

# Neighbourhoods in Byzantine Constantinople

This paper concerns the spatial subdivisions within the walled city of Constantinople from its foundation until the Ottoman conquest. I consider what subdivisions are visible in the very limited evidence, and to what extent the people of Constantinople perceived and experienced them as realities of urban life. Were they just administrative circumscriptions, or were they also social units and articulations of the urban community, which the inhabitants regarded as essential to their collective urban identity? A large and populous city cannot function as a single, undifferentiated unit, or create total solidarity among people who do not all know each other and do not equally frequent the same public space. This is particularly true of a city like Byzantine Constantinople, with its vast intramural area, its shifting, polyglot and immigrant population, and its imperial status that weakened its corporate identity as a distinct entity within the state. Of course, one may qualify all these points: only about a third of the intramural area was inhabited at the best of times, the immigrants provoked a sense of insider solidarity among the natives, and constitutionally Constantinople was not just the place where the emperor and his government happened to reside, but an *urbs regia* with the potential to become a sovereign city-state, as it in effect became during the last century of Byzantium. Even so, there was a great distance between the city as a somewhat amorphous whole and the family and household units, the *oikoi*, which were the irreducible cells of Byzantine society in town and countryside<sup>1</sup>. This gap left considerable room for the existence of intermediate forms of group identity, and the neighbourhood was one such collectivity in a position to fill part of the gap. Ottoman Istanbul had a well-defined system of urban neighbourhoods<sup>2</sup>; was its Byzantine predecessor any different?

It is appropriate that this paper should be published in Germany, since German scholars have done most to clarify the problem of defining quarters and neighbourhoods in Constantinople; I would like to pay tribute to the work of Alfons Maria Schneider<sup>3</sup>, Günter Prinzing<sup>4</sup>, and Albrecht Berger<sup>5</sup>. It also appropriate, however, that I should present my paper in English, because as far as I am aware, English

is the only major European language that offers an exact etymological and semantic equivalent of the Greek *γειτονία*. This was the usual Byzantine term for an urban locality, and it has persisted in Modern Greek, as *γειτονία*, to designate the essential social and spatial framework within which urban life is lived. The *γειτονία* of Greek popular songs corresponds exactly to the neighbourhood of popular culture in the English-speaking world: the Australian suburb of the television series »Neighbours«, Mr Rogers' Neighborhood of the American PBS television channel, and the rather less cosy »'hood« of the African-American urban ghetto. Neighbourhood expresses the sense of proximity and association that is fundamental to the concept of *γειτονία*, but is absent from the notions of *Wohnviertel*, *quartier*, or *barrio*, which emphasize division rather than association. Of course, association and division are different sides of the same coin, and any discussion of urbanism must look at both. However, my primary concern is to see how the concept of *γειτονία* translated into the reality of Byzantine urban topography.

What was a neighbourhood in Constantinople? Any discussion of this question must begin with the 14 regions of the *Notitia urbis Constantinopolitanae* (fig. 1): the detailed, statistical description of Constantinople that was compiled under Theodosius II. (409-450)<sup>6</sup>. The *Notitia* describes the city region by region, in great detail, listing all the major constructions in each region and the administrative staff assigned to each; these consisted of the *curator* and his assistant, the *vernaculus*, a variable number of firemen (*collegiati*), and five night watchmen or *vicomagistri*. The description of each region begins with a short outline of its physical topography, with occasional reference to the man-made features separating one region from another. The descriptions are sufficiently precise to have encouraged scholars, starting with Charles du Fresne, sieur du Cange, to use them as the basis for a map of Constantinople in the early 5<sup>th</sup> century<sup>7</sup>. At the same time, they are sufficiently laconic and vague as to leave considerable room for disagreement, particularly over the exact boundaries of regions VIII-XII, in the western part of the city. The *Notitia* is also frustratingly uninformative about

1 Magdalino, *Oikos*.

2 Kafesçioğlu, *Constantinopolis/Istanbul 178-206*.

3 Schneider, *Straßen und Quartiere*. – Schneider, *Regionen und Quartiere*.

4 Prinzing, *Zu den Wohnvierteln*.

5 Berger, *Untersuchungen 166-175*. – Berger, *Regionen und Straßen*.

6 *Notitia Dignitatum* 229-243

7 For a review, see Berger, *Regionen und Straßen* 354-356, who offers his own map on p. 355. The slightly more recent version proposed by Mundell Mango, *The Porticoed Street 34*, and eadem, *The Commercial Map* fig. 4, draws some of the regional boundaries differently.

the situation at the outer limits of the urban area. It includes, as region XIII, the suburb of Sykai to the north of the Golden Horn, corresponding to the modern area of Pera and Galata. On the other hand, it apparently does not include the vast area between the city wall of Constantine and the new outer defence line of Theodosius II., which must have been under construction if not already standing at the time when the *Notitia* was written. It used to be assumed that this area between the Constantinian and Theodosian walls corresponded to Region XIV of the *Notitia*; however, as Cyril Mango pointed out in 1985, it is difficult to match the topography of the area with the *Notitia*'s description of the region<sup>8</sup>, so this has to be sought elsewhere – possibly at some distance from the city, as Mango suggested subsequently in a later publication, in which he proposed to locate the 14<sup>th</sup> region at Region, near Küçükçekmece<sup>9</sup>. Whether or not this identification is correct, the *Notitia* shows that there was not a clear spatial division between intramural city centre and extramural suburbs. It also shows that the division into 14 regions was overtaken by the city's development. It is therefore hard to know whether the regions retained any meaningful function after the 5<sup>th</sup> century. Justinian seems to indicate that they did, by referring to the 14 *klimata* of the city in his Novella 43 of 536 concerning the shops of the Great Church. Despite this Greek translation of the Latin word *regio*, which was also preferred by other Late Antique writers, the original technical term continued to be used in its hellenised form, *ῥεγεών*, well into the Middle Ages. Most significantly, it is to be found in a protocol list of 899, the Kletorologion of Philotheos, which lists among the subordinates of the Prefect of Constantinople the »judges of the regions« (*κριταὶ τῶν ῥεγεώνων*)<sup>10</sup>. These officials do not seem to correspond to anything in the *Notitia*, and must represent some administrative innovation by a later emperor – perhaps the emperor Basil I., who is said to have appointed judges to hear lawsuits »in every street and at almost every church«<sup>11</sup>. However, the continued use of the word *regeon* strongly suggests that the circumscriptions where the judges served were still basically the *regiones* of the *Notitia*. A further indication that the 9<sup>th</sup>-century circumscriptions derived from those of the 5<sup>th</sup> is to be found in the number of *geitoniarchai*, or »heads of neighbourhoods«, subordinate to the Prefect in 899<sup>12</sup>. There were twelve of them, and twelve was the number of truly urban regions described in the *Notitia*. If, as John Bagnell Bury suggested, the *geitoniarchai* of the Kletorologion were the equivalent of the *curatores* in the *Notitia*<sup>13</sup>, it is plausible to suppose that their *geitoniai* were based on the *regiones* within the Constantinian wall, but with some modification to include urban areas enclosed by the

Theodosian perimeter. Likely alternatives are that regions X, XI and XII were expanded, or that new regions were created in the west while others were suppressed or amalgamated in the east. Of course the figure twelve is symbolic, and therefore perhaps too symbolic to be true, but confirmation that it corresponded to an administrative reality is to be found in the *Book of the Eparch*, which stipulates that there were to be 24 notaries in the city – i. e. two notaries per region<sup>14</sup>. The change in terminology, from *regeon* to *geitonia*, presents no problem, given that the words are used interchangeably in 12<sup>th</sup>-century documents recording property transactions in Thessaloniki<sup>15</sup>. Finally, we should note that the numbering of the regions left at least one mark in the toponymy of Constantinople. The coastal strip along a small section of the Golden Horn was known as the Heptaskalon. This has been variously explained as alluding to seven landing stages or seven staircases, but the solution surely lies in the fact that the Heptaskalon corresponds exactly to the port area of Region VII, as located in the most recent attempts to map the *Notitia*.

The *geitoniai* of Constantinople are referred to in four later administrative contexts; two before and two after the traumatic events of 1204. Alexios' I. edict of 1107 on the reform of the clergy stipulates that his newly appointed *didaskaloi* (who were twelve in number) were to »supervise the neighbourhoods, not only teaching the people and exhorting them to do good, but also restraining all those of a disreputable lifestyle«<sup>16</sup>. Later in the 12<sup>th</sup> century, the canonist Theodore Balsamon rejoiced that magic and divination had been made redundant, »since the leading men in the neighbourhoods and the priests have been enjoined under penalty to look out, and not to allow anything of that sort to happen«<sup>17</sup>. In 1338-1339, the Patriarch John XIV was similarly concerned to stamp out a recent resurgence in magical practices, and to this end appointed »ecclesiastical officials to go among the people and make a thorough inquest in every neighbourhood of the reigning city, lest any wolf in sheep's clothing should be lurking among the flock«<sup>18</sup>. A few years later, in 1350, after the city had been hit by the Black Death, the Patriarch Kallistos, distressed at the low morals and corrupt behaviour of the urban clergy, set up a team of »priests (...) of godly lifestyle (...) in every neighbourhood to be *exarchoi* of the other priests (...) in order to supervise, teach and exhort them«<sup>19</sup>. Another document relating to this measure uses the word *enoria* to denote the circumscription of which an *exarchos* was put in charge<sup>20</sup>. Finally, a Late Byzantine formulary for the imperial chancery contains two model documents relating to the neighbour-

8 Mango, Développement 58.

9 Mango, Mystère.

10 Les listes de préséance byzantines 113. 179. 320 f.

11 Theophanes Continuatus 259 (Bekker).

12 Les listes de préséance byzantines 113. 125. 161. 179.

13 Bury, Administrative System 60-62.

14 Eparchenbuch 82 f.: Liber praefecti I.23.

15 Docheiariou 71 no. 3 (1112). 84 no. 4 (1117).

16 Alexis I<sup>er</sup> Comnène, édit 193.

17 Syntagma II, 259.

18 Register II 152-153 no. 119. In the following act (154-161 no. 120) the patriarch urges the civil authorities to help the ecclesiastical inquisitors.

19 Register III 46-55 no. 181.

20 Ibidem 82 no. 186.

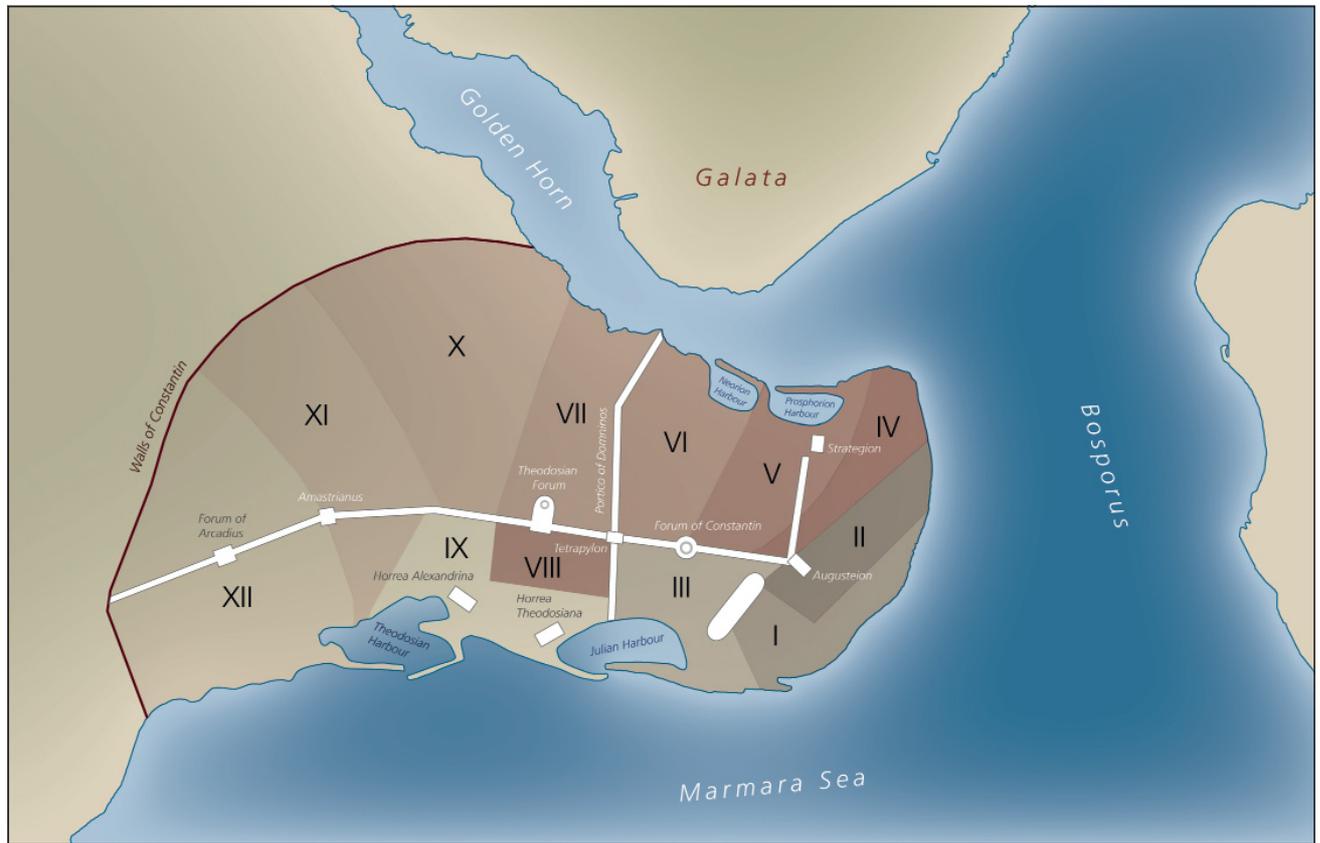


Fig. 1 The twelve urban regions of 5<sup>th</sup> century Constantinople within the Constantinian Wall according to the *Notitia urbis Constantinopolitanae*. – (Grafik M. Ober, RGZM).

hoods of Constantinople. One is for the appointment of a mayor (δήμαρχος) to an urban circumscription, called both *geitonia* and *enoria*<sup>21</sup>. The other is for the appointment of a head notary (ἑξαρχος) to oversee notarial business within a given circumscription, here described as a δημαρχία<sup>22</sup>. The number of notaries is not specified, but the fact that the document refers to the exarch plus other notaries in the plural suggests that there were normally at least three in any one neighbourhood.

While this Late Byzantine documentation shows continuity in the use of the term *geitonia*, it also introduces new terminology in the words *enoria*, *demarchos* and *demarchia*. Does this reflect administrative and topographical changes in the neighbourhood pattern – changes that are either not visible in the brevity of the evidence before 1204, or which had come about through the disruption of the Latin occupation and the reorganization of the city under the Palaiologoi? The use of the word *enoria* perhaps reflects the reforming and inquisitional activity of the church at the neighbourhood level, which is visible both in the 12<sup>th</sup> and in the 14<sup>th</sup> century. The introduction of the terms *demarchos* and *demarchia* undoubtedly reflects the redundancy of the Hippodrome after 1204 and the disappearance of the circus factions to which

»demos« vocabulary had applied in the Middle Byzantine period – in the Kletorologion of Philotheos, the *demarchoi* are the leaders of the Blue and Green factions<sup>23</sup>. Beyond that it is difficult to be definite. However, some suggestive information about the Late Byzantine neighbourhoods of Constantinople is to be found in the documents generated by the patriarch Kallistos' reform initiative of 1350<sup>24</sup>. Kallistos not only demanded a signed declaration of commitment from the exarchs, and required them to renew it after his return to the patriarchate, but asked them to sign it again with all the clergy, mostly priests, for whom they were responsible. Copies of all but one of these signed statements, dating from December 1357, are preserved in the Late Byzantine patriarchal register, and they yield the following information that is relevant to our enquiry:

1. There were ten exarchs, and therefore ten *geitoniai* or *enoriai*<sup>25</sup>.
2. The number of clergy per *geitonia* ranged between 28 and 79, making a grand total of 523 signatories, of whom 462 were priests. Adding ca. 40 for the missing exarchy, this makes ca. 500 priests serving the churches of Constantinople in 1357.

21 Μεσαιωνική Βιβλιοθήκη VI, 643.

22 Ibidem VI, 645f.

23 Les listes de préséance byzantines 143.

24 Register III nos 181-183. 186. 221-234. 240-242. Cf. Hunger, *Exarchenliste*.

25 Register III no. 222.

3. 39 of the signatories, mostly priests, were notaries, and their numbers ranged from two to six per *geitonia*.
4. Two of the circumscriptions are named as the *enoria* of Aaron, and the *exarchia* of St. Romanos.

The immediate impression is of a pattern that *grosso modo* continues the system of the original urban regions, the further reduction from twelve to ten *geitoniai* being explained by the decline in the urban population since 1204 and a corresponding contraction of the inhabited space within the walls. Despite this reduction, the remaining ten *geitoniai* were clearly large circumscriptions comparable to the regions of the *Notitia*, since each was served by a minimum of 28 priests and two *taboullarioi*. Indeed, the fact that there were at least 39 *taboullarioi* overall (15 more than stipulated in the *Book of the Eparch*), with as many as six in some *geitoniai*, suggests that the volume of legal transactions was at least as great as it had been in the 10<sup>th</sup> century. Yet the apparent equivalence of the 14<sup>th</sup>-century *exarchiai* with the earlier *regeones* may be deceptive. It is surely significant that the two named circumscriptions, the *enoria* of Aaron and the *exarchia* of St. Romanos<sup>26</sup>, are not even remotely recognisable in terms of the older administrative map, and that the only one which we can locate, that of St. Romanos, was named after a church near a gate in the Land Walls<sup>27</sup>. The three other *enoriai* that are named in later patriarchal documents – of the Chalkoprateia<sup>28</sup>, St. Eudokimos<sup>29</sup>, and Eugenios<sup>30</sup> – are also difficult to match with the urban regions of the *Notitia*.

All this indicates to me that the distribution of administrative divisions in the 14<sup>th</sup> century bore no relation to that of the Late Antique city, but rather was formed on an entirely different basis, according to which municipal regions were no longer defined in terms of street boundaries, but in terms of nuclei of business and habitation (fig. 2). The traveller Ibn Battuta, when he visited in ca. 1332, had the impression that the city consisted of 13 inhabited villages<sup>31</sup>. The documentary sources further give the impression that these nuclei were not bunched together in a city centre, but distributed centrifugally around the periphery, clustering by the gates of the land walls and the harbours along the coasts<sup>32</sup>. It is revealing that a patriarchal document of 1351 refers to »vineyards near the so-called Old Forum«<sup>33</sup> – i. e. the Forum of Constantine, which had been the commercial hub of the city before 1204. Nearly all the commercial and residential properties

mentioned in documents of the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> centuries were situated near the city's perimeter<sup>34</sup>.

What the ten urban *geitoniai* of 14<sup>th</sup>-century Constantinople did have in common with the 14 regions of the 5<sup>th</sup>-century *Notitia* was their size and the fact that both were conceived primarily as administrative units. For both these reasons, one may question whether they were the real neighbourhoods of Byzantine Constantinople: the urban spaces where its inhabitants felt at home as natural extensions of their domestic space. The definition of such spaces is by nature subjective and variable, but it is reasonable to posit that in a fully built-up area of apartment buildings, they would consist of a block or two and the surrounding streets. Neighbourhoods of these dimensions clearly did exist in Byzantium, and were recognised as such. It is possible that they feature in the *Notitia* of Theodosius II., as the 322 *vici*, which were unevenly distributed throughout the 14 regions, from as few as seven in Region III, a circumscription largely occupied by public and palatine space, to as many as 85 in the densely settled Region VII. Schneider took these *vici* to be small subdivisions of the *regiones*, corresponding to the relationship between *semt* and *mahalle* in the Ottoman city<sup>35</sup>; however, the qualification *vici sive angiportus*, which is used in the descriptions of Regions I and II, seems to point to narrow streets rather than neighbourhoods. Whatever the correct interpretation of *vicus* as used by the *Notitia*, there is no doubt as to the meaning of *geitonia* as used by John Malalas in the 6<sup>th</sup> century to identify some of the urban localities affected by the street violence between Blues and Greens towards the end of Justinian's reign<sup>36</sup>. One reference is to »the Blue neighbourhoods« attacked by the Greens, who came from the Hippodrome via the central avenue (Mese) of the city<sup>37</sup>; it is not clear whether these were residential areas or stables and depots, as Alan Cameron suggests<sup>38</sup>. The other *geitoniai* named by Malalas were probably at least in part residential; what is certainly clear from their names is that they were defined by a single architectural focus: in one case, the Baths of Dagistheus<sup>39</sup>; in the other, the house or property of Maxentiolus<sup>40</sup>.

The evidence of Malalas shows that two essential features of the Byzantine urban neighbourhood system (if one can call it that) were standard practice by the mid-6<sup>th</sup> century at the latest. One is the definition of a *geitonia* according to a focal fixed point, either a building or a wide open space: this was

26 Register I nos 186. 231.

27 Asutay, Entdeckung. – Asutay-Effenberger, Landmauer 87-94. – The *enoria* of St. Romanos is also mentioned in a document of 1401: Acta et diplomata II, 557 no. 628.

28 Acta et diplomata II no. 571 (1400). The church of the Virgin of Chalkoprateia lay directly to the west of Hagia Sophia.

29 Acta et diplomata II no. 580 (1400). This was probably the monastery church at the Exokionion, in the south-west of the city: Russian Travelers 316-318.

30 Acta et diplomata II no. 627 (1399). The Eugenios Gate was situated to the east of the site of today's Sirkeci Station.

31 Ibn Battuta 160.

32 As at the time of the Ottoman conquest, as shown in the foundation documents of Mehmet II: cf. Schneider, Regionen und Quartiere 151 no. 5.

33 Register I no. 184.

34 Ibidem. – Typikon of Lips monastery, trad. A.-M Talbot, in: Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents III, 1279. 1280; Typikon of Bebaia Elpis, trad. A.-M. Talbot, in: Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents IV, 1563; Acta et diplomata I-II nos 98. 312. 617. – Lavra III no. 123 (1342). – Vatopédi II nos 108 (1356). 140 (1374).

35 Schneider, Regionen und Quartiere 131.

36 See Prinzing, Zu den Wohnvierteln.

37 Iōannēs Malalas, Chronographia 423.

38 Cameron, Circus Factions 90-92.

39 Iōannēs Malalas, Chronographia 411.

40 Ibidem 431.



Fig. 2 Neighbourhoods mentioned in the text within the Theodosian Wall. – (Grafik M. Ober, RGZM).

also common in the larger provincial cities, such as Athens<sup>41</sup>, Thessaloniki<sup>42</sup>, and Berrhoia<sup>43</sup>. The other feature, which is only found in the evidence for Constantinople and may have been peculiar to the capital, was for the focal unit to bear the name of a previous proprietor or developer. The unit could consist of a single building or a complex of buildings, and it could be religious or secular, but in all cases, the formula was the same: *ta* plus a personal name in the genitive form<sup>44</sup>. The formula was also applied to units outside the city walls, so that the same name could be used of two locations – a block of urban property and a suburban estate. We know the names of more than a hundred such *ta* locations within the city, but we know nothing about how closely they resembled each other in size, layout, and architecture, apart from the fact that some had been converted into religious foundations, others had been built as churches and monasteries, while others again appear to have remained in secular use – though whether as single or multiple residences is impossible to say.

Presumably each unit took the basic form of a tetragonal complex of buildings surrounding a central courtyard, and flanked by streets on at least two sides. But this is a pure guess, just as we can only guess that unconverted secular units bearing the names of 4<sup>th</sup> or 5<sup>th</sup>-century proprietors preserved substantial elements of their original Late Antique appearance.

Neighbourhoods of this kind are frequently mentioned as points of reference, but almost never described in detail. Partial exceptions are the descriptions in documents establishing the possession of urban real estate: the imperial charters listing the properties by the Golden Horn granted to the Italian maritime republics of Venice, Pisa and Genoa in the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> centuries<sup>45</sup>; and the foundation documents (*typika*) of certain urban monasteries which contain delimitations (*peri- orismoi*) of the monastic complex: notable examples are those surviving from the convents of the Theotokos Kecharitomene (12<sup>th</sup> c.)<sup>46</sup> and the Theotokos *tes Bebaias Elpidos* (14<sup>th</sup> c.)<sup>47</sup>.

41 Granstrem/Medvedev/Papachryssanthou, Fragment (*geitoniai* of the Tzykanisterion and the murex-dyers).

42 Chilandar I nos 24 (1308?: *geitonía* of St. Paramonos). 30 (1314: *geitonía* of St. Menas). – Docheiariou nos 3 (1112: *geitoniai* of the Kataphyge and the Asomatoi). 47 (1381: *geitonía* of the Hippodrome). 49 (1384: *geitoniai* of St. Demetrios). – Iviron II no. 52 (1104: *geitonía* of St. Theodore). – Iviron III nos 60 (1264: *geitonía* of St. Paramonos). 73 (1314: *geitonía* of Acheiropoietos). 76 (1320: *geitonía* of St. Paramonos). 78 (1320: *geitonía* of the Great Panagia). 84 (1326: *geitonía* of the Hippodrome). – Iviron IV no. 97 (1421: *geitonía* of

Chryse). – Vatopédi I no. 65 (1327: *geitonía* of the Hippodrome). – Vatopédi II nos 86 (1340: *geitonía* of St. Menas). 106 (1355: *geitonía* of Kataphyge). 140 (1374: *geitonía* of St. Pelagia). – Xénophon nos 8. 10 (1309, 1315: *geitonía* of Asomatoi). 20 (1324: *geitonía* of Hippodrome).

43 Vatopédi I no. 64 (1325: *geitonía* of Skoromychos).

44 Berger, *Untersuchungen* 166-173.

45 For references and discussion, see Magdalino, *Studies* 86-102 no. I; 222-226 no. III.

46 Trad. R. Jordan, in: *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents* II, 710 f.

47 Trad. A.-M. Talbot, in: *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents* IV, 1563.

Both types of document are of limited value for the study of urban neighbourhoods as social entities, because the blocks of property they describe are artificial units belonging to single proprietors. In the so-called Italian quarters, the houses, shops and sections of waterfront represented in each case a selection of real estate that was made available and put together at the time the grant was made; they had no previous common association, even if they subsequently acquired one through common ownership. The monastic *periorismoi* show greater cohesion, since they clearly represent pre-existing blocks of urban territory corresponding to the original street pattern. However, they do not include the plurality of neighbours and businesses that make up a real neighbourhood.

For a social sense of neighbourhood in Constantinople, we have to turn to literature, mainly poetry, of the 10<sup>th</sup> to 12<sup>th</sup> centuries. Texts of this period contain some brief but powerfully evocative allusions, which leave no doubt that urban life was strongly lived at the neighbourhood level. John Skylitzes records that when the *proedros* Theodosios attempted a coup d'état in 1056, he marched on the Great Palace from his house at the Leomakellion at the head of a following that included many of his neighbours along with his family and household<sup>48</sup>: an interesting indication that urban residents could feel a sense of solidarity with their neighbourhood aristocrat, no doubt because he invited them to his parties and used his influence to improve their living conditions. In an invective poem written at the end of the 10<sup>th</sup> century, John Geometres warns a certain Psenas to stay away from his neighbourhood of *ta Kyrou*<sup>49</sup>. Christophoros Mitylenaios wrote in a strikingly similar vein half a century later, telling his addressee not to show his face in the neighbourhood of *ta Protasiou*<sup>50</sup>. That this was no mere literary reminiscence is clear from two other poems where the author proudly identifies with his neighbourhood. He concludes his famous satirical poem mocking a credulous collector of fake relics by identifying himself as »the emperor's secretary Christopher (...) living close to the church of St. Protasios, near the Strategion«<sup>51</sup>. Elsewhere, he writes on behalf of the Strategion neighbourhood to demand the return of an icon that had been taken from a local church to another part of town<sup>52</sup>. Christopher's contemporary John Mauropous

prefaces his orations to the Theotokos and the Archangels by emphasising that he seeks their patronage because he is their neighbour, living next door to the churches where they are at home<sup>53</sup>. Being a saint's neighbour was also important to an anonymous poet, who put up an icon to St. George over the entrance to his house in gratitude for the saint's intervention in a neighbourhood fire. The fire had spared the author's house along with the church of St. George, which stood nearby, but it had very properly destroyed the shacks of the local prostitutes, for »it was not right that while the glory of God was being chanted in church, the outside should resound to the carousing of whores«<sup>54</sup>.

Yet the fullest literary expression of neighbourhood mentality is to be found in the works of the irrepressible 12<sup>th</sup>-century author John Tzetzes. Without naming his *geitonia* or using the word, Tzetzes makes clear that his urban world consists of the immediate surroundings of his home that is close to, if not part of, the Pantokrator monastery. He writes to the abbot complaining of the holes dug by the monks in his street, which makes his building difficult of access<sup>55</sup>. In another letter, he introduces his neighbours in this three-storey tenement: the farmer who stores hay on the ground floor, and the priest upstairs who keeps pigs, which together with his large family make impossible demands on the broken drainage<sup>56</sup>. Elsewhere, he comments on the goings-on next door: a desperately poor intruder was chased away by the domestic servants, who, not content with seeing him sustain a serious head injury when he jumped off a high enclosure wall, proceeded to beat him senseless<sup>57</sup>. In a letter to the emperor, Tzetzes describes a surreal dream that he has had featuring various shopkeepers at the Leomakellion, and interprets this as a good omen for the emperor's coming campaign<sup>58</sup>. In a scholion to Aristophanes *Clouds*, he comments on a bronze waterspout in the shape of a cockerel that showers the bathers in the bath at *ta Areobindou*<sup>59</sup>. Both the Leomakellion and *ta Areobindou* were within short walking distance of the Pantokrator. Tzetzes is referring to his neighbourhood shops and his neighbourhood *hammam*. The references are valuable, not just for the details on urban life that they provide, but also for the urban horizons that they reflect, in which the standard of reference is the neighbourhood.

48 Iōannēs Skylitzēs, *Synopsis historiarum* 481. – Magdalino, *Oikos* 96 f.

49 Spicilegium Geometreum II 530 f.

50 Christophoros Mitylēnaios, *Gedichte* no. 36.

51 *Ibidem* no. 114.

52 *Ibidem* no. 68.

53 Iōannēs Mavropous, *Vat. gr.* 676, 13 f. nos 27 f.

54 *Codex Marcianus gr.* 524 18 f.

55 Iōannēs Tzetzēs, *ep.* 74 f.

56 *Ibidem* 31-34.

57 *Ibidem* 80 f.

58 *Ibidem* 84 f. On the location of the Leomakellion, see Berger, *Ufergegend* 154 f. and Magdalino, *Maritime Neighbourhoods* 221.

59 Scholia in Aristophanem 541. The church of the Theotokos *ta Areobindou* and its associated bath are mentioned by the *Patria* in the context of other churches known to have been located at short distance to the south of the aqueduct of Valens, near the site of the Baths of Constantius and the contemporary building of the Istanbul Belediye: Magdalino, *Studies* 106 no. I; 57 f. no. II.

## Bibliography

### Sources

- Acta et diplomata: Acta et diplomata graeca medii aevi sacra et profana, 6 Vols. Ed. F. Miklosich / J. Müller (Wien 1860-1890).
- Alexis I<sup>er</sup> Comnène, Édité: L'édité d'Alexis I<sup>er</sup> Comnène sur la réforme du clergé. Ed. P. Gautier. REB 31, 1973, 165-201.
- Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents: J. Thomas / A. Constantinides Hero (eds), Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents: A Complete Translation of the Surviving Founders' Typika and Testaments. DOS 35 (Washington D.C. 2001).
- Codex Marcianus gr. 524: Ὁ Μαρκανός κώδιξ 524. Ed. Sp. Lampros. Νέος Ἑλληνομήμων 8, 1911, 1-59; 123-192.
- Chilandar I: Actes de Chilandar. Des origines à 1319. Ed. M. Živojnović / V. Kravari / Ch. Giros. AAthos 20 (Paris 1998).
- Christophoros Mitylênaios, Gedichte: Die Gedichte des Christophoros Mitylenaios. Ed. E. Kurtz (Leipzig 1903).
- Docheiariou: Actes de Docheiariou. Ed. N. Oikonomidès. AAthos 13 (Paris 1984).
- Eparchenbuch: Das Eparchenbuch Leons des Weisen. Ed. J. Koder (Wien 1991).
- Ibn Battuta: Ibn Battuta. Travels in Asia and Africa. Tr. by H. A. R. Gibb (London 1929).
- Iōannēs Mavropus, Vat. gr. 676: Iohannis Euchaitorum. Metropolitae quae in Codice Vaticano Graeco 676 supersunt. Ed. P. de Lagarde (Göttingen 1882; repr. Amsterdam 1979).
- Iviron II: Actes d'Iviron II. Du milieu du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle à 1204. Ed. J. Lefort / N. Oikonomidès / D. Papachryssanthou. AAthos 16 (Paris 1990).
- III: Actes d'Iviron III. De 1204 à 1328. Ed. J. Lefort / N. Oikonomidès / D. Papachryssanthou / V. Kravari. AAthos 18 (Paris 1994).
- IV: Actes d'Iviron IV. De 1328 au début du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle. Ed. J. Lefort / N. Oikonomidès / D. Papachryssanthou / V. Kravari. AAthos 19 (Paris 1995).
- Iōannēs Malalas, Chronographia: Ioannis Malalae Chronographia. Ed. I. Thurn. CFHB 35 (Berolini 2000).
- Iōannēs Skylitzēs, Synopsis historiarum: Ioannis Scylitzae Synopsis historiarum. Hrsq. v. H. Thurn. CFHB 5, Series Berolinensis (Berolini 1973).
- Iōannēs Tzetzēs, ep.: Ioannis Tzetzae epistulae. Ed. P. A. M. Leone (Leipzig 1972).
- Lavra III: Actes de Lavra III. De 1329 à 1500. Ed. P. Lemerle / A. Guillou / N. Svoronos / D. Papachryssanthou. AAthos 10 (Paris 1979).
- Les listes de préséance byzantines: Les listes de préséance byzantines des IX<sup>e</sup> et X<sup>e</sup> siècles. Ed. E. Oikonomidès (Paris 1972).
- Μεσαιωνική Βιβλιοθήκη: Μεσαιωνική Βιβλιοθήκη 1-6. Ed. K. N. Sathas (Paris, Benetia 1872-1877).
- Notitia Dignitatum: Notitia Dignitatum. Ed. O. Seeck (Berlin 1876).
- Register I: Das Register des Patriarchats von Konstantinopel I. Ed. H. Hunger / O. Kresten (Wien 1981).
- II: Das Register des Patriarchats von Konstantinopel II. Ed. H. Hunger / O. Kresten / E. Kislinger / C. Cupane (Wien 1995).
- III: Das Register des Patriarchats von Konstantinopel III. Ed. J. Koder / M. Hinterberger / O. Kresten (Wien 2001).
- Russian Travelers: Russian Travelers to Constantinople in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries. Ed. G. Majeska (Washington D.C. 1984).
- Scholia in Aristophanem: Scholia in Aristophanem IV/2. Ed. W. J. W. Koster (Groningen, Amsterdam 1960).
- Spicilegium Geometreum II: Spicilegium Geometreum II. Ed. I. Sajdak. Eos 33, 1930-1931, 530-534.
- Syntagma: Σύνταγμα τῶν θεῶν καὶ ἱερῶν κανόνων, 6 vols. Ed. G. Rhallès / M. Potles (Athênai 1852-1859).
- Theophanes Continuatus: Theophanes Continuatus, Ioannes Cameniata, Symeon Magister, Georgius Monachus. Ed. I. Bekker. CSHB 32 (Bonnae 1838).
- Vatopédi I: Actes de Vatopédi I. Des origines à 1329. Ed. J. Bompaire / J. Lefort / V. Kravari / C. Giros. AAthos 21 (Paris 2001).
- II: Actes de Vatopédi II. De 1330 à 1376. Ed. J. Lefort / V. Kravari / C. Giros / K. Smyrlis. AAthos 22 (Paris 2006).
- Xénophon: Actes de Xénophon. Ed. D. Papachryssanthou. AAthos 15 (Paris 1986).

### References

- Asutay, Entdeckung: N. Asutay, Die Entdeckung des Romanos-Tors an den Landmauern von Konstantinopel. BZ 96, 2003, 1-4.
- Asutay-Effenberger, Landmauer: N. Asutay-Effenberger, Die Landmauer von Konstantinopel-Istanbul. Historisch-topographische und baugeschichtliche Untersuchungen. Millennium-Studien 18 (Berlin, New York 2007).
- Berger, Regionen und Straßen: A. Berger, Regionen und Straßen im frühen Konstantinopel. IstMitt 47, 1997, 349-414.
- Ufergegend: A. Berger, Zur Topographie der Ufergegend am Goldenen Horn in der byzantinischen Zeit. IstMitt 45, 1995, 149-165.
- Untersuchungen: A. Berger, Untersuchungen zu den Patria Konstantinupoleos. Poikila Byzantina 8 (Bonn 1988).
- Bury, Administrative System: J. B. Bury, The Imperial Administrative System in the Ninth Century (London 1911).
- Cameron, Circus Factions: A. Cameron, Circus Factions (Oxford 1976).
- Granstrem/Medvedev/Papachryssanthou, Fragment: E. Granstrem / I. Medvedev / D. Papachryssanthou, Fragment d'un Praktikon de la région d'Athènes. REB 34, 1976, 5-44.
- Hunger, Exarchenliste: H. Hunger, Die Exarchenliste des Patriarchen Kallistos I im Patriarchatsregister von Konstantinopel. In: J. Chrysostomides (ed.), Καθηγήτρια. Essays presented to Joan Hussey on her 80<sup>th</sup> Birthday (Camberley 1988).
- Kafesçioğlu, Constantinopolis/Istanbul: Ç. Kafesçioğlu, Constantinopolis/Istanbul. Cultural Encounter, Imperial Vision, and the Construction of the Ottoman Capital (University Park P.A. 2009).

Magdalino, Oikos: P. Magdalino, The Byzantine Aristocratic Oikos. In: M. Angold (ed.), *The Byzantine Aristocracy, IX-XIII Centuries* (Oxford 1984), 92-111. Reprinted in: P. Magdalino, *Tradition and Transformation in Medieval Byzantium* (Aldershot 1991).

Studies: P. Magdalino, *The Maritime Neighborhoods of Constantinople: Commercial and Residential Functions, Sixth to Twelfth Centuries*. DOP 54, 2000, 209-227. Reprinted in P. Magdalino, *Studies on the History and Topography of Byzantine Constantinople* (Aldershot 2007).

Mango, Développement: C. Mango, *Le développement urbain de Constantinople (IV<sup>e</sup>-VII<sup>e</sup> siècle)* (Paris 1985).

Mystère: C. Mango, *Le mystère de la XIV<sup>e</sup> région de Constantinople*. TM 14, 2002, 449-455.

Mundell Mango, The Commercial Map: M. Mundell Mango, *The Commercial Map of Constantinople*. DOS 54, 2000, 189-207.

The Porticoed Street: M. Mundell Mango, *The Porticoed Street at Constantinople*. In: N. Neçipoğlu (ed.), *Byzantine Constantinople: Monuments, Topography and Everyday Life* (Leiden 2001) 29-51.

Prinzing, Zu den Wohnvierteln: G. Prinzing, *Zu den Wohnvierteln der Grünen und Blauen in Konstantinopel*. In: H.-G. Beck (ed.), *Studien zur Frühgeschichte Konstantinopels*. *Miscellanea Byzantina Monacensia* 14 (München 1973) 27-48.

Schneider, Regionen und Quartiere: A. M. Schneider, *Regionen und Quartiere in Konstantinopel, Kleinasien und Byzanz*. *Istanbul Forschungen* 17 (Berlin 1950) 149-158.

Strassen und Quartiere: A. M. Schneider, *Strassen und Quartiere Konstantinopels*. *Mitteilungen des deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 3, 1950, 68-79.

## Zusammenfassung / Summary / Résumé

### Nachbarschaften im Byzantinischen Konstantinopel

Was waren die Unterteilungen des urbanen Raums im Byzantinischen Konstantinopel (330-1453), die mit dem modernen Konzept einer Nachbarschaft korrespondieren, das exakt mit dem griechischen Wort *γειτονία* ausgedrückt wurde? Die *Notitia* (ca. 425 n. Chr.) zeigt, dass die Stadt aus administrativen Gründen anfänglich in 14 *regiones* eingeteilt war und Relikte dieses Musters finden sich in staatlichen und kirchlichen Regelungen späterer Jahrhunderte. Allerdings ist es unwahrscheinlich, dass sich die durch die Überlieferung patriarchaler Versuche, im 14. Jahrhundert den städtischen Klerus zu reformieren, belegten *geitoniai* oder *enoriai* («Gemeinden») mit den ursprünglichen urbanen Arealen geographisch decken. Es scheint ebenso klar, dass die großen Umschreibungen in offiziellen Dokumenten des 5. und 14. Jahrhunderts nicht die primären Einheiten waren, die Stadtbewohner wahrgenommen und mit denen sie sich als Nachbarschaft identifiziert haben. Die typische konstantinopolitanische *geitonia* war

definiert durch ein einzelnes zentrales Gebäude oder einen Architekturkomplex, der, obwohl häufig eine Kirche, den Namen des ursprünglichen Besitzers trug. Byzantinische Literatur des 10. bis 12. Jahrhunderts bietet anekdotenhafte Belege für einen starken Sinn für Nachbarschaft in diesem Umfang.

Übersetzung: J. Drauschke

### Neighbourhoods in Byzantine Constantinople

What were the subdivisions of the urban space in Byzantine Constantinople (330-1453) that corresponded to the modern concept of the neighbourhood, which was exactly expressed by the Greek word *γειτονία*? The *Notitia* of ca. 425 shows that the city was initially divided, for administrative purposes, into 14 *regiones*, and traces of this pattern are to be found in imperial and ecclesiastical regulations of later centuries. However, it is unlikely that the *geitoniai* or *enoriai* («parishes») attested in the records of 14<sup>th</sup>-century patriarchal efforts to reform the urban clergy were close geographical equivalents of the original urban regions. It also seems clear that the large circumscriptions described in the official documentation, whether of the 5<sup>th</sup> or the 14<sup>th</sup> century, were not the primary units that urban residents experienced, or with which they identified, as neighbourhoods. The typical Constantinopolitan *geitonia* was defined by a single, central building or architectural complex, which though often a church, bore the name of its original owner. Byzantine literature of the 10<sup>th</sup> to 12<sup>th</sup> centuries provides anecdotal evidence for a strong sense of neighbourhood on this scale.

### Les voisinages dans la Constantinople byzantine

A quoi correspondaient les divisions de l'espace urbain de Constantinople (330-1453), désignées alors sous le terme de *γειτονία*, qui a pris la valeur de «voisinage» dans la Grèce actuelle? La *Notitia* (env. 425 ap. J.-C.) montre que la ville était composée à l'origine de 14 *regiones*, pour des raisons administratives, et que des traces de ce découpage se retrouvent dans des réglementations ultérieures de l'État et de l'Église. Il est cependant fort peu vraisemblable que les *geitoniai* ou *enoriai* («communes»), documentées par la transmission des tentatives patriarcales de réformation du clergé urbain au 14<sup>e</sup> siècle, recourent les zones urbaines originelles. Il semble également évident que les grandes délimitations mentionnées dans les documents des 5<sup>e</sup> et 14<sup>e</sup> siècles n'étaient pas les unités primaires que les citoyens ont perçues et auxquelles ils se sont identifiés en tant que groupe de voisinage. La *geitonia* typique de Constantinople se définissait par un seul édifice central ou un complexe architectural, souvent même une église, qui portait le nom du propriétaire originel. La littérature byzantine du 10<sup>e</sup> au 12<sup>e</sup> siècle offre des exemples anecdotiques d'un sens aigu du voisinage à cette échelle.

Traduction: Y. Gautier