



**CONSTANTINOPLE IN THE EARLY FIFTH CENTURY: THE  
*NOTITIA URBIS CONSTANTINOPOLITANAE*, DAILY LIFE,  
AND AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE**

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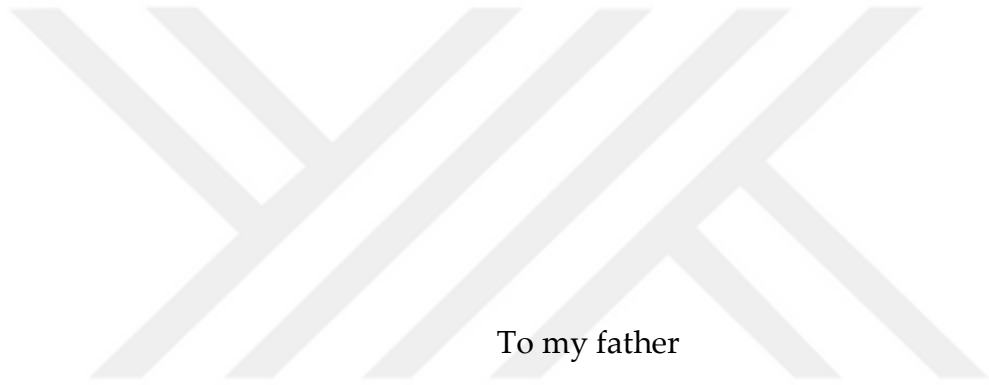
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To my father

## ABSTRACT

The fifth century is often referred to as the Byzantine Empire's "Age of Transformation." It witnessed fundamental changes in political, economic, and social life. During this time, approximately the decade of 420s, an anonymous regional catalogue was compiled, the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae*. Not only does this catalogue divide Constantinople into fourteen regions, but it lists contemporaneous major monuments, public spaces as well as smaller amenities such as housing in each region.

This thesis investigates the daily life and urban character of each region by analyzing the number of the structures and their functions, as recorded in the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae*. It proposes that, while the city grew westward, the eastern part of the city remained the public and administrative center of throughout the century. It also demonstrates that in some regions, the daily life was informed and shaped by commercial activities. Other regions to the north were of a residential character.

During 1920 to 1980, there were a number of short-term rescue excavations in İstanbul regarding fifth-century Byzantine monuments. Unfortunately, very few were published. Six such structures revealed as a result of these short-term rescue excavations are also discussed in order to shed more light on the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae* as well as Constantinople during the fifth century. These structures are largely absent

from Byzantine scholarship and completely omitted from the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae*. The results of their investigation show that the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae* omitted both Pagan and Judaic-related structures. Their investigation will also better locate them in time.

**Keywords:** Byzantine Empire, Constantinople, fifth century, daily life, *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae*, rescue excavations, topography.



## ÖZET

Bizans İmparatorluğu için beşinci yüzyıl “Dönüşüm Çağı” olarak da anılır. Bunun nedeni, beşinci yüzyılın politik, ekonomik ve sosyal değişikliklere şahit olmasıdır. Tam da o zamanda, yaklaşık 420’lerde, o zamanki Konstantinopolis’i on dört bölgeye (*region*) bölen ve her bir bölgedeki yapıların envanter listesini sunan anonim eser *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae* yazılmıştır. Bu anonim eser hem beşinci yüzyıl Konstantinopolis’ini on dört bölgeye ayırır hem de her bölgedeki önemli, önemsiz yapı ve alanların listesini sunar.

Bu yüksek lisans tezi *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae*’deki yapıların sayı ve işlevlerini analiz ederek her bölgenin gündelik hayatını ve kentsel karakterini incelemektedir. Bu çalışma, beşinci yüzyılda şehir batı yönüne doğru büyüye de şehir ve yönetim merkezinin şehrin doğusunda kaldığını gösterir. Aynı zamanda, bazı bölgelerde gündelik hayatı ticari aktivitelerin şekillendirdiğini, kuzeydeki bölgelerinse meskun bir karaktere sahip olduğunu önermektedir.

1920 ve 1980 yılları arasında İstanbul’da beşinci yüzyıl Bizans yapılarına ilişkin hatırı sayılır sayıda kısa süreli kurtarma kazıları gerçekleştirilmiştir. Bu kazı ve ortaya çıkarttığı yapılar ile ilgili neşriyat maalesef oldukça azdır. Bu çalışmada, beşinci yüzyıl Konstantinopolis’i ve *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae*’nin daha iyi anlaşılmasına katkıda bulunmak için



altı adet yapı ele alınmıştır. Bu yapılar bahsi geçen kısa süreli kurtarma kazılarında ortaya çıkarılmış veya çalışılmış olup Bizans neşriyatlarında nadiren bahsedilen ve *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae*'de bulunmayan yapılardır. Bu araştırmanın sonucu *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae*'nin hem Paganizm hem de Musevilik ile ilgili yapılara yer vermediğini göstermektedir. Ek olarak, bu yapılara ilişkin daha iyi bir kronoloji sunmak da çalışmanın amaçlarından birisidir.

**Anahtar sözcükler:** Bizans İmparatorluğu, Konstantinopolis, beşinci yüzyıl, gündelik hayat, *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae*, kurtarma kazıları, topoğrafya.

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## INTRODUCTION

This study will investigate some aspects of fifth-century Constantinople, specifically the daily life during the Theodosian Dynasty (379-457) CE, through the lens of the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae*.<sup>1</sup> The *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae* is an anonymous regionary catalogue compiled during the 420s CE, under the reign of Theodosius II (r. 408-450). Like other regionary catalogues, the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae* gives lists of major monuments, public spaces as well as smaller amenities such as housing.<sup>2</sup> Like most primary sources the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae* is open to interpretation.

Daily life, or everyday life, is the topic focusing on the ways in which people live, behave, act, do, and feel on a daily basis.<sup>3</sup> According to Rita Felski, daily life is part of a growing interest in micro-analysis and history from below.<sup>4</sup> She states that it is very difficult to define daily life. However, she defines daily life as “The essential, taken-for-granted continuum of

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<sup>1</sup> Exact translation from Latin: Information of the city of Constantinople

<sup>2</sup> Otto Seeck, *Notitia Dignitatum accedunt Notitia urbis Constantinopolitanae et laterculi prouinciarum*. Berolini, 1876.

<sup>3</sup> Henri Lefebvre, *Critique of Everyday Life Volume 1*, trans. John Moore (London: Verso, 1991), 86.

<sup>4</sup> Rita Felski, “Invention of Everyday Life,” in *Cool Moves* 39 (2000): 15.

mundane activities framing our forays into more esoteric or exotic worlds.”<sup>5</sup>

Daily life of the Constantinopolitans is a topic should be filled, especially the daily life of the middle and lower classes. Other primary sources mention daily life in Constantinople; however they focus on imperial family not to the middle and lower classes.

Scholars Marcus Rautman and Tamara Talbot Rice have contributed greatly to the topic of daily life in the Byzantine empire. Both agree that, primary sources give the best information regarding the daily life.<sup>6</sup> These primary sources can be *ekphraseis*<sup>7</sup>, hagiographies, saints’ lives, and autobiographies. Also, Rautman states that architecture, archaeology, art and objects, numismatics, epigraphy, and ethnography inform us of daily life.<sup>8</sup> However, in this study I will use the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae* to further to scholarship of daily life in the Constantinople during the fifth century. Thus, aforementioned, the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae* divides into fifth-century Constantinople into fourteen regions and lists the numbers of the structures in each region. In addition, analyzing physical structures and spaces as well as examining the kinds of organizations in each region will give information regarding the daily activities of each region of Constantinople during the fifth century.

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<sup>5</sup> Rita Felski, “Invention of Everyday Life,” in *Cool Moves* 39 (2000): 15.

<sup>6</sup> Marcus Rautman, *Daily Life in the Byzantine Empire* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2006), xxiv; Tamara Talbot Rice, *Everyday Life in Byzantium* (New York, Dorset Press, 1987), 12.

<sup>7</sup> Although not a common Word *ekphrasis* can be defined as description of a work of art, building, person, and experience.

<sup>8</sup> Rautman, *Daily Life in the Byzantine Empire*, xxv.

A large degree of Byzantine scholarship continues to be published without archaeological evidence. This study does not wish to be a part of such traditions. In an effort to bring more to such scholarship, archaeological reports, evidence and photographic archives will be included and analyzed in the data in order to better understand fifth-century Constantinople and the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae*. This thesis will not be the first scholarly study to focus on fifth-century Constantinople, the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae*, and daily life, but it will use a different angle through the statistics based on the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae* and Turkish rescue excavations conducted before 1980 that remained very little published. The latter may prove challenging as the İstanbul Archaeological Museums is not easily accessible, especially for non-Turkish Byzantinists.<sup>9</sup>

The decision to use the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae* for daily life in the Constantinople is because of its uniqueness and the time period that it was written. Similar to the regionary catalogue of the city of Rome<sup>10</sup> composed in the fourth century CE, the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae* mentions fourteen regions and each differing in terms of the number of houses, churches, harbors, private bakeries, public bakeries, private baths,

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<sup>9</sup> The archive of the İstanbul Archaeological Museums is not open to the public and all sources are in Turkish. In addition, the permission process in order to work at the archive takes long time.

<sup>10</sup> Henri Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum* (Berlin: Weidmannsche buchhandlung, 1907)

public baths, porticoes, firemen, guard and so on. With that, I will use a compare and contrast method for this study as well.

The *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae* was written in the 420s CE and at the time it was written Constantinople as well as the empire, itself, witnessed fundamental changes in political, economic, and social life, which is discussed briefly in the first chapter of the thesis as well as how scholar approached to the topic. General daily life in Constantinople focusing on the Theodosian Dynasty (379 457 CE) is discussed in the second chapter. Interpretation of the daily life in Constantinople in the fifth century by focusing on the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae* from one region to another composes the main body of the thesis and the third chapter. Moreover, visual aids such as graphs, in order to visualize demographics, structures and the like will also be included in the third chapter. The interpretation regarding the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae* through carefully selected fourth and fifth-century monuments from the old section of Constantinople will form the last chapter of the study.

### **Literature Review**

This entire thesis deals with three main topics: the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae*, daily life in the Byzantine empire and selected fifth-century monuments from the old section of Constantinople. The following will provide a literature review for each topic.

*Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae*

Since the mid-sixteenth century the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae* has been used by scholars and scientists because it not only organizes the historical peninsula of Constantinople into fourteen regions but it also provides brief descriptions for each region. In 1561, the French scientist and philologist Pierre Gilles used the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae* for the first time in a published work, *De topographia Constantinopoleos et de illius antiquitatabus*.<sup>11</sup> *De topographia* describes sixteenth-century Constantinople district by district. Starting from the eastern tip of peninsula, Gilles' work follows a similar scheme to that of the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae* by dividing the city into fourteen regions. The work mainly focuses on the descriptions of the monuments and statuaries of the city. However, it is considered as one of the first scholarly accounts of Constantinople.<sup>12</sup>

In 1680, historian Charles Du Fresne Du Cange published a book concerning the history of the Byzantine empire, *Historia byzantine duplici comentario illustrata*. The work is organized into two sections, the second of which, *Constantinopolis Christiana*,<sup>13</sup> is a topographical study dealing with the structures of Constantinople. Like Gilles, Du Cange followed a similar

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<sup>11</sup> John Ball, trans, *The Antiquities of Constantinople (De topographia) of Pierre Gilles* (New York: Italica Press, 1988)

<sup>12</sup> Sarah Bassett, *The Urban Image of Late Antique Constantinople* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2004), 5.

<sup>13</sup> Charles Du Cange, *Historia Byzantina* (Brussels: Lutetiae Parisiorum, 1964)

organization of the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae*. It is particularly interesting when it was revealed that Du Cange, like many other writers and artists of the time, never actually visited Constantinople. In this light, it is evident that his work completely relies on that of his predecessor Gilles. However, Du Cange's *Constantinopolis Christiana*<sup>14</sup> continues to be a reference point for scholars interested in the topography of Constantinople due to textual sources included in the book and analytical explanations. Du Cange's work is also the first work that included the plan of Byzantine Constantinople modeled after the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae* (Fig. 2).

The *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae* does not give a map or plan of the city. Rather it only describes the respective locations of each region. Consequently, scholars are left to question and debate the territories and boundaries of each reach region. As stated, Du Cange drew the first plan of Constantinople based on the data of *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae*. Later in 1854, William Smith published another widely sourced reference, *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*.<sup>15</sup> Here, there is a plan of Constantinople that while very similar to Du Cange's plan, is clearly modeled after the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae*. That said, we should not make the mistake and assume that Smith based his plan of Du Cange's. While it is highly possible, there is no clear evidence that links the two. Both

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<sup>14</sup> Charles Du Cange, *Historia Byzantina* (Brussels: Lutetiae Parisiorum, 1964)

<sup>15</sup> William Smith, *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2006)

Du Cange and Smith made the mistake of thinking the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae* encompassed the whole area between the Walls of Constantine and Walls of Theodosius. According to the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae* the length of the city 14,075 feet (c. 4300 m) and it corresponds to the distance between eastern tip of peninsula and the Constantinian Walls.

Alexander van Millingen's *Byzantine Constantinople*,<sup>16</sup> also includes a plan that shows the same fourteen regions of the city. However, here too, van Millingen follows Du Cange and Smith in suite by including the area until the Theodosian Walls.

During the twentieth century, a number of scholars also produced fourteen-region plan of Constantinople. Ernest Mamboury, in 1934, published *Byzance – Constantinople – İstanbul*.<sup>17</sup> Later, Alfons Maria Schneider printed *Regionen und Quartiere in Konstantinopel* (Fig. 3).<sup>18</sup> Another notable work of the twentieth century is that of Wolfgang Müller-Wiener's *Bildlexikon zur Topographie İstanbuls*,<sup>19</sup> published in 1977. These scholars used the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae* to discuss Constantinian Constantinople. However, their work contains significant discrepancies when they aligned with the

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<sup>16</sup> Van Millingen, Alexander, *Byzantine Constantinople: the Walls of the City and Adjoining Historical Sites* (London: J. Murray, 1899)

<sup>17</sup> Ernest Mamboury, *Byzance – Constantinople - İstanbul: Guide Touristique* (İstanbul: Milli Neşriyat Yurdu, 1934)

<sup>18</sup> Alfons Maria Scheneider, *Byzanz: Vorarbeiten zur Topographie und Archäologie der Stadt* (Berlin: Archäologischen Institutes des Deutschen Reiches, 1936)

<sup>19</sup> Wolfgang Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie İstanbuls : Byzantion, Konstantinupolis, İstanbul bis zum Beginn d. 17. Jh.* (Tübingen, Wasmuth, 1977)



*Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae*, itself. For instance, in Schneider's map (Fig. 3), Region VII borders the Marmara Sea. The *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae*, however, places the region along the Golden Horn, further north.

However, it was not until 1997 that Albrecht Berger, who has contributed to the topic of topography of Constantinople over the two decades, gave a detailed study of the topography of the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae* in his article "Regionen und Straßen im frühen Konstantinopel."<sup>20</sup> In his article, Berger brings to light a number of aspects that until then were not analyzed. Consequently, the article became a foundational document. His plan drawn according to the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae* continues to be the most valid and is used by contemporary scholars like Marlia Mundell Mango and Paul Magdalino.<sup>21</sup> His plan includes the fifth-century Constantinople with twelve inner and two outer regions (Fig. 1).

The manuscripts of the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae* were compiled for the first time, in 1876, by German historian Otto Seeck.<sup>22</sup> The complete Latin text of the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae* is found in the

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<sup>20</sup> Albrecht Berger, "Regionen und Straßen im frühen Konstantinopel" *Istanbul Mitteilungen* 47 (1997): 349–414.

<sup>21</sup> Marlia Mundell Mango, "The Commercial Map of Constantinople," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 54 (2000): 189-207; Paul Magdalino, "Aristocratic *Oikoi* In the Tenth and Eleventh Regions of Constantinople," in *Byzantine Constantinople: Monuments, Topography, and Everyday Life*, ed. Nevra Necipoğlu (Boston: Brill Academic Publishers, 2001), 53-69.

<sup>22</sup> Otto Seeck, *Notitia Dignitatum Accedunt Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae et Laterculi Prouinciarum* (Berlin, 1876)

appendix of the *Notitia Dignitatum*, an early fifth-century primary source enumerating the roles and responsibilities of the Roman officials. The document found in the appendix of the *Notitia Dignitatum* is the only compilation of the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae*, and has become the reference for the scholars interested in late antique topography of Constantinople.

It was only in 2012 that the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae* was translated into English in John Matthews' article "Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae" published in *Two Romes*.<sup>23</sup> Some parts and terms were translated before Matthews, but his was a complete translation of the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae*. Thus, his work has contributed significantly to Byzantine studies because it brought to light several unanswered problems, including discrepancies and omissions within the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae*.

#### *Daily Life in the Byzantine Empire*

The topic of daily life<sup>24</sup> as a subject within the humanities field, while its origins are debated, it only grew in popularity during the mid-twentieth century. Within the realm of Byzantine studies, however, interest in the vernacular is only, now, growing. That said, there are a few scholars who

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<sup>23</sup> John Matthews, "Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae," in *Two Romes*, edited by Greg Lucy, 81-115 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012)

<sup>24</sup> For the definition of "daily life" see page 1 and 2.

took to the topic early on. During the 1980s, Byzantinists discovered the significance of studying the vernacular.<sup>25</sup> In 1981, an entire section of the Sixteenth International Congress of Byzantine Studies, in Vienna, was devoted to daily life. In addition, the subject of the Seventeenth Spring Symposium held at Birmingham was “Life and Death in Byzantium” and a part of the symposium was on the everyday life in Byzantium.

In terms of books, Tamara Talbot Rice was one of the first to work on the subject with *Everyday Life in Byzantium*.<sup>26</sup> The book is organized in ten distinct chapters covering different demographic groups of the Byzantine empire. However, the book focuses more on higher and elite classes. The second chapter, for instance, focuses on the emperor and his surrounding, while the third, fourth and fifth chapters are titled: “The Church and Churchmen,” “The administration and its officials,” and “The Army and Navy,” respectively. Only chapters six, nine and ten concerned topics closer to the every, titled respectively: “Traders and Artisans,” “Schools, Scholars and Musicians,” and “Artists and Architects.”

Two decades after Rice’s publication, Marcus Rautman printed *The Daily Life in the Byzantine Empire*, in 2006.<sup>27</sup> Rautman’s book is organized in ten chapters, but unlike Rice’s chapters covering multiple demographics,

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<sup>25</sup> Paul Magdalino, “The Literary Perception of Everyday Life in Byzantium,” *Byzantinoslavica* 48 (1987): 28.

<sup>26</sup> Tamara Talbot Rice, *Everyday Life in Byzantium* (New York: Dorset Press, 1987)

<sup>27</sup> Marcus Louis Rautman, *Daily Life in the Byzantine Empire* (Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press, 2006)

Rautman organizes his book according to the different kinds of lifestyles one would live from country to palatial to urban life. Indeed, in his introduction, Rautman states that Tamara Talbot Rice encouraged him to write this book.<sup>28</sup> Both Rice and Rautman take advantage of excavation reports, architecture, objects, primary sources, and coins in order to better explore the daily life in the Byzantine empire.

Moreover, an exhibition, “Byzantine hours: work and days in Byzantium,” organized by the Hellenic Ministry of Culture in 2001 is another important, and relatively recent, source on the topic. The exhibition catalogue was compiled by Demetra Papanikola-Bakirtzi and published in 2002 under the title *Everyday Life in Byzantium*.

#### *Fifth-Century Monuments in the Old Section of Constantinople*

There is significant number of scholarly studies with regard the fifth-century Constantinople. The important ones are Mango’s *Le Developpement Urbain de Constantinople, IVe-VIIe Siecles*,<sup>29</sup> Dagron’s *Naissance d’une capitale: Constantinople et ses institutions de 330 à 451*,<sup>30</sup> and Bassett’s *The Urban Image of Late Antique Constantinople*.<sup>31</sup> Another important contribution to Byzantine

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<sup>28</sup> Rautman, *Daily Life in the Byzantine Empire*, ix.

<sup>29</sup> Cyril Mango, *Le Developpement Urbain De Constantinople, IVe-VIIe Siecles* (Paris: Diffusion de Bocard, 2004)

<sup>30</sup> Gilbert Dagron, *Naissance d’une capitale: Constantinople et ses institutions de 330 à 451* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1974)

<sup>31</sup> Sarah Bassett, *The Urban Image of Late Antique Constantinople* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2004)

studies – and for this study - has been Hülya Tezcan’s work concerning the history and archaeology of the Acropolis of Constantinople and its environs during the Byzantine era. Her PhD dissertation was published as a book in 1989.<sup>32</sup> In addition, in 2007, *Türkiye Arkeolojik Yerleşmeleri 8: Bizans*<sup>33</sup> is a catalogue publishing 431 Byzantine structures from the Marmara region. Both books are descriptive and informative. While they do not provide analyses, they are two of the very limited scholarly studies concerning structures that have not been studied within the field of Constantinople studies. These structures are usually those revealed within short rescue excavations.

It should be noted that fifth-century monuments included in this thesis have largely been omitted from major Byzantine studies scholarship. However, smaller (primarily Turkish language) studies have been conducted based on Turkish excavation reports and archives, including the İstanbul Archaeological Museums. These smaller projects have been useful in shedding light on many of these monuments.

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<sup>32</sup> Hülya Tezcan. *Topkapı Sarayı ve Çevresinin Bizans Devri Arkeolojisi* (İstanbul: Türkiye Turing ve Otomobil Kurumu, 1989)

<sup>33</sup> Engin Akyürek et al, *Türkiye Arkeolojik Yerleşmeleri 8: Bizans Marmara.* ( : Ege Yayınları, 2007)

# CHAPTER I: THE *NOTITIA URBIS* *CONSTANTINOPOLITANAE* AND ITS HISTORICAL FRAMEWORK

## *The Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae*

The *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae* is a Latin text written in 420s, during the reign of Theodosius II (407 – 450 CE), belonging to the ancient literary genre of “regionary catalogue” or “regionary”. Regionaries divide a city into regions and list of major monuments and public spaces in each region as well as the number of houses and amenities. The *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae* catalogues various types of structures and spaces: palaces, churches, baths, bakeries, forums, senate houses, granaries, theatres, arenas, harbors, hippodrome, cisterns, nymphaea, streets, porticoes, houses, distribution centers, markets, triumphal monuments, and other government buildings. In addition, the text mentions government officers within each region. *Curatores* were responsible from the governing of whole region. *Vernaculus* was the messenger of the region they were also the assistants to

the *curators*.<sup>34</sup> *Collegiati* were the firemen, because fires in Constantinople were common and destructive. Finally, *vicomagistri* were responsible for watching the city after dark.<sup>35</sup> It divides Constantinian Constantinople into fourteen administrative regions with two outer regions: Region XIII and Region XIV. The text has a preface praising Theodosius II (r. 408 – 450 CE) and each region being prefaced by short topographical description which is not the characteristic of the any other regionary.<sup>36</sup> Still, at the end of the text there is a *collection civitatis* that summarizes the structures and provides a brief topographical description of Constantinople from 420s.

Aforementioned, the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae* describes the respective locations of the regions, but does not include a map that is standard. This leads us to uncertain boundaries of the regions. Scholars have been debating the locations and the boundaries of the regions for many years. However, in this study the plan of Albrecht Berger is being used (Fig. 1), who has contributed to the topic of *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae* over the last twenty years.<sup>37</sup> Aforementioned, there are also plans of the fifth-century Constantinople drawn according to the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae* by Charles Du Cange in 1680 (Fig. 2) and Alfons Maria

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<sup>34</sup> Dimitris Drakoulis, "The Functional Organization of Early Byzantine Constantinople, according to the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae*," 160.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>36</sup> John Matthews, "Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae," in *Two Romes*, edited by Greg Lucy (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 84.

<sup>37</sup> Albrecht Berger, "Regionen und Straßen im frühen Konstantinopel" *Istanbulur Mitteilungen* 47 (1997): 349–414; *idem*, "Streets and Public Spaces in Constantinople," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 54 (2000): 161–172.

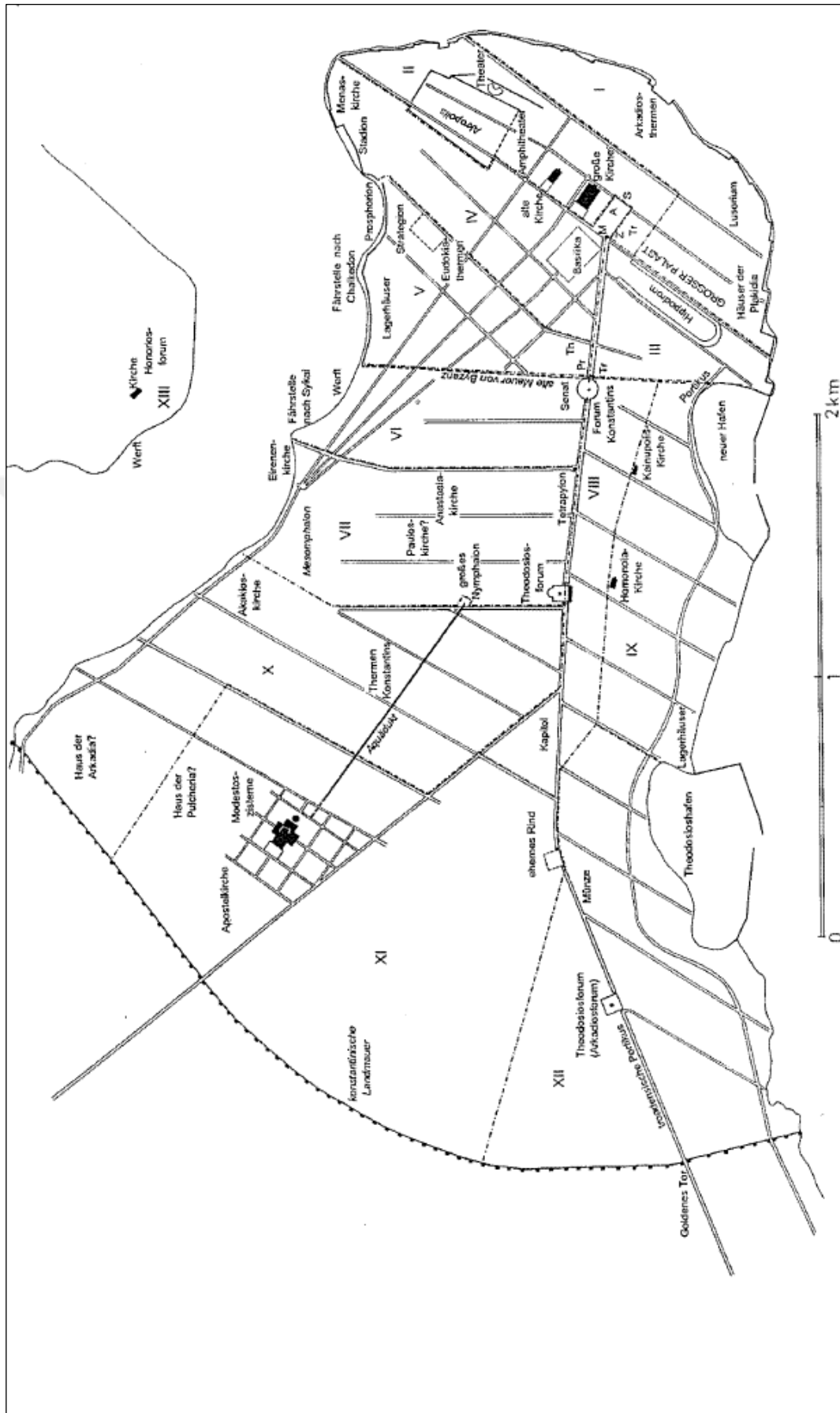


Figure 1 The Plan of Constantinople according to the Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae by Albrecht Berger in 1997 (Berger, *Regionen und Strassen*, 353)



Schneider in 1950 (Fig. 3), but they contain some discrepancies when they are aligned with the text itself. This study has used the map of Albrecht Berger, because he gives a detailed study of the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae*, and, thus, bringing reasonable explanations and a foundational document for such a problematic source. Berger also reconstructs the fifth-century Constantinople with twelve inner and two outer urban regions. Other scholars include Marlia Mundell Mango, Paul Magdalino, and John Matthews, who have used the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae* in the last decade, have used Albrecht Berger's plans and reconstructions.<sup>38</sup>

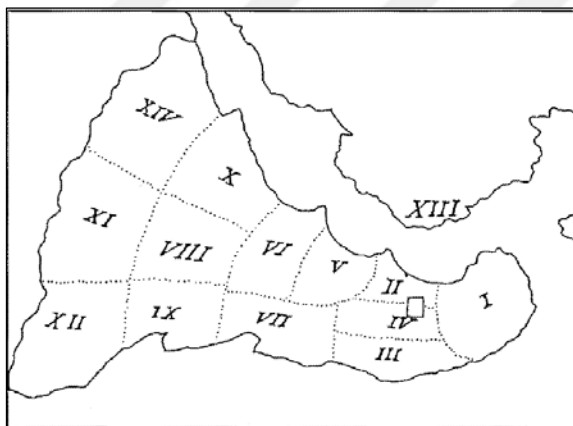


Figure 2 The Plan of Constantinople according to the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae* by Charles Du Cange in 1680 (Du Cange, *Historia Byzantina Constantinopolis Christiana seu Descriptio Urbis*, 17.)

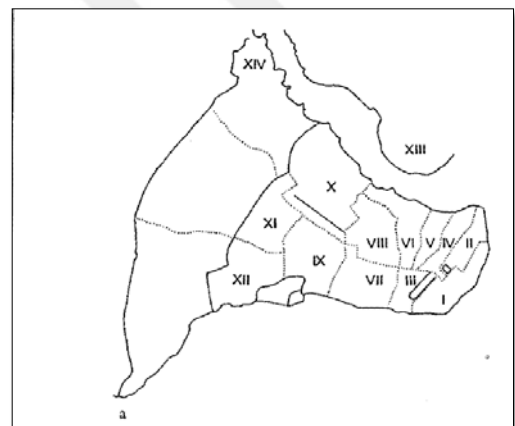


Figure 3 The Plan of Constantinople according to the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae* by Alfons Maria Schneider in 1950 (A.M. Schneider, *Regionen und Quartiere in Konstantinopel*, 155.)

<sup>38</sup>Marlia Mundell Mango, "The Commercial Map of Constantinople," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 54 (2000): 189-207; Paul Magdalino, "Aristocratic *Oikoi* In the Tenth and Eleventh Regions of Constantinople," in *Byzantine Constantinople: Monuments, Topography, and Everyday Life*, ed. Nevra Necipoğlu (Boston: Brill Academic Publishers, 2001), 53-69; John Matthews, "Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae," in *Two Romes*, ed. Greg Lucy (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 81-115.

The earliest existing version of the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae* is contained in the *Codex Vindobonensis 162* in Vienna, which is a ninth-century manuscript on goatskin.<sup>39</sup> There are three other manuscripts of the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae*, two of which include the fifteenth-century *Vindobonensis 3103* manuscript in Vienna and the *Ms. Canonici Misc. 378* in Oxford in the Bodleian Library dating back to 1436.<sup>40</sup> Thanks to the digital collection of the Bodleian Library, the *Ms. Canonici Misc. 378* manuscript is accessible to the public. According to the manuscript, Constantinople is shown with its sea walls, the Hagia Sophia, and the Column of Justinian (Fig. 4). Finally, a third manuscript in Munich dating to the sixteenth century references the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitane*, the *Codex Monacensis 10291*. However, the complete Latin text of the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae* is found in the appendix of the *Notitia Dignitatum*<sup>41</sup> that was compiled by Otto Seeck in 1876. That is, Seeck has taken into account all previous versions of the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae*. Because of its comprehensive nature, Seeck's version is that which is most used and most translated by scholars interested in the subject. For these reasons, when referring to the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae*, I am referring to Seeck's version. On the other

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<sup>39</sup> Drakoulis, "The Functional Organization of Early Byzantine Constantinople according to the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae*," 153.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid*, 156.

<sup>41</sup> Translated into English: *The List of Offices*. The official listing of ancient Roman civil and military posts. This book includes information concerning all Roman lands. That concerning Constantinople is only a section of this book.

hand, I am aware that a compilation of several manuscripts is dangerous,<sup>42</sup> especially the manuscripts with numbers such as the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae*. For instance, for the Battle of Cannae, Polybius reports 70,000 Roman casualties, whereas Livy reports 40,000 Roman casualties and scholars have been still debating if this is a discrepancy in the manuscripts or not.<sup>43</sup>



Figure 4 Image of Constantinople in the *Ms. Canonici Misc. 378* manuscript. (Digital Collection of the Bodleian Library, Oxford)  
<http://bodley30.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:8180/luna/servlet/detail/ODLodl~1~1~37457~107985:Cosmographia-Scoti,-Notitia-dignita?sort=Shel>

<sup>42</sup> For more see: Michael Weitzman, "The Evolution of Manuscript Traditions," *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society* 150 (1987): 287-308.

<sup>43</sup> Martin Samuels, "The Reality of Cannae," *Militaergeschichtliche Zeitschrift* 47 (1990): 7 – 32.

The *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae* has some errors, especially between the *collectio civitatis* (summary), or grand totals, and the numbers for the separate regions. These errors and inconsistencies are listed in a very detailed way by John Matthews.<sup>44</sup> For instance, twenty public bakeries in the grand total is not consistent with the listed data from each region, giving a total of twenty one bakeries. Also, the number of private bakeries listed in the grand total is 120, but if one calculates the figures from region to region, the total sum comes out to 113 private bakeries.<sup>45</sup> According to Matthews, the discrepancy in the number of the churches is interesting (and I agree). During the fifty years of the last quarter of the fourth century and the first quarter of the fifth century, the state promoted Christianity by building churches, gathering the second ecumenical council in Constantinople in 381 CE, banning of all pagan sacrifice and divination in 392 CE, and much more.<sup>46</sup> The number of the churches in the grand total is fourteen, yet only twelve churches can be counted in the entries for the regions.<sup>47</sup> Regarding the discrepancies, Matthews argues that it is almost impossible to know where such discrepancies originated or how to correct them.<sup>48</sup> Correcting and finding the roots of such discrepancies is not one of the aims of this study.

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<sup>44</sup> Matthews, "Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae," 98.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid.

<sup>46</sup> Timothy Venning, *A Chronology of the Byzantine Empire* (New York: Plgrave MacMillan, 2006), 33. For a more detailed account of the state's promotion of Christianity, please see next chapter.

<sup>47</sup> Matthews, "Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae," 99.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid.

Thus, it is a whole other topic that should be examined separately from this topic.

In his sixteenth-century work, Pierre Gilles describes the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae* as “an ancient manuscript written over one thousand years ago by a gentleman more noble by his birth than his writings.”<sup>49</sup> Yet, nothing is known about the person who wrote the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae*. That being said, one can gather clues of about the author from the text, itself. From its preface, one can interpret that s/he (is at leisure), has access to the information about the city, and knows the city very well. Matthews posits that the person who wrote the text could have been a current or retired member of the administrative office of the prefect of Constantinople.<sup>50</sup>

### **Constantinople Until Theodosius II (r. 408 – 450 CE)**

As stated, the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae* was written during the reign of Theodosius II (r. 408 – 450 CE). Thus, a brief review regarding the development of Constantinople until his time will help us understand the text and its importance.

Constantinople is located at the southeast corner of Europe and it is a triangular peninsula surrounded by the *Propontis* (Marmara Sea) to the

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<sup>49</sup> John Ball, trans, *The Antiquities of Constantinople (De topographia) of Pierre Gilles* (New York: Italica Press, 1988), 51.

<sup>50</sup> Matthews, “*Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae*,” 83.

south, Bosphorus on the east, and the deep inlet *Chrysokeras*, today known as Golden Horn, to the north.

Scholars agree that there were a number of occupants prior to Constantine I (324 – 337 CE). Archaeologists found objects and footsteps dating back to the sixth millennium BC in Yenikapı excavations, the location of the Theodosian harbor. However, the most common starting point of the historiography of the city of Constantinople begins with Byzantium, founded in the seventh century BC. Only a few years later the foundation of Chalcedon (Kadıköy) in the mid-seventh century BC by Megarian Greeks, Commander Byzas from Megara founded Byzantium in 659 BC.<sup>51</sup> In the fifth century BC, Byzantium was a city rich in trade and fishing, therefore its economy was active and its coins circulated throughout the Mediterranean.<sup>52</sup> In the mid-fourth century BC, Byzantium became a member of the Attic Sea Confederation.<sup>53</sup> At that time, Chalcedon was integrated into the territory of Byzantium.<sup>54</sup> In the mid-third century BC things have changed for Byzantium. Due to the attacks of Antiochus II of Seleucia in 260 BC and Philip V of Macedonia in 202 BC Byzantium asked help from the Romans against the Macedonians and Pontus.<sup>55</sup> As a result of this the Roman influence increased

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<sup>51</sup> Doğan Kuban, *İstanbul: An Urban History* (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2010), 14.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid.

<sup>53</sup> Müller-Wiener, *İstanbul'un Tarihsel Topoğrafyası*, 17.

<sup>54</sup> Kuban, *İstanbul: An Urban History*, 14.

<sup>55</sup> Murat Arslan, *İstanbul'un Antikçağ Tarihi: Klasik ve Hellenistik Dönemler* (İstanbul: Odin Yayıncılık, 2010), 245.

in Byzantium, and finally in 74 CE, during the reign of Vespasian (r. 69 – 79 CE), Byzantium became officially a province of Bithynia, Roman empire.<sup>56</sup> However, in 196 CE Septimius Severus (r. 193 – 211 CE) destroyed Byzantium, because during the conflict between Pescennius Niger and Septimius Severus (r. 193 – 211 CE), Byzantium sided with Pescennius Niger.<sup>57</sup> Septimius Severus (r. 193 – 211 CE) not only destroyed the city, but also killed many habitants of Byzantium.<sup>58</sup> Later on in 197 CE, Severus (r. 193 – 211 CE) renamed the city as Antoninia and commissioned its rebuild.<sup>59</sup> His building program included the construction of Hippodrome and Baths of Zeuxippos that were the hubs of Byzantine Constantinople.<sup>60</sup> Our knowledge regarding the post-Severus Roman city until the foundation of Constantinople in 330 CE is very scanty, but we know that during the reign of Diocletian (r. 285 – 305 CE) Antoninia was still a Roman city in *Europa* province.

After the Tetrarchic Period (293 – 324 CE), dividing administration of the Roman Empire into four, Constantine I remained as the only ruler of the Roman Empire in 324 CE. A few months later, Constantine I founded and made Constantinople the new capital of the Roman Empire in 324 CE. After six years of an extensive building and migration program, Constantinople

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<sup>56</sup> Müller-Wiener, *İstanbul'un Tarihsel Topoğrafyası*, 18.

<sup>57</sup> Kuban, *İstanbul: An Urban History*, 14.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid.

<sup>59</sup> Müller-Wiener, *İstanbul'un Tarihsel Topoğrafyası*, 18.

<sup>60</sup> Kuban, *İstanbul: An Urban History*, 15.

became a city of 20,000 people (Fig 5).<sup>61</sup> On May 11, 330 CE the city of Constantinople was officially founded and dedicated as the new capital of Roman empire.<sup>62</sup> Constantine I's building program includes various structures. First, at the east end of the city, Constantine I (r. 324 – 337 CE) commissioned his palace as well as adjacent official buildings: the Augustaion, the Senate House, the Basilica, and the church of St. Irene.<sup>63</sup> His program also included rebuilding of the Hippodrome and the Baths of Zeuxippos that were started by Roman Emperor Septimius Severus (r. 193-211 CE).<sup>64</sup> In addition to the official buildings around the Great Palace of Constantinople, other structures were erected to promote urban spaces such as streets, porticoes, forums, harbors, warehouses, churches, and cisterns. Moreover, public work of arts such as the Column of Constantine I in the middle of the Forum of Constantine and the Serpent Column brought from Delphi not only emphasized the importance of the new capital, but also attracted residents to an urban center. Under Constantine's reign, the urban development of Constantinople expanded westward from the old urban center after he commissioned land walls from Golden Horn to the Marmara Sea.<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>61</sup> Bassett, *The Urban Image of Late Antique Constantinople*, 79.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid*, 17.

<sup>63</sup> Rautman, *Daily Life in the Byzantine Empire*, 66.

<sup>64</sup> Wolfgang Müller-Wiener, *İstanbul'un Tarihsel Topoğrafyası* trans. Ülker Sayın (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2007), 19.

<sup>65</sup> Bassett, *The Urban Image of Late Antique Constantinople*, 18.



The successors of Constantine I (r. 324 – 337 CE) expanded the city until the Theodosian Dynasty. However, Bassett sees the period between Constantine I and Theodosius I as static in terms of Constantinopolitan construction.<sup>66</sup> Son of Constantine I (r. 324 – 337 CE), Constantius II (r. 337-361 CE) expanded Constantinople with the first Church of St. Sophia, the Church of Holy Apostles, and the Baths of Constantine.<sup>67</sup> The construction of the aqueduct by Valens I (r. 364 – 378 CE) in the 370s CE facilitated all construction efforts under the Theodosian dynasty, especially Theodosius I (r. 379-395 CE), because water was provided to the city. Public areas within the old part of the city were rebuilt. The monumental public forums of Theodosius in 390s and Arcadius (r. 395-408 CE) in 400s were also built.

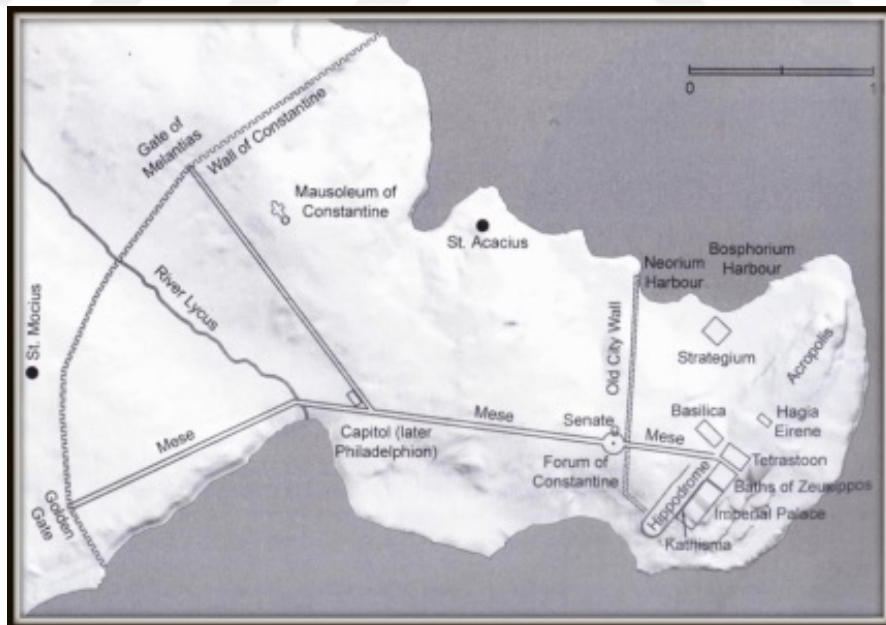


Figure 5 Map of Constantinople in the Constantinian Period  
<http://www.byzantium1200.com/introduction.html>

<sup>66</sup> Bassett, *The Urban Image of Late Antique Constantinople*, 79

<sup>67</sup> Müller-Wiener, *İstanbul'un Tarihsel Topoğrafyası*, 20.

Bassett argues that other than the Constantinian forums two new Theodosian forums supported a wide range of commercial, legal, and ceremonial activity, similar to traditional Roman civic spaces.<sup>68</sup>

When it came to the reign of Theodosius II (r. 408-450 CE) the city's population grew more than 200,000, nearly tenfold from 330 CE to 410 CE.<sup>69</sup> Naturally, with the Land Walls of Theodosius, Constantinople expanded to the west more than two kilometers and Constantinople expanded from 6 square kilometers to 14 square kilometers (Fig 6).<sup>70</sup> According to Bassett, all these developments were a response to the practical necessity of accommodating a growing population.<sup>71</sup> It was during this period of



**Figure 6 Map of Constantinople in the Theodosian Period**  
<http://www.personal.psu.edu/faculty/d/g/dga11/constantinople.jpg>

<sup>68</sup> Bassett, *The Urban Image of Late Antique Constantinople*, 82.

<sup>69</sup> Rautman, *Daily Life in the Byzantine Empire*, 67.

<sup>70</sup> Müller-Wiener, *İstanbul'un Tarihsel Topoğrafyası*, 20.

<sup>71</sup> Bassett, *The Urban Image of Late Antique Constantinople*, 80.

expansion that the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae* was written, making it a significant source.

### **History During the Theodosian Dynasty (379—457 CE)**

Aforementioned, during the Theodosian dynasty and at the time the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae* was written, the Byzantine empire witnessed fundamental changes in political, economic, and social life. This was one of the main reasons of to use the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae* for this topic.

The Theodosian dynasty involves the reign of four emperors: Theodosius I (r. 379-395 CE), Arcadius I (r. 395-408 CE), Theodosius II (r. 408-450 CE), and Marcian I (r. 450-457 CE). According to some scholars, the period between 337 CE to 379 CE (from Constantius II to Theodosius I) was chaotic for the Byzantine empire due to killings of the emperor Julian I (r. 361 – 363) by the Persians and Valens I (r. 364 – 378 CE) by the Goths.<sup>72</sup>

The Theodosian dynasty began right after the defeat at the Battle of Adrianople in 378 CE with the reign of Theodosius I in 379 CE. The battle was between the Goths and the Byzantines, and the Byzantine defeat was devastating because Emperor Valens (r. 364 – 378 CE) was killed during this

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<sup>72</sup> Rautman, *Daily Life in the Byzantine Empire*, xvii; J. B. Bury, *History of the Later Roman Empire* (New York: Dover Publications, 1958), 106; Timothy Gregory, *A History of Byzantium* (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2005), 93.

battle.<sup>73</sup> Prior to the battle, the Byzantine state allowed for some 200,000 Goths to settle in the eastern region of Thrace. However, the state made their lives difficult by over charging for their daily needs. Thus, necessities could not be afforded. Thereupon, in 377 the Goths attacked Byzantine territories around Adrianople, modern Edirne.<sup>74</sup> Valens I (r. 364 – 378 CE) and his army marched from Constantinople to Adrianople but due to hot weather conditions, fatigue, and strategic-tactical mistakes two-thirds of Valens' army including Valens himself died at the battle.<sup>75</sup> After the battle the Goths only pillaged the eastern Thrace, because they were not good at city siege, and this was a great occasion for the empire.

Theodosius I (r. 379 – 395 CE) became the emperor under these circumstances. He was a religious, Spanish origin general. Before becoming the emperor he restored the peace in Britain and suppressed the rebellion in North Africa, the rebellion of Firmus.<sup>76</sup>

One of the first things that Theodosius I (r. 379 – 395 CE) did was to gather the second ecumenical council in Constantinople in 381 CE. It confirmed the Nicene creed and declared the Holy Trinity doctrine that supports the equality of Holy Spirit, the Father, and the Son. This council also condemned Arianism and declared the Christianity as the official state

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<sup>73</sup> Gregory, *A History of Byzantium*, 91.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid, 92.

religion of the Byzantine empire.<sup>77</sup> In addition, the council allowed the patriarch of Constantinople and the patriarch of Rome to be equivalents.

Another radical change that Theodosius I (r. 379 – 395 CE) made was the treaty with the Goths after the battle of Adrianople. According to the treaty signed in 382 CE, the Goths were not to be disturbed by the Byzantine state, but they were to serve in the army.<sup>78</sup> This treaty was heavily criticized by the opposition and some officials, but was accepted. In my opinion this was a risky but beneficial move by Theodosius I (r. 379 – 395 CE), because the western territories of the empire did not experience any major Goth attack after this treaty during the dynasty. Also, the treaty signed with the Persians in 387 CE, lasting until the beginning of the sixth century, secured an eastern frontier. This relief from war on the eastern frontier was crucial for the Byzantine empire, according to Bury, because it allowed the state to focus on its Western provinces, primarily under the threat of impending Goth attacks.<sup>79</sup> That is, prior to the treaty, the Byzantine empire was in long, fierce wars with the Persians in the mid-fifth century especially during the reign of Julian (r. 361 – 363 CE), who was killed by the Persians.<sup>80</sup>

Theodosius I (r. 379 – 395 CE) wanted to found a family dynasty, therefore he gave a great importance to his wives. For instance, Aelia Flavia

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<sup>77</sup> Alexander Vasiliev, *History of the Byzantine Empire Vol. 1 324-1453* (Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1958), 82.

<sup>78</sup> Gregory, *A History of Byzantium*, 93.

<sup>79</sup> J.B. Bury, *History of the Later Roman Empire*, 96.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*

Flaccilla, who was the first wife of Theodosius I is commemorated as a saint by the Eastern Orthodox Church.<sup>81</sup> Also, she became the first Byzantine empress to have a coin minted in her name.<sup>82</sup> Moreover, the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae* includes palaces for the women members of the imperial family especially in Region X and Region XI, and this justifies the importance given to the women imperial family members in the Theodosian dynasty. This topic will be discussed closely in the following chapters.

Theodosius I (r. 379 – 395 CE) died the same year that the Roman empire officially divided into two in 395 CE. Arcadius I was seventeen years old when he became the emperor. Like many seventeen year old boys, according to primary sources Arcadius I (r. 395 – 408) was short, thin, inactive, and sleepy.<sup>83</sup> On his deathbed, Theodosius I (r. 379 – 395 CE) wanted from Stilicho and Rufinus, high ranking officials, to mentor Arcadius I (r. 395 – 408).<sup>84</sup> Consequently, Arcadius I was influenced by Stilicho, Rufinus, and other high ranking officials. However, in the following years the rivalry between Stilicho and Rufinus increased. Arcadius I was not successful decreasing those tensions and, this affected the empire negatively. Thus, during the reign of Arcadius I (r. 395-408 CE) the Byzantine empire underwent difficult times mostly due to the weakness of Arcadius I and rivalry between the Stilicho and Rufinus.

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<sup>81</sup> Gregory, *A History of Byzantium*, 94.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid.

<sup>83</sup> Bury, *History of the Later Roman Empire*, 106.

<sup>84</sup> Ibid.

Arcadius I (r. 395-408 CE) died at the age of thirty in 408 CE, and Theodosius II (r. 408 – 450 CE) became the emperor. He was only eight years old when he became emperor; therefore the prefect of Constantinople Flavius Anthemios dominated Theodosius II and ruled the empire until 414 CE.<sup>85</sup> Anthemios paid a lot of attention to food storage and the security of Constantinople. The most important structural work of Anthemios is the Land Walls of Constantinople which is mentioned at the *collection civitatis* (summary) of the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae* as *duplici muro acies turrium extansa custodit*.<sup>86</sup> It should also be noted that the land walls of Corinth, known as Hexamilion Wall, were built at the same time as the Land Walls of Constantinople.

After Flavius Anthemios' death in 414 CE, Theodosius II's (r. 408 – 450 CE) older sister, Pulcheria, took on the role of mentor to the emperor. Pulcheria devoted herself to the state and the training of her brother.<sup>87</sup> Then, after Theodosius II became an adult he took complete control of the empire to himself. Theodosius II (r. 408 – 450 CE) focused on the development of the cities and villages.<sup>88</sup> Cities including Constantinople, Ephesus and many others were rebuilt and developed during his time. Interestingly, because Theodosius II was only eight years old when he became the emperor, the

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<sup>85</sup> Bury, *History of the Later Roman Empire*, 106.

<sup>86</sup> Double line of walls extended with towers

<sup>87</sup> Gregory, *A History of Byzantium*, 106.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid*, 109.

peace was dominant during the reign of Theodosius II (r. 408 – 450 CE) due to the treaties signed in Theodosius I's era.

The Theodosians did not favor paganism, and according to them it was a narrow-minded practice.<sup>89</sup> Also, the Theodosians favored Christian officials compared to Pagan ones. While they were not attacking to the Pagan temples, Timothy Gregory states that the Theodosians were ignoring the attacks to the Pagan temples in the empire.<sup>90</sup> The official interventions made against the Paganism were recorded also in the *Codex Theodosianus*, which is a compilation of the laws starting from Constantine I (r. 324 – 337 CE). Theodosius II (r. 408 – 450 CE) was aware that there was a need to compile a simplified official code of the empire, and in 429 CE he commissioned the *Codex Theodosianus* and it was published nine years after in 438 CE.<sup>91</sup> The *Codex Theodosianus* is a highly Christianized, as it contains decrees issued by the Christian emperors.<sup>92</sup>

The Theodosian dynasty, especially the reign of Theodosius II (r. 408 – 450 CE), is known as the period that Christianity was promoted and solidified. At the beginning of the fifth century the majority of the population in the empire was not Christian, but major steps were taken by Theodosians to change the situation. First, the ecumenical council was held in Constantinople in 381 CE. The number of the churches increased

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<sup>89</sup> Gregory, *A History of Byzantium*, 106.

<sup>90</sup> Ibid.

<sup>91</sup> Vasiliev, *History of the Byzantine Empire*, 101.

<sup>92</sup> Ibid.



dramatically by the Theodosians as well, and around these churches there were soup kitchens, orphanages, hospitals, and so on.<sup>93</sup> In other words, there was an attempt to integrate churches with the daily life of the people. The churches were not the only instruments used to promote the Christianity during the Theodosian dynasty. Large, highly decorated buildings were constructed for clergymen, also some of them were granted to lead trials at the beginning of the fifth century.<sup>94</sup> These made the clergymen more powerful and respected. Religious holidays, like festivals, were one of the ways that the Theodosians used in order to promote the Christianity too.

In short, at the beginning of the dynasty there was a crisis caused by the Battle of Adrianople. However, Theodosius I was successful in keeping peace throughout the empire through treaties he signed with the Goths and the Persians. The women of the imperial family as well as high ranking officials such as Stilicho, Rufinus, and Anthemios were dominant during the Theodosian dynasty. Urban development including the Land Walls of Constantinople were of great import to the Theodosians. However, the main focus of the dynasty promoted and solidified Christianity, and even the *Codex Theodosianus*, which was the first compilation of the laws of the Byzantine empire published by Theodosius II (r. 408 – 450 CE), serves to solidify Christianity.

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<sup>93</sup> Gregory, *A History of Byzantium*, 118.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*

## CHAPTER II: DAILY LIFE IN EARLY BYZANTINE

### CONSTANTINOPLE

#### **Source Material for the Reconstruction of Daily Life in the Byzantine Empire**

Both literary and material evidence have been useful for the reconstruction of daily life in the Byzantine empire. Until the end of the twentieth century the focus in order to get information regarding the daily life was written sources and religious art works. However, by the end of the twentieth century scholars began to use more material evidence such as architecture, numismatics, lead seals, secular art objects, and tools. Thus, according to Rautman, scholars considered the problems involved with written sources which are very rare, sometimes not reliable, and difficult to interpret.<sup>95</sup>

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<sup>95</sup> Rautman, *Daily Life in the Byzantine Empire*, xxiv.

Although a great majority of civil, economical, and military records are not surviving the written sources give more detailed view regarding the daily life. However, some genres inform us better about the daily life in the Byzantine empire. Letters, saints' lives (hagiographies), chronicles, biographies, and auto biographies have been more informative since they include more personal experience compared to the religious and commissioned works.<sup>96</sup> On the other hand, primary sources, including the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae*, always need to be read with caution. Thus, they have been compiled from manuscripts which have different versions.

Inscriptions and tombstones provide information regarding a person's life, occupation, family, and values. Hence, inscriptions on structures, fortifications, paving stones, grave stones, and plates should be considered as additional evidence helping to reconstruct daily life in Byzantium.

Coins contain stamped images and short texts describing the reigning emperor. They were also widely distributed and they were indicators of changes in administrations. The religious symbols they are carrying indicate the emperors' and dynasties' religious view as well. In addition, numbers and provenance of the coins reflect a region's economic, political, and military contacts. Therefore, coins assist to reconstruct daily life in Byzantium as well.<sup>97</sup>

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<sup>96</sup> Magdalino, "Literary Perception of Everyday Life in Byzantium," 30.

<sup>97</sup> Rautman, *Daily Life in the Byzantine Empire*, 32.

Architecture of the buildings, especially residential buildings are very good source materials for the reconstruction of daily life. However, since they were not as durable as palaces, churches, and fortifications the residential buildings from late antique Constantinople are not surviving or partly surviving. For instance, the entrances of apartment buildings in late antique Constantinople would open onto to a large courtyard shared by several other residential buildings.<sup>98</sup> Thus, it is very probable that the residents would have to share certain commodities in their daily life.

Similar to the Romans, the Byzantines were interested in art, especially visual arts.<sup>99</sup> The major genres were mosaics, wall paintings, and icons. The scenes in these work of arts inform us regarding the daily life. However, it is important to state that due to the iconoclasm (726-842 CE), destruction and banning of religious images, these genres inform us the daily life in the post-iconoclastic era, not the daily life in the late antiquity. On the other hand, according to Rautman, objects such as buckles, combs, earrings, pins, and so on were ornamented with images and patterns carrying historical and cultural overtones, and these objects give information regarding the daily life in Byzantium.<sup>100</sup> In short, literary sources, material sources, and architecture help us to reconstruct the daily life in the late antique Byzantine period.

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<sup>98</sup> Isabella Baldini Lippolis, "Private Space in Late Antique Cities," 206.

<sup>99</sup> John Beckwith, *Early Christian and Byzantine Art* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1979), 21.

<sup>100</sup> Rautman, *Daily Life in the Byzantine Empire*, xxvi.

## Fifth-Century Sources and Daily Life

Primary sources giving information regarding the daily life of fifth-century Constantinople are limited and this is one of the reasons that this study analyzed the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae* in order to reconstruct the daily life in Constantinople during the fifth century. Due to the state's policies, during the fifth century ecclesiastical historiography was on its peak<sup>101</sup> and the main works were the works of Philostorgius, Socrates, Sozomenus, and Theodoretus.<sup>102</sup> However, the writings of Augustine of Hippo (5<sup>th</sup> century),<sup>103</sup> *Chronicon Paschale* (4<sup>th</sup> – 7<sup>th</sup> centuries),<sup>104</sup> John Malalas (6<sup>th</sup> century),<sup>105</sup> and Procopius (6<sup>th</sup> century) inform us regarding daily life in the late antique Byzantium.

On the other hand, primary sources giving information regarding the daily life in the later periods are more as stated by Magdalino.<sup>106</sup> Primary sources giving information regarding the daily life of the Byzantines are mainly Middle and Late Byzantine Period sources such as *De Ceremoniis* (10<sup>th</sup>

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<sup>101</sup> Hartmut Leppin, "The Church Historians I: Socrates, Sozomenus, and Theodoretus," in *Greek and Roman Historiography in Late Antiquity: Fourth to Six Century A.D.*, edited by Gabriele Marasco (New York: Brill, 2003), 220.

<sup>102</sup> For more, see Hartmut Leppin, "The Church Historians I: Socrates, Sozomenus, and Theodoretus," in *Greek and Roman Historiography in Late Antiquity: Fourth to Six Century A.D.*, edited by Gabriele Marasco (New York: Brill, 2003), 219-245.

<sup>103</sup> Boniface Ramsey, trans, *Works of Saint Augustine* (New York: New City Press, 2010)

<sup>104</sup> Michael Whitby and Mary Whitby, trans, *Chronicon Paschale 284-628 AD* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2007)

<sup>105</sup> Matthew Spinka, trans, *Chronicle of John Malalas, Books VIII-XVIII* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1940)

<sup>106</sup> Magdalino, "The Literary Perception of Everyday Life in Byzantium," 30.

and 11<sup>th</sup> c.), *Book of the Eparch* (9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> c.), Kekaumenos' *Book of Advice* (11<sup>th</sup> c.), Theodore Prodromos' poems (12<sup>th</sup> c.), and John Apokaukos' letters (13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> c.).<sup>107</sup>

## The First Constantinopolitans

The Byzantines never referred to themselves as "Byzantines," rather they described and thought of themselves as *Rhomaioi*<sup>108</sup>. Historians introduced the term "Byzantine" in the seventeenth century in order to differentiate the Byzantine empire from the Roman. Thus, some of the ways in which they were living of the Byzantines can be traced back to the time of Septimius Severus, Vespasian, Hadrian, Augustus or to the Ancient Greeks.

Rautman states that we have information regarding the ordinary experiences of elite classes through exchanged letters, poems, commissioned works from art to architecture and even the clothing they wore.<sup>109</sup> However, such evidence is unavailable when we look at non-elite classes.

When Constantine I came to Constantinople in 324 CE, the local habitants were mainly Greek, decedents of Megarians who founded Byzantion in the sixth century BC.<sup>110</sup> Although it was a Roman city in the first, second, and third century CE, we know that the majority was the Greek

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<sup>107</sup> Magdalino, "The Literary Perception of Everyday Life in Byzantium," 31.

<sup>108</sup> Romans or citizens of the Roman Empire

<sup>109</sup> Rautman, *Daily Life in the Byzantine Empire*, x.

<sup>110</sup> Gilbert Dagron, *Naissance d'une capitale : Constantinople et ses institutions de 330 à 451* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1974), 18; Bury, *History of the Later Roman Empire*, 5; Kuban, *Istanbul: An Urban History* 24.

population.<sup>111</sup> Before officially founding the capital six years later, Constantine I (r. 324 – 337 CE) brought in many officials from Rome to Constantinople. So that by the time the capital was founded, Constantinople had the population of 20,000, almost the half of which were brought in from Rome.<sup>112</sup> Therefore, the dominant language in Constantinople was Latin and would be official language of the empire until the sixth century CE. After 330 CE, Constantinople became the center of Greek-Roman synthesis.

### **Daily Life of the Constantinopolitans**

Throughout the empire, the day was divided into two twelve hours cycles fixed by the rising and setting for sun, and most of the activities were during the daylight.<sup>113</sup> Illumination of cities during the night was restricted to torches and candles. Thus, the night life was also very limited. While Byzantine used various calendars, at times leading to great confusion, the dominant calendar was Roman Julian Calendar introduced by Julius Caesar.<sup>114</sup> One year holds 365.25 days that are divided into twelve months. Like any other culture, some days were granted more importance than others. As such, both religious and non-religious festivals were essential for the Constantinopolitans, because they were the days of feast and entertainment. Popular festivals stand out throughout the year celebrating

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<sup>111</sup> For more on the Ancient Greek and Roman past of Constantinople see pages 20-23.

<sup>112</sup> Bassett, *The Urban Image of Late Antique Constantinople*, 79.

<sup>113</sup> Rautman, *Daily Life in the Byzantine Empire*, 3.

<sup>114</sup> William Dunstan, *Ancient Rome* (New York: Rowman & Littlefield, 2010), 180.

the birth of the Virgin Mary in September, Christmas in December, Epiphany in January, Hypapante in February and Koimesis in August.<sup>115</sup> Some days were remembered because of their fiscal importance, such as September 1<sup>st</sup> known as the beginning of the economic calendar.

Although excavations have taken place in modern day, their primary focus are imperial and religious spaces such as the palaces and churches. Data regarding residential spaces and houses in Constantinople is, thus, very limited. However, according to that existing data, residential spaces in Constantinople were different from the others Athens, Ravenna, Herdonia, Ostia and Alexandria.<sup>116</sup> That is, the architecture of these spaces affected the daily lives of people, especially owners of middle class apartment buildings. These were usually small property owners, merchants, and farmers. The entrances of these apartment buildings would open onto to a large courtyard shared by several other buildings, also residential. Larger courtyards would have a well and a cistern, shared by those living in the connected buildings. Thus, locals would usually have to share certain commodities, which added a degree of connected living.<sup>117</sup> However, we can note an architectural shift by the fifth century. It seems that due to the dramatic population increase, apartment buildings were constructed to fit more tenants, making for a

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<sup>115</sup> The important festivals for the Constantinopolitans were; September 8: the birth of Virgin Mary, December 25: the Christmas, January 6: Epiphany, February 2: Hypapante, and August 15: Koimesis, see Rautman, *Daily Life in the Byzantine Empire*, 3.

<sup>116</sup> Isabella Baldini Lippolis, "Private Space in Late Antique Cities," 217.

<sup>117</sup> Rice, *Everyday Life in Byzantium*, 143.



tighter and more cramped living situation. Consequently, the late antique houses were larger and more spacious than those of the middle Byzantine. In addition, one household often included more than nuclear family. According to Rautman, grandparents, relatives, servants, and, sometimes, close friends were part of late antique Byzantine household.<sup>118</sup> Apartment buildings of Constantinople were higher than the two-storied apartment buildings in Rome and the upper stories had balconies. By 474 CE, there were so many balconies that Emperor Zeno I (r. 476 – 491 CE) passed a law forbidding the construction of balconies on streets less than 12 feet wide. Moreover, a balcony could only be built if it were higher than 15 feet off the ground and ten feet away from the facing structure.<sup>119</sup> Consequently, these building constraints allowed for un-obscured views as well as natural light to enter each apartment.

Of the general population, the largest demographic belonged to the lower classes. These classes could live in houses made from mud-walls, roofed with rushes or they would live in very small rooms of “skyscrapers” owned by elite classes. These skyscrapers were five-to nine-storied apartment buildings and became very significant sources of revenue in the fifth century CE, when the population of Constantinople was very high.<sup>120</sup> They were very profitable for the people who owned them, but seem to have

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<sup>118</sup> Rautman, *Daily Life in the Byzantine Empire*, 44.

<sup>119</sup> Rice, *Everyday Life in Byzantium*, 143.

<sup>120</sup> Ibid.

generated similar problems to present-day areas of small spaces with high populations, such as urban slums. Those living in these two areas primarily relied on various types of welfare such as official, religious, and private philanthropic operations.<sup>121</sup>

In the empire there were no rigid boundaries among the classes.<sup>122</sup> Among the elite classes were high-ranking government officials, military leaders, and major landowners.<sup>123</sup> They were living in large individual houses usually made from brick or, less often, stone with a flat roof that doubled as a terrace.<sup>124</sup> These large private houses started to appear in Byzantine cities during the Theodosian dynasty and they shared features with contemporaneous palace architecture.<sup>125</sup> Five palaces, six sacred houses of the Augustae, and three houses of *nobilissimae* listed in the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae* justifies this hypothesis that the elite dwellings became popular during the Theodosian period. They had high ceilings, large rooms and apses. In addition, the peristyle courtyard tradition continued in the late antique elite dwellings (Fig.7). They were made with pavement floors and usually consisted of wall decorations and statuary, as argued by scholar of

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<sup>121</sup> Rautman, *Daily Life in the Byzantine Empire*, 21.

<sup>122</sup> Rice, *Everyday Life in Byzantium*, 142.

<sup>123</sup> Rautman, *Daily Life in the Byzantine Empire*, 20.

<sup>124</sup> Rice, *Everyday Life in Byzantium*, 143.

<sup>125</sup> Inge Uytterhoeven, "Hypsothophos Domos: Urban Residential Architecture in Asia Minor during the Theodosian Period," in *Production and Prosperity in the Theodosian Period*, ed. Ine Jacobs (Leuven- Walpole, MA: Peeters, 2014), 147.

Roman studies Inge Uytterhoeven.<sup>126</sup> She proves that late antique elite applied similar architecture in their private dwellings both in the East and West. Subsequently, a late antique house in Aphrodisias, Cyprus or in Ptolemais did not differ much from a late antique house in Constantinople.<sup>127</sup> These houses sometimes had small chapels and luxurious water elements such as springs, baths as well as cisterns.<sup>128</sup>

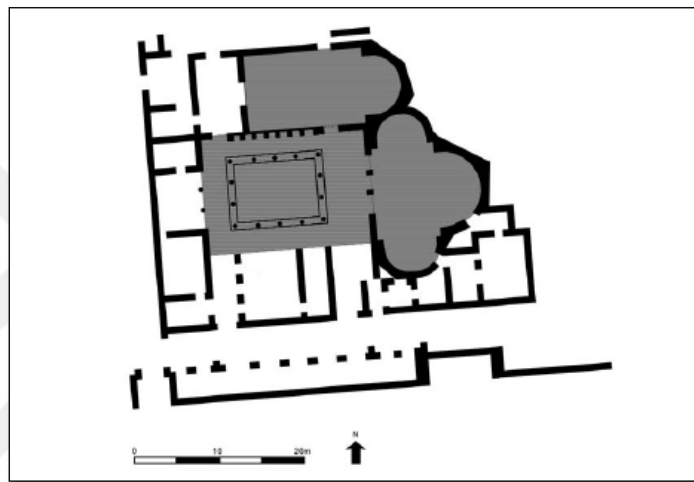


Figure 7 Aphrodisias, plan of the Triconch House with indication of characterizing architectural features (Inge Uytterhoeven, "Hypsorophos Domos. Urban Residential Architecture in Asia Minor during the Theodosian Period," 150.)

Main commercial areas in Constantinople were concentrated along the south and north coast due the close proximity of the harbors. Also, popular locations for shops, restaurants, markets, and workshops were established

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<sup>126</sup> Uytterhoeven, "Hypsorophos Domos: Urban Residential Architecture in Asia Minor during the Theodosian Period," 148

<sup>127</sup> Ibid.

<sup>128</sup> Paul Magdalino, "The Byzantine Aristocratic Oikos," in *The Byzantine Aristocracy IX to XIII Centuries*, ed. Michael Angold (Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, 1984), 94; Alessandra Ricci, "Ut sculture poesis: statuaria classica nelle dimone costantinopolitane die eta tardoantica e bizantina (IV-X secolo)," in *Medioevo: il tempo degli antichi*, ed. Arturo Carlo Quintavalle, 188-196 (Milan: Electa, 2006)

along the *Mese* and major streets as well as between the forums of Constantine and Theodosius. Byzantinist Marlia Mundell Mango explains that much like merchants and shops, places for certain professions were also concentrated in different parts of city.<sup>129</sup> This will be discussed in greater detail in the following chapters.

Public life in the Byzantine empire was male dominated. Men occupied the administration, bureaucracy, trade, and military. Women were not seen as prominently in the public daily life. Women were primarily tasked with managing a household and making crafts. However, during the early years of the empire, women were more active in the daily life. They were invited to races, theater, public baths at designated hours, imperial ceremonies, and public execution.<sup>130</sup> However, after the reign of Justinian I, the female absence from public life becomes more evident. On the other hand, as stated the Theodosians gave importance to the women members of the imperial family.<sup>131</sup> In addition, ten palaces belonging to the female imperial members of the Theodosian dynasty are listed in the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae*, and this supports the hypothesis that the Theodosians gave importance to the female members. Moreover, we know that Pulcheria (399 – 453 CE), older sister of Theodosius II (r. 408 – 450 CE) was acting like

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<sup>129</sup> Marlia Mundell Mango, "The Commercial Map of Constantinople," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 54 (2000): 189-207.

<sup>130</sup> Rautman, *Daily Life in the Byzantine Empire*, 26.

<sup>131</sup> For more see Kenneth Holum, *Theodosian Empresses: Women and Imperial Dominion in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989)

the ruler of the empire between 414 – 419 CE.<sup>132</sup> Thus, Theodosius II became emperor at the age of seven in 408 CE, but the prefect of Constantinople Flavius Anthemios was his mentor. However, Anthemios' sudden death in 414 CE left Theodosius II without a mentor and Pulcheria became his mentor until Theodosius II became an adult.<sup>133</sup>

Popular entertainment sources for the Constantinopolitans were theatres and plays as well as chariot races, taking place in the Hippodrome.<sup>134</sup>

At the time the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae* was written, there was one hippodrome and four open-air theatres in Constantinople. Indeed, Rice describes the hippodrome as the center of the townspeople's lives.<sup>135</sup> The hippodrome was not only home to chariot races, but also gladiatorial games, official ceremonies, protests, and torture to the convicts.<sup>136</sup> While the entrance to the hippodrome was free and it was open to everyone, but by the sixth century only males could enter to the hippodrome. Its capacity was approximately 40,000, holding chariot races all day, at least eight different games could be held throughout the day. The hippodrome was also used as a symbol of power. It was decorated with monuments that were brought in from across the empire. Consequently, nearly 40,000 people would see these

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<sup>132</sup> Vasiliev, *History of the Byzantine Empire*, 82.

<sup>133</sup> Ibid.

<sup>134</sup> Rautman, *Daily Life in the Byzantine Empire*, 113.

<sup>135</sup> Rice, *Everyday Life in Byzantium*, 146.

<sup>136</sup> Ibid.

monuments on a daily basis and they would be reminded of the strength and legacy of such authority.

Majority of the Byzantines followed traditional Mediterranean diet including olives, wild greens, seafood, vegetables, grains as well as freshly baked bread. Olive and olive oil was one third of daily intake.<sup>137</sup> Freshly baked bread (*artos*) was the main source of cereal and there were various types of *artos* such as *paximadia* and *traganos*.<sup>138</sup> Sheep and cattle were expensive, so pork was more popular. Due to limited space to raise livestock, meat such as sheep, cattle, and pork were expensive and a luxury for Constantinopolitans. However, seafood was popular since Constantinople was rich in terms of sea and rivers. The Byzantines used to start the day with the dawn and finish before sunset. Subsequently, there were two meals during the day a light breakfast (*ariston*) and main meal (*deipnon*) served in the late afternoon.<sup>139</sup>

Although there were differences among the classes in terms of clothing, most Constantinopolitans wore tunics (*kamision*) made of cotton, linen or wool in various lengths.<sup>140</sup> However, middle class citizens could afford to decorate their *kamision* with emblems, stripes, and cuffs. The elite would wear the tunic as an undergarment, with luxurious additional layers. It should be noted, that here, too, the elite had to follow a degree of protocol.

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<sup>137</sup> Rautman, *Daily Life in the Byzantine Empire*, 46.

<sup>138</sup> Ibid.

<sup>139</sup> Rautman, *Daily Life in the Byzantine Empire*, 46

<sup>140</sup> Ibid, 48.

For instance, it was prohibited for anyone to dress in purple apparel as it was reserved exclusively for the imperial family and exceptionally high-ranking officers. Beards, too, during late antiquity were a luxury only afforded to emperors and philosophers.<sup>141</sup> Long hair was very vogue during the fifth century, a custom among the Germanic tribes too. However, proceeding the fifth century, men wore their hair shorter.<sup>142</sup> As for footwear, citing primary sources, Rice asserts that working-class men went barefoot during the fifth and sixth centuries.<sup>143</sup>

According to Rice, the Byzantines used to see nature as a gift from God and, thus, they were very interested in the subject.<sup>144</sup> Flowers mentioned in the Bible became favorites of the Byzantines. Indeed, roses and narcissi were particularly adored by the people. Other than flowers, horticulture was advanced enough to sustain and maintain vegetable gardens. Primary sources inform us that the Great Palace and the surrounding area maintained such gardens.

There is a high number of written primary sources that are often referred to in Byzantine scholarship. Consequently, many scholars claim that the literacy rate of the Constantinopolitans was an equally high number. Indeed, literate students would be educated at the university, or the

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<sup>141</sup> Rautman, *Daily Life in the Byzantine Empire*, 47.

<sup>142</sup> Ibid.

<sup>143</sup> Rice, *Everyday Life in Byzantium*, 165.

<sup>144</sup> Rautman, *Daily Life in the Byzantine Empire*, 12.

*pandidakterion*,<sup>145</sup> affecting the number of educated people in the empire.

Founded in 425 CE, under the reign of Theodosius II (r. 408 – 450 CE), the *pandidakterion* held two more Greek language chairs than those of Latin.<sup>146</sup>

Although the official language of empire is said to be Latin, its university showed favor to the Greek language.

During the Theodosian dynasty, between the fourth and sixth centuries, Constantinople hosted Greeks, Romans, Illyrians, Goths, Avars, Slavs, Bulgars, Armenians, Caucasians, and Turkic groups, making for a colorful cultural landscape. Subsequently, the Byzantine empire was not a true national state nor was it an ethnically homogenous population. This influenced the life and politics in the Byzantine empire and Constantinople. The seemingly lack of evidence makes it a difficult task to find and discuss any systematic discrimination in Constantinople. In fact, the Jewish population was recognized as complete citizens and, thus, their rights, synagogues, and cemeteries were protected within Constantinople and other cities such as Sardis.<sup>147</sup> According to Rice, different from Rome, Constantinople took a more passive approach and focused on defenses.<sup>148</sup> She supports her idea with the construction of land walls, sea walls, castles,

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<sup>145</sup> The Imperial University of Constantinople

<sup>146</sup> Bury, *Later History of the Roman Empire*, 232.

<sup>147</sup> Rautman, *Daily Life in the Byzantine Empire*, 16.

<sup>148</sup> Rice, *Everyday Life in Byzantium*, 105.



and aqueducts. Moreover, Rice alleges that the Orthodox Christian faith encouraged pacifism for Constantinopolitans.<sup>149</sup>

### **Daily Life of the Imperial Family**

The emperor and his family would spend most of their time in their palace, isolated and located at the east end of the city. The emperor would start his day at sunrise and finish in the early afternoon.<sup>150</sup> It should be noted that the Great Palace of Constantinople was not only the living quarter of the imperial family, but also the central administration offices of the empire. While we do not have enough information about the habits of those surrounding the emperor, it is very probable that they would finish before dark. Public street lighting was limited and, thus, night activities were potentially dangerous. Also, the number of the *vicomagistri*<sup>151</sup> in each region justifies this idea. According to Rice, in their spare time male members of the imperial family would play games in the palace gardens such as javelin throw, archery, and wrestling.<sup>152</sup> The female members of the family were not seen in public as frequently except to attend liturgies and ceremonies. That said, empresses form a large part of those who commissioned Byzantine palatial and religious architecture.

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<sup>149</sup> Rice, *Everyday Life in Byzantium*, 105.

<sup>150</sup> Ibid, 53.

<sup>151</sup> Officers who are responsible for watching the city after dark.

<sup>152</sup> Rice, *Everyday Life in Byzantium*, 46.

Purple was the color of imperial family and only imperial family members and high ranking officials were allowed to wear purple. Hence, purple was probably more visible in Region I, where the Great Palace was.

### **Daily Life of the Clergy and Officials**

Although dating to later periods from the ninth and tenth centuries, *De Ceremoniis*, Book of the Prefect, and Hagiographies have proven to be a fitting sources concerning the daily life of clergy members and officials. However, little is known regarding the daily life of clergy and officials from the fourth and fifth centuries. Important clergy members were living around the Church of St. Sophia in the fifth century CE. During the Council of Constantinople of 381 CE, the status of the patriarch of Constantinople increased, making the clergy more powerful. After 381, more people were attending church and, in turn, the church took more donations and people began to go to the churches more.<sup>153</sup> As stated, the church under the Theodosian Dynasty tried to integrate itself into the daily life of the people through a building program. Moreover, instead of banning Pagan practices, the church attempted to incorporate those traditions in with the Christian (tradition and fest).<sup>154</sup> In contrast to their western counterparts, clergy members in the Byzantine empire kept close contact with ordinary people as,

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<sup>153</sup> Rice, *Everyday Life in Byzantium* 72.

<sup>154</sup> Ibid, 59.

yet, another avenue toward fusing themselves in with daily life.<sup>155</sup> Ascetism and the monasteries were introduced with the Byzantine empire in the first quarter of the fifth century CE, but they were mostly around Egypt and Syria, therefore clergy of Constantinople was not affected by monasticism in the first half of the fifth century CE.

In the Byzantine empire, the emperor had the absolute power and the main mission of the officials was applying the decisions of the emperor.

Titles in the Byzantine empire were not hereditary and the officials were not appointed for life. Therefore, there was usually a competition among the officials. Rice asserts that at the end of the fourth century CE the number of the officials was 2000 in the Byzantine empire and they were the biggest part of the Byzantine nobility with the lands that they owned.<sup>156</sup> Until the time of Justinian I (r. 527-565 CE) the officials were favored by the public, but due to corruption took place in the early years of Justinian's reign the public attitude towards to the officials changed in a negative way.<sup>157</sup>

## **Conclusion**

In conclusion, just like their different housing, different demographic groups went through different daily lives. Those of the imperial family and elite classes play a larger role within primary sources and because most of

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<sup>155</sup> Rautman, *Daily Life in the Byzantine Empire*, 24.

<sup>156</sup> Rice, *Everyday Life in Byzantium*, 103.

<sup>157</sup> Ibid.

those sources were written by them. However, it would be wrong to consider this story as one that is complete. The lives and stories of imperial and elite classes only offer a part of a whole. That said, the study of daily life offers another story, another part, of the same whole. It complements the histories told by imperial and elite classes by offering a perspective of those who otherwise lack a voice or agency within such histories. It is for these reasons that the following chapter will analyze the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae* in search of information of the vernacular.

## CHAPTER III: DAILY LIFE OF CONSTANTINOPLE REGIONS AS PORTRAYED THROUGH THE *NOTITIA URBIS CONSTANTINOPOLITANAE*

### **The *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae* as a Primary Source**

As a regionary, the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae* divides Constantinian Constantinople into fourteen administrative regions with two outer regions: Region XIII and XIV. It lists major monuments and public spaces including a list of structures and complexes that some may not necessarily consider “major.” Subsequently, the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae* provides a thorough directory of there is a near-complete list of all residential dwellings and amenities. Thus, the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae* can be used to record the difference and similarities of the regions (Table 1). It should be mentioned that each region in the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae* differs greatly from one another (Table 1). For instance, Region VII lists three churches and sixteen distribution centers while Region IX lists no church and only four distribution centers although

the acreages of these two regions are same. This chapter will analyze the differences from one region to another with the intention of understanding the daily activities of respective occupants. By analyzing the differences from one region to another in this chapter I will try to prove beneficial to understanding the movements and activities of the occupants of those regions.

In addition to analyzing physical structures and spaces, examining the kinds of organizations in each region will also shed some light unto the daily activities of Constantinopolitans. For instance, during the fifth century Constantinople, there were four harbors, two on the Golden Horn (Prosporon and Neorion) and two on the Marmara coast (Julian and Theodosius). The activities and buildings that surrounded these structure complexes would have been different from the daily life of those regions more in-land. We can apply a similar logic to present-day İstanbul, where in Fatih district there are 329 mosques and only one shopping mall, while in Beşiktaş district there are thirty-nine mosques and four shopping malls. Also, acreages of these two districts are very close to each other. Both these regions and their daily activities in my opinion differ greatly from each other.

As a primary source, the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae* is open to interpretation. In this chapter I will analyze the text and I will try to interpret a daily life reconstruction region by region by analyzing the number of structures in the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae* as well as the topography

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV
<b>Area (Ha)</b>	42,3	37,5	21,8	42,6	31,6	36	58	24	57	110,5	187,6	110,8	24,2	(?)
Palace – <i>palatium</i>	2										1			1
Imperial house – <i>domus divina</i>	2		1						1	3	1			
Private house – <i>domus privata</i>	118	98	94	375	184	484	711	108	116	636	503	363	431	167
Streets – <i>vici</i>	29	34	7	35	23	22	85	21	16	20	8	11	(?)	11
Public bath – <i>thermae</i>	1	1			2		1		1	1			1	1
Private bath – <i>balneae</i>	15	13	11	7	11	9	11	10	15	22	14	5	5	5
Public bakery – <i>pistrina publica</i>	4				7	1			4	2	1		1	1
Private bakery – <i>pistrina privata</i>	15	4	9	5	2	17	12	5	15	16	3	5	4	1
Distribution center – <i>gradus</i>	4	4	10	7	9	17	16	5	4	12	7	9	8	5
Granary – <i>horrea</i>					4				2					
Portico – <i>porticus</i>	2	4	5	4	7	1	6	5	2	6	4	3	1	2
Harbor – <i>portus</i>			1		1	1						1		
Navy yard – <i>neorium</i>						1								
Church – <i>ecclesiae</i>		2		1			3		2	1	1		1	1
Cistern – <i>cisternae</i>					1						2			
Fountain – <i>nymphaea</i>				1	1					1				1
Forum – <i>fora</i>					1	1	1					1	1	
Column – <i>columnae</i>					1		1					1		
Senate house – <i>senatus</i>		1				1								
<i>Prytaneum</i>					1									
<i>Capitolium</i>								1						
<i>Basilicae</i>				1				1						
Tribunal – <i>tribunalia</i>		1	1											
<i>Augusteum</i>				1										
Mint – <i>moneta</i>												1		
Theatre – <i>theatra</i>		1											1	1
<i>Amphitheatrum</i>		1												
Hippodrome – <i>circus maximus</i>			1											
<i>Stadium</i>				1										
<i>Lusorium</i>	1												1	

**Table 1 Complete list of the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae* (Made by author)**

of the fifth-century Constantinople. In his 1962 article “Some Aspects of Daily Life in Byzantium,” Peter Charanis draws a one page reconstruction of a visitor’s day in a late antique Byzantine city by using a sixth century hagiography of St. Symeon.

As we near the gates we are confronted by piles of manure and dead bodies of animals lying about. Entering the city we see the school and the children playing about. If we stop to chat with them we may learn that they are spanked by the teacher when they are naughty or fail to prepare their lessons.<sup>158</sup>

This study will not function as a guide to the hypothetical fifth century visitor. However, it is partly inspired by such methodology and perspective and thus, should be mentioned. Such a reconstruction will not be a part of this study, but the idea of using a primary source in order to get information regarding the daily life in the late antique Byzantium is similar.

### **Notes Regarding the Translation of the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae***

This study will be using the latest translation of the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae* done by John Matthews in 2012.<sup>159</sup> The edition is the first complete translation of the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae*. Matthews is also able to shed more light unto the text and place it within its social context. Not only does Matthews translate sections regarding structures, but he also includes the preface of the tome as well as brief topographical

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<sup>158</sup> Peter Charanis, “Some Aspects of Daily Life in Byzantium” *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 8 (1962): 65.

<sup>159</sup> John Matthews, “*Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae*,” *Two Romes*, edited by Greg Lucy (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), p. 81-115.



descriptions and summaries of each region. The terminology used also differs from other translations of the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae*; Matthews translates *scalae* as “quays” instead of “landing-stages.” He translates *porticus* as “colonnades” and he makes the distinction of *perpetuae porticus* (continuous colonnades), *magnae porticus* (grand colonnades), and *maiores porticus* (greater colonnades).<sup>160</sup> It is crucial that the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae* does not use the term “*insula*” that means multi storey popular houses, instead it uses the term “*domus*” in which its meaning is still uncertain. However, in this study *domus* refers to single house.<sup>161</sup>

With the help of Matthews’s text, the following contains brief studies of each region with a particular focus of affected daily life. Thus, for the sake of continuity, Matthews’s edition will be the only translation that will be referred to in the following. So that, when “the text” appears it will refer to Matthews’s translation unless otherwise mentioned.

## Daily Life of the Regions as Portrayed Through the *Notitia Urbis*

### *Constantinopolitanae*

#### Preface

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<sup>160</sup> Matthews, “*Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae*,” 85.

<sup>161</sup> For more on the meaning of *domus*, see Christine Strube, “Der Begriff *Domus* in der *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae*,” in *Studien zur Frühgeschichte Konstantinopels XIV*, ed. H. Beck (Munich, 1973), 121-34.

## Translation<sup>162</sup>

The City of Constantinople, New Rome

It is often the case that men of learning, inspired according to the measure of their intellectual capacity by a restless desire for the unknown, apply their inquiring minds at one time to the customs of foreign peoples, at another to the secrets of the earth. Lest, to the detriment of general knowledge, anything should remain unknown; for they think it a mark of indolence if anything that exists in the world of men should lie hidden from them. While such men of learning grasp the measure of the lands in miles, the seas in stades, the heavens by conjecture, I considered it ignorant and neglectful, free as I am from every worldly duty, that knowledge of the city of Constantinople, which is a training ground for life itself, should lie hidden. This city, surpassing the praise won by its founder, did the virtuous care of the invincible emperor Theodosius, rendering spotless and new the face of antiquity, so enhance that nothing could be added to its perfection, be a man never so diligent. And so, after careful inspection of all its quarters, and after reviewing the numbers of the associations of men who serve it, I have put my pen to a faithful account of every detail within the confines of a register or list; so that the attention of the admirer, instructed in all its monuments and filled with astonishment at the fullness of such great felicity, may confess that for this city no praise or devotion is adequate.

## Analysis and Interpretation

From this dedicatory preface, a reader cannot learn too much of the daily life of the fifth-century Constantinople. However, the author describes Theodosius II (r. 408 – 450 CE) as an emperor who built on Constantine I's (r. 324 – 337 CE) legacy and made the city of Constantinople perfect, one that cannot be surpassed. The language and tone of the source implies that both the state and citizens favored Constantine I (r. 324 – 337 CE) in the fifth-century.

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<sup>162</sup> Matthews, "Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae," 86.

## Region I

### Translation<sup>163</sup>

Region I reaches out in length before those leaving the lower part of the palace in the direction of the Great Theatre. It is on level ground and becomes progressively narrower, while on its right flank it descends downhill to the sea. It is distinguished by the residences of the royal family and the nobility.

Contained in it are:

The aforesaid Great Palace

Lusorium

Palace of Placidia

House of Placidia Augusta

House of the Most Noble Marina

Baths of Arcadius

29 streets or alleys

118 houses

2 continuous colonnades

15 private baths

4 public bakeries

15 private bakeries

4 [distribution centers] steps

1 curator, with responsibility for the whole Region

1 public slave (*vernaculus*), who serves the general need of the Region and is its messenger

25 firemen (*collegiati*), appointed from among the various guilds, whose duty is to bring assistance in cases of fire

5 night watchmen (*vicomagistri*), to whom is entrusted the night watch of the city

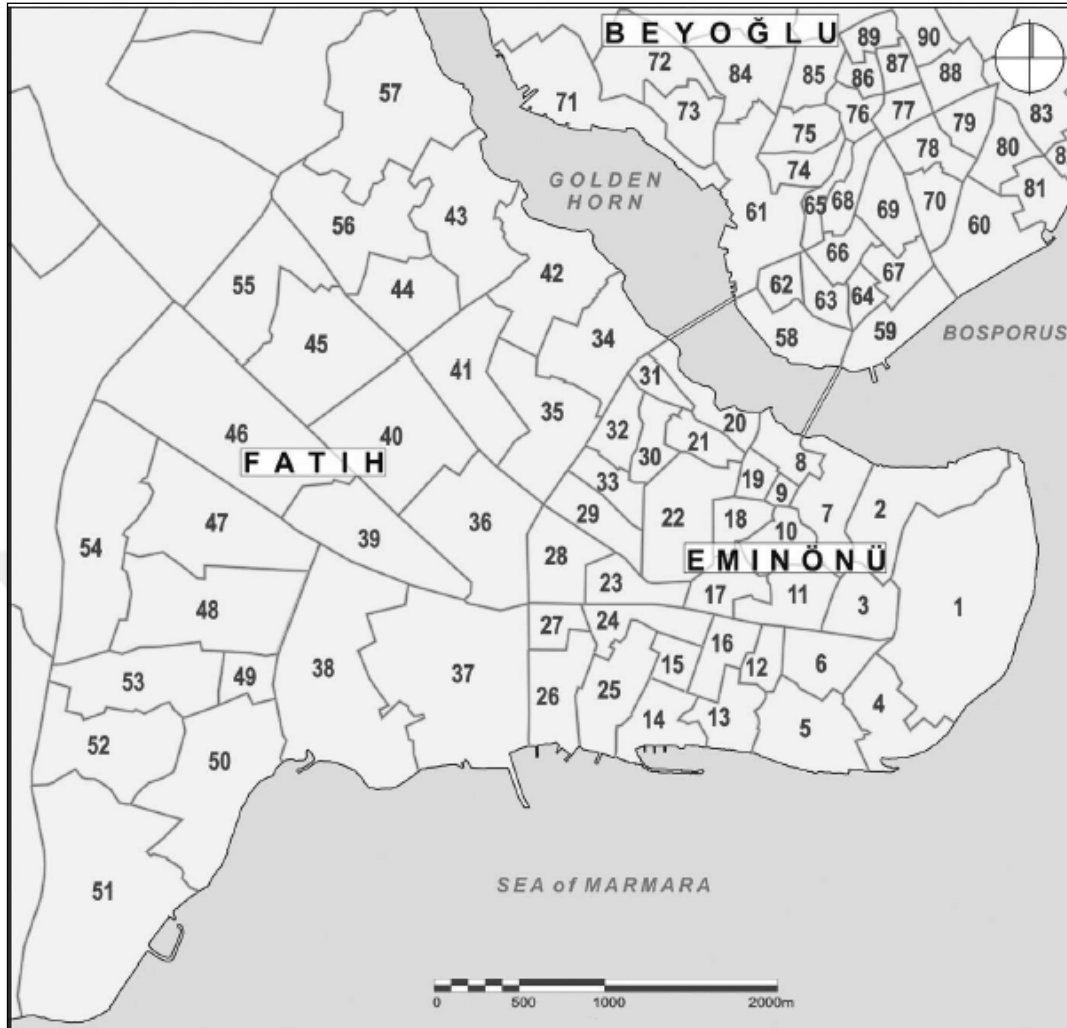
### Analysis and Interpretation

Region I was approximately 42.3 hectares<sup>164</sup> and was the eastern tip of the peninsula (Fig. 1). Its territory included the triangular area between the Hippodrome and the Marmara Sea. It included present-day İstanbul *mahalles* (neighborhoods) of Sultanahmet and the eastern part of Cankurtaran (Fig. 8).

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<sup>163</sup> Matthews, "Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae," 86-87.

<sup>164</sup> Drakoulis, "The Functional Organization of Early Byzantine Constantinople according to the Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae," 160.



**MODERN NEIGHBORHOODS(MAHALLE) IN ISTANBUL'S STUDY AREA**

- |                     |                        |                               |                           |
|---------------------|------------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. CANCURTARAN      | 23. BALANANAĞA         | 45. HIRKAI ŞERİF              | 67. HACİMİ                |
| 2. HOCAPAŞA         | 24. MİMAR EMALETTİN    | 46. TOPKAPI                   | 68. ASMALI MESCİT         |
| 3. ALEMDAR          | 25. NIŞANCA            | 47. ŞEHREMINİ                 | 69. TOMTOM                |
| 4. SULTANAHMET      | 26. KATIP KASIM        | 48. SEYYİD ÖMER               | 70. FIRUZAGA              |
| 5. KÜÇÜK AYASOFYA   | 27. MEŞİHPAŞA          | 49. CERRAHPAŞA                | 71. CAMİLKEBİR            |
| 6. BİNİRDİREK       | 28. KEMALPAŞA          | 50. KOCA MUSTAFAPAŞA          | 72. KULAKSIZ              |
| 7. HOBYAR EMİNÖNÜ   | 29. KALENDERHANE       | 51. YEDİKULE                  | 73. KADI MEHMET EFENDİ    |
| 8. RÜSTEM PAŞA      | 30. HOCA GIYASETTİN    | 52. SÜMBÜL EFENDİ             | 74. ÇATMA MESCİT          |
| 9. SURURİ           | 31. YAVUZ SİNAN        | 53. ŞİLVİRİKAPI               | 75. YAHYA KAHYA           |
| 10. TAYATAHUN       | 32. HACIKADIN          | 54. MEVLANAKAPI               | 76. HATUN                 |
| 11. MOLLAFENARİ     | 33. MOLLA HÜSREV       | 55. KARAGÜRMÜK                | 77. HÜSEYİNAGA            |
| 12. EMİN SİNAN      | 34. CİBALI             | 56. DERViŞ ALİ                | 78. KULOĞLU               |
| 13. ŞEHİSUVAR BEY   | 35. ZEYREK             | 57. AYVANSARAY                | 79. KATIP MUSTAFA ÇELEBİ  |
| 14. MUHSİNE HATUN   | 36. İSKENDERPAŞA       | 58. ARAP CAMİ                 | 80. CİHANGİR              |
| 15. SARAÇİŞAK       | 37. AKSARAY            | 59. KEMANKEŞ KARAMUSTAFA PAŞA | 81. PÜRTELAŞ HASAN EFENDİ |
| 16. MİMAR HAYRETTİN | 38. HASEKİ SULTAN      | 60. KILIÇALI PAŞA             | 82. ÖMER AVNİ             |
| 17. BEYAZIT         | 39. MOLLA GÜRAN        | 61. BEDRETTİN                 | 83. GÜMÜŞSUYU             |
| 18. MERCAN          | 40. AIKŞEMSEDDİN       | 62. EMEKYEME                  | 84. KÜÇÜK PİYALE          |
| 19. TAHTAKALE       | 41. ALİ KUŞÇU          | 63. BEREKTZADE                | 85. SURURİ MEHMET EFENDİ  |
| 20. SARİDEMİR       | 42. YAVUZ SULTAN SELİM | 64. MÜEYYEDZADE               | 86. KAMER HATUN           |
| 21. DEMİRTAŞ        | 43. BALAT              | 65. EVLİYA ÇELEBİ             | 87. ÇUKUR                 |
| 22. SÜLEYMANIYE     | 44. ATIKALI            | 66. ŞAKULU                    | 88. ŞEHİT MUHTAR          |
|                     |                        |                               | 89. BOSTAN                |
|                     |                        |                               | 90. BÜLBÜL                |

Figure 8 Present-day Istanbul administrative districts (*mahalles*) (Drakoulis, "The Functional Organization of Early Byzantine Constantinople According to the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae*, 159, map 2.)

The most prominent structure of Region I is the Great Palace (*palatium magnum*) because it is not only mentioned in the topographical description of the region, but it is first on the list. In addition, according to the latest excavations of the Great Palace, it is estimated that the complex extended over an area of approximately 100,000 m<sup>2</sup> (10 hectares).<sup>165</sup> By these calculations, the Great Palace occupied one-fourth (¼) of Region I.

There are three other imperial palaces in Region I: Palace of Placidia, House of Placidia Augusta, and House of the Most Noble Marina. Placidia Augusta was the daughter of Theodosius I and Marina was the sister of Theodosius II (r. 408 – 450 CE). Of Region I, scholars have claimed it “the most aristocratic part of Constantinople.”<sup>166</sup>

In terms of the housing density, Region I had low rate of 2.79 houses per hectare (Table 2). In comparison, the number of private baths and bakeries are relatively higher (Table 1). In fact, the ratio of private bakeries per hectare is the second highest of all fourteen regions (Table 4).<sup>167</sup> Thus, it is probable that economic activity was limited to smaller retail shops such as those underneath the porticoes, private bakeries, and private baths.

While churches are not listed, it is likely that the four palaces included their own chapels, as is the case with many Byzantine palaces.<sup>168</sup> The text

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<sup>165</sup> Asuman Denker, “Excavations at the Byzantine Great Palace in the Area of Old Sultanahmet Jail,” 13.

<sup>166</sup> Bury, *History of the Later Roman Empire*, 78.

<sup>167</sup> Region I is 42,3 hectares and has 15 private bakeries, and 15 private baths. Also see Table 1.

<sup>168</sup> Magdalino, “The Byzantine Aristocratic *Oikos*,” 94.

does not mention any water-related structures like cisterns or *nymphaea*, but, like religious spaces, it is probable that the palaces had their own cisterns underneath the building.<sup>169</sup>

Finally, the list mentions a *lusorium*, a structure built specifically for sports games. Its placement on the list allows the reader to understand its relative importance. In fact, it was the only one in the city. The structure would mainly hold tournaments for the Byzantine elite to play *Tzykanion*, a Persian game similar to Polo.<sup>170</sup>

Due to the large imperial presence, it is probably that the daily life of Region I revolved around the elite classes and the imperial families.<sup>171</sup>

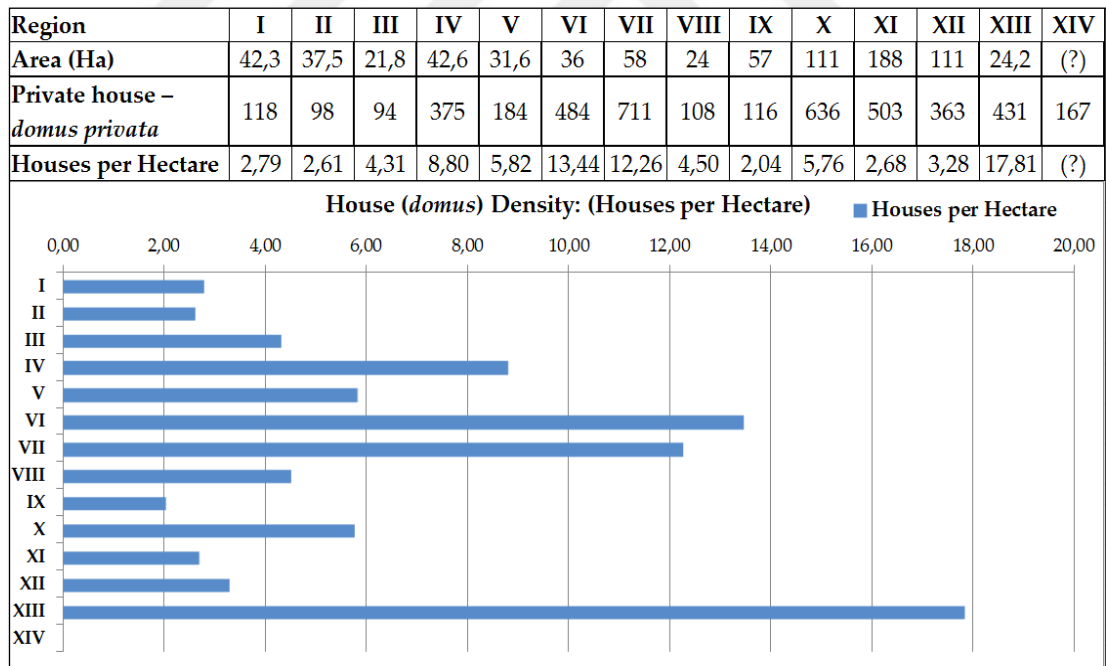


Table 2 Housing (*domus*) density according to the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae*. (Made by author)

<sup>169</sup> Magdalino, "The Byzantine Aristocratic *Oikos*," 94.

<sup>170</sup> Barbara Schrodt, "Sports of the Byzantine Empire," *Journal of Sport History* 8 (1981): 52.

<sup>171</sup> More information on the daily life in the Great Palace see page 35.

## Region II

### Translation<sup>172</sup>

Region II, starting from the Little Theatre, rises from level ground in a gentle, almost imperceptible ascent, then suddenly falls in steep cliffs to the sea.

Contained in it are:

Great Church (Hagia Sophia)

Old Church (Hagia Eirene)

Senate House

Court-house, built with porphyry steps

Baths of Zeuxippus

Theatre

Amphitheatre

34 streets or alleys

98 houses

4 grand colonnades

13 private baths

4 private bakeries

4 distribution centers/steps

1 curator

1 public slave

35 firemen

5 night watchmen

### Analysis and Interpretation

Region II was approximately 37.5 hectares.<sup>173</sup> It included the plateau between the north-east corner of the Hippodrome and the *Seraglio* point (present-day Sarayburnu). It, also, encompassed the Hagia Sophia, present-day Topkapı Palace Museum (Fig. 1) and the remainder of present-day *mahalle* of Cankurtaran (Fig. 8).

The most prominent structures from Region II were the Great Church (Hagia Sophia) and the Old Church (Hagia Eirene) because of their

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<sup>172</sup> Matthews, "Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae," 87-88.

<sup>173</sup> Drakoulis, "The Functional Organization of Early Byzantine Constantinople according to the Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae," 161.

importance dating back to the fifth century but also because they are placed at the top of the list. Structures that were given the next place of prominence were the administrative buildings such as the Senate House and the Court House. According to the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae*, there were two senate houses and two courthouses; one of each was located in Region II. Another important structure was the Amphitheatre. As the only one in Constantinople, it is likely that it shaped the daily life in the region.

With only 2.61 houses per hectare (Table 2), Region II rates among the lowest of all regions in terms of housing density, the lowest being Region IX. Low housing rates indicates that the daily life of Region II consisted of people commuting from other regions to engage in religious and social activities, bureaucratic procedures, and even entertainment. If commuting for religious purposes, people had the choice of either attending the Hagia Sophia or the Hagia Eirene, the most important churches of the time. Known as the Great Church, Constantius II (r. 337 – 361 CE) in 360 CE first built the Hagia Sophia, it was later rebuilt by Theodosius after a fire, in 415 CE.<sup>174</sup> Known as the Old Church (*Ecclesia antiqua*), until the construction of the Hagia Sophia, the Hagia Eirene used as the official imperial church of the empire.

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<sup>174</sup> Alfons Maria Schneider, *Die Grabung im Westhof der Sophienkirche zu Istanbul* (Berlin: Istanbulischer Forschungen, 1941). Architectural features of the Theodosian Hagia Sophia can be seen in the entrance of the present-day Hagia Sophia in Istanbul.



People could also visit Region II for administrative and legal affairs. The Senate House was built after 360 CE. The building was topped with a dome and statues of emperors as well as Greek and Roman mythological figures.<sup>175</sup> Today, there is no trace from the Senate House in Region II, but it is mentioned in the accounts of the Nika Riots from 532 CE.<sup>176</sup> A Court House (*Tribunalium*) was also in Region II, and it was a platform structure on which the judge's chair was placed and from which he pronounced official judgements.<sup>177</sup> It can also denote a court or the platform structure could be used by other officials.<sup>178</sup>

Region II also had an amphitheater and a theatre; one of Constantinople's three. Thus, one can gather that Region II was not only a religious and administrative center but an entertainment center, as well. Both Roman and Byzantine amphitheaters (*amphitheatra*) were places for various games including the gladiatorial and water games (*naumachia*). They were elliptical structures and completely closed, similar to today's football stadiums.<sup>179</sup> They had special seats for high ranking officials and boxes (like *kathisma* in the Hippodrome) for the imperial family members.<sup>180</sup> Different

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<sup>175</sup> Cyril Mango, *The Brazen House: A Study of the Vestibule of the Imperial Palace of Constantinople* (Copenhagen: I Kommission Hos Ejnar Munksgaard, 1959), 56-57.

<sup>176</sup> Procopius, *Buildings*, 1.2.1.

<sup>177</sup> Drakoulis, "The Functional Organization of Early Byzantine Constantinople according to the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae*," 173.

<sup>178</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>179</sup> Katherine Welch, *The Roman Amphitheatre: From Its Origins to the Colosseum* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 55.

<sup>180</sup> *Ibid.*, 296.

from the amphitheater, theatres (*theatra*) were for dramatic performances, a popular pastime during the early Byzantine period, but banned in 692 CE by Justinian II.<sup>181</sup>

Region II also held the city's largest public bathhouse (*thermae*), the Baths of Zeuxippus, and functioned as a significant space to socialize.<sup>182</sup> With multiple rooms, spaces for sports, lectures and library rooms and even restaurants and bars, the bathhouse served more than hygienic purposes.<sup>183</sup> They were also decorated with statuary. The sections for men and women were separated from each other. Public baths during the late antiquity played a large role in people's daily lives. As such, the Baths of Zeuxippos had such an influence on the daily life in Region II.

Similar to Region I, Region II had porticoes with shops, private bakeries, and private baths. According to this data, the economy in Region II relied primarily on the smaller retail.

Low house density, important churches, a senate house, a courthouse, an amphitheater, a theater, and the Baths of Zeuxippus made Region II one that attracted people from outer. Thus, it is probable that residents commuting from surrounding regions formed daily life of Region II.

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<sup>181</sup> Eli Rozik, *The Roots of Theatre: Rethinking Ritual and Other Theories of Origin* (Iowa: University of Iowa Press, 2005), 95.

<sup>182</sup> Garrett Fagan, "Socializing and the Baths," in *The Oxford Handbook of Social Relations in the Roman World*, ed. Michael Peachin (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 358-374.

<sup>183</sup> Drakoulis, "The Functional Organization of Early Byzantine Constantinople according to the Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae," 173; Fagan, "Socializing in the Baths," 360.

## Region III

### Translation<sup>184</sup>

Region III is level in its upper part, in that it holds there the broad expanse of the Circus (Hippodrome), from the far end of which it descends in a very steep gradient to the sea.

Contained in it are:

The aforesaid Circus Maximus (Hippodrome)

House of Pulcheria Augusta

New harbor (Harbor of Julian)

Semicircular colonnade, which from the resemblance in its construction is called by the Greek name Sigma

Tribunal of the Forum of Constantine

7 streets

94 houses

5 grand colonnades

11 private baths

9 private bakeries

1 curator

1 public slave

21 firemen

5 night watchmen

### Analysis and Interpretation

Region III was approximately 21.8 hectares,<sup>185</sup> the smallest of all regions. It included areas between the Forum of Constantine and the Great Palace (Fig.1). It, also, included present-day *mahalles* of Küçük Ayasofya and Binbirdirek (Fig. 8).

The dominant structure was the Hippodrome (*circus maximus*) and had a significant influence on the daily life of the region. The House of Pulcheria Augusta and the Court House are also included in Region III. The

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<sup>184</sup> Matthews, "Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae," 88.

<sup>185</sup> Drakoulis, "The Functional Organization of Early Byzantine Constantinople according to the Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae," 161

high number of *gradus* also played important urban roles within the region. According to the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae* there were 117 *gradus* (distribution center) in fifth-century Constantinople. *Gradus* was an elevated platform where bakers would distribute bread daily under the supervision of official and scribes.<sup>186</sup> Each eligible person's name was inscribed in the list of a *gradus* and this list was engraved on a bronze table and affixed to the *gradus*.<sup>187</sup>

The Hippodrome of Constantinople had a big impact on the daily life of the city. It was a symbol of imperial power, decorated with large monuments brought from all over the empire. Imperial family members could watch games and events from their imperial lodge (*kathisma*) that was connected to the Great Palace. According to Tamara Talbot-Rice the Hippodrome was, also, a "center of townspeople's lives."<sup>188</sup> Not only did it function as a sports arena, but it was also a center for celebrations, festivals, protests and other large, public gatherings.<sup>189</sup> On a regular day, it could hold four chariot races in the morning and four in the afternoon. Between races audience members were entertained with dancers, mimes, and acrobats.<sup>190</sup>

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<sup>186</sup> Bertrand Lançon, *Rome in Late Antiquity: 312-609* (New York: Routledge, 2001), 116.

<sup>187</sup> Lançon, *Rome in Late Antiquity: 312-609*, 116.

<sup>188</sup> Rice, *Everyday Life in Byzantium*, 146.

<sup>189</sup> Drakoulis, "The Functional Organization of Early Byzantine Constantinople according to the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae*," 176; Gilbert Dagron, *Naissance d'une capitale : Constantinople et ses institutions de 330 à 451* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1974), 328-30.

<sup>190</sup> Rice, *Everyday Life in Byzantium*, 146.

Indeed, with a capacity of approximately 100,000 it provided free all-day entertainment for every male.

The Harbor of Julian was, also, thought to be an important structure. At the time, harbors functioned as areas to dock vehicles, load and unload shipments of all sorts. They also served to store *annona* (grain dole) and had designated spaces for customs officials, ship owners, merchants, dockworkers, moneychangers<sup>191</sup> as well as sanctuaries, inns, taverns, and brothels.<sup>192</sup> Because of the harbor bringing people in and out, Region III probably had a more diverse populous than the rest of the city (and probably a more temporary one). The harbors in conjunction with private bakeries and the like also created an economy that was based on a mix wholesale and retail establishments. In addition, the *Sigma* (semicircular colonnade) was a fourth-century colonnaded street lined with shops. During the early Byzantine period the *Sigma* was associated with commerce and ceremony.<sup>193</sup> In other words, the *Sigma* was a combination of economical and public structure.

The text also lists several distribution centers (*gradus*). Originally Roman, the *gradus* would distribute bread to both bakeries and to the

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<sup>191</sup> Drakoulis, "The Functional Organization of Early Byzantine Constantinople according to the Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae," 169.

<sup>192</sup> Barbara Rosenwein, *A Short History of the Middle Ages* (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 2009), 66-68; Drakoulis, "The Functional Organization of Early Byzantine Constantinople according to the Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae," 169.

<sup>193</sup> Mango, "Commercial Map of Constantinople," 192.

public.<sup>194</sup> This region should be noted for their *gradus* because it had the most of all regions, with the highest ration of distribution centers per house (Table 3).

In conclusion, the daily life of the smallest region of Constantinople, was active due to the Hippodrome, the number of the distribution centers, and the Harbor of Julian, and the *Sigma*. The low number of houses supports the argument that there were fewer residents and more people commuting into the region. Thus, not all who contributed to the daily life of the region resided there.

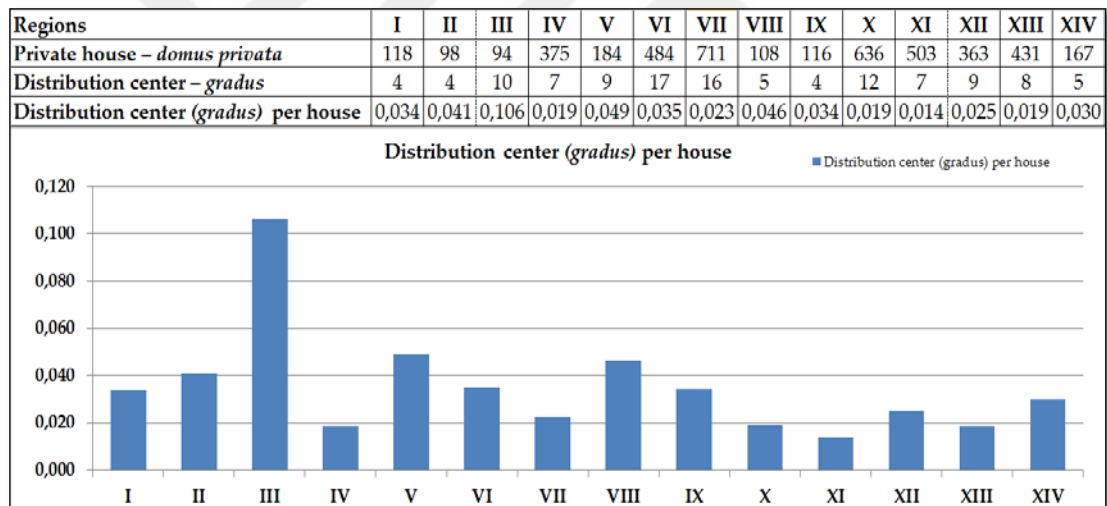


Table 3 Distribution center (*gradus*) per house according to the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae* (Made by author)

## Region IV

### Translation<sup>195</sup>

Region IV begins from the Golden Milestone (Milion), and with hills rising to right and left, follows the valley to level ground.

<sup>194</sup> For more on the definition of *gradus* see page 65.

<sup>195</sup> Matthews, "Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae," 89.

Contained in it are:  
The aforesaid Golden Milestone (Milion)  
Augusteum  
Basilica  
Nymphaeum  
Colonnade of Fanio  
Marble galley, in commemoration of the naval victory  
Church or martyrium of St. Menas  
Stadium  
Quay of Timasius  
35 streets  
375 houses  
4 grand colonnades  
7 private baths  
5 private bakeries  
7 distribution centers/steps  
1 curator  
1 public slave  
40 firemen  
5 night watchmen

### Analysis and Interpretation

Region IV was approximately 42.6 hectares.<sup>196</sup> It ran from Augusteum to the Golden Horn with the Acropolis of Constantinople (Region II) on the right and Region V on the left (Fig. 1). It included present-day *mahalles* of Alemdar and a small part of Cankurtaran (Fig. 8). None of the structures are particularly noted for their size. However, the region holds significant public spaces.

In terms of size, there is no single dominant structure in the region, but the public spaces such as the *Augusteum*, the Basilica, the *Milion*, and the marble monument commemorating the naval victory are important structures from Region IV. The only stadium in the city is in Region IV as

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<sup>196</sup> Drakoulis, "The Functional Organization of Early Byzantine Constantinople according to the Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae," 161.

well. According to the text, there are four *nymphaea* (monumental fountain) in the city and one of them is in Region IV. The number of the houses, private bakeries, private baths, and distribution centers are relatively average and would have been affected by the daily activities of such a public center.

The *Milion*, translated as milestone, was the starting point of *Via Egnatia*, an ancient road dating to the second century BC and built to connect Rome and Byzantium. Erected by Constantine I (r. 324 – 337 CE), it was a grandiose structure with a dome supported by four arches, decorated with statues. <sup>197</sup> It also marked the beginning of the *Mese*, the main thoroughfare connecting all the forums in the city (Fig. 5). As the official milestone of the empire it also functioned as a public monument.

The *Augusteum* was one of the largest public spaces in the city. It was a rectangular, semi-open space built during the reign of Constantine I (r. 324-337 CE). Unlike a forum, the *Augusteum* resembled with a restricted access. <sup>198</sup> The space was centrally located in between the Forum of Constantine, the Great Palace, the Hippodrome, and the Hagia Sophia. Furthermore, it also incorporated public monuments such as the *Milion*, the Statue of Helena (Constantine I's mother) and the Statue of Justinian I were also the parts of the *Augusteum*. Both the location and the adjacent and included monuments

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<sup>197</sup> "Mese," *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* 2, ed. A. Kazhdan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 1346.

<sup>198</sup> Mango, *The Brazen House*, 19.



allowed the space to develop into one of the city's centers. Indeed, Region IV was probably active with daytime foot traffic.

According to the text, there were two *basilicas* at the time and one of them was in Region IV. The term *basilica* refers to a type of structure used to host large amounts of people such as churches, markets, courthouse, and palace audience hall.<sup>199</sup> The *basilica* of Region IV was a square plan framed by interior columns and surrounded by exterior porticoes.<sup>200</sup> *Basilicas* also served as a legal and cultural public space where rhetoricians and lawyers assembled.<sup>201</sup> Indeed, if the *basilica* functioned as a judiciary space, it would have certainly been an important aspect of the daily life of Region IV and of late antique Constantinople.

The only *stadium* (stadium) in the fifth-century Constantinople was in Region IV and another indication that Region IV was significant center within the city. The structure was located immediately west of the *Seraglio* and built during the reign of the ancient Greeks, Byzantion (r. 667 BC – 195 CE).<sup>202</sup> Unlike the hippodrome, the *stadium* was only used for sports and athletic contests. However, it was a public structure with the approximate capacity of 15,000 to 20,000 spectators.<sup>203</sup>

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<sup>199</sup> "Basilica," *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* 1, 264.

<sup>200</sup> Drakoulis, "The Functional Organization of Early Byzantine Constantinople according to the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae*," 173.

<sup>201</sup> Janin, *Byzantine Constantinople*, 157.

<sup>202</sup> *Ibid*, 429.

<sup>203</sup> Drakoulis, "The Functional Organization of Early Byzantine Constantinople according to the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae*," 177.

The housing density is a little above average (Table 2). Considering that Region IV had an average number of private bakeries and baths and an absence of an imperial palace, it is likely that the inhabitants of Region IV were middle-class (Table 1). In short, the daily life of Region IV, as a city center, was probably active.

The presence of colonnades (*porticos*) with shops as well as private bakeries and baths points to a retail-based economy, rather than one based on wholesale.

From the structures listed in the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae*, it is probably that Region IV was an important city center. In addition to important public spaces and public monuments, the Church/Martyrium of St. Menas and the *nymphaeum* (public fountain) in Region IV added to the centrality of Region IV.

During the fifth century CE, the population of Constantinople increased dramatically. To accommodate (and profit) from such a shift, the elite classes built and managed apartment buildings or “skyscrapers.”<sup>204</sup> These skyscrapers were five- to nine-story apartment buildings and probably formed an urban fabric similar to present-day “urban slums.”<sup>205</sup> These skyscrapers would rent out rooms to lower-class families. Although Region IV’s housing density is above average (Table 2), it is not exceedingly high as

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<sup>204</sup> Rautman, *Daily Life in the Byzantine Empire*, 21.

<sup>205</sup> *Ibid.*

to indicate the presence of such slums. It is very probable that such slums were located in the regions with dramatically high housing density.

## Region V

### Translation<sup>206</sup>

Of Region V, a considerable part lies on hillsides which give way to level ground. In this Region are contained the buildings that supply the city with its necessities.

Contained in it are:

Baths of Honorius

Cistern of Theodosius

Prytaneum

Baths of Eudocia

Strategium, containing the Forum of Theodosius and a square Theban obelisk

Olive-oil warehouse

Nymphaeum

Troadensian warehouse

Warehouse of Valens

Warehouse of Constantius

Portus Proosphorianus (Harbor of Proosphorion)

Chalcedon quay

23 streets

184 houses

7 grand colonnades

11 private baths

7 public bakeries

2 private bakeries

9 [distribution centers] steps

2 meat-markets

1 curator

1 public slave

40 firemen

5 night watchmen

### Analysis and Interpretation

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<sup>206</sup> Matthews, "Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae," 89-90.

Region V was approximately 31.6 hectares.<sup>207</sup> It was a small region that ran along the northern shore of the Golden Horn and included one of the city's harbors: Proosphorion Harbor (Fig. 1). It includes present-day *mahalles* of Hocapaşa, Hobyar and parts of Taya Hatun and Molla Fenari (Fig. 8).

The dominant structures were public and economic such as the region's one forum, seven porticoes, and the *Strategion*, that were both public and economic centers, as well as four warehouses (*horrea*) and two wholesale meat-markets, a harbor, seven public bakeries (*pistrina publica*), and two public baths (*thermae*) (Table 1). It is apparent through the nature and function of its structures, the region was primarily commercial-based. In addition, the brief topographical description of Region V says, "[...] *in qua necessaria ciuitatis aedificia continentur.*"<sup>208</sup> Therefore, the daily life in Region V was probably busy with people producing goods, doing manual labor, and even shopping.

There are six *horreas* (warehouses) listed in the text and four of them are in Region V. Those four were large, long and narrow structures that stored and distributed the essential goods such as bread, olive oil, and wine.<sup>209</sup> The locations of the four *horreas* in Region V are not certain.

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<sup>207</sup> Drakoulis, "The Functional Organization of Early Byzantine Constantinople according to the Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae," 162.

<sup>208</sup> Seeck, *Notitia Dignitatum*, 233. Translated by the author as: This region contains the buildings that supply necessary things for the city.

<sup>209</sup> Mango, "Commercial Map of Constantinople", 193.

However, according to Marlia Mundell Mango they were located on level ground close to the Prosporion Harbor.<sup>210</sup>

The *macellum* (wholesale meat-market) was a large market selling meat and fish to merchants to sell as retail goods.<sup>211</sup> During the late antiquity, the *macellas* only sold meat and fish. Only later did the wholesale market include vegetables and fruits.<sup>212</sup> Due to the great amount of fish and meat arrive by sea; scholars attest that the location of the market must have been close to the harbors of the city.<sup>213</sup> The four *macella* probably made Region V an economic center and more cosmopolitan because of the many merchants arriving from sea.

Region V had the most colonnades (*porticoes*) (Table 1). During the late antiquity, the colonnade functioned as a space to conduct retail commerce. Thus, with seven colonnades conducting a number of businesses under each one, Region V could be considered a commercial district. These colonnades were usually linked with forums and *Strategion*, a kind of forum that survived from the ancient Greek city Byzantion. The forums were both public and commercial centers and it is meaningful that the colonnades as well as the *Strategion* added to the dynamic and commercial daily life of Region V.

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<sup>210</sup> Ibid.

<sup>211</sup> Claire De Ruyt, *Macellum: Marché Alimentaire des Romains* (Louvain: Institut supérieur d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art, Collège Érasme, 1983), 188.

<sup>212</sup> De Ruyt, *Macellum*, 271.

<sup>213</sup> Mango, "Commercial Map of Constantinople," 194.

Region V had the most public baths (*thermae*). The *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae* lists nine public baths with two in Region V: the Baths of Honorius and the Baths of Eudocia. As stated, these spaces had other functions than that of hygiene. They were social and leisure centers. It is very probable that these two public baths also made the daily life of the region more active.

The Proshorion Harbor was another structure from Region V that supports the argument that Region V as an active and commercial region. Aforementioned, the harbors were large complexes with dockyards with residential and entertainment spaces such as inns, taverns, brothels, and more.<sup>214</sup> Not only could the harbor welcome in new and foreign trade, it also built a social life around itself.

Region V included seven public bakeries (*pistrina publica*) (Table 1). With a total of twenty-one bakeries listed throughout the text, this made Region V an important production center. With four warehouses in the region, storing grain and olive oil, it is natural that their production be concentrated around the area.

The economy of the region was based on both wholesale and retail economy because of the *macella* and the high number of the porticos as well as with the forums like the *Strategion* in the region.

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<sup>214</sup> For more on harbors, see Paul Magdalino, "The Maritime Neighborhoods of Constantinople: Commercial and Residential Functions, Sixth to Twelfth Centuries," *DOP* 54 (2000), 209-226.

Finally, Region V had a crucial administrative structure as well, *Prytaneum*. *Prytaneum* was the official building of the *prytaneis* (mayor) usually located in the center of the cities. It was more than a administrative structure, because it served many functions and served many functions and housed several activities such as official dinners, religious ceremonies, keeping the archives, housing welfare institutions, and so on.<sup>215</sup> Presence of the *Prytaneum* supports the hypothesis that Region V was the center of city.

In short, the functions of the structures as well as their locations indicate that Region V was the center of fifth-century Constantinople. It is very probable that Region V was an important production, public, administrative, and commercial center of the fifth-century Constantinople. The markets, warehouses, bakeries, and colonnades made it ideal for wholesale and individual shopping. The region was an important production center as well. Finally, the structures such as the *Strategion*, the Proosphorion Harbor, the *Prytaneum*, the Baths of Honorius and the Baths of Eudocia would have added to the social dynamic of daily life in the region.

## **Region VI**

### Translation<sup>216</sup>

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<sup>215</sup> Stephen Gaylord Miller, *The Prytaneion: Its Function and Architectural Form* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978), 4; Drakoulis, "The Functional Organization of Early Byzantine Constantinople according to the Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae," 162.

<sup>216</sup> Matthews, "Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae," 90-91.

Region VI after a short stretch of level ground lies for the rest downhill. Its area extends from the Forum of Constantine as far as the quay and ferry crossing the Sycae.

Contained in it are:

Porphyry column of Constantine  
Senate House in the same place  
Shipyards  
Harbor (Harbor of Neorion)  
Sycae quay  
22 streets  
484 houses  
1 grand colonnade  
9 private baths  
1 public bakery  
17 private bakeries  
17 [distribution centers] steps  
1 curator  
1 public slave  
49 firemen  
5 night watchmen

### Analysis and Interpretation

Region VI was approximately 36 hectares.<sup>217</sup> Like Region V it ran along the northwest shore of the Golden Horn, facing *Sycae* (Galata) (Fig. 1) and incorporated a harbor, a navy yard, and one quay. It included present-day *mahalles* of Rüstempaşa, Tahtakale, Sururi and parts of Taya Hatun, Molla Fenari, and Beyazıt (Fig. 8). This shore facing *Sycae* (Galata) had one harbor, one navy shipyard, and one quay.

The Forum of Constantine, built in 330 CE, is the most important structure as it is mentioned in the brief topographical description as well as first on the list. It had a circular form surrounded by a portico and like the other forums it was both a public and commercial center. However, it is the

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<sup>217</sup> Drakoulis, "The Functional Organization of Early Byzantine Constantinople according to the Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae," 162.



high housing density (Table 2), maritime structures, as well as the highest concentration of the distribution centers (*gradus*) (Table 3) and high numbers private bakeries (*pistrina private*) that provide a better understanding of daily life in Region VI during the fifth century.

Region VI holds the second highest housing density, suggesting a residential and probably crowded region. With such a saturated housing arrangement, it seems appropriate that the region had the highest number of distribution centers (*gradus*) and private bakeries (*pistrina private*). Baked bread (*artos*) was the main cereal of the late antique Byzantium and distribution centers and bakeries were the only places where it was sold.<sup>218</sup>

In addition to its residential character, structures such as the Harbor of Neorion, the Navy Shipyard (*neorium*), and the Quay of Galata (*scalam sycenam*) made Region VI a maritime region.

Thanks to the Quay of Galata and the Harbor of Neorion, across from Galata, Region VI remained a center of maritime trade. Indeed, during late antiquity and middle ages, Galata was the main center of the merchants coming to Constantinople.<sup>219</sup>

During the late antiquity *scalai* (quays) served as mooring stations for small- and medium-sized ships. However, a quay comprised not only a dock made of an earth embankment fronted by a wall of wooden piles, but it, also,

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<sup>218</sup> Rautman, *Daily Life in the Byzantine Empire*, 46.

<sup>219</sup> William Schaw Lindsay, *History of Merchant Shipping and Ancient Commerce* (London: Sampson Low, 1874), 247.

comprised of a fenced territory of houses, workshops, and booths of moneychangers.<sup>220</sup> Indeed, the quays (*scalai*) could function like small harbors.

Region VI had one *Neorium* (Navy Shipyard), the only one of the city. It functions as an area to build and repair naval ship.<sup>221</sup> Thus, the *Neorium* added to the maritime character of Region VI.

Region VI was a combination of both residential and maritime characteristics due to its housing density and three maritime structures facing a crucial region, Galata. The three maritime structures were located in the north of the region. To the south, the region bordered with the Forum of Constantine. Thus, both north and southern points would have been relatively active everyday, with the section in between populated with a congested housing plan.

With only one *portico*, the economic activity was probably limited to its maritime commerce, because the region has only one portico and has no wholesale meat-market (*macellum*). However, the Forum of Constantine is located in the region. Therefore, the economic activity in the region was probably taking place around the Forum of Constantine and the Harbor of Neorion. In this situation we can say that the economy was the mixture of retail and wholesale economy.

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<sup>220</sup> Magdalino, "Maritime Neighborhoods of Constantinople," 224

<sup>221</sup> Drakoulis, "The Functional Organization of Early Byzantine Constantinople according to the Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae," 177.

## Region VII

### Translation<sup>222</sup>

Region VII is more level in comparison with the preceding, although it too falls away to the sea at the furthest point of its flank. This Region runs with continuous colonnades from the right-hand side of the Column of Constantine up to the Forum of Theodosius, with other colonnades extending similarly to the side. The whole Region descend to the sea and there comes to an end.

Contained in it are:

3 churches, namely: Irene, Anastasia, and St. Paul

Column of Theodosius, with a staircase inside leading to the top

2 great equestrian statues

Part of the aforementioned Forum (Forum of Theodosius)

Baths of Carosa

85 streets

711 houses

6 grand colonnades

11 private baths

12 private bakeries

16 [distribution centers] steps

1 curator

1 public slave

80 firemen

5 night watchmen

### Analysis and Interpretation

Region VII was approximately 58 hectares.<sup>223</sup> It encompassed the valley descending from the Forum of Theodosius to the Golden Horn, to the south it bordered the *Mese* and to the north with the Golden Horn (Fig. 1). It included present-day *mahelles* of Sarıdemir, Demirtaş, Hoca Gıyasettin, Süleymaniye and part of Balabanağa, Mimar Kemalettin, and Beyazıt (Fig. 8) as well as the İstanbul University and the Süleymaniye Mosque Complex.

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<sup>222</sup> Matthews, "Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae," 91.

<sup>223</sup> Drakoulis, "The Functional Organization of Early Byzantine Constantinople according to the Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae," 162.

The prominent structures of Region VII are three churches, the most of any other region (Table 1), and the Forum of Theodosius. However, it also had the most private houses and the most streets of any region (Table 1). Thus, this data may offer more information regarding the daily life of Region VII. Like Region VI, the house density (Table 2) and the number of the bakeries in Region VII are high (Table 1). The *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae* draws the picture of Region VII as a densely populated residential center and an important religious center.

It is very probable that the Region VII was a residential district since it had the most houses and streets. It is interesting that, unlike the other regionaries the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae* does not use the term “*insula*”, instead it uses the term “*domus*” in which its meaning is still uncertain. As stated, in this study *domus* refers to single house.<sup>224</sup> Therefore, the Region VII was a heavily populated region and it influenced the daily life in the region. Due to the highest number of houses and streets, Region VII was probably one of the aforementioned “skyscrapers” slums of Constantinople.<sup>225</sup> Skyscrapers were five- to nine-story apartment buildings managed and operated by elite classes and rented out to low-class families. Both historically and today, slums can be understood and identified by a concentration of housing and an overpopulation of residents, along with

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<sup>224</sup> For more on the meaning of *domus*, see Christine Strube, “Der Begriff Domus in der Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae,” in *Studien zur Frühgeschichte Konstantinopels XIV*, ed. H. Beck (Munich, 1973), 121-34.

<sup>225</sup> Rautman, *Daily Life in the Byzantine Empire*, 64.

lower than average standards of living. Region VII has the highest concentration of housing (Table 2). It is plausible that the region was host to Constantinople's fifth-century slums.

Region VII could have been a religious center as it had three churches: The Church of Irene, the Church of Anastasia, and the Church of St. Paul. These churches are also on the top of the list. The information regarding these churches is very limited. While their exact locations are unknown, Janin states that the Church of Anastasius was an early fifth-century church and the Church of St. Paul could be dated to the mid-fourth century CE.<sup>226</sup> The Church of St. Paul in the Region VII was dedicated to the sixth bishop of Constantinople, Saint Paul the Confessor (337-339 and 346-350 CE).<sup>227</sup>

Given the structures and their functions, it would appear that Region VII had both residential as well as religious characteristics of daily life. The Forum of Theodosius made the daily life in the region more active. The six porticoes and the numbers of the bakeries in the region suggest the economy was based on smaller retail shops.

## **Region VIII**

### Translation<sup>228</sup>

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<sup>226</sup> Janin, *Byzantine Constantinople*, 59-60.

<sup>227</sup> Alexander Van Millingen, *Byzantine Churches in Constantinople: Their History and Architecture* (London: Macmillan and co., 1912), 86.

<sup>228</sup> Matthews, "Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae," 92.

Region VIII, beginning from the Bull, at no point touches the sea. It is somewhat narrow rather than wide in shape but compensates for this by its extension in length.

Contained in it are:

Part of the Forum of Constantine  
Left-hand colonnade (*Mese*), as far as the Bull  
Basilica of Theodosius  
Capitolium  
21 streets  
108 houses  
5 greater colonnades  
10 private baths  
5 private bakeries  
5 distribution centers/steps  
2 meat-markets  
1 curator  
1 public slave  
17 firemen  
5 night watchmen

### Analysis and Interpretation

Region VIII was approximately 24 hectares<sup>229</sup> and was landlocked. It was narrow and ran along the southern side of the *Mese* from the Forum of Constantine to the *Capitolium* (Fig. 1). It included present-day *mahalles* of Mesihpaşa and parts of Mimar Kemalettin and Mimar Hayrettin (Fig. 8).

The *Mese* was the most prominent space of Region VIII along with other public spaces (part of the Forum of Constantine, the *Capitolium*, and the Basilica of Theodosius) and commercial structures (two wholesale meat-market and five greater porticoes). There were few such structures (Table 1) due to its small size and shape. The housing density is below average. There are fewer residential structures such as imperial houses, private houses,

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<sup>229</sup> Drakoulis, "The Functional Organization of Early Byzantine Constantinople according to the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae*," 163.

bakeries, and distribution centers. In addition, the house density of the region is below the average (Table 2). Therefore, the text creates a relatively public and commercial image Region VIII.

Region VIII was small but it had three important public structures: Part of the Forum of Constantine, the *Capitolium*, and the Basilica of Theodosius. Consequently, it was probably one of the important public centers of the city. The region also had five *porticus maiores* (greater porticoes) that were both public and commercial areas.

As stated, the Forum of Constantine had a circular form surrounded by a portico; like the other forums it was both a public and commercial center. The *Capitolium* was a public structure located on the Forum of Constantine at an elevated position.<sup>230</sup> It was built during the reign of Constantine I (r. 324 – 337 CE) and must have served, originally, as a pagan or semi-pagan temple connected to the imperial cult.<sup>231</sup> In 425 CE, it was converted into *pandidakterion* (university), but at the time the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae* was written it was still functioning as a cultural public space.<sup>232</sup> As stated, a *basilica* was a structure used for large assemblies and serving as a market, judiciary or palace audience hall.<sup>233</sup> Thus, the Basilica of Theodosius in the Region VIII was another public and commercial structure.

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<sup>230</sup> Drakoulis, "The Functional Organization of Early Byzantine Constantinople according to the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae*," 172.

<sup>231</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>232</sup> Bury, *Later History of the Roman Empire*, 232.

<sup>233</sup> Drakoulis, "The Functional Organization of Early Byzantine Constantinople according to the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae*," 172.

According to Cedrenus, the dimensions of the Basilica of Theodosius were 240x84 Roman feet (70x24 m: 1.8 hectares).<sup>234</sup> The structures mentioned above were dominant structures of Region VIII and created a public space for the region.

Region VIII had two out of four wholesale meat-markets (*macella*) and five greater colonnades (*porticus maiores*) that were the centers of retail commerce. Therefore the economy of the region was based on a mixture of wholesale and retail economy.

Due to the presence of large open spaces as well as markets and shops, Region VIII was an important public and commercial district. Marlia Mundell Mango attests that the economy of the region was based on food.<sup>235</sup> I agree with this idea due to presence of the two wholesale meat-markets (*macella*) in the region.

## **Region IX**

### Translation<sup>236</sup>

Region IX lies entirely downhill, falling away in a southerly direction and ending in a long reach of the seashore.

Contained in it are:

Two churches, Caenopolis and Homonoea

Alexandrian warehouse

House of the Most Noble Arcadia

Baths of Anastasia

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<sup>234</sup> Immanuel Bekker, ed. Georgius Cedrenus, Ioannis Scylitzae Ope (Bonn: Weber, 1838), 609.

<sup>235</sup> Mango, "Commercial Map of Constantinople," 298

<sup>236</sup> Matthews, "Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae," 92-93.



Warehouse of Theodosius  
16 streets  
116 houses  
2 greater colonnades  
15 private baths  
15 private bakeries  
4 public bakeries  
4 distribution centers/steps  
1 curator  
1 public slave  
38 firemen  
5 night watchmen

### Analysis and Interpretation

Region IX was approximately 57 hectares<sup>237</sup> and average size for the intramural regions.<sup>238</sup> It ran along the coastal area between the harbors of Julian and Theodosius (Fig. 1). It included present-day *mahalles* of Katip Kasım, Nişancı, Muhsine Hatun, Şehsuvar Bey and parts of Saraçışak (Fig. 8).

The prominent structures comprise of two churches and two warehouses. However, the number of the private and public bakeries, their density, and the topography provide more information regarding the urban functions and the daily life of Region IX.

As stated, Region IX corresponds to the area between two important harbors: The Harbor of Julian and the Harbor of Theodosius. The flat topography made transport easier (Fig. 9) and an ideal location to construct warehouses such as Alexandrian Warehouse and the Theodosian

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<sup>237</sup> Drakoulis, "The Functional Organization of Early Byzantine Constantinople according to the Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae," 163.

<sup>238</sup> As stated, Region XIII and Region XIV are the extramural regions outside of the fifth-century Constantinople.

Warehouse. Yenikapı Theodosian Harbor excavations showed that grain was brought into the harbor with cargo ships and transported to warehouses.<sup>239</sup> Indeed, the names of the warehouses support this hypothesis. The majority of grain was imported from the city of Alexandria to the Harbor of Theodosius.<sup>240</sup> Thus, the warehouses were named accordingly: Alexandrian Warehouse (*Horrea Alexandrina*) and the Theodosian Warehouse (*Horreum Theodosianum*).

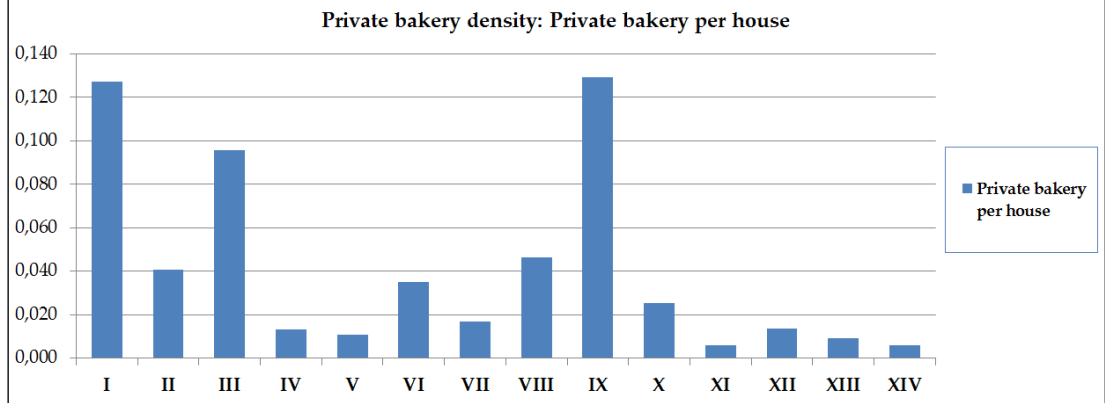
Compared to the number of houses, there are many bakeries in the region. Indeed, Region IV has the highest concentration of private bakeries (Table 4), while that of the public bakeries is second highest among the regions. The bakeries were the places of bread production. Therefore, the flat topography, location between the two important harbors, two warehouses, and the high number of the bakeries in Region IX denotes that this fifth-century region was an important production center, especially of bread.

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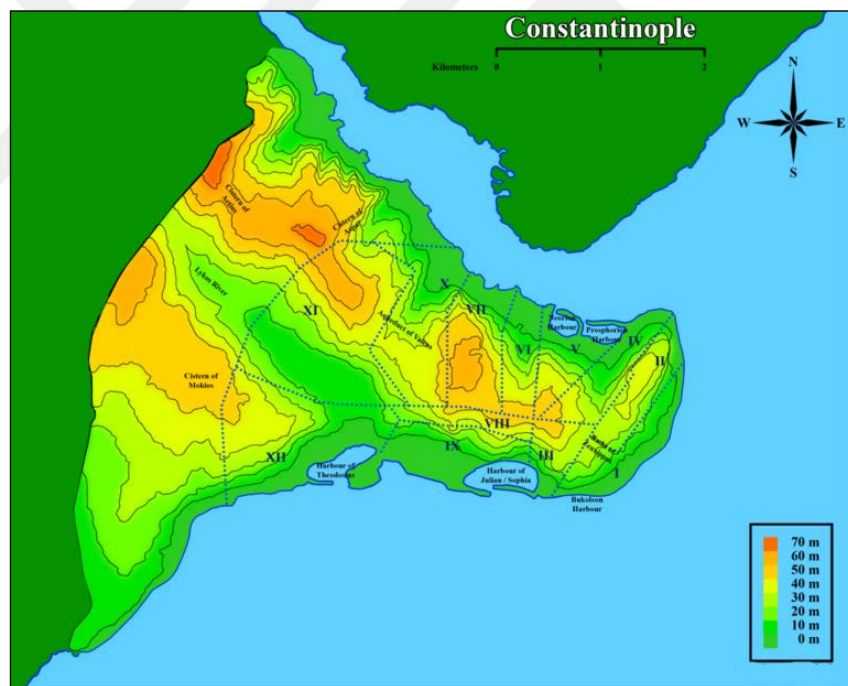
<sup>239</sup> Rahmi Asal, "Theodosius Limanı ve 'un Bizans Dönemi Deniz Ticareti," in *Birinci İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri Marmaray – Metro Kurtarma Kazıları Sempozyumu Bildiriler Kitabı*, ed. Ufuk Kocabaş (İstanbul: Arkeoloji Müzeleri Müdürlüğü, 2010), 153-161.

<sup>240</sup> *Ibid*, 159.

Regions	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV
Private house – <i>domus privata</i>	118	98	94	375	184	484	711	108	116	636	503	363	431	167
Private bakery – <i>pistrina privata</i>	15	4	9	5	2	17	12	5	15	16	3	5	4	1
Private bakery per house	0,127	0,041	0,096	0,013	0,011	0,035	0,017	0,046	0,129	0,025	0,006	0,014	0,009	0,006



**Table 4 Private bakery (*pistrina privata*) per house according to the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae* (Made by author)**



**Figure 9 Topographical map of Constantinople with the regions (<http://individual.utoronto.ca/safran/Constantinople/Map.html>)**

## Region X

### Translation<sup>241</sup>

<sup>241</sup> Matthews, "Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae," 93-94.

Region X lies over to the other side of the city, being separated from Region IX by a wide road that is like a river flowing between them. Its surface is quite level and nowhere hilly except for the parts by the sea. It is as wide as it is long.

Contained in it are:

Church or Martyrium of St. Acacius

Baths of Constantine

House of Placidia Augusta

House of Eudocia Augusta

House of the Most Noble Arcadia

Greater nymphaeum

20 streets

636 houses

6 greater colonnades

[22] private baths

2 public bakeries

16 private bakeries

12 distribution centers/steps

1 curator

1 public slave

90 firemen

5 night watchmen

### Analysis and Interpretation

Region X was 110 hectares.<sup>242</sup> It ran along area between the Forum of Theodosius and the northwest corner of Constantinian Constantinople (Fig. 1). It included present-day *mahalles* of Yavuz Sultan Selim, Cibali , Yavuz Sinan, Hacı Kadın, Molla Hüsrev, Kalenderhane, Kemalpaşa and parts of Balabanağa (Fig. 8). Similar to the regions in the west of the Forum of Theodosius (Region X, XI, XII, and XIV) Region X is a large and less developed in terms of the structures. Matthews describes the regions in the west of the Forum of Theodosius as “spacious”.<sup>243</sup> I agree with Matthews’ idea, because the structures are less in these regions (Table 1). In addition, in

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<sup>242</sup> Drakoulis, “The Functional Organization of Early Byzantine Constantinople according to the Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae,” 163.

<sup>243</sup> Ibid, 168.

his article regarding the imperial palaces in Region X and XI, Magdalino states that the houses in the eastern part of Constantinople were close to each other, unlike the western part of the city.<sup>244</sup> This characteristic of the fifth-century Constantinople is normal, because the city grew from eastern top to west, and this is also obvious in the early fifth-century text the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae*.

The prominent structures from Region X are three imperial houses (the House of Placidia Augusta<sup>245</sup>, the House of Eudocia Augusta<sup>246</sup>, and the House of Most Noble Marina<sup>247</sup>), the Church/Martyrium of St. Acacius, the Baths of Constantine, and the Greater *Nymphaeum*. Region X also has the second highest number of houses (Table 1). However, due to its large size, the housing density of the region is not high.

After analyzing the structures listed in the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae* we see that the numbers of the private structures (private bakeries and private baths) in Region X are very high and they give a better idea regarding the daily life and characteristics of the region. Region X has the highest number of private baths and the second highest number of private bakeries (Table 1). When we think three imperial houses with the

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<sup>244</sup> Paul Magdalino, "Aristocratic *Oikoi* in the Tenth and Eleventh Regions of Constantinople," in *Byzantine Constantinople: Monuments, Topography, and Everyday Life*, ed. Nevra Necipoğlu (Boston: Brill Academic Publishers, 2001), 53-69.

<sup>245</sup> Daughter of Theodosius I

<sup>246</sup> Wife of Theodosius II

<sup>247</sup> Sister of Theodosius II

high number of private structures it is very probable that Region X was an aristocratic region.

The Baths of Constantine was a large and important public bath (*thermae*) built in the mid fourth century CE.<sup>248</sup> As stated, the public baths were the places of bathing and socialize. The presence of such an important public bath in the region where there are the second highest numbers of houses makes sense, because bathing was a crucial need of the people. The Baths of Constantine probably made the region as important place for bathing and socializing, and probably an active daily life. Nonetheless, although the Baths of Constantine made it an important region for socializing and bathing, the aristocratic characteristic of Region X due to the imperial houses and high number of private bakeries and baths was more dominant.

The numbers of the public and commercial structures in Region X are very limited and these features do not make it a public nor commercial center. In short, Region X was an aristocratic and residential region due to the presence of three imperial houses, the second highest number of houses, and high numbers of private bakeries and baths. In addition, according to

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<sup>248</sup> Müller-Wiener, *İstanbul'un Tarihsel Topoğrafyası*, 62.

Magdalino this aristocratic characteristic of Region X seems to have continued in middle ages.<sup>249</sup>

## Region XI

### Translation<sup>250</sup>

Region XI is rather large in extent, and nowhere touches the sea. Its area is partly level, partly hilly and uneven.

Contained in it are:  
Martyrium of the Apostles  
Palace of Flaccilla  
House of Pulcheria Augusta  
Brazen Ox  
Cistern of Arcadius  
Cistern of Modestus  
8 streets  
503 houses  
4 greater colonnades  
14 private baths  
1 public bakery  
3 private bakeries  
7 distribution centers/steps  
1 curator  
1 public slave  
37 firemen  
5 night watchmen

### Analysis and Interpretation

Region XI was approximately 187 hectares,<sup>251</sup> and the largest region. It corresponds to the western part of Constantinian Constantinople and does not touch to the sea (Fig. 1). It included present-day *mahalles* of Ali Kuşçu,

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<sup>249</sup> Magdalino, "Aristocratic *Oikoi* in the Tenth and Eleventh Regions of Constantinople," 53-69.

<sup>250</sup> Matthews, "Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae," 94.

<sup>251</sup> Drakoulis, "The Functional Organization of Early Byzantine Constantinople according to the Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae," 163.

Zeyrek, Akşemseddin, İskenderpaşa, and Molla Gürani (Fig. 8). It is one of the three intramural regions on the west of the Forum of Theodosius and similar to Region X, Region XI was spacious in terms of the number of structures.

According to the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae* the prominent structures from Region XI are the Church of Holy Apostles, the Palace of Flaccilla<sup>252</sup>, the Imperial House of Pulcheria Augusta<sup>253</sup>, the Forum Bovis<sup>254</sup>, and two cisterns: the Cistern of Arcadius and the Cistern of Modestus.

Region XI has also the third highest number of houses (Table 1), but due to its large size the house density of the region is not high. Nonetheless, in the brief description of the region Region XI is described as “partly level, partly hilly, and uneven” (*est uero eius extension tam planai quam etiam collibus inaequalis*). The topographic map of the Constantinople confirms this sentence as well (Fig. 9). Therefore, it is probable that the structures were not distributed equally to the region.

Similar to the neighboring region, Region X, according to the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae*, Region XI was an aristocratic and imperial region. The Palace of Flaccilla and the House of Pulcheria Augusta are the indicators of the aristocracy and imperality of Region XI. Also, the number of the private baths in the region is very high (Table 1). In addition, the presence of

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<sup>252</sup> The first wife of Theodosius I

<sup>253</sup> Sister of Theodosius II

<sup>254</sup> In the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae*, the Forum Bovis is referred as “the Brazen Statue of Ox” that was located in the Forum Bovis.



the Church of the Holy Apostles in Region XI makes the daily life of the region even more aristocratic. Thus, the Church of the Holy Apostles was not only a cardinal point of Constantinople, but also the imperial cemetery visited frequently by imperial family members.<sup>255</sup>

The housing density of Region XI according to the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae* is not high, but the number of the private houses in the region is the third highest (Table 1 and 2). Accordingly, it is very probable that Region XI was also a residential region and had high population. This characteristic of the region must have influenced the daily life of the region and it is very probable that with high population and a forum the daily life in Region XI was active and crowded.

Different from the other regions, the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae* lists two cisterns in Region XI: the Cistern of Arcadius and the Cistern of Modestus.<sup>256</sup> According to the excavations and surveys Constantinople had hundreds of cisterns that were mostly built between the fourth and seventh century,<sup>257</sup> but the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae* lists only three cisterns. The sizes and locations of the cisterns in Region XI are not known, but according to Matthews the cisterns in Region XI should be at a high elevation in order to generate sufficient water pressure for effective distribution.<sup>258</sup>

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<sup>255</sup> Glanville Downey, trans, "Nikolaos Mesarites' Description of the Church of the Holy Apostles at Constantinople," *American Philosophical Society* 47 (1957): 891.

<sup>256</sup> Matthews, "Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae," 94.

<sup>257</sup> Müller-Wiener, *İstanbul'un Tarihsel Topoğrafyası*, 220

<sup>258</sup> Matthews, "Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae," 109.

In short, similar to Region X, Region XI was an aristocratic, imperial and residential region. In his article Magdalino also argues the aristocratic characteristic of Region X and XI due to the imperial palaces and houses located in these two regions.<sup>259</sup> Thus, it was containing one imperial palace, one imperial house, cemetery of the imperial family members, high number of private baths, and the third highest number of houses. Accordingly, the daily life of the region must have influenced from these features of the region, and it is probable that the elite-classes and imperial family members were playing role in the everyday life of the region.

## **Region XII**

### Translation<sup>260</sup>

Region XII is entirely level as it extends before those approaching the gate from inside the city, but on the left side it descends in gentle slopes and terminates at the sea. This region is enhanced by the lofty splendor of the city walls.

Contained in it are:

Golden Gate

Troadensian colonnades

Forum of Theodosius

Column of the same (Theodosius), with staircase inside

Mint

Harbor of Theodosius

11 streets

363 houses

3 greater colonnades

5 private baths

5 private bakeries

9 distribution centers/steps

1 curator

1 public slave

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<sup>259</sup> Magdalino, "Aristocratic *Oikoi* in the Tenth and Eleventh Regions of Constantinople," 53-69.

<sup>260</sup> Matthews, "Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae," 94-95.

17 firemen  
5 night watchmen

### Analysis and Interpretation

Region XII was approximately 110 hectares.<sup>261</sup> It corresponds to the southwest part of Constantinian Constantinople (Fig. 1). It included present-day *mahalles* of Haseki Sultan and Aksaray (Fig. 8). Like other regions on the west of the Forum of Theodosius (Region X, XI, XIV) Region XII was less developed in terms of structures and the number of the structures compared to their sizes and compared to the regions in the eastern part of the city are low.

Due to the low numbers of structures the densities of the houses, distribution centers, and private bakeries are low and do not allow making reliable analysis. However, the dominant and remarkable structures from Region XII are the Harbor of Theodosius, the Mint of Constantinople, and the Forum of Arcadius. When we analyze these structures they give a commercial characteristic to Region XII.

The *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae* draws a commercial character for Region XII due to the presence of the Harbor of Theodosius and the Mint of Constantinople. During the Yenikapı rescue excavations took place between 2004 and 2014 under the auspices of İstanbul Archaeological Museums, it was revealed that the Harbor of Theodosius was the largest harbor of

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<sup>261</sup> Drakoulis, "The Functional Organization of Early Byzantine Constantinople according to the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae*," 164.

Constantinople.<sup>262</sup> The harbor was approximately 500,000 m<sup>2</sup> (50 hectares).<sup>263</sup>

The harbor was built in the late fourth century during the reign of

Theodosius I and it was the center of *annona* mostly coming from

Alexandria.<sup>264</sup> The Harbor of Theodosius was one of the most important

harbors and a major point of trade during the late antiquity.

Aforementioned, the harbors were not only places for loading and unloading

the ships, but also the centers of commercial activities, both wholesale and

retail. They also had residential and social spaces for merchants and harbor

staff that made the daily life around the harbors more active and colorful.<sup>265</sup>

Accordingly, as the region containing the largest harbor of the city, the daily

life of Region XII was most probably commercial and active. The Mints

(*moneta*) were commercial structures striking coins and the only mint listed

in the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae* is in Region XII. The mint located in

the region supports the idea that Region XII was a commercial region. The

mint of Constantinople was built during the building programme of

Constantine I between 324 and 330 CE.

In short, the daily life of Region XII must have been commercial due to

the Harbor of Theodosios and the Mint of Constantinople, and active due to

the Forum of Theodosius and three greater porticoes including the

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<sup>262</sup> Asal, "Theodosius Limanı ve İstanbul'un Bizans Dönemi Deniz Ticareti," 153-161.

<sup>263</sup> Ibid, 154.

<sup>264</sup> Ibid, 155.

<sup>265</sup> Barbara Rosenwein, *A Short History of the Middle Ages*, 66-68; Drakoulis, "The Functional Organization of Early Byzantine Constantinople according to the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae*," 169.

Trodansian Portico . The structures giving information regarding the urban function and the daily life of Region XII are the commercial and public structures mentioned above. This is the reason that this study attests Region XII was a commercial region. Thus, the number of the houses in Region XII is low compared to its size and the region lack administrative, religious, and cultural structures (Table 1). It is very probable that the daily life of the Region XII was active due to the Harbor of Theodosius and the Forum of Arcadius.

The economy of the region was probably based on the mixture of wholesale and retail economy. The harbors and wholesale meat-markets were centers of wholesale economy and Region XII had the largest harbor of the city. In addition, the region has one forum and three greater porticoes that were the centers of retail economy.

### **Region XIII**

#### Translation<sup>266</sup>

Region XIII comprises Sycae, which is separated by a narrow inlet of the sea but maintains its connections to the city by frequent ferries. The entire Region clings to the side of a mountain except for the course of a single main street, space for which is barely provided by the level ground of the sea-shores lying under the aforesaid mountain.

Contained in it are:  
Church  
Baths of Honorius  
Forum of Honorius  
Theatre

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<sup>266</sup> Matthews, "Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae," 95-96.

Dock  
431 houses  
1 greater colonnade  
5 private baths  
1 public bakery  
4 private bakeries  
8 distribution centers/steps  
1 curator  
1 public slave  
34 firemen  
5 night watchmen

### Analysis and Interpretation

Region XIII is a region outside of Constantinian Constantinople, and it was approximately 24 hectares. It is divided from the city by the Golden Horn and it is also known as *Sycae* (Fig. 1). It corresponds to the valley running down from the Galata Tower to the Golden Horn, known as Galata and Pera. It included present-day *mahalles* of Arap Cami, Kemankeş Karamustafa Paşa and parts of Emekyemez, Bereketzade, and Müeyyedzade.

The house density of Region XIII is the highest, and this is the most important characteristic of the region (Table 2). This makes Region XIII a densely populated and residential region; hence it is very probable that the daily life of Region XIII was crowded and shaped by the residents of it.

What is more interesting regarding the daily life and urban function of the region that when we analyze the structures listed in the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae*, we see Region XIII is the only region that has religious (a church), entertainment (a *lusorium*, a theater), public (the Forum of Honorius), commercial (the Forum of Honorius, a portico, public bakeries,

private bakeries, private baths, a public bath), and social (a public bath, the Forum of Honorius) structures. In other words, Region XIII has the structures providing the main needs of the people. However, Region XIII has no administrative structure, and this supports the “half-independent” status of the region as described by Matthews and Berger.<sup>267</sup> In addition, we know from *Chronicon Paschale* that Justinian I (r. 527-565 CE) renamed *Sycae* as Justinianopolis,<sup>268</sup> and this supports the “half-independent” status of Region XIII.

In short, due to the high house density and structures providing the main needs of the people living in a separate site, Region XIII was probably a residential and self-sufficient region. It was also separated from the city by the Golden Horn. Therefore, residents were mainly shaping the daily life of the region.

## **Region XIV**

### Translation<sup>269</sup>

The Region that makes up the Fourteenth part of the city is so counted, despite the fact that it is separated from it by some distance lying between them and is protected by a wall of its own, in a way giving the appearance of a separate town. To those advancing from the city gate, the ground is level for a certain distance, but then with a hillside rising to the right it descend very steeply to a distance of about half-way along on the road. From this point as far as the sea there then extends a modest level area, which contains (this) part of the city.

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<sup>267</sup> Matthews, “Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitana,” 110; Berger, “Regionen und Strassen,” 373.

<sup>268</sup> Michael Whitby and Mary Whitby, trans, *Chronicon Paschale 284-628 AD* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2007), 110.

<sup>269</sup> Matthews, “Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae,” 96-97

Contained in it are:  
Church  
Palace  
Nymphaeum  
Baths  
Theatre  
Lusorium  
Bridge on wooden piles  
11 streets  
167 houses  
2 greater colonnades  
5 private bath  
1 public bakery  
1 private bakery  
5 distribution centers/steps

### Analysis and Interpretation

There is much debate concerning Region XIV about its size and location. For example, Berger's map omits Region XIV entirely. Therefore, this study will not be able to give a complete analysis of the daily life of Region XIV.

However, similar to Region XIII, which is another extramural region, Region XIV has the structures providing the main need of the residents: baths, bakeries, public fountain (*nymphaeum*), theatre, church, porticoes, and so on (Table 1). In addition, similar to Region XIII it does not contain any administrative structure. Hence, as a region separated from the city Region XIV can be another "half-independent" region. Moreover, the *Notitia Urbis*



*Constantinopolitanae* describes Region XIV as “in a way giving the appearance of a separate town”.<sup>270</sup>

In short, both the structures and the brief description of the region draws the picture of Region XIV as a “half-independent” and self-sufficient region. Hence, the daily life of the region was mainly shaped by the residents of the region.

### **Summary (*Collectio Civitatis*)**

#### Translation<sup>271</sup>

Now that we know it in its separate parts, it seems appropriate also to describe the configuration of the city taken in its entirety, to make clear the unique glory of its magnificence, the product of the labor of the human hand, supported also by the collaboration of the elements and the happy gifts of nature. For here indeed, by the consideration of divine providence for the homesteads of so many men of future ages, a spacious tract of land extending in length to form a promontory, facing the outlet of the Pontic Sea, offering harbors in the recesses of its shores, elongated in shape, is securely defended by the sea flowing on all sides; and the one space left open by the encircling sea is guarded by a double wall with an extended array of towers. Bounded by these, the city contains in itself all those things mentioned individually, which, the more firmly to establish the record of them, I will now gather together in summary.

There are contained in the city of Constantinople:

- 5 palaces
- 14 churches
- 6 Sacred Houses of the Augustae
- 3 Most Noble Houses
- 8 baths
- 2 basilicas
- 4 forums
- 2 Senate Houses
- 5 warehouses
- 2 theatres
- 2 *lusoria*
- 4 harbors

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<sup>270</sup> *Muro propria uallata alterius quadammodod speciem ciuitatis ostedit.* Seeck, *Notitia Dignitatum*, 241.

<sup>271</sup> Matthews, “*Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae*,” 97-98.

1 circus (hippodrome)  
4 cisterns  
4 *nymphaea*  
322 streets  
4388 houses  
52 colonnades  
153 private baths  
20 public bakeries  
120 private bakeries  
117 distribution centers/steps  
5 meat-markets  
12 curators  
14 public slaves  
560 firemen  
65 night watchmen  
1 porphyry column  
2 columns with stairs inside  
1 colossus  
1 golden tetrapylon  
1 Augusteum  
1 Capitolium  
1 Mint  
3 Maritime steps

The overall length of the city from the Golden Gate in a straight line as far as the sea-shore is 14,075 feet, and its breadth 6150 feet.

### Analysis and Interpretation

*Collectio civitatis* (summary) gives the total numbers of the all structures as well as the brief topographical description of the whole city. Aforementioned, there are some discrepancies between the numbers in *collection civitatis* and the numbers for the separate regions, but correcting and finding the roots of such discrepancies is both not possible and not one of the aims of this study.<sup>272</sup>

Naturally, it does not reflect the character of everyday life unlike the study of individual regions which hold a better lens when examining the

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<sup>272</sup> For more on the discrepancies between the numbers in *collectio civitatis* and separate region see page 11.

daily life of Constantinople. However, it gives information regarding the general topography, size and approximate population of the early fifth-century Constantinople.

## **Conclusion**

Although it is an inventory of the structures and personnel from the fifth-century Constantinople, the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae* exposes the daily life and urban characters of the regions. The source cannot provide a complete image of daily life during the fifth-century Constantinople, but it can reveal parts of the city that were more residential, which that were commercial centers, those that were public centers, and so on. For instance, the highest housing concentrations were within Regions VI, VII, and XIII (Table 2). Because these were the regions on the northern border of the city, along the Golden Horn (Fig. 1), one can posit that they were densely populated. Thus, the study of the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae* can show the different sociological properties for each region.

Aforementioned, the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae* lists the numbers of messengers, night watchmen, and firemen in each region. However, the numbers of messengers and night watchmen are same in each region. According to the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae* each region had one messenger and five night watchmen. On the other hand, the numbers of firemen in each region is different. For instance, there are 17 firemen in

Region XII, whereas there are 90 firemen listed in Region X. Only the numbers of the firemen in each region are not enough to make deductions regarding the daily life of each region. Nonetheless, we see that residential regions such as Region VI, VII, and X had more firemen and this can be explained with the wooden houses which were important causes of fires.



**CHAPTER IV: INTERPRETATION OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL  
FINDS OF SELECTED MONUMENTS FROM THE FIFTH  
CENTURY AND *THE NOTITIA URBIS  
CONSTANTINOPOLTANAE***

The previous chapter examined several regions and their respective characteristics such as religious, residential, public, commercial, and other. This chapter will focus on selected group of that have been dated to the first half of the fifth centuries from Region I, II, III, and IV, the old section of Byzantine Constantinople. The functions of these monuments differ from each other. This chapter focuses on six selected monument in the regions I, II, III, and IV, because in the previous chapter we have seen that these regions form the center of the city and they are richer in terms of diversity and numbers of structures. In addition, this study had to limit its sample. However, one of my future aims is to expand the research on fourth and fifth-century monuments absent in the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae*.

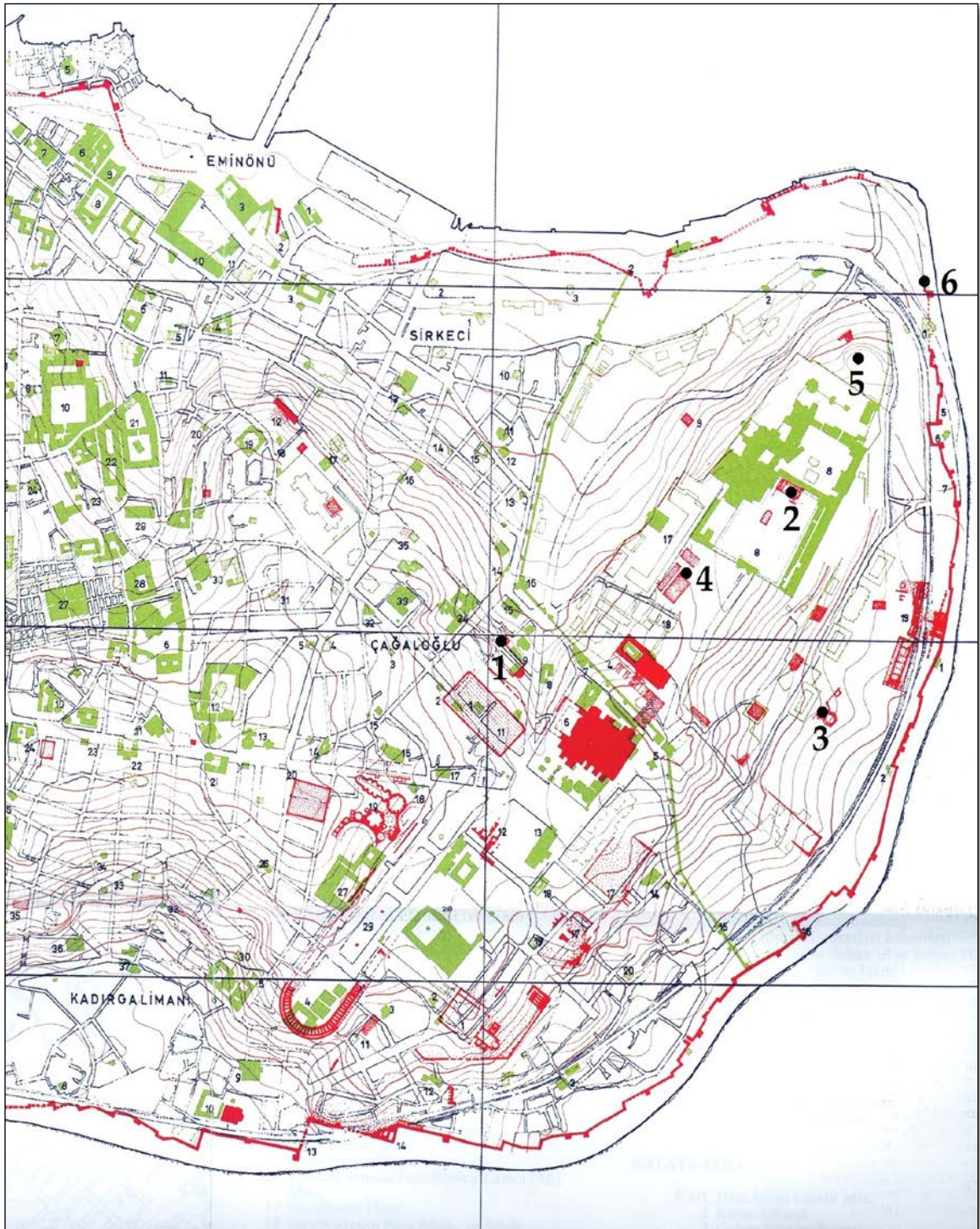


Figure 10 Map of the old section (eastern part) of Constantinople and the monuments in Chapter IV  
 1)Chalkoprataia, 2) Topkapı Basilica, 3) Nighed Structure in Mangana, 4) Annexe of the museum, 5)  
 Column of the Goths, 6) Sarayburnu Waterfront Structure. After Müller-Wiener, *İstanbul'un Tarihsel  
 Topoğrafyası*, map 1.

The archaeological finds based on these monuments will further enlighten our understanding of early fifth-century Constantinople as well as the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae*. It would not be fair to attempt to mention all monuments from this particular time period within the scope of this study. Therefore, those monuments included in this chapter were chosen specifically because they remain largely absent from mainstream scholarship. In other words, selection criteria of these structures are according to their neglect in mainstream Byzantine scholarship and functions. This chapter discusses three religious structures (the Church of St. Mary in Chalkoprateia, the Topkapı Palace Basilica, and the Nighed Structure in the Mangana Region), one public structure (the Column of the Goths) one defensive structure (Sarayburnu Waterfront Structure), and one residential/urban complex (Remains Under the Annex of the İstanbul Archaeological Museums). However, it is important to state that the Nighed Structure in the Mangana Region was first built as a residential structure and later on it was converted into a religious structure, baptistery. In addition, Sarayburnu Waterfront Structure's defensive function is only offered in this study.

Most monuments examined in this chapter are only included in the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae* with their titular names (church instead of the Chalkoprateia). Some monuments are simply omitted from the text such as the Column of the Goths. When these omissions are analyzed, we may reflect on their absences with the ideologies of those commissioning the

work. Of course, reasons for omitting any monument could also be due to practical reasons such as timing. In order to make reasonable interpretations, the following uses an interdisciplinary approach by considering archaeological and architectural data, primary sources, and photographic archives.

### The Church of St. Mary in Chalkoprateia

Name:	The Church of St. Mary in Chalkoprateia
Current name:	Acem Ağa Mescidi, Chalkoprateia
Ancient name:	<i>Theotokos ton Chalkoprateia</i> <sup>273</sup>
History of the name:	During the fifth century the district (Region IV) was the center of bronze and other metal ware ateliers and shops, hence the name of the monument was <i>Theotokos ton Chalkoprateia</i> (The mother of god in the district of the bronze workers). <sup>274</sup>

Location:	The monument is located in present-day Alemdar district on Zeynep Sultan Street. It is also 100 meters west of the Hagia Sophia making its location central (Fig. 10). (41°00'37" N, 28°58'41" E)
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<sup>273</sup> The mother of God in the district of the bronze workers.

<sup>274</sup> Müller-Wiener, *İstanbul'un Tarihsel Topoğrafyası*, 76.



Region according to the <i>Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae</i> :	Region IV
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Architectural description:	<p>The Chalkoprateia was a three aisled basilical plan with polygonal apse on the exterior, a no longer visible narthex and according to Krautheimer equipped with an atrium (Fig. 11).<sup>275</sup> The plan of the Chalkoprateia is very similar to another mid-fifth-century church in Constantinople and one of the few remaining from that period, the Church of Studios (Fig. 12). They both had a nave flanked by side aisles with a polygonal apse as well as a timber roof supported by columns. Both Krautheimer and Mango claim that this architectural plan was standard in the fifth century ecclesiastical architecture.<sup>276</sup></p>
Decorative materials	The masonry of the church is pure brick and very

<sup>275</sup> Richard Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture* (Yale: Yale University Press, 1986), 105; Cyril Mango, *Byzantine Architecture* (New York: Rizzoli, 1985), 35.

<sup>276</sup> Ibid.

<p>from the monument:</p>	<p>similar to fifth and sixth century brickwork, also referred to as Justinianic brickwork.<sup>277</sup> Thanks to the photographic archive of the German Archaeological Institute, there is a photo of a column base from the Chalkoprateia (Fig. 13). The measurements of the column base are not known, but according to Matthews, it is very similar to the ones in the Church of Studios.<sup>278</sup> The base is grooved along the round probably to allow parapet slabs, a fundamental and imperative architectural feature in a gallery colonnade. Thus, the grooves support a hypothesis that the column was one among many in the gallery colonnade. Wolfram Kleiss conducted an extensive survey on the Chalkoprateia in 1965. Among his notes and findings are drawings of two piers (Fig. 14). Because the piers are grooved on one side, it is probable that they were used at the entrance. The designs on each pier are identical and both Kleiss</p>
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<sup>277</sup> Matthews, *The Early Churches of Constantinople*, 28; David Talbot Rice, *The Great Palace of the Byzantine Emperors, Second Report* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1958).

<sup>278</sup> Matthews, *The Early Churches of Constantinople*, 32.

and Orlandos attest the piers are common and prosaic fifth century piers.<sup>279</sup> The material used was *verde antico* and exhibiting high craftsmanship, characteristics similar to other fifth century materials and techniques.<sup>280</sup> However, their differing sizes make it unlikely that they were used as a pair for a single entrance.

Unfortunately, these drawings are the only remaining evidence of the two little piers from the Chalkoprateia. They are no longer at the site nor can they be found within the catalogues of the İstanbul Archaeological Museums. It should be noted that in the courtyard of the İstanbul Archaeological Museums there is a capital from the Chalkoprateia (Fig. 15). However, basket capital with a foliate neckband and abacus are evocative of the trends of

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<sup>279</sup> Anastasios Orlandos, *Hē xylostégos palaiochristianikē basilikē tēs Mesogeiakēs lekanēs* (Athens, Athenais Archaïologike Etaireia: 1952), 518. Wolfram Kleiss, "Grabungen im bereich der chalkopratenkirche in Istanbul 1965, 16 (1966): 232.

<sup>280</sup> Matthews, *The Early Churches of Constantinople*, 27.

	the ninth century, therefore it is very probable that it dates back to the ninth century. <sup>281</sup>
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Excavations/Surveys:	<p>Although abandoned in the early nineteenth century, the first survey of the Chalkoprateia took place in 1912 by Ernest Mamboury. Unfortunately, Mamboury only published a few photographs and a brief description of the church.<sup>282</sup> In 1924, Lathoud and Pezaud published the photographs and drawings of the Chalkoprateia and they dated the building to the mid-fifth century.<sup>283</sup> Lathoud and Pezaud stress the similarity to the Church of St. John Stoudios as well as its size, claiming it to be the largest basilica-plan church discovered in Constantinople. Wolfram Kleiss conducted an extensive survey on the Chalkoprateia in 1965 and he revealed a cruciform crypt in the sanctuary as</p>
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<sup>281</sup> Nezih Fıratlı, *A Short Guide to the Byzantine Works of Art in the Archaeological Museum of İstanbul* (İstanbul, X. International Congress of Byzantine Studies, 1955), 19.

<sup>282</sup> Ernest Mamboury, *Constantinople: Guide Touristique* (İstanbul, Rizzo: 1925), 230.

<sup>283</sup> D. Lathoud and P. Pezaud, "Le Sanctuaire de la Vierge aux Chalcoprathea" *Echos d'Orient* 23 (1924), 36-62.

	<p>well as the substructures of an octagonal structure (Fig. 11).<sup>284</sup> Regarding the octagonal structure, Cyril Mango attests that it was one of the few <i>martyria</i> in Constantinople, because he published the photographs of the frescoes within the octagonal structure and they have the characteristics of a <i>martyrium</i>.<sup>285</sup></p>
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<p>Current condition:</p>	<p>Today the monument is in ruins. Its north wall was incorporated into a parking lot, while hotels and houses now occupy its south aisle. Only a small part of the apse is visible today from the second floor of neighboring hotel located on Zeynep Sultan Street (Fig. 16). Unfortunately, the hotel staff did not let me to take photographs of the ruins, since they are only visible from hotel rooms that were occupied during my visit. It is obvious from the photographs taken in the 1970s that the monument was more visible in the</p>
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<sup>284</sup> Wolfram Kleiss, "Grabungen im bereich der chalkopratenkirche in Istanbul 1965," *Istanbul Mitteilungen* 16 (1966): 217-240.

<sup>285</sup> Cyril Mango, "Notes on Byzantine Monuments II: Frescoes in the Octagon of St. Mary Chalkoprateia," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 23 (1969): 369-72.

	previous decades (Fig. 17).
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<p>History and the primary sources making reference to the monument:</p>	<p>According to Theophanes Confessor the Chalkoprateia was converted from a synagogue.<sup>286</sup></p> <p>The <i>Patria of Constantinople</i>, which is an eleventh-century primary source focusing on the history and the monuments of Constantinople, also claims that the Chalkoprateia was converted from a synagogue.<sup>287</sup> However, the lack of archaeological evidence coupled with its current condition of the structure (in ruins) cannot support nor deny this claim.</p> <p>Cedrenus and Theophanes attest that the (re)construction of the church started by Pulcheria (399-453), who was the sister of Theodosius II.<sup>288</sup></p> <p>Cedrenus also states that the church was restored by</p>
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<sup>286</sup> Cyril Mango and Roger Scott, Roger, trans, *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor: Byzantine and Near Eastern History, AD 284-813* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), 159.

<sup>287</sup> Albrecht Berger, trans. *Accounts of Medieval Constantinople: the Patria* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2013), 157.

<sup>288</sup> Immanuel Bekker, ed. *Georgius Cedrenus, Ioannis Scylitzae Ope* (Bonn: Weber, 1838), 616; Mango and Scott, trans, *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor*, 162.

	<p>Verina, the wife of Leo I, after the great fire of 476 CE.<sup>289</sup> According to Theophanes, in 567/7 CE Justin II repaired the church after an earthquake and added additional chapel for Virgin's cincture.<sup>290</sup> Finally, Theophanes states that in the last quarter of the ninth century CE, Basil I repaired the church and made it more illuminated with the bigger windows that he adds.<sup>291</sup></p> <p>Another primary source attests that the Chalkoprateia hosted a holy relic, cincture of the Virgin.<sup>292</sup> According to Nikephoros Kallistou the Chalkoprateia hosted holy cincture of the Virgin that she made out of camel hair.<sup>293</sup> The cincture was brought from Jerusalem to Constantinople in 473 CE by Leo I.<sup>294</sup> However, this claim of Nikephoros is doubted by the scholars and the main opinion</p>
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<sup>289</sup> Bekker, ed, *Georgius Cedrenus, Ioannis Scylitzae Ope*, 616.

<sup>290</sup> Mango and Scott, trans, *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor*, 368.

<sup>291</sup> Joseph Genesius, ed, *Historiae Byzantinae Scriptores Post Theophanem* (Paris: Migne, 1863), 339.

<sup>292</sup> Christian Gastgeber and Sebastiano Panteghini, trans, *Ecclesiastical History and Nikephoros Kallistou Xanthopoulos* (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2015), 49.

<sup>293</sup> Ibid.

<sup>294</sup> Kenneth Holum, *Theodosian Empresses: Women and Imperial Dominion in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 142.

	<p>regarding the church that kept the cincture of the Virgin is the Church of St. Mary of Blachernae (<i>Panagia Blacherniotissa</i>).</p> <p>Therefore, allegedly, the Chalkoprateia was converted from a synagogue, which was built in the late fourth century, into a church by Pulcheria in the first half of the fifth century CE and it was restored two times by Verina in 476 and Justin II in 567/8 CE.<sup>295</sup> In the last quarter of the ninth century Basil I repaired and made changes in the church in terms of illumination.<sup>296</sup> After the conquest, in 1484 CE, Lala Hayreddin converted it into a mosque and named Acem Ağa Mescidi.<sup>297</sup> Terminally, the fires of 1755, 1785, 1804, and 1826 made the monument dysfunctional and it was abandoned.<sup>298</sup></p>
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Discussion:	Both the architecture and written sources justify that the Chalkoprateia dates back to the fifth century CE.
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<sup>295</sup> Jonathan Bardill, *Brickstamps of Constantinople* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 33.

<sup>296</sup> Joseph Genesisius, ed, *Historiae Byzantinae Scriptores Post Theophanem*, 339.

<sup>297</sup> Müller-Wiener, *İstanbul'un Tarihsel Topoğrafyası*, 77.

<sup>298</sup> Ibid



	<p>If the <i>Patria</i> is right and there was a synagogue when the <i>Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae</i> was written, the author(s) fails to mention it.<sup>299</sup> Subsequently, we cannot wholly rely on the <i>Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae</i> as it has a tendency to omit certain buildings and monuments such as the Aqueduct of Valens, the Column of the Goths, cemeteries, and so on.</p> <p>It is obvious that the Chalkoprateia must have been in Region IV, but it does not mention neither a synagogue nor the Church of Chalkoprateia.<sup>300</sup></p> <p>Bassett claims that Theodosius II (r. 408 – 450 CE) commissioned the text for dynastic promotion.<sup>301</sup></p> <p>While this argument is certainly plausible, I would like to add that the text served to promote religion, as well. Thus, aforementioned, the Theodosians were promoting the practice of Christianity.<sup>302</sup> Thus, by its omission from any record, this unnamed</p>
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<sup>299</sup> Seeck, *Notitia Dignitatum*, 233.

<sup>300</sup> Ibid.

<sup>301</sup> Bassett, *The Urban Image of Late Antique Constantinople*, 80.

<sup>302</sup> For more on the promotion of Christianity during the reign of the Theodosian Dynasty see page 22.

	<p>synagogue could be understood as another tool to endorse the religion. Indeed, the mention of a synagogue would have retracted the significance of such a new practice. However, a detailed survey or excavation can support this hypothesis and confirm the <i>Patria</i></p> <p>From its size, location, and patron it is obvious that the church was an important church. However, we do not if it was so important that it hosted the cincture of the Virgin as told by Nikephoros Kallistou<sup>303</sup> is still doubtful.</p>
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<sup>303</sup> Christian Gastgeber and Sebastiano Panteghini, trans, *Ecclesiastical History and Nikephoros Kallistou Xanthopoulos*, 49.

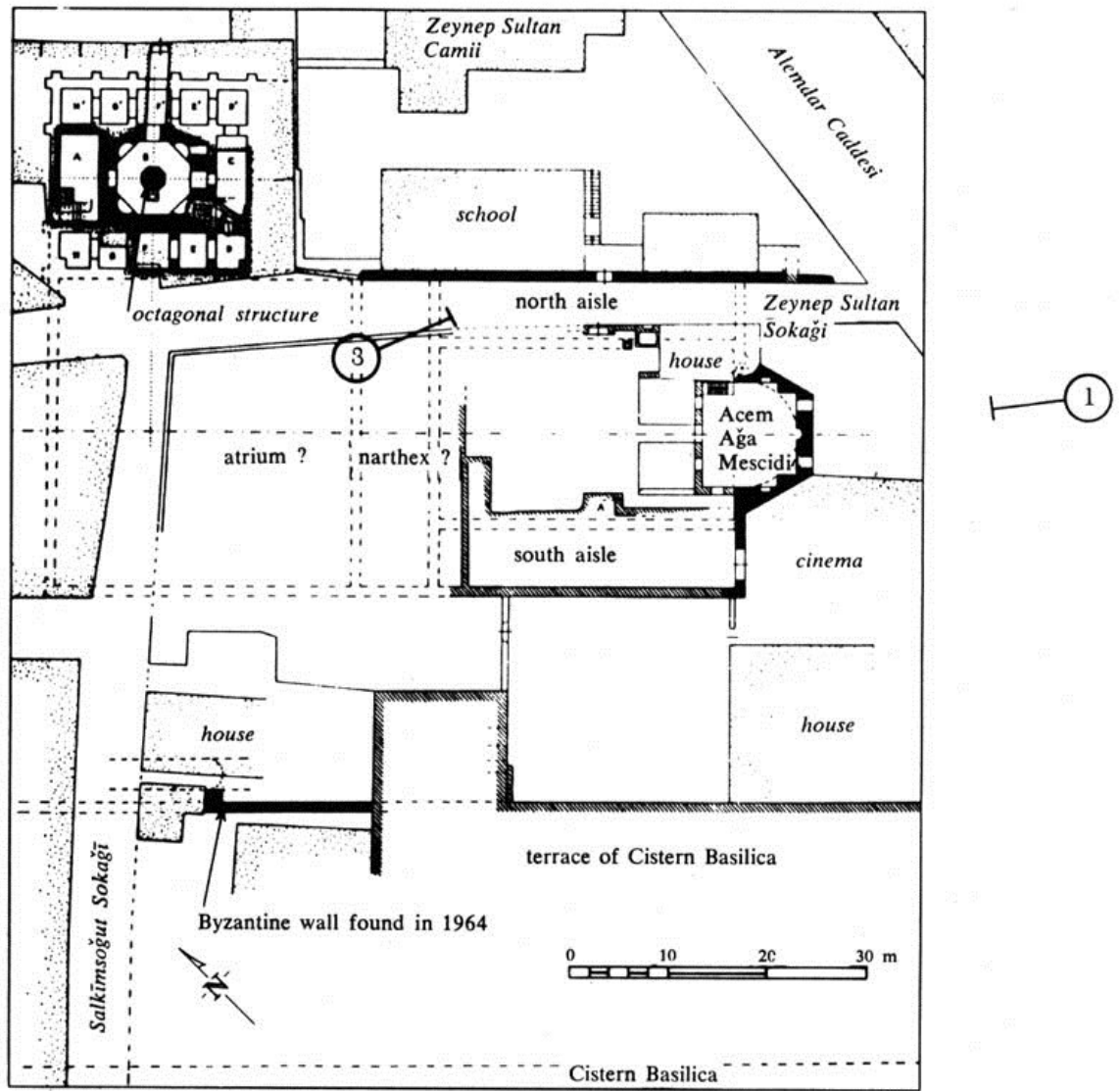


Figure 11 Plan of the Chalkoprateia  
 (https://www.nyu.edu/gsas/dept/fineart/html/Byzantine/index.htm?https  
 &&www.nyu.edu/gsas/dept/fineart/html/Byzantine/34.htm)

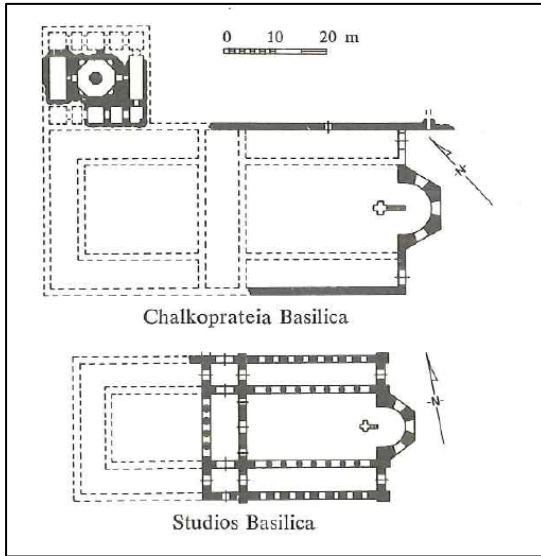


Figure 12 Respective plans of the churches of Chalkoprateia and Studios (Thomas Matthews, *The Early Churches of Constantinople: Architecture and Liturgy*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1971, 32.)



Figure 13 A column base from the Chalkoprateia (Photographic archive of German Archaeology Institute, Istanbul.)

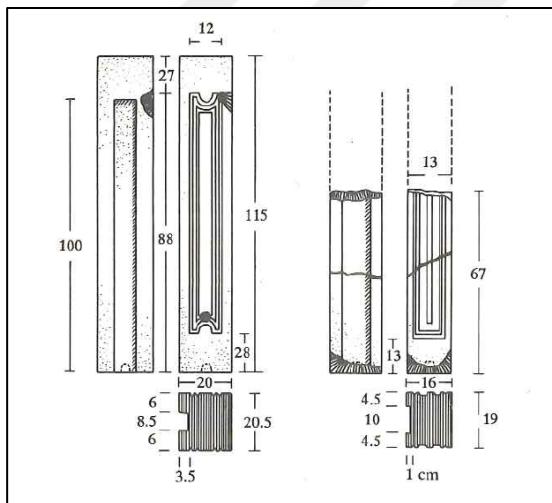


Figure 14 *Verdo antico* chancel piers from the Chalkoprateia (Thomas Matthews, *The Early Churches of Constantinople: Architecture and Liturgy*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1971, 32.)

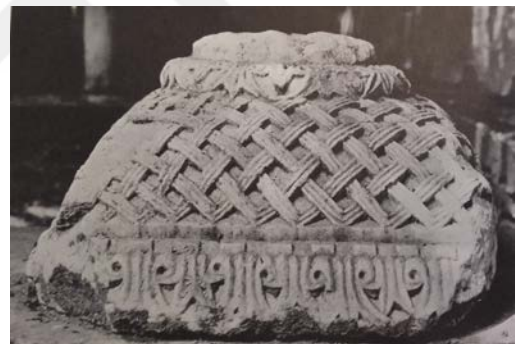


Figure 15 The ninth century capital from the Chalkoprateia (Thomas Matthews, *The Early Churches of Constantinople: Architecture and Liturgy*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1971, 218.)



Figure 16 The apse of the Chalkoprateia today  
(<http://www.envanter.gov.tr/anit/kentsel/galeri/49707?page=0>)



Figure 17 The apse of the Chalkoprateia in 1970 (Mathews, *The Early Churches of Constantinople*, pl. 17)

## The Topkapı Palace Basilica

Name:	The Topkapı Palace Basilica
Current name:	The Topkapı Palace Basilica, the Topkapı Basilica, the Saray Basilica
History of the name:	The church was revealed in the second courtyard of the Topkapı Palace in 1937. <sup>304</sup> Therefore the church is known as “the Topkapı Palace Basilica”.

Location:	The structure was located in the northern section of the second courtyard of the Topkapı Palace, in front of Akağalar Gate (Fig. 18). The location of the structure is also the center and the highest point of the Acropolis of Byzantium (Fig. 10). (41°00'45" N, 28°59'04" E)
Region according to the <i>Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae</i> :	Region II

Architectural description:	Similar to other fifth-century basilica churches the Topkapı Palace Basilica was a three aisled basilica with a polygonal apse and a narthex (Fig. 19). The
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<sup>304</sup> Tezcan, *Topkapı Sarayı ve Çevresinin Bizans Devri Arkeolojisi*, 61.

church also had an atrium, but it was built slightly more towards the north than the rest of the church. Consequently, the main entrance is at the north side of the narthex. This is the biggest difference of the Topkapı Palace Basilica from other fifth century basilica churches in Constantinople like Chalkoprateia and Studios.

The proportions of the body of the church are similar to those of Studios and the Chalkoprateia churches. It is a rectangular space that is only slightly longer than its width.<sup>305</sup> However, the Topkapı Palace Basilica is smaller than the churches of Studios and Chalkoprateia. The width of the Topkapı Palace Basilica is slightly over 60 Byzantine feet (c. 19 m) whereas the width of the Studios is 80 (c. 25 m), the width of the Chalkoprateia is 100 (c. 31 m) Byzantine feet.<sup>306</sup>

The polygonal apse of the Topkapı Palace Basilica

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<sup>305</sup> Matthews, *The Early Churches of Constantinople*, 35.

<sup>306</sup> Ibid.

	<p>has a three-sided exterior and semi-circular interior with a radius of 2.5 m.<sup>307</sup></p>
<p>Decorative materials from the monument:</p>	<p>Since the excavation lasted only two months there was little decorative materials from the site.</p> <p>However, it was enough to date the church to the fifth century CE. The Corinthian capital (Fig. 20) found in the Topkapı Palace Basilica is very similar to other fifth-century capitals, known as Theodosian capitals (Fig. 21 and 22). Theodosian capitals are composites with extremely deep reliefs probably made with drills. They are also decorated with double rows of acanthus leaves.<sup>308</sup> Since they are made from the Proconnesian marble, it is believed that they were produced in Constantinople.<sup>309</sup></p> <p>Another fifth-century decorative material from the Topkapı Palace Basilica is the polychrome marble pavement – <i>opus sectile</i> - (Fig. 23) which is similar to the pavements from the Church of St. John of</p>

<sup>307</sup> Aziz Ogan, "1937 Yılında Türk Tarih Kurumu Tarafından Yapılan Topkapı Sarayı Hafriyatı," *Belleten* 4.16 (1940): 325.

<sup>308</sup> Jean Michel Carrie, *L'Empire des Theodoes* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008), 156.

<sup>309</sup> *Ibid*



	<p>Studios (Fig. 24). They both have geometric figures and they are both made from different colored stones such as marble and porphyry. <i>Opus sectile</i> is inlay – usually marble – cut into shapes following a geometric or figural design applied to walls and floors.<sup>310</sup> The earliest examples of opus sectile dates back to the fourth century CE.<sup>311</sup> From the fourth century CE to sixth century CE <i>opus sectile</i> was very popular in Byzantium, especially on the floors.<sup>312</sup> <i>Opus sectile</i> was usually laid in rectangular panels of simple geometric designs in clored stones and marbles. It was more luxurious than floor mosaics and usually it paved religious structures during the late antiquity.<sup>313</sup></p> <p>A lot of ceramic tiles and glazed ceramics were found during the excavation and Ettinghausen dates them to tenth and eleventh centuries.<sup>314</sup></p>
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<sup>310</sup> "Opus Sectile," *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* Vol. 3, 1529.

<sup>311</sup> Katherine Dunbabin, *Mosaics of the Greek and Roman World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 254.

<sup>312</sup> Ibid.

<sup>313</sup> "Opus Sectile," *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* Vol. 3, 1530.

<sup>314</sup> Elizabeth Ettinghausen, "Byzantine Tiles from the Basilika in the Topkapı Sarayı and St. John of Studios," *Cahiers Archeologiques* 7 (1954): 87.

Excavations/Surveys:	<p>The only excavation regarding the Topkapı Palace Basilica was done in the fall of 1937 under the auspices of the Topkapı Palace Museum.<sup>315</sup> The director of the excavation was also the director of the Topkapı Palace Museum at time, Aziz Ogan. Ogan states that the aim of the excavation was to find pre-historic remains. However, the team were only able to find Greek, Roman, and Byzantine remains.<sup>316</sup> In order not to damage the Topkapı Palace the excavation only lasted two months and was eventually recovered.<sup>317</sup> Hence, the excavation and findings were not reported with much sufficient detail. All information on the Topkapı Palace Basilica is based on Aziz Ogan's "1937 Yılında Türk Tarih Kurumu Tarafından Yapılan Topkapı Sarayı Hafriyatı," and Helmuth Theodore Bossert's "İstanbul Akropolünde Üniversite Hafriyatı" articles.<sup>318</sup> I have tried to obtain the excavation</p>
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<sup>315</sup> Tezcan, *Topkapı Sarayı ve Çevresinin Bizans Devri Arkeolojisi*, 61.

<sup>316</sup> Ogan, "Topkapı Sarayı Hafriyatı," 320.

<sup>317</sup> Tezcan, *Topkapı Sarayı ve Çevresinin Bizans Devri Arkeolojisi*, 62.

<sup>318</sup> Aziz Ogan, "1937 Yılında Türk Tarih Kurumu Tarafından Yapılan Topkapı Sarayı Hafriyatı," *Bellekten* 4.16 (1940): 318-335; Helmuth Theodore Bossert, "İstanbul Akropolünde

	<p>reports kept at the archive of the İstanbul Archaeological Museums, but, unfortunately it was not possible to get permission from the İstanbul Archaeological Museums.</p>
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Current condition:	<p>Today, the structure is not visible and there is no trace from the church, because it is completely covered with earth and stone flooring, decorating the entrance of the Akağalar Gate of the Topkapı Palace.</p>
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History of the monument:	<p>There are no primary sources mentioning a church or monastery on the highest point of the Acropolis, but the architecture and decorative materials from the church support that it was built in mid-fifth century CE.<sup>319</sup> Due to the high numbers of ceramic tiles, glazed ceramics, and coins dating to the tenth</p>
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Üniversite Hafriyatı," in *Üniversite Konferansları 1939-1940*, 206-232 (İstanbul: Üniversitesi Yayınları, 1940)

<sup>319</sup> Müller-Wiener, *İstanbul'un Tarihsel Topoğrafyası*, 74; Mathews, *Early Churches of Constantinople*, 34.

	<p>and eleventh centuries it is believed that the church was restored in the tenth or eleventh centuries.<sup>320</sup></p> <p>It is very possible that, after the conquest of Constantinople, the church was destroyed in the process of the construction of the Topkapı Palace that took place between 1465 and 1478.<sup>321</sup></p>
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<p>Discussion:</p>	<p>The <i>Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae</i> does not mention the Topkapı Palace Basilica. The <i>Notitia</i> only mentions two churches within Region II and they are the churches of Hagia Sophia (<i>ecclesiam magnam</i>) and Hagia Eirene (<i>ecclesiam antiquam</i>).<sup>322</sup> It is very probable that the reason of the Topkapı Palace Basilica's absence from the <i>Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae</i> is chronological. While the <i>Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae</i> was written in the 420s CE and the evidence surrounding the Topkapı</p>
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<sup>320</sup> Müller-Wiener, *İstanbul'un Tarihsel Topoğrafyası*, 74; Mathews, *Early Churches of Constantinople*, 35; Tezcan, *Topkapı Sarayı ve Çevresinin Bizans Devri Arkeolojisi*, 68

<sup>321</sup> Müller-Wiener, *İstanbul'un Tarihsel Topoğrafyası*, 74.

<sup>322</sup> Seeck, *Notitia Dignitatum*, 231.

	<p>Palace Basilica shows that it was erected during the mid-fifth century CE.<sup>323</sup> It is very possible that the church was built after the <i>Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae</i>. In addition, the “older brother” of the Topkapı Palace Basilica, the Church of St. John of Studios, was constructed in 463 CE. The very close stylistic and architectural similarities between these two churches further suggests that the Topkapı Palace Basilica could not have been constructed too long before 463 CE.<sup>324</sup></p>
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<sup>323</sup> Müller-Wiener, *İstanbul'un Tarihsel Topoğrafyası*, 74; Mathews, *Early Churches of Constantinople*, 35; Tezcan, *Topkapı Sarayı ve Çevresinin Bizans Devri Arkeolojisi*, 68

<sup>324</sup> Müller-Wiener, *İstanbul'un Tarihsel Topoğrafyası*, 147.

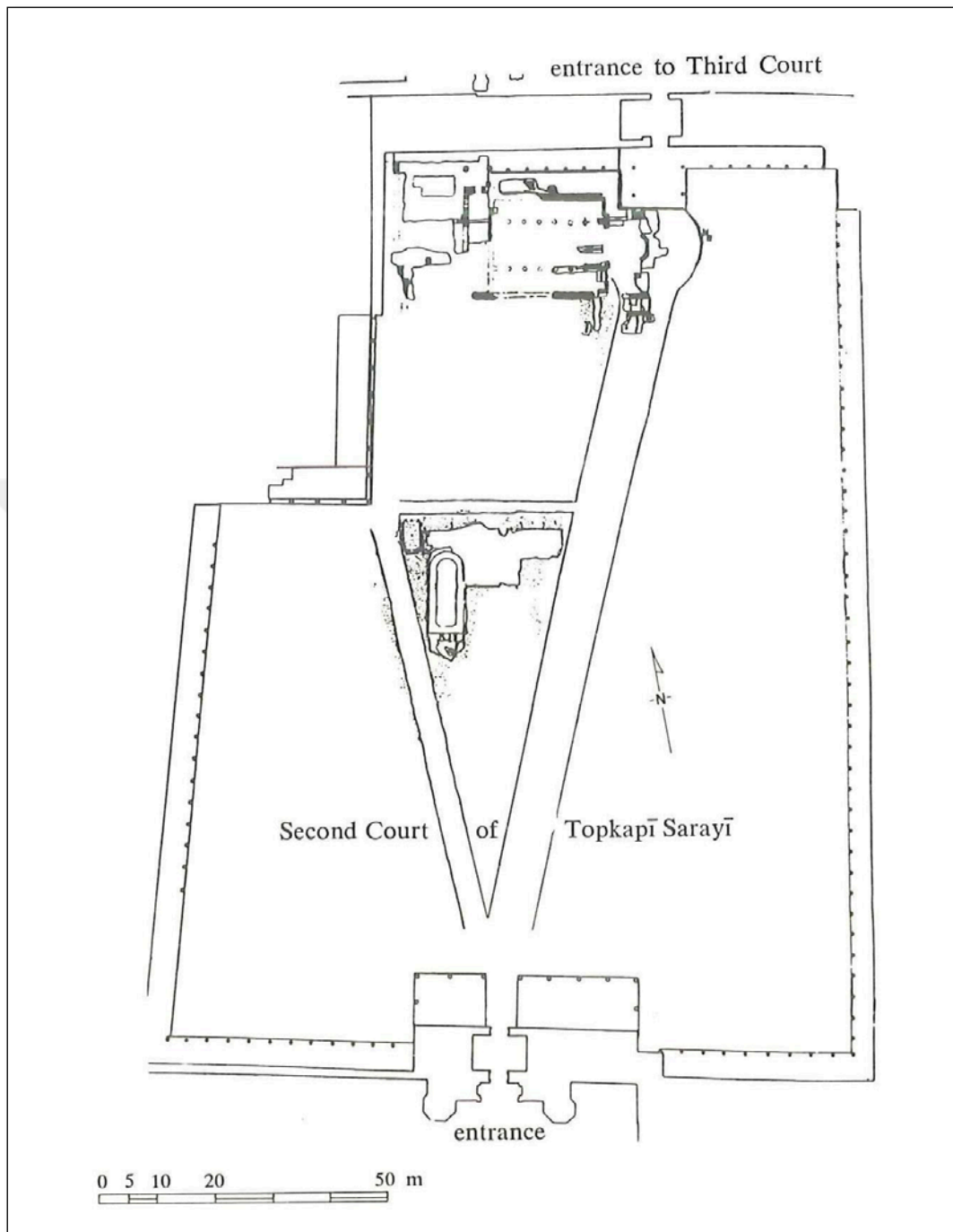


Figure 18 The second courtyard of the Topkapı Palace and the Topkapı Palace Basilica (Mathews, *Early Churches of Constantinople*, fig. 16)

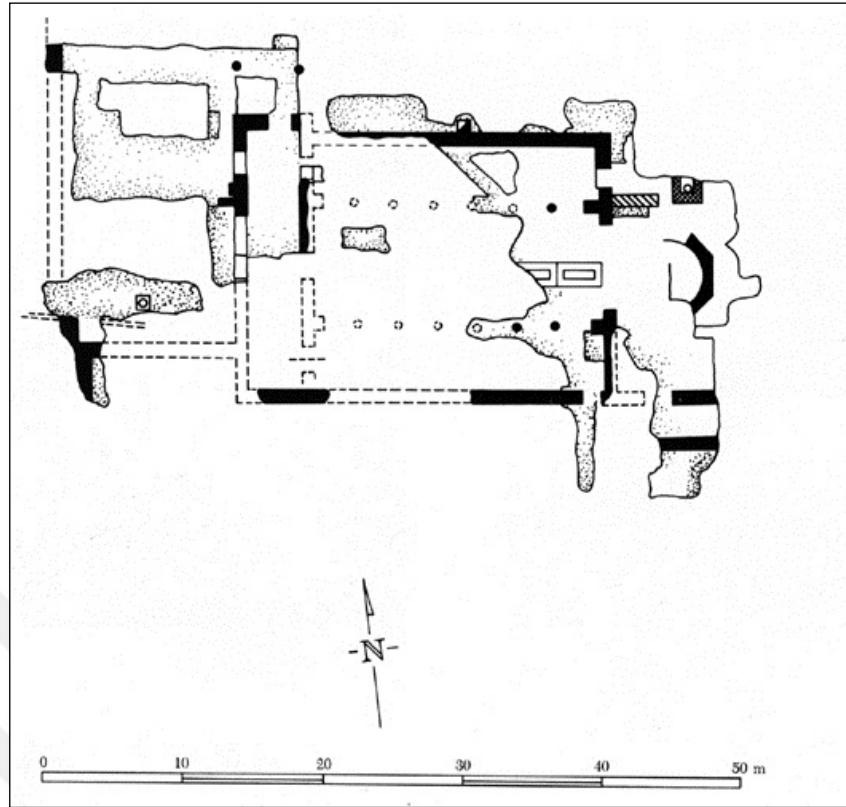


Figure 19 The plan of the Topkapı Palace Basilica (Mathews, *Early Churches of Constantinople*, fig. 17)



Figure 20 Theodosian capital from the Topkapı Palace Basilica (Mathews, *Early Churches of Constantinople*, pl. 23)



Figure 21 Theodosian capital from Ephesus, Curetes street  
([http://farm6.static.flickr.com/5676/22582477816\\_8d96de940f.jpg](http://farm6.static.flickr.com/5676/22582477816_8d96de940f.jpg))



Figure 22 Theodosian capital from the Church of Acheiropietos, Thessaloniki  
(<http://www.livius.org/pictures/greece/thessaloniki/church-of-the-acheiropietos/thessaloniki-acheiropietos-mid-sv-theodosian-capital/>)





Figure 23 Floor pavement from the Topkapı Palace Basilica (Mathews, *Early Churches of Constantinople*, pl. 22)

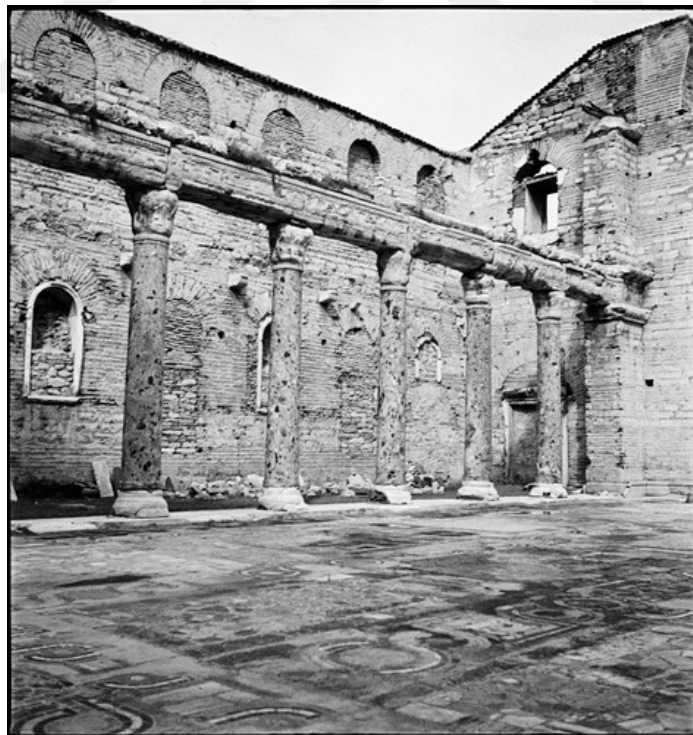


Figure 24 The Nave and floor pavements of the Church of St. John of Stoudios (Nicholas V. Artamonoff Collection, Image Collections and Fieldwork Archives, Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection  
<http://images.doaks.org/artamonoff/items/show/498>)

## Niched Structure in the Mangana Region

Name:	Niched Structure in the Mangana Region
Current name:	Hodegetria Baptistery
Ancient name:	Hodegetria Baptistery (?)
History of the name:	<p>During the 1933 excavations conducted by Demangel and Mamboury<sup>325</sup> a bronze cross was found. The bronze cross is 9 cm tall and 7 cm wide with a symbol of the <i>Hodegetria</i> at its center (Fig. 25). <i>Hodegetria</i> (in Greek: the Indicator of the Way) is one of the most important depictions of the Virgin and Child in Orthodox Christian iconography. The Virgin is depicted with Christ sitting on her hands, her right hand points out the direction for the Child.<sup>326</sup> This icon was also the protector of Constantinople during enemy sieges and people would hold this specific image against their city walls.<sup>327</sup> Above the image of the Virgin and Child is a depiction of St. Luke, while the arms of the cross are decorated with St. Matthew</p>

<sup>325</sup> Robert Demangel and Ernest Mamboury, *Le Quartier Des Manganes et la Première Région de Constantinople*, (Paris: E. de Boccard, 1939)

<sup>326</sup> Linda Mitchell, *Women in Medieval Western European Culture* (New York: Routledge, 2012), 348.

<sup>327</sup> Margaret Schaus, *Women and Gender in Medieval Europe* (New York: Routledge, 2006), 393.

	and St. Mark. Due to this cross bronze found in the excavations, the structure has been called <i>Hodegetria</i> .
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Location:	The structure is located on the east declivity of the Acropolis, very close to the Sea Walls (Fig. 10) (41°00'34" N, 28°59'10" E). The area was also known as Mangana (μαγγανα), due to the arsenal built in the ninth century CE. <sup>328</sup>
Region according to the <i>Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae</i> :	Region I

Architectural description:	The structure has an octagonal foundation with five semi-circle niches along with wall each with three steps leading deeper into each niche (Fig. 26). Each niche or each semi-circle is four meters in diameter. <sup>329</sup> The architectural plan of this structure differs from other buildings in the Mangana region, which are not curvilinear. In fact curvilinear
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<sup>328</sup> "Mangana," *ODB* 2:1283.

<sup>329</sup> Robert Demangel, and Ernest Mamboury, *Le Quartier Des Manganes et la Première Région de Constantinople*, 97.

	<p>characteristics are recurrent in late Roman and early Byzantine architecture.<sup>330</sup> It is very probable that the structure was decorated with a dome without columns, because Demangel and Mamboury states that mosaic fragments were found on the upper strata levels. Mosaic fragments were found on the upper strata.<sup>331</sup></p> <p>The structure includes a central pool and small rooms off to the side, each with their own set of pipes and draining system. This demonstrates that the structure was capable of supplying and withstanding the use of hot and clean water.<sup>332</sup></p> <p>According to Tezcan, the structure was very similar to another fifth-century monument, the Martyrion of St. Euphemia (Fig. 27) located west of the Hippodrome in Region III. The Martyrion was part of the Palace of Antiochos that was built in the fifth century, however in the seventh century it was</p>
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<sup>330</sup> Tezcan, *Topkapı Sarayı ve Çevresinin Bizans Devri Arkeolojisi*, 56.

<sup>331</sup> Demangel & Mamboury, *Le Quartier Des Manganes et la Première Région de Constantinople*, 93.

<sup>332</sup> *Ibid.*

	<p>converted into a martyrion.</p> <p>The entrance to the niched structure was a semi-circular portico with ten columns along its edge.</p> <p>While the portico had several doors, the main entrance led to our niched structure. In addition, the shape of this portico compares nicely with the shape of Palace of Antiochos' portico.</p>
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Excavations/Surveys:	<p>The structure was first revealed in 1921-1922 by the French Army, in İstanbul at the time.<sup>333</sup> Robert Demangel and Ernest Mamboury conducted a more comprehensive investigation followed by excavations in 1933 (Fig. 28). They published their findings, in 1939, in <i>Le Quartier Des Manganes et la Première Région de Constantinople</i>. The latest survey concerning the area was the research conducted by Hülya Tezcan in 1983 for her dissertation and later published as a book in 1989.<sup>334</sup> Tezcan's continues to</p>
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<sup>333</sup> Müller-Wiener, *İstanbul'un Tarihsel Topoğrafyası*, 42.

<sup>334</sup> Hülya Tezcan. *Topkapı Sarayı ve Çevresinin Bizans Devri Arkeolojisi* (İstanbul: Türkiye Turing ve Otomobil Kurumu, 1989)

	<p>be the most recent (and only) complete catalogue of the Byzantine monuments around the Acropolis of Constantinople. Furthermore, the book remains untranslated and accessible to a limited readership.</p>
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<p>Current condition:</p>	<p>Today, the structure is in ruins and abandoned. Also the structure is in the area recognized as a military zone. Consequently, neither the area nor the structure is accessible to public without special authorization from the Turkish Armed Forces.</p>
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<p>Perspectives according to primary sources, previous scholarship in accordance with decorative materials:</p>	<p>Allegedly, it belongs to the Hodegon Monastery and according to sixth-century historian Theodorus Anagnostes and the Hodegon Monastery was built by Empress Pulcheria (399 – 453 CE).<sup>335</sup> However, the reliability of Theodorus Anagnostes' book <i>Historia Ecclesiastica</i> is doubtful.</p> <p>Müller-Wiener is skeptical about its belonging to the</p>
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<sup>335</sup> Günther Christian Hansen, trans. *Theodorus Anagnostes' Historia Ecclesiastica: Kirchengeschichte* (Berlin, 1971), 367.

	<p>Hodegon Monastery and refers to it as “Nicked Structure in Gülhane.”<sup>336</sup> He also states that the structure could have been a bath belonging to one of the palaces in Region I.<sup>337</sup> Palaces within the region include Palace of Placidia, House of Placidia Augusta, and House of Most Noble Marina, all of which are listed in the <i>Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae</i>. Byzantinist Alfons Maria Schneider, also, claims that the structure was a private bath.<sup>338</sup> However, with the help of the decorative materials found during the excavations Demangel, Mamboury and Tezcan defends that the structure was part of a religious complex.</p> <p>During the 1933 excavations, small objects were found with religious symbols on them, supporting the claim that the space was used for religious ends.<sup>339</sup> Most of these objects do not have their</p>
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<sup>336</sup> Müller-Wiener, *İstanbul'un Tarihsel Topoğrafyası*, 42.

<sup>337</sup> Ibid.

<sup>338</sup> Alfons Maria Schneider, *Byzanz*, 90.

<sup>339</sup> Demangel and Mamboury, *Le Quartier Des Manganes et la Première Région de Constantinople*, 97.

	<p>photographs published, but their descriptions including the inscriptions written on them are available in Demangel and Mamboury's book.<sup>340</sup></p> <p>One of the more revealing objects was a bronze cross – dating to the ninth century CE- , 9 cm tall and 7 cm wide with a symbol of the of the <i>Hodegetria</i> at its center (Fig. 25). As stated, the <i>Hodegetria</i> (in Greek: the Indicator of the Way) is one of the most important depictions of the Virgin and Child in Orthodox Christian iconography. The Virgin is depicted with Christ sitting on her hands, her right hand points out the direction for the Child. Above the image of the Virgin and Child is a depiction of St. Luke, while the arms of the cross are decorated with St. Matthew and St. Mark. According to Demangel, Mamboury, and Tezcan this ninth-century cross is substantial evidence that the niched structure was a part of a monastic complex. In addition, the architectural resemblance of the niched structure to a fifth-century religious structure, the</p>
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<sup>340</sup> Demangel and Mamboury, *Le Quartier Des Manganes et la Première Région de Constantinople*, 97.



	<p>Martyrion of St. Euphemia, is another evidence for Tezcan that the niched structure had a religious function.<sup>341</sup></p> <p>Although Müller-Wiener and Demangel and Mamboury have different views regarding the main function of the structure, they both support that in the beginning the structure was built as a residential structure.<sup>342</sup> However, Demangel and Mamboury states that later on it was converted into a baptistery of an ecclesiastical complex. In short, there is consensus regarding the first function of the structure, but there is no consensus regarding the later function of the structure known as “Niched Structure in Gülhane.” Hence, the main function of the structure is still debated, but the structure is referred in the scholarship as the Hodegetria Baptistery.</p>
Discussion:	It is more convincing that the niched structure in

<sup>341</sup> Tezcan, *Topkapı Sarayı ve Çevresinin Bizans Devri Arkeolojisi*, 57.

<sup>342</sup> Müller-Wiener, *İstanbul'un Tarihsel Topoğrafyası*, 42; Demangel and Mamboury, *Le Quartier Des Manges et la Première Région de Constantinople*, 93.

Gülhane was a baptistery due to its plan that is similar to the contemporary baptisteries (Fig. 26, 29) and the religious objects found in the excavations such as the bronze cross with the Hodegetria symbol. Subsequently, it was likelier that the structure belonged to a religious complex rather than a private and more secular one.

Neither the Hodegon Monastery nor the Hodegetria Baptistery are mentioned in the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae*. However, I believe its absence is not due to any political schemes, but simply because it was built after the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae* was written. The *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae* was written between 420-425 CE and the Hodegon Monastery was built by Arcadius' (r. 395-408 CE) daughter Pulcheria who lived between 399-453 CE. With these overlapping dates, it is very possible that the Hodegon Monastery and the Hodegetria Baptistery were built between 425-453 CE. Furthermore, the commission of these structures

would not have interrupted or collided with the propaganda-like program of the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae*. That is, these structures would not have detracted the dynastical and religious promotion.

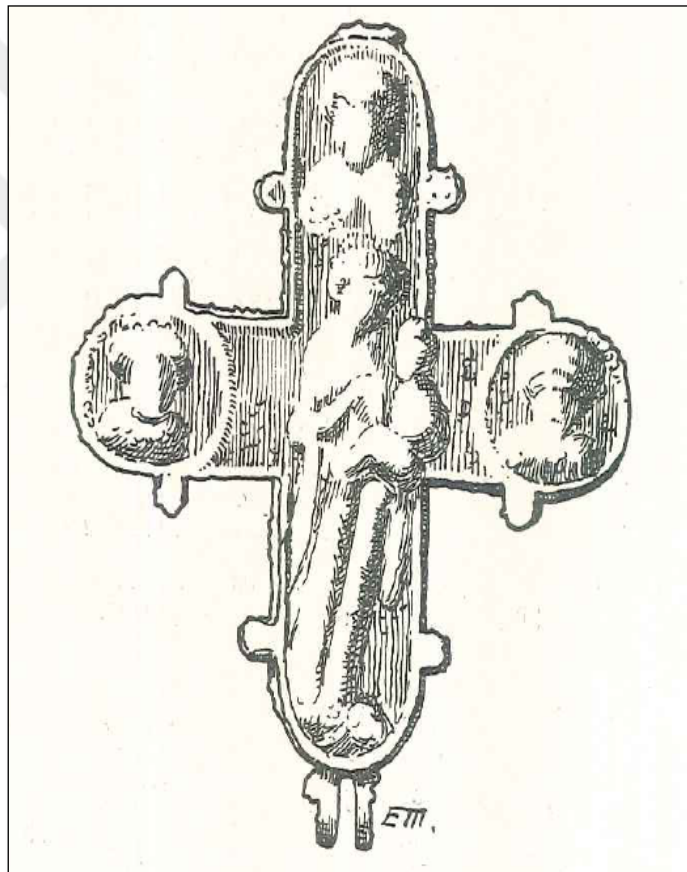


Figure 25 Bronze cross with Hodegetria symbol found in Mangana Excavations in 1933 (Demangel and Mamboury, *Le Quartier Des Manges et la Première Région de Constantinople*, 109.)

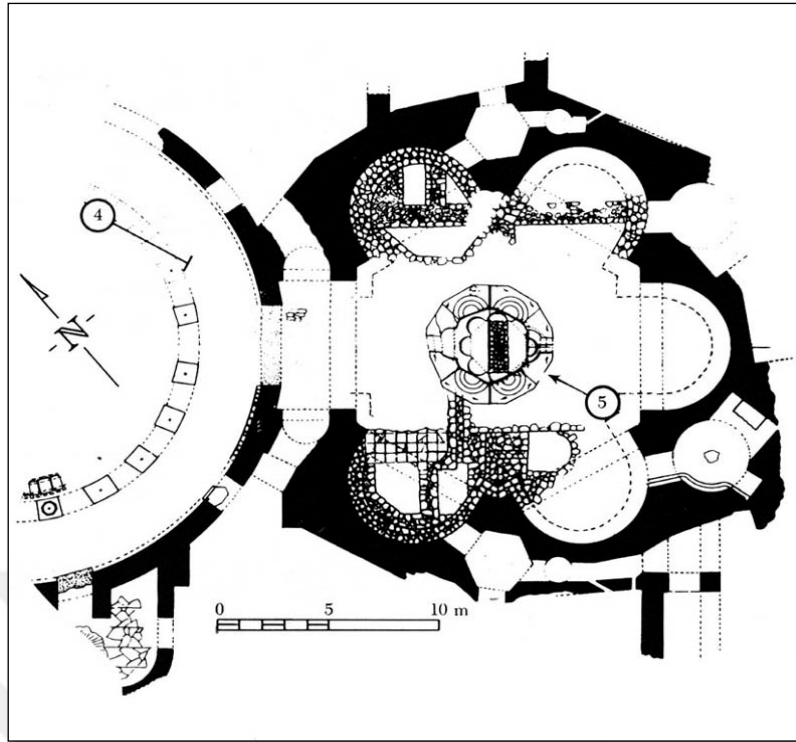


Figure 26 The Plan of the Niched Structure in Mangana  
 (www.nyu.edugasdeptfinearthtmlByzantineindex.htmhttps&&www.nyu.edugasdeptfinearthtmlByzantine22.htm)

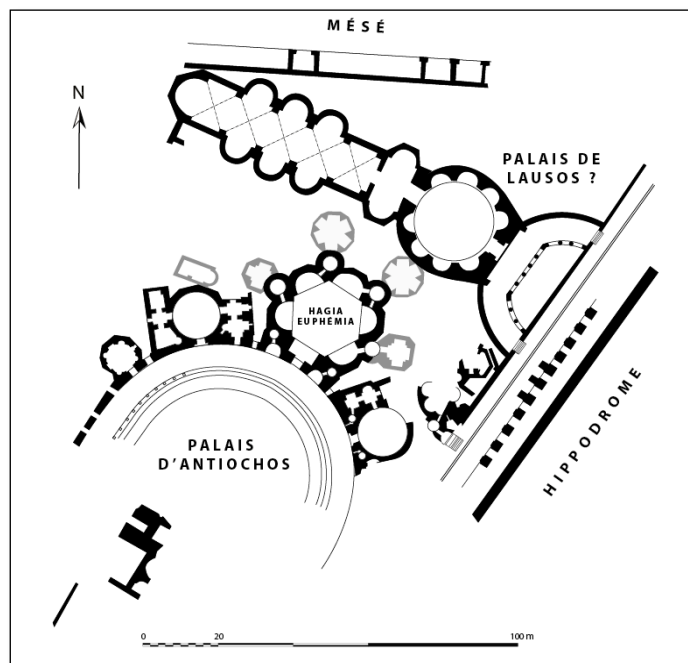


Figure 27 Plan of the Palaces of Antiochos and Lausos, and the Martyrion of St. Euphemia  
 (https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/8/83/Antiochos\_%26\_Lausos\_palaces.png)

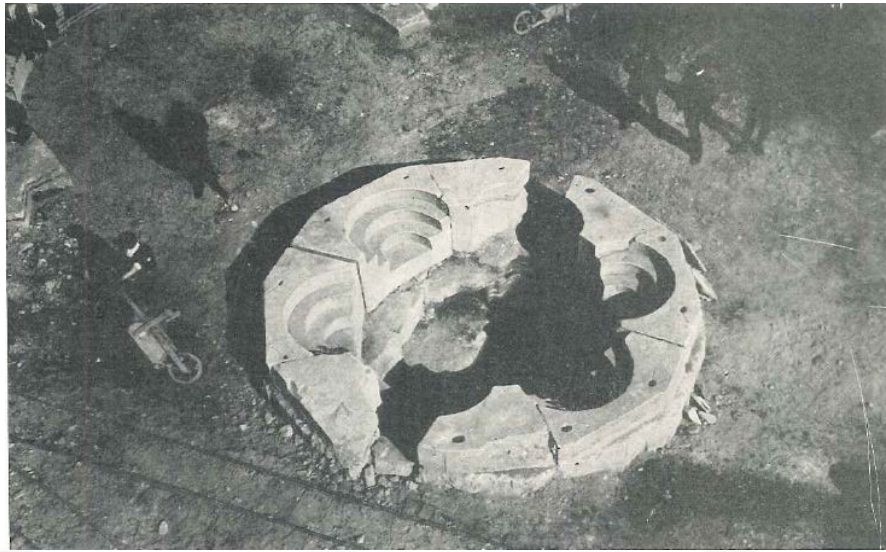


Figure 28 Aerial photograph of the Nighed Structure in Mangana Region (Demangel and Mamboury, *Le Quartier Des Manganes et la Première Région de Constantinople*, 99.)

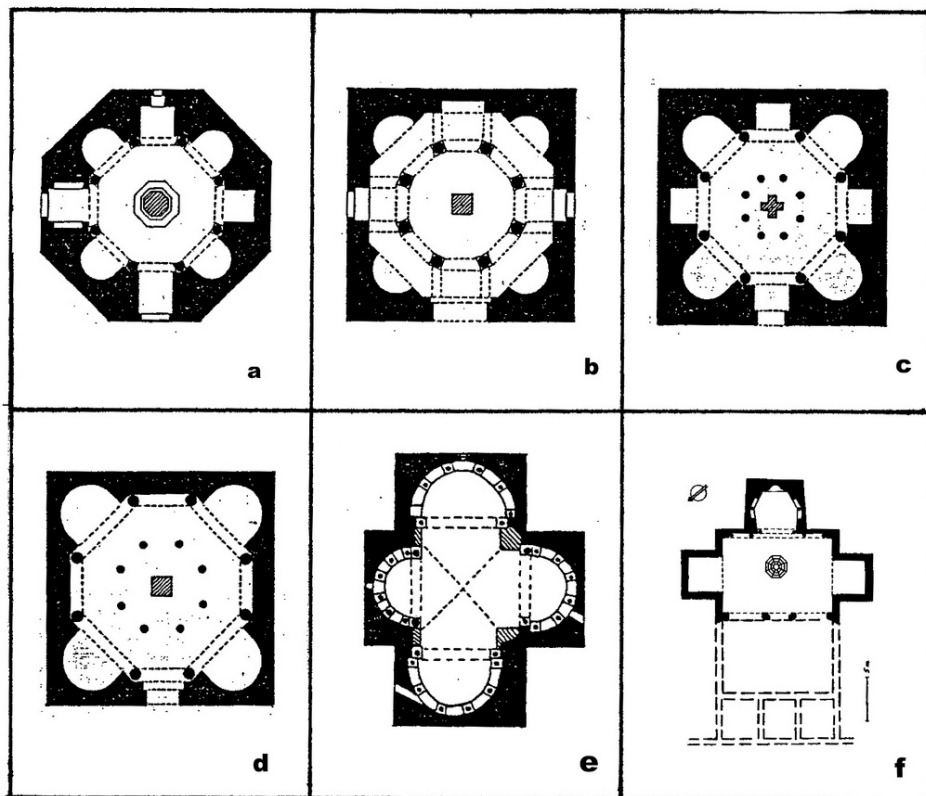


Figure 29 Plans of the 5th century baptisteries in France with an octagonal or quadrilateral ground plan A. Albenga; B. Riez; C. Frejus; D. Marseille; E. Venasque; F. Poitiers. (J. Hubert, *L'art pre Romain*, 44)

## Remains Under the Annex of the İstanbul Archaeological Museums

Name:	Remains Under the Annex of the Archaeological Museums
Current name:	The remains under the annex of the İstanbul Archaeological Museums or the First Settlement of Constantinople. <sup>343</sup>
History of the name:	During the construction of the annex of the İstanbul Archaeological Museums (1968-1973), 1- a large secular space 2- a bath complex between two colonnaded halls, and 3- a large covered cistern were found (Fig. 30). The ruins are known as the remains under the annex of the İstanbul Archaeological Museums. However, due to the Archaic Greek and Late Bronze Age ceramics found at the rescue excavations, Nezih Fıratlı called the site "The First Settlement of Constantinople." <sup>344</sup>

Location:	The remains are located on the southwestern slope of the Acropolis of Constantinople (Fig. 10) and
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<sup>343</sup> Nezih Fıratlı, "New Discoveries Concerning the First Settlement of Ancient İstanbul – Byzantium," in *The Proceedings of the 10th International Congress of Classical Archaeology*, ed. Ekrem Akurgal (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1978), 565-75.

<sup>344</sup> Nezih Fıratlı, "New Discoveries Concerning the First Settlement of Ancient İstanbul – Byzantium," 565-75.

	<p>today a large portion of it is located underneath the additional building of the İstanbul Archaeological Museums (41°00'40" N, 28°58'54" E), 230 m southwest of the Topkapı Palace Basilica, which was also the highest point of the Acropolis.</p>
<p>Region according to the <i>Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae</i>:</p>	<p>Region IV</p>

<p>Architectural description:</p>	<p>Architectural information on the remains is very limited, but because of its building technique and materials found during the excavation, it still dates them to the fourth and fifth centuries CE.<sup>345</sup> As stated, the rescue excavation found 1- a large secular space 2- a bath complex between two colonnaded halls, and 3- a large covered cistern (Fig. 30).</p> <p>The large secular space spans from the north to the south. There is very limited architectural information regarding the large secular space, but it</p>
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<sup>345</sup> Nezih Fıratlı, "New Discoveries Concerning the First Settlement of Ancient İstanbul – Byzantium," 571; Tezcan, *Topkapı Sarayı ve Çevresinin Bizans Devri Arkeolojisi*, 137.

	<p>is apparent that it had an irregular plan with later additions, suggesting that it was a growing building.</p> <p>In addition, large architectural features such as capitals, columns, column bases, and pieces from the arches propose that the ruins were the substructures of a large building.<sup>346</sup> A combination of brick and well-cut limestone were used to build the secular space as well as the cistern and the bath complex.</p> <p>The building material, itself, dates back to the fifth-century CE.<sup>347</sup></p> <p>The bath complex is located north of the cistern with a narrow corridor separating the two (Fig. 30). The structure is rectangular and measures approximately 35m x 10m. Entrance to the complex was from the northwest and followed by two rectangular bathing areas that were converted into small chapels in later centuries. This is evident due to the apses that were</p>
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<sup>346</sup> Tezcan, *Topkapı Sarayı ve Çevresinin Bizans Devri Arkeolojisi*, 138.

<sup>347</sup> *Ibid.*



	<p>added. After these chapels there is a space with six columns and a marble-decorated floor.<sup>348</sup> According to Fıratlı the structure was covered with three barrel vaults.<sup>349</sup> Like the secular space and the cistern, the medium of the structure was the combination of bricks and well-cut limestones.<sup>350</sup> Hence, it is very probable that these structures were built at the same time. At the northeastern corner of the bath complex, researchers found a semicircular apse with a 4 m diameter (Fig. 31). Both Fıratlı and Tezcan date this apse to a church dating from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, due to the frescoes found on the church apse.<sup>351</sup> They also believe that the rest of this later church was destroyed during the construction of the İstanbul Archaeological Museums at the beginning of the twentieth century.</p>
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<sup>348</sup> Nezih Fıratlı, "New Discoveries Concerning the First Settlement of Ancient İstanbul – Byzantion," 571; Tezcan, *Topkapı Sarayı ve Çevresinin Bizans Devri Arkeolojisi*, 203-4.

<sup>349</sup> Tezcan, *Topkapı Sarayı ve Çevresinin Bizans Devri Arkeolojisi*, 137-41.

<sup>350</sup> Nezih Fıratlı, "New Discoveries Concerning the First Settlement of Ancient İstanbul – Byzantion," 568.

<sup>351</sup> Nezih Fıratlı, "New Discoveries Concerning the First Settlement of Ancient İstanbul – Byzantion," 571; Tezcan, *Topkapı Sarayı ve Çevresinin Bizans Devri Arkeolojisi*, 137.

	<p>The cistern is rectangular, measuring approximately 45m x 25m. It has 32 domes supported by three rows of pillars and the width of the walls measure 4.6 m.</p> <p>According to Fıratlı and Tezcan, the building technique of the cistern is similar to other fifth-century cisterns.<sup>352</sup> Furthermore, the high numbers of material dating to the fourth and fifth century found on site support their hypothesis.<sup>353</sup></p>
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Excavations/Surveys:	<p>A rescue excavation was conducted by Nezih Fıratlı during the construction of the additional building (1968-1973). Due to the complex nature of the project, the excavation was put on hold several times over the course of five years. That said, it was the only excavation whose interests were these remains.</p> <p>In addition, his introductory article regarding the remains, "New discoveries concerning the first settlement of ancient İstanbul – Byzantion" in <i>The Proceedings of the 10th International of Classical</i></p>
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<sup>352</sup> Nezih Fıratlı, "New Discoveries Concerning the First Settlement of Ancient İstanbul – Byzantion," 570; Tezcan, *Topkapı Sarayı ve Çevresinin Bizans Devri Arkeolojisi*, 228.

<sup>353</sup> Fıratlı, "New Discoveries Concerning the First Settlement of Ancient İstanbul – Byzantion," 572.

*Archaeology* published in 1978, is the only source regarding the cistern. Unfortunately, only a year later, Nezhir Fıratlı, the director of the rescue excavation and the İstanbul Archaeological Museum passed away at the age of 58.<sup>354</sup> Since, little to no research has been conducted regarding the remains, leaving the many decorative materials, and small objects a mystery. Finally, his article focuses more on the prehistoric and Ancient Greek materials rather than the Byzantine. Consequently, the architectural descriptions of Byzantine structures and materials are only noted very briefly. After Fıratlı's untimely loss, the structures were either left alone or built over. It is one of the aims of this study to make the remains under the annex of the İstanbul Archaeological Museums accessible.

In 1983, Hülya Tezcan was lucky enough to photograph the interior of a small part of the cistern from a hole in one of the thirty-two domes of the

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<sup>354</sup> Tezcan, *Topkapı Sarayı ve Çevresinin Bizans Devri Arkeolojisi*, 228.

	<p>cistern (Fig. 32), but she was not allowed to conduct research concerning the secular space that was left abandoned. Nor could she reach the bath complex because they were completely buried underneath the additional building of the İstanbul Archaeological Museums (Fig. 30).<sup>355</sup></p>
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<p>Current condition:</p>	<p>Today, the unidentified secular space is abandoned. A small part of it is visible from the refectory of the İstanbul Archaeological Museums.</p> <p>The annex of the İstanbul Archaeological Museums was built on the bath in between two colonnaded halls, and the large covered cistern is completely filled with debris due to the restorations of the museums that have been taking place over the last decade.</p>
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<sup>355</sup> Tezcan, *Topkapı Sarayı ve Çevresinin Bizans Devri Arkeolojisi*, 229.

<p>Discussion and the history of the monument:</p>	<p>It is possible that the earliest phase of the remains date back to the fifth century CE, and it is probable that the structures forming them (1- the large secular space 2- the bath complex 3- the large cistern) were built at the same time. The irregular and growing architecture of the secular complex, conversion of the bathing areas into small chapels, and the late Byzantine apse found adjacent to the northwest corner of the bath complex support that these structures were expanded in the following centuries.</p> <p>According to the <i>Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae</i> the structures mentioned above would have been in Region IV, an important center of the city due to the presence of several public spaces and areas (<i>Augusteum</i>, Basilica, Milion). It is not certain when these structures were built nor whether they were there at the time the <i>Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae</i> was written. However, Region IV lists seven private baths.<sup>356</sup> It possible that the bath complex mentioned</p>
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<sup>356</sup> Seeck, *Notitia Dignitatum*, 232.

above could be one of the private baths listed in Region IV. It is very unfortunate that no research could be conducted on these relatively well-preserved remains, especially considering it is one of the few examples of a city block from early Byzantine Constantinople. We hope that future research and surveys will give more information regarding this important site.

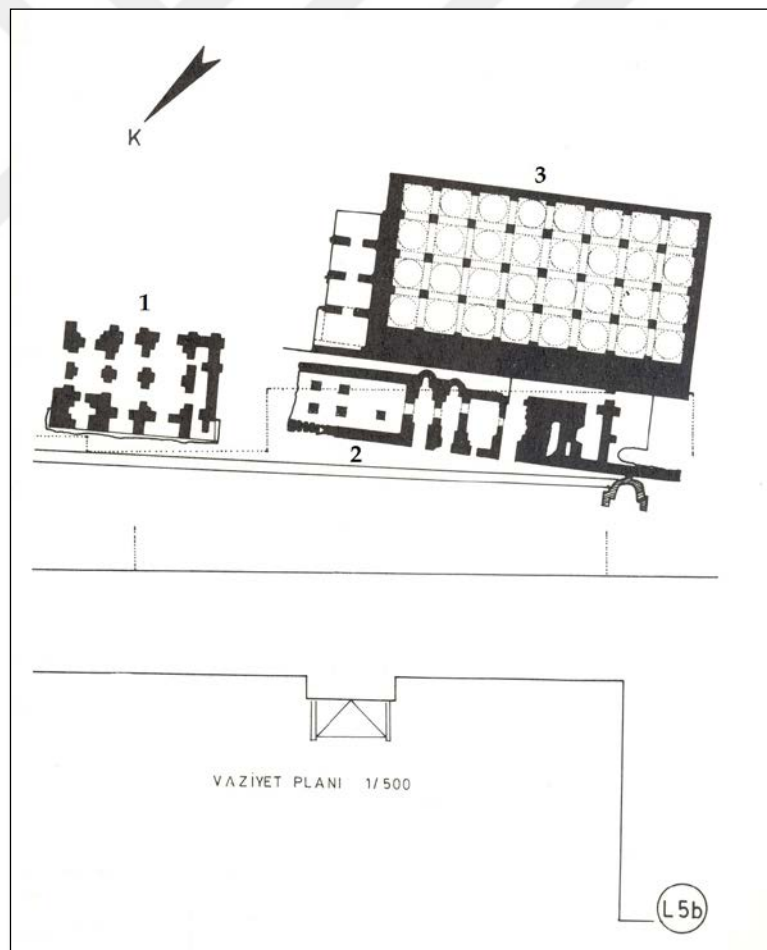


Figure 30 Plan of the remaining underneath the annexe of the İstanbul Archaeological Museums. 1. Large secular space 2. Bath complex 3. Large cistern (Firatlı, "New Discoveries Concerning the First Settlement of Ancient , fig. 2)



Figure 31 East of the bath complex found during the construction of the annexe of the İstanbul Archaeological Museums and the late Byzantine apse adjacent to the bath complex (Fıratlı, "New Discoveries Concerning the First Settlement of Ancient , pl. 161.1)

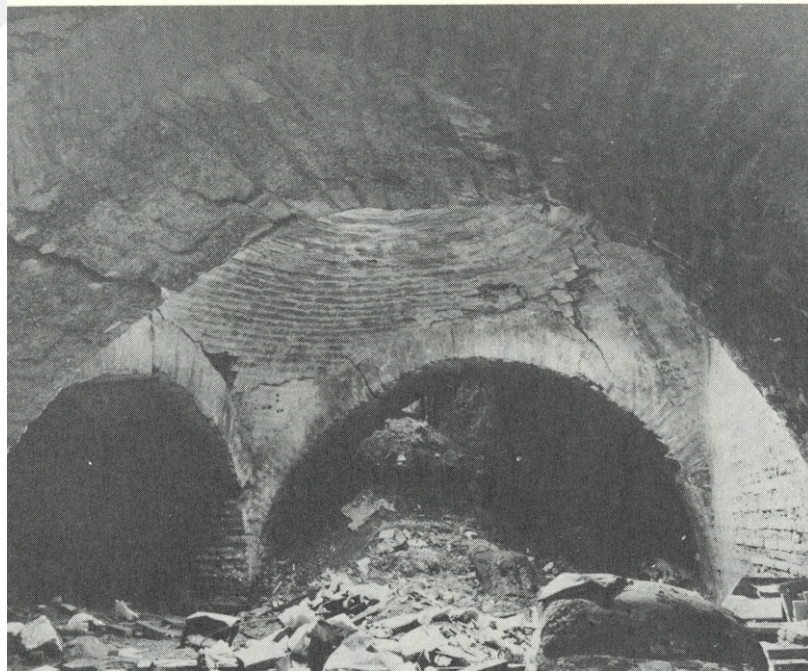


Figure 32 Interior of the large cistern found during the construction of the annexe of the İstanbul Archaeological Museums (Tezcan, *Topkapı Sarayı ve Çevresinin Bizans Devri Arkeolojisi*, fig. 306)

## The Column of the Goths

Name:	The Column of the Goths
Current name:	The Column of the Goths
Ancient name:	The Column of the Goths, the Column with Tyche <sup>357</sup>
History of the name:	<p>The base of the column has an inscription mentioning a victory over the Goths, hence the column is known as “the Column of the Goths.”</p> <p>The inscription on the base of the column has also vanished, although do to reasons such as time.</p> <p>Although we cannot see obvious evidence of an inscription (Fig. 33), the <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i> states that the base read:</p> <p style="text-align: center;">FORTUNA REDUCI OB DEVICTOS GOTHOS.<sup>358</sup></p>

Location:	<p>The column is located on the north-east slopes of the Acropolis of Constantinople (Fig. 10) (41°00'52" N, 28°59'08" E). Today it is located in the north of</p>
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<sup>357</sup> François Vanderstuyf, trans. “Vie de Saint Luc le stylite (879-979),” *Patrologia Orientalis* 11 (1915): 211.

<sup>358</sup> To Fortune, who has returned because of the defeat of the Goths



	Gülhane Park between the Topkapı Palace Museum and the <i>Seraglio</i> Point.
Region according to the <i>Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae</i> :	Region II

Architectural description:	The Column of the Goths is a tri-partite honorific column made from Proconnesian marble including a rectangular base, cylindrical column , and a Corinthian capital on top (Fig. 34). Total height of the column is approximately 18.5 meters.
Decorative materials from the monument:	The eastern façade of the rectangular base of the column had an inscription that is no longer visible but in the archives of <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i> (Fig. 35). The inscription is Latin and three lines. Each letter is 9 cm length and according to Müller-Wiener the typology of the letters is comparable with other fourth century CE inscriptions. <sup>359</sup>  The Corinthian capital on top of the column was

<sup>359</sup> Müller-Wiener, *İstanbul'un Tarihsel Topoğrafyası*, 53.

	<p>made from Proconnesian marble and it is approximately one meter length. It is decorated with acanthus leaves motifs and the eastern side of the capital has an eagle figure (Fig. 36). The capital does not give information regarding the century of the column, because such capital were being used for centuries.</p>
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<p>Excavations/Surveys:</p>	<p>The only survey on the Column of the Goths was done in 1912 in the process of the restoration of Gülhane Park by Municipality.<sup>360</sup> Eckhard Unger was lucky enough to measure, draw, and photograph both the Column of the Goths and the ruins around it that is still debated whether they belong to an orphanage, palace, or theater. In 1916, Unger published his research in an article "Grabungen an der Seraispitze von Konstantinopel".<sup>361</sup></p>
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<sup>360</sup> Tezcan, *Topkapı Sarayı ve Çevresinin Bizans Devri Arkeolojisi*, 152.

<sup>361</sup> Eckhard Unger, "Grabungen an der Seraispitze von Konstantinopel," *Archaeologischer Anzeiger* 31 (1916): 1-47.

Current condition:	Today, the monument is in good condition, but the inscription is no longer visible.
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History and the primary sources making reference to the monument:	<p>It is very probable that the column was erected after Constantine I's (r. 324 – 337 CE) victory against the Goths in 332 CE in Moesia.<sup>362</sup></p> <p>John the Lydian, a sixth-century historian and official, states that the statue of Tyche, a pagan god, was placed on top of the column.<sup>363</sup> This claim is very possible because in the <i>Vita</i> of St. Luke the Stylite, a tenth-century source taking place in the Acropolis of Constantinople, the column is referred to as the Column with Tyche.<sup>364</sup> On the other hand Nicephoros Gregoras the statue of Byzas was located on top of the Column of the Goths.<sup>365</sup></p>
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<sup>362</sup> Müller-Wiener, *İstanbul'un Tarihsel Topoğrafyası*, 53.

<sup>363</sup> Cyril Mango, "Columns of Justinian," in *Studies on Constantinople*, ed. Cyril Mango (Aldershot: Variorum, 1993), 2.

<sup>364</sup> François Vanderstuyf, trans. "Vie de Saint Luc le stylite (879-979)," *Patrologia Orientalis* 11 (1915): 211.

<sup>365</sup> Ludovicus Schopenus et. al, trans, *Nicephori Gregorae Byzantine Historia* (Bonn: Weber, 1829), 305; Müller-Wiener, *İstanbul'un Tarihsel Topoğrafyası*, 53.

<p>Discussion:</p>	<p>Although erected in the fourth century CE, the Column of the Goths is not mentioned in the fifth-century text the <i>Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae</i>. Its pagan character may explain its absence in the <i>Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae</i>. As stated, the <i>Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae</i> was commissioned to promote a specific religious and dynastic plan. In addition, at the time the regionary was written the Christian campaign was at its peak. Consequently, acts against Paganism were zealous. Subsequently, a column topped with a pagan god would have supported the practice of pagan activities, detracting the significance of the Christianity. Moreover, the Column of Constantine, decorated with the statue of Constantine I as Apollo is mentioned in the <i>Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae</i> as “Porphyry Column of Constantine” (<i>Columnam Purpuream Constantini</i>).<sup>366</sup> In other words, the <i>Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae</i> has a tendency to omit the Pagan symbols from the city.</p>
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<sup>366</sup> Seeck, *Notitia Dignitatum*, 234.

Mango takes an alternative approach. The scholar demonstrates that the column could have been a demonstration of victory. According to Mango, in Rome there was a temple dedicated to Fortuna Redux that was adjacent to the Porta Triumphalis.<sup>367</sup> Furthermore, this region is in the valley between the first and second hills and it was (and continues to be) known as a center for victory monuments.<sup>368</sup> So that, if the Column of the Goths were meant to mark a moment of Byzantine victory, Mango makes the convincing argument that a temple devoted to Fortuna Redux would have not been too far.

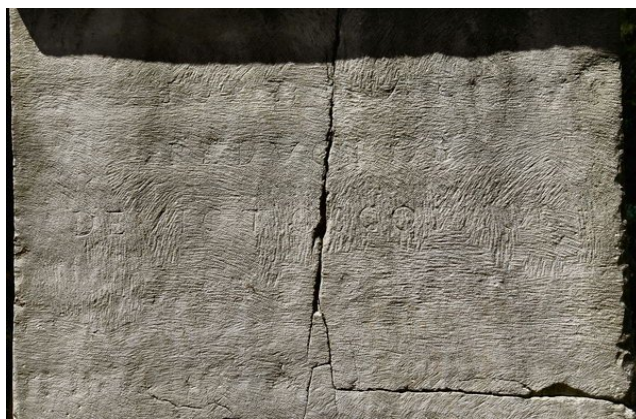


Figure 33 Inscription on the base of the Column of the Goths (*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum III*, 733)

<sup>367</sup> Cyril Mango, "Triumphal Way of Constantinople and the Golden Gate," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* No: 54 (2000), 177.

<sup>368</sup> Mango, "Triumphal Way of Constantinople and the Golden Gate," 178



Figure 34 The Column of the Goths  
([https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Column\\_of\\_the\\_Goths#/media/File:GothsColumn1.JPG](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Column_of_the_Goths#/media/File:GothsColumn1.JPG))



Figure 35 Corinthian capital of the Column of the Goths  
(<http://www.livius.org/articles/place/constantinople-constantinople-photos/constantinople-column-of-the-goths/>)

## Sarayburnu Waterfront Structure

Name:	Sarayburnu Waterfront Structure
Current name:	<i>Sarayburnu Sahil Yapısı</i> <sup>369</sup> or <i>Sarayburnu'nda Açığa Çıkarılan Bir Bizans Kalıntısı</i> <sup>370</sup>
History of the name:	The remains of the structure were discovered in 1977 in Sarayburnu ( <i>Seraglio</i> ) during the construction of a system of water pipes to bring water across the Bosphorus to the European side of the city. The project was under the supervision of the Turkish Republic General Directorate of State Hydraulic Works. <sup>371</sup>

Location:	The structure is located in the <i>Seraglio</i> point, the northeast corner of Constantinople (41°00'56" N, 28°59'13" E). The <i>Seraglio</i> spanned from the beginning of the Golden Horn across <i>Sycae</i> (Region XIII) up to the harbors of <i>Prospborion</i> and <i>Neorion</i> (Fig. 10).
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<sup>369</sup> Translated as Sarayburnu Waterfront Structure

<sup>370</sup> Translated as Byzantine Remainings Revealed at Sarayburnu

<sup>371</sup> Alpay Pasinli and Cihat Soyhan, "Sarayburnu'nda Açığa Çıkarılan Bir Bizans Kalıntısı," *Arkeoloji ve Sanat* 10 (1980): 15.

Region according to the <i>Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae</i> :	Region IV
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Architectural description:	The structure has a pentagonal foundation with six rows of stacked well-cut ashlar blocks (Fig. 36). The height of each block ranges between 28 – 35 cm and their length between 107 – 150 cm. <sup>372</sup> Part of the structure's northern wall was made from brick and each brick measures one foot, 33x33x4 cm (Fig. 37). <sup>373</sup>
Current condition:	Today the structure is completely buried, located in a protected zone with metal fencing under the supervision of the Municipality.

Excavations/Surveys:	The only excavation regarding the structure was executed by the İstanbul Archaeological Museums' staff. Excavations started in 1977, only after the General Directorate of State Hydraulic Works informed the museum of their find. Unfortunately,
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<sup>372</sup> Pasinli and Soyhan, "Sarayburnu'nda Açığa Çıkarılan Bir Bizans Kalıntısı," 15.

<sup>373</sup> Ibid, 16.



	<p>the museum were not informed of the findings as soon as they were discovered. Consequently, many architectural features belonging to the structure and its surroundings were already damaged or destroyed.<sup>374</sup> The only accessible source regarding the structure is Pasinli and Soyhan's two page article, "Sarayburnu'nda Açığa Çıkarılan Bir Bizans Kalıntısı." It is one of the aims of this study to make this structure more accessible.</p>
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Discussion:	<p>Although little information regarding the architecture and decorative materials remain, the pentagonal shape, well-cut large ashlar blocks, and the brick curtain wall suggest that this structure was similar to the pentagonal towers that were built in late fifth and sixth centuries, seen throughout the Byzantine empire (Fig. 38). Other Byzantine cities and regions such as Mesembria, Resafa, Ephesus, and Thrace also contained such pentagonal towers</p>
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<sup>374</sup> Pasinli and Soyhan, "Sarayburnu'nda Açığa Çıkarılan Bir Bizans Kalıntısı," 15.

	<p>with large ashlar blocks and brick walls.<sup>375</sup> Indeed, they were part of a larger architectural program of land walls. However, that of Sarayburnu does not show any evidence of being part of a larger (defensive) program. Pasinli and Soyhan have posited the possibility that the Sarayburnu Waterfront Structure served as a watchtower for the ships arriving to the harbors of <i>Proosphorion</i> and <i>Neorion</i>.<sup>376</sup></p> <p>While the <i>Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae</i> does not mention a tower in Region IV, this should not be understood as an omission. Rather, architectural style of pentagonal towers date back as far as the late fifth century CE. Thus, at the time the text was written, it is probably that there was no tower to report.<sup>377</sup></p>
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<sup>375</sup> James Crow and Ricci, Alessandra "Investigating the Hinterland of Constantinople: Interim Report on the Anastasian Long Wall," *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 10 (1997): 235-263.

<sup>376</sup> Pasinli and Soyhan, "Sarayburnu'nda Açığa Çıkarılan Bir Bizans Kalıntısı," 15.

<sup>377</sup> James Crow and Alessandra Ricci, "The Anastasian Wall Project 1996-97," in *16. Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı* (Ankara: T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı Anıtlar ve Müzeler Genel Müdürlüğü, 1998), 244.



**Figure 36** North wall of the pentagonal structure found in Sarayburnu (Hülya Tezcan, *Topkapı Sarayı ve Çevresinin Bizans Devri Arkeolojisi*, Plate 201)



**Figure 37** Ashlar blocks and the bricks belonging to the curtain wall of the Sarayburnu Waterfront Structure (Hülya Tezcan, *Topkapı Sarayı ve Çevresinin Bizans Devri Arkeolojisi*, Plate 205)

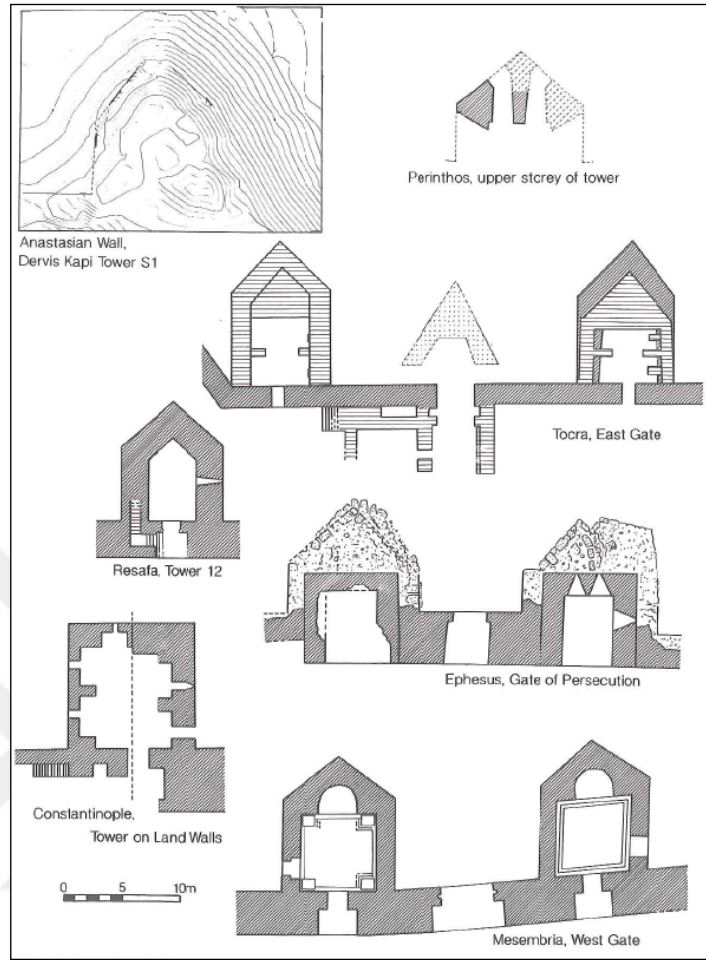


Figure 38 Comparative pentagonal towers of the 6th and 7th centuries (Crow and Ricci, "Investigating the Hinterland of Constantinople: interim report on the Anastasian Wall," fig. 7)

## Conclusion

In order to complete the image constructed by the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae* and to see a larger, and perhaps, more complete image of Constantinople during the fifth-century, the monuments above were analyzed. They were chosen primarily because of their absence of scholarship while their utility and function, at the time, was very real. Unfortunately, the structure could not be fully be analyzed because of the

limited resources as well as their inaccessibility. Indeed, many rescue excavation reports dating prior to the 1980s are difficult and near possible to attain. After an analysis, it becomes clear that the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae* has a tendency to omit Pagan and Judaic-related structures. This chapter also uses archaeological and architectural data to place these monuments within a fifth-century context. It is the hope of this author that this chapter, and this study, will open the door and expose the many structures that remain unstudied.

## CONCLUSIONS

The *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae* is an essential historical document because has potential to draw a schematic picture of fifth-century Constantinople. Not only does it provide the ability revealing the vernacular aspects of the city, but the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae* also exposes the city's fifth-century topography. Thus, it should not be ignored by any in-depth study of the late antique Constantinople.

This study has investigated the daily life in the early fifth-century Constantinople under the perspective of the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae*, which maps out fifth-century Constantinople district by district. By analyzing the structures and number of structures within each region, it also has exposed the urban character and daily life of the each region.

The distribution of palaces and imperial housing in Regions I, X, and XI indicates that these boroughs were probably the locations of upper class members.

High housing density within Regions VI, VII, and XIII indicates that the northern part of the fifth-century Constantinople, including *Sycae*, was

more populated. Such density was an indication of lower classes. However, in later centuries, these areas were not necessarily populated by lower classes but, rather, minority demographics such as Latin and Jewish peoples.

The harbors and the distribution of the wholesale meat-markets (*macella*) in Regions V, VIII, and XII indicate that these areas were commercial centers during the late antiquity. In addition, four out of the city's six granaries along with a high number of bakeries were located in Region V. This could be understood as an important indicator that it was primary center for the production and storage of wheat and grains.

The *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae* mentions two extra-mural regions, Regions XIII and XIV. The structures listed indicate that these regions were self-sufficient and quasi-independent. The regions include operations that met the main needs and wants of habitants such as public, entertainment, religious, commercial, and residential structures. But, because of an absence of administrative organizations (or structures), one is led to believe that the area could have closer to quasi-sovereign entities.

This study also demonstrated that Constantinople grew a westward extension. The western regions (Region X, XI, XII, and XIV) were spacious insofar that there was a lower number of structures. In addition, the analysis of the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae* shows a city demographically weighted towards its north. Thus, the highest housing concentration was in the northern regions of the city (Fig.1), Regions XIII, VI, and VII (Table 2).

The statistical analyses of the structures in the regions undertaken above can also be expanded. Similar methodology can be adapted with other regionaries.

While the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae* is an anonymous work, it is obvious that it was a commissioned work and like other commissioned works it served as a tool for dynastic promotion, as pointed out by Bassett.<sup>378</sup> In addition to dynastic promotion, this study demonstrated that the text served to promote Christianity as well. This is evident when the absences and omissions from the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae* are analyzed. Not only the Pagan and Judaism-related structures from the first regions, but also Pagan and Judaism-related structures from other regions are missing in the text. The Column of the Goths (Region II), the Forum Bovis (Region XI), the Statue of Constantine I as Helios on top of the Column of Constantine (Region VI) and the Chalkoprateia (Region IV).<sup>379</sup> The Theodosian state also promoted Christianity by building and expanding churches, gathering the second ecumenical council in Constantinople (381 CE), and banning all pagan sacrifice and divinations.

In order to better comprehend fifth-century Constantinople, selected fifth-century Constantinople structures were analyzed in order to complement the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae*. Indeed, the final aim of

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<sup>378</sup> Bassett, *The Urban Image of the Late Antique Constantinople*, 80.

<sup>379</sup> According to Theophanes Confessor and the *Patria* the Chalkoprateia was converted from a synagogue. However, there is not enough information to confirm this hypothesis.



this study was promote and make more accessible fifth-century structures, or ruins, from Constantinople that are largely absent from the mainstream scholarship – as well as the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae*, itself. For instance, the Topkapı Palace Basilica, remains under the annex of the İstanbul Archaeological Museums, and Sarayburnu waterfront structure are only some of the structures that have been omitted from the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae*. They are also absent from scholarship because they were revealed as a result of short rescue excavations and were either destroyed or covered. Thus, very little has been published regarding these structures. I hope this study will make them more accessible.

The obstacles I have encountered were mainly issues of accessibility. Research, especially in Turkey, continues to wait for the day when sensitive documents such as, rescue excavation reports and excavation archives will be made readily available. As they become more accessible, it may offer Byzantinists, archaeologists, and urban historians new angles of inquiry that blur the distinction between history and archaeology, and enable them to question even the most accepted approaches.

Hopefully, this study will prove useful for those who are interested in the field and encourage those who wish to explore the fifth-century Constantinople, daily life of the late antique Constantinople, and the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae*.

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