proposed the most recent theory on the basis of his analysis of some literary sources and archeological findings, which could be connected with northerners. According to him, the St. Mamas[13] Church and the district of the Rus' were located near the Harbor of Theodosius (modern Yenikapı)[14].

Now let's see how the localization of the cult centers of St. Mamas is presented in the works of Constantine Porphyrogenitus. Constantine was born in 905, and ruled the Byzantine Empire in the years 913-919 and 944-959. Therefore, he was a first-hand witness of the incoming Rus' mercenaries and merchants, and the realities of the treaties of 907, 911 and 944/945[15]. Thanks to him, we have much

10 Van Millingen 1899: 89, n. 4: The district associated with the Church of St. Mamas (...) must have occupied the valley which extends from the Golden Horn southwards to the village of Ortakdjilar, the territory between Eyoub (Cosmidion) and Aivan Serai at the north-western angle of the city. The church itself, with its monastery (...), stood, probably, on the high ground near Ortakdjilar. In the same note the author was also curious about the fact that St. Mamas (...) is also described as situated on the Propontis (...), on the Euxine (...), on the Stenon, the Bosporus (...). But it seems that this was not a problem for his conception, and therefore he stated that these names are applied in a wide sense. The localization of the cult center of St Mamas near the Gate of Xylokerkos (Πύλη τοῦ Ξυλοκέρκου/Ξηροκέρκου), which is mentioned in many sources, was also incorporated into Van Millingen's theory. He equated the Gate of Xylokerkos (identified with modern Belgrat Kapısı) with Kerkoporta (Κερκόπορτα) - now seen near Blachernae on the Komnenian Walls (see the maps and photos featured in Map of Byzantine Constantinople, by F. R. von Hubner: 19; The Land Walls of Constantinople, by A. C. Henderson: 45; Sketch Plan of the Blachernae Quarter by A. C. Henderson: 115; Archway leading to the Gate of the Xylokerkus (Screen Tower), by W. T. Ormiston: 118). See also the offspring of this conception e.g. Голубинский 1901: 73, n. 1; Turnbull 2004: 29.

11 Pargoire 1904: 261-316; Pargoire 1908: 203-210. C. Mango specified this conception, locating the St. Mamas quarter in today's Dolmabahçe. see: Mango 1991b: 312-313. See also: Janin 1950: 93, 140, 145, 189, 227, 234, 431-432 (palace 93, 140, 145; hippodrome 140, 189; port 140, 227; bridge 234; description and the list of sources 431-432); Bury 1923: 86-87 n. 98, 322; Eyice 1964: 205, n. 45; Guilland 1969, Vol. II: 114 n. 72, 126.

12 Van Millingen 1912: 106-107: In that article [Le Saint-Mamas de Constantinople] the writer [J. Pargoire] demonstrates the erroneousness of the commonly received opinion, maintained, I regret, also in Byzantine Constaninople pp. 89-90, that the suburb of St. Mamas was situated near Eyoub to the west of the Blachernae quarter, Pére Pargoire proves that the suburb stood on the European shore of the Bosporus near Beshiktash. See also the description of this discussion on the margins of studies on Cosmidion in: Özaslan 1999: 380, n. 3.

13 It is worth to mention that another cult center of St. Mamas was located between Hebdomon (modern Bakırköy) and San Stefano (modern Yeşilköy, the site of today's Atatürk Airport), around the stream called Ayamama (Ayamama Deresi) (Πασπάτης 1879: 33-42; Μακρίδης 1938: 137-198; Μακρίδης 1939: 35-80, esp. 73-80). However, this site seems to be absent in written sources, and therefore excluded from the conceptions concerning the Rus district (Pargoire 1904: 263-265; Bardou 1904: 314; Pargoire 1908: 203; Janin 1950: 432; Janin 1953: 326).

14 Андрощук 2012: 7-28. The author concluded that the Rus' district was located between the modern streets of Etyemez Tekkesi – in the west, Koca Mustafa Paşa – in the north, Namik Kemal - in the east (which approximately follows the current of River Λύκος), and the Sea of Marmara in the south (p. 28). It seems that throughout this article, the author is confusing written sources about the monastery(ies) and church(es) of St. Mamas. For incomprehensible reasons Androschchuk also returns to Van Millingen's localization of the St. Mamas district and the Gate of Xylokerkos near Blachernae from 1899 (p. 9-11). However, he also stated that this place could not have accommodated the Rus', because it was destroyed by Krum in 812/813. Moreover, Michael III was not riding a chariot at St. Mamas near Blachernae, but at St. Mamas around the Harbor of Theodosius (p. 10 seq.). This location is proposed by Androschchuk mainly on the basis of The Ottoman Survey of Istanbul conducted in 1455, in which the Monastery of St. Mamas (Manastir Ayaz Mamoz) is mentioned around this place (Isa Kermesi). But the author does not mention that in at least two other districts listed in the Survey (Top-Yıkıgı–the neighborhood of the Gate of St. Romanos and Bāb-ı Silivri – the neighborhood of the Gate of Pege) there are also cult centers, which could be equally connected with the St. Mamas district (Monastery Mama and Sivastokrator Mamas); see: İnalcik 2007: 12-13. In turn, Androschchuk also concluded that any assumptions locating the St. Mamas district in Pera (Beşiktaş?) cannot be justified with any sources, neither written nor material (p. 22, 28). He further stated that we should exclude this location also because of the fact that in the 10th century the only active ports of Constantinople were located on the coast of the Sea of Marmara (p. 22, 28) This contrasts with the statement of Pargoire: Les marchands du Nord logeaient au moderne Béchik-Tach. Venus en barque par le Bosphore, le port de Saint-Mamas était merveilleusement placé, au bas du détroit, pour leur servir de stationnement. Par ailleurs, dans son éloignement relatif et sa position au delà des flots, les Byzantins trouvaient un double motif de se rassurer, eux toujours si inquiets sur le sort de leur capital. (Pargoire 1908: 209).

15 See more on this emperor in: Kazhdan and Cutler 1991: 502-503; Toynbee 1973.

information about the organization of the Varangian - Greek trade route, and the Rus' themselves[16]. It seems that his works, in their encyclopedic and didactic form, were meant to be used as manuals of knowledge that should be obtained by every Roman emperor, especially his son Romanos II (reign 959-963)[17]. In these works, he mentions the cult centers of St. Mamas three times. The first passage comes from De Ceremoniis Aulae Byzantinae[18], from the chapter On the graves of the emperors in the Church of Holy Apostles[19]. In this passage the author describes the burial places of the emperors and their families from the figures like Constantine the Great and Justinian the Great to less prominent members of the royal family, who were buried not in the central mausoleum of Holy Apostles but in the monasteries within the city. After describing the tomb of Justin I (reign 518-528) and his wife Euphemia placed in the Monastery of Augusta[20], Constantine continues saying that the reader should note that[21] in the St. Mamas Monastery [located] near the gate of the wooden circus[22], in the narthex of its church on the left side, there is a sarcophagus made of green Egyptian breccia[23], in which the wife of the [emperor] Maurice is buried with her children. In the crypt[24] of that monastery on the left side from the east, a sarcophagus made of stone is placed, in which the emperor Maurice is buried[25]. After this information on the author continues to describe in which convents the rest of the royal family members are buried[26], including the monasteries of the Holy Trinity, named Staurakios after the name of the emperor[27], the Monastery of Lady Euphrosyne (located in Λιβάδια[28]), the Monastery of Gastria[29], the Monastery of St. Euphemia in Petrion[30] and the Monastery of St. Michael Promotou[31].

The next passage comes from the third military treaty of Constantine[32] entitled What

16 Cons. Porph. adm.: 48-52, on the coming of the Rus' to Constantinople 56-62, 168, 184-186; Cons. Porph. cer.: 594-598 (on the coming of Olga of Kiev), 652, 654-655, 660, 664, 667, 673-674, 690.

17 See more on Constantine's literary activities in: Toynbee 1973: 575-598.

18 Cons. Porph. cer. II.42: 646, v. 20 - 647, v. 6.

19 Cons. Porph. cer. II.42: 642, v. 1 - 649, v. 6; 642: Περὶ τῶν τάφων τῶν βασιλέων τῶν ὄντων ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων.

20 P. Grierson suggests that we should equate the Monastery of Augusta (mentioned in relation with Justin's burial in Leo Gram. Chron. 124, v. 11-16; Geor. Cedr. Vol. I: 642, v. 2-6; Patr. Const. III.183: 273) with the Nunnery/Monastery and the Shrine of St. Thomas the Apostle present in Constantine's text. (On the Monastery of Augusta and the Church of St. Thomas see: Janin 1953: 59-60, 257-260). Janin located this site near the Harbour of Sophia, south of the Church of Sergius and Bacchus. The difficulties about the tomb, in which the royal couple were buried, and its later reuse by the body of Michael III are discussed in: Grierson et al. 1962: 45-46.

21 Translation of ἱστέον, ὅτι, such characteristic expressions are used in the works connected with Constantine VII. See the role of this expression in studies on Constantine's military treatises in: Cons. Porph. treat. 60, 62-63.

22 More on the Gate of Xylokerkos in: Janin 1950: 189, 256, 403; Asutay-Effenberger 2007: 86 n. 149, 205.

23 Translation of ἑκατονταλίθος λίθος, see more in: Malacrino 2010: 28.

24 Translation of καταφύγή, ἡ. Sophocles 1900: 649 translates this expression in this exact passage as a secret place of a building. LBG translates this as Krypta [crypt].

25 Cons. Porph. cer. II, 42: 646, v. 20 - 647, v. 6: ἱστέον, ὅτι ἐν τῇ μονῇ τοῦ ἁγίου Μάμαντος πλησίον τῆς πόρτης τῆς ξυλοκέρκου, ἐν τῷ νάρθηκι τῆς αὐτῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐξ ἀριστερῶν ἵσταται λάρναξ ἀπὸ λίθου ἑκατονταλίθου, ἐν ᾧ ἀπόκειται ἡ τοῦ Μαυρικίου γυνὴ μετὰ τῶν τέκνων αὐτῆς. ἐν δὲ τῇ καταφυγῇ τῆς αὐτῆς μονῆς ἐξ ἀριστερῶν πρὸς ἀνατολὴν ἵσταται λάρναξ ἀπὸ λίθου, ἐν ᾧ ἀπόκειται Μαυρίκιος ὁ βασιλεύς. See more on the emperor Maurice (reign 582-602) in: Whitby 1988: esp. 18, 20, 27 in which the author mentioned the establishing of the Monastery of St. Mamas by Maurice's sister Gordia and the possible staying of the emperor's wife Constantina with her daughters in the same convent.

26 Cons. Porph. cer. II, 42: 647, v.6 - 649, v. 6.

27 Formerly, this site was called τά Ἑβραϊκά, and was transformed by a relative of Eirene the Athenian into a monastery dedicated to the Holy Trinity. Its exact location is unknown. The only hypothesis locates this convent between Zeugma and the Constantinian Wall, around the site called Staurion (Janin 1953: 486-487 from John Sky.: 4 n. 1). See also Janin 1950: 394-395.

28 Janin 1953: 137-138; Janin 1950: 353-354, map I (A 7). Janin located Libadia within the city walls between the Gate of Pege (Silivri Kapısı) and the part of the wall called Sigma (Kalagros Gate).

29 Identified with the modern Sancaktar Hayrettin Mosque. See: Janin 1953: 72-73; Janin 1950: 328-329.

30 Janin 1953: 134-136; Janin 1950: 375-376, map I (E 3-4). Petrion was located on the Golden Horn, between Phanarion and the Gate of Eis Pegas (Cibali Kapısı). Therefore, the convent was located in the same district as the modern Gül Mosque.

31 Janin 1953: 357, 460; Janin 1950: 383, 435, map I (DE 5). Janin proposed two possible locations of this area. First, around modern Arnavutköy (near Beşiktaş), and the second between the Churches of the Holy Apostles and St. Polyeuctos.

32 For unclear reasons, J. J. Reiske published this corpus (named by J. B. Bury Περί τῶν βασιλικῶν ταξειδίων) as Appendix to Book I of his edition of De cermoniis, which became a reason for regarding it a constituent element of this treatise. See: Cons. Porph. treat.: 35; Bury 1907: 438-439.

should be observed when the great and high emperor of the Romans goes on campaign[33], from the section On the patrols[34], in which the author describes factually the tasks of particular officers during the war campaign, and the operation scheme in specific situations. He states that the true emperor should know not only how to act during the campaign, but also what action he should undertake before heading out to the field. According to this statement he describes how, through certain torches and beacons lit in succession, the emperor learns about the enemy attack within one hour, based on the example of the Saracen attack from Tarsus[35]. In his meticulous description of Byzantine beacon system[36], Constantine incorporates the curious story of Michael III (reign 842-867), in which he tries to discredit the former Amorian dynasty[37]. He says that the reader should note that the above-mentioned beacons were in use until the times the emperor Michael, the son of [emperor] Theophilos. Once, when he was in the procession[38] to the St. Mamas [district[39]] intending to participate in a chariot race [there], he got to know it more as a charioteer than an emperor (cause in these races he rode himself instead of a charioteer). It happened then, that the usual beacons were lit[40], and [the emperor] referred to it imputing, that "if the invasion of the Saracens is made known, the citizens will be distressed and will not come out to the hippodrome to see me in the chariot race". And he ordered not to lit the beacons from that time on[41]. After this passage, the author abruptly moves on to the description of the payment for the army, and presents information on the organization, supplies, and equipment of the soldiers[42].

The last passage comes from the same military treaty, from the chapter What should be observed when the emperor returns from an expedition or a long journey[43], which is basically a case study of the emperors' triumphs in Constantinople[44]. Constantine presents here four examples of triumphal entry into the city. The first one, which is the earliest account here, could be described as the main guidelines for greeting the emperor in the capital,

33 Cons. Porph. treat.: 94-150: Ὅσα δεῖ γίνεσθαι, τοῦ μεγάλου καὶ ὑψηλοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Ῥωμαίων μέλλοντος φοσσατεῦσαι. This text was named by Haldon as treatise (C). See more about Three Treatises on Imperial Military Expeditions in J. F. Haldon's Introduction of his edition (Cons. Porph. treat.: 34-77).

34 Cons. Porph. treat. (C), v. 420-664: 120-136; 120: Περὶ τῶν κερκέτων.

35 Cons. Porph. treat. (C), v. 607-630: 132-134.

36 See more about this system in: Foss 1991: 273-274; Pattenden 1983: 258-299; Cons. Porph. treat.: 254-255.

37 See more on discrediting Michael and the Amorian dynasty in: Toynbee 1973: 299-300, 582 seq.; Hunger 1978: 341, 351 seq.; Kislinger 1987: 390-401; Cons. Porph. treat.: 58-59, 255.

38 Regarding the translation of προκένσος see προκέσσος, ου, ὁ, in: Sophocles 1900: 931: [from lat. processus] progress, the emperor's moving from his palace at Constantinople to any other place; also his temporary stay at any house other than his Constantinopolitan palace.; πρόκεσσον, τό, in: LBG: (lat. processus), Auszug, Prozession, Parade [departure, procession, parade]. See also: McCormick and Cutler 1991: 1725.

39 Adding here the word district seems reasonable, because the actions of Michael III are identified as προκέσσος - understood as a temporary transfer of the imperial seat to a more suitable place - most frequently another palace. In this case it would be the palace in the district of St. Mamas, which is strongly connected with the nearby hippodrome mentioned in this passage (see note 11). In his translation J, F. Haldon also added the word district in this context (Cons. Porph. treat.: 135). The same conception is visible already in J. J. Reiske's translation of this passage. See Cons. Porph. cer.: 493: Contingebat aliquaudo, illo processionem S. Mamantis agente [id est in palatio S. Mamantis rusticante,] et certamen equestre per circum [qui ibi est,] (...).

40 According to other byzantine sources (see the note below) Michael III saw the lighthouse of Pharos (Φάρος) located in the territory of the Grand Palace, next to the chapel of Mother of God (Θεοτόκος τοῦ Φάρου). See: Klein 2006: 79-80. See also Figure 1.

41 Cons. Porph. treat. (C), v. 639-646: 134: "ἰστέον, ὅτι οἱ προῤῥηθέντες φανοὶ διεκράτουν μέχρι τῶν ἡμερῶν Μιχαὴλ βασιλέως τοῦ ἐκ Θεοφίλου. ὄντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ποτε ἐν τῷ τοῦ ἁγίου Μάμαντος προκένσῳ καὶ μέλλοντος ποιῆσαι ἱπποδρόμιον, ἐν ᾧ καὶ ἀντὶ βασιλέως ἡνίοχος ἐγνωρίζετο· (καὶ γὰρ ἐν ταῖς ἱππηλασίαις ἀντὶ ἡνιόχου ἱππηλάτει·) συνέβη τοὺς συνήθεις ἅψαι φανούς, καὶ εἶπε τοῦτο διαλογισάμενος, ὅτι "εἰ κατάδηλος γένηται ἡ ἔξοδος τῶν Σαρακηνῶν, λυπηθήσονται οἱ πολῖται, καὶ οὐ μὴ ἐξέλθωσιν εἰς τὸ ἱπποδρόμιον πρὸς τὸ τὴν ἐμὴν ἱππηλασίαν θεάσασθαι." καὶ ἐκ τότε διετάξατο μὴ ἅπτειν τοὺς φανούς". See this information also in other byzantine sources: Th. Cont.: 197, v. 22-198, v. 12; Sym. Mag.: 682, v. 15-18; Geor. Cedr. Vol. II: 174, v. 21-175, v. 6; Joan. Scyl. Syn. Hist.: Mich.III, 19, v. 17-19; Glycas: 542, v. 21-543, v. 9. Information about the closure of the beacon system by Michael III is very doubtful, as there is evidence for its later usage. We can only assume that the emperor could have curtailed or modified this system according to new geopolitical situation. See Cons. Porph. treat.: 58-59, 255, and also note 36.

42 Cons. Porph. treat. (C), v. 647-664: 134-136.

43 Cons. Porph. treat. (C) v. 665-884: 136-150: Ὅσα δεῖ γίνεσθαι, ὅταν ἀπὸ ἐξπεδίτου ἢ μακρᾶς ὁδοιπορίας ἐπανέρχεται ὁ βασιλεύς".

44 See more on Byzantine triumphs in: McCormick 1991: 2121-2122.

and even before he reaches the city[45]. The second is a description of the triumph of Justinian (reign 527-565) in 559[46]. The third presents a triumphal entry into the city by the emperor Basil I (reign 867-886) in 878[47]; and the fourth, in which we put our interest, describes the triumphs of the emperor Theophilos (reign 829-842) in 831 and 837[48]. The official reception of the emperor, who traveled from the East, took place in Hieria (modern Fenerbahçe) (Mango 1991c: 929), where he was greeted by his wife and court officials. They accompanied him in procession to a nearby palace, where he stayed seven days, waiting for the arrival the fettered Hagarene prisoners of war[49]. After the seventh day [the emperor] sailing thence[50], came to St. Mamas [district[51]] and spent [there] three days with the senate. Sailing through thence[52], he came to the Blachernae, [where] after he disembarked from the dromon[53] and mounted his horse, he came up along the outer wall as far as the great Golden Gate and entered the pavilion prepared in advance on the meadow, where the horses [which were taking part in triumph] were gathered[54]. On the same day, came those who were bringing the prisoners to Chrysopolis (Kazhdan 1991a: 455), and embarking them in ships, they brought them across to where the emperor was present[55]. After this passage the author continues to describe every stage of the glorious triumph of the emperor, from his entrance through the Golden Gate, and through Chalke, to hippodrome races at the final stage[56].

Let's see if we can localize and identify the cult centers of St. Mamas mentioned in these three passages from Constantine Porphyrogenitus' works. In the first passage, we can see a monastery with a church that stood near the Gate of Wooden Circus. This gate is commonly identified by scholars with a second military gate and modern Belgrat Kapısı[57]. This would discount Van Millingen, who locates the Gate of Xylokerkos in the northern part of the western walls near Blachernae and confuses it with Kerkorporta in his pursuit of locating the St. Mamas district in modern Eyüp[58]. The problem occurs when we wonder about the meaning of the word πλησίος (near) which ap-

45 Cons. Porph. treat. (C) v. 665-706: 136-138. See also note on: 259.

46 Cons. Porph. treat. (C) v. 707-723: 138-140. See also note on: 264-265.

47 Cons. Porph. treat. (C) v. 724-807: 140-146. See also note on: 268-269.

48 Cons. Porph. treat. (C) v. 808-884: 146-150. See also note on: 285-286.

49 Cons. Porph. treat. (C) v. 812-824: 146.

50 J. J. Reiske adds in his Latin translation of this passage that the emperor moved in his ship through the strait; most likely referring to the Bosporus. See. Cons. Porph. cer.: 504: (...) et transferebat se per fretum in navi (...)

51 Again as in note 39, adding here the word district seems reasonable, because the only cult center of St Mamas present in byzantine sources that could worthily accommodate the emperor and the whole senate was the St. Mamas district with its palace and hippodrome. J.J. Reiske added in his Latin translation of this passage the word palatium, making it clear that we are confronting here the palace located in the St. Mamas district. See Cons. Porph. cer.: 504: (...) ad S. Mamantis palatium.

52 The curious difference between the term ἀποπλέω (sail away, sail off) defining the action of the emperor who was leaving Hieria to sail to St. Mamas, and διαπλέω (sail through, sail across, flow through, pass) defining the action of the emperor who was leaving St. Mamas to sail to Blachernae, could indicate that the first journey covered a greater distance, and the second one was only the travel two nearby shores (like from Beşiktaş/Pera to Golden Horn).

53 See: McGeer and Cutler 1991: 662; more on dromon and the Byzantine navy in: Pryor and Jeffreys 2006.

54 Translation of κομβινοστάσιον, τὸ. LBG: 851 translates this word in this exact passage as Standplatz der Pferdegespanne [stand for the horse teams]. This place was the designated point where horses and other animals destined to take part in a triumph or another procession through the capital were harvested and harnessed. Also, the factions tried out their horses here before racing in the Hippodrome. Furthermore, the meadow or glade located there, served as a repository for the spoils of war. Here the imperial court and guards were making a temporary camp in anticipation of the arrival of all the booty and prisoners in order to start the triumph in full majesty through the Golden Gate. See: Cons. Porph. treat.: 203-204, 276, 287.

55 Cons. Porph. treat. (C) v. 825-831: 146: μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἑβδόμην ἡμέραν ἀποπλεύσας τῶν ἐκεῖσε ἦλθεν εἰς τὸν ἅγιον Μάμαντα καὶ ἐποίησεν ἅμα τῇ συγκλήτῳ ἡμέρας γ'. ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν ἐκεῖσε διαπλεύσας ἔφθασεν ἐν βλαχέρναις, καὶ ἐξελθὼν τοῦ δρόμωνος ἐπιβὰς ἵππῳ διὰ τοῦ ἔξω τείχους ἀνῆλθεν εἰς τὴν Χρυσῆν μεγάλην Πόρταν καί εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὴν προετοιμασθεῖσαν κόρτην ἐν τῷ λιβαδίῳ τοῦ κομβινοστασίου. ἔφθασαν δὲ τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ καὶ οἱ τοὺς δεσμίους φέροντες ἐν Χρυσοπόλει καὶ βαλόντες αὐτοὺς εἰς πλοῖα διεπέρασαν αὐτοὺς ἔνθα καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς παρῆν·

56 Cons. Porph. treat. (C) v. 831-879: 146-150.

57 See note 22.

58 See note 10, 12. Van Millingen retracted also from his proposition on the localization of this gate (Van Millingen 1912: 107 n. 5: He also shows [Pargoire 1904] that the Church of S. Mamas, near the Gate Xylokerkou, stood within the landward walls, somewhere between the Studion and S. Andrew in Krisei.).

pears in the text in connection with this gate. Is the St. Mamas Monastery near the gate, inside or outside[59] the Theodosian Walls? We cannot be certain about it but if we take a closer look on other monasteries, which are in Constantine's interest, we can have an idea. Despite the fact that scholars cannot determine the exact location of these monasteries, every one of them, with the exception of the Monastery of Gastia, was located within the city walls[60], most of them in the area between the Constantinian and Theodosian Walls. Therefore, we can say that, the analysis of this isolated passage seems to confirm the current localization of the St. Mamas monastery[61] near the modern Belgrat Kapısı, established by J. Pargoire. It is worth to mention that the results from the brief textual research on the association of the cult centers of St. Mamas with the term monastery (ἡ μονή), were not connected with the adjoining palace, hippodrome and a port, that we know from other sources. However, they are connected with the private mausoleum of the emperor Maurice and his family, as we can see in our first passage.

The second account gives us information about the cult center of St. Mamas, in which there was the adjoining hippodrome, where the emperor Michael III was riding as a charioteer. Scholars familiar with other sources immediately connected this passage with the St. Mamas district in which the imperial palace, hippodrome and port buitl by the emperor Leo I (reign 457-474) were located[62]. This would agree with the interpretation of the term προκέσσος (procession) not necessarily in a religious connotation., Instead, it should be understood as a common practice of the emperor's moving from his palace to any other place, and also his temporary stay somewhere other than his usual seat[63]. Such an approach connects this passage with other sources that give us information about the frequent stays of Michael III in the St. Mamas district[64]. Unfortunately, this passage gives us no exact information about the location of this district, or even how exactly Michael III was reaching the St. Mamas hippodromeThe third passage, which was one of the main sources in F. Uspensky's conception, is probably describing the same cult center of St. Mamas as the second passage. We can assume from the evidence is that this site should have facilities to provide a place for rest and joy to the emperor, his officials and the whole senate for at least three days[65]. It is worth noting that, staying at St. Mamas district must have been more attractive than staying for ten whole days in Hieria, from where the emperor could sail directly to Blachernae. Reconstructing the route, which the emperor Theophilus must have taken from Hieria to St. Mamas and then to Blachernae and taking into account the difference between the terms ἀποπλέω and διαπλέω[66], it can be said that the most probable location of the St. Mamas district seems to be modern Beşiktaş-Dolmabahçe[67].

In conclusion, it seems that in three passages from the works of Constantine Porphyroge-

59 Du Cange 1682, IV.12.3: 174; IV.15.25-26: 185-186. According to Du Cange, the Palace and Monastery of St. Mamas were located behind the city walls in Thrace near the gate of Xylokerkos.

60 If we accept the localization of St. Michael Promotou between the Churches of the Holy Apostles and St. Polyeuctos. See note 31. P. Grierson was also certain, that Constantine in this exact part of De Ceremoniis was referring only to the churches and monasteries of the city itself (Gierson et al. 1962: 7).

61 Janin 1953: 326-331; Janin 1950: 256; Talbot 1991: 1278; Krausmüller 1994: 67-85. See also typikon of this convent: Typikon: 973-1041. St. Mamas near the Gate of Xylokerkos is the only monastery of that name among the five cult centers mentioned by Chastelain 1709: 863 and Γεδεών 1899: 164, taking into account that at the time, neither could identify the monastery near the Gate of Xylokerkos with the convent connected with George Kappadokes,

62 See note 11.

63 See note 38.

64 See the list of sources in note 41. On the death of Michael III in the St. Mamas Palace see: Geor. Cedr. Vol. II: 182, v. 11-15; Joan. Scyl. Syn. Hist.: Mich.III, 24, v. 11-14; Glycas: 546, v. 4-6; on his participation in hippodrome races in the St. Mamas district see: Ios. Genes. 4.19, v. 1-3; Joan. Scyl. Syn. Hist. Mich.III, 18, v. 16-18.

65 See note 51.

66 See note 52.

67 See Figure 2.

nitus, we can see two different cult centers of St. Mamas. The first one - the St. Mamas Monastery with its church should be located in the southwestern part of Constantinople near modern Belgrat Kapısı. Second - the St. Mamas district should be located most likely in modern Beşiktaş-Dolmabahçe. But we cannot totally exclude possible localizations in other places, where broad archaeological research is yet to be conducted. On the other hand, following this analysis and in the current state of study, it seems proper to exclude the St. Mamas Monastery located near the Gate of Xylokerkos, from the discussion on the Rus' district[68]. Based on topography, this cult center was likely connected only with the complex of the palace, hippodrome and port. In future research, it would be very useful to properly distinguish the accounts of the cult centers of St Mamas in Constantinople; and maybe then the location of the Rus' district will be a little easier to find, if it is indeed connected with St. Mamas.

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68 However, having analyzed testimonies indicating the presence of monks and clergymen from Russia in the monasteries of Studios, St. Mamas and St. Mary Peribleptos during the 14th century, J. Meyendorf concluded: It appears, therefore, that the area where all three monasteries of Studios, St Mamas and the Peribleptos were located - i.e., south-western corner of the walled city of Constantinople – was the Russian (and Slavic) quarter, a home for Russian monks and pilgrims, a place for literary contacts and personal friendships, which did play an important role in Byzantino-Russian relations in the fourteenth century. (Meyendorff 2010: 131-132).

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Figure 1: Illustration from 12th century manuscript of John Skylitzes' Synopsis of Histories, depicting Michael III and the burning lighthouse of Pharos (Codex Græcus Matritensis Ioannis Skyllitzes, f. 77 v.)

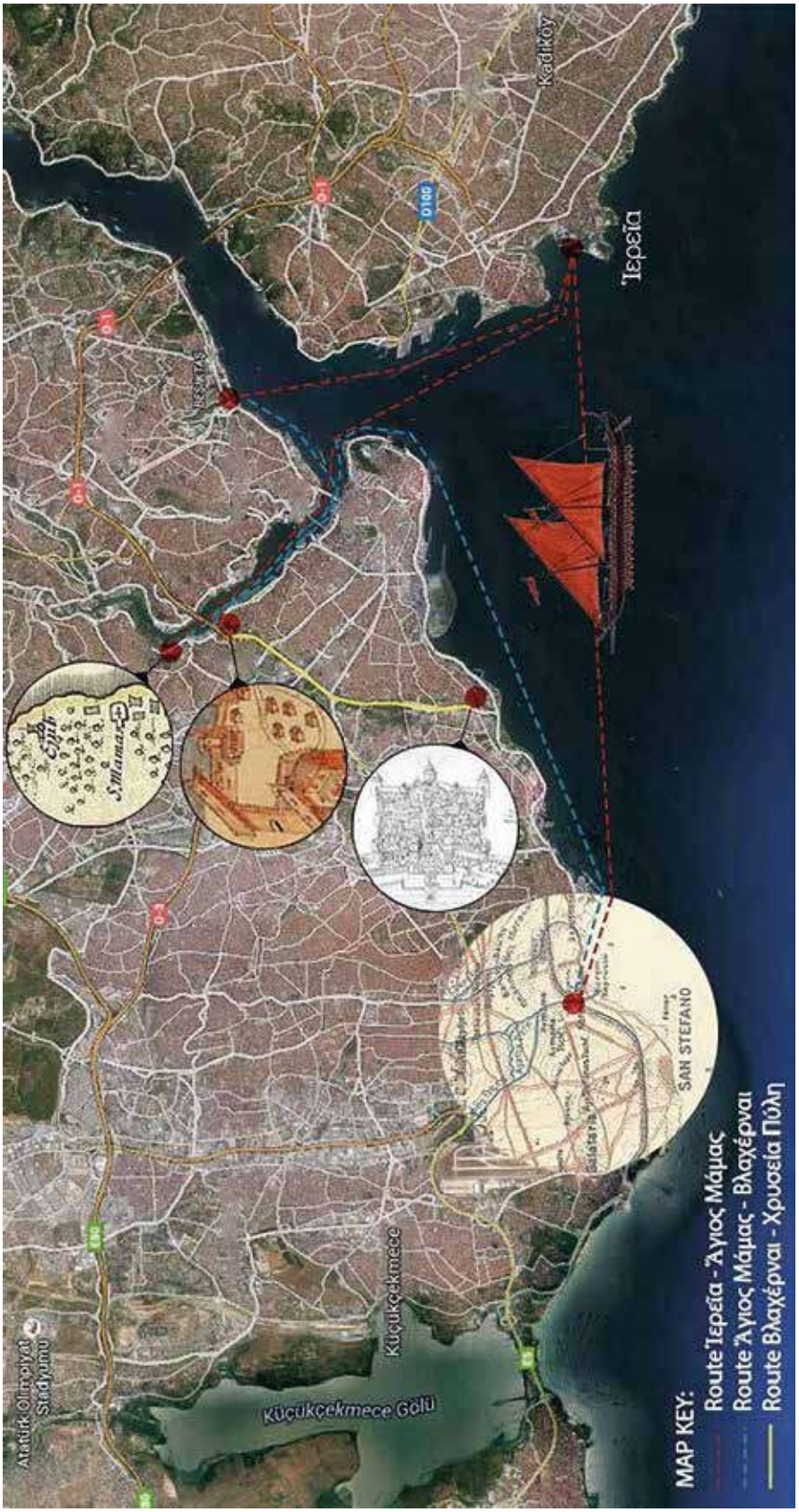
Ἱερεία
Kadıköy
Küçükçekmece
Küçükçekmece Gölü
Atatürk Olimpiyat Stadyumu
SAN STEFANO
MAP KEY:
Route Ἱερεία - Ἅγιος Μάμας
Route Ἅγιος Μάμας - Βλαχέρναι
Route Βλαχέρναι - Χρυσεία Πύλη

Figure 2