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Quaestiones disputatae:
The Skeuophylakion of Hagia Sophia
and the Entrances of the Liturgy Revisited*

Abbreviations:

Antoniades I-III = E. M. Antoniades, *Ἐκφρασεις τῆς Ἀγίας Σοφίας*, 3 vols. (Athens 1907, 1908, 1909).

AOC = Archives de l'Orient chrétien.

Arranz, *Euclologio* = M. Arranz, *L'Euclologio costantinopolitano agli inizi del secolo XI. Hagismatarion & Archieratikon (Rituale & Pontificale) con l'aggiunta del Leiturgikon (Messale)* (Rome 1996).

Arranz, "Sacraments," I.1-10 = id., "Les sacrements de l'ancien Euchologe constantinopolitain," I: 1: OCP 48 (1982) 284-335; 2: 49 (1983) 42-90; 3: 49 (1983) 284-302; 4: 50 (1984) 43-64; 5: 50 (1984) 372-397; 6: 51 (1985) 60-86; 7: 52 (1986) 145-178; 8: 53 (1987) 59-106; 9: 55 (1989) 33-62; 10: 55 (1989) 317-338.

Bacha = C. Bacha, "Notions générales sur les versions arabes de la liturgie de S. Jean Chrysostome suivies d'une ancienne version inédite," *XPYCOCTOMIKA Studi e ricerche intorno a S. Giovanni Crisostomo*, a cura del comitato per il XV° centenario della sua morte, 407-1907 (Rome 1908) 405-471.

Baldovin = J. F. Baldovin, *The Urban Character of Christian Worship. The Origins, Development, and Meaning of Stational Liturgy* (OCA 228, Rome 1987).

BAS = The Byzantine Liturgy of St. Basil.

BELS = Bibliotheca Ephemerides liturgicae, Subsidia.

Bertoniere, *Easter Vigil* = G. Bertoniere, *The Historical Development of the Easter Vigil and Related Services in the Greek Church* (OCA 193, Rome 1972).

BHG = F. Halkin, *Bibliotheca hagiographica Graeca* (Subsidia hagiographica [= SH] 8a, 3rd ed. Brussels 1957); *Auctarium BHG* (SH 47, Brussels 1969); *Novum auctarium BHG* (SH 65, Brussels 1984).

CHR = The Byzantine Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom.

CSHB = Corpus scriptorum historiae Byzantinae.

Darrouzès, *Recherches* = J. Darrouzès, *Recherches sur les ὁφφύζια de l'Église byzantine* (AOC 11, Paris 1970).

Dindorf I-II = L. Dindorf (ed.), *Chronicon paschale*, 2 vols. (CSHB, Bonn 1832).

Dirimtekin, "Skeuophylakion" = F. Dirimtekin, "Le skeuophylakion de Sainte-Sophie," REB 19 (1961) 390-400.

* This article was written in part during the author's tenure as Byzantine Studies Fellow at Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies, Washington, D.C., in 1993/4. The author expresses his profound gratitude to the Trustees of Harvard University, and to the Director and staff of Dumbarton Oaks, for making this research sabbatical possible, pleasant, and fruitful.

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- Dmitrievskij, *Типиконы* = id., *Древнейшие патриаршие типиконы святогробский иерусалимский и Великой Константинопольской Церкви. Критико-библиографическое исследование* (Kiev 1907).
- J. Ebersolt, *Ste-Sophie* = id., *Le Grand Palais de Constantinople et le Livre des cérémonies* (Bibliothèque de la Fondation Thiers – fasc. 21, Paris 1910).
- GCS = Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller.
- Goar = J. Goar, *Εὐχολόγιον sive Rituale Graecorum...* (Venice 1730², reprinted Graz 1960).
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- Jacob, *Formulaire* = id., *Histoire du formulaire grec de la Liturgie de Saint Jean Chrysostome* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Louvain 1968).
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- Lethaby and Swainson = W. R. Lethaby and H. Swainson, *The Church of Sancta Sophia, Constantinople* (New York 1894).
- LEW = F. E. Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western* (Oxford 1896).
- Loparev = X. M. Loparev (ed.), *Книга паломник. Сказание местъ святых во Цареграде Антония Архиепископа Новгородскаго в 1200 году* (Православный Палестинский Сборник 51 = 17.3, St. Petersburg 1899).
- Mainstone = R. J. Mainstone, *Hagia Sophia. Architecture, Structure and Liturgy of Justinian’s Great Church* (London 1988).
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- Majeska, “Skeuophylakion” = id., “Notes on the Skeuophylakion of St. Sophia,” to appear in *Византийский временник*.
- Mango, *Art* = C. Mango, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire, 312-1453* (Sources and Documents in the History of Art Series, Englewood Cliffs, N.J. 1972).
- Mango, *Brazen House* = id., *The Brazen House. A Study of the Vestibule of the Imperial Palace of Constantinople* (Arkæologisk-kunsthistoriske Meddelelser, Bind 4 nr. 4, Copenhagen 1959).
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- Moran, “Gestaltung” = id., “The Musical ‘Gestaltung’ of the Great Entrance Ceremony in the 12th Century in Accordance with the Rite of Hagia Sophia,” *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik* 28 (1979) 167-193.
- Moran, “Skeuophylakion” = id., “The Skeuophylakion of Hagia Sophia,” *Cahiers archéologiques* 34 (1986) 29-32.
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- Muretov, *К материалам* = С. Муретов, *К материалам для истории чинопоследования литургии* (Sergeev Posad 1895).
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- OCA = *Orientalia Christiana Analecta*.
- OCP = *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*.
- Parenti-Velkovska = S. Parenti and E. Velkovska (eds.), *L'Encologio Barberini gr. 336* (ff. 1-263) (BELS 80, Rome 1995).
- Preger = T. Preger, *Scriptores originum Constantinopolitanarum* (Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana, Scriptores Graeci, Leipzig 1901).
- REB = *Revue des études byzantines*.
- Reiske = J. J. Reiske (ed.), *Constantini Porphyrogeniti imperatoris De Cerimoniis aulae byzantinae*, 2 vols. (CSHB, Bonn 1829-1830).
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- Vogt I-II/Vogt, *Commentaire I-II* = A. Vogt (ed.), *Le Livre des cérémonies de Constantin Porphyrogénète*, texte I-II (Paris 1935, 1939); *Commentaire I-II* (Paris 1935, 1940).

PART I ARCHEOLOGY

The hypothetical reconstruction of the Great Entrance I proposed over twenty years ago,¹ drawing on Mathews' earlier work,² has been generally accepted apart from a couple of attempts (in my view unsuccessful) to undermine it, with which I shall deal below. I return here to that ceremonial and the other two processions of the liturgy only to clarify those points that have been challenged.

A. The Skeuophylakion

Few buildings as small and architecturally insignificant as the skeuophylakion of Hagia Sophia have attracted so much attention from modern scholars, for rea-

1 Taft, *Great Entrance* 178-203.

2 Mathews, *Early Churches* ch 7.

sons that will become clear in the course of this study. But before turning our attention to that modest building, we must first look at its setting.

I. The East End of Hagia Sophia and its Outbuildings

The frequent comings and goings of the imperial party and clergy in the sanctuary area of Hagia Sophia and the surrounding outbuildings of the Great Church compound, including the skeuophylakion, will be intelligible only if we first identify and locate several distinct spaces that recur in the sources:

1. The sanctuary area of Hagia Sophia
2. The Holy Well
3. The Passage of St. Nicholas
4. The Church of St. Nicholas
5. The Great Baptistry
6. The Church of St. Peter
7. The Narthex and Gynaecium of the Deaconesses

1. *The Sanctuary of Hagia Sophia:*

It is generally agreed that the sanctuary (θυσιαστήριον, βῆμα) of Justinian's Hagia Sophia was an elevated area including and extending out in front of the apse.³ The relatively shallow apse itself was filled with the curved steps of the elevated synthronon where the clergy sat. The altar-room in front of it was enclosed by a Π-shaped chancel barrier (τέμπλον, ἄδυτα, κάγκελος, κάγκελλον, κάγκελλα, κιγκλῖς, κιγκλίδες, etc.) jutting out into the nave from the two secondary piers located just beyond the northwest and southwest extremities of the apse. Three doors, one in each side (north-west-south) of the chancel, provided access to the altar-room. Extending out into the nave before the central "Holy Doors" in the west face of the chancel was a raised, walled passageway, the solea, which led to the oval-shaped ambo enclosure towards the center of the nave. The sanctuary area could also be entered from the northeast and southeast bays of the basilica via the north-south passageways that cut through the two secondary piers flanking the apse north and south.⁴

Differences of opinion on other, minor issues – the exact location of the entrance(s) at the west end of the solea,⁵ etc. – are not germane to our concerns here.

3 S.G. Xydis, "The Chancel Barrier, Solea and Ambo of Hagia Sophia," *Art Bulletin* 29 (1947) 1-24; Mathews, *Early Churches* 96-99; Taft, *Great Entrance* 178ff; Mainstone 232-33 pl. 252; 271 pl. A2; 276-77 pl. A7-8.

4 Van Nice pl. 11; Mainstone *loc. cit.* and 16-17 pl. 8; 196 pl. 223.

5 Cf. Moran, "Gestaltung," 181-85.

2. *The Holy Well:*

The shrine of the Holy Well (τὸ Ἅγιον Φρέατος), also called the “Jordan Fountain” or “Samaritan Well” in the Russian pilgrim accounts because it supposedly held the stone on which Jesus sat at Jacob’s Well (Jn 4:6),⁶ was just outside the vestibule at the southeast corner of Hagia Sophia.⁷ From the several ways the *De cerimoniis* has the imperial party enter Hagia Sophia through the well shrine, it must have been accessible via several doors:⁸

1. *De cerimoniis* I, 1, speaks of “the small door leading to the Holy Well,”⁹ which I have suggested may have been the now blocked door in the east wall of Hagia Sophia just south of the passage through the southeast pier flanking the apse.¹⁰
2. To the west of the well shrine was the door leading via the vestibule and southeast door into the east end of the south aisle of the basilica, an entrance mentioned explicitly in *De cerimoniis* I, 1, 36 (27), 39 (30), II, 10.¹¹
3. A stairway gave access to a smaller, second-storey door into the south gallery and the imperial dining room located there. *De cerimoniis* mentions it several times.¹² And Nicetas Paphlago, *Vita S. Ignatii*, has Patriarch Ignatius (847–858, 867–877) enter the south gallery of Hagia Sophia via the Holy Well at his restoration to the patriarchal throne on November 23, 867.¹³
4. In the north wall of the same vestibule, just outside the northeast door of the basilica (§ 1 above), another door led into the “Passage of St. Nicholas,” according to *De cerimoniis* I, 1, 44 (35) – I,1 calls it a “large door (μεγάλη πύλη).”¹⁴
5. On the south side of the well shrine, *De cerimoniis* I, 44 (35)¹⁵ and II, 10,¹⁶ identifies an outside door that opened onto the ἔμβολος, the south colonnade leading to the Chalke (ἡ χαλκῆ) or monumental vestibule of the Imperial Palace, ca. 110 m straight across from the southeast corner of Hagia Sophia on the same axis as its east end, according to Mango’s reconstruction.¹⁷ Doors

6 Majeska, *Russian Travelers* 130–33, 160–61, 227.

7 *Ibid.* 32–33 and note 20, 130–33, 138–39 and note 31, 160–61, 182–83, 223–28, 234 note 188, 282 note 105, 304; Mango, *Brazen House* 60–72; Mainstone 113.

8 *De cerimoniis* I, 1, 9, 35 (26), 36 (27), 39 (30), 44 (35); II, 10; Vogt I, 14, 21–22, 27–28, 62, 135, 143, 152, 171–72 = Reiske 18, 27, 68, 145, 155, 163–64, 182, 184–85, 547–48. Cf. Mango, *Brazen House* 64–72.

9 Vogt I, 14.

10 Taft, *Great Entrance* 186 note 36; the door is clearly visible in Van Nice pl. 11.

11 Vogt I, 21–22, 143, 152; Reiske 547.

12 I, 1, 9, 35 (26), 44 (35), Vogt I, 14, 62, 135, 172–73.

13 PG 105:544A: ...αὐτὸς μὲν διὰ τοῦ ἁγίου Φρέατος ἀνάγεται: πρὸς τοῖς ὑπερώοις δὲ τοῦ μεγάλου Ναοῦ διὰ τῆς δεξιᾶς πύλας εἰσιόντι...

14 Vogt I, 27–28, 171–72 (the latter cited below, section A.IV.1).

15 *Loc. cit.*

16 Reiske 647.

17 On the Chalke see Mango, *Brazen House* ch. 4, esp. 76–77, 85–92, 97 and p. 23 fig. 1; and, most

1, 2 and 3 are still extant: 1, now blocked, is clearly visible in the west wall just south of the apse;¹⁸ 2 is the big door in the east bay of the south aisle, leading into the vestibule of Hagia Sophia; 3, in the vestibule to the left, is the door that once led into the south end of the Passage of St. Nicholas.¹⁹

3. *The Passage of St. Nicholas:*

The “narrow Passage of St. Nicholas located behind the bema” of Hagia Sophia, according to *De cerimoniis* I, 44 (35) (cited below, section A.IV.1), was a passageway (διαβατική) circling the outside of the apse and connecting the vestibules outside the two east doors of the church at the end of the north and south aisles.²⁰ We know the passage opened onto the Holy Well at the southeast corner. Literary sources describe the imperial procession passing from the sanctuary of Hagia Sophia to the Holy Well by exiting through the left (north) side of the sanctuary, out the northeast door of the church, and south across to the well shrine by this outside route.²¹ One of the most explicit and detailed is Steven of Novgorod, in Constantinople in 1348 or 1349, who recounts how he went into Hagia Sophia through the narthex at the west end, down the north aisle to the sanctuary at the east end, then into the passageway at its northern end and across to the Holy Well on the south.²²

Two now-blocked doors that once gave access to the passage at its north and south extremities have been identified in the vestibules just outside the main doors at the east end of the north and south aisles of Hagia Sophia, one in the south wall of the northeast vestibule, the other in the north wall of its twin.²³ Presumably, the Passage of St. Nicholas gave access not only to the Holy Well but also to the Church of St. Nicholas, though this is not directly attested.

Stephen of Novgorod (1348/49) describes the passage as circular: “From there we went out of the church through doors to walk with candles, as if making a circle (обходя акы кругом).”²⁴ The curved outer wall of the apse probably formed the west wall of the passage, with the wall of the Chapel of St. Nicholas enclosing it to the east – hence the name “Passage of St. Nicholas.”²⁵

recently, Ioanna Zervou Tognazzi, “Propilei e Chalké, ingresso principale al Palazzo di Costantinopoli,” in C. Barsanti et alii (eds.), *Bizanzio e l’Occidente: arte, archeologia, storia. Studi in onore di Fernanda de’ Maffei* (Rome 1996) 33-59 and figs. 1-3.

18 Van Nice pl. 11

19 Van Nice pl. 11-12; Mango, *Brazen House* 69, 71 figs. 7-8.

20 Vogt I, 171-72; cf. *De cerimoniis* I, 1, Vogt I, 27-28.

21 Cf. Mango, *Brazen House* 66, 70, 72 note 199, 223; Majeska, *Russian Travelers* 223-26.

22 Majeska, *Russian Travelers* 17, cf. 206, 209, 212, 214, 217-21.

23 Van Nice pl. 1; Mango, *Brazen House* 69 fig. 7, 72; Dirimtekin, “Skevophylakion,” 396, 398 pl. 3 (E).

24 Majeska, *Russian Travelers* 30-31.

25 *Ibid.* 223.

4. *The Church of St. Nicholas:*

Nothing remains of the Church of St. Nicholas.²⁶ Anna Comnena, *Alexias* II, 5, refers to it as a place of sanctuary near H. Sophia.²⁷ The "Tale of the Holy Places," an anonymous 15th-century Russian pilgrim account, says the shrine still existed at that time, just off the apse of the Great Church: "Behind the sanctuary of [Hagia] Sophia to the East is the Church of St. Nicholas (в задѹ олтаря Софеи на востокъ есть церковь святаго Николы)." ²⁸ This location is confirmed by Nicephorus Callistus Xanthopoulos' (ca. 1256-ca. 1335) metrical paraphrase of the miraculous appearance of St. Nicholas to a young man, whom the saint leads to St. Nicholas' chapel "right behind the Church of [Hagia] Sophia (ὀπισθεν εὐθὺς τοῦ νεὸ τῆς Σοφίας)" and cures.²⁹

More precisely, St. Nicholas' seems to have been adjacent to the Holy Well, and may well have communicated directly with the latter. The anonymous 15th-century Russian "Tale of the Holy Places" treats of the two shrines as a unit: it speaks of the miraculous icon of the Savior that was stabbed by the Jew as being in St. Nicholas', whereas in fact it was in the shrine of the Holy Well.³⁰

5. *The Great Baptistry:*

The sources identify two baptistries at Hagia Sophia. The main one, called the "Great Baptistry," was used for imperial baptisms,³¹ as well as for baptisms at the Easter Vigil and probably Theophany (January 6) too.³² The "Small Baptistry" was used on the Saturday before Palm Sunday, Holy Saturday morning, and Pentecost.³³ Only one of these two baptistries is still extant, an octagon-in-square southwest of the basilica.³⁴ The 8/9th-century *Diegesis* or *Narratio de S. Sophia* 6, says it was built by Justinian and dedicated to St. John the Baptist.³⁵

26 Cf. Janin, *Églises* 368-69; Mango, *Brazen House* 67-70, 80-81.

27 A. Reifferscheid (ed.), *Annae Comnenae Porphyrogenitae Alexias* (Leipzig 1894) I, 70; cf. Nicephorus Gregoras, *Byzantina historia* XV, 1, ed. L. Schopen, 3 vols. (CSHB, Bonn 1829, 1830, 1845) 2:748.11ff.

28 Majeska, *Russian Travelers* 137-39, cf. 223-25, 227 note 144.

29 Ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Ἀνάλεκτα Ἱεροσολυμιτικῆς Σταχυολογίας*, 5 vols. (St. Petersburg 1891-1898) IV, 358 verse 94 (= BHG 1361); cf. *Thauma de Nicolao claudio* (= BHG 1352i), ed. G. Anrich, *Hagios Nikolaos. Der heilige Nikolaos in der griechischen Kirche*, 2 vols. (Leipzig/Berlin 1913, 1917, repr. Hildesheim 1965) I, 350 (and apparatus 12), 353 verse 94. Cf. Mango, *Brazen House* 81.

30 Majeska, *Russian Travelers* 136-39 and 138 note 31; cf. 222-25, 304, 342-43; Mango, *Brazen House* 62, 66.

31 *De Cerimoniis* II, 22, Reiske 619-20.

32 Mateos, *Typicon* I, 182-83 (Jan. 6); II, 84-85 and note 1 (Easter Vigil), 287 (index); cf. Arranz, "Sacraments," I.6:68 note 16, I.8:74.

33 Mateos, *Typicon* II, 62 (Sat. before Palm Sun.), 84-85 and note 1 (Holy Sat.), 136 (Pentecost), 287 (index); cf. Arranz, *loc. cit.*

34 Van Nice pl. 1, 13; Mainstone, 26-27 pl. 20, 22; 114 pl. 140-141; 120-21 pl. 149; 271 pl. A2; 278, pl. A7.

35 Preger 82; cf. Ebersolt, *Ste-Sophie* 33ff.

Every trace of the other baptistry has disappeared. Opinion is divided as to which of these structures was the Great Baptistry. Some have even proposed that the skeuophylakion was the original baptistry, before the construction of Justinian's octagon-in-square, which they believe to have been the Great Baptistry.³⁶ But this theory has long been discounted. More persistent is the view that the extant octagon-in-square is the "Great Baptistry."³⁷ However, those who have re-examined the literary sources have swung around to Ebersolt's view – surely the only acceptable one – that the extant edifice is the lesser baptistry, and that the no-longer-extant Great Baptistry must have been located on the north side of Hagia Sophia in the vicinity of the skeuophylakion.³⁸ In support of this one can argue from several texts.

a. Paul Silentiary, *Descriptio S. Sophiae* (ca. 563 AD)

The Silentiary's *Descriptio S. Sophiae* 550-565, speaks of a baptistry outside the north doors of the basilica:

[550] Ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτῆς αἰθούσης κατὰ μέσσον ἐρείσατο τέσσερας ἄλλους κίονας... [555] ἀλλ' ἐνὶ μέτροις μήκεος ἐγγυτέρων μὲν ὀλίζοντες, ἐκ δὲ τιθίνης τῆς αὐτῆς χλοεροῖσιν ἀποστῖλβουσιν ἁώτοις. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐ στοιχηδὸν ἐπισχερῶ εὐποδας οὔτι πυθμένας ἐρρίζωσαν, ἐφεδρήσουσι δὲ γαίῃ [560] ἀντίοι ἀλλήλοισι δῶν δυσίν: ὧν κατὰ κόρσης τετραπόροις σειρῇσιν ἐηελιχθεῖσα κεραΐη νῶτον ὑπεστήριξε γυναικείοισιν ἐδέθλοισ, ἐγγύθι δ' ἔστι πύλη βορρῶτιδος ἐς

[550] But in the midst of the aisle too, ... [the builders] have set up four more columns, shorter in measure than their neighbours, but as bright with verdant bloom, being as they are from the same quarry. Their goodly feet are not planted in the ground all in a row: instead they are set on the pavement in facing pairs, and upon their heads, a vault (*keraiê*), wound on fourfold arches, supports the underside of the women's abode. Close by, in the direction of the north wind is a door that

36 Lethaby and Swainson 19-20, and others cited in Arranz, "Sacraments," 1.6:67-68 note 16.

37 Lethaby and Swainson 20, 183; Antoniadès I, 123 and pl. 17, II, 160; Mateos, *Typicon* I, 183 note 2, II, 85 notes 1-2 (following Antoniadès); Arranz., "L'office de l'Asmatikos Hesperinos ("vêpres chantées") de l'ancien Euchologe byzantin" I, OCP 44 (1978) 127 note 55; id., "Sacraments," 1.6:67-68 note 16; id., "Evolution des rites d'incorporation et de réadmission dans l'Eglise selon l'Euchologe byzantin," in *Gestes et paroles dans les diverses familles liturgiques*. Conférences S.-Serge, XXIV^e Semaine d'études liturgiques, Paris, 28 juin – 1 juillet 1977 (BELS 14, Rome 1978) 38 note 22, cf. 54 note 70 (but see id. in note 38 below); Majeska, "Skeuophylakion," 4. Lethaby and Swainson (20) assert (with no reference) that the H. Sophia baptistry "is spoken of in the *Ceremonies* as 'the Great Baptistry by the Horologium'." As far as I have been able to determine, this is a misquote. At least noone has yet succeeded in identifying this passage in the *De cerimoniis*.

38 Ebersolt, *Ste-Sophie* 35 note 1; Bertoniére, *Easter Vigil* 132-33; Mathews, *Early Churches* 160; Strube, *Eingangsseite* 60-61 note 209; Mainstone 120 pl. 149; 124; 274 pl. A2; 278 pl. A7; Arranz, "Sacraments," 1.8:74-77; id., *Eucologio* 30 note 4.

κλίσιν αὔρης, λαὸν ἀπιθύνουσα πρὸς ἀχράντα λοετρά, [565] ἀνδρομέου βιότοιο καθάρσια, τῶν ἄπο λυγρῇ συμῶδιξ ὠλεσίθυμος ἐλαύνεται ἀμπλακιάων.³⁹ leads the people to the pure fountains that cleanse human life and drive away the grievous scars of sin.⁴⁰

The Silentiary is clearly referring to a baptistry outside a door on the north side of the church, so he cannot mean the extant baptistry to the south west.⁴¹ What door does the Silentiary mean? Arranz opts for the small door in the northeast bay.⁴² But from the Silentiary's description of the columns he can only mean the main door in the central bay of the north aisle. Between this door and the arcade of four large columns, set in a row east to west, that separate the aisle from the central nave, are four smaller columns, now joined by iron ties, in two facing pairs in the central bay of the north aisle. They mark the corners of a rectangle framing the north-south lateral axis leading across from the north-central door into the central nave.⁴³

b. The Easter Vigil Baptismal Rubrics

Secondly, the rubrics for baptisms at Hagia Sophia during the Easter Vigil in the early 12th-century patriarchal euchology in the "Bessarion Codex" *Grottaferrata Γβ I* indicate that the patriarch passes διὰ – through or by way of – the skeuophylakion on his way to the Great Baptistry to baptize the candidates.⁴⁴ With the baptisms accomplished, the neophytes proceed to the Church of St. Peter where the patriarch chrismates (confirms) them, then leads them in procession into the basilica for the eucharist. Since both skeuophylakion and St. Peter's were off the north side of Hagia Sophia (see sections A.I.6, A.II-III, and A.IV.2-3 below), it is hardly likely that the Great Baptistry could have been anywhere but in the same vicinity. At any rate it certainly was not the present octagon-in-square to the southwest.

39 P. Friedländer, *Johannes von Gaza und Paulus Silentiarius, Kunstbeschreibungen Justinianischer Zeit* (Sammlung wissenschaftlicher Kommentare zu griechischen und römischen Schriftstellern, Leipzig/Berlin 1912) 243; Paulus Silentiarius, *Descriptio S. Sophiae et Ambronis*, ed. I. Bekker (CSHB Bonn 1837) 28-29.

40 Mango, *Art* 84.

41 Cf. *ibid.* 84 note 135.

42 Arranz, "Sacraments", I.8:76.

43 Van Nice pl. 1, 10; Mathews, *Early Churches* pl. 83; Mainstone 98 pl. 117, 182 pl. 210, 271 pl. A2, 274-75 pl. A5-6, 278 pl. A9; for the corresponding columns on the south side, for which we have more illustrations, see Mathews, *Early Churches* pl. 81; Van Nice pl. 5; Mainstone 38 pl. 39; 46-47 pl. 49, 51; 52 pl. 58; 188-89 p. 215-16.

44 Cited and commented below in section A.IV.2. On the "Bessarion" ms see A. Strittmatter, "The 'Barberinum S. Marci' of Jacques Goar. Barberinus graecus 336," *Ephemerides liturgicae* 47 (1933) 329-367, here 330 note 4.

Another ms with detailed Easter rubrics for the rite of the Great Church, the Praxapostolos *Dresden A 104* dating from 950 to the middle of the 11th century, also shows that both the Great Baptistry and St. Peter's were near together – hence to the north of Hagia Sophia.⁴⁵

Furthermore, the rubrics in the 10th-century Typikon of the Great Church indicate that the patriarch “goes up (ἀνέρχεται)” to the Great Baptistry,⁴⁶ whereas he “goes down (κατέρχεται)” to the Little Baptistry.⁴⁷ I am not sure one can take this as evidence that the Great Baptistry was on higher ground than Hagia Sophia, the other not.⁴⁸ Such verbs can be used directionally in rubrics without necessarily implying a difference in ground elevation of the sort under consideration here. The fact remains, however, that to the northeast of the basilica where the edifices in question were located, the ground does slope upward towards Hagia Eirene.⁴⁹

c. Imperial Baptism

De cerimoniis II, 22, describing the baptism of a child of the imperial family, lists seven categories of officials summoned to the ceremony along with the officers of the entire senate, “And they enter the Great Baptistry of the Great Church (καὶ εἰσέρχονται εἰς τὸν μέγαν βαπτιστήρα τῆς μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας).” The rest of the notables and senators remain in the Great Church, while the sovereigns bring their child into the Great Baptistry with patriarch.⁵⁰ There is no indication of where the baptistry was located, however.

6. The Church of St. Peter:

St. Peter's Church, built to house the relics of Apostle Peter's chains, has also disappeared without a trace.⁵¹ But it was obviously a complete church: the *Dresden A 104* rubrics refer to its sanctuary, and to vespers being celebrated in it.⁵² Though its exact location is unknown, the Typikon distinguishes this St. Peter's from other Petrine shrines of the capital as “[St.] Peter near (συγκείμενος) the most holy Great Church,”⁵³ and it appears frequently as one of the stations in the endless coming and going of processions within the Great Church complex. After examining the archeological and literary evidence Antoniadès concluded: “1. That the ναός of St. Peter was found near the skeuophylakion to the

45 Dmitrievskij, *Типиконы* 149.

46 Mateos, *Typicon* I, 184.

47 *Ibid.* II, 62.

48 Cf. Arranz, “Sacraments,” I.8:74-75.

49 Van Nice pl. 4; Mainstone 138 pl. 161.

50 Reiske 619-20.

51 On this church see Janin, *Églises* 398-99; Majeska, *Russian Travelers* 210, 216, 223.

52 Dmitrievskij, *Типиконы* 161-62, 327 note 2.

53 Mateos, *Typicon* I, 104, 128, 194, 232, 272, 278, 310, 322, 378; II, 104.

north, i.e. of the bema; and 2. That it was connected to the Great Church, forming a part of it,” as he proposes in the small rectangular chapel built into the north wall of the basilica just west of the skeuophylakion rotunda.⁵⁴ This is highly unlikely. It is true that one text of the Typikon of the Great Church refers to St. Peter’s “inside the Great Church (ἐνδον τῆς Μεγάλης Ἐκκλησίας).”⁵⁵ But this can only mean within the precincts of the Great Church complex, which also included Hagia Eirene,⁵⁶ and not part of the basilica itself. This is confirmed by Anthony of Novgorod, who informs us that St. Theophanides was buried in St. Peter’s, and that the only tomb in Hagia Sophia was that of St. Athinogenos (below, section A.IV.3, text 8-9). Furthermore, St. Peter’s was too near Hagia Eirene to be a part of Hagia Sophia: *Dresden A 104* says one could descend from St. Peter’s via a spiral staircase and enter Hagia Eirene (διὰ τοῦ κοιλίου τοῦ ἁγίου Πέτρου κατερχόμενος, ἀνέρχεται ἐν τῇ ἁγίᾳ Εἰρήνῃ).⁵⁷ H. Eirene lies 10 m higher than and 110 m to the north of Hagia Sophia, its apse aligned with that of its later sister.⁵⁸ Byzantine historian Socrates († post 439), *Church History* II, 16,16, informs us that both churches “are now seen within the same enclosure and have the same name” – i.e., both went under the name “the Great Church.”⁵⁹ He is of course speaking of the pre-Justinianic church. But the present basilica was built on the exact same site. So St. Peter’s must have been somewhere in the clutter of structures within the Great Church complex occupying the slope between H. Sophia and H. Eirene.⁶⁰

Other extant descriptions like the “Bessarion Euchology” rubrics (section A.IV.2 below) and Anthony of Novgorod’s account (section A.IV.3 below) confirm St. Peter’s location on the north side of Hagia Sophia, nearby the Great Baptistry. Though Anthony does not mention the baptistry, he moves counter-clockwise around Hagia Sophia, venerating the relics and other wonders step by step in the order in which he finds them there. Going westward down the north side of the basilica, he describes, in this order, the relics in the skeuophylakion off the northeast corner, St. Peter’s, and the column holding the relics of Gregory Thaumaturgus, which we know to have been the last column in the northwest corner of the nave.⁶¹ This confirms that St. Peter’s was north of Hagia Sophia

54 Antoniadès II, 161-63 and I, pl. 17 between pp. 48-49.

55 *Ibid.* I, 198.

56 See below at note 59.

57 Dmitrievskij, *Типиконы* 138.

58 Cf. R. Janin, *Constantinople byzantin. Développement urbain et répertoire topographique* (AOC 4A, 2nd ed. Paris 1964) map 1: Carte archéologique et topographique; Mathews, *Early Churches* 78.

59 Sokrates, *Kirchengeschichte*, ed. G. Ch. Hansen (GCS, neue Folge 1, Berlin 1995) 109.2-3 = PG 67:217B: καὶ νῦν εἰσὶν ὑφ’ ἑνα περιβόλον ἀμφω ὁρῶμεναι, μίαν τὴν προσωνυμίαν ἔχουσαι.

60 Cf. F. Dirimetkin, “Les fouilles faites en 1946-1947 et en 1958-1960 entre Sainte-Sophie et Sainte Irène, à Istanbul,” *CA* 13 (1962) 161-185; Mathews, *Early Churches* 83 and fig. 43.

61 See below at notes 122-23.

and beyond the skeuophylakion. So does the patriarch's route during the Easter Vigil initiation rites (see section A.IV.2): from Hagia Sophia he goes out to the skeuophylakion, then to the Great Baptistry, then to St. Peter's, then back into Hagia Sophia.

7. *The Narthex and Gynaecium of the Deaconesses:*

Since *De cerimoniis* I 44 (35) and Anthony of Novgorod, both cited and examined in extenso below in sections A.IV.1, 3, are the only direct references I know of to these two locales, I discuss them below (section A.V), following my interpretation of these texts.

II. Recent Archeological Evidence for the Skeuophylakion of Hagia Sophia

Extant evidence witnesses to the presence of a skeuophylakion in the four neighboring churches of the capital served by the patriarchal clergy⁶²: Hagia Sophia, Hagia Eirene, Hagios Theodoros of Sphorakios, and Hagia Theotokos in Blachernai.⁶³ Of these four Constantinopolitan sacristies, the first three were separate edifices or outbuildings. The one serving the 5th-century Blachernai church may have been a separate building too, though by way of exception it seems to have been located on the southeast side of the church.⁶⁴

Here we are concerned with Hagia Sophia. I take it as established that the St. Sophia skeuophylakion is the still-standing rotunda off the northeast corner of the basilica: today all competent scholars without exception identify it as such. This skeuophylakion is believed to be the one Palladius tells us survived when the earlier Great Church burnt down during the riots accompanying the exile of John Chrysostom on June 9, 404.⁶⁵ It thus antedates the present Justinianic church, dedicated in 537, which is probably why it is sometimes called "the old skeuophylakion (τὸ παλαιὸν σκευοφυλάκιον)."⁶⁶

This skeuophylakion stands a scant 5 meters from the north wall of H. Sophia.⁶⁷ Though the building is a rotunda, its east and west ends are slightly flattened, so that the external east-west diameter measures 1.25 m shorter than the north-south diameter. The inside diameter measures 11.6 m, providing a reasonably large open space on the ground floor. The path in from the west door is

62 See note 132 below.

63 See Taft, *Great Entrance* 178-203, for H. Sophia esp. 189-191.

64 *Ibid.* 190, and see below section A.IV.2 at note 107.

65 Palladius, *Dialogus de vita S. Ioannis*, PG 47:35-36; cf. Symeon Metaphrastes, *Vita S. Ioannis Chrysostomi* 50, PG 114:1188A; Mathews, *Early Churches* 12ff; Taft, *Great Entrance* 185; Mainstone 129, 133-34, 137.

66 *Codex Dresden A 104*, Dmitrievskij, *Типиконы* 173, 242.

67 Van Nice pl. 2, 11, 15; Dirimtekin, "Skeuophylakion," 393-94, 398 pl. 1 and 3. At any rate there is no evidence it is called thus to distinguish it from a newer sacristy.

marked in the floor pavement by a large east-west rectangle of green marble with a yellow border, as if indicating a sort of Π-shaped pathway leading to the eastern half of the rotunda and stopping with the closed end of the Π where one would expect the prothesis altar to have been.⁶⁸ A series of niches circle the interior wall on the lowest level,⁶⁹ into which were probably built the armoiries (τὰ ἀρμάρια) or cabinets holding sacred vessels and objects. At any rate we know that the skeuophylakion had such cupboards on the ground floor, since the chartophylax opens them after Holy Saturday Orthros so the emperor can incense the treasures they held.⁷⁰ One of the niches contains a tiny spiral stairway leading up.⁷¹ A series of marble consoles jutted out from the wall on the next level to support either (Mainstone) an upper storey (Mathews) or a gallery (Türkoglu),⁷² providing further space for the large quantity of church plate and relics it housed.⁷³

The skeuophylakion rotunda, long filled at ground level with centuries of debris several meters deep, remained unexcavated until recently and has never been subjected to adequate archeological study. In 1983 S. Türkoglu summarized the results of the excavation of the building as follows:⁷⁴

1. There was a large door to the north,⁷⁵ clearly the access door to Saint Sophia. Unfortunately, the counterfort of Andronikos II [1282-1328] has blocked up the front of this door.
2. The architectural remains were found in a scattered state, not in situ. So although it was apparent from the pins and holes that the walls of the ground story had been covered with marble slabs, even these slabs were now missing. This indicates that the stone building materials had been removed at an unknown date to be used in the construction of another building, and that only pieces of no further use had been left behind.
3. Brackets and sockets into which they fitted were uncovered, leaving no doubt that there had once been a gallery going right around the walls in the upper section of the building. This gal-

68 Private communication from Thomas Mathews, letters of Oct. 4, 1980, Sept. 13, 1981.

69 Mathews, *Early Churches* 16-17 figs. 2-3 and letter of Sept. 13, 1981; Mainstone 137. They are clearly visible in the photo in Mainstone 139 pl. 162; cf. Van Nice pl. 15; Dirimtekin, "Skeuophylakion," plans 2-3 and plate 4; S. Türkoglu, "Ayasofya Skeuophylakionu kazisi," *Ayasofya Müzesi Yilligi - Annual of Ayasofya Museum* 9 (1983) 25-35 + plans 1-3 and plates 1-9, at the end of the volume; *ibid.*, "Summaries," pp. 10-11: "Excavation of the Saint Sophia Skeuophylakion," plan 3 and plate 3.

70 *Dresden A 104*, Dmitrievskij, *Трунники* 159; *De cerimoniis* I, 44 (35), Vogt I, 171, cited in section A.IV.1.

71 Mathews, letters. M. comments (letter of Oct. 4, 1980): "The stair he [Türkoglu] thinks leads to a gallery, but it might be just the kind of service stair that Roman and early Byzantine architecture commonly provided so you could fix leaks in the roof without putting up a scaffolding."

72 Mainstone 137; Mathews, letters; Türkoglu plates 4-8, and his report cited just below.

73 See Majeska, "Skeuophylakion," 3ff.

74 Note 69 above.

75 Türkoglu must mean to the north of Hagia Sophia, in the south face of the skeuophylakion rotunda, since the counterfort mentioned is on the south side of the skeuophylakion, as described by Dirimtekin, "Skeuophylakion," 395 and clearly visible in *ibid.* plan 3; Türkoglu plan 3; Van Nice pl. 11, 15; Mainstone 278 pl. A2; and pl. 3. To the north of the rotunda there is no counterfort.

lery was probably made of wood, and 1.5 to 2 metres in width. During our excavations of the ground floor, a spiral staircase inside the wall leading to the gallery, and the door to the stairwell, were uncovered. The door which had once led onto the gallery from the staircase had been bricked up.

4. Analysis of the soil which we dug out from the building revealed that it was either silt deposited by flood water, or the disintegrated remains of waste which had been dumped there. Both this fact and the probable plunder of the building at the same time as Saint Sophia, during the Latin invasions of 1204, probably account for the fact that no small articles were found.
5. From the evidence of the brackets we may date the building to the fifth century, but further research is required on this subject.

III. Communication between the Skeuophylakion and Hagia Sophia

Unfortunately, though the rubble has been removed and we now know something more about the building, the main liturgical issue, just how one communicated between the skeuophylakion and the basilica, has remained unresolved, since the number and location of the doors into the rotunda are still disputed.

1. Access to the Skeuophylakion from Hagia Sophia:

The imperial and patriarchal ceremonial described in sources like the *De cerimoniis* (A.IV.1 below) and *Dresden A 104*⁷⁶ involved an incessant to and fro between the Great Church and the skeuophylakion and/or other outbuildings in the Great Church precincts. How did one go between the basilica and the skeuophylakion? There are four possibilities, moving east to west (distances are from the west skeuophylakion door):

1. Via the door at the northeast end of the north aisle, ca. 29 m away. This door would have been less convenient if, as it seems, the skeuophylakion could be entered only from the west (see the next section, A.III.2). But the constant in and out of buildings and up and down stairs in Byzantine ritual hardly favors the argument from convenience.
2. Via the now bricked-in north door in the center of the northeast bay of the same north aisle, leading out directly to the courtyard between the north wall of Hagia Sophia and the skeuophylakion rotunda. This door clearly provides the shortest route to the skeuophylakion entrance, a distance of ca. 13 m. According to Van Nice's drawings-to-scale,⁷⁷ this door is 1.4 m wide, one meter narrower than the 2.4 meters-wide main door at the east end of the north aisle (1), wide enough to accommodate comfortably only a single-file procession. This door is not directly across from the rotunda's north-south axis, where the hypothetical south skeuophylakion door would have been, but on a 25

76 Dmitrievskij, *Типиконы* 124, 137-38, 149-50, 159, 173, 242, 275-76, 280, 283, 289, 301.

77 Van Nice pl. 11, 15.

degree diagonal southwest of it.⁷⁸ I do not believe anything can be made of this, however. Justinian's Hagia Sophia was built after the skeuophylakion was already in place (section A.II above), and the church's doors and windows are aligned according to the exigencies of the design of the basilica and not of the adjacent skeuophylakion. Just how this door worked with respect to the original ground level around the skeuophylakion is not clear;⁷⁹ Majeska suggests this door gave onto stairs between the two buildings.⁸⁰

3. Via the central north door of the same aisle, ca. 29 m away, a fitting entrance to the basilica for solemn introits. Certainly at the baptismal vigils the solemn entrance of the neophytes with the patriarch must have been via either this door or the main western doors in the narthex (4).

4. Via the northwest door to the narthex, ca. 67.5 m away, then across the narthex to the doors into the nave, over 100 m in all, the longest route by far.

All four of these possible entrances were probably used at different times for moving to and from the basilica and skeuophylakion, depending on the ritual and other possible stations of the processional ritual in question.

2. *Skeuophylakion Entrances:*

Far more problematic is the question of how one entered and exited the skeuophylakion. The present outside entrance at the actual ground level, well above the rotunda's original ground-floor level,⁸¹ can be discounted. It dates from Turkish times,⁸² and neither it nor the present ground level has anything to do with the original Byzantine building and its use. As for the original Byzantine entrance(s), everyone now agrees there was once a large door in the western side of the rotunda. Were there others too? And how did one go to and from the skeuophylakion and the Great Church?

Dirimtekin proposed two entrances to the skeuophylakion, one in the west end plus the one he thinks Grelot implied in the south side of the skeuophylakion across from the bricked-in door in the center of the north wall of the northeast bay of the basilica.⁸³ But Grelot, who visited and described the church at the end of the 17th century, actually puts in his plan of St. Sophia only one door into the skeuophylakion, in its flattened west face.⁸⁴ The other door he refers to is the one in the northeast bay of the basilica across from the skeuophylakion, which he describes as

78 Van Nice, plates 11, 15.

79 Dirimtekin, "Skeuophylakion," 397.

80 Majeska, *Russian Travelers* 219, cf. 182-83 and note 29.

81 Van Nice pl. 4; Mainstone 138 pl. 161.

82 Mainstone 137, 138 pl. 161.

83 Dirimtekin, "Skeuophylakion," 393, 396-97 and pl. 3. Cf. Van Nice pl. 11, 15; Mainstone 271 pl. A2.

84 G.J. Grelot, *Relation nouvelle d'un voyage de Constantinople* (Paris 1680) between pp. 108-109.

un petit Temple octagone...on dit qu'il servoit autrefois de Sacristie à l'Église de sainte Sophie, & il y a quelque apparence de cela, puisqu'il y avoit une petite porte qui passoit de ce petit Temple dans celui de sainte Sophie: je l'ay remplie de points pour montrer qu'elle est maintenant bouchée, & que l'on n'y passe plus.⁸⁵

Though this description of the communications between the skeuophylakion and Hagia Sophia might be taken as implying a south door in the rotunda,⁸⁶ the door Grelot describes as "a small door that passes from this little temple into that of St. Sophia: I have [in the plan] filled it in with dots to show that it is now blocked and one can no longer go through it," is the now bricked-in door in the north aisle of Hagia Sophia directly across from the skeuophylakion. This is obvious from his "Plan du Temple de Sainte Sophie," which shows only one skeuophylakion door, in the west face, plus this blocked door in the basilica, but no corresponding door opposite it in the rotunda.⁸⁷

Still, Türkoglu's report (section A.II above) mentions just such a door on the south side of the skeuophylakion, now blocked by the later counterfort. His plan 3 has three arrows indicating not only this entrance to the south, but the other two generally accepted ones on the west side of the rotunda and in the north aisle of Hagia Sophia, both of them now bricked up. Mainstone, too, identifies a large bricked-in entrance in the west wall of the rotunda, its remains now clearly visible from within as a result of the excavations, and, possibly, another door, slightly narrower, to the south.⁸⁸ This proposed door, now bricked-in but clearly visible inside on ground level in the center of the photograph in Mainstone (plate 162), seems large enough to serve as an entrance,⁸⁹ though I have not seen any measurements from the most recent work in the skeuophylakion interior. The problem, however, is not the width but the height of this putative south door. In recent (spring 1994) conversations on the topic, Professor George Majeska informed me that the filled-in arch in the south wall-face, which Türkoglu and Mainstone thought might be the remains of a door, is actually too low to have served as one, and was probably just a structural support.

At any rate, the location of the now blocked door in the northeast bay of the north aisle of Hagia Sophia that once led out to the courtyard between the basilica and the skeuophylakion neither confirms nor challenges the conclusion that the skeuophylakion had only the one western door. As for a hypothetical entrance in the skeuophylakion's flattened east wall, which previously I had accepted as probable,⁹⁰ this may now be discounted. Neither Dirimtekin earlier,⁹¹

85 *Ibid.* 125.

86 Cf. Dirimtekin, "Skeuophylakion," 393; Majeska, "Skeuophylakion," 5 and note 27.

87 Note 84 above.

88 Mainstone 137 and 139 plate 162.

89 Mathews, letter of 4 Oct. 1980, also thought this might have been a door.

90 Taft, *Great Entrance* 199.

91 Whom I misinterpreted in *ibid.* 199 note 68.

nor Türkoglu, Mainstone, Mathews, or Majeska who have studied the skeuophylakion since it was excavated, locate a door in its east wall – which anyway would be improbable from a liturgical point of view, since the eastern extremity of the ground floor is where one would expect the prothesis altar to be located.

3. Summary

The available evidence permits the following conclusions concerning communication between Hagia Sophia and its skeuophylakion:

1. The principal skeuophylakion door, to the west, may have been its only entrance, though this is disputed.
2. The archway in the south side of the rotunda clearly visible from the inside in Mainstone, plate 162, has been said to be too low to accommodate a door.
3. There is no evidence of a skeuophylakion door to the east, though, as we shall see, the absence of one makes communication with Hagia Sophia less convenient.
4. In Hagia Sophia itself there is a now blocked door in the center of the northeastern bay that once led out to the courtyard in front of the skeuophylakion just 5 meters away. Since the church, and hence this door, were built when the skeuophylakion was already in place, it is hard to imagine what purpose the door could have served if not to give direct access to the skeuophylakion rotunda.

Since its excavation the skeuophylakion has been completely repointed, making further analysis difficult.⁹² So that is where the archeological evidence stands at present.

IV. The Skeuophylakion in the Literary Sources

Just how the liturgical ministers went to and from the skeuophylakion and Hagia Sophia remains problematic also in the literary sources. Either they do not describe the route clearly, or, when they seem to, demolitions, alterations, additions, and especially repairs, to the outside walls of the basilica and to the structures surrounding or adjacent to its eastern and northern sides,⁹³ have made it impossible to locate all the stages they identify along the way.

1. *The De Cerimoniis*:

One of the earliest literary sources witnessing to the skeuophylakion in actual ceremonial use, the 10th-century *De ceremoniis* I, 1 and 44 (35), describes the im-

⁹² Mainstone 137.

⁹³ See the comments in Mango, *Brazen House* 72; Majeska, *Russian Travelers* 223.

perial ceremonial for Holy Saturday and Annunciation.⁹⁴ Though both descriptions are basically the same, I cite the latter because it is more circumstantial. At the third hour the emperor begins his progress towards Hagia Sophia. Going first to the Holy Well located just off the vestibule at the southeast end of the church, he enters and is greeted by the patriarch. Then both enter the basilica, doubtless by the Bronze Door leading into the south aisle at the east end of the church, and go into the sanctuary via the central, Holy Doors of the chancel:

1. ... ἐξέρχεται διὰ τῆς μικρᾶς πύλης τῆς χαλκῆς τοῦ χυτοῦ, καὶ ἀπέρχεται μέχρι τοῦ Ἀγίου Φρέατος... Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς εἰσελθὼν ἐν τῷ Ἀγίῳ Φρέατι καὶ ἅψας κηρούς, δέχεται παρὰ τοῦ πατριάρχου ἐν τῷ Ἀγίῳ Φρέατι, 2. καὶ προσκυνήσαντες ἀμφοτέρω ἀλλήλους καὶ ἀσπασάμενοι, εἰσέρχονται εἰς τὸν ναόν, καὶ ἀπελθόντες μέχρι τῶν ἁγίων θυρῶν, ὁ μὲν πατριάρχης εἰσέρχεται εἰς τὸ θυσιαστήριον, ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς, στὰς ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ἁγίων θυρῶν, καὶ ἅψας κηρούς καὶ εὐξάμενος, εἰσέρχεται εἰς τὸ θυσιαστήριον, καὶ μετὰ τὸ ὑπαλλάξαι τὴν ἁγίαν τράπεζαν τὰς αὐτῆς ἐνδυτάς, λαμβάνει παρὰ τοῦ πραιποσίτου χρυσοῦ λίτρας ρ', καὶ τίθησιν αὐτὰς εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν τράπεζαν ἐν τῷ βαθμιδίῳ ἐν ᾧ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἵσταται, καὶ ἡνίκα ὑπαλλάξῃ τὴν ἁγίαν τράπεζαν...

3. ... εἶτα λαβὼν παρὰ τοῦ πατριάρχου θυμιατόν, θυμιᾷ ἐκ τρίτου τὸ θυσιαστήριον κυκλόθεν, 4. καὶ ἐξέρχεται διὰ τοῦ ἀριστεροῦ μέρους τῆς πλαγίας, καὶ ἀπέρχεται εἰς τὸ σκευοφυλάκιον. 5. Εἰσελθὼν δὲ καὶ ἅψας κηρούς εὐχεται, καὶ εὐξάμενος θυμιᾷ τὰ σκεύη ἅπαντα, καὶ

1. ... He [the emperor] ... goes out via the small door of the corridor of the Chalke and goes to the Holy Well ... The emperor, after entering the Holy Well and lighting candles, is received by the patriarch in the Holy Well. 2. And both of them, after bowing to each other and embracing, enter the church, and go up to the Holy Doors. The patriarch enters the sanctuary, but the emperor, standing before the Holy Doors, first lights candles and prays, then enters the sanctuary. And after dressing the holy altar with its altar-cloths, he receives from the praepositus one hundred pounds of gold which he puts on the holy altar, on the step where he stood while dressing the holy altar ...

3. ... Then [the emperor], taking a thurible from the patriarch, incenses three times around the sanctuary, 4. and goes out by the left [i.e., north] side and goes off to the skeuophylakion. 5. Entering and lighting candles, he prays, and after praying, incenses all the vessels, and sits down for a short

94 Vogt I, 27-28, 170-71.

καθεζέται μικρὸν μετὰ τοῦ πατριάρχου. 6. Εἴθ' οὕτως εἰσέρχονται οἱ τοῦ κουβουκλείου καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ ἄρχοντες οἱ κατὰ συνήθειαν εἰσιόντες, λαμβάνουσι παρὰ τοῦ σκευοφύλακος νάρδον, 7. καὶ εἴθ' οὕτως ἀνίσταται ὁ βασιλεὺς, καὶ ἐξελθὼν ἀπὸ τοῦ σκευοφυλακίου, διέρχεται διὰ τοῦ γυναικίτου νάρθηκος, ἐν ᾧ καὶ τὴν συνήθη στάσιν κέκτληται αἱ τῆς αὐτῆς Μεγάλης Ἐκκλησίας διακόνισσαι, 8. καὶ ἐξέρχεται διὰ τῆς ἀριστερᾶς πύλης τοῦ βήματος καὶ ἐπιδίδωσιν αὐτῷ ὁ πατριάρχης εὐλογίας. 9. Καὶ διελθόντες ἀμφότεροι διὰ τοῦ ὀπισθεν τοῦ βήματος στενοῦ διαβατικοῦ τοῦ Ἁγίου Νικολάου, ἀπέρχονται μέχρι τοῦ Ἁγίου Φρέατος, καὶ αὐθις ἐπιδούς ὁ πατριάρχης τῷ βασιλεῖ εὐλογίας, καὶ ἀμφότεροι ἀσπασάμενοι, ἐξέρχεται μὲν ὁ βασιλεὺς, δηριγευόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν προειρημένων πάντων ...⁹⁵

while with the patriarch. 6. At this, the chamberlains and the other dignitaries who customarily enter come in and receive nard from the sacristan.⁹⁶ 7. Then the emperor rises, and going out of the skeuophylakion, he passes through the narthex of the gynaeceum where the deaconesses of the Great Church have their customary place, 8. and goes out by the left door of the bema and the patriarch gives him the eulogia. 9. And going via the narrow Passage of St. Nicholas located behind the bema, both of them go off to the Holy Well, and when the patriarch has given the emperor the eulogia again and both have exchanged with each other the kiss, the emperor leaves, escorted by all the above-mentioned [dignitaries]...

Let us see if we can make some sense of this description:

1. Crossing over to Hagia Sophia from the Chalke Gate of the palace directly south of the east end of the basilica,⁹⁷ the emperor enters the shrine of the Holy Well just off the northeast aisle of the church, where the patriarch awaits him (1).
2. Together they go into the basilica (probably through the southeast door, though the route is not specified), and enter the sanctuary via the central Holy Doors of the chancel. The emperor dresses the altar, makes offerings (2), and incenses the sanctuary (3).
3. After this, they both go off to the skeuophylakion via the left (north) side (4), where the emperor again performs his devotions and incenses, then sits for a moment with the patriarch (5), at which point the dignitaries enter to receive the nard from him (6).

95 Vogt I, 170-71.

96 On the skeuophylax or skeuophylakos of the Great Church, an imperial appointee, see Darrouzès, *Recherches* 85 note 3, 314-18.

97 See note 17 above.

4. Then they leave the skeuophylakion and re-enter the left (north) side of the church (7). Only the emperor is mentioned, but the patriarch must have accompanied him, for immediately thereafter we see them together in the church (8).
5. How did the patriarch and imperial party go out of the church? One could infer that they went to and from the skeuophylakion by a different route, for only on their return does the text have them pass through the gynaeceum narthex (7), mentioned here for the first time.
6. The narthex of the gynaeceum can only have been located outside one of the three church doors within easy range of the skeuophylakion, i.e. [1] in the relatively narrow (5 m wide) strip between the skeuophylakion and the small door directly across from it in the north wall of the church⁹⁸; [2] in front of the main doors in the center of the north aisle; [3] in the forehalls outside the door at the east end of the north aisle. I shall return to this point below in sections A.IV.3, A.V.
7. So it seems more likely that the imperial party went out to the skeuophylakion through the now bricked-in door in the north wall of the side aisle a scant 5 m from the skeuophylakion and returned via the central door of the north aisle, or via the door at the east end of the same aisle. Though the pre-

98 On this door see Antoniadès II, 146-53; Dirimtekin, "Skeuophylakion," 393. Moran makes much of the difference in floor level between the basilica and the skeuophylakion as an obstacle to communicating between the two edifices: "Justinian built his church upon the rubble of the older church and therefore the original floor level of the skeuophylakion is lower than that of the church. To judge by the plan published by Emerson Swift (fig. 34) and Dirimtekin (plan 2), this difference could be as much as four meters": Moran, "Skeuophylakion," 31; also id., "Gestaltung," 178-79. The present outside entrance to the skeuophylakion at the actual ground level, well above the rotunda's original ground-floor level (Van Nice pl. 4; Mainstone 138 pl. 161), can be discounted. It dates from Turkish times (Mainstone 137, 138 pl. 161), and neither it nor the present ground level has anything to do with the original Byzantine building and its use, as has been shown in the latest excavations, reported by S. Türkoglu (note 69 above). The skeuophylakion interior floor-level before being excavated was six meters higher than the level of the nave, but that is not the original level either of the ground or of the skeuophylakion floor. As the recent excavation of the skeuophylakion interior has shown, however, its floor level is in fact *higher* than that of Justinian's basilica, though hardly enough to cause a problem. Justinian's Hagia Sophia, the third on the site, was built on the ruins of the previous Hagia Sophia that burned down in the Nike riot of January 523 (Mathews, *Early Churches* 12-14; Mainstone 129, 133-34: the original basilica of Constantius, consecrated in 360, was burned in 404 in the riots accompanying Chrysostom's exile and rebuilt and rededicated as the second, "Theodosian" H. Sophia in 415). But Mainstone (136) says that the original floor level of the skeuophylakion is "only slightly above that of the [present] church," and trial holes in the nave of Hagia Sophia have shown natural bed-rock not far below the present floor level (cf. the post-excavation plan in Mainstone 277 plan A8, cf. 137); which shows no significant difference in floor level between the two edifices. So even if the slight difference in floor level may have required anyone going from one to the other via the small door in the northeast bay of Hagia Sophia to use steps, as Majeska (*Russian Travelers* 219, cf. 182-83) has suggested, there could not have been many of them. But unless someone finds a way of removing the counterfort that now blocks this whole area, we shall probably never know.

sent state of the evidence does not permit a resolution of this issue, the latter solution seems more likely (see section A.V.2 below).

8. From the gynaecium-narthex the emperor must have entered the sanctuary, since he is said to go out of it via the left chancel door to receive the eulogia from the patriarch (8), then both enter the Passage of St. Nicholas (9).
9. The emperor and patriarch obviously entered this passage at its northeast end, since from there they cross to the Holy Well at the opposite, southeast corner of the church (9).
10. So having first entered the sanctuary from the southeast, the emperor exits (4), reenters (7), and again leaves (8) the sanctuary via its north side, i.e., the left side as one faces east. Since the text specifies him using the left chancel door only when leaving the sanctuary for good (8), it is possible that in going from sanctuary to skeuophylakion (4) and back (7), he did not pass through the chancel door but used the passage through the northeasternmost pier abutting the east wall of the church beside the apse, a passage that communicates between the sanctuary and the eastern extremity of the north aisle.⁹⁹
11. I would infer from this description that the most logical route for the imperial party to have taken from the skeuophylakion to the sanctuary and then out again via the left chancel door, would have been to pass through the gynaecium-narthex, probably located just outside the east end of the north aisle (see section A.V), reenter the church via the northeast door, pass through the northeast secondary pier into the sanctuary, then out again via the left (north) chancel gate, through the door at the east end of the north aisle, then, in the vestibule, immediately right through the door into the Passageway of St. Nicholas.
12. The text does not say how the imperial cortège entered and exited the skeuophylakion itself.

2. *The Bessarion Euchology* (12th c.):

One document, however, might seem to support the inference that the skeuophylakion of Hagia Sophia had more than one entrance. The patriarchal euchology of the early 12th-century "Bessarion Codex" *Grottaferrata Γβ I*, describes the baptismal ritual at Holy Saturday vespers in Hagia Sophia as follows:

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. Μετὰ τὸ γενέσθαι τὴν εἴσοδον τοῦ
λυχνικοῦ καὶ τὴν Α' καθέδραν
ἀρξαμένου τοῦ Β' ἀναγνώσματος | 1. And after the introit of vespers and
the first session [of the vigil lessons], at
the beginning of the second lesson, |
|--|--|

⁹⁹ Van Nice pl. 11; Mainstone 271 pl. A2, 232-33 pl. 252. Of course if the prothesis were located where Moran suggests, it would effectively block this route (see below, sections B.II text § 10, B.III.5).

τοῦ Φωτίζου 2. κατερχόμενος ὁ πατριάρχης ἀπὸ τοῦ συνθρόνου εἰσέρχεται διὰ τοῦ σκευοφυλακίου ἐν τῷ ἀποδυτῷ τοῦ μεγάλου βαπτιστηρίου καὶ ἀλάσσω βάλλει λευκὴν στολὴν καὶ ὑποδήματα λευκὰ 3. καὶ ἀπέρχονται ἐν τῇ κολυμβήθρᾳ θυμᾶ κύκλω καὶ ἀποδιδούς τὸν θυμιατὸν σφραγίζει εὐχόμενος μετὰ κηρῶν τρίτον γινομένης ὑπὸ ἀρχidiaκόνου συναπτῆς.¹⁰⁰

"Shine" (LXX Is 60:1-16), 2. the patriarch descends from the synthronon and enters the vestry of the Great Baptistry via the skeuophylakion and changes, putting on a white vestment and slippers, 3. and goes off to the pool, incenses around [it], and hands back the thurible and blesses three times with the candles while the arch-deacon is chanting the synapte.

Then the patriarch blesses the baptismal water and baptizes the candidates, after which the rubrics resume:

4. Καὶ μετὰ τὴν εὐχὴν ταύτην ἀποδύεται τὴν στολὴν τῶν βαπτισμάτων καὶ βάλλει τὰ τῆς λειτουργίας καὶ ὑπάγει εἰς τὸν ἅγιον Πέτρον καὶ τοῦ ψάλτου λέγοντος: "Ὅσοι εἰς Χριστὸν ἐβαπτίσθητε, χρίει τῷ ἁγίῳ μύρῳ τοὺς βαπτισθέντας... 5. Καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο συμψάλλων τοῖς ὀρφανοῖς τὸ Μακάριοι ὧν ἀφέθησαν, εἰσέρχεται μετὰ τῶν νεοφωτίστων εἰς τὴν εἴσοδον καὶ τελεῖ ἀκολούθως τὴν θεῖαν λειτουργίαν.¹⁰¹

4. And after this prayer he [the patriarch] removes his baptismal vestments and puts on those of the [eucharistic] liturgy and goes off to St. Peter's. And while the psalmist chants "All who have been baptized into Christ ..." (Gal 3:27) he chrismates the [newly] baptized with the holy myron ... 5. And after this, while the orphans chant together, "Blessed are they whose [transgressions] are forgiven ..." (Ps 31/32:1), he makes the introit [into H. Sophia]¹⁰² with the neophytes, and celebrates the rest of the Divine Liturgy according to the ritual.

The patriarch's displacements in these rubrics can be retraced as follows:

100 Arranz, *Eucologio* 182; id., "Sacraments," I.6:74-75; Goar 291bis; cf. Mateos, *Typicon* II, 84-85; Majeska, "Skeuophylakion," 4; Taft, *Great Entrance* 199 note 68.

101 Arranz, *Eucologio* 190-91; id., "Sacraments," I.8:80-82, 100; cf. Mateos, *Typicon* II, 84-85.

102 It is not clear whether the procession entered via the main west doors in the narthex, or through the door in the middle of the north aisle, which would have been nearer. The *Typikon* of the Great Church speaks of this εἴσοδος (Mateos, *Typicon* II, 86) as entering εἰς τοὺς μέσους πυλῶνας (*ibid.* II, 88). Mateos takes this to mean the main west doors (*ibid.* II, 87 note 2, 89 note 3), but he thought the Great Baptistry was the still extant one to the southwest (*ibid.* II, 291), making this the nearest entrance. That would not be true, however, of an introit from the no-longer extant north baptistry. Cf. Bertoniere, *Easter Vigil* 133-35.

1. After the first lesson of the Easter Vigil (1), he descends from the synthronon behind the altar in the apse of Hagia Sophia (2),
 2. leaves the sanctuary via the left (north) side (2), probably via the side-door of the chancel,
 3. goes out of the church in the direction of the skeuophylakion (2), probably via the small door in the north wall of the northeast bay,
 4. passes by (or through) the skeuophylakion (2),
 5. and enters the vestry of the Great Baptistry to vest for baptism (2).
 6. When vested, he goes to the baptismal pool to baptize (3).
 7. After the baptisms he returns to the vestry to change again (4),
 8. goes off to St. Peter's to chrismate the newly-baptized (4),
 9. then leads them into Hagia Sophia in solemn procession for the eucharist (5).
- Since the patriarch goes to the Great Baptistry "through (διὰ) the skeuophylakion" (2), one could infer that he enters the treasury from Hagia Sophia via one door and exits by another to enter the Great Baptistry. One might also reasonably infer that the door the patriarch entered was nearer to the door by which he left Hagia Sophia, the other one nearer to where he was headed, the no longer extant Great Baptistry, also located on the north side of the church beyond the skeuophylakion (A.I.5 above).

If the skeuophylakion of Hagia Sophia did have two entrances, the phenomenon would not have been unique. The Blachernai skeuophylakion had two, one of which gave access to the structure from outside without having to go through the church.¹⁰³ Theotokos in Blachernai was furnished with baths where the emperor traditionally bathed on Fridays.¹⁰⁴ *De cerimoniis* II, 12, describes the ritual.¹⁰⁵ After first entering the sanctuary of the church and performing the usual devotions there, the sovereigns:

<p>...διέρχονται διὰ τοῦ πρὸς ἀνατολὴν δεξιῶν μέρους τοῦ βήματος καὶ τοῦ σκευοφυλακίου, καὶ εἰσέρχονται εἰς τὸν νάρθηκα τῆς ἁγίας σοφοῦ...¹⁰⁶</p>	<p>...cross through the right side, to the east, of the bema and skeuophylakion, and enter the narthex of [the chapel of the] Holy Coffer...</p>
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There too, they perform their devotions before going off to bathe. The Soros Shrine or Chapel of the Holy Coffer of the robe (μαφόριον) of the Theotokos was a distinct edifice within the Blachernai complex, located to the south of the main church, and its narthex could be entered by going through the sanctuary and skeuophylakion located, apparently, on the south side of the church and not

103 On this complex see Janin, *Églises* 161-71; C. Mango, "Blachernai, Church and Palace of," ODB 1:293; Taft, *Great Entrance* 183-84, 190.

104 Janin, *Églises* 166, 162, 170.

105 Reiske 551-56.

106 Reiske 552.

on the northeast, as in Hagia Sophia.¹⁰⁷ It was probably located there so it could serve both sanctuaries, Theotokos in Blachernai and the Soros. Whether it was a separate edifice or just an auxiliary chamber attached to the basilica is unknown, but there is no evidence for side-apses or pastophoria in Blachernai.¹⁰⁸

I am not sure, however, that one must interpret passing διὰ τοῦ σκευοφυλακίου as literally going the *through* the building, i.e., going into it via one door and out by another. I think it could equally well mean that the cortège passes by way of the rotunda, i.e., through the courtyard between it and the north wall of the basilica. *Dresden A 104* speaks similarly of the patriarch, on June 27, passing through St. Peter's to the hospice of St. Samson, another of the buildings between Hagia Sophia and Hagia Eirene¹⁰⁹:

Καὶ περὶ ὥραν α' κατέρχεται ὁ πατριάρχης διὰ τοῦ ἁγίου Πέτρου καὶ ἀνέρχεται εἰς τὸν ξενῶνα...¹¹⁰ And around the first hour the patriarch descends and goes through St. Peter's to the hospice...

I think one could just as easily understand this as meaning the patriarch passed via St. Peter's, without actually entering the building, though the other interpretation cannot be excluded, and in the absence of secure archeological data we must remain in the realm of speculation.

3. *Anthony of Novgorod (1200 AD):*

What we have seen is corroborated by another precious witness I neglected to exploit apropos of the skeuophylakion in my earlier study on the Great Entrance, the Russian pilgrim Anthony of Novgorod, who visited Hagia Sophia in 1200 to venerate the relics kept there. His tour, as he details it, makes a complete circle counter-clockwise around the Great-Church complex and its shrines, beginning and ending at the Holy Well in the southeast corner:

1. First of all we venerated Saint Sophia and kissed the two stone panels from the most holy sepulchre of the Lord and the seals of the tomb and the icon of the most holy Theotokos holding Christ, which a Jew had stabbed on the throat with a knife and blood flowed out.
2. And the blood of the Lord that issued from the icon we kissed in the prothesis (во олтарі маломъ). And in Saint Sophia in the prothesis are the blood and milk of St. Panteleimon... [here a series of relics are listed] ...
3. And there in the prothesis are the silver chariot of Constantine and Helena and other golden liturgical vessels with precious stones and pearls and many others of silver which are brought out for the liturgy every Sunday and on dominical feasts.
4. In the prothesis there is also water brought in from the well by pipes.

107 Janin, *Églises* 168.

108 For relevant data on this church see Taft, *Great Entrance* 161-62.

109 On the hospice see Janin, *Églises* 561-62; Dirimtekin, "Les fouilles" (note 60 above), 181-82.

110 Dmitrievskij, *Типиконы* 321; cf. Mateos, *Typicon* I, 322-23.

5. And at the outside of the door of the prothesis (въ ней двери олѣтаря малаго) stands the cross the same size that Christ on earth in the flesh was in height.¹¹¹

6. And behind that cross is buried Anna, who gave her house to St. Sophia (and on which [property] the prothesis is built) and for that reason she was buried there.¹¹²

7. And not far from this prothesis the Myrrhbearers sing, and there stands before them a great icon of the most pure Theotokos holding Christ...

8. And from there, on the same side, is the Church of the Holy Apostle Peter (И оттололъ на той жъ станъ церкви [variant: церковъ] естъ святаго апостола Петра), where St. Theophanides is buried, the one who kept the key of Hagia Sophia; and they kiss these very keys...

9. Near to the Myrrhbearers in St. Sophia is the small tomb of the child of St. Athinogenos. And there are no other tombs in St. Sophia save that one.

10. And from there, going toward the doors, is the column of St. Gregory Thaumaturgus...¹¹³

11. And further, near the doors and on a pedestal is portrayed a great image of the Savior in mosaic...

12. On the side of the doors (На странъ же дверей) stands a great icon, and on it is depicted Emperor Leo the Wise, and he has a precious stone in his forehead and it shines at night in St. Sophia...

13. At the Imperial Doors there is a bronze *romaniston*, that is to say a bolt by which the heavenly doors are locked and shut...

14. By the main altar (У олтаря же великаго) on the left side is the place where the angel of the Lord said to the young man, "I will not leave this place until St. Sophia stands [here]." In the same place three icons are placed, and on them are painted three angels, and many people pray to God there.

15. And near there is the place where they boil the sacred myron [over a fire kindled] with old icons whose saints are no longer recognizable, and with this myron they baptize the children.¹¹⁴

Anthony continues with a description of the sanctuary area and its furnishings, then lists the relics located in the porch outside the southeast end of the church:

16. In the porch (во притворъ) behind the sanctuary embedded in the wall is the upper panel of the Lord's tomb... There also is the icon on which the Jew cut Christ on the throat.¹¹⁵

These are none other than the Holy Sepulchre stone tomb panels and the bleeding icon of Christ mentioned at the beginning of the text (1) as the first relics the pilgrim venerated on arriving at Hagia Sophia.

From that starting point it is not difficult to trace the pilgrim's route through the basilica:

1. Approaching the Great Church complex from the southeast, by the Holy Well, Anthony first venerates the relics and images in the porch outside (1). I am not sure what this porch was, perhaps a forehall to the southeast en-

111 On this cross see the next section (A.IV.4).

112 That a widow Anna owned the property is confirmed by the 8/9th c. *Narratio de S. Sophia* 3, ed. Preger 77-78; cf. Mathews, *Early Churches* 160; Majeska, *Russian Travelers* 2 note 2.

113 See note 123 below.

114 Text Loparev 2-9.

115 Loparev 16.

trance.¹¹⁶ At any rate it was at the southeast end of the church, because the icon of Christ stabbed by the Jew was located at the Holy Well.¹¹⁷ And it must have been some place other than the nave, aisles and galleries of the church, since Anthony uses for this “porch” the exact same term (притворъ) as for the main narthex before the Imperial Doors, where Matins begin: предъ царьскими дверьми во притворъ.¹¹⁸

2. Then the pilgrim goes directly into the skeuophylakion to venerate the relics kept there, which he lists at considerable length along with other objects and the sacristy water supply (2-4).
3. Anthony does not say how he arrived at or entered the skeuophylakion, though he refers to its door (5).
4. But it is clear that the “prothesis” is a separate building, since Anna is buried there (6), and Anthony tells us explicitly that the only tomb inside Hagia Sophia is that of the child-saint Athinogenos (9).¹¹⁹ Equally clear from Anthony’s terminology is the fact that he still considers this outside skeuophylakion/prothesis as the place of the preparation of the gifts.¹²⁰
5. Near the skeuophylakion, Anthony continues, is the place where the myrrhbearing women sing (7). From his description this seems at first to be located outside the church somewhere between the skeuophylakion and the Church of St. Peter (identified in section A.I.6 above) which Anthony passes next, on the north side of Hagia Sophia (8). But then (9) he tells us the Myrrhbearers are inside the church near the tomb of St. Athinogenos. The seeming confusion probably results from the fact that Hagia Sophia had both a narthex (outside) and gynaeceum (inside) of the deaconesses. I shall return to this below (section A.V). Anthony tells us there is a large icon of the Theotokos with child in front of the Myrrhbearers (6), and the later Russian post-Crusader anonymous pilgrim account places what may be the same Marian image under a ciborium in the eastern half of the north aisle.¹²¹
6. Though Anthony had to be outside Hagia Sophia to visit the skeuophylakion (5, 7) and St. Peter’s (8), he had to reenter the basilica, probably by the doors

116 Mainstone 271 plan A2.

117 Majeska, *Russian Travelers* 136-39 and note 31, 304.

118 Loparev 17. On the meaning of this term, see Mango, *Brazen House* 67 note 179.

119 The complicated question of tombs or saints’ bodily relics inside H. Sophia is beyond the scope of our study. Later sources place the tomb of St. Arsenius, patriarch of Constantinople (1254-59, 1261-65) in the H. Sophia sanctuary (Majeska, *Russian Travelers* 30-31, 160-61, 182-83, 221-22, 228), but of course that is after Anthony’s visit. On the whole question see *ibid.* 227-28.

120 Majeska, “Skeuophylakion,” 1-2 and note 4.

121 Majeska, *Russian Travelers* 132-33, 215-16. Majeska locates Anthony’s icon outside the basilica, near St. Peter’s, but I see no need to interpret Anthony’s text in that way.

in the center of the north aisle, for we next see the pilgrim progressing westward down the north aisle past the “column of St. Gregory Thaumaturgus” also referred to in the 8/9th-century *Narratio de S. Sophia* 5.¹²² This pillar, which supposedly contained the body of the saint, was the northwesternmost free-standing column of H. Sophia, at the northwest corner of the north (left) aisle by the northwest door to the narthex,¹²³ to which Anthony exits in order to examine the imperial Doors (10-13).

7. From the narthex he reenters the church and returns to the left (north) side of the sanctuary area where the skeuophylakion is located (14), and where I presume the myron was cooked (15), in the oven that was there.¹²⁴
8. Returning to where he began (1), Anthony again speaks of the porch with the stabbed icon at the southeast entrance where he had first entered the church (16).

How many doors does the skeuophylakion have in Anthony’s account? His reference to *въ ней двери олтаря малаго* (5) has been taken to mean there must have been two doors, an outside one and an inside one. But there is no mention of a second, “inside door,” and since *двери* could be either genitive or prepositional, the text could be interpreted to mean either “at the outside door of the prothesis” or “at the outside of the door of the prothesis.” At any rate the point the text is trying to make is clear: the Christ-size cross is located on the outside wall of the rotunda by the one door of the prothesis rather than inside it. So Anthony’s text is no proof of a second door.

4. *The “Anonymous Mercati” (mid -11th c.):*

An earlier Latin text, the “Anonymus Mercati,” provides independent confirmation of Anthony’s account.¹²⁵ The Greek original, dating from between 1063-1081, was translated into Latin ca. 1089-1096 by a western, most likely English pilgrim.¹²⁶ The text describes the skeuophylakion door with its cross

122 Preger 79-80.

123 Majeska, *Russian Travelers* 212-15, 217 and “H” in plan I facing p. 199; Antoniadès II, 205, 226-7 and photograph in pl. 62 facing p. 226; Van Nice pl. 9. On saints’ relics in the columns of H. Sophia see also the “Anonymous Mercati” 3.109-110, ed. Ciggaar (note 125 below) 249.

124 See the 10/11th c. codex *Dresden A 104*, Dmitrievskij, *Титулы* 149-50, 159 (right col.); cf. A. A. Dmitrievskij, ‘Ο ἄγιος φοῦρνος, *Vizantijskij vremennik* 24 (1923-1926) 139-140; G. Mercati, “Il santo forno,” in id., *Notizie di Procoro e Demetrio Cedone, Manuele Celeca e Teodoro di Meliteniota, ed altri appunti per la storia della teologia e della letteratura bizantina del secolo XIV* (Studi e testi 56, Vatican 1931) 295-296; Taft, *Great Entrance* 191 note 49; Darrouzès, *Recherches* 47, 316 note 5, 354 note 2; Mathews, *Early Churches* 160. The oven was also used to burn old icons and destroy the spoiled eucharistic species: Majeska, “Skeuophylakon,” 2-3.

125 K. N. Ciggaar, “Une description de Constantinople traduite par un pèlerin anglais,” *REB* 34 (1976) 211-267.

126 *Ibid.* 214-15, 219, 221, 225-32.

the height of Christ, as well as the stones from the Holy Sepulchre that Anthony mentions:

1. Et fecit de longitudine Christi Iustinianus imperator crucem et ornavit eam argento et auro et lapidibus preciosis et deauravit eam. Et statuit eam iuxta ostium gazophilacii ubi sunt omnia sacra vasa et thesaurus magnae ecclesiae similiter et omnia predicta sanctuaria. 2. In dextera autem parte altaris templi extra in pariete est hostium monumenti Domini et clavis et serratura et signacula cum quibus signaverunt Iudei sepulchrum Domini. 3. Intus autem in pariete sunt sanctuaria de passione Domini et sacrae reliquiae diversorum sanctorum. 4. Supra autem sanctuarium est positum hostium monumenti Domini et signacula... 5. Iuxta ipsius loci parietem est imago Christi et Dei nostri. Fecit autem Deus magnum miraculum per illam... Hoc est igitur, fratres karissimi, miraculum Christi. 6. In isto loco in quo est predicta imago est petra de ore putei Iacob, in quo sedet Dominus noster *Ihesus Christus* quando fuit lucutus cum Samaritana... 7. Et in ipso loco in angulo est imago sanctae sanctarum Dei genitricis Mariae quae portat in ulnis suis Dominum nostrum Ihesum Christum quem percussit quidam Iudeus cum cultello in gutture *Christi* et continuo exivit sanguis.¹²⁷

1. And the emperor Justinian made a cross the height of Christ, and decorated it with silver and gold and precious stones, and gilded it. And he placed it beside the door of the gazophylakion where all the sacred vessels and treasure of the Great Church are, and all the above mentioned relics.

2. And on the right side of the altar of the church, in the wall outside, is the door of the Lord's tomb, and the key and the lock and the seals with which the Jews sealed the Lord's sepulchre.

3. But in the wall inside are the relics of the Lord's passion and the sacred relics of various saints. 4. And above the sanctuary is placed the door and seals of the Lord's tomb...

5. By the wall of the same place is an image of our Christ and God. And God performed a great miracle through it... [the miracle story is recounted]. And so that, dear brethren, is Christ's miracle. 6. In that place where the above-mentioned image is, is also the stone from the mouth of Jacob's Well on which Our Lord Jesus Christ sat when he spoke with the Samaritan woman... 7. And in the same place in the corner is the image of the most holy Mother of God Mary, who is holding in her arms Jesus Christ whom a certain Jew stabbed in the throat with a knife, and blood still flows from it.

127 *Ibid.* 246.14-247.31, 248.76-85 (numbers added).

The text goes on to relate the legend of the Jew stabbing the throat of Christ in the image Anthony also locates at the northeast extremity of the church.¹²⁸

From this description of the east end of Hagia Sophia we see:

1. The skeuophylakion or treasury has a Christ-size cross at its door, exactly as in the account of Anthony (1).
2. On the right (south) side of the sanctuary, in the outside wall (2, 6), was the great stone and other objects used to close and seal the mouth of Jesus' tomb (Mt 27:60, 28:2; Mk 15:46, 16:3-4; Lk 24:2; Jn 20:1). They seem to have been placed a certain distance up the wall, since they are "above the sanctuary" (4).
3. In the same area is the image of Christ supposedly stabbed by the Jew (5, 7).
4. In the same place is the stone that supposedly covered Jacob's Well (6), which we know from other sources was in the Holy Well directly outside the south-east door of Hagia Sophia.

All this confirms what we saw in Anthony, though this account, too, says nothing, about a second door into the skeuophylakion.

V. Excursus: The Place Where the Myrrhbearers sing

1. *The Gynaeceum of the Deaconesses:*

Is the Narthex and/or Gynaeceum of the Deaconesses to be identified with Anthony's place where the Myrrhbearers sing (5)? Presuming that Anthony's Myrrhbearers are the deaconesses, they doubtless assisted at the liturgy in a section of the gynaeceum reserved for them. As members of the clergy they were certainly not constrained to attend services in some narthex. This would not only be incongruous with the deaconesses' rank, but pointless: what could possibly be the purpose of having the women singing *outside* the church?¹²⁹ So I would infer that Anthony's place where the Myrrhbearers sing is identical with the "gynaeceum where the deaconesses have their customary place" in *De ceremoniis* I, 44 (35).

Secondly, it is clear in *De ceremoniis* I, 44 (35) that the deaconesses' narthex and gynaeceum are two different but contiguous locales, one presumably outside, the other inside Hagia Sophia's north aisle. Since *De ceremoniis* I, 1 (10),

¹²⁸ *Ibid.* 248-49.

¹²⁹ Indeed, since Sozomen, *Hist. eccles.* VII, 16.11-15, Sozomenus, *Kirchengeschichte*, ed. J. Bidez with G. Ch. Hansen (GCS 50, Berlin 1960) 324, informs us that women in the ministry should be at least 60 years old, one might ask what was the point of having them singing at all. On the question of women's choirs in Christian worship in Late Antiquity, see J. Quasten, *Music and Worship in Pagan & Christian Antiquity* (NPM Studies in Church Music and Liturgy, Washington, D.C. 1983) 75-87. N. K. Moran, *Singers in Late Byzantine and Slavonic Painting* (Byzantina Neerlandica fasc. 9, Leiden 1986), does not discuss the choir of deaconesses or the singing of women in church in Byzantium (indeed, there is no entry for either "deaconess" or "women" in the index).

identifies this same left (north) ground-floor aisle of Holy Apostles and Chalkoprateia as the gynaeceum,¹³⁰ one may conclude that the north aisle was also considered gynaeceum-space in Hagia Sophia, and that the Gynaeceum of the Deaconesses most likely occupied the eastern half or at least the easternmost bay of the north aisle, opposite the imperial metatorion on the other side of the church in the east bay of the south aisle.¹³¹ Since Justinian limited to forty the deaconesses ministering (though probably not all together in the same shift) at Hagia Sophia and the three other patriarchal churches served by the clergy of the Great Church (Hagia Eirene, Chalkoprateia, Hagios Theodoros of Sphorakios),¹³² the space reserved for their use must have been large enough to hold a fair number of people.

2. *The Narthex of the Deaconesses:*

Since it is logical to suppose that this Gynaeceum of the Deaconesses was just inside the church from the Narthex of the Deaconesses, the latter must have been a forehall or chamber located outside the main body of the church: *De ceremoniis* I, 44 (35), calls it a “narthex” (A.IV.1 § 7), Anthony a притворъ or “porch” (6). Just where this “porch” or “narthex” was located is not certain, but we may safely infer it was located at the entrance to the Gynaeceum of the Deaconesses – i.e., somewhere just outside the eastern half of the north aisle of the basilica. Though Anthony’s description could be taken as implying it was either between the skeuophylakion and the door right across from it in the middle of the southeast bay of Hagia Sophia, or just outside the north-central doors (see section A.IV.1), Dirimtekin would locate it in the outbuildings that once surrounded the northeast entrance of the church just north of the apse, proposing, on the basis of his excavations there, one of the forehalls one had to pass through to go from outside into the northeast bay of the church via the northeastern door.¹³³ The available evidence does not permit a definitive resolution of this issue.

Perhaps we may draw a parallel from a text not long before Anthony of Novgorod’s visit to the capital in 1200. Byzantine canonist Theodore Balsamon (ca. 1130/40–† *post* 1195), commenting that women in menstruation are allowed to

130 Vogt I, 24–25, 69–70.

131 Mathews, *Early Churches* 96 fig. 50, 132, 134; and Mainstone 223–26 and fig. 59, 249, 252; both locate the ground-floor metatorion of H. Sophia in the south aisle, though not in the same bay, a difference irrelevant for our purposes here. On the location of the ground-floor metatorion see also Mango, *Brazen House* 64, 72 and note 198; Strube, *Eingangseite* 73–81, 163–64.

132 See R. Schoell, G. Kroll (eds.), *Corpus Iuris Civilis*, III, *Novellae* (Berlin 1899) 20–21; cf. Taft, *Great Entrance* 200–1 note 71.

133 Dirimtekin, “Skeuophylakion,” 396–98 and plan 3. Majeska, *Russian Travelers* 228, conflates both spaces and locates them in the northeast exedra.

pray but should not enter the church proper (εἰς ναὸν θεοῦ εἰσιέναι...οὐ δεῖ) describes Byzantine practice as follows:

1. ...βλέπομεν σήμερον εἰς τὰ γυναικεῖα καὶ μᾶλλον μοναστήρια ἀδεῶς ταιαύτας ἵσταμένας γυναῖκας εἰς τοὺς προνόους παντοίαις ἀγίαις εἰκόσι κεκαλλωπισμένους, καὶ εἰς δοξολογίαν Θεοῦ ἀπονεμηθέντας. 2. καὶ ἐρωτῶντες ὅπως τοῦτο γίνεται, ἀκούομεν μὴ ἐκκλησιάζειν αὐτάς, ὅπερ ἐμοὶ τέως οὐ δοκεῖ. 3. Οὐ γάρ εἰσιν οἱ πρόναοι κοινοὶ ὡς τὰ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν προαύλια, ἀλλὰ μέρος αὐτῶν ἀπονομηθὲν ταῖς γυναιξὶ ταῖς μὴ κωλυόμεναις ἐκκλησιάζειν. 4. Ὅς δὴ πρόναος τόπος δευτέρως ἐστὶ μετανοίας, ὁ τῶν ἀκροωμένων λεγόμενος. Καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ οὐδὲ ἀνδράσιν ἐφεῖται ἵστασθαι, ἐπιτιμηθεῖσι μὴ ἐκκλησιάζειν, ἀλλὰ ἔξωθεν αὐτοῦ προσκλαίειν. 5. Ἐδεῖ γοῦν τοὺς τοιούτους προνόους εἰς οὓς αἱ τοιαῦται ἀκάθαρτοι γυναῖκες ἔμελλον ἵστασθαι, μὴ ἀναπληροῦν τόπον ἐκκλησιῶν ἐξ ὀρθοῦ, 6. ὥστε καὶ ἱερεῖς μετὰ τῶν θείων ἀγιασμάτων διέρχεσθαι κατὰ τὸν Χερουβικὸν ὕμνον, 7. καὶ θυμῶν τοὺς ἐν τούτῳ ἴσως ὄντας τάφους καὶ ἀγίους, 8. καὶ τελευτὰς ἀγίων εὐχῶν ποιεῖν. 9. ἢ καὶ μετὰ ἐπισκοπικῆς ἐπιτροπῆς τοὺς τοιούτους τόπους ἀφορίζεσθαι, ὥστε ἀποκριματίστως ἵστασθαι ἐν αὐτοῖς τὰς ἀκαθάρτους γυναῖκας.¹³⁴

1. Today we see such [menstruating] women in gynaecea and especially in monasteries standing freely in the vestibules, which are decorated with all sorts of sacred images, and devoting themselves to the praises of God. 2. And inquiring how this can be, we hear that they are not attending church – which does not seem so to me. 3. For these vestibules are not for common use like the forecourts of the churches, but are a part of them set aside for women who are not prevented from attending church. 4. This vestibule is the place of second penance, called that of the hearers. Nor are men excluded by penance from attending church permitted to stand in it; they must do their weeping outside of it. 5. It is fitting, then, that these vestibules in which such unclean women are to stand not directly occupy space in churches, 6. so that the priests may pass through with the divine gifts during the Cherubic Hymn, 7. and incense the tombs and saints which might be in this [church space], 8. and complete the holy prayers; 9. or that under the bishop's direction such places [not directly in the churches] should be set apart so that the unclean women may stand in them without condemnation.

134 In *epist. S. Dionysii Alexandrini ad Basilidem episcopum*, canon 2, PG 138: 465C-468A. I am grateful to Sharon Gerstel for suggesting I take a second look at my earlier translation and interpretation of this text (Taft, *Great Entrance* 199-200), both of which I substantially modify here; and especially to Jeffrey Featherstone for his suggestions on how to translate and interpret the text.

From Balsamon's text we can extract the following information:

1. In the 12th century a pronaos or inner narthex¹³⁵ of some Byzantine churches was the place assigned to women not in menstruation and thus permitted to attend church (3).
2. Though it had become common for menstruating women to stand there as well (1), on the pretext that they were "not attending church" (2), Balsamon insists that they be allowed only in a more distant pronaos, separate from the church proper (5).
3. If a church is lacking such a separate pronaos, the bishop is to reserve some other separate place for them to stand without condemnation (9), so that during the singing of the Cherubicon, i.e., during the Great Entrance, the clergy can pass through the pronaos bearing the holy gifts (6), or incense the tombs and sacred images there (7), without fear of "ritual contamination." Balsamon must mean here the pronaos of the women allowed to attend church, for it is hardly imaginable that the clergy passed through space restricted to those considered "ritually impure" at one of the most solemn moments of the Divine Liturgy.
4. Still, sections 6-7 are not altogether clear from a liturgical standpoint. Balsamon clearly states that the priests incense the tombs in the pronaos where the women are (7), or pass through it bearing the gifts during the Great Entrance procession – which is one more reason why the women in menstruation should not "directly occupy space in the churches" (5). But after the Great Entrance the priests "complete the holy prayers" (7). That must mean the preanaphoral rites, anaphora, etc., which take place in the sanctuary, and certainly not in the pronaos. Furthermore, though one can easily imagine the ministers going into the traditional western inner narthex to incense the tombs and sacred images there, it is by no means clear what the priests could be doing passing through that narthex during the Great Entrance – *unless Balsamon means not the narthex across the west end of the church but a "women's narthex" leading into the north aisle* through which the clergy bearing the gifts could have passed when entering from an outside skeuophylakion. Not only Hagia Sophia but also the Nea church, had a gynaeceum narthex in addition to the usual one at the west end.¹³⁶

135 Πρόναος is generally taken to mean narthex (cf. G. W. H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon* [Oxford 1961] 1138), as in the *Vita* of Maximus Confessor (R. Devreesse, "La vie de S. Maxime le confesseur et ses révisions," *Analecta Bollandiana* 46 [1928] 22 line 6 = BHG 1234), and here in Balsamon, referring to what seems to be the narthex of Hagia Sophia.

136 *De cerimoniis* I, 28 (19), Vogt I, 109, describes a ground-floor gynaeceum with an oratory (προσευχάδιον), through both of which the sovereigns pass to reach a narthex on the side of the sea (διερχόμενοι διὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ γυναικίτου ... εἰσέρχονται ἐν τῷ ἐκεῖσε προσευχαδίῳ, καθεῖθεν ἐκβαίνοντες εἰς τὸν πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν νάρθηκα). This narthex had a curtained area with seats for the sovereigns, from which they listened to the proclamation of the Gospel.

So Dirimtekin may be correct in locating the Narthex of the Deaconesses of Hagia Sophia in the outbuildings that once surrounded the northeast entrance of the church just north of the apse, proposing, on the basis of his excavations there, one of the forehalls one had to pass through to go from outside into the northeast bay of the church via the northeastern door.¹³⁷

VI. Conclusion

From what we have seen, one may conclude the following regarding Hagia Sophia and its skeuophylakion:

1. The rotunda just off the northeast extremity of Hagia Sophia is the edifice the sources refer to as the skeuophylakion.
2. It is a 5th-century structure, antedating the present basilica, having survived the fires that destroyed the two earlier churches on the same site.
3. That it was possible at Hagia Sophia to exit the basilica and enter this skeuophylakion without inordinate inconvenience is obvious from the fact that both clergy and emperor are described as having done so frequently.¹³⁸ Just how they did so is not certain, though the possibilities are clear enough:
4. All serious recent studies of the skeuophylakion of Hagia Sophia place a large entrance on the west side of the rotunda at the original ground level where to-day there is a large filled-in opening described in Türkoglu's 1983 excavation report.
5. The evidence advanced for a second, auxiliary door in the south side of the skeuophylakion is disputed. One of the literary sources speaks of the patriarch going from the basilica "through the skeuophylakion" to the Great Baptistry. This might seem to imply a second door. But even this text could probably be interpreted to mean the patriarch went to the baptistry "via the skeuophylakion" – i.e., by way of its courtyard, perhaps even with a stop there on the way – and not that he passed through it from one door to another. There is no need to resolve that issue, however. Even without such a door the clergy and imperial party did (and therefore could) get to the skeuophylakion from the northeast end of Hagia Sophia: *ab esse ad posse valet illatio*.
6. To do so they could have gone out the small door in the north wall of the northeast bay of Hagia Sophia, entered the skeuophylakion by the door in its west face, formed the procession, then returned to the basilica.
7. The way back could have retraced the same route in reverse.
8. But it would have been equally feasible for the procession to proceed, like the

137 Diremtekin, "Skeuophylakion," 396-98 and plan 3.

138 See note 159 below.

Easter Vigil procession of the newly-baptized probably did, along the north side of the basilica to the north-central door some 29 m to the west, or perhaps even to the narthex and main western doors over 100 m from the skeuophylakion. Furthermore, from the documentation we have seen, the return route may also have been through the northeast vestibules, including the "narthex of the gynaeceum," reentering the basilica via the main door at the northeast end of the church.

JUSTINIAN'S HAGIA SOPHIA

(after Mainstone, p. 271)

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. Small Baptistry | 13. narthex of Gynaecium of Deaconesses? |
| 2. Augusteon, Chalke, Imperial Palace | 14. Gynaecium of Deaconesses? |
| 3. probable location of imperial metatorion | 15. small door in northeast bay |
| 4. location of Holy Well | 16. skeuophylakion |
| 5. doors to Passage of St. Nicholas | 17. west skeuophylakion door |
| 6. apse with throne and synthronon | 18. St. Peter's and Hagia Eirene |
| 7. passages through secondary piers | 19. main north door |
| 8. altar | 20. location of Great Baptistry |
| 9. chancel barrier | 21. pillar of St. Gregory Thaumaturgus |
| 10. Holy Doors | 22. north narthex door |
| 11. solea | 23. narthex |
| 12. ambo | 24. Imperial Doors |

EAST END

