

CONSTANTINE THE GREAT AND THE CHURCHES OF SAINT MICHAEL AT ANAPLOUS AND SOSTHENION: SOME FURTHER NOTES ON THEIR LOCATION

CONSTANTINO "EL GRANDE" Y LA IGLESIAS DE SAN MIGUEL EN ANAPLOUS Y SOSTHENION: ALGUNAS NOTAS SOBRE SU LOCALIZACIÓN

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Fecha de recepción: 28/08/2020

Fecha de aprobación: 25/02/2021

Resumen

Constantino "el Grande" fue considerado por los bizantinos como el fundador de las dos iglesias del Arcángel Miguel en Hestia/Anaplo y Sostherion. Sin embargo, la localización de estas iglesias sigue siendo problemática. Jules Pargoire, en su estudio pionero, ha proporcionado ideas esenciales sobre la cuestión, pero algunos temas necesitan ser reconsiderados. El propósito de este artículo es sistematizar la información existente y ofrecer algunas precisiones con respecto a la posición topográfica de esos santuarios.

Palabras clave

Constantino "el Grande" - San Miguel - Hestia - Anaplo - Sosthenion

Abstract

Constantine the Great was considered by the Byzantines to be the founder of two churches of the Archangel Saint Michael at Hestia/Anaplous and Sosthenion. The location of these churches, however, remains somehow problematic. Jules Pargoire's pioneer study has provided essential insight into the matter, but some issues need to be reconsidered. The purpose of this paper is to systematize the existing information and offer some precisions regarding the topographic position of these sanctuaries.

Keywords

Constantine the Great - Saint Michael - Hestia - Anaplous - Sosthenion

Byzantine authors, as is well known, credit Constantine the Great with the building of two churches of the Archangel Saint Michael on the Bosporian shore.¹ Although the churches' origins and later development have been widely discussed, certain issues remain problematic.² One of them concerns the sanctuaries' specific location. Three toponyms are mentioned by the sources in connection with them—Hestia, Sosthenion, and Anaplous—but where were these areas located, and what was their relationship to one another? Jules Pargoire, one of the first scholars to discuss in detail the topographical issues pertaining to the Michaelia of the Bosporus, offered a persuasive and well-founded interpretation of the evidence that remains accepted to this day.³ Yet, given that new information has emerged since the publication of Pargoire's work, is it worth discussing once again the available data in order to reassess their place in the study of the sanctuaries of Saint Michael.

The first mention of a church of the Archangel in connection with Constantine the Great is attested by Sozomen's fifth-century testimony. Sozomen claims that the church was located ἐν ταῖς Ἑστίαις ποτὲ καλουμέναις, a place that he describes as lying on the western shore of the Bosporus, at around 35 stadia (c. 6,475 km) by sea and over 70 stadia (c. 12,95 km) by land from Constantinople. If measured from the north-eastern extreme of Constantinople, as Pargoire observed, the 35 stadia lead to the area of modern Kuruçeşme. Many centuries later, moreover, Pierre Gilles identified Hestiae with the fold of the Bosporus located towards the south-west of the Cape of Hestia (the modern Akinti Burnu), an area that corresponds to modern Arnavutköy, and noted the existence of a location that in his day still preserved the name of Ἄσωμάτων in memory of the ancient church of the Archangel. On the basis of Gilles'

¹ There were many churches attributed to Constantine the Great by the Byzantine tradition. It is possible that some of them were, in fact, historically connected with the emperor, but this remains difficult to prove. For a discussion of this issue, see, among others, Gregory T. ARMSTRONG, "Constantine's churches," *Gesta*, 6 (1967), pp. 1-9; Gilbert DAGRON, *Naissance d'une capitale: Constantinople et ses institutions de 330 à 451*, Paris, 1974, pp. 392-409; Cyril MANGO, "Constantine's Mausoleum and the Translation of Relics," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 83, 1 (1990), pp. 51-62.

² On the Michaelia see, among others, Alfred MAURY, "Du temple appelé Sosthenium qui existait avant Constantin au lieu appelé Hestiae près de Constantinople et de sa conversion en une église consacrée à Saint-Michel," *Revue Archéologique*, 6^e Année, 1 (1849), pp. 144-63, at 146-47; Jules PARGOIRE, "Anaple et Sosthène," *Izviestija russkago arkeologitsheskago instituta v Constantinopolie III* (1898), pp. 60-97; Raymond JANIN, "Les sanctuaires byzantins de saint Michel (Constantinople et banlieue)," *Échos d'Orient*, 33, 173 (1934), pp. 28-52, at 37-40, 43-46; id. *La Géographie Ecclésiastique de l'Empire Byzantin*, Paris, 1969, pp. 338-40, 346-49; Cyril MANGO, "St. Michael and Attis," *Δελτίον ΧΑΕ*, 12 (1984), pp. 39-62, at 58-59; Albrecht BERGER, *Untersuchungen zu den Patria Konstantinupoleos*, Bonn, 1988, pp. 704-6, 707-8; Glenn PEERS, "The Sosthenion near Constantinople: John Malalas and Ancient Art," *Byzantion*, 68, 1 (1998), pp. 110-20, 114-15; Richard F. JOHNSON, *Saint Michael the Archangel in Medieval English Legend*, Woodbridge, 2005, p. 35; Joëlle BEAUCAMP, "Saint-Michel de Sôsthénion ou les Argonautes et l'Archange," in Béatrice CASEAU, Jean-Claude CHEYNET, Vincent DEROUCHE (eds.), *Pèlerinages et lieux saints dans l'Antiquité et le Moyen Âge. Mélanges offerts à Pierre Maraval*, Paris, 2006, pp. 13-23.

³ PARGOIRE, "Anaple et Sothène," op. cit., pp. 60-97. See also JANIN, "Les sanctuaires byzantins de Saint Michel," op. cit., pp. 37-40, 43-46; id. *La Géographie Ecclésiastique*, op. cit., pp. 338-40, 346-49; MANGO, "St. Michael and Attis," op. cit., pp. 58-59; BERGER, *Untersuchungen*, op. cit., pp. 704-6, 707-8.

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testimony, Pargoire suggested adding a kilometer to Sozomen's estimated distance and identifying the location of the Michaelion ἐν ταῖς Ἐστίαις as modern Arnavutköy.⁴ There seems to be nothing to add to Pargoire's sound analysis of the evidence. Even if Byzantine sources do not preserve many other references to the church of Saint Michael at the place called Hestia (though there is at least one later mention of a Michaelion connected to that toponym) there is no reason to doubt that by the fifth century there was a church of that name in the location that Pargoire identified.⁵

One century after Sozomen, Malalas (along with an equally early testimony that is preserved in *Codex Parisinus graecus* 1630)⁶ attributed to Constantine the Great the building of a church of Saint Michael at Sosthenion, also located on the western shore of the Bosphorus. Unlike Sozomen, Malalas embellishes his account with a lengthy foundation narrative tracing the Michaelion's first origins back to remote pagan times. According to him, the Argonauts, when sailing up the Bosphorus, sought refuge in a "certain bay" (ἐν κόλπῳ τινί), where they witnessed a mysterious winged figure that predicted their victory over Amykos, a local king who hindered their crossing of the strait. The Argonauts, adds Malalas, called this place Σωσθένιν because there "they had been saved" (ἐσώθησαν)—a pareymology that may have played a role in the Byzantine development of the Argonaut legend—and built a temple for the mysterious winged figure. Many centuries later, Constantine the Great rededicated the shrine

⁴ Joseph BIDEZ and Günther Christian HANSEN, *Sozomenus. Kirchengeschichte*, Berlin, Akademie Verlag, 1960, II.3; Jean-Pierre GRELOIS, *Pierre Gilles. Itinéraires byzantines*, Paris, 2007, 2.11; PARGOIRE, "Anaple et Sosthène," op. cit., pp. 77-78.

⁵ See MANGO, "St. Michael and Attis," op. cit., p. 59, n. 61.

⁶ The authorship of the excerpts contained in the *Codex Parisinus graecus* 1630 (f. 234^r-239^v) is still debated. The title of the excerpts (ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκθέσεως Ἰωάννου Ἀντιοχείως...) suggests that they were drawn from the lost chronicle of John of Antioch, and they were incorporated as such into Karl Müller's *FHG* (vol. 4, frag.15). Their attribution to John of Antioch remains accepted to this day by several scholars, including Umberto Roberto in his edition of John of Antioch's chronicle (Umberto ROBERTO, *Ioannis Antiocheni fragmenta ex historia chronica*, Berlin-New York, De Gruyter, 2005, sec. 2, frag. 26.2-3; see also, among others, Cyril MANGO, "The Conversion of the Parthenon into a Church: the Tübingen Theosophy," *Δελτίον ΧΑΕ*, 18 [1995], pp. 201-3, at 202; Warren TREADGOLD, "The Byzantine World Histories of John Malalas and Eustathius of Epiphania," *The International History Review*, 29, 4 [2007], pp. 709-45, at 733; Elizabeth JEFFREYS, "The Chronicle of John Malalas, Book I: A Commentary," in Pauline ALLEN and Elizabeth JEFFREYS [eds.], *The Sixth Century – End or Beginning?*, Leiden-Boston, Brill, 2017 [1st ed. 1996], pp. 52-74, at 53-54). However, it has equally been considered that the excerpts could have been drawn from Malalas or from a tradition derived from Malalas (Ursul Philip BOISSEVAIN, "Über die dem Ioannes Antiochenus zugeschriebenen Excerpta Salmasiana," *Hermes*, 22 [1887], pp. 161-78, at 173-77; Georgios SOTIRIADIS, "Zur Kritik des Johannes von Antiocheia," *Jahrbücher für classische Philologie*, suppl. 16 [1888], pp. 1-126; Sergei MARIEV, *Ioannis Antiocheni fragmenta quae supersunt omnia*, Berlin, De Gruyter, 2008, p. 595; id. "Über das Verhältnis von Cod. Paris gr. 1630 zu den Traditionen des Johannes Malalas und des Johannes von Antiochien," *JÖB*, 59 [2009], pp. 177-190). For an overview and a discussion of the two conflicting editions of John of Antioch and the persisting issues concerning John of Antioch's and Malalas' chronicles, see Peter VAN NUFFELN, "John of Antioch, Inflated and Deflated. Or: How (Not) to Collect Fragments of Early Byzantine Historians," *Byzantion*, 82 (2012), pp. 437-50.

to the Archangel Saint Michael.⁷ As Pargoire observed following Pierre Gilles, Σωσθένιον was a deformation of Λεωσθένιον (Λωσθένιν, Λασσθένιον, or Λασθένιον), the ancient pagan name of the area. On the basis of Gilles' testimony, who noted that the Constantinopolitans of his day referred to the place as "Sthenion" or "Sosthenion," Pargoire identified the Argonauts' bay with modern Istinye. Sosthenion, therefore, was located on the western shore of the Bosphorus, in the middle section, to the north of the Ottoman fortress or Rumeli Hisarı.⁸ Once again, there seems to be nothing to add to Pargoire's sound analysis of the evidence.

Unlike the Michaelion of Hestia, however, the church of Saint Michael at Sosthenion is repeatedly mentioned by Byzantine sources. We know, for instance, that it had existed since at least the fifth century—i.e., one century before Malalas' testimony—because Daniel the Stylite established himself in its vicinity in c. 460,⁹ though it is not clear whether it was already considered as a Constantinean foundation at that time. At some point during the middle Byzantine period, a monastery of the same name was built in the proximity of the church, and was equally attributed by the tradition to Constantine the Great.¹⁰ Both the church and the monastery continued to exist until the late Byzantine period, and, if we are to trust the testimony of Damascenos Stoudites, the church would have remained in use in post-Byzantine times.¹¹

The next mention of a Bosporian church of Saint Michael in connection with Constantine the Great is attested by Theodore Anagnostes' sixth-century testimony. Anagnostes claims that Constantine dedicated a sanctuary to the Archangel ἐν τῷ Ἀνάπλω, where, "according to Socrates," he had seen and heard "numerous extraordinary signs."¹² This

⁷ Johannes THURN, *Ioannis Malalae chronographia*, Berlin-New York, De Gruyter, 2000, pp. 54-56.

⁸ Pierre Gilles, II.15; PARGOIRE, "Anaple et Sosthène," op. cit., pp. 61-65.

⁹ The hagiographer of Daniel the Stylite states, in fact, that the saint established himself ἐν τόπῳ ἐπιλεγμένῳ Ἀνάπλω, ἔνθα ὑπάρχει εὐκτήριον τοῦ ἀρχαγγελοῦ Μιχαήλ (Hippolyte DELEHAYE, *Les saints stylites*, Brussels, 1923, p. 14). This led Janin to believe that the saint had first settled at a site called "Anaplous" (for the use of this term, see below) and later moved to Sosthenion (JANIN, *Géographie Ecclésiastique*, op. cit., p. 86). The *Vitae*, however, do not indicate that the saint moved after first arriving in the area, so it seems safer to assume that the term "Anaplous" refers here to the western shore of the Bosphorus (of which Sosthenion was part) (see BERGER, *Untersuchungen*, op. cit., p. 707).

¹⁰ *Patria* 3:163 app. (Theodor PREGGER, *Scriptores originum Constantinopolitanarum*, Leipzig, Teubner, 1901-1907, p. 267). Although the sources sometimes make reference to a monastery of the Archangel κατὰ τὸν Ἀνάπλου or περὶ τὸν Ἀνάπλου, Pargoire has persuasively argued that these references must be understood as referring to the one at Sosthenion ("Anaple et Sosthène," op. cit., pp. 86-97). The term "Anaplous," therefore, indicates in these cases the western shore of the Bosphorus (of which Sosthenion was part). See BERGER, *Untersuchungen*, op. cit., p. 708 (cf. however, JANIN, "Les sanctuaires byzantins de saint Michel," op. cit., 38-39; *Géographie Ecclésiastique*, op. cit., pp. 339-40).

¹¹ See Eirenaïos DELEDEMOU, *Θησαυρὸς Δαμασκηνοῦ τοῦ ὑποδιακόνου καὶ Στουδίτου*, New York, Atlantis Greek Book Co., Inc., 1943, oration 18.

¹² Günther Christian HANSEN, *Theodoros Anagnostes. Kirchengeschichte*, Berlin, Akademie Verlag, 1995, *Epitome historiae tripartitae*, 1.28. The "numerous extraordinary signs" (πολλὰ παράδοξα σημεῖα) refer to a revelation of the Archangel. The mention of "Socrates" is problematic, because the latter makes no reference to Constantine's foundation of the church of Saint Michael. It is possible that Anagnostes meant to say "Sozomen" instead (if

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testimony raises a significant problem, because, as Pargoire demonstrated, the term “Anaplous” can have three different meanings. Firstly, it can refer to navigation against the (sea or river) current—in the case of the Bosphorus, it can be specifically understood as navigation upstream from south to north, from the Propontis towards the Pontus. Secondly, it can refer to the European shore of the Bosphorus, or, at least, to a large section of it, which Pargoire defined as the *Anaplous-region*. Thirdly, it can refer to a specific location on the western shore of the Bosphorus, which Pargoire defined as the *Anaplous-proasteion*.¹³ Since these two latter meanings are relevant to our understanding of the Constantinean churches of Saint Michael, it is worth discussing them in further detail.

The Anaplous-region

Numerous sources, of which we will only mention a few,¹⁴ imply that Anaplous was sometimes understood as a wide region on the western shore of the Bosphorus stretching from the southern up to at least the middle section. This region would have comprised several smaller areas, among which Hestia and Sosthenion. The *Patria* provide an illustrative example of Hestia’s location within the wider region of Anaplous. According to the patriographers, Dineos, the ruler of Chalcedon, went to assist Byzas, who was under attack from his brother Strombos, but was unable to anchor his fleet at the city of Byzantion. He therefore anchored at Anaplous—here, the western shore of the Bosphorus—where he settled, and gave the area of his settlement the name of Hestia.

***Patria* 1:20**

“So when Dineos came with many ships to fight alongside Byzas, he was unable to anchor at the city, because their king Byzas had just passed away and all the people were in great distress. He therefore continued to **the [region] called Anaplous** (πρὸς τὸν καλούμενον Ἀνάπλου ἀφίκετο), where he resided and **called the place Hestia** (Ἐστίας τὸν τόπον ὠνόμασεν).”

Other sources, most notably Malalas and a fourteenth-century ordinance of the patriarchal chancellery, provide an illustrative example of Sosthenion’s location within the same, wide region of Anaplous. Malalas, describing the rebellion of Vitalian against Emperor Anastasius, states that the rebel took his position to attack the capital “at Anaplous”—here, the western shore of the Bosphorus—specifically “at a place known as Sosthenion,” where the church of

we assume that Sozomen’s Michaelion at Hestia is the same as Anagnostes’ Michaelion at Anaplous), although the former’s testimony is rather vague when it comes to the Archangel’s revelation to Constantine.

¹³ PARGOIRE, “Anaple et Sosthène,” op. cit., pp. 65-75.

¹⁴ For further discussion of the existing sources, see PARGOIRE, “Anaple et Sosthène,” op. cit., pp. 69-73.

Saint Michael was located.¹⁵ As for the ordinance issued by the patriarchal chancellery, it states, in similar terms, that the monastery of the Archangel Michael “called of Sosthenion” was located “at Anaplous”—here again, the western shore of the Bosporus.¹⁶

Malalas, 330

“He [Vitalian] then went and plundered again the whole of Thrace and Europe until he reached Sykai and Anaplous opposite Constantinople, as he wanted to take Constantinople itself. He took up his position **at Anaplous** (έν τῷ Ἀνάπλω) **at a place known as Sosthenion** (ἐπί τῷ λεγόμενῳ Σωσθένειν) in the chapel of the Archangel Michael.”

John XIV Kalekas, doc. 107

“Our mediocrity through the present letter prescribes that kyr Ignatios Kalothetos, most honored among the hieromonks and loved by us in the Holy Spirit, be in possession of the monastery named after the revered commander of the heavenly forces Michael, **located in Anaplous** (περί τὸν Ἀνάπλου), which is **called of Sosthenion** (ἐπικεκλημένου τοῦ Σωσθενίου).”

As these testimonies make clear, Anaplous, in one of its definitions, was necessarily a *region*, of which both Hestia and Sosthenion formed part. Once again, there is nothing to add to Pargoire’s analysis of the evidence.

The Anaplous-proasteion

In addition to the Anaplous-*region* (described above), Pargoire, following Pierre Gilles, identified what he considered to be a specific location on the western shore of the Bosporus, which also carried the name of “Anaplous.” As noted above, he defined it as the Anaplous-*proasteion*. According to Pargoire, the sources suggest the existence of two distinct Anaplous-*proasteia*—one located in the vicinity of the fifteenth-century Ottoman fortress of Roumeli Hisarı and the other located at Arnavutköy, over the ancient site of Hestia.¹⁷ Since the distinction is important for the identification of one of the Constantinean churches of Saint Michael, we shall discuss it in further detail.

1/ The Anaplous-proasteion at Roumeli Hisarı

Pargoire mentions two testimonies that support the identification of an Anaplous-*proasteion* in the proximity of Roumeli Hisarı. The first testimony comes from Stephen of

¹⁵ Malalas, p. 330; PARGOIRE, “Anaple et Sosthène,” op. cit., p. 70.

¹⁶ Carolina CUPANE, Herbert HUNGER, et al., *Das Register des Patriarchats von Konstantinopel, Edition und Übersetzung der Urkunden aus den Jahren 1337-1350*, Vienna, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1995, doc. 107; PARGOIRE, “Anaple et Sosthène,” op. cit., p. 73.

¹⁷ PARGOIRE, “Anaple et Sosthène,” op. cit., pp. 75-82.

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Byzantion, who claims that “there is a Port of Women (γυναικῶν λιμὴν) near the [place] called Phidaleia, which is between Anaplous and Losthenion (μεταξὺ Ἀνάπλου καὶ τοῦ Λεωσθενίου).”¹⁸ The Port of Women, therefore, was located between Leosthenion (i.e., Sosthenion) and Anaplous. As is clear, the term Anaplous does not make sense in this context if understood as a region. So, as Pargoire observed, Stephen’s sentence must necessarily be referring to two different, specific locations along the western shore of the Bosphorus: one was Leosthenion/Sosthenion and the other an *Anaplous-proasteion*.¹⁹

The second testimony, drawn from the Byzantine scholia to Dionysius of Byzantion, helps to determine the precise location of the *Anaplous-proasteion*. According to the scholiast, the work of Dionysius claims that a narrow passage of the Bosphorus lies “between Kikonios and the so-called Anaplous” (ἡ τὸν μεταξὺ τοῦ Κικονίου καὶ τοῦ Ἀνάπλου καλουμένου)²⁰. As Pargoire observed, the text seems to be referring to two specific locations, one on each shore of the Bosphorus—Kikonion on the eastern shore and an *Anaplous-proasteion* on the western shore—which are meant as referents for a specific point of the strait. Since that point corresponds to the area of Roumeli Hisarı, and the Port of Women was identified by Pierre Gilles as the Balta Limanı (which was located less than a kilometer to the north of Roumeli Hisarı), it seems fair to assume, as Pargoire did, that there was an *Anaplous-proasteion* in the area where the Ottoman fortress was later built.²¹

2/ The *Anaplous-proasteion* at Arnavutköy (Hestia)

As noted above, Pargoire considered that—in addition to the *Anaplous-proasteion* near Roumeli Hisarı, which was an old toponym attested only by early authors—there was a different *Anaplous-proasteion* further south, which among Byzantine authors had come to replace the

¹⁸ Margarethe BILLERBECK et al., *Stephani Byzantii Ethnica*, vol. I, Berlin, De Gruyter, 2006, p. 440. My italics.

¹⁹ PARGOIRE, “Anaple et Sosthène,” op. cit., pp. 73, 76-77; see Pierre Gilles, II.11, p. 138.

²⁰ Karl MÜLLER, *Geographi Graeci minores*, vol. 2, Paris, Didot, 1861 (repr. Hildesheim, Olms, 1965), sch. 142 and 142bis (pp. 437-38).

²¹ PARGOIRE, “Anaple et Sosthène,” op. cit., pp. 74, 76-77. As Gilles notes, the fortress of Roumeli Hisarı (or Neokastron) is described by Laonikos Chalkokondyles as being where the crossing of the Bosphorus between Europe and Asia is at its shortest, and referred to as the “fortress that cuts the throat [of the Bosphorus]” (ἠκοδόμηται τὴν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ κατὰ τὴν Προποντίδα ἐν τῷ Βοσπόρῳ, ἢ στενωτάτον ἐστὶ διαβῆναι ἀπὸ Ἀσίας, πολίχνην Λαιμοκοπήν καλουμένην). Pierre GILLES, II.11, p. 148-49; Eugenius DARKO, *Laonici Chalcocandyllae historiarum demonstrationes*, Budapest, 1922-1927, vol. 2, p. 147. Even if Kikonion was not exactly opposite Roumeli Hisarı (as argued by JANIN, *Les églises et les monastères des grands centres byzantins*, Paris, 1975, p. 22), the reference still places Anaplous in the proximity of the fortress.

ancient pagan name of Hestia. The church of Saint Michael that Sozomen describes as being ἐν ταῖς Ἑστίαις would therefore be the same that later authors describe as being ἐν τῷ Ἀνάπλω.²²

The case for this second Anaplous-*proasteion*, however, is more difficult to make. Pargoire noted, to begin with, that the column of Daniel the Stylite, which is commonly referred to in the sources as being ἐν τῷ Ἀνάπλω, was in the proximity of a church of Saint Michael. The fact that Saint Daniel's hagiographer refers to this church as ὁ τοῦ ἀρχιστρατήγου Μιχαὴλ ναός, without further specification, led Pargoire to conclude that the church in question must have been at an Anaplous-*proasteion* (since otherwise, the hagiographer would have likely introduced further precisions in order to avoid confusion with the Anaplous-*region*, in which the other church of Saint Michael, the one at Sosthenion, was also situated)²³. In addition to this, Pargoire observed that a middle Byzantine liturgical *Typikon* of the Great Church places the commemoration of Symeon the Stylite ἐπέκεινα τοῦ Ἀνάπλου. Once again, he considered this formulation to make better sense if understood as referring to an Anaplous-*proasteion* rather than to a whole region, and, since the relics of Saint Symeon the Stylite were preserved in the vicinity of the place where Daniel the Stylite had been established, the evidence would seem in fact to suggest that both sources referred to one and the same *proasteion*.²⁴

We now know, however, that this is not the case. The publication of the *Vita* of Saint Luke the Stylite, as Raymond Janin and Cyril Mango have noted, has made clear that the column of Saint Daniel the Stylite—and, consequently, the relics of Saint Symeon and the church of Saint Michael mentioned in the hagiography—were located in the place called “Sosthenion” (ἐνθα τὸ Σωσθένιον)²⁵. Although Pargoire was clearly right about the ambiguity that derives from the sources' use of the term Anaplous, we cannot but admit that both the *Vita* of Saint Daniel and the *Typikon* understood Anaplous as the Anaplous-*region*, that is to say, as a section of the western shore of the Bosphorus.

There is, in any case, another source that, according to Pargoire, provides evidence in favor of a second Anaplous-*proasteion*. In his description of Justinian's building activities, Procopius claims that the emperor rebuilt two churches dedicated to the Archangel Saint Michael located opposite one another on each side of the Bosphorus. One of them lay “at the place called Anaplous (ἐν χώρῳ καλουμένῳ Ἀνάπλω), on the left bank as one sails towards the Pontos Euxinos,” the other on the opposite shore, at a place called Proöchtli (Προόχθους),

²² PARGOIRE, “Anaple et Sosthène,” op. cit., pp. 77-82.

²³ PARGOIRE, “Anaple et Sosthène,” op. cit., p. 78.

²⁴ PARGOIRE, “Anaple et Sosthène,” op. cit., p. 75.

²⁵ DELEHAYE, *Les saints stylites*, op. cit., pp. 197-98; JANIN, *Géographie ecclésiastique*, op. cit., p. 347; MANGO, “St. Michael and Attis,” op. cit., pp. 58-59 and n. 59.

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which, according to Procopius, had been corrupted into Brochi (Βρόχοι)²⁶. In Pargoire's view, which is directly based on Gilles' testimony, Procopius was intending to provide the exact location of the two different buildings, so Anaplous must be understood as the name of a specific place, or *proasteion*.²⁷

This, however, is not necessarily the case. After making reference to the rebuilding of the two churches, Procopius continues to say that Justinian had also built a sea market in the proximity of the Michaelion at Anaplous.

Procopius, *De aedif.*, 1.8.7-10.

"By a stone quay he made the shore-line there curve inward to form a sheltered harbor and he transformed the sea-beach into a market. For the sea at that point is very calm, and makes possible trading with the land. And the sea-traders tie up their skiffs along the stone quay and from their decks exchange their merchandise for the products of the land. Behind this shore-market extends the court in front of the church."²⁸

Significantly, the *Vitae* of Daniel the Stylite state that the saint—whom we know to have been established his column at Sosthenion—dwelled in the vicinity of a marketplace that took the name of Saint Michael, undoubtedly after the nearby church of the same designation. Saint Daniel's *Vitae* contain two different references to this market area. In the first, the hagiographer narrates how the monk Sergius, recently arrived from Syria with the tunic of Saint Symeon the Stylite, decided to take a light boat upstream the Bosphorus to visit the monastery of the Akoimetoι. Once in the boat, he overheard some people talking about an abandoned church located "beyond the oratory of Saint Michael in the place called Philemporin (έν τόπω έπιλεγομένω τὸ Φιλεμπόριν)."²⁹ The church in question turned out to be the first dwelling place of Saint Daniel, who struggled there against the evil spirits until the place was finally cleansed; the "oratory of Saint Michael" was, of course, the shrine of the Archangel at Sosthenion. This indicates, therefore, that the Michaelion was in the vicinity of a commercial area—Φιλεμπόριν—a description that fits well with Procopius' testimony and suggests that the marketplace built (or rebuilt) by Justinian may have not been at an Anaplous-*proasteion*, but, in fact, at Sosthenion.

²⁶ Gerhard WIRTH, *Procopii Caesariensis opera omnia*, vol. 4, Leipzig, Teubner, 1964, 1.8. There is no evidence that the Michaelion on the eastern side of the Bosphorus was connected with Constantine, as A. Maury believed (MAURY, "Du temple appelé Sosthenium," op. cit., p. 144), and this temple was clearly not the Michaelion at Sosthenion, as was argued by the same author ("Nouvelles remarques sur le temple appelé Sosthenium, consacré, à Saint Michael par l'empereur Constantin", *Revue Archéologique*, 7^o Année, 1 [1850], pp. 257-59).

²⁷ PARGOIRE, "Anaple et Sosthène," op. cit., p. 74.

²⁸ I follow the English translation by Henry B. DEWING, *Procopius. On Buildings*, Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press, 1940, pp. 70-73.

²⁹ DELEHAYE, *Les saints stylites*, op. cit., p. 14.

The presence of an active marketplace at Sosthenion is supported by another piece of evidence provided by Daniel the Stylite's *Vitae*. The hagiographer claims that in later years, when Daniel was already established on his column and had become a well-known figure in Constantinople, an impious man attempted to damage the saint's reputation by questioning his asceticism. In order to do so, he approached the base of Daniel's column and produced a fried fish he had prepared "below in the market" (ὁ ἢ πεποιηκῶς κάτω ἐν τῷ ἐμπορίῳ) and concealed under his garment. He then proclaimed to all the bystanders that he had found the fish lying on the column's step and that it was proof that the stylite, far from being a holy man, was voluptuous and intemperate in his ways. After causing an uproar among the faithful, the man returned to the market of the Archangel Michael (ἐν τῷ ἐμπορίῳ τοῦ ἀρχαγγέλου Μιχαήλ) intending to eat his fish, but was sized by a demon that drove him all around the market and forced him to confess his deception. Still driven by the demon, the man went back to Daniel's column and expressed his repentance to the saint.³⁰

This last episode ratifies some of the conclusions drawn from the previous one. The fact that the market is named after Saint Michael indicates, to begin with, that the commercial area was close to the church of the Archangel.³¹ The rapid and repeated displacements of the narrative action between the marketplace and Saint Daniel's column show, moreover, that the marketplace lay in the proximity of the stylite's enclosure, which means that it must have necessarily been located within the area of Sosthenion. The notion of a marketplace at Sosthenion, in fact, appears ratified by yet another source. Among the scholia to Dionysius of Byzantium, we find a reference to a "bay currently called Philemporos" (τοῦ κόλπου τοῦ νῦν Φιλεμπορίου λεγομένου)³². The Philemporos (Φιλεμπόριον), as we know from Saint Daniel's *Vita*, is one of the names given to the market of Saint Michael, and the term "bay" (κόλπος) is the one repeatedly used by Byzantine authors to define the recess of the Bosphorian shore at Sosthenion.³³ Thus, Pargoire's assumption that Procopius' Anaplous referred to a *proasteion* of that name is far from certain.

But then, how is Procopius' testimony to be understood? Current evidence allows for two different interpretations.

³⁰ DELEHAYE, *Les saints stylites*, op. cit., pp. 57-58.

³¹ The fact that the man is said to have purchased the fish "below (κάτω) in the market" before going (upwards) to Daniel's column and to have later "(re)descended" (κατελθεῖν) towards the market is consistent with the notion (attested by the *Vita* of Saint Luke the Stylite) that the column was "on a high hill (ἐν ὑψηλῷ βουνῷ)." This leaves no doubt that the Market of Saint Michael (or Philemporos) was at Sosthenion.

³² Rudolf GÜNGERICH, *Dionysii Byzantii anaplus Bospori una cum scholiis x saeculi*, 2nd edn., Berlin, Weidmann, 1958, sch. 63.

³³ Malalas, p. 55; Carl DE BOOR, *Theophanis chronographia*, Leipzig, Teubner, 1883 (repr. Hildesheim, Olms, 1963), p. 396.

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i) The marketplace mentioned by Procopius was located at Arnavutköy, and the church of Saint Michael rebuilt by Justinian was therefore located at an Anaplous-*proasteion* (to be identified with ancient Hestia), as suggested by Pargoire. This would imply that there was a second market of Saint Michael along the western shore of the Bosphorus, different from the one at Sosthenion.

ii) The marketplace mentioned by Procopius was the “market of Saint Michael” (or “Philemporos”), located at Sosthenion, and the church of Saint Michael rebuilt by Justinian was therefore none other than the one at Sosthenion. Procopius’ claim that Justinian’s rebuilt Michaelion was located “in Anaplous” only meant, therefore, that it lay in the Anaplous-*region*.

The possibility of there being two different sea markets located in the vicinity of two different churches of Saint Michael, as implied by option (*i*), seems too much of a coincidence (even if it is not altogether impossible)³⁴. Although the evidence is not conclusive, it seems more likely that Justinian had simply rebuilt the Michaelion and the nearby sea market at Sosthenion. In view of this, none of the testimonies presented by Pargoire in favor of a second Anaplous-*proasteion* can be considered as decisive proof of its existence.

Pargoire’s connection of this second Anaplous-*proasteion* with Hestia is likewise devoid of firm footing.

“L’édifice dont parle Sozomène et celui dont parle Procope sont, à mon avis, la continuation l’un de l’autre.

Tous les auteurs d’ailleurs en conviennent; et comment ne seraient-ils pas unanimes sur ce point? L’œuvre de Justinien s’élevait, au triple témoignage de son historien, ἐν χώρῳ καλουμένῳ Ἀνάπλω. C’est au même endroit ἐν τῷ Ἀνάπλω que Théophane place l’œuvre de Constantin. Ni lui ni aucun des écrivains qui énumèrent les créations

³⁴ The fact that the coastline at Arnavutköy fits Procopius’ description quite well (Gilles himself ratifies that large boats could easily anchor on that part of the shore) is suggestive, but not meaningful enough to support the existence of a commercial site in that area. After all, Procopius’ description fits Sosthenion equally well. Yet, there is still another piece of evidence worth taking into account. Pierre Gilles makes an important point when he notes that the toponym “Kechri,” which was used in his day to refer to an area that corresponds approximately to modern Vaniköy, may have derived from Proöchtli/Brochi – i.e., the toponyms of the oriental shore of the Bosphorus on which Procopius locates the church of Saint Michael that was opposite the one at Anaplous. Gilles, moreover, elaborates his argument by noting that in certain manuscripts of Procopius’ *De Aedificiis* one finds “Krochoi” (*Crochi*), as well as the scholia “Kronychion” and “Bronychion” (*Chronychion sive Bronychion*) (Pierre Gilles, III.8, p. 235). If he was right in assuming that Kechri derived from Proöchtli/Brochi, and Kechri corresponds indeed to Vaniköy, then this would confirm that Justinian reconstructed the Michaelion at Hestia (not at Sosthenion), and that Procopius was using the term Anaplous to refer to a *proasteion*. Unfortunately, this kind of argument involves too many presuppositions. It is well known that alternative readings of manuscripts and scholia frequently introduce mistakes or confusions (Gilles himself observes that a scholion to Sozomen erroneously claims that the Michaelion at Hestia was in fact located at Sosthenion), and even if a reading such as Krochoi/Kronychion was accepted, it is not certain that it has any connection with Kechri. In view of the inconclusive nature of the evidence, the question of exactly where Justinian’s Michaelia were located remains open.

religieuses du premier empereur chrétien ne répète une seule fois le mot Ἑστία employé par Sozomène; tous parlent d'Anaple à l'envi. En agiraient-ils de la sorte s'ils n'avaient identifié S^t Michel ἐν ταῖς Ἑστίαις avec S^t Michel ἐν τῷ Ἀνάπλω?”³⁵.

Despite Pargoire's assertion, the toponym Hestia (even if rare) remained in circulation, and we find it associated at least one more time with the church of Saint Michael.³⁶ In addition to this, as we have seen, there is no proof that Justinian's restoration took place at an Anaplous-*proasteion* (the church he restored was probably the one at Sosthenion) and the same can be said about Theophanes (or rather his source, Anagnostes). Like Procopius, Anagnostes (followed by Theophanes) could have used the term to refer to the Anaplous-*region*—a hardly surprising choice, since the term Anaplous (meaning the *region*) was frequently used to refer to Sosthenion.³⁷

Is it therefore impossible to prove Pargoire's hypothesis of an Anaplous-*proasteion* located at the ancient area of Hestia? There are still a number of testimonies to be taken into account, though, as Pargoire already recognized, some of them are rather problematic. In his study, Pargoire noted that Kedrenos makes reference to a church of the Archangel Saint Michael ἐν τῷ Ἀνάπλω καὶ Σωσθενίῳ.³⁸ In fact, Kedrenos' testimony is just one among the numerous sources that reproduce a list of religious foundations attributed to Constantine the Great. In the early versions of this list, such as the one attested by Anagnostes, the emperor is credited with the foundation of a Michaelion “at Anaplous.” Later versions, however, read “at Anaplous and Sosthenion.”³⁹

How is this evidence to be interpreted? The fact that Sosthenion is repeatedly added to the list of churches is not particularly meaningful, because most of the existing testimonies appear to depend (directly or indirectly) on a common source. Although the relationship among

³⁵ PARGOIRE, “Anaple et Sosthène,” op. cit., p. 79.

³⁶ GÜNGERICH, *Dionysii Byzantii anaplus Bospori*, op. cit., sch. 61.

³⁷ Throughout the *Vita* of Daniel the Stylite, for instance, the saint's column (which we now know to have been located at Sosthenion) is consistently referred to as being placed “at Anaplous” clearly meaning the Anaplous-*region* (see for instance DELEHAYE, *Les saints stylites*, op. cit., pp. 35, 64, 67, 95). Similarly, Byzantine authors who allude to Saint Daniel's column or to Saint Symeon the Stylite's relics (which were located in the vicinity of the former's column) define them as being “at Anaplous” (see for instance Anagnostes, 2.385; Kedrenos [Luigi TARTAGLIA, *Georgii Cedreni historiarum compendium*, Roma, 2016], 2.369.2, 2.382.3; Theophanes, p. 114; George the Monk [Carl DE BOOR, *Georgii monachi chronicon*, Leipzig, Teubner, 1904], p. 617; Symeon the Logothete [Staffan WAHLGREN, *Symeonis magistri et logothetae chronicon*, Berlin, De Gruyter, 2006], p. 130; *Anonymi Historia Imperatorum* [Francesca IADEVAIA, *Historia imperatorum liber ii*, Messina, EDAS, 2005], l. 4018). One of the *Vitae* of Saint Daniel, moreover, refers to the church of Saint Michael at Sosthenion as being ἐν τῷ Ἀνάπλω (see n. 9), and the monastery of Saint Michael at Sosthenion is most frequently referred to as being κατὰ τὸν Ἀνάπλων or περὶ τὸν Ἀνάπλων (see n. 10).

³⁸ Kedrenos, 2.381.1.

³⁹ According to Anagnostes, Constantine had founded “the churches of Saint Irene, the Holy Apostles, Saint Mokios, and the Archangel at Anaplous (ἐν τῷ Ἀνάπλω)” (1.28). Later versions of the list reveal several interpolations, including the one concerning Sosthenion. For a summary of the different versions of the list, see appendices 1 and 2.

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the sources is not always clear, there seem to be at least two, and perhaps three, instances in which Anagnostes' testimony was independently altered by the addition of Sosthenion.

i) Pantoleon

The manuscript tradition of Pantoleon's *Miracles of Saint Michael* preserves at least two versions of the list of Constantinean foundations.⁴⁰ According to *Par. gr.* 1510, Constantine founded a church of Saint Michael ἐν τῷ Ἀνάπλω. Later manuscripts, such as *Par. gr.* 1519 and *Par. gr.* 1196, claim however that the emperor built a church τοῦ θεοῦ ἀρχαγγέλου Μιχαὴλ ἐν τῷ Ἀνάπλω καὶ ἕτεραν ἐκόσμησεν εἰς τὸ Σωσθένιον. Since it is most likely that *Par. gr.* 1510 preserves here the original reading of Pantoleon's list,⁴¹ we can safely draw two conclusions. First, the fact that the account of *Par. gr.* 1510 mentions the building of a Michelion ἐν τῷ Ἀνάπλω but immediately connects it to the Argonauts' myth means that Pantoleon understood Anaplous as the Anaplous-*region* and had no notion of a second church at a *proasteion* of the same name.⁴² Second, the way in which the latter scribe rectified the tradition by noting the existence of a Michelion εἰς τὸ Σωσθένιον may indicate that he understood Pantoleon's ἐν τῷ Ἀνάπλω as referring to an Anaplous-*proasteion*. The scribe's testimony—which was perhaps the basis for the contemporary author of the *Vita Constantini* BHG 364 edited by M. Guidi (hereafter, Guidi Vita)⁴³—may then support the existence of a Michelion at an Anaplous-*proasteion*.

⁴⁰ Only partially edited by François HALKIN, "Inédits byzantins d'Ochrida, Candie et Moscou," Brussels 1963, pp. 147-52. For the date of Pantoleon's collection, see Cyril MANGO, "The Date of the Studius Basilica at Istanbul," *BMGS* 4:1 (1978), pp. 115-22, at 118. See also MANGO, "St. Michael and Attis," *op. cit.*, pp. 47-49.

⁴¹ Given the lack of a critical edition of Pantoleon's *Miracles*, all conclusions based on this source must remain tentative. The possibility, however, that witnesses such as *Par. gr.* 1519 and 1196 preserve here the original reading (which would make of *Par. gr.* 1510 only a summarized version of the original) is quite unlikely, for the scribe would hardly have missed the opportunity to mention a church of Saint Michael (which was the subject of his text). We may note, moreover, that from a syntactical point of view the reference to Sosthenion stands apart from the previous enumeration of Constantinean foundations. Instead of adding the Michelion at Sosthenion as just another name in genitive, the scribe introduces a new verb and the reference to the church in accusative (...ὀπιηνίκα καὶ τοὺς θεοῦς ναοὺς ὠκοδόμησεν ἀντίκα ὁ φιλόχριστος <βασιλεὺς> τῆς τε ἁγίας Σοφίας καὶ τῆς ἁγίας Εἰρήνης καὶ τῶν ἁγίων καὶ πανευφήμων ἀποστόλων, τοῦ τε ἁγίου Μωκίου καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου μάρτυρος Μηνᾶ καὶ λοιπῶν μαρτύρων, καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ ἀρχαγγέλου Μιχαὴλ ἐν τῷ Ἀνάπλω [καὶ ἕτερον ἐκόσμησεν εἰς τὸν Σωσθένιον]). Both *Par. gr.* 1519 and 1196 introduce a further reference (τῆς ἐν τῷ Σωσθενίῳ/Σωσθένει) to clarify that the Argonauts' myth was connected to that particular Michelion (and not to the one ἐν τῷ Ἀνάπλω), for Anaplous was now to be understood as the *proasteion* and not the *region* (as it was the case in *Par. gr.* 1510).

⁴² Which is not surprising, for the same notion is attested by Malalas, who was most likely the source for Pantoleon's account of the Argonauts' myth.

⁴³ Michelangelo GUIDI, "Un Bios di Constantino," *Rendiconti della Reale accademia dei Lincei, Classe di Scienze Morali, Storiche e Filologiche*, 5th Ser. 16 (1907), pp. 304-40 and 637-60, at 338.

ii) Symeon the Logothete

Symeon, following an unknown source, presents a list of churches that mentions Constantine's building of a Michaelion ἐν τῷ Ἀνάπλω καὶ Σωσθενείῳ. Although we ignore who was responsible for adding Sosthenion to the list (it may have been Symeon himself), we can be certain that his testimony has no connection to Pantoleon's reworked *Miracles of Saint Michael*. This shows, therefore, a second instance in which the list of churches was expanded by the addition of Sosthenion.

Symeon's testimony, for its part, was probably copied by Pseudo-Symeon (who was later followed by Kedrenos), and possibly by Skoutariotes and the anonymous author of the *Vita Constantini* BHG 363, edited by M. Gedeon (hereafter, Gedeon Vita). These last testimonies, therefore, do not provide independent evidence regarding Sosthenion, for they were only reproducing a list in which the toponym had already been added.⁴⁴

iii) The Opitz Vita

The author of the *Vita Constantini* BHG 365, edited by H.-G. Opitz (hereafter, Opitz Vita), following a reworked version of Hesychius Illustrius' *Patria*, presents a list of churches that mentions Constantine's building of two Michaelia, τοῦ ἐν τῷ Ἀνάπλω καὶ τοῦ ἐν τῷ Σωσθένει.⁴⁵ Although the origins of this reworked version of Hesychius is unclear, we can be certain that it had no connection with either Pantoleon's *Miracles of Saint Michael* or Symeon the Logothete.⁴⁶ This shows, then, a third, independent addition of Sosthenion to the list of churches.

The reworked version of Pantoleon's *Miracles*, Symeon the Logothete's *Chronicle*, and the Opitz Vita attest, therefore, three different instances in which Anagnostes' original list of churches was interpolated by the addition of "Sosthenion" next to "Anaplous." All other testimonies (including Kedrenos', the one cited by Pargoire) derive from these and are not, therefore, to be considered as independent evidence, though they can certainly provide some

⁴⁴ Symeon the Logothete, p. 110; Pseudo-Symeon [François HALKIN, "Le règne de Constantin d'après la chronique inédite du Pseudo-Syméon," *Byzantion*, 29-30 (1959-1960), pp. 7-27], pp. 21-22; Kedrenos, 2.308.1; Skoutariotes [Konstantinos SATHAS, *Synopsis Chronike, Μεσαιωνική Βιβλιοθήκη*, vol. 7, Venice, 1894, p. 48; Raimondo TOCCI, *Theodori Scutariotae Chronica*, Berlin-Boston, 2015, p. 60]; Manuel GEDEON, "Βίος καὶ πολιτεία τοῦ μεγάλου καὶ ἀοιδίμου βασιλέως Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ πρώτου ἐν χριστιανοῖς βασιλεύσαντος," *Εκκλησιαστικὴ Ἀλήθεια* (1900), pp. 253-304, at 280.

⁴⁵ Hans-Georg OPITZ, "Die Vita Constantini des Codex Angelicus 22," *Byzantion*, 9 (1934), pp. 535-93, at 575-76.

⁴⁶ The passage mentions "Socrates" and the "extraordinary signs" witnessed by Constantine in the Michaelion in terms that are very close to Anagnostes' text. Pantoleon does not provide that information. Symeon does mention the "signs," but in different words.

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insight into the way in which their authors conceived the Costantinean Michaelia. But what do these testimonies tell us about the churches of Anaplous and Sosthenion?

Unfortunately, not as much as we would have hoped for. In most cases, in fact, it is not clear whether these authors' (usually elliptic) references are meant to indicate that Constantine had built two churches—one at Anaplous (the *Anaplous-proasteion*) and one at Sosthenion—or that Constantine had built a church in Anaplous (the *Anaplous-region*), specifically at the place called Sosthenion. Modern scholars have upheld one or other of these two interpretations. Pargoire argued that the καὶ between the two place names in Kedrenos' testimony (ἐν τῷ Ἀνάπλω καὶ Σωσθενίῳ) indicates two different locations.⁴⁷ Yet Ducange, discussing the same passage, understood it to refer to a specific spot (Sosthenion) within a wider region (Anaplous), and, more recently, F. Beetham translated the similar formulation of the Guidi Vita (ἐν τῷ Ἀνάπλω καὶ ἐν τῷ Σωσθενίῳ) as “the shrine at Sosthenium, on the lower mouth of the Bosphorus [=Anaplous].”⁴⁸

Despite the confusion, certain testimonies support Pargoire's interpretation. In the case of Pantoleon's *Miracles*, for instance, the phrase “ἐτέρον [ναόν]” (attested by *Par. gr.* 1196 and 1519) clearly implies that the Michaelion εἰς τὸ Σωσθένιον was different from the one ἐν τῷ Ἀνάπλω.⁴⁹ We may add to this the testimony of Theodore Skoutariotes, who states that Constantine built τὸν ἐν τῷ Ἀνάπλω τοῦ Ἀρχιστρατήγου, καὶ τὸν τοῦ Σωσθενίου [ναόν]⁵⁰ or alternatively, τὸν ἐν τῷ Ἀνάπλω τοῦ Ἀρχιστρατήγου [ναόν] καὶ τὸν ἐν τῷ Σωσθενίῳ,⁵¹ and that of the Opitz Vita, whose anonymous author states that Constantine built ἐν τῷ Ἀνάπλω δὲ καὶ Σωσθενίῳ (...) τοῦ ἀρχανγγέλου Μιχαήλ ναοῦς. All these sources, as we can see, make a clear distinction between two churches, one at Anaplous (necessarily an *Anaplous-proasteion*) and one at Sosthenion.⁵²

⁴⁷ PARGOIRE, “Anaple et Sosthène,” op. cit., p. 74.

⁴⁸ Charles du Fresne, sieur du Cange, *Constantinopolis Christiana IV*, Billaine, 1680, 187 u; Frank BEETHAM et al., “Constantine Byzantinus. The anonymous Life of Constantine (BHG 364),” in Samuel LIEU and Dominic MONTERRAT (eds.), *From Constantine to Julian: Pagan and Byzantine Views*, London-New York, Routledge, 1996, p. 129.

⁴⁹ This is ratified by the addition of τῆς ἐν τῷ Σωσθενίῳ/Σωσθένει, meant to clarify that the Argonauts' myth was connected to this Michaelion and not to the one ἐν τῷ Ἀνάπλω.

⁵⁰ Skoutariotes (ed. Sathas), p. 48.

⁵¹ Skoutariotes (ed. Tocci), p. 60.

⁵² The same can be said perhaps about the Gedeon Vita, which may have relied on Symeon the Logothete. Like Symeon, the hagiographer evokes the topography rather ambiguously (ἐν τῷ Ἀνάπλω δὲ καὶ Σωσθενίῳ), but later makes clear that Constantine founded more than one church of the Archangel (τοῦ ἀρχανγγέλου Μιχαήλ ναοῦς ἠκοδόμησεν). The more logical interpretation is that the hagiographer understood one church to be at Anaplous (i.e., at the *Anaplous-proasteion*) and the other at Sosthenion; otherwise, the sentence would imply that both churches were at Sosthenion (within the *Anaplous-region*). This latter notion reappears in the

Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos' testimony also supports this interpretation. Though he does not reproduce Anagnostes' list of Constantinean foundations, he probably knew a version of it.⁵³ According to Xanthopoulos', Ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῷ Ἀνάπλω δὲ, καὶ ὁ Σωσθένιον ὁ χῶρος κλησιν ηὐμοίρησεν, τῷ ἀρχαγγέλῳ Μιχαήλ ἐτέρους δύο περιφανεῖς νεῶς [Κωνσταντῖνος] ἤγειρε (...) ⁵⁴. Unlike Pantoleon, Skoutariotes, and the author of the *Opitz Vita*, as we can see, Xanthopoulos considered that Constantine had carried out his building project "in Anaplous, at a place that also took the name of Sosthenion." Anaplous is therefore the *Anaplous-region*, and Sosthenion is the specific construction site. This is ratified in a different passage of his work, in which he mentions the foundation of a church of Saint Michael (only one) by Constantine and describes it as located κατὰ τὸν ὃς καλεῖται χῶρος Σωσθένιον ἐν τῷ Ἀνάπλω.⁵⁵ Again, Anaplous is clearly the *Anaplous-region*, and Sosthenion is the specific construction site.

The previous passages, however, are problematic in several ways. To begin with, it is clear from the first passage that he considered *both* of the Constantinean Michaelia to have been built at Sosthenion—a notion that contradicts all previous information on the matter and must therefore be considered as a mistake of the author. Moreover, as Pargoire observed, Xanthopoulos transfers a number of characteristics that Sozomen had applied to the Michelion at Hestia (most notably, the miraculous healing of a certain Probianus) to the Michelion at Sosthenion. Yet, when defining the location of the sanctuary, he fails to edit Sozomen's testimony and claims that the Michaelion at Sosthenion was located at "35 stadia by sea and over 70 by land" from Constantinople, though, of course, Sosthenion's distance from the capital was about twice as far.⁵⁶ This last amalgamation of Hestia and Sosthenion, which

testimony of Kallistos Xanthopoulos (for which see below), undoubtedly by mistake. The *Gedeon Vita*, therefore, does not help to clarify the matter any further. The *Patria*, for their part, mention Constantine building at Anaplous and Sosthenion in different chapters (3:158, 163), which would suggest that they were considered as different locations (see BERGER, *Untersuchungen*, op. cit., pp. 704-6, 707-8). Yet, since there is no absolute certainty that the chapter regarding Anaplous does not refer to the *Anaplous-region* (and, therefore, to the same church at Sosthenion), their testimony cannot be considered conclusive either.

⁵³ It is likely that Xanthopoulos relied on the *Guidi Vita* for the list of churches (though he would have expanded it by adding two new names, Saint Akakios and Saint Dynamis, which had been considered as Constantinean foundations for centuries). His way of presenting the churches, however, is different from earlier testimonies. He names three churches dedicated "to Christ" (implying "to the qualities of the divinity")—Saint Sophia, Saint Eirene, and Saint Dynamis—the Holy Apostles, four *martyria*—Saint Mokios, Saint Agathonikos, Saint Menas, and Saint Akakios—and the two Michaelia (PG 145, col. 1328b-c).

⁵⁴ PG 145, col. 1328c.

⁵⁵ PG 146, col. 20a.

⁵⁶ PG 145, col. 1329c-d; PARGOIRE, "Anaple et Sosthène," op. cit., pp. 83-85. The same error is attested by a scholion to a manuscript of Sozomen (already noted by Pierre Gilles [II.11], and later ratified by the modern editors). The confusion, in fact, has persisted until modern days. In the French translation by André-Jean FESUGIÈRE (*Sozomène. Histoire Ecclésiastique*, Paris, 1983), the chapter that deals with the Michaelion at Hestia (II.3.) is introduced as "l'église de saint Michael archevêque en Sosthénion."

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ratifies that Xanthopoulos considered them to be one and the same location, must also be considered as a mistake of the author.

Despite its many problems, Xanthopoulos' testimony is, so far, clear on one point: it shows no trace of an Anaplous-*proasteion*. However, he later makes a remark that suggests the existence of another Michaelion. After referring in great detail to the foundation of the church at Sosthenion, he adds a comment about a different church of the Archangel—Τῆς ἱσῆς δὲ χάριτος μετέχει καὶ ὁ ἐν τῷ Ἀνάπλω τοῦ ἀρχαγγέλου νεώς.⁵⁷ This second church, which “shares the grace of the first one,” is probably one of the two that were mentioned in the opening sentence of the chapter (see the first passage quoted above), though Xanthopoulos makes a mistake about its location: he places it first at Sosthenion (along with the other Michaelion) and then refers to it as “the one in Anaplous” (necessarily, an Anaplous-*proasteion*). Even if his testimony is rather unreliable, the last passage implies at least that Xanthopoulos knew of an Anaplous-*proasteion* and a church “at Anaplous” different from the one “at Sosthenion.”

Is there a case then for a church of Saint Michael at an Anaplous-*proasteion*? The fact that at least four different authors (the scribe who reworked Pantoleon's *Miracles*, Skoutariotes, the anonymous writer of the *Opitz Vita*, and, despite everything, Xanthopoulos) believed so should be considered sufficient to accept its existence, at least until new evidence emerges. The available information is clearly less conclusive than Pargoire's analysis suggests, but, given that the existing testimonies cannot be satisfactorily explained in any other way, this Anaplous-*proasteion* still remains a plausible and even probable interpretation.

But where was this Anaplous-*proasteion* located? Pargoire, as noted above, considered that a first *proasteion* of that name was to be identified with the area of Roumeli Hisarı, and that the second *proasteion* lay in the ancient area of Hestia; therefore, the Michaelion at the second Anaplous-*proasteion* would have been the same as Sozomen's Michaelion at Hestia. In order to clarify the issue it is useful to summarize the data we have discussed so far:

- a) Sozomen mentions a church of Saint Michael at Hestia, which continued to exist during later centuries. On the basis of Sozomen's testimony, Pargoire identified the area of Hestia as modern Arnavutköy.

⁵⁷ PG 145, col. 1329d.

- b) Malalas mentions a church of Saint Michael at Sosthenion, which also continued to exist during later centuries. On the basis of numerous testimonies, Pargoire identified the area of Sosthenion as modern Istynie.
- c) At least four Byzantine authors, among which the scribe who reworked Pantoleon's *Miracles*, the author Opitz Vita, Skoutariotes, and Xanthopoulos, indicate the existence of a church of Saint Michael at an Anaplous-*proasteion*. None of them provides any topographical reference to identify this latter location.

What can we conclude from this information? We know, to begin with, that the Anaplous-*proasteion* cannot be identified with Sosthenion, because the scribe that reworked Pantoleon's *Miracles*, Skoutariotes, the writer of the Opitz Vita, and Xanthopoulos introduce a clear distinction between the two locations. Therefore, there are only two possibilities: (i) Hestia, Anaplous, and Sosthenion were three different locations, or (ii) Hestia and Anaplous were alternative names of the same site and there were then two different locations (Hestia/Anaplous and Sosthenion). Since the existence of three churches of Saint Michael attributed to Constantine along the western shore of the Bosphorus seems rather unlikely, it is best to admit that Hestia and Anaplous were indeed one and the same. It must be noted, in any case, that this solution—the one that Pargoire originally suggested—is entirely based on likelihood, for none of the existing evidence supports it in an explicit way.

There is, to conclude, one last aspect to consider. Pargoire, as noted above, identified two *proasteia* with the name of Anaplous—one located near Roumeli Hisarı and another over ancient Hestia (where the Michaelion was located). But were there indeed two *proasteia* of the same name? We may note that, in order to substantiate the identification of Arnavutköy with ancient Hestia, Pargoire cited the existence of the toponym "Asomaton," which Pierre Gilles recorded in his sixteenth-century visit of the area.⁵⁸ Since the term Ἀσώματος is indeed frequently used to identify the churches of Saint Michael, it seems fair to assume that the toponym recorded by Gilles was based on the existence of a church of the Archangel in that location—clearly, the Michaelion of Hestia/Anaplous.

However, as Pargoire did not fail to observe, the same toponym of Asomaton reappears in connection with the area of Roumeli Hisarı.⁵⁹ The testimony of Sphranzes and Pseudo-Sphranzes attest that the Ottomans wanted to build a fortress (the Roumeli Hisarı itself) περί τὸν Ἀσώματον, in a location identified as τὸ Στενὸν τοῦ Ἀσωμάτου.⁶⁰ Though the term Στενός

⁵⁸ PARGOIRE, "Anaple et Sosthène," op. cit., p.77.

⁵⁹ PARGOIRE, "Anaple et Sosthène," op. cit., p. 82.

⁶⁰ Vasile GRECU, *Georgios Sphrantzes. Memorii 1401-1477*, 1966, 33.1, and pp. 378 and 418.

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is usually employed to refer to the Bosphorus, in this case it clearly refers to the narrowest point between the two shores of the strait, which was indeed in the area of Roumeli Hisarı. The reason for identifying this particular area with the name Asomaton becomes clear in another passage of Pseudo-Sphrantzes. According to this author, the Turkish emir wanted to access the strait ἐγγὺς τοῦ ἀνωτέρου μέρους τῆς τοῦ Ἀσωμάτου κώμης in order to build a fortress.⁶¹ Therefore, the Roumeli Hisarı lay towards the north of a village carrying the name of Asomaton—no doubt in reference to the nearby presence of the well-known church of the Archangel. It was undoubtedly from this sanctuary, moreover, that the Ottomans took the columns they used to build their fortress.⁶²

Since the areas of both Arnavutköy and the Roumeli Hisarı were associated with the toponyms “Anaplous” and “Asomaton,” it seems reasonable to assume that they were part of the same locality. Therefore, rather than two Anaplous-*proasteia*, there would have been one large Anaplous-*proasteion* with its southern border somewhere in Arnavutköy and its northern border somewhere near the Roumeli Hisarı. This possibility is consistent with a reference by John of Antioch preserved in Constantine Porphyrogenetos’ *De Insidiis*. According to its author, the Hun Theodoric declared war on Emperor Leo and attempted to capture Constantinople, but was defeated by the patrician Illous. After his defeat, Theodoric “crossed to the place called Sykai” (ἐπὶ τὰς λεγομένας Συκάς διαδραμῶν) and reached “the place called Pros Hestia and [then] the so-called Losthenin (i.e. Sosthenion)” (ἐπὶ τὸν Πρὸς Ἑστίαις τόπον καὶ τὸ καλούμενον Λωσθένιν) in an attempt to cross the Bosphorus towards Bithynia.⁶³ The way in which this passage is formulated indicates the presence of three great areas in the inferior half of the western shore of the Bosphorus: Sykai, in its southern extreme, Hestia in the middle section, and Sosthenion at its northern extreme. If this was the case, then Hestia (i.e., the Anaplous-*proasteion*), like Sykai and Sosthenion, must have been an area of considerable proportions that may well have stretched from Arnavutköy to the Roumeli Hisarı.⁶⁴

⁶¹ GRECU, *Georgios Sphrantzes*, op. cit., p. 366.

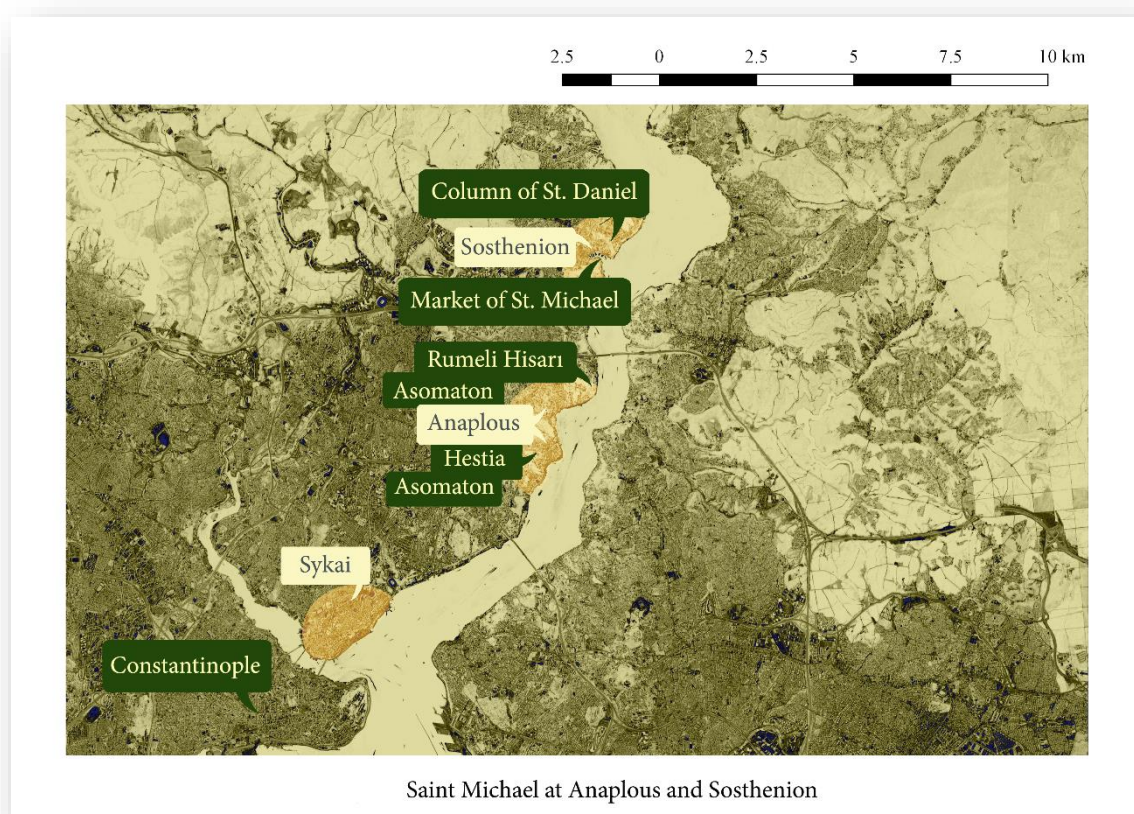
⁶² PARGOIRE, “Anaple et Sosthène,” op. cit., p. 96; Vasile GRECU, *Ducas. Istoria Turco-Bizantina (1341-1462)*, Budapest, 1958, p. 303. The fact that, according to Doukas, the Ottomans took the columns from the ruins of this church (ἀπὸ τῶν ἐρειπίων τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ ταξιάρχου Μιχαήλ) shows that this sanctuary was already abandoned by the late Byzantine period.

⁶³ MÜLLER, *FHG*, vol. 4, frag. 211.5.; ROBERTO, *Ioannis Antiocheni*, frag. 303; MARIEV, *Ioannis Antiocheni*, frag. 243; Carl DE BOOR, *Excerpta historica iussu imp. Constantini Porphyrogeniti confecta*, vol. 3: *excerpta de insidiis*, Berlin, Weidmann, 1905, p. 135.

⁶⁴ This would suggest that Sosthenion also stretched beyond the bay of the same name, probably towards the south, though this cannot be conclusively proven.

Although many aspects of the Michaelia's location remain obscure or insufficiently proven, this is as much as can be said on the basis of existing evidence. Until new information emerges, the following conclusions remain the most viable explanation of the usually vague and sometimes misleading testimony of the sources:

1. Both sanctuaries lay on the first half of the western shore of the Bosphorus, which was known to the Byzantines as Anaplous (i.e., the Anaplous-region).
2. The Michaelion at Hestia would have lain somewhere between modern Arnavutköy and the fortress Rumeli Hisarı, in an area that was also known as Anaplous (i.e., the Anaplous-*proasteion*), and, in later centuries, as Asomaton.⁶⁵
3. The Michaelion at Sosthenion lay in the bay of the same name, in the vicinity of the market of Saint Michael and slightly southwards of the column (and later monastery) of Saint Daniel the Stylite.



⁶⁵ Sozomen's testimony, which places the Michaelion at around 35 stadia from Constantinople, suggests that the church was located in the southern extreme of that area (i.e., at Arnavutköy). However, this distance is only approximate, and it is possible that the church lay further north.

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Appendix 1. The Michaelion at Anaplous and Sosthenion in the Byzantine sources

Sources	Testimonies
Anagnostes	Τὸν ναὸν τῆς ἁγίας Εἰρήνης καὶ τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Μωκίου καὶ τοῦ ἀρχαγγέλου τοῦ ἐν τῷ Ἀνάπλω ὁ βασιλεὺς ἔκτισεν, ἐν δὲ τῷ ναῷ τοῦ Ἀνάπλου πολλὰ παράδοξα σημεῖα καὶ ἰδεῖν καὶ ἀκοῦσαι ὁ Σωκράτης δυσχυρίζεται.
Theophanes	(...) Ἀτότε δὴ τὸν ναὸν <ἁγίας Σοφίας καὶ> τῆς ἁγίας Εἰρήνης καὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Μωκίου καὶ τοῦ ἀρχαγγέλου ἐν τῷ Ἀνάπλω ὁ φιλόχριστος βασιλεὺς ᾠκοδόμησεν.
George the Monk	(...) καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ἔκτισε ναοὺς τῶν τε ἁγίων ἀποστόλων καὶ τῆς ἁγίας Εἰρήνης καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Μωκίου καὶ τοῦ ἀρχαγγέλου Μιχαὴλ ἐν τῷ Ἀνάπλω .
Pantoleon	(...) ὀπηνίκα καὶ τοῦ θείου ναοὺς ᾠκοδόμησεν αὐτίκα ὁ φιλόχριστος <βασιλεὺς> τῆς τε ἁγίας Σοφίας καὶ τῆς ἁγίας Εἰρήνης καὶ τῶν ἁγίων καὶ πανευφήμων ἀποστόλων, τοῦ τε ἁγίου Μωκίου καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου μάρτυρος Μηνᾶ καὶ λοιπῶν μαρτύρων, καὶ τοῦ θείου ἀρχαγγέλου Μιχαὴλ ἐν τῷ Ἀνάπλω .
Guidi Vita	(...) παμμέγιστον ναὸν ἐπ'ὀνόματι τῆς ἁγίας Σοφίας, οὐκί τὸν νῦν ὀρώμενον, ἀλλὰ μικρότερον πολλὰ, καὶ τῆς ἁγίας Εἰρήνης καὶ τῶν ἁγίων καὶ πανευφήμων ἀποστόλων, καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Μωκίου, καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου μάρτυρος Ἀγαθονίκου, καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Μηνᾶ, καὶ τοῦ θείου καὶ πανενδόξου ἀρχαγγέλου Μιχαὴλ ἐν τῷ ἀνάπλω καὶ ἐν τῷ Σωσθενίῳ ὁ φιλόχριστος βασιλεὺς ᾠκοδόμησεν.
Symeon the Logothete	(...) τὸν ναὸν τῆς ἁγίας Εἰρήνης καὶ τῶν θείων Ἀποστόλων καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Μωκίου καὶ Ἀγαθονίκου μάρτυρος καὶ τοῦ Ἀρχαγγέλου Μιχαὴλ ἐν τῷ Ἀνάπλω καὶ Σωσθενίῳ , ἔνθα καὶ θείας ὀμφᾶς θαυμασιῶς ἤκουσέν τε καὶ ἐθέασατο, ὁ θείος Κωνσταντῖνος κτίζει.
Pseudo-Symeon	Ἐν τούτοις δὲ τοῖς καιροῖς ᾠκοδόμησεν ὁ φιλόχριστος βασιλεὺς Κωνσταντῖνος τὸν τε ναὸν τῆς ἁγίας σοφίας, τῆς ἁγίας εἰρήνης, τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων, τοῦ ἁγίου Μωκίου, τοῦ ἁγίου Ἀγαθονίκου, τοῦ ἀρχιστρατήγου τοῦ ἐν τῷ Ἀνάπλω, καὶ τοῦ Σωσθενείου , ἔνθα καὶ θείας ὀμφᾶς θαυμασιῶς ἤκουσέν τε καὶ ἐθέασατο.
Patria III	Τὸν δὲ Ἀνάπλους ὁ μέγας Κωνσταντῖνος ἀνήγειρεν (3:158). Τὸ δὲ Σωσθενίον τὸν Ἀρχιστράτηγον ὁ μέγας Κωνσταντῖνος ἔκτισεν (3:163).
Kedrenos	(...) ἐν τούτοις τοῖς καιροῖς τὸν ναὸν τῆς ἁγίας σοφίας καὶ τῆς ἁγίας Εἰρήνης καὶ τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Μωκίου καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Ἀγαθονίκου καὶ τοῦ ἀρχιστρατήγου ἐν τῷ Ἀνάπλω καὶ Σωσθενίῳ , ἔνθα καὶ θείας ὀμφᾶς θαυμασιῶς ἤκουσέν τε καὶ ἐθέασατο ὁ φιλόχριστος βασιλεὺς, ᾠκοδόμησε.
Opitz Vita	Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς (...) θείους τε καὶ ἱεροὺς ναοὺς πολυτελεῶς ἀνεδείματο, τὸν τε τῆς ἁγίας Εἰρήνης ναὸν καὶ τῶν σεβασμίων καὶ κορυφαίων Χριστοῦ μαθητῶν καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Μωκίου καὶ τὸν τοῦ ἀρχαγγέλου Μιχαὴλ τοῦ ἐν τῷ Ἀνάπλω καὶ τοῦ ἐν τῷ Σωσθενίῳ ,

	<i>ἐν ᾧ Σωκράτης δισχυρίζεται Κωνσταντῖνον πολλὰ παράδοξα σημεῖα καὶ ἰδεῖν καὶ ἀκοῦσαι.</i>
Skoutariotes	Κτίζει δὲ καὶ τὸν πρόην τῆς ἁγίας Σοφίας ναόν, τὸν τῶν ἁγίων Ἀποστόλων, τὸν τοῦ ἁγίου Μωκίου, τὸν τῆς ἁγίας Εἰρήνης, τοῦ ἁγίου Ἀγαθονίκου, τὸν ἐν τῷ Ἀνάπλω τοῦ Ἀρχιστρατήγου, καὶ τὸν τοῦ Σωσθενίου , ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὸν ἐν τῷ νεωρίῳ τῆς Δυνάμεως, καὶ ἄλλοις δὲ πλείοσι κτίσματι τὴν ἐπώνυμον ἑαυτοῦ πόλιν ἐκάλλυνεν (ed. Sathas). Κτίζει δὲ ὁ Εὐφρατᾶς μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἐν τῇ Πόλει καὶ τὸν ναὸν τῆς ἁγίας Σοφίας τὸν πρῶτον, τοὺς ἁγίους Ἀποστόλους, τὸν ἅγιον Μώκιον, τὴν ἁγίαν Εἰρήνην, τὸν ἅγιον Ἀγαθόνικον, τὸν ἐν τῷ Ἀνάπλω τοῦ Ἀρχιστρατήγου καὶ τὸν ἐν τῷ Σωσθενίῳ . (ed. Tocchi).
Gedeon Vita	Πρὸς τούτοις ναοὺς ἱεροῦς, τὸν τῆς Ἁγίας Εἰρήνης, καὶ τῶν θείων Ἀποστόλων, καὶ τοῦ Ἁγίου Μωκίου, καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου μάρτυρος Ἀγαθονίκου, καὶ ἐτέρους πλείους [οἰκοδομεῖ]. (...) καὶ ἐν τῷ Ἀνάπλω δὲ καὶ Σωσθενίῳ , <i>ἐνθα καὶ θείας ἐμφανείας ἤξιωτο καὶ ὄψεις μυστικὰς ἐθεάσατο</i> , τοῦ ἀρχαγγέλου Μιχαὴλ ναοὺς ὄψκοδόμησεν.
<i>An. Hist. Imp.</i>	Ὁ βασιλεὺς (...) ἔκτισε καὶ μεγάλους ναοὺς τὴν Ἁγίαν Σοφίαν, τοὺς Ἁγίους Ἀποστόλους, τῆς Ἁγίας Εἰρήνης, τοῦ Ἁγίου Μωκίου καὶ τοῦ Ἀρχαγγέλου Μιχαὴλ ἐν τῷ Ἀνάπλω καὶ ἔδωκε αὐτοὺς χρήματα πολλὰ καὶ σκευὰς χρυσοῦς διὰ λίθων καὶ μαργαρίτων (...).

Appendix 2. The list of Constantinean foundations as attested by Byzantine sources

Churches	Anagnostes	Theophanes	George the Monk	Pantoleon (Par. gr. 1510)	Guidi Vita	Patria F	Symeon the Logothete	Pseudo-Symeon	Kedrenos	Gedeon Vita	Skoutariotes		Xanthopoulos	An. Hist. Imp.	Ignatios of Selymbria
											Synop. Ch.	Chron.			
Saint Irene	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Saint Apostles	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Saint Mokios	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	
Saint Michael at Anaplous	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	<x> ³	x	
Saint Sophia		(x) ¹		x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x
Saint Agathonikos				[x = Par. gr. 1196, 1519]	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		
Saint Menas				x	x								x		
Saint Michael at Sosthenion				[x = Par. gr. 1196, 1519]	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	<x>		
Saint Dynamis											x		x		x
Saint Akakios						x							x		
Saint Anastasis															x
Constantine's vision at Anaplous	x					x									
Constantine's vision at Sosthenion							x	x	x	x					

¹ The church of Saint Sophia was not originally mentioned by Theophanes; it was interpolated in his testimony at a later date, and the interpolated version appears to have been known (and reproduced) by authors who depended on Theophanes.

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² The books of the *Patria* attribute numerous churches to Constantine (many more than the ones enumerated here), but they are spread among different entries without conforming a “list.” Only the churches identified above (attested in *Pat.* 1:48-50) may form part of a list (though it is interpolated with other information). It should be noted that the churches of Saint Michael at Anaplous and Sosthenion and the church of Saint Mokios are attributed to Constantine elsewhere in the *Patria*, but not in connection to this “list.”

³ The reference to the churches of Saint Michael is separated in PG’s edition from the remaining churches by the introduction of a new chapter, but it seems clear nevertheless that they were part of the same ‘list’ of Constantinean foundations (*PG* 145 col. 1328).