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Constantinople in the Middle Byzantine Age

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Abstract The rebuilding of Constantinople after the so-called Dark Ages was a long-lasting process of more than four hundred years in which the appearance of the city changed continuously. Many still-existing buildings from the early period were restored and adapted to new purposes, while new buildings developed different architectural forms. Most old churches were rebuilt after a phase of decay, others were newly built in a novel and distinctly 'medieval' style.

Keywords Constantinople. Byzantine age. Residential architecture. Ecclesiastical architecture. Monasteries. Triumphal columns.

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1 Introduction

From its foundation by Constantine the Great in 324 to the so-called plague of Justinian in 542, Constantinople experienced an almost constant development, with an ever-increasing population, and the continuing construction of public buildings, streets and squares, and houses and churches. The only major setbacks were the big fire of 465 (Evagrius, *The Ecclesiastical History* [ed. Bidez, Parmentier 1898, 64.16-65.18]) and the destructions in the city centre which were caused by the Nika Riots in 532 (Greatrex 1997; Meier 2003). After the first outbreak of the plague in 542 (Stathakopoulos 2003, 110-54) the city recovered quickly, though probably with a reduced population, and the building activity resumed once more. In the early seventh century, however, the crisis of the whole empire arrived at its heart. The grain supply from Egypt to Constantinople ended forever in 619 (see, among others, Teall 1959, 97-8), and the city's water supply lines were destroyed during the Avar siege in 626 (Hurbanič 2019, 165). The city was repeatedly attacked by the Arabs in the years after 674 (Jankowiak 2013) and finally massively besieged by them from 717 to 718 (Olsen 2020). In this age of decline, the city lost most of its population, which decreased from several hundred thousand to about forty to fifty thousand persons (Mango 1990, 53-5), and almost no new buildings were erected for a long time.

After the plague of 747, and especially after the repair of the aqueduct in 766, the city slowly began to recover. From the ninth to the twelfth century Constantinople went through a long phase of prosperity, with growing population and wealth. Its solid fortifications, above all the double Theodosian land walls, saved the city from many attacks, and only the Russian siege in 860 brought it into an immediately dangerous situation (Vasiliev 1925). This second phase of prosperity went on, even as the empire already began to decline in the late eleventh century, and ended abruptly in 1204 when the city was conquered and plundered by the knights of the Fourth Crusade (Angold 2003; Laiou-Thomadaki 2005).

In the following contribution I will try to trace the stages of this development, and show how the cityscape of Constantinople changed over the centuries.

Figure 1 Medieval Constantinople, with principal objects mentioned in the text. Drawing by the Author

2 A City Falls into Ruins

The residential buildings of the early Byzantine age in Constantinople were mostly built of brick, or brick and stone and had wooden ceilings and roofs, the latter covered with ceramic tiles. Also, the major churches were not vaulted, except for their apses and some small chapels and baptisteries. Many of these churches, but not all, were replaced in the age of Justinian by bigger and more complex structures with domes or vaulted roofs, the most prominent examples being Hagia Sophia (Mark, Çakmak 1992) and the Church of the Holy Apostles (Mullett, Ousterhout, Gargova 2020). Since the new buildings were much more massive than their predecessors, they were mostly constructed on completely new foundations without using parts of the older structures.

But what happened to all these buildings in an age of neglect and decay? Houses and churches with wooden roof constructions would only last as long as they were rainproof. If not, the beams soon decayed, and after a while first the roof, then the ceilings below would collapse so that only the outer walls of the building still remained upright. Halls and churches with a single big interior space were destroyed even quicker. Of a basilica, therefore, only the vaulted apse, the outer walls and the rows of columns may have still existed after some decades of decay. The vaulted churches deteriorated slower than those with wooden roofs, and were destroyed by earthquakes and fire rather than by lack of maintenance (Erdik 2019).

When Constantinople rapidly declined in the seventh century, the city must have been full of ruins, even in the very centre of the city. Only the terrace walls and massive vaulted substructures, on which many buildings of the earlier time had been built, remained almost undamaged. The speed of decay in this age was greatly accelerated by the practice of building with spolia. Many old houses were dismantled and used as building material, and a great part of the architectural pieces such as cornices, columns and capitals, which we find in buildings of the middle and late age, are taken from destroyed monuments of the early period (Bauer 2009; Berger 2020). This procedure of recycling included also stone and brick, and in some cases even mosaic tesserae, as in the case of Saint Stephanos and All Saints (see below).

Between the early seventh and the mid-eighth century, almost the only recorded building activity was in the first reign of Justinian II, around 692, in the Great Palace where two new reception halls (*Scriptores*, ch. 3.130 [ed. Preger 1907, 257, 1-2]) and a ceremonial courtyard with a fountain were built (Theophanes, *Chronographia* [ed. De Boor 1883, 367.32-368.11]). The courtyard is the first known example of such an installation for the use of the circus factions, whose independent political role was soon going to end (Cameron 1976, 297-308).

The real rebuilding of Constantinople began, as previously mentioned, in the age of Constantine V with the repair of the aqueduct in 766 and the subsequent settling of craftsmen from Asia Minor, Thrace and Greece (Magdalino 2007a, 5-6). Very little, however, is known about the construction of new churches in this age, except for the famous Pharos chapel (Magdalino 2004). Then, in the time of Empress Eirene between 797 and 802, the restoration of an old aristocratic palace is reported, where possibly a group of immigrants from Athens was settled.

3 Building Campaigns of the Ninth Century

During the first major building campaign in Constantinople, which took place under Emperor Theophilos between 829 and 842, some new buildings were added to the Great Palace, and the fortifications of the city were reinforced.

Theophilos' buildings in the palace were all located south of its old centre, in an area where several new reception halls had already been built in the late sixth century and under Justinian II (*Chronographiae* 3.42-44 [ed. Featherstone, Signes Codoñer 2015, 200-10]). Although the *Continuation of Theophanes* claims that they were all new, most of them were probably older constructions, but now restored and redecorated – except for the complex of Trikonchos and Sigma on the edge of the southern terrace wall which was again equipped with a fountain and a ceremonial courtyard (*Chronographiae* 3.42.8-43.32 [ed. Featherstone, Signes Codoñer 2015, 200-4]).

The work on the fortifications in Theophilos' age was mainly done on the sea walls, probably as a reaction to the increasing Arabic threat in this time. It is only briefly mentioned by the sources, but well documented by a number of inscriptions. The sea walls were repaired, including the complete rebuilding of some towers (Schneider 1950; Dirimtekin 1953), and an impressive facade, the Boukoleon, was set on top of it at the seaside below the Great Palace (Mango 1997). Apparently, without a mention in the sources, the silted-up harbours on the Golden Horn were also given up in this time, that is, they were filled up with earth and enclosed by new walls (Kislinger 2016, 92-3), perhaps including a major part of the harbour of Sophia on the southern shore which was later turned into a shipyard (Heher 2016, 57-8).

Much more important for the whole city was another building campaign about forty years later, in the reign of Emperor Basileios I, in which many old churches, including Hagia Sophia and the Holy Apostles, were repaired or completely rebuilt. The repair of Hagia Sophia was, in fact, a major intervention which involved the dismantling and rebuilding of a major part of the gallery level, and the installa-

tion of a new, figural mosaic decoration (Mango 1962; Teteriatnikov 2004-05, 13-14).

The *Vita Basilii* lists twenty-four churches both in and near Constantinople which were repaired or rebuilt under Basileios (*Chronographiae* 5.78-93 [ed. Ševčenko 2012, 264-304]). In many cases, the text says that they were "rebuilt from the foundations", and for a number of churches some more details are given: the wooden roof of the Church of Anastasis or Anastasia, for example, was replaced by one of stone, which implies that a large basilica from the early Byzantine age was replaced here by a much smaller, but higher and more massive domed cross-in-square construction. Also noteworthy is the case of the Chalkoprateia church which was equipped with lateral arches and a higher roof to improve the lighting of the interior.

The *Continuation of Theophanes* does not say how long these churches of Constantinople were already in ruins when Basileios started his campaign. It seems, however, that many of them were only damaged by the series of heavy earthquakes which shook the city in 862, 866 and 869, that is, shortly before and at the beginning of his reign (Downey 1955, 599). The earthquake of 866 is mentioned in the *Patria* of Constantinople as the reason for the destruction of one church in the west of Constantinople, the Mother of God near the Sigma (*Scriptores* 3.182 [ed. Preger 1907, 272.15-273.5]; also *Synaxarium* [ed. Delehaye 1902, 380.19-23]). The same source dates the rebuilding of another nearby church, that of Saint Stephanos, to the reign of Basileios' son Leon VI, and remarks that its gold mosaic tesserae, marble revetments and columns were later reused for building the Church of all Saints (*Scriptores* 3.209 [ed. Preger 1907, 280.13-281.7]) – *nota bene* more than thirty years after the 866 earthquake.

The list in the *Continuation of Theophanes* ends with Basileios' new churches in the Great Palace, the most important of them being the monumental Nea or New Church. All these churches were, it seems, not restored older ones, but new, and obviously built with the intention to strengthen the Christian element in the palace.

The same can also be said for the only new church of Basileios' age outside the Great Palace, the chapel of the Mother of God on the Forum (Mango 1981). It was erected at the foot of the porphyry column which was, at that time, still crowned by the monumental statue of Constantine as a Sun God, naked and with a crown of seven solar rays on his head (Bardill 2012, 27-34). It seems that the pagan character of the Forum, whose decoration also included several ancient Greek statues, had meanwhile become problematic for a station of the regular religious and imperial processions, and was neutralised in this way.

The campaign of Basileios changed the appearance of most major churches of Constantinople, and with it the whole cityscape. Yet, some big churches of the early period do not appear on the list, among them

the church of John Prodromos of the Stoudios monastery, which perhaps did not need a restoration at the time, and the monumental and lavishly decorated church of Saint Polyeuktos. This church was later, in the eleventh century, abandoned, probably after being damaged by an earthquake, since it was impossible to replace it by an adequate construction.

Basileios' big church in the Great Palace, the Nea, is today long destroyed, and various attempts have been made to reconstruct it from literary evidence. The most plausible assumption is still that it was a monumental cross-in-square church with a main dome in the centre, with domed roof chapels and lateral galleries (Stanković 2008). This elaborate plan was new and fascinating in Basileios' age, and it seems that it was soon repeated by new churches of much smaller dimensions where there was actually no need for such a complicated layout. This is probably the origin of the miniaturised monumental architecture which became so characteristic of the later middle ages in Constantinople and elsewhere. In today's Istanbul, the older part of the church of the former Lips monastery, which dates back to the time of Leon VI, is the best surviving example (Marinis 2004).

4 The Monasteries

Since the first monasteries of Constantinople were founded in the late fourth century, most of them lay in the western part between the walls of Constantine and Theodosios (Dagron 1976), and their number rose from about twenty in the mid-fifth century to over seventy in the mid-sixth, as shown by the signatures of their abbots in the acts of the synods of 448, 518 and 536 (*Collectio Sabbaitica* [ed. Schwartz 1940]; Dagron 1976, 240-2). Only few monasteries existed in the more central parts of the city in the early Byzantine age. We actually only have clear evidence for three of them, namely that of the Akoimetoi, the non-sleeping monks, which lay on the old Akropolis, but was soon dissolved (Dagron 1976, 235-6); that of Saint Sergios and Bakchos in the house of Justinian near the Great Palace (Svenshon, Stichel 2000) and one near the aqueduct at the later Kalenderhane site (Striker, Kuban 1997, 1: 37-45). To the latter, the name *ta Kyrou* or *Kyriotissa* was transferred only in the middle Byzantine age, while its original name of two older churches is unknown (Striker, Kuban 1997, 7-17). It may be identified with the monastery of Anastasios "near the aqueduct" which is mentioned only in the list of 448 (*Collectio Sabbaitica* 36.26; 47.32).

Many foundations of the early Byzantine age are not mentioned again after the great crisis. Others survived, such as the famous monasteries of Dalmatos and Stoudios, and from the ninth century onward, the building of monasteries was resumed. Their majority was still located in the west of the city, though rather in the hilly north-

ern part near the Golden Horn than in the south. Some were newly built, and others were established in converted old residential buildings, as we shall presently see.

In the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the building of monasteries slowly extended from the northwestern part of Constantinople to the southeast. Yet, the number of monasteries in the city centre itself remained very small throughout the whole Byzantine age. In the most central area, that facing the Golden Horn between the Akropolis and the so-called third hill, we know only the three monasteries: that of Kyr Antonios, that in the house of Bassos, and one connected to the Anastasis church.

On the eastern shore, however, in a calm area without major streets, the famous Hodegon monastery was founded in the ninth century (Magdalino 2019, 260-2). The monastery of Saint Lazaros, a foundation of Leon VI, followed in the early tenth century (Janin 1969, 298-300), the Mangana monastery of Constantine Monomachos in the eleventh (Demangel, Mamboury 1939, 19-47), and a number of others still later, so that this small region became another centre of monasticism in Constantinople.

A final group of monasteries in Constantinople before the catastrophe of 1204 was built in the age of the Komnenian dynasty and is mostly, though not always, associated with the imperial family. The series begins with the Pammakaristos monastery, and ends with the monumental Pantokrator monastery of Ioannes II and his wife Piroshka/Eirene whose construction lasted from 1124 to 1136 (Kotzabassi 2013; Sághy, Ousterhout 2019).

5 Residential Buildings

Let us now turn to the non-religious buildings of Constantinople, that is, to the aristocratic palaces, tenements and private houses. When the city recovered, its population grew again, but probably never reached the numbers of the early Byzantine age. The high, multi-storeyed buildings, which were occasionally mentioned before (Vetters 1989), had disappeared forever, and residential houses mostly had no more than two or three storeys.

In a recent study, Paul Magdalino has drawn our attention to, as he calls it, the "modes of reconstruction in Byzantine Constantinople" (Magdalino 2019). Taking as examples the urban palaces of Marina, Pulcheria and Arkadia mentioned around 425 in the *Notitia urbis Constantinopolitanae*, he demonstrated how such large complexes survived, were restored after a time of decay and used for a new purpose.

A general problem in this context is that most of these former aristocratic houses changed their owners several times, and were often renamed at later reconstructions so their original name disappeared.

And if the old and new names of a house were simultaneously used, we are in danger of double counting, so that the number of buildings in the sources appears higher than it was in reality. Let us briefly look at Magdalino's examples.

The palace of Marina (Magdalino 2019, 260-2) on the eastern coast near the Great Palace became state property after her death, was later used as a textile workshop and disappears from the sources when one part was given to the Hodegon monastery in the eighth century, while the rest was overbuilt with new extensions of the Great Palace in the late ninth and tenth century.

The palace of Poulcheria (Magdalino 2019, 262-4) near the Hippodrome may have been the building known as the house of Probos in the early sixth, as that of Sophia in the late sixth, and – after a long time of silence – as that of Nikephoros Phokas in the tenth century; it possibly ended up as a hostel for merchants in the late twelfth century.

The palace of Arkadia (Magdalino 2019, 264-7) in the western part of the city is mentioned with this name only in the *Notitia*; when it was restored in the late eighth century by the empress Eirene, it was commonly called the palace of Eleutherios after an unknown previous owner, who should not, however, be dated back to the time of Constantine the Great: only the tenth-century *Patria* make Eleutherios the builder of a small harbour predating that of Theodosios (*Scriptores* 2.63 [ed. Preger 1907, 184.17-185.2]), but this is highly improbable, although it was usually believed due to a lack of more information. The upper part of the large area, which originally extended almost from the main street to the coast, was detached in the renovation or sometime later, and on the ruins of a monumental rotunda, which had been the entry hall of the palace, a smaller house called that of Krateros was built, which may have been property of Theodoros Krateros, a general who died as one of the 42 martyrs of Amorion in 845. This house became, another hundred years later, the Myrelaion monastery of emperor Romanos Lakapenos (Striker 1981; Niewöhner, Abura, Prochaska 2010; Bevilacqua 2013).

Another comparable case is the palace of Constantine the Great's mother Helena, the Helenianai, which lay outside the walls of Constantine and is therefore not mentioned by the *Notitia*. By the tenth century, it served as a home for old people, but its semicircular court was still used as a ceremonial station for imperial processions. In the eleventh century, finally, it was replaced by the Peribleptos Monastery of emperor Romanos Argyros, and its original name disappeared (Özgümüş 2000; Dalgıç 2010).

In other cases only the later owner of a house is known, which makes it difficult to identify the original founder. The house of Aspar, for example, lay somewhere near the big open cistern which bears his name, in the northwest of the Constantinian city or just outside of it. In this area, the *Notitia* locates the houses of empress

Eudokia and her daughter Arkadia, so it is plausible to assume that Aspar bought one of them or was endowed with it by the emperor. Later, in the tenth century, Aspar's house was also called the 'house of the Barbarian', and was temporarily given to the Armenian lords of Taron before it passed into the hands of the *parakoimomenos* Basileios (Magdalino 2016). Its fate after this time is unknown, but it may have been later replaced by the monastery of Saint Constantine (Berger 2007; Effenberger 2020).

Not far from here, the famous Pantokrator Monastery was built in the twelfth century. It may have stood, as again suggested by Paul Magdalino, on the place where the house of the lady Hilara had been in the sixth century, and the hospital of emperor Theophilos in the ninth (Magdalino 2007b, 50-2). It is hard to believe that there was nothing on this site before Hilara; in fact, the first house here may have been the other of the two houses just mentioned, which did not pass into the hands of Aspar.

Another case is the house of Bonos, which lay outside the Constantinian wall near the cistern of Aspar, where the mosque of Sultan Selim now stands. It was replaced in the tenth century by the so-called 'new palace of Bonos', thus keeping its old name, and later by the monastery of Christ Pantepoptes (Berger 2007, 49-53). The only known prominent person called Bonos was the patrician and defender of Constantinople in 626. It is unlikely that his house was the first on this prominent site, on top of a steep hill high over the Golden Horn, but so far its original founder has not been identified.

From the tenth century onward, the rebuilding and upgrading of old aristocratic houses reached a new dimension. After six hundred years of imperial rule in the city, both the mausolea of Constantine and Justinian at the Church of the Holy Apostles were full and could not accommodate new burials. The monasteries of Myrelaion, of Peribleptos and Pantokrator, therefore, were designed as dynastic foundations where the members of the now reigning family should be put to rest – and that, if possible, in an impressive building on a hill or an old substructure which dominated their surroundings. An exception here is the already mentioned Mangana monastery on the eastern shore which had no known predecessor.

A word may also be added here on the terminology of buildings: in the *Notitia urbis Constantinopolitanae*, the big public baths bear the name of their founders with the Latin suffix *-anae*, for example *Constantianae*, *Arcadianae*, *Anastasianae*. In Greek texts of the same period, this way of naming is also applied to aristocratic houses and palaces, as the *Helenianai*, *Pulcherianai* and *Sophianai*. In the middle Byzantine age, this terminology was still used only for a number of churches which had been added to such buildings when they were converted into charitable institutions. In common usage, it was mostly replaced by the neutral article *ta* with the founder's name in geni-

tive, for example *ta Ourbikiou*, *ta Areobindou*, *ta Armatiou*. This designation is used, however, for buildings of any size, such as houses, churches or monasteries, sometimes even for statues. It appears occasionally already in the early Byzantine age; Prokopios, for example, once calls the Helenianai *ta Helenes* (*De Bellis* 1.24.30 [ed. Haury 1905, 129.33]), and the *Chronicon paschale* mentions the Plakidianai as *ta Plakidias* (Dindorf 1832, 563.18, 700.15). In tenth-century texts like the *Patria* or the Synaxar of Constantinople, the number of locations named in this way has risen to more than a hundred.

As we have seen so far, many big urban palaces and aristocratic houses of the early Byzantine age continued to exist, but changed their owners several times, were converted to a different use, and even split up into more than one property. The most common new use was that as a hospital or a home for old people. In some cases, for example that of the Helenianai, this had lasted for so long that the tenth-century *Patria* of Constantinople believed they served as such from the beginning (*Scriptores* 3.5 [ed. Preger 1907, 216.1-3]).

Of course, there were also many old houses beneath the aristocratic level which still existed in the middle Byzantine age. And although most or all of them must have changed their owners in the course of time, a large number was still known by the name of their founders.

But what we do not know is how much of these old buildings was still intact when they were restored between the ninth and twelfth centuries. In many cases, to quote Paul Magdalino (2019, 267), "the authorities and the inhabitants of the Byzantine capital" may have "practised a culture of conservation and reuse; on the other hand, they projected a rhetoric of new construction from zero".

We may assume that often an ancient building was simply repaired by replacing damaged marble elements or by putting a new roof on it. If it was converted into a monastery, however, a church had to be added which could not always be accommodated on the already existing substructure. The church of the Myrelaion monastery, therefore, was built on a separate substructure next to the core of the already mentioned rotunda (Striker 1981, 13-29), while the church of the Peribleptos monastery seems to have stood on a substructure in front of the old terrace (Özgümüş 2000).

In any case, material of ruined buildings was used for rebuilding, or sometimes even material of buildings which had been still more or less intact at the time, but were now cannibalised. Probably the strangest incidence of this case is the reuse of a wooden ceiling from the fifth-century palace of Basiliskos which was mounted around 830, in the age of emperor Theophilos, in the Lausiakos, a reception hall in the Great Palace from the late seventh century (*Chronographiae* 3.44.5-8 [ed. Featherstone, Signes Codoñer 2015, 210]).

Then, from the tenth century onward, the architectural patterns of aristocratic houses and palaces begins to change: instead of the

traditional loose arrangement of rotundas, octagons, cruciform or longitudinal buildings along porticoes and around courtyards, new houses are now built on rectangular ground plans and are multi-storeyed, probably with the representative rooms on the first floor (Berger, Niewöhner, forthcoming).

6 Memories of the Past. The Triumphal Columns

But there was one element which still dominated the cityscape as a remnant of the glorious old days. This was the triumphal columns, seven in number, built between Constantine the Great in the early fourth and Justin II in the late sixth century. Except for the column of Constantine on the Forum and the rather modest column of Marcian they have all now disappeared, and their function of structuring and accentuating the silhouette has been taken over by the minarets of the mosques.

Of these columns, that of Constantine may have reached a height of about forty metres, and those of Theodosios and Arkadios of more than fifty metres (Boeck 2021, 24). But the statues which crowned them fell one after the other as a result of earthquakes and violent storms. The column of Theodosios had lost its statue already in the fifth century, before the last two monumental columns were even built; that of Arkadios fell in 740, that of Justin II in 866 (Berger 2021, 12-13, 18).

The statue of Constantine on the column of his Forum showed the emperor in the shape of a late antique Sun god, as mentioned before, and was one of the last visible memories of Constantinople's not-so-Christian origins. Its downfall in 1106, therefore, also marks a final step in its Christianisation. Anna Komnene reports that, when the statue had fallen, some people took this as a bad omen for her father, the emperor Alexios I. When Alexios heard about these rumours, however, he said: "I know one lord of life and death, and there is no reason why I should believe that the fall of pagan statues brings death" (*Alexias* 12.4.5 [ed. Reinsch, Kambylis 2001, 370.46-67]; see also Berger 2021, 10-11).

At the end of the middle Byzantine age, only the statues of Leon I (Peschlow 1986) and of Justinian still existed, and only that of Justinian remained on its column until the Ottoman conquest in 1453 (Boeck 2021).

7 Constantinople in the Age of the Komnenoi

The last major changes in the cityscape of Constantinople before the catastrophe of 1204 took place in the age of the Komnenian dynasty, which began with the accession of the same Emperor Alexios Komnenos in 1081.

As mentioned, a series of new monasteries was built in the northeast of Constantinople, most of which had no earlier predecessor, ending with the Pantokrator monastery which replaced an old aristocratic house and hospital.

The Blachernai palace in the extreme northwest of the city, which had long been used for imperial receptions after visits to the famous church of the Mother of God nearby, gained more importance in the age of Alexios Komnenos, before it became the main residence under his grandson Manuel. New, multi-storeyed buildings with reception halls in the *piano nobile* were added to it (Macrides 2015), and since it lay very close to the old city wall, a new wall with massive towers was constructed in Manuel's time further to the west to better protect it (Asutay-Effenberger 2007, 118-46). But still, the old Great Palace was used for ceremonial purposes, and chariot races were held in the Hippodrome in the emperor's presence (Magdalino 1993, 239). Since the emperor and his court often had to move between the old and new palace, either by boat or by horse, a new pattern of processions through the city emerged, and the old ceremonial route from the Golden Gate to the Great Palace was given up (Magdalino 1993, 241-2).

The Komnenian age also witnessed an increasing presence of foreigners in Constantinople, partly due to the establishment of the so-called concessions for merchants from Venice and other Italian cities, and partly as a consequence of the Crusades which passed through or near Constantinople.

The first of these concessions was granted in 1082 to the Venetians; it stretched about 300 metres on the Golden Horn, and contained a church, an administrative building and three wharves (Jacoby 2001). The Pisan concession, founded in 1111, lay to the east of the Venetian one; the Genoese concession was first established across the Golden Horn in Galata, but later transferred to Constantinople, to a place near the other concessions (Borsari 1991; Day 1977). Although these concessions had clearly defined borders, they were not separated from the remaining city, and public streets ran across them.

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